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# Restoring הלל II from Exile: Discovering the Homonyms Spelled הל-ל by Examining Their Usage in the Hebrew Bible

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## ABSTRACT

This thesis examines the evidence in the Hebrew Bible of the ancient Hebrew lexeme גלה. The aim is to determine how many roots are represented by the spelling ג-ל-ה in the Hebrew Bible. With the help of verbal valency theory, I examine the complementation patterns of גלה.

Previous attempts to understand the ancient Hebrew גלה focus on semantics. I challenge this approach and suggest that semantics alone is insufficient for understanding גלה (Chapter 1). Thus, I incorporate the clausal syntax of גלה with attention to גלה's appearance in the different *binyanim* and the different complement patterns that accompany גלה's different meanings (Chapter 2). These facts suggest that ancient speakers of Hebrew differentiated between two meanings/roots of גלה by keeping them separate in different *binyanim* and employing different complement patterns for each meaning/root. I briefly examine other Semitic languages, especially Akkadian and Aramaic, and then turn to Lam 4:22; Isa 49:9; Ezek 12:3, among other texts, to illustrate that our exegesis can improve when we know the expected complement patterns of a verb (Chapter 4). The thesis closes with a summary and suggestions for further research (Chapter 5).

The meanings associated with גלה remain categorically separated in different *binyanim* and each root has a set complement pattern that differs from the other homographic root. This evidence illustrates the ancient Hebrew understood גלה as two

homographic roots. The method I use in this thesis provides a way to test supposed homographic roots and suggests ways to improve exegesis by understanding each verb's expected complementation patterns.

Restoring הלל II from Exile:  
Discovering the Homonyms Spelled הל-ל by  
Examining Their Usage in the Hebrew Bible

A Thesis

Presented to

The Faculty of the Graduate School of Theology

Abilene Christian University

In Partial Fulfillment

Of the Requirements for the Degree

Master of Arts

Old Testament


By

Josiah D. Peeler

June 2017

This thesis, directed and approved by the candidate's committee, has been accepted by the Graduate Council of Abilene Christian University in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree

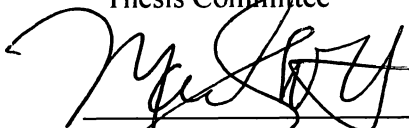
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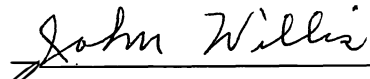
  
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To Danielle,

For walking into my life on 3 June 2011 and strengthening my hands in YHWH on the  
decisive evening of 20 August 2014

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supported us out of his own pockets on far too many occasions and brought groceries and presents to our door without any prompting. We have not done anything to deserve this חסד וטוב.

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Mark Hamilton, John Willis, and Jo Ann Hackett graciously helped me in reworking, rewriting, and rethinking this thesis. Their steady eyes kept me focused on the real issues. Dr. Hamilton read through various drafts of the thesis around ten times. His comments continue to be thought-provoking. He challenged me throughout my time at ACU by his unswerving kindness, genuine concern, and scholarship. He took a personal interest in many life, academically and spiritually, and encouraged me through every step — even coming to hear me preach. Dr. Willis and his wife, Evelyn, took us out on numerous occasions and supported us spiritually and emotionally through some especially difficult periods. Dr. Hackett agreed to help me despite several more important projects and some unexpected health problems.

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around the house. Time spent with him kicking the soccer ball across the living room floor of our apartment and subsequently searching for it under the furniture was indispensable to the successful completion of this project. His deep involvement in my work resulted in one of his first words being “גְּלָהּ.”

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13 June 2017

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## CHAPTER 1

### IS גלה ONE ROOT?

#### Introduction

Examining the occurrences of גלה in the Hebrew Bible supplies a conduit for understanding the lexeme(s) גלה as nearly as possible to the way in which ancient workers on the threshing floors of Bethlehem or administrators in the palace complex of Samaria would perceive it. The focus of this thesis is the Biblical Hebrew lexeme(s) גלה.<sup>1</sup> I do not intend to answer all questions regarding גלה<sup>2</sup> or the conceptualization of exile in the ancient world in this investigation (e.g. how exile was understood by Israel, how the captivities perpetrated by Assyria and Babylon differ, etc.). The objective is to determine whether גלה represents one or two roots. Were native speakers aware of one or two roots

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1. In this thesis, I will deal exclusively with גלה in the Hebrew Bible. *DCH*, 2:348, states that גלה also appears ten times in Sirach, eighty-two times in the Scrolls and two times in ancient Hebrew inscriptions. *CDCH*, 66, adds seven occurrences of גלה in the Scrolls, for a total of eighty-nine, and removes any reference to גלה being in ancient Hebrew inscriptions. גלה does not appear in the concordance in F. W. Dobbs-Allsopp, J. J. M. Roberts, C. L. Seow and R. E. Whitaker, *Hebrew Inscriptions: Texts from the Biblical Period of the Monarchy with Concordance* (New Haven/London: Yale University Press, 2005), 674-5. These occurrences of גלה will not be considered in this thesis. Also, my investigation of גלה focuses almost exclusively on Hebrew even though the nine occurrences of גלה in the Aramaic portions of the Hebrew Bible (Dan 2:19, 22, 28, 29, 30, 47 [twice]; Ezra 4:10; 5:12) appear briefly in chapter 3 of this thesis. If גלה is one root, then it is one of only six verbs occurring in the Hebrew Bible that appear in every major *binyan*, see Miles V. Van Pelt and Gary D. Pratico, *The Vocabulary Guide to Biblical Hebrew* (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 2003), 280.

2. Many III-ה verbs originally were III-י verbs, so גלה originally was גלי; see C. L. Seow, *A Grammar for Biblical Hebrew* (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1987), 102. I use the spelling גלה throughout this thesis understanding that this verb was originally גלי but trying to avoid the possibly confusing repetition of גלי/גלה which some of the secondary sources use. But see Paul Joüon and T Muraoka, *A Grammar of Biblical Hebrew*, *Subsidia Biblica* 27 (Rome: Editrice Pontificio Istituto Biblico, 2008), 189 footnote 1. Joüon and Muraoka suggest that גלה was originally גלי based on the Arabic *jalā*, future *yajlū* “to reveal.” For III-ה verbs, see John A. Cook and Robert D. Holmstedt, *Beginning Biblical Hebrew: A Grammar and Illustrated Reader* (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic, 2013), a-35-7; Jo Ann Hackett, *A Basic Introduction to Biblical Hebrew* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson Publishers, 2010), 155-57; Joüon and Muraoka, *A Grammar of Biblical Hebrew*, 188-95, 632-3; A. E. Cowley, *Gesenius' Hebrew Grammar as Edited and Enlarged by the Late E. Kautzsch, 2nd English Ed. Revised in Accordance with the 28th German Edition* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1910), §75; J. Weingreen, *A Practical Grammar for Classical Hebrew* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1959), 216-20. Apparently, גלה has been the paradigmatic example of III-ה verbs for quite some time; see William Chomsky, *David Kimḥi's Hebrew Grammar* (New York: Bloch, 1952), 162-3.

in their own usage of גלה? Perhaps, the concept of “root” to an ancient Hebrew speaker is more academic than practical.<sup>3</sup> Therefore, they may not have entertained the problem of whether גלה was one or two lexemes. Truly, a native speaker rarely examines his or her own language at the linguistic or grammatical level.

Crucial to our search is discovering if גלה meant “to uncover, reveal, open” and “to go into exile” during the same time period and in the same geographical region and in the same dialect of Hebrew. A few examples, namely Lam 4:22, and possibly Job 20:27-28, give evidence of the different meanings of גלה simultaneously so at least some speakers of ancient Hebrew are aware of the complexity of גלה’s meanings.

The meanings of גלה seem distinct to modern Westerners since they fall in different semantic domains — one in the domain of sight (“to reveal, uncover, open”) and another in the domain of motion (“to go into exile”). Yet, every culture forms its own semantic domains distinctly from other cultures.<sup>4</sup> Israel is no different. Our semantic domain distinctions may not have existed for ancient speakers of Hebrew.<sup>5</sup> Would the

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3. See James Barr, “Three Interrelated Factors in the Semantic Study of Ancient Hebrew,” *ZAH* 7 (1994): 43. Barr suggests that if one asked ancient Hebrew speakers what the root element of the verb “to strike” was they might say *k-k* instead of *n-k-h*, since the *k-k* element is present in *yakkeh*, *makkah*, *hukkāh*, *yakkū*, *makkōt*, etc. Of course, we do not know if this is true, nor does it matter for our purposes. The fact that the ancient speakers of Hebrew were aware of the *binyanim* is evident by the so-called “Poetic Piel,” however. I thank Dr. Hackett for bringing this to my attention (13 June 2017).

4. Reinier de Blois, “Semantic Domains for Biblical Hebrew,” in *Bible and Computer*, ed. J. Cook (Leiden: Brill 2002), 275-6.

5. At least one modern Hebrew dictionary considers גלה to be one root. See Reuven Sivan and Edward A. Levenston, *The New Bantam-Megiddo Hebrew and English Dictionary* (New York: Bantam Books, 2009), 29 on the Hebrew to English side of the dictionary.

For a discussion of the modern Hebrew גלה see, Jeremy Benstein, “What Postcards, Incest, and Revelation Have in Common: The Hebrew Root g-l-h Covers the Gamut from Discover to Uncover, from the New World to a Child’s Stubborn Secrets,” *Haaretz.com*, 13 May 2013, <http://www.haaretz.com/israel-news/culture/on-root-what-postcards-incest-and-revelation-have-in-common.premium-1.523543>. The article chiefly deals with גלה “to uncover, reveal.” Benstein connects גלה “to go into exile” with גלל. Thus, while גלה “to go into exile” is a homonym with גלה “to uncover” the etymology of each is different according to Benstein.

ideas of “opening, uncovering, revealing, going into exile” be substantially divergent concepts in the minds of ancient Hebrew speakers to such an extent that they would require a different lexical basis? Semantics aids in conceptualizing Hebrew and distinguishing homonyms, but should not be the sole focus. We must be careful not to impose our modern conceptualization and ideology upon Israel.

Syntax, on the other hand, yields additional evidence to fortify semantic distinctions, confirming in some cases that the perception of homonyms is not a modern innovation. Testing the different meanings of גלה to see if there is a different complementation pattern associated with each meaning might reveal whether גלה is one or two roots. In other words, are there syntactical distinctions in the ancient Hebrew use of גלה? If there are both syntactical and semantic distinctions perceptible in the usage of גלה in the Hebrew Bible, then this binary observation strengthens the case for two roots represented by ג-ל-ה.

Alongside these, the different meanings of גלה do not overlap in the *binyanim*, except in the Qal. It is possible that each *binyan* provides its own nuance for גלה.<sup>6</sup> Or it might be that the two roots of גלה are kept distinct by ancient speakers by means of the different *binyanim*. Barr suggests that different homonyms might surface in different *binyanim* in order to provide a syntactical distinction. However, he cautions that we do not definitively know whether a specific verb was altogether absent in a particular *binyan* just because it does not appear in our limited corpus. Barr states, “Nevertheless there is

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6. See the treatment of גלה in Hackett, *A Basic Introduction to Biblical Hebrew*, 164, 266, 273. Hackett attends to each *binyan* individually and provides an appropriate gloss (Qal, Piel and Hifil on 266 and the Nifal on 273; the word is introduced on 164). Also, see Georg Fohrer, ed. *Hebrew and Aramaic Dictionary of the Old Testament*. English version by W. Johnstone (Berlin/New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1973), 49.

sufficient ground to be confident that a certain number of verbs, the roots of which were alike, were in practice partially discriminated because only limited themes [i.e. *binyanim*] were used and these differed between one verb and another.”<sup>7</sup> Thus, the separation of גלה’s distinguishable nuances in distinct *binyanim* might be a clue to its duplicate lexical status.

Several cognate Semitic languages testify to a root similar to גלה that is a verb of seeing (i.e. Phoenician *gly*) and another verb of motion (i.e. Ugaritic *gly*),<sup>8</sup> with Akkadian providing the verb *galû* (“to go into exile,” which usually appears in Š stem as *šuglû* “to cause to send another into exile”).<sup>9</sup> Similarly, Aramaic, Ethiopic and Arabic have cognates of גלה meaning “to go into exile.” Thus, in northwest Semitic (Ugaritic, Phoenician, Aramaic), east Semitic (Akkadian) and south Semitic (Ethiopic, Arabic) there is precedent for two roots of גלה — meaning “to uncover, reveal” and “to go into exile” respectively.<sup>10</sup>

Together this evidence — the distinctions in the semantics and syntax of גלה, its usage in the *binyanim* and the cognate Semitic evidence for גלה — reveals that ancient Hebrew considered גלה as two roots.

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7. James Barr, *Comparative Philology and the Old Testament* (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1968) 133. Barr’s discussion of this issue encompasses most of pp. 132-3.

8. The similarity between the Phoenician *gly*, the Ugaritic *gly* and the Hebrew גלה is greater when we remember that גלה was originally גלי.

9. See Norman H. Snaith, *Amos: Part II: Translation and Notes* (London: Epworth Press, 1946), 19. Commenting on Amos 1:5, Snaith says, “With the rise of Assyria and her policy of deportation the word [גלה] comes to mean that involuntary exile to which the subject peoples were condemned, and that is the meaning here. This use is an indication that Amos was aware of the Assyrian threat, since he could scarcely have used this word in this sense otherwise.”

10. For a discussion of how to classify the various Semitic languages, see Angel Sáenz-Badillos, *A History of the Hebrew Language*, trans. John Elwolde (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 9-15.



## Blunders in Analyzing Hebrew Words

A major obstacle in properly understanding ancient Hebrew lexemes is the effort it takes to ascertain its specific range of meaning. Barr notes that discovering the semantic domain of a word takes research akin to a dissertation.<sup>11</sup> When dealing with the over 2,000 “new” Hebrew words proposed for his *Dictionary of Classical Hebrew*,<sup>12</sup> Clines admits he spent one hundred hours reviewing the occurrences of one lexeme in the various texts and writing up his resultant research, leading to some words appearing in the dictionary without a full investigation.<sup>13</sup> Clines notes that most scholars are too easily contented when consulting the lexicon. Instead of reading the whole article, they stop when they discover the meaning that best fits their text. They do not continue reviewing other dictionaries and lexica.<sup>14</sup> However, properly understanding ancient Hebrew lexemes requires strenuous work.

Barr highlights problems with prior attempts to understand Biblical words.<sup>15</sup> He objects that the meaning of each individual word is exaggerated (even describing the theology of prepositions!) to become the focus of interpretation instead of the sentence in

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11. James Barr, “Hebrew Lexicography: Informal Thoughts,” in *Linguistics and Biblical Hebrew*, ed. Walter R. Bodine (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1992), 144, 46. Barr notes that Hebrew lexicography is a 12 hour, 365 days a year job (146).

12. David J. A. Clines, ed., *Dictionary of Classical Hebrew*, 8 Vols. (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1993-2002).

13. David J. A. Clines, “The Recovery of the Ancient Hebrew Language: The Astonishing Wealth of its Unrecognized Vocabulary,” in *Biblical Lexicology: Hebrew and Greek: Semantics, Exegesis, Translation*, Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft 443, eds. Eberhard Bons, Jan Joosten, Regine Hunziker-Rodewald (Berlin/Boston: De Gruyter, 2015), 82.

14. David J. A. Clines, “The Challenge of Hebrew Lexicography Today,” in *Congress Volume Ljubljana 2007*, VTSup, ed. Andre Lemaire (Leiden: Brill, 2009), 98.

15. James Barr, *The Semantics of Biblical Language* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1961).

which it occurs.<sup>16</sup> Instead of considering the general flow and overall argumentation of an entire paragraph or discourse, a singular word often receives a disproportionate amount of theological weight in exegetical discussion.<sup>17</sup> This approach results in mixing lexical and conceptual information. A particular lexeme should not be the foundation of theology. Much more is lost than gained by this approach. Silva illustrates this when he notes that a theology of hypocrisy without Isa 1:10-15 is incomplete though the word does not appear in the text.<sup>18</sup> There is a difference between studying a lexeme to discover what it means in its linguistic environment and studying various concepts that were part of an ancient culture. A *Wörterbuch* should provide lexical information, not conceptual — Barr’s main rebuke of the *Theological Dictionary of the New Testament*.<sup>19</sup>

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16. Moisés Silva, *Biblical Words and Their Meaning: An Introduction to Lexical Semantics*, Revised and Expanded Edition (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan Publishing House, 1994), 23. Silva notes that conservative scholars struggle with this because of their focus on every word of the Bible.

17. See Alexander Campbell, *The Christian System: In Reference to the Union of Christians, and a Restoration of Primitive Christianity, as Pleaded in the Current Reformation* (Joplin, MO: College Press, 1989), 250, originally published in 1835. Campbell says, “Orators and exhorters may select a word, a phrase, or a verse; but all who feed the flock of God with knowledge and understanding know that this method is wholly absurd.” Going back to at least John Locke, scholars have recognized the problem of giving too much interpretive weight to a single word (*An Essay Concerning Human Understanding, Book III: Words*, published in 1689).

18. Silva, *Biblical Words and Their Meaning*, 27-8. See also I. Howard Marshall, *A Concise New Testament Theology* (Downers Grove, IL: IVP Academic, 2008), 181. Marshall notes that the concept of reconciliation is present in the “Parable of the Prodigal Son” (Luke 15:11-32), even if the word itself is not.

19. Barr, *Semantics of Biblical Language*, 206-62.

While Barr's concerns are well founded, specific words used in a discourse do play a pivotal role.<sup>20</sup> A speaker uses a given word because of its understood meaning in his or her social and linguistic environment. For communication to be real, one must speak (orally or in written form) to another using commonly agreed upon understandings of the various words employed in a syntactic structure that is culturally and linguistically understandable to those in the conversation.<sup>21</sup> Meaning is in each word and in the context. Both are true and should not be exaggerated to exclude the other.

However, a speaker can manipulate a particular word or phrase and thus apply a different meaning to it rather than what was originally given by the listener. Therefore, the lexeme, the entire sentence, the discourse, and the social context of the word's

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20. An episode of *Seinfeld* (Season 3 Episode 21 "The Parking Space") illustrates that words in fact have meaning.

Jerry "Like you didn't call me a *phony!*"

Mike "I think you completely misunderstood what I said. I meant it in a complementary way."

Jerry "Use it in a sentence."

Mike "Man, that Michael Jordan is so *phony.*"

Despite Mike's attempt to disguise what he meant, the word he used had meaning, and Jerry understood it in the most logical and culturally accepted way.

Among other places in Carroll's two Alice stories, the conversation between Alice and Humpty Dumpty comes to mind as they debate the issue of whether words can be made to mean whatever someone desires or whether they are relatively established because of common usage (see Lewis Carroll, *Through the Looking-Glass*, Chapter 6).

Also see James Barr, *Semantics of Biblical Language* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1961), 270. Here, Barr's statement, "The distinctiveness of biblical thought and language has to be settled at sentence level, that is, by the things the writers say, and not by the words they say them with," seems paradoxical. Can the sentence have meaning if the individual words do not? Communication occurs through the words used within a specific discourse and context.

21. See Campbell, *The Christian System*, 3-4. Campbell enumerates rules for translation. Rule three explains that the same rules for translating any book should be used to translate the bible. I quote the entirety of Campbell's fourth rule, "Common usage, which can only be ascertained by testimony, must always decide the meaning of any word which has but one signification; but when words have, according to testimony (i.e. the dictionary), more meanings than one, whether literal or figurative, the scope, the context, or parallel passages must decide the meaning; for if common usage, the design of the writer, the context, and parallel passages fail, there can be no certainty in the interpretation of language."

utterance ultimately provide meaning.<sup>22</sup> Context and the specific lexemes utilized together play a crucial role in communication. As Cotterell and Turner say, “There is something to the claim that you can tell the sense of a word from the company it keeps.”<sup>23</sup>

Also, examining an unknown Hebrew word against the background of other Semitic languages or ascertaining a root’s meanings by reconstructing its history may be helpful, but it is a last resort for deciphering the meaning of a puzzling Hebrew lexeme — not a starting point. Barr says, “A word has meaning only within its own language and its own period of usage.”<sup>24</sup> We must not force Hebrew lexemes to mean something based on a similar lexeme in another Semitic language. Also, the usage and meaning of Hebrew lexemes do not depend upon the history of the root (the so-called “etymological fallacy”).<sup>25</sup>

Words have meanings, but their meanings may differ by time (e.g. 8th century BCE vs 5th century BCE) and location (e.g. Gilead vs Beersheba). What meaning(s) is/are an ancient author conscious of regarding a specific Hebrew lexeme? Common usage

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22. Lessing illustrates the fact that context is often more important than individual word choice by saying “*nicht ohne Wohlgefallen*” instead of “*nicht mit Missfallen*” in *Emilia Gallotti*. Yet readers and hearers of Lessing’s work did not notice this mistake for almost a century because they automatically made the correction because of the context. See Silva, *Biblical Words and Their Meaning*, 140. Silva here is quoting W. von Wartburg, *Problems and Methods in Linguistics* (New York: Barnes & Noble, 1969), 100.

23. Peter Cotterell and Max Turner, *Linguistics and Biblical Interpretation* (Drowners Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 1989), 156.

24. Barr, “Hebrew Lexicography,” 141.

25. See Ernest Weekley, *An Etymological Dictionary of Modern English* (London: John Murray, Albemarle Street W., 1921). The modern English use of “nice” (i.e. “stupid, ignorant,” p. 983), “clue” (i.e. “unwinding a ball of string,” p.312) or “hussy” (i.e. “housewife,” p.740) illustrate this. Our understanding of these words is entirely disconnected from their etymology.

within our own period dictates the meanings of the words we use. Thus, divining the meaning of a particular lexeme within a specific period is paramount.<sup>26</sup>

Each Semitic root has a basic meaning (i.e. *Grundbedeutung*) shared by all of the lexemes built on that root. The desire to find a basic meaning for a root leads in many cases to merging different meanings that might be incompatible.

Lexica gloss the verb גלה as “to reveal, uncover, open.” Yet, they simultaneously admit that גלה describes going into exile. Do these glosses of גלה (i.e. “to reveal, uncover” and “to go into exile”) interrelate? Most believe they do,<sup>27</sup> traditionally understanding גלה “to go into exile” as a subcategory that belongs under the gloss “to reveal, to uncover.” Going into exile is the process by which the land is “uncovered” of its inhabitants.<sup>28</sup> In this way, the gloss “to uncover” incorporates “to go into exile.”<sup>29</sup> These questionably

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26. See W. Randall Garr, *Dialect Geography of Syria-Palestine 1000-586 BCE* (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2004). This reprints the 1985 edition.

27. See George M. Landes, *Building Your Biblical Hebrew Vocabulary: Learning Words by Frequency and Cognate* (Atlanta, GA: SBL Press, 2001), 61; Van Pelt and Pratico, *The Vocabulary Guide to Biblical Hebrew*, 14. Both Landes and Van Pelt and Pratico take גלה as one root that means different things depending on which *binyanim* in which it appears. But see Larry A. Mitchel, *A Student's Vocabulary for Biblical Hebrew and Aramaic* (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan Publishing House, 1984), 8. Mitchel suggests the possibility of two roots. See Benjamin Davies and Edward C. Mitchell, eds. *Student's Hebrew Lexicon: A Compendious and Complete Hebrew and Chaldee Lexicon to the Old Testament with an English-Hebrew Index Chiefly Founded on the Works of Gesenius and First with Improvements from Dietrich and other Sources* (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan Publishing House, 1880), 125. Davies and Mitchell separate גלה into two roots. They suggest that גלה II may be akin to גלע I “to fling away.” However, at the end of their discussion on גלה II, they say, “Very probably גלה I and II are etymologically one and the same, as most Lexicons assume.” This is evidence of the confusion that is associated with most treatments of גלה.

28. See Cowley, *Gesenius' Hebrew Grammar*, §52i.

29. For example, see Snaith, *Amos*, 19. In his commentary on Amos 1:5, Snaith says, “The verb *galah* with its subsidiaries means ‘become clear, uncover, reveal, display,’ and so ‘go forth, depart.’ These are its meanings in Arabic equally as in Hebrew.”

connected meanings recently caused David J. A. Clines, among others, to reevaluate גלה.<sup>30</sup>

Do these significantly different glosses of גלה represent the same root? How important are the root consonants? Is a primary meaning connected to the root? In Semitic languages, roots do have a meaning. The problem then is not the assumption that a root has a basic meaning,<sup>31</sup> but the effort to make all meanings connected with the same three consonants squeeze into the same root. If the meanings are considerably different, perhaps we are dealing with more than one root.

What is the way forward in studying ancient Hebrew lexemes, then?<sup>32</sup> The context and discourse environment (e.g. social, regional, situational, universe of discourse, etc.) provide meaning in addition to the individual lexemes employed. The lexical status of an ancient Hebrew lexeme depends on the semantic and syntactic clues connected to the

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30. David J. A. Clines, "Comparative Classical Hebrew Lexicography," in *From Ancient Manuscripts to Modern Dictionaries: Select Studies in Aramaic, Hebrew and Greek*. Perspectives on Linguistics and Ancient Languages 9, eds. Tarsee Li, Keith Dyer and Alexey Muraviev (Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias Press, forthcoming), 7-8. He is not the first to identify two verbal roots for גלה. See Claus Westermann and R. Albertz, "גלה *glh* to uncover," *TLOT* 1:315; Solomon Mandelkern, *Veteris Testamenti Concordantiae Hebraicae Atque Chaldaicae*, Reprinted (Tel Aviv: Schocken Publishing House, 1971), 262-3; Franciscus Zorell, *Lexicon Hebraicum et Aramaicum Veteris Testamenti* (Rome: Pontificium Institutum Biblicum, 1955), 151-2; James Barr, "Three Interrelated Factors in the Semantic Study of Ancient Hebrew," 40-41; David K. H. Gray, "A New Analysis of a Key Hebrew Term: The Semantics of GALAH ('To Go Into Exile')," *TynBul* 58 (2007): 43-59. Also see Bruce K. Waltke, "גָּלָה (*gālā*) uncover, remove," *TWOT* 1:160-1. Waltke leans toward גלה representing two roots but does not commit.

31. See Joüon and Muraoka, *A Grammar of Biblical Hebrew*, 99. They note in footnote 3 that a root is technically an abstraction, but that it is linguistically and psychologically real. Also see Seow, *A Grammar for Biblical Hebrew*, 21. For an example in another Semitic language, see John Huehnergard, *A Grammar of Akkadian*, HSM 45, 2nd ed. (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2005), 15-16. Knowing a particular root and its fundamental meaning makes learning the derived words easier, as evidenced in George Landes's *Building Your Biblical Hebrew Vocabulary*.

32. I note the statement in Barr, "Hebrew Lexicography," 137. Barr says, "We in the modern world may set out to surpass them [referring to Baumgartner, Buhl, Brown, Driver, Briggs, Gesenius], but we shall be fortunate in the end if we succeed in equaling them."

lexeme. Cognate Semitic languages should not be the basis for Hebrew lexeme interpretation, but actual Hebrew evidence.

### גלה in the Lexica

The history of גלה's representation in the lexica is perplexing and contradictory, with many employing different avenues, some using cognates Semitic languages and others semantics, to inform their decisions to understand the root-status of גלה. Clines points out that Michaelis in 1784 and Gesenius in his first lexicon in 1810 recognize two roots of גלה.<sup>33</sup> However, the distinction did not remain in Gesenius's next lexicon (1823). In Clines's opinion, this is why most Hebrew lexicography since the early 1800s, including BDB,<sup>34</sup> which is itself dependent upon Gesenius, and HALOT,<sup>35</sup> represent גלה as one lexeme instead of two. The *Dictionary of Classical Hebrew* follows suit when discussing גלה.<sup>36</sup>

In the following paragraphs I examine the lexica articles on גלה by Howard,<sup>37</sup> Zobel,<sup>38</sup> Westermann and Albertz,<sup>39</sup> and Waltke.<sup>40</sup> The structure of each article is similar and will thus be discussed together. They each begin with a discussion of the Semitic

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33. Clines, "Comparative Classical Hebrew Lexicography," 8. I am relying upon Clines here because I do not have access to these sources.

34. BDB 162-63.

35. HALOT Student Edition, 1:191-2.

36. DCH 2:348-52; also CDCH 66-67.

37. David M. Howard Jr., "גלה," NIDOTTE 1:861-4.

38. Hans-Jürgen Zobel, "גָּלָה," TDOT 2:476-88.

39. Westermann and Albertz, TLOT 1:314-20.

40. Bruce K. Waltke, "גָּלָה," TWOT 1:160-1.

cognates of גלה.<sup>41</sup> Then they evaluate גלה in the Hebrew and Aramaic of the Hebrew Bible<sup>42</sup> with a conclusion that describes the theological importance of the word.<sup>43</sup>

At the beginning of each article, the authors individually acknowledge the two distinct meanings of גלה.<sup>44</sup> Howard and Zobel believe that despite these different meanings there is no reason to suppose that two roots lie behind גלה. They maintain that the “original” meaning of גלה, “to uncover,” incorporates the gloss “to go into exile” because the land is uncovered by the people going into exile.<sup>45</sup> However, Zobel states, “*glh* has a wide variety of nuances of meanings...these nuances revolve around two basic concepts.”<sup>46</sup> Yet, instead of taking the two basic concepts to illustrate two roots, Zobel believes the two concepts represent one root. Waltke is unsure stating whether גלה is one or two roots remains an “open question.”<sup>47</sup> However, Westermann and Albertz believe that גלה is “two different roots.”<sup>48</sup>

There are a few differences between גלה “to uncover” and “to go into exile” that the lexica note. Westermann and Albertz and Waltke mention that גלה “to uncover” is

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41. Howard, *NIDOTTE* 1:861; Westermann and Albertz, *TLOT* 1:314-5; Waltke, *TWOT* 1:160; Zobel, *TDOT* 2:476-7.

42. Howard, *NIDOTTE* 1:861-2; Westermann and Albertz, *TLOT* 1:315-19; Waltke, *TWOT* 160-1; Zobel, *TDOT* 2:477-85.

43. Howard, *NIDOTTE* 1:862-4; Westermann and Albertz, *TLOT* 1:319-20; Waltke, *TWOT* 1:161; Zobel, *TDOT* 2:486-88.

44. Howard, *NIDOTTE* 1:861; Westermann and Albertz, *TLOT* 1:315; Waltke, *TWOT* 1:160; Zobel, *TDOT* 2:477-8.

45. Howard, *NIDOTTE* 1:861; Zobel, *TDOT* 2:477-8.

46. Zobel, *TDOT* 2:477-8.

47. Waltke, *TWOT* 1:160.

48. Westermann and Albertz, *TLOT* 1:315.



transitive, while גלה “to go into exile” is intransitive.<sup>49</sup> Howard and Waltke state that the different meanings of גלה are kept apart by their appearance in different *binyanim*.<sup>50</sup> Zobel illustrates that גלה’s meaning changes depending upon the *binyan* in which it occurs and the complementation pattern associated with it.<sup>51</sup> For example, when גלה appears in the Qal with a מן prepositional phrase complement, then it describes going into exile,<sup>52</sup> while the Qal “to uncover” usually takes עין or און as its object.<sup>53</sup> The Nifal of גלה often appears with a אל prepositional phrase complement or a ל prepositional phrase complement.<sup>54</sup> The Piel of גלה usually takes ערוה or a similar lexeme as its object.<sup>55</sup> The Hifil and Hofal of גלה exclusively mean “to go into exile” and never “to uncover.”<sup>56</sup> There is a different complement pattern associated with each meaning of גלה and the different meanings appear in different *binyanim*. I will explain these differences in more detail below.

Also, the semantic domains of each meaning of גלה, “to uncover” and “to go into exile,” have different synonyms and antonyms associated with them. גלה “to uncover” parallels other verbs of sight (ראה, חשף, נבט, חזה).<sup>57</sup> The antonyms of גלה “to uncover”

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49. Westermann and Albertz, *TLOT* 1:315; Waltke, *TWOT* 1:160.

50. Howard, *NIDOTTE* 1:861; Waltke, *TWOT* 1:160.

51. Zobel, *TDOT* 2:478-9, 84.

52. Zobel, *TDOT* 2:478.

53. Waltke, *TWOT* 1:160.

54. Zobel, *TDOT* 2:479, 84.

55. Zobel, *TDOT* 2:479; Waltke, *TWOT* 1:160-1; Westermann and Albertz, *TLOT* 1:317.

56. Zobel, *TDOT* 2:478-9; Westermann and Albertz, *TLOT* 1:315; Howard, *NIDOTTE* 1:861.

57. Zobel, *TDOT* 2:479, 81.

revolve around blocking or hiding something from sight (חבה, כסה, סתר).<sup>58</sup> The verbs parallel with גלה “to go into exile” describe movement (ערב, סור).<sup>59</sup> It is somewhat puzzling that Howard<sup>60</sup> mentions lexemes which are never mentioned with גלה “to go into exile” in the Hebrew Bible (i.e. ברה II; דבר I; רדף; but he does mention שבה which appears with גלה in Jer 13:17-19<sup>61</sup>). The semantic domain of going into exile certainly includes these three words but other lexemes are more readily associated with גלה (e.g. לקח in 1 Sam 4:21-22; 2 Kgs 15:29; Jer 27:20; לכד in 2 Kgs 17:6; הלך in 2 Kgs 24:15; 1 Chron 5:41 [ET 6:15]; etc.). It is evident when reviewing the synonyms and antonyms of the different meanings of גלה that the words in the same semantic domains as גלה “to uncover” deal with sight, while the words synonymous with גלה “to go into exile” deal with motion.

Though not part of the lexica, I also discuss here a journal article on גלה by Gosling<sup>62</sup> and a dissertation by Price. Gosling bases his article on his research for the גלה entry in volume 2 of *DCH*.<sup>63</sup> The title of his article relies upon a statement by Waltke. Thus, the article intends to answer Waltke’s comment about the uncertainty of גלה being one root or two.<sup>64</sup> He reviews the cognate Semitic evidence for גלה (Ethiopic, Arabic, Syriac, Ugaritic, and Aramaic but not Phoenician or Akkadian). Gosling places the most

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58. Zobel, *TDOT* 2:479.

59. Zobel, *TDOT* 2:478. Zobel does not mention antonyms for גלה “to go into exile,” only synonyms.

60. Howard, *NIDOTTE* 1:864.

61. See Gray, “A New Analysis of a Key Hebrew Term: The Semantics of *GALAH*,” 56-7.

62. F. A. Gosling, “An Open Question Relating to the Hebrew Root *glh*,” *ZAH* 11 (1998): 125-32.

63. Gosling, “An Open Question Relating to the Hebrew Root *glh*,” 125.

64. See Waltke, *TWOT* 1:160.

weight upon Ethiopic, since it may have preserved a “more antique stage of the Semitic morphology and syntax than that which may be found in the other Semitic languages.”<sup>65</sup> It is possible that Ethiopic has two roots *glw*<sup>66</sup> “to go into exile” and *gly*<sup>67</sup> “to reveal” to represent the ideas expressed in the Hebrew גלה, but this is not certain.<sup>68</sup> Then, he mentions briefly the occurrences of גלה in the Hebrew Bible. In the end, his cautious conclusion does not match his bold title. He tentatively thinks that גלה represents two roots, though he states that there is not enough evidence in the Hebrew or in the Semitic languages to justify this conclusion.<sup>69</sup> The question of גלה being one root or two remains decidedly open.

Next we turn to Robert Price’s dissertation,<sup>70</sup> which is the most extensive treatment of גלה.<sup>71</sup> He deals with the use of גלה in the Hebrew (first appearing according

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65. See Gosling, “An Open Question Relating to the Hebrew Root *glh*,” 129.

66. August Dillmann, *Lexicon Linguae Aethiopicae* (New York: Frederick Ungar, 1955), 1140-1.

67. Dillmann, *Lexicon Linguae Aethiopicae*, 1140-1.

68. See Wolf Leslau, *Comparative Dictionary of Ge‘ez (Classical Ethiopic)* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1991), 192. Leslau believes that the Ethiopic root *glw* should be connected with the Semitic *gll*. If this is correct than only the Ethiopic *gly* is connected with Hebrew גלה. Geminate roots often “have genuine alternate roots (with the same semantic range) that are II-Wāw/Yōd or III-ה” (Seow, *A Grammar for Biblical Hebrew*, 244). A few examples of this are רבה/רבו “to be numerous” and שגה/שגג “to go astray.”

69. See Gosling, “An Open Question Relating to the Hebrew Root *glh*,” 131-2.

70. Robert Ewing Price, “A Lexicographical Study of *glh*, *šbh* and *šwb* in Reference to Exile in the Tanach” (PhD diss., Duke University, 1977), 19-35.

71. Also see Daniel Leavins, *Verbs of Leading in the Hebrew Bible*, Perspectives on Hebrew Scriptures and Its Cognates (Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias Press, 2011), 193-7, 282-4. Leavins deals only with the 45 occurrences of גלה in the Hifil and Hofal. He discusses גלה as if it is one root, stating that the Qal appears 48 times, which includes “to uncover” and “to go into exile” (193 footnote 316). Later, he mentions that the Hifil of גלה is from the Qal motion verb (195, 7). His point seems to be that גלה in both meanings “to uncover” and “to go into exile” are motion events and not representative of a verb of seeing and a verb of movement, respectively.

to him in the 8th century BCE in the book of Amos<sup>72</sup>) and Aramaic of the Hebrew Bible and also the Akkadian *galû*. He does not mention every appearance of גלה but focuses on the 74 occurrences meaning “to go into exile.” He concludes that גלה represents two verbal roots. According to Price, גלה I comes from the proto-Semitic *glw* “to uncover,” which is a verb of seeing based upon the Phoenician evidence in the *Aḥiram*<sup>73</sup> and *Yeḥaumilk* inscriptions<sup>74</sup>, while גלה II derives from the proto-Semitic *gly* “to depart,” a verb of motion evidenced in the Ugaritic myths,<sup>75</sup> which eventually produced the meaning “to go into exile.”

This brief overview of גלה’s treatment in the lexica and Gosling and Price’s work lends itself to a few comments. With a few exceptions, notably Westermann and Albertz and Price, most of the discussion of גלה in the lexica assumes that גלה is a single root. However, the evidence they present does not correspond to their conclusions. Can people uncover a land? Is it noteworthy that the different meanings appear in different *binyanim*? They ask the right questions and present the most pertinent facts, yet their determination to keep גלה’s single root status leads them to quickly dismiss the possibility of גלה representing two roots.

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72. Also see Shalom M. Paul, *Amos*, Hermeneia (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1991), 54-5. Paul agrees with Price that Amos is the first to use this language in the Hebrew Bible though he doubts that Amos is thinking specifically of the Assyrian juggernaut.

73. *KAI*, 1.2. Also see, John C. L. Gibson, *Textbook of Syrian Semitic Inscriptions* Vol. III: *Phoenician Inscriptions* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1982), 12-16.

74. *KAI*, 10.14. Also see, Gibson, *Textbook of Syrian Semitic Inscriptions* Vol. III: *Phoenician Inscriptions*, 93-99.

75. J. C. L. Gibson, *Canaanite Myths and Legends* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1978), 37, 52-53, 59, 100-101, 130.

The semantic domains represented by the lexeme גלה are surprisingly diverse. The synonyms and antonyms illustrate that the different meanings of גלה are part of different semantic domains. גלה's meaning depends upon its occurrence in specific *binyanim* (i.e., “to uncover, reveal, open” in Qal, Nifal, Piel, Pual, Hitpaal and “to go into exile” in Qal, Hifil, Hofal) with different accompanying complement patterns. As illustrated above, lexica acknowledge each of these elements but generally give no interpretative weight to these facts when determining whether גלה is one or two roots. Not counting Price, three of the four lexica discussed above do not believe the evidence illustrates that גלה is two roots.

My investigation will focus on these elements (semantics of גלה, syntax of גלה and its differing complementation patterns and in which *binyanim* that a meaning of גלה occurs) while trying to discover whether גלה is one or two roots. The lexica articles have compiled facts but have not fully investigated their significance. Specifically, they have not investigated the differences of the complement patterns of each meaning of גלה. They mention in passing that the complements associated with each verb are different without stopping to consider, nor do they acknowledge the significance of גלה's different meanings being separated in different *binyanim*. Is this separation accidental? If it is not accidental, what is the meaning of it? I will seek in the rest of this chapter and in Chapter 2 to more thoroughly examine these issues.

### גלה's Semantics

Through the past centuries, Hebrew grammarians have recognized the divergent meanings of גלה.<sup>76</sup> In previous attempts to delineate גלה, semantics plays the key (sole?) role in suggesting that גלה represents one root. Semantics itself does demand a reevaluation of the supposed single root status of גלה. One aspect of semantics that hints at the two root status of גלה is the lexeme's related synonyms and antonyms. By noting a few of these synonyms and antonyms, the semantic domains of גלה become apparent. Below I will briefly discuss a few partial synonyms and antonyms of גלה.<sup>77</sup>

גלה “to uncover, reveal” is a verb of seeing and hearing. Among its synonyms are שמע (Num 24:4, 16), ראה (Lev 20:17; Num 22:31; 1 Sam 3:21; Isa 40:5; 53:1), נבט (Ps 119:18), ידע (Num 24:16; 1 Sam 3:7; Ps 98:2, compare 1 Sam 22:17 where Ahimelech's “crime” against Saul is that he ידע David is fleeing but he does not גלה Saul's ears), אמר (1 Sam 9:15; 2 Sam 7:27) and חזה (Num 24:4, 16). In sexual contexts, the lexeme קרב (Lev 18:6, 14, 19), לקח (Lev 18:17, 18; 20:17, 21; Deut 23:1 [E 22:30]) and שכב (Lev 20:11, 18, 20; Deut 27:20) closely relate to the Piel of גלה “to uncover, reveal.”

Its antonyms include סתר in 1 Sam 20:2; Isa 16:3, כסה in Isa 26:21, פתח in Jer 13:19; also the sealed (חֶתֶם) letter in Jer 32:11 and 14 contrasts with the opened letter (גלה, compare Esth 3:14; 8:13).

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76. It is possible that גלה's multiple meanings connect. The Qal of גלה “to uncover, reveal, open, remove” could possibly become “to cause to remove” in the Hifil of גלה. Yet, the fact remains that the Qal of גלה means both “to uncover, reveal, open, remove” (e.g. 1 Sam 3:7, 21) and “to go into exile” (1 Sam 4:21-22). The question remains do these meanings in the Qal represent the same root or two roots?

77. See Cotterell and Turner, *Linguistics and Biblical Interpretation*, 159-61.

Thus, גלה “to uncover” usually means to reveal or disclose something either visually (Num 22:31; 2 Sam 6:20; Ps 119:18) or orally (Num 24:4, 16; 1 Sam 3:7, 21; Amos 3:7). The sex act or stripping someone naked is in the same semantic domain, since the subject is exposing the body to the eyes of another (Lev 20:17; Ezek 16:36-37). The eyes and ears are the organs that accomplish גלה “to uncover;” the organs uncovered.

גלה “to go into exile,” on the other hand, is a verb of motion. Some of its partial synonyms include הלך (2 Kgs 24:15; 1 Chron 5:41 [ET 6:15]), בוא (Jer 24:1; 1 Chron 5:26), לקח (1 Sam 4:21-22) and נחה (2 Kgs 18:11; compare Isa 20:4). The verb בוא describes the end of the process of exile, namely entering the foreign nation where the captives are resettling (also ישב in 2 Kgs 17:6), while the other three verbs (הלך, לקח, נחה) have a similar outlook as גלה “to go into exile” — they are concerned with the activity of the deportees led into captivity.<sup>78</sup> גלה “to go into exile” is the decisive next step after a king seizes (תפש in 2 Kgs 16:9) or captures (לכד in 2 Kgs 17:6) another city or nation.<sup>79</sup>

A few antonyms of גלה “to go into exile” are קבץ in Jer 29:14; Ezek 39:27-28 and כנס in Ezek 39:28. These lexemes report the mustering together of the dispersed Israelites and relocating them back in the land of Israel. Also, in Ezra 2:1 and its parallel in Neh

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78. See Moshe Held, “On Terms of Deportation in the OB Royal Inscriptions with Special Reference to Yaḥdunlim,” *JANES* 11 (1979): 53-62 especially 55-57. The Akkadian sequence of *nasāḫu* “to deport” followed by *šūšubu* “to cause to settle” follows the sequence of the Hebrew of 2 Kgs 17:6 where ישב follows גלה; also see 2 Kgs 17:26 and Lam 1:3. Likewise, the Akkadian sequence of *nasāḫu-warû/wabālu* is similar to הגלה or נסח followed by one of the following הוליך, נחה or הביא (for example Jer 24:1; 2 Kgs 18:11 and 1 Chron 5:26). Thus, the sequence of deportation, entering another land and resettling, which is present in these passages in the Hebrew Bible reflects the common description of these events in Mesopotamian inscriptions.

79. See Gray, “A New Analysis of a Key Hebrew Term: The Semantics of *GALAH*,” 56-7. Gray suggests the following verbs as synonyms of גלה “to go into exile” — Hifil of בוא, Hifil of סור, Hifil of סגר, Nifal of שבה, ערב, נגר, נסע and נגר. *DCH*, 2:350-1 says that the synonyms of גלה are — נסע, חמס, שפך, חמס, נסע in the Nifal; יצא, ידע, חטה in the Piel; while the antonyms are — חתם in the Qal; כסה in the Nifal; כסה, סתר in the Piel; סתר in the Pual.

7:6, the verb שׁוּב is a reversal of the effects of גָּלָה “to go into exile.” Thus, the idea of gathering Israel to their land is contrary to the action of גָּלָה “to go into exile.”<sup>80</sup>

While this discussion of the synonyms and antonyms of גָּלָה is brief, it illustrates that there are different semantic domains expressed by גָּלָה — seeing and moving.<sup>81</sup> A single lexeme can express ideas from different semantic domains, but usually the domains connect, even if in a vague way. The ideas expressed by גָּלָה, namely uncovering the eyes and ears and a people group going into exile, are significantly divergent. How can one root express both “to open, reveal, remove, uncover” and “to go into exile?”

### Conclusion

Even though there are sufficient semantic problems with seeing גָּלָה as one root, semantics alone will not finally establish the root identity of גָּלָה. We need to incorporate a syntactical evaluation of גָּלָה’s lexical status to provide clarity. In this chapter, we see that Michaelis, Gesenius, Mandelkern, Price, Barr, Gray and Clines argue that גָּלָה represents two roots semantically. Can syntax confirm what semantics suggests regarding גָּלָה? The next chapter introduces a way to explain the various syntactic patterns associated with verbs called valency theory, which examines a verb’s complement patterns. Do the different glosses of גָּלָה exhibit different complement patterns? If there are different complementation patterns associated with the different meanings of גָּלָה, this, in addition to the differing semantics of גָּלָה discussed in this chapter, illustrates that גָּלָה is two roots.

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80. See Gray, “A New Analysis of a Key Hebrew Term: The Semantics of *GALAH*,” 56-7. Gray suggests the following verbs as antonyms of גָּלָה “to go into exile” — Hifil of שׁוּב, Nifal of רָאָה and כָּנַס. The Nifal of רָאָה appears with גָּלָה in Prov 27:25. I believe that Prov 27:25 is גָּלָה “to uncover,” not “to go into exile.” Also, in my opinion the clauses with גָּלָה and רָאָה appear to be parallel not contrastive.

81. Price, “A Lexicographical Study,” 35.



Alongside valency theory, the separation of the two meanings of גלה in the *binyanim* is evidence for its double root status. I propose, following Barr, that the ancient speakers of Hebrew differentiate between the two homographs גלה by using them in different *binyan* and with different complement patterns. The syntax of גלה, as well as its semantic distinctions, illustrates its two-root standing.

In this chapter, I have introduced the main concern of this thesis, namely, is גלה one or two roots? Michaelis said in 1784 that the two roots of גלה are, “so different that I would not dare to derive one from the other, as Schultens does.”<sup>82</sup> Clines agrees with Michaelis and probably so does Gesenius, at least in his first lexicon published in 1810, and Price. Clines says, “One day I realized that I no longer believed in one גלה, for this reason: one can ‘uncover’ eyes and ears, etc., but people going into exile are not themselves ‘uncovering’ the land from which they are being dispossessed.”<sup>83</sup> Clines continues that recognizing גלה as two roots “does enable us to remove from our dictionaries an oddity verging on an absurdity — the claim that a single word can mean both *reveal* and *go into exile*.”<sup>84</sup>

Usually, the answer to גלה’s lexeme status is sought in examining the semantic domains of the word. When different meanings fall in different semantic domains, it is an indication, though not sufficient proof, of homonyms.<sup>85</sup> Most previous attempts in

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82. The Latin is “Duplex signification verbi, *migravit*, et, *retexit*, *revelavit*, ita mihi diverse videntur, ut vix ausim cum Schultensio unam ex altera derivare.” The English translation is that of Clines, “Comparative Classical Hebrew Lexicography,” 8. The Latin is provided in footnote 29 on page 8.

83. Clines, “Comparative Classical Hebrew Lexicography,” 7.

84. Clines, “Comparative Classical Hebrew Lexicography,” 8.

85. For an example of the treatment of ancient Hebrew homonyms in the lexica, see Clines, “Comparative Classical Hebrew Lexicography,” 4-5.

discussing the root(s) of גלה have almost exclusively focused on semantic considerations. This thesis probes the semantic and syntactic nature of גלה to clear the ambiguity surrounding גלה's root status. As the next chapter argues, the different complement patterns associated with each meaning of גלה illustrate the two Hebrew roots behind these glosses, affirmed by the separation of meanings of גלה in distinct *binyanim*. Attention to the semantics of גלה, the syntax of גלה, and the *binyanim* in which גלה occurs not only answers the root question surrounding גלה itself, but results in a firmer foundation for treating homographs in general in ancient Hebrew. Considering גלה to be different homonymic roots simply because the semantic domains do not harmonize under one root is somewhat flimsy reasoning on its own. However, syntax and גלה's usage across the *binyanim*, incorporated with semantics, fortifies this theory.

Identifying the two-root status of גלה allows us to hear the various puns, wordplays and rhetorical artistry of the ancient Hebrew prophets in a way similar, or at least closer, to their original audience. Knowing the complement patterns associated with each גלה allows us to see when an author is using both roots of גלה against each other or beside each other. Previous attempts to describe גלה, as one or two roots, have not seen any substantial significance in the differentiation. However, knowledge of the different complement patterns of each גלה might provide clarity into which root is being exploited in an obscure context. Also, attention to the complement patterns of a verb could help evaluate textual questions.

## CHAPTER 2

### גלה'S COMPLEMENTATION PATTERNS

When discussing whether גלה is one or two roots the focus routinely gravitates to semantic considerations. גלה's miscellaneous meanings demand that we consider the possibility that “to uncover, reveal, open” and “to go into exile” denote two roots, not one. Yet, are the detached semantic domains that lexicographers assign to the meanings of גלה typical of the awareness of גלה's semantics among ancient Hebrew speakers? Or is the difference more perceived than practical? Are we imposing categorical divisions of which ancient Hebrew speakers would be entirely oblivious? Because different cultures possess different world-views and ideologies, we need more than semantic consideration to determine whether גלה is one or two roots.

In light of these considerations, this thesis will examine the syntax of גלה at the clausal level. By introducing verbal valency, I will examine גלה's usage across the *binyanim*, emphasizing the complement patterns that are attached to גלה. The different *binyanim* in which גלה appears affect its valency, but its dominant complement patterns remain steadily consistent with each meaning of גלה. This might suggest that גלה indicates two roots. Thus, this chapter adds the syntax of גלה to the semantics of גלה discussed in the previous chapter to illustrate that semantically and syntactically ancient speakers of Hebrew viewed גלה as two roots, practicing careful delineation of the roots by using each root of גלה in a specially set group of *binyanim* and with a set complement pattern type.

The meaning “to uncover, reveal, open” usually appears with a Noun Phrase complement that includes a specific body part or a general word for an area of the body, while “to go into exile” takes a Prepositional Phrase complement describing movement from one place to another. A king usually initiates the movement, and a nation, people group, or individual experiences the humiliation associated with deportation.

### **Introduction to Verbal Valency**

To begin, let me introduce the idea of verbal valency. This concept starts with the simple observation that a subject phrase and predicate or verb phrase compose a clause. Either the subject or verb may be null (e.g. due to ellipsis or absent because the context implies it),<sup>1</sup> but it must be present, even if unseen, for a clause to exist. The verb phrase includes the verb and its accompanying words. The specific verb employed requires other words in the same clause to be present to complete the thought grammatically. The required words or phrases that consort with a verb in order to complete it refers to its valency.<sup>2</sup>

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1. For example, see the discussion of pronoun dropping, Robert D. Holmstedt, “Pro-Drop,” *EHL* 3:265-7.

2. The discussion of verbal valency that follows depends upon the following sources John A. Cook, “Verbal Valency: The Intersection of Syntax and Semantics,” in *Perspectives in Linguistics and Ancient Languages*, ed. Alison Salvesen and Tim Lewis (Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias Press, forthcoming), 1-18; Michael Malessa, “Valency,” *EHL* 3:893-6; Robert D. Holmstedt and John Srenock, *Esther: A Handbook on the Hebrew Text*, Baylor Handbook on the Hebrew Bible (Waco: Baylor University Press, 2015), 4-5; Robert D. Holmstedt, *Ruth: A Handbook on the Hebrew Text*, Baylor Handbook on the Hebrew Bible (Waco: Baylor University Press, 2010), 3-8; James Douglas Wilson, “Verbal Valency in Biblical Hebrew: An Analysis of the Valency of עָבַר” (MA Thesis, Asbury Theological Seminary, 2014); John A. Cook, “Verbal Valency in Biblical Hebrew and the Case of מָלַא,” Unpublished Paper Presented at the Annual Meeting of the Society of Biblical Literature (San Diego on 22 Nov 2014), 1-23. I appreciate John Cook making available his unpublished papers. Previous Hebrew grammars (see WO§10.2 and BHRG§33) also briefly mention valency.

Lucien Tesnière championed the concept of valency<sup>3</sup> within the context of dependency grammar.<sup>4</sup> He compares a verb with an atom that combines with a certain number of other atoms, or a drama production which has a set number of actors or actresses in each scene.

A statement by the TV character Kramer illustrates the importance of valency in our conceptualization of a verb. Kramer says to George, “Do you ever yearn? I yearn. Often I sit and yearn.”<sup>5</sup> The listener senses that Kramer’s comment is a bit off and for good reason. The valency of the English verb “yearn” requires an infinitive phrase or a prepositional phrase.<sup>6</sup> Thus, we speak of yearning to do something or yearning for something, but not simply of yearning.

Transitivity describes verbs, but its usefulness is limited since it only accounts for the indirect and direct objects of the verb and does not even consider the subject. Valency has an advantage over transitivity since it pays attention to everything that socializes with a verb — subject, objects, adverbs, prepositional phrases, etc. In Hebrew, several different patterns can associate with a verb — Noun Phrase (NP), Prepositional Phrase

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3. Although valency pertains to different grammatical parts (e.g. nouns, adjectives), this thesis will use valency singularly in reference to verbs. For a brief discussion of the valency of nouns and adjectives in biblical Hebrew, see Malessa, *EHL* 3:895. Also, see Thomas Herbst, David Heath, Ian F. Roe and Dieter Götz, *A Valency Dictionary of English: A Corpus-Based Analysis of the Complementation Patterns of English Verbs, Nouns and Adjectives*, Topics in English Linguistics 40 (Berlin/New York: Mouton de Gruyter, 2004).

4. The basis of dependency grammar is simply that in a sentence, every word but one depends on other words. The word which depends on nothing else in the sentence is the root of the sentence. The root is also called the main or central element of the sentence.

5. *Seinfeld*, Season 3 Episode 22, “The Keys.”

6. See Frank R. Abate, ed., *The Oxford American Dictionary of Current English* (New York/Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 946; J. A. Simpson and E. S. C. Weiner, eds., *The Oxford English Dictionary*, 2nd ed. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989), 20:713; Richard A. Spears, ed., *NTC’s American English Learner’s Dictionary* (Chicago: NTC Publishing Company, 1998), 1044.

(PP), Infinitive Phrase (InfP), Adverbial Phrase (AdvP), a Complement Clause (CC — which begins with *כי* or *אשר* that is functioning nominally).

A verb can have zero to three affiliated constituents,<sup>7</sup> with monovalent, bivalent, and trivalent being the most significant for biblical Hebrew.<sup>8</sup> Monovalent verbs have only a subject (e.g. *מות* in the Qal, but not in other *binyanim*), so they are intransitive.<sup>9</sup> Bivalent<sup>10</sup> verbs have a subject and an object (e.g. *בוא*) and thus may be transitive or intransitive. Trivalent verbs have a subject and two objects (e.g. *נתן*)<sup>11</sup>; trivalent verbs are always transitive and sometimes ditransitive (i.e. taking two objects as in “he gave to her the book”).<sup>12</sup>

The constituents that join to a verb are either a “complement” or an “adjunct.” A complement is grammatically necessary to complete the verb (e.g. the InfP or PP that completes the valency of the verb “yearn”). An adjunct provides interpretatively important information, but is not necessary to finish the clause grammatically (e.g. in the

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7. There can be more than three complements in some languages, but in biblical Hebrew there does not appear to be evidence of quadrivalent verbs.

8. Cook says that the aivalent pattern (no complements) only appears once in Ps 68:15; see Cook, “Verbal Valency: The Intersection,” 2; Cook, “Verbal Valency in Biblical Hebrew and the Case,” 2-3 footnote 5. See also Wilson, “Verbal Valency in Biblical Hebrew,” 4 footnote 12. Wilson mentions Ps 68:9 [HT 10] and Ruth 4:4 as possibly having aivalent patterns, but, see Holmstedt and Srenock, *Esther*, 4. Holmstedt and Srenock do not see evidence for aivalent patterns in biblical Hebrew verbs. The same view is expressed in Malessa, *EHL* 3:893.

9. Stative verbs are usually intransitive (see Seow, *A Grammar For Biblical Hebrew*, 91) and describe a state, either physical or mental, among other things (e.g. measurements, possession, emotions, etc.). The Piel can make transitive verbs of a Qal stative (Seow, *A Grammar For Biblical Hebrew*, 112).

10. Hebraists in the last five years (i.e. Cook, Holmstedt, Srenock, Malessa, and Wilson) have consistently referred to the two complement pattern as “bivalent” while the term “divalent” appears to be more in vogue within valency theory; see Herbst, *et al.*, *A Valency Dictionary of English*, xxxii. I am using the term “bivalent” because it is more commonly used when referring to the valency of biblical Hebrew specifically.

11. The Hebrew examples of each pattern come directly from Malessa, *EHL* 3:893.

12. Cook, “Valency: The Intersection of Syntax and Semantics,” 4.

phrase “She eats barbacoa at Chipotle” the PP “at Chipotle” is not essential to finish the verb “eat”). It is important to determine which, if any, constituents of a verb are semantically encoded to such an extent that statement is unnecessary (e.g. making a bivalent verb appear monovalent, etc.).<sup>13</sup> For example, in English the verb “eat” has the object “food” semantically encoded even when unstated.<sup>14</sup> So the phrase, “She eats” implies, without stating, the object “food.” If the speaker desires greater specificity, than she says, “I eat barbacoa.” Since semantics supplies the object (“food”) even when absent, the speaker must replace the semantically encoded object with another. Thus, determining the valency of a verb requires attention to the semantically encoded elements of a verb that the context supplies but perhaps the specific clause under examination does not restate the complement.

It is difficult to differentiate between complements and adjuncts even in modern languages with the help of native speakers, which magnifies the problem when trying to discover whether a phrase in Haggai, for instance, is a complement or an adjunct. However, my main goal is to examine the patterns associated with גלה and not to ascertain the exact identity of every constituent that appears with גלה in the Hebrew

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13. See Cook, “Verbal Valency in Biblical Hebrew and the Case of מלא.” It appears that מלא has different valency patterns (6-10). Thus, it is essential to decipher which complements may be implicit in the valency patterns of the verb (9). Cook mentions elliptical (context provides the complement) and reflexive (the implicit complement is the subject) implicit complements.

14. The verb “eat” appears in many idiomatic expressions — “Eat my dust.” “Eat your heart out.” “Eat someone out of house and home.” “She has him eating out of her hand.” “He knew what was eating her.” “They will eat you alive.” Most of these idiomatic statements closely connect with the semantic domain expressed by the verb “eat.” A specific, and at times surprising, element that may even be vulgar replaces the semantically encoded object “food.” Closely connected to the meaning of the verb “eat,” these expressions describe the act of chewing and swallowing, whatever the nature of the reference.

Bible. Sometimes it may not matter whether a particular word is an adjunct or a complement.

The main objection to the usefulness of valency theory is that the concept of “wellformedness,” in reference to ancient Hebrew, is arbitrary and ambiguous.<sup>15</sup> How and when is ancient Hebrew truly “grammatical?” When and how is it perfectly “formed?” We must be honest and acknowledge that we are not always certain. Therefore, we must deduce that the educated ancient Israelites who compiled, edited and authored the texts that represent the Hebrew Bible and other documents in ancient Hebrew knew in an intimate way, partially unrecoverable to us, how to form Hebrew at the time they put reed to scroll.<sup>16</sup>

I will work with the following hypothesis for distinguishing complements and adjuncts.<sup>17</sup>

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15. See Francis I. Anderson and A. Dean Forbes, *Biblical Hebrew Grammar Visualized*, *Linguistic Studies in Ancient West Semitic* 6 (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2012), 165-8. For a response to their objections to valency, see Cook, “Verbal Valency: The Intersection,” 6-7 and *ibid.*, “Verbal Valency in Biblical Hebrew,” 6-21.

16. See Cook, “Verbal Valency: The Intersection,” 7. The continual appearance of an element in ancient Hebrew texts is evidence of its grammaticality. It must be normal if that is way native speakers are continually using it. Repetition illustrates grammaticality.

17. My criteria depends upon the insights particularly of Cook, Holmstedt, Screnock, Malessa, and Wilson. I have not vigorously tested the method, but base it on what I have read in secondary sources and my examination of גלה in the Hebrew Bible. My purposes do not depend on whether an object is a complement or adjunct, because the focus is understanding the general patterns associated with גלה. In private communication (13 Feb 17), John Cook mentioned that he has been working on a firmer methodology to distinguish between complements and adjuncts in order to produce a valency dictionary of biblical Hebrew. He anticipates the fruit of his labor to be published in an article in September 2017.



- 1) *Juxtaposition of Word/Phrase to Verb*<sup>18</sup> — A word or phrase is a complement when it regularly<sup>19</sup> appears adjacent to the verb.
- 2) *Frequency of Word/Phrase in Same Clause* — Even when not directly juxtaposed to the verb, a word or phrase is a complement when it appears regularly in the same clause with a particular verb (e.g. אָזַן, עָרְוָה with גָּלָה).
- 3) *Frequency of Accompanying Phrase Pattern*<sup>20</sup> — When a verb regularly appears with a specific type of complement phrase (NP, PP, InfP, etc.), this particular type of phrase is a complement specifically connected to this verb.
- 4) *Semantically Encoded Information* — A specific object is a complement when it regularly appears with a verb to the extent that the object becomes semantically expected. For example, verbs of motion will probably have a PP describing the direction, beginning point or destination of movement.<sup>21</sup>
- 5) *The Parallel Clause Lacking Principle* — A phrase is potentially an adjunct when there are two or more parallel phrases and a word or phrase only appears in one of the contexts. If there are only two parallel phrases, then it is hard to come to a firm

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18. Wilson suggests this in “Verbal Valency in Biblical Hebrew,” 19 footnote 64. See also *BHRG*, 241.

19. Regular usage refers to complement words or phrases appearing with 80% of the total occurrences of the verb. See Wilson, “Verbal Valency in Biblical Hebrew,” 4. Wilson gets this number from Aline Villavicencio, “Leaning to Distinguish PP Arguments from Adjuncts,” in *Proceedings of the 6th Conference on Natural Language Learning 20* (2002): 5.

20. Malessa, *EHL* 3:893.

21. See Wilson, “Verbal Valency in Biblical Hebrew,” 10, 20, 47-8. If there is sufficient witness of the PP being semantically implied in the verb, then the various glosses associated with this verb should reflect this data. For a specific application of this idea to גָּלָה, see Leavins, *Verbs of Leading in the Hebrew Bible*, 195, 97. Commenting on the Hifil and Hofal of גָּלָה, Leavins states that the “Goal semantic role” is “part of the lexical semantic features of this verb.” The goal of גָּלָה is marked by ל, אֶל, הַ, and מִן, with מִן showing movement away from the place of current residence into a foreign county and the others movement to the foreign country. Leavins has a chart of each occurrence of גָּלָה in the Hifil and Hofal on page 282-4.

decision since it occurs the same amount of times. However, if the phrase appears more than twice and most of the contexts do not include a particular word or phrase, the word/phrase is an adjunct unless sufficient evidence proves to the contrary.<sup>22</sup>

A single lexeme can occur with different valency patterns, but one pattern will be dominant.<sup>23</sup> Generally, a different valency pattern corresponds to a different meaning.<sup>24</sup> The different meanings do not demand that a separate lexeme be behind each meaning, so long as the meanings sufficiently connect to the dominant gloss.<sup>25</sup> However, meanings conspicuously different with divergent complement patterns, especially in the same *binyan*, might be evidence of a homographic root.<sup>26</sup>

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22. For example, the phrase *ויגל ישראל/יהודה מעל אדמתו* appears in 2 Kgs 17:23; 25:21; Jer 52:27 (compare the similar phrase in Amos 7:11 and 17). The phrase is the same in these texts, outside of the use of different proper names (*ישראל* in 2 Kgs 17:23; *יהודה* in 2 Kgs 25:21; Jer 52:27). This solidifies the idea that *מעל אדמתו* is a single complement of *גלה* in these passages. For our purposes it is interesting that 2 Kgs 17:23 adds *עד היום הזה* after the phrase that is common to all three of these passages. Surely, *עד היום הזה* is an adjunct, but what about *אשורה*? The fact that the similar phrase *בבלה* does not appear in either 2 Kgs 25:21 or Jer 52:27 may suggest that *אשורה* is an adjunct. One could argue that 2 Kgs 25:21 and Jer 52:27 are too similar to be considered two sources, and thus we really have here a case of two parallel phrases not three (i.e. 2 Kgs 17:23 vs. 2 Kgs 25:21=Jer 52:27). However, I believe that Kings and Jeremiah are two different, though corresponding, sources.

23. See Malessa, *EHL* 3:895; Wilson, “Verbal Valency in Biblical Hebrew,” 4; Cook, “Verbal Valency: The Intersection,” 10.

24. See Malessa, *EHL* 3:895. See the example of *קרא* in John A. Cook and Robert D. Holmstedt, *Beginning Biblical Hebrew* (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic, 2013), 132, 7-8.

25. See Wilson, “Verbal Valency in Biblical Hebrew,” 45.

26. See Cook, “Verbal Valency: The Intersection,” 15-6. Cook compares *עלל* in Lam 3:51 meaning “to treat severely” with a *ל*-PP complement and *עלל* in Lev 19:10 meaning “to glean” with a NP complement and concludes that the different meanings with the different complement patterns signal a different root. I was approaching a similar conclusion in relationship to *גלה* when I first read Cook’s article (3 Nov 2016).

See James Barr, *Comparative Philology and the Text of the Old Testament* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1968), 142-3. Barr states that whether it is a case of polysemy (i.e. multiple meanings of the same word) or homonym (i.e. a different word with a different meaning and origin which is spelled the same way as another word), the effect on the native speaker or hearer is the same.

The *binyan* in which a verb appears affects its valency.<sup>27</sup> Verbs occurring in the Nifal and Hitpaal are generally intransitive, thus having a lower valency.<sup>28</sup> Similarly, a passive verb in the Nifal, Pual, or Hofal usually has lower valency than a verb appearing in the Qal, Piel, or Hifil.<sup>29</sup> Often verbs appearing in the Piel or Hifil increase the valency of the base verb, assuming the Piel and Hifil forms of that specific verb derive from the Qal.<sup>30</sup> Holmstedt and Screnock have a helpful chart dividing the *binyanim* according to their normal valency — monovalent (Stative Qal, Nifal, Pual, Hofal), bivalent (many Qal, Piel, few Hifil), trivalent (Qal נתן and שים, some Piel, many Hifil).<sup>31</sup>

As useful as valency is for examining גלה, then, it cannot answer all of our questions. Valency is meant to systematically investigate a verb's constituent patterns. What happens, however, when an author breaks from common usage and the normal verb complementation pattern splinters?<sup>32</sup> Often the authors of the Hebrew Bible employ word plays and puns (הגלה's use in Isa 49:9 or Amos 5:5<sup>33</sup>) which affect the valency of the verb or utilize the customary complement patterns of a verb in a different way than originally

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27. Holmstedt and Screnock, *Esther*, 4; Cook, "Verbal Valency: The Intersection of Syntax and Semantics," 5; Malessa, *EHL* 3:895.

28. Cook, "Verbal Valency: The Intersection of Syntax and Semantics," 5 referring to Maya Arad, *Roots and Patterns: Hebrew Morpho-Syntax*, Studies in Natural Language and Linguistic Theory 63 (Dordrecht: Springer, 2005), 184-5.

29. Malessa, *EHL* 3:895.

30. Malessa, *EHL* 3:895.

31. Holmstedt and Screnock, *Esther*, 4.

32. Mark Hamilton recently warned me in a private conversation (9 Mar 17) to be careful not to impose order in a grammatical circumstance whose exact purpose may be to break with order.

33. Amos 5:5 reads כִּי הַגִּלְגָל גָּלָה יִגְלֶה "...For Gilgal<sub>1</sub> will certainly go into exile..." This phrase is clearly a wordplay as is the last clause of the verse (וּבֵית־אֵל יִהְיֶה לְאָזֶן) which is playing on the alternate name of בית־אל which is בית און, see Hos 4:15; 5:8; 10:5 (Paul, *Amos*, 163-4). It is possible that בית און is a nearby neighboring city of בית־אל which later came to be associated with the nearby city, see Josh 7:2. It seems that the sound play is more important to the author than to have the proper complementation patterns.

expected (e.g. גלה “to go into exile” with עין as a complement twice in PPs in Ezek 12:3, and followed by the verb ראה; these elements (עין and ראה) would usually accompany גלה “to uncover” rather than “to go into exile”). Slavish devotion to valency may actually muddy the water instead of clarifying it (e.g. Isa 38:12). Still, while valency is deficient for completely explaining גלה, it will help us embark on the journey.

### **The Valency of גלה in the *Binyanim***

My main interest in valency, then, is to discover the complement patterns of גלה. In the following pages we will examine גלה in the Hebrew Bible. What complementation patterns coincide with the different meanings of גלה? If the same patterns complete גלה “to uncover, reveal” and “to go into exile” then ancient Hebrew speakers probably considered it to be the same root. However, it is significant if different complement patterns are dominant with each meaning. The different complementation patterns might be a way for native speakers to distinguish the two roots.

Also, in which *binyanim* does גלה appear? If both meanings of גלה repeatedly appear together across the different *binyanim*, then this suggests that native speakers of ancient Hebrew thought of these meanings associated with גלה as representing one root. However, if there is very little overlap in the actual appearance of the different meanings of גלה in the *binyanim*, then this might be evidence that ancient Hebrews conceptualized גלה as two roots. One possible way of delineating homographic roots in the minds of the ancient speakers might be through the disassociation of the meanings of גלה in the same

*binyanim*. Therefore, native speakers possibly used the *binyanim* to syntactically disconnect homographs that would otherwise be difficult to unravel.<sup>34</sup>

### גלה in the Qal “To Uncover”

The main point of the discussion that follows is not to firmly establish גלה’s valency in the Qal or any other *binyan* but to highlight the complementation patterns associated with גלה in each *binyan*. I will discuss the valency of each *binyan* separately and though I mention my conclusions regarding גלה’s valency my point does not hinge on valency but on the complementation patterns that connect to גלה in each *binyan*.

גלה “to reveal, uncover” in the Qal is usually trivalent. The general pattern is: “Subject<sub>1</sub> reveals a message<sub>2</sub> to another<sub>3</sub>” or “Subject<sub>1</sub> reveals to another<sub>2</sub> a message<sub>3</sub>.” The thing revealed is a message, often revealed to a prophet or to one of YHWH’s messengers by YHWH. Since the subject is revealing the oral word to another, the ears are usually the recipient of the message in the Qal of גלה “to uncover.” Thus, one orally uncovers another’s ear with a specific message.

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34. James Barr, *Comparative Philology and the Old Testament* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1968), 132-3.

The trivalent pattern is the dominant one in the Qal of גלה “to uncover” (see Num 24:4, 16; 1 Sam 20:2, 12, 13; 22:17; possibly Job 33:16; 36:10, 15<sup>35</sup>) but not the only one (it is monovalent in Prov 20:19; 27:25<sup>36</sup>).

A) 1 Sam 9:15 <sup>37</sup>לְאִמֵּר בּוֹא־שָׂאוּל יוֹם אֶחָד לְפָנָי בּוֹא־שָׂאוּל <sup>37</sup>לְאִמֵּר  
 “YHWH<sub>1</sub> uncovered the ear of Samuel<sub>2</sub>, a day before Saul appeared,  
 saying<sub>3</sub>...”

B) 2 Sam 7:27<sup>38</sup> ... לְאִמֵּר עֲבָדְךָ יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל גְּלִיתָה אֶת־אָזְנוֹ עֲבָדְךָ לְאִמֵּר  
 “Because you<sub>1</sub>, YHWH of the armies, God of Israel, uncovered your  
 servant’s ear<sub>2</sub> saying<sub>3</sub>...”

C) Ruth 4:4 ... לְאִמֵּר אֶזְנְךָ אֶגְלֶה אֶזְנְךָ לְאִמֵּר  
 “I<sub>1</sub> said, ‘Let me uncover your ear<sub>2</sub> saying<sub>3</sub>...’”

In the examples above, YHWH or Boaz reveal a word to Samuel, David, and Mr.

So-and-So in Bethlehem. One uncovers the ears of another through orally relaying a message. The following example from Amos 3:7 illustrates this since it explicitly mentions the message (סוד).

35. These passages in Job may be bivalent. Job 33:16 (יָחַם וּבְמִסְרָם יִחַם) “Then he opens the ear of men, through discipline he terrifies them.”) is bivalent unless במסרם in the second part of the verse is the means by which the ear is uncovered or opened. Compare Job 36:10 (וַיִּגַּל אָזְנָם לְמוֹסֵר) “he opens their ear though discipline”) and 36:15 (וַיִּגַּל בְּלִחְץ אָזְנָם) “he opens their ear through oppression”).

36. Proverbs 27:25 (עֲשׂוּבוֹת הַרִים וְנֶאֱסְפוּ עַל־הַרְעֵי וְנִרְאָה דֶשֶׁא וְנִרְאָה דֶשֶׁא) “Grass appears; greenery is seen; herbs are gathering on the mountains.” Is גלה here a passive since it is parallel to the Nifal of ראה? Or is this a reflexive use of the Qal — the grass reveals itself? If it is reflexive then גלה here would be bivalent. Price takes the first two clauses (וְנִרְאָה דֶשֶׁא and גִּלְתָּה הַרְעֵי) to be contrastive. I see them as parallel. See Price, “A Lexicographical Study,” 32-33. Also, see Gray, “A New Analysis of a Key Hebrew Term: The Semantics of GALAH,” 53. He thinks that גלה here means “to wither and disappear” since that is what happens to grass. Thus, the Nifal of ראה is an antonym of גלה in this verse. The use of גלה in Prov 27:25 is usually said to be גלה “to go into exile” but it should properly be placed within גלה “to uncover.”

37. For לאמר as introducing the content of the revelation, see Zobel, *TDOT* 2:482-3.

38. The parallel is in 1 Chron 17:25 — לְבָנוֹת לוֹ בְּיַד יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל עֲבָדְךָ לְבָנוֹת לוֹ בְּיַד יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל. There are a few minor differences, such as the deletion of the phrase צבאות יהוה and the ה attached to the form of גלה in 2 Sam 7. The most substantial difference is Chronicles’ replacement of בית אבנה־לך with בית לו לאמר. The message that YHWH has revealed to David, namely that he will build his house, remains the focus in each account.

D) Amos 3:7: **כִּי לֹא יַעֲשֶׂה אֲדֹנָי יְהוָה דְּבַר כִּי אִם גְּלָה סוּדוֹ אֶל־עַבְדָּיו הַנְּבִיאִים:**  
 “For the Lord YHWH<sub>1</sub> does not do anything, without revealing his secret message<sub>2</sub> to his servants, the prophets<sub>3</sub>.”<sup>39</sup>

The Qal of גלה “to uncover” usually takes a NP complement. את often marks the NP (see 1 Sam 9:15; 20:2, 12, 13; 2 Sam 7:27=1 Chron 17:25). A dominant feature of the NP complement of the Qal of גלה “to uncover” is the word אֵזֶן (see 1 Sam 9:15; 20:2, 12, 13; 22:17; 2 Sam 7:27=1 Chron 17:25; Job 33:16; 36:10, 15; Ruth 4:4). Also, YHWH uncovers Balaam’s עֵין (Num 24:4, 16). Thus, most often the complement of the Qal of גלה “to uncover” describes the body part uncovered in the revealing of a message, namely אֵזֶן or עֵין. It does occur with a PP complement or perhaps an adjunct in 1 Sam 9:15; 2 Sam 7:27=1 Chron 17:25; Amos 3:7; Job 36:10, 15. In each of these occurrences of a PP complement with the Qal of גלה “to uncover,” except for Amos 3:7, the message uncovers the אֵזֶן. We can infer that the prophets are receiving YHWH’s secret message through their אֵזֶן or עֵין in Amos 3:7. Thus, the main focus of גלה “to uncover” in the Qal is to describe the uncovering of the ears or eyes of another through some oral or visual revelation.

#### גלה in the Qal “To Go into Exile, Deport”

The Qal of גלה “to go into exile” is usually bivalent but can also be trivalent (e.g. Ezek 12:3). When the Qal “to go into exile” is bivalent then the subject is usually taken into captivity and often describes a specific nation (Israel, Judah, Aram, etc.) forced by another into exile. When it is trivalent the subject is a king sending another nation into

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39. Compare, Sir 3:20 (MS A): **כִּי רַבִּים רַחֲמֵי אֱלֹהִים וְלַעֲנוּיִם יִגְלֶה סוּדוֹ:**  
 וכאשר גלו הנביאים ברוח קודשו: IQS 8:16  
 Also see, Sir 4:18 (MS A): **עַד עַתָּה יִמְלֹא לְבוֹ בִּי אֲשׁוּב אֲאִשְׁרֶנּוּ וְגַלִּיתִי לוֹ מִסְתָּרַי:**  
 ולא מרחם על עושה שוא ועל מגלה סוד: Sir 15:20 (MS A and B)

exile. There is almost always a PP complement that mentions the place from which a specific nation is being removed (מן-PP) or to the place (ל-PP, אל-PP, etc.) where they relocate. Thus, “Nation<sub>1</sub> is deported from/to Place<sub>2</sub>” and also “King<sub>1</sub> deports a Nation<sub>2</sub> from/to Place<sub>3</sub>.”

The dominant phrase type associated with the Qal of גלה “to go into exile” is a PP complement. While גלה “to go into exile” usually appears with a מן-PP complement, גלה “to uncover” usually employs a את-marked NP complement, which includes the lexeme און or עין. These distinctions in complementation pattern is likely the way ancient speakers of Hebrew differentiated between the two roots of גלה in the Qal *binyan*.

A) 1 Sam 4:21-22 ותקרא לנער אי-כבוד לגלה כבוד<sub>1</sub> מישראל<sub>2</sub>... ותאמר גלה כבוד<sub>1</sub> מישראל<sub>2</sub>  
 “She named the infant Ikavod saying, ‘The glory<sub>1</sub> has gone into exile from Israel<sub>2</sub>’ ...She said, ‘The glory<sub>1</sub> has gone into exile from Israel<sub>2</sub>...’”

B) 2 Kgs 17:23 ויגלו ישראל<sub>2</sub> מעל אדמתו<sub>3</sub> אשוריה עד היום הזה  
 “He<sub>1</sub> [Null “YHWH”] deported Israel<sub>2</sub> from his land<sub>3</sub> to Assyria until this day.”

C) Isa 5:13 לכן גלה עמי<sub>1</sub> מבלי-דעת<sub>2</sub>  
 “Therefore, my people<sub>1</sub> are deported away from knowledge<sub>2</sub>.”<sup>40</sup>

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40. A מן-PP is most often a complement of גלה “to go into exile” verbs. It usually describes movement from one place to another. The idea in Isa 5 may be that exile results in the people being removed from YHWH, the source of knowledge (compare דעת in Isa 11:2; 33:6; 40:14; 58:2; for its normal cognitive sense see Isa 44:19, 25; 47:10).

Hosea 4:6a is similar to this verse (בלי-דעת כי-אתה הדעת מאסת ואמאסאך מכהן לי), but Hosea does not use גלה. Also, Hosea adds an explanation of דעת in the next clause.

Dr. Willis suggests (13 June 2017) that it is better to translate the verb as passive in such instances where the subject is a nation such as Israel or Aram since they are not voluntarily going into captivity but they are being forced from their land into another.



D) Isa 24:11 גְּלָהּ מִשׁוּשׁוֹ הָאָרֶץ<sup>1</sup>  
 “Joy<sub>1</sub> is deported<sup>41</sup> [from] the land<sub>2</sub>.”<sup>42</sup>

E) Jer 52:27=2 Kgs 25:21 וַיִּגְלוּ יְהוּדָה מֵעַל אֲדָמָתוֹ<sup>3</sup>  
 “He<sub>1</sub> [Null “King of Babylon”] deported Judah<sub>2</sub> from his land<sub>3</sub>.”

F) Ezek 12:3 וְאַתָּה<sup>1</sup> בְּנוֹ-אָדָם עֲשֵׂה לְךָ כְּלֵי גוֹלָהּ וַיְגִלָה יוֹמָם לְעֵינֵיהֶם<sup>2</sup>  
 וַיִּגְלִיתָ מִמְּקוֹמְךָ<sup>2</sup> אֶל-מְקוֹם אַחֵר<sup>3</sup> לְעֵינֵיהֶם אוֹלֵי יְרֵאוּ כִּי בַיִת מְרִי הִמָּה:  
 “You<sub>1</sub>, human, prepare for yourself vessels of exile and go into exile today  
 before their eyes<sub>2</sub>. You<sub>1</sub> will go into exile from your place<sub>2</sub> to another  
 place<sub>3</sub> before their eyes. Perhaps they will see for they are a rebellious  
 house.”

G) Amos 1:5 וַיִּגְלוּ עַם-אַרָם<sup>1</sup> קִירָה אֶמֶר יְהוָה<sup>2</sup>  
 “The people of Aram<sub>1</sub> will be deported to Qir<sub>2</sub> — says YHWH.”

H) Amos 7:11=7:17<sup>43</sup> וַיִּשְׂרָאֵל<sup>1</sup> גְּלָהּ יִגְלָהּ מֵעַל אֲדָמָתוֹ<sup>2</sup>  
 “Israel<sub>1</sub> will surely be deported from his land<sub>2</sub>.”

I) Mic 1:16 כִּי גִלוּ מִמְּךָ<sup>2</sup>  
 “For they<sub>1</sub> [Null] will be deported from you<sub>2</sub>.”

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41. Price, “A Lexicographical Study,” 31-32. Price believes that גלה is certainly a verb of motion here, but he denies that it means “goes into exile” preferring instead the gloss “depart.” He says, “...there would be little sense in a translation: ‘the gladness of the earth has gone into exile’” (31). For a similar view, see Gray, “A New Analysis of a Key Hebrew Term: The Semantics of GALAH,” 52-3. Gray translates this clause, “...The gladness of the earth is banished.” He states that translating this use of גלה as “goes into exile” is an example of what Barr called “illegitimate totality transfer” (Barr, *The Semantics of Biblical Language*, 218). While I understand their point, it should be kept in mind that this is apocalyptic language (as Price acknowledges on page 30), which accounts for the overly dramatic nature of this clause. I retain the translation “goes into exile” because of the implied מן-PP. There is a tendency to gloss גלה and similar words as “forced migration” instead of “to go into exile” in the secondary literature. I leave aside this discussion understanding that perhaps “forced migration” or other glosses such as “to banish,” “to deport,” etc. may be more appropriate in a specific context. As a whole, I have chosen to retain “to go into exile” in most examples for simplicity and consistency.

42. See William R. Millar, *Isaiah 24-27 and the Origin of Apocalyptic*, Harvard Semitic Monograph Series 11 (Missoula, MT: Scholars Press, 1976), 29. Millar does not even make an attempt at writing the original text of Isa 24:11 or translating it. He states in footnote 2, “The text is very corrupt with no solid clues for a reconstruction of the original reading.” This seems somewhat odd since no other scholars that I consulted commented on the textual difficulty of this verse. For example see, J. J. M. Roberts, *First Isaiah*, Hermeneia (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2015) 310-11, 15; Joseph Blenkinsopp, *Isaiah 1-39*, AB (New York: Doubleday, 2000), 349-50; Brevard S. Childs, *Isaiah*, OTL (Louisville/London: Westminster John Knox Press, 2001), 176. This verse is not mentioned as posing any special problem to the translator in Jan de Waard, *A Handbook on Isaiah*, Textual Criticism and the Translator Vol 1 (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1997), 105.

43. Deportation is associated with death (מית and הרב; compare Jer 20:4; 43:3) and prostitution (זנה) in Amos 7:11, 17. The connection between death, prostitution and going into exile is prominent in the prophets (especially Hosea and Ezekiel).

The difference between גלה “to uncover” and “to go into exile, deport” in the Qal is significant.<sup>44</sup> In the Qal of גלה “to uncover,” the subject acts. The Qal of גלה “to uncover” almost always takes a תא-marked NP complement with the NP usually including און. Conversely, the subject is usually a nation and the verb is usually passive in the Qal of גלה “to go into exile, deport”. The complement of גלה “to go into exile, deport” in the Qal is almost exclusively a PP, with a מן-PP being the preferred complementation pattern. The different complement patterns of גלה in the Qal argues that these are different roots.

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44. There is much debate over Job 20:28. What is the meaning of יבול? Is גלה even present in this verse or is the verb from the root גלל? If גלה is present, which meaning of גלה is it? Job 20:28a reads — יגל יבול ביתו. Some emend תבול to יבול meaning “stream, flood” following the LXX; see C. L. Seow, *Job 1-21*, Illuminations (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2013), 861-2; David J. A. Clines, *Job 1-20*, WBC 17 (Dallas: Word Books, 1989), 472, 79, 98; John Gray, *The Book of Job* (Sheffield: Sheffield Phoenix Press, 2010), 281-2, 87-8; Marvin Pope, *Job*, AB (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1965), 141. Some translate יבול as “possessions” following the Vulgate; see Tremper Longman III, *Job*, Baker Commentary on the Old Testament (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2012), 266 footnote 11. “Produce” is the normal meaning of יבול (Lev 26:4, 20; Judg 6:4; Hab 3:17); see the translation in Samuel Rolles Driver and George Buchanan Gray, *The Book of Job*, ICC (Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1977), Part 1: *Translation and Commentary*, 181 and Part 2: *Philological Notes*, 143. They translate Job 20:28a as, “The increase of his house goeth into exile...”

Should it be יגל from גלה or יגל from גלל? Perhaps the use of גלה (undoubtedly “to uncover”) in the previous verse (יגל in Job 20:27) has created the confusion and is responsible for obscuring the presence of גלל in this verse. Whether יגל in Job 20:28 is גלה or גלל, there is still a sound play between Job 20:27-28 (compare Ps 119:18, 22). Many read יבול for יבול and then assume the accompanying verb is from גלל. This is possible and supported by the LXX, but it is not necessary. יגל would provide a nice parallel with the second clause (see Seow, *Job 1-21*, 862), but גלה logically fits with the second line also (see Gray, “A New Analysis of a Key Hebrew Term: The Semantics of GALAH,” 53). Gray follows the MT without emendation and uses the NRSV translation in his analysis.

I read יגל with the MT as גלה “to uncover,” not גלה “to go into exile,” based on the continuation of thought from verse 27. I am connecting יבול in Job 20:28 with the noun עון in the previous verb. Thus, יבול, like עון, relates the deeds that grow out of the heart of the wicked, not the possessions or posterity of the wicked (for גלה referring to the uncovering of sins see Hos 7:1; Lam 2:14 with עון; Ezek 21:29 [ET 21:24] with פשע; Lam 4:22 with חטא; Isa 26:21 with דם). These deeds are uncovered resulting in God’s judgement being poured out upon the wicked according to Zophar. Job 20:28 יגל יבול ביתו נגרות ביום אפּו: “The deeds of his house will be uncovered, his anger (referring to Job 20:29) will be poured out in that day.”

It is worth noting that גלה and נגר appear together also in Mic 1:6 (והגרתי לגי אבנייה ויסדקה אגלה) “I will topple its [i.e. Samaria’s] stones and uncover its foundation”). Both are verbs in Mic 1:6, while a verbal form of גלה and a nominal form of נגר are used in Job 20:28.

## גלה in the Nifal

The Nifal can be bivalent or trivalent depending on whether it is passive (“Subject<sub>1</sub> is revealed to someone<sub>2</sub>”) or reflexive (“Subject<sub>1</sub> reveals himself/herself<sub>2</sub> to someone<sub>3</sub>”).<sup>45</sup> It can also be monovalent. The dominant pattern is bivalent. It can have a NP (especially ערוה or some other similar lexeme) or PP (ב, על, מן, ל, אל) complement. The Nifal, as the Qal, of גלה “to uncover” resides in the semantic domain of seeing and hearing. Thus, whether it appears with NP or PP complement, one is revealing himself or herself orally or visually to another. As illustrated below, there is no obvious way to decide if the Nifal is passive or reflexive. It does not matter for my purposes in this study.

A) Gen 35:7  $\frac{1}{2}$  הָאֱלֹהִים  $\frac{2}{3}$  אָלְיוֹ אֶלֶּהָם  
 “...for there [Bethel] God<sub>1</sub> had revealed himself<sub>2</sub> [Null] to him<sub>3</sub>” or “...for there God<sub>1</sub> had been revealed to him<sub>2</sub>.”

B) Exod 20:26 עָלְיוֹ עָרוּתְךָ לֹא־תִגָּלֶה עֲרוּתְךָ  
 “...that your nakedness<sub>1</sub> will not be uncovered before him<sub>2</sub>.”

C) 1 Sam 3:21 כִּי־נִגְלָה יְהוָה  $\frac{1}{2}$  אֶל־שְׁמוּאֵל  $\frac{2}{3}$  בְּשִׁלּוֹ בְּדִבַּר יְהוָה  
 “For YHWH<sub>1</sub> revealed himself<sub>2</sub> to Samuel<sub>3</sub> at Shiloh through YHWH’s word” or “For YHWH<sub>1</sub> was revealed to Samuel<sub>2</sub> at Shiloh through YHWH’s word.”

D) 1 Sam 14:11 וַיִּגְלוּ  $\frac{2}{3}$  שְׁנֵיהֶם אֶל־מִצְבַּת פְּלִשְׁתִּים  
 “The two of them<sub>1</sub> showed themselves<sub>2</sub> to the Philistine garrison<sub>3</sub>.”

E) Isa 22:14 וַיִּגְלֶה בְּאָזְנוֹי  $\frac{2}{3}$  יְהוָה  $\frac{1}{2}$  צְבָאוֹת  
 “YHWH<sub>1</sub> of the armies has revealed himself<sub>2</sub> in my ear<sub>3</sub>” or “YHWH<sub>1</sub> of the armies was revealed in my ear<sub>2</sub>.”

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45. For the Nifal of גלה being passive and reflexive see, Westermann and Albertz, *TLOT* 1:317; Waltke, *TWOT* 1:160. Dr. Hamilton suggests (16 May 2017) that perhaps the Nifal being reflexive or passive is an issue as we translate Hebrew into English but it is not an issue to ancient Hebrew speakers.

F) Isa 40:5  $\text{וְנִגְלָה כְבוֹד יְהוָה}$   $\frac{1}{2}$

“YHWH’s glory<sub>1</sub> will be revealed” or “YHWH’s glory<sub>1</sub> will reveal itself<sub>2</sub>.”<sup>46</sup>

G) Isa 49:9  $\text{לְאָמֹר לְאֲסוּרִים צֵאוּ לְאִשְׁרֵי בְּחֹשֶׁךְ הַגְּלוּ}$   $\frac{2}{3}$

“Saying to the prisoners, ‘Come out!’ To those in darkness<sub>1</sub> ‘Show yourselves<sub>2</sub>’”

H) Isa 53:1  $\text{מִי הֵאֱמִין לְשִׁמְעַתְנוּ וְזָרַע יְהוָה עַל־מִי}$   $\frac{47}{2}$   $\text{נִגְלָתָה}$ :

“Who believes our report? YHWH’s arm<sub>1</sub> has been revealed upon whom<sub>2</sub>?”

I) Job 38:17  $\text{הֲנִגְלוּ לְךָ שַׁעֲרֵי־מָוֶת}$   $\frac{1}{2}$   $\frac{2}{3}$

“Has Death’s gates<sub>1</sub> uncovered themselves<sub>2</sub> before you<sub>3</sub>?” or “Has Death’s gates<sub>1</sub> been uncovered before you<sub>2</sub>?”

46. The prophet is playing upon 1 Sam 4:21-22 and Hos 10:5, where the כבוד יהוה and גלה are used together but in a negative context (see also 2 Sam 6:20, where the Nifal of גלה and כבד are used demeaningly by Michal). YHWH’s glory being revealed (גלה I) will begin the process of reversing the devastation of deportation (גלה II).

47. The preposition על is difficult to translate here. It usually means “upon, over, against” or “to.” Most modern translations provide the gloss “to” in Isa 53:1. Yet, the gloss “to” is more appropriate for the prepositions ל or אל, which actually does appear in 1QIsa<sup>a</sup> 44:5 and 1Q8 23:10 (וּזְרָע יְהוָה אֵל מִי נִגְלָתָה) על. (וּזְרָע יְהוָה אֵל מִי נִגְלָתָה) על. The meaning of על in 52:14 is “at,” in 52:15 “because of/on account of,” and in 53:9 “although.” Also, על means “upon” in 52:7 and 53:5. Since 52:13-53:12 is an unit, the uses of על that appear within this pericope are probably the most interpretively significant. The meaning attributed to על in 52:14, 15 and 53:9 do not appear to be of much help in understanding על’s meaning in 53:1. Thus, its usage in 53:5 might be the most influential (מוֹסֵר שְׁלוֹמֵנוּ עָלָיו) “... The discipline for our wholeness is upon [על] him”). It is possible that על in Isa 53:1 means “upon.” Then this clause expresses surprise that God’s powerful arm is present and evident upon this mangled, suffering servant — “Who believed our report? YHWH’s arm is revealed *upon whom* (i.e. “Him! Really!?)?” YHWH’s arm brings about power and salvation in the context (Isa 40:10; 51:5; 52:7). Yet, this one described in Isaiah 52-53 seems to embody the opposite.

Another possibility is that על here means “against” (compare Isa 42:13). If this is the case, then who is the one against whom YHWH’s arm acts? Is it the suffering servant of the following verses in Isa 53? Is it the nations of the preceding verses of Isa 52? Is it the nation of Israel? I am uncertain, but I think the servant is still the referent in this translation.

For a discussion of the possible translations for על (i.e. “to,” “against,” and “upon”) in Isa 53:1, see John Goldingay and David Payne, *Isaiah 40-55* Vol 2, ICC (London/New York: T & T Clark, 2007), 297-8. Goldingay and Payne think that “upon” is contextually the best option for translating על in Isa 53:1. They state, “Yhwh’s arm is here virtually hypostatized and is the subject of a verb as in 40.10; contrast 52.10 and 42.11. The revelation is indeed a revelation of Yhwh, but it is a revelation of a part of Yhwh in some sense representing Yhwh and distinguishable from Yhwh.” Thus, Goldingay and Payne take על in Isa 53:1 in a similar way as Isa 42:1 (נִתְתִּי רוּחִי עָלָיו) and Isa 61:1 (רוּחַ אֲדֹנָי יְהוָה עָלָי) where YHWH’s spirit is upon his servant. The New Testament refers to Isa 53:1 in John 12:37-38 and Rom 10:16. The phrase על מי appears several times in Isaiah (10:3; 36:5=2 Kgs 18:20; 37:23=2 Kgs 19:22; 53:1; 57:4).

Also see, Jan L. Koole, *Isaiah III*, Vol. 1-3, HCOT (Kampen: Kok Pharos/Leuven: Peeters, 1997-2001), 2:277-8. Koole says that על and אל are similar in meaning (על in 2 Kgs 18:27 with אל in Isa 36:12; אל in 2 Sam 22:42 with על in Ps 18:42; על in Jonah 1:2 with אל in Jonah 3:2) therefore not much significance should be attached to על’s appearance over אל. Also, Klaus Baltzer, *Deutero-Isaiah*, trans. Margaret Kohl, Hermeneia (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2001), 403. Baltzer compares YHWH’s arm being over a human being here with Persian iconography and refers to Neh 2:18 and Ezra 8:22.

J) Prov 26:26 תגלה רעתו<sub>1</sub> בקהל<sub>2</sub>  
 “His evil<sub>1</sub> is uncovered in the assembly<sub>2</sub>.”

K) Dan 10:1 בשנת שלוש לכורש מלך פרס דברו נגלה לדניאל<sub>2</sub>  
 “In the third year of Cyrus, king of Persia, a message<sub>1</sub> was revealed to Daniel<sub>2</sub>...”

Whether the Nifal is passive or reflexive is ambiguous in most of these contexts.

My point is not the valency specifically but the complement patterns associated with the Nifal of גלה. Though closely related to the Qal of גלה “to uncover,” the Nifal is more flexible in its complementation pattern, taking a NP or PP complement. It describes a subject speaking or visually appearing before another (1 Sam 2:27; 3:7, 21; 14:8, 11; 2 Sam 6:20; Isa 40:5; 49:9; 53:1; Job 38:17).<sup>48</sup> The main point is that the Nifal of גלה means “to uncover, reveal.”

### גלה in the Piel

גלה appears more in the Piel than in any other *binyan* (fifty-six times). The Piel is usually bivalent. In the Piel גלה most often describes someone uncovering a body part and often is euphemistic for the sexual organs. Thus, “Subject<sub>1</sub> uncovers something<sub>2</sub> (e.g. body part, a wall, etc.)” or “Subject<sub>1</sub> uncovers another’s sexual organs<sub>2</sub>.” A NP complement usually accompanies the Piel of גלה — especially related to nakedness like ערוה, but also תזנות, שוק, מקור, כנף, etc.

A) Lev 18:7 ערות אביך וערות אמה<sub>2</sub> לא תגלה<sub>1</sub> אמה הוא לא תגלה<sub>1</sub> ערותה<sub>2</sub>:  
 “You<sub>1</sub> [Null] shall not uncover the nakedness of your father or your mother<sub>2</sub>.  
 She is your mother. You<sub>1</sub> [Null] shall not uncover her nakedness<sub>2</sub>.”

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48. For the Nifal of גלה in Isa 38:12 see Chapter 4 of this thesis.

B) Num 22:31 וַיִּגַּל יְהוָה אֶת־עֵינָי בְּלַעַם<sub>2</sub>  
 “YHWH<sub>1</sub> opened the eyes of Balaam<sub>2</sub>...”<sup>49</sup>

C) Deut 27:20 אָרֹר שֹׁכֵב עִם־אִשְׁתׁ אָבִיו כִּי גִלָּה כְּנָף<sup>50</sup> אָבִיו<sub>1</sub>  
 “Cursed is the one sleeping<sub>1</sub> with his father’s wife because he has  
 uncovered the hem of his father<sub>2</sub>.”

D) Isa 26:21 וַגִּלְתָּה הָאָרֶץ אֶת־דַּמֶּיהָ<sub>2</sub>  
 “The land<sub>1</sub> will reveal its bloodshed<sub>2</sub>.”

E) Jer 11:20=20:12 כִּי אֶלִּיד<sup>3</sup> גִּלִּיתִי אֶת־רִיבִי<sub>1</sub> אֶת־יְהוָה אֶת־פִּי הִאֲתֹן<sub>3</sub>  
 “For I<sub>1</sub> [Null] have revealed my case<sub>2</sub> to you<sub>3</sub>.”<sup>51</sup>

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49. Compare Num 22:28 where an almost identical clause describes YHWH opening Balaam’s donkey’s mouth (וַיִּפְתַּח יְהוָה אֶת־פִּי הָאֲתֹן).

50. Here כנף is a euphemism for ערוה. Since the husband covers his wife with the כנף of his garment, this term describes the sexually exclusive relationship that accompanies marriage (וַאֲפָרֵשׁ כְּנָפִי עָלֶיךָ) in Ezek 16:8; וּפָרֵשֶׁת כְּנָפֶךָ עַל־אַמְתֶּךָ in Ruth 3:9; a similar phrase appears in an oracle of judgment against Edom — וַיִּפְרֹשׂ כְּנָפָיו עַל־בְּצֻרָה in Jer 49:22). Pulling back the covering, so to speak by having sex with your father’s wife, is shameful and brings a curse on the doer in Deuteronomy 27 which endangers the participating individuals and their society. This verse begins a section of four identically structured verses that describe sexual misconduct (Deut 27:20-23). They each begin ... ארור שכב עם. Then they mention the one with which not to sleep (אשת אביו or כל בהמה or או בת אמו or אחתו בת אביו או בת אמו). This is followed by the repeated formula ואמר כל־העם אמן, which appears throughout the chapter. Verse 20 is the only verse, in this set of four, that includes an explanation between the curse and the amen, namely — כי גלה כנף אביו.

Deuteronomy 23:1 (לֹא־יִקַּח אִישׁ אֶת־אִשְׁתׁ אָבִיו וְלֹא יִגְלֶה כְּנָף אָבִיו:) is similar to Deut 27:20. Also, 11Q19 66:11- 13: לוא יקח איש את אשת אביו וּלוא יגלה כנף אביו וּלוא יקח איש את אשת אחיו וּלוא יגלה כנף אחיו בן אביו או בן אמו כי נדה היא.

See J. H. Hertz, ed., *The Pentateuch and Haftorahs: Hebrew Text, English Translation with Commentary* (London: Oxford University Press, 1936), 280. He suggests the translation “his father’s bed-cover” for כנף אביו. Perhaps, Heb 13:4 is interpreting this verse similarly. Also, see Jeffrey H. Tigay, *Deuteronomy*, JPS Torah Commentary (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 1996), 209. Tigay says on Deut 23:1, “The point seems to be either that one sees nakedness that is reserved for his father or that the act is tantamount to having sexual relations with him (Lev 18:7, 8; 20:11).” John Willis suggests in a private conversation (20 May 2017) that uncovering the hem of his father means something akin to “he proposed to...”

51. Whether אֶלִּיד here is a complement or adjunct is not significant to my point. It may be trivalent as I have presented above, or it may be bivalent. Ironically, Jeremiah is revealing his ריב to YHWH in these verses. This is an intentional play on the normal usage of YHWH revealing his ריב against Israel and Judah to his prophets.

F) Ezek 16:37 וְגִלְתִּי עֲרוֹתַי אֲלֵהֶם וְרָאוּ אֶת־כָּל־עֲרוֹתַי  
 “I<sub>1</sub> [Null] will expose your nakedness<sub>2</sub> to them<sub>3</sub><sup>52</sup> so that they will gaze upon all your nakedness.”

G) Hos 2:12 [E 2:10] וְעַתָּה אֶגְלֶהּ אֶת־נִבְלָתָהּ לְעֵינַי מֵאֵהָבֶיהָ  
 “Now I<sub>1</sub> [Null] will expose her nakedness<sub>2</sub> before her lovers’s eyes<sub>3</sub>.<sup>53</sup>”

H) Ps 119:18 גְּלוּ־עֵינַי וְאֲבִיטָה נִפְלְאוֹת מִתּוֹרָתְךָ:  
 “Open<sub>1</sub> [Implied Subject “You”] my eyes<sub>2</sub> so that I can see wonderful things from your Torah.” Or “Open my eyes and let me see wonderful things from your Torah.”

I) Ruth 3:7 וַתִּגְלוּ מִרְגְּלָתָיו וַתִּשְׁכַּב  
 “She<sub>1</sub> [Null] uncovered his feet<sub>2</sub> and lay down.”<sup>54</sup>

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52. Is אלהם a complement or an adjunct? Does exposing someone’s nakedness imply another will be gazing at the naked person? There are a few other passage that employ the Piel when describing someone stripping another (see Isa 47:2; Hos 2:12; Ezek 16:37; 23:10; Nah 3:5). A PP explains that some are gawking at the shamed person in a few cases (אלהם here in Ezek 16:37; לעיני מאהביה in Hos 2:12), but the other cases do not mention anyone specifically looking (Isa 47:2; Ezek 23:10; Nah 3:5). Is the audience implied? Is this an implied complement? Does a person stripping another require an audience? It might be that the Piel of גלה usually describes uncovering someone in an intimate and private setting. Therefore, to express a public setting for an uncovering requires a PP not normally implied by the Piel of גלה. Perhaps Gen 9:21 is helpful. Here the Hitpael of גלה, not the Piel, describes Noah uncovering himself in his tent, not implying that anyone saw (ראה) him, though Ham in fact did (22). Or, maybe the additional information אהלה in Gen 9:21 shows that no one should see Noah because he is in the tent. This discussion is not conclusive. I am uncertain whether the PPs in Ezek 16:37 and Hos 2:12 [ET 2:10] are complement or adjunct. This point is not essential to my case, nor is it essential to my argument whether the Piel of גלה is bivalent or trivalent. The main point is that in these verses ערוה is a complement whether a PP accompanies it as a complement or adjunct.

53. See the previous footnote for a discussion of whether לעיני מאהביה in Hos 2:12 [ET 2:10] is a complement or an adjunct.

54. The sexual overtones in the language of this verse and its predecessor in Ruth 3:4 are clear. By using גלה in the Piel, מרגלות and שכב (compare Lev 20:11, 18, 20) together in the same verse the reader reads between the lines what will follow. Added to the steamy phraseology, this scene happens at night at a threshing floor after Boaz has had a lot to drink (compare Gen 9:21). Perhaps, the author is illustrating that sexual tension is high. The author of Ruth uses גלה, מרגלות, and שכב together for rhetorical affect. The word choice causes the reader to expect a certain action but what really happened on the threshing floor that night?

See John R. Wilch, *Ruth*, Concordia Hebrew Reader (St. Louis: Concordia, 2006), 110, 117. Wilch does not think that מרגלות here is euphemistic but that it corresponds to מראשות in Gen 28:11, 18; 1 Sam 19:13, 16; 1 Kgs 19:6. Thus, it describes a location, an area — מרגלות is the area of the feet as מראשות is the area of the head (110). Also, he suggests that Ruth’s approaching in לט (Ruth 3:7) may be a pun on לוט. Ruth, a Moabitess, is in a similar situation with Boaz as the daughter’s of Lot were with their father — they are sneaking up on him as he is drunk and unaware. Lot’s daughters approach (בוא in Gen 19:31, 33, 34) their father in order to have sex (שכב in Gen 19:32-35) with him. Ruth does not approach (בוא in Ruth 3:7) Boaz with the intent of sex but simply to lie down (שכב in Ruth 3:4, 7, 8, 13, 14). While this is possible it is uncertain. Also see, Frederich W. Bush, *Ruth, Esther*, WBC 9 (Nashville: Thomas Nelson, 1996), 152-3; Tamara Cohn Eskenazi and Tikva Frymer-Kensky, *Ruth*, JPS Bible Commentary (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 2011), 53-4 and 57.

The Piel boasts the most occurrences of גלה. However, its complement pattern is perhaps the most regular. It usually has a NP complement, though it can also occur with a PP. The NP accompanying גלה is most often ערוה which appears twenty-seven times.<sup>55</sup> Other terms in the same semantic domain as ערוה or similar to this lexeme are — שוק and צמה in Isa 47:2; כנף in Deut 23:1; 27:20; תזנות in Ezek 23:18; נבלות in Hos 2:12 [English 2:10]; שול in Nah 3:5 and a few similar phrases such as מקור in Lev 20:18 [twice] and מרגלות in Ruth 3:4, 7. A PP complement or adjunct (Jer 11:20=20:12; 33:6; Ezek 16:37; 22:10; Hos 2:12 [ET 2:10]; Nah 3:5; Ps 98:2; Lam 2:14; 4:22) associates with the Piel of גלה but on a much smaller scale than a NP. Once again, עין (Num 22:31; Ps 119:18) and און (Jer 11:20=20:12) occur with the Piel of גלה as has been the case with the Qal and Nifal of this root.

The main use of the Piel describes specific sexual misconduct. While the Qal and Nifal describes a body part being uncovered by oral or visual means, the Piel usually describes a body part being uncovered by the sex act. However, there are several other objects of גלה in the Piel (e.g., the outer garment of Leviathan in Job 41:5 [ET 13]; the foundation of the walls in Ezek 13:14; the foundations of Samaria in Mic 1:6; the foundations of the world in 2 Sam 22:16=Ps 18:16 [ET 15]; and the gates of Sheol in Job 38:17).<sup>56</sup>

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55. Lev 18:6, 7 [twice], 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15 [twice], 16, 17 [twice], 18, 19; 20:11, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21; Ezek 16:37; 22:10; 23:10, 18. Also see, Robert B. Chisholm Jr., *A Commentary on Judges and Ruth*, Kregel Exegetical (Grand Rapids, MI: Kregel Academic, 2013), 652 footnote 36.

56. See Zobel, *TDOT* 2:479; Waltke, *TWOT* 1:161.



**גלה in the Pual**

The Pual of גלה appears only twice in the Hebrew Bible (Nah 2:8; Prov 27:5) and is monovalent in each occurrence. Thus, “Subject<sub>1</sub> is uncovered.” It is the passive of the Piel. As expected, the passive has a lower valency. The Piel is bivalent so the Pual is monovalent. It is difficult to determine the complementation pattern of the Pual of גלה because of the scarcity of the evidence. Is a NP with ערוה, for example, semantically implied in the Pual in Nah 2:8? It takes a NP complement in Prov 27:5.

A) Nah 2:8<sup>57</sup> הַצִּבּ גְּלָתָהּ הִעֲלָתָהּ וְאַמְתִּיחָ מִנְהַגוֹת כְּקוֹל יוֹנִים מִתְּפַפֵּת עַל-לִבְבֵיהֶן: “It is established, she<sub>I [Null]</sub> is stripped, she is taken up — her maids are moaning like doves beating their chest.”<sup>58</sup>

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57. For a discussion of various problems related to the interpretation this verse, see Duane L. Christensen, *Nahum*, AB 24F (New Haven/London: Yale University Press, 2009), 287-91; Walter A. Maier, *The Book of Nahum: A Commentary* (Saint Louis: Concordia Publishing, 1959), 259-62; G. R. Driver, “Farewell to Queen Huzzab!” *JTS* 15 (1964): 296-8; Walter Dietrich, *Nahum Habakkuk Zephaniah*, IECOT (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 2016), 58-59 and 64-65; Klaas Spronk, *Nahum*, HCOT (Kampen, The Netherlands: Kok Pharos Publishing House, 1997), 96-98. It is possible that *הַצִּבּ* refers to an image of Ishtar or some other Assyrian goddess; see Marvin A. Sweeney, *The Twelve Prophets Vol. 2*, Berit Olam (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 1989). The Targum translates this verse as — “And the queen sits in a litter; she goes forth among the exiles, and her maidservants are led away; they go after her moaning like the sound of doves, beating upon their breasts.” This translation comes from Kevin J. Cathcart and Robert P. Gordon, *The Targum of the Minor Prophets*, The Aramaic Bible 14 (Wilmington, DE: Michael Glazier, 1989), 136-7. I am translating *הַצִּבּ* as it is pointed — a Hofal perfect 3ms.

58. Does *גלה* in Nah 2:8 refer to uncovering or going into exile? The Pual only describes uncovering, never going to exile. However, the Pual appears only twice which is not conclusive evidence. Still, since the Pual is the passive of the Piel, which describes uncovering and never going into exile, the same is true for the Pual. Conversely, see Price, “A Lexicographical Study,” 225-8. Price tentatively thinks that it is *גלה* “to go into exile” here and states that “...most scholars now believe it comes from *glh* (2)” (228). The verbs on either side of *גלה* here are Hofal perfects and thus passives, like the Pual of *גלה*. The use of *עלה* after *גלה* is somewhat puzzling — *גלה* and *עלה* appear together also in Isa 57:8. Is this motion verb describing further movement beyond what *גלה* “to go into exile” would express? Or is *עלה* actually describing going into exile with *גלה* “to uncover” describing the stripping and humiliation of the Assyrians (women specifically because of the feminine verbs?). It would seem that the lack of a PP complement, which would presumably be present if this was *גלה* “to go into exile,” and the fact that this verb is in the Pual, not the Hofal, illustrates that this is *גלה* “to uncover.” The Pual is the passive of the Piel, which is used in Nah 3:5, the only other occurrence of this lexeme in the book, to describe the stripping of Nineveh (compare Isa 47:2; Ezek 16:37; 23:10; Hos 2:12). It would seem that *גלה* “to uncover” is in view, referring to the stripping of the Assyrians of their clothing, or possibly of the stripping of an image of its authority and dignity (e.g. Isa 46:1-2), and leading it into captivity described by the lexeme *עלה*.

The juxtaposition of *עלה* and *גלה* in this verse may suggest a wordplay, since *עלה* does not regularly refer to deportation. Perhaps *עלה* sounds similar to *גלה* since the *ע* represents the *g* sound as well as the guttural sound that is typically associated with this letter, see William M. Schniedewind, *A Social History of Hebrew: Its Origins Through the Rabbinic Period* (New Haven/London: Yale University Press, 2013), 9, 13, and 54. The Hifil of *עלה* can describe YHWH bringing Israel up from Egypt (Exod 3:8; 2 Kgs 17:7, 36; Amos 2:10; Mic 6:4; Ezra 1:11). Therefore, this word can describe the end of Israel’s exile in Egypt and the beginning of restoration (Exod 3:8). Only once does the Hifil of *עלה* describe exile, and instructively this one occurrence is in the mouth of foreigners (Ezra 4:2). Yet, in Nah 2:8, the Hofal of *עלה* describes the beginning of the deportation of Assyria with no hope in sight (See 2 Kgs 25:6=Jer 39:5; 52:9 where the Babylonians take the officials of Judah to Riblah and Nebuchadnezzar kills them. The Hifil of *עלה* in these three parallel verses describes the geographical movements of the Babylonians with their captives, namely moving them up from Jericho to Riblah).

It is interesting that this context does not employ the Hofal of *גלה*. If a Hofal of *גלה* “to uncover” was available, its use here is likely, since the text uses two other Hofals on either side of it. The employment of the Pual of *גלה* illustrates that this is *גלה* “to uncover.” See Carl Friedrich Keil, *The Twelve Minor Prophets Vol. 2*, Biblical Commentary on the Old Testament (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1949), 24. The Hofal apparently cannot express the passive of *גלה* “to be uncovered.” The Pual and also the Nifal express this form of the verb. Is this because the Hofal of *גלה* exclusively signifies *גלה* “to go into exile” and thus it is a passive of the Hifil of *גלה* “to go into exile?”

B) Prov 27:5 מִטּוֹכַחַתּוֹ מִגְּלָה מֵאַהֲבָה מְסֻתֶּרֶת: “Open rebuke<sub>1</sub> is better than concealed love.”<sup>59</sup>

### גלה in the Hitpael

Genesis 9:21 and Proverbs 18:2 are the lone representatives of the Hitpael of גלה.

Both are reflexive. It is hard to determine firmly the complement patterns associated with the Hitpael of גלה. One takes a PP complement (Gen 9:21), while the other takes a NP (Prov 18:2).

A) Gen 9:21<sup>60</sup> וַיִּתְגַּלֵּל 1/2 בְּתוֹךְ אֶהֱלֶה 3  
 “He<sub>1</sub> [Null] uncovered himself<sub>2</sub> in the tent<sub>3</sub>.”

B) Prov 18:2 כִּי אִם־בְּהִתְגַּלּוֹתָו לְבוֹת 2  
 “But [the fool<sub>1</sub> delights] in revealing his own heart<sub>2</sub>.”

### גלה in the Hifil

The Hifil is the most frequently occurring *binyan* of גלה “to go into exile, deport.”

The Hifil is trivalent. The subject, usually a king, nation or YHWH himself, sends another nation or individual into exile to a certain place or from a location (Subject<sub>1</sub> deports a Nation/Person<sub>2</sub> to/from a Place<sub>3</sub>). The complement pattern associated with the Hifil of גלה “to go into exile, deport” is usually a PP, a מן-PP is again prominent as in the Qal of גלה “to go into exile, deport,” and a הַא-marked NP also appears over ten times.

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59. Just as one can reveal secrets (Amos 3:7; Prov 11:13; 20:19) and uncover an ear by spoken words (1 Sam 3:7; 9:15), so someone can publicize their opinions whether in the form of a rebuke, as here, or encouragement. See Michael V. Fox, *Proverbs 10-31*, AB 18B (New Haven/London: Yale University Press, 2009), 804. Fox notes, “An open rebuke reveals a friend’s offenses, but only to him, not to others.”

60. Commenting on this verse the rabbis note that drunkenness leads to going into exile. They merge the principles of Gen 9:21 with Isa 5:11 and Isa 28:7 to reach this conclusion while playing upon the homographic roots of גלה; see Jacob Neusner, *Genesis Rabbah: The Judaic Commentary to the Book of Genesis: A New American Translation: Vol. 2 Parashiyot Thirty-Four through Sixty-Seven on Genesis 8:15 to 28:9*, Brown Judaic Studies 105 (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1985), 30.

There are a few textual questions relating to the use of the Hifil of גלה “to go into exile, deport” in Jer 52:15<sup>61</sup> and its possible inclusion in Jer 52:29.<sup>62</sup>

A) 2 Kgs 15:29 <sup>63</sup> וַיִּגְלֵם 1/2 אֲשׁוּרֵיהֶם 3

“He<sub>1</sub> [Null] deported them<sub>2</sub> to Assyria<sub>3</sub>.”

B) 2 Kgs 16:9 וַיִּגְלֶה 1/2 קִירָה 3

“He [King of Assyria]<sub>1</sub> deported it [Damascus]<sub>2</sub> to Qir<sub>3</sub>.”

C) 2 Kgs 17:6 וַיִּגְלֵל 1 אֶת־יִשְׂרָאֵל 2 אֲשׁוּרֵיהֶם 3

“He<sub>1</sub> [Null] deported Israel<sub>2</sub> to Assyria<sub>3</sub>.”

D) 2 Kgs 18:11 וַיִּגְלֵל מֶלֶךְ־אֲשׁוּרֵי 1 אֶת־יִשְׂרָאֵל 2 אֲשׁוּרֵיהֶם 3

“The king of Assyria<sub>1</sub> deported Israel<sub>2</sub> to Assyria<sub>3</sub>.”

E) Jer 20:4 וַהֲגִלָּם 1/2 בְּבָבֶלָה 3

“He<sub>1</sub> [Null] deported them<sub>2</sub> to Babylon<sub>3</sub>.”

F) Jer 22:12 כִּי בַּמְקוֹם 3 אֲשֶׁר־הִגְלוּ 1 אוֹתוֹ 2 שָׁם יָמוּת

“...For in the place<sub>3</sub> where they<sub>1</sub> [Null] deported him<sub>2</sub>, he will die there.”

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61. The Greek of Jeremiah, which tends to be shorter, deletes this entire verse (Jer 52:15). See the comments of William McKane, *Jeremiah Vol. 2*, ICC (Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1996), 1368-9. The MT is more likely the original; see Jack R. Lundbom, *Jeremiah 37-52*, AB (New York: Doubleday, 2004), 521. Jer 39:9 and 2 Kgs 25:11 are parallel passages to Jer 52:15 making its deletion here improbable. Its omission is probably due to the identical beginning (וּמַדְלוֹת) of verses 15 and 16, causing the scribe's eye to jump from verse 14 to verse 16.

62. גלה is absent in the MT of Jer 52:29.

Jer 52:29 בַּשָּׁנָה שְׁמוֹנֶה עָשָׂר לְנְבוּכַדְרֶאֱצַר מִירוּשָׁלַם נָפְשׁ שְׁמֹנֶה מֵאוֹת שְׁלִשִׁים וּשְׁנַיִם: “In the 18th year of Nebuchadnezzar...832 people from Jerusalem.”

There is not a verb in this verse. It is in the middle of a list. Is something missing from the text? Several versions, including the Greek, Syriac and Targums, add the verb הִגְלָה between לְנְבוּכַדְרֶאֱצַר and מִירוּשָׁלַם. This Hifil form of גלה appears in verses 28 and 30. Therefore, it seems highly possible that הִגְלָה was originally in verse 29 as the versions illustrate but that it subsequently dropped out. See McKane, *Jeremiah Vol. 2*, 1381. McKane's translation reflects this but as far as I can see he does not discuss it in his comments that follow.

63. The directional ending ה־ functions in most cases with גלה as a PP (WO§2.1b quoting the Babylonian Talmud b. Yebamoth 13b; Giṭṭin 90a). The ending indicates direction and basically replaces a prefixed ל. Technically, it is an adverbial suffix (WO§10.5a) and is comparable to the Ugaritic adverbial suffix *-h/-ah*; see William M. Schniedewind and Joel H. Hunt, *A Primer on Ugaritic: Language, Culture, and Literature* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 179.

The consonants ל-ג appears together in several words in this verse — יגלהם, הגלעד, הגלילה, יגלהם. Each of the main elements in the verse is involved in the wordplay. The king of Assyria (תגלת פלאסר) (תגלת פלאסר) deports (יגלהם) Gilead (הגלעד) and Gilgal (הגלילה) among other to Assyria.

G) Amos 5:27 <sup>3</sup> לְדַמְשֶׁק מֵהַלְאָה לְדַמְשֶׁק  
 “I<sub>1</sub> [Null] will deport you<sub>2</sub> beyond Damascus<sub>3</sub>.”<sup>64</sup>

H) Esth 2:6 <sup>1</sup> מִלְּךָ בָּבֶל <sup>2</sup> אֲשֶׁר הִגְלָה נְבוּכַדְנֶצַּר  
 “Whom [“Jeconiah” implied from previous clause]<sub>2</sub> Nebuchadnezzar<sub>1</sub>,  
 king of Babylon, deported “*from Jerusalem*”<sub>3</sub> [implied from the first  
 clause of the verse].”<sup>65</sup>

I) Ezra 2:1 <sup>1</sup> אֲשֶׁר <sup>2</sup> הִגְלָה נְבוּכַדְנֶצַּר <sup>3</sup> לְבָבֶל  
 “Whom<sub>2</sub> Nebuchadnezzar<sub>1</sub>, king of Babylon, deported to Babylon<sub>3</sub>.”

J) 2 Chron 36:20 <sup>1</sup> וַיִּגְלוּ <sup>2</sup> הַשְּׂאֲרִית מִן־הַחֶרֶב <sup>3</sup> אֶל־בָּבֶל  
 “He<sub>1</sub> [Null] deported the ones who escaped the sword<sub>2</sub> to Babylon<sub>3</sub>.”

The complement pattern associated with the Hifil of גלה is a PP complement, usually a מן-PP, like the Qal of גלה “to go into exile, deport.” The subject, usually a king, is removing a people group. Depending on the orientation of the passage, the movement of the people group is from its place of origin (e.g. “from Jerusalem”) or in terms of the place of relocation (e.g. “to Assyria”). The Hifil of גלה deals exclusively with deportation and never means “to uncover.” The meaning “to go into exile, deport” appears the most in this *binyan* (thirty-nine times).

64. The phrase מֵהַלְאָה לְדַמְשֶׁק in Amos 5:27 is a מן-PP and not two different PPs (i.e. מן-PP and ל-PP); compare Gen 35:21 and Jer 22:19. In each case מֵהַלְאָה appears with a geographical point. In Gen 35:21, Jacob pitches his tent לְמַגְדֵּל־עֵדֶר מֵהַלְאָה instead of being buried. See Paul, *Amos*, 198. Paul suggests that the allusion does not refer to Assyria but is an ironic allusion to current events. In 2 Kgs 14:28, Israel defeated and occupied Damascus. Amos prophecies that they will go farther...but they will go into exile.

Compare CD 7:13-15 which is quoting Amos 5:27 —  
 וְכָל הַנְּסוּגִים הוֹסְגָרוּ לְחָרֵב וְהַמְחֻזְקִים נִמְלְטוּ לְאֶרֶץ צָפוֹן [ ] כְּאִשֶׁר אָמַר הַגִּלְיָתִי אֶת סִכּוֹת מַלְכְּכֶם וְאֵת כִּיּוֹן צַלְמֵיכֶם מֵאֵהֱלִי דַמְשֶׁק.

Westermann and Albertz (*TLOT* 1:319) state that this is the only time in the Scrolls in which גלה meaning “to go into exile” appears. I leave this statement for another to prove or with which to disagree.

65. I include the entirety of Esth 2:5-6 for reference —  
 אִישׁ יְהוּדִי הָיָה בְּשׁוֹשׁוֹן הַבִּירָה וְשֵׁמוֹ מְרֹדֶכִי בֶן יָאִיר בֶּן־שִׁמְעִי בֶן־קִישׁ אִישׁ יְמִינִי: אֲשֶׁר הִגְלָה מִירוּשָׁלַיִם עִם־הַגְּלָה אֲשֶׁר הִגְלָתָה עִם יְכָנְיָה מִלְּךָ־יְהוּדָה אֲשֶׁר הִגְלָה נְבוּכַדְנֶצַּר מִלְּךָ בָּבֶל:

### גלה in the Hofal

The Hofal of גלה is the passive form of the Hifil. It appears seven times in the Hebrew Bible. It is chiefly bivalent but monovalent in a few places. יהודה is the subject in half of the uses of גלה “to go into exile, deport” in the Hofal. In the Hofal, as in the Hifil and Qal of גלה “to go into exile, deport,” a PP complement pattern is dominant.

A) Jer 13:19 הַגִּלְתָּ יְהוּדָה<sub>1</sub> כְּלָהּ<sub>1</sub> הַגִּלְתָּ שְׁלוֹמֶיהָ<sub>1</sub>  
 “Judah<sub>1</sub> is deported. All of it<sub>1</sub> is completely deported.”

B) Jer 40:7 מֵאֲשֶׁר<sub>1</sub> לֹא־הִגְלוּ בְּבָלָהּ<sub>2</sub>  
 “...those<sub>1</sub> whom had not been deported to Babylon<sub>2</sub>.”

C) Esth 2:6 אֲשֶׁר<sub>1</sub> הִגְלָה מִירוּשָׁלַיִם<sub>2</sub> עִם־הַגְּלוּיָהּ<sub>1</sub> אֲשֶׁר הִגְלָתָהּ עִם יְכֹנְיָהוּ<sub>2</sub> מֶלֶךְ־יְהוּדָה  
 “...who<sub>1</sub> was deported from Jerusalem<sub>2</sub> with the exiles<sub>3/1</sub> who were deported with Yekonyah<sub>2</sub>, king of Judah...”

D) Jer 40:1 וַיְהוּדָה<sub>1</sub> הַמְּגִלִים בְּבָלָהּ<sub>2</sub>  
 “Judah<sub>1</sub> was deported to Babylon<sub>2</sub>.”

E) 1 Chron 9:1 וַיְהוּדָה<sub>1</sub> הִגְלוּ לְבָבֶל<sub>2</sub> בְּמַעֲלָם<sub>2</sub>  
 “Judah<sub>1</sub> was deported to Babylon<sub>2</sub> on account of their unfaithfulness.”

The dominant pattern of complementation associated with the Hofal, as with the Hifil, is a PP complement — הַ -PP appears twice in Jer 40:1, 7; מִן-PP in Esth 2:6; אֵם-PP in Esth 2:6 and אֶל-PP in 1 Chron 9:1. Is אֵם-PP implied in Jer 13:19 — perhaps מִירוּשָׁלַיִם, מֵאֲרָץ, etc?

### Summary of גלה in *Binyanim*

The different distribution of גלה in the *binyanim* and its different complement patterns suggest that גלה represents two homographic roots. Though attested in the Qal in each root, the roots then diverge and distinguish themselves, so to speak, in the *binyanim*

in which they appear. גלה I “to uncover, reveal, remove” surfaces in the Qal, Nifal,<sup>66</sup> Piel, Pual, and Hitpael. It occurs most often in the Piel (fifty-six times), Nifal (thirty-two times), and Qal (twenty-one times). גלה II “to go into exile, deport” materializes only in the Qal, Hifil, and Hofal. It appears most often in the Hifil (thirty-nine times) and Qal (twenty-eight times). Thus, the Piel of גלה I and the Hifil of גלה II are the best attested *binyanim* in the Hebrew Bible of each root.<sup>67</sup> An ancient Hebrew speaker might employ the various *binyanim* as a device to separate homographs. Thus, גלה I and II are partially distinguishable because each manifests in different *binyanim*.

Each root of גלה customarily associates with a different complement pattern. גלה I takes a NP (including עין און, עין און, and ערוה among others) which is usually marked by את. The preference for a NP complement in גלה I contrasts with גלה II which takes a PP complement. The PP complement usually denotes movement from or toward a given geographical point. Most commonly, it is a גן-PP complement associated with גלה II.

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66. See Fohrer, *Hebrew and Aramaic Dictionary of the Old Testament*, 49. Fohrer delineates the meanings of גלה according to the *binyanim* in which it occurs. It seems that Fohrer takes Isa 38:12 to be representative of גלה II because he includes “to be taken into exile” as a gloss of the Nifal.

67. How are the Piel of גלה I and Hifil of גלה II related? Does the Piel of גלה I express an intensification of the Qal as has been traditionally thought (Cowley, *Gesenius' Hebrew Grammar*, §52; Weingreen, *A Practical Grammar for Classical Hebrew*, 99-100, 105-7)? Or is the Piel of גלה I factitive? Thus, the Piel describes the state or condition that results from the action of uncovering (i.e. nakedness, in various forms, is most often the result or state created by the action of גלה I in the Piel). This use of the Piel is resultative and is different from the Hifil causative of גלה II. In the Hifil of גלה II the subject is causing an action while the Piel factitive describes the state or condition that results from the action of גלה I. Thus, the result of a man uncovering his aunt is exposing the nakedness of his uncle — the Piel of גלה I in Lev 20:20. 2 Kings 15:29 uses the Hifil of גלה II to describe Tiglath-pileser III deporting Israel to Assyria.

It is difficult (impossible?) to understand all of the nuances of the Piel stem; see Bill T. Arnold and John H. Choi, *A Guide to Biblical Hebrew Syntax* (Cambridge/New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 41-45, and for a discussion comparing the Piel and Hifil, see pages 48-52; also Ronald J. Williams, *Williams' Hebrew Syntax*, 3rd ed., revised and expanded by John C. Beckman (Toronto/Buffalo/London: University of Toronto Press, 2007), 58-61; BHRG§16.4.2; Joüon-Muraoka, *A Grammar of Biblical Hebrew*, §52d; Andrew E. Steinmann, *Intermediate Biblical Hebrew: A Reference Grammar with Charts and Exercises* (St. Louis: Concordia, 2009), §37 and 41; Ernest Jenni, *Das hebräische pi'el: Syntaktisch-semasiologische Untersuchung einer Verbalform im Alten Testament* (Zurich: EVZ, 1968); John Charles Beckman, “Toward the Meaning of the Biblical Hebrew Piel Stem” (PhD diss., Harvard University, 2015).

Thus, each meaning displays separate complement patterns which illustrates that גלה represents two roots.

### **The Inter-Relationship of גלה in the *Binyanim***

The Qal of גלה I seems to be the verbal form upon which the other *binyanim* of this root are built. The Nifal is the passive or reflexive of the Qal.<sup>68</sup> The Piel is similar in meaning to the Qal, perhaps getting more specific, or better, changing which body part is uncovered. In the Qal the subject uncovers the auditory or visual organs, while in the Piel it is normally the sexual organs. The Pual seems to be the passive of the Piel, while the Hitpael is a reflexive of the Piel, or possibly the Qal<sup>69</sup>.

Is the Hifil of גלה II the basic stem from which the Qal is formed? Or is the Hifil dependent upon the Qal of this root?<sup>70</sup> Price believes the Qal of גלה II comes first since it appears in an earlier text in the Hebrew Bible than the Hifil. According to Price, 2 Sam 15:19<sup>71</sup> is the earliest appearance of the Qal of גלה II, while Amos 1:6<sup>72</sup> is the earliest occurrence of the Hifil, which is possibly two centuries later than 2 Sam 15.<sup>73</sup> Price

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68. For the possibility that the Nifal as the passive of the Piel see, Zobel, *TDOT* 2:479.

69. The morphological connection between the Piel and Hitpael is well known. See Cowley, *Gesenius' Hebrew Grammar*, §54a, e; Arnold and Choi, *A Guide to Biblical Hebrew Syntax*, 47-8; Joüon-Muraoka, *A Grammar of Biblical Hebrew*, §53a, i; Williams, *Williams' Hebrew Syntax*, 63-4; Steinmann, *Intermediate Biblical Hebrew*, §40, 42; Chomsky, *David Kimhi's Hebrew Grammar*, §27a; WO §26.1.1a. In cases where there is no Piel counterpart to the Hitpael, then it is associated with the Qal or Hifil (WO §26.1.1d).

The two examples of גלה in the Hitpael do not provide much guidance in discovering whether the Hitpael is the reflexive of the Piel or the Qal. Genesis 9:21 where Noah uncovers himself and his son Ham sees (ראה) his ערוה (Gen 9:22) is very similar to the dominant Piel usage of גלה (see Lev 20:17). Yet, Prov 18:2 describes uncovering a sensory organ as is the typical usage of גלה in the Qal. The Hitpael of גלה could be either the reflexive of the Piel or Qal.

70. See the discussion of this issue in Price, "A Lexicographical Study," 49-54.

71. Price, "A Lexicographical Study," 49-50.

72. Price, "A Lexicographical Study," 50-51.

73. Price, "A Lexicographical Study," 50.



assumes that the Qal of גלה II originally meant “to depart” (referring to 1 Sam 4:21-22, which explains why this use of the Qal of גלה II Price ignores for 2 Sam 15:19 when he is discussing the earliest text that uses גלה II in the Qal in Samuel), but then came to mean “to go into exile” at a later stage. At the time of massive Assyrian expansion in the 8th century BCE, the Qal (Amos 1:5; 5:5; 6:7<sup>74</sup>; 7:11, 17) and Hifil (Amos 1:6; 5:27) describe the deportation of whole people groups.<sup>75</sup> Though the issue of whether the Qal or Hifil of גלה II is first is important for Price, it is not significant for my purposes.

Price sees no notable difference in the meaning of גלה II whether in the Qal or Hifil. He says that Ezek 39:23 (Qal) and 39:28 (Hifil) use גלה II in different *binyan* in the same context with no significant difference.<sup>76</sup> He describes the Qal as the “simple” form of גלה II and the Hifil as the “causative.” However, he believes that there is a possible diachronic aspect in that Chronicles uses only the Hifil form, which he takes to mean that the Qal was earlier but fell out of use in LBH.<sup>77</sup> However, Price acknowledges that גלה II “reappears” in the Qal and Hifil in Mishnaic Hebrew.<sup>78</sup>

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74. The description in Amos 6:7 of Israel taken at the front of the line of exiles is playing on ראש in its context. The previous verse (6:6) mentions that Israel is so wealthy that their inhabitants can anoint their heads with oil. Now, Amos states that those oiled heads will be the guiding light for this procession into exile. This is a surprising turn of events because Israel is apparently the source of trust for the key dignitaries of the nations (נְקֻבֵי רֹאשֵׁי הַגּוֹיִם in 6:1). Now, Israel’s position of luxury and power has been turned on its head. Israel instead of being the gathering place of the ראשית הגוים will be בראש גלים.

75. Price, “A Lexicographical Study,” 52.

76. Price, “A Lexicographical Study,” 52.

77. Price, “A Lexicographical Study,” 52, 303-4.

78. Price, “A Lexicographical Study,” 52. See Marcus Jastrow, *A Dictionary of the Targumim, the Talmud Babli and Yerushalmi, and the Midrashic Literature: With An Index of Scriptural Quotations*, 2 Vols (New York: Judaica Press, 1985), 1:247-8. Jastrow states that גלה/גלי appears in the Qal and Hifil with the meanings “to be uncovered” and “to go into exile.” It appears in the Nifal, Piel and Nitpael meaning “to uncover.” A similar lexeme (גלא/גלי) also means “to uncover.” It remains for another to investigate whether גלה II is “reappearing,” to use Price’s words, or whether the contexts that use גלה II in Mishnaic Hebrew are simply alluding and commenting on the texts of the Hebrew Bible.

Did גלה II originally mean “to depart” and then “to go into exile?” Is the Qal earlier than the Hifil of גלה II? Are there no distinctions between the meanings of גלה II in the Qal or Hifil that would cause an author to choose one over the other? Clearly, גלה II is a verb of movement. I agree with the basic tenor of Price’s argument, though I am unconvinced that “to depart” was the earliest meaning of גלה II (he also mentions Isa 24:11<sup>79</sup>; Prov 27:25<sup>80</sup> as places where גלה II means “to depart”).<sup>81</sup> I see no evidence of an evolution of meaning in regard to גלה II, at least as seen in the Hebrew of the Hebrew Bible.

Price’s historical reconstruction of the Qal and Hifil of גלה II is inconclusive, because dating the texts is too difficult. For example, when is Samuel written? It is difficult to fix a firm time. In Price’s favor, he employs usage in the Hebrew Bible, especially Samuel and Amos, accompanied by historical considerations, especially the

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79. Price, “A Lexicographical Study,” 31.

80. Price, “A Lexicographical Study,” 32.

81. Price depends upon the Ugaritic *gly* for the meaning “to depart.” He assumes that the use of גלה II in these three passages is in line with Ugaritic usage, where it is also a verb of motion. See Price, “A Lexicographical Study,” 21-23. The precise meaning of this Ugaritic verb is under debate with some saying that it means “to enter” and others “to depart.” Yet, it seems clear that the verb is a neutral (i.e. not negative or positive) term for movement, thus not referring to movement into exile.

Israel’s understanding of exile, or any ancient Near Eastern culture for that matter, does not depend upon the Assyrian aggression of the 8th century BCE. Exile had long been a reality in the ancient world. Therefore, it is possible that 1 Sam 4:21-22 can use גלה to describe exile, even before Assyria. It seems fairly certain that the other texts that Price mentions (Isa 24:11; Prov 27:25) are likely written at the time of Assyrian expansion or later.

Compare the words of Mesha in KAI 181:13-14. This inscription is from the 9th century BCE — “...I resettled the people of Šrn and Mhrt in it [Aṭaroth].” For a description of the inscription, see John C. L. Gibson, *Textbook of Syrian Semitic Inscriptions Vol. 1: Hebrew and Moabite Inscription* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971), 71-83. Also see, Bob Becking, “Exile and Forced Labour in Bêt Har’oš: Remarks on a Recently Discovered Moabite Inscription,” in *Homeland and Exile: Biblical and Ancient Near Eastern Studies in Honour of Bustenay Oded*, VT Supplement 130, Ed. Markham J. Geller, A. R. Millard, Bustenay Oded and Gershon Galil (Leiden: Brill, 2009), 3-12. According to Becking the Moabite inscription comes from the 8th century BCE before the Assyrian juggernaut (6). The Moabites took Ammonite captives for their building projects. For a description of the Assyrian deportations, see Bustenay Oded, *Mass Deportations and Deportees in the Neo-Assyrian Empire* (Wiesbaden: Reichert, 1979).

cognate verbs in Ugaritic, Phoenician and Akkadian. I leave this issue to the side since my point does not depend upon whether the Qal or the Hifil of גלה II is earlier.

However, I do see a difference in the meaning of the Qal and Hifil of גלה II. In the Qal the subject is often passively being taken into captivity while in the Hifil the subject is causing the captivity.<sup>82</sup> Thus, instead of the “simple” and “causative” distinction, which Price mentions, it seems that the subject of the Qal, usually a nation, is passively forced into exile while the Hifil describes the subject, usually a king, causing the deportation, with the Hofal unsurprisingly being the “passive of the causative.” In other words, the subject of the Qal becomes the object of the Hifil.

Also, the gloss that Price attributes to the Hifil of גלה II — “X (usually a king) carried into exile (hifil verb) Y (usually a people)”<sup>83</sup> — is not extensive enough. As I proposed above, the Hifil of גלה II is trivalent with the gloss “King<sub>1</sub> deports a Nation/ Person<sub>2</sub> from/to a Place<sub>3</sub>.” The subject is causing the action. There is a PP complement that is part of the valency of the verb which shows either where the exiled nation is headed or from where they are beginning their descent into exile. The gloss I suggested for the typically bivalent Qal of גלה II is “Nation<sub>1</sub> goes into exile from/to a Place<sub>2</sub>.”

Ezekiel 39:23 and 28, a passage to which Price appeals in order to illustrate that there is no difference in meaning between the Qal and Hifil of גלה II, actually demonstrates the opposite.<sup>84</sup>

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82. See Westermann and Albertz, *TLOT* 1:315. They state that the Hofal, which is passive, is similar in meaning to the Qal of גלה “to go into exile.”

83. Price, “A Lexicographical Study,” 53-4.

84. Price, “A Lexicographical Study,” 52.

Ezek 39:23 וַיִּדְעוּ הַגּוֹיִם כִּי בְעוֹנָם גָּלוּ בֵּית־יִשְׂרָאֵל<sup>1</sup> עַל אֲשֶׁר מְעַלּוּ-בִי וְאָסַתְר פָּנַי מֵהֶם  
 “The nations will know that on account of their iniquity, the house of Israel<sup>1</sup> was expelled/deported [implied - *from their land* or *to Babylon?*], because they were unfaithful to me, so I hide my face from them...”

Ezek 39:28 וַיִּדְעוּ כִּי אֲנִי יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵיהֶם בְּהַגְלוֹתִי אֹתָם<sup>2</sup> אַל־הַגּוֹיִם<sup>3</sup> וְכַנְסֵתִים עַל־אֲדָמָתָם  
 וְלֹא־אֹתִיר עוֹד מֵהֶם שָׁם:  
 “They will know (הַגּוֹיִם is again the subject from verse 27) that I<sup>1</sup> am YHWH their God, when I deported them<sup>2</sup> among the nations<sup>3</sup>, now I will gather them to their land, no one of them will remain there (among the nations).”

The structural similarity of these verses highlights the difference in meaning. The Hifil is the causative of the Qal of גלה II. Thus, when the exiled nation is the subject, the Qal is used; but when the king or military commander is the subject, whether human or divine, the Hifil is used.

### **Importance of גלה's Valency in the *Binyanim***

This discussion is not the final word on גלה's valency. Is גלה I in the Qal bivalent or trivalent? I am not certain nor is my point dependent upon answering this question. The focal point is to illustrate that גלה's different meanings appear in different *binyanim* and with different complement patterns. What is the importance of these observations? Different syntactical complementation patterns associated with each use of גלה strategically distinguish the homonyms of גלה. Thus, the usage of the two גלהs in different *binyanim* (except the Qal) distinguish the roots. This evidence joins the generally different complement patterns of each root (NP complement with גלה I and PP complement with גלה II).

Examining a few other Hebrew homographs illustrate the significance of the distribution of גלה's different meanings in different *binyanim* with a different complement

pattern. גאל represents at least two roots — I “to redeem” and II “to defile.”<sup>85</sup> It is interesting that גאל I “to redeem” appears in the Qal and Nifal usually with a NP complement, while גאל II “to defile” surfaces in the Nifal, Piel, Pual, Hifil and Hitpael with a predominantly PP complementation pattern.

Similarly, צפה represents at least two roots — I “to watch” and II “to overlay, cover.”<sup>86</sup> צפה I “to watch” appears in the Qal and Piel usually with a PP complement (ל, אל, ב) while צפה II “to overlay” appears once in the Qal (Isa 21:5) and then extensively in the Piel and twice in the Pual (Exod 26:32; Prov 26:23). The Piel of צפה II, which is attested 44 times in the Hebrew Bible, almost always has a תא-marked NP introducing a metal (usually זהב but also נחשה).

Likewise, לוו represents at least two roots — I “to join, accompany” and II “to borrow, lend.”<sup>87</sup> לוו I “to accompany” appears in the Qal and Nifal with a PP (עם, על, אל) complement, while לוו II “to borrow, lend” appears in the Qal and Hifil normally accompanied by a NP complement pattern. The appearance of לחם I “to fight,” chiefly in the Nifal with a PP complement might distinguish it from לחם II “to eat” only attested in the Qal usually with a NP complement.<sup>88</sup>

Syntactic patterns employed alongside the verb distinguish homonyms. One way a native speaker of ancient Hebrew might distinguish between homographs was by using

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85. See *HALOT Student Edition* 169; *CDCH* 59.

86. See *HALOT Student Edition* 1044-5; *CDCH* 383.

87. See *HALOT Student Edition* 522; *CDCH* 192. Also see Barr, *Comparative Philology and the Text of the Old Testament*, 132-3. Barr illustrates that homonyms often appear in different *binyan*. He uses the homonym לוו as I do above, along with a few other homonyms which I did not mention (זמר, ברא, ענה, חלל, חלה, ערב).

88. See *HALOT Student Edition* 526; *CDCH* 193.

the different lexemes in different *binyanim* and also applying different complement patterns to each one.

### Conclusion

In this chapter, I have introduced verbal valency and discussed the various complement patterns (e.g. NP, PP, InfP, etc.) associated with a verb. Valency's attention to the different complement patterns aids in distinguishing the homographs represented by גלה. The complement patterns inseparably linked to each root illustrate that there are two roots spelled ג-ל-ה. Some body part, for example עין or און, or a word such as ערוה, complements גלה I. On the other hand, גלה II takes a PP complement usually with the preposition מן, but also ה, or ל. In this use of גלה a king deports a people group, nation or individual from their territory to another place.

The specificity that valency supplies makes it easier to discern the different accompanying patterns with each homonym represented by גלה. It is not my goal to decide the exact valency of גלה in each *binyan* but simply to highlight the complementation patterns that correspond to each verbal root spelled ג-ל-ה.

Syntax furnishes a way to test the semantic differences in the ancient Hebrew lexemes גלה in order to confirm that the differences are not a modern creation. If the differences in the semantic domains connected to גלה are not real than the complementation pattern for גלה whether meaning "to uncover" or "to go into exile" might remain the same. Semantics alerts us to the possibility of a homographic root, but we need extra information to come to a firm decision about these roots. Syntax makes such analysis firmer by revealing additional information to what semantics provides. The

complementation patterns of גלה are different for each root and thus allow for more secure scrutiny of the homographic nature of גלה.

גלה's separation in the *binyanim*, except for the Qal, is a way for ancient speakers of Hebrew to differentiate between the two roots of גלה. The careful distribution of each meaning of גלה in separate *binyan* and the distinct complement patterns associated with each meaning is a way for native speakers of Hebrew to noticeably mark the different roots and be precise about which of the homographs of גלה they are using when speaking. The evidence indicates גלה represents two roots in ancient Hebrew in the minds of its speakers.

## CHAPTER 3

### גלה IN THE SEMITIC LANGUAGES

Chapters 1 and 2 argue that גלה in the Hebrew Bible represents two roots. One of the roots, גלה I, means “to uncover, reveal, open.” It describes the uncovering of a body part, usually עין גלה, אזן, and ערוה. The second root, גלה II, means “to go into exile.” A king deports a nation, people group, or individual from their land to another place. Semantics and syntax together illustrate that גלה is two roots. The different meanings of גלה appear in different *binyanim*, and different complement patterns accompany each meaning.

In addition to the evidence of גלה’s two-root status in the Hebrew of the Hebrew Bible, is there also substantiation from other Semitic languages that גלה is two roots? A cognate of גלה appears in several of the Semitic languages, including Ugaritic,



Phoenician, Akkadian,<sup>1</sup> Aramaic, Syriac,<sup>2</sup> Ethiopic,<sup>3</sup> Arabic,<sup>4</sup> Mandæan,<sup>5</sup> and Tigre.<sup>6</sup> The root *glh* or its equivalent in Aramaic, Syriac, Ethiopic, Arabic and Mandæan means “to uncover, reveal, open” and “to emigrate, exile,” similar to the meanings of גלה in the Hebrew Bible.<sup>7</sup>

The earlier attestations of *glh* in the cognate Semitic languages appear to have a meaning for *glh* of either sight or movement but not both. Thus, the Ugaritic root *gly*<sup>8</sup> is a

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1. *BDB* (162-3) does not mention Ugaritic, Phoenician and Akkadian parallels to the Hebrew גלה. The discovery of the evidence for גלה in these languages occurs after *BDB*.

2. See J. Payne Smith, ed., *A Compendious Syriac Dictionary* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1903), 69; Michael Sokoloff, *A Syriac Lexicon: A Translation from the Latin, Correction, Expansion, and Update of C. Brockelmann's Lexicon Syriacum* (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns and Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias, 2009), 235; Gosling, “An Open Question Relating to the Hebrew Root *glh*,” 127-8; Price, “A Lexicographical Study,” 35.

3. See Wolf Leslau, *Concise Dictionary of Ge'ez (Classical Ethiopic)* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2010), 202; Dillmann, *Lexico Linguae Aethiopicæ*, 1140-1; *BDB*, 162; Gosling, “An Open Question Relating to the Hebrew Root *glh*,” 126-7; Price, “A Lexicographical Study,” 33-34. This Ethiopic verb form appears only once (Amos 5:5) to translate גלה II in the Ethiopic translation of the Hebrew Bible.

4. See Edward William Lane, *Arabic-English Lexicon* (New York: Frederick Ungar, 1955), 2:446-8; *BDB*, 162; Gosling, “An Open Question Relating to the Hebrew Root *glh*,” 125-6; Price, “A Lexicographical Study,” 34-5. This word appears in the Quran (7:139; 91:3; 92:12) meaning “to disclose, reveal.”

5. *HALOT* Student Edition 1:191; Howard, *NIDOTTE* 1:861; and Zobel, *TDOT* 2:476.

6. Wolf Leslau, “Southeast Semitic Cognates to the Akkadian Vocabulary II,” *JAOS* 84 (1964): 116.

7. It is well known that Clines does not use Semitic cognates in either *DCH* or *CDCH*. However, it is interesting that he appeals to Akkadian and Ugaritic to strengthen the possibility that גלה in ancient Hebrew represents two roots. See Clines, “Comparative Classical Hebrew Lexicography,” 7-8.

8. See Gregorio Del Olmo Lete and Joaquín Sanmartín, *A Dictionary of the Ugaritic Language in the Alphabetic Tradition: Part One: [(a/i/u)-k]*, English Version Ed. and Trans. by Wilfred G. E. Watson, 2nd Revised Ed. (Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2004), 299-300. For the Ugaritic texts see, Gibson, *Canaanite Myths and Legends*, 37, 52-53, 59, 100-1, 130. *Gly* appears several times with *bw'* in the phrase *tgly.žd.il.wtbu.qrš.mlk.ab.šnm* “she entered the mountains of El and came to the pavilion (see קרשׁ in Ex 26:15ff.) of the king, father of years.” The relationship of *gly* and *bw'* is hard to determine; see Gosling, “An Open Question Relating to the Hebrew Root *glh*,” 128-9; also see Price, “A Lexicographical Study,” 21-23. It is not important for my point whether they are parallel or contrastive in these texts. It is a “neutral” term for movement that does not refer to going into exile.

verb of movement, while the Phoenician root *gly*<sup>9</sup> means “to uncover, open, remove.” Also, the Akkadian *galû* means “to go into exile.”

Therefore, Price postulates that the meanings of גלה “to uncover, reveal, open” and “to go into exile” come from two proto-Semitic roots.<sup>10</sup> The proto-Semitic *glw* is a verb of sight represented by the Phoenician *gly* which is the basis for גלה I. The other root is the proto-Semitic *gly*. This is a verb of motion represented by the Ugaritic *gly*.<sup>11</sup> This proto-Semitic root is the basis for the Hebrew גלה II which perhaps was originally a “simple” motion verb but came to specifically refer to going into exile. The catalyst for the change in nuance is the Assyrian expansion in the 8th century BCE. The Hebrew גלה II and the Akkadian *galû* appear at the same time to describe this phenomenon.<sup>12</sup> Whether Akkadian influenced Hebrew or vice versa is unanswerable. However, logically we might suggest that the vocabulary of the dominant power in the ancient world would influence the language choice of conquered nations, and thus Hebrew borrows גלה II from *galû*.<sup>13</sup> This hypothesis is possible but not certain.

In this chapter I will not be able to deal with each of the above Semitic languages which has a cognate to the Hebrew גלה. I restrict myself to the Akkadian and Aramaic

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9. *KAI* 1.2 and 10.14. Also see, Gibson, *Textbook of Syrian Semitic Inscriptions* Vol III: *Phoenician Inscriptions*, 12-16 and 93-99; Price, “A Lexicographical Study,” 24-26.

10. Price, “A Lexicographical Study,” 35.

11. Price, “A Lexicographical Study,” 35. There is debate regarding whether the Ugaritic *gly* describes movement toward or away from the speaker. Price suggests that the proto-Semitic *gly* might have a “bipolar meaning” that survived in some languages as “to enter” and in other as “to depart” (23).

12. See Gosling, “An Open Question Relating to the Hebrew Root *glh*,” 128. Gosling says that the time period of the use of *glh* in each language with which he deals is as follows — Ugaritic (1300-1200 BCE), Hebrew (1200-200 BCE), Aramaic (900-200 BCE), Syriac (200-1200 CE), classical Arabic (400 BCE-400 CE), Ethiopic (300 CE-Modern times).

13. Price, “A Lexicographical Study,” 33.

parallels for several reasons. First, I do not have access to resources for some of these languages (e.g. Mandæan and Tigre). Second, the use of *glh* in some of the languages are significantly separated by time and space from the ancient Hebrew גלה (e.g. Ethiopic and Arabic<sup>14</sup>). Third, Akkadian *galû* is perhaps the closest cognate of the Hebrew גלה II. Therefore, any discussion that includes גלה II and its Semitic cognates must use this Akkadian lexeme. Fourth, many believe the Akkadian *galû* is an Aramaic loanword.<sup>15</sup> Thus, a conversation about Akkadian *galû* will have to incorporate the Aramaic evidence and its relationship to Akkadian. Fifth, an ancient speaker of Hebrew as represented by the 8th century BCE prophets, for example, informally knew Akkadian and Aramaic. To be sure not every speaker of Hebrew was also conversant in Akkadian and/or Aramaic, as is apparent from the Rab-shakeh intentionally speaking in יהודית and not ארמית (see 2 Kgs 18:26, 28=Isa 36:11, 13). Yet the fact that Aramaic was the international court language

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14. According to Price (“A Lexicographical Study,” 34-5) “the earliest of the meaning ‘go into exile’ is the use of a form 4 verb in a text from Baghdad in 434 C.E.”

15. Most seem to attribute the concept of the Akkadian *galû* being an Aramaic loanword to von Soden, or at least cite him most when referring to this idea. See Wolfram von Soden, *Akkadisches Handwörterbuch* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1965), 1:275; W. von Soden, “Aramäische Wörter in neuassyrischen und neu- und spätbabylonischen Texten. Ein Vorbericht. I (*agâ-\*mūš*),” *Orientalia* 35 (1966): 8 note 21; W. von Soden “Aramäische Wörter in neuassyrischen und neu- und spätbabylonischen Texten. Ein Vorbericht. III,” *Orientalia* 46 (1977): 186 note 21. However, it appears that we should rightfully credit Saggs for this view; see H. W. F. Saggs, “The Nimrud Letters, 1952: Part 1,” *Iraq* 17 (1955): 21-56.

In his article, Saggs translates eleven letters from Nimrud. Most of the letters are datable to the end of the reign of Tiglath-Pileser III, 731 BCE. Twice in the fifth letter on pages 32-33, in lines 12 (*ša ga-la-ni*) and 24 (*i-ga-li-ú*), a verb from *galû* appears (also see SAA 19:087). In his commentary on page 34, Saggs states, “There appears to be no Akkadian verb *galû*, and the possibility cannot be ignored that the forms may be Aramaisms, to be related to גָּלַי ‘to go away.’” This is the first appearance of the G stem of *galû*, so Saggs and von Soden thought it was a loanword from Aramaic; see Price, “A Lexicographical Study,” 26-7. This idea persists whenever a discussion of either the Akkadian *galû* or the Hebrew גלה appears.

The statement by Saggs and von Soden that *galû* is a loan word from Aramaic is unsubstantiated, at least at present, by the Aramaic evidence as will be illustrated later; compare Price, “A Lexicographical Study,” 27. This is not to say that such evidence does not exist, simply that it has not been discovered and is not presently available. Presently, we must admit we do not know whether Akkadian borrowed *galû* from Aramaic. This is not significant to my point but I discuss it here because of its frequent appearance in the secondary literature dealing with גלה.

during the periods<sup>16</sup> of Mesopotamian domination makes it highly probable that some speakers of Hebrew would know Aramaic. Similarly, at least some ancient Israelites were generally knowledgeable of Akkadian as is evident by the way Isaiah subverts royal Neo-Assyrian “propaganda.”<sup>17</sup>

### **Akkadian *Galû***

The Akkadian *galû* appears in Neo-Assyrian, Neo-Babylonian, and Standard Babylonian.<sup>18</sup> Therefore, it appears in extant texts that deal with the expansion of the Assyrian and Babylonian empires. Though the policies of these Mesopotamian powers differed, both deported and relocated their opponents.<sup>19</sup> The appearance of the Akkadian *galû* in the 8th century BCE roughly corresponds to the appearance of the Hebrew גלה II in the Hebrew Bible.

*Galû* appears in the G and Š stems analogous to the Qal and Hifil in Hebrew. The *CAD* glosses *galû* in the G stem as “to go into exile” and in the Š stem “to deport,

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16. Schniedewind, *A Social History of Hebrew*, 79-80 and 83-88; John T. Willis, *Isaiah*, Living Word (Abilene, TX: ACU Press, 1984), 332; Donald J. Wiseman, *1 & 2 Kings*, Tyndale (Downers Grove, IL: Inter-Varsity, 1993), 277-8.

17. The bilingual Hebrew/Akkadian pun in Isa 10:8 is but one illustration of this. For more examples see, Peter Machinist, “Assyria and Its Image in the First Isaiah,” *JAOS* 103 (1983): 719-737. It is also possible that Israelites only knew catch phrases from Neo-Assyrian propaganda that they received through Aramaic, etc., not Akkadian. There is no way to be certain. See Schniedewind, *A Social History of Hebrew*, 120 and 133-5. Schniedewind says, “As a result, there is little evidence to suggest Judean scribes would have had a direct knowledge of Akkadian; there is, for example, little evidence of cuneiform found in excavations in Israel dating to the Neo-Assyrian period” (120).

18. *CAD* 17.3:201; Jeremy Black, A. George, and N. Postgate, *A Concise Dictionary of Akkadian*, SANTAG 5 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1999), 88, 275; von Soden, *Akkadisches Handwörterbuch*, 1:275. von Soden labels *galû* “to go into exile” as *galû* II.

19. For the Assyrian terminology of deportation, see Bustaney Oded, *Mass Deportations and Deportees in the Neo-Assyrian Empire*, 5. Oded lists 18 terms including *galû* and its derivatives (*galûtu*, *šaglû*, *šaglûtu*).

For the relationship of *galû/šuglû* to *nasāhu* (Hebrew נסח) especially in Neo-Assyrian letters, see Held, “On Terms for Deportation in the OB Royal Inscriptions with Special Reference to Yaḥdunlim,” 56 footnote 29.

exile,”<sup>20</sup> which align with the meanings of גלה II in the Qal and Hifil. There are morphological (i.e. *galû* and גלה II) and semantic (i.e. deportation) connections between the Akkadian *galû* and the Hebrew גלה II and possibly etymological ones.<sup>21</sup> The nouns that derive from *galû* are similar to the nouns that derive from the Hebrew of גלה II — *šaglû* “deportee” and גֹּלֵה, *galītu* “exile, deportation” and גְּלוּת.<sup>22</sup>

The Š stem occurs more frequently than the G stem in Akkadian, just as the Hifil occurs more than the Qal of גלה II in Hebrew. The causative describes a king, for example Sennacherib or Esarhaddon, deporting an individual, people group, or nation. The G stem describes an individual, people group, or nation going into exile. Thus, the usage of the G and Š stems and their distribution closely relates to the Hebrew usage as evidenced in the Hebrew Bible.

There are a few appearances of *galû* in inscriptions and letters. Several of the occurrences of *galû* are on tablets that are broken to such an extent that not much outside of the word itself is discernible.<sup>23</sup> However, there are still several extant texts that use the lexeme. For instance in a letter from Amêl-Bêl to Sargon, the servant of the king reports

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20. *CAD* 17.3:201.

21. See Hayim ben Yosef Tawil, *An Akkadian Lexical Companion for Biblical Hebrew: Etymological-Semantic and Idiomatic Equivalents with Supplement on Biblical Aramaic* (Jersey City, NJ: Ktav Publishing House, 2009), 66.

22. ben Yosef Tawil, *An Akkadian Lexical Companion for Biblical Hebrew: Etymological-Semantic and Idiomatic Equivalents with Supplement on Biblical Aramaic*, 66.

גֹּלֵה appears in 2 Kgs 24:15-16; Jer 28:6; 29:1, 4, 16, 20, 31; 46:19; 48:7, 11; 49:3; Ezek 1:1; 3:11, 15; 11:24-25; 12:3, 4, 7, 11; 25:3; Amos 1:15; Nah 3:10; Zech 6:10; 14:2; Esth 2:6; Ezra 1:11; 2:1; 4:1; 6:19-21; 8:35; 9:4; 10:6, 7, 8, 16.

גְּלוּת appears in 2 Kgs 25:27; Isa 20:4; 45:13; Jer 24:5; 28:4; 29:22; 40:1; 52:31; Ezek 1:2; 33:21; 40:1; Amos 1:6, 9; Obad 20.

23. For example, see *SAA* 1:234 obverse line 12 *ú-sa-ga-li-ia*; 1:256 obverse line 3 [*ú-šag*]-*la-na-a-ši*; 15:314 reverse line 3 [*ú*]-*sa-ga-li-u*; 17:135 reverse line 2 *ig-lu-ú*.

the desperate situation surrounding the city of Ki-bi-Bêl.<sup>24</sup> The reverse side line 16 is in a broken context but mentions either the possibility or the reality that this area faces going into exile because an invading king is expanding his power base (*[i]g-de-lu-û*).<sup>25</sup> Also, a document that appears to be a treaty of Aššur-nirari V with the king of Arpad (c.754-745 BCE) mentions how the king of Assyria will punish a rebellious vassal. He will deport them (reverse line 7 *[l]a ta-ga-lu-ni*).<sup>26</sup>

Most of the extant occurrences of *galû* are in the Š stem. The Babylonian Chronicle from Nabu-nasir (747-734 BCE) to Shamash-shuma-ukin (668-648 BCE) mentions Sennacherib deporting a king of Babylon.<sup>27</sup> This section of the Chronicles appears in three copies, the best being British Museum Tablet 92502, labeled by Grayson as A.<sup>28</sup> In column 2, line 28, Sennacherib deports Bel-ibni and his officers to Assyria.<sup>29</sup> The next lines state that Bel-ibni ruled over Babylon three years and Sennacherib replaced him with his son, Aššur-nādin-šumi.

Also, there is a broken letter, probably written to the king from an officer, describing the threat of *galû*, a situation that causes the people in his care or his area

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24. *ABL* 899=Kouyunjik 844. An English translation of the letter appears in Leroy Waterman, *Royal Correspondence of the Assyrian Empire* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1930-36), 2:126-7.

25. I am using the transliteration in *CAD* 17.3:201.

26. Alan R. Millard, "Fragments of Historical Texts from Nineveh: Middle Assyrian and Later Kings," *Iraq* 32 (1970): 174. This tablet is part of the known treaty between Aššur-nerari V with Mati'ilu king of Arpad, though a different scribe probably writes this tablet according to Millard. For the treaty between Aššur-nerari V and Mati'ilu, see *SA* 2:002, especially reverse column 4 line 33 where *[la] ta-ga-lu-ni* appears.

27. A. K. Grayson, *Assyrian and Babylonian Chronicles*, Reprint (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2000), 14.

28. Grayson, *Assyrian and Babylonian Chronicles*, 69.

29. Grayson, *Assyrian and Babylonian Chronicles*, 77. Grayson's translation is "He led away (*ul-te-eg-lu*) to Assyria Bel-ibni and his officers."

considerable terror.<sup>30</sup> A people group (*Pu-qu-da-a-a*, the Puqudians<sup>31</sup> from reverse line 4) fear the threat of going into exile (reverse line 8 and obverse line 3 ...*ú-sag-ga-lu-na-ši*...). The writer appears to petition to the king to act before these threats become a fact.

In another letter,<sup>32</sup> which also mentions the city of Puqudu (reverse line 10-11), Nabû-ušabši (obverse line 1-5), writes to king Aššur-banipal. Again fear is high and Nabû-ušabši urges the king to investigate the happenings in Puqudu (reverse line 10-11). He mentions several people in the letter. One, Bel-ibni, stayed with Nabû-ušabši for some period of time. It is hard to tell what this man's attitude toward the king is (reverse lines 12-16). He also informs the king about two other men, the brother of Šum-ukîn and Aḫê-ša-a (reverse line 17-29). At least one of these men hates Assyria because Esarhaddon deported him (...*ana [māt Aššur] kī ú-šag-lu-šu ana libbi [māt Aššur i]-ze-ri*).<sup>33</sup> Therefore, Nabû-ušabši watches and reports on his actions.

One broken letter<sup>34</sup> describes the fear of deportation that a person feels on account of being taken to Arihu. Another letter informs the king that the Elamites are deporting a city (Hagaranu?).<sup>35</sup> In yet another letter,<sup>36</sup> Qurdi-Aššur-lamur is writing on behalf of

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30. *SAA* 15:221=*ABL* 1434; Kouyunjik 1035. An English translation of the letter also appears in Waterman, *Royal Correspondence of the Assyrian Empire*, 2:500-1.

31. *CAD* 17.3:201.

32. *ABL* 752=Kouyunjik Collection Room 48. An English translation of the letter appears in Waterman, *Royal Correspondence of the Assyrian Empire*, 2:26-29.

33. I am using the transliteration in *CAD*, 17 (Part III):201.

34. *SAA* 01:261 obverse line 4 [*ú*]-*šag-la-na-ši*.

35. *SAA* 19:127 reverse lines 3-8, also obverse line 11. *Galú* appears several times in these lines — *ú-[sa]-ag-[li]* in reverse line 3; [*ú*]-*sag-[li]-šu-nu* in reverse line 7 and [*ig*]-*da-[al]-ú* in reverse line 8, [*šag*]-*lu-ú-ni* in obverse line 11.

36. *SAA* 19:023 obverse line 13 (*ú-sa-ag-li-ú-šú*).

Nabû-šezeib from Tyre about Hiram. Hiram cut down the sacred tree of the temple in Sidon in order to move it to Tyre. This action caused Nabû-šezeib to deport Hiram.

The texts described above are a few examples of the Akkadian *galû*.<sup>37</sup> The subject can be an individual, people group, or nation going into exile (G stem) or the subject can be a king who causes others to go into exile (Š stem of *galû*). The usage of Akkadian *galû* is comparable to the Hebrew הלל II in the Hebrew Bible.

Two things should be briefly noted about previous understandings of *galû*. First, *CAD* does not mention *galû* “to go into exile” in volume 5 which covers the letter “G.”<sup>38</sup> It does have an entry under *galû*, but the gloss is “a colored earth.” It instructs the reader to look up the word *kalû* for further information. The omission of *galû* “to go into exile” in volume 5 of *CAD* provokes much discussion in the secondary literature.<sup>39</sup> The Š stem, discovered first, occurs more often than the G stem, leading some Assyriologists to conclude that the root is *šgl* and not *galû*. Price thus suggests this as the reason *galû* “to go into exile” does not appear in volume 5 of *CAD*.<sup>40</sup> At the time Price wrote, the Š volume of *CAD* was not available.<sup>41</sup> Volume 17 part 3 of *CAD* clarifies the situation, because it not only includes a discussion of *šuglû* “to deport, exile” but also of *galû* “to

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37. Other examples of *galû* include *SAA* 1:190=*ABL* 131 (reverse line 6); *SAA* 1:194=*ABL* 1073 (obverse line 18); *SAA* 1:204=*ABL* 706 (reverse line 11); *SAA* 5:105=*ABL* 544 (obverse line 23); *SAA* 5:112 (reverse line 2); *SAA* 15:040=*ABL* 712 (obverse line 14, reverse line 2-7); *SAA* 15:169 (obverse line 10); *SAA* 17:135 (reverse line 2).

38. *CAD* 5:21.

39. See Held, “On Terms for Deportation in the OB Royal Inscriptions with Special Reference to Yahdunlim,” 56 footnote 29; ben Yosef Tawil, *An Akkadian Lexical Companion for Biblical Hebrew: Etymological-Semantic and Idiomatic Equivalents with Supplement on Biblical Aramaic*, 66; Clines, “Comparative Classical Hebrew Lexicography,” 8 footnote 26.

40. Price, “A Lexicographical Study,” 26-7.

41. Price, “A Lexicographical Study,” 26 footnote 19.



go into exile.”<sup>42</sup> Thus, the Akkadian root appears to be *galû*, not *šgl*. Second, most sources state that the Akkadian *galû* “to go into exile” is an Aramaic loanword.<sup>43</sup> However, this claim is hard to prove, as the next section illustrates.

### Aramaic *glh*

There are a few extant appearances of *glh* in Imperial Aramaic. The lexeme appears in the *Words of Ahiqar*.<sup>44</sup> Cowley says that the papyrus is from around 430 BCE with the original story in Aramaic dating to between 668 and 500 BCE.<sup>45</sup> The exact date is not necessary for my point, but this Aramaic document does come a little later than the evidence of the Akkadian *galû* and the Hebrew גלה that we have already examined. In column 9 line 141 of the *Words of Ahiqar* the lexeme *glh* is used:

[סתר]ִיד אל תגלי קדם [רה]מִיד [ו]אל יקל שמך קדמיהם<sup>46</sup>

Do not reveal your secrets before your friends, lest your reputation with them be ruined.<sup>47</sup>

42. CAD 17.3:201.

43. CAD 17.3:201; Oded, *Mass Deportations and Deportees in the Neo-Assyrian Empire*, 5 footnote 19; Held, “On Terms for Deportation in the OB Royal Inscriptions with Special Reference to Yaḥdunlim,” 56 footnote 29; ben Yosef Tawil, *An Akkadian Lexical Companion for Biblical Hebrew: Etymological-Semantic and Idiomatic Equivalents with Supplement on Biblical Aramaic*, 66. Held and ben Yosef Tawil say *galû* is “an obvious WSem. loanword.” On a side note, it appears that ben Yosef Tawil is quoting Held through his entire first paragraph on גלה. Also see HALOT, Student Edition, 191; Westermann and Albertz, TLOT 1:315; Zobel, TDOT 2:476; Ernest Klein, *A Comprehensive Etymological Dictionary of the Hebrew Language for Readers of English* (Jerusalem: The Beatrice and Arthur Minden Foundation and the University of Haifa, 1987), 99; Waltke, TWOT, 160.

44. A. Cowley, *Aramaic Papyri of the Fifth Century B.C.: Edited with Translation and Notes* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1923), 207.

45. Cowley, *Aramaic Papyri of the Fifth Century B.C.*, 207. For a similar conclusion, see James M. Lindenberger, *The Aramaic Proverbs of Ahiqar* (Baltimore/London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1983), 19-20, 280. Lindenberger dates the papyrus to the late fifth century BCE because of its paleography.

46. I am following Lindenberger, *The Aramaic Proverbs of Ahiqar*, 140. See also, TADAE 3:42-43; Cowley, *Aramaic Papyri of the Fifth Century B.C.*, 217. Cowley restores [רז]ִיד while TADAE suggests either [מסתר]ִיד or [הטא]ִיד. Lindenberger states that the lexeme סתר appears in the Ahiqar Proverbs (11.88, 175) meaning “secret,” while רז is a Persian loan word unattested in Imperial Aramaic. Thus, he believes that סתר is correct or possibly הטא, but רז is not a viable possibility.

47. The translation comes from James M. Lindenberger, *The Aramaic Proverbs of Ahiqar*, 140-1.

The use of *glh* here is comparable to גלה I in Hebrew<sup>48</sup> and in the Aramaic portions of the Hebrew Bible were YHWH גלה a mystery (רז in Dan 2, see below).

Another occurrence of *glh* in Aramaic appears in a letter. The letter dates to about 410 BCE according to Cowley<sup>49</sup> or 402 BCE according to Kraeling.<sup>50</sup> The 8th line of this letter reads:

הנלו גלין אנפין על ארשם לכן לא כזנה הו[העביד לו]<sup>51</sup>  
 "...Had we revealed our presence to Arsames formerly, this wou[ld] not [*have happened to us...*]"<sup>52</sup>

As in the previous example, this use of *glh* is similar to גלה I in Hebrew.

There does not seem to be any extant evidence for *glh* meaning "to go into exile" in these or similarly dated Imperial Aramaic sources. Waltke says, "It [i.e. the lexeme *glh*] occurs as a loan word with this meaning [i.e. "to go into exile"] in late Aramaic and Akkadian."<sup>53</sup> Waltke, at least, believes that Akkadian loans *galû* from somewhere but doubts that the word comes from Aramaic, since Aramaic seems to borrow *glh* itself.

Thus, while we see minor evidence from Imperial Aramaic that there is a lexeme *glh* that refers to uncovering mysteries (or sins) and people, there is no extant appearance in Imperial Aramaic of *glh* meaning "to go into exile." Thus, there is not enough evidence

48. See especially Prov 25:9-10 and also Prov 11:13; 20:19.

49. Cowley, *Aramaic Papyri of the Fifth Century B.C.*, 132.

50. Bezalel Porten with J. J. Farber, C. J. Martin, G. Vittmann et al., *The Elephantine Papyri in English: Three Millennia of Cross-Cultural Continuity and Change*, 2nd Revised ed., DMOA 22 (Atlanta: SBL Press, 2011), 128. Pages 128-30 deal with this letter.

51. *TADAE*, 1:56. See also Cowley, *Aramaic Papyri of the Fifth Century B.C.*, 133. Cowley has: הן לו גלין אנפין על ארשם לכן לא כזנה הו[ה]. He translates this line as "...if we had appeared before Arsames previously. But it was not so..."

52. The translation is from *TADAE*, 1:56.

53. Waltke, *TWOT* 1:160.

to think that the Akkadian *galû* is a loan word from Aramaic. If anything, it appears to be the other way around. Aramaic's use of *glh* meaning "to go into exile" is late and may be dependent upon Akkadian. What does *glh* mean in the Aramaic of the Hebrew Bible?

The Aramaic of the Hebrew Bible uses גלה (I?) to describe YHWH revealing a mystery (רז). The Aramaic lexeme גלה appears 7 times in Dan 2 (19, 22, 28, 29, 30, 47 [twice]) with רז<sup>54</sup> as a complement of גלה in 6 of its 7 occurrences (see 19, 28, 29, 30, 47 [twice], but not in 22).

Also, גלה (II?) appears twice in Ezra referring to going into exile. In Ezra 4:10 it mentions the feats of the great Osnappar (i.e. Aššurbanipal) who deported many nations and resettled them in Samaria. The returnees to Jerusalem recount their history in Ezra 5:12, namely that Nebuchadnezzar deported Judah to Babylon.

Thus the Aramaic lexeme גלה which appears in the Hebrew Bible in Daniel shows YHWH uncovering mysteries (רז), as probably is the case in Ahiqar though with the root סתר instead of רז, while in Ezra foreign kings deport individuals, people groups, and nations from their land and relocate them.<sup>55</sup> As with the Hebrew usage of גלה, there are different complements associated with each meaning of גלה in Aramaic. This perhaps suggests that there are two roots spelled ג-ל-ה in the Aramaic of the Hebrew Bible.

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54. This illustrates the lateness of the text, see footnote 217 above.

55. The dual meanings "to uncover, reveal" and "to go into exile" of *glh* appear also in Samaritan Aramaic, Jewish Palestinian Aramaic, and apparently in Egyptian Aramaic. For Samaritan Aramaic see, Tal Abraham, *A Dictionary of Samaritan Aramaic* (Leiden/Boston: Köln/Brill, 2000), 145-6. For Jewish Palestinian Aramaic see, Michael Sokoloff, *A Dictionary of Jewish Palestinian Aramaic of the Byzantine Period*, 2nd ed. (Baltimore/London/Ramat-Gan, Israel: The Johns Hopkins University Press/Bar Ilan University Press, 2002), 129-30. Also see Gosling, "An Open Question Relating to the Hebrew Root *glh*," 127-8. Gosling states that *glh* "to go into exile" appears only once in Jewish Aramaic in a text dated to the second century BCE (128). Finally, for Egyptian Aramaic see, Zobel, *TDOT* 2:476; Howard, *NIDOTTE* 1:861. Also see, *HALOT* Student Edition 1:191. *HALOT* refers to page 50 of Charles F. Jean and Jacob Hoftijzer's 1965 book *Dictionnaire des Inscriptions Sémitiques de l'ouest*. I have not been able to check this reference.

However, since the total appearance of גלה in the Aramaic portions of the Hebrew Bible is below ten we cannot be certain that this is the case.

Also, in the Aramaic of the Hebrew Bible, גלה appears in the Peal stem when it means “to reveal.” The Peal stem is equivalent to the Hebrew Qal. גלה appears in the Hafel, which is equivalent to the Hebrew Hifil, when meaning “to go into exile.”<sup>56</sup> Though the evidence is too sparse to support any firm conclusions, it is interesting that the different meanings of גלה in biblical Aramaic appear in different *binyanim* with different complement patterns. At the very least, the biblical Aramaic usage of גלה follows the pattern evidenced in the Hebrew of the Hebrew Bible regarding גלה, that is appearing in different *binyanim* and with different complement patterns for different meanings.

### Conclusion

There is evidence in the Semitic languages for a Semitic root *glh* meaning “to uncover, reveal, open,” perhaps from a proto-Semitic verb of sight. This is the basis of גלה I as it appears in the Hebrew of the Hebrew Bible. There is another root *glh*, perhaps from a proto-Semitic verb of movement, meaning “to go into exile.” This verb of movement surfaces in the Hebrew גלה II. This chapter focuses on the occurrences of the equivalent of *glh* in Akkadian and Aramaic. Presently, there is no proof that the Akkadian *galû* is an Aramaic loan word. The earliest evidence for *glh* meaning “to go into exile” comes from Hebrew and Akkadian.

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56. See *HALOT* Student Edition 2:1845; *BDB* 1086. Also see, Gosling, “An Open Question Relating to the Hebrew Root *glh*,” 128-9. Gosling asks, “Does this slender evidence suggest that the nuance of ‘deport, lead into exile’ was originally solely property of the causative conjugation (129)?” He does not answer this question in his article. I think the appearance of the different meanings of גלה in different *binyanim* follows the Hebrew usage in the Hebrew Bible as a way to differentiate between the two roots.

The Akkadian *galû* appears in the G and Š stem describing an individual, people group, or nation going into exile or a king deporting them. The Aramaic *glh* in Imperial Aramaic inscriptions and in the Aramaic of Daniel 2 means “to uncover, reveal.” When the Aramaic means “to uncover, reveal” it usually takes רז or possibly סתר as a complement. The Aramaic *glh* also means “to go into exile” in Ezra, where a king carries a people group or nation into exile. Thus, the usage of *glh* “to uncover, reveal” in Aramaic and *glh* “to go into exile” in Aramaic and Akkadian is similar to the homographic Hebrew roots of גלה.

The Aramaic *glh* of the Hebrew Bible follows the same pattern as the Hebrew גלה in the same corpus. Namely, the meanings of *glh* appear with different complement patterns and in different *binyanim* in the Aramaic portions of the Hebrew Bible. This illustrates that *glh* in the Aramaic of the Hebrew Bible acts similarly to the Hebrew גלה also within Hebrew Bible. This probably suggests that it represents two separate roots in biblical Aramaic as in Hebrew.

The Akkadian *galû* appears in the same stems as the Hebrew גלה, namely the G=Qal and the Š=Hifil. When the Aramaic *glh* “to go into exile” appears in the Hebrew Bible, it appears in the Hafel stem, which is the equivalent of the Akkadian Š and the Hebrew Hifil. There seems to be a strong connection between the Hebrew גלה II and the Aramaic *glh* “to go into exile,” as represented in the Hebrew Bible, and the Akkadian *galû*. This may suggest that Hebrew and Aramaic borrowed גלה II from Akkadian. However, this is unprovable and is not significant for my purposes. The main point is that in the Aramaic of the Hebrew Bible גלה acts similarly to גלה in the Hebrew portion,

namely as two homographic roots — גלה I “to uncover, reveal” and גלה II “to go into exile.” A parallel to the Hebrew גלה I appears in Imperial Aramaic inscriptions. Also, Akkadian provides a cognate for Hebrew גלה II.

We now have *שְׁלִיחַ עֲדָיִם*, to quote Deut 19:15, testifying to the two-root status of גלה — semantics, syntax and cognate Semitic languages. These establish that גלה in ancient Hebrew is two roots, but what difference does this make? The next chapter suggests a few ways in which a knowledge of גלה’s two-root status affects exegesis.

## CHAPTER 4

### גלה I AND II IN EXEGESIS

Previous attempts to discover whether גלה represents one or two roots in ancient Hebrew note that the outcome is insignificant. For example, Clines says, “Unravelling this little history of גלה is not going to make much difference to how the word is translated, since the context is always plain; but it does enable us to remove from our dictionaries an oddity verging on an absurdity — the claim that a single word can mean both reveal and go into exile.”<sup>1</sup> This chapter addresses the challenge of whether it matters that the ancient Hebrew גלה represents two homographic roots. I suggest that realizing גלה represents two roots is exegetically meaningful. It helps in identifying homographic puns, in textual criticism, and in identifying and interpreting the rhetorical devices of the ancient Hebrew prophets.

#### **Ancient Understanding of גלה I and II**

Ancient speakers of Hebrew and some of the Rabbis commenting upon the Hebrew Bible recognize the significance of גלה’s double root status. The two verbs of גלה appear together at least once in the Hebrew Bible at Lam 4:22. Others add Job 20:27-28 as another example of the juxtaposition of the two roots גלה. However, I believe that גלה I is used in both Job 20:27 and 28; I already dealt with this in chapter 2.<sup>2</sup>

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1. Clines, “Comparative Classical Hebrew Lexicography,” 8.

2. See Chapter 2, page 35, footnote 127 of this thesis.

**Lam 4:22**

Lam 4:22 reads —

תַּם־עֲוֹנֶיךָ בַּת־צִיּוֹן לֹא יוֹסִיף לְהִגְלוֹתְךָ

פֶּקֶד עֲוֹנֶיךָ בַּת־אֲדוֹם גְּלֶה עַל־חַטָּאתֶיךָ:

“[The result] of your iniquity, O daughter Zion, is complete.<sup>3</sup> He will not continue deporting you.<sup>4</sup>

He will visit your iniquity, O daughter Edom<sup>5</sup>; he will reveal your sins.”

The parallelism between almost every part of this verse is apparent. I have put each half verse side by side above in order to accentuate the connection. The cessation of deportation that Zion experiences in the first half of the verse is the opposite of what Edom will experience. The last clause in each line is not parallel to the same extent that the A clause in each line is.

Each B clause uses a verb from גלה, but the *binyan* from גלה that they employ is different in each case.<sup>6</sup> Thus, the first B clause uses גלה II in the Hifil while the second B clause uses גלה I in the Piel. Further, it seems likely that גלה II is the implied result of the second B clause, since Zion’s עון leads to deportation in the first A clause and the same

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3. See R. B. Salters, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on Lamentations*, ICC (London/New York: T & T Clark, 2010), 336-7. Salters compares this verse with Gen 15:16 (פִּי לֹא־שָׁלַם עֹן הָאֱמֹרִי עַד־הַנֶּהָה), where עון is connected with שלם. The author of Lamentations is thinking about שלם, as in Gen 15:16, but the need for a lexeme beginning with ת occasions the use of the lexeme תַּם here. Thus, the meaning of the first clause in Lam 4:22 (תַּם־עֲוֹנֶיךָ בַּת־צִיּוֹן) is not that the horror of exile is over but that Judah is experiencing the promised punishment for sin, namely exile. Salters notes (337 footnote 153) that the Targum translates תַּם here with שלם. Thus, we are not yet to the declaration of Isa 40:2 (פִּי נִרְצָה עֲוֹנֶיךָ). Or this may be a promise that the punishment will soon end (see NIV “O Daughter of Zion, your punishment will end...”). It is probably not coincidental that the acrostic of Lam 4 ends with תַּם “to complete;” see, F. W. Dobbs-Allsopp, *Lamentations*, Interpretation (Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 2002), 138; Delbert R. Hillers, *Lamentations*, AB 7A, 2nd ed. (New York: Doubleday, 1992), 152.

4. This perhaps means that the exile of 581 BCE by Nebuchadnezzar (Jer 52:28-30) completes the deportations that Judah experiences.

5. Edom apparently plays a semi-prominent role in Babylon’s conquest of Judah (see also Obad 10-14; Ps 137:7).

6. See Price, “A Lexicographical Study,” 300-1.



would seem to result from Edom's עון in the second A clause. This is startling when we consider the similarity of the language of the B clause in Lam 4:22 (גִּלְהָה עַל־חַטָּאתֵיהֶם) with an earlier clause in Lam 2:14 (וְלֹא־גִלְוּ עַל־עֲוֹנָם).<sup>7</sup> This is significant on several levels. In Lam 2:14, the prophets used false visions to lure the people of Judah into a false sense of security. They should have revealed (I גלה) the iniquity of Judah so that they would not be taken into exile (להשיב שבותך).<sup>8</sup> Thus, in Lam 2:14, revealing the sins of Judah would have helped them avoid deportation. Yet, in Lam 4:22, Edom's sins are revealed (I גלה) which will result in their punishment, that is they will go into exile (II גלה). As it is too late for Judah to avert disaster in Lam 2:14 so it is here for Edom. The author is playing on the two roots of גלה in Lam 4:22, while also drawing upon גלה's use earlier in the book, thus twisting the possibility of hope expressed by גלה I in Lam 2:14 into a description of Edom's hopelessness in Lam 4:22.

Also, Lam 4:22 connects to Lam 4:21. The phrase בת אדום begins verse 21 and ends verse 22 forming an inclusio of sorts.<sup>9</sup> The prophet mockingly tells the inhabitants of אדום and עוץ to rejoice as the cup of YHWH's wrath passes to them, an event that certainly occasions lamentation not rejoicing (compare Jer 25:15-38 where עוץ in v. 20 and אדום in v. 21 drink the cup of wrath; also see Ps 75:9 ET 8). The result of Edom drinking this cup is that they become drunk (שכר) and strip themselves naked (Hitpa'el of

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7. The verb גלה immediately followed by the preposition על appears only in these texts in Lamentations in the Hebrew Bible. See, Johan Renkema, *Lamentations*, HCOT (Leuven: Peeters, 1998), 569-70. Renkema believes Lam 4:21-22 answer the prayer of Lam 1:21-22. YHWH brings upon Edom what Israel already experienced.

8. Salters, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on Lamentations*, 154-8.

9. Salters, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on Lamentations*, 333.

ערה).<sup>10</sup> In the context of Lamentations, Edom now experiences what Judah has (Lam 1:8). Drunkenness leading to shame from self-exposure is reminiscent of Gen 9:21 (וַיִּשְׁכַּר וַיִּתְגַּל) which is the closest parallel to the wording here (תִּשְׁכַּר וַיִּתְגַּל) and Hab 2:15. The connection between the wording of Gen 9:21, which uses גלה I, and Lam 4:21 is interesting in light of the play on גלה in the Lam 4:22. This verse calls to mind גלה's appearance in Gen 9:21 and prepares the reader for the next verse where Edom's uncovered sins result in shame and deportation.

By examining Lam 4:22, I illustrate that knowing גלה's double root status impacted ancient Hebrew authors. This text utilizes both roots of גלה and interweaves them in ironic ways. The use of גלה II when addressing Judah produces terror because of the people's present situation in exile, yet the author alters the negative associations of this word stating that Judah will not experience another deportation. In a similar adaption of the other homographic lexeme, the prophet uses גלה I when addressing Edom. The connection with a similar phrase earlier in Lam 2:14 inspires hope that Edom can recover because their sins are visible, an opportunity that Judah did not have. Yet, the prophet reverses the hope of Lam 2:14, namely that the sins of a nation become visible in order to be corrected, so that גלה I in Lam 4:22 expresses the hopelessness of Edom, specifically that the revelation of Edom's sins seals their one-way ticket into exile. The author of Lamentations uses the audience's shared knowledge that גלה represents two roots in order

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10. Is this a play on Ps 137:7 where Edom apparently encouraged the Babylonians to “strip” (the imperative ערו is repeated perhaps to illustrate the intense hostility that Edom portrayed on this occasion) Jerusalem's walls to the foundations? If so then Edom is experiencing the very thing for which they asked and in an ironic twist the stripping of Jerusalem that they demanded results in their own stripping. See Adele Berlin, *Lamentations: A Commentary*, OTL (Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 2002), 113. Berlin mentions that ערה appears in each verse without stating the possibility above.

to bring hope to those in exile and to dismay those who presently remain secure in their own land.

### **Gen 9:21**

The rabbis likewise acknowledge that recognizing the two different meanings of גלה<sup>11</sup> is interpretatively important. Commenting on Gen 9:21, a text mentioned above, the rabbis connect the two meanings of גלה to illustrate that drunkenness leads to going into exile. Several rabbis, namely R. Judah bar Simon and R. Hanan in the name of R. Samuel bar R. Isaac, say about this verse — “What is written is not ‘lay uncovered’ but ‘uncovered himself,’ and brought about both for himself and generations to come<sup>12</sup> the penalty of exile.”<sup>13</sup> The passage continues by connecting גלה “to uncover,” which is the result of drunkenness in this passage, with גלה “to go into exile,” the result of drunkenness in other passages. Thus, the rabbis use Isa 5:11, a pronouncement of woe upon those who pursue wine early in the morning, and also Isa 28:7, stating, “The tribes of Judea and Benjamin went into exile only on account of wine, in line with this verse: ‘But those also erred through wine’ (Isa 28:7).”<sup>14</sup>

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11. The rabbis in the text below know that גלה is substantially different in meaning. They do not say that גלה is two roots; they are simply concerned with the fact that גלה “to uncover” and “to go into exile” are spelled the same way. I use the word “meanings,” instead of “roots,” when dealing in this section with גלה “to uncover” and גלה “to go into exile.” Whether or not they considered גלה to be two roots or not they at least see two distinct meanings.

12. When the rabbis mention Noah’s descendants going into exile, do they mean the scattering resulting from the Tower of Babel in Gen 11? Or are they referring to the deportations of Israel and Judah by the Mesopotamian powers? Or perhaps something else? I am uncertain.

13. *Genesis Rabbah* 36.4.2 in Jacob Neusner, *Genesis Rabbah*, Vol. 1-3, Brown Judaic Series 105 (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1985), 2:30.

14. *Genesis Rabbah* 36.4.2 in Neusner, *Genesis Rabbah*, 2:30.

The rabbinic interpretation of Gen 9:21 uses the two meanings of גלה to exegete other passages about the result of drunkenness. Since Noah's intoxication leads to him uncovering himself (גלה "to uncover"), so Israel's pursuit of wine leads to their deportation (גלה "to go into exile"). Noah's story, according to the rabbis, warns future generations of the destructiveness of strong drink. Wine leads to both meanings of גלה ("to uncover" and "to go into exile"). The rabbis commenting upon Gen 9:21 expect the reader/hearer to know the two meanings of גלה and use them in interpretation.

The reference to Isa 5:11 is particularly interesting because according to Isa 5:13 Israel goes into exile (גלה "to go into exile") without knowledge. The proximity of Isa 5:11 and 13 fortify the connection between drunkenness and going into exile. Also, Isaiah 28 mentions the lack of knowledge in Israel (28:9) along with Israel's leaders's fascination with wine (28:1, 3, 7). Perhaps, the point in these Isaiah passages is that drunkenness leads to dulled senses and a negligence of the drunkard's relationship with YHWH, which results in YHWH's displeasure and ultimately going into exile. This understanding is at least possible, in the midst of the the rabbinic connection between drunkenness and going into exile.

My point in alluding to this rabbinic passage is to illustrate that this rabbinic exegesis is in part possible because of גלה's double meaning. גלה ("to uncover") describes Noah uncovering himself in his tent subsequent to his intoxication. The fact that גלה means "to uncover" and "to go into exile" means, to the rabbis, that drunkenness and going into exile can be equated. It is essential to the rabbinic comments in this passage

that גלה has two separate meanings. It must be stated that I am uncertain if the rabbis considered גלה to be two roots in this passage or one word with two distinct meanings.

Understanding the two meanings, or possibly roots, of גלה influences even rabbinic interpreters. The examples of Lam 4:22 and early rabbinic interpretation suggests the possibility that ancient Hebrew authors assumed the knowledge of two homographic roots spelled ג-ל-ה and used that knowledge in various rhetorical devices in their writings.

### Cases of גלה I That Additionally Signify גלה II

I illustrate above that the use of one homographic root of גלה might imply the other root also. A few further examples strengthen this possibility. גלה appears several times in the so-called Second Isaiah (Isa 40:5; 47:2-3; 49:9, 21; 53:1; also 56:1<sup>15</sup>; 57:8). In this context the prophet encourages the deportees of Judah during the Babylonian exile. The brilliant skill of the prophet to provide hope to these exiles appears among other places in the use of גלה in Isa 49:9.

#### Isa 49:9

Speaking dominates this section (Isa 49:1-26)<sup>16</sup> with the root אמר appearing twelve times (vv. 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9<sup>17</sup>, 14, 20, 21, 22, 25). The speakers include YHWH,

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15. In Isa 56:1 YHWH's salvation is coming (בוֹא) and about to appear (גלה). The parallelism of בוא and גלה is similar to the Ugaritic texts; see John Goldingay, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on Isaiah 56-66*, ICC (London/New York: Bloomsbury T & T Clark, 2014), 68-9. Goldingay notes that this pair refers to the arrival of a person in Ugaritic literature and serves the same function here.

16. I take Isa 49:1-26 to be a section instead of Isa 49:1-50:3. On either side of this section there is a reference to YHWH speaking (אמר יהוה in 48:22 and אמר יהוה in 50:1). The exclusion or inclusion of 50:1-3 is not critical to my point; I am simply not commenting on 50:1-3 in what follows.

17. The root אמר basically beginning each verse in 49:3-9.

YHWH's servant,<sup>18</sup> Zion, and Zion's children of bereavement (בני שכלידך in 49:20). The section begins with several calls to listen — the imperatives from שמע<sup>19</sup> (compare its appearance in Isa 48:1, 12, 14, 16, 20) and קשב. The audience should listen to the servant because YHWH called him (קרא and also הזכיר שמי in v. 1), a call which initiated מבטן, and made the servant's mouth a sharp sword (2). YHWH's words provide direction for the servant, encouragement in the midst of his seeming failure, and a promise of restoration for all nations.

This section depicts a dialogue between YHWH, the servant, and Zion.<sup>20</sup> YHWH gives the servant a commission to restore Zion and be a light to the nations. Interrelated to the servant's mission, YHWH promises Zion that it will be refilled with returnees from the Babylonian captivity. Yet, in each case YHWH's promises appear to fall flat. Both the servant and Zion orally protest YHWH's words (compare אמרתי in 49:4 with האמר in 49:14). YHWH reassures each with the use of בטן. In 49:1 and 5, YHWH reminds the servant that his purpose for him began מבטן. In 49:15 YHWH reminds Zion that a mother is unable to forget בן בטנה. YHWH promises to restore the exiles. The land that is desolate (שמה in 49:8 and 19) will be inhabited. The ones who devastated Zion will leave (יצא in 49:17), while those deported will prepare to return (יצא in 49:9).

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18. YHWH is undeniably behind the servant's message (ועתה אמר יהוה in 49:5; ויאמר in 49:3, 6; כה אמר יהוה in 49:7, 8; also אמר יהוה in 48:22); this is apparently part of having YHWH's spirit (48:16). See John Goldingay and David Payne, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on Isaiah 40-55*, Vol. 1-2, ICC (London/New York: T & T Clark, 2006), 2:154-5.

19. This begins a new unit in which the servant explains to the nations the job that YHWH commissioned him to accomplish; see Jan L. Koole, *Isaiah III*, 2:3-5.

20. Marvin A. Sweeney, *Isaiah 40-66*, FOTL (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2016), 164-5, 91. Sweeney sees only 49:14-26 as an example of disputation speech (191), while 49:1-6 is the announcement of a commission and 49:7-12 is a prophetic announcement of salvation.

A new speaker appears in v. 20 interrupting the flow of the conversation. Zion's children of bereavement (בני שכליך in 49:20) speak (יאמרו) in the ears of Zion, indicating the proximity of the exiles to Zion. These returnees are not on their way; they are here. The children's words come in the midst of YHWH's own response to Zion. These destitute children need more land. Now, Zion responds, speaking for the second time, not in objection to YHWH's failed promises, as in v. 14, but in amazement at the fulfillment of YHWH's promises (אמרת in 49:21<sup>21</sup> contrast תאמר in 49:14).

YHWH's promises dominate the chapter (ועתה אמר יהוה in 49:5; ויאמר in 49:3, 6; אמר יהוה in 49:7, 8; כה אמר אדני יהוה in 49:22; כי כה אמר יהוה in 49:25), while the oral objections move the plot along (אמרת in 49:4 with תאמר in 49:14). The objections take a surprising turn in v. 20 where someone other than YHWH speaks — the exiles.<sup>22</sup> Previously everyone in Isaiah 49 speaks to object to YHWH's ability to fulfill his promises, but the exiles speak to confirm YHWH's words. YHWH is working to fulfill his promises of renewal and restoration; the exiles can testify to this. Therefore, Zion answers her own objection. The city, that previously doubted YHWH's ability to restore, now speaks in disbelief at the visible power of YHWH. YHWH brings the deportees home. Finally, the section concludes with YHWH speaking (49:22-26) since Zion is now ready to listen.

In this context of exile, YHWH (or the servant on behalf of YHWH) says to the exiles, described as prisoners (אסורים) and those in darkness (אשר בחשך), צאו and הגלו in

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21. Klaus Baltzer, *Deutero-Isaiah*, 326-7. Baltzer sees this verse as the fulfillment of Jer 29:10.

22. The dramatic nature of the exiles speaking, after long being presumed dead, is akin to Daniel speaking after spending a night with the lions (Dan 6:22-23).

Isa 49:9! Certainly, the idea in each imperative is to step out of the dark dungeon into the light as a comparison with 1 Sam 14:11 and Job 12:22 illustrates.<sup>23</sup> Apparently, this is an illustration of the servant bringing light and salvation as stated in Isa 49:6 (וַתִּתֵּיךְ לְאֹר גוֹיִם) וְיִשְׁעֵי יְשׁוּעָתִי עַד-קִצְצָה הָאָרֶץ; compare Isa 42:6 (וְאֶתְנַדֵּךְ לְכַרִּית עִם לְאֹר גוֹיִם). Thus, גלה in Isa 49:9 is גלה I as in 1 Sam 14:11 and Job 12:22.

When גלה appears with יצא in 1 Samuel 14 and Job 12, גלה precedes יצא. However, in Isaiah 49 the opposite order occurs. This may suggest a wordplay on the part of the author. The beginning imperative is from a verb of movement, יצא, which might condition the reader/hearer to be listening for another verb of movement as the second imperative. The parallel structure of the two halves of the first part of Isa 49:9 fortifies the expectation that the second imperative will be a verb of motion.

לְאֹמַר  
לְאֹסוּרִים יֵצְאוּ  
לְאֲשֶׁר בַּחֲשֵׁךְ הָגִלּוּ

Therefore, the reader expects a verb of motion as the second imperative which if גלה, would be גלה II, but it is actually גלה I illustrated by the fact that it is a Nifal imperative and only גלה I appears in the Nifal. Did the author intend for the reader/hearer to think about גלה II before reading גלה I? I suggest so. The previous verse illustrates this.

Isaiah 49:8 describes YHWH reapportioning the land to the exiles (לְהַקִּים אֶרֶץ and להנהייל שְׁמֹמֹת). The first phrase, לְהַקִּים אֶרֶץ,<sup>24</sup> may refer to reconstructing the

23. Compare 1 Sam 14:11 (וַיִּגְלוּ שְׁנֵיהֶם אֶל-מִצֵּב פְּלִשְׁתִּים וַיֹּאמְרוּ פְּלִשְׁתִּים הִנֵּה עֹבְרִים יֵצְאִים מִן-הַחַרְיִם אֲשֶׁר (הַתְּחַבְּאוּ-שָׁם: מִגְלָה עֲמֻקּוֹת מִנִּי-חֲשֵׁךְ וַיֵּצֵא לְאֹר צְלֻמָּנוֹת:)).

24. Compare the servant's mission in 49:6 (לְהַקִּים אֶת-שְׁבִטֵי יַעֲקֹב).



buildings of the land.<sup>25</sup> YHWH is encouraging the exiles to regain possession of their lost land and rebuild it. The second phrase, לְהַנְחִיל נְחִלּוֹת שְׁמֹמֹת, is similar to Israel's first division of the land (see Num 34:18, 29; Josh 19:49).<sup>26</sup> Therefore, YHWH encourages the exiles to take possession of the land of their ancestors. Thus, Isa 49:8-12 is the language of a new exodus, wilderness journey, and conquest.<sup>27</sup>

With the concept of the new exodus ringing in our ears, we move to the next verse where the imperatives of יִצֵּא and גִּלֵּה appear. יִצֵּא is one of the main verbs describing YHWH bringing Israel out of Egypt (see Exod 3:10-12; 13:3, 8, 9, 14, 16; 18:1; etc.).<sup>28</sup> YHWH in Isa 49:9 summons the exiles with an imperative that calls to mind YHWH's previous deliverance of the Israelite slaves from Egypt. The new exodus and the reversal of the Babylonian exile is firmly in view.

Then, the imperative גִּלֵּה comes forth from the mouth of YHWH.<sup>29</sup> The verb is in the Nifal so it is גִּלֵּה I but the context forces the reader to think about גִּלֵּה II — a motion verb (יִצֵּא) in the preceding clause and the context of exile anticipate גִּלֵּה II. The prophet uses גִּלֵּה I while intentionally directing the reader to consider גִּלֵּה II. By juxtaposing יִצֵּא

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25. See Goldingay and Payne, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on Isaiah 40-55*, 174. Also, compare 1 Kgs 21:15-16 where Ahab rises to take possession of Naboth's land (קוּם רִשׁ אֶת־כַּרְם) in 15 and וַיָּקָם אֶתְּאָב לְרִדָּת אֶל־כַּרְם נְבוֹת הַיִּזְרְעֵאלִי לְרִשְׁתּוֹ in 16) and Josh 1:2 where YHWH tells Joshua to rise and take the land of Canaan.

26. See Goldingay and Payne, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on Isaiah 40-55*, 175.

27. See John T. Willis, *Images of Water in Isaiah* (Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2017), 100-1. For an application of this text and its imagery to Mark's presentation of Jesus, see Rikki E. Watts, *Isaiah's New Exodus in Mark* (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 1997), 80-1, 140-2, 177-9.

28. See Walter Brueggemann, *Theology of the Old Testament: Testimony, Dispute, Advocacy* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1997), 174.

29. The prophet probably expects his audience to read גִּלֵּה here from the mouth of YHWH as subverting and reversing the action of the Mesopotamian kings, described with the Akkadian *galû*. This is yet another way that the book turns the propaganda of the Mesopotamian kings on its head.

and גלה, the prophet allows for and hints at a positive understanding of the motion verb גלה II. Previously, Israel and Judah experienced the horrors of exile by the Mesopotamian powers. גלה II expressed the movement of YHWH's people through deportation away from their land. Now, גלה describes Israel reversing course and returning from exile toward their land. It is clear that גלה I is intended in Isa 49:9. Yet, the prophet through the surrounding context of exile and relocation and the use of a motion verb at the beginning of the proclamation to the exiles invites the reader to see in the use of גלה I a wordplay. The God who is capable of bringing his people into the light (גלה I) though they have been in a dark prison, is the same God who can redirect their steps back to the promised land.<sup>30</sup> The weary feet that carried Israel into Babylon (גלה II) will now turn homeward.<sup>31</sup>

The prophet intentionally uses גלה as a term to describe YHWH's reversal of going into exile, since it originally described heading into exile. The fact that a reverse of Babylonian exile, that is a new exodus, is in view is apparent from the vocabulary used elsewhere in this chapter. YHWH will lead (נהג) and guide (נהל) the exiles (49:10). The root נהג appears in Isa 20:4 and in Lam 3:2 to describe going into exile (also see Nah 2:8), while נהל describes the exodus from Egypt (Exod 15:13) and the new exodus from Babylon (Isa 40:11). YHWH will gather Israel to himself (אסף in 49:5 and קבץ in 49:18; compare Ezek 39:27). YHWH carries (נשא twice in 49:22; see also 40:11) Israel home.

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30. Compare the language of Ps 107:10-16. A group of people are imprisoned (עָנִי וּבְרִזְלִי in 10, also 14) and in darkness (יָשָׁבִי חֹשֶׁךְ וְצִלְמֹת in 10, also 14) because they rebelled (מָרָה) against the words (אָמַר and עֲצָה in 11) of YHWH. Their foolish actions left them without anyone to help (וְאֵין עֹזֵר in 12). Yet, they called to YHWH (זָקַע in 13) and he brought them out (יָצָא in 14) from the חֹשֶׁךְ and צִלְמוֹת, after breaking down the doors of their cell and tearing off their shackles. For translating עָנִי in v. 10, see D. Winton Thomas, "Hebrew עָנִי 'Captivity'," *JTS* 16 (1965): 444-5.

31. YHWH is simultaneously reversing the effects of גלה II and revealing (גלה I) his glory, power, and salvation by restoring the exiles to their land (see Isa 40:5).

Israel's reentrance (בוא in 49:12, 18, 22) into the land is similar to her exit (בוא in Jer 24:1; Ezek 12:13, 16; 1 Chron 5:26). The Mesopotamian powers took (לקח in 2 Kgs 15:29; Jer 27:20; 40:1) Israel into a different land, now YHWH will take (לקח in 49:24, 25) the captives (שבי) out of the grasp of their captors and relocate (שוב in 49:5, 6) them in Israel, where they will dwell (ישב in 49:20 contrast 2 Kgs 17:6).

This chapter portrays the reversal of exile. In the midst of this new exodus imagery, the prophet utilizes a word play on גלה to ironically illustrate the overturning of going into exile. This is further seen in Isa 49:21 where גלה II appears in the mouth of Zion. Here Zion acknowledges the reversal of their previous exile. Thus, Isa 49:9 uses גלה I and implies גלה II while a few verses later in Isa 49:21 גלה II actually appears. Zion sees that its previous exile is no longer a reality but a thing of the past.

### **Isa 47:2-3**

Another example of גלה I that signifies גלה II is Isa 47:2-3 and similar passages. While we should not overstate the connection, in the Hebrew Bible גלה I sometimes links to גלה II through the association of stripping someone naked and then carrying them captive.

Parading conquered peoples around naked was a form of humiliation often imposed by the victorious (e.g. 2 Chron 28:15; also see Amos 2:16; Mic 1:8). Isaiah 20 illustrates this. Isaiah walks around naked symbolizing Egypt and Cush's impending exile after Sargon II's capture of Ashdod. The noun גְלוּת from גלה II describes Cush and accompanies the noun ערוה. As illustrated above, the noun ערוה regularly appears as a complement of גלה I (e.g. Gen 9:21-22; Exod 20:26; Lev 18:6-19; 20:11, 17-21). The

appearance of גלוח from גלה II with a noun that normally accompanies גלה I illustrates that the prophet is employing a wordplay. The authors of the Hebrew Bible manipulate the different roots of גלה for their own rhetorical purposes and assume knowledge of the different lexemes that regularly associate with each root.

Other prophetic contexts produce wordplays on the different root of גלה (see Isa 47:2-3; Ezek 16:36-37; 23:10; Hos 2:12; Nah 3:5). In each of these cases גלה I is in view but the context is exile (גלה II among other lexemes). Babylon (Isa 47:2-3), Assyria (Nah 3:5), Israel (Hos 2:12) and Judah (Ezek 16:36-37; 23:10) are the subjects of these passages.

YHWH exposes both Israel (Hos 2:12 [English 2:10]) and Judah (Ezek 16:36-7; 23:10) as a prostitute. Ezekiel states that YHWH will reveal Judah's nakedness (ערוה in 16:36-37; 23:10), while Hosea mentions YHWH publicizing Israel's nakedness (נבלות in Hos 2:12<sup>32</sup> [English 2:10]). In Ezek 16:36, Judah's devotion to her גלולים leads to her being גלה.<sup>33</sup>

YHWH tells Babylon to expose (using גלה and חשף in Isa 47:2<sup>34</sup>, as in Isa 20:4) their hair (צמה),<sup>35</sup> their legs (שוק in Isa 47:2), their nakedness (ערוה in Isa 47:3, as in Isa 20:4), and their shame (חרפה in Isa 47:3). Their conquerors strip them and expose their

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32. See Hans Walter Wolff, *Hosea*, Hermeneia (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1974), 37-8. Wolff states in footnote 52 that נבלות might connect to the Akkadian *baltu* which refers to the genitalia.

33. A similar wordplay between גלולים and גלה appears in 2 Kgs 17:11-12.

34. Baltzer, *Deutero-Isaiah*, 270. Baltzer states that Babylon experiences what Israel has.

35. See Goldingay and Payne, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on Isaiah 40-55*, 2:95.



example).<sup>39</sup> Thus, they are experiencing in Nah 3 the same humiliation that they brought upon their victims.<sup>40</sup>

While we may never understand exactly how related the two roots of גלה would be in the minds of ancient Hebrew speakers, it is apparent from our brief discussion that they are more related than modern Westerners would imagine. The ancient Hebrew prophets play upon the connection between the two roots of גלה and the two ideas that they describe. An enemy stripping someone naked and carrying them into exile are different acts that do not demand the other. They are separate. However, through the invasions of the Mesopotamian powers, Israel and their neighbors discovered that גלה I and II merge all too often.

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39. See Cynthia R. Chapman, *The Gendered Language of Warfare in the Israelite-Assyrian Encounter*, Harvard Semitic Monographs 62 (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2004), 220. Chapman suggests that exposing the genitals of the enemy is a way of taking their masculinity. See Erika Belibtreu, "Grisly Assyrian Records of Torture and Death," *BAR* 17 (1991): 54. Belibtreu shows a relief from Sennacherib's conquest of Lachish, which portrays Assyrian soldiers impaling a nude man. See Theodore J. Lewis, "'You Have Heard What the Kings of Assyria Have Done': Disarmament Passages vis-à-vis Assyrian Rhetoric of Intimidation," in *Isaiah's Vision of Peace in Biblical and Modern International Relations: Swords into Plowshares*, Ed. Raymond Cohen and Raymond Westbrook (New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), 75-100, especially pages 81-3. Lewis shows a figure of two men stripped naked and stretched out before being tied to stakes. It is unclear precisely what awaits these victims but there are several scenes of torture surrounding the naked men in this relief.

Also, by shaving (גלה) the beards of David's men, Hanun may be attacking their masculinity in 2 Sam 10:4=1 Chron 19:4; see T. M. Lemos, "Shame and Mutilation of Enemies in the Hebrew Bible," *JBL* 125 (2006): 232-4. Exposing the genitals of David's servants humiliates them in 2 Sam 10:4-5, which is parallel to Isa 20:4, according to Lemos. Compare the curse from Esarhaddon's succession treaty, "[And just as] a [har]lot is stripped naked...so may the wives of Mati'el be stripped naked, and the wives of his offspring, and the wives of [his] no[bles]" quoted in Lemos, "Shame and Mutilation of Enemies in the Hebrew Bible," 237 footnote 42. Lemos is quoting Joseph A. Fitzmyer's translation (see *KAI* 22, 1.240).

Along similar lines, Isa 7:20 connects shaving and going into exile. It compares Assyria with a razor that comes and shaves (גלה) the entire body of Israel and Aram, including the feet (רגלים), which seems to be euphemistic. The word גלה certainly calls to mind גלה, particularly in this context of exile. Thus, if 2 Sam 10:4 is any indicator, it was possibly part of public humiliation, at the very least, and possibly part of taking another into exile (see Deut 21:12; compare also Judg 16:17-21), to strip (גלה) someone nude and then shave (גלה) their entire body. The auidial connection between גלה and גלה in the context of Isa 7 may be intentional on the part of the prophet.

40. Price, "A Lexicographical Study," 224-5.

### A Case of גלה II That Additionally Signifies גלה I

Wordplays utilizing the two roots of גלה occur the other way around also. In Ezek 12:3 the prophet uses גלה II but expects the audience to think about גלה I. The first 16 verses of Ezek 12 divide into two parts — vv. 1-7 and 8-16.<sup>41</sup> In the first, YHWH tells Ezekiel to prepare bags for going into exile and dig through the walls of his house while his fellow exiles watch. The second gives the interpretation and explanation of Ezekiel's actions, specifically that Judah is going into exile.

#### Ezek 12:3

YHWH emphasizes that the exiles's have blinded eyes and stopped up ears because they are a בית מרי in 12:2, 3, 9 (also see Ezek 2:5, 6; 3:9, 26, 27). Vision is a leitmotif in this section — עין appears in 12:2, 3 [twice], 4 [twice], 5, 6, 7, 12 and ראה appears in 12:2 [twice], 3, 6, 12, 13. Also, YHWH's description of the Judean exiles in 12:2 is reminiscent of Isa 6:9-10. These references to sight cause the reader/hearer to naturally prepare for גלה I when גלה materializes in 12:3, but גלה II actually appears.

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41. Each section begins with the phrase יהיה דבר יהוה אלי לאמר or its near equivalent (compare 12:1, 8, 17, 21, 26; 13:1). For the word formulas in Ezekiel with specific mention of Ezek 12, see Tyler D. Mayfield, "A Re-Examination of Ezekiel's Prophetic Word Formulas," *HS* 57 (2016): 139-55, especially 141-44.

Ezekiel 12:3 reads —

עֲשֵׂה לְךָ כְּלֵי גֹלָה<sup>42</sup> וּגְלֵה יוֹמָם לְעֵינֵיהֶם וּגְלִיתָ מִמְּקוֹמְךָ אֶל־מְקוֹם אַחֵר לְעֵינֵיהֶם אוֹלֵי יִרְאוּ כִּי בֵּית  
מְרִי הָמָּה

“Prepare for yourself vessels of exile and go into exile in the daytime<sup>43</sup> before their eyes. You will go into exile from your place to another place before their eyes. Perhaps they will see though they are a rebellious house.”

The LXX deletes וּגְלֵה, while others concur because of dittography, though I follow the MT. גלה’s threefold appearance (once as a noun and twice as a verb) in five words is essentially emphatic for the prophet’s message. Thus, the three uses of גלה should remain. The root גלה only appears three other times in the rest of the section (12:4, 7, 11). All of the uses of גלה in this verse, and in this section, are גלה II even though 12:2 conditions the reader/hearer to prepare for גלה I. However, the complementation pattern associated with the first גלה II verb is a ל-PP with עין. This is one of the nouns that is usually a complement of גלה I (see for example Num 22:31; 24:4, 16; Hos 2:12; Ps 98:2; 119:18; compare Ezek 16:36-37). Also, גלה II appears here in the Qal, the only *binyan* in which both גלה I and II appear. The contextual emphasis on sight and the intentional complementation confusion signals a wordplay between the two גלה roots by the prophet.

The second גלה II verb that immediately follows confirms this possibility, which also appears in the Qal. There are two PPs complements with this גלה II verb, both are directional PP — a מן-PP and a אל-PP. This is the normal complementation pattern for גלה II, comparable to 2 Kgs 17:23, for example, a nation goes into exile from her land to

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42. The phrase כלי גולה also appears in Jer 46:19.

43. For a discussion of the meaning of יומם, see Jan Joosten, “Diachronic Linguistics and the Date of the Pentateuch,” in *The Formation of the Pentateuch: Bridging the Academic Cultures of Europe, Israel and North America*, *Forschungen zum Alten Testament* 111, eds. Jan C. Gertz, Bernard M. Levinson, Dalit Rom-Shiloni and Konrad Schmid (Leiden: Mohr Siebeck, 2016) 327-8.



another land. The striking element in this clause is the adjunct ל-PP with עין, which is identical to the complement ל-PP with עין in the last clause. Therefore, for the second time in just a few words גלה II appears with עין, a lexeme usually associated with גלה I. The juxtaposing of the two גלה II verbs with different valency patterns, but both with עין, invites the reader/hearer to understand that the author intends to mix things up so to speak. The prophet expects for גלה II to be read but for גלה I also to be in mind. Also, it is significant that the first verb after the repetition of גלה II is ראה, a verb that is often parallel with גלה I (see for example Num 22:31; Isa 40:5; 47:3; Ezek 16:37; Nah 3:5).

Why is the prophet playing on גלה I and II here? The beginning (12:2) and end (12:16) of this section seems to provide light. The people are blind and deaf. From where does their condition originate? They have become like the idols they worship (compare עינים להם ולא יראו in 12:2 with Ps 115:5=135:16 עינים להם ולא יראו; also see Isa 43:8). Thus, this is a similar idea to Hos 9:10 (ויקחו אֲחֵרֵי הַהֶבֶל) and Jer 2:5 (ויקחו אֲחֵרֵי הַהֶבֶל). Their worship of images fashions them into wood and stone (compare Ezek 14:1-8).

The connection between idolatry and blindness becomes reality in verses 12 and 13. Here the prince, probably referring to Zedekiah, will be unable to see.<sup>44</sup> Other texts illustrate that the Babylonians blinded him when they captured him (2 Kgs 25:4-7; Jer 39:2-7; 52:7-11). Therefore, the temporary blindness of the people in verse 2 (לא ראו)

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44. Compare the similar text in Jer 22:8-12. The nations discuss among themselves Judah's exile and note that it is the result of their unfaithfulness to YHWH and their worship of other gods (8-9). Those who go into exile will not see (ראה) the land again (10). Specifically, YHWH deports Shallum (יצא in 11, גלה II in 12) and he will not return (שוב) to the land or see (ראה) it again (11-12). The connection between loss of sight and going into exile may suggest that the prophet here expects the reader/hearer to have both גלה in mind though גלה II is read in verse 12. Yet, if this is true, it is as not as clear in Jer 22 as in Ezek 12.

becomes permanent, at least for Zedekiah, in verses 12 and 13 (לֹא־יִרְאֶה). Israel's self-imposed blindness due to idolatry could result in being forcibly blinded by their conquerors if they do not turn back to YHWH.

YHWH's statement in 12:16 confirms this understanding when he says that he will spare some of the exiles to recount their תועבה in 12:16. Certainly תועבה<sup>45</sup> can describe many things, but in Ezekiel the lexeme usually describes the idolatry of the Judahites (see especially texts in the surrounding context in Ezek 5:11; 6:9; 8:6 [twice], 9, 13, 15, 17; 14:6). The lexeme שקוץ is parallel to תועבה in Ezek 5:11; 7:20; 11:18, 21 (also see Jer 16:18), while גלול parallels תועבה in Ezek 6:9; 14:6; 16:36; 18:12, with שקוץ and גלול appearing together in Ezek 20:7-8 and 37:23 (also see Deut 29:16; 2 Kgs 23:24).<sup>46</sup> Thus, the deportation of Judah will provide the surviving exiles an opportunity to acknowledge that their idolatry is the reason for their trip into exile and does not reflect YHWH's weakness but his discipline. The wordplay between the two roots of גלה possibly extends also to incorporate גלולים. In other words, serving גלולים leads to the worshipper's eyes and ears being fashioned into the material of the גלולים so the

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45. In Isa 41:24 apparently תועבה refers to a person; see Goldingay and Payne, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on Isaiah 40-55*, 1:199, but see Ian Koole, *Isaiah III*, 1:196. The idols worshipped are a תועבה (Isa 44:19) as are the people bowing to them.

46. See John F. Kutsko, *Between Heaven and Earth: Divine Presence and Absence in the Book of Ezekiel*, *Biblical and Judaic Studies* 7 (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2000), 28-35. Kutsko discusses each of the terms mentioned above and has a chart on the occurrences of the different words that allude to idolatry.

worshipper is unable to see or hear (גלה I); this inability to listen to YHWH then leads to deportation (גלה II).<sup>47</sup> גלולים lead to גלה I which results in גלה II.

### The Two Roots of גלה as an Aid in Textual Criticism

I have illustrated above that the prophets used the two roots of גלה and their unique complementation patterns in their message to highlight wordplays and to facilitate their audience in reading one homograph but to incorporate the other homograph of גלה into their thought process. I now turn to textual criticism. When we pay attention to the different complementation patterns of גלה, it aids us when trying to determine which גלה is present in a difficult text. In some cases it may add nuance to our exegesis.

#### Isa 57:8

Isaiah 57:8 is an example of how understanding the different complementation patterns associated with each root of גלה aids in textual criticism. The context of Isaiah 57 describes Israel going after idols (57:5-7), which is described as adultery (זנה and נאף) in 57:3).<sup>48</sup> The mixture of cultic and sexual imagery continues in 57:7 (על הר־גִבֹּהַ וְנִשְׂאָ שְׂמֵתָ) “Upon a high and exalted mountain you place your bed, even there you go up to sacrifice”). The repetition of some of the same lexemes in the next verses (עלה, משכב, and שים) illustrates that these verses should be read together.

47. The emphasis on sight in this entire section thus overrides the objection of Cooke; see G. A. Cooke, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Book of Ezekiel*, ICC (Edinburgh: T & T Clark 1960), 130. Cooke says, “But the emphasis on publicity seems exaggerated; in their sight (lit. before their eyes) occurs six times in vv. 3-6; in some cases no doubt by accident.”

Similarly, see Moshe Greenberg, *Ezekiel 1-20*, AB 22 (New York: Doubleday, 1983), 209; Daniel I. Block, *Ezekiel 1-24*, NICOT (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1997), 369-70; Walther Eichrodt, *Ezekiel*, OTL (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1970), 149-50; Walther Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 1*, Hermeneia (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1979) 270-1. Each of them refers to the importance of sight in the context, but none of them focus on the pun with גלה or the switching of the normal complementation patterns of גלה II.

48. Israel’s actions in Isa 57:4 (על־מי תתעצבני על־מי תרחיבו פה תאריכו לישון) are comparable to Assyria’s attitude in Isa 37:22-23. Ironically, Israel behaves like her captors.

Isaiah 57:8 reads —

וְאַחַר הַדָּלֶת וְהַמְזוּזָה שָׂמַת זְכָרוֹנָךְ כִּי מֵאֲתֵי גְלִית וְתַעֲלֵי הַרְחֵבֶת מִשְׁכְּבֶךָ וְתִכְרַת־לֶךְ מֵהֶם אֲהַבֶּת  
מִשְׁכְּבֶכֶם יָד קִזְזִית:

“Behind the door and doorpost you set up your male images,<sup>49</sup> for you uncover yourself before me; you go up; you widen your bed; you establish a pact with them; you love their bed; you gaze upon their genitals.”

There is a textual question regarding the form of גְּלִית here. The MT points it as a Piel. I have translated it reflexively above which seems to me to be the most likely way to translate this Piel with a מן-PP complement. The NRSV illustrates how difficult this phrase (כִּי מֵאֲתֵי גְלִית) is to translate — “for, in deserting me, you have uncovered your bed.” The NRSV seems to take the מן-PP complement to be referring to גלה II and then translates גְּלִית as גלה I. Or perhaps the NRSV is separating completely מֵאֲתֵי from גְּלִית. The appearance of גלה in the Piel means that it is read as גלה I.

However, some manuscripts read גְּלִית the Qal of גלה II instead of גְּלִית, the Piel of גלה I. The LXX, Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion translate this verse into Greek reading גְּלִית instead of גְּלִית. Also, two MT manuscripts read גְּלִית.<sup>50</sup> How is one to decide whether the text should read גְּלִית with most manuscripts or גְּלִית with a few Hebrew manuscripts and the Greek translations? In my opinion, the מן-PP complement is the key to revealing which root of גלה is present.

The sexual context would suggest reading גְּלִית the Piel of גלה I. The Piel of גלה I appears frequently in contexts of sexual misconduct, for example in Leviticus 18 and 20.

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49. I am trying to capture the mixture of idolatry and sexual unfaithfulness in verses 7-8. Perhaps this is a phallic image, compare Ezek 16:17; see Goldingay, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on Isaiah 56-66*, 127. Also see Jan L. Koole, *Isaiah III*, 3:67-8. It could also refer to a memorial if repointed (זְכָרוֹן), perhaps an image of some sort (see Zech 6:14). If it is זְכָרוֹן then perhaps יָד also refers to a memorial image of some kind (see Isa 56:5; 1 Sam 15:12).

50. See Goldingay, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on Isaiah 56-66*, 128.

However, a מן-PP complement appears only once with the Piel of גלה I outside of this passage. It appears in Job 12:22 (מְגִלָּה עֲמֻקוֹת מְנִיחֶהָ), not counting Isa 57:8 as an example of the Piel of גלה I for the moment, גלה I appears in the Piel fifty-six times. Only one of fifty-six occurrences of the Piel of גלה I appears with a מן-PP complement (or .018%). This makes it highly unlikely that it appears in a textually questionable context.

On the other hand, a מן-PP complement appears with the Qal of גלה II in twelve (1 Sam 4:21-22; 2 Kgs 17:23; 25:21; Isa 5:13; Jer 52:27; Ezek 12:3; Hos 10:5; Amos 7:11, 17; Mic 1:16; Lam 1:3) of its twenty-eight occurrences (or 43%). Since both the Piel of גלה I and the Qal of גלה II occur in various manuscripts, then paying attention to the complement pattern, which is textually stable in Isa 57:8, provides the answer to which reading should be chosen. Thus, Isa 57:8 should read כִּי מֵאַתִּי גָלִית “for you have gone into exile from me.”<sup>51</sup>

This text again, like Isa 49:9 and Ezek 12:3, is a wordplay. The context and the surrounding wording suggests a verb from גלה I which is so convincing that it reads this way in most manuscripts. Yet as before, this illustrates the skill of the prophet as גלה II is present but גלה I is also in the reader/hearer’s mind from the context. Participation in the sexual rituals associated with the idolatry of the surrounding nations, leading to the

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51. The tentative conclusion of Goldingay, namely that גלה means “to go into exile” here is clarified and confirmed by the מן-PP complement that accompanies גלה in Isa 57:8. See Goldingay, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on Isaiah 56-66*, 128. Goldingay says, “The prophecy likely again trades on a word’s plurivocity; in going up (to a high and lofty mountain) in order to go up (to bed), the city has gone into exile by uncovering itself or by uncovering its bed to those deceptive deities.” But Koole believes that the Piel should be retained since “the pi. form can be understood in two senses [i.e. “to go into exile” or “to uncover”].” See Koole, *Isaiah III*, 3:68-9. However, if this Piel means “to go into exile,” then it would be the only time this is true of the Piel of גלה in the Hebrew Bible.

Also, it is possible גָלִית should be read and it is still a wordplay with מאתי alluding to גלה II. This would make Isa 57:8’s use of the Piel of גלה I with a complementation pattern associated with גלה II similar to Isa 38:12 discussed below. Thus, it is an example of homographic complementation switching where the complementation pattern usually associated with one root appears with another homographic root in order for both roots to be in the mind of the reader/hearer. It is a wordplay from either direction.

uncovering of the worshipper's body (גלה I), will ultimately result in going into exile (גלה II). Indeed in the context of Isaiah 57's message, this is the result. The prophet uses past actions and consequences to urge his audience to learn from the mistakes of the past and turn from idolatry.

### Isa 38:12

Another example where knowledge of the complementation patterns of גלה leads to exegetical precision appears in Isa 38:12 (דֹרֵי נִסְעוּ וְנִגְלָה מִנִּי כְאֶהָל רָעִי). Gray states, "One occurrence [of גלה] could go either way, however: Isaiah 38:12 could be *galah* I or *galah* II."<sup>52</sup> The reason for גלה's ambiguity here is its complementation by מני. A מן-PP complement pattern is the dominant pattern associated with גלה II. However, גלה appears in the Nifal here. The Nifal of גלה I never takes a מן-PP complement;<sup>53</sup> also the Nifal never means "to go into exile." גלה I only appears in the Nifal. This causes some to emend the text to וְנִגְלָה, following the Vulgate,<sup>54</sup> thus the verb is from the root גלל and not גלה.<sup>55</sup>

However, the confusion of the valency of גלה in Isa 38:12 might be essential to the point of the passage. Perhaps it conveys the confusion that Hezekiah is experiencing.

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52. Gray, "A New Analysis of a Key Hebrew Term: The Semantics of GALAH ('To Go into Exile')," 51.

53. The Piel of גלה I does take a מן-PP complement elsewhere in Job 12:22 and Isa 57:8 is possibly another case, but see above.

54. John D. W. Watts, *Isaiah 34-66*, WBC 25 (Waco: Word Books, 1987), 55-6.

55. For example, see Gosling, "An Open Question Relating to the Hebrew Root *glh*," 130; Roberts, *First Isaiah*, 480-1; and Hans Wilderberger, *Isaiah 28-39*, CC (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2002), 435, 438. Apparently, this verse has long been difficult to understand; see 1QIsa<sup>a</sup> 32:3-4 which reads יכלה מני "it is destroyed before me" or "he destroys me" for ונגלה מני — see *CDCH*, 176-7; it states that כלה only appears in the Qal, Piel, Pual in ancient Hebrew, which includes the Scrolls and inscriptions, so they are not reading this as a Nifal. Reading יכלה for ונגלה fits the context but it emends too many letters.

Distraught and in anguish, Hezekiah begins to use גלה I in the Nifal, but then loses his way and complements the verb with a מן-PP, a phrase normally associated with גלה II.<sup>56</sup> The jumbled complementation pattern is a device to literarily illustrate the extreme emotions that Hezekiah experiences as he speaks. Hezekiah is beside himself; he is unable to finish a sentence. Also, retaining גלה in Isa 38:12 is the most difficult reading. I retain the pointing of the MT — נגלה from גלה I uncharacteristically taking a מן-PP complement.<sup>57</sup> Isaiah 38:12 could read —

Isa 38:12 דוֹרִי נִסַּע וְנִגְלָה מִנִּי כְּאֹהֶל רֹעִי

“My dwelling place is pulled up, my dwelling place [elliptical] is stripped away from me, like a shepherd’s tent...”

This brief discussion illustrates that studying the complementation patterns associated with a verb can assist us when navigating textual problems. It is possible to study the complementation of a verb in order to ascertain what form of a lexeme should appear in the text, as in the example from Isa 57:8. Also, understanding the normal complementation patterns may add nuance to our exegesis and illustrate the clever ways that the prophets illustrate the emotions of the characters in their texts as in the example from Isa 38:12. These things illustrate that the ancient authors of the Hebrew Bible understood the two roots of גלה and their different complement patterns and at least in some cases, such as Isa 38:12, expect the audience to catch the incongruity between גלה I being accompanied by a complementation pattern normally associated with גלה II in order to illustrate the distress that Hezekiah experienced. Thus, knowing that גלה is two

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56. Compare Gary Rendsburg, “Confused Language as a Deliberate Literary Device in Biblical Hebrew Narrative,” *JHebS* 2 (1999), article 6:2-20.

57. Perhaps study of the complementation patterns of גלל will illuminate the textual difficulties here and in Job 20:28 with which I will not deal further.

homographic roots and that a different complement pattern accompanies each root is significant for exegesis.

### **Conclusion**

In this chapter, I illustrate that understanding גלה as two roots is exegetically important. The ancient Hebrew authors knew of both roots and played on them. Sometimes they used both roots side by side as in Lam 4:22. At other times, they used גלה I in a context where גלה II readily springs to mind (i.e. Isa 49:9 and Isa 47:2-3), while the reverse is also true (i.e. Ezek 12:3). This reveals that when ancient Hebrew authors employed puns, at least when playing upon homographic roots, they could linguistically specify the homonym that they desired the reader/hearer to read and the other one which they wanted the audience to consider but not read. I call this “homographic complementation switching.” Thus, knowledge of the complementation patterns associated with each root of גלה aids the proper homonym selection in a specific passage and the identification of wordplays between the homographic roots.

Therefore, we do not need to hesitantly guess as to which root an ancient Hebrew author is using as Gray seems to do for Isa 38:12 and Goldingay for Isa 57:8. Based on the *binyan* in which גלה appears and its unique accompanying complement patterns we can be certain which root to read. Thus, our understanding of how ancient Hebrew prophets used wordplay could soon be on firmer ground when we thoroughly examine the complementation patterns connected with each ancient Hebrew root used in the Hebrew Bible. Also, I illustrate how understanding גלה’s complement patterns aids in



textual criticism and can also provide exegetical nuance when interpreting the prophetic message.

## CHAPTER 5

### SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

In this thesis, I investigate whether גלה as represented in the ancient Hebrew of the Hebrew Bible is one or two roots. The first chapter deals with previous attempts in the lexica to determine גלה's root status. The lexica generally focus on the semantics of גלה. The lexica agree that גלה appears in different *binyanim* with different meanings but do not see this as evidence for the presence of two roots spelled ג-ל-ה. I pursue the incongruities in the semantics of גלה, not taking these differences as proof of the presence of a homonym but seeking to substantiate the different semantics of גלה by looking at its syntax in the Hebrew Bible.

In chapter two, I suggest using the clausal syntax of גלה as represented in the Hebrew Bible to determine whether גלה is one root or two. I examine the complement patterns associated with the different meanings of גלה in the different *binyanim*. גלה has a different complement pattern depending on its meanings which suggests that גלה represents different roots.

Then in chapter three, I overview the cognate Semitic languages that have a root similar to גלה, focusing on Akkadian and Aramaic. The Akkadian *galû* is similar to the Hebrew גלה II in several ways and occurs during the same time period. Also, there is evidence from Imperial Aramaic of a root *glh* that means “to reveal, uncover.” The Aramaic *glh* further appears nine times in the Aramaic portions of the Hebrew Bible.

Seven of the appearances of *glh* mean “to reveal, uncover” in Dan 2 and surface only in the Peal stem. The remaining two occurrences of *glh* appear in Ezra 4 and 5 meaning “to go into exile” in the Hafel stem. Thus, the Aramaic *glh* in the Hebrew Bible appears with the same two meanings as the Hebrew גלה I and II. Also, different complement patterns accompany each meaning of the Aramaic *glh* and the meanings appear in different *binyanim*. At the very least, the Aramaic *glh* as appearing in the Hebrew Bible acts similarly to the Hebrew גלה in the same material. Thus, the Aramaic *glh* might also represent two roots.

Chapter four answers the objection that the two root status of the ancient Hebrew גלה is insignificant. The ancient Hebrew authors are familiar with the two roots of גלה and use them in their prophecies as Lam 4:22 illustrates. Also, the rabbis used the two roots of גלה to connect drunkenness, a result of גלה I in Gen 9:21 and going into exile, גלה II, a homograph with the verb “to uncover.” The prophets assumed knowledge of the two roots of גלה, especially the different meanings as separated by the *binyanim* and the different complementation patterns associated with each root. By understanding the different complementation patterns of each root, the hearer/reader is able to understand the prophetic message closer to the way the original audience perceived it (see Isa 49:9 and Ezek 12:3). Also, knowledge of the complementation patterns helps with textual criticism as in Isa 57:8 where a Piel and Qal form of גלה appear in the manuscripts. This takes the guess work out of the process and allows for a clearer decision. It is possible that knowing the complementation patterns additionally adds nuance to the prophetic

presentation as in a passage such as Isa 38:12. גלה represents two roots in ancient Hebrew, and this is exegetically and interpretatively significant.

As explored in this thesis, semantics is not a sufficient basis for determining homonyms. Syntax plus the semantics of the verb put us on solid ground for understanding how a verb or verbs were understood by the ancient speakers of Hebrew. The study of verbal valency is one way to study a verb and decipher whether it represents a homonym. With גלה, I emphasize that the different meanings of גלה (semantics) appears in different *binyanim* and with a different complementation pattern (syntax). Thus, valency can aid in discovering homonyms, understanding the complementation patterns of a particular verb, fortifies our understanding when making textual decisions in a difficult text, and illustrates when an author uses a homographic pun by employing “homographic complementation switching.” Also, properly distinguishing homonyms makes exegesis more precise as we can more easily recognize the rhetorical devices of an author and the puns they utilize, making the point of a given text clearer. I suggest that study of the valency, and specifically the complementation patterns, of ancient Hebrew verbs will clarify many texts that are presently confounding. For instance, knowledge of the complementation patterns associated with גלל might solidify its presence in Job 20:28 or entirely eliminate it as a possibility. Isaiah 38:12 might be a similar example regarding גלל, though I think it is less likely. If we are familiar with the complementation patterns of ancient Hebrew verbs it could eliminate much of the guess work that goes into reconstructing or emending the MT.

The same is true with regard to puns. When we are cognizant of the complementation patterns associated with ancient Hebrew verbs, we will more easily recognize when something is not right and an unusual complement appears in a surprising way with a verb. This may signal a pun or wordplay. As I illustrate in Isa 49:9 and Ezek 12:3, there is evidence of this kind of wordplay happening in the Hebrew Bible, where the prophet assumes knowledge of the complementation patterns associated with other verbs in order to make understanding the pun possible. It is possible that there are cases where this happens but we are presently unaware of it because we have not adequately considered the complementation patterns of ancient Hebrew verbs.

Therefore, this thesis not only uses complementation patterns as a way to distinguish the two roots of גלה but suggests a way forward through the same means. A better foundation for decision making in textual criticism of the Hebrew Bible and for understanding the rhetorical devices of the various prophets might appear when we thoroughly study the complementation patterns of a verb and in which *binyanim* it appears.

As the curtain closes on this thesis, it seems appropriate to suggest further research possibilities related to the ancient Hebrew גלה. First, what is the orientation of the Hebrew גלה as evidenced in the Hebrew Bible, and is it significant for understanding the mentality of the authors of the texts of the Hebrew Bible? Is the orientation of the verb centered on movement from Israel? In other words, is the author located in Palestine and thinks mainly of moving from there to another place, or is the author in Mesopotamia? It appears that earlier texts such as Samuel and Kings focus on going into

exile from the land of Canaan (the phrase מעל אדמתו comes to mind in 2 Kgs 17:23; 25:21=Jer 52:27; Amos 7:11=17), while later texts, like Esther, Ezra, and Nehemiah, the place of exile is central. Perhaps this is because the authors live in these lands so long that they cannot remember anywhere else so their orientation is from Mesopotamia (see Esth 2:5-6; Ezra 2:1=Neh 7:6). What are the implications of the different, if indeed they are different, authorial orientations of texts that use גלה?

Second, does גלה in ancient Hebrew ever mean “to depart, come” as a simple verb of motion? This suggestion surfaces in connection with גלה’s appearance in 1 Sam 4:21-22, Isa 24:11, and Prov 27:25. Does this simple verb of motion later come to mean “to go into exile?”

Third, is there a diachronic significance to גלה’s usage in the Hebrew Bible? For instance, the root, גלה II, does not appear in Deuteronomy, neither the verb or the noun. Waltke suggests Deuteronomy must be written earlier than usually supposed since גלה is the common term for eviction from the land from the 9th-7th centuries BCE. However, there are other terms for going into exile. What makes an author choose one term to describe this phenomena over another?<sup>1</sup> Also, in the Aramaic portions of Daniel, the late Persian lexeme ܪܝܢ complements גלה six out of the seven times it occurs in Daniel 2. What other aspects of גלה’s usage in the Hebrew Bible could someone examine to see if there are any diachronic clues to גלה’s usage? For instance, is it significant that Chronicles uses

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1. See Waltke, *TWOT* 1:161.

גלה exclusively in the Hifil as Price thinks?<sup>2</sup> If there is some diachronic evidence, what are the implications of this?

Similarly, גלה II does not appear in books in which it would be expected to surface. Neither verb nor the noun appear in Haggai, for instance, and the noun form גִּלְהָה appears in Zechariah, but only twice (6:10; 14:2). Also, the verb from גלה II appears in Neh 7:6, but no noun from this root appears in Nehemiah. Is Israel trying to erase this experience from their memories? Is going into exile simply a thing of the past that is not part of Israel's conversations because their time is occupied by doing other things? Is גלה II's omission in these books significant?

Fourth, if the ancient Hebrew גלה II comes to the language through Akkadian, how does this shape Israel's understanding of their exile? If the very lexeme Israel used to describe their traumatic experience did not originate with them, then how much of their understanding of this period is also coming from these dominant Mesopotamian powers?

Fifth, an investigation of גלה's usage in a section (the Balaam story) or an entire book (Samuel, Isaiah, Ezekiel, Lamentations) would be helpful. Particularly, if both roots appear several times in the section or book. How do the authors use both roots to play upon each other? Do they assume knowledge of previous uses of גלה in the context of the book or do they independently forge their own way with גלה?

Sixth, an attempt to investigate the complement patterns of other homonyms in ancient Hebrew may reveal whether they should still be considered homonyms. It also

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2. Price, "A Lexicographical Study," 52 and 303-4.

may illustrate when an author is playing upon homonyms by expecting the reader/hearer to read one verb but using homographic complementation switching so that another homonym is also in the mind of the reader/hearer.

Seventh, what is the relationship of און + פקה (see Isa 42:20; Lachish Letter 3 lines 4-5;<sup>3</sup> *KAI* 222 A1:13; 4Q511 f16:5) and עין + פקה (see Gen 3:5, 7; 21:19; 2 Kgs 6:17, 20; Isa 35:5) with און + גלה or עין + גלה? In a different angle on the same problem, how should modern Hebrew translate αὐτῶν δὲ διηνοίχθησαν οἱ ὀφθαλμοί in Luke 24:31, for example? Should it be עין + פקה or עין + גלה?

Eighth, how is גלה used in the Scrolls? Does גלה II only appear in CD 7:13-15, as Westermann and Albertz say,<sup>4</sup> or are there other references of which they were unaware? If it only appears in CD 7:13-15, then it is simply a quote from Amos 5. What is the significance of גלה II disuse, if indeed this is true? Clines notes in CDCH<sup>5</sup> that גלה appears in the Scrolls eighty-nine times. I leave it to another to count the occurrences of גלה and figure out its usage in the Scrolls. Do the Scrolls employ גלה in a way that is similar or distinct from its usage in the Hebrew Bible? Do the complementation patterns that appear with גלה in the Hebrew Bible remain the same in the Scrolls? Perhaps גלה will even surface in a Hebrew inscription. Also, an examination of גלה in Mishnaic Hebrew<sup>6</sup> is beyond the scope of this thesis but would be helpful for understanding the lexemes.

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3. See the brief discussion in Schniedewind, *A Social History of Hebrew*, 105-10; also see James M. Lindenberger, *Ancient Aramaic and Hebrew Letters*, 2nd ed. (Atlanta: SBL, 2003), 125-6.

4. See Westermann and Albertz, *TLOT* 1:319.

5. See *CDCH* 66.

6. See Jastrow, *A Dictionary of the Targumim*, 1:247-8.



The hope of this thesis is that future explorations of ancient Hebrew homonyms and their complementation patterns will cast further light upon the message of the prophets as disseminated in various rhetorical devices, such as complementation switching and homographic wordplays. Distinguishing homonyms can be significant for exegesis, as illustrated in this thesis, and further study is called for to further understand the prophetic imagination and rhetorical skill.

## ABBREVIATIONS

AB — Anchor Bible

ABH — Archaic Biblical Hebrew

ABL — Robert Francis Harper, *Assyrian and Babylonian Letters Belonging to the Kouyunjik Collection of the British Museum*, Vol 1-14 (London/Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1892-1914).

BAR — Biblical Archaeologist Review

BHRG — Christo H. J. van der Merwe, Jackie A. Naudé and Jan H. Kroeze. *A Biblical Hebrew Reference Grammar*. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1999.

BHS — Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia

BHQ — Biblia Hebraica Quinta

Bib — Biblica

CAD — Chicago Assyrian Dictionary

CBQ — Catholic Biblical Quarterly

CC — Continental Commentary

CDCH — Concise Dictionary of Classical Hebrew

DCH — Dictionary of Classical Hebrew

NIDOTTE — New International Dictionary of Old Testament Theology and Exegesis

EHL — Encyclopedia of Hebrew Language and Linguistics

FOTL — The Forms of Old Testament Literature

HCOT — Historical Commentary on the Old Testament

HS — Hebrew Studies

HSMS — Harvard Semitic Museum Studies

ICC — International Critical Commentary

IECOT — International Exegetical Commentary on the Old Testament

Iraq — Iraq

JANES — Journal of the Ancient Near Eastern Society

JHebS — Journal of Hebrew Scriptures

JAOS — Journal of the American Oriental Society

JETS — Journal of the Evangelical Theological Society

JNSL — Journal of Northwest Semitic Languages

JTS — Journal of Theological Studies

KAI — H. Donner and W. Röllig, *Kanaanäische und Aramäische Inschriften*. Volumes 1-3. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1971-73.

LBH — Late Biblical Hebrew

LXX — Septuagint

MT — Masoretic Text

NICOT — New International Commentary on the Old Testament

NIV — New International Version

NRSV — New Revised Standard Version

Or — Orientalia

OTL — Old Testament Library

TADAE — Bezalel Porten and Ada Yardeni, *Textbook of Aramaic Documents from Ancient Egypt: Newly Copied, Edited and Translated into Hebrew and English*. Volumes 1-4. Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1986-1999.

TDOT — Theological Dictionary of Old Testament

TLOT — Theological Lexicon of the Old Testament

TWOT — Theological Wordbook of the Old Testament

TynBul — Tyndale Bulletin

SAA — State Archives of Assyria

SBH — Standard Biblical Hebrew

VT — Vetus Testamentum

WBC — Word Biblical Commentary

WO — Bruce K. Waltke and M. O'Connor. *An Introduction to Biblical Hebrew Syntax*. Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1990.

ZAH — Zeitschrift für Althebräistik

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## APPENDIX A

### גלה I IN THE *BINYANIM*

#### **Qal**

Num 24:4, 16; 1 Sam 9:15; 20:2, 12, 13; 22:8 [twice], 17; 2 Sam 7:27; Jer 32:11; Amos 3:7; Job 20:28; 33:16; 36:10, 15; Prov 20:19; 27:25; Ruth 4:4; Esth 3:14; 8:13; 1 Chron 17:25

#### **Nifal**

Gen 35:7; Exod 20:26; Deut 29:28; 1 Sam 2:27 [twice]; 3:7, 21; 14:8, 11; 2 Sam 6:20 [thrice]; 22:16=Ps 18:16; Isa 22:14; 23:1; 38:12; 40:5; 47:3; 49:9; 53:1; 56:1; Jer 13:22; Ezek 13:14; 16:36, 57; 21:29; 23:29; Hos 7:1; Job 38:17; Prov 26:26; Dan 10:1

#### **Piel**

Lev 18:6, 7 [twice], 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15 [twice], 16, 17 [twice], 18, 19; 20:19; 20:11, 17, 18 [twice], 20, 21; Num 22:31; Deut 23:1; 27:20; Isa 16:3; 22:8; 26:21; 47:2 [twice]; 57:8; Jer 11:20; 20:12; 33:6; 49:10; Ezek 16:37; 22:10; 23:10, 18 [twice]; Hos 2:12; Mic 1:6; Nah 3:5; Pss 98:2; 119:18; Job 12:22; 20:27; 41:5; Prov 11:13; 25:9; Ruth 3:4, 7; Lam 2:14; 4:22

#### **Pual**

Prov 27:5; Nah 2:8

#### **Hitpael**

Gen 9:21; Prov 18:2

## APPENDIX B

### גלה II IN THE *BINYANIM*

#### **Qal**

Judg 18:30

1 Sam 4:21, 22

2 Sam 15:19

2 Kgs 17:23; 24:14; 25:21

Isa 5:13; 24:11; 49:21

Jer 1:3; 52:27

Ezek 12:3 [twice]; 39:23

Hos 10:5

Amos 1:5; 5:5 [twice]; 6:7 [twice]; 7:11 [twice], 17 [twice]

Mic 1:16

Lam 1:3

#### **Hifil**

2 Kgs 15:29; 16:9; 17:6, 11, 26, 27, 28, 33; 18:11; 24:14, 15; 25:11

Jer 20:4; 22:12; 24:1; 27:20; 29:1, 4, 7, 14; 39:9; 43:3; 52:15, 28, 29 [possibly], 30

Ezek 39:28

Amos 1:6; 5:27

Lam 4:22

Esth 2:6

Ezra 2:1=Neh 7:6

1 Chron 5:6, 26, 41; 8:6, 7

2 Chron 36:20

#### **Hofal**

Jer 13:19 [twice]; 40:1, 7

Esth 2:6 [twice]

1 Chron 9:1

## APPENDIX C

### גלה'S COMPLEMENTATION

<i>Binyan</i>	<b>Gloss</b>	<b>Subject</b>	<b>Complement</b>
Qal	<p>“to uncover, reveal” (I)</p> <p>Subject<sub>1</sub> uncovers ears/eyes (Num 24:4, 16)<sub>2</sub> by showing/speaking a message<sub>3</sub>.</p>	Usually a Person	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Usually a NP</li> <li>- NP marked by את</li> <li>- NP with און or עין</li> </ul>
Qal	<p>“to go into exile, deport” (II)</p> <p>Nation<sub>1</sub> is deported from/to Place<sub>2</sub>. King<sub>1</sub> deports Nation<sub>2</sub> from/to Place<sub>3</sub>.</p>	Usually a Nation (Israel, Judah, Aram)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Usually a PP</li> <li>- מן-PP (most common)</li> <li>- אל-PP, ל-PP, ה-PP</li> </ul>
Nifal	<p>“to be uncovered” or “to uncover oneself”</p> <p>Subject<sub>1</sub> is revealed to someone<sub>2</sub>. (passive) Subject<sub>1</sub> reveals himself/herself<sub>2</sub> to someone<sub>3</sub>. (reflexive)</p>	Usually a Person	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Appears regularly with PP complements (אל-PP, ל-PP, ב-PP, מן-PP, על-PP, ב-PP) and NP complements (ערוה)</li> </ul>
Piel	<p>“to uncover, reveal”</p> <p>Subject<sub>1</sub> uncovers some body part<sub>2</sub> (און, etc.). Subject<sub>1</sub> uncovers sexual organs<sub>2</sub> (ערוה, etc.).</p>	<p>Usually a body part is being uncovered</p> <p>Usually describes some kind of sexual act</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• NP dealing with body parts</li> <li>- שוק, צמה, ערוה, מקור</li> <li>- כנף, תזנות, מרגלות, עין</li> <li>- NP marked by את</li> </ul>
Pual	<p>“to be uncovered”</p> <p>Subject<sub>1</sub> is uncovered.</p>		
Hifil	<p>“to cause to deport another”</p> <p>King<sub>1</sub> sends into exile/deports a Nation/ Person<sub>2</sub> from/to Place<sub>3</sub>.</p>	Usually a King, sometimes a Person	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Usually a PP</li> <li>- מן-PP (most common)</li> <li>- ה-PP (common)</li> <li>- Less common PP include ב-PP, אל-PP, ל-PP</li> </ul>
Hofal	<p>“to be carried into exile, deport”</p> <p>Person/Nation<sub>1</sub> is carried into exile/ deported from/to Place<sub>2</sub>.</p>	Usually a Nation or Person	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Usually a PP</li> <li>- מן-PP (Esth 2:6)</li> <li>- ל-PP (1 Chron 9:1)</li> <li>- ה-PP (Jer 40:7)</li> </ul>
Hitpael	<p>“to uncover oneself”</p> <p>Subject<sub>1</sub> uncovers himself/herself<sub>2</sub>.</p>	Usually a Person	- Implied same as subject

## APPENDIX D

### תורה IN גלה

<p>“To reveal, uncover” (גלה I)            Gen 9:21; 35:7; Exod 20:26; Lev 18:6, 7 [twice], 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15 [twice], 16, 17 [twice], 18, 19; 20:11, 17, 18 [twice], 19, 20, 21; Num 22:31; 24:4, 16; Deut 23:1 [ET 22:30]; 27:20; 29:28 [ET 29:29]</p>	<p>“To go into exile” (גלה II)            No occurrences</p>
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### נביאים IN גלה

<p>“To reveal, uncover” (גלה I)            1 Sam 2:27 [twice]; 3:7, 21; 9:15; 14:8, 11; 20:2, 12, 13; 22:8 [twice], 17; 2 Sam 6:20 [thrice]; 7:27; 22:16; Isa 16:3; 22:8, 14; 23:1; 26:21; 38:12 (possibly); 40:5; 47:2 [twice], 3; 49:9; 53:1; 56:1; Jer 11:20; 13:22; 20:12; 32:11, 14; 33:6; 49:10; Ezek 13:14; 16:36, 37, 57; 21:29 [E 21:24]; 22:10; 23:10, 18 [twice], 29; Hos 2:12 [ET 2:10]; 7:1; Amos 3:7; Mic 1:6; Nah 2:8 [ET 2:7]; 3:5</p>	<p>“To go into exile” (גלה II)            Judg 18:30; 1 Sam 4:21-22; 2 Sam 15:19; 2 Kgs 15:29; 16:9; 17:6, 11, 23, 26, 27, 28, 33; 18:11; 24:14 [twice], 15; 25:11, 21; Isa 5:13; 24:11; 49:21; 57:8 (possibly); Jer 1:3; 13:19 [twice]; 20:4; 22:12; 24:1; 27:20; 29:1, 4, 7, 14; 39:9; 40:1, 7; 43:3; 52:15, 27, 28, [add to 29], 30; Ezek 12:3 [twice]; 39:23, 28; Hos 10:5; Amos 1:5, 6; 5:5 [twice], 27; 6:7 [twice]; 7:11 [twice], 17 [twice]; Mic 1:16</p>
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### כתובים IN גלה

<p>“To reveal, uncover” (גלה I)            Pss 18:16 [ET 18:15]; 98:2; 119:18; Job 12:22; 20:27, 28; 33:16; 36:10, 15; 38:17; 41:5 [ET 41:13]; Prov 11:13; 18:2; 20:19; 25:9; 26:26; 27:5, 25; Ruth 3:4, 7; 4:4; Lam 2:14; 4:22; Esth 3:14; 8:13; Dan 10:1 [Aramaic 2:19, 22, 28, 29, 30, 47 [twice]]; 1 Chron 17:25</p>	<p>“To go into exile” (גלה II)            Lam 1:3; 4:22; Esth 2:6 [thrice]; Ezra 2:1 [Aramaic 4:10; 5:12]; Neh 7:6; 1 Chron 5:6, 26, 41 [ET 6:15]; 8:6, 7; 9:1; 2 Chron 36:20</p>
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APPENDIX E

גלה I IN PROSE AND POETRY

<b>גלה I in Prose</b>	<b>גלה I in Poetry</b>
Gen 9:21; 35:7	Num 24:4, 16
Exod 20:26	Isa 16:3; 22:8, 14; 23:1; 26:21; 38:12
Lev 18:6, 7 [twice], 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15 [twice], 16, 17 [twice], 18, 19; 20:11, 17, 18 [twice], 19, 20, 21	(possibly) 40:5; 47:2 [twice], 3; 49:9; 53:1; 56:1
Num 22:31	Jeremiah 11:20; 13:22; 20:12; 32:11, 14; 33:6; 49:10
Deut 23:1 [ET 22:30]; 27:20; 29:28 [ET 29:29]	2 Sam 22:16
1 Sam 2:27 [twice]; 3:7, 21; 9:15; 14:8, 11; 20:2, 12, 13; 22:8 [twice], 17	Ezek 13:14; 16:36, 37, 57; 21:29 [E 21:24]; 22:10; 23:10, 18 [twice], 29
2 Sam 6:20 [thrice]; 7:27	Hos 2:12 [ET 2:10]; 7:18
Ruth 3:4, 7; 4:4	Amos 3:7
Esth 3:14; 8:13	Mic 1:6
Dan 10:1	Nah 2:8 [ET 2:7]; 3:5
1 Chron 17:25	Pss 18:16 [ET 18:15]; 98:2; 119:18
Dan 2:19, 28, 29, 30, 47 [twice] (Aramaic)	Job 12:22; 20:27, 28; 33:16; 36:10, 15; 38:17; 41:5 [ET 41:13]
	Prov 11:13; 18:2; 20:19; 25:9; 26:26; 27:5, 25
	Lam 2:14; 4:22
	Dan 2:22 (Aramaic)



APPENDIX F

גלה II IN PROSE AND POETRY

<b>גלה II in Prose</b>	<b>גלה II in Poetry</b>
<p>Judg 18:30            1 Sam 4:21-22            2 Sam 15:19            2 Kgs 15:29; 16:9; 17:6, 11, 23, 26, 27, 28, 33; 18:11; 24:14 [twice], 15; 25:11, 21            Jer 1:3; 20:4; 24:1; 27:20; 29:1, 4, 7, 14; 39:9; 40:1, 7; 43:3; 52:15, 27, 28, 29 (?), 30            Ezek 12:3 [twice]            Esth 2:6 [thrice]            Ezra 2:1            Neh 7:6            1 Chron 5:6, 26, 41 [E 6:15]; 8:6, 7; 9:1            2 Chron 36:20            Ezra 4:10; 5:12 (Aramaic)</p>	<p>Isa 5:13; 24:11; 49:21; 57:8 (possibly)            Jer 13:19 [twice]; 22:12            Ezek 39:23, 28            Hos 10:5            Amos 1:5, 6; 5:5 [twice], 27; 6:7 [twice]; 7:11 [twice], 17 [twice]            Mic 1:16            Lam 1:3; 4:22</p>

APPENDIX G

DIACHRONIC USE OF גלה

<p><b>גלה I in ABH</b> Num 24:4, 16; 2 Sam 22:16=P s 18:16 [ET 18:15]</p>	<p><b>גלה I in SBH</b> Gen 9:21; 35:7; Exod 20:26; Lev 18:6, 7 [twice], 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15 [twice], 16, 17 [twice], 18, 19; 20:11, 17, 18 [twice], 19, 20, 21; Num 22:31; Deut 23:1 [ET 22:30]; 27:20; 29:28 [ET 29:29]; 1 Sam 2:27 [twice]; 3:7, 21; 9:15; 14:8, 11; 20:2, 12, 13; 22:8 [twice], 17; 2 Sam 6:20 [thrice]; 7:27; Isa 16:3; 22:8, 14; 23:1; 26:21; 38:12 (possibly); Hos 2:12 [ET 2:10]; 7:18; Amos 3:7; Mic 1:6; Nah 2:8 [ET 2:7]; 3:5</p>	<p><b>גלה I in Transitional Biblical Hebrew</b> Isa 40:5; 47:2 [twice], 3; 49:9; 53:1; 56:1; Jer 11:20; 13:22; 20:12; 32:11, 14; 33:6; 49:10; Ezek 13:14; 16:36, 37, 57; 21:29 [ET 21:24]; 22:10; 23:10, 18 [twice], 29; Lam 2:14; 4:22;</p>	<p><b>גלה I in LBH</b> Ruth 3:4, 7; 4:4; Esth 3:14; 8:13; Dan 10:1 [Aramaic 2:19, 22, 28, 29, 30, 47 [twice]]; 1 Chron 17:25</p>	<p><b>גלה I in Undetermined Biblical Hebrew</b> Pss 98:2; 119:18; Job 12:22; 20:27, 28; 33:16; 36:10, 15; 38:17; 41:5 [ET 41:13]; Prov 11:13; 18:2; 20:19; 25:9; 26:26; 27:5, 25</p>
<p><b>גלה II in ABH</b> NA</p>	<p><b>גלה II in SBH</b> Judg 18:30; 1 Sam 4:21-22; 2 Sam 15:19; 2 Kgs 15:29; 16:9; 17:6, 11, 23, 26, 27, 28, 33; 18:11; 24:14 [twice], 15; 25:11, 21; Isa 5:13; 24:11; Hos 10:5; Amos 1:5, 6; 5:5 [twice], 27; 6:7 [twice]; 7:11 [twice], 17 [twice]; Mic 1:16</p>	<p><b>גלה II in Transitional Biblical Hebrew</b> Isa 49:21; 57:8 (possibly); Jer 1:3; 13:19 [twice]; 20:4; 22:12; 24:1; 27:20; 29:1, 4, 7, 14; 39:9; 40:1, 7; 43:3; 52:15, 27, 28, 29, 30; Ezek 12:3 [twice]; 39:23, 28; Lam 1:3; 4:22;</p>	<p><b>גלה II in LBH</b> Esth 2:6 [thrice]; Ezra 2:1 [Aramaic 4:10; 5:12]; Neh 7:6; 1 Chron 5:6, 26, 41 [E 6:15]; 8:6, 7; 9:1; 2 Chron 36:20</p>	<p><b>גלה II in Undetermined Biblical Hebrew</b> NA</p>

## APPENDIX H

### NOUNS FROM גלה II

גֹּלְיָה

2 Kgs 24:15, 16

Jer 28:6; 29:1, 4, 16, 20, 31; 46:19; 48:7, 11; 49:3

Ezek 1:1; 3:11, 15; 11:24, 25; 12:3, 4, 7, 11; 25:3

Amos 1:15

Nah 3:10

Zech 6:10; 14:2

Est 2:6

Ezra 1:11; 2:1; 4:1; 6:19, 20, 21; 8:35; 9:4; 10:6, 7, 8, 16

Neh 7:6

1 Chron 5:22

גְּלוּיָה

2 Kgs 25:27

Isa 20:4; 45:13

Jer 24:5; 28:4; 29:22; 40:1; 52:31

Ezek 1:2; 33:21; 40:1

Amos 1:6, 9

Obad 20