

**AN EXAMINATION OF THE FUNCTION OF THE PI'EL IN
BIBLICAL HEBREW**

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**by
Kenneth Laing Harris**

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ABBREVIATIONS

ABD	<i>Anchor Bible Dictionary</i>
BDB	Brown Driver Briggs, <i>Hebrew and English Lexicon</i>
BHS	Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia
CAD	Chicago Assyrian Dictionary
CBQ	<i>Catholic Biblical Quarterly</i>
DCH	<i>The Dictionary of Classical Hebrew</i>
ESV	<i>English Standard Version</i>
GKC	Gesenius, Kautzsch, and Cowley
JAOS	Journal of the American Oriental Society
JANES	Journal of Ancient Near Eastern Studies
JBL	Journal of Biblical Literature
JNSL	Journal of Northwest Semitic Languages
Joüon-Muraoka	Joüon-Muraoka, <i>A Grammar of Biblical Hebrew</i>
JSS	Journal of Semitic Studies
JTS	Journal of Theological Studies
KB	Kochler Baumgartner, <i>The Hebrew and Aramaic Lexicon of the Old Testament</i>
NIDOTTE	<i>New International Dictionary of Old Testament Theology and Exegesis</i>
NIV	<i>New International Version</i>
NJB	<i>New Jerusalem Bible</i>
RSV	<i>Revised Standard Version</i>
TWAT	<i>Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Alten Testament</i>
TDOT	<i>Theological Dictionary of the Old Testament</i> [Eng trans of TWAT]
TWOT	<i>Theological Wordbook of the Old Testament</i>
WO	<i>Die Welt des Orients</i>
W&O	Waltke & O'Connor, <i>An Introduction to Biblical Hebrew Syntax</i>
ZAH	<i>Zeitschrift für Althebraistik</i>

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ABSTRACT

Since Albrecht Goetze criticized the ‘intensive’ explanation of the function of the D-stem in Semitic languages in 1942, scholars have been debating how the function of the theme [stem] ought to be described. This debate focuses on the nature of both *internal relationships* – how do all its function relate, and *external relationships* – how does the theme relate to the rest of the verbal system. The framework of the discussion tends to expect that the data is able to provide answers to these questions that are both absolute in nature and exhaustive in scope. As a result, scholarly response is largely polarized between the verbal system being necessarily either ‘systematic’ – the connection between form and function is transparent, or ‘lexicalized’ – the connection between form and function is opaque. Consequently, the discussion of the piel in Biblical Hebrew is also set in this framework, represented in particular by the work of Ernst Jenni. The shape of the route taken in research on the function of the piel since Goetze’s article is described in chapter one.

In chapter two, the present study has argued that the nature and scope of the questions scholars have asked have not sufficiently taken the nature of the data into consideration. Therefore, the purpose of the present research has been to study the function of the piel in Biblical Hebrew and to allow the data in the texts to determine the extent to which conclusions are drawn. To achieve this, the forms of all verbs attested in the piel were examined in the Biblical texts, with focus given to those verbs that are well attested. In addition, verbs that are used in the same contexts and have overlapping senses were also grouped together and observations about the function of the piel amongst the themes of the verbs are given where appropriate. The presentation of this material is given in chapters three, four, and five.

The examination undertaken in this study has illustrated the fact that function of the piel amongst the themes shows patterns of internal relationship that can be described generally as ‘complex active’, and external relationships that overlap with the function of the qal and hiphil forms while still being able to be distinct from them. The study argues then in chapter six, that what the data presents of the verbal system shows a language with both principles and structures of relationship as well as the existence of overlap in function between elements in that structure. Thus, the language contained in the data of the text bears its functions primarily in a manner consistent with its use – it was ‘lived in’ for the purpose of communication.

CHAPTER 1

Mapping the History of Research

1.1 Introduction

The Hebrew verbal system exhibits three major themes¹: qal, piel and hiphil, with each also having a reflexive-reciprocal and/or medio-passive form that generally correspond to it (niph'al to qal, pual and hithpa'el to piel, and hoph'al to hiphil).² The piel is characterized in form by the doubling of the second root radical/consonant.³ There are verbs attested in varying proportions in these themes (eg. נָצַר in q; זָבַח in q and p; אָבַד in q, p and hi; יָטַב in q and hi; קָבַץ in q, ni, p, pu and hith and זָמַר I in p only). Determining the meaning of the piel, particularly as it relates to the other attested themes, can thus be difficult.

In their section on the piel, Joüon-Muraoka's grammar of Biblical Hebrew states:

“In terms of the identification of function, Piel is the most elusive of the Hebrew conjugations.” and “...the question how the function of Piel in relation to other conjugations, notably Qal, should be defined still remains one of the major challenges facing Hebrew and Semitic linguistics.”⁴

The reasons for this are at least two fold and both have to do with questions relating to the nature of relationships. The first problematic area is that of internal

¹ There are a number of different terms that have been employed to refer to the formations of the Hebrew verbal system: *binyanim* (plural of the Heb. בִּנְיָן ‘building’), *stems*, *themes*, *conjugation*, *Stammform*, etc. The term ‘theme’ will be used to refer to this phenomenon. For the sake of simplicity, the names of the themes will be written without signification of a guttural (e.g. piel, hiphil) when used in the body of the thesis and at times will be abbreviated (e.g. q, n, p, pu, hi, ho, hith) when discussing attestations of a verb. The exception to this is where reference is made to the title of an article or monograph published with the signification (e.g. *Das hebräische Pi'el*).

² Most grammars of Biblical Hebrew begin with a comparable explanation of thematic relationships, even where they may question its accuracy: cf. C. H. J. van der Merwe, J. A. Naudé, and J. H. Kroeze, *A Biblical Hebrew Reference Grammar*, Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press (1999) §16.1 for a fairly recent example. In addition, general descriptions of Biblical Hebrew include explanations of the verbal system that follow along the same lines: cf. R. Steiner, “Ancient Hebrew” in *The Semitic Languages*, edited by R. Hetzron, London: Routledge (1997) 145–73 and E. Y. Kutscher, *A History of the Hebrew Language*, edited by R. Kutscher, Leiden: E.J. Brill (1982) § 47. Both describe the verbal system in these three basic sets and indicate that the reflexive/passive themes are sometimes used with other themes.

³ Thus, the designation *D-stem*, which is used to refer to this form in the Semitic languages in general comes from the German term meaning doubled stem, *Doppelungstamm*. Other terms that have been used to refer to this morphological process in the D-stem are “lengthening”, “intensification”, and “gemination”.

⁴ Joüon-Muraoka, § 52a, d.

relationship. The piel⁵ exhibits a number of different semantic functions depending upon the meaning of the verb and its context (e.g. active, causative/factitive, declarative-estimative, privative, etc.). The question that has troubled scholars in this respect concerns how all these functions are to be explained as existing under the piel as a single morphological category. Do all of the attested functions of the piel relate to one another and if so how? Some scholars have sought to answer this question by searching to find what they would posit as the piel's basic meaning from which all others have been derived. Other scholars, usually on account of being unconvinced by the evidence for derivation, have cautioned against doing so.

The second problem area is external relationship. Among the numerous semantic functions of the piel, some appear to overlap with the functions of other themes (qal and piel as 'active'; piel and hiphil as 'causative' being the most significant). Often these apparently overlapping senses of themes are attested for the same verb (eg. קָבַץ in qal and piel 'to gather'; חָזַק in piel and hiphil 'to strengthen').⁶ As a result, scholars have disagreed over whether it is correct to refer to the piel (and other themes) as being 'derived' from the qal with respect to both morphology and semantics. Thus, the question relates to how the piel's relationship to the other themes in the verbal system in biblical Hebrew should be explained and in what way this ought to be determined. There may be other subsidiary and related questions on the matter, but most are adequately subsumed under the category of either internal or external relationships.⁷

1.2 Mapping out Previous Research on the Piel

Before turning to the exploration of the internal and external relationships of the piel or even to a methodology to this end, it is necessary to examine the routes taken in previous research. In fact, it seems, even from a cursory glance at the most recent history of study on the piel, that the assumptions, methods, and routes that

⁵ The following questions apply to the D-stem in Semitic languages in general. However, since the purpose of the following study is to examine the function of the piel in Biblical Hebrew, it will be the primary focus.

⁶ For the study on these verbs see §3.1 (קָבַץ) and §4.1 (חָזַק) below.

⁷ The use of the word 'relation' or 'relationships' does not necessarily presume anything about the nature of these connections. That is to say, whether a scholar is arguing for the systematic nature of the verbal system (e.g. Jenni) or that the themes possibly grew independently of one another and only later came to be seen as connected (e.g. Ryder), both are addressing the nature of the relationship the piel has with other forms in the verbal system.

scholars have taken were often in purposeful contradistinction to those that went before them. This is not surprising nor is it uncommon in any area of research. However, it appears that careful examination of the history of research and its effect on that which follows is in greater need of being made explicit. Before setting out on a further expedition, it is essential to examine both the previous routes the research on the piel has taken and for what reasons. This chapter then is primarily descriptive; a mapping out of where the research on the piel has been. In the following chapter, critical comments on this map will be made and the tracks for the route of the present exploration will be set out. After the prior routes are mapped and examined critically, the field notes from the present exploration on the function of the piel in Biblical Hebrew are offered in chapters 3, 4, and 5.

1.3 A Starting Point: Goetze's Signpost

The question of where to begin mapping the historical investigation is not a difficult one. A significant signpost comes in 1942 with the publication of Albrecht Goetze's influential article "The So-Called Intensive of the Semitic Languages".⁸ In his article, Goetze questions what was, at the time of its publication, the generally accepted understanding of the D-stem's internal and external relationships. If the signpost of Goetze's article is labeled with the word 'intensity', then it is possible to say that much of the direction of research that followed has taken its sightings from this signpost in one way or another. In fact, in the past sixty plus years since Goetze's article, the route of research has done something of a complete circle and come right back to the same signpost. Similar then, to the route of Sir Ernest Shackleton's Antarctic expedition aboard the *Endurance*, research on the piel has ended up where it started, though there has been quite a journey and the explanation of the function of the theme has been shaped by the process.⁹

⁸ A. Goetze, "The So-Called Intensive of the Semitic Languages", *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 62 (1942) 1-8.

⁹ Shackleton's Imperial Trans-Antarctic Expedition of 1914-1917 essentially began and ended on the island of South Georgia, with the exception of the later rescue of the stranded members of the expedition from Elephant Island.

1.4 The Piel in Hebrew Grammar before 1942

Before beginning in the middle of the twentieth century, it is appropriate to comment briefly on what created the context for Goetze's article up to 1942, most of which falls outside the scope of this thesis. Although the grammatical study of Hebrew surely has roots reaching further back, the earliest extant works on grammar date from the tenth century.¹⁰ During this period, Jewish grammarians adopted the grammatical categories of Arabic for their explanations of Hebrew due to the familial relationship between the two languages. In particular, this meant the recognition of the tri-consonantal root in Hebrew verbs and the application of the standard paradigmatic verb (Heb. פִּעַל) in explanations of the Hebrew verbal system.¹¹ Like their Arabic counterparts, Hebrew grammarians began to explain the relationships within the Hebrew verbal system in relation to the meaning of the simple stem (qal). Thus, it is also during this period that the first known references to the piel as 'intensive' are found. Although it does not take the primary place in his explanation, David Kimḥi states that the piel (as well as the hiphil) is often used to intensify the idea of the qal.¹² These influences on understanding the workings of the Hebrew language would continue throughout the development and shift of Hebrew grammatical study from Jewish grammarians to Christian grammarians in the sixteenth century and up to the transformation of Hebrew grammar in the nineteenth century.¹³ Thus, the comments of Gesenius on the meaning of the piel are generally representative of grammarians in both biblical Hebrew as well as other Semitic languages in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries:¹⁴

The fundamental idea of *Pi'el*, to which all the various shades of meaning in this conjugation may be referred, is *to busy oneself eagerly*

¹⁰ Cf. J. Barr, "Linguistic Literature, Hebrew", *Encyclopedia Judaica*, Vol 16, 1352–1401; ABD, "Languages (Hebrew)", 4:203–14; and G. Khan, "The Karaite Tradition of Hebrew Grammatical Thought" in *Hebrew Study from Ezra to Ben-Yehuda*, edited by William Horbury, Edinburgh: T&T Clark (1999) 186–203.

¹¹ The grammarian who apparently first noted the tri-consonantal root in Hebrew as well as using the paradigmatic root פִּעַל (Ar. *f 'l*) from Arabic was Yehuda Ḥayyuj. Cf. W&O §2.2.1a; also J. Barr, "Linguistic Literature, Hebrew", [n. 10] § 2.7.2.

¹² See W. Chomsky, *David Kimḥi's Hebrew Grammar (Mikhlol) Systematically Presented and Critically Annotated*, New York: Block Publishing Company (1952) 86 (§ 24b).

¹³ See Jollon-Muraoka § 4; W&O § 2.1-2.5

¹⁴ For other examples in Hebrew see H. Bauer and P. Leander, *Historische Grammatik der Hebräischen Sprache des Alten Testaments*, § 45; P. Jollon, *Grammaire de L'Hébreu Biblique*, § 52 d; Davidson, *An Introductory Hebrew Grammar*, § 26 I b; and in Akkadian see F. Delitzsch, *Assyrische Grammatik*, § 84.

with the action indicated by the stem. This intensifying of the idea of the stem, which is outwardly expressed by the strengthening of the second radical, appears in individual cases as — (a) a *strengthening* and *repetition* of the action. [...] The eager pursuit of an action may also consist in *urging* and *causing* others to do the same. Hence *Piʿel*, has also — (b) a *causative* sense (like *Hiphʿel*) ... [and lastly] (c) *denominatives*.¹⁵

As the study of comparative Semitics grew from its medieval beginnings into the twentieth century, the grammatical categories of Arabic continued as the paradigm for understanding and explaining the verbal system of many of the individual Semitic languages. While working in Akkadian, Goetze found that this recently discovered language had as well been explained through the analogy of Arabic grammatical categories. In particular, it was the meaning of the D-stem that caused Goetze to question the traditional understanding and it was his ensuing intellectual discomfort that was the impetus for his article in 1942. Thus, it is to his argument and its influence that we now turn.

1.5 Goetze: romantic notions, the so-called intensive, and the Akkadian stative

With Albrecht Goetze's article in 1942, the subject of the internal and external relationships of the Semitic verbal system, particularly as it relates to the D stem in Akkadian and the *piel* in Biblical Hebrew, comes to the forefront and marks a shift for future research. Because of the influence of Goetze's article on future research, it is necessary to spend the time giving a detailed description of his argument in order to describe how this signpost regarding 'intensity' directed the routes of further exploration. As mentioned above, the more immediate context for Goetze's article was the discovery of Akkadian and the resulting historical and grammatical explanations of that particular language. The article "The So-called Intensive of the Semitic Languages" made clear by its title that Goetze wished to voice a challenge to the traditional understanding of the relationship between the stems (what we are referring to as 'themes') and of the relationships within the D-stem itself. After a brief explanation on the influence of Arabic grammatical categories upon Hebrew grammar, Goetze set out a clear statement of his purpose: "It is the purpose of this

¹⁵ GKC § 52 *f*.

paper to demonstrate that it [traditional explanation of the relationships] breaks down when the so-called intensive is subjected to closer scrutiny.”¹⁶

The aspect of the traditional explanation Goetze wished to contest was the fact that the native grammarians believed that the verbal system was primarily one of derivation, in both form and meaning, from the ‘root’ and thus the ‘basic form’ (reconstructed for ‘primitive Semitic’ as **qatala* (**yaqtulu*)).¹⁷ In particular, Goetze argued that this traditional explanation did not hold up when the ‘intensive’ (piel in BH) was actually examined. He criticized as a “romantic notion” the explanation that the doubling of the second root radical represented a corresponding intensification of the ‘basic’ stem (qal in BH) in the meaning of the piel.¹⁸ Furthermore, Goetze stated that it was an “undeniable fact” that the intensive was problematic because it was assumed that the variety of the meanings all derived from the one ‘intensive’.¹⁹ As a result, Goetze called upon modern linguistics to reject such “a prioris” and “demand that the meaning of the piel [be] determined by a broad enough survey of actual occurrences and by a definition of the conditions which govern them.”²⁰

Following on from the demand for this survey, Goetze gives a brief account of the way Arabic-Hebrew grammarians categorized the function of the piel.²¹ First of all, they only claimed intensive-frequentative force for one category of verbs which included both transitives and intransitives (e.g. trans. שָׁבַר; intrans. הִלֵּךְ). Secondly, additional categories were set up for other occurrences, ‘causatives’ and ‘factitives’ being the most important (e.g. trans. לָמַד; intrans. כָּבַד). Goetze asserted that this ought to be regarded as a single category and that the result of the doubling of the middle root radical was transitivity. Thus the piel of a transitive verb is ‘causative’ (“doubly transitive”) and the piel of an intransitive verb is ‘factitive’. Here Goetze pointed out again that the causative-factitive had typically been explained as being derived from the intensive, but that it had not been demonstrated as to how this was possible. The third and final category mentioned is denominatives, which Goetze stated “remains outside of the verbal system in the stricter sense of the term” and is also hard to explain as deriving from the intensive.

¹⁶ Goetze [n. 8], 2.

¹⁷ Goetze [n. 8], 2, and n. 7.

¹⁸ Goetze [n. 8], 2.

¹⁹ Goetze [n. 8], 2.

²⁰ Goetze [n. 8], 2.

²¹ Goetze [n. 8], 2, 3.

Goetze's primary task was not to undertake the desired modern linguistic survey of the occurrences of the *piel*, but rather to show how an examination of Akkadian further indicts the traditional explanation. Although Akkadian grammars at that time tended to describe the D-stem as primarily intensive and derived from the G-stem,²² he condemns these explanations as merely reflecting the use of the traditional understanding and therefore of moving "in a vicious circle".²³ Furthermore, Goetze points out that these explanations rest, in part, on the assumption that Arabic is the oldest of the Semitic languages and that variations in Akkadian represent later innovations. He thus moves to offer a comparison between Akkadian and West Semitic in order to set the groundwork for the main point of his argument.

The foundation of Goetze's further argumentation is his explanation of the proposed history and function of the Akkadian 'permansive' or 'stative' and its identification with the West Semitic 'neuter verb' (stative).²⁴ Within this explanation, Goetze makes a number of assertions which are crucial to his argument. The first has to do with the character of the Akkadian stative itself. Although Assyriologists have tended to list an infinitive like *šalāmum* for forms like *šalim*, Goetze argues that no such infinitives exist. According to Goetze, this is due to the fact that infinitives like *šalāmum* belong "exclusively to the action type verb."²⁵ Forms like *šalim* should rather be seen to be of nominal origin and thus nothing more than the predicative form of adjectives.²⁶ From this Goetze draws the conclusion that the coexistence of the two forms in Akkadian represented by *šalim* and *iprus* correspond to two different sentence types: "the descriptive nominal sentence" and "the narrative verbal sentence of the action type" respectively.²⁷ Goetze argues that for Akkadian this distinction is basic.²⁸

²² Goetze cites the grammars of F. Delitzsch, *Assyrische Grammatik* and A. Ungnad, *Babylonisch-assyrische Grammatik*, in particular.

²³ Goetze [n. 8], 4.

²⁴ Goetze, 4. Notes 44 and 45 indicate that 'permansive' and 'stative' are Delitzsch's and Landsberger's terminology respectively.

²⁵ Goetze [n. 8], 4.

²⁶ Goetze [n. 8], 4. G. Buccelati argues that "the Akkadian stative should be compared with the West Semitic nominal sentence" (11) in "An Interpretation of the Akkadian Stative as Nominal Sentence", *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*, 27:1 (1968) 1–12. For an opposing view, which interacts with both Buccelati and Goetze, see N. J. C. Kouwenberg, "Nouns as Verbs: the Verbal Nature of the Akkadian Stative", *Orientalia* 69:1 (2000) 21–71. The purpose of Kouwenberg's article relates to whether the nature of the Akkadian stative ought to be characterized synchronically as nominal or verbal, regardless of whether its origin may be seen to be derived from the nominal sentence (26).

²⁷ Goetze [n. 8], 4.

²⁸ Goetze [n. 8], 4.

Having set out these important assertions, Goetze asks the question that the remainder of the article will seek to answer. Which of the two forms (*šalim* and *iprus*) are the rest of the stems to be coordinated with? Having observed that it is “obvious” that the III/Š-stem and the IV/N-stem are derived from the active (*iprus*), the question that remains is: Which of the two forms *iprus* and *šalim* is the II/D-stem to be coordinated with? As Goetze has already asserted that the D-stem cannot be satisfactorily derived from [G] active, he then moves on to consider its possible relationship to [G] stative.²⁹

Goetze explains the nature of the Akkadian stative by dividing the occurrences into three sub-groups. The categories are as follows:³⁰ 1. *durative stative* – “It denotes an inherent quality of a person or a thing.” (e.g. *šalim* “is well”; *dān* “is strong”) 2. *perfective stative* – “It denotes a condition which results from the subject’s own action with reference to a person or a thing.” (e.g. *āḫiz* “holds”; *šabit* “possesses”; *maḫer* “has received”) 3. *passive stative* – “It denotes a state of affairs which results from another person’s action; but the agent remains unspecified” (e.g. *āḫiz* “(is) held”; *cabit* “(is) seized”; *maḫer* “(is) received”). Goetze notes that it is common for forms to belong both to categories (2) and (3).

Having posited these sub-categories of the stative, Goetze concludes that for each category there is a corresponding D-stem.³¹ For the “durative statives” there are the rather straightforward *šullumum* “make healthy”; *dunnunum* “make strong”, etc. For the category of the “perfect stative”, there are factitive D-stems corresponding to transitive verbs (e.g. *lummudum* “make somebody instructed in something”) and causative D-stems corresponding to intransitive verbs (e.g. *ummudum* “bring somebody (or something) to rest”). Lastly, the “passive stative” has D-stems which mean to “put a person or thing in the state which the stative describes”. For this last category, Goetze notes that the distinction between G and D is minimal but that the former focuses on the action itself whereas the latter focuses on the effect of the action.³² As indicated further below, the argument for this type of distinction between

²⁹ Goetze [n. 8], 5. He states that “as shown above” interpreting D as a modification of G-active is unsatisfactory. However, by “shown above” in the argumentation of the article, one can only assume he means the assertions mentioned above.

³⁰ Goetze [n. 8], 5.

³¹ Goetze [n. 8], 5.

³² Goetze [n. 8], 6. This is followed by a perplexing example where Goetze states that it is understandable how the difference between “bury (a corpse)” and “make (a corpse) buried” could be seen as the difference between the simple verb and its “intensive”. First of all, is this really a meaningful and legitimate distinction? Secondly then, is it the sort of distinction that grammarians had

G and D in Akkadian will have significant influence on Jenni's work on the *piel* in Biblical Hebrew.

As a result of the posited sub-categories and their respective D-stems, Goetze argues that all D-stems in Akkadian are parallel to statives. The answer to the question of his article then, is that "the D-stem is derived from [G] stative".³³ Furthermore, since statives are of nominal origin, he argues that the primary force of the D-stem is found in its denominative function.³⁴ This conclusion does not come, however, without the discussion of some apparent exceptions. The class of verbs which he calls "cursives" and which denote "a state of continuous action"³⁵ are to be considered as "quasi" D forms and thus can be counted out of his explanation.³⁶

Goetze concludes his argument by stating that his results are founded in an investigation of Akkadian and thus only valid for that language. However, Goetze feels that the application to other Semitic languages is rather obvious and that it leads to "a uniform explanation for all varieties of the D stem" outside of his excepted forms.³⁷ Goetze follows this with the statement that "universal applicability of a thesis has always been the best proof for its correctness" and thus feels that his thesis meets this criterion.³⁸ The implication of this for "Western Semitic" is that the loss of an original stative like Akkadian "cut the D form loose from the ground on which it was grown" and necessarily obscured the original function of the D-stem.³⁹ Goetze thus calls for "unprejudiced philological research in West Semitic sources" to determine how an 'intensive' force developed.⁴⁰

in mind when they labeled a function of the D-stem as "intensive"? For Akkadian *qebēru* with overlapping senses in G and D, cf. CAD Q: 201-4.

³³ Goetze [n. 8], 6.

³⁴ Goetze [n. 8], 6.

³⁵ Goetze [n. 8], 7. Note that Goetze's phrase "a *state of continuous action*" is without comment or explanation as to exactly what he means by this.

³⁶ Goetze [n. 8], 6-8. For verbs included in this category (like Hebrew הלך), Goetze spends a significant amount of time arguing a possible history that traces back to "Primitive Semitic" and 'n' infix forms that, due to the later loss of the present and separation of the 't' form, mistakenly came to be identified with the D-stem (e.g. *piel* and *hithpael* of הלך as remnants of old Bn and Btn forms). It is on the basis of this reconstructed history that Goetze calls certain forms "quasi" D-stems and counts them as providing no valid objection to his theory. He finishes this section by stating: "What really happened, is hard to say, since the material is very scant." However, he moves right on to say "But, it is quite likely that ..." in the following sentence.

³⁷ Goetze [n. 8], 8.

³⁸ Goetze [n. 8], 8.

³⁹ Goetze [n. 8], 8.

⁴⁰ Goetze [n. 8], 8. By "unprejudiced" one can only assume that Goetze means research that does not hold to the tenets of the traditional explanation.

1.6 Ryder and Jenni: denominative vs. distinct

After the publication of Goetze's article, the next important points for mapping the history of research on the *piel* in Biblical Hebrew begin in the 1960's.⁴¹ In 1968 and 1974 respectively, Ernst Jenni and Stuart Ryder published monographs on the *piel* (D-stem) in Biblical Hebrew (Western Semitic).⁴² With respect to the *piel*, Jenni's work has been more pervasive in terms of overall affect on the explanation of its function, due partially to its focus solely on the theme in Biblical Hebrew. However, Ryder's work is also important for the way in which it comes to very different conclusions from Jenni, partially through basic assumptions that are diametrically opposed to Jenni in content but seemingly analogous in logical form. For these reasons, reversing their chronological appearance, Ryder's work will be examined first followed by Jenni.

a. Ryder: the D-stem as denominative

The basis for Stuart Ryder's *The D-stem in Western Semitic* was his 1966 doctoral dissertation at Yale. This research was carried out, in part, under the supervision of Goetze and Ryder takes some of his direction from the conclusions of Goetze's article. Although the dissertation was finished in 1966 and the monograph was not published until 1974, the latter does not include any mention of or interaction with Jenni.

In a similar fashion to Goetze, Ryder begins by laying out what are in his estimation the three basic assumptions of the traditional explanation of the D-stem.⁴³ After reminding the reader that these are assumptions or hypotheses and thus subject to being tested, he lays out an alternate set of three hypotheses: (1) Gemination may have multiple origins and functions and thus 'the Semitic D-stem' may be a conglomerate of forms similar only in orthography. (2) The D-stem may have developed independently of G and thus is parallel to it rather than derived from it.

⁴¹ Von Soden's *GAG*, published in 1952, was influenced by Goetze's article and was influential for Jenni's work as will be discussed below.

⁴² E. Jenni, *Das hebräische Pi'el: Syntaktisch-semasiologische Untersuchung einer Verbalform im Alten Testament*, Zürich: EVZ (1968); S. Ryder II, *The D-Stem in Western Semitic*, The Hague: Mouton & Co., (1974).

⁴³ Ryder [n. 42], 11, 164. On the latter page they are listed as: 1. The D-stem had a single point of origin and a basic function. 2. The D-stem is 'derived' from the G-stem, and must therefore have a meaning distinct from that of the G-stem. 3. That meaning connotes 'intensity' or 'plurality' of the root concept embodied in the G-stem.

This would make it unnecessary to attempt to relate G to D semantically. (3) This semantic independence would remove need for ‘pseudopsycholinguistic correlation’ between form and meaning (“a confusion of linguistic forms with that which they signify”). Within this freedom, one of the formerly held ‘subordinate’ uses could ‘emerge’ as the original use. This freedom would not exclude the possibility that intensification could have become one of the functions of the stem in one or more of the languages.⁴⁴ Although Ryder proposes not to adopt either set of hypotheses or a combination of the two before examination of “much linguistic evidence,” the latter highlights precisely where Ryder’s work is heading.⁴⁵

Ryder surveys several explanations of the D-stem in early Arab and Hebrew grammarians eventually arriving at the preoccupation with ‘intensity’ in the later 19th century and consequent formulations of the traditional understanding.⁴⁶ It is here that he gives his central criticism of the traditional understanding and of the nature of the argument that has produced it. Ryder’s comments are worth citing in full:

“... the basic weakness of the argument, the reason that we must regard it as an artificial, ex post facto line of reasoning, is that it begins with the origins of meanings rather than with the origins of form. Aware that difference of form implies a difference of function, yet aware also that a diversity of functions seems to be associated with the D-stem, as reflected in the ‘meanings’ of some D-stems in various Semitic languages, solutions such as those just cited attempt to find a link between these functions, not by analysis of the original form of the D-stem in an attempt to determine how it might have served as the basis or vehicle for the development of these later functions, but by a kind of verbal rationalization based on the effort to find a lowest common denominator of ‘meaning’, a common denominator which has in fact been too often drawn from the meanings as translated into the Indo-European languages. This method seeks to impose upon the D-stem a type of semantic uniformity which it in fact lacks, and the lack of which is inevitably reflected in the qualifications expressed or exceptions noted in such accounts.”⁴⁷

In contrast to the traditional explanations, Ryder proposes to employ form analysis in order to determine whether or not a “common structural element” may be

⁴⁴ Ryder [n. 42], 11, 12

⁴⁵ Ryder [n. 42], 12.

⁴⁶ Ryder [n. 42], 12–17.

⁴⁷ Ryder [n. 42], 16. Criticism of the traditional method like this makes it clear that Jenni would have been one of its contemporary examples had Ryder chosen to interact with his work.

at the center of understanding the D-stem's various functions.⁴⁸ Ryder turns briefly to a few scholars who have not followed the traditional approach, but have rather provided a "linguistically viable explanation" according to analysis of form.⁴⁹ He looks at the work of Poebel, Goetze and von Soden, all specialists in Akkadian, citing Goetze's article as "the first serious effort to reconstruct the original significance of the D-stem on the basis of forms actually occurring... and on the basis of morphology rather than semantics".⁵⁰ In his approach then, Ryder proposes to follow a somewhat similar direction to Goetze by examining possible explanations regarding the morphology and the semantic domain of the D-stem as possible lenses through which to understand the forms that occur.

In his chapter examining morphology, Ryder provides a definition of this type of analysis as: "the operation by which the analyst isolates minimum meaningful elements in the utterances of a language, and decides which occurrences of such elements shall be regarded as the 'same' element".⁵¹ The "minimal meaningful element" that Ryder wishes to investigate is the gemination of the second root radical. He notes that: "To date, no one has started with the D-stem whole and begun by seeking the connection, if any, among its apparently unrelated aspects".⁵² Thus using morphemic analysis, Ryder proposes to lay out some of the possible explanations for the origin and significance of gemination in the D-stem in Western Semitic as a whole. Ryder examines two different types of explanations for gemination. The first is that gemination represents a lengthening of the consonant, that is the consonant is 'long' or 'hard' in a similar manner to the lengthening of a syllable.⁵³ The second explanation is the presence of an infix of some sort. It is in the latter of the two categories that Ryder places the traditional explanation of the 'doubling' of the second root radical.⁵⁴ As he makes clear in the final chapter, Ryder does not draw any

⁴⁸ Ryder [n. 42], 16. In Ryder's explanation, the functions of the D-stem centered around this common structural element would be 'mutually consistent' without necessarily being all dependent or derived by the same process.

⁴⁹ Ryder [n. 42], 17.

⁵⁰ Ryder [n. 42], 18.

⁵¹ Ryder [n. 42], 21. The definition is cited in n. 1 as from C. Hockett, "Problems of Morphemic Analysis", *Language*, 23 (1947).

⁵² Ryder [n. 42], 24.

⁵³ Ryder [n. 42], 25-31.

⁵⁴ Ryder [n. 42], 31, 32. This is partially due to his use of the terms 'segmental' and 'suprasegmental' phonemes in order to determine what sort of gemination is contained in the D-stem. In the first category Ryder is looking primarily at 'lengthening' as a suprasegmental phoneme due to qualitative features that do not have semantic significance in itself. The second category, for Ryder, is that which deals with segmental phonemes or those that have "morphological significance".

specific conclusions from this investigation: “Whether this [is] a direct gemination of the middle radical or whether it represents an indirect secondary gemination ... is not clear”.⁵⁵

After examining the explanations for the morphology of the D-stem, Ryder then turns to examine what he calls “the semantic domain of the D-stem”.⁵⁶ This chapter is intended to be a search for “a lowest common denominator of meaning for the stem [showing] how this varies in different contexts”.⁵⁷ Ryder is thus looking for this lowest common denominator of meaning for the D-stem in Western Semitic as a whole. Ryder begins with “the semantic domain of the verb itself” by discussing the opposition between ‘marked’ and ‘unmarked’ forms.⁵⁸ He then proposes to apply these terms to the relationship between the ‘root’ and its derived forms.⁵⁹ After reflecting on the ‘unmarked’ nature of the root in this application, Ryder asks: “Does this imply then that each of these stems is derivable directly from the root, and that they are independent from one another, save for their common source?”⁶⁰ This question leads the discussion in the direction of affirming Ryder’s second assumption in the opening paragraph of the first chapter – i.e. that the D-stem developed independently of the G-stem. Following on from this, it is not surprising, then, that when Ryder examines whether this sort of opposition exists within the verbal themes, he finds that it does between something like Hebrew *qal* and *hiphil* (the latter adding a marked ‘causation’ or ‘indirect action’ to the neutrality of the action to the simplest form of the former) but not between the B and D stems (Heb. *qal* and *piel*).⁶¹ Because of the unpredictability of the relationship between B and D, Ryder then argues that the

⁵⁵ Ryder [n. 42], 164.

⁵⁶ Ryder [n. 42], 36.

⁵⁷ Ryder [n. 42], 37. This seems to be the closest Ryder comes to giving a clear definition of specifically what he means by “semantic domain” and how this applies to the D-stem as a whole. A lack of clarifying definitions means that the logical moves in this chapter from the opposition of ‘marked’ and ‘unmarked’ to the supposed opposition between the D-stem and the ‘root’ can be confusing.

⁵⁸ Ryder [n. 42], 38, 39.

⁵⁹ Ryder [n. 42], 38. He defines his use of the word ‘root’ and ‘derivation’ as follows: “Thus if we speak of a verbal stem as ‘derived’ from a root we do not mean [as the traditional explanation would] that the root existed prior to that stem. Rather, while recognizing that at least a minimal form, such as a nominal *qatl* (cf. Heb. *melek* from a hypothetical original *malk*) or a verbal *qatl* (cf. Semitic imperative forms) must have been the starting-point for the root concept, we employ the terminology of ‘derivation’ from the root solely as a useful descriptive device.”

⁶⁰ Ryder [n. 42], 38,39.

⁶¹ Ryder [n. 42], 39. Ryder even adds the possibility of an opposition between Hebrew *qal* and *hithpael* (‘reflexivity’ being added to the simplest form). As we will discuss more in the following chapter, even in something like this application of the concept of opposition of ‘marked’ and ‘unmarked’ to the verbal themes Ryder seems as predisposed to find what he is looking for as those of the traditional explanation of whom he is critical.

possibility that the D-stem represents an external development to the verbal system must be kept open.⁶²

This possible external development becomes the focus and Ryder turns to the denominative usage of the D-stem as the most likely explanation. In his discussion on the denominative, Ryder argues for the prominence and historical priority of the D-stem in this capacity and thus for seeing a connection between the 'nominal verb' and the D-stem, which he says "we may better call the simple quadrilateral stem as opposed to the simple trilateral Stem I".⁶³ In form then, Ryder is asserting that the gemination of the D-stem ought to be seen as "a means of stretching out trilateral nominal stems to conform to a pattern already established by the denominatives based upon quadrilateral nouns".⁶⁴ Seeing this analogical extension of quadrilateral forms to triconsonantal roots, as Ryder argues the D-stem to be, points necessarily then not only to the use but also to the ultimate origin of the D-stem.

What Ryder proposes to do from here is to examine the evidence in order to see if the denominative as a common element of understanding for the D-stem can make sense of the uses others have seen as intensive, causative or iterative meanings in any given language. Chapters four, five and six contain the examination of this evidence under the headings of "The use of the D-stem in the Pentateuch and its Translations", "The D-stem in Biblical Hebrew" and "The D-stem in Quranic Arabic" respectively.⁶⁵ However, before turning to this material, Ryder needs to give a definition of what he means by the 'denominative' use. The question that has been left unanswered by Goetze's argument is how to make a connection between the denominative use and active forms. As an aid in this direction, Ryder takes Rundgren's suggestion that the Akkadian stative ought to be seen also as a possessive denominative (e.g. *yalid* 'it has a birth, is borne').⁶⁶ When applied to the active theme this produces a meaning for *qatal/qattal* as possibly 'possess a killing, kill'/'cause a killing to exist for someone'.⁶⁷ Ryder argues that this shows how the D-stem might

⁶² Ryder [n. 42], 42. The reason that this explanation has credibility for Ryder is in part because of "the failure of grammarians during a period of a thousand years to fix or define the particular role of the D-stem or its coordinate Stem III". Interestingly, as already noted, Ryder is sufficiently satisfied with the definition of at least Stem III in Hebrew (hiphil) to feel that the opposition between it and Stem I (qal) is 'invariable'.

⁶³ Ryder [n. 42], 45.

⁶⁴ Ryder [n. 42], 46.

⁶⁵ Ryder [n. 42], 54–93 (Chapter IV), 94–141 (Chapter V), 142–163 (Chapter VI).

⁶⁶ Ryder [n. 42], 53. Citing F. Rundgren, *Intensiv- und Aspektkorrelation*. (Uppsala: 1959), 58.

⁶⁷ Ryder [n. 42], 53.

have both transitive and causative aspects. Thus, in the final sentence before examining the evidence, he gives a definition of a denominative origin of the D-stem as “to effect the bringing of a person or thing into conjunction with the object or state which provided the initial impetus for the creation of the particular D-stem action”.⁶⁸

After presenting the material in chapters four, five and six, Ryder states that the foregoing research has not led to “any definite solutions to our initial problem”.⁶⁹ Instead, he offers an outline of “clear phenomena” structured around the three basic assumptions of the traditional approach and his three possible alternatives.⁷⁰ Ryder says the evidence for the first assumption (D-stem had a single point of origin and basic function) is the least conclusive, although it seems to be valid.⁷¹ Using Rundgren’s definition of the stative as a ‘possessive denominative’ (‘he has strength’ and according to Ryder then ‘he has a killing’ in transitive verbs) he thus says the single point of origin of the D-stem was denominative and its function was primarily factitive.⁷² Due to this interpretation of the D-stem as primarily denominative, Ryder asserts that the second and third traditional assumptions that link any derivation of D from the G-stem are “superfluous” and that most likely the two are completely separate stems (G being trilateral, D quadrilateral) with particular semantic domains distinguishable from one another which have possibly been diluted through use in the individual languages.⁷³ Ryder offers a summary of his position in the final sentence of the book: “We assert that the D-stem is unique and distinctive both in origin and in function, and that the several functions which it assumed in one or more Western languages are mutually consistent from the standpoint of the stem’s denominative-factitive orientation”.⁷⁴

On the question of internal and external relationships then, Ryder’s explanation for both are primarily affected by his argument for the denominative origin of the D-stem (and thus of the *piel* in Biblical Hebrew). The extension by Ryder of Rundgren’s ‘possessive denominative’ to include transitive verbs (e.g. *qaṭal* ‘to have a killing’) results in something similar to Goetze’s three categories of stative (particularly the ‘perfective’) but as applied to all forms of the D-stem under the

⁶⁸ Ryder [n. 42], 53.

⁶⁹ Ryder [n. 42], 164.

⁷⁰ Ryder [n. 42], 164.

⁷¹ Ryder [n. 42], 164.

⁷² Ryder [n. 42], 165.

⁷³ Ryder [n. 42], 165.

⁷⁴ Ryder [n. 42], 167.

heading of denominative rather than excluding them. The relationship of the D-stem to the rest of the verbal system then is necessarily 'external' in that any associations between meanings are merely due to 'false analogies' to the trilateral stem and idiomatic use within individual languages. Ryder is critical of Goetze because he excludes the denominatives from his argument for the development of the D-stem. Ryder turns this somewhat on its head and concludes by arguing the D-stem whole as having derived from and thus properly subsumed under Goetze's excluded class.

b. Jenni: The Piel in Biblical Hebrew as distinct

The scholar who is regarded as having been the first to take up Goetze's call for "a broad enough survey" of the actual occurrences of the piel in Biblical Hebrew was Ernst Jenni. His work has received the most attention and appears to have been the most influential in terms of scholarship in Biblical Hebrew. Jenni's explanation of the function of the piel and of its internal and external relationships was taken up with slight modification in Waltke and O'Connor's reference grammar, *An Introduction to Biblical Hebrew Syntax*.⁷⁵ Koehler and Baumgartner's lexicon also has a number of verbs where it cites Jenni's *Das hebräische Pi'el (DhP)* for reference under the sections on the piel forms.⁷⁶ In addition, scholars who have researched and written on the themes of the Hebrew verbal system since the publication of *DhP* have included significant sections of interaction with Jenni.⁷⁷ This scholarly interaction with *DhP* along with recent developments in linguistics led Jenni to reflect further on the piel and to revise his theory, which he gave as a paper at the 1999 Society for Biblical Literature annual meeting in Boston.⁷⁸ The main part of the paper was refined and published in 2000 as "Aktionsarten und Stammformen im Althebräischen: Das Pi'el in verbesserter Sicht".⁷⁹

⁷⁵ W&O, § 24 "Piel stem" particularly, but also see § 20 "Introduction to the Verbal System" and § 21 "The System of Verbal Stems" as both sections bear Jenni's influence.

⁷⁶ For an example cf. the piel of כָּכַר in KB (455b).

⁷⁷ Cf. W. T. Claassen, "On a Recent Proposal as to a Distinction between Pi'el and Hiph'il." *JNSL* 1 (1971) 3–10; *The Hiph'il Verbal Theme in Biblical Hebrew*, DLitt thesis, University of Stellenbosch (1971) § 5.4 and § 5.5 (132–262); and "The Declarative-Estimative Hiph'il", *JNSL* 2 (1972) 5–16; P. A. Siebesma, *The function of the niph'al in Biblical Hebrew in relationship to other passive-reflexive verbal stems and to the pu'al and the hoph'al in particular*, Assen, The Netherlands: Van Gorcum (1991) § 1 (3–25).

⁷⁸ Society of Biblical Literature Annual Meeting, Boston, MA; November 20–23, 1999. The paper was presented in § S133 Linguistics and Biblical Hebrew on November 22, 1999.

⁷⁹ E. Jenni "Aktionsarten und Stammformen im Althebräischen: Das Pi'el in verbesserter Sicht", *ZAH* 13/1 (2000) 67–90.

The question of the piel and its relationships began for Jenni when he was working on the verb אָבַד for an article in *TWAT*. As the typical lexical entry for אָבַד listed both the piel and hiphil with the sense ‘to destroy’, Jenni sought to examine whether possible distinctions in meaning might be explained through the different functions of the piel and hiphil themes themselves. To do so, Jenni turned to a distinction used by von Soden in *GAG* between ‘factitive’ and ‘causative’ (von Soden having been influenced by Goetze) as a way of explaining a possible opposition in the use of the two themes with the same verb. An article presenting his work on אָבַד was published in a *Festschrift* for his former teacher Walter Baumgartner in 1967 and the argument became the foundation on which he would build his theory on the function of the piel in Biblical Hebrew as a whole.⁸⁰

Jenni followed his article on the piel and hiphil of אָבַד by extending his work on the piel to all verbs attested in the Old Testament material, the results of which he published in the monograph *Das hebräische Pi'el*.⁸¹ Jenni begins this work with a similar question to that of the article on אָבַד. At the end of a brief introductory section on the inadequacy of the traditional approach, he asks whether it is not possible to confer upon the piel “a linguistically clear, consistent syntactic-semantic function which is set apart from both the qal and the hiphil throughout?”⁸² Thus, in terms of the the piel’s relationships, the impetus for Jenni’s study was the question of how the piel is to be understood in its relationships to the other themes with which it appears to share similar functions or senses. Although he took his research in a different direction from Ryder both in terms of basic assumptions and conclusions, Jenni was also influenced in his argument regarding the piel’s function by some of

⁸⁰ E. Jenni, “Faktiv und Kausativ von אָבַד ‘zugrunde gehen’”, *Hebräische Wortforschung: Festschrift Walter Baumgartner*, supplements to *Vetus Testamentum* 16, Leiden: Brill (1967) 143–57. Jenni refers to the fact that the study on אָבַד will be expanded to the whole of the Old Testament materials in a study to be published elsewhere (p. 143, n. 2). The language of the note seems to imply that Jenni’s work on *DhP* was largely finished at the point of publication of the article on אָבַד.

⁸¹ Although Jenni has published a rephrasing of his theory in an article in *ZAH* in 2000, *DhP* still represents the main thrust of his argumentation on the piel and the primary source for understanding the history of the study. As we shall comment below, Jenni’s 2000 article appears primarily to be a ‘rephrasing’ in that it applies the terminology of recent linguistic discussion to the main conclusions of the theory published in *DhP* in 1968.

⁸² Jenni, *DhP* [n. 42], 12, 15; and “Faktiv und Kausativ...” [n. 80], 143: where Jenni wonders whether the difference between piel and hiphil “can be explained comprehensively from the syntactic-semantic function of the stem form”. Translations of Jenni are the present author’s throughout unless otherwise noted.

Goetze's distinctions (particularly as applied by von Soden in *GAG*).⁸³ How these things took shape in Jenni's research is the next section of the route to be described.

Jenni's section on methodology begins with two seemingly rhetorical questions, the first of which is similar to the question mentioned above from his introductory section. He asks first: is it linguistically conceivable for a language to have two fully developed grammatical categories like *qal* and *piel* or *piel* and *hiphil*, which are used concurrently in a number of cases, without a discernable primary or secondary difference in meaning?⁸⁴ Secondly, Jenni asks: "should the absence of corresponding categories in the European languages be a basis for ignoring the obvious assumption that different meanings are also inherent in different forms?"⁸⁵ Jenni does not answer either of these questions explicitly but moves forward with an implied negative response to each and the assertion that these questions provide the way forward methodologically.

If there is a premise that is of central importance for Jenni's thesis, it is the one embedded in his second question: difference of form = difference of function. Although Jenni does not offer any direct qualifications regarding this premise, he makes clear by the nature of his argument that this difference of meaning ought to be both present and discernible wherever the opposition of forms (*qal:piel* and *piel:hiphil*) exists.⁸⁶ Thus from the outset, the answer to the first question for Jenni is necessarily negative because the *piel* "is a unified [theme] not only morphologically, but also in semantic function, which stands in distinct opposition to the other major themes in the Hebrew verbal system".⁸⁷ Jenni's implied answers to these two questions act as the foundation for the chapters that follow. It is upon this foundation that he will build his argument for the function of the *piel* particularly as it stands in opposition to the *hiphil* (section I) and the *qal* (section II).⁸⁸

⁸³ Jenni tends to cite von Soden's work as the impetus for the direction of his own research rather than Goetze. However, Goetze's influence on von Soden and thus on Jenni is evident in some of the basic distinctions of Jenni's argument.

⁸⁴ Jenni, *DhP* [n. 42], 15.

⁸⁵ Jenni, *DhP* [n. 42], 16.

⁸⁶ Waltke and O'Connor also have this form/function premise as central to their argument for the functions of the verbal system. Thus, Hebrew has a verbal system "of clearly differentiated morphemes, which, by definition, involves both form and function" (§21.2.1a).

⁸⁷ Jenni, *DhP* [n. 42], 275.

⁸⁸ Jenni's work is divided into two main parts: The Introduction and The Main part. The latter contains sections on 'Factitive and Causative with intransitive base theme' (I; 20–123), 'Actualis and Resultative with transitive base theme' (II; 123–229), and 'Piel verbs without base theme' (III; 230–274). Within each of these there are numbered sections with subject headings. For the sake of clarity,

It was the question regarding a distinction between the *piel* and *hiphil* of אָבַר that first occupied Jenni and he begins the main part of *DhP* with the larger group of verbs which includes אָבַר. The title for section one, “Factitive and Causative with intransitive base-stems”, indicates in terminology the sort of distinction Jenni intends to make between *piel* and *hiphil* from the outset.⁸⁹ The section begins with a list of verbs and a brief discussion of some of the difficulties of defining the terms ‘transitive’ and ‘intransitive’. The verbs that Jenni will focus on in the first section are those that are attested: *qal*, *piel*, *hiphil* or *qal* and *piel* (without *hiphil*) as they exhibit the opposition of form and function central to his purpose. In order to be consistent with his central premise on form and function, Jenni will posit an opposition between the *piel* and a probable *hiphil* where it is not attested. Regarding ‘transitive’ and ‘intransitive’, he proposes to use the conventional terminology but includes both stative verbs and “intransitive-fientive” verbs under intransitives in section one.⁹⁰

In his introductory section on methodology, Jenni indicates that the description of the results of his investigation will proceed deductively rather than inductively. For this reason, the main sections are divided by headings that contain parts of the thesis under which the relevant examples will be given as proof and then discussed.⁹¹ From his central premise on form and function, Jenni draws several related consequences regarding the difference between adjectival and verbal sentences as the framework through which he will explain the function of the *piel*. Although Jenni does not cite Goetze as a primary influence in this regard, his starting point is similar.⁹² Jenni begins by asserting that the distinction between an adjectival state and a verbal process forms a contrast from the basic meaning. Thus, while the difference in meaning between ‘he is alive’ and ‘he is living’ may not be very great for European languages, it is a generally recognized fact that it is significant for Hebrew and the

sections will be indicated using main and subsection numbers (e.g. the section titled ‘Zustand und Vorgang’ will be cited as § I.2; ‘Machen und Lassen’ as § I.3.a).

⁸⁹ Jenni, *DhP* [n. 42], 20.

⁹⁰ Jenni, *DhP* [n. 42], 20–25. He also mentions here that some verbs normally considered intransitive in German will be subsumed under those with transitive base stems in chapter 2 (e.g. *gehen* = ‘to do a walk’; *schreien* = ‘to expel a cry’).

⁹¹ Jenni, *DhP* [n. 42], 17.

⁹² Cf. Goetze [n. 8], 4. As influential in this regard Jenni cites H.S. Nyberg, *Hebreisk Grammatik*. Uppsala: Hugo Gebers (1952), §85 (256–63).

Semitic languages in general.⁹³ For this reason, Jenni argues that it is unnecessary to list examples but sufficient simply to show the consequence that a nominal sentence with adjectival predicate (e.g. “Great are the works of the Lord”, גְּדֹלִים מַעֲשֵׂי יְהוָה, Ps 111.2) and a verbal sentence with a finite process verb (e.g. “How great are your works O Lord”, מַה־גְּדֹלֹ לֹ מַעֲשֵׂיךָ יְהוָה, Ps 92.6) constitute a difference for Hebrew.⁹⁴

The existence of the different sentence forms (adjectival vs. finite verb) then becomes the ground upon which Jenni posits further differentiating characteristics for each. At this point it would seem necessary for Jenni to connect his explanation of adjectival/verbal differences to the forms and functions of the *piel* and *hiphil* with intransitive *qal* (‘factitive’ and ‘causative’ respectively) which is the focus of the main section. However, Jenni does not provide argumentation as to the manner or extent to which he makes the connection. The section heading is titled “State and Process” (*Zustand und Vorgang*) which indicates the basic opposition he is making between adjectival and verbal sentences. Jenni also briefly cites ‘Akkadian grammar’ generally for the differentiation between the D and Š themes (noting their correspondence to *piel* and *hiphil* in Hebrew) as being used for adjectivally expressed *states* and verbally expressed *processes* respectively.⁹⁵ Apparently upon this basis Jenni continues to develop the differentiation between adjectival (state) and verbal (process) predication, which he will then apply to the *piel* (factitive) and *hiphil* (causative) throughout his presentation of the material.

Stated as a whole, the opposition which Jenni develops and applies to the relationships of the *piel* to other themes has these characteristics: *adjectival* (state) = synthetic, subjective and accidental; *verbal* (process) = analytic, objective and substantial/essential. Throughout the section on factitive and causative, Jenni applies this opposition in a number of ways to the relationships between subject, object and the action of the verb.⁹⁶ As an example, Jenni discusses the relation between subject and predicate and argues that the use of either a nominal (adjectival) or verbal

⁹³ Jenni, *DhP* [n. 42], 26. Note that Goetze [n. 8], 4 asserts similarly “This distinction [between descriptive nominal sentences and narrative verbal sentences] is basic for Akkadian”.

⁹⁴ Jenni, *DhP* [n. 42], 26.

⁹⁵ Jenni, *DhP* [n. 42], 25, 26. Jenni draws the connection between Akkadian and Hebrew in one brief sentence and then shortly after states: “But now since the difference between factitive and causative is appropriately defined in a similar direction as that between a nominal sentence with adjectival predicate and a verbal sentence with finite intransitive verb...”.

⁹⁶ Jenni, *DhP* [n. 42], 33, 34. Jenni states that the action itself is explained under § 4, the relation between subject and action in § 5 and the relation between action and object in § 6 of part 1.

sentence corresponds to a difference in the representation of the perspective of the speaker. In a nominal predicate something new is joined to the subject expressed as a synthetic judgment by the speaker.⁹⁷ In a verbal predicate, on the other hand, the speaker's perspective is only apparent in the modality of the process, which itself is described objectively as an analytical statement.⁹⁸ The further consequences of the opposition (subjective vs. objective and accidental vs. substantial/essential) are derived similarly from Jenni's argument regarding the nature of adjectival and verbal predication.⁹⁹

Although explained under the section on factitive and causative, Jenni utilizes the opposition between the form and function of adjectival and verbal sentences as the framework upon which he builds his entire argument for the function of the piel. Accordingly, the opposition between the piel and hiphil is explained in part as one of a direct bringing about of a state connected with an adjective and indirect causing of a process connected with a verb respectively.¹⁰⁰ Jenni concludes then that in relation to an intransitive qal, the piel is *factitive*: it refers to the bringing about of an adjectival state without consideration of the process in which the object suffers the action accidentally (i.e. non-essentially).¹⁰¹ The distinctions that Jenni explains between transitive qal and piel are similarly derived. He uses von Soden's term 'resultative' for the piel as referring only to the attained result of the action and posits 'actualis' as the opposing term for the qal as referring to the action itself.¹⁰² The piel in relation to a transitive qal is then *resultative*: it refers to the bringing about of the adjectivally expressed state of the action contained in the qal without consideration of the actual process.¹⁰³ Jenni's final section on piels without an attested qal is divided into two sections explaining the functions as analogous to those of the factitive and resultative on the basis of a hypothetically derived qal.¹⁰⁴

In terms of the overarching question relating to internal and external relationships then, Jenni's research has led him to draw conclusions about both. With

⁹⁷ Jenni, *DhP* [n. 42], 27.

⁹⁸ Jenni, *DhP* [n. 42], 28.

⁹⁹ Jenni, *DhP* [n. 42], 26–33. To illustrate the difference between adjectival and verbal predication, Jenni uses examples of adjectives compared to qal finite verbs of both חכם 'to be wise' and גדל 'to be great'.

¹⁰⁰ Jenni, *DhP* [n. 42], 34, 35.

¹⁰¹ Jenni, *DhP* [n. 42], 275 #3.

¹⁰² Jenni, *DhP* [n. 42], 126; cf. also p. 65 and n. 96.

¹⁰³ Jenni, *DhP* [n. 42], 275 #4.

¹⁰⁴ Jenni, *DhP* [n. 42], 230.

regard to the internal relationships of the numerous functions he concludes that the piel is both morphologically and semantically a uniform theme.¹⁰⁵ This uniformity is represented in a general function in which the piel “expresses the bringing about of the adjectivally expressed state of the corresponding [qal]”.¹⁰⁶ Apparently for Jenni, this function is connected to the characteristics of adjectival predication which he contrasts with those of verbal predication. The internal uniformity of the piel is the grounds on which it stands in distinct opposition to the rest of the verbal system. Jenni has thus given an affirmative answer to his opening question regarding whether the piel could be given a function which was clearly differentiated from both the qal and hiphil.¹⁰⁷ In its external relationships, Jenni argues that the piel is clearly distinguishable in form and function from the qal (the piel focuses on the result rather than the action) and the hiphil (the piel is not causative like the hiphil, but brings about a state without regard for the process). In these conclusions on the nature of the piel’s relationships, Jenni has come to a place that is very different from both Goetze and Ryder.

c. Scholarly Response to Jenni

In tracking the continued route of exploration of the piel in Biblical Hebrew, it is important to mention briefly some of the responses to the publication of Jenni’s *Das hebräische Piel*. Since it was one of the first monographs to treat extensively a theme in Biblical Hebrew in both its internal and external relationships, most scholars writing on the themes of the BII verbal system since have responded to and thus been influenced by Jenni in some manner.¹⁰⁸ In the wake of its publication, *DhP* received generally favorable reviews from a number of scholars including von Soden, Caquot, Lambdin, Sawyer, and Brockington.¹⁰⁹ Lambdin concluded his favorable review by stating that *DhP* “is one of the best treatments of a single problem in the Hebrew (and Semitic) verbal system of which the reviewer is aware”.¹¹⁰ F. Leemhuis was

¹⁰⁵ Jenni, *DhP* [n. 42], 275 #1.

¹⁰⁶ Jenni, *DhP* [n. 42], 275 #2.

¹⁰⁷ Jenni, *DhP* [n. 42], 12.

¹⁰⁸ In addition to studies on BII verbal themes, see M. Cheney’s ThM thesis on Jenni’s theory itself: *The Exegetical Relevance of Ernst Jenni’s Theory of the Hebrew Piel: An Examination from the point of view of Linguistic and Literary Science*. ThM thesis. Vancouver: Regent College, 1988.

¹⁰⁹ Favorable reviews of *Das hebräische Piel*: W. von Soden, *ZAVA* 14 (1970) 176–78; A. Caquot, *Syria* 47 (1970) 174–5; T. O. Lambdin, *CBQ* 31 (1969) 435–7; J. Sawyer, *JSS* 14 (1969) 260–2; L. H. Brockington, *JTS* 20 (1969) 562–64.

¹¹⁰ Lambdin [n. 109] 437.

stimulated by Jenni's work and applied it to his study on the corresponding stems in Arabic.¹¹¹

The publication through which Jenni's explanation of the piel has had its most pervasive influence is in its adaptation in Waltke and O'Connor's reference grammar *An Introduction to Biblical Hebrew Syntax*.¹¹² In the prefatory sections to the verbal themes "Introduction to the Verbal System" and "The System of Verbal Stems", Jenni's influence is evident particularly as it relates to Waltke and O'Connor's explanation of the importance of the piel and the two types of causation.¹¹³ In the chapter on the piel, Waltke and O'Connor state that they have used Jenni's work extensively while not agreeing with his argument in its entirety.¹¹⁴ The most significant aspect of disagreement relates to the group of verbs that have an intransitive qal and express motion, voice projection or expectation. Although Jenni included these under the 'resultative' function (with transitive qal), Waltke & O'Connor place them under a separate functional category of 'frequentatives'. This function of the piel, as the name implies, is one of increased frequency in time (iterative) or space (plurality) and thus contains the verbs most often cited by earlier grammarians as examples of the intensive function of the piel.¹¹⁵ In this respect, Waltke and O'Connor indicate that they agree with Goetze and Ryder.¹¹⁶ However, in its overall presentation, *An Introduction to Biblical Hebrew Syntax* represents the most systematic acceptance and adaptation of Jenni's theory on both the piel and the Biblical Hebrew verbal system as a whole.

Das hebräische Pi'el also received dissenting reviews from Hillers, Meyer, Degen, and Claassen.¹¹⁷ Degen is severely critical of Jenni's method for the way in which it applies insights from Akkadian and for what he calls its "theological" rather

¹¹¹ Cf. F. Leemhuis, "Sibawaih's Treatment of the D Stem" *JSS* 18 (1973) 238-56; and his doctoral thesis, *The D and H Stems in Koranic Arabic, a Comparative Study of the Function and Meaning of the Fa'ala and 'aflala Forms in Koranic Usage*, Publications of the Netherlands Institute of Archaeology and Arabic Studies in Cairo, Leiden: Brill (1977).

¹¹² W&O, especially §24 and §27.

¹¹³ W&O, § 20.2m and § 21.2.2.

¹¹⁴ W&O, § 24.1a, h.

¹¹⁵ W&O, § 24.5

¹¹⁶ W&O, § 24.5a

¹¹⁷ Dissenting Reviews of *Das hebräische Pi'el*: D. R. Hillers, *JBL* 88 (1969) 212,214; R. Meyer, *OL* 70 (1975) 367-71; R. Degen, *WO* 1/1 (1971) 47-55; W. T. Claassen "On a Recent Proposal as to a Distinction Between Pi'el and Hiph'il" *JNSL* 1 (1971) 3-10 and "The Declarative-Estimative Hiph'il" *JNSL* 1 (1972) 5-16.

than linguistic character.¹¹⁸ Claassen concludes his article by stating that as a result of its methodological problems, Jenni's suggested theses do not solve the difficulty of similar piel and hiphil meanings that he set out to investigate.¹¹⁹

In addition to these dissenting reviews, there are two works by scholars studying other themes of the Biblical Hebrew verbal system that are worth noting for their critical interaction with Jenni. The first is the doctoral thesis by W.T. Claassen on the hiphil and the second is the monograph by P.A. Siebesma on the niph'al, which was also based on his doctoral thesis.¹²⁰ In Claassen's article "The Declarative-Estimative Hiph'il" he noted that the arguments he presented were a part of a more extensive study *The Hiph'il verbal theme in Biblical Hebrew*.¹²¹ While most scholars interacting with Jenni have cited both of Claassen's articles on the hiphil published in *The Journal of Northwest Semitic Languages*, there is rarely mention of the more comprehensive work of his thesis.¹²² Although Claassen's thesis is titled as a study of the hiphil, the majority of chapters four through six (pp. 93–277) are focused on criticism of Jenni's theory where it intersects with the function of the hiphil. On account of this focus and the fact that Claassen views the verbal themes as characterized primarily by complex history and unpredictability, the main chapters of his thesis appear to offer more in the way of a critical interaction with Jenni than a characterization of the hiphil.¹²³ In particular, Claassen offers a number of suggested counterexamples where he argues one finds the opposite of what is expected if Jenni's theory is applied. In its breadth of interaction alone, then, Claassen's thesis is a noteworthy response to Jenni and the history of the study on the piel.

Siebesma's monograph on the relationship of the niph'al to other passive-reflexive verbal themes begins by interacting with Jenni "due to the importance of

¹¹⁸ Degen [n. 117], 53, 55. Degen's use of the word 'theological' in this sense appears to be an inflammatory way of criticizing a methodology that appeals in any manner to the semantics of a form rather than simply to its morphology.

¹¹⁹ Claassen, "On a Recent Proposal ..." [n. 117], 10.

¹²⁰ W. T. Claassen, *The Hiph'il Verbal Theme in Biblical Hebrew*, DLitt thesis, University of Stellenbosch (1971); P. A. Siebesma, *The Function of the Niph'al in Biblical Hebrew in relationship to other Passive-reflexive Verbal Stems and to the Pu'al and Hoph'al in Particular*, *Studia Semitica Neerlandica* 28, Assen: Van Gorcum (1991).

¹²¹ Claassen, "The Declarative-Estimative Hiph'il" [n. 117], 5.

¹²² In part this may be due to some difficulty in finding either a full reference to it or existing copies of it outside of the University of Stellenbosch. Ms. Leeta Kellerman of the Theology Library at the University of Stellenbosch was very helpful in aiding the present author in the purchase and receipt of a photocopy of the thesis in May, 2001.

¹²³ Claassen, *The Hiph'il Verbal Theme...* [n. 120], 4, 89–92, 280, 281 for some of Claassen's comments on the 'unpredictable' nature of the verbal themes.

[his] research on the piel” in the study of verbal themes.¹²⁴ After describing a brief history of the study leading up to *DhP*, he summarizes the various scholarly reactions and then offers his own criticism with respect to Jenni’s work both on the piel and on the niph'al. Siebesma lists a number of methodological criticisms which include Jenni’s focus on synchronic considerations, his lack of genre distinction and the lack of discussion of the origins of the perfect and imperfect, which Siebesma sees as particularly important. As a result, he concludes the section by arguing that Jenni’s method was not sufficiently grounded in working inductively from the text itself.¹²⁵ In the light of some of these critical comments, Siebesma employs a different methodology which utilizes a primarily statistical approach that catalogs all the verbs attested in the niph'al by marking meaning, existence of other reflexive-passive forms attested, oppositional semantic relationship (i.e. to qal or piel), genre and form.¹²⁶ The tables displaying all of the statistical data are given in chapter three. The data is then analyzed in chapter four with respect to both the distribution of the niph'al and the other passive-reflexive themes or form (passive qal) and the relationships between them.¹²⁷ Siebesma draws a number of different conclusions from those of Jenni that follow on from the study and his opening methodological criticism. The last of these conclusions states that it is not possible to consider the Hebrew verbal system as a closed and uniform set of relationships in which the themes are distinct in their semantic function from one another.¹²⁸ Siebesma’s study is important to note because of its work on other themes and interaction with Jenni which result in a study that has an almost inverse shape in presuppositions, method and conclusions.¹²⁹

As a result of all the interaction with *DhP*, Jenni presented a slightly rephrased version of his thesis as a paper at the 1999 Society of Biblical Literature meetings in Boston, which was later published as an article titled “Aktionsarten und Stammformen im Althebräischen: Das Pi'el in verbesserter Sicht”.¹³⁰ In the rephrasing of his theory, Jenni applies the linguistic terminology of situational aspect

¹²⁴ Siebesma [n. 120], 1.

¹²⁵ Siebesma [n. 120], § 1.5.3 (17–21).

¹²⁶ Siebesma [n. 120], 39, 40.

¹²⁷ Siebesma [n. 120], Distribution of themes: niph'al (§ 4.1.1), pual (§ 4.1.2), hoph'al (§ 4.1.3), passive qal (§ 4.1.4) and hithpael (§ 4.1.5). Relationships between themes: niph'al–pual (§ 4.2), niph'al–hoph'al (§ 4.3), niph'al–passive qal (§ 4.4), niph'al–hithpael (§ 4.5).

¹²⁸ Siebesma [n. 120], § 5.8 (172).

¹²⁹ For a critical review of Siebesma that is however, unnecessarily caustic see S. A. Kaufman, “Review of P. A. Siebesma, *The function of the niph'al in Biblical Hebrew in relationship to other passive-reflexive verbal stems and to the pu'al and the hoph'al in particular*, *CBQ* 56 (1994) 571–3.

¹³⁰ Jenni, “Aktionsarten und Stammformen...” [n. 79].

(state, activity, accomplishment and achievement) to the categories of *DhP*.¹³¹ As a result, the factitive and resultative functions are equated with achievement and the causative is equated with accomplishment.¹³² Jenni also uses the term ‘successive’ to refer to ‘complex active’ verbs of movement or loud expression, which he originally considered as ‘resultatives’.¹³³ All things considered, Jenni’s article adjusts more with respect to terminology than it does in overall shape of his theory. As a result, while the rephrasing of the theory is important to take into consideration, it does not appear to change materially the essence of Jenni’s argument in *DhP*.

1.7 Kouwenberg and Joosten: back to intensity

The next stage for consideration in the history of the study of the piel brings the discussion full circle back to the notion of ‘intensity’. The works of Kouwenberg and Joosten in Akkadian and Hebrew respectively, have sought to readdress the issue of the possibility of an ‘intensive’ notion of the piel (or D-stem) based on the ‘iconicity’ of the form itself.¹³⁴ Although their research was carried out independently of one another, Joosten slightly revised an article he had already finished due to the publication of Kouwenberg’s *Gemination in the Akkadian Verb*.¹³⁵ As Joosten’s work focuses on Biblical Hebrew and thus more specifically on the subject of this study, we will look briefly at Kouwenberg before turning to Joosten.

a. Kouwenberg: the iconic function of gemination

The opening chapter of *Gemination of the Akkadian Verb* begins with a brief historical discussion that focuses primarily on Goetze’s article of 1942. After criticizing Goetze’s argument, Kouwenberg makes it clear that he wishes to return to the initial point of departure in his study of the D-stem:

It will be argued that by disparaging the intensive function of the D-stem, Goetze has cut off the way to a correct understanding of it,

¹³¹ For an attempt to apply a similar set of classifications to the relationships of the entire verbal system see S.A. Creason, *Semantic Classes of Hebrew Verbs: A Study of Aktionsart in the Hebrew Verbal System*, PhD dissertation, University of Chicago, Ann Arbor, Michigan: University Microfilms International (1995).

¹³² Jenni, “Aktionsarten und Stammformen...” [n. 79], § 4 and 5.

¹³³ Jenni, “Aktionsarten und Stammformen...” [n. 79], § 11 and §13.

¹³⁴ N. J. C. Kouwenberg, *Gemination in the Akkadian Verb*, *Studia Semitica Neerlandica* 32, Assen, The Netherlands: Van Gorcum (1997); J. Joosten, “The Functions of the Semitic D Stem: Biblical Hebrew Materials for a Comparative-Historical Approach”, *Orientalia* 67/2 (1998) 202–30.

¹³⁵ Joosten [n. 134], 204.

and that we have to rehabilitate the “traditional” views, ... which were in vogue before the publication of Goetze’s article [...]. These traditional views are, in short, that gemination of the second root radical symbolizes an intensification of the action; that the D-stem can be characterized as basically intensive, and, finally that the “causative” function of the D-stem is an offshoot of that intensive character.¹³⁶

In order to rehabilitate the traditional views, Kouwenberg proposes to offer both a different terminology and a more detailed argument than the scholars who traditionally have held these views. He begins by summarizing the three main claims he will make through his research. The first concerns Goetze’s central contention that any connection between the form and function of the D-stem is a ‘romantic notion’. Kouwenberg argues that ‘gemination’ (his general term for the doubling of a consonant) is related to nominal and verbal plurality and that this suggests an ‘iconic’ relationship between form and function.¹³⁷ This iconic function typically expressed an extension in meaning from the form without gemination “as an increase in number (plurality), in duration (permanence, habituality) or in salience”.¹³⁸ Kouwenberg’s second claim is that where there appears to be an absence of this iconic function, it has been obscured due to the effects of ‘grammaticalization’, which is “the process of erosion which leads to loss of semantic content and reduction of form”.¹³⁹ Thirdly then, Kouwenberg asserts that grammaticalization has led to the original purpose of gemination being split into different categories of form with their corresponding functions. However, these functions have enough similarity to justify a derivation from a common origin and meaning.¹⁴⁰

Although describing Kouwenberg’s theory as a whole is outside the scope of this study, his comments on the function of the D-stem will be described briefly. Kouwenberg uses Hopper and Thompson’s distinctions on transitivity to develop a key terminological difference from the traditional view by employing the concept of a spectrum of clausal transitivity in which ‘high transitivity’ and ‘low transitivity’ will

¹³⁶ Kouwenberg [n. 134], *Gemination*, 15.

¹³⁷ Kouwenberg [n. 134], *Gemination*, 15.

¹³⁸ Kouwenberg [n. 134], *Gemination*, 16, 33. On the latter he says gemination made words “more expressive, intensive, emphatic, etc.”

¹³⁹ Kouwenberg [n. 134], *Gemination*, 16, 28. Kouwenberg also uses the term ‘lexicalization’ for this phenomenon in which a form that loses its original iconic sense can become a variant for the simple form without gemination (§ 2.2.4.3).

¹⁴⁰ Kouwenberg [n. 134], *Gemination*, 16.

(usually) replace the traditional terms 'transitive' and 'intransitive' respectively.¹⁴¹ In addition, since this definition of transitivity does not depend solely on the presence or absence of an explicit object, Kouwenberg will refer to the valency of a verb (number of participants) in his discussion of the function of the D-stem. He argues that the D-stem, and thus gemination, is related in all cases to high transitivity and thus to a preserving ('intensive') or extending ('factitive') of the valency of the corresponding G-stem.¹⁴² According to Kouwenberg, the connection of both functions of the D-stem to high transitivity is the link between intensity and causativity.¹⁴³ He thus concludes that his study is in agreement with the traditional view on all essential points: the gemination of the D-stem serves an 'iconic' purpose representing an intensification of the meaning from that of the base theme and that the causative is derived from this meaning. Kouwenberg concludes further that the traditional grammarians simply did not have the necessary linguistic tools to explain the phenomenon properly and that by misunderstanding this fact Goetze wrongly criticized what was a right instinct about how language functions.¹⁴⁴

One of the main difficulties of Kouwenberg's theory lies in a lack of clarity in his explanation in terminology and definition between different sections. As noted in a review article by C. Schaefer and M. Eskhult "Kouwenberg's book is not easy to read, which is partly due to terminological idiosyncrasies and inconsistencies, redundancies and circular arguments. [...] More irritating are the contradictory statements that appear between the individual chapters and sometimes even within a chapter".¹⁴⁵ While this difficulty does not remove the weight of Kouwenberg's examination, it can make the task of understanding the author's argument on its own terms very difficult.

¹⁴¹ Kouwenberg [n. 134], § 5.3 and § 5.4. In the first section, Kouwenberg lists a number of properties which define a clause as being of low or high transitivity. In the second he discusses both Hopper and Thompson's and Givón's definitions of 'high' or 'prototypical' transitivity and seems to combine elements of both in how he determines whether a clause is to be considered 'prototypically transitive'.

¹⁴² Kouwenberg [n. 134], 101.

¹⁴³ Kouwenberg [n. 134], §7.3.3.

¹⁴⁴ Kouwenberg [n. 134], 443.

¹⁴⁵ Review of N. J. C. Kouwenberg, *Gemination in the Akkadian Verb*, C. Schaefer and M. Eskhult, *Orientalia Suecana* 48 (1999) 130. See the review itself for some examples.

b. Joosten: the D-stem and diathesis – stuck in the middle

Joosten's article opens with the very questions of relationship that stand at the head of this chapter and the course of exploration it has followed. "How do the 'intensive' and the causative-factitive meanings relate to one another [and] how did the same morphological category come to express both notions?"¹⁴⁶ After a brief explanation of Goetze's argument and influence, Joosten introduces Kouwenberg's theory, concluding that it is a significant route forward for research on the D-stem. Although Joosten's argument will follow a slightly different path, he hopes that "it will corroborate some of the main lines of argument developed by Kouwenberg".¹⁴⁷

Joosten presents for his theory a "working hypothesis" that has two main parts. The first is his contention that "the basic dichotomy within the simple stem of the Semitic verb runs along the lines of diathesis".¹⁴⁸ Historically, Joosten argues that a system which included both middle and active simple stems for any given root must have been operative in proto-Semitic and proto-Hebrew.¹⁴⁹ The second part of the hypothesis is that this division in the simple stem between active and middle diathesis explains how the D-stem developed both the "intensive" and "factitive" functions.¹⁵⁰ Joosten states that the original function of the D-stem was to "reinforce the meaning of the verb".¹⁵¹ The modification by the D-stem developed in two directions according to the original diathesis of the simple stem: 1. The 'intensive' D-stem acted as a modification of the active G-stem, and the middle became obsolete (i.e. with active verbs) 2. The D-stem replaced the active G-stem and developed a 'factitive' modification from the now solely existing middle G-stem (i.e. with stative verbs).¹⁵²

Joosten then proposes to look at examples in Biblical Hebrew for evidence of his hypothesis. However, before doing so he argues that the traditional opposition between 'active' and 'stative' or 'transitive' and 'intransitive' ought to be replaced with that of 'active' and 'middle' diathesis.¹⁵³ Active verbs "denote a process taking its point of departure in the subject and accomplished outside of it". Middle verbs "describe a process taking place within the subject: the subject is involved in the

¹⁴⁶ Joosten [n. 134], 202.

¹⁴⁷ Joosten [n. 134], 204.

¹⁴⁸ Joosten [n. 134], 204.

¹⁴⁹ Joosten [n. 134], 205.

¹⁵⁰ Joosten [n. 134], 205.

¹⁵¹ Joosten [n. 134], 205.

¹⁵² Joosten [n. 134], 205.

¹⁵³ Joosten [n. 134], 206.

process".¹⁵⁴ Joosten provides examples of verbs in Biblical Hebrew that have either active and middle forms in the qal or active and middle meanings in the qal.¹⁵⁵ He argues that there are not many verbs in the former category because the previous distinction of diathesis has largely been lexicalized and what remains is merely a remnant of an earlier system.¹⁵⁶

As a result of this reconstruction, Joosten states that the meaning of the piel can be inferred from its morphology. In a similar manner to Kouwenberg, he argues that the doubling of the middle consonant had an 'iconic' function representing the strengthening of the verbal meaning. Although Goetze was critical of this notion, Joosten argues that the phenomenon is well known in many languages having the purpose of intensifying meaning. For this reason, he concludes that the original function of the piel "consisted in reinforcing or pluralizing the basic verbal meaning connected with the root".¹⁵⁷ In order to illustrate the meaning of the piel, Joosten provides five categories of verbs with their qal/piel opposition: 1. double qal (active and middle) – "active" piel 2. middle qal – "active" piel 3. active qal – "intensive" piel 4. middle qal – intensive piel 5. piel without attested qal.¹⁵⁸ It is the second category in which the traditionally factitive or causative verbs have been placed. For these verbs, Joosten proposes that it is possible that an active qal existed which eventually was lost due to competition with the "active" piel.¹⁵⁹

In the concluding section of his article, Joosten again asserts that the 'intensive' meaning of the D-stem ought to be the basis from which the other functions of the theme are explained. In doing so, the 'factitive-causative' can be seen as having developed from the 'intensive' if it is understood that they must have developed from the existence of an earlier opposition between active and middle diathesis.¹⁶⁰ If his theory is correct, Joosten concludes that the question of the semantics of the piel can neither be solved by solely synchronic study nor can it hope to find a common underlying function for the entire theme. Thus, in a parting shot, Joosten criticizes Jenni's approach in *DhP* by stating that the history of the piel must

¹⁵⁴ Joosten [n. 134], 207.

¹⁵⁵ Joosten [n. 134], § 1.2, 1.3.

¹⁵⁶ Joosten [n. 134], 208, 213.

¹⁵⁷ Joosten [n. 134], 217.

¹⁵⁸ Joosten [n. 134], § 2.1–2.5.

¹⁵⁹ Joosten [n. 134], 220, 221.

¹⁶⁰ Joosten [n. 134], 225. Joosten illustrates this with a probable development from active and middle G to the intensive and factitive-causative D (which is similar to the explanation on in Ryder on p. 205; cf. n. 149 above).

be examined and that “treating the stem as a unified inflectional category the function of which can be retraced through careful study is bound to be futile”.¹⁶¹

1.8 Concluding Remarks

Before drawing the task of mapping out the history to a close, there is one last scholar to mention whose research falls into a different sort of category from most of those mentioned above (aside from Siebesma).¹⁶² A. J. C. Verheij has published a monograph which focuses on what he calls the “quantitative” matter of the verbal themes.¹⁶³ Using a computer readable Hebrew text, Verheij proposed to use a statistical approach that may not have been able to represent all the semantic variety of the verbal system but that would make up for this in the “completeness and generalisibility of the results”.¹⁶⁴ Verheij’s research represents another aspect of the study of the verbal themes in general that aids in complementing the “qualitative” studies mentioned in the history of research.

This chapter has followed Goetze’s original signpost to see where the tracks have led in the history of research on the piel in Biblical Hebrew. Although the history is by no means exhaustive, it describes some of the more prominent routes explored in response to Goetze’s criticism of intensity. The overall route has been circuitous in that, although different in shape, the explanation of the form and function of the piel as intensive has brought the discussion back to the very point in which Goetze’s signpost originally redirected exploration. Having described this route and the arguments that have led to it, chapter 2 will turn to the task of methodology – of interacting critically with methodological themes manifested in the history of exploration and of laying out the tracks for the road ahead pursued in the present study.

¹⁶¹ Joosten [n. 134], 227.

¹⁶² A. Bean’s thesis, *A Phenomenological Study of the Hithpa’el Verbal Stem in the Hebrew Old Testament*, PhD thesis, Southern Baptist Theological Seminary (1975) also falls in the category of statistical research on the themes in Biblical Hebrew. Bean’s study is primarily statistical work with hithpa’el forms examined through a grid of factors like canon, chronology, geography, and divisions by form. The rather tenuous nature of some aspects of the scheme through which the forms are processed results in the actual occurrences of the hithpa’el having a rather conspicuously minimal role in his study even with the recognition that it is a primarily statistical analysis.

¹⁶³ A. J. C. Verheij, *Bits, Bytes, and Binyanim: A Quantitative Study of Verbal Lexeme Formations in the Hebrew Bible*, *Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta* 93, Leuven, Belgium: Peeters (2000) 8.

¹⁶⁴ Verheij [n. 163], 8.

CHAPTER 2

Methodology: Interaction with the History of Exploration and Tracks for the Road Ahead

2.1 Introduction

The purpose of the previous chapter was primarily to describe the route that scholars have taken in exploring the function of the *piel* in Biblical Hebrew (and/or the D-stem) according to their own explanations. In the present chapter, the first task is to offer some observations and interaction regarding issues from the history that have given shape to the route described. Rather than interacting with each scholar independently, the central issues will be culled in this section and illustrated by examples from the history as appropriate. One of the primary reasons for this approach is the desire to interact with the former scholars and their routes of exploration rather than primarily to react to one or more of them. The second task will be to set out the methodological considerations for the present study in light of the description and interaction with the route of exploration.

2.2 Interaction with the History of Exploration

a. Either/Or of exploration: stranded at grammatical poles

The first observation that is striking from the history of exploration of the *piel* is that at several points the discussion appears to be impaled on the horns of a dilemma. As an example, we will start with the scholar mentioned near the end of chapter one. In his conclusions on the *piel*, Joosten states that the semantics of the *piel* cannot be solved “on a strictly synchronic level” and in the following paragraph offers criticism of Jenni by concluding that “treating the stem as a unified inflectional category the function of which can be retraced through careful study is bound to be futile”.¹⁶⁵ The question here is not whether criticism of a scholar’s approach is legitimate, for that is a necessary part of further exploration. The important question is ‘with respect to what’ precisely is the examination levying its critical weight. That is to say, if a particular scholar has used a primarily synchronic approach, there often does not appear to be a clear distinction between criticizing the failings of the scholar

¹⁶⁵ J. Joosten, [n. 134], 227.

and the broader category of which the argument is an example. Thus, it seems we have a history of research that is beset with criticism that implicitly directs the route of exploration into one of two poles of a number of dichotomies: diachronic/synchronic, morphology/semantics, lexicalization/systematization, unpredictability/predictability to name the more prominent.¹⁶⁶ By making this point I am not presuming that scholars necessarily intend to make the dichotomies for this reason, but that in spite of this the path of research shows itself to have been directed in this manner.

The signpost of ‘intensity’ that marked the beginning of our history of exploration is also the beginning of this tendency. Goetze criticized intensity as a romantic notion – namely that the meaning of D was related to G active, which led him to derive the D-stem in Akkadian as related only to G stative. While the explanation of intensity as the central meaning from which the remaining functions of the piel derived may indeed have needed criticism, Goetze’s article did not distinguish between the traditional grammarians’ understanding of what medieval philologists meant by ‘intensity’ and the question of why and in what manner it was not a right characterization of the function of the piel.¹⁶⁷ Waltke and O’Connor note that Jenni, following somewhat in Goetze’s footsteps, “overreacted” in his own description of the functions of the piel by placing the group of intransitive verbs traditionally explained as ‘intensive’ under the ‘resultative’ function with transitive verbs.¹⁶⁸ As a result, the route of research has taken some time to come back to addressing the issue of intensity.¹⁶⁹ In effect, even though Kouwenberg and Joosten have nuanced their explanations, the presentation of the research still has a polemic framework with Goetze and those influenced by him as one of two grammatical poles relating to the place of intensity in the formation and explanation of the piel.¹⁷⁰

¹⁶⁶ Cf. Verheij [n. 163], 1–7, 129 has also recognized this sort of dichotomy particularly as it relates to the question of whether a verb is systematically related to its theme or whether it is mostly lexicalized.

¹⁶⁷ Cf. Goshen-Gottstein, “Problems of Semitic Verbal Stems: A Review”, *Bibliotheca Orientalis* 42 (1985) 279, where he states that the traditional characterization of ‘intensity’ was wrong but that it “was to a large extent a misinterpretation of statements made by medieval philologists”. Whether or not this statement is correct, it points to the sort of questions that need to be addressed when criticizing a particular grammatical approach.

¹⁶⁸ W&O [n. 76], § 24.5 (p. 414).

¹⁶⁹ Weingreen discusses a possible further development of the notion of intensity, but does not mention explicitly Goetze’s argument or influence in “The Pi’el in Biblical Hebrew: A Suggested New Concept”, *Henoch* 5 (1983) 21–29.

¹⁷⁰ For further manifestations of the polarization in grammars cf. A. Sperber, *A Historical Grammar of Biblical Hebrew: A Presentation of Problems with Suggestions to their Solutions*, Leiden: E. J. Brill

One of the crucial effects of Goetze's original signpost is the way in which it forked the path of exploration with respect to the external relationship of the piel (D-stem). Goetze argued that the Akkadian D-stem had no relationship to G active but that it was derived wholly from G stative.¹⁷¹ Jenni's research on the piel is an application of this line of thinking in that he derived the function of the piel not from the stative per se (due to the difference between Hebrew and Akkadian), but from what he argues are adjectival and verbal characteristics that give shape to the oppositional relationship of the themes. For Biblical Hebrew then, Jenni argued that the function of the piel was set in systematic opposition to the qal as well as the hiphil. Ryder followed aspects of Goetze's argument down a completely different track resulting in the conclusion that the piel is a form independent from the verbal system in origin.¹⁷² In his introductory section, Ryder criticizes the approach that led to the 'intensive' explanation because it is "an artificial, ex post facto line of reasoning [that] begins with the origins of meaning rather than with the origins of the form". He goes on to criticize methods of investigation (like Jenni's) that search for some form of a common meaning through "verbal rationalization".¹⁷³ Claassen also criticizes the traditional scheme in a similar manner by noting counter examples that illustrate the "semantic unpredictability" of the verbal system and asserts that "it is not possible to regard any of the verbal themes as reflecting (even approximately) clear-cut semantic or even syntactic categories".¹⁷⁴

The fact that scholars have criticized the methods of those before them is not in itself the aspect under scrutiny. Much of this criticism has aided the further study of the Hebrew verbal system. It is rather the manner of the arguments and the nature of the resulting conclusions often drawn by scholars in the process that is in view. The manner of argument tends to operate as follows: scholar A makes an assertion or argument that could be simplified as stating something like "all x are y"; scholar B

(1966) where after providing lists of qal/hiphil, qal/piel, and piel/hiphil used "interchangeably" (§7, p. 5-14) he states: "It thus becomes clear that the so-called derived stems are not verbal stems, but conjugations" and that they are mainly confused due to grammarians who "misunderstood [them] as stems derived from the [qal]" (14). Sperber's section is shaped as a response to the systematic presentation of the 'stems' as derived in Bauer-Leander (§38). Also see Merwe, Naudé, Kroeze, *A Biblical Hebrew Reference Grammar*, [n. 2], 73 where they state that although the themes ('stems') may express semantic associations with the qal, "each stem formation should rather be regarded as an independent form, the meaning of which must be learned separately".

¹⁷¹ Goetze [n. 8], 6.

¹⁷² Ryder [n. 42], 166.

¹⁷³ Ryder [n. 42], 16.

¹⁷⁴ Claassen, *The Hiphil Verbal Theme...* [n. 120], 85.

then shows counter examples where sometimes *x* does not appear to be *y*; as a result scholar B then often appears to be asserting or arguing in some manner that “all *x* are non-*y*”. Goetze applies this sort of argument to the D-stem in Akkadian by asserting that it cannot be derived from G active at all and argues to the conclusion that it must therefore be derived wholly from G stative.¹⁷⁵ Also typical of this sort of argumentation, Goetze classifies those forms that do not fit his scheme as anomalies either outside the verbal system (denominatives) or as forms possibly containing an *n* infix and wrongly associated with the D-stem (cursives).¹⁷⁶ The fact that he finds the argument compelling is evident in his assertion in the closing paragraphs where he states that “universal applicability of a thesis has always been the best proof for its correctness”.¹⁷⁷ Although in a different sense from that intended by Goetze, the ‘universal’ nature of the argument is precisely where the problem lies. We will come back to this point below.

Jenni’s theory on the piel represents a similar type of universal response to the question of whether or not the piel may overlap in meaning with the qal and hiphil. The examples provided in *DhP* exhibit a great deal of effort to show that at every point the piel necessarily stands in distinct opposition to the other themes.¹⁷⁸ Jenni also includes a sort of disclaimer where he argues that if ninety percent of the cases fit, his theory ought to be considered valid.¹⁷⁹ In response, Claassen offers quite a number of counter examples to Jenni’s theory to illustrate that the tight oppositions between themes is untenable. As a result of these examples, Claassen concludes that the use of the themes is ‘unpredictable’ rather than ‘predictable’ and that the “obvious solution” is that the function of the themes is one of variation simply for reasons of style.¹⁸⁰ Ryder follows a similar line of reasoning to a different end. He argues that the lack of a “consistent opposition” in meaning between G and D (qal and piel) is

¹⁷⁵ Goetze [n. 8], 4, 5. On the latter page, Goetze states that any modification of B active by D has been “shown” to be invalid, but this appears to refer only to assertions that Goetze has made about Akkadian grammar and the difference between nominal and verbal sentence types on the former page.

¹⁷⁶ Goetze [n. 8], 3 (denominatives), 7 (cursives – which he says denote “a *state* of continuous action”).

¹⁷⁷ Goetze [n. 8], 8.

¹⁷⁸ W&O [n. 76] recognize this tendency in Jenni as well and diverge slightly from his argument in this regard (cf. § 24.3 a, c; §24.5).

¹⁷⁹ Jenni, *DhP* [n. 42], 17.

¹⁸⁰ Claassen, *The Hiph ʿl Verbal Theme...* [n. 120], 90, 261.

best explained through their origins as completely separate themes unrelated by derivation but existing in semantic competition with one another.¹⁸¹

It is the universal language and the possibly unintentional consequences that come as a result of it that can make these arguments and conclusions swing the discussion from one pole to the other. Using the representations above, counter examples to 'all *x* are *y*' appear to be used to produce 'all *x* are non-*y*' rather than 'not all *x* are *y*'. The latter is a valid conclusion to the existence of counter examples and a place to begin assessing in what way the original argument has gone wrong. This simply brings to light the important logical principle *abusus usum non tollit* (abuse does not negate proper use). In the attempt to distance an argument from a particular tradition or scholar, it does not always appear that the distinction between the two has been made clearly.

It is important to note lastly that a scholar's use of universal language in this way does not properly represent the fact that they tend to 'live' in between the poles. This is important for two reasons. Firstly because it recognizes that even where scholars use universal language they often *mean* or *do* better than they *say*. Secondly, this points us to the expectation that the data itself may very well exist somewhere between rather than at any of the opposing poles mentioned.

b. Data and Theory

The archaeologist's spade
delves into dwellings
vacancied long ago,

uncarthing evidence
of life-ways no one
would dream of leading now,

concerning which he has not much
to say that he can prove:
the lucky man!

Knowledge may have its purposes,
but guessing is always
more fun than knowing.

from the poem *Archaeology*
by W. H. Auden¹⁸²

¹⁸¹ Ryder [n. 42], 23. Also see similar comments on 24, 41, 42, 164–7.

Auden's poem rings true in these verses not because archaeologists necessarily work in 'guessing' rather than in 'knowledge' (whatever he or we may mean by those terms), but because at times the presentation of their evidence and conclusions can feel as if a researcher is grasping for a fuller picture than the data may support. The slight humor in Auden's verses no doubt can also ring true in the discipline at hand and the study of an ancient language like Biblical Hebrew. Thus, the second area of observation and criticism to be discussed concerns two aspects of the relationship between data and theory.

The first aspect relates to the degree to which the data is able to answer the questions asked of it. In the study of the function of the *piel*, the assumption has often been made that the questions being asked about the verbal themes can be answered fully based on the data at hand. For example, the debate has been polarized over the question of whether or not the Biblical Hebrew verbal system is systematic in its internal and external thematic relationships. Beginning with Goetze's criticism of the traditional approach, this question has been the framework for most discussions on the verbal themes. In their response to the question, scholars have often presumed that it is both the right sort of question and that it is possible to answer it exhaustively.¹⁸³ Consequently, the answers to the question often include fairly specific conclusions on how a native writer or speaker would have understood the verbal system. However, since there are neither current speakers or writers of Biblical Hebrew nor any grammars written by them, the degree to which questions like this can be answered has to be qualified. While it is by all means legitimate to examine the functions of the verbal system, the absolute nature in which the discussion is framed seeks to extract from the data that which it cannot give in the manner asked of it. In this respect, the questions asked from the data often epitomize the lines of Auden's poem with respect to their results, "concerning which he has not much to say that he can prove". On these issues, see the further discussion on epistemological considerations below.

¹⁸² W. H. Auden, *Selected Poems*, edited by Edward Mendelson, London: Faber and Faber Ltd. (1979) 302 (poem #100).

¹⁸³ In her popular level application of Michael Polanyi's epistemology, Esther Meek offers a number of helpful insights into the process of discovery. One such insight relates to the question at hand when she states that "exhaustive lucidity is sterile" (136) because it tends to move over areas of what she calls 'hiddenness' by the necessary application of the overall theory. E. L. Meek, *Longing to Know: The Theory of Knowledge for Ordinary People*, Grand Rapids, Michigan: Brazos Press (2003).

The second aspect for discussion is the nature of the relationship between a theory and the examination of the data. While it is neither possible nor desirable for someone to approach a set of data without a theoretical framework, it is essential that any theory proposing to explain the data must be derived primarily from an examination of that data. Thus, in such an examination, the theory must be open to being shaped by the investigation of the data itself. In some places along the route of the study of the piel it appears that the explanation has been largely driven by pre-commitments to certain theoretical tenets. This approach is also aided, in part, by the framework of absolute questions mentioned above. For if the expectation of a study is that it will find a pattern that will provide a solution that is exhaustively lucid, it can be difficult to hold back from extending patterns to the rest of the material even in the face of numerous counter examples.

As Jenni is both significant in influence on the study of the piel and an example of the tendency to shape the explanation of the data to conform to contours of a theoretical pre-commitment, we will begin with his work. Jenni is usually cited as the first scholar to have presented a theory based on an exhaustive investigation of all 415 verbs attested in the piel.¹⁸⁴ His work in *DhP* includes examples from or reference to all verbs attested in piel in Biblical Hebrew. While the breadth of Jenni's work is impressive, there are several elements that seem to indicate that the examination of the verbs was shaped significantly by the basic distinctions that he set out with from the beginning. To begin with, Jenni's initial work on the verb אָבַד was published in an article in the *Festschrift* for Walter Baumgartner in 1967.¹⁸⁵ All of the work of examining the remaining attested verbs and writing up the fuller theory was completed and published in 1968 in *DhP* with the results confirming and expanding the findings of the former article. While presenting these facts of publication is not intended to be conclusive as to whether other time was spent prior to work on the article published in 1967, it does raise questions about the manner in which the examination of the data was allowed to influence the shape of the explanatory theory.¹⁸⁶

¹⁸⁴ The number 415 is Jenni's based on his division of roots. Cf. *DhP* [n. 42], 279–92.

¹⁸⁵ Jenni, "Faktitiv und Kausativ..." [n. 80], 143–57.

¹⁸⁶ In his 1999 presentation at the Biblical Hebrew and Linguistics section of the Society for Biblical Literature annual meetings in Boston, Jenni reviewed the history of his interaction with the piel before offering a slight revision of his theory. In doing so, he made reference to the fact that his struggle with the piel began in September of 1966 in preparation for the article on אָבַד.

In *DhP*, Jenni's presentation of his method and theory begins with his explanation of the differences between nominal and verbal sentences. It is the characteristics of this distinction that become the grid through which the data will be explained and illustrated. In fact, in his opening section Jenni defends the presentation of the results of his investigation as being given deductively – the theses concerning the relationships are given first followed by the textual proof.¹⁸⁷ Although this is meant to be only a defense for the manner of presentation, the method of investigation seems to have followed a similar order. This is due primarily to the nature of Jenni's commitment to and definition of his basic premise that difference of form = difference of function.¹⁸⁸ Since Jenni seems to imply that this difference of function should in every case be both present and discernible where there is difference of form, he takes this as a starting point for explaining the function of the *piel* in relation to the *qal* and *hiphil*. Thus the consequent differences between nominal and verbal sentence types are derived from this basic principle and are not necessary to defend in detail. This presupposition appears to be the source of the somewhat confusing statements that Jenni makes periodically that attempt to defend the theory from either counter argument or criticism. For example, he states that it is not necessary to enumerate examples to illustrate the difference between adjectival and verbal predication if we simply "recall the basic function of the adjective and verb".¹⁸⁹ In light of statements like this, it is hard to contemplate what could have come to light in Jenni's investigation that would have reshaped the theoretical presuppositions and framework of his explanation.

Ryder's work on the D-stem has an inverse relationship to Jenni's work with respect to basic presuppositions. Where Jenni is determined to show the systematic opposition between stems in meaning, Ryder is equally determined to show that the D-stem is completely separate from the verbal system in origin and functional opposition. In this respect, the either/or nature of the discussion has affected what becomes a basic foundation for Ryder's examination of the data. As mentioned above in chapter one, Ryder begins his monograph by offering alternate hypotheses to what

¹⁸⁷ Jenni, *DhP* [n. 179], 17.

¹⁸⁸ Jenni, *DhP* [n. 179], 16.

¹⁸⁹ Jenni, *DhP* [n. 179], 28. For a few further examples see *DhP* 33 (n. 56), 90, 142 (on 'direct' and 'indirect' action) and "Faktitiv und Kausative..." [n. 185], 154. Claassen, *The Hiph ʕl Verbal Theme...* [n. 120] also criticizes these comments in Jenni stating that the "matter is withdrawn from our control and examination" and that "it is implied that we cannot even test Jenni's claims as to their validity", 234.

he states are the three basic assumptions of the traditional explanation.¹⁹⁰ The alternate hypotheses are not meant to be starting points for Ryder's discussion but rather an equally valid and completely opposed set of possible perspectives on the data. He states that the hypotheses will have to stand until there is the chance to "examine much linguistic evidence".¹⁹¹ However, in the first several chapters Ryder appears to work from a basis that presupposes some elements of the alternate hypotheses as he approaches the textual material. As an example, Ryder states in the chapter on morphology that the conclusion regarding which hypotheses will be correct must wait until the textual material is examined. In the following paragraph he says that a statement by Porges on the relationship between the themes is more accurate because it recognizes that theme I (G, qal) although probably primary is simply a model which may be followed by other themes.¹⁹² Whether Ryder (and Porges) is correct in this or not, to be predisposed to seeing the data in this manner shapes the explanation accordingly and seems simply to be the inverse approach to the 'traditional' one being criticized. For this is primarily the route that Ryder is following which will end in explaining the D-stem as denominative-factitive in origin and thus independent from the other themes.

The observations and criticism offered are not intended to conclude that Jenni and Ryder have not done any of the examination they set out to do. The intent is rather to draw attention to the way in which both the theoretical commitments set in the framework of the driving questions have shaped the examinations and presentations of the data. Reading through both Jenni and Ryder, one gets the impression that they arrived at their destination with a great deal of what they expected to find.

c. Language "contains more than it can tell": epistemological considerations

The scientist and philosopher Michael Polanyi stated concerning human knowledge that "we can know more than we can tell".¹⁹³ Any act of human knowing, he argued, was made up of tacit elements – some of which the knower is 'attending from' (the *proximal* or *subsidiary*) in the process of 'attending to' the others (the

¹⁹⁰ Ryder [n. 42], 11, 12.

¹⁹¹ Ryder [n. 42], 12.

¹⁹² Ryder [n. 42], 22.

¹⁹³ Cf. M. Polanyi, *The Tacit Dimension*, New York: Doubleday (1966) 4ff; and *Personal Knowledge: Toward a Post-Critical Philosophy*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press (1960) 49ff.

distal or *focal*).¹⁹⁴ In such a process, Polanyi illustrated the fact that the knower is ‘attending from’ knowledge which they may not always necessarily be able to specify or articulate in order to perform the task they are ‘attending to’. Thus, in the act of communication, a speaker or writer is *attending from* knowledge that is proximal of things like meaning, grammar, and syntax of a language in order to *attend to* the task of communicating through them. That this is true can be illustrated by observing how a child advances in learning a language. When a child is beginning to construct full sentences, they often have numerous particular aspects that they are in the process of adjusting – e.g. they may choose the past tense ‘was’ for all constructions referring to themselves even if it is happening in the present. Through processes like imitation of others or correction, the child will normally begin to get the tense of the verb right. However, even though they may know how to choose the right tense of a verb for the situation they are referring to, they would not be able to explain exactly why it is the case or how they know it. While the process of development tends to provide opportunities for a person speaking a language to focus on some of the subsidiary principles of grammar and syntax, the fact that a speaker or writer will always know more than they can tell about their language is simply a consequence of the fact that languages are lived in – they are used to communicate.¹⁹⁵

A consequence of Polanyi’s explanation of the act of knowing is that the product of such communicative acts in written texts may be characterized as embodying this tacit relationship. Thus we may adapt Polanyi’s statement and conclude of Biblical Hebrew that “the language contains more than it can tell”. For what we have in the texts themselves is the product of the act which the writer/speaker was ‘attending to’ while relying upon elements that they were ‘attending from’ without the latter being able to be specified in the process. What this means is that the grammatical study of any language is attempting to extract from the finished product – the ‘attended to’ written communication, that which was ‘attended from’ – that which was drawn upon as embodied tools towards the end of that communication. And although this is the case for any language, it is all the more important to make it explicit for a language like Biblical Hebrew where there are no

¹⁹⁴ On the terms *proximal* and *distal* in Polanyi cf. *The Tacit Dimension* [n. 193], 10ff., and for *subsidiary* and *focal* cf. *Personal Knowledge...* [n. 193], 55ff.

¹⁹⁵ For a discussion of places in Biblical Hebrew where the text shows some explicit awareness of the elements of the language, cf. W. Weinberg, “Language Consciousness in the Hebrew Bible”, in *Essays on Hebrew*, edited by P. Citrin, Atlanta: Scholars Press (1993) 51–73.

existing grammars produced by original speakers. The fact that the language presents itself in this form must bear upon the nature of the questions asked of the data and the manner in which conclusions are drawn from them.

In her application and development of Polanyi's epistemology with respect to the act of knowing, Esther Meek offers a number of helpful insights into the process of discovery.¹⁹⁶ In her section on 'interpreting the gaps', Meek discusses how the process of interpreting 'dissociated particulars' into an integrative pattern labels that which was once seen as possibly empty space as being 'hiddenness'. In the case of the themes in Biblical Hebrew, at least one of the aspects that has been labeled as hidden from the point of the view of the modern reader is the reason behind the choice of a particular verbal theme where there appears to be overlap in sense. If through study or argument a scholar gets hold of a pattern that they feel unlocks the possible motivation behind the distinction of the themes in these contexts, then they will apply this pattern to the interpretation of the themes. In doing so, the places where the motivation of the theme was seen as unknown or mysterious, the scholar then reinterprets these areas as previously 'hidden'. Although the element presented to the reader is still the same – the attested form – the interpreter argues that it is signifying something more. Meek uses the simple example to illustrate this of one who sees the sliver of the moon and concludes rightly "that [they] are seeing part of an orb, not all of a crescent".¹⁹⁷

It is also important to recognize that a pattern can be over- or misapplied. In the wake of excitement over the possibilities of applying a proposed pattern, a scholar could label areas as hiddenness where they are actually mistaken. When this happens, the pattern which is meant to operate as a tool for seeing the data properly actually stands in the way and blinds the scholar to proper interpretation.¹⁹⁸

In the process of discovery, the nature of the knower, the act of knowing, and that which is known all must inform how the process of discovery is carried out. In the criticism mentioned above, the discussion on the piel historically has not done this in that it has expected the data necessarily to be able to answer scholars' questions relating to thematic distinction in an exhaustive manner. In the model of knowing

¹⁹⁶ E. L. Meek, *Longing to Know: The Philosophy of Knowledge for Ordinary People*, Grand Rapids, Michigan: Brazos Press (2003). Also cf. her PhD thesis, *Contact with Reality: An Examination of Realism in the Work of Michael Polanyi*, PhD thesis, Temple University, Ann Arbor, Michigan: University Microfilms International (1983).

¹⁹⁷ Meek, *Longing to Know* [n. 196], 121.

¹⁹⁸ Meek, *Longing to Know* [n. 196], 156.

that Meek is arguing for, knowledge is presented as a matter of 'contact' with reality rather than a complete or exhaustive 'correspondence' to reality. As such, there is no expectation for the 'exhaustive lucidity' of knowledge since, if it were possible, it would necessarily be sterile.¹⁹⁹ And this resulting sterility can be illustrated from the historical discussion on the piel. For although Meek argues that even partially mistaken discoveries and claims access some aspects of reality, "a model of knowledge that expects exhaustive lucidity dismisses mistakes as non-knowledge".²⁰⁰ Thus, when scholars have responded to each other in absolute terms of polarization, they have often considered the opposite approach as exhaustively mistaken in content, but have still sought to answer the same questions in the same manner. As a result, the sterility has shown itself in that the discussion, as it were, has not learned from its mistakes. As Polanyi stated in relation to how our understanding of something depends upon an apt dwelling in it, "we can see how an unbridled lucidity can destroy our understanding of complex matters".²⁰¹

d. Word, Sense, and Referent

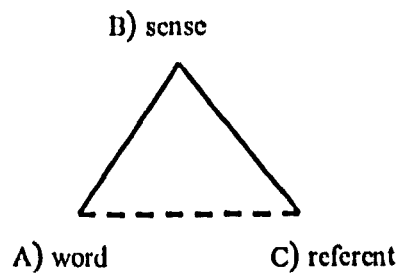
Another observation of the history of the study of the piel is the need for clarification relating to the issue of what a scholar means when stating that a verb 'means' or 'refers' to something. Although numerous linguistic and philosophical issues tend to arise with respect to 'the meaning of meaning,' there is a basic set of distinctions that can help lend clarity to the discussion. The triangle developed by Ogden and Richards can be used as a tool to distinguish and illustrate the relationships between what will here be called *word*, *sense* and *referent*.²⁰²

¹⁹⁹ Meek, *Longing to Know* [n. 196], 135.

²⁰⁰ Meek, *Longing to Know* [n. 196], 156, 163.

²⁰¹ Polanyi, *The Tacit Dimension* [n. 194], 18.

²⁰² C. K. Ogden and I. A. Richards, *The Meaning of Meaning*, London: Routledge & Kegan Paul Ltd., (1966) 11. Cf. also Moisés Silva, *Biblical Words and Their Meaning: An Introduction to Lexical Semantics*, revised and expanded edition, Grand Rapids, Michigan: Zondervan (1994) 101–3 (from which my own discussion is drawn); J. Lyons, *Semantics*, Vol I, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press (1977) 96–99, and the discussion on sense and reference in A. Gibson, *Biblical Semantic Logic*, Oxford: Basil Blackwell (1981) §2.0 (47–59).



The terms refer to the following: *word* (the word or phrase in its phonetic or written form), *sense* (the mental content called up by the word) and *referent* (the extralinguistic thing denoted).²⁰³ These distinctions can be applied in order to talk about the relationship between the different points indicated by the triangle. For example it is possible to talk about the linguistic relationship between a word and its referent. Thus, at the time of writing, the phrases ‘the Archbishop of Canterbury’ and ‘the former Archbishop of Wales’ can both be used to refer to the person of Rowan Williams. However, the two phrases do not ‘mean’ the same thing (‘Rowan Williams’) nor are they synonymous, but rather they may be used as ‘co-referential’ with respect to the person Rowan Williams.²⁰⁴ The terms may also be used to discuss the relationship between word and sense and between sense and referent. As an example, we may take the curious English word *cleave* which has amongst its senses the contrary ‘to adhere together’ and ‘to split apart’.²⁰⁵ In the KJV we come across the word *cleave* in Gen 2.24 “Therefore shall a man leave his father and his mother, and shall cleave unto his wife” and again in Lev 1.17 “And he shall cleave it with the wings thereof, but shall not divide it asunder”. In each it is clear which of the two senses is intended: the former is ‘to adhere together’ and the latter is ‘to split apart’. The way in which this is determined illustrates an aspect of the relationship between sense and referent. It is the ‘logic of the referent’ (*marriage* in the former and *burnt offerings* in the latter) which indicates what sense is intended by the writer.²⁰⁶ Where

²⁰³ The definitions of the terms are taken from Silva, *Biblical Words...* [n. 202], 103.

²⁰⁴ For further discussion of terms being ‘co-referential’ see P. Cotterell and M. Turner, *Linguistics and Biblical Interpretation*, Downers Grove, Illinois: InterVarsity Press (1989) 159–61. Co-referentiality is utilized in the work of Knut Heim on structure and context in Proverbs: Knut Heim, *Like Grapes of Gold Set in Silver: An Interpretation of Proverbial Clusters in Proverbs 10.1–22.16*, Berlin: Walter de Gruyter (2001) § 5.2.1.

²⁰⁵ The question may be raised, of course, as to whether these two senses are the result of homonymy or polysemy. However, whether they are the senses of different words spelled the same or of the same word, the relationships between word, sense and referent are similarly helpful for illustrating the point at hand.

²⁰⁶ This is also what C.S. Lewis refers to as “the insulating power of the context” in which two senses are generally safe from being confused because due to their generally different sorts of contexts

there are not sufficient contextual clues to determine between one or more of the senses of a word there can be *ambiguity*: either ‘intentional’ – for communicative effect or ‘unintentional’ – lack of clarity on the part of the writer/speaker or ignorance on the part of the reader/hearer as to the referential context.²⁰⁷ Lastly, it is also possible to refer to the relationship between the senses of one or more words.²⁰⁸ Thus, just as the two phrases listed above can be used to refer to Rowan Williams, it is also possible to speak of the qal of קָטַף and the piel of קָבַץ as having what appears to be the overlapping sense ‘to gather’ in some instances (cf. § 3.1) in that they refer to the same situation. Here also then, the verbs can be described as being ‘co-referential’.

One of the places in the study of the piel where application of this tool would be helpful is where the proposed differences between adjectival and verbal sentence types are discussed. As this distinction is central for Jenni’s theory, we will illustrate the point briefly by focusing on his explanation. It is worth noting that just before his section titled ‘state and process’ (*Zustand und Vorgang*), Jenni states that he will not use the distinction between ‘stative verbs’ and ‘intransitive-fientive verbs’ since for him the differentiation will depend on the differences between adjectivally expressed states and verbally expressed processes. Jenni follows this statement by arguing that even if stative verbs are originally derived from adjectives, their verbal character should not be misjudged for they no longer express a state but a process.²⁰⁹ However, in Jenni’s explanation of the function of the piel in both the factitive and resultative he argues that the piel expresses a bringing about of the adjectivally expressed state or result of the action without consideration of the process.²¹⁰ This distinction is central to Jenni for its oppositional relationships to both the qal and hiphil. However, it seems to violate his earlier argument on the ‘verbal’ character of that which may be originally derived from adjectives in order to conclude that the piel expresses simply the achieved state or result of an action. If we employ the distinctions made above, it seems unlikely that the piel as a verbal form would not, in any case, ‘refer’ to the

or referential situations “they live happily by keeping out of each other’s way”. C.S. Lewis, *Studies in Words*, 2nd edition, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press (1996) 11, 12.

²⁰⁷ For discussions see Silva, *Biblical Words...* [n. 202], 148–56; Lyons, *Semantics*. [n. 202], § 10.4. For application of these issues to exposition see C. John Collins, “Ambiguity and Theology in Ruth: Ruth 1:21 and 2:20.” *Presbyterion* 19:2 (Fall 1993), 97–102.

²⁰⁸ See Silva, *Biblical Words...* [n. 202], particularly chapter 5 “Sense Relations” 119–35.

²⁰⁹ Jenni, *DhP* [n. 42], 25.

²¹⁰ Jenni, *DhP* [n. 42], 33–36, 126–32, 275.

action or process itself. And if at times it does appear that the focus of the verb is upon the achieved result, the question still remains as to whether this is attributable to the fact of being attested in the piel or whether it may be related to other factors such as 'tense'.

Another area that would be helped by distinction between word, sense and referent is the classification of situation types to which verbs may refer (e.g. achievement, accomplishment). Discussion of these elements can be helpful as a way to examine how the situation to which the verb refers is presented in a particular context, but it is necessary to maintain the distinction between the types of referential situations to which a verb may refer and the classification of types of verbs themselves.²¹¹

e. Verbs and Roots

One last area worth noting is the matter of verbs and 'roots'.²¹² What is meant by the term 'root' and whether it ought to be used are questions that have come into focus both as a result of questions over how the verbal themes should be characterized in relation to the qal and more particularly through the criticism of etymology made by James Barr in *The Semantics of Biblical Language*.²¹³ The sense of the word 'root' being criticized by Barr relates to appeals to an etymological 'root meaning' attached to the consonants outside of any particular sense in an attested verbal theme or noun. This is the primary point of his response in the article "Did Isaiah know about Hebrew 'root meanings'?", where he discusses the niph'al and hiph'il of מָנָן used in Is 7.9.²¹⁴ Within discussions on the function of the verbal themes, the issue at hand is similar in that it relates to the criticism of the 'traditional' explanation of the meaning of a verb

²¹¹ For a recent study on the matter cf. Stuart Creason's PhD thesis, *Semantic Classes of Hebrew Verbs: A Study of Aktionsart in the Hebrew Verbal System*, The University of Chicago (1995). It seems that Creason's study would be aided by clarity in the relationship of word, sense, and reference – particularly with respect to how reference to a particular situation type by a verb relates to the verb itself, which would also be clarified by a clearer definition of how he is using the term 'ambiguity' throughout the thesis.

²¹² Some scholars use the term 'stem' to refer to the same concept. Note that GKC uses the term 'stem' (§ 30d) while criticizing the usefulness of the concept of 'roots' and Merwe, Naudé, Kroeze, *A Biblical Hebrew Reference Grammar*, [2], uses both terms together stating that "BH verbs can be derived from a stem or root consisting of three consonants" (§ 14).

²¹³ J. Barr, *The Semantics of Biblical Language*, Oxford: Oxford University Press (1961) 100–6.

²¹⁴ J. Barr, "Did Isaiah know about Hebrew 'root meanings'?", *The Expository Times* 75 (1964) 242.

as being mediated from the 'root' through the qal and then by derivation into the remaining themes.

The result of this in the context of the study of the verbal themes is that there is a question of what the term means and whether it is useful. Many scholars are prone to distance their approach from the appearance of referring to anything like a traditional concept of the 'root' of a verb.²¹⁵ Ryder does this by using the term while at the same time attempting to distinguish his use from those who see the other themes as derived from the qal. He states that an opposition between a verbal theme and the root can be imagined but that "such an opposition is useful only insofar as it symbolizes the fact that the D-stem is not derived from the root through the mediation of the B-stem, but has a more direct relationship to it".²¹⁶ However, Ryder takes this further by describing the root as possibly being the unmarked form and the themes as the marked, which results in the question: "Does this imply then that each of these stems is derivable directly from the root, and that they are therefore independent from one another, save for their common source?"²¹⁷ This conclusion is motivated primarily by Ryder's argument against the traditional approach and ends up bringing the question back primarily to the issue of derivation and etymology.

Jouön-Muraoka use the term 'root' to refer to the core consonants of a word and state that "whereas a root thus conceived is obviously an abstraction, it is nonetheless a linguistic and psychological reality".²¹⁸ For the sake of clarity in the discussion of the verbal themes, it would be helpful to have in hand something like the definition in Jouön-Muraoka. Thus to say that verbs like the niphāl and hiphil in Is 7.9 are attested forms of the root נ-ג-א is simply stating something observable from the way in which the forms are used. Both verbs have the three consonants נ-ג-א as basic to their form and also have senses that are related. It seems neither possible nor advantageous to describe the attested forms of a verb without referring to this reality in some manner. This allows for seeing the individual forms תִּאֲמַנְנִי and תִּאֲמַנְנִי as

²¹⁵ Verheij [n. 163] comments on such qualifications in the grammars by pointing out that "such statements, it would seem, are primarily indicative of authors' views on linguistic methodology" (19). This seems to be the case as well in discussions on the functions of the verbal themes.

²¹⁶ Ryder [n. 42], 41.

²¹⁷ Ryder [n. 42], 38, 39.

²¹⁸ Jouön-Muraoka, § 34a, n. 3. For further comments on a somewhat similar approach that attempts to take Barr's concerns about over etymologizing into consideration but still argues that there is something useful in talking about the 'root meaning' see J. F. A. Sawyer, "Root-Meanings in Hebrew", *Journal of Semitic Studies* 12 (1967) 37–50.

branches of a semantic tree related to the consonantal trunk **ל-ד-נ** without necessarily concluding how all of the tree is connected.

2.3 Tracks for the Road ahead

a. Reason for the Study

If one were to look for discussion of how a verbal theme like the *piel* functions with a specific verb beyond the glosses given in a typical lexical entry, the available sources fall into two categories. There are entries in theological dictionaries like *TWAT*, *NIDOTTE* or *TWOT* that occasionally have explicit discussions on how something like the function of the *qal* and *piel* or *piel* and *hiphil* forms of a verb may relate. The extent to which discussions like this are included depends largely upon the author of the particular article and their understanding of the purpose of a ‘theological’ lexical entry. The result of this is that from one verb to the next, the function of the themes is not necessarily handled or presented with consistency between articles.

The other primary category of available resources is monographs or theses written on the themes, like those by Jenni or Ryder.²¹⁹ These sources are important for the study of the function of the verbal themes not only for the theories of explanation they present but also for the extent of the material they cover. The difficulty with these studies is the way in which the context of logical polarization has been allowed to set the framework for the discussion of the data relating both to the driving questions and to the expectation for exhaustively lucid answers to these questions. While the discussions are valuable, the explanations of the data necessarily leave quite a bit of middle ground between the two poles untouched.

It is the case then that there is still need for an examination of the function of the *piel* (as well as other themes) that seeks to take the questions posed by the history of the study as important and yet does not allow the shape of that history to control the manner in which the questions are addressed. That is to say, the questions relating to what extent the Hebrew verbal system is ‘systematic’ or ‘lexicalized’ are important to address, but the primary question concerns what can be said about the function of a theme or themes based upon the data that exists. This may include evaluations as to

²¹⁹ The generally brief discussions in grammars can be included here as well since they are at least partially dependent upon the work presented by scholars in monographs or theses.

the nature of the verbal system, but these comments must always be qualified by the fact that the primary purpose of the data is not to bear explanatory marks of its schematics, but rather to attend to the purpose of communication. The purpose of the present study then, is to examine the function of the piel in Biblical Hebrew and seek to describe aspects of its internal and external relationships based primarily upon the data of the attested forms themselves.

b. Data

As the purpose of this study is to work primarily from the actual data itself, this study is focused on the forms²²⁰ in Biblical Hebrew²²¹ as attested in the Hebrew Scriptures. More specifically the text of *Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia* has been used as the basis for the examination. Not surprisingly, there are numerous debates surrounding the issues at stake in choosing the data for a study like this. From all of these, two of the more important issues will be discussed.

First of all, in the light of the continually expanding knowledge of the comparative Semitic language material, why should the study be limited to Biblical Hebrew? While the present study has no desire to ignore the insights from comparative philology, the work of examining the function of the piel still needs to be done within the language of Biblical Hebrew itself. That is to say, it seems that comparative material is best used when it can be incorporated into a study that has already been done in an individual language itself. And since the history of the study has shown that there is still a need for this, the present study will focus primarily on that task. Consequently, extensive interaction with the comparative material requires a scope beyond the possibilities of the present study. Thus, while comparative material is by no means precluded from the study, the focus will be primarily on characterizing the function of the theme based on its use in Biblical Hebrew.

The second question that inevitably arises is how to treat Biblical Hebrew. Is it to be taken primarily synchronically as a whole or diachronically as a composite of

²²⁰ Although the related forms like the poel are here not excluded completely, they were not included exhaustively because of the extent of the task already at hand in examining all the piel forms.

²²¹ The term 'Biblical Hebrew' is used to refer to the Hebrew of the Old Testament texts, which is distinguished from the more general classification 'Classical Hebrew'. The latter term is defined in *DCH* as "all kinds of Hebrew from the period prior to about 200 CE, that is, earlier than the Hebrew of the Mishnah" (1:14). For discussion and criticism of the use of 'Classical Hebrew' in *DCH*, see T. Muraoka's review article "A New Dictionary of Classical Hebrew" in *Studies in Ancient Hebrew Semantics*, edited by the author, *Abr-Nahrain Supplement* 4 (1995) 88, 89.

a number of different layers or some combination of both? The difficulty with the former is the lengthy period of time over which the texts were written and compiled. The difficulty with the latter is that scholarly opinions tend to vary widely both with respect to judgments about what belongs to what period as well as to what the criteria are for determining the categories.²²² It is necessary that both aspects are taken into consideration in a manner that reflects the text as it exists in its present form. For this reason, the approach here will be to treat the language as a linguistic unity²²³ as attested in the texts while at the same time looking to see if there are any possible discernable patterns of change in texts that are generally considered later (e.g. between verbs in parallel passages in Kings and Chronicles).

c. Research

The first task undertaken was to work manually through the lexicon and catalogue all the verbs attested in the *piel* including their attested forms in other themes. The lexicon that was used as the basis for this was that of Brown, Driver, and Briggs (BDB).²²⁴ In addition, Koehler Baumgartner (KB) was consulted throughout the course of the research and *The Dictionary of Classical Hebrew (DCH)* was also used through the five volumes available at the time (ד-ס).²²⁵

Once the verbs were catalogued, it was important that the order or groupings of the verbs for study would be pursued in a way that would not be influenced primarily by a desired result. To this end, rather than simply study each individual verb at random, those that had similar or contrasting senses and particularly those that

²²² Although the texts that are included in the categories can differ, the most basic divisions tend to be between pre- and post-exilic. For an explanation of categories relating to these periods in Biblical Hebrew prose cf. R. Polzin, *Late Biblical Hebrew: Toward an Historical Typology of Biblical Hebrew Prose*, Missoula: Scholars Press (1976) and for application of Polzin's categories to the book of Ezekiel cf. M. Rooker, *Biblical Hebrew in Transition: The Language of the Book of Ezekiel*, JSOTS 90, Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press (1990). Also, for a development of the two categories into three cf. G. Rendsburg, "The Strata of Biblical Hebrew", *JNSL* 17 (1991) 81-99.

²²³ For some examples of scholars that treat Biblical Hebrew in this way cf. WO § 21.1 where they discuss the issues at some length and conclude "the Hebrew of scripture, though far from uniform, is essentially a single language"; Claassen, *The Hiph ʿl Verbal Theme...* [n. 120], where he discusses the necessity of taking the language as a synchronic whole § 3.3 (63, 65), and G. Khan, *Studies in Semitic Syntax*, London Oriental Series 38, Oxford: Oxford University Press (1988) xxviii, where he states that "[t]he Hebrew of the Old Testament is treated as a linguistic unity".

²²⁴ F. Brown, S. R. Driver and C. A. Briggs, *A Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament*, reprinted from 1906 edition, Peabody, Massachusetts: Hendrickson (1996).

²²⁵ L. Koehler and W. Baumgartner, *The Hebrew and Aramaic Lexicon of the Old Testament*, study edition, revised by W. Baumgartner and J. J. Stamm; translated and edited under supervision of M.E.J. Richardson, Leiden: E. J. Brill (2001) *The Dictionary of Classical Hebrew*, edited by D. J. Clines, Vols. I-V, Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press (1993-).

were also used together in the same or similar contexts were grouped for study. The groups were made provisionally and open to change during the course of study. They were also motivated by the fact that time spent studying the use of the themes with one verb in its attested contexts could often be utilized best if it were done together with the study of other verbs that have a similar sense and are also used in the same contexts. Additionally, when examining the function of a verbal theme, it was deemed important that verbs used together with similar sense and/or similar themes could be studied in a way that comparison could be made.

For each verb the attested piel forms as well as the forms of any other attested themes have been examined in their contexts. Where a verb has a large number of attested forms in a particular theme (e.g. the qal of הלך), those of similar sense have not been examined exhaustively. The studies of the verbs were done manually from the text of BHS without the aid of computer related resources and written up first by hand to act as the basis for the following presentation. From each verb the general syntax was noted including complements such as recurring prepositional phrases as well as noting typical subjects and objects and contexts of use. Once the verb was examined in all of its attested themes, this information was used to describe what can be said about the relationship of the function of the themes with particular focus on the piel. Where appropriate, the functions of the themes with verbs that had similar or contrasting themes used together were also compared.

d. Presentation

The presentation of the verbs is divided into two main chapters containing active verbs (ch 3) and stative verbs (ch 4) with a separate chapter relating to the question of denominative verbs (ch 5). The purpose in this approach was to allow for the simplest division of the verbs into categories that would not anticipate any particular conclusions about the functions of the themes. Within the chapters, each study presents the number of attested forms of the verb in each theme, sections on each theme that give the general syntax and senses attested including details like subjects, objects and contexts of use, and a summarizing discussion of the relationship of the piel amongst the themes. In this way, the presentation of the piel is set in the context of the rest of the themes so that all of the thematic data can be observed rather than primarily forms selected by the author for comparison.

The commitment to this form of presentation of the work means that it is not possible to offer comments on all of the attested piel forms. However, the verbs that have been selected are those that have attested forms such that it is possible to observe their functions in an adequate number of contexts – a task which is aided by grouping verbs with similar senses together. In addition, the purpose of this study is to illustrate the sorts of questions and conclusions that can be drawn from an examination of the data rather than to expect that the conclusions and the presentation must necessarily be exhaustive.

c. Destination

The direction that the present tracks are intended to take is towards an end of discovering what can be said about the internal and external relationships of the themes from the data as it is attested. As mentioned in chapter 1, the term ‘relationships’ here is meant to be purposely broad enough to refer to however it is that the themes interact with one another. Thus, the exploration itself does not presuppose that the attested forms must bear the weight of illustrating whether the verbal system is to be necessarily understood as either completely ‘systematic’ or completely ‘lexicalized’.²²⁶ As with any route of exploration, there are some hints of what may be found, but ultimately the shape of the explanation must come from the work of the exploration itself. What this means in part, is that the type and shape of questions that have often driven the discussion may not be answered in all the respects in which they have been asked. In fact, part of what the examination of the history of the study has shown is that there is a need to evaluate in what respect the questions addressed are able to be answered by the data to hand. And in this, the present exploration expects both similar results and takes refuge in the same comfort that Silva speaks of in the opening lines of his chapter “Determining Meaning” in his work on lexical semantics:

“The truth of the matter is that at least in some cases, our discussion will lead to greater uncertainty; I take comfort, however, in the fact that such a development could be interpreted, if we may trust Socrates, as the clearest proof of progress”.²²⁷

²²⁶ Note that Verheij [n. 163], §1.1, begins with a similar expectation in his quantitative exploration and uses the terms ‘transparent’ and ‘opaque’.

²²⁷ Silva, *Biblical Words...* [n. 202], 137.

CHAPTER 3

The Function of the Piel with Active Verbs

3.1 אסף, קבץ, לקט & כנס²²⁸

a. אסף

BDB: 200x total

q: 105x

n: 81x

p: 8x

pu: 5x

hith: 1x

qal

The syntax of the qal is <A>²²⁹ אסף (אָסַף) [+ לְ/אֶל of location to; מִן of location from; בְּ of means]

The qal has the sense 'to gather' and is applied in contexts of a person gathering people or things in both literal and figurative contexts. It is used of someone (often a leader) gathering a group of people together: for Jacob and Rachel's wedding feast, Laban gathered the men of the place (וַיֵּאַסֵּף לָבָן אֶת־כָּל־אֲנָשֵׁי הַמְּקוֹם), Gn 29.22), in Ex 3.16 the Lord commands Moses to go and gather the elders of Israel (לְשׂוּבָה אֶת־זִקְנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל); also 4.29 of Moses and Aaron doing it), and the spies

²²⁸ The numbering of verbal roots in chapters three, four, and five will follow BDB, except where they have posited a hypothetical root for the possible derivation of nouns or adjectives: e.g. BDB lists שלח 'to send' as שלח I because they list שלח II as a possible root for שִׁלְחָן 'table'. During the course of this study, both BDB and KB have been consulted throughout. Each has strengths and weaknesses related to their particular lexicographical approach, but BDB has been followed with regard to numbering roots except where noted. In part, BDB is used here because of the tendency of KB to split attested forms of verbs into multiple homonymic roots often unnecessarily.

²²⁹ The syntax for verbs reads from left to right and uses the symbols <A>, , and <C> to mark the grammatical subject(s) and object(s) as follows: <A> will mark the grammatical subject in each case, while and sometimes additionally <C> will mark the grammatical object(s). It is important to note that it is often the case that the agent represented as the grammatical subject (<A>) in one theme (e.g. the qal) may also then be acted upon as the patient in another theme in which it is also the grammatical subject (e.g. the niphal). The additional element <C> will be used in causative constructions in which the grammatical subject <A> 'causes' grammatical object to 'x' grammatical object <C>. For an example of this syntax, cf. the hiphil of נחל under § 3.3 b (n. 284) below.

instruct Rahab to gather her family to her house (וְאַחֲרָאָבִיךָ...תִּאֶסְפִי אֵלֶיךָ הַבַּיְתָה) (Jos 2.18).²³⁰

The qal is also used to refer to the Lord gathering a group of people in an image of restoration or judgment (often with piel of קָבַץ): In Is 11.12, the Lord states that he will assemble the banished ones of Israel and gather the dispersed of Judah (וְאָסַף נְדָחֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל וְנִפְצוֹת יְהוּדָה יִקְבֹּץ) (Is 11.12), he will gather his people from the lands where they have been scattered (וְאָסְפָתִי אֶתְכֶם מִן־הָאָרְצוֹת אֲשֶׁר נִפְצוּתֶם) (Ezk 11.17) and the Lord says he will gather the Chaldeans unto the midst of the city (וְאָסְפָתִי אוֹתָם אֶל־חֹךְ הָעִיר הַזֹּאת) in judgment against her (Je 21.4).

The qal is also attested once in a context where the sense is ‘to gather (from behind)’ and thus ‘to act as rear guard’.²³¹ The Lord says that when Israel is obedient, their righteousness will go before them “and the glory of the Lord will be your rear guard” (כְּבוֹד יְהוָה יֵאֲסָפֶךָ) (Is 58.8).

Aside from gathering groups, the qal is also applied to someone attaching an individual to himself or his household. In order to strengthen himself in battle, Saul gathered unto himself (וַיֵּאֲסֹפֶהוּ אֵלָיו) any mighty or valiant man he saw (1 Sa 14.52) and after the time of mourning for Uriah, David sent and brought Bathsheba to his house (וַיִּשְׁלַח דָּוִד וַיֵּאֲסֹפָהּ אֶל־בֵּיתוֹ) (2 Sa 11.27).

In some contexts, the qal has the sense of ‘removing’ – i.e. to gather in the sense of ‘to separate x from y’. Where a person’s life is the object, the qal is possibly related to the sense of the niph'al “to be gathered unto one’s fathers/people”. The qal is used explicitly in this sense only once, “Therefore, behold, I will gather you unto your fathers” (לָכֵן הִנְנִי אוֹסֵף עַל־אֲבֹתֶיךָ) with the niph'al of אָסַף following, 2 K 22.20 || 2 Ch 34.28). The qal is used in a few other places with a related sense of

²³⁰ For similar uses see: Gn 42.17; Nu 11.16, 24; 21.23; Jos 24.1; Ju 3.13; 11.20; 1 Sa 5.8, 11; 17.1; 2 Sa 10.17; 12.29; 2 K 23.1 || 2 Ch 29.20; Ch 15.4; 19.17; 23.2; 2 Ch 29.20; 34.29; Je 12.9 (a call to gather all the beasts of the field together); Joel 1.14; 2.16; Hab 1.9.

²³¹ J. Oswalt, *The Book of Isaiah: Chapters 40–66*, NICOT, Grand Rapids, Michigan: Eerdmans (1998), 500 translates the qal of אָסַף in Is 58.8 “the glory of the Lord will gather [behind] you” and argues that the imagery is from the military realm of the vanguard and the rear guard as well as from the exodus (505). With respect to the latter, Ex 14.19, 20 speak of the angel of God and the pillar of cloud moving from in front of the people to behind them. J Blenkinsopp, *Isaiah 40–55: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary*, AB 19A, New York: Doubleday (2000), 343 points out at 52.12 (in the co-referential passage with the piel) that the word בְּהַפְזוֹן in “you shall not go *in haste*” connects these passages to the exodus as the term is only used elsewhere in Dt. 16.3 referring to leaving Egypt ‘in haste’ and Ex 12.11 where it refers to how the people were to eat the Passover meal.

removing someone's life: Saul instructs the Kenites to depart lest he 'gather' (kill) them with the Amalekites (פָּן־אִסְפְּךָ עִמּוֹ, 1 Sa 15.6), Micah is told not to complain lest men fall upon him and "you gather (remove) your life and the life of your household" (וְאִסַּפְתָּה נַפְשְׁךָ וְנַפְשׁ בֵּיתְךָ, Ju 18.25).²³² An interesting application of the sense 'remove' is in the narrative of Naaman in 2 Kings 5 and the 'curing' of his leprosy (2 K 5.3, 6, 7, 11). Naaman's servant girl says to her mistress that if he would go to Elisha, "he would surely take him from (cure him of) his leprosy" (אִזְ יִאֲסֶף אֶתְּךָ מִצָּרְעָתְךָ, 2 K 5.3).

The qal is also used for gathering material objects. One of the most common is of gathering produce from the field (Ex 23.10; Ru 2.7) or vineyard (Dt 11.14; Je 40.10, 12). Similarly, Noah is told to get every kind of food for the ark and 'to store it up' (וְאִסַּפְתָּ אֵלֶיךָ, Gn 6.21). Other objects include: Jacob 'drew' up his feet into bed (וַיִּאֲסֶף רַגְלָיו אֶל־הַמֶּטֶה, Gn 49.33) and was gathered (niph) to his fathers, money was gathered under Josiah (2 K 22.4) and Joash (2 Ch 24.11) for temple repairs, and Ahaz gathered the utensils of the temple (וַיִּאֲסֶף אֶחָז אֶת־כְּלֵי בֵית־הָאֱלֹהִים, 2 Ch 28.24) and cut them up.

niph

The syntax of the niph is <A> נִאֲסַף [+ לְ/אֶל of location to; מִן of location from]

The niph has the sense 'to gather' or 'to be gathered' depending upon the context. The primary use of the niph is in the context of a group of people gathering together: Moses and the 70 elders returned to camp (וַיִּאֲסֶף מֹשֶׁה אֶל־הַמַּחֲנֶה הוּא, Nu 11.30), the sons of Benjamin gathered from the cities to Gibeah (וַיִּקְבְּצוּ בְנֵי־בִנְיָמִן מִן־הָעָרִים הַנִּבְעָרֹת, Ju 20.14) and the Philistines gathered to fight with Israel (וַיִּפְלְשׁוּתִים וַיִּאֲסֶפוּ לְהִלָּחֵם עִם־יִשְׂרָאֵל, 1 Sa 13.5).²³³ The qal is also

²³² Further references include: the Lord will be a shepherd to his sheep and "they will never again be consumed with hunger in the land" (וְלֹא־יִהְיוּ עוֹד אֹסֵפִים, Ezk 34.29); of animals: "when you take away their breath they die and return to their dust" (וְכִּי תִקַּח אֶת־רוּחָם יָנֻעוּן וְאֶל־עֲפָרָם יָשׁוּבוּן, Ps 104.29); and in Elihu's response to Job he says that if the Lord gathered (removed) his spirit and his breath unto himself (וְנִשְׁמָתוֹ אֵלָיו יִאֲסֶף, Job 34.14) all life would perish and return to dust.

²³³ Other references of a group gathering together include: Gn 49.1; Ex 32.26; Lev 26.25; Jos 10.5; Ju 6.33; 9.6; 10.17; 16.23; 20.11; 1 Sa 13. 11; 17.1, 2; 2 Sa 10.15; 17.11; 23.9, 11; 1 Ch 11.3; 19.7; 2 Ch 12.5; 30.3, 13; Ezra 3.1; 9.4; Ne 8.1, 13; 9.1; 12.28; Ps 35.35; 47.10; 104.22; Is 13.4; Je 4.5; 8.14; Ezk 39.17 (spoken to beasts); Am 3.9.

applied to individuals who are gathered to a group of people or to a place: after seven days Miriam would be brought back to the camp (וְאַחַר חֲמֵסָה יָבִיאוּ אֹתָהּ אֶל-מִצְרַיִם, Nu 12.14, 15) and Hushai speaks of David being gathered (withdrawing) to a city (2 Sa 17.13).

The niph'al is also applied in the technical sense of "being gathered to one's people or fathers": In Gn 25.8, Abraham breathed his last and was gathered unto his people (וַיִּקָּבְצוּ אֵל-עַמּוּיוֹ), Moses is told that Aaron shall be gathered unto his people (וַיִּקָּבְצוּ אֵל-אֶהְרֹן אֶל-עַמּוּיוֹ) and not enter the promise land (Nu 20.24) and in Nu 27.13, Moses is told that he will be gathered unto his people (וַיִּקָּבְצוּ אֵל-עַמּוּיךָ גַם-אַתָּה) just as Aaron his brother was gathered (כַּאֲשֶׁר נִקְבְּצוּ אֶהְרֹן אָחִיךָ).²³⁴

The niph'al is also used of gathering things/animals and thus often with a more explicit passive sense. Jacob comes upon men who waited for all the flocks to be gathered (וַיִּקָּבְצוּ-שָׁמָּה כָּל-הָעֶדְרִים) to the well in order to water them (Gn 29.3, 8). In Nu 11.22, Moses asks the Lord if all the fish of the sea are to be gathered to feed the people of Israel. The woman of Tekoa says to David that she and her people will die because they are like water poured out on the ground that cannot be gathered up (וְכַמּוֹם הַנְּגָרִים אֲרֻצָּה אֲשֶׁר לֹא יִקָּבְצוּ) 2 Sa 14.14). As with the qal, the niph'al is used in contexts where it has the sense 'to be removed': Isaiah 16.10 and Jeremiah 48.33 are both words of judgment against Moab and state "that gladness and joy will be gathered (removed) from the fruitful field" (וַיִּקָּבְצוּ שְׂמֵחָה וְגִיל מִכַּרְמֹל).

piel

The syntax of the piel is <A> אָסַף [+ directional הָ, (Ju 19.15, 18)].

All eight of the attested piels of אָסַף are participles. The piel most often has the technical sense of "rearguard":²³⁵ "Then the standard of the camp of the people of Dan, acting as rearguard for the whole camp set out" (וְנֹסֵעַ הַגָּל מִחֲנֵה בְנֵי-דָן) (Nu 10.25), in the march on Jericho the rearguard followed after the ark of the Lord (וְהַמְאֲסֵף הַלֵּךְ אַחֲרַי הָאָרוֹן), and the Lord

²³⁴ Other references include: Gn 25.17 (Ishmael); 35.29 (Isaac); 49.29, 33 (Jacob); Nu 20.26 (Aaron); 31.2 (spoken to Moses); Dt 32.50 (Moses); and 2 K 22.20 || 2 Ch 34.28 (Lord speaking to Josiah); also, Is 57.1 says "devout men are gathered while no one understands" (וְאֲנָשֵׁי-חֶסֶד נִקְבְּצוּ וְאֵין מִבִּין) and "for from evil the righteous man is gathered" (כִּי-מִפְּנֵי הָרָעָה נִקְבְּצוּ הַצְּדִיקִים).

²³⁵ For comments on the sense 'to act as rear guard', cf. under the comments on the qal in Is 58.8 above and n. 231.

promises that his people will not have to go quickly “for the Lord will go before you and the God of Israel will be your rearguard” (כִּי־הֲלֹךְ לְפָנֶיכֶם יְהוָה וּמֵאַסְפְּכֶם) (אֱלֹהֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל, Is 52.12).

The Levite and his concubine turn into Gibeah to stay and no one takes them into their house for the night (וַאֲיִן אִישׁ מֵאַסְף־אוֹתָם הַבֵּיתָה לָלַיִן, Ju 19.15; also 19.18). The Lord comforts Israel by telling them that when he restores them they will no longer give the fruit of their fields to others for “the one who gathers it will eat it” (כִּי מֵאַסְפּוּ יֹאכְלֶהוּ) (וּכְעָמִיר מֵאַחֲרֵי הַקִּצֹּר וַאֲיִן מֵאַסֵּף, Je 9.21).

pual

The syntax of the pual is <A> אסף [+ מן of location from]

The pual has the sense ‘to be gathered’ and all five attested forms are found in the prophetic books in contexts of judgment or restoration. Isaiah 24.22 says that the host of heaven and the kings of the earth will be gathered together as prisoners in a pit (וְאַסְפוּ אֶסְפָּה אֲסִיר עַל־בוֹר). Isaiah 33.4 speaks of the Lord “and your spoil is gathered like the gathering of the locust” (שְׁלַלְכֶם אֶסֶף הַחֲסִיל וְאַסֵּף). The arrogance of Gog is foretold as he will desire to go up against the people who have been gathered from the nations (וְאַל־עִם מֵאַסְף מְגוּרִים, Ezk 38.12). In punishment against Israel, the Lord says that the peoples will be gathered against them (Hos 10.10). The Lord promises to fight against those who have fought against his people and at that time the wealth of the nations will be gathered to Judah (Zc 14.14).

hithpacl

The sole hithpacl is found in Deuteronomy 33.5 in Moses’ final blessing in the temporal clause, “when the heads of the people were gathered, the tribes of Israel together” (בְּהִתְאַסַּף רָאשֵׁי עַם יַחַד שְׁבֵטֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל).

קָסַף: the function of the piel amongst the themes

The qal is the base theme for this verb and the piel participle has overlapping sense with the qal. With the sense ‘rear guard’, the qal and the piel are attested in similar phrases: “the glory of the Lord will be your rear guard” (כְּבוֹד יְהוָה יִצְפֶּנֶךָ, Is 58.8) and “the God of Israel will be your rear guard” (וּמֵאַסְפֶּכֶם אֱלֹהֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל, Is 52.12). Aside from the sense ‘rear guard’, the remaining attested piels also overlap with the the qal. The piel is used to refer to one who gathers the produce of the field (Is 62.9) as well as in an image of bodies being like sheaves on the ground with no one to gather them (Je 9.21) and the qal is used in the oracle against Damascus, “And it shall be as when the reaper gathers standing grain” (וְהָיָה כְּאִסְףֵי קִצִּיר קָמָה, Is 17.5). The Levite and his concubine not being taken into anyone’s house (Ju 19.15, 18) in the piel is similar to Saul taking any strong or mighty man unto himself in the qal (1 Sa 14.52) and to the niphil of David being taken into a city (2 Sa 17.13). Consequently, the sense of the qal appears to overlap with the sense of the piel almost completely, except that the piel is attested more times with the sense ‘rear guard’.

The niphil acts as the medio-passive to the sense of the qal and the pual acts as a passive to the sense most often attested as active in the qal.²³⁶ The sole hithpacl acts in relation to the qal as a medio-passive in a sense that overlaps with the niphil.

b. קָבַץ

BDB: 127x total

q: 36x²³⁷

n: 31x

p: 51x

pu: 1x

hithp: 8x

²³⁶ Siebesma [n. 120], 133 lists קָסַף as one of the verbs in which the pual possibly acts as the passive of the qal. Interestingly, the pual here is passive of the qal of קָסַף in contexts of judgment or restoration in the prophets where it is similar to the piel of קָבַץ (cf. below) with which the qal of קָסַף is sometimes used in co-referential statements.

²³⁷ BDB includes Ezk 16.31 under the qal of קָבַץ emending the text (לְקַלְסִים) to לְקַבֵּץ. However, for arguments to keep the MT as it is cf. D. Block, *The Book of Ezekiel: Chapters 1–24*, NICOT, Grand Rapids, Michigan: Eerdmans (1997), 493; M. Greenberg, *Ezekiel 21–37: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary*, AB 22A, New York: Doubleday (1997), 284; and Keil, *Ezekiel* (9:121–3).

qal

The syntax of the qal is <A> קבץ (אָח) [+ לְ/אֶל/בָּ of location to; מִן of location from]

The qal has the sense ‘to gather’. It is applied in contexts of someone gathering an object: Joseph instructs Pharaoh to gather food for the coming years of famine (Gn 41.35, 48), Joash instructs the priests and Levites to gather money from all Israel (וַיִּקְבְּצוּ מִכָּל־יִשְׂרָאֵל כֶּסֶף, 2 Ch 24.5) to repair the temple, and he who gathers little by little will increase his wealth (וַיִּקְבֹּץ עַל־יָד יִרְבֶּה, Pr 13.11).

The qal is used primarily of a leader gathering a people, often including an explicit location and purpose for the gathering. A main purpose of gathering people together is for battle: Jephthah gathers the men of Gilcad to fight (Ju 11.4), the Philistines gather to fight Israel (וַיִּקְבְּצוּ פְּלִשְׁתִּים אֶת־מַחְנֵיהֶם, 1 Sa 28.1; 29.1) and Abner gathers David’s men after the battle is over (2 Sa 2.30). People are also gathered for other reasons: Abner asks to gather the people to make a covenant with David (וְאֶקְבְּצָה אֶל־אֲדָנִי הַמֶּלֶךְ אֶת־כָּל־יִשְׂרָאֵל, 2 Sa 3.21), Elijah instructs Ahab to gather the people of Israel and the prophets of Baal on Mt. Carmel (1 K 18.19, 20) and Hezekiah gathers the people to himself (וַיִּקְבְּצֵם אֵלָיו אֶל־רְחוֹב שַׁעַר הָעִיר) in order to encourage them in light of Sennacherib’s threats (2 Ch 32.6).

The qal is also used of the Lord gathering people or nations in statements of judgment. Due to their disobedience, the Lord states that he is gathering the people to Jerusalem (לָכֵן הִנְנִי קֹבֵץ אֶתְכֶם אֶל־תּוֹךְ יְרוּשָׁלַם, Ezk 22.19; also 22.20) in an image of melting them like metal in his wrath. The Lord calls for his people to wait on him “to assemble nations and to gather kingdoms” (וְלֵאסֹף גּוֹיִם לְקַבְּצֵי מַמְלָכוֹת) (Zp 3.8) when he will pour out his indignation on them.

niphal

The syntax of the niphal is <A> נִקְבְּץ [+ directional הָ, ; אֶל of location to; אֶל of disadvantage (Jos 10.6)]

The niphal has a medio-passive sense and is used primarily to refer to a group of people gathering together or being gathered together. Where the qal is used to describe a leader gathering the people to a place for a particular purpose, the niphal can be used to refer to the action from the point of view of the people themselves: the

people gather together to Mizpah (וַיִּקְבְּצוּ הַמִּצְפָּתָה, 1 Sa 7.6; following the qal in vs. 5), the people gather at Jerusalem (וַיִּקְבְּצוּ יְרוּשָׁלַם, 2 Ch 15.10; following the qal of Asa gathering them in vs. 9) and the Philistines assembled (וַיִּקְבְּצוּ פְּלִשְׁתִּים, 1 Sa 28.4; following the qal that they gathered their forces in vs. 1).

Other contexts of a group of people gathering/being gathered: the sons of Jacob are called to gather together that he might bless them before he dies (Gn 49.2), the Gibeonites send to Joshua for help because the Amorites have gathered against them (Jos 10.6) and upon Samuel's death, all Israel gathers (וַיִּקְבְּצוּ כָּל־יִשְׂרָאֵל) to mourn for him (1 Sa 25.1).²³⁸

There are contexts where the niph'al has a more explicit passive sense. In a context of the promise of restoration, Is 60.7 states "all the flocks of Kedar will be gathered to you" (כָּל־צֹאן קֶדָר יִקְבְּצוּ לָךְ). Similarly, Is 34.15 presents a picture of judgment of a desolate land "indeed, there the hawks are gathered" (שָׁם נִקְבְּצוּ דְיוֹת). Also in Isaiah, the Lord speaks of gathering the dispersed of Israel and gathering them unto those who have already been gathered (לְנִקְבְּצָיו) in 56.8.

piel

The syntax of the piel is: <A> קִבֵּץ (אָחַ) [+ מִן of location from]

The piel has the sense 'to gather'. The subject is most often the Lord in a context of either judgment or restoration of a people. As such, the majority of the piels are found in the prophets. However, the message of the prophets is often rooted in and pointing back to the covenantal instruction in Deuteronomy: Dt 30.3 says that if his people return to him, the Lord will bring his people back from the places he scattered them (וְקִבְּצֶךָ מִכָּל־הָעַמִּים אֲשֶׁר הִפִּיצֶךָ יְהוָה אֱלֹהֶיךָ שָׁמָּה) and 30.4 says the Lord will gather them even from the furthest reaches (מִשָּׁם יִקְבְּצֶךָ יְהוָה אֱלֹהֶיךָ). Outside of the prophetic material, this promise of restoration is also echoed in other places: "and gather us from the nations" (וְקִבְּצֵנוּ מִן־הַגּוֹיִם) (Ps 106.47; also 1 Ch

²³⁸ Other references include: the people gather to make David king (1 Ch 11.1); David requests that the people gather unto him that they might bring in the ark of the Lord (1 Ch 13.2); worthless men gathered around Rehoboam (2 Ch 13.7); also cf. Is 45.20; 48.14; 49.18; 60.4; Joel 4.11; Ezra 10.1, 7, 9; Ne 4.14.

16.35, 36) and Nehemiah reminds those who have returned from the exile of this very same promise which Moses gave in Deuteronomy (Ne 1.9).

The majority of the attested piels in the prophets are of the Lord promising to restore his people: Mi 2.12 promises that the Lord will gather the remnant of Israel (קִבֵּץ אֶקְבֹּץ שְׂאֵרֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל), Je 31.10 says “he who scattered Israel will also gather them” (מִזְרָה יִשְׂרָאֵל יִקְבְּצֵנוּ) the Lord will gather the dispersed of Judah from the four corners of the earth (וּנְפֻצוֹת יְהוּדָה יִקְבֹּץ מֵאַרְבַּע כְּנָפּוֹת הָאָרֶץ), Is 11.12).²³⁹

In addition to restoration, the piel is also used in contexts of judgment: The Lord is gathering (הִנְנִי מְקַבֵּץ) all the nations that Israel played the harlot with and he will gather them against her (וְקִבַּצְתִּי אֹתָם עָלֶיהָ), Ezk 16.37), the people of Assyria are scattered and “there is no one to gather them” (וְאֵין מְקַבֵּץ), Na 3.18) and Is 66.18 speaks of the Lord coming to gather all nations and tongues and they will see his glory (בָּאָה לְקַבֵּץ אֶת־כָּל־הַגּוֹיִם וְהִלְשִׁנוּת וּבָאוּ וְרָאוּ אֶת־כְּבוֹדִי).

The piel is also used of gathering objects in images within the prophet’s messages of restoration or judgment: In reaction to judgment, Na 2.11 and Joel 2.6 use the same image of the ‘color’ (פָּאָרוֹר) of the face ‘gathering’ or of ‘going pale’ (וּפְנֵי כָל־מְקַבְּצוֹ פָּאָרוֹר), Na 2.11; Joel 2.6) and the Lord promises that when Israel is restored “the one who gathers it [the wine] will drink it in the courts of my sanctuary” (וּמְקַבְּצוֹ יִשְׁתֶּהוּ בְּחִצְרוֹת קְדְשִׁי), Is 62.9).

pual

The sole attested pual is found in Ezekiel 38.8 in a relative clause speaking of the land of Israel “whose people were gathered from many peoples upon the mountains of Israel” (מִמְקַבְּצַת מֵעַמִּים רַבִּים עַל הָרֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל).

²³⁹ Other references of the promise of restoration include: Is 40.11; 43.5; Is 40.11; 54.7; 56.8; Je 23.3; 29.14; 31.8, 10; 32.37; Ezk 11.17; 28.25; 34.13; 36.24; 37.21; 39.27; Mi 4.6; Zp 3.19, 20; Zc 10.8, 10.

hithpacl

The syntax of the hithpacl is: <A> התקבץ [+ directional ה, ; אחריו of advantage; infin of purpose]

The hithpacl has the middle sense ‘to gather’ and in all eight attested forms refers to a group of people gathering together: the nations of Canaan gather themselves together to fight against Israel (וַיִּתְקַבְּצוּ יַחְדָּו לְהִלָּחֵם, Jos 9.2), Abimelech hears that all the leaders of the tower of Shechem have gathered themselves together (הִתְקַבְּצוּ כָּל־בְּעָלֵי מְגִדֵּל־שָׁכֶם, Ju 9.47) and the men of Benjamin gathered themselves behind Abner (וַיִּתְקַבְּצוּ בְּנֵי־בִנְיָמִן אַחֲרַי אַבְנֵר, 2 Sa 2.25).

קבץ: the function of the piel amongst the themes

The **qal** and **piel** both share the similar sense of a person ‘gathering’ a group of people or objects together. The themes are primarily distinguished by their context of use: the **piel** is used most often with the Lord as subject gathering his people in the context of the message of the prophets and the **qal** is used mostly in narrative contexts of a leader gathering people (or objects) to a place. As the general sense of ‘to gather’ is similar for each theme, it is possible for the **qal** and **piel** to overlap: the **qal** is used where the Lord says he will gather his people in judgment (Ezk 22.19, 20) and the **piel** is used of the Lord gathering his people from where they have been scattered so he might judge them (Ezk 20.34). In their respective contexts, the **qal** more often has an explicit location to which people are being gathered and the **piel** tends to have the location from which people are being gathered.

Both the **niphal** and the **hithpacl** act in a middle/passive relation primarily to the sense of and in contexts similar to the **qal**: the **qal** is used when Samuel calls Israel to assemble at Mizpah (קָבְצוּ אֶחָד־כָּל־יִשְׂרָאֵל, 1 Sa 7.5), the **niphal** to refer to it being done (וַיִּקְבְּצוּ הַמְצַפְתָּה, 1 Sa 7.6) and the **hithpacl** of the Philistines hearing “that Israel had assembled at Mizpah” (כִּי־הִתְקַבְּצוּ בְּנֵי־יִשְׂרָאֵל הַמְצַפְתָּה, 1 Sa 7.7). The **pual** in its sole attested form is used in a context where it acts as the passive in relation to the sense and contexts of the **piel**.

c. לקט

BDB: 37x total

q: 14x

p: 21x

pu: 1x

hith: 1x

qal

The syntax of the qal is: <A> לקט (אָת) [+ בּ of location; בּ of duration (בְּבִקְרָה, בְּבִקְרָה, Ex 16.21)]

The qal has the sense ‘to gather (up)’ and is only attested of gathering objects or food. Jacob instructs his people to gather stones (לְקַטּוּ אֲבָנִים) in order to make a covenant with Laban (Gn 31.46). Psalm 104.28 speaks of how the Lord gives the beasts of the earth food and they gather it (תִּתֵּן לָהֶם יִלְקְטוּן). Boaz tells Ruth not to go to gather in another field (אַל־תִּלְכִּי לְלֶקֶט בְּשָׂדֵה אַחֵר) and Song of Solomon uses the image of gathering lilies (Song 6.2).

The qal of לקט is primarily attested in the Exodus narrative concerning the collection of manna: the Lord instructs Moses that the people will go out and collect enough for one day (וַיֵּצֵא הָעָם וַלְקְטוּ הַיּוֹם בְּיוֹמוֹ, 16.4), the Lord gives Moses instructions about gathering on the 6th day (16.5), Moses relates the Lord’s command to the people (לְקַטּוּ מִמֶּנּוּ אִישׁ לְפִי אֲכָלוּ, 16.16) and the people gather the manna (16.17, 18, 21, 22). The gathering of manna is also mentioned in Nu 11.8.

piel

The syntax of the piel is: <A> לקט (אָת) [+ complements (בּ, etc.)]

The piel has the sense ‘to gather (up)’. Joseph is said to have gathered all the money which was found (וַיִּלְקֹט יוֹסֵף אֶת־כָּל־הַכֶּסֶף הַנִּמְצָא) in the land of Egypt and Canaan (Gn 47.14). Jonathan’s servant gathers up the arrows which he shot as a message to David (וַיִּלְקֹט נַעַר יְהוֹנָתָן אֶת־הַחִיצִי, 1 Sa 20.38). The one who went out to gather the herbs (לְלֶקֶט אֶרֶב) for the stew Elisha commands to be made, gathers from an unknown vine (וַיִּלְקֹט מִמֶּנּוּ, 2 K 4.39). Other objects people gather include:

scraps under Adoni-bezek's table (Ju 1.7) and children gathering the wood for idols (Je 7.18).

The majority of the attested piels are used in the context of gathering up or gleaning the produce of a field or vineyard. The instructions in the book of Leviticus on caring for the poor and needy are the broader context for what takes place in Ruth: When you reap the harvest of your land “you shall not gather the gleanings of your harvest” (וְלֶקֶט קְצִירְךָ לֹא תִלְקֹט) Lv 19.9; also 23.22) and of vineyards, “and you shall not gather the fallen grapes of your vineyard” (וּפְרֹט כַּרְמְךָ לֹא תִלְקֹט) Lv 19.10) but shall leave them for the poor and the needy.

The piel of לקט is used 11x in chapter 2 of Ruth: Ruth requests permission from Naomi to go and glean (וְאֶלְקָטָהּ) in the sight of one she might find favor with (2.2), Ruth goes to glean among the sheaves (לְלֶקֶט 2.15a) and Ruth gleans until evening (עַד-הָעֶרֶב וְתִלְקֹט בַּשָּׂדֶה 2.17) and then beats out what she has gleaned (וְתִחַבֵּט אֶת אֲשֶׁר-לִקְטָהּ) 2.17).²⁴⁰ The piel is also used in this sense in an image of the Lord's judgment on Damascus “as when one gleans the ears of grain in the valley of Rephaim” (וְהָיָה כְּמִלְקֹט שִׁבְלִים בְּעֵמֶק רְפָאִים) Is 17.5).

pual

The sole attested pual has the sense ‘to be gathered’ and is found in Is 27.12 in an image of the Lord's threshing and gleaning of Israel: “and you will be gathered up one by one O people of Israel” (וְאַחֲם תִּלְקָטוּ לְאַחַד אַחַד בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל).

hithpacl

The sole attested hithpacl is used to describe how “worthless men gathered around Jephthah” (וַיִּתְלַקְטוּ אֶל-יִפְתָּח אַנְשִׁים רִיקִים) Ju 11.3).

לקט: the function of the piel amongst the themes

The qal and piel have similar senses that are primarily distinguished by their context of use. The qal is attested 10 out of 14x of gathering manna (Ex 16; Nu 11.8) and the piel is attested 15 out of 21x of gleaning from the field or vineyard (Lv 19.9,

²⁴⁰ Also in Ruth: 2.3, 7, 15b, 16, 18, 19, 23.

10; 23.22; Ru 2; Is 17.5; however, note that the qal infinitive construct is attested in Ru 2.8, (אֶל־תִּלְכְּדֵי לְלֶקֶט). In their remaining contexts, the qal and piel appear similar as well: the qal is used of the command to gather stones (לְקַטּוּ אֲבָנִים, Gn 31.46) and the piel to refer to children gathering wood (הַבָּנִים מִלְקָטִים עֵצִים, Je 7.18); the qal is used of gathering lilies (וְלִלְיָן לְקָטָה, Song 6.2) and the piel of someone going to gather herbs (לְלַקֵּט אֶרְבָּת), finding a wild vine and gathering from it (וַיִּלְקֹט מִמֶּנּוּ, 2 K 4.39). Although there are slight differences perceivable between the context of gathering manna and that of gleaning in a field or vineyard, it is difficult to determine what if anything in the qal or piel lends itself particularly to their respective contexts.

In Jenni's discussion of לְקָטָה, he states that the qal represents a "simple, more or less effortless, gathering of a greater amount of existing material" while the piel contains "the nuance of the (difficult and) complete gathering or of the gathering together of the remains".²⁴¹ Both the entry in KB (535b) and the *NIDOTTE* article on לְקָטָה (2:817–18) follow Jenni's explanation. However, Jenni's explanation begins with the proposed differences between 'actualis' and 'resultative' and interprets the qal and piel contexts with the expectation that they must reflect these differences. Defining the piel as representing 'complete gathering' comes in part from seeing the piel as resultative (focusing on the result without any attention to the act itself = 'complete gathering') and also seems to depend heavily upon the context of Lv 19.9, 10; 23.22. And although it seems that the context of Lv 19.9, 10; 23.22 may explain why some find Jenni's argument compelling for לְקָטָה, even these contexts do not necessitate that the sense 'complete gathering' is present, much less indicated by the piel. In fact, the sense of the passage is unchanged if the piel is taken simply as 'to gather up' rather than as Jenni suggests. Furthermore, it seems straight forward that the instruction simply prohibits gathering *the gleanings* at all rather than something like not gathering them completely. In addition, the sense 'complete gathering' does not fit in the context of Ruth, for although she is gleaning some of what is left, trying to explain what the piel is referring to as 'complete gathering' would simply be

²⁴¹ E. Jenni, *DhP* [n. 42], 188–9. "...steht das Qal für das einfache, mehr oder weniger mühelose Auflesen aus einer grösseren Menge vorhandener Dinge." and "Das Piel als Resultative enthält die Nuance des (mühsam und) vollständig Auflesens oder des Reste Zusammenlesens."

forcing the piel to bear something the context does not indicate.²⁴² Lastly, Jenni’s “more or less effortless” (qal) versus “difficult” (piel) does not make sense of gathering stones in the qal (Gn 31.46) or herbs in the piel (2 K 4.39) and appears also to be extrapolated more from the particular contexts of gathering manna versus gleaning in a field or vineyard than from what is indicated by the qal or piel as themes.²⁴³

The pual acts as the passive to the sense of the piel and the hithpael acts as a middle in a sense similar to the hithpael of קבץ and אסף.

d. כנס

BDB: 11x

q: 7x

p: 3x

hith: 1x

qal

The syntax of the qal is: <A> כנס (אָח) [+ בַּ of location; לְ of advantage]²⁴⁴

The qal has the sense ‘to gather’ and is used to refer mostly to gathering material objects: “He [the Lord] gathers the waters as a heap” (כִּנֵּס כִּינֹר מֵי הַיָּם), Ps 33.7) and men were appointed over the storehouses for the Levites to gather in them (לְכַנּוֹס בְּהֵם), Ne 12.44) The qal is also attested three times in Ecclesiastes: the Preacher speaks of all that he has gathered (כִּנְסָתִי לִי), Ec 2.8), the sinner is said to be given the task of gathering and collecting (וְלִכְנֹס; with לְאַסּוֹף, Ec 2.26) and Ec 3.5 says that there is a time to throw stones and a time to gather them (וַעַתַּת כְּנֹס אֲבָנִים).

The qal is also used of gathering people: Esther instructs Mordecai to gather all the

²⁴² In their *NIDOTTE* entry on לקט (2:818) Rogers/Cornelius state that “the piel here stresses a complete gathering” in Lv 19.9, 10; 23.22 (and cite Jenni), but they give no argument for or indication of how, even in these contexts, the piel requires this sense when “you shall not gather the gleanings of/after your harvest” fits the context well.

²⁴³ Note also that Jenni, *DhP* [n. 42], 189 explains the single qal form in Ru 2.8 as being necessary because of his argument that only that which focuses on the act itself (actualis) can be negated and thus this makes the piel (resultative) unnecessary. However, it is the qal of הלך which is technically the verb being negated “Do not go to glean” (אַל-תֵּלֶכְךָ לְלָקֵט), but even more to the point, Jenni does not appear to recognize that this argument does not make sense of the fact that the piel is negated in Lv 19.9, 10; 23.22.

²⁴⁴ Out of seven attested forms, four are infinitive constructs (Ec 2.26; 3.5, 1 Ch 22.2; Neh 12.44) and one is a participle (Ps 33.7).

Jews to fast for her (אֶת־כָּל־הַיְהוּדִים) כָּנוּס, Est 4.16) and David commanded to gather the foreigners as workers for building the temple (וַיֹּאמֶר דָּוִד לְכָנוּס אֶת־הַגֵּרִים) (1 Ch 22.2).

piel

The syntax of the piel is: <A> כָּנוּס (אָח) [+ עַל of location to]

The piel has the sense ‘to gather’. All three attested piels have the Lord as subject and come in contexts of judgment or restoration. In an image of judgment, the Lord says “I will gather you” (וַיִּכְנָסְתִי אֶתְכֶם, Ezk 22.21) and blow on you with the fire of my wrath (with the qal of קָבַץ in 22.19, 20). In a passage of restoration, the Lord says his people will know he is the Lord because he exiled them “and then gathered them to their land” (וַיִּכְנָסְתִּים עַל־אֲדָמָתָם, Ezk 39.28). And in Ps 147.2 the Psalmist says that the Lord builds up Jerusalem and that he will gather the banished of Israel (יִכְנֹס נְדָחֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל).²⁴⁵

hithpael

The sole attested hithpael is found in Isaiah 28.20 in an image of judgment upon the leaders of Jerusalem (כִּי־קָצַר הַמִּצֵּעַ מִהַשְׁתַּרְעַ וְהַמִּסְכָּה צָרָה כְּהַתְּכִינֹס).

For the bed is too short to stretch oneself on it
And the covering too narrow to wrap oneself in it

כָּנוּס: the function of the piel amongst the themes

The qal and piel are used similarly to the qal and piel of קָבַץ. The qal is used to refer both to gathering objects and people and the piel is used of the Lord gathering people in contexts of judgment or restoration. Thus, with respect to gathering people, the qal and piel are very similar in sense and are distinguished primarily by subject and context of use. The hithpael is attested only once in a sense (‘drawing/wrapping oneself up’) that is not found with the hithpael of any of the other three verbs, but is possibly not that far removed from the qal of אָסַף referring to when Jacob “drew his feet up into the bed” (Gn 49.33).

²⁴⁵ The phrase “the banished” or “the banished of Israel” using the niph'al of נָדַח is also used with the qal of אָסַף in Is 11.12 and with the piel of קָבַץ in Mi 4.6; Dt 30.4; Zp 3.19; Neh 1.9; Is 56.8 (x2).

e. קהל (n: 19x; hi: 20x): It is worth noting that none of the above verbs of ‘gathering’ or ‘assembling’ are attested in the hiphil. However, the verb קהל ‘to assemble’ (usually considered denominative from קהל) is attested in the niphil and hiphil and these themes act similarly to the niphil/hithpael and qal of both אסף and קבץ. The niphil is used to refer to the congregation assembling together against Moses and Aaron (וַיִּקְהֲלוּ עַל־מֹשֶׁה וְעַל־אַהֲרֹן, Nu 20.2) and the hiphil is used to refer to the instruction to Moses and Aaron (וַהֲקַהֵל אֶת־הָעֵדָה, Nu 20.8) and to their following it through (וַיִּקְהֲלוּ מֹשֶׁה וְאַהֲרֹן אֶת־הַקָּהָל אֶל־פְּנֵי הַסֵּלַע, Nu 20.10).²⁴⁶

f. אסף, קבץ, לקט & כנס: the function of piel amongst the verbs

Whatever is to be concluded about the function of the piel and its relationship to the other themes must take into account the sort of data these verbs with the somewhat overlapping sense ‘to gather’ provide. To begin with, the verbs אסף and קבץ have very similar semantic ranges and have attested forms in the same themes (q, n, p, pu, and hith).²⁴⁷ However, the dominant use of the piel of קבץ (gathering in contexts of judgment or restoration usually with the Lord as subject) is not replicated with the piel of אסף. Instead, the qal of אסף is used in these contexts, often in a co-referential phrase with the piel of קבץ (“and he will assemble the banished of Israel and gather the dispersed of Judah from the four corners of the earth” (וְאָסַף נִדְחֵי וַיִּקְבֹּץ יִשְׂרָאֵל וַיִּגְבְּרֵם מִכָּל־קֻצְוֵי הָאָרֶץ, Is 11.12).²⁴⁸ And as noted above

²⁴⁶ Cf. also Lv 8.3 with the hiphil imperative of the Lord calling Moses to assemble the congregation and 8.4 with the niphil “and the congregation was assembled”; Nu 16.3 (n) and 16.19 (hi); 1 K 8.1 || 2 Ch 5.2 (hi) and 1 K 8.2 || 2 Ch 5.3 (n); Ezk 38.8 (n) and 38.13 (hi);

²⁴⁷ Jenni, *DhP* [n. 42] has discussions on both אסף (158–60) and קבץ (186–88) which attempt to explain the difference between the qal and piel forms, but nowhere in the discussion does he comment on how the examination of the themes in one verb relates to the themes of another verb with similar sense. Jenni’s proposal for קבץ is that the qal stands for a simple concentration of a collection naturally or normally belonging together from the perspective of the speaker (186) whereas the piel refers to the unification of an element that is not obvious from the start and thus emphasizes the arrived state of the result (187). While these proposed distinctions seem to come mostly from processing the data through the lenses ‘actualis’ and ‘resultative’, the further point is that this explanation seems untenable as a distinction between qal and piel when the fact that the qal of אסף is often used together with the piel of קבץ is taken into consideration.

²⁴⁸ Other references of the qal of אסף and piel of קבץ used together include: an image of Israel’s gathering in restoration (כִּי מֵאֲסָפָיו יֵאָכְלֶהוּ וְהִלְלֵהוּ אֶת־יְהוָה וּמִקְבָּצָיו יִשְׁתַּחֲוֶה בְּחֻצְרוֹת קְדָשָׁי, Is

(cf. n. 245), the qal of אָסַף and piel of קָבַץ fill the same paradigmatic slot in relation to the phrase ‘the banished (of Israel)’ (qal of אָסַף in Is 11.12; and piel of קָבַץ in Is 56.8, (מִקְבֵּץ נְדָחֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל).²⁴⁹

Secondly, with לָקַט in particular (as well as with כָּנַס and קָבַץ) the qal and piel are primarily distinguished by the consistent demarcation of their contexts of use. Although Jenni has attempted to identify the way in which his proposed distinctions between qal and piel are manifested in the respective contexts, the above examination of לָקַט illustrates that the data does not bear the weight Jenni places on it. In addition, the examination of the data raises the questions once more about both the nature of Jenni’s basic distinctions and the deduced necessity of finding them in the data.

3.2 שָׁבַר, גָּרַע, נָחַץ & בָּקַע

a. שָׁבַר

BDB: 148x total

q: 53x

n: 57x

p: 36x

hi: 1x

ho: 1x

62.9; of the Lord gathering Israel (מִן־הָאָרְצוֹת אֲתָכֶם וְאָסַפְתִּי אֲתָכֶם מִן־הָעַמִּים וְקִבְּצְתִי אֲתָכֶם מִן־הָעַמִּים וְאָסַפְתִּי אֲתָכֶם מִן־הָאָרְצוֹת) Ezk 11.17) and Mi 2.12 (אָסַף אֲאָסֶף יַעֲקֹב בְּלֶךְ קָבַץ אֲקַבֵּץ שְׂאֵרֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל); similarly in a chiasm of the lame and those driven away (הַצִּלְעָה בִּי וְהַנְדָּחָה אֵי אֲקַבֵּצֶה) Mi 4.6). In addition, the qal of each verb is also used in parallel together (Joel 2.16; Hab 2.5; Zp 3.8).

²⁴⁹ Also note that the phrase beginning with מִן in “and I will gather you from the lands to which you have been scattered” (וְאָסַפְתִּי אֲתָכֶם מִן־הָאָרְצוֹת אֲשֶׁר נִפְצַרְתֶּם בָּהֶם) Ezk 11.17) is used with the piel of קָבַץ in Ezk 20.34, 41 (וְקִבְּצְתִי אֲתָכֶם מִן־הָאָרְצוֹת אֲשֶׁר נִפְצַרְתֶּם בָּם). Ezk 11.17 is immediately preceded by a phrase with the piel of קָבַץ and 20.34 and 41 by phrases using the hiphil of יָצָא (‘to bring out’) which are complemented by the phrase “from the peoples” (מִן־הָעַמִּים). As a side note, the use of the hiphil of יָצָא in Ezk 20.34, 41 is contextually significant in part because it connects the promise of restoration from exile with the God who brought them out of Egypt (hiphil of יָצָא being the verb often used to refer to the exodus as it is in Ezk 20.9, 14, 22 just before these passages).

qal

The syntax of the qal is: <A> שָׁבַר (אָת) [+ בַּ of location]

The qal is used with the sense ‘to break’ with both inanimate and animate objects in literal and figurative contexts. Examples of inanimate objects include: men drew near to break the door of Lot’s house (וַיִּגְשׁוּ לְשֹׁבֵר הַדָּלֶת, Gn 19.9), Gideon’s company broke jars (וַיִּשְׁבְּרוּ הַכִּיָּיִם, Ju 7.20), the Passover instructions state that in sacrifice Israel shall not break any of the bones (לֹא תִשְׁבְּרוּ בוֹ, Ex 12.46; Nu 9.12), and Hananiah broke the yoke from Jeremiah’s neck (Je 28.12). In figurative contexts: the Lord says he will break the staff (cut off the supply) of bread (בְּשִׁבְרִי לְחֶם, Lv 26.26)²⁵⁰ and the voice of the Lord is said to be powerful such that it “breaks the cedars” (קוֹל יְהוָה שִׁבַּר אֲרָזִים, Ps 29.5).

When applied to the body of humans or animals, שָׁבַר can have the sense of ‘to tear’: of the prophet who was torn and killed by the lion and the donkey which was not (1 K 13.26, 28). In Ezekiel’s prophecy concerning Egypt, the Lord speaks of having broken the arm of Pharaoh (Ezk 30.21) and says that he will break both of his arms (וַיִּשְׁבְּרֵנִי אֶת־זְרֻעוֹת פְּרָעָה, Ezk 30.24). Nations or groups of people can also be the object of שָׁבַר in the figure of defeat or humiliation: the Lord will break the Assyrians (Is 14.25) and in Jeremiah’s prophecy the Lord has broken Moab like a vessel (כִּי־שִׁבְרֵתִי אֶת־מוֹאָב כְּכֵלִי, Je 48.38).

niphal

The syntax of the niphal is: <A> נִשְׁבַּר

The niphal has the sense ‘to break’ or ‘to be broken’ applied to both inanimate and animate objects in literal and primarily figurative contexts: the vessel in which the sin offering is boiled shall be broken (וּכְלֵי־חָרָשׁ אֲשֶׁר תִּבְשַׁל־בוֹ יִשְׁבַּר, Lv 6.21), Eli fell off his chair and his neck was broken (וַתִּשְׁבַּר מִפְּרָקָתוֹ, 1 Sa 4.18). The niphal is also applied to ships being wrecked: the ship Jonah was on “threatened to break up” (וַהֲאֵנִיָּה חֲשָׁבָה לְהִשְׁבַּר, Jon 1.4) and Jehoshaphat’s ships were wrecked in port (1 K 22.49; 2 Ch 20.37).

²⁵⁰ This phrase is also used in Ps 105.16; Ezk 4.16; 5.16; 14.13.

The niph'al is also used quite often in figures of speech in the prophets referring to someone being broken: In Jeremiah's prophecy against Moab, his arm is broken (נִשְׁבְּרָהּ וְזַרְעוֹ, 38.25), the mighty scepter, the glorious staff is broken (48.17) and Moab itself is broken (נִשְׁבְּרָהּ מוֹאָב, Je 48.4). Also, the niph'al is used to refer to "binding up the broken-hearted" (לְנִשְׁבְּרֵי-לֵב, Is 61.1) and to 'binding up the injured' (וּלְנִשְׁבְּרֵי אַחֲבָשׁ, Ezk 34.16; also vs. 4).

piel

The syntax of the piel is: <A> שָׁבַר (אָתָּ) [+ עַל לְ, תַּחַת, of location]

The piel has the general sense 'to break' and sometimes 'to break apart, in pieces' depending upon the context. The piel is used a number of times for the smashing of pillars or other objects used in worship of the gods of other nations. Moses instructs Israel that they are to utterly overthrow²⁵¹ the inhabitants of the land and "break their pillars in pieces" (וַיִּשְׁבֵּר הַשִּׁבְרִים מִצִּבְתֵיהֶם, Ex 23.24). The instruction is given again in the covenant renewal (Ex 34.13) and the retelling of the law (Dt 7.5; 12.3) and carried out by kings: Asa (2 Ch 14.2), Hezekiah (2 K 18.4; 2 Ch 31.1) and Josiah (וַיִּשְׁבֵּר אֶת-הַמִּצְבֹּחַ, 2 K 23.14).²⁵² After Athaliah is overthrown, Jehoiada makes a covenant with the people and they break the altar and images of Baal (וְאֶת-נִמְזֹבְחֹתָיו וְאֶת-צִלְמֵי שִׁבְרֵי הַיִּטָּב, 2 K 11.18 || 2 Ch 23.17, without הַיִּטָּב). The piel is also used to refer to breaking up the objects used in the worship of the Lord like the utensils of the temple broken up so that the bronze could be carried away to Babylon (2 K 25.13; Je 52.17).

The piel is used several times to refer to Moses' breaking of the tablets of the law (וַיִּשְׁבֵּר אֹתָם תַּחַת הַהָר, Ex 32.19; also 34.13; Dt 9.17; 10.2). Other objects that are broken are: teeth of the wicked (Ps 3.8), fangs of the unrighteous (Job 29.17), bow (Ps 46.10), trees by hail (Ex 9.25; Ps 105.33), ships (Ps 48.8) and rocks (1 K 19.11) by the wind, bones of men (Is 38.13; La 3.4), horns (Dn 8.7) and doors of bronze (Ps 107.16; Is 45.2).

²⁵¹ with the same construction as שָׁבַר: piel infinitive absolute + piel imperfect.

²⁵² Except for Ex 23.24 and 34.13 (which has the qal of כָּרַת), the piel of שָׁבַר is used in conjunction with the piel of נָרַע in these verses for cutting Asherim as well as in Ps 107.16 and Is 45.2 for cutting iron bars.

hiphil

The single attested hiphil is in Is 66.9 in the context of bringing the development of a child in the womb to the time for birth.²⁵³

הֲאֲנִי אֲשָׁבִיר וְלֹא אוֹלִיד יֹאמֶר יְהוָה...

RSV “Shall I bring to the birth and not cause to bring forth?” says the Lord;

hophal

The single hophal is found in Je 8.21 in the context of the Lord’s grief over the wound (שָׁבַר) of his people.

עַל־שָׁבַר בַּת־עַמִּי הַשָּׁבַרְתִּי...

RSV “For the wound of the daughter of my people is my heart wounded...”

NIV “Since my people are crushed, I am crushed...”

שָׁבַר: the function of the piel amongst the themes

The qal and piel of שָׁבַר appear to have some area of overlapping senses. In certain contexts, both forms have the sense ‘to break’: qal, “and I will break the bow of Israel” (וְשָׁבַרְתִּי אֶת־קֶשֶׁת יִשְׂרָאֵל, Hos 1.5) and piel, “he [the Lord] breaks the bow” (קָשֶׁת יִשְׁבַּר, Ps 46.10). The qal and piel are used together in parallel phrases in Ps 29.5: qal, “The voice of the Lord breaks the cedars” (קוֹל יְהוָה שָׁבַר אֲרָזִים) and piel, “the Lord breaks the cedars of Lebanon” (וַיִּשְׁבַּר יְהוָה אֶת־אֲרָזֵי הַלְבָּנוֹן). Both themes are also used to refer to wrecking the ships of Tarshish at sea by the east wind: the qal is used in the lament for Tyre, “the east wind has wrecked you in the heart of the seas” (רוּחַ הַקָּדִים שָׁבַרְךָ בְּלֵב יַמַּיִם, Ezk 27.26 – with reference to the ships of Tarshish in vs. 25) and the piel refers to the Lord as subject, “By the east wind you have shattered the ships of Tarshish” (בְּרוּחַ קָדִים תִּשְׁבַּר אֲנִיּוֹת תַּרְשִׁישׁ, Ps 48.8).

The piel of שָׁבַר has often been the stock example given in grammars of the ‘intensive’ function in which the action in the qal is heightened in some respect. While it may well be the case that ‘intensity’ was over-applied by grammarians historically as the main function of the piel, there are also contexts where it seems

²⁵³ Also note the noun מִשְׁבַּר ‘place of breach, birth’ in Hos 13.13 and 2 K 19.3 || Is 37.3 (with qal infinitive construct of יָלַד following).

there may be differences of nuance between the qal and piel. As with other verbs where the qal and piel have overlapping senses, these nuances are primarily things that are perceived from the differences in the contexts in which the themes are used. Thus, where the qal is used in certain contexts, there appears to be a focus on the purpose or effect of an object being broken: ‘breaking (cutting off the supply) the staff of bread’ (Lv 26.26), breaking the ‘yoke’ or ‘yoke bars’ (Je 28.2), breaking the door of Lot’s house (Gn 19.9), and tearing a body (1 K 13.26). On the other hand, the piel is used quite often in contexts where the focus appears to be on the breaking apart of an object: Moses’ breaking of the tablets (Ex 34.1), the breaking apart of pillars and other objects used in the worship of other gods (Ex 23.24),²⁵⁴ and the breaking apart of the utensils of the temple (2 K 25.13 and Je 52.17).²⁵⁵ If these contexts do represent a difference in nuance between the qal and piel, they also leave room for the overlap mentioned above.

Jenni discusses the qal and piel of שבר in some detail in two different sections of *DhP*.²⁵⁶ The first of these is included under the section on ‘Direct and Indirect Action’ and contains comments on the verses referring to the east wind (Ezk 27.26; Ps 48.8) and on the qal and piel in Ps 29.5. Before explaining the first pair of verses, Jenni states that all of the cases of שבר can easily be distributed between the categories of ‘actualis’ or ‘resultative’. Consequently he explains that the action of the east wind in Ezk 27.26 is an actual and direct acting and thus expressed in the qal, whereas in Ps 48.8 the east wind is the instrument of Yahweh in an indirectly achieved result and thus expressed in the piel.²⁵⁷ This explanation, whatever its merit, is consistent with Jenni’s argument for the difference between transitive qal and piel.

However, Jenni’s explanation of Ps 29.5 that follows raises questions about the relationship between his investigation of the data and his theory. Ps 29.5 reads: ‘The voice of the Lord breaks (qal) the cedars, the Lord breaks (piel) the cedars of

²⁵⁴ Other references of breaking apart objects used in worship include: Ex 34.14; Dt 7.5; 12.3; 2 K 8.4; 2 Ch 31.1; 2 K 11.18 || 2 Ch 23.17; 2 K 23.14; Is 21.9; Je 43.13.

²⁵⁵ It is worth noting that in Ex 23.24 and 2 K 11.18 there are other syntagmatic elements that enhance the sense of ‘breaking apart’. In Ex 23.24 there is the combination of piel infinitive absolute + piel imperfect for emphasis and in 2 K 11.18 there is the addition of the adverbial infinitive absolute כִּי־יִשָּׁר ‘thoroughly’.

²⁵⁶ Jenni, *DhP* [n. 42], 141, 142 (§ 2d ‘Direct and Indirect Action’); and 181–3 (§ 3a on the group of verbs meaning ‘to scatter, to divide, to break’). Walkte & O’Connor also use this example and explanation under their section “Irreal Resultative” (§ 24.3.2 d), but do not comment on how Ps 29.5 affects the overall usefulness of this explanation.

²⁵⁷ Jenni, *DhP* [n. 42], 141.

Lebanon'. Based on Jenni's explanation of the content of the previous pair of verses, one would expect that the first half of 29.5 would be interpreted as expressing an 'indirect' action and the latter as a 'direct and actual' acting. Instead, Jenni provides what is a puzzling explanation for why the former (in the qal) is a direct action by the subject and the latter (in the piel) is an indirectly brought about result. In the next sentence, Jenni makes the further confusing concession that the resultative piel can express direct action if necessary and that the qal may express indirect action, especially where there are no piels attested.²⁵⁸ The important point here is not whether Jenni has mislabeled something as indirect or direct action, but that the inconsistency in application raises questions about the manner in which the examination of the data was allowed to shape Jenni's theory.²⁵⁹ For it is doubtful whether direct and indirect action are determinative for the qal/piel relationship.

The niph'al acts as the passive to the sense of the qal alongside the qal passive participle (Lv 22.22; Ps 147.3). The niph'al participle (הַנִּשְׁבָּרִית, Ezk 30.22) is used to refer to the arm of Pharaoh that the Lord has broken using the qal (שָׁבַרְתִּי, Ezk 30.21). In the absence of any attested pual forms, the niph'al is also used in contexts where it appears to function as the passive to the piel.²⁶⁰ There are a few places where similar sorts of things are the object of the piel and the subject of the niph'al (although not in particularly similar contexts). Thus the ships of Jehoshapat were wrecked in the port (1 K 22.49; 2 Ch 20.37) and the piel is used in Ps 48.8 of the Lord breaking apart the ships of Tarshish in the seas. The niph'als in Ezekiel referring to the fact that Israel's incense altars (6.4) and idols (6.6) will be broken are similar to the common context of the piel being used for breaking objects used in worship: e.g. "and all the images of her gods [Babylon] he has broken to the ground" (וְכָל־פְּסִילֵי אֱלֹהֶיהָ שָׁבַר לְאָרֶץ). Finally, the piel is used in Dn 8.7 to refer to the goat breaking the two horns of the

²⁵⁸ Jenni, *DhP* [n. 42], 141, 142. For the former he cites the piel of שָׁבַר in Ex 9.25 as an example, but without criteria for what necessitates the use of the theme.

²⁵⁹ Further questions arise when Jenni's discussion of שָׁבַר on pages 181–3 is examined. Here he states that only "actually breakable" objects appear with the qal whereas in the piel objects which one cannot make broken without some other activity are used. The objects that he lists for each theme are selective and ignore the overlap of objects in the qal and piel.

²⁶⁰ Cf. Siebesma, *The function of the niph'al I...* [n. 120], 192, 3 (Appendix B) for a discussion of the difficulty of determining what criteria ought to be used to answer the question of whether or not the niph'al acts as passive to other active themes besides the qal. In cases where the niph'al is in relation to the qal and possibly the piel or hiph'il, Siebesma only lists the latter if it is clearly present in either semantic characteristics or context.

ram (נִשְׁבַּר אֶת־שִׁתֵּי קַרְנָיו) and is followed in 8.8 by the goat's horn being broken off (niphal).

The **hiphil** and **hophal** are each used once, the former with the sense 'to break' in a context where it means 'to bring to the point of birth' and the latter as a passive in a sense similar to the niphal (e.g. of the broken hearted in Is 61.1).

b. גרע

BDB: 22x total

q: 5x

n: 7x

p: 9x

pu: 1x

qal

The syntax of the qal is: <A> גרע (אָת) [+ בּ of manner in La 2.3]

The qal has the sense 'to cut off, down' and is used in each of its contexts in an image of cutting off someone's strength or cutting down someone who is strong: the Lord says to Eli, "and I will cut off your strength and the strength of the house of your father" (וַגִּדַעְתִּי אֶת־זִרְעֶךָ וְאֶת־זִרְעֵ בֵּית אֲבִיךָ, 1 Sa 2.31), the Lord "has cut down all the strength of Israel in his fierce anger" (גִּדַע בְּחַר־יָאֵף כָּל קֶרֶן יִשְׂרָאֵל, La 2.3), Zechariah speaks of breaking the staffs 'Favor' (11.10) and 'Union' (11.14), and the qal passive participle is used to state that in judgment, "the great in height will be cut down" (וְרָמֵי הַקֹּמָה גִּדּוּעִים), Is 10.33).²⁶¹

niphal

The syntax of the niphal is: <A> נגדע [+ מִן of location; לְ of direction]

The niphal has the sense 'to be cut off, down'. It is used with a people or nation as its subject: referring to Benjamin, "one tribe is cut off from Israel today"

²⁶¹ Verse 33 begins with "Behold, the Lord, the LORD of hosts will lop the boughs in terrifying power..." (הִנֵּה הָאֲדוֹן יְהוָה צָבָאוֹת מְסַעֵף פְּאֲרָה בְּמַעַרְצָה). The piel here is the only attested form of what is usually cited as a denominative verb סַעַף. The noun סַעֲיָף is used in Isaiah three times with the sense 'branch, bough' (2.21; 17.6; 27.10; 57.5), but is not used here as the explicit object of the verb (פְּאֲרָה Kt., פּוֹרָה Qr. 'boughs' is used). Cf. BDB (703b) and KB (762a) and for further comments on denominatives see chapter five below.

(וַיֹּאמְרוּ נִגְדַע הַיּוֹם שְׁבַט אֶחָד מִיִּשְׂרָאֵל) Ju 21.6), Babylon is taunted, “how you are cut down to the ground” (אֵיךְ ... נִגְדַעְתָּ לָאָרֶץ) Is 22.25) and “How the hammer of the whole earth is cut down and broken” (אֵיךְ נִגְדַע וַיִּשְׁבַּר פְּטִישׁ כָּל־הָאָרֶץ) Je 50.23), and similar to the contexts of the qal, “Moab’s horn is cut off” (נִגְדָּעָה קַרְנֵן מוֹאָב) Je 48.25). The niph'al is also used to refer to objects used in worship being broken: Israel is told that in judgment “your incense altars shall be cut down” (וְנִגְדָּעוּ חַמְנִיָּכֶם) Ezk 6.4; also 6.6) and “the horns of the altar shall be cut off” (וְנִגְדָּעוּ קַרְנוֹת הַמִּזְבֵּחַ) Am 3.14).

piel

The syntax of the piel is: <A> גרע (אָת) [+ בָּ of location in 2 Ch 34.7]

The piel has the sense ‘to cut off, down’. Out of the nine attested piel forms, eight are used together with the piel of שָׁבַר – six in contexts of destroying objects used in the worship of other gods: Moses instructed, “and you shall break their pillars into pieces and cut down their Asherim” (וּמִצַּבְתָּם הַשְּׁבָרוּ וְאֲשִׁירֵיהֶם תִּגְדָּעוּן) Dt 7.5) and “you shall cut down the carved images of their gods” (וּפְסִילֵי אֱלֹהֵיהֶם תִּגְדָּעוּן) Dt 12.3).²⁶² Asa obeyed the instruction (וַיִּגְדַע אֶת־הָאֲשִׁירִים) 2 Ch 14.2) as did the people under Hezekiah (2 Ch 31.1) and in Josiah’s reforms “he cut down the incense altars in all the land of Israel” (וְכָל־הַחַמְנִים גִּדַּע בְּכָל־אֶרֶץ יִשְׂרָאֵל) 2 Ch 34.7; also 34.4).

Outside of the context of destroying objects of worship, the piel is used twice in the same phrase with the piel of שָׁבַר referring to the Lord breaking the doors of bronze and ‘cutting through the bars of iron’ (Ps 107.16; Is 45.2). Lastly, the Psalmist says “and all the horns of the wicked I will cut off” (וְכָל־קַרְנֵי רְשָׁעִים אֲגַדַּע) Ps 75.11).

²⁶² Both of these verses use similar verbs and objects in close succession. Deut 7.5 has the following all in object first constructions: qal of נתן (‘their altars’, מִזְבְּחֵיהֶם), piel of שָׁבַר (‘their pillars’, וּמִצַּבְתָּם), piel of גרע (‘their Asherim’, וְאֲשִׁירֵיהֶם) and qal of שרף (‘their carved images’, וּפְסִילֵיהֶם). Deut 12.3 has the following with the first two as verb first and the second as object first: piel of נתן (‘their altars’, אֶת־מִזְבְּחֵיהֶם), piel of שָׁבַר (‘their pillars’, אֶת־מִצַּבְתָּם), qal of שרף (‘their Asherim’, וְאֲשִׁירֵיהֶם) and piel of גרע (‘the carved images of their gods’, וּפְסִילֵי אֱלֹהֵיהֶם).

pual

The single attested pual has the sense ‘to be cut down’ referring to trees: “the sycamores have been cut down (שִׁקְמוֹתִים גִּדְעוּ, Is 9.9).

גִּדְעַ: the function of the piel amongst the themes

The qal and piel are somewhat similar in sense, but they are generally separated by the nature of their referential contexts and objects. The qal is used primarily of someone cutting off another’s strength. The piel is used primarily in a similar context to the piel of שָׁבַר and often in conjunction with it to refer to cutting down physical objects used in the worship of other gods. However, the piel is used once in a context that is similar to the qal where the Psalmist says that he “will cut off all the horns of the wicked” (וְכָל-קַרְנֵי רָשָׁעִים אֲגִדֶּעַ, Ps 75.11).

One of the distinctions that Jenni drew from his explanation of the qal as ‘actualis’ and the piel as ‘resultative’ with active verbs is that the former is consequently used in literal contexts whereas the latter is used in figurative contexts. However, the forms of the qal and piel of גִּדְעַ stand as counter examples to Jenni’s explanation as the qal is attested only in the figure of speech of cutting off someone’s strength and the piel is used of cutting down physical objects.

The niphāl is also used similarly to and in conjunction with the niphāl of שָׁבַר. It is used here as the passive to the overlapping sense of the qal and piel, “Moab’s horn is cut off” (וְגִדְעָה קַרְן מוֹאָב, Je 48.25) and the concern of the tribes of Israel over Benjamin being cut off (niphāl) in Ju 21.6 is also similar to the contexts of cutting off ‘strength’. The niphāl also acts as a passive in contexts that are similar to the piel: Israel’s incense altars will be cut down (Ezk 6.4, 6).

The pual acts as the passive ‘to be cut down’ in a context that is not replicated in the piel of גִּדְעַ, although the similar object of ‘cedars’ is used with both the qal and piel of שָׁבַר in Ps 29.5 as discussed above.

c. נתן

BDB: 42x total

q: 31x

n: 2x

p: 7x

pu: 1x (Ju 6.28)

ho: 1x (Ezk 16.39)

qal

The syntax of the qal is: <A> נתן (אָת)

The qal has the sense ‘to tear, break down’ and is used primarily of objects like altars (particularly the ‘altar’ and the ‘house’ of Baal), pillars, houses and walls. In the instruction already mentioned above under שבר and גרע concerning objects of worship of other gods, the qal of נתן is used in Ex 34.13 and Dt 7.5, both with ‘their altars’ as objects. The angel of the Lord reminded the people of Israel of this instruction in Ju 2.2 (מִזְבְּחוֹתֵיהֶם תִּהְיוּ) and later the people complain because Gideon has obeyed and broken down the altar of Baal (Ju 6.30, 31, 32).²⁶³

The qal is also used of tearing down other objects: Abimelech tore down (razed) the city of Shechem (וַיִּהְיוּ אֶת־הָעִיר, Ju 9.45), the army of the Chaldeans broke down the walls around Jerusalem (2 K 25.10; Je 52.14), and in Ezekiel’s prophecy against Tyre, Nebuchadnezzar will break down the towers (26.9) and his army will tear down Tyre’s pleasant homes (26.12).

The qal is also applied to breaking down a person or nation: in Job’s response to Bildad, he says of the Lord “he breaks me down on every side” (וַיִּתְּצֵנִי סָבִיב, Job 19.10), the Psalmist says of the mighty man who boasts of evil “But God will break you down forever” (וַיִּתְּצֶךָ לְנֶצְחַת, Ps 52.7), and Jeremiah is called to be over nations to pluck up and “to break down” (וְלִגְחוֹץ, Je 1.10; also 18.7; 31.28).

²⁶³ Further references of tearing down objects of worship include: Jehu and his men tore down the pillar and the house of Baal (וַיִּהְיוּ אֶת־בֵּית הַבַּעַל, 2 K 10.27 || 2 Ch 23.17) and in Josiah’s reforms in 2 K 23 he breaks down houses of male cult prostitutes (vs. 7), the high places of the gates (vs. 8), the different altars that ‘kings of Judah’ and Manasseh had built (vs. 12) and the altar that Jeroboam had built (vs. 15).

niphal

The niphal is used with the passive sense ‘to be torn, broken down’: in Jeremiah’s vision of Judah he states “all its cities were pulled down before the Lord, before his fierce anger” (וּכְל־עָרָיו נִחָצוּ מִפְּנֵי יְהוָה מִפְּנֵי חֲרוֹן אַפּוֹ), Je 4.26) and in an image of the Lord’s judgment on Nineveh, “and the rocks are broken into pieces by him” (וְהַצְרִים נִחָצוּ מִמֶּנּוּ), Na 1.6).

piel

The syntax of the piel is: <A> נתח (אָח) [+ מִכָּל־ of location]

The piel is used with the sense ‘to tear, break down’ and is primarily attested in the destruction of objects used for the worship of other gods. These contexts include: the instruction in Dt 12.3 “you shall tear down their altars” (וְנִחָצְתֶםם), Judah’s obedience under Hezekiah when they broke down the high places and altars throughout (וַיִּנְחָצוּ אֶת־הַבָּמוֹת וְאֶת־הַמִּזְבְּחֹת מִכָּל־יְהוּדָה וּבְגִלְיוֹן), and Israel’s ‘lovers’ will come against her and “break down your high places” (וְנִחָצוּ רְמֹתֶיךָ), Ezk 16.39).²⁶⁴ The piel is also used once outside of this common context referring to when the Chaldeans “broke down the wall of Jerusalem” (וַיִּנְחָצוּ אֶת חוֹמַת יְרוּשָׁלַיִם), 2 Ch 36.19).

pual

The single attested pual has the sense ‘to be broken down’ of the men finding that the altar of Baal “had been broken down” (וְהָיָה נִחָץ מִזְבַּח הַבַּעַל), Ju 6.28).

hophal

The hophal is also only attested once with the sense ‘to be broken down’: If they become unclean, “an oven or a stove shall be broken down” (תִּנּוֹר וְכִירִים יִחָץ), Lv 11.35).

²⁶⁴ Further references of breaking down objects of worship in the piel include: Manasseh’s rebuilt the high places which his father Hezekiah had torn down (וַאֲשֶׁר נִחָץ יְחִזְקִיָּהוּ אָבִיו), 2 Ch 33.3) and the tearing down of the altars of Baal during Josiah’s reforms (וַיִּנְחָצוּ לְפָנָיו אֶת מִזְבְּחוֹת הַבַּעַלִּים), 2 Ch 34.4; also 34.7).

נחץ: the function of the piel amongst the themes

The qal and piel of נחץ are used with overlapping sense in similar contexts. Both themes are used to refer to breaking objects used in worship of other gods: “tear down their altars” in the qal (תהצו מִזְבְּחֵיהֶם, Dt 7.5); “and you shall tear down their altars” in the piel (וְנִחַצְתֶּם אֶת־מִזְבְּחֵהֶם, Dt 12.3). The same event of the Chaldeans breaking down the walls of Jerusalem is referred to in the qal (2 K 25.10; Je 52.14) and the piel (2 Ch 36.19).²⁶⁵

The niph'al, pual, hoph'al are all attested in few forms and are used with a sense that is passive in relation to the sense shared by the qal and piel. The pual form in Ju 6.28 referring to the men finding “the altar of Baal broken down” is followed by qal forms in Ju 6.30ff referring to what Gideon had done. In addition, the referential contexts of the qal in Lv 14.45 (tearing down the unclean house) and the hoph'al in Lv 11.35 (the unclean oven or stove that must be broken down) are also similar.

d. נחץ & נדע, שבר, גרע: the function of piel amongst the verbs

Each of these verbs has some overlap in sense between its qal and piel forms, though the contexts of נדע are fairly distinct. Each of the verbs attests piel forms in the contexts of cutting, breaking, and pulling down objects used in worship. The qal is used in this context only with נחץ. The qal of each verb is used to refer to breaking (the strength of) a person or nation, whereas the piel is used less often with this sense. From these observations it is possible to understand what the ‘intensive’ function’ of the piel may have been referring to. However, it does not appear to be the best way to describe these contexts. If some of these contexts do in fact represent something like the qal being used for a focus on the purpose or effect of the breaking where the piel is used to focus on the breaking, cutting, or tearing apart, they also reflect that there are contexts in which the senses of the two themes overlap.

²⁶⁵ It is worth noting that in the passages of instruction on destroying the objects of worship, the attested qals of נחץ are always used in object first construction (Ex 34.13; Dt 7.5; Ju 2.2) and the piel is used in a verb first construction (Dt 12.3). However, as listed above in n. 262, these verbs come in a succession of similar constructions with other verbs. And yet, the qal in 2 K 25.10 and Je 52.14 referring to breaking the walls of Jerusalem are used in object first constructions as well, where the piel referring to the same event in 2 Ch 36.19 is used in a verb first construction. Whether this has any significance for the use of the qal or piel of נחץ may be hard to determine from the attested data.

e. בקע

BDB: 51x total

q: 16x

n: 15x

p: 12x

pu: 3x

hi: 2x

ho: 1x

hith: 2x

qal

The syntax of the qal is: <A> בקע (אָח) [+ מִפְּנֵיהֶם, בָּ, of location]

The qal is used with the sense ‘to divide, break open’. In Ex 14.16, Moses is instructed to lift up his staff, stretch out his hand over the sea “and divide it” (וּבְקַעְהוּ).²⁶⁶ The qal is also used of breaking or splitting other natural objects: in order to help Samson in his thirst, “God broke open the hollow place which was at Lehi” (וַיִּבְקַע אֱלֹהִים אֶת־הַמְּכַתֵּשׁ אֲשֶׁר־בְּלְחִי) (Ju 15.19),²⁶⁷ the Psalmist says of God, “You have split open springs and brooks” (אַתָּה בְּקַעְתָּ מַעְיָן וְנַחַל) (Ps 74.15), and “the one who splits logs is endangered by them” (בּוֹקֵעַ עֵצִים יִסְכֵּן בָּם) (Ec 10.9).

The qal is also used in contexts of attack or conquest of a city or people and thus can have the sense ‘to break open, win’. During Jehoram’s reign in Judah, the Philistines and Arabians were stirred up “and they came up against Judah and broke it” (וַיִּבְקְעוּהָ וַיַּעֲלוּ בִיהוּדָה) (2 Ch 21.17).²⁶⁸ Sennacherib came against the fortified cities of Judah during Hezekiah’s reign “and he planned to win them for himself” (וַיֵּאמֶר לְבַקְעֵם אֲלֵיוּ) (2 Ch 32.1). The qal with this sense is also used with people as the object in the prophecy against the Ammonites, “because they ripped open the pregnant women of Gilead” (עַל־בְּקָעָם הָרֹחוֹת הַגִּלְעָד) (Am 1.13) in order to enlarge their borders.

²⁶⁶ This event of the exodus is referred to again in Ps 78.13; Is 63.12 and Ne 9.11.

²⁶⁷ Similarly, Is 48.21 refers back to the events of the exodus stating that the Lord “split the rock” (וַיִּבְקַע־צוּר).

²⁶⁸ Most English translations tend to translate the qal here as “and he invaded it” (RSV, NIV, KJV). Although it is possible to describe one aspect of the overall situation referred to as ‘invading’, it does not appear that this is the sense of the qal in these contexts. The sense of the qal refers either to the breaking open or winning of a city.

niphal

The syntax of the niphal is: <A> נבקע [+ ב of means; ב, תהה of location]

The niphal has the sense ‘to be split, broken open’. It is used several times of natural objects that are divided or split open: of the Red sea: “and the waters were divided” (Ex 14.21), in consequence of Korah’s rebellion, “the ground which was under them was split open” (וַתִּבְקַע הָאֲדָמָה אֲשֶׁר תַּחְתֵּיהֶם, Nu 16.31), Zc 14.4 states that on the day of the Lord “the mount of Olives will be split in two from east to west” (וְנִבְקַע הַר הַיְיִתִּים מִמְּצִיּוֹ מִזְרָחָה וּמִמָּוָה), and Is 59.9 states that from one that is crushed “a viper is hatched” (תִּבְקַע אֶפְעָה).

The niphal is also used to refer to cities being ‘breached’: it is used of Jerusalem during the fall of Judah, “and the city was breached” (וַתִּבְקַע הָעִיר, 2 K 25.4; also Je 52.7), and lament the for Egypt in Ezekiel states that “Thebes will be breached” (וְנֹא תִהְיֶה לְהִבְקַע, Ezk 30.16).

piel

The syntax of the piel is: <A> בקע (אָח) [+ ב of location]

The piel is used with the sense ‘to break open, apart’ and is used with similar objects to the qal: Abraham “cut the wood for the burnt offering” (וַיִּבְקַע עֵצִי עֲלֶיהָ, Gn 22.3), the people of Beth-shemesh “split up the wood of the cart” which was carrying the ark (וַיִּבְקְעוּ אֶחָד־עֵצִי הָעֲגֹלָה, 1 Sa 6.14), Job says of the Lord that “he cuts out channels in the rock” (Job 28.10), and Habakkuk says of the Lord “you split the earth with rivers” (וְנִהְרֹת תִּבְקַע־אֶרֶץ, Hb 3.9). The piel is also used of a stormy wind, once as a causative, “and I will make a stormy wind break out in my wrath” (וּבִבְקַעְתִּי רוּחַ־סְעָרוֹת בְּחִמְתִּי, Ezk 13.13) and once as a middle, “and a stormy wind will break out” (וְרוּחַ סְעָרוֹת תִּבְקַע, Ezk 13.11).

The piel is also used to refer to a person or animal tearing another person open: as a result of Elisha’s curse, two she-bears “ripped open forty two of the boys” who had mocked him (2 K 2.24), in judgment on Israel the Lord says he will devour them like a lion, “as a wild beast would rip them open” (חַיֵּית הַשָּׂדֶה תִּבְקַעֵם, Hos

13.8) and Menahem sacked Tiphseh and “ripped open all the women in it who were pregnant” (בָּקַע בְּכָל־הַהָרָוֹתַיָּהּ בְּקַע), 2 K 15.16).²⁶⁹

pual

The pual is used as a passive with the sense ‘to be broken open’. It is used of the Gibeonites wine skins that were “split” (וּמִבְּקָעִים, Jos 9.4). It is also used to refer to “a city that has been breached” (בְּמִבּוֹאֵי עִיר מִבְּקָעָה) Ezk 26.10) and of pregnant women who shall be ripped open (Hos 14.1).

hiphil

The two attested hiphils have the sense ‘to break open’ and are used in contexts of attacking a city: Isaiah is sent to calm Ahaz because enemies are saying, Let us go up against Judah, terrify it “and split it open (conquer it) for ourselves” (וְנִבְקַעְנָהּ אֵלֵינוּ) Is 7.6) and the king of Moab took 700 swordsmen “to break through to the king of Edom” (לְהַבְקִיעַ אֶל־מֶלֶךְ אֲדוֹם) 2 K 3.26).

hophal

The single hophal has the sense ‘to be broken open’ in the context of the fall of Jerusalem when “a breach was made in the city” (Je 39.2).

hithpacl

The hithpacl is attested twice with a passive sense. The Gibeonites state about their wineskins that they were new “and behold they have split open” (וַהֲגִיחַ הַתְּבַקְעוֹ) Jos 9.13). Micah warns that when the Lord comes in judgment “the valleys will split open like wax before the fire” (וְהָעֵמֶקִים יִתְבַקְעוּ כַדְוֹנָג מִפְּנֵי הָאֵשׁ) Mi 1.4).

בקע: the function of the piel amongst the themes

The qal and piel are used in several places with similar objects and contexts. The qal is used to refer to the Ammonites having ripped open the pregnant women of Gilead (Am 1.13) and the piel is used to refer to Elisha seeing what Hazael will do (2

²⁶⁹ The piel is also used to refer to ripping open pregnant women in 2 K 8.12.

K 8.12) and of what Menahem did in Tiphseh (2 K 15.16).²⁷⁰ Is 34.15 has in the qal: “There the owl nests and lays and hatches (וּבְקָעָהּ) and gathers her young” and Is 59.5 uses the piel in the image depicting the acts of the unjust “they hatch adders’ eggs” (בִּיצֵי צִפְעוֹנֵי בְקָעוּ).

Outside of these similar contexts, the qal and piel are also somewhat distinguished by the way in which their contexts shape the nuance of the sense. The qal is used several times in contexts where it has the sense ‘to divide’ (e.g. the Red sea), ‘to split’ (logs, Ec 10.9) or ‘to split open’ (the rock in the wilderness, Is 48.21; brooks and rivers, Ps 74.15; a city, 2 Ch 21.17) where the piel tends to have the sense of ‘to split up’ (the earth with rivers, Hb 3.9; rocks, Ps 78.15, wood for fire, Gn 22.3; 1 Sa 6.14).

The niph'al is used as the passive of the qal: Ex 14.21 “and the waters were divided” (וַיִּבְקָעוּ הַמַּיִם). It is also used in several other contexts in relation to the qal including: a city being breached (2 K 25.4), fountains being broken open (Gn 7.11) and objects being divided (ground Nu 16.31; Mt. of Olives Zc 14.14).

The pual also has a passive sense that is used in contexts similar to the qal (of a city that has been breached, Ezk 26.10) as well as contexts shared by the qal and piel (of pregnant women being ripped open, Ho 14.1). The pual is also used to refer to the Gibconites wineskins as having ‘split’ (Jos 9.4) and the sole hithpa'el has the same sense and refers to the same object (Jos 9.13).

The hiph'il and hoph'al are used solely in the contexts of attacking a city or people. The senses of the hiph'il and qal (and the niph'al and hoph'al)²⁷¹ are very similar in these contexts.

²⁷⁰ Waltke & O'Connor list Am 1.13 and 2 K 8.12 to illustrate a difference between the qal and piel citing Jenni's explanation of how they represent direct and indirect action respectively (§ 24.3.2 d). Jenni argues that in Am 1.13 (qal) the Ammonites act directly whereas in 2 K 8.12 (piel) Hazael will act through his men and thus indirectly and that this is the reason for qal and piel. However, the qal is used of Menahem in 2 K 15.16 similar to the piel in 2 K 8.12. Additionally, in 2 Ch 32.1, the qal is used to refer to Sennacherib planning to win the fortified cities of Judah for himself and in 2 Ch 21.17 the qal is also used to refer to the Philistines and Arabians as a whole invading Judah. Finally, if direct and indirect action were the determining factors in the use of qal and piel, it seems odd that Ezk 13.11 which states that “a stormy wind will break out” uses the piel as does vs. 13 in which the Lord says “and I will make a stormy wind break out in my wrath”. If the distinctions which Jenni's has explained were operative in the use of qal and piel, should we not expect that vs. 11 ought to be in the qal?

²⁷¹ Compare the niph'al in 2 K 25.4; Je 52.7 (וַתִּבְקַע הָעִיר) and the single attested hoph'al in Je 39.2 (הִבְקָעָה הָעִיר) – all of which refer to the fall of Jerusalem.

The noun בָּקַע is used twice to refer to the ‘half shekel’: of a gold ring “weighing half a shekel” (מִשְׁקָלוֹ) (Gn 24.22) and referring to the amount of silver that came from the people, “a beka a head, that is, half a shekel, by the shekel of the sanctuary” (בְּשֵׁקֶל הַקֹּדֶשׁ) (Ex 38.26).

3.3 חלק & נחל I

a. חלק I²⁷²

BDB: 56x total
 q: 17x [19x]²⁷³
 n: 6x
 p: 26x
 pu: 3x
 hi: 1x
 hith: 1x

qal

The syntax of the qal is: <A> חלק (אָחַז) [+ לְ, עִם of recipients or location]

The qal is used with the sense ‘to allot, divide’. This is most commonly applied to objects such as territory or possessions divided by people: land (Jos 14.5; 2 Sa 19.30), נַחֲלָה ‘inheritance’ (Jos 18.2; Pr 17.2) and spoil (Jos 22.8; 1 Sa 30.24; Job 27.17; Pr 29.24). Similarly, “For Ahaz took from the house of the Lord and from the house of the king and of the princes” and sent them as tribute to the king of Assyria (כִּי־חָלַק אָחָז אֶת־בֵּית יְהוָה וְאֶת־בֵּית הַמֶּלֶךְ וְהַשָּׂרִים) (2 Ch 28.21). The sun, moon and stars God has allotted to all people (Dt 4.19), but other gods he has not allotted for Israel (Dt 29.25).

When people are the object, the sense of the qal is of ‘dividing’ or ‘organizing’ them into groups as when the priests were organized under David: “And

²⁷² חלק II ‘to be smooth’ is attested several times and only in qal and hiphil along with the adj. חָלַק ‘smooth’.

²⁷³ The form נִחְלַקְם, which is found in both 1 Ch 23.6 and 24.3 is listed under the qal in KB (322b) and under the piel in BDB (323b). With respect to their sense, it seems likely that they ought to be included as qal forms, particularly since the qal with the same sense is used in 24.4 and 5. G. Knoppers, *1 Chronicles 10–29: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary*, AB 12a, New York: Doubleday (2004), 800, reads the form here as piel based on some Hebrew manuscripts, LXX, Targum, and Vulgate (as well as at 24.3; cf. p. 828). However, it appears that he takes the text at 24.4 to be hiphil (800).

they organized them by lot, all alike...” (וַיַּחְלְקוּם בְּגוֹרְלוֹת אֵלֶּה עִם־אֵלֶּה) (1 Ch 24.5; also 1 Ch 24.4; 2 Ch 23.18).

niphal

The niphal is used as a passive with the sense ‘to be divided’. It is used of similar objects to the qal: “to these the land shall be divided as an inheritance according to the number of names (בְּמִסְפַּר שְׁמוֹת) בְּנַחֲלָה בְּאֶרֶץ הָאָרֶץ (Nu 26.53, also 55), נַחֲלָה ‘inheritance’ (Nu 26.56) and people (1 K 16.21; Gn 14.15).

piel

The syntax of the piel is: <A> חָלַק (אָחַ) [+ בַּ of location or means; לְ of recipients or location]

The piel has the sense ‘to allot, divide’ and is applied to similar objects to the qal. It is used of the division and allotting of land: Joshua is instructed, “Now therefore divide this land for an inheritance to the nine tribes” and the half tribe of Manasseh (...הַשְּׁבֵטִים, Jos 13.7), Joshua cast lots before the Lord, “and there Joshua apportioned the land to the people of Israel according to their portions” (וַיַּחְלֶק־שָׁם יְהוֹשֻׁעַ אֶת־הָאָרֶץ לְבְנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל) (Jos 18.10) and Joshua and the others appointed apportioned the inheritances by lot “and so finished dividing the land” (וַיִּכְבְּלוּ מִחֲלֶק אֶת־הָאָרֶץ) (Jos 19.51 – with the piel of נָחַל and הִנְחִיל preceding).²⁷⁴ Another common object in the piel is שָׁלַל ‘spoil’ (Gn 49.27; Is 9.2; 53.12b; Ju 5.30; Ps 68.13; Pr 16.9; also ‘garments’ Ps 22.19). Other objects divided in the piel are: Ezekiel’s hair (Ezk 5.1) and food (2 Sa 6.19 || 1 Ch 16.3). Lastly, there are two references to people being divided in the sense that they are ‘separated from’ or ‘scattered’: “The Lord himself has scattered them” (פָּנִי יְהוָה חֲלָקָם) (La 4.16; also Gn 49.7 – with the hiphil of פָּוַץ preceding in a similar construction).²⁷⁵

²⁷⁴ Other similar references (with object) are: 1 K 18.6; Joel 4.2; Ezk 47.21 (הָאָרֶץ); Dn 11.39 (וְאֶת־הָאָרֶץ); Mi 2.4 (שָׁרִינִי); Ps 60.8/108.8 (Shechem); and also Is 53.12a (בְּרַבִּים) (לְכֹן אֶחְלַק־לוֹ בְּרַבִּים) “Therefore I will divide him a portion with the strong”.

²⁷⁵ KB (323a) includes La 4.16 under a supposed root חָלַק III piel ‘to eradicate’ with a noun in Ps 17.14 reprinted as piel as the other suggested form. As the piel in Gn 49.7 has a very similar sense, there seems to be no reason to posit another root for the piel in La 4.16.

pual

The pual is used as the passive ‘to be divided’ in similar contexts to the qal and piel: spoil (Is 33.23; Zc 14.1) and land (Am 7.17).

hiphil

The single hiphil has the sense ‘to take, receive a portion’²⁷⁶ in Je 37.12 of Jeremiah going to receive a portion among the people.

וַיֵּצֵא יִרְמְיָהוּ מִירוּשָׁלַם לְלֶכֶת אֶרֶץ בְּנֵימִן לְחֶלֶק מִשָּׁם בְּחוּד הָעָם

hithpael

The single hithpael has the sense ‘to divide’ in the context of Joshua dividing the land: “And they shall divide it into seven portions” (וְהִתְחַלְקוּ אֹתָהּ לְשִׁבְעָה) (חֶלְקִים, Jos 18.5).

חלק: the function of the piel amongst the themes

The qal and piel are used in similar contexts particularly of dividing spoil and of allotting the land. The qal is used for “One who divides (spoil) with a thief hates his soul” (חֹלֵק עִם-גֵּבַב שׂוֹנֵא נַפְשׁוֹ) (Pr 29.24) and the piel is used in Pr 16.19, it is better to be of lowly spirit with the poor “than to divide the spoil with the proud” (מִחֲלֵק שָׁלַל אֶת-גֵּאִים) (Pr 16.19). In the contexts of dividing and apportioning the land of Canaan the themes are used with similar senses, but appear to be distinguished slightly by the aspect of the process to which they can refer: the qal is used to refer to the fact that there were seven tribes “which had not yet apportioned their portions” (אֲשֶׁר לֹא-חֶלְקוּ אֶת-יְהוָה שִׁבְעָה שְׁבָטִים) (Jos 18.2), the hithpael is used to refer to them dividing the land to remedy this (Jos 18.5), and the piel is used of Joshua having cast lots before the Lord and then assigning the divided portions to the tribes according to their portions (וַיַּחְלֶק-שָׁם יְהוֹשֻׁעַ אֶת-הָאָרֶץ לְבְנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל כְּמַחְלָקָתָם) (Jos

²⁷⁶ It is difficult to know exactly what this form is referring to – i.e. ‘to receive a portion from there’; ‘to divide from there’; ‘to secure a portion from there’, etc. For further discussion of this form, cf. G. Kcown, P. Scalise, and T. Smothers, *Jeremiah 26–52*, WBC 27, Dallas: Word Books (1995), 213, 217 where they indicate that there are at least four different Greek terms in the manuscripts for this verb in the text; and W. L. Holladay, *Jeremiah 2*, Hermencia, Minneapolis: Fortress Press (1989), 265, 288.

18.10). In addition, the niph'al forms in Nu 26.53, 55 and 56 also seem to focus on the division or allotting itself with other forms used to refer to the distribution (qal passive of נָחַן 'shall be given' in 26.54; niph'al of נָחַן in 26.62 of the Levites not receiving an inheritance). The piel is used in the command to Joshua, "now therefore divide this land for an inheritance to the nine tribes and the half tribe of Manasseh" (וְעַתָּה חָלַק אֶת־הָאָרֶץ הַזֹּאת בְּנִחְלָהּ לְחִשְׁעֵת הַשְּׁבֵטִים) to rectify that there was "yet very much land to possess" (וְהָאָרֶץ נִשְׁאַרָה הַרְבֵּה־מְאֹד לְרִשְׁתָּהּ), Jos 13.1 – with the qal of יָרַשׁ). Further suggestions for this possible distribution of senses are the contexts in the piel of 'scattering' (Gn 49.7; La 4.16). And taking the forms in 1 Ch 23.6 and 24.3 as qal, they are used to refer to 'dividing up' or 'organizing' people, which is also referred to with the niph'al (Gn 14.15; 1 K 16.21). These possible nuances of distinction still allow for overlap of senses in qal and piel, particularly where the division and distribution are not distinguished, take place at the same time, or maybe are being referred to as a whole event.

The niph'al and pual both act as passives in relation to the sense of the qal and piel. The hithpa'el seems to act similarly to the qal in the division of the land. The particular nuance of the sense of the sole hiph'il is difficult to determine precisely, but is related to the sense of the qal and piel of dividing or allotting a portion (thus possibly 'securing' a portion).

b. נחל

BDB: 59x total

q: 30x²⁷⁷

p: 4x

hi: 17x

ho: 1x

hith: 7x

qal

The syntax of the qal is: <A> נחל (אֶת) [+ אֶת, בְּ, of location]

The qal is used with the sense 'to inherit, possess' and is most commonly applied to land as the inheritance or possession. In these contexts, the object can be

²⁷⁷ There are three forms that are attested as qal, but are often questioned as to whether they should be understood as piel: Nu 34.17, 18 and Jos 19.49.

explicit as הָאָרֶץ ‘the land’ (Ex 23.30; Is 57.13) or נַחֲלָה ‘inheritance’ (Nu 18.23, 24) but can also simply be implicit in the verb itself (to Aaron: “You shall not have an inheritance in their land” לֹא תִנְחַל בְּאֲרָצָם, Nu 18.20).²⁷⁸ There are three forms which, it is sometimes thought, might be piels (Nu 34.17, 18; Jos 19.49). Each has הָאָרֶץ as its explicit object and thus it has been considered to be piel due to its possible overlap in sense relating to ‘dividing’ or ‘conveying’ the land. However, since each of the forms is used in a similar construction with the same object, they will be treated here as qal.²⁷⁹

In the prophetic and wisdom literature other objects are also spoken of as being ‘inherited’: lies (Je 16.9); honor (Pr 3.35), folly (Pr 14.18) and testimonies (Ps 119.111). In addition, in a few places people are the object of inheritance: Moab and Ammon (Zp 2.9), Judah (Zc 2.16) and ‘all the nations’ (Ps 82.8).

piel

The syntax of the piel is: <A> נחל [את]²⁸⁰ [+ ב of location; of means (Jos 19.51)]

The four piel forms have the sense ‘to divide, distribute an inheritance’ and are all used in relative clauses in the context of the division and distribution of land in Canaan. Referring to Joshua, Eliezer, and the heads of the tribes, “these are the ones whom the Lord commanded to divide the inheritance for the sons of Israel in the land of Canaan” (אֵלֶּה אֲשֶׁר צִוָּה יְהוָה לְנַחֵל אֶת־בְּנֵי־יִשְׂרָאֵל בְּאֶרֶץ כְּנָעַן, Nu 34.29). The other three references refer to the ‘inheritances’: “which Moses distributed in the

²⁷⁸ The qal of נחל in Nu 18.20 is followed directly by a similar phrase using the noun חֶלֶק ‘possession’ (וְחֶלֶק לְאִי־יְהִיָּה לָךְ בְּחֻכָּם).

²⁷⁹ Although commentaries tend to note that these forms appear to have the sense of the piel, most do not discuss the matter beyond citing this. However, cf. B. Levine, *Numbers: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary*, AB 4A, New York: Doubleday (2000), 536 who argues that the forms should be taken as qals with the sense ‘to apportion’ or ‘to convey’ the land to the people; and J. Greenstone, *Numbers, The Holy Scriptures with Commentary*, Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of America (1939), 350 who translates the qal in Nu 34.17, 18 as referring to the people who will take possession of the land as representatives for the tribes and the piel in Nu 34.29 as referring to these men then dividing them amongst their tribes accordingly. Whether this aptly represents a distinction between the qal and piel, it is the case that the qal forms in 34.17, 18 and the piel in 34.29 refer to the same events.

²⁸⁰ In Nu 34.29 and Jos 14.1, את follows the verb, but it is used as a preposition of advantage (cf. R. J. Williams, *Hebrew Syntax: An Outline*, 2nd edition, Toronto: University of Toronto Press (1996), § 341): to divide the inheritance “for the people of Israel” (לְנַחֵל אֶת־בְּנֵי־יִשְׂרָאֵל, Nu 34.29); “which they distributed to them” (אֲשֶׁר נָחֲלוּ אוֹתָם, Jos 14.1).

plains of Moab (אֵלֶּה אֲשֶׁר־נָחַל מֹשֶׁה בְּעֶרְבוֹת מוֹאָב, Jos 13.32), “which they distributed to them” (אֲשֶׁר נָחֲלוּ אוֹתָם, Jos 14.1), and “which [they – the men in Nu 34.29] distributed by lot at Shiloh” (אֲשֶׁר נָחֲלוּ...בְּגוֹרָל בְּשִׁלֹּה),²⁸¹

hithpacl

The syntax of the hithpacl is: <A> הִתְנַחֵל (אָח) [+ לְ of norm, expressing manner (Nu 33.54);²⁸² בְּ of location and means (‘by lot’)]

The hithpacl is used with the sense ‘to receive an inheritance’ in contexts of inheriting the land of Canaan: “You shall inherit the land by lot according to your clans” (וְהִתְנַחֲלֶתֶם אֶת־הָאָרֶץ בְּגוֹרָל לְמִשְׁפְּחוֹתֵיכֶם), Nu 33.54; also 32.18; 34.13). The hithpacl is also used of dividing land in Ezk 47.13, “these are the boundaries by which you shall divide the land for inheritance among the twelve tribes of Israel” (יִשְׂרָאֵל) (גַּם גְּבוּל אֲשֶׁר תִּתְּנֶנּוּ לָהֶם אֶת־הָאָרֶץ לְשְׁנֵי עָשָׂר שְׁבֵטֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל, Is 14.2) and to ‘leaving them [slaves] as an inheritance’ to one’s sons (Lv 25.46).

hiphil

The syntax of the hiphil is: <A> הִנְחִיל (אָח) <C>²⁸⁴ [+ בְּ of location]

The hiphil is used with the sense ‘to cause someone to inherit something’. There are several passages that refer to Joshua as the one who will cause Israel to possess the land, “for he shall cause Israel to inherit it” (כִּי־הוּא יִנְחִלָנָה אֶת־יִשְׂרָאֵל), Dt 1.38; also 3.28; 31.7; Jos 1.6) and others that refer to God causing someone to possess land (Dt 12.10; 19.3).²⁸⁵ Other similar contexts of causing someone to

²⁸¹ The piel of נָחַל in Jos 19.51 is followed by the piel participle of חָלַק at the close of the verse:

וַיִּכְלוּ מִחֲלֹק אֶת־הָאָרֶץ:

²⁸² Cf. Williams [n. 280], § 274.

²⁸³ The qal of נָחַל follows this in vs. 14 in the co-referential qualifying phrase “and you shall divide it equally” (וַיִּנְחֲלֶתֶם אוֹתָהּ אִישׁ בְּאָחִיו).

²⁸⁴ This stands for ‘A causes B to inherit C’. For an example of this syntax with both A and B elements having the definite marker אֵת see Jos 1.6 (כִּי אָחָה תִּנְחִיל אֶת־הָעָם הַזֶּה אֶת־הָאָרֶץ).

²⁸⁵ Further reference of God causing someone to inherit something include: Dt 32.8; Je 3.18; 12.14; and Zc 8.12.

inherit something are: a seat of honor for the poor and needy (1 Sa 2.8) and possessions to sons (Dt 21.16; 1 Ch 28.8; Pr 13.22; Ezk 46.18).

hophal

The single hophal is found in Job 7.3 with the sense 'to be allotted something'.
"So I am allotted months of emptiness" (כִּן הִנְחַלְתִּי לִי יָרְחֵי-שָׁוְיָ).²⁸⁶

נחל: the function of the piel amongst the themes

The qal is primarily used in the sense 'to inherit, possess' and as such is distinguishable from the piel, which is used with the sense 'to divide, distribute an inheritance' (for someone). The possible overlap in sense comes from the three qal forms in Nu 34.17, 18 and Jos 19.49. The contexts in Numbers and Joshua also attest a piel that refers to same situation as the qal forms. However, aside from the similarity and proximity of the contexts, there are no significant questions regarding the forms themselves.²⁸⁷ In addition, as noted above, where the qal and piel forms are attested, there is a similarity to the constructions in which each is used. The piels are similar in that they are all in relative clauses beginning with אֲשֶׁר and modifying the antecedent of אָלָה (הִנְחַלְתָּ אָלָה in Jos 19.51) which is usually the inheritances. The qal forms are similar in that each has אֶת-הָאָרֶץ as explicit object, which is not used with any of the piel forms.²⁸⁸ Furthermore, it seems possible that in these co-referential contexts, the qal references may be used in a possible similar sense to the qal of חָלַק in focusing on the 'dividing' of the land as inheritance while the piel is used to focus on either the people who are distributing or the act of distributing the inheritance.²⁸⁹

²⁸⁶ With the piel of נִנְחַל following with the sense "and nights of misery are apportioned to me".

²⁸⁷ Although, note that BHS refers to certain versions: Nu 34.17, 18 BHS refers to the Syriac as well as to 34.29 (piel); and at Jos 19.49 it refers to the Septuagint, which uses the aorist inf. of κατακληρονομέω in vs. 18 and the future indicative of κληρονομέω in vs. 17.

²⁸⁸ Cf. A. Malamat, "Mari and the Bible: Some Patterns of Tribal Organization and Institutions", *JAOS* 82 (1962), 148. The context of Malamat's argument is the observation that the transferring of an inheritance in the Mari texts is always used in the base theme of the verb *nahalum* and thus he argues that changing the three questioned qal forms in Biblical Hebrew is unnecessary. He also makes a similar observation about the objects of the qal and piel, but argues that the difference is between the singular object in the qal (land) and the plural in the piel (inheritances).

²⁸⁹ In fact, due to the similarity of some of the contexts in the use of both the verbs חָלַק and נָחַל as well as the nouns חֶלֶק and נַחֲלָה, it is possible that the semantic company of the verbs has affected their use.

The **hithpael** is used in a sense that seems to be very similar to the **qal** (note the **hith** in Nu 32.18 and the **qal** in 32.19 in very similar clauses; and also the **hith** in Ezk 47.13 and the **qal** in 47.14).

The **hiphil** is used as the causative ‘to cause someone to inherit something’ and refers in several places (Dt 1.38; 3.28; 31.7; Jos 1.6) to what Joshua (and others) did in the **qal** (Jos 14.1; 19.49) and **piel** (Jos 14.1; 19.51) as a whole. The **hophal** is used as the passive of the **hiphil**.

The noun **נַחֲלָה** ‘possession, inheritance’ is used quite often to refer to the giving of the land of Canaan as an inheritance to Israel. As seen above, it is occasionally the explicit object of the verb **נָחַל**. It is more common in this context as the object or accusative of result²⁹⁰ with the **qal** of **נָתַן** referring to giving (or not giving in the case of the Levites) an inheritance (cf. Jos 14.3, 4; 13.32) or to the land “which the Lord...is giving you as an inheritance” (**אֲשֶׁר יְהוָה אֱלֹהֶיךָ נָתַן לְךָ נַחֲלָה**) (Dt 4.21; 15.4; 19.10; 20.16, etc.). The **qal** and **hiphil** of **נָפַל** are also used with **נַחֲלָה** to refer to an inheritance falling to someone (**qal**, Nu 34.2; Jos 17.5; Ju 18.1; Ezk 47.14) or of the apportioning of something as an inheritance (Jos 13.6; 23.4; Ps 78.55; Ezk 47.22).²⁹¹

3.4 פֶּרֶשׁ & זָרָה

a. פֶּרֶשׁ

BDB: 66x total

q: 56x

n: 1x

p: 9x

qal

The syntax of the **qal** is: <A> פֶּרֶשׁ (אָחַ) [+ אֶל of direction; עַל of location]

The **qal** is used with the sense ‘to spread (out)’. It is used in several places of ‘spreading out’ hands in prayer as when Moses tells Pharaoh that as soon as he leaves

²⁹⁰ Cf. Williams [n. 280], § 52.

²⁹¹ This use of the **hiphil** of **נָפַל** is not surprising since it is also used for the casting of lots, which was often the means for apportioning the object of inheritance.

the city, “I will spread out my hands unto the Lord” (אָפְרֹשׁ אֶת־כַּפַּי אֶל־יְהוָה) Ex 9.29; also 9.33). The qal is also used similarly in Solomon’s dedication of the temple (1 K 8.22, 38, 54; 2 Ch 6.12, 13, 29) and other passages referring to prayer (Ps 44.21; Ezra 9.5; Job 11.13).

The qal is also used to refer to objects which would typically be spread: cherubim’s wings (Ex 25.20; 37.9), a net (Ezk 19.8; Hos 7.12), cloth (Nu 4.6ff; Dt 22.17), garment (Ru 3.9; Ju 8.25) as well as referring to things like ‘dawn’ on the mountains (Joel 2.2) and clouds (Ps 105.39).

niphal

The single niphal has the passive sense ‘to be spread out, scattered’ and is found in Ezk 17.21 in a parable of judgment against Judah: troops will fall “and the survivors shall be scattered to every wind” (וְהַנִּשְׁאָרִים לְכָל־רוּחַ יִפְרָשׁוּ).²⁹²

piel

The syntax of the piel is: <A> פִּרַשׁ (אָחַ) [+אֶל of direction; בְּ of location]

The piel is used with the sense ‘to spread out’ and has ‘hands’ as its object in seven out of nine occurrences. These contexts include: prayer (פִּרַשְׁתִּי יָדַי אֵלָיָהּ, Ps 143.6; also Is 1.15; La 1.17), labor in childbirth (Je 4.31), swimming (Is 25.11) and the Lord beckoning his people to come to him (Is 65.2). The two remaining contexts are of ‘spreading’ or ‘scattering’ people: the exiles (Zc 2.10) and kings (Ps 68.15).

פִּרַשׁ: the function of the piel amongst the themes

The qal and piel have similar senses in the context of someone spreading or stretching out their hands. Both are used in the context of prayer and include an element indicating the person to whom the person is spreading their hands: qal of Ezra, “and I spread out my hands to the Lord my God” (וְאֶפְרֹשָׁה כַּפַּי אֶל־יְהוָה אֱלֹהָי) (Ezr 9.5) and the piel, “I have spread out my hands to you” (פִּרַשְׁתִּי יָדַי אֵלָיָהּ, Ps 143.6). Outside of this shared context, the qal is used with a sense of opening objects out (e.g. wings, nets, or garments) and the piel is used of spreading or separating out (hands of a swimmer, people being scattered). It seems possible that this distinction

²⁹² Note that the qal of פִּרַשׁ is used in 17.20 when the Lord says, “I will spread my net over him”.

in sense is reflected in the fact that the qal is only used with כַּף 'palms' ('hands') where the piel is used with either כַּף or יָד.

The sole niph'al in Ezk 17.21 is used as the passive 'to be separated out, scattered' in the sort of context that is attested with the piel but not with the qal. The niph'al is followed by the phrase "to every wind" (לְכָל־רוּחַ) which is also used in Ezekiel in connection with the piel of זָרָה (Ezk 5.10, 12; 12.14).

b. זָרָה

BDB: 40x total

q: 9x

n: 2x

p: 27x

pu: 2x

qal

The syntax of the qal is: <A> זָרָה (אָרָה) [+ עַל of location; בְּ of means; לְ of direction]

The qal is used with the sense 'to scatter'. Five out of the nine attested qals are used in the context of 'winnowing' grain either literally (Ru 3.2; Is 30.24) or in a figure of speech (Je 4.11; 15.7; Is 41.16). The qal is also used for scattering other objects: the ground up golden calf (Ex 32.20), fire from Korah's rebellion (Nu 17.2), idols (Is 41.16) and hair (Ezk 5.2).

niph'al

The two attested niph'als have the sense 'to be scattered' and are used in the context of the exiles being dispersed (Ezk 6.8; 36.19).

piel

The syntax of the piel is: <A> זָרָה (אָרָה) [+ לְ of direction; עַל of location; בְּ of means]

The piel is used with the sense 'to scatter' and is most often found in contexts of scattering people to or among the nations/lands/wind. In Lv 26.33 the Lord states that as a part of the consequence of disobedience, "And I will scatter you among the nations" (וְאֶתְכֶם אֶזְרָה בְּגוֹיִם). This context is most common in the prophets (Je

31.10; 49.32, 36; Ezk 5.10, 12).²⁹³ Other applications of the sense ‘spreading’ or ‘scattering’ are used with the following objects: knowledge (Pr 15.17), dung (Mal 2.3), and bones (Ezk 6.5). The piel is also used in the figure of ‘winnowing’. In Je 51.2 winnowers are sent to Babylon “to winnow her” (וְשִׁלְחָתִי לְכַבֵּל זָרִים וְזָרוּהָ). Further contexts include a wise king winnowing the wicked (Pr 20.26) and ‘all evil’ (Pr 20.8) as well as the cold coming from ‘scattering winds’ (וּמִמְזֹרִים) in Job 37.9. Ps 139.3 is a further application of this sense in an image of the Lord ‘searching out’ the Psalmist’s way and lying down.²⁹⁴

pual

The pual is used with the passive sense ‘to be scattered, spread’ of a net (Pr 1.17) and of sulfur (Job 18.15).

זָרָה: the function of the piel amongst the themes

The qal and piel have a somewhat similar pattern to פָּרַשׁ in that they share a similar sense in a certain context (winnowing), but are also separable with respect to certain contexts of use (scattering people in the piel, but not in the qal). Waltke and O’Connor point out that Jenni uses the qal and piel of זָרָה to illustrate the supposed distinction between *actualis* (qal) and *resultative* (piel) as *literal* and *metaphorical* uses respectively but state that “the argument is interesting but not compelling”.²⁹⁵ Although they do not list counter examples, their judgment seems correct based upon how the themes are attested. It is true that the qal is used to refer to the actual winnowing of grain (Ru 3.2; Is 30.24) and that the piel is not attested in this manner. However, the qal is also used in the metaphor of winnowing in judgment (Is 41.16; Je 4.11; 15.7) as is the piel (Je 51.2).²⁹⁶ As with the piel of פָּרַשׁ, the context of

²⁹³ For further similar references of ‘scattering’ people see: 1 K 14.15; Ezk 12.14, 15; 20.23; 29.12; 30.26, 26; Zc 2.2; Ps 44.2; 106.27.

²⁹⁴ Cf. D. Kidner, *TOTC, Psalms 73–150*. Downers Grove, Illinois: IVP (1973) 464. Kidner uses the appropriate term ‘sifting’ in explaining the application of זָרָה to the objects in this verse.

²⁹⁵ W&O, § 24.3.2 b. They also list Bergsträsser as having observed the literal vs. metaphorical sort of distinction between qal and piel.

²⁹⁶ Furthermore, the argument seems to depend in part on how the terms ‘literal’ and ‘figurative’ are defined, which is the type of concern that seems to have influenced Jenni’s further categories like ‘direct’ and ‘indirect’ action. For instance, the second of Jenni’s examples listed by Waltke & O’Connor is that of the qal in Ezk 5.2 of scattering Ezekiel’s hair and the piel in Ezk 5.12 of the Lord scattering the people to every wind. Defining the first as literal and the second as metaphorical seems

'scattering' people is only attested in the piel and is often used in parallel with the hiphil of פּוֹץ.²⁹⁷

The niph'al and pual are each used as the passive 'to be scattered' but are attested in contexts that seem to indicate that the niph'al is acting as the passive of the piel (contexts of people being scattered) and the pual is possibly acting as passive of the qal.

3.5 זבח, קטר & נסך

a. זבח

BDB: 134x total

q: 112x

p: 22x

qal

The syntax of the qal is: <A> זבח (אָח) [+ noun of material (e.g. זָבַח); בָּ of location; לְ of indirect object/direction]

The qal is used with the sense 'to sacrifice' most often in the context of ritual or worship. It is used to refer to Jacob offering a sacrifice to confirm the covenant with Laban (Gn 31.54 with the noun זָבַח as object) as well as to the repeated request in the exodus narrative to let the people go so that they may sacrifice to the Lord (Ex 3.18; 5.3, 8, 17; 8.4, etc.). The qal is also used a few times outside of the act of worship to refer to slaughtering an animal for the sole purpose of eating (cf. Dt 12.15, 21 both with qal of אָכַל).

piel

The syntax of the piel is: <A> זבח (אָח) [+ בָּ, עַל of location; לְ of indirect object/direction]

The piel has the sense 'to sacrifice' in the context of worship. The piel is used to refer to the sacrifice that Solomon and the people made at the dedication of the

artificial (surely it would have to be the exiles themselves!) and dependent more on a notion of something like primary and secondary causes.

²⁹⁷ פּוֹץ is attested in q, n and hi. The qal has the passive sense 'to be scattered' even in other forms beside the passive participle with the niph'al having a passive sense as well. The hiph'il is the active (of both it seems) 'to scatter' and can be either transitive or intransitive (cf. Ex 5.12; 1 Sa 13.8).

temple (1 K 8.5 || 2 Ch 5.6). The primary context in which the piel is used is to refer to kings or people sacrificing to other gods: Solomon (1 K 3.2, 3; 11.8), Jeroboam (1 K 12.32), Jehoshaphat (1 K 22.44),²⁹⁸ Ahaz (2 K 16.4), Amon (2 Ch 33.22) and Israel (Hos 4.13; 11.2; 12.12).

זבח: the function of the piel amongst the themes

The qal and piel are used with similar senses in the referential context of worship. It seems difficult to distinguish between them. There are a few places where qal and piel are used together in very similar descriptions: The qal is used of Israel sacrificing their sons and daughters (וַיִּזְבְּחוּ אֶת־בְּנֵיהֶם וְאֶת־בָּנוֹתֵיהֶם לְשָׂרִים) in Ps 106.37 and the piel is used in verse 38 in a relative clause to refer to the sons and daughters whom they sacrificed to the idols of Canaan (אֲשֶׁר זָבְחוּ לְעֵצָבִי כְנַעַן). Solomon's sacrificing at the high places is referred to in the piel (1 K 3.3, participle) and the qal (1 K 3.4, infinitive). 2 Ch 28.23 narrates that Ahaz sacrificed to the gods of Damascus in the qal (וַיִּזְבַּח לְאֱלֹהֵי דַמָּשֶׁק), but the piel is used in the king's report (וַיֹּאמֶר... לָהֶם אֲזַבַּח) in the same verse.

The one observation about the contexts of use worth noting is that the piel is not attested in any of the books of the Pentateuch, Joshua or Judges where the qal is attested in them as well as in similar contexts to the piel (Kings, Chronicles, Psalms and the Prophets).

b. קטר²⁹⁹

BDB: 116x total

p: 42x

pu: 1x

hi: 71x

ho: 1x³⁰⁰

²⁹⁸ The phrase “and the people still sacrificed and made offerings on the high places” in this verse (עוֹרֵד הָעָם מִזְבָּחִים וּמִקְטָרִים בְּבָמוֹת) is repeated of: Jehoash (2 K 12.4), Amaziah (2 K 14.4), Azariah (2 K 15.4) and Jotham (2 K 15.35).

²⁹⁹ BDB lists this verb as denominative from the noun קִטְרָה ‘smoke, incense’; KB does not list this as denominative but as derived from what they mark as קטר I (1094a). Akkadian attests both G and D forms with this verb, with the former meaning ‘to rise, billow’ of smoke or fog (CAD Q: 166–8). For comments on the questions relating to the use of the term ‘denominative’, see chapter 5 below.

³⁰⁰ The form in Mal 1.11 is best taken as the nominal ‘incense’ (as LXX) rather than as a hophal participle: “and in every place incense is offered to my name” (וּבְכָל־מְקוֹם מִקְטָר מְגֻשׁ לְשִׁמִּי). Cf.

piel

The syntax of the piel is: <A> קטר []³⁰¹ [+ ל of indirect object/direction; על of location]

The piel is used with the sense ‘to make an offering’ by fire.³⁰² The prominent context for the piel is that of the disobedience of the people in making an offering to other gods. In this context it is often used in conjunction with the piel of זבח in the phrase “and the people still sacrificed and made offerings” (1 K 22.44).³⁰³ The piel is also used quite often in Jeremiah’s prophecy against similar disobedience: to other gods (Je 1.16; 18.15; 44.3), to Baal (Je 7.9; 11.13, 17; 32.29) and to the queen of heaven (Je 44.17, 18, 19, 25).³⁰⁴ Other similar acts are done by Amaziah (2 Ch 25.14) and Ahaz (2 Ch 28.25).

The piel infinitive absolute is also used once in conjunction with the hiphil imperfect with the sense ‘to burn’ of what is said to Eli’s sons, “let them burn the fat first” (קטר יקטירון פיום החלב, 1 Sa 2.16).

pual

The only attested pual has the passive sense ‘to be perfumed’ and is found in Song 3.6 (מקטרת מור ולבונה) “perfumed with myrrh and frankincense”.

hiphil

The syntax of the hiphil is: <A> הקטר (את) [+ ה , of location (particularly המזבחה in Lv), ל of indirect object/direction; על of location]

A. Hill, *Malachi: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary*, AB 25D, New York: Doubleday (1998), 188, for a list of translations and commentaries that take the form in such a manner.

³⁰¹ Most often the piel is without explicit object, though see 1 Sa 2.16 (piel infinitive absolute + hiphil imperfect with החלב ‘the fat’ as object), Am 4.5 (וקטר מחמץ תודה) and Je 44.21 where the noun את־הקטר is modified by the following relative clause which contains the piel (אשר קטרם).

³⁰² This verb is often translated as ‘to burn incense’ which is surely one of its senses. However, as there are a number of places where the object is either not explicit or something besides קטר ‘incense’, it seems best to avoid using ‘to burn incense’ as the overall sense.

³⁰³ For other references with this phrase see 2 K 12.4; 14.4; 15.4, 35; 16.4. Also with the piel of זבח see Hos 4.13; 11.2; Hab 1.16.

³⁰⁴ All of the ‘queen of heaven’ references and 32.29 are used together with the hiphil of נסך ‘to pour out a drink offering’.

The hiphil has the sense ‘to burn’ usually with an explicit object and is used in the context of making an offering. The most common context for this is that of the instructions for burning offerings: (32x in Lv; and also in Ex 29.13, 18; 30.7; Nu 5.26; 17.5; 18.17; 1 Ch 23.13).³⁰⁵ The hiphil is used of making an offering in both contexts of obedience – Solomon (1 K 9.25), Hezekiah (2 Ch 9.11) and disobedience – Solomon (1 K 3.3; 11.8), Jeroboam (1 K 12.33), Uzziah (2 Ch 26.16, 18, 19), Moab (Je 48.35) and the people of Israel (Hos 2.15).

hophal

The hophal acts as the passive with the sense ‘to be burned’ in Lv 6.15 of the anointing offering: “the whole of it shall be burned” (בָּלִיל תִּקְטָר). The second attested hophal is in Mal 1.11 (with hophal of נָגַשׁ) and is most often translated as if it is a nominal form ‘incense’ in the phrase וּבְכָל־מְקוֹם מִקְטָר מִנְשָׁה לְשִׁמִּי “and in every place incense is offered to my name”.

קָטַר: the function of the piel amongst the themes

The piel and hiphil are both used in the context of burning an offering in worship. Within these contexts there are things that are worth noting about each. The piel is rarely used with an explicit object and is attested almost entirely in the context of offering to other gods. As with זָבַח, the piel is not attested in the Pentateuch at all. The hiphil usually has an explicit object and is used primarily in the context of instructions in the Pentateuch as well as to refer to offerings in obedience or disobedience to those instructions.

There are a few contexts where the piel and hiphil are used in close proximity. The piel is used in Hos 11.2 to refer to making offerings to idols and the hiphil is used in Hos 2.15 of making offerings to Baal.³⁰⁶ In 2 K 16.4, the piel is used to refer to Ahaz making offerings at the high places, etc. (וַיִּזְבַּח וַיִּקְטָר בְּבָמוֹת וְעַל־...) and in 2 K 16.13 the hiphil is used of Ahaz: “and he burnt his burnt offering and grain

³⁰⁵ In Ex 29, the burning of the offerings on the altar uses the hiphil of קָטַר (vs. 13, 18) where the burning of the rest of the bull outside the camp uses the qal of שָׂרַף (vs. 14).

³⁰⁶ BHS has a note with the proposed piel form תִּקְטָר for 2.15 because of the piels in 11.2 and 4.13. However, there does not seem to be sufficient reason to alter the form. In addition, both cases of the piel are used together with the piel of זָבַח, which does not appear with the hiphil in 2.15.

offering” (וַיִּקְטֹר אֶת־עֹלֹתוֹ וְאֶת־מִנְחָתוֹ).³⁰⁷ From this latter pair and from the above observations it seems that, in the majority of their contexts, the hiphil focuses on the particular act of the burning of the offering and the piel focuses on the making of the offering or offerings as a whole.³⁰⁸

The pual and hophal are both used as passives with the latter being attested in a context where it acts as the passive to the hiphil (Lv 6.15).

c. נָסַךְ

BDB: 23x total

q: 5x (Ex 30.9; Is 29.10; 40.19; 44.10; Hos 9.4)³⁰⁹

p: 1x (1 Ch 11.18)

hi: 14x (Gn 35.14; Nu 28.7; 2 Sa 23.16; 2 K 16.13; Je 7.18³¹⁰; Ezk 20.28; Ps 16.4)

ho: 2x (Ex 25.29; 37.16)

The qal, piel and hiphil of this verb all have the sense ‘to pour out’. The qal in Ex 30.9 refers to the incense altar with the prohibition “A drink offering you shall not pour out on it” (וְנִסְכָּךְ לֹא תִסְכֹּב עָלָיו) and the hiphil in Gn 35.14 refers to Jacob pouring out a drink offering in Bethel (וַיִּסְכֶּךְ עָלֶיהָ נִסְכֵּךְ). The piel in 1 Ch 11.18 (וַיִּנְסְכֵךְ) is parallel to the hiphil in 2 Sa 23.16 (וַיִּסְכֶּךְ אֹתָם לַיהוָה) of David pouring out the water his men had retrieved for him. It is also worth noting that the hiphil of נָסַךְ is used together with the piel of קָטַר in several places in Jeremiah (32.29; 44.17, 18, 19, 25).

³⁰⁷ Also of Ahaz, see the hiphil in 2 Ch 28.3 of making offerings in the valley of Hinnom and the piel in 2 Ch 28.25 of his making high places to make offerings to other gods.

³⁰⁸ The above observations may lead some to draw a function for the piel in such cases as ‘iterative’ (GKC § 52 f) or ‘pluralising’ (Jouon-Muraoka § 52 d) – though neither of these grammars cite this verb as an example. Whatever the description of the function of the piel and hiphil in this case, there are some contexts of overlapping sense that are indistinguishable (cf. the hiphil in 1 K 3.3 and 11.8 in similar descriptions of disobedience to those in the piel in 1 K 22.44, etc.).

³⁰⁹ The qal form in Is 30.1 (וְלִנְסְכֵךְ בְּמִסְכָּה) is usually translated as “and who make an alliance”. Although the form is usually listed with נָסַךְ I, it is difficult to see the sense of this form as fitting with those of the rest of the verb. BDB (651a) suggests that it is possibly from נָסַךְ II ‘to weave’ as an application of a sense like “to weave a web”. For further comments on the possible senses of these forms, cf. J. Watts, *Isaiah 1–33*, WBC 24, Waco, Texas: Word Books (1985), 392, 393.

³¹⁰ Also in Jeremiah 19.13; 32.29; 44.17, 18, 19 (x2) and 25.

3.6 שלח, גרש & ונהג

a. שלח

BDB: 844x

q: 562x

n: 1x

p: 266x

pu: 10x

hi: 5x

qal

The syntax of the qal is: <A> שלח [(אח)] [+ ל (infin) of purpose (Gn 3.26); ל of direction/recipient; ב of means (2 Sa 11.14); א/ל/ב of disadvantage (1 Sa 24.11; 2 Sa 18.12); על of location (1 Ch 13.10)]

The qal has the general sense 'to send' and is used to refer to sending either a person or an inanimate object.

People: When a person (or group of people) is being sent, the qal most often refers to someone sending the person or group as the bearer of a message or a deed on behalf of the sender. In Ex 3.10, the Lord tells Moses he is sending him to Pharaoh (ועתה לכה ואשלחך אל-פרעה) to bring the people out.³¹¹ The most common group of people who are sent in this context is מלאכים 'messengers' (Jacob to Esau, Gn 32.4; Joshua to the tent of Achan, Jos 7.22; Ben-Hadad to Ahab, 1 K 20.2).³¹² Other similar groups are: מרגלים 'spies' (Jos 2.1; 1 Sa 26.4), צירים 'ambassadors' (Is 18.2), עבדים (usually construct) 'servants' (1 K 5.15) and (often with the Lord as sending) נבאים 'prophets' (2 Ch 24.19).³¹³

When the purpose of the sending is some sort of message, it follows that there is often also an explicit complementing verb of calling, speaking or declaring: qal קרא 'to call' (Gn 27.42), qal אמר (often לאמר) 'to say, saying' (1 K 5.16), piel דבר 'to speak' (Je 26.15) or hiphil נגד 'to declare' (2 Sa 11.5). Where the purpose is an

³¹¹ Ex 3.12, 13, 14, 15; 4.28; 5.22 also of the Lord sending Moses. Further references of sending individuals: Moses (Dt 34.11; Mi 6.4), Nathan sent to David (2 Sa 12.1), the Lord sending Elijah (Mal 3.23).

³¹² Other references include: Nu 20.14; 21.21; 22.5; Dt 2.26; Jos 7.22; Ju 9.31; 11.12, 14, 17, 19; 1 Sa 6.21; 11.3, 7; 16.19; 19.11, 14, 15, 20, 21; 25.14; 2 Sa 2.5; 3.12, 14, 26; 5.11; 11.4; 12.27; 1 K 20.2; 2 K 1.2, 16; 14.8; 16.7; 17.4; 19.9; 1 Ch 14.1; 19.2, 16; 2 Ch 35.21; Ne 6.3; Is 37.9; Ezk 17.15; 23.16.

³¹³ Particularly in Jeremiah, נבאים 'prophets' is used in apposition to עבדי 'my servants' (c.g. Je 44.4, (ואשלח אליכם את-כל-עבדי הנביאים השבים).

action or deed, the most common complementing verb is qal לקח 'to take' (Gn 42.16; 1 Sa 19.14; 1 Sa 25.39).

When the qal of שלח is used in conjunction with a second verb of purpose, it is sometimes used without an explicit object. Most often it seems that the omitted object is understood from the logic of the referential context.³¹⁴ Often where the omitted object of שלח would have been people, they are the understood agents carrying out the action of the second verb on behalf of the subject. Thus, in Je 29.14 when the officers of Babylon "sent and took Jeremiah from the court of the guard" (וַיִּשְׁלְחוּ וַיִּקְחוּ אֶת־יְרֵמְיָהוּ מִחֶצֶר הַמִּטְרָה), the object of לקח cannot also be the object of שלח.³¹⁵

Objects: The qal is also applied to sending both inanimate objects as well as body parts like a hand (Gn 3.22) or finger (Is 58.9) and even a mouth (Ps 50.19). A very common use of the qal is with יד 'hand' which is translated accordingly as 'to stretch out, reach' (Ehud reaching for his sword, Ju 3.21).³¹⁶ Other objects are also reached out explicitly "in someone's hand" (Jonathan's staff, 1 Sa 14.27) or sent "by the hand" of another (Judah's pledge, Gn 38.20) or understood implicitly as used with the hand (the sickle, Joel 4.13). Other inanimate objects that are sent include: סִפְרֵי/סִפָּר 'letter(s)' (2 K 5.5; Est 1.22), 'a gift' (Gn 32.18) and 'timber from Lebanon' (2 Ch 2.7).³¹⁷

niphal

The sole niphal is used with a passive sense of letters 'sent' by the king to all of his provinces (וַיִּשְׁלֹחַ סִפְרֵי בְיַד הַרְצִיִּים אֶל־כָּל־מְדִינֹת הַמְּלָכָה, Est 3.13).

³¹⁴ As Collins points out in his entry on שלח in *NIDOTTE* 4:120, this should not be confused with those places where the object is included elsewhere in the context (possibly of another verb) as it is in 2 Ch 16.2 (וַיִּצְאָ אֶסָא כֹּסֶף וְזָהָב מֵאֲצֵרוֹת בֵּית יְהוָה [...] וַיִּשְׁלַח אֶל־בְּנֵי־הָרָר מְלָךְ אָרָם).

³¹⁵ For similar constructions in conjunction with the qal of לקח see Gn 27.45; 1 Sa 16.11; 20.31; 2 K 6.13; 23.16 and with the hiphil of בוא see 1 Sa 16.12; Est 5.10.

³¹⁶ Other references include: Gn 8.9; 19.10; 22.10, 12; 37.22; Ex 3.20; 4.4; 9.15; 22.7, 10; 24.11; Dt 25.11; Ju 15.15; 1 Sa 17.49; 26.9; S Sa 1.14; 15.5; 18.12; 24.26; 1 K 13.1; 2 K 6.7; 1 Ch 13.9, 10; Est 2.21; 3.1; 6.2; 8.1, 7; 9.2 (all of these in Esther 'to lay hands on' i.e. 'to harm'); 9.10, 15, 16; Job 1.11, 12; 2.5 (similar to sense in Esther); 28.9; 30.24; Ps 55.21; 125.3; 138.7; 144.7; Je 1.9; Ezk 8.3; 10.7; Dn 11.42; Song 5.4.

³¹⁷ The qal is also used of 'shooting' arrows in 2 Sa 22.15; Ps 18.15 and 144.6 which is similar to 'sending' letters, cf. English 'dispatch'.

piel

The syntax of the piel is: <A> שלח (אָח) [+ ל of indirect object/direction; עַל of location; אֶל/לְ of disadvantage]

The piel has the general sense ‘to send’ (away) and is used of someone sending (away) either a person (or animal) or an inanimate object.

People: The piel is used occasionally of sending a person or people with a sense similar to the qal: the Philistines send messengers throughout the land to tell of Saul’s death (1 Sa 31.9).³¹⁸ Most often when the piel is used with a person or group of people as its object, it is in a context of sending them away: the Lord sent Adam out from the garden of Eden (וַיִּשְׁלַח הוָי יְהוָה אֱלֹהִים מִגַּן-עֵדֶן, Gn 3.23) and Joshua sent the people away to their inheritances (וַיִּשְׁלַח יְהוֹשֻׁעַ אֶת-הָעָם אִישׁ לְנַחֲלָתוֹ, Jos 24.28).³¹⁹ Two particular applications of this sense of the piel are in the contexts of divorcing a wife (“to send her away”, Dt 22.19, 29; 24.1, 3; Je 3.1, 8; Mal 2.16) and of Pharaoh (not) letting the people of Israel go in the exodus narrative (Ex 3.20).³²⁰

The piel is also used similarly in sending animals or letting them go: Noah and the raven (Gn 8.7) and the dove (Gn 8.8, 12); the priest letting a live bird go in purification rites (Lv 14.7, 53) and the goat in atonement (Lv 16.21, 22); the Lord sends fiery serpents (Nu 21.6) and lions (2 K 17.25) in judgment.

Objects: The piel is also used of sending objects in literal or figurative contexts. The Philistines deliberate as to how to send away the ark (1 Sa 5.10; 6.2, 3, 6, 8). In judgment the Lord will send the sword against the people (Je 9.15). Other objects include: arrows (1 Sa 20.20; Ezk 5.16), pestilence (2 Ch 7.13), ‘from the spoil’ (2 Ch 24.23), a tree sending out its roots (Je 17.8) or boughs (Ps 80.12), lightnings (Job 38.35) and hands (only Pr 31.19, 20).³²¹

³¹⁸ See also: Gn 19.13 (of the messengers sent to destroy Sodom and Gomorrah); 2 K 24.2 (twice of those sent against Judah in judgment); Je 51.2 (of ‘winnowers’ sent to Babylon to winnow her).

³¹⁹ For other examples see: Gn 12.20; 19.29; 21.14; 24.54, 59; 25.6; 28.6; 31.42; Lv 18.24; 20.23; Nu 5.2, 3, 4; Jos 2.21; 22.7; Ju 2.6; 3.18; 7.8; 12.9; 1 Sa 13.2; 2 Sa 3.21, 22, 23; 1 K 8.66; 20.34; 2 K 5.24; 6.23; 1 Ch 8.8; 9.4; 12.19; 2 Ch 7.10; Is 57.9; Jer 29.20.

³²⁰ Also: Ex 4.21; 23 (x2); 5.1, 2; 6.1, 11; 7.2, 14, 16, 26, 27; 8.4, 16, 17, 24, 25, 28; 9.1, 2, 7, 13, 17, 28, 35; 10.3, 7, 10, 20; 11.1, 10; 12.33; 13.15, 17; 14.5.

³²¹ The piel is also used with יָד ‘hand’ in these contexts: Saul sends pieces of oxen “by the hand of messengers” (1 Sa 11.7); a prophet condemns Ahab for letting Ben-Hadad go “out of (your) hand” (1 K 20.42); Bildad tells Job that if his children have sinned, the Lord “has delivered them into the hand of their transgression” (וַיִּשְׁלַח בְּיַד-פְּשָׁעָם, Job 8.4).

The piel is also used several times with the object אֵשׁ 'fire'. It is used sometimes in contexts of judgment by the Lord, "I will send fire upon the house of Hazael" (וּשְׁלַחְתִּי אֵשׁ בְּבַיִת הַזֹּאֵל) (Am 1.4)³²² and other times of people setting fire (each with בָּאֵשׁ) to a city or building (Ju 1.8; 20.48; 2 K 8.12; Ps 74.7).

pual

The pual has the passive sense 'to be sent' (away). It is used in the context of people being sent away: Joseph's brothers (Gn 44.3) and in an image of divorce (Is 50.1).³²³ It is also used of a messenger being sent (Dn 10.11; Ob 1; Pr 17.11) and of the wicked being thrust into a net by his own feet (Job 18.8).

hiphil

The syntax of the hiphil is: <A> הִשְׁלַח (אָחַ) + בְּ of location/disadvantage

The hiphil has the sense 'to send' (against) and in all of its attested forms has the Lord as the subject in a context of judgment. In Ex 8.17, the Lord says he will send swarms of flies on Pharaoh and his people (... וַיִּבְעַבְרֵיךָ בָּךְ וּבְעַבְדֶיךָ). Other objects that he sends as the means of judgment are: beasts of the field (Lv 26.22), Rezin and Pekah (2 K 15.37), and famine (Ezk 14.13; Am 8.11).

שְׁלַח: the function of the piel amongst the themes

The qal and piel of שְׁלַח are used in a few places with similar senses in the same context: Isaac sending Jacob to Laban (qal, Gn 28.5) and Esau's hearing about it (piel, Gn 28.6), the Lord says "I will send my terror before you" (piel, Ex 23.27) and "I will send hornets before you" (qal, Ex 23.28), of sending food (qal, Ne 8.10; piel Ne 8.12), of Judah sending a goat as a pledge (piel and qal, Gn 38.17). The qal and piel are also used of similar objects outside of a shared context: of shooting arrows (qal, 2 Sa 22.15; Ps 18.15; piel, 1 Sa 20.20; Ezk 5.16), of sending fire (qal, La 1.13; piel, Am 1.4) and of the Lord sending hornets (qal, Ex 23.28; piel Dt 7.20).

While the qal and piel have some overlapping area of sense, it is also possible to distinguish between them in certain contexts, sometimes where they are used

³²² Also: Am 1.7, 10, 12; 2.2, 5; Hos 8.14 and Ezk 39.6.

³²³ See also: a city 'deserted' (Is 27.10), a nest/nestlings 'scattered' (Is 16.2) and a child 'sent away' (Pr 29.15 – NIV/RSV "left to himself" as opposite of discipline).

together. The shared sense of the qal and piel relates to contexts in which they have the sense ‘A sends B’. In the contexts where they can be distinguished, the qal is used where the purpose of the sending was in focus – i.e. sending a person(s) with a message or deed; stretching out one’s hand to do something, and the piel is used where the sending ‘away’ is in focus – i.e. sending away in divorce; sending or allowing some to leave as in the exodus narrative.³²⁴

The hiphil is used in each of its attestations in a context of judgment with the Lord as the subject sending something ‘on’ or ‘against’ a land or people. The piel is used with similar sense and sometimes in the same context with the hiphil: the hiphil is used of the Lord “and I will send famine against it” (וְהִשְׁלַחְתִּיָּבָה רָעָב, Ezk 14.13), the piel of sending pestilence (אֶל־הָאָרֶץ הַהִיא אֲשַׁלַּח אֶל־הָאָרֶץ הַהִיא, Ezk 14.19) and of sending his four disastrous acts of judgment: sword, famine, wild beasts and pestilence (חָרֵב וְרָעַב וְחַיָּה רָעָה וְדָבָר שְׁלַחְתִּי אֶל־יְרוּשָׁלַם, Ezk 14.21) on a land that sins. Similarly, in Lv 26, the hiphil is used where the Lord says “and I will send wild beasts against you” (וְהִשְׁלַחְתִּי בְכֶם אֶת־חַיֵּי הַשָּׂדֶה, Lv 26.22) and the piel is used of his sending pestilence (וְשַׁלַּחְתִּי דָבָר בְּתוֹכְכֶם, Lv 26.25) because of disobedience.³²⁵ In these contexts, the piel and hiphil are indistinguishable in sense.

In the exodus narrative, the piel is consistently used to refer to ‘letting [the people] go’ whereas the qal and hiphil are used to refer to the other sending situations. In Ex 8.17, the piel participle is used in the address to Pharaoh, “for if you will not let my people go” (כִּי אִם־אֵינְךָ מְשַׁלַּח אֶת־עַמִּי) with the hiphil participle following as the consequence, “Behold, I will send swarms of flies on you and your servants and your people (הִנְנִי מְשַׁלֵּיחַ בְּךָ וּבַעֲבָדֶיךָ וּבְעַמְּךָ וּבְבָתְּיֶיךָ אֶת־הָעֶרֶב). The qal participle is also used with the same sense as the hiphil, “And this time I will send all my plagues upon your heart...” (כִּי בַּפְּעַם הַזֹּאת אֲנִי שֹׁלֵחַ אֶת־כָּל־מִגַּפְתִּי אֶל־לְבָבְךָ, Ex 9.14).

³²⁴ The examination of the function of the qal and piel for this verb corroborates the explanation given by C. John Collins’ work on שִׁלַּח in *NIDOTTE* 4:119–23 and thus has employed some similar terminology. Also, cf. V. Hamilton, *The Book of Genesis: Chapters 1–17*, Grand Rapids, Michigan: Eerdmans (1990), 303 where he discusses a similar distinction between some contexts of the qal (sent forth on a mission) and piel (to send away) of שִׁלַּח and illustrates it with the qal of Noah stretching out his hand (8.9) and the piel of his sending away of the raven (8.7) and the dove (8.8).

³²⁵ Also in Am 4.10 the Lord sent pestilence (שִׁלַּחְתִּי בְכֶם דָּבָר בְּרִדְדָה מִצְרִים) and will send a famine of hearing the words of the Lord (וְהִשְׁלַחְתִּי רָעָב בְּאָרְץ, Am 8.11). With the piel in Ezk 14.19 and 21, אֶל is used as the preposition of location/disadvantage, but in Lv 26.25 and Am 4.10 it is בְּ.

The sole niph'al in Est 3.13 is used as the passive of the qal (cf. Est 1.22). The pual is used as a passive in contexts similar to the piel (divorce in Is 50.1 with piel preceding and 'being sent away' in Gn 44.3; Pr 29.15) and to the qal (messengers being sent in Dan 10.11; Ob 1; Pr 17.11).

b. נטה: A verb that has overlapping senses with שלח is נטה 'to stretch out' (attested in q, ni, hi). It is worth noting that the sense relations between qal and hiphil of נטה are similar to those of qal and piel of שלח. The qal of נטה often takes יד 'hand' as its object in a sense very similar to the qal of שלח. The hiphil, however, rarely takes 'hand' as object (3x with the Lord as subject: Is 31.3; Je 6.12; 15.6) and is used primarily with a focus on the sense of turning someone or something to or away from a person or path, particularly with the common phrase 'to incline the ear to'. This distribution of senses still allows for some overlap between the qal and hiphil: of pitching a tent (qal, Gn 26.25; hiph, 2 Sa 16.22), of the Lord 'bowing' the heavens (qal, Ps 18.10; piel Ps 144.5) and of Solomon's heart being turned/turning from the Lord (hiph with לִבּוֹ as object, 1 K 11.4; qal with לִבּוֹ 'his heart' as subject, 1 K 11.9).³²⁶

c. גרש

BDB: 47x

q: 7x

n: 3x

p: 35x

pu: 2x

qal

The syntax of the qal is: <A> גרש (אָת) [or more commonly as the fem passive participle גִּרְשָׁה]

The most common use of the qal is as a passive participle meaning 'a divorced woman' (Lv 21.7; 21.14; 22.13; Nu 30.10; Ezk 44.22). The qal can also have the sense 'to drive out'. In Ex 34.11, the Lord promises to drive out the inhabitants of the

³²⁶ Also in 2 K 11.1 the hiph is used in the Lord's instruction because they will turn your "hearts" after their gods. Additionally, Balaam's donkey is referred to as 'turning aside' in the qal in Nu 22.23, 33 and Balaam's attempt to turn the donkey back is in the hiph (Nu 22.23).

land. Lastly, the qal is used in the image of the sea “tossing up mire and dirt” (Is 57.20).

niphal

The niphal has the passive sense ‘to be driven, tossed’. It is used twice in the image of waters being tossed (Is 57.20; Am 8.8). Jonah 2.5 states, “And I said, I have been driven out from your presence” (וַאֲנִי אֶמְרָתִי בְּגִרְשָׁתִי מִנֶּגֶד עֵינֶיךָ).

piel

The syntax of the piel is: <A> גרש (<אח) [מִלְפָּנַי, מִן, or מִפְּנֵי of location from]

The piel has the sense ‘to lead, drive out’ and is used of someone driving another person or people out usually from an explicit location. A common context for the piel is the driving out of the inhabitants of Canaan (Ex 23.28).³²⁷ Other contexts include: Adam was driven out from the garden (וַיִּגְרֶשׁ אֶת־אָדָם, Gn 3.24), the exodus (Ex 6.1; 11.1 and 10.11 of Moses and Aaron driven from Pharaoh’s presence), Gilead’s son drove Jephthah out of his father’s house (Ju 11.2, 7), and of driving out a scoffer (Pr 22.10).

pual

The pual has the passive sense ‘to be driven out’. It is attested once in Job 30.5 and once in the context of the exodus: the bread was unleavened “because they were driven out of Egypt” (כִּי־גִרְשׁוּ מִמִּצְרַיִם Ex 12.39).

גרש: the function of the piel amongst the themes

The qal and piel of גרש have overlapping senses both with the piel of שלח and with each other. The primary use of the qal is the passive participle to refer to ‘a divorced woman’, a context in which the piel of שלח is attested but the piel of גרש is not. The qal participle (גִּרְשָׁה) in Ex 34.11 “I am driving out from before you...” is similar in sense to the piel in Ex 33.2 (וַיִּגְרֶשׁתִּי), “and I will drive out the Canaanites,

³²⁷ Other reference of driving out the inhabitants of the land include: Ex 23.29, 30, 31; 33.2; Dt 33.27; Jos 24.12, 18 Ju 2.3; 6.9; Ps 78.55; 80.9; 1 Ch 17.21. Similar contexts of nations being driven out also include: Balak’s desire to drive Israel out (Nu 22.6, 11), Ashdod being driven out in judgment (Zp 2.4) and the Lord driving Israel out in judgment (Hos 9.15).

...”. The sole attested finite verbal form of the qal is found in Is 57.20 referring to water ‘tossing up’ mire and dirt. The qal participle (active or passive) appears to be used in relation to the sense of the piel.

The piel is always used in contexts of a person (human or divine) driving out another person or group of people from a location or position. As such, it is used in several contexts in similar constructions to the piel of שלח: the piel of גרש is used in Gn 3.24 following the piel of שלח in Gn 3.23 to refer to Adam being driven out of the garden and both are used together of Pharaoh ‘letting go’ and ‘driving out’ the people with piel of שלח and גרש respectively in Ex 6.1; 11.1.³²⁸

The niph'al is used twice with the passive sense ‘to be tossed’ in relation to the similar sense in the qal (Is 57.20). It is also used with the passive sense ‘to be driven away’ corresponding to the sense found in the qal (Ex 34.11) and the piel (Gn 4.14). The pual is used with the sense ‘to be driven out’ as the passive of the piel.

d. נהג I

BDB: 30x

q: 20x

p: 10x

qal

The syntax of the qal is: <A> נהג (אָח) [+ inf. of purpose (Gn 31.18); אָל of location]

The qal has the sense ‘to lead, drive’ and is most often applied to someone leading livestock or people. Gn 31.18 refers to Jacob fleeing Laban: “And he drove out all his livestock and all his property” (וַיִּנְהֵג אֶת־כָּל־מִקְנֵהוּ וְאֶת־כָּל־רְכוּשׁוֹ). Other contexts of driving or leading animals are: Moses leading Jethro’s flocks (Ex 3.1), David leading away the Philistines’ livestock as spoil (1 Sa 23.5), and of the wicked driving away the donkey of the orphan (יְנֵהֲגוּ יְחֹמַיִם יְחֹמֹר, Job 24.3). The contexts of someone leading people are similar: Joab led the army (1 Ch 20.1), the Amalekites led away the people of Ziklag as captives (1 Sa 30.2) and a child will lead the wolf and lamb (Is 11.6). Also, Ec 2.3 refers to “my mind still guiding me with wisdom”

³²⁸ There are also contexts where the qal of שלח is used to refer to sending someone (angel, Ex 33.2) or something (hornets, Ex 23.28; 33.2) before Israel to drive out the nations (piel of גרש).

(וְלָבִי נָהַג בַּחֲכָמָה). Lastly, the qal is also used to refer to how someone is ‘driving’ a chariot, “and the driving is like the driving of Jehu” (וְהַמְנַהֵג כְּמִנְהַג יְהוּא, 2 K 9.20) or to leading a cart (the sons of Aminadab, 2 Sa 6.3 || 1 Ch 13.7).³²⁹

piel

The syntax of the piel is: <A> נָהַג (אָחַ) [+ inf. of purpose (Is 63.14); אָ of location; means]

The piel has the sense ‘to lead, drive’. Eight out of ten attested forms have the Lord as subject. The majority of these are of the Lord leading (Is 49.10; 63.14; Ps 48.15; 78.52) or driving out his people (Dt 4.27; 28.37) while twice the piel refers to the Lord driving the wind (Ex 10.13; Ps 78.26). Other than the Lord, the piel is used when Laban refers to Jacob having driven Laban’s daughters away in Gn 31.26. The piel is also used to refer to the Egyptian chariots driving ‘heavily’ or ‘with difficulty’ (וַיִּנְהֲגוּ בְּכִבְדֹתָ, Ex 14.25).³³⁰

נָהַג: the function of the piel amongst the themes

The qal and piel are used with similar senses in comparable contexts. The qal is used in Gn 31.18 of Jacob leading away his livestock and the piel in Gn 31.26 of leading away Laban’s daughters. The driving of chariots is referred to both in the qal (2 K 9.20) and the piel (Ex 14.25; though cf. n. 330 above). The qal is used of the Lord leading his people “like sheep” (נָהַג כְּצֹאן יוֹסֵף, Ps 80.2) and the piel is used of the Lord leading them “like a flock in the wilderness” (וַיִּנְהֲגֵם כְּעֹדֵד בַּמִּדְבָּר, Ps 78.52).

Although they are used with a similar sense, the qal and piel are generally separable by their contexts and subject of the verb. The piel is used primarily with the Lord as subject where the qal is used once (La 3.2). The qal is attested primarily of human subjects leading livestock or other people. In some of their respective contexts, the piel seems thus to have the agency (most often of the Lord) in focus,

³²⁹ It is interesting to note that English tends to use the words ‘lead’ or ‘drive’ as representing the subject as ‘leading’ from the front or ‘driving’ from behind or within, whereas נָהַג is used for both.

³³⁰ Note that although the form tends to be translated simply as a middle of the chariots ‘driving with difficulty’, it has both a 3ms inflection and suffix. Thus, the literal sense would be something like “and he caused it to drive with difficulty” with the Lord as subject, following on from the hiphil of נָהַג preceding it.

whereas the qal seems to have the purpose of the leading more in focus. If this is the case, Gn 31.18 of Jacob leading away his livestock “to go to his father Isaac” makes sense in the qal as does Laban’s focus on Jacob’s role in driving out his daughters in the piel in 31.26. It also would make sense of the focus on the Lord’s agency in driving out the people as the consequence of disobedience in the piel in Dt 4.27 and 28.37. If these tendencies for possible focus are reflected in the texts, they also leave room for the fact that the senses of each theme are very similar.

3.7 ספר & מנה

a. ספר

BDB: 107x

q: 27x

n: 8x

p: 67x

pu: 5x

qal

The syntax of the qal is: <A> ספר (אָת) [+ numeral (2 Ch 2.1); לְ indirect object/advantage]

The qal has the sense ‘to count, number’ and is used of a person counting people or objects: Abraham is told to count the stars (Gn 15.5), David/Solomon count the people in a census (2 Sa 24.10; 2 Ch 2.16) and Cyrus has the spoil from the temple counted (Ezra 1.8). Similarly, the qal is used twice to refer to numbering or ‘recording’ by the Lord: people born in Zion (Ps 87.6, with qal of כָּתַב) and wanderings (Ps 56.9). When the qal is applied in contexts of ‘numbering’ someone or something, it can have the sense of ‘assigning’ the numbered for a purpose: Solomon ‘assigned’ 70,000 men to bear burdens (2 Ch 2.1), days were numbered for cleansing (Lv 15.13, 28; Ezk 44.26) and days/weeks for a festival (Lv 23.15, 16; Dt 16.9).

niphal

The syntax of the niphal is: <A> נִסְפַר [most often with לֹא and מִרְבַּע]

The niphal has the passive sense ‘to be counted, numbered’. In seven out of its eight attested forms it is negated and has the sense of something “that cannot be

counted” due to its large number (Gn 16.10; 32.13; 1 K 3.8; 8.5; 2 Ch 5.6; Hos 2.1; Je 33.22). In 1 Ch 23.3, the Levites were counted by David.

piel

The syntax of the piel is: <A> סָפַר (אָח) [+ אֶל/לְ indirect object; בְּ of location]

The qal has the sense ‘to recount, tell or declare’ and is used of a person reporting something to another person or group of people: Abraham’s servant recounted to Isaac all he had done (Gn 24.66), spies report to Moses and Aaron (Nu 13.27, with qal אָמַר following) and the people’s sadness is explained to Saul (1 Sa 11.5). The piel is often used in contexts where it has the sense ‘to tell, declare’ in proclamation or announcement: the heavens declare the glory of God (Ps 19.2), Eliphaz will declare what he has seen (Job 15.17) and people will declare the Lord’s praise (Is 43.21). The piel is also used twice to refer to ‘counting’ clouds (Job 38.37) and bones (Ps 22.18).

pual

The pual has the passive sense ‘to be told, declared’ and is used in contexts of proclamation or announcement (הִי־סִפֵּר בְּקִבְרֵי הַחַיִּים), “Is your steadfast love declared in the grave?” (Ps 88.12).

סָפַר: the function of the piel amongst the themes

The qal and piel are quite easily distinguished between in their respective senses of ‘counting’ and ‘recounting’. There are two piels used with the sense ‘to count’ (Job 38.37; Ps 22.18), but no qals that are attested in a similar sense to the piel of ‘to tell, declare’. The passive themes are also very straight forward: the niphāl acts as the passive of the qal and the pual acts as the passive of the piel.

b. מנה

BDB: 28x
q: 12x
n: 6x
p: 9x
pu: 1x

qal

The syntax of the qal is: <A> מנה (אָת) [לְ advantage/disadvantage]

The qal has the sense ‘to count, number’ and is used in several contexts similar to the qal of סָפַר: counting in a census (2 Sa 24.1; 1 Ch 27.24), counting the dust of the earth (Gn 13.16) and counting the money collected for temple repairs (2 K 12.11). The qal is also applied in contexts where the sense is of ‘numbering’ or ‘assigning’ the numbered for a purpose: The Lord says “I will destine you for the sword” (Is 65.12), the Arameans call for ‘mustering’ an army (1 K 20.25) and the Lord ‘determines’ the number of the stars (Ps 147.4).

niphal

The syntax of the niphal is: <A> נמנה [+ לְא and מִרְב]

The niphal has the passive sense ‘to be counted’ and is also used similarly to the niphal of סָפַר. It is most often used of something that is described as uncountable: Abram’s offspring (Gn 13.16), people (1 K 3.8), animals sacrificed at the temple dedication (1 K 8.5 || 2 Ch 5.6), and “what is lacking” (Ec 1.15). The niphal is also used of the suffering servant, “and he was numbered with the transgressors” (Is 53.12).

piel

The syntax of the piel is: <A> מנה (אָת) [+ לְ with infin of purpose; לְ advantage/disadvantage]

The piel is used with the sense of ‘to appoint’ something for a purpose. It is used four times in Jonah of the Lord appointing the fish (2.1), the plant (4.6), the worm (4.7), and the east wind (4.8). It is also used three times in Daniel of the king appointing food (1.5, 10) and a person to watch the prisoners (1.11). Lastly the piel is used for appointing steadfast love and faithfulness (Ps 61.8) and ‘allotting’ nights of misery (Job 7.3).

pual

The sole attested pual has the passive sense ‘to be appointed’ and is used to refer to the Levites appointed to care for the furniture and utensils of the sanctuary (1 Ch 9.29).

מָנָה: the function of the piel amongst the themes

The qal and piel of **מָנָה** are have some distinction in their contexts of use, but not in the same manner as the qal and piel of **סָפַר**. The qal is used most often of counting something to determine the number (e.g. the census). The piel is used with the sense of ‘numbering off’ someone or something for a purpose and thus of ‘appointing’. The qal is also used with a similar sense in a few contexts: e.g., “And I will destine you for the sword”, (**וּמְנִיתִי אֶתְכֶם לְחָרֶב**), Is 65.12).

The passive themes act very similarly to those of **סָפַר** with the **niphal** acting as the passive of the qal (cf. both qal and niphal in Gn 13.16) and the **pual** acts as the passive of the sense found most often in the piel, but also in the qal.

3.8 גלה & ערה

a. גלה

BDB: 189x

q: 51x

n: 32x

p: 56x

pu: 2x

h: 39x

ho: 7

hith: 2x

qal

The syntax of the qal is: 1. <A> גלה (אח) [+ לְ/אֶל indirect object/advantage]
2. <A> גלה [+ מִן of location]

The qal has the sense ‘to uncover, remove’ and is used with two distinct syntactical constructions. When used with syntax 1 the qal refers to a person uncovering or removing something. A common object of the qal in this construction is **אֲזִינִים** ‘ears’ (usually construct) when used in the expression ‘to reveal’ (lit. ‘to

uncover the ears’). In 1 Sa 20.2 Jonathan says that Saul does not do anything “without disclosing it to me” (וְלֹא יִגְלֶה אֶת־אָזְנִי).³³¹ The qal is used similarly of other objects as well: secrets revealed (Am 3.7; Pr 20.19); and the qal passive participle of עִינֵי־יָם ‘eyes’ opened (Nu 24.4, 16), an edict ‘displayed’ (Est 3.14; 8.13) or an ‘open’ copy of a deed (Je 32.11).

When the qal is used with syntax 2 it has the sense ‘to be removed, exiled’. It is most often used of a people going into exile as when referring to the fall and exile of Israel (2 K 17.23) and Judah (2 K 25.21).³³² This construction is also used a few times with כְּבוֹד ‘glory’ as its object (1 Sa 4.21, 22; Hos 10.5). Other objects that are removed or exiled are: the gladness of the earth (Is 24.11), the possessions of the house of the wicked (Job 20.28) and grass (Pr 27.25).

niphal

The syntax of the niphal is: <A> נִגְלָה [+ לְ indirect object/advantage; בְּ of means (1 Sa 3.21); location (Is 22.14)]

The niphal has the passive sense ‘to be uncovered, revealed’ and is also used in contexts where it is reflexive. In these contexts a person (human or divine) is most often the subject and ‘reveal themselves’ to someone else (e.g. the Lord reveals himself to Samuel at Shiloh, 1 Sa 3.21).³³³ In contexts where the niphal has a passive sense it takes a number of different subjects. In several places someone’s ‘nakedness’ is being uncovered (Ex 20.26; Is 47.3; Ezk 16.36; 23.29 and Je 13.22 is similar with שְׂרָדְיָךְ ‘your skirts’ as subject). Other subjects that are revealed are: the word (1 Sa 3.7) glory (Is 40.5) and arm of the Lord (Is 53.1), wickedness (Ezk 16.57) and the foundations of the world (2 Sa 22.16||Ps 18.16).

³³¹ Further references with עִינֵי־יָם as object include: 1 Sa 9.15; 20.12, 13; 22.8, 17; 2 Sa 7.27; Ru 4.4; Job 33.16; 36.10, 15; 1 Ch 17.25.

³³² Further references of exile include: Ju 18.30 (inf cs); Is 5.13; 49.21; Je 1.3; 52.27; Ezk 12.3; 39.23; Am 1.5; 5.5; 6.7; 7.11, 17; Mi 1.16; La 1.3; 2 K 24.14 (participle as ‘exiles’).

³³³ See also Gn 35.7; 1 Sa 2.27; 14.8, 11; 2 Sa 6.20; Is 22.14; 49.9.

piel

The syntax of the piel is: <A> גלה (אָת) [+ בַּ of location (Ezk 22.10); לְ indirect object (Ezk 16.37)]

The piel has the sense ‘to uncover, remove’. Over half of the attested pials are found in laws about prohibited sexual relationships or are used in an image of sexual infidelity to refer to disobedience. The laws are primarily in Leviticus (21x in 18.6–9; 20.11–21) where the qal often has עֲרוּתָה ‘nakedness’ (always construct) as its object with the sense ‘to uncover the nakedness of someone’.³³⁴ The images of sexual infidelity for disobedience are found in the prophets (Is 57.8; Ezk 16.37; 22.10; 23.10, 18; Hos 2.12).

The piel is also used with the sense ‘to uncover, remove’ in other contexts and with other objects: Ruth uncovering Boaz’s feet (Ru 3.4, 7),³³⁵ the Lord ‘opening’ someone’s eyes (Ps 119.18; Nu 22.31), the Lord has revealed his righteousness (Ps 98.2) and someone revealing secrets (Pr 11.13; 25.9).

pual

The pual is used twice with the passive sense ‘to be uncovered’. Pr 27.5 says “Better is open rebuke” (טוֹבָה תּוֹכַחַת מִגְלָה) than hidden love. The pual is also found preceded by the questioned form וְהֵצַב in Na 2.8 possibly meaning “It is decreed, she is stripped; she is carried off” (וְהֵצַב גְּלָתָהּ הָעֵלְתָהּ).

hiphil

The syntax of the hiphil is: <A> גלה (אָת) [+ מִן of location from; directional הָ; לְ/לָ of direction/location to]

The hiphil is always used with the sense ‘to carry into exile’: Tiglath-pileser took captives to Assyria during Pekah’s reign (וַיִּגְלֵם אֲשׁוּרָהּ, 2 K 15.29),

³³⁴ The laws are reinforced in Dt 23.1; 27.20 with כְּנִיף ‘skirt’ as object.

³³⁵ E. F. Campbell, Jr., *Ruth: A New Translation with Introduction, Notes and Commentary*, The Anchor Bible 7, New York: Doubleday (1975), 121, 132 argues that the author is intending to be ambiguous as to the extent of the uncovering, but that the context of the story makes it clear that though the use of the noun מִגְלָה may evoke the sense of illicit sexual uncovering, the context makes it clear that Ruth did not act in such a manner. Also for further comments on this interpretation cf. the discussion in F. Bush, *Ruth/Esther*, Word Biblical Commentary 9, Dallas: Word Books (1996), 152, 153, 155–7.

Nebuchadnezzar took Jerusalem and Jehoiachin captive to Babylon (2 K 24.14, 15) and Jeremiah's letter refers to those the Lord sent into exile (Je 29.4, 7, 14).³³⁶

hophal

The hophal is used with the passive sense 'to be carried into exile' in similar contexts to the hiphil of being taken to Babylon (Est 2.6; 1 Ch 9.1; Je 13.19; 40.1, 7).

hithpacl

The hithpacl is attested twice and is used once with a passive sense 'to lie uncovered' (of Noah, Gn 9.21) and once with the sense 'to uncover' in Pr 18.2 of a fool "uncovering his heart" (expressing his opinion).

גלה: the function of the piel amongst the themes

The relationship of the qal to the piel and to the hiphil is distinguishable according to the two different syntactical constructions mentioned above. The qal with syntax 1 has some area of overlapping sense with the piel: 'revealing' secrets (qal, Pr 20.19; piel, Pr 11.13; 25.9) and Balaam's eyes opened (qal pass part, Nu 22.4, 16; piel Nu 22.31). In the majority of their attested forms, however, the qal and piel are distinguishable by referential context. The qal is used primarily of 'revealing' (often in the idiom "uncover the ears") or declaring something to someone. The piel is used of 'uncovering' or 'revealing' something with over half of its attested forms in the context of laws concerning illicit sexual relationships – i.e. "to uncover the nakedness of someone". The similar proverbs in both the qal and the piel referring to 'revealing secrets' are understandable as a context where 'to uncover, declare' and 'to uncover, reveal' may have overlapping senses.

When the qal is used with syntax 2, it is always of somebody or something 'being exiled'. The hiphil acts as the causative of this sense of the qal and is not attested with a sense similar to the qal of syntax 1 or to that of the piel.³³⁷

³³⁶ Further references: with the Lord as subject (Ezk 39.28; Am 5.27; La 4.22), of Assyria exiling Israel (2 K 16.9; 17.6; 17.26, 27, 28; 17.33; 18.11; 1 Ch 5.6, 26) and of Babylon exiling Judah (1 Ch 5.41; 2 Ch 36.20; Je 20.4; 22.12; 24.1; 27.20; 29.1; 39.9; 43.3; 52.15, 28, 29, 30; Est 2.6; Ezra 2.1; Ne 7.6).

³³⁷ Cf. La 4.22 where the themes are distinguished as the piel is used with the sense "to uncover sins" and the hiphil with the sense "to exile".

The **niphal** is used as the passive/reflexive in contexts that seem to be in relation to the sense of both the **piel** and the **qal**. The **niphal** is used of ‘being uncovered’ in a sense similar to the **piel**: “your nakedness will be uncovered” (Is 47.3; with **piel** twice in 47.2), foundations uncovered (2 Sa 22.16; Ezk 13.14; **piel** in Mi 1.6) and sin (or co-referential term) uncovered (Ezk 17.57; 21.29; Hos 7.1; Pr 26.26; **piel** in Job 20.27; La 2.14; 4.22). The **niphal** is also used as the passive of the **qal** of ‘revealing’ something to someone: the word of the Lord to Samuel (1 Sa 3.7), a word to Daniel (Dn 10.1) and the oracle against Tyre (Is 23.1).

The **pual** is used as a passive in contexts similar to the **piel**.³³⁸ The **hophal** is used as the passive of the **hiphil** always in the context of exile. The **hithpael** is used as the passive (reflexive?) of the **piel** in contexts of revealing or uncovering.

b. פָּשַׁט: This verb meaning ‘to strip off’ (q: 24x; p: 3x; hi: 15x; hithp: 1x) when it has clothing as its object is used in the **qal** of taking off one’s garment (“and he [Saul] also stripped off his robe”, וַיִּפְשֹׁט נָמ־הוּא בְּגָדָיו, 1 Sa 19.24; cf. also Lv 6.4; 16.23; Is 32.11; Ezk 26.16; 44.19; Ne 4.17; Song 5.3) and in the **piel** and **hiphil** of someone stripping another person. The **piel** is only attested as an infinitive construct and in the parallel passages in 1 Sa 31 and 1 Ch 10 it is immediately followed by the **hiphil** with similar sense: the Philistines come “to strip the slain” (לְפָשֵׁט אֶת־הַקָּלִים), 1 Sa 31.8; 1 Ch 10.8) and when they found Saul among the dead they cut off his head “and stripped off his armor” (וַיִּפְשִׁטוּ אֶת־כְּלָיו), 1 Sa 31.9; וַיִּפְשִׁטוּהוּ, 1 Ch 10.9; with **qal** of נָשָׂא following with his head and his armor as objects.). The **piel** is also used in 2 Sa 23.10 in the same sense, but without explicit object of David’s men returning to strip the slain (וְהָעָם יָשְׁבוּ אַחֲרָיו אֲדָרְלִפְשֵׁט). The **hithpael** is used once in a similar sense to the **qal** to refer to Jonathan stripping himself of his robe, armor, sword, belt and bow (וַיִּתְפָּשֵׁט יְהוֹנָתָן אֶת־הַמְּעִיל...), 1 Sa 18.4) and giving it to David.

c. עָרָה

³³⁸ Pr 27.15 of ‘open rebuke’ is the sort of context in which the **qal** and **piel** appear to have overlapping senses and the **pual** in Na 2.8 seems best to be rendered as ‘she is stripped’ and carried off rather than ‘she is exiled’, a sense which is attested in the **qal** and **hiphil**, but not the **piel**. For a translation of Na 2.8 that takes it this way cf. T. Longman, “Nahum” in *The Minor Prophets: An Exegetical and Expository Commentary*, Vol 2, edited by Thomas McComiskey, Grand Rapids, Michigan: Baker (1993), 803, 806. Also, cf. Keil, *Minor Prophets*, (10:367) for similar comments on the form in Na 2.8.

BDB: 15x

n: 1x

p: 9x

h: 3x

hith: 2x

piel

The syntax of the piel is: <A> ערה (אָח) [אָל location; עַד of extent]

The piel has the sense ‘to make bare, empty’. It is used of emptying or uncovering objects: Rebekah emptied her jar (Gn 24.20), Kir uncovered their shields in battle (Is 22.6), of laying bare foundations of a city (Ps 137.7)³³⁹ and the chest for contributions was emptied when full (2 Ch 24.11). The piel is also used to refer to people: the Psalmist’s plea “Do not pour out my life” (Ps 141.8) and twice of ‘laying bare’ where the referent of the objects is uncertain (פְּתֵיָן ‘their secret parts’ RSV/‘scalps’ NIV, Is 3.17; יסוד עַד־צִוָּאר ‘from thigh to neck’ RSV, Hb 3.13).

niphal

The sole niphal has the passive sense ‘to be poured out’ in Is 32.15 of the Spirit being poured out from on high (עַד־יִעָרָה עָלֵינוּ רוּחַ מְמָרוֹם).

hiphil

The hiphil has the sense ‘to make bare, empty’. It is used once of the suffering servant “pouring out his soul to death” (הָעָרָה לְמוֹת נַפְשׁוֹ, Is 53.12). It is also used twice in the laws concerning prohibited sexual relations in Leviticus of ‘making someone naked’ (Lv 20.18, 19).

hithpacl

The hithpacl has a reflexive sense in both attested contexts. In Ps 37.35, the wicked is observed as ‘spreading himself’ (ESV)/‘flourishing’ (NIV) like a tree. In La 4.21 Edom will become drunk and “strip yourself bare”.³⁴⁰

ערה: the function of the piel amongst the themes

³³⁹ Cf. above for a similar referent with the niphal of גלה in 2 Sa 22.16 || Ps 18.16.

³⁴⁰ The hithpacl of ערה in La 4.20 is followed by both the hiphil and piel of גלה in La 4.22 meaning ‘to exile’ and ‘to uncover (sins)’ respectively.

The **piel** and **hiphil** are used with similar senses in similar contexts: the Psalmist's plea concerning the pouring out of his soul (**piel**, Ps 141.8) and the servant pouring out his life (**hiph**, Is 53.12); the laying bare (**piel**, Is 3.17; Hb 3.13) and the making someone naked (**hiph**, Lv 20.18, 19). The **hiphil** forms in the two Leviticus references are used in co-referential phrases with the **piel** of גלה. The **niphal** and **hithpael** act as passive and reflexive respectively with senses in relation to those of both **piel** and **hiphil**.

d. עָרַר:³⁴¹ This verb (attested once each in **qal**, **po**, **pilp** and **hithpalp**) is used in similar senses and contexts to both גלה and ערה: the **qal** is used of 'stripping oneself' (Is 32.11). The other themes are used of laying bare a physical structure – of laying bare a foundation (**po**, Is 23.13) and Babylon's walls (**pilp** + **hihtpalp**, Je 51.58), which is similar to the use of both the **piel** of ערה and the **niphal** of גלה (cf. above).

3.9 כסה & כפר

a. כסה

BDB: 155x

q: 3x

n: 2x

p: 134x

pu: 7x

hith: 9x

qal

The **qal** has the sense 'to cover'. It is used of the prudent man 'ignoring' an insult (Pr 12.16) and 'concealing' his knowledge (Pr 12.23). The **qal** passive participle is used in Ps 32.1 of one whose sin is 'covered'.

³⁴¹ BDB lists this verb as עָרַר II because of their proposed עָרַר I in connection with the noun מְעָרָה 'cave'.

niphal

The two attested niphals have the sense ‘to be covered’: of Babylon being covered by the waves of the sea (Je 51.42) and of the Lord laying the bloodshed of Jerusalem on the rock “that it may not be covered” (Ezk 24.8).

piel

The syntax of the piel is: <A> כסה (אָת) [בְּ of material; עַל of location]

The piel has the sense ‘to cover’. It is used with a person in the A element ‘covering’ an inanimate object or person (including the subject themselves)³⁴² in the B element and can include the material of covering. The piel is also used where the material of covering is the A element ‘covering’ the inanimate object or person in the B element.

Contexts where a person covers something or someone include: Shem and Japheth covered the nakedness of Noah (Gn 9.23), Tamar covered her face with a veil (Gn 39.14, 15)³⁴³, the Kohathites were told to cover different elements of the tabernacle with material (Nu 4.5, 8, 9, 11, 12) and the Lord covered the nakedness of his people (Ezk 16.8) covering them with silk (Ezk 16.10) while the people used these garments to cover their idols (Ezk 16.18). The piel is also used several times with ‘sin’ (or co-referential term) as its object: someone attempting to conceal their transgression (Pr 28.13; Job 31.33) or purposefully not concealing their iniquity (Ps 32.5), love covers all offences (Pr 10.12), the one who covers an offence seeks love (Pr 17.9) and the Lord covered all the sin of his people.

Contexts where the material of covering is the A element include: the fat that covers the inward parts (Ex 29.13; 29.22; Lv 3.3, 9, 14; 7.3), water covered the Egyptians (Ex 14.28; 15.5, 10), the earth covered Korah and his people (Nu 16.33) and darkness will cover the earth (Is 60.2).

³⁴² For places where the subject is also the object of covering, cf. Dt 22.12 “your cloak with which you cover yourself” (אֲשֶׁר תִּכְסֶה-בָּהּ:) and Jon 3.6 of the king of Nineveh taking off his robe and “covering himself in sackcloth” (וַיִּכְסֵם שֵׁק) with qal לבש + שֵׁק preceding in 3.5 and hithp כסה + שֵׁקִים following in 3.8).

³⁴³ Gn 38.14 has the means בְּצַעֲרֶיהָ ‘with a veil’ but no explicit object and 38.15 has פְּנֵיהָ ‘her face’ as object without any explicit means. The two phrases are co-referential, namely they both refer to the same event – Tamar covering her face with a veil.

pual

The pual has the sense ‘to be covered’. It is used mostly of inanimate objects being covered: twice of the mountains covered by water during the flood (Gn 7.19, 20), once of mountains covered in shade (Ps 80.11), of the temple windows being covered (Ezk 41.16) and of the ground covered with nettles (Pr 24.31). It is also used of David and the elders being covered in sackcloth (1 Ch 21.16) and the name of a stillborn child being covered in darkness (Ec 6.4).

hithpael

The hithpael has the sense ‘to cover oneself’. It is used mostly of covering oneself in clothing of some sort: a veil (Gn 24.65), a new garment (1 K 11.29), in an image of deeds as clothing (Is 59.6) and sackcloth (2 K 9.1, 2||Is 37.1, 2; Jon 3.8). And Pr 26.26 says of one who hates “though his hatred be covered with deception” his wickedness will be exposed (ESV).

כסה: the function of the piel amongst the themes

The **qal** is only attested three times (all participles) and is used with a similar sense to the **piel** participle. The **qal** and **piel** are used together in Ps 32: the **qal** passive participle in vs. 1, Blessed is he whose transgression is forgiven “whose sin is covered” (**כָּסוּי הַטָּאָה**) and the **piel** in vs. 5, “and my iniquity I did not cover my iniquity” (**וְעוֹנִי לֹא־כָסִיתִי**). The **piel** acts as the base theme for this verb with the sense ‘to cover’ applied primarily of someone covering another person or object.

The **niphal** and **pual** are used as passives of the sense of the **piel**. The people did not attempt to cover their bloodshed (**piel**, Ezk 24.7) and the Lord will lay it out so that it may not be covered (**niph**, Ezk 24.8). The **hithpael** is used primarily as a reflexive of the **piel** of ‘covering oneself’ with a garment or sackcloth.

b. חפה and צפה: With these two verbs the **piel** is used specifically of ‘covering’ an object of the tabernacle/temple with material like gold or silver. The **piel** of **חפה** (q:6x, n:1x, p:5x) is used five times in 2 Chronicles 3 of Solomon ‘covering’ or ‘overlying’ something in the temple with gold. The **qal** of **חפה** is only used of covering the head or face in mourning or shame. The **piel** of **צפה** (q:1x, p: 44x, pu:

2x) is also used of ‘covering’ or ‘overlying’ a part of the tabernacle or temple with a precious material (including stones, 2 Ch 3.6). The qal of צפה is only attested once of laying out a rug (Is 21.5).

c. כפר³⁴⁴

BDB: 100x

[q: 1x]³⁴⁵

p: 92x

pu: 6x

hith: 1x

ni(th)p: 1x

piel

- The syntax of the piel is: 1. <A> כפר [+ ב of means (Gn 32.21)]
 2. <A> כפר [(ל/בער/על/אח) (of advantage)]³⁴⁶ [+ על or לפני of location (Ex 30.10 has כפר + על of location and כפר + על of advantage following); ב of means (Lv 7.7); ל + infin of purpose (Nu 8.21)]

The piel has the sense ‘to appease, make atonement’. It is rarely used with an explicit direct object (syntax 1): Gn 32.21 where Jacob hopes to appease Esau with a gift (lit. ‘I will appease his face’, אַכְפֹּרָה פָּנָיו בַּמְנֹחָה) and a wise man appeases a king’s wrath (יַכְפֹּרְנָה חֶכְם וְאִישׁ חָמַח־מִלֶּךְ... וְאִישׁ חָכָם יַכְפֹּרְנָה, Pr 16.14).

The piel is used primarily in syntax 2 with the sense ‘to make atonement’ for someone or something: Aaron is to make atonement on the incense altar once a year (Ex 30.10a, וַיִּכְפֹּר אֶהָרֶן עַל־קַרְנֹתָיו אֶחָת בַּשָּׁנָה) with the blood of the sin offering of atonment he will atone for it once a year (Ex 30.10b, אֶחָת בַּשָּׁנָה יַכְפֹּר עָלָיו). This use of the piel is found most often in Exodus, Leviticus and Numbers in the instructions on making atonement for both the objects used in worship as well as the

³⁴⁴ BDB lists this verb as denominative while KB does not. GKC does not list כפר under the section on denominative verbs (§ 52h) and neither does Joüon-Muraoka (§ 52d). For further discussion of denominatives, see chapter 5.

³⁴⁵ The sole attested qal form is found in Gn 6.14 where Noah is instructed concerning the ark, “And you shall cover it inside and out with pitch” (וַיִּכְפֹּרְהָ אֶתְהָ מִבִּיחַ וּמִחוּץ בַּכָּפֹר). KB lists the reference together with the piel of כפר ‘to make atonement’ while BDB lists it separately as a denominative from the noun ‘pitch’ which is only attested here in Gn 6.14 as well.

³⁴⁶ Cf. Williams [n. 280], § 341 (אח), § 295 (על), § 356 (בער), § 271 (ל).

priests and people.³⁴⁷ This sense is also applied in contexts where the affects of atonement are in view and thus it is often translated ‘to forgive’ (or atone for) sin: Jeremiah says concerning those plotting to kill him, “Do not forgive their iniquity” (אַל-תְּכַפֵּר עַל-עוֹנֵם, Je 18.23), the Psalmist pleads with the Lord, “forgive our sins for your name’s sake” (וְכַפֵּר עַל-חַטֹּאתֵינוּ לְמַעַן שְׁמֶךָ) and Hezekiah prays “May the Lord, who is good, pardon everyone” (לְאֵמֹר יְהוָה הַטּוֹב יְכַפֵּר בְּעַד) who was eating the Passover otherwise than prescribed (2 Ch 30.18).

pual

The syntax of the pual is: <A> כַּפַּר [בָּ] of means (Is 27.9)]

The pual has the passive sense ‘to be atoned for’ and is used in similar contexts to the piel of the act of atonement (Ex 29.33; Nu 35.33) or the effects of the atonement (Is 6.7; 22.14; 27.9; Pr 16.6).

hithpacl

The sole hithpacl is found in 1 Sa 3.14 with a passive sense of the judgment that the iniquity of Eli’s house “will not be atoned for by sacrifice or offering forever” (אִם-יִתְכַפֵּר עָוֹן בֵּית-עֲלִי בְזֹבַח וּבְמִנְחָה עַד-עוֹלָם).

niphal [nithpacl]

The sole form in question is found in Dt 21.8 “so that their blood guilt be atoned for” ESV (וְנִכְפַּר לָהֶם הַדָּם).³⁴⁸

כַּפַּר: the function of the piel amongst the themes

The piel of כַּפַּר acts as the base theme to which the senses of all the other attested themes are related. The pual, hithpacl, and niphal [nithpacl] all act as passives of the piel. The question of whether or not there may be a possible historical connection between the sense of the sole qal ‘to cover with pitch’ (using the related noun בְּכַפֵּר) and the particular sense of the piel (something like ‘to cover sin’ as with

³⁴⁷ Ex 29.33, 36; 30.15, 16; 32.30; Lv 1.4; 4.20, 26, 31, 35; 5.6, 10, 13, 18; 6.7, 23; 8.15, 34; 9.7; 10.17; 12.7, 8; 14.18, 19, 20, 21, 29, 31, 53; 15.15, 30; 16.6, 10, 11, 16, 17, 18, 20, 24, 27, 32, 33, 34; 17.11; 19.22; 23.28; Nu 5.8; 6.11; 8.12, 19, 21; 15.25, 28; 16.46, 47; 17.11; 25.13; 28.22, 30; 29.5; 31.50.

³⁴⁸ The sense of the verb in this passage is not in question, but for comments on the form and one other like it (וְנִכְפַּר, Ezk 23.48) see GKC § 55k and Joüon-Muraoka § 59f.

the piel of כָּסַח) does not alter the understanding of the function of the piel in this verb.

3.10 פתח & סגר I

a. פתח I³⁴⁹

BDB: 132x

q: 94x

n: 18x

p: 19x

hith: 1x

qal

The syntax of the qal is: 1. <A> פתח (2 K 15.16; Is 45.8; Dt 20.11)
2. <A> פתח (אֶת) [+ לְ/לָ/לִי advantage]

The qal has the sense ‘to open’ and is used primarily with an explicit grammatical subject and object (syntax 2). It is applied to someone opening objects like doors (Ju 3.25; 2 Ch 29.3), gates (Ezk 47.12) and windows (Gn 8.6) and thus is also used in images of opening “the windows” (Mal 3.10) or “doors” (Ps 78.23) of heaven. Other objects that are opened include sacks (Gn 42.27; 43.21; 44.11), the basket carrying Moses (Ex 2.6) and a skin of milk (Ju 4.19). The qal is also applied to opening body parts: mouth/lips (to speak, Job 3.1; Balaam’s donkey, Nu 22.28), eyes (request to God to “let your eyes be opened”, 1 K 8.29, 52 || 2 Ch 6.20, 40), womb (Leah, Gn 29.31; Rachel Gn 30.22) and hand (in being generous to the needy, Dt 15.8, 11). The qal is also used in applying these images to other objects: the ground opened its mouth (וַתִּפְתַּח הָאָרֶץ אֶת־פִּיהָ, Nu 16.32; 26.10) or opening the mouth of a cave (Jos 10.22).

Other uses of the qal include: ‘to draw’ a sword (Ps 37.14; Ezk 21.33), people ‘opening’ or ‘selling’ grain on the Sabbath (Am 8.5), ‘letting prisoners go’ (Is 14.17) and of the Lord ‘opening’ rivers (Is 41.18) or ‘storehouses’ (of the heavens in blessing, Dt 28.12; of arms in judgment, Je 50.25).

The qal can also be used to refer to a subject ‘opening’ with syntax 1: Menahem sacked Tiphseh because “it did not open” (לֹא פָתַח, 2 K 15.16).

³⁴⁹ פתח II is attested only in piel (8x) and pual (1x) and has the sense ‘to engrave’.

niphal

The syntax of the niphal is: <A> פתח [+ על of location/disadvantage (Je 1.14); עַר of time (Ne 7.3)]

The niphal has the passive sense ‘to be opened’. It is used in similar contexts to the qal of: gates (Ezk 44.2; 46.1 Ne 7.3), Ezekiel’s mouth (Ezk 24.27, 33.22), ears of the deaf (Is 35.5) as well as ‘the windows of heaven’ (Gn 7.11; Is 24.18) and the gates of a river (Na 2.7). The niphal is also used to refer to: people being set free (Is 51.14; Job 12.14), disaster ‘let loose’ (Je 1.14), a tireless army (“not a belt is loosened at the waistband” NIV, Is 5.27) and Elihu’s belly being like wine which is not vented (Job 32.19).

piel

The syntax of the piel is: 1. <A> פתח (Song 7.13; Is 48.8; 60.11)³⁵⁰
2. <A> פתח (אָח) [+ מן/מֵעַל of location; time (Job 40.4)]

The piel has the general sense ‘to open’ in a few contexts. With syntax 1 the piel is used of a gate being open continually (Is 60.11), of the ear not being open (Is 48.8) and in a question of whether the grape blossoms had opened (Song 7.13).

The piel is mostly used with syntax 2 and has the sense ‘to loose’. It is used of clothing like ‘loosing’ (taking off) sackcloth (Is 20.2; Ps 30.12) and of ungirding camels (Gn 24.32) or kings (Is 45.1).³⁵¹ The piel is used similarly of loosing bonds (Ps 116.16; Is 58.6; Job 12.18) or chains (Je 40.4) of those who are bound or setting people free (Ps 102.21; 105.20). Similarly it is used in questions of who has or could loose the cords of the wild donkey (Job 39.5) or Orion (Job 38.31).

hithpael

The sole hithpael has a reflexive sense and is used in Is 52.2 in the call to “loose the bonds from your neck” (הִתְפַּתְּחִי מוֹסְרֵי צַוְאַרְךָ Qr).

³⁵⁰ It is often suggested that the forms of Is 48.8; 60.11 should be repointed. Cf. BHS notes for variants on Is 48.8 (pual, qal) and 60.11 (niphal, pual). However, for comments that the piel here should stand, cf. J. Oswalt, *The Book of Isaiah: Chapters 40–66*, [n. 231], 264 (on 48.8), 544 (on 60.11). This seems best as the piel has the same sense in Song 7.13.

³⁵¹ The participles in 1 K 20.11 (אֵל-יְהוֹהִיל חָגַר כְּמַפְתִּיחַ:), “Let not he who girds on (armor) boast like he who takes (it) off” would seem to fit here best as they imply the understood object.

פתח: the function of the piel amongst the themes

Taking the forms as attested, the *qal* and *piel* have some overlap where they do not take an object (syntax 1) and act with a middle sense of things like gates or an ear opening. Aside from this possible overlap, the sense of the *piel* is distinguishable from the *qal* in context of use and sense. The *qal* is primarily used of opening inanimate objects like doors or windows as well as being applied to body parts in literal and figurative contexts. The *piel* is used to refer to 'loosing' or freeing something that has been bound like clothing or prisoners. Even with these distinguishable contexts of use, the *qal* is found in Is 14.17 with the sense of 'letting go' of prisoners (for which LXX and Syriac have *piel* related forms).

The *niphal* is used as a passive in contexts similar to both the *qal* (mouth, ear and gates opened) and the *piel* (waistband loosened, people set free). The *hithpacl* is used as the reflexive of the sense of the *piel*.

b. סגר

BDB: 80x
q: 35x [44]³⁵²
n: 8x
p: 4x
pu: 5x
h: 28x

qal

The syntax of the *piel* is: 1. <A> סגר (אָר) [+ אָר of sequence of events; בַּעַר of location]
2. <A> סגר (Ju 3.22)

The *qal* has the sense 'to close, shut'. It is most often used of inanimate objects like doors (Gn 19.6, 10),³⁵³ gates (Jos 2.5, 7; Ezk 44.1, 2; 46.1, 12) or closing up the breach of a city (1 K 11.27). This can also be applied to people being shut up: the Lord shut Noah in the ark (Gn 7.16), people shut themselves in a tower (Ju 9.51)

³⁵² BDB includes the forms of סָגַר when it is used in the phrase 'pure gold' (זָהָב סָגוּר) as well as in Job 28.15 under the *qal*. They also mention the questioned form וַסָּגַר in Ps 35.3 usually taken as 'spear'. For a discussion of the translation of the form as 'spear', cf. M. Dahood, *Psalms I: 1-50*, The Anchor Bible, New York: Doubleday (1965), 210, 211.

³⁵³ Other references include: doors (2 K 4.4, 5, 21, 33; 6.32; 2 Ch 28.24; 29.7; Job 3.10; Is 26.20; Mal 1.10; Ne 6.10), the Lord shutting someone up as Noah in the ark (Gn 7.16) or in an image of imprisonment (Job 12.14).

and Job described the Lord shutting someone in (Job 12.14). The qal is also applied in other contexts of closing or shutting: the Lord had closed Hannah's womb (1 Sa 1.5, 6) and he closed with flesh the place of Adam's rib (Gn 2.21).

The qal is also used once as a middle (syntax 2) referring to the fact that Eglon's fat closed over the blade of the sword (וַיִּסְגֹּר הַחֵלֶב בְּעַד הַלְּהָבָה, Ju 3.22)

niphal

The syntax of the niphal is: <A> סָגַר [+ duration (Nu 12.14) time (Ezk 46.2); כּ of location]

The niphal has the passive/reflexive sense 'to be closed, shut'/'to shut oneself in/up' depending upon the subject and context. Saul thinks David has shut himself up in a city (1 Sa 23.7), Ezekiel is instructed to shut himself in his house (Ezk 3.24) and it is commanded that Miriam be shut up for seven days (Nu 12.14, 15). The niphal is also used of objects like gates (Is 45.1; 60.11; Ezk 46.2) and doors (Ne 13.19) being shut.

piel

The syntax of the piel is: <A> סָגַר (אֶת) [+ כּ of location]

The piel is attested four times each with the sense 'to deliver' and always with the Lord as subject. It is used three times with the phrase (lit.) "to close someone in another's hand": of David to Goliath (הַיּוֹם הַזֶּה יִסְגְּרֶךָ יְהוָה בְּיָדִי, 1 Sa 17.46), of Saul saying the Lord delivered him into David's hand (1 Sa 24.19) and of Abishai saying the same (1 Sa 26.8). The piel is used once without "in the hand of" in Ahimaaz's words to David (וַיֹּאמֶר בְּרוּךְ יְהוָה אֱלֹהֶיךָ אֲשֶׁר סָגַר אֶת־הָאֲנָשִׁים, 2 Sa 18.28).

pual

The syntax of the pual is: <A> סָגַר [+ duration (Nu 12.14) time (Ezk 46.2); כּ of location]

The pual has the passive sense 'to be shut up'. It is applied to cities being shut up (Jericho, Jos 6.1; cities of the Negeb, Je 13.19), a house being shut up (Is 24.10), of doors (Ec 12.4) and of people being shut up in a prison (Is 24.22).

hiphil

The syntax of the hiphil is: <A> סגר (אָת) [+ אֶל/לְ/בֵּינָם of location; time of duration (Lv 13, 14)]

The hiphil has the sense ‘to shut up’ as in the Levitical instruction to priests concerning ‘shutting up’ a house or a person who is unclean for seven days (Lv 13.4, 5, 11, 21, 26, 31, 33, 50, 54; 14.38, 46). The hiphil is mostly applied in contexts where the sense is similar to the piel of ‘to give over, deliver’. This includes contexts where the phrase “in the hand of someone” is used: of not giving up a manslayer to an avenger (Jos 20.5), of whether the men of Keilah will surrender David to Saul (1 Sa 23.11, 12) and of the Lord not delivering into the hand of the enemy (Ps 31.9). Similarly, the hiphil is used of people or animals being given over to (אֶל/לְ) the plague (Ps 78.50), the sword (Ps 78.62) or to other people (to Edom, Am 1.6, 9).

סגר: the function of the piel amongst the themes

The **qal** is most often used of ‘shutting’ or ‘closing’ objects like doors or gates or of someone shutting themselves/being shut in behind them within a structure. It is also used once as a middle to refer to an object (the fat) closing over something else (Ju 3.22). The **hiphil** is used in a similar sense but only within the specific context of the priest shutting up a person, object or house that is unclean for seven days. The **piel** and **hiphil** are used with the overlapping sense ‘to deliver’ in similar contexts (both can be used with the phrase “into the hand of someone”). However, where they are used together they are slightly distinguished by use. The attested piels in 1 and 2 Samuel always have the Lord as subject where he has delivered someone into the hand of David. The hiphils in the context of 1 Samuel are all of a person giving up or surrendering David (the men of Keilah, 1 Sa 23.11, 12, 20; the Egyptian slave, 1 Sa 30.15) into the hand of another. The hiphil is also used with the Lord as subject (“God gives me up to the ungodly”, Job 16.11; “you have not delivered me into the hand of the enemy”, Ps 31.9) from the perspective of the one being given up whereas the above mentioned piel forms are attested from the perspective of the one into whose hands another person or persons is being delivered.

The **niphal** is used as the reflexive/passive of the **qal** in contexts of someone shutting themselves in or of a gate being shut. The **pual** is used as a passive in a

sense similar to the qal (and niph'al) of a structure being shut up or a person being shut up in a structure (in Jos 6.1 the qal participle is used together with the pual participle).³⁵⁴

c. סָכַר I (n: 2x; p: 1x): KB (756a) separates the piel and places it under סָכַר II noting that they find it surprising that the piel is usually included under סָכַר I (with the niph'al). However, why this is surprising is not clear since the niph'al and piel have similar senses respectively to the niph'al and piel of סָגַר. The niph'al has the passive sense 'to be shut up' and is used of the fountains of the deep (Gn 8.2) and the mouths of those speaking falsehood (Ps 63.12). The piel is used with the Lord as subject in an oracle stating, וְסָכַרְתִּי אֶת־מִצְרַיִם בְּיַד אֲרָנִים קָשָׁה ("And I will give over the Egyptians into the hand of a hard master", Is 19.4) in a sense similar to the piel of סָגַר.

3.11 כָּחַד & סָתַר

a. כָּחַד

BDB: 32x

n: 11x

p: 15x

h: 6x

niph'al

The syntax of the niph'al is: <A> כָּחַד [+ מִן of location/person]

The niph'al has the sense 'to be hidden' and is also used in contexts where it has the further sense 'to be cut off'. With the former sense, the attested niph'als are always used in the context of something 'not' being hidden from someone else: nothing is hidden from the king (2 Sa 18.13); Israel (Ho 5.3), 'my wrongdoings' (Ps

³⁵⁴ It is worth noting that the contexts of shutting a gate or shutting up a building in the niph'al and hiph'il are often for a period of time (particularly in cleansing contexts with a specific time frame), but the pual appears to be used in contexts where the 'being shut up' has some sense of indeterminacy or permanence (the cities of the Negeb are shut, with no one to open them in Je 13.19; no one goes in or out of Jericho in Jos 6.1; the contexts of Isaiah 24.10, 22 and Ec 12.4 indicate that no one will be there to go into houses, rescue prisoners or open the doors of a shut house). For somewhat similar instances in the qal see Ju 9.51 of the tower in Thebez and 2 Ch 28.24 of Ahaz shutting the doors of the house of the Lord.

69.6) and ‘my frame’ (Ps 139.15) are not hidden from the Lord. The latter sense of ‘to cut off’ is used of people (spoken to Pharaoh, Ex 9.15; ‘the upright’, Job 4.7; ‘adversaries’, Job 22.20; Zc 11.9, 16) and of ‘desolated’ cities (Job 15.28).

piel

The syntax of the piel is: <A> כָּחַר ³⁵⁵ [+ מִן of person; often with verb of declaring (hiph of נָגַד) or telling (piel סָפַר)]

The piel has the sense ‘to hide’ often in a context of direct speech where someone is being told to declare something (or not to) to another person: Joshua tells Achan not to hide what he has done (וְהִגֵּד-נָא לִי מָה עָשִׂיתָ אֶל-הַכֹּהֵן מִמֶּנִּי, Jos 7.19), Eli’s instruction to Samuel (1 Sa 3.17, 18), David to the wise woman of Tekoa (2 Sa 14.18) and Zedekiah to Jeremiah (Je 38.14, 25).³⁵⁶ The piel is also used similarly outside of direct speech: Judah and Jerusalem proclaim (hiph of נָגַד) and do not hide their sin (Is 3.9) and Job says he has not ‘denied’ the words of the holy one (Job 6.10).

hiphil

The syntax of the hiphil is: <A> כָּחַר (אָחַר) [+ מִן/מַחַח of location; בְּ of time (Zc 11.8)]

The hiphil has the sense ‘to cut off, blot out’ and is used with people as object: the Lord will blot out the Amorites, Hittites, etc. (Ezk 23.23), the house of Jeroboam (1 K 13.34), the angel of the Lord cut off the warriors of Assyria (2 Ch 32.21), and enemies plan to cut off Israel (Ps 83.5). The hiphil is also used once with the sense ‘to hide’ in an image of a wicked man having evil in his mouth “though he hides it under his tongue” (Job 20.12).

כָּחַר: the function of the piel amongst the themes

³⁵⁵ The piel is often used with a clause (sometimes relative) describing what is to be or not to be concealed (e.g. וְאֵשֶׁר שָׁמַעְנוּ וְנִגְדַעְמָם וְנִאֲבֹחִינוּ סִפְרוּ-לָנוּ, “What we have heard and seen, and what our fathers have told us” Ps 78.13 – “we will not hide from our children”, Ps 78.14). When the object is included syntactically after the verb, it is not attested with the direct object marker אֶת (Je 38.14; Ps 40.11; Job 6.10).

³⁵⁶ For further references see: Gn 47.18; Je 50.2; Ps 40.11; Ps 78.4; Job 15.18; 27.11.

The **niphal** acts as the base theme for this verb (as with סתר) with the sense ‘to be hidden’ also applied as ‘to be cut off’. The **piel** and **hiphil** are distinguished by their relationship to the different senses of the niphal. The **piel** is used as the active of the sense ‘to be hidden’ in the niphal. Thus, “there is nothing hidden from the king” (niphal) as the reason given to Joab for not killing Abaslom (2 Sa 18.13) is the passive of that which the **piel** describes as active.³⁵⁷ The **hiphil** is generally used as the active of the sense ‘to be cut off’ (niphal, Zc 11.9, 16; **hiphil**, Zc 11.8). It is also used once in a sense similar to the **piel** of the wicked hiding evil under his tongue (Job 20.12).

b. סתר

BDB: 82x
 n: 30x
 p: 1x (Is 16.13)
 pu: 1x (Pr 27.5)
 h: 45x
 hithp: 5x

The **niphal** of סתר is used as the base theme and has both the passive sense ‘to be hidden’ as well as the reflexive ‘to hide oneself’. The **hiphil** acts as the active to both senses of the niphal. With the former, it is used of ‘hiding’ someone (Joash, 2 K11.2 || 2 Ch 22.11) or something (of Jonathan saying Saul would not hide something from him, 1 Sa 20.2). Corresponding to the reflexive sense of the niphal, the **hiphil** refers to someone hiding their face (Moses, Ex 3.6; most often of the Lord, Dt 31.17; Ps 102.3). The **piel** is used once in the command “hide the outcasts” (Is 16.3) and the **pual** is used once of “love hidden” (Pr 27.5). It is worth noting that both of these forms are used in contrast to the corresponding **piel/pual** of גלה within the same verse (Is 16.3, אֶל-תִּגְלִי; Pr 27.5, מִסְתַּרְתָּ, מֵאֲהָבָה מְגֵלָה). The senses of the **piel** and **pual** are similar to the **hiphil** and **niphal** respectively. The **hithpacl** has a reflexive/passive sense similar to the niphal of someone hiding (David, 1 Sa 26.1; 23.19 || Ps 54.2) or something being hidden (Is 29.14).

³⁵⁷ Note that the niphal ‘to be cut off’ is used in Job 15.28 distinct from the sense of the **piel** ‘to hide’ (of what the wise have told) in Job 15.18, both of which are in Eliphaz’s response.

3.12 ברך & ארר

a. ברך³⁵⁸

BDB: 329x

q: 71x [73]

n: 3x

p: 233x

pu: 13x

[h: 1x]

hith: 6x

qal

The syntax of the qal is: <A> ברך [qal passive participle]

The qal is attested only in the passive participle meaning ‘blessed’ and is most often used in contexts of speech where it follows a verb of speaking (e.g. qal אמר, Gn 9.26 of Noah to Shem, (וַיֹּאמֶר בְּרוּךְ יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵי שָׁם) or in a context where it is intended to be read or recited like the Psalter (Ps 28.6, בְּרוּךְ יְהוָה) or in a letter (Ezra 7.27). It can also be used as a predicate adjective to refer to someone or something that is ‘blessed’ (people of Israel, Nu 22.12).

niphal

The syntax of the niphal is: <A> ברך [+ בָּ of means ‘in you/him’ of Abraham/Isaac]

The niphal has the passive sense ‘to be blessed’ and is used three times in Genesis to refer to the fact that in Abraham (and thus Isaac) the families of the earth shall be blessed (Gn 12.3; 18.18; 28.14).³⁵⁹

³⁵⁸ BDB includes the three attested forms that have the sense ‘to kneel’ (qal, 2 Ch 6.13; Ps 95.6; hiph, Gn 24.11), KB lists these three forms as being from a denominative ברך I. It is neither necessary nor possible to determine whether these two senses are related historically and regardless of whether they are or not, the senses or homonymous verbs are separable by the use of the themes. For further comments see C.W. Mitchell, *The Meaning of BRK “To Bless” in the Old Testament*. SBL Dissertation Series 95, Atlanta: Scholars Press (1995) §1.2.

³⁵⁹ The niphal and hithpaal appear to have overlapping senses in this context and scholars have debated whether the meaning here is meant to be particularly ‘reflexive’ because of its overlap with the hithpaal (i.e. Gn 22.18; 26.4) or passive because it is attested in the niphal. In the end, the passive and reflexive senses are not that far removed as understood within the context. For discussions of the three niphal forms cf. V. Hamilton, *The Book of Genesis: Chapters 1–17*, Grand Rapids, Michigan: Eerdmans (1990), 374, 375, G. Wenham, *Genesis 1–15*, Word Biblical Commentary 1, Dallas: Word (1987), 277, 278, and C. Westermann, *Genesis 12–36*, BKAT, Neukirchen–Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag (1981), 175, 176.

piel

The syntax of the piel is: <A> בָּרַךְ (אָח) [+ בָּ of means (Dt 10.8; Ps 62.5), extent (Gn 24.1); with אָמַר preceding or following]

The piel has the sense ‘to bless’ and is used to refer to a person blessing either another person (Joshua blesses Caleb, Jos 14.13) or the Lord (Dt 8.10) and is also used with the Lord as subject blessing a person (Sarah, Gn 17.16), animal (sea creatures and birds, Gn 1.22) or object (the Sabbath, Ex 20.11). The piel is also used in contexts where it refers to someone ‘greeting’ another person (Elisha’s instructions to Gehazi not to greet anyone, 2 K 4.29).

The piel of בָּרַךְ is also used in contexts where it has the contrary sense ‘to curse’ as in the words of his wife to Job, “Curse God and die” (בָּרַךְ אֱלֹהִים וּמָתָה) (Job 2.9).³⁶⁰

pual

The syntax of the pual is: <A> בָּרַךְ [+ בָּ of means (Dt 33.13)]

The pual has the sense ‘to be blessed’ and is used of God (Job 1.21), people (Nu 22.6) or objects (Dt 33.13) being blessed or being called ‘blessed’ (Ju 5.24).

³⁶⁰ The other references where the piel of בָּרַךְ has the sense ‘to curse’ are: 1 K 21.10, 13; Job 1.5, 11; 2.5; Ps 10.3. All of these references have the Lord as object. Is this possibly a way to avoid having the Lord or his name as the object of the verb אָרַר? The Lord is used as the object of the piel of קָלַל (אָרַר) (לא תִּאְרָר לַאֲלֹהִים לֹא תִּקְלַל וְנִשְׂיָא בְּעַמֶּךָ לֹא תִּאְרָר) (Ex 22.27; also Lv 24.11, 14, 15, 23; Is 8.21) as well as of qal of נִקְבַּ/קָבַב (Lv 24.11, 16). Another explanation is that it refers to a careless salutation that then becomes a curse (cf. BDB § 5 under the piel, 139a). This is sometimes linked to the interpretation of Job 1.5, where Job wonders whether his children may have sinned and cursed God in their hearts (אִילֵי חֲטָאוּ בְּנֵי וּבְרָכוּ אֱלֹהִים בְּלִבָּבָם), which is the only reference where the sense is at all possible. Cf. S. R. Driver and G. B. Gray, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Book of Job: Together with a new Translation*, ICC, Edinburgh: T&T Clark (1971), part II, 4–6 where they argue that the salutation suggestion should be abandoned and that either a euphemism or substitution exists with these forms of בָּרַךְ; F. I. Anderson, *Job: An Introduction and Commentary*, TOTC, Downers Grove, Illinois: Inter-Varsity Press (1977), 81 where he argues that if the euphemism was used, it may have led to the verb acquiring an opposing sense when the context requires; and for further comments on this ‘euphemism’ with piel of בָּרַךְ also see the overview of the questions in Mitchell, *The Meaning of BRK...* [n. 358], § 5.5 (161–4). Additionally, the ‘euphemism’ is possible because of what C. S. Lewis calls ‘the insulation of context’ which sets it off from those of blessing (cf. § 2.4d and n. 206). Even with Ps 10.3, where there are questions as to whether the sense of בָּרַךְ is of blessing or cursing, the context clearly indicates that the person is one who ‘reviles the Lord’ (with piel of נִאָּרַךְ).

hithpael

The syntax of the hithpael is: <A> החברך [+ בָּ of means (בְּזָרְעֶךָ in Gn 22.18; 26.4)]

The hithpael has the sense 'to be blessed' or 'to bless oneself' of people being blessed (nations, Gn 22.18; 26.4; Je 4.2; Ps 72.17) or someone blessing himself (Dt 29.18).

ברך: the function of the piel amongst the themes

The piel acts as the base theme for this verb to which the senses of all the other themes are related. The qal passive participle is often the content of what is said and is used with the piel in this way: "And he blessed him and said, 'Blessed be Abram...'" (וַיְבָרֶכְהוּ וַיֹּאמֶר בָּרוּךְ אַבְרָם) Gn 14.19). The niph, pual and hithpael are all used as the passive/reflexive of the sense of the piel 'to bless'. The pual and qal passive participle are both used together in close proximity in Moses' final blessing (qal, Dt 33.20, 24; pual, Dt 33.13 with יהוה 'by the Lord'). The niph and hithpael are also used in similar contexts of the nations 'being blessed' in Abraham (niph, Gn 12.3; 18.18) or Isaac (niph, Gn 28.14) or 'in your offspring' (hithp, Gn 22.18 of Abraham; 26.4 of Isaac).

b. ארר

BDB: 64x

q: 55x

n: 1x

p: 7x

ho: 1x

qal

The syntax of the qal is: 1. <A> ארר [passive participle]
2. <A> ארר (אָרַר)

The qal has the sense 'to curse'. It is primarily used (41x) as a passive participle with syntax 1 in contexts where a curse is being pronounced (Gn 3.14, 17) or where it may be read/recited (Dt 27.15-26; 28.16-19). It is also used occasionally as a predicate adjective describing someone or something as 'cursed' (Jezebel as 'this cursed woman' הַזֹּאת הַמְּאָרָרָה, 2 K 9.34). The qal is also used with syntax 2 to

refer to the act of one person 'cursing' another person (Nu 22.6, 12) or object (Job 3.8).

niphal

The sole niphal is attested in Mal 3.9 with a passive sense, "With a curse you are cursed" (בְּמִאֲרָה אַתֶּם נִאֲרִים).

piel

The piel is used six out of seven times in the plural participle with the definite article referring to the water of bitterness "that brings a curse" (מֵי הַמְּרִים הַמְּאָרְרִים) in Nu 5.18, 19, 22, 24 (x2), 27. The piel is also used once in the perfect to refer to the ground "which the Lord has cursed" (מִן־הָאֲדָמָה אֲשֶׁר אָרְרָה יְהוָה, Gn 5.29).

hophal

The sole hophal is attested in Nu 22.6 of Balak's message to Balaam, "...and he whom you curse is cursed" (וְאֲשֶׁר תֵּאָר יוֹאֵר).

אָרַר: the function of the piel amongst the themes

The qal is found most often in the passive participle as the content of a curse that is spoken or read. The qal is also used as a finite verb to refer to the act of cursing. The piel also refers to the act of cursing in Gn 5.29 (looking back to the curse with qal passive participle in Gn 3.17, בְּעִבּוּרָךְ הָאֲדָמָה). The piel participle in Numbers 5 acts as the causative ('that which brings a curse') to the active sense of the qal (and piel). The niphal (Mal 3.9) and hophal (Nu 22.6) are both used as passives of the qal in their sense and proximity of context (וְשִׁלַּחְתִּי בְכֶם אֶחָד וְאֲשֶׁר תֵּאָר יוֹאֵר, Nu 22.6; וְאֲשֶׁר תֵּאָר יוֹאֵר, Mal 2.2; הַמְּאֲרָה וְאֲרוֹתֵי אֶת־בְּרֻכּוֹתֵיכֶם וְגַם אֲרוֹתֶיהָ).

c. אָרַר and בָּרַךְ: the function of piel amongst the verbs

These two verbs are often used together in close context and occasionally in the same sentence. The piel of בָּרַךְ acts as the base theme and is used to refer to the act of blessing with the qal passive participle acting in relation to it as a predicate adjective either of the blessing being spoken or read or in description of someone who

is blessed. However, the piel of ארר is only used once to refer to the act of cursing (Gn 5.29), which is normally referred to with the qal. Accordingly, the piel of ברך and the qal of ארר are used similarly to refer to the contrasting acts of blessing and cursing (אררִיךְ אָרֹר וּמְבַרְכִיךָ בְרוּךְ, Gn 27.29; and with order inverted in Nu 24.9).³⁶¹

3.13 II הלל & רנן

a. II הלל³⁶²

BDB: 329x

q: 4x

p: 113x

pu: 10x

hith: 22x

qal

The qal is attested three times as a participle (הוֹלְלִים) meaning 'the boastful' (Ps 5.6; 73.3; 75.5) and once as an imperative addressed to the boastful calling them not to boast (Ps 75.5, אַל-תְּהַלְלוּ אֱלֹהִים לְהוֹלְלִים).

piel

The syntax of the piel is: <A> הִלֵּל (אָח) [+ location (Ps 22.23); duration (Ps 44.9)]

The piel has the sense 'to praise' and is used of a person or group of people 'praising' a god, another person or an object. When used of one person praising another, the piel refers to someone speaking favorably of the other person (the princes of Egypt praised Sarah to Pharaoh, Gn 12.15; the husband of an excellent wife will

³⁶¹ The piel of קלל is also used in some places as co-referential to the qal of ארר (cf. the promise to Abraham, וְאֶבְרָכָהּ מְבַרְכִיךָ וּמְקַלְלֶיךָ אָאֵר, Gn 12.3; the Lord saying he will never again curse the ground, לֹא-אֶסְפֹּף לְקַלֵּל עוֹד אֶחָד-הָאָדָמָה, Gn 8.21 and Dt 23.5 where לְקַלְלֶיךָ is used to refer to what Balaam was called to do in Nu 22.6 using the qal of ארר. For further discussion of קלל, see chapter 4.

³⁶² BDB has two roots for הלל (I 'to shine'; II 'to be boastful, praise') where KB has three (KB separate out the qal, poel, poal and hithpo under root III 'to be crazy'). Whether or not they are truly separate roots is hard to determine, but it seems that according to thematic use it is better to follow KB with three roots. However, KB places the attested qal forms meaning 'to boast' with root III 'to be crazy' when they seem to fit well with the sense of הלל II 'to be boastful, praise'.

praise her, Pr 31.28).³⁶³ The piel is also used to refer to the wicked boasting of the desires of his soul (עַל־תְּאֻמֹת נַפְשׁוֹ) (Ps 10.3).

The primary use of the piel is to refer to the act of praising the Lord or to calling people to praise the Lord. As such, it is used quite frequently in the Psalms in calls to praise the Lord (הִלְלוּ־יְהוָה כִּי־טוֹב יְהוָה) (Ps 135.3)³⁶⁴ as well as to refer to the Levites praising in their ministering before the Lord (1 Ch 16.4; 2 Ch 20.19; Ezra 3.11; Ne 12.24). The piel is also used once of people praising another deity, when the Philistines praised their god (וַיִּהְלְלוּ אֱחָאֱלֹהֵיהֶם) (Ju 16.24) because of the capture of Samson.

pual

The pual has the passive sense ‘to be praised’. It is used seven times in the participle in stating that the Lord is “(worthy) to be praised” (מְהֻלָּל אֲקָרָא יְהוָה) (Ps 18.4 || 2 Sa 22.4). The pual is also used to refer to a man being praised because of his good sense (Pr 12.8) and of Tyre as a “renowned city” (הַמְעִיר הַמְהֻלָּלָה).

hithpael

The syntax of the hithpael is: <A> הִתְהַלַּל [+ בְּ of condition (?)]³⁶⁵ (Je 4.2; 105.3); עִם of accompaniment (Ps 106.)]

The hithpael has the sense ‘to boast, glory’. It is used of a person ‘boasting’ in something or someone. It is used in contexts of praising the Lord and refers to someone ‘glorying’ in the Lord (בְּקִרוֹשׁ יִשְׂרָאֵל תִּתְהַלַּל) (Is 41.6; also Ps 105.3 || 1 Ch 16.10; Ps 106.5; Is 45.25; Je 4.2; 9.22, 23). The hithpael is also used to refer to a person ‘boasting’ in things like riches (Ps 49.7), evil (Ps 52.3), idols (Pr 97.7) or

³⁶³ Also note the further reference to the noble wife in Pr 31.31 where an object rather than a person is subject: “let her deeds praise her in the gates” (וַיִּתְהַלְלוּ בְּשַׁעְרֵיהָ מַעֲשֵׂיהָ). The piel of הִלַּל in Proverbs is not used of praising the Lord, but only of a person praising another person. Pr 27.2 instructs “let another praise you and not your own mouth” (יְהִלְלֶךָ זָר וְלֹא־פִיךָ) and Pr 28.4 states that those who forsake the law “praise the wicked” (רָשָׁע וַיִּהְלְלוּ רָשָׁע).

³⁶⁴ The piel is attested 50x as imperative in the Psalms, often in the form הִלְלוּ־יְהוָה (or slight variation) as well as another 23x referring to praising the Lord (Ps 22.23, 27), his name (Ps 148.13) or his word (Ps 56.5).

³⁶⁵ The hithpael is used together with the בְּ preposition in several places of boasting or glorying ‘in’ something or someone (הִתְהַלְלוּ בְּשֵׁם קְדוֹשׁוֹ) (Ps 105.3; also Je 9.22, 23; Ps 49.7; 52.3; 97.7; Pr 27.1; Is 41.6; 45.25). This does not appear to fit any of the categories of use of the בְּ preposition in Williams [n. 280] §§ 239–54. It seems to come closest to something like § 252 of ‘norm’ which expresses a state or condition.

wisdom (Jc 9.22). The hithpael is also used once with the passive sense in Pr 31.30, “but the woman who fears the Lord will be praised” (אִשָּׁה יִרְאַת־יְהוָה הִיא תִּתְהַלָּל).

הלל: the function of the piel amongst the themes

The qal has the sense ‘to boast’ and overlaps with the piel (as well as the hithpael) where it has a similar sense (Ps 75.5, אֶל־תְּהַלְלוּ אֱמֹרָתִי לְהוֹלְלִים; Ps 10.3, כִּי־הִלֵּל רָשָׁע עַל־תְּאַוֹת נַפְשׁוֹ; Ps 52.3, בְּרָעָה הַגְּבוּר, מִה־תְּהַלֵּל). Three out of the four attested qal forms are substantive participles relating to the shared sense of the qal/piel/hithpael ‘to boast’. As a result, it is unnecessary to separate out the qal forms and place them with הלל III.³⁶⁶ The pual acts as the passive of the piel in both the sense of the Lord being ‘worthy to be praised’ (participle) as well as of a man or city. The hithpael acts as a reflexive/middle to the sense of the piel (and qal) meaning ‘to boast, glory’ in a person or object.

b. רנן

BDB: 154x
q: 19x
p: 27x
pu: 1x
hi: 5x
hithpo: 1x

qal

The syntax of the qal is: <A> רנן [+ ב of location (Pr 1.20)]

The qal has the sense ‘to shout, sing’. It is used most often of calls to sing or shout for joy in contexts of praising the Lord or something he has done. This can be addressed to an object (“Sing, O heavens” שְׁמַיִם רְנֵנוּ, Is 44.23; also Is 49.13) or to people (inhabitants of Zion, Is 12.6). The qal is also used of people shouting in fear/reverence (Lv 9.24), of wisdom ‘crying out’ in the streets (Pr 1.20; 8.3) and in calls to lament (La 2.19).

³⁶⁶ Although, contra BDB, it does make sense to separate out the poel, poal, and hithpo with a root הלל III since each is attested in relation to the sense ‘to be mad’ (as KB, 249a except without qal).

piel

The syntax of the piel is: <A> רָנַן [+ מָן of location (1 Ch 16.33); לְ of direction (Ps 95.1); אֶל of direction (Ps 84.3)]

The piel has the sense ‘to shout, sing for joy’. It is used primarily in contexts of praise (21x in the Psalms) either to refer to people shouting or singing for joy (“I sing for joy at the work of your hands”, Ps 92.5) or to call people to it (“Sing for joy in the Lord O righteous”, Ps 33.1). This is also applied to other subjects such as trees of the forest (1 Ch 16.33; Ps 96.12) and hills (Ps 98.8) shouting for joy. Lastly, the piel is used to refer to rejoicing in other contexts: all that is in the earth shall sing for joy over the ruin of Babylon (Je 51.48) and watchmen will rejoice when the Lord returns to Zion (Is 52.8).

pual

The sole pual is found in Is 16.10 with the sense ‘to be sung’ in an oracle concerning Moab (וּבִכְרָמִים לֹא יִרְנָן לֹא יִרְעַע) “and in the vineyards no song is sung and no shout is raised”.

hiphil

The syntax of the hiphil is:

1. <A> רָנַן [+ לְ of direction]
2. <A> רָנַן

The hiphil has the sense ‘to sing for joy’ (syntax 1) or ‘to cause to sing for joy’ (syntax 2). The former is used in contexts of praising the Lord (Dt 32.43; Ps 32.11; 81.2) and the latter of someone causing another to be joyful: the Lord making the dawn and the dusk shout for joy (Ps 65.9) and Job saying “I caused the heart of the widow to sing for joy” (Job 29.13).

hithpoel

The sole hithpoel has the sense ‘to shout’ in Ps 78.65 in the image of the Lord awaking “like a strong man shouting because of wine” (כְּגִבּוֹר מְחָרוֹן מִיַּיִן).³⁶⁷

³⁶⁷ It has been suggested that this form is to be derived from a root רָוַן meaning ‘to overcome’ (cf. KB 1206a – a section which ends with the statement “but the MT is to be preferred”). R. G. Bratcher and W. D. Reyrburn, *A Handbook on Psalms*, UBS handbook series, New York: United Bible Societies

רנן: the function of the piel amongst the themes

The **qal**, **piel** and **hiphil** all share overlapping areas with the sense ‘to sing, shout for joy’ particularly in contexts of praise. The **qal** and **piel** are used together twice in close proximity: the **piel** (infin cs) is used in Is 35.2 “and rejoice with joy and singing” (וְהִתְגַּלְּ אֶף גִּילַת וְרִנָּן) with the **qal** in Is 35.6 “and the tongue of the mute will shout for joy” (וְהִתְרַן לְשׁוֹן אֱלֵם); and the **qal** is used in Je 31.7 “sing aloud for Jacob with gladness” (רְנֵנוּ לְיַעֲקֹב שְׂמֵחָה) with the **piel** in Je 31.12 “they shall come and sing aloud on the height of Zion” (וּבָאוּ וְרִנְנוּ בְּמָרוֹם-צִיּוֹן). The **qal** and **piel** are also used similarly in the Psalms: “Let them shout for joy and be glad” (יִרְנְנוּ וַיִּשְׂמְחוּ) Ps 35.27 – the only attested **qal** in the Psalms); “that we may rejoice and be glad all our days” (וְנִרְנְנָה וְנִשְׂמְחָה בְּכָל-יְמֵינוּ) Ps 90.14).³⁶⁸ The **hiphil** with syntax 2 is also similar to this sense of the **qal** and **piel**: “and shout for joy all you upright in heart” (וְהִתְרַנְּנוּ כָּל-) Ps 32.11); “sing aloud to the God of Jacob” (וְהִרְעוּ לֵאלֹהֵי יַעֲקֹב) Ps 81.2). In addition to having the sense ‘to shout, sing for joy’, the **hiphil** is also used as the causative of it (Ps 65.9; Job 29.13). Outside of the area of overlapping sense, there are some noticeable differences in terms of context of use of the attested **qal** and **piel** forms. All of the attested **piels** are used in contexts where the crying out is in joy even outside of the context of worship (watchmen shall rejoice at the Lord’s return to Zion, Is 52.8; the earth rejoicing over Babylon’s fall, Je 51.48; and the exiles returning to Zion and shouting for joy, Je 31.12). The **qal** is used in several places outside the context of praise and in a sense that is not one of rejoicing or celebrating: wisdom ‘calling out’ in the streets (Pr 1.20; 8.3 – both with **qal** קרא ‘to call’ immediately following), the call to lament (La 2.19) and the people shouting in fear/reverence (Lv 9.24). Thus, according to the contexts of use, the **qal**, **piel** and

(1991), state that “there is hardly any way of deciding which interpretation is correct; possibly [‘shouting’ from רנן] better fits the context”.

³⁶⁸ Jenni, *DhP* [n. 42], 155 argues that the sense of the **piel** is ‘to utter a whole succession of shouts of joy’ (eine ganze Folge von Jubelrufen ausstoßen) in opposition to the **qal** simply meaning ‘to cry out in joy, break out’ (an explanation utilized in KB, 1248a). He cites Ps 90.14 as one of the cases that particularly show that the **piel** is used with continuous cheering. However, this sense in Ps 90.14 is at least aided by the phrase בְּכָל-יְמֵינוּ “all our days” and is not that dissimilar from the context of the **qal** in Ps 35.27, which is followed by וַיֹּאמְרוּ תָמִיד “and say evermore” indicating the sort of content that the continuous rejoicing referred to in the **qal** is to consist of. Whether the **piel** may be used to refer to shouting or singing for joy that may be iterative is not in question. However, it does not appear that this is solely the realm or particular signification of the **piel**.

hiphil have a large area of overlapping sense with a few places where the qal is used for calling or shouting out in general, the piel is used of shouting or calling out in joy outside of the specific context of worship and the hiphil is used as the causative. The pual is used once as a passive of the sense of the qal/piel/hiphil and the hithpo is also used once in a sense very similar to that of the qal of someone shouting.

c. ענה IV: The qal (13x) and piel (3x) of this verb with the sense ‘to sing’ also have some area of overlapping sense (qal: Ex 15.21 of Miriam singing; 1 Sa 18.7 of the women singing of David; piel: Is 27.2 in a call to sing in response to Israel’s redemption). In addition, the qal and piel infinitive constructs are used in Ex 32.18 to refer to Moses wondering what he was hearing: the qal to refer to the sound of shouting for victory or the sound of the cry of defeat and the piel for the sound of singing (וַיֹּאמֶר אֵין קוֹל עֲנוֹת גְּבוּרָה וְאֵין קוֹל עֲנוֹת חִלוּשָׁה קוֹל עֲנוֹת אָנָכִי שָׁמַע). Although there are few attested forms for this verb, it is at least worth noting that the overlap of senses and possible distinction in Ex 32.18 appear to be similar to the use of the qal and piel of רנן.

3.14 חטא III & חלל

a. חטא

BDB: 238x

q: 182x

p: 15x

hi: 32x

hith: 9x

qal

- The syntax of the qal is:
1. <A> חטא [+ ב of disadvantage (Gn 42.22); ל of disadvantage (1 Sa 2.25); על of specification (Nu 6.11); בְּשִׁגְגָה (‘inadvertently’) + מן explicative (“in any of the things...”; Lv 4.2, 27; 5.15, 27, 28)]
 2. <A> חטא [] (with the sense ‘to miss’ where the qal is usually a participle and there can be an explicit object in the B element)

The qal has the sense ‘to sin’ (syntax 1) and ‘to miss’ (syntax 2). The latter sense is rare and is found in Job 5.24 without explicit object, “you shall not miss (anything)” (וְלֹא תִחַטָּא) and in Pr 8.36 with a suffix, “and he who misses me injures himself” (וְחֹטֵאִי חֲמִס נִפְשִׁי, in opposition to the preceding in 8.35 with qal of מֵצֵא ‘he who finds me’).³⁶⁹

The qal is used principally with the sense ‘to sin’ and is most often used in the context of the people of Israel (or an individual among them) sinning against God by violating his laws for his people: individuals (Jeroboam, 1 K 14.16; Pharaoh, Ex 9.27; Balaam, Nu 22.34; Solomon, Ne 13.26); Israel (2 K 17.7 – with לַיהוָה ‘against the Lord’; Jos 7.11; Ju 10.10; 1 Sa 7.6); a ‘land’ (Ezk 14.13); Job’s children (Job 8.4).³⁷⁰ Similarly, the qal is also used often in Leviticus chapters 4–6 in the context of instructions for sacrifice or offering for someone who has sinned.

The qal can also be used to refer to a person sinning against another: “If one man sins against another” (אִם-יִחַטָּא אִישׁ לְאִישׁ, 1 Sa 2.25); of Abimelech asking how he has wronged Abraham (Gn 20.9); Hezekiah wrote to the king of Assyria “I have done wrong” (2 K 18.14). Twice, the qal is used to refer to someone taking the guilt for something when Judah says the blame shall be upon him if Benjamin does not return: “then let me bear the blame before you for ever” (וְחִטָּאתִי לְךָ כָּל-הַיָּמִים), Gn 43.9; and repeating this vow to Joseph in Gn 44.32).

piel

The syntax of the piel is: <A> חָטָא (אָחַ) [+בָּ of means (Lv 14.52); בָּ of time (Ex 29.36)]

The piel has the sense ‘to cleanse, purify from sin’ and is used to refer to the making of a sin offering itself (Lv 6.19; 9.15; 2 Ch 29.24), to cleansing or purifying something through the sin offering (the altar, Ex 29.36; Lv 8.15; Ezk 43.20, 22, 23; the sanctuary, Ezk 45.18) or to cleansing something (house, Lv 14.49, 52) or someone (a person unclean from contact with the dead, Nu 19.19; also Ps 51.9). The piel is also applied to Jacob ‘bearing the loss’ of animals taken from Laban’s flocks, “I

³⁶⁹ The remaining passages that have the sense ‘to miss’ are also qal participles: Pr 19.2 (without explicit object); 20.2; Hab 2.10.

³⁷⁰ This can include an explicit element like לַיהוָה ‘against the Lord’ (1 Sa 2.25; 2 K 17.7; Je 3.25); לְךָ ‘against you’ (Ps 51.6; Je 14.20; Dan 9.8); לִי ‘against me’ (Hos 4.7).

myself bore the loss of it; from my hand you required it” (אָנְכִי אֶחְטָנָה מִיָּדִי) (תּוֹבַקְשָׁנָה, Gn 31.39).

hiphil

The syntax of the hiphil is: 1. <A> הַחטָא (אָ) [+ בָּ of disadvantage (Gn 42.22), בָּ of means (2 K 21.11)]
2. <A> הַחטָא

The hiphil is used once with the sense ‘to miss’ (syntax 2) in Ju 20.16 of the 700 men of Benjamin who could sling a stone at a hair “and not miss” (וְלֹא יַחְטָא). The majority of the hiphils have the sense ‘to cause (someone) to sin’ (syntax 1). The most common occurrence is in the repeated phrase referring to a king of Israel (usually Jeroboam) making Israel sin (אֲשֶׁר הִטָּא וְאֲשֶׁר הִקְטִיא אֶת־יִשְׂרָאֵל), 1 K 14.16).³⁷¹ The hiphil is used similarly in the warning to Israel to make sure they drive out the nations of Canaan “lest they make you sin against me” (פֶּן־יַחְטִיאוּ אֹתְךָ לִי), Ex 23.33), to refer to how Solomon’s foreign wives caused him to sin (Nc 13.26) and to the caution in Ecc 5.5 “do not let your mouth cause you (lit. ‘your flesh’) to sin” (אַל־תִּחַתֵּן אֶת־פִּיךָ לַחֲטִיא אֶת־בִּשְׂרָרְךָ). The hiphil is also applied in contexts where a person’s actions may bring the guilt of sin upon someone (through false words, Is 29.21) or something (the land through violation of divorce laws, Dt 24.4).

hithpael

The syntax of the hithpael is: <A> הַחֲחַטָּא () [+בָּ of means (Nu 19.12a; 21.23); בָּ of time (Nu 19.12b)]

The hithpael has the sense ‘to purify oneself’ in seven out of its nine attested forms, all of these coming in the book of Numbers (8.21; 19.12 (x2), 13, 20; 31.19, 23).³⁷² The hithpael is also found in Job 41.17 (מִשְׁחֹו יָגוּרֹו אֱלִים מִשְׁבָּרִים יִתְחַטָּאוּ) “When he raises himself up the mighty are afraid; at the crashing they are beside

³⁷¹ Other references include: 1 K 15.26, 30, 34; 16.2, 13, 19, 26; 21.22; 22.53; 2 K 3.3; 10.29, 31; 13.2, 6, 11; 14.24; 15.9, 18, 24, 28; 23.15; 17.21. There are also references to someone making Judah sin: Manasseh (2 K 21.11, 16) and the men of Judah and inhabitants of Jerusalem (Je 32.35)

³⁷² Nu 31.20 also has the hithpael of ‘purifying’ every article that has been used in war. BHIS suggests the piel form הִתְחַטָּאוּ and notes the Septuagint and Syriac. As the hithpael is used in its seven other forms in Numbers with the sense ‘to purify oneself’, the sense of the form here is that which is typically found with the piel.

themselves” RSV (“they are bewildered” NAS; “they retreat” NIV; “from alarm they miss their aim” Delitzsch, *Job*, 696).

חטא: the function of the piel amongst the themes

The piel of **חטא** (with the hithpacl corresponding to it) is cited as a denominative in several grammars in their respective discussions on the function of the piel (GKC § 52h; Jøllon-Muraoka § 52d; Waltke & O’Connor § 24.4d). However, the grammars generally do not list **חטא** as a denominative in their sections on the qal and hiphil. Is this supposed to indicate that the piel (and hithpacl) is derived from a nominal form (e.g. **חַטָּא** or **חַטָּאָת**) and has been simply associated with the qal and hiphil which are verbal rather than denominative in origin?³⁷³ Or, by listing **חטא** as denominative in the piel, are they indicating that the rest of the attested themes would be denominative as well? The grammars do not tend to offer any further explanations of the relationships between the themes.³⁷⁴ For the purposes of this study, the functions of each of the attested themes for **חטא** will be discussed together and these general issues relating to denominatives will be discussed below in chapter 5.

The qal and hiphil overlap with the sense ‘to miss’ (qal, Pr 8.36; hi Ju 20.16). With the sense ‘to sin’, the hiphil acts as the causative of the qal. 2 Kings 21.11 has the hiphil of **חטא** of Manasseh making also Judah sin (**וַיַּחַטְּא גַם־אֶת־יְהוּדָה בְּגִלּוּלָיו**) and 2 Kings 21.17 has the qal of the sins he committed (**וַיַּחַטְּאֵתוּ אֲשֶׁר חָטָא**). The piel and hithpacl are used in contexts of cleansing or purifying from sin with the hithpacl acting as reflexive to the piel (Nu 19.19, **וַיִּחַטְּאוּ בְיָוֶם הַשְּׂבִיעִי**; Nu 19.20, **וַיִּחַטְּאוּ**). The qal, piel and hiphil are all used with variations of the sense ‘to bear the guilt or blame’. The qal is used of Judah pledging to bear the blame if Benjamin does not return (Gn 43.9; 44.32), the hiphil is used of causing the guilt to rest upon someone (Is 29.21) and the piel is used of Jacob saying that he has

³⁷³ Cf. Ryder [n. 42], 123–30. This separate development of the piel and later association with the qal (and other themes) is how Ryder explains **חטא** (124) as well as the piel in general – excepting that he sees the denominative origin as underlying all verbal forms (129).

³⁷⁴ Waltke and O’Connor state concerning denominatives that “the denominatives in one [theme] or the other may [...] have been formed over an extended period of time during which the relevant root showed a variety of meanings” and of which they give **חטא** as an example (§ 24.4 d).

borne the loss of animals taken from Laban's flocks (Gn 31.39)³⁷⁵. Each of these is consistent with the general sense of the theme: the qal is used to refer to Judah being guilty/blamed if Benjamin does not return, the hiphil is causative of guilt being placed on someone and the piel is used to refer to the loss borne or taken away from Laban by Jacob.

b. חלל III

BDB: 79x

n: 10x

p: 66x

pu: 1x

hi: 2x [53x]³⁷⁶

[ho: 1x]

niphal

The niphal is used with both a reflexive sense ('to profane oneself') and a passive sense ('to be profaned'). The reflexive is used both to refer to someone profaning themselves: a priest (Lv 21.4, with hithp of טמא) and a priest's daughter (Lv 21.9). The passive 'to be profaned' is used of the Lord's sanctuary (Ezk 25.3), the Lord's name (Ezk 20.9, 14, 22; Is 48.11), the Lord himself (Ezk 22.16) and the people (וְנִחַלְתָּ בְךָ לְעֵינֵי גוֹיִם), lit. "and you shall be profaned by yourself" (Ezk 22.16).

piel

The syntax of the piel is: <A> חלל (חָ) [+ בְּ of location (Ezk 36.22)]

The piel has the sense 'to profane' and is used primarily of a person profaning objects or persons that would be considered holy. Things that people may profane include: the altar (while making it, Ex 20.25), the sanctuary (Lv 21.12; Mal 2.11), the name of God (Lv 19.12), God himself (Ezk 13.19), the Lord's land (Jc 16.18) or a covenant (Mal 2.10; Ps 55.21). The piel is also used to refer to the Lord defiling things (his sanctuary, Ezk 24.21; his people as his inheritance, Is 47.6). The piel is

³⁷⁵ In Gn 31.39 there also appears to be an intentional play on 'sin' that begins in Jacob's angry response to Laban (Gn 31.36) "What is my offense? What is my sin?" (מַה חַטָּאתִי) in which Jacob makes it clear that it is Laban who has wronged him over the years of his service.

³⁷⁶ The numbers in brackets represent the attested forms of the root חלל with the sense 'to begin'. Both BDB (320b) and KB (319b) include these forms with חלל III 'to profane'.

also applied to someone beginning to use the fruit of a vineyard and thus making it common (Dt 20.6; 28.30; Jc31.5).

pual

The sole pual is used with a passive sense in Ezk 36.23 of the the Lord's name being profaned (אֶת־שְׁמִי הַגָּדוֹל הַמְּחַלְלֵל בְּגוֹיִם).

hiphil

The hiphil is used twice in contexts where it is related to the sense 'to profane'. In Ezk 39.7, the Lord states that he will not allow his holy name to be profaned anymore. In Nu 30.3, the hiphil is used in a prohibition against breaking a vow (לֹא יַחַל דְּבָרוֹ).

חלל: the function of the piel amongst the themes

The piel of חלל acts as the base theme for this verb with the adjective חָלַל attested several times in its immediate context (Lv 21.7, 14) referring to the state of someone being profaned. The niphil acts as a passive/reflexive to the piel. In Lv 21.9 the niphil refers to the daughter of the priest profaning herself by which "she profanes her father" (אֶת־אָבִיהָ הִיא מְחַלְלָתָהּ). The priests profane the Lord's holy things (וְאֵחָל בְּחֻכָּם) by which the Lord is profaned among them (וַיִּחַלְלוּ קִדְשִׁי) in Ezk 22.26. The pual also acts as a passive to the piel with which it is attested in Ezk 36.23 (וְקִבַּשְׁתִּי אֶת־שְׁמִי הַגָּדוֹל הַמְּחַלְלֵל בְּגוֹיִם אֲשֶׁר חִלְלֵתֶם בְּחֻכָּם). The hiphil is used once as a tolerative³⁷⁷ "I will not let my holy name be profaned anymore" (Ezk 39.7, וְלֹא־אֵחָל אֶת־שְׁמִי־קִדְשִׁי עוֹד) and once in a sense similar to the piel in the prohibition against profaning a vow "he shall not break his word" (Nu 30.3). The remaining hiphils and sole hophal with the sense 'to begin' which are often grouped with this verb in the lexicons are distinguishable in sense and thus are not included here.

³⁷⁷ Cf. Joüon-Muraoka § 54d n.3.

3.15 קוה, חכה & יחל

a. קוה I

BDB: 46x

q: 6x

p: 40x

qal

All six of the attested qals are participles with the sense “those who wait” and all have either ‘the Lord’ or a pronoun referring to the Lord as their object (e.g. Is 40.31, וְקוֹי יְהוָה; Ps 25.3, לֹא יִבְשׁוּ, נִם כָּל־קוֹיָךְ לֹא יִבְשׁוּ).

piel

The syntax of the piel is: <A> קוה [+ אָ/לָּ of person/object waiting for; לְ + infin of expected action (Is 5.2)]

The piel has the sense ‘to wait, hope’. It is most commonly used of a person or group of people waiting for the Lord (הִנֵּה אֱלֹהֵינוּ זֶה קוֹיֵנוּ לֵוִי, Is 25.9).³⁷⁸ The piel is also applied to other objects in contexts of waiting: of a person waiting to harm or destroy someone (Ps 56.7; 119.95), of the Lord doing awesome things “we did not look for” (Is 64.2), of the Lord looking for his vineyard to yield grapes when it did not (Is 5.2; also 5.4, 7) and similarly of someone looking for one thing when something else comes in its place (Job 30.26; Je 8.15; 14.19).

קוה: the function of the piel amongst the themes

The piel of קוה acts as the base theme for this verb with the qal acting as its participle (there are no attested piel participles). In Psalm 25 the qal is used in verse 3, “Indeed, all who wait for you shall not be put to shame” (נִם כָּל־קוֹיָךְ לֹא יִבְשׁוּ) and the piel in verse 5, “for you I wait all the day long” (אֲחִתְּךָ קוֹיֵתִי כָּל־הַיּוֹם); with piel also in vs. 21).

³⁷⁸ Other references include: Gn 49.18 (your salvation); Is 8.17; 33.2; 51.5; 60.9; Ps 25.5, 21; 27.14; 37.34; 39.8; 40.2; 52.11 (your name); 130.5; Pr 20.22.

b. חכה: This verb meaning ‘to wait, hope’ (qal: 1x; piel: 13x) has both similar sense and thematic distribution to קוה. The single attested qal is a participle that is used in Is 30.18 together with the piel: the verse begins with the piel, “Therefore the Lord waits to be gracious to you...” (וְלִכְן יַחְכֶּה יְהוָה לְחַנּוּכְכֶם) and ends “Blessed are all those who wait for him” (אֲשֶׁרֵי כָּל-חֹכְי לֹ, Is 30.18). The piel participle is also attested once to refer to waiting for the Lord (Is 64.3) like the qal and twice to refer to someone waiting for some other reason (those who wait for death, Job 3.21; the one who waits for the 1,335 days, Dan 12.12). The remaining attested piels are used in both similar contexts and senses as the piel of קוה (“I will wait for the Lord”, Is 8.17; Elihu waited to speak with Job, Job 32.4).

c. יחל

BDB: 41x

[n: 3x]

p: 24x

hi: 14x

niphal

For each of the attested forms which are possibly niphals of יחל there are questions (cf. BIIS at Gn 8.12; 1 Sa 13.8; Ezk 19.5).³⁷⁹ The contexts for each form indicate that the general sense of each is ‘to wait’, with Ezk 19.5 possibly having a nuance of futility added to the sense of waiting as it is parallel to the phrase “her hope was lost” (אָבְדָה הַקְּוֵתָהּ).

³⁷⁹ BIIS notes: for Gn 8.10 and 12 the piel of יחל is suggested in place of the forms for the qal of חיל and the niphil of יחל respectively. The Qere for 1 Sa 13.8 is the hiph of יחל, which is the form used for the command to Saul in 1 Sa 10.8 (KB lists 1 Sa 13.8 with the hiphils). Ezk 19.5 lists the variations in the Septuagint, Syriac, Targum and Vulgate. Although the other verbs with similar sense are not highly attested, neither קוה nor חכה have niphil forms. However, with the sense ‘to wait’ it would be possible for the niphil to act as a middle voice in such a manner that it would overlap with the sense of the piel and hiphil. Cf. D. Block, *The Book of Ezekiel: Chapters 1–24*, NICOT, Grand Rapids, Michigan: Eerdmans (1997), 596 for further comments on taking the form as found.

piel

The syntax of the piel is: <A> יחל [+ על/אל/ל of person/object waiting for]

The piel has the sense ‘to wait, hope’ and is used similarly to the piel of קוה. The Lord (or something that comes from him) is common as the object of the waiting or hoping (“and the coastlands wait for his law” וּלְחֹרְחוֹ אַיִם יַיְחִילוּ, Is 42.4). The piel is also applied in other contexts: an image of the remnant being like showers on the grass which do not “wait for a son of man” (Mi 5.6), Job asks “What is my strength that I should wait?” (מַה־כֹּחִי כִי־אֵיחַל, Job 6.11) and later in his defence he says “and when I waited for light, darkness came” (Job 30.26).

hiphil

The syntax of the hiphil is: <A> יחל [+ ל of person/object waiting for]

The hiphil has the sense ‘to wait, hope’. It is used of waiting for or hoping in the Lord (2 K 6.33; La 3.24; Ps 38.16; 42.6; 130.5; Mi 7.7) as well as waiting in other contexts: Samuel instructs Saul to wait for him seven days (1 Sa 10.8), Joab does not want to wait to kill Absalom (2 Sa 18.14) and Elihu says to Job’s three friends “Behold, I waited for your words” (הֵן הוֹחַלְתִּי לְדַבְרֵיכֶם, Job 32.11).

יחל: the function of the piel amongst the themes

If the **niphal** forms were to remain as they stand, they would overlap in sense with both the piel and hiphil. As the sense ‘to wait’ would be possible as a middle voice, this overlap would not be surprising. If, as it seems more likely, they ought to be considered either piel or hiphil, the sense of each form fits with the senses already attested for these themes. Setting aside the question of whether the niphal forms should be included, the noteworthy consideration with יחל is that the piel and hiphil overlap such that they appear indistinguishable from one another in sense.³⁸⁰ Ps 130 has the hiphil in verse 5 for “and in his (the Lord’s) word I hope” (וְלִדְבָרוֹ הוֹחַלְתִּי) and the piel in verse 7 for “O Israel, hope in the Lord” (יַיְחַל יִשְׂרָאֵל אֶל־יְהוָה). Job

³⁸⁰ The amount of overlap of sense between piel and hiphil is even greater if either of the forms in Gn 8.10, 12 (“And he waited another seven days”) are to be considered piel as they would be almost identical to the hiphil of 1 Sa 10.8 where Samuel instructs Saul, “Seven days you shall wait”.

says “men waited for me as for the rain” (piel, 29.23; and also 29.21) and Elihu asks if he must wait because the others are silent (hiphil, 32.16).

d. יחל & חכה, קוה: the function of the piel amongst the verbs

For these three verbs meaning ‘to wait, hope’, the qal participle and piel of קוה and חכה and the piel and hiphil of יחל are co-referential. The different themes of the verbs are used in similar constructions as well as in proximity of context. The piel of קוה and the hiphil of יחל are used in Ps 130.5, “I wait for the Lord, my soul waits, and in his word I hope” (קְוִיתִי יְהוָה קִוְתָה נַפְשִׁי וְלִדְבָרוֹ הוֹקְלָתִי). The piel of יחל is used in Ps 130.7 and 131.3, “O Israel, hope in the Lord” (יִחַל יִשְׂרָאֵל אֶל־יְהוָה) and the hiphil is used in the repeated refrain of Ps 42 and 43 “Hope in God, for I shall again praise him” (הוֹחִילִי לֵאלֹהִים כִּי־עוֹד אֲדַבֵּר, 42.6, 12; 43.5). The hiphil of יחל is used in La 3.24, “therefore I will hope in him” (עַל־כֵּן אֲחִיל לּוֹ) and the qal participle of קוה in 3.25, “The Lord is good to those who wait for him” (טוֹב יְהוָה) (לְקוֹנֵי). Elihu’s waiting for Job’s other visitors to finish before he speaks is referred to with the piel of חכה in Job 32.4 and by the hiphil of יחל in Elihu’s words of 32.11, 16. The piels of קוה and יחל are also used together in co-referential parallel constructions: “When I hoped for good, evil came and when I waited for light, darkness came” (כִּי טוֹב קְוִיתִי וַיָּבֵא רָע וְאִי־חָלָה לְאוֹר וַיָּבֵא אֶפְלַי, Job 30.26); “The coastlands wait for me and for my arm they hope” (אֲרָצוֹת יָקוּוּ וְאֶל־זְרְעִי יִחַלּוּן, Is 51.5).

חשב & למד 3.16

a. חשב

BDB: 122x

q: 75x

n: 30x

p: 16x

hith: 1x

qal

The syntax of the qal is: <A> חשב ³⁸¹ [+ predicate adj/nom,³⁸² על of disadvantage; ל of advantage or disadvantage]

The qal has the general sense ‘to think, consider’ which is applied in a variety of contexts. It is used of someone thinking something about another person. This can include a misjudgment (Eli thought Hannah was drunk, 1 Sa 1.13; Judah thought Tamar was a prostitute, Gn 38.15) as well as someone considering about or counting something to another person (the Lord counts Abram’s belief as righteousness to him, Gn 15.6; Shimei requests that David not hold him guilty, 2 Sa 19.20). An application of this latter sense is when there is no explicit element as to what the person is ‘considering’ someone or something to be, but the context indicates that is in respect or esteem (the suffering Servant “was despised and we thought nothing of him not”, Is 53.3; “and for those who honored his name”, וְלִחְשָׁבֵי שְׁמוֹ, Mal 3.16). The qal is also used in contexts where the sense is of plotting or planning something: “And as for you, you meant evil against me, but God meant it for good” (וְאַתֶּם הִשְׁבַּחְתֶּם עָלַי) (Gn 50.20) and “one who plotted evil against the Lord” (Na 1.11). A further application of this sense is that of crafting or designing: Uzziah had men who designed machines for war (2 Ch 26.15) and there were those whom the Lord had filled to devise artistic designs for the tabernacle (Ex 34.1).³⁸³

niphal

The syntax of the niphal is: <A> חשב [+ על of disadvantage; ל of advantage/disadvantage]

The niphal has the passive sense ‘to be considered, counted’. It is applied in contexts of how someone is thought of or reckoned by another. Rachel and Leah say that Laban regards them as foreigners (Gn 31.15), Pr 17.28 states that “even a fool

³⁸¹ Aside from being a direct object (“one who plots evil against the Lord”, חֹשֵׁב עַל־יְהוָה רָעָה, Na 1.11), the B element can also be an infinitive of purpose: “The Lord determined to destroy ...” (וְהָיָה לְהַשְׁחִיתָ, La 2.8).

³⁸² The sense of חשב can thus be like a declarative-estimative piel or hiphil except that the element which would normally be present in the verb (e.g. to consider ‘holy’ from קִדְּשׁ) is made explicit: A ‘considers’ B to be C (‘righteousness’ in Gn 15.6) + [for/against someone].

³⁸³ This sense also includes the qal participle in the phrase חֹשֵׁב מְעַשֶׂה (“worked into them by a skilled craftsman” NIV; “skillfully worked” RSV; the work of a skillful workman” NAS) in Ex 26.1, 31; 28.6, 15; 36.8, 35; 39.3, 8 as well as וְחֹשְׁבֵי מְחַשְׁבֵי in 35.35 and וְחֹשֵׁב in 35.35 and 38.23.

who keeps silent is considered wise” (גַּם אָוִיל מִחֲרִישׁ חָכֵם יִחְשָׁב) and in Lv 17.4 one who slaughters an animal outside of the camp “shall have bloodguilt imputed to that man” (כִּי יִחְשָׁב לְאִישׁ הַהוּא). The niphal is also used of how things are accounted or considered: a house without a wall “shall be classified with the fields” (עַל־שָׂדֵה הָאָרֶץ יִחְשָׁב, Lv 25.31) and during Solomon’s prosperous reign, silver was not considered to be valuable (1 K 10.21).

piel

The syntax of the piel is: <A> חשב (אָת) ³⁸⁴ [+ לְ of advantage; אֶל of disadvantage; וְ of co-ordination (Lv 25.50)]

The piel has the sense ‘to think, calculate’. The piel is applied several times to the calculating of the price of land for the sake of redemption or offering: “Let him calculate the years since he sold it” (וְחָשַׁב אֶת־שָׁנָיו מִמְכָּרוֹ, Lv 25.27; also 25.50, 52; 27.18, 23; also 2 K 12.16 of not asking for an accounting of the money for temple repairs). The piel is also used to refer to someone planning or plotting to do something: “What do you plot against the Lord?” (Na 1.9), “and against strongholds he shall devise his plots” (וְעַל מְבָצָרִים יִחְשַׁב מִחֲשָׁבֹתָיו, Dan 11.24) and “the heart of man plans his way” (Pr 16.9). This sense is applied figuratively in Jon 1.4 when a great storm made it “so that the ship threatened to break up” (וְהָאֲנִיָּה חֲשָׁבָה לְהִשָּׁבֵר). Lastly, the piel can refer to someone thinking of or contemplating something: the Psalmist contemplates the life of the wicked “And when I thought how to understand this” (Ps 73.16) and his own way “When I think of my ways” (Ps 119.59) and what is the son of man that the Lord thinks of him? (Ps 144.3).

hithpacl

The sole hithpacl has the reflexive sense ‘to consider oneself’ and is found in Balaam’s oracle in which he states that Jacob is a people who dwell alone “and does not consider itself among the nations” (וּבְגוֹיִם לֹא יִתְחַשֵּׁב, Nu 23.9).

³⁸⁴ The B element with the piel is also occasionally an infinitive of purpose (“Whoever plans to do evil” (מִחְשָׁב לְהַרְעֵ) as with the qal (cf. n. 381).

חשב: the function of the piel amongst the themes

The qal and piel have some area of overlapping senses. Both are used with the sense 'to plan, plot' together in the same context. The qal is used in Na 1.11, "From you has gone one who plotted evil against the Lord" (מִמֶּךָ יָצָא חָשֵׁב עַל־יְהוָה) and the piel in Na 1.9, "What do you plot against the Lord?" (מִה־תַּחְשְׁבוּן אֶל־). The piel and qal are used in Dan 11.24 and 25 respectively of someone devising plans 'against someone/something'.³⁸⁵ Both themes are also used to refer to someone thinking about or contemplating someone or something: "the Lord takes thought for me" (qal, Ps 40.18) and "...or the son of man that you (the Lord) think of him?" (piel, Ps 144.3). The qal and piel also have senses by which they are distinguished. Someone considering another person to be something (Job says the Lord "counts me as an adversary" לֹא כִצְרָיו לַיהוָה, 19.11; also 13.24; 33.10) as well as counting something to a person ("to whom the Lord does not count iniquity" Ps 32.2) are only found in the qal. The contexts of calculating or accounting (Lv 25.27, 50, 51; 27.18, 23; 2 K 12.16) are attested only in the piel. In fact, it would seem valid to say that where the qal and piel differ in sense, the latter is used to refer to reflection or calculation that relates to the subject of the verb rather than another person or object (which is more common in the qal). The niph'al acts as the passive to the qal of the sense 'to be considered, counted'. Even where the niph'al is used in close proximity to the piel (Lv 25.31) the sense is passive of the sense of the qal. The sole hithpa'el acts as the reflexive 'to consider, count oneself'. This seems to be related to the sense of the qal 'to count', but may rather be related to the sense of the piel 'to think on, consider' since the piel is the theme where reflection on one's own actions is referred to (חֲשַׁבְתִּי יָדָכִי, Ps 119.59).

b. למד

BDB: 86x

q: 24x

p: 57x

pu: 5x

³⁸⁵ In Daniel's prophecy the piel is used in 11.24 of 'a contemptible person' (vs. 21) who will "devise plans against strongholds" (וְעָלַ מְבַצְרִים יַחְשֵׁב מִחֲשָׁבֹתָיו) and the qal in 11.25 is used to refer to 'the king of the south' not being able to stand against him because "they (?) will devise plans against him" (כִּי־יַחְשְׁבוּ עָלָיו מִחֲשָׁבוֹתָיו) – NIV, RSV "because of plots devised against him".

qal

The syntax of the qal is: <A> למד (אָח) ³⁸⁶

The qal has the sense 'to learn'. It is used with an object of that which is learned (צָדַק, Is 26.9; מִלְחָמָה, Is 2.4; Mic 4.3; 1 Ch 5.18; חֻקֵּי מִצְרָיִם, Pr 30.3; דָּרָךְ, Je 10.2; 12.16; לִקְחָה, Is 29.24) as well as with an infinitive or verb of purpose (qal of עָשָׂה, Dt 18.9; hiph of יָטַב, Is 1.17; 5x with יָרָא in Dt 4.10).

piel

The syntax of the piel is: <A> למד (אָח) (אָח) <C> [+ infin of purpose (Dt 4.1; Is 48.17)]

The piel has the sense 'to teach'. It is also used most often of covenantal instruction to refer to someone teaching the Lord's statutes and rules to someone else (often with חֻקִּים and/or מִשְׁפָּטִים as objects): "I have taught you statutes and ordinances" (לְמַדְתִּי אֶחְכֶּם חֻקִּים וּמִשְׁפָּטִים, Dt 4.5) and similarly "And you shall teach them (these words, vs. 18) to your children" (וְלַמְדֵּם אֶת־בְּנֵיכֶם, Dt 11.19).³⁸⁷ The piel is also used of teaching other things: the song of Moses (Dt 31.22) and the lament of Saul and Jonathan (2 Sa 1.18) to the people, to train hands for battle (2 Sa 22.35 = Ps 18.35) and to teach Daniel and his friends the literature and language of the Chaldeans (וְלַלְמַדְם סֵפֶר וּלְשׁוֹן כַּשְׁדִּים, Dan 1.4). Lastly, the piel participle is used twice as the substantive 'teacher' (Pr 5.13; Ps 119.99).

pual

The pual has the sense 'to be taught, trained'. It is used both of mighty men "trained in war" (מִלְחָמָה מְלֻמְדֵי, Song 3.8) and of singers "trained for the Lord" (1 Ch 25.7). Is 29.13 refers to empty worship treating the fear of the Lord as if it is a

³⁸⁶ As with the qal of חָשַׁב above, the B element can be an infinitive or verb of purpose (e.g. Dt 17.19, לְמַעַן יִלְמַד לְיִרְאָה אֶת־יְהוָה אֱלֹהָיו).

³⁸⁷ Further references of covenantal instruction or instruction in or by the Lord include: Dt 4.1, 10, 14; 5.31; 6.1; 31.19; Ps 25.4, 5, 9; 34.12 (fear of the Lord); 51.15; 71.17; 94.10, 12; 119.12, 26, 64, 66, 68, 108, 124, 135, 171; 132.12; 143.10; Ec 12.9; Is 48.17; Je 32.33; 2 Ch 17.7, 9. Also in the context of covenantal instruction are references to teaching something which is disobedience: Israel is to destroy the nations so that they do not teach Israel to do according to their practices (Dt 20.18) and the people followed the Baals "as their fathers taught them" (Je 9.13).

commandment taught by men. Lastly, the pual is applied twice in an image of Ephraim as a trained (Ho 10.11) or untrained (לֹא לָמַד, Je 31.18) calf.

לָמַד: the function of the piel amongst the themes

The piel acts as the causative/factitive of the qal. Dt 4.10 has the qal and piel together in their related senses: אֲשֶׁר יִלְמְדוּן לְיִרְאָה אֶת־יְיָ כָּל־הַיָּמִים אֲשֶׁר הֵם חַיִּים, “so that they may learn to fear me all the days which they live upon the earth and teach them to their children”. The pual acts as the passive of the piel.

c. אָלַף: This verb is only attested four times (qal: 1x; piel: 3x) and is analogous to the qal and piel of לָמַד. The qal in Pr 22.25 warns against being friends with a wrathful man “lest you learn his ways” and the piel is used three times in Job with the sense ‘to teach’ (Elihu: “Be silent and I will teach you wisdom” הִחַרְשׁ וְאֶאֱלָפֶךָ, Job 33.33; also 15.5; 35.11).

d. שָׁנַן: There is a single piel of this verb attested in Dt 6.7 in a similar context to the piel of לָמַד: “And you shall teach them diligently to your children and talk of them when you sit in your house...” (וְשִׁנְנָתֶם לְבָנֵיכֶם וְדַבַּרְתֶּם בָּם בְּשֹׁבְתֶיךָ בְּבֵיתְךָ). KB (1606 b) separates the piel from the attested qal forms of שָׁנַן meaning ‘to be sharp’ explaining it as a by-form of what they list as שָׁנָה II ‘to repeat’. O’Connell’s explanation of how the context corroborates a meaning ‘to repeat, recite’ for שָׁנַן II (*NIDOTTE* 4:197) rests upon the clauses that follow (“while you sit...walk...lie down”) and on its use with דַּבַּר. However, while it is not in question whether that which the piel of שָׁנַן is referring to may include repetition, there is no reason to conclude that this is what the verb ‘means’. If we were to do so, then the piel of לָמַד in Dt 11.19 ought also to be taken as ‘meaning’ something similar since it is used in almost the exact phrase as Dt 6.7 (וְלִמְדָתֶם אֹתָם אֶת־בְּנֵיכֶם לְדַבְּרָם בְּשֹׁבְתֶיךָ...בְּבֵיתְךָ). As a result, there seems to be no reason to take this piel as something other than the causative of שָׁנַן ‘to sharpen’ in which it has a co-referential sense with

the piel of למר, both of which undoubtedly refer to situations in which the teaching that is commanded includes repetition. The context of both of these verses as a part of covenantal instruction makes this clear without either verb necessarily carrying the particular semantic burden in its particular range of meaning.

e. ירה: Jenni has a section where he attempts to distinguish between the piel of למר and the hiphil of ירה.³⁸⁸ He argues that in a context like Ps 25.8, 9 where the piel of and hiphil are co-referential, the themes of the different verbs are distinguished by accidental and substantial action respectively. Ps 25.8 says, Good and upright is the Lord, “therefore he instructs sinners in the way” (על-כן יורה חטאים בדרך) and 25.9 says, He leads the humble in what is right “and teaches the humble his way” (וילמד ענוים דרכו). In his discussion of the difference between the supposedly accidental piel and substantial hiphil of חזק in Ezk 30.24, 25, the fact that the piel was mentioned first was one of the primary factors leading to labeling it as ‘accidental’. It is worth noting that although the hiphil is attested first here, it is not treated in an analogous manner. The remainder of his discussion on the difference between these two verbs is merely a matter of Jenni labeling the piel as accidental and the hiphil as substantial and is not a satisfactory treatment of the material. It seems odd that Jenni would attempt to distinguish between the themes of these two verbs, which are not used as often in the same context and yet he fails to have any discussion on something like the difference between the qal of אסף and the piel of קבץ though they are used together in the same contexts with what appear to be overlapping senses (cf. §3.1 f).

3.17 אהב & שנה

a. אהב

BDB: 216x

q: 199x

n: 1x

p: 16x

³⁸⁸ Jenni, *DhP* [n. 42], 119–22.

qal

The syntax of the qal is: <A> אהב (אָהַב)

The qal has the sense ‘to love’ and is applied, similarly to the English verb, to affection of one person for another (Israel loved Joseph more than all his other sons, וַיִּשְׂרָאֵל אֶהֱבֵב אֶת־יֹסֵף מִכָּל־בָּנָיו, Gn 37.3; also of the Lord “because he loved your fathers, כִּי אֶהֱבֵב אֶת־אֲבוֹתֶיךָ, Dt 4.37), to refer to a person’s strong fondness for something (Rebekah plans to prepare food such as Isaac loves, Gn 27.9) and to refer to a person’s willful commitment to someone/something (“Oh, how I love your law” מָה־אֶהֱבֵתִי תוֹרָתְךָ, Ps 119.97). The qal participle is sometimes used substantively to refer to a person or group of people as ‘friends’ or ‘companions’ (“Faithful are the wounds of a friend” נֶאֱמָנִים פְּצַעֵי אֹהֶב, Pr 27.6).³⁸⁹

niphal

The sole niphal is found in David’s lament over Saul and Jonathan where they are called “The beloved and pleasant” (וַיְהוֹנָחַן וַיְהִי־לֵבָבִים וַיְהִי־נֶעִיִם, 2 Sa 1.23).

piel

The piel is only attested as a plural participle with the substantive sense ‘lovers’ or ‘friends’. In the prophets, the referent of the piel participle is most often the nations that Israel trusted, which are described in terms of relational infidelity. Je 22.20 says of Jehoiakim “for all your lovers are destroyed” (כִּי נִשְׁבְּרוּ כָּל־מְאַהֲבָיֶךָ, also Je 22.22; 30.14).³⁹⁰ The piel is also used in Zc 13.6, “The wounds I received in the house of my friends” (אֲשֶׁר הִכִּיתִי בַּיִת מְאַהֲבָי) where the sense of what the speaker is referring to is not infidelity.

³⁸⁹ In a few places it is used together with the noun רֵעַ ‘friend’ in a phrase where it is translated as something like ‘companions’ (Ps 38.12; Ps 88.19). The broader literary context and the actual referent indicate how the relationship between the parties is being evoked. In some places, the context indicates that the sense is of ‘lovers’ in an image of marital infidelity on the part of God’s people with neighboring nations (qal, La 1.2; piel, Je 22.20, 22 – note that in Je 3.1, רֵעַ is used to refer to ‘lovers’ in the image of marital infidelity indicated in part by its use with the qal of זָנָה ‘to play the harlot’. This is a part of the broader literary context for the piel in Je 22.20, 22; 30.14). Because of the increasingly narrow sense that the word ‘lover(s)’ has through present English use, it could be possibly misleading in older translations in contexts where the image of sexual relationship/infidelity is not intended (e.g. “lover and friend” in RSV/KJV of Ps 88.19).

³⁹⁰ Further references include: La 1.19; Ezk 16.33, 36, 37; 23.5, 9, 22; Hos 2.7, 9, 12, 14, 15).

אהב: the function of the piel amongst the themes

The qal is the base theme for this verb with the piel participle acting similarly to the qal participle where it is a substantive ‘lovers’ or ‘friends’. The element that distinguishes between them is the way in which their contexts indicate the nature of the relationships between the person(s) and their ‘lovers’ or ‘friends’. When the qal participle is used substantively in a manner similar to the piel, it is generally used of those who love the Lord (Ex 20.6; Dt 5.10; 13.4) or of those who are ‘friends’ or ‘companions’ of another (singular of Abraham as God’s friend, Is 41.8; plural of Haman’s friends, Est 5.14; 6.13). The piel participle (only plural) is attested solely in the prophets in contexts where the relationship being referred to is primarily one of ‘lovers’ in an image of marital unfaithfulness on the part of Israel. That the qal and piel are used similarly and distinguished primarily by their context of use is further supported by the fact that where they are attested in the same context they are co-referential. La 1.2 has the qal in an image of Jerusalem in sorrow, “among all her lovers, she has none to comfort her” (אֵין־לָהּ מְנַחֵם מִכָּל־אֲהָבֶיהָ) and the piel is used in La 1.19 where Jerusalem is referred to by the first person “I called to my lovers, but they deceived me” (קָרָאתִי לְמֵאֲהָבַי הִמָּזָה רְמוּנִי).³⁹¹ The sole niph'al is used as the passive of the sense and contexts of the qal.

b. שָׂנֵא

BDB: 145x

q: 128x

n: 2x

p: 15x

qal

The syntax of the qal is: <A> שָׂנֵא (אָתְּ)

The qal has the sense ‘to hate’ and is applied in similar ways to אהב of someone hating another person (Absalom hated Amnon, כִּי־שָׂנֵא אֶבְשָׁלוֹם אֶת־אֲמֹנֹן,

³⁹¹ Jenni, *DhP* [n. 42], 158, offers a perplexing explanation for how the qal and piel of אהב differ with relation to the constancy (qal, ‘friends’) or variability (piel, ‘lovers’) of the object and supposedly how the piel part and qal perf in Ezk 16.37 are consistent with his actualis and resultative expectations. He does not cite or deal with the qal and piel in La 1 within his explanation of this verb.

2 Sa 13.22) or hating something (“your new moons and your appointed feasts my soul hates”, **וּמוֹעֲדֵיכֶם וְחַדְשֵׁיכֶם שָׂנְאָה נַפְשִׁי**, Is 1.14). The qal active participle is used substantively to refer to ‘enemies’ (Ex 1.10) or literally to ‘those who hate’ someone (Dt 5.9). The qal passive participle is used eight out of nine times to refer to the ‘unloved’ wife (Gn 29.31, 33; Dt 21.15 (x2), 16, 17; Pr 30.23; Is 60.15), which in Dt 21 is contrasted with the ‘loved’ (qal pass part of **אהב**).

niphal

The niphal has the sense ‘to be hated’ and is attested twice in Proverbs: a man of evil devices is hated (14.17) and of how the poor is hated even by his neighbor (**גַּם-לְרֵעֵהוּ יִשְׂנֵא רָשׁ**, 14.20).

piel

The piel is only attested as a participle with the sense ‘those who hate’ someone and thus often translated by one of the co-referential terms like ‘foes’ or ‘enemies’. It is used of those who hate the Lord (Nu 10.35; Dt 32.41; Ps 81.16), of those who hate the people of God (Dt 33.11; 2 Sa 22.41 || Ps 18.41) and once of those who hate wisdom (“all who hate me love death”, **כָּל-מִשְׂנְאֵי אָהָבוּ מוֹת**, Pr 8.36).

שנא: the function of the piel amongst the themes

The themes of this verb act in a corresponding manner to **אהב** with the contrasting sense ‘to hate’. The qal is the base theme and the piel participle has quite a bit of overlap with the qal participle where it is used substantively to refer to ‘those who hate’/‘enemies’. Unlike **אהב**, the qal and piel participles of **שנא** are not distinguished by context of use. When used substantively, both refer to the class of people who hate another person or group of people and both are used in similar contexts. David’s song in 2 Sa 22/Ps 18 uses the qal (**וּמִשְׂנְאֵי/מִשְׂנְאֵי**) in vs. 18 and the piel (**וּמִשְׂנְאֵי/מִשְׂנְאֵי**) in vs. 41 of those who hated him. Participles in both themes are used to refer to those who hate the Lord (qal: **לְשֹׂנְאֵי**, Ex 20.5 = Dt 5.9; **וּלְשֹׂנְאֵי יְהוָה**, 2 Ch 19.2; piel: **מִשְׂנְאֵיךָ**, Nu 10.35; **מִשְׂנְאֵי יְהוָה**, Ps 81.16) as well as those who hate the people of the Lord (qal: **כָּל-שֹׂנְאֵי**, Ps 41.8; **וּשְׂנְאֵי צְדִיק**, Ps 34.22; piel: **וּמִשְׂנְאֵיו** of

David's enemies, Ps 89.24; מִשְׂנְאֵי, Job 31.29). As a result, the senses of the qal and piel participles appear to be indistinguishable from one another.

The *niphal* is used as the passive of the sense of the active qal and is used in contexts other than that of the 'unloved' wife of the qal passive participle.

c. שְׂנֵא & אָהַב: the function of the piel amongst the verbs

The qal and piel substantive participles of these verbs are used together with their respective co-referential terms (particularly רֵעַ 'friend' and אוֹיֵב 'enemy'; but also צָר 'adversary') in comparable contexts. The participle and nouns refer to either a friendly or unfriendly relation between two parties with the broader context indicating the nature of the relationship (cf. רַעִים רַבִּים 'many lovers', Je 3.1 in an image of marital infidelity). In the case of אָהַב, it is how this broader context informs or employs the nature of the relationship that appears to be the main distinguishing factor between qal and piel. שְׂנֵא does not have a corresponding context of use to the piel of אָהַב and the qal and piel substantive participles overlap extensively in terms of both sense and referents.

3.18 שָׂחַק, צָחַק, צַעַק & בָּכָה

a. שָׂחַק

BDB: 36x
q: 18x
p: 17x
hi: 1x

qal

The syntax of the qal is: <A> שָׂחַק [+ עַל/לְ of disadvantage (who/what is laughed at); בְּ of location]

The qal has the sense 'to laugh' and is used of a person (human or divine) laughing at something or someone. This can be applied to someone simply laughing ("a time to cry and a time to laugh", Ec 3.4; also Job 29.24 'to smile' on someone), but is most often used in contexts where the laughter is of scorn: the Lord laughs at the wicked (Ps 37.13), the Chaldeans laugh at every fortress (לְכָל-מִבְצָר יִשְׂחָק, Hb

1.10) and Job speaks of how those who he once helped now mock him (Job 30.1). The qal is also used once in Ju 16.27 to refer to when the Philistines “looked on while Samson entertained” (הִרְאִים בְּשִׂחֹק שְׂמֵשׁוֹן).

piel

The syntax of the piel is: <A> שִׂחַק [+ לְ/בִּי of location]

The piel is used to refer to different sorts of activity that would be associated with laughter or joy. Thus, it has the sense of ‘to entertain/play/rejoice/dance’ etc. depending upon the context. The piel is used of David and Israel celebrating the ark of the Lord being brought to Jerusalem (2 Sa 6.5, 21), of the city being full of boys and girls “playing in its streets” (מְשַׂחֲקִים בְּרַחֲבֹתֶיהָ, Zc 8.5) and of the mountains, “all the beasts of the field play there” (וְכָל-חַיַּת הַשָּׂדֶה יִשְׂחָקוּ-שָׁם, Job 40.20).

hiphil

The sole hiphil has the sense ‘to scorn’ and is found in 2 Ch 30.10 in the context of the people’s response to Hezekiah’s messengers: “but they scorned them and mocked them” (וַיִּהְיוּ מְשַׂחֲקִים עֲלֵיהֶם וּמְלַעְגִים בָּם).

שִׂחַק: the function of the piel amongst the themes

The qal and piel are found together once in the narrative of Samson’s entertaining of the Philistines. The piel is used for the Philistine call for Samson “that he may entertain us” (וַיִּשְׂחָק-לָנוּ, Ju 16.25) and the qal infinitive construct is used of people looking on “while Samson entertained” (Ju 16.27). Aside from this context, the qal is used to refer to the act of laughing (the purpose of the laughter being indicated by the context) and the piel is used to refer to the sorts of activity which include or even produce laughter or joy. Thus, the sense of the piel in some contexts seems related to something like a causative sense ‘to make laugh’ with the context indicating the purpose or nature of the laughter. In addition, the qal is quite often used in contexts where the subject is mocking or scorning something or someone, where the piel is only used to refer to rejoicing/entertaining/playing. The sole hiphil is used similarly to the qal in a context of scorn (used together with hiph participle of לַעַג ‘to mock’).

b. צחק: (q: 6x; p: 7x) All six qal forms are found in Genesis in the narrative surrounding Isaac's birth. Both Abraham (Gn 17.17) and Sarah (Gn 18.12, 13, 15 (2x)) laugh at the promise of a child in their old age and Sarah refers again to this in the play on Isaac's name (Gn 21.6). The piel is used in contexts of mocking (Potiphar accuses Joseph of laughing at them, Gn 39.14, 17; possibly Gn 21.9 of Ishmael), of jesting (Lot's son's in law thought his warning was in jest, Gn 19.14), of entertaining (Samson, Ju 16.25 referring to the action resulting from the request using the piel of שחק earlier in 16.25) and of Isaac laughing with Rebecca (וְהָיָה יִצְחָק מְצַחֵק אֶת רֵבְקָה אִשְׁתּוֹ (רֵבְקָה אִשְׁתּוֹ)) possibly suggesting intimacy in the relationship. With צחק then the qal and piel seem to have a bit more overlap in sense and it is the context that determines what the nature of the laughter is (the qal is used of laughter; the piel of mocking). In addition, the piel is also used like the the piel of שחק where it refers to the sort of activity that may employ or cause laughter (jesting in Gn 19.14; Samson's entertaining in Ju 16.25).

c. צעק: (q: 47x; n: 6x; p: 1x; hi: 1x) & **בכה:** (q: 112x; p: 2x) Both of these verbs meaning 'to cry' and 'to weep' respectively are attested primarily in the qal and the attested piel forms in each are participles. צעק is listed by Waltke and O'Connor as an example of the frequentative use of the piel (cf. n. 398 below under הלך) and presumably they would include בכה there as well. However, as with the example of הלך mentioned below, the distinction depends heavily upon the selection of the qal that the piel is compared with. Waltke and O'Connor translate the piel in 2 K 2.12 as "And he was crying out: 'My father, my father!'" and cite the Hebrew beginning with וְהוּא, which disconnects it slightly from the preceding participle "And Elisha saw and he cried..." (וַיֹּאֲלֵישָׁע רָאָה וְהוּא מְצַעֵק אָבִי אָבִי). Regardless of the citation and translation, it is hard to see how the piel here is different in sense from the qal where the Egyptian taskmasters say that the Israelites are lazy "and therefore they cry 'Let us go out and sacrifice to our God'" (עַל־כֵּן הֵם צֻעְקִים לְאֹמֵר גִּלְכָּה נִזְבְּחָה לְאֱלֹהֵינוּ) (Ex 5.8). If we use Waltke and O'Connor's definition that the qal in these cases should be anything but frequentative and that by 'frequentative' they are referring to aspect that can be "either iterative over time or plural through space", then the form in

Ex 5.8 ought to be piel since the referential situation indicates that the cry surely would have been iterative and the physical subjects of the verb are plural through space. Similar comments could be made regarding the qal and piel of בכה. The piel is used in Je 31.15 of “Rachel weeping for her children” (רָחֵל מְבַכָּה עַל-בָּנֶיהָ) and the qal of Jeremiah wishing he had it in him “that I might weep day and night for the slain of the daughter of my people” (וְנִאֲבָכָה יוֹמָם וָלַיְלָה אֶת חַלְלֵי בַת־עַמִּי).³⁹² The point here is not related to whether the piel participle is used in contexts where it may refer to an activity that is either iterative in nature or plural in subject or object, but that the purported ‘frequentative’ aspect is indicated by the grammatical and referential contexts and not the theme itself. Therefore, in verbs like these it would be more consistent with the available data to say that in some places the qal and piel participles appear to overlap with respect to both sense and referent.

הלך & דלג 3.19

a. הלך

BDB: 1545x

q: 1410x

n: 1x

p: 25x

hi: 45x

hithp: 64x

qal

The syntax of the qal is: <A> הלך [+ numerous complements including: אָל/מִן/בְּ/לְ of direction/place; directional הָ, הָלַךְ of disadvantage; עַד of extent; complementing infinitive (e.g. Gn 25.22 with qal infinitive cs of דָּרַשׁ).

The qal has the general sense ‘to go, come, or walk’ and is attested over 1400x and applied in numerous contexts. It is used commonly of a person (human: Abraham, Gn 12.4 or divine: the Lord, Gn 18.33), animals (the cows, 1 Sa 6.12), or

³⁹² Also cf. the piel in Ezk 8.14 of the abominations of the temple which include, “there sat women weeping for Tammuz” (וְהָגְהִי־שָׁם הַנְּשִׁים יֹשְׁבוֹת מְבַכּוֹת אֶת־הַתְּמוּזִי) and the qal, “My lyre is tuned to mourning and my pipe to the voice of those who weep” (וַיְהִי לְאֵבֶל כְּנָרִי וְעִנְבֵי לְקוֹל בְּכִיִּים); Job 30.31). Note that Jenni, *DhP* [n. 42], 157 includes בכה under his section that differentiates the qal and piel as representing “occasional and professional activity” (Gelegentliche und professionelle Tätigkeit) respectively. Though he applies this distinction to both of the attested piel forms mentioned, he does not interact with any of the specific qal forms in his discussion by way of comparison.

objects (ships, 1 K 22.49; a river, Gn 2.14) physically moving or walking and often includes a location to or from which the movement is directed.³⁹³ The qal is also applied of a person ‘walking’ with respect to their manner of living, often in contexts relating to obedience or disobedience (walking in the law of the Lord, Ex 16.4). Similarly, a characteristic of a person’s life can also be said to ‘go’ before them (righteousness, Is 58.8; fame, Est 9.4). As with some other verbs, the qal of הלך also lends itself to being used as a complement along with another verb often with the sense of ‘going’ to do something else (e.g. Nu 14.38 with לָחֹזֵר of those who went to spy out the land) or of something continuing (e.g. of Isaac becoming more and more wealthy, Gn 26.13).

niphal

The sole niphal is attested in Ps 109.23, “Like a shadow at evening, I am gone” (כְּצֵל־כְּנֻטוֹחוֹ נִהְלַכְתִּי).

piel

The syntax of the piel is: <A> הלך [+ בְּ of location/manner; מִמָּוֶת of location; participle (Ps 38.7) or adverb (1 K 21.27) of manner]

The piel has the sense ‘to go, walk’. It is used frequently to refer to ‘walking’ in terms of the manner of a person’s living and often includes an explicit complement describing that manner: the Psalmist asks the Lord to teach him his ways “that I may walk in your truth” (בְּאֱמֻנָתְךָ בְּהֵלֵךְ), Job says in his lament “I go about darkened” (קָרַר הֵלַכְתִּי), wisdom says, “I walk in the way of righteousness, in the paths of justice” (בְּאֲרָחֵי צְדָקָה אֶהְלֵךְ בְּחוֹךְ גְּתִיבוֹת מִשְׁפָּט) Pr 8.20.³⁹⁴ The piel in this sense is also applied to someone’s manner for a time: after hearing Elijah’s prophecy against his household, Ahab laid in sackcloth “and went about dejectedly” (וַיִּהְלֶךְ אֵט, 1 K 21.27).

The piel is also used of someone living or ‘going about’ with other types of complementing description: Ec 4.15 refers to all the living “who move about under

³⁹³ When the Lord is the subject of הלך it usually refers to his presence with his people (e.g. Ex 33.16; 34.9) or the removal of his presence (e.g. Nu 12.9; Hos 5.14, 15).

³⁹⁴ Further references include: Job 24.10; Ps 38.7; 55.15; 80.14; 86.11; 89.16; 142.4; 59.9; Ec 11.9; Is 59.9; Ezk 18.9.

the sun” (הַמְהַלְכִים תַּחַת הַשָּׁמֶשׁ), referring to the wicked who are buried, “they used to go in and out of the holy place” RSV (וַיָּבֹאוּ וַיִּמְקְמוּ קְדוֹשׁ יְהוָה), Ec 8.10), and the Psalmist states “I do not occupy myself with things too great and too marvelous for me” (וְלֹא־הֵלַכְתִּי בַגְּדֵלוֹת וּבַנְּפִלְאוֹת מְמֹנִי), Ps 131.1).

The piel is also used to refer to people, animals, or other objects walking or moving physically: Pr 6.28 asks “Can a man walk on hot coals without his feet being scorched?” (אִם־יִהְיֶה אִישׁ עַל־הַנְּחָלִים וְהִגִּילוּ לֹא תִכְיֶינָה), in the lament for Mt. Zion, it says “jackals prowl over it” (שׁוֹעֲלִים הֵלְכוּ־בוֹ), La 5.18), and Ps 104.10 speaks of springs “flowing between the hills” (מְעִינִים...בֵּין הַרִים יְהִלְכוּן).³⁹⁵

hiphil

The syntax of the hiphil is: <A> הֵלַךְ (אָחַ) [+ אֶל/בְּ/מִן of location; בְּ of means (Ex 14.21)]

The hiphil has the sense ‘to bring, lead’. Where the qal is used to refer to a person walking, the hiphil is used of another person ‘leading’ or ‘bringing’ a person to or from some place: Joshua restates the Lord’s words that he took Abraham “and I led him through all the land of Canaan” (וְאוֹלַךְ אוֹתוֹ בְּכָל־אֶרֶץ כְּנָעַן), Jos 24.3), Moses says, “I have led you for forty years in the wilderness” (וְאוֹלַךְ אֶתְכֶם אַרְבָּעִים שָׁנָה), Dt 29.4), and Nebuchadnezzar bound Jehoiakim in shackles to take him to Babylon (וַיֹּאסְרֵהוּ בַנְּחֻשְׁתַּיִם לְהֵלִיכוֹ בְּבָבֶלָה), 2 Ch 36.6).

hithpael

The syntax of the hithpael is: <A> הִתְהַלַּךְ [+ בְּ/לְפָנַי of location]

The hithpael has the sense ‘to walk’ (about)’. It is used to refer to the physical act of walking: a man will be cleared if the one he struck “rises and walks around outdoors” (וְהִתְהַלַּךְ בַּחוּץ), Ex 21.19), Joshua commands the people to appoint three men from each tribe “to go through the land” (וַיִּתְהַלְכוּ בְּאֶרֶץ), Jos 8.4), and in order to learn about Esther, “every day Mordecai walked in front of the court

³⁹⁵ Further references include: of idols having feet but they do not walk (Ps 115.7), referring to the sea, “there go the ships” (וַיִּהְיוּ יְהִלְכוּן), Ps 104.26), and of the Lord “who rides on the wings of the wind” (עַל־כַּנְפֵי־רוּחַ), Ps 104.3).

of the harem” (וּבְכָל-יְוֹם מְרַדְּכֵי מִתְהַלֵּךְ לִפְנֵי הַצַּר בֵּית-הַנְּשִׂימִים) Es 2.11).³⁹⁶ Accordingly, this sense is also applied to other objects ‘moving’: arrows/lightning (Ps 77.18), water flowing away (Ps 58.8), something that looked like torches moving between the creatures in Ezekiel’s vision (Ezk 1.13).

When the A element is the Lord, the hithpacl is used with the sense of the Lord ‘walking’ amongst or being present with someone: of Adam and Eve hearing the sound of the Lord “as he was walking in the garden” (בְּגֵן מִתְהַלֵּךְ, Gn 3.8), the camp of the Israelites must be holy, “for the Lord your God walks in the midst of your camp” (כִּי יְהוָה אֱלֹהֶיךָ מִתְהַלֵּךְ בְּקֶרֶב מַחֲנֶךָ) (Dt 23.15), and the Lord says, “And I will walk among you and be your God” (וְהִתְהַלַּכְתִּי בְּתוֹכְכֶם וְהָיִיתִי לָכֶם לֵאלֹהִים) (Lv 26.12).³⁹⁷

The hithpacl is also applied in contexts where the walking refers to the manner or disposition of living: Gn 6.9 states that Noah was a righteous and blameless man, “Noah walked with God” (אֶת-הָאֱלֹהִים הִתְהַלַּךְ-נֹחַ, Gn 6.9), Abraham’s servant recalls that he said “The Lord, before whom I walk” (יְהוָה אֲשֶׁר-הִתְהַלַּכְתִּי לִפְנָיו) (Gn 24.40), and the Psalmist says, “and I walk in your faithfulness” (וְהִתְהַלַּכְתִּי בְּאֱמֻנָתְךָ) (Ps 26.3).

הלך: the function of the piel amongst the themes

The qal has the general sense ‘to walk’, which is applied to people, animals, and objects in both literal and figurative contexts. The sole niph'al is used with the sense ‘to be gone’ similar to the qal in a context like Je 9.9: the birds of the air and the beasts of the field have fled “and are gone”. The piel has the sense ‘to walk’, which is most often applied to the manner or disposition of how a person is living. This sense overlaps with the similar sense of the qal. The Lord says regarding Egypt and Canaan, “You shall not walk in their statutes” (וּבְחַקֵּיהֶם לֹא תֵלְכוּ, Lv 18.3) and in

³⁹⁶ Further references include: Ju 21.24; 1 Sa 12.2; 23.13; 25.27; 2 Sa 11.2; 1 Ch 16.20; 21.4; Ps 105.13

³⁹⁷ E. Merrill suggest in his *NIDOTTE* article on הלך (1:1034) that a special nuance of the hithpacl views walking as exercising sovereignty and that the hithpacl historically can be used “as a code for dominion”. He includes here contexts like Gn 3.8 of the Lord walking in the garden; Jos 18.4, 8 of the people surveying the land; Job 1.7; 2.2 of Satan roaming the earth; and Zc 1.10; 6.6, 7 of the horsemen sent out by the Lord. While these subject elements have some differing levels of sovereignty over that which they are said to be walking on or over in their contexts, the fact of sovereignty is indicated by the nature or position of the person who fills the A element as a part of the referential context rather than being codified somehow in the use of the theme itself.

Ezk 18.9 the Lord describes the righteous man as one who “walks in my statutes” (בְּחֻמֹּתַי יִהְלֵךְ). The qal is used when the Lord calls Jeroboam to listen to all that he commands “and walk in my ways” (וְהִלַּכְתָּ בְּדַרְכָּי, 1 K 11.38) and the piel is used of the Lord lamenting, O that my people would listen to me “that Israel would walk in my ways” (יִשְׂרָאֵל בְּדַרְכָּי יִהְלִכוּ, Ps 81.14).³⁹⁸ Outside of these similarities between the qal and piel, the qal is used quite often in narrative texts to refer to someone going or coming to or from a specific location, where the piel is only used once in a narrative context to refer to the manner of Ahab’s going about in humility (1 K 21.27). The hithpacl is used with the sense ‘to walk (about)’ and is applied in contexts that have some overlap with both the sense of the qal and the piel. It is used to refer to the physical act of walking about: in Joshua’s command to the people going (אָתְּהָהֵלְכִים) to survey the land, the qal and hithpacl are used together, “Go, and walk through the land” (לָכוּ וְהִתְהַלַּכְוּ בְּאֶרֶץ, Jos 18.8). The piel is used where the Psalmist asks to be taught the way of the Lord “that I may walk in your truth” (אֶהְלֵךְ בְּאֱמֻנָתְךָ) and the hithpacl is also used in Ps 26.3 “and I walk in your truth” (וְהִתְהַלַּכְתִּי בְּאֱמֻנָתְךָ). The hiphil acts as the causative to the sense of the qal meaning ‘to cause to come/go’ and thus often ‘to bring, lead’. It is used almost exclusively of someone leading another person to or from a particular place, and is used quite often with the Lord as the B element.

With the large number of attested forms of הִלַּךְ, it is not surprising that there are overlaps between the themes. However, outside of the overlap mentioned above, the themes are also somewhat distinguished by their contexts. The qal refers to ‘walking’ in narrative contexts where it is primarily focused on the movement of people, animals, or objects to or from a location, but is also applied in contexts where ‘walking’ refers to things like how someone is living. The sole niphil overlaps in

³⁹⁸ Waltke & O’Connor depart from Jenni’s explanation with verbs like הִלַּךְ (cf. § 24.5) and include them under the functional heading ‘frequentative’ as a separate category from the ‘resultatives’. By ‘frequentative’, they mean that the verbs in the piel denote “a frequentative aspect, either iterative over time or plural through space”. In this grouping of ‘intransitive fientive’ verbs, they argue that “if we suppose that the qal is the unmarked and the piel the marked form, then we can say that the qal means anything other than the frequentative” (§24.5a). While the two examples of הִלַּךְ that are given at this point (qal, Gn 22.6; piel, Job 24.10) seem to support this distinction, they do not appear to be the best examples to compare. The piel is not used in narrative contexts to refer to physical walking (like Gn 22.6), but the qal is used in contexts referring to how someone is walking or going about (like Job 24.10). Thus, the qal as anything but frequentative does not make sense of passages like the qal in 1 K 11.38 and the piel in Ps 81.14 mentioned above where both themes are used to refer to walking in the ways of the Lord. Also see Ps 128.1 for the qal in a similar sense and genre to the piel in Ps 81.14.

sense with the qal. The piel overlaps with the latter sense of the qal and most often focuses on the manner of someone's living. The hiphil is causative to the former sense of the qal and thus does not overlap in sense with either the qal or piel. The hithpacl seems to be similar to the qal but also adds some level of complexity to the former sense of the qal: i.e. where they are used together in Jos 18.8, the conjunction of the qal and hithpacl seem to refer to the 'leaving' and the 'walking about' in the land respectively. The hithpacl is also used in a sense that is similar to the piel when it refers to the manner or disposition of how someone is walking or living. In some of these contexts, the hithpacl refers to a walking or living that is set in a context which focuses on the presence with or before someone.

b. רלג: (q: 1x; p: 4x) This verb meaning 'to leap' is listed with הלך in Waltke & O'Connor as an example of the 'frequentative' piel (cf. n. 398 above). They compare the sole qal in Zp 1.9 "On that day I will punish everyone who leaps over the threshold" (וּפְקַדְתִּי עַל כָּל־הַדּוֹלֵג עַל־הַמַּפְתָּן בַּיּוֹם הַהוּא) with the piel in Song 2.8 "Behold, he comes leaping over the mountains" (הִנֵּה־זֶה בָּא מְרַלֵּג עַל־הַהָרִים) as evidence that the participle being attested as piel versus qal in Song 2.8 is the element that marks the frequentative aspect of the leaping. However, since the frequentative aspect in Waltke and O'Connor's definition can be "iterative over time" (§24.5a), the action depicted in Zp 1.9 ought also to be taken as frequentative since undoubtedly the practice that is spoken of is represented as happening from time to time. Secondly, if this were the distinction between the themes, we ought to expect that the piel forms in 2 Sa 22.30||Ps 18.30 should be qal: "(and) by my God I can leap over a wall" (וּבְאֵלֵהִי אֶרְלֹג־שׁוּר).³⁹⁹

³⁹⁹ One of the reasons that 'frequentative' versus 'non-frequentative' do not appear to be apt categories for an exhaustive distinction between the uses of the qal and piel of the verbs included in this discussion is that they simply do not fit well as an explanation for the examples given. This is not to say that the description 'frequentative' may not fit for one or more of the examples (of a qal or piel form of a particular verb), but rather, that the attempt to apply these distinctions in an absolute manner results in problems that show that it is not an apt overall pattern for explanation.

CHAPTER 4

The Function of the piel with Stative Verbs

4.1 חזק, אמן, קשה, כבד & קלל

a. חזק

BDB: 291x total⁴⁰⁰

q: 82x

p: 65x

hi: 118x

hith: 26x

qal

The syntax⁴⁰¹ of the qal is: <A> חזק [+ מן of comparison; על/אל of disadvantage; ב of location (Gn 41.56, 57)]⁴⁰²

The qal has the sense ‘to be, become strong’. It is applied in contexts where something or someone referred to is (or is becoming) strong literally or figuratively: Moses instructs the people to keep all that the Lord has commanded, “so that you may be strong” (לִמְעַן תְּחַזְקוּ) and take the land (Dt 11.8), Merodach-Baladan sent gifts to Hezekiah “because he had been ill and had recovered” (כִּי חָלָה וַיִּחַזַּק, Is 39.1), and Isaiah calls the rulers of Jerusalem not to scoff “lest your bonds become strong” (פֶּן־יִחַזְקוּ מוֹסְרֵיכֶם, Is 28.22). When this sense is applied to a person or a nation in conflict it tends to have the sense of ‘being stronger than’ (often with מן of comparison) or ‘overcoming’ someone else: Amnon is able to rape Tamar because he is stronger than she is (וַיִּחַזַּק מִמֶּנָּה, 2 Sa 13.14) and Joab commands Abishai in 2 Sa

⁴⁰⁰ It appears that the *NIDOTTE* (2:64) entry has repeated what is an apparent misprint on the part of *TDOT* (4:301) from the numbers given in *TWAT* (2:848) adding an additional 100 to the number of attested hithpaels.

⁴⁰¹ For the syntax of stative verbs, the <A> element is used to represent the subject of stative qal (e.g. <A> חזק). Since this A element then usually becomes the object with a causative verb, the syntax for those verbs represent this fact (e.g. <A> חזק (א)).

⁴⁰² There is a single attested qal form that, if it is to be read as qal, has the sense ‘to strengthen someone’: 2 Ch 28.20 says that though Ahaz sent to Tiglath-Pileser III for help he came against Ahab “and afflicted him instead of strengthening him” (וַיַּצַּר לוֹ וְלֹא חֲזַקוּ). BHS notes to read the piel form חֲזַקוּ here and cites the piel forms in 29.34 and 35.2. Whatever is the right reading, the sense of the form is that which is found elsewhere mostly with the piel (and less frequently with the hiphil).

10.11 (|| 2 Ch 19.12) that they are to help one another if either of their foes begin to overpower the other in the course of battle (Aram, אַם־תִּחַזַּק אֲרָם מִמְּנִי and Ammon, וְיִחַזְקוּ מִמֶּךָ וְאִם־בְּנֵי עַמּוֹן יִחַזְקוּ מִמֶּךָ respectively). The qal also has a similar sense with the prepositions אֶל or עַל: the word of the king prevailed over Joab and the commanders of the army regarding the census (וַיִּחַזַּק דְּבַר־הַמֶּלֶךְ אֶל־יֹאבָב וְעַל שְׂרֵי הַחַיִּל, 2 Sa 24.4) and Solomon went out to Hamath-zobah and “captured it” (וַיִּחַזַּק עָלֶיהָ, 2 Ch 8.3).

Another application of the sense of the qal ‘to become strong’ is where something has become ‘set’ or ‘fixed’: “And as soon as the royal power was firmly in his hand” (וַיְהִי כַּאֲשֶׁר חִזְקָה הַמַּמְלָכָה בְּיָדוֹ) Amaziah killed the servants who had killed his father (2 K 14.5; 1 Ch 21.4 with עָלָיו) and also Absalom’s head was held fast in the branches of the oak his donkey was riding under (וַיִּחַזַּק רֹאשׁוֹ בְּאֵלֶה, 2 Sa 18.9). Another application is in contexts where something is said to be ‘severe’ or ‘heavy’: of a famine being ‘severe’ in the land (וַיִּחַזַּק הָרָעַב בְּאֶרֶץ מִצְרָיִם, Gn 41.56; also 41.57; 47.20; 2 K 25.3; Je 52.6), the Lord says to his people, “Your words have been hard against me” (חִזְקוּ עָלַי דְּבַרְיִכֶם, Mal 3.13), and after the death of their firstborn, the Egyptians urge the people (וַתִּחַזַּק מִצְרַיִם עַל־הָעָם לְמַהֵר לְשַׁלְּחָם) to send the Israelites away in haste (Ex 12.33).

There are two recurring contexts in which the qal is used in somewhat related senses. The first is contexts in which the qal is used in direct speech to call a person or a group of people to ‘be strong’ often with the sense of being ‘steadfast’ or even ‘determined’. In the narrative of covenantal instruction and succession of leadership in Deuteronomy and Joshua, the qal of חִזַּק is used together with the qal of אָמַץ in the thematic phrase “be strong and courageous” (חִזְקוּ וְאָמְצוּ, Dt 31.6).⁴⁰³ The qal is also used with the sense ‘to be strong’ or ‘steadfast’/‘determined’ outside of the phrase with אָמַץ, often with another complementing verb: in Joshua’s final instruction to the elders he says “and be very strong to keep and do all that is written in the book of the law of Moses” (וַתִּחַזְקֶהֶם מְאֹד לְשָׁמֵר וּלְעֲשׂוֹת אֵת כָּל־הַכְּתוּב בְּסֵפֶר תּוֹרַת מֹשֶׁה), Jos 23.6), Isaiah encourages Judah “say to those who are anxious of heart, ‘Be strong, fear

⁴⁰³ Other reference with the qal of אָמַץ include: Dt 31.7, 23; Jos 1.6, 7, 9, 18; 10.25; 1 Ch 22.13; 1 Ch 28.20; 2 Ch 23.7; Ps 27.14; 31.25.

not!” (אֶל־חִירָאוּ) חֲזַקוּ לְנִמְהָרֵי־לֵב חֲזַקוּ (Is 35.4), through Haggai the Lord says to the leaders and people “be strong (3x) and work” (Hg 2.4). Lastly, this sense of the qal can also employ the image “let the hands of someone be strong” representing an outward manifestation and/or an internal reality: the Lord instructs Gideon to go down to the camp of the Midianites and listen “and afterward your hands shall be strengthened to go down against the camp” (וְאַחַר תְּחַזְקֶנָּה יָרִיד וְיִרְדָּתָ בַּמַּחֲנֶה) (Ju 7.11).⁴⁰⁴

The second context is the exodus narrative where the qal of חֲזַק is used as one of three verbs (also כָּבַד and קָשָׁה) to refer to Pharaoh’s heart being hardened. The qal of חֲזַק is used four times in Exodus and always has the heart of Pharaoh as the subject (פָּרַעַה לֵב בְּחֲזֹק, Ex 7.13; also 7.22; 8.15; 9.35). If the context of the call of the phrase “be strong and courageous” is in part, one of setting the heart of the individual in the way of covenantal obedience, then the context of the ‘hardening’ of Pharaoh’s heart appears to be a setting of oneself in a way opposed to obedience.

piel

The syntax of the piel is: <A> חֲזַק (אָח)

The piel has the sense ‘to make strong, strengthen’. It is applied in contexts of one person making someone or something else strong literally or figuratively: Samson’s final plea is that the Lord would strengthen him one last time (וְחֲזַקְנִי, Ju 16.28), Ezekiel prophesies against the shepherds of Israel because among other things “they have not strengthened the weak” (אֶת־הַנְּחָלֹת לֹא חֲזַקְתֶּם) (Ezk 34.4), and of Daniel’s vision “Again one having the appearance of a man touched me and strengthened me” (וַיִּסָּף וַיַּגֵּעַ־בִּי כְּמֵרְאֵה אָדָם וַיַּחֲזַקְנִי) (Dn 10.18; also 10.19). When applied to a building or structure, the piel has the sense ‘to make strong’ or ‘to repair’ depending upon the context: often of repairing the temple (6x in 2 K 12.6–15; e.g. 12.6, וְהֵם יַחֲזְקוּ אֶת־בְּרֶךְ הַבַּיִת), Hezekiah strengthens the Millo in preparing for Sennacherib (וַיַּחֲזַק אֶת־הַמְּלוּא) (2 Ch 32.5), and Uzziah built towers in Jerusalem and

⁴⁰⁴ Other references of the hand being strengthened include: 2 Sa 2.7; 16.21; Ezk 22.14; Zc 8.9, 13; 2 Ch 15.7 (also with the opposing image with the qal of רָפָה of dropping the hands).

'fortified them' (2 Ch 26.9).⁴⁰⁵ One other attestation worthy of note: in the list of who 'repaired' the wall next to whom in chapter 3 of Nehemiah, a single piel (וַיְחַזְקוּ) is found in 3.19 in the midst of thirty four hiphils of חִזְקוּ.

Where the qal of חִזְקוּ calls the hearer to be strong or courageous, the piel is used to refer to someone strengthening or encouraging another: Moses retells the people how he was commanded, "But charge Joshua and strengthen him and encourage him" (וַיִּצַו אֶת־יְהוֹשֻׁעַ וְחִזְקֵהוּ וְאַמְצֵהוּ, Dt 3.28), Isaiah describes craftsmen making idols encouraging one another (Is 41.7), and after Josiah celebrated the Passover, "he encouraged them [the priests] in the service of the house of the Lord" (וַיְחַזְקֵם לְעִבְדַת בַּיִת יְהוָה). The figure of speech 'to strengthen someone's hand' is also used in the piel signifying the outward manifestation and/or inward reality of someone being encouraged: Jeremiah and Ezekiel speak against those who prophesy so as to "strengthen the hands of those doing evil" (וַיְחַזְקוּ יְדֵי מַרְעִים, Je 23.14) and thus do not turn from their evil way (וְלֹא־חִזְקוּ יְדֵי רָשָׁע לְבַלְתִּי־שׁוּב מִדַּרְכּוֹ הָרָע, Ez 13.22) and the Lord acts against the men of Shechem "who strengthened his [Abimelech's] hands to kill his brothers" (אֲשֶׁר־חִזְקוּ אֶת־יָדָיו לְהַרְגֹת אֶת־אֶחָיו, Ju 9.24).⁴⁰⁶

The piel is also used in the exodus narrative to refer to the 'hardening' of Pharaoh's heart where it has the Lord as the subject and the heart of Pharaoh as the object acted upon: "but I will harden his heart so that he will not let the people go" (וְאֲנִי אֶחְזַק אֶת־לְבוֹ וְלֹא יִשְׁלַח אֶת־הָעָם, Ex 4.21; also 14.4) and "but the Lord hardened Pharaoh's heart" (וַיְחַזְק יְהוָה אֶת־לֵב פְּרָעֹה, Ex 9.12; also 10.20, 27; 11.10; 14.8). In Ex 14.17, the Lord explains to Moses that he is hardening the heart of the Egyptians (וְאֲנִי הִנְנִי מְחַזֵּק אֶת־לֵב מִצְרַיִם) so that they will pursue the people of Israel. This sense of the piel is also used outside of the exodus narrative: Jos 11.20 states that it is was the Lord's work to harden the hearts of the nations Israel was to conquer in Canann (כִּי מֵאֵת יְהוָה הָיְתָה לְחַזֵּק אֶת־לְבָבָם) and Jeremiah says that the

⁴⁰⁵ Isaiah and Jeremiah both speak of those who craft idols 'strengthening' or 'securing' them with nails so that they do not fall over (Is 41.7; Je 10.4) and in Isaiah's prophecy to Shebna he says the Lord will 'secure' his sash around Hilkiah.

⁴⁰⁶ Further references of 'strengthening the hand' include: 1 Sa 23.16; Is 35.3; Job 4.3; Ezra 1.6; 6.22; Ne 2.18; 6.9.

people of Jerusalem made their faces harder than rock (חִזְקוּ פְּנֵיהֶם מִסֶּלֶע) (Je 5.3) and refused to repent.

hiphil

The syntax of the hiphil is: 1. <A> החזק (בְּ/אֶת) ⁴⁰⁷ [+ בְּ of means (Ju 7.20)]
2. <A> החזק

The hiphil has the sense ‘to make strong, strengthen’ and primarily ‘to seize’ (syntax 1). It also occasionally has the sense ‘to be strong’ (syntax 2).

When used to refer to strengthening, the hiphil is primarily used of objects or collective nouns: David sends a message to Joab in order to tell him “strengthen your fight against the city and overthrow it” (הַחֲזֹק מִלְחַמְתְּךָ אֶל־הָעִיר וְהָרְסָהּ) (2 Sa 11.25), in a prophecy against Babylon, Jeremiah says “make the watch strong” (הַחֲזִיק הַמִּשְׁמָר) (Je 51.12), and Menahem paid Tiglath Pileser III to help him “to strengthen his hold on the royal power” (לְהַחֲזִיק הַמַּמְלָכָה בְּיָדוֹ) (2 K 15.19).⁴⁰⁸ The primary use of the hiphil in this sense is concentrated in chapter 3 of Nehemiah where it is used to refer to those ‘repairing’ the wall: e.g. “and next to them Meremoth, son of Uriah, son of Hakkoz made repairs” (וְעַל־יָדָם הַחֲזִיק מֶרְמוֹת בֶּן־אוּרִיָּה בֶן־הַקּוֹזִי) (Ne 3.4).⁴⁰⁹ The phrase מְחַזְּקֵי בְּדָקָךְ is used twice in Ezekiel, once as a substantive (“repairers of seams”, 27.27) and once to refer to the action of repairing (caulking) seams (Ezk 27.9).

⁴⁰⁷ With the sense ‘to seize’ the hiphil is used almost exclusively with the בְּ preposition marking the direct object (also with לְ in 2 Sa 15.5, וַיִּשָּׂק לוֹ וַיִּחָזְקוּ לוֹ וַיִּשָּׂק לוֹ of Absalom seizing and kissing those who came to the king for judgment). Once where the hiphil has the sense ‘to seize’ and is followed by אֶת, it is the preposition ‘with’ rather than the direct object marker: of the Lord’s command to Hagar “and hold him fast with your hand” בּוֹ וְהַחֲזִיקִי אֶת־יָדְךָ.

⁴⁰⁸ Two further references of strengthening are found in Ezekiel: Ezekiel prophesies against Jerusalem by reminding them of Israel’s sin, “she did not aid the poor and needy” (lit. “the hand of the poor and needy she did not strengthen”, וַיִּדְעֵנִי וְאֶבְיוֹן לֹא הִחֲזִיקָהּ, Ezk 16.49) and in judgment against Egypt, the Lord will strengthen the arms of the king of Babylon (Ezk 30.25).

⁴⁰⁹ Although some of the references in Nehemiah of repairing the wall do not have explicitly attested objects, it seems best to take those that do not as instances of ellipsis where the context clearly indicates that the object is some aspect of ‘the wall’ (note that it is explicit in Ne 2.17 in Nehemiah’s call “come let us build the wall”, וְנִבְנֶה אֶת־חוֹמַת, לָכֵן וְנִבְנֶה and that the qal of בָּנָה is then also used twice in Ne 3.2 without explicit object in parallel statements to those that follow with the hiphil of חֲזַק). “Another section” (מִדָּה שְׁנִיית) is the explicit object of the hiphil in 3.11, 20, 21, 24, 27 and in 3.13, 14, and 15 a different gate is in first position as an explicit object for each (with אֶת).

The hiphil is also attested without any explicit object (syntax 2) and has the sense “to be, become strong”:⁴¹⁰ Uzziah’s fame had spread through Egypt because he had become very strong (עַד־לְמַעַלָּהּ בִּי הִחֲזִיק, 2 Ch 26.8), a descendant of the king of the South will act against the king of the North and will “deal with them and prevail” RSV (וְעָשָׂה בָּהֶם וְהִחֲזִיק) Dn 11.7), and Dn 11.32 says, “and the people who know their God will stand firm and take action” RSV (וְעַם יְדַעֵי אֱלֹהֵי יְחֻזְקוּ וְעָשׂוּ).

The most common use of of the hiphil is in contexts where it has the sense ‘to seize’ (with syntax 1): when they hesitated, the angels seized the hand of Lot, his wife, and his daughters (וַיַּחֲזְקוּ הָאֲנָשִׁים בְּיָדוֹ וּבְיַד־אִשְׁתּוֹ וּבְיַד שְׁתֵּי בָנָתָיו) Gn 19.16) to take them out of the city, Moses reached out his hand and caught the snake which had previously been his staff (וַיִּשְׁלַח יָדוֹ וַיַּחֲזֶק בּוֹ) Ex 4.4; with the Lord’s command to do so preceding it using the qal of אָחַז, Saul grabs the hem of Samuel’s robe and tears it (וַיַּחֲזֶק בְּכַנְפֵי־מְעִילוֹ וַיִּקְרַע) 1 Sa 15.27), and Pr 26.17 says that one who meddles in someone else’s strife is “like one who seizes the ears of a dog”. The hiphil with this sense is also used to refer to objects or things like ‘anguish’ in Je 6.24, “anguish has seized us” (צָרָה הִחֲזִיקָתֵנוּ) or ‘pain’ in Mi 4.9, “that pain has seized you like a woman in labor” (כִּי־הִחֲזִיקָךְ חֵיל כִּי־לִרְהָהּ).

The hiphil is also used in contexts where it has the further applied sense ‘to hold’ or even ‘to keep; (often with the participle): Pharaoh is warned of the plague to come on his livestock if he refuses to let the people go and “continues holding them” (מַחֲזִיק בָּם) Ex 9.2; similar in Je 50.33), the Levite who goes to bring back his concubine is detained by his father in law (וַיַּחֲזֶק־בּוֹ חָתָנוֹ) Ju 19.4), Job is praised by

⁴¹⁰ GKC (§ 53 d) refers to these instances of the hiphil (including חֲזַק) as “inwardly transitive or intensive” hiphils. Joüon-Muraoka (§ 54 d) state that the meaning of the hiphil in cases like this is an “intransitive causative” or “ingressive” and that it can act as “an intransitive counterpart of the factitive piel” and further that the hiphil can sometimes refer to “a mode of action (adverbial Hifil)” (e.g. הִיטִיב ‘to act well’). Though they do not cite the hiphil of חֲזַק, it would appear that the attested forms without explicit object should be included here as an ‘intransitive causative’. These explanations are attempts to justify the sense of the verb with its form as a hiphil. Whatever is meant be the notion of an ‘inwardly transitive’, ‘intensive’ or ‘intransitive causative’ hiphil and whether they are apt descriptions of this use of the hiphil or not, the sense of these forms appears to overlap with that of the qal and hithpael (cf. חֲזַק: the function of the piel amongst the themes below). Also, cf. J. Retsö, *Diathesis in the Semitic Languages: A Comparative Morphological Study*, Studies in Semitic Languages and Linguistics XIV, edited by J. H. Hospers, Leiden: E. J. Brill (1989) 51 where he states that a large number of morphological causatives in Semitic languages are “semantically stative, syntactically intransitive, or both”.

God before Satan (2.3) and cursed by his wife (2.9) for holding fast to his integrity (מִחְזִיק בְּתַמָּתוֹ), and Nehemiah tells of his steadfastness, “and also I persevered in the work of the wall” ESV (וְגַם בְּמַלְאכַת הַחוֹמָה הַזֹּאת הִחְזַקְתִּי).

hithpael

The syntax of the hithpael is: <A> החחזק [+ על of disadvantage; ב of location]

The hithpael has the sense ‘to make or show oneself strong’: Jacob ‘summons his strength’ (וַיִּתְחַזֵּק יִשְׂרָאֵל) and sits up to bless Joseph’s sons (Gn 48.2), while there was war between David and Saul “Abner was making himself strong in the house of Saul” (וַאֲבִנֵּר הָיָה מִתְחַזֵּק בְּבֵית שָׂאִיל) 2 Sa 3.6), and of Solomon “establishing himself in his kingdom” (וַיִּתְחַזֵּק שְׁלֹמֹה בְּנִדְוִיד עַל־מַלְכוּתוֹ) 2 Ch 1.1). The hithpael is also used with the sense ‘to become strong’: because of his obedience, Jotham became mighty (וַיִּתְחַזֵּק יוֹחָם) 2 Ch 27.6) and in contrast to Jeroboam, Abijah became mighty (וַיִּתְחַזֵּק אַבְיָהוּ) 2 Ch 13.21).

The hithpael is also applied in contexts where it has the sense ‘to be strengthened’ or ‘to strengthen, encourage oneself’: the Philistines are called to ‘take courage’ and fight lest they become slaves to Israel (1 Sa 4.9), Joab says to Abishai, “be of good courage (with qal of חזק) and let us be courageous for our people and for the cities of our God” ESV (וְנָחֲזַק וְנִחְזַק בְּעַד־עַמָּנוּ וּבְעַד עָרֵי אֱלֹהֵינוּ) 2 Sa 10.12), Ezra says “and as for me I took courage, for the hand of the Lord my God was upon me (וַאֲנִי הִתְחַזַּקְתִּי כִּי־יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵי עָלָי) Ezra 7.28).

חזק: the function of the piel amongst the themes

The qal acts as a stative with the general sense ‘to be strong’ and has the adjective חָזַק⁴¹¹ acting as its participle: Micah turned away “for they [the people of Dan] were too strong for him” (כִּי־חֲזָקִים הָמָּה מִמֶּנּוּ) and also as a substantive referring to ‘the strong one’ of the arms of Pharaoh in Ezk 30.22 (with niphāl

⁴¹¹ The two forms of חָזַק in Ex 19.19 and 2 Sa 3.1 (both with qal participle of חָזַק) are indicated by BDB (304a; 305b) and KB (304b) as possible for either an adjective equal to חָזַק or a qal participle. The adjective חָזַק acts as the participle for the qal in a number of places, and the forms of חָזַק overlap in sense with these.

participle of שָׁבַר following of 'the broken one'). The **piel** acts as the causative of the **qal** with the general sense 'to make strong' being applied in several different contexts. Where the **qal** is used to call someone to be strong or courageous (spoken to Daniel, חֲזַק וְחֲזַק ... וַיֹּאמֶר, Dn 10.19) the **piel** is used to refer to the act of encouraging or strengthening someone: Daniel replies, "Let my lord speak, for you have strengthened me", וַיִּדְבֶּר אֲדָנִי כִי חֲזַקְתָּנִי, Dn 10.19; also vs. 18. In the exodus narrative, the **qal** is used to refer to Pharaoh's heart becoming hard (וַיִּחְזַק לֵב פַּרְעֹה, Ex 9.35) and the **piel** is used of the Lord hardening Pharaoh's heart (וַיִּחְזַק יְהוָה אֶת־לֵב פַּרְעֹה, Ex 10.20).

The **hithpael** acts in some places as the middle-passive to the sense of the **piel**: preceding Daniel's response "for you have strengthened me" (**piel**), the **hithpael** is used, "and when he spoke to me, I was strengthened" (וַיִּדְבְּרוּ עִמִּי הִתְחַזְקֹתִי, Dn 10.19). The **hithpael** is used in a context like 2 Sa 3.6 to refer to "Abner making himself strong in the house of Saul" (וַאֲבִנֵּר הָיָה מְחַזְּקִים בְּבֵית שָׁאוּל) does not have an exact corresponding use in the **piel**, but the sense is reflexive of the sense of the **piel** (and less so of the **hiphil**). In other contexts, the **hithpael** can have a sense that overlaps with the **qal**: Jeroboam did not recover during the days of Abijah, "but Abijah grew strong" (וַיִּתְחַזַּק אַבְיָהוּ, 2 Ch 13.21).

The primary use of the **hiphil** is with the sense 'to seize', which is similar to and sometimes coreferential with the **qal** of אָחַז (e.g. Job 18.9 "A trap seizes him by the heel, a snare holds him fast", (יֵאָחַז בְּעַקְבֵי פֶה יִחְזַק עָלָיו צְמִים). It is difficult to determine the nature of the sense relations between this use of the **hiphil** and the rest of the verb, though it seems possible that the **hiphil** acts as a causative of the sense of the **qal** 'to be set, fixed' as something like 'to make fixed, firm (in the hand)' and thus might be partially overlapping with the **piel** in contexts where it has the sense 'to secure' (e.g. Is 41.7; Jc 10.4).⁴¹²

⁴¹² It also seems possible that the semantic company that חֲזַק keeps may have been a factor in this sense of the **hiphil**. That is to say, the syntagmatic elements that are used with חֲזַק in other themes and senses include referents that might lend to making the application 'to seize'. The possible infectious elements in particular would be the combination with יָד 'hand' in a number of uses or phrases including: the common phrase (with adj.) "with a strong hand" בְּיָד חֲזָקָה (Ex 3.19; 6.1; 13.9), the power becoming fixed in someone's hands (2 K 14.5), the use with **qal** of the hand 'being strengthened' (Ju 7.11) or with the **piel** of 'strengthening the hand' (1 Sa 23.16) as an image of encouragement and/or physical support. Also, note the contrasting of חֲזַק with רַפָּה in the **qal** and **piel**

Where the hiphil is related to the sense ‘to be strong’ and does not have an object, it acts in a way similar to the qal: the Levite’s father-in-law being strong upon him (וַיִּחַזְקֵבּוּ חַתָּנוֹ אָבִי הַנְּעָרָה) Ju 19.4) so that he remained is similar to the hiphil referring to the Shunammite woman who urged Elisha to eat (וַתִּחַזְקֵבּוּ לְאָכַל-לֶחֶם) 2 K 4.8). Also, the hiphil in Dn 11.32 “but the people who know their God shall stand firm and take action” (וְעַם יִדְעֵי אֱלֹהֵיוּ יִחַזְקוּ וְעָשׂוּ) is similar to several places in the qal (e.g. “be strong and act”, חֲזַק וְעָשֵׂה, 1 Ch 28.10 of David encouraging Solomon to build the temple).⁴¹³ In addition, the hiphil can also overlap with the sense of the hithpael of someone ‘becoming strong’: the hiphil is used of Uzziah (כִּי הִחַזְקָה) 2 Ch 26.8) and the hithpael is used of Abijah (וַיִּחַזְקֵבּוּ אַבְיָהוּ) 2 Ch 13.21) and Jotham (וַיִּחַזְקֵבּוּ יוֹחָם) 2 Ch 27.6).⁴¹⁴

The hiphil with the sense ‘to strengthen’ acts as the causative to the qal: the qal is used to refer to Amaziah taking revenge “as soon as the royal power was firmly in his hand” (2 K 14.5) and the hiphil is used to refer to Menahem having paid tribute to Assyria “to confirm his hold on the royal power” RSV (לְהַחֲזִיק הַמַּמְלָכָה בְּיָדוֹ) 2 K 15.19).⁴¹⁵ This sense of the hiphil has some overlap with the sense of the piel. Both are used of ‘repairing’ physical objects: the piel is used a number of times of the temple (2 K 12.6)⁴¹⁶ and the hiphil is used of the wall (34x in Ne 3; with the single piel in 3.19).⁴¹⁷

relating to strengthening the hands versus dropping them, but also in the hiphil where it most often has the sense of ‘to leave alone’ and thus sometimes ‘to let go’: Pr 4.13 instructs “Keep hold of instruction; do not let go” (הִחַזְק בְּמוֹסֵר אֶל-תְּרָף). For further comments on רפה, see § 4.1b below.

⁴¹³ Further references with the qal include: 1 Ch 28.20; 2 Ch 19.11; Ezra 10.4; and similar in Hg 2.4; 2 Ch 25.8.

⁴¹⁴ Cf. E. Jenni *DhP* [n. 42], 49, 50 where Jenni discusses the hiphil in 2 Ch 26.8 and the hithpael in 2 Ch 27.6 and contrasts them according to his distinctions of the accidental (‘contingent’ = hithpael) and necessary (= hiphil) properties of the adjectives (i.e. piel and thus hithpael) and verbs (i.e. qal and thus hiphil). For interaction with Jenni on this point of his argument, see immediately below under the section on the relation of the piel and hiphil with the sense ‘to make strong’.

⁴¹⁵ Also David sends a messenger to encourage Joab (piel of חזק) by telling him, “strengthen your fight against the city and capture it” (הִחַזְק מִלְחַמְתְּךָ אֶל-הָעִיר וְהִרְסָהּ) 2 Sa 11.25), which is causative of the use of the adjective in 1 Sa 14.52 of the fighting being strong against the Philistines all the days of Saul (וַתְּהִי הַמְלָחָמָה חֲזָקָה עַל-פְּלִשְׁתִּים כָּל יְמֵי שָׁאִיל) 1 Sa 14.52).

⁴¹⁶ Jenni, *DhP* [n. 42], 81, 82 cites the piel participle of חזק in 2 K 12.8 in order to contrast it with the hiphil participle of חזק in Ezk 27.9 (of repairing/caulking seams of ships). Jenni’s discussion of piel and hiphil participles is included in the larger section in which he attempts to distinguish the factitive (piel) and causative (hiphil) further by arguing that the action of the subject is habitual with the piel and occasional with the hiphil. This makes the shape of Jenni’s continuing argument perplexing in that he posits ‘habitual’ with ‘accidental’ as properties of the factitive/piel and ‘occasional’ with ‘substantial’ as properties of the causative/hiphil. While both Jenni’s definitions and

The hiphil and piel are also both attested in parallel, co-referential phrases in Ezk 30 in an image of the Lord ‘strengthening’ the arms of the king of Babylon in judgment on Egypt: the piel is attested in 30.24, “and I will strengthen the arms of the king of Babylon” (וְחִזַּקְתִּי אֶת־זְרָעוֹת מֶלֶךְ בָּבֶל) and the hiphil in 30.25 “and I will strengthen the arms of the king of Babylon” (וְהִחַזַּקְתִּי אֶת־זְרָעוֹת מֶלֶךְ בָּבֶל).⁴¹⁸

applications of these terms are questionable, the pairing of the properties itself seems arbitrary and lends further to questions regarding the strength of the individual arguments and the truth of the premises and thus the cogency of the overall argument.

Jenni’s treatment of the above references with participles also exhibits what appears to be arbitrariness with respect to how the forms are explained in their contexts in order to illustrate his theory. He begins by arguing that the type of repair work referred to by the piel in 2 K 12 and other places is that which is “normal, always recurring repair work” where that which is referred to by the hiphil in Ezk 27 and Ne 3 is “positional repair work (“Instandstellungsarbeiten”) carried out under special circumstances” (81). Jenni argues against the commentaries that suggest changing the forms in Ezk 27.9, 27 to piels on the ground that it would demand that both verses are characterized as habitual. At the same time, he seems to ignore the fact that his argument demands the inverse in that both instances must exhibit occasional action. No matter how the context is interpreted, Jenni’s argument that the “your repairers/caulkers of seams” in Ezk 27.27 (מְחַזְקֵי בְרִיקָה) is not habitual in the manner he has interpreted other similar ‘professional’ piel forms is untenable. Presumably, Jenni would argue that the sole piel form attested in Ne 3.19 should be read as a hiphil, but he does not comment on it (cf. n. 417 for further comments on this passage). Additionally, if the other attested piel participle in Ex 14.17 is interpreted in light of Jenni’s categories, it could not be understood as habitual, “And as for me, behold I will harden the hearts of the Egyptians” (וְאֲנִי הִגַּנְתִּי מִחַזְקֵי אֶת־לֵב מִצְרַיִם). Although it is likely that Jenni would offer an argument to explain this case (e.g. it is possible because there is no corresponding hiphil to distinguish itself from), the point to be made here is that the attempt to apply Jenni’s framework consistently to individual cases produces results that tend to complicate the explanation of the data rather than elucidate it. Even with the examples given by Jenni, the coherence of the argument is only maintained by Jenni’s handling of the tools. And this brings us to a clarifying point considering the criticism of Jenni’s theory. It is often the case that Jenni cites elements that are indeed present in the contexts of the forms he examines, but it is the isolated nature of his interpretation of these elements and the consequential attributing of the interpreted characteristics to the themes themselves that is problematic. With verbal adjective forms like participles, it is the case that the nature of the process is going to be determined more by the context: both syntactical – the ‘tense’ of the action is relative to that of the verb(s) in its immediate context and referential – the nature of the process is inferred from what is being described. However, Jenni’s argument slips between the interpretation of the context and the use of the themes and thus tends to place the weight of the distinction on the shoulders of the themes themselves in a manner that the data itself does not support.

⁴¹⁷ The piel form in 3.19, “Next to him Ezer the son of Jeshua, ruler of Mizpah, repaired another section...” (וַיְחַזֵּק עַל־יָדוֹ עֶזֶר בֶּן־יֵשׁוּעַ שֶׁר הַמְצַפָּה מִדָּה שְׁנִיָּה) is used with the same object as some of the attested hiphil forms (e.g. 3.24, “After him Binnui the son of Henadad repaired another section”, אַחֲרָיו הִחַזֵּק בְּנוֹי בֶּן־חֲנַדָּד מִדָּה שְׁנִיָּה). The one observable difference of the attested piel form is that it is the only verb first construction (wayyiqtol). The hiphil is used with the locative prepositional phrases אַחֲרָיו (‘after him’, 3.16) and עַל־יָדָם (‘next to them’, 3.4) or with an object (מִדָּה שְׁנִיָּה, 3.11; the gates in 3.14, 15, 16) in first position with the hiphil perfect. However, in sense, the piel wayyiqtol and the hiphil perfects both act to continue the narrative of who repaired next to whom and the construction with the piel in 3.19 does not appear to be intended to draw any particular attention to the content (there are other ‘rulers of x’ in the list attested with the hiphil, e.g. 3.14).

⁴¹⁸ In Ezk 30.24, the piel is followed by, “and I will put my sword in his hand, but I will break the arms of Pharaoh...” (וְנָחַתִּי אֶת־חַרְבִּי בְיָדוֹ וְשִׁבַּרְתִּי אֶת־זְרָעוֹת פְּרָעוֹה) and the hiphil in 30.25 is followed by, “but the arms of Pharaoh shall fall.” (וְזָרְעוֹת פְּרָעוֹה תִּפְלְאוּ). Both phrases come in the second section of this pericope (intro in 20, 21; word against Babylon in 22–26) and are a part of the continuing string of weqatal and imperfect forms compounded to make the prophecy. M. Greenberg, *Ezekiel 21–37: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary*, AB 22A, New York: Doubleday

Jenni discusses these verses as an example of the distinction between the ‘accidental’ and ‘substantial’ relation of the action to the object.⁴¹⁹ In this section of his argument, Jenni shifts from using the terms ‘synthetic’ (piel) and ‘analytic’ (hiphil) to ‘accidental’ (piel) and ‘substantial’ (hiphil) in order to further distinguish between the function of the themes.⁴²⁰ He does this as an extension of his initial argument that the piel (factitive) is related to adjectival expression (the predicate is something new brought to the subject = accidental) and the hiphil (causative) is related to verbal expression (“the subject is already contained in the verb and with it forms a closely paired complex” = substantial).⁴²¹ For Jenni, this distinction unlocks what would otherwise be a difficult case to distinguish in Ezk 30.24, 25. He notes that in contrasting the fate of Pharaoh king of Egypt with that of the king of Babylon, Ezk 30.20–26 does not mention the latter until verse 24. Thus, Jenni argues that the piel is used because the action of making the arms of the king of Babylon strong is “something new” and thus “an accidental action for the object”.⁴²² However, when the action is referred to again in verse 25 in the hiphil, “the arms of both kings are no longer bare objects” but they become an ‘Untersubjekt’ with the hiphil and the subject of the following qal of נפל.⁴²³ Jenni concludes then that the hiphil is substantial because the work referred to is “according to the previously stated action of Yahweh only the corresponding result (which has been placed in the foreground by vs. 24) and

(1997) 631, 632 translates the hiphil in vs. 25 as “I will hold up the arms of the king of Babylon” but states oddly “[t]his verb with direct object *yad* “hand” here as in 16:49 signifies ‘sustain, keep from falling’”. Although it is obvious that *arms* and *hand* are similar objects, the former is the explicit object here and not the latter. Greenberg’s translation is aided more by his explanation that the sense of the hiphil is in opposition to the phrase that follows, “but the arms of Pharaoh will fall” with the qal of נפל. However, when the hiphil has the sense ‘to seize’, the direct object is marked primarily by the כּ preposition (e.g. “I [the Lord] have taken you by the hand”, וְאֶחָזְקֶךָ בְּיָדִי, Is 42.6); cf. n. 407 above. While this does not categorically rule out the sense ‘to seize’ here, it makes it unlikely. What is interesting about Greenberg’s translation is the possibility that the sense of the hiphil ‘to seize’ may have had some sort of affect on its use in a context where it is co-referential with the piel meaning ‘to strengthen’. That is to say, whether any such semantic motivations were explicit in the mind of the author or not, Ezk 30.25 is the sort of context where the senses ‘to strengthen the arms/hand of someone’ and ‘to seize or hold the arms’ could overlap.

⁴¹⁹ Jenni, *DhP* [n. 42], 87–90.

⁴²⁰ Jenni, *DhP* [n. 42], 88, Jenni states that synthetic and analytic refer to “the reciprocal relationship (gegenseitige Verhältnis) of subject and predicate in a sentence” whereas accidental and substantial refer to “the coordination of the subject to the predicate from the viewpoint of the subject”.

⁴²¹ Jenni, *DhP* [n. 42], 88. He states further of the causative that it is not able to contain anything foreign in that which is its object (which he then calls the ‘Untersubjekt’).

⁴²² Jenni, *DhP* [n. 42], 89. This is followed directly by the confusing sentence, “As the broken arm of Pharaoh must necessarily sink, so Yahweh causes the made-strong-arms of the king of Babylon correspondingly to be strong, so that he can take his sword.” (89, 90).

⁴²³ Jenni, *DhP* [n. 42], 89.

therefore already substantial with respect to the object”.⁴²⁴ He offers a paraphrase to bring out these distinctions: “I will (on top of that) strengthen (out of free will, unexpectedly) the arms of the king of Babylon...yes, the (already mentioned) arms of the king of Babylon I will (after that, expectedly) cause to be strong...”⁴²⁵ Before turning to discuss Jenni’s argument, it is worth noting that he includes here another statement that essentially attempts to make any criticism of his application invalid. He states that with this sort of differentiation it is:

“...naturally not an objective, once for all established logical, let alone ontological relation between action and object, but a matter of a subjective way of description of the speaker, which can change depending upon the the situation and that which preceded in the address. The same action can be accidental or substantial according to the position in the connection of the linear running out address.”⁴²⁶

The reason that these sorts of statements in Jenni’s work are so striking is because the system he sets out is both specialized in definition and rigid in application and yet throughout his work he attempts to evade criticism that may result from a scholar trying to apply the theory in the same manner.⁴²⁷

When Jenni’s treatment of a case like Ezk 30.24, 25 is examined, it is clear that the fundamental point of contention relates to the validity of Jenni’s explanations of adjectival and verbal predication and the deductions he draws from them. Even if it is assumed for the sake of the argument that Jenni’s distinctions are valid, he does not offer guidelines or maxims that enable the distinctions to be used as tools to

⁴²⁴ Jenni, *DhP* [n. 42], 89.

⁴²⁵ Jenni, *DhP* [n. 42], 90. “Ich werde (dazu noch) dem König von Babel (aus freien Stücken, unversehens) die Arme stärken...Ja, die (bereits erwähnten) Arme des Königs von Babel werde ich (dann dementsprechend) stark sein lassen...”

⁴²⁶ Jenni, *DhP* [n. 42], 90. Jenni seems unaware of the fact that his explanation and application of the accidental and substantial distinctions together with this concessionary statement simply brings us back to where we started - the reality that it is difficult to determine whether there is any distinction between the piel and hiphil in cases like this, albeit in a much more convoluted shape that depends upon a very specific set of tools applied to the data. For further comments on both this passage and statements like this in Jenni, cf. W. T. Claassen, *The Hiph'il Verbal Theme...* [n. 120], 230–5.

⁴²⁷ Claassen, *The Hiph'il Verbal Theme...* [n. 120], 234 refers also to the similar statement of concession regarding applying substantial and accidental that Jenni makes in his 1967 article “Faktiv und Kausativ von אָבַר ‘zugrunde gehen’” in *Hebräische Wortforschung: Festschrift Walter Baumgartner*, Supplements to *Vetus Testamentum* 16, Leiden: Brill (1967) 154: “Naturally it is not the point, whether the action is to be counted from our point of view objectively as substantial or accidental so that correspondingly only hiphil or only piel would be possible, but rather which way of expression the speaker chose”. Claassen comments on these sorts of statements quite often and follows this line of criticism of Jenni quite extensively (cf. § 5.4, 132–260). He illustrates well the difficulty of taking Jenni’s rigid explanations seriously (by trying to apply them further) and at the same time accepting the the statements that evade criticism. In fact, quite often it appears that Jenni’s distinctions require him to be able to see behind the choice of the speaker (Ezk 30.24, 25 is a good example) and yet to avoid criticism he states that doing so is illegitimate (cf. *DhP* [n. 42], 33, n. 56 for an example).

examine the data. In part, this is evident in the fact that Jenni provides no criteria with respect to how something ought to be determined to be accidental or substantial. The only criteria-like elements operative appear to be that upon examination, a piel form must be accidental and a hiphil must be substantial. However, this method of examination assumes that it must find exactly what it is looking for, which results in the data being handled in such a way that the theory is insulated from any adjustment.

If it is assumed further for the moment that Jenni's distinctions are the sort that may in fact be manifested in the choice between the themes, his idiosyncratic application of the terms 'accidental' and 'substantial' make his discussion almost inscrutable. If by the term 'accidental', Jenni is intending to evoke anything remotely like the general philosophical definition that refers to properties that are not essential to a thing's nature (which it seems he is), his application of the term does not reflect this. Both the piel and the hiphil in Ezk 30.24, 25 refer to the same situation in which the Lord states that he will strengthen the arms of the king of Babylon. If it is even legitimate to apply the terms in the manner Jenni does, both of the verbs would have to be taken as referring to something accidental.⁴²⁸ Arguing that the 'accidental' piel being attested first shifts the nature of the action of the second parallel statement with the hiphil in relation to the subject as 'substantial' uses the latter term in a sense that falls completely outside its semantic range. Even if contextually, the passage had the piel as it stands and the hiphil as something like "and when I have strengthened the arm of the king of Babylon", it would still not make any sense to state that the nature of the action could be described as anything different than the preceding attested piel in terms of accidental or substantial properties. However, in the passage at hand the piel and hiphil are parallel both in terms of the situation to which they refer and the 'tense' of the verb.

In examining a passage like Ezk 30.24, 25, Jenni approaches the data with a set of distinctions that he argues are necessarily manifested in the use of the themes wherever they are attested. The necessary nature of his distinctions is the ground upon which Jenni seeks to find whatever is required in the data in order to illustrate his point.

⁴²⁸ Claassen, *The Hiph'il Verbal Theme...* [n. 120], 233 also points out that although it is in the broader context, Ezk 30.10 casts further doubt on vs. 24 having to be accidental (something new) since it says already that it will be by the hand of the king of Babylon that Egypt will be punished.

It would be much more consistent with the data as it exists to state that the sense of the piel and hiphil of חזק in Ezk 30.24, 25 is at least overlapping and that the forms are co-referential. In stating this, it is not necessary to assert that there is no possibility that the original author or audience may have seen some level of distinction between the forms. The question is whether this difference is detectable if it is in fact present. Consequently, it is also beyond the scope of the data to argue that the use of the piel and hiphil here must be free variation on the part of the author/speaker. This conclusion also presumes more than the data can tell. Any suggestion as to a distinction between the piel and hiphil here is contingent upon an examination that explains the data taken on its own terms.

Although there are themes with חזק that have some overlapping areas of sense, they are also distributed in such a way as to have some distinction based on their context of use. The senses are distributed in this manner: ‘to be(come) strong’ is attested in the qal, hiphil, and hithpael; ‘to make strong’ in the piel and hiphil (with the application of ‘to repair’ being mostly divided by context – the hiphil is found only in Ne 3 and Ezk 27); ‘to take courage’/‘to encourage’ and ‘to be hard’/‘to harden’ in the qal and piel; ‘to seize’ in the hiphil (also possibly the qal in a context like 2 Sa 18.9).

b. רפה: (q: 14x; n: 2x; p: 5x; hi: 20x; hith: 3x) This verb has the sense ‘to sink, let go’ in the qal and has the adj. רָפָה acting as its participle in a few places: Is 35.3 “strengthen the weak hands” (חֲזֹקוּ יָדַיִם רַפּוֹת). The verb is used 9x with יָדַי ‘hands’ as subject in the qal and twice as the object in the piel as the contrasting state or action of the qal and piel with חֲזַק: in Ne 6.9 opponents to the wall were saying “their hands will drop from the work” (לֵאמֹר יָרְפוּ יְדֵיהֶם מִן־הַמְּלָאכָה), but Nehemiah prays “but now, strengthen my hands” (וַעֲזָה חֲזַק אֶת־יָדַי). The piel is also used of causing either strength (Job 12.21) or wings (Ezk 1.24, 25) to relax. The hiphil has some overlap with the qal where it does not have an explicit object and has the sense ‘to leave alone’: the qal is used when Zipporah took action to circumcise her son interceding for Moses such that “he [the Lord] let him alone” (וַיַּרְךָ מִמֶּנּוּ, Ex 4.26) and the hiphil is used similarly in Dt 9.14 where Moses reminds the people that the Lord said “let me alone that I may destroy them...” (הֲרַךְ מִמֶּנּוּ וְאַשְׁמִידֵם). Where

the hiphil is used with the object ‘hands’, it has a similar sense to Dt 9.14 rather than that of discouraging someone: the Gibeonites send word to Joshua “saying, ‘Do not abandon [lit. relax your hands from] your servants’” (לֵאמֹר אֶל-תְּהַרֵף יָדֶיךָ מֵעַבְדֶּיךָ) (Jos 10.6). As discussed above (cf. n. 412), the hiphil is also used in contrast to the hiphil of חִזַּק where it has the sense ‘to seize’: in Job’s response to Bildad he says, “I hold fast my righteousness and will not let it go” (בְּצִדְקָתִי הִחְזַקְתִּי וְלֹא אֶרְפָּהּ) (Job 27.6). The hiphil is further applied to people or objects where it has the related sense ‘to forsake’: the Psalmist pleads to the Lord, “do not forsake the work of your hands” (מֵעֲשֵׂי יָדֶיךָ אֶל-תְּהַרֵף) (Ps 138.8). The niphil and hithpael are used similarly and act most often as participles related to the qal with the sense ‘to be idle, slack’: the niphil participle is attested twice in Ex 5.18, 17 of the Israelites being described as ‘idle’ in their labors and hithpael participle is also attested twice of someone being ‘slack’ in their work (Jos 18.3; Pr 18.9).

c. אָמַץ

BDB: 41x total

q: 16x

p: 19x

hi: 2x

hith: 4x

qal

The syntax of the qal is: <A> אָמַץ [+ מִן of comparison]

The qal has the sense ‘to be strong’. In Gn 25.23 Rebekah is told that two nations will emerge from the two children in her womb and that one nation will be stronger than the other (וְלֵאמֹר מִלְּאָם יִאָּמַץ). David praises the Lord for deliverance from enemies who were stronger than he (2 Sa 22.18 || Ps 18.18) and similarly, calls for deliverance from those who are too strong for him (כִּי אָמַצוּ מִמֶּנִּי) (Ps 142.7).

The qal of אָמַץ is also used in complementary combination with the qal of חִזַּק in the phrase calling someone ‘to be strong and courageous’ (חִזַּק וְאָמַץ). It is found in combination in Dt 31.6, 7, 23; Jos 1.6, 7, 9, 18; 10.25; 1 Ch 22.13; 28.20; and 2 Ch 32.7 (cf. also the qal of חִזַּק above).

piel

The syntax of the piel is: <A> אָמַן (אָח) [+ לְ of advantage;]

The piel has the sense 'to make strong'. It is applied to someone strengthening something or someone: the woman of noble character "makes her arms strong", (וְרַעוּתֶיהָ וְרַעוּתֶיהָ, Pr 31.17), the psalmist calls upon the Lord to watch "over the son you have strengthened for yourself" (עַל־בֶּן אֲמַצְתָּה לָךְ, Ps 80.16; also vs. 18), and the Lord tells his people not to fear "for I am your God. I will strengthen you" (כִּי־אֲנִי אֱלֹהֶיךָ אֲמַצְתִּיךָ, Is 41.10). This sense of the piel is also applied in the context of someone who wants to make an idol and selects a tree and "lets it grow for himself" (וַיֵּאמְרוּ־לוֹ).⁴²⁹ The piel is also applied to the temple when the workmen under Joash rebuilt it and "strengthened it" (וַיִּשְׁמְצוּהוּ, 2 Ch 24.13). The piel is applied further in Pr 8.28 to refer to wisdom having been there "when he [the Lord] made firm the clouds above" (בְּאֵמְצוֹ שָׁחֲקִים מִמַּעַל).

The most common use of the piel is with the sense 'to strengthen' or 'to encourage' in phrases that refer often to the external manifestation/internal reality: Moses reminds the people of the Lord's command to him to strengthen and encourage Joshua (וַיְחַזְקֵהוּ וַאֲמַצְהוּ, Dt 3.28), Is 35.3 says "make firm the knees of the feeble" (וּבְרַכְבִּים כְּשִׁלּוֹת אֲמִצּוֹ) which is preceded by "strengthen the hands of the weak" using the piel of חָזַק,⁴³⁰ and those who did not follow Jeroboam strengthened the kingdom of Judah (with piel of חָזַק) and encouraged Rehoboam (וַיִּאֲמְצוּ אֶת־רְחֹבָעָם, 2 Ch 11.17).

⁴²⁹ The comments of Delitzsch on this passage (*Isaiah*, 7:438) direct the reader to his comments on 41.10 where he takes אָמַן to mean something like 'to choose' or 'to lay firm hold of' for himself (where he cites 44.14 again in support of the meaning in 41.10). In Delitzsch's explanation of both passages in *Isaiah*, Psalm 80.16 and 18 are given as foundational support for taking אָמַן in this manner. However, while the sense 'to lay firm hold of' would not be foreign in any of the contexts cited, it does not appear to be necessitated by them either. In Psalm 80.16 and 18 the sense 'to make strong (raise up)' for himself seems to fit well with the context. The verses immediately preceding 16 and 18 use the image of a vine and lend to the notion of something growing or becoming strong as the intended sense of אָמַן in the passage. And without Psalm 80.16 and 18 as support, there seems to be no necessary reason to take אָמַן in Is 41.10 and 44.14 in a sense other than 'to strengthen'. In addition, if one were to argue for the sense 'to secure for oneself' with אָמַן, Pr 8.28 (piel) and possibly Ruth 1.18 (hithpacl) seem to offer more in the way of support (Delitzsch does not comment to this effect on Pr 8.28).

⁴³⁰ The same phrases are also used in Eliphaz's response to Job in 4.3b, "you have strengthened the hands of the weak" (וַיַּבְרֵכְם כַּרְעוֹת הָאֲמִיץ) and 4.4b, "you have made firm the knees of the feeble" (וַיַּבְרֵכְם כַּרְעוֹת הָאֲמִיץ).

The piel is also used with a sense similar to that of the piel of חזק, כבד, and the hiphil of קשה where they refer to ‘hardening’ the heart (or other representative organ or body part): Moses retells how the Lord hardened the heart (וַיִּאֲמֵן אֶת־לִבָּבוֹ) of Sihon king of Heshbon (Dt 2.30, with the hiphil of קשה preceding hardening his spirit), Later in Deuteronomy, Moses gives the people the covenantal instruction not to harden their hearts (לֹא תִאֲמֵן אֶת־לִבְבְּךָ) to a brother who is poor among them (Dt 15.7), and Zedekiah rebels against Nebuchadnezzar and stiffens his neck (with hiphil of קשה) and hardens his heart (וַיִּאֲמֵן אֶת־לִבָּבוֹ) against turning to the Lord (2 Ch 36.13).

hiphil

The two attested hiphils are both jussives, occur with the qal of חזק, and have ‘heart’ (לֵב/לִבָּב) as their object: “Wait for the Lord; be strong, and let your heart take courage and wait for the Lord” (קַוֵּה אֶל־יְהוָה חֲזַק וְנִאֲמֵן לִבְךָ וְקַוֵּה אֶל־יְהוָה), Ps 27.14) and the similar “Be strong and let your heart take courage all you who wait for the Lord” (חֲזַקוּ וְנִאֲמֵן לִבְבְּכֶם כָּל־הַמְּיַחֲלִים לַיהוָה), Ps 31.25).

hithpael

The syntax of the hithpael is: <A> הִתְאַמֵּן

The worthless men who surrounded Rehoboam ‘strengthened themselves upon him’ or ‘opposed him’ (וַיִּתְאַמְצוּ עַל־רַחֲבֹעָם), 2 Ch 13.7) when he was young and tender of heart such that he could not strengthen himself in their presence or ‘resist them’ (with hith of חזק). Naomi said nothing more to Ruth when she saw “that she was determined to go with her” (כִּי־מִתְאַמְצָת הִיא לְלָכֶת אִתָּהּ), Ru 1.18). When Israel killed Rehoboam’s servant, he “made haste to get into his chariot to flee Jerusalem” (וְהִמָּלֵךְ רַחֲבֹעָם הִתְאַמֵּן לָעֲלוֹת בְּמַרְכָּבָה לְנוֹס יְרוּשָׁלַם), 1 K 12.18||2 Ch 18.18).

אָמץ: the function of the piel amongst the themes

The **qal** acts as the stative with the general sense ‘to be strong’ and has the adj. אָמץ (also אָמץ) acting as its participle (e.g. Is 28.2, “Behold the Lord has one who is strong and mighty”, (הִנֵּה חֹזֵק וְאָמֵץ לְאֲדָנָי). The **qal** is used to refer to someone being strong (often in comparison with another) and more often of calling someone ‘to be courageous’. The **piel** acts as the causative to the sense of the **qal**. It can have the general sense of someone ‘strengthening’ an object (the Lord ‘establishing’ the clouds, Pr 8.28) or a person (Ps 89.22). As with חֹזֵק, where the **qal** calls someone ‘to be strong and courageous’ (Jos 1.6) the **piel** is used to refer to the act, “But charge Joshua and strengthen him and encourage him” (וַיִּצַו אֶת־יְהוֹשֻׁעַ וְחֹזְקוֹהוּ וְאִמְצָהוּ) (Dt 3.28). The **piel** is also applied with the sense similar to the **piel** of חֹזֵק and כָּבַד of the Lord making someone’s heart obstinate (Dt 2.30) or of someone making their own heart obstinate (Dt 15.7; 2 Ch 36.16) toward obedience. The **hiphil** is only attested twice in the call to “let your heart take courage” (Ps 27.14; 31.25) in a sense that is similar to that also attested in the **piel**. It is interesting to note that the **piel** has the sense ‘to encourage’, but not when it is used with לֵב/לִבָּב as the object. When the **piel** is used with לִבָּב as object, it has the sense ‘to make the heart obstinate’. Thus the **piel** and **hiphil** are separable at least with respect to the way in which their contexts of use indicate whether the ‘making the heart firm’ is a context of obstinacy toward obedience to the Lord (**piel**) or encouragement in him (**hiphil**). The **hithpael** has the sense ‘to strengthen oneself’ and acts as a reflexive to the **piel** (e.g. Ruth setting herself to go with Naomi, Ru 1.18).

d. קשה

BDB: 27 total

q: 5x

n: 1x

p: 1x

hi: 20x

qal

The general syntax of the qal is: <A> קשה [+ מן of comparison]

The qal has the sense 'to be hard' which can be applied of something being difficult: Moses reminds the people to bring the cases to him which are too difficult for them (אֲחֻז־הַדָּבָר הַקָּשֶׁה, Dt 1.17; Ex 18.26 has the adj. הַקָּשֶׁה), Israel is instructed not to allow setting a slave free in the seventh year to be hard for them (לֹא־יִקְשֶׁה בְּעֵינֶיךָ בְּשִׁלְחֶךָ אִתּוֹ חֹפְשִׁי מִמֶּמְךָ).

The qal is also applied of things that are harsh: in his final words, Jacob curses Levi's and Simeon's wrath for it is cruel (וְעִבְרָתָם כִּי קָשָׁה, Gn 49.7), the men of Ashdod say that they must get rid of the ark because the Lord's hand is heavy upon them and upon Dagan their god (כִּי־קָשָׁה יָדוֹ עָלֵינוּ וְעַל דָּגוֹן אֱלֹהֵינוּ, 1 Sa 5.7), in the dispute between Israel and Judah over David being in Gilgal, the words of the men of Judah are said to be harsher (וַיִּקָּשׁ דְּבַר־אִישׁ יְהוּדָה מִדְּבַר אִישׁ יִשְׂרָאֵל, 2 Sa 19.44) and Rehoboam ignores the advice of the elders and instead he answers the people harshly (וַיַּעַן הַמְּלֶכֶךְ אֶת־הָעָם קָשָׁה, 1 K 12.13 || 2 Ch 10.13).

niphal

The sole niphal is attested in Is 8.21 where the Lord says of disobedient people that they will cross the land hard-pressed and hungry (וְעִבְרָ בָּהּ נִקְשָׁה וְרָעֵב).

piel

The sole piel is attested in Gn 35.16 referring to when "Rachel went into labor, and her pains were severe" NJB (וַתֵּלֶד רָחֵל וַתִּקְשַׁב בְּלִדְתָהּ).⁴³¹

hiphil

The syntax of the hiphil is: 1. <A> הִקְשָׁה
2. <A> הִקְשָׁה

The hiphil has the sense 'to make hard' (syntax 1). It is applied to someone making something difficult: the people complain to Rehoboam that Solomon had

⁴³¹ NIV, "Rachel began to give birth and had great difficulty"; RSV, "Rachel travailed and she had hard labor"; ESV, "Rachel went into labor, and she had hard labor".

made their yoke heavy (אָחֲעֲלֵנוּ אֶת־הַקֶּשֶׁה, 1 K 12.4 || 2 Ch 10.4; with hiphil of קָלַל of their request to make it light) and to Elisha's request of a double portion, Elijah says "you have asked a hard thing" (וַיֹּאמֶר הַקְּשִׁיתָ לְשֵׂאוֹל, 2 K 2.10). The hiphil infinitive is also used in Gn 35.17 (following the piel in 35.16) to refer to when Rachel "was in hard labor" RSV (וַיְהִי בְהַקְשָׁתָהּ בְּלִדְתָהּ).⁴³² The hiphil is also attested once without an explicit object (syntax 2) similar to the hiphil of חָזַק: "who has shown hardness against him [the Lord] and succeeded?" (מִי־הִקְשָׁה אֵלָיו וַיִּשְׁלָם), Job 9.4).

The primary application of the hiphil is in contexts where it refers to someone hardening the heart, neck, or spirit in obstinacy to obedience: the Lord says "And I will harden Pharaoh's heart" (וַאֲנִי אֶקְשֶׁה אֶת־לֵב פַּרְעֹה, Ex 7.3) and in Ex 13.15 the hiphil is used with Pharaoh as the subject to refer to his being obstinate in sending the people out (וַיְהִי כִי־הִקְשָׁה פַּרְעֹה לְשַׁלְּחֵנוּ).⁴³³ Similarly, Ps 95.8 warns Israel not to harden their hearts as they did at Massah and Meribah and Pr 28.14 warns that a man who hardens his heart will fall into trouble (וּמִקְשָׁה לְבוֹ יפֹּל בְּרָעָה).

This sense of the hiphil is also used to refer to someone stiffening their neck (עֲרָף): Moses commands the people to circumcise their hearts "and do not stiffen your necks any longer" (וְעַרְפְּכֶם לֹא תִקְשׁוּ עוֹד, Dt 10.16) and 2 K 17.14 says that Israel was taken captive because they ignored the prophets and stiffened their necks like their fathers (וַיִּקְשׁוּ אֶת־עַרְפֵּם כְּעַרְףֵי אֲבוֹתָם).⁴³⁴

קִשָּׂה: the function of the piel amongst the themes

The qal acts as the stative with the sense 'to be hard' and has the adj. קָשָׁה acting as its participle: it is often used in the image of people being 'stiff of neck' (וְהָיָה עִם־קִשְׁיֵה־עַרְףֵךְ הוּא, Ex 32.9; also Ex 33.3, 5; 34.9; Dt 9.6, 13; 31.27; Is 48.4) as well as 'hard faced' (Ezk 2.4) and 'hard of heart' (Ezk 3.7) to refer to someone being

⁴³² ESV & NJB, "And when her labor was at its hardest"; NIV, "And as she was having great difficulty in childbirth".

⁴³³ Pharaoh's obstinacy here is co-referential with the other attested forms in Ex 4–14 that refer either to Pharaoh's heart becoming hard or of the Lord hardening his heart.

⁴³⁴ Further references include: Je 7.26; 17.23; 19.15; 2 Ch 30.8; Ne 9.16, 17, 29; Pr 29.1; also Dt 2.30 (with רִוַח) and 2 Ch 36.13 (with עֲרָף) are both used in combination with a phrase that uses the piel of אָמַץ with 'heart' as its object (cf. under piel of אָמַץ above).

set against that which they are called to obey. Where the qal is used in reminding the people to bring the cases which are too difficult for them to Moses (Dt 1.17), the original situation uses the adjective, “and the difficult cases they brought to Moses” (אֶת־הַדְּבָרִים הַקָּשִׁים יָבִיאוּן אֶל־מֹשֶׁה, Ex 18.26). The sole niphil is attested in a sense that is similar to the qal (or the adj.) of a person being ‘hard pressed’ (Is 8.21). The sole piel has a sense that overlaps with the qal as well as the hiphil infinitive that is attested with it (‘to be hard’). It is hard to distinguish between the senses of the piel and hiphil in Gn 35.16, 17. The context does seem to indicate a progression in the severity of Rachel’s labor, but whether there is something in the choice of piel and hiphil that adds to this is hard to determine.⁴³⁵ The hiphil acts primarily as the causative of the sense ‘to be hard’ which is attested in the qal, niph, and piel (as well as the hiphil). Where the adjective is used to describe someone as being obstinate (‘stiff necked’), the hiphil is used of someone making their necks stiff (2 K 17.14).

e. קָשָׁה: (hi: 2x) This verb with the sense ‘to make hard’ is attested twice in contexts similar to the hiphil of קָשָׁה: it is used in Isaiah of the Lord hardening the heart, “O Lord, why do you make us wander from your ways and harden our heart from fearing you?” (לָמָּה תַחַעֲנוּ יְהוָה מִדְרֹכֶיךָ תִקְשִׁים לִבֵּנוּ מִיִּרְאַתְךָ, Is 63.17) and in Job 39.16 of the ostrich treating her young harshly (הַקְשִׁים בְּנִיָּהּ).

⁴³⁵ In part, this is because the logic of the referent (i.e. the labor of childbirth) itself suggests the progression. F. Delitzsch, *A New Commentary on Genesis*, Vol II, Minnesota: Klock and Klock (1978, reprint original 1888 by T&T Clark) 231, suggests that the piel is “here the intensive of the Kal: to be very hard, to have great difficulty” and that the hiphil should be taken as “really transitive, to inflict or suffer hardship”. This seems unlikely, at least in terms of the general pattern of the piel with stative verbs. Where the piel has typically been labeled as ‘intensive’ it has some overlap with the sense of the qal of an active verb with which the hiphil (if attested) tends to be causative of the qal. It seems more likely that both the piel and hiphil here act with a sense similar to the hiphil of stative verbs where it does not take an object (as the hiphil of קָשָׁה with syntax 2) and thus overlaps somewhat with the sense of the qal. E. A. Speiser, *Genesis*, The Anchor Bible, New York: Doubleday (1964) 273, argues for a progression in difficulty, citing the hiphil as “a parade example of the ‘elative’ use of the Hiphil” and translates the lines “...Rachel was in childbirth; she had hard labor. When her labor was at its hardest...” (272).

f. כבד

BDB: 113x total

q: 22x

n: 30x

p: 38x

pu: 3x

h: 17x

ht: 3x

qal

The syntax of the qal is: <A> כבד [+ על/אל of disadvantage; מן of comparison]

The qal has the sense ‘to be heavy’. It is applied to objects that are heavy or ‘severe’: war (Ju 20.34; 1 Sa 31.3 || 1 Ch 10.3), service/labor (Ex 5.9; Ne 5.18), sin (Gn 18.20), guilt (Ps 38.5), and Elihu’s pressure (Job 33.7).⁴³⁶ In a number of places the qal is applied of someone’s hand (signifying their power) being heavy upon another: After the Philistines capture the ark, “the hand of the Lord was heavy upon the inhabitants of Ashdod” (וַתִּכְבֹּד יְדֵי־יְהוָה אֶל־הָאֲשֻׁדּוֹרִים) (1 Sa 5.6; also vs. 11),⁴³⁷ David says that the hand of the Lord was heavy upon him day and night (Ps 32.4), and in the conquest narrative, “and the hand of the house of Joseph was heavy” upon the Amorites around them (וַתִּכְבֹּד יַד בֵּית־יוֹסֵף) (Ju 1.35).

The qal is also applied (similarly to the qal of חזק) to organs or body parts that do not respond as they are intended: Joseph must bring his sons close to Jacob since “the eyes of Israel were dim with age” (וַעֲיַיִן יִשְׂרָאֵל קָבְדוּ מִזֶּקֶן) (Gn 48.10) and in a warning to repent, Isaiah states that “his ear [the Lord’s] is not dull such that it can not hear” (וְלֹא־קָבְדָה אָזְנוֹ מִשְׁמוֹעַ) (Is 59.1). The qal is also used of Pharaoh’s heart becoming hard (וַיִּכְבַּד לֵב פַּרְעֹה) (Ex 9.7; with the adj. in Ex 7.14, לֵב פַּרְעֹה).

The qal is also applied of someone being heavy in the sense of ‘honored’: in Job’s response to Zophar he speaks of how a man’s sons come to honor and he does not know it (וַיִּכְבְּדוּ בָנָיו וְלֹא יָדָע) (Job 14.21).

⁴³⁶ Ezk 27.25 refers to a ship of Tarshish, “and you were filled and heavily laden in the heart of the seas” (וַתִּמְלֵאִי וַתִּכְבְּדִי מֵאֵד בְּלֵב יַמִּים). D. Block, *The Book of Ezekiel: Chapters 25–48*, Vol 2, NICOT, Grand Rapids, Michigan: Eerdmans (1998), 81 (n. 172) states that there is “delightful ambiguity” here where the qal of כבד may refer to the weight of the cargo, the magnificence of the ship, or both.

⁴³⁷ The phrase “for his hand is heavy upon us” is repeated again in vs. 7 using the qal of קשה.

niphal

The syntax of the niphal is: <A> נִכְבַּד [+ בָּ of location; מִן of comparison]

The niphal is used once of something being ‘heavy’: wisdom says it existed “when there were no springs abounding with water” (בְּאֵין מַעֲיֵנוֹת נִכְבְּדֵי־מַיִם), Pr 8.24).

The primary use of the niphal is where it has the sense ‘to be honored’ or ‘to be glorified’: Shechem is said to be the most honored of all his father’s household (וְהוּא נִכְבָּד מִכָּל בֵּית אָבִיו), Gn 34.19), Balak continues to lure Balaam by sending princes who were “more numerous and more honored” than those before (Nu 22.15), and Isaiah speaks of the Lord judging Tyre “to dishonor all the honored of the earth” (לְהַקֵּל כָּל־נִכְבְּדֵי־אֶרֶץ), Is 23.9).⁴³⁸

The niphal is also used with the Lord as subject and has the passive/reflexive sense ‘to be glorified, get glory for oneself’: the Lord says that before all the people he shall be glorified (וְעַל־פָּנָי כָּל־הָעָם אֶכְבֹּד), Lv. 10.3), the Lord also says he will gain glory for himself through Pharaoh and his army (Ex 14.4; also 14.17, 18), and in judgment on Sidon the Lord says “and I will be glorified in your midst” (וְנִכְבַּדְתִּי) בְּתוֹכְךָ, Ezk 28.22).

piel

The syntax of the piel is transitive: <A> כִּבְד [+ מִן of comparison; בָּ of means]

The piel is used twice in the same context with the sense ‘to make the heart heavy, hard’: the Philistine priests and diviners warn the people and ask them why they have hardened their hearts as Pharaoh and the people of Egypt hardened their hearts (וְלָמָּה תִּכְבְּדוּ אֶת־לְבַבְכֶם כַּאֲשֶׁר כִּבְדוּ מִצְרַיִם וּפְרַעֲוֵה אֶת־לְבָבָם), 1 Sa 6.6).⁴³⁹

The primary use of the piel is with the sense ‘to honor, glorify’ (sometimes declarative/estimative – ‘to treat as honorable’ = ‘to honor, glorify’): the fourth commandment has “honor your father and mother” (כִּבְדוּ אֶת־אָבִיךָ וְאֶת־אִמְךָ), Ex

⁴³⁸ It is most often the niphal participle that is attested with the sense ‘honored’ (1 Sa 9.6; 22.14; 2 Sa 23.19, 23 || 1 Ch 11.21, 25) or as the substantive ‘the honored’ (Ps 149.8; Is 3.5; 23.8; Na 3.10).

⁴³⁹ There appears to be an intended wordplay with 6.5 where the Philistines are told to give the God of Israel glory (כְּבוֹד) so that he might cause his hand to be light upon them (with hiphil of קָלַל).

20.12 || Dt 5.16), Manoah asks the angel of the Lord his name so that they might honor it (Ju 13.17), and the Lord rebukes Eli for honoring his sons more than the Lord (וְתִכְבְּדוּ אֶת־בָּנָיָךְ מִמֶּנִּי, 1 Sa 2.29). The Psalter refers to people honoring/glorifying the Lord: Ps 15.4 (calling the descendants of Jacob to do so); Ps 50.15, 23 (those offering a sacrifice of thanksgiving); 86.9 (the nations), and 86.12 (David). Similarly, in Isaiah the Lord says, “the beasts of the field will glorify me” (תִּכְבְּדוּנִי חַיַּת הַשָּׂדֶה), Is 43.20) but that his people who he formed for himself have not done so with their sacrifices (וּזְבַחְיָךְ לֹא כִבְדָתָנִי, 43.23).

pual

All three attested puals have the sense of ‘to be honored’: “the one who heeds correction will be honored” (וְשׁוֹמֵר תּוֹכַחַת יִכָּבֵד, Pr 13.18; also 27.18) and in Isaiah, the Lord promises to bless the people if they do no work but “call... the holy day of the Lord honorable” (וְקָרָאתָ... לְקָרוֹשׁ יְהוָה מְכָבֵד, Is 58.13)

hiphil

The syntax of the hiphil is: <A> הכבד

The hiphil has the sense ‘to make heavy’: Rehoboam receives and follows the counsel from his young men regarding the people who are “saying your father made our yoke heavy” (לֵאמֹר אָבִיךָ הִכְבִּיד אֶת־עַלְנוֹ), 1 K 12.10, 14 || 2 Ch 10.10, 14), Is 47.6 speaks in judgment on Babylon because “upon the aged they made the yoke exceedingly heavy” (עַל־זָקֵן הִכְבִּידָהּ עָלָיךְ מְאֹד), and Jeremiah laments that the Lord has made his chain heavy (La 3.7). Also, Hb 2.6 warns the one who heaps up what is not his own “and loads himself with pledges” RSV (וַיִּמְכְּבִיד עָלָיו עֲבָטִיט); NIV “makes himself wealthy by extortion”).

The hiphil is also used to apply this sense as ‘to make the heart hard’. It is used four times in Exodus regarding the hardening of Pharaoh’s heart: Ex 8.11, 28; 9.34 refer to Pharaoh hardening his heart (e.g. 8.28 וַיִּכְבֵּד פָּרְעֹה אֶת־לִבּוֹ) and in Ex 10.1, the Lord “will harden his heart and the heart of his servants” (כִּי־אֲנִי הִכְבִּידְתִּי (אֶת־לְבָבוֹ וְאֶת־לְבַב עֲבָדָיו). This sense of the hiphil is also used of Israel’s ears being

heavy in Is 6.10 (וְאָזְנוֹי הִכְבֵּדוּ, Is 6.10) and again in Zc 7.11 “they made their ears heavy (dull) for hearing” (וְאָזְנוֹיהֶם הִכְבִּירוּ מִשְׁמוֹעַ).

Lastly, the hiphil is used in contexts where it has the sense ‘to honor, glorify’: Is 8.23 says of the Lord “in the latter time he has made glorious the way of the sea” (וְהִאֲחִירוֹן הִכְבִּיד הַרְדָּךְ הַיָּם), in a promise of restoration, the Lord says of Israel and Judah “I will glorify them” (וְהִכְבַּדְתִּים), Je 30.19), and in Joash’s letter he says to Amaziah, “and your heart has lifted you up in boastfulness” (וּנְשָׂאָךְ לִבְךָ לְהִכְבִּיד), 2 Ch 25.19).

hithpael

The hithpael has the reflexive sense ‘to make oneself heavy’. In Nahum’s prophecy against Nineveh, he tells them “multiply yourselves like the locust; multiply like the grasshopper!” (וְהִתְכַבְּדוּ כַּיֵּלֶק הַתְּכַבְּרִי כְּאַרְבֶּה, Na 3.15). The one who is lowly esteemed and yet has a servant is better than one “who honors himself” (מִמֹּת־כְּבֹד, Pr 12.9) and has no bread.

כבד: the function of the piel amongst the themes

The qal acts as the stative with the general sense ‘to be heavy’ and has the adj. כָּבֵד acting as its participle: it is used of Eli literally being obese (1 Sa 4.18), to refer to things being severe like a famine (Gn 12.10) or plagues (Ex 9.3), and also to Pharaoh’s heart becoming hard (Ex 7.14). The niphil acts primarily with a sense that is passive/reflexive of the piel where it has the sense ‘to honor, glorify’. And thus the niphil is similar to the sense of the pual when where it also acts as the passive of the piel: “and call ... the holy day of the Lord honorable and honor it” (וְקָרְאתָ... לְקָדוֹשׁ), Is 58.13). The piel acts as a causative to the senses of the qal and the niphil. The qal is used in Is 66.5 “let the Lord be glorified” (יִכְבֹּד יְהוָה) and the piel in Is 24.15, “therefore glorify the Lord in the east...” (עַל-כֵּן בְּאֲרָצִים כְּבֹדוּ (יהוה)). The hiphil also acts as the causative to the sense of the qal. Where it refers to ‘hardening the heart’ it overlaps in sense with the piel: the piel is used when the Philistine priests warned their people against hardening their hearts as Pharaoh and his people hardened theirs (1 Sa 6.6) and the hiphil is used to refer to the events of the

exodus also with Pharaoh as the subject hardening his heart (Ex 8.11, 28; 9.34).⁴⁴⁰ The piel and hiphil also overlap with the sense ‘to honor’: the piel is used where the Lord says to Eli “for those who honor me I will honor” (כִּי־מְכַבְּרֵי אֶכְבֹּד, 1 Sa 2.30) and the hiphil is used in the promise of restoration “I will make them honored” (וְהִכְבַּדְתִּים), Je 30.19). However, even with the overlap in senses, the piel and hiphil are not distributed evenly with respect to their contexts. The piel is used most often with the sense ‘to make heavy’ in the sense of ‘to honor, glorify’ (often with the Lord as the object) and only once of ‘to harden the heart’. The hiphil is used primarily either with the sense ‘to make heavy’ of something being made harsh or with the sense ‘to make heavy’ of hardening the heart or making the ears dull. The **hithpael** acts as the reflexive of the sense of the piel ‘to honor’ (Pr 12.9) as well as of the sense of the hiphil ‘to make heavy’, where it has the sense ‘to make oneself numerous’ (Na 3.15).

g. חזק, אמץ, קשה & כבד: the function of piel amongst the verbs

This group of verbs is noteworthy for examining the function of the piel since the verbs are attested with partially overlapping senses which often occur in similar themes in each verb. The shared sense that links each of the four verbs is that of ‘hardening the heart’ (or some co-referential body part or organ). Three of the verbs are attested in the context of Ex 4–14 (and once outside, 1 Sa 6.6) referring to the state of Pharaoh’s heart relating to the decision not to let the people leave Egypt. The verbs and attested themes in the the chapters are as follows: חזק qal (7.13, 22; 8.15; 9.35 – all with the heart of Pharaoh as subject), piel (4.21; 9.12; 10.20, 27; 11.10;

⁴⁴⁰ Jenni, *DhP* [n. 42], 105 treats these references of כבד under the section “Differentiation between piel and hiphil in difficult cases” (101ff). As with his explanations of the piel and hiphil of חזק, he approaches each reference with the expectation that the piel should manifest the action as ‘accidental’ and the hiphil as ‘substantial’. For 1 Sa 6.6, “Why do you harden your hearts as Egypt and Pharaoh hardened their hearts?” (וְלָמָּה תִּכְבְּדוּ אֶת־לִבְבְּכֶם כַּאֲשֶׁר כִּבְדוּ מִצְרַיִם וּפְרַעֲוֵה אֶת־לִבָּם) he states that “the question leaves the choice still open and thus marks the action as accidental as a result”. Leaving aside whether Jenni’s use of the terms is a suitable way to describe the function of the themes, his explanation does not make sense of the second half of the verse which refers back to the collective events to which the hiphil in Ex 8.11, 28; 9.34 also refers in part. Also cf. Waltke and O’Connor’s discussion of 1 Sa 6.6 and Ex 8.11 in their section on the function of the hiphil (§ 27.2d) where they follow Jenni’s explanation. This is striking in Waltke and O’Connor in that a reader who was unaware of Jenni’s distinctions or the fact that Waltke and O’Connor followed them would find the offered explanation perplexing. It simply does not make sense of the data of the texts they have cited. In fact, this repeated occurrence was one of the original factors that motivated the present expedition into the function of the piel.

14.4, 8, 17 – all with the Lord as subject and the heart of Pharaoh as object); קשה hiphil (7.3 – the Lord as subject and Pharaoh’s heart as object; 13.15 – Pharaoh as subject + infinitive לְשַׁלְּחוֹנוֹ); כָּבַד⁴⁴¹ [(adj.) 7.14; 9.7– of the heart of Pharaoh];⁴⁴² piel (1 Sa 6.6 – with the Egyptians and Pharaoh as subject and their hearts as objects); hiphil (8.11, 28; 9.34 – with Pharaoh as subject and his heart as object; 10.1 – with the Lord as subject and the heart of Pharaoh and his servants as objects). The element that ought to be noted from this shared context is the fact that the piel and hiphil are used to refer to the same situation. This includes both the piel and hiphil of different verbs (e.g. piel of חָזַק and hiphil of קָשָׂה and כָּבַד with the Lord as subject) as well those of the same verb (piel and hiphil of כָּבַד with Pharaoh as subject). This sense is also attested outside of Ex 4–14 with the piel of חָזַק (Jos 11.20; Je 5.3), the piel of אָמַץ (Dt 2.30; 15.7; 2 Ch 36.13), the hiphil of קָשָׂה (Dt 2.30; 10.16; 2 Ch 36.13; etc.), and the hiphil of כָּבַד (Is 6.10; Zc 7.11). Note the use of the piel of אָמַץ and hiphil of קָשָׂה together in coreferential phrases in Dt 2.30 and 2 Ch 36.13.

Although this overlap in sense exists, in each individual verb the shared sense(s) of the piel and hiphil tends not to be distributed between the themes in the same quantity or manner: חָזַק the piel and hiphil meaning ‘to strengthen, repair’ are generally separated by context (except for the single piel in Ne 3.19); אָמַץ the piel and hiphil have a similar sense which itself is distinguished by the context of use (‘hardening of the heart’ in the piel; ‘encouraging the heart’ in the hiphil); כָּבַד the piel and hiphil with the sense ‘to consider honorable’ (= ‘to honor, glorify’) are separated somewhat by objects and frequency (piel – attested more with this sense and often with the Lord as object; hiphil – attested twice with this sense with human objects). In addition, the remaining attested forms of the piel and hiphil of each verb are generally differentiated in some manner by their context of use: חָזַק (piel) used of strengthening in the sense of ‘encouraging’ as well as hardening the heart; חָזַק (hiphil) used primarily with the sense ‘to seize’, but also without an explicit object in a sense that overlaps with the qal; קָשָׂה (piel) sole attested form overlaps with hiphil

⁴⁴¹ The niphil of כָּבַד is also attested in Ex 14.4, 17, 18 – all with the Lord as subject and the sense ‘to get glory for oneself’.

⁴⁴² Ex 4.10 also has the adj. where Moses offers the excuse to the Lord “for I am slow of speech and tongue” (כִּי כְבֹד־פִּי וְכִבְד־לְשׁוֹן אָנֹכִי)

form in same context; קָשָׁה (hiphil) used primarily with the sense ‘to make the heart (neck or spirit) hard’ or of making something ‘hard’ or ‘heavy’; כָּבַד (piel) used twice in the same verse with the sense ‘to harden the heart’; כָּבַד (hiphil) used more often with the sense ‘to harden the heart’; and also of making something ‘heavy’ or ‘harsh’ (a sense not attested in the piel).

The difficult question to answer from all of this is also the one that is in focus in most studies examining the function of the piel and other themes: Where there are some distinctions in terms of contexts of use, do they manifest elements that point to a possible difference between the function of the piel and hiphil when the senses are similar? Jenni begins with distinctions he explains as basic to that which the piel and hiphil are related to (and ultimately derived from) and argues by deduction that the contexts of the attested forms necessarily reflect these distinctions. As a result, Jenni’s substantial labor with the forms interprets the contexts in every case as consistent with the shape of his precommitments even in the face of that which looks to be counter evidence. From the opposite perspective, resulting largely from critical interaction with Jenni, Claassen argues that where the piel/hiphil and qal/hiphil forms overlap in sense as they do here, the forms “were apparently used arbitrarily and according to a principle of free variation”.⁴⁴³ These responses represent the sort of polarized conclusions mentioned in the beginning of chapter two and each asserts more than the available data can support. The piel and hiphil with the verbs examined above are attested in contexts where their senses are clearly overlapping and thus call into question the sort of systematic rigidity (in content as well as logical structure) that Jenni extracts necessarily from the data.⁴⁴⁴ However, Claassen’s assertion that the themes were therefore used ‘arbitrarily’ or in ‘free variation’ also presumes to know that there was nothing in the use of the themes that may have been understood by the original speaker/writer and audience as operative in the choice. What can be supported by the data is that the piel and hiphil are used, both within a single verb as well as between verbs of similar sense, with overlapping senses which are sometimes co-referential within shared contexts. In addition, the referential contexts of use in which the piel and hiphil are found also tend to look as if there is a means of

⁴⁴³ Claassen, *The Hiph'il Verbal Theme...* [n. 120], 283.

⁴⁴⁴ It also raises the question of the manner in which the term ‘factitive’ has been used of the function of the piel in contrast to a ‘causative’ hiphil even though they may both be attested of a stative verb and have overlapping senses (cf. § 4.3d below for further discussion of the use of these terms).

distinguishing between them. Each may be a causative application of a sense of the qal, but is largely confined to one theme: e.g. ‘to make (consider) heavy’ = ‘to honor, glorify’ in the piel of כָּבַד; ‘to make heavy’ = ‘to make harsh’ in the hiphil of כָּבַד.

h. קלל

BDB: 82x

q: 12x

n: 11x

p: 40x

pu: 3x

hi: 13x

[pilp: 2x]⁴⁴⁵

[hithpalp: 1x]

qal

The syntax of the qal is: <A> קלל [+ מַעַל of location; בְּ of norm;⁴⁴⁶ מִן of comparison]

The qal has the sense ‘to be light’ and is applied to both people and objects in different contexts. It is used twice to refer to the waters of the flood ‘receding’ from the land (כִּי־קָלוּ הַמַּיִם מֵעַל הָאָרֶץ, Gn 8.11; and 8.8) and five times to something or someone being ‘swifter’ than something else (of Saul and Jonathan, “they were swifter than eagles”, מִנְּשָׂרִים קָלוּ, 2 Sa 1.23).⁴⁴⁷

The qal is also used in contexts where the sense is of someone ‘being or becoming dishonorable’: Sarai feels she has become dishonorable in Hagar’s eyes (Gn 16.4, 5), in the prophecy against Eli, the Lord says “and those who despise me will be lightly esteemed” (וּבֹנֵי יִקְלוּ, 1 Sa 2.30; which is contrasted with ‘honoring’ with the piel of כָּבַד), Job responds to the Lord “Behold, I am of small account” (Job 40.4), and in the prophecy against Nineveh, I will make your grave “for you are vile” (כִּי קָלוֹתָ, Na 1.14).

⁴⁴⁵ The pilpal is attested twice in Ezk 21.26 (of shaking arrows in divination) and Ec 10.10 (of not sharpening the iron), the hithpalp once in Je 4.24 (of the hills ‘moving to and fro’). All three are related to some sense of shaking or moving, but difficult to know if this is related to the sense of the other themes of the present verb and if so, how. KB (1104 b) suggests that Ec 10.10 is denominative of קָלָל ‘smooth, shiny’ and the other two are related to the qal and niphal sense ‘to be fast’.

⁴⁴⁶ Expressing a state or condition: Sarai was dishonorable ‘in her eyes’ (of Hagar, Gn 16.4, 5); cf. Williams [n. 280], § 252.

⁴⁴⁷ Also used of horses (Je 4.13; Hb 1.8) and days (Job 7.6; 9.24).

niphal

The syntax of the niphal is: <A> קלל [+ infin of purpose; ב of norm; מן of comparison]

The niphal has the sense 'to be light, trifling'.⁴⁴⁸ It is used several times to refer to something being considered light: David asks, "Is it a small thing in your eyes to become the king's son-in-law?" (הַנְּקָלָה בְּעֵינֶיכֶם הַתְּחַחֵן בְּמֶלֶךְ, 1 Sa 18.23) and of Ahab, "And as if it had been a light thing for him to walk in the ways of Jeroboam..." (וַיְהִי הַנְּקָל לְכַתּוֹ בְּחַטָּאוֹת יְרָבֵעָם, 1 K 16.31) he took Jezebel as his wife.⁴⁴⁹

The niphal is also applied in other contexts: knowledge is easy for a man of understanding (Pr 14.6), prophets and priests heal the wound of the Lord's people 'lightly' (Je 6.14; 8.11), and Israel's pursuers will be swift (עַל-כֵּן יִקְלוּ רֹדְפֵיכֶם, Is 30.16).

piel

The syntax of the piel is: <A> קלל (&A) [+ ב of means (1 Sa 17.43)]

The piel has the sense 'to curse, dishonor'. It is most often used in contexts that refer explicitly to someone speaking and thus is translated as 'to curse': referring to the punishment for someone who blasphemed the name and 'cursed' (Lv 24.11, 15; and as a participle הַמְּקַלֵּל, "the one who cursed" in 24.14), of Shimei cursing David as he walks along (7x in 2 Sa 16; also 19.22; 1 K 2.8), of Job cursing the day of his birth (Job 3.1), and also of the fact that Balaam had been summoned to curse Israel (Dt 23.5; Jos 24.9; Ne 13.2 all with piel infin cs of קלל; Nu 22.6ff have the qal of ארר).

The piel is also used in a few places where the context does not explicitly indicate that the action the piel refers to is speech (or at least not speech alone) and

⁴⁴⁸ KB lists a sense of the niphal as 'to know oneself to be insignificant, demean oneself' (KB 1103 b) but it only fits in 2 Sa 6.22 of Michal saying "and I will make myself more contemptible than this" (וַיִּנְקַלְחֵי עוֹד מְזֹאֵחַ). The subject of the niphal is most often the person or object that is considered light or trifling by someone else.

⁴⁴⁹ Other references include: 2 K 3.18; 20.10; Is 49.6; Ezk 8.17.

may be taken with the slightly broader sense ‘to dishonor’: possibly Ex 21.17 and Lv 20.9 of ‘dishonoring’ father and mother.⁴⁵⁰

pual

The pual has the sense ‘to be cursed’: “and those cursed by him [the Lord] shall be cut off” (וּמִקְלָיו יִכְרְתוּ) Ps 37.22; opposite pual (ברך), Is 65.20 speaks of a time when “the sinner who dies at one hundred shall be accursed”, and of the wicked, Job says “their portion is cursed in the land” (תִּקְלַל חֶלְקָתָם בְּאֶרֶץ) Job 24.18).

hiphil

The syntax of the hiphil is: <A> קלל (אָח) [+ מַעַל of location]

The hiphil has the sense ‘to make light’. Where it is applied to making a load light, it often includes the compound preposition מַעַל: of men throwing things overboard from a ship “to lighten it for them” (לְהַקֵּל מֵעַלֵיהֶם) Jon 1.5), of the people asking Rehoboam “but you lighten it [the yoke] for us” (וְאַתָּה הַקֵּל מֵעַלֵינוּ) 1 K 12.10),⁴⁵¹ and of the Philistines suggesting that images be made to send back with the ark “so that perhaps he [God of Israel] will lighten his hand from upon you, your gods and your land” (אִוְלֵי יִקַּל אֶחֱזִירוּ מֵעַלֵיכֶם וּמֵעַל אֱלֹהֵיכֶם וּמֵעַל אֶרְצְכֶם) 2 Sa 19.44).

The hiphil is also applied in contexts where the sense ‘to make light’ is of someone treating another with contempt or dishonoring them: Ezk 22.7 says that “father and mother are treated with contempt in you” (אָב וָאִם הִקְלֹו בְךָ), in an oracle against Tyre, the Lord has planned it “to dishonor all the honored of the earth” (כָּל־נִכְבְּרֵי־אֶרֶץ) Is 23.9), and the men of Israel ask the men of Judah, “Why did you despise us?” (וּמַדּוּעַ הִקְלַתְנִי) 2 Sa 19.44).

⁴⁵⁰ Although these passages are typically translated as ‘cursing’ mother or father as the cause for the death penalty, Dt 21.18–21 indicates that children could be brought forward for the penalty if they were shown to be continually stubborn and rebellious to their parent’s instruction and discipline.

⁴⁵¹ The request to Rehoboam is referred to again in 1 K 12.4, 9 || 2 Ch 10.4, 9.

קלל: the function of the piel amongst the themes

The qal acts as the stative with the general sense 'to be light', which is applied in contexts of someone/something being 'swift' or of someone being 'dishonorable'.⁴⁵² The niph'al acts in a manner similar to the qal in comparable contexts. Where the qal is used of a person 'becoming dishonorable' (Sarai, Gn 16.4, 5) the niph'al is used mostly to refer to something a person does characterized as 'being light', which depending upon the context can have the sense of 'trifling' (David becoming the king's son-in-law, 1 Sa 18.23) or 'easy' (the Lord giving over Moab in battle, 2 K 3.18).⁴⁵³ The piel and hiphil both act as causatives to the sense of the qal (and niph'al). The piel acts in relation to the sense 'to be dishonorable' primarily as a declarative: 'to curse' = 'to declare someone or something to be dishonorable'. The hiphil often acts in relation to the qal in a sense similar to what would typically be labeled 'factitive' if it were piel: 'to make light, easy', Ex 18.22; 1 Sa 6.5; Jon 1.5. The hiphil is also used several times where it has the sense 'to despise, dishonor' (2 Sa 19.44; Is 8.23; 23.9) that is close to the piel: both are used with father and mother as object: *וְאֶת-אִמּוֹ וְאֶת-אָבִיו יִקְלֵל אִשׁ אִשׁ אֲשֶׁר יִקְלֵל אֶת-אָבִיו וְאֶת-אִמּוֹ*; Lv 20.9; *וְאָב וְאִם הִקְלוּ בָךְ*; Ezk 22.7). The three attested pual forms act as passives to the sense of the piel.

i. קלה II: (n: 5x; hi: 1x) This verb is listed in BDB (885b) and KB (1101b) as a parallel or by-form of קלל. It has overlapping senses with קלל in the niph'al 'to be dishonored, lightly esteemed' (in opposition to כבד, Is 3.5; Pr 12.9) and 'to dishonor' in the sole hiphil (*וְאֶת-אִמּוֹ וְאֶת-אָבִיו מִקְלָה אָרֹר*, Dt 27.16).

⁴⁵² In the context of 1 Sa 2.30, the qal of קלל is used in contrast with the piel of כבד. The themes attested with קלל are similar in attestation and sense relations to those of כבד.

⁴⁵³ Both the qal in Gn 16.4, 5 and the niph'al in 1 Sa 18.23; 2 K 3.18 can be used with 'in the eyes of someone' (*בְּעֵינֵיהָ*, Gn 16.4, 5; *בְּעֵינֵיכֶם*, 1 Sa 18.23; *בְּעֵינֵי יְהוָה*, 2 K 3.18).

4.2 גדל, רבה & גבר

a. גדל

BDB: 115x

q: 51x

p: 26x

pu: 1x

hi: 33x

hith: 4x

qal

The syntax of the qal is: <A> גדל [+ עַד of extent/duration]

The qal has the sense ‘to be, become great’. It is applied in a number of different contexts to someone or something being or becoming great in some respect: in terms of property (‘wealthy’) (Abraham, Gn 24.35; Isaac, Gn 26.13), Pharaoh is greater than Joseph only with respect to the throne (Gn 41.40), the outcry of Sodom had become great before the Lord (Gn 19.13), and David asks that his life would be ‘precious’ before the Lord (1 Sa 26.24). The qal with similar sense is used quite often with the Lord (or his name, power, etc.) as subject: “O Lord my God, you are very great!” (יהוה אֱלֹהֵי גְדֹלָתְךָ מְאֹד, Ps 104.1).⁴⁵⁴

The qal is also used to refer to ‘becoming great’ in the sense of someone or something ‘growing’ physically. It is most often used of a child growing up (Issac, Gn 21.8, 20; Moses, Ex 2.10, 11)⁴⁵⁵ but is also used of other subjects: of a lamb (2 Sa 12.3), of a plant (Ezk 16.7), of a horn (Dn 8.9, 10).

piel

The syntax of the piel is: <A> גדל (אָת) [+ לְ/בַּ of location; duration (Dn 1.5)]

The piel has the sense ‘to make great’ in contexts related to those of the qal. When the piel refers to making someone else great in terms of honor or respect, it most often has the Lord as subject (the Lord says to Joshua, “this day I will begin to make you great in the eyes of all Israel”, הַיּוֹם הַזֶּה אֶחַל גְּדֹלְךָ בְּעֵינֵי כָל־יִשְׂרָאֵל, Jos

⁴⁵⁴ Further references with the Lord or something that represents him as subject: Nu 14.17; 2 Sa 7.22, 26; 1 Ch 16.25; 17.24; Ps 35.27; 40.17; 70.5; 92.6; Mi 5.3 (of the messiah).

⁴⁵⁵ Further references of someone growing (up): Gn 25.27; 38.11, 14; Ju 11.2; 13.24; Ru 1.13; 1 Sa 2.21; 3.19; 1 K 12.8, 10 (|| 2 Ch 10.8, 10); 2 K 4.18; Job 31.18.

3.7; also 4.14),⁴⁵⁶ and is also applied to a king (Xerxes) ‘promoting’ someone (Haman in Est 3.1; 5.11; Mordecai in Est 10.2).

The piel is also used of someone ‘making someone or something great’ with respect to aiding its physical growth: ‘rearing’ children (2 K 10.6; Is 1.2; 23.4; 49.21; 51.18; Hos 9.12), of Daniel and friends being ‘educated’ for three years (Dn 1.5), of a plant (Jon 4.10), of letting locks of hair grow long (יהיה גדל פֶּרַע שֶׁעַר רֵאשׁוֹ, Nu 6.5), and of trees ‘nourished’ by water (Is 44.14; Ezk 31.4).

pual

The sole pual has the sense ‘to be grown’ and is used in the image “may our sons in their youth be like plants full grown” (אֲשֶׁר בְּיָנוּ כְּנֹטְעִים מְגֻדְלִים בְּנְעוּרֵיהֶם) Ps 144.12).

hiphil

The syntax of the hiphil is: 1. <A> הגדל (את)
2. <A> הגדל [+ על of disadvantage; infin (qal of עשה)]

The hiphil has the general sense ‘to make great’ and is used in a number of ways, some of which seem strange for the typical definition of the function of the hiphil. The hiphil is used of someone ‘making’ something else great (syntax 1): Lot thanks the angels “and you have made your kindness great” (וַתְּגַדְּלֵהוּ חֲסִדָּהְךָ, Gn 19.19), of Israel’s injustice, “that we may make the ephah small and the shekel great” (Am 8.5), and Edom is warned “do not boast in the day of distress” (lit. “do not enlarge your mouth”, וְאַל-תְּגַדְּלֵהוּ פִּיךָ, Ob 12).

The hiphil (syntax 2) is also used in a sense similar to the reflexive (“for he magnified himself against the Lord” כִּי עַל-יְהוָה הִגְדִּיל, Je 48.26)⁴⁵⁷ or as an “adverbial hiphil”⁴⁵⁸ representing a mode of action (they [Moab and Ammon] have taunted my people “and made boasts against their territory”, וַיִּגְדִּילוּ עַל-גְּבוּלָם, Zp 2.8). In some of these contexts, the hiphil has a complementing noun (“excellent in wisdom”, הִגְדִּיל חֹשֶׁבָה, Is 28.29), infinitive (qal עשה ‘to do great things’ in Joel

⁴⁵⁶ The Lord made Solomon very great in the eyes of all Israel (1 Ch 29.25; 2 Ch 1.1), the Lord promised Abraham, “and I will make your name great” (Gn 12.3), of making Solomon’s throne great (1 K 1.37, 47), and in David’s prayer (1 Ch 29.12).

⁴⁵⁷ Other hiphils with this sense include: Je 48.42; Ezk 35.13; Zp 2.10; Ps 35.26; Job 19.5.

⁴⁵⁸ Cf. Joüon-Muraoka § 54 d.

2.20, 21; Ps 126.2, 3) or verb (with qal of בכה of David weeping “more” than Jonathan, עֲדַרְקוֹר הַגְּדִיל, וַיִּבְכוּ ... 1 Sa 20.41).

hithpacl

The hithpacl has the sense ‘to magnify oneself’ (‘against’ or ‘above’ another): in an image of Assyria’s arrogance, “... or does the saw magnify itself against him who wields it?” (אִם-יִתְגַּדֵּל הַמְּשׁוֹר עַל-מְנִיפוֹ) (Is 10.15), of a king magnifying himself above others (Dn 11.36, 37), and the Lord says “And I will show my greatness...in the eyes of many nations” (וְהִתְגַּדַּלְתִּי ... לְעֵינֵי גוֹיִם רַבִּים) (Ezk 38.23).

גדל: the function of the piel amongst the themes

The qal acts as a stative with the adjective גָּדוֹל acting as its participle.⁴⁵⁹ The piel acts as the causative of the qal in both the sense of someone becoming great (piel = B makes A ‘great’) and of someone or something being grown physically (piel = B ‘rears, nourishes’ A). The sole pual acts as the passive of the latter sense of the piel. The hiphil acts in a few places as a causative in a similar sense to that of the piel (B makes A ‘great’): the piel is used in Jos 3.7; 4.14 of the Lord exalting Joshua and the hiphil is used of the Lord, “for you have exalted above everything your name and your word” (כִּי-הִגְדַּלְתָּ עַל-כָּל-שְׁמֶךָ אִמְרֹתֶיךָ) (Ps 138.2).⁴⁶⁰ However, most often it acts in an adverbial manner (e.g. + qal of עשה ‘to do great things’) or in a sense that would seem more typical of the niphil or hithpacl: “If indeed you magnify yourselves against me”, תִּתְגַּדְּלוּ עָלַי תִּתְגַּדְּלוּ, Job 19.5; hithp in Dn 11.36, “for he shall magnify himself above all”, כִּי עַל-כָּל יִתְגַּדֵּל. Sometimes, the hiphil appears to overlap with the sense of the qal: hiph of a horn in Dn 8.11, “It became great, even as great as the Prince of the host” ESV, וְעַד שָׂרֵה-הַצֶּבֶא הַגְּדִיל, qal of the same horn in Dn 8.10, “It grew great, even to the host of heaven”, וַתִּתְגַּדֵּל עַד-צֶבֶא הַשָּׁמַיִם, (also Dn

⁴⁵⁹ This includes, for instance, the use of the adj. to refer to the ‘elder’/‘eldest’ child: of Esau (Gn 27.1), of the king of Moab (2 K 3.27); also Gn 10.21; 29.16; 44.12; 1 Sa 17.13, 14, 28; 18.17; 1 K 2.22; Ezk 16.46, 61; 23.4.

⁴⁶⁰ Note that Waltke and O’Connor’s explanation of the piel in Jos 4.14 and the hiphil in Ps 138.2 (§ 27.2d) begins with the statement “given that the fundamental distinction between *Piel* and *Hiphil* is that the former signifies the *bringing about of a state* and the latter *the causing of an event* ...”. Thus, their explanation rests primarily upon the way in which the verses are interpreted in light of their pre-commitment to this distinction.

8.9).⁴⁶¹ The piel and hiphil of this verb are thus generally distinguished both by sense and contexts of use. For although the hiphil is used a few times with the sense ‘to make great’, it is not used in the similar contexts of rearing children/nourishing plants or of someone (the Lord, a king) making someone else great like the piel. The hithpacl acts as the reflexive of the sense of the piel ‘to make great, magnify’.

b. רבה I: (225x total; q: 59x; p: 4x; hi: 162x) This verb meaning ‘to be, become many’ in the qal is used most often as a causative in the hiphil for ‘to make numerous’. Out of the four attested piel forms, two are used in a sense like the piel of גדל ‘to rear’ (La 2.22 of rearing children; Ezk 19.2 of a lioness rearing her cubs). As with גדל, the hiphil is not used in this sense; with בָּנִים ‘children’ or זָרַע ‘offspring’ as the object the hiphil is used of ‘having many’ (בָּנִים, 1 Ch 7.4; 8.40; 23.11) or ‘making numerous’ (זָרַע, Gn 16.10; 22.17; Je 33.22). The hiphil of רבה is also used like the hiphil of גדל with a complementing infinitive or verb (e.g., “[Manasseh] did much evil in the eyes of the Lord”, הִרְבָּה לַעֲשׂוֹת הָרַע בְּעֵינֵי יְהוָה, 2 K 21.6).

c. נבר I: (q: 17x; p: 3x; hi: 2x; hith: 3x) This verb meaning ‘to be strong’ is primarily attested in the qal. Both the piel (Zc 10.6, “and I will strengthen the house of Judah”, וְנִבְרַתִּי אֶת־בַּיִת יְהוּדָה; also Zc 10.12; Ec 10.10) and hiphil (Dn 9.27, “And he shall make a strong covenant with many for one week”, וְהִנְבִּיר בְּרִית לְרַבִּים שָׁבוּעַ אֶחָד, (וְהִנְבִּיר בְּרִית לְרַבִּים שָׁבוּעַ אֶחָד, Ps 12.5), which is comparable with the qal in 1 Sa 2.9, “for not by might shall a man prevail”, כִּי־לֹא בְכַח יִנְבַר־אִישׁ).

⁴⁶¹ Joñon-Muraoka’s section on the adverbial hiphil (§ 54 d) is headed by an explanation of this function of the hiphil as an ‘intransitive causative’ counterpart to the ‘factitive’ piel in which “the action remains with the subject itself”. In both Dn 8.10 (qal) and 11 (hiph) the verbs are referring to what is happening to the horn, though it may be possible to argue that in vs. 11 the focus shifts to the person the horn represents. Whatever the explanation, the senses of the qal and the hiphil are very similar in some contexts. In fact, it does not seem that the term ‘intransitive causative’ refers to something that much different than what is usually termed ‘middle’ or ‘reflexive’.

4.3 קדש & צדק

a. קדש

BDB: 171x

q: 11x

n: 11x

p: 75x⁴⁶²

pu: 5x

hi: 45x

hith: 24x

qal

The syntax of the qal is: <A> קדש

The qal has the sense ‘to be, become holy’. It is used four times in the same phrase of the priests, altar, or utensils of the tabernacle “everything that touches (the altar) will become holy” (כָּל־הַנִּגַּע בַּמִּזְבֵּחַ יִקְדָּשׁ, Ex 29.37; also Ex 30.29; Lv 6.11, 20. Similarly, when Aaron and his sons are ordained, they and their clothes are holy (Ex 29.21) and in Korah’s rebellion, the censers that were offered before the Lord became holy (כִּי־הִקְדִּיבָם לִפְנֵי־יְהוָה וַיִּקְדָּשׁוּ, Nu 17.3; also vs. 2).⁴⁶³

niphal

The syntax of the niphal is: <A> נִקְדָּשׁ [+ לְ/בְ of location]

The niphal is used as both a passive (‘to be sanctified’) and a middle/reflexive (‘to show, manifest one’s holiness’) sense. The former is found in Lv 22.32 where the Lord says that his name shall not be profaned “that I may be sanctified among the people of Israel” (וַיִּקְדָּשׁתִּי בַחֹדֶף בְּנִי יִשְׂרָאֵל) and in Ex 29.43 of the tabernacle, “it shall be sanctified by my glory” (וַיִּקְדָּשׁ בְּכְבוֹדִי). The remaining attested niphals are used with the Lord as subject and have the middle/reflexive sense ‘to show, manifest

⁴⁶² This number does not include the form in Ezk 7.24 (וַיִּנְחֲלוּ מִקְדָּשֵׁיהֶם), which is usually taken as a nominative, “and their holy places shall be profaned” (cf. LXX, τὰ ἁγία ἀβύρω; also KJV, RSV, NIV).

⁴⁶³ The remaining attested qal forms include: of David’s men being ‘holy’ in order to eat the showbread (1 Sa 21.6); of someone claiming to be “too holy for you” (כִּי קָדְשָׁתִּיךָ, Is 65.6); of something ‘becoming holy’ (Hag 2.12); instruction not to mix two types of seeds, lest the whole yield ‘become holy’ (Dt 22.9 – NIV “be defiled”; RSV “be forfeited to the sanctuary”).

one's holiness': "and I will manifest my holiness among you in the eyes of the nations" (וְנִקְדַּשְׁתִּי בְּכֶם לְעֵינֵי הַגּוֹיִם), Ezk 20.41).⁴⁶⁴

piel

The syntax of the piel is: <A> קדש (אָחַת) [+ על of disadvantage; בָּ of means]

The piel has the sense 'to make holy' which is applied in a number of different contexts with related senses. Gn 2.3 says "And God blessed the seventh day and made it holy" (וַיְבָרֶךְ אֱלֹהִים אֶת-יוֹם הַשְּׁבִיעִי וַיְקַדְּשֵׁהוּ), Israel is instructed in several places "to keep the Sabbath holy" (Ex 20.8 || Dt 5.12), and the reason given for following this instruction and others is to remind them "that I am the Lord who sanctifies you" (כִּי אֲנִי יְהוָה מְקַדְּשְׁכֶם), Ex 31.13).⁴⁶⁵ Related to the sense 'keeping something holy' is the piel in Dt 32.51 where Moses is told why he will die as Aaron has and not enter the land, "because you did not treat me as holy in the midst of the people of Israel" (עַל אֲשֶׁר לֹא-קִדַּשְׁתָּם אוֹתִי בְּחֹדֶךָ בְּיַד יִשְׂרָאֵל).

The piel is applied further in contexts where something or someone is being 'consecrated' for a particular purpose, which is often service in or for the tabernacle. Thus, the piel is used to refer to the consecration of Aaron and his sons as priests, "Consecrate them that they may serve me as priests" (וַיְקַדְּשֵׁתָּם אֲתָם וְכִהְנֹוּ לִי), Ex 28.41) as well as the consecration of the tabernacle and its furnishings (Ex 40.9).⁴⁶⁶ This sense of the piel is also used to refer to 'consecrating' in other contexts: In order to prepare Israel to come before the Lord, Joshua is told "Consecrate the people" (קַדְּשׁ אֶת-הָעָם), Jos 7.13), in his plot to kill the worshippers of Baal, Jehu commanded "Consecrate a solemn assembly for Baal" (קַדְּשׁוּ עֵצָרָה לְבַעַל), 2 K 10.20), and several times the piel is used of 'consecrating' or 'preparing' war or someone to fight against another, "Prepare war against her" (קַדְּשׁוּ עָלֶיהָ מִלְחָמָה), Je 6.4).⁴⁶⁷

⁴⁶⁴ Other references with this sense: Nu 20.13; Is 5.16; Ezk 28.22, 25; 36.23; 38.16; 39.27.

⁴⁶⁵ Further references: 'keeping the Sabbath' (Ex 20.11; Je 17.22, 24, 27; Ezk 20.20; 44.24; Ne 13.22); "I am the Lord who sanctifies you" (Lv 20.8; 21.8, 15, 23; 22.9, 16, 32; Ezk 20.12; 37.28); also cf. Ezk 44.19 and 46.20 of the priests removing their garments "lest they communicate holiness to the people".

⁴⁶⁶ Other references of consecrating include: priests (Ex 28.3; 29.1, 33, 44; 30.30; 40.13; Lv 8.12, 30); tabernacle/utensils (Ex 40.10, 11; Lv 8.10, 11, 15; Nu 7.1); Sinai (Ex 19.23); altar (Ex 29.36, 37; 30.29); of Eleazar for charge of the ark (1 Sa 7.1); court of the temple (1 K 8.64 || 2 Ch 7.7); temple (2 Ch 29.5, 17).

⁴⁶⁷ Other references of war: Je 22.7; 51.27, 28; Joel 4.9; Mi 3.5.

pual

The pual is only attested as a participle with the sense ‘the consecrated, appointed’. It is applied to priests (Ezk 48.11; 2 Ch 26.18), feasts (Ezra 3.5), those who will attack Babylon (Is 13.3), and to the holy things titled “which had been consecrated to the Lord their God” (וּמִמֶּנֶּשֶׁר קִדְּשִׁים הַמִּקְדָּשִׁים לַיהוָה אֱלֹהֵיהֶם) (2 Ch 31.6).

hiphil

The syntax of the hiphil is: <A> הִקְדִּישׁ (אָת) [+ ל of advantage or temporal (Je 12.3); בָּ of means]

The hiphil is primarily used in contexts where it has the sense ‘to consecrate, dedicate’. It is used quite often with the B element as an Israelite who is consecrating or dedicating something to the Lord: “if a man dedicates his house as a holy gift to the Lord” (וְאִישׁ כִּי־יִקְדֹּשׁ אֶת־בֵּיתוֹ קִדְּשׁ לַיהוָה) (Lv 27.14); also of land (Lv 27.16), a field (Lv 27.17, 18, 22), silver (Ju 17.3), and articles of silver and gold brought back as spoil from war (2 Sa 8.11).⁴⁶⁸ It is also applied in other contexts like the setting aside of cities of refuge, “And they set apart Kadesh in Galilee in the hill country of Naphtali...” (וַיִּקְדְּשׁוּ אֶת־קִדְּשׁ בְּגִלְיָל בְּהַר נַפְתָּלַי) (Jos 20.7).

With the Lord as the B element, the hiphil is used of his consecrating or dedicating something or someone for his purposes: of the temple which the Lord had consecrated (1 K 9.3 || 2 Ch 7.20; also 2 Ch 36.14), in Jeremiah’s call “and before you came out from the womb I consecrated you” (וּבִטְרָם הִצַּא מִרְחֹם הַקִּדְּשִׁתִּיךָ) (Je 1.5), and of the Lord consecrating all the firstborn of Israel for himself (Nu 3.13, 8.17).

The hiphil is also used where it has the sense ‘to regard, treat as holy’. The reason Aaron and Moses will not enter the land is because they did not believe in the Lord (Nu 20.12) and that they rebelled against his word (Nu 27.14) “to uphold me as

⁴⁶⁸ Other references include: Aaron bearing any guilt “from the holy things that the people of Israel consecrate as their holy gifts” (הַקִּדְּשִׁים אֲשֶׁר יִקְדִּישׁוּ בְנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל לְכָל־מִחֲנַת קִדְּשֵׁיהֶם) (Ex 28.38); participle of “the one who dedicates” (Lv 27.15, 19); ‘the holy things’ (Lv 22.2, 3); the instruction that a firstborn animal cannot be dedicated as a gift (לֹא־יִקְדִּישׁ אִישׁ אֹתוֹ) (Lv 27.26) because it is the Lord’s (לַיהוָה הוּא); but Israel is reminded to dedicate all firstborn males of the livestock to the Lord (Dt 15.19); Jehoshaphat took all that his fathers had dedicated (אֲשֶׁר־הִקְדִּישׁוּ) (2 K 12.19) and sent it to Hazael; Aaron was set apart to dedicate the most holy things (וַיִּבְדֵּל אֶהֱרֹן לְהִקְדִּישׁ קִדְּשִׁים) (1 Ch 23.13); of that which had been dedicated to the Lord (1 Ch 26.26, 28) being ‘dedicated’ for another purpose (1 Ch 26.27); and of Solomon building a house ‘to dedicate’ to the Lord (2 Ch 2.3).

holy” (לְהַקְדִישֵׁנִי) in both) before the eyes of the people. Similarly in Isaiah, “the Lord of hosts, him you shall regard as holy” (אֲתִיְהוּהַ צָבָאוֹת אַתָּה תִקְדָּשׁוּ, Is 8.13) and the house of Jacob will treat as holy both the Lord’s name and the Holy One Jacob (Is 29.23).

hithpacl

The syntax of the hithpacl is: <A> הִתְקַדַּשׁ

The hithpacl most often has the reflexive sense ‘to consecrate oneself’ as in the instruction in Lv 11.44, “Consecrate yourselves therefore and be holy for I am holy” (וְהִתְקַדַּשְׁתֶּם וְהִיַּחֲמֶם קִדְשִׁים כִּי קָדוֹשׁ אֲנִי).⁴⁶⁹ The hithpacl is also used once with a passive sense, “as in the night when a holy feast is kept” (כְּלִיל הַתְּקֵדָשׁ־חַג), Is 30.29) and once with the sense “to show oneself holy” where the Lord says, “And I will show my greatness and my holiness and make myself known before the eyes of many nations” (וְהִתְגַּדַּלְתִּי וְהִתְקַדַּשְׁתִּי וְנִוְרַעְתִּי לְעֵינֵי גוֹיִם רַבִּים), Ezk 28.32).

קָדַשׁ: the function of the piel amongst the themes

The qal acts as a stative with the adjective קָדוֹשׁ acting as its participle. The piel and hiphil both act as causatives to the sense of the qal with some area of overlapping sense as well as somewhat distinct contexts of use. Both themes are used to refer to the incident where Moses and Aaron did not uphold the Lord as holy before the people at Meribah (piel, לֹא־קִדַּשְׁתֶּם אוֹתִי, Dt 32.51; hiphil, לְהַקְדִישֵׁנִי, Nu 20.12; 27.14).⁴⁷⁰ In 2 Ch 29, Hezekiah’s command to the Levites to consecrate the temple (וְקִדְשׁוּ אֶת־בַּיִת יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵי אֲבֹתֵיכֶם, 29.5) and the actual consecrating (twice in 29.17) use the piel, but the hiphil is used in the Levite’s report that they prepared and consecrated (וְהִקְדַּשְׁנוּ, 29.19) all the utensils Ahaz had discarded. Lastly, the

⁴⁶⁹ Further references with a reflexive sense include: Ex 19.22; Lv 20.7; Nu 11.18; Jos 3.5; 7.13; 1 Sa 16.5; 2 Sa 11.4; 1 Ch 15.12, 14; 2 Ch 5.11; 29.5, 15, 34; 30.3, 15, 17, 24; 31.18; 35.6; Is 66.17.

⁴⁷⁰ cf. Jenni, *DhP* [n. 42], 60 where he argues that the difference between the piel and hiphil with these verses lies in the fact that the negation of the piel is consistent with a distinction of aspect in terms of duration. In order to do so, he says that the negation in Nu 20.12 and 27.14 “refers not to the sanctifying, but to the faith which otherwise would have led to more permanent sanctification”. While it is true that the negation in these verses is explicitly of the verb which the hiphil infinitive construct complements, Jenni’s explanation of what this means does not distance it from the piel. The piel in Dt 32.51 is immediately preceded by a clause similar in sense to those with the hiphil, “Because you broke faith with me in the midst of the people of Israel ...” (עַל אֲשֶׁר מָעַלְתֶּם בִּי בְּתוֹךְ בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל).

hiphil is used twice in Numbers of the Lord saying, “I consecrated for my own all the firstborn of Israel” (הִקְדַּשְׁתִּי לִי כָּל-בְּכוֹר בְּיִשְׂרָאֵל, Nu 3.13; also 8.17) to refer back to what was commanded with the piel in Ex 13.2, “Consecrate to me all the firstborn” (קְדַשׁ-לִּי כָּל-בְּכוֹר). Jenni discusses each of these comparisons along with one further reference, but his idiosyncratically varied explanations as to how the piel and hiphil are to be distinguished seem to derive more from the set of controlling distinctions rather than from the context. For instance, with Ex 13.2, Jenni refers to the nominal sentence which closes the verse, “It belongs to me” (לִּי הוּא) and argues that it indicates that the achieved result is being described, which is expected in the piel. However, Jenni fails to comment on the fact that both Nu 3.13 and 8.17 with the hiphil also begin with a similar sentence, “For all the firstborn are mine” (כִּי לִּי כָּל-בְּכוֹר). These sorts of observations and conclusions in Jenni’s work give the impression that the supposed necessary set of basic distinctions he begins with has been used to take whatever is needed from the surrounding context to attempt to make his case.⁴⁷¹ It would be more consistent with the surrounding contexts of these forms to conclude that the piel and hiphil in them appear to overlap in sense.

The remaining attested forms of the piel and hiphil are also similar in sense, but some are distinguishable in terms of contexts of use.⁴⁷² The piel is used to refer to consecrating both priests and objects like the tabernacle or its utensils to prepare them for service to the Lord. This sense is applied further in places where the piel sometimes has the general sense ‘to prepare’ (c.g. war, Je 6.4).⁴⁷³ The hiphil is used often to refer to people ‘dedicating’ something for a particular purpose, often as a holy gift to the Lord. As both of these contexts refer to making something holy either through consecration or dedication, it is not surprising that the sense of the piel and hiphil may overlap in other places.

⁴⁷¹ Jenni, *DhP* [n. 42], 59–61.

⁴⁷² Jouon-Muraoka § 52 d, n.3 cite קדש as one of the verbs in which the piel and hiphil have “scarcely discernible differences in meaning or nuance”. They also state further that in their estimation Walkte and O’Connor’s section which attempts to distinguish between piel and hiphil of such verbs (which is based on Jenni) “has not demonstrated any meaningful differences”. Naudé’s *NIDOTTE* article on קדש (3: 877–87) utilizes Jenni’s distinctions to explain the function of the piel and hiphil (piel is a factitive focusing on the result and the hiphil is causative focusing on the process), but he does not offer any explanation of how or why this is necessitated by the contexts of the forms themselves.

⁴⁷³ Also, the piel alone is used of the Lord making the seventh day holy (Gn 2.3) and for corresponding commands to keep the Sabbath holy (Ex 20.8 || Dt 5.12; Ex 20.11; Je 17.22, 24, 27; Ezk 20.20; 44.24; Ne 13.22).

The **niphal** acts as reflexive/passive of the sense of the **piel** and **hiphil** with the Lord almost always as the subject. The **pual** (participle only) is used as the passive of the **piel** (and the **hiphil**: 2 Ch 31.6 of “the tithe of the dedicated things which had been dedicated to the Lord their God” אֱלֹהֵיהֶם ליהוה אֱלֹהֵיהֶם). The **hithpael** acts primarily as the reflexive of the **piel** where it used in the context of consecrating a person or group of people (Jos 7.13 “Arise, consecrate the people and say ‘Consecrate yourselves’”, קָדַשׁ אֶת־הָעָם וְאִמְרָתָהּ הִתְקַדְּשׁוּ).

b. צדק

BDB: 41x

q: 22x

n: 1x

p: 5x

hi: 12x

hith: 1x

qal

The syntax of the qal is: <A> צדק [+ מן of comparison; כּ of means (Ps 51.6)]

The qal has the sense ‘to be right’. It is used 14 times in Job of someone ‘being in the right’: Job says he has prepared his case and “I know that I shall be right” (יָדַעְתִּי כִּי־אֲנִי אֲצַדֵּק) (Job 13.18).⁴⁷⁴ The qal is also used similarly in other contexts: the Lord says of the nations “Let them bring their witnesses that they may prove them right” (וְיָחֲנוּ עֲרֵיהֶם וְיִצְדְּקוּ) (Is 43.9; also 43.26), “the rulings of the Lord are true, they are exceedingly righteous” (מִשְׁפָּטֵי־יְהוָה אֱמֶת צְדָקוֹ יִחְדָּו) (Ps 10.10), and in a comparative statement Judah says of Tamar, “She is more righteous than I” (וַיֹּאמֶר צְדָקָה מִמֶּנִּי) (Gn 38.26).

niphal

The sole niphal is found in Dn 8.14, “then the sanctuary shall be restored to its rightful state” RSV (וַיִּנְצְדֵק קֹדֶשׁ).

⁴⁷⁴ Also in Job: 4.17; 9.2, 15, 20; 10.15; 11.2; 15.14; 22.3; 25.4; 33.12; 34.5; 35.7; 40.8.

piel

The syntax of the piel is: <A> צדק (אָח) [+ בָּ of means; מִן of comparison]

The piel has the sense ‘to make righteous’. It is used three times of someone making another person or themselves (with נַפְשׁוֹ as object) appear righteous: referring to Judah, Ezekiel’s prophecy says “and you have made your sisters appear righteous by all the abominations you have committed” (Ezk 16.51, 52) and similarly, the Lord said to Jeremiah, “faithless Israel has shown herself more righteous than treacherous Judah” (צִדְקָהּ נַפְשָׁהּ מִשְׁבָּהּ יִשְׂרָאֵל מִבְּיַגְדָּהּ יְהוּדָה, Je 3.11). Twice in Job the piel infinitive construct is used in a response to Job: concerning Eliphaz’s anger with Job, “because he justified himself rather than God” (עַל-צִדְקוֹ נִפְשׁוֹ מֵאֱלֹהִים, Job 32.2) and of Elihu’s call for Job to speak his defense if he has one “for I desire to justify you” (Job 33.32).

hiphil

The syntax of the hiphil is: <A> הצדק (אָח)

The hiphil has the sense ‘to make righteous’. It is used primarily in contexts related to some sort of judgment and in these contexts can have the declarative sense ‘to declare righteous’. Israel is instructed that when disputes arise “they shall acquit the righteous and condemn the guilty” (וְהִצְדִּיקוּ אֶת-הַצְּדִיק וְהִרְשִׁיעוּ אֶת-הַרְשָׁע, Dt 25.1) and Pr 17.15 states of the disobedience to this command “He who justifies the wicked and he who condemns the righteous are both of these an abomination to the Lord” (מִצְדִּיק רָשָׁע וּמַרְשִׁיעַ צְדִיק חוֹעֵבֶת יְהוָה גַּם-שְׁנֵיהֶם). Similarly, Job says “Far be it from me that I should declare you right” (חֲלִילָה לִּי אִם-אֶצְדִּיק אֶתְכֶם, Job 27.5).⁴⁷⁵ The sense of the hiphil is also applied in other contexts: in the command “maintain the right of the afflicted and destitute” (עֲנֵי וְרַשׁ הַצְּדִיק, Ps 82.3) as well as to “those who lead/turn many to righteousness” (וּמַצְדִּיקֵי הַרְבִּים, Dn 12.3).⁴⁷⁶

⁴⁷⁵ Other similar references include: of the Lord, “And I will not acquit the wicked” (Ex 32.7); in Solomon’s prayer requesting the Lord to vindicate the righteous (1 K 8.32 || 2 Ch 6.23); woe to those who acquit the guilty for a bribe (Is 5.23); of the servant “By his knowledge the righteous one, my servant, shall account righteousness to many” (וַיִּצְדִּיק צְדִיק עַבְדִּי לְרַבִּים, Is 53.11); “he who vindicates me is near” (Is 50.8).

⁴⁷⁶ Also Absalom’s cry “And justice I would give him” (וּמִשְׁפָּט וְהִצְדַּקְתִּיו, 2 Sa 15.4).

hithpacl

The sole hithpacl has the reflexive sense ‘to justify oneself’ where Judah says to Joseph “What shall we speak? And how can we justify (or clear) ourselves?” (מִהַ־נִצְטִי־רָק וּמִהַ־נִצְטִי־רָק, Gn 44.16).

צִדִּיק: the function of the piel amongst the themes

The qal acts as a stative with the adjective צִדִּיק acting as its participle.⁴⁷⁷ The adjective can overlap in sense with the qal: Saul says to David “You are more righteous than I” (וַיֹּאמֶר אֶל־דָּוִד צִדִּיק אַתָּה מִמֶּנִּי, 1 Sa 24.18; compare with qal in Gn 38.26). The piel and hiphil of צִדִּיק both act as causatives to the sense of the qal with some area of overlapping sense as well as somewhat distinct contexts of use (similar to קָרַשׁ). In Job, the piel infinitive is used both in Eliphaz’s statement that Job “justified himself rather than God” (32.2) and of Elihu’s desire to justify him (כִּי־חָפְצָתִי צִדִּיקָךְ, 33.32) and the hiphil is used in Job’s response to his visitors, “Far be it from me that I should declare you right” (חָלִילָה לִּי אִם־אֶצְדִּיק אֶתְכֶם, 27.5). Outside of Job, the piel is used of someone causing another (or themselves with נַפְשׁ as object, Je 3.11) to appear or be considered righteous in comparison to another’s disobedience (Ezk 16.51, 52). The hiphil is used primarily of someone causing another to be considered innocent or righteous in a judicial setting, often in contexts where it may have a declarative sense. The single niphil is passive and the single hithpacl is reflexive of the sense ‘to make right’, but it is hard with a single form to see whether they may be related primarily to the sense of the piel or hiphil.

c. רָשַׁע I: (q: 9x; hi: 25x) This verb meaning ‘to be wicked, or ‘to act wickedly’ in the qal (with the adj. רָשָׁע attested 263x) is only attested otherwise in the hiphil. As seen above, the hiphil of רָשַׁע is used similarly to and often in conjunction with the hiphil of צִדִּיק, sometimes in a declarative sense. The hiphil is also used in an adverbial sense that overlaps with the qal: the hiphil is used in Solomon’s prayer to refer to the sort of prayer the people might pray in repentance: “saying we have

⁴⁷⁷ The adjective is used often with the substantival sense ‘the righteous one’ or plural ‘the righteous’ (צִדִּיקִים, e.g. Ps 1.5) often in opposition to a class of people that can be referred to as ‘the wicked’ (with the respective singular or plural of the adjective רָשָׁע).

sinned, and acted perversely and wickedly” (לֹא־אָמַר הַטָּאֵנוּ וְהָעֵינֵינוּ רָשָׁעִים, 1 K 8.47 || 2 Ch 6.37) and the hiphil is used in Ps 106.6 “Both we and our fathers have sinned, we have committed iniquity, we have acted wickedly” (הַטָּאֵנוּ עִם־אֲבוֹתֵינוּ) (הָעֵינֵינוּ הִרְשָׁעִנוּ).

d. Excursus on terminology: It is worthwhile pausing at this point to comment on two areas of debate which relate to the explanation of the function of the piel and hiphil with a verb like צָרַק. The first is the use of the terms ‘factitive’ and ‘causative’ and the second is the notion of ‘delocutive’ verbs particularly as the term is used in opposition to a declarative function of the piel or hiphil.

Factitive and Causative: Joüon-Muraoka use the term ‘factitive’ for the function of the piel where it corresponds to a qal of intransitive action or state and note further that “this is to be distinguished from the notion of ‘causative’: ‘to make holy’ as against ‘to make him walk’”.⁴⁷⁸ Whether there is a difference between the types of situation to which “to make [him] holy” and “to make him walk” refer respectively is for the moment, not in question.⁴⁷⁹ It is worth pointing out here that as terms of opposition or distinction, factitive and causative do not even apply to the verbs given as examples (e.g. factitive vs. causative does not describe the relation of the piel and hiphil of either הִלַּךְ or קָרַשׁ). The point in view at the moment is that these terms are often employed in discussions on the function of the piel and hiphil of a given verb in a manner where the piel is labeled ‘factitive’ simply because it is piel even when it appears to overlap significantly in sense with the ‘causative’ hiphil.⁴⁸⁰ At least some of the references in recent discussions are due to Jenni’s influence on explanations for the piel and hiphil. However, as it has been pointed out in several places above, Jenni’s impetus both for employing these terms and for assuming that

⁴⁷⁸ Joüon-Muraoka, § 52 d, n.3. They follow this with the comments on Waltke and O’Connor’s section on the differentiation of the piel and hiphil as not “demonstrating any meaningful difference”.

⁴⁷⁹ For further discussion of the term ‘factitive’ and causativity cf. Lyons, J. *Semantics* Vol II Cambridge: Cambridge University Press (1983) 492–4 (§12.5), particularly where he states, “... it is always possible to treat factitive verbs as causative, even when they occur with a first-order nominal as their object” (492). Neither Lyons nor the present study is arguing that ‘factitive’ is not useful in discussing causative situations. However, the use of the term as it is applied to the Biblical Hebrew verbal themes does appear to lack clarity. Also, cf. the comments in E. Rubinstein, “Adjectival Verbs in Biblical Hebrew”, in *Israel Oriental Studies*, Vol 9, Leiden: E. J. Brill (1979), 64ff. where he discusses the overlap in sense of the piel and hiphil with respect to causation of ‘adjectival’ verbs.

⁴⁸⁰ Claassen, *The Hiph’il Verbal Theme...* [n. 120], 95 (§ 4.3) states that the hiphil has a factitive function like the piel. In addition, he discusses the possibility of a ‘causative’ piel (§ 5.2, 116ff) first by examining where the grammars have referred to a function of the piel with the term ‘causative’ and then by interacting with Jenni regarding his assertion that the piel cannot be causative like the hiphil.

their differences are always discernable as such is rooted primarily in his commitment to the necessity of his theoretical set of basic distinctions.⁴⁸¹ Thus, since the terms ‘factitive’ and ‘causative’ are primarily a way of distinguishing between types of causative situations with different verb types (active and stative) it would be helpful for this to be made clear when using the terms to describe the function of verbal themes.⁴⁸² If it is the case that the piel and hiphil of a stative verb have some area of overlap with similar senses, it would be more appropriate to refer to them both by the same term while noting relative differences of sense or context. This approach to terminology has been followed in these studies (i.e. the general term ‘causative’ has been used to describe the function of the piel and hiphil), in part, because using the term ‘factitive’ as a term of opposition or distinction to the function of the ‘causative’ hiphil does not tend to describe the data correctly. This is not to say that the term ‘factitive’ is not useful, but particularly in light of Jenni’s use of it (and those influenced by his study) there is a need for clarity in its definition and use.

Delocutive: The introduction of the term ‘delocutive’ to verbs in Biblical Hebrew stems from an article by Delbert Hillers in which he attempts to apply the term coined and explained by Benveniste.⁴⁸³ Tigay offers a definition of delocutives as “similar to denominatives but, instead of being derived from nouns, they are derived from locutions or formulas used in discourse”.⁴⁸⁴ Accordingly, something like the English verb ‘to welcome’ is explained as being derived historically from the

⁴⁸¹ Cf. Jenni, *DhP* [n. 42], 43–45 for a rather protracted discussion where Jenni has necessitated for himself the task of explaining how what is usually taken as a declarative hiphil (particularly as related to *לָרַק* and *לָשַׁע*) can not in fact be declarative (as that function belongs to the factitive piel). For further criticism of Jenni on this particular point, cf. Claassen, “The Declarative-Estimative Hiph’il” [n. 117], 5–16 (particularly 6–11).

⁴⁸² Kouwenberg, *Gemination...* [n. 134], 239 argues a similar point in Akkadian when he says “Thus from a semantic point of view there is no one-to-one correspondence between D and factitive and Š and causative on the other”. However, as Schaefer and Eskhult observe in their review of Kouwenberg in *Orientalia Suecana* 48 (1999) 127–31, the inconsistency (and sometimes seeming contradiction) of Kouwenberg’s argument can make it difficult to follow exactly what he intends to assert from one paragraph to the next. The discussion on ‘factitive’ and ‘causative’ in chapter seven that follows the above quote from p. 239 at times seems to be arguing against the point he has just made. In fact, Schaefer and Eskhult cite this very section as one of the examples of Kouwenberg’s “terminological idiosyncracies and inconsistencies, redundancies and circular arguments” (130). However, even in light of this, it does seem to be the case that Kouwenberg would argue that in Akkadian there can be an overlap between the D and Š stems in such a way that they would both be termed ‘factitive’ (cf. § 7.5.7; p. 280 for conclusions against seeing the D stem as more nominal and the Š stem as more verbal).

⁴⁸³ Delbert R. Hillers, “Delocutive Verbs in Biblical Hebrew” *JBL* 86 (1967) 320–4. The subject of Hillers’ article was later taken up in J. H. Tigay, “Some More Delocutives in Hebrew” in *Ki Baruch Hu: Ancient Near Eastern, Biblical, and Judaic Studies in Honor of Baruch A. Levine*, edited by Robert Chazan, William W. Hallo, and Lawrence H. Schiffman, Winona Lake: Indiana (1999) 409–12.

⁴⁸⁴ Tigay, “Some More Delocutives in Hebrew” [n. 483], 409.

vocalized greeting “Welcome!” and thus means ‘to say “Welcome!”’. One of the main questions that arises in relation to Hillers’ article is the lack of explicit criteria for determining whether a locution existed and if so, whether derivation from it of a given verb is the right category of relationship between them.⁴⁸⁵ Although this question is significant if the concept of delocutives is going to be applied with clarity, it falls outside the focus of the present discussion. The facet of delocutives that is significant for the verbs under discussion is the way in which Hillers appears to misunderstand in what respect the category ‘declarative’ or ‘estimative’ is defined as a sub-category of the causative. Aside from suggesting locutions from which the piel or hiphil of a verb like צָרַק could derive, Hillers argues that a statement like Pr 17.15 “He who justifies the wicked and he who condemns the righteous are both alike an abomination to the Lord” (מִצְדִּיק רָשָׁע וּמְרַשֵּׁיעַ צָדִיק הוֹעֵבֶת יְהוָה גַּם־שֹׁנֵיָהֶם) is sufficient to make his case. He argues that if the declarative was related to the causative, only the latter half of the pair would be an abomination because in the former “to improve his character, make him righteous (causative) would be an admirable thing”.⁴⁸⁶ It is precisely here that Hillers misunderstands the sense of the category he is criticizing. Declaring someone to be righteous who is not (or the converse) causes them to be so only with respect to the sphere in which the judgment is rendered. Thus the declarative is causative *with respect to the sphere* in which the declaration is made. This is the very reason why both are considered abominations; the declaration causes in one respect (e.g. judicial) that which is not true in all respects.⁴⁸⁷

⁴⁸⁵ For even if there appears to be a clear ‘locution’ like “x is right” or “y is wrong”, it is rather more difficult to be able to conclude that it is “sufficiently likely that the verbs [רָשָׁע and צָרַק] are derived from the locution” (Hillers, “Delocutive Verbs...” [n. 458], 321. There is no doubt that some of the situations to which the verbs under discussion refer may include someone making such a statement, but it is an altogether different thing to state that this is what these verbs ‘mean’. This can be illustrated with the English verb ‘to welcome’. Someone might use the verb to refer to the fact that another person ‘welcomed’ them. And depending upon the context, this could include someone declaring them welcome (which itself does not necessitate the specific locution, ‘Welcome!’) or it can also be used to refer to someone acting in a manner such that the recipient was made to feel welcome (which does not necessarily have to include nor be restricted to the verbal greeting). In each of these cases the verb is used as a causative meaning ‘to make someone welcome’, with the former being able to be more specifically described as a declarative use.

⁴⁸⁶ Hillers, “Delocutive Verbs...” [n. 458], 322.

⁴⁸⁷ Cf. Hillers, “Delocutive Verbs...” [n. 458], 321, n.5 where he states that in translation of Pr 17.15 he has chosen not to use words like “acquit, condemn, wicked, innocent, guilty” because they “imply that the case in question was what we would call a criminal case, or at least one involving moral wrong”. It is not entirely clear why Hillers makes this distinction, unless he feels that it aids his criticism of the declarative function. While it is not necessary to assume that what Pr 17.15 is referring to can only be seen as a judicial situation dealing with moral wrong, it would not make sense to

4.4 טהר & טמא

a. טהר

BDB: 94x

q: 34x

p: 39x

pu: 1x⁴⁸⁸

hith: 20x

qal

The syntax of the qal is: <A> טהר [+ מן of separation (Pr 20.9) or comparison (Job 4.17)]

The qal has the sense ‘to be, become clean’. It is used 18x in Leviticus in laws regarding what is clean or unclean: once the priest has declared that a skin disease has gone the person “must wash his clothes and be clean” (וְכַבֵּם בְּגָדָיו וְטָהַר, Lv 13.34).⁴⁸⁹ The qal is applied similarly in other contexts: of Naaman being cured of his leprosy and being clean (2 K 5.10, 12, 13, 14), the Lord says he will act for the sake of his holy name, “And I will sprinkle clean water on you and you shall be clean” (וְזָרַקְתִּי עֲלֵיכֶם מַיִם טְהוֹרִים וְטָהַרְתֶּם), and in repentance David says “purge me with hyssop and I shall be clean” (תְּחַטְּאֵנִי בְּאַזְוֵב וְאַטְהַר, Ps 51.9).

piel

The syntax of the piel is: <A> טהר (אַת) [+ מן of separation]

The piel has the sense ‘to make clean, cleanse’. When it is applied in the context of the laws of cleanliness in Leviticus (13x) it has the declarative sense ‘to pronounce clean’: if a spot from a boil has not spread after seven days “the priest shall

exclude it from the scope of reference. Furthermore, taking Pr 17.15 as being able to refer to a situation that is not officially judicial does not lessen the criticism mentioned above. For in whatever sphere a person may have the weight or authority to influence how someone is treated is surely an application of this passage (e.g. someone who condemns a righteous person in a personal or social sphere is still causing them to be treated as such with respect to that sphere).

⁴⁸⁸ BDB and KB include 1 Sa 20.6b (בְּלִחְתִּי טָהוֹר הוּא כִּי־לֹא טָהוֹר) under the pual, reading the pual perfect טָהַר for MT טָהוֹר (following, in part, the LXX, which has the adj. καθαρὸς followed by the perfect passive indicative καθαράρισται). However, it is possible to make sense of the passage without altering the text (“he is not clean; surely he is not clean” RSV; NIV, NJB similar).

⁴⁸⁹ Further references with the qal in Leviticus: 11.32; 12.7, 8; 13.6, 58; 14.8, 9, 20, 53; 15.13(x2), 28(x2); 16.30; 17.15; 22.4, 7.

pronounce him clean” (וְטַהַרְוּ הַכֹּהֵן, Lv 13.23).⁴⁹⁰ The piel in the remaining contexts has the sense ‘to cleanse’: of the cleansing of the Levites for service (Nu 8.6, 7, 15, 21), of Josiah purging Judah and Jerusalem of idols (2 Ch 34.3, 5, 8), and of the Lord’s promise to restore his people “And I will cleanse them from all their iniquity” (וְטַהַרְתִּים מִכָּל-עֲוֹנָם, Ezk 37.23).⁴⁹¹

pual

The sole pual form (cf. n. 488 on 1 Sa 20.26) is found in Ezk 22.24 where Ezekiel is told to say “You are a land that is not cleansed, or rained upon in the day of indignation” (אַתָּ אֶרֶץ לֹא מְטַהֶרֶה הִיא לֹא גִשְׁמָה בְיוֹם זַעַם).⁴⁹²

hithpael

The syntax of the hithpael is: <A> הִטְהַר [+ מִן of separation]

The hithpael is used with both a passive and a reflexive sense. The former is found in Leviticus as a participle to refer to “the one who is to be cleansed” (הַמְטַהֵר 12x in Lv 14).⁴⁹³ The reflexive is used of people cleansing themselves: Jacob instructs his family to put away their foreign gods “and cleanse yourselves” (Gn 35.2), of the priests and Levites (Nu 8.7; Ezra 6.20; Ne 12.30; 13.22), and also to refer to someone doing so in preparation for worship of another god (Is 66.17).

⁴⁹⁰ Further references with the piel in Leviticus: 13.6, 13, 17, 28, 34, 37, 59; 14.7, 11 (participle, 48; 16.19, 30).

⁴⁹¹ Further references to ‘cleansing’ with the piel: cleansing the land by burying the dead (Ezk 39.12, 14, 16); the Lord cleansing (Ezk 24.13; 36.24, 33; 37.23; Mal 3.3); in the request for forgiveness (Ps 51.4); the cleansing of the temple under Hezekiah (2 Ch 29.15, 16, 18); Nehemiah’s cleansing of the house of God (Ne 13.9) overall from everything foreign (Ne 13.30); and the wind passing and clearing the skies (Job 37.21).

⁴⁹² The LXX here has the present passive participle of βρέχω ‘to rain’ and thus some have suggested reading the hophal of מִטַּר, which the NIV has followed “You are a land that has had no rain or showers in the day of wrath”. The sense of the passage with either verb is not that dissimilar. Cf. D. Block, *The Book of Ezekiel: Chapters 1–24*, NICOT, Grand Rapids, Michigan: Eerdmans (1997), 720 for keeping the form as a pual participle.

⁴⁹³ Possibly the hithpael has more the sense of ‘the one who wants to be cleansed’ than merely the passive.

טהר: the function of the piel amongst the themes

The qal acts as a stative with the adjective טהור acting as its participle.⁴⁹⁴

The piel acts as the causative to the qal with the sense ‘to cleanse’ and is applied in contexts where it sometimes has the declarative sense ‘to pronounce clean’. The possible pual form in Ezk 22.24 acts as a passive to the piel. The hithpacl acts as a passive (as a participle) and reflexive to the sense of the piel.

b. טמא

BDB: 163x

q: 76x

n: 18x

p: 51x

pu: 1x

hith: 15x

hoth: 1x

qal

The syntax of the qal is: <A> טמא [+ עַד of duration]

The qal has the sense ‘to be, become unclean’. As the contrasting state to the qal of טהר, it is used 56x in Leviticus and 11x in Numbers in laws regarding cleanliness: of unclean animals, “all who touch their carcasses shall be unclean until evening” (כָּל־הַנֹּגֵעַ בְּנֹבְחָתָם יִטְמָא עַד־הָעֶרֶב, Lv 11.24).⁴⁹⁵ The qal is also used outside of these contexts with a similar sense: the Lord says that Jerusalem has become bloody from bloodshed and “defiled by the idols which you have made” (וּבִגְלוֹלֵיךָ אֲשֶׁר־עָשִׂיתָ טְמֵאָה, Ezk 22.4).⁴⁹⁶

⁴⁹⁴ For example הַטָּהוֹר (“the clean person”) in Nu 19.19.

⁴⁹⁵ Further references include: Lv 5.3; 11.25, 26, 27, 28, 31, 32 (x2), 33, 34(x2), 35, 36, 39, 40(x2); 12.2(x2), 5; 13.14, 46; 14.36, 46; 15.4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10(x2), 11, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20(x2), 21, 22, 23, 24(x2), 27(x2), 32; 17.15; 18.20, 23, 25, 27; 19.31; 22.5(x2), 6, 8; Nu 6.12; 19.7, 8, 10, 11, 14, 16, 20, 21, 22(x2); also similar in Ezk 44.25; Hg 2.13

⁴⁹⁶ Cf. also Ezk 22.3; 44.25; Mi 2.10.

niphal

The syntax of the niphal is: <A> נִטְמָא [+ בָּ of means; לְ of means (Ezk 20.31)]

The niphal is only used with a person or nation as the subject and has the reflexive sense ‘to defile oneself’ and is also found in contexts with the middle-passive sense ‘to become unclean, defiled’. In the laws on sexual conduct, Israel is told not to follow the ways of the nations “for by all these the nations I am driving out before you have become defiled” (Lv 18.24).⁴⁹⁷ In Ezekiel, the Lord asks Israel, “Will you defile yourselves after the manner of your fathers?” (הִבְדַּרְתֶּם אַבֹּתֵיכֶם) נִטְמָאִים אַתֶּם, Ezk 20.30; also similar in 20.31, 43).⁴⁹⁸

piel

The syntax of the piel is: <A> טַמֵּא (אֶת) [+ בָּ of means]

The piel has the sense ‘to make unclean, defile’. When it is applied in the context of the laws of cleanliness in Leviticus (11x) it has the declarative sense ‘to pronounce unclean’: if the priest examines a sore on the skin and it is infectious “the priest shall pronounce him unclean” (הִכְהִין וְטַמֵּא אֹתוֹ, Lv 13.3).⁴⁹⁹ The remaining piels are used in contexts of someone making someone or something unclean and thus ‘defiling’ them: of Shechem defiling Dinah (Gn 34.5, 13, 27), under Zedekiah the priests and leaders were exceedingly unfaithful “and they defiled the house of the Lord” (וַיִּטְמְאוּ אֶת־בַּיִת יְהוָה, 2 Ch 36.14), and the Lord poured his wrath upon Israel “because they had defiled it [the land] with their idols” (וּבִגְלוֹלֵיהֶם טַמְאוּהָ, Ezk 36.18).

pual

The sole pual has the passive sense ‘to be defiled’ and is found in Ezk 4.14 “I have never defiled myself” (לֹא נִטְמַמְתִּי) - lit. “my soul has not been defiled”).

⁴⁹⁷ For other references see: Lv 11.43; Nu5.13, 14(x2), 20, 27, 28, 29.

⁴⁹⁸ For other references see: Ezk 23.7, 13, 30; Je 2.23; Ho 5.3; 6.10.

⁴⁹⁹ Other references of pronouncing unclean in Leviticus include: Lv 13.8, 11, 15, 20, 22, 25, 27, 30, 44, 59.

hithpael

The syntax of the hithpael is: <A> הִטְמֵא [+ בָּ of means; לְ of means (Lv 11.24)]

The hithpael is only used with a person as the subject and has the reflexive sense ‘to make oneself unclean’ and thus ‘to defile oneself’. It is used often in Leviticus: e.g. with reference to unclean animals, “Do not make yourselves unclean by any of these” (אֶל־הִטְמְאוּ בְּכָל־אֱלֹהִים), Lv 18.24).⁵⁰⁰ The hithpael is also used in other contexts like the instruction in Ezekiel, “and do not defile yourselves with the idols of Egypt” (וּבְגִלּוֹתֵי מִצְרַיִם אֶל־הִטְמְאוּ), Ezk 20.7; also 20.18).

hothpaal

The sole hothpaal is found in Dt 24.4 in the context of a woman who has been sent away in divorce. She cannot be taken as his wife again “after she has been defiled” (אַחֲרֵי אֲשֶׁר הִטְמְאָה).

טמא: the function of the piel amongst the themes

The qal acts as a stative with the adjective טָמֵא acting as its participle. The piel acts as the causative to the qal with the sense ‘to make unclean’/‘to defile’ and is sometimes used in contexts where it has the declarative sense ‘to pronounce unclean’. Each of the passive or reflexive themes (niph'al, pual, hithpael, hothpaal) has a sense that is related to that of the piel ‘to make unclean’, and thus some have overlap with the qal where it acts as a middle-passive. However, all of the passive or reflexive themes are only used with a person as the subject where the qal is also used of an inanimate object: e.g. “and the land became unclean” (וַהִטְמְאָה הָאָרֶץ), Lv 18.24, 27). The niph'al and the hithpael have overlapping senses where they act as reflexives to the sense of the piel: niph'al, “and she defiled herself with all the idols of everyone she lusted after” (וּבְכָל־גִּלּוֹתֵיהֶם נִטְמְאָה), Ezk 23.7) and hithpael, “nor defile yourself with their idols” (וּבְגִלּוֹתֵיהֶם אֶל־הִטְמְאוּ), Ezk 20.18). When the hithpael and niph'al are used together, the former tends to have a reflexive sense and

⁵⁰⁰ Other reference in Leviticus include: Lv 11.24, 43; 18.27 (‘to become defiled’ – of הָאָרֶץ), 30, 30; 21.1, 3, 4, 11; also Nu 6.7.

the latter a middle-passive: “and you shall not defile yourselves by them, and become unclean through them” (וְלֹא תִטְמְאוּ בָהֶם וְנִטְמַתֶּם בָּם), Lv 11.43).⁵⁰¹

c. נִקָּה: (q: 1x;⁵⁰² ni: 22x; p: 18x) This verb has the sense ‘to be clear, free’ in the niphāl. Aside from being applied in contexts of moral guilt, “then I shall be blameless and innocent of great transgression” (אָז אֵיחָם וְנִקִּיתִי מִפֶּשַׁע רָב), Ps 19.14), the niphāl is also used to refer to someone being free from an oath (וְנִקִּיתָ מִשְׁבַּעְתִּי זֹאת), Gn 24.8) as well as to a city being ‘empty’ (Is 3.26) or to people being ‘cleaned out’ (Zc 5.3). The piel is used as the causative (sometimes estimative/declarative)⁵⁰³ of the sense of the niphāl in contexts of clearing someone from moral guilt: of the Lord “...but who will by no means clear the guilty” (וְנִקָּה לֹא יִנְקֶה), Ex 34.7; also Nu 14.18; Na 1.3).

d. זָכָה: (q: 4x; p: 3x; hith: 1x) This verb has the sense ‘to be pure’ in the qal⁵⁰⁴ (“What is man that he can be pure?”, מַה-אָנוֹשׁ כִּי-יִזְכֶּה, Job 15.14; with qal of צָדֵק following in co-referential statement) and the causative ‘to keep pure’ in the piel (“All in vain have I kept my heart pure”, אַךְ-רִיק זִכִּיתִי לִבִּי, Ps 73.13). The hithpael is used as the reflexive of the piel (“Wash yourselves and make yourselves clean”, Is 1.16). This verb is usually noted as being related to זָכַךְ (BDB, 269a; KB, 269b), which is attested in the qal (3x) with the sense ‘to be bright, clean’ (of heavens, Job 15.14; stars, Job 25.5; and princes, La 4.7) and the hiphil (1x) with the sense ‘to

⁵⁰¹ They are also used together in Lv 18.24: “Do not make yourselves unclean by all these, for by all these the nations have become unclean” (אַל-תִּטְמְאוּ בְּכָל-אֵלֶּה כִּי בְּכָל-אֵלֶּה נִטְמְאוּ הַגּוֹיִם).

⁵⁰² The qal infinitive absolute is attested once in a construction with the niphāl imperative in Je 49.12, “...then will you go unpunished?” (וְאַתָּה הוּא נִקָּה תִנְקָה) and followed by the niphāl “you shall not go unpunished” (לֹא תִנְקָה), which is very similar to the construction in Je 25.29 which has the niphāl for all three forms (וְאַתָּם הִנְקָה תִנְקוּ לֹא תִנְקוּ).

⁵⁰³ For an estimative piel of נִקָּה see Job 9.28 “For I know that you will not hold me innocent” (וְיָדַעְתִּי כִּי-לֹא תִנְקֶנִי) and 1 K 2.9 of David to Solomon “and now, do not hold him [Shimei] guiltless” (וְעַתָּה אַל-תִּנְקֶהוּ).

⁵⁰⁴ The qal in Mi 6.11 is usually translated as something like “Shall I acquit the man with wicked scales...?” NIV/RSV (הֲאִזְכֶּה בְּמֵאֵינִי רֶשַׁע) following the Vulgate and KB (269a) suggests reading the piel form here instead of the qal following Wellhausen. For an argument against doing so, cf. B. Waltke, “Micah”, in *The Minor Prophets: An Exegetical and Expository Commentary*, edited by T. McComiskey, Vol 2, *Obadiah, Jonah, Micah, Nahum, and Habakkuk*, Grand Rapids, Michigan: Baker (1993), 739 who translates the form as “[If I forget]”; and Keil, *Minor Prophets* (337) who argues that the piel does not otherwise have this sense with זָכָה and thus translates the qal as “Can I be clean with the scales of injustice”.

cleanses' in Job 9.30 "and cleanse my hands with lye" (נְהַזְכֹּתִי בְּבַר כִּפְיִי; preceded by hithp of רָחַץ).

4.5 מלא, שלם & כלה

a. מלא

BDB: 249x

q: 99x

n: 36x

p: 112x

pu: 1x

hith: 1x

qal

The syntax of the qal is: 1. <A> מלא [+ acc. of material; מִפְּנֵי of means (Gn 6.13)]
2. <A> מלא (אֶת) [+ acc. of material (1 K 18.34)]

The qal is found with the sense 'to be, become full' (syntax 1). It is used of objects which are filled physically: "the houses of the Egyptians shall be filled with flies" (וּמָלְאוּ בָתֵּי מִצְרַיִם אֶת־הָעָרִב, Ex 8.17), jars are filled with oil (2 K 4.6), the Jordan 'overflows' all its banks (Jos 3.15), and when Samson was displayed, "the house was filled with men and women" (וְהַבַּיִת מָלֵא הָאֲנָשִׁים וְהַנְּשִׂאִים, Ju 16.27). It is also used in images applied to filling other objects: the earth is filled with violence (Gn 6.13), in an indictment of Judah the Lord says "your hands are full of blood" (Is 1.15), and Isaiah speaks of a time of peace "for the earth shall be full of the knowledge of the Lord" (כִּי־מָלְאָה הָאָרֶץ דַּעַת אֶת־יְהוָה, Is 11.9). This sense of the qal is applied in several contexts where it refers to a period of time being 'fulfilled' (e.g. "when the days of the siege are fulfilled", כְּמִלְאֵת יְמֵי הַמְצֹר, Ezk 5.2).

The qal is also used with the sense 'to fill' (syntax 2): in the Lord's command to sea creatures "and fill the waters of the sea" (וּמָלְאוּ אֶת־הַמַּיִם בַּיַּמִּים, Gn 1.22), Elijah instructs those helping him with the altar "fill four jars with water" (1 K 18.34), and the Lord asks if what the house of Judah has done is a light thing including "that they have filled the land with violence" (כִּי־מָלְאוּ אֶת־הָאָרֶץ חָמָס, Ezk 8.17). A

common subject element with this sense is the glory of the Lord filling the tabernacle or temple (e.g. אֶת־הַמִּשְׁכָּן מָלָא יהוה וקבור יהוה, Ex 40.34).⁵⁰⁵

niphal

The syntax of the niphal is: <A> נמלא [+ acc. of material]

The niphal has the sense ‘to be filled’ and is used in similar contexts to the qal: the earth was filled with violence (וַתִּמְלֵא הָאָרֶץ חָמָס, Gn 6.11), the temple was filled with a cloud (Ezk 10.4), of seven days ‘passing’ after the first plague (וַיִּמְלֵא וַיִּמָּוֶת, Ex 7.25), and the Lord says of the house of Jacob “their land is filled with idols” (וַתִּמְלֵא אֶרְצוֹ אֱלִילִים, Is 2.8).

piel

The syntax of the piel is: <A> מלא (אָח) [+ acc. of material; בָּ of means (2 Ch 6.4)]

The piel has the general sense ‘to fill’. It is applied to some objects which are filled physically: Joseph commands to fill his brother’s sacks with food (Gn 44.1), the Gibeonites state in their deception, “these wineskins were new when we filled them” (Jos 9.13), and when Elijah ordered water to be poured on the altar it ran down “and also filled the trench with water” (וַיִּמְלֵא אֶת־הַתְּעֵלָה מַיִם, 1 K 18.35).⁵⁰⁶ This sense of the piel is also applied to something being fulfilled (usually a period of time or someone’s words): Jacob completes the week with Leah (Gn 29.28), the Psalmist requests, “May the Lord fulfill all your requests” (וַיִּמְלֵא יְהוָה כָּל־מִשְׁאָלוֹתַי, Ps 20.6), and Nathan tells Bathsheba that he will speak to David after her “and confirm your words” (1 K 1.14).⁵⁰⁷ Other applications include the Lord filling someone with the knowledge of a skill (Ex 28.3; 35.35; or with the Spirit of God for the skill, Ex 31.3; 35.31) of which one skill is ‘setting’ stones (“You shall set in it four rows of

⁵⁰⁵ Further references include: Ex 40.35; 1 K 8.11; Ezk 43.5; 44.4; 2 Ch 5.14; 7.1, 2.

⁵⁰⁶ The piel is also used of body parts that can be filled like the mouth (Ps 81 11; Job 23.4) or the stomach (Je 51.34; Job 15.2) sometimes referring to filling them physically, but more often in an image of ‘filling’ something associated with the objects (e.g. to fill the mouth with laughing, Job 8.21).

⁵⁰⁷ In 2 Ch 36.21, the piel infinitive construct is used to refer to both a word being fulfilled and a period of time being completed: the seventy years of Sabbath rest for the land being completed (21b) is the event that fulfills the word of the Lord spoken by Jeremiah (21a).

stones”, **וּמִלֵּאתָ בּוֹ מִלֵּאת אֶבֶן אֶרְבָּעָה טוּרִים אֶבֶן**, Ex 28.17; also 31.5; 35.33; 39.10).

The **piel** is often used to refer to filling something in an image or figure of speech: Mannasch filled Jerusalem with innocent blood (2 K 21.16; 24.4), the abominations of the people of Canaan had filled the land (Ezra 9.11), and Jeremiah says of the Lord “for you have filled me with indignation” (**כִּי־יָעַם מִלְּאֲחִנִּי**, Je 15.17). In addition to images like these, the **piel** is used in two recurring phrases. The phrase “to fill the hand” is used of ordaining someone: Moses is instructed to place the priestly garments upon Aaron and his sons “and you shall anoint them and ordain them (**וּמִלֵּאתָ אֶת־יָדָם**), Ex 28.41) and consecrate them”.⁵⁰⁸ In the second phrase, the **piel** is used with the preposition **אַחֲרַי** with the Lord as object (explicitly or as suffix) and has the sense ‘to follow wholly after (the Lord)’: Caleb will enter the land because he has a different spirit “and has followed after me fully” (**וַיִּמְלֵא אַחֲרַי**), Nu 14.14).⁵⁰⁹

pual

The sole **pual** is attested in Song 5.14 with the passive sense ‘to be set’, “his hands (arms) are rods of gold, set with jewels” (**יָדָיו גְּלִילֵי זָהָב מְמֻלָּאִים בְּחֶרֶשׁ־שֵׁשׁ**).

hithpacl

The sole **hithpacl** is attested in Job 16.10 in Job’s reply “they mass themselves together against me” (**יַחַד עָלַי יִתְמַלְּאוּן**).

מלא: the function of the **piel** amongst the themes

The **qal** acts both as a stative ‘to be, become full’ (with the adjective **מלא** acting as its participle) and as an active ‘to fill’. The **piel** acts as a causative to the **qal** and has the sense ‘to fill’, which thus has some overlap with the active sense of the

⁵⁰⁸ Further references to ordaining (‘to fill the hand’) include: Ex 29.9, 29, 33, 35; Lv 8.33; 16.32; 21.10; Nu 3.3; Ju 17.5, 12 (of Micah ordaining his son and later a Levite as priest); 1 K 13.33 (of Jeroboam ordaining whoever wanted as priests of the high places); 1 Ch 29.5; 2 Ch 13.9; 29.31; also Ezk 43.26 (of the altar).

⁵⁰⁹ Further references to ‘wholly following the Lord’ include: Nu 32.11, 12; Dt 1.36; Jos 14.8, 9, 14; 1 K 11.6 (of Solomon not doing so).

qal.⁵¹⁰ Both themes are used in close proximity. In 1 K 18 the qal is used for Elijah's command that the jars be filled with water (וַיֹּאמֶר מִלֵּאֵם אַרְבָּעָה כַּדָּיִם מַיִם, vs. 34) and the piel is used of that water filling the trench once it has been poured on the sacrifice (וַיִּמְלֵא אֶת־הַתְּעֹלָה מִלֵּאֵם־מַיִם, vs. 35). In Gn 29.21, the qal is used in Jacob's request to Laban to give him Rachel "for my days are completed" (כִּי מָלְאוּ יָמַי) and the piel is used both in Laban's command to complete Leah's week (מִלֵּא שָׁבַע זֹאת, vs. 27) and of Jacob having done so (וַיַּעַשׂ יַעֲקֹב כִּן וַיִּמְלֵא שָׁבַע זֹאת, vs. 28).⁵¹¹ Also, the qal is used in the clause, "for the Jordan overflows all its banks throughout the time of harvest" (וְהַיַּרְדֵּן מִלֵּא עַל־כָּל־גְּדֻרָתוֹ כָּל יְמֵי קְצִיר, Jos 3.15) and the piel participle is used to refer to the same phenomenon with the Jordan ("when it overflows all its banks", וְהוּא מִמְלֵא עַל־כָּל־גְּדֻרָתוֹ, 1 Ch 12.16). With the active sense 'to fill', the qal and piel generally do not overlap with respect to certain phrases or contexts: the glory of the Lord filling the tabernacle/temple is only attested in the qal;⁵¹² 'following wholly after (the Lord)' is only attested in the piel and ordaining ('to fill the hand') is found mostly in the piel but once in the qal (Ex 32.29).⁵¹³

The *niphal* acts in a passive sense that can overlap with the sense of the stative qal. The qal is used in Is 11.9, "for the earth shall be full of the knowledge of the Lord" (כִּי־מִלְאָהָ הָאָרֶץ דַּעַת אֶת־יְהוָה) and the *niphal* is used in the similar

⁵¹⁰ It is worth noting that Jenni, *DhP* [n. 42] does not have any significant discussion on the attested forms of מִלֵּא. He notes that it is a verb that can have a transitive meaning as well as intransitive (22) and has a very brief note on the piel participle and habitual action (83). In his list of verbs in the appendix (279–92) he marks מִלֵּא only as having an intransitive qal (where the German translation equivalent is normal type = transitive qal; *italics* = intransitive qal; stretched out = no qal) and he has no place where he discusses the qal forms with the active (transitive) sense. This lack of general discussion may be due to the fact that מִלֵּא is one of the verbs attested in the piel that has been discussed quite often as it tends to be a common example put forward in grammars. However, it would appear to be at least possible that the relative difficulty of applying Jenni's distinctions to the qal and piel of this verb may have led to the lack of discussion and examples.

⁵¹¹ Although the qal and piel overlap with the sense of fulfilling or completing a period of time, it is the piel alone that is used with sense 'to fulfill' the words of someone (e.g. 1 K 8.15).

⁵¹² Although, see the piel in Hg 2.7 with the Lord as subject where he says "and I will fill this house [the temple] with glory" (וּמִלְאֹתִי אֶת־הַבַּיִת הַזֶּה כְּבוֹד).

⁵¹³ For the qal in Ex 32.29, a good number of the major English translations (RSV, NJB, NIV) appear to follow the LXX (aorist ind. active of ἐπληρώσατε) in translating the qal form as "you have been ordained today to the Lord" (וַיֹּאמֶר מֹשֶׁה מִלֵּאֵם הַיּוֹם לַיהוָה) rather than as an imperative. This sense is otherwise only attested in the piel. It seems best to take it as a qal with the middle sense describing what has happened to the Levites through their faithfulness and the unfaithfulness of others. For comments on this passage, cf. J. I. Durham, *Exodus*, WBC, Waco, Texas: Word Books (1987), 426, 432; and U. Cassuto, *A Commentary on the Book of Exodus*, translated from the Hebrew by I. Abrahams, Jerusalem: The Magnes Press (1967), 422 where he translates this as a middle 'your hand is filled' but argues that the sense 'to fill the hand' referring to ordination requires the piel and says it is an 'indefinite' or 'impersonal' sense meaning 'they who filled filled'.

statement in Hb 2.14 “for the earth will be filled with the knowledge of the glory of the Lord” (כִּי תִמְלֵא הָאָרֶץ לְדַעַת אֶת־כְּבוֹד יְהוָה), both of which are followed by the phrase “as the waters cover the sea”. The themes are attested together in Gn 6 where both are used in the phrase “and/for the earth was filled with violence (through them)”: qal (וַתִּמְלֵא הָאָרֶץ חָמָס, vs. 13) and niph'al (כִּי־תִמְלֵא הָאָרֶץ חָמָס מִפְּנֵיהֶם, vs. 11). The sole pual acts as the passive of the piel where it refers to ‘setting’ stones. The sole hithpael acts as a reflexive of a sense not found in the qal or piel.⁵¹⁴

b. שלם

BDB: 103x [116x]⁵¹⁵

q: 5x [3x]

p: 89x

pu: 4x [1x]

hi: 5x [8x]

[ho: 1x]

qal

The syntax of the qal is: <A> שלם

The qal has the sense ‘to be complete, finished’. It is used primarily to refer to a period of work or time being complete: all the work which Solomon did on the house of the Lord was finished (וַתִּשְׁלַם כָּל־הַמְּלָאכָה, 1 K 7.51 || 2 Ch 5.1), the wall was completed on the 25th day of the month (Ne 6.15), and in Isaiah 60.20, the Lord says “and your days of mourning shall be ended” (וַיִּשְׁלַמוּ יְמֵי אֲבָדְךָ). The qal is also used once with the sense ‘to succeed’ in Job 9.4, “Who has hardened himself against him [God] and succeeded?” RSV (מִי־הִקְשָׁה אֵלָיו וַיִּשְׁלַם).

[*] There are three forms with the sense ‘to be at peace’. Eliphaz responds to Job, “Agree with [God] and be at peace” (וַיִּשְׁלַם עִמּוֹ, Job 22.21). The

⁵¹⁴ Note that BDB (570b) suggests this as possibly a denominative from the noun מְלֵא ‘multitude’, an explanation that Delitzsch also argues for, *Job* (4:399).

⁵¹⁵ BDB (1023b) separates the forms of שלם that have the sense ‘to make peace’ (qal, pu, hi, ho) as denominative (from שָׁלוֹם); KB (1535b) notes under the hiphil that these forms are sometimes listed as denominative and that this is “possible but uncertain”. In the study that follows, the number of the forms related to the sense ‘to be at peace’ will be indicated by brackets and the attested forms will be examined in the discussion that follows (paragraphs beginning with [*]). The *NIDOTTE* entry by Nel on שלם (4:130-5) does not offer any further comment on these forms, but simply includes them under the sense of the hiphil with the other attested forms (131).

other two instances are participles: Ps 7.5 refers to ‘my friend’ (שׁוֹלְמִי, ‘the one who is at peace with me’) and the passive participle is used where a woman of Abel says “I am one of those who are peaceable and faithful in Israel” (אָנְכִי שְׁלָמִי אַמּוּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל), 2 Sa 20.19).

piel

The syntax of the piel is: <A> שָׁלַם [(אַחַּ)] [+ לְ of advantage/disadvantage; מֵן of location/material from]⁵¹⁶

The piel has the sense ‘to make complete, finish’ once in 1 K 9.25 where Solomon has made the required offerings in the temple, “so he finished the house” (וְשָׁלַם אֶת־הַבַּיִת).

The primary use of the piel is of making something complete in contexts where the sense is ‘to repay, restore’ something to someone. In laws of restitution, if someone’s habitually goring ox kills another ox “[the owner] shall surely pay an ox in place of the ox” (שָׁלַם יְשַׁלַּם שׁוֹר תַּחַת הַשׁוֹר), Ex 21.36) and similarly if someone’s animal feeds in another field or vineyard, “[the owner] shall make restitution from the best of his own field or vineyard” (מֵיטֵב שְׂדֵהוּ וּמֵיטֵב כַּרְמוֹ יְשַׁלַּם).⁵¹⁷ The piel is also used to refer to someone fulfilling a vow: “When you make a vow to the Lord your God, you shall not delay to fulfill it” (נָדָר לַיהוָה אֲלֵהֶיךָ לֹא תֵאַחֵר לְשַׁלְּמוֹ) (כִּי־תִדַּר, Dt 23.22).⁵¹⁸

This sense of the piel is most often applied in contexts where it refers to someone (human or divine) ‘repaying’ (sometimes ‘rewarding’) another according to their actions: Joseph sent to his brothers, “Why have you repaid evil for good?” (לָמָּה לְמָה לָמָּה לְמָמְךָ רָעָה תַּחַת טוֹבָה, Gn 44.4), Moses says of the Lord “And he will repay those who hate him to their face by destroying them” (וּמְשַׁלֵּם לְשֹׂנְאָיו אֶל־פְּנֵיו לְהַאַבְדֵיהֶם).

⁵¹⁶ The B element, where present, can be a noun referring to what (or from what material) is being repaid or restored like the noun נְמוּל ‘recompense’ (Is 66.6; Je 51.6; Joel 4.4; Ps 137.8; Pr 19.17). It can also be that which is to be paid or fulfilled as it is with נָדָר ‘vow’ (e.g. Dt 23.22; 2 Sa 15.7).

⁵¹⁷ Further references include: Ex 21.34; 22.2, 3, 5, 6, 8, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14; Lv 5.16 (of making restitution for sinning unintentionally against the holy things of the Lord); 24.18, 21; 2 Sa 12.6; also similar in 2 K 4.7 of Elisha telling the widow to sell her oil and repay her debts.

⁵¹⁸ Further references of paying a vow include: 2 Sa 15.7; Is 19.21; Jon 2.10; Na 2.1; Ps 22.26; 50.14; 61.9; 56.13; 66.13; 76.12; 116.14, 18; Job 22.27; Pr 7.14; Ec 5.3, 4.

Dt 7.10a; again in 7.10b) and Boaz says to Ruth, “May the Lord repay you for all you have done” (יְשַׁלֵּם יְהוָה פְּעֻלָּךְ, Ru 2.12).⁵¹⁹

pual

The pual has the passive sense ‘to be repaid’ and is used in similar contexts to the piel: “Should good be repaid with evil?” (הֲיִשָּׁלֵם תַּחַת־טוֹבָה רָעָה, Je 18.20), “the one who reveres the commandment will be rewarded” (Pr 13.13), and the Psalmist says of God “and to you shall vows be performed” (וְיִשְׁלַם־נְדָרֶיךָ, Ps 65.2).

[*] The pual form that is possibly related to the sense ‘to be at peace’ is found in Is 42.19, “Who is blind as the one at peace with me?” (מִי עִוֵּר כְּמִשְׁקָלִים); RSV “my dedicated one”; NIV “one committed to me”).⁵²⁰

hiphil

The syntax of the hiphil is: <A> הַשְׁלֵם (אָח)

The hiphil has the sense ‘to complete’: Job says of the Lord “for he completes what he has appointed for me” (כִּי יִשְׁלֵם חֻקִּי, Job 23.14), Isaiah says of the Lord, “and the counsel of his messengers he fulfills” (וְעֵצַת מַלְאָכָיו יִשְׁלֵם, Is 44.26), the Lord says of Cyrus “and he shall fulfill all my purpose” (Is 44.28), and Hezekiah says of the Lord, “from day until night you bring me to an end” (מִיּוֹם עַד־לַיְלָה תִּשְׁלִימֵנִי, Is 38.12, 13).

[*] The hiphil is attested eight times with the sense ‘to make peace’. It is used most often of peace between nations: the Gibeonites made peace with Joshua and Israel (Jos 10.1, 4), the kings who were servants of Hadadezer made peace with Israel (וַיִּשְׁלַמוּ אֶת־יִשְׂרָאֵל, 2 Sa 10.19; 1 Ch 19.19), and “Jehoshaphat made peace with the king of Israel” (וַיִּשְׁלַם יְהוֹשָׁפָט עִם־מֶלֶךְ יִשְׂרָאֵל, 1 K 22.45). The hiphil is also used

⁵¹⁹ Further references include: evil repaid for good (Ps 35.12; 38.21); with the Lord as subject (Dt 32.41; Ju 1.7; 1 Sa 24.20; 2 K 9.26; Is 59.18; 65.6; 66.6; Je 16.18; 25.14; 32.18; 51.6, 24, 56; Ps 31.24; 62.13; Job 21.19; 34.11, 33); with man as subject (Job 21.31; Pr 13.120.22; Joel 4.4).

⁵²⁰ J. Motyer, *The Prophecy of Isaiah: an Introduction and Commentary*, Downers Grove, Illinois: InterVarsity Press (1993) 327, 328 argues that the frequent use of the proper noun מְשָׁלֵם indicates that it had “a known and established meaning”. He then cites the piel as meaning ‘to make peace’ with a corresponding pual meaning ‘to be brought into peace’. Whether the pual has this sense or not, the piel is not attested in a corresponding context where it would have the sense Motyer suggests. For further comments on this difficult form cf. J. Oswalt, *The Book of Isaiah: Chapters 40–66*, [n. 231], 128 who translates it as “the covenanted one”.

similarly in Pr 16.7: When a man's ways please the Lord, "he makes even his enemies to be at peace with him" (נַם־אֹיְבָיו יִשְׁלַם אִתּוֹ).

[hophal]

[*] The sole hophal is attested in Job 5.23 in Eliphaz's response to Job where he says that one of the consequences of reproof shall be "and the beasts of the field shall be at peace with you" (וַחַיֵּית הַשָּׂדֶה הַשְּׁלָמָה־לָּךְ).

שָׁלַם: the function of the piel amongst the themes

The qal acts as a stative 'to be complete' with the adjective שָׁלַם as its participle. The piel acts as a causative to the sense of the qal. The piel has the sense 'to make complete' in terms of finishing something only in 1 K 9.25 (of Solomon finishing all aspects of the temple), but most often is applied in the sense 'to repay, reward', to which there are no directly related qal attestations. Although the piel is followed in Ru 2.12 by the adjective שָׁלַם: "May the Lord repay you for all that you have done (יִשְׁלַם יְהוָה פְּעֻלָּךְ) and a full reward be given you by the Lord the God of Israel..." (וַחֲהִי מִשְׁכָּרְתְּךָ שְׁלָמָה מֵעַם יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל). The pual acts as the passive to the sense of the piel and is attested in the same type of context. The hiphil acts as the causative to the qal with the sense 'to complete, fulfill'. It is used in contexts of completing or fulfilling some sort of purpose and does not overlap with the common contexts of the piel.

[*] Whether the attested forms related to the sense 'to be at peace' are taken together with the above forms or as coming from a separate (possibly denominative) verb, the existence of the forms does not alter the above explanation of the functions of the themes. The hiphil acts as a causative to the sense of the stative qal and in a context that is also not replicated in the piel. The hophal acts as a passive to the hiphil and the sole possible pual form also acts in a sense passive to the hiphil.

c. כלה⁵²¹

BDB: 206x

q: 64x

p: 140x

pu: 2x

qal

The syntax of the qal is: <A> כלה

The qal has the sense ‘to be finished, come to an end’. It is applied to materials being spent like water from a skin (מִן־הַחֶמֶת וַיִּכְלוּ הַמַּיִם, Gn 21.15) or the jar of flour not being spent (1 K 17.14, 16). This sense of the qal is also applied analogously to things like the anger of the Lord coming to an end (Is 10.25) or that “his mercies never come to an end” (כִּי לֹא־כָלוּ רַחֲמָיו). It is also used in contexts of a period of time or a process coming to an end: Ruth stayed “to glean until the end of the wheat and barley harvests” (לְלַקֵּט עַד־כְּלוֹת קְצִיר־הַשְּׂעִרִים וְקְצִיר הַחֲטִיִּם), Ru 2.23), the work of the tabernacle (Ex 39.32) or the temple (1 K 6.38) was finished, and the seven years of plenty in Egypt came to an end (וַחֲכֹלֶינָה שְׁבַע שָׁנֵי הַשָּׁבַע), Gn 41.53). When the subject of the qal is a purpose that is set, it has the sense ‘to be determined’: David says of Saul, “If he is angry, know that evil is determined by him” (1 Sa 20.7, 9; also 25.17).

The qal is used quite often with a person or something which has life where it is related to the sense ‘to perish’: “and a third part of you shall die of pestilence and be consumed with famine in your midst” (בַּדָּבָר יָמוּתוּ וּבָרָעַב יָכֻלוּ בְּחֹכֶדֶךָ), Ezk 5.12), “the vegetation fails” (כָּלָה רֶשֶׁת, Is 15.6), and of a body part “and the eyes of the wicked will fail” (וַעֵינֵי רָשָׁעִים תִּכְלֶינָה), Job 11.20). Similarly, an object like a cloud “vanishes and is gone” (כָּלָה עָנָן וַיִּלָּךְ), Job 7.9).

⁵²¹ BDB lists this verb as כלה I (477a), but only because כלה II is a proposed root for the noun כְּלֵיָה ‘kidney’. KB also lists it as כלה I (476b), with *כלה II having only the notation to see further under כלא I. כלא is attested in the qal with the active sense ‘to shut up, restrain’ and in the niphāl which acts as its passive. There is also a single attested piel form in Dn 9.24 with a similar sense to the piel of כלה: “to finish the transgression” (לְכַלֵּא הַפְּשָׁע). KB lists this form separately under כלא II (475b) as the only attested “secondary variant” of כלה I.

piel

The syntax of the piel is: <A> כלה (אָח) [+ בָּ of means]

The piel has the sense ‘to finish, make an end of’. As with the contrasting verb ‘to begin’ (hiph of חלל III), the piel is used quite often with a complementing infinitive as the A element: and the Lord left “when he had finished speaking with Abraham” (בְּאַשֶׁר כָּלָה לְדַבֵּר אֶל-אַבְרָהָם) (Gn 18.33).⁵²²

The remaining piels are used in contexts that reflect those of the qal. It is applied to someone finishing some sort of work or process: “And on the seventh day God finished his work he had done” (וַיִּכַּל אֱלֹהִים בַּיּוֹם הַשְּׁבִיעִי מְלַאכְתּוֹ אֲשֶׁר עָשָׂה) (Gn 2.2), of Solomon and the temple, “and he built the house and completed it” (1 K 6.9), and the Lord says he will tie up Ezekiel “until you have completed the days of your siege” (עַד-כְּלֹחֶדָּךְ יָמֵי מְצֹרֶךָ) (Ezk 4.8). This sense of the piel is also applied in contexts like Ezk 5.13 where the Lord says his people will know he has spoken “when I spend my fury on them” (בְּכִלּוֹתִי חֲמָתִי בָם). Where the qal is used of a purpose that is set or ‘determined’, the piel is used of someone carrying it out: “he who compresses his lips brings evil to pass” (קִרְץ שָׁפְתָיו כָּלָה רָעָה) (Pr 16.30).

The piel is used frequently in contexts where someone (often with the Lord as subject) is causing another person or thing to perish and thus has the sense ‘to destroy’: after the golden calf the Lord tells Moses to leave him alone “that my anger may burn against them and that I may destroy them” (וַיִּחַר-אַפִּי בָהֶם וְאַכְלֵם) (Ex 32.10), the Lord says of Elam, I will send the sword after them “until I have made an end of them” (עַד כְּלֹחֵתִי אוֹתָם) (Je 9.15), and in Job’s defense he asks for proof of his

⁵²² Further examples of infinitives as the A element include: piel of בָּרַךְ (Gn 27.30); qal of אָכַל (Gn 43.2); piel of צוּה (Gn 49.33); qal of לָבַן ‘to make bricks’ (Ex 5.14); piel of כָּפַר (Lv 16.20); qal of קָצַר (Lv 19.9); piel of כָּסָה (Nu 4.15); hiph of קָוַם (Nu 7.1); hiph of עָשָׂר (Dt 26.12); qal of כָּחַב (Dt 32.24); qal of הִרְגַּנִּי (Jos 8.24); hiph of נָכַה (Jos 10.20); qal of נָחַל (Jos 19.49); piel of חָלַק (Jos 19.51); hiph of קָרַב (Ju 3.18); hiph of נָבֵא (1 Sa 10.13); hiph of עָלָה (1 Sa 13.10); qal of בָּנָה (1 K 3.1); qal of עָשָׂה (1 K 7.40); hiph of פָּלַל (1 K 8.54); qal of קָרָא (Je 51.63); piel of חָטָא (Ezk 43.23); piel of נָפַץ (Dn 12.7).

wrong, “or if I have caused the eyes of the widow to fail” (וַיַּיַי אֶלְמָנָה אֲכֶלָה) (Job 31.16).⁵²³

pual

The pual has the sense ‘to be finished’. It is used of “the heavens and earth and all their hosts being completed” (וַיִּכְלֹו הַשָּׁמַיִם וְהָאָרֶץ וְכָל־צְבָאָם) (Gn 2.1) and of the prayers of David being ended (Ps 72.20).

כלה: the function of the piel amongst the themes

The qal acts as a stative with the sense ‘to be finished’.⁵²⁴ The piel acts as a causative to the sense of the qal related contexts. Both themes are used together in close proximity. In Ezk 5.13, the verse begins with the qal, “Thus my anger shall be spent” (וְכָלָה אִפִּי) and the piel is used at the close of the verse, “when I spend my fury on them” (בְּכַלּוֹתִי חֲמָתִי בָם). The piel is used in Ru 2.21 where Ruth reports Boaz’s instruction to keep close by his servants “until they have finished all my harvest” (עַד אִם־כָּלוּ אֶת כָּל־הַקְצִיר אֲשֶׁר־לִי) and the qal is used of Ruth staying to glean until the end of the harvests (לְלֶקֶט עַד־כְּלוֹת קְצִיר־הַשְּׂעָרִים וּקְצִיר הַחֲטִיִּם) (Ru 2.23). The pual acts as the passive to the sense of the piel (used together of creation in Gn 2.1, pual; 2.2, piel).

d. חסר: (q: 21x; p: 2x; hi: 2x) This verb has the sense ‘to be lacking’ in the qal. It is used together with the qal of כלה in 1 K 17.14, 16 (the jar of flour will not be spent “and the jug of oil shall not be empty”, וַיִּצְפַּחַח הַשֶּׁמֶן לֹא תִחָסֵר, 17.14). The piel and hiphil both act as causatives to the sense of the qal in similar fashion to the piel of כלה. The piel is used in the question of Ec 4.8 “For whom am I toiling and depriving myself of good things?” (וּלְמִי אֲנִי עֹמֵל וּמְחַסֵּר אֶת־נַפְשִׁי מִטּוֹבוֹתָהּ) and the hiphil in Is

⁵²³ The piel in this sense can also be applied to objects like the famine in Gn 41.30, “and the famine shall consume the land” (וְכָלָה הָרָעָב אֶת־הָאָרֶץ).

⁵²⁴ Domeris/Van Dam’s *NIDOTTE* entry on כלה (2: 641–3) lists the sense of the qal as ‘to bring a process to completion’ (641) – a sense which the piel clearly has, but is confusing as a gloss for the qal since the perspective is always from the object that is completed and not of the subject that would bring something to completion.

32.16 of the fool who plots iniquity including “and he deprives the thirsty of drink” (וּמִשְׁקָה צָמֵא יַחְסִיר).

e. חמם: (q: 54x; hi: 8x; hithp: 2x) This verb has the sense ‘to be complete, finished’ in the qal and is used similarly to the qal of כלה: of Hiram’s work on the temple, “and so the work on the pillars was completed” (וַחֲחֵם מִלְּאֲכַת הָעַמּוּדִים, 1 K 7.22). The hiphil acts as the causative to the sense of the qal in a similar manner to the piel of כלה: with a participle following, “When you have ceased to destroy” (פְּהִתְמַךְ שׁוֹרֵד) and of bringing something to an end, “and I will consume your uncleanness from you” (וְהִתְחַמְתִּי טְמֵאֲתֶךָ מִמֶּךָ, Ezk 22.15).⁵²⁵

f. כבה: (q: 15x; p: 10x) The qal and piel of this verb have similar sense relations to the verbs above. In the qal it has the sense ‘to be quenched, go out’. It is used of a flame/fire or in an image of something burning: when Samuel was called “the lamp of God had not yet gone out” (וְנֹר אֱלֹהִים טָרָם יִכָּבֵה, 1 Sa 3.3), “for lack of wood a fire goes out” (בְּאֶפְסַ עֵצִים תִּכָּבֵה־אֵשׁ, Pr 26.20), and the Lord speaks of his anger against his people saying “it will burn and not be quenched” (וּבָעֲרָה וְלֹא תִכָּבֵה, Je 7.20). The piel is use of someone ‘quenching’ something: the woman of Tekoa pleads before David about her son “and they will quench my coal which is left” (וְכָבוּ אֶת־נִחְלָתִי) (וְאָשֶׁר נִשְׁאָרָה, 2 Sa 14.7) and the Lord says in judgment that both the strong man and his work “will burn and there will be no one to quench them” (וּבָעֲרוּ שְׁנֵיהֶם יַחְדָּו) (וְאֵין מִכָּבֵה, Is 1.31; also Je 4.4; 21.12; Amos 5.6).

⁵²⁵ Cf. the similar piel of כלה in Ezk 22.31 “I have consumed them with the fire of my wrath” (בָּאֵשׁ עָבַרְתִּי כְּלִיחִים)

4.6 חיה, שכן & אבר

a. חיה

BDB: 283x

q: 204x

p: 56x

hi: 23x

qal

The syntax of the qal is: <A> חיה [+ duration; עֵל/בְּ of means]

The qal has the sense ‘to live’. It is used quite often (particularly in Genesis) to refer to the duration of someone’s life relative to another event, “When Adam had lived 130 years, he fathered ...” (Gn 5.3) and it is used once to refer to the duration of someone’s life as a whole, “Joseph lived 110 years” (Gn 37.3).⁵²⁶ This sense of the qal is applied in contexts where someone’s physical life is preserved (Abram’s request to Sarai “that my life may be spared on your account”, Gn 12.13).⁵²⁷ It is also used to refer to continuing in life (or manner of life) often by a means made explicit (“but the righteous by his faithfulness shall live”, Hb 2.4; to Esau “and by your sword you shall live”, Gn 27.40).⁵²⁸ Similarly, the qal is used in the repeated phrase spoken to a king which is translated something like “long live the king” (1 Sa 10.24).⁵²⁹

Lastly, the qal is applied in contexts where someone recovers or is revived: from sickness (Hezekiah, Is 38.1); injury (those who were circumcised, Jos 5.8); or discouragement (Jacob’s spirit revives at seeing what Joseph has sent back, Gn 45.27). This is also used to refer to someone who has been brought back from the dead: of the man thrown into Elisha’s grave (2 K 13.21), the widow’s son (“and the

⁵²⁶ Other references referring to the duration of someone’s life before or after an event include: Gn 5.6–30 (15x); 9.28; 11.11–16 (14x); 47.28; 50.22; 2 K 14.17=2 Ch 25.25; Job 42.16. The typical way of referring to the duration of someone’s life in these passages is, “The days of Adam were 930 years” (Gn 9.29).

⁵²⁷ Other references include: Gn 19.20; 2 Sa 12.22; 1 K 20.32; Ps 119.175; Je 38.2, 17, 20; Is 55.3.

⁵²⁸ As in Hb 2.4, the life of covenantal obedience is often the referent of these passages: Lv 18.5; Ezk 20.11, 13, 21, 25; Ne 9.29; Dt 8.3; Ezk 18.9, 13, 17, 19, 21, 22, 28; 33.13, 15, 16, 19.

⁵²⁹ Other references include: 2 Sa 16.16; 1 K 1.25, 31, 34, 39; 2 K 11.12; 2 Ch 23.11; Ne 2.3; and also Ps 22.27; 69.33 (of those who seek the Lord).

boy's life returned to him and he revived", וַתָּשָׁב נַפְשׁ־הַיָּלֵד עַל־קִרְבוֹ וַיְחִי, 1 K 17.22) and several times in Ezekiel of the dry bones (Ezk 37.3, 5, 6, 9, 10, 14).

piel

The syntax of the piel is: <A> חיה (אָח) [+ ק/כּ of norm; כּ of situation (Ps 33.19)]

The piel has the sense 'to keep alive'. It is applied in contexts where the sense is of keeping someone or something alive that may or should have otherwise perished: Noah brought seven pairs of birds "to keep their offspring alive upon the earth" (Gn 7.3; cf. also Gn 19.32, 34 of Lot's daughters), the Hebrew midwives disobeyed Pharaoh's orders and let the male Hebrew children live (Ex 1.17, 18, 22), and most often of allowing someone to live (or not) in contexts of punishment, "A sorcerer you shall not permit to live" (מְכַשְׁפָּה לֹא תַחֲיֶיהָ, Ex 22.17) or war, Moses asks: "Have you let all the women live?" (הֲחַיִּיתֶם כָּל־נְקֵבָה, Nu 31.15).⁵³⁰ This sense of the piel is often used in the Psalms where someone is calling upon the Lord to preserve their life (often in the context of the life of covenantal obedience), "preserve my life according to your word" (נַפְשִׁי חַיִּי כִּדְבָרְךָ, Ps 119.25).⁵³¹ The sense of preserving is also applied to things besides humans or animals: man "will flourish like grain" (יַחֲיֶיךָ דֶגָן, Ho 14.8), Joab repaired the rest of the city (וַיִּוָּאֵב יַחֲיֶיהָ אֶת־שְׂאֵר הָעִיר, 1 Ch 11.8) and Sanballat's question of whether the Jews will 'revive' burnt stones out of the rubbish to repair the wall (Ne 3.34).

Lastly, the piel is used to refer to God as the one who "kills and brings to life" (יהוה מְמִית וּמְחַיֶה, 1 Sa 2.6; also Dt 32.39) and again as the one who gives life, "and the breath of the Almighty gives me life" (וּנְשַׁמַת שְׁרֵי תַחֲיִינִי, Job 33.4).

⁵³⁰ Also note Is 7.21 and 2 Sa 12.3 of someone 'keeping alive'/'bringing up' a young cow and a lamb respectively.

⁵³¹ Other references include: Ps 119.37, 40, 50, 88, 93, 107, 149, 154, 156, 159; Ec 7.12; also Ps 22.30; 30.4; 33.19; 41.3; 71.20; 80.19; 85.7; 138.7; 143.11.

hiphil

The syntax of the hiphil is: <A> חיה (אָח) [+ לְ of advantage]

The hiphil has the sense ‘to keep alive’ and is used to refer most often to a person keeping another person or animal alive by saving them from circumstances that would have led to their death: Noah is to take two of every kind of animal in order to keep them alive (Gn 6.19, 20), the Egyptians say to Joseph “You have saved our lives” (וַיֹּאמְרוּ הַחַיִּיתָנוּ, Gn 47.25) and the false prophets have encouraged the wicked so that he does not turn from his wicked way “to save his life” (Ezk 13.22). Similarly, the hiphil is used in contexts where it is someone’s will that allows another to live when they could have killed them: if the donkey had not turned, the Lord would have killed Balaam but “let her [the donkey] live” (Nu 22.33), David spares some of the Moabites (2 Sa 8.2) and Joshua instructs Israel that they will let the Gibeonites live (Jos 9.20).

Lastly the hiphil is used in contexts where a person’s health is ‘restored’ from sickness (Hezekiah “restore me to health and make me live”, וְחַחֲלִימֵנִי וְחַיֵּנִי, Is 38.16), their spirit from being low (Is 57.15) or their life from death (the Shunnamite woman’s son, 2 K 8.1, 5).

חיה: the function of the piel amongst the themes

The qal has the basic sense ‘to live’ which is also used to refer to someone ‘recovering’ from illness or ‘reviving’ from death, with the one who was sick or dead as subject of the verb. The adjective חַי ‘alive, living’, acts as the participle to the qal. The piel and hiphil have some area of overlapping sense as they both act as causatives to the qal (sometimes with the tolerative sense ‘to allow’). The hiphil (Gn 6.19, 20) and the piel (Gn 7.3) are used together (all three as infin cs) to refer to Noah bringing animals ‘to keep them alive’. In Joshua, the covenant with the Gibeonites “to let them live” is referred to with the piel in 9.15 (לְחַיֵּיהֶם) and with the hiphil in Joshua’s command to uphold it in 9.20 (וְחַיֵּיה אִוְתָם). Where there may be a distinction between the similar senses of the piel and hiphil, it appears to be in the way in which the context indicates the circumstances of the preservation of life: the piel is used more often to refer to someone ‘allowing’ (or not allowing) another to live

and the hiphil is used to refer to someone ‘saving’ a life,⁵³² e.g. piel: whenever David raided the land, “he left neither man nor woman alive” (וְלֹא יָחַיָּה אִישׁ וְאִשָּׁה), 1 Sa 27.9), when Israel attacks a city that the Lord is giving to them as an inheritance, they are to leave nothing alive that breathes (כָּל־נְשָׁמָה לֹא תִחַיָּה, Dt 20.16) and the Hebrew midwives disobeyed orders and let the male Hebrew children live (וַתִּחַיֶּינָן, Ex 1.17); hiphil: during the famine, the people of Egypt say to Joseph “you have saved our lives” (הִחַיֵּיתָנוּ, Gn 47.25; also 45.7; 50.20), Rahab’s plea is that Joshua will save her family from the coming destruction (Jos 2.13; and 6.25 of Joshua fulfilling his pledge).

There are several contexts where the piel and hiphil are used together and seem to reflect these differences. In Gn 19.19, Lot says that the angels have shown him kindness “in saving my life” (לְהַחַיֶּינִי אֶת־נַפְשִׁי), with the qal in 19.20, “my life will be saved”) and in 19.32, 34 Lot’s daughters act to preserve offspring through their father (וַיִּנְחֲטֶיהָ מֵאֲבִינוּ זָרַע). The women who ensnare people are condemned and asked if they will be able to preserve their own souls (וּנְפָשׁוֹת לְכַנֶּה תִחַיֶּינָה, Ezk 13.18) for they have kept alive souls who should not live (נְפָשׁוֹת אֲשֶׁר לֹא־תִחַיֶּינָה, Ezk 13.19) and they have encouraged the wicked so that he does not turn from his wickedness “to save his life” (לְהַחַיֶּיחֹ, Ezk 13.22). Lastly, Moses is upset at Israel’s disobedience and asks “Have you let all the women live?” (הֲחַיִּיתֶם כָּל־נְקֵבָה, Nu 31.15) and when instructed to remedy this by killing, they are to save for themselves (הֲחַיּוּ לָכֶם, Nu 31.18) all who have not known a man.⁵³³

Ultimately, the senses ‘to let someone live’ and ‘to save a life’ may not be that far removed from one another. In some contexts, the senses of the piel and hiphil can be similar enough that it would be artificial to draw distinctions too sharply: the hiphil is used of the Egyptians being preserved or saved during the famine where they

⁵³² J. Weingreen, “The Pi‘el in Biblical Hebrew: A Suggested New Concept”, *Henoch* V (1983) explains a similar distinction between the piel and hiphil of חַיָּה (25–28) based on his argument that the effect of the piel with stative verbs is “the active promotion of the state, condition or situation indicated by the [qal]” (24, 25) and consequently the sense of the piel of a stative verb is ‘to promote the state of x’.

⁵³³ It may be possible that the forms in Jos 9 have these nuances as well: the difference between Joshua making peace with the Gibeonites to let them live in the piel and his command to let them live in the hiphil which saved them from death once it was discovered that they were in fact neighbors and should have been destroyed.

say to Joseph, “you have saved our lives” (וַיֹּאמְרוּ הַחַיִּיתָנוּ, Gn 47.25) and the piel is used of the Lord watching those who fear him “that he may deliver their souls from death and keep them alive in famine” (לְהַצִּיל מִמָּוֶת נַפְשָׁם וּלְחַיּוֹתָם בְּרָעָב, Ps 33.19). Both contexts speak of situations in which the natural result would be death, but the subjects of the verbs (Joseph and the Lord) have acted to ‘save’ or ‘preserve’ the lives so endangered. However, noting this overlap still allows room for possible nuances mentioned above to be present when based upon the context in which the form is used.

b. שָׁכַן: (q: 111x; p: 12x; hi: 6x) The qal of this verb has the sense ‘to dwell’. The piel and hiphil act as causatives to the sense of the qal but are generally distinguishable by their contexts of use. The piel is used almost exclusively where the Lord is referring to his choosing a place where he would make his name dwell there (וְהָיָה הַמָּקוֹם אֲשֶׁר-יִבְחַר יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵיכֶם בּוֹ לְשָׁכֵן שְׁמוֹ שָׁמָּה, Dt 12.11).⁵³⁴ The piel is also used a few times of the Lord causing someone to dwell somewhere: the Lord said that no one would enter the land “which I swore to make you dwell in” except Caleb and Joshua (אֲשֶׁר נִשְׁאַחֵי אֶת-יְרֵדִי לְשָׁכֵן אִתְּכֶם בָּהּ, Nu 14.30) and in Je 7.3 and 7.7 the Lord says that if his people amend their ways “I will allow you to dwell in this place”.⁵³⁵ The hiphil is used in varying contexts: the Lord placed the cherubim and flaming sword at the east of the garden (Gn 3.24), the congregation of Israel assembled at Shiloh “and set up the tent of meeting” (וַיִּשְׁכְּבוּ שָׁמָּה אֶת-אֹהֶל מוֹעֵד, Jos 18.1), the Lord says of Egypt “and I will cause all the birds of the heavens to settle on you” (וְהִשְׁכַּנְתִּי עֲלֶיךָ כָּל-עוֹף הַשָּׁמַיִם, Ezk 32.4), and in Zophar’s response to Job he warns “and do not let injustice dwell in your tents” (וְאַל-תִּשְׁכֵּן בְּאֹהֶלְיָךְ עוֹלָה, Job 11.14).

The piel and hiphil are used together once: the hiphil is used to refer to the fact that the Lord drove out the nations before his people “and settled the tribes of Israel in their tents” (וַיִּשְׁכְּבוּ בְּאֹהֶלְיָהֶם שְׁבִטֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל, Ps 78.55) and the piel is used to refer to

⁵³⁴ The other references include: Dt 14.23; 16.2, 6, 11; 26.2; Ne 1.9; Ps 78.60; Je 7.12.

⁵³⁵ Note the intentional wordplay here between Je 7.3, 7 and Je 7.12 all using the piel. If the people repent of their disobedience, the Lord will allow them to live in this place (7.3, 7), but if they are foolish enough to believe that they are protected from the consequences of their disobedience by their hypocrisy in the Lord’s house, he tells them to go and look at what he did to Shiloh, the place where he had caused his name to dwell formerly (7.12)

the Lord's dwelling at Shiloh as "the tent where he dwelt among men" (אֶהָל שִׁלֹּחַ). Although the piel does not have the name of the Lord as its explicit object, it seems likely that it is used similarly to other piel forms that refer to the Lord making his name dwell somewhere (e.g. Dt 12.11).

c. אָבַד

BDB: 184x

q: 117x

p: 41x

hi: 26x

qal

The syntax of the qal is: <A> אָבַד [+ מִן, בְּ of location; בְּ of means (Ec 5.13)]

The qal is used primarily with the sense 'to perish'. It is often applied to a person or group of people: Israel was told that if they continued in disobedience, "you will perish among the nations" (וְאָבַדְתֶּם בְּגוֹיִם), Lv 26.38), Jehu is told that "the whole house of Ahab shall perish" (וְאָבַד כָּל-בֵּית אַחָאָב), 2 K 9.8,⁵³⁶ and Esther says she will go into the king unlawfully "and if I perish, I perish" (וְכִאֲשֶׁר אָבַדְתִּי אָבַדְתִּי), Est 4.16). The subject of the qal can also be a member or members of a more general class of people: "So may all your enemies perish, O Lord" (כֵּן יֵאָבְדוּ כָּל-אֹיְבֵיךָ), Ju 5.31) and "the fool and the stupid alike shall perish" (יַחַד כְּסִיל וְבַעַר), Ps 49.11). Aside from people, the qal is also used of other objects perishing like animals (the lion, Job 4.11) or plants (the vine, Jon 4.10; the harvest of the field, Joel 1.11).

The qal is also applied to inanimate or abstract objects: "when a wicked man dies, his hope perishes" (בְּמוֹת אָדָם רְשָׁע הָאָבַד הַתְּקוּנָה), Pr 11.7), in the lament over the judgment on Moab the Lord says, "therefore the riches they have acquired have perished" (עַל-כֵּן יִתְרַח עֲשָׂה אָבְדוֹ), Je 48.36), and the Psalmist laments that his enemies say "when will he die and his name perish?" (מַתִּי יָמוּת וְאָבַד שְׁמוֹ), Ps 41.6).

⁵³⁶ The qal of אָבַד in 2 K 9.8 is followed immediately by and co-referential with the hiphil of כָּרַח, "and I will cut off from Ahab..." (וְהִכַרְתִּי לְאַחָאָב).

Lastly, the qal is attested in contexts where it has the sense ‘to be lost’. In the places where this sense is particularly explicit, the qal is applied a few times to animals being lost either literally or in a figure of speech: “and the donkeys of Kish, Saul’s father, were lost” (וְחִמְרֵי קִישׁ אֲבִי שָׁאִיל, 1 Sa 9.3; also vs. 20)⁵³⁷ and the qal participle is used attributively to refer to people being like ‘lost sheep’ (Ps 119.176; Je 50.6).⁵³⁸ This sense is also most likely applied in the context of Dt 26.5 where the people bringing their first fruit offerings are to say “my father was a wandering Aramean” (אֲרָמִי אֹבֵד אָבִי).⁵³⁹

Some scholars have attempted to explain the historical relationship between the sense of something like an animal ‘being lost’ as having developed into the sense ‘to perish’ since it would have been the natural result of the former action.⁵⁴⁰ Whether this explanation of the possible historical development is correct or not, the senses are similar in a number of contexts and are distinguished primarily by the logic of the referent to which they refer.⁵⁴¹ Thus the logic of a human or an animal referent as subject evokes the sense ‘to perish’ whereas the logic of something like hope or wisdom as subject may be more natural with the sense ‘to be lost’.

⁵³⁷ Also cf. Dt 22.3 where the law states that just as a brother’s lost animal is to be returned if it is found by another man, “and so you shall do to anything which your brother loses and you find” (וְכֵן תַּעֲשֶׂה לְכֹל־אֲבֵדֹת אָחִיךָ אֲשֶׁר־תֵּאבֵד מִמֶּנּוּ וּמִצֹּאֲהָהּ) (lit. “...any lost thing of your brother which is lost from him...”).

⁵³⁸ Similarly, the qal participle is also used substantively in Ezk 34 in condemnation of Israel’s shepherds who have not sought ‘the lost’ (וְאֶחָד־הָאֲבֵדֹת לֹא בִקְשָׁתָם), vs. 4) and for the promise that the Lord himself will do so (וְאֶחָד־הָאֲבֵדֹת אֲבִקֶּשׁ), vs. 16).

⁵³⁹ Cf. P. C. Craigie, *The Book of Deuteronomy*, NICOT, Grand Rapids: Eerdmans (1976) 321, for an argument taking the phrase as referring to ‘an ailing Aramean’ such that it would contrast with the provision of God evident in the existence of first fruits and D. L. Christensen, *Deuteronomy 21:10–34:12*, WBC 6B, Nashville: Thomas Nelson Publishers (2002) 637, where after citing the options ‘perishing’, ‘straying’, and ‘fugitive’, he argues that the translation ‘wandering Aramean’ preserves something closer to the Hebrew alliteration and “can be understood in poetic fashion to include all of the above options”. It would be better to state that ‘wandering’ here refers to a situation that, according to the context, may include the possibility of perishing rather than referring inclusively to all of these senses at once. For further comments see A. R. Millard, “A Wandering Aramean (Deut 26.5),” *JNES* 39 (1980) 153–55.

⁵⁴⁰ Cf. *TWAT* (1:20); KB (2a) which lists sense 1. of אָבַד as ‘to become lost’ when referring to inanimate or abstract objects, sense 2. as ‘to go astray’ mostly of animals, and sense 3. as ‘to perish’ of humans or animals as well as two further categories; E. Jenni, “Factitiv und Kausativ..” [n. 80], 148, 9; and *DhP* [n. 42], 37; and Van Dam’s *NIDOTTE* entry (1:223–5) which follows Jenni by stating that “there are two root meanings, perish and become lost” (224).

⁵⁴¹ It is worth noting that Akkadian distinguishes between two roots with different senses: abātu A ‘to destroy’ attested in G, D, and N (CAD A, 1.1: 41–5) and abātu B ‘to run away, flee’ in G and N (CAD A, 1.1: 45–7).

piel

The syntax of the piel is: <A> אבד [+ מן of location; מן of inclusion (Est 3.13)⁵⁴²]

The piel has the sense ‘to destroy, kill’. It is used to refer to a person killing another person or group of people: when Ahaziah died, Athaliah killed all the royal family (וַהֲאַבֵּד אֶת כָּל־זֶרַע הַמַּמְלָכָה) 2 K 11.1) and it is used several times in Esther to refer to Haman’s edict to destroy the Jews (Est 3.9) and later of the Jews destroying their enemies (Est 9.6).⁵⁴³ The piel is also used in this sense with the Lord as subject: “and he will destroy Assyria” (וַיֹּאבֵד אֶת־אַשּׁוּר) Zp 2.13), “he makes the nations great and destroys them” (מִשְׁנִיא לְגוֹיִם וַיֹּאבֵדֵם) Job 12.23), and in judgment on Judah the Lord says “I have destroyed my people” (אֲבִדְתִּי אֶחֶעֱמִי) Je 15.7).

The piel is also used of someone destroying inanimate or abstract objects: Israel is to destroy the places of worship of the other gods “and destroy their name from that place” (וַאֲבִדְתֶּם אֶת־שְׁמֵם מִן־הַמְּקוֹם הַהוּא) Dt 12.3), Manasseh sinned against this when he rebuilt the high places that Hezekiah his father had destroyed (וַיֵּשֶׁב וַיִּבֶן אֶת־הַבְּמוֹת אֲשֶׁר אָבִד חִזְקִיָּהוּ אָבִיו) 2 K 21.3), and Is 26.14 says that the Lord has wiped out all memory of the dead (וַהֲאַבֵּד כָּל־זִכָּר לָמוֹ) Is 26.14).

The piel is also used once in relation to the sense ‘to lose’ in Ec 3.6 referring to the contrasting of “a time to search and a time to lose” (עַתָּה לְבַקֵּשׁ וְעַתָּה לֵאבֹד).⁵⁴⁴

hiphil

The syntax of the hiphil is: <A> האבד [+ מן of location]

The hiphil has the sense ‘to destroy, kill’. The hiphil is used most often with the Lord as subject referring to causing either people or objects to perish: the Lord says of one who works on the day of atonement “and I will destroy that person from among his people” (וַהֲאַבִּדְתִּי אֶת־הַנֶּפֶשׁ הַהוּא מִקִּרְבֵּי עַמּוֹ) Lv 23.30), in a

⁵⁴² Cf. Williams [n. 280], § 327.

⁵⁴³ Also: of Haman’s edict (3.13; 4.7; 7.4; 8.5; 9.24) and of the Jews (8.11; 9.12).

⁵⁴⁴ Note that in Ec 9.18, the piel is also used with the sense ‘to destroy’. Also see Ezk 28.16 where the piel is often translated as ‘to drive out’ or ‘to expel’ (RSV, NIV) presumably because of its conjunction with the preceding piel of חלל, though the more prominent sense of the piel ‘to destroy’ also fits the context: “and I destroyed you, O guardian cherub, from the midst of the stones of fire” (ESV (וַאֲבִדְךָ כְּרוֹב הַסַּבָּךְ מִתּוֹךְ אֲבִי־אֵשׁ)).

proclamation against Ammon the Lord says “I will make you perish from the lands” (וְהִאַבְדֶּתִיךָ מִן־הָאֲרָצוֹת, Ezk 25.7), and Job laments to the Lord that as water wears away stone and soil, “so you destroy the hope of man” (וְתִקַּח אֲנוֹשׁ הָאֲבֵרֶתָ, Job 14.19).⁵⁴⁵

The hiphil is also used with human subjects: Jehu deceived the servants of Baal in order to destroy them (לְמַעַן הָאֲבִיד אֶת־עַבְדֵי הַבַּעַל, 2 K 10.19), the Lord sent other nations against Judah to destroy her (2 K 24.2), and in Jeremiah’s calling he was appointed, in part, “to destroy and to overthrow” (וְלִהְרוֹס וְלִהְאָבִיד, Je 1.10).

אֲבָד: the function of the piel amongst the themes

The qal acts as a stative with the senses ‘to be lost, perish’. It is applied a few times to something ‘being lost’ in the sense of needing to be found, but is most often applied to people, animals, or things perishing. The piel and hiphil act as causatives to the sense of the qal with overlapping senses. The two themes are used together in several contexts with similar syntagmatic elements. The piel is used in the command to break down the places of worship of other gods “and destroy their name from that place” (וְאַבְדֶּתָם אֶת־שְׁמֵם מִן־הַמְּקוֹם הַהוּא, Dt 12.3) and the hiphil is used of the Lord giving the nations into the hand of his people “and you shall destroy their name from under heaven” (וְהִאַבְדֶּתָ אֶת־שְׁמֵם מִתַּחַת הַשָּׁמַיִם, Dt 7.24). In the context of judgment on Judah’s enemies, Zp 2.5 has the hiphil of Canaan’s destruction, “and I will destroy you until no inhabitant is left” (וְהִאַבְדֶּתִיךָ מֵאֵין יוֹשֵׁב) and Zp 2.13 has the piel that the Lord will stretch out his hand against the north “and destroy Assyria” (וַיֹּאבֵד אֶת־אַשּׁוּר). The hiphil is used in Jeremiah’s calling where he is told that he has been appointed, in part, “to destroy and to overthrow” (וְלִהְרוֹס וְלִהְאָבִיד, Je 1.10)⁵⁴⁶ and the piel is used where the Lord states that any nation that disobeys “I will utterly pluck up that nation and destroy it” (וְנָתַשְׁתִּי אֶת־הַגּוֹי הַהוּא נָתוּשׁ וְאַבֵּד, Je 12.17). Lastly, the hiphil is used where the Lord says of his people “and I will banish from them the voice of joy and the voice of gladness...” (מֵהֶם קוֹל שִׁשׂוֹן וְקוֹל שִׂמְחָה).

⁵⁴⁵ Further references with the Lord as subject include: Dt 7.10; 8.20; 28.51, 63; Jos 7.7; Je 18.7; 31.28; 49.38; Ezk 25.16; 32.13; Ob 8; Zp 2.5; Ps 143.12.

⁵⁴⁶ The full phrase of Je 1.10 is לְנַחוֹשׁ וְלְנַחוֹץ וְלִהְרוֹס לְבָנוֹת וְלְנַטוּעַ, which is echoed again with the hiphil in 18.7; 31.28 (all infinitive constructs).

וְהֶאֱבָרְתִּי, Je 25.10) and the piel is used to refer to the Lord destroying Babylon “and he will still her mighty voice” (וְאָבַר מִמְּנָה קוֹל גְּדוֹל, Je 51.55). Aside from these shared contexts, the senses and syntagmatic elements of the piel and hiphil overlap such that it is difficult to distinguish between them.⁵⁴⁷

As noted above in the history of research in chapter 1, the question of whether there is a detectable distinction in sense between the function of the piel and hiphil of אָבַר was the starting point for Jenni’s work on the piel. His 1967 article, “Faktiv und Kausativ von אָבַר ‘Zugrunde Gehen’” connected the function of the piel and hiphil with adjectival and verbal expression respectively and set the pattern that Jenni sought to apply to the rest of the Hebrew verbal system. As Jenni’s comments on specific cases of the piel and hiphil of אָבַר in *DhP* are drawn along similar lines to other verbs in this chapter, interacting at each point where he offers explanations of the verses noted above is not necessary. It is sufficient to illustrate the point by examining one set of verses in Jenni’s explanation and Waltke and O’Connor’s application of it in their section on the hiphil. Jenni compares the piel in 2 K 11.1 which states that after hearing of her son’s death, Athaliah “rose and destroyed all the royal family” (וַתִּקַּם וַתִּאֲבַר אֶת כָּל-זָרַע הַמַּמְלָכָה) with the hiphil used of Jehu playing a ruse “in order to destroy all the worshippers of Baal” (לְמַעַן הָאֲבִיד אֶת-עַבְדֵי הַבַּעַל, 2 K 10.19).⁵⁴⁸ Jenni explains the differentiation of this pair as exhibiting a focus on the result with the piel in 2 K 11.1 and the cause of the process with the hiphil in 2 K 10.19 on the basis of “the restriction of the hiphil to the future with verbs that have a perfective basic meaning” like אָבַר.⁵⁴⁹

In their section on the meaning of the hiphil, Waltke and O’Connor explain Jenni’s distinction between the piel as expressing accidental action in which the object does not participate and the hiphil as expressing an event in which the object does participate. They propose to illustrate “the difference Jenni has plausibly established” with the piel and hiphil of אָבַר. Waltke and O’Connor cite Jenni’s section mentioned above, but use the hiphil in Lv 23.30, “and I will destroy that person from the midst of

⁵⁴⁷ The only significant difference in terms of their contexts of use is that the book of Esther, which uses the verb several times, only attests the piel. However, the sense of the piel in Esther is similar to the sense of the hiphil in other contexts (e.g. 2 K 24.2)

⁵⁴⁸ Jenni, *DhP* [n. 42], 67.

⁵⁴⁹ Jenni, *DhP* [n. 42], 65–67, the heading under which this discussion fall indicates this as well, “Beschränkung des Hifil auf die Zukunft bei perfektiver Grundbedeutung”.

his people” (וְהֶאֱבֹרְתִי אֶת־הַנֶּפֶשׁ הַהוּא מִקֶּרֶב עַמָּה) rather than Jenni’s example in 2 K 10.19.⁵⁵⁰ The difference between the two verses is explained by arguing that the original writer “conceptualizes” the royal family as a passive object which is accidentally transferred into the state of being destroyed, whereas the soul in Lv 23.30 is portrayed as an actor in the event of perishing.⁵⁵¹ This explanation is open to the same sort of criticism already offered of Jenni’s argument. The primary criteria for determining whether or not this is in fact what the writer intended to portray by using the piel and hiphil themes is acceptance of Jenni’s theoretical explanation of both the derivation and function of the themes. That is to say, there does not appear to be anything in the context that would either support or deny confirmation of the theory. It depends mostly upon a way of seeing the data as opposed to the data affecting the seeing itself.

4.7 חכם & פתה

a. חכם

BDB: 27x

q: 19x

p: 3x

pu: 2x

hi: 1x

hithp: 2x

qal

The syntax of the qal is: <A> חכם [+ מן of comparison; ל of advantage(Pr 9.12)]

The qal has the sense ‘to be wise’. It is used quite often in the context of instruction in wisdom in Proverbs: “Go to the ant, O sluggard, consider her ways and be wise” (לֵךְ־אֶל־נְמֹלֶה עֲצֹל רְאֵה דְרָכֶיהָ וְחָכֵם, Pr 6.6) and “Be wise my son and make my heart glad” (וְיִחְחַם בְּנִי וְשִׂמַח לִבִּי, Pr 27.11). The qal is also used in Moses song “if they were wise, they would understand this” (Dt 32.29), to refer to Solomon being wiser than any other man (וַיִּחְחַם מִכָּל־הָאָדָם, 1 K 5.11), and Elihu says in his response “It is not the old who are wise” (Job 32.9).

⁵⁵⁰ W&O § 27.1d.

⁵⁵¹ W&O § 27.1d.

piel

The syntax of the piel is: <A> חכם [+ מן of comparison]

The piel has the sense 'to make wise'. It is used twice to refer to something ("Your commandments", Ps 119.98) or someone (the Lord, Job 35.11) making a person wiser than someone or something else. It is also used in Ps 105.22 to refer to Joseph being made lord of his house in Egypt "to instruct his princes at his pleasure and to teach his elders wisdom" (לְאָסֵר שְׂרָיו בְּנַפְשׁוֹ וּזְקֵנָיו יִחְכְּמֵם, Ps 105.22).

pual

The pual participle is attested twice of someone being wise (having been made wise?): of the skillful or cunning charmer (חֹבֵר חֲכָרִים מְחַכֵּם, Ps 58.6) and in Pr 30.24 of four things that are small but exceedingly wise (וְהִמָּה חֲכָמִים מְחַכְּמִים).

hiphil

The hiphil is attested once in Ps 19.8, "the testimony of the Lord is sure making wise the simple" (עֲדוֹת יְהוָה נִאֲמָנָה מְחַכֵּמַת פְּתִי).

hithpael

The hithpael is attested once with the sense 'to make oneself wise' (Ec 7.16) and once with the sense 'to act shrewdly/wisely' (Ex 1.10).

חכם: the function of the piel amongst the themes

The qal acts as a stative 'to be wise' and has the adj. חָכָם acting as its participle. The piel and hiphil act as causatives to the sense of the qal with overlapping sense. The piel is used twice of someone being made wiser than another (with preposition of comparison) and once of teaching someone wisdom. The hiphil is used of making wise the simple, the causative of the qal in a context like Pr 21.11 "When a scoffer is punished, the simple become wise" (בְּעִנְשׁ-לֵץ יִחְכְּמ-פְּתִי). The pual and hithpael both act in relation to the sense of the piel.

b. פתח: (q: 5x; n: 2x; p: 17x; pu: 3x) The qal of this verb has the sense 'to be simple, be deceived' and the piel acts as the causative with the sense 'to entice, deceive'.

Both the adj. and the qal participle are used to refer to the ‘simple’ as a class of people: “A simple man believes anything” (פְּתִי יֶאֱמִין לְכָל־דְּבָרָה, Pr 14.15) and Job 5.2b states “and jealousy kills the simple” (וּפְתָה תִמִּית קִנְאָה). The niphāl and the pual act as passive of the sense of the piel: the niphāl in Je 20.7 directly follows the piel “O Lord, you deceived me, and I was deceived” (פְּתִיתֵנִי יְהוָה וְאָפַת) and the pual is also used in Je 20.10, “perhaps he will be deceived” (אוּלַי יִפְתָּה).

c. סכּל: (n: 4x; p: 2x; hi: 2x) The niphāl and hiphil of this verb overlap with the sense ‘to act foolishly’ and the piel has the sense ‘to make foolish’.

4.8 שמח

שמח

BDB: 154x

q: 126x

p: 27x

hi: 1x

qal

The syntax of the qal is: <A> שמח [+ ל of disadvantage; ב of state/condition⁵⁵²]

The qal is attested both with stative (וּשְׂמַחַת, Pr 29.6) and active vowels (שְׂמַח, Ps 16.9) and has the sense ‘to be glad, rejoice’. It is used to refer simply to someone ‘being glad’: the Lord says of Aaron coming to Moses “and when he sees you, he will be glad in his heart” (וּרְאָךְ וּשְׂמַח בְּלִבּוֹ, Ex 4.14) and also “Jonah was exceedingly glad because of the plant” (וַיִּשְׂמַח יוֹנָה עַל־הַקִּיקִיּוֹן שְׂמַחָה גְדוּלָה, Jon 4.6).

The majority of the qal forms are attested in contexts where it has the sense ‘to rejoice’.⁵⁵³ The most common of these is rejoicing in the context of worship: “and you shall rejoice before the Lord your God” (וּשְׂמַחְתֶּם לְפָנַי יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵיכֶם, Dt 12.12), “Be glad, O sons of Zion, and rejoice in the Lord your God” (Joel 2.23), and quite

⁵⁵² Cf. n. 365 regarding the hithpael of הלל for the use of a similar sort of complement.

⁵⁵³ Outside of the contexts where the qal is describing someone as being glad, the senses ‘to be glad’ and ‘to rejoice’ are not much different and in places can be co-referential. For example, the qal is used together quite often in a co-referential statement with the qal of גיל ‘to rejoice’ (e.g. Ps 14.7, “let Jacob rejoice, let Israel be glad”, וַיִּגַּל יַעֲקֹב וַיִּשְׂמַח יִשְׂרָאֵל).

often in the Psalms, “for in him our hearts rejoice” (כִּי־בוֹ יִשְׂמַח לְבָנוּ, Ps 33.21). The qal is also used in other contexts to refer to a person rejoicing in someone or something: Jotham tells the people that if they have acted in good faith “then rejoice in Abimelech and let him rejoice in you” (שָׂמְחוּ בְּאַבְיִמֶלֶךְ וַיִּשְׂמַח נִמְרוֹד בְּכֶם, Ju 9.19), “Do not rejoice over me, O my enemy” (אַל־תִּשְׂמַחַי אֵיבֹתַי לִי, Mi 7.8), and in an appeal for a son to be wise, “Let your father and mother be glad, let her who bore you rejoice” (וְשִׂמְחֵה אָבִיךָ וְאִמְךָ וְתִגַּל יוֹלְדָתְךָ).

piel

The syntax of the piel is: <A> שִׂמַח (אֶת) [+ מן/ל/על of disadvantage; בְּ of means or location]

The piel has the sense ‘to make rejoice’ and is used of someone or something making a person (or his נַפְשׁ or לֵב/לֵבָב) rejoice. The Lord is a common subject of the piel: David praises the Lord saying “you have not let my enemies rejoice over me” (Ps 30.2), the exiles celebrated the Passover for seven days with joy (בְּשִׂמְחָה) “for the Lord had made them joyful” (כִּי שִׂמְחָם יְהוָה, Ezra 6.22), the Lord will bring foreigners joined to him to his holy mountain “and make them joyful in my house of prayer” (וְשִׂמְחָתִים בְּבַיִת תְּפִלָּתִי, Is 56.7). The piel is also attested with human subjects: a newly married man is to have a year off from duties to make his wife joyful (Dt 24.5)⁵⁵⁴ and “a wise son makes a father glad” (בֶּן חָכָם יִשְׂמַח־אָב, Pr 10.1; also 15.20; 29.3; 27.1). Other subjects found with piel include: streams making glad the city of God (Ps 46.5), wine (Ps 104.15; also Ec 10.19; Ju 9.13) or oil and perfume (Pr 27.9) gladdening the heart, and “the precepts of the Lord are right rejoicing the heart” (פְּקוּדֵי יְהוָה יִשְׂרִים מְשִׂמְחֵי־לֵב, Ps 19.9).

hiphil

The sole hiphil has the sense ‘to make rejoice’ and is attested in Ps 89.43, “you have made all his enemies rejoice” (הַשְׂמַחְתָּ כָּל־אֹיְבָיו).

⁵⁵⁴ Although see the note in BHS that indicates the Syriac has a form equivalent to the qal ‘to rejoice’. This reading is followed in the RSV’s translation “to be happy with his wife whom he has taken”.

שמח: the function of the piel amongst the themes

The qal acts as both a stative ‘to be glad’ and active ‘to be glad, rejoice’ and has the adj. שָׂמֵחַ acting as its participle (e.g. in Pr 2.14 of “those who rejoice to do evil” (הַשְּׂמֵחִים לַעֲשׂוֹת רָע)). The piel acts as a causative to the sense of the qal and the two themes are used a few times together in the same context. The qal is used in Ps 90.14 to call on the Lord to satisfy his people that they may rejoice “and be glad all our days” (וְנִשְׂמְחָהּ בְּכָל־יָמֵינוּ) and the piel is used in 90.15 “Make us glad for as many days as you have afflicted us” (שְׂמַחְנוּ כַּיְמוֹת עֲנִיָּתֵנוּ). At the dedication of the wall the people offered sacrifices “and rejoiced, for God had made them rejoice with great joy” (וַיִּשְׂמְחוּ כִּי הָאֱלֹהִים שְׂמַחָם שְׂמָחָה גְדוֹלָה) (Ne 12.43). The sole attested hiphil acts as a causative to the qal and overlaps with the sense of the piel. The hiphil is used in a psalm of lament addressed to the Lord, “you have made all his enemies rejoice” (Ps 89.43) and the piel is used with like sense in Ps 30.2, “you have not let my enemies rejoice over me” (וְלֹא־שְׂמַחַת אֹיְבֵי לִי), La 2.17 “he has made the enemy rejoice over you” (וַיִּשְׂמַח עָלֶיךָ אֹיֵב), and 2 Ch 20.27 says of Jehoshaphat and the men of Judah that they returned to Jerusalem “for the Lord had made them rejoice over their enemies” (כִּי־שְׂמַחָם יְהוָה מֵאֹיְבֵיהֶם).⁵⁵⁵ The sole apparent difference in these cases is that the piel is used with a preposition of disadvantage (מִן/עַל/ל) indicating who is being rejoiced over.⁵⁵⁶

⁵⁵⁵ Note the similarity in the co-referential phrases with the hiphil of רָוַם in Ps 89.43 (hiphil) and La 2.17 (piel). Ps 89.43, “You have exalted the right hand of his adversaries (יָמִין צָרִיף); you have made all his enemies rejoice” and La 2.17c, “he has made the enemy rejoice over you and exalted the might of your adversaries” (הַרִים קֶרֶן צָרִיף).

⁵⁵⁶ Jenni, *DhP* [n. 42], 98 lists three of these cases (Ps 30.2; 89.43; La 2.17) and has a brief note describing the difference between the piel and hiphil as one which reflects the manner in which substantial and accidental action may or may not be negated. Understanding and accepting Jenni’s explanation of these cases depends completely upon his use of the terms ‘substantial’ and ‘accidental’, which seem to be improperly and inconsistently applied (cf. §4.1a above for further discussion on these terms).

CHAPTER 5

Denominatives and Deponency

5.1 Denominatives

Questions: Criteria, Referent, and Scope

An examination of the sections on ‘denominatives’ in standard grammars of Biblical Hebrew tends to produce as many questions as it does answers. Although the majority of grammars refer to certain verbs as a ‘denominative’, there is often a conspicuous sense of uncertainty or irregularity with respect to how the term is defined and applied.⁵⁵⁷ This uncertainty then also manifests itself in lexical entries where the application of the term ‘denominative’ differs between the standard lexicons and at times seems unpredictably applied within an individual lexicon.⁵⁵⁸

The standard definition of the term denominative as a lexical category⁵⁵⁹ is that it refers to verbs “derived from nouns or even from particles”⁵⁶⁰ which are thus considered to be “more primitive” than the verbs derived from them.⁵⁶¹ Waltke and O’Connor define denominatives as “those verbs which do not belong to an original

⁵⁵⁷ For example, cf. C. H. J. van der Merwe, J. A. Naudé, and J. H. Kroeze, *A Biblical Hebrew Reference Grammar*, Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press (1999) 81, which lists ‘denominative’ as one of the categories of the semantics of the piel, but does not use the term with any other verbal theme nor do they discuss denominatives in any other section of their grammar.

⁵⁵⁸ For example, BDB lists the qal of לבן ‘to make bricks’ as denominative (527b), but לבן ‘to make white’ attested a few times in hiphil and hithpael is not labeled as denominative (526a). KB labels both לבן I ‘to make white’ (517a) and לבן II ‘to make bricks’ (517b) as denominative. Note that the introduction to *DCH* (§9, p. 21) indicates that the *Index* section of an entry, which is marked with an arrow, “lists all words...that may clearly be ‘derived’, morphologically speaking, from the verbal ‘root’”, but also says following this that “it should be noted that no historical implications about the derivations of words are intended by this section; it is not concerned with the etymology of words”. Thus, verbs that are typically marked as denominatives in BDB or KB have the respective noun listed in the ‘index’ section of the entry in *DCH* but marking whether it may be denominative falls outside of the stated purpose of the dictionary (cf. §2, p. 14).

⁵⁵⁹ The term ‘denominative’ is also used to describe the function of the theme as a whole as being related to the ultimate derivation of all verbs from nouns or adjectives, a definition which both Goetz and Ryder utilize in different manners as the basic function of the D theme. Also, cf. A. Sperber, *A Historical Grammar of Biblical Hebrew: A Presentation of Problems with Suggestions to their Solutions*, Leiden: E. J. Brill (1966), §45 who states, “we are of the opinion that the qal led to derived nominal forms, while the so-called derived stems (pi’el and hiph’il) are in the main denominative verbs”.

⁵⁶⁰ GKC § 38c

⁵⁶¹ Joüon-Muraoka, § 52d “The following examples are denominative in the sense that there lies behind each of them a related, and assuredly more primitive noun.”

verbal root, be it transitive or intransitive, but to another part of speech, especially a substantive, adjective, or numeral”.⁵⁶²

The general definition of denominatives as a lexical category is not in question in language in general or in Biblical Hebrew in particular.⁵⁶³ The difficulty with the definition is that grammars usually do not discuss what constitutes criteria for deciding which verbs are to be included in the class of ‘denominatives’. Waltke and O’Connor state that it is ascertained “on descriptive, semantic, and historical grounds” without giving any further criteria in these areas and finish by concluding that “in practice this decision is not so easily made”.⁵⁶⁴ In the section on noun formation, Joüon-Muraoka note the difficulty that “in the case of many roots it is impossible to determine which came first, the noun or the verb”.⁵⁶⁵ Bauer-Leander argue that the question of whether a noun or verb comes first relates essentially to the origin and development of a language and thus “in many cases the question will have to remain generally undecided, so everywhere, where we survey the development of the language only incompletely”.⁵⁶⁶ As a result of this uncertainty, most grammars apparently operate as Waltke and O’Connor, with denominatives “that are regarded as such by the recent scholarly consensus”.⁵⁶⁷

In addition to the issue of criteria for including a verb in the class of denominatives, there is also discrepancy in the grammars regarding what relationship is being referred to by the term ‘denominative’. Joüon-Muraoka state that “unlike factitive and declarative-estimative this is not a grammatical, but lexical category”.⁵⁶⁸ That is to say, including a verb in the category of denominatives is to assert something primarily about the probable semantic history of the verb to another related and usually attested lexeme rather than its particular semantic function. Nevertheless,

⁵⁶² W&O § 24.4a

⁵⁶³ Although, see A. J. C. Verheij. *Bits, Bytes, and Binyanim: a quantitative study of verbal lexeme formations in the Hebrew Bible*. *Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta* 93 (Peeters Publishers and Department of Oriental Studies, 1999), § 2.2 where he states that he will not use the notion of denominative due to the coincidental nature of the attestation of both the noun and the verbal form possibly derived from it.

⁵⁶⁴ W&O § 24.4a. Also cf. GKC §38d where it states that although “the corresponding (original) verbal stem” may still exist, “the meaning is sufficient to show that the denominatives have come from the noun, not from the verbal stem”. This is the only criteria-like statement on denominatives in GKC.

⁵⁶⁵ Joüon-Muraoka, § 87a.

⁵⁶⁶ BL § 246h: “In vielen Fällen wird aber die Frage überhaupt dahingestellt bleiben müssen, so überall dort, wo wir die Entwicklung der Sprache nur unvollkommen überblicken”.

⁵⁶⁷ W&O § 24.4a

⁵⁶⁸ Joüon-Muraoka § 52d. It seems that ‘factitive’ and ‘declarative-estimative’ would be better described as ‘semantic’ functions of a ‘grammatical’ category (i.e. a verb attested in the piel), but the point being made is still notable.

grammars often include ‘denominative’ as one of several types of ‘functions’ of a theme. And this is particularly the case with the piel due to the large number of verbs labeled as ‘denominative’ in the piel. As an example, Waltke and O’Connor list the functions of the piel as: factitive (§ 24.2), resultative (§ 24.3), denominative (§ 24.4), and frequentative (§24.5).⁵⁶⁹ However, their following classifications under the denominative heading seem to fit better as members of the class of functions of the piel (e.g. ‘productive’ (§ 24.4e), ‘privative’ (§24.4f), etc.). The point in focus here concerns both the clarity and consistency regarding the use of the term ‘denominative’. It is apparently being used to refer both to the *derivational* relationship between noun and verb with respect to form as well as the *functional* or *semantic* relationship with respect to meaning, but this is not always made clear in the grammars.⁵⁷⁰

Another related aspect that is worth noting here is that ‘denominative’ as a function of a verbal theme does not tend to be consistently applied to themes other than the piel. Although grammars will note that denominatives are attested in the other themes, they usually do not cite it as one of the functions of those themes in the same manner or to the same extent as the piel. As an example, under the denominative function of the piel, Waltke and O’Connor list לבב II ‘to make cakes’ (2 Sa 13.6, 8) as an example of the ‘productive piel’.⁵⁷¹ On the other hand, a verb like לבן ‘to make bricks’, which is attested only in the qal (Gn 11.3; Ex 5.7, 14) and listed as a denominative verb, is not analyzed in the same manner.⁵⁷² ‘Denominatives’ is not included as one of the functions of the qal as it is with the piel, and thus there is no explanation of something like a ‘productive qal’ even though the sense of לבן ‘to make bricks’ is analogous to לבב II ‘to make cakes’.

⁵⁶⁹ For further examples see: GKC § 52f–h which list the general function of the piel as the “intensifying of the idea of the stem” taking shape in individual cases as (a) *strengthening* or *repetition* of the action, (b) *causative*, and (c) *denominatives* and C. H. J. van der Merwe, et al., *A Biblical Hebrew Reference Grammar* [n. 1], § 16.4 which has the subdivisions under the section on the semantics of the piel as: (i) *factitive*, (ii) *resultative*, and (iii) *denominative*.

⁵⁷⁰ Note that S. A. Creason, *Semantic Classes of Hebrew Verbs: A Study of Aktionsart in the Hebrew Verbal System*. PhD. dissertation, University of Chicago. Ann Arbor, MI: University of Microfilms International (1995), 207 (§ 5.4) states in explanation of the denominatives: “In many cases, the relationship is similar to the relationship that the Piel has to the Qal, i.e. a factitive one, broadly speaking”. Also cf. J. Blau, *A Grammar of Biblical Hebrew*, *Porta Linguarum Orientalium* XII, Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz (1976), § 25.1 where he states that the piel is also quite often denominative and “as such it may be declarative...and privative”.

⁵⁷¹ W&O § 24.4e.

⁵⁷² W&O § 22.5a.

A final question that arises from the way the term is used relates to the extent that 'denominative' is meant to apply to the attested themes of a verb. If a verb is attested solely in one theme (e.g. נָבַח attested only in the piel in Jos 10.19; Dt 25.18) then there are no further questions about its relationship to other forms.⁵⁷³ However, if a verb is classified by the grammars or lexicons as a denominative, it is not always clear whether the verb as attested in a specific theme (e.g. נָבַח in the piel) is being referred to as denominative or whether the entirety of the verb (e.g. נָבַח in all its attested themes) is denominative and the relationships between the themes are meant to be taken as reflective of the typical relationships between verbal themes.⁵⁷⁴ If it is the latter, are the labeled 'denominative' theme(s) meant to be separated out from the other attested themes as a denominatively formed homonymous verb?⁵⁷⁵ Jenni makes this explicit with respect to the piel of נָבַח that "in such cases the denominative piel meanings ought to be separated from the same qal root and treated as isolated denominative verbs".⁵⁷⁶

The above observations are made not to suggest that the category of 'denominatives' is useless nor to presume that the grammars cited are necessarily wrong in all that they have asserted, but rather to illustrate the point that there is a need for clarity regarding how the term 'denominative' is used. Although the larger discussion of the issues relating to denominatives is outside the scope of the present research, some comments can be offered as a part of a way forward toward clarification.

Aside from the existence of a possibly more primitive noun, adjective, or particle, the other complementing criteria that are apparently employed in deciding which verbs ought to be classified as denominatives may include: (i) if the verb is considered denominative in the niph'al, piel, hiph'il or hithpa'el, it usually does not have

⁵⁷³ Unless there is a question of polysemy arising from some sort of possible semantic connection to other attested forms: e.g. BDB lists the single attested piel of נָבַח 'to bind (sheaves)' together under a single root with the attested niphals meaning 'to be dumb, mute' with the note ('be bound' =) 'to be dumb'.

⁵⁷⁴ W&O § 24.4d states "It is necessary to reckon with the fact that in some instances where denominatives occur in more than one stem the differences among them may no longer be apparent; the denominatives in one stem or the other may, in contrast, have been formed over an extended period of time during which the relevant root showed a variety of meanings".

⁵⁷⁵ S. Ryder, *The D-Stem in Western Semitic*, The Hague: Mouton & Co. (1974), 124 seems to come to such a conclusion with respect to the D-stem of נָבַח.

⁵⁷⁶ Jenni, *DhP* [n. 42], 267. Is Jenni arguing then, that there ought to be two homonymous נָבַח roots listed in the lexicons which happen also to be related in sense?

an attested finite verbal qal form (ii) the verb often lacks an explicitly stated object and instead takes the object from the meaning of the verb itself: e.g. piel of **לכב** II ‘to make cakes’ in 2 Sa 13.6, 8 (iii) cognate evidence does not suggest an attested G form in a related language.⁵⁷⁷ However, even with the possible criteria made explicit, the difficulty of determining whether or not many verbs are truly denominative still stands. As a result, the classification of a verb as a denominative rests somewhere on a sort of continuum of confidence with respect to its derivation. As such, a verb with few attested forms like **קנן** ‘to make a nest’ in the piel (Ps 104.17; Is 34.15; Je 48.28; Ezk 31.6) and pual (Je 22.23), which meets the general criteria listed above, would be quite confidently labeled as a denominative from the noun **קן** ‘nest’ (Je 49.16). On the other hand, a verb like **נחל** ‘to take possession’ in the qal, which BDB (635b) lists as a denominative and KB (686a) does not, might be considered to have a lesser surety of being derived from the noun.⁵⁷⁸

If a verb like **נחל** is labeled as ‘denominative’, it is proposed that the term ought to be used generally to refer to the verb as a whole. For then the relationships between the functions of the themes can be discussed, which is useful whether the verb truly is denominative or not. This is, in part, the reason why verbs like **נחל** (cf. § 3.3b) are discussed with other active or stative verbs in the main chapters even though they may be labeled as denominative in some grammars or lexicons.

Denominative Verbs

What follows is not intended to be an exhaustive list of denominative verbs, but examples and comments on some of those which seem to be more confidently described as such. The presentation of the verbs will be ordered by themes attested in two groups: (i) verbs attested in the piel only (also pu, hith where attested) (ii) verbs attested in the piel with other themes in related senses. The exception to this will be where two homonymous verbs are included together regardless of the themes attested.

⁵⁷⁷ Presumably, criteria of this sort are along the lines of what Waltke and O’Connor are referring to respectively by the terms “descriptive, semantic, and historical grounds”.

⁵⁷⁸ KB (686b) has at the end of the entry, Der. **נחלה**, which is the abbreviation for “derived from; derived form”. Since KB marks some other verbs explicitly as denominative, does the notation with **נחל** then mean that **נחלה** is the ‘derived form’ or is KB leaving the question open?

Verbs attested in Piel [Pu, Hith] only

a. **עפר** ‘to fling dust’ is attested once in the piel (2 Sa 16.13) and is attested with the noun ‘dust’ as its object: “and he [Shimei] cursed as he went and threw stones at him and flung dust” (הַלֹּךְ וַיִּקְלַל וַיִּסְקַל בְּאֲבָנִים לְעִמְחוֹ וְעָפַר בְּעָפָרָא:).⁵⁷⁹

b. **ענן** ‘to bring clouds’ is attested once in the piel (Gn 9.14) with the noun **ענן** ‘clouds’ as object: “When I bring clouds over the earth” (וַהֲרִיחַ בְּעִנְנֵי עָנָן עַל-הָאָרֶץ).
ענן II ‘to practice soothsaying’ is attested only in the poel (cf. g below).

c. **זנב** ‘to attack the rear’ is attested twice in the piel (Dt 25.18; Jos 10.19) in contexts of a military attack on those in the rearguard and also has the attested noun **זנב** ‘tail, end’.

d. **נרם** II⁵⁸⁰ ‘to break bones’ is attested once in the piel (Nu 24.8) with the sense ‘to break bones’ and has the attested noun **נֶרֶם** ‘bone’.

e. **עצם** II⁵⁸¹ ‘to gnaw bones’: this verb is attested once in the piel in Je 50.17 and has the attested noun **עֲצָם** I ‘bones’. **עצם** I ‘to be powerful, numerous’ is attested in qal and hiphil and has the adj. **עָצוּם** ‘mighty’ and the noun **עֲצָם** I ‘might’ attested, but is not listed by either KB or BDB as denominative. **עצם** II ‘to shut (the eyes)’ is attested once in the qal (Is 33.15) and once in the piel (Is 29.10), both having **עֵינַי** ‘eyes’ as the explicit object.

⁵⁷⁹ The piel of **סקל** is sometimes labeled as a denominative: GKC § 52h says that although the noun is unattested, it is clearly a denominative. Both the qal (1 K 21.13) and the piel (2 Sa 16.6, 13) are used with the explicit object of means **בְּאֲבָנִים** ‘with stones’ in the sense ‘to stone someone’ in differing contexts which indicate the purpose or effect of the stoning. The piel with the sense ‘to remove stones’ is also used with a similar object of material (**סִקְלוֹ מֵאֲבָן**) in Is 62.10. Also, the two places where the pual is used without explicit object of Naboth having been stoned (1 K 21.14, 15) appears to be a matter of ellipsis with the noun ‘stones’ preceding in 1 K 21.13 (**וַיִּסְקְלוּהוּ בְּאֲבָנִים**).

⁵⁸⁰ BDB lists **נרם** I ‘to lay aside’ (175a) attested once in the qal. KB places the forms together under one heading with question marks after the qal (203a).

⁵⁸¹ For this entry the numbering of roots follows KB, which lists **עצם** ‘to gnaw bones’ as the second root of three (868b); BDB has three also (783a), but the third is a hypothetical root for the noun **עֲצָמָה** ‘defense’ and the piel form in Je 50.17 is not listed under any of the entries.

f. כהן 'to act as priest' is attested only in the piel with the commonly attested noun כהן 'priest'.

g. כשף 'to practice sorcery': this verb is attested only in the piel (6x) and has the attested noun כְּשָׁף 'sorcery'. This verb is used together with others of similar practices in the prohibition of Dt 18.10, "There shall not be found among you...anyone who practices divination or tells fortunes or interprets omens, or a sorcerer..." (לֹא־יִמָּצֵא בְךָ...קִסָּם קְסָמִים מְעוֹנֵן וּמְנַחֵשׁ וּמְכַשֵּׁף:). Two of the verbs that follow are also attested in the piel or poel: נחש 'to interpret omens' is attested only in the piel with an attested noun נֶחֱשׁ 'serpent'; ענן II 'to tell fortunes' is attested only in the poel without a noun attested in a related sense. Jenni explains that the piel here holds together all the single acts of the professional as resultative.⁵⁸² However, note that קסם 'to practice divination' is similar in sense to the piel participles that follow it. It is attested only in the qal and has the attested noun קִסָּם 'divination'.⁵⁸³

h. יבם 'to do the duty of a brother-in-law' is attested twice in the piel (Gn 38.8; Dt 25.5) and has the attested noun יָבֵם 'brother-in-law'.

i. לבב II 'to make cakes' is attested twice in the piel (2 Sa 13.6, 8) and used together with three attested noun forms לֶבְבוֹת 'cakes' in the same context (2 Sa 13.6, 8, 10). The verb is used with the cognate noun as its object in both verses. Verse 10 has a co-referential phrase to 13.6 and 8 with qal of עשה + לֶבְבוֹת, "and Tamar took the cakes she had made" (וַתִּקַּח תָּמָר אֶת־הַלֶּבְבוֹת אֲשֶׁר עָשָׂתָה).

⁵⁸² Jenni, *DhP* [n. 42], 272; Jenni also includes כהן and פלל in this section.

⁵⁸³ It is also worth noting that Akkadian attests both G and D forms for the verb *kašāpu* (*CAD* K: 284), which may indicate that this group of verbs would be more aptly described as 'deponents', cf. below.

[j. לִבֵּב I: this verb is attested once in the niph'al with the sense 'to get understanding' (Job 11.12) and twice in the piel with the sense 'to captivate the heart' (Ct 4.9). The attested noun לֵב is used in senses related to both the sense of the niph'al and the piel.]

Verbs attested in Piel with other themes

a. אָהַל: this verb has the sense 'to move, set up tent' and is attested twice in the qal (Gn 13.12, 18) and once in the piel (Is 13.20) and also has the attested noun אֹהֶל 'tent'. The qal is used of Lot (vs. 12) and Abram (vs. 18) moving their tents somewhere and the piel is used in the oracle against Babylon saying that "no Arab will pitch his tent there" (וְלֹא־יִהְיֶה שָׁם עֵרָבִי).

b. שָׂרַשׁ: this verb has the sense 'to uproot' in the piel (Ps 52.7; Job 31.8)/pual (Job 31.8) and 'to take root' in poel, poal, and hiphil and has the attested noun שָׂרָשׁ 'root'.

c. שָׁלַשׁ I: This verb is attested only in piel and pual and is related to the sense of the numeral שָׁלֹשׁ 'three' in several ways. Other denominative verbs related to numerals include:

חָמַשׁ 'to take a fifth part' is only attested in piel (Gn 41.34).

עָשָׂר 'to take a tenth of' (q:1x; p:3x; hi: 2x): This verb is used to refer to giving a tenth of produce and flocks to a king (qal in 1 Sa 8.15, 17) or to tithing to the Lord in the piel and hiphil. Note that the piel participle and hiphil infinitive are both used to refer to the Levites collecting the tithe in Ne 10.38, 39 respectively.

5.2 Deponency

A Suggestion

As a result of some of the difficulties surrounding the issues of denominatives, it is suggested here that the concept of 'deponency' may aid in clarity by attending to what can be said about the function of the attested forms of some verbs. A 'deponent' verb is typically one in which the simple active form is not attested and another form

acts with the sense expected in the simple active.⁵⁸⁴ There are a number of verbs in Biblical Hebrew that are not attested in the qal and have another theme that acts as a base, like the niph'al or piel. In addition, these verbs tend not to have a sense that is as transparently connected to the meaning of the noun. 'Deponency' here, is not set against the notion of denominatives, but rather as a way to describe verbs sometimes included in the class of denominatives on the basis of the forms as attested rather than primarily on the proposed historical priority of one or other attested form.

Examples

a. דָּבַר: The piel is the base theme for this verb with the sense 'to speak' with the attested qal infinitives and participles acting in relation to it. Both GKC (§ 52h "probably") and Joüon-Muraoka (§52d) list this as a denominative verb in their sections on the piel as being derived from the noun דְּבָר, presumably meaning something like 'to make a word' = 'to speak'. While labeling this verb as a denominative attempts to answer a question of derivation for which there is not the sort of data needed to confirm or deny it, stating that it acts like a deponent in the piel describes the function of the theme from the way in which the data is attested. For another group of verbs that are found only as participles in the qal if it is attested, but are mainly attested in the piel, see the discussion on קוּה, חָכָה and יָחַל in chapter 3 (§ 3.15). Also note that there are several other verbs with related senses that are attested in piel (or related themes): חוּה 'to declare, show' is only attested in the piel (5x), בָּשַׂר 'to bear news, report' is attested only in piel and hithpael, and מָלַל 'to speak' is attested four times in the piel.

b. זָמַר I: This verb is only attested in the piel with the sense 'to sing, play an instrument' alongside the nouns זְמִירָה 'melody, song', זְמִיר 'song', and מְזִמּוֹר as a technical term for a psalm. While דָּבַר 'to speak' is often labeled as a probable denominative, זָמַר I does not tend to be treated in the same manner. Also, it is worth noting that זָמַר II 'to prune' is attested in the qal (Lv 25.3, 4) and niph'al (Is 5.6). The

⁵⁸⁴ As with Greek verbs that have no active forms, but have a middle or passive form with an active sense: e.g. δέχομαι 'to take, receive'. Cf. W. W. Goodwin, *Greek Grammar*, revised by C. B. Gulick, Boston: Ginn and Company (1930) §449.

difference in attested themes of these two verbs illustrates the possibility that restriction of meaning to a particular theme through something like deponency could have been used to aid in homonym discrimination.⁵⁸⁵

c. צוה 'to command': This verb is only attested in piel (476x) and pual (9x) and has the attested noun מצוה 'commandment'.

d. בקש 'to seek': This verb is only attested in piel (221x) and pual (3x) and has the attested noun בקשה 'request'.

e. פלל: The piel is only attested four times, three of which are related to the sense 'to mediate'.⁵⁸⁶ The piel is used in 1 Sa 2.25 "If a man sins against another man, God will mediate for him" (אם־יחטא איש לאיש ופללו אלהים) and followed immediately by the hithpacl "but if a man sins against God, who will intercede for him?" (וְאִם לַיהוָה יִחַטֵּא־אִישׁ מִי יִתְפַּלֵּל־לוֹ). The hithpacl is attested 80x and always with the sense 'to pray'. There are also the attested nouns תפלה 'prayer' and פליל 'judge'.⁵⁸⁷

f. מהר I: The niph'al is attested three times as a participle where it is used like an adjective meaning 'hasty' (Is 32.4; 35.4; Hb 1.6) and once as a finite verb with the sense 'to bring to a quick end' (Job 5.13). The piel is used most often with the sense 'to hasten' with a complementing verb to which the piel acts like an adverb of manner. There is also the attested adj. מהיר 'quick' and noun מהרה 'haste, speed'.

⁵⁸⁵ Cf. C. J. Collins, *Homonymous Verb in Biblical Hebrew: An Investigation of the Role of Comparative Philology*, PhD thesis, University of Liverpool (1988), 17 where he cites זמר I and זמר II as an example of "the restriction of different meanings to their own verbal themes" as one of the ways Hebrew allows for removing conflict between homonyms.

⁵⁸⁶ The difficult piel to relate to the other sense of 'to mediate' is in Gn 48.11 where Israel says to Joseph, "I never expected to see your face" (וְיִאמֶר יִשְׂרָאֵל אֶל־יוֹסֵף רְאֵה פָנֶיךָ לֹא פָלַחְתִּי). Cf. E. A. Speiser, *Genesis: Introduction, Translation, and Notes*, AB 1, New York: Doubleday (1964), 357 who cites the places where he argues the noun פלילים means 'estimation' (Ex 21.23; Dt 32.31). Thus, for Speiser this sense in Gn 48.11 would be related as an application of 'to judge, to think'.

⁵⁸⁷ Under the piel in Gn 48.11, BDB notes "possibly denominative from פליל" (813a).

In addition, the verb מָהַר II 'to pay the bride-price' is only attested in the qal and is attested with the noun מְהָר 'bride-price' (Ex 22.15, 16).

g. תֵּעַב (n, p, hi): This verb has the sense 'to be abominable' in the niph'al and is sometimes labeled as a denominative in the niph'al and/or piel.⁵⁸⁸ It has the attested noun תּוֹעֵבָה 'abomination'. However, whether this verb is denominative or not the niph'al acts in a sense similar to the qal in other stative verbs and acts as the base theme for this verb. The piel acts as the causative (Ezk 16.25) or estimative (Dt 7.26) to the sense of the niph'al. The hiph'il has the sense 'to act abominably' similar to the sense of the hiph'il with stative verbs (cf. chapter 4).⁵⁸⁹

h. מָלַט: The niph'al acts as the base theme for this verb with the sense 'to escape' and the piel acts primarily as a causative to the sense of the niph'al meaning 'to deliver'. The hiph'il is attested twice in a similar sense: once in the context of the Lord delivering Jerusalem (Is 31.5) and once of a woman 'delivering' a son (Is 66.7; cf. the piel in Is 34.15 of a snake laying eggs). The hithpa'el is attested twice in Job (19.20; 41.11) and has a sense that overlaps with the niph'al 'to escape'.⁵⁹⁰

i. כָּוֵן 'to be firm established': The niph'al acts as the base theme for this verb. The hiph'il and polel act as causatives to the sense of the niph'al and have the hoph'al and polal, hithpolal in relation to them respectively as passives.⁵⁹¹

⁵⁸⁸ BDB lists it as a denominative in the niph'al and piel (1073a) and W&O list it under the estimative function of the denominative piels (§ 24.4g).

⁵⁸⁹ Another verb that acts similarly is שָׁחַט: The niph'al acts as the base theme with the sense 'to be spoiled, corrupt'. The piel and hiph'il act as causatives with the sense 'to spoil, corrupt' as well as each being attested in contexts where it has the sense 'to act corruptly' (piel, Ex 32.7; hiph', Dt 4.25).

⁵⁹⁰ Another verb that acts similarly is נָחַם: The niph'al acts as the base theme with the hithpa'el attested with overlapping senses. The piel acts as the causative to the sense 'to be comforted' in niph'al and hithpa'el (cf. Gn 37.35 with piel and hithpa'el used together and Gn 38.12 with niph'al in similar sense to the hithpa'el).

⁵⁹¹ Creason, *Semantic Classes of Hebrew Verbs* [n. 20], 209, 210 lists this as a verb in which he argues there is cognate evidence for the existence of a qal form which is simply not attested in the extant texts. Since in some cognates the base form is the primary verb meaning 'to be', Creason argues that the qal may have dropped out due to the commonly attested חָיָה with this sense. However, he also notes that if there had been an attested qal, it would have overlapping sense with the attested niph'al. Also, although it is possible that a qal of כָּוֵן existed with this sense at an earlier stage of the language, the cognates also do not have a similar use with the G of חָיָה. Would a correlate of Creason's

[**שבע** 'to swear': This verb, which is not attested in the piel, is another example of deponency in the niph'al with the hiph'il acting as a causative to the sense of the niph'al.]

argument need to be that in other languages, the G of חיה has gone the way of the qal of כון in Biblical Hebrew?

CHAPTER 6

An Examination of the piel in Biblical Hebrew: patterns and integrations from the expedition notes

The route of exploration on the piel in Biblical Hebrew in the last sixty years has taken its direction from the signpost marked 'intensity'. As a result, the expectations for the explanation of the internal and external relationships of the piel have been set in a particular framework. The shape of this framework was described and examined in chapters one and two and the route for the present research was set out. Now that the field notes from the research have been displayed in chapters three, four, and five, concluding thoughts on what has been observed with respect to the internal and external relationships of the piel as well as some further comments on the framework itself can be offered.

6.1 Internal Relationship

The central question regarding the internal relationship of the piel concerns how all the different functions of the theme are related. The tradition initially criticized by Goetze explained the intensive function of the piel as being that from which the other functions were derived. The scholars that followed have shaped their explanations largely in relation to their response to Goetze's original signpost. There are two things that are important to note from the present study that address this question.

The first is an observation about the broader context of the verbal system in Biblical Hebrew. Although the relation of the functions of the piel can be described as if it is an enigma of the verbal system, analogous functional relations exist with other themes. Some observations on the hiphil will be sufficient to illustrate the point. The fact that the piel has both an active sense and a causative (factitive) sense is generally seen as a difficulty for explaining the overall function of the theme. However, although the hiphil is characterized generally as the 'causative' theme, it is also attested with a function that can overlap with the sense of the qal with stative verbs: e.g. the qal of שָׁמַן in Dt 32.15 and the hiphil of שָׁמַן in Ne 9.25 both have the sense 'to become fat'. Grammars tend to explain this type of function with the hiphil as something like an 'internal' causative in order to retain the connection to the basic

function of the theme.⁵⁹² Thus, Waltke and O'Connor explain the general function of the hiphil by stating that “the fundamental causative notion of the *Hiphil* can be nuanced by consideration of the kind of verbal root to which it is affixed and by the modal relationship that exists between the subject and the object(s)”.⁵⁹³

The second point relates then, to how the internal relationships of the piel should be described. Whether the ‘causative notion’ is really nuanced in all of the uses of the hiphil or not, this sort of definition recognizes that the function of the theme is shaped by a number of factors relating to the verb in which it is attested. While it appears that explaining the function of each use of the hiphil as somehow related to a ‘causative’ notion is probably not the most apt way of describing the theme, the manner of description is useful if it attempts to draw such an explanation from the observable data. The function of the piel, then, could be described in such a manner. It is possible to describe the overall function of the piel as something like ‘complex active’ – i.e. with active verbs the piel may lend some complexity to the action noted in the qal (e.g. שלח: qal ‘to send’; piel often ‘to send away’) and with stative verbs it acts as causative to the sense of the qal. Stating it this way intends neither an exhaustive distinction – i.e. it allows room for overlapping senses, nor rigid expectations for application – i.e. it allows for the manner in which the complexity is applied to be shaped by the particularities of the verb itself as used by the writer. As such, this explanation of the internal relationships is primarily descriptive of the manner in which the theme functions as attested with different types of verbs rather than an attempt to explain a common root function from which all others are derived.

6.2 External Relationship

The relationship between the piel and the rest of the verbal system has been the other primary issue of polarization in the study of the theme. The larger context for this issue is the criticism of the traditional explanation of the ‘derived’ themes as having both their morphological and semantic roots in the basic theme – i.e. the qal

⁵⁹² Cf. W&O § 27.2f; GKC § 53d. As mentioned above in chapter four (n. 410), Joüon-Muraoka state that this sense of the hiphil can act as an “intransitive counterpart of the factitive piel” (§ 54d). However, there are no piel forms of this verb attested in the extant texts and as with a number of stative verbs, the hiphil of שמן is attested with a sense that overlaps with that which is typically attested of the piel e.g. Is 6.10 “Make the heart of this people fat!” (הַשְׁמֵן לִב־הָעָם הַזֶּה).

⁵⁹³ W&O § 27.1f.

for Hebrew. As a result, some scholars have argued from principles of form and function that the nature of the verbal system is indeed 'systematic' or 'transparent' (e.g. Jenni and Waltke & O'Connor).⁵⁹⁴ Others have argued on the basis of apparently overlapping senses between forms that the themes cannot be labeled properly as 'derived' and are therefore lexicalized or 'opaque' with respect to indicating their semantic function (e.g. Ryder and Claassen).⁵⁹⁵ Although contrasting in content, the conclusions offered by scholars answer the questions set by the framework of the discussion in a similar manner. This is due, in part, to the fact that there is an implicit expectation for exhaustively lucid explanations to the driving questions that make up that framework. In addition, the combination of this expectation and the sorts of questions asked of them does not allow adequately for the data to affect the shape of the questions asked of it. The result of this is that the individual studies have produced important bodies of work commenting on the function of the piel in relation to other themes, but the results are necessarily presented as resting only at either one of the mutually exclusive poles. The purpose of this thesis has been to examine the function of the piel in such a way that the nature of the data itself would take precedence in shaping the manner in which the questions typically asked of it would be addressed. What follows then, are some of the patterns drawn from the data presented in chapters three through five.

a. Active Verbs

With active verbs, qal and piel forms sometimes occur with senses that overlap. In addition, these overlapping senses can occur in contexts where they are used together and are co-referential. In the group of verbs related to the sense 'to gather' (cf. §3.1) the qal and piel have some overlap in sense: the qal and piel of קָוַן

⁵⁹⁴ Joosten's theory, it seems, is also 'systematic' with respect to the historical relation between the proposed diathesis in the qal and the function of the piel and yet not 'transparent' in its present form due to his argument that forms dropped out of use. Joosten concludes his article by arguing that treating the piel as a unified theme in order to trace its function through study of the forms synchronically is "bound to be futile" (cf. § 1.6.2, n. 162). Presumably, Joosten has something like the absolute nature of Jenni's methodological pre-commitments and conclusions more in mind with this criticism, for even in his argument for a historical deterioration of forms from proto-Hebrew or proto-Semitic Joosten is relying on the study of the present forms as a basis for his theory.

⁵⁹⁵ Thus, Ryder states in his concluding chapter, "This interpretation of the D-stem makes superfluous any suggestion that the D-stem is in any way 'derived' from B. It has seemed to us more convenient to describe B and D as alternate stems, one of which is trilateral, the other quadrilateral in construction; the former a possessive denominative essentially non-transformative, the latter its factitive or transformative counterpart" (165).

are both used to refer to someone or something acting as the ‘rearguard’ as well as both being used in images of grain being gathered – the qal in Is 17.5 and the piel in Je 9.21; the qal and piel of both קבץ and כנס are used of someone gathering a group of people together; and the qal and piel of לקט are used of gathering objects. In addition to these overlaps between themes with the same verb, the qal of פקד and the piel of קבץ are used together co-referentially in contexts that refer to the Lord gathering people in restoration or judgment (cf. §1.3f).

While the qal and piel of active verbs can have some area of overlapping senses, the forms are often distinguished in some manner by other factors relating to their referential context and/or the paradigmatic elements used with them. The qal and piel of קבץ are both used for gathering people, but are generally separated by context and subject: the qal is used most often with a human subject to refer to gathering people for a task of some sort (e.g. war) whereas the piel is primarily used with the Lord as subject to refer to gathering people together for restoration or judgment.⁵⁹⁶ The qal and piel of לקט are both used for gathering inanimate material, but are separated by context and object: the qal is used primarily for gathering manna and the piel for gathering the gleanings of the field or vineyard.⁵⁹⁷ If it is the case that the qal and piel are sometimes separable by elements like context of use or subjects and objects, the question that naturally arises relates to whether there is something in the choice of the theme itself that is motivated by such elements. Some scholars have argued that the choice is always motivated – most notably Jenni, and have attempted to explain the contextual elements accordingly. Other scholars have argued that the choices of themes are not reflective of any differences in places like these and represent simply stylistic choices on the part of the author. However, a second important question that must go along with the first is this: If there were elements that motivated the use of the qal or piel in these places on the part of the writer, are the factors present in such a way that they are exhaustively accessible to a modern reader? This question will be addressed further below.

It is also possible for qal and piel forms to have some area of overlap and yet be attested in contexts where they are distinguishable in the nuance of the sense. The

⁵⁹⁶ Where the qal does have the Lord as subject, it is used with the participle (Ezk 22.19) and the infinitive construct (Zp 3.8) and once with a finite verbal form (imperfect, Ezk 22.20).

⁵⁹⁷ Where the qal is used in the context of gleaning in Ru 2.8 it is an infinitive construct.

qal and piel of שִׁלַּח are both used with the sense 'to send', but the piel is often used in contexts which focus on the sending away – e.g. in divorce and in the 'letting go' of the exodus whereas the qal is not used in these contexts.⁵⁹⁸ The qal and piel of סָפַר have a small area of overlapping sense where they both mean 'to count': counting the stars in the qal (Gn 15.5) and counting the clouds in the piel (Job 38.37). However, the majority of the contexts are quite distinct with the qal having the sense 'to count, number' and the piel 'to recount, tell'.

Where the qal, piel, and hiphil are attested with an active verb the senses of the themes can have different relations of overlap or distinction depending upon the verb. The qal of גָּלַה is attested both with the sense 'to uncover' something as well as with the sense 'to be exiled'. The piel of גָּלַה acts in relation to the former sense of the qal in a similar manner to some verbs mentioned above where there is an area of overlapping sense but primarily a distinction in the application of the sense in certain contexts. The qal and piel have some area of overlapping sense (revealing secrets with the qal in Pr 20.19 and the piel in Pr 11.13; 25.9), but there is also a distinction in the majority of contexts between the qal of 'uncovering' in terms of declaring something to someone and the piel of 'uncovering' someone in contexts of revealing their nakedness through prohibited sexual relation. The hiphil is only used in relation to the sense of the qal 'to be exiled' as a causative meaning 'to carry, send into exile'.⁵⁹⁹

With the verb סָגַר, the qal and hiphil have overlapping senses meaning 'to shut someone or something up', but are distinguished by the fact that the hiphil is only used with this sense in the context of instructions to priests shutting up people or homes which are diseased. The piel is only attested four times, but it is used with a sense that overlaps with the hiphil where they both mean 'to deliver' sometimes using the phrase with the object 'to deliver someone into the hand'. However, even in these contexts there is some distinction in that the piel is always used from the perspective of the one who has had someone delivered into their hand whereas the hiphil is used from the perspective of the one so delivered (§ 3.10b).

⁵⁹⁸ Although the qal passive participle of גָּרַשׁ is used of a 'divorced' woman in a verb that can mean 'to drive away' in both qal and piel.

⁵⁹⁹ With the verb עָרַה, which is not attested in the qal, the hiphil is used in co-referential phrases with the piel of גָּלַה in contexts of uncovering someone's nakedness.

Lastly, there are several verbs where either only participles or infinitives are attested either for the qal or piel, related in sense to the respective theme. The participle is the only attested piel form for the verbs אהב 'to love' and שנא 'to hate'. The qal and piel participles of אהב overlap with the sense 'lovers' or 'friends' and are distinguished only by the way in which the context informs the nature of the relationship between the 'lovers' or 'friends' and the person to whom they are said to be in this relation with (§ 3.17a). However, the qal and piel participles of שנא overlap both in sense and contexts of use. There are also verbs where the piel acts as the base theme and the qal is only attested in participle and infinitive. In chapter five, the term 'deponency' was suggested as a helpful way in which to describe the thematic function of these verbs. The qal participles attested with the verbs קוה and חכה are used primarily as substantives meaning 'those who hope' and act either for (with קוה) or like (with חכה) the piel participle. One of the results of the examination of verbs that may be described as deponent is that it appears that the role of the theme may also serve as one of the factors in aiding homonym discrimination (cf. זמר I in § 5.2b).

b. Stative Verbs

With stative verbs, the primary forms that have overlapping sense are the piel and hiphil. These forms also are occasionally used together in contexts where they are co-referential. The piel and hiphil of חזק have some overlap where they are both causative with the sense 'to make strong': the piel and hiphil are each used to refer to the Lord strengthening the arm of the king of Babylon in Ezk 30.24, 25 respectively. Both themes are also used of 'repairing' physical objects, though they are generally separated by their referential contexts: the piel is used several times of the temple and the hiphil is used solely of the wall in Nehemiah (with a single piel in 3.19). Aside from these contexts of overlapping senses, the piel and hiphil are generally distinguished in sense: the piel is used of making someone or something strong as applied to strengthening/encouraging or obstinacy and the hiphil is used primarily with the sense 'to seize', but also with the sense 'to be strong, firm' that appears to overlap with the sense of the qal. The piel and hiphil of כבד also have overlap with the sense 'to honor, glorify' as well as once of hardening the heart. However, though

the themes overlap in a few places with these senses, they are generally separated according to context of use: the piel is used of honoring and the hiphil of making the heart or ears heavy or making something harsh. Thus, the sense ‘to make heavy/hard’ is distributed differently between the themes of כבד and חזק in that the former primarily uses the hiphil and the latter uses the piel. Within this group of verbs, there is consequently overlap between the piel and hiphil forms of different verbs where they are also co-referential: the piel of חזק and the hiphils of קשה and כבד are all used to refer to the Lord hardening the heart of Pharaoh (cf. § 4.1g). The piel of אָמַץ is also used with the similar sense ‘to harden the heart’, but not within the context of the exodus. With אָמַץ, the piel and hiphil forms are both used with ‘heart’ as object, but are separated by how the context indicates affect on the heart: the piel is used in contexts where the heart is made obstinate toward obedience (c.g. Dt 15.7) and the two attested hiphils are used in calling people to let their hearts take courage as they wait for the Lord (Ps 27.14; 31.25).

The piel and hiphil forms of the verbs חִיָּה ‘to live’ and אָבַד ‘to perish’ are similar in sense for each verb. However, there appears to be some possible distinction between the contexts in which the piel of חִיָּה is used – of ‘allowing someone to live’ and those in which the hiphil is used – of saving someone’s life. Even in these cases the senses are very similar and the piel and hiphil are used in contexts where their sense appears to overlap: i.e. the hiphil of Joseph saving lives during famine (Gn 47.25) and the piel referring to the Lord keeping those who fear him alive in famine (Ps 33.19). In contrasting sense, the piel and hiphil forms of אָבַד overlap quite extensively in sense and the elements of their contexts of use.

The overlap in sense of some piel and hiphil forms of stative verbs has illustrated the need for clarity in the use of the terms ‘factitive’ and ‘causative’ (cf. § 4.3d). The definition of a ‘factitive’ verb as one that refers to the act of a subject causing another person or object to be in a state is not itself in question. Clarity is needed in the discussion as it relates to how the term has been used in opposition to the term ‘causative’. For the purpose of the definition given above is to describe the factitive in terms of its particular causative nuance with stative verbs as opposed to active verbs. However, particularly as a result of Jenni’s work, the term ‘factitive’ is employed as if it necessarily signifies or describes the function of the piel while

'causative' does so for the hiphil. However, it is much more consistent with the data to state that while the piel and hiphil are used similarly less often with active verbs,⁶⁰⁰ they are used with overlapping senses with stative verbs quite often. Where this overlap exists, using the term 'factitive' for the piel and yet 'causative' for the hiphil simply because of the attested theme does not aptly describe the function of the themes with the particular verb. As the above paragraphs have illustrated, there are other ways in which the piel and hiphil appear to be separable with some stative verbs, but they do not lie primarily along the lines of the nature of causation referred to by the terms 'factitive' and 'causative'. The term 'causative' has thus been used throughout the study for the function of both the piel and hiphil where appropriate. However, this has been done primarily because of the 'dangerous sense'⁶⁰¹ the term factitive has acquired particularly in studies on the function of the piel. If the term 'factitive' is to be used for the function of the verbal themes, it needs to be clarified that it is a way of describing the causative nuance with stative verbs and that it can be applied to such functions with both the piel and hiphil.

With the ergative⁶⁰² verb נָלֵא in which the qal has both a stative/middle and an active sense, the piel has some overlap with the active sense of the qal, but the two themes also have some distinctive referential contexts similar to the pattern with active verbs noted above. Thus both themes are used to refer to Jacob fulfilling or completing a period of time in Gn 29 (qal in vs. 21; piel in vs. 27 and 28), but the qal alone is used of the glory of the Lord filling the tabernacle and the piel is solely used for following wholly after the Lord and primarily for ordaining someone.⁶⁰³

⁶⁰⁰ Though note the fact that the piel and hiphil of סָנַר are used with the overlapping sense 'to close someone in the hand' and thus 'to deliver' someone noted above (also cf. § 3.10b).

⁶⁰¹ This is the term C. S. Lewis gives to the sense of a word that tends to dominate all others even though it may not be what the term means in a given context. In some ways, the way 'factitive' has been used is the result of what Lewis calls in the following section 'the speaker's meaning' coming to be the dangerous sense discussed above. Cf. C. S. Lewis, *Studies in Words*, 2nd edition, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press (1996) 12-17.

⁶⁰² The New Oxford English Dictionary defines 'ergative' with respect to verbs as those: "which can be used both transitively and intransitively to describe the same action with the object in the former case being the subject in the latter".

⁶⁰³ The one time that the qal is used in this context, it is not in the active sense and thus does not overlap with the piel, lit. "Your hands have been filled this day to the Lord" (Ex 32.29). Cf. the discussion of this form in § 4.5a, n. 485.

c. On the Middle-Passive/Reflexive themes

One last thing worth noting with respect to the examination of the verbs relates to the middle-passive and reflexive themes. The above studies have illustrated the fact that these themes are sometime used with senses or in contexts where they act in relation to an active or causative theme other than the one they are typically correlated with (e.g. the niph'al of both פָּרַשׁ and זָרַה are used in contexts that are passive to the sense of the piel, rather than the qal; cf. § 3.4). As is consistent with the rest of the conclusions of this study, this does not mean that the middle-passive and/or reflexive themes do not have senses that relate to their corresponding active or causative theme. As one would expect from a language that speakers and writers actually 'lived' in, there is overlap in sense between forms without this overlap necessarily meaning that there are no patterns of relationship between qal:niph'al; piel:pual/hithpa'el; and hiphil:hoph'al.

6.3 The Framework of the Discussion

The examination of the function of the verbal themes and the presentation of the results historically has been shaped extensively by elements in the general framework of the discussion. In light of the present research and the patterns noted above, some final comments will be made on issues relating to this overall frame. The first point relates to the way in which the characterization of the external relationships of the verbal system has been polarized in the discussion. As mentioned in chapter one, the nature of relationships between the themes tends to be characterized as necessarily either systematic or lexicalized. The examination of the data carried out for the present research supports neither conclusion in its absolute form. Stating that the qal, piel, and hiphil forms of כָּבַד are related does not necessarily presume that the precise structure of that historical relationship is describable nor does it preclude that changes could have taken place in the language over time that have affected the relationships of the senses. However, Ryder's conclusion that the piel is a wholly separate form from the verbal system that grew up independently and only later came to be 'associated' with the others themes does not adequately describe the data either. While the existence of denominative verbs in the piel itself is not in question, arguing that all of the piel forms are necessarily denominative in origin and function simply takes the contrasting position to the

traditional view being criticized in a similar absolute form. Thus, the patterns above describe the 'relationships' between the verbal themes according to how they function without necessarily presuming the complexity of the language reflects an absolutely systematic or lexicalized structure.

Difference of form = difference of function – this statement, as it has been either affirmed or denied by scholars, has been a primary structural element in the framework of the discussion. It is the ground upon which some have argued for the necessity of the distinctions between the themes they have argued are present in the contexts of the forms. It is also that which others have sought specifically to disprove through the enumeration of counter examples to the theory with forms that overlap in function. The studies above have raised a number of questions that relate to both poles of the argument on this matter.

As the primary representative of the former pole, Jenni argues for the logical necessity that different forms like qal and piel or piel and hiphil must have differentiating functions. And the further qualification to the statement that his work embodies is that this difference is both present and identifiable in each circumstance. The only place where this theory can really be tested is the contexts in which the forms themselves are attested. However, as illustrated above, if the contexts are examined in order to see if they support such a theory rather than presuming that they necessarily will, it is found that some of the forms for each of the pairs mentioned overlap in sense. The difficulty with the response of the other scholarly pole is that it took these counter examples as an absolute negation of the form/function statement rather than as a possible indication of its misapplication. For if counter examples to the way in which the form/function principle has been applied caution against the likelihood that the principle is absolutely applicable either in the historical relation between themes or in their present form in the texts, they open up a lot of middle ground that has been left necessarily barren in the discussion. Thus, the patterns of overlap discussed above do not necessarily presume more than can be known from the data. It is very likely that an original writer or speaker would have known tacitly when to use the qal and piel or piel and hiphil in the focal act of communication. Additionally, the speaker or writer may not have been able always to articulate how they knew this, since it comes primarily through use rather than thinking about the distinctions themselves. In the end, the presumption that the themes must necessarily manifest distinctions through their contexts or that there is no such distinction and the

choice is merely a matter of style both draw conclusions in a manner that the data cannot fully answer. While it is always the case in a dead language like Biblical Hebrew that scholars are seeking to break apart the focal act of communication into its tacit components in order to understand how it functions, the necessary restrictions of this act must be taken into account in determining in what manner the questions can be answered from the data.

A principle that is consistent with such an approach is 'Joos's law'. Also known as the 'rule of maximal redundancy', it states that in the attempt to understand the meaning of a word "the best meaning is the least meaning" and that it ought to be defined in such a way as "to make it contribute least to the total message derivable from the passage where it is at home".⁶⁰⁴ Although Joos was specifically dealing with attempting to define a hapax legomenon, it is a helpful principle in seeking to explain what the function of the theme is for a given verb.⁶⁰⁵ For in all the components that signify what a word means, the theme of a verb is simply one part. Scholars who have attempted to show the exhaustive distinction between the themes have tended to require more of the themes than they seem to bear in their contexts. In particular, Jenni's explanations of the differences between qal and piel or piel and hiphil require that the theme itself bears an extensive amount of the semantic distinctions which are both present in and evident from the context in which it is used. On the other hand, scholars who have disagreed categorically with Jenni have tended to conclude unnecessarily that where themes appear to overlap in sense, no such distinctions are intended. However, drawing the conclusion that the use of the themes in such places is 'merely' stylistic argues that they offer no tools for distinction of sense or context. In the end, both poles of the argument expect a theme to bear the weight of semantic distinction from similarly used themes in the same manner – absolutely.⁶⁰⁶

Relating to the framework of the discussion then, the present study has illustrated that there was a need to examine both the nature of the questions asked and

⁶⁰⁴ M. Joos, "Semantic Axiom Number One", *Language* 48 (1972), 257 and 265 (on becoming termed 'the Joos Law').

⁶⁰⁵ Cf. Silva [n. 202], 153–6 for further discussion and particularly the warning that this principle should not be absolutized either for even Joos called it a rule of thumb (155).

⁶⁰⁶ Also note Silva, [n. 202], 114–17 for his helpful comments on the use of the term 'style' and his warning that 'stylistic' and 'semantic' ought not to be contrasted absolutely, for "surely stylistic elements should be regarded as part of meaning" (n. 49). This warning is particularly relevant for a language like Biblical Hebrew where identifying something as 'stylistic' tends to presume to know more than can be extracted from the data and is typically used as a contrast to what the form means.

the manner in which scholars have answered them. The general polarization between scholars led to further explorations covering the same ground in a similar manner yet with contrasting presuppositions resulting unsurprisingly in mutually exclusive conclusions. The motivation for the exploration just discussed was the desire to examine the observations of former scholars and the data itself while attempting to allow the latter to shape how the explanation was framed. The result of this, it is hoped, is that the research carried out will serve primarily as an aid to further investigation of the function of the themes in the Biblical Hebrew verbal system rather than encampment or isolation at any of the lonely grammatical poles.

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