

Pragmatics of the “Glossenkeil” in Bronze Age Syria and Anatolia.

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1. Attested functions of the “Glossenkeil” (cf. Krecher and Souček 1971).

	Akkadian Context	Hittite Context
Demarcation Sign	+	+
Line-Connector	+	–
Marker of Foreign Glosses	+	–
Marker of Foreign/Unusual Words.	+	+

2. “Glossenkeil” marking foreign glosses in Late Bronze Age Syria.

a) Amurru

- (1) Izre’el 1991: 31
 IZI : i-ša-ti
 ‘fire’ (Sum./Akk.).

b) Ugarit

- (2) Huehnergard 1989: 93
^{LÚ.MEŠ}DAM.GAR.MEŠ : *bi-da-lu-ma*
 ‘merchants’ (Sum./Ugar.).

c) Alalah

- (3) Giorgieri 2005: 94
 iš-tu pá-al-ši : *ha-at-ha-ri*
 ‘from the breach’ (Akk./Hurr.)

d) Qatna

- (4) Giorgieri 2005: 95
 qāṭ-na du₄-un-ni-in-ku-nu : *da-ab-be-eš*
 ‘Fortify (Akk./Hurr.) Qatna!’

e) Byblos

- (5) Izre’el 1998: 424
 HUR.SAG : *ha-ar-ri*
 ‘mountain’ (Sum./WSem.)

Amarna Letters: Foreign glosses are more frequent than foreign words (Izre’el 1998).

Ugarit texts: Foreign words are more frequent than foreign glosses (Kühne 1974: 158-9).

3. “Glossenkeil” marking glosses to Akkadian words in Boğazköy texts.

a) Hittite gloss.

- (6) KUB 37.1 obv. 5-6, CTH 808 (LNS), Köcher 1952: 48
 GIM ra-bi-ki ta-ra-ab<-bak> ṣ^h*hu-wa-ar-ti-in* GIM-*an za-nu-uz-zi*
 (Akk.) ‘You (sg.) decoct (it) like an extract’ / (Hitt.) ‘One boils (it) like an extract’.

b) Mixed Hittite-Akkadian gloss.

- (7) KUB 37.1 obv. 9-10, CTH 808 (LNS), Köcher 1952: 48
^{GIŠ}ERIN ^{GIŠ}ša-la-bi-ta ṣ^h*ku-u-un* ^{GIŠ}ša-la-b[i-t]a ú-ul i-di ^{GIŠ}dap-ra-a-na
 ‘...cedar, *šalabitu*-tree (I do not know this *šalabitu*-tree), juniper...’

c) Luvian gloss.

- (8) KUB 37.1 obv. 15-16, CTH 808 (LNS), Köcher 1952: 48
 an-nu-ti kà-li-ši-na ina ^{GIŠ}GAZ ta-haš-šal *I-NA* ṽ*ma-ma-na-[š]a-ti ba-at-tu-na-a-ti*
pu-wa-a-ti
 ‘All these (Akk.) you (sg.) crush in a mortar / (Luv.) one crushes with *paddur* of
mamana-. (Or: ‘with *paddur* (and) *mamanasa-*’).

d) Hurrian gloss.

- (9) KBo 3.3 ii 5-7, CTH 63.A (NH/NS), Klengel 1963: 35
^mAbiratas=ma=za ^mIR.^dU-an DUMU-ŠU ANA ^{LÚ}TARTENNUTTI-ŠUNU
 ṽ*sinahila IŠKUN*
 ‘Abiradda installed for himself his son, Ir-Tessub, as his second-in-rank’.

4. “Glossenkeil” marking foreign or unusual words in Hittite texts.

a) Luvian foreign words.

- (10) KUB 1.1 i 25-27, CTH 81, Otten 1981: 6
 nu=mu ŠEŠ-YA ANA GAL MEŠEDIUTTİM tittanut KUR UGU=ya=mu
 maniyahhanni piesta nu KUR UGU-TI ṽ*tabarha*
 ‘(Then) my brother appointed me to the position of Head of Bodyguards and
 gave me the Upper Land to govern. And I *ruled* it’.

b) Transparent Luvian borrowings.

- (11) KUB 44.4 rev. 15, CTH 81 (LNS), Beckman 1983: 176
 nu=kan ANA DUMU.NITA ṽ*dumantiyalas* anda iyandu
 ‘Let them pour (it) into the aural cavities[?] of the male child’.

c) Hittite forms deemed grammatically non-standard.

- (12) KUB 1.1 iv 9-10, CTH 81 (NH/LNS), Otten 1981: 24
 ANA MUDI-KA=wa ammuk piran ṽ*hūyami*
 ‘I am running in front of your husband’, scil. ‘I am assisting your husband’.
- (13) KBo 3.4 ii 30-31, CTH 61 (NH/NS), Goetze 1933b: 50
 nu=mu ^mUhha-LÚ-is UL mazzasta n=as=mu=kan ṽ*hūwais*
 ‘Uhhaziti did not resist me, but fled from me’.

d) (Perhaps) Hittite forms deemed colloquial.

- (14) KUB 1.1 i 40-41, CTH 81 (NH/LNS), Otten 1981: 6
 nu=mu ṽ*hūwappi* DINGIR-LIM-ni ṽ*hūwappi* DI-esni parā UL kuwapikki tarnas
 ‘She never handed me over to an evil god for an evil trial’.

e) Hittite forms where a Sumerogram is expected

- (15) KUB 8.81 ii 8-10, CTH 41.II (MH/MS), del Monte 1981: 216-17
 man=kan ^mSunassuras EGIR-an=na arha lē naiskisi ṽ*sākuwa=sse=ssan hardu*
 ‘Do not turn away (from it), Sunassura, (but) let one keep an eye on it’.

5. Elimination of the “Glossenkeil” in the course of textual transmission.

a) Luwian word is replaced with its Hittite functional equivalent.

- (16) KUB 6.46 iv 53, CTH 381 (NH/NS), Singer 1996: 29
1 NINDA.GUR₄.RA=ma ḥhūwayalli ḫUTU-i parsiya[zzi]
‘He breaks one thick loaf of bread for the *huwayalli*- Sun-god’.
- (17) KUB 6.45 iv 56, CTH 381 (NH/NS), Singer 1996: 29
EGIR-ŠU=ma 1 NINDA.GUR₄.RA kutrui ḫUTU-i parsiya
‘Thereafter he breaks one thick loaf of bread for the Witness Sun-god’.

b) Non-standard Hittite ending is normalized.

- (18) KUB 39.41 i 9-10, CTH 450 (Pre-NH/NS), Kassian 2002: 642-44
[^faras=sis=a tezzi LÚ.MEŠ^{URU}Hatti=war=an] ḫurhhiyas widanzi
KUB 30.15 + 39.19 i 31, CTH 450 (Pre-NH/NS), Kassian 2002: 266
[^faras=sis=a tezzi LÚ.MEŠ^{URU}Hatti=war=an^{LU.MEŠ}urhhi[š] wetanzi
‘And her female colleague says: “The men of Hatti, the *u*-men, bring him” ’.

c) Rare Hittite word is replaced with a (false) Akkadogram

- (19) KUB 24.11 ii 25-26, CTH 402.B (MH/NS), CHD(P): 247a
GIŠ.NÁ-sa[=ssan^{šig}esaran kitkarza] ḫpadummazzi=ya hamanki
‘She ties *esara*-wool to the head and to the feet of the bed’.
- (20) KUB 24.9 ii 46-47, CTH 402.A (MH/NS), Jakob-Rost 1972: 38
GIŠ.NÁ-sa=ssan^{šig}esaran kitkarza] ḫ^{ina} RAPŠI hamak[zi]
‘She ties *esara*-wool to the head of the bed and in (its) width’.

d) Luvian stem is replaced with an Akkadogram and the Luvian ending is replaced with its Hittite cognate.

- (21) KBo 4.10+ rev. 24-25, 106.B.2 (LNH), van den Hout 1995: 46-48
ziladuwa LUGAL-UTTA ŠA ḫU-tassa ŠA^mUlmi-ḫU-up=pat ḫwarwalanantes hardu
‘In the future let only the seed of Ulmi-Tessub hold kingship in Tarhuntassa’.
- (22) Bo 86/299 iii 26-27, 106.A.1 (LNH), Otten 1988: 26
ziladuwa LUGAL-UTTA ŠA ḫU-tassa ŠA^{md}LAMMA=pat NUMUN-anza hardu
‘In the future let only the seed of Kruntiya hold kingship in Tarhuntassa’.

e) No change occurs (cf. Otten 1981).

81.CTH 81.A (KUB 1.1+)	CTH 81.B (KBo 3.6+)	
ḫar-ša-ni-i-e-er	ar-ša-ni-i-e-er	‘they envied’
ḫhu-u-i-ya-mi	hu-u-ya-mi	‘I run’
ḫhu-u-wa-ap-pi	hu-u-wa-ap-pi	‘bad’ (dat.-loc. sg.)
ḫir-ma-la-aš	ir-ma-la-aš	‘ill’ (nom. sg.)
ḫku-pi-ya-ti-in	ku-pi-ya-te-in	‘plot’ (acc. sg.)
ḫdan-na-at-ta (2x)	dan-na-at-ta (2x)	‘empty’ (acc. pl.)
ḫzi-la-du-wa (2x)	zi-la-du-wa (2x)	‘henceforth’

6. Distribution of marked vs. unmarked Luwian words in various genres of Hittite texts (adapted from Van den Hout 2005: 229). The highlighted genres were transmitted through adaptation rather than recorded / translated in the Empire period.¹

Genre	Marked	Unmarked
Rituals	7.5%	25.4%
Festival scenarios	7.5%	10.0%
Texts from Luvian milieu	4.6%	15.4%
Annals, treaties, edicts	20.4%	4.6%
Correspondence	7.0%	3.3%
Depositions	5.4%	1.4%
Mythology (foreign)	7.7%	2.0%
Oracle Reports	16.8%	8.6%
Vows	4.6%	3.3%

7. Reductionist hypotheses.

- a) Projecting the Anatolian situation into Syria: “Since the official language of the day was probably standard Babylonian-Assyrian, non-Canaanite foreign copyists meeting unusual or dialectal forms ... would write the common Accadian word or ideogram in explanation” (Schwartz 1938: 66).
- b) Projecting the Syrian situation into Anatolia: “The southern scribes, however, were not able to rid themselves from their own Luwian idiom, and this led to a development of a kind of “Mischsprache” in which Luwian words were intermingled with Hittite” (Güterbock 1956: 138).

8. My scenario.

- a) The Glossenkeil probably originated in the Syro-Palestinian area. Its usage must reflect the imperfect learning of Akkadian by the local (Hurrian and West Semitic) scribes. It was used both for marking foreign glosses and for marking foreign words not accompanied by their Akkadian equivalent.
- b) The Glossenkeil is never used for marking foreign glosses to Hittite words. By contrast, it is frequently used for marking foreign or otherwise unusual words in Hittite texts.
- c) The usage of the Glossenkeil in Anatolia reflects a mismatch between the standards of colloquial New Hittite and the scribal expectations. In particular, the Hittite scribes looked down upon code-mixing between Hittite and Luvian.
- d) The editors of the Hittite tablets were hesitant to replace marked words with their stylistically more appropriate synonyms in official documents because tampering with the word of high officials must have implied a heavy liability that few people in the chancellery were willing to accept.
- e) Marked words in Akkadian texts frequently convey a message: “I do not know how to write it properly”. Marked words in Hittite texts frequently convey a different message: “You do not know how to say it properly”.

¹ The numbers mark the percentage of words within a given genre to the total number of marked and unmarked foreign words in the Hittite corpus. The percents in each column do not add up to one hundred because I have omitted certain rare genres.

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