

CHAPTER FOUR: FULFILLING THE METRICAL CONTRACT, II

Marry he trots hard with a young maid, between the contract of her marriage and the day it is solemnized.¹

A bargain is a bargain, and must stand without all exception.²

4.1. The working hypothesis developed in the inductive analysis of Pss 111 and 112 can now be extended stepwise. Finer details of analysis will be revealed, but the working hypothesis of a Type B loose iambic metre with melogenic features is confirmed.

4.1.1. There are three principles that isolate further lines.

4.1.1.1. There are the eighteen b-lines of the metrical contracts presented in ch. 2 (§4.2) for a total of thirty-six lines. The two metrical contracts in Ps 111-112 and their b-lines have already been analyzed in ch. 3. Thus, we add thirty-two unique lines to the forty-four lines of Ps 111-112 for a total of seventy-six lines.

4.1.1.2. Two linear refrains unambiguously isolate a further thirty-two unique lines (§4.3). The principal refrain was already examined in §3.3.7. The refrain and the initial contract in Ps 115 add two more lines for a total of thirty-four.

4.1.1.3. Third and finally, there are fifteen half-lines marked off by [hà:lalú:hu:] ‘praise ye him!’ together with their metrical contracts (§4.4). Ps 150:6 is isolated as well for a total of eighteen lines.

4.1.2. As the investigation progresses, another eighteen lines are adduced. In brief, the initial dataset for inductive analysis consists of 146 lines.

4.2. B-Lines

4.2.1. Prose Accentuation. Five a-lines were examined in §2.4.2. The paired b-lines are now scanned in (1)-(5) as a first approximation, awaiting the specification of a formal grammar. Note the feminine endings in (1), (3), and (5).

(1) הַבִּיט וְרְאֵה אֶת־תְּרַפְּתֵנוּ
‘consider, and behold our reproach’ (Lam 5:1b)

 ♪ | ♪ ♪ ♪ ♪ | ♪ ♪♪ ♪ ♪
hab bí: tʿɔ: wu R ʔé: ħɛR pʰɔ: θé: nu:³

¹ *As You Like It* 3.2.308-10.

² Thomas Wilson in *Arte of Rhetorique* (1553; OED).

(2) נָקָם יְהוָה וּבָעַל חַמָּה
 ‘the LORD revengeth, and is furious’ (Nah 1:2b)

no: **qé:m** ʔa ðo: **nó:j** wu vá: ʕal ĥe: mó:

(3) מֶלֶךְ-מוֹאָב מֵהַרְרֵי-קְדָם
 ‘the king of Moab out of the mountains of the east’ (Num 23:7b)

mè: lɛχ- mo: **ʔó:v** mè: ha ra re:- qé: ðɛm

(4) וְתִשְׁמַע הָאָרֶץ אִמְרֵי-פִי
 ‘and hear, O earth, the words of my mouth’ (Deut 32:1b)

va θiʃ má:ʕ ho: ʔó: rɛs^f ʔi m re: fí:

(5) וְעַל-אַרְבַּעָה לֹא אֲשִׁיבֶנּוּ
 ‘and for four [transgressions], I will not turn away the punishment thereof’ (Amos 1:3b)

va ʕal- ʔaR bo: ʕó: ló: ʔa ʃi: **vé:n** nu:

We can capture the cadence of these five lines in (6). One promising result with consequences for higher criticism is that we might be able to distinguish poems stylistically with reference to the prevalence of (6) versus the observed rhythm in Ps 111-112 in (7).

(6)

(7)

4.2.2. Job

4.2.2.1. Job 1:21

4.2.2.1.1. The metrical contract in Job 1:21a is repeated in (8) followed by its paired b-line in (9). This is the biblical 4+4 bilinear verse: tab A fits into slot B. Notice in passing the TH schwa [vɔ] bearing the downbeat in the b-line in (9).⁴

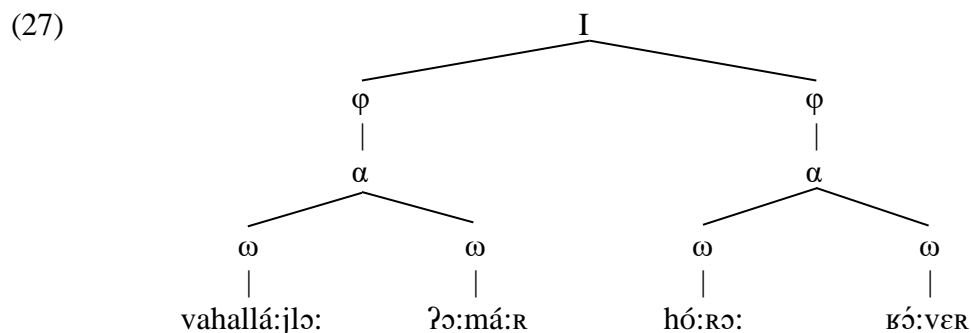
³ K [habbé:t^f] vs. Q [habbí:t^fɔ:]. I have excluded the prose particle [ʔɛθ] as secondary.

⁴ Perhaps for some poets there is a secondary stress [vð:ʕo:RÓ:m] in a departure from the Tiberian reading.

(26) וַיִּמְלֵא קִדְיִם בְּטֶגֶן׃
 ‘and fill his belly with the east wind?’ (Job 15:2b)



4.2.2.2.1. The b-line in (24) provides an absolutely fundamental minimal pair. In the case of [hó:Rɔ:], the metrical inversion coincides with TH stress retraction [ho:Ró: kó:VER] → [hó:Rɔ: kó:VER]. However, TH stress retraction fails to apply to [ʔo:má:R] by rule. To understand the difference, examine the TH prosodic analysis in (27).



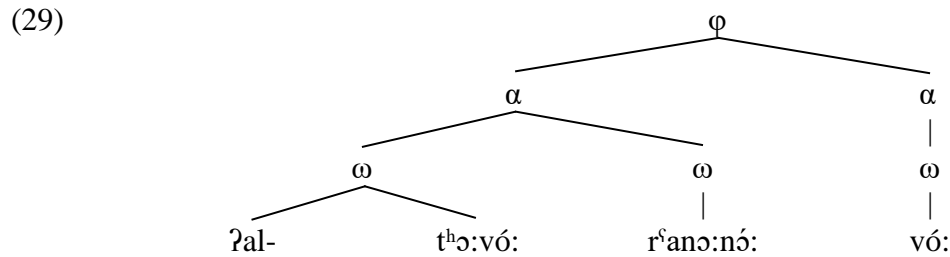
4.2.2.2.2. TH stress retraction is a SANDHI RULE: it only applies to words ‘phrased together’. Specifically, the words must be within the same accentual phrase α . Crucially, the words [ʔo:má:R] and [hó:Rɔ:] are not in the same accentual phrase. Furthermore, there is no linear stress clash since [ma:R] is heavy by position at the right-edge of the phonological phrase (ϕ). To bear a TH disjunctive accent, the light syllable [mar] must become bimoraic → [ma:R]. This added heft is presumably required to accommodate a pitch movement at the edge of the phrase.

4.2.2.2.3. Nevertheless, it is clear that metrical inversion must also apply to [ʔo:má:R] in (24). The fundamental problem now is that we have two rules doing more or less the same thing: (a) poetic metrical inversion or mismatch and (b) TH prosodic inversion or stress-retraction. Further, the rule of TH stress retraction is redundant, since metrical inversion should apply in both cases. The way is then clear to greatly simplify and unify the input to the metrical calculation: in all cases, words enter the alignment derby with their TH lexical stress-assignment.

4.2.2.2.4. Three crucial examples are now provided to fully understand the proposition and the great simplification thereby achieved.

4.2.2.2.4.1. TH retraction fails to apply incorrectly. TH stress retraction cannot apply in (28). This is made clear in the TH prosodic analysis in (29). Despite the fact that the tonic syllables [nó:] and [vó:] are in linear order, the words are not phrased together within the same accentual phrase α . Yet there can be no doubt that the correct scansion is given in (30) with metrical inversion.

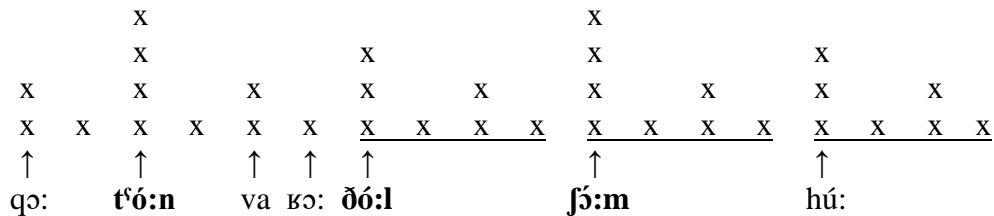
(28) אֶל-תְּבֹא רִנָּה בָּו
 'let no joyful voice come therein' (Job 3:27b)
 ʔal-t^hɔ:vó: r^ʕano:nó: vó:
 *) * *) * * *)



(30)

4.2.2.2.4.2. TH retraction fails to apply correctly. As we have seen in §4.2.2.1.1, the line repeated in (31) is representative.

(31) קָטָן וְגָדוֹל יַעֲמִים הֵימָּן
 'the small and great are there' (Job 3:19a)
 qɔ:t^ʕó:n vaɔ:ðó:l ʕɔ:m hú:

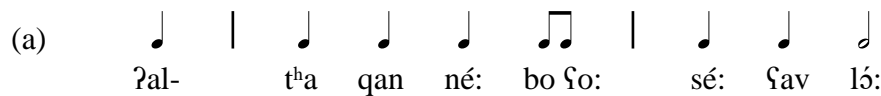


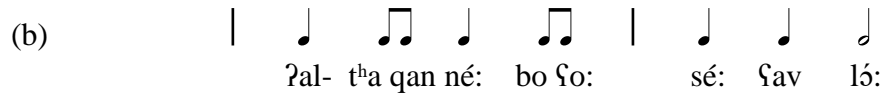
4.2.2.2.4.3. Predicted behaviour of TH pausal forms. A major headache confronting any student of biblical poetry is the way post-lexical stress gets batted around by TH PAUSAL PHONOLOGY interacting with stress retraction and lesser rules. In brief, a form such as /kɔtóbú:/ 'they wrote' may surface in three forms:

- pausal [k^hɔ:θó:vu:] faithful to lexical stress assignment
- syncopating, schwa-dropping [k^hɔ:θvú:] with stress optimally aligned with the word-edge
- [k^hɔ:θvu: ló:] 'they wrote to him' by stress retraction of syncopated form

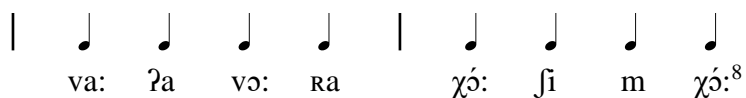
Assuming that it is always the lexical form /kɔtóbú:/ with three lexical syllables that enters the metrical calculus relieves the major headache and makes the correct prediction: to a close approximation, the required alignment *metri causa* is the lexical alignment. See again syncopated [jihí:] versus its pausal [jé:hi:] in (23) in §4.2.2.1.2. It is important to remember, however, that each poem has its own internal logic. Yet identifying any such variation is a step to understanding stylistic quirks.

(40) אֶל-תִּקְנֵא בְּעַשְׂי עוֹלָה:
 ‘neither be thou envious against the workers of iniquity’ (Ps 37:1b)

(a) 

(b) 

(41) וְאַבְרָכָה שְׁמֶךָ לְעוֹלָם וָעֶד:
 ‘and I will bless thy name for ever and ever’ (Ps 145:1b)



4.2.4.1. In (40a), the secondarily stressed particle [ʔal-] ‘not’ is placed in a weak position while the schwa [t^ha] is aligned with the stronger downbeat. On the other hand, there is a stricter metre and might be preferred on that count. In (40b) in contrast, the negative [ʔal-] bearing secondary stress is now aligned with the downbeat. This alignment comes at the cost of bunching syllables in tension with the established cadence.

4.2.4.2. The question is whether in (38) and (40) the alignment of TH secondary stress-assignment with a metrically prominent position is a priority or not. Remember that we are assuming that TH stress-assignment correctly characterizes the relevant dialects of ancient Hebrew in the first instance. It might be instead that the poetry is instantiating a different phonology. See n. 4. We can never lose sight of that possibility.

4.3. Refrains

4.3.1. Biblical refrains come in several shapes and sizes, consisting of a repeated verse or verses, either verbatim or with variation of some interest. In general, they serve to break up a poem into stanzas or strophes. This functional aspect draws the intense focus of Raabe (1990).⁹ However, in general the refrains do not directly aid us in our quest for two reasons.

4.3.1.1. In the first place, their metres vary. Take for example what Raabe calls the “minor refrain A” in Ps 42 presented in (42). The slash is marking the prosodic caesura. We see an

⁸ The phrase [loʃo:ló:m vo:ʔé:ð] ‘for ever and ever’ is extrametrical in 1b, 2b, and crucially poem-final 21b. I speculate that the phrase first appeared in 21b as a species of *envoi*, and then spread to 1b and 2b. By removing this phrase here in 1b, the final ‘thy name’ becomes the pausal [ʃamé:xó:].

⁹ His primary dataset in Pss 42-43, 46, 49, 56, 57, and 59. In an appendix, he looks further at Pss 39, 67, 80, and 99. Alas, none appear in our database.

immaculate hexameter, a beauty to behold. Yet we are looking for 4+4, not 6+6. Alas, such refrains must be set aside.

- (42) (a) הַיְתָה־לִּי דְמַעְתֵּי לְחֶם יוֹמָם וּלְלַיְלָה
 בְּאֶמְרָא אֵלַי כָּל־הַיּוֹם אַיְהָ אֱלֹהֵי־דָדַי:
 ‘My tears have been my meat day and night,
 while they continually say unto me, Where is thy God?’ (Ps 42:4[3])

hò:jθòl-lí: ðimʕo:θí: lé:hem / jo:mó:m voló:jlò:
 *) * *) * *] * *) * / * *) * *) *
 be:ʔemó:r ʔe:lá:j kʰòl-hajjó:m / ʔajjé: ʔelo:hé:χo:
 * *) * *) * *) * *) / * *) * * *) *

- (b) בְּרִצָּחַ | בְּעֶצְמוֹתַי חֲרָפוּנִי צוֹרְרֵי
 בְּאֶמְרָם אֵלַי כָּל־הַיּוֹם אַיְהָ אֱלֹהֵי־דָדַי:
 ‘As with a sword in my bones, mine enemies reproach me;
 While they say daily unto me, Where is thy God?’ (Ps 42:11[10])

baré:sʕah bàʕasʕmo:θá:j / he:rfú:ni: sʕo:raRó:j
 * *) * * *) * *) / * *) * *) * *)
 bòʔomRó:m ʔe:lá:j kʰòl-hajjó:m / ʔajjé: ʔelo:hé:χo:
 * * *) * *) * *) * *) / * *) * * *) *

4.3.1.2. There are 4+4 refrains, it is true. Consider the refrain in Ps 49 in (43) that neatly divides the psalm in half. We find an immaculate tetrameter.

- (43) (a) וְאֵדָם בִּיקָר בַּל־יִלְוֶן
 נִמְשָׁל כַּבְּהֵמֹת נִדְמֹו:
 ‘Nevertheless man being in honour abideth not;
 he is like the beasts that perish’ (Ps 49:13[12])

voʔo:ðó:m bi:qó:r bal-jo:lí:n
 * * *) * *) *) * *)
 nimʕá:l kʰabbehe:mó:θ niðmú:
 * *) * *] * *) * *)

- (b) אֵדָם בִּיקָר וְלֹא יִבְוֶן
 נִמְשָׁל כַּבְּהֵמֹת נִדְמֹו:
 ‘Man that is in honour, and understandeth not,
 is like the beasts that perish’ (Ps 49:21[20])

ʔo:ðó:m bi:qó:r va-ló: jo:ví:n
 * *) * *) * *) * *)
 nimʕá:l kʰabbehe:mó:θ niðmú:
 * *) * *] * *) * *)

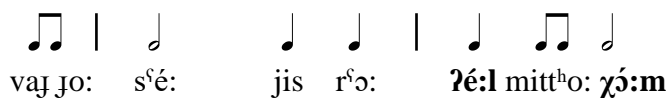
4.3.2.3. We can infer that these two lines are rhythmically exemplary. The refrain in (45), as we saw, conforms to the fundamental cadence in Ps 111-112. The second refrain in (46) is a fine example of the Green O or G cadence (§4.2.2.1.1.4), again suggesting that the phenomenon is of greater importance than we might have originally thought. Lines (45) and (46) jointly suggest a constraint that aligns a half-note time-span preferentially with the stronger downbeat S. In which case, the representation in (47) would be the abstract expression of this underlying generalization.



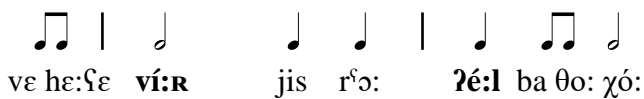
4.3.2.4. Ps 136

4.3.2.4.1. The most important observation is that the cadence of the refrain in (45) is firmly established in Ps 136 based on the eight lines in (48)-(55).

(48) וַיּוֹצֵא יִשְׂרָאֵל מִתּוֹכָם
 ‘And brought out Israel from among them’ (Ps 136:11a)



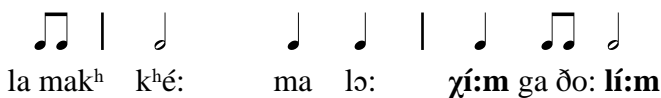
(49) וַהֲעֲבִיר יִשְׂרָאֵל בְּתוֹכָוּ
 ‘And made Israel to pass through the midst of it’ (Ps 136:14a)



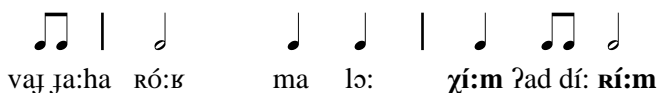
(50) לְמוֹלֵדָיו עָמוּ בַּמִּדְבָּר
 ‘To him which led his people through the wilderness’ (Ps 136:16a)



(51) לְמַכָּה מְלָכִים גְּדֹלִים
 ‘To him which smote great kings’ (Ps 136:17a)



(52) וַיַּהַרְגוּ מְלָכִים אֲדִירִים
 ‘And slew famous kings’ (Ps 136:18a)



(53) לְסִיחֹן מֶלֶךְ הָאֲמֹרִי
 ‘Sihon king of the Amorites’ (Ps 136:19a)

la si: **hó:n** mé: leχ ho: ʔε mo: rí:

(54) וְלִעֹג מֶלֶךְ הַבָּשָׁן
 ‘And Og the king of Bashan’ (Ps 136:20a)

wu lo **ʔó:ʔ** mé: leχ hɔb bo: **ʃó:n**

(55) נִתֵּן לְכָל-בָּשָׂר
 ‘Who giveth food to all flesh’ (Ps 136:25a)

no: **θé:n** lé: hɛm la χɔl- bo: **só:rʔ**

I note the following four points in the order in which they arise:

- there are six TH feet in (48): the words [vajjo:sʔé:], [jisrʔo:ʔé:l], and [mittʰo:χó:m] all bear on secondary stress on the closed syllables [vaj], [jis], and [mitʰ]
- anacrusis: a bisyllabic anacrusis obtains in seven of the eight lines
- metrical misalignment (inversion): another instance in (50)
- secondary stress: there does seem to be room for a low-level constraint on the alignment of secondary stress just in the case where it is impossible *not* to put a syllable into an EW position as in (53) [ho:] and (55) [χɔl]
- segholate: there is support for bisyllabic [mé:leχ] in (54)

4.3.2.4.2. Consequently, three lines are conspicuous in instantiating the counter-rhythm of Ps 112:9c, namely Ps 136:7a, 21a, and 26a.

4.3.2.4.2.1. Let us begin with 26a in (56) that sticks out like a sore thumb. Note in passing that the definite article [haf], often considered a ‘prose particle’, is actually required here and throughout Ps 136 *metri causa*. Consider the competing alignments in (57).

(56) הוֹדוּ לְאֵל הַשָּׁמַיִם
 ‘O give thanks unto the God of heaven’ (Ps 136:26a)

ho:ðú: leʔé:l hafʃɔ:mó:jim
 * *) * *) *) * *) *

(61) (a)

		X								X							
		X				X				X				X			
X		X		X		X		X		X		X		X		X	
X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
		↑		↑		↑		↑		↑		↑	↑	↑			
		lo		ʕo:		sé:		ʔo:		rí:m		ga	ðo:	lí:m			

(b)

		X								X							
		X				X				X				X			
X		X		X		X		X		X		X		X		X	
X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
↑	↑	↑		↑		↑		↑		↑		↑		↑			
lo	ʕo:	sé:		ʔo:		rí:m		ga		ðo:		lí:m					

4.3.2.4.2.5. The parse in (61a) more closely approximates the strict metre and might be preferred on that ground. However, the schwa [lo] is aligned with the strongest initial position. The parse in (61b) obviates this problem by aligning the primary lexical stress on [sé:] with the strong position. This comes at the cost of creating a dropped beat Ø and the counter-rhythm.

4.3.2.4.2.6. In brief, the two established rhythmic principles are pulling in opposite directions. What is required is some formal criterion for adjudicating the conflict. On balance, I prefer (61b) despite the metrical complexity: stronger (primary lexical stress) should be aligned with stronger.

4.3.2.4.3. Two lines in Ps 136 present a formidable theoretical challenge. Line 9a in (62) is paired with its twin 8a in (63). I have taken the liberty of failing to project an asterisk for the presumably extrametrical [ʔεθ].

(62) אֶת־הַיָּרֵחַ וְכּוֹכְבֵי־לַיְלָה לְמַשְׁפָּלֹת בְּלַיְלָה
 ‘The moon and the stars to rule by night’ (Ps 136:9a)
 ʔεθ-hajʔo:**ré:jah** vaχo:χo:**ví:m** lamεmfaló:θ balló:jlo:
 *) * *) * * * *) * *) *

(63) אֶת־הַשֶּׁמֶשׁ לְמַשְׁפָּלֹת בַּיּוֹם
 ‘The sun to rule by day’ (Ps 136:8a)
 ʔεθ-hajʃé:mεf lamεmfé:leθ bajjó:m
 * *) * * * *) * * *)


4.3.2.4.3.1. It seems clear as day that the ‘stars’ [χo:χo:**ví:m**] are unmetrical in (62). Further, it is clear where the scribal additions [ʔεθ] and [χo:χo:**ví:m**] have come from: Gen 1:15 in (64). Note that even in Creation the stars are an afterthought. In particular, they do no ‘ruling’ as line 9a asserts. Furthermore, the extrametrical addition is betrayed by its lack of definite article: [vaχo:χo:**ví:m**] not expected [vahakk^ho:χo:**ví:m**].

4.3.2.4.4.5. Thus we find that metrical felicity in Ps 112 and 136 is increased by contracting schwas in the Tiberian fashion. From this flow two consequences.

4.3.2.4.4.5.1. The implication is that the historical reconstruction of the poetic Hebrew dialect underlying Ps 112 and 136 includes the contraction of schwas. Some will be surprised that this contraction has such historical depth but there is no logical impediment to the proposition.

4.3.2.4.4.5.2. A second consequence is that the metrical contract in (73) now conforms to the established cadence.

(73) הוֹדוּ לַיהוָה כִּי־טוֹב
 ‘O give thanks unto the LORD’ (Ps 136:1a)



 ho: ðú: la: ðo: **nó:j** ki:- **tʻó:v**

4.3.2.4.4.5.3. Relatedly, contraction eliminates the paeons in 2a in (74) and 3a in (75).


(74) הוֹדוּ לְאֱלֹהֵי הָאֱלֹהִים
 ‘O give thanks unto the God of gods’ (Ps 136:2a)
 ho:ðú: **lè:lo:hé:** ho:ʔelo:hí:m
 * *) * * *) * *] * *)

(75) הוֹדוּ לַאֲדֹנָי הָאֱלֹהִים
 ‘O give thanks to the Lord of lords’ (Ps 136:3a)
 ho:ðú: **la:ðo:né:** ho:ʔaðo:ní:m
 * *) * * *) * *] * *)

4.3.2.5. Six more lines that are unambiguously isolated by the linear refrain remain for examination: three in Ps 115 and three in Ps 118 (after discounting final 118:29a and the contract 1a as duplicates of Ps 136:1a).

4.3.2.5.1. The three lines in Ps 115 are offered in (76)-(78). They are impeccable examples without analytical challenges. Notice the felicitous contraction in these lines. The metrical contract 115:1a is adduced in (79). The trisyllabic divine name makes for a strict iambic metre in this metrical contract.

(76) יִשְׂרָאֵל בְּטַח בַּיהוָה
 ‘O Israel, trust thou in the LORD’ (Ps 115:9a)



 jis rʻo: **ʔé:l** ba tʻá:h ba: ðo: **nó:j**

(77) בֵּית אַהֲרֹן בְּטַחֲוֹ בַיהוָה
 ‘O house of Aaron, trust in the LORD’ (Ps 115:10a)

bè:θ ʔa:ha rʻó:n bit^ʿ ħú: ba: ðo: nó:j

(78) יִרְאַי יְהוָה בְּטַחֲוֹ בַיהוָה
 ‘Ye that fear the LORD, trust in the LORD’ (Ps 115:11a)

jir ʔé: ʔa ðo: nó:j bit^ʿ ħú: ba: ðo: nó:j

(79) לֹא לָנוּ יְהוָה לֹא לָנוּ
 ‘Not unto us, O LORD, not unto us’ (Ps 115:1a)

ló: ló: nu: ʔa ðo: nó:j ló: ló: nu:¹²

4.3.2.5.2. The three unique lines in Ps 118 are listed in (80)-(82). Notice how they repeat the formulary in Ps 115: Israel, Aaronite, Lord-fearer.

(80) יִאמְרוּנָא יִשְׂרָאֵל
 ‘Let Israel now say’ (Ps 118:2a)

jò: mar- nó: jis rʻo: ʔé:l

(81) יִאמְרוּנָא בֵּית־אַהֲרֹן
 ‘Let the house of Aaron now say’ (Ps 118:3a)

jò: m ru:- nó: bè:θ- ʔa:ha rʻó:n

(82) יִרְאַי יְהוָה יִאמְרוּנָא
 ‘Let them now that fear the LORD’ (Ps 118:4a)

jò: m ru:- nó: jir ʔé: ʔa ðo: nó:j

4.3.2.5.3. Of great interest here is the TH stress-retraction of the verb forms occasioned by [nó:], the so-called ‘particle of entreaty’. The counter-rhythm is also conspicuous: medial [nó:] supports two beats in (80) and (81). The alignment of [jò:mru:-] ‘let them say’ in (81) and (82) immediately suggests the iambic pausal form [jo:mé:ru: nó:]. Remember that the pausal reading was predicted in §4.2.2.2.4.3.

¹² Prosodically, the form is necessarily [lo:-ló:nu:], i.e., a single ω resulting from the alleviation of stress-clash. The conjunctive accents *mahpak* and *oleh* are the lawful substitutes for the hyphen *maqeph* in this instance.

4.4.2. Ps 150. In addition to the metrical contract and final 150:6, there are nine half-lines in 1b through 5b for a grand total of eleven lines.

4.4.2.1. We can begin with the metrical contract 150:1a in (85). Note that the pausal [hallé:lu:] scans better here.

(85) הַלְלוּ־אֱלֹהִים בְּקֹדֶשׁוֹ
 ‘Praise God in his sanctuary’ (Ps 150:1a)

hà: la lu:- ?é:l ba qoð fo:

The metrical contract in (85) is remarkable on two counts. First, the metrical contract instantiates the counter-rhythm, aligning the half-note with the medial caesura.¹⁵ Second, the divine name here is El (§2.6.3). This is oddly at variance with [jó:h] Yah in 105:6.

4.4.2.2. The common cadence dominates Ps 150. Take for example 2b in (86). See also 3a, 3b, 4a and 5a.

(86) הַלְלוּהוּ כְּרֹב גְּדֻלּוֹ:
 ‘praise him according to his excellent greatness’ (Ps 150:2b)

hà: la lú: hu: k^{ha} ró:v guð ló:

4.4.2.3. The common cadence can be extended to 1b in (87) by syllable contraction. See also 2a.

(87) הַלְלוּהוּ בְּרִקִיעַ עֲזָו:
 ‘praise him in the firmament of his power’ (Ps 150:1b; cf. 2a)

hà: la lú: hu: biR qí:jaʃ fu:z zó:

4.4.2.4. Line 4b in (88) and 5a in (89) have an unobjectionable strict metre as a variation in the first bar.

(88) הַלְלוּהוּ בְּמִנְיִם וָעוּגָב:
 ‘praise him with stringed instruments and organs’ (Ps 150:4b)

hà: la lú: hu: va mig gí:m vu fu: kó:v

¹⁵ Recall here the point made in §4.3.2.4.5.2 regarding the observed strictness of opening lines.


- (89) הַלְלוּהוּ בְּצִלְצְלֵי־שָׁמַע
 ‘Praise him upon the loud cymbals’ (Ps 150:5a)



 hà: la lú: hu: va s^{il} s^a le:- j̄: maʃ

4.4.2.5. Consequently, there is something not right with 5b in (90). The alignment of [s^{il}s^aalé:] is at variance with the twin 5a in (89).

- (90) הַלְלוּהוּ בְּצִלְצְלֵי תְרוּעָה:
 ‘praise him upon the high sounding cymbals’ (Ps 150:5b)




 hà: la lú: hu: bà s^{il} s^a lé: θa r^u: ʃó:

It seems unlikely to me that (89) and (90) come from the same poet’s pen. Rather, the line 5b looks like a species of gloss on the *hapax* in 5a. What exactly does the *hapax* [ʃó:maʃ] mean? Oh, I see, it means [t^har^u:ʃó:]. There is no problem here, however. If the original hand be inspired, I see no reason why the second hand could not also be inspired.

4.4.3. Ps 148. In addition to the metrical contract, there are six half-lines in 1b through 4a. There is nothing new here.

4.4.3.1. The common cadence is obtained in 1b in (91). See also 2a, 2b, and 4a.

- (91) הַלְלוּהוּ בְּמַרוֹמִים:
 ‘praise him in the heights’ (Ps 148:1b)



 hà: la lú: hu: bam ma RO: mí:m

4.4.3.2. The strict variant appears in 3a in (92). See also 3b.

- (92) הַלְלוּהוּ שֶׁשֶׁמֶשׁ וְיָרֵחַ
 ‘Praise ye him, sun and moon’ (Ps 148:3a)



 hà: la lú: hu: ʃé: meʃ va jɔ: ré:jaħ

4.4.3.3. The surprising infelicity is the metrical contract itself in (91).

- (93) הַלְלוּ אֶת־יְהוָה מִן־הַשָּׁמַיִם
 ‘Praise ye the LORD from the heavens’ (Ps 148:1a)
 hà:lalú: ʔεθ-ʔaðo:nó:j min-haʃʃɔ:má:jim
 * **) *) * * *) * *) * *) *

Even suppressing the projection of the object-marker [ʔeθ] does not help much. The problem seems to be the trisyllabic [ʔaðo:nó:j]. I see two explanations. First, we can reluctantly abandon the TH input and embrace the bisyllabic [jahvé:]. Second, we might instead invoke the metrical contract of Ps 150 (§4.4.2.1) repeated in (94). In other words, we might speculate that the variant in (95) is the original.

(94) הללו־יְיָ אֱלֹהֵי בְּקִדְשׁוֹ
 ‘Praise God in his sanctuary’ (Ps 150:1a)

♪ | ♪ ♪ ♪ ♪ | ♪ ♪ ♪
 hà: la lu:- ʔé:l ba qoð fó:

(95) ♪ | ♪ ♪ ♪ ♪ ♪ | ♪ ♪ ♪ ♪
 hà: la lu:- ʔé:l min- haf fɔ: má: jim

4.5. Summary and Prospect

4.5.1. The conventional anti-metrical argument as conventionally framed cannot stand. Objections were raised of some substance. We then moved on to eighteen lines as ‘metrical contracts’ and employed the well-understood Tiberian phonology as an analytical tool. The upshot was that not one TH prosodic unit could play the role of the metrical timing-unit: from mora to phonological phrase. Thus, ironically the anti-metrical argument received the strongest empirical support.

4.5.2. We could not foreclose on Type B loose iambic metre, however. Indeed, the crux Ps 119:1a forced us down that path. We pursued the inductive analysis through Pss 111-112 and then through Ps 136 and related fragments for a total of 146 lines all told. On this basis we fashioned a working hypothesis: the metre is (a) Type B loose iambic and (b) melogenic to some extent.

4.5.3. It is passing strange, therefore, that this metre has never been taken seriously by Hebraists (but see now Tropper 2010). Recall Vance’s two reasons for rejecting the possibility outright: (a) no-one has proposed the metre in over a century (§1.3.4.1) and (b) it would be monumental task to reconstruct the catalogue of feet and allowable substitutions (§1.3.4.3). The first reason is without force, and in the event, reconstructing the catalogue of feet and substitutions was not a monumental task (Horst 1920, Mowinckel 1962).

4.5.4. In systematically examining line after line, a number of pressing questions have been raised:

- the nature of alignment constraints in text-setting, especially relative to the S and EW positions
- how to manage the complexities of TH surface stress-assignment, especially pausal phonology and post-lexical stress retraction
- how to manage the complexities of TH schwa phonology

- the nature of segolates
- how to read the divine tetragrammaton metrically
- the role of cadential variation, especially of the Green O variety
- theorizing unmetricality, extrametricality, and possible emendation

4.5.5. To address these questions, we must formalize this initial inductive analysis. Hebraists want an analysis that is objective and that can be replicated. This requires a generative framework and a metrical grammar. Framework and grammar are the burden of the next chapter.