נגרה נא לכל עמו (PSALM CXVI 14B, 18B)

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The words quoted in the title of this article comprise the b-colon of a verse that appears twice in Psalm cxvi. The full verse (vv. 14, 18) is as follows: נדרי לידוה אשלם נגודה גא לכל עבו. The a-colon presents no difficulty whatsoever. In line with the standard English translations, we render these words as "my vows to the Lord I will pay". 1

The problem arises with the second half of the verse. Without exception among the translations (in various languages) that we have consulted, the form \overline{n} is rendered as if it were the preposition \overline{n} "in front of, in sight of, before, opposite, etc.", with suffixed adverbial he. A representative English translation is "in the presence of all his people" (thus KJV, NKJV, RSV, MV, NASB, NJV). The difficulties with this rendering are obvious:² a) this would be the only case in all of Biblical Hebrew in which adverbial he (often called he locale) is added to a preposition, as opposed to a noun;³ and b) this would be the only case in all of Biblical Hebrew in which the particle $\aleph 1$ follows a preposition, as opposed to a verb or other selected particles. The use of "in the

¹ Most translations, e.g., *NKJV*, *RSV*, *NJV*, render "I will pay my vows to the Lord" (or something very similar). We prefer to follow the Hebrew word order whenever possible, and thus we have placed the object "my vows to the Lord" before the verb (with pronoun indicator) "I will pay".

² See in general M. L. Barré, "Psalm 116: Its Structure and Its Enigmas", *JBL* 109 (1990), pp. 61-79, especially pp. 73-74. Unlike Barré, however, who proposed a textual emendation to solve this crux, we prefer to work with MT as transmitted by the ancient tradents. True, Barré's proposal necessitates "only" an emendation of the vowels—thus he reads naggâdā-nna' "we will proclaim"—but such an alteration of the text remains an emendation nonetheless (contra the opinion of many scholars). For a parallel situation, see G. A. Rendsburg, "Psalm cx 3b", VT 49 (1999), pp. 548-53. More radical surgeries such as that proposed by BHS, ad loc., hardly require comment.

³ For the analysis of the suffixed \vec{n} - as the he locale, see GKC, p. 266, §93i (no translation offered); P. Joüon and T. Muraoka, A Grammar of Biblical Hebrew (Rome, 1991), vol. 1, p. 279, §93c (with the rendering "before"); H. Bauer and P. Leander, Historische Grammatik der hebräischen Sprache, p. 567, §72g ("in Gegenwart des"); and R. Meyer, Hebräische Grammatik (Berlin, 1969), vol. 2, p. 68, §52.1d ("in Gegenwart von").

presence of" in the standard English translations may be an attempt to solve the first problem—that is, \(\textit{T}\mu\) is seen as a noun meaning "presence" instead of a pure preposition meaning "before" (and similarly with German renderings such as "in Gegenwart des" or "in Gegenwart von"; thus the two reference grammars cited in n. 3), and thus it may bear the he locale—but the problem of \(\mathbb{R}\mu\) remains nonetheless. For just as this particle cannot follow a preposition, it equally cannot follow a noun. Strikingly, not a single standard grammar book takes note of this issue.\(^4\)

The particle \aleph , as is well known, occurs in three environments generally: (a) with imperative verbs (240×), where the meaning "please" is suggested (though often English "now" is used idiomatically); (b) with prefix-conjugation (PC) verbs (105×), with volitional force mainly (thus most commonly with the long PC [cohortative] forms); and (c) with other particles, viz., \aleph 1 $\stackrel{\sim}{}$ 17 (25×), $\stackrel{\sim}{}$ 18 $\stackrel{\sim}{}$ 19×), $\stackrel{\sim}{}$ 18 $\stackrel{\sim}{}$ 18 (1×).

In light of the above, we propose that it be understood not as an unusual form of the preposition meaning "before", nor as a unique noun with adverbial he meaning "presence", but rather as the Qal long imperative form of the verb . The following particle thus is explained according to the standard rules of Hebrew grammar.

The verbal root 722 is known in Hebrew, of course, though apart from this one instance it is limited to the Hiph'il, with the meaning "tell", and the Hoph'al, with the meaning "be told". But in various Aramaic dialects the root 722 appears commonly in the Qal, or Pe'al, with the meaning "guide, lead". We propose that this sense be attributed to Ps cxvi 14, 18.8

⁴ As may be determined from consulting F. C. Putnam, A Cumulative Index to the Grammar and Syntax of Biblical Hebrew (Winona Lake, Ind., 1996), p. 271. The references cited at Ps cxvi 14, 18 all direct the reader to discussions of the form (III), as cited above, n. 3. M. Dahood, Psalms III (Garden City, N.Y., 1970), p. 149, noted the problem, but his solution is unconvincing.

⁵ The most detailed treatment of \aleph 0 is S. Fassberg, Sugyot be-Taḥbir ha-Miqra' (Jerusalem, 1994), pp. 36-73. For less detailed treatments, see H. Gottlieb, "The Hebrew Particle $n\bar{a}$ ", Acta Orientalia 33 (1971), pp. 47-54; and B. K. Waltke and M. O'Connor, An Introduction to Biblical Hebrew Syntax (Winona Lake, Ind., 1990), pp. 578-79. Not surprisingly, these scholars, along with others who have treated the issue, do not agree on all points regarding the force of \aleph 3, but a discussion of their different opinions would carry us far beyond the specific case of Ps cxvi 14b, 18b.

Statistics from A. Even-Shoshan, *Qonqordansiya Hadasha* (Jerusalem, 1992), pp. 729-30.
BDB, pp. 616-17; KB, p. 591; *HALAT*, vol. 3, p. 629; *HALOT*, vol. 2, pp. 665-

^{66;} and *DCH*, vol. 5, pp. 599-603.

⁸ A less detailed version of this proposal, though with greater attention to the workings

This usage of the verbal root am may be seen most commonly in Samaritan Aramaic (SA),9 with ample attestations in Jewish Palestinian Aramaic (IPA) as well.¹⁰ In the Samaritan Targum, for example, III is used regularly to render the Hebrew verb in "lead", thus at Exod xiii 17, xv 13, xxxii 34, Num xxiii 7, etc., a point which is noted explicitly in the great Samaritan bilingual dictionary Ha-Melis. 11 In addition, we may note the following wide variety of nouns derived from the root. Samaritan Aramaic attests to אנגד, אנגד, and גוד, all meaning "leader" (note, significantly, the Samaritan Targum's use of to render Hebrew מנד in Gen xlix 10), מנד "staff", and נגד "guidance";12 Targum Neofiti and Fragment Targum at Exod xiv 3 use the expression נגדוי דמדברא "paths of the desert"; א Qiddushin 60b (15) uses the noun "leader" to describe one who leads the flock;14 Targum Yonatan regularly uses the noun form אינונדא to render Hebrew שופט (e.g., 6× in Judg ii 16-19); and Targum to Ruth at Ruth i 1 renders the Hebrew expression שפט השפטים "the judging of the judges" with נגד נגדיא "the leading of the leaders". 16 Syriac uses the verb נגד commonly in some closely related meanings to "lead", such as "draw, attract, induce, persuade, etc."; in the sense of "guide, lead", appears to be limited to the specific usage of leading or guiding the blind.¹⁷ Mandaic also uses the verb ונד in a wide array of meanings, such as "draw, stretch out, unfurl, cause to flow, etc.", but there are ample attestations of "lead forth, guide, govern" as well.18

We are unable to present examples of the verb נגד "lead" in Aramaic sources of the Iron Age (only the connotation "pull, tow" is attested), 19 but the texts do include one sure instance of the noun with the

of the poem as a whole, will appear in J. P. Fokkelman, Major Poems of the Hebrew Bible, vol. 3 (Assen, forthcoming).

⁹ A. Tal, A Dictionary of Samaritan Aramaic (Leiden, 2000), vol. 2, p. 498.

¹⁰ M. Sokoloff, A Dictionary of Jewish Palestinian Aramaic (Ramat-Gan, 1990), p. 340.

¹¹ Z. Ben-Hayyim, 'Ivrit ve-'Aramit Nusah Shomron (Jerusalem, 1957), vol. 2, p. 524.

¹² Tal, Dictionary of Samaritan Aramaic, vol. 2, p. 499.

¹³ Sokoloff, Dictionary of Jewish Palestinian Aramaic, p. 340.

¹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵ As noted by M. Jastrow, *Dictionary of the Talmud Babli, Yerushalmi, Midrashic Literature and Targumim* (London, 1903), vol. 2, p. 873; and A. Kohut, *Sefer 'Arukh ha-Shalem = Aruch Completum* (Berlin, 1926), vol. 5, p. 305.

¹⁶ Cited by Jastrow, *Dictionary*, vol. 2, p. 871.

¹⁷ J. Payne Smith, *A Compendious Syriac Dictionary* (Oxford, 1903; reprint: Winona Lake, Ind., 1998), pp. 326-27.

¹⁸ E. S. Drower and R. Macuch, A Mandaic Dictionary (Oxford, 1963), pp. 288-89.

¹⁹ J. Hoftijzer and K. Jongeling, *Dictionary of the North-West Semitic Inscriptions* (Leiden, 1995), vol. 2, p. 713.

meaning "leader", along with one uncertain case.²⁰ The sure instance is *KAI* 224:10 = Sefire III 10, where על clearly means "one of my officers".²¹ The uncertain case is *KAI* 266:8 = Adon Letter, line 8, where one simply cannot determine whether אונדא יו is to be read.²²

It is obvious that Hebrew also knows a common noun from this root with the meaning "leader", namely \mathbb{T}^{23} , and therefore one may say that much of the Aramaic evidence presented above is irrelevant. We have taken the opportunity to present the totality of the Aramaic data, however, in order to stress: a) most importantly, that the Aramaic lexicon includes a verb \mathbb{T}^{23} with the sense "guide, lead", in contrast to Hebrew which lacks such a verb; and b) also significantly, that the root is productive in Aramaic, creating a series of nouns with a wide array of connotations, in contrast to Hebrew which knows only of the one noun \mathbb{T}^{23} "leader".

If we apply the definition "lead" to the expression נגדה גא לכל עמו in Ps cxvi 14, 18, a sensible meaning emerges for the entire phrase. In fact, there are two options, depending on how one understands the preposition -ל-. The first option is to render -ל as simply "for" or "for the benefit of", yielding a sense for the phrase such as "please, be a nāgîd for all his people" or "lead now, for the benefit of all his people".

The second option understands - as the indicator of the direct object, a feature well attested in Aramaic²⁴ and known from selected passages in the Hebrew Bible also.²⁵ Indeed, as the following examples demonstrate, "guide, lead" in Aramaic governs the preposition - serving to indicate the direct object:

²⁰ Ibid., pp. 713-14.

²¹ J. A. Fitzmyer, The Aramaic Inscriptions of Seffre (Rome, 1967), pp. 98-99, 112-13.

²² H. Donner and W. Röllig, Kanaanäische und Aramäische Inschriften (Wiesbaden, 1964), vol. 1, p. 51, vol. 2, p. 314 ("unsicherer Lesung"). See also the remarks of Fitzmyer, The Aramaic Inscriptions of Sefüre, p. 113. B. Porten and A. Yardeni, Textbook of Aramaic Documents from Ancient Egypt, vol. 1: Letters (Jerusalem, 1986), p. 6, have used the latest technology available for reading papyri and other ancient texts, yet they too are unable to decide between dalet and resh in this particular word.

²³ BDB, pp. 617-18; KB, p. 592; *HÂLAT*, vol. 3, pp. 630-31; *HALOT*, vol. 2, pp. 667-68; and *DCH*, vol. 5, pp. 606-7.

²⁴ F. Rosenthal, A Grammar of Biblical Aramaic (Wiesbaden, 1995), p. 60; S. Segert, Altaramäische Grammatik (Leipzig, 1975), pp. 350, 408; T. Muraoka and B. Porten, A Grammar of Egyptian Aramaic (Leiden, 1998), pp. 261-62; and T. Nöldeke, Compendious Syriac Grammar, trans. J. A. Crichton (London, 1904; reprint: Winona Lake, Ind., 2001), pp. 227-32.

²⁵ See R. Polzin, *Late Biblical Hebrew: Toward an Historical Typology of Biblical Hebrew Prose* (Missoula, Mont., 1976), pp. 64-66; and G. A. Rendsburg, "Late Biblical Hebrew and the Date of 'P'", *JANES* 12 (1980), pp. 72-73.

Jewish Palestinian Aramaic: Eikha Rabba 44:8:

ים נמלי מאה נמלי הדוה עייר החוה "a caravan-chief who was guiding three hundred camels" 26

Samaritan Aramaic: Tibat Marqe 55a

לון יותנוה וכבודה נגדין לון "they went and the cloud and the glory led them" 27

If we follow this approach, a serviceable translation would be "lead now his entire people". In support of this analysis, note that Psalm exvi includes another instance of ל- as the direct object marker, namely, in v. 16 ממרים "you released my bonds".²⁸

At first glance one might rejoin that either of these understandings of the b-colon creates its own difficulties: most notably, one is led to ask, who is speaking? and who is being addressed? Our solution is to suggest that the poet himself—who has been speaking throughout Psalm cxvi with its numerous first person singular references—is speaking here as well, and that he addresses himself, rallving himself to lead God's (sc. "his") people. As an analogy of long imperative followed by 81 with the speaker addressing himself, we present Ooh ii 1 אמרחד אני בלבי "I said in my heart, 'Come now, let me make you experience happiness, and enjoy good!"29 The psalmist already has addressed himself in v. 7—though there more traditional language is used, with נפשי, literally "my soul", as the addressee—and he returns to such discourse here in vv. 14b, 18b. In short, as is abundantly clear throughout the book of Qohelet and in particular in Qoh ii 1, here too in Ps cxvi 14b, 18b: the verse becomes a soliloguy in which the "I" exhorts himself to take command and lead the people in the religious cult.

The repetition of the expression is to be explained as follows. In the first usage, in v. 14b, it is not clear to the reader whither the poet will lead the people. The reader gains a sense, of course, that the people will be guided in some cultic practice, as the poet proclaims that he will raise a cup (v. 13a), call to Yahweh (v. 13b), and pay his vows (v. 14a). But the rhetorical effect of the rehearsal of these words becomes clear in the climactic culmination of the psalm. Here the poet declares

²⁶ See Sokoloff, Dictionary of Jewish Palestinian Aramaic, p. 340.

²⁷ See Tal, *Dictionary of Samaritan Aramaic*, vol. 2, p. 498. The text citation of Tibat Marqe (55a) is according to the edition of Z. Ben-Hayyim, *Tibat Marqe* (Jerusalem, 1988).

²⁸ As noted by Barré, "Psalm 116: Its Structure and Its Enigmas", p. 61, n. 1.

²⁹ For discussion of Qohelet's addressing himself here, see T. A. Perry, *Dialogues with Kohelet* (University Park, Pa., 1993), p. 73; and C.-L. Seow, *Ecclesiastes* (New York, 1997), p. 125.

that he will sacrifice a thanksgiving offering (v. 17a), again that he will call to Yahweh (v. 17b), and once more that he will pay his vows (v. 18a). Only this time he extends the phrase "lead now his entire people" (v. 18b) with the climactic objective "into the courts of the house of Yahweh, in the midst of Jerusalem, Halleluyah!" (v. 19). We have here, in a sense, an example of what C. H. Gordon labeled "build-up and climax", 30 with the expression presented first in v. 14, but with its full effect discernible only upon its second use in v. 18.

A second question which naturally arises from our analysis is the issue of the segol vowel in the first syllable of TIM. Typically the Qal long imperative has in the first syllable either games gatan (if the regular imperative is of the לְשׁבְּׁ type) or hireq (if the regular imperative is of the type). But this would not be the only instance in the Bible of the Qal long imperative with segol in the first syllable. The standard reference grammars quote two other examples: TEOS in Num xi 16 and עַרְכָּה in Job xxxiii 5.31 The reason for the segol in the first example is most likely the laryngeal 'aleph (compare the 1st person common singular pronoun indicator of the Qal PC, viz., אכשל). The second example presents a combination of consonants, the pharyngeal 'ayin and the uvular resh, which would explain the presence of the segol in שבכה In light of these two recognized examples, the presence of the segol in also should be explained along phonetic lines, with the causal factor being not so much the nasal nun, but rather the velar gimel. In short, there is no reason to question the segol in this form, to be analyzed as Qal long imperative.

In the above interpretation of Ps cxvi 14b, 18b, we have applied an Aramaic sense to the root , and we have suggested the possibility that the preposition - serves as the marker of the direct object in accordance with common Aramaic usage. One should not be surprised to see such Aramaic-like features in this poem, because Psalm cxvi is, as Rendsburg has shown previously, an Israelian composition. In fact, this chapter has one of the highest concentrations of Israelian Hebrew (IH) features—including mainly items with links to Aramaic,

³⁰ C. H. Gordon, "Build-up and Climax", in Y. Avishur and J. Blau, eds., *Studies in the Bible and the Ancient Near East Presented to Samuel E. Loewenstamm* (Jerusalem, 1978), pp. 29-34.

 ³¹ GKC, p. 132, §48i; Bauer and Leander, Historische Grammatik der hebräischen Sprache,
p. 347, §49g; and Joüon and Muraoka, A Grammar of Biblical Hebrew, vol. 1, p. 143, §49d.
³² G. A. Rendsburg, Linguistic Evidence for the Northern Origin of Selected Psalms (Atlanta, 1990), pp. 83-86.

but also one item which can be shown to be an IH trait without recourse to Aramaic—in the entire Bible. A listing of these IH features follows:

- (a) the form יחשיע "he will save" in v. 6, with non-elision of the he in the Hiph'il PC, as also in the Aramaic Haph'el/'Aph'el conjugation. 33
- (b) the 2nd person feminine singular pronominal suffix ">-, occurring twice in v. 7 and once in v. 19, as also in Aramaic. 34
- (c) the wording מן דמעה "from tears" in v. 8, with min before an anarthrous noun, as also in Aramaic and in Deir 'Alla. 35
- (d) the "double plural" construct chain ארצות החדים, literally "lands of the living" > "land of the living" in v. 9, as attested also in Phoenician and in Byblos Amarna.³⁶
- (e) the meaning "carry off, pursue" inherent in the word אדבר in v. 10, as also with the Aramaic root דבר.37
- (f) the 3rd person masculine singular pronominal suffix ਨੀ- occurring in v. 12, as also in Aramaic and in Deir 'Alla.³⁸
- (g) the meaning "grievous" present in the word \five{v} in v. 15, as also in Aramaic.³⁹
- (h) the aforecited use of -ל as the indicator of the direct object in v. 16 ישמרי "you released my bonds".

When we add to this list the use of the verb "guide, lead" (we leave aside the option that -> serves to mark the direct object in vv. 14b, 18b), we note that there are 9 separate IH features (all but one of them [item (d) above] known from Aramaic) attested a total of 13 times, all within a poem of 19 verses. The result is a poem with a concentration of IH features of 68.4%, far surpassing, by way of comparison, the chapter in Kings with the highest concentration of IH

³³ Ibid., pp. 48-49.

³⁴ Ibid., p. 84.

³⁵ This usage was not treated in Rendsburg, *Psalms*. See now G. A. Rendsburg, *Israelian Hebrew in the Book of Kings* (Bethesda, Md., 2002), p. 132.

³⁶ Rendsburg, *Psalms*, pp. 35-36; and with a more comprehensive treatment in Rendsburg, *Kings*, pp. 130-31. On this phrase, see also M. L. Barré, "*rṣ (h)hyym*—'The Land of the Living'?" *JSOT* 41 (1988), p. 47.

³⁷ Rendsburg, Psalms, p. 84, developing an insight by G. R. Driver, "Studies in the Vocabulary of the Old Testament. VII," JTS 35 (1934), p. 382.

³⁸ Rendsburg, *Psalms*, p. 85.

³⁹ Ibid., developing an observation of J. A. Emerton, "How Does the Lord Regard the Death of His Saints in Psalm cxvi 15?" *JTS* 84 (1983), pp. 146-56.

features, namely, 2 Kings iv, with 22 items in 44 verses, or 50%. 40 Clearly, we are dealing with a poem composed in northern Israel, in a dialect of Hebrew sharing numerous isoglosses with Aramaic. 41 It is not surprising, therefore, that our poet's lexis included the Qal verb TW "guide, lead".

Finally, there is one other point to be raised regarding the twofold use of שנ" "guide, lead" in Psalm cxvi. One might assume that even within IH, or within the subdialect thereof in which this poem was written, the Qal form of was not very common. After all, we still must reckon with נגד in Ps cxvi 14, 18, as a unique usage in the Bible. Accordingly, one may ask, what led the poet to choose specifically this word, and not a more common root such as TID or TID to express the sense "guide, lead"? The answer lies in the alliteration produced by invoking the root 711 in the b-colon, for it approximates quite closely the sounds of the noun "vow" in the a-colon. Note that both words include the consonants nun and dalet, and that the gimel of the former and the resh of the latter may share the approximate point of articulation in the mouth. The exact articulation of /r/ in ancient Hebrew is a debated issue. 42 If the Tiberian pronunciation of /r/ as a rolled uvular is representative of Iron Age Hebrew, 43 then it would have sounded very much like the velar plosive /g/. But even if /r/ was pronounced as a rolled dental in Iron Age Hebrew, as seems more likely,44 in which case it would have had less in common with /g/, the two lexemes and and nevertheless would have alliterated in the ears of an ancient Israelite. Various recent studies have shown how rare lexemes were employed by the ancient Hebrew writers to produce alliteration.45 The case of III in Ps cxvi 14, 18, would be one

⁴⁰ Rendsburg, Kings, p. 146. Unfortunately, Rendsburg, Psalms, does not include a statistical survey, so a specific comparison with other Psalms is not attempted here.

⁴¹ Emerton, "How Does the Lord Regard the Death of His Saints in Psalm cxvi 15?", p. 154, reached a similar conclusion concerning the presence of "p" "grievous".

⁴² See the brief statement in G. A. Rendsburg, "Ancient Hebrew Phonology", in A. S. Kaye, ed., *The Phonologies of Asia and Africa* (Winona Lake, Ind., 1997), p. 70.

⁴³ For the evidence of Tiberian Hebrew, see G. Khan, "Tiberian Hebrew Phonology", in A. S. Kaye, ed., *The Phonologies of Asia and Africa*, p. 89.

⁴⁴ See E. Lipiński, Semitic Languages: Outline of a Comparative Grammar (Leuven, 1997), pp. 132-33.

⁴⁵ Note the following studies by G. A. Rendsburg: "Talpiyyôt (Song 4:4)", JNSL 20 (1994), pp. 13-19; "Psalm cx 3b" (cited above n. 2), pp. 548-553; "Word Play in Biblical Hebrew: An Eclectic Collection", in S. B. Noegel, ed., Puns and Pundits: Word Play in the Bible and in Near Eastern Literature (Bethesda, Md., 2000), pp. 137-62, esp. pp. 137-38; and "Some False Leads in the Identification of Late Biblical Hebrew Texts: The Cases of Genesis 24 and 1 Samuel 2:27-36", JBL 121 (2002), p. 28.

further example of this fundamental feature of ancient Hebrew literary style.

In sum, understanding השב as the Qal long imperative of the root "guide, lead", (a) explains the presence of the following particle (b) permits the reader to observe the poet addressing himself once more, as he does earlier in v. 7; (c) allows for the poetic technique of build-up and climax; (d) is unobjectionable on phonetic grounds, lest someone question the segol in the first syllable; (e) is explicable in light of the many other Aramaic-like features in Psalm cxvi; and (f) attests to the poet's capacity of reaching deep into the Hebrew lexicon, or to be more specific, the IH lexicon, to find a rare vocable to produce a splendid example of alliteration.

Abstract

The phrase שבדה של לכל עמו in Ps cxvi 14b, 18b has puzzled scholars, mainly because of the problem of the particle א following what appears to be a byform of the preposition שבדונות. In this article, we explain שבדונות as the Qal long imperative of the root "guide, lead", a verb well-known from Aramaic. The presence of א, accordingly, does not violate the rules of Hebrew grammar. The stich is to be translated, depending on how one understands the morpheme ', either as "lead now, for the benefit of all his people" (with ', serving as a preposition meaning "for, for the benefit of"), or as "lead now his entire people" (with ', serving as the nota accusativi, as also known from Aramaic and elsewhere in the Hebrew Bible). We understand the phrase as the poet addressing himself once more, as he does earlier in v. 7. A variety of linguistic and literary issues are presented in support of our proposal.