NOTES ON THE URARTIAN VERB

by MARGARIT KHACHIKYAN

In this article a passage from the inscription of Rusa III from Gövelek (recto 4-12), rich in various verbal forms so far unanalyzed, will be examined.

Transliteration and transcription

4  ḫal-di-ni-ni uš-ma-ši-ni EN-si-ni-ni  
    ḫalde=y=ne=ne ušmaše=ne alusi=ne=ne
5  a-lu-uš-me šu-i-ni e-si-i-ni mu-ši  
    alu=š(e)=me šui=ne esi=ne muše
6  ú-e-še-la-še ú-e-ši-i-gi  
    wešelaše wešy=(y)e
7  a-lu-uš-me tu-bar-du-ni ú-bar-du-gi  
    alu=š(e)=me tubardune ubard=o=ye
8  a-lu-uš-me LUGÁL-tú-hi DAN.NU a-ru-ni  
    alu=š(e)=me ernutuhe tarae ar=o=Ø=me
9  na-ha-di LUGÁL-tú-hi-ni-na GISGU.ZA te-ru-me  
    nah=a=de ernutuhe=(y)=ne=n(e)=a GISGU.ZA=n(e)=a ter=o=Ø=me
10 GIS LUGÁL-tú-hi-ni-i šú-gu-ki uš-ha-nu-me  
    GIS ernutuhe=(y)=ne=y šu(y)uke=(y)e ušhan=o=Ø=me
11 ú-e-še-la-še mu-ši a-lu-ka-a  
    wešelaše muše aluk(e)=a
12 ú-e-ši-ia-ú-li PAP (?) KUR.KURMTȘ  
    wešy=aw/v=le burgala=le šure=le

Translation

(4) By Haldi's lordly might, (5-6) who everywhere (?) rules a true (?) rule over me, (7) who endowed (?) me with power (?), (8) who gave me powerful/great kingship, (9) I sit on the throne of kingship. He defined for me (10) the scepter of the kingship, to me did he hand over (11) the true rule, by which (12) I rule over all the country/people (?)

Comments

(5) šui=ne esi=ne is conjecturally translated "everyplace, everywhere"; the adjective muše "true" is supposedly the attribute of the noun wešelaše of the next line.

The meaning of ú-e-ši-i-gi though unknown, it is certainly a 3 p. sg. imperfective/non-past form, which is to be placed in the same range with the forms aly=(y)e “he says”, tiy=(y)a=ne “he speaks, says-it”, uy ar=ya=ne “he does not give-her”2. The use of g-signs, especially of gi for denoting the sonant/semi-vowel y is common in Urartian, cf. the spelling gi-e-i of the indefinite pronoun yey and šidagul/ù-ri of the resultative participle šidayure. It is not clear, whether y should be ascribed to the verbal base or to the ergative personal marker =(y)a/=(y)e: on the one hand, it is present in the form ú-e-ši-ia-ù-li of line 12, which we are inclined to interpret as a 1 p. sg. imperfective/non-past form with the ergative personal marker –av/ù, by analogy with the corresponding personal suffix in Hurrian, on the other hand, it is absent from weşelaše, an abstract substantive obviously derived from the same root. Following E. Grekyan’s interpretation of this verb as “to rule, govern” and of the abstract noun weşelaše as “rule, government”, we conjecturally translate the etymological figure weşelaše weşy=(y)e as “he rules a rule”.

The lexical meaning of this line, except for aluš(e)=me “who(ergative)-me”, is unknown. Though ū-bar-du-di is similar to the 3 p.sg. perfective/past tense form (cf. a-ru-ne of line 8), we, pace M. Salvini3, agree with N. Harouthiounyan4 and E. Grekyan5, who consider it a substantive. Its translation “power, strength” is based on the comparison with Hurrian tubue “strong” (RŠ Voc. II 28).

ú-bar-du-gi, as well as ú-e-ši-i-gi of line 6, contains the 3 p. sg. ergative suffix =ye attached to the perfective base ubard=0=6, for which we suggest the meaning “to endow, to invest”. In the parallel passages of the inscriptions of Argisti II from Hagi and Çelebibagi, instead of the objectless form ú-bar-du-gi (ubard=0=ye), we have ú-bar-a-du-(ù)-ia-(a)-le (ubar*=d=o=ya=le). The 3 p. sg. ergative marker =(y)e in the latter, appearing in the penultimate position, has restored its original vowel a, cf. tiy=(y)a=ne, ar=ya=ne, as well as the corresponding Hurrian morph =(y)a. The parallel use of the forms ubardoye and ubardoyale suggests the restoration of ú-e-ši-[ia-a-li] in KUKN 406 recto29, 407 recto16. It should be noted, however, that the use of the plural object marker =le in the forms weşyale and ubardoyale in a sentence without visible plural referents seems to be out of place.

The hypothetical translation of this line as “who endowed me with strength” seems preferable to E. Grekyan’s “who willed/determined a crown for me”88, which, however, cannot be absolutely ruled out.

---

3 SMEA XLIV/1, 2002, p. 125.
4 PBH, 2004, p. 229, n. 16.
5 Ibid, p. 229.
7 Pace W. F. König (Hchl 124, 125) and N. Harouthiounyan, whose restoration ú-e-ši-[ia-ù-li] is based on the forms ú-e-ši-ia-ù-li (KUKN 406 recto29) and ú-e-š-ia-ù-li (KUKN 407 recto16) attested in the same passage.
(8) The abstract substantive *ernutuhe* is, in all probability, a derivation from *erelī* (*ern<\text{n}lutuhe)* "king".

In a-ru-ni (\textit{ar=ο=Ø-ne}) "he gave-it" the 3 p. sg. ergative suffix \(=(y)a=/=(y)e\) is replaced by its \(Ø\)-allomorph.

(9) LUGAL-tū-hi-ni-na, the attribute of GIsGU.ZA "throne", is to be analyzed as the genitive form of the abstract noun *ernutuhe* "kingship, reign" followed by the correlative particle \(=ne\) and the flection (article + locative mark) of the noun GIsGU.ZA: *ernutuhe*=\(=-ne=n(e)=a\), lit. "on (=\(na\)) that (=\(ni\)) of (=\(y\)) the kingship"\(^{10}\). From the fact that GIsGU.ZA is in the locative case (cf. \(=na\) of *ernutuhene=na*), it follows that the aspectless/atemporal form *nah=\(a\)=de* in this sentence refers to the present: "I sit/am sitting on the throne of kingship". The use of a noun in the absolute case with the same form *nahade*, on the contrary, implies perfective/past tense semantics\(^{11}\): *nahade... es\(i\)-\(y\)(e) ernutuhene* "I ascended ... his (=\(y\)) place (absolute) of kingship", KUKN 241G, 274, et al.

(10) There have been several interpretations of *šuguki*: "with me"\(^{12}\), "only me"\(^{13}\), "into my hand"\(^{14}\). Comparing the element *šu* with the Hurrian noun *šuni* "hand", Chr. Girbal ascribes it the meaning "hand" and analyzes this form as *šu* "hand" + glide \(y\) (graph. g) + 1 p. sg. possessive suffix \(=uke\). This interpretation and the translation of *terome ... šuyuke* as "he put ... into my hand" tempting as it is, a different explanation of this form seems more preferable.

The alternative spelling *ši-da-gu//u-ri, ū-bar-du-gi//u-bar-a-du-(u- )ia-(a)-le* allows us to identify *šu-gu-ki* of this text with *su-(u)-ki* (KUKN, passim) translated "as"\(^{16}\), "as soon as"\(^{16}\), "to me" (dative of the 1 p. sg. personal pronoun *šulo=ye* + deictic enclitic \(=uke\))\(^{17}\).

The present interpretation of *šu-gu-ki* slightly differs from the latter (cf. note 17). We are inclined to consider \(=uke\) as a suffix, to which the dative case marker is attached: *šulo* (oblique case base of the 1 p. sg. personal pronoun *šulo=ye* + deictic) \(=ye\) (dative), cf. the presence of this suffix in the oblique (comitative) forms of the

\(^9\) The identification of the hapax *ernutuhe* with LUGAL-tuhe (K. Balcan, "Ein urartäisches Tempel auf Anzavurtepe bei Patnos und hier entdeckte Inschriften", \textit{Anatolia} V, Ankara, 1960, pp. 117, 122; KUKN, p. 143) is preferable to Chr. Girbal's interpretation: based on the identification of the Urartian root *iern* with Hurrian *irm*, for which he suggests the meaning "equal", and by analogy with the Latin adjective *aequus* meaning both "equal" and "just", this author translates *ernutuhe* as "justice" ("Notizen zum Urartäischen", \textit{SMEA} XLVIII, 2004, p. 26). It should be, however, noted that the text where *ernutuhe* is attested seems to deal with cultivating the land and laying out a garden – deeds that will certainly provoke the satisfaction of the population with the king's reign, but do not by all means attest of his justice.

\(^{10}\) On the analysis of the segment \(=\text{ini}=\) as the sequence of the genitive marker and the correlative particle cf. G Wilhelm, "Zur Urartäischen Nominalflexion", \textit{ZA} 66, 1976, pp. 105-119.


\(^{13}\) M. Salvini, \textit{SMEA} XLVI/1, 2002, p.123.


personal pronouns šukure and makure\textsuperscript{17a} and the locative form case of the relative pronoun al=uk=ša (line 11).

The form šú-gu/ú-ki, besides this text, is attested in the following passages (cited by KUKN):
1) [\textsuperscript{[dhal-di-iš-me ... šú-ú-ki a-ru-ni “Haldi... šú-ú-ki gave-it” (271a);}
2) šú-gu-(ú-)ki uš-ha-nu-me ú-e-še-la-še mu-(ú-)ši “šú-gu-(ú-)ki he handed me over the true rule” (406 recto\textsubscript{17} 407 recto\textsubscript{20});
3) šú-ú-ki ʻhal-di-iš-e i-zí-du-ni a-ru-me i-e-še(!)\textsuperscript{18} za-du-(ú-)bi “šú-ú-ki Haldi gave me the command, (and) I accomplished (it)” (406 recto\textsubscript{3} 407 recto\textsubscript{31,32});
4) šú-ú-ki ʻhal-di-i-iš-e i-zí-du-ú-ni i-e-še za-du-bi “Haldi commanded, (and) I accomplished (it)” (427a);
5) šú-ú-ki ʻhal-di-š-e ú-bar-du-du-ni\textsuperscript{19} i-e-še ši-di-iš-tú-bi /... te-ru-bi “šú-ki Haldi entrusted (?) (and) I built... (419 s_6 ) / laid out... (421 9.11).

Though Chr. Girbal’s interpretation of šú-gu-(ú-)ki fits well examples 1) and 2) (“he gave/put into my hand”, “he handed over/put into my hand”), it seems out of place in sentences 3)-5), which evidently deal with Haldi’s command to the king and the accomplishment of this command by the latter. The translation “to me”, on the contrary, suits all the examples, cited above, including 1) and 2). The purpose of using in these sentences the independent personal pronoun šuyuke (alongside the corresponding personal suffix \textsuperscript{=me}) is to express the focus of the sentence: “to me did Haldi give”, “to me did he hand over the true rule”, “to me did Haldi give the command, (and) I (independent pronoun) accomplished (it)” etc.

(11) As noted above (cfr. comment to line 10), aluka is the locative form of the relative pronoun ale (absolutive), aluše (ergative). The use of locative, instead of the expected ablative-instrumental is to be explained by the government of the verb wešy=.

(12) ú-e-ši-ia-ú-li, in all probability, is the spelling of the 1 p. sg. imperfective/non-past form of the verb wešy=. This conjecture is confirmed by the 1 p. sg. ergative suffix -aw/v in Hurrian (tan=\textsuperscript{aw/v} “I do/am doing”, tanoš=\textsuperscript{aw/v} “I did”, kaded=\textsuperscript{aw/v} “I shall say” etc.). In perfective forms, the vowel of the suffix -aw/v elides after the preceding vowel =o= and it appears in the form =w/v (graph. -ú- or -bi): paro=\textsuperscript{w/v(e)}, hao=\textsuperscript{w/v(e)}, amašto=\textsuperscript{w/v(e)} etc.

The combination of sumerograms identified with burgalale šurele in the parallel passages of KUKN 406\textsubscript{36} and 407\textsubscript{22-23} was read and interpreted as KUR KUR\textsuperscript{MEŠ} “the hostile countries” by M. Salvini\textsuperscript{20} and as PAP KUR.KUR\textsuperscript{MEŠ} “all the countries” by E. Grekyan\textsuperscript{21}.

At the first glance, M. Salvini’s interpretation of burgalale as “hostile” seems preferable, as it seems not very likely that in the other two passages, where burgalale is attested (burgalale LUGAL\textsuperscript{MEŠ} KURetiuhinele arnuule “the burgalale kings of Etiuhe came to (their)\textsuperscript{22} aid”, KUKN 31recto\textsubscript{14-16}, verso\textsubscript{4-5}; suidutu \textsuperscript{m}Uteruhe, \textsuperscript{m}Luša

\textsuperscript{17} Chr. Girbal, “Pronominalformen und -KUR in Urartäischen”, SMEA XLVII, 2005, pp. 163-169.
\textsuperscript{18} We follow N. Harouthiounyan’s amendment i-e-še instead of the obviously erroneous ʻhal-di-še (KUKN, p. 316, n. 40a).
\textsuperscript{19} The pair of the related verbs ubardc= “to endow, to entrust” and ubardudo= “to entrust, to charge” is comparable with Russian vruchat’ and poruchat’ and Armenian yanjnel and yanjnararel, with the same meaning.
\textsuperscript{20} SMEA XLIV/1, 2002. pp. 117, 128.
\textsuperscript{22} I. e., of the tribes of Luša, Katarza, Uiteruhe.
"Katarza burgalale erelele KURetiuhinele "they thrust back U., L., K. (and) the burgalale kings of Etiuhe", ibid, recto 28-31), all the kings of Etiuhe united to help U., L. and K. Moreover, Urartian possessed two other words for "all": šuine and ibirane.

None the less, the translation of this line as "I rule over all the country/people (of the country)" suits better the context, than "I rule over hostile countries/tribes".

§2. The Urartian verb had four thematic vowels: =o=, =a=, =u=, marks of transitive verbs (ar=o= "to give", ha=o= "to take", amašt=o= "to burn"), intransitive verbs (nah=a= "to sit (down)", nun=a= "to come, to arrive", ušt=a= "to set out, to take the field"), verbs of state (man=u= "to be"), and -i(a)-. The verbs with the latter are mostly of medium semantics (hut=ia= "to implore", haš=ia= "to listen, to lend an ear"), though some forms of passive semantics are also attested, cf. the passage giwrane hišan=i=be GĀNMEŠSAMĒ ... GĪSurde nah=i=be šurele pišad=ia=le Menua(y)=ne=ye ernutuhe=ye (KUKN 14826.28, 14926.30), which hypothetically may be interpreted as follows: "the land was cultivated (?)", barley fields ... a vineyard was laid out25 at Menua's reign27.

From the forms with the suffix =ia=/=i= attested in the Urartian corpus it follows that the allomorph =i= is limited to the 3 p. sg. forms: hišan=i=be "it was cultivated?", nah=i=be "it was planted, layed out", kuluarš=i=bi "he fled, escaped", sulušt-i-be "he prostrated", but: haš=ia=le(me) "they listened to me", hut=ia=de "I implored", kuṭ=ia=de "I reached, got to", pišad=ia=le "they rejoiced".

§3. The examination of the meanings, expressed by the perfective form of the verbs nuld- and weşy- presented below may spread light on the semantics of the aspectual forms of the atelic verbs in Urartian.

The verb nuld- is attested in Urartian-Assyrian duplicate inscriptions of Rusa I from Topzawa (KUKN 387) and Movana28 and in the inscription of the same king from Nor-Bayazet (KUKN 388).

The passage of Topsawa bilingual containing this verb and the corresponding Assyrian passage read: Urart. (28) ... šu-si-na MUJMÉŠ (29) [KURBi]-a-i-ni-li nu-ul-du-
u-li KURlu-i-ni-l[i] (30) [zi-el-du-bi ... = Ass. (27) ... ina lib-bi MUMES-ia KURURI i/er-ti-[i/piš] (28) [KURKURMES] ú-si-iq ...

According to Chr. Girbal’s interpretation of šú-si-na as the locative plural form of the 1 p. sg. independent possessive adjective šulo=usí(=)su/o=USi(=)29, susina MUMES is to be translated “in/during my years”30.

The interpretation of the Assyrian passage depends on the reading of the last, damaged, sign of line 27 (piš or ’i). When read piš (i/er-ti-[piš]), the passage is translated “during my years (of reign) Viaynele expanded (M. Salvini)31/ “I expanded Viaynele (B. André-Salvini – M. Salvini)32, I oppressed the hostile countries”, while in case of ’i it is translated “…I ruled over Viaynele…”33.

The restoration er-34-ti-[piš] seems doubtful, since the form er-ti-[piš] means “I became larger”, not “I expanded (the country)”, the stem Gt of νρξ meaning “immer breiter werden”35 (the transitive meaning “verbreiten” is expressed by the D-stem of the same root, the 1 p. sg. preterital form of it being urappις, not erteπις).

er-ti-[’i], on the other hand, is the 1 p. sg. Gtn preterital form of νρξ erte"i, meaning “I ruled”36. This translation fits quite well the context, and the passage may be translated “in/during my years [i.e. the years of my reign] I ruled over Viaynele (and) oppressed the hostile countries”. Hence the Urartian verb nuld= may be ascribed the meaning “to rule”.

The atelic verb wešy=, synonymous with nuld=, is attested in the imperative forms wešy=e, wešy=a=le, wešy=aw/v=le and in the perfective form wešy=o=a=le. In the passages, where the imperative forms are attested (Gövelek, KUKN 406, 407), they express the present tense as opposed to the other verbs of the same passages referring to the past (ubard=o=ye, ar=o=O=ne, ter=o=O=me, uşhan=o=O=me, nah=a=de, cf. §1).

In the sentence “Ru-sa-ni mdSar-i du-ri-hi LUGÁL DAN.NU a-lu-še KURBi-a-i-li nu-ul-du-a-li “Rusa, son of Argišti, the mighty king, who rules over Viaynele” (KUKN 388,7,8) the 3 p. sg. perfective form nuld=o=a=le expresses the present tense. The present tense is also expressed by the perfective form wešy=o=a=le attested in the passage DINGIR a-lu-še ú-ru-li-li ú-e-si-ú-a-li (wešy=o=a=le) “to the god who governs/rules over the urule (pl.)37” (KUKN 38 I9, II14).

From the examples cited above we may assume that the perfective of the atelic
verbs which imply imperfective semantics expresses an action in the past and gnomic present, whereas the imperfective form refers to the present.

Margarit L. Khachikyan
Institute of Oriental Studies
of the Academy of Sciences
Bagramian ave. 24G
0019 Yerevan, Armenia

RARE ABBREVIATIONS

PBH    Patma-banasirakan handes (Istoriko-filologicheskij zhurnal), Yerevan.
RŠ Voc. Sumerian-Hurrian vocabulary from Ras Shamra.