# LINGVARVM VARIETAS

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#### **INHALTSVERZEICHNIS**

# STRATEGIES OF TRANSLATION: LANGUAGE CONTACT AND POETIC LANGUAGE

#### AKTEN DES WORKSHOPS KÖLN, 17.-18. DEZEMBER 2010

# HERAUSGEGEBEN VON JOSÉ LUIS GARCÍA RAMÓN · DANIEL KÖLLIGAN UNTER MITWIRKUNG VON LENA WOLBERG

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II.

# TRANSLATION STRATEGIES IN THE HURRO-HITTITE BILINGUAL FROM BOĞAZKÖY\*

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#### 1. The Text

The text to be analyzed is attested in manuscripts in Middle Hittite language and "Middle Script" (early 14th century BCE). Errors show that the extant version is *not* the original translation (although the latter is surely early MH). E.g., there is false use of the geminating conjunction -a 'also' for non-geminating -a (contrastive). The text also shows both *anda* and *andan* as locatival 'in' (see on this problem in MH Salisbury 1999: 70-71). The fact that we are dealing with a copy must be borne in mind when we consider inconsistencies in the Hittite translator's treatment of similar structures in the Hurrian text.¹

The Hurro-Hittite bilingual is treated by Neu (1996) in his *editio princeps* as a single composition, the "Song of Release" (Hittite SÌR *parā tarnumaš*). However, there is disagreement whether the series of parables treated here belongs to the same composition as the story of Ebla (compare e.g. Wilhelm 2001: 84). The translation techniques used are likely similar in all parts of the text, but we cannot be assured that all of it is the work of a single translator. The selected passage is "wisdom literature": a parable ostensibly telling the story of an animal with a following exegesis explaining that it is actually a moral lesson about a human.

For purposes of orientation, I offer the following summary translation (based on the Hittite version, following Hoffner 1998: 69, after Wilhelm and Beckman, contra Neu 1996: 75): "A mountain drove a deer away from its body. The deer went over to another mountain. It grew fat and insolent. It began to curse «back at» the mountain: "Would that a fire burn up the mountain on which I am grazing! Would that the Storm-god strike it! Would that a fire burn it up!" When the mountain heard (thus), it became sick in its heart, and the mountain cursed back at the deer: 'Is the deer that I made fat now cursing back at me? Let the hunters fell the deer, but let the fowlers take it! Let the hunters take its flesh, but let the

 $<sup>\</sup>star$  I thank Mary Bachvarova for sharing with me her paper on the meter of Hurrian narrative song and for very helpful discussion and references. I am of course solely responsible for all views expressed here.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> I retain here the standard view of the Hittite as a translation of a preexisting Hurrian composition. Bachvarova (2011) suggests rather that a single bilingual bard may have composed both versions of the song as we have it. The problems of adaptation remain the same: how to come up with Hittite equivalences for the Hurrian.

fowlers take its hide!'—It is not a deer, it is a person. It is that man who ran away from his city and arrived in another land. He would be (sought to be) insolent, and he began to do evil to the city in return, and the gods of the city hold him accursed.—Leave aside that story! I will tell you another story. Listen to my message. I will tell you a (piece of) wisdom."

#### 2. The Problem

Some of the strategies used by the translator were *required* by differences in the two languages. The major challenge was the very rich Hurrian inventory of nonfinite verbal forms to express subordinate actions, for which Hittite *had to* substitute subordinate clauses (including relative clauses). Others were *optional*, most notably imitating Hurrian word order. Such imitation of Hurrian or Hattic models sometimes (but not always) led to sequences that would be ungrammatical in native Hittite contexts (see Rizza 2007, Rieken 2011, and Bauer 2011). These are of two kinds: (1) permissible word orders, but not with the correct pragmatic value of native Hittite; (2) wholly ungrammatical word orders (i.e., not attested in native Hittite compositions). It is clear, however, that the translator did not always follow the Hurrian word order. What factors motivated his choice to imitate or not?

#### 3. Examples

A. Hittite order after the Hurrian

Hu na-a-li i-te-[e]-i-né-eš pa-pa-an-ni-iš me-la-aḫ-ḫu-um deer from body mountain (erg.) drove away

Hi aliyan[an]=za apel tuēgga[š=šaš]¹ ḤUR.SAG-aš awan arḥa šuwēt deer =refl. its limbs (D-LPl) mountain away pushed "A mountain drove away a deer from its body."

B. Hittite order not after the Hurrian

Hu na-a-li pa-pa-an-ni-iš ši-ta-ar-na ku-lu-u-ru-um deer mountain (erg.) curses kept saying
Hi nu ḤUR.SAG-aš aliyanan āppa ḫuwarzašta conj. mountain deer back cursed

"The mountain cursed back at the deer." (Hittite version!)

¹ As per Goedegebuure (2010: 61), the existing sign before the break can hardly be -az (contra Neu 1996: 75) and almost certainly is to be read  $-a\dot{s}$ . However, her own reading and restoration  $tu\bar{e}gga\dot{s}[=\dot{s}\dot{s}et]$ , i.e., a neuter nom.-acc. singular, is quite impossible in terms of Hittite morphology and syntax. First of all, there is no evidence whatsoever for tuekka- as anything except animate gender. The entry in KBo 1.51 rev. 11 is to be read [RA-MA-]NU=t[u]-e- $k\dot{a}n$ -[za]. For the derivative in -ant- as the Hittite word for emphatic 'self' see §49 of the Hittite Laws (KBo 6.2 ii 54): "If a hippara-man steals, they shall [ ] him,  $tuekkanza=\dot{s}i\dot{s}=pat~\dot{s}arnikzi$  "he himself alone shall make restitution." Compare Hoffner (1997: 59-60). Second, an accusative cannot possibly be used in the meaning 'from his body', pace Goedegebuure. Since tuekka- frequently appears in the plural with the sense 'limbs', one may simply read and restore a dative-locative plural, which from Old Hittite often is used instead of the ablative for place from which. Both morphology and syntax are entirely regular.

C. Imitated word order grammatical in Hittite (usually with a pronominal object or subject *and* additive or contrastive focus):

Hu ha-a-i-te ka-re-e-na-šu-uš
let take fowlers (erg.)
Hi dāndu=ma=an LÚMESMUŠEN.DÙ-TIM
let take=but=it fowlers
"But let the fowlers take it."

D. Imitated word order permitted, but not as used pragmatically:

Hu an-ti ta-a-ḥi ma-a-an-ni a-ar-ti-i-ta-ni [t]ù-ú-ri that man (it) is his city he abandoned(?)
Hi apāš LÚ-aš apel=kan URU-az kuiš arḥa ḥuwaiš

Hi apāš LU-aš apel=kan URU-az kuiš arḥa ḥuwaiš that man his=part. from city who away ran "It is that man who ran away from his city."

E. Imitated word order ungrammatical in native Hittite compositions

Hu ku-u-le-eš an-ti ti-i-ib-ša-a-ri
leave aside(modal) that story (or sim.)

Hi arḥa dālešten apāt uttar
away let (Imv2Pl) that word/matter
"Leave aside that word!"

F. Ungrammatical word order and other ungrammaticality

Hu ku-ut-te na-a-li ke-e-bi-il-la-a-šu-uš shall fell deer hunters (erg.)

Hi peššiyandu=ya=an aliyanan LÚMEŠṢĀIDUTIM let fell=also(!)=it deer hunters

"Let the hunters fell it, the deer!"

Example D is ungrammatical in Hittite because postposed relative clauses are either non-restrictive or indefinite (see Garrett 1994: 47-49) and cannot be used in the identifying function employed here. As shown by Bauer (2011), fronting of finite verbs, including imperatives, only occurs in Hittite with additive or contrastive focus (marked by -a/-ya and -a/-ma respectively). Both E and F are thus ungrammatical in Hittite. So is the fronting of the preverb along with the verb in example E. In this case the translator simply ignored the problem. Contra Neu (1996: 114), -ya- in example F cannot reflect a hiatus-filling glide, which in the environment of a preceding -u- could only have been -w-. In this instance, the translator apparently marked the fronted verb with additive -ya-, in order to justify the fronting, despite the fact that the sense 'also' does not fit the passage. However, even this act of desperation was unsuccessful, since VOS order is still ungrammatical in Hittite even with such fronting. What would have led the translator to ignore the Hurrian word order in B, while resorting to increasing degrees of ungrammaticality in D, E, and F?

# 4. Possible Motivations for Choice of Imitating Word Order or Not

#### 4. 1. Rhetorical Effect

Some choices of the translator may be motivated in terms of achieving a desired rhetorical effect or avoiding an infelicitous pragmatic value. The double fronting of both the direct object and dative-locative noun phrase ahead of the subject in example A above (grammatical in Hittite, but highly marked pragmatically) puts the topic of the story (the deer) in the prominent first position, and separation of 'his limbs' from the preverbs and verb 'pushed away' has an iconic effect. But example B follows two other clauses about *the mountain*, and fronting of the object 'the deer' (as in the Hurrian) would have had the odd effect of focusing on 'the deer' ("The mountain cursed back at *the deer*."), as if some other target were in question.

The ungrammatical fronting in F, when combined with the grammatical fronting in C, which in the text follows F immediately, preserves the contrastive parallelism of the Hurrian V(O)S order: *fell deer hunters/take (it) fowlers* = 'Let the hunters *fell* the deer, but let the fowlers *take* it!' Note that the fronting in C is grammatical in Hittite only because the clause involves a clitic direct object pronoun, not a full noun. The translator obviously felt that at this dramatic highpoint of the story maintaining the charged effect of the Hurrian word order was was worth the cost of ungrammaticality in the Hittite of F.

The ungrammatical fronting in E imitating the Hurrian produces a chiasmus with the following clause (a rhetorical device well-attested in Hittite): <u>arḥa dālešten</u> apāt uttar / nu=šmaš tamai uttar <u>memiškemi</u> "<u>Leave aside</u> that story! To you another story <u>I will tell</u>."

#### 4. 2. Sovereignty of the Translator

Before suggesting a second motivation for the translator's choice of when to follow or not follow the Hurrian word order, I must underscore the sovereignty with which the translator treats the Hurrian original. That is, he freely chooses to omit features of the original text *and* to add things that are nowhere in the Hurrian. For the examples I refer readers to the appendix with the complete text glossed word-by-word. In clauses §§1, 2, 7, 12, and 25 the translator has fronted the Hittite preverbs or not, according to his wishes (Hurrian has no such category, since such modifications of the sense of the verb are expressed by affixes). Clause §3  $n=a\breve{s}$  warke $\breve{s}ta$  'he became fat' in the Hittite has no equivalent in the Hurrian. In §§7 and 9 the translator varied the Hittite word order versus the Hurrian. In §§12, 14, and 25 the specification  $\bar{a}ppa$  'back, in return' is not in the Hurrian. The translator has used in §14 a rhetorical yes/no question 'Is the deer cursing me back?' instead of translating Hurrian *iyat* 'why?'. He has also in the same sentence added the contrastive (but here mostly rhetorical) *kinuna* 'now'. In §19 he has focused on 'not', rather than 'deer', although focusing on 'deer' would have imitated the Hurrian

word order with a natural Hittite word order! Finally, in §28 the translator repeats the noun *uttar*, while the Hurrian text merely says 'another'. The Hittite does not attempt to reproduce the volitional sense of the Hurrian "I want to tell you another story," but underscores 'begin to speak' (see Neu 1996: 123).

#### 4. 3. Demands of Meter?

Since many of the omissions and additions just cited are difficult to motivate purely in terms of rhetorical effects, I wish to suggest with all due caution another possible motivation for the translator's varying choices: the requirements of the meter. For Hittite stress-based meter (four stresses to a line consisting of two cola) precisely in Hurrian translation literature (SÌR, i.e. Hittite *išḥamāi-* 'song') see McNeil (1963), Durnford (1971), and Melchert (1998). Such a metrical reading of most of the present parable is *possible.* <sup>1</sup> I present the parable in a tentative scansion, with | between stress units and | | separating the cola:

```
1. aliyan[an]=za | apel tuēgga[š=šaš] | HUR.SAG-aš | awan arḥa šuwēt
2. nu=šš[an] aliyaš | parā | | tamēdani ḤUR.SAG-i | pa[it]
3. n=aš warkešta | n=aš šūllēt | | nu «āppa» HUR.SAG-an | hurzakewan daiš
4. wešiyahhari | kuedani HUR.SAG-i | mān=an pahhuenanza | arha warnuzi
5. dIM-aš=man=an | walahzi || pahhuenanza=man=an | arha warnuzi
6. HUR.SAG-aš=a!² maḥḥan | ištamašta | | nu=šši=kan ŠÀ=ŠU anda | ištarakkiat
7. nu HUR.SAG-aš | aliyanan | | āppa | huwarzašta
8. aliyanan kuin | warganunun | | kinuna=mu | āppa hurzakezi
         peššiyandu=ya=an | aliyanan | LÚMEŠ SĀĪDŪTIM
         d\bar{a}ndu=ma=an \mid L^{\dot{U}ME\dot{S}}MU\check{S}EN.D\dot{U}-TIM (can be a two-word phrase)
10.
         UZUÌ | LÚMEŠ ṢĀIDUTIM | dandu
11.
          KUŠ=ma | LÚ.MEŠMUŠEN.DÙ-TIM | dandu
13. UL=ma | aliyanaš | | nu antuwaļļļaš | apāš LÚ-aš
14. apel=kan URU-az | kuiš |  | arha | huwaiš
15. n=ašta tamēdani KUR-ya | āraš | | man=aš | šūllet
16. nu=ššan EGIR-pa | URU-ri | | idālu | takkiškewan daiš
17. URU-yaš=an | DINGIR.MEŠ | | huwartan | harkanzi
18. arḥa dālešten | apāt uttar | | nu=šmaš tamai uttar | memiškemi
19. hatreššar | ištamaš[ket]en | | hattātar=ma=šmaš | memiškemi
```

Most of the lines of the parable may be scanned in the known meter according to already established rules. I mention some of them here: (1) attributive adjectives and dependent genitives may be counted as a single stress unit with their head noun ( $tam\bar{e}dani$  HUR.SAG-i and apel  $tu\bar{e}gga[\check{s}=\check{s}a\check{s}]$ ) or not (URU- $ya\check{s}=an$  | DIN-GIR.MEŠ); (2) likewise preverbs that immediately precede the finite verb may

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Bachvarova (2011) also assumes that the Hittite version of the "Song of Release" is in the same metrical form as the other Hurro-Hittite "songs" (SÌR), but the fact that her scansions do not always match mine betrays the uncertainty of the metrical analysis.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> The manuscript has HURSAG-aš-ša with the incorrect geminating conjunction 'also', which is impossible in the context. The original clearly had the non-geminating -a marking change of topic.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> See Kloekhorst (2011: 168-74) for arguments that in at least some cases of "phrasal stress" it was the first constituent whose word stress was lost or reduced, while the last constituent retained it.

count as one stress unit with the verb ( $\bar{a}ppa\ hurzakezi$ ) or not ( $\bar{a}ppa\ |\ huwarzašta$ ); (3) the "supine" plus following dai-'set' in the sense 'begin to X' can be counted as a single stress unit or not ( $takkiškewan\ daiš$  above versus  $memiškeuan\ |\ daiš$  in line 8 of the second parable discussed below); (4) contra Melchert (1998: 486-7) there is also flexibility in whether subordinating conjunctions count as independent stressed units or not ( $man=aš\ |\ š\bar{u}llet$  versus  $m\bar{a}n=an\ pahhuenanza$ ). <sup>1</sup>

I must also openly concede that two passages in the parable do not fit the four-stress, two-cola meter. The first of these is the second half of line 3, which contains one too many stressed units. It is clear that preverbs separated from their verb must count as a stress unit, so that one cannot "save" the meter by reading  $\bar{a}ppa$  HUR. SAG-an as a single stress unit (which also makes no sense syntactically). However, I believe that there is an independent reason to take the presence of  $\bar{a}ppa$  here as a mistake of the copyist, who wrongly repeated the preverb from lines 7 and 8, where it makes sense. It was the presence of  $\bar{a}ppa$  in line 3 that misled Neu (1996: 75) into assuming that the deer was cursing the former mountain, but as noted by Hoffner (1968: 69), following Wilhelm and Beckman, this makes no sense in the context. It is the *new* mountain, who has treated the deer well, whom the ungrateful deer curses. Since the deer's initial curse is precisely unmotivated, it cannot be cursing 'back'. This sense fits only the return curse by the mountain. I therefore feel justified in deleting  $\bar{a}ppa$  from line 3, which also restores correct meter.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> The argument I made there for a change from OH unaccented  $m\bar{a}n$  'when(ever); if' to later accented  $m\bar{a}n$  was based on a misunderstanding of the syntax of the contrastive focus conjunction -ma (likewise that of Kloekhorst 2011: 162). As suggested by its long vowel,  $m\bar{a}n$  was surely accented in ordinary speech at all periods. In OH only individual words could receive contrastive focus, hence -ma was never attached to a subordinating conjunction. Later, however, by a reanalysis whole clauses could be focused (see Rieken 2000: 414ff.) and in this case -ma unsurprisingly was attached to the initial word, including a subordinating conjunction. Thus we expect  $m\bar{a}n$  to count as stressed metrically, and it is the cases where it does not that require explanation. The likely basis for these is that the closely related mahhan was probably not (fully) stressed when in non-initial position (a frequent occurrence, but a much less common alternative for  $m\bar{a}n$  in the sense 'when, if'), and this option was exploited for both conjunctions in poetic texts, in initial as well as non-initial position. Once again (see Melchert 1998 at length) "phrasal stress" is artificially extended in poetry versus prose.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Allowing ourselves the option of emending the received text, on the basis that we are dealing with copies, obviously adds an undesirable element of arbitrariness. However, even a cursory glance at the text of the Song of Ullikummi (for which see Güterbock 1951-2) confirms that such errors are plentiful.

No such explanation, however, can account for the very different structure of lines 9-12, which simply cannot be made to fit the 2:2 metrical scheme. It is true that we do not know for sure whether 'hunter' and 'fowler' were single words or two-word phrases. In the latter case, they would be metrically flexible, counting as either one or two stresses. This means that lines 9, 11 and 12 could contain four stressed words, but this is impossible for line 10. In any case, even if we attributed four stresses to lines 11 and 12, they would not divide sensibly into two cola (the caesura would fall in the middle of the noun phrases for 'hunter' and 'fowler'). I see no reasonable way to scan these lines except as containing three stresses, with the proviso that 'fowler' was in fact a two-word phrase that could count as two stresses in line 10, but only one in line 12. Why would these four lines not conform to the meter of the rest? In the oral presentation of this paper, I very tentatively suggested that, because this curse by the mountain is the climax of the entire story, the translator wished to highlight it precisely by a different metrical pattern, and one that was perhaps also closer to the original Hurrian.

Reexamination of only selected portions of the Song of Ullikummi points to a different result. While most of the Ullikummi text can be scanned as four-stress lines of (2:2) with a caesura, some lines simply cannot be so read. Furthermore, their structure is of a very particular kind

```
(Ullikummi, First Tablet, Copy C, KUB 33.102+ ii 7-11; Güterbock 1951: 149)  kuwat=wa \mid \acute{E}\text{-}ri \text{ IGI-}anda \mid \mid ka[rtimmiy]auwanza \mid uet} \\ nu=wa \acute{E}\text{-}er \mid katkatte[(maš \mid \bar{e})]pta \\ \text{SAG.GEME.\grave{IR.MEŠ}}=ya \mid naḥšaraza \mid \bar{e}[(pta)] \\ [(t)]uk=wa \text{ IGI-}anda \mid ^{GIS}\text{ERIN-}pi \mid \mid kar[(\bar{u} \mid duwa)]rnan} \\ \text{``Why did you come in anger against (my) house,} \\ \text{so that trembling seized the house,} \\ \text{and fear seized the servants?} \\ \text{For you the cedar has already been broken.''}
```

The first and fourth lines quoted are in the standard meter, but just as for our curse passage in the parable, the second and third lines can only be scanned as short lines with three stresses and no caesura. Readers will also immediately notice the other shared feature: in both cases we are facing overtly *contrastive* structures with three constituents: subject, object, and verb. Lines 11 and 12 of our curse match exactly the lines from Ullikummi: both show OSV word order, with contrasting subject and object, but a shared verb. The larger context of the Ullikummi passage shows that it is this contrastive structure that is defining, since one cannot speak of a climax in the narrative. <sup>1</sup>

Version A (KUB 17.7+ i 8) of the First Tablet reads:  $nu^dU$ -ni: tarpanallin šallanu[(škezzi)], which is metrically short by one stress. Version B (KUB 33.98+:7-8) has correctly:  $nu^dU$ - $ni \mid menahhanda \mid :tarpanallin \mid šallanuškezzi "He is raising a rebel against the Storm-god." (Güterbock 1951: 147). If we did not happen to have the second copy, we would have had some hesitation in emending the first. In the next two lines (A i 9-10 = B 9-10), the text of A is too short, while that in B is too long. We can cautiously reconstruct a metrically correct version from the two, but we must openly concede that we <math>are$  reconstructing.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Anyone familiar with the opening of the Telipinu myth can hardly resist comparing the first Ul-

It is not difficult to find further confirmation of this pattern. It occurs again in Kumarbi's command regarding Ullikummi (KUB 17.7+ iii 15-16; Güterbock 1951: 156):

```
INA UD.1.KAM=war=aš | AMMADU | pargauēškaddaru
INA ITU.1.KAM=ma=war=aš | IKU-an | pargauēš[kadd]aru
"In one day let him grow an ell, but in one month let him grow an IKU." 1
```

I therefore conclude that the Hittite "epic meter" did not consist strictly of uniform lines with four stresses and a caesura, but also included shorter lines of three stresses used at least for contrastive structures (perhaps also for other purposes). In our parable the contrastive structure clearly is taken from the Hurrian original, but if the latter is itself metrical, the pattern must be a different one, since the Hurrian lines appear to show a 3:2:3:2 pattern (see §§15-18 in the appendix).<sup>2</sup>

In Melchert (2007: 124-7), following Francia (2004), I very tentatively suggested that certain portions of the Hittite ritual of Iriya reflect an oral tradition and also may be scanned metrically. While the first five putative verse lines scanned nicely in the standard 2:2 pattern, I had to concede serious difficulties in imposing this scheme on the remaining lines. I was not then aware of the three-stress pattern in contrastive sets just described. I repeat here the composite text of those lines reconstructed from the two extant versions (see Melchert 2007 for details), now scanned as lines of three stresses:<sup>3</sup>

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GIŠ-ru | apēl GIŠKAPAR<R>U | arḥa iškallāi waršīmaš=at | apēl=pat mīyaš | išḥāi aliyanan=kan | aliyanzinaš apēl=pat mīyaš | kuenzi []x=kan | wēš=pat | kuennumēni iyawan išḥaḥru | pangauwaš EME-an | [anda išḥiy]aweni n=at karuwiliyaš | DINGIR.MEŠ-aš | piyaweni n=at=kan GAM-anda | GE<sub>s</sub>-i KI-i | pēdanzi
```

"Its own crown tears apart the tree. Firewood, its own outgrowth, binds it. The *aliyanzina*-, its own offspring, kills the deer. *We* will kill  $[\ ]$ . We will bind the i-, tears, and slander (lit. tongue of the community). We will give/send them to the ancient gods, and they will carry them down to the dark earth."

likummi passage cited above with KUB 17.10 i 5: GIS luttāuš kammarāš IŞBAT É-er tuḥḥuiš [IŞBAT] "Mist seized the windows; smoke seized the house." (likewise with O S V word order). Whether some mythical passages based on Hattic originals are metrical is a question that cannot be addressed here.

- ¹ For still another example see KUB 17.7+ iv 49-50 (Güterbock 1951: 161): [(a)]šanna=šši | GisSÚ.A-an | tiyandu # adanna=ma=šši | GisBANŠUR-un | unuwa[n]du "Let them place a chair for him to sit; let them adorn a table for him to eat."
- <sup>2</sup> By the analysis of Bachvarova (2011), the Hurrian curse scans 2:3 2:3, clearly also distinct from the usual 2:2 of the rest of the parable. So that the marked Hittite pattern would be matched by one in the Hurrian, although the implementation would differ.
- <sup>3</sup> The only line where there is any problem with such a scansion is the fifth. If the obscure word *iyawan* is a noun for some evil, as it appears to be, it is questionable whether it can be scanned as one stress with *išhaḥru* 'tears'. However, as discussed in Melchert (2007: 121), the list of evils here is a canonical, but highly flexible one, with various expansions and alternatives. The attested version in our text may easily have been altered by a copyist with no sense that the passage is in verse.

The first three lines cite instances from nature where something subordinate to or dependent on something else unexpectedly turns on and harms the latter. Note once again the contrastive fronting of the NP objects in the first and third sentences and the parallel, but nevertheless contrastive verbs. In good Indo-European fashion, these truisms are cited in order to assure that the following aims are achieved, which are likewise contrastive in that the agency of the actions has changed to that of the speakers—marked by the focus particle:  $w\bar{e}\dot{s}=pat$  'we (and no one else)'.

I therefore conclude that the three-stress line used for contrastive structures is native Hittite, just like the four-stress line with caesura (on the latter in the "Song of Nesa" see Melchert 1998: 492-3). That Hittite "strophic" meter might combine longer and shorter lines is hardly surprising (see the remarks of Watkins 1995: 255ff. and passim on such patterns elsewhere in Indo-European verse). What clearly is modeled on the Hurrian is the VOS of  $peššiyandu=ya=an \mid aliyanan \mid LLLMES SAIDUTIM$ . I reiterate that this line (= example F above in section 3) is one of the most ungrammatical sentences in the entire Hittite text, suggesting that the translator in fact was at pains in this passage to imitate the Hurrian very closely.

A complete review of the metrical status of the "Song of Release" cannot be undertaken here. However, it does seem reasonable to test the claim of metricality on at least one more of the parables. I therefore offer a similar tentative scanned version of the parable of the coppersmith and the cup (KBo 32.14 ii 42 – iii 5; Neu 1998: 81-83):

```
1. teššummin | LÚSIMUG | | walliyanni | lāhuš
2. lāḥuš=an | tiššāit | | n=an šuppišduwarit | daiš
3. n=an gulašta | nu=šši=šta maišti | | anda | lālukkišnut
4. lāhuš=ma=an kuiš | n=an āppa | | marlānza URUDU-aš | hurzakewan daiš
5. mān=wa=mu | lāḥuš kuiš | | man=wa=šši=kan kiššaraš | arḥa duwarnattari
6. kunnaš=man=wa=šši=kan | išhunaūš | | arha | wišūriyattari
7. maļļļan LÚSIMUG | ištamašta | | nu=šši=šta ŠÀ=ŠU anda | ištarakkiat
8. nu=za LÚSIMUG | PANI ŠÀ=ŠU | | memiškeuan | daiš
9. kuwat=wa | URUDU-an kuin || lāḥun | nu=wa=mu āppa hūrzakezi
10. teššummi=ya | LÚSIMUG | | hūrtāin | tet
        walahdu=ya=an | dIŠKUR-aš | teššummin
         nu=šši šuppišduwariuš | arha | šakkuriēd<du>
12.
        teššummiš=kan | anda amiyari | maušdu
13.
         suppišduwariyēš=ma=kan | anda ÍD-i | muwāntaru
15. UL=ma | teššummiš | | nu antuwahhaš | apāš DUMU=ŠU
16. ANA ABI=ŠU | kuiš | | menahhanta | kūrur
17. šallešta=aš | n=aš mēani | | āraš | n=ašta namma
18. attaš=šan | anda | | UL | aušzi
19. ŠA ABI=ŠU DINGIR.MEŠ | kuin | | huwartan | harkanzi
```

"A coppersmith cast a cup for glory. He cast it, he shaped it, and he set it with decorations. He engraved it and made (the decorations) shine on it in brilliance. But then the foolish cup began to curse back at the one who had cast it: 'Would that the hand of the one who cast me be broken off! Would that his right arm muscle be shriveled!' When the coppersmith heard, he became sick in his heart, and the coppersmith began to speak to himself:

'Why does the cup that I cast curse back at me?' The coppersmith also said a curse on the cup: 'Let the Storm-god strike it, the cup! Let him knock off the decorations from it! Let the cup fall into a canal, but let the decorations fall into a river!' It is not a cup. It is a person. It is that son who was hostile to his father. He grew and reached maturity and no longer regarded his father. The gods of his father hold him accursed."

Most of this parable can also be scanned in the recognized four-stress, two-cola meter, but one must not gloss over certain difficulties. First, several of the caesura are in rather awkward places vis-à-vis the clause boundaries: in lines 3, 4, and 17 as scanned, the caesura is in the middle of the second of the two clauses. One must either accept this unusual mismatch between metrical boundary and clause boundary or suppose that the caesura is irregularly after the first stress unit, thus giving a 1:3 line. In line 9 the caesura comes in the middle of the relative clause. While this is likewise surprising, I note that the same thing occurs in the comparable passage of the very similarly constructed parable about the builder and the tower (KBo 32.14 rev. 45; Neu 1996: 91): kuwat | wetenun | | kuin kuttan | nu=mu hūrzakezi "Why is the wall I built cursing me?". Once again the alternative is to allow for 1:3 division of the two cola.

Lines 17-18 also show enjambment, in that the opening phrase n=ašta namma of the clause n=ašta namma attaš=šan anda UL aušzi 'he no longer regards his father' is separated from the rest and metrically assigned to the preceding verse line. As shown by Dunkel (1996), some forms of enjambment are compatible with oral composition, and the present case of what he terms "necessary" enjambment is among them. One may further note that the fronting of namma of the phrase natta (UL) namma 'no longer' suggests that it was highlighted, so its being given further prominence by being enjambed is not out of order. Nevertheless, the need to appeal to such measures to explain away exceptions to the basic 2:2 pattern inevitably casts some doubt on the overall metrical analysis.

Be that as it may, some additional support for the metrical scansion comes from the fact that we find the very same exceptional three-stress pattern in the curse of the coppersmith that we met in the curse by the mountain in the first parable. Lines 13 and 14 show the same contrastive structure discussed earlier, with contrasting subject and object and a shared verb. Line 11, walaḥdu=ya=an | dIŠKURaš | teššummin 'Let the Storm-god strike the cup!', can also only be read as three stressed words, and this is the most likely reading of line 12,  $nu=\check{s}\check{s}\check{i}$  šuppišduwariuš | arḥa | šakkuriēd < du > 'Let him knock off the decorations from it!' (although the preverb and verb could in principle be read as one stress unit). Note further the same ungrammatical use of additive focus -ya- in the fronting of walahdu in line 11. Once again this appears to be an attempt to motivate the otherwise ungrammatical fronting of the verb without focus. In this case, however, the translator did at least achieve grammatical Hittite word order by not following the VOS of the Hurrian model (i-ti\_-ie ka-a-zi Te-eš-šu-u-pa-aš) and using VSO. While it is mildly surprising that the fronted preverb anda would form a stress unit with the following dative-locatives amiyari and ÍD-i, this is at least far more plausible than preverb plus accusative in the putative *āppa* HUR.SAG-an in line 3 of the first parable (see above for other reasons to regard this example as an error). And we find this same three-stress line likewise in the curse of the builder against the ungrateful tower (KBo 32.14 rev. 46; Neu 1996: 91), as well as the same ungrammatical use of additive focus -ya-: walahdu=ya=an dišKUR-aš AN.ZA.GÀR "Let the Storm-god strike it, the tower!". Note, however, that lines 11 and 12 in the second parable are not contrastive, though they undeniably represent a dramatic turn from the preceding narrative. The functional role of the three-stress line requires further study.

Only a far more thorough investigation of the possible metrical structure of the "Song of Release" can affirm or deny the suggestion made here that metrical considerations played a role in the Hittite translator's decisions regarding whether to follow the Hurrian word order and whether to insert new material into the text that is lacking in the Hurrian version. I do hope to have shown that the translator by no means followed the Hurrian model slavishly, but made careful and conscious choices, whether or not we can discern the motivations in every instance.

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#### APPENDIX

Parable of the Ungrateful Deer (KBo 32.14 i 1-25/ /ii 1-25; Neu 1996: 74-77) [clauses numbered per the Hittite]

§1 'A mountain drove away a deer from its body.'

Hu na-a-li i-te-[e]-i-né-eš pa-pa-an-ni-iš me-la-aḥ-ḥu-um deer from body mountain (erg.) drove away

Hi aliyan[an]=za apel tuēgga[š=šaš] HUR.SAG-aš awan arḥa šuwēt deer=refl. his limbs (D-LPl) mountain away pushed

§2 'The deer went over to another mountain.'

Hu na-a-li u-ul-bi-i-ni pa-pa-an-ni ha-pa-a-na-ab deer another mountain went to

Hi nu=šš[an] aliyaš parā tamēdani ḤUR.SAG-i pa[it] conj.=part. deer forth to another mountain went

§§3-4 'He grew fat and insolent.' (Hittite version!)

Hu wu,-ú-ru [t]e-e-lu tap-šu-ú

(very unclear; see Neu 1996: 103; but equivalent only to second Hittite clause)

Hi  $n=a\check{s}$  wargešta  $n=a\check{s}$   $\check{s}\bar{u}ll\bar{e}t$ 

conj.=he grew fat conj.=he became insolent

§5 'It began to curse «back at» the mountain.'

Hu pa-pa-an-ni ši-ta-ri-il-lu-um mountain began to curse

Hi nu «āppa» HUR.SAG-an hurzakewan daiš conj. «back» mountain to cursing set

§§6-7 'Would that a fire burn up the mountain on which I am grazing!'

Hu a-a-i na-ú-ni-i-e pa-a-pa-an-ni a-me-la-a-an-ni ta-a-ar-re-eš if of grazing? mountain may burn fire (erg.)

Hi wešiyahhari kuedani ḤUR.SAG-i mān=an pahhuenanza arha warnuzi I am grazing on which mountain opt.=it fire burn up

 $\S 8$  'Would that the Storm-god strike it!'

Hu *i-ti-la-a-an-ni Te-eš-u-up-pa-aš* may strike Teššub

Hi dim-aš=man=an walahzi Storm-god=opt.=it strike

§9 'Would that a fire burn it up!'

Hu a-me-la-a-an-ni ta-a-ar-ri-iš may strike fire (erg.)

Hi pahhuenanza=man=an arha warnuzi fire=opt.=it burn up

δδ10-11 'When the mountain heard (thus), it became sick in its heart.'

Hu pa-pa-a-ni ha-a-ši-i-ma-i pa-a-ru iš-ta-ni-i-ta mountain having heard became ill inside

Hi HUR.SAG-aš=a! maḥḥan ištamašta nu=šši=kan ŠÀ=ŠU anda ištarakkiat mountain=conj. when heard conj.=him=part. heart in became ill

12 'The mountain cursed back at the deer.' (Hittite version!)

Hu na-a-li pa-pa-an-ni-iš ši-ta-ar-na ku-lu-u-ru-um deer mountain (erg.) curses kept saying Hi nu ḤUR.SAG-aš aliyanan āppa ḥuwarzašta

```
conj. mountain deer back cursed
δδ13-14 'Is the deer that I made fat now cursing back at me?' (Hittite version!)
        i-ya-a-at še-e-du-i-li-ya-ni-iš ši-ta-a-ra na-a-al-li-iš
        why
                 fattened
                                  curses deer
Hi
        aliyanan kuin warganunun kinuna=mu āppa hurzakezi
                whom I made fat now=me back is cursing
§15 'Let the hunters fell the deer!'
Hıı
        ku-ut-te na-a-li ke-e-bi-il-la-a-šu-uš
        shall fell deer hunters (erg.)
        peššiyandu=ya=an aliyanan LÚMEŠ SĀIDUTIM
Hi
        let fell=also(!)=him deer
                                       hunters
§16 'But let the fowlers take him.'
Hu
        ha-a-i-te ka-re-e-na-šu-uš
        let take fowlers (erg.)
        dāndu=ma=an LÚMEŠMUŠEN.DÙ-TIM
Hi
        let take=but=him fowlers
§17 'Let the hunters take the flesh/fat.'
Hu
                         a-a-še [k]i-bé-e-il-la-šu-uš
        ha-a-i-te-en
        shall take (jussive) flesh hunters (erg.)
Hi
        UZUÌ LÚ.MEŠ SĀIDUTIM dandu
                hunters
        flesh
                            let take
δ18 'But let the fowlers take the hide.'
        a-aš-hi-i-ma ga-re-e-na-šu-uš
hide=conj. fowlers (erg.)
Hi KUŠ=ma LÚ.MEŠMUŠEN.DÙ-TIM dandu
        hide=conj. fowlers let take
§§19-20 'It is not a deer. It is a person.' (emphasis in Hittite!)
        [n]a-a-li ma-a-an-nu-u-bur ma-a-an-ni tar-šu-wa-a-ni
Hu
                 vis not
                                            person/human
        ŪL=ma aliyanaš nu antuwahhaš
Hi
        not=conj. deer conj. person
§§21-22 'It is that man who ran away from his city.'
        an-ti ta-a-hi ma-a-an-ni a-ar-ti-i-ta-ni [t]ù-ú-ri
Hu
        that man (it) is
                               his city abandoned(?)
        apāš LÚ-aš apel=kan URU-az kuiš arha huwaiš
Hi
        that man his=part. from city who away ran
§23 'He arrived in another land.'
Hu
        u-ul-wi,-ne-e-ma a-am-mi-i-ib u-um-mi-in-ni
        another=conj. reached land
Hi
        n=ašta tamēdani KUR-ya āraš
        conj.=part. another land arrived
§24 'He would become insolent.' (sought to become)
        wu<sub>ú</sub>-ú-ru [t]e-e-lu tap-šu-ú
Hu
        (very unclear; see §§3-4 above)
Hi
        man=aš šūllet
        opt.=he became insolent
§25 'He began to do evil to the city in return.'
        a-ar-ti-i-ma a-ma-ri-il-lu-u-um
Hu
```

began to mistreat Hi nu=ššan EGIR-pa URU-ri idālu takkiškewan daiš conj.=part. back to city evil to doing set §26 'The gods of the city hold him accursed.' (for this reading see Neu 1996: 120 w/ note) Hu a-ar-ti-bi-né-eš e-ne-eš ši-ti-la-a-i gods having cursed of city URU-yaš=an DINGIR.MEŠ huwartan harkanzi Hi of city=him gods cursed §27 'Leave aside that story!' (Hittite lit. 'word, matter') ku-u-le-eš an-ti ti-i-ib-ša-a-ri leave aside(modal) that story (or sim.) Hi arḥa dālešten apāt uttar away let (Imv2Pl) that word/matter §28 'I will tell you another story!' (Hittite lit. 'word, matter') u-la-ab-wa<sub>a</sub> ka -du-ul-li another=you(pl.) I want to tell Hi nu=šmaš tamai uttar memiškemi conj.=you(p.) other word I speak §29 'Listen to my message!' Hu a-mu-u-ma-a-ap šal-hu-u-la message=you(pl.) listen! Hi hatreššar ištamaš[ket]en message listen! (Imv2Pl) §30 'I will tell you (a piece of) wisdom.' (emphasis in Hittite)

ka du-ul-li

I want to tell

memiškemi

Hu

Hi

ma-ta-a-ap-pa

wisdom=you(pl.)

hattātar=ma=šmaš

wisdom=conj.=you(pl.) I speak

#### ABSTRACTS

CLAIRE LE FEUVRE, 'Red gold' in Germanic, Celtic and Slavic: common inheritance or borrowing?

The contribution studies a case of formulaic borrowing from Germanic tradition into Celtic on the one hand and Slavic on the other. The formula 'red gold' is characteristic of Germanic (O.Norse, OHG, O.Engl.), where it refers to pure gold, and not to red gold in the modern sense (that is, to a partricular shade of the metal because of a higher percentage of copper in the alloy). The O.Irish compound *dergór* "red gold', found mostly in the prepositional phrase *do dergór* "of red gold', a poetic equivalent for 'gold', is a calque of O.Norse *af rauðo gulli*: a calque is the best way to account for the fact that O.Irish has a compound *dergór* (Adj.-Noun), which keeps the O.Norse word-order, whereas in a syntagm the regular word order in O.Irish is Noun – Adjective. O.Welsh borrowed the phrase from O.Irish. In the East, the same phrase was borrowed independently by two Slavic languages, in Polish as the name of a currency unit (gold coins, the name of which translates the name of Dutch *gulden*, which were the base currency unit of Hanseatic trade), and in Russian as a poetic phrase *krasno zoloto*, which also refers to pure gold and is a ready-made phase found in the *byliny*. In Russian as in O.Irish, the borrowing or calque can be attributed to the cultural influence of Vikings in their expansion phase.

VINCENT MARTZLOFF, Die Übernahme epigraphischer Formeln in die südpikenischen Dokumente am Beispiel der Inschrift von Capestrano. Zwischen Übersetzung und Adaptation an die paläo-sabellische Dichtersprache

The "bilingual method", which has been fruitful in the study of the Etruscan language, is employed in the present contribution to investigate the meaning of two South-Picene forms, makupri (AQ 2, Capestrano) and  $[q_i]oharme$  (AQ 3, Castel di Ieri), which is to be compared (at least structurally) with Lat. coarmio. The hypothesis that the South-Picene phrase  $ma\ kupri$  means "in a quite beautiful manner" is supported by the comparison with the epigraphical use of Gr.  $perikall\bar{e}s$  "very beautiful" (which may have been widespread already at the beginning of the sixth century). Nevertheless, the composer of the South-Picene inscription did not adopt the formulaic use of the Greek adjective as such, but rather the idea conveyed by  $perikall\bar{e}s$ , in order to underline the high aesthetic quality of the statue of the "Warrior of Capestrano". Moreover, the same content is expressed in two linguistically different ways, since ma is probably not the first member of a compound, but an autonomous intensifier used for the gradation of adjectives and adverbs. We would like to suggest that the formal relationship between  $-m\bar{o}$  (in Lat.  $imm\bar{o}$ ) and South-Picene ma could be the same as the relationship between  $-d\bar{o}$  (in Lat.  $quand\bar{o}$ ) and Umbrian da- (attested in daetom).

H. CRAIG MELCHERT, Translation Strategies in the Hurro-Hittite Bilingual from Boğazköy

Some of the differences in the Hittite and Hurrian versions of the parables in the Hurro-Hittite Bilingual from Boğazköy may be attributed to differences in the respective grammars, in particular the use of relative and other subordinate clauses in Hittite to render the numerous non-finite verbal forms in Hurrian. Others appear to reflect conscious choices

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of the Hittite translator: e.g., to imitate or not the Hurrian word order of major constituents, or to insert words and phrases for which there are no models in the Hurrian. I suggest with all due caution that some of these choices may have been driven by the need to fit the demands of Hittite "epic"meter, as putatively reflected in other Hittite literary compositions based on Hurrian models.

Daniel Petit, Calque-Erscheinungen polnischer Herkunft im altpreußischen, Enchiridion (1561)

Bekanntlich war das Altpreußische, das für uns die einzige westbaltische Sprache darstellt und bis zum 16. Jahrhundert dokumentiert ist, eine stark germanisierte Sprache. Es ist aber weniger bekannt, daß es im Altpreußischen auch eine ganze Reihe von Sprachelementen gab, die von Sprachkontakten mit dem Polnischen zeugen. In diesem Aufsatz werden einige im altpreußischen *Enchiridion* (1561) bezeugten Calque-Erscheinungen polnischer Herkunft philologisch und etymologisch erörtert. Sie zeigen, daß die polnischen Lehnbeziehungen im Altpreußischen älter und weniger intensiv waren als die deutschen.

#### GEORGES-JEAN PINAULT, Buddhist stylistics in Central Asia

The Buddhist texts in the two Tocharian languages (Tocharian A and B) show several features that are due to the influence of the Indo-Aryan (Sanskrit and Pāli) languages of the source texts. Besides the vocabulary and the transposition of nominal compounds, they concern also the level of syntax and sentence structure. The sacred Buddhist texts were originally preserved through oral transmission and were designed for public recitation. They used several devices that were characteristic of the so-called formulaic style. Some of these formulas, such as the "approach formula", which was used in Pāli texts, are attested in Tocharian. This formula was originally characteristic of the old and solemn style of introduction to the speeches of the Buddha. It was felt as heavily marked by comparison with the growing recourse to a more simplified and nervous style, especially in narratives, for which the Tocharian literature give plentiful evidence. Some features of Tocharian texts have been imitated in Old Turkic (Uighur) by the writers of the texts of the first stage of Uighur Buddhism, for instance the Maitrisimit nom bitig. This process of stylistic imitation can be further documented by the use of rhetorical questions which was typical of the style of teaching in performance, as going back to Tocharian and ultimately Indo-Aryan models.

PAOLO POCCETTI, A case-study of different 'strategies of translation' between language and religion: the names of the Dioskouroi in ancient Italy

The twin gods *Dioskouroi* (li. Zeus'sons) were among most ancient deities of the Greek religion introduced in pre-Roman Italy, as confirmed by both Latin and Etruscan archaic votive inscriptions. Their originally multiple names followed different paths of arrival and underwent different ways of translation and/or adaptation. Differentiations among Etruscan, Latin and Sabellian evidence concern, on the one hand, the translation of the compound *Dioskouroi*, and, on the other hand, the rendering of the individual names *Kastor* and *Polydeukes*. Moreover Latin displays also diachronic changes in naming the twin gods connected to their evolutionary role in the Roman religion.

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ELISABETH RIEKEN, Übersetzungsstrategien im Hethitischen: die Relativsatz-Konstruktion

Der immer wiederkehrende Gebrauch von Relativsätzen als Übersetzungsstrategie in verschiedenen Genres und an Stellen, in denen eine wörtliche Übersetzung viel naheliegender wäre, zeigt, dass hier systematisch erlernte Fähigkeiten angewendet wurden und dass dies ein Teil der Ausbildung eines Schreibers gewesen sein muss. Die Relativsatzkonstruktion als Übersetzungsstrategie hat mehrere verschiedene Funktionen: zum einen die Schließung lexikalischer Lücken und die Kompensation der grammatische Lücke transitiver Partizipialkonstruktionen, zum anderen entwickelte sich die eigentlich seltene Konstruktion nachgestellter Relativsätze mit der Funktion der Charakterisierung von Referenten zu einem häufig anzutreffenden Merkmal der Übersetzungsliteratur.

Brent Vine, Umbrian avieka- 'auspicā-' (and remarks on Italic augural phraseology)

Remarkable commonalities link Roman religion and the religious practice of other ancient Italic peoples, including the vocabulary of augural divination, well documented for non-Latin Italic in the Umbrian "Iguvine Tables". Thus, both Latin and Umbrian use phraseology involving verbs based on PIE \*spek- 'observe' and \*ser-w- watch over' (together with Italic \*awi- 'bird') to express 'observing the birds'. Yet an examination of the Umbrian verb stem avieka- 'observe birds' (clearly a compound, with 'bird' as first member) may reveal a still deeper correspondence between the (hitherto obscure) second member of avieka- and Lat.  $\bar{o}men$  'augural sighting' – both based on PIE \*h\_gek\*- 'see', according to the analysis presented here. This in turn may offer new insight into the shared augural terminology, which reflects a more complex network of cross-linguistic behavior than previously thought.

#### INDEX RERUM ET VERBORUM

This index takes into account main linguistic items (words, morphemes, phrases, sentences) and topics, selected by each author.

Index refers to the contents of the workshop proceedings in the whole, split in the volumes III and IV of *Linguarum Varietas*. They are indicated by III and IV prior to the page number

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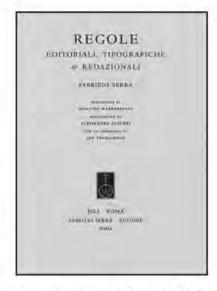
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