Sign Systems Studies 40(3/4), 2012

Equiprosodic translation method in Estonian poetry

Maria-Kristiina Lotman

Institute of Germanic, Romance and Slavonic Languages and Literatures
University of Tartu
Ülikooli 17, 51014 Tartu, Estonia
e-mail: maria.lotman@mail.ee

Abstract. Equimetrical translation of verse, which conveys the metre of the source text, should be distinguished from equiprosodic translation of verse, which conveys the versification system of the source text. Equiprosodic translation of verse can rely on the possibilities of natural language (for instance, when presumably Publius Baebius Italicus created the *Ilias Latina*, he made use of the quantitative structure in Latin), but it can also employ an artificial system (cf., for example, the quantitative verse in Church Slavonic or English). The Estonian language makes it possible to convey the syllabic (based on the number of syllables), accentual (based on the number and configuration of accents) and quantitative (based on the configuration of durations) versification systems. In practice, combined types are most frequent, for instance, the ones in which both the syllable count and the configuration of accents is relevant; in Estonian, versification systems with the participation of all three principles are possible as well. Despite the contrast of quantity in Estonian, the transmission of the quantitative structure of ancient metrics still involves a number of difficulties which result from differences in the prosodic structures. The transmission of purely syllabic versification system has also been problematic: it is hard to perceive such structure as verse in Estonian and therefore it has often been conveyed with the help of different syllabic-accentual or accentual-syllabic verse metres. Although equiprosodic translation is not necessarily equimetrical, in actual translation practice it usually is so.

0. Introduction

In translating poetry there are numerous formal constraints to be considered, especially when we are dealing with the macro-stylistic type of translation, in which case the dominant is the expression plane of the source text (see Torop 1999: 147). For instance, in order to transmit the metrical structure one has to not only regulate the syllabic count and the placement of prominent and

nonprominent syllables, etc., but to keep in mind the arrangement of word-ends to convey the caesurae and zeugmata, the syntactic structure, for instance, enjambments, phonemic structure (rhymes, alliterations), etc. This paper is devoted to one particular aspect in translating poetry, that is, the transmission of systems of versification. First, to regard this feature in its context, let us examine the main methods of interlinguistic verse translation[1] in Estonian poetic culture.

1. Methods of translating poetry

A list of methods of verse translation has been proposed by André Lefevere (1975), but in this paper a number of additions have been offered as adjustments in order to best describe the methods of Estonian verse translation.

The list will start from the freest and proceed to the stricter methods. The freest forms are inspired by the source text, but do not convey its structure or semantics, that is, these are free adaptations. In poetry, there are several versions of such forms.

1.1. Nachdichtung

In the case of *Nachdichtung* (sometimes used as a synonym to imitation;[2] see, for instance, Frank 1998: 20), a new poem is created which is inspired by the source text. In Estonian poetry, *Nachdichtung* is quite widespread: when the principles of verse translation started to form in the mid-19th century, it was one of the most common methods of translation (see also Liivaku, Meriste 1975: 13). A typical example is Mihkel Veske's well-known and often paraphrazed poem *Minge üles mägedele* (see Veske 1931) which is usually treated as his original text, while it is actually a *Nachdichtung* of Berthold Sigismund's almost forgotten work *Auf die Höhen laßt uns steigen*.

[1] See Jakobson 1959: 233. Estonian poetic translation also includes various examples of intralinguistic translation, in which case verbal texts are translated by means of other signs of the same language, resulting in new texts; in the case of poetic works, these are most often synopses, *Nachdichtungs* or parodies.

[2] For Lefevere's distinction between imitation and version, see Lefevere 1975: 326.

1.2. Synopsis

With synopsis, source text structure is not followed; instead it is a concentrate of the subject that is the focus. Epic texts have often been translated into Estonian this way; for example, in the first decades of the 20th century the ancient epics, the Eddic texts, the Finnish epic *Kalevala*, and some others were thus conveyed.

1.3. Verse-to-prose translation

The main difference between verse-to-prose translation and interlinear translation lies in the preservation of the typographical structure of the source text in the latter, or at least marking the boundaries of verses with slashes, etc., while in verse-to-prose translation verse boundaries are not marked at all. The main weakness of this method is that, together with verse form, a considerable part of the structure of the poem becomes lost, since verse form also creates meaning: for instance, the metre can have a specific semantic halo (see, e.g., Gasparov 1999), rhythm can create certain semantic associations (see, e.g., Tarlinskaja 1987: 287–329), for example, slowing of rhythm can be related to the theme of the dragging of time, heaviness, hardness, toil, but also premonition, etc., while quickening of rhythm can mark the beginning of fast activity, etc. All these associations are simply lost in translating verse into prose. For examples of such a translation method in Estonian poetry, see Lotman 2011a: 137.

1.4. Interlinear translation

This method is distinct from equilinear translation which aims to strictly preserve the content of a source text line within one line also in the target text.

It is a freer way of translation which, above all, aims to convey the content of an utterance and in doing so not to violate the syntactic structure of the target language. Although the metrical structure is not conveyed, the division into verse lines is still preserved as a sign of the versified source text. This method is often used in scholarly publications; for example, interlinear translations have been used in commented editions of ancient or neo-classical poetry, such as the collection of academic occasional poetry from 17th-century Tartu, *O Dorpat, Urbs Addictissima Musis* (Viiding, Orion, Päll 2007).

1.5. Free verse

Translations into free verse are common as well, even when the source text is in a regular verse metre. For instance, quite frequently Homer's or Pindar's texts have been translated into free verse; a recent Estonian translation of *Gilgamesh* (2010) is in free verse,[3] etc.

It is, of course, a convenient way to convey the meaning of the source text, but since the metre and other structural elements are ignored, a certain semantic layer is lost, just like in the case of prose translation.

1.6. Phonemic translation

The next method is what Lefevere calls phonemic translation. The main purpose is to remain faithful to the sound of the text. At the same time, Lefevere states that it is almost impossible to achieve any satisfactory results with this method, especially since the prosodic structures of different languages are too unlike to achieve even an acceptable rendering of the source-language sound in the target text (see also Raffel 1988: 23–37), not to mention producing an acceptable paraphrase of its sense. Lefevere points out that this is, to a certain extent, only effective within three possibilities: in the case of the translation of words by target language words etymologically related to them, in the case of proper names, and in translation of onomatopoea. Of course, when we are working with poems in related languages, this task is easier to accomplish (on the other hand, see Raffel 1988: 36–37). See Matthias Johann Eisen's translation of the Finnish epic *Kalevala* (Lönnrot 1891) in which some sections are conveyed more or less in accordance with this method:[4]

Riisti ristin rinnaltansa,
sormukset on sormestansa,
helmet kaulasta karisti,
punalangat päänsä päältä.
(*Kalevala* 4.16–20)

Riisus risti rinnaltasa,
sõrmused need sõrmestasa,
helmed heitis kaelastasa,
punalõngad peasa pealta.
(*Kalevala* 4.16–20, trans. M. J. Eisen)

[3] The metre of the source text is different, however; on the metrical structure of *Gilgamesh* see Buccellati 1990.

[4] English translation: Then she threw the gold cross from her, / Tore the jewels from her fingers, / Quickly loosed her shining necklace, / Quick untied her silken ribbons (Lönnrot 1889; translated by John Martin Crawford).

The translator has preferred words with similar stems and, thus, the sound of the target text at least resembles the sound of the source text.

1.7. Non-equivalent metrical translation

The next method is non-equivalent metrical translation. This can be a translation into an arbitrary structure, which is motivated neither by the structure of the source text nor by its cultural context, audience, etc. Such translation is often just an experiment, such as, for instance, a translation of Horace's Ode 1.34 into haiku form by Ivo Volt (see section 1.10 below). Moreover, this form also contains a possibility of antithetical translation, in which case the metre of the target text is intentionally contrasting the structure of the source text (free verse vs. strict metre, popular verse form vs. some sophisticated stanza, foreign metre vs. national metre, and so on).

1.8. Functional equivalent

This form of translation has also been called analogical translation (see Weissbort, Eysteinsson 2006: 461). Here, another verse form is chosen for the translation, for instance, a form closer to the audience or more appropriate functionally and/or historically. This method is derived from an understanding that different metres have dissimilar semantic halos in different traditions: for instance, the alexandrine is a completely different metre in French poetry than in Estonian poetry, and to English readers the iambic pentameter means something else than to Germans. Here, in selecting a verse form for translation, one must find an equivalent to the halo of this metre from the tradition of the target text. To give an example, during the period of early literature the hexametrical Greek epic poems were translated into Latin not in hexameters, but in the Latin national form – Saturnian verse; the English translations used iambic pentameters (see also Weissbort, Eysteinsson 2006: 460), the French ones alexandrines, and so on. An example of functional equivalent in Estonian translation culture is the translation of *Prometheus Bound* (*Kinnineeditud Prometheus*, translated by Jaan Jõgever; see Aeschylus 1908), in which iambic trimeters are mostly replaced with trochaic hexameters as a more suitable form for spoken verse.

1.9. Equimetrical translation

A method aiming to convey the metrical structure of the source text is equimetrical translation. Such a way of translation has also been called mimetical translation. Its first aim is the fidelity to the verse form of the source text, especially its metre and rhyme, but sometimes also to the finer nuances: rhythmical effects, alliteration, etc. Such method of translation has been the most common one in the tradition of Estonian verse translation; it has been rooted already since the 19th century, and is prevalent today. For more on the equimetrical verse tradition in Estonian poetic culture see Lotman 2011a.

1.10. Equiprosodic translation

The purpose of equiprosodic[5] verse translation is to reflect the system of versification of the original. Equiprosodic translation is not necessarily equimetrical, for instance, quantitative hexameter can be translated into quantitative regisong, the Estonian folk metre, or, in another example, Horace's ode is translated into haikus (Horace 1.34; translated by Ivo Volt[6]). Here is the third stanza:[7]

– –
kaarik laskumas
– – – – –
rappumas tömp maa veetulv
– – –
Styx ja õõvpaigad

The original poem was written in Alcaic stanzas; therefore this is not an equimetrical translation. With each stanza the translator had to condense the content of 41 syllables into 17 syllables. There is an unusual number of heavy syllables here, as well as in the rest of the poem; in fact, almost all the accented

[5] Ain Kaalep has used the term 'homorhytmic translation' in a similar meaning (Kaalep 1972).

[6] Unpublished translation that was suggested by its author in an e-mail to the mailing list of the University of Tartu's Department of Classical Philology (23.1.2004).

[7] The Latin original is as follows: *quo bruta tellus et uaga flumina, / quo Styx et inuisi horrida Taenari / sedes Atlanteusque finis /concutitur. Valet ima summis*; English translation: E'en now dull earth and wandering floods, / And Atlas' limitary range, / And Styx, and Taenarus' dark abodes / Are reeling. He can lowliest change (Horace 1882; translated by John Conington).

syllables in this poem are heavy. That is, although such verse is not in accordance with the moraic principle of the haiku form, the prosodic structure of this translation is an implication of the quantitative structure of its source text, the quantitative Alcaic stanza.

For the most part, equiprosodic translations in Estonian verse translation are equimetrical. In the case of the dactylic hexameter, for example, it means that the translated verse consists of six feet which are also quantitatively regulated, as in this example of the translation of Lucretius (1971) by Uku Masing:[8]

– ⏑⏑ – ⏑⏑ – ⏑⏑ – ⏑⏑ –⏑⏑ – –
hüljatud kõrbtühi ruum, pimeväikesed asjade algmed.

Here the strong positions are filled with heavy syllables and the weak positions are filled with one heavy or two light syllables.

Equiprosodic translation of verse can rely on the possibilities of natural language (for instance, Publius Baebius Italicus, a likely author of the *Ilias Latina*, made use of the quantitative structure in Latin), but it can also employ an artificial system. Thus, the quantitative structure of the natural language is not an inevitable precondition for creating quantitative verse: there are many examples of cases in which the natural language has no grounds for quantitative verse, but the latter is still created in different artificial quantitative systems (compare, for instance, quantitative verse in Church Slavonic or English).

2. Equiprosodic verse translation in Estonian translation culture

The Estonian language allows to convey the syllabic (based on the number of syllables), accentual (based on the number and configuration of accents) and quantitative (based on the configuration of durations) systems of versification. In practice, combined types are most frequent, for instance, those in which both the syllable count and configuration of accents are relevant; in Estonian, systems of versification with the participation of all three principles are possible

[8] *On the Nature of Things* 1.1110. The Latin original is as follows: *desertum praeter spatium et primordia caeca*; English translation: the desolate space, and germs invisible (Lucretius 1921; translated by William Ellery Leonard).

as well. Despite the fact that the contrast of quantity exists in the Estonian language, the transmission of the quantitative structure of ancient metrics still involves a number of difficulties which result from differences in the prosodic structure. Also the transmission of purely syllabic system of versification has encountered certain difficulties: it has often been conveyed with different syllabic-accentual or accentual-syllabic verse metres. The problems with accentual verse arise from a specific feature of the Estonian prosodic system: the accent is fixed on the first syllable of a word.

2.1. Syllabic versification

Although Estonian is a syllable-counting language in which the unstressed syllables are not reduced and a syllable is prosodically independent, the transmission of purely syllabic versification has not become widespread, especially in the case of longer metres in which it can be difficult to perceive such a form as verse. Therefore, in addition to constraining the syllabic count, the placement of stresses is regulated as well. On the one hand, the reason lies in the fact that the Estonian stress is a too significant and distinct prosodic feature to be disregarded. However, perhaps even more important than the prosodic causes are the influences of the German and Russian traditions in which the syllabic metres are traditionally translated as syllabic-accentual forms; compare the first occasional poem in Estonian, Reiner Brockmann's *Carmen Alexandrinum Esthonicum ad leges Opitij poeticas compositum*, which is written in syllabic-accentual iambic hexameter and has explicit German influences.

In the 20th century, despite some difficulties, translations of the French alexandrines in Molière's works were made that convey the source structure rather successfully. Let us compare the alexandrines in two different translations of *The Misanthrope*. The literary critic and translator Ants Oras's translation is earlier (Molière 1936),[9] while the translation by August Sang was published in the Soviet times (Molière 1961). Both translations have the following characteristics: the number of syllables is set, 12 syllables (in verses

[9] Ants Oras has formulated his principles as a translator of verse in a paper on translating French syllabic metres (1931: 373–379). Among other things he maintains that the main principles of conveying the original structure should be isosyllabism and the predominance of verses with caesura. The rhythmical variability of the source text should be pursued in order to achieve more flexibility and freedom.

with feminine endings 13 syllables), yet the syllable count is not the only principle to regulate the versification: the placement of accents is not random either. Already the first syllable gives the reader the rhythmical signal to interpret this structure. The following figure displays the statistics of the first syllable in the Estonian alexandrine in comparison to the first syllables of the other Estonian metres.

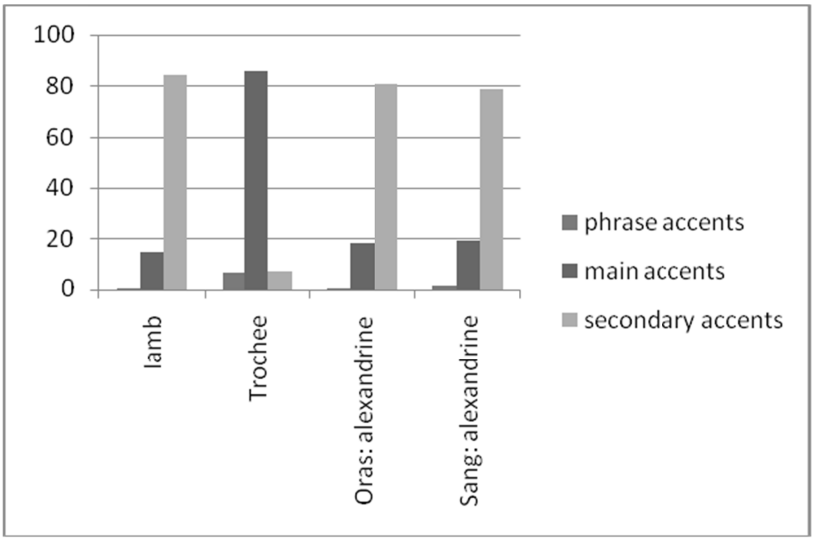

Figure 1. The accentuality of the first syllable in different verse forms.

Due to the nature of Estonian stress, a verse line has to begin with at least some kind of stress signal; the only way to overcome this constraint is to use a foreign word, which is, however, exceptional. On the other hand, Estonian has also a gradation of stresses: the weakest stresses are secondary stresses, the strongest stresses are phrase accents. The data showed in Figure 1 reveal how the proportions of different accentual types can be quite dissimilar in different metres. For instance, in iamb and trochee the percentages of main accents are completely different. In iambic metres, the incidence of syllables carrying the main accents is less than 15%, in trochees over 80%, and when we add to it even stronger phrase accents, the incidence of strong stresses in the first syllable is over 90%. As for the first syllable of alexandrines of both translators, here the data resemble those of iambic verse, that is, at the beginning of verse

the stresses carrying a weak syllable prevail. This does not mean that the Estonian alexandrine is iambic; in actuality, analysis shows how the alexandrines of both translators are divided into iambic and anapestic units:

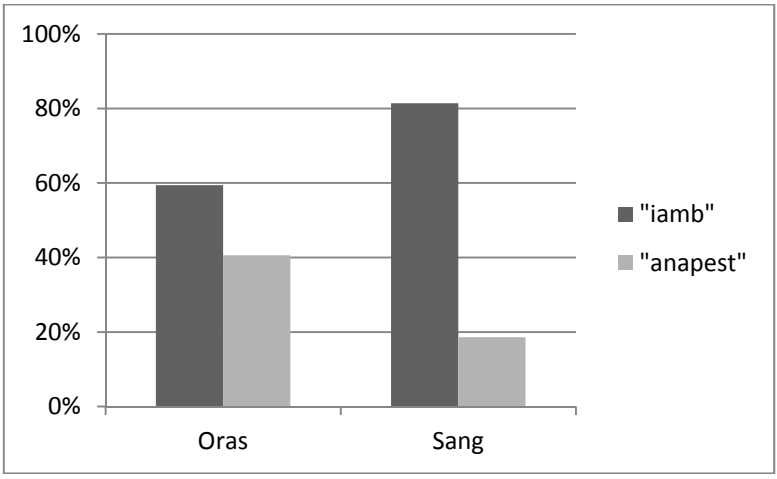

Figure 2. Rhythmical units in the Estonian alexandrines.

In Ants Oras's text iambic units prevail, but the incidence of anapestic units is still over 40%. In August Sang's alexandrines the rhythmical structure becomes even more regular, and the incidence of anapestic units decreases below 20%. If this was a purely syllabic metre, we could also see, for instance, dactylic and trochaic units, but such structures are not to be found.

Every verse contains 4–6 rhythmical units, which are always di- or trisyllabic and with an iambic or anapestic rhythm, the alternation of which is irregular. According to this description, the result should be an irregular heterometrical stress-metre. At the same time, it cannot be forgotten that there is more to this structure: the number of syllables is fixed. Thus, the most regulated level in this structure is the syllabic count and the number of accentual units is directly subjected to it; consequently, it is still the syllabic system of versification, only with strong elements of the accentual system on the rhythmical level.

Let us now turn to the principles of the French alexandrine. Although in the most general descriptions it is characterized as a purely syllabic verse, it is not quite that simple. French accentual laws (stress on the final syllable) already

determine that, inevitably, some kinds of patterns are formed; in addition to that, there is also a rule against accentual clash. The outcome of these two factors is that the French alexandrine is based upon four combinations of two hemistichs, one of three iambs and one of two anapests; these combinations may be: (1) six iambs (hemistichs Ia/Ia), (2) four anapests (hemistichs An/An), (3) three iambs and two anapests (hemistichs Ia/An), (4) two anapests and three iambs (hemistichs An/Ia) (Porohovshikov 1932).

In the Estonian alexandrine a general metrical principle is adopted. The model of the alexandrines of the target texts is as follows:

One line consists of two hemistichs:

$L \rightarrow HS_1, HS_2$

1. Syllabic rules

1.1. 6 syllables correspond to the first hemistich, 6 (masculine verse-end) or 7 (feminine verse-end) correspond to the second hemistich:

$HS_1 \rightarrow$ 6 syllables

$HS_2 \rightarrow$ 6 or 7 syllables

2. Syllabic-accentual rules

2.1. A hemistich is made up of units A or B:

$HS \rightarrow$ A or B

2.2. A is iambic (that is, consists of three disyllabic rhythmical units with an accent – primary or secondary – on the second syllable):

$A \rightarrow aaa$

$a \rightarrow x\acute{x}$ or $x\grave{x}$

2.3. B is anapestic (that is, consists of two trisyllabic rhythmical units with an accent on the third syllable):

$B \rightarrow bb$

$b \rightarrow xx\acute{x}$ or $xx\grave{x}$

2.4. The possible combinations of a verse line are as follows:

$L \rightarrow bb/aaa$

$L \rightarrow bb/bb$

$L \rightarrow aaa/aaa$

$L \rightarrow aaa/bb$

August Sang follows this model wholly, with the clear preference for the most regular combination aaa/aaa; Oras, however, allows some deviations (for instance, a half-verse with the structure aa, thus violating the syllabic structure of the line). The two are compared in Figure 3.

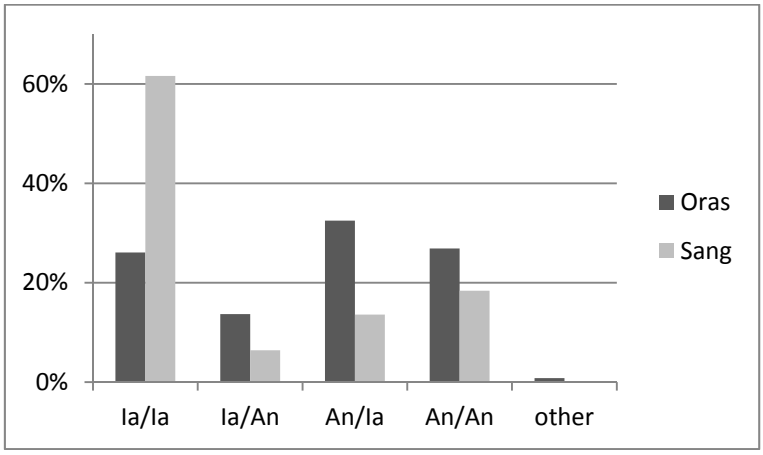

Figure 3. Rhythmical structure of the Estonian alexandrines.

It is remarkable that while the rhythm of the French alexandrine is completely derived from the characteristics of the French prosodic structure, in the case of the Estonian alexandrine an author has to overcome difficulties connected with the prosody of the natural language: iambs and anapests are a challenge to languages with the accent fixed on the first syllable.

An example of non-equiprosodic translation tradition is the translation of Italian *endecasillabo* of Petrarcan poetry. *Endecasillabo* is a verse in Italian metrics with only one accentual constant: on the tenth syllable. There are also other positions where stresses tend to accumulate, one common pattern for the Italian hendecasyllable being with stresses on the sixth and the tenth syllables, and another one with stresses on the fourth, seventh and tenth syllables (see also Beltrami 1996: 61–62), but these regularities have a rhythmical, not metrical nature. In Petrarch's *endecasillabo*, with only few exceptions, the number of syllables is constantly 11.

The first translator of Petrarch into Estonian poetry was Villem Ridala, poet and philologist, who in 1923 published a translation of sonnet CCX (Petrarca 1923: 2). Compare the first two stanzas:[10]

Zephiro torna, e'l bel tempo rimena,
e i fiori et l'erbe, sua dolce famiglia,
et garrir Progne et pianger Philomena,
et primavera candida et vermiglia.

Ridono i prati, e'l ciel si rasserena;
Giove s'allegra di mirar sua figlia;
l'aria et l'acqua et la terra è d'amor piena;
ogni animal d'amar si riconsiglia.
(Petrarch, Sonnet CCX)

Zephyros ilmub ja toob ilma hele
ja lilled, rohud, hõrna sugu ka:
to hüüdja Prokne, nutja Philomele,
ja kevade nii valge, punaka.

Eks väljad naera siis, ilm sätendele,
Jupiter rõõmsat tütart jäljenda;
õhk, vesi, maad on altid armudele,
ja iga elaja siis võtab armasta.
(Petrarch, Sonnet CCX, trans. V. Ridala)

In the source text each of the 14 lines has a feminine ending, accent is not regulated anywhere except on the tenth syllable, which carries a constant stress. The verse of the translation does not correspond to the structure of the source text. The translation is almost consistently written in iambic pentameter, with the alternation of feminine and masculine endings: that is, the syllabic count of the source text is not followed. In the first line (*Zephyros* x́xx) and in the second line of the second stanza (*Jupiter* x́xx), deviations from the iambic structure occur in proper names, which are just like implications of the syllabic nature of the source text.

Ridala's text formed a tradition, and in subsequent translations of Petrarch we can see similar versification. More than sixty years later, Ain Kaalep, a poet, translator and critic, translated Sonnet XVI (Petrarca 1984: 34). In this translation, the number of syllables is consistent: each line has 11 syllables, each line has a feminine ending. But, just like Ridala's text, it is an iambic pentameter, and just like in Ridala's text there is one hint at the syllabic

[10] English translation: Zephyr returns and brings fair weather, / and the flowers and herbs, his sweet family, / and Procne singing and Philomela weeping, / and the white springtime, and the vermilion. // The meadows smile, and the skies grow clear: / Jupiter is joyful, gazing at his daughter: / the air and earth and water are filled with love: / every animal is reconciled to loving (Petrarch 2002; translated by A. S. Kline).

versification of the original: the dactylic beginning of the third line of the first triplet (*kellega* x́xx); compare:[11]

et viene a Roma, seguendo 'l desio,
per mirar la sembianza di colui
ch'ancor lassú nel ciel vedere spera:
(Petrarch, Sonnet XVI)

ja jõuab Rooma, seirates üht sihti,
et näha saaks kord kujutustki sellest,
kellega kohtumist on taevas loota,
(Petrarch, Sonnet XVI, trans. A. Kaalep)

The same device can be seen in several other translations as well; it is a sign that the translator is aware of both the syllabic structure of the source text and the prior tradition of translating *endecasillabo*.

There are also purely syllabic translations of the Italian hendecasyllable. Märt Väljataga's translations provide an example. Compare the beginning of Giacomo Leopardi's poem *La sera del dì di festa* (Sweet and bright is the night; Leopardi 2001):[12]

Dolce e chiara è la notte e senza vento,
E queta sovra i tetti e in mezzo agli orti
Posa la luna, e di lontan rivela
Serena ogni montagna. O donna mia,
Già tace og ni sentiero, e pei balconi
Rara traluce la notturna lampa:
(Giacomo Leopardi, *La sera del dì di festa*)

Õrn ja selge on õhtu, tuul ei puhu, — x́x̀x́ x̀x́ x́x̀x́ xxxxxxxxxxx
tasa katuste kohal, keset aedu — x́x́ x̀x̀ x́ xxxxxxxxxxx
seisatab kuu ja toob esile taamal — x́ x́x̀x̀ x́ xxxxxxxxxxx
selgelt iga mäe. Oo, mu armastatu, — x́x́ x́x́x̀ x̀ xxxxxxxxxxx
nüüd vaikivad kõik teed ja palkonile — x̀x́ x̀x́x́ x̀ xxxxxxxxxxx
paistavad siin-seal üksikud öölambid. — x́ x̀x̀x́ x́x̀ xxxxxxxxxxx
(Giacomo Leopardi, *Pidupäeva õhtu*, trans. M. Väljataga)

[11] English translation: He reaches Rome, following his desire, / to gaze on the image of Him / whom he hopes to see again in heaven (translated by A. S. Kline, available at http://poetryintranslation.com/PITBR/Italian/Petrarchhome.htm).

[12] English translation: The night is sweet and clear, without a breeze, / and the moon rests in the gardens, / calm on the roofs, and reveals, clear, / far off, every mountain. O my lady, / the paths are still, and the night lights / shine here and there from the balconies (translated by A. S. Kline, available at http://www.poetryintranslation.com/PITBR/Italian/Leopardi.htm).

Each line in the target text consists of 11 syllables. Although the translator admits that, most probably, Estonian readers do not perceive the actual number of syllables of a line, at least not without counting them, he has preferred the purely syllabic form so that the verse would be more agile and less staccato than the traditional iambic translation (Väljataga 2001: 17). The placement of accents has no role in this translated verse except in the penultimate and ultimate syllables: all verses have feminine endings; still, an Estonian reader is likely to perceive this rather as *dol'nik* than as syllabic verse.

Purely syllabic forms of this kind are rather marginal in Estonian poetry and also in translations of poetry. Shorter syllabic structures like haiku and tanka are still common and are translated into Estonian with the help of 17-syllabic and 31-syllabic forms respectively, although recently an antithetic form has evolved: some authors prefer the so-called trochaic version, that is, our own native metre, in which the first line has, for instance, four syllables, being a trochaic dimeter, the second has six syllables (a trochaic trimeter) and the third again four syllables.

2.2. Syllabic-accentual and accentual-syllabic versification

In Estonian translated verse syllabic, accentual and quantitative principles are represented, but more usual are the combined types, for instance, those based on both the number of syllables and the placement of accent. There are also systems in which all three principles are involved. The accentual system of versification and its different combinations are best adjusted to the Estonian language and the main part of versified translations follows these principles. A large corpus of German, Russian, English, etc. poetry has been translated into Estonian in syllabic-accentual and accentual-syllabic systems of versification. Although the dynamic nature of Estonian stress allows constructing such verses, the translator still has to solve certain problems due to the prosodic system of the Estonian language. For instance, in comparison with the Russian language, the following features of Estonian are relevant from the standpoint of verse prosody:

1. the presence of secondary stress;
2. the fixity of stress on the first syllable of a word;
3. the lack of the reduction of unstressed syllables.[13]

[13] The accentual principles of Russian verse were formulated by Viktor Zhirmunskij (1925) and detailed by Mikhail Gasparov (1974).

The consequence of the first feature reveals itself most clearly in the rhythmics of the syllabic-accentual verse: the effect of the so-called missed stresses is considerably less obvious, since, on the whole, in the case of polysyllabic words, the stress positions are filled with syllables carrying a secondary stress. The second characteristic inflicts difficulties, first of all, at the beginning and at the end of verse, but also in the positions of caesurae. For instance, in the case of iamb and amphibrachiac the monosyllabic beginning can be avoided only with names, foreign words or compound words.[14] Let us see the second stanza from the translation (by Kalju Kangur; see Mandelstam 1990: 105) of Osip Mandelstam's poem *Как кони медленно ступают* (*How slow the horses go*) in iambic tetrameter (x́ signifies syllables with main stress and x̀ syllables with secondary stress; in Russian, the secondary stress is present only in the case of certain clitics):[15]

А я вверяюсь их заботе,	x́x́x́x́xxxxx
Мне холодно, я спать хочу;	x̀x́x̀x́x́xxx
Подбросило на повороте	x́xxxxxx́x
Навстречу звездному лучу.	x́x́xxxxx́x

(Osip Mandelstam, *Как кони медленно ступают*)

Ma usaldan end nende hoolde.	x̀x́x̀x̀x̀x́xxxxx.
Külm vaevab, silmad täis on und.	x́x́x́x̀x̀x́xxx
Retk suundub tähekiire poole,	x́x́x́x̀xx̀xxxx
teekäänakul mis heiastund.	x́x̀x̀x́x̀xxxx

(Osip Mandelstam, *Kui laisalt ratsud samme seavad,* trans. K. Kangur)

While in the source text there are only four lines where all the stress positions are filled with stressed syllables, in the target text there is at least some kind of rhythmical signal in every odd position, even if it is the weakest secondary stress, as in the second foot of the first line in the given example. In the third line of the example there are only two stresses in the source text and as many as five stresses

[14] Such a feature has even evoked opinions that it is not possible, in principle, to create iambic verse in Estonian, compare Lehiste 1994.

[15] For the poem in Russian, see http://www.rvb.ru/mandelstam/dvuhtomnik/01text/vol_1/01versus/0018.htm. English translation: I'm confident in their care, / I'm cold: sleep, my desire: / Catapulted at the corner / Towards the starry fire (translated by A. S. Kline, available at http://www.poetryintranslation.com/PITBR/Russian/MoreMandelstam.htm).

in the target text – four in accordance with the scheme and one extra-metrical stress at the beginning of verse. The most common position for extra-metrical stresses in the Estonian iamb is at the beginning of verse: it is usual that a column of monosyllabic words tends to align at the beginning of verses; in this example, only in the last verse this pattern is avoided with the help of a compound word. As for the cadence, in the source text all masculine verses (with one exception) end with polysyllabic words, while in the target text all masculine verses (also with one exception) have a monosyllable in the verse-end.

The third prosodic feature is independence of unstressed syllables which causes problems in the transmission of accentual-syllabic verses. While in Russian accentual-syllabic verses it is sometimes hard to determine the exact length of intervals between stresses (see, for instance, Jakobson 1969: 102), in the Estonian *dol'nik* and *taktovik*[16] the syllabic count of an interval is for the most part clearly determinable.[17] Let us compare, for example, a passage from Mayakovskij's poem *Нашему юношеству* (*To our youth*) and its Estonian version (translated by Felix Kotta; see Mayakovskij 1947):[18]

Когда ж переходят
к научной теме,
им
рамки русского
у́зки;
с Тифлисской
Казанская академия
переписывается по-французски.

(Mayakovskij, *Нашему юношеству* 52–55)

On tegemist
teaduse alalt teemaga,
piirab vene keel
mõtteviisi,
ning prantsuse keeles
Kaasani akadeemia
akadeemiale
kirjutab
Tiflisi.

(Mayakovskij, *Meie noorsoole*, trans. F. Kotta)

[16] For more details on the Estonian *dol'nik* and *taktovik* see Põldmäe 1978: 124–139; Lotman, M. 1998: 2063.

[17] An exception is the prosodic licence in the poetry of the 19th century and the early 20th century, according to which the diphthongs could become disyllabic. Therefore, for instance, in the earlier accentual-syllabic dactylic hexameter it is sometimes difficult to establish in the case of diphthongs whether the feet are dactylic or spondaic (trochaic).

[18] For the poem in Russian, see http://feb-web.ru/feb/mayakovsky/texts/ms0/ms8/ms8-014-.htm. English translation: If they go over to a scholarly subject, / the frames of Russian are too narrow for them / with the Academy of Tbilisi the Academy of Kazan / exchanges letters in French (my translation – M.-K. L.).

The prosodic problems are of a different kind. In Russian the number of non-initial syllables is ambivalent (for instance, *переписывается* can be read both as a heptasyllabic and a hexasyllabic word). In Estonian, the syllabic count is unambiguous, but the problems are related to the footing of words, especially in the case of polysyllabic and compound words. See, for instance, a fragment in the translation of the same poem:

> kehkenpüksluse näol pariisitsev,[19]

which can be, metrically, rendered as xxXxxXxXxx, XxXxxXxXxx, XxxxxXxXxx or XxxxxxxXxx, that is, there are different ways of footing. The original of this line is here:

> французистыми пижонами.

It is a two-footed phrase, the syllabic structure of which can only be determined in the context of verse (in this case: xXxxx xXxx / ABAABABAA).

2.3. Quantitative versification

The fact that there exists the contrast of quantity in Estonian is the very reason why it has become mainstream in the Estonian poetic culture to translate quantitative poetry into quantitative verse. Also, the Estonian folklore metre was originally quantitative and since the beginning of the 20th century, when writers had become aware of the contrast of quantity in the Estonian language, there have been constant experiments with it in translations, especially in translating verse of classical antiquity, but also, for instance, the Finnish national epic *Kalevala*. Nevertheless, there is no uniform, standard system of Estonian quantitative versification. The quantity of syllables carrying the main stress does not pose a problem: as a rule, the syllables of the second and the third duration occur in heavy positions, while syllables of the first duration are in light positions. However, since there is no contrast of quantity in the non-initial unstressed syllables in the Estonian natural language (see also Lotman 2011b: 316–318), there are rather big differences in the variety of systems. Let us compare three different models of translated hexameter.

[19] English translation: As wannabe French snobs (my translation – M.-K. L.).

2.3.1. Artificial quantitative system

Jaan Lõo, a poet and lawyer, translated Homer's *Iliad* in its entirety. Differently from the earlier translations of Homer (for more details, see Lotman 2005), which follow the accentual-syllabic principles without paying attention to the quantitative structure, Lõo pursues quantitative verse. The metrical model of his hexameter is as follows:

&&AB&AB&AB&AB&AB&A_6B&&

The model is realized with the syllabic, quantitative-syllabic and accentual rules.

1. Syllabic rules
   1.1. To every position A corresponds one syllable.
   $A \rightarrow x$
   1.2. To every position B correspond one or two syllables.
   $B \rightarrow x$
   $B \rightarrow xx$
2. Quantitative-syllabic rules
   2.1. To every position A corresponds one heavy syllable.
   $A \rightarrow -$
   2.2. To every position B correspond one heavy or two light syllables.
   $B \rightarrow -$
   $B \rightarrow \cup\cup$
3. Accentual rules
   3.1. To position A_6 corresponds one accentual syllable.
   $A_6 \rightarrow \acute{x}$
   $A_6 \rightarrow \grave{x}$

This model calls for some comments. First, syllabic weight, especially the weight of non-initial syllables, often is not in accordance with the prosody of natural language, but is attributed to these syllables with the help of artificial rules.[20] For instance, according to the prosody of the natural language, there is

[20] Lõo's system is not the only attempt to develop an artificial system of Estonian quantitative hexameter, see also Roos 1938. Victor Terras was the first to distinguish between these two types of quantitative hexameter; in his terms, Oras's verse is quantitative-tonic, Roos's secondary quantitative (Terras 1970).

no contrast of quantity in the final open syllable, yet Lõo sometimes treats such syllables as heavy. Second, although Lõo tries to construct a hexameter where accent has no role, the strong position of the last foot still acquires an accentual constant. It is a consequence of the avoidance of monosyllabic words in verse-ends; thus, the penultimate position is usually filled with the main stress of a disyllabic word or the secondary stress of a polysyllabic word. The main purpose of Lõo's translation is to convey the versification of the original, to perfect the Estonian quantitative-syllabic system of versification, while the expression plane clearly dominates the content plane. The accentual constant in the verse-ends relates to classical Latin verse, in which the stress supports the quantitative structure in verse-ends differently from the middle part of the verse, where the concurrence of quantitative and accentual structure is avoided.

2.3.2. System based on the prosody of natural language

A bulk of Latin hexametrical poetry is translated by Ants Oras who drew on the principles of versification developed by Villem Ridala. Ridala experimented with ancient verse forms also in his original poetry where he developed the rules of Estonian literary quantitative verse – however, in his version of the Estonian *Iliad* he adhered to accentual-syllabic rules (for more details, see Lotman 2005). In such hexameter the syllabic rules are the same as in Lõo's model, but the quantitative rules are different in some respects. For example, while in position A the syllabic weight is sustained, in positions B the rules are less rigid than in Lõo's verse. In Oras's hexameter the following quantitative rules are applied:

1. To every position A corresponds one heavy syllable.
   $A \rightarrow -$
2. To every position B corresponds one heavy syllable or a sequence consisting of two syllables of an optional quantity.
   $B \rightarrow -$
   $B \rightarrow xx$
3. To position B_6 corresponds one syllable with an irrelevant quantity.
   $B_6 \rightarrow x$

Hence, in the case of such versification, attention is focused mainly on filling the strong positions with heavy syllables. As a rule, such a syllable is an initial one and carries the main stress. At the same time, there is less regard for the quantitative structure of non-initial syllables filling the weak positions in the line. Accordingly, in weak positions Oras does not pay as much attention to quantity as he does in the case of strong positions. Of course, the incidence of heavy syllables is much lower in weak positions than in strong positions, but this is the result of the fact that weak positions are mainly filled with non-initial syllables which are mostly light.

As compared to Lõo's model, a set of accentual rules also applies in the given hexameter:

1. To position A corresponds one syllable with a primary stress or one syllable with a secondary stress.
   $A_6 \rightarrow \acute{x}$
   $A_6 \rightarrow \grave{x}$
2. To position B corresponds one unstressed syllable or a sequence of two unstressed syllables.
   $B \rightarrow x$
   $B \rightarrow xx$
   2.1. Mono- and disyllabic non-lexicals are accentual ancipitia and can fill both strong and weak positions.
   2.2. As an exception, also a monosyllabic or disyllabic lexical item can occur in the position B.

Of course, the versification and rhythmical structure of such hexameter are quite distinct from that of the classical hexameter and, differently from Lõo's aim, the purpose is not to imitate the versification of the source text, but rather to develop a hexameter specific to Estonian, which would accommodate the prosodic reality of the Estonian language. Such versification which mainly pays attention to filling the strong positions, is indeed closer to the prosody of the natural language, where the contrast of quantity reveals itself in stressed syllables.

2.3.3. Synthetical system

Neither Lõo's artificial model nor Ridala's looser system sufficed to meet the demands of several other hexametrists who pursued stricter quantitative structures. The most elaborate form of hexameter has been developed by Ain Kaalep, who in his discussions of verse translation has emphasized the importance of conveying the inseparable unity of content and form (compare, for instance, Kaalep 1961). In his hexameter the weak positions are also regulated, while, more than with Lõo's verse, the prosodic structure of the natural language is considered. The quantitative-syllabic rules of his verse are the following:

1. To position A corresponds one heavy syllable.
   $A \rightarrow -$
2. To position B corresponds one heavy syllable or a sequence consisting of two light syllables.
   $B \rightarrow -$
   $B \rightarrow \cup\cup$
   2.1. To position B_6 corresponds one syllable with an irrelevant quantity.
   $B_6 \rightarrow x$

Stresses occur mostly in strong positions, but in order to construct implications to the structure of the source text, where verse is based not on accentual, but quantitative contrasts, Kaalep uses deliberate rhythmical effects (accentual shifts); such shifts (first used by the pioneers of Estonian quantitative hexameter Jaan Lõo and Gustav Suits) also help to avoid the concurrence of word-ends and foot boundaries.

In this aspect, Kaalep's versification is a step back towards the structure of the ancient hexameter, as compared to Ridala's and Oras's verse. Here the primary aim is to follow quantitative rules, to which the syllabic structure is subjected, while the use of accents is in places irrelevant. Yet, since the prosodic systems are dissimilar, the result is an entirely different rhythmical structure.

3. Conclusion

Although in the history of Estonian poetic translation there are examples of nonequimetrical nonequiprosodic, nonequimetrical equiprosodic and nonequiprosodic equimetrical translation of verse, the prevailing method has been simultaneously equimetrical and equiprosodic. Even in the case of nonequiprosodic translations, it is common that implications of the prosodic structure of the source text occur on the rhythmical level.

Even more interesting are the cases where the prosodic system of the source language is rather different from that of the target language, so that it is difficult to convey the system of versification with the means of natural language. An example is the translation of ancient metres into Estonian. Although the Estonian language has a contrast of quantity, its nature is quite different from the quantitative structure of, for instance, ancient Greek. There are various approaches in creating quantitative verse in Estonian – some are derived, first of all, from the prosody of the natural language, some create an artificial system, while some are a compromise between the two, mostly complying with the quantitative structure of the natural language, but for special effects, especially in accentual shifts, applying also the artificial renditions of quantity.[21]

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[21] The writing of this paper was supported by the Estonian Science Foundation, grants no. 8341 and 9015.

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Эквипросодический стихотворный перевод

Эквипросодический перевод, передающий систему стихосложения оригинала, следует отличать от эквиметрического. Эквипросодический перевод может опираться на естественные возможности языка (например, Энний в переводе «Одиссеи» воспользовался квантитативной структурой латыни), но может основываться и на искусственно созданной системе (ср. квантитативное стихосложение на английском или церковнословянском языке). В эстонском языке есть возможности для передачи как силлабического стихосложения (основанного на счете слогов), так и тонического (основанного на счете и расположении ударений) и квантитативного (основанного на расположении долгот). Наиболее часто встречаются комбинированные типы: например, сочетающие силлабику с тоникой, но возможны и системы стихосложения, сочетающие все три просодических фактора. Хотя в эстонском языке есть контраст долгот, передача квантитативной структуры античного стиха связана с рядом трудностей, проистекающих из различий просодической структуры. Также затруднена и передача чисто-силлабического стиха: его структура с трудом воспринимается в качестве стихотворной, поэтому, по примеру русских переводчиков, силлабический стих передается различными видами силлабо-акцентного или акцентно-силлабического стиха. Хотя эквипросодический стихотворный перевод не обязательно является одновременно и эквиметрическим, в основном русле переводческой практики наблюдается совпадение этих принципов.

Ekviprosoodiline luuletõlge

Ekvimeetrilisest värsitõlkest tuleks eristada ekviprosoodilist värsitõlget, mis annab edasi originaali värsisüsteemi. Ekviprosoodiline luuletõlge võib tugineda loomuliku keele võimalustele (nt Enniuse tõlgitud "Odüsseia" kasutab ära ladina keele kvantiteerivat struktuuri), kuid võib põhineda ka kunstlikult loodud süsteemil (vrd nt kvantiteerivat värssi inglise või vene keeles). Eesti keeles on võimalik edasi anda nii süllaabilist (silbiarvul põhinevat), rõhulist (rõhkude arvul ja paigutusel põhinevat) kui ka kvantiteerivat (väldete paigutusel põhinevat) värsisüsteemi. Praktikas on sagedamini kasutusel kombineeritud tüübid: nt sellised, milles on oluline nii silbiarv kui rõhkude paigutus; eesti keeles on võimalikud ka kõigi kolme põhimõtte osalusel tekkivad värsisüsteemid. Kuigi eesti keeles on olemas vältekontrast, on antiikmeetrika kvantiteeriva struktuuri edasiandmisel siiski rida raskusi, mis tulenevad teistsugusest prosoodilisest struktuurist. Samuti on probleemne puhtsüllaabilise värsisüsteemi edasiandmine: seda struktuuri on raske tajuda värsilisena ning seetõttu on seda vene tõlkijate eeskujul sageli asendatud ka erinevate rõhulis-silbiliste või silbilis-rõhuliste värsimõõtudega. Ekviprosoodiline värsstõlge ei pruugi tingimata olla ekvimeetriline, kuid peavoolutõlgetes on see üldjuhul siiski nõnda.