ܡܕܝܐ ܘܫܒܝܚܐ ܕܟܪܐ ܡܫܝܚܝܐ

ܡܢ ܐܘܦܝܣ ܕܟܪܐ ܐܬܘܪܝܐ.
ܫܡܫܐ ܕ. ܦܪܘܝ.

ܒܐܘܪܚܐ ܗܘܐ ܩܕܡ ܡܫܝܚܝܘܬܐ ܒܐܬܪܐ ܠܐܘܪܗܝ، ܕܡܘܕܪܐ ܠܟܠܗܘܢ ܗܘܐ، ܡܢ ܩܕܡܝܬܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܝܘܬܐ ܒܐܝܕܐ ܕܫܠܝܚܐ ܡܬܕܡܪܐ ܕܐܬܡܘܬܐ ܘܡܬܘܡܝܐ ܡܘܕܥܢܐ ܒܟܠܗܝ ܒܥܕܢܐ. ܘܐܝܟܢ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܠܗ ܠܡܕܒܪܢܘܬܐ، ܒܥܕܬܐ ܒܡܠܟܘܬܗ ܠܥܡܡܐ. ܘܡܫܝܚܝܘܬܐ ܒܐܬܪܗ ܐܬܘܪܝܐ ܠܟܢܫܐ ܕܥܡܡܐ ܕܐܬܦܫܛ ܠܥܡܡܐ، ܕܟܠܕܝܐ. ܐܝܟ ܕܐܬܪܐ ܘܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܕܒܝܬ ܢܗܪܝܢ، ܒܬܪ ܐܝܟ ܐܢܫܐ ܗܘ ܡܘܕܥܢܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܝܐ، ܕܟܠܗܝ ܗܘܐ ܠܗܘܢ ܟܠܗ ܐܢܫܘܬܐ ܕܟܠܗ ܥܡܡܐ ܘܕܝܢܐ ܒܟܠ ܕܘܟ، ܘܡܕܒܪܢܐ ܕܐܬܕܒܪܘ. ܡܫܝܚܝܘܬܐ ܐܝܬܝܗ ܒܡܫܝܚܝܘܬܗ ܠܥܡܡܐ ܕܡܕܒܪܢܘܬܗ. ܒܬܪܐ ܕܝܢܐ ܗܘܐ ܒܥܕܢܐ ܒܬܪ ܫܠܡܘܬܗ ܕܡܫ ܐܝܟܢܐ ܐܝܟܢ ܕܡܫܝܚܝܘܬܐ ܕܐܬܘܪܝܐ ܒܥܕܬܗ، ܕܡܠܟܘܬܐ ܠܗ ܡܠܟܐ ܕܐܬܪܐ.

„ ܓܡܐ ܗܘܐ ܕܟܪܐ ܡܘܬܒܐ ܡܢ ܒܬܪ ܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܘܐܢܫܐ ܗܘܐ، ܐܝܟ ܕܒܟܘܪܐ ܒܟܘܪܐ: ܘܐܝܟ ܐܝܟܢܐ، ܡܢ ܡܫܝܚܐ، ܡܢ ܡܫܝܚܝܐ ܗܘܐ.‟ ܡܫܝܚܝܘܬܐ ܫܠܝܚܐ ܠܗ ܐܝܟܢ ܒܟܠ ܥܡܐ ܕܥܘܦܠܗ، ܐܝܟܢ ܕܒܟܠܗ ܕܝܠܗ ܐܝܟܢܐ ܒܐܝܕܗ ܡܫܡܫܢܗ: ܘܐܢܐ ܟܬܒܐ ܟܬܒܗ،

ܓܘܼܪܵܐ ܕܩܘܼܫܘܼܢܬܵܐ ܘܒܘܼܩܪܵܐ ܚܕܒܝܢ ܗܘܵܐ ܠܗܘܿܢ
ܡܢ ܕܪܵܒܝ ܕܫܠܘܡܝ. ܟܘ ܒܡܵܪܕܵܐ ܐܵܬܝ: ܕܐܘܿܦ
ܐܵܢܵܐ ܐܝܼܬ ܗܘܵܐ ܠܝ ܗܵܢܵܐ ܓܠܝܬܘܼܬܵܐ ܕܝܕܥܘܼܬܵܗ.
ܒܣܟܘܼܡܵܐ ܡܘܿܢ ܗܘܵܐ: ܕܐܵܬܘܿܪܵܝܹܐ ܝܕܥܬܘܗ ܒܗܵܢܵܐ ܗܘܵܘ
ܠܒܵܠܹܗ ܕܢܵܫܵܐ. ܘܡܢ ܦܬܝܼܚܘܼܬܵܐ ܕܡܕܝܼܢܬܵܐ ܗܘܵܐ
ܠܟܬܒܢܵܝܹܐ: ܡܘܕܝܥܠܗ ܩܘܬܐ ܕܦܠܚܝ: ܕܡܢ ܩܕܡ
ܚܕܡܐ ܢܘܦܬܐ ܦܫܛܐ ܗܘܵܐ ܡܫܬܠܐ ܠܗ ܦܠܛܐ.
ܘܟܕ ܐܣܩ ܒܟܬܒܬܐ ܡܢ ܠܗ ܚܕܐ ܡܢ ܟܠܘܟܢܝܬܐ
ܕܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܐܦܠܐ ܕܡܕ ܒܢܬܐ ܕܦܠܓܗ ܦܪܝܫܐ ܗܘܵܐ
ܡܢ ܢܟܗܘܢ ܕܟܪܝܗ ܡܘܢܐ. ܐܝܟ ܐܢܫܐ ܦܠܝܐ ܠܗ،
ܘܡܫܠܡܘܬܐ ܦܘܩܝܗ ܒܡܕܪܐ ܠܗ ܦܝܪܐ ܘܐܡܪܗ.
– ܒܠܐ ܟܠܒܐ: ܒܠܐ ܠܐܦܐ: ܫܘܩ ܠܓܘܢܐ: ܟܠ
ܓܘܢܗ.

ܥܝܢܐ ܥܝܢܐ ܐܝܟ ܐܢܫܐ ܡܘܕܝܗ ܠܐܦܐܢܐ،
ܒܠܠܗ ܘܡܘܬܡܠܠܗ. ܘܐܡܪ ܠܗ: ܐܢܠܗ ܡܘܢܐ
ܝܣܢܐ ܠܗ ܠܐܦܐܢܐ، ܘܦܩܕܠܗ. ܘܗܘ ܒܠܐ ܠܗ
ܠܦܬܘܐ، ܘܐܡܪܗ ܚܕ ܝܘܡܐ ܒܠܝܠܝܐ ܕܣܘܦܗ. ܐܢܐ
ܟܠ ܦܘܪܩܢܠܗ. ܐܢܫܐ ܝܘܡܐ ܠܝ ܚܕܐ ܒܫܢܬܐ ܘܒܘܪܢܝܐ
ܕܝܗ ܩܠܝܬܐ ܗܘܵܐ ܡܫܡܫܐ ܝܬܝܪܐ، ܦܠܝܓܠܗ ܥܝܢܐ
ܥܝܢܐ ܡܢ ܠܗ ܢܦܫܐ: ܘܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܘܝܘܡܐ ܡܢ ܘܡܕܝܢܬܐ
ܒܢܝܬܗ ܕܡܢܝܐ ܘܒܢܘܬܐ. ܘܟܡܐ ܐܝܟ ܕܗܘܝ ܠܗܘܿܢ
ܡܢ ܘܡܕܝܢܬܐ. ܘܒܝܢܝ ܒܢܝܬܗ ܘܒܝܬܐ: ܐܟܘܬ
ܒܕܟ ܐܝܟ ܐܢܫܐ ܘܡܫܟܝ. ܘܡܘܕܝܥܠܗ ܡܢܗ ܫܠܝ

– زنگ زد صدام! "حاجی دیگه هم صدامو
نمی‌شناسه!" صدای خودش بود. اون
هیجده‌سال، صبح تکی دیدش. زن که عوضیش
هم خودش؛ عوضی‌تر. حدس هم نمی‌زد؛ چه
بلایی سرش میاد. دیگه نمی‌تونست
بشینه. دیدش تیره شد. زمین هم زیر
پاهاش شروع کرد به تاب‌خوردن. دستش
رفت به دیوار. زن‌ها کارشون همینه.
دیگه نمی‌تونست بشینه. صدای شکم
بلند شد: حالا دیگه چی شده؟
– هیچی نیست.
– مریضی؟
– نه دیشب که نخوابیدم نه چیز.
– گرسنه‌ت نیست؟
– صبح‌ها نه. عادت ندارم. فقط چایی
می‌خورم. اونم یه استکان کمرنگ.
– شکم، فایده نداره که با مامانت
حرف بزنی.
– مگه من با کسی حرف زدم؟
– خب، پاشو صبونه‌تو بخور دیگه!
شکم ادامه داد: خودش هم
خوشحال نیست. دلش برای تو سوخت!
– خب، نخواد دلشو برای من بسوزونه.
– کار از کار گذشته، مگه.
– خب، چی صبونه می‌خوری؟
– زنگ زد صدام! "حاجی دیگه هم صدامو

ואמר לו: "אתה יודע שאני מתפלל בכוונה, ואני יודע שאתה מתפלל בכוונה. אבל אם אתה רוצה שאני אתפלל איתך, אתה צריך להתפלל בקול רם, כדי שאני אשמע אותך."

ואחר כך הוסיף ואמר: "אתה יודע שאני מתפלל בכוונה, ואני יודע שאתה מתפלל בכוונה. אבל אם אתה רוצה שאני אתפלל איתך, אתה צריך להתפלל בקול רם, כדי שאני אשמע אותך."

ואחר כך הוסיף ואמר: "אתה יודע שאני מתפלל בכוונה, ואני יודע שאתה מתפלל בכוונה. אבל אם אתה רוצה שאני אתפלל איתך, אתה צריך להתפלל בקול רם, כדי שאני אשמע אותך."

ܘܐܢܐ ܕܠܝܐ ܠܝ ܡܬܡܨܝܢܐ.

ܟܬܒܐ؛ «ܐܡܪܝܢ؛ ܐܢܐ ܐܦܝܢ ܦܪܚܐ ܕܝܠܟ ܕܝܠܟ»

ܘܦܪܚܬܐ: ܕܝܡܝܢ: ܗܘ ܗܘ ܐܟܘܬ ܕܝܠܟ ܕܝܠܟ ܐܡܝܢ.

ܟܬܒܐ: ܓܢܒܪܐ ܒܠܒܘܗ ܕܡܫܬܥܝܬܐ ܠܗ: ܕܗܘܝ ܚܕܬܐ ܦܪܚܬܐ ܕܝܠܗ ܕܝܠܗ. ܐܝܟܐ ܘܦܪܚܬܐ ܕܗܘܐ ܕܝܠܗܘܢ ܒܝܬܗ. ܦܠܓܗ ܡܦܬܝܚܝܢ ܒܟܠ ܟܬܒܐ، ܘܝܘܡܐ ܠܝ ܥܠܡܐ. ܘܗܘ ܣܦܝܪܐ ܟܠܗ ܒܟܠܝܢ.

– ܒܫܡܐ ܐܡܘܕܝ: ܒܫܡܐ؛ ܗܘܕܐ ܡܘܬ؟

– ܗܐ ܗܕܐ. ܕܡܫܒܚܐ ܗܘܝ ܚܕܢܝܬܐ ܦܪܚܬܐ ܕܝܠܗ ܕܝܠܗ؛ ܘܟܠܐ ܡܘܬܐ ܒܕܝܢܬܐ ܟܠܗܝܢ ܐܡܪܬܐ ܠܗ.

– ܗܐ! ܐܢܐ ܣܠܩܘܢ: ܟܐ ܡܫܬܥܐ ܠܗ.

– ܘܐܢܐ ܕܝܢܝ ܗܘ ܘܦܪܚܬܐ ܘܐܡܪܝܢ؛ «ܐܡܪܝܢ ܗܘ ܗܘܝܐ ܦܪܚܬܐ ܕܟܠܝܐ ܕܟܠܝܐ.»

ܘܦܪܚܬܐ ܠܝܬܠܗ ܕܦܪܚܝܢ ܚܕܕܐ. ܐܝܟܐ ܟܘܪܝܗ، ܘܡܫܚܠܦܗ ܠܚܕ ܓܢܐ ܕܝܡܢܐ ܘܟܘܠܝܗ ܠܗ ܚܕ ܓܢܘܦܐ ܦܪܚܬܐ ܕܝܠܗ ܕܝܠܗ: ܘܗܘܝܢ ܘܣܡܟܐ ܘܡܬܦܫܪܘܬܐ: ܡܬܠܡܝ ܐܡܪܝ ܗܘܐ ܠܗ: ܟܬܒܐ ܚܕܬܐ ܫܠܡܐ ܢܩܝܐ

ܟܬܒܐ ܩܫܝܬܐ ܒܟܠܝ، ܘܐܡܪܗ.

– ܝܠܗܐ ܢܘܫܠܡܝ؛ ܝܘܡܠܝ. ܟܠܗܝܢ ܘܟܝܢܝܟܝ ܕܡܫܬܥܝܢܝܗ، ܘܠܐ ܡܨܐ ܠܝ.

– ܐܡܘܬܝ ܟܬܒܐ ܕܡܢܝ ܗܘܝܐ؟

– ܟܬܒܐ ܕܒܪܝܫ ܐܘܡܐ.

- ܗܵܐ! ܫܠܵܡܵܐ ܕܝܼܠܘܼܟ݂ܘܿܢ؟

- ܗܝܼ ܡܵܢܝܼܵܐ ܐܝܼܬܠܹܗ ܠܹܗ ܐܘܼܟ݂ܘܿܢ؟

- ܡܠܘܼܦ̈ܠܹܐ ܡܘܼܫܹܐ ܗܘܵܘ ܠܵܐ ܒܹܫܡܵܐ ܐܝܼܢܵܐ ܕܫܡܝܵܐ ܠܹܗ ܡܕܝܼܢ݇ܬܵܐ ܕܩܘܼܕܫܘܿ. ܡܘܼܕܝܼ ܡܠܹܗ ܫܡܘܼܗܝ؟

- ܢܝܼܫܵܢܵܐ.

- ܢܝܼܫܵܢܵܐ: ܢܝܼܫܵܢܵܐ: ܗܵܐ ܗܵܐ! ܗܠܵܒܵܢܵܐ ܐܝܼܬܝܼܬܘܿܢ ܐܵܢܵܐ ܡܢ ܟܠܗܘܿܢ.

- ܡܵܢܝܼܵܐ ܐܝܼܬܠܹܗ ܠܵܟ݂.

- ܐܝܼܢܵܐ ܕܒܝܼܬ ܐܢܵܫܵܐ ܦܲܢ ܦܘܼܠܚܵܢܲܝܗܝ: ܐܵܢܵܐ ܟܠܵܒܵܐ ܘܟܘܼܪܵܐ ܡܘܼܢ ܗܘܵܐ ܝܘܼܡܵܐ ܡܕܝܼܢ. ܘܦܲܢ ܟܠܝܼܠ ܟܠܝܼ ܠܒܹܗ ܕܝܼܗ ܢܝܼܡܘܿ.

ܡܢ ܒܵܬܲܪ ܢܝܼܫܵܢܵܐ ܢܘܼܩܵܕܵܐ ܐܵܢܵܐ ܘܢܝܼܫܵܢܵܐ ܠܟܝܼܵܢܵܝ. ܡܫܘܼܚܬܵܐ ܒܥܢܵܐ ܟܝܼܢܵܐ ܗܘܵܐ ܩܲܠܝܼܠܵܐ ܗܘܵܐ ܠܝܼܘܿܡܵܐ، ܐܝܼܢܵܐ ܡܫܘܼܠܗܿ ܠܵܐ ܐܝܼܢܵܐ. ܟܠܝܘܼܬܹܗ ܐܝܼܬ ܠܝܼܢܵܐ ܕܝܼܘܼܢܵܝܹܐ ܦܲܩܕܵܐ. ܗܵܐ: ܐܵܢܵܫܹܐ ܡܘܼܕܝܼܢ ܠܡܠܵܟ݂ܵܐ ܡܝܼܬܹܐ ܦܲܠܝܼܛ ܗܵܕܵܐ. ܗܝܼ ܗܵܝ ܕܡܘܼܕܝܼܢ.»

ܒܬܲܪ ܕܝܼܗܘܵܐ ܡܘܼܕܝܼܢ ܠܹܗ ܐܝܼܬܘܼܗܝ ܒܥܠܵܡܵܐ ܕܥܠܵܡܵܐ ܘܦܲܩܸܕܘܼܗܝ ܠܹܗ ܩܸܕܡܹܐ ܐܝܼܢܵܫܘܼܬܹܐ ܕܝܼܫܘܼܥܵܐ ܕܡܫܝܼܚܵܐ ܗܘܵܘ ܠܵܐ ܒܚܲܝܘܼܗܝ ܘܟܠ ܒܥܸܠܕܵܒܵܐ ܕܫܘܼܪܵܐ ܒܥܠܵܡܵܐ. ܘܐܝܼܢܵܐ ܦܠܘܼܫܠܹܗ: ܗܘ ܟܠܵܒܵܐ ܗܘܵܐ ܒܟܠܵܐ: ܟܠܗܿ ܗܘܵܘ ܗܵܕܵܐ. ܘܡܕܝܼܢܵܐ ܩܕܵܡ ܡܝܼܬ ܒܥܠܵܐ ܟܠܵܝܵܐ ܒܥܠܵܡܵܐ ܗܘܵܐ ܡܠܹܗ ܫܡܘܼܗܝ ܘܫܡܵܢܵܐ. ܐܝܼܢܵܐ ܒܟܠ ܕܝܼܘܿܡܵܐ. ܐܵܢܵܐ ܡܢܵܐ ܗܘܵܐ. ܘܒܬܲܪ ܕܝܼܗܘܵܐ ܒܫܡܵܐ ܕܫܡܵܐ ܒܝܼܫܘܿ

ܐܒܐ ܘܡܫܝܚܗ ܠܪܘܚܐ ܘܫܘܒܚܐ ܪܒܐ ܡܪܘܒܠܐܠܗ.

"ܐܝܠܢ ܕܫܡܝܐ: ܐܝܢ ܡܡܘܫܡܫ ܠܝ ܫܡܘܗܝ
ܡܘܕܥܠܝ ܦܠܚܘܬܝ، ܒܗܘ ܫܥܐ ܕܦܠܚܘܬܘܟ، ܩܐ
ܕܩܢܝܢ ܥܡܘܡܝ. ܗܘܠܝܠܝ ܚܝܠܝ: ܘܡܘܗܒܠܝ ܒܥܠܡܐ
ܐܢܫܐ. ܥܡܘܠܝ ܠܫܢܝ: ܘܥܡܠܝ ܠܫܢܐ ܕܒܪܘܒܘܟ.
ܡܠܦܠܝ ܕܐܡܪܢ ܠܫܢܐ: ܘܗܫܐ ܐܢܐ ܠܐ ܡܠܦܠܗ
ܠܫܢܝ. ܠܐ ܥܒܕܘܗ ܠܝ ܒܘܬܒܘܪܐ: ܐܠܐ ܩܝܡ ܠܝ ܡܢ
ܗܠܐ. ܐܒܠܝ ܚܠܠܐ ܘܝܒܡܫܐ ܩܐ ܕܡܕܒܪܐ ܐܡܝܢ.
ܩܐ ܕܐܚܢܝ ܘܐܚܢܝ: ܘܐܒܪܐ ܕܐܒܢܝ ܒܠܫܢܐ ܕܒܪܘܒܘܟ
ܡܒܥܐ ܦܪܝܫܠܝ ܘܡܥܒܫܠܝ: ܠܥܠܡ ܥܠܡܝܢ
ܐܡܝܢ"

ܟܬܒܐ ܩܕܝܫܐ

ܡܙ ܚܒܝܒ "ܒܒܬ ܚܕܬ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ"

ܒܝܬ

ܒܒܬ ܚܒܝܒ ܒܝ ܕܡܫܝܚ ܒܢܝ

ܟܬܒܐ ܩܕܝܫܐ

1 ܟܠ ܡܢ ܕܡܐܡܢ ܒܗ ܠܐ ܢܐܒܕ
ܐܠܐ ܢܚܐ ܠܗ ܚܝܐ ܕܠܥܠܡ.
ܐܝ ܡܢ ܐܢܐ ܐܡܪ ܠܟ
ܡ ܡܢ ܕܠܐ ܡܫܬܘܕܥ ܠܝ

2 ܐܠ ܒܢܝ ܐܢܫ ܕܝܢ ܠܐ
ܐܝ ܕܐܢ ܡܢ ܐܦܣܩ ܠܟ.
ܚܟܝܡ ܐܢܬ ܠܡܫܬܘܕܥ
ܐܠ ܬܗܘ ܥܡ ܐܢܫ

3 ܚܟ ܒܝܕ ܡܫܬܘܕܥ ܘܐܡܪ
ܐܝ ܐܢ ܐܦ ܐܢܐ ܐܬ ܠܟ.
ܐܝ ܐܢܬ ܐܢ ܐܠ ܬܗܘ
ܐܠ ܡܫܟ ܒܝܕ ܐܢܫ

4 ܐܢ ܒܥܐ ܐܢ ܐܦܣܩ
ܐܦ ܐܢܐ ܐܣܟܠ ܠܟ.
ܐܝ ܡܫܟ ܒܝܕ ܐܢܫ
ܐܠ ܒܝܕ ܐܢ ܐܬ ܐܠ

5 ڕ ژۆر خەڵ جیاکا:
کە بەڵا دابنا ستەم.
ئەو کە هەڵە خۆشا:
دڵیا کەیف ئاگرە+

6 خۆا جەم هەژا ئا بڕا:
ئەنگا ڕۆژا دابڕا.
جیا ئاگا ئەوخا:
ماڵخۆشا خۆشە+

7 ڕابڕ هاتیە کە ئەوەیە:
هەڵبژاردەی کە چیا دابەزیا.
هاوکیە خۆا بەجێ:
خۆشا دەو ئەوخا+

8 ڕ ڕێوەی هاتیە ئا:
ژەک چەوەی هەڵکیە کە.
یە قسەی هاتبا خۆش:
ئەڵم دەڵ یە خۆشا+

9 ڕ هاڵیە کە ڕێوەی:
بڕەی یە هاڵیی چەوەی.
ڕا چەوەی قەڵا یەکا:
هاتبا چەم یە قسە+

10 ڕ کا قاسە ئا بەدەوی:
دە هەڵب دڵگا هاتبوی.
یە هاڵا بڕەوی ئەنا:
ئەم هاڕ چەوەی ئاشکا+

11 ܘܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܝܫܘܥ ܠܐ ܐܟܬ
ܥܡ ܒܪ ܕܒܝܬ ܐܒ ܒܥ
ܐܠ ܥܡ ܒܕܒܪ ܕܒܝܬ:
ܒܒܪܐ ܕܚܛܐ ܕܡܚܝ+

12 ܒܥ ܐܝܟ ܡܐ ܕܝܢ ܕܡܝܬܒ:
ܫܡܥ ܒܕܒܪ ܒܫܒ.
ܐܠ ܡܫܝܚ ܒܝܟܢ:
ܕܥܡܫܟ ܒܒܢܢ+

13 ܒ ܕܐ ܒܡܝ ܫܒܒ:
ܝܥܕܘ ܒܡܘ ܐܕܝ.
ܡܫܝܚ ܐܝ ܥܡ ܒܡܢ:
ܩ ܕܒܕܘ ܙܡܚܢ+

14 ܥܡ ܒܗ ܐܡ ܡܫܕܘ:
ܐܟܗ ܥܡܢ ܐܡ ܥܒܗ.
ܒܡܒܒ ܒܒܒ ܥܐ ܫܐ:
ܕܡܒ ܒ ܕܡܫ ܒܐܢ+

15 ܒܕ ܒܒܐ ܙܡ ܝܢ:
ܝܥ ܐ ܥܗܡܫܢ.
ܙܢ ܕܒܢ ܥܐ ܐܗ:
ܡܐܢܕܘ ܒܒܒܝܢ ܥܐ ܫ+

16 ܒܒ ܗܡܐ ܐܡ ܐܐ ܒܒ:
ܒܒܒܝܢ ܥܐ ܩܐ ܕܒܡ.
ܝܢ ܙ ܐܗܢ:
ܗܢܒ ܙܡ ܗܩܢ+

17 حضـــا وابـــه مـــوهُا حوجِـــذا:
وسُوَ هُوحُنُـــا وكُـــا هُجـــذا.
زهنُـــا ابـــه ووجـــ، وانهنُـــا:
موهُا خهم كِه كُوهُوحُنُـــا+

18 هُوَ هُوجُـــا زوكـــ، كِحُنُـــا:
وابـــه كُـــه وهضـــا ذهضُنُـــا.
حـــه هُولـــا ذهضـــا لَسذُنُـــا:
حـــه سُولـــا زُمـــع حووهُنُـــا+

19 ﻱ، ذُلـــوه كُه هووبـــهوع:
مكـــا هُوســـحه هوهكُنوهوع.
حنُهـــذا كهوع زهذا وهُوضُـــا:
هؤُنوهوع كنُكم حـــه شوضُـــا+

20 حضا وابـــه كِحُنُـــا حكوهضـــا:
كُـــه وهسُـــا ابـــه كهوع هِضـــا.
حـــه قســـحه هِوضُـــا شُنُـــا:
زُمـــع خحـــهوع زهوهُنُـــا+

21 زِيـــا هُوهوع سُـــوَ هُوهوهَـــا:
هُوسُـــذا هسُمـــــع زوهوهَـــا.
وهُوب هُوَم هُوتُوهوع وحُكُنُـــا:
وكُولـــا وضوهضـــا وِكُوهُنُـــا+

22 هُـــ زِوهوَم هُوب، هُوهضـــقا:
وِ، قُلـــهـــه وـــزهُوهُا.
وكُـــا كِحُنُـــا ووهِهُنُـــا:
هُوكِيـــه زُمـــع وهُهُنُـــا+

23 ܟܠ ܗ ܟܐ ܕܒܝܢ ܕܡܕܢ:
ܡܝ ܒܕܒ ܐܟ ܠ ܫܒܩܢ.
ܐܒܟ ܕܡܕ ܕܕܟܢ:
ܒܒܥ ܡܕ ܐܒܗܢ.

24 ܐ ܩ ܕ ܒܒܟ ܒܒܥ ܟܒ:
ܒܒܬ ܢܟ ܫܟܒܟ ܒܒ.
ܕܒܒܟ ܕܟ ܗܒܢ:
ܕܒܒ ܡ ܐܒ ܟ ܕܕܢ.

25 ܗܩ ܒܒ ܐܒܕ ܩ ܐܒܗ:
ܒܟ ܒܒ ܒܒܗܒ.
ܒܒ ܒ ܒܒ ܟܢ:
ܕܕܒܟ ܡܕ ܒܒܢ.

ﺍﻟﻨﺺ ﺍﻟﻤﻜﺘﻮﺏ

qip^{h}a`lIyyun `t^{h}lit^{h}aya	ﻗﺒﻌﺔ ﺍﻟﻠﻴﻞ[1]
ya`lu :t$^{h}$a +dqa`ti:nI	ﻳﻠﻮﺡ ﺍﻟﻀﻮﺀ
ʄo xa`ma:t$^{h}$a sur`tunt^{h}a	ﻛﻤﺎ ﺗﻠﻮﺡ ﺍﻟﺸﻤﺲ ،
`bmIyya w `bqa:yI ʂuc^{h}`lInt^{h}a	ﻭﺍﻟﺒﻘﺎﺀ ﺍﻟﻤﺤﺪﻭﺩ[2] ،
+`marya `qi:na `d?Ị t^{h}wa	ﺍﻟﻤﺮﺀ ﻳﻨﺎ ﻳﺒﺪﻭ ،
?ar`qIlwa `lp^{h}umma `dsIt^{h}wa	ﻛﺬﻟﻚ ﺍﻟﻤﻮﺕ ﺍﻟﻤﺤﺘﻮﻡ :
`qa:la +`xIlya dʂar`ʂo:ra	ﻗﺎﻝ ﻟﻲ ﺍﻟﺨﻴﺎﻝ ،
`brIxʂa mIn +`do:ra +`ldo:ra	ﺍﻟﻤﺴﺎﻓﺮ ﻫﻨﺎ ﻭﻫﻨﺎﻙ ،
`zma:ru `dlIt^{h}wall `ʂla:ya	، ﺍﻟﻤﺘﺮﺩﺩ ﻳﺴﺄﻝ ﻋﻦ ﺍﻟﻤﺎﺿﻲ
+bp^{h}Ir`yu:t$^{h}$a +`lha:wa `mla:ya	ﺍﻟﻤﺘﺤﻴﺮ ﺍﻟﻤﺘﻠﻬﻒ :
+du`ra:ʂewa xe`la:na	، ﺍﻟﻤﺴﺘﻘﺒﻞ ﺍﻟﻤﺎﺿﻲ
d?i`la:na +?am ?i`la:na	ﺍﻟﻤﺎﺿﻲ ﻫﻮ ﺍﻟﻤﺎﺿﻲ :
c^{h}ul xa `lʃa:nu +bIx`qa:ra	ﻫﻞ ﻫﻲ ﻛﺎﻥ ﺣﻘﺎً ،
b?i`ma:ma w `ʂImʂi +`sa:ra	ﺍﻟﻤﺘﻬﻤﺲ ﺍﻟﻤﺘﻤﺘﻢ ـ ﻫﻤﺴﺎً :
`xu:ra `lqo:mI maz`yu:dI	ﺳﺨﺮﻳﺔ[3] ﺍﻟﻘﻮﻡ ﺍﻟﻤﺰﺩﺍﺩﺓ :
+`bha:wa +`d?IlIl mar`ʄu:dI	ﺍﻟﻬﻮﺍﺀ ﺍﻟﻤﺮﺗﺠﻒ :
xe`la:p$^{h}$a c$^{h}$ma dĈ$^{h}$ul`lIʂlI	ﻛﻘﻮﺓ ﺣﻠﻢ ﺍﻟﻤﺤﺎﻝ ،
da`qi:qa `bqo:ma `p^{h}IʂlI	ﺍﻟﺪﻗﻴﻖ ﺍﻟﻤﺒﻘﻰ ﺍﻟﻤﺤﺎﻝ :

1 ـ ﺣﺒﻜﺔ ﻭ ﻗﺒﻴﺘﺔ 2 ـ ﻣﺤﺪﻭﺩ ﻟﻢ ﻳﺤﺪﺙ 3 ـ ﻫﺰﻟﻲ:

* "+" placed before a word indicates emphasis(flatness)

he `mIrrI +?aw qa `xu:ra

`bqo:ma +`ra:mewIt +`xo:ra

`?ina ?In `?i:wIt +`?li:ma

dI p^hus max `dIyyI +`xli:ma

?In mIn `$c^hi$:si w mIn +`xa:si

msInbI`la:lI +d?al +`sa:si

+?al `qo:mi `$aqlI `ba:nI

?at `$p^he$:$It xut xa`$\hat{C}^ha$:nI

me `$p^ha:t^ha$ `xi:t^ha `ddIt^ha

c^ha:lu `$a:da w mI$`mI$ta

`sqi:lI `bt^haləa smuq`na:ya

max xda +`$ra:ya bIl`la:ya

`wi:lun `ni:xa +mas`xu:rI

bI xe`la:$p^hI$ w bI `xu:rI

+`bItma zI ba +du`ra:a

+`xwItla `c^ho:so +bI$`$a:a

bIx`$t^ha$:ra +bnatIp`ya:t^ho

+bIn`ta:$p^ha$ mIn +sIp`pa:t^ho

---

1 - בכדי שלא יראו אותנו. 2 - מקום, מרחב. 3 - שמיים. 4 - בכדי שיהיה לנו מה לאכול.
5 - מרחב, מקום. * - בגלל שהמילים שמופיעות בשורות הבאות, הן מילים שלא נמצאות בשפה הערבית - הן מילים שנלקחו מהשפה העברית.

+`da:t$^{h}$a +`xwart^{h}a bIs`mant^{h}a

+d?ut`rInna `lc^{h}ullI `ʒant^{h}a

`hadxa zI +`ra:ba `xi:nI

`ʒIp$^{h}$t$^{h}$a +bal`lu:tI w `t^{h}i:nI

+c^{h}a`mut$^{h}$ra ?up sIn`ʃi:t^{h}a

c^{h}ul xa mIn xa qun`ʃi:t^{h}a

`wi:lun `c^{h}ullI ?i`la:nI

+bIx`qa:ra c$^{h}$ul xa `lʒa:nI

?i`na `ba:ha +du`ra:ʂa

`le:wa ni`ʂe: lI +`pla:ʂa

mag`ze:t$^{h}$ewa ldi`le:t^{h}a

?e +yar`t$^{h}$u:t$^{h}$a c$^{h}$ya`ne:t^{h}a

+maw`wart$^{h}$ewa dyu`ma:nI

bhemIz`ma:nI `so`da:nI

bxay`yi:wa `bxubba w `ʂla:ma

bʂwa`wu:t$^{h}$a dla ʂu`la:ma

ʒu `da:ha +`ʂa:ra `xIdya

?up +ba`ra:na ?up `ʒIdya

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1 - جَبَكَ يُجِدُ، فِعلٌ 2 - شِبرٌ 3 - جديد وبعد قد النفاذ من إصصص،
4 - عَدَ . 4 - حفظ بعناية وعنتنة 5 - بذكاء حِدّة 6 - نفذ وفاذ

la ʒIb lo `ʒi:ba +`rxItlun	لَا ـيِـ لَهُ ذِبَا ذِهِ :
qa`le: b?ay `dme:ša +`xwItlun	قَلَ ذِهِ ذِبْشَا سِحِلَهِ .
but yal`lu:dI da `ma:t^{h}a	ذِهِ بِلَهِيَا[1] ذِئَا هَنَّا ،
`?a:nI buš `ma:rI `p^{h}a:t^{h}a	أَنَا ذِهِ هَذِ ذِهِ قَلَّا ،
`mu:di `?amrIn but qa`le:	هِهِبِ أَهَذِ ذِهِ قَلَ ؛
buš xe`la:na maw `dc^{h}ullI	ذِهِ هِلَهِ هَهِ ذِجَلَ .
mIn qe`damt$^{h}$a hal +`ramša	ذِـ هِـذِهِلَّا بِلَ ذَهَشَا ؛
+ta`wu:lI yan +bId`ra:ša	ذِلَهِيَـا بِـ ذِذَّشَا :
maš`ru:qI yan bIz`ma:ra	ذِهَذَهِهِا ذِـ ذِهَشَا ،
mIt^{h}Il`ya:t$^{h}$I bi`ma:ra	هِهِكَشَلَّا ذِـهَشَا .
but dI?`mInnI dla `raxmI	ذِهِ ذِيَهِيَا ذِكَا ذَسِهِ ،
but +pla:šI +`dʒawrI `zaxmI	ذِهِ ذَكِيَا ذِكَّهِذِا ذِسِهِيَا[2] ،
`nI?dI d?a`t^{h}i:wa `mrIxqa	ذِيِهِيَا[3] ذِلَهِ هِذِسَا ،
lab`li:wa +`ltunt^{h}a w `p^{h}Isqa	ذَهِذِبَ ذِهِ هِهِ ذِهِهِهِلَّهِ هِهِهِ[4] .
`bdImya `dt^{h}o:rI šI`da:nI	ذِهِهِبَا ذِهِهِ ذِهِهِيَا ،
+?o`ri:wa ʒo xaq`la:nI	ذَهِذِبَ هِهِهِ ذِهِهِيَا ،
ʒelʒIl`li:walun** `bu:lI	ذَهِذِبَ هِهِهِ ذِهِهِيَا ،
lab`li:wa ?o dla`bu:lI	ذَهِذِبَ هِ هِهِهِ ذِهِهِيَا ،

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1 - ذِيَا ، هِهِيَا (ذِهَا ذِهِشَا) 2 - ذِهِكِيَا ، ذِذَكِيَا 3 - هِذِيَا 4 - ذِهِشَا ذِهِقِيَا

** In his reading the word is /lac^{h}lI`c^{h}:walun/

l?aw `xi:na maxrIw`wi:wa

?ax `d?a:wId +xo`re: `di:wa

yan +`?Ilt$^{h}$ewa xa `bra:t^{h}a

?e buS Sa`pIrt$^{h}$a `dma:t^{h}a

+bsa`li:wa `dI?mIn +`ra:ba

`bxe:la `lbra:t^{h}a +bIt`la:ba

qa lp^{h}a`ru:qu du`ra:Sa

+p^{h}al`ti:wa t$^{h}$re: +lIp`la:Sa

`bc$^{h}$arba +bIxla`se: c^{h}i:`c^{h}e:

`bxImt$^{h}$a t$^{h}$an`t^{h}u:rI Ĉac`ce:

ʒo `hat$^{h}$xa maqyap$^{h}$`ya:t^{h}I

+`ra:bewa qawwam`ya:t^{h}I

d?o d?a`t$^{h}$i:wa but `nIqwa

`ri:Su +`t^{h}a:ma bSa`wIqwa

yan xa +`salma +sa`wa:na

`dna:Sa +`xwi:ta +bsa`ta:na

mIn +mab`bu:?I xIS`ca:nI

`bxe:la Ĉ $^{h}$ac`bu:no `ʒ:nI

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1 - ڤگه 2 - إهدى دفكذا 3 - دفڤذا 4 - چدكذ ، ﻱﻭﺷﻭ · ﻱﻭﺷﻭ ، ﻱﻭﺷﻭ 5 ذفڤذا
ذبذا حذملا ، إلى عدقذا دهذا

c^ha`nIswa `$lt^hi:c^ha$ dlax`me:	، ...ـــ

da`ri:wa `lʃo:za `yuqrI

`ʃo:za nac$^{h}$`nIc^{h}wa +`m?IqrI

lt^{h}a`nu:yI +`la:zIm `le:wa

+dqa`ti:newa ?o `ya:la

xa`du:t$^{h}$uwa +?Il`le:t^{h}a

`dhaqyat$^{h}$ `p^{h}e:ʂa +tu`wIlt^{h}a

da`wIqwalun naʔ`ʔa:dI

+?a`sIrwalun bʃId`da:dI

har qur`bInwalI `ʂi:da

`lc$^{h}$o:so bda`ri:wa `?i:da

+Ĉa`rIp$^{h}$walI ʃo +?`ap^{h}ra

wha `t$^{h}$wi:ra `ʃarmIt^{h} +`sadra

yan xa +`dra:na +p$^{h}$a`lItwa

yan xa `ri:ʂa +ʂa`mItwa

`zIdlun +`ra:ba qwal`ya:t^{h}I

`mna:sI `dya:lI w yal`t^{h}a:t^{h}I

`zIllun `c^{h}llI bxa `qa:la

`lc$^{h}$Is malIc`c^{h}e: lI `qwa:la

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1 - דבר דבור

`ma:niwa ʔa ya`t^{h}u:ma

w?a `bxata `lwIšta `c^{h}u:ma

la `ma:t$^{h}$a `surta `ddIyye

qa`mu: `ma:niwa muy`ye:

xuš +`p$^{h}$alti `maxxa `?a:zI

le +`bayyIx +`?aynan `xa:zI

`bru:no `ya:lan p^{h}a`ni:lun

`?a:zi be `?urxa `dt^{h}i:lun

`mIrrI `ma:lic ho`na:na

+`ʒawra +`rwi:xa bnIs`ya:na

`le:wax `?axnan +tu`ra:yI

+`zarrI den +?at$^{h}$u`ra:yI

`le:la mal`yant^{h}a `qa:t^{h}an

`dhat$^{h}$xa `c^{h}Imt^{h}ela `p^{h}a:t^{h}an

`nxIp$^{h}$ht$^{h}$ela `lba:ban w `sa:wan

+`lya:dI mIn +`do:rI `ʒa:wan

+dt^{h}a`mam `t^{h}alqax mlIb`wa:t^{h}an

+lmyat^{h}`ra:t$^{h}$I d?awa`hat^{h}an

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1 - ضمة فتحة « لا » - بلا همزة 2 - هذه بعدها فتحة 3 - كذا

4 - همزة مكتوبة بحرف .

?arxa mbe:th an +ch am raxlI	؟ ەڕخە مبەیتھ ن+چ م رەخلی
buš +spa:y ri:ŝan +tam raxlI	بوش +سپای ریسان +تم رەخلی .
?ax dannI hemIz ma:nI	ئەخ دنی هەمیز مانی ،
mch ul +dbaq ri:th un bIt th a:nI	مچ ول +دباق ریتھ ون بیت تھ انی ،
dch ma Ša:hI +bdo:rI +wi:rI	دچ ما شاهی +بدورِی +ویرِی :
lšunxI +šu:rena +xdi:rI	لشونخی +شورینا +خدیرِی .
lI bla:sa lxa šIch wa:na	لی بلاسا لخا شیچ وانا ،
lI +qta:la lxa dar ba:na	لی +قتالا لخا دربانا ،
+wa:dI +šu:rI le th a:nI	+وادی +شورِی لی تھانی .
?axtun la wi:mun ma:nI	ئەختون لا ویمون مانی ،
l?Ith ya di:lI +b?ul sa:na	لئیتھیا دیلی +بئول سانا .
la +ch am ri:th un Ĉh u da:na	لا +چ م ریتھ ون چ و دانا ،
ya:la lIt bIyyI šna:ha	یالا لیت بییی شناها .
?It buš +šu:rI mIn da:ha	ئیت بوش +شورِی مین داها ،
suqunnun ya:lI +ta:li	سوقونون یالی +تالی ،
+btu ra:nI ?asqi +sa:li	+بتو رانی ئەسقی +سالی .
nap hli qe:mi bIt šarmi	ناپ هلی قیمی بیت شارمی ،
ba:xi mIdrI bIt zamri	باخی میدری بیت زامری .

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1 ـ مذلة ، مفضحة لذي يرتكب خطأ . 2 ـ سقف ، غطاء ، ظلة . 3 ـ ثعبان ، حية كبيرة .

su`ru:t$^{h}$a dxa yal`lu:da

`le:la `c^{h}ullI brI`xu:t^{h}a

c^{h}ma dxay`ye: +Ĉu:yI `ha:wi

c^{h}isa`t$^{h}$e: +`mxa:la `za:wi

le +`ma:sI `ba:ni `qumt^{h}a

`dho:ya `stu:na dxa `?umt^{h}a

`xu:Sun la `mIndi `nSi:mun

`bSala:ma +mu:dalI `xi:mun

`?e:Ja t$^{h}$ux`mInnI `ma:lIc

d?In `ya:la +`bSu:la `ba:lIJ

+yut^{h}`ra:nelI qa `yImmu

w `ma:t$^{h}$a le `qo:la `mInnu

+`p$^{h}$la:to `wi:lI +dqa`ti:nI

`laxmI +?al +`ru:SI +`ti:nI

c^{h}ul yum +`bsImxa `dmo:riSa

ha `mbe:t$^{h}$a `lbe:t^{h}a `brIxSa

+`lwa:nI +?IzzI qIn`ya:nI

+Jammu`ye: t$^{h}$xut ?i`la:nI

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1 - ڈھیر 2 - ڈبہ 3 - لکڑی والی کرسی 4 - ٹانگ والی چارپائی

5 - چھوٹا 6 - کمبل .

ʕa:nI hIš ʿch phi:na w +sIyya

maʿsIqwalun +lmarʿrIyya

mIn ʃo ʿ?u:rI +saʿwa:nI

ʿlyaqnI ?en buš +taʿma:nI

blaʿblIwa ʿlphi:ra w ʿlʃIdya

ʿchullI ?o phIsqa ʿxIdya

ʿl?i:cha dhal ʿ?udyu +ʿra:ya

la quʔʿdIrrI lI +ʿmta:ya

+ʿra:bena ʿmathlI +ʿdpla:ša

+?am xayʿwa:thI w +barʿna:ša

ʃo ʿmIthxa ʿdxayyu +ʿdra:ya

da +ʿʃawra +?athuʿra:ya

lIʿša:na bIt baʿli:wa

waʿra:qa le maʿli:wa

?In ʿxmalitha hoʿya:wali

lhaʿqu:yI chullI ʿ?a:ni

haʿqi:loxun ʃIlʿya:na

xa ʿʃIdša mabsImʿma:na

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1 - جمل ذكية 2 - امشت في ذهن جدتها 3 - أخذ يكبر 4 - عمل
جيّدة مدة 5 - ضيف 6 - دابة 7 - فتاة كل همها تزيين نفسها
بالحلي - محلى

dquw`wImlI `bri:ʕa +`dra:ya

ʒo xa `marʒa +?Il`la:ya

c^{h}ad ʒo `da:ni mar`ʒa:nI

+bIr`ra:yewa qIn`ya:nI

`mInʕIlt$^{h}$ani xa +`wa:na

max do `su:sa +dsa`ta:na

+`ranʒo max `ʒawna `dqa:ya

+`xwa:ra +`xwi:ta bsmuq`na:ya

`wi:la mʒo `p^{h}Isqa +`p^{h}la:ta

w +`ra:ya +`ba:ro +bIq`ma:ta

mIn `marʒa w mIn ʒo `mIyya

+m?al +`rumt^{h}a mʒo ʒalIyya

`ʒa:hI `blaxpI bIC^{h} `ra:xa

`ʒa:hI `bdIʕta bIp^{h}`ra:xa

wha +?al qIr`qIp$^{h}$t$^{h}$a `dqa:ya

max ʕI`dant$^{h}$a bIʕ`qa:ya

+`b?ayno `c^{h}u:mI ʒa`ru:sI

`wi:la `p^{h}t^{h}Ilt^{h} ʒas`su:sI

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1 - جمع 2 - جمعية 3 - مذهل 4 - ثلج 5 - جمع 6 - فعلة ساعة
7 - قصة تمثيلية

`dxazya dax `wi:lI +`ra:ya

wha ?aw +`Surya lI +`mta:ya

raw +Say`yInnI ?o +`SIyyax

mud `Si:da +`wIrrI `bIyyax

bo `ri:Sax ben qa`na:nax

bIt mSar`sInnun Sa`qa:nax

wc^{h}ma +daq`ra:lI xuS +`daqra

bIt +mo`rInnax Jo +`bIqra

?ur`qIlII p$^{h}$Isqa +`btu:ra

bne `ma:t$^{h}$a `bxaSSa +`Ju:ra

`?urzI nIqwI w yal`lu:dI

+`p$^{h}$lItlun `l?urxu lqa`zu:dI

mub`yInnI `mInsIltt^{h}anI

+qa`ti:nI +?am qIn`ya:nI

`qa:lu ba`si:ma `dxIqra

+`xwi:ta +`brIt^{h}ma do +`bIqra

qa +buqa`re: +nI`Ja:ran

Juw`wIblI ?o Jab`ba:ran

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1 ـ ס"ה (כולל פועל) 2 ـ חלב 3 ـ לבן מעוז 4 ـ לכלוך שטחים

5 ـ מנקים, 6 ـ כאשר הכוונה לשטחים ציבוריים.

`mi:nilI ?o lIb`ba:na

`dqa?dIr +`lbIqra da `ʒa:na

ya sI`dant$^{h}$a dši`da:nI

qa`na:no max ?i`la:nI

`ʒna:howa dqam šo`qa:lan

+dtla`ni:t$^{h}$a qam do`qa:lan

`dmi:ni `ho:ya ya +`wa:na

dxo`ša:ba yan +?u`ša:na

w?ap ?In ?ay dma`lIc `hanna

`lmarʒa xIn le lab`lInna

+mur`xIttila bi`si:ma

`c$^{h}$ullI wa `yu:ma `ši:ma

`qa:ya `me:ša w la +`?ap^{h}ra

`le:wax `šwi:qI ʒo +`?at^{h}ra

`?iman `dxzi:lun lqa`za:la

`ri:šo +`ra:ma bi`za:la

`ʒxIc$^{h}$lun hal `dImmI +`ð?aynI

be +p^{h}si`tu:t$^{h}$a +dqa`ti:nI

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1 ـ هب (جدد بعضد) 2 ـ لغ (جدد بعضد) 3 ـ جب (جدد بعضد)
4 ـ لغ (جدد بعضد) 5 ـ لعد 6 ـ جبم (جعضبه) 7 ـ جعد 8 ـ لغ
(جدد بعضد) 9 ـ كرم ، لبك .

`?e:ʤa `yImma mu`yIqth^{h}a

+`dth$^{h}$a:ma `ch^{h}Ii:th^{h}ewa `štIqth^{h}a

`bIxya w `ʤxa:ch^{h}a bno`ba:nI

be ph^{h}ši`tu:th$^{h}$a +dqa`ti:nI

`bru:no mu`xIbba `ch^{h}rIxla

bmInšuq`ya:th$^{h}$I +bu`rIxla

`mIrra `bru:nI +ti`ma:na

`?a:ha `le:la xda +`wa:na

`?a:ha xda `?aylela `ch^{h}i:wi

ch^{h}I `ho:ya +`dza:yI `?Ith^{h}la

+`za:yo `?Illona `bhi:wi

`qudmI `ldu:ch^{h}o lab`lItth^{h}a

xa `yu:ma `?a:ha +`ra:ya

`xIšca +`šurya lI +`sla:ya

+?al +`ru:šu `dwi:qu +`xutru

+bIph^{h}`sa:yewa +bar +`bIqru

ch^{h}ad `mlch$^{h}$Is +šar`so:ra +`wa:ra

`th$^{h}$a:za +bar`ru:nI +`sa:ra

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1 - כמו 2 - בהשפעת ה נוכח .

qar`bu:newa `lma:t^{h}u

xa `qa:la `qIt^{h}lI `lna:t^{h}u

ho +qa`ti:nI ya`t^{h}u:ma

`yaldI mul`wIssa bc^{h}u:ma

`me:c$^{h}$ewIt `laxxa `t^{h}Iyya

?at `ba:ba `lIt^{h}lux wIyya

+`di:lI `qa:la `dma:niwa

+`bramsa c$^{h}$Is `yImmI `t^{h}i:wa

`?a:mIr `ya:la xIs`sa:na

`yImma mu`xIbt^{h}a `dʒa:na

`murra haq`yatt^{h}an qa:t^{h}i

`murri `ma:niwa `ba:bi

`me:c$^{h}$ewax `laxxa `t^{h}IyyI

xIz`ma:nI `lIt^{h}lan `wIyyI

+`xIlyI `su:rewIt +`hala

`mazyId `xi:na lI +`c^{h}ma:la

`?i:man +`dmti:lux lna`su:t^{h}a

`bhaqyan but la xsi`xu:t^{h}a

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1 - פ"ס ת"ב (בדוגמה הבאה) 2 - בדיפוס .

`dpʰlIxlun +?al `ba:bux w yImmux
`zo:da zI bIt tʰan`yannux
`yImmi `murri ?a`dIyya
`bassa `na:ŠewIn `wIyya
?a `haqyat `surta +`Šmi:la
`xzi: `ho:ni `le:lI +`cʰmi:la
`ɉIdŠa +`dtla: yu`ma:nelI
`ŠImŠa +bar +`tu:ra `ɉni:lI
+`da:newa `dpʰIsqa +`sa:lI
`mqam xaŠ`cʰantʰa +dra`wu:lI
tʰa`wIrtʰa `balqI `d?aŠŠI
`ɉa:no w Ša`rIxto `baŝŠI
+la +`bi:lun Šam`mi:wa `?Illi
+`bi:lun `zo:da ?ar`qIlli
`ŠqIlli tʰxut `xa:Cʰi +`lza:ya
?ay muz`yIdla lI +`ra:ya
tʰa`wIrtʰa `ri:Šo `qu:ya
dI tʰa ha `xwi:lI `xu:ya

ܕܦܠܚܠܗܘܢ ܥܠ ܒܒܘܟ ܘܝܡܘܟ -
ܙܘܕܐ ܙܝ ܒܝܬ ܬܗܢܝܢܘܟ - .
- ܝܡܝ ܐܡܘܪܝ ܐܕܝܐ ،
ܒܣܐ ܐܢܫܐ ܝܘܢ ܘܝܐ ،
ܐܗ̇ ܚܩܝܬ ܨܘܪܬܐ ܫܡܝܠܗ̇ ،
ܚܙܝ ܗܘܢܝ ܠܐ ܠܗ ܟܡܝܠܐ !
ܓܕܫܐ[1] ܕܬܠܬܐ ܝܘܡܢܐ ܠܗ ،
ܫܡܫܐ ܒܪ ܛܘܪܐ ܓܢܝ ܠܗ ،
ܠܕܢܐ ܗܘܐ ܕܦܣܩܐ ܨܠܐ ،
ܡܩܡ ܚܣܟܢܬܐ ܕܪܘܠܗ .
ܬܘܪܬܐ ܒܠܩܝ ܕܐܫܫܝ ،
ܓܢܘ ܘܫܪܝܟܬܘ ܒܫܫܝ[2] ،
ܠܐ ܒܝܠܘܢ ܫܡܝܗ̇ ܗܘܐ ܐܠܝ ،
ܒܝܠܘܢ ܙܘܕܐ ܐܪܩܠܝ .
ܫܩܠܝ ܬܚܘܬ ܚܟܝ ܠܙܝܐ ،
ܐܝ ܡܘܙܝܕܠܗ ܠܪܥܝܐ .
ܬܘܪܬܐ ܪܝܫܗ̇ ܩܘܝܐ ،
ܕܝ ܬܐ ܗܐ ܚܘܝܠܗ ܚܘܝܐ .

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1 - ܦܘܫܟܐ - ܝܘܡܐ 2 - ܦܝܫܝ ܓܠܝܐ ܚܘܬ ܓܘ ܝܘܪܕܢ

c^{h}ma `dri:lI `qa:la `?Illo

la +`rImlI `ri:So `mƒIllo

`?a:lahi `da:xi ?o`dInna

`c$^{h}$o:ya `laxxa So`qInna

`?aSSI `mu:di bhaq`ya:li

+`xIyyal `xatt^{h}a t^{h}Iy`ya:li

muc^{h}Ip`p$^{h}$e:li +ru`Sa:ni

+`wbat$^{h}$ra `dqda:li +ti`na:li

+`za:t$^{h}$o ho`nant^{h}a `wi:la

po`pu:yI `SqIlla w `t^{h}i:la

dI mur ?ay`yImma dƒa:ni

+`c$^{h}$mi:lelI yan la `ho:ni

حضرة جدتي تقول بلهجة ،
كل مفحكة فعلة محكمة .
نكتب قصتها
حضرة جدتي تحفظ ؟
نعم محفوظة كلها !
ستبقى ذكراها كلها .
محمد[1] ومحمد يلعبان ،
وخالتي تضحك وهما ،
تعلو صيحاتهما .
في أمجد لعبة جديدة
حمدان حاول أن يمسك - ؟

1 - هنا (جدة محمد) .

ܘܡܒܩܫܐ ܕܡܪܝ

ܡܫܝܚܐ ܚܝܢ ܡܒܪܟ ܥܡܢ ܒܡܒܘܫ ܡܒܡܘܪܐ ܕܡܫܘܚ

ܐ ܡܪܝ ܡܪܝ ܪܘܝܟܝ:
ܗܘ ܟܠܬܐ ܗܒܝܒܝ:
ܒܪ ܕܐ ܟܡ ܘܥ ܒܡܝܚܬܐ:

ב ܗܡܟܡ ܚܡܐ ܐܟܬܐ:
ܗܝܟ ܟܒܟܐ ܕܝܟܘ:
ܫܥܪܐ ܒܡܘܣܐ ܦܐܪ:

ג ܡܣܦܝܟܐ ܕܒܡܝܐ:
ܘܪܘܒܐܪܐ ܥܡܝܕܝܐ:
ܠܐ ܬܐܘܝ ܒܥܣܟܐ ܕܝܐ.

ד ܕܡܝܢܢܥ ܒܐܘ ܡܪ ܣܘܐ:
ܒܐܘ ܝܣܝܠܐ ܕܠܐ ܙܐܘܐ:
ܕܥܝ ܡܟܘܠܐ ܒܘܫ ܬܐܘܐ.

ה ܩܡܬܐ ܙܠܐ ܕ ܓܘ ܢܝܪܘܐ:
ܠܝܬܠܐ ܦܡܡܐ ܛ ܗܐܪܘܐ:
ܒ ܗܐܪܘܐ ܕܘܢܝܐ ܕܙܩܘܪܐ.

ו ܩܡܬܐ ܪܝܫܢܐ ܒܐܠܐ:
ܡܡܐ ܥܒܕܐ ܒܘܪܓܐ ܛ ܩܐܠܐ:
ܣܐܕܪܐ ܡܐܝܕܢ ܕ ܒܪܬܐܠܐ.

1. *Ráwe ráwe rawíkkye*
tré yalóne havríkkye
šárreläy ríš mammíkkye

2. *Siqläy kíma-w gabáre*
ţéläy l-pálga-d gáre
šə'ţru mamóse páre

3. *M-sapnə'kka-l dáwədiya*
w-rubářa-d 'ámediya
la ţáwey bə'ske diya

4. *D-yamyə'nnux b-áw mar [sáwa*
b-áw yasíla d-la-záwa
d-'áy m-kúlläy buš ţáwa

5. *Qómta zála d-go nérwa*
líţla púmma ţ-hářwa
in hářwa dúnye p-xářwa

6. *Qómta rixána bálla*
mammə'kka búrğa ţ-qálla
sádra mâydan d-barčálla

7. *Bisláya záwa záwa*
w-konə'kṯa mpárəpráwa
go ṣádra čúke d-dáwa

8. *Hóla ṯéla m-la-máye*
tə'rwäy 'áqla xəpyáye
šərwála tə'kṯa báye

9. *Ṣádra dárga d-zawnáye*
qḏíla mtúrṣa-l baznáye
la páṯəx tlá nuxráye

10. *P-čámba-d bi mállek wáwa*
tíwta mbašóle qáwa
áy m-kúlläy buš ṯáwa

11. *Bisláya gálli gälli*
tópe šišále 'ə'lli
mazdóyi tlá t-qaṯə'lli

12. *Páwxa d-zóme mzomzə'mle*
gó quprána mhorgə'mle
bə'ska-d kážže morə'mle

13. *Béli-w 'ə'lle ṯuřáne*
bássa mšádər xabráne
in péli 'áṯe b-gyáne

14. *Go ṯúřa šmíli qále*
íḏe 'ə'lli šišále
kli pawxa t-xázyan mále

15 *Dmíxa wə'nwa-l 'ərzála*
ṭéla xḍa 'ə'zza d-wála
šínṭi-d bádla mpurḍála

ס֝ ܕܡܝܫܐ ܘܥ̈ܢܘܥ̈ ܠ̈ ܥ̈ܪ̈ܙ̈ܠ̈ܐ׃
ܛ̈ܠ̈ܐ ܫ̈ܕ̈ ܒ̈ܙ̈ ܕ̈ܘ̈ܠ̈ܐ׃
ܫ̈ܝ̈ܢ̈ܛ̈ ܒ̈ܕ̈ܠ̈ ܡ̈ܦ̈ܘ̈ܪ̈ܕ̈ܠ̈ܐ׃

16. *Qímta l-zóme d-yasqáwa*
w-xa xáwra mə'nna páwa
tlá d-zamə'rwa t-xamláwa

ס֝ ܩ̈ܡ̈ܛ̈ ܠ̈ ܙ̈ܘ̈ܡ̈ ܕ̈ ܝ̈ܣ̈ܩ̈ܐ̈ ׃
ܘ̈ ܟ̈ ܚ̈ܘ̈ܪ̈ ܡ̈ܢ̈ ܦ̈ܐ̈ ׃
ܛ̈ܠ̈ܐ ܕ̈ ܙ̈ܡ̈ ׃ ܪ̈ܘ̈ ܛ̈ ׃ ܚ̈ ׃ ׃

17. *Zóme kmäläy basíme*
xamáṭa d-läläy ríme
mšäṭni-b miya šaxíne

ס֝ ׃ ׃ ׃ ׃ ׃ ׃
׃ ׃ ׃ ׃ ׃
׃ ׃ ׃ ׃ ׃

18. *Xzéli zína riš rómta*
qáṭa t-xanğáre kómta
la'bbi zílle-l dey qómta

ס֝ ׃ ׃ ׃ ׃ ׃
׃ ׃ ׃ ׃ ׃
׃ ׃ ׃ ׃ ׃

19. *Kul šát b-'ánna hewáne*
barbáhar sáley wáne
m-šə'ṭru bädli dukáne

ס֝ ׃ ׃ ׃ ׃ ׃
׃ ׃ ׃ ׃ ׃
׃ ׃ ׃ ׃ ׃

20. *Sálya-l néṛa 'aršána*
bə-pxáya-w mxáya-l gyána
ṭlíba lále šaṭrána

ס֝ ׃ ׃ ׃ ׃ ׃
׃ ׃ ׃ ׃ ׃
׃ ׃ ׃ ׃ ׃

21. *Sálya-l néṛa qarira*
báxya bə'xya marira
ṭlíba lále šapíra

ס֝ ׃ ׃ ׃ ׃ ׃
׃ ׃ ׃ ׃ ׃
׃ ׃ ׃ ׃ ׃

22. *Sálya-l néṛa-w la másya*
ṣádra xwäṛa la mkásya
ğwanqóne dréyla-l 'ásya

ס֝ ׃ ׃ ׃ ׃ ׃
׃ ׃ ׃ ׃ ׃
׃ ׃ ׃ ׃ ׃

23. *Xa wárda-w xá rixána*
bə'rya b-ginţa ţ-talána
w-kúd laqtále tla gyána

כג בְּרַדָּא וְחָא רִיחָנָא׃
בְּעִיָּא בְּגִנְטָא טְלָנָא׃
וְכוּד לַקְטָלֶא תְּלָא גְיָנָא׃

24. *Ţúwe-d pešánwa níšra*
tiwta-l kočékkye d-gíšra
mparóğe-b 'ásker d-gríšla

כד טוּוֶא דְּפֶשַׁנְוָא נִישְׁרָא׃
תִּוְתָא לְכוֹצֶכְּיֶא דְּגִישְׁרָא׃
מְפָרוֹגֶא בְּעַסְכַּר דְּגְרִישְׁלָא׃

25. *Rxímtanwále tla xéwa*
yálme dáme l-aw d-déwa
u-b-léyle-l xə'lmi 'aţéwa

כה רְחִמְתַנְוָלֶא תְּלָא חֶוָא׃
יַלְמֶא דָּמֶא לְאוּ דְּדֵוָא׃
וּבְלֵילֶא לְחַלְמִי אַטֵוָא׃

26. *Tu tíwa-w lá qu qíma*
w-xámra štíle basíma
xu lâwət l-xóḏux rxíma

כו תּוּ תִּוָא וְלָא קוּ קִימָא׃
וְחַמְרָא שְׁתִּילֶא בַּסִימָא׃
חוּ לָאוַת לְחוֹדוּךְ רְחִימָא׃

27. *Šmíli xa qála d-zə'mra*
b-'ey táxe-d bárqul 'úmra
rawáya npíla m-xámra

כז שְׁמִילִי חָא קָלָא דְּזְעְמְרָא׃
בְּעֵי תָּחֶא דְּבַרְקוּל עוּמְרָא׃
רַוָיָא נְפִילָא מְחַמְרָא׃

28. *Súřta wánwa-w miránne*
qúlba-d 'iḏi d-yawánne
d-gáwřan u-béyga d-raxmánne

כח סוּרְתָא וַנְוָא וְמִירַנֶּא׃
קוּלְבָא דְּעִדִי דְּיַוַנֶּא׃
דְּגַוְרַן וּבֵיגָא דְּרַחְמַנֶּא׃

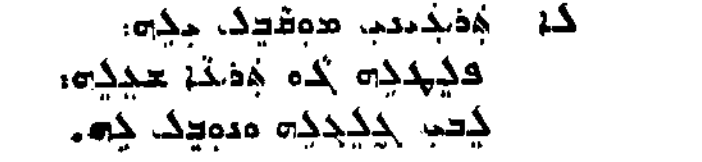
29. *Yárabb díya eykâle*
ţéyře pârxi-w xazéyle
šláme m-púmmi daréyle

כט יָרַבּ דִּיָא אֵיכָלֶא׃
טֵיְרֶא פָּרְחִי וְחָזֵילֶא׃
שְׁלָמֶא מְפוּמִי דָּרֵילֶא׃

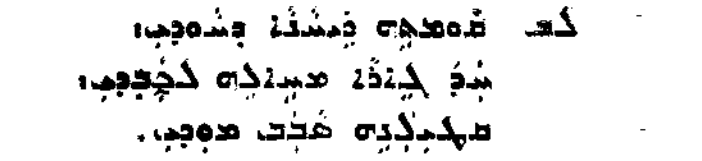
30. *Ţúwe-d bařyáwa šárre*
d-paltíwa gúře târre
mgäbyánni m-gó särbə'rre

ל טוּוֶא דְּבַרְיָוָא שָׁרֶא׃
דְּפַלְטִוָא גּוּרֶא תָּרֶא׃
מְגַבְיַנִּי מְגוֹ סַרְבַּעְרֶא׃

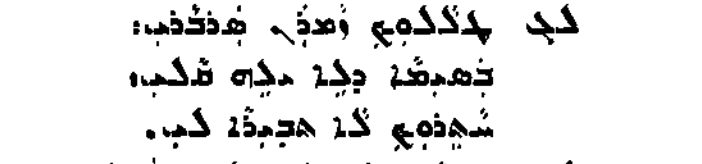
31. *Taréyni múqabille*
plitle go tára-w šille
la'bbi ğligle-w nubille



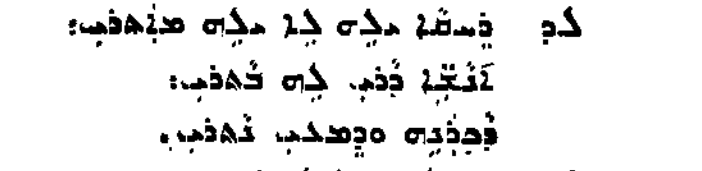
32. *Qómte rixána t-háwdi*
xa géra mxéle-l káwdi
qtilánne sábab máwdi



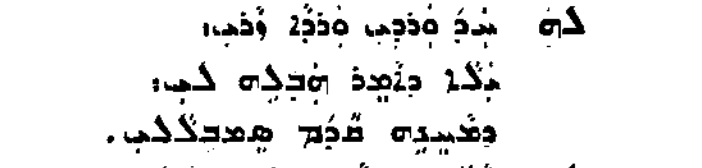
33. *Tlálux zámrən särbári*
basíma d-lále qáli
xatə' rux lá twirāli



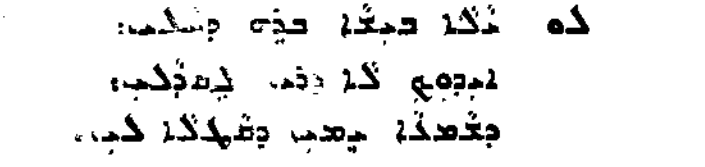
34. *Rəxqále-w lále-m 'átri*
náše daréyle bátri
taxránne-w də'mmi nátri



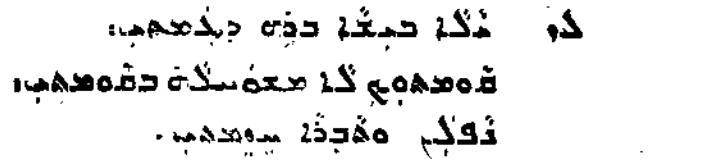
35. *Xa wárdi wárda žéri*
yála d-'ámər halléli
d-maxə'nne qám sambéli



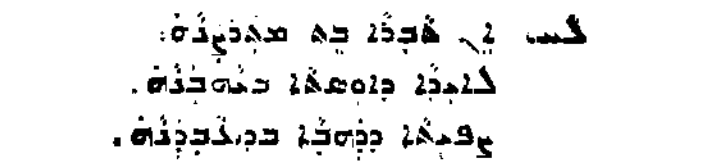
36. *Yála bíša brət xáli*
idux la dríla-l qdáli
d-šáma yímmi t-qatláli



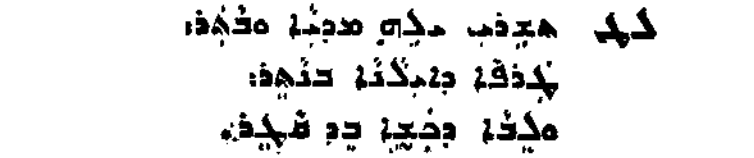
37. *Yála bíša brət 'ámti*
qómtux la mšúxla-b qómti
náplan táwra xəzzémti



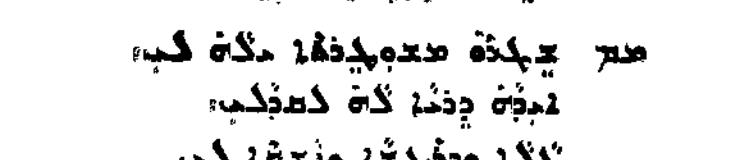
38. *In táwra hə't-əmtarsə'nna*
l-'ida-d hósta p-yawə'nna
spita d-dáwa pt-awdə'nna



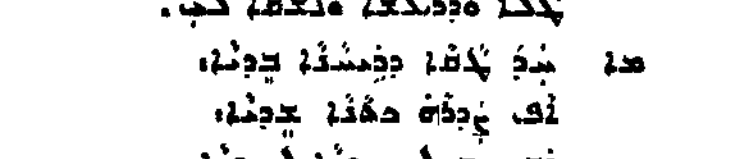
39. *Čeríle m-díya-w báṭər*
ṭárpa-d 'ilána p-náṭər
w-lə'bba-d kážže bət-qáṭər



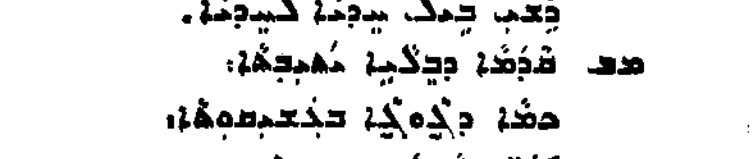
40. *Šə'ṭru mšutárta láli*
iḍa daryála-l qdáli
ṭála-w d-ràyša-w našqáli



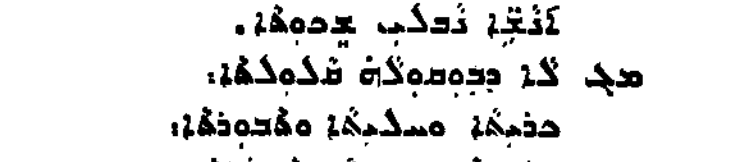
41. *Xa ṭáqa-d rixána bə'ḍya*
ap ṣádra ktána šə'ḍya
réši bel xə'ḍya-l xə'ḍya



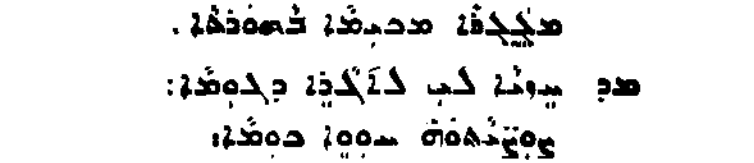
42. *Qáma-d beláye túṭa*
kma-d ğáwğa-b 'ášəqúṭa
náše nábli šəkkúṭa



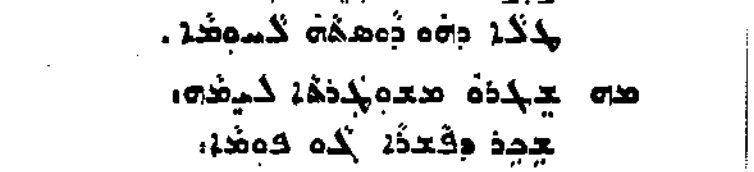
43. *Lá duqúla qalúlta*
kríṭa-w xlíṭa-w tabúřta
mğággra m-kíma babúřta



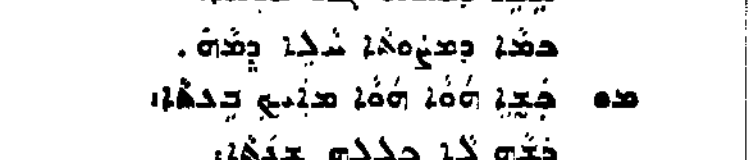
44. *Xəzyáli-l gáře-d góma*
ṣusyáṭa xúwe kóma
tlá daw dósta laxóma



45. *Šə'ṭru mšutárta-l yímma*
šékər d-pášra go púmma
kma də-mṣáwṭa xále də'mma



46. *Kážže wáwa max béta*
réša la kléle šéta
zille xzéle xḍa xréta



47. *In íla línge káwa*
bə'ska šabúqe d-dáwa
áhi m-kúlláy buš ṭáwa

48. *Qómta ṭáqa-d rixana*
ṣadra-d 'íle bəstana
ap máre táwən ána

49. *Kážže márṭa t-tre xóne*
mrapyála tré bəskóne
max séra-d bé 'ilóne

50. *Tə'rte yáwne-w xḏa qə'nna*
xda prixla-w xḏá mšoyə'nna
ay-d prixla nawri mə'nna

51. *Tə'rte yáwne šakráye*
pârxi-w yatwi-l beláye
xḏa t-xála-w xḏá t-xwarzáye

52. *D-yamyénnux b-'éyya šráya*
d-litli ṭliba nuxraya
šuq mə'nnux barwarnáya

Foreword

The ASSYRIAN ACADEMIC SOCIETY is an infant organization which is only nine months old. As a non-profit and non-political institution, A.A.S. is proud to produce its first issue which contains the works of some distinguished scholars.

Undoubtedly, at this stage and with limited resources, the technical quality of our publication does not match the quality of its contents; nevertheless, to publish in an area where original materials are scarce is a worthwhile enterprise.

Since the English versions of the papers of two of my distinguished colleagues,Professors Fabrizio Pennacchietti and Bruno Poizat were unedited, I allowed myself to make a few stylistic changes bearing in mind that the authors are entitled to their own style. Inasmuch as ZMIRYATE-D RAWE are concerned, the A.A.S. expresses its deep gratitude and appreciation to Professor Pennacchietti who has successfully documented for the first time an important category of our folklore songs. We are also proud to publish them in Assyrian(Neo-Aramaic) for the first time.

The complete Assyrian version of Pennacchietti´s Rawe is transcribed by Malpana Nimrod Simono. For the purpose of comparison and contrast, we also included a selection from those Rawe transcribed by Shamasha Gewargis Benyamin. Obviously, there are differences between the two Assyrian versions; the following are the most important reasons for the differences:

1. The songs are in Tiari-Barwar dialect so drastically different from the Standard Written Neo-Aramaic language which both Simono and Benyamin try to abide by according to their personal interpretation of what Standard Proper is.

2. The Standard Written Neo-Aramaic does not have a fully and absolutely correct form; so variations in spelling and lexicon are not unexpected.

3. Apparently, Malpana Simono is not familiar with the Tiari-Barwar dialect; thus, occasionally he is inaccurate in the graphic rendition of the songs. For instance, instead of / mŝaθni / ´to have temperature or fever´ he writes / msaṭni / which has no etymology, whereas the former is derivative from /ŝa:θa /; moreover, instead of / harwi / ´to speak or utter something´ is rendered / xarwi /. Some of this kind of inaccuracies have been edited for the sake of precision. On the other hand, Shamasha Benyamin, a typical speaker of Tiari dialect, is influenced by his intimate familiarity with the language of the songs to the extent that he occasionally avoids the etymological spelling in favor of an impressionistic one.

4. Malpana Simono is quite precise in rendering the phonetic transcription of Professor Pennacchietti. And because the latter uses the velar symbols of / g, k / to stand for the true palatal plosives / c^h, ɟ /, his velar symbols are usually followed by a / y / to indicate their palatalization. This / y / in Simono´s transcription forces him to add an unwanted character of ´Yuud´ thus creating an inaccuracy in the conventions of the Assyrian spelling for which he is not responsible.

Nevertheless, the joy of publishing the Rawe surpasses the "inconsistencies" in the two renditions of the songs.

The article of the renowned Semitist and Arabist Professor Otto Jastrow comes at a time when everyone feels the danger of the likelihood of the extinction of the Neo-Aramaic language. The talk of Professor Bruno Poizat, a scholar who works in two almost unrelated areas of Mathematical Logic and Semitic languages, has already been well received by the audiences of the A.A.S. when it was presented as a lecture in Chicago. Dr. Arian Ishaya´s research is a pioneering work in the field of the social life of the Assyrians in diaspora. The short story of my friend Yousip Canon is better described as a beautiful, and easy-to-read short story. It provides a succinct expression of the feelings of a conscientious Assyrian of today. The prayer of Mami Odisho which signals the finale of his short story tells a long history of suffering and loss in just a few words.

The Assyrian Academic Society thanks all those who contributed to the first issue of its publication and it looks forward to more contributions.

Assyrian Academic Society
Edward Y. Odisho,
President

THE TUROYO LANGAUGE TODAY

Professor Otto Jastrow

University of Erlangen-Nürnberg

I. The Turoyo Language and its Speakers

Turoyo (native from: Tūrōyo) is a Neo-Aramaic language which is spoken by a Christian population in an area called by the traditional name of Tur Abdin (native from: Ṭur ʿAbdīn). This area is situated in the central part of Mardin province in South Eastern Turkey. The center of the Turoyo language area is the district town of Midyat (native from: Midyad). In Tur Abdin linguistic and religious affiliation coincide to a very high degree —with the exception of one Kurdish speaking village (Kerburan) the whole Christian population of Tur Abdin proper speakers Turoyo. The predominant denomination among the Tur Abdin Christians is Syrian Orthodox (Jacobite).

The 1975 census gives 16905 inhabitants for the town of Midyat. Until 1970 Christians and Muslims in Midyat were approximately equal in number (Anschutz, 61). However, they were largely segregated in two different parts of the town, the Muslims in Astal, the Christians in Midyat Proper. Basing ourselves on the above data provided by Anschutz we can thus estimate that about 7000 to 8000 Turoyo speakers were living in Midyat in 1970. At the same time there existed 16 entirely Christian villages and some 22 villages with a mixed population of Christians and Muslims. The total of Turoyo speakers in Tur Abdin in 1970 can be estimated at 20,000 (Anschutz, 21).

Besides the Turoyo community still residing in the original homeland a large diaspora had established itself since the end of World War I. The Armenian genocide in 1915/6 had severe repercussion for the Christians of Tur Abdin; although this did not lead to a complete annihilation of the community, a number of Turoyo speakers were murdered. As a consequence to these tragic events and the subsequent hardships of the Ataturk régime thousands of Turoyo speakers emigrated to Syria and Lebanon where especially large communities existed in Qamishle in North Eastern Syria, right across the Turkish border, and in Beirut. In the fifties and sixties another wave of emigration set in; it was directed primarily towards the

larger urban centers in the western part of Turkey, and in particular Istanbul where an estimated 20,000 Turoyo Christians settled down until the sixties.

At the same time West Germany started to import foreign labor on large scale. One of the countries which catered to the booming West German economy was Turkey, and this opened up a new possibility of emigration to the oppressed Christians. Thousands of them seized the opportunity to emigrate to Germany as "Gastarbeiter" (foreign laborers). This first generation is by now firmly settled and on its way to assimilation. When, a few years later, Germany cut the import of foreign labor because of economic recession, the Turoyo Christians willing to emigrate had to look for different strategies. The reasons compelling them to leave their own native country had not become any weaker -- on the contrary, the large Kurdish majority that surrounds and pervades Tur Abdin was steadily increasing its pressure on the Christians minority. The Kurdish policy consisted in taking over Christian property by mostly illegal means, thus infiltrating the Christian villages and slowly pushing out the remaining Christians. The Turkish authorities viewed this activity with an attitude that oscillated between indifference and sympathy. Thus during the seventies Turoyo Christians started to flock to Germany again, this time as political refugees asking for asylum. They argued that, as Christians, they were persecuted minority in Turkey, without the possibility of maintaining their cultural, religious and linguistic identity and, in fact, without any efficient protection of their lives and properties as well. The German authorities flatly denied that there was any racial or religious discrimination in Turkey. The demands for asylum were turned down and many refugees were sent back to Turkey where they faced imprisonment, while others remained in Germany for years as their legal action dragged on. Even when the military seized power in Turkey and did away with the last remnants of democracy the German authorities kept to their tough position, although refugees from other persecuted minorities (e.g., Yezidis) and political refugees also began to arrive in increasing numbers. In the meantime, however, other European countries had taken notice of the discrimination of Christians in Turkey and acknowledged their right to asylum. Sweden was the first country to officially open its doors to the Turkish Christians, and during the seventies several thousands of Turoyo Christians were accepted into the country and granted asylum.

The present situation of the Turoyo diaspora in Europe can be summarized like this: After years of generously accepting Christian and

other refugees from the Middle East, Sweden has recently reversed its policy and now is turning refugees back. In Germany, on the other hand, Christian refugees have won a number of law suits in recent years and have been granted asylum individually while others have been denied it. But still there is no general regulation applied to the whole community. And still new refugees are arriving. The first years of military régime had brought about a certain alleviation of the Tur Abdin situation: The military kept a very close control over the Kurdish area, which reduced Kurdish aggression against the Christian minority. But this was a side effect and certainly not desired by the Turkish authorities, and more recently the situation of the Christians started to deteriorate again. In September 1984 another huge wave of refugees arrived in West Germany; at present it is still uncertain how German authorities are going to treat them.

Of all the countries which witnessed an immigration of Turoyo refugees, Sweden was the only one that went beyond mere toleration. In fact, Swedish authorities actively helped to resettle the Turoyo refugees, organized Swedish language courses and helped the people to adjust to the new surroundings. The most interesting move, from linguistic point of view, was the decision to introduce the Turoyo language instruction into those Swedish schools which were frequented by Turoyo speaking children. This, however, proved to be very difficult because Turoyo is an unwritten language without any literary tradition. There existed no teaching materials nor any other kind of printed texts except the studies which had been written on Turoyo by the orientalists. In 1983 the Swedish National Board of Education published a first Turoyo schoolbook for children. It is called "Toxu Qorena" ("Come let´s read!") and is written in a modified Latin alphabet. The committee which produced the book was headed by Dr. Yūsuf Ishāq who carries a Ph. D. in Semitics from the American University in Beirut. Although not himself a Turoyo speaker but a native from Bartilli in Northern Iraq, he actively and expertly directed his committee and overcame all the difficulties inherent in this kind of pioneer work.

The chances for a long term survival of Turoyo language are closely tied up with the fate of the original homeland, Tur Abdin. If the emigration of Turoyo speakers from Tur Abdin continues at the present rate the language will die out in its original habitat within about two to three decades. The diaspora is not likely to maintain the use of Turoyo for more than two generations. There is a real danger, therefore, that in about

fifty years from now one of the most beautiful Semitic tongues of modern times will become extinct. For the time being, however, Turoyo is not in imminent danger. On the contrary, the presence of thousands of Turoyo speakers in Western Europe, most of them fairly recent arrivals, brings Turoyo within easy range of semitists and linguists. It is now possible to study Turoyo without leaving Sweden, Holland or Germany.

II. Some characteristics of Tūrōyo as compared with other Neo-Aramaic languages
(all data are from village dialects)

a) in phonology:

1) retention of the pharyngal fricatives /ḥ/ (voiceless) and /ʕ/ (voiced):

afro	"earth"
ḥamro	"wine"

2) retention of the fricative variants of the so-called "Begadkefat" of Aramaic as /f/, /w/, /t̲/, /d̲/, /x/, /ġ/:

kafno	"hunger"
dahwo	"gold"
sat̲wo	"winter"
ʕd̲ʕo	"known"
baxyo	"weeping" (noun)
raġlo	"foot"

3) loss of Aramaic consonant gemination with compensatory vowel lengthening:

sāmo	"poison"
šāto	"year"
ʕēzo	"goat"
gēlo	"grass"

4) at the same time, development of a different type of consonant gemination which is morphologically conditioned:

karme	"vineyards"
ák-karme	"the vineyards"

gr∂šle	"he pulled"
gr∂šše	"they pulled"

5) unconditioned shift of *ā > ō (word finally -o):

ḥmōro	"donkey"
ālōho	"God"

b) in pronoun and noun morphology:

1) development of a definite article which is prefixed to the noun and carries the main stress:

m. sg.	û-bayto	"the house"
f. sg.	î-šāto	"the year"
pl.	ák-karme	"the vineyards"

(In the plural there is no gender distinction; the initial consonant of the noun is doubled, thus, e.g., áq- qayse "the sticks, áṣ-ṣēze "the goats etc.).

2) development of the enclitic personal pronouns functioning as copula in nominal sentences:

ðno	"I"
harke-no	"I am here"
hat	"you"
harke-hat	"you are here"
hĪye	"he"
hĪya	"she"
harke-yo	"he/she is here"

c) in verb morphology:

1) all tenses are formed from original participles; there are no tenses based on an original infinitive or verbal noun.

2) the three so-called verb stem of Aramaic still transpire in Ṭūrōyo verb stem formation:

	Present	Past	
"pᵉṭal"	gōrəš	grəšle	"to pull"
"Paṭṭel"	mhāləq	mhālaqle	"to throw"
"Afṭel"	makrəx	makraxle	"to make turn around"

3) For each stem there is a synthetic passive which is derived from the respective reflexive stem of Aramaic. (The passive thus is not formed analytically by means of modal verbs>)
Examples:

	Present	Past	
"Ethpᵉṭel"	m grəš	grīš	"to be pulled"
"Ethpaṭṭal"	mīhāləq	mhāləq	"to be thrown"
"Ettafṭal"	mītakrəx	mtakrəx	"to be turned around"

4) In the Pᵉṭal there exists an intransitive inflection which has a present identical with that of the transitive verbs but a different past of the pattern "fāṭəl-":

	Present	Past	
Transitive	gōrəš	grəšle	"to pull"
Intransitive	dōməx	dāməx	"to sleep"

III. The linguistic situation in Tur Abdin and South Eastern Turkey

Mardin Province is among the areas claimed as part of Kurdistan by the Kurdish nationalists, and in fact a majority of people in that province are Kurdish-speaking. Turkish, the official language, is not native to Mardin province and is spoken mainly by teachers, civil servants and the military. There are two important linguistic minorities, Arabs and Turoyo. Some of the Arabic dialects of the area have been described by Jastrow (see especially Jastrow 1978 and 1981). As explained earlier, the Turoyo area occupies the central part of Mardin province. A few Chaldean villages which speak an Eastern dialect akin to that of Iraq but completely different from Turoyo have survived in the easternmost part of Mardin province near the

Iraqi border (district of Silopi). Other dialects of the Eastern group may have become extinct without ever being recorded. Even until 1950 the Eastern dialects were closer to the Turoyo area than today, due to the Jews of Cizre who spoke Neo-Aramaic dialect of the Eastern type (Nakano); some of them, however, may also have been Arabic-speaking. Thus Turoyo and the Eastern dialects must have been less than 50 km apart until one generation ago, but apparently they were in no direct contact. Another dialect of the Eastern type was discovered by Jastrow in 1970 near Pervari in Siirt province (Jastrow 1971). In its general appearance this dialect clearly belongs to the Eastern group but it shares with Turoyo one general feature, viz. the preservation of the pharyngal fricatives /ḥ/ and /ʕ/.

The only Neo-Aramaic dialect closely related to Turoyo was discovered by Jastrow in 1968 in Diyarbakir. It had been spoken originally in a single village called Mlahsô, situated in the Lice district of Diyarbakir province. Being situated well within Armenian territory, the village was destroyed during the Armenian holocaust, and most speakers were killed. A few survivors were still living in 1968, and I managed to collect some material on this nearly extinct dialect. Mlahsô Aramaic shares with Turoyo the unconditioned shift of *ā > ō and the preservation of this pharyngal fricatives /ḥ/ and /ʕ/ However, word stress is on the last syllable, and long vowels in closed syllables have not been shortened. Compare the following data:

Mlahsô	Turoyo (villages)	
ḥmōrô	ḥmōro	"donkey"
dōmdī	dəmdi	"they sleep"
dōmēx	dōməx	"he sleeps"
qīmle	qəmle	"he got up"

the interdental spirants have not been preserved but shifted to sibilants, e.g.:

Mlahsô	Turoyo	
tlōsô	tlōṯo	"three"
īzô	īḏo	"hand"

A paper on Mlahsô Aramaic is in preparation.

Finally a word should be added on dialect differentiation within Turoyo. On the whole, variation can be described as slight, and complete mutual understanding in nowhere impaired in the Turoyo area. Nevertheless, there is a clear distinction between the dialect of the town (Midyat) on one hand and the village dialects on the other. On the phonological level, Midyat Turoyo is characterized by the shortening of /ī/, /ē/ and /ū/, /ō/ in pre-stress open syllables to /i/ and /u/ respectively. Note that /ā/ is not shortened. Examples:

Villages	Midyat	
k-ōbe	k-ōbe	"he gives"
k-ōbēli	k-ubēli	"he gives me"
dāmīxi	dāmīxi	"they slept"
dāmīxīna	dāmixīna	"we slept"
nōṭūro	nuṭūro	"watchman"

on the other hand, Midyat Turoyo has preserved a phonemic contrast between the short vowels /i/ and /u/ which are merged into /ə/ in most village dialects. In the lexicon, too, a number of differences can be noted, especially in the field of loan words. In general, Midyat tends to borrow from Arabic while the villages tend to borrow from Kurdish.

IV. Turoyo scholarship

Turoyo made an early appearance in Semitics owing to Prym/Socin, a large collection of texts with German translation. This work was remarkable for its time and continues to be a valuable document since it allows a glimpse at the language as it was more than 100 years ago. However, the usefulness of the work is marred by two serious shortcomings: First, the single informant from which the authors obtained their texts spoke a mixed dialect vacillating between Midyat and village forms. Second, notwithstanding their elaborate phonetic transcription, the authors made a considerable number of notational mistakes on the phonemic level in writing down the texts dictated by the informant. Basing himself on Prym/Socin, Siegel produced a diachronic study which is full of errors and misunderstandings because it combines wrong data of the source with erroneous conceptions of the author. The book thus is of little help to the study of Turoyo.

After this early start Turoyo fell into semi-oblivion from which it was rescued only during the late sixties when Hellmut Ritter published

three volumes of texts in various Turoyo dialects together with a German translation. The texts were transcribed from tape recordings which Ritter's informants, young Turoyo students at Istanbul University, had made for him in Tur Abdin. The same author produced two more transcripts but not live to see them in print. The first was a Turoyo dictionary which, however, did not contain any verbs. It was published in in facsimile in 1979, eight years after Ritter's death. The second, much larger, manuscript is entitles "Verbalgrammatik". It contains a very detailed description of verb morphology and, in addition, all the lexical material pertaining to the verb. It is to be hoped that this second manuscript which contains incredible wealth of data will eventually find its way to the printing press.

The present author was first introduced to Turoyo studies by Ritter. As a doctoral dissertation he produced a synchronic description of the phonology and morphology of the village dialect of Midən (1967). This work has been out of print for some time but a reprint is scheduled for early 1985. After years devoted to Arabic dialectology the present author has recently returned to Turoyo studies. He has begun to collect new data from informants residing in Germany with the aim of producing a description of the Midyat dialect. This, in his view, will close another important gap in Turoyo studies.

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THE SURETH-SPEAKING VILLAGES IN EASTERN TURKEY

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First**, I would like to apologize for giving this talk in English. As you know, Aramaic is not my native language, and none of my relatives is an Aramaic- speaker. I have learned your language by myself, and I am not sufficiently fluent to conduct a long talk.

I shall deal with some Aramaic-speaking villages located in Eastern Turkey that I have personally visited on several occasions. One of the reasons for the choice of this subject is that the very existence of these villages is barely known to the outside world. The best documented Aramaic-speaking population in Turkey is that of Tur Abdin, the hilly area at the north-east of Mardin surrounding the small city of Midiad. In Tur Abdin, the people speak a rather specific dialect of Aramaic called Turoyo and they are followers of the Jacobite Church, i.e. the West Syrian Church. The villages we shall consider are located at a short distance to the east of Tur Abdin on the other bank of the Tigris in the vicinity of the Hakkari mountains. Linguistically, these villages speak Sureth, the major and most common surviving dialect of Neo- Aramaic. Religiously, they belong to the Chaldean Church which was originally a part of the Eastern Syriac Church that split to align itself with the Roman Catholic Church.

As indicated above, the existence of some thousands of Sureth-speakers within the borders of modern Turkey is a fact hardly known to people. The general feeling is that all Sureth-speaking population of Turkey migrated to Iran and then to Iraq during the First World War. It is, therefore, pertinent to point that this migration concerned only the so-called ´Assyrian Tribes´, the followers of Mar Shimmon, whose territory was situated to the east of our villages. The villagers under consideration were not followers of Mar Shimmon; moreover, they were not independent like the tribes(Ashiret). They were (Rayats) subject to the power of some Kurdish chieftains. Thanks to the protection of their landlords, they were spared from the massacres of the War and were able to maintain themselves in the area.

In fact, up to a very recent time, Eastern Turkey was the only place where it was possible to watch Sureth-speaking mountaineers leading their traditional life. This situation is rapidly changing since most of them are involved in a process of mass migration to France where they settle in the northern suburbs of Paris. It is presumed that very few of them will stay in their native homeland any longer.

Location of the Villages:

The first village, ARTVAN, is relatively isolated from the rest; it is situated some kilometers east of Si'irt, the Arabic-speaking city of the upper Euphrates. The dialect of this village was the subject of a publication by Otto Jastrow in 1971 in the Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenlandischen Gesellschaft. The other villages are located to the east of the city of Djezire on the Tigris and are very close to the intersection of borders of Turkey, Syria, and Iraq.

A first group is at south-east; they occupy different places along the road from Djezire to Zakho(in Iraq) with Hassana in the plain, Bespina on the slope, and Harbol on the other side of the pass. A second group- Deran, Djennet, and Birinji are found to the north-east along the road from Djezire to Sirnak. Then further east, on the main road to Hakkari, there are Eshshi and Baznayeh situated on the slopes above Shabona. A third one, Mehre, can be reached after ten hours walking in the high pastures overlooking Eshshi. The last village, Gaznakh, is located further east and some 15 kilometers to the west of Beytishabab.

Description of the Villages:

To give an idea of the main features of these villages, I shall select two of them, namely Harbol and Eshshi.

The design of Harbol is semi-circular; it rests on the mountain slope opening to the south at a very short distance from Iraq border. At night, the lights of Zakho are seen from the terraces of the houses. It is an extremely beautiful village with an elaborate street pattern. The houses are built from dry stones and have flat terraced roofs supported by beams of poplars which are used for sleeping during the summer. The houses are very close to each other and it is often convenient to move from house to house by the roof rather than by using the narrow lanes.

The main church was recently destroyed and replaced with a cube in concrete with nothing remarkable about it; however, a small church dedicated to Bne Shmuni has survived the tendency toward modernization. This church, which has a plain structure of dried stones, lies at the outskirts of the village and is surrounded by a cemetery in a walnut-tree orchard. It is oriented to the south and has two gates that open on a plain courtyard to the west. Incidentally, the north gate is for women and the south one is for men. Except for two plain crosses engraved on the lintel of the gates, the church has no specific decoration.

Harbol is in close proximity to a coal-mine which is intensively exploited; consequently, it is easy to reach the village since many trucks come the mine from Djezire. The road reaches the gardens of the village, but does not enter it. In fact, the village and the mine are two distinct autonomous worlds which co-exist in immediate neighborhood. The mine will finally be the cause of the destruction of the village. Actually, there are plans to relocate the village in the western regions of Turkey. It is likely that Harbol does not exist any longer.

Eshshi is built at the banks of a steep valley dominated by huge cliffs. It is not so compact as Harbol and its houses, though very similar, are more detached. At the foot of the village runs a stream which operates two mills. The stream is crossed on a single bridge, and the path goes through the orchards and the houses till finally reaches the main square where the priest's house and the church are located. The church is a massive building in dry stones and the nave is a single arch oriented to the east with light entering it only from three openings in the rear wall. Unfortunately, the structure of the wall separating the altar from the nave has been recently modified in a less impressive manner. The nave contains no chairs or benches and the parishioners sit on the ground- the women at the back and the men near the altar.

Public facilities in both villages are either non-existent or very primitive. There are no roads, no electricity, no water system- other than the stream running through the village- and no sanitary conveniences. Most of the villagers are illiterate in their mother tongue; the priest teaches the Syriac alphabet only to some male children who are trained to be deacons. Recently, the two villages have been provided with governmental schools where teachers instruct the pupils in the Turkish language.

Dress, Food and Social Life:

The traditional dress of the villagers is similar to that of the neighboring Kurds. Men wear ling cylindrical trousers, a shirt with narrow sleeves and a waistcoat all made of wool tinted with natural walnut color. A broad belt shelters a variety of things: a knife, a watch, a gun, a tobacco set etc... The head is covered with one or two kerchiefs worn in the Kurdish fashion, or with a republican cap or with a combination of both. The old- fashioned shoes made of boar-skin belong to the past due to the inconsistencies in modernization.

The women have a blouse with long sleeves and a skirt above the trousers made of cotton fabrics. They generally cover their long hair with a white kerchief and wear heavy ear-rings and a gold nail in the nose.

The day begins quite early with a breakfast consisting of bread-baked either in the clay-oven(tanura) or on a reversed iron pan(doqa)-butter, honey, yogurt, white cheese etc... For lunch and supper more consistent food will be brought on a large tray with a central dish of rice, burgul, or pasta together with some boiled meat and vegetables. All the males present in the house, and occasionally some elder women, will eat first and then the women and the children take their turn. In fact, the community is marked with strong social stratification.

The women are continuously busy with various domestic chores; by contrast , the men get entangled in lengthy and, at times, endless discussions while smoking hand-made cigarettes and drinking several glasses of black tea. The villagers marry quite early- males at eighteen and females at fifteen. Celibacy is considered eccentric; therefore, even the priest of the village should marry despite the allegiance to the Roman Catholic faith. Of course, an ideal family should have the maximal number of children that a mother can bear.

Economic Activities:

The main business of the villagers is sheep and goat raising. In winter, the females are kept close to the village, but toward the end of April, when climatic conditions allow, almost the entire village will follow the flock to the high pastures where the animals mate and give birth. Each village, both Christian or Moslem, has a specific summer territory(Zozan) at

a distance of few hours from the village. They spend the summer months in Zozani sheltering under long black tents made of goat hair.

For the main part of the day, the men follow their flocks along perilous slopes. If they are too far from the camp, they spend the night in the open under the protection of their heavy felt coat. The role of the women is more substantial; they have to collect some wood from the oak tress, milk the sheep and goats twice a day, carry large chunks of snow on their backs to make some artificial ponds. These ponds are the only sources of drinking water. Moreover, the women have to handle the daily chores of cooking the food, baking the bread, and churning the milk in a goat skin to extract the butter and make the cheese and yogurt.

In August, when the snow melts, the villagers return to their villages to hold the annual big bargain. They sell all the males of the flock in Djezire. For most of them this is the only occasion in the year to have some cash. This is the time to buy requirements for survival throughout the long winter. In particular, they buy tea, sugar, rice, and wheat which is either boiled into Burgul or ground into flour in the water mills.

Before stocking up their winter provisions, they shear the sheep and dye the wool. Then the women spin it even when they are relaxing; in fact, you can hardly see a woman without her spinning top. The girls sit at the corner of a roof or on a branch of a tree to have a sufficient height for the spindle to hang down and stretch the wool thread. When this is done, the weaving is left for the males; they spend most of their winter days in front of their primitive horizontal looms.

There are only a few cultivations in the villages; they grow some fruits and vegetables and raise some poultry. Another substantial economical activity, which is quite profitable though very dangerous, is trading across the nearby border.

Emigration:

Up to the end of the sixties, these villages were naturally oriented toward the south; the border between Turkey and Iraq was purely administrative line with almost no effect on the life of local people. They still remember the Jewish peddlers of Zakho who used to tour their villages before 1952. For them, the main city was Mosul, and they used to visit their relatives as far south as Baghdad without holding and kind of legal

documents. The first villagers to go to the west was a young boy who was sent to Istanbul in the late fifties for education in a French seminary. This was for him a total breakaway since he had totally no knowledge of both French and Turkish.

The conditions have changed drastically during the last fifteen years because the borders became less permissive. A road was also constructed between Djezire and Hakkari. When the transportation system suddenly improved in Turkey, it was easier to reach Istanbul than Mosul. Moreover, schools were constructed in the villages and Turkish became a language familiar to them.

The villages were obviously overpopulated, and it was natural that an important number of their inhabitants went to seek fortune in the big cities. Some of them were not satisfied even with their life in Istanbul; consequently, they decided to go further west, and settle in France, thus constituting a community that was increasing every year. This opening to the west had a strong effect on the mind of the villagers. During the past two years, they finally took the collective decision to leave their native homeland and migrate ´en masse´ to France which they manage to reach legally or illegally. Only a few Christian families remain in the villages and many houses are now occupied by local Kurds.

The reason they give for this migration are ideological; they claim they want to join the Christians. They soon realized, with great disappointment, that the French make no distinction between them and other Turkish migrants. Obviously, there were other reasons both economical and political. Economically, life was getting more difficult in those mountains, while politically the Turkish military were tightening their grip on Turkish Kurdistan.

Presently, most of the villagers dwell in compact groups in lodgings in a rather depressing and unattractive industrial area apparently without regret for their native mountains. They find their way, somehow, in the French society. The young men work in confectionery business imitating the Turk immigrants. As for the elderly they are idle. In fact, most of men above forty have no social role and they depend upon their families for living; they do not even try to learn French. Strangely enough, the women seem to adapt themselves better to the ambient society and to learn the language faster although they are confined to domestic works.

It is too early to note any deep change in the social structure of their colonies in the suburbs of Paris which are an imitation of their native villages. Undoubtedly, certain changes should take place soon; changes that they did not foresee when they took the decision to move to the unknown world with no hope of returning to their homeland. It is anticipated that these people, especially the younger generations and the oncoming generations will soon learn or acquire the French language and adopt the French culture, thus endangering their very existence as an ethnic group. Being only a small minority, without deep-seated awareness of their language and culture, will facilitate their early acculturation and assimilation.

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** This is the text of an address to the Assyrian Academic Society given at the University of Loyola in Chicago, on April 27, 1986. During the Spring Semester of 1985-1986, the author was a Visiting Professor at the University of Notre Dame/Indiana.

THE ASSYRIAN COLONY IN THE CANADIAN PRAIRIES

Dr. Arian Ishaya

* There is a small town in the province of Saskatchewan in the heart of the Canadian prairies known as North Battleford. (See map). Its very first settlers were 36 Assyrian men, women and children from Urmia region in northwest Persia(Iran), who immigrated to Canada in 1902. The person who masterminded this immigration project was an Assyrian medical missionary by the name of Issac Adams. Today this town is home to about 15 Assyrian families, which is all that is left of that settlement after three generations.

The Assyrian migration to Canada is unique in two ways. First, it was the sole planned group settlement effort. Second, it took place before World War I Diaspora at a time when Assyrian rarely migrated overseas with their families, and with the intention of permanent resettlement abroad.

The question that comes to mind is that what motivated these people to leave their relatives and friends, their ancestral shrines, and their beautiful plain of Urmia, to settle in a far and forbiddingly cold land? This paper documents the history of this migration, the social forces that led to it, and the experience of this immigrant colony overseas.

Historical Precedents:

In the pre-World war I era the Nestorian Assyrians, who are the subject of the present paper, occupied a triangular territory between lake Van, Lake Urmia, and the town of Mosul. This was a border region between Ottoman Turkey and Persia at the time. The Assyrians were mainly a pastoral and peasant people composed of nucleus of seven independent clans that held blocks of mountain territory in the Hakkiari Highlands, and satellite peasant communities in the surrounding plains of Mosul, Van, Salmas, and Urmia. The Assyrians lived under Persian and Ottoman rule as a Christian minority governed through their own ecclesiastical representatives (millet system)**. The Middle Eastern state and legal institutions, together with householding economy of pastoral and peasant people, contributed to the

self-sufficiency and the social isolation of minorities. The Assyrian were a more or less homogeneous community economically, religiously, and socially. This was soon to change with imperial expansion of Great Britain and Russia into the Middle East in the 19th century which drew Ottoman Turkey and Persia into the orbit of the European market economy.

By the middle of 19th century the Assyrian men had been transformed into migrant workers. In 1828, when Russia separated Georgia from Persia, the Assyrian villagers found themselves closer to the Russian border. Large numbers of men regularly crossed the border into Russian towns where they engaged in wage work or learned trades. By the end of the 19th century, the massive introduction of foreign industrial goods had already ruined the native handicraft industries and growing dependence on casks drew the native peasantry to towns. The inclusion of the Assyrians into cash economy was speeded up by the presence of various mission establishments amongst them.

The Politics of Religion:

During the course of the 19th century various foreign missions established stations among Assyrians and Armenians in both Persian and Ottoman territory. The Russian Orthodox, the Presbyterian, and the Roman Catholic missions adopted the policy of conversion and the destruction of the indigenous churches. The missionaries used both force and temptation in the conversion of the natives (Gibb & Bowen 1975, pp. 246-248; Joseph 1983, pp. 31-55). In the Urmia region they offered considerable material well-being to those who joined their fold. For the first time the Assyrians were given the opportunity to attend schools and receive health care in hospitals, which could now engage in the more remunerative tasks such as work in foreign projects or engage in foreign trade (Nikitine 1925, p. 359). Soon the Assyrian community in Urmia was dissected among the various Russian Orthodox, Catholic (Chaldean), and Presbyterian denominations. Those who attached themselves to the various mission establishments experienced considerable upward mobility. Now the community was divided not only denominationally, but also along class lines. Besides the older tenant farmers, there were now freehold peasants, the city dwelling artisans, and the well-educated professionals. Even a nascent bourgeoisie could be distinguished among the Chaldean Assyrians who were engaged in the European trade and banking as middlemen. The converts to foreign denominations became alienated from their Nestorian brethren, and the ancestral traditions. In the words of one missionary, they began to "ape the Europeans" (Maclean and Brown 1892, p. 179).

The privileged position of the Christian minority angered the dispossessed sections of the Muslim population. Towards the end of the 19th century as the central government in Persia weakened, and the economy deteriorated under foreign domination, prosperous Assyrian villages in the Urmia region became increasingly a target of Turkish and Kurdish armed bands who carried away cattle, farm produce, and tools. Under the circumstances, the Assyrians became enthusiastic when they heard stories about fabulous opportunities that existed for work and prosperity in the "Christian" countries of North America. An Assyrian scholar who settled in the United States early in this century, describes the impression Assyrian had of America:

> They are told that this great country is but a little island, inhabited by five thousand Christian missionaries, whose entire time is given to prayer, fasting and preaching; that the country is ruled by a Christian government, free from all evils and abuses; and that nobody plays golf, drinks whiskey, or smokes (Emhardt & Lamsa 1926, p. 83).

During the second half of the 19th century the Canadian government, in its attempt to develop the economy of its western provinces, adopted an open door policy to immigration (Hall 1975). Settlers were needed to develop the virgin prairie land as a major wheat and cereal producing region. Workers were needed in the construction of railways which were to connect the western hinterland with the metropolitan centers of Eastern Canada. A huge propaganda machinery was put into operation to attract immigrants, particularly from the European countries. Literature in the form of circulars was distributed among teachers, preachers, and public officials. Promotional trips and testimonial letters from successful settlers were some of the other features of this advertising campaign.

Thus political instabilities in the old country, and the liberal immigration policies abroad, were the "push and pull" factors in this migration.

The Assyrian Pioneers:

Issac Adams and those who followed him to Canada in 1902, belonged to the generation of the Assyrians who had become deculturated and alienated not only from their own community, but also from the larger Persian society where the Christian minority no longer felt safe. Adams himself represents well the type of the missionized and westernized youth of his times, who was sold on the American dreams. He writes in his autobiography that he was born

in 1872 in the village of Sangar, near the town of Urmia. At the age of six he lost his father who had gone to Russia as a migrant worker. He came under the influence of the Presbyterian mission where he attended school. Upon reading the passage from the Bible that says "Out thee out of thy country the promised land—America, with less than six dollars in his pocket (Adams 1900, p. 24). He entered the United States border at the age of 16 and with the help of the Presbyterian Board of Foreign Mission, he studied to become first a minister and later a medical doctor. he returned to Persia in 1894 and opened mission schools in various Assyrian villages, and succeeded in converting not only his village to the Presbyterian denomination, but several others as well.

As early as 1902 Issac Adams had planned to settle a large group of Assyrians in California where the climate is suitable to the growing of orchards and vineyards, the traditional activities of the Urmian peasantry. But when he inquired about the possibilities for homesteading, the immigration officer in Sacramento enlightened him to the fact that public lands sufficiently large for a colony were no longer available in the region. Since the Canadian immigration laws were more favorable at the time, Adams decided to settle his colony in Canada.

It was in the Fall of 1902 that six "arabanas" (one horse carts) carrying 36 Assyrian men, women and children left the village of Sangar towards an unknown land. The names of those who accompanied Adams make familiar reading in the northwest part of Saskatchewan. There was Joseph Adams and his wife; and Abraham Adams and his wife and family. (These were Issac's brothers). There was E. Shabez with his wife and family; and Solomon Backus, a cousin of Adams'. Aushani was picked up in Gavilan, and at Tabriz a few days later, Michel George and Peter George, Samuel Baba, and Absalom George and his wife and family. An orphan girl named Banosha also joined the group (Wetton, n.d.). They passed robber-infested regions before they reached the Russian border. From there they took a train to Hamburg, Germany. There they boarded the ship "Assyria", and landed on the Canadian soil on New Year's Day, 1903. (one of the mothers gave birth to a baby girl aboard the ship. She was named "Assyria".)

They had to wait in Winnipeg until winter was over. With the Spring break-up, they resumed their trek. In Saskatoon they assembled such equipment as they could afford, and following the old Battleford trail, they reached the North Saskatchewan River which they ferried to the North Bank. This was the final destination, and they set up their tents. Homesteads were

immediately filed on. Land was cheap. It was possible to acquire a quarter section for $10, and preempt another for $3.00. Dr. Adams secured a quarter section of land on the site where the provincial Hospital now stands. The colonists attempted to select adjacent plots in order to be near one another. As soon as homesteads were acquired, the settlers began to build their first home. They gathered stones from the hillside and built for themselves a solid, one-story house, 30 feet by 50 feet. Its walls were two feet through (Wetteon, n.d.). This was where all the thirty seven colonists spent their first winter. But until it was completed, they abandoned the tents because of the cold and took shelter in a dug-out on the side of the hill.

Making A Living:

In 1903 there were very few farmers in the area. The closest town, Battleford, was some miles away from the Assyrian encampment. The town had prospered during a boom period a decade earlier, but in 1903 it was experiencing a setback as the railway had bypassed it in favor of other cities. Movement of cargo constituted a problem and imported goods were very expensive due to the high freight rates. Therefore farmers were not attracted to the area because they could not market their produce if they settled there. The Assyrian pioneers engaged in subsistence farming and to acquire cash, they went to town and looked for any available job. The colony prospered in the first few years. The land was virgin and it produced much more than they had ever had in one season back home. Even work in town was much more remunerative compared to the old country. In the meantime, the Canadian Northern Railway (CNR) officialdom bought large tracts of land around the Assyrian homesteads and, to the utter dismay of the inhabitants of Battleford, decided to divert a line which was supposed to go through the town, to this area. In a short time a settlement arose around the Assyrian homsteads which in a year developed into the prosperous town of North Battleford. New business and people, mostly from England, or British settlers from Eastern Canada poured in. This gave the Assyrians plenty of opportunity to find work. However, since they were not literate in English, they were given only unskilled work. Some hauled bricks with a team of oxen, others laid water and sewer lines or found other types of work in the booming construction market and on the railway. E. Shabaz who had saved some money, invested in a candy store. Some of the Assyrians invested in land because to own land had a high value in their traditional mode of life.

A Second Colony:

In 1906 those pioneers who had left their families back in Persia gave Adams passage money to bring them over. Adams went to Persia and returned in 1907 with 40 new Assyrian settlers. Not all of those were members of the families of the first colonists. Other Assyrians had decided to join the settlement in North Battleford. The new settlers experienced considerable hardship on their way to Canada. They had sailed in cargo boats carrying livestock, and had slept in train depots instead of hotels. To make matters worse, it seems that due to travel mixups, the band was delayed for a month in the Port of Hull in England where whatever money they had, was used up. Adams had attempted to raise funds for the band from charity organizations in England, apparently with little success. Their relatives in Canada had to mortgage their homesteads to send additional money to England in order to get the travellers to Canada. These incidents left the colony not only in difficult financial conditions, but also in tense social relations. Some of the families had grown suspicious and resentful towards Adams.

After World War I more Assyrians joined the colony in North Battleford either on their own, or through the help of their relatives already there.

Survival Strategies:

The pioneers transplanted the extended type of family organization and the patterns of mutual help and obligations that go with it to Canada. At first, this proved very adaptive in view of their economic situation in a frontier environment. It helped the settlers to pull their resources together and minimize costs. It was mentioned earlier that during the first year, the whole colony lived under one roof. The later settlers were able to reach Canada because their relatives paid for their passage money. The common pattern for the newly arrived was, without exception, to stay with their relatives for a year or two until they could procure a house and become economically self-sufficient. Those who had no relatives in town, mostly men, were given temporary accommodation for a year or two at Shabaz's who was a relatively well-to-do farmer and businessman. All these men had shacks on their land; but the shacks had no heating facilities or water supply. So during the winter months the men stayed at the Shabaz's. There were only two women in the house to feed the large crowd. Men helped with the heavier housework. As soon as these men were able to bring their families to Canada, they moved out and in turn helped other relatives to get established. The pioneer generation of settlers managed to find Assyrian

mates even though there were not enough women in this small and isolated colony. Some asked their relatives to bring them a wife from the old country. Others had to select a spouse which would be considered very "improper" in the old country. Some married widows much older than themselves; others married their first cousins which is considered "too close".

The Assyrian farming venture was not too successful. After the first few years, the crops began to fail. The farmers' worst enemy was frost which killed the crops before they had had a chance to mature. At that time seeds which were resistant to cold were not developed yet. Altogether farming on the Canadian prairie was a very difficult proposition at the turn of this century. With the agricultural technology limited to human and animal power, it was easy to break sufficient amount of undeveloped land for cultivation, particularly if the unit of labor was the family. Quarter-section farms were inadequate for dry farming, which was the only form of cultivation then. A half-section would be viable, but then it needed more labor than one family could afford. So fertile land was not a sufficient factor for successful farming in those days. The government expected to develop western Canada into a farming region, yet it was not prepared to subsidize the farmers. Consequently, approximately 57% (six out of ten) farmers failed and moved out to towns (McGinnis, 1975). The Assyrians were no exception. Like most farmers, they were part-time laborers and, as farmers, they practiced mixed farming and livestock raising for subsistence. There were some years which were so lean that Adams had to obtain clothing and essential utensils from the Salvation Army for the hard-hit Assyrian families.

By 1914 the majority of Assyrians had moved from farms into the town where they occupied a quarter called "Chism Town". Some kept their farms, and commuted back and forth. These lived on their farms during summer, and moved to town in winter bringing their livestock along (a few heads of cattle), which they kept in their backyards. The more successful ones opened small businesses such as a tannery, a tailor shop, a poolroom, two grocery stores, and a candy store. One man worked as a painter, another as a buggy driver, and another as a train conductor. The poolroom business prospered and was still run by Assyrians at the time of research in 1973.

The depression of he 1930's hit the Assyrian families to different extends. One farmer said that the farmers did not suffer from hunger as there was enough to eat—the only problem was lack of cash. The provincial government paid the farmers $7.50 a month when the crops failed; this they

paid back in later years. Those who lived on a monthly salary were particularly hard hit. Unemployment prevailed. In some cases the depression changed the course of a man's or a woman's life altogether:

> My dad was a train conductor. He passed away during the depression. I was in grade eight then. One day my mother came home crying. She had gone to collect relief money; but the official had told her that they would not give us relief unless I worked. So I quit school and started cutting grass for the city. That is how I never finished school.

The most destitute of the Assyrian families lived off the land, and hauled cut wood to town and sold it door to door.

The Assyrian Community in the 1970's:

At the time of research in 1973, the Assyrian population of North Battleford consisted of 59 men, women, and children, including the non-Assyrian wives or husbands who numbered 13 in all. None of the 1902 settlers remained in the city. They had either outmigrated or were dead. From the 1097 colony, a 75 year old woman was still living in North Battleford.

There were 13 Assyrians who were first generation immigrants that is, they were not born in North Battleford. These were all full Assyrians. The number of first generation Assyrian born in North Battleford was 14. All except one were full Assyrians. This indicates that the pioneer generation of settlers had married Assyrians. The number of second generation Assyrians born in Canada was 19. These were predominantly either preschoolers or school-age children. They were all half-Assyrians which indicates that the Canadian born generation had all married non-Assyrians. Intermarriage was well tolerated in the community as long as the marriage partner was Christian (excepting native Indians towards whom the Assyrians had learned to take the "white Man's" attitude).

The low rate of population increase indicates a considerable rate of outmigration. But note that there is a difference for the reasons behind the outmigartion of the pioneers on the one hand, and the subsequent generations on the other. The pioneers moved out of Canada to join other Assyrian communities in the United States—particularly in California.*** But the

emigration of the following generations illustrates the general Canadian pattern of migration from the rural areas or small towns to larger industrial cities within Canada itself. In other words, what motivated the pioneers to move was primarily maintaining closer kinship or ethnic ties; what motivated the following generations was primarily job opportunities in the larger cities.

At the time of research in 1973, the majority of the Assyrians of North Battleford belonged to the "middle class". There were three farmers; four individuals who owned businesses (two poolrooms, a wholesaler, and a beauty salon owner and operator); and seven individuals who had specialized occupations and worked either for the government or private enterprises (road surveyor, hockey scout, railroad conductor, cook, small store manager, professional secretary and sales clerk). Most of the retired individuals lived on the proceeds they received on rental houses they owned—the modest scale of such rentier incomes ranged from the proceeds of only one house to that of two or three.

The community social structure was remarkably enough a miniature replica of the village social structure in the old country. The community consisted of seven "lineages", or parts thereof**** (people who carry the same family name). These "lineages" were divided into twenty-one households (nuclear families or remnants thereof living in separate dwellings). All these households were related to at least one other family in the community either through lineal (blood relations) or affinal (marriage) ties. The difference from the old country village structure was that in this case the extended family did not live under one roof, and it was no longer the property-holding and decision-making unit.

The Place of Assyrian Settlers in A Frontier Town:

Even though the Assyrians were among the first settlers of North Battleford, they had remained marginal to the economy and politics of the town up to the time of research in the 1970's. Not one Assyrian name appears in the list of local government representatives or prominent businessmen. The Assyrians were essentially uninvolved members of the petty bourgeoisie or the working class. There had been some in the professional category; but they had moved out of North Battleford.

To understand the position of the Assyrians, we must acquaint ourselves with the general structure of the Canadian society of which North Battleford

is a replica.

The Canadian society is socially divided into unequal classes and various ethnic groups. Often class and ethnicity overlap. Broadly speaking, the elite is composed of Anglo-Canadian settlers who act as gate-keepers to the positions of wealth and power (Clement 1975). Ethnics from Western European countries such as the French and the Germans, occupy a higher position compared to the Eastern European immigrants or settlers from the Asian continent such as the Chinese, Japanese, or the Assyrians. The original inhabitant of Canada—the native Indians and the Eskimos, are reduced to the position of an underclass (Porter 1965).

When the railroad reached North Battleford in 1905, settlers of Anglo-Saxon origin from England or cities of Eastern Canada flowed into the settlement. They were government agents or members of the Northwest Mounted Police who, after the termination of their service, decided to settle in the area. Later some of these held the municipal level of government posts. Others were prospectors or businessmen who took advantage of the opportunities offered by the increasing population of a boom town. (North Battleford had a population close to 6,000 in 1913.) Still others were farmers who settled in the area after the railroad had reached it and, by homesteading large tracts, took control of the surrounding farmland. Later immigrants were mainly Ukrainian peasant farmers from Eastern Europe (McPherson 1967). But by far, the city's most prominent investors, who can be characterized as "absentee landlords and businessmen", were the high officialdom of the Canadian Northern Railway Company.

The Assyrian settlers were handicapped at first because they were illiterate in English and some hardly spoke the language. And they had no contacts. They had to start nearly at the bottom of the economic scale and had no access to upper middle class levels except through technical or professional education in Canadian institutions. Later they were to face a different kind of obstacle of upward mobility. The "peasant" immigrants from Persia or Eastern European countries were brought to Canada for the purpose of producing grain for the British market and their production was to be controlled by the railroad interests (via transportation to market). Those who failed as farmers were not given access to the types of positions which would allow them to share the wealth and power of dominant groups.

Racism was the ideological mechanism which justified discriminatory behavior on the part of the dominant groups. Certain "ethnics" were branded

as an "inferior" type of human beings. J. Woodsworth attempted to "prove" that Syrians, Armenians, and settlers from Persia (with specific reference to Assyrians), were the most "undesirable" of all the immigrants by quoting "authorities" on the subject (Woodsworth 1911, pp. 167-169).

The Assyrian settlers soon became aware that their ethnic identity was a stigma in the new environment, as it was in the old. Some of the respondents said that when they were school-age children, they were often teased and referred to as "black Persians" by their classmates. To escape the stigma, the Assyrian settlers tried to wipe out all the overt signs of their ethnicity. Names were Anglicized. When a European neighbor knocked at their door, they hit the native food away so as not to offend the Western sensitivities. Some Assyrian school children ate their lunches prepared at home away from other children because the lunches were "different", and this was embarrassing. English was preferred to the Assyrian language. The fact that the Assyrian settlers had to articulate with the larger society in terms of the institutions of the dominant group, made their cultural tradition irrelevant. These were relegated to the occasions when one Assyrian confronted another Assyrian. Thus, the first generation of Assyrians who were born in North Battleford found themselves in a rather difficult position as they grew up. They could neither identify with the traditions of their parents (because they were irrelevant and a handicap), nor were they accepted as full-fledged members of the dominant society. A young Assyrian woman was born and raised in North Battleford gives us an inside view of the "in-between generation".

> It isn't easy to be an Assyrian. It isn't easy at all. It's even more difficult growing up part Anglo-Saxon, part Assyrian in a small Canadian town. You listen to the Oriental music your aunt plays on an ancient records player...the music brings a tear to your father's eye...your father, his brother and sisters often sit and drink tea out of tall glasses, while they listen to this music and cry. It must be the words of songs; perhaps they are lonesome for their homeland...Who are these people? Why did they come here? To a small town in the Canadian prairies. They look different than the townspeople. Their skin is bit darker, their eyes are various shades of brown, ranging on black almost; their hair is the same. The pain of knowing that you look different and are different than the people in town; the pain of having someone tells you that you are different...The teacher at school that tells you that your skin is "tan all year round."...You try not to hate them...but you do...

(excerpt from Jean Okkerse's article, "It isn't Easy to Be An Assyrian"; Ishaya, 1976, pp. 123-124).

At the time of research in 1973 the Assyrians of North Battleford did not publicize their identity to outsiders. Several Canadians in the city expressed total ignorance of the existence of an Assyrian community in town. The names of the Assyrians were Anglicized beyond recognition. Everyone preferred to use English at all times. Almost all of the first generation Assyrians understood Assyrian but spoke English. Remaining incognito seemed to be deliberate. One informant believed that if a person wanted to get a job in line with his competence, he should not reveal his ethnic identity. Thus the Assyrians were fully assimilated into the Canadian culture; yet they were not fully integrated into the Canadian social structure.

Conclusion:

As the experience of the Assyrians of North Battleford indicates, their migration from pre-industrial Middle Eastern states to a Western Capitalist state did not change their status as a marginal ethnic group. The colonists travelled thousands of miles and crossed the oceans in the hope of transcending their minority status and becoming fully accepted members of a "Christian" society. Little did they know that as far as their class position was concerned, they were not going very far. The subsistence economy of a peasant adaptation in the Middle East kept the village community as a social isolate and helped, or forced, the maintenance of ethnic identity. But in capitalist North America self-sufficiency was impossible. The ethnic family or community was fully dependent upon the language as well as legal, economic, and administrative institutions of the dominant society. In fact its ethnic peculiarities were a handicap in the way of survival. They had to be shed. The Assyrians of North Battleford did their part to become quickly Canadianized; but Canada had yet to do its share in making them its own.

* This article is based on field research completed in 1973. For a moredetailed account see Ishaya's The Role of Minorities... (1976).

** The millet organization was one by which minorities were given legalrecognition as "inferior" subjects, and were ruled through their own representatives. These were, without exception, the ecclesiastical leaders of each minority: Christian, Judaic, etc. The term, millet, is that used in

standard English references on the Middle East; the Persian word means "people" (millat).

*** Isaac Adams moved to California in 1910. He is the founder of the Assyrian settlement in Turlock, California.

**** The word "lineage" does not imply a corporate unit here. It only refers to people who carry the same surnames. The form of a lineage was present, but the function was not.

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ZMIRYATA-D RAWE

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Over the last few years, amongst the Aramaic-speaking minorities of the Near East and the countries of Diaspora, an impressive movement of intellectual rebirth has been making its presence felt. In Eastern Neo-Aramaic or Neo- Syriac(Sureth)—the mother tongue of both Christians and Jews of the region extending from the basin of the Botan-Su, a tributary of the Tigris in Turkish Mesopotamia, down to the western bank of lake Urmia in Iran— the literary activity of the "Assyrians" and the "Chaldeans" of Iran and of American Diaspora deserves note. However, it is above all in Iraq where the Neo-Aramaic cultural reawakening has begun to assume macroscopic dimensions.

What is disheartening is the fact that only an insignificant minority can still read and write the so-called Nestorian alphabet. However, Neo-Aramaic, as a spoken language, continues to maintain a noteworthy vitality, especially among the Assyrians.

Still in this regard, it must be observed that the intense immigration of the Aramaic-speaking population of the Persian Azerbaijan, after the tragic events of World War I extensively influenced the dialects spoken by the Kurdistan Assyrians who in turn became the victims of drastic displacement. Their descendants, in particular those living in Baghdad, Mosul, Kirkuk, and Basrah, have generally opted for a dialect similar to that of Urmia except for the absence of its typical "Vocal Harmony" or "Synharmonism". Conversely, the Assyrians of Urmia have willingly adopted the picturesque folklore of the Assyrians of Kurdistan in the form of some variegated festive costumes, and particular dance steps, not unlike those used by the Kurds.

Unfortunately, the disappearance of the dialects of Kurdistan Assyrians is tied up closely with the disappearance of the more authentic contents of Nestorian folklore, like the love songs, the wedding hymns, and the war songs that since time immemorial have been handed down from one generation to the next among the mountain Christians. It is a well-known

fact that only Kurdistan Nestorian population groups and above all those who enjoyed equal status with the Moslem Kurds— i.e., the ashiret or warlike tribes originally of the Turkish vilayet of Hakkari— have known how to keep their own folklore intact from Arabic, Kurdish, Turkish or Persian influences.

This heritage, on the way to extinction, merits being gathered and studied, but presently it is rather difficult to find reliable informants. The younger generation treats it all with indifference, as if it were old-fashioned, while among the old people, only a few know how to explain the sense of an old song or how to give the location of this or that place-name in an ancestral territory that no one has had access or reason to revisit since World War I.

Over thirty years ago, the well-known French Kurdologist, Thomas Bois, voiced the impression that no one among the Assyrians knew how to sing a love song in his mother tongue any more. On looking further back into the past, we can see that research conditions were even less favorable than at the present time. The insecure nature of communication routes, along with the suspicious nature of the Nestorians, made the task of gathering their oral traditions quite a risky undertaking. The few Westerners who ventured into their inaccessible mountain fastnesses either visited them hurriedly, or, as was the case with some American and English missionaries, were moved to do so almost always because of religious motives.

The fact remains that whatever meager evidence of popular Assyrian poetry that we have, has never been gathered on the spot in genuine Nestorians surroundings, but rather in marginal areas or even in far distant localities.

In 1869, in Damascus, the Semitist and Kurdologist Albert Socin chanced to meet a poverty-stricken Nestorian basket-weaver, a certain Isho by name, son of Dastu from the village of Talana, one of the villages of the Gelu tribe. Like most of his fellow tribesmen who lived in the poorest and highest territory of the inaccessible mountain Massif that extends from the high basin of the Great Zab down to the borders of Iran, the basket-weaver had left his village after 13th September, the Feast of the Cross, and would not return there until the beginning of the following May, after the springtime thaw, and after having wandered all over the Neareast. Iso, who other than the Neo-Aramaic dialect of Gelu knew only Kurdish, very willingly dictated two stories to Socin, as well as 16 extremely brief poetic pieces

each composed of a verse made up of three septenary monorhymes.

This kind of verse form was already known: it had already been noted in learned Neo-Aramaic poetry about 1600. New, instead, seemed the "literary" form of these tiny compositions with crystal-clear images of mountain life, like rapid sketches, that relayed an amorous message, or described an action born of melancholy, pride, passion, peevishness or good-willed derision.

The following year, 1870, Albert Socin visited the Chaldean villages of the plainland at the foot of the mountains to the Northwest of Mosul: Telkef, Alqos, Dehok and Qasafirr. Here, his curiosity still earnest due to his Damascus encounter, the German orientalist expressly asked if he could hear some popular poetry recited. In the mar Yaqo convent of the French Dominican fathers at Qasafirr, Socin´s crave was quenched to his great surprise by the blind rhapsodist who had just finished dictating to him a penitential sermon by the poet Toma Singari. The blind cantor, believing him to be a priest, held as most unbecoming Socin´s interest in the kind of poetry best regarded as somewhat immoderate. Socin, incidentally, was never to know that the old cantor was no other than Dawid Kora of Nuhadra (who died at Mosul in 1889), of whom numerous religious hymns and enchanting verse fables have been published. "Blind David" was the most famous Neo-Aramaic poet of his day.

Socin´s collection of popular poetry was a rather full one, and was published under the title of Fellihilieder, "Songs of the Fellihi", that is, of Christian villagers of the plainland, as the Moslems of the nearby city of Mosul call them. How could these songs be defined? Socin liked to call them Schnadahupfl, as if they had something in common with the songs Bavarian peasants sang to accompany the rhythms of group dancers. However, the German scholar did not lose sight of the fact that these verses had not originated on the plainland. Disguised by the local dialect, in fact, too many expressions and words of Kurdish derivation appeared, far more familiar to Nestorian mountain folk than to Chaldean villagers who, unlike the Assyrians, fell under the influence of Arabic. From this he deduced that they really reflected the folklore of the people of the highlands, in particular the Assyrians of high Kurdistan, "die das Hochgebirge bewohnenden Aramaer", which were reminiscent of the recitations by the basket-weaver of Gelu, whom he had met in Damascus the year before. Furthermore, this tradition must have been extremely old, for at the time of his visit it had already lost much of its original meaning, both among the Nestorians of Persia and Jacobites of Tur ´Abdin, in Turkish high Mesopotamia.

A journey, which I made at Eastertime, 1972, through the province (qada´) of ´Amadiya about fifty kilometers northeast of Dehok, allowed me the opportunity of establishing that only a small part of the compositions collected by Socin more than a century ago were, in fact, destined for the dance. In the Nestorian village of Bebede, a few kilometers west of ´Amadiya, I happened to be invited to a wedding reception (xlula), at which I was able to listen to the execution of love songs, called zmiryata-d rawe, which corresponded exactly to those collected by Socin.

They belonged to a song form we can describe as amoebaean. While on the threshing floor, the young men and the girls, linked hand in large dance circles, followed the obsessive rhythm of a drum "dahula" and a fife "zurna", the older guests, gathered together in the diwanxana around the wedding couple, formed two groups and, in turns, started to sing a verselet with a strangely archaic tune. The melodic beat was repeated three times and embraced each line as well as the first accented word of the following line, which means that each word was pronounced twice. It had a modal tune, achieved by means of using chromatics at small intervals, executed with a surprising speed. You had the impression that the width between the highest note and the lowest never exceeded the interval our major sixth would make, even if the most important part of this tune appeared to be limited within the span of a major fourth.

Once the stornello was finished, those present showed their appreciation as to the choice of the theme and its execution by singing out a series of stressed "o"´s that finished up on a series of high and extremely sharp "iii"´s. At this point, the second group of singers started the stornello that they considered as being more appropriate to go with the preceding one, and in the end, waited for the applause of the bystanders. This give-and-take continued for hours, with short intervals here and there for something to eat, and to drink a sort of local grappa (eau-de-vie).

In effect, in Socin´s collection the zmiryata-d rawe constitute the major type document. However, besides these stornelli, one can find extracts of songs of a different nature and of wider validity: fragments of a warlike song about the brave ´Awdiso, and portions of qassityata, verse tales, which are singable in co-ordination with dancing.

Upon my return to Baghdad, I looked about for someone who could recite me some songs like the ones I had heard at Bebede. After various fruitless attempts amongst Assyrian city-dwellers —but, unfortunately, they had been

city-dwellers for too long — I turned to those of more recent arrival from the district of Barwari Bala, a little more to the North of ʿAmadiya. It was in this way that I realized that the district (nahiya) of Barwari Bala and part of the neighboring districts represent the last strip of Kurdistan territory still populated by autochthonous Nestorians. These are the sons and grandsons of those who, abandoned the area at the end of 1914, and returned by 1920.

I finally chose as my informant one of the few survivors of the tragic exodus of 1914: Gewargis, son of Bukko, son of Muse. Born about 1897 at ʿEnnune/Kani Masi ("the Spring of Fish"), the main village in the Barwari Bala district, Gewargis had lived there with various interruptions until a little after the outbreak of Kurdish-Arab hostilities on 11 November 1961.

This austere and strong, venerable old man, dictated to me only these zmiryata-d rawe that he held becoming for a man of his age and reputation. Alas, the number we know of such rawe is terribly limited.

Notes:

1. Those who would like to expand their reading on this particular subject are invited to consult my original article "Zmiryata-D Rawe: Stornelli degli Aramei Kurdistani", published in Italian with full notes and comments in Scritti in onore di Guiliano Bonfante, pp. 639-663, Brescia(Italy), Paideia Editrice, 1976.

2. Concerning the word Rawe, which recurs several times in my original text, I had written that, unfortunately, its etymology eluded me. After further investigation, however, I have been able to determine its derivation once and for all. The word Rawe comes from Arabic Rawiy( ), indicating "the letter which remains the same throughout the entire poem and binds the verses together, so as to form one whole ( ) to bind fast", cf. W. Wright, "A Grammar of the Arabic Language", vol. II, Cambridge, At the University Press, 1967. Section 194, p. 352.

Therefore, banda-d rawe means " a monorhyme strophe and zmiryata-d rawe means "monorhyme songs".

3. As for the Italian word stornello, also found, several times in the original article, there is this to say: this kind of poem, " a short (usually three-lined) popular Italian verse form" (See Chambers' Twentieth Century Dictionary), is known by this Italian name even in English, and so I have chosen to retain it here.

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