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# **A CORPUS-BASED STUDY ON THE HEBREW LOANWORDS IN MODERN AMERICAN ENGLISH**

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Satu Vallineva: A Corpus-based Study on the Hebrew Loanwords in Modern American English

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Tämä pro gradu -tutkielma käsittelee kolmea Amerikan nykyenglannin kielessä vaikuttavaa heprealaista lainasanaa (*megillah*, *goliath* ja *behemoth*) ja tutkii niiden luonnetta käyttöperusteisen mallin mukaan (The Usage-based model). Tutkimus pyrkii vastaamaan kysymyksiin ”missä määrin kyseiset lainasanat esiintyvät teksteissä ja muualla?”, ”onko kyseisillä lainasanoilla sama merkitys *Oxford English Dictionary* -verkkosanakirjassa (tästä eteenpäin *OED*) ja *The Corpus of Contemporary American English* -korpuksessa (tästä eteenpäin *COCA*) vai ovatko ne saaneet uusia merkityksiä tai käyttötapoja?” ja ”mitä kyseiset lainasanat kuvaavat? Heijastavatko ne kielellisiä vai ulkoisia elementtejä, kuten poliittisia tai historiallisia tapahtumia?” Tutkimukseen valittiin kolme lainasanaa, jotka *OED* määrittää heprealaista alkuperää olevaksi. Kyseisten sanojen merkitysten kehitystä verrataan *OED*-verkkosanakirjan ja *COCA*-korpuksen avulla. Lisäksi tutkimuksessa hyödynnetään *COCA*:n tulosten lajitteluominaisuutta eri diskurssityyppeihin (Magazine, News, Academic, Spoken ja Fiction), jotta mahdolliset vaihtelut ja muunnokset voidaan havaita viimeaikaisessa käytössä. Hypoteesi on, että sanat ovat saaneet uusia merkityksiä ja käyttötapoja, kuin mitä ne ovat alun perin merkinneet ja miten niitä on alun perin käytetty.

Teoreettisena viitekehystenä toimii käyttöperusteinen malli (The Usage-based model). Käyttöperusteinen malli pitää sisällään ajatuksen lainasanojen käsitteellisestä typologiasta. Se keskittyy lainasanojen muodollisiin ja semanttisiin ominaisuuksiin sekä niiden suhteeseen kielijärjestelmässä. Käyttöperusteisen mallin mukaan käsitteellisestä näkökulmasta katsottuna on olemassa kolmenlaisia lainasanoja: Niitä, jotka ovat lainattu viittaamaan uuteen käsitteeseen tai tarkoitteeseen, niitä, jotka ovat lainattu viittaamaan olemassa olevaan käsitteeseen tai tarkoitteeseen, sekä niitä, jotka ovat olemassa olevia sanoja, mutta ovat saaneet uusia merkityksiä. Tutkimusmetodi pitää sisällään sekä laadullisen että määrällisen menetelmän, koska ne ovat molemmat tarpeellisia korpuslingvistisessä tutkimuksessa.

Tutkimuksen tulokset viittaavat siihen, että kyseiset lainasanat ovat joko laajentaneet merkitystään tai ovat saaneet uusia merkityksiä ja käyttötapoja. Tutkimustulosten perusteella kyseiset lainasanat kuuluvat käyttöperusteisen mallin ryhmään, jossa sana on lainattu viittaamaan jo olemassa olevaan käsitteeseen tai tarkoitteeseen.

Avainsanat: Korpustutkimus, lainasana, käyttöperusteinen malli, heprea, *megillah*, *goliath*, *behemoth*

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# ABSTRACT

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This thesis deals with three Hebrew loanwords in American modern English (*megillah*, *goliath* and *behemoth*) and examines their nature according to the Usage-based model. The thesis attempts to answer the questions "To what extent do *megillah*, *goliath* and *behemoth* occur in texts and elsewhere?", "do the loanwords in the *Corpus of Contemporary American English* (hereafter *COCA*) have the same meanings as in the *Oxford English Dictionary Online* (hereafter *OED*) or have the *OED* Hebrew loanwords taken on new meanings and uses in *COCA*?" and "what do the loanwords depict? Do they reflect linguistic elements or something else, such as political or historical events?" Three loanwords were selected for the study, which *OED* determines to be of Hebrew origin. *OED* and *COCA* are used to examine and compare the evolution of the meanings of the loanwords. In addition, the thesis employs the sorting of *COCA* results into different discourse types (Magazine, News, Academic, Spoken and Fiction) to pay attention to possible variations in recent use. The hypothesis is that the loanwords have taken on new meanings and uses and differ from what they originally meant and how they were originally used.

The Usage-based model serves as the theoretical framework for this thesis. The Usage-based model comprises an idea of conceptual typology of loanwords. It emphasizes the formal and semantic aspects of loanwords and their relationship to the linguistic system. According to the model, from a conceptual point of view, there are three types of loanwords: a word may be borrowed into a language to refer either to a new or existing referent/concept, or an existing word may take on a new referent or concept. In addition, the research method includes both qualitative and quantitative methods, as they are both important in a corpus-based research.

The results of the study confirmed the hypothesis to be correct. The three loanwords have either expanded their meaning or have taken on new meanings and uses. According to the research, the three loanwords fall into the category of the Usage-based model, where the word is borrowed to refer to an existing referent or concept.

Keywords: Corpus research, loanword, Usage-based model, Hebrew, *megillah*, *goliath*, *behemoth*

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## 1. Introduction

Loanwords are described as words that have both a form and a meaning of which either component can be borrowed. These are conventionally called loanwords (Durkin, 2014, 3). There are various underlying reasons or motivating factors for using loanwords. Loanwords can be seen used, for example, as a marker of ethnic identity, as ‘adoption’ or as ‘imposition’. ‘Adoption’ takes place when “Some borrowed phonological and syntactic patterns are due to native speakers borrowing (= adopting) features from another (dominant) language into their own language (Haspelmath 2009, 50).” ‘Imposition’ happens when phonological and syntactic patterns “are due to non-native speakers unintentionally retaining (= imposing) features of their native language on a language to which they are shifting (thus, imposition is called “interference through shift” by Thomason & Kaufman 1988)” (Haspelmath 2009, 50). Imposed patterns will only survive if many speakers acquire a new language and shift to it. The line between an adoption and an imposition can be rather thin at times. Haspelmath gives an example of such a case:

Language shift generally takes place when a group of speakers decides that it wants to merge with a more powerful group in principle, but this is not incompatible with retaining a few emblematic words from the original language. Ross (1991) discusses this case (citing the example of a dialect of the Sissano language of Papua New Guinea) and notes that such emblematic borrowing is really a special case of adoption, rather than imposition. The use of a few Yiddish words in New York English, especially when they mark Jewish identity, may also fall in this category. And finally, words from the language of the shifting speakers may survive if these are a dominant group. (Haspelmath 2009, 51)

The three loanwords covered in this study are of Hebrew origin, one of which is a Yiddish-derived, emblematic word that marks Jewish identity. The two other loanwords covered in this study came to English through Bible translations. Hebrew language remained as ‘the language of the Bible’, unspoken until the 19<sup>th</sup> century, which is why the number of the Hebrew loanwords during the Old and Middle English period is minimal. As exploration, trade and globalization began to spread during the Middle and Early Modern English periods, the number of Hebrew loanwords in English increased. Later, growing anti-Semitism in Eastern Europe in the late 20<sup>th</sup> century triggered a large-scale Jewish emigration to Britain and to the United States. In 1870, conditions began to steadily deteriorate, leading to a flood of about 2,5 million Jews in the US between 1877 and 1917. In 1870,

the Jewish population in the US was only 250,000. This is the story of how Yiddish entered modern American English. (Steinmetz, 2016, 16)

Hebrew is listed in Durkin's list (2014, 25) of 25 most prolific sources of loanwords in the *OED* that are not spoken as a native language in Europe or have only come to be spoken in Europe by immigrant communities in recent centuries. However, the distinction between languages of Europe and outside Europe is not an absolute one. Although Hebrew is among the 25 most prolific sources, it can be placed in either group because of its history of direct and indirect contacts with English (Durkin, 2014, 352). Indirect and direct contacts refer to the way a loanword enters the recipient language. Indirect contact means an entrance through written speech, e.g., loanwords mediated through books. Direct contact refers to an entrance through oral speech, an immediate contact between people. Hebrew shows a remarkably large number of indirect loans, especially in earlier centuries. "*Alleluia, amen, pharaoh, and rabbi* are among words that occur (mostly in very restricted contexts) already in Old English texts (although their Middle English and later currency may reflect reborrowing) (Durkin, 2014, 385)." Durkin is sceptical of any direct loans coming from Hebrew before the early Modern period and believes that earlier instances have most likely come through Latin and French. (ibid.) Two of the loanwords (*Goliath* and *behemoth*) covered in this study have entered the language through indirect contact and one (*Megillah*) through direct contact.

The purpose of this study is to examine three loanwords of Hebrew origin (*Megillah, Goliath* and *behemoth*) in the Corpus of Contemporary American English (hereafter *COCA*) and to determine what types of loanwords they are according to the Usage-based model. The Usage-based model divides loanwords into three different groups, which are discussed later in section 2.1. The three loanwords were first selected from the online version of the *Oxford English Dictionary* (hereafter *OED*) and then searched in the *COCA* to determine which of the three types of loanwords they represent. The three *OED* loanwords were compared with those in *COCA* to determine whether they express the same meanings as defined in the *OED* or whether they refer to new concepts or meanings in modern American English. I also used *COCA* to do a lexicosemantic research on the three loanwords to see their variation and change in their recent use in different genres and discourse types such as spoken language, fiction, popular magazines, newspapers, and academic texts, which helped identify their type in the Usage-based model.

The reason I decided to study Hebrew loanwords in the *COCA* is related to the topic of my bachelor's thesis on Hebrew loanwords in *OED*. After studying Hebrew loanwords in the *OED*, I became interested in finding out whether the words retained the meaning defined by the *OED* in modern American English. The Usage-based model seemed ideal for this type of research.

I chose the three loanwords in *OED* because *OED* is famous for being the most comprehensive dictionary of English with its 600 000 words and 3,5 million quotations. It is widely recognized as an authority on the English language and spans more than 1000 years of English. (“About”) In addition, I wanted to do a corpus-based study, especially with the *COCA*, because it is large in terms of its number of entries, is recent, and has a wide range of different discourse types (genres). I found the way of studying a language by studying its use most useful in this type of study. Biber et al. suggest that when studying a language by studying its use, actual data on the use of the language is needed. Biber et al. emphasize that “comprehensive studies of use cannot rely on intuition, anecdotal evidence, or small samples; they rather require empirical analysis of large databases of authentic texts, as in the corpus-based approach (1998, 9)”, making the corpus the best option for this type of research.

The topic of this thesis is worth researching because no such research has been done on Hebrew loanwords in the past. It is also interesting to find out how the meaning and use of words change over time.

By analyzing the data, the thesis seeks to answer the following questions:

1. To what extent do *megillah*, *Goliath* and *behemoth* occur in texts and elsewhere?
2. Do the *COCA* loanwords have the same meaning as in the *OED* or have the *OED* Hebrew loanwords taken on new meanings and uses in *COCA*?
3. What do the loanwords depict? Are they a reflection of linguistic elements or something else? For example, some of the Hebrew loanwords in the *OED* do not depict linguistic elements in a language but extrinsic elements such as historical and political events.

These questions, as well as brief introductions to *COCA* and *OED*, are addressed in chapters four and six (the Data and Method and Results and Discussion). The third part discusses the nature of English language as a borrower and the reasons for the most borrowed semantic fields. The fifth chapter (Analysis) presents the *COCA* findings regarding the three Hebrew loanwords *Megillah/megillah*, *Goliath/goliath* and *behemoth*. In the seventh part (Conclusion), I discuss my findings, reflect on the future of the loanwords, and suggest ideas for further research. The next chapter introduces the thesis’ theoretical background.



## **2. Theoretical Framework**

### **2.1 The Usage-based model**

According to Rohde et al. (2006), the theory of loanwords needs to be a theory that deals with both the formal and semantic aspects of loanwords and their relationship to the linguistic system. In their view, the general features of such a theory are presented using a usage-based approach that combines several cognitively oriented language theories (Langacker 1987, Forthcoming, Bybee 1988, Lakoff 1987). From a cognitive point of view, they state that “the semantics of loanwords is not imported from the source language, but that the speakers of the borrowing language create meaning by accommodating the new unit to their existing knowledge structures (Rohde et al., 2006).” Rohde et al. highlight the way the Usage-based model views language as an open collection of linguistic expressions instead of a well-defined set of lexical objects and syntactic rules. They also emphasize the different conceptual loanword types with which they seek to complement the previous loanword typologies, that have focused more on the formal side. By formal side they refer to formal typologies, such as loan blends and loan translations, which do not deal with the semantic processes involved in borrowing of a form (Rohde et al., 2006). According to Rohde et al., there are three types of loanwords from a conceptual point of view, which also serve as the theoretical framework for this thesis: “First, a word may be borrowed into a language to refer to a new referent/concept. Second, a word may be borrowed into a language to refer to an existing referent/concept. This existing referent/concept may or may not already be lexicalized. Third, an existing word of the borrowing language may take on a new meaning under the influence of the source language (this has typically been referred to as semantic borrowing) (Rohde et al., 2006).” The three loanwords of Hebrew origin investigated in this dissertation all fall into category 2.

In short, the Usage-based model includes the following classifications: 1. a word may be borrowed into a language to refer to a new referent/concept, 2. a word may be borrowed into a language to refer to an existing referent/concept and 3. an existing word of the borrowing language may take on a new meaning (Rohde et al., 2006).

### 3. English and loanwords

To get an idea of English language as a borrower, it is helpful to look at a few statistics before delving into the study. The following charts show the lexical borrowing rate as well as the type of words and semantic fields that English borrows.

#### 3.1 English as a borrower

In the Loanword Typology project (Haspelmath & Tadmor, 2009), which examined 41 individual language subdatabases to study borrowability and resulted in the Haspelmath and Tadmor's World Loanword Database, languages are divided into categories of low borrowers, average borrowers, high borrowers, and very high borrowers. English falls into the category of high borrowers as shown in the table below (Tadmor, 2009, 56).

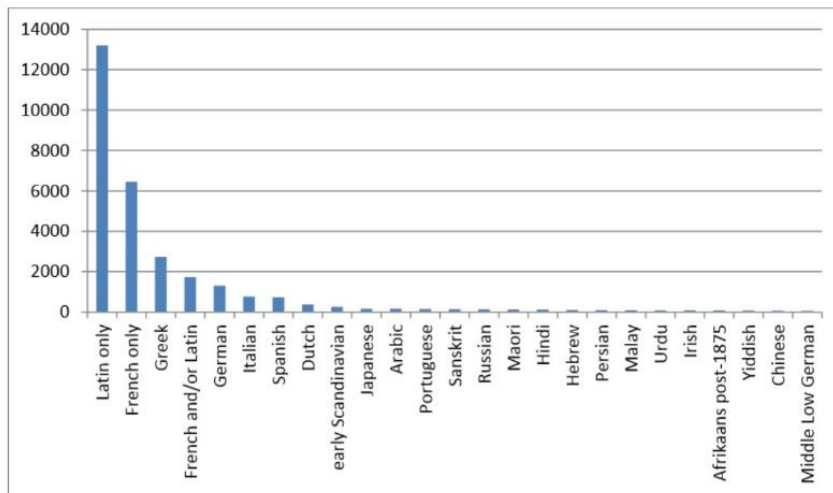
Table 1. Lexical borrowing rates in LWT project languages

Table 1: Lexical borrowing rates in LWT project languages

Borrowing type	Languages	Total words	Loanwords	Loanwords as % of total
Very high borrowers	Selice Romani	1,431	898	62.7%
	Tarifit Berber	1,526	789	51.7%
High borrowers	Gurindji	842	384	45.6%
	Romanian	2,137	894	41.8%
	English	1,504	617	41.0%
	Saramaccan	1,089	417	38.3%
	Ceq Wong	862	319	37.0%
	Japanese	1,975	689	34.9%
	Indonesian	1,942	660	34.0%
	Bezhta	1,344	427	31.8%
	Kildin Saami	1,336	408	30.5%
	Imbabura Quechua	1,158	350	30.2%
	Archi	1,112	328	29.5%
	Sakha	1,411	409	29.0%
	Vietnamese	1,477	415	28.1%
	Swahili	1,610	447	27.8%
	Yaqui	1,379	366	26.5%
Thai	2,063	539	26.1%	
Takia	1,123	291	25.9%	

More specifically, the table below shows the 25 most prolific languages in English listed by Durkin (2014, 25):

Table 2. The 25 most prolific inputs in *OED*



**Fig. 2.1 Totals of loanwords from the 25 most prolific inputs in *OED3* (A-ALZ and M-R).**

In addition, loanwords can be divided into ‘content words’ and ‘function words’. Content words are more borrowable than function words. Content words are words that have meaning. Nouns, main verbs, adjectives, and adverbs are usually content words. Function words, however, (also called as grammatical words) are structural words such as auxiliary verbs, pronouns, articles, and prepositions. The table below shows the deep gap between the content and function word percentages in 16 project languages (out of the total of 41 project languages) in the Haspelmath & Tadmor project (Haspelmath & Tadmor, 2009).

Table 3. Borrowed content and function words

Table 3.2: Borrowed content words and function words by project language

Language	Loanwords as % of all content words	Loanwords as % of all function words	Loan content words to loan function words ratio
Imbabura Quechua	32.5%	2.3%	14.4
Iraqw	15.6%	1.2%	12.7
Seychelles Creole	11.3%	0.9%	12.0
Oroqen	12.9%	1.2%	10.6
Dutch	20.3%	2.1%	9.9
Romanian	44.0%	5.9%	7.5
Q'eqchi'	15.9%	2.5%	6.2
Hawaiian	14.3%	2.5%	5.8
English	43.1%	8.9%	4.8
Lower Sorbian	23.5%	4.9%	4.8
Manange	8.9%	2.3%	3.9
Mapudungun	23.5%	6.3%	3.8
Sakha	30.4%	8.6%	3.5
Gurindji	48.1%	15.4%	3.1
Bezhta	33.4%	11.9%	2.8
Malagasy	18.3%	7.0%	2.6

### 3.2 The most borrowed semantic fields

In terms of semantic fields, religion and belief, clothing and grooming and house are the most borrowing-affected fields in the world's languages. "These semantic fields correspond to domains which have typically been most affected by intercultural influences. Examining the distribution and history of the world's major religions reveals why religious terminology constitutes the most borrowable part of the lexicon." (Haspelmath & Tadmor, 2009, 64). According to the *OED*, the semantic field of English Hebrew loanwords that has the greatest impact on loans is also religion and belief. The three Hebrew origin loanwords examined in this study also represent religious vocabulary: *Megillah* is a Hebrew word originally used for a scroll of religious texts and *Goliath* and *behemoth* are both originally Hebrew words from the Jewish scriptures (aka *Old Testament*).

## 4. Data & Method

This section introduces the corpus and dictionary used in the study of *Megillah/megillah*, *Goliath* and *behemoth*, as well as the steps of data collecting. The data itself are presented after these introductory chapters.

### 4.1. *Corpus of Contemporary American English*

The corpus used in this study is the *Corpus of Contemporary American English*, abbreviated as *COCA*. At the time of the present study, the *COCA* has more than one billion words of text and more than 25 million words are added annually from 1990 to the present day. It is probably the most used English corpus today. In 2019, when the collection of data for this study began, *COCA* was balanced between 5 different genres: spoken, fiction, magazines, newspapers, and academic texts. Today, after the March 2020 update of the *COCA*, there are 8 different genres as TV and Movies subtitles, blogs, and webpages were added. (Davies) This study does not cover the latter three genres. The category of spoken consists of transcripts of unscripted conversations from TV and radio programs such as *Newshour* and *Jerry Springer*. (“PDF Overview”) Fiction includes “short stories and plays from literary magazines, children’s magazines, popular magazines, first chapters of first edition books and movie scripts (“PDF Overview”).” Magazines comprise 100 different magazines including *Cosmopolitan* and *Sports Illustrated*. Newspapers feature newspapers from across the United States and their various sections such as opinion, sports, and local news. Academic contains about 100 peer-reviewed academic journals covering philosophy, psychology, religion, world history, technology, and education. TV and movies subtitles are “from OpenSubtitles.org, and later the TV and Movies corpora (“PDF Overview”).” It must be remembered that the TV and movies category does not represent the actual spoken language, but the written texts because someone first wrote the lines and the script for the TV shows. Similarly, it should be noted that some texts especially in fiction, magazine, and newspaper categories contain direct quotations from interviews and therefore do not represent mere written texts but spoken language. Blogs are taken from the *GloWbE* corpus and represent a subset of the US texts in it. Finally, the web category refers to webpages that are also taken from the *GloWbE* corpus and represent a subset of the general US texts in it. (“PDF Overview”).”

The genres each make up 20% of the total. This allows the researchers to compare data diachronically across the corpus and to be confident that the corresponding text composition

accurately reflects language changes from year to year. (Davies, 2009, 161) In this study, the different genres are called discourse types. In addition to the many functions of *COCA*, it has a function called “top 60 000 words”. *COCA* displays the frequency of the top 60 000 words (lemmas) in each of the eight genres. Two of the loanwords covered by my research - *Goliath* and *behemoth* - are among the top 60 000 words. This is useful in finding out how commonly the word is used. Another feature of *COCA* that makes research easier is its lexicographic nature. Since the aim of my research is to find out how the meaning and use of the three Hebrew loanwords have changed over time, if at all, the lexicographic feature is very convenient. Biber et al. discuss corpus-based techniques, which are in fact extended lexicographic research. Lexicographic research tries to answer the following questions:

- “How common are different words?
- How common are the different senses for a given word?
- Do words have systematic associations with other words?
- Do words have systematic associations with particular registers or dialects?”

(Biber et al., 1998, 21)

The diversity of *COCA* also extends to its search options. *COCA* has five main ways to search the corpus, of which I used the search by individual word. The rest involve browsing of the top 60 000 words, adding full texts, searching for phrases, and finding random words using the “Words of the Day” option. In addition, the search box allows you to choose whether to use a list, chart, word, browse, collocates, compare, or KWIC search option. List, chart, and collocates searches are used in this study.

#### **4.2. Oxford English Dictionary (online)**

The dictionary used to define the three Hebrew origin words as loanwords in this study is the online version of *Oxford English Dictionary*, abbreviated as *OED*. According to *OED Online*, the consensus is that it is an accepted authority on the English language. It provides information on the meaning, history, and pronunciation of 600 000 words from all over the English-speaking world. Due to the comprehensive and historical nature of the *OED*, I considered it wise to use the *OED* as a platform for selecting loanwords of Hebrew origin that *OED* classifies as loanwords. While most other dictionaries focus on present-day meanings, *OED* provides historical information on

individual words through its “3 million quotations, from classic literature and specialist periodicals to film scripts and cookery books (“About”).”

### 4.3. Data Collection

Data were collected as follows: I chose three words of Hebrew origin that the *OED* defines as loanwords. To do this, I had to go through the 323 *OED*-defined loanwords of Hebrew origin. Since the theoretical framework of this study concerns three types of loanwords:

1. a word may be borrowed into a language to refer to a new referent/concept.
2. a word may be borrowed into a language to refer to an existing referent/concept.
3. an existing word of the borrowing language may take on a new meaning (Rohde et al., 2006),

my aim was to choose borrowed words that show similar functions as in the Usage-based model. Loanwords that clearly indicated a use that would hardly be used for any purpose other than as a name, such as the names of Israeli political parties and Jewish months, were excluded. The rest of the loanwords were searched in the *COCA* to find variations in meaning and use. I used the *COCA* list search to view the contents of the first 100 entries for each word. *Megillah*, *goliath* and *behemoth* turned out to be words that, at first glance, showed more variation in meaning and use compared to the *OED* definitions. After studying these words more closely, my observation proved to be correct. In addition to the *OED* definition of the word, I searched the word in other sources, e.g., dictionaries, to find possible different definitions. Each of the three words was examined by conducting a lexicosemantic study to see if there was any change in their recent use in different genres and discourse types from spoken language, fiction, popular magazines, and newspapers to academic texts in *COCA*. In addition, I categorized the words according to their parts of speech and thematic categories. I also examined the words in terms of different linguistic features to find change in their use. For *goliath* and *behemoth*, I developed a classification according to their functions, which are ‘Original’ (no change of meaning, used as originally used), ‘Metaphor’ (used metaphorically, similes are included in this category), ‘Comparison’ (used to describe or compare a situation to that of David vs. Goliath), ‘Adjective’ (used as an adjective, sometimes an adjectival noun) and ‘Name’ (used as a name). The following chapters present the data studied.

## 5. Analysis

The following chapters present the data regarding *Megillah*, *megillah*, *Goliath*, *goliath*, and *behemoth* in the COCA.

### 5.1. *Megillah*

#### Dictionary definitions

The **whole megillah** means the entirety of something, especially something that is an entanglement of intricate arrangements or a long, complicated story. The *whole megillah* is an American idiom taken from Yiddish. In Hebrew, the *Megillah* is one of five books read on special Jewish feast days [Ed: in a scroll form]. *The Book of Esther*, read on Purim, is especially long and complicated. A tedious and complicated story came to be called the *gantse Megillah* in Yiddish, which translates as the *whole Megillah*. The term migrated into mainstream American English in the 1950s, probably through Jewish performers in nightclubs, on radio and on television. The idiom the *whole megillah* was tremendously popularized by its use on the television show *Laugh-In* on American television in 1971. When referring to the scriptures, *Megillah* is capitalized. When used in the idiom the *whole megillah*, the lowercase *m* is used. (*Grammarist*)

The Hebrew loanword *megillah* is a derivation of the Yiddish *megile*. The Hebrew etymon of the word is *megillah* and means a ‘scroll’. *Megillah* is a noun and comes from the Hebrew verb *galal*, to roll. (*OED Online*, s.v. *Megillah*.) As noted above, capitalized *Megillah* often refers to the five books of Hebrew scriptures: The Song of Solomon, Ruth, Lamentations, Ecclesiastes, and Esther. *Megillah* as a slang word refers to a long, tedious, or complicated story as the long scroll of Esther itself. (*OED Online*, s.v. *Megillah*.) The slang *megillah* has collocates, the most used of which is ‘*whole*’. It is often accompanied by an article as in ‘a whole megillah’ and ‘the whole megillah’ identically to its Yiddish equivalence ‘a *gantse/gantze megile*’. ‘The whole megillah’ can be interpreted as ‘the whole thing’, ‘the whole story’ or ‘the whole business’. The first known use of *megillah* is dated to as early as 1911 in Montague Glass’s book *Abe & Mawruss*: “I’ve been listening to *all this here Megillah* and I ain’t said a word nor nothing (*OED Online*, s.v. *Megillah*).



According to the *Merriam Webster* dictionary, slang *megillah* can also refer to “an elaborate, complicated production or sequence of events” and “everything involved in what is under consideration” (*Merriam Webster*, s.v. *megillah*). The word can be considered to have undergone naturalization as it is used so widely. President Donald Trump too used the word in his telephone interview on 7<sup>th</sup> of October in 1999: “The only thing that could interest me is if I could win. I'm not talking about the nomination, I'm talking about *the whole megillah*,” (“Trump Edges Nearer Candidacy”).

## ***Megillah* in the COCA**

### **Form of *megillah***

*COCA* has 23 entries of *megillah*. Eleven of them allude to the slang use and are accompanied by the word ‘whole’ or ‘gantzeh’. The rest twelve refer to the book of Esther in the Bible. The slang *megillah* is rather evenly distributed among the categories of News, Fiction and Magazine. The contexts of the slang *megillah* use vary from menopause, car repair and Clinton’s inauguration to Judaism. In fact, only three of the cases have to do with Judaism or Jewish people. These are found in *New York Times* when talked about Jewish Passover, in *The Virginia Quarterly Review* (a National Journal of Literature and Discussion) in a conversation about Bar Mitzvah (Jewish celebration of rite of passage) and in *The Washington Post* in an article about kosher food. Eight of the eleven cases are preceded by the word ‘whole’, one of them in the Yiddish form ‘gantzeh’:

1. “MY 98-year-old mother calls my Passover seder a gantzeh *megillah* -- a big production. She's right. For me, the seder is the hardest event of the year to prepare for (*COCA*, NEWS, *Denver Post*, 2012).”

Here *megillah* is not merely ‘a whole thing’ but rather ‘a big production’ of Seder (Jewish Passover meal). Even more so, *megillah* keeps the nature of alluding to something that is long, tedious, or complicated as ‘a big production’ can be. Another example of a concept other than ‘the whole thing’ or ‘the whole story’ is the one of Bill Clinton’s second inauguration in *TIME* magazine:

2. ““ The President and First Lady wanted it to be less of a *megillah*, ” said a West Wing official. “ Simple ” and “ elegant ” are the terms Clinton officials want applied to it when it's over. And “ clean.” (*COCA*, MAG, *TIME*, 1997)”

Here *megillah* functions as an adjective although in a noun form: ‘less of a megillah’ becomes ‘less complicated’. As it conveys a meaning of something being ‘complicated’, one might argue that it carries a translation close to ‘a hassle’ as in ‘less of a hassle’. In addition, it functions as an opposing antecedent to a list of describing words: simple, elegant, and clean.

Table 4. Distribution of *megillah* as a slang word in COCA (before the March 2019 update)

SOURCE	NUMBER
NEWS	4
MAGAZINE	4
FICTION	3
<b>Total</b>	<b>11</b>

Source: Corpus of Contemporary American English

Table 5. Distribution of *Megillah* with the allusion to the five books of the Hebrew Scriptures (Esther) in COCA (before the March 2019 update)

SOURCE	NUMBER
NEWS	1
ACADEMIC	8
FICTION	3
<b>Total</b>	<b>12</b>

Source: Corpus of Contemporary American English

The themes and contexts *megillah* occurs in are Menopause/motherhood, car repair, president Clinton’s inauguration, Judaism (Passover, Bar Mitzvah, Kosher food), ethnicity, music, human nature, physics, and investment banking.

*Megillah* as an allusion to the book of Esther is not as evenly distributed as the slang *megillah*. In contrast to the distribution of the slang *megillah* categories, *Megillah* is not found in the category of

Magazine. However, it is found in the category of Academic texts. All the 8 academic texts have the same source, a political magazine called *Commentary*. It was founded by the American Jewish Committee in 1945 to “safeguard and strengthen Jews and Jewish life worldwide by promoting democratic and pluralistic societies that respect the dignity of all peoples worldwide (“About Us”).” The magazine is described as “touchstones for debate and discussion in universities, among policy analysts in and out of government, within the ranks of professionals and community activists of all kinds, and in circles of serious thought worldwide (“About Us”)” on *Commentary*’s webpage.

Table 6. Context of slang *megillah* in the COCA (*megillah* = the whole thing)

SOURCE	CONTEXT	YEAR
1. NEWS ( <i>The Washington Post</i> )	The whole megillah’s caused	1990
2. FICTION (Book: <i>Earth</i> )	into one big megillah	1990
3. MAGAZINE ( <i>Mother Jones</i> )	the whole human megillah	1994
4. NEWS ( <i>The Washington Post</i> )	I’m the whole megillah	1997
5. MAGAZINE ( <i>TIME</i> )	to be less of a megillah	1997
6. NEWS ( <i>Chicago Sun-Times</i> )	the whole Irish megillah	2002
7. FICTION ( <i>The Virginia Quarterly Review</i> )	You want the whole megillah	2003
8. MAGAZINE ( <i>Newsweek</i> )	the whole megillah	2011
9. FICTION ( <i>New England Review</i> )	The whole megillah, come to an end’	2011

10. NEWS ( <i>New York Times</i> )	a gantzeh megillah - a big production	2012
11. MAGAZINE ( <i>Popular Mechanics</i> )	to replace the whole megillah	2012

Source: Corpus of Contemporary American English

### Function of *megillah*

According to the *COCA* findings, *megillah* is a type of endophora because of its anaphoric and antecedent use. In many cases, it is affiliated with anaphoric use, putting together previously mentioned things such as lists of actions, nouns, or adjectives. The *COCA* findings show one example of *megillah* in an antecedent position. At times *megillah* behaves as a superordinate to several hyponyms as well. Four of the slang *megillah* entries are clearly used for anaphoric expressions. For example, Megan Staffel's list-like description of ending motherhood in a literary journal *New England Review* is crystallized in *megillah*:

3. "No more blood, no more babies, no more milk! No guilt for staying home with sick children. No sick children fending for themselves while mommy worked. The whole *megillah*, come to an end, [...] (*COCA*, FIC, Staffel, Megan, 2011)"

Anaphoric use is also evident in a conversation with artist Fred Eversley in *The Washington Post*:

4. "He traces his heritage to George Washington and takes pride in his white, black, Native American and East Indian blood -- " Baby, I'm the whole *megillah* (*COCA*, NEWS, Leiby, Richard, 1997)."

Here *megillah* functions as a superordinate to the list of adjectival hyponyms 'white, black, Native American' and 'East Indian' heritage. Another example of an anaphoric superordinate *megillah* for a list of noun hyponyms can be found in the newspaper *Chicago Sun Times*:

5. "uilleann pipes, Celtic harp, tin whistles -- the whole Irish *megillah* (*COCA*, NEWS, Derogatis, Jim, 2002)."

Even though the meaning translates ‘the whole Irish thing/story’, it can be understood that this could be a case of a composition, a hassle or even a cacophony as well. *Megillah* is a reference to a list of actions as well. A magazine in New York called *Newsweek* has an example of this type of behavior:

6. “I would promote and execute deals, sit on boards, kiss ass, and lie through my teeth: the whole *megillah* (COCA, NEWS, Thomas, Michael, 2011).”

*Mother Jones*, an American magazine focusing on news, commentary, and investigative reporting, gives an example of *megillah* as a reference to a list of actions as well, yet in an antecedent position:

7. “It is time to recognize the variability of females, just as we do males. Women are real. Our reality covers the whole human *megillah*, from feeble to fierce, from bad to good, from endangered to dangerous (COCA, MAG, Dunn, Kathrine, 1994).”

Here *megillah* alludes to human variability and diversity. ‘The whole human thing/story’ being a superordinate to the list of hyponyms: *feeble, fierce, bad, good endangered and dangerous*.

At times *megillah* is used to refer to concepts universally known yet invisible to the eye within the text as in David Brin’s science fiction novel *Earth*:

8. “” The late nineties, boring? For physics? Wasn't that when Adler and Hurt completed grand unification? Combinin' all the forces of nature into one big *megillah*? (COCA, FIC, Brin, David, 1990)”

‘Into one big thing’ is a reference to the ‘grand unification’ (Physics). The ‘grand unification’, in turn, refers to gauge (field) theories having to do with the strong, weak, and electromagnetic interactions (aka forces). This type of use gives a hint of a set of parts *megillah* refers to even though the parts are not mentioned in the text. Here specifically, *megillah* alludes to the universally known forces of nature (namely, the three non-gravitational forces: strong, weak, and electromagnetic force). The same way, the following example in a literary magazine *The Virginia Quarterly Review* alludes to the commonly known traditions within the Jewish communities:

9. “” So? All right. You want the whole *megillah*, like Jeremy? Okay, Danny. It's possible. Rabbi Levine needs a good Torah reader at his shul-a chazzan. My voice

isn't what it used to be, but good enough. I'll bet I could make a deal with Levine.  
Let me talk to your dad. " (COCA, FIC, Clayton, John J., 2003)

The conversation between a Jewish teenager and his older relative reveals the boy's desire to carry out his Bar Mitzvah the traditional and proper way. *Megillah* in the older man's question refers to the process of going through the rite of passage (Bar Mitzvah) properly. Even though the process of Bar Mitzvah is not described in the text, it is commonly known to those who practice Judaism.

Table 7. *Megillah/megillah* in COCA, until March 2020

Section	All	Spoken	Fiction	Magazine	Newspaper	Academic	90-94	95-99	2000-04	2005-09	2010-14	2015-17
Freq	23	0	6	4	5	8	4	2	3	1	13	0
Words (M)	577	116.7	111.8	117.4	113.0	111.4	104.0	103.4	102.9	102.0	102.9	62.3
Per mil	0.04	0.00	0.05	0.03	0.04	0.07	0.04	0.02	0.03	0.01	0.13	0.00

Source: Corpus of Contemporary American English

## 5.2 Goliath

### Dictionary definitions

*Goliath* is probably best-known from the Bible story (the Book of Samuel) in which a Philistine warrior giant is slain by a small shepherd boy David. The Latin etymology of the word is ‘Goliath’, and the Hebrew equivalent is “*golyath*, the giant slain by David, 1Sam.xvii (*OED Online*, s.v. *Goliath*).” According to *OED*, *goliath* has a meaning of “A giant; often with allusion to details in the Scripture narrative”, “A very large lamellicorn beetle, of the genus *Goliathus* or the family Goliathidæ”, “In full **Goliath heron**. The African giant heron, *Ardea goliath*”, “In full **Goliath frog**. A giant frog, *Cyclorana goliath*, found in the southern region of the Republic of Cameroon”, “A kind of powerful travelling crane. Also, *attributive*.” and a *goliath bird-eating spider*, “native to northern South America, which has the highest weight and body size of any known spider”. (*OED Online*, s.v. *Goliath*) According to *OED*'s quotation from Samuel Hieron's *Works* (1620), *Goliath* was already used as early as in 1607 as a giant referring to the details of the scripture narrative: “I haue...chosen this clause, as a smooth stone, by which I may..smite this *Goliah* in the forehead (*OED*, s.v. *Goliath*, sense 1).” However, according to the *Merriam Webster* online dictionary (*Merriam Webster* from here on), the first known use of *Goliath*, referring to the biblical story of

David and Goliath, dates to the 14<sup>th</sup> century (*Merriam Webster Online*, s.v. *Goliath*). *Merriam Webster* does not provide information on the source of the first known use of the word.

### ***Goliath* in COCA**

Table 8. *Goliath* in COCA, until March 2020

Section	All	Spoken	Fiction	Magazine	Newspaper	Academic	90-94	95-99	2000-04	2005-09	2010-14	2015-17
Freq	738	162	182	164	174	856	118	130	161	113	166	50
Words (M)	577	116.7	111.8	117.4	113.0	111.4	104.0	103.4	102.9	102.0	102.9	62.3
Per mil	1.28	1.39	1.63	1.40	1.54	0.50	1.13	1.26	1.56	1.11	1.61	0.80

Source: Corpus of Contemporary American English

At the time the data were collected for this study in 2019 (before the COCA update in March 2020), COCA had 738 entries of *goliath*. Based on the 2019 data, 38 entries of the first 100 fall into the category of Magazine. The next largest category is News with 28 entries. Fiction (14 entries) comes after Spoken, including 18 entries. Academic has only 3 entries. However, it is important to remember that compared to the COCA chart with all the 738 entries in table 8, the largest category is Fiction and the TV/Movies category that appeared because of the March 2020 update did not exist. When compared to the chart after March 2020, the largest category is TV/Movies. When comparing the distribution before and after 2020 and excluding the new categories (Blog, Web and TV/Movies), the balance of distribution has not changed. Fiction is still the largest category, then News, Magazine, Spoken and Academics.

The use of *Goliath* has a wide ‘repertoire’ which is why it can be found in various thematic categories such as: the Bible (16%), law (trials, lawsuits, homeland security 6%), literature (names of books, characters in books 6%), technical equipment (roller coasters, machines, devices 5%), politics (i.e. campaigns, elections 6%), sports (6%), war/war equipment & battles (5%), companies (i.e. agencies, enterprises 5%), animals (i.e. Tarantulas and butterflies 4%), crime (i.e. murder investigation), environment (i.e. oil, gas drilling, mining, watersheds), media, market, culture, internet & applications, transportation, art, music, history, Christianity, health science, computers, sexual harassment and nicknames (all less than 4% each field).

## Functions of *Goliath* in COCA

In most of the COCA entries, *Goliath* functions as a noun but a few times as an adjective as well. The first 100 entries of *Goliath* already show more details than their source categories. In addition to the source categories (aka discourse types: Academic, Spoken, Fiction, News and Magazine), they all fall into the categories of either ‘Original’, ‘Comparison’, ‘Adjective’, ‘Name’ or ‘Metaphor’ (classification by author). ‘Original’ comprises the entries that refer solely to the original Bible story of David and Goliath with no other function. ‘Comparison’ includes entries that contain either a direct comparison of the “David vs. *Goliath*” situation (sometimes *Goliath* vs. *Goliath*) or a prologue that includes a reference to the situation of “David vs. *Goliath*”. Many of the ‘Comparison’ entries relate either to a situation being compared to the battle of David and Goliath, or to a person’s physicality or appearance. ‘Adjective’ covers the entries that function as an adjective, i.e. “But for just the eighth time in N.C.A.A. tournament history, a No. 15 beat its Goliath foe (COCA, NEWS, *New York Times*, 2016).” Here *Goliath* carries the meaning of a giant/gigantic foe. ‘Name’ comprises only names such as names of books, companies, technical devices and characters in stories and books. ‘Metaphor’ includes metaphors and similes. ‘Metaphor’ can sometimes be difficult to distinguish from ‘comparison’, which is why *goliaths* without a prologue or a direct reference to a David vs. *Goliath* situation are sorted into the ‘metaphor’ category. The following chart provides an overall look of the distribution of *Goliath* in these specific categories:

Table 9. Function of *Goliath* in the first 100 entries in 2019 COCA

CATEGORY	Original	Comparison	Adjective	Name	Metaphor	Total /100
ACADEMIC		1		2		3
SPOKEN	3	3		6	6	18
FICTION				12	2	14
NEWS	4	9	1	10	3	27
MAGAZINE	6	2	2	13	15	38
<b>Total</b>	<b>13</b>	<b>15</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>43</b>	<b>26</b>	<b>100</b>

Source: Corpus of Contemporary American English



## ***Goliath* in the category of ‘Original’**

There are 13 entries of *Goliath* that refer to the original meaning in the Book of Samuel in the Bible often accompanied with the word *David*. The entries comprise themes in media (i.e., movies), book titles, art (i.e., Caravaggio’s painting “David with the head of Goliath”), religion (i.e., stories and discussions of Goliath in the Bible) and music (i.e., a song written in memory of an American television sports commentator, football player and actor Frank Gifford.) As seen in the previous chart, the entries can be found in 3 categories: Magazine (6), News (4) and Spoken (3). This paragraph focuses on examples of *Goliath* in its original meaning in Magazine, News and Spoken categories. One example per category is given.

*U.S. Catholic Magazine* mentions *Goliath* when talking about teaching children about religion in its article “A Telling Example”:

1. “We hold hands as we teach our little ones to pray the Lord' s Prayer and to thank God for the food on our kitchen table. We sing songs together. We bless our children as they go to bed. We tell stories of *David and Goliath*, Daniel in the lion' s den, Mary and the angel, 12-year-old Jesus in the Temple.” (*COCA, MAG*, O’Connell-Cahill, Catherine, 2014)

*Goliath* is mentioned when an internationally distributed American daily newspaper *USA Today* introduces books recommended to read in its article “30 titles that are ripe for reading”. Malcolm Gladwell Little’s book *David and Goliath: Underdogs, Misfits, and the Art of Battling Giants* is one of the books on the list and its topic introduced:

2. “Reported essays challenge common perceptions about disabilities and disadvantages by examining the stories of *David and Goliath* and what seemed like one-sided battles in Northern Ireland and Vietnam (*COCA, NEWS*, McClurgn& Minzesheimer 2013).”

In *NBC Today Show*, an American news and talk television show on NBC, the co-host Kathie Lee Gifford talks about her late husband, his trip to Israel and his affection for the story of David and Goliath:

3. “We wrote this song in memory of Frank. (David Pomeranz singing) KATHIE-LEE-GIFFORD# Who loved the story of David and this beautiful natural oasis called

Ein Gedi. It reminds me of when I was here four years ago with Frank. He loved it here. He couldn't believe that David hid in these amazing caves. And he was so moved by the story of David and *Goliath*.” (COCA, SPOK, NBC Today Show, 2016)

### ***Goliath* in the category of ‘Comparison’**

There are altogether 15 ‘comparison’ entries. *Goliath* in a comparison position is encountered in themes of law (i.e., corporate prosecution, trials, lawsuits, and judges), politics (i.e., election campaigns), environment & natural resources (i.e., oil, mining.), crime (murder investigation) and sports. Majority of the themes (5) have to do with law. Four of them deal with lawsuits; The Homeland Security Department sued by an army sergeant, Rosettabooks.com (an online publishing company) sued by Random House (a publishing company), Hollister co. (an American lifestyle brand) sued by a private person and the US Bancorp (bank in Minnesota) sued by a small business owner. The second largest thematic category is politics. There are 3 comparisons that have to do with political campaigns and elections: Liberal (political) donor Tom Steyer vs. the conservative (political donors) Koch brothers, Eric Cantor vs. by Dave Brat at Virginia primary election in the U.S. in 2014 and Scott McInnis at the elections of Mesa County Board of County Commissioners. There are 3 entries of *Goliath* in 2 different publications in the field of environment & nature; environmental activists vs. “big oil bigwigs and community leaders (COCA, NEWS, Bartels, Lynn, 2014)” and one that deals with coal mining. The last 4 entries fall into categories of sports (Judo), war (war technology) (2) and crime (murder investigation). Especially with the themes of law, political elections, and campaigns where some type of fighting is perceived between parties, a certain combination is often encountered:

- a classic David versus Goliath tale (NEWS)
- a classic David versus Goliath (SPOK)
- a David and Goliath situation (SPOK)
- It's not exactly David v. Goliath (NEWS)
- A Goliath vs. Goliath battle (NEWS)
- a David vs. Goliath contest (NEWS)
- A similar David and Goliath legal battle (NEWS)
- a real David and Goliath thing (NEWS)
- It's a David and Goliath story (NEWS)
- it's David vs. Goliath (MAG) (not in comparison category)

*Goliath* in a comparison position is found in 3 categories: Academic (1), Spoken (3) and News (9). One example per category is given.

An example of *Goliath* in a context of law can be found in a student-published journal (at the University of Texas School of Law) *Texas Law Review*. It published an article “Can Congress Authorize Judicial Review of Deferred Prosecution and Nonprosecution Agreements? And Does It Need To?” in which *Goliath* was mentioned:

1. “See BRANDON L. GARRETT, TOO Big TO Jail 1 (2014) (referring to a corporate prosecution as *a battle between David and Goliath* where the United States is David). (COCA, ACAD, Zende, Alexander, 2017)”

*Goliath* is mentioned in a political context at the BBC One’s TV program *This Week* that covers current affairs and politics in the UK. *This Week* reported on the Virginia primary election in the U.S. held in 2014 in which candidates Eric Cantor was compared to Goliath and Dave Brat to David. It is suggested at *This Week* that the defeated Eric Cantor caused his loss by his own “malpractice”:

2. “He ran ads, Cantor ran ads attacking Dave Brat by name. This is somebody nobody had heard of. DONNA-BRAZILE# Raised his profile. JONATHAN-KARL# (Off-camera) I mean, isn't that like malpractice? DONNA-BRAZILE# He raised his profile. Yes, we lost. And let me tell you... Let me add a point on this. DONNA-BRAZILE# He raised his profile. And, you know, this was *a classic David versus Goliath.*” (COCA, SPOK, *This Week*, 2014)

As stated earlier, *Goliath* is most used in the context of lawsuits as far as ‘Comparison’ is concerned. In the following example - from local news covering newspaper in Orange County (CA) - a private person “Havassy” talks about the lawsuit he filed against an American lifestyle brand Hollister.co and won. Without a permission, Hollister co. had used a logo on Havassy’s surfboard he himself had designed. Hollister co. is being compared to Goliath and Havassy to David:

3. “The photographer he'd left the board with had done some work for the brand, and designers at the company had seen the image and decided to use it for their surf-inspired look. Havassy filed a lawsuit and, in 2007, he settled out of court for an undisclosed amount. " It was *a real David and Goliath thing*, " Havassy said. " It was all principle to me. It was wrong in every sense of the word. "" (COCA, NEWS, Connelly, Laylan, 2014)

### ***Goliath* in the category of ‘Adjective’**

The minority of 3 adjectives are found in 2 categories: News and Magazine. Each entry is found in different thematic categories: sports, market, and nature. One example per category is given. *New York Times*, an American newspaper with worldwide readership, compares a basketball team to *Goliath*. According to the scriptures, *Goliath* was a big, strong, and tall “giant”. Therefore, it is only convenient to compare a basketball player to *Goliath*. Here *Goliath* stands for “giant” or “gigantic”.

1. “But for just the eighth time in N.C.A.A. tournament history, a No. 15 beat its *Goliath* foe. (COCA, NEWS, *New York Times*, 2016)”

*Marketwatch* is a newspaper dealing with stock market, financial and business news. *Marketwatch* associates *goliath* with Facebook stocks. Here, as well, *goliath* stands for an enormous or gigantic growth:

2. “Facebook stock the best buying opportunity of the season, analysts say # Shares of Facebook Inc. tumbled 6% on Thursday as investors harped on a negative outlook that showed Facebook might not be able to maintain its *goliath* growth forever. # But analysts were putting out fires, telling clients that Facebook's FB, - 5.64% fundamentals remain strong and management is likely just trying to keep expectations in check after three-and-a-half straight years of earnings beats and sales that have quadrupled since mid-2013.” (COCA, MAG, *MarketWatch*, 2016)

### ***Goliath* in the category of ‘Name’**

‘Name’ is the largest category of *Goliath*. Its 43 entries are found in all 5 categories: Magazine, News, Spoken, Academic and Fiction. ‘Name’ covers 11 different themes: health science (1), literature (13), nicknames (1), technical equipment (8), animals (3), Bible (4), history (4), art (2), companies (2), war equipment (4), and sports (2). Down below are all the results of *Goliath* as a name in the first 100 entries:

*Goliath* mentioned as a name in Magazine:

1. name of a nazi war machine for tracking mines and carrying explosives (3)
2. name of a birdeater tarantula
3. name of a football team: FBS Goliath South Carolina

4. name of a book: *David and Goliath: Underdogs, Misfits, and the Art of Battling Giants* by Malcolm Gladwell (2013) (2)
5. name of a butterfly: *Goliath* Birdwing
6. name of a British battleship
7. The David and *Goliath* Bowl also known as the Quicklane Bowl
8. name of a battle between crusaders and Mamluks at Ayn Jlt in 1260: “*Goliath’s* Spring”
9. in a name of a painting: Caravaggio’s David with the head of *Goliath*
10. name in a description of Caravaggio’s painting: “The light that plays across David's face and chest and that slants across *Goliath’s* half-open eyes and mouth transforms the scene into something beautiful (COCA, MAG, Gurdon, Meghan Cox, 2013).”

*Goliath* as a name in News:

11. name of a wine producer: Rex *Goliath* Wines
12. name of a roller coaster (2)
13. name of a book: *David and Goliath: Underdogs, Misfits, and the Art of Battling Giants*
14. name of a Philistine warrior in the Bible (4)
15. name of a Philistine warrior in the Bible (in an article about excavations and the history of Philistines in Israel)
16. name of an ad agency: David & *Goliath*

*Goliath* as a name in Spoken:

17. name of a book: *David and Goliath: Underdogs, Misfits, and the Art of Battling Giants* (3)
18. name in a book: *David and Goliath: Underdogs, Misfits, and the Art of Battling Giants*. (*Goliath* is mentioned as talked about the book: “One of our favorite thinkers, Malcolm Gladwell. He will explain why David was really always going to beat *Goliath* (COCA, SPOK, *CNN Showbiz Tonight*, 2013)”)
  19. name of a birdeater tarantula
  20. name of a Philistine warrior

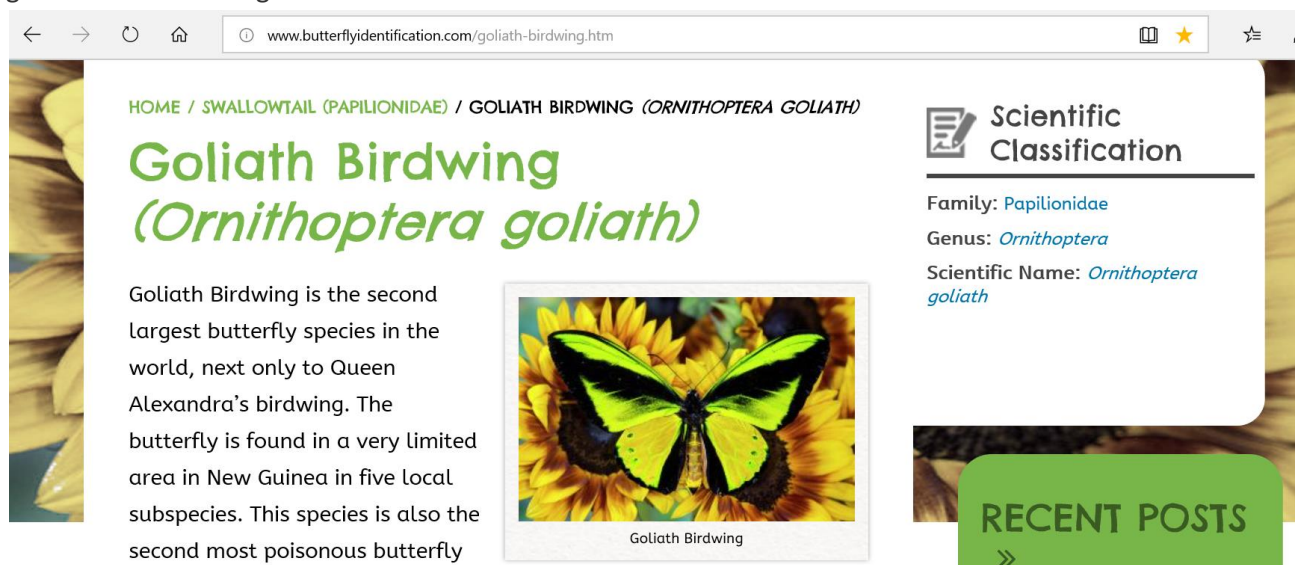
*Goliath* as a name in Academic:

21. name of a ring-H2 mitochondrial protein
22. name of a book: *David and Goliath: Underdogs, Misfits, and the Art of Battling Giants*

*Goliath* as a name in Fiction:

23. nickname in Matthew Blumenthal’s fiction “Drownproofing” in *Southern Review* (one of the America’s premier literary journal published at the Louisiana State University): “He’s got brown hair, and when we were in-country he grew a big, bushy beard that earned him the call sign *Goliath* (COCA, FIC, Blumenthal, Matthew, 2015)”
24. name of a horse in Karen Witemeyer’s book *A Worthy Pursuit* (2015) (5)
25. name of a roller coaster (2)
26. name of a security element microprocessor chip in a book (*Rapture Fire* by William Luvaas, 2013) (4)

Image 1: *Goliath* Birdwing



Source: www.butterflyidentification.com

### ***Goliath* in the category of ‘Metaphor’**

*Goliath* is found in 4 categories: Spoken, Fiction, News and Magazine. There are altogether 26 *Goliaths* in a metaphor position. ‘Metaphor’ category includes a simile as well. ‘Metaphor’ consists of 14 different themes: literature (i.e., books, characters likened with Goliath), art, sexual harassment, business (companies), politics, Christianity, sports, media (i.e., TV-channels), culture (identity), computer industry, food industry, internet, transportation, and war. Naturally, Magazine includes more themes since it has the most entries (15): transportation (3), war (2), politics (2), computer industry (2), culture (1), internet (1), sports (1), food industry (1), art (1) and companies (1). There are 6 entries in Spoken: politics (3), sexual harassment (2), and companies (1). There are 3 entries in News: media (1), sports (1) and Christianity (1). There are only 2 entries in Fiction and both belong to the thematic category of literature.

## Examples of metaphorical *Goliath* in the category of Spoken

Metaphors in the category of Spoken is the only category in which the theme of sexual harassment occurs. Movie producer Harvey Weinstein's sexual assaults were discussed inter alia on ABC (American Broadcasting Company) in 2017:

1. "And now, the facade around Weinstein begins to slip. " Lion, " loses.  
PRESENTER# " Moonlight " best picture. ELIZABETH-VARGAS# (Voiceover)  
And according to some of his alleged victims, the feeling in Tinsletown [sic] is, at last, Weinstein's power is waning. *Goliath* may finally be defenseless to his David. ELIZABETH-VARGAS# (Off-camera) He's weaker. He is weaker, in the words of one producer I talked to, he was the second or third most powerful person in that business, and now he is the 200th." (COCA, SPOK, ABC, 2017)

Here, Hollywood is called Tinseltown, Weinstein Goliath and his victims David. *Goliath* is associated with 'lion' The second reference to sexual harassment is found in Anderson Cooper 360° news show on CNN:

2. "There are probably women watching this program, who feel they have been harassed by their superiors in the workplace, maybe they feel a little more confident tonight coming forward because they have seen a David go up against a *Goliath* in a couple of these cases, first with Ailes now with O'Reilly (COCA, SPOK, Anderson Cooper 360°, 2017)."

Here, CNN journalist and news anchor Anderson Cooper compares the late chairman and CEO of Fox News and Fox Television Stations Roger Ailes and a journalist, author, and former television host (i.e., The O'Reilly Factor on Fox News) Bill O'Reilly to Goliath. Ailes and O'Reilly were considered big 'stars' on Fox News until the accusations of sexual harassment caught them. The victims are compared to David who finally overcame the powerful and famous Goliaths.

Politics and company are the last remaining themes in the category of Spoken. The following example is mentioned in the context of mass shooting that took place in Las Vegas 27.10.2017. MGM Resorts International is being compared to Goliath and belongs to the group of companies:

3. “The question troubles me the most is how did this man get that arsenal into the hotel room and nobody noticed. MATT-GUTMAN# (Voiceover). The hotel, the Mandalay Bay, is owned by MGM Resorts International. When it comes to players in Las Vegas, MGM is a *Goliath*, the largest employer and taxpayer in Nevada. In addition to the Mandalay Bay, the company owns 12 other hotels in this town, including the Bellagio, MGM Grand, the Mirage and Monte Carlo.” (COCA, SPOK, ABC, 2017)

The last three entries fall into the thematic category of politics. The following quotation from PBS Newshour (evening news broadcast) has to do with the US presidential campaign in 2015:

4. “But we don't know much about religion or the Bible, but we do know *the David-Goliath story*. And she is *Goliath*. And the press is looking for David right now. There are a lot of people who are trying to qualify for it. But she is not going to go just absolutely triumphantly being carried to the nomination.” (COCA, SPOK, PBS Newshour, 2015)

Here, Hillary Clinton has just announced that she is running for president and is being compared to Goliath. The last 2 entries are from the same source, CBS News, and have to do with a Republican senior United States Senator from South Carolina Lindsay Graham’s re-election for a third term at the U.S. Senate election in South Carolina in 2014:

5. “So there is some uncertainty about what this means among Democrats. SCHIEFFER# What is this going to mean to Republicans up on the Hill, Nancy? CORDES# Well, they're all, as Gwen said, a little bit nervous right now. Initially there was this excitement among Tea Party members -- oh, wow, look David has sleighed *Goliath*. But very quickly they realized wait a minute, *Goliath* sided with us almost all the time. Not always, but a lot. (COCA, SPOK, CBS Face The Nation, 2014)”

*Goliath* here refers to Democrats and David to Graham due to his unlikely win at the elections. Graham was considered vulnerable to a primary challenge due to his low favorable view at The Clemson University Palmetto Poll. Graham is known for being ‘a bipartisan’ and compromising



with Democrats as well as for criticizing the Republican Tea Party movement which might have affected his favor among the voters. (McLaughlin, Seth, 2013.)

### **Examples of metaphorical *Goliath* in the category of Fiction**

As previously noted, Fiction has 2 entries in a metaphor position. The first one is from Joe Gannon's historical novel "The Last Dawn: A Mystery" (2016):

1. "She had come, she'd told him in her succubus voice, two years ago from a state-of-the-art mental hospital in Barcelona thinking she'd do her part in solidarity with the scruffy Sandinista Davids in their heroic brawl with the American *Goliath* to the north. (COCA, FIC, Gannon, Joe, 2017)

The events in Gannon's novel take place during the Nicaraguan revolution. The metaphor "with the American Goliath to the north" refers to the "brawl" at the Honduras border where the Sandinista National Liberation Front (also known as FSLN, a left-wing party) fought the United States-backed Contras (right-wing counter-revolutionary group) during the years 1981-1990. Therefore, the Sandinistas are compared to Davids who eventually overcome the Contras, the Goliaths with the support of the north.

The second entry is from *Texas Review Press*. *Texas Review Press* locates at Sam Houston State University and publishes poetry, fiction, and creative nonfiction. William Luvaas' short story "Rapture Fire" uses *Goliath* as a simile:

2. "Lawr heard Juan Alverro and Benson mutter that they should take them out, big Alf Johanson approached within yards of believers, swinging an adze around his head like *Goliath* warning how many of them he would decapitate. (COCA, FIC, Luvaas, William, 2013)

### **Examples of metaphorical *Goliath* in the category of News**

News has 3 entries in a metaphor position: sports (1), Christianity (1) and media (1). The entry in the field of sports comes from a *New York Times* article dealing with Magomed Abdusalamov, a former professional boxer from Russia, and his wife Bakanay Abdusalamova:

1. “Sometimes they would shadowbox in love, her David to his *Goliath*. (COCA, NEWS, Barry Dan, 2015)”

“They”, here, refers to Magomed and his wife Bakanay. “Shadowboxing” indicates practicing without an actual opponent. “Her David” most likely refers to Baka’s fist and “to his Goliath” Mago’s fist. Therefore, *Goliath* here, suggests Mago’s big and strong hand.

The entry having to do with Christianity comes from *the Charlotte Observer*, a newspaper published in Charlotte with the largest circulation in North Carolina and South Carolina:

2. “This week, Elevation Church is kicking off its annual Love Week, which seeks to bring people together and help address many of the needs facing Charlotte. # The church will be working with the homeless and low-income communities by providing food, clothing and doing neighborhood beautification projects. # " When the people of God do what we can, with the power we have, *Goliath* must fall” (COCA, NEWS, *The Charlotte Observer*, 2016)

*Goliath*, here, refers to real issues such as homelessness and low income the church is fighting against.

The last entry in the field of media has to do with the broadcasting company Fox’s battle against ESPN (Entertainment and Sports Programming Network). ESPN had been the leading sports broadcaster until August 2013 when Fox decided to launch a new sports channel Fox Sports. (Cherner 2013a.) Specialists in the field discuss the chance for success in the very matter:

3. “Thompson notes, " The safe bet is to never bet in favor of a recently launched cable channel, " but he also recognizes things change " when you are going up against *Goliath* and David is Rupert Murdoch. That's not a bad David. Rupert Murdoch is hardly a little shepherd boy. They (Fox) bring an awful lot of voltage.” (COCA, NEWS, Cherner, Reid, 2013b)

Robert Thompson, director of the Bleier Center for Television and Popular Culture at Syracuse University, compares ESPN to *Goliath* because of its power and popularity. ESPN, at least until that point, had money, talent, big names, programming, and chemistry with the viewers. Therefore, it is challenging, even to Fox, to better that. (ibid) Rupert Murdoch, Co-Chairman of Fox Corporation, is

compared to David but not a ‘poor’ or ‘weak’ David. Not only is he a Co-Chairman of Fox Corporation but Executive Chairman of News Corp as well. Therefore, no lack of money nor power on that side of the battlefield either.

### **Examples of metaphorical *Goliath* in the category of Magazine**

Magazine has 15 entries in a metaphor position. The themes are as follows: transportation (2), computer industry (2), internet (i.e., webstores, e-commerce) (2), war (2), sports (1), food industry (1), politics (2), companies (i.e., business) (1), art (1) and culture (i.e., identity) (1). Most of the goliaths in this category share the meaning of ‘giant’.

#### Transportation

The first 2 entries have to do with transportation, specifically, with taxis. “Yellow-Checkered” Taxi is compared to *Goliath*. Yellow Cab and Checker Taxi used to be the dominant taxi companies in Chicago during 1920. (“Morris Markin of Checker Cabs”, 1970). Moreover, Parmelee Transportation Company owned both Yellow cab and Checker taxi in 1940 and became the largest taxi company in America. (Wilson et al.) However, today’s “*goliath*” seems to be the American transportation network company *Uber*. Uber offers mainly ridesharing, food delivery, bicycle-sharing, and e-scooters & e-bikes (“Uber ride options”). *National Review* mentions Uber in the context of overcoming other taxi companies:

1. “Uber takes on the yellow-checkered *Goliath* (*COCA*, MAG, Eberstadt, Mary, 2015)”

and:

2. “This isn’t David vs. *Goliath*, it’s David vs. *Goliath* and his whole ugly overgrown family. (*COCA*, MAG, Williamson, Kevin, D, 2015)”

#### Computer industry

International Business Machines Corporation (IBM), known for manufacturing of mainframes and servers, and Nvidia, the inventor of Graphics Processing Unit (GPU), are associated with *Goliath*:

3. “IBM, the *Goliath* of the computer industry (*COCA*, MAG, *Ars Technika*, 2017)”

4. “GTX 980 Ti, which we covered in full in our initial review of Nvidia's gaming *Goliath*. (COCA, MAG, Chacos, Brad, 2015)”

Internet: classified ads industry/e-commerce and webstores

*Craigslist* is an American website created to advertise jobs, housing, for sale, items wanted, services, and so forth. For its excessive content it is associated with *Goliath*:

5. “investments in a variety of classified ads startups raise the possibility that the giant *Goliath* may have quite a few viable contenders (COCA, MAG, *TechCrunch*, 2016).”

Alibaba and eBay offer an example of *Goliath* in a webstore context:

6. “Hangzhou's David had felled San Jose's *Goliath* (COCA, MAG, Powell, Bill, 2014).”

Alibaba is compared to Hangzhou's David because of the location of the Alibaba webstore headquarters in Hangzhou, a town in China. The same way, eBay is associated with San Jose's *Goliath* because its headquarters is situated in San Jose, California. Alibaba grew fast in GMV (Gross Merchandise Volume) and passed eBay during 2012-2015. (Visnji)

Sports

An NBA match between the basketball team Cleveland Cavaliers and San Antonio Spurs is being compared to the battle of David and *Goliath*:

7. “Cleveland Cavaliers and San Antonio Spurs. # Initially, this matchup appeared like a gifted *Goliath* squaring off against a determined but less equipped David (COCA, MAG, *Bleacher Report*, 2016).”

War and conflict

Some of the military conflicts around the world are compared to David and *Goliath*:

8. “not as David but *Goliath*; not as victim but as occupier (*COCA*, MAG, Broder, Jonathan, 2015).”

The Thuwar revolutionists in Libya are compared to David who caught dictator Muammar Qaddafi, the *Goliath*:

9. “The Davids who felled *Goliath* (*COCA*, MAG, Draper, Robert, 2013).”

Food industry

McDonald’s fast-food chain and its followers are compared to David and Goliath:

10. “McDonald's is beset, *Goliath* on a battlefield thick with Davids (*COCA*, MAG, MacGregor, Jeff, 2015).”

World & Politics

The United States is referred to as *Goliath* when it comes to discussion about world politics:

11. “the United States remained a reluctant *Goliath*, unsure that it wanted to bear the burden for stability in Europe and the Middle East (*COCA*, MAG, Bew, John, 2015).”
12. “The political message of drone strikes emphasizes the disparity in power between the parties and reinforces popular support for the terrorists, who are seen as David fighting *Goliath* (*COCA*, MAG, Bowden, Mark, 2013).”

Companies & business

An article about American business owners – the Koch family - refers to Fred Koch’s Midwestern company’s size and revenue as *Goliath*:

13. “their father's Midwestern company, which as of 1967 had \$250 million in yearly sales and 650 employees, into a corporate *Goliath* with \$115 billion in annual revenue and a presence in 60 countries (*COCA*, MAG, Schulman, Daniel, 2014).”

Art

The Museum of Modern Art in New York is described as *Goliath*:

14. ‘the Museum of Modern Art currently finds itself playing *Goliath* to the American Folk Art Museum's David, with MoMA, (COCA, MAG, Perl, Jed, 2014).’

Culture & identity

*Goliath* is mentioned when Australian hip hop singer Iggy Azalea talks about identity:

15. “White Australians might be more likely to place the emphasis on 'Australia versus America' -- David and *Goliath* -- rather than on other cultural differences (COCA, MAG, Jezebel, 2017).’

### 5.3 Behemoth

#### Dictionary definitions

The original BEHEMOTH is found in the Bible. Job 40:15-24 describes a land-dwelling beast having mythic proportions (a tail like a cedar tree) and supernatural characteristics (bones like bars of brass and iron). The Hebrew word that is used (*bəhēmōth*) is the augmentative plural form of the word for “beast” or “animal.” Normally, *bəhēmōth* would translate as the plural noun “beasts,” but as it is used to describe a singular being, the interpretation is that of a mighty or monstrous animal. ... BEHEMOTH makes an appearance in such classics of literature as John Milton's *Paradise Lost*, Shelley's *Prometheus Unbound*, and James Joyce's *Finnegans Wake*. Today we use it to apply to anything large, powerful, and often unwieldy. (“Historical usage of behemoth”)

The etymology of *behemoth* is Hebrew *bəhēmōth* and is originally found in the Bible (Old Testament) in Job 40:15. Hebrew was an early donor due to various Bible translations and thus came into English through cultural borrowing (Steinmetz & Kipfer, 2006, 308). The word first

came from Hebrew to Late Latin and from there to English. In 1430, the English poet and monk John Lydgate described *behemoth* as "playne expresse[d] a beast rude full of cursednesse." In English, *behemoth* began to apply even more to all that was large and powerful. (*Merriam Webster dictionary*, s.v. *Behemoth*)

The earliest attestation of *Behemoth*, according to *OED*, is from 1382 in the early version of Wycliffe Bible. The Bible verses describe *behemoth* as a land, marsh and river-dwelling animal or beast. *Merriam Webster* online dictionary (*Merriam Webster* from here on) along with *OED* and *Encyclopedia Britannica*, suggests a connection to hippopotamus. *Merriam Webster* states that some sources identify *Behemoth* as a hippopotamus (*Merriam Webster dictionary*, s.v. *Behemoth*). *Britannica* states also that "scholars have concluded that the biblical *behemoth* was probably inspired by a hippopotamus, but details about the creature's exact nature were vague ("Behemoth")." According to *OED*, *behemoth* is "An animal mentioned in the book of Job; probably the hippopotamus; but also used in modern literature as a general expression for one of the largest and strongest animals (*OED Online*, s.v. *Behemoth*)." For other *behemoth* features, the online version of *Cambridge dictionary* leaves out the animal attributes but agrees with "something that is extremely large and often extremely powerful (*Cambridge dictionary*, s.v. *Behemoth*). Similarly, *Merriam Webster* describes *behemoth* as "a mighty animal as an example of the power of God" and "something of monstrous size, power, or appearance (*Merriam Webster dictionary*, s.v. *Behemoth*)."

*Behemoth* behaves like *Goliath* in the sense that it is often associated with something gigantic but rules out the notion of a battle between parties. *Merriam Webster* also sees a similarity and suggests in the list of synonyms that *Behemoth* is synonymous with *Goliath*. (*Merriam Webster dictionary*, s.v. *Goliath*) As for *behemoth*'s current prevalence, it can be said that it appears with the same probability in the name of today's death metal band as in 17<sup>th</sup> century literature.

All but a few of the results of my research agree with the definitions of *behemoth* in the *Cambridge* and *Merriam Webster* dictionaries as will be further explained in Section 6.3.

## ***Behemoth* in COCA**

Table 10. *Behemoth* in COCA, until March 2020

Section	All	Spoken	Fiction	Magazine	Newspaper	Academic	90-94	95-99	2000-04	2005-09	2010-14	2015-17
Freq	905	49	164	343	288	61	115	130	187	186	178	109
Words (M)	577	116.7	111.8	117.4	113.0	111.4	104.0	103.4	102.9	102.0	102.9	62.3
Per mil	1.57	0.42	1.47	2.92	2.55	0.55	1.11	1.26	1.82	1.82	1.73	1.75

Source: Corpus of Contemporary American English

Table 11. Distribution of *behemoth* according to categories

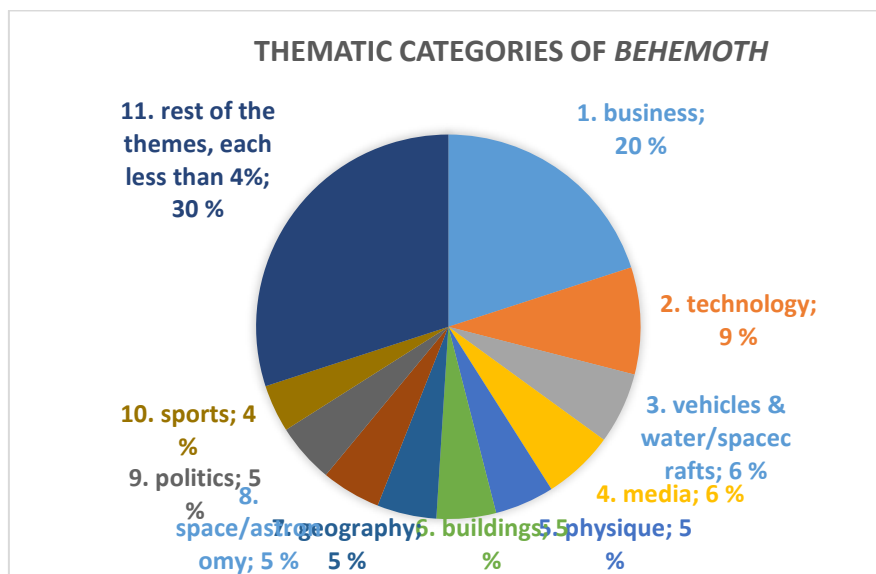
SOURCE	NUMBER	YEAR
FICTION	14	2016-2017
SPOKEN	5	2016-2017
NEWS	28	2015-2017
ACADEMIC	3	2016-2017
MAGAZINE	50	2015-2017
<b>Total</b>	<b>100</b>	

Source: Corpus of Contemporary American English

During the time the data were collected for this study in 2019 (before the COCA update in March 2020), COCA had 905 entries of *behemoth*. The first 100 entries of *Behemoth* in COCA before the March 2020 update cover more than 10 different thematic categories. Business with 20% is the largest category. Most of these are companies. The second largest category is technology with 9%. The third largest categories are vehicles, water and spacecrafts, and media each at 6%. The fourth largest category is evenly covered by physique, buildings, geography, space/astronomy, and politics, each at 5%. Sports come in fifth with 4%. The largest but fractured category is a group of several categories, each covering less than 4%. Together, however, they account for 30% of the total thematic category distribution.



Table 12. Thematic categories of *behemoth* based on the first 100 entries in COCA before the March 2020 update



### Categories of *behemoth* in COCA

#### *Behemoth* in the category of ‘Adjective’

Unlike *Goliath*, *behemoth* falls into only 2 categories, which are ‘metaphor’ and ‘adjective’.

*Behemoth* has 14 entries in the adjective position. As in the case of *Goliath*, there are adjectives in the News (6) and Magazine (4) categories but also in the Fiction category (4). The adjectives in the News category consist of watercraft, internet, and business themes. Business includes enterprises, agencies, and corporations. The Magazine category includes media, business, watercraft, and sport vehicle themes. Fiction has adjectives in furniture, watercraft, warfare, and geography.

In the News category, *behemoth* is used to refer to revenue (2), to a big company because of its many stores (1), to a size of a ship (1), to major internet providers (1) and to a great number of responsibilities (overseeing Medicaid, state psychiatric hospitals, foster care, and health services) and millions of customers of Texas Health and Human Services (1). In the Magazine category, *behemoth* is used to refer to a size of a car and a ship (2), to a massive production (industry) (1) and to a large corporation because of the number of its facilities and employees (1). In the Fiction category, *behemoth* denotes the physical size of a chandelier and of a ship (2), the size of an army (number of soldiers) (1) and the length and width of a canyon (1).

Examples of *behemoth* in an adjectival position:

One example per category is given:

1. News
2. Magazine
3. Fiction

Local news covering website *OregonLive.com* describes companies that do business with TPP (Trans-Pacific Partnership) member countries as “*behemoth* companies”:

1. “Certainly, the agreement will benefit *behemoth* companies that are already doing business in many of the TPP member countries, including Japan, Canada, Australia and Mexico. But the deal, which slashes thousands of tariffs slapped on goods made in the United States, also helps ease the way for small and medium sized businesses to compete for customers in the global market.” (*COCA, NEWS, OregonLive.com, 2016*)

Here *behemoth* stands for “enormous”, “giant” or “gigantic”. The same meaning is found in the *Popular Mechanics* magazine when talked about import via the Suez Canal:

2. “The Suez's main canal can move *behemoth* container ships, with beams up to 164 feet, but only in one direction at a time (*COCA, MAG, Dupzyk Kevin, 2015*).”

as well as in Parker’s novel when the interior of a specific house is being described:

3. “Suspended from above was a *behemoth* chandelier of elk antlers and small flickering lights, graceful and complex (*COCA, FIC, Parker, Jefferson, T. 2017*).”

### ***Behemoth* in the category of ‘Metaphor’**

*Behemoth* is found in all 5 categories: Spoken, Fiction, News, Academic and Magazine. There are altogether 86 *behemoths* in a metaphor position. These 86 entries consist of 28 different thematic categories, some of which are given more specific examples of content:

Table 13. Thematic categories of metaphorical *behemoth*

Academic

Firearms	Economy	Business
		Lululemon Athletica Inc. (company)

Spoken

Internet	Politics	Business (3)
	Clinton foundation	1. MGM (company) 2. Hershey (chocolate) company 3. retail corporation Walmart

Fiction

Firearms	Animals (2)	Physique (3)	Building	Furniture	Spacecraft	Army
			Inn			

News

City (2)	Politics (3)	Business (8)	Culture	Physique	Sports	Astronomy	Conference	Restaurant (2)	Media (2)
Chicago, Atlanta.	1. Hillary Clinton's campaign 2. Trump's promises regarding better economy 3. Brexit	1. Company (3): Blockbuster, MailChimp, Uber. 2. Trademark Nike. 3. Amazon. 4. retail corporation (2): Dollar Tree (2), Advertising agency Saatchi/Saatchi.	Museum	Nenê, basketball player	Sport bike	Telescope	Star Wars celebration		1. Fox News 2. Radio platform iHeart

Magazine

Vehicle	Bank (2)	Business (14)	Building (3)	Physique	Sports (2)	Astronomy (3)	Spacecraft	Media (7)

Lincoln SUV	Deutsche Bank (2)	1. Alibaba & Tencent companies 2. Walmart (retail corporation) 3. clothes company 4. Uber (2) 5. Trade: dog breeding 6. Amazon (2) 7. McDonald's 8. Netflix 9. Oil company 10. Cargill plant company 11. Venture capital company Horowitz 12. Running shoe company	1. a castle 2. a school 3. Planned parenthoo d clinic in Dallas	a football player's size and weight	1. a basketball star 2. Babe Ruth, basketball icon	a telescope	a rocket	1. TV-show Game of Thrones (3) 2. Movies (3): Transformers, Titanic, Star Wars. 3. TV channel (that provides NBC News = MSNBC)
Science	Religion	Law	Technology (4)	Taxation	Countries (2)	Energy	Social system	
Black holes	Philadelphia: Catholicism	Court and justice	1. Laptop (2) 2. Smart phone 3. Computer GPU	a tax code	1. The US 2. Japan	fossil fuel	education, welfare, and health services	

One example per category is given in the Academic and Spoken categories. Fiction, News and Magazine categories provide more examples due to their large number of entries:

### Academic

*The Independent Review*, “the acclaimed interdisciplinary journal devoted to the study of political economy and the critical analysis of government policy (*The Independent Review*)” mentions *behemoth* in its article “Unfinished Business: Reflections on Canada's Economic Transformation and the Work Ahead (Rahim)”:

1. For virtually its entire history, Canada has lived in the shadow of the *behemoth* to its south: the more populous, more economically vibrant, and more globally assertive United States. In fact, it could even be said that Canada's national psyche is marked by a nagging inferiority complex vis-a-vis the United States, a

trait captured in the saying " To be Canadian is to be not American. " (COCA, ACAD, Mohamed, Rahim, 2017)

The United States is being compared to *behemoth* in the context of Canada's identity crisis and sense of inferiority. Here *behemoth* behaves as a superordinate for a cluster of adjectives: "more populous, more economically vibrant, and more globally assertive" and refers to 'something' bigger and better which, here, is the United States.

### Spoken

An American morning TV-show *CBS This Morning*, focused on national and international news, mentions *behemoth* in the context of business. Walmart is the leading retail corporation in the US that has earned the first place in the worldwide annual ranking of the top 500 corporations measured by revenue during the past 5 years (*Fortune Global 500*, 2020). The following citation explains how:

2. "What accounts for Walmart being number one? ALAN-MURRAY# Just the sheer volume of stuff they sell, all those stores it's -- it's really -- they're now twice the size in terms of revenues of the next company on the list. They're really a *behemoth*. Now, they're not number one in profits, they're not number one in market value, but in terms of revenues, sheer size, they are number one, and that's why they are on top of the list."

*Behemoth* here refers to Walmart's "enormous" revenue.

### Fiction

The Fiction category is the only category in which *behemoth* is mentioned close to its original meaning (large animal). First, in a description of a large tuna fish: "The giant bluefin tuna came in slowly, an indigo-and-silver *behemoth* (COCA, FIC, Anderson, Kurt, 2017)" and second, in a description of a dinosaur: "The titanosaur continued with its seven course lunch. Marty tried lobbing a canister of Improved Saur-Away between the *behemoth's* feet (COCA, FIC, Smith, Rosemary Claire, 2016)". Another example of the use of *behemoth* in a context close to its original meaning is the comparison of 'Mr. Albus's' face to *behemoth*, a non-human large being resembling a giant or a beast in *New England Review*:

3. “Mr. Albus's face was suddenly disproportionately large and very near, even though he remained at the head of the classroom. She saw his face as an insect might, or a baby peering out a fifth story window during the Macy's parade-confronted by giants, frightfully convex. The eyeballs bulged, like whole moons, rolling in fleshy cauldrons. A mouth opened and she saw that frothing orifice as nothing more than a mechanism for swallowing up worlds. She had thought of the word " *behemoth*, " watched as it erased all neurological alliances with the words " person, " " man, " " friend. ”” (COCA, FIC, Plunkett, Genevieve, 2016)

In addition, the Fiction category shows most cases of the use of *behemoth* in the following noun phrase (NP) position: NP (i.e., determiner + noun) + of + NP (i.e. (article) + (adjective) noun). Such phrases are:

a *behemoth* of a hutch

the *behemoth* of the 33rd Legion

(My uncommonly short father and) *behemoth* of an older brother

The other two cases of *behemoth* in this type of position are found in the categories of News and Magazine:

a *behemoth* of 5.5 million people (NEWS)

the \$450 billion *behemoth* of Amazon (MAG)

Apart from the third and final example, all these cases convey a meaning of something large in size or number. The third example, ‘*behemoth* brother’, refers to the height (and usually also breadth) of the person’s brother in comparison to his short father. The example of Amazon refers to “a revenue giant”. Amazon is a *behemoth* because of its enormous revenue.

News

In the same way as with *megillah*, President Donald Trump used *behemoth* in his 2016 U.S. presidential election speech: “We are going to turn this state into an economic *behemoth*... we're going to bring companies back (...) (COCA, NEWS, *Columbus Dispatch*, 2016).

In addition to the companies mentioned by Trump, *behemoth* occurs in the following contexts under thematic categories: revenue, height, companies with chain stores, a massive number of ratings,

wide selection (of radio stations, museum objects and products for sale), size, large amounts of money and occasions with big groups of people. 22.7% of these entries refer to the ‘occasions with big groups of people’ and make up most of these contexts. Below is an example of each context.

Revenue:

4. “Once a video and entertainment *behemoth*, Blockbuster operated 9,000 stores nationwide and drummed up \$6 billion in annual revenue at its peak, according to the Washington Post. (COCA, NEWS, Oregonlive.com, 2017).”

Height:

When talked about the 6 feet 11 inches tall Brazilian basketball player *Nenê Hilario*:

5. “Nene, the Brazilian *behemoth* with the dreadlocked hair, powerful hands and angry snarls (COCA, NEWS, Lee, Michael, 2015).”

Chain store companies:

6. “Dollar Tree, which merged with Family Dollar in 2015 to create a 13,000-store *behemoth*, (COCA, NEWS, New York Post, 2017).”

Ratings:

7. “In the summer of 2016, Ailes, who helped build Fox News into a ratings *behemoth*, departed the company following allegations of sexual harassment, and left with a \$40 million severance (COCA, NEWS, Chicago Tribune, 2017).”

Wide selection:

When talked about iHeartRadio which is a free broadcast, podcast and streaming radio platform owned by iHeartMedia, Inc. including over 850 stations:

8. “Radio, too, has been boosted by satellite and streaming services, allowing listeners in Chicago to tune into Kiss 108's Matty in the Morning and Bostonians to burrow into a rabbit's hole of " American Top 40 " reruns, both via the radio *behemoth* iHeart's app (COCA, NEWS, The Boston Globe, 2016).”

Size:

When talked about building a space telescope:

9. “the integration of the parts that will turn the " big empty *behemoth* " of a cell into a functioning platform for the mirror, said Bill Gressler, telescope and site manager for LSST (*COCA, NEWS, Arizona Daily Star*, 2016).”

Money:

When talked about the funding of Hillary Clinton’s presidential campaign in 2016:

10. “The Democratic front-runner's campaign *behemoth* is built on super PACs, secret cash and unlimited contributions -- the very things she's railed against on the campaign trail, according to the Center for Public Integrity (*COCA, NEWS, New York Post*, 2016).”

Groups of people:

When talked about the Star Wars celebration with its many fans and cosplayers:

11. “Star Wars Celebration, being the galaxy-engulfing *behemoth* that it is, has had its share of hyped reveals and trailers this year (*COCA, NEWS, Arizona Daily Star*, 2017).”

In addition, there are two entries in which *Behemoth* behaves the same way as many of the entries with *Goliath*, that is, associated with the word ‘giant’. The first example of such behavior is the entry from the award-winning daily newspaper based in Colorado Springs, *Gazette*: “Expedia CEO Dara Khosrowshahi has been named Uber's top executive, taking the difficult job of mending the dysfunctional ride-hailing giant and turning it from money-losing *behemoth* to a profitable company (*COCA, NEWS, Colorado Springs Gazette*, 2017).” The second entry is from *New York Post*, the daily newspaper in New York City: “Dollar Tree, a giant dollar-store retailer, has been accused in court of plotting to " kill " a smaller rival whose stores it spun off two years earlier as part of a merger deal. # Dollar Tree, which merged with Family Dollar in 2015 to create a 13,000-store behemoth, (*COCA, NEWS, New York Post*, 2017).” A similar entry can be found in the Spoken category, in which both *goliath* and *behemoth* are mentioned in the same context:



12. “to players in Las Vegas, MGM is a *Goliath*, the largest employer and taxpayer in Nevada. In addition to the Mandalay Bay, the company owns 12 other hotels in this town, including the Bellagio, MGM Grand, the Mirage and Monte Carlo. MATT-GUTMAN# (Off-camera) How big of a player is MGM in Las Vegas? WAYNE-ALLYN-ROOT# Oh, the biggest. The biggest. If you were to call this a company town, MGM would be in charge of the, they'd be the sheriff of the company town. MATT-GUTMAN# (Voiceover) But now, the gambling *behemoth* is facing lawsuits (...)” (COCA, SPOK, “27 Days Later; Mystery in Las Vegas”, 2017)

## Magazine

In the Magazine category, *Behemoth* is used to depict big companies with significant size of revenue or other features, physical quantities such as height, length, size, and density, social system, religious denomination, opposition of Chevron deference, movie-universe hegemony, Star Wars media’s tie-in universe, talents, and the very popular TV series *Game of Thrones* as well as one of its characters. 39,1% of these entries refer to big companies (18 entries of which at least 3 of them being big because of the company’s revenue) which is the majority. In most cases the “largeness” of a company is not clearly explained. However, one can assume a company to be big because of its revenue or number of chain stores, for example. The second largest group refers to ‘physical quantities’ (13) at 28,1%. An example of each depiction is listed below:

### Big companies

One of the *behemoths* conveying the meaning of a ‘big’ or ‘giant’ company can be found, for example, in *Fortune* magazine, a global American leader in business journalism:

13. “The companies are backed separately by Chinese tech giants Alibaba and Tencent and merging them to create a single *behemoth* worth over \$4 billion would end a costly competitive battle in the rapidly growing business (COCA, MAG, *Fortune*, 2017).”

### Physical quantity: Density and weight

*Behemoth* conveys the meaning of both weight and density when talked about supermassive black holes in *Science News*, an American magazine that features news articles, reviews and stories having to do with science since 1922:

14. “It confirmed that in the center of every large galaxy lurks a supermassive black hole, an invisible *behemoth* weighing up to several billion suns (COCA, MAG, Crockett, Cristopher, 2015).”

#### Religious domination

Here, *behemoth* conveys the meaning of ‘a big/giant/gigantic cradle’:

15. ” Philadelphia, a *behemoth* of American Catholicism, was one of the worst offenders in 4144807 scandals that threatened to ruin the church's reputation everywhere, but especially in the U.S. In 2005 a county grand jury reported that leaders of the archdiocese, including two Cardinals, had concealed sexual abuse by more than 60 priests over four decades, with victims numbering in the hundreds of children (COCA, MAG, Dias, Elizabeth, 2015).”

#### Social system

*The New Statesman*, the leading political and cultural magazine in the UK, mentions *behemoth* in the context of social system:

16. “The mass education, welfare and health services now demand enormous resources and constant care and attention. Moreover, any attempt to achieve some new grand vision would likely upset this *behemoth* (COCA, MAG, Harari, Yuval, 2015).”

#### Game of Thrones

An American magazine on popular culture, music, and politics, *RollingStone.com*, mentions *behemoth* in its digital version to compare one of its characters (a dragon) to a scary beast:

17. “Yet for all the majestic melancholy of watching that graceful, terrifying *behemoth* fall to earth, there was something strangely antiseptic about the battle between the living and the dead around which this episode centers. No one in

their right mind would deny the power of watching Dany's dragons torch zombies by the thousands (COCA, MAG, *RollingStone.com*, 2017).”

#### Chevron deference

Chevron deference is a term used for “an administrative law principle that compels federal courts to defer to a federal agency's interpretation of an ambiguous or unclear statute that Congress delegated to the agency to administer (“Chevron deference (doctrine)”.” According to *Huffington Post*, Neil Gorsuch, an appointed judge of the Supreme Court of the United States, wrote:

18. “If Gorsuch had his druthers, he would do away with Chevron deference. In fact, he stated as much in his lengthy concurrence in *Gutierrez-Brizuela v. Lynch*, in which he wrote, " Maybe the time has come to face the *behemoth*.” (COCA, MAG, *Huffington Post*, 2017)”

#### Movie-universe hegemony

*Behemoth* is used to emphasize the *Transformers: Last Knight*- movie’s egotistical megalomania in a review by *Daily Beast*, an American opinion and news website for popular culture and politics:

19. “It's a hulking *behemoth* only interested in expanding its own movie-universe hegemony by consuming everything around it -- past, present and future -- such that at outset, it appears to have eaten Guy Ritchie's *King Arthur: Legend of the Sword*, and by the end, it seems to have ingested *Alien: Covenant*'s bio-organic imagery as well (COCA, MAG, *Daily Beast*, 2017).”

#### *Star Wars* media’s tie-in universe

The entry of *behemoth* used in the context of *Star Wars* media is found in *Gizmodo* magazine. *Gizmodo* describes itself as “a news and opinion website about gadgets, technology, science, environmental news, entertainment, and culture (“About Gizmodo”). *Behemoth*, here, serves as a metaphor for the *Star Wars* movies’ world and story that consist of multiple universes when at the same time emphasizing the great number of them:

20. “But if you've not been keeping up with the utter *behemoth* that's the tie-in universe of *Star Wars* media, there's an awful lot to dig through (COCA, MAG, *Gizmodo*, 2017).”

Talent

Baseball icon of all time, Babe Ruth (1895-1948), is described as ‘the Behemoth of Bust’ as well as everything ‘gigantic’ and big in *Golf Magazine*:

21. “THE SULTAN OF SWAT, THEY called him. The Big Bam, the Jovial Giant, the Colossus of Clout, the *Behemoth* of Bust, the Wizard of Whack (*COCA, MAG, Cook, Kevin, 2015*).”

### ***Behemoth* as an anaphoric expression**

In addition to referring to ‘enormous’ objects and entities, *behemoth* is used for anaphoric expression. Among the sample of first 100 entries there are altogether 6 *behemoths* that precede the antecedent and 34 that occur after. The distribution of anaphoric expressions is as follows:

Table 14. Distribution of anaphoric expressions (*behemoth*)

Category	Anaphoric	Cataphoric
MAG	18	0
NEWS	9	2
SPOK	1	3
FIC	4	0
ACA	0	1
<b>Total</b>	<b>32</b>	<b>6</b>

Source: Corpus of Contemporary American English

There are interesting similarities within the categories. For example, in the Magazine category, *behemoth* is used in three different magazines but in the same context (Game of Thrones TV series). There are also cases where *behemoth* is used several times in different publications of the same magazine, but each time by a different author. Such magazines are *Mother Jones*, *Huffington Post* (American news aggregator and blog) and *Fortune* (business magazine). The same case occurs in the News category in *New York Post*.

## 6. Results and Discussion

### 6.1 *Megillah*

As stated earlier, *Megillah* is originally a Hebrew name for the 5 books of Hebrew scriptures, especially the book of Esther. *Megillah* underwent a semantic shift and developed a new referent in Yiddish, ‘gantzeh megillah’ (the whole thing/business/story). The term migrated into English and became an American idiom ‘the whole megillah’. It can be therefore concluded that *megillah* is a borrowed word to refer to an existing concept (thing/story/business) as it was in the 50’s when it first began to appear in the mainstream American English. The research results support the conclusion.

According to the 23 *COCA* entries of *megillah*, 12 of them conform to the *OED* description of the Hebrew Scriptures (a scroll of Esther). The rest of the entries, 11 slang *megillahs*, all adhere to the *OED* description of slang *megillah* as ‘a whole business’ and as ‘a whole thing’. As stated in *OED*, *megillah* can be also used to interpret ‘a long, tedious or complicated story’. The research results, however, do not show any cases of ‘long, tedious or complicated story’ in its literal sense. (*OED*, s.v. *megillah*) Instead, many of the entries can be interpreted as to support the idea of ‘long, tedious or complicated’ *anything*. Examples of such cases are, for example, the Passover Seder meal (a long, tedious, and complicated *production*), ethnical heritage (a complicated *mix*), the second inauguration of President Bill Clinton (less complicated, less tedious, less long inauguration) and the ending motherhood (long, tedious, and complicated motherhood). However, some of these examples adhere to the afore-mentioned *Merriam Webster* definition of slang *megillah* as elaborate, complicated production or event. (*Merriam Webster* dictionary, s.v. *megillah*)

In addition to *OED*’s *megillah* definitions, the research shows that there is more to the interpretation. For example, *megillah*’s meaning can be interpreted more in depth as ‘all-encompassing’. Examples of such cases are, e.g., the forementioned entries regarding ethnical heritage, Irish musical ensemble, and the variability of females in section 5.1. The results also show that *megillah* is sometimes used without the preceding word ‘whole’ as an adjectival referent. An example of such behavior is the entry about Bill Clinton’s second inauguration (‘less of a *megillah*’).

The prevalence of slang *megillah* by category is almost evenly divided into the three categories (News, Magazine and Fiction). *Megillah*, in its original sense, is used most in the Academic category, but it also shows cases in Fiction (3) and News (1). Given how the word originally spread in the vernacular mainstream of American English, it is somewhat surprising that

there are no *megillahs* in the Spoken category. It should be noted, however, that most texts in which slang *megillah* appears, contain direct quotations from interviews and therefore do not represent mere written texts but spoken language. This is also true of some of the *Goliath* and *behemoth* entries. A glance at the *COCA* entries after the March 2020 update - which is not covered by my research - reveals that *megillah* appears in TV series that can be considered a type of spoken language and that it has a new meaning of ‘deal’ (as in ‘big deal’). The tricky part about this, however, is that the TV category contains subtitles for lines that someone first wrote, therefore, TV does not represent real spoken language. There are also no *megillah* entries in the Academic category, but slang words are generally not expected to appear in more formal texts, such as academic texts. *Goliath* and *Behemoth* also both have only 3 entries in the Academic category. Given how and when *Megillah/megillah* entered English language, it can be concluded that it is a word borrowed for an existing referent/concept.

## 6.2 *Goliath*

The study results are identical to *OED*’s description of *Goliath* as an animal name, a giant and an allusion to the scripture narrative, but not as a crane. The first 100 entries did not show any cases of *Goliath* being used as a crane as mentioned in *OED*.

As with many famous proper names, it can be said that *Goliath* has undergone generalization. Generalization refers to the process of extending the use of a particular person’s, place’s, or thing’s name to refer to a word or phrase with a wider meaning. (Steinmetz and Kipfer, 2006, 126) Religion particularly is an area where generalization often occurs, i.e., where words refer to more secular things. (354) In addition, *Goliath* has another attribute called an allusive eponym. Eponyms are words or phrases derived from names that may be real, imaginary, biblical, mythical, or literary. As for allusive eponyms, they refer specifically to eponyms that come from scriptures or literature. The use of eponyms is often figurative or symbolic as is the case with *Goliath*. There are capitalized and uncapitalized eponyms and they function as common nouns. In my research, 2 of the first 100 entries were uncapitalized *goliaths*: One because of a spelling mistake (a *goliath* bird-eating tarantula) and one in an adjectival position (*goliath* growth). Uncapitalized eponyms are treated like everyday words and therefore are less connected to the origins of the word. (204-206).

The animal world is a good example of eponymous *Goliath*: A very large lamellicorn beetle, an African giant heron, a giant frog (*Goliath* frog also known as *Goliath* bullfrog and Giant

slippery frog), and the world's largest and heaviest spider (Goliath bird-eating spider) (*OED Online*, s.v. *Goliath*) are all named after *Goliath* because of their enormity either in size, length, or weight. It is therefore no surprise that something large adds to the fact that 43% of the first 100 *COCA Goliath* entries are names. Eponyms of this type strongly suggest to a word that is borrowed into a language to refer to an existing referent/concept. The same applies to the 3% of the first 100 *COCA* entries which are adjectives. They have the meaning of something enormous and gigantic, therefore, here too, *goliath* is a word borrowed for an existing referent/concept.

### **Goliath/goliath → enormous, gigantic**

*Goliath* does not merely denote enormity in size, length, or weight. It can also denote abstract enormity such as power and popularity. An example of this is the case with Harvey Weinstein being associated with a lion and *Goliath* (section 5.2). Lion is a strong beast and predator. *Goliath* was big and strong and Weinstein rich and famous and thus powerful. His behavior towards women is seen as beastlike because he preyed on women and took advantage of them. The same way, the Fox News stars Ailes and O'Reilly were famous and powerful until they were caught because of their abusive behavior.

When the use of *goliath* as a name and adjective are excluded, most of the word usage refers to contest, competition, struggle, and battle. For example, as stated in the Data & Method section, many (9/15) of the comparison-position *goliath* entries are associated with the word 'David' and denote "underdog" situations where opponents are not equal. The balance of power is not the same and the situation involves some sort of struggle or battle. It can be concluded that *Goliath* is considered an obstacle, a contestant, an opponent, or an enemy. Since these words and the 'Goliath vs. David' situation - and all other situations in which the opponent is compared to *goliath* - are not a new concept but rather a term for a fighting or competition situation, here too *goliath* serves as a borrowed word to refer to an existing referent/concept.

### **Literary Categories**

One may wonder what gives so-called literary categories (Fiction, News, Magazine and Academic) such a solid foundation for *goliath*. Apart from the Blog, Web, TV and Movie categories, Fiction remains the largest *goliath* category between 1990-2019. Although my research results turned out to be different because there are only 14 Fiction entries among the first 100, the fact that 12 of them are names makes a strong case. In my research, 'names' account for 43% of the total sample and

Fiction category names mostly consist of book titles and names of book characters. Therefore, I dare to suggest that this explanation also applies to the rest of the Fiction entries.

The largest category of the first 100 turned out to be Magazine by 38 entries. The largest groups within it consist of 13 names and 15 metaphors. The reason for the rather large number of metaphors is that magazines mostly contain articles on sports competitions, news about elections and politics, competition in the stock market and business etc., which tend to use metaphors like *goliath* to describe objects and situations. Many of the magazines in the Magazine category deal with national and world news as well as sports, technology, and science. According to the research, *goliath* tends to appear quite evenly in sports, technology, and science magazines as a ‘name’ and a ‘metaphor’, while *goliath* is generally used more as a ‘metaphor’ in news-related magazines. For example, the use of *Goliath* as a name in the sports industry is largely explained by the fact that sports leagues, for example, like to use a name that refers to something strong and mighty. In the same way, military technology, for example, wants to name their product with a word that refers to something mighty. Some news-related magazines include, for example, *USA Today*, an American daily newspaper, *News Republic* focused on commentary on politics, *Huffington Post*, a news aggregator, *National Review* focused on politics and current events, and *Newsweek* covering international issues, politics, and business etc. Some magazines that mention *goliath* as a name and a metaphor include *TechCrunch*, *Pop Science*, and *PCWorld*.

The same reasoning applies to the News category: 10 of the 27 News entries are names and 7 of the remaining 17 are ‘David vs. Goliath’ comparisons. The themes of the category mainly deal with legal battles between parties, sports competitions between leagues or individuals, and competition between presidential or senator candidates in elections. It is therefore reasonable to conclude that when news content focuses on competition – especially if the opponent seems superior in a way or another – words like *Goliath* are needed.

The last so-called literary category is Academic with 3 entries. Two of them are names and one is a comparison. The comparison deals with the corporate prosecution and uses the battle between David and Goliath as metaphor. The names refer to the ring-H2 mitochondrial protein and to a book title.

In short, it can be concluded that the ‘literary foundation’ on which *Goliath* stands is based on names and battles.



### 6.3 Behemoth

*Behemoth* is in many ways like *goliath*. For example, *behemoth* is an allusive eponym from the scriptures that has gone through generalization. It is the name of the mythical beast in the Bible and its use is figurative. It is also used metaphorically to refer to something large and strong. Perhaps one of the earliest recorded metaphorical uses of *behemoth* is in Thomas Hobbes' - a prominent figure of his time as a historian, scientist and philosopher and is considered one of the founders of modern political philosophy - posthumously published book *Behemoth* in 1681. (Mastnak) In the book, *Behemoth* symbolizes the English civil wars, more specifically, the result of the government's worst abuses. In addition to this type of symbolism and to a depiction of large and beastly, Rahim's comparison of the United States to *behemoth* in section 5.3 suggests that *behemoth* can also mean 'overpowering' and 'superior'. The comparison creates a picture of inferior Canada and superior United States, which is vastly better and greater in everything, simply impossible to beat.

According to *OED*, *Behemoth* denotes a hippopotamus-type animal and is used as an expression for large and strong animals in modern literature. (*OED Online*, s.v. *behemoth*) However, the study results do not indicate cases where *behemoth* refers to hippopotamus nor to the biblical beast. Only once does it refer to a tuna and once to a dinosaur. Instead, *behemoth* is used to describe anything:

- enormous or gigantic in physical and abstract size
- powerful, overpowering, superior
- monstrous
- large in length, number, or width

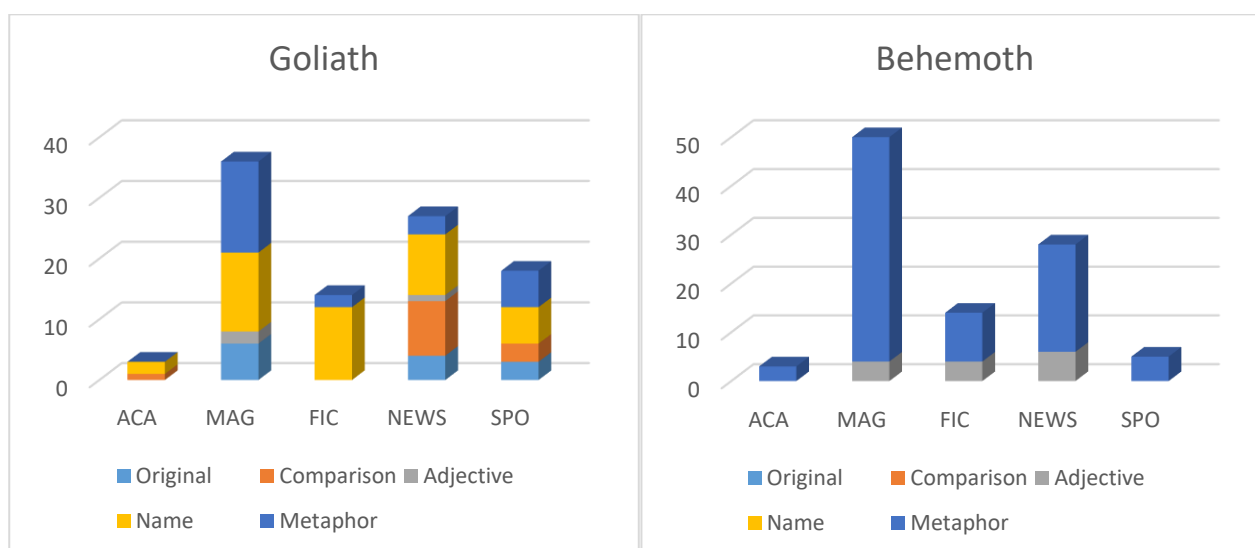
*Behemoth* is also used to describe growth from something small, petty, or negative to something positive and great or gigantic. A good example of such use is the entry about dog breeding: "Baker, an animal activist for 40 years and a walking encyclopaedia on the commercial dog business -- he's been a senior investigator for the ASPCA and the HSUS -- watched the trade evolve from a mom-and-pop sideline into a multinational *behemoth* (*COCA*, *MAG*, *Rolling Stone*, 2017)."

In a nutshell, over time, *Behemoth* has become a metaphor for anything enormous in addition to the enormous beast. Since the concept and word 'enormous' exist, *Behemoth* is a word borrowed to refer to an existing referent/concept.

## Categories

As stated in the Data chapter, the use of *behemoth* in an adjectival position is rather rare whereas the metaphorical use is domineering. According to categories, *behemoth* is less common than *goliath*. *Goliath* is found in all the 5 categories – ‘original’, ‘comparison’, ‘adjective’, ‘name’, and ‘metaphor’ - and *behemoth* only in 2, ‘metaphor’ and ‘adjective’. The usage of *behemoth* in ‘adjective’ and ‘metaphor’ categories is no different. They both use *behemoth* to describe physical and abstract size, number, and units of measure. (The following charts do not show the total number of *Goliath* (738) and *Behemoth* (905) entries, but a sample of the first 100 entries. However, the *Behemoth* chart differs from the total only in that it has more Academic entries than Spoken. Similarly, Fiction and Magazine swap places on the *Goliath* chart given the total.)

Image 2. Distribution of *Goliath* and *behemoth*



Another way in which *behemoth* behaves in the same way as *goliath*, is its distribution. *Behemoth* also stands firmly on ‘a literary foundation’ consisting of Magazine, News and Fiction categories. The reasons for the distribution of *behemoth* are more difficult to detect than *goliath*’s because, for example, *behemoth* is not used as a name at all. In *Goliath*’s case, names cover most of the *Goliath* entries in the Fiction category. According to the thematic breakdown, however, the extensive use of *behemoth* suggest that the word is simply so deeply ingrained in English that it is easily used in any context. Moreover, the fact that *behemoth* is among the top 60 000 words of English in *COCA* votes for a popular use of the word. Magazines tend to follow less official expression codes and use richer, more descriptive, more colorful, and more imaginative language than, for example, some

newspapers, so this can also affect the distribution. *Behemoth* is dominant in Magazine category business and media themes. In the Spoken and News categories, business is the dominant theme. Business also occurs in the Academic category, although not as the dominant theme. *Behemoth* is popular in the field of business, and this is manifested, among other things, in the use of collocates. According to my research, the most common *Behemoth* collocate among the first 100 entries is ‘retail’. There are 14 cases of ‘retail’ that occur immediately before or after *behemoth*, and even more so if cases elsewhere in the same sentence are included.

In addition to being business-oriented, the News category includes the most cases of adjectives. The adjectives are used to describe both physical and abstract size. My research did not reveal any specific reasons for the occurrence of adjectives in the News category. The Fiction category also includes adjectives as well as the most cases of the so-called NP sentences (a *behemoth* of a ...). It is typical for fiction to use descriptive and accentuated words to bring emphasis to things which in these cases are size and number. According to the first 100 entries, Fiction is the only category in which *behemoth* is mentioned as an animal. This makes sense because it is typical in fiction to tell about imaginary beings.

### ***Behemoth* in the Spoken category**

The frequency of the Spoken category varies between the three words. *Megillah* shows no cases of Spoken. Current (2021) total number of *megillah* entries in *COCA*, however, shows that it is used in TV shows, which is practically spoken language. The reasons for *megillah*’s absence in the Spoken category did not emerge in my research.

The total number of *Goliath* entries shows a rather large number of entries in the Spoken category (162), although only 18 of them appear in the sample of the first 100 entries. This suggests that *Goliath* is used in the Spoken category to about the same extent as in other categories except in the Academic category.

The entire sample contains 49 *behemoth* entries, but the sample of the first 100 entries contains only 5. The reasons for the lower number of *behemoths* in the Spoken category were not revealed during my research.

## 7. Conclusion

The purpose of this study was to examine three loanwords of Hebrew origin in the Corpus of Contemporary American English and to determine which of the three types of loanwords they are according to the usage-based model. In addition, the study conducted a lexicosemantic study on these three specific loanwords that show variation and change in their recent use in different genres and discourse types from spoken language, fiction, popular magazines, and newspapers to academic texts. Therefore, my aim was to answer the following questions: To what extent do they occur in texts and elsewhere? Do the loanwords in the *COCA* carry the same meaning as they do in the *OED* or have the *OED* Hebrew loanwords gained new meanings in a present-day American English corpus? What do the loanwords depict? Are they a reflection of linguistic elements or something else?

### 7.1 *Megillah*

In terms of discourse types, the study revealed that slang *megillah* appears fairly evenly across all three literary categories of Fiction, News and Magazine, while *Megillah* also appears in its original meaning across the three literary categories, but not as evenly. The *COCA* findings show that both *Megillah* and *megillah* have the same meanings as in *OED*, but the use of *megillah* is not as limited as in *OED* and its meaning can also be interpreted more deeply. *Megillah* came to English through cultural borrowing. *Megillah* and *megillah* depict linguistic elements in a semantic sense while reflecting ethnicity and religion. *Megillah* is used as a superordinate, an adjectival noun, an endophora, and is a borrowed word to refer to an existing referent.

### 7.2 *Goliath*

*Goliath* appears in all five discourse categories: Fiction, Magazine, News, Spoken and Academic. The sample of the first 100 entries sets the Magazine category the largest. The *COCA* findings show that *Goliath* shares the *OED* meanings as a giant and as an allusion to the scripture narrative, as well as the name of several animals, but not as a crane. In addition, it has expanded its use beyond the *OED* description of the word and developed new concepts. It is used to describe something enormous in size, length, and weight, and to denote abstract enormity such as power and popularity. There are cases where *Goliath* is also used to refer to an obstacle, a contestant, an opponent, and an enemy as well. In addition, the study showed that *Goliath* is often used as a metaphor, e.g., ‘David

vs. Goliath', to describe competition and fighting situations. *Goliath* came to English through cultural borrowing and depicts linguistic elements in a semantic sense. Unlike *megillah*, there are only a few cases of anaphoric use of *Goliath*. *Goliath* also is a borrowed word to refer to an existing concept and referent.

### 7.3 Behemoth

*Behemoth* is found in all five discourse categories, of which Magazine is the largest. The meaning of *behemoth* in *COCA* is almost completely different from that of *OED*. There are only two entries corresponding to a large animal, as described in the *OED*. The same way as with *Goliath*, *behemoth* is used to describe anything enormous or gigantic in abstract and physical size, for example, in length, number, and width. In addition, *behemoth* symbolizes powerful, overpowering, and superior entities as well as monstrous and beastly qualities. *Behemoth* is also used to describe growth from something small, petty, or negative to something positive and great or gigantic. Like others, *behemoth* is the result of cultural borrowing and a reflection of linguistic elements in a semantic sense. *Behemoth* shows anaphoric use and functions as an adjective and as a noun. It is also a borrowed word to refer to an existing concept.

## 7.4 The Future of the Researched Words

### 7.4.1 Megillah

Based on my research, the use of *Megillah*, which alludes to the book of Esther, will continue to be used in the religious Jewish circles whereas the use of slang *megillah* is more difficult to predict. The latest slang *megillah* entry in the *COCA* results before the March 2020 update is dated to 2012. After the March 2020 update, *COCA* shows only one entry of slang *megillah* from 2019. There seems to be a gap between the years 2012 and 2019. Does this hint to a possible declination of the use of *megillah*? Not necessarily. Based on *COCA*, only 1-3 entries of *megillah* have been recorded each year, but in 2012 up to 5 entries of slang *megillah* were recorded. Although *COCA* does not have *megillah* entries for 2008-2010, that does not mean, as can be seen, that *megillah* disappeared. On the contrary, *megillah* reappeared in 2011. Another proof of *megillah*'s "fighting spirit" is that all *megillah* entries from 1991 to 2002 are exclusively slang *megillahs*.

Table 15. All slang *megillah* entries in TV category in COCA, 2021

Year	Number
1991	1
1992	1
1995	1
1997	1
1998	3
2007	1

Today (spring 2021) COCA has 71 entries of *megillah/Megillah*. After March 2019, which is not covered by my research, COCA added new categories (TV, WEB, BLOG) and alongside them, many entries have the original meaning of a scroll. Especially in 2012, COCA received 38 *megillah* entries, most of which are from the religious Jewish website *halakha.org* and carry the meaning of a scroll. Because of the religious connection of the word, *Megillah* will continue to be used as a scroll among religious Jews. Loanwords are often used as a marker of ethnic identity, and this seems to be the case with *Megillah/megillah* as well. Haspelmath uses the term *language shift* when talking about the marking of identity, emblematic words, such as *megillah*, and their survival:

Language shift generally takes place when a group of speakers decides that it wants to merge with a more powerful group in principle, but this is not incompatible with retaining a few emblematic words from the original language. [...] The use of a few Yiddish words in New York English, especially when they mark Jewish identity, may also fall in this category. And finally, words from the language of the shifting speakers may survive if these are a dominant group. (Haspelmath 2009, 51)

Based on Haspelmath’s reasoning, both *Megillah* and *megillah* have a chance of longevity in American English. The fact that words such as *Megillah* and *megillah* are often used in codeswitching and have become established loanwords also vote for longevity and permanence according to Backus: “a likely hypothesis is that words inserted as codeswitches in bilingual speech may become more and more acceptable in the wider community and become established loanwords (Zenner et al. 23).”

### 7.4.2 *Goliath*

The longevity of *Goliath* must be assessed differently from that of *megillah* due to the number of entries (*megillah* 23, *Goliath* 738). A small number of *megillah* entries are easy to assess while 738 *Goliaths* become rather laborious. However, this was not the case in this study. Based on the first 100 *Goliath* entries in 2013-2017, it can be concluded that mere numbers and classification alone are not enough to indicate the prevalence of word usage. Just as *megillah* was classified by dividing the entries into categories of original meaning and slang, so was *Goliath* divided into categories of original and other meanings ('comparison', 'metaphor', 'name' and 'adjective'). As a result, we get statistics that provide evidence of *Goliath*'s use to express more 'other meanings' than its original meaning. For example, in 2014-2017, only 0-2 *Goliath* entries per year indicate the original meaning and the rest (10-22 entries per year) express a 'comparison', 'metaphor', 'name' or 'adjective'. The exception is the statistics for 2013 and 2016, where there are almost as many *Goliaths* of original meaning as there are of other meanings. However, when looking at this phenomenon in detail, there are cases where most of the entries come from the same publication. For example, in the case of Malcolm Gladwell's book "David and Goliath: Misfits, and the Art of Battling Giants" in 2013, statistics show that most of the year's entries come from the same publication. The title of the book and *Goliath* in it are mentioned several times in the same publication and thus do not necessarily give a true picture of the use or prevalence of the word during that year. In other words, it cannot be concluded that a *Goliath* with 'other meanings' is used more often than with its original meaning if the *Goliath* entries with 'other meanings' are from the same publication, regardless of how many entries there are in that category. Based on this, it is difficult to predict what *Goliath*'s future looks like.

If we look at the nature of *Goliath* from the point of view of generalization and eponyms, *Goliath* is widely used and especially in the context of David vs. Goliath. This type of use together with the fact of being listed among the top 60 000 COCA words vote for *Goliath*'s longevity.

### 7.4.3 *Behemoth*

According to my research, *behemoth* seems to be so deeply rooted in modern American English that the first 100 samples do not show the use of *behemoth* in its original sense at all. In addition, the frequency of *behemoth* has remained stable, if not increased over the years. It can be concluded that the use of *behemoth* is likely to remain stable in the future, whether in its original meaning or in its

new meaning. However, based on the results of the study, the meaning is likely to be largely non-original.

Table 16. The frequency of *behemoth* in COCA, 2021

Year	Frequency
1990-1994	125
1995-1999	137
2000-2004	193
2005-2009	194
2010-2014	183
2015-2019	194

### 7.5 Ideas for further study

Further study of all the entries of *megillah*, *Goliath* and *behemoth* would reveal interesting new concepts and behavior. As noted earlier, the March 2020 update added not only entries but also brought new meanings that were not part of this study. Such a study would shed light on the true current state of the meanings of these words. For example, in case of *behemoth*, ‘a Chart search’ gives the viewer an interpretation that includes the reference to “someone or something abnormally large and powerful” – as does my study – but also an interpretation of “a person of exceptional importance and reputation”, that my study did not discover (*COCA*, s.v. *behemoth*).

The nature of my research opens the door to other types of research. For example, *COCA* is an ideal resource for studying words from other perspectives, such as clusters or collocates, classified into nouns, verbs, adjectives, and adverbs. However, if something new is desired in addition to corpus research, there are various approaches, such as a cognitive linguistic approach to studying the true distribution of a loanword. This can be done by combining corpus research with psycholinguistic experimental work such as community conventionalization and individual entrenchment investigation with experimental data. (Zenner and Kristiansen, 2014, 33) In this case “entrenchment levels of individual loanwords could be elicited through judgment or acceptability tasks (Ibid.).”



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