

Translation technique in the Peshitta to Ezekiel 1-24, incorporating a frame semantic approach

G Mushayabasa

12788767

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Promoter: Prof HF van Rooy

Co-promoter: Mr A Lamprecht

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PREFACE

It is my pleasure to present to scholarship this work of research for which I'm personally proud and thankful to God. By his grace I have explored with great interest my aptitude for scientific enquiry and academic dialogue, especially in the fields of Semitic Languages and Linguistics. I do not regret the time spent and I am not ashamed of the result presented in this volume. Understandably, language whether present or past, dying or extinct, always opens a door into the world of its speakers and the more we know about the particular language, the greater the world of the speakers we can discover. Understanding the cognitive world behind a language within the upcoming paradigms of Cognitive Linguistics also gives man the opportunity to have some insight into the wonderful conceptual powers God has left at his disposal. However, far more valuable than mere language is the revelation by God of himself, made available to us in the medium of human language. It is this knowledge of God, and indeed God himself, that is in any respect my highest object of desire; and the present study makes a small contribution in pursuit of that treasure.

For the success of this study, firstly, I am indebted to my study leaders. In that regard I would want to acknowledge Mr At Lamprecht, my first Hebrew lecturer, who is particularly responsible for inviting me into the field of Semitic Languages and for further luring me into getting involved with cognitive linguistic studies. His high standards of what comprises a truly meaningful contribution to research were a real challenge in my research endeavours. I also appreciate his questions and advice during the time I was conducting my research and writing this present thesis.

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To the memory of Mrs Dzapata,
my Grade 5 and 6 teacher at Senga Primary
School in 1988 and 1989, a woman whose expertise
teaching skills, whose motherly care and love
turned a hopeless, fearful failure into a
brave and successful student;

And to the memory of Morejane Mushayabasa
my mother whose motherliness I hardly can forget.

(Psalm 23:1) ¹ ܠܝܗ ܢܝܝܬ ܐܝܬܝ ܕܝܗܘܐ ܕܝܗܘܐ ܕܝܗܘܐ

Godwin Mushayabasa Mhuriyashe

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¹ The Syriac text in this thesis is set using the *MELTHO* fonts from Beth Mardutho: The Syriac Institute [www.BethMardutho.org].

SUMMARY

The aim of this study is to develop a more effective translation technique analysis of the Peshitta to Ezekiel text that would contribute to the textual studies of Ezekiel. In order to help provide such an effective analysis on translation technique, the methodology employed is the comparative analysis of texts, which incorporates the theory from Cognitive Semantics called Frame Semantics. This theory views units of meaning in text or speech contexts at the level of semantic frames and is therefore most ideal in view of the idiomatic nature of the Peshitta translation.

By applying this theory, the frames in the Hebrew source text of the translator were compared to those in the translator's target Syriac text, to see whether there were correspondences between the two frames. In chapter 3, the GIVING frames evoked by נתן (nātan) were studied and it was found that most of the frames in the Hebrew text corresponded well with those in the Syriac target text. The exception is mainly those frames in which there might have been textual difficulties in the source text. Similar observations were made in chapter 4 for the ARRIVING frames evoked by the Hebrew verb בא (bō). However, nouns associated with the frame MISDEEDS presented some problems, mainly as to their use in the Hebrew source text. The use of these nouns could have affected the translator's understanding of such categories, leading to their inconsistent representation in the target text. Nevertheless, it can be indicated that the translator demonstrated a relatively good understanding of the use of the nouns in the Hebrew text. Overall, the translation of the Peshitta to Ezekiel was made at the approximate level of semantic frames, displaying a translation technique that should be very useful for the textual studies of the Book of Ezekiel.

Key Terms:

Old Testament, Peshitta, translation technique, Hebrew Bible, textual criticism, Frame Semantics, Cognitive Semantics, frame mapping, lexical unit, categories, prototypes.

OPSOMMING

Die doel van hierdie studie is om 'n meer effektiewe analise vir die tegniek van die vertaling van die Peshitta na Esegïel-weergawe te ontwikkel wat ook sal bydra tot die bestudering van Esegïel se teks. Om hierdie doeltreffende analise oor vertalingstegniek te help voorsien, word die metodologie ingespan van vergelykende teksanalise wat die teorie insluit van kognitiewe semantiek wat as Raamsemantiek bekendstaan. Dié teorie fokus op betekeniseenhede in teks- of gesproke taalkontekste op die vlak van semantiese rame. Daarom is so 'n teorie die ideaalste een, in lig van die idiomatiese aard van die Peshitta-vertaling.

Hierdie teorie is toegepas deur die rame in die Hebreeuse bronteks van die vertaler te vergelyk met die rame in die vertaler se Siriese teikenteks. Dit is gedoen om te kyk of daar enige ooreenkomste tussen die onderskeie rame bestaan. In hoofstuk 3 is GEE-rame ondersoek wat deur נָתַן (nātan) opgeroep word. Dit is bevind dat die meeste rame in die Hebreeuse teks netjies met daardie in die Siriese teks ooreenkom. Soortgelyke waarnemings is gemaak in hoofstuk 4 aangaande die rame wat opgeroep word deur die Hebreeuse werkwoord בָּא (bā), wat sodoende die AANKOMS-rame oproep. Nogtans het die naamwoorde wat met die MISDAAD-raam verband hou sekere probleme veroorsaak – hoofsaaklik oor dié rame se gebruik in die Hebreeuse bronteks as sodanig, oor die vertaler se begrip van sulke kategorieë en oor die manier waarop hy dit vertaal het, wat inkonsekwent voorkom. Benewens dié feit kan wel aangedui word dat die vertaler in 'n mate steeds 'n goeie begrip toon vir die gebruik van die naamwoorde in die Hebreeuse teks. In die algemeen is die vertaling van Peshitta na Esegïel wel op die vlak van semantiese rame hanteer, wat 'n vertalingstegniek vertoon wat baie handig te pas kan kom in teksstudie oor die Boek Esegïel.

Sleutelwoorde:

Ou Testament, Peshitta, vertalingstegniek, Hebreeuse Bybel, tekskritiek, Raamsemantiek, Kognitiewe Semantiek, raamkartering, leksikale eenheid, kategorieë, prototipe.

Contents

ABBREVIATIONS OF BIBLE VERSIONS	xiii
CHAPTER 1.....	1
1.1 CONTEXT AND BACKGROUND	1
1.2 IDENTIFIED AREAS OF IMPROVEMENT	2
1.3 RESEARCH ON THE PESHITTA TO EZEKIEL	4
1.3.1 The State of the text	4
1.3.2 Research on the Peshitta to Ezekiel in view of the Peshitta Leiden edition	6
1.3.3 Research on the Peshitta to Ezekiel still to be done.....	10
1.4 A SUITABLE METHODOLOGY.....	10
1.4.1 A comparative methodology that incorporates Frame Semantics	13
1.4.1.1 An overview of Frame Semantics	13
1.4.1.2 Projected ways in which Frame Semantics can be used in translation technique studies.....	14
1.5 RESEARCH QUESTION	15
1.6 SCOPE OF STUDY IN EZEKIEL	16
1.7 RESEARCH AIM AND OBJECTIVES.....	16
1.7.1 Aim.....	16
1.7.2 Specific objectives	17
1.8 CENTRAL THEORETICAL ARGUMENT	18
1.9 STRUCTURE OF THE STUDY.....	18
CHAPTER 2.....	20
2.1 INTRODUCTION	20
2.2 STATE OF THE ART: METHODS OF APPROACH IN TRANSLATION TECHNIQUE STUDIES	20
2.3 DEFINING AND UNDERSTANDING FRAME SEMANTICS	27
2.3.1 Other concepts related to the theory of Frame Semantics	30
2.3.1.1 Cognitive Linguistics and Cognitive Semantics	30
2.3.1.2 Valence	32

2.3.1.3	<i>Perspective</i>	33
2.3.1.4	<i>Prototypes and Idealised cognitive models</i>	34
2.3.1.5	<i>Metonymy and metaphor</i>	35
2.3.1.6	<i>Polysemy and synonymy</i>	37
2.3.1.7	<i>Frames across cultures</i>	40
2.3.1.8	<i>Differentiating between 'frame', 'sense' and 'context'</i>	42
2.3.1.9	<i>The place of text semantics</i>	45
2.4	FRAME SEMANTICS AS A METHODOLOGICAL APPROACH TO TRANSLATION TECHNIQUE STUDY IN THE PESHITTA TO EZEKIEL 1 – 24	47
2.4.1	Broad framework	47
2.4.2	Determination of frames (categories of experience)	50
2.4.3	Lexical Units	51
2.4.4	Frame elements	52
2.4.5	Coreness of FEs	53
2.4.6	Missing FEs	54
2.4.7	Target frame and target word	55
2.5	RESEARCH DESIGN	55
2.6	STUDY TOOLS AND TEXTS	59
2.6.1	Databases	59
2.6.3	The <i>Urtext</i> of the Peshitta to Ezekiel	61
2.7	CHAPTER CONCLUSION	62
CHAPTER 3		64
3.1	INTRODUCTION	64
3.2	ANALYSIS OF THE TRANSLATION OF FRAMES INSTANTIATED BY <i>nātan</i>	65
3.3	A FRAME SEMANTICS ANALYSIS OF THE FRAMES INSTANTIATED BY <i>nātan</i>	66
3.3.1	Defining the basic semantic structure of <i>nātan</i>	66
3.3.1.1	<i>Accounting for the derived frames of <i>nātan</i></i>	77
3.3.1.2	<i>The relationship between the prototypical frame and its derived frames</i>	83
3.3.2	The range of frames instantiated by the target LU <i>nātan.v</i> and how they were mapped in Syriac	87
3.3.3	The general syntactic structure of frames instantiated by <i>nātan</i>	94

3.3.3.1	<i>Valence of the target LU in the prototypical frame</i>	95
3.3.3.2	<i>Characteristic features associated with FEs in Causal frames</i>	100
3.3.3.3	<i>Valence structure of the target LU in frames taking four necessary complements</i>	101
3.3.3.4	<i>Cases of bivalent nātan frames</i>	104
3.4	THE MAPPING OF nātan INSTANTIATED FRAMES FROM THEIR HEBREW SOURCE INTO SYRIAC	110
3.4.1	The GIVING (prototypical) frame	110
3.4.2	The RITE OFFERING frame	113
3.4.3	The HANDING OVER and HAND OVER CONTROL frames	114
3.4.4	The PLACING frame	114
3.4.5	The CAUSE MOTION frame	116
3.4.6	The CAUSE CHANGE and CAUSE TO SUFFER EVIL frames	116
3.4.7	The APPOINTING, ASSIGNING and USING AS frames	117
3.4.8	The REVENGE frame	117
3.4.9	The CONVICTING frame	118
3.4.10	The TEMPORARY GIVING frame	119
3.4.11	The TAKING SIDES frame	120
3.5	VARIANTS	122
3.5.1	Omission of FEs	122
3.5.2	Omission of LUs	123
3.5.3	Additions	128
3.6	MAPPING OF TGrS (PREPOSITIONS)	132
3.6.1	TGrS within the GIVING frame	132
3.6.2	TGrS in derived frames	132
3.7	APPEARANCES OF GIVING FRAMES IN P-Ez 1 – 24 THAT DO NOT APPEAR IN THE MT TEXT	135
3.8	CHAPTER CONCLUSIONS	143
CHAPTER 4		146
4.1	INTRODUCTION	146
4.2	ANALYSIS OF THE FRAMES INSTANTIATED BY bō	147
4.2.1	Defining the basic semantic structure of the target LU bō. v	147
4.2.2	Defining the generic frame semantic structure of bō	150

4.2.3	Frame types.....	160
4.2.4	Some Metaphoric extensions in the frames instantiated by <i>bō</i>	162
4.2.4.1	The metaphoric extension, <i>LAND IS A CONTAINER</i>	162
4.2.4.2	Problems of fuzzy boundaries and cultural cognition	168
4.2.4.3	The zoom-in – zoom-out effect.....	171
4.2.4.4	The <i>TIME – EVENTS</i> metaphorical extension.....	178
4.2.5	Valence and valence patterns	180
4.3	THE MAPPING OF THE ARRIVING FRAMES INSTANTIATED BY <i>bō</i>	183
4.3.1	The ARRIVING AT frame	186
4.3.2	The ARRIVING INTO frame	187
4.3.3	The ARRIVING FROM frame.....	188
4.3.4	The ARRIVING TO MEET frame.....	189
4.3.5	The MOTIVATION element of the ARRIVING frames	189
4.3.6	The TIME-EVENT ARRIVING frames	193
4.3.7	The ACTIVE ANTAGONISTIC AND THE PASSIVE INFLUENCE ARRIVING frames	195
4.3.8	The COVENANT ARRIVING INTO frames	196
4.3.9	The INTIMATE RELATION ARRIVING frame	196
4.3.10	The REMOTE GOAL ARRIVING frame.....	197
4.3.11	Other ARRIVING frames.....	200
4.4	VARIANTS	200
4.4.1	Frame maintaining variants	201
4.4.1.1	Slight variations in FEs	201
4.4.1.2	Difficult textual readings related to FEs	208
4.4.2	Frame altering variants	211
4.4.2.1	Omission of frames	211
4.4.2.2	Variant frames.....	212
4.4.2.3	The Unknown frame.....	216
4.5	MAPPING OF PATH WITHIN THE ARRIVING FRAMES	217
4.6	AN ARRIVING FRAME INSTANTIATED BY THE VERB <i>היה</i> (<i>hayāh</i>).....	224
4.7	OTHER FRAMES IN THE HEBREW TEXT MAPPED AS ARRIVING FRAMES INTO P-EZ	231
4.7.1	The case of <i>חלל</i> (<i>'all</i>) and <i>חבל</i> (<i>ybl</i>).....	231
4.7.2	Additional <i>עֵתָא</i> (<i>'eta</i>) frames in P	232

4.7.2	The Hebrew LU עבר.v represented by the Syriac LU ܐܡܪ.v	236
4.8	CHAPTER CONCLUSIONS	241
CHAPTER 5		244
5.1	INTRODUCTION	244
5.2	THE STUDY OF NOMINAL CATEGORIES FROM A FRAME SEMANTICS APPROACH	245
5.3	IDEALISED COGNITIVE MODELS (ICMs)	248
5.3.1	Propositions	249
5.3.2	Symbolic ICMs	249
5.4	NOMINAL CATEGORIES	250
5.5	THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN A CATEGORY RELATING TO AN ICM AND AN LU RELATING TO A FRAME	250
5.6	AN IDEALISED COGNITIVE MODELS ANALYSIS OF THE CATEGORIES chattāt, peshā ^ʿ AND ʿawon	256
5.6.1	The propositional ICM חטאת	256
5.6.2	The propositional ICM 'פֶּשַׁע'	258
5.6.3	The propositional ICM עוֹן	259
5.7	A FRAME SEMANTICS ANALYSIS OF THE LEXICAL UNITS חטאת.n, peshā ^ʿ .n AND ʿawon.n	263
5.7.1	Basis of the frames: Image schemas	263
5.7.2	Extrapolation of relevant frames from the BALANCE image schemas	265
5.7.3	Analysing the semantics of the Hebrew nouns using frame-to-frame relations	270
5.7.3.1	Perspective-on	271
5.7.3.2	Inheritance	271
5.7.3.3	Subframe	271
5.7.3.4	Precedes	272
5.7.3.5	LAW and RELATION BETWEEN INDIVIDUALS frames	274
5.7.3.6	COMMITTING OFFENSE, DAMAGING, RELATION BETWEEN INDIVIDUALS, LAW and MISDEED frames	275
5.7.3.7	The DAMAGING frame in relation to the	

COMMITTING OFFENSE frame.....	275
5.7.3.8 Frame-to-frame semantics involving the MORAL – LEGAL ACCOUNTABILITY frame	277
5.8 THE MAPPING OF chattāt, peshā^c AND ʿawon IN P-Ez.....	281
5.8.1 The case of Ezekiel 21:29(24)	285
5.8.2 The effect of metonymy as an alternative explanation	287
5.9 PREPOSITIONS IN FRAMES ASSOCIATED WITH NOMINAL CATEGORIES.....	299
5.10 POSSIBILITIES OF THE TgE, THE LXX OR SCRIBAL INFLUENCE.....	300
5.10.1 The possibility of the TgE's influence on P-Ez.....	300
5.10.2 The possibility of the influence of LXX on P-Ez.....	301
5.10.3 The possibility of scribal influence in the transmission process of Peshitta MSS.....	303
5.11 CHAPTER CONCLUSIONS	306
 CHAPTER 6.....	 311
CONCLUSIONS	311
6.1 TRANSLATION TECHNIQUE IN THE PESHITTA TO EZEKIEL 1 – 24	311
6.1.1 Major characteristics	311
6.1.2 Some specific characteristics	314
6.1.2.1 Additions and omissions.....	314
6.1.2.2 Assimilations and harmonisations.....	314
6.1.2.3 Difficult Hebrew phrases / clauses, unfamiliar terms and hapax legomena	315
6.1.2.4 Exegetical tendencies	316
6.1.2.5 Relationship to other versions	317
6.2 THE VORLAGE OF P-Ez AND ITS VALUE FOR THE TEXTUAL STUDIES OF THE TEXT OF EZEKIEL	317
6.3 REFLECTIONS ON METHODOLOGY	319
6.4 CONTRIBUTION	324
6.5 DIRECTIONS FOR FURTHER STUDIES	325
 REFERENCE LIST	 327

ABBREVIATIONS OF BIBLE VERSIONS

Darby	Darby Bible (1890)
ESV	English Standard Version (Wheaton, 2001)
GNT	Good News Translation (New York, 1992)
GW	God's Word Translation (Michigan, 1995)
KJV	King James Version (electronic edition) (Washington, 2009)
NCV	New Century Version (Tennessee, 2005)
NET	New English Translation (www.bible.org , 2006)
NIV	New International Version (Michigan, 1984)
NIrV	New International Reader's Version (Michigan, 1998)
NKJV	The New King James Version (Nashville, 1982)
NLT	New Living Translation (Illinois, 2007)
RSV	Revised Standard Version (USA, 1971)
Vg	Biblia Sacra Vulgata (Stuttgart, 1969)

A list of statistical and illustrative figures

Table	Page
Table 3.1	<i>A list of major image schemas involved in the proto-typical giving scene evoked by nātan</i> _____74
Table 3.2	<i>Radial network of the radial category nātan, mainly in terms of FE nature and behaviour</i> _____88
Table 3.3	<i>A summary of all the frames instantiated by nātan and how they were mapped into Syriac in P-Ez</i> _____91
Table 3.4	<i>A summary of all the frames instantiated by nātan showing all the incidences of their occurrences in Ezekiel</i> ____93
Table 3.5	<i>Semantic potentials of sample LUs within the INTENTIONALLY CREATE ATTACK frame</i> _____105
Table 3.6	<i>Translation of TGrS from the P-Ez's source text to his target text</i> _____133
Table 3.7	<i>The TEMPORARY GIVING frames in Ezekiel 18:8</i> _____139
Table 4.1	<i>A network of frames instantiated by bō.v, mainly in terms of FE nature and behaviour</i> _____161
Table 4.2	<i>Some cases of zoomed-in and zoomed-out profiled scenes in the ARRIVING frames</i> _____176
Table 4.3	<i>A summary on the mapping of frames from the Hebrew source text to the Syriac target text</i> _____184
Table 4.4.	<i>A presentation of tablets showing the use of TGrS in the ARRIVING frames instantiated by ܐܒܪ</i> _____218
Table 4.5	<i>A comparison of the semantics of the frames instantiated ܐܒܪ ('abr) and ܐܬܐ ('eta) in Ezekiel 14:15</i> _____239
Table 5.1	<i>The propositional ICMs 'ܐܬܐܬܐ', 'ܦܫܥ' and 'ܥܘܢ' compared</i> ____261
Table 5.2	<i>The descriptions of the frames involved with the MISDEED and MORAL – LEGAL ACCOUNTABILITY frames</i> _____266
Table 5.3	<i>The rendering of categories ܐܬܐܬܐ, ܦܫܥ and ܥܘܢ in P-Ez 1 – 24</i> _____280
Table 5.4	<i>Levels of categorisation related to the nominal categories ܐܬܐܬܐ and ܦܫܥ</i> _____283

Table 5.5	<i>The rendering of the categories תַּחַת, פֶּשֶׁט and גִּלְגִּל in the versions:</i>	296

Figure

Fig 2.1	A summarised presentation of H. Szpek's model of translation technique	24
Fig 2.2	The planned process of the study of translation technique in the Peshitta to Ezekiel 1 – 24	58
Fig 3.1	A prototypical scene of the GIVING frame evoked by nātan, with A initially in control of T	76
Fig 3.2	A prototypical scene of the GIVING frame evoked by nātan, with R finally in control of T	77
Fig 3.3	Aggregated image schemas behind the PLACING frame in Ezekiel 3:20	80
Fig 3.4	Aggregated image schemas behind the CAUSE CHANGE OF STRENGTH frame in Ezekiel 3:8	82
Fig 3.5	The generic frame structure behind the frames (senses) instantiated by nātan in Ezekiel 1 – 24	84
Fig 4.1	A Theme moves and terminates directed motion at a specific point (Goal), the end of a Path	150
Fig 4.2	Theme moves, terminates directed motion at any point understood as being in the vicinity of the Goal	151
Fig 4.3	Arriving takes place within a larger bounded space Containing smaller locations, bounded or unbounded	151
Fig 4.4	A Theme (sentient being) moves and terminates directed motion at a Goal (Sentient being)	152
Fig 4.5	A Theme (mostly a sentient being) moves and terminates motion at a Goal FE that is within bounded space	152
Fig 4.6	Theme (ideally sentient being[s]) moves and terminates at an antagonistic Goal FE (sentient being[s])	153
Fig 4.7	The generic frame structure that can be understood behind the ARRIVING frames instantiated by בּוֹא	155

Fig 4.8	Showing the frame semantic network of the ARRIVING frames instantiated by the Hebrew LU ν .בוא _____	157
Fig 4.9	A tentative plotting of Abraham's journey from Haran to Canaan _____	173
Fig 4.10	The probable position of the Israelites at the time of Moses' address in Deuteronomy 6:10 _____	175
Fig 4.11	Some image schemas underlying the CONVICTING frame to be compared to those of the MOTIVATED ARRIVING frame __	235
Fig 4.12	Image schema relations underlying the MOTIVATED ARRIVING frame to be compared to those of the CONVICTING frame ____	236
Fig 5.1	The comparison between symbolic ICMs (frames and LUs) and propositional ICMs (categories)_____	254
Fig 5.2	An image schematic and frame network involving the LUs ν .בוא, ν .פגע and ν .עון _____	273

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 CONTEXT AND BACKGROUND

The present study falls within the subject area of the Ancient versions (or Ancient translations), which are the earliest translations of the Hebrew Old Testament text. The most important of such versions are the Septuagint, the Aramaic translations (or the Targums), the Peshitta, the Vulgate and the Arabic version (Tov, 2012:127). Apart from Hebrew manuscripts such as those discovered at Qumran, these translations are the earliest witnesses to the Hebrew Old Testament text and are therefore useful for the textual criticism of the Hebrew Bible, especially regarding the reconstruction of corrupted readings. The present study focuses particularly on the Peshitta Old Testament version, a witness to the Hebrew text which is generally understood to have been produced around 200 AD (Weitzman, 1999:258). Without a critical text based on the earliest Syriac manuscripts of the Peshitta translation, studies on the Peshitta were for a long time being based on less reliable editions. These editions include the Paris Polyglot prepared by Gabriel Sionita, Brian Walton's London Polyglot (1657), the edition of Samuel Lee (1823), the Urmia edition (1852) prepared under the direction of Justin Perkins and the Mosul edition (1887 – 1891) prepared by Dominicans (Taylor, 2000:120-121; Bloch, 1921:136).

As a remedy to the problem of a lack of a critical text mentioned above, the Peshitta Institute Leiden is in the process of preparing just such a critical text of the Peshitta Old Testament (Taylor, 2000:120-123). With the aim of achieving this goal, the Institute has until recently held several symposia, aimed at stimulating Peshitta research. The first symposium was held in 1985, and it focused on aspects of the textual history of the Peshitta (Dirksen and Mulder, 1988). In August 1993, the second symposium was held with the emphasis on aspects of the Peshitta as a translation. These aspects include the relationship between the Peshitta and the Masoretic Text, the Peshitta and Targum, the Syriac idiom of the Peshitta, translation

technique of parts of the Peshitta and exegesis in the Peshitta (Dirksen and Van der Kooij, 1995). After the symposium, further studies in the mentioned fields and other areas were expected to continue (Van der Kooij, 1995:220). The third symposium was held in 2001 and its emphasis was on the use of the Peshitta in literature and liturgy (Ter Haar Romeny, 2006). The critical text of the Peshitta Old Testament Leiden edition as such is currently (during the writing of this thesis) at an advanced stage. At least by the turn of the twenty first century, there had been about thirteen volumes of the Peshitta Leiden critical edition that had been published (Taylor 2000:121-122).

During the same period and up to the present, researchers have responded positively to the need in Peshitta studies, and have focused particularly on the nature of the Old Testament Peshitta text. Several Old Testament Peshitta books have been studied and the results published in monographs, which include Daniel (Taylor 1994), Leviticus (Lane 1994), Samuel (Morrison 2001), 1 Kings (Williams 2001), Jeremiah (Greenberg 2002) and Psalms 90-150 (Carbajosa 2008) – to mention only a few recent examples. There have also been a number of books dedicated to the analysis of the Peshitta translation as a whole, such as the work of Weitzman (1999). These works generally address issues regarding translation techniques or the character of the text within the various Peshitta Old Testament books in relation to their putative Hebrew source. Further, they may focus on the cultural and interpretational aspects that might have affected the translations. The aim of such works is thus to make available possible guidelines to textual criticism by which researchers will be able to work with the Peshitta text – if the Peshitta text indeed should be seen as a useful resource for Old Testament textual criticism.

1.2 IDENTIFIED AREAS OF IMPROVEMENT

In this area of research, several gaps remain that must be attended to. Firstly, a number of Old Testament books in the Peshitta translation still need to be fully characterised and made available for further textual studies. One of these books is

the Peshitta to Ezekiel.¹ The Peshitta to Ezekiel still requires a comprehensive characterisation as such that will pave way for its recommendation or dismissal as an important resource to the study of the textual criticism of the book of Ezekiel (Van Rooy, 2005:396, 399, 402).

Secondly, one concern raises itself from the review of literature on translation technique studies regarding Peshitta Old Testament books carried out thus far. This is whether these findings will be effective and relevant for further Biblical textual studies. What influences effectiveness in most cases is the methodology by which a study is carried out. The prevailing traditional method of studying translation technique in the versions mentioned has been that of comparative analysis. Although the method of comparative analysis has proved quite handy in this field of study, it has struggled to keep up with the developments in the field of linguistics in general, with which studies of translation must be involved. In this regard, there have been especially insightful developments in the area of cognitive linguistics, which are gradually affecting the way in which language is studied and understood. The present study seeks to apply a cognitive linguistic approach, namely Frame Semantics, to improve ways of understanding translation techniques by the Peshitta translators, in this case, the Peshitta to Ezekiel. A detailed discussion on Frame Semantics and how it will be applied to the translation technique study of the Peshitta to Ezekiel will be dealt with in further discussions.

In the light of the foregoing, these two areas of concern; the vacuum in Peshitta to Ezekiel studies and a suitable methodology meet for such a study will occupy us respectively in the following sections.

¹By the expression 'Peshitta to Ezekiel', reference is made, here and elsewhere in the rest of this thesis, to the Peshitta Old Testament translation, specifically in relation to the book of Ezekiel. However, an alternative expression, namely the Peshitta of Ezekiel, may appear in cases of direct quotations.

1.3 RESEARCH ON THE PESHITTA TO EZEKIEL

1.3.1 The State of the text

For an extended period, the views of Cornill (1886), on the nature and value of the Peshitta text to Ezekiel have been the dominant insight in the field. Cornill did not have a high regard for the Peshitta with respect to the textual criticism of Ezekiel. After studying a number of Peshitta texts in his possession, Cornill concluded that the Peshitta to Ezekiel was a free translation, having been produced "with the greatest freedom" from its Hebrew source, with the result that it would be difficult to use this translation for the textual criticism of the Hebrew text of Ezekiel (Cornill, 1886:153). Understandably, Cornill did not possess a critical text of the Peshitta to Ezekiel as such. Instead he used the 1823 edition of Lee's translation, which was a text not meant for scientific purposes but for practical training purposes (Cornill, 1886:139). His study was largely based on the text in the Paris Polyglot by Gabriel Sionita and the London Polyglot, with a focused evaluation on the *Codex Ambrosianus* (7a1)² (Van Rooy, 2007:226).

Apparently, Cornill did not hold the *Codex Ambrosianus* (7a1) in high esteem, viewing it as the worst text type of those Peshitta texts that were available to him at that stage (Cornill 1886:145; Van Rooy 2007:226). The *Codex Ambrosianus* is the manuscript that was eventually adopted as the main text for the Peshitta Institute Leiden edition (Mulder, 1985:vii). On the other hand, the text of the two polyglots Cornill preferred was inferior, since they were based on very late manuscripts (Bloch, 1921:137-138; Brock, 2006:35). Another cause for Cornill's low esteem of the Peshitta text at that time might have been the unavailability of knowledge on the translation technique of the Peshitta to Ezekiel, as Lund (2001) has argued. Cornill's low regard of the Peshitta translation of Ezekiel was adopted by later commentators such as Zimmerli who, in his profound commentary on Ezekiel, also expresses his lack of confidence in the Peshitta's significance as a resource in Old Testament text

² This is a Peshitta Leiden notation for Peshitta manuscripts. In the notation 7a1, the first number indicates the date (that is the century of origin) of the manuscript, the letter in the middle indicates the manuscript category related to whether the manuscript is complete, partial etc., and the third is the serial number within that category (Brock, 2006:35). 7a1 therefore refers to a seventh century manuscript, which is complete, and in particular the one identified with the number '1'.

criticism (Zimmerli, 1979:77). Cooke (1936) as well did not have a high regard for the Peshitta text, having relied on Cornill's evaluation of the version (Cooke, 1936:xl-xli).

The above mentioned unfortunate situation in the studies on Peshitta to Ezekiel did not clearly come to light until the urgent need for a sound and critical text for the studies of Peshitta to Ezekiel emerged. This need, which that had lasted long, was finally met with the publication of a critical text in the Peshitta Institute Leiden edition by Martin Mulder in 1985. In the first Peshitta symposium held in 1985, MJ Mulder (1988) presented a paper in which he showed a surprisingly high regard for the Peshitta with a view to the textual criticism of Ezekiel. Mulder noted that only a few truly essential variants could be useful for the textual criticism of the Hebrew Ezekiel text in the newly published text of the Peshitta to Ezekiel (Mulder, 1988:171). In a publication, after he had made a random investigation of two chapters, Mulder (1988:180) came to the conclusion that:

- The Peshitta of Ezekiel was a literal translation of the Hebrew *text* and it used the Hebrew *text* independently.
- The Hebrew *Vorlage* is often evident even where the Peshitta did not translate literally or *verbatim*.
- The value of the Peshitta for the text critical and exegetical study of the book of Ezekiel exceeds that of the other ancient translations, except for the Septuagint (LXX).

By such an analysis, Mulder (1988:180) implied that scholars need to make a detailed investigation into all of the differences between the Peshitta to Ezekiel and the Masoretic Text (as a text very close to the *Vorlage* of the Peshitta to Ezekiel). He was of the opinion that such an investigation would be useful for the text critical study of Ezekiel. Van Rooy (2005:394-395) generally concurs with Mulder, noting that the Peshitta may contain better readings, which originate from the same tradition as that of the Masoretic Text. Such 'better readings' are mostly to be found in those sections where the Peshitta reading is in agreement with the Septuagint against the Masoretic Text (Van Rooy, 2005:404). It is currently generally agreed that in view of the availability of such a better tool as the critical text of the Peshitta to Ezekiel, this

translation should be re-evaluated. This should be done both regarding the translation technique employed by the translator, as well as the text-critical value that the translation holds for textual studies of the Hebrew Bible (Van Rooy, 2008a:219). Already some attempts in this direction have been made and they will be discussed briefly in the following sections.

1.3.2 Research on the Peshitta to Ezekiel in view of the Peshitta Leiden edition

Having mentioned some of the paradigm shifting works that have taken place in relation to the Peshitta text of Ezekiel, it remains here to take note of other scholarly contributions that have been made, in one way or the other, towards a better understanding of the character of the Peshitta to Ezekiel text and its use for textual criticism of the Hebrew Bible. All the works referred to in this section postdate the time of the publication of the critical text of Ezekiel based on manuscript 7a1 by the Peshitta Leiden Institute (Mulder, 1985).

The difficult state of the text of Ezekiel came under scrutiny in Van Rooy's publication, *A new critical edition of the Hebrew Bible* (2004). With a view to develop a new critical text of Ezekiel for the Oxford Hebrew Bible project, Van Rooy discusses the basic aspects of the nature of the text of Ezekiel. He notes, among other things, the following features: the poor availability of witnesses on Ezekiel from the Qumran scrolls (2004:141); the problematic aspect where a different textual tradition is represented by the Old Greek text in Ezekiel (2004:141-142); and the usefulness of Mulder's Peshitta Leiden critical edition in contributing to a critical edition of the Hebrew Bible, with respect to Ezekiel (2004:142-143).

In his 2005 publication titled, *The Peshitta of Ezekiel and the Septuagint: A study of the two traditions in Ezekiel 1*, Van Rooy (2005) began to demonstrate the importance that the critical text of the Peshitta Leiden edition holds. In this study, Van Rooy among other points, noted that, as far as chapter 1 of Ezekiel is concerned, the Peshitta does not have many variants in the different manuscripts forming part of the critical text (2005:399). He also noted the following facts:

- I. The *Vorlage* used by the Peshitta's translator is fairly close to the MT.
- II. There are some cases in which the Peshitta agrees with the Septuagint and other witnesses against the Masoretic Text, and thus the versions may preserve original readings to be preferred to the Masoretic Text readings in such instances (Van Rooy, 2005:404).
- III. The Peshitta text can for the large part be regarded as a relatively verbatim translation of its *Vorlage*, though there are a number of cases where the Peshitta translates freely, especially in instances where the Masoretic Text displays textual difficulties (Van Rooy, 2005:404).

In 2008, Van Rooy extended a similar study to the first five chapters of Ezekiel in his publication, *Agreement between LXX and Peshitta versus MT in Ezekiel*. Further insight from this publication included the possibility that the LXX influenced the Peshitta, although the cases appear to be few and isolated (Van Rooy 2008a:226-227).

Van Rooy paid closer attention to the translation technique of the Peshitta to Ezekiel in his 2007 publication, *Translation technique and translating a translation, with special reference to Ezekiel 8 – 11*. It emerges from this study that the Peshitta to Ezekiel may be an intelligible, idiomatic translation that is bent on conveying the content of the Hebrew as faithfully as possible. In achieving this goal the translator could alter the word-order of sentence components, add or omit some elements, and simplify difficult constructions and terms in his source text (Van Rooy, 2007:235-236).

In his 2008 publication, *The minor versions and the text of Ezekiel*, Van Rooy (2008b:493) noted that scholars who are attempting to propose a reconstructed older form of the text of Ezekiel than the one contained in the Masoretic Text, face a problem of securing the proper text critical resources. As previously mentioned, Van Rooy (2008b:493) notes that the text of the Septuagint, normally an important early witness to the Hebrew text, frequently represents a different textual tradition to the one contained in the Masoretic Text. As a result, the Septuagint cannot often be used in the reconstruction of a text tradition underlying the Masoretic Text in Ezekiel.

In such a situation minor versions such as the Peshitta and the Vulgate become of prime importance. In the particular study mentioned here, which focused on the first five chapters of Ezekiel, Van Rooy has especially indicated that the Peshitta might contain some readings preferable to those in the Masoretic Text (2008b:506). Included in this study as well, were some observations on particular translation techniques employed by the Peshitta translator, such as free rendering of the source text (Van Rooy, 2008:499) and the use of similar sounding words in the target text to resolve difficult expressions in the Hebrew source text (Van Rooy, 2008b:503).

Van Rooy later undertook a thorough study on the treatment of *hapax legomena* (words occurring once in the Hebrew Bible) by the versions in relation to Ezekiel in an article titled *Hapax legomena in Ezekiel* (Van Rooy, 2009). He noted a varied treatment of the *hapax legomena* in both the Septuagint and the Peshitta, observing that in many instances, the versions had no difficulty in understanding the *hapax legomena*. Where there seems to be a textual problem or where the translators were unaware of the meaning of the word, they would often resort to a contextual interpretation (2009:279). In addition, Van Rooy (2009:279) noted that the Peshitta did not consult the Septuagint in many of those problematic instances. This last observation is indeed an important finding as far as the relation between the Peshitta to Ezekiel and the Septuagint Ezekiel version are concerned. It helps provide insight into the translation technique the Peshitta translator followed with respect to the Septuagint version.

In his 2001 publication, *Converse translation in Peshitta Ezekiel*, Jerome Lund launched a spirited rebuttal of Cornill's low esteem of the Peshitta to Ezekiel, expressed in Cornill's commentary, *Das Buch des Propheten Ezechiel* (1888). In doing so, Lund addressed the aspects of converse translation in the Peshitta to Ezekiel, citing that translators of the Aramaic versions often transformed a Hebrew rhetorical question into a declarative statement in their translations. Such a technique was apparently employed by the translator of the Peshitta to Ezekiel version as well. Further, Lund noted, apart from attributing Cornill's controversial conclusions to the poor quality of the Peshitta text he had used, that other issues might be at play. He points out that in sections where the Peshitta to Ezekiel has a reading different from the Masoretic Text, that reading could be the result of

contextual exegesis and / or harmonisation in the face of difficulties found in the source text of the translator. The possibility that the translator might have employed a *Vorlage* variant to the extant Masoretic Text should also be taken into consideration (Lund, 2001).

With regard to studies on the Peshitta to Ezekiel, the present author is able to refer to two works at the level of post-graduate studies. Azevedo, completed his doctoral dissertation in 1999 titled, *The Textual relation of the Peshitta of Ezek 1 –12 to MT and to the Ancient Versions (Tgⁱ and LXX)*. He noted that the Peshitta to Ezekiel was based on a Hebrew text similar to that of the Masoretic Text. Azevedo concluded that the Peshitta was not influenced by any other version, and thus could be a valuable witness to the Hebrew text of Ezekiel (Azevedo, 1999).

The second work is an MA dissertation completed by the present author in 2008, titled, *Translation technique in Peshitta Ezekiel 8-11 and its value for the text of Ezekiel*. In this work, the researcher contends that the text of the Peshitta to Ezekiel 8-11 is fairly literal in terms of word-for-word translation (i.e. grammatical, lexical and syntactical aspects), but quite literal in terms of conforming to the sense, meaning and general sentence-structure of the Hebrew text. Furthermore, the author found it doubtful whether the Peshitta's translator was influenced by the Septuagint, or any other version (Mushayabasa, 2008:vii).

The foregoing are some of the important studies already done on Ezekiel that are directly concerned with the Peshitta translation of Ezekiel, its character and relevance to textual criticism of the Hebrew text of Ezekiel. There certainly are a number of other works not directly concerned with this topic, which may yet shed some light on the subject.³ Some of these sources will be mentioned elsewhere in the course of the present study according to the requirement of the topic at hand.

³ One may perhaps want to take note at this stage of works from M P Weitzman, *The Syriac version of the Old Testament* (1999), and the Hebrew University Bible project (HUB), on *The Book of Ezekiel*, under the editorial guidance of M H Goshen-Gottstein and S Talmon (2004), henceforth referred to as HUB (2004).

1.3.3 Research on the Peshitta to Ezekiel still to be done

As may be learned from the above mentioned anthology of studies on the Peshitta to Ezekiel, current scholarship has a reasonable knowledge of the nature of the text of the book, its reliability and translation technique used – at least on the first chapters of the translation. The observed techniques cannot be described objectively in a few simple words, since note has to be taken of a rich and varied number of characteristics that are evident in this translation. It is encouraging, though, that the results of studies on the topic thus far tend to agree in most aspects. This situation makes it possible to build on the previous studies.

In the meantime, a large part of the book still remains to be studied. To date (2013), the furthest that any detailed study of translation technique in the Peshitta to Ezekiel went is the twelfth chapter. In order to trace more convincing characterisations of the translation, the rest of the book of the Peshitta to Ezekiel needs to be studied. Indeed, studies are required at larger scales than have been undertaken thus far. The present study will therefore be focusing on addressing this need, at least in part, and so aim to contribute to the knowledge on the nature of the text of the Peshitta to Ezekiel.

1.4 A SUITABLE METHODOLOGY

After several studies on a number of Peshitta books of the OT, one of the commonly agreed findings was that the Peshitta translators wanted to achieve a sensible translation into Syriac, with the result that the resultant translation was idiomatic in character (Carbajosa 2008:72, 381; Dirksen 1992:390; Weitzman 1999:27, 61-62). Other similar characterisations of the Peshitta include the following: the Peshitta translation respects the rules of Syriac syntax and thus delivers clear and correct Syriac (Carbajosa, 2008:38, 72; Weitzman 1999:61); it is a comprehensible final text that focuses on *meaning* (Greenberg 2002:31).⁴ Similarly, Taylor (1994:319-320) remarks that the Peshitta to Daniel version is “a carefully executed and idiomatic translation, faithful to its *Vorlage*, while at the same time maintaining in Syriac a high standard of pleasing literary achievement”. Similar observations seem to be

⁴ Emphasis is that of the author.

emerging from the studies on translation techniques carried out on the book of Ezekiel thus far.⁵

On the other hand, more or less the same authors have highlighted the fact that Syriac has been found rather wanting in terms of following its Hebrew source in formal aspects, such as grammar, syntax and morphology (cf. Weitzman, 1999:25-26; Carbajosa, 2008:72, 381). Therefore it became evident that the Syriac translators were not concerned primarily with following the grammatical structure and syntax of their Hebrew source (Carbajosa 2008:381-82). Their main interest was rather to render the meaning of the text as naturally as possible into Syriac.

The approach in studying translation technique has been dominated by the comparative method of grammatical elements, which seems to be focused largely, on syntactical structure and form. Even while analysing semantic correspondences, scholars tend to be influenced to a great extent by the lexical forms in their analyses, rather than by the pure aspects of the meaning of texts.⁶ With respect to syntax, there have been more detailed studies on some Peshitta books by, for example Van Peursen (2007) and Williams (2001). Useful conclusions indeed have come from such works, although their incorporation into the whole corpus of studies on Peshitta translation techniques has been slow in forthcoming.

Concerning the semantic aspects of the Peshitta translation, there is, according to the researcher's knowledge, no major works or studies that have been produced yet. Nevertheless, semantics has become an indispensable aspect of studies in translation technique. This is in view of the highlighted findings above on the nature of the translation technique, which is evident in the Syriac text. It therefore becomes clear that scholars should pay greater attention to this aspect if they want to make any further headway in Peshitta research.

⁵ Reference is made here to the previous section concerning the studies on the Peshitta to Ezekiel that have taken place thus far.

⁶ See for example, Carbajosa (2008:72).

An important related motive behind the introduction of methodology that takes into account aspects of semantics in Peshitta studies is the view that Syriac should be considered an independent language before it can be compared critically with the Hebrew text. While Syriac is in all respects a Semitic language related to Hebrew, it is by no means the same as Hebrew. Present studies in the translation technique of the Peshitta often reflect this faulty assumption. With regard to this point, one perhaps may refer to Lund's criticism on Cornill's failure in perceiving the tendency to convert rhetorical questions in the Hebrew text into declarative sentences in the Syriac text (Lund, 2001). Apart from such oversights, the intention by scholars such as Cornill would indeed be vindicated, since in translation technique studies, one of the desired goals is to lay a framework to help find the source text exactly as it lay before the translator.

Studies on translation techniques may therefore lead to an unduly high critical demand on target texts. In the case of Syriac, Syriac syntax, grammar and semantics are demanded to match similar elements of the 'superior' Hebrew. There appears to be ignorance to the fact that although Syriac is a Semitic language, it is nonetheless in many respects independent from the Hebrew, with significantly different syntactical rules, which the translators of the Peshitta have battled to preserve in their translation. From the results of studies on the Peshitta mentioned above, it can be deduced that the translator made his translation within the given frame of the language system of his target language (Van Peursen 2007:150). Such a description of the translation provides good reason to apply a Frame Semantics approach as one of the best approaches to study translation techniques in the Peshitta text.

In view of the problem mentioned above, the question to be answered is, how can one fully and fairly understand and represent the semantic character of the Peshitta to Ezekiel in relation to its Hebrew source? In other words, since the translator focuses on a sensible (idiomatic) translation, how does he / she actually maintain consistency of equivalencies in pursuing a clear and sensible translation, if at all? And in addition: is one able to use these perceived senses in Syriac to reconstruct the original words and syntactical structures in Hebrew? The present study intends to answer these and related questions by proposing the use of a comparative

approach that takes into account the theoretical constructs of Frame Semantics. The resultant enriched approach should be useful for the study of the translation technique in versions such as the Peshitta to Ezekiel, in the case at present.

1.4.1 A comparative methodology that incorporates Frame Semantics

While the detailed discussions on the subject of Frame Semantics and its application to studies on translation techniques will only be introduced in the second chapter of the present study, it is nevertheless important to provide an overview at this stage. In this regard, the following sections will provide a broad outline of the methodology followed in this study: firstly, on what Frame Semantics is all about; and secondly, how it is intended to incorporate this method in the studies of translation technique regarding the Peshitta to Ezekiel.

1.4.1.1 An overview of Frame Semantics

A *frame* is any system of concepts related in such a way that to understand any one concept (word), it is necessary to understand the entire system of use in speech related to that word. In this sense, by introducing any one concept all other related concepts become available (Petrucci, 1996:1). Words and grammatical constructions are relativized to frames, which means that the meaning associated with a particular word (or a grammatical construction) cannot be understood outside of the frame with which it is associated (Evans and Green 2006:222). A familiar example of a frame in Frame Semantics is the COMMERCIAL EVENT frame where the mention of a verb like *buy* evokes other words, such as *cost*, *money*, *seller*, *goods*, *change*, *pay* and other related terms. In other words, the verb *buy* evokes an event (or a sub-frame) in which a *buyer* gives *money* to a *seller* in exchange for some *goods* (Gawron 2008:9; cf. Evans and Green 2006:225). Following this way of thinking, cognitive linguists claim that humans schematise experience (a knowledge structure) into frames such as the COMMERCIAL EVENT frame, MOTION frame, and the WEDDING event frame (cf. Evans and Green 2006:222).

The term *Frame Semantics*⁷ is a theoretical construct in cognitive linguistics, which focuses on lexical semantics. Hamm (2007:1) aptly states that the term refers to a wide variety of approaches regarding the systematic description of natural language meanings. These approaches are based on the slogan, 'meanings are relativized to scenes' Hamm (2007:1). Thus, meanings have an internal structure which is relative to a background scene or frame. A frame normally defines the relationship between syntax and semantics that are involved in the concept. Since Frame Semantics normally includes syntactic, and to some extent grammatical aspects as well, it promises to provide an all-round tool to analyse a translation.

1.4.1.2 Projected ways in which Frame Semantics can be used in translation technique studies

Frame Semantics will be used in the present study to analyse frames in the Hebrew text and to investigate how those frames were understood and translated (mapped) in the target Syriac language. Such a study involves the systematic task of analysing the frames of words thoroughly and assessing how such frames were interpreted and translated by the Syriac translator. In such a process, the element of consistency will play a major role, though mainly at the level of frame to frame relations. Furthermore, naturally, translation aspects, such as additions, omissions, extrapolations, and other translation techniques, will become apparent within the context of frames.

The focus in this study regarding Frame Semantics will then shift to those cases in which we find (frame semantic) differences, and have to suggest an explanation for them. For example, it is possible that the identified differences between the Syriac and the Hebrew text will provide clues on the identity of particular characteristic

⁷ These theoretical constructs of Frame Semantics are being applied in the Berkeley FrameNet Project, an online lexical resource for contemporary English, based on Frame Semantics and supported by corpus evidence. One assumption in this project is that the frames in the FrameNet hierarchy represent conceptual structure and not just a structured organisation of the lexicon of English. This working hypothesis has inspired the development of FrameNet projects for languages other than English, which necessarily also includes fine-grained, cross-linguistic semantic analyses of different areas of the lexicon (Petruck, 2008).

scenarios in which Syriac and Hebrew idiom differs. These differences may also lead to the formulation of theoretical, empirically based guidelines. Such guidelines could help identify typical characteristic cases in any given Peshitta's Ezekiel text, as well as explicate those differences. On the whole, using Frame Semantics as a comparative tool within text-critical comparative studies will enable this study to define the translation technique, which the Peshitta-Ezekiel translator apparently employed. This would be done from the perspective of an existing frame-to-frame semantic relationship between the Syriac and Hebrew texts.

1.5 RESEARCH QUESTION

Having considered the gaps detailed above on the Peshitta Old Testament research, the main research question for the present study may be formulated as follows:

What is the character of the Peshitta's Ezekiel translation and its relevance for textual criticism of Ezekiel when, by applying the Frame Semantics approach, we have to take into consideration the linguistic idiomatic differences in language between the putative Hebrew source text and its target text of Peshitta to Ezekiel?

This research question can be fanned out into the following three secondary questions:

- How can the theory of Frame Semantics be applied validly to characterise the translation technique of a version such as the Peshitta to Ezekiel in view of its idiomatic character?
- Which character of the Peshitta's Ezekiel version emerges from a translation technique study of Ezekiel that takes into consideration the linguistic aspects of Frame Semantics?
- What contribution does the theory of Frame Semantics make in the studies of ancient translations such as the Peshitta to Ezekiel?

1.6 SCOPE OF STUDY IN EZEKIEL

A part of this thesis (in which Frame Semantics is applied to studies on the Peshitta translation technique) has a unique character. In the light of this a detailed study will only be possible on a section of the book of Ezekiel. Simultaneously, the nature of this study is such that it requires a fairly large pool of data to establish trends and behaviour, and therefore a large section of the book of Ezekiel would need to be studied. In any case, as mentioned earlier, a larger section of the book needs to be studied in order to render a more complete characterisation of the Peshitta to Ezekiel. Considering these factors, it is an effective strategy to conduct a detailed study of Ezekiel 1-24. This demarcation of Ezekiel is ideal for two reasons. Firstly, it incorporates the first half of Ezekiel in terms of the total chapters. Secondly, it marks the first section of the book in terms of the thematic set up of Ezekiel, where the first 24 chapters are focused exclusively on Israel (Hill and Walton, 2000:444-446). References in this thesis may occasionally also be made to the rest of the book, if needed.

1.7 RESEARCH AIM AND OBJECTIVES

1.7.1 Aim

The central aim of this study is to establish the translation technique of the Peshitta to Ezekiel. This will be done by incorporating the theory of Frame Semantics in the method of analysis, in order to take into consideration the natural idiomatic differences of language between the putative Hebrew source and the target Syriac text.

1.7.2 Specific objectives

The following objectives further elucidate the main aim of the study:

- Undertake a critical comparative study of the Peshitta to Ezekiel text (from chapter 1 to 24).⁸ This text-critical study will involve Syriac, Hebrew, Greek, and Aramaic (Targum) texts. The differences between the Masoretic Text, the Peshitta to Ezekiel text and the Septuagint will be noted and recorded in a separate critical text. Readings from the Targum Jonathan's version of Ezekiel may also be consulted, though not consistently. This critical text will not be shown in the thesis itself. The critical text will be used as a source of data for discussion on specific translation techniques that will be identified during the course of the study.
- Establish a nuanced methodological approach for a study on translation technique, which involves a frame-to-frame comparative analysis between the Syriac and the Hebrew (and at times including versions such as the Septuagint and the Targum).
- Apply the theory of Frame Semantics in analysing the translation technique. This is done by identifying in the process, successful and unsuccessful mappings, and consistencies and / or inconsistencies, in the way the Peshitta to Ezekiel's translator mapped frames from the Hebrew source text into the Syriac target text.
- To analyse other translation linguistic features between the texts involved in relation to which the Frame Semantics approach may not be applicable as a study tool.
- Make a tentative analysis on the Hebrew *Vorlage* of the Peshitta to Ezekiel 1-24 and review the contribution of the Peshitta to Ezekiel in textual criticism of the Hebrew Bible.

⁸ Hereafter, the study range will be identified as 'Ezekiel chapters 1- 24'.

1.8 CENTRAL THEORETICAL ARGUMENT

The Peshitta translation to Ezekiel was made approximately at the level of semantic frames. In this regard, a translation technique study of the Peshitta to Ezekiel 1-24, that takes into consideration the conceptual frames involved, will result in a description of the Peshitta to Ezekiel's translation technique that faithfully represents how the translator produced his translation. Such a translation technique is then expected to be an effective tool for the textual studies of the Hebrew text of Ezekiel in future endeavours.

1.9 STRUCTURE OF THE STUDY

The present study will be structured into six chapters, focusing on the various topics to be investigated and discussed as the study progresses. This will be done mainly in the form of a logical discourse, which leads to specific conclusions at the end of each chapter. This **first chapter** introduces the study topic, with some detail as to its context, relevance, and guidelines to be followed in the rest of the study.

The **second chapter** aims to lay the basis for a relevant methodological approach to the study. A lot of space will be utilised to introduce certain facets of cognitive linguistics that will enable a reader, who is unfamiliar with the subject to grasp the basics. The discussion centres mainly on the use of the theoretical constructs of Frame Semantics as a tool that may be useful in comparative studies of ancient text versions. It should be noted that the discussion in this chapter will not focus extensively on the detailed manner in which this method will be applied to specific cases. Such in-depth analysis is reserved mainly for the third chapter, and to a lesser extent, subsequent chapters. Such a *modus operandi* is preferred here, since the application of this method would be easier to follow where the finer details of the approach are explained as they are simultaneously applied to specific cases.

The **third chapter** concerns the first study on the translation technique of semantic frames by applying Frame Semantics to Ezekiel 1-24. The focus is on the Hebrew

lexical unit נָתַן.v and all its derived frames, as well as on the matter in which the frames evoked by the verb were mapped into the Syriac target text.

The **fourth chapter** focuses on the Hebrew lexical unit אָבַח.v, a verb of motion, and on its associated frames. Again this chapter studies how the Hebrew frames associated with the verb were mapped by the Peshitta translator into the Syriac target text.

The **fifth chapter** shifts the focus to the application of the Frame Semantics approach to study translation techniques with nominal categories in view. The challenge in this chapter is on how to adapt the initial methodology that was detailed in the second, third and fourth chapters. The methodology will be adapted to study different word categories, such as nouns, adjectives and adverbs.

The **sixth chapter** attempts to draw the conclusions from the rest of the study, form a coherent picture of an emerging translation technique in the Peshitta to Ezekiel. In addition, in view of the findings, the value of the translation is discussed together with the value of the method of analysis followed in this study. Indications will also be made on further directions that studies on Peshitta to Ezekiel could explore.

CHAPTER 2

METHODOLOGY

2.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter provides an outline of the methodology followed in the study to investigate the translation technique in the Peshitta to Ezekiel 1-24. The chapter will be presented in the following format:

- I. A broad analysis of methodology in studies on translation technique to date, which are related to the Peshitta.
- II. Defining and understanding Frame Semantics.
- III. Frame Semantics as a linguistic methodological approach to the study of the translation technique employed in the Peshitta to Ezekiel.
- IV. Research design.
- V. Study tools and texts.

2.2 STATE OF THE ART: METHODS OF APPROACH IN TRANSLATION TECHNIQUE STUDIES

The primary method used in cross-linguistic studies, such as translation technique and text critical studies of the Ancient Versions, can be identified as the comparative study of texts or languages.⁹ This comparative study of texts or languages belongs to the field of linguistics known as Contrastive Linguistics and is applied mainly to the discipline of bilingual lexicography (Hartmann, 1991:2 854; Bennett, 1998:3). Contrastive Linguistics involves the practice known as 'contrastive analysis'. Hartmann (1991:2854) defines contrastive analysis as the process of studying, identifying and analysing similarities and differences between any two languages (or language sub-systems). Within the varied discipline of Contrastive Linguistics,

⁹ Also known as Comparative Philology (King and Cookson, 1890:1).

contrastive analysis is also used to analyse the processes of translation and interpretation (Hartmann, 1991:2855). This approach in Contrastive Linguistics (approx. 100 years old) can be carried out in many different ways, depending mainly on aspects such as time, place, and subject matter. With the lack of any specific theoretical approach as hinted by Hartmann (1991:2855), contrastive analysis is also applied in studies on translation technique. Within the field of translation technique studies, contrastive analysis would entail comparing any two texts with regard to textually and linguistically related aspects. Analysis of the similarities and differences relating to the two languages are then made, which lead to various conclusions, depending on the aim of the study.

Many students undertake the study of translation techniques in Ancient Versions, such as the Peshitta, the Greek and Hebrew texts, without necessarily mentioning that they are doing so from a comparative methodological approach, with in particular involves the process of contrastive analysis (e.g., Carbajosa [2008], Szpek [1992], Greenberg [2002]). Certainly, the comparative approach is an indispensable tool in the case where two or more texts have to be compared. The present study falls into the same context of these studies. In particular, the approach followed in this study will be anchored within the comparative methodological approach of textual studies, involving at least the Peshitta translation and its purported Hebrew *Vorlage*. Therefore, an important step in the present study will be a systematic contrastive analysis of linguistic elements between the purported Hebrew source text and the Syriac target text.

The preliminary stage in such a systematic contrastive analysis of the translations involved forms part of what may be called the 'data-gathering process'. This preliminary stage basically involves the setting of the texts concerned parallel to each other so that a comparison easily can be made, preferably at the level of verses. This stage may further involve aspects of textual criticism in order to establish the reliable versions of the source and target texts, since the available content might be copies. In the following secondary stages, the gathered data must be collated, compared and analysed. This should be done by using at least one theoretical viewpoint of language and / or translation, thus finally leading to a specific interpretation and specific conclusions about the translation techniques the

translator(s) employed. Such theoretical viewpoints or methodological approaches on language and translation have received little attention in the past, particularly in relation to the Ancient Versions. Following this realisation, the process of determining and concretely laying down a particular viewpoint on language and translation for the present study will become the subject of discussion from here on.

Within the field of Ancient Versions, such a data-analysis has been mainly in the form of comparing linguistic components of the grammar (in most of its facets) of the languages concerned. Thus similarities and differences are identified in such aspects as lexical semantics, word order, syntax, and the internal and external influences in a translation. Certainly for most of these aspects, mere observation of the relationships is sufficient to produce a balanced evaluation on the relationship between a translation and its source text. On the other hand, the difficulties experienced in comparing two different languages in holistic and systematic ways, continue to be a challenge within this discipline.

To help counter these difficulties, computer-assisted analyses are being introduced for the comparison of ancient texts. Such methods tend to add some degree of speed, precision and objectivity to the comparison. In the field of Peshitta Studies, currently there is the on-going Computer-Assisted Linguistic Analysis of the Peshitta (CALAP)¹⁰ project, which aims to produce a Hebrew and Syriac textual database. This database will make it possible to compare the respective linguistic formats of the two languages, thus significantly help to analyse the translation technique used in the Peshitta texts in relation to their source texts (van Peursen, 2006:3-4, 62). Until the time when such a tool will be available, the main means of analysing translation technique in the Peshitta will be by a manual analysis. The present study will also involve the manual analysis of collected and collated data. It is therefore expected that the present study will contribute to computer projects similar to CALAP in developing a most effective database for analysing the translation technique of the Peshitta.

¹⁰ CALAP is a joint research project of the Peshitta Institute Leiden (PIL) and *Werkgroep Informatica Vrije Universiteit* (WIVU). This project is mainly focused on the Peshitta (Old Testament) especially in regard to its character as a translation and its textual transmission (cf. van Peursen (2006:1).

One significant contribution to the development of systematic (manual) tools to evaluate translation technique was proposed by Szpek (1992) as part of her doctoral thesis. Szpek (1992) proposed a procedure whereby an element of translation (i.e., a linguistic element such as grammar, or semantics) is identified in a text and analysed for any adjustment (difference from the source text). A motivation is then given for the adjustment and finally it is determined what effect the adjustment had on the meaning (Szpek, 1992:13-16). The following figure (Fig 2.1) is an adapted presentation of Szpek's model of analysis on translation technique (Szpek, 1992:15):

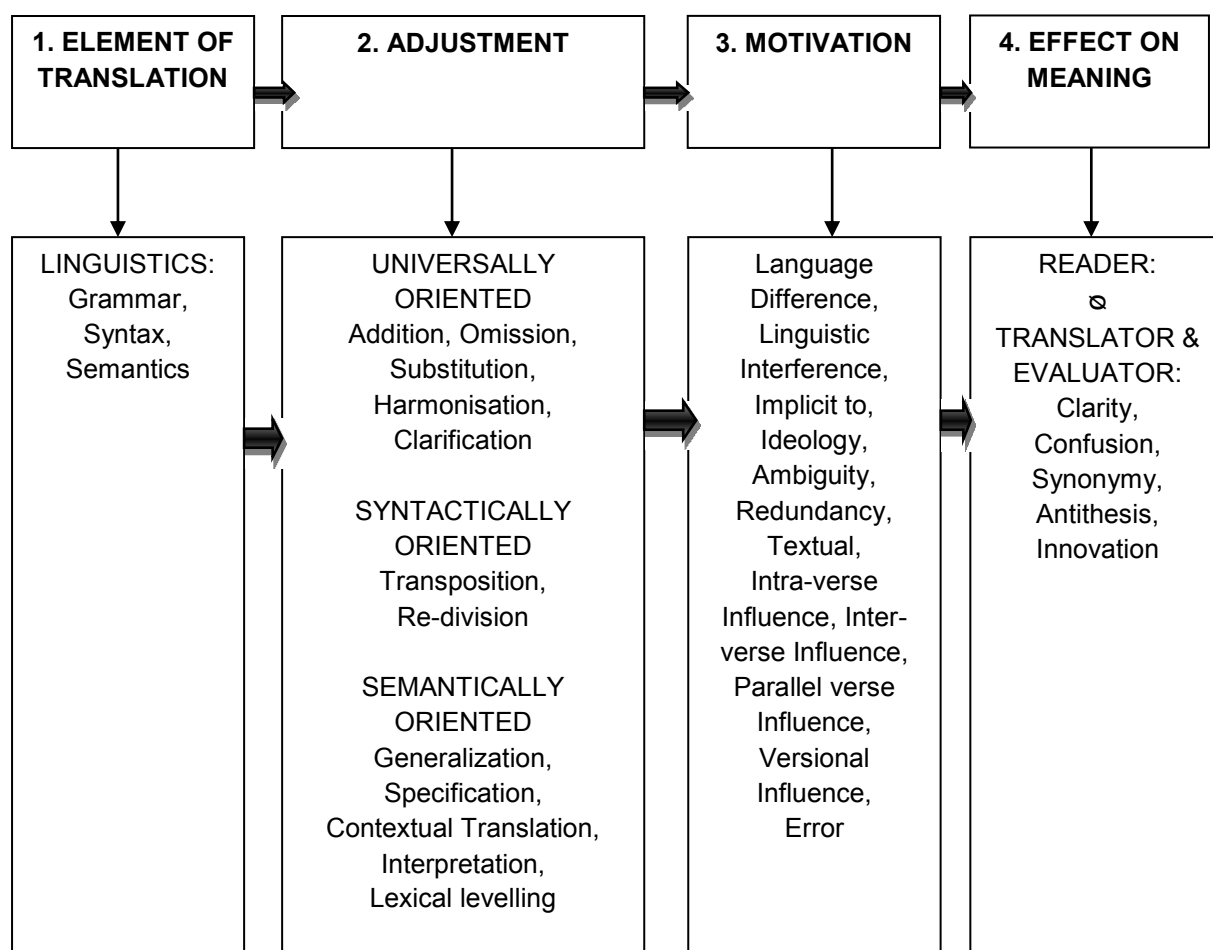


Fig 2.1
A summarised presentation of H. Szpek's model of translation technique

In a certain sense, Szpek's model is a representation of the comparative approach within the field of the study of Ancient Versions, particularly the Peshitta. Among many, it is Szpek perhaps, who has presented in a very clear form the systematic analysis of an ancient translation in respect to linguistic elements of grammar, syntax and semantics. From this followed the widespread positive comments on the model from a wide spectrum of reviewers on Szpek's work, such as Taylor (1996:342-343), Lund (1994:328-330) and Mathews Jr (1994:343-344).

Linguistically, it appears that Szpek's model represents the typical 'formal' linguistics approach to the study of natural language. Such an approach tends to separate the language faculty into distinct areas such as phonology, semantics, pragmatics, morphology and syntax (Evans, Bergen and Zinken, 2007:2).¹¹ One may get an

¹¹ See the section on Cognitive Linguistics and Cognitive Semantics below.

impression Szpek's model reflects such a view of language. In contrast, the cognitive linguistic approach offers an approach which tends to emphasise the general principles applying to all aspects of human language, rather than to the modular aspects of language (Evans, Bergen and Zinken, 2007:3-4).

The modular, formal linguistics approach to the study of language as apparent in Szpek's model, is useful for the study of translation technique and should not be dispensed with too readily (Evans, Bergen and Zinken, 2007:4). However, the linguistic approach which the present study will follow is that of Cognitive Semantics. This is understood as an improvement on Szpek's approach, and thereby a new development within studies on translation techniques used in Ancient Versions. The rationale for such an approach is the following: since the Peshitta translation of the OT¹² is mostly characterised as an idiomatic translation, Frame Semantics – which is part of Cognitive Semantics – becomes a more suitable way to understand the character of the Peshitta translation (see chapter 1).

With respect to the study of translation technique, one important element, the consistency of equivalences, appears to have been underplayed conspicuously in Szpek's model. Though this aspect features implicitly in her discussions and conclusions,¹³ it is not quite apparent that it influences the interpretation of the data collected and thus the characterisation of the Peshitta to Job translation in Szpek's thesis. Consistency of equivalences (whether at the lexical, syntactic or semantic level) is of cardinal value, in that it is one of the aspects that provide a window into the technique used by the translator. Consistency or *systematicity*¹⁴ enables an evaluator to identify tendencies, or recurrent features, in the text of the translation. These are then identified as general overarching features, and thus characteristics of the translation (e.g. see Carbajosa [2008:15, 55]).

¹² That is, the Old Testament.

¹³ See for example, Szpek (1992:65, 260-272).

¹⁴ Cf. Carbajosa (2008:55).

With regard to Szpek's model, the aspect of consistent equivalencies would primarily be well suited for discussion on stage 2 of the figure above.¹⁵ In this case it would be appropriate to establish whether the adjustment in question was done intentionally or unintentionally, and whether it was applied consistently or inconsistently in the text range under consideration. As was mentioned in the introduction to this study (chapter 1) and in a recently published article (Mushayabasa, 2012), the theory of Frame Semantics may provide the key to analyse translation techniques. In this regard, the theory may, among many other advantages, provide an effective way to analyse the consistency of equivalences in a translation that considers both the lexical and semantic aspects in relation to its source, and thereby provide a more informed view of the character of such a translation.

Furthermore, as also discussed in chapter 1 (section 1.4), Frame Semantics appears to provide the best solution to analyse a translation widely acknowledged to be focused on meaning, and is presented in an idiomatic in style. The results from previous research¹⁶ indicate that the Peshitta translator focused on the sense of what he was translating. In light of this, it is argued in the present study that this meaning is linked to the structure of sensible units of text, rather than for instance individual words, word classes, lexical forms and grammatical elements. It is these sensible units of text that the present study argues to be equivalent to frames, where a 'frame' is understood from the perspective of the theory of Frame Semantics.¹⁷ The comparative textual studies in the present study will therefore be undertaken by using the methodological approach akin to Frame Semantics. This method of scientific enquiry in the field of translation technique is relatively new, as is Cognitive Linguistics' view of language as such to the field of Linguistics. The following pages will therefore explicate the view of language comprised in Frame Semantics and how such a view of language can be employed as a method in the study of the translation technique in Peshitta's rendition of Ezekiel.

¹⁵ See Fig 2.1 above.

¹⁶ See section 1.4.

¹⁷ See the central theoretical argument of the present study in section 1.8.

2.3 DEFINING AND UNDERSTANDING FRAME SEMANTICS

Frame Semantics was mainly advanced by Charles Fillmore in a series of publications between 1975 and 1992. Within the study of linguistics, Fillmore (1982b:238) defines the term 'frame' as any system of concepts related in such a way that to understand any one of those concepts, one has to understand the whole structure in which that particular concept fits. When one of the elements in such a structure is introduced into a text or into a conversation, all of the other elements are made available automatically. For example, the introduction of the concept FLY into a conversation may easily cause a listener in that conversation to recall an 'event' whereby a traveller uses an aeroplane to travel between two distant locations geographically. Such an event may of course include many other aspects, such as ticket booking, departure time and location or arrival time and destination. Fillmore (1982b:238) uses the term 'frame' as a general cover-term for the set of concepts in the natural language studies known by various names such as 'schema', 'script', 'scenario', 'ideational scaffolding', 'cognitive model', or 'folk theory'. A more technical definition is offered by Kövecses (2006:64), who explains that a 'frame' is a structured mental representation of a conceptual category.

It is important to acknowledge that there is both a semantic aspect, as well as a grammatical aspect, to the approach known as Frame Semantics. This study field was developed from Fillmore's research on Case Grammar in the 1960's and it continued to develop in association with other work on Construction Grammar. A related theory to that of Frame Semantics, the theory of Domains, developed by Langacker (quoted by Evans and Green, 2006:206) was also used to provide the semantic basis for his theory of Cognitive Grammar. In fact, the grammatical aspect in Frame Semantics is quite apparent in the definition given by Evans and Green (2006:222) for the concept 'semantic frame'. A semantic frame is a schematisation of experience, or a schematisation of a knowledge structure, represented at the conceptual level and held in long-term memory. In Frame Semantics, it is not words alone that are said to belong to specific frames, but grammatical constructions as well (Evans and Green, 2006:222).

To summarise on the involvement of both the grammatical and semantic aspects in Frame Semantics, one may put it this way: Frame Semantics studies a complex system of concepts evoked by a word. Therefore the interrelations between the various concepts, which make up an event, are important and require a form of grammatical relationship to be understood between them. On the other hand, the fact that a word or lexical unit is the one that primarily calls up such a system of concepts, that individual word's semantic structure is also of interest in Frame Semantics. Admittedly, it is quite difficult to make any sharp distinction between semantic aspects and grammatical aspects in Frame Semantics, just as in the case of Cognitive Linguistics in general (Evans and Green, 2006:193). Thus although involving elements of both types of studies, Frame Semantics is neither strictly focused on semantic studies nor on grammatical studies.

According to Fillmore (1982b:238), Frame Semantics is not necessarily separated from the work and results in formal semantics. However, it differs significantly from formal semantics in emphasising the continuities between language and experience.¹⁸ As mentioned earlier, an important assumption in Fillmore's theory of Frame Semantics is that 'words represent categorizations of experience' (1982b:238). Fillmore (1982b:242-243) further points out that word meanings are rather structured by the culturally embedded scene(s) which they evoke. Word meanings are thus ultimately based on experience. Therefore the various categories of human experience, such as the air travel event, the commercial event, marriage event, or the game event, give structure to word-meanings in a specific culture. A word cannot be understood independently of the frame with which it is associated (Evans, Bergen and Zinken, 2007:12). It is these categories of human experience that are then referred to as 'frames'. The "lexical and grammatical material existing in the text may be said to 'evoke' the relevant frames in the mind of the interpreter, since these lexical forms or grammatical categories exist in the natural language as indices of the frames" (Fillmore, 1982b:249).

In the case of translation, there is a somewhat elongated process in that the translator aims to represent an evoked frame from the source language in the words

¹⁸ Cf. Petruck (1996:1).

of a second language (say Syriac) in such a manner that the words in his target translation (Syriac) can be said to evoke the same frame that was raised by the words that lay in his source text.¹⁹ This process constitutes a major aspect of what may be referred to as Bilingual Frame Semantics (Fung and Chen, 2006:239-240). Fillmore (1982b:124) also speaks of an interpreter being able to 'invoke'²⁰ a frame not necessarily plain in the lexical and grammatical categories of the text, but tied to the text from a cultural point of view. He further postulates that a text may contain cultural cues, which can only be interpreted validly by that reader who is familiar with the cultural practices (or frames) to which the cues refer. Thus some frames may not be accessible to someone who is not familiar with the culture concerned.²¹

One avenue through which theorists of Frame Semantics succeed in putting across the theory and concepts of Frame Semantics is by the use of examples, a technique that may be emulated here. A commonly cited example in the introduction to Frame Semantics is the frame of the COMMERCIAL TRANSACTION, whose 'frame elements' include the buyer, the seller, goods, the price and money. A large set of semantically related verbs are applicable to this frame, such as *buy*, *sell*, *pay*, *spend*, *charge*, each of which profiles different aspects of the said frame. Thus the verb 'buy' focuses on the buyer and the goods by back-grounding the seller and the money; 'sell' focuses on the seller and the goods by back-grounding the buyer and the money (Petruck, 1996:2).²² This focusing on the different aspects of the frame is referred to as *profiling* (Kövecses, 2006:67). In order to understand the meaning of each verb, one then needs to understand the particular aspects of the COMMERCIAL TRANSACTION frame that the verb profiles. In other words, one needs to be able to

¹⁹ Naturally, this is a very simplified case.

²⁰ The word 'invoke' in this case is used by Fillmore to refer to an interpreter's reference to an appropriate cultural context or practice to which certain wording (acting more as a cultural symbol than a linguistic element) in a speech context may refer (1982b:249). This can be differentiated from his use of the word 'evoke' by which he refers to the tendency of lexical and grammatical elements in speech to refer to or index certain linguistic frames, perhaps following general conceptual structure of language (Fillmore, 1982b:249).

²¹ Cf. Fillmore's example of a Japanese practice to begin a Japanese personal letter (1982b:249).

²² See also Kövecses (2006:73).

determine the elements of a frame which the verb brings to the foreground (subject / object) and which it back-grounds.

2.3.1 Other concepts related to the theory of Frame Semantics

2.3.1.1 *Cognitive Linguistics and Cognitive Semantics*

The theory of Frame Semantics is an approach or a theory within the field of Cognitive Semantics. Cognitive Semantics is one of two major fields in a modern school of linguistic thought, which came to be known as Cognitive Linguistics.

Evans, Bergen and Zinken (2007:2) mention that Cognitive Linguistics is a relatively recent school of thought concerned with the investigations of the relationships between human language, the mind and socio-physical experience. A particular characteristic of this field of study is its close links to other cognitive sciences, such as cognitive psychology. This school of thought is characterised by two main commitments.

The first is the *generalisation commitment*, which represents a dedication to characterising general principles that apply to all aspects of human language. Rather than view language as carefully divided into distinct areas, such as phonology, semantics, pragmatics, and syntax, cognitive linguists have a different view. Even though they acknowledge the existence and importance of the above mentioned modules in language, they are more interested in finding out how the various aspects of linguistic knowledge emerge from a common set of human cognitive abilities upon which people draw, rather than assume that they are produced in encapsulated modules of the mind (Evans, Bergen and Zinken, 2007:3-4). The second commitment within cognitive linguistics is the *cognitive commitment*. It is about the dedication towards providing a characterisation of the general principles for language that concurs with what is known about the mind and brain from other sciences, especially the cognitive and brain sciences. This commitment thus puts the *cognitive* into cognitive linguistics, which is an approach that is essentially interdisciplinary in nature (Evans, Bergen and Zinken, 2007:4-5).

Evans, Bergen and Zinken (2007:5) describe the cognitive linguistics school of thought as one that generally can be divided into two main areas of research: Cognitive Semantics and Cognitive Grammar. The latter is more specifically referred to as “Cognitive approaches to grammar”. As the name suggests, this field is concerned with the study of various cognitive theories of grammar (Evans, Bergen and Zinken 2007:5; Evans and Green, 2006:471). The present study is mainly concerned with the first of the afore-mentioned two fields of research, Cognitive Semantics.

Although Frame Semantics is mainly concerned with Cognitive Semantics as its name implies, it is not at the same time completely separated from the grammatical field of Cognitive linguistics. It is especially recognised in cognitive linguistics that grammar and lexicon (semantics) are two ends of a continuum, rather than entirely separate fields (Shead, 2011:67; Evans and Green, 2006:514). In fact, cognitive linguists do affirm that sound, meaning and grammar are linked inextricably (Evans and Green, 2006:471). For this reason Frame Semantics includes within its studies aspects of grammar, though at a very minimal level in relation to the involvement of the lexical semantics aspect. It should be well noted here that while Frame Semantics studies in the following chapters will involve such aspects as conceptual structure, clause structure and valence structure or valence patterns,²³ these are not meant primarily in the present study as in-depth studies on Cognitive Grammar.

Cognitive Semantics as such is a discipline with varied foci of interest. It is, however, concerned mainly with investigating the relationship between experience, the conceptual system, and the semantic structure encoded by language. The main questions of this field can be expressed practically as concerned with how knowledge is represented (conceptual structural) and how meaning is constructed (through conceptualisation) (Evans, Bergen and Zinken, 2007:5). Evans, Bergen and Zinken (2007:6) list the following four guiding principles of Cognitive Semantics:

- Conceptual structure is embodied.

²³ Such topics for the most belong to the study of cognitive approaches to grammar. They nevertheless also contribute to the understanding of meaning, and hence of the conceptual structure in the field of Frame Semantics, cf. Shead (2011:67).

- Semantic structure is conceptual structure.
- Meaning representation is encyclopaedic.
- Meaning construction is conceptualisation.

A detailed description of these principles will not be given here, since most have already been covered in the definition of Frame Semantics provided above. It may be mentioned here that the second and third bulleted principles above in particular are closely linked to the theory of Frame Semantics. For example, to describe semantic structure as conceptual structure is the same as saying: the way that the meaning of words is structured is related to how the speakers of a language understand and express knowledge of their experiences, or how they understand and categorise events around these experiences (Evans, Bergen and Zinken, 2007:7-8). As for the third bullet, Evans, Bergen and Zinken (2007:12) point out that the theory of Frame Semantics is a major development of the principle of encyclopaedic semantics, that is, lexical concepts serve as ‘points of access’ to vast repositories of knowledge relating to a particular concept or conceptual domain.

Another major development of the principle of encyclopaedic semantics is the theory of Domains, with assertions quite similar to those of Frame Semantics. The Domains theory was developed by Langacker (quoted by Evans, Bergen and Zinken, 2007:12). Thus Evans and Green (2006:206) introduced Frame Semantics and the theory of Domains as two theories that gave rise to the encyclopaedic view to meaning in cognitive linguistics.

As a way of shifting focus to specific aspects of Frame Semantics, the brief discussions given below are related in some way to theories within the field of Cognitive Semantics and particularly relevant to the Frame Semantics approach in the present study.

2.3.1.2 *Valence*

Valence refers to the particular ways in which lexical items such as verbs can be combined with other words to form grammatical sentences (Evans and Green, 2006:225). The valence of a verb for example refers to the number of participants or arguments required by that verb, as well as the semantic and syntactic roles

assumed by those participants.²⁴ In the frame of the COMMERCIAL EVENT, the verb *buy* requires two necessary participants, the Buyer (usually as agent / subject) and the Goods (usually as object). It is therefore a ‘bivalent’ verb (requiring two necessary participants). Some verbs may require one, three or four necessary participants (Evans and Green, 2006:225-226).

2.3.1.3 *Perspective*

Petruck (1996:5) explains perspective as a situation in which different words profile different perspectives, or provide different schematisations of the same scene. From such an approach, perspective is the view on a scene created by focusing on only a part of that scene (McLaury, 1996:10). A familiar example in this regard is the one of the words *land* and *ground* in the context of sea and air travel (Fillmore, 1982a:121). When someone is told that a traveller spent a few hours *on land*, he or she understands that the traveller interrupted a sea voyage. On the other hand, if someone is told that a traveller spent a few hours *on the ground*, he or she understands that the traveller interrupted an air flight (Petruck, 1996:5).

In this regard, Fillmore (1982a:121) explains that the difference between the two words, *land* and *ground*, appears to be expressed best by saying that *land* refers to the dry surface of the earth viewed in distinction from the *sea*, whereas *ground* designates the dry surface of the earth as it is distinct from the *air* above it. The words *land* and *ground* therefore differ not in the nature of that which they both identify, but in terms of how they situate that entity in a larger frame (Fillmore, 1982a:121). Note that *land* and *ground* are synonyms and therefore it is advisable to refer to the sections on polysemy and synonymy discussed below. From analysing the foregoing example, it appears that although perspective in frames is not determined directly by the synonymy of words, it nevertheless emerges most clearly in some cases of synonymy.²⁵

²⁴ See also Petruck (1996:2-3).

²⁵ A typical case of different profiles, involving aspects of synonymy within the same frame in the Peshitta to Ezekiel is discussed in section 3.7.

2.3.1.4 *Prototypes and Idealised cognitive models*

Both the terms, 'prototype' and 'idealised cognitive models', are generally understood as referring to a fairly large section of the surrounding culture against which the meaning of a word is defined and understood (cf. Kövecses, 2006:36). One common example to explain the concept of 'prototype' is the word 'breakfast'. This can be understood within the frame of a cycle of meals taken during the course of the day, where breakfast can mean:

- I. the meal we have after a period of sleep;
- II. the meal we eat early in the day;
- III. a meal that has a special menu.²⁶

As Kövecses (2006:69) explains, this concept entails an idealisation, a prototype from which there can be many variations in reality. For example, one can work through the night (cancelling I), have scrambled eggs, toast and coffee in the morning (maintaining II and III) and still call it 'breakfast'. It is to be noted that the three attributes of 'breakfast' listed above may not be of equal importance in determining what breakfast is and what it is not, depending on cultural context. Generally, the most representative members of a category are called 'prototypical' members (Lakoff, 1981:145). This nature of categories and their prototypical feature also explains the nature of frames. Thus the frames that we have are idealised or schematised versions of reality which help us fit events within reality by way of prototypes into specific categories. In this sense, frames are constructs of our imaginations – and not mental representations that directly fit a pre-existing objective reality. Frames are thus imaginative devices of the mind (Kövecses, 2006:69).

Prototypes or typicality effects can be useful tools in understanding the semantic structure behind lexical units which underlie specific frames, especially in the case where such lexical units exhibit polysemy (Evans and Green, 2006:328).²⁷ The Prototype theory forms an important aspect of an approach in lexical semantics that

²⁶ Kövecses (2006:69).

²⁷ A lexical unit is the technical term given to a word that evokes a specific frame. Detailed attention is given to the term in section 2.4.3 below.

came to be known as the cognitive lexical semantics approach. The cognitive lexical semantics approach takes the position that lexical items are conceptual categories (Evans and Green, 2006:328). Words are categories that can be modelled and investigated by applying the theory of Idealised Cognitive Models (ICMs). ICMs are understood as relatively stable mental representations that represent theories about the world (Evans and Green, 2006:328).²⁸ For example, the theoretical knowledge that 'a chair is a four legged piece of furniture (instrument) designed for seating on, with a support for the back' is an ICM. However, these ICMs are susceptible to typicality effects of various types.

Typicality effects can be illustrated by applying it to the example of the CHAIR ICM above. An instrument designed for sitting on, located in a bus, which has four legs anchored to the base of the bus, and which has a support for the back, would be a poor example of the category CHAIR.²⁹ This instrument (SEAT) on a bus may change its category to CHAIR, once it is detached from the base of the bus and placed out on the ground, in an open park or in a house. In practice, while lexical use in some languages may distinguish between a four legged, back supporting instrument to sit on in a house and one in a bus, other languages may not readily reflect the distinction. Human conceptual categories can be understood to be reflected in ICMs. Therefore it follows that conceptual structure (and thus semantic structure of lexical units may display such typicality effects (Evans and Green, 2006:270). In the studies on Frame Semantics to follow, attempts will be made to analyse the conceptual categories or conceptual structure behind a set of closely related frames, drawing insight from the Cognitive Lexical Semantics approach.

2.3.1.5 *Metonymy and metaphor*

Metonymy and metaphor are linguistic features that are very common elements in spoken and written language. Therefore they are important linguistic features to be explicated in this section. As it will become apparent below, the presence of these linguistic features in text or speech will affect the identification of frames and frame

²⁸ Cf. also Evans and Green (2006:279-281).

²⁹ The present study attempts to represent words that denote categories in uppercase letters.

combinations involved. In the case of metonymy, Kövecses (2006:99) provides the following definition:

“Metonymy is a cognitive process in which a conceptual element or entity (thing, event, property), the vehicle, provides mental access to another conceptual entity (thing, event, property), the target, within the same frame, domain or Idealised Cognitive Model (ICM). We can conceive of this as a ‘within-domain mapping’, where the vehicle entity is mapped onto the target entity.”

One example given by Kövecses (2006:98-99) is the following:

(2a) Washington denied the charges.

In this case it is common knowledge that the person mentioning the city of Washington is in fact alluding to the United States government. Thus, the element ‘Washington’ stands for (acts as the *vehicle* for) another element, the United States government (the *target*) within the same frame (containing frame elements such as the president, the cabinet members, the constitution, and the location of the institution, which is Washington). Since this type of representation or mapping takes place within one frame, it is often referred to as ‘mapping within a frame’.³⁰ On the other hand, when such a representation takes place across frames, the representation is referred to as ‘mapping across frames’ and in everyday language, this is known as metaphor (or a conceptual metaphor).³¹ Kövecses (2006:126) views metaphor as a linguistic, conceptual, social-cultural, neural and bodily phenomenon, existing simultaneously on all of these different levels. There are primary metaphors and compound metaphors (Evans and Green, 2006:304-310).

The characteristics of these two *linguistic* features can be elucidated as follows: metonymy is a process used to provide mental access to an entity through another

³⁰ Traditionally, the term ‘domain’ (rather than ‘frame’) is used in reference to metaphor and metonymy. Since the two terms refer to similar theories, they may in some cases be interchangeable (Kövecses, 2006:115-131).

³¹ Cf. Kövecses (2006:115-131).

entity, typically all from the same frame or domain. On the other hand, the main cognitive function of metaphor is to foreground operations that otherwise are backgrounded. The view that a metaphor provides understanding for a more abstract concept (the target frame or domain) through a more concrete one (the source frame or domain) has recently been set aside (Evans and Green, 2006:304). Rather, there appears to be primary metaphors which serve to link equally basic (experiential) concepts at the cognitive level with respect to both the source and the target of the metaphor. Primary metaphors can also be unified to form more complex conceptual mappings called 'compound metaphors' (Evans and Green, 2006:321-322). An example of an everyday metaphor taken from Evans and Green (2006:294) describing a marriage relationship, follows.

(2b) I don't think this relationship is *going anywhere*.

Note should be taken here of the fact that the metaphoric expression contains two frames: a frame of MARRIAGE RELATIONSHIP and that of a JOURNEY. This then, is the basic cognitive structure of a metaphor.

2.3.1.6 *Polysemy and synonymy*

Polysemy is defined as a phenomenon where a single linguistic unit has multiple, yet related meanings (Evans and Green, 2006:36, 332). The term is traditionally restricted to the area of lexical semantics where it is used to describe polysemic words such as 'body', 'head' or 'dress'. Cognitive linguists, however, identify polysemy not only in lexical semantics but in all distinct areas of language, such as morphology and syntax (Evans and Green, 2006:36). Polysemy constitutes a major aspect of the theory of Cognitive Lexical Semantics, which briefly has been introduced above. Polysemy, especially lexical polysemy, will be a prominent feature of this study, since it is common to encounter polysemous words in the source text of the translator. That is because the translator sometimes rendered this source text by different linguistic units, or had to deal with a situation where a polysemous word in the target Syriac language will have to provide various different related meanings, which are represented by different words in the source text (Mushayabasa, 2012:84-88).

In Cognitive Lexical Semantics, a lexical item, such as the preposition *over*, is a conceptual category made up of distinct but related or polysemous senses (Evans and Green, 2006:331). These senses, being part of a single category, can be judged as more prototypical (central) or less prototypical (peripheral). It thus means that word senses exhibit typicality effects as in the case of the categories BREAKFAST and CHAIR discussed above. A word's various senses ranging from more prototypical (central) to less prototypical (peripheral) will form a diagrammatic picture of what may be referred to as a 'radial category' (Evans and Green, 2006:331). This means that lexical categories, which represent conceptual categories, display structure. One rarely comes across lexical units (especially verbs) that have a single simple meaning. Cognitive Lexical Semantics, assumes the following:

"... less prototypical senses are derived from more prototypical senses by cognitive mechanisms that facilitate meaning extension, including conceptual metaphor, and image schema transformations ... These mechanisms result in the systematic extension of lexical categories resulting in meaning chains. This gives rise to polysemy: a semantic network for a lexical item that consists of multiple related senses" (Evans and Green, 2006:332).

Thus, within Frame Semantics, each sense of a polysemous word should typically belong to a different semantic frame (Ruppenhofer *et al.*, 2010). This approach of limiting distinct senses to specific frames, ensures that the problem of vagueness, which affects the plotting of radial categories, is reduced to an extent.³² Certainly, Frame Semantics is a great help in resolving issues concerning cases of lexical polysemy in translation, although there are limitations even from this approach.

A Synonym is a word or phrase that has the same or a similar meaning as another word or phrase in the same language and in a given context. For example, the words *shut* and *close* are synonyms (Concise Oxford English dictionary, 2004; Lewis, 2006). In other words, synonymy entails the semantic relation that exists between the two words that can (in a given context or within the same frame) express the same or

³² See Evans and Green (2006, 340-341).

nearly the same meaning (Lewis, 2006). The phenomenon of synonymy did influence the translation process from the Hebrew source to the Syriac target language (Mushayabasa, 2012:85).

In the light of the theory of Frame Semantics, it is interesting to note, as pointed out previously, that synonyms can highlight micro-frames or different perspectives of the same scene.³³ For example, in the frame of the COMMERCIAL TRANSACTION used as an example above, the words *buy* and *purchase* are synonyms. In sentence (2c) below, the two words can be used fairly interchangeably in the same frame. However, the word *purchase* is not normally used in the frame that is represented by sentence (2d), although sentence (2d) perfectly belongs to the COMMERCIAL TRANSACTION frame. In fact, comparing sentence (2c) and (2d), gives the idea that the synonyms may not be synonymous in some nuanced cultural events of a perfectly COMMERCIAL TRANSACTION frame. Sentence (2e), even though it falls within a COMMERCIAL TRANSACTION frame, is further idealised as an illegal or 'IMMORAL' COMMERCIAL TRANSACTION frame, in which the term *purchase* may not be employed commonly:

(2c) She *buys* / *purchases* stock for the big department store.

(2d) Paul intends to *buy* / *purchase* his lunch at the nearby restaurant.

(2e) The winning team *bought* / *purchased* the referee.

In a literary work such as a translation, a translator may use polysemous and synonymous words purely for stylistic reasons (Weitzman, 1999:27). In such cases, it becomes difficult to assign specific frames to synonymous or to polysemous words. In the second place, the use of polysemous and synonymous words by a translator may be caused by the linguistic limitations in the languages involved. Such cases may demand that the translator use word-equivalents without necessarily taking issues of frames or meaning into serious consideration.

³³ See the discussion on LAND and GROUND in section 2.3.1.3 above. This subject is also dealt with extensively in chapter 5.

2.3.1.7 *Frames across cultures*

The frames that people utilise are not only linguistic in nature, but are to a large extent also determined by culture. A large number of frames are shared by members of societies and groups within those societies (Kövecses, 2006:93). Therefore there is a distinct possibility that frames across different cultures will not look exactly the same. For example, in the Indigenous African³⁴ Christian context, for a 'marriage' between a man and a woman two 'ritual' procedures must be fulfilled: (1) the ceremonial payment of the bridal price by the man to the parents of the woman, and (2) the sanctification of the union by an ecclesiastical leader. In such a social group one element without the other, even though it does indeed refer to the frame of a marriage, is not accepted, as a proper 'marriage'. In a western Christian context the important 'ritual' for the union to be understood as a formal or proper 'marriage' in that social group is the sanctification of the marriage by an ecclesiastical leader. Evidently, the view of a marriage in the traditional African Christian context is a result of the combination of two cultures – the Western (Christian?) and the indigenous traditional African one, resulting in a more complex frame for the event of marriage.

Another example is that of the view of time (within the frame of LOCATION IN TIME) between the English culture group and Afrikaans culture groups in South Africa. Normally, in the English speaking community, the mid-point in terms of time between any two clock hours of the day is viewed in terms of the hour that has already gone by. Thus the mid-point between 3 PM and 4 PM is expressed as 'half (past) three', meaning 30 minutes after the hour 3 (pm). On the other hand, the mid-point between any two clock hours is viewed in the Afrikaans culture in terms of the hour that is still to come. Thus the mid-point between 3 PM and 4 PM is expressed in Afrikaans as 'half vier' (lit. half (to) four), meaning 30 minutes before the hour 4 (pm). Thus saying 'half three' in English should be understood to be the same as saying 'half vier' in Afrikaans. In the Peshitta translation to Ezekiel, there is evidence of what appears to be a case of cultural differences to the view and expression of time between the Hebrew source culture and the Syriac target culture, specifically in terms of the dating system (see Ezekiel 1:1, 8:1 and 20:1).

³⁴ By *Indigenous African* is meant here people who are decedents of the pre-colonial inhabitants of Africa.

Previous analysis of the translation technique used in the Peshitta rightly have noted that the Peshitta to Ezekiel translation is to a great extent idiomatic (Carbajosa, 2008:72, 381; Dirksen, 1992:390; Weitzman, 1999:27, 61-62), thus functionally a translation that tries to conform to the linguistic structure and idiom of Syriac. However, it does not appear to be at the same time and to a large scale, a culturally idiomatic translation. In other words, a linguistically idiomatic translation does not necessarily imply a culturally idiomatic translation. The Peshitta to Ezekiel's translator did not necessarily translate cultural concepts from the Hebrew text to the target Syriac text in a way that accommodated contemporary Syriac culture. In a number of instances, where there was especially difficult readings in the Hebrew source text, the translator translated somewhat literally into Syriac equivalents, even if the resultant sense in Syriac proved to be very obscure (e.g. see Ezekiel 19:10).

Such an approach to translation moves closer to the form of what House (2011:524) calls an 'overt' translation. This is a type of translation that still operates within the source's discourse world, to such an extent that recipients must co-activate both the target's and the original's discourse's worlds to understand the translation. The opposite of an 'overt' translation would be a 'covert' translation, which is culturally filtered to operate exclusively within discourse world revealed by the target text (House, 2011:526). The Peshitta translator's rendition was such that the original language's context (Hebrew) could be reactivated alongside the target text's context (Syriac). This was effected in such a way that two different discourse worlds and frames were juxtaposed in the medium of the target Syriac language (House, 2011:524-525).

It is doubtful whether, for example, the notion of a 'cherub' (Ezekiel 9:3) was natural to the Syriac culture, which at around 200 AD, was influenced more by the Greek culture with its mythology, and dominating the world at that time. The 'cherub' term was probably carried over into Syriac from the wider, more ancient Aramaic culture, and perhaps specifically from the Biblical Hebrew context. In view of these facts, and indeed of the analysis of other scholars about the Peshitta, it can well be argued that the Peshitta translator did strive to present an idiomatic and sensible translation at the linguistic level, but did not go as far as rendering the Hebrew source text into Syriac in a culturally idiomatic way. It should to be admitted here that the difference

between what we refer to as the 'linguistic level' and the 'cultural level' of translation, is a subjective one. Drawing a line between the two proves a tentative process.

Nevertheless, there is sufficient reason from the foregoing discussion to limit the present study to the translation or mapping of linguistic frames. Regarding the cultural frames, the stance taken in the rest of this study will be as follows: Determine whether the linguistic Frame Semantics study of the mapping of frames from their Hebrew source to their Syriac target does shed light on the aspect of culture within the translation process. A juxtaposition can be pointed out, genealogically, geologically, linguistically and temporally, between the source language speakers (Hebrew) and the target language speakers (Syriac, Aramaic). Therefore a narrow margin of such cultural differences can be expected.

2.3.1.8 *Differentiating between 'frame', 'sense' and 'context'*

By now, it should have become apparent that the view or understanding of 'a frame' as discussed above, may appear to share some similarities with the meanings of such words as 'sense' and 'context'. Indeed, when consulting various works on Frame Semantics, one does not fail to notice how proponents of this approach easily refer to and make use of such words as 'sense' and 'context'³⁵ in ways that suggest synonymy with the word 'frame'. This inter-changeable use of similar terms, though helpful, may lead to confusion if these terms are not properly defined and distinguished.

The polysemous noun 'sense' refers in the present context to a general category of meaning. This is especially the case with the meaning of a polysemous word or series of words or sentence.³⁶ Often when one speaks of the 'sense' of a word, one is referring to the general situation or well-known category of experience in which that word holds a specific meaning. For example, the verb 'run' can be employed in various situations, and thus various senses, as indicated in the sentences below.

³⁵ E.g. see Fillmore (1982a:119).

³⁶ Cf. Merriam-Webster's Collegiate Dictionary (2003).

- (2f) The girl *runs* faster than the boy.
- (2g) Paul *runs* the company well.
- (2h) The engine *runs* smoothly.
- (2i) The water *ran* into the sewer system.

These are just a few of the many senses in which the verb ‘run’ can be used. The Princeton University Electronic Dictionary (Lewis, 2006) records 41 different senses in which this verb can be employed.³⁷ From the sentence examples above, it becomes apparent: when people say that the verb ‘run’ is being used in the sense of the operation of an entity or company, they are referring to the situation indicated by sentence (2g). Thus ultimately the term ‘sense’ in fact refers to a frame in a general way. The difference between ‘sense’ and ‘frame’ is that the ‘frame’, apart from identifying the category of experience, goes on to identify the structure of that category of experience. Thereby that frame ‘evokes’ the structure of the meaning in which particular words operate. This is what is mainly implied by the aspect of the ‘valence of frames’ which was elaborated above. In the case of sentence (2g) above, to say that Paul runs the company well means, in terms of Frame Semantics, that Paul must be the *director* or *senior manager* of the company. The frame elaborates that the company is composed of assets, liabilities and human resources which Paul coordinates in operations that results in a successful generation of profit.

Another difference between the use of the words ‘sense’ and ‘frame’, is that the word ‘sense’ is primarily used to differentiate or isolate specific meanings (or frames) referred to by polysemous lexical units (words), such as in the case of ‘run’ above. The word is thus not normally used in connection with non-polysemous words. One will not ask, for example, for the sense of the word ‘fame’ in a general public conversation between people. The word ‘fame’ however, does belong to a specific frame of FAME. Therefore, in order to understand the meaning of the word ‘fame’ one would need to refer to the integrated system of concepts that form the FAME frame.

³⁷ Lewis (2006).

Finally, it is noticeable that, in the linguistic expression in which the verb ‘run’ is used in sentence (2g) the conceptual metaphor: OPERATING AN ENTITY IS ACCELERATED SELF BODILY MOTION is apparent. In this metaphor, the source domain is the concrete bodily experience of MOTION or KINETICS, while the target domain is the rather abstract act of OPERATING AN ENTITY. Two frames or domains are thus subconsciously used to convey a particular activity in experience. Such an analysis of contexts properly belongs to the study of Frame Semantics. The word ‘sense’ does not require the question, “Which frames of cognition are involved when the word ‘run’ is used in the sense of operating a company?” Rather, it simply needs asking, “In which single life experience is the word ‘run’ (lexical unit) being used currently?” Thus the word ‘sense’ generalises, while the word, ‘frame’ provides much more detail.³⁸

The word ‘context’ is used to identify the surrounding situation or conditions in which something exists or occurs.³⁹ This term is also used in relation to texts where it identifies “discourse that surrounds a language unit and helps to determine its interpretation” Lewis (2006). Thus ‘context’ identifies the events *surrounding* a possible type of event among a number of other different types of events, which may be evoked by one particular word or set of words in a phrase, or clause. This concept is therefore particularly applicable in cases of polysemy and more specifically, in cases of semantic vagueness (Evans and Green, 2006:220, 340). The semantic differences between the concepts ‘frame’ and ‘context’ can be quite subtle. Consider the following example sentences excerpted from Evans and Green (2006:220):

(2j) The spade is safe.

In sentence (2j), the word ‘safe’ can have different meanings depending on the particular context of use. ‘Safe’ can mean ‘unlikely to cause harm’ when used in the context of a child playing with a spade (Evans and Green, 2006:220). Or ‘safe’ can

³⁸ See for example the way in which the word ‘sense’ is used in presenting the theories on word meaning and radial categories (Cognitive Lexical Semantics) in Evans and Green (2006:328-356).

³⁹ According to Merriam-Webster's Collegiate Dictionary (2003).

mean ‘unlikely to come to harm’ when used in the context where the spade is left in a garden, a place where there might be the risk that it could be stolen. According to FrameNet 2010, sentence (2j), when considered under the first mentioned context, belongs to the CAUSE HARM frame. Alternatively, when considered under the second context mentioned, the sentence belongs to the BEING AT RISK frame.

As in the case of the word ‘sense’, the word ‘context’ does not necessarily provide a structure of a scene, but rather only enough clues to identify what we may call the broader frame or framework. Frame Semantics, however, goes further by allowing us to understand the meaning and use of words, as applied to specific scenes. The aspects of ‘sense’ and ‘context’ are useful to help identify frames to which specific words may belong, and thus they facilitate understanding of the meaning and use of words or phrases. Frame Semantics also studies the structure of those contexts or senses. This includes aspects of relation to other frames or of perspective and valence. The aim of such a study is to provide more detailed information or nuances on meanings of words, constructions, as well as concepts and conceptualisations, which are often hidden in ordinary dictionary’s determinations of meaning.

2.3.1.9 *The place of text semantics*

The subject of Frame Semantics, which the present study uses as a tool in its approach, is largely concerned with frames at the level of individual words (Petruck, 1996:6). Petruck (1996:6) points out that Frame Semantics can, however, also be applied to the larger textual level. Without focusing on frames in particular, it is widely understood in linguistics that the context often assist the reader to understand meanings of particular words. Therefore, any reader who is unsure of the meaning of a word in a text would most certainly turn to the context in which that section is embedded, to try and discover its meaning or at least its reference (Nagy, Herman and Anderson, 1985:245; 251-252). One could also put it that the reader uses the context as a conceptual framework for interpreting a target framework, or any other linguistic unit (Ortony *et al.*, 1978:467, 474).⁴⁰

⁴⁰ See also Rojo López (2008:313-314) for her definition of ‘context’ and the role it plays in translation.

In the subject of translation technique analysis and the related field of textual criticism, scholars normally cannot avoid the topic of text semantics in their discussions. In most cases, however, it is rarely mentioned that the area of text semantics indeed is involved in the discussions. In relation to the present study, it can be said that text semantics touches on the aspect of the impact that the rest of the surrounding text has on the translation of particular words or grammatical units. In addition, within studies of translation technique, the subject of text semantics does feature (though in most cases covertly) in discussions of techniques, such as harmonisation, assimilation, semantic or logical accommodation,⁴¹ semantic specification, and speculation based on context.

The present study is focused primarily on the level of lexical semantics or the clause level of linguistic construction and not at the textual level (textual semantics). This raises the assumption that meaning, in the process of interpretation and translation (from the Hebrew text to the Syriac translation) was mostly determined at the lexical or clause level. Such an assumption would be very superficial in view of the processes involved in translation, as highlighted above. Thus, while the present study will focus primarily on the micro-levels of meaning, it will nevertheless be important to keep in mind constantly and identify obvious cases of contextual influence that the translation of frames at the word or clause level may exhibit. Indeed, in the present study, text semantics is anticipated to be one important reason explaining why some frames in the Syriac target text may not have matched those in the Hebrew source text, from which they were supposedly mapped. It should also be noted here that in a sense, the Hebrew (con-)text acts, (though not solely), as a kind of cultural context in which the translator's frames are formed and developed, on-line as it were. Awareness of that context may help develop insight into the kind of frames that the Peshitta translator had in mind in his translation.

In concluding this section on the introduction of Frame Semantics within Cognitive Semantics, it may be noted that some of the more specialised and relevant elements have not been discussed. Or they have just been mentioned in passing. For example, the foregoing discussion has not touched on Image Schemas, which will be

⁴¹ Carbajosa (2008:91).

an integral part of the study in further chapters. The discussion has also barely dwelt on the notions about conceptual structure and radial categories. Such specialised concepts will be introduced or discussed in detail in the following chapters. These chapters will deal with the process by which the analysis of the translation technique of the Peshitta to Ezekiel can be applied practically by incorporating the approach of Frame Semantics. As mentioned earlier in the first chapter, it is argued that the understanding of some of these specialised concepts and their application would be easier when they are dealt with and simultaneously applied to specific cases.

2.4 FRAME SEMANTICS AS A METHODOLOGICAL APPROACH TO TRANSLATION TECHNIQUE STUDY IN THE PESHITTA TO EZEKIEL 1 – 24

2.4.1 Broad framework

A large part of the present study will be taken up by the study of translation technique in the Peshitta to Ezekiel. The focus will be on the translation of linguistic frames by the Peshitta translator from the Hebrew source text to the Syriac target text.

Cross-linguistic studies using the theoretical approach of Frame Semantics have only recently been applied in a number of areas within linguistic studies (Petruck, 2008). One such study done by Petruck (2008), focused on the analysis and determination of cross-linguistic differences in semantic realisations for Hebrew and English. In her study, Petruck considered whether and how motion events were expressed in Hebrew (i.e. a translated Modern Hebrew text from an English original), with the same or different frame structures and Frame Semantics concepts as in English, which are recorded in the FrameNet database. Petruck's rationale for using the FameNet database to study frames in a language other than English was as follows. She held the assumption that the frames in the FrameNet database and their hierarchy represent (a cognitively universal)⁴² conceptual structure (Petruck, 2008).

In a sense, the adapted use of the FrameNet database and hierarchy of frames in the present study stems from the same assumption as that of Petruck. By comparing the expression of motion in Hebrew and English, Petruck intended to find out

⁴² Words in brackets are those of the present author.

whether the two languages conceptualise the events in the same or different Frame Semantics terms. In her conclusion, Petruck (2008) pointed out differences between the two languages in terms of frame-to-frame relations. For example, the English lexical unit in the ARRIVING sub-frame of the TRAVERSING frame was translated with a Hebrew LU in the SELF-MOTION frame. An important note in Petruck's conclusion was that the study of parallel texts in different languages suggests that languages may frame entities or events differently. Such a conclusion is, however, subject to all other factors affecting the translation process from the source language to the target language, which Petruck did not factor in as part of her discussions (2008).

Another cross-linguistic study using the theory of Frame Semantics was done by Rojo López (2002). Rojo López in turn focused her study on the frames instantiated in the translation of cultural frames. She furthermore did not make use of the FrameNet project, but performed her analysis from the point of view of Manuel de Vega's typology of frames (as quoted by Rojo López, 2002:316). Her findings may provide the insight that the success with which a translator correctly maps frames from the source text to the target text, depends on his level of understanding of the cultural domains of the languages involved.

Regarding the present study, the frames in the purported Hebrew source text will be compared to those in the Syriac target text. Following Petruck's precedent,⁴³ the application of Frame Semantics in the present study to study translation technique is based on the assumption that the frames in the FrameNet database and their hierarchy represent a conceptual structure that can be regarded as cognitively universal. However, the present study will be focusing on the level of individual or unit frames, rather than on frame-to-frame relations, that may cover large networks of frame relations. The evaluation process of the translation technique in the Peshitta will include analysing the level of faithfulness at which the Peshitta's translator operated in translating linguistic frames from his source text to the target. The evaluation will also investigate deviations from the source text and their nature and degree.

⁴³ Petruck (2008).

In almost every respect, the usual linguistic aspects of translation technique study will be followed in this approach of the study, the major difference being that the linguistic aspects will be analysed from the point of view of Frame Semantics. For example, additions (pluses) will be taken as additions of core or non-core elements to a frame. Specification of the Subject will be taken as specification of a core frame element, among other tendencies in the Peshitta to Ezekiel (P-Ez)'s translation. In the process the Berkeley FrameNet project's approach will be followed as far as it is suitable to the context of the present study. The study will not adhere completely to FrameNet, owing to the following three main reasons:

- **Firstly**, the Berkeley FrameNet project is still an on-going project to create an online lexical resource for English. It is therefore an unfinished work that will continue to undergo modification and corrections (Ruppenhofer *et al.*, 2010:5).⁴⁴
- **Secondly**, and perhaps most importantly, while the present study will still be made on the assumption that the frames in FrameNet represents a cognitively universal conceptual structure, sufficient room should also be given for the possibility that frames in English may not look precisely the same as those in Semitic languages such as Hebrew or Syriac, since there are significant cultural and linguistic differences.⁴⁵ Indeed, the ensuing study will demonstrate precisely that, while there may be basic universal similarities in conceptual structure, there tend to be differences at some levels. FrameNet's frames will therefore primarily serve to give an idea and thus a working platform for the determination of frames in both Hebrew and Syriac.
- **Thirdly**, it is notable that FrameNet's aim is to produce an English lexicon based on Frame Semantics (Ruppenhofer *et al.*, 2010:5), and thus to develop a sufficiently detailed annotation system for that purpose. This means that all frames are listed and all their possible scenarios defined from corpus evidence (Petruck, 2008). The present study, on the other hand, aims to analyse how the Peshitta translator rendered (mapped) already available

⁴⁴ At the present stage, this study makes use of Release 1.5 of FrameNet's database files on the project, which were accessed with permission on 17 October 2011.

⁴⁵ See the example of the JUDGMENT frame below.

events (frames) from the Hebrew source text into the Syriac target text. Thus, rather than investigate all the (theoretical) possibilities of representing a particular event in language, the present study seeks to uncover the linguistic representations of particular events that are, to a large extent, already given in the text.⁴⁶

In the following paragraphs, aspects on determination of frames (especially in the context of texts) are dealt with in more detail and are based largely on the guidelines of FrameNet (2010).

2.4.2 Determination of frames (categories of experience)

The present study seeks to study how the translator represented in the Peshitta to Ezekiel (P-Ez)⁴⁷ a single identifiable frame from the Hebrew text by means of the comparison of frames. The process therefore consistently will involve the comparison of two frames. The focus will be on minimising the scope of each frame to be compared to the level of simple, specific linguistic frames. For example, one can identify the following sentence in Ezekiel 5:10 as belonging to the REVENGE frame.⁴⁸

(2k) I will punish you and I will disperse all your survivors to every wind.

It is apparent from the example sentence (2k) that the second co-ordinated sentence details one means through which the Avenger will punish the Offender, that is, by dispersing the Offender to every wind. However, without mention of this means, it is evident that the sentence unit *I will punish you* as such represents a single sufficiently sensible frame. The present study will thus seek to focus on more specific sensible frames like those indicated. Extra-thematic frame elements (or frames) and

⁴⁶ It is also noteworthy that some of the language and linguistic terms in FrameNet is 'industry-specific', that is, it is primarily developed to achieve FrameNet's goal of creating an electronic English lexicon. It may thus not be appropriate to use such language for other purposes, even within the linguistics corpus.

⁴⁷ P-Ez here and elsewhere in the rest of the study stands for 'the Peshitta to Ezekiel'.

⁴⁸ The present study will identify frames by use of small uppercase letters.

frame modifiers, such as the one exemplified by the second co-ordinated sentence above, provide information about the means, time, purpose, and conditions among others. These FEs may be taken into consideration if understood that the core nature of the target frame depends on the modifiers. If that is not the case, the frames related to such modifications will be studied separately. Another way of explaining this focus in the present study is that the frames to be studied will be such that the focus will be limited to the core elements of frames (see discussion on frame elements below).

It should be noted that grammatical aspects of language, such as tense or aspect, concord, syntax, number, and finiteness may not necessarily determine differences between frames. Although these aspects do contribute significantly to our understanding of the finer details of an event (Ruppenhofer *et al.*, 2010:10), they are not primarily important for frame instantiation. Therefore, even though these aspects are discussed, they are not highlighted as such in Ruppenhofer *et al.* (2010). Similarly in the present study, such grammatical aspects will be considered of secondary importance to the study from the frame semantic viewpoint. These grammatical aspects will, however, be pointed out from time to time to examine any finer differences that emerge in translated frames. It should also be stressed that a number of differences in these grammatical aspects may be a result of human technical and textually motivated errors (such as omission or textual difficulties) rather than originating from a cognitive linguistic process of translation.

2.4.3 Lexical Units

A lexical unit (LU) is a pairing of a word with meaning (Ruppenhofer *et al.*, 2010:5). LUs are units that directly evoke specific frames and give an idea of what the frame is all about. Thus in cases where the frame elements are represented by frame-evoking words, such as ‘avenger’, those words take the position of both frame elements (FEs) and LUs. In the REVENGE frame, the LUs would include *avenge.v.*,⁴⁹ *avenger.n.*,⁵⁰ *get even.v.*, *retaliate.v.*, *retaliation.n.*, *retribution.a.*,⁵¹ *retributory.a.*,

⁴⁹ The suffixed letter shows that the lexical unit is a verb.

⁵⁰ The suffixed letter shows that the lexical unit is a noun.

⁵¹ The suffixed letter shows that the lexical unit is an adjective.

revenge.v, *revenge.n*, *vengeful.a*, *revenger.n*, *vengeance.n*, *vengeful.a*, *vindictive.a*, and *execute-judgment.v*.⁵²

Example:

Ezekiel 5:10

(21) MT: ועשיתי בך שפטים
TR: And I will perform judgments upon you.

In the example above, the word עשיתי includes an element (first person) that represents the Avenger⁵³ (frame element);

The combined words שפטים... עשיתי identify the LU *execute-judgment* or simply *punish.v*.⁵⁴

בך is a prepositional phrase (PP) identifying the Evaluatee (target) of the punitive action and thus also the Offender (frame element).

2.4.4 Frame elements

Frame elements (FEs) are the participants or semantic roles in any particular event.⁵⁵ These semantic roles are frame-specific or situational in nature, described according to how they fit the meaning of the semantic frames associated with individual verbs (Shead, 2011:112). For example, in a REVENGE frame, the Avenger,

⁵² The lexical unit *execute-judgment.v* is not listed in FrameNet (2010) as evoking the REVENGE frame. The lexical unit has been added here specifically for application to Hebrew and Syriac language texts as exemplified in sentence 21.

⁵³ In the present study, the first letter of a word written in Upper case identifies a FE.

⁵⁴ This Semitic equivalent for punishment may thus be viewed as incorporating at least two frames: the INTENTIONALLY ACT frame and the TRIAL frame. Thus the punishment in this case includes intentionally effecting the decision of a trial [on one who has been FOUND GUILTY], cf. Swanson (1997). The Hebrew (and Syriac) lexical unit for 'punish' therefore lies somewhat closer to the LEGALITY frame than its English equivalent.

⁵⁵ FEs may be likened to what are known as 'thematic roles' (Evans and Green, 674-675).

Punishment, Offender, Injury, and Injured Party are all frame elements (Ruppenhofer *et al.*, 2010:15-16). In this way FEs are defined with respect to a particular frame, so that the frame itself is described largely in terms of its FEs (Shead, 2011:111).

Though not necessarily always the case, FEs are usually nouns in an event but they can also appear in the form of clauses, such as purpose and temporal clauses. In addition to their semantic function as related to the meaning of the LU or target word they define,⁵⁶ FEs are also distinguishable in terms of the function of (syntactic) roles they occupy in an event. Nevertheless, annotators in the FrameNet (2010) database deal with the latter aspect separately in their typical sentence annotations, by labelling the syntactical role of an FE separately as its grammatical function (GF). Furthermore, the FrameNet (2010) database also categorises sentence constituencies without reference to their target, into what are known as phrase types (PT). These include noun phrases (NP), Verb phrases (VP), Prepositional phrases (PP), et cetera (Shead, 2011:126-128). Unless a specific case may make it necessary, this study will confine its analysis of the grammatical aspect to examining frame specific roles (FEs), while excluding aspects of GFs and PTs. FEs may also be classified into core and non-core elements, as will be expounded below.

2.4.5 Coreness of FEs

Ruppenhofer *et al.* (2010:19) classifies FEs in terms of how central they are to a particular frame. He thereby distinguishes three levels: core, peripheral and extra-thematic. A core FE represents a conceptually necessary component of a frame, while making the frame unique from other frames. In the example of the REVENGE frame given above, Avenger, Punishment, Offender, Injury, and Injured Party are all core elements, since an avenging event necessarily includes these participants. This may be so, despite the fact that some of these FEs may also be core elements in a different frame, for example, Offender in a CIVIL LAW frame as well as in a JUDGMENT frame (Merriam-Webster's Collegiate Dictionary, 2003). Ruppenhofer *et al.* (2010:19ff) gives more detail on some formal properties that provide evidence for the core status of frame elements, which will not be discussed in detail in this study. See

⁵⁶ A 'target word' is an LU that is identified in any speech event as evoking a particular frame.

also Shead (2011:145-153) on problems that one may encounter in distinguishing core and non-core FEs.

Some frame elements do not represent a component of a frame that is conceptually necessary, but do not, on the other hand, introduce additional, independent events from the main reported event of the current frame. These frame elements are characterised as peripheral (Ruppenhofer *et al.*, 2010:20). For example, the phrase in square brackets in sentence (2m) below is a peripheral FE to the STATEMENT frame evoked here by the LU *speak.v*:

(2m) The visitor **spoke** [for two hours. TIME]

Extra-thematic frame elements, on the other hand, situate the reported event against a backdrop of another state of affairs, as exemplified by sentence (2n) below. The peripheral FE is indicated in square brackets.

(2n) North-West Province took **revenge** [in a penalty shoot-out of a game played the following weekend. Containing_event].

Both peripheral and extra-thematic frame elements may be referred to as non-core FEs.

2.4.6 Missing FEs

The topic of missing FEs is treated here mostly according to Shead (2011:122-124). It often happens in a speech act or a text, that some FEs which appear to be wanted or necessary in the sentence and are thus core or obligatory Fes, are not instantiated (expressed) in a sentence. In Frame Semantics, this is referred to as null instantiation (NI). There are three types of NI. The first is a case where by an obligatory FE in an event is omitted because of the form of construction that the speech event takes. For example, in the speech act, 'The club was sold to the public', the FE Seller, is hidden in the event by virtue of the fact that the LU is a passive verb. This type of NI is termed Constructional Null Instantiation (CNI) and is not particularly important to Frame Semantics.

A second type of NI is termed Definite Null Instantiation (DNI). This missing FE is suggested when a core FE is not expressed in a speech act but the hearer is expected to retrieve it from the context. In the speech act referred to previously, 'The club was sold to the public', the Cost is not mentioned. However, should this sentence be preceded by one such as 'the lawyers pegged the price of the club at R500 000', the hearer will automatically include the Cost in the subsequent sentence.

The third type of NI is termed Indefinite Null Instantiation (INI). INI is a case where an obligatory FE is left completely unspecified, even from the context. With reference to the previous example, this would mean that the information about the lawyers pegging the price of the club at R500 000 is completely absent in the text or speech act.

2.4.7 Target frame and target word

The target frame is the frame that is evoked in a sentence, usually by a word or group of words, which immediately refers to the frame in question. The target word then is that word, whose frame is the focus of attention in a sentence. In the example earlier from Ezekiel 5:10, the second part of the sentence may contain two frame-evoking lexical units, which are indicated in bold in sentence (2o) below.

(2o) I will **disperse** all your **survivors** to every wind.

If one intends to focus on the frame evoked by the word 'disperse' then that word becomes the target word and the frame it evokes (the DISPERSAL frame) becomes the target frame. Otherwise one might choose to focus on the word 'survivors' which instantiates the SURVIVING frame.

2.5 RESEARCH DESIGN

The Frame Semantics study of P-Ez 1- 24 to be undertaken in this thesis will involve a process of four stages of study, somewhat similar to that represented in Szpek's model (1992). It should be noted, however, that the procedure of study explained below is not a model of translation technique analysis. It is rather a procedure by

which the Frame Semantics approach will be applied to the study of the translation technique used in P-Ez discussed above. In addition: although each individual verse in the corpus of study under focus in the present study (P-Ez 1-24) has been read, analysed, and compared to the MT and LXX texts, the present study will not exhaust all the frames involved in the translation. Rather, the studies will be based on samples.

Stage 1, will focus on the study of a selected LU (or group of LUs) from the viewpoint of Frame Semantics. This Frame Semantics study will involve the following main aspects:

- I. Defining the basic semantic structure of the target LU in the Hebrew source text.⁵⁷
- II. Presenting the range of frames instantiated by the target LU in the Hebrew source text, as well as their relationship.
- III. Discussing the valence structures of the various frames instantiated by the target LU in the Hebrew source text.

In Stage 2, comparison of the identified frames (or FEs) evoked by the target LU will be made between those found in the Hebrew source text and the parallel ones in the Syriac target text.⁵⁸

In stage 3, an analysis will be made of the similarities and differences, if any, in frames between the two texts. Evaluations in this stage will seek to establish whether the differences identified are a result of the cognitive linguistic differences between

⁵⁷ It may be noted here that in defining the basic semantic structures of LUs, some tools from the subject area of Cognitive Semantics will be employed, such as e.g., image schemas and radial categories. These will be discussed in detail in the following chapters, in the course of applying the method introduced here.

⁵⁸ In other words, while stage 1 is committed fully to understand a specific group of frames in the Hebrew text as such, stage 2 will attempt to analyse how those frames were mapped into Syriac. This will not necessarily require a separate and corresponding frames study in the Syriac text, although one may have the option to carry out such a study. The present study however, is mainly interested in how the Syriac translator responded to the frames in the Hebrew text.

the two languages or the result of textual and technical factors. In this respect, cognitive linguistic differences refer to the way that the translator dealt cognitively, with the natural differences between the languages involved, such as differences in use of idioms. On the other hand textual and technical factors refer to aspects of the source text itself, such as the lack of a pointing system that could lead the translator to confuse one root of a Hebrew word with another.

In stage 4, evaluations will be made on the effect the mapping characteristics, which were disclosed in stages one to three, had on the text critical study of the book of Ezekiel. At this stage the overall impression of P-Ez is sought in order to determine the degree to which the translator was faithful to his source text, and the possibilities retroversion to the *Vorlage*. The studies represented by stage four thus represent an evaluation of the nature of the translation of the Peshitta to Ezekiel in view of the translation technique that will emerge.

The diagram to follow presents a condensed procedure of study highlighted above, in the form of a diagram. (The structure of the procedure, adapted from H. Szpek's model (Szpek, 1992), was already presented in fig. 2.1 above.)

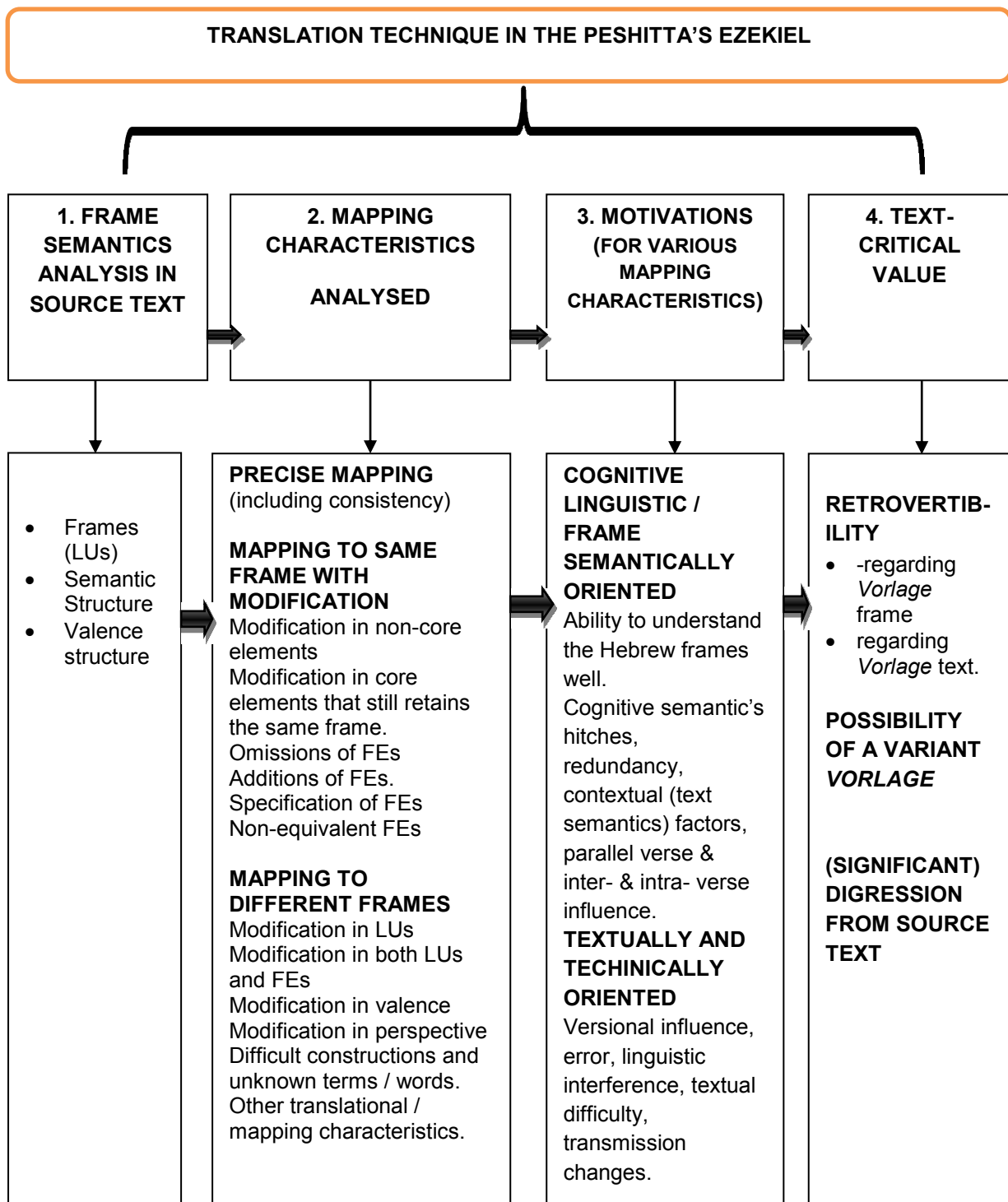


Fig 2.2

The planned process of the study of translation technique in the Peshitta to Ezekiel 1 – 24

2.6 STUDY TOOLS AND TEXTS

2.6.1 Databases

In the study of frames of the nature described above, it is necessary to utilise databases that already are prepared especially to determine frames or scenes, as well as aspects related to Frame Semantics. Among such aspects are FEs, LUs and the annotation of phrases and components. The present study will employ already developed frame databases and frame analysis tools, one of which is the FrameNet database and online lexicon already referred to above. Besides the FrameNet (2010) database,⁵⁹ the following databases and tools will be consulted as well in the Frame Semantics study of the P-Ez 1-24.

- Princeton University's electronic WordNet 2.1 version (1991-2005).⁶⁰
- Tropes V8.0 (version 8.0, released in April 2011). This English text analysing software was developed by Pierre Molette and Agnès Landré building on the work of Rodolphe Ghiglione.
- The Comprehensive Aramaic Lexicon (CAL) database.⁶¹ This database contains the Peshitta Old Testament (a text based on the Peshitta Leiden text of the Old Testament, with corrections in Ezekiel by J. Lund).⁶²
- The Semantic Dictionary of Biblical Hebrew (SDBH). This is an online semantic lexicon that is still being built, led the process carried out under the guidance of the United Bible Societies. Its aim is to construct a dictionary of biblical Hebrew that is based on semantic domains much like that of Louw and Nida's Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament (1989).⁶³
- VerbNet 3.1, published by the University of Colorado (2006), is an online verb lexicon for English.⁶⁴ VerbNet (VN) is organised into verb classes. Palmer (s.a.) says that "Each verb class in VN is completely described by thematic roles, selectional restrictions on the arguments, and frames consisting of a

⁵⁹ Henceforth to be identified as FN (2010).

⁶⁰ Princeton University (2012).

⁶¹ The Comprehensive Aramaic Lexicon will be referred to in the rest of this study as CAL (2012).

⁶² With reference to an e-mail letter from J Lund (2011).

⁶³ The SDBH is edited by de Blois and Mueller (s.a.).

⁶⁴ Palmer (s.a.).

syntactic description and semantic predicates with a temporal function, in a manner similar to the event decomposition of Moens and Steedman (1988)” Closely associated to VN is the UVI (Unified Verb Index) developed by the University of Colorado. Typically, VN and UVI will be consulted in cases where it appears that FN (2010) does not provide information, either in full or in a clear enough way to help understand the frame structures in the Hebrew and Syriac texts.

2.6.2 Peshitta Ezekiel’s *Vorlage*

The Masoretic Text (MT), based on the Leningrad Codex B 19^A (L), as printed in the BHS edition of Elliger and Rudolf (1997),⁶⁵ is taken in this study to be a text close enough to the *Vorlage* of P-Ez’s (PE) translation to be considered hypothetically as its source text. The following precautions must however be taken when making this assumption:

- There are some variants in the Masoretic Text tradition preserved in medieval manuscripts (MSS),⁶⁶ apart from L.⁶⁷ It is therefore quite possible that P-Ez may preserve variant readings based on a MT manuscript (MS) different from L. Such variants will have to be identified so that they are not seen as originating from the translator in the process of translation.
- It is important to take into consideration the possibility of the influence of other versions that may have been available to the translator of the Peshitta to Ezekiel.⁶⁸ One such version is the Septuagint. In this regard, the present study investigates the possibilities of the influence of the LXX on P-Ez. The LXX text that was used for reference and comparison with the other witnesses in this study was Ziegler’s critical edition based on P 967⁶⁹ and Codex

⁶⁵ Elliger and Rudolph (1967 / 77:XII), (1997 ed.), to be referred to in further citations as BHS.

⁶⁶ The abbreviation MS will henceforth be used for ‘manuscript’ (singular) and MSS for ‘manuscripts’ (plural).

⁶⁷ Brotzman (1994:56-59) and Greenberg (2002:4-8).

⁶⁸ See discussion in section 1.3.2.

⁶⁹ This is applicable for those sections in Ezekiel where Ziegler had the papyrus at hand. Ziegler did not have other parts of the manuscript, especially those belonging to the John H. Scheide Papyri in the Princeton University (Ziegler, 2006:10). Ziegler’s first edition was published in 1952 and his

Vaticanus (B), the main witnesses to the pre-Hexaplaric Old Greek text (cf. Van Rooy, 2004:142).

- Another ancient source that scholars in the past believed to have influenced P-Ez's translation is the Targums collection. Of late, however, such a standpoint increasingly has been losing support (Greenberg, 2002:17-18). No systematic comparison was thus carried out in the present study between P-Ez and the Targum of Ezekiel (TgE).⁷⁰ Reference was made, however, to TgE at points where difficult textual problems necessitated the consultation of a broader scope of witnesses. Similarly references were also made to the Vulgate (Biblia Sacra, 1966),⁷¹ where such a need was deemed necessary.

2.6.3 The *Urtext* of the Peshitta to Ezekiel

The present study works on the Peshitta manuscript 7a1 of the Ambrosian Library, Milan, also referred as MS B 21 *inferiore* (Mulder, 1985:vii). It takes this MS as being close enough to the *Urtext* of the translator to be considered as such for most of the Syriac text. This choice is made based mostly on grounds of availability. 7a1 is the available MS with a critical text, a MS agreed to be the base text for the Peshitta Leiden Institute edition for all the Old Testament books that makes up the Peshitta Old Testament, where this MS is available (Van Peursen, 2009:3). In any case 7a1, together with 6h15, 7h2, 8a1 and 8h2 compose the group of MSS referred to as the ancient MSS in Peshitta studies of Ezekiel (Mulder, 1985:ix). According to Mulder (1985:ix), the Peshitta MS 8a1 should be preferred to either 7a1, or 6h15, which are both older than 8a1. He cites as the main reason for his preference, the relatively small number of mistakes and unique readings in 8a1, over against either 7a1 or 6h15. It must be pointed out that 8a1 is available to the present study indirectly, through the text-critical apparatus in the Peshitta Leiden Institute's critical edition.

second one in 1977. Those parts of 967 which Ziegler could not originally access were latter added as an appendix at the end of his third edition (Ziegler, 2006). In any case, there are Ezekiel sections of 967, especially the first chapters (Chapter 1 – 11:24) which are as yet totally unavailable (Lilly, 2012:1).

⁷⁰ Targum Jonathan to the Prophets in Ezekiel (CAL, 2005).

⁷¹ Referred to elsewhere as Vg.

Reference was also made to 7a1 as such, as published in A. M. Ceriani in his facsimile edition. The facsimile edition was consulted in particular on cases of suspected typographical or similar kinds of errors apparent in the Peshitta Institute's Leiden (PIL) edition of Ezekiel. The textual reading was also verified by consulting the Peshitta text in the CAL (2012) database. The text in the CAL (2012) database is also based on the PIL edition, but has been amended where errors were identified (Lund, 2011).

That being said, it will be kept in mind that 7a1 or any other Peshitta MS as it currently stands, may not fully represent the translator's *Urtext*. Alterations are bound to have taken place in the process of the transmission of the MSS (Tov, 2012:219-262). As a result, not every reading in a MS such as 7a1, or any existing MS, may be accepted to originate from the translator's hand. In fact, a number of complexities exist when one tries to discover what the *Urtext(s)* may have looked like. For discussion on this matter, see for example Weitzman (1999:263, 308-309) and Greenberg (2002:8-18). Thus the present study will take due care when attributing readings in the text of 7a1 (or any other existing Peshitta MS) to the translator of the Peshitta text to Ezekiel.

2.7 CHAPTER CONCLUSION

The primary approach in investigating translation technique and conducting text-critical studies remains that of a comparative analysis between two or more texts. Details may differ in terms of what linguistic elements are targeted. Researchers continue to explore ways that will make such studies more systematic, efficient and linguistically relevant. One such research project is the CALAP project, which aims to develop a more systematic, rapid and efficient tool to assist in the analysis of the Peshitta translation. A typical example of a linguistically relevant approach in the study of translation technique of the Ancient Versions is provided by Szpek (1992). She has proposed a four-step model of a translation technique that can be used to analyse an Ancient Version in a linguistically informative manner. Szpek appears to work from an approach of formal linguistics, which is embodied in the paradigm of Generative Grammar (Evan, Bergen and Zinken, 2007:3).

The present study seeks to make a contribution within the subject area of translation technique analysis of the Peshitta, by suggesting the incorporation of a linguistic approach based on Frame Semantics to the comparative study of the Peshitta and its putative source text. In the present study this approach is applied specifically to the book of Ezekiel chapters 1-24.

Frame Semantics is a linguistic approach within the broader framework of cognitive linguistics. This is a fairly recent approach in linguistics which is nevertheless gaining ascendancy in the broader field of linguistics (Evans and Green, 2006:3-4). By applying the theory of Frame Semantics the present study intends to study the translation of words, clauses or short simple sentences as they represent specific micro-scenes which in this case are called 'frames'. These frames are evoked by words in small clauses or short simple sentences. The final aim is to understand whether the Peshitta translator was able, in his own way, to capture the scenes in the Hebrew text and map them accurately and consistently in his Syriac target text.

The procedure for the analysis of translation technique in the present study also makes use of a process that is similar in structure to the four-stage model of Szpeck (1992). The use of linguistic frames, the study of the use of words in texts and the collation of such data requires the use of databases. Most of such databases are available in the form of software programs and online resources. In addition, the present study utilises specific manuscripts, and under certain assumptions, takes these manuscripts to represent the *Vorlage* (with respect to MT and LXX) and the *Urtext* (with respect to MSS 7a1).

CHAPTER 3

MAPPING EVENT FRAMES INTO THE PESHITTA TO EZEKIEL 1 – 24: THE GIVING FRAMES EVOKED BY THE POLYSEMOUS LU **נָתַן**.v (nātan)

3.1 INTRODUCTION

In this chapter and a few of the following ones, the present study will be concerned primarily with the ways in which the Peshitta translator mapped his frames into the Syriac text, that is, the Peshitta to Ezekiel (P-Ez) translation. This process requires the identification of a particular frame in the base (source) text, followed by a frame comparative study to establish how such a frame was rendered in the target text. A small unit of text can potentially be related to hundreds of frames. As a result, it will not be possible to study all the frames within the scope of our study (Ezekiel chapter 1 – 24) in the present type of presentation. Therefore, only a small sample of diverse frames will be hand-picked and studied (or annotated) in *full-text annotation*.

Full-text annotation entails the analysis of the instantiation of a particular frame within a running text, in which “the sentences are chosen for us, so to speak” (Shead, 2011:138).⁷² Indeed, the use of full-text annotation implies one major difference between the approach based on Frame Semantics employed in the present study and the approach used in the FrameNet (FN) project. The particular approach employed in the present study has the advantage of taking into consideration FEs that may not be specified within a particular sentence or instantiation of a frame,⁷³ but may be retrievable from the context of the object text. That being the case, the nature of annotation followed in the present study is quite simplified. Such annotation basically is limited to the identification of the target lexical unit (in the present study frequently simply referred to as the LU or target LU) and

⁷² An alternative to full-text annotation is lexicographic annotation, according to which sentences to understand the instantiation of a particular frame are carefully chosen from a corpus or from certain corpora (Shead, 2011:138; FN, 2010:15-19).

⁷³ Referred to in FN (2010) as Null instantiation (NI) (Shead, 2011:153-155).

the FEs.⁷⁴ In addition, given the nature of events that are annotated in chapters three and four of the present study, there is need to annotate relationships of the themes / agents to goal or target features. Such relationships are referred to in the present study as Theme – Goal relators and mostly appear in the form of prepositions. There are more difficulties, however, even when the study is done on a scale based on analysing small samples. For example, one single frame can be instantiated by more than one lexical unit (sometimes by even more than 10 LUs). Thus finding and studying all the LUs applicable to a frame can be quite a taxing exercise. Alternatively, one single LU can instantiate more than a dozen frames, depending on the conceptual aspects involved. Therefore for the next few chapters, a sample of different types of frames will be studied based on selected LUs from the study range (Ezekiel 1-24).

3.2 ANALYSIS OF THE TRANSLATION OF FRAMES INSTANTIATED BY nātan

The first LU chosen for a cross-linguistic frame to conduct a Frame Semantics study between the MT and P-Ez for this study range is the Hebrew verb נתן (nātan).⁷⁵ In formal linguistics the verb נתן is a polysemous word. It is noted to be one of the most frequently used verbs within the book of Ezekiel (Zimmerli, 1979:389). In the Frame Semantics study of this word, the present chapter will be structured mainly in three basic parts:

- I. Defining the basic semantic structure of the target LU נתן.v.
- II. Analysis of the mapping of נתן.v instantiated frames from their Hebrew source text into the Syriac target text.
- III. Chapter conclusions.

⁷⁴ It should be noted that the number of layers (or grammatical analyses) that may be employed in frame annotation is principally unlimited. This number, therefore, to a large extent will depend on reasons for carrying out the Frame Semantics study. The number and types of layers chosen in the present study are thus suited to a preliminary study based on Frame Semantics regarding the translation technique of P-Ez.

⁷⁵ Except in the list of references section, transliterations of Hebrew words into English throughout the present study are those of the author.

3.3 A FRAME SEMANTICS ANALYSIS OF THE FRAMES INSTANTIATED BY *nātan*

3.3.1 Defining the basic semantic structure of *nātan*

In conducting a Frame Semantics study of any word, it is noticeable that while frames are schematisations or categorisations of experience, these are not always neat, compact and discrete categories in their concrete occurrence and use in natural language. Rather they display typicality characteristics or fuzzy boundaries, such as those discussed in the previous chapter (Evans and Green, 2006:328). Since, in lexical semantics, a lexical item such as נתן constitutes a conceptual category of distinct but related or polysemous senses, it also means that the LU נתן.v will evoke a number of different but closely related frames thereby reflecting the polysemous nature of the word (Evans and Green, 2006:328). Thus for example, the LU נתן.v will not only evoke the GIVING frame but it will also, in certain contexts, evoke frames such as the PLACING and the APPOINTING frames.⁷⁶ This observation is based on the view that words are categories that can be modelled and investigated by using the theory of idealised cognitive models (ICMs) (Evans and Green, 2006:328).⁷⁷

It is then necessary, as part of Frame Semantics study, to understand how all those frames evoked by the same LU are related, at least in semantic terms. In order to establish this relationship, the present study makes use of the approach from cognitive lexical semantics that views words as conceptual categories or ICMs, and specifically, as radial categories (Evans and Green, 2006:328). However, in place of a focus on simple words, the present study will investigate frames as radial categories.⁷⁸ In establishing the radial network of the frame evoked by the Hebrew

⁷⁶ While the definitions of various frames mentioned in the present study are usually self-evident from their names, definitions of these frames will be provided at instances where such frames are being discussed in detail, either within the main text, or in footnotes.

⁷⁷ See also chapter 2.

⁷⁸ The present study works from the assumption that the relation between the radial category of a word, and that of a frame (radial) network, actually is an analogous one. When one has to study the semantic structure of a word, one has to consider the encyclopaedic reference of that word, which involves its application in specific frames. Similarly when one studies the structure of frames, that

LU נתן.v, the present study will utilise the Full-specification approach of lexical semantic analysis, with necessary modifications where necessary (Evans and Green, 2006:333; Brugman and Lakoff, 2006:113 – 138).⁷⁹ When applying the Full-specification approach in analysing the semantics of a lexical unit, the term **image schema** is of significant importance.

Central to the Full-specification approach as applied to lexical semantics, is the view that senses associated with a word category are primarily represented by some type of image schema or a number of such schemas (Brugman and Lakoff, 2006:113; Evans and Green, 2006:333; Navarro i Fernando, 2000:195-196). An image schema may be understood as a “recurring, dynamic pattern of our perceptual interactions and motor programs that gives coherence to our experience” (Taylor, 2002:520). Such schemas are abstract, mental representations of kinetic and perceptual experiences where a single image schema can form the basis of numerous concepts (words).⁸⁰ For example, the human experiential awareness of spatial extent – be it linear, two-dimensional, or three-dimensional space – and the location of various objects within that space, forms part of the SPACE image schema. In a certain sense, image schemas are abstract image-schematic concepts that underlie specific lexical concepts which humans employ in language (Evans and Green, 2006:180).

person is indeed involved with the study of words in specific contexts or senses (or encyclopaedic references) in which that word can be used (cf. Evans and Green, 2006:221). Thus in a certain sense, the study of the radial category of the word נתן is in a sense the study of the radial category of the GIVING frame evoked by the LU נתן.v.

⁷⁹ The author is aware of some criticisms levelled against Brugman and Lakoff's Full-specification approach, especially with regard to their failure to distinguish polysemy from vagueness, as well as some methodological loopholes in their approach (Evans and Green, 2006:339-342). Such weak points will be avoided in the present study, especially with the help of related approaches, such as the Principled polysemy approach (Evans and Green, 2006:342ff.). The present study, however, keeps to the Full-specification approach on the grounds that it appears to emphasise the image schematic elements as the basis of the various senses of the word that is analysed, an emphasis that the present study also upholds.

⁸⁰ The definition for the term ‘image schema’ is often considered vague (Taylor, 2002:520). Therefore, explaining the term may require more space than what can be afforded in this treatise. For a more detailed explanation of the term, see amongst others, Taylor (2002:519-523) and Evans and Green (2006:178-191). Image schemas, like categories are identified in the study by use of words in uppercase letters.

The hope among cognitive linguists in plotting image schemas is meant to establish the conceptual structure (a set of the most basic and simple propositions of meaning) of words (concepts) such as that of נתן – and thus establish the semantic structure of a lexical item (Evans and Green, 2006:180). As stated earlier, this whole idea is based on the persuasion in Cognitive Semantics that the human language system provides meaning based on concepts derived from embodiment. The reason being that semantic structure reflects conceptual structure, which in turn reflects embodied experience (Evans and Green, 2006:191, 194).

The basic and central meaning of the LU נתן.v presents itself to be that of the GIVING frame. Swanson (1997) links נתן to the domain 'give' (57.71 – 57.124) in Louw and Nida's Greek-English Lexicon based on 'domains'. Louw and Nida (1996:565) define the domain 'give' as referring to "the transfer of some object or benefit from one person to another with the initiative resting with the person who gives and without incurring an obligation on the part of a receiver to reciprocate. Furthermore, the giving of such an object or benefit does not imply remuneration for a previous exchange."

Swanson also cites other senses of the verb נתן and links them to various domains in Louw and Nida (1996). Some of these include the 'cause' sense located in the Case domain, which basically concerns the following: the relation of participants to events or states (Louw and Nida, 1996:795); the 'placing' sense located in the 'Existence in space' domain with sub-domains, such as being in place and putting or placing (Louw and Nida, 1996:723); the 'produce' sense located in the 'Becoming or Existence' domain (Louw and Nida, 1996:148); and the 'appoint' sense located in the 'Control or Rule' domain with sub-domains, such as Force and Assign Authority (Louw and Nida, 1996:471). All of these domains making up the various senses of the verb נתן, are quite varied and hardly display any semantic relation between them. Furthermore, no means is provided in the lexicon by which one may perceive any conceptual relation between them, if any.

In contrast, in the present study, it is observed from a Frame Semantics angle that in the Hebrew text of Ezekiel 1-24, the lexeme נתן instantiates some 27 different frames from a noted 98 occurrences of the lexical unit. All these different frames appear to draw in some way (metonymically, metaphorically, etc.) from the basic frame, GIVING. Subsequent discussions in the present study will be focused on bringing this relation to the fore. However, the point being made here is that the analysis of the semantic structure of words through a cognitive semantic approach, such as Frame Semantics, introduces into the topic of lexical semantic analysis new facets which have until now been vague, if not completely absent in many lexicons. Such a study introduces a lexical semantic analysis and the drawing of semantic relations at the conceptual or cognitive levels.

From the point of view of Cognitive Semantics, meanings of words in a language are not simply a corpus of conventional and smartly categorised references. They rather are related to (embodied) experience, and to conceptual structure, among other characteristics.⁸¹ The concept of domains⁸² as applied by Louw and Nida, seeks to combine lexical items whose meanings are closely related in semantic space (partial synonyms) (Louw and Nida, 1996). In contrast, the theory of Cognitive Semantics as applied specifically in Frame Semantics tends to trace a relation between those lexical items whose meanings are related in terms of conceptual structure. This is regardless of the fact whether such lexical items can be regarded as synonymous or polysemous.

Regarding the reason for the relationship between the 27 different frames evoked by the Hebrew LU נתן.v mentioned earlier above, it may be postulated that underlying the GIVING frame is a **general conceptual schema** (Navarro i Fernando, 2000:195-196).⁸³ This general conceptual schema refers to a set of basic conceptual

⁸¹ This subject is discussed in more detail in section 2.3.1.1.

⁸² Although a similarity possibly exists between the how Louw and Nida used the term 'domain' and how Langacker as quoted by Evans and Green (2006:230-235) uses it, a difference must nevertheless be understood between them, especially with respect to the matter of conceptual structure that is prominent in Langacker's theory of domains.

⁸³ Also referred to as a 'central image schema' (Evans and Green, 2006:333, 346). Cf. Brugman and Lakoff (2006:113).

information that is apparent in diverse instances, which can be identified as relating to the LU *נתן.v* in all its polysemous meanings. This general conceptual schema (which may also be called the *generic frame structure*)⁸⁴ is certainly not a reference to any discrete and distinct spatial scene or the representation of any particular scene in reality (Brugman and Lakoff, 2006:113; Evans and Green, 2006:346). However, this schema forms the basic conceptual framework from which all the other senses are derived. Normally, in cognitive-semantic studies of lexical units like prepositions, a conceptual schema simply may be dominated by a single image schema, such as the CONTAINER schema for the preposition 'in' (Evans and Green, 2006:333; Navarro i Fernando, 2000:195-196).

In the case of the present study of the central sense of *נתן*, the general conceptual schema is not a simple instance (or a single *Gestalt*) dominated by only one single image schema, but is typically made up of several schemas that are woven together in an intricate basic framework (Evans and Green, 2006:185).

Normally it is difficult from the human point of view, scientifically to construct the general conceptual schema or a generic frame structure as described above, without having established a perceptible (non-abstract) instance of a relevant proto-scene. For example, in order to discover the image schematic concepts behind the lexical unit *give.v*, one must be aware of at least a prototypical instance of the giving event. It is from such a prototypical scene that one may deduce the probable image schematic combinations underlying the concept GIVE. In Brugman and Lakoff's study (2006:112-113) the humanly perceptible proto-scene employed is the scene *The plane flew over the mountain*.

Furthermore, one should take note of most of the different types of senses that a word denotes, in order to be fairly certain of the generic frame structure applicable to

⁸⁴ The term *generic frame structure* will be preferred in the present study to the term *general conceptual schema*. The reason for this is that although both terms refer to approximately the same feature, a conceptual frame, such as the COMMERCIAL TRANSACTION frame, with elements such as Seller, Buyer, and Money, generally is something more accessible to us than a 'conceptual schema' with the somewhat abstract image schemas such as the BALANCE, PROCESS and CONTAINMENT schemas as elements.

the lexical unit or the emergent radial category. In Cognitive Semantics, a network of polysemous senses related to a single lexical unit is called a 'radial category' (Evans and Green, 2006:331). In this sense the generic frame structure may only be understood as basic to all the possible frames of an available lexical unit. This then outlines the theoretical framework and the procedural steps in the analysis of the semantic structure (and hence the frame network) of נתן in the Hebrew text of Ezekiel 1-24. It may be summarised as follows:

- Drawing a prototypical scene of נתן and making an analysis of image schemas behind it.
- Drawing other scenes (frames) with related senses and comparing the various scenes (frames) mainly in terms of images schemas.
- Establishing a generic frame structure.
- Analysing the radial categories (frames and the frame network, including valence patterns of frames).

It should also be noted that an initially selected proto-scene (central sense) does not automatically mean that, such a scene makes up the central sense of the word. The Full-specification approach does not seem to provide a scientific way to establish the proto-scene (see Evans and Green, 2006:342, 344-346). As stated previously, the present study makes a theoretical claim that the default construal or the central sense of the LU נתן.v is 'give implying the GIVING frame'.⁸⁵ This theoretical claim is based on the fact that the sense 'give implying the GIVING frame' is listed as the first primary sense of נתן by biblical Hebrew lexicographers. Furthermore, the central or prototypical sense 'give implying the GIVING frame' is proved by the prevalence of this sense in the corpus under study, when compared to other senses denoted by the same lexeme (as will be shown in subsequent sections). These two criteria for establishing the central or prototypical sense of a word have been adopted from Evans and Green (2006:333, 342)'s presentation of the Principled Polysemy approach.

⁸⁵ The GIVING frame is defined below.

Thus the LU נתן.v primarily evokes the GIVING frame which is defined as follows in FN (2010).

“A Donor transfers a Theme from a Donor to a Recipient. This frame includes only actions that are initiated by the Donor (the one that starts out owning the Theme). Sentences (even metaphorical ones) must meet the following entailments: the Donor first has possession of the Theme. Following the transfer the Donor no longer has the Theme and the Recipient does.”

Interestingly, FN (2010) also provides a frame called the GIVING SCENARIO which is described as “a sequence of events in which the Donor begins in possession of the Theme, then gives it to the Recipient, relinquishing possession.” Although not motivated as such, this GIVING SCENARIO frame provided in FN (2010) appears to be an attempt to provide some kind of a proto-scene, a typical event upon which the GIVING concept is based.

The GIVING frame thus may be represented by the following kind of prototypical scene.

Three important role-players are involved.⁸⁶

- I. Donor [a sentient, animate and agentive being that is able and willing to transfer an object (Theme) in his possession]
- II. Theme [a transferable corporeal object]
- III. Recipient [a sentient, a being that is able and willing to respond in reception]

A typical event in a GIVING frame then takes place as follows:

The Donor **gives** [stretches out his / her “hand(s)” and transfers] the Theme from self to the Receiver [who receives by way of stretching out ‘hand(s)’ to take possession

⁸⁶ See FN (2010).

of the Theme]. A typical case of such a scene from the study corpus in Ezekiel may be taken from Ezekiel 18:7, which in Hebrew reads as follows:

Ezekiel 18:7

MT:

לחמו לרעב יתן

TR:⁸⁷ He gives his bread to the poor.

In the case of a lexical item with a rich content such as נתן, the image schemas involved might be numerous and complex in nature (Evans and green, 2006:185), when compared, at least, to the image schemas of simple lexical units such as *over*. Thus the image schemas or image schematic elements that will be presented in this study may only serve as parts of a larger complex image schema which we are not able to present fully at this stage. The important image schemas involved in the proto-scene of נתן described above are presented in the table below.

⁸⁷ Throughout the study, TR represents the author's own translation, unless mentioned otherwise.

Table 3.1 A list of major image schemas involved in the proto-typical giving scene evoked by nātan

Heading (Major category)	Image schemas in category
LOCOMOTION	(KINAESTHETICS); SOURCE – PATH – GOAL
EXISTENCE	REMOVAL; OBJECT; PROCESS
INTROSPECTIVE ⁸⁸	EMOTION-VOLITION; EMOTION-LOVE; EMOTION-LOSS; EMOTION-GAIN
FORCE	BALANCE, ⁸⁹ COUNTERFORCE, COMPULSION, RESTRAINT, ENABLEMENT, BLOCKAGE
CONTAINER	CONTAINMENT, IN – OUT

As will become apparent from comparing different lists of such image schemas in various types of literature, it is sometimes extremely difficult to make distinctions between some schemas. For example, in the list above, the LOCOMOTION and the EXISTENCE schemas are very closely related and sometimes are attributed to the same type of concepts. Thus in the prototypical GIVING event, for example, one may justifiably identify a form of a SOURCE – PATH – GOAL schema, as well as a PROCESS schema as it is involved in the ACTION or MOVEMENT associated with the giving scene (cf. Clausner and Croft, 1999:21-22).

A similar case involves the FORCE and the CONTAINER image schemas listed above. Both can be viewed as contributing to the concept of CONTROL. Grady

⁸⁸ The image schematic element of introspective experience included here is not often found among the image schematic lists produced by cognitive semanticists, such as the one in Evans and Green (2006:190). This is primarily because of the difficulty in analysing such emotional or subjective schemas. Nevertheless, EMOTION is viewed by Langacker (as quoted by Evans and Green, 2006:192, 537) as one of the basic domains.

⁸⁹ In various literature dealing with the subject of image schemas, the FORCE and BALANCE image schemas may be treated differently, depending on individual persuasion. Some treat the FORCE image schema as a major group of image schemas, of which the specific image schema BALANCE is a sub-category. Others treat both the FORCE and the BALANCE (or EQUILIBRIUM) schemas as separate major groups of schemas. E.g. see Evans and Green (2006:190); Clausner and Croft (1999:15) and Hampe (2005:2-4). The present study follows the treatment of image schemas according to Clausner and Croft (1999).

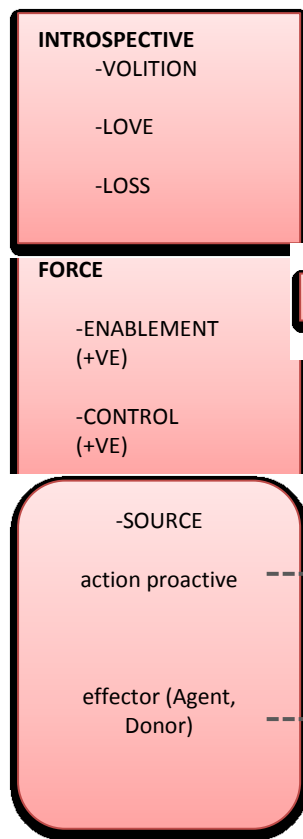
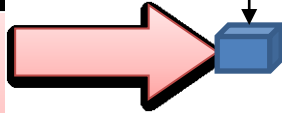
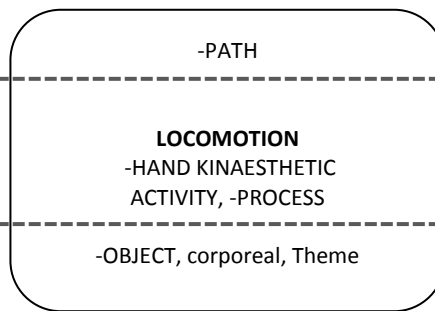
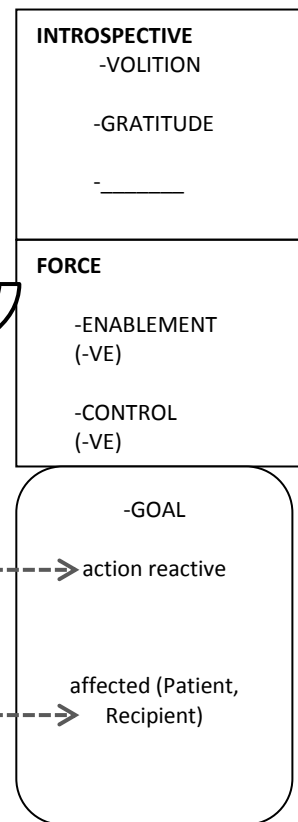
(2005:46-47) refers to the target concepts like ACTION and CONTROL as the RESPONSE schemas. In the figures presented below, it may be noticeable that the present study has employed the term CONTROL as an image schematic element resulting from the combination of the FORCE and the CONTAINER image schemas.

It may be possible to aggregate the image schematic elements above for the lexical concept נתן into a unified diagrammatic representation. The prototypical scene of נתן, representing the sentence לחמו לרעב יתן (he gives his bread to the poor) is given below and it also attempts to show the various image schemas involved in the scene. In the diagrams below, the following symbols can be isolated:

- **A** stands for Agent (or its equivalent e.g. Donor), an entity that basically acts with volition and intention, also referred to as the trajector or TR in Langacker's cognitive approach to grammar.
- **T** stands for Theme (or its equivalent), an entity that basically undergoes a change of location (hands) and is referred to as the LM in Langacker's cognitive approach to grammar.
- **R** stands for the Receiver (or its equivalent, e.g. Goal), the entity or point at which the Theme (**T**) terminates its motion, also referred to as the secondary LM in Langacker's cognitive grammar (Evans and Green, 2006:596-597).

The approach followed in the present study is confined to Frame Semantics. Therefore the study will avoid the use of schematic or grammatical labels and confine itself to the semantic labels of the elements involved in a scene such as Donor, Theme and Recipient.

In the Figure below, the major image schemas in this complex setting are shown in upper case bold letters, the minor ones in uppercase non-bold letters, in words that are prefixed with a hyphen.

A**T** (OBJECT, valuable)**R****Fig 3.1**

A prototypical scene (including image schematic elements) of the GIVING frame evoked by nātan, with A initially in control of T

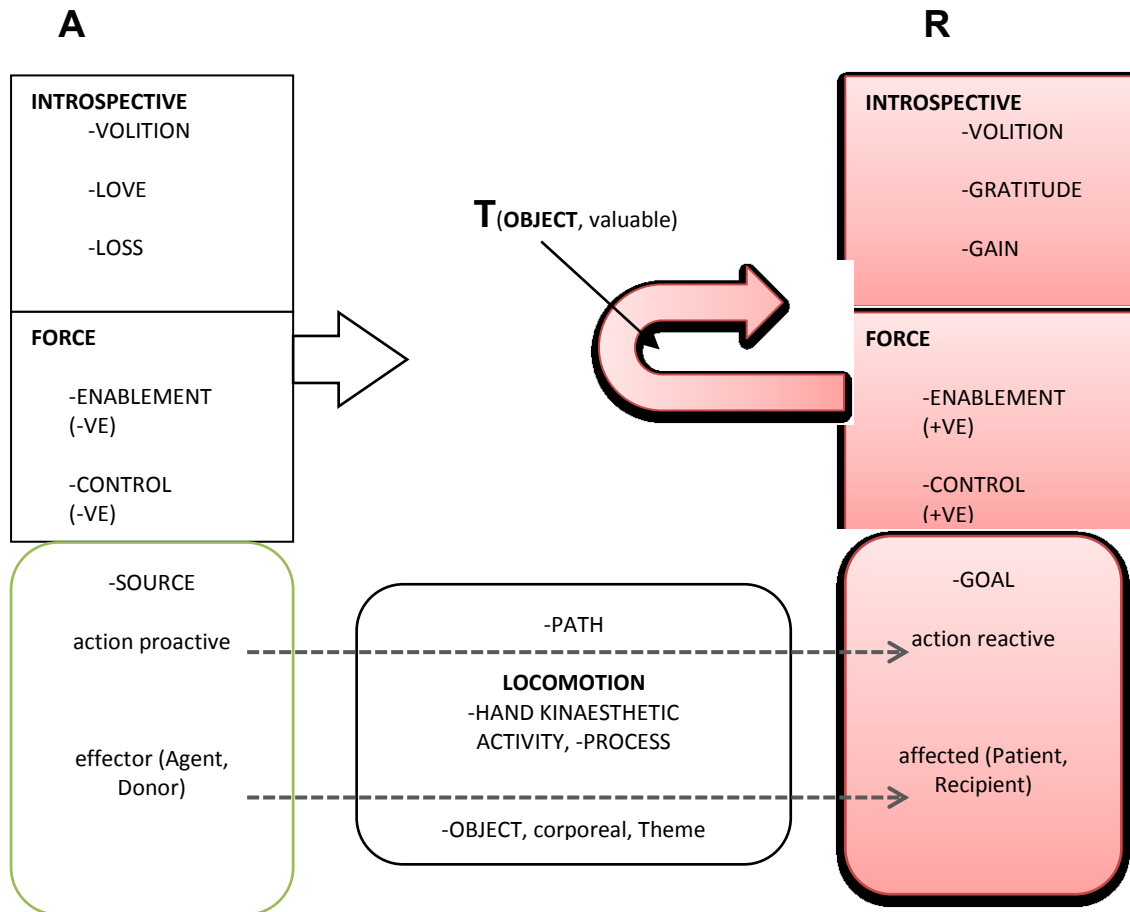


Fig 3.2

A prototypical scene (including image schematic elements) of the GIVING frame evoked by *nātan*, with R finally in control of T

3.3.1.1 Accounting for the derived frames of *nātan*

As described in Evans and Green (2006:331), cognitive semanticists view lexical items as conceptual categories. A typical word is seen as characteristically polysemous. The polysemous senses of a word are thus thought of as concepts that are organised relative to a prototypical (central) concept. The whole network of polysemous senses linked to a prototypical sense, is called a *radial category* and structurally it displays the form of a radiating lattice. In this radial category, it will be found that more prototypical senses are located at points (or nodes) closer to the prototypical or central sense while the less prototypical ones are located at points further from the central node that represents the central category. The present study

contends that frames may also be structured in a similar manner, that is to say, a frame network may be centred around a single prototypical frame.

In explaining how polysemy arises, Evans and Green (2006:332) state that cognitive semanticists are of the view that less prototypical senses are derived from more prototypical senses by cognitive mechanisms that facilitate meaning extension, which include cognitive metaphor and image schema transformations. The systematic meaning extensions through these mechanisms then give rise to the phenomenon known as polysemy. It may be helpful here to plot how a few of polysemous senses (or frames) arising from the prototypical meaning נתן that was established above. However, before this can be done, it will be ideal first to take account of the various concepts that may be very influential in metaphorical, metonymical and transformations of image schemas regarding the prototypical GIVING frame. In view of an embodied experience of 'giving', one body part is especially very prominent: the hand.

It is important to understand the 'hand' (primarily the hand of the acting Agent) as an important part of an embodied experience. This experience often encodes metonymically and metaphorically into various linguistic concepts, and is manifested in linguistic expressions, which are not necessarily confined to the GIVING frame. In the Hebrew language and in many other cultures, the hand (יָד), the part of the body from the shoulder to the fingertips, is used metonymically to refer to a whole person, the one who acts or the possessor (see Kövecses, 2002:208-209). This and other important metonyms and metaphors related to the HAND are stated in Kövecses (2002:207-209). The list below includes only those metonyms and metaphors that will be applicable to the frames evoked by נתן.v.

THE HAND STANDS FOR THE PERSON (metonymy)

THE HAND STANDS FOR ACTIVITY (metonymy)

THE HAND STANDS FOR CONTROL (metonymy)

CONTROL IS HOLDING SOMETHING IN THE HAND (metaphor)

One may hypothetically construe that such concepts emerging from the embodied experience in the giving frame may be vectors that facilitate meaning extension. For example, in Ezekiel 4:2, there is a sentence that may be translated, “construct camps against it ...” The Hebrew verb translated here with ‘construct’ is בָּנָה.v. In the Biblical Hebrew context, construction is something that is done typically through the use of human hands, and hence the use of the verb בָּנָה, concerning which hands prominently are involved. In the list that follows, these conceptual metonymies and metaphors are linked tentatively to various conceptual structural aspects of the GIVING frame.

THE HAND STANDS FOR THE PERSON

(as denoting initially the Agent, and sometimes finally the Recipient)

THE HAND STANDS FOR CONTROL

(as exercised mostly or originally by Agent, and sometimes finally by Recipient)

CONTROL IS HOLDING SOMETHING IN THE HAND

(as exercised initially by the Agent, and sometimes finally by the Recipient)

THE HAND STANDS FOR ACTIVITY

(as the activity of the Agent in transferring, effecting, etc.)

From the presentation of the relations given above, the prominent role of the HAND should be noted, as well as that of the Agent FE over against that of the Recipient FE. Following the foregoing observation about the prominence of the HAND in the GIVING frame, the present study goes on to investigate how the proto-scene depicted above may be transformed to produce other polysemous meanings through variations and substitutions of the image schema.

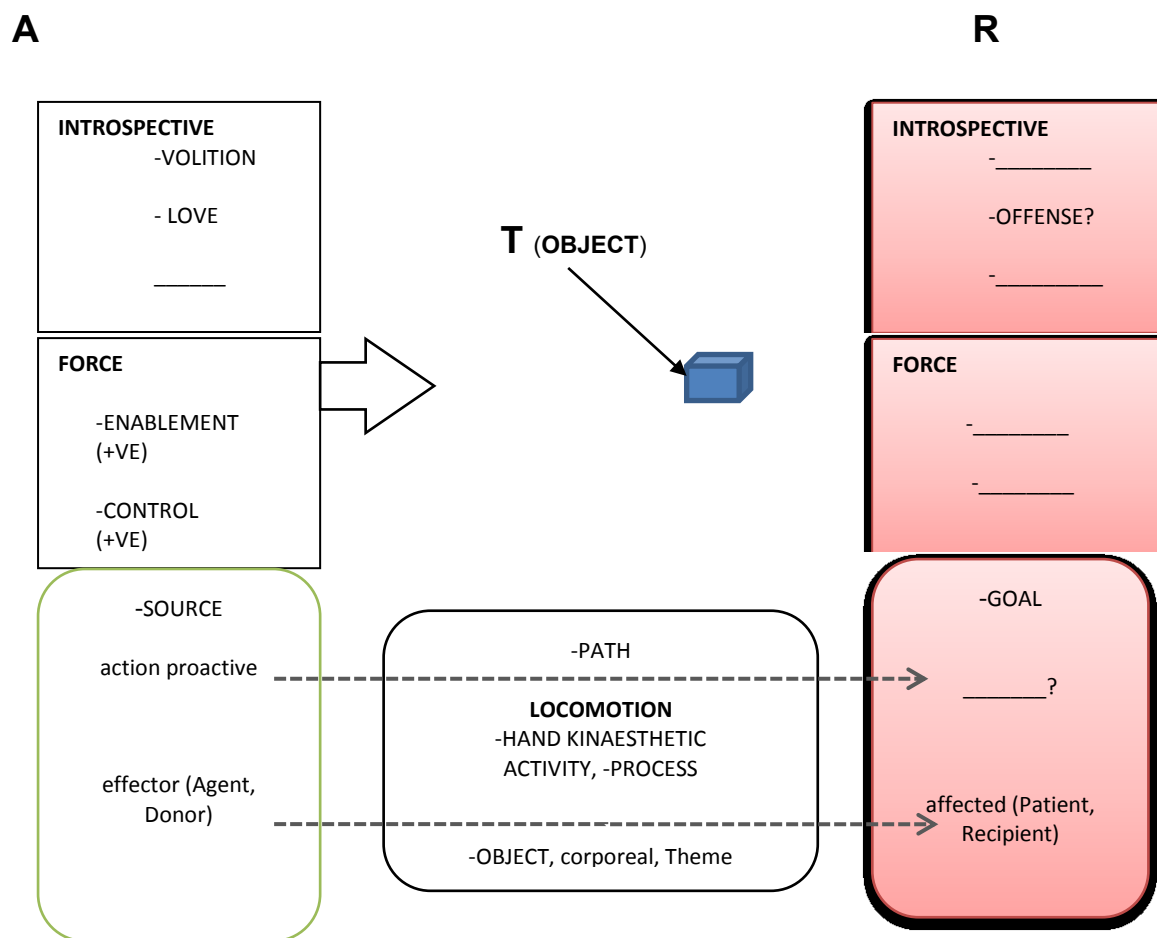


Fig 3.3

Aggregated image schemas behind the PLACING⁹⁰ frame in Ezekiel 3:20, a frame related to the prototypical GIVING frame.

Ezekiel 3:20

MT:

ונתתי מכשול לפניו

TR: And I place a stumbling block before him

While a number of important image schematic elements from the prototypical scene in Fig 3.2 are maintained in Fig 3.3 above, there are nevertheless some differences. For example, in view of the introspective experiential schemas, the Agent does not experience a sense of LOSS as in the prototypical case. The Recipient does not

⁹⁰ The PLACING frame is defined as the scene where “an Agent places a Theme at a location, the Goal, which is profiled. In this frame, the Theme is under the control of the Agent / Cause at the time of its arrival at the Goal” (FN, 2010).

exercise intentional VOLITION, nor experience a sense of GAIN. Rather, the Recipient may actually experience OFFENSE. With regard to the FORCE image schema, the schemas ENABLEMENT and CONTROL are active with respect to the Agent and apparently inactive with respect to the Recipient. Evidently the Recipient participates minimally in the 'placing' action. Nevertheless, the basic LOCOMOTION schema (SOURCE – PATH – GOAL), and the OBJECT schema are maintained here in the same format in which they stand in the prototypical frame.

It is also important to note here that the placing sense or the PLACING frame represents a sense that reasonably can be traced to the frame structure (in terms of spatial and FE configuration) of the prototypical GIVING frame represented above. One would rarely understand the 'placing' sense in the English language as being polysemous of the prototypical 'giving' sense (that is of the verb 'give'). This appears to be precisely the case in the Hebrew of Ezekiel, which shows that polysemy (and hence conceptual structure) appears to differ at certain levels according to culture and language.⁹¹ The present study thus argues that the scene depicted here in terms of the PLACING frame is a polysemous frame of the prototypical GIVING frame.

⁹¹ Reference is here made of the discussion in section 2.3.1.7.

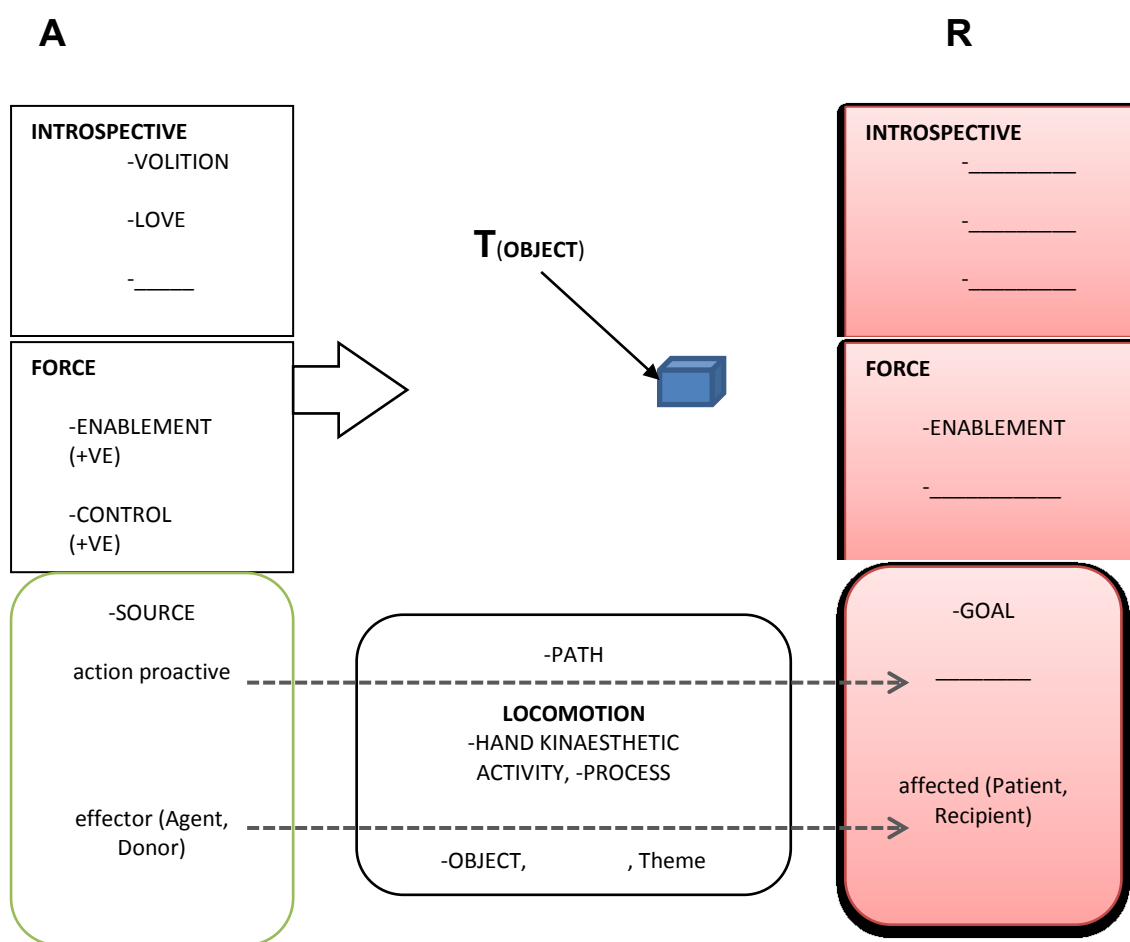


Fig 3.4

Aggregated image schemas behind the CAUSE CHANGE OF STRENGTH⁹² frame in Ezekiel 3:8, a frame related to the prototypical GIVING frame

Ezekiel 3:8

MT:

נתתי את־פניך חזקים ...

TR: I have made your face hard ... (lit. *I have given your face hardness* ...)

The above representation (Fig 3.4) reveals various image schematic similarities, as well as variations (or transformations), relating to the proto-scene in Fig 3.2. The major ones are that the **T** is incorporeal, the Recipient does not participate (react) in the PATH schema and has no INTROSPECTIVE experience whatsoever (since it is not a sentient being). The depiction of LOCOMOTION (HAND KINAESTHETICS) is

⁹² An Agent causes a Patient to be more strong (that is, increases a Patient's property of withstanding contrary force) adapted from FN (2010).

basically metaphorical. As elucidated above, hands are normally involved in the process of making things. Thus they are applied here metaphorically to represent the Agent's manipulation of the Recipient, a manipulation which is not evident throughout. In summary, the CAUSE CHANGE OF STRENGTH frame here seems to involve the following substitutions: The human face takes the place of a sentient being, and hardness takes the place of a corporeal transferable object. Strictly speaking, these are not conceptual metaphor mappings but rather image schematic variations and substitutions (Evans and Green, 2006:332).

3. 3.1.2 *The relationship between the prototypical frame and its derived frames*

Given the observations made above, numerous image schematic variations and substitutions can be formed (also involving metaphorical mappings) to create various frames whose structures are ultimately derived from the proto-scene of נתן. Some variations are close enough to the proto-scene structure while others are distant (peripheral), thus creating a radial category of the concept of נתן. Ultimately, it may be hypothesised that behind all the frames instantiated by נתן.v and derived from the proto-scene of the LU, lies a basic frame structure which remains the same with each derived polysemous frame of the LU נתן.v. This basic frame structure is a skeletal schematic structure, or a structure of image schematic notions that are apparent in all the derived frames of נתן. Such a structure is the one that has earlier been referred to as the generic frame structure. In this instance, the generic frame structure is that of the polysemous LU נתן.v. This structure has been traced in the present study by studying the nature of all the 27 frames that the LU instantiates in Ezekiel 1-24. The frame structure is illustrated in the diagram below.

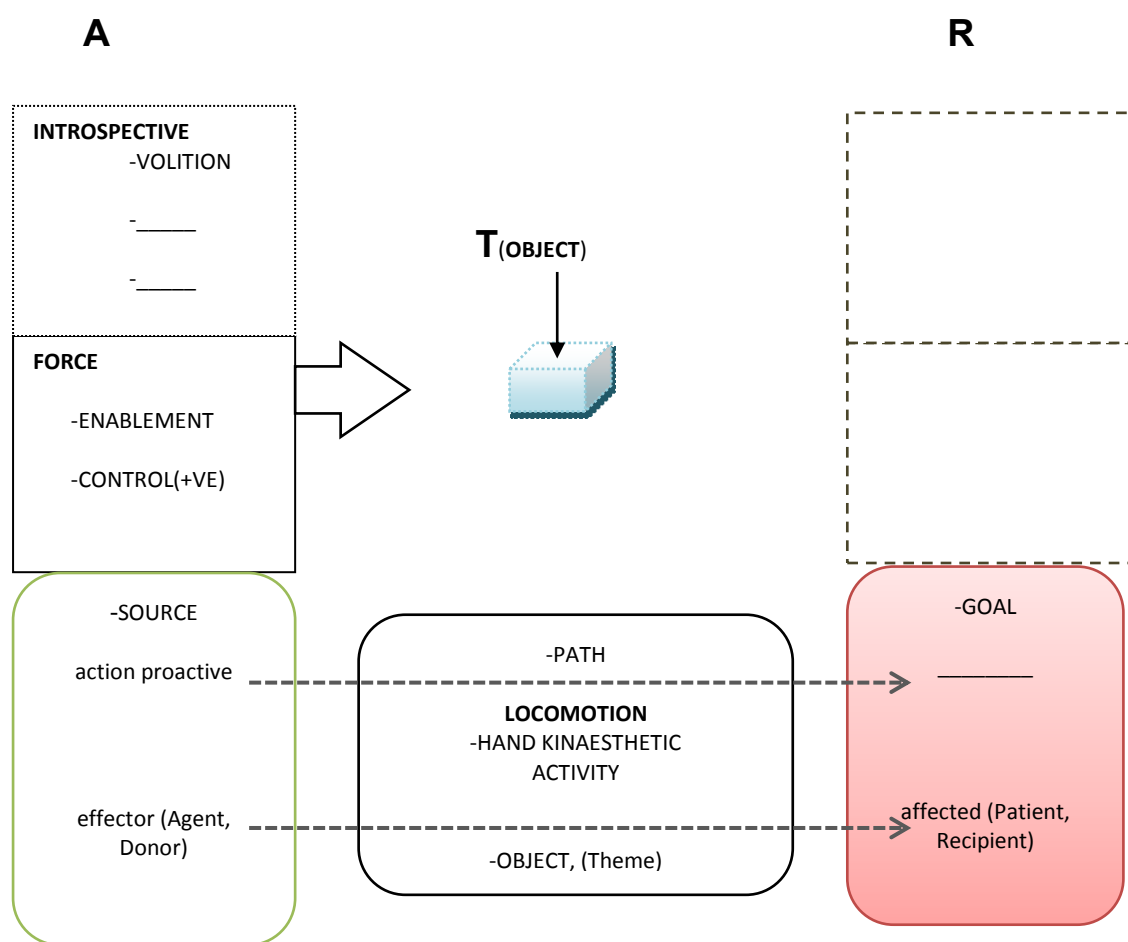


Fig 3.5
The generic frame structure behind the frames (senses) instantiated by *nātan* in Ezekiel 1 – 24

In terms of words, Fig 3.5 above represents the following generic frame structure:

There must be an Agent (Effector), a sentient being⁹³ who is capable and has control of a Theme by which he affects the Patient (Affected) in an action (LOCOMOTION) that may be represented metaphorically by HAND kinaesthetics.⁹⁴

⁹³ In a language such as English, the Agent need not be a sentient being, for example, while it is perfectly normal in English to use the LU 'give' in the sentence 'that wine gives me a headache', using נתן in such a sentence does not seem to be acceptable in Hebrew, at least not in Ezekiel 1-24.

⁹⁴ This schema of HAND kinaesthetics may sometimes be referred to metaphorically by the simple act of speech. For example, a Donor who is away from home in a distant location may call a Recipient located in the Donor's home area telling him "I am giving you the white ox from among my cattle". In that case, the HAND activity is replaced by expressive words. Sometimes the speech act is the only

An alternative way of viewing the relation between the prototypical frame of a polysemous word and its derived frames is by way of the conceptual metaphor theory.⁹⁵ Thus in the case of נתן, the source domain may be seen as the prototypical GIVING domain (or the GIVING frame), while the target domain becomes any one of the other frames, such as the PLACING frame instantiated by the LU נתן.v and understandably derived from the GIVING frame.

As was demonstrated in Evans and Green (2006:295), one may consider the conceptual metaphor LOVE IS A JOURNEY, in which the target domain LOVE RELATIONSHIPS is structured conceptually in terms of the source domain, JOURNEYS. This mechanism is the closest to what Kövecses, (2002:33, 40) terms structural metaphors. Essentially, “structural metaphors map the structure of the source domain onto the structure of the target and in this way, allow speakers to understand one domain in terms of another” (Kövecses, 2002:40). The start of a relationship may be viewed in terms of the beginning of a journey, the lovers as travellers, and the difficulties encountered in the love relationship as obstacles *en route*. Nevertheless, the literal distinction between a love relationship and a journey remains. Similarly, the PLACING frame can be seen as a type of target domain that is conceptually structured in terms of a source domain, the GIVING frame. Thus in the PLACING frame, the Agent may be viewed in terms of the Donor in the GIVING frame; the Theme in the PLACING frame may be viewed as the Theme in the GIVING frame, and the Goal is viewed as the Recipient. Thus the PLACING frame shares the same basic frame structure with the GIVING frame. This basic frame structure is then what is closest to the generic frame structure, as established above.

Different language cultures may exercise varying extents of manipulations on proto-scenes or on generic frame structures in order to extend the meaning of words. (Indeed such varying extents of generic frame structure manipulations may occur within a single language group.) Thus the radial category for the same concept such as נתן, may differ in size and shape between any two languages (or between any

means of indicating HAND Kinaesthetics in the case where the Theme FE is immovable (cf. 1 Chronicles 21:23; Genesis 23:11).

⁹⁵ See section 2.3.1.5.

two speakers of the same language group). For example, the typical LU used in the prototypical GIVING frame employed in both the Hebrew text of Ezekiel and the Peshitta translation are נתן and ܐܡܢ / ܕܡܢ respectively. These respective LUs are also the same ones that are used to evoke the PLACING frame in both the Hebrew and the Peshitta texts (Ezekiel 3:20, 11:19(2), 24:8, 21:34 and 23:31). This may imply that both languages use the same generic frame structure behind the GIVING frame to conceptualise the PLACING frame. On the other hand, while the Hebrew also appears to use the generic frame structure behind the GIVING frame to conceptualise the CAUSE CHANGE OF STRENGTH frame, the Syriac language, in employing lexical items such as ܠܥܝܢ or ܠܥܝܢܐ rather than ܐܡܢ / ܕܡܢ, may indicate that it employs somewhat different generic frame structures to those used in the Hebrew language (Ezekiel 3:9, 3:8) for the CAUSE CHANGE OF STRENGTH frame.⁹⁶ In other words, the generic frame structures of the Syriac word ܐܡܢ / ܕܡܢ was not extended to include the CAUSE CHANGE OF STRENGTH frame as was the case in the Hebrew.

The most important aspect of studying conceptual structure such as that of the LU נתן.v, is to discover with care the frames (or senses) that the structure evokes and the nature of the distinctions and relationships between those frames. Furthermore, it helps one in understanding the subtle semantic conceptual differences involved in the use of lexical items within the context of cross-linguistic studies, especially between any two cognate languages such as Hebrew and Syriac.⁹⁷ What follows is an analysis of the range of frames (radial category of frames) instantiated by the LU נתן.v particularly with regard to the various relationships and differences between such frames.

⁹⁶ It is likely that LUs such as ܠܥܝܢ and ܠܥܝܢܐ are likely to imply the use of image schemas such as FORCE, UNITY / MULTIPLICITY and EXISTENCE rather than the dominant LOCOMOTION (SOURCE – PATH – GOAL) schema in the GIVING frames instantiated by נתן.v.

⁹⁷ For the purpose of the present study, a corresponding analysis of the conceptual structure of words used in the Peshitta to translate frames evoked by the Hebrew LU נתן.v is not necessary. Normally, corresponding Syriac frames are apparent from their Hebrew equivalents.

3.3.2 The range of frames instantiated by the target LU *nātan.v* and how they were mapped in Syriac

In Ezekiel 1-24, 27 related frames were found to be instantiated by the LU *נָתַן.v*. For a summary analysis of the different frames evoked by the LU *נָתַן.v*, the different types of frames may be grouped into major categories, according to how they relate to the proto-scene, the GIVING frame. This relation of the various related frames (senses) to the central meaning of an LU is referred to as a ‘radial network’ or a ‘radial category’. The most common way to present the semantic structure or various senses of a radial category is by means of a radiating lattice diagram (see Evans and Green, 2006:331-332). A table is chosen here to present similar information, with the advantage of providing detailed information of the relations between various frames (senses) and the prototypical frame (sense). This relation is based mainly on the behaviour and nature of the FEs involved.

Table 3.2 Radial network of the radial category nātan, mainly in terms of FE nature and behaviour

Frame structure abbrev.	Relationship to the prototypical GIVING frame	Explanation
G	GIVING (Prototypical)	Typifies the proto-scene of the GIVING frame: Donor (Agent) gives a Theme to the Recipient (Pat). • Agent must be able and willing to transfer,⁹⁸ i.e. an entity, a sentient being, • Theme is anything corporeal willing to be transferred, and • Recipient is an entity, a sentient being that is able and willing to respond in reception.
GMod ₁	G with one non-typical FE ⁹⁹	These are frames in which there lies only one FE which, although it corresponds somewhat to its equivalent in the proto-scene of the GIVING frame, it nonetheless differs in one or more of the typical characteristics that the said FE should display in the prototypical GIVING frame. For example, the Recipient may not be a sentient being, therefore unable to respond, or Theme may be unwilling to be transferred, or is incorporeal. An example is the PLACING frame 'I will place a stumbling block before him ...' in Ezekiel 3:20. Note that the FE, before him, is not a sentient being able to respond.
GMod ₁ -S	A GMod ₁ frame which, may further logically require another frame	This is a GMod₁ frame that may logically require another frame to precede it sequentially. For example, to "shut someone into a cage"

⁹⁸ There may however be 'negative' cases of a scene, where for example, the Agent is **not** willing to transfer a Theme to a Recipient. In such cases an expected scene does not in fact materialise, due to substitutions and variations of image schemas mostly from the Agent and remotely from the Recipient. In such cases the negative instantiation points indirectly to the normal instantiation of the frame. The issue concerning such a 'negative' orientation of frames has not been settled yet among scholars working on Frame Semantics (Fillmore and Baker, 2009:335). In the present study negative instantiations are treated as indirectly pointing to the typical instantiation of a frame, and therefore such scenes are simply included in the class of typical instantiations of that frame (e.g. see Ezekiel 16:34b).

⁹⁹ Since the present study limits Frame Semantics research to the core FEs of a frame, the acronym FE will refer to core frame elements, unless specified otherwise.

	to precede it sequentially.	(Ezek19:9 in P) is an INHIBITING MOVEMENT frame which also implies an initial PLACING of the Theme in the cage. This frame type does not, however, occur in the Hebrew in the context of this study. While the INHIBITING MOVEMENT frame does not necessary require an initial PLACING frame in other contexts, it is indeed required in the context of Peshitta's Ezekiel 19:9.
MUGMod ₁	A frame that is instantiated by the Metaphorical Use of GMod ₁ ¹⁰⁰	'Agent places a stumbling block before a person' is a GMod ₁ frame (PLACING frame). However, Agent places bread before a deity becomes a RITE OFFERING frame, using the metaphor PLACING OBJECT BEFORE DEITY IS OFFERING TO DEITY. For example the RITE OFFERING frame in Ezekiel 16:18 "... and you laid my oil and my perfumes before them." is translated, "and you offered my oil and my perfumes to them.". MUGMod ₁ frames are thus metaphorical at a higher level than GMod ₁ frames.
GMod ₂	A GMod ₁ frame with two non-typical FEs.	These are frames in which there are two FEs that, although corresponding somewhat to the basic conceptual structure of the GIVING frame, they nonetheless differ in one or more of the typical characteristics, which those FEs should display in the proto-scene. For example, the literal translation of the נתן frame in Ezekiel 3:8 reads, " <i>I have given your face hardness.</i> " The Theme FE <i>hardness</i> equivalent to the theme in the proto-scene is here not a corporeal thing, thus not meeting one of the requirements of a typical Theme of the GIVING frame. In the second place, the Patient FE (corresponding to the Recipient) <i>your face</i> is not typically a sentient being, able to respond in reception, thus it does not meet an essential requirement of a typical Recipient in the GIVING frame. Even with such non-typical characteristics, this CAUSE CHANGE OF STRENGTH frame is nevertheless still understood in terms of the underlying generic frame structure of the GIVING frame.
MUGMod ₂	A frame that is instantiated by the Metaphorical / metonymical Use of GMod ₂	A typical example is the REVENGE or the CONVICTING frame. The literal translation of the נתן frame in Ezekiel 9:10 reads, " <i>their ways (Theme) on their heads (Patient) I (Agent) will give.</i> " Here, both the Theme FE and the Patient FE are non-typical in character of the GIVING frame. Secondly, both the Theme FE and the Patient FE are metaphorical or metonymical representations of other concepts. Thus this

¹⁰⁰ In very rare cases the metaphorical use of G (prototypical) frame can also occur.

		sentence represents a metaphorical use of the PLACING frame to evoke the REVENGE frame.
GMod ₂ -O	The GMod ₂ frame above with a non-typical frame structure (word Order)	These are frames which, apart from displaying GMod ₂ characteristics, also display an un-characteristic frame structure. For example, the Patient FE is not marked by any preposition as is normally the case in the proto-scene.
Gadv	The GIVING frame with the LU modified adverbially	This feature is unique to the present study of the TEMPORARY GIVING frame. It seems that wherever נתן is used in the Hebrew Bible to refer to lending (TEMPORARY GIVING frame), it can be differentiated from the normal GIVING frame in that it consistently is modified adverbially by a PP (with or without interest, usury, etc.)

Of the 98 cases in which the **target** LU נתן¹⁰¹ occurs, evoking 27 different frames within the Hebrew source text of Ezekiel 1-24, P-Ez only thrice displayed frame types that appear essentially different from those in the source text. Those instances were:

- Ezekiel 16:21, where the translator mapped a MUGMod₁ frame into a G frame due to textual difficulties;
- Ezekiel 17:5, where the translator mapped a MUGMod₁ frame into a GMod₁ frame;
- Ezekiel 19:9, where the translator mapped a GMod₁ (PLACING) frame into a GMod₁-S (IMMOBILISATION) frame, due to textual difficulties.

There were two complete omissions of frames appearing in the MT in P-Ez. These few mismatches in mapping frame types suggest that P-Ez's translator was generally successful in understanding the type of frames he was dealing with in the translation.

One aspect of analysing frames involved in the FN project is the establishment of frame-to-frame relations within the hierarchy of frames. The discussions of frame-to-frame relations is placed on hold in the present chapter. The use of frame-to-frame relations will be discussed in greater detail in chapter 5, where these relations are applied on a small scale. Presented in the table below then, are the different frames

¹⁰¹ Henceforth, נתן will mostly be referred to as the target LU with regard to all נתן.v instantiated frames.

instantiated by נָתַן in Ezekiel 1-24, as well as the corresponding frames into which they are mapped into Syriac.

Table 3.3 A summary of all the frames instantiated by nātan and how they were mapped into Syriac in P-Ez¹⁰²

	H FRAME ¹⁰³	S FRAME	VAL	H FRAME TYPE	S FRAME TYPE	S LU	FREQ
1	GIVING	GIVING	3	G	G	[ܐܢܝܢ] ܐܡܬܐ	26
2	HAND OVER CONTROL	HAND OVER CONTROL	3	GMod ₁	GMod ₁	ܥܠܡܐ	1
2	HAND OVER CONTROL / GIVING	HAND OVER CONTROL	3	GMod ₁ / G	GMod ₁	ܥܠܡܐ	1
3	HANDING OVER	HANDING OVER	3	GMod ₁	GMod ₁	[ܐܢܝܢ] ܐܡܬܐ	1
3	HANDING OVER	HANDING OVER	3	GMod ₁	GMod ₁	ܥܠܡܐ	6
4	COMPLIANCE	COMPLIANCE	3	GMod ₁	GMod ₁	ܥܠܡܐ	1
5	SEND FOR SERVICING	SEND FOR SERVICING	3	GMod ₁	GMod ₁	[ܐܢܝܢ] ܐܡܬܐ	1
6	RITE OFFERING	GIVING	3	MUGMod ₁	G	[ܐܢܝܢ] ܐܡܬܐ	1
6	RITE OFFERING	RITE OFFERING	3	MUGMod ₁	MUGMod ₁	ܐܡܬܐ	1
6	RITE OFFERING	RITE OFFERING	3	MUGMod ₁	MUGMod ₁	ܡܘܓܡܕ	3
7	VENERATING	VENERATING	3	MUGMod ₁	MUGMod ₁	ܡܘܓܡܕ	1
8	PLACING	PLACING	3	GMod ₁	GMod ₁	ܥܠܡܐ	4
8	PLACING	PLACING	3	GMod ₁	GMod ₁	[ܐܢܝܢ] ܐܡܬܐ	5
8	PLACING	PLACING	3	GMod ₁	GMod ₁	ܡܘܓܡܕ	1
8	PLACING	IMMOBILISATION	3	GMod ₁	GMod ₁ -S	ܡܘܓܡܕ	1
8	PLACING	HANDING OVER	3	GMod ₁	GMod ₁	ܥܠܡܐ	1
9	PLANTING	Ø	3	MUGMod ₁	Ø	Ø	1
9	PLANTING	CAUSE MOTION	3	MUGMod ₁	GMod ₁	ܥܠܡܐ	1
10	INTENTIONALLY CREATE BUILDING	INTENTIONALLY CREATE BUILDING	3	MUGMod ₁	MUGMod ₁	ܡܘܓܡܕ	1
11	INTENTIONALLY CREATE	INTENTIONALLY CREATE	3	MUGMod ₁	MUGMod ₁	ܡܘܓܡܕ	1

¹⁰² The shaded rows indicate those frames in which the MT and the P-Ez do not correspond.

¹⁰³ In Tables 3.3 and 3.4, H stands for Hebrew; S stands for Syriac; VAL stands for valency; FREQ stands for frequency; Ø means that the ‘relevant element is unspecified or absent’. The abbreviations describing the Hebrew and Syriac frame types, such as GMod₁, were defined earlier in Table 3.2.

	COMBAT POSITION	COMBAT POSITION					
12	INTENTIONALLY CREATE ATTACK	INTENTIONALLY CREATE ATTACK	2	MUGMod ₂	MUGMod ₂	حار	1
13	TAKING SIDES	HOSTILE ENCOUNTER	3	MUGMod ₁	MUGMod ₁	[لښ] ګټه	2
14	CAUSE MOTION	CAUSE MOTION	3	MUGMod ₁	MUGMod ₁	ځي	5
15	CAUSE CHANGE OF STRENGTH	CAUSE CHANGE OF STRENGTH	3	GMod ₂ -O	GMod ₂ -O	ځي	1
15	CAUSE CHANGE OF STRENGTH	CAUSE CHANGE OF STRENGTH	3	GMod ₂ -O	GMod ₂ -O	حار	1
16	CAUSE CHANGE OF QUANTITY	Ø	3	GMod ₂ -O	Ø	Ø	1
17	CAUSE CHANGE OF PERSPECTIVE	CAUSE CHANGE OF QUALITY	4	GMod ₂	GMod ₂	حار	1
18	CAUSE CHANGE OF IMAGE (to -ve)	CAUSE CHANGE OF IMAGE (to -ve)	4	GMod ₁	GMod ₁	[لښ] ګټه	1
19	CAUSE TO SUFFER EVIL	CAUSE TO SUFFER EVIL	3	GMod ₂ -O	GMod ₂ -O	حار	1
19	CAUSE TO SUFFER EVIL	CAUSE TO SUFFER EVIL	3	GMod ₁	GMod ₁	[لښ] ګټه	4
20	APPOINTING	APPOINTING	4	GMod ₁	GMod ₁	[لښ] ګټه	2
21	ASSIGNING	ASSIGNING	3	GMod ₁	GMod ₁	[لښ] ګټه	1
22	USING AS	USING AS	3	GMod ₁ -O	GMod ₁ -O	حار	1
22	USING AS	USING AS	4	GMod ₂	GMod ₂	[لښ] ګټه	3
23	REVENGE	REVENGE	3	MUGMod ₂	MUGMod ₂	[لښ] ګټه	1
23	REVENGE	REVENGE	3	MUGMod ₂	MUGMod ₂	ځي	5
24	CONVICTING	CONVICTING	3	MUGMod ₁	MUGMod ₁	علم	1
24	CONVICTING	CONVICTING	3	MUGMod ₁	MUGMod ₁	ځي	1
24	CONVICTING	CONVICTING	3	MUGMod ₁	MUGMod ₁	[لښ] ګټه	2
25	EMOTION DIRECTED RETRIBUTION	EMOTION DIRECTED RETRIBUTION	3	GMod ₁	GMod ₁	[لښ] ګټه	1
26	TEMPORARY GIVING	TEMPORARY GIVING	3	Gadv	Gadv	ځي	2
27	PROPOSING	PROPOSING	3	GMod ₁	GMod ₁	[لښ] ګټه	1
		26		5	6	15	98

Table 3.4 A summary of all the frames instantiated by nātan showing all the incidences of their occurrences in Ezekiel

	H FRAME	S FRAME	FREQ	PLACE IN EZEKIEL
1	GIVING	GIVING	26	2:8, 3:3, 4:5, 4:15, 11:15, 11:17, 11:19(a), 11:19(c), 16:17, 16:19(a), 16:33(a), 16:33(b), 16:34(a), 16:34(b), 16:36, 16:41, 16:61, 17:15, 18:7, 18:16, 20:11, 20:12, 20:15, 20:25, 20:28(a), 20:42
2	HAND OVER CONTROL	HAND OVER CONTROL	1	21:16(b)
2	HAND OVER CONTROL / GIVING	HAND OVER CONTROL	1	21:32
3	HANDING OVER	HANDING OVER	1	7:21
3	HANDING OVER	HANDING OVER	6	11:9, 16:39, 21:36, 23:09, 16:27, 23:28
4	COMPLIANCE	COMPLIANCE	1	17:18
5	SEND FOR SERVICING	SEND FOR SERVICING	1	21:16(a)
6	RITE OFFERING	GIVING	1	16:21
6	RITE OFFERING	RITE OFFERING	1	20:28(b)
6	RITE OFFERING	RITE OFFERING	3	16:18, 6:13, 16:19(b)
7	VENERATING	VENERATING	1	14:3
8	PLACING	PLACING	4	10:7, 16:11, 16:12, 23:42,
8	PLACING	PLACING	5	3:20, 11:19(b), 24:8, 21:34, 23:31,
8	PLACING	PLACING	1	4:1
8	PLACING	IMMOBILISATION	1	19:9
8	PLACING	HANDING OVER	1	21:20
9	PLANTING	Ø	1	17:22
9	PLANTING	CAUSE MOTION	1	17:5
10	INTENTIONALLY CREATE BUILDING	INTENTIONALLY CREATE BUILDING	1	4:2(a)
11	INTENTIONALLY CREATE COMBAT POSITION	INTENTIONALLY CREATE COMBAT POSITION	1	4:2(b)
12	INTENTIONALLY CREATE ATTACK	INTENTIONALLY CREATE ATTACK	1	19:8
13	TAKING SIDES	HOSTILE ENCOUNTER	2	14:8, 15:7
14	CAUSE MOTION	CAUSE MOTION	5	3:25, 4:8, 4:9, 6:5, 23:7

15	CAUSE CHANGE OF STRENGTH	CAUSE CHANGE OF STRENGTH	1	3:8
15	CAUSE CHANGE OF STRENGTH	CAUSE CHANGE OF STRENGTH	1	3:9
16	CAUSE CHANGE OF QUANTITY	Ø	1	16:7
17	CAUSE CHANGE OF PERSPECTIVE	CAUSE CHANGE OF QUALITY	1	7:20
18	CAUSE CHANGE OF IMAGE (to -ve)	CAUSE CHANGE OF IMAGE (to -ve)	1	22:4
19	CAUSE TO SUFFER EVIL	CAUSE TO SUFFER EVIL	1	6:14
19	CAUSE TO SUFFER EVIL	CAUSE TO SUFFER EVIL	4	23:46, 5:14, 15:8, 16:38
20	APPOINTING	APPOINTING	2	3:17, 12:6
21	ASSIGNING	ASSIGNING	1	4:6
22	USING AS	USING AS	1	4:3
22	USING AS	USING AS	3	15:4, 15:6(a), 15:6(b)
23	REVENGE	REVENGE	1	7:4
23	REVENGE	REVENGE	5	7:9, 9:10, 16:43, 11:21, 22:31
24	CONVICTING	CONVICTING	1	17:19
24	CONVICTING	CONVICTING	1	7:3
24	CONVICTING	CONVICTING	2	23:49, 7:8
25	EMOTION DIRECTED RETRIBUTION	EMOTION DIRECTED RETRIBUTION	1	23:25
26	TEMPORARY GIVING	TEMPORARY GIVING	2	18:8, 18:13
27	PROPOSING	PROPOSING	1	23:24

3.3.3 The general syntactic structure of frames instantiated by nātan

In this subsection, the study focuses on the analysis of the valence of the **target** LU within frames that it instantiates. Indeed the subject of valence is one that topicalises grammatical aspects of events, rather than semantic ones (Evans and Green, 2006:231). However, as has been pointed out previously, grammatical aspects are an integral to the meanings of events. Since the present subject is carried out from a cognitive linguistic approach, cognitive grammatical terms and views may feature in

the present subject of valence patterns. However these terms are not meant to represent a specialised discussion on cognitive approaches to grammar.

It is necessary to specify here that this valence should be studied relative to particular frames, seeing that the verb נתן does not instantiate the same valence pattern in all of the frames that it instantiates. Furthermore, it is important to take note, not only of the number of core FEs that a verb can take in a specific frame (a verb's valence) but also of how that verb structurally relates to its complements in a typical instantiation of that frame (argument structure) (Evans and Green, 2006:225). While the valence of LUs is not a particularly stable feature of LUs,¹⁰⁴ valences of verbs have been determined in the present study in relation to the identified frames of נתן. Therefore, the valence of a frame denotes the number of core participants that constitute that frame's typical instantiation. Finally, since the corpus for study and analysis in this treatise is primarily drawn from Ezekiel 1-24, the valence descriptions of the verb נתן undertaken here may not fully represent the data relating to the verb in the entire Hebrew Bible.

3.3.3.1 *Valence of the target LU in the prototypical frame*

The typical GIVING frame is trivalent, that is, it takes three necessary FEs in order to constitute a valid GIVING frame, as it can be illustrated in a sentence excerpted from Ezekiel 4:15 below.

Ezekiel 4:15:

MT: נתתי לך את־צפועי הבקר

TR: I have given you the dung of cattle

Structurally this frame can be presented as follows (from right to left):

MT: נתתי ← לך ← את־צפועי הבקר
 VP:¹⁰⁵ Thm¹⁰⁶ + Rec¹⁰⁷ (TGr)¹⁰⁸ + LU (Don)¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁴ See Shead (2011:153-155).

¹⁰⁵ Valence Pattern.

From this typical trivalent structure of the GIVING frame, the following can be observed: The Donor (Agent) is normally (within finite verb forms) included within the LU. There are cases, however, where the Donor (apart from being included in the LU) is also separately written in a position prior to the LU (e.g. Ezekiel 4:5). The Recipient, in the second position, is normally in a PP.¹¹⁰ In the present study the semantic denotation of the word-class 'preposition' is that it is a Theme-Goal relator (TGr).¹¹¹

The idea of a Theme-Goal relator is taken from Cognitive Grammar. In Cognitive Grammar, prepositions are generally understood to designate a relation between a schematic trajector and a schematic landmark, and are thus also known as relational predicators (Taylor, 2002:228-230; Evans and Green, 2006:565-566). In the present study, the concept of relational predication is applied with specific reference to the preposition that designates a relation between the Theme FE and the Goal FE. The Goal FE conceptually represents those FEs that may be understood as end-points of an action, such as Recipient or Patient, depending on the nature of the frame.

Returning to the valence pattern above, coming third in the word order normally is the Theme, which is however not always indicated by the accusative marker. It is important to note that the syntactic positions of both the Recipient and Theme should not be considered as typical, since the Theme may quite often appear in the second position and the Recipient in the third, especially in cases where the Theme is attached to the LU (Don) field as a suffix. In the light of this, the corresponding typical frame in the Peshitta, from the same verse in Ezekiel 4:15, reads as follows:

¹⁰⁶ That is, the Theme.

¹⁰⁷ That is, the Recipient.

¹⁰⁸ TGr, that is the 'Theme – Goal relator'.

¹⁰⁹ That is, the person who actively transfers the Theme. These abbreviations mostly follow those in the FN database 2010.

¹¹⁰ PP stands for a prepositional phrase.

¹¹¹ The Theme-Goal relator is a semantic element in the frame that is usually expressed in the form of a preposition or an equivalent grammatical element. As its name suggests, it functions as a relational predicator between the Theme and the Goal.

P-Ez: ܠܗܝܠܐ ܕܡܪܝܡ ← ܠܗ ← ܡܪܝܡ
 VP: Thm + Rec(TGr) + LU (Don)

This valence structure in the Syriac is similar to that in the Hebrew, except for the fact that the Theme typically is seldom marked, unlike in the Hebrew text where it is occasionally indicated by the accusative marker 𐤀𐤋.

In this prototypical GIVING frame, neither the Theme, nor the Recipient gets attached to the LU as a suffix. When the LU is instantiated as a non-finite verb form (such as the infinitives and participles), it only takes the Agent as a suffix. In typical sentences the valence structure drawn above does occur in different forms of order. Such sentence patterns are summarised below (arranged from left to right):

LU(Don) + Thm + (TGr)Rec. (e.g. Ezekiel 16:61).

Thm + (TGr)Rec + LU(Don). (e.g. Ezekiel 18:7).

Thm + LU(Don) + (TGr)Rec. (e.g. Ezekiel 20:12).

Don + LU(Don) + Thm + (TGr)Rec. (e.g. Ezekiel 16:33).

(TGr)Rec (nominal clause) + LU(CNI)¹¹² + Thm. (e.g. Ezekiel 11:15). This case is rare.

LUs in the form of non-finite verbal forms may follow any of these patterns except those that place any of the complements before the verbal field. It is also common, in the case of non-finite verbal forms, that the Donor is not specified, although can be retrieved from the context (DNI). See for example the GIVING frame in Ezekiel 17:15, which is instantiated by an infinitive form of the LU ܒܬܝܢ.v.

In situations where the LU occurs within a subordinate clause, such as a relative clause, the Theme usually comes before the LU field, outside the relative clause, with or without the accusative marker. Sometimes this Theme is syntactically represented by the relative particle itself (e.g. in the case of Ezekiel 2:8, 3:3,

¹¹² Constructional Null Instantiation (Donor is hidden, with the verb in the passive state).

16:17).¹¹³ In all these cases, the Recipient is almost always indicated by the TGr ٥, but the Theme can be and is often unmarked.

The valence pattern in the GIVING frame can be understood to apply to many other frames that are instantiated by the **target** LU. This can happen if the underlying generic frame structure in the GIVING frames is called up and superimposed onto the valence structure of the GIVING frame as follows:

GIVING frame valence structure: **LU**(Don) + (TGr)Rec + Thm

Generic valence structure: **LU**(Agt) + (TGr)Goa + Effected Action(Thm)

In all the other trivalent frames instantiated by the **target** LU, the above basic valence structure is applicable, with various frame specific FEs, which corresponds to specific frames.

- Thus the conceptual Agent represented by ‘Donor’ in the GIVING frame is represented by ‘Agent’ in the CAUSE CHANGE frames.¹¹⁴ For the sake of comparison, as well as ease of reference across the different frames instantiated by the **target** LU, the present study refers to any equivalent of this conceptual Agent, as the Agent FE.
- The conceptual Goal represented by ‘Recipient’ in the GIVING frame is represented by ‘Patient’ in the CAUSE CHANGE OF STRENGTH frame. The present study refers to any equivalent of this conceptual Goal as the Goal FE.
- Finally the conceptual Effected Action or Transferred Entity represented by ‘Theme’ in the GIVING frame is represented by ‘Final Condition’ in the CAUSE CHANGE OF STRENGTH frame. An equivalent of this conceptual Effected Action is in the present study referred to as the Theme FE.

¹¹³ In the case of dependent relative clauses (e.g. Ezekiel 3:3 and 16:17), it is possible to have the object marker with a suffix referring back to the noun in the main clause. However, this feature is not used here.

¹¹⁴ CAUSE CHANGE frames is a collective term for those frames in which an Agent influences the inherent properties of a Patient in some way, e.g. ‘strength in the CAUSE CHANGE OF STRENGTH frame.

Thus the generic valence structure of the frames instantiated by the **target** LU to be referred to in the rest of this study is as follows (as abbreviated):

LU(Agt FE) + (TGr)Goa FE + Thm FE

Some modifications will be necessary in the cases of those frames that require four necessary FEs and those that require only two FEs. Besides the GIVING frame, other frames generally fitting into the trivalent prototypical structure include the PLACING, HANDING OVER, RITE OFFERING, TEMPORARY GIVING, and the CAUSE MOTION frames.

Characteristic feature of the Theme FE

In most frames instantiated by the **target** LU, the Theme FE may be marked by the accusative marker, as in the case of the GIVING frame, otherwise it is left unmarked. In P-Ez, the Theme FE is characteristically unmarked. Furthermore, a frame semantic study of trivalent frames and frames taking four necessary FEs reveals that the element suffixed to the LU in both P-Ez and MT is normally the Theme FE. There are some exceptions to these characteristic features associated with the Theme FE in נתן frames. These will be discussed below.

Characteristic feature of the Goal FE

It can be concluded that characteristically, the Goal FE in frames instantiated by the **target** LU, in the MT, will often be prefixed by a preposition (TGr) to form a PP. Correspondingly, in frames instantiated by the **target** LU, P-Ez characteristically marks the Goal component with the TGr ל. As in the case of Theme FEs, there are a few exceptions to these characteristic aspects of the Goal FE in frames instantiated by the current **target** LU.

3.3.3.2 Characteristic features associated with FEs in Causal frames

Some causal frames display different characteristics in their Goal and Theme FEs compared to those described above. These include the CAUSE CHANGE OF STRENGTH, CAUSE CHANGE OF QUANTITY, CAUSE CHANGE OF PERSPECTIVE and CAUSE TO SUFFER EVIL frames. An example of such exceptional cases occurs in the CAUSE CHANGE OF STRENGTH frame, which appears in Ezekiel 3:8 as follows.

Ezekiel 3:8

MT: נתתי את־פניך חזקים

TR: I have made your face hard (lit, *I have **given** your face hardness*)

The following valence pattern emerges from this illustration:

LU(Agt) + Pat¹¹⁵(Goa) + Fnc¹¹⁶(Thm)

Unlike in the case of the other frames that will be discussed below, this particular frame takes the Patient as the Goal FE rather than as the Theme FE. The Final condition (or Resultant quality) becomes the Theme. Referring to the Hebrew sentence above, it can be noted that the Goal FE is indicated by the accusative marker, rather than the Theme FE, as is the norm with the most other frames instantiated by the **target** LU. Thus here, the Goal FE is the one that undergoes change and the Theme FE describes the Final condition of the Goal FE. In such a case, the Goal FE may be attached to the LU as a suffix. This apparent different structuring of the frame instantiated by נתן.v is a rare feature, which is however quite characteristic of the cited frames above. Some cases where such types of frames are found include Ezekiel 4:3, 6:14, 16:7, and 3:9. Some cases regarding these exceptional types of frames will be discussed later in detail.

¹¹⁵ Patient.

¹¹⁶ Final Condition.

3.3.3.3 *Valence structure of the target LU in frames taking four necessary complements*

There are indeed few particular frames evoked by נתן.v , which take four necessary FEs, or require four necessary roles to instantiate a typical scene. A typical example is the APPOINTING frame. FN (2010) defines the APPOINTING frame in this way:

“A Selector, often an individual in a leadership role, appoints a (sic) Official to assume an official Role in an organization (which can be expressed as the Body).”

For an instance of such a frame one may refer to Ezekiel 3:17:

Ezekiel 3:17

MT: צפה נתתיך לבית ישראל

TR: As a watchmen, have I appointed you to the house of Israel

The following valence pattern emerges from this illustration.

MT: צפה ← נתתי ← ך ← לבית ישראל

VP (TGr)Bod¹¹⁷ Off¹¹⁸ LU(Slctr)¹¹⁹ Role¹²⁰

In this structure, it is noticeable that the Hebrew frame has the Official attached to the LU as a suffix (see Ezekiel 3:17 and 12:6). It happens that conceptually there are two alternative ways of viewing the flow of exchanges in this structure:

- The Official can be seen as the Receiver (Recipient) of a position (Role) for a certain entity (Body). The Role thus becomes a kind of Theme.

¹¹⁷ The body, group, corporate or entity in relation to which the official is appointed and assigned.

¹¹⁸ The official, who is the person (that is his / her identity) appointed to a position.

¹¹⁹ The Selector, being the person responsible for the appointment of the new ‘official’.

¹²⁰ The role that the selected person is assuming. The clause identifying the Role is usually headed by the preposition *as*.

- Alternatively, the Official can be seen as a Theme being given for the benefit of a specific entity (Body) so that the Body becomes a Recipient of a service (Role) offered by the Official.

Option two seems to represent the meaning of this frame the best because of the following two points. Firstly, If we consider the frame structure in a prototypical GIVING frame, we find that the Recipient FE is the FE predominantly prefixed with the TGr ל. In this APPOINTING frame, the Recipient FE is equivalent to the Body FE. Secondly, option two of viewing the flow of exchanges parallels the Hebrew theological thought. This thought tends to view any appointment to an official position in a society not as a benefit to the appointee, but as a benefit to the people (Body) to whom the appointee's service will be directed. In this regard, Cooper's description of a watchman as "a city employee appointed to be a look out ..." best suits the frame (Cooper, 1994:85).

Another frame that takes four necessary complements is the CAUSE CHANGE OF PERSPECTIVE frame. Since this frame is not mentioned in FN 2010, a provisional definition can be provided in this manner. This can be determined from the single case of the scene in Ezekiel 7:20:

An Agent causes a Patient to undergo change (of a moral nature) resulting in the Patient attaining a final condition (Final condition) from the perspective of a specific Interested Party (Interested party).

The frame structure emerging from this frame can be illustrated as follows:

Ezekiel 7:20

MT:

נתתיו להם לנדה

TR: I have made it to them, impurity.

The following valence pattern emerges from this illustration:

MT: נתתי ← ו ← להם ← לנדה
 VP-Ez: Fnc (TGr)IntP Pat LU(Agt)

It can be concluded from the nature of the third FE¹²¹ (as an entity that can exercise the cognitive capacity of having a perspective), that this is the Recipient of a new perspective, so to speak, characteristically is marked by the TGr ל. It can therefore also be argued reasonably that the second complement, morphologically a suffix to the LU, acts as a type of Theme (the item undergoing transformation), being given to the 'Recipient' (IntP). It happens that P-Ez's translator failed to map this CAUSE CHANGE OF PERSPECTIVE frame correctly into Syriac. The translator omitted the third FE (Interested party) in the Hebrew frame structure and thus came up with the CAUSE CHANGE OF QUALITY frame ܡܠܝܢܐ ܡܚܝܒܐ (I have made it despised). The structure of the frame in P-Ez is shown below.

P-Ez: ܡܠܝܢܐ ← ܡ ← ܡܚܝܒܐ
 VP: Fnc Pat LU(Agt)

It is notable that P-Ez does not prefix a TGr ܐ to the Final condition as in the case of the Hebrew. This in fact is characteristic of Syriac translations. In some cases of the frames instantiated by the **target** LU ܡܠܝܢܐ.ܡܚܝܒܐ can only be seen here as the 'final result' of the 'making' action, and not as a Recipient FE or a Goal FE. Another type of frames that features four necessary complements may be cited here. These are the USE AS frames, such as those in Ezekiel 22:4, 15:4,¹²² 15:6(a),¹²³ 15:6(b).¹²⁴

¹²¹ With the arrangement viewed from right to left.

¹²² Note that in Ezekiel 15:4, the Agent is not explicit, due to the passive nature of the verb. In a scene where the verb is used actively, this frame would have four explicit complements.

¹²³ One often finds that the LU in a relative clause has a pronominal suffix to it (Theme) which is a referent to a Theme mentioned in the main sentence – outside the relative clause – as is the case in 15:6(a).

¹²⁴ The frames in Ezekiel 15:6(a) and 15:6(b) share the same FEs (Theme and the New function [Nfun]). Alternatively, it can be said that the FEs in 15:6(b) are elliptical.

3.3.3.4 Cases of bivalent *nātan* frames

One often comes across instances of DNI, where an FE is missing in a speech act, but the reader is expected to retrieve this FE from context. Nevertheless there are other cases where neither DNI, nor even INI are justifiable as explanations for cases of NI in a נתן frame. It then becomes more convincing that in such cases one is often confronted with a rare bivalent frame instantiated by נתן. One such a case occurs in Ezekiel 19:8. The clause reads in Hebrew, **ויתנו** עליו גוים סביב ממדינות, The English translation may be given as ‘The nations around, from the countries, set against it.’ This frame does not show the Theme FE, normally necessary in most frames instantiated by the **target** LU. Neither does this missing FE appear to be a case of DNI or INI.¹²⁵

Zimmerli (1979:389) suggests that the frame mentioned in Ezekiel 19:8 is equivalent to the one in Nehemiah 5:7. However, the נתן frame in Nehemiah 5:7 is clearly trivalent: with all three of the FEs apparent in the text. Allen (1990:283, 284) subscribes to a military meaning of the LU, as suggested by Greenberg (1983:352) *to march out*. A military meaning indeed seems to fit the larger context in this verse. However, in order to account fully for the meaning of נתן in this verse, it is necessary to establish the frame in which it occurs here. It appears that the **target** LU is used here in a military context, suggesting circumstances of attack. From the verse, one can infer that the **target** LU is not describing the event of a military attack itself, but a situation leading up to an attack. Therefore this is the type of frame which can be referred to as INTENTIONALLY CREATE ATTACK. This frame is not covered in FN (2010) but can be inferred from the MILITARY and ATTACK frames mentioned in FN 2010. The core FEs of this particular frame could be understood as composed of (a) an Aggressor, and (b) a Target. Then there also might be a specific means of attack named such as for example, an ambush. The means of attack, however, does not appear to be a necessary (core-) complement to the frame, at least not in the Hebrew text. In the Hebrew, LUs for this frame are many and all possibilities will not be listed here. These include **יצא** and **שית**, **אסף**, **גדד**, **יצב**, **ערך**, **שים**, **ארב**.

¹²⁵ See section 2.4.6.

Apart from these LUs, *נָתַן*.v is also employed, though rarely, to instantiate the INTENTIONALLY CREATE ATTACK frame. Perhaps the use of this later LU is brought about by its synonymous relationship to LUs, such as *שִׁים* and *שִׁית*, as Greenberg (1983:352) suggests. A few of the LUs cited above do actually occur in bivalent frames. These include verbs, such as *שִׁים* (1 Kings 20:12), *עָרַךְ* (1 Chronicles 19:17, Jeremiah 50:14), and *שִׁית* (Psalms 3:7). Therefore it is not so strange that *נָתַן* in this sense, occurs in a bivalent frame in Ezekiel 19:8. The semantic potentials of LUs within the INTENTIONALLY CREATE ATTACK frame, with the TGr *על* or its equivalent added are depicted in in table 3.5.

Table 3.5 Semantic potentials of sample LUs within the INTENTIONALLY CREATE ATTACK frame

	LU(s)	Semantic potential	Valency
1.	<i>עָרַךְ</i>	Take-up-position ¹²⁶ <i>against</i>	2
2.	<i>שִׁים, שִׁית, אָרַב</i>	Set-ambush <i>against</i>	2
3.	<i>שִׁים, שִׁית, אָרַב</i>	Lie-in-wait <i>against</i>	2
4.	<i>יָצָא</i>	Go-out / march-out <i>against</i>	2
5.	<i>אָסַף, גָּדַד</i>	Gather-together / band-together <i>against</i>	2
6.	<i>שִׁים, שִׁית</i>	Station, set or direct-(army, weaponry) <i>against</i>	2

The LU *נָתַן*.v perhaps might fit into the second, third or sixth set on the list. As is evident from the sample list above, the LUs appear in the same INTENTIONALLY CREATE ATTACK frame. Their various senses within this frame, however, are not identical. ‘Taking position’ (*עָרַךְ*) is a military tactic emphasising a taking up of strategic positions from which an attack can best be launched against the opponent

¹²⁶ The hyphen is used in the English translation here to connect words as a way of showing that they represent one semantic concept for the Hebrew LU.

– the opponent’s awareness or non-awareness of this manoeuvre is not important. ‘To lie in wait’ or ‘set ambush’ implies a military tactic in which the aggressor takes up an attacking position unknown to the opponent, meaning that a surprise attack is intended. To ‘go-out’ or ‘march-out’ (יָצָא) refers to a military procession (a motion directional event), with the purpose of attacking an opponent. The opponent’s or (Target’s) awareness or non-awareness of this manoeuvre is not important. ‘Gather together’ (קָדְדוּ, קָדְדוּ) is the assembling of large numbers of people, groups, nations et cetera, as a military tactic aimed against an opponent. Again the Target’s awareness of the action is not important. Finally, ‘to station’ against or simply ‘set’ against (שָׁיַת, שָׁיַת) is usually an act of positioning weaponry, persons or an army, so that these strategic aspects are directed or aimed at an opponent or a target, whether the Target is aware of it or not.

Thus while to *march out* (יָצָא) can be an alternative LU as far as the frame is concerned, it is nevertheless not the most appropriate when seeking a particular perspective or nuance within that frame. נָתַן is rarely, if at all, used to instantiate a motion directional event, in the same way as יָצָא. Rather it is expected to be employed in the same sense as its synonymous counterparts, such as שָׁיַת and שָׁיַת. The possible meanings of the **target** LU in 19:8 are perhaps ‘to set or station against’ or more remotely, ‘to lie in wait against’. One may therefore define the INTENTIONALLY CREATE ATTACK frame as a bivalent frame, according to which an Aggressor positions self against an Opponent through an attacking strategy.

With this result, it is noteworthy to realise that P-Ez’s translator managed to identify and translate the frame of the **target** LU in his Hebrew text in 19:8. P-Ez’s translator, however, seemed to have perceived a slightly different perspective in the frame to that which the above analysis has suggested.¹²⁷ P-Ez (as well as TgE) suggests that the LU referred to the event of the surrounding nations *gathering together* as a military tactic against their common opponent. This interpretation was probably conditioned by the adverbial סָבִיב. This observation might not provide finality on the nature of P-Ez’s source text. Nevertheless, it may go a long way to support the

¹²⁷ See discussion on profiling background frames in the frame matrix or activating a particular frame in the set of frames potentially invoked by a **target** LU (Shead, 2011:37-38).

conclusion that P-Ez's use of the LU **תָּאַחַד** (gather together) as an equivalent of the Hebrew **target** LU in his source text is a result of the translator's interpretation, rather than of following a variant text to the one in the MT.

There is a possibility of a second case of a bivalent frame that appears in Ezekiel 17:18 in the sentence, *נתן ידו*, *he gave his hand*. P-Ez (as well as TgE) translates it with: **תִּשְׁלַח יָדוֹ**. *He shall hand-over (yield) his hand*, meaning: *he shall surrender*.¹²⁸ The LXX translates the Hebrew idiom literally. Commentators like Zimmerli and Allen do not address the strange frame in the Hebrew text. Cooke (1936:189) says the expression is used either for a pledge or consent. Hummel (2005:508) explains it as gesture of showing allegiance, and sometimes submission, especially in connection with promises and treaties. Besides Ezekiel 17:18, the expression also occurs in the Hebrew Bible in a number of places: 2 Kings 10:15, Jeremiah 50:15, Lamentation 5:6, Ezra 10:19, 1 Chronicles 29:24 and 2 Chronicles 30:8.¹²⁹ From these occurrences it is best to view the expression as an idiom. Then it very likely could be a metonymic idiom with a particular semantic function in the Hebrew text. Considering the cited cases in which the idiom occurs in the Hebrew Bible, it can be noticed that the element of submission is dominant in all the cited cases. Furthermore, it appears that this submission is preceded by or includes notions of a pledge by the submitting party to conform to the submission needed. Thus a lesser party pledges to submit (comply) or simply submits in COMPLIANCE to a superior party. This frame thus best fits into the COMPLIANCE frame defined in FN 2010. In the COMPLIANCE frame the following FEs are core:¹³⁰

- *Party 1* (the complying party, the one under some compulsive influence)¹³¹
- *Party 2* (the imposing party, the one exercising some compulsive influence)¹³²

¹²⁸ Cf. Lamsa (1933).

¹²⁹ Hummel (2005:508).

¹³⁰ Note that these FEs do not precisely follow those in the Compliance frame of FN 2010. Furthermore, FN (2010) employs four FEs, which I suggest should be simplified to two with respect to our particular study in the OT. One may therefore define this frame as referring to a scene in which one Party complies or refuses to comply with the imposing Party's demands.

¹³¹ Indicated as Protagonist in FN 2010.

The COMPLIANCE frame is therefore a typical bivalent frame. Given this analysis of the frame, an appropriate translation of the frame containing this idiom in 17:18 would be something like: *he pledged to submit himself* or *he made a pledge in compliance*; or simply: *he surrendered himself*. In view of this analysis, P-Ez's translator seems to have mapped the Hebrew frame correctly by employing the LU *עָלָה*.¹³²

In its Hebrew idiomatic form however, the frame appears to need three FEs as is the case in 2 Chronicles 30:8. The difficulty that one faces in this case is that the Hebrew text referred to here uses the GIVING frame (which needs three core FEs), in an idiomatic sense to reflect a COMPLIANCE frame (which needs two core FEs). Despite its trivalent nature, the idiom was used in frames where the specification or knowledge of the Recipient or Goal was not necessary, so that it may be argued that the COMPLIANCE frame in the Hebrew text involves Party 1 and the Theme FE as the two necessary core FEs. In the end, it appears that the question whether the frame instantiated by *נָתַן*.v in Ezekiel 17:18 is a bivalent or a trivalent frame is open to debate. It may be concluded at this stage that in Ezekiel 17:18, *נָתַן*.v conceptually instantiates a bivalent frame (COMPLIANCE frame) by means of a metonymic idiom that relates to the trivalent GIVING frame.

The P-Ez and TgE translators did not follow the Hebrew text in using an equivalent of the Hebrew verb *נָתַן*. These translations used the LUs *עָלָה* and *מָטָה* respectively. However, following the Hebrew text, they both have 'his hand' as the Theme FE. Therefore the two versions also depict the compliance frame idiomatically as a trivalent frame. The omission of a third FE (Party 2) in the Hebrew text implies a case of the Indefinite Null Instantiation (INI) of Party 2. P-Ez does not provide the missing FE and thus follows the Hebrew text. TgE however adds the missing FE, identified as the Pharaoh (cf. Ezekiel 17:17).

¹³² Indicated as Norm in FN (2010). FN (2010) does not give the impression that Norm can be represented by a sentient being, in control of the Norm. In the present study, however, such an assumption is necessary, given that Party two is typically a sentient being.

P-Ez's translation of the rest of the sentence against that of the MT is as follows:

Ezekiel 17:18

MT: והנה נתן ידו וכל־אלה עשה לא ימלט

TR: Look, he has made a pledge of submission and all these he has done – he shall not escape.

P-Ez: וְעַל כֵּן יִשְׁתַּחֲוֶה וְלֹא יִשְׁלָט. כִּי וְכָל הַחַטּוֹת הָאֵלֶּה עָשָׂה

TR: He shall surrender himself and he shall not be delivered,¹³³ because he has done all these things.

In P-Ez's translation, it is important to view the two sentences joined here by *וְ*, not as being contrasted by the copula but as being co-ordinated, following the co-ordinate sentences in the Hebrew text. In the Hebrew text, the pledge of submission, as well as all the other deeds (mentioned earlier in the verse), are cited as the wilful and disobedient deeds of the protagonist who shall then have to forfeit escape (face punishment) for those deeds. In the translated P-Ez text, the pledge of submission (or surrender) together with the lack of deliverance, are taken to be punishments on the protagonist for previous offences (mentioned earlier in the verse). The difference in P-Ez thus emerges, not as a result of the strange COMPLIANCE frame involving the **target** LU and lacking a necessary FE, but as a result of P-Ez's perception of the series of events in the broader context. This result confirms the view that P-Ez's translator was largely concerned with the translation of frames, primarily at a micro-level, and secondarily on macro-levels related to sentences and perhaps also, particular themes in the text.

A question may be asked here concerning the conceptual relationship between the COMPLIANCE frame, which has just been analysed above, and the rest of the frames instantiated by the **target** LU in Ezekiel 1-24. The COMPLIANCE frame certainly uses the GIVING frame in the sense that idiomatically, the Donor transfers a Theme in his possession to a Recipient. A real-life situation of 'giving the hand' might be a case

¹³³ It is notable in Ezekiel that the versions translate the *Nifal* of מלט with LUs in the domains of SALVATION and DELIVERANCE (cf. 17:15, 18 and 33:5).

where Party 1 extends his hand towards Party 2 as a gesture of begging (Greenberg, 1983:315), agreeing, or surrendering. The resulting metonymy 'GIVING THE HAND IS SURRENDERING' conforms to specifically two of the hand metonymies applicable to the basic concept of the GIVING frame, which were listed previously in the present chapter. These particularly are:

THE HAND STANDS FOR THE PERSON (metonymy)

THE HAND STANDS FOR CONTROL (metonymy)

Thus the giving of the hand by Party 1 to Party 2 amounts to (is) a transfer of Party 1's control over one or more aspects of his / her own person / life or property to Party 2, thus an act that signifies surrender. A different scenario is required if the gesture of giving the hand is meant to signify agreement or begging. In any case, this COMPLIANCE frame appears to be similar in nature to a MUGMod₁ frame, such as a RITE OFFERING frame, as classified above. A special feature of the COMPLIANCE frame is that it happens to have strong metonymical references to some of the hand metonymies underlying the GIVING frame.

3.4 THE MAPPING OF nātan INSTANTIATED FRAMES FROM THEIR HEBREW SOURCE INTO SYRIAC

3.4.1 The GIVING (prototypical) frame

As Table 3.3 above indicates, the translator of P-Ez successfully translated the prototypical GIVING frame from his Hebrew source into Syriac, using the Syriac equivalent [ܐܡܢܐ] ܐܡܢܐ. The success rate at which this frame was translated correctly is close to a score of 100%. However, in Ezekiel 21:32(27), there is a case where it may be difficult to determine the nature of the frame instantiated by the Hebrew verbal phrase וַנִּתֵּן, whether it is a GIVING or a HAND OVER CONTROL frame.

Ezekiel 21:32(27)

MT: עוה עוה עוה אשימנה גם־זאת לא היה עד־בא אשר־לו המשפט **ונתתיו**

TR: A ruin, a ruin, a ruin shall I make it. Even this shall not happen until he comes, to whom belongs the judgment and I will give it.

P-Ez: אִם־כִּי מִנָּחָה לְחַלֵּל סֶלֶחָהּ אֶבְרַחֵם. בְּנֵחָהּ וְנִחְוֶהָ כִּי וְנִחְוֶהָ מִן הַנָּחָה אֶמְסַלְחָהּ, לֹא.

TR: Also this, I have made it for crime and for fraud, until he who is the judge comes and I shall hand it over to him.

LXX: ἀδικίαν ἀδικίαν θήσομαι αὐτήν, οὐδ' αὕτη τοιαύτη ἔσται, ἕως οὗ ἔλθῃ ὃ καθήκει, καὶ παραδώσω αὐτῷ

TR: Injustice, injustice shall this be, neither shall it be like this, until he comes to who (of whom) it belongs, and I will hand-over to him.

TgE: חוביהון דחבו כחוביהון אתפרע מנהון אפ לדין לא תתקיים ליה עד דאיתי
עלוהי פורענו ישמעאל בר נתניה ואמסרניה בידיה

TR: Their sins which they have committed, according to their sins I will repay because of them. Also, this shall not be established for it,¹³⁴ until I bring upon it the vengeance of Ishmael son of Nathaniah, and I will deliver it into his hand.

Vg: Iniquitatem iniquitatem iniquitatem ponam eam et hoc nunc factum est donec veniret cuius est iudicium et tradam ei.

TR: I take it as injustice, injustice, injustice; and this is now accomplished; until he to whom is the judgment come, and I will hand-over to him.

The verbal phrase was translated into Syriac as ܠܐ ܡܫܠܚܐ, which represents the HAND OVER CONTROL frame (with a pronominal suffix to the verb as in the Hebrew text and an added PP ܠܐ). LXX, as well as TgE and Vg, also render it as a HAND OVER CONTROL frame. The Hebrew text simply contains the word ונתתיו (and I will give it / him). Some modern translators just read it as a GIVING frame (cf. Darby,

¹³⁴ The ה pronominal suffix appearing three times in this verse was interpreted here as a third person neuter pronoun. It may also be interpreted as a third person masculine pronoun. (cf. Levey, 1987:68).

NIV). In Syriac, an ordinary HANDING OVER or HAND OVER CONTROL frame would have the Goal FE indicated by the prepositional phrase (PP) ܠܟܝܠܐ or ܠܚܝܠܐ (e.g. see the rendering in TgE). A similar rule applies to the Hebrew frame. If the Goal FE is the one represented by the suffix to the verb in the Hebrew text, it would be best to view the נתן frame in 21:32 as a GIVING frame. However, if the Theme FE can be identified as the suffix to the verb, it means that the Goal FE is missing (needs to be supplied implicitly) and thus the frame cannot be determined with any confidence whether it is a GIVING or a HAND OVER CONTROL frame.

As was established previously in the analysis of characteristic valences above, the Theme is the compliment that characteristically gets attached to the **target** LU. It could be agreed that P-Ez's translator probably perceived the suffix to represent the Theme, although the translator further added a Recipient, as is the case in TgE. Even though P-Ez (as well as TgE) has an addition, P-Ez probably made the addition independently, since the added elements are significantly different between the two versions. The LXX and Vg perceived the suffix to be the Recipient and translated without the Theme FE. In the end, all the versions map the phrase as evoking a HAND OVER CONTROL frame. Then it is evident that P-Ez and TgE took the verbal suffix for the Theme FE and added a Recipient; and the LXX and Vg took the pronominal suffix to the verb in the Hebrew text to be the Recipient. Such treatment of the frame shows obvious difficulties that the various translators faced and a probable appeal by all of them to contextual exegesis or to the exegetical tradition.

Analysis in the present study so far persuades one to conclude that the Hebrew frame represented by the verb phrase ונתתיו evokes the GIVING frame, in which the Recipient is omitted stylistically. On the other hand, exegesis following the context or the tradition represented by all the versions available, understands the Hebrew phrase to evoke the HAND OVER CONTROL frame. In this case, it is probable that the contextual exegesis or the exegesis according to tradition was led by the unusual nature of the frame and the difficult surrounding text, and thus was misplaced.

reading, both the TgE and the LXX tend to follow the Hebrew text in displaying a RITE OFFERING frame, so that no influence on P-Ez from other versions can be cited.

3.4.3 The HANDING OVER and HAND OVER CONTROL frames

These frames may be defined as referring to the situation in which an Agent transfers a Theme that is initially in the control of the Agent. The Theme FE is then transferred to a Recipient in a situation where the Theme or the Agent or Both may be unwilling to carry out the action. Interestingly, the Recipient FE in this frame may have the initiative or greater control than the Agent FE, as opposed to the normal case in other GIVING frames, in which the Agent FE normally has initiative. The difference between the HANDING OVER and the HAND OVER CONTROL frames may be explained in the following way. In the HANDING OVER frame, the Recipient FE poses a threat to the Theme FE, while in the HAND OVER CONTROL frame, control of the Theme FE shifts from the Agent to the Recipient FE.

The HANDING OVER, as well as the HAND OVER CONTROL frames, were generally translated into correspondent frames in P-Ez, with ܥܠܡܪ as LU, except for Ezekiel 7:21, where ܕܡܢ was used. There appears to be no apparent frame semantic reason for such use of the LU, except that this was a result of the *cognate attraction*¹³⁵ of the LU in P-Ez's source text. A case involving the HAND OVER CONTROL frame (Ezekiel 21:32) was discussed in section 3.4.1 above. e.g.

3.4.4 The PLACING frame

This frame was generally successfully translated into corresponding frames in Syriac, although at least three different LUs were employed. It is indeed difficult to account for the frame semantic differences between frames evoked by ܕܡܢ ܕܡܢ

¹³⁵ In the present study, the phenomenon of *cognate attraction* may be explained in terms of a situation where within a specific frame, the translator translates a LU from the source text into a correct corresponding frame in his target text using the cognate of the specific LU in question. That is, instead of finding an equivalent LU that normally applies to the relevant frame of his target text, the translator simply uses the cognate equivalent of the LU in the source language without looking for an equivalent of the LU in the target language that specifically relates to that frame.

There were two incongruent mappings of the PLACING frame in P-Ez, all caused by difficulties the translator encountered in his base text. The first one in Ezekiel 19:9 was occasioned by misunderstanding the FE **גִּזְרֵי**, a rare Hebrew technical noun. The frame was interpreted as an IMMOBILISATION frame. This incidence is presented in part here. It should be noted that P-Ez also omits the translation of the phrase **בַּחַיִּים**, probably reflecting P's unfamiliarity with the term (cf. P-Ez's translation of this term also in Ezekiel 19:4 and 29:4).

MT: ויתנהו בסוגר בחחים ויבאהו אל־מלך בבל ...

P: ...מאבא, מדינת ישראל, לחלק וכלל...

TR: And they shut it up in a cage and they brought it to the king of Babel ...

115

3.4.5 The CAUSE MOTION frame¹³⁶

The CAUSE MOTION frame was successfully translated into Syriac with consistency in the use of the single LU ܠܝܒ (5 times). This is so, even though there is a possibility to redefine the frame and come up with an ATTACHING INSTRUMENTS TO BODY frame as discussed above. The cases in Ezekiel 3:25 and 4:8 would particularly be identified with such a frame. An instance of a CAUSE MOTION frame is given below.

Ezekiel 3:25

MT: ואתה בן־אדם הנה נתנו עליך עבوتים ...

TR: And you son of man, look, they have set upon you cords ...

P-Ez: ... כח נחם חליץ עולה ...

TR: And you son of man, look, they are casting upon you fetters ...

3.4.6 The CAUSE CHANGE and CAUSE TO SUFFER EVIL frames¹³⁷

In P-Ez 1 – 24, the CAUSE CHANGE frames evoked by the **target** LU were mostly translated appropriately into Syriac by using LUs related to specific frames , such as ܐܬܝܠܚܕ.v and ܐܬܝܠܡܢܕ.v. However, the CAUSE CHANGE OF IMAGE (to the negative) frame had its LU translated by [ܐܬܝܠܡܢܕ] ܐܬܡܢܐ, perhaps showing its close relation to the CAUSE TO SUFFER EVIL frame, which entails punitive action resulting in a negative experience for the Goal FE (Ezekiel 22:4). For an example of a CAUSE CHANGE frame, see Ezekiel 3:8 in section 3.4.12 below.

The CAUSE TO SUFFER EVIL frame as such was successfully and consistently translated in P-Ez (Ezekiel 5:14; 6:14; 15:8; 16:38 and 23:46). In translating the CAUSE CHANGE frames, there was one omission of a frame, as well as one incongruent frame mapping in Ezekiel 16:7 and 7:20 respectively. The case of

¹³⁶ “An Agent causes a Theme to undergo directed motion. The motion may be described with respect to a Source, Path and / or Goal. In contrast with Placing, the Goal of motion is not . For many of these words (cast.v, throw.v, chuck.v, etc.), the Agent has control of the Theme only at the Source of motion, and does not experience overall motion. For others (e.g. drag.v, push.v, shove.v, etc.) the Agent has control of the Theme throughout the motion” (FN, 2010).

¹³⁷ See sections 3.3.3.2 and 3.3.3.3 for a description of these frames.

Ezekiel 16:7 is discussed in greater detail in following sections below. The difference in 7:20 was a result of an intentional omission in P-Ez of a core FE להם (see also the discussion below on this omission).

3.4.7 The APPOINTING, ASSIGNING and USING AS frames

For a definition and an instance of an APPOINTING frame, see section 3.3.3.3. The ASSIGNING frame refers to a scenario where an Agent allocates a resource (Theme FE) by quota to a Recipient, usually for a specific purpose. The USING AS frame (not included in FN (2010)) may be understood as a case where an Agent appoints a Recipient a new function (Theme), which is different from its previous function. These frames were all translated correspondingly into Syriac frames using the LU ܐܡܪ [ܐܡܪ].ܐ (Ezekiel 3:17; 12:6; 4:3, 6; 15:4, 6a and 6b), except for the frame in Ezekiel 4:3, whose mapping into P-Ez may probably resemble more of an INTENTIONALLY CREATE frame than a USING AS frame.

3.4.8 The REVENGE frame

According to FN (2010), “this frame concerns the infliction of punishment in return for a wrong suffered. An Avenger performs a Punishment on a (sic) Offender as a consequence of an earlier action by the Offender, the Injury ...” Occurring 6 times, this frame was mapped successfully into corresponding Syriac frames, five times by the LU ܐܡܪ [ܐܡܪ].ܐ (Ezekiel 7:9; 9:10; 16:43; 11:21 and 22:31), and once by the LU ܐܡܪ [ܐܡܪ].ܐ (Ezekiel 7:4). The odd case in Ezekiel 7:4 was probably a case of the *cognate attraction* of the LU in P-Ez’s source text. An instance of a REVENGE frame from Ezekiel 9:10 is presented below.

Ezekiel 9:10

MT: וגם־אני לא־תחוס עיני ולא אחמל דרכם בראשם נתתי

TR: And also I, my eye shall not pity neither will I spare. Their way on their head I will repay.

P-Ez: ܐܚܢܐ ܠܐ ܐܡܬܐ ܡܠܐ ܐܝܢܐ. ܐܚܢܐ ܡܠܐ ܐܝܢܐ ܡܠܐ ܐܝܢܐ

TR: And I, I will not have pity on them neither will I have mercy. Their ways I will repay on their head.

3.4.9 The CONVICTING frame

In this frame, A Judge (Agent), on the basis of legal authority, declares a convict (Recipient) guilty of a specific wrong doing (Theme FE). In Semitic terms, this frame is idealised idiomatically as involving the ‘bringing of a conviction (Theme FE) by an authority (Agent) upon a convict (Recipient)’. The transfer of action implied in this idiomatic manner of conceptualising the frame is therefore easily associated with the generic frame structure, which is basic to the GIVING frames. This CONVICTING frame, which occurs four times in the study range was in all those instances successfully mapped into Syriac. Regarding the use of the LUs in Syriac, there are cases of frame specific verbs such as in Ezekiel 17:19 where the PP ܡܠܐ (on his head) naturally requires the verbal expression ܐܚܢܐ (“I will bring it up”). In Ezekiel 7:3, however, the FE Goal is represented as a pronominal suffix attached to the ܐܢܐ. P-Ez also uses the LU ܐܚܢܐ ܡܠܐ ܐܝܢܐ twice (Ezekiel 7:8 and 23:49) for the very same frame. An instance of the CONVICTING frame from Ezekiel 7:3 is provided below.

Ezekiel 7:3

MT: ... ונתתי עליך את כל־תועבתך

TR: ... and I will hold you guilty for all your abominations.¹³⁸

P: ܐܚܢܐ ܡܠܐ ܐܝܢܐ ܡܠܐ ܐܝܢܐ

TR: ... and I will hold you guilty for all your abominations¹³⁹

¹³⁸ Literally “...and I will lay against you all your abominations”.

3.4.10 The TEMPORARY GIVING frame

For a TEMPORARY GIVING scenario, the Donor gives a Theme to a Recipient temporarily, expecting Recipient to give the Theme back under agreed terms.¹⁴⁰ Occurring only twice in the range of study (Ezekiel 18:8, 13) for those frames evoked by נָתַן.v. This frame was successfully translated into the Syriac with a consistent use of the LU ܐܬܬܝܬ. For an instance of a TEMPORARY GIVING frame, see section 3.7 where an instance from Ezekiel 18:8 is analysed, together with an extensive discussion on how this type of frames was mapped into P-Ez.

Given the foregoing information about how Hebrew frames were mapped into P-Ez, an important matter needs to be grasped. The success of the mapping of frames by the translator and the consistency, with which LUs were used for each specific frame, should be considered for each individual frame. This should be done instead of simply giving an evaluation of all the combined frames instantiated by the **target** LU. For example, the following frames with two or more occurrences in Ezekiel 1-24 had a 100% success-rate for being mapped into correct correspondent frames, and 100% consistency for the use of an LU: the GIVING, CAUSE TO SUFFER EVIL, and the TEMPORARY GIVING frames.

If we categorize frames in more detail, we would also have the same rate of success for example the ATTACHING INSTRUMENTS TO BODY PARTS (PLACING) frame and the RITE OFFERING frame. Indeed, some frames are very specific and would tend to be translated by frame specific LUs in Syriac. These are such frames as the CAUSE CHANGE frames and the INTENTIONALLY CREATE frames, together with most other frames that occur only once in the corpus of the present study. There were certainly few odd cases where the *cognate attraction* of the source LU נָתַן.v proved stronger than P-Ez's ability to find a frame specific LU in Syriac that corresponds to the frame in his source text. The result was that P-Ez's translator simply used the most direct cognate equivalent of the LU present in his source text, that is, the most common equivalent to the Hebrew LU נָתַן.v.

¹³⁹ Literally, "and I will bring against you all your abominations".

¹⁴⁰ Absent in FN (2010).

3.4.11 The TAKING SIDES frame

The TAKING SIDES frame is instantiated in the Hebrew text in Ezekiel 14:8, as well as in 15:7. P-Ez's translator surprisingly maps this frame in Ezekiel, but perhaps also in the Peshitta as a whole, to a HOSTILE ENCOUNTER frame. An excerpt in Ezekiel 14:8 is presented below to demonstrate this point.

Ezekiel 14:8

MT: ונתנתי פני באיש ההוא ...

TR: And I will give my face against that man ...

P-Ez: אֲמַלְכֵּנִי זֶה הוּא, חַלְּלֵהוּ שֵׁם ...

TR: And I will give my anger against that man ...

The frame in the Hebrew seems to refer to a situation of opposition.¹⁴¹ For this situation it is perhaps appropriate to refer to the relevant frame according to FN (2010) as the TAKING SIDES frame.¹⁴² A few modern translations indeed reflect this understanding (See Nlrv, NLT). In P-Ez's translation (as well as TgE), the sentence seems to evoke an EMOTION DIRECTED frame.¹⁴³ However in the biblical text, it is apparent that an EMOTION DIRECTED frame evoked by the LU *anger.n*, with God or YHWH as Agent (or Experiencer), in turn implies or evokes the HOSTILE ENCOUNTER frame.¹⁴⁴ In simple words, God's or YHWH's anger leads to or implies punitive action that has caused such anger (Block, 1997:430; Milgrom, 2000:1471).

Jamieson, Fausset and Brown's claim that God's face in Scripture is often used to denote his anger may not be valid (Jamieson, Fausset and Brown, 1997). Apart from being used in idioms that describe events of displeasure or anger, God's face is also

¹⁴¹ Kleinig (2003:356).

¹⁴² Defined in FN (2010) as a case where "A Cognizer has a relatively fixed positive or negative point of view towards an Issue."

¹⁴³ Defined in FN (2010) as a case where "an Experiencer who is feeling or experiencing a particular emotional response to a Stimulus or about a Topic."

¹⁴⁴ Defined in FN (2010) as a frame that "consists of words that describe a hostile encounter between opposing forces (Side 1 and Side 2, collectively conceptualizable as Sides) over a disputed Issue and / or in order to reach a specific Purpose."

used in scripture in idioms describing his favourable disposition towards another person. The “face” is even represented as something to be sought (Psalms 27:8; Numbers 6:25-26; Ezekiel 7:22, 39:23, 24, 29). In fact, according to the Scripture passages, God can set his face on a city “for evil or for good” (Jeremiah 21:10). However, it seems that with the LU פָּנָיו, the temperament in relation to the Recipient FE is always negative. The larger context in any case leads to the conclusion that the temperament is indeed negative. In P-Ez this negative temperament or disposition is mostly understood as anger.

It is possible indeed that in the Semitic cultures, the human (and thus also God’s) face was understood to display two major categories of emotional disposition. The human face visibly could express joy and favour towards an object (a person) and thereby metaphorically in certain circumstances represented favour. Alternatively the face could visibly express anger and disapproval towards an object (a person) and thus metaphorically tended to represent anger or displeasure towards a person (Jeremiah 21:10). These are perhaps subtle metaphorical associations. There exist many more of these metaphors related to the human face (Kövecses, 2002:69-71).

The frame invoked in the Hebrew text of Ezekiel 14:8 can be understood as one denoting displeasure and opposition (TAKING SIDES frame). Nevertheless P-Ez and TgE understands this frame in terms of anger and thus a HOSTILE ENCOUNTER. Both these frames can well be understood to belong to one major frame that may be referred as the NEGATIVE TEMPERAMENT frame (absent in FN 2010). It would perhaps be presumptuous at the present stage to attempt an explanation for the reason why P-Ez and TgE shows the HOSTILE ENCOUNTER frame rather than the Hebrew’s TAKING SIDES frame. As a first analysis, it could become evident that there may be more than a few number of possible explanations for the view in P-Ez and TgE.

At present, one may be faced with the difficulty of having to decide whether the mapping of the frame in Ezekiel 14:8 and in 15:7 can be described as correspondent or variant. The present study opts to identify this type of mapping as a very low profiled instance of divergent mapping, perhaps displaying an instance of difference of perspective taking place within the same type of ‘parent frame’. After closer

examination, this appears to be the case (cf. 19:8 for a discussion of another frame involving a different perspective adopted by P-Ez's translator within the same frame). One positive aspect emerges in this characteristic translation adopted by P-Ez, concerning this frame we have identified as the TAKING SIDES frame. This aspect is that P-Ez's translator transmits this frame more or less consistently in P-Ez, and perhaps also in the rest of the Peshitta, as the HOSTILE ENCOUNTER frame.¹⁴⁵ From the side of P-Ez 1- 24, this somewhat eases problems related to the text-critical studies of the Hebrew Bible.

3.5 VARIANTS

3.5.1 Omission of FEs

The GIVING frame together with its derived frames normally requires the presence of a specific set of FEs within a single given frame. Due to that fact core frame elements are rarely omitted. Below are two identified incidences of the omission of FEs in P-Ez. In Ezekiel 3:8, P-Ez's translator omitted a FE as a result of employing a frame specific LU.

Ezekiel 3:8

MT: הנה נתתי את־פניך חזקים ...

TR: Look, I have given your face hardness ...

P-Ez: ܡܐ ܕܚܝܬܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ

TR: Look, I have hardened your face.

As can be observed, P-Ez's translator used the *Afel* of the verb ܠܥܬܝܐ, that does not require an adjectival compliment (e.g. the verb 'make' + the adjectival compliment 'hard') as was the case in the Hebrew source text. Thus the Theme FE present in the Hebrew clause was not needed in the Syriac translation. The omission is therefore due to the employment of a LU in Syriac that is specifically related to a certain frame.

¹⁴⁵ P-Ez usually prefixes the preposition ܐܠܝܐ to the Recipient FE in all cases of the occurrence of this frame instantiated by ܠܥܬܝܐ.v. However, in Ezekiel 14:8 only, P-Ez used the preposition ܠܥܬܝܐ.

Such a frame-specific LU usually is referred to as idiomatic Syriac. This difference is thus traced to aspects of cognitive linguistics involved in the process of translation.

Ezekiel 7:20 shows an omission in P-Ez of the Recipient FE when compared to the CAUSE CHANGE OF PERSPECTIVE frame in the Hebrew source text. This omission was brought about by the translator's failure to understand the CAUSE CHANGE OF PERSPECTIVE frame, which requires four necessary complements. In this instance, P-Ez's translator perceived a CAUSE CHANGE OF QUALITY frame, which is a trivalent frame (see discussion on valence in section 3.3.3.3). Since the translator understood a CAUSE CHANGE OF QUALITY frame, the fourth complement necessary in a CAUSE CHANGE OF PERSPECTIVE frame (Interested party), was unnecessary according to P-Ez's translator and therefore he omitted it.

3.5.2 Omission of LUs

Ezekiel 16:12 is in fact not typically a case of omission. This rendition rather represents a rare stylistic feature employed in P-Ez's translation that gives the impression of an omission. The *Afel* of the verb 𐤀𐤓𐤕 is used in a list of actions in Ezekiel 16:11. This list continues in Ezekiel 16:12. The Hebrew text thus continues the list of actions, with the verb specifically appearing at the beginning of the verse in Ezekiel 16:12. The translator of P-Ez however chose to make the verb in Ezekiel 16:12 elliptical. Thus he included in Ezekiel 16:12, only the FEs which are complement to the verb appearing in Ezekiel 16:11.

In Ezekiel 17:22 there was an omission of the **target** LU. This occurred in a frame that seems to have been composed of only a verbal phrase. The reading of this verbal phrase in the Hebrew text, compared to that in the versions, presents a text-critical problem of note. The verse reads as follows in the MT, P-Ez and the LXX respectively:¹⁴⁶

¹⁴⁶ TgE deviates significantly from the Hebrew text in this verse.

Ezekiel 17:22

MT: כה אמר אדני יהוה ולקחתי אני מצמרת הארז הרמה ונתתי מראש
ינקותיו רך אקטף ושתלתי אני על הר־גבה ותלול.

TR: Thus says the Lord Yahweh, "And I will take, even I, from the top of the
lofty cedar and I will set, from the top I will pluck off its tender shoot,
and I will transplant, I myself, upon a mountain high and lofty.

P-Ez: מנחם אנו מנחם מנחם. אשכח מן חציה ויטע ... מן זמח אשכח
לכס. מנחם מן חציה ויטע מנחם.

TR: Thus says the Lord of lords, I shall take from the choice ones¹⁴⁷ of the
high acacias and from its top, I will cut its heart and I will plant (it)
on the high and exalted mountains.

LXX: διότι τάδε λέγει κύριος Καὶ λήμψομαι ἐγὼ ἐκ τῶν ἐπιλέκτων τῆς κέδρου
... .., ἐκ κορυφῆς καρδίας αὐτῶν ἀποκνιῶ καὶ καταφυτεύσω ἐγὼ ἐπ'
ὄρος ὑψηλόν,

TR: Therefore thus says the Lord, 'And I myself will take, from the choice
parts of the ... cedar ... I will nip off from the top of their heart and I
myself will transplant (it) upon a high mountain ...

The LXX thus omits the words הרמה ונתתי. P-Ez, on the other hand, only omits the
verb ונתתי. According to the BHS, the verb is also omitted in a Hebrew manuscript,
as well as in the Old Latin version.¹⁴⁸ In Zimmerli's opinion the two words omitted in
the LXX were probably later additions in the Hebrew MSS (Zimmerli, 1979:358-
359).¹⁴⁹ It must be established whether P-Ez's source contained the lexical unit,
ונתתי, or not. What makes such a decision difficult is firstly the fact that the verbal
phrase ונתתי seems to stand alone in the Hebrew text. It falls between two PPs, the
previous being a PP attached to an earlier verb לקח, while the prepositional phrase
after the verb ונתתי is attached to the following verb. The verb-phrase ונתתי

¹⁴⁷ Or could it be read as 'side'.

¹⁴⁸ Cf. Zimmerli (1979:359).

¹⁴⁹ Cf. Allen (1994:253) who has a similar opinion.

therefore, apart from the subject reflected within its form, does not have a Theme FE, and neither have a Recipient FE. Poetic Hebrew can be quite succinct,¹⁵⁰ and it is possible to see all the omitted FEs of this verb as cases of DNI. However, in this case the verbal expression seems to interrupt the poetic rhythm of the verse, as well as other poetic features of the chapter. Because it is a difficult reading, it is possible that it was present in P-Ez's source text, and P-Ez's translator could have omitted it precisely because of the difficulties it presented.

On the other hand, considering the immediate context of the omitted word, it is difficult to consider P-Ez as having been influenced by LXX, which omits two consecutive words rather than only one. Nevertheless, the case for influence must be considered closely since it will help in getting to a better understanding of what happened in the translation process. The following aspects of relation between P-Ez, LXX and MT can be observed.

אני] P-Ez omits this independent pronoun on both occasions that it occurs in this verse. LXX however, follows MT in relation to the pronoun. The first of this pronoun in this verse is also omitted in some Greek MSS.¹⁵¹

צמרת] P-Ez's translator here uses the equivalent *الخيار*, that is *the choice ones of*. This rendition follows that of the LXX ἐπιλέκτων closely. Thus both versions differ from the MT's reading, which translates as *top part(s)*. The Hebrew word also occurs in 17:3, where once again P-Ez is equivalent to LXX against MT. The Hebrew word appears in three other instances in Ezekiel: Ezekiel 31:3, 10 and 14 (in all cases with suffixes).¹⁵² In all of those three instances, LXX uses the equivalent ἀρχὴ while P-Ez's translator uses *אחלק*. It is highly possible then to conclude that P-Ez was influenced by the LXX in chapter 17, where the unfamiliar Hebrew word probably forced the translator to consult a Greek text.

¹⁵⁰ Cf. Allen (1994:253).

¹⁵¹ Cf. Ziegler (2006:162).

¹⁵² Cf. Brown, Driver and Briggs (2000), to be referred to in further citations as 'BDB (2000)'.

יִנְקוּתִי], *young shoot*. This feminine noun occurs a few times in the Hebrew Bible (about 8 times)¹⁵³ and only twice in Ezekiel. Its first occurrence in Ezekiel is at 17:4 where P-Ez's translator translates it by מַצְלֵא, *sprout* while the LXX translates it by ἀπαλότητος, *tender twig*. In 17:22 however, the LXX translates this same word by καρδίας (αὐτῶν) while P-Ez's translator translates it by לֶבַח. Although the suffixes between the two versions differ in terms of grammatical number,¹⁵⁴ there is a strong persuasion to believe that in this case, P-Ez was influenced once again by LXX.

Other relevant issues from this verse include that P-Ez as well as LXX omit the Hebrew adjective יָרַח following just after the word יִנְקוּתִי. At the beginning of the verse, P-Ez is equivalent to MT while LXX begins with an additional δότο. Finally P-Ez's translator follows MT in translating the final word of the verse, ותלול while LXX omits it. This last omission from the LXX seems to be common to all Greek MSS.

It is evident from these cases that the translator certainly continued to use a Hebrew text as his source text. On one hand, one may want to argue that the difficult nature of the Hebrew words in this verse might have forced P-Ez's translator to make quick references to one or more Greek copies. On the other hand, and perhaps more plausibly, given the existence of a Hebrew MS which also omits the **target** LU,¹⁵⁵ the translator might also have had a Hebrew text without the **target** LU before him. Perhaps for this case, a variant Hebrew text might just be accepted as a stronger possibility to this difficult case of an omission in P-Ez. For such a conclusion, the tentative implication would be that P-Ez's translator actually did not omit this PLANTING frame represented by the **target** LU in MT, but that it was absent in his source text.

The only other omission of a LU in P-Ez, entailing the omission of an entire (CAUSE CHANGE OF QUANTITY) frame occurs in Ezekiel 16:7. The omission of the LU נתתיך in

¹⁵³ Cf. BDB (2000).

¹⁵⁴ There are in fact Greek MSS which agree with P-Ez on the number of the suffix as well. See Ziegler (2006:162).

¹⁵⁵ Cf. BHS (1997).

There are therefore two possibilities remaining for P-Ez's omission of the verb phrase נתתיך.¹⁵⁷ A less likely explanation is that P-Ez used a source text which had a variant reading. Indeed, a variant source text is an improbable explanation since there is no other supporting evidence for such a witness omitting the verb, even among the Greek texts. The more likely explanation is that due to the particular intra-verse division that P-Ez used, the verb נתתיך seemed to stand alone, so that it contributed little sense to the rest of the verse. P-Ez's translator thus decided to omit it, even though it was present in the Hebrew base text. Such problems, caused by difference in the intra-verse division perceived by P-Ez's translator (and sometimes by LXX as well) are in fact quite common in the poetic sections of Ezekiel. The Peshitta translator seemed to have used a source which did not display the divisions of *stichs* and *hemistichs* such as those that now appear in some poetic sections of the MT Ezekiel. In such a situation, it was understandably difficult for the translator to make intra-verse divisions that were consistent with those in the MT, given the succinct nature that characterises Hebrew poetry (Allen, 1994:253). The omission of the verb-phrase in P-Ez therefore amounts to an omission of an LU, and thus of a frame that lay in P-Ez's source text.

3.5.3 Additions

In Ezekiel 20:15, the verb נתתי occurring in a relative clause lacks a Recipient in the MT. This Recipient is present in P-Ez, as well as in the LXX, and is attested in a few Hebrew MSS as well as in the Vulgate. It is most probable therefore that P-Ez's translator did not modify the GIVING frame in Ezekiel 20:15 by adding an FE, but had such a text reflecting the FE before him.

In Ezekiel 16:38, an addition of a prefixed preposition leads to an addition that seems to imply a different frame understood in P-Ez from that meant in the MT, as can be illustrated below.

¹⁵⁷ A possibility of the omission having originated in the textual transmission of P-Ez MSS is probably ruled out by lack of the evidence of any variant MS to the reading in 7a1 here, among the early P-Ez MSS.

Ezekiel 16:38

MT: וְשַׁפְטִיתִיךָ מִשְׁפָּטֵי נְאֻפּוֹת וּשְׁפַכַּת דָּם וְנִתְתִּיךָ דָּם חֲמָה וְקִנְיָה

TR: And I will judge you with the judgments of those who commit adultery and those who shed blood *and I will make you the bloodshed of fury and zeal.*

P-Ez: וְשַׁפְטִיתִיךָ בְּשִׁפְטֵי אֲדוֹנֵי הַדָּם וּבְשִׁפְטֵי אֲדוֹנֵי הַנְּאֻפּוֹת

TR: And I will judge you with a judgment of adulterers and a judgment of those who spill blood *and I will cause you to suffer bloodshed and anger and jealousy.*

LXX: καὶ ἐκδικήσω σε ἐκδικήσει μοιχαλίδος καὶ θήσω σε ἐν αἵματι θυμοῦ καὶ ζήλου.

TR: And I will punish you with the punishment of the adulterer *and I will lay you in the blood of fury and zeal.*

If the general feature is to be followed of most frames instantiated by the **target** LU in Ezekiel 1-24, then in the MT, the Theme FE should be represented by the second person pronominal suffix to the verb נִתְתִּי, while the Goal FE should have a prepositional prefix or be preceded by a PP. However, this expected feature does not occur in the Hebrew text of Ezekiel 16:38. The FE דָּם which one might expect to be the Goal FE, is not marked by any linguistic feature. The only other frame-types instantiated by the **target** LU that have similar characteristics to the one in Ezekiel 16:38 are the CAUSE CHANGE frames (see Table above). If the נִתְתִּי frame in Ezekiel 16:38 is a CAUSE CHANGE frame, it would be translated from the Hebrew text in the MT as follows: *I will make you the blood(shed) of fury ...* For example, see Greenberg (1983:286) and Hummel (2005:446). This reading is difficult and commentators and translators have struggled with it.

Furthermore, the possibility also exists that the Hebrew text was corrupted. Thus the LXX presents a variant reading as shown above, with the noun דָּם being prefixed by a TGr that is absent in the MT text. The LXX translation supposes a Hebrew textual reading וְנִתְתִּיךָ בַדָּם. However, there is a high possibility that the TGr to the noun in the LXX was a translator's addition made in an attempt to make sense of the

otherwise strange Hebrew expression. Indeed, the translation by the LXX translator of the Hebrew ונתתיך is quite uncharacteristic in placing frames where the LXX tends to translate the Hebrew LU literally with the Greek verb δίδωμι, rather than with a form of τίθημι – as is the case in Ezekiel 16:38. The alternative suggestion offered by BHS editors is unconvincing as well (cf. Allen, 1994:231). TgE renders quite freely the frame, in the form of a HANDING OVER frame.

From studies in Frame Semantics carried out on frames instantiated by the **target** LU in Ezekiel 1-24, the **target** LU is rendered in P-Ez as evoking a typical CAUSE TO SUFFER EVIL frame (see Ezekiel 5:14, 6:14, 15:8 and 23:46). Characteristically, this frame is such that the evil specified in the Goal FE is what the Theme FE will suffer. While P-Ez's rendering is most likely a result of the translator's interpretation of the difficult Hebrew construction, it appears to be the most fitting frame to the difficult text appearing in the Hebrew text. As noted earlier, the Hebrew text ונתתיך דם חמה is structured as a CAUSE CHANGE frame. Nevertheless, the FEs in the frame, especially דם, logically refuse to fit into this particular frame. The FEs in the Ezekiel 16:38 נתן frame, analysed independently are as follows:

P-Ez: ונתתיך ← דם חמה
 VP-Ez: FE₃ FE₂ LU(Agt, FE₁)

FE₁ (Agent FE): the Agent causes an activity, situation to happen either to the FE represented by the suffix כה or to the FE represented by דם.

FE₂ (suffix to LU): is ideally a sentient, animate being, referred to in most of the surrounding contexts by suffixes and pronouns (Israel), and therefore in the present context, an offender, the Goal of punishment and retribution by the Agent.

FE₃ (דם): ideally refers to an event characterised by loss of blood, and thus loss of life (death). It is therefore an evil, and often, a type of a punishment.

All these FEs most closely fit a CAUSE TO SUFFER EVIL frame as interpreted in P-Ez. FE₂ therefore is the Theme FE, and FE₃ is the Goal FE in a CAUSE TO SUFFER EVIL

frame. The omission of a TGr prefix before FE₃ is not totally uncharacteristic in the CAUSE TO SUFFER EVIL frames in the Hebrew text of Ezekiel, just as in the case with CAUSE CHANGE frames. Ezekiel 15:8 is a case in point. The CAUSE TO SUFFER EVIL frame in the MT and P-Ez appears as follows:

Ezekiel 15:8

MT: ונתתי את־הארץ שִׁמְמָה

TR: And I will cause the land to suffer devastation *or* and I will make the land a waste.

P-Ez: אֶמְלֵךְ לְרִיב וּלְשִׁמְמָה

TR: And I will cause the land to suffer devastation.

It is noticeable that in the MT the Goal FE is marked by an accusative marker (as is usually the case with a determinant direct object).¹⁵⁸ Likewise, P-Ez represents the determinant Goal FE by a proleptic pronoun suffixed to the LU, as well as a TGr prefixed to the Goal FE. Furthermore, the Theme FE in the MT is unmarked while it is marked by a TGr in P-Ez (also see Ezekiel 6:14).

Comparing with the frame instantiated by the **target** LU in Ezekiel 16:38, a similar structure emerges, except that the Goal FE is suffixed to the LU in both the MT and in P-Ez (see Ezekiel 5:14).¹⁵⁹ The Theme FE remains unmarked in the MT, as is the norm.¹⁶⁰ P-Ez marks the Theme element with the TGr Δ as is the norm in P-Ez. Thus the frame instantiated by the **target** LU in the Hebrew text in Ezekiel 16:38 is undoubtedly a regular CAUSE TO SUFFER EVIL frame. Furthermore, P-Ez's translation of this frame corresponds with the frame in the Hebrew text, thereby showing P-Ez's successful mapping of the frame. From the foregoing analysis, it may be concluded that the MT text should read: ... *and I will cause you to suffer bloodshed of fury and zeal*.

¹⁵⁸ See van der Merwe, *et al.* (1999:246).

¹⁵⁹ See section 3.3.3.2 for a discussion on this uncharacteristic feature of the Goal FE.

¹⁶⁰ There can be exceptions to this characteristic, however, as in the case of Ezekiel 5:14.

3.6 MAPPING OF TGrS (PREPOSITIONS)

The present study contends that TGrS or prepositions, which may be argued to have been rendered inconsistently in P-Ez, should best be studied using the theory of Frame Semantics. Within typical frames the evidence of inconsistency or consistency of the translation of TGrS can indeed have weight. In looking at TGrS, the focus in the present section is primarily on the TGr (or preposition) as such, and not on the noun to which the TGr may be attached. Such a noun could comprise an FE in a GIVING frame. Within the frames instantiated by נתן.v, the focus ideally should be on the FE that is often marked by a TGr, both in the MT text, as well as in P-Ez. This FE turns out to be the Goal FE, equivalent to the Recipient FE in the GIVING frame.

3.6.1 TGrS within the GIVING frame

For the Recipient FE, the MT employed the TGr ל consistently, 21 times in the 26 GIVING frames that appear in Ezekiel 1-24. In two cases where the LU is presented in the form of a participle, the Recipient FE is marked by the TGr לך. In all of these 23 cases, P-Ez consistently marks its corresponding Recipient FE with the TGr ל. There are three cases in which MT omits the Recipient FE. In two of those cases, P-Ez also omits the Recipient FE. However, in the third case occurring in Ezekiel 20:15, P-Ez's translator adds the Recipient FE, and thus the TGr ל marking the FE.

3.6.2 TGrS in derived frames

For the rest of the prepositions, the best impression of how they were translated into P-Ez can be formed by referring to the table below.¹⁶¹

¹⁶¹ TGrS in frames that appear only once or twice have not been represented in these table formats. However, in all such frames, equivalence between the P-Ez's source text and his target text have been observed.

Table 3.6 Translation of TGrS from the P-Ez's source text to his target text

HANDING OVER / HAND OVER CONTROL			
Location	MT	P-Ez	Comment
21:16(b)	בִּיד	כאנא	
21:32	Ø	Δ	P adds a Goal FE
07:21	בִּיד	כאנא	
11:09	בִּיד	כאנא	
16:39	בִּיד	כאנא	
21:36	בִּיד	כאנא	
23:09	בִּיד	כאנא	
16:27	בנפֿש	כא	
23:28	בִּיד	כא	

Ezekiel 21:32 is a case in the Hebrew text where the נתן frame displays DNI of the Goal FE, which can be retrieved from the larger context. P-Ez however, as may be characteristic, specifies this particular FE by adding it to the frame, and hence the presence of the TGr Δ whose equivalent is absent in the Hebrew. This use of Δ instead of the characteristic כאנא is problematic for this frame. However if P-Ez's translator had a HAND OVER CONTROL frame in mind, the extra-ordinary form may be acceptable. Further note should be taken of P-Ez's adaptation of the Hebrew's strange PP בנפֿש in Ezekiel 16:27 to the more common rendering, כא in Syriac. For P-Ez's translator therefore it appears that a frame had to be presented in certain, standard formats that allowed little room to deviate from or to introduce of uncommon conventions or cases of typicality effects.

PLACING frame with כנא.v as LU in P-Ez			
Location	MT	P-Ez	Comment
10:07	אל	כ	With the sense of indicating direction into a container space
16:11	על	כ	
16:12	על	כא	A more specific TGr is used in P
23:42	אל	כ	MT is corrected in the BHS to על.

It appears that MT was inconsistent in its use of the TGrS אל and על. P-Ez's translator, however, was consistent in his use of the TGr that was relevant for this particular frame. Thereby it shows that the translator did not particularly follow his Hebrew text word-for-word, but tried to map Hebrew frames into corresponding Syriac frames.

PLACING frame with כא.v / כא.v as LU in P-Ez			
Location	MT	P-Ez	Comment
03:20	לפני	כא	
11:19(b)	ב	כ	
24.08	על	כא	
21:34	אל	כא	This is a problematic frame

23:31	ב	ב	
P-Ez's translator followed the different perspectives in this frame closely, demonstrating that he understood the placing to be made either before a Goal (בִּמְדָּה); on or upon a Goal (עַל); or on or into a Goal (בְּ). Although one may expect the translator to have followed his Hebrew source literally in cases where TGrS, such as עַל / עַל and בְּ / בְּ, seem to behave like synonyms, his close consideration of the frame is still evident. For example, in the difficult case of 21:34, in which P-Ez's translator could perhaps have used a more suitable equivalent עַל to the Hebrew TGr לָא, the translator chose עַל, which seems to depict the scene better than he perceived in his Hebrew source text better.			

CAUSE MOTION			
Location	MT	P-Ez	Comment
03:25	עַל	עַל	
04:08	עַל	עַל	
04:09	ב	ב	
06:05	לפני	מִבְּ	
23:07	עַל	עַל	
As can be observed from the data, there is no question here of P-Ez's accuracy in mapping this frame and especially paying attention to the different perspectives, requiring different prepositional uses instantiated here.			

CAUSE TO SUFFER EVIL			
Location	MT	P-Ez	Comment
23:46	ל	ל	
05:14	ל	ל	
15:08	Ø	ל	
16:38	Ø	ל	
Where MT for some reason omits a preposition, P-Ez always identifies the correct frame and specifies (marks) the Goal FE with an appropriate preposition, consistent with the particular frame in Syriac. Again, this is an indication that P-Ez was not focused on a literal word-for-word translation of the Hebrew source text, but was focused on translating whole frames accurately or idiomatically into Syriac.			

USING AS (2)			
Location	MT	P-Ez	Comment
15:04	ל	ל	
15:6(a)	ל	ל	
15:6(b)	ל	ל	

REVENGE (2)			
Location	MT	P-Ez	Comment
07:09	עַל	Ø	In P-Ez, Recipient is in form of pronoun suffixed to the LU

09:10	ב	ב	noun. ראש
16:43	ב	ב	noun. ראש
11:21	ב	ב	noun. ראש
22:31	ב	ב	noun. ראש

CONVICTING			
Location	MT	P-Ez	Comment
23:49	על	ב	
07:08	על	ב	

3.7 APPEARANCES OF GIVING FRAMES IN P-Ez 1 – 24 THAT DO NOT APPEAR IN THE MT TEXT

The foregoing discussion has dealt with the manner in which the translator of P-Ez mapped the GIVING frames evoked by the Hebrew LU בנתן.v in Ezekiel 1-24. It should be remembered that the frames that have been discussed thus far, do not comprise all the GIVING frames that exist in the study range. There certainly are many other frames that may be associated with the GIVING frames evoked in the Hebrew text by LUs other than בנתן.v, just as there are many in P-Ez that are evoked by LUs other than the Syriac cognate LU ܒܢܬܢ / ܒܢܬܢ.v. Thus for example, in the Hebrew text, frames of PLACING, INTENTIONALLY CREATE and CAUSE CHANGE OF STRENGTH can all be evoked by LUs other than בנתן.v. The present study will not delve into discussions that try to establish the relationship between GIVING frames in the Hebrew text evoked by בנתן.v, and those that are evoked by different LUs. This topic will be left to a separate discussion platform.

What will be the subject of discussion in this case is what may be referred to as 'extra GIVING frames' in P-Ez's text. By this the present discussion seeks to establish whether there were some GIVING frames in the Peshitta that might not have appeared in the source Hebrew text of the translator. For such cases, the present discussion will limit itself to those frames that are evoked in P-Ez by the specific Syriac LU ܒܢܬܢ / ܒܢܬܢ. Apparently there were five such cases, where frames evoked by the LU ܒܢܬܢ / ܒܢܬܢ in P-Ez did not correspond to any equivalent GIVING frames in the

Hebrew source text. The circumstances surrounding these frames will be considered subsequently.

In 13:11, P-Ez and LXX rendered a pronoun in the Hebrew text ואתנה as a *Qal* participle of נתן in P-Ez and as a *Qal* impf. 1st pers. *cohortative* of נתן in the LXX. The particular pronoun in the Hebrew text is problematic in the place where it stands and BHS editors suggest that it should be deleted, as does Allen (1994:186-188). TgE omitted this word, further proving its awkward position in the text. In any case, P-Ez and LXX both had the word in their *Vorlagen* and they attempted to render it, each independently as they understood it. The rendering of the pronoun by a LU evoking the GIVING frames (ܐܬܢ.ܐ / δίδωμι.ν) and with natural phenomena as Theme FEs, usually meant that the renderings of the two versions were understood in the CAUSATION frame, specifically, the one that could be referred to as the CAUSE NATURAL PHENOMENA frame. P-Ez translated the frame with the Theme FE ܐܬܢܐ (rain), while the LXX rendered the frame with the Theme FE λίθους πετροβόλους (hurled stones). The different ways in which P-Ez and the LXX translators dealt with the difficult Hebrew text before them shows that there could not have been influence by one on the other.

In Ezekiel 16:36, both P-Ez and LXX misread the Hebrew *hapax legomenon* נחשתך (noun + pronominal suffix), as referring to ‘brass’ or ‘bronze’. The term, which in form usually refers to ‘bronze’ or ‘copper’, does not fit the context in the MT text in this sense. It is therefore attributed to something concerning feminine genital discharge (Allen, 1994:230; Hummel, 2005:445-446; Greenberg, 1983:285-286). The more literal translation in the LXX, “because you poured out your brass” could also have been initially and independently understood by the translator of P-Ez. The translator of the P-Ez then probably sought to render the frame in good and idiomatic Syriac, employing the GIVING frame rather than the MASS MOTION frame that is evoked by the Hebrew noun נחשת. It is also interesting that both translators understood the Hebrew verb השפך as an active verb (perhaps a *Hifil*), rather than a *Nifal* infinitive construct form, which the vocalisation in the MT text shows the word to be. In presenting a GIVING frame, there is a possibility that P-Ez’s translator assimilated this

text to those from readings, such as the one in Ezekiel 16:33-34. However, the possibility of LXX influence on P-Ez in this case is very slim.

A similar case can be observed in Ezekiel 20:6. P-Ez strangely takes the Hebrew word תרתני (*I searched out*) as a form of the verb נתן, perhaps reading it as נתתי (*I gave*) according to BHS's suggestion. It is extremely doubtful that this reading in P-Ez originated from a text variant from the MT, in the light of other witnesses of the Hebrew Bible. P-Ez's reading probably originated as a result of assimilating Ezekiel 20:6 to readings within the book of Ezekiel (see Ezekiel 20:15, 28, 42), or those in other books of the Hebrew OT text (see Exodus 6:8; Jeremiah 11:5). Furthermore, in presenting the GIVING frame in this instance, P-Ez's translator was probably helped by the fact that he sought a Hebrew word which would fit the context, with as close root letters as possible to those in the words of his Hebrew source text; hence the close orthographical relation between תרתני and נתתי. It is possible that the particular form of the verb תור that appears in Ezekiel 20:6 as תרתני (a form occurring only twice in the OT) was unfamiliar, not only to P-Ez's translator, but also to the LXX translators. The LXX translated the verb with ἡτοιμασάτω (prepare). Even though the reading in P-Ez's *Vorlage* might have been difficult, P-Ez's translator nevertheless did not consult the LXX for a solution.

In Ezekiel 18:8, the Hebrew text makes use of two near synonyms, נשך and תרבות, between which lexicologists and commentators have so far failed to find any significant semantic difference (Allen, 1994:265; Greenberg, 1983:330). The translation in P-Ez of the two supposedly TEMPORARY GIVING frames in the Hebrew text presents a significant problem. The texts of the MT and P-Ez are presented in the text-extracts from Ezekiel 18:8 below.

Ezekiel 18:8

MT: ... בנשך לא יתן ותרבות לא יקח

TR: he does not lend at usury and he does not receive interest ...

P-Ez: ...סוכטלא לא אסופ. סכמי א לא נסב ..

TR: and he neither lends at interest nor lends on bargained terms ...

At first sight it would seem that P-Ez's translator switched the two coordinate sentences around. However, it is probable that the sentences were rendered in P-Ez in the order they appear in the Hebrew text. In the Syriac, there is normally one word which translates the two Hebrew words נֶשֶׁךְ and תְּרִבִּית. This word is ܐܘܨܬܐ. Thus whether the Hebrew uses נֶשֶׁךְ or תְּרִבִּית, the Syriac would normally be expected to employ ܐܘܨܬܐ as an equivalent, especially in cases where only one of these Hebrew terms exists in context (cf. Deuteronomy 23:20, Psalms 15:5). However, while נֶשֶׁךְ may be used in a text in the absence of תְּרִבִּית, it happens that תְּרִבִּית will almost always be employed together with נֶשֶׁךְ. This tendency probably still has to be explained sufficiently semantically, and may have presented problems for the Peshitta translator as well. For example, in Ezekiel 18:8, employing the same equivalent (ܐܘܨܬܐ) twice would compromise the sensibility of the text. On the other hand, omitting one of the co-ordinate sentences would betray the translator's commitment to faithfulness in rendering his *Vorlage*. Thus as a solution, P-Ez's translator makes use of the term ܡܝܢܐ, an alternative term that is as close as possible to the meaning of ܐܘܨܬܐ.

This is despite the fact that ܡܝܢܐ may actually mean something quite opposite to ܐܘܨܬܐ (i.e. a discount or a bargain). The probable intended sense in the context of Ezekiel 18:8 by P-Ez's translator was that the lender lends (gives) his money at a bargain. In other words, the lender tries to make as much gain from his services as possible, which leads him to charge some sort of interest on the loan. It is therefore evident that the translator is helped by an appeal to the same frame for a suitable second alternative equivalent: an appeal to a COMMERCIAL TRANSACTION frame, or perhaps more precisely, what one in today's terms might appropriately call the MONEY MARKET frame.

The second alternative term used regarding the occurrence of the two Hebrew terms נֶשֶׁךְ and תְּרִבִּית, is the Syriac adjective ܡܠܥܐ, which is mostly used substantively in this MONEY MARKET frame (Ezekiel 18:17; 22:12). Considering closely the Syriac rendering of the two co-ordinate sentences in Ezekiel 18:8, it is noticeable that the translator of P-Ez strangely used the LU ܡܠܥܐ (give) as an equivalent of the Hebrew

ܠܬܝܚ (take) when the Syriac equivalent LU ܬܝܚܐܢܐ (take) could have been a proper equivalent, as in the case with 18:13 (also see Ezekiel 18:17). What may explain this manner of translation in P-Ez is probably that the translator erroneously saw the two co-ordinate sentences in the Hebrew text as being parallel and semantically correspondent, especially in terms of syntax. This case is explained in the presentation below.

Table 3.7 The TEMPORARY GIVING frames in Ezekiel 18:8

	Phrase in Hebrew Text	Hebrew syntax	Frame profile in MT text	Perceived syntax by P-Ez's translator	Perceived frame profile in P
1	בנשך לא־יתן	PP + Neg + VP	TEMPORARY GIVING AT INTEREST	PP + Neg + VP	TEMPORARY GIVING AT INTEREST
2	ותרבית לא יקח	NP + Neg + VP	RECEIVING LOAN INTEREST	PP + Neg + VP	TEMPORARY GIVING AT INTEREST

From the illustration in the given table, it is apparent that the translator assumed that the second Hebrew co-ordinate sentence was constructed in exactly the same way as the first one. In other words, P-Ez perceived both sentences to be composed of a preposition prefixed to the noun and thus forming a PP, in order to read a *TEMPORARY GIVING AT INTEREST* profile of the TEMPORARY GIVING frame. However, the second Hebrew sentence in the MT is rather a *RECEIVING LOAN INTEREST* profile of the TEMPORARY GIVING frame.

What produces these types of profiles of the same frame is a Frame Semantics feature called *backgrounding* (Evans and Green, 2006:227). With *backgrounding*, certain participant roles or aspects of a scene may be mentioned in a sentence while others are not. Even though some parts are not mentioned, they are still understood as part of the background (Evans and Green, 2006:227), and therefore part of the same frame. Thus in the case under consideration the *TEMPORARY GIVING AT INTEREST* profile is featured, in which the actual receiving of the interest is not

mentioned, yet it is expected to take place. Similarly, in the *RECEIVING LOAN INTEREST* profile, the actual receiving of the interest on the loan is profiled while the actual lending is expected to have taken place already – in the background.¹⁶² Thus in the second co-ordinated sentence in Ezekiel 18:8, P-Ez's translator perceived a *TEMPORARY GIVING WITH INTEREST* profile (rather than a *RECEIVING LOAN INTEREST* profile) of the frame in his Hebrew *Vorlage*. Hence the translator's use of the most appropriate LU (אָמַן.v) for such a frame profile, rather than קָבַץ.v which would have suited a *RECEIVING LOAN INTEREST* frame profile.

The second reason why the translator could employ a different LU in the second co-ordinate sentence stems logically from the nature of the frame under consideration. As mentioned above, the *TEMPORARY GIVING WITH INTEREST* profile and the *RECEIVING LOAN INTEREST* profile are simply two profiles emerging from one and the same frame. Within the context of the Hebrew text, the one who 'lends at interest' is in general terms actually doing the same as the one who 'receives interest on the money he has given as a loan'. It should also be understood that a number of verbs describing giving and receiving fall into this single *TEMPORARY GIVING* frame, related to the two different profiles described here. These LUs are, as far as P-Ez is concerned, אָמַן, קָבַץ, נָתַן and לָקַח. Of these, אָמַן (lend) and נָתַן (give) are LUs used to profile a lender who transfers money to a borrower, and if there is interest involved, the lending is understood as made 'with interest' (בְּחִסָּדָה). Hence the *TEMPORARY GIVING WITH INTEREST* profile. In such a case the PP will normally act as an adverbial to the LU. On the other hand, קָבַץ (take) and לָקַח (receive) are used to profile the lender receiving interest (בְּחִסָּדָה or מִי־יָדָיו), while the actual lending action is not normally mentioned, thus profiling the *RECEIVING LOAN INTEREST* aspect of the frame.

With such use of the LUs, it could be argued that the two perspectives are actually semantically synonymous. Whether one 'lends money at interest' or 'receives loan

¹⁶² The term *profiling* in fact was applied originally in the theory of Domains (Evans and Green, 2006:236-238). It is, however, equally relevant to the concept of *backgrounding* and foregrounding in Frame Semantics in the light of the close similarity between the theories of Frame Semantics and Domains (Evans and Green, 2006:230). In the present study, the term *profile* refers to that part of a frame that is highlighted or foregrounded, as opposed to that part which may be *backgrounded*.

interest', the central idea is that a lender has charged interest on the money that was lent. Thus one verb can be used to profile the *TEMPORARY GIVING WITH INTEREST* aspect of the frame, while a different verb may be used to profile the *RECEIVING LOAN INTEREST* aspect of the frame. Yet the use of these two different verbs will achieve the same central meaning. This nature of the frame may explain why the uncommon way of representing the frame in P-Ez in Ezekiel 18:13 can hardly be noticed. In Ezekiel 18:13, P-Ez's translator erroneously perceived a PP in the second co-ordinate sentence just as he had done in Ezekiel 18:8. However, he did not change the LU of that sentence to suit a *TEMPORARY GIVING WITH INTEREST* profile as he had done in 18:8, but went on to employ the Syriac equivalent of the Hebrew verb לקח. The resultant 'new' profile in the translation is then that of a 'lender who receives his money back together with the interest on the loan'.

Inevitably, it should be clear that the four LUs in the *TEMPORARY GIVING* frame in Syriac can be interchanged easily without losing the basic meaning of the frame. The nature of the predicate, whether a PP or a NP, does not seem to affect this simple use of LUs to alter the profiles, especially in P-Ez. In the two co-ordinate sentences in 18:8, any of the four applicable LUs can be used. Thus, either those profiling the *RECEIVING LOAN INTEREST* aspect of the frame, or the *TEMPORARY GIVING WITH INTEREST* aspect can be used. The resultant sentences will still have a single central semantic reference, hence satisfying P-Ez's major aim of putting forward a sensible translation, rather than a strictly word-for-word rendition of his *Vorlage*. What emerges from the discussion of this *TEMPORARY GIVING* frame is that while the translator of P-Ez was mostly aware of the individual lexical units in his source text, the final translation was ultimately based on a level fairly close to that which the present study determines to be that of semantic frames.

Having considered this tendency in P-Ez, it becomes highly improbable that one should attribute the LU (frame) variants in Ezekiel 18:8 and 18:13 to a variant *Vorlage* or even to scribal activity. These variants originated with the translator. In addition, the high number of alternative renderings to single words in the Hebrew text points to the fact that the translator of P-Ez seldom seemed to be interested in consistency merely for consistency's sake. This manner of translation rather shows a

translator whose mind was free to explore the most effective ways of translating his source text sensibly, stylistically and faithfully. Naturally, it may be argued that such freedom was always kept in check by the need for the translator to conform his translation to the semantic frames in the Hebrew source text.

In Ezekiel 20:3 the translation relates to characteristics of converse translation. As noted by Lund (2001), converse translation is a feature that scholars may come across in the Peshitta in certain instances. One typical type of converse translation that often occurs in P-Ez is one which has been described as the resolution of the rhetorical question by a statement (Lund, 2001; Weitzman, 1999:26). This feature is also to be found in Ezekiel 20:3 and 20:31. In these instances the Hebrew rhetorical question, *לֹא־אֶדְרֹשׁ לָכֶם* (*Shall I be enquired of by you?*) is rendered into Syriac in the form of the statement, *ܐܢܝ ܠܐ ܥܕܪܝܬ ܠܚܝܬܝܢ* (*I will not give you a word*).

A close look at the frame in P-Ez that was used to render the Hebrew rhetorical question, indicates that the mapped frame in Syriac is not simply a resolution of a rhetorical question, but also an idiomatic modification of the frame. The simple converse of the Hebrew frame as explained by Lund (2001) should have read something like, 'I shall not be enquired of by you' (see modern translations, such as NIV, KJV and ESV). However, the Peshitta rendition resolves exegetically that YHWH does not mean that (the elders of) Israel will not be able to come and enquire of him, something which they actually do (see Ezekiel 20:1; 14:1). It rather is a case of the translator who reasoned that YHWH's is declaring that he will not give them any word or any counsel following their enquiry.

Within the larger COMMUNICATION frame, the rhetorical interrogative sentence in the Hebrew text may therefore be understood to fall within the QUESTIONING frame.¹⁶³ Although the frame in P-Ez may be understood as a COMMUNICATION RESPONSE frame, the role of the LU ܐܢܝ is so strong that the frame rather may be construed as a

¹⁶³ In FN 2010, the QUESTIONING frame is understood as 'Using' the COMMUNICATION frame in terms of frame to frame relations.

GIVING frame type.¹⁶⁴ Thus the rhetorical question in Ezekiel 20:3 and 31 was interpreted in the following sense by the translator: while (elders of) the Israelites were seeking a word (or counsel) from YHWH (QUESTIONING frame), YHWH would not give it (TELLING or CAUSE TO BECOME AWARE¹⁶⁵ frame).

At this stage it is not quite certain which frame P-Ez's translator had in mind precisely in mapping the Hebrew rhetorical question into the Peshitta text. It nevertheless may not be denied that the mapped frame in Syriac is slightly different from the one in the Hebrew text, and that it was produced through an interpretational and exegetical process. Furthermore, the mapped frame is placed within the radial category of the GIVING frames, and indeed very close to the prototypical GIVING frame, thus being identified with a GMod₁ frame.¹⁶⁶ The translator of P-Ez does not simply change a word or two in his source text, he rather reframes the whole Hebrew frame into one that is sensible and idiomatic in Syriac. In doing so, the translator in this instance dares to change the frame in the Hebrew text, on the grounds of exegesis. This phenomenon reinforces the argument being put forward in this thesis that P-Ez's translator frequently works at the level of semantic frames, rather than that of individual words. Regarding the case under discussion, it has been observed that the translator may employ exegesis in pursuit of a clear and unambiguous Syriac text.

3.8 CHAPTER CONCLUSIONS

The present chapter has focused on frames evoked by the Hebrew לֹא נָתַן (nātan.v) in Ezekiel 1-24. The GIVING frames that were studied prove to form a type of network of frames that in a semantical sense are based conceptually or are related to a common prototypical frame, the prototypical GIVING frame. Based on the manner in which these frames were mapped into the Peshitta, the character of P-Ez

¹⁶⁴ In the OT, when someone 'enquires of the Lord', that person is expecting to receive from the Lord advise or counsel and not simply 'an answer' (see Swanson, 1997; Keil and Delitzsch, 1996). Ironically, the fact that the Lord was speaking through the prophet (Ezekiel) in saying that he would not give the Israelites an answer was itself in some sense, a clear answer.

¹⁶⁵ The CAUSE TO BECOME AWARE frame is not included in FN 2010, but see the BECOMING AWARE frame.

¹⁶⁶ See Table 3.2 above.

presents itself, so far, to have been done mostly at the level of Frame Semantics. In respect of this fact, the translator of P-Ez demonstrates a fairly good understanding of Hebrew frames considered thus far, mapping these Hebrew frames into corresponding appropriate Syriac frames. The use of correct correspondences, as well as consistency of the use of equivalences for specific frames, is apparent even with respect to the use of TGrS within different frames. On some few occasions however, the translator forfeits the ideal of consistency. This happens mostly in cases where several linguistic alternatives of translating a single Hebrew frame are available to the translator (see the TEMPORARY GIVING frames in Ezekiel 18:8, 13, 17 and 22:12).

Some textual problems in the base Hebrew text naturally led to variant readings at the level of frames in the translator's text. These problems include ambiguous readings (Ezekiel 16:21; 21:32), as well as text in which it is difficult to determine clauses and sentences or poetic lines. This is especially the case within poetic sections of the study corpus. At other instances, the complex or obscure language in the Hebrew base text might have led the translator to misunderstand the frames being evoked in the Hebrew source text (e.g., Ezekiel 17:5 and 21:20). A few cases of variant mapping are the result of how the translator perceives the sensibility of a frame regarding the whole context of the message of Ezekiel. In Ezekiel 7:20 for example, the translator perceives that the aberrant practises of the Israelites should be described simply as 'detestable', and not 'detestable to them' as it appears in the Hebrew base text, thus mapping a CAUSE CHANGE OF PERSPECTIVE frame in the Hebrew text into a CAUSE CHANGE OF QUALITY frame in the Syriac text.

P-Ez at times resolves the rhetorical questions in the Hebrew text by means of exegetical analysis. In such analysis P-Ez may represent the Hebrew statement idiomatically in Syriac by a frame that may be somewhat different from that in the source text. There are some frames which P-Ez's translator maps in particular ways that appear as if they are variants from those in the Hebrew text, and yet are mapped consistently throughout the Hebrew Bible. This is especially true of the TAKING SIDES frame in the Hebrew, which is translated consistently as the HOSTILE ENCOUNTER frame in P-Ez (Ezekiel 14:8, 15:7).

Some of the apparent differences in perspective between the Syriac translation and the Hebrew source text may still need further investigation. However, the aspect of consistency apparent in the translation of most frames in P-Ez is a positive element that will be helpful to a textual critical study of the Hebrew.

CHAPTER 4

MAPPING MOTION EVENT FRAMES INTO THE PESHITTA OF EZEKIEL 1 - 24: THE ARRIVING FRAMES EVOKED BY בּוֹא (bō), EXHIBITING A POLYSEMOUS RELATION

4.1 INTRODUCTION

In this fourth chapter the study's focus will be on the verb of motion בּוֹא (bō). A motion event has been targeted here since the description of motion events from a cognitive linguistics point of view has been the focus of attention for some time in recent scholarship. Some successes indeed were made in understanding and describing such events. These successes are especially a result of the work of Talmy, quoted by Petruck (2008) who has come up with a typology of motion events.¹⁶⁷ The specific focus on the verb of motion בּוֹא in the present study is motivated here mainly from a preliminary study of the verb and how it was translated in the Peshitta to Ezekiel in the researcher's Master's thesis (Mushayabasa, 2008:74-79), as well as in an article following the thesis (Mushayabasa, 2012).

The present chapter will be structured into two main parts. The first part will be concerned with a Frame Semantics analysis of those frames instantiated by the LU בּוֹא.ν and will comprise three basic steps:

- I. Defining the basic semantic structure of the target LU בּוֹא.ν.
- II. Discussing the range of frames instantiated by the target LU.
- III. Establishing the valence structures of these various frames.

The second part of the study will focus on a comparative analysis of how frames in the Hebrew text instantiated by בּוֹא were mapped into the Syriac frames in P-Ez 1-24.

¹⁶⁷ See also Cifuentes-Férez & Gentner (2006:443).

4.2 ANALYSIS OF THE FRAMES INSTANTIATED BY *bō.v*

4.2.1 Defining the basic semantic structure of the target LU *bō.v*

The basic semantic structure of the LU *אָב.ν* will be defined by following a similar procedure to which was developed and adhered to in chapter three. There will, however, be some differences due to the existing variations between the LUs concerned. Thus in the present study, a Full-specification approach of lexical (frame) semantic analysis will be followed broadly, with some necessary modifications.¹⁶⁸

Most of the available lexicons define the target LU *אָב.ν* as a verb of motion.¹⁶⁹ By motion in this case is meant directed motion between any two points, typified in the sentence, “X moves from point A to point B.” Thus, the English lexical equivalents for the Hebrew LU are given as *come*, *go*, *arrive*, and *enter*.¹⁷⁰ The present study makes a theoretical claim that the default construal or the central sense of the LU *אָב.ν*, occurring in the *Qal*, *Hifil* and *Hofal* stem formations, is one that profiles the ARRIVING frame. This conclusion is based on the fact that Hebrew – English lexicons generally denote the meaning of this verb with equivalents that presuppose the ARRIVING frame.

Finally, this supposition is proved by the nature of actual frames or scenes that this LU evokes in Ezekiel 1-24. It will also become clear in the brief analysis of the semantic structure of the Hebrew LU, to follow shortly, that the definition of the verb given in some lexicons, at least in the context of the present study, may prove to be too broad and not specific enough.

With reference to the FN (2010) database of the online English lexicon, the ARRIVING frame, typified by the LU *come*, is a sub-frame in the TRAVERSING frame. The TRAVERSING frame is one that is simply defined as an event in which:

¹⁶⁸ See section 3.3.1.

¹⁶⁹ See for example, Preuss (1975:20) and Arnold (1997: 615).

¹⁷⁰ Arnold (1997: 615-617).

A Theme changes location with respect to a salient Path location.¹⁷¹

The TRAVERSING frame as such inherits some frame characteristics from the MOTION frame, which is defined as follows:

“Some entity (Theme) starts out in one place (Source) and ends up in another place (Goal), having covered some space between the two (Paths). Alternatively, the Area or Direction in which the Theme moves or the Distance of the movement, may be mentioned.”

The FN (2010) annotators continue their definition of this frame as follows:

“The frames that inherit the general Motion frame add some elaboration to this simple idea. Inheriting frames can add Goal-profiling (arrive, reach), Source-profiling (leave, depart), or Path-profiling (traverse, cross), or aspects of the manner of motion (run, jog) or assumptions about the shape-properties, et cetera, of any of the places involved (insert, extract)”.¹⁷²

Given the explanation on the MOTION frame above, it seems difficult to relate the ARRIVING frame to the TRAVERSING frame, of which the definition given in FN (2010) appears quite vague. Rather, there appears to be a more direct and logical relationship between the MOTION frame and the ARRIVING frame, where the ARRIVING frame easily can be understood as a frame inheriting frame characteristics from the MOTION frame.

Turning the focus to the ARRIVING frame, one will find that the basic image schemas¹⁷³ behind the frame are as follows:

¹⁷¹ FN (2010), see also Petruck (2008).

¹⁷² FN (2010).

¹⁷³ See section 3.3.1.

LOCOMOTION: SOURCE-PATH- GOAL
 SPACE: UP-DOWN, NEAR-FAR, CENTRE-PERIPHERY, CONTACT
 EXISTENCE: REMOVAL, BOUNDED SPACE, OBJECT, PROCESS.

With the typical ARRIVING frame in perspective, the GOAL aspect of the LOCOMOTION image schema is the one mainly profiled. However, it is quite possible that other parts of the schema, such as the SOURCE or the PATH can be included in the profiling of an ARRIVING scene. For example, in the sentence, “She has just arrived from the USA,” the SOURCE aspect of the schema is highlighted.

At this stage of the study, one normally should determine the central or the prototypical sense of the LU that is being studied. In the third chapter of this thesis, one frame instantiated by the target LU *בָּרַח.ו* was identifiable as a prototypical frame. However, the same cannot be done precisely with the LU *אָבַח.ו*. Regarding *אָבַח*, it appears that this LU instantiates several spacial frames as primary ARRIVING frames. Furthermore, even if the spacial-physical senses of the ARRIVING frames should be considered, their plurality prohibits the identification of any one of them as a prototypical event of the ARRIVING frames. For example, the sentences below may all qualify as prototypical ARRIVING scenes.

- The soldier came into the house (ARRIVING IN CONTAINER SPACE).
- The soldier arrived at the river (ARRIVING AT A GEOGRAPHICAL POINT).
- The soldier came to me (ARRIVING TO MEET).

It is apparent from the examples above that the nature of the Goal FE or of the arriving of the Theme FE at the Goal FE, leads to a distinct sense of an arriving frame in such a way that different spatial configurations imply the understanding of quite distinct senses in an ARRIVING frame. In order to understand the relationship between different frames evoked by *אָבַח.ו*, the present study undertakes to study the various senses evoked by the verb, most of them being spatial in nature. Presented below are a few schematic representations of scenes that constitute ARRIVING frames of various types, from which can be plotted the generic frame structure behind the LU *אָבַח.ו*.

4.2.2 Defining the generic frame semantic structure of bō

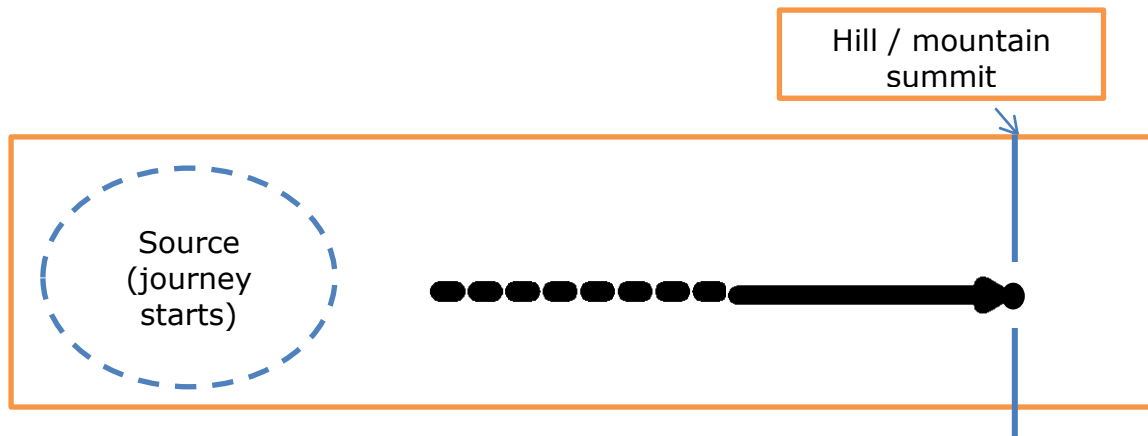


Fig 4.1

A Theme moves and terminates directed motion at a specific point (Goal), the end of a Path

Example (Fig 4.1): 2 Samuel 15:32.¹⁷⁴

MT: ... ויהי דוד **בא** עד־הרוש אשר־ישתחוה שם לאלהים ...

NIV: When David **arrived** at the summit, where people used to worship ...

¹⁷⁴ In these examples the LU is marked in bold case, the Theme is written in Times New Roman type face, the TGr is underlined and the Goal is placed in a block.

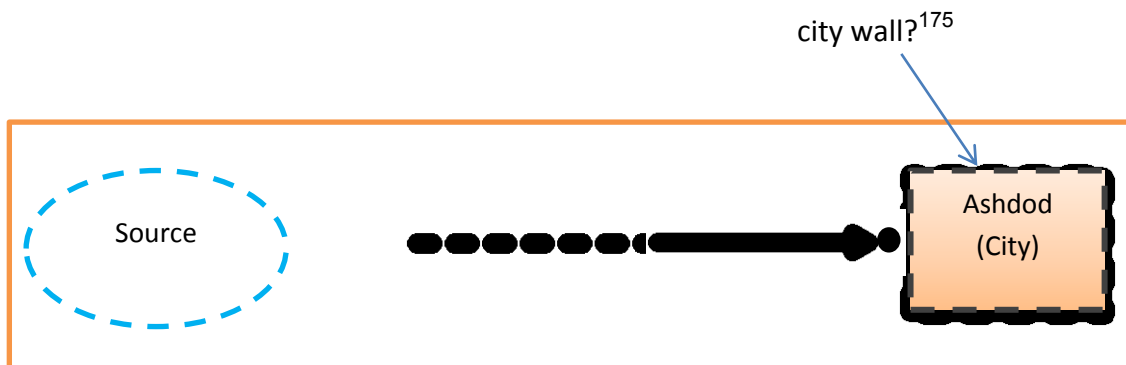


Fig 4.2

Theme moves and terminates directed motion at any point which should be understood as being in the vicinity of the Goal, the Goal itself covering a very wide spacial area, which may often be unbounded

Example (Fig4.2): Isaiah 20:1

MT: בשנת **בא** תרתן אשדוד בשלוח אתו סרגון מלך אשור וילחם באשדוד וילכדה.

NIV: In the year that the supreme commander, sent by Sargon king of Assyria, **came** to Ashdod and attacked and captured it, ...

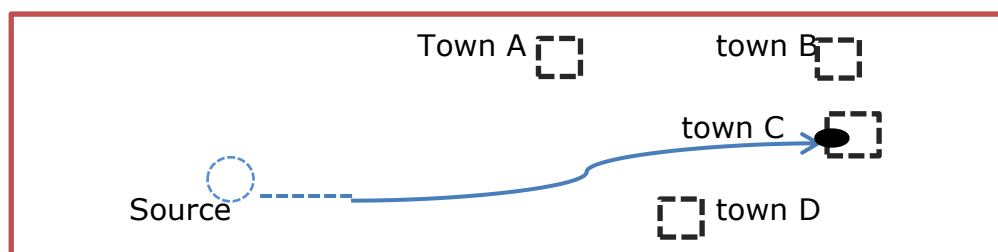


Fig 4.3

The arriving takes place within a larger bounded space which contains smaller locations that may be bounded or unbounded. Because of their relatively small size, arriving at one of these small locations is usually profiled as an ARRIVING AT frame

Example (Fig 4.3): Judges, 18:7

MT: וילכו חמשת האנשים **ויבאו** ליש

NIV: So the five men left and **came to** Laish ...

¹⁷⁵ Ashdod probably had a city wall (cf. Ortiz, 2000).

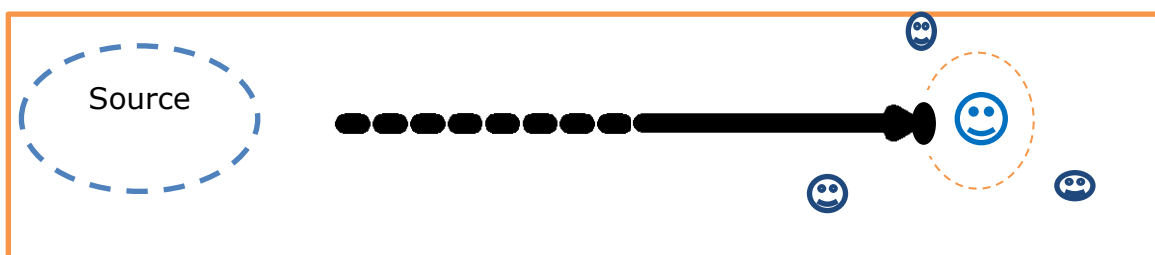


Fig 4.4

A Theme (sentient being) moves and terminates directed motion at a position where the Theme in question is able to interact with the Goal (Sentient being) at a personal level (directly)

Example (Fig 4.4): Ezekiel 14:1

MT: **ויבוא אלי** אנשים מזקני ישראל וישבו לפני.

TR: And some men, the elders of Israel **came to me** and they sat before me.

A number of small variations are possible within this scenario. For example, the Goal can be composed of more than one individual. Or, the arrival of the Theme can be understood simply as an appearance (to the Goal individual) of a Theme.

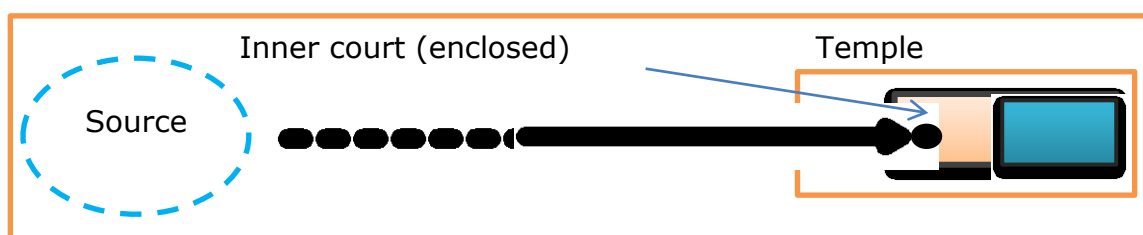


Fig 4.5

A Theme (mostly a sentient being) moves and terminates directed motion at a position where the Goal FE is within an enclosed or bounded space

Example (Fig 4.5): Ezekiel 8:16, see also Ezekiel 23:39

MT: **ויבא** אתי אל חצר בית־יהוה הפנימית ו...

TR: And he **brought** me into the inner court of the Temple and ...¹⁷⁶

In this particular frame, the Theme is said to have arrived when it gets to a Goal within a certain known boundary. The boundary can be a physical barrier, such as a wall in typical cases of ancient cities, temples and houses. The boundary can also be a known demarcation signifying a nation, such as rivers and mountains. Sometimes the boundaries can be quite fuzzy as subsequent discussions will reveal.

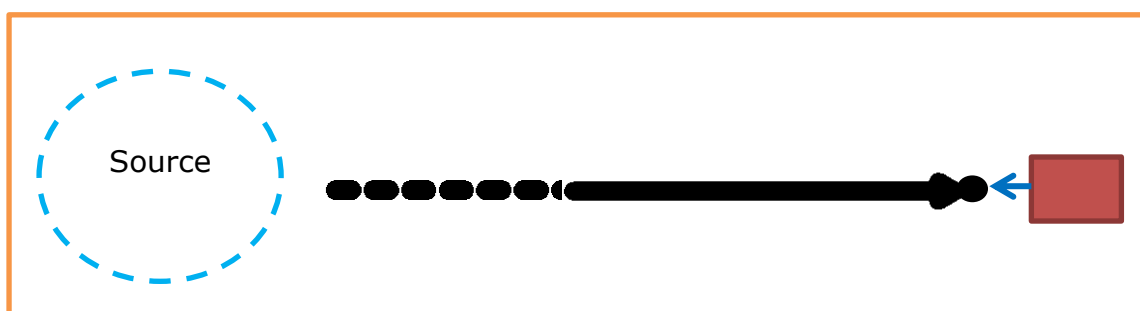


Fig 4.6

Theme (ideally sentient being[s]) moves and terminates directed motion at a Goal FE (sentient being[s]). Due to the antagonistic nature of the Theme FE, its arrival at the Goal means negative influence on the Goal FE, naturally unwelcome and actively resisted by the Goal FE. The arrival of the Theme therefore creates an antagonistic encounter (the ACTIVE ANTAGONISTIC INFLUENCE ARRIVING frame)

Example (Fig 4.6): Ezekiel 5:17

MT: וחרב **אביא** עליהם אני יהוה דברתי...

NIV: ... and **I will bring** the sword against you, I the Lord have spoken ...

¹⁷⁶ Later in the discussion, this study will distinguish an unmotivated arriving scenario (*Qal* stem of the Hebrew) from a motivated one (*Hiphil* stem of the Hebrew).

Sometimes the element of antagonism is not as pronounced, or is fully absent even. Instead, the Theme's arrival simply implies some influence on the Goal FE. This influence can either be positive or negative. For example, the coming (outbreak) of a disease or of famine to (within) a community causes the community to suffer. On the other hand, the arrival of good rains may mean the well-being of the community (Joshua 23:15). For these types of instantiations, the Hebrew normally uses the TGr לַע, *upon* thus implying some kind of influence exercised by the Theme on the Goal FE. However, in other, perhaps unusual instances, לָא is also used (Jeremiah 32:42). In these INFLUENCE ARRIVING scenarios, it appears that the Theme FE does not necessarily have any specific designated Path. In the current study, the frame instantiated by this scenario is referred to as the PASSIVE INFLUENCE ARRIVING frame.¹⁷⁷ As pointed out earlier, this passive influence can either be positive or negative.

Closely related to this element of influence *perspectivised* in the ARRIVING frame, is the element of supernatural influence. In this frame, a supernatural Theme arrives upon a Goal, implying some kind of supernatural influence on that Goal. In the case of the present study range in Ezekiel 1-24, supernatural influence is consistently an event that involves arriving at a Goal perceived as an enclosed space (a container).

Given the above mentioned scenarios, one may hypothesise that the generic frame structure behind the arriving frames evoked by the Hebrew LU בּוֹא, has the following characteristics: A specified Theme in directed motion, arrives or is made to arrive (to terminate the activity of directed motion) at a specific Goal, where both the nature of the Theme and the Goal contribute to the detailed aspects of the frame instantiated. In the case of the Theme, the motive can also be a contributing factor to the unique aspects of the instantiated frame.

¹⁷⁷ FN (2010) records an UNDESIRABLE EVENTS frame. The word INFLUENCE is chosen in this study rather than EVENTS on the grounds of the perceived effect that the Theme FE has on the Goal FE as semantically represented by TGrS in the present study context.

Furthermore, the manner in which a Theme arrives at a Goal (Manner of Arriving) is expressed together with the Goal FE in the form of a prepositional phrase (PP).¹⁷⁸ This Manner of Arriving (or Path) is also to some extent defined by the nature of the Goal FE as such. The preposition is usually the means by which the aspect of the Manner of Arriving is expressed in a frame. Instead of using the preposition, the Hebrew language often also utilises the *he locative* grammatical feature, which is suffixed to a noun in certain contexts. Since the Hebrew language may use the *he locative*, which is not a preposition *per se*, the use of the term Theme-Goal relator (TGr) is appropriate here to denote the grammatical feature that indicates the manner in which the Theme FE arrives at, or relates to the Goal FE.¹⁷⁹

SOURCE

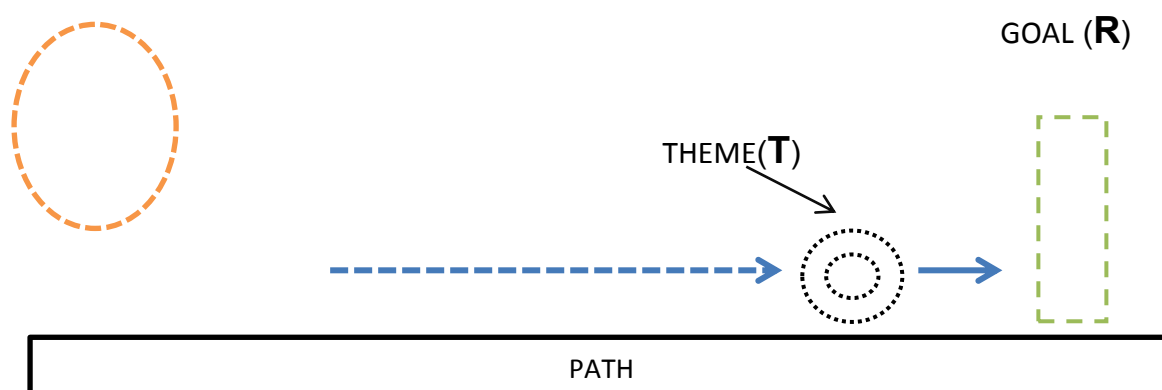


Fig 4.7

A diagrammatic representation of the generic frame structure that can be understood behind the ARRIVING frames instantiated by בוא

¹⁷⁸ Path is used by Talmy (2000b:53-57) to refer to the entire extent of the journey, while in FN 2010, Path refers to the extent between a Theme's starting point (Source) and its ending point (Goal). Thus for Talmy, Path includes the prepositions that show how a Theme arrives at a Goal such as into, at, on etc (Talmy, 2000b:53-57). In order to avoid confusion, the present study will refer to the manner in which a Theme arrives at the Goal as the *Manner of Arriving*. The understanding of the FE Path in this study will be according to the definition in the TRAVERSING frame in FN (2010) which reads as follows: "Any description of a trajectory of motion which is neither a Source nor a Goal expresses the frame element Path, including directional expressions".

¹⁷⁹ See also section 3.3.3.1.

In the ARRIVING scene, the Theme (T) is consistently idealised as moving with respect to a GOAL (R). In a manner somewhat similar to the case of the GIVING frames in chapter 3, modifications in one or more structural components of the generic frame structure depicted above will lead to some other derived frames.

The generic frame structure thus comprises the following elements:

- The target LU expressing the motion aspect fulfilled by the Theme
- Theme (The first Core FE)
- Goal (The second Core FE).
- Path (TGr, that is a preposition or an equivalent grammatical element).

The generic structure of the ARRIVING frame has therefore the typical character of a bivalent frame, implying that ARRIVING frames are generally bivalent frames. The semantic network of the ARRIVING frame may be presented as follows:

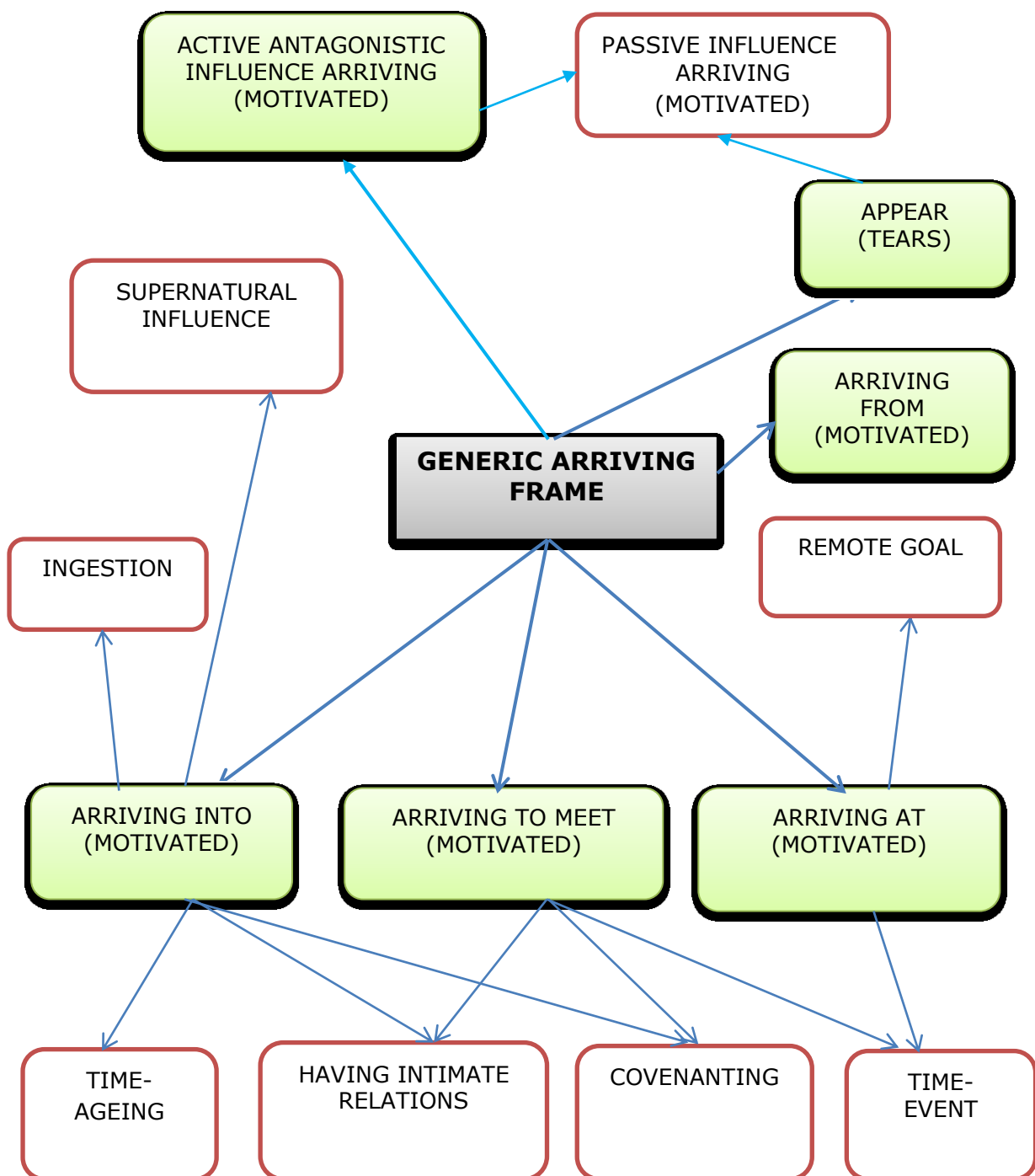


Fig 4.8

Showing the frame semantic network (or radial category) of the ARRIVING frames instantiated by the Hebrew LU בוא. ׀

As can be observed from the above diagram, it may not be possible in the case of בוא to speak of a prototypical ARRIVING frame. Rather, one may only speak of a

generic frame structure (abstract-like) behind the ARRIVING frames.¹⁸⁰ Consequently, one will discover that the LU אֵלֶּיךָ.v may not be defined as a polysemous word in Hebrew, at least not in the same sense that the LU *over* is defined in Evans & Green (2006:342-347), nor does it behave in the same manner as the LU בְּיָדְךָ.v, which was analysed in the previous chapter. The guidelines of distinguishing between polysemous senses given in Evans & Green (2006:342-343) are as follows:

- I. “For a sense to count as distinct, it must involve a meaning that is not purely spatial in nature. And / or it must imply a spatial configuration holding between the TR and LM that is distinct from the other senses, which are conventionally associated with that preposition (that is to say, the senses involved must not encode the same basic spatial relations).
- II. There must also be instances of the sense that are context-independent: instances in which the distinct sense could not be inferred from another sense and the context in which it occurs”.¹⁸¹

Already with the first criteria, one may observe that the ARRIVING INTO and the ARRIVING AT frames cannot be polysemous, since the distinction between them involves meaning that is purely spatial in nature. Furthermore, in view of the second criteria, all the spatial senses of אֵלֶּיךָ are ‘computed’ on-line based on context (cf. Evans & Green, 2006:343). In any case, the Goal FE plays a cardinal role in the ARRIVING frames, with respect to semantic contribution. Therefore major changes in spatial configurations of a specific scene (hence image schema configurations) related to the Goal FE do not allow for a specific spatial configuration (such as the ARRIVING INTO frame) to be dependent or understood to be derived from another (such as the ARRIVING AT frame), as was the case with the GIVING frames. With the GIVING frames, it was observed that the cardinal role semantically lies with the Agent FE and the transference action (represented by various HAND metonymies and

¹⁸⁰ The idea of a ‘generic frame structure’ was introduced in section 3.3.1.

¹⁸¹ Note that ‘trajector’ and ‘landmark’ are used here according to their use with respect to word meaning and radial categories (Evans & Green, 2006:334).

metaphor). These elements undergo little spatial or image schematic changes across the various senses evoked by the verb בָּתַן.¹⁸²

In the light of the foregoing argument, one may not describe the conceptual structure of the LU בָּוֹא *v* strictly as a radial one, perhaps rather as a family of frames, which share a dominant image schematic structure. In this case it is the SOURCE – PATH – GOAL structure. In other words, one may say that the ARRIVING frames are based on or structurally inherit from one common conceptual parent (the GENERIC ARRIVING frame), where the parent frame itself does not refer to any specific scene. The differences between the various related frames are a result of some image schematic variations within the single dominant schema. This could be in the form of particular configurations of the Theme FE or the Goal FE, or both, as demonstrated in the different scenarios that were sketched above.

Only the ‘children’ of the ‘parent’ generic frame, such as the ARRIVING INTO (CONTAINER SPACE) frame, may qualify as radial categories or polysemous frames in the strict sense of the word. In view of the above factors, the present author will refrain from using the term ‘polysemy’ to describe the semantic structure and phenomenon represented by this term in the present chapter. Nevertheless, he will attempt to show in the discussions to follow, that the characteristic nature of the LU בָּוֹא *v* closely reflects the phenomenon of principled polysemy.

The central or generic frame structure of בָּוֹא can thus be seen as the parent frame while the various spatial scenes can be viewed as the inheriting frames (see Ruppenhoffer *et al.*, 2010:75). The spatial scenes further have their own children as well, which are mostly metaphoric extensions from their parent spatial scenes. An attempt has been made to identify and categorise the inheriting frames from the generic ARRIVING frame by using two criteria: (1) the essential nature of motion, and (2) the Manner of Arriving instantiated. By essential nature of the motion is meant the unique properties of the Theme (which can be a sentient being, a physical object, non-physical object, abstract concept, etc.) and how the Theme’s motion is achieved (for example self-motion or by means of some motivation or transportation). The

¹⁸² See section 3.3.1.1.

Manner of Arriving that is instantiated refers mostly to the nature of the Goal FE (which can be a geographical point, a sentient being, an enclosed space or an abstract concept). The TGr may be helpful in providing an understanding of the Manner of Arriving (especially with such languages as Syriac). However, these criteria may be insufficient, in some instances, to determine the nature of some ARRIVING frames inheriting from the generic ARRIVING frame structure of ܐܘܒ, as subsequent discussions will show.

4.2.3 Frame types

Following the example in chapter 3, it would be helpful here to plot a general picture of the types of frames that are instantiated by ܐܘܒ, with reference mainly to the behaviour or nature of FEs. In the case of ܐܘܒ there is no single prototypical frame (hence no radial network), but rather a network of frames that together form a close relationship semantically. There are three major types of frames as expounded in Table 4.1 below.

Table 4.1 A network of frames instantiated by bō.v, mainly in terms of FE nature and behaviour

Frame type name	Summary	Explanation
SA	SPACIAL ARRIVING	Typifies the prototypical ARRIVING frame, containing 2 core FEs, Theme and Goal which have the following basic qualities: ▪ Theme FE: an animate entity that is capable of and exercises perceptible directional self-motion or if transported, the transporter must be animate and capable of causing the Theme FE's perceptible directional motion.¹⁸³ ▪ Goal FE: Typically a physical point in space, whether bounded or unbounded. This spacial point can also be represented by a sentient being located at a particular point in space.
AM ₁	An ARRIVING frame with only one non-typical core FE	This is an SA frame with one of the FE's, as defined above, essentially different. Thus Theme can be the Spirit or an abstract concept such as time. Alternatively, the Goal FE can be a non-physical point in space as in the case of two people who enter into a covenant, evoking the COVENANTING frame.
AM ₂	An ARRIVING frame with both core FEs non typical	This is an SA frame in which both FEs are not typical of those defined in the typical SA scenario above. A typical example of this type of frame is the TIME-EVENT ARRIVING frame.

¹⁸³ In the case where the transporter is the Spirit (normally humanly imperceptible), it is considered that the Theme FE's directional motion would be humanly imperceptible as well. However, the agency or transportation with YHWH as transporter is considered in the present study to belong to the ARRIVING AT frame.

With these three simple categories of the ARRIVING frame, it will be found that P-Ez follows the Hebrew very closely in the frame types. Apart from omissions, it will become clear that P-Ez differs from the Hebrew text in frame type only at Ezekiel 16:16.¹⁸⁴

4.2.4 Some Metaphoric extensions in the frames instantiated by בָּוֹא

As observed in the frames instantiated by בָּוֹא, there is a tendency for basic, spacial frames to develop metaphoric extensions. A few significant features of these extensions will be discussed here briefly.

4.2.4.1 *The metaphoric extension, LAND IS A CONTAINER*

Most semanticists in their discussions of the meaning of the word בָּוֹא, affirm that when the LU is used in a situation where the Theme FE (usually Israel) arrives at the Goal FE land, especially the land of Canaan, Israel or the Promised Land, the implication is that the Theme FE comes or is brought **into** the land. Thus it can be interpreted according to frames represented by Fig 4.5 above, the ARRIVING INTO frame.¹⁸⁵ Indeed this quite generally accepted view may stem from the scholars' understanding of the LU בָּוֹא.׀ as such. Does this LU mean *to come* or *to come-in*? In other words, according to Talmy's theory of motion, the question is whether בָּוֹא is a verb-framed LU or a satellite-framed LU (Petruck, 2008). If it is a verb-framed LU, the verb בָּוֹא should include within its semantics reference to the Manner of Arriving at the Goal FE. As a verb framed LU, בָּוֹא could include as one of its meanings, *to enter* (that is, the act of a theme arriving within a specific enclosed space). On the other hand, if this verb is a satellite-framed LU, it would require a semantic element outside of the verb, associated with the verb, in order to express the Manner of Arriving (Path in Talmy's view) at the Goal.

As indicated earlier, most semanticists are of the view that בָּוֹא is a verb framed LU, which by itself can mean *to enter*. However, the study of the semantic structure of the ARRIVING frame presented in the present study may persuade analysts to the

¹⁸⁴ This case is discussed in detail in a later section.

¹⁸⁵ Cf. for example, Arnold (1997: 616); Preuss (1975:21).

contrary. *בוא.v* presents itself as a satellite framed LU which has its Manner of Arriving expressed in a separate element outside the verb. This separate element is usually a TGr, such as a preposition or an equivalent grammatical element like the *he* locative. Indeed Jenni (1997:201-204) is careful to define the LU simply as referring to the arriving scenario (come), which does not include the Manner of Arriving.

Bearing in mind this semantic character of the LU *בוא.v*, the present study has to rely on a separate semantic element associated with the verb to provide reference to the Manner of Arriving at the Goal FE in any given speech context. However, the fact is to be noted that in some instances of the ARRIVING frames in the Hebrew text, the TGr is totally absent. In addition and unfortunately, TGrS of a prepositional type in Semitic languages such as Hebrew are notoriously polysemous.¹⁸⁶ Even the *he* locative may at times be unhelpful in determining the Manner of Arriving.¹⁸⁷ From the previous section on the study of the generic frame structure of *בוא* above, an example from Scenarios 3 and 4 can be given below.

From Fig 4.4, the ARRIVING TO MEET frame

MT: **ויבוא אל** אנשים מזקני ישראל וישבו לפני

From Fig 4.5, the ARRIVING INTO CONTAINER frame

MT: **ויבא אתי אל** חצר בית־יהוה הפנימית ו...

An example of the frame given under the typical scene in Fig 4.4 is the ARRIVING TO MEET frame, in which typically a Theme FE (sentient, self-moving being) terminates directed motion at a Goal FE (sentient being) instantiating a scene of ‘the meeting of two individuals’. This scene is typified in the exemplified sentence, “Men from the elders of Israel came to me.” The TGr or PP used in the Hebrew sentence of this scene is *אל*.

¹⁸⁶ See for example the various senses associated with a preposition such as *אל* in BDB (2000).

¹⁸⁷ Refer to further discussions in following sections.

The typical frame for Fig 4.5 is the ARRIVING INTO CONTAINER frame, where a Theme FE ends directed motion at a Goal FE that has the nature of bounded space. This scene is typified in the exemplified sentence, “And he brought me into the inner court.” The TGr used in the Hebrew sentence of this scene is the preposition לָא.

Thus, for two different frames, the Hebrew employs the same TGr, and thereby does not help distinguish these two ARRIVING frames. Apparently the particular TGr here is used in few more other frames instantiated by לָא, such as the UNDESIRABLE INFLUENCE frames (e.g., Jeremiah 19:15). Syriac prepositions, though they are affected by a similar challenge, generally show more specificity and consistency than their Hebrew equivalents.

Be that as it may, there still has to be a way in the Hebrew text, of distinguishing the Manner of Arriving between the ARRIVING TO MEET frame and the ARRIVING INTO CONTAINER frame discussed here. The only criterion remaining for such a distinction to be possible is to consider the nature of the Goal FE (or both Theme FE and Goal FE in some cases). In the case of the examples given above for these two frames, the fact that in the first case, the Theme FE and the Goal FE are both in the form of sentient beings helps to instantiate a meeting scenario, hence an ARRIVING TO MEET frame. In the second example, the Goal FE is in the form of bounded or enclosed space such that the arrival of a Theme FE at such a Goal FE helps the reader to understand the ARRIVING INTO CONTAINER frame.

Problems do arise however, with Goal FEs that may fit into several frames simultaneously. The Goal FE ‘land’ is one such a FE. In quite a few instances, a land or a country is referred to as a point in space to which a Theme gets to or arrives at, in the image schematic sense depicted above by Fig 4.1. Alternatively, arrival at the Goal that is a land, country or city, may be understood in terms of coming within the immediate vicinity of that Goal as in the case of Fig 4.2. A third option is that arriving at a Goal that is a land or country is often understood as ‘entering’ into the Goal, in the sense it is depicted in Fig 4.5, which typifies an ARRIVING INTO CONTAINER frame.

Because of the broad semantic range of a TGr such as אל, it is possible to find situations where it is difficult to decide the frame or scene to which a particular speech act belongs. Consider, for example, the following cases from the Hebrew Bible in general.

Leviticus 14:34

MT: כי תבאו אל־ארץ כנען אשר אני נתן לכם ...

NIV: When you enter the land of Canaan, which I am giving you ...

TR: When you get *to* the land of Canaan, which I am giving you ...

P-Lv:¹⁸⁸ ... וְהָיָה לְכִנְעָן וְיָשַׁב בָּהּ לְחַיֵּי לְחַיֵּי ...

Exodus 16:35

MT: וּבְנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל אָכְלוּ אֶת־הֶמֶן אַרְבָּעִים שָׁנָה עַד־בָּאָם אֶל־אֶרֶץ נוֹשֶׁבֶת ...

NIV: The Israelites ate manna forty years, until they *came to* a land that was settled ...

TR: And the Israelites ate manna for forty years, until they *came into* a settled land

...

P-Ex:¹⁸⁹ ... וַיֵּשְׁבוּ בָּהּ אֲרִיִּיִל אֶחָד מֵעַם [כְּמִדְיָא] אֶתְחַבֵּי שֵׁב. וַיָּבֹאוּ וַיֵּשְׁבוּ לְאֶרֶץ מְשֻׁבָּת ...

An alternative version of the translation has been provided (marked 'TR') to show that an alternative understanding of arriving at the Goal is possible in each case. In both cases, the wider context in which these sentences occur is not included. If such contexts are taken into consideration, one will find that the translations represented in the NIV (and in the Peshitta) are in fact more appropriate than those marked as 'TR'. In Exodus, 16:35 for example, it is not possible to perceive an ARRIVING INTO CONTAINER frame, since it is elucidated further in the same verse that the point of arrival that is referred to is the border of Canaan!

Although context is usually helpful in such cases, there are instances when such contextual guidance is not available. One will find that the ARRIVING INTO CONTAINER frame is often conceived of by interpreters as if the target is a land or a country.¹⁹⁰

¹⁸⁸ The Peshitta to Leviticus.

¹⁸⁹ The Peshitta to Exodus.

¹⁹⁰ Preuss (1975:27-30).

The probable reason for such a construal may be the fact that a relatively large or broad spacial location is viewed in the Semitic cultures (and in many other cultures) as a container space. The metaphorical conceptual basis for this conclusion would be something like this: A BROAD SPACIAL AREA OF UNIFORM CHARACTERISTICS IS A CONTAINER. The uniform characteristic of the land may be viewed in terms of geography. Or alternatively, and perhaps often, it may be viewed in terms of other factors, such as occupation by a specific group or groups of people, bounded by known borders, recognised by a specific name, and so on. And thus the land of Canaan is often referred to as a container; the same being the case with locations such as the land of Egypt, the city Jerusalem, Babylon et cetera (cf. Joshua 22:10).

However, smaller units within a larger bounded area are not usually recognised as bounded spaces to which someone can arrive in an ingressive manner (e.g. see Ezekiel 17:3; 2 Samuel 16:15, 17:27). This is also the case with spacial locations that may have no specific names or boundaries (Genesis 22:9). One can often observe typicality effects with smaller units, such as small cities that had walls around them in ancient times. Although these cities are small units (and thus not normally treated as Goal FEs that instantiate the ingressive manner of arrival), these Goal types were naturally bounded so that one would be persuaded to use the ingressive Manner of Arriving in relation to them (e.g. see Ezekiel 8:3). This phenomenon is referred to as a typicality effect.

In the cases explained above, the interpreter solely depends on the particular conceptual understanding from the contemporary cultures within which the biblical texts were written. Since such information is almost non-existent, the next best alternatives would be the writings of the translators and exegetes who were closest to the historical audience. In this regard, a comparison can be informative of how the ancient translators (LXX, P-Ez and TgE, in order of preference) treated the arrival frames in texts, such as 2 Samuel 10:14.

Example, 2 Samuel 10:14

MT: ובני עמון ראו כי־נס ארם וינסו מפני אבישי ויבאו העיר וישב יואב מעל בני עמון
ויבא ירושלם

NIV: When the Ammonites saw that the Arameans were fleeing, they fled before
Abishai and **went inside** the city. So Joab returned from fighting the
Ammonites and **came to** Jerusalem.

P-2Sa:¹⁹¹ סבדו חבטו עננו וחימה ארומס סחימה אפ סטל סח פגס אכסג סחלס למיטל סח סמפס
סח אכ סח סבדו חבטו סחלס למיטלס.

TR: When the Ammonites saw that Edom had fled, they too fled from before
Abishai and they **entered into** the city; Then Joab turned away from the
Ammonites and he **entered into** Jerusalem.

TO:¹⁹² ובני עמון חזו ארי אפכו אנש ארם וערקו אף אינון מן קדם אבישי
ואתו לקרתא ותב יואב מלות בני עמון **ואתא** לירושלם.

TR: When the Ammonites saw that the men from Aram had turned away, they
also fled before Abishai and they **came to** the city. Then Joab turned from the
Ammonites and he **came to** Jerusalem.

LXX: καὶ οἱ υἱοὶ Ἀμμων εἶδαν ὅτι ἔφυγεν Συρία, καὶ ἔφυγαν ἀπὸ προσώπου Ἀβεσσα
καὶ **εἰσῆλθαν εἰς** τὴν πόλιν. καὶ ἀνέστρεψεν Ἰωαβ ἀπὸ τῶν υἱῶν Ἀμμων καὶ
παρεγένοντο εἰς Ἱερουσαλὴμ.

TR: And the Ammonites saw that the Syrians had fled, they fled also before
Abessa and they **entered into** the city. And Joab turned from the Ammonites
and **came to** Jerusalem.

The apparent differences between these versions alone in the ARRIVING frames
evoked in 2 Samuel 10:14 may be significant. It may point towards the tendency that
translators in general tended to map these ARRIVING frames into their target
languages according to how they personally conceptualised the scenes and not

¹⁹¹ The Peshitta to 2 Samuel.

¹⁹² Targum Onkelos.

necessarily according to how the contemporary audience or the authors conceptualised it!

4.2.4.2 *Problems of fuzzy boundaries and cultural cognition*

It is therefore not surprising that situations of discrepancy occur between the different translations. The Hebrew text, for example, may display an ARRIVING INTO (CONTAINER) frame, but which the P-Ez's translator perceived to be an ARRIVING AT (VICINITY/POINT) frame.¹⁹³ With respect to the semantics of the equivalents in P-Ez, an important point should be recognised, as indicated previously.¹⁹⁴ Syriac suffers somewhat similar set-backs to those experienced in the Hebrew written language when expressing the ARRIVING frames, yet the problems are far more reduced in the Syriac.

Syriac, for example, consistently attempts to employ different LUs for the different scenarios in which ARRIVING takes place. For example, the Syriac LU ܐܠܝܬܝܢ.v is used mostly in contexts where arrival is perceived to be ingressive, that is, where the ARRIVING INTO frame is more or less perceived (thus used to evoke the ARRIVING INTO frame, as in the example of Leviticus 14:34 above). The Syriac LU ܐܠܝܬܝܢ.v on the other hand, is employed with non-ingressive arrivals, such as those referring to the ARRIVING TO MEET frame or the ARRIVING AT frames. On some occasions, the translator uses ܐܠܝܬܝܢ / ܐܠܝܬܝܢ instead of ܐܠܝܬܝܢ to evoke these same frames.

Furthermore, in Syriac, there is use of more frame specific TGrS than in Hebrew. For example, with the ARRIVING TO MEET frame, P-Ez has the special TGr ܐܠܝܬܝܢ, which is used specifically for the ARRIVING TO MEET frame, although there may be rare cases where a different TGr could be opted for. Despite this positive aspect in Syriac, there are still some cases where a reader's analysis (from a present 21st century perspective) of the nature of FEs (Theme and Goal) as well as the context, are still necessary in order to reach a correct understanding of the nature of the frame being

¹⁹³ One can also take note of P-Ez's equivalent of the frames that appears to evoke an ARRIVING INTO CONTAINER frame in the Hebrew in Ezekiel 20:28.

¹⁹⁴ See section 4.2.4.1.

invoked in the Syriac Peshitta text. In the present study the use of the LU ܠܐ.ܐ is taken to be ingressive, except where other factors such as FEs and context may lead to an alternative view. The LXX, as well as the TgE, are other witnesses in which the language allows for a verbal distinction between an ingressive and non-ingressive Manner of Arrival at a Goal.

However, the availability of these multiple witnesses to the Hebrew text, and thus to the Hebrew frames, may offer limited help to determine the essential nature of the Hebrew frames accurately. In some instances differences can be pointed out between these translations in terms of how each translator perceives the nature of a particular frame underlying the Hebrew text. For example, it is noticeable that in the ten frames that have been identified in Ezekiel 1-24 as ARRIVING AT frames, the LXX represents only five frames with an ingressive verb. When taking into consideration the modern versions, one would be faced with more diverging views.

Another typical example is that of the ARRIVING frame, in which the Goal FE refers to a desert place. A few such cases instantiated in the Hebrew Bible by the LU ܠܐ.ܐ were investigated briefly in the present study and they produced interesting, though complex tendencies. Texts instantiating the ARRIVING frame with the desert or wilderness as a Goal FE include the following: inside the Pentateuch: Exodus 16:1, 18:5 and 19:1; Numbers 10:12, and 20:1, 4. Outside the Pentateuch the texts include Ezekiel 20:10 and 20:35. In all these instances the verb used by P-Ez's translator to represent this frame in Syriac, is ܠܐܝܬܐ. Thus in P, one does not 'enter' into a desert but comes to a desert. In the LXX a similar tendency is observed. The LXX does not use an ingressive verb at all in these instances, although it often employs the TGr εἰς, which can indicate motion into a container space. However, it should be noted that in all typically ingressive arriving frames in Ezekiel 1-24, the LXX uses ingressive verbs. In the Targums the non-ingressive verbal form אָתִי (a cognate of ܠܐܝܬܐ in Syriac), is employed in the Pentateuch, showing the same understanding as that of the Peshitta translators, as well as from the translators of the LXX. However, outside the Pentateuch, TgE uses the ingressive verb form ܠܐܝܬܐ (a cognate of the Syriac ܠܐܝܬܐ). In other words, according to the targumist of the prophets, rather than just come to a desert place, one 'enters' into a desert place.

This result may further evoke the question: how did the various translations or translators view the nature of the Goal FE, desert? Thus far it has been established that according to the translators of the Peshitta in general, the LXX in general and the Targum to the Pentateuch, one does not ‘enter into’ a desert but one ‘comes **to**’ a desert. There can be a number of explanations for such a cognitive view (but which will not be explored in detail here). One of the reasons could be the fact that desert regions do not normally have precise boundaries. This is similar to a place (מקום in MT, ܡܟܘܡܐ in P-Ez and אתרא in TgE) normally being a Goal FE of undefined or unspecified boundaries (e.g. see Genesis 22:9; Deuteronomy 9:7; 1 Samuel 26:5; 2 Samuel 2:23). Even places with special significance, and therefore with names, or small towns without walls, were generally taken as Goal FEs with unspecified boundaries (Genesis 11:31; Exodus 15:23, 27; 2 Samuel 2:29).

The spacial extent of the geographical area of the Goal FE that is being referred to may be an important factor that the translators considered. As observed above, small towns, with barely much infrastructure are seldom viewed as containers into which one can arrive. On the other hand, larger cities or geographical regions are often treated as containers into which one usually arrives. Another reason for viewing a desert area as a Goal FE that cannot be ‘entered into’ is that one can only logically come to a bare open field, rather than ‘enter into’ it, as if ‘entering into’ a tree filled forest (Exodus 16:1, 1 Samuel 14:25).

The final question to be posed after this observation is, which one of the views reflected in the versions represents that of the frame in the Hebrew text when there is an ARRIVING frame with a desert as the Goal FE? It seems that whatever typical scene is instantiated in such a case, there is little confidence that any of the translators retrieved the same frame that the writer of the Hebrew text had in mind. It appears rather that translators employed their own cognitive understanding of the scenario that was instantiated by the Hebrew words and context. This means that on some occasions the distinction between an ARRIVING AT frame and an ARRIVING INTO frame can be simply a subjective matter.

In the present study, distinctions in difficult cases between the ARRIVING AT and the ARRIVING INTO frames mainly have been resolved by following the Syriac interpretation of the frames concerned. As noted above, Syriac has the advantage of providing distinctions between various frames of ARRIVING through the specialised use of LUs and TGrS. This does not, however, necessarily mean that P-Ez's perception of the nature of the Hebrew frame was correct (or better than those of other versions, such as the LXX's), neither does one have the guarantee that P-Ez's translator consistently could maintain a distinction between the semantic properties of the LUs and TGrS he employed to distinguish these frames. The present study makes an assumption however, that P-Ez's perception of the nature of the Hebrew frames was a true reflection of the Hebrew frames and that the translator consistently did maintain a reasonable distinction between the semantic properties of the LUs and TGrS concerned. This assumption is held unless findings in specific cases may lead to different conclusions for those particular cases.

4.2.4.3 *The zoom-in – zoom-out effect*

Clearly, as indicated above, even with a sizable, large land-area, which might conceptually be considered to be a container Goal, it is often found that translators prefer to profile a rather unexpected ARRIVING AT frame. This result is puzzling, given the general character that has been observed about the ARRIVING frames when the Goal FE is a large land-area with some unique, homogenous features. It was observed that arriving at such Goal FEs instantiates the ARRIVING INTO frame. Yet many times, all the versions may agree in profiling an ARRIVING AT frame with reference to such large spacial Goal FEs. On the other hand, there are clear cases in which the same Goal FEs in other instances are profiled indeed as containers into which a Theme FE arrives. A possible explanation for this apparent discrepancy may be what could be termed, the *zoom-in – zoom-out effect*.

A typical zoom-out effect takes place when a relatively large scope of a scene, or a relatively large amount of detail of a scene, is profiled in an event. In such a case, an ARRIVING scene may contain a profile that perhaps may include a relatively large part of the Path of motion that leads to the Goal. This could include in some cases, the Source FE and other surrounding locations. The resulting profile is similar to what

takes place when a camera's lens is zoomed-out to include, within the same picture-area, more items, or a larger spacial area than when it is zoomed-in and focusing only on a few details.

The typical effect of a zoomed-out image is that normal figures in a picture relatively decrease as the lens accommodates a wider spacial area. In such an image, details that were already small in terms of a normal size image, begin drifting outside the parameters of the lens. Thus, in an image such as an aerial map, houses with visible outlines become only dots in the map, as the lens zooms out. Eventually, as the zooming out includes a larger land area within the same frame, even cities gradually decrease in perceived size to appear as small dots. If a writer or speaker takes the view of such a detailed zoomed-out scene, arriving at one of the cities that appears to him as a dot is seldom encoded in terms of an ARRIVING INTO frame, but in terms of an ARRIVING AT frame.

Similarly, in a zoomed-in image – say of an aerial map – the lens of a camera begins to focus on a decreasing spacial area, so that the smaller details of objects start becoming visible and distinguishable. As the camera zooms-in on a geographical landscape, the walls of a city may become recognizable, then the individual houses, the roads, streets, and so on. At the same time, other cities on the periphery slowly move out of the picture, as continually fewer objects are focused on. In such a zoomed-in scene, the arrival of someone to a city, who is seen coming through the city gate of the city that is focused on, then becomes clear. It may appropriately be referred to in terms of the ARRIVING INTO frame, as someone who arrives into a city.

The zoom-in – zoom-out effect is a possible feature of what is known in cognitive grammar as the Conceptual Structuring System, specifically the perspectival location. This indicates the location a perspective point occupies relative to a speaker or to a given utterance (Evans & Green, 2006:518, 528).¹⁹⁵ The maps below

¹⁹⁵ The subject of the Conceptual Structuring System as applied to Cognitive Grammar, is summarised sufficiently in the 15th chapter of Evans & Green (2006). This topic is treated originally in quite more detail by Talmy (2000a).

elucidate further on the zoom-in – zoom-out effect, which leads to the profiling of two sub-frames: the ARRIVING INTO frame and the ARRIVING AT frame.

4.2.4.3.i A zoomed-out ARRIVING frame scenario (Genesis 12:5)



Fig 4.9

A tentative plotting of Abraham's journey from Haran to Canaan¹⁹⁶

Example: Genesis 12:5

MT: ויקח אברם את שרי אשתו ואת־לוט בן אחיו ואת־כל־רכושם אשר רכשו ואת הנפש אשר־עשו בחרן ויצאו ללכת ארצה כנען ויבאו ארצה כנען.

TR: *And Abram took Sarai his wife, and Lot his brother's son and all their possessions that they had gathered, and the people that they had acquired in Haran and they set out to go to the land of Canaan, and they **came to** the land of Canaan.*¹⁹⁷

¹⁹⁶ Source: http://www.bible-history.com/geography/maps/map_ancient_near_east.html

¹⁹⁷ This translation closely follows that of the ESV (2001).

The versions (LXX, the Peshitta and the Targums) also translate the LU אַבְרָם in Genesis 12:5 with non-ingressive verbs: LXX (ἔρχομαι), Peshitta (ܠܝܕܥܝܢ), Targums (אַתָּא).

In this example the large, zoomed-out geographical area immediately becomes apparent. In his travel from Haran to Canaan, Abram and his contingent passed through places such as Ebla, Kadesh and Syria. In addition, there were several cities along the western coastal line, which included Ugarit, Hamath, Arvad, Sidon and Tyre. These cities, Abram probably skirted while travelling southwards. It is evident therefore that this scene of ARRIVING AT the land of Canaan as Goal FE includes within it extensive detail, covers a very large area of landscape and profiles the land of Canaan as a relatively small piece of land within the context of the whole picture. A contrasting example follows below.

4.2.4.3.ii A zoomed-in ARRIVING frame scenario (Deuteronomy 6:10)

At this point (Deuteronomy 6:10), the Israelites reached the border of the land of Canaan and were situated at a place that commentators generally understand to be on the eastern side of the Jordan in a section immediately north of the Dead sea as shown on the map below (also see Deuteronomy 1:1)¹⁹⁸. At this position, the land of Canaan is extremely close by, appearing as a vast territory with borders extending roughly from the lower end of the Dead Sea to the upper sections of the Jordan River, around Tyre and Sidon, and stretching in width towards the Mediterranean Sea. This image certainly gives a zoomed-in picture of the promised land of Canaan, which is considerably more focused than the one in map 4.1 above. The movement of the Israelites from their position according to Deuteronomy 6:10 to any place within the land of Canaan, profiles an ARRIVING INTO frame, as understood by all the translators of the versions in Deuteronomy 6:10.

¹⁹⁸ See Merrill (1999:62-63).

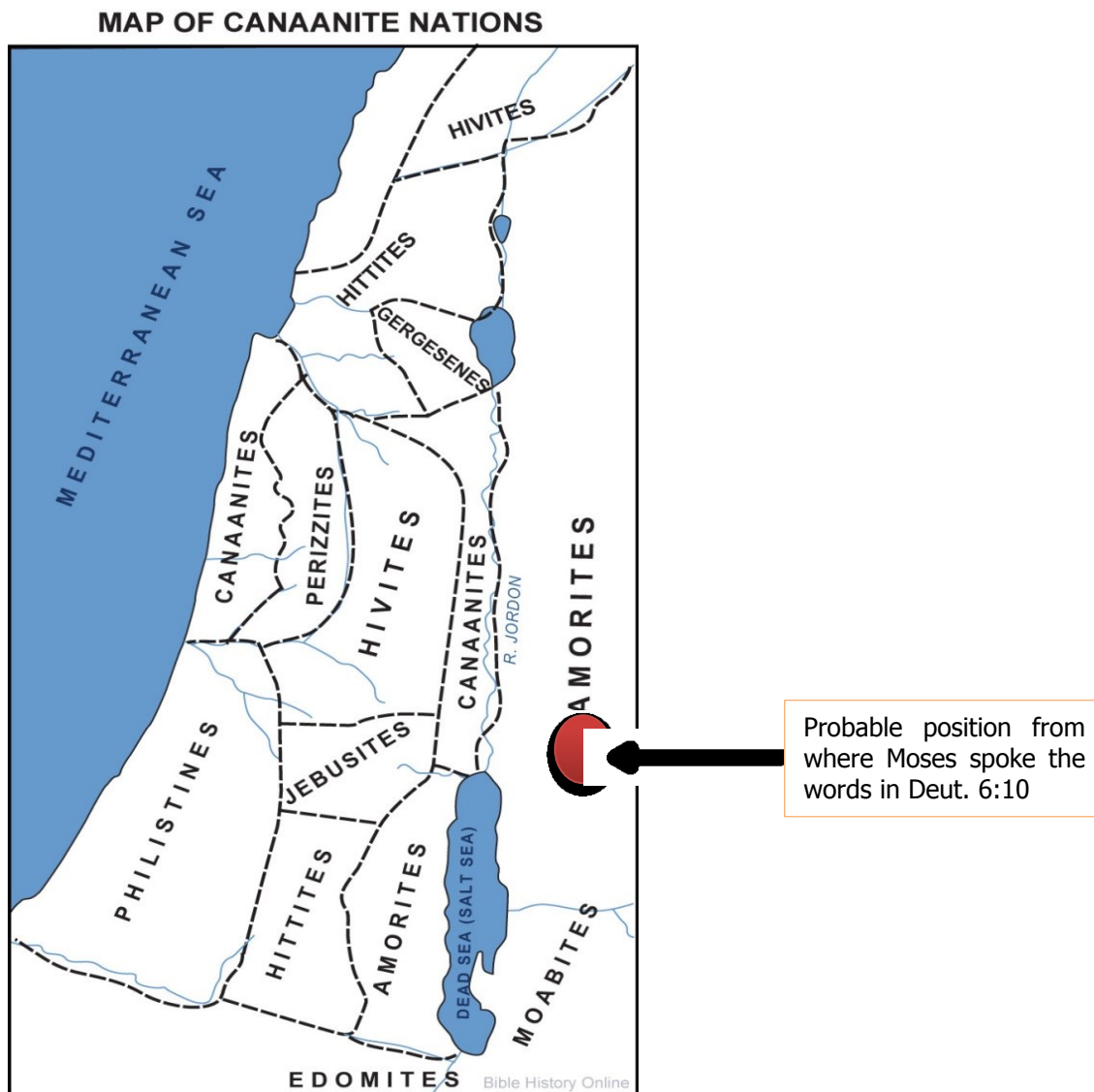


Fig 4.10

**The probable position of the Israelites at the time of Moses' address in
Deuteronomy 6:10¹⁹⁹**

MT: והיה כי יביאך יהוה אלוהיך אל-הארץ אשר נשבע לאבותיך לאברהם
ליצחק וליעקב לתת לך ...

ESV: "And when the Lord your God brings you **into** the land that he swore to
your fathers, to Abraham, to Isaac, and to Jacob, to give you ...

¹⁹⁹ Source: http://www.bible-history.com/maps/canaanite_nations.html

P-Deu²⁰⁰:

ויהי עתה כהן אלמלך למלך ויהי כהן אלמלך למלך
למלך ...

LXX: Καὶ ἔσται ὅταν **εἰσαγάγῃ** σε κύριος ὁ θεός σου εἰς τὴν γῆν, ἣν ὤμωσεν τοῖς
πατράσιν σου τῷ Ἀβραάμ καὶ Ἰσαὰκ καὶ Ἰακώβ δοῦναί σοι ...

TO: ויהי עתה כהן אלמלך למלך לאברהם ליצחק וליעקב
למיתן לך ...

The table below lists some of the zoomed-in and zoomed-out scenes from the Old Testament in general.

Table 4.2 Some cases of zoomed-in and zoomed-out profiled scenes in the ARRIVING frames where the Goal FE refers to a geographical location²⁰¹

Zoomed-in	Zoomed-out
Exodus 1:1	Ezekiel 40:2
Judges 6:5	Genesis 33:18
Judges 20:4	Genesis 35:6
2 Samuel 15:32	Genesis 45:25
1 Kings 20:30	2 Samuel 24:6,7
2 Kings 7:8	Ezra 7:9
2 Kings 19:33	Nehemiah 13:7
Joshua 8:19	Jeremiah 43:7
Lamentations 4:12	1 Samuel 9:5
Ruth 2:18	2 Kings 8:7
2 Kings 20:20	Ezekiel 12:13
Nehemiah 13:15	Isaiah 10:28

²⁰⁰ The Peshitta to Deuteronomy.

²⁰¹ Most problematic cases in distinguishing between an ARRIVING AT and an ARRIVING INTO frame are concerned in particular with the Goal FE, where such a Goal FE is a geographical spacial area. Therefore the examples included here refer mostly to cases where the Goal FE is geographical in nature.

As will become apparent in the above examples, the element of the point of view of the narrator or writer is very important in determining which particular zooming ‘function’ the scene instantiates.²⁰² Furthermore, the distinction between a zoomed-in scene and a zoomed-out scene should be represented by a continuum extending from one end to the other, rather than simply as a complete break between the two ends. This implies therefore that some scenes may tend to fall somewhere on the middle of this line, rather than at one of the extreme poles. Such scenes tend to be neither zoomed-out or zoomed-in, nor do they provide enough information on the perspective of the speaker in relation to the object feature. These scenes become cases in which it is difficult to decide whether a zoomed-in scene or a zoomed-out scene is being instantiated.

Finally it must be acknowledged that the judgment about whether any particular scene is a zoomed-in or a zoomed-out one lies ultimately with the profile that the translator or interpreter chooses to take or judges to be the correct one. Thus it may be that in Ezekiel 20:28, P-Ez’s translator perceived a zoomed-out profile of the ARRIVING frame, rather than a zoomed-in one that the LXX and the TgE perceived. This is only one possible explanation to the apparent frame variant of the ARRIVING frame in Ezekiel 20:28.²⁰³

Ezekiel 20:28

MT: ואביאם אל-הארץ אשר נשאתי את ידי...

TR: And I brought them into the land which I had sworn ...[most probably an ARRIVING INTO frame]

P-Ez: מאדנא אנה לארץ נאמנא אנה,

TR: And I brought them to the land that I had sworn ... [ARRIVING AT frame]

TgE: ... ואעילתנן לארעא דקיימית

TR: And I brought them into the land that I had sworn ... [ARRIVING INTO frame]

²⁰² Cf. Evans & Green (2006:528).

²⁰³ Compare also versions at Ezekiel 3:15.

LXX: καὶ εἰσήγαγον αὐτοὺς εἰς τὴν γῆν, ἣν ἤρα τὴν χεῖρά μου ...

TR: And I led them into the land which I raised my hand ...[ARRIVING INTO frame]

4.2.4.4 *The TIME – EVENTS metaphorical extension*

The metaphors TIME IS AN EVENT WITHIN A SET OF EVENTS and TIME IS MOTION (OF EVENTS) are discussed extensively in literature on Cognitive Linguistics. These discussions may be found for example in Evans (2004:107-183) and Evans and Green (2006:75-87, 298). The subject of the concept of TIME will not be discussed in detail in the present study, except to highlight a few basic concepts apparent in the TIME – EVENT metaphor, as well as how the aspect of time is specifically presented in Ezekiel 1-24.

The metaphor TIME IS MOTION is as such a difficult concept to explain. Time is a non-physical, non-perceptible entity, and therefore implies an abstract concept. On the other hand, motion is a concept that can only be explained in terms of at least a perceptible Theme, and a Path. A Source and a Goal may optionally be required. This means that motion is best and easily conceptualised as “an event”, a perceptible event. Hence the alternative metaphor, TIME IS A SET OF EVENTS. Thus it is not difficult to imagine that, cognitively, the concept of time is understood in terms of events. Therefore in the Hebrew culture, indeed in many cultures, a day makes up a unit of time. A day, in turn, is composed of many smaller units of events occurring one after the other. These small units of events are simply perceived of as small units of time or moments, which as they occur one after the other, typify the MOTION EVENT concept. Thus the typical day begins when the sun rises in the east (the morning event). The sun continues to rise and reaches the middle of the sky at midday, a time when the temperature is quite high (midday event). The sun moves on to the west and eventually sets, after which darkness begins to cover the place (sunset and dusk events). Within these divisions, which that have been referred to here as *events*, are categories of even smaller events. Thus the morning event in the context of Ezekiel can be composed of a person who rises, goes out to bath at the river, comes back and has breakfast, goes to the fields to plough and comes back at midday for lunch. In such a case, one may announce to the person working in the fields saying, ‘time for lunch (EVENT) has arrived’.

In the narrative context of Ezekiel 1-24, the single dominant cognitive model apparent in this section of the book is the *moving time* model or what one may also call the *moving events* model (Evans & Green, 2006:84-86). In this model a particular entity is the focal point in relation to the events that move. The particular entity is referred to in Evans and Green (2006:84) as the *ego*. The events move from the future, arrive in the present (where the *ego* is positioned) and proceed to the past.²⁰⁴

In the context of the present study however, the events are rarely perceived of as moving on to the past. In the present study, time or events appears and arrive to a certain point (in time), closely associated with a particular individual or group (*ego*). The arriving of this event is thus expressed in terms of the typical ARRIVING frame. The arriving of an event can otherwise be understood as the beginning of the occurrence of an event, a scene that may normally fit in the PROCESS START frame (FN 2010) or otherwise it can refer to the fact that the event has begun and is in process. In the present study, the frame which typifies the arrival of events in time is referred to as the TIME-EVENT ARRIVING frame. Its frame structure is in short as follows:

- **Theme:** an event, such as an evil, death or punishment (cf. Ezekiel 7:2, 5, 22). Sometimes the Theme FE is simply represented by the nominal LU for *time*, such as $\Pi\Upsilon.v$. Whether an LU for time or an event is used to represent the Theme, it is understood throughout that the aspect of time is inextricably intertwined with the aspect of the event.
- **Goal:** in most prevalent cases, the arrival of an event in time is when it occurs. This occurrence is not viewed as selective, which means that it has no particular object as target. Thus speakers usually say, “Christmas has arrived,” rather than: “Christmas has arrived *to us*.”²⁰⁵ The implication of the sentence “Christmas has arrived,” is of course that this event is currently

²⁰⁴ An alternative model, the moving *ego* model, occurs once in the study section of this treatise as a TIME-AGE frame in Ezekiel 16:7. In this case, it is the *ego* which is moving along the stages of aging in terms of a person’s normal life span.

²⁰⁵ Cf. Evans and Green (2006:82).

happening *to us*. In view of the normative sentence, “Christmas has arrived,” without a specific mention of the Goal FE, the absence of the Goal here may be taken as INI (Indefinite Null Instantiation). In the present study, such cases of the absence of specific Goal FEs are hereby identified as cases of INI. Sometimes however, the Hebrew specifies the Goal of the ARRIVING TIME-EVENT, such as the case in Ezekiel 7:2, “*The end [has come] upon the four corners of the earth.*” In other instances the Goal FE is not specified but can be deduced from the context. In such instances where the Goal FE indeed can be retrieved from the context, the Goal FE then becomes a case of DNI (see Ezekiel 7:7b). In some instances, it may be difficult to decide between INI and DNI cases.

- **Manner of arrival:** Just as in the case of the Goal FE, the Manner of arrival is not usually made explicit. Only in those rare cases when the Goal FE is specified (such as in Ezekiel 7:2), there might be an expression of the Manner of Arrival. In such cases, the Manner of Arrival refers to the Goal (usually a person or group of persons) as the target of the approaching event.

4.2.5 Valence and valence patterns

As has been established previously, the ARRIVAL frame instantiated by $\chi\upsilon\beta$ is typically a bivalent frame. The core FEs are the Theme FE and the Goal FE. While the Theme FE is almost always made explicit in any instantiation, the Goal FE may often be implicit. In the case of null instantiation, one has to decide whether the particular Null Instantiation is either a case of INI, or DNI.

It happens in some cases of the ARRIVING frames, that the Source FE is profiled instead of the Goal. A typical example of this kind of frame occurs in Ezekiel 23:40a, as expounded below.

Ezekiel 23:40a

MT: ואף כי תשלחנה לאנשים באים ממרחק ...

TR: And also because they would send to the men [Theme] **who were coming** [LU] from far away [Source] ...

P-Ez: ... ܐܬܬܝܢ ܥܠܝܗ ܠܬܠܝܬ ܕܐܢܫܝܢ ܒܐܝܡܝܢ ܡܡܪܚܩ ...

TR: And also they sent to the men [Theme] **who were coming** [LU] to them [Goal] from far away [Source] ...

The frame instantiated in the Hebrew sentence of the MT profiles the Source FE and omits the Goal FE completely. In such a case, the frame remains an ARRIVING frame rather than a DEPARTURE frame, as one might be tempted to assume. It is argued in this case on the grounds of the understanding that the LU בוא, by itself always will evoke an ARRIVING frame of some kind. Although the Goal FE is omitted in the above illustration, it is nevertheless implied. The null instantiation in question here concerns the DNI type, implying that the Goal FE is can be retrieved from the immediate surrounding context. Apparently, this Goal FE was explicitly supplied by the translator of P, who meant to make the Goal FE explicit, in line with P-Ez's aim of mapping the Hebrew frames into clear, unambiguous corresponding Syriac frames. What makes the scene in the Hebrew text an ARRIVING frame instead of a DEPARTURE frame, is the character of the LU. This LU, as postulated in the present study, consistently instantiates an ARRIVING frame.

In relation to valence patterns, the LU בוא, permits various patterns, mainly in line with the textual genre in which the sentences occur. The following examples of different valence patterns occur in Ezekiel 1-24. It should be noted that instances of null instantiations as well as non-finite verbal forms are not included.

LU(Theme) ²⁰⁶ + (TGr)Goal	(e.g. Ezekiel 8:7)
(TGr)Goal + LU(Theme)	(e.g. Ezekiel 20:38)
LU(Theme) + Theme	(e.g. Ezekiel 21:30)
Theme + LU(Theme)	(e.g. Ezekiel 7:6)
(TGr)Goal + Theme + LU(Theme)	(e.g. Ezekiel 7:2)
Theme + Goal + LU(Theme)	* ²⁰⁷
Theme + LU(Theme) + (TGr)Goal	(e.g. Ezekiel 14:17)
LU(Theme) + Theme + Goal	(e.g. Ezekiel 7:2)
LU(Theme) + Goal + Theme	(e.g. Ezekiel 2:2)
Goal + LU(Theme) + Theme	*

There are some frames in which there are three core FEs rather than two. One such frame is the MOTIVATED ARRIVING frames. This is discussed in more detail in a later section below.

²⁰⁶ In many cases the Theme FE is included within a Hebrew finite verb of the ARRIVING frame.

²⁰⁷ In this list, the asterisk refers to those cases where, although the syntactical construction is theoretically possible in Hebrew, no specific cases were identified in Ezekiel 1-24.

4.3 THE MAPPING OF THE ARRIVING FRAMES INSTANTIATED BY בוא

An overview is given of the mapping of Hebrew frames into the Peshitta text of Ezekiel 1 – 24 in Table 4.3 below.

Key to Table 4.3

H:	Hebrew.
S:	Syriac.
VAL:	Valency.
FR:	Frame.
FREQ:	Frequency.
ARR:	ARRIVING (frame).
TGr:	Theme-Goal relator.
Loc:	<i>he</i> locative.
Ø:	Relevant element is unspecified or absent.
DNI:	Definite Null Instantiation.
INI:	Indefinite Null Instantiation.
SA:	Prototypical SPACIAL ARRIVING frame.
AM₁:	An ARRIVING frame with only one non-typical core FE.
AM₂:	An ARRIVING frame with all 2 core FEs non typical.

Table 4:3 A summary on the mapping of frames from the Hebrew source text to the Syriac target text

	H FRAME	S FRAME	VAL	H FR TYPE	S FR TYPE	S LU	TGR IN H	TGR IN S	FREQ	PLACE
1	ARR AT	ARR AT	2	SA	SA	ܐܪܥܐ	ܐܠ/DNI /Ø/ Loc	ܐܠ/DNI/Ø	10	8:3, 8:14, 9:2b, 10:6, 12:13, 17:3, 17:12a, 20:10, 20:29, 20:35
2	ARR INTO	ARR INTO	2	SA	SA	ܠܐ	ܐܠ /ܠܐ/ܠܐ/DNI Loc/Ø	ܐܠ/ܐܠ/Ø	18	3:15, 7:22, 8:7, 8:10, 8:16, 10:2b, 10:3, 1:18, 13:9, 20:15, 20:38, 20:42, 23:39, 3:4, 3:11, 3:24b, 8:9, 10:2a
2	ARR INTO	ARR AT	2	SA	SA	ܐܪܥܐ	ܐܠ	ܐܠ	1	20:28
3	ARR FROM	ARR FROM	2	SA	SA	ܐܪܥܐ	ܡܢ	ܡܢ	2	1:4, 9:2a
3	ARR FROM	ARR TO MEET	2	SA	SA	ܐܪܥܐ	ܡܢ	ܡܢ/ܐܠܐ	1	23:40a
1	MOTIVATED ARR AT	MOTIVATED ARR AT	3	SA	SA	ܐܪܥܐ/ܠܐ	ܐܠ/ܡܢ/ܐܠ	ܐܠ	6	11:1, 11:24, 17:4, 17:12b, 17:20, 19:4
2	MOTIVATED ARR INTO	MOTIVATED ARR INTO	3	SA	SA	ܠܐ	ܒ	ܐܠ	1	19:9b
3	MOTIVATED ARR FROM	ARR FROM	3	SA	SA	ܐܪܥܐ	ܡܢ	ܡܢ	1	23:42
4	MOTIVATED ARR TO MEET	MOTIVATED ARR TO MEET	3	SA	SA	ܠܐ	ܐܠ	ܐܠ	1	19:9a
4	ARR TO MEET	ARR TO MEET	2	SA	SA	ܐܪܥܐ	ܐܠ/DNI	ܐܠ/DNI	10	14:1, 14:4a, 14:7, 6:33, 20:1, 20:3, 21:12a, 23:17, 23:40b, 24:26
5	REMOTE GOAL ARR	REMOTE GOAL ARR	2	SA	SA	ܐܪܥܐ	ܒ/Ø	ܐܠ/ܐܠ/ܐܠ	2	11:16, 12:16
6	SUPERNATURAL INFLUENCE	SUPERNATURAL INFLUENCE	2	AM2	AM2	ܠܐ	ܒ	ܐܠ	2	2:2, 3:24a
7	INGESTION	INGESTION	2	AM1	AM1	ܠܐ	ܒ	ܐܠ	1	4:14
8	TIME-EVENT ARR	TIME-EVENT ARR	1	AM2	AM2	ܐܪܥܐ/ܐܪܥܐ	ܐܠ/ܐܠ/ܐܠ/ DNI/Ø	ܐܠ/Ø/DNI	16	7:2, 7:5, 7:6a, 7:7b, 7:10, 7:12, 7:25, 7:26, 21:12b, 21:30, 21:32, 21:34, 22:3, 22:4 , 24:14

	H FRAME	S FRAME	VAL	H FR TYPE	S FR TYPE	S LU	TGr IN H	TGr IN S	FREQ	PLACE
8	TIME-EVENT ARR	Ø	1	AM2	Ø	Ø	Ø	Ø	3	7:6b, 7:6c, 24:24
8	TIME-EVENT ARR	ARR INTO	1	AM2	SA	ל	Ø	INI	1	16:16,
9	UNDESIRABLE INFLUENCE ARR	UNDESIRABLE INFLUENCE ARR	2	AM1	AM1	ררר	על/אל/DNI	ל/DNI/	8	5:17, 6:3, 11:8, 14:17, 21:24, 21:25, 23:22, 23:24
9	UNDESIRABLE INFLUENCE ARR	ARR AT	2	AM1	SA	ררר	INI	INI	1	7:24
10	UNDESIRABLE INFLUENCE ARR	UNDESIRABLE INFLUENCE ARR	2	AM2	AM2	ררר	על	ל	2	14:22a, 14:22b
11	TIME-AGE ARR	ARR INTO	2	AM1	AM1	ל	ב	ג	1	16:7
12	COVENANT ARR	COVENANT ARR	2	AM1	AM1	ל	ב	ט	3	16:8, 17:13, 20:37
13	INTIMATE RELAT	INTIMATE RELAT	2	AM1	AM1	ל	אל	ל/אל	3	23:44a, 23:44b, 23:44c
14	TEARS ARR	TEARS ARR	3	AM1	AM1	על	Ø	Ø	1	24:16
15	UNKNOWN	TIME-EVENT ARR	2		AM2	ררר		ל	1	7:7a
15		13				6			95	

There were a total of 95 occurrences of the Hebrew LU אָבַח.v in the study range. From these cases, there were 14 different types of Hebrew ARRIVING frames identified in Ezekiel 1-24. These were mapped into a total of 13 Syriac frames in the Peshitta. It is noticeable that some of the frames which have been identified could easily have been broken down into smaller units of frames. However, particular perspectives such as the involvement of a Motivator in an ARRIVING frame, was not regarded here as sufficiently instantiating separate or an independent frame. These perspectives are, however, taken into consideration in the detailed discussions that follow.

It is also worth noticing that for the 14 Hebrew frames evoked by אָבַח.v, P-Ez's translator employed 6 different LUs to evoke what may be regarded as corresponding frames in Syriac. This statistic is an indicator of the fact that P-Ez's translator used more specialised or nuanced frames than its Hebrew source text. More detailed discussion on how each frame type was mapped follows below. It is not suggested here that אָבַח is the only Hebrew verb that evokes an ARRIVING frame, although it is arguably the most commonly used LU to evoke the ARRIVING frame. In fact, the present study discusses in a later section another Hebrew verb that may be understood to evoke the ARRIVING frame, although for a much specialised application.

4.3.1 The ARRIVING AT frame

The ARRIVING AT frame is the one particularly depicted in Figs 4.1 and 4.2 (section 4.2.2). It may be considered as one of the prototypical frames in the category of ARRIVING frames (see Fig 4.8). There are certain criteria in the present study to determine whether a particular frame instantiated by אָבַח.v belonged to this frame. These criteria included the following: considering the equivalent LU in P-Ez, the nature of the TGRs in both source and targets texts, the nature of the Goal FE, the zoom-in and zoom-out effects, as well as consulting the TgE and LXX in cases where there was such need. Nevertheless, with all these criteria to determine the sub-frames in the ARRIVING frames, problems still exists (as was discussed previously).

“... the movement of a Theme and an Agent and/or Carrier. The Agent, a person or other sentient entity, controls the shared Path by moving the Theme during the motion. In other words, the Agent has overall motion in directing the motion of the Theme. The Carrier may be a separate entity, or it may be the Agent's body. The Constant_location may be a subregion of the Agent's body or (a subregion of) a vehicle that the Agent uses.”

It appears here that the Carrier (or Agent) provides some kind of transport to the Theme and controls the Path. However, the frames that are in mind in Ezekiel 1-24 in this case do not necessarily require that the Theme FE should be transported someplace. One other frame that may otherwise reflect this ideal situation is the COTHEME frame which according to FN 2010:

“... contains words that necessarily indicate the motion of two distinct objects. The Theme is typically animate and is expressed the same way a Self-mover is expressed in the Self-motion frame--i.e. as the subject of a target verb. The Cotheme may or may not be animate and is typically expressed as a direct object or an oblique. Source, Path, Goal, and the other frame elements common to motion words also regularly occur with the words in this frame.”

Again, keeping the ideal frame in mind in this case, the Theme FE typically need not be animate as stated in the COTHEME frame above. In addition, the sought frame should focus, not merely on motion, but on the ARRIVING aspect of motion. Finally, what is identified as the Cotheme FE generally has the role of influencing the motion or the arriving action of the Theme FE. In other words, for the frame concerned, the Cotheme must control the Path of the Theme FE.

The ideal frame in mind cannot fit precisely into any one of the two frames considered in this case. Therefore the present study opts to refer to an alternative frame. In this alternative frame, the third, motivating FE may be understood as the Motivating FE and the frame as such, as the MOTIVATED ARRIVING frame. This is a frame that should have a wider application than either the BRINGING ARRIVING frame alone, or the COTHEME ARRIVING frame alone. The reason for using the term “motivating” is that this term is more inclusive with respect to the particular frames

The idea of the MOTIVATED ARRIVING frame will be ideal for the present study. Nevertheless one also has to consider some of those MOTIVATED ARRIVING frames that were mapped into corresponding Syriac frames by employing the special LU

ط.٧.

Secondly, regarding the semantic structure of the Syriac LU ܠܬܝܠܝܬ.v, the ARRIVING sense appears to be inherent though not dominant in this case. The LU primarily refers to notions of succession, handing down, leading, transmitting, bringing or escorting (*Pael*), as well that of presenting, or bearing something (*Afel*).²¹² Among these notions, the notion of transmission appears to be the dominant one.²¹³ This notion has the apparent characteristic of sometimes being employed to represent frames of ARRIVING. This follows from the fact that the SOURCE – PATH – GOAL image schema's underlying frames of MOTION such as the ARRIVING frame, is also dominant in the image schemas of frames that are evoked by ܠܬܝܠܝܬ.v in Syriac, and involving the notions mentioned above. It must be noted, however, that unlike in the frames of ARRIVING, the Goal-aspect of the frames evoked by ܠܬܝܠܝܬ.v is not the central focus, in the same way that the Source is not the central aspect in the typical ARRIVING frames. This means that ܠܬܝܠܝܬ does not primarily evoke the ARRIVING frame but may be implied to do so under specific circumstances. That would be cases where the Goal FE is specifically provided and an ARRIVING scene is also implied alongside a central frame, such as the TRANSFER, BRINGING, or COTHEME frame.

²¹³ Smith (1979) states that the root meaning of the verb is “to flow”.

Furthermore, unlike the other Syriac LUs in the ARRIVING frames, ܡܠܝܕ does not include within its semantics, the aspect of Manner of Arriving at the Goal FE. The frame evoked by the LU ܡܠܝܕ.v is represented most closely in FN (2010) by the BRINGING frame. Within the present study range, the instances where the BRINGING ARRIVING frame occurs with the particular LU used in Syriac, include Ezekiel 17:12b, 17:20 and 19:9a.²¹⁴ However, note should be taken of the use of the LU in Ezekiel 3:14, 40:24, 43:1 and 47:6. From these cases, it can be concluded that the Syriac LU may be employed in BRINGING ARRIVING frames, if the Goal FE is specifically provided. It must nevertheless be understood that even in those scenes where the Goal FE is provided, the LU usually encodes more information than merely that which is related to ARRIVING. Thus ܡܠܝܕ.v may evoke frames such as a TRANSFER, a BRINGING, a REMOVING or a MOTIVATED ARRIVING frame.²¹⁵

From the foregoing discussion, the ideal frame, the MOTIVATED ARRIVING frame, may be said to be characterised as follows in terms of its core FEs:

FE1: A motivating FE – this is a FE that causes the Theme to move and arrive at the Goal, whether by provision of transportation or coercion or other kinds of motivation. There are exceptional cases, however, where the Motivating FE does not necessarily physically share the path with the Theme FE, as in those cases where YHWH is said to “bring or to lead the Israelites into Canaan”.

FE2: A Theme FE – in Ezekiel, the Theme FE almost always describes a human being, but it appears that the frame may include non-human Theme FEs as well²¹⁶.

²¹⁴ The LU also occurs at 40:24, 43:1 and 47:6 in Ezekiel.

²¹⁵ In P-Ez and in the TgE, the particular LU ܡܠܝܕ may have been applied inconsistently, probably owing to the broad semantic range attributed to it. Usually in the contexts where the Syriac employs the LU ܡܠܝܕ, TgE uses a cognate form יבֵּל and LXX uses the LU ἄγω. But for what appears to be the MOTIVATED ARRIVING frame in 11:24, evoked by בוא.n in the Hebrew text, LXX uses ἄγω, TgE employs יבֵּל but P-Ez uses the *Afel* of the root מלך. There appears to have been an overlap in the semantic fields of the two LUs ܡܠܝܕ and מלך in Syriac and יבֵּל and בוא in Hebrew respectively. For example, while the LU יבֵּל is employed a number of times in the Hebrew texts of Isaiah and Jeremiah, especially with respect to the exiling and return from exile of Israel, the LU is completely absent in the Hebrew text of Ezekiel, in which the theme of the exile is equally prominent (See BDB [2000]).

²¹⁶ Cf. Sokoloff (2009) & Smith (1979).

FE3: The Goal FE – no special qualities are necessary with respect to the Goal FE, apart from those that apply to the GENERIC ARRIVING frame.

In the focus range of the present study corpus, nine MOTIVATED ARRIVING frames could be identified. Six of these were MOTIVATED ARRIVING AT frames (Ezekiel 11:1, 11:24, 17:4, 17:12b, 17:20, 19:4) all mapped into corresponding Syriac frames. There also appeared to be a MOTIVATED ARRIVING INTO frame (Ezekiel 19:9b), a MOTIVATED ARRIVING FROM frame (Ezekiel 23:42) and a MOTIVATED ARRIVING TO MEET frame (19:9a). One variant mapping was found in Ezekiel 23:42 where the MOTIVATED ARRIVING FROM frame in the Hebrew was mapped into an ARRIVING FROM frame in P, due to textual difficulties in that verse. Although P-Ez's translator used three different LUs to translate these MOTIVATED ARRIVING frames, it is nevertheless clear that the translator translated or mapped almost all these frames correctly. All the MOTIVATED ARRIVING frames are included under the relevant frame types discussed above (the ARRIVING AT, ARRIVING INTO and ARRIVING TO MEET frames). A typical MOTIVATED ARRIVING frame that is excerpted from Ezekiel 11:1 is provided below:

Ezekiel 11:1

MT: ותשא אתי רוח ותבא אתי אל-שער בית-יהוה הקדמוני ...

TR: And the Spirit carried me and brought me to the eastern gate of the house of Yahweh ...

P-Ez: ܡܫܠܡܢ ܝܫܥܝܐ. ܡܫܠܡܢ ܠܥܕܢ ܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܕܢܬܐ ܕܡܕܢܬܐ ܕܡܕܢܬܐ ...

TR: And the Spirit carried me and brought me to the eastern gate of the house of the Lord ...

4.3.6 The TIME-EVENT ARRIVING frames

As discussed previously, the TIME-EVENT ARRIVING frame is based on the metaphor TIME IS AN EVENT. It should be noted that this type of an ARRIVING frame is not the same as those of other frames in the ARRIVING frame whose Manner of Arriving can be determined by considering the nature of the Goal FE LU, the TGr or the LU (in the

Ezekiel 7:6

TR: An end has arrived, the end has arrived; it awakens to you. See, it comes.

TR: The end comes and it will distress you²¹⁷.

TR: The end comes ...

²¹⁷ Or, “and it will be grievous upon you”.

It could be assumed that P-Ez's *Vorlage* represents an earlier version in the composition of the Hebrew text, from which the readings represented by LXX and MT have developed. As far as the *Vorlage* underlying the LXX is concerned, this would be difficult since that *Vorlage* seems to have a different order of verses in this section of the text. Perhaps as far as the MT text is concerned, it may have been possible that the *Vorlage* of P-Ez represented a different tradition of the glosses, which were being introduced into the Hebrew text (according to the BHS's editors). However, this conclusion would be odd, in view of the attested general closeness of P-Ez's *Vorlage* to the MT. It may thus be concluded here that P-Ez's variant reading in 7:6b probably originated with the translator.

4.3.7 The ACTIVE ANTAGONISTIC AND THE PASSIVE INFLUENCE ARRIVING frames

The INFLUENCE ARRIVING frame were defined under Fig 4.6 above and distinguished as composed of the ACTIVE ANTAGONISTIC INFLUENCE ARRIVING frame and the PASSIVE INFLUENCE ARRIVING frames (both of which also can have a motivating aspect). There were nine incidences of the ACTIVE ANTAGONISTIC INFLUENCE ARRIVING frame, eight of which were successfully mapped into corresponding frames in P-Ez (Ezekiel 5:17, 6:3, 11:8, 14:17, 21:24, 21:25, 23:22, 23:24). There was one incidence of the frame in the Hebrew text in which one of the FEs was mapped incorrectly into the Peshitta text in Ezekiel 7:24. This was a result of an erroneous reading of a FE in the source text by P. The particular FE was read and understood by P-Ez's translator as *shepherds* rather than *wicked men* in the MT – a result of confusion between similar looking roots. The relevant texts are provided below.

Ezekiel 7:24

MT: והבאתי רעי גוים וירשו את־בתיהם ...

TR: And I will cause the wicked of the nations to come and they will take possession of their houses ...

P-Ez: ... וְהָבִיאוּ רְעֵי הַגּוֹיִם וְיָרְשׁוּ אֶת־בְּתֵיהֶם

TR: And I will bring the shepherds of the nations and they will inherit their houses ...

Although P-Ez has a variant FE in the mapped frame, it appears that the mapped frame can still be classified as an ACTIVE ANTAGONISTIC INFLUENCE ARRIVING frame. As a result, this is one example of a variant which maintains the frame in the source text frame.

There were two instances of the PASSIVE INFLUENCE ARRIVING frame, all translated successfully into Syriac frames in P-Ez (Ezekiel 14:22a, 14:22b).

4.3.8 The COVENANT ARRIVING INTO frames

This frame is a result of the metaphorical extension of the ARRIVING INTO frame. This extension occurs through the conceptual metaphor A COVENANT IS A CONTAINER, resulting in the COVENANT ARRIVING frame. By the COVENANT ARRIVING frame is understood that a covenant is a container, which is made up of the terms of the agreement and into which the parties enter, who are involved. Three instances of this frame were observed in the Hebrew text under focus, and all of these were mapped successfully into Syriac frames in P-Ez (Ezekiel 16:8, 17:13, 20:37). The instance in Ezekiel 16:8 is provided here as an example.

Ezekiel 16:8

MT: ... ואבוא בברית אתך²¹⁸ נאם אדני יהוה ...

TR: "... and I entered into a covenant with you", says the Lord Yahweh ...

P-Ez: ... ܡܚܠܐ ܡܢ ܡܚܠܐ ܡܢ ܡܠܚܐ ܡܢ ܡܠܚܐ ܡܢ ܡܠܚܐ ...

TR: "... and I entered into a covenant with you", says the Lord of lords ...

4.3.9 The INTIMATE RELATION ARRIVING frame

The INTIMATE RELATION ARRIVING frame is another frame that may be a result of the metaphoric extension of the ARRIVING INTO frame. The conceptual metaphor evoked in this frame is the metaphor A WOMAN IS A CONTAINER, which results in the

²¹⁸ Emended, cf. BHS (1997).

Ezekiel 23:44

TR: And they²¹⁹ came to her like those who go to a prostitute woman, thus they went in to Oholah and Oholibah, women of wicked devices.

TR: And they were going in to them just as those who go in to a prostituting woman. Thus they were going in to Ohla and to Ohliba, the fornicating women.

The REMOTE GOAL ARRIVING frame can be found in Ezekiel 11.16 and 12.16.²²⁰ This frame profiles a scene in which the Goal FE, from the perspective of the speaker or writer, is at a position that is very distant. Furthermore, the speaker appears to have limited knowledge of the Goal FE (such as its nature and exact location). This particular scene is particularly translated in P-Ez by the LU $\Delta\kappa.v$, implying a TRAVELLING frame.²²¹ The motivation for such a mapping of this frame in Syriac is that, in Syriac it is probably difficult to speak of a Theme FE “arriving” at a Goal FE that is remote and unknown from the point of view of the speaker. Instead, such a frame typically would be expressed in terms of the TRAVELLING frame, in which $\Delta\kappa$ is

²²¹ Smith (1979). This TRAVELLING frame, within the context of the exile, does appear in the Hebrew text of Ezekiel, in places such as in Ezekiel 37:21.

definition should be under no external compulsion to move.²²⁴ The frames instantiated by בוא in Ezekiel 11:16 and 12:16 can be understood from the context as frames in which the motion of the Theme FE is forced or is non-volitional.

Nevertheless it should be considered carefully whether the writer of the Hebrew text intended to communicate an EXILE frame or a slightly different frame in the cited instances. Indeed, it appears that by using the LU בוא.ו, the writer of the text did not intend to instantiate the EXILE frame in particular. He rather only wanted to instantiate the situation that these are people who move and arrive at a certain location. How or under which circumstances the Theme FE arrives at the location seems not to be the concern of the Hebrew text in this case. The text's focus is the fact that they (Theme FE) in any case reach the Goal – hence the use of the LU בוא.ו to instantiate the ARRIVING frame. The unique character of this frame is however that, from the perspective of the writer, the Goal FE appears to be distant and unclearly defined or seems to be unknown. This point is reinforced in particular when one refers to the instantiation of this frame in Ezekiel 38:11. In this case the context is certainly not one of exile, but the Goal FE still appears to be distant and certainly defined unclearly.

While the Peshitta translator may have understood this frame, the translator nevertheless struggled to identify it as an ARRIVING frame in Syriac. Thus the Syriac equivalent ܐܝܬܝܢ does not include information about the arriving part of the scene but only the part of moving towards a specific Goal of it (that is, the TRAVELLING frame). This would be the best alternative in Syriac since in the instantiated Hebrew frame the Goal FE appears to be distant and under-defined or unknown. This implies that the Manner of Arriving at the Goal FE cannot be specified, to instantiate either an ARRIVING AT frame (with ܐܝܬܝܢ as the LU) or as an ARRIVING INTO frame (with ܐܝܬܝܢ as the LU). Thus the LXX, which also employs verb framed LUs, found it difficult to translate this frame consistently. This deficiency can be observed in, for example, Ezekiel 38:11 vis-à-vis the earlier occurrences in Ezekiel 11:16; 12:16, 36:20-21.

²²⁴ According to FN 2010, the TRAVELLING frame inherits from the SELF MOTION frame, in which the Theme is under no forced compulsion to move, that is, the Theme exercises volitional motion (by own accord).

P-Ez appears to instantiate the TRAVELLING frame, which may be different from the REMOTE GOAL ARRIVING frame instantiated in the Hebrew source text. Nevertheless one should be careful to view these two instances as cases of failed or variant mapping. The apparent differences may rather be due to the two languages that treat this particular frame differently in terms of idiomatic linguistic expression, while in terms of ideology an identical scene or frame is perceived.

Alternatively, the frame may indeed have been somewhat novel in the Syriac context, seeing that P-Ez's translator aimed to employ the best possible frame conceptualisation in Syriac. At present it is uncertain which of these two possibilities was true. However, the fact that P-Ez's translator translated this frame consistently provides the first option (citing idiomatic linguistic expression as the reason) with a higher level of credibility.

4.3.11 Other ARRIVING frames

Among the other ARRIVING frames can be counted the SUPERNATURAL INFLUENCE ARRIVING frame characterised by a Theme FE being a supernatural force or entity such as the Spirit (of YHWH) (Ezekiel 2:2, 3:24a). Other frames found in the study range are the INGENSTION ARRIVING (Ezekiel 4:14), the TIME-AGE ARRIVING (Ezekiel 16:7) and the TEARS ARRIVING ones (Ezekiel 24:16). The TIME-AGE ARRIVING frame was mapped incorrectly in P-Ez (as well as in the LXX) as an ARRIVING INTO frame.

4.4 VARIANTS

In this part of study the focus will be on two main types of variants:

- **Frame maintaining** – variants that did not result in a different frame being evoked in P-Ez's translation as compared to the Hebrew source text.
- **Frame altering** – variants about which a different frame was mapped in P-Ez from the one instantiated in the Hebrew source text.

4.4.1 Frame maintaining variants

Regarding the ARRIVING INTO frame at Ezekiel 3:4, P-Ez has an addition in the field of the Goal FE, בבית ישראל, which is absent in both the MT and the LXX. This addition entails an appositional nominal phrase to the Goal FE in the Hebrew text, ‘house of Israel’. In Ezekiel 3:11 is a similar phrase which is appositional in the Hebrew and thus also to the Syriac text. It therefore appears that P-Ez harmonised Ezekiel 3:4 to 3:11 with regard to the Goal FE בבית ישראל. Since the harmonised text (Ezekiel 3:4) appears earlier than the text to which it is seemingly harmonised (Ezekiel 3:11), it is most probably that the harmonisation in question was the result of the work of a copyist or an editor, rather than that of a translator. There is, however, no proof of such scribal influence among the early MSS.

4.4.1.1 *Slight variations in FEs*

For the Goal FE, ‘the captivity at Tel Abib’, P-Ez reads ‘the captivity at Tel-Akib’ in Ezekiel 3:15. This difference apparently sprouts from the confusion between the use of two similar alphabetical letters כ and ב in the Hebrew.

In Ezekiel 11:16, 18 and 12:16, P-Ez’s translator shows the tendency of representing the Hebrew adverb שם with a pronoun or a pronoun in a PP. For example, in Ezekiel 11:16, the Hebrew text אשר באו שם is translated into Syriac by ܐܝܬܗܘܢ ܠܫܡܐ. In Ezekiel 20:29, P-Ez’s translator translated שם with the cognate form of the adverbial in Syriac, ܫܡܐ. However, in these cited cases, the translator adds a TGr (in the form of the preposition ܠ) whose equivalent is absent in the Hebrew text. The addition of a preposition to the adverb appears to be characteristic in P-Ez, in which the Goal FE is seldom instantiated as an ARRIVING frame without a TGr.

In Ezekiel 5:17, P-Ez’s translator modifies the grammatical number of the Goal FE (a singular personal pronoun in the Hebrew text) to a plural personal pronoun in the Syriac text as shown in the excerpted texts below.

Ezekiel 5:17

MT: ושלחתי עליכם רעב וחיה רעה ושכלך ודבר ודם יעבר־בך וחרב אביא עליך אני
יהוה דברתי

TR: And I will send upon you²²⁵ famine and wild animals and it shall make you²²⁶
childless and plague and bloodshed will pass over you²²⁷ and I will bring the
sword upon you²²⁸ – I Yahweh have spoken.

P-Ez: מִשְׁעוֹר חֲלָבִים בְּפִי. מִשְׁעוֹרֵי חַיָּוִּים מִשְׁעוֹרֵי חַיָּוִּים. מִשְׁעוֹרֵי חַיָּוִּים בְּפִי. מִשְׁעוֹרֵי חַיָּוִּים בְּפִי.
חֲלָבִים אֶתְּחַלֵּה אֶתְּחַלֵּה

TR: And I will send upon you²²⁹ famine and evil animals and I will destroy you and
the plague and that which is of blood will pass over you and I will bring the sword
upon you. I the Lord have spoken.

This modification of the pronoun may be due to the initial plural pronoun, judged as the same referent represented by personal pronouns, appearing in previous frames, in the same verse. It should be admitted that the Hebrew text of Ezekiel 5:17 presents a problem to translators of the P-Ez and the LXX. The same object referred to by עליכם in the first part of the verse is referred to by עליך in the second part. There is uncertainty whether the differences in these suffixes are a stylistic variation or indeed a result of an error. Cooke (1936:67), dismisses the differences as nothing more than the carelessness of the editor or commentator to the text. Zimmerli (1979:154) observes in this case the likelihood that the writer shifted to a feminine singular pronoun, due to the use of the verb שכל in verse 17.

The last explanation seems to be the most appealing one. The masculine plural suffix refers to Israel as a group of people, usually represented by a masculine plural suffix in Hebrew. On the other hand, the singular feminine suffix also refers to Israel

²²⁵ Second person masculine plural.

²²⁶ Second person feminine singular.

²²⁷ Second person feminine singular.

²²⁸ Second person feminine singular.

²²⁹ P-Ez translates all the second person pronouns in this verse as second person masculine plural pronouns. For all these, the LXX employs the second person singular. TgE follows the MT text.

as a single nation, usually represented in Hebrew by a feminine suffix. In fact this interchange between these suffixes takes up much of the fifth chapter of Ezekiel. Text-critically one would therefore be advised to maintain the MT text in this case, rather than either P-Ez or LXX, when referring to the pronominal suffixes in Ezekiel 5:17.

Ezekiel 7:2 highlights some of the most characteristic problems that P-Ez's translator seemingly had to face in the poetic sections of Ezekiel: word division, clarity (as opposed to ambiguity) and sensibility. Another characteristic problem the translator had experienced in these sections, however not highlighted in 7:2, is having to deal with unfamiliar or poetic lexical units. According to the Masoretic accents, the reading in Ezekiel 7:2, applied to an English translation (using roughly equivalent punctuation), is supposed to read as follows:

Ezekiel 7:2

MT: ואתה בן־אדם | כה־אמר אדני יהוה לאדמת ישראל קץ | בא הקץ על־ארבעת
כנפות הארץ

TR: And you son of man, thus says the Lord YHWH to the land of Israel – “the end; the end has come – upon the four corners of the land.”²³⁰

P-EZ: אנה גב כונעא אנה סבא אנה מורא מורא. מלך מלך. מלך מלך. מלך מלך. מלך מלך.
אנה חפץ מלך.

TR: But you son of man, say ‘Thus says the Lord of lords: the end has arrived upon the land of Israel and the end has arrived upon the four borders of the land.

In P, the Hebrew noun קץ that seems to stand alone has a verb מלך added to it. The effect is that the noun now appears in a sentence evoking the ARRIVING frame. Furthermore, the PP לאדמת ישראל, which is the indirect object of אמר in the MT text, is turned into the indirect object of the added verb in P. P-Ez's translator therefore transforms the Hebrew text to his own type of poetic text where there is clearly marked parallelism:

²³⁰ Punctuation has been plotted here following Scott's guidelines (1987:25ff). The elongated hyphen has the value of a pause roughly shorter than that of a normal comma.

- the end has arrived upon the land of Israel [TIME-EVENT ARRIVING]
- and the end has arrived upon the four borders of the land [TIME-EVENT ARRIVING]²³¹

It is probable that Hebrew poetry, when transformed into Syriac, would make very little sense. Thus P-Ez's translator had to find suitable ways of representing such poetic sections. Otherwise one may note that the translator simply struggled to decipher poetic sections of his Hebrew text, which was unclearly marked as it now appears in the MT.

P-Ez also had the problem that various synonyms in Syriac were available to the translator to translate a single Hebrew word that appeared repeatedly in his text. This was also the case with some FEs in the ARRIVING frame. In the TIME-EVENT ARRIVING frame, the Theme FE ܕܐܪܥܐ is represented in Syriac by one of three words: the cognate ܡܝܬܐ (Ezekiel 7:2, 3, 6; 21:34), as well as ܡܝܬܐ (Ezekiel 7:2) and ܡܝܬܐ (Ezekiel 21:30). A close analysis of these equivalents may indicate that the translator's aim was to present these TIME-EVENT ARRIVING frames more accurately or more artistically than what is apparent from the Hebrew text. The Syriac word ܡܝܬܐ refers most naturally to the termination, the end of a process or prolonged event, such as the end of a king's rule or the end of someone's life. The three instances in which the word is used in Ezekiel chapter 7, it refers to the end of Israel's existence as a sovereign nation.²³² The use of the LU ܡܝܬܐ.v in the TIME EVENT ARRIVING frame in Ezekiel 21:34, however, is questionable.

The Syriac noun ܡܝܬܐ refers primarily to an end mostly regarding spacial extent, whether it is of an item or a spacial area such as land. Thus this word could be identified as synonymous with words such as, *limit*, *edge*, *border*, *boundary* or *outskirt*. Metaphorically, however, the noun has a meaning quite identical to that of

²³¹ This phenomenon will be taken in this study as the repetition of a frame, rather than the addition of a new frame to the verse unit.

²³² For all definitions of Syriac LUs see Smith (1979) and Sokoloff (2009), unless mentioned otherwise.

ܡܫܝܝܬܐ, which mostly is used to refer to an eschatological event (concerning the end of the world). The use of this noun as an FE in 7:2 may have been intended as a stylistic resonant to signify the aspect of the ‘borders of the land’ appearing. However, in a logical sense the meaning could only refer to the termination of Israel’s existence as a sovereign nation.

The Syriac noun ܡܫܝܝܬܐ (cognate to the Hebrew adjective אחרון), is used typically (besides referring to a ship stern) to refer to a last event in a series of related events. These may include the last or the final speech in a meeting, or the final festival of the year. Eschatologically, it can be applied to what is known as ‘the final’ or ‘the last judgment’.²³³ In Ezekiel 21:30, this noun forms part of the Syriac translation of the Hebrew expression, ܒܥܬ ܥܘܢ ܩܕܝܫܐ,²³⁴ possibly interpreted as: ‘the time of the final punishment’ or ‘the time of the end punishment’.²³⁵ The Syriac noun was probably employed correctly in Ezekiel 21:30, and should have been used in 21:34, as well as in 35:5, sections in which exactly the same frames and expressions appear as in 21:30. P-Ez’s translator instead used ܡܫܝܝܬܐ, in both 21:34 and 35:5.

When considering the ESCHATOLOGICAL EVENT frame’s²³⁶ broader appearances in the Hebrew Bible in general, it is observed that the Peshitta translator(s) rarely used ܡܫܝܝܬܐ to evoke this frame. Rather, the most common equivalent in this frame instantiated by the Hebrew noun ܩܕܝܫܐ, is the Syriac ܡܫܝܝܬܐ, followed by ܡܫܝܝܬܐ and these two should best be regarded as very close synonyms within the ESCHATOLOGICAL EVENT frame,²³⁷ just as they seem to be in the TIME EVENT ARRIVING frame that is analysed in the present study.

Another case of FEs that are affected by synonymy within the ARRIVING frames can be found in Ezekiel 8:7 (ARRIVING INTO frame) and 8:14 (ARRIVING AT frame). Two

²³³ Cf. BDB (2000), Gesenius & Tregelles (2003:33-34).

²³⁴ In view of the Hebrew Bible, this expression occurs only in Ezekiel (Greenberg, 1997:433).

²³⁵ Cf. Zimmerli (1979:440), ESV.

²³⁶ It should be noted that the ESCHATOLOGICAL TIME-EVENT frame here does not profile an ‘arriving’ aspect.

²³⁷ Consider, for example, Peshitta equivalents of ܩܕܝܫܐ in Daniel.

Ezekiel 18:14

TR: And he brought me to the entrance of the gate of the House of Yahweh that was to the north and look, there were women seated, weeping for the Tammuz.

TR: And he brought me to the entrance of the gate of the house of the Lord which was on the northern side and I saw there women who, while seated, were weeping for Tammuza.

²³⁹ The word שער also occurs in Ezekiel 8:8 in a different frame.

It appears then, that the character of particular frames was not the reason for the differences in the equivalents used for פתח in the Peshitta. Rather, since in Ezekiel 8:14 שער could only be rendered by ܫܥܪ, this would leave ܫܠܠ as the only other alternative to represent the Hebrew פתח. In that case the translator could still produce a sensible text in Syriac.

The preceding case may lead to a general conclusion: elements or items that often occupy the same space or appear to occupy the same spacial configuration can easily end up as synonyms.²⁴⁰ In the above example, an instrument (the gate) is normally the physical barrier that is used to control access to an entrance (spatial configuration). Since these items actually occupy the same space, one of them easily may be seen to represent the other. Taking an example from a modern situation, one may have a case such as one that follows:

- Jack the blacksmith was the one on the **wheel**.
- Jack the blacksmith was the one on the **driver's seat**.

In the exemplified sentences above, the (steering) wheel and the driver's seat, though denoting two different items, can nevertheless be seen as synonymous. This is simply because these items occupy the same spacial configuration within a car and are used to contribute to the same function. Both of these sentences can be seen to convey the information that Jack the blacksmith was the one in a position to operate the vehicle. It is apparent that such synonymous cases (FEs in an event) rarely affect the classification of a particular event in terms of Frame Semantics.

²⁴⁰ The idea according to which objects that occupy the same space tend to have a synonymous relation, is related to the notion of contingency in the case of metonymy. One of the conditions necessary for metonymy is that the 'vehicle' entity and the 'target' entity must be close to each other in conceptual space (Kövecses, 2006:64). Further discussion will be carried out in chapter 5 of the present study on the effect of metonymy in the translation of nominal categories.

4.4.1.2 *Difficult textual readings related to FEs*

In Ezekiel 20:37 a notorious text critical-problem comes to the fore, related to the Goal FE of the ARRIVING frame instantiated by בוא (Zimmerli, 1979:403). The text in which this problematic frame occurs is presented below:

Ezekiel 20:37

MT: והעברתי אתכם תחת השבט והבאתי אתכם במסרת הברית.

ESV: I will make you pass under the rod, and I will bring you into the bond of the covenant.

RSV: I will make you pass under the rod, and I will let you go in by number.

P-Ez: אֲחַבְבֶּנְךָ וְנָשָׂה עִבְדְּךָ. אֲחַלְכֶם כְּחֻזְזֵיכֶם וְנִגְזַלְכֶם

TR: And I will cause you to pass under the rod and I will bring you into the chastisement²⁴¹ of the covenant.

LXX: καὶ διάξω ὑμᾶς ὑπὸ τῆς ῥάβδου μου καὶ εἰσάξω ὑμᾶς ἐν ἀριθμῷ²⁴²

TR: And I will bring you through under my rod and I will bring you in by number.

From the texts presented above, it is clear that MT, LXX and the P-Ez show some differences as to the nature of the Goal FE in the ARRIVING frame instantiated here. Two different English Translations have been provided in order to show that there is no unanimity regarding the proper identity of the Goal FE in the ARRIVING frame in Ezekiel 20:37.

In view of the doubtful nature of translations such the one in P, most modern translations choose between the MT and the LXX readings, represented by the ESV and RSV translations presented above. The reading that seems to be accepted more

²⁴¹ Perhaps traceable to the Hebrew noun מוסר. However, since the Hebrew noun is masculine, a noun of the form במסרת (feminine construct, plural) is hard to explain. P-Ez thus probably extrapolated the meaning of the Hebrew text.

²⁴² Suggesting the underlying Hebrew text to be במספר. Some Greek versions have different readings. Examples are Aquila and Simmachus, which are close to MT, while Theodotion is close to the TgE. Zimmerli (1979:403) cites the LXX reading as the preferable one.

readily is the MT one.²⁴³ Apart from the fact that the reading in the LXX suggests a textual variant that is difficult to explain (from במספר to במסרת), the ARRIVING frame in the LXX also seems problematic as a normative ARRIVING INTO frame. The frame in the LXX is ideally a trivalent frame containing a Motivator FE (the first person in the verb referring to YHWH), a Theme FE (returning Israelites represented by the independent pronoun) and a Goal FE, which is really not given in the LXX text. In the Hebrew Bible, this frame seldom occurs with a frame that has indefinite null instantiation (INI) of the Goal FE. The frame may occur in cases where there is a DNI of the Goal FE, which is retrievable from the context, or where the Goal FE can be deduced to be the same position occupied by the speaker in the text (e.g. see Deuteronomy 26:10, Ezekiel 23:40).

In the Hebrew text of Ezekiel 20:37 and its context, the Goal FE is uncertain. Does it refer to the wilderness of the nations (20:35), or to the land of Israel (20:38)? The same questions will be applied to the position of the speaker. Although Zimmerli (1979:403) refers to the instance in 1 Chronicles 9:28 where a similar expression occurs as in the LXX, it is clear that the ARRIVING INTO frame in 1 Chronicles 9:28 has a Goal FE that is DNI, clearly retrievable from the context – which is not the case in Ezekiel 20:37.

It seems logical: when the aspect of *context* is to be taken into consideration, that what has already been said is under normal circumstances, to be taken as the immediate context (and thus Ezekiel 20:35), rather than what the speaker has not yet uttered (Ezekiel 20:38). It is therefore highly likely that if the Goal FE has to be retrieved from the context, the wilderness of the nations in Ezekiel 20:35 (which comes before Ezekiel 20:37) can be pointed out as the most likely Goal FE. Some commentators are of the view that the ‘wilderness or desert of the nations’ in this case is a reference to the Syro-Arabian desert, which was uninhabited but bounded by various people groups (Barry *et al.*, 2012).²⁴⁴ However, the wilderness of the nations is probably a typological inference to Israel’s sojourn in the wilderness at the

²⁴³ Cf. Allen (1994:4) & Hummel (2005:607).

²⁴⁴ See also Lind (1996:172) and Cooke (1936:221).

time of the exodus (Zimmerli, 1979:415-416; Smith, 1992; Hummel, 2005:606).²⁴⁵ In any case, the dominant idea is that the FE evoked is a wilderness or a desert, a Goal FE into which one seldom arrives (that is, it seldom instantiates an ARRIVING INTO frame).

As previously discussed at length, in relation to such a Goal FE, both P-Ez and LXX scarcely profile an ingressive action by employing non-ingressive LUs. Thus in Ezekiel 20:35, the LXX begins with 'καὶ ἄξω ὑμᾶς εἰς τὴν ἔρημον τῶν λαῶν ... (Instantiating and ARRIVING AT frame). And yet the LU in the LXX text of Ezekiel 20:37 is ingressive (εἰσάξω.ν)! This might imply that the LXX LU in 20:37 refers to an ARRIVING INTO frame of which the Goal FE is not actually specified in the context. Even if the γῆν τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ in Ezekiel 20:38 should be considered as the retrievable Goal FE for the frame in Ezekiel 20:37, contextual difficulties are still encountered. The frame in the LXX of Ezekiel 20:37 profiles a scene in which the Theme FE most probably **enters**, while the frame in Ezekiel 20:38 profiles a scene in which the Theme FE does **not enter into** the Goal FE.

The preceding analysis goes to show that the ARRIVING INTO frame instantiated in the LXX is an extremely difficult frame to maintain in this case, seeing that it is incompatible with the normal or characteristic nature of the frame in other instances. This result indeed would tend to make the MT reading the preferable one. It also becomes clear here that P-Ez's translator in particular, did not shy away from speculating on the equivalents of difficult words in his Hebrew text, probably in such cases where the Hebrew textual reading was difficult, unclear or unknown to him. However, such speculation is probably mostly to be expected at points where the retrieval of the Hebrew frames (or text) appeared to have caused problems for the translator.

²⁴⁵ According to Zimmerli (1979:415-416), the expression 'the desert of the peoples' also occurs in the War Scroll from Qumran and was thus probably used as a fixed religious term. See also Ezekiel 20:36.

4.4.2 Frame altering variants

4.4.2.1 Omission of frames

The most significant variant mappings of ARRIVING frames, mapped from the Hebrew text to the Peshitta text, entail the total omission of the frames in question. Three clear omissions of ARRIVING frames can be pointed out in Ezekiel 1 – 24. These occur at Ezekiel 7:6b, 6c, as well as in Ezekiel 24:24, all of which may be identified as TIME-EVENT ARRIVING frames in the Hebrew text. In the case of Ezekiel 7:6b and c,²⁴⁶ the TIME-EVENT ARRIVING frames appear to be a repetition of the first TIME-EVENT ARRIVING frame in the Hebrew text. P-Ez probably omits these frames, considering them to be redundant terms or simply unnecessary repetitions (Carbajosa, 2008:65-66). It is possible that P-Ez's translator recognised the repetitions as suitable to the poetic writing style in the Hebrew text but irrelevant to the Syriac text.

The TIME-EVENT ARRIVING frame in Ezekiel 24:24 בבאה (preposition ב + *Qal* infinitive construct + pronominal suffix, 3 feminine singular) is a single-word frame, containing a non-finite LU with a pronominal suffix attached, representing the Theme FE as shown below.

Ezekiel 24:24

והיה יחזקאל לכם למופת ככל אשר־עשה תעשו בבאה וידעתם כי אני אדני יְהוָה.

TR: And Ezekiel will be a sign for you; you shall do just like all that he has done when it happens and you shall know that I am the Lord Yahweh.

[illegible]

TR: And Chezekiel shall be a sign to you, just as he did, so you shall do, and you shall know that I am the Lord of lords.

In an unvocalised text,²⁴⁷ it is possible for one to read the infinitive construct verb בָּאָה as if it is a participle feminine singular verb, and thus a verb that does not

²⁴⁶ Relevant texts were provided and analysed in section 4.3.6 above.

²⁴⁷ That is, a Hebrew text without vowels.

provide any information about the subject (Theme FE). In such a case the frame would make very little sense and would likely be omitted by P. The Peshitta's translator might have employed various ways of translating difficult sections and words from his source text to his target text. These could include exegetical rendering, assimilation to other passages, guesswork and paraphrasing (Mushayabasa, 2008:93-97). Nevertheless it reasonably may be concluded that the translator also may have omitted those items in the Hebrew text that he could not encode successfully into a sensible event or frame.

This confirms the observation that the translator aimed for a sensible translation, and in order to achieve sensibility, the translator had to consider whole frames and not merely isolated words. The fact that the omissions recorded and discussed here relate to one specific type of frame (the TIME EVENT ARRIVING frame), may imply that P-Ez's translator found it difficult to understand or to map the frame.

4.4.2.2 *Variant frames*

In Ezekiel 16:7, the P-Ez, as well as the LXX failed to decipher the rather uncommon Hebrew construction, בְּעָדֵי עָדִים. Reading an unvocalised text, the LXX renders it as בְּעָרֵי עָרִים (into the cities of cities), an expression which the Peshitta translator also might have read, but chose to simplify into the reading, 'into the cities'.²⁴⁸ Whatever emendations commentators postulate about this instance, one is almost certain that both P-Ez and the LXX had a source text before them, of which the reading was identical to the MT reading. According to the analysis of the same verse in chapter 3 (section 3.5.2), one may assume that the Peshitta translator, faced with a number of textual difficulties in his source text, resorted to guessing. With respect to ARRIVING frames, there was a shift from a frame that refers to a stage in a person's growth or to a person's age (TIME-AGE frame), to a frame that describes a Goal FE that is spacial and conceived as a container. This shift effectively led the translators to perceive an ARRIVING INTO frame in this case.

²⁴⁸ Both translators probably ignored the double *yodh* in the second (post-constructed) word.

Closely related to the variant in Ezekiel 16:7 is the variant reading in Ezekiel 16:16. In the Hebrew text this is an ARRIVING frame made up of only one word (LU), which is negated.

Ezekiel 16:16

MT: ותקחי מבגריך ותעשי־לך במות טלאות ותזני עליהם לא באות ולא יהיה

TR: And you took some of your robes and made for yourself spotted (colourful) high places and you prostituted upon them – they do not normally happen, and it shall not be.

P-Ez: וַתִּקְחִי מִבְּגָדֶיךָ וַתַּעֲשִׂי לָךְ מִתַּלְתָּלִים וַתִּזְנִי עֲלֵיהֶם לֹא יִהְיֶה וְלֹא יִבָּא

TR: And you took some of my garments and you made for yourself images and you prostituted on them. You shall not enter in and they will not be yours.

The verbal clause לא באות, is a negative particle plus a *Qal* feminine participle plural of the root בוא. Within the frame itself neither the Theme FE, nor the Goal FE are given, not even the Source or the Path FEs. In P-Ez the clause has been translated as لَا تَدْخُلِينَ (a negative particle plus *Peal* imperfect second person feminine singular). Considering the translation that P-Ez gave, it is probable that the translator had a text before him similar to that in the MT. The translation as such resolves little in terms of understanding the Theme FE and the Goal FE of the frame in the Hebrew text. Concerning the Theme FE, for example, it can only be understood in P-Ez as second person feminine singular. The LXX text in this case employs an aorist subjunctive verb in the singular. In its MT form, this clause most possibly evokes a TIME-EVENT frame, in which the Goal FE is usually left inexplicit. Thus most English translations have understood this as an LU instantiating a TIME-EVENT frame (NIV, RSV and GW). How P-Ez's translator came up with the reading لَا تَدْخُلِينَ is probably either a result of speculation, or of LXX influence in the face of a problematic source text.

In Ezekiel 23:40a the sentence לאנשים באים ממרחק in the MT instantiates an ARRIVING frame, of which the type, without the Goal FE being specified, cannot be identified with certainty. In other words, this frame in the Hebrew text could be either

of an ARRIVING AT, an ARRIVING INTO, or an ARRIVING TO MEET frame. The texts relating to Ezekiel 23:40 are presented as follows:

Ezekiel 23:40

MT: ואף כי תשלחנה לאנשים באים ממרחק אשר מלאך שלוח אליהם והנה
באו לאשר רחצת כחלת עיניך ועדית עדי...

TR: And also because they would send to the men who were coming from far away, to whom a messenger was being sent to them and look, they came because you bathed, you painted your eyes and you put on ornaments.

P-Ez: ארם על כל רבית נאדם לאדם מן המרחק ושלוח אלם שלוח אליהם והנה
באו לאשר רחצת כחלת עיניך ועדית עדי...

TR: And also they sent to the men who were coming to them from far away. They are the ones who sent to them messengers and when they came with impiety they bathed and anointed their eyes and decorated themselves with their ornaments.

LXX: καὶ ὅτι τοῖς ἀνδράσιν τοῖς ἐρχομένοις μακρόθεν, οἷς ἀγγέλους ἐξαπεστέλλουσιν
πρὸς αὐτούς, καὶ ἅμα τῷ ἔρχεσθαι αὐτοὺς εὐθύς ἐλούου καὶ ἐστιβίζου τοὺς
ὀφθαλμοὺς σου καὶ ἐκόσμου κόσμῳ

TR: And that for the men who were coming from far away, (those to whom they sent messengers, and they would come to them at once,) you were washing and painting your eyes and adorning yourself with adornments.

The middle section (Ezekiel 23:40b) of this verse may, though ambiguous in its references, have been used by P-Ez to infer the type of frame instantiated by בא in the first part (Ezekiel 23:40a). In the LXX, the nature of the ARRIVING frame is specified in Ezekiel 23:40b, in which an ARRIVING TO MEET frame clearly is instantiated. This would suggest LXX influence for the reading in P-Ez in Ezekiel 23:40a. However, since P-Ez and the LXX differ in the reading of Ezekiel 23:40a as such, there is a higher probability that the translator came up with the variant reading independently. Indeed, the variant in P-Ez can be explained most plausibly as a logical exegetical conclusion arrived at by conceiving the nature of the Goal FE as a

sentient being. This conclusion could easily be made from considering the context of the reading. Thus, in line with P-Ez's characteristic tendency to map Hebrew frames into clear, sensible and unambiguous frames in Syriac, the translator provided the Goal FE by adding ܡܠܬܐܢܝܬܐ. The result, in P-Ez in Ezekiel 23:40a was the presentation of an unmistakable ARRIVING TO MEET frame.

Another difficult text displaying a variant reading in P-Ez, is to be found in Ezekiel 23:42. The various texts read as follows around the instances where the variant is located in the ARRIVING frame, which is instantiated by ܒܘܐ.

Ezekiel 23:42

MT: ... ܘܐܠ ܐܢܫܝܡ ܡܪܒ ܐܕܡ ܡܘܒܝܝܡ ܣܘܒܝܝܡ ܡܡܕܒܪ ...

TR: ... and to men, great among mankind were being brought, getting drunk from the desert ...

P-Ez: ... ܘܐܠܐ ܘܠܝܬܐ ܘܠܝܬܐ ܘܠܝܬܐ ܘܠܝܬܐ ܘܠܝܬܐ ...

TR: ... and also of the men that came from Sheba and from the desert ...

LXX: ... καὶ πρὸς ἄνδρας ἐκ πλήθους ἀνθρώπων ἦκοντας ἐκ τῆς ἐρήμου ...

TR: and to men from the rich among men who were coming from the desert ...

It can be noticed in this case that the P-Ez version is significantly different and much simpler than the MT text. It is also somewhat different from the LXX text. For example, P-Ez introduces the Theme FE by the particles ܘܐܠܐ, while both the MT and the LXX have the prepositions ܠܐ and πρὸς respectively, which is related to the Theme FE. The appositional phrase to the Theme FE ܐܕܡ ܡܪܒ ܐܕܡ in both the MT and the LXX is omitted in P. The LU instantiating the ARRIVING frame here is a participle (passive) verb in the MT, a participle active verb in the LXX. However, it is presented in P-Ez as a perfect *Peal* verb, with the result that the difference between MT and P-Ez is greater than that between MT and LXX. Lastly what appears to be an adverbial clause in the MT, the difficult word ܣܘܒܝܝܡ is translated in P-Ez as a noun in a PP, ܡܠܬܐܢܝܬܐ (with the TGr ܡܠܬܐܢܝܬܐ added), while it is omitted in the LXX.

These many problems indicate that this could have been a particularly problematic section to translate for the Peshitta translator. In fact, the above analysis shows that P-Ez's translator paraphrased this particular verse. Even though P-Ez's translator paraphrased, he (as well as the LXX translator) still found it difficult to maintain the ARRIVING FROM frame in the source text. Evidently, the resultant ARRIVING FROM frames in both P-Ez and the LXX do not represent what appears to be the MOTIVATED ARRIVING FROM frame in the MT text.

4.4.2.3 *The Unknown frame*

Ezekiel 7:7a profiles a frame that is difficult to determine in the Hebrew text. The frame reads as follows in the MT and the P-Ez:²⁴⁹

Ezekiel 7:7a

MT: באה הצפירה אליך יושב הארץ ...

TR: The diadem/ fateful day comes upon you ...

P-Ez: ܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܝܘܡܐ ܡܚܝܬܐ ܕܐܪܥܐ ܗܝܬܐ ܥܠܝܚܐ

TR: The morning comes upon you oh inhabitant of the land ...

The present study identifies this frame as being 'Unknown' on grounds of the fact that the meaning of the Theme FE הצפירה in the Hebrew text is obscure. The best renditions of modern translators are at best conjectures. The known meaning, 'wreath, crown, diadem' used in other parts of the OT is out of place here. The LXX omits the frame perhaps for the same reasons. BHS (1997) proposes this frame as part of a later addition in the Hebrew text. No conclusive decision on the meaning has been reached among commentators (cf. Zimmerli, 1979:195; Allen, 1994:100 and Greenberg, 1983:148). According to HUB (2004), the intended meaning in the Syriac translation is a 'he goat'. However, from the information in lexicons, the meaning 'the morning' is also possible. The present study takes this later possibility as one that was probably intended by the translator, as the one most suited to the context.

²⁴⁹ LXX omits the rendering of the Hebrew LU and the FE צפירה, attaching the rest of the FEs to the next frame. TgE has a variant reading.

The translator probably arrives at such a rendering firstly by searching for a similar sounding word (or one spelt similarly) in Hebrew or in Syriac. The word was apparently found in the Syriac. Subsequently, the P-Ez's translator ensured that such a word would suit the intended perceived frame in the context where the corresponding Hebrew occurs. Later on in the same verse, the Theme FE that arrives in this frame, is a day (דיום), a calendric event. Since the morning can be implied metonymically to refer to a whole day (PART FOR THE WHOLE metonymy), P-Ez's translator could have reasoned that the Hebrew text meant to use such metonymy between the first part and the second part of the poetic Hebrew verse. In all probability however, it appears that the LXX may preserve an original reading, if the LXX reading is not considered to be a variant literary edition, different from the one reflected in the MT (Lilly, 2012:3-7; Van Rooy, 2008:493). On the other hand, the way that the Peshitta translator deals with the problem in his source text just goes to show what means this translator often used to resolve difficult readings in his source text.

4.5 MAPPING OF PATH WITHIN THE ARRIVING FRAMES

Since TGRs are characteristic components of the ARRIVING frames, their analysis may present more information on the frame-semantic character of the ARRIVING frames that the translator rendered from their Hebrew source text into the target Syriac text. The table below presents the tabulation related to the use of TGRs in the various frames of ARRIVING that were studied in the present chapter.

Table 4.4. A presentation of tablets showing the use of TGRs in the ARRIVING frames instantiated by $\chi\iota\zeta$ and how they were rendered in the Peshitta

ARRIVING INTO				COVENANTING		
Place	MT	P-Ez		Place	MT	P-Ez
3:15	אל	ד		16:8	ב	כ
7:22	ב	כ		17:13	ב	כ
8:7	אל	כ		20:37	ב	כ
8:10	DNI ²⁵⁰	DNI				
8:16	אל	ד		ARRIVING TO MEET		
10:2b	DNI	DNI		Place	MT	P-Ez
10:3	DNI	DNI		14:1	אל	אל
11:18	Loc	ד		14:4a	אל	אל
13:9	אל	ד		14:7	אל	אל
20:15	אל	ד		16:33	אל	אל
20:38	אל	ד		20:1	DNI	DNI
20:42	אל	ד		20:3	DNI	DNI
23:39	אל	ד		21:12a	DNI	DNI
3:4	אל	ד		23:17	אל	אל
3:11	אל	ד		23:40a	DNI	אל
3:24b	DNI	DNI		24:26	אל	אל
10:2a	אל	ד		19:9a	אל	ד
19:9b	ב	ד				
SUPERNATURAL INFLUENCE ARRIVING INTO				INTIMATE RELATIONS ARRIVING INTO		
Place	MT	P-Ez		Place	MT	P-Ez
2:2	ב	כ		23:44a	אל	אל
3:24a	ב	כ		23:44b	אל	אל
				23:44c	אל	ל
UNDESIRABLE INFLUENCE AGAINST				TIME-EVENT ARRIVING		
Place	MT	P-Ez				
5:17	על	ל				
6:3	על	ל		Place	MT	P-Ez
11:8	על	ל		7:2	על	ל
14:17	על	ל		7:5	DNI	DNI
21:24	DNI	DNI		7:6a	DNI	DNI
21:25	אל(א)	ל		7:6b	DNI	om
23:22	על	ל		7:6c	DNI	om
23:24	על	ל		7:7a	אל	ל
				7:7b	DNI	DNI
				7:10	DNI	DNI
UNDESIRABLE INFLUENCE ON						

²⁵⁰ Definite Null instantiation (see section 2.4.6).

Place	MT	P-Ez		7:12	DNI	DNI
14:22a	ל	ל		7:2	DNI	DNI
14:22b	ל	ל		7:26	DNI	DNI
				21:12b	DNI	DNI
ARRIVING AT				21:30	DNI	DNI
Place	MT	P-Ez		21:32	DNI	DNI
8:3	Loc	ל		21:34	DNI	DNI
8:14	ל	ל		22:3	DNI	DNI
9:2b	INI	INI		22:4	DNI	DNI
10:6	INI	INI		24:14	INI ²⁵¹	INI
12:13	Loc	ל		24:24	INI	om ²⁵²
17:3	ל	ל				
17:12a	Ø ²⁵³	ל		SUPERNATURAL INFLUENCE		
20:10	ל	ל		Place	MT	P-Ez
20:29	Ø	ל		2:2	ב	ב
20:35	ל	ל		3:24a	ב	ב
11:1	ל	ל				
11:24	Loc	ל		TIME AGE ARRIVING		
17:4	ל	ל		Place	MT	P
17:12b	Loc	ל		16:7	ב	ל
17:20	Loc	ל				
19:4	ל	ל				
				INGENSTION		
REMOTE GOAL ARRIVING				Place	MT	P-Ez
Place	MT	P-Ez		4:14	ב	ל
11:16-	?	ל				
12:16-	?	ל		TEARS ARRIVING		
				Place	MT	P-Ez
				24:16	INI	INI

An analysis of these TGrS indicates that the MT employs the preposition ל or the *he* locative for the ARRIVING AT frames, including the MOTIVATED ARRIVING AT frames. P-Ez's translator renders all these cases with the TGr ל. For the ARRIVING INTO frames, the MT employs the TGr ל or ב. Similarly, the Peshitta translator renders such frames with ל or with ب. The distinction between the use of either ל, or ב may be an interesting one. In the Hebrew it appears that the determination of the particular TGr to use between ל and ב, depends largely on the nature of the Goal

²⁵¹ Indefinite Null Instantiation (see section 2.4.6).

²⁵² Om implies that the TGr is part of an omitted frame or FE.

²⁵³ Ø means here that a grammatical element expected to be present in a text is left out completely.

FE. This Goal, though generally understood in terms of a container, may be refined further on the grounds of other special qualities. It appears that with the TGr $\beth$, an ARRIVING INTO action, is meant. This results in the arrival of a Theme FE into a Goal FE that can be described by the following characteristics:

- I. A spacial three-dimensional configuration, almost entirely enclosed, and of which the internal space is not easily accessible. A house is a typical example of this type of Theme (e.g., Ezekiel 19:9b). Similarly, a human person is some kind of container in terms of physical parts within a visible body frame (Ezekiel 2:2, 3:24a).²⁵⁴
- II. The TGr in question can be used in the sense of referring to a Theme FE whose motion results in an arriving action into a Goal FE that can be characterised as a homogeneous group of individual entities. Apparently the use of the TGr $\beth$ in Hebrew is rare in relation to this scenario. The closest occurrence within the present study range is the case in Ezekiel 3:24b.²⁵⁵ (See also Genesis 19:8; Job 1:6; Isaiah 19:23.)
- III. The TGr can also be extended metaphorically to other concepts, such as a covenant of which people are said to 'enter into' (Ezekiel 16:8, 17:13, 20:37). Even though a covenant is not a three-dimensional, relatively compact physical object, it is nevertheless conceived of metaphorically in terms of a container, so that it characteristically can be said to confine those who are bound by it or who 'enter into it', within the agreed terms. Thus one has no easy access into the rights and benefits of an already established covenant and, in the same way, one who is within a covenant cannot easily 'come out of it' at will.

While the above analysis will provide some guidelines to understand the ARRIVING frames in which the TGr $\beth$ is to be expected, it may be observed from the present study that the occurrence of this TGr follows specific types of frames. This TGr is applied most consistently to frames such as the COVENANTING frame and the SUPERNATURAL INFLUENCE ARRIVING frames.

²⁵⁴ Cf.BDB (2000).

²⁵⁵ See also Genesis 19:8; Job 1:6; Isaiah 19:23, BDB (2000) and Gesenius & Tregelles (2003:97).

While the Peshitta employs the Syriac cognate ܐܠ for nearly the same reasons as it is used in the MT within the ARRIVING frames, the P-Ez's translator nevertheless does not translate every instance of this TGr in the Hebrew text with a corresponding cognate form in the Syriac. On rare occasions, P-Ez uses ܐܠ in instances where the Hebrew text uses ܐܠ (Ezekiel 19:9b). In other instances, the Peshitta translator opts for ܐܠ where the Hebrew equivalent is the TGr ܐܠ (Ezekiel 8:7).

It is worth noting that in some ARRIVING frames (perhaps in many other similarly structured frames of motion as well) the Hebrew may instantiate cases where the Goal FE is not marked at all. This implies cases with no TGr in the frame, referred to in Gesenius (1910) as the 'looser subordination of the accusative to the verb'.²⁵⁶ At least two such cases may be identified in the present study range. These are found in Ezekiel 17:12a and 20:29. One is normally able to deduce the Goal FE in such circumstances, mainly by nature of its position within a typical Hebrew sentence (Gesenius, 1910:363). Given that the normal word order in biblical Hebrew is Verb + Subject + Object (van der Merwe, *et al.*, 1997:336), one will normally be able to determine the object (in the present study's case, the Goal FE) with relative ease, even in cases where there is a marked word order (Subject + Verb + Object).

In Syriac, however (following its roots in the Aramaic language),²⁵⁷ the accusative marker or the object marker, seemingly had fallen out of use, so that all object forms are either unmarked or have to be indicated by some form of a preposition (which the present study refers to as the TGr) (Greenspahn, 2003:123; Nöldeke, 1904:226-227; Muraoka, 1997:77). Thus the employment of the preposition ܐܠ in Ezekiel 17:12a and 20:29 are not in reality additions but rather normal Syriac renderings of the Hebrew frames.²⁵⁸

For the ARRIVING TO MEET frames, P-Ez predominantly uses ܐܠܐܠ while the Hebrew text mostly employs ܐܠܐܠ. It should be noted here that, although the present study has

²⁵⁶ Gesenius (1910:118).

²⁵⁷ Johns (1972:10-11).

²⁵⁸ While the LXX adds a preposition in Ezekiel 17:12a, it does not do so in 20:29.

All UNDESIRABLE INFLUENCE ARRIVING frames relate the Theme FE to the Goal FE using the TGr γ in the Hebrew text, with the corresponding cognate form γ being employed in the Syriac translation. For this TGr, the LXX predominantly uses the equivalent $\epsilon\pi\iota$. However, for the UNDESIRABLE INFLUENCE ARRIVING frame in Ezekiel 21:25, the Hebrew text uses a strange word from $\gamma\alpha$, which is represented in the versions as if it was the TGr γ . The relevant text is presented below.²⁵⁹

MT: דרך תשים לבוא חרב את רבת בני־עמון ואת־יהודה בירושלם בצורה
 ESV: Mark a way for the sword to come to Rabbah of the Ammonites and to
 Judah, into Jerusalem the fortified .

TR: And make the way through which the sword will come against Rabbath of the Ammonites and against Judah and against the fortified Jerusalem.

TR: ...of the way, you shall set up for the sword to come against Rabbath
of the Ammonites and against Judea and against Jerusalem in the
middle of it.

222

When observing the MT text, it appears that the Theme FE (חרב) is related to the Goal FEs (יהודה and רבת בני־עמון) by an accusative marker את, which appears to be out of the ordinary for any ARRIVING frame. The LU ו.בוא, does not normally require an accusative marker in order to relate the Theme FE to the Goal FE. However, most modern translators assume that the LU is using an accusative marker in this particular instance. Allen (1994:21) notes the difficulty and suggests that the object clauses appearing later on in the verse must be in loose apposition to some other object noun.²⁶⁰ He cites the relevant noun to be יד in the preceding verse (Ezekiel 21:24). This is indeed possible in the sense that Rabbah of the Ammonites and Judah are not to be understood as Goal FEs for the arriving sword, but rather as sign posts marking the way for the sword to finally arrive against or into Jerusalem (see ESV translation above). Alternatively, the object clauses may be viewed as being in apposition, not to יד but to the first noun in the verse, דרך. Thus the object clauses, את רבת בני־עמון ואת־יהודה are the markings of the way (דרך תשים). It happens that a purpose clause ('for the sword to come') interrupts the link between this verb clause and the object clauses. In turn, the purpose clause is also interrupted by the object clauses so that its object clause appears at the end of the verse בירושלם בצורה ('against the fortified Jerusalem'). The Hebrew verse may thus be translated more literally in the following manner:

“You shall mark a way for the sword to come – Rabbah of the Ammonites and Judah – against the fortified Jerusalem.”

The two object phrases in apposition to the first (and primary) object דרך, which are indicated by accusative markers while the first object is unmarked should not be a strange phenomenon, though fairly rare (Gesenius, 1910:363). Thus the two accusative markers in the verse need not be emended to prepositions, such as אל or על, in the Hebrew text. It appears, however, that the versions (including the LXX) missed this rather atypical construction in the Hebrew text and thus did make emendations in their translations.

²⁶⁰ Cf. Gesenius (1910:131).

On a slightly different note: no particular mix-up appears to be between the use of prepositions **ל** and **על** in all the ARRIVING frames of the Ezekiel Hebrew text, as seems to be the case in other frames (see Lust 2006:162).

4.6 AN ARRIVING FRAME INSTANTIATED BY THE VERB **היה** (hayāh)

While the Hebrew LU **בוא** *v* is a primary verb instantiating the ARRIVING frames, it is by no means the only LU for all the arriving frames available to the language. There may be a number of specialised arriving frames with specialised LUs to evoke those specialised frames.

Most English translations translate the common prophetic word-formula **היה דבר** as a clause evoking the MESSAGE ARRIVING frame. It is thus translated ‘The word of the Lord **came** to me’ (e.g. in NIV, NKJV and RSV). Some translations, however, perceive a COMMUNICATION frame, thus translating the clause ‘The LORD spoke to me’ (GNT, NCV and GW). Notably these two frames are not totally different. Rather the MESSAGE ARRIVING frame is a sub-frame within the COMMUNICATION frame, that is, it profiles a particular aspect of the COMMUNICATION frame. In the following discussion an attempt will be made to establish whether, in terms of frames, one should regard the prophetic formula in question here, as evoking a COMMUNICATION frame, a MESSAGE ARRIVING frame or any other different frame. Semanticists often define the Hebrew word **היה** (hayāh) as meaning ‘to be’, ‘become’, ‘happen’, and often combined with various other prepositions to produce modifications of these meanings (Amsler, 1997:360).

It appears the SOURCE – PATH – GOAL image schema underlies the conceptualisation of the frame when it is translated by modern translators as a MESSAGE ARRIVING frame. Theologically, this is logical: YHWH is the Source FE of the ‘Word of YHWH’. The ‘word of YHWH’ as such becomes the Theme FE that ‘travels’ from YHWH to the Goal FE, which can be a prophet, such as Ezekiel in Ezekiel 6:1. The ARRIVING frame appears even more suitable, given that the TGr in this case is **ל**, a preposition that (among many other nuances) typically indicates motion of a Theme FE arriving at a Goal FE in Hebrew, as has been established in

the ARRIVING frames instantiated by בוא above. However, the assumption that the Hebrew LU הִיא.ו instantiates an ARRIVING frame, in the same sense that the LU בוא.ו does, may be doubtful (Hamilton, 1999:214).

Some scholars are of the opinion that the use of the Hebrew LU הִיא.ו in the prophetic word-reception formula has links with its use in narrative texts as a marker that anchors an event to a time line or simply as a discourse marker in various capacities (Van der Merwe *et al.*, 1999:331-332; Amsler, 1997:361). Linked to this particular usage, the LU in the prophetic reception formula has the meaning, ‘come to pass’, referring to the fact that the word of God when spoken, also gives the assurance that things will happen or come to pass as it has been spoken. This explanation is loaded with theological import. Therefore it will not help explain some instances in the use of this formula. Such instances would include those in which the same prophetic formula (frame) is not evoked by the particular LU הִיא.ו (1 Kings 13:17, 19:9) or in which the LU refers to frames of normal human communication, with little or nothing to do with YHWH’s communication to prophets (1 Samuel 4:1, 2 Samuel 3:17 and 1 Kings 1:7).²⁶¹ Perhaps closest to the probable meaning of הִיא in the prophetic word-reception formulae is the fact that “it describes the intrusion of the word of YHWH in the life of the prophet” (Amsler, 1997:361).

It may be profitable to enquire after the instantiation of the frame (rather than simply studying the mere use of the word in the prophetic word-reception formula) and closely related frames. Only a brief enquiry is attempted here, leaving the fuller treatment of the particular topic for future studies. The prophetic word-reception formula ויהי דבר־יהוה אלי seemingly belongs to the COMMUNICATION frame. The COMMUNICATION frame is defined in FN (2010) as follows:

“A Communicator conveys a Message to an Addressee; the Topic and Medium of the communication also may be expressed. This frame includes no specification of the method of communication (speech, writing, gesture, etc.). The frames that inherit the general COMMUNICATION frame can add elaboration to the Medium in a variety of ways (in French, on the radio

²⁶¹ Bernhardt (1978:379).

program, in a letter) or to the Manner of communication (babble, rant, shout, whisper).²⁶²

Naturally the COMMUNICATION frame is broader, given that communication can take on many forms such as speaking to, writing to, or send messages or signals. In Ezekiel 23:36 this frame occurs in the sentence that begins as follows:

Ezekiel 23:36

MT: ... ויאמר יהוה אלי בן־אדם התשפוט ...

TR: YHWH said to me, “son of man, will you pronounce judgment ...”

In these words, יאמר is the LU evoking the COMMUNICATION frame, and particularly the STATEMENT frame. The STATEMENT frame focuses on the act of a Speaker conveying a Message to an Addressee using language, usually vocal.²⁶³ In the above sentence, יהוה is the Communicator FE, the preposition (TGr) אל points to the Addressee and the first person suffix to the preposition identifies the Addressee. The statement immediately following the Addressee is the spoken Message, which is sometimes marked or introduced by the word לאמר in Hebrew. In this Hebrew frame, the Medium is not mentioned directly. It may however be implied in the LU יאמר that the communication process is that of a vocal or utterance type and the mode is that of giving instruction.²⁶⁴ In Ezekiel 11:2 a similar instantiation of the STATEMENT frame occurs, though with the DNI of the Communicator.²⁶⁵

Similarly, the prophetic word-reception formula is a sentence evoking the COMMUNICATION frame, where דבר־יהוה refers to the Message FE and the PP (TGr + Addressee FE) אלי relates a Theme FE to the Addressee FE. Usually the Addressee FE in the Hebrew text is followed by the word לאמר, functioning more as

²⁶² FN (2010).

²⁶³ Cf, FN (2010).

²⁶⁴ The semantic range of the LU אמר is relatively broad and the general meaning, context excluded, becomes that of communication (see BDB [2000]).

²⁶⁵ See also Ezekiel 20:5.

a speech marker than a word, and thus introducing the words of the message.²⁶⁶ With *וַהֲיָה*, an LU occurs that in ordinary Hebrew language would mean, 'it happened/ occurred', 'it became', or 'it appeared' and normally instantiates the COMING TO BE frame (Vulgate) or even an EXISTENCE frame.²⁶⁷ While there is a possibility of viewing the prophetic word-reception formula as a special theological event, there appears to be no place for such a concept in ordinary human speech.²⁶⁸ It is therefore far more difficult to understand the LU in the prophetic word formula as meaning 'to be' or 'to occur', thus instantiating the COMING TO BE and the EXISTENCE frames in contexts of ordinary human speech cited previously. On the other hand, that the clause *וַיְהִי דְבַר־יְהוָה אֵלַי* instantiates a COMMUNICATION frame can be concluded from other instances where a similar clause is used in frames that present themselves as those of ordinary human communication, such as can be found in 1 Samuel 4:1, 2 Samuel 3:17 and 1 Kings 1:7.²⁶⁹

This conclusion still implies that there are two possibilities of classifying the frame of the clause: a COMMUNICATION frame (GW, NCV) or a MESSAGE ARRIVING frame (Nlrv, NIV, KJV).²⁷⁰ In this case, the MESSAGE ARRIVING frame may be understood as a subframe of the COMMUNICATION frame. The MESSAGE ARRIVING frame clearly backgrounds the Communicator FE, profiling the 'presence' of the Message at/with the Addressee. The word-formula may thus be understood as instantiating a MESSAGE ARRIVING frame (as a subframe of the COMMUNICATION frame). But then the question remains: how is *וַהֲיָה* able to evoke a frame of motion (ARRIVING), a frame of which it is not known to evoke characteristically?

One possible way to perceive the aspect of motion within the prophetic formula is by understanding an idiomatic way of speaking that is common in human language. In

²⁶⁶ Van der Merwe *et al.* (1999:55).

²⁶⁷ See FN (2010) for the description of the COMING TO BE and the EXISTENCE frames.

²⁶⁸ Cf. Grisanti (1997:1023-24).

²⁶⁹ Bernhardt (1978:379).

²⁷⁰ The MESSAGE ARRIVING can be understood as a sub-frame of the COMMUNICATION frame, which at the same time metaphorically uses the ARRIVING frame. Its distinct character is that the Theme FE is a word or a message (Message FE) and the Goal FE is a human person able to receive that message.

answering the question, “which places of interest did you **go to**?” one can reply validly, “We **were at** the Kruger national park and at the zoo”, meaning to say, “We **went to** the Kruger National park and to the zoo.” In other words, describing a Theme FE as being at a specific location, may imply that the said Theme FE moved to that location. How that Theme got to the specific location is, in that instance, not of interest to the parties involved in the communication. In the same manner, describing the message of a person as being with someone may imply that the message was communicated to that person. Precisely how the message was communicated is not in question.

Another contributing factor to the aspect of motion in the prophetic word formula instantiated by הִיהַ, is the frame reference that is inherent in the frame elements which are involved. Since the clause, דְּבַר־יְהוָה (message of YHWH) and אֵלַי (TGr + Goal FE) are typical FEs of the COMMUNICATION, and specifically the MESSAGE ARRIVING frame, their juxtaposition, without the LU, simply evokes the transmission process of the COMMUNICATION frame. This is the reason why there are prophetic formulas, in which an LU is totally absent, presenting a nominal construction that points to the prophetic formula – as can be found in 1 Kings 13:17 and 19:9. The role of LU הִיהַ.ו can thus be understood as helping to explain the relations between the FEs in this frame in terms of instantiating an event.

Finally, it is possible that, even though the LU הִיהַ.ו is not primarily a verb that instantiates motion, it nevertheless carries inherent attributes of motion. Considering the use of the LU in the prophetic formula “The word of YHWH was with me” in the context in which it occurs, it can be reasonably understood that there existed a time when the word was not with the prophet, and then a time when it was with the prophet. Similarly, if one understands the verb to mean, ‘it appeared’, this person implies that there was a time when the word did not yet appear. This should be the case with whatever other alternative interpretation of הִיהַ, such as ‘came about’, ‘happen’, ‘or exist’. Since it is logical that what was or what appeared, previously was not there, the aspect of change from one state to another subconsciously brings into the mind of the hearer the aspect of motion and time.

Reverting to the earlier discussion in section 4.2.4.4, it was understood that the concept of TIME is intertwined with the concept of MOTION. It was also realised that the aspect of TIME is in turn linked closely, inextricably, with the concept of an EVENT. Thus in reference to the LU הִיהָ.v, Amsler (1997:360) remarks, “The verb הִיהָ is not necessarily to indicate (sic) the simple existence or identity of a person or a thing ... The use of הִיהָ generally gives rise to a more fully packed and dynamic statement concerning the being of a person or thing, a being expressed in the entity’s actions or deeds, fate and behaviour toward others.” In other words, הִיהָ is an event LU. The LU instantiates a dynamic event, rather than simply a static condition. This is reinforced by the fact that the verb itself mostly occurs as a perfect verb in the prophetic word-reception formula, in which it denotes completed action or a finished event.²⁷¹

In Ezekiel 6:1, the LU presents the presence or occurrence of the word of YHWH with the prophet as a specific MESSAGE ARRIVING event in a series of many other events that are occurring in time. It has been observed in this case that the aspect of change, related to time, is involved. Therefore it follows that the SOURCE – PATH – GOAL image schema is basic to the MESSAGE ARRIVING frame. In fact, it becomes clear that with any event that involves change from one state, position, or aspect to another, a SOURCE – PATH – GOAL image schema seems to be the basis of the conceptualisation. The image schema appears to be not only limited to spatial motion, but to other kinds of motion as well, which may be metaphysical (such as time) or even cognitive (for example, **arriving** at a decision or solution).

The MESSAGE ARRIVING frame should be evoked in most instances in which הִיהָ is used for communication. This holds whether the TGr is אֶל (with, to) as is the case in most instances or עִם (with) as it is in 2 Samuel 3:17. It can be noted here that the Medium FE, as well as the Manner FE (FEs that are optional in the COMMUNICATION frame), are hidden in the MESSAGE ARRIVING frame that is instantiated by הִיהָ. Furthermore, the Communicator FE is only referred to indirectly. Moving in a theological direction the following assumption could be made: in this type of COMMUNICATION frame (the communication from a supernatural being to a natural

²⁷¹ Gesenius (1910:105).

man), the Medium and Manner FEs of the event can take varied subtle forms, either which cannot be physically perceived by a third party or which cannot be comprehensively explained to a third party by the Addressee; therefore the FEs (Medium and Manner) are most appropriately left unspecified in this case.

It is probable that in the versions both P-Ez and the LXX could have understood the idiomatic language of the prophetic word-reception formula in their Hebrew base texts as a MESSAGE ARRIVING frame. These are presented below:

Ezekiel 6:1

MT: וַיְהִי דְבַר־יְהוָה אֵלַי לֵאמֹר

TR: Then the word of YHWH came to me ...

P-Ez: ܡܡܬܐ ܬܠܡ ܕܠܥܡܪܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܪܝܚܐ

TR: And the word of the Lord came to me ...

LXX: Καὶ ἐγένετο λόγος κυρίου πρὸς με λέγων

TR: And the word of the Lord came to me saying,

In P-Ez's translation, the word-order of the clause is changed so that the usual Verb + Subject + PP of the Hebrew becomes Verb + PP + Subject in Syriac. Secondly, P-Ez uses the TGr ܬܠܡ naturally idiomatic to Syriac in MESSAGE ARRIVING frames, confirming that P-Ez's translator understood the frame as that of the MESSAGE ARRIVING frame. Although ܬܠܡ is generally a TGr used in instances of influence (on, upon, over, against), it appears in frames of MOTION mainly with respect to the MESSAGE ARRIVING frame and the SENDING frames (Smith, 1979).

The LXX also follows the Hebrew text closely, translating הִיהָ by the corresponding Greek LU, γίνονται. Similarly, LXX renders the Hebrew TGr ܠ by a Greek TGr that is usually employed in frames in which the Goal FE is a person (human association element), such as the ARRIVING TO MEET frame. Both P-Ez and the LXX translated this frame fairly consistently.

4.7 OTHER FRAMES IN THE HEBREW TEXT MAPPED AS ARRIVING FRAMES INTO P-EZ

In making a representative analysis of how P-Ez's translator translated ARRIVING frames from the Hebrew text to the target Peshitta text, the present study relies to a large extent on the use of specific lexical units. It is therefore important at this stage to consider whether there may be LUs, normally known to evoke the ARRIVING frames in P, but which appear in some apparently different frames.

4.7.1 The case of ܐܠܠ ('all) and ܝܒܠ (ybl)

In the present study, there are few cases indeed, in which the Syriac LUs ܐܠܠ.v and ܝܒܠ.v are used to render Hebrew frames that not ARRIVING frames, evoked by the LU ܐܠܠ.v. These cases should not go without analysis and some study. With the verb ܐܠܠ, no other frame is evoked in P-Ez besides the ARRIVING frames that are represented by ܐܠܠ in the Hebrew text. The Syriac LU ܝܒܠ.v, has been understood primarily to represent frames of motion other than the ARRIVING frame (for example the TRANSFER and the BRINGING frames). Thus this Syriac LU is found in the Peshitta text naturally to represent a few other frames besides the ARRIVING frames as discussions above have shown (for example, in Ezekiel 3:14).²⁷²

The mapping of some of the frames identified as ARRIVING frames in the Hebrew into Syriac using the LU ܝܒܠ.v, brings up the question whether the Hebrew LU ܐܠܠ.v might not have been employed to evoke frames other than strictly the ARRIVING frames. From the study range, however, there is not much evidence to support the idea of a broader semantic range of ܐܠܠ that are suggested here. Rather, the naturally broad semantic range of the Syriac LU ܝܒܠ.v occasioned the use of the LU in appropriate instances. This LU is thus used in P-Ez as a near synonym to the *Afe* of ܐܠܠ, which would typically be employed as an equivalent of ܐܠܠ in MOTIVATED ARRIVING frames. In that case, the fact that there is some inconsistency in the employment of ܝܒܠ to represent ܐܠܠ in MOTIVATED ARRIVING frames stands as proof. On the other hand, there could have been an intentional shifting of the frame to bring

²⁷² See also Ezekiel 40:24; 43:1; 47:6.

In **Figure 3-2**, the 3D model has a CONTOURING frame (see section 3.4.0 in chapter 3).

MT: עתה הקץ עליך ושלחתי אפי בר ושפטתיך כדרכיך ונתתי עליך את כל־תועבתיך

P-Ez: מכלול מס' א' חלוקה 2. מס' אגף חלוקה 01. מס' תחום חלוקה 05. מס' סניף חלוקה 05.

TR: Now the end is upon you. And I will pour out upon you my anger and I will judge you according to your ways **and I will bring** against you all your abominations.

The possibilities of external influence from other versions having been dispelled, it becomes necessary to consider the role of internal linguistic mechanisms in the resultant MOTIVATED ARRIVING frame in Ezekiel 7:3. In the first place, the CONVICTING frame (a MUGMod₂ type frame)²⁷⁴ metaphorically employs the PLACING frame. Therefore the close relationship between the CONVICTING and the MOTIVATED ARRIVING frames readily can be understood. The image schemas involved in a PLACING frame were depicted in Fig 3.3 (chapter 3). In general terms, the difference between a CONVICTING frame and a MOTIVATED ARRIVING frame is that the Theme FE in a CONVICTING frame is normally a metaphysical element (a moral charge such as a criminal one), while the Theme FE in MOTIVATED ARRIVING frames normally describes a physical, perceptible element.

Further explanation can be given for the similarity between these two frames: the MOTIVATED ARRIVING and the CONVICTING frames. In both the frames, although the Agent must have control of the Theme along the Path, the Agent is not necessarily the Source of the Theme FE – a Source which must often be located elsewhere. In contrast, the Agent plays the role of causing the Theme FE to be placed upon or legally accounted to the Goal FE. In other words, the Agent causes the Theme FE to arrive at the Goal FE. In order to present a clear comparison between the two frames the image schematic representations can be compared: that of the PLACING frame from Fig 3.3 (slightly adapted in Fig 4.11 below to a CONVICTING frame) and of the MOTIVATED ARRIVING frame (adapted in Fig 4.12 below with modification from the generic frame structure of the ARRIVING frame in Fig 4.7, in the present chapter).

While some differences can be pointed out between the image schematic diagrams representing the MOTIVATED ARRIVING and the CONVICTING frames, there are nevertheless a lot of similarities. With respect to differences, for example, the Path in the GIVING frames from which the CONVICTING frame is derived is typically spatially

²⁷⁴ See Table 3.2 in chapter 3.

very local, while the Path is typically spatially extensive in the MOTIVATED ARRIVING frames. Apart from this discernible difference, a lot in common can be found between the two diagrams, both in terms of image schemas and of general configuration. The dominant image schema can be seen to be the SOURCE – PATH – GOAL image schema. As noted previously, this image schema may characterise many events that involve change.

Furthermore, the conceptualisation of this image schema in different events which involve change may be dependent on different perceptions between various cultural or language groups. Thus the SOURCE – PATH – GOAL image schema may be stronger in the generic structure of the frames instantiated by $\eta\eta\eta$ in the Hebrew text, than in the generic frame structure of the frames instantiated by the cognate forms of the same LU $\text{ܐܡܐ} / \text{ܕܠܐ.ܐ}$ in Syriac. This may thus explain why the Hebrew LU $\eta\eta\eta.ܐ$ is used to evoke a wide spectrum of events (esp. in Ezekiel) than the corresponding cognate LU $\text{ܐܡܐ} / \text{ܕܠܐ.ܐ}$ in Syriac (see chapter 3). Other image schemas that are common to both frames include CONTROL, ENABLEMENT, and VOLITION, all characteristic of the Agent FE.

The Peshitta translator in Ezekiel 7:3 decided to use a LU normally employed to instantiate the MOTIVATED ARRIVING frame. His aim was to evoke the CONVICTING frame, rather than employing a LU that is normally used to instantiate the GIVING frames. With the level of knowledge available in the study at present, it would be presumptuous to offer a reason why the translator particularly chose the ܐܦܐ.ܐ (*Afe!*) for the CONVICTING frame.

To provide answers to this and similar questions, a wider study of the CONVICTING and the MOTIVATED ARRIVING frames would be required. However, at present it can be established that the semantic proximity or overlap between the lexical concepts involved did facilitate this feature. As a general characteristic then, it should be expected that concepts (or LUs) that are close together in terms of image schemas in the frames they instantiate, will tend to be employed synonymously in language. Similarly, a metaphoric frame extension, such as the CONVICTING frame, can be

derived from two concepts (or LUs) – that seem separate yet in terms of image schema patterns, are related – such as ܐܕܐ and ܐܐܐܐ (*Afel*) in Syriac.

A (COTHEME)

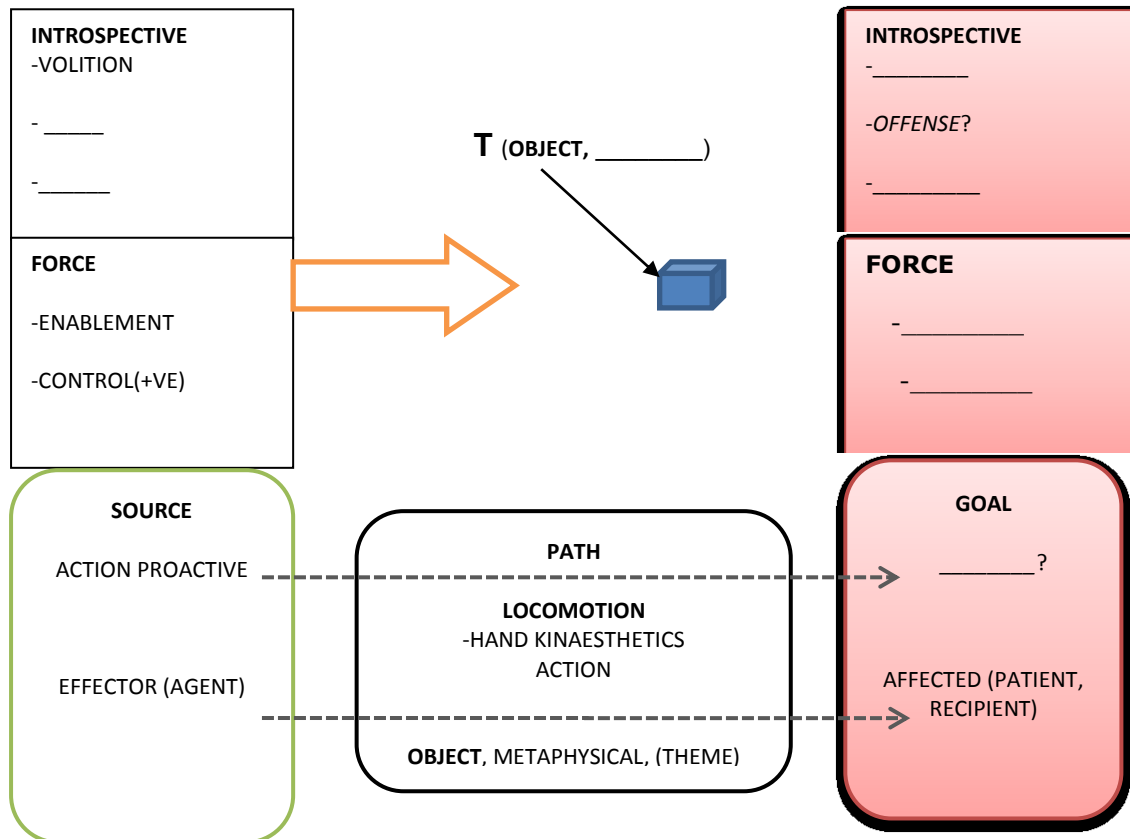


Fig 4.11

Some of the image schemas underlying the CONVICTING frame to be compared to those of the MOTIVATED ARRIVING frame in Fig 4.12

LXX: ἐὰν καὶ θηρία πονηρὰ ἐπάγω ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν καὶ τιμωρήσομαι αὐτήν καὶ ἔσται εἰς ἀφανισμόν καὶ οὐκ ἔσται ὁ διοδεύων ἀπὸ προσώπου τῶν θηρίων,

TR: Or if I **bring** upon the land evil / wild animals and I punish it and it becomes a destruction and there shall not be one that passes through from the face (on account) of the wild animals,

It should be understood despite what might seem to suggest LXX influence on P-Ez that the LXX more often might employ ἐπάγω as an equivalent of עבר (*Hifil*), as is the case in Ezekiel 5:1. In Ezekiel 14:15, apart from an identical approach in the rendering of the LU עבר.ν in both P-Ez and the LXX, there is nothing in the rest of the verse that suggests that P-Ez might have been influenced by the LXX at this stage. In fact, in the verb following עבר, P-Ez's translator follows the Hebrew text rather than the LXX in translating the person of the verb phrase וּשְׂכַלְתָּה. In the last construct relation in the verse, P-Ez omits a term that is included in both the MT and the LXX. Apart from the present case in Ezekiel 14:15, there is nowhere else in the first 24 chapters of Ezekiel that P-Ez seems to follow the LXX rather than the MT in the rendering of frames evoked by עבר.ν. Therefore the probability that the translator followed the LXX here should be considered very low indeed. While such probability nevertheless still exists, other factors need to be considered that might have led to the unfamiliar way in which P-Ez's translator rendered the Hebrew frame that was instantiated by עבר.ν in Ezekiel 14:15.

The Hebrew LU עבר.ν in its Qal/ or simple form evokes a frame closely related to the TRAVERSING frame, which is indicated in FN (2010). According to FN 2010, the TRAVERSING frame is a frame in which “a Theme changes location with respect to a salient Path location.”

The main focus of this frame of motion is therefore the motion of the Theme FE with respect to a Path typically in cases of spatial configurations.²⁷⁵ In some cases, it is possible that the Theme FE's motion is motivated by a separate entity. In such a case one should understand a MOTIVATED TRAVERSING frame, which therefore

²⁷⁵ See BDB (2000).

requires the application of the Hifil stem formation on the Hebrew LU עבר.׳, as is the case in Ezekiel 14:15. To evoke the same frame, Syriac normally employs the cognate LU form, ܠܚܝܬ. In the 31 occurrences in which עבר.׳ appears in Ezekiel, it is translated by the cognate LU ܠܚܝܬ.׳ 26 times, and only once, at Ezekiel 14:15 is it represented by the Syriac LU of the ARRIVING frame ܐܬܝܬ.׳. The rendering of the Hebrew LU עבר.׳ (*Hifil*) by the Syriac LU ܐܬܝܬ.׳ (*Afel*) is therefore a unique phenomenon in P-Ez.

As in the case of the CONVICTING frame discussed earlier, the semantic proximity between the MOTIVATED TRAVERSING frames and the MOTIVATED ARRIVING frames might be understood as the reason for the particular way in which the MOTIVATED TRAVERSING frame was rendered in P. As in the previous section, a more informed explanation of the reason why P-Ez chose to use ܐܬܝܬ (*Afel*) for the MOTIVATED TRAVERSING frame instantiated by עבר.׳ in the Hebrew text requires wider studies that would focus on the nature of those frames in the texts involved. Nevertheless, with the information already at hand, at this stage, a preliminary explanation could be attempted here.

It appears that the aspect of context plays a critical role in understanding the dynamics of Frame Semantics involved in this case (Evans & Green, 2006:112). This is true especially if one realises that speakers sometimes use words with linguistic stylistics in mind. Such stylistic features may be discovered by analysing the frames invoked in the Hebrew text, as well as in the Peshitta text with respect to the Hebrew LU עבר.׳ and the Syriac LU ܐܬܝܬ.׳.

Table 4.5 A comparison of the semantics of the frames instantiated by the Hebrew LU עבר ('abr) and the Syriac LU ܐܬܐ ('eta) in Ezekiel 14:15

Information from the frame	Invoked by the Hebrew verb עבר (Hifil)	Invoked by the Peshitta verb ܐܬܐ (Afel)
Wild animal previously absent from the land is made to arrive in the land	Implied (pragmatic) ²⁷⁶ meaning	Specified (coded) meaning
Wild animal caused to pass / roam through the land	Specified (coded) meaning	Implied (pragmatic) meaning

The frame in question suggests two main aspects of an event. Firstly, that the wild animal was previously absent from the land and that it subsequently is caused to arrive onto the land – thus evoking the MOTIVATED ARRIVING frame. Secondly, the animal is made to pass through or roam across the land – thus evoking the MOTIVATED TRAVERSING frame. Instead of using both the LUs בוא.v and עבר.v, the Hebrew text employs only one of these, namely עבר.v, to represent the whole idea of causing the wild animal to arrive and causing it to pass through or roam across the land. The emphasis in the Hebrew text, however, seems to be on the passing through rather than simply on the arriving part of the event. On the other hand P-Ez uses the LU ܐܬܐ.v to represent the same information, perhaps with an emphasis on the ARRIVING aspect of the frame.

This case therefore is different from the case of the CONVICTING frame discussed previously, since this case does not simply involve synonymous concepts or frames but rather, a synecdoche like style of referring to events. This scenario in Ezekiel 14:15 is similar to the example given in section 4.6 where in answering the same question about places visited on a trip, one might either decide to answer the question by simply stating the locations, thus using the LOCATIVE RELATION frame²⁷⁷ (e.g., “We were at the zoo”). Alternatively a person may use the MOTION frame (e.g., “We went to the zoo”).

²⁷⁶ For the difference between pragmatic and coded meaning in language, see Evans & Green (2006:112-113).

²⁷⁷ See FN (2010).

In Ezekiel 14:15, a synecdoche feature is apparent both in the use of the MOTIVATED TRAVERSING frame in the Hebrew text and in the MOTIVATED ARRIVING frame used by the Peshitta text. By focusing on one aspect of an event, other aspects are automatically implied to have taken place as well. The adequate addressing and understanding of this feature requires broader studies into the use of the frames which are involved in the entire book of Ezekiel, and ideally in a larger section of the Old Testament. Such further studies should deal with the mechanisms involved in these synecdochical references to frames. For example, it is very likely that such synecdochical references could be features of metonymy, where the part is meant to represent the whole.²⁷⁸ The feature appears to be especially suited to complex events or complex frames.

As Ruppenhofer *et al.*, (2010:76) describes it, the case of complex frames occurs when a frame refers to sequences of states and transitions, each of which can be described as an independent frame. Within the FrameNet project, these smaller frames are referred to as sub-frames forming what is termed as the SubFrame relation in FN (2010).²⁷⁹ Ruppenhofer *et al.*, (2010:76) give the example of the CRIMINAL PROCESS frame as a complex frame with sub-frames, which are: the ARREST, ARRAIGNMENT, TRIAL, SENTENCING and the APPEAL frames. These frames are supposed to occur in the given sequential order. Thus in modern day culture, it may be possible for a speaker to use the ARREST sub-frame to refer to a person who is being taken through the whole CRIMINAL PROCESS frame.

In the case of the texts in Ezekiel that were analysed in the present study, the speaker could be understood to employ one of the sub-frames metonymically to refer to the larger frame.²⁸⁰ In Ezekiel 14:15, a difficulty in explaining the differences between the sub-frames involved, namely the MOTIVATED ARRIVING and the MOTIVATED TRAVERSING frames, may be due to their semantic proximity (in terms of conceptual structure). In such a case, one would further have to deal with the

²⁷⁸ See section 2.3.1.5. Discussions on the effect of metonymy will also be made in chapter 5.

²⁷⁹ The subject of frame-to-frame relations will be discussed further in chapter 5.

²⁸⁰ This could be identified as the CAUSE HARM BY FAUNA frame. This frame is absent in FN (2010) but reasonably can be inferred to act as a sub-frame of the CAUSE HARM frame in FN (2010).

question why a speaker chooses one sub-frame instead of an alternative in order to represent the larger frame. It could be possible that, depending on language and style, one sub-frame of the larger frame is considered a more representative or idiomatic rendering than an alternative sub-frame.

A related feature to the phenomenon being discussed can be identified to be what is known as 'lexical levelling' (Carbajosa, 2008:60). This translation characteristic is identified when a translator employs a specific term (called a 'catch-all word') to represent a diversity of terms in the source text (Carbajosa, 2008:59-60). The result is that the catch-all word may end up being used as an equivalent of terms in the source language that may not be supported by the catch-all word's semantic range. In the present study, more about the phenomenon of lexical levelling is learnt in that there is an understanding of the influence of conceptual structure, frame-to-frame relations and image schemas that are involved in the process.

Possibly, further discussion on this feature should pay more attention to the matters of linguistic universals and variations, with the element of culture being central.²⁸¹ Such further studies will be necessary, since synecdochical or metonymical references to frames pose problems for those who intend to characterise the translation technique of a translation such as that of P-Ez. At present, the pattern according to which these synecdochical references are applied is unknown. While such a situation remains, there may be little confidence of one being able to make reliable *retroversions* to the *Vorlage* of P-Ez in some instances.

4.8 CHAPTER CONCLUSIONS

The foregoing discussion has pointed out that the family of frames evoked by the single Hebrew LU בוא.ו (bō.v), by definition does not display a polysemous relation. However, the nature of the relation between the various senses or frames evoked by the Hebrew LU may display characteristics of polysemy. Some particular characteristics have emerged in the way the Peshitta translated different frames. For example, it has been observed that P-Ez's translator translated ARRIVING AT frames

²⁸¹ See Evans & Green's discussions on this topic (Evans & Green, 2006:54-107).

mainly by using the LU ܠܐܝܬܐ.ܐ and to a limited extent, ܠܬܬܐ.ܐ. On the other hand, the ARRIVING INTO frames were mapped into Syriac frames consistently by the LU ܠܬܬܐ.ܐ.

Underlying features of the metaphorical extensions of the ARRIVING frames have forced the present study to discover some subtle ways by which frames at the metaphorical levels may be distinguished from each other. An example of such 'subtle' means includes the use of the zoom-in and zoom-out effect to distinguish between the ARRIVING INTO and the ARRIVING AT frames where often the Goal FE describes a land area. Such mechanisms, although including elements of subjectivity, are sure to add a degree of confidence when one needs to distinguish specific ARRIVING frames. This applies especially to instances in the Hebrew text where the Hebrew lexical unit largely behaves as a satellite framed LU, as compared to the use of corresponding verb framed LUs to instantiate the same frames in both the LXX and the Peshitta.

On the whole, the characteristic ways in which P-Ez's translator mapped the Hebrew frames into Syriac are such that it can be determined quite confidently how the Peshitta was likely to have mapped into the Syriac target text, certain frames instantiated by a form of the LU ܠܒܘܐ.ܐ. P-Ez mapped most ARRIVING frames consistently. For some frames, P-Ez also made a consistent use of LUs and TGrS. There are however a number of cases in which P-Ez employed unfamiliar correspondences. With specific reference to TGrS, some reliability of P-Ez as a translation can also be established. It is possible to determine how the Peshitta translator would have mapped into Syriac, certain TGrS in specific frames, in his Hebrew source text (MT). However, there is limited confidence in one being able to make *retroversions* from the Syriac TGrS to those which lay in the translator's source text. This is because in the Hebrew text, TGrS often overlap in their semantic references and relevance to specific frames (e.g. the TGr ܠܐ and the *he locative* may alternatively be used for the same function in an ARRIVING AT frame). In other cases, one may find that an ARRIVING frame in the Hebrew text does not show a TGr.

As may be the case with many other languages, a number of other Hebrew LUs can be used for instantiating the ARRIVING frames, and these LUs probably could be

related to some specialised frames. Such is the case with the Hebrew LU ν .היה (hayāh), which may also instantiate the MESSAGE ARRIVING frame. In this regard an important finding in this chapter has been that quite a number of frames, which generally imply some change from one state, position or aspect to another, covertly may utilise the SOURCE – PATH – GOAL image schema. Strong similarities between two radial categories or parent frames may lead to LUs normally used for frames in one radial category, to be used to evoke frames in another category. It was seen that such a situation could lead to synonymy and lexical levelling.

Finally, it has been observed that complex frames, where the sub-frames are semantically close to each other, may also present a text-critic with problems if these frames were handled inconsistently by the translator. However the discipline with which P-Ez's translator applies his translation techniques stands out in other respects of the frames studied thus far. Therefore one would be hesitant to claim that the translator may have simply employed some words like לְעֵלֹא , as 'catch all' or 'drudge' phrases. In regard to these last points, more research should be carried out. This should be done preferably at a broader level to establish and confidently characterise the real nature of the phenomenon that is being described in this case.

CHAPTER 5

MAPPING NOMINAL CATEGORIES IN THE PESHITTA TO EZEKIEL 1 – 24: FRAMES AND IDEALISED COGNITIVE MODELS ASSOCIATED WITH THE MISDEEDS FRAME

5.1 INTRODUCTION

The Frame Semantics study thus far has focused on the translation techniques employed by the Peshitta translator. In this the present study has analysed how an understanding of frames evoked by a particular word may help one to grasp the linguistic techniques employed in a translation. In the previous two chapters, the particular type of target words under focus typically was verbs. These verbs were found to instantiate certain frames or events with which Frame Elements (FEs) of various types were associated. The mapping of TGrS (Theme-Goal relators) was also studied alongside the verbs, though to a limited extent. On the other hand, nominal categories or nouns in general tend to pose a unique challenge to the Frame Semantics analysis of translation techniques, as the following study will demonstrate. The analysis in the present study will follow a broad outline:

- I. Introductory discussions to the study of nominal categories from a Frame Semantics approach.
- II. Analysis of nominal categories from an ICM perspective.
- III. Analysis of nominal categories from a Frame Semantics perspective.
- IV. Analysis of the way nominal categories were mapped into P-Ez, especially in view of their synonymous relation.

5.2 THE STUDY OF NOMINAL CATEGORIES FROM A FRAME SEMANTICS APPROACH

Due to their very characteristic, most nouns tend to portray different semantic information, as compared to verbal word classes. Furthermore, nouns proliferate various frames, including those that have been discussed thus far in the present study. From the preceding chapters it has become apparent that Frame Semantics alone may not be able to account for the semantics of every FE in a speech event. This notion will be explained in detail subsequently.

The following example may highlight the challenge that still remains when analysing translations from a Frame Semantics approach. The frame evoked by the verb *נָתַן* in the Hebrew sentence below (excerpted from Ezekiel 3:20) can be understood as a PLACING frame within the linguistic culture of the Hebrew of Ezekiel.

- 5(a) MT: ונתתי מכשול לפניו
TR: And I place a stumbling block before him...

A placing frame can be understood easily by observing that the verb *נָתַן* instantiates a GIVING frame. However, seeing that the Recipient is not a sentient being but, a thing or an entity closely associated with a sentient being, this then evokes a PLACING frame. The TGr (Theme – Goal relator) in this exemplary sentence helps one to understand this as a PLACING frame, rather than typically a GIVING frame. The insight that the illustration sentence 5(a) above is referring to a PLACING frame is reached despite the fact that the reader may have limited understanding of what the Theme FE *מכשול* (stumbling block) actually denotes. The only facts available to the reader are the necessary minimal information that the FE has to be a transferrable object that represents the Theme FE.

It is unnecessary to have an in-depth knowledge of what is denoted by the Theme FE, in order to understand a PLACING frame in sentence 5(a) above. This can be demonstrated by the fact that one easily can replace the Theme FE *מכשול* by any other noun (e.g., *לחם* [bread], *חרב* [sword]. or *ספר* [book]), and still invoke a PLACING frame in all these cases.

Furthermore, it also becomes clear that the essential nature of the Theme FE מכשול provides little help in identifying the frame type, which is pointed out in this case as the PLACING frame. There certainly are finer nuances, which Frame Semantics can track, that each of the mentioned Theme FEs may bring to the PLACING frame in specific contexts. For example, the placing of bread before a person may be an act of serving a meal, the placing of a sword, a call to go to battle and the placing of a book, an invitation to consult a written document. However, these same Theme FEs can be removed from the PLACING frame and be placed in a totally different context to contribute to meaning in a totally different frame.

Any one of the above-mentioned Theme FEs can also validly be employed in a COMMERCIAL TRANSACTION frame, for example. Thus, a single noun can be employed in various frames. Word classes such as verbs, are normally incapable of doing that. This observation about nouns implies that word classes of nouns pose a challenge in speech contexts when analysed from the point of view of Frame Semantics.

Usually, within Frame Semantics, both nouns and adjectives as such can be identified as target words that evoke specific frames in particular sentences. An example of a frame invoked by a noun in a sentence can be taken from Ezekiel 5:8:

5(b) “... and I will execute **judgment** among you while the nations watch.” (NET)

While the word ‘execute’ is a verb referring to an event or a process, it is apparent that the meaning of noun ‘judgment’ depends more in a specific context than that of the verb ‘execute’. The noun ‘judgment’ in the Hebrew text evokes the REWARDS AND PUNISHMENTS frame where an Agent (the punisher or *rewarder*) performs a response action on an *Evaluee* for a Reason (FN, 2010). In this case, the verb ‘execute’, which can be used together with many nouns in multiple frames is known as a support verb or a support predicate (Ruppenhofer *et al.*, 2010:37).

In the first place, such support verbs result in the supported noun being identified as a target word in a sentence. In the second place, nouns that are commonly derived from verbs (reified nouns) and nouns that are referred to as relational nouns ('father' and 'member'), also can instantiate frames as target words. Thirdly, a noun can be identified as a target word in existential sentences (also called '*there*-constructions'), as well as in cases where they are used with copulas (Ruppenhofer *et al.*, 2010:37-41). Lastly, nouns can be annotated as targets in situations where they have controllers as support verbs. Controllers are verbs indicating that the event did not actually take place. Controller verbs include 'offer', 'deserve', and 'merit'. Adjectives, whether employed attributively or predicatively, can also instantiate frames (see Ruppenhofer *et al.*, 2010:43-44).

Consequently, if one needs to study frames instantiated by nouns, such nouns need to evoke frames in sentences, that is, they should be identifiable as target words in sentences in terms of any one of the ways mentioned above. Plainly not all nouns are able to satisfy the above conditions. Therefore not all nouns can instantiate frames that easily, especially those that describe artefacts or physical objects. Generally nouns will occur in sentences in which such nouns are not identified as target words. As a result, the Frame Semantics analysis of such nouns is simply ignored.

To overcome these shortcomings, the study in the present chapter needs to focus on the study of what has thus far been referred to as FEs (frame elements) in sentences. Nouns form a significant part of these FEs, together with adjectives and adverbs. However, the present study will limit itself to the study of nouns in particular.

In this regard, reference may again be made to an example above of an exemplary sentence from Ezekiel 3:20 ('illustration' sentence 5(a)). In sentence 5(a), the FE מִכְשׁוֹל forms part of a PLACING frame. The question might then be asked as to what exactly the Hebrew word מִכְשׁוֹל denotes in the particular PLACING frame instantiated by נתן. Is מִכְשׁוֹל a physical entity such as a block of wood, or is it denoting a condition such as sickness? Furthermore, one would need to know how the

translator understood the concept מכשול and represented it in the Syriac text. Such are the type of questions the present study aims to answer. The present study will attempt this by applying Frame Semantics as far as possible in ways similar to those that was applied to the verbs studied in the previous two chapters. The present chapter will also attempt to answer the same questions by analysing the nouns from the point of view of idealised Cognitive Models (ICMs).

5.3 IDEALISED COGNITIVE MODELS (ICMs)

It may be recalled from chapter 2 (section 2.3.1.4) that ICMs can be viewed as relatively stable mental representations that represent theories about the world. They are understood functionally, as a way in which humans organise knowledge; not ontologically, as a direct reflection of an objective state of affairs in the world. Furthermore, the models are *idealised* in the sense that they involve abstraction from the complexities of the physical world, through perceptual and conceptual processes (Cienki, 2007:176). A model is a design that can be identified and named according to how speakers of a language understand it. That the category 'CHAIR' may be understood as a four legged instrument designed for seating on, with a support for the back, is an ICM.

These ICMs are susceptible to typicality effects or proto-typicality effects of various types, in the same way as frames are. ICMs can thus be likened to Fillmore's idea of a frame (Lakoff, 1982:141). However, ICMs involve a wider range of conceptual phenomena than frames. In fact, frames may be understood as a type of ICM (Evans & Green, 2006:279). These ICMs are believed to guide cognitive processes, such as categorisation and reasoning (Evans & Green, 2006:270). ICMs are also in turn used as analytical tools in research on a number of linguistic elements including the meaning of words (Cienki, 2007:180). These ICMs depend on at least five structuring principles for their composition: (1) image schemas; (2) propositions; (3) metaphor; (4) metonymy, and (5) symbolism (Evans & Green, 2006:279). Three of these principles (image schemas, metaphor and metonymy) have already been discussed in detail in the preceding chapters. Therefore what remains to be discussed briefly are the other two types of ICMs: propositions and symbolism.

5.3.1 Propositions

Propositions are understood as ICMs which are not structured by imaginative devices such as metaphor and metonymy. Instead, they consist of elements with their properties and inner-relations between those elements. There are different types of propositional ICMs. Some of these are the 'simple propositional' ICMs (Category-and-Member) that describe a category by means of arguments and a predicate (e.g., a CHAIR is an instrument designed for sitting on). In addition, a category can be structured propositionally as a scenario that normally will have an initial state, a sequence of events and a final state. Nominalised verbs such as 'trial' often fit into this class. A propositional ICM can also be structured according to a 'feature bundle' (Category-and-Property) where a category has clear boundaries and is defined according to the properties that are common to all the members of that category. Artefact nouns, such as 'furniture' and 'chair', are commonly found in this class of ICMs. There are also 'taxonomic propositional' ICMs and 'radially structured' ICMs (Cienki, 2007:177-178; Evans & Green, 2006:280). Due to the nature of these types of propositional ICMs, most frames can be viewed as categories structured either as scenarios, or as radial structures.

5.3.2 Symbolic ICMs

Symbolic ICMs represent knowledge structures that can be described in terms of semantic frames. Since this type of ICM, or semantic frame, is structured by language (rather than taken from a purely conceptual structure that underlies language) its structure is said to contain symbolic units (Evans & Green, 2006:281). Usually with reference to Frame Semantics, an ICM can be said to provide the background against which a word is defined (Cienki, 2007:180).

In the rest of the present chapter, the tools discussed above, will be used to analyse the translation of a select number of nouns. These tools are associated broadly with the study of word-meaning and in the case of the present study, they complement the Frame Semantics approach of analysing translation techniques. As mentioned already, the nouns to be studied here need not act as target words in the contexts of sentences in which they occur. The major aim in this present study chapter is to

identify motivation factors that might have influenced P-Ez's translator in his rendition of such words or FEs.

5.4 NOMINAL CATEGORIES

In diverse literature sources on linguistics, nouns have been classified in various ways, depending on the subject at issue. With respect to the present study, nouns refer to physical entities, including people, as well as to abstractions (that is, abstract nouns such as 'love' and 'peace').²⁸² Closely related to abstract nouns are those nouns that denote events or processes, such as 'judgment', 'strike' and 'application' (Ruppenhofer *et al.*, 2010:37). These may also be referred to in cognitive grammar as *reified* concepts (Evans & Green, 2006:516-517).

These subdivisions of nouns can be extended even further. In this sense one may optionally have relational nouns, such as 'father', 'side', 'statue' and 'singer' (Taylor, 2002:208-210). One may also refer to the artefact noun group denoting man-made objects (see Ruppenhofer *et al.*, 2010:37). The present chapter will refer to physical entities and to abstractions as nominal categories. These are categories in the sense that they are categorised conceptually by humans according to characteristics, such as physical properties, function and relation to other concepts, entities and processes.

5.5 THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN A CATEGORY RELATING TO AN ICM AND AN LU RELATING TO A FRAME

While ICMs are understood to be similar to Fillmore's concept of frames, it is important for the present study to define the nature of this similarity and lay out the differences. Both ICMs and frames are related to relatively complex knowledge structures. Frames can be understood as a type of an ICM, as mentioned above, and normally are identified specifically as symbolic ICMs. Lakoff (1982:164), in referring to his theory of ICMs, virtually has identified ICMs with frames. However, the way in which Charles Fillmore (1982a, 1982b) uses frames differ slightly from the

²⁸² See Evans & Green (2006:487).

way in which Lakoff (1982) uses ICMs (which he believes to be the same as frames). It is mainly these different applications that form a large part of the difference which is pointed out between frames and ICMs in the present study. To avoid confusion, the symbolic ICMs (frames) will be referred to as frames throughout this chapter.

ICMs (propositional) relate to complex knowledge structures that underlie individual concepts. An ICM represents a theory about some aspect of the world to which words and other linguistic units can be relativised. Propositional ICMs are idealised in the sense that they represent abstractions of a range of experiences, rather than signify a specific instance of a given experience as tends to be the case in Frame Semantics (Evans, 2007:104). ICMs refer to the identification of entities (or *things*) that are normally represented by linguistic symbols (or words) (Cienki, 2007:177), while frames refer to the use of linguistic symbols that evoke various events, scenarios and states within speech contexts. ICMs refer to the idealised properties of a category or element in the world, while a frame refers to the context in which a linguistic symbol functions. Following this attribute, a word such as 'CHAIR', need not necessarily appear in a specific sentence or context to be analysed as an ICM. Rather, knowledge is required of how the entity (or category) that the word represents is understood from past experiences within a speech community.

To illustrate the distinction between a category relating to an ICM and an LU (lexical unit) relating to a frame further, one can consider the category 'MOTHER'. As an ICM, it has been suggested that this category is structured by a number of sub-categories, such as shown in the following list which was abstracted from Evans & Green (2006:271):

- A mother is a person who gives birth to a child
- A mother is a person who provides genetic material for a child
- A mother is a person who brings up the child and looks after a child.²⁸³

²⁸³ Note that in all of the three qualifications mentioned here, this person is normally understood to be of the female sex, with a certain expected age range— basic qualifications that are absent in the examples in Evans & Green (2006:271).

The above statements simply describe the category 'MOTHER' by attempting to define the properties of the entity 'mother' through simple propositions. However, the LU *mother.n* as a linguistic symbol is defined in Frame Semantics in terms of its relation to other linguistic symbols in a real-life context or situation (frame), such as the KINSHIP frame. In such a frame, other linguistic symbols in relation to the LU *mother.n* may be seen to include lexical units such as son, daughter, and father. Therefore the KINSHIP frame provides a structured background against which a linguistic symbol is defined relative to other linguistic symbols. This can further be illustrated in the sentence that follows:

5(c) The blonde woman is the mother of the mayor.

It can be noted that in this frame evoked by *mother.n* no information is provided about what kind of mother the blonde woman is to the mayor. The frame only gives information to the effect that there is a mother – child relationship between the blonde woman and the mayor. It does not say whether the blonde woman is mother by virtue of her having given birth to the mayor, or by virtue of her having provided genetic material to the child who became a mayor, or any other qualification of a person who may be understood as a mother.²⁸⁴ In purely Frame Semantic studies therefore, the linguist is interested in the dynamics or interplay involving one (in rare cases) or commonly two or more role-players (in the present study throughout referred to as FEs) in an event rather than in the essential nature of those role-players. In other words, Frame Semantics focuses on scenes and events. The word *give* typically evokes a scene because it cannot in a speech context be meaningful without evoking a Donor, a Theme and a Recipient.

In contrast, a word such as CHAIR does not need any other supporting, external element to be meaningful in a speech context. Such an element, when looked at from the Frame Semantics point of view, behaves more like a 'free agent', to borrow terminology from professional sports. Therefore, although words such as 'chair' are able to evoke scenes, this evocation is much weaker than that of verbs such as 'give' or of relational terms such as 'mother'. Because of this weak ability to evoke scenes

²⁸⁴ See Evans & Green (2006:271).

by themselves, nominal categories are much more difficult to define by applying Frame Semantics alone. In such a case, it would be more helpful to study a nominal category such as CHAIR from the point of view of idealised cognitive models and specifically propositional ICMs.

It is thus not surprising that in the released version 1.5 of the FrameNet project, words such as ‘chair’, ‘plate’ and ‘sofa’ did not yet exist as LUs. Furthermore, those few categories that were entered as lexical units were defined very broadly. For example, *car.n* was entered or tagged as a LU evoking the VEHICLE frame and defined as “vehicles that human beings use for the purpose of transportation”.²⁸⁵ What is concluded here has been observed previously by Shead (2011:335): no single model of lexical semantic analysis is suited to the study of every kind of word.

Some concepts, however, can be studied from the point of view of both propositional ICMs and of symbolic ICMs (Frame Semantics). An example of such a category is ‘MOTHER’ of which some sub-categories have been highlighted above. In such cases, it would provide maximal semantic information to study such a term as ‘mother’ from both the point of view of Frame Semantics and of ICMs.

²⁸⁵ FN (2010).

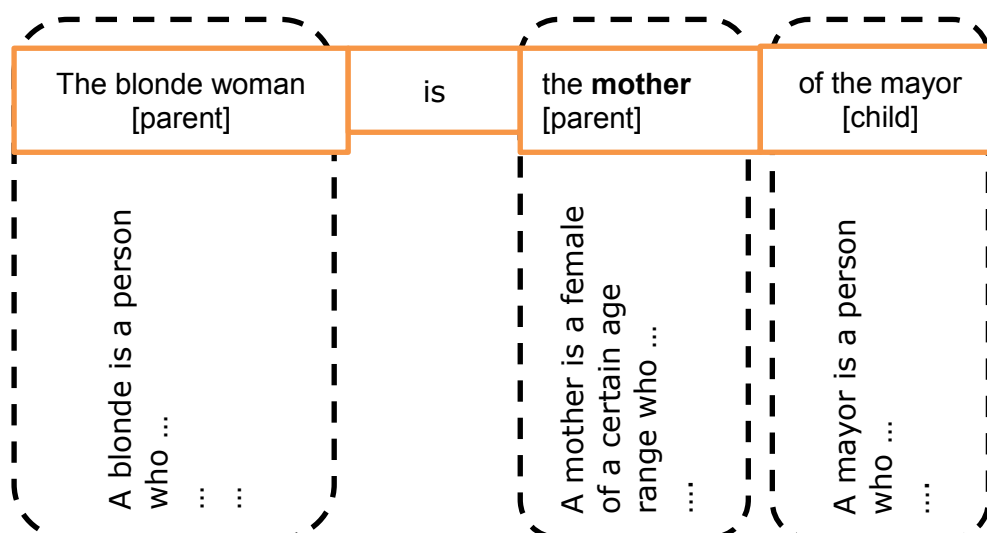


Fig 5.1

The comparison between symbolic ICMs (frames and LUs) and propositional ICMs (categories)

In the Figure above, the sharp-edged rectangular blocks linked together in a horizontal direction contain text from left to right, forming a sentence which evokes the KINSHIP frame with the LU *mother.n* as target. The unconnected, smooth-edged rectangular blocks with text written vertically from bottom to top, intersecting the horizontal rectangles at each of the FEs of the KINSHIP frame, represent individual categories, which can be found in the sentence that instantiates the KINSHIP frame.

It should be noted in the above KINSHIP frame that the word mayor here is part of the frame, only as representing the core FE Ego (the second person in a relation).²⁸⁶ Very little information about what a mayor is actually contributes to the evocation of the KINSHIP frame in the sentence. In fact, the word 'mayor' considered on its own becomes a LU that evokes quite a different frame: the LEADERSHIP frame. In order to understand what a mayor is, in the first place one needs to refer to the LEADERSHIP frame. In terms of Frame Semantics 'mayor' can be considered as one of the LUs evoking that frame. Secondly, since the definition of the LEADERSHIP frame generalises all kinds of terms of leadership, one need to consider the word 'mayor' as such as a category, an entity from the point of view of ICMs. The combined result

²⁸⁶ See the KINSHIP frame in FN (2010).

should give a fuller account of the term ‘mayor’ in any context in which the term might be found.

Since a frame, in a broad sense, is also an ICM, the present chapter does not pretend to introduce a new approach in the study of Frame Semantics as a whole. It rather represents a nuanced approach of Frame Semantics. It is, in effect, a Cognitive Linguistic approach introduced to address the unique cases of FEs or LUs that behave like *free agents*. These linguistic forms cannot be defined satisfactorily from a typically Frame Semantics focus on the field of Cognitive Semantics, as has been applied in the previous two chapters.²⁸⁷ For the sake of clarity in the present chapter, when a linguistic unit is referred to as a category or a nominal category and thus considered to be an entity, the focus is on the idealised cognitive model (ICM) of that entity. On the other hand, when a linguistic unit is referred to simply as a LU, the focus is on the frame which the LU evokes.

In order to evaluate how the translator of P-Ez rendered linguistic elements, which are traditionally classified as nouns, the present study will consider the following set of nouns: חַטָּאת (chattāt), פֶּשַׁע (peshā') and עוֹן ('awon). These three terms are closely connected with what in the Old Testament may be called *misdeeds*. Although other terms of the same semantic class can be pointed out besides these, semanticists often prefer to group these three together since they also generally occur complementarily in immediate or extended contexts (Knierim, 1997a:410). This triad also appears commonly in Ezekiel, a book in which a large part focuses on the indictment of Israel. The three terms appear in a combined verse in at least four instances in the Old Testament, one of which is in Ezekiel 21:29(24).²⁸⁸ In the indictment sections of Ezekiel, most of which appear in the first 24 chapters, these three and many others associated with the MISDEED frame are prominent nominal categories. The present study limits itself to the detailed study of how the three terms: חַטָּאת, פֶּשַׁע and עוֹן were translated into the P-Ez. A few other terms of misdeeds such as עוֹל ('awel) may be discussed in passing.

²⁸⁷ Reference may be made here to Cienki (2007:170) who groups together frames, ICMs and domains as methods of linguistic analysis.

²⁸⁸ Cf. Knierim (1997a:410). Aspects regarding this verse will also be discussed further in the chapter.

Initially the three terms will be defined as categories, as taken from the point of view of ICMs. Since the terms in question are nouns denoting abstractions, they are readily definable as propositional ICMs. Thereafter, from the point of view of Frame Semantics, the terms will be defined as LUs evoking various frames and functioning within a specific frame network. As has been shown above, these two points of view do not imply totally different approaches in semantic analysis from a Cognitive Semantics point of view. Rather, these views function as complementary approaches to the analysis of nominal categories from a Cognitive Semantics point of view..

5.6 AN IDEALISED COGNITIVE MODELS ANALYSIS OF THE CATEGORIES *chattāt*, *peshā*^c AND *ʿawon*

5.6.1 The propositional ICM תאון

The following propositions and features describe the category תאון, which is gleaned from theological dictionaries, lexicons and from the use of the term in the text of P-Ez 1-24.²⁸⁹

- The nominal category תאון in the Old Testament refers to a deed, an act that is considered to be evil or bad or morally negative. Since the biblical understanding of sin in a non-abstract, concrete event is a ‘miss’, or a ‘failure’ (Averbeck, 1997:93; Knierim, 1997a:406), it describes a negative moral act and condition. The category תאון can therefore be classified as an evil.²⁹⁰
- The nominal category תאון denotes an act, the object of an action (און) (Koch, 1980:310). It is therefore a noun that denotes an event. Various types of events constitute sin. Some are more general, others are quite specific. In Hebrew idiomatic speech, it appears that תאון is a category that can be differentiated into sub-types. For example, a person may have a sin or sins of

²⁸⁹ See Fig 5.2.

²⁹⁰ It may be assumed here that the concept of ‘evil’ implies the image schema of BALANCE, where a state of EQUILIBRIUM is understood cognitively to be a normal or a good state, while a state of DISEQUILIBRIUM is understood to be an abnormal state and thus an evil one (See Baker, 1997b:1154). See also discussions in the sections below on the image schemas which underlie the three Hebrew nouns under discussion.

different types. The category 'פֶּשַׁע' shares the same qualities; however, עוֹן does not seem to share this quality, particularly regarding a single person.

- Since the category תַּחֲטֹאת, denotes discrete acts or events, it is in its original sense, a count noun.²⁹¹
- The nominal category תַּחֲטֹאת refers to a deed that affects the relationship between at least two individuals (Knierim, 1997a:409). Kock (1980:311) basically agrees with Knierim (1997a) on this relational aspect of the category being one of the most important semantic qualities of the category.²⁹² That the effect on the offended person and the relationship are more important than the offense itself can be deduced from texts such as Genesis 20:9, Numbers 22:34 and Leviticus 4 – 5 (Knierim, 1997a:409). A typical example may be considered from Numbers 22:34. Without the possibility that Balaam could have seen the angel of Yahweh, he nevertheless confesses sin; not implying thereby that he had transgressed any law or commandment (although it is possible to argue that his ignorance might have been a result of his [sinful?] insensitivity to the presence of Yahweh's angel), but that he had unawares caused offense to the angel of Yahweh. The relational aspect of the semantics of the category might well be justified. Nevertheless it is awkward at a practical level to suppose that one can damage a relationship and not cause any effect to the offended party. What this logic drives at is the fact that the category SIN, which may imply damage, must necessarily cause such damage at least at two levels: the real damage done to someone in a case such as false accusation. In such a case the offended party is really damaged in that his image is damaged and he might have to be punished for something of which he is innocent. At the second level, the relationship between the offended party and the offender is damaged and needs to be restored.

²⁹¹ In the present study, a distinction is also made between count nouns (nouns that refer to things that can be enumerated) and mass nouns (nouns that denote things that cannot normally be enumerated or pluralised) (Taylor, 2002:366-386; Evans & Green, 2006:487).

²⁹² Koch (1980:311-313) also considers the possibility that the category was confined to the realm of the cultic (that is, a specific system of religious beliefs and rituals). This may be an unlikely case considering the cognitive environment such as the ancient Near East where it would have been difficult to draw divides between cultic and non-cultic spheres of life (Walton, 2006:87).

- In a theological sense תַּחֲטִיף, could denote the idea of an incurred debt. In the relationship between two individuals A and B, when B sins against A, B incurs a debt towards A. In other words, B has disadvantaged A and has disturbed the relationship and thus has to restore all these. The category תַּחֲטִיף thus implies a debt that must be settled to be removed (See Knierim, 1997a:408). Thus this situation has only one principle solution. The debt must be paid for: either by the person on whom the debt lies (punishment, restitution), or by another party (atonement) or by the offended party (forgiveness, atonement) (see Koch, 1980:312-313).
- In the Old Testament the category sin developed a metonymical reference where it was also used to refer to a 'sin offering'. This metonymical extension arises naturally, since a debt naturally needs to be repaid in order to be settled.²⁹³

5.6.2 The propositional ICM 'פֶּשַׁע'

Analysis of the propositional ICM פֶּשַׁע follows.

- The nominal category פֶּשַׁע, just like תַּחֲטִיף, refers to a deed, an act that is considered evil or bad or negative morally. This is thus a negative moral act which can be classified as an evil deed.
- The category פֶּשַׁע is more of a legal or technical term referring to a misdeed (Seebass, 2003:141), or a term describing covenant treachery (Carpenter & Grisanti, 1997:707, Knierim, 1997d:1034-1035). From the cases analysed in Seebass (1986:135-151), it becomes clear that פֶּשַׁע refers more to the concrete act, rather than to either the condition of moral standing resulting in the offender, or the injured party. This term thus refers to acts of offense, such as robbery, injury to communities, capture of communities, slave trade, and unchecked fury (Seebass, 1986:137) or it points to acts of rebellion or breaches of covenants (Knierim, 1997d:1034-1035).

²⁹³ See discussion on the effect of metonymy in relation to the three terms under discussion further on.

- Since the category פשע denotes discrete acts or events, it is in its original sense, a count noun.
- In Ezekiel, various offenses are often grouped together and denoted by the plural form of פשע as 'offenses'. The category פשע is therefore a collective term for more specific acts that may be considered to be misdeeds.
- As a result, the term denotes every offense among men and in relation to God.
- The term פשע therefore implies a concept, a category that refers to a relational act, just as in the case of חטאת. For a פשע, there normally should be an offender and an injured party or a legal framework involved in the act. However, the emphasis in the case of פשע is on the nature of the offense itself. It appears that in the use of the noun, there is an emphasis which brings into sharp perspective a legal framework or legal instruments, such as a covenant.

5.6.3 The propositional ICM עון

Analysis of the propositional ICM עון follows.

- As related to the meaning of the ICM עון, different lexicologists tend to emphasise different aspects about the meaning of the noun.
 - One view is that, since the verb ענה means 'to bend, curve, turn aside or twist' the basic meaning of the noun is a derivation from the verb to the noun. This results in the nominal meaning of 'bending', 'curving', 'turning', 'twisting' or, rather 'metaphorically' 'perversity' (Knierim, 1997c:863).
 - A second view is that the category basically refers to 'iniquity', 'punishment of sin' or 'transgression' (Luc, 1997:351).
 - A third view emphasises עון as 'guilt', thereby connecting an offense with the resultant punishment (Koch, 1999:551).²⁹⁴ Often, the meaning of עון is taken to have different related senses such as 'iniquity', 'guilt' and 'punishment of iniquity' (Brown, Driver & Briggs, 2000:730).

²⁹⁴ See also Schultz, (1999:650).

According to the third view mentioned above, the category עון is more than an abstract value judgment, referring to an almost thing-like substance (artefact) (Koch, 1999:550-551). However, the fact that the term in the Old Testament may connote an artefact should be understood here to be a result of metaphor use. The concept of guilt in the Old Testament implies an objective fact of one having committed a misdeed. Although this is an abstract concept, it is mostly conceived through metaphor, as a material substance that can be possessed, carried, or given. In this regard, עון (guilt) is thus not merely a sentiment or a cognitive condition as it may be understood in modern English contexts.²⁹⁵ The person who has or who bears עון is in a state of responsibility or accountability for the debt (guilt) incurred through the committed misdeed (James, 1985:362).

From the evidence gleaned from Ezekiel, it can be concluded that עון refers to the guilt of an offence / sin, logically or morally deserving punishment. It thus most fully represents the ACT – CONSEQUENCE schema, specifically the MISDEED – MISFORTUNE schema (Koch, 1999:551, 554). In a sense therefore, the Hebrew term עון appears to have a broader semantic reference than the English equivalent 'guilt'.

- The category עון generally presents itself as an abstract mass noun, in the same sense that it is translated into the English senses 'iniquity' and 'guilt'. However, on several occasions, the category appears in the Hebrew text in a plural form of the noun. Furthermore, the descriptions furnished above may allude to the fact that the category could have been conceptualised, perhaps via metaphor, as a concrete count noun.
- The Hebrew term involves the notions of blame and punishment for a misdeed. Therefore it implies a negative moral state that a person may experience, and thus an unpleasant and unwanted condition or an 'evil' condition within the cultural context of the Old Testament.
- Basically, the category עון also implies a relational act as basis, that is, the result of a misdeed or an offense by one party against another. The distinction between עון and the first two categories of misdeeds discussed above may be

²⁹⁵ See for example Lewis (2012) and Shavell (2002:230).

understood from the nature of the syntactical or valence pattern that applies to these three categories. While one can commit חטא and one can commit פשע, one does not normally commit עון. Rather one may bear it or possess it (Ezekiel 4:4,5), impute it (Ezekiel 4:4, 5), or recall it (Ezekiel 21:29).²⁹⁶

1 Even in 2 Samuel 19:20 where both the verb and the noun occur in the same verse, they nevertheless are employed in different sentence constructions. Thus עון, unlike חטא and פשע, does not appear to denote a specific action, but rather a condition, or the consequence of an action (or several actions). In this sense it refers to the resulting moral obligation and mental condition on a person caused by a sinful act (Alexander & Rosner, 2001).

- Furthermore, as noted above, עון unlike חטא and פשע, is not normally sub-categorised into sub-types in the Old Testament.

Table 5.1 The propositional ICMs 'חטא', 'פשע' and 'עון' compared

	Proposition/feature	'חטא'	'פשע'	'עון'
1	Can be classified as an 'evil', a negative moral act or condition.	Yes	Yes	Yes
1	Category refers to a deed/action	Yes	Yes	No
2	Category primarily refers to a concrete count noun	Yes, greater extent	Yes, greater extent	Yes, lesser extent
3	Category refers to an abstract mass noun	Yes, lesser extent	Yes lesser extent	Yes, greater extent
4	Category refers to a result of an action, a condition, a state or an object.	No	No	Yes

²⁹⁶ See Table 5.3 in the 'valence' column showing the position taken by the noun in clauses, as well as typical verbs associated with it.

5	Category implies a relationship between at least two individuals	Yes, greater extent	Yes, lesser extent	Yes, greater extent
6	Implies that the offended party suffers damage	Yes, greater extent	Yes, lesser extent	Not apparent
7	Implies that the offender suffers damage	Not apparent	Not apparent	Yes, to a greater extent
8	Denotes an incurred debt	Yes, greater extent	Yes, lesser extent	Yes greater extent
9	Term is viewed from a legal perspective	Yes, to a lesser extent	Yes, to a greater extent	Yes, to a greater extent
10	Is a collective term for more specific terms	Yes	Yes	No
11	Term denotes accountability	Yes, to a lesser extent	Not apparent	Yes to a greater extent
12	Term denotes punishment	No	No	Yes
13	Term can be classified as a misdeed	Yes	Yes	Not apparent
14	Term can be classified as a consequence of a misdeed	No	No	Yes

From the comparative analysis between the ICMs presented in the table above, the similarities, as well as the fine differences between the three terms or categories considered here, begin to emerge. Especially a greater similarity can be found between the first two categories, חטאת and פשע, as compared to the third one עון. This pattern already emerges with the first two feature ICMs in the table above. Although חטאת and פשע are categories quite close together semantically, they show some important differences as well. These differences may become clearer

when the terms are analysed from a Frame Semantics point of view in the following sections.

5.7 A FRAME SEMANTICS ANALYSIS OF THE LEXICAL UNITS תַּחַת.*n*, peshā'*n* AND 'awon.*n*

5.7.1 Basis of the frames: Image schemas

The three categories that are analysed in the present chapter are in some way built on certain important image schemas. From the previous section, a common characteristic between the three categories is that they can all be understood as a negative moral act or condition. This means that each of these categories is understood as an 'evil' within the cultural context of the Old Testament. In the Old Testament, evil is treated as a negative condition and an unacceptable state, especially in human relationships. In contrast, good is a positive condition in human relationships and therefore acceptable.

These two opposed moral states could have been conceived in terms of a balancing scale. In the biblical worldview, a positive state (a state of good) could have been viewed as a state in which there was balance, a perfect state where perfect justice reigned, or where there was no threat to life. On the other side of the scale, a negative state (a state of evil) was conceived probably as a state in which there was imbalance, that is, a state of injustice or a threat to life (See Baker, 1997b:1154 and Walton, 2006:305-307).

The categories analysed above have been found to refer mainly to relationships, and especially the negative effect on relationships. Therefore the most ideal image schema that comes to mind is that of BALANCE. Basically, the concepts behind the terms are largely based on the FORCE and the BALANCE (or EQUILIBRIUM) schemas. The EQUILIBRIUM schema that should form the basis for the conception of the frames evoked by the three terms would most suitably be an abstract conception of balance. This conception could be derived from a physical bodily experience of balance that is extended metaphorically to an interrelationship (Gibbs & Colston, 2006:241). That is to say, a state in which the relationship between any

two animates is satisfactory (good) to both parties is a state of EQUILIBRIUM. On the other hand a state in which the relationship between any two animates is unsatisfactory (evil) to either party is a state of DISEQUILIBRIUM.

This scenario can be demonstrated appropriately by a situation of balance on a balancing scale. A situation in which two similar weights on the opposite ends of the arm of a scale causes the arm to be in a perfectly horizontal position are in a state of equilibrium. On the other hand, if more weight is added to one end of the balance, the arm of the balance tilts, resulting in a state of imbalance or disequilibrium. In the case of human relationships, a state of imbalance or disequilibrium develops whenever one party experiences or claims injury by another party (offending party). Both parties are affected by the state of DISEQUILIBRIUM when this state of affairs has been communicated fully, although with differing effects. The injured party needs to be compensated for the loss or injury, and the duty to compensate lies primarily with the injuring party.

In view of the categories of misdeeds under discussion, the EQUILIBRIUM schema is transformed to an ACT – CONSEQUENCE schema through image schema transformation.²⁹⁷ The ACT – CONSEQUENCE schema is a schema that generally is permeative in human reasoning, especially in relation to morality values. The argument of this schema is that for every act (good or bad) there must be a corresponding consequence in line with the act (reward or punishment).²⁹⁸ It is thus a complex schema that forms the cognitive conceptual basis of moral and legal frameworks in the human moral culture. This is also the schema behind the theodicy issue and of addressing the problem of evil, especially in the wisdom literature of the Old Testament.²⁹⁹

²⁹⁷ For the idea of an ACT – CONSEQUENCE schema, cf. Koch (1999:551) and Schreiner (1999:528).

²⁹⁸ It appears that in cultural contexts in general, but especially in the Old Testament, there is no middle ground, no neutral region between these opposite poles of good and bad, plus and minus (cf. Oakley, 2007:230).

²⁹⁹ Cf. Dell (2012) and Elwel & Beitzel (1988:1967).

Directly derived from the ACT – CONSEQUENCE schema should be the MISDEED – MISFORTUNE schema.³⁰⁰ This schema focuses on the ‘negative relations’ of the ACT – CONSEQUENCE schema. Its argument is that, for an ideal situation of justice, a ‘bad’ action is stereotypically believed to deserve a ‘bad’ consequence.³⁰¹ Correspondingly, there needs to be something similar to a GOOD-DEED – GOOD-FORTUNE schema, implying that an action valued as a good deed duly deserves good consequence.

5.7.2 Extrapolation of relevant frames from the BALANCE image schemas

From among the above mentioned image schemas and image schematic combinations, two frames are primarily important for the three nominal categories under focus. These two frames are the MISDEED and the MORAL – LEGAL ACCOUNTABILITY frames. Two of the three categories (תאטח and פשע) denote acts (misdeeds) that result in the state of DISEQUILIBRIUM. These two categories can thus be understood as LUs evoking the MISDEED frame. The third category (עון) considered above denotes a state or condition (rather than an act) resulting from causing DISEQUILIBRIUM. עון.*n* is thus especially a LU evoking the MORAL – LEGAL ACCOUNTABILITY frame.

A few more frames are involved with these primary two, which are necessary for a better understanding of the categories and frames under focus. At least four frames are used by the MISDEED frame. These are what the present study refers to as the RELATION BETWEEN INDIVIDUALS frame, the DAMAGING frame, the LAW frame and the COMMITTING OFFENSE frame. On the other hand, adjacent to the MORAL – LEGAL ACCOUNTABILITY frame are the MISDEED, the TRIAL, the SENTENCING and the REWARDS AND PUNISHMENTS frames. The definitions of all the frames involved here are provided and expounded in Table 5.2 below.

³⁰⁰ On the idea of a MISDEED - MISFORTUNE schema, cf. Koch (1999:553-554).

³⁰¹ Cf. Shavell (2002:255).

Table 5.2 The various descriptions of the frames involved with the MISDEED and the MORAL – LEGAL ACCOUNTABILITY frames.

Frame Name	Frame description
LAW	“A Law³⁰² regulates activities or states of affairs within a Jurisdiction, dictating what Required states should be the case and what Forbidden states should not. Often it also indicates negative consequences for individuals that violate it, and these negative consequences are generally enforced by some Official authority. They may or may not be created by some official legislative body.”³⁰³ It should be qualified here that in relation to the OT cultural context, Law is a permeative term, which covers all that generally may be understood as <i>law</i>, including contexts of religion, ritual law and general social customs.
MISDEED	A Wrongdoer engages in a Misdeed.³⁰⁴ There are thus two core FEs in this frame, the Wrongdoer and the Misdeed. Identifying and tagging the FE Misdeed presents some challenges. In the description given in FN (2010), the FE Misdeed is not tagged in any of the examples provided in the description. It appears, according to FN (2010), that the MISDEED frame is confined to those acts that have a human moral bearing, rather than a merely legal or constitutional one.³⁰⁵ The FE Misdeed can thus be conceived of at a very general level such as when one uses the noun ‘sin’ or ‘misdeed’. Alternatively, it can be conceived at more specific levels, such as where one uses the noun <i>adultery</i>. One may therefore conceive <i>אָטונ</i> and <i>פֿשע</i> as FEs of the MISDEED frame that is categorised at a general or superordinate level according to the categorisation system of the prototype theory (Evans & Green, 2006:256-262).

³⁰² As is the case in the previous chapter, a FE is identified by capitalising the first letter of the word denoting a FE.

³⁰³ FN (2010).

³⁰⁴ FN (2010).

³⁰⁵ See the discussion further on in the chapter on the difficulty of perceiving such a dichotomy in the Old Testament. The principle is also involved in the MORAL – LEGAL ACCOUNTABILITY frame used in the present study but is not included in FN (2010).

	The present study, in light of the socio cultural context within which Biblical Hebrew is placed, does not limit the MISDEED frame to the sphere of moral wrongs but includes the sphere which might be understood in modern contexts as that of the pure legal contexts. This is a slightly different view with respect to the MISDEED frame as treated in FN (2010) and it is important to help establish the relationships of the frames being discussed here. From the perspective of the OT, the LUs in the MISDEED frame may also include relevant words such as <i>ח.רשע</i> and <i>ח.רעע</i>.
RELATION BETWEEN INDIVIDUALS	“Two sentient beings have a permanent or semi-permanent Relation to each other. This relation may be symmetrically construed as between the Individuals or it may be construed asymmetrically, such that Individual_1 is identified by their relation to the (implicitly better-known) Individual_2” (FN, 2010). RELATION BETWEEN INDIVIDUALS generally encompasses many other frames such as the PERSONAL RELATIONSHIPS, KINSHIP and the SOCIAL CONNECTION frames.³⁰⁶ In the RELATION BETWEEN INDIVIDUALS frame, the focus usually is on the state of such relationships. Thus this frame is evoked further by such LUs as <i>agree.v</i>, <i>covenant.v</i>, <i>covenant.n</i>, <i>relate.v</i>, <i>rebel.v</i>, <i>break-up.v</i>, <i>unite.v</i>, and so on. Otherwise, the frame is evoked by the simple mentioning of ‘relations’. Such types of LUs are also listed in the PERSONAL RELATIONSHIP frame in FN (2010).
DAMAGING	An Agent affects a Patient in such a way that the Patient (or some Sub-region of the Patient) ends up in a non-canonical state. This non-canonical state is undesirable. Compare this frame with DESTROYING, CAUSE TO FRAGMENT, and RENDER NON-FUNCTIONAL (adapted from FN (2010)).³⁰⁷ The present study proposes that in the context of the Old Testament, this frame is also evoked by the LU <i>ח.טא</i> (derived from <i>חטא</i>). It should be noted in this frame that with respect to the LU <i>ח.טא</i>, the damage in question always occurs simultaneously at two levels: the actual damage suffered by the Patient and the resultant damage to the relationship between Agent and Patient.

³⁰⁶ See FN (2010) for the definition of these frames.

³⁰⁷ See also the CAUSE HARM frame (FN, 2010).

COMMITTING OFFENSE	A Perpetrator (generally intentionally) commits an Offense, i.e. does something not permitted by the laws or a body of laws (of society or of an authoritative person or group of persons). This frame is adapted from the COMMITTING CRIME frame as represented in FN (2010).³⁰⁸ In the case of the present study, Offense FE is not restricted to laws of a society, but it can be the rights of individuals or a group of individuals as they may be spelled out in covenants, expressly or implicitly. This is a necessary accommodation of the ancient Near Eastern cognitive legal environment.
TRIAL	A Judge or an Authority (sometimes implicit) tries an Accused person charged with committing an Offense (legal or moral) according to Law, in order to reach a Verdict on the Accused person (included in the trying process may be determining the truth of the accusation and the degree of the offense).³⁰⁹ The process ends with the giving of a Verdict by the Authorities which is itself a sub-frame of the TRIAL frame, according to FN (2010). Since, in theory, a criminal offense already has a punishment decided, the trial process is theoretically a pre-packaged one. This means that, although a trial may require a court sitting, with a presiding jury, witnesses, the complainant and the prosecution, a TRIAL scene may still take place without the involvement of most of these. To illustrate from the Old Testament context, an individual who, according to Exodus 22:1 (21:37), without permission takes another person's beast and sells it is aware (during or after the action) that he has committed a crime (ARRAIGNMENT). In other words, he stands accused of theft by the Law. Since the act is a fast standing fact, the offending individual in an act of self-judgment (TRIAL), finds him- or herself to be guilty (in liability) according to the Law (MORAL – LEGAL ACCOUNTABILITY). The individual also understands that the penalty for the crime committed is to restore five beasts to the owner (REWARDS AND PUNISHMENTS). Thus this 'quasi-TRIAL

³⁰⁸ See also the COMPLIANCE frame (FN 2010).

³⁰⁹ This definition is specifically designed for the cultural context in the Old Testament in general. Compare this with the definition in FN (2010).

	process' may take place in the thoughts of an individual in a very short space of time.³¹⁰ Often, this is a frame triggered by two core FEs: the Cognitive awareness by an individual of an act that is a potential Offense in light of a Law or a generally held code of moral conduct, in such a way that the Offense deserves a specific punishment that is meted out. Another typical example from the Old Testament is the encounter between David, Nabal and Abigail in 1 Samuel 25. Abigail became aware of Nabal's Foolish act, considered in the light of general moral conduct, especially with respect to such powerful men as David. She then realised (through a quasi-cognitive trial) the Guilt of her husband, which affected his whole household (1 Samuel 25:24).³¹¹ This verdict: Nabal and his household are guilty, was reached without the need of an official tribunal, but simply through cognitive reflection.
MORAL – LEGAL ACCOUNTABILITY (a merging of the GUILT OR INNOCENCE and the VERDICT frames)	An Accused individual is pronounced or deemed by a (sometimes implicit) Judge to be responsible (or not responsible) for a Misdeed. This frame does not exist in FN (2010) as it is given here. It is in fact a combination of two separate frames listed in FN (2010) (the GUILT OR INNOCENCE and the VERDICT frames). It is assumed here that within the cultural context of the OT, the evaluation of a suspected criminal act by a structured jury cannot be differentiated sufficiently from the same action by individuals that are not, according to the modern understanding of justice, judicial bodies. The view of justice is not as specialised in the OT environment as it appears to be in the modern Western cultures.
SENTENCING	A Sentence, generally a punishment for committing an Offense, is imposed on the Convict by a Court (or a designated official), usually represented by a judge.³¹²
REWARDS AND PUNISHMENTS	"An Agent (the punisher or rewarder) performs a Response_action on an Evaluee for a Reason, the Evaluee's actions or beliefs.

³¹⁰ The description here is primarily in connection to the TRIAL frame. Other frames such as ARRANGMENT, and MORAL – LEGAL ACCOUNTABILITY have been included for clarification.

³¹¹ See also 2 Samuel 24:10.

³¹² Cf. FN (2010). In the context of the present study, the Evaluee is the Guilty party and the FE Reason is the Crime or Offense committed.

	Means and Instrument may also be indicated. The goal of the punishment / reward is to discourage / encourage the actions or beliefs of an Evaluatee. Words in this frame presuppose that a judgment of the Evaluatee has occurred and that the Evaluatee is (or becomes) aware of the judgment. This judgment is performed by a cognizer who is either the same as the Agent, or, minimally, a representative of the same institution.” ³¹³

It can be noted from the above definitions – perhaps as a side-thought – that frames ultimately reflect much about the culture of a language group. Although there are many cognitive similarities, the views concerning law and morality and the justice systems in the modern (Western) cultures in some respects show a distinct difference to those of the culture in the Old Testament. This perspective emerges when the frames in the law and morality domain, as defined in FN (2010), are contrasted with ancient Near Eastern thought as reflected in the Old Testament. It is probable that such differences between cultural groups and different time periods may be responsible for the poor way in which terms in these domains were translated in P-Ez. This argument’s scope would require a discussion platform of its own!

5.7.3 Analysing the semantics of the Hebrew nouns using frame-to-frame relations

In terms of the identification and definitions of frames surrounding the LUs תַּאֲחֻזָּה, פְּשָׁע and עֲוֹן, above, the following semantic features of those LUs can be understood through frame-to-frame relations. According to Ruppenhofer *et al.* (2010:73), the relationships between various frames helps one understand the semantic nature of words (LUs and FEs), which create individual frames.

In the present study, frame-to-frame relations are employed to plot some semantic attributes of the individual LUs under discussion, as well as the relationships between these LUs. In view of the small number of frames being considered, not all types of frame-to-frame relations will be used. Furthermore, not all possible frame-to-

³¹³ FN (2010).

frame relations involving the frames under study here will be explored. Rather only those frames will be considered which, from the perspective of the present author, are relevant to the subject at hand. The following types of frame-to-frame relations are thus relevant.

5.7.3.1 *Perspective-on*

The use of Perspective-on relation indicates the presence of at least two different points of view that can be taken on the neutral (super) frame. This relation is employed in the present study in cases in which a smaller frame, a LU or a FE in a smaller frame, can be employed as a FE in the larger frame. In such a case, the smaller frame is *perspectivised* in the larger, neutral frame. This Perspective-on relation was apparently developed from the *Using relation* as discussed in Ruppenhofer *et al.* (2010:78).

5.7.3.2 *Inheritance*

The Inheritance relation represents the strongest type of frame relation, which corresponds to an 'is a' relation in many ontologies. This relation practically defines a relationship between a Parent (a super, more general) frame and a Child (a descendant, more specific) frame. It denotes a case where what is strictly true about the semantics of the parent must correspond equally or more specifically to the nature of the child.

5.7.3.3 *Subframe*

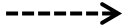
According to Ruppenhofer *et al.* (2010:76), sub-frames are those that form sequences of states and transitions, each of which can be viewed as a valid frame. All such frames in sequences collectively refer to a specific frame often termed a complex frame. Thus, for example, the CRIMINAL PROCESS frame has ARREST, ARRAINGMENT, TRIAL, SENTENCING and APPEAL as its sub-frames (Ruppenhofer *et al.*, 2010:77).

5.7.3.4 *Precedes*

The precedes relation defines the relationship between sub-frames of a complex frame, that is, between frames that are sub-frames of a complex frame. To illustrate: the TRIAL frame precedes the SENTENCING frame in the CRIMINAL PROCESS frame.

The following legend applies to Fig 5.2 presented on the following page.

LEGEND (for Fig 5.2)

	Target uses origin (Perspectivised in)		Origin is followed by target (Precedes)
	Target inherits from origin (Inheritance)		Target is a subframe of origin

In the illustration, the head of the arrow points away from the 'origin' frame, towards the 'target' frame.

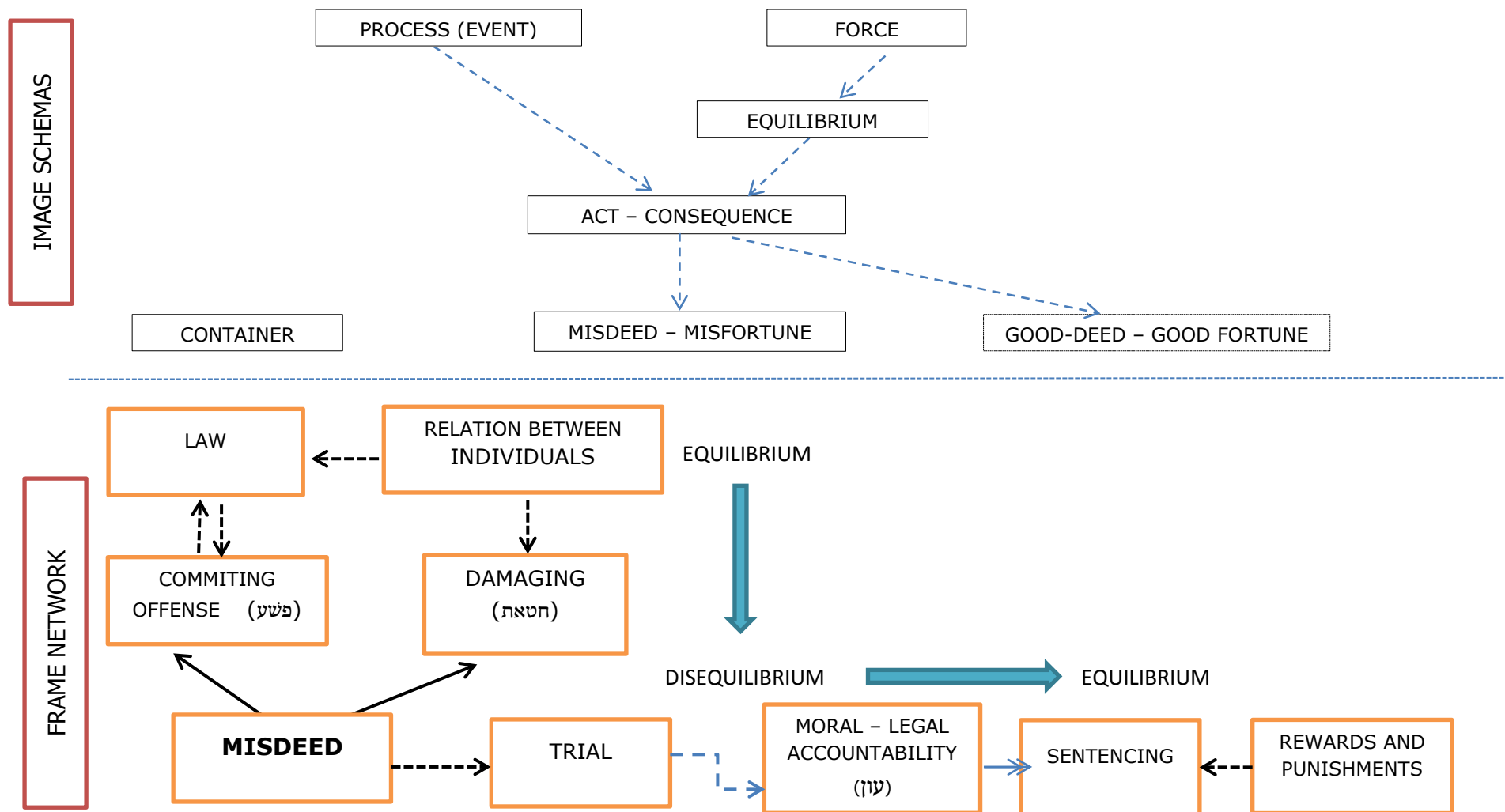


Fig 5.2

An image schematic and frame network involving the LUs **חטאת**, **פשע** and **עון**

5.7.3.5 *LAW and RELATION BETWEEN INDIVIDUALS frames*

It can be understood that the basis for creating LAW lies in the relation between individuals. Thus one of the most prominent core FEs in the LAW frame is Interpersonal relationship, appearing in various modes (explicit or implicit). This is exemplified in sentence 5(d) below:

5(d) (A law [LU]) has been passed in the country against (the random eviction of tenants by their landlords [Forbidden state]).

In the exemplary sentence 5 (d), the noun phrases ‘tenants’ and ‘landlords’ are both LUs in the RELATION BETWEEN INDIVIDUALS frame. The FE Forbidden state or any other FE in the LAW frame, may therefore include elements that evoke the RELATION BETWEEN INDIVIDUALS frame, or at least FEs that are also FEs in the RELATION BETWEEN INDIVIDUALS frame. Since laws are normally made to regulate behaviour between individuals, thus promoting just relations, it may be argued that the frame LAW normally has the frame RELATION BETWEEN INDIVIDUALS as part of its non-core FE ‘Purpose’.

‘Purpose’ as a non-core FE of the LAW frame is not included in FN (2010)’s entry. Nevertheless, there should be no doubt that such a FE is applicable for the LAW frame. In other words, one can conclude that the RELATION BETWEEN INDIVIDUALS frame is also used in the LAW frame as the non-core FE, ‘Purpose’. According to the refinements by FN annotators in relation to this ‘Using’ relation, the RELATION BETWEEN INDIVIDUALS frame can here be said to be perspectivised in the LAW frame (as depicted in Fig 5.2 by the bold dotted arrow drawn from the RELATION BETWEEN INDIVIDUALS frame to the LAW frame).

5.7.3.6 COMMITTING OFFENSE, DAMAGING, RELATION BETWEEN INDIVIDUALS, LAW and MISDEED frames

As depicted in Fig 5.2, the COMMITTING OFFENSE frame (evoked by $\text{לעוון}.n$) is used in the LAW frame more directly. In contrast, the DAMAGING frame (evoked by $\text{לפגוע}.n$) is *perspectivised* in the LAW frame indirectly through the RELATION BETWEEN INDIVIDUALS frame. The DAMAGING frame uses the RELATION BETWEEN INDIVIDUALS frame whereby the FEs Agent and Patient in the DAMAGING frame may be thought of as being replaced by Individual 1 and Individual 2 in the RELATION BETWEEN INDIVIDUALS frame. Thus the DAMAGING frame is used in the LAW frame from the perspective of the RELATION BETWEEN INDIVIDUALS frame.³¹⁴ Since both the COMMITTING OFFENSE and the DAMAGING frames are collectively misdeeds, the MISDEED frame is also *perspectivised* in the LAW frame.

5.7.3.7 The DAMAGING frame in relation to the COMMITTING OFFENSE frame

Following these frame-to-frame relationships, one can now clearly define the difference between the DAMAGING frame evoked by $\text{לפגוע}.n$, and the COMMITTING OFFENSE frame evoked by $\text{לעוון}.n$. The DAMAGING frame evoked particularly by $\text{לפגוע}.n$, is a frame in which the RELATION BETWEEN INDIVIDUALS frame is *perspectivised*, that is where, the Agent and the Patient in the DAMAGING frame may be thought of as replaced by the FEs Individual 1 and Individual 2 of the RELATION BETWEEN INDIVIDUALS frame (as explained above).

³¹⁴ It should be noted that the DAMAGING frame, as defined in FN 2010, even under otherwise normal circumstances, cannot be used directly in the LAW frame. One important qualification for FEs in the DAMAGING frame to be employed in the LAW frame, is that the scenario within the DAMAGING frame must be able to evoke the RELATION BETWEEN INDIVIDUALS frame. Evidently according to FN (2010) definitions, not all scenarios of DAMAGING can use the RELATION BETWEEN INDIVIDUALS frame.

Further, the RELATION BETWEEN INDIVIDUALS frame is also *perspectivised* in the LAW frame, (as explained already). Thus, the DAMAGING frame is only related to the LAW frame through the RELATION BETWEEN INDIVIDUALS frame. In this sense, clearly a weak relation can be pointed out between the DAMAGING frame and the LAW frame. In non-technical language this translates to the point that תַּחֲטִיף refers to a moral misdeed, namely the damage to a relationship, which may, although not necessarily, have a legal bearing as well. In the Old Testament, actions that are referred to as sin but do not involve breach of a specified law, include the sin of Balaam in Numbers 22:21-41, discussed previously in section 5.6.1.

The COMMITTING OFFENSE frame, on the other hand, is immediately *perspectivised* in the LAW frame. This occurs where the core FE of the COMMITTING OFFENSE frame 'Offense' or 'Crime' appears in the LAW frame as the core FE 'Forbidden state'. Conversely, the LAW frame is *perspectivised* in the COMMITTING OFFENSE frame in that the FE Forbidden state of the LAW frame is used in the COMMITTING OFFENSE frame, though with a different term: the Offense FE. Although there generally must be one direct relation between any two frames, there are exceptions. This is where two or more relations are possible, as in the case of the DAMAGING and the LAW frames detailed above (see Ruppenhofer *et al.*, [2010:73]).

Finally, the RELATION BETWEEN INDIVIDUALS frame is thus also remotely *perspectivised* in the COMMITTING OFFENSE frame indirectly through the LAW frame. These technical relations can be expressed in simpler terms, namely that, עֲשֵׂה is viewed in the Hebrew language as a legally sanctioned misdeed, a breach of law whereby the sanctioning law may be of an institutional, social, customary or religious type. Since עֲשֵׂה focuses mainly on the law, it also focuses on human relations. Through this structure of relationship a similarity can be perceived between the DAMAGING frame (evoked by תַּחֲטִיף.n), and the COMMITTING OFFENSE frame (evoked by עֲשֵׂה.n). While both these nouns profile MISDEEDS, they relate to the LAW frame and to the RELATION BETWEEN INDIVIDUALS frame in different ways.

In terms of the prototype theory, the MISDEED frame is a superordinate category, while the COMMITTING OFFENSE and the DAMAGING frames, as types of misdeeds, are basic-level categories. In such a case, the subordinate categories would, for example, be types of offenses or of damages committed, such as theft, adultery, murder or the abandoning of cultic rituals (see Table 5.4 as an illustration).

5.7.3.8 *Frame-to-frame semantics involving the MORAL – LEGAL ACCOUNTABILITY frame*

Also depicted in Fig 5.2 is the fact that the TRIAL frame employs the MISDEED frame. The TRIAL frame as such has the MORAL – LEGAL ACCOUNTABILITY frame (evoked by $\eta\psi.n$) as a sub-frame. Also, the MORAL – LEGAL ACCOUNTABILITY frame precedes the SENTENCING frame (or one may say that the SENTENCING frame is preceded by the MORAL – LEGAL ACCOUNTABILITY frame); and the REWARDS AND PUNISHMENTS frame is *perspectivised* (used) in the SENTENCING frame.

According to FN 2010, the SENTENCING frame, by using the COMMUNICATION frame, can be seen to focus on the awareness of the punishment (or reward) for a proven crime. On the other hand, the REWARDS AND PUNISHMENTS frame, by being a child of the INTENTIONALLY AFFECT frame,³¹⁵ represents a frame that focuses on the actual implementation of the punishment or reward, that is, the acts of punishing and rewarding someone. In this way, $\eta\psi.n$, by being a LU that evokes the MORAL – LEGAL ACCOUNTABILITY frame, is a LU that also has close references to the MISDEED and the TRIAL frame. This is the same as saying that $\eta\psi$ is the mental, emotional and moral condition that befalls a person after that person has committed a misdeed, gone through a trial and has been found guilty. It is also a LU that closely relates to the SENTENCING and the REWARDS AND PUNISHMENTS frames. That is to say, the

³¹⁵ The INTENTIONALLY AFFECT frame refers to a scene where, "An Agent causes a Patient to be affected, sometimes by a particular Means or by use of an Instrument" (FN, 2010).

person found guilty is normally aware of the sentence for his / her misdeed and hence the punishment that he / she must suffer to pay for it.

It should be clear that in all the frames involved here, the EQUILIBRIUM schema is a dominant image schema that forms the background to the individual frames, as well as to the frame network as a whole. This schema establishes a system where a normal state (or a state of balance) is represented by the EQUILIBRIUM schema. This is ideally a schema that assumes that no law is breached, no damage to relationships is done and no legal offense is committed. However, should a state of DISEQUILIBRIUM occur, in other words a breach in the law, then the state of DISEQUILIBRIUM must through various remedial processes (TRIAL frame), be restored to the normal (balanced) state of EQUILIBRIUM again.

The foregoing analysis of the semantic properties of the linguistic terms פשע, חטא and עון has shown with reasonable certainty that there are some semantic differences between the three terms. While חטא and פשע might be very close semantically, there certainly is a significant semantic difference between them as well. There are even more defined differences between the two nouns taken together and the noun עון. However, the rendering of these terms in corresponding frames in P-Ez does not show that the translator understood these same semantic properties and differences between the terms. To the contrary, the renderings of the three terms discussed above and other associated terms, seems to suggest that the translator only had a general awareness of the semantic properties of these terms. This creates the possibility that the semantic reference of the terms is uncertain. The relevant data relating to the rendering of the terms in Syriac frames was depicted in Table 5.3 below.

The following abbreviations are applicable to Table 5.3 on the following page.

Obj:	object
PP:	Prepositional phrase
Instr:	Instrument (with)
Constr:	construct state / relation
motiv:	motivational phrase
Subj:	subject
Rel:	relation
AC:	ACCOUNTABILITY
EQUIV:	EQUIVALENT

Table 5.3 The rendering of categories חטאת, פשע and עון in P-Ez 1 – 24

PLACE	VALENCE	RELATIONS	FRAME	MEANING IN FRAME	P EQUIV
חטאת					
3.20-	PP - motivational	man - YHWH	MORAL-LEGAL AC	debt, guilt, from sin	חטאת
16.51	in a comparison	nation - YHWH	MISDEED	acts of failures, wrongs	חטאת
16.52	in a comparison	nation - YHWH	MISDEED	acts of failures, wrongs	חטאת
18.14-	Obj of see, Constr	man - YHWH	PERCEPTION EXPER	acts of failures, wrongs	חטאת
18.21	Obj of עשה	man - YHWH	CHANGE OF CONDUCT	acts of failures, wrongs	חטאת
18.24	Obj of חטא	one possesses it	MORAL-LEGAL AC	debt, guilt, from sin	חטאת
21.29	Obj of ראה	possessed by nation	MISDEED	acts of failures, wrongs	חטאת
פשע					
14.11	in a PP as Instr	nation - YHWH	RITE	offenses, against God	חטאת
18.22	Obj of עשה	man - YHWH	MISDEED	offenses, against God	חטאת
18.28	Obj of עשה	man - YHWH	CHANGE OF CONDUCT	habitual acts of offense	חטאת
18.3	Obj of שוב	nation - YHWH	CHANGE OF CONDUCT	habitual acts of offense	חטאת
18.31	Obj of שלח	nation - YHWH	CHANGE OF CONDUCT	habitual acts of offense	חטאת
21.29	Obj of גלה	nation - YHWH	REVEAL	offenses, against God	חטאת
עון					
3.18	PP - motivational	YHWH - offender	MORAL-LEGAL AC	guilt of misdeed	חטאת
3.19	PP - motivational	YHWH - offender	MORAL-LEGAL AC	guilt of misdeed	חטאת
4.4	Obj of put	YHWH - offender	MORAL-LEGAL AC	guilt of misdeed	חטאת
4.4	Obj of carry	YHWH - offender	MORAL-LEGAL AC	guilt of misdeed	חטאת
4.5	Obj of give	YHWH - offender	GIVING	guilt of misdeed	חטאת
4.5	Obj of carry	YHWH - offender	MORAL-LEGAL AC	guilt of misdeed	חטאת
4.6	Obj of carry	YHWH - offender	MORAL-LEGAL AC	guilt of misdeed	חטאת
4.17	PP - motiv	YHWH - offender	MORAL-LEGAL AC	guilt of misdeed	חטאת
7.13	PP - motiv	YHWH - offender	MORAL-LEGAL AC	guilt of misdeed	חטאת
7.16	PP - motiv	conscience - deeds	MORAL-LEGAL AC	guilt of misdeed	חטאת
7.19	motiv, nominal	YHWH - offender	CAUSE MISDEED	guilt of misdeed	חטאת
9.9	Subj	YHWH - offender	MORAL-LEGAL AC	guilt of misdeed	חטאת
14.3	genitive Rel	YHWH - offender	CAUSE MORAL-LEGAL AC	guilt of misdeed	חטאת
14.4	genitive Rel	YHWH - offender	CAUSE MORAL-LEGAL AC	guilt of misdeed	חטאת
14.7	genitive Rel	YHWH - offender	CAUSE MORAL-LEGAL AC	guilt of misdeed	חטאת
14.10a	Obj of carry	YHWH - offender	MORAL-LEGAL AC	guilt of misdeed	חטאת
14.10b	Obj of carry	YHWH - offender	MORAL-LEGAL AC	guilt of misdeed	חטאת
14.10c	Obj of carry	YHWH - offender	MORAL-LEGAL AC	guilt of misdeed	חטאת
16.49	in a predicate	YHWH - offender	MORAL-LEGAL AC	guilt of misdeed	חטאת
18.17	PP - motiv	YHWH - offender	MORAL-LEGAL AC	guilt of misdeed	חטאת
18.18	PP - motiv	YHWH - offender	MORAL-LEGAL AC	guilt of misdeed	חטאת
18.19	PP - motiv	YHWH - offender	MORAL-LEGAL AC	guilt of misdeed	חטאת
18.20a	PP - motiv	YHWH - offender	MORAL-LEGAL AC	guilt of misdeed	חטאת
18.20b	PP - motiv	YHWH - offender	MORAL-LEGAL AC	guilt of misdeed	חטאת
18.30-	Post Constr	YHWH - offender	CAUSE MORAL-LEGAL AC	guilt of misdeed	חטאת
21.28	Obj of remind		MEMORY	guilt of misdeed	חטאת
21.29	Obj of remind	YHWH - offender	MEMORY	guilt of misdeed	חטאת
21.30-	Constr chain	YHWH - offender	EVENT INSTANCE	guilt of misdeed	חטאת
21.34	Constr chain	YHWH - offender	EVENT INSTANCE	guilt of misdeed	חטאת
24.23	PP - motiv	YHWH - offender	MORAL-LEGAL AC	guilt of misdeed	חטאת

5.8 THE MAPPING OF *chattāt*, *peshā*³¹⁶ AND *ʿawon* IN P-Ez

As the results of the rendering of these terms indicate, P-Ez's translator seems to have taken the two Hebrew categories *חטא* and *פשע* as very close synonyms. While *חטא* consistently is rendered by the Syriac cognate *ܠܡܥܬܐ*, the Hebrew category *פשע* is rendered alternately by *ܠܡܥܬܐ* and *ܠܥܬܐ*. In light of the Frame Semantics information on each category in the Hebrew text, as presented in Table 5.3 above, there is very little to explain the translator's alternating renderings with either *ܠܡܥܬܐ* or *ܠܥܬܐ* in translating the Hebrew category *פשע*. This phenomenon may point to the fact that, P-Ez's translator understood a synonymous relation between the Hebrew categories *חטא* and *פשע*. Alternatively, it may be that the semantic reference of the category *חטא* was well known to the translator, but that of *פשע* was lesser known, or not known at all. Further, in P-Ez, the same noun forms, *ܠܡܥܬܐ* and *ܠܥܬܐ*, are used alternately to translate the Hebrew category 'עון'. Furthermore, *ܠܥܬܐ* alone is used to translate the Hebrew category 'עול' ('perversion', 'injustice').³¹⁶

There thus seems to have been a Frame Semantics problem on the part of the translator in identifying the Hebrew LUs *פשע.n*, *עון.n*, and *עול.n*. It may be that the translator could have understood the Hebrew word *עול* as a more abstract, generic term for wickedness and evil, referring to all types of undesirable activities or misdeeds (Baker, 1997a:342). As a result, the term might have served as a catch-all word, a generic term representing the whole of the MISDEED frame. It is surprising, however, that a Hebrew LU such as *עון.n*, belonging to the MORAL – LEGAL ACCOUNTABILITY frame rather than the MISDEED frame, is rendered into Syriac in P-Ez by two LUs alternately that belong rather to the MISDEED frame: *ܠܡܥܬܐ.n* and *ܠܥܬܐ.n*. Although the MORAL – LEGAL ACCOUNTABILITY frame and the MISDEED frame are close together semantically, there is nevertheless a significant semantic difference, which one would have expected to find in the translation.

³¹⁶ Not included in Table 5.3 above.

That the Hebrew categories פֶּשַׁע and עוֹן are not translated consistently is apparent from the data that was collected and analysed in the first 24 chapters of Ezekiel, as shown in Table 5.3 above. A survey regarding the rendering of these Hebrew categories in P-Ez through the other parts of the Old Testament does not provide any clearer picture on this matter.

There could be an explanation for the inconsistent translation of the two Hebrew terms (פֶּשַׁע and עוֹן). It may be that a semantic understanding of the categories such as those outlined above (following the ICMs and Frame Semantics analyses), was unavailable to the translator. It should be noted here, however, that this failure by the translator should not be understood to mean that the frames represented by the Hebrew categories (or LUs) were absent in Syriac. Rather, the translator of P-Ez lacked the information about the frames evoked by the Hebrew LUs in the Hebrew text. The fact that such frames indeed were available in Syriac, may be deduced from the presence and use of such LUs as ܐܫܬܠܚܐ.ܢ (go astray, mistake, offend, cause to fall, injure), which is employed to translate both פֶּשַׁע and עוֹן in some parts of the Old Testament. Another LU which might have been a suitable Syriac equivalent for the frames evoked by the Hebrew LU פֶּשַׁע.ܢ, is ܬܬܝܒܐ.ܢ (transgression). However, this LU is rarely used, if at all, in the Old Testament of the Peshitta generally for the frame represented by the Hebrew LU פֶּשַׁע.ܢ.

Another factor might have contributed to the synonymous understanding of the Hebrew nominal categories תַּחַת and פֶּשַׁע. This involves the taxonomical relations of these categories at the subordinate and superordinate levels. Both categories תַּחַת and פֶּשַׁע as such act as generic terms³¹⁷ for more specific subordinate terms which are largely shared by the two categories at the subordinate level. In light of this, the categories would also appear to be synonymous at the basic (subordinate)

³¹⁷ See Knierim (1997a:410).

level. Also, the categories for both תטאח and פשע are virtually indistinguishable at the superordinate level. An illustration of this phenomenon is presented in Table 5.4 below.

Table 5.4 Levels of categorisation related to the nominal categories תטאח and פשע

Superordinate level	Basic level	Subordinate level
Misdeed	Sin (‘תטאח’)	Rebellion, robbery, adultery, unbelief, idolatry, disobedience, disrespect, breaking covenant ...
	Offense / Crime (‘פשע’)	

All the categories listed at the subordinate level are misdeeds, belonging to the MISDEED frame. Thus it is possible to look at robbery, for example, from the viewpoint of a breach of law (evoked by פשע.ח, which is a more legal perspective) or alternatively from the viewpoint of a damage in relations (evoked by תטאח.ח, which is a more moral perspective).³¹⁸ These different perspectives could explain the differences between the categories at the basic (middle) level, which the P-Ez’s translator did not have. To the Peshitta translator, the two terms tended to have the same meaning, as a result of understanding them based on either the subordinate or the superordinate levels. As shown in Table 5.4, the two terms refer to the same actions at the subordinate level and are linguistically categorised together at the superordinate level as MISDEEDS.

³¹⁸ It may be noted here that either categories, ‘תטאח’ or ‘פשע’, may be just as inclusive at the subordinate level, as at the superordinate level where the collective term ‘misdeed’ applies. There are only rare cases where a misdeed may be considered to be a ‘תטאח’ but not act as a ‘פשע’ at the same time (See Numbers 22:34).

A further possible explanation may be posited for the apparent polysemy between תאטח and עשפ when translated in the Syriac text in P-Ez. The translator of P-Ez could have taken one of the LUs between תאטח.*n* and עשפ.*n* to be a polysemous word. This could mean that a LU, such as עשפ.*n*, may have been believed to evoke different perspectives of a misdeed, depending on particular contexts. For such a case, עשפ.*n* would in some frames be understood as evoking the damage caused to a party and to a relation, warranting it to be translated by the Syriac LU ܐܡܬܐ.*n*. In other frames the same LU would rather evoke the idea of a breach of law, warranting it to be translated by the Syriac LU ܕܥܠܐ.*n*. However, as the data in Table 5.3 shows, the rendering of the Hebrew nominal category עשפ into either of the Syriac equivalent categories ܐܡܬܐ or ܕܥܠܐ, does not seem determined by context at all.

Reasons of a similar nature to those discussed above may explain the rendering of ען in P-Ez by either ܐܡܬܐ or ܕܥܠܐ. Since the word ען semantically lies close to both עשפ and תאטח, the translator's unawareness of some frame semantic information differentiating ען from the other two categories would mean that all three categories would tend to be understood as synonymous.

Defining the differences between these categories indeed remains a challenge to Biblical Hebrew semanticists to the present times. Knierim (1997a:410) for example, rightly acknowledges that these three terms should not be viewed as synonymous, yet he does not seem to define the supposed differences satisfactorily regarding the nature of the semantics of the three categories. The difficulty is understandable, due to the fact that 'ען' focuses on the condition of the sinner (debt, punishment), rather than merely referring to the act of the sinner. This difference cannot be deciphered easily where these categories appear in clauses and sentences of the Old Testament.

The present study argues from the position that P-Ez was translated around 200 AD. It may then be argued that the Frame Semantic nuances that especially separated

the lexical units *חטאת.n* and *פשע.n* in the frames in which they occur could hardly be expected to survive some three to four centuries during which the Hebrew language scarcely existed as a spoken language.

To add to the problems of transmitting and translating such categories is the fact that these categories refer ultimately to metaphysical, immaterial concepts. Although the categories largely describe events or concrete deeds, the events or deeds in question do not continue to exist as concrete categories. For instance, a person may commit a sin by murdering someone (a physically observable event), but thereafter it is referred to as a committed 'sin of murder', although the event is past and cannot be relived. Thus one can, by use of metaphor, possess the sin of murder, carry it, or pay for it as if it is a concrete entity, even though the event itself no longer exists physically. Such an object exists only or largely in the psychological cognitive realm of the speakers of a language. Therefore this object easily can attain a different definition among speakers even of the same language and community, and more so with the passing of time.

There is a slight difference, however, in the case of those nominal categories that continue to exist in terms of their physical attributes through time, for example *בית* (house) and *תאנה* (fig). These physically existing categories may retain their frame of reference more or less across the spectrum for individuals, language groups and historical periods.

5.8.1 The case of Ezekiel 21:29(24)

The effect of P-Ez's uncertainties surrounding these three terms may be observed in the manner which the translator dealt with them in a verse, in which where all three occur, as in Ezekiel 21:29. The texts and their translations are presented below and discussed consequently.

MT: לכן כה־אמר אדני יהוה יען הזכרכם **עונכם** בהגלות **פשעיכם** להראות **חטאותיכם** בכל עלילותיכם יען הזכרכם בכף תתפשו.

[illegible]

LXX: διὰ τοῦτο τάδε λέγει κύριος Ἄνθ' ὧν ἀνεμνήσατε τὰς ἀδικίας ὑμῶν ἐν τῷ ἀποκαλυφθῆναι τὰς ἀσεβείας ὑμῶν τοῦ ὁραθῆναι ἁμαρτίας ὑμῶν ἐν πάσαις [ταῖς ἀσεβείαις ὑμῶν καὶ ἐν] τοῖς ἐπιτηδεύμασιν ὑμῶν, ἄνθ' ὧν ἀνεμνήσατε, ἐν τούτοις ἀλώσεσθε.³¹⁹

TR: Therefore thus says the Lord, because you remembered your injustices when your impieties were uncovered in order to let your sins be seen through all your [impieties and because of all your] practices, because you remembered, by these you shall be captured.

It is noticeable that in the Hebrew text, Israel brings to mind (perhaps that of YHWH) her guilt (עון) when through her misdeeds (עלילותיכם),³²⁰ she reveals her offenses (פשעיכם) and her sins (חטאותיכם).³²¹ The misdeeds of Israel are thus presented in this text from two perspectives: that of the breaking of YHWH's laws (פשעיכם), and

³²⁰ Cf. Hummel (2007:657).

³²¹ For this translation, cf. Allen (1990:18, 27).

that of causing damage in their relationship with each other and with YHWH (חטאותיכם). And because Israel has brought to mind this guilt, her punishment, commensurate with her guilt is imminent: she shall be taken into captivity! Ignoring all other translational problems in P-Ez in this verse, it is evident in P-Ez that the translator understood both the revealed offenses (פשעיכם) and sins (חטאותיכם) simply as 'sins'. Hence the rendering of both Hebrew terms by one common term (فلاحة), meant here probably only as a more general term for misdeeds.

Although some suggestions given in this section may explain the reason why P-Ez's translator treated the three Hebrew terms here as if they were synonymous, other alternative explanations may still be given. Specifically, the notion of the relationship of the categories involved at the different taxonomical level discussed above may lead to another possibility. This possibility is discussed separately in the following section.

5.8.2 The effect of metonymy as an alternative explanation

The representation of the semantic properties of the three Hebrew terms discussed in the present chapter thus far should not be understood as if the terms are unequivocal. Indeed lexicons and theological dictionaries often provide more than one semantic referents for each of the three terms discussed above. For example, עון is defined in Brown Driver & Briggs (2000), as being equivalent in English to 'iniquity', 'guilt' or the 'punishment of iniquity'.³²² One, and perhaps the most important reason, for the existence of more than one simple semantic referent for these terms may be explained by the effect of metonymy.

³²² According to Lewis (2012), the noun 'iniquity' refers to a morally objectionable deed. Iniquity is therefore taken to be a moral wrong and is synonymous with the phrase, 'evil deed'. The term 'iniquity' is thus a more inclusive one than the specific terms 'sin' (חטאת) or the term 'transgression' (פשע), as they have been defined thus far in the present study.

Metaphor is seen to be instrumental in the formation of radial categories of many verbs and prepositions.³²³ In a different sense, metonymy seems to be dominant in its semantic influence on nouns or nominal categories and their resultant polysemous character. As Panther & Thornburg (2007:236) postulates, metonymy is a cognitive principle that plays a significant role in the organisation of meaning. Metonymies can become so conventionalised that they end up as senses in a polysemous word (Panther & Thornburg, 2007:248). Before the mentioned effect of metonymy on P-Ez's translation of the three terms can be explored, the emphasis should fall on some of the important conditions that must be satisfied to allow a case of metonymy. These conditions, taken from Kövecses (2006:145) and Panther & Thornburg (2007:242), can be explained as follows:

- Conceptual metonymy must be a cognitive process in which a source content (vehicle entity) provides access to a target content (target entity) within one cognitive domain.
- The relation between the vehicle entity and the target entity is contingent, which means that the vehicle and target entities must be adjacent in conceptual space.
- The target entity is foregrounded while the vehicle entity is back-grounded. This simply means that the real entity in focus is the target entity, rather than the vehicle entity.

In explaining the ICMs in which metonymy commonly occurs, Kövecses (2006:150) mentions the following:

“A conceptual domain, or ICM, can be viewed as a whole that is constituted by parts; more specifically, the conceptual entities or elements, are the parts that constitute the ICM that is the whole. Given this way of looking at ICMs,

³²³ See chapter 3 and 4.

metonymies may emerge in two ways: (1) either a whole stands for a part or a part stands for a whole and, (2) a part stands for another part ...”

- In instance (1), one expects to find metonymies in which a person would access a part of an ICM through its whole (WHOLE FOR THE PART) or a whole ICM through one of its parts (A PART FOR THE WHOLE).
- In instance (2), a person would access a part via another part of the same ICM (such as PRODUCER FOR PRODUCT) (Kövecses (2006:150).

In light of this understanding of metonymies, consideration can be given to the use of the three terms, חטאת, פשע and עון, in the Hebrew Ezekiel text and consequently their translation in P-Ez. As mentioned previously, the specialised distinction between the frames evoked by חטאת.*n* and פשע.*n* appears to be one of perspective. The distinction all amounts to how a person views a misdeed: whether from the point of view of breaking the law or of damage to persons and relationships. Otherwise the categories often refer to the same sort of misdeeds, seeing that they lie very close together in conceptual space. Thus when one commits a חטאת (evoking the DAMAGE frame), in a sense, that person also commits פשע (evoking the COMMITTING OFFENSE frame).

Furthermore, it has been observed that these categories inevitably are related to the category עון, which though not referring to a misdeed, nevertheless on many occasions, designates a result of a misdeed. Thus the existence of either a 'חטאת' or a פשע inevitably implies the existence of עון. In the end, it is logical to suppose that the mention of any one of these three terms would tend to evoke, without much cognitive effort, the other two. This automatic evocation, however, must not be understood to imply that all three terms have precisely the same meaning at the basic level of categorisation. With such a close semantic relation between the categories, it can be expected that the Hebrew text made use of the relation by way of metonymy. As evidence to support this claim, the following case may be given.

In Ezekiel as a whole, a prominent theme in the indictment sections is the judicial principle ruling that, “he who has done a misdeed (in the form of sin, or transgression, or who incurs guilt as a result of a misdeed) must die.” There specifically are three sections in Ezekiel where this judicial ruling is dominant: Ezekiel 3:18-19 (the Watchman passage 1), Ezekiel 18:14-28 (the Banned Proverb passage) and Ezekiel 33:6-16 (the Watchman passage 2). The book of Ezekiel does not appear however, to have a single and clear term for what might be called a ‘misdeed’. Instead the writer(s) utilise various terms. All of these terms appear to denote a superordinate category that may be identified with the term ‘misdeed’, or more appropriately with an ‘evil moral condition’. Among those different terms that are employed to refer metonymically to this superordinate category, are the three terms חטאת, פשע and עון. Thus the following parallels in the use of the categories can be considered.

- Parallels appear in the Watchman passage 1 (Ezekiel 3:18, 19); the Banned Proverb passage (Ezekiel 18:17-20b); and in the Watchman passage 2 (Ezekiel 33:6, 8 and 9). In all these places, a person will die because of guilt (עון).
- In same contexts; the Watchmen passage 1 (Ezekiel 3:20); the Banned Proverb passage (Ezekiel 18:14, 21, 24); and in the Watchmen passage 2 (Ezekiel 33:12 and 16). A person will die because of sin (חטאת);
- A third type of parallels also occurs in Ezekiel 18:22 and 28 (Banned Proverb passage), where a person who turns away from transgression (פשע) will live and not die; and in Ezekiel 33:10 (Watchmen passage 2), Israel cannot live because of her transgression (פשע).

Thus in one passage, the Watchmen passage 1, the person who dies because of his guilt (עון), is the very same person who, in another sentence is said to die because of sin (חטאת). In the Watchmen passage 2, it can be deduced that such a person

will also die because of his transgression (פֶּשַׁע). Logically one would want to know whether it is עוֹן or חַטָּאת or פֶּשַׁע that leads to the death of the person, or whether the cause of the death is a result of all three conditions.

Analysing the terms presented here may lead to the conclusion that each of the three terms could have been employed in the Hebrew Ezekiel text metonymically to refer to a larger ICM of which the three terms form part. The ideal type of metonymy here would therefore be a PART FOR THE WHOLE ICM. There is a possibility that in the instances cited above, the use of a term such as עוֹן may refer, not strictly and specifically, to guilt resulting from sin and deserving punishment. It would rather point to the more general category of EVIL MORAL CONDITION, which also incorporates the specialised semantic values of nouns such as חַטָּאת and פֶּשַׁע.

In analysing the references in the three cited passages, it should become clear that the aim of the writer of the text in each case is not specifically to emphasise the specialised meaning of each of the Hebrew terms used. Thus in speaking of חַטָּאת, the Hebrew text is not really focusing on a misdeed, which implies damage to persons and relationships. The focus is rather on the actor or Agent being in an 'evil moral condition' and deserving death (see Ezekiel 18:10-13, as well as the defined propositional ICMs of חַטָּאת, פֶּשַׁע and עוֹן in section 5.6 above). Or the focus simply is a situation that can be described by the Hebrew adjective רָעָה.

Through the term 'evil moral condition', the present study aims to access the specific ICM from the Old Testament point of view, which refers to any state or condition that may be understood as a morally negative condition. In this regard, the Hebrew adjective רָעָה is a key. The adjective (and its associated noun) refers to moral deficiencies, or moral qualities that are harmful to oneself or another person, or it refers to a condition that is regarded as socially unacceptable (Livingstone, 1980:855-856). In this sense, חַטָּאת (sin), פֶּשַׁע (transgression) and as עוֹן (guilt) are all רָעָה, that is, they denote evil moral conditions when attributed to a person. The

category EVIL MORAL CONDITION therefore acts as a superordinate category, which can be applied fully to all of the three Hebrew categories under discussion in the present chapter. This stands in contrast to the category MISDEED which, technically speaking, only applies to חטאת and פשע, but not to עון.

Thus by the use of the terms חטאת, פשע and עון, the Hebrew text accesses this more hidden superordinate ICM 'evil moral condition'. As discussed above, one of the lexicalised senses of the Hebrew noun עון is 'iniquity', which refers to an evil deed, or simply a 'moral wrong'. In this sense, עון is already being employed in a much broader sense than the more specialised meaning 'guilt of punishment for sin' that was established above. The present study argues that the sense 'iniquity' connected to the noun עון was probably originally, a result of metonymy. In this metonymy, the source entity 'guilt of punishment for sin' (PART), is made to refer to a target entity 'evil moral condition' (WHOLE).

In the Hebrew text of Ezekiel 1-24, whether the writer chose to use עון or חטאת or פשע, the target entity may be understood as a person in an evil moral condition. Such an understanding of the use of the Hebrew terms may help explain the lack of precision in distinguishing the three categories when they were rendered into Syriac in the P-Ez. It appears from the way the three categories were rendered into P-Ez, that the translator was aware of this metonymical use of the categories. The most common equivalent for the Hebrew nouns פשע and עון in P-Ez 1-24, is the word ܠܚܝܬܐ ('iniquity', 'injustice', 'injury'). The semantic references of the Syriac noun given in Smith (1978) can be summarised as referring to 'a moral wrong'. The LU ܠܚܝܬܐ.n thus evokes a frame similar to the one evoked by the Hebrew noun עון.n in the case where עון refers to INIQUITY, a superordinate category for the three individual Hebrew nouns. Such use of the word ܠܚܝܬܐ in P-Ez 1-24 might have been an attempt to employ a superordinate category, corresponding to the metonymical 'evil moral condition'. This condition was assumed in metonymic terms as the target entity behind the three nouns which were used in the Hebrew text.

It is also possible to postulate that even the use of the other Syriac equivalent, ܠܡܢܝܬܐ, to translate the two Hebrew nouns פֶּשַׁע and עוֹן, seems to be a reference to the same superordinate category represented by ܠܡܢܝܬܐ. P-Ez's translator on seven occasions consistently employed the plural noun (ܠܡܢܝܬܐ) to translate the Hebrew noun עוֹן, even when עוֹן plainly appeared in its singular form in the Hebrew text. In fact, as reflected in Table 5.5 below, nowhere within the study range did P-Ez's translator translate עוֹן or תַּחַת or פֶּשַׁע with the singular form of ܠܡܢܝܬܐ. This use of the plural noun in the Syriac text may be interpreted as an attempt at referring to a more abstract (and perhaps also generic) category level.

At least in the English language, plural forms of nouns tend to evoke a generic (superordinate) category related to the noun in question. Thus a plural noun might not refer to a specific instance of a category or an event, but to several unspecified cases, which may also tend to be heterogeneous in nature (Dixon, 2005:211-212; Taylor, 2002:357-359).³²⁴ One may refer to the illustration given in Evans & Green (2006:560) to explain the phenomenon as follows: while the noun *jump* is a count noun, the mass noun *jumping* is not. In light of this, a sentence can be considered such as the one that follows:

5 (e) His jumping is terrible.

One may alternatively choose to replace the mass noun *jumping* with the count noun *jump*. This count noun must, however, be adjusted grammatically in order to represent the mass noun reliably as in illustration sentence 5(f):

5(f) His jumps are terrible.

5(g) His jump is terrible.

³²⁴ Cf. also Van Rooy (2008:497).

It should be noted that presenting the count noun in the singular, as is the case in 5(g), will not represent the semantic information adequately in sentence 5(e) above. Apparently, abstract mass nouns that describe human moral conduct can, in a similar manner, be substituted most adequately by descriptions using concrete, count nouns in the plural. This is illustrated in the following sentences:

- 5(h) Righteousness is a moral quality which a person attains if he / she does a good deed.
- 5(i) Righteousness is a moral quality which a person attains if he / she does good deeds.

Sentence 5(h) above reads awkward in some sense, while sentence 5(i) presents a more normative case taken from real-world experiences. Although 'righteousness' is an abstract mass noun, it can be referred alternatively to include a (plural) number of concrete actions (good deeds), this being done by using entities (nouns) which are countable (count nouns). Thus P-Ez also employs a more concrete category in the plural ('ܠܬܝܒܝܢ') to access a mass category (mass noun) that is essentially abstract in nature: the category 'evil moral condition'. Indeed the use of the plural form by P-Ez points to a reference that is more generic than the specific derogation 'sin' in its singular and technical reference (see Evans & Green, 2006:560). In such a case the plural forms in the P-Ez's translation may be understood to refer metonymically to the superordinate category EVIL MORAL CONDITION.

What appears to be a similar approach in TgE may lend weight to the notion posited here. In the Targum version to Ezekiel 1-24 (TgE), the noun חטאת, was on six out of seven occurrences rendered by the Aramaic חוב, and once by the cognate term חטא. The Hebrew noun פשע, out of six occurrences was rendered thrice by מרד, twice by חוב and once by the phrase פלחן טעותה. Lastly, the Hebrew noun עון, out of 30 occurrences was rendered 29 times by חוב, and on one occasion, the text displays a significant variant. Some of this data is presented in Table 5.5 below.

Clearly the term רָע seems to have been used by the TgE translator as something like a catch-all word, an ICM that seems to have been equated with the evil moral condition ICM, which was the target of the three Hebrew terms when they were used metonymically in the Hebrew text. Another characteristic feature in TgE is that, in the 29 occurrences of the Hebrew noun עוֹן in its singular form, the Aramaic noun רָע was employed in its plural form 23 times.

The phenomenon described here might not be unique, but could be characteristic of the Peshitta translation in relation to many other terms and could be prevalent in other Peshitta Old Testament books besides Ezekiel. Thus, Reed (2012:5) has recently noted on the Peshitta to Proverbs that, “Situations abound where the translator has chosen more than one lexeme to represent one Hebrew lexeme. Not having a grasp on the target language, the translator may use two words which represent a *hypernymic* concept to the Hebrew term.”³²⁵ Reed further notes that when a word appears to be used by the same translator for several occurrences of different Hebrew words, that translator could be substituting a more specific word with a *hypernym* or a more frequently used term (Reed, 2012:5).

Table 5.5 below presents the various ways in which the three Hebrew terms were rendered into the three versions (the P-Ez, the LXX and the TgE), including the grammatical number for the nouns involved.

The following abbreviations are applicable to Table 5.5 on the following page.

P: preposition

sg: singular (grammatical number)

pl. plural (grammatical number)

³²⁵ A *hypernym* is by definition a word with a broad meaning, constituting a category into which words with more specific meanings fall, and thus is tantamount to a superordinate category (Concise Oxford English dictionary, 2010).

Table 5.5 The rendering of the categories *תטח*, *פשע* and *עון* in the versions: P-Ez, LXX and TgE (including PPs between MT and P-Ez)

PLACE	MT	MT P	P-Ez	P-Ez P	TgE	LXX
חטאת						
3.20-	sg.חטאת	ב	מגלה.א	ט	sg.חוב	ἀμαρτία.pl
16.51-	pl.חטאת		מגלה.א		sg.חוב	ἀμαρτία.pl
16.52-	pl.חטאת		מגלה.א		pl.חוב	ἀμαρτία.pl
18.14-	pl.חטאת		מגלה.א		pl.חוב	ἀμαρτία.pl
18.21-	pl?חטאת		מגלה.א		pl.חוב	ἀνομία.pl
18.24-	sg?חטאת		מגלה.א		sg.חוב	ἀμαρτία.pl
21.29-	pl.חטאת		מגלה.א		pl.חטא	ἀμαρτία.pl
פשע						
14.11-	pl.פשע	ב	sg.חלל	ט	pl.מרד	παράπτωμα.pl
18.22-	pl.פשע		מגלה.א		pl.חוב	παράπτωμα.pl
18.28-	pl.פשע	מן	מגלה.א	ה	pl.חוב	ἀσέβεια.pl
18.30-	pl.פשע	מן	sg.חלל	ה	פלחן טעותה	ἀσέβεια.pl
18.31-	pl.פשע		sg.חלל		pl.חוב	ἀσέβεια.pl
21.29-	pl.פשע		מגלה.א		pl.מרד	ἀσέβεια.pl
עון						
3.18-	sg.עון	ב	sg.חלל	ט	sg.חוב	ἀδικία.sg
3.19-	sg.עון	ב	מגלה.א	ט	sg.חוב	ἀδικία.sg
4.4-	sg.עון		sg.חלל		pl.חוב	ἀδικία.pl
4.4-	sg.עון		sg.חלל		pl.חוב	ἀδικία.pl
4.5-	sg.עון		pl.חלל		pl.חוב	ἀδικία.pl
4.5-	sg.עון		sg.חלל		pl.חוב	ἀδικία.pl
4.6-	sg.עון		sg.חלל		pl.חוב	ἀδικία.pl
4.17-	sg.עון	ב	sg.חלל	ט	pl.חוב	ἀδικία.pl
7.13-	sg.עון	ב	sg.חלל	ט	pl.חוב	missing
7.16-	sg.עון	ב	מגלה.א	ט	pl.חוב	ἀδικία.pl
7.19-	sg.עון		sg.חלל		pl.חוב	ἀδικία.pl
9.9-	sg.עון		sg.חלל		pl.חוב	ἀδικία.sg
14.3-	sg.עון		sg.חלל		pl.חוב	ἀδικία.pl
14.4-	sg.עון		sg.חלל		pl.חוב	ἀδικία.sg
14.7	sg.עון		sg.חלל		pl.חוב	ἀδικία.sg
14.10a-	sg.עון		sg.חלל		pl.חוב	ἀδικία.sg
14.10b-	sg.עון		sg.חלל		sg.חוב	ἀδίκημα.sg
14.10c-	sg.עון		sg.חלל		sg.חוב	ἀδίκημα.sg
16.49-	sg.עון		sg.חלל		sg.חוב	ἀνόμημα.sg
18.17-	sg.עון	ב	sg.חלל	ט	pl.חוב	ἀδικία.pl
18.18-	sg.עון	ב	מגלה.א	ט	pl.חוב	ἀδικία.sg
18.19-	sg.עון	ב	מגלה.א		pl.חוב	ἀδικία.sg
18.20a-	sg.עון	ב	מגלה.א		pl.חוב	ἀδικία.sg
18.20b-	sg.עון	ב	מגלה.א		pl.חוב	ἀδικία.sg
18.30-	sg.עון		מגלה.א		pl.חוב	ἀδικία.sg
21.28-	sg.עון		sg.חלל		Variant	ἀδικία.sg
21.29-	sg.עון		sg.חלל		pl.חוב	ἀδικία.pl
21.30-	sg.עון		sg.חלל		pl.חוב	ἀδικία.sg
21.34-	sg.עון		sg.חלל		pl.חוב	ἀδικία.sg
24.23-	pl.עון	ב	sg.חלל	ט	pl.חוב	ἀδικία.pl

The difficulty in drawing semantic distinctions between the three Hebrew roots under discussion, is also evident in the LXX translation. Although the LXX translator of Ezekiel attempted to maintain a distinction between the three Hebrew terms in his translation, the Greek equivalents do not appear to reliably represent the meaning of the Hebrew categories (especially עֲשׂוּנָה and עוֹן) as they have been established in the present study. The category 'עֲשׂוּנָה' is translated into the Greek by the word παράπτωμα, a noun which has the basic meaning of 'slip', or 'error' (Kittel, Bromiley & Friedrich, 1964:170). It is also translated by the Greek word ἀσέβεια, which, according to Kittel, Bromiley & Friedrich (1964:187-188), may come close to the meaning of עֲשׂוּנָה, according to which a misdeed is viewed from the perspective of a constitution or law. Throughout the Old Testament, LXX displays a number of different equivalents particularly for the two equivalents עֲשׂוּנָה and עוֹן (see Knierim, 1997c:866; Seebass, 2003:151; Koch, 1999:562).

The way in which the three categories related to misdeed were used in the Hebrew text is bound to cause some difficulty for any translator. It may be that while the categories may have been used metonymically in a specific part of Hebrew text, they were not used in the same manner on other instances. For cases of the non-metonymic use of such terms, one might want to refer to a case such as the one in Ezekiel 21:29(24) discussed above. In this case it appears that the Hebrew text intends to refer to the basic level (or *hyponymic*) meanings of the three terms.

Another case of metonymy related to the Hebrew noun תָּאֵחַ can be identified in cases in which the Hebrew noun is understood to mean a 'sin offering', as opposed to the more common semantic reference, 'sin' (Averbeck, 1997:93-94).³²⁶ The semantic referent 'sin offering' (תָּאֵחַ) could be a result of the metonymical use of the category SIN (תָּאֵחַ). The specific type of metonymy in this case would be a PART for the WHOLE ICM. The category תָּאֵחַ (sin or damage to a relationship) is

³²⁶ Such cases are not witnessed in Ezekiel 1 – 24.

a salient element in the frame of the removal or offering of sins in the cultic texts of the Old Testament. Therefore the mention of זָכַח in the frame of the removal of sins would refer to the animal used for the offering for sin. Indeed there is a similar use of the term *damage* (or *damages*) in the English language today. While the category DAMAGE refers primarily to an injury or a loss, it can also be used metonymically in legal contexts to refer to the financial reparation due to loss or for injury suffered by one person through the fault or negligence of another (Chambers dictionary, 2011). Reference may also be made to the LU *damage.n* by consulting the REWARDS AND PUNISHMENTS and the FINING frames in FN (2010). Another modern example of such a metonymy would be the statement, “Sales is laying off 50%,” where the noun ‘sales’ metonymically refers to the sales department of a company and the figure 50% refers to the percentage of the total workforce in that sales department. In an ordinary context the noun ‘sales’ normally would refer to the quantity or amount of goods sold by a trader (Concise Oxford English dictionary, 2010).

The foregoing discussion leads one to conclude that metonymy within the Hebrew text as such does play a significant role in the various meanings of the three terms, and thus in the way they are translated into P-Ez . As mentioned before, it is possible that P-Ez’s translator was aware of the metonymical use of the three Hebrew categories. However, the translator might not have had a handy method of dealing with the difficult circumstances brought about by the complex use of the nouns in the Hebrew text. The result was that the translator often attempted to use a superordinate category, such as ܐܬܝܡܢܐ , and perhaps ܐܬܝܡܢܐ as well, to render all the categories associated with the metonymy. Nevertheless, no clear pattern emerges from the data available in Ezekiel 1-24 about to the way P-Ez’s translator dealt with the three Hebrew categories. It appears that the two Syriac categories, ܐܬܝܡܢܐ (singular noun) and ܐܬܝܡܢܐ (plural noun), were employed synonymously to denote the metonymic abstract mass noun ‘evil moral condition’ perceived from the Hebrew text and derived from three Hebrew nouns זָכַח , פָּשַׁע and עוֹן . The Hebrew category

‘חטאת’, whether singular or plural, was rendered into Syriac by the Syriac cognate ܡܬܥܬܐ (plural) consistently, while the categories ܦܫܥ and ܥܢ were mostly rendered by ܡܬܥܬܐ (singular) and less commonly ܡܬܥܬܐ (plural).

5.9 PREPOSITIONS IN FRAMES ASSOCIATED WITH NOMINAL CATEGORIES

The present study will briefly pay attention to the matter of the nature of prepositions usually associated with the terms under study in the present chapter, both in the source MT text and the translated Peshitta text. Only a few prepositions are associated with the three Hebrew nouns as shown in Table 5.5 above. For all the nominal forms involved, the application of the prepositions ܐ and ܡ are characteristic. The preposition ܐ, appears 13 times attached to the three nouns in Ezekiel 1-24. It is normally prefixed to any of the three nouns to show the semantic value of motivation, relating to a specific fate befalling a person or group of persons. Thus the common indicting statement follows such as the one in Ezekiel 3:19-20: “... he will die because of his guilt / sin ...” In the one case in Ezekiel 14:11, ܐ takes the semantic value of instrumentality.

The Peshitta translates all but three cases of the appearance of the preposition ܐ related to the three nouns. The three instances in which the preposition is omitted can be found in Ezekiel 18:19 and 18:20a and b, and apparently are points at which the MT (as well as TgE) reads awkwardly when keeping the prepositions. The LXX, like P-Ez also omits the prepositions at these points. There are a number of possible explanations for these omissions in P-Ez – which will, however, not be explored here. The important point to note here is that the preposition ܐ with either the semantic values of motivation or instrumentality is characteristically rendered by the cognate form consistently in P-Ez, except at points where other textual and transmission factors may be involved. Finally, the preposition ܡ, with the semantic

value of separation, appears with the noun פשע only. This occurs twice in the corpus and is rendered by a cognate term in the P-Ez.³²⁷

5.10 POSSIBILITIES OF THE TgE, THE LXX OR SCRIBAL INFLUENCE

Up to this point, the present study has not yet closely considered the possibility of the influence of other Ancient Versions, such as the TgE and the LXX, on the way in which the nouns תטח, פשע and עון were rendered in the P-Ez. Also, consideration was not given to how factors related to the transmission of Peshitta MSS may have influenced the equivalents to the Hebrew nouns in the Peshitta text as its text stands currently. Each of these factors in turn will be considered below.

5.10.1 The possibility of the TgE's influence on P-Ez

For the category תטח in the MT, the Syriac consistently employs the rendering ܠܡܥܬܐ while TgE mostly employs ܠܡܢܐ. The Aramaic noun ܠܡܢܐ (with ܠܡܢܐ as determinant form) has the senses of 'debt', 'obligation', 'guilt', 'sin' and also 'iniquity'.³²⁸ In the TgE, this is a lexical unit that is mostly used to render the Hebrew nouns תטח and עון and in some cases פשע as well. Therefore this lexical unit can be used in many contexts and provide various meanings. Due to its wide semantic range, this term, like the Syriac term ܠܡܢܐ, has developed a *hypernymic* function. This means that it operates on a superordinate level as a category that covers over a wide semantic range, incorporating the meanings of more specific categories associated with the MISDEED frame. This lexical unit may be equated with the hypothesised 'evil moral condition' suggested above. Proof was already found of the use of ܠܡܢܐ as a 'cover-all' *hypernymic* term for various specialised categories associated with the MISDEED frame in Ezekiel 1-24 as discussed in the previous section.

³²⁷ Cf. Table 5.5.

³²⁸ Jastrow (1903:426).

Syriac has a cognate form related to the Aramaic ܢܚܒܐ. This Syriac cognate is ܢܚܒܐ, which refers to a debt or a creditor. A related term, ܢܚܒܐ refers to condemnation or finding guilt in TRIAL frames. All these meanings associated with ܢܚܒܐ appear to have a specialised meaning in Syriac, Therefore they generally are not employed in P-Ez 1-24 to denote ܢܚܒܐ or any of the other two categories related to the MISDEED frame. The Hebrew lexical unit פשע is rendered in TgE by ܢܚܒܐ, but also by what appears to be a more suitable rendering, ܡܪܕ (rebellion). For such a lexical unit, Syriac also has a cognate, with a congruent meaning. However, P-Ez does not employ it at all to render פשע as it is used in the TgE.

From the foregoing, it is clear that P-Ez was not influenced by the equivalences for the three Hebrew terms in the TgE. If anything at all, the preceding analysis indicates the following: even though both the TgE and the Peshitta translators tended to employ a few terms to refer metonymically to a broader cover term, such as the ‘evil moral condition’, there was nevertheless no direct relation between the two texts. The incongruence between the grammatical number that the corresponding nouns take between P-Ez and the TgE attest further to the lack of any possible influence of TgE on P-Ez. This conclusion concurs with other recent studies on the nature of the influence of TgE in the Peshitta, for example the study done by Carbajosa (2008:301-302, 316).

5.10.2 The possibility of the influence of LXX on P-Ez

P-Ez translates the Hebrew noun ܢܚܒܐ by ܢܚܒܐ consistently, while LXX employs ἀμαρτία on six occasions and ἀνομία on one. In any case, ܢܚܒܐ is an expected rendering in P-Ez, so that reference to the LXX would not have been expected in the case where P-Ez’s translator encountered the Hebrew noun. For the noun ܡܪܕ, the LXX translates the first two occurrences by παράπτωμα, and the subsequent four by ἀσέβεια. Again, there is no discernible connection to the renderings in P-Ez which

seemed to employ *ܠܚܥܐ* and *ܠܡܢܬܐ* alternately. Finally the LXX mostly employs *ἀδικία* as an equivalent of the Hebrew LU *לע.נ*. On two occasions, the LXX employs *ἀδίκημα.נ* and on one *ἀνόμημα.נ*, while P-Ez mostly employs *ܠܚܥܐ.נ* and *ܠܡܢܬܐ.נ*.

As Table 5.5 indicates, there is no discernible correspondence between P-Ez and the LXX in the way they employed their equivalences. Thus concerning the three Hebrew LUs, *תאטח.נ*, *עשע.נ* and *לע.נ*, no reliance on the LXX can be established. This is a remarkable observation considering that the reliance of the Peshitta in general on the LXX has been confirmed in the Peshitta in general (Weitzman, 1999:82). From analyses related to the present study, such reliance could have been likely (see chapter 3 section 3.5.2). This observation may strengthen the viewpoint that, if the LXX did influence P-Ez, such an influence certainly could not have been systematic. This influence probably was confined to select cases, perhaps at points where a Peshitta translator was faced with difficulty in translation and thus required another text for clarity.³²⁹ The forgoing observation also puts into doubt the possibility that the manuscript tradition behind 7a1 indeed was subjected to a systematic scribal recension towards the LXX.

The approach based on Frame Semantics is sometimes crucial to reach to the conclusions made here. To demonstrate this fact, consideration is given to the relationship that one might draw between P-Ez and the LXX, based on the relationship presented in the rendering of the grammatical number of nouns. In Table 5.5 above, it can be noted about Ezekiel 3:20: while the MT and TgE have singular noun forms, P-Ez and the LXX have plural noun forms. A similar case also appears in Ezekiel 18:24. If analysis is limited to just the face-value of these few cases, an analyst might be tempted to conclude that the LXX could probably have had influence on P-Ez at such points. However, one will have to understand that P-Ez's translator (and perhaps the LXX translator as well) interpreted the Hebrew singular

³²⁹ On this issue, cf. Carbajosa (2008:271-272), on her translation technique studies of the Peshitta in a section of the Psalms.

forms as metonymically referring to a superordinate category, needing a plural form to denote this category in the Syriac text. P-Ez's translator therefore uses the plural form of ܠܡܢܐ in all cases where the translator perceived such a reference to a superordinate category.

5.10.3 The possibility of scribal influence in the transmission process of Peshitta MSS

The intention in this section is to determine whether, in the course of transmitting P-Ez MSS (manuscripts), changes could have been made, especially with respect to the way any of the three Hebrew terms were represented in the *Urtext* of P-Ez originally. To achieve this aim, a textual critic should in principle observe shifts or disagreements in the way a particular word is represented in the different MS (manuscript) traditions of P-Ez. As pointed out previously in the second chapter, the present study takes MS 7a1, published in the Peshitta Leiden Institute Leiden edition (Mulder, 1985), as very close to P-Ez's original translation. This edition also includes a text-critical apparatus that lists variant readings of a select group of Peshitta MSS.³³⁰

A variant reading in a Peshitta MS when compared to another Peshitta MS would be interpreted as the result of changes that took place during the transmission of Peshitta MSS. In such a case, the analyst ideally should have identified a probable *Urtext* of the translation, a text against which any other MS in the MSS tradition of the Peshitta can be compared. On the other hand, the absence of variant readings among the MSS should, reservedly, be interpreted as the absence of transmission-related changes and therefore identified as errors for the particular reading in question. It must be borne in mind here that the lack of variant readings among the

³³⁰ The MSS included in the preparation of this critical apparatus could be dated to the end of the 12th century or earlier (see Peshitta Institute Leiden, 1977). For the details of the various MSS used to prepare this critical apparatus in the Peshitta to Ezekiel (cf. Mulder, 1985:ix – xxix).

available Peshitta MSS may not strictly mean that the MSS have, as a result, preserved the reading of the *Urtext*. It may be that the reading of the original translation or *Urtext* has been totally lost from the MS tradition. Therefore the witnesses in the MSS only preserve a corrupted reading, which may thus masquerade as an original reading (Carbajosa, 2008:368-369).

In the present study it is observed that, in the readings of the translation of the two Hebrew terms תַּטְחַת and פֶּשַׁע in P-Ez 1 – 24, no variant readings are available in the Peshitta MS tradition. If there could have been any changes in the manuscript tradition, such changes may have taken place at a very early stage and thus do not reflect in the MSS that have been preserved. It is more probable, however, that the renderings in 7a1 for the two Hebrew terms represent the translator's own translation. This conclusion is based on the rationale that if there was a full-scale attempt to correct or alter the rendering of these terms in the Peshitta MSS in the early part of its transmission history, such a tradition of recension or corrections probably should have continued into the later centuries. It is quite improbable that a full-scale recension, involving such frequent terms as תַּטְחַת and פֶּשַׁע, could have taken place and be completed within three to four centuries, and also be so thorough to leave no trace behind.

For the rendering of the Hebrew term עוֹן, out of 30 occurrences five cases of variation can be pointed out among the MSS. In the four variants listed concerning the renderings of עוֹן, no significant variances show with respect to the form of the noun itself. Thus in 18:17, where 7a1 preserves the reading صَحَابِل, 12d2 has the reading صَحَاب, thus leaving out the enclitic suffix. In Ezekiel 18:19, 7a1 has the reading صَحَابِل while 11I1 has صَحَابِل, with the addition of a preposition prefix.³³¹ In

³³¹ This is an interesting reading given that 11I1 reflects the reading in the MT (בְּעוֹן), while it appears that the rest of the Peshitta MSS agree with the LXX (τὴν ἀδικίαν). While there seems to be no other variant witness to the MT reading among the Hebrew MSS, this incidence may, with respect to MS 7a1 and other agreeing MS, either reflect a variant *Vorlage* or LXX influence on P-Ez. Alternatively it

Ezekiel 18:20a the MS 7a1 has the reading ܡܠܝܬܐ while 1111 shows a reading without the *seyame*, thus probably singular in form.³³² In Ezekiel 21:29, MS 7a1 has the reading ܡܠܝܬܐ while 6h15 has ܡܠܝܬܐ, clearly omitting the pronominal suffix.

In all of these variants, the essential form of the Syriac noun is maintained among the Syriac MSS. In one case, however, the essential form of the Syriac noun is altered in a Syriac MS. This can be found in Ezekiel 7:19, where the Peshitta Institute Leiden's reading in 7a1 ܡܠܝܬܐ is attested, while in 9a1 the reading that corresponds to it is ܡܠܝܬܐ. In this case, it is logical to suppose that the 9a1 reading emerged as an error by a scribe who confused the consonantal forms in the process of copying from another MS. It is less probable that the 7a1 reading emerged from the 9a1 reading.³³³ Given this view on the variants involved in Ezekiel 7:19, one may confirm at least that the translator's rendering of the Hebrew noun as such, has been kept more or less intact in most Peshitta MSS.

From the preceding discussion, it becomes clear that there probably was no deliberate and systematic effort from the part of the scribes at any point in the transmission history of P-Ez MSS to modify how P-Ez represents any of the three Hebrew nouns associated with the MISDEED frame studied in the present chapter. The pattern identified above, and depicted in Tables 5.3 and 5.5, is therefore a result of the translator's own rendering. However, as also indicated above, an outside chance does exist that the changes to P-Ez's *Vorlage* may have taken place very

may indicate an attempt by the scribes of MS 1111 to correct the Syriac text towards the Hebrew text (and not towards the LXX text as might have been expected) (cf. Van Rooy, 2008a:218-219; 2008b:500). This last consideration indeed appears to be the more probable case considering that a similar problem of the awkward ܐ occurs a little further in Ezekiel 18:20a and b. No indication exists as to whether the MS 1111 in Ezekiel 18:20a and b treats the preposition the same way as in Ezekiel 18:19 and as in the MT.

³³² However, cf. Mulder (1985:XII) for the uncertainties that may surround the presence and interpretation of the *seyame* in Peshitta MSS.

³³³ For text -critical criteria related to the Peshitta MSS, see e.g. Carbajosa (2008:359-360).

early in the process of transmission and in such a way that no extant MS preserves the translator's original text.

As has been argued already, the volume of work that is included makes it difficult to leave no traces of any changes. Such a possibility is in any case highly hypothetical and requires a wider scope of study on how such terms were translated in the Peshitta in general. At present, it appears as if the pattern revealed in the Peshitta to Ezekiel 1-24 on the rendering of a term such as עֵל, is prevalent throughout the Peshitta. In the Book of Leviticus, for example, the Hebrew noun appears 18 times, eleven of which are rendered in the Peshitta to Leviticus by the Syriac noun form ܐܠܗܐ, six by the noun form ܐܠܗܐ and only once by the noun ܐܠܗܐܐܠܗܐ. This pattern in Leviticus seems remarkably similar to the pattern in Ezekiel 1-24. The present study will thus draw the tentative and modest conclusion that the pattern emerging in the Peshitta to Ezekiel 1–24, on the translation of the three Hebrew terms studied in the present chapter, comes from the hand of the translator.

5.11 CHAPTER CONCLUSIONS

The present study has investigated how the translation of nominal categories may be studied by following the approach of Frame Semantics. Furthermore, this study would lead to analysing how specific categories were rendered in P-Ez 1 – 24. In the first place, it has been observed: while it is possible to analyse nominal categories from a strictly Frame Semantics approach, such an analysis would often not furnish the analyst with sufficient data to analyse the semantics of nominal categories. This is because not all nouns can act easily as target words in sentences, thereby instantiating specific frames that can be analysed in the same way as verbs. Nominal categories, acting as *'free agents'*, may display a weak ability to evoke scenes by themselves and thus become very difficult to define by applying Frame Semantics.

A more ideal approach (in some cases complementarily to Frame Semantics) is to analyse nominal categories and how they were translated into P-Ez. This entails the theory of Idealised Cognitive Models (ICMs), an approach which is closely related to the theory of Frame Semantics. It is observed that the theory of ICMs incorporates the approach of Frame Semantics. Because the theory of ICMs focuses on the categorisation of processes and things in the world, it proves to be the most ideal approach to analyse nouns or nominal categories in particular. The relevance of the ICM theory stems from the assumption that a word, especially a noun, can be analysed without any need for that word to be in a particular sentence or context. On the other hand, for an analysis from a Frame Semantics point of view, a word needs to occur as a target word in a specific sentence or context. These characteristics constitute an important distinction between the related approaches in the field of Cognitive Semantics. An analysis of certain nouns, especially those that are relational in nature, may be performed both from an ICM viewpoint and from that of a Frame Semantics approach.

The particular nouns considered for analysis in the present chapter were תאטן, פשע and עון. Firstly these three terms were defined as categories from the point of view of the ICMs. According to the ICM approach, תאטן and פשע are categories quite close together semantically. While עון is also close to the first two categories, it displays some unique features that help distinguish it from the first two. Then these results were further refined by a subsequent analysis of the categories from the Frame Semantics point of view.

From the results of these analyses, it has been observed that the translator of P-Ez was probably unaware of the nuanced semantic differences between the three categories studied in the present chapter. The Hebrew noun תאטן was translated consistently with the Syriac cognate equivalent ܐܡܬܐ. For the other two nominal categories פשע and עון, the translator employed the Syriac noun ܐܬܡܐ, which might have been used as a kind of a superordinate category to represent the two Hebrew

categories. Occasionally, the translator also rendered the two Hebrew categories with ܠܡܥܠܐ. It should be noted that, although the Syriac translator indeed might have been ignorant of the specialised meanings of at least the Hebrew categories עשׂה and עו, the resultant manner in which these categories were rendered into the Peshitta can in part be traced back to the source text itself. In this source text (close to the MT), the relevant terms seems to have been employed metonymically to refer to a more superordinate category, such as the EVIL MORAL CONDITION ICM.

It can be argued, as was done above, that the three Hebrew terms on most occasions rather referred to the misdeed or 'EVIL MORAL CONDITION' ICM. If so, then it can also be argued with reasonable caution that the corresponding Syriac terms used by P-Ez's translator were simply meant to refer to the same broad ICM of MISDEEDS or EVIL MORAL CONDITION. This is possible, given also the pattern that was followed in the LXX in translating the terms. The LXX translators simply seemed to have translated the terms with those in the Greek MISDEEDS ICM, although the LXX translator attempted to use specific Greek equivalents for each specific Hebrew term. The clearest evidence however, that the Hebrew terms were understood as metonymies of the MISDEEDS or the EVIL MORAL CONDITION ICM, is evident in the TgE. The TgE appears to have taken עו as a kind of a generic term representing a misdeed or an evil moral condition. As a result, עו was the Aramaic equivalent that was employed as a superordinate category almost uniformly to translate the three Hebrew categories discussed in the present chapter and even for other categories as well.

An analysis has also been carried out to determine the level of influence, if any, the TgE or the LXX might have exerted on the emergent translation technique in P-Ez concerning the three Hebrew nominals. It has been observed that all these versions do not at appear to have influenced the Peshitta translation, at least, on the three nouns.³³⁴ Furthermore, it is highly improbable that changes by copyists during the

³³⁴ That is, without taking into consideration the prefixes and suffixes to the nouns.

transmission of the Peshitta MSS could have altered the *Urtext* on the translation of the three nouns as it was laid down by P-Ez's translator. As a result, the analysis made in the present study should reflect the translation technique that was employed by the translator.

Although the resultant translation technique observed here may have some positive contributions to textual criticism, it also provides considerable challenges. Thus, in the case where one needs to recover a specific reading in the *Vorlage* of P-Ez (a process also referred to as 'retroversion'), the translation technique observed here will make such an exercise difficult if not impossible. In the case of the Peshitta reading such as ܩܕܝܫܐ, one would have to decide whether for this Syriac word the translator had קדש or קדוש or קדו in the Hebrew source text before him. Further, one may have no clue as to whether or not the *Vorlage* used by the P-Ez's translator then, contains a variant reading to a parallel reading in the MT text as it has been preserved to the present times. These are the limitations that accompany this type of translation technique. Textual criticism will have to deal with such challenges, making the most of any useful information that the results of the present translation technique study and other sources can provide.

In view of the preceding discussion, the apparent lack of consistency and clarity in the rendering of the three nominal categories in the Peshitta should not be posed too readily to suggest that nominal categories in general were rendered inconsistently or arbitrarily. Certainly, difficulties will be faced in a translation following a Frame Semantics approach, simply because a category is nominal.³³⁵

In a sample survey of certain nouns in Ezekiel 8-11, the present author, in a separate publication, has demonstrated that most Hebrew nouns were to a great degree rendered consistently into appropriate corresponding Syriac frames (Mushayabasa, 2012:81-82, 85). The present author also has carried out a survey of

³³⁵ Cf. section 5.4 above.

the rendering of two nominal categories: כְּרוֹב, and שֹׁפֵט / מִשְׁפָּט which were rendered consistently throughout the book of Ezekiel. If at all a pronounced degree of difficulty in the rendering of nominal categories and the maintenance of consistency of equivalencies is detected in the translated text of P-Ez, it must necessarily depend on some factors identified in the present chapter. These factors may include:

- I. the presence or absence of the polysemous use of the particular nominal category;
- II. the semantic distance between the category in question and other categories of the same domain;
- III. the freedoms with which metonymy is applied within the domain in which the category exists.

Thus the preceding study should not merely lead to the conclusion that nominal categories were generally poorly rendered in P-Ez. This preliminary conclusion should be interpreted instead as suggesting that certain nominal categories in specific domains were rendered using approaches that could lead to uncertainties about the Hebrew *Vorlage*. This may also cause inconvenient inconsistencies in the resultant translation technique.

This analysis does not include those nominal categories, which can be classified under *hapax legomena*, proper nouns, *toponyms* or technical nouns. This list also includes some terms that may have proved difficult to the translators. These categories and terms deserve a discussion platform of their own.

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSIONS

6.1 TRANSLATION TECHNIQUE IN THE PESHITTA TO EZEKIEL 1 – 24

6.1.1 Major characteristics

At the beginning of the present study the central theoretical argument was put forward in the following way:

*The translator of the Peshitta to Ezekiel (P-Ez) translated from his source text to the target text approximately at the level of semantic frames, and thus a Frame Semantics study is the most appropriate method to study the translation technique in P-Ez.*³³⁶

The author is of the opinion that this argument has been affirmed by the investigations carried out in the present study. It has been observed that, while a single polysemous Hebrew lexical unit (LU) may evoke a number of different frames of the same family or type (or a radial structure of frames), P-Ez often uses different LUs to evoke such different frames. This is even more the case with verbs that tend to be polysemous in nature. P-Ez also attempts to maintain consistency of equivalences for specific types of frames, for example by translating all the ARRIVING INTO frames by the LU *ʿall.n* (‘all), or the HANDING OVER CONTROL frames by *shlm.n* (shlm).

However, these characteristic ways of translation were not followed on a few occasions. This deviation from the norm could be due to the influence of factors such

³³⁶ See section 1.8.

as the availability of near synonyms, the desire to employ stylistic variation and the phenomenon of *cognate attraction*. The phenomenon of *cognate attraction* arose when the Peshitta translator opted for a Syriac cognate equivalent to the Hebrew LU, rather than search for a different Syriac LU. In this case, a different Syriac LU might evoke more naturally (or idiomatically), a corresponding Syriac frame to the one in the Hebrew text. Even though the Syriac cognate was not the most appropriate equivalent available for a particular frame, it was nevertheless the first to be called up from the translator's memory. Furthermore, while P-Ez's translator translates at the level of semantic frames, such a translation is still done 'on-line' cognitively. That is to say, P-Ez's translator does not determine beforehand which LU and frame elements (FEs) he is going to use for which frame. Rather, the translator finds the equivalent frames, and thus words, by a natural linguistic cognitive process of searching for an equivalent frame when he comes to the frame in a continuous process of translating (or mapping) one frame after the other.

The translator also did not need to remember each time how he translated a similar frame before. Rather, he let himself be guided by what the present study understands to be cognitive linguistic processes. These processes helped him evoke the relevant frame in each case as he came to it. It is important however, to note here that the translator was not knowledgeable of cognitive linguistic processes or about semantic frames as they have been theorized in the present study. Rather, it is supposed that his translation was done at a pre-theoretical level. It then happens that the level at which the translator carried out his translation approximates to a translation made at the level of semantic frames. The resultant translation can therefore be studied most profitably by using a cognitive semantic approach, such as that of Frame Semantics employed in the present study.

It is the conviction of the present author that one of the most important contributions made in the present study by employing Frame Semantics in studying translation technique is that it provides much more defined contexts. Within these contexts one

is able to analyse how the translator handled certain features, whether words or syntactical (grammatical) aspects of his source language. For example, one will not simply study the consistency with which a translator translated a verb such as נתן but rather, may have to enquire how the Hebrew LU was rendered into P-Ez when the Hebrew text evokes a specific frame such as the TEMPORARY GIVING frame. In addition, knowledge of how such frames were structured generally helps when it comes to resolving strange frames in the source Hebrew text, or unfamiliar renderings in the Syriac target text. (E.g., see Ezekiel 21:32(27) in section 3.4.1, and Ezekiel 16:38 in section 3.5.3. See also Ezekiel 11:16 in section 4.3.10 of the present study.³³⁷) The problem remains however, that some frames occur a few times or even only once in the Hebrew and the Peshitta texts. Such a case implies that there are not enough instances of a frame that can lead to a confident explanation of how that frame was characteristically handled by the translator.

Frame Semantics has also helped to explain the apparent inconsistencies in the mapping of nominal categories associated with, for instance, the MISDEED frame. The close semantic proximity between categories associated with the MISDEED frame often led the Peshitta translator to employ the terms metonymically. In that case, the terms employed could refer to either a superordinate category, or to a different category within the same major frame (see section 5.8). The fact that this feature is reflected in both P-Ez's Hebrew source text and in his target Syriac text implies that P-Ez's translator may have had a good understanding of the source text from which he was working.

On the other hand, knowledge of how P-Ez's translator mapped the nominal categories confirms the fact that, even though the translator translated at the level of frames, his translation was not similar to that of, for example, machine translation. Rather, in each case the translator was free to apply LUs and FEs that he

³³⁷ That is chapters 1-6 of the present thesis.

considered to be the most appropriate Syriac equivalents for the frame in his Hebrew source text. Moreover, it was seen that not all nominal categories suffered the negative effects of metonymical referencing. Most Hebrew nominal categories were rendered into their target text without being affected by polysemy or ambiguity. Such categories generally tended to be mapped consistently into their target Syriac text.

6.1.2 Some specific characteristics

6.1.2.1 *Additions and omissions*

Often linguistic elements were added or omitted in order to come up with proper or idiomatic Syriac frames, or to avoid / resolve difficult readings that appeared in the translator's source text. Thus most of such variances appear in places where the Hebrew frames are somewhat obscure or contain difficult readings. The present study and any previous studies known to the present author on the Peshitta to Ezekiel have rarely identified additions and omissions that can be attributed to errors such as *homoeoteleuton*, and *homoeoarcton*. By depending on the existence of difficult readings the number of additions or omissions to frames was kept to a relative minimum. Indeed, frames were generally not omitted, except in cases where the Hebrew text presented complex problems for the translator. Nominal lexical categories, such as אֲוֹן, פֶּשַׁע and עֹן ('awon), were not once omitted in the study range of the present study.

6.1.2.2 *Assimilations and harmonisations*

The characteristic feature of assimilations and harmonisations were not found to be common in the Peshitta to Ezekiel. There is a high probability that harmonisations did occur subconsciously, when the translator in the process of translation would recall a similar phrase in another section of the same book or from other books of the Old Testament (see section 4.4.1). Cases of assimilations were limited as well. Those cases that were identified as instances of assimilation seem to have occurred

as a result of the translator experiencing some difficulties in deciphering his Hebrew text (see section 4.4.2.1).

6.1.2.3 *Difficult Hebrew phrases / clauses, unfamiliar terms and hapax legomena*

In some cases, the translator could often resolve the unfamiliar Hebrew constructions (see section 3.5.3 and 3.3.3.4) that lay in his Hebrew source text. These cases again prove that the P-Ez's translator had a relatively sound knowledge of the language from which he was translating. However, in some cases, it appears that P-Ez's translator had to resort to speculation or guessing (see sections 4.4.1.2 and 4.4.2.2). The problems of difficult texts and problematic clauses were compounded by the poetic literary genre in some chapters of Ezekiel which the translator had to deal with. Thus in sections such as chapter 7, 17, 19 and parts of chapter 21, P-Ez's translator often experienced difficulties in mapping a number of frames. Often in such sections, the translator struggled to identify the beginning and ending of clauses and sentences, given the succinct nature of Biblical Hebrew poetry. The result was that P-Ez's translator usually came off with a text which does not reflect the one in the Masoretic Text (MT) (his purported source text).

In relation to *hapax legomena*, the translator resorted to guessing with regard to those frames which were unknown to him from the Hebrew text. In the process, he could appeal to similar sounding words (or similarly spelt words) in the Hebrew or in the Syriac target text (see discussion of Ezekiel 16:36 and 20:6 in section 3.5). The speculation on the relevant equivalents in P-Ez was often aided by contextual interpretation, as noted by Van Rooy (2009:279).³³⁸ In other instances the translator

³³⁸ Cf. Ezekiel 7:7 where P-Ez's translation of the Hebrew frame instantiated by בוא, with an unfamiliar Theme FE, הצפירה (meaning uncertain) although, unfamiliar to the translator, nevertheless was translated to ܡܝܢ ܚܝܬ (morning). This perhaps was aided by the similarity in the root letters, as well as by context.

would simply omit the unknown FE or frame. From the cases that were studied, no omissions of *hapax legomena* could be pointed out, although their omission has been observed to take place elsewhere in P-Ez (Van Rooy, 2009:266-267) (see also Ezekiel 16:47 in relation to וָקָד). This being the case, it must also be noted that not all *hapax legomena* were strange or unknown to P-Ez's translator (Van Rooy, 2009:264-266).

6.1.2.4 *Exegetical tendencies*

It stands to reason that linguistic and semantic exegesis or interpretation³³⁹ in P-Ez was at the level of semantic frames. Furthermore, since the present study postulates that the translator translated approximately at the level of semantic frames, his employment of contextual exegesis should also have been a given (Tov, 2012:119-120); Mushayabasa, 2008:107). Thus the translator, in order to determine any individual frame in a running text accurately enough, had to rely on adjacent frames, which provided the necessary context within which to interpret a specific frame.

In the cases that were studied, significant levels of exegetical influence were noted, especially with the resolution of rhetorical questions in the Hebrew source text by a statement in the target text. Such resolution of rhetorical questions seemed in the final analysis to supply information that is not literally apparent in the Hebrew text (see Ezekiel 20:3, 31 discussed in section 3.7). On the other hand, theological exegesis (a much more unobstructed form of exegesis) took place in P-Ez in very isolated cases and at a very tempered level, compared to that in the Targum of Ezekiel (TgE)³⁴⁰.

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³³⁹ Cf. Tov (2012:118).

³⁴⁰ Cf. Mushayabasa (2008:107-115) and Mushayabasa (2010).

6.1.2.5 *Relationship to other versions*

The question of the influence of TgE on P-Ez may be considered to be out of question, following the general consensus among Peshitta students, and the confirmation of the fact in various places, in the present study. However, possibilities that the Septuagint (LXX) influenced some isolated translations in the Peshitta to Ezekiel 1-24 still exist. Of all the frames studied in the preceding three chapters, two instances, all occurring in Ezekiel 17:22, show a high possibility that LXX influenced P-Ez (see discussion on Ezekiel 17:22 in section 3.5.2). Even for these cases, an outside chance exists that such an influence could have taken place in the early stages of the transmission of the Peshitta manuscripts rather than at the stage of translation. Alternatively, it may be quite possible that the Peshitta translator based his translation on a variant *Vorlage* in those places where P-Ez agrees with LXX against MT (Van Rooy, 2008:226-227).³⁴¹ As noted in chapter 1, some studies have shown that influence of LXX on P-Ez occurred in very few cases, if at all (see section 1.3.2). While there is a large number of instances in which P-Ez's translator found it difficult to map frames involving *hapax legomena*, rare words, and difficult phrases, the proportionally small number of incidences in which P-Ez's translator could be believed to have consulted a Greek text, shows that the P-Ez was largely translated independently of other versions.

6.2 THE *VORLAGE* OF P-Ez AND ITS VALUE FOR THE TEXTUAL STUDIES OF THE TEXT OF EZEKIEL

The value P-Ez holds for textual studies of the Ezekiel text, largely depends on the nature of P-Ez's *Vorlage* in relation to other extant witnesses of the Hebrew Bible. For P-Ez to reflect the highest possible value in textual criticism, its *Vorlage* must show a Hebrew text that has variant readings at least to those in the MT text and most ideally to any available witness of the Hebrew Bible. Such a variant text would

³⁴¹ See also section 1.3.2.

help to solve problematic readings in the MT text or to reveal directions which the Hebrew text was taking in the history of its composition and transmission.

The present study has not come upon a reading that may be taken with confidence as a unique reading that lay only in P-Ez's *Vorlage*. By a unique reading is meant here that such a reading is not attested to in any other witnesses of the Hebrew Bible, whether it be extant Hebrew MSS or versions. There are however, variant readings where P-Ez agrees with the LXX against the MT, which may be attributed to a variant *Vorlage* for both these versions. The present study did encounter two such cases. A less likely case is the one at Ezekiel 7:6b (see section 4.3.6), while the variant reading in Ezekiel 17:22 is a more likely candidate for a variant reading in P-Ez and LXX's *Vorlagen* (see section 3.5.2).

The present author is of the opinion that it would be presumptuous to assess the nature of the P-Ez's *Vorlage* based on the limited extent to which the present study has explored the Peshitta text. Nevertheless, this study, together with preceding research, presents the readership with a window into a tentative pattern that begins to emerge from the Peshitta text to Ezekiel.

Primarily, following a study of how some frames in the Hebrew text were mapped into the Peshitta text, the present study maintains the generally accepted view that P-Ez's *Vorlage* was a Hebrew text very close to the MT. This conclusion is based on the observation made in the present study on the relationship of the frames rendered into P-Ez to those in the MT text. Most frames mapped into P-Ez reflect a text much the same as that of the MT. Most deviations from the MT reading could be attributed to the translator's failure to understand the nature of the frames in the Hebrew text. There is also a possibility that some variant readings arose in the transmission process of the Peshitta manuscripts (MSS) although the present study could not confirm any case of such a nature.

In some instances the variations could validly be because the translator was translating from a Hebrew source that is variant from the text of the Masoretic tradition. Any of the explanations that have been given here could apply to each case of a variant reading between P-Ez and MT. Therefore each case of variation must be treated individually and a decision can only be reached after a complete analysis of all the factors involved. Naturally the accumulated knowledge on the P-Ez's general translation technique could prove helpful in reaching quick solutions. Thus, for example, if P-Ez has a reading variant from that in the MT within the context of a rhetorical question, it is most probable that the translator of P-Ez rephrased the rhetorical question to a statement (see section 3.7). However, if there are other factors in this variant reading, which cannot be explained by P-Ez's usual translation technique, then further detailed study certainly is needed on the topic.

6.3 REFLECTIONS ON METHODOLOGY

Some of the positive contributions of Frame Semantics to the study of the translation technique in P-Ez have been mentioned in detail in preceding sections. In the present section, discussion on methodology centres mostly on technical and feasibility aspects.

In the first instance it is clear that to utilise the approach advocated here, a sound understanding of Cognitive Linguistics, and particularly the field of Cognitive Semantics, is a pre-requisite. However, given that Cognitive Linguistics in general is gaining ground in the field of Linguistics (Kemmer, 2010), it is out of question that the knowledge of this growing subject will gradually become available to a large number of scholars who also are dealing with the Ancient Versions.

Secondly, it emerges that this method requires a large number of contributors, given the observation made in the present study of the amount of effort required to analyse the frames that are associated with relatively few number of words. As a matter of

fact, at the end of this study a large number of frames are still to be analysed in P-Ez 1-24, as to their general nature in the Hebrew text and the manner in which they were mapped into the Syriac target text. In view of this realisation, it becomes clear that a comprehensive understanding of the character of a Peshitta translation such as P-Ez, ideally requires a scholarly combined effort. The results obtained from each study can then be recorded in a catalogue. This catalogue can list the frames mapped into P-Ez, together with statistical information of aspects such as successful mappings, failed mappings, partial mappings and reasons for failed mappings or variant frames and FEs. As knowledge is gathered cumulatively on how specific frames were mapped by the translator from his Hebrew source text to his target text, a better understanding will emerge on the character of P-Ez. Such knowledge may be applied to textual studies, not only in relation to P-Ez but to other books of the Old Testament as well.

Thirdly, it must be admitted that there may be a certain level of subjectivity when one attempts to determine a specific kind of frame that lay in the translator's source text. This subjectivity perhaps also impacts on an analyst's certainty in considering whether the P-Ez translator indeed understood the frame in his Hebrew text. This especially became clear when attempts were made to retrieve the Manner of Arriving at the Goal in some ARRIVING frames. In such cases, Frame Semantics, although it is helpful in understanding the problem, nevertheless fails to account adequately for the manner in which translation was made (see section 4.2.4). Reasons for the difficulties faced from a Frame Semantics approach in such cases may vary. It could lie in the conceptual limitations of the language(s) involved or otherwise in the cultural gap that exists between the world of the languages (Old Testament Hebrew and Aramaic world) and that of a present day's analyst.

Another challenge in this regard is the fact that different types of frames may not display the same pattern of semantic structure, or may exhibit unique traits in terms of conceptual structure (or frame structure). Often this requires one to adapt the

Frame Semantics approach to be able to apply to the study of such unique frames. Thus the present study has found that, while the LU נתן.v may be argued to display a radial category of polysemous meanings related to the GIVING frames,³⁴² the LU בא.v does not fit into such a simple semantic structure.³⁴³ In addition, it was observed in chapter 5 that a broader scope was necessary of the Frame Semantics theory, incorporating the idea of ICMs. This especially seemed to be the case when it came to analysing the semantic structure of synonymous nominal categories associated with the MISDEEDS frame. Evidently, the study of the synonymous relations of frames within a frame network was a more ideal method than using a radial network which is applicable to polysemous words. In this regard, what Shead (2011) has pointed out is instructive and worthy to be repeated here:

“Particular words or particular kinds of words, will be more suited to some models over others; but no model is ideally suited to all. For example, FrameNet is particularly well suited to the study of relational terms like חקר (chaqār), and fills a very important gap with the systematic study of syntagmatic relationships in a text; but it is less productive with non-relational concepts” (Shead, 2011:335).³⁴⁴

In another respect, it must be borne in mind that Frame Semantics is not only crucial for the translated versions, but also for textual studies on the Hebrew Old Testament text as such. While both the studies of the semantic structure displayed by the LU נתן.v (nātan) and בא.v (bō) illustrates this fact, a more revealing case may be noted in chapter 5 of the present study. Here it was observed that the metonymical use of certain nominal categories related to the MISDEED frames was initially applied by the author (or editor) of the Hebrew text. In this regard Shead (2011) commits a whole thesis to explore the benefits that Frame Semantics would bring to those involved

³⁴² Cf. Chapter 4.

³⁴³ Cf. chapter 5.

³⁴⁴ Cf. section 5.5 for a similar observation in the present study.

with the lexical semantic analysis of Hebrew words. Indeed his findings, on the most, were positive, ending with the conclusion that an electronic Hebrew lexicon based on Frame Semantics (HebrewNet) could be helpful as a resource for lexicon writers and for those interested in the systematic analysis of words in the Hebrew Bible (Shead, 2011:336). It may be added here that such a resource would be very helpful to students of translation technique studies as well.

With respect to the specific approach taken in the present study, a few aspects remain in which the present author would look for improvements. The present study has limited itself to a Frame Semantics analysis of the translation technique in the P-Ez. This approach from the viewpoint of Frame Semantics treats the subject quite comprehensively. However, it is possible that greater benefits would accrue from applying elements of Cognitive Grammar in a Frame Semantics study such as the one carried out here. In the present study such elements of Cognitive Grammar were rather subdued. Shead (2011) appears to have been successful in combining the semantic aspects as well as the grammatical aspects of Cognitive Linguistics. He linked the aspects of Frame Semantics and Radical Construction Grammar (RCG) in his *Radical Frame Semantics and Biblical Hebrew* (Shead, 2011).

On the other hand, due to the inceptive nature of the present study, involving Cognitive Semantics in the study of translation technique, it perhaps was appropriate to limit the application of theories in this instance to Frame Semantics, which on its own entails a major field of study. It must also be understood that in the field of Cognitive Semantics focused on the semantic structure of words, the most thorough studies have been done only at the level of prepositions. Studies on rich content words, such as verbs, are still to be explored fully. In this regard, the present study represents a venturesome exploration into a research area that is yet to be investigated and understood sufficiently as far as Cognitive Semantics is concerned.

In view of these preceding observations, it is expected that future research will be able to build on the present study. The author of this treatise also anticipates such future studies to identify and avoid possible pitfalls that the present study still holds, and on the other hand, to follow on the valuable insights established here. In the process, such studies would help to chart the best course by which to maximise the findings in Cognitive Linguistics for translation technique studies.

As mentioned previously, Frame Semantics must be implemented as an aiding tool among many in the whole enterprise of defining the translation technique of an Ancient translation. This does imply the involvement of other facets of translation technique studies, which translators will not be able to study using Frame Semantics. This particularly is the case in relation to such elements as the translator's interpretation or mapping of technical nouns, divine terms, anthropomorphisms, as well as identification of the writer's ideology and theology. As a matter of fact, while the intention was at the beginning of the present study to afford sufficient space for such topics (see section 1.7.2), it did not play out that way. Due to overstretched attention in applying Frame Semantics to the few cases considered here, no room was left to consider some of the features of translation technique that do not require to be studied using a Frame Semantics approach.

On the whole, the introduction of Cognitive Linguistics approaches such as Frame Semantics to the studies of translation techniques in the Ancient Versions, should not mean that prior knowledge about translation technique on the Peshitta to Ezekiel should be discarded. The present study also does not hold any pretence that Cognitive Linguistics approaches advocated here offer a complete solution to the question of approaches in translation technique studies. Therefore the continued use of other methods is not excluded for analysing translation technique in the Ancient Versions. The contention is rather that, translation technique analysis should where possible, incorporate approaches such as Frame Semantics, which may add or improve on the knowledge already available in the field.

6.4 CONTRIBUTION

Mention has been made of some of the contributions from the present study towards the body of knowledge in scholarship, especially in a broad sense to the field of Semitic Languages. In light of this fact, it is appropriate to present these contributions coherently and concisely.

- Through applied insights emerging from the Frame Semantics approach, this study helped facilitate better understanding of the verbal lexical items נתן (nātan) and בוא (bō), as well as the nominal lexical items חטאת (chattāt), פשע (peshā^ʿ) and עון (ʿawon), especially with reference to the use of these lexical items in Ezekiel 1 – 24.
- Contribution has been made to the subject of the translation technique in Ezekiel regarding the level at which the translator rendered his source text into his target text. This level has been argued in the present study to be that of semantic frames. It therefore appears that a Cognitive Linguistic approach such as Frame Semantics offers the best means to study translation technique in renditions understood to have focused on the idiomatic or the ‘sense’ level. Thus the expectation is that the translation at the level of semantic frames will become apparent in many other Peshitta Old Testament books as well.
- A contribution has been made to the translation technique of Ezekiel, especially on how specific cases discussed in the present study were handled by the translator. These specific cases involved the mapping of particular frames evoked by one of the five LUs studied: נתן (nātan), בוא (bō), חטאת (chattāt), פשע (peshā^ʿ) and עון (ʿawon).
- The present thesis ventures beyond what many have attempted in the area of translation technique in the Peshitta books. This study does not merely

explain the consistencies and inconsistencies or the equivalences and the lack thereof, but progresses in the research. By employing a Cognitive Semantics approach of lexical analysis like Frame Semantics, the present study seeks to explain why certain linguistic elements were translated in the way they appear in the Peshitta to Ezekiel 1-24.

This study also aims to establish a *modus operandi* for further research on the different linguistic elements in a translation. In this sense these results may be useful, primarily to help understand how certain linguistic frames were treated by the translator, and secondarily to determine how the resultant translation technique can aid scholars in the text-critical analysis of the Hebrew text.

- Finally, the present study introduces a unique and enriching interdisciplinary dialogue between the long-existing research in Ancient Versions of the Hebrew Bible and current developments in Cognitive Linguistics studies, particularly the category of cross-linguistic research that employs Cognitive Linguistic methods (see Cienki, 2007:174).

6.5 DIRECTIONS FOR FURTHER STUDIES

Discussions on possible directions for further studies have, on the most part, already been mentioned in this study. This was done alongside the discussions in the foregoing sections of the present chapter. For the sake of order and convenience, these will be summarised subsequently.

- In the first place, the Frame Semantics approach applied here need to be complemented by grammatical aspects from Cognitive Linguistic approaches, such as Cognitive Grammar or Construction Grammar.
- Secondly, studies of translation technique in P-Ez need to be continued by using Cognitive Semantics approaches such as Frame Semantics, with the results being recorded cumulatively in a catalogue or a database. Such a

database will, in the final analysis, offer a complete picture of the nature of how the P-Ez's translator mapped Hebrew frames from his source text to his target text. The focus should then not only be on Hebrew frames, but also on the nature of the target language's frames (see suggestions made in section 4.7.3).

It is the eager anticipation of the present author, but perhaps also of all the exponents involved with the text of Ezekiel and with Old Testament Peshitta studies in general, that in the not so distant future, the question on the nature of the translation technique in P-Ez will finally be put to rest.

- Lastly, one may suggest here, perhaps rather curiously, that the application of methods from the field of Cognitive Semantics may even be relevant to the studies of other Syriac literature contemporary with the Peshitta Old Testament. The interest here would be the relation between these works analysed in terms of cognitive frames that may reflect theological and cultural views in books such as the Peshitta to Ezekiel.

Briefly looking back, the present study tracks back into the ancient ages, to discover insights about ancient languages, with the use of recently developed scientific methods of linguistic analysis. It is expected that this study of the past will change the future, not only of biblical textual studies, but also of some age-old disciplines such as hermeneutics, exegetical studies, and translation.

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