

NOTES ON THE URARTIAN VERB

by MARGARIT KHACHIKYAN

In this article a passage from the inscription of Rusa III from Gövelek (recto 4-2)¹, rich in various verbal forms so far unanalyzed, will be examined.

Transliteration and transcription

- 4 ^dhal-di-ni-ni uš-ma-ši-ni EN-si-ni-ni
Halde=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=ne
- 9 na-ha-di LUGÁL-tú-hi-ni-na ^{GIŠ}GU.ZA te-ru-me
nah=a=de ernutuhe=(y)=ne=n(e)=a ^{GIŠ}GU.ZA=n(e)=a ter=o=Ø=me
- 10 ^{GIŠ} LUGÁL-tú-hi-ni-i šú-gu-ki uš-ha-nu-me
GIŠ 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.KUR^{MEŠ}
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.

¹ M. Salvini, "Una stele di Rusa III Erimenahi dalla zona di Van", *SMEA* XLIV/1, 2002, 115-143; E. Grekyan, "The Urartian Inscription from Gövelek", *PBH*, 2004, p. 224-252 [in Armenian].

(6) 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 *ši-da-gu/ú-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-ú-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/w*, by analogy with the corresponding personal suffix in Hurrian, on the other hand, it is absent from *wešelaše*, an abstract substantive obviously derived from the same root. Following E. Grekian’s interpretation of this verb as “to rule, govern” and of the abstract noun *wešelaše* as “rule, government”, we conjecturally translate the etymological figure *wešelaše wešy=(y)e* as “he rules a rule”.

(7) The lexical meaning of this line, except for *aluš(e)=me* “who(ergative)-me”, is unknown. Though *tu-bar-du-ni* 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. Grekian⁵, 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=o*⁶, for which we suggest the meaning “to endow, to invest”. In the parallel passages of the inscriptions of Argisti II from Hagi and Çelebibağı, instead of the objectless form *ú-bar-du-gi* (*ubard=o=ye*), we have *ú-bar-a-du-(ú-ia)-(a)-le* (*ubar^ad=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 recto₂₀, 407 recto₁₆⁷. It should be noted, however, that the use of the plural object marker *=le* in the forms *wešyale* 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. Grekian’s “who willed/determined a crown for me”⁸, which, however, cannot be absolutely ruled out.

² M. L. Khachikyan, “Aspects/Tenses in Hurrian and Urartian” [in Russian], *Edubba Is Everlasting* (Proceedings of the Conference Held in Commemoration of the 90th Birthday of I. M. Diakonoff), St. Petersburg, 2005 p. 246. On I. M. Diakonoff’s interpretation of *a-ri-a-ne* as a modal form cf. *UPD*, p. 59.

³ *SMEA* XLIV/1, 2002, p. 125.

⁴ *PBH*, 2004, p. 229, n. 16.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 229.

⁶ We transcribe the transitive/perfective marker as *=o=* by analogy with Hurrian (on the transitive vowel *=o=* in old Hurrian cf. G. Wilhelm, “Hurritischen Verbalsystem”, *Texte, Sätze, Wörter und Moneme* [Festschrift für Klaus Heger zum 65. Geburtstag], Heidelberg, 1992, p. 667).

⁷ Pace W. F. König (HchI 124, 125) and N. Harouthiounyan, whose restoration *ú-e-ši-[ia-ú-li]* is based on the forms *ú-e-ši-ia-ú-[li]* (KUKN 406 recto₂₀) and *ú-e-š[i-ia-ú]-li* (KUKN 407 recto₂₂) attested in the same passage.

⁸ *PBH*, 2004, p. 229.

(8) The abstract substantive *ernutuhe* is, in all probability, a derivation from *ereli* (**erⁿ<lutuhe*)⁹ “king”.

In *a-ru-ni* (*ar=o=Ø-ne*) “he gave-it” the 3 p. sg. ergative suffix *=(y)a/= (y)e* is replaced by its *Ø*-allomorph.

(9) LUGÁL-tú-hi-ni-na, the attribute of ^{GIS}GU.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 ^{GIS}GU.ZA: *ernutuhe=y=ne=n(e)=a*, lit. “on (=na) that (=ni) of (=y) the kingship”¹⁰. From the fact that ^{GIS}GU.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 absolutive case with the same form *nahade*, on the contrary, implies perfective/past tense semantics¹¹: *nahade... esi-y(e) ernutuhene* “I ascended ...his (=y) place (absolutive) of kingship”, KUKN 241G₂, 274₄ 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/ú-ri*, *ú-bar-du-gi/ú-bar-a-du-(ú-ia)-(a)-le* allows us to identify *šú-gu-ki* of this text with *šú-(ú)-ki* (KUKN, passim) translated “as”¹⁵, “as soon as”¹⁶, “to me” (dative of the 1 p. sg. personal pronoun *šu/o=ye* + deictic enclitic *=uke*)¹⁷.

The present interpretation of *šú-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: *šu/o* (oblique case base of the 1 p. sg. personal pronoun) = *y* (glide) = *uke* = *ye* (dative), cf. the presence of this suffix in the oblique (comitative) forms of the

⁹ The identification of the hapax *ernutuhe* with LUGÁL-tuhe (K. Balcan, “Ein urartäisches Tempel auf Anzavurtepe bei Patnos und hier entdeckte Inschriften”, *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 *ilern=* with Hurrian *irn=*, 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”, *SMEA* XLVI/1, 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 *=ini=* as the sequence of the genitive marker and the correlative particle cf. G. Wilhelm, “Zur Urartäischen Nominalflexion”, *ZA* 66, 1976, pp. 105-119.

¹¹ On the use of absolutive forms in directive meaning in Hurrian cf. M. L. Khachikyan, “On the Origin and Evolution of the Particle *-ne* in Hurrian”, *Studies on the Civilization and Culture of Nuzi and the Hurrians* 15, 2005, 187-191.

¹² N. Harouthiounyan, KUKN, p. 465; E. Grekian, *PBH*, 2004, p. 250.

¹³ M. Salvini, *SMEA* XLIV/1, 2002, p. 123.

¹⁴ Chr. Girbal, *SMEA* XLVI/1, 2004, p. 26.

¹⁵ G. A. Melikischvili, *UKN*, p. 407; N. V. Harouthiounyan, *KUKN*, p. 465.

¹⁶ M. Salvini, *SMEA* XLIV/1, 2002, p. 125; E. Grekian, *PBH* 2004, p. 235.

¹⁷ I. M. Diakonoff, *Hurrisch und Urartäisch*, München, 1971, p. 107; M. L. Khachikyan, *Xuritskij i urartskij jazyki*, Yerevan, 1985, p. 79.

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

The form *šú-gu/ú-ki*, besides this text, is attested in the following passages (cited by KUKN):

- 1) [^dhal-di-i]š-me ... šú-ú-ki a-ru-ni “Haldi... šú-ú-ki gave-it” (271₄);
- 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 recto₂₇, 407 recto₂₀);
- 3) šú-ú-ki ^dhal-di-še i-zi-du-ni a-ru-me i-e-še(!)¹⁸ za-du-(ú)bi “šú-ú-ki Haldi gave-me the command, (and) I accomplished (it)” (406 recto₄₃, 407 recto₃₁₋₃₂);
- 4) šú-ki ^dhal-di-i-še i-zi-du-ú-ni i-e-še za-du-bi “Haldi commanded, (and) I accomplished (it)” (427a₃);
- 5) šú-ki ^dhal-di-še ú-bar-du-du-ni¹⁹ i-e-še ši-di-iš-tú-bi / ... te-ru-bi “šú-ki Haldi entrusted (?), (and) I built...(419₅₋₆) / layed 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 suffixe =*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* (absolute), *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=aw/v* “I do/am doing”, *tanoš=aw/v* “I did”, *kaded=aw/v* “I shall say” etc.). In perfective forms, the vowel of the suffix *-aw/v* elidas after the preceding vowel =*o=* and it appears in the form =*w/v* (graph. -ú- or -bi): *paro=w/v(e)*, *hao=w/v(e)*, *amašto=w/v(e)* etc.

The combination of sumerograms identified with *burgalale šurele* in the parallel passages of KUKN 406₃₀ and 407₂₂₋₂₃ was read and interpreted as KÚR KUR.KUR^{MEŠ} “the hostile countries” by M. Salvini²⁰ and as PAP KUR.KUR^{MEŠ} “all the countries” by E. Grekhan²¹.

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^{MEŠ} KUR^{etiuhinele} *arnuyale* “the *burgalale* kings of Etiuhe came to (their)²² aid”, KUKN 31recto₁₄₋₁₆, verso_{4,5}; *suidutu* ^m*Uteruhe*, ^m*Luša*

¹⁷ Chr. Girbal, “Pronominalformen und -KURI in Urartäischen”, SMEA XLVII, 2005, pp. 163-169.

¹⁸ We follow N. Harouthiounyan's amendment i-e-še instead of the obviously erroneous ^dhal-di-še (KUKN, p. 316, n. 40a).

¹⁹ The pair of the related verbs *ubardo=* “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.

²⁰ SMEA XLIV/1, 2002, pp. 117, 128.

²¹ PBH, 2004, pp. 225, 232.

²² I. e., of the tribes of Luša, Katarza, Uiteruhe.

^m*Katarza burgalale erelele* KUR^{etiuhinele} “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”: *šuíne* 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/tribes²³”.

§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 semantics²⁴ (*hut=ia=* “to implore”, *haš=ia=* “to listen, to lend an ear”), though some forms of passive semantics are also attested, cf. the passage *qiwrane hišan=i=be* GÁN^{MEŠ} ŠAM^{ŠE} ... GIŠ^{ulde} *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, the country/the people rejoiced²⁶ 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=l(e)=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 *wešy-* 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) ... šú-si-na MU^{MEŠ} (29) [^{KUR}Bi-]ja-i-ni-li nu-ul-du-

²³ On the interpretation of the term *šurele* cf. I. M. Diakonoff, UPD, p. 62; I. M. Diakonoff, I. N. Medvedskaja, “The Kingdom of Urartu”, Bibliotheca Orientalis, 1987, p. 393; G. Wilhelm, “Šura/i in Kargamiš und das urartäische Gentiliz šurele”, SMEA XXXI, 1993, pp. 135-141.

²⁴ Most of them correspond to Russian verbs with the reflexive particle *-sja*: *haš=ia=* “prislushat'sja”, *hut=ia=* “vzmolit'sja”, *kuluarš=i(a)=* “spasat'sja”, *kuṭ=ia=* “dobrat'sja”, *sulušt=i(a)=* “sklonit'sja” etc.

²⁵ Lit. “was set”, cf. Russian *sažat'* “to set, to plant”.

²⁶ The interpretation of *pišad=* as “rejoice” was suggested by Chr. Girbal (SMEA XLVI, 2004, pp. 25-26) and, independently, M. Khachikyan (“On the Category of Aspect/Tense in Urartian [new observations]”, Merdzavor ev Mijin Arevelk'i Erkrner ev Žoğovurdner [The Countries and Peoples of the Near and Middle East] XXIV, Yerevan, 2005, p. 477 [in Armenian]).

²⁷ On the identification *ernutuhe* = LUGAL^{-tuhe} see note 9.

²⁸ B. André-Salvini – M. Salvini, “The Bilingual Stele of Rusa I from Movana”, SMEA XLIV/1, 2002, pp. 5-66.

u-li^{KUR}[u-lu-i-ni-l[i] (30) [z]i-el-du-bi ... = Ass. (27) ... ina lib-bi MU^{MEŠ}-ia^{KUR}URI i/er-ti-[i/piš] (28) [KUR^{KUR}MEŠ] 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 *šu/o=usi(=)*²⁹, *šusina* MU^{MEŠ} 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 er³⁴-ti-[piš] seems doubtful, since the form er-ti-[piš] means "I became larger", not "I expanded (the country)", the stem Gt of $\sqrt{\text{rpš}}$ 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 *urappiš*, not *ertepiš*).

er-ti-[i], on the other hand, is the 1 p. sg. Gtn preterital form of $\sqrt{\text{r'y}} \text{erte}''i$, 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 imperfective forms *wešy=e*, *wešy=a=le*, *wešy=aw/v=le* and in the perfective form *wešy=o=a=le*. In the passages, where the imperfective 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=Ø=ne*, *ter=o=Ø=me*, *ušhan=o=Ø=me*, *nah=a=de*, cf. §1).

In the sentence ^mRu-sa-ni ^{md}Sar₅-du-ri-hi LUGÁL DAN.NU a-lu-še^{KUR}Bi-a-i-ni-li nu-ul-du-a-li "Rusa, son of Argišti, the mighty king, who rules over Viaynele" (KUKN 388₇₋₈) 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-ši-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

KUKN	N. V. Harouthiounyan, <i>Korpus urartskix klinoobraznyx nadpisej</i> , Yerevan, 2001.
PBH	<i>Patma-banasirakan handes</i> (Istoriko-filologicheskij žurnal), Yerevan.
RŠ Voc.	Sumerian-Hurrian vocabulary from Ras Shamra.
UKN	G. A. Melikischvili, <i>Urartskie klinoobraznye nadpisi</i> , Moskva, 1960.
UPD	I. M. Diakonoff, <i>Urartskie pis'ma i dokumenty</i> , Moskva-Leningrad, 1963.

²⁹ Chr. Girbal, "Selbständige Pronomina der ersten Person Singular im Urartäischen", *Kulturgeschichten (Altorientalische Studien für V. Haas zum 65. Geburtstag)*, Saarbrücken, 2001, p. 143.

³⁰ Pace N. Harouthiounyan (KUKN, p. 291), who translates this phrase as "for years".

³¹ M. Salvini, "La bilingue urarteo-assira di Rusa I", *Tra lo Zagros e l'Urmia. Ricerche storiche ed archeologiche nell'Azerbaigian Iraniano*, Roma, 1984, 85-86.

³² SMEA XLIV/1, 2002, pp. 23.

³³ I. M. Diakonoff, "Zametki po urartskoj epigrafike", *Epigrafika Vostoka* IV, 1951, p. 110; G. A. Melikischvili, UKN, p. 325; N. V. Harouthiounyan, KUKN, pp. 290, 294.

³⁴ The reading er- is preferable to ir-, as this verb corresponds to the 1 p. sg. perfective form *nuld=o=w/v=le* of the Urartian version.

³⁵ W. von Soden, *AHW*, p. 955.

³⁶ Ibid, p. 976.

³⁷ E. Grekian, after G. A. Kapancian (*Xajasa – kolybel' armjan*, Yerevan, 1948, p. 216) translates *urule* "souls" (PBH 2004, p. 231, n. 28).