

Описание гражданской войны в Сирии жителем Маалулы

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Аннотация: Публикация представляет собой фрагмент рассказа Филиппа Шо'ра (Filīb Šōʿra, араб. Aš-Šāfir) на диалекте Маалула (Maʿlūla) современного западного арамейского языка. Маалула (Maʿlūla) – диалект одноименного сирийского города, расположенного в 55 км северо-восточнее Дамаска. Маалула – один из трех населенных пунктов, в которых в качестве живого языка продолжает использоваться современный западный арамейский¹.

¹ Две другие деревни – Джуббадин (Ġubbšadin, арамейское название — Ġurbaʿōd) и Баха (Baħʿa) представляют собой одноименные диалекты современного западного арамейского.

Рассказ повествует о захвате Маалулы радикальными исламистами во время гражданской войны в Сирии и об убийстве нескольких местных жителей.

Наличный корпус полевых записей современного западного арамейского все еще недостаточен для полного описания грамматической структуры языка. Морфологический анализ текстов – первый шаг на пути к решению этой задачи. И он важен вдвойне, поскольку современный западный арамейский язык благодаря консерватизму своей морфологии занимает особое место среди современных арамейских языков².

Запись проводилась 10 декабря 2020 г. в городе Маалула, Сирия. Информант – Филипп Шо'ра, 83 года, работал пекарем в Ливане, вернувшись в Маалулу, занялся сельским хозяйством.

Способ глоссирования – интерлинейные глоссы. Помимо стандартных обозначений, приведенных в Лейпцигских правилах глоссирования, были использованы дополнительные глоссы (см. Список условных обозначений).

Ключевые слова: *Маалула, современный западный арамейский язык*

Modern Western Aramaic (MWA) is one of the most endangered Aramaic languages. It is the only surviving member of the Western Aramaic sub-group existing today. Before the Syrian Civil War (2011 – present), its dialects were spoken in three localities in Rif Dimashq Governorate.

By themselves, the Aramaic languages need detailed study. Arabization and Islamization of the Middle East led to the fact that the Aramaic languages began to be used less and less in various fields of activity and were predominantly replaced by Arabic. The most representative instance is literature as a collection of written texts, as our object of study is a language without its own writing system. Over time, Arab borrowings began to spread wider and increasingly take root in the system of the language group under discussion.

What is worth additional mentioning is that the Eastern Aramaic sub-group is generally more receptive to change and pro-

² Так, в современном западном арамейском сохранились рефлексы двух базовых форм праарамейского глагола: *yiqtul и *qatal.

gressive than the Western sub-group. Nevertheless, this tendency has its own exceptions. For instance, the verb system of both groups is developing in the same direction. The most common and obvious pattern of change is finite verb forms inherited from the proto-Aramaic language gradually being replaced by nominal forms.

The dialects spoken in Rif Dimashq, or (to be more precise) in the northeastern part of the Anti-Lebanon ridge, are unique due to their exceptional archaism against the background of other modern Aramaic dialects. In terms of this issue, we can draw significant comparisons between them and the classical Syriac language, which was used as a living language about two thousand years ago. The evidence of this statement was mentioned and approved previously in the Abstract.

According to the 2004 census (the main data source which we rely on every time mentioning the number of residents of each settlement), the population of the Baxʿa village was 1,405. However, during the war, the settlement was destroyed, and at the moment it is abandoned.

Another village that was only indirectly affected by the war (it was bombed) is Gubbʿadīn. Today the population of the village is more than four thousand people.

The object of the study is the dialect of the third settlement. Before the civil war in Syria, the population of the city of Maaloula was more than three thousand people. The population census in 2004 again provides more specific data – 2,762 people. During the war, the city was captured by hostilities, and the locals left Maaloula en masse. At the moment, most of the city has been destroyed, and the population is almost 10 times less than it was before the war.

The following text, recorded in 2020, examines the life of the local population during the armed conflict according to the recollections of one of the residents of the city.

1.

ōl *santuk-ō*, *santuk-ō*, *hinn* *m=ḡawz-a*,
 EXIST chest-P chest-P they of=walnut.tree-ABS

ōl *santuk-ō* *katimōy-in*, *ōl* *ʕaláy* *nežəm-l-a* *ti* *Tōwut*.
 EXIST chest-P old-P.INDF EXIST on+3p star-F-ABS of PN

han *ti* *ḥōfr-in* *uḡōy-in*.
 these REL engrave.PRS-P Jew-P.INDF

u *hī* *čū* *mažəb-l-a* *p=ḥafər* *illa* *ʕemmit* *ti* ...
 and she NEG be.appropriate. in=^engraving^A except among REL
 PRS-F.S

mett *aṭarōy-in* *baḥar*, *u* *kkīr-in*,
 kind.of antique-P.INDF very and valuable-P.INDF

yaʕni *ḡōly-in* *baḥar*, *ṭīm=un* *baḥar*.
 HES expensive-P.INDF very price=3p a.lot

m.žoməḷa, *ōl* *santūk-a* *l=eḡda*,
 moreover EXIST chest-ABS belonging.to=one.F

alō *yi-rahm-enn=a* *u* *yi-rahm-é-l*
 God 3m-have.mercy.SBJV-PLEO=3fs.DO and 3m-have.mercy.SBJV-
 PLEO-HD

miṭ-ay=xun, *Rahme* *Sumʕan*, *katm-ačč=e* *l=Mar.Ilyas*,
 dead-P=2p PN PN donate.PST-3fs=3ms.DO to=PN

hī *w* *arʕ-a*, *u* *payl-a*, *u* *činya* *mō*.
 she and field-ABS and house-ABS and dunno what

There were chests. They were (made) of walnut tree. There were old chests. They had the star of David on them. Those who engraved (it), were Jews. And it is not appropriate to engrave (it) except among those who are (Jews). And they had a kind of

very antique (look), and were valuable, that is, very expensive. Their value was high. Moreover, there was a chest belonging to a woman – may God have mercy upon her, and may he have mercy upon your dead – Raḥme Sumṣan. She donated it to the church of St. Elijah. (She donated) it, and the field, and the house, and I dunno what (else).

2.

<i>ōb</i>	<i>p=ṣalōn</i> ,	<i>lōb</i>	<i>či-zzak/k'er</i> .	
cop	in= ^A sitting.room ^A	if	2-remember.SBJV	
<i>t<ɪ> ...</i>	<i>xut</i>	<i>ti</i>	<i>ōt</i>	<i>aʕl=e</i> ,
REL	all	REL	EXIST	on=3ms
<i>nežəm-t-il</i>	<i>anna</i>	<i>Tōwut</i> ,	<i>ixčfi</i> .	
star-F-HD	this.M	PN	disappear.PST	
<i>maʕnōy-t-a</i> ,	<i>ti</i>	<i>tō-lun</i>	<i>l=ōxa</i> ,	
meaning-F-ABS	REL	come.PST-3p	to=here	
<i>īl-un</i>	<i>ʕilōk-č-a</i>	<i>ʕeml</i>	<i>uđōy</i> .	
POS-3p	relation-F-ABS	with	Jew.P.DEF	
<i>inne</i>	<i>ğappay-naḥ</i>	<i>anaḥ</i>	<i>santūk-a</i> ,	
so	POS-1p	we	chest-ABS	
<i>čüb</i>	<i>m=ti</i>	<i>ōt</i>	<i>aʕl=e</i>	<i>nežəm-t-a</i> ,
NEG+COP	from=REL	EXIST	on=3ms	star-F-ABS
<i>ču</i>	<i>škil-il-l=e</i> ,	<i>ču</i>	<i>battay-hun</i>	<i>haʕin</i> .
NEG	take.PRF-P-HD=3ms.DO	NEG	want-3p	those

It was in the sitting room (of the church of St. Elijah), if you remember. Every (chest) that had the star of David on it, disappeared. It means, that those who came here, had a relation with Jews. So we have a chest, not the one that has the star on it. They have not taken it, they did not want (it).

3.

<i>ha</i>	<i>hōš</i> !	<i>orḥ-a</i>	<i>ḥrī-t-a</i> .	<i>orḥ-a</i>	<i>ḥrī-t-a</i>
look	now	time.F-ABS	other-F-ABS	time.F-ABS	other-F-ABS
<i>n-maḥm-il=lax</i>		<i>ṣur-yōt-a</i> ,	<i>n-maḥm-il=lax</i>	<i>ṣur-yōt-a</i> .	
1-show.PRS-P=2ms.IO		picture-P-ABS	1-show.PRS-P=2ms.IO	picture-P-ABS	
<i>u</i>	<i>yīb</i>	<i>ana</i>	<i>fčakīr-iṭ</i>	<i>p=ti</i>	<i>taḥken</i>
and	if	I	remember.	about=REL	happen.PRF
			PST-1s	<i>akītar</i> ,	<i>n-maḥki-in</i> ,
				more	1-talk.PRS-P
<i>nī-mšōwet</i>	<i>n-amr-il=lax</i>	<i>mō</i>	<i>batt-ax</i>	<i>msaṣat-č-a</i> ,	
1-return.PRS	1-say.PRS-P=2ms.IO	what	need-2ms	help-F-ABS	
<i>hač</i>	<i>u</i>	<i>han</i>	<i>šapp-ō</i> ,	<i>n-ḥōḡr-in</i> .	
you.M.S	and	these	guy-P	1-be.ready.PRS-P	

Now look! ... Next time. Next time I will show you pictures, I will show you pictures. And if I remember more about what has happened, we will talk, I will tell you again (about) what you need help with, you and these guys. We are ready (to help).

4.

<i>bes</i>	<i>ōt</i>	<i>šagəl-t-a</i> .	<i>ḡuk/kīl</i>	<i>inḥeč</i> ,	
but	EXIST	thing-F-ABS	when	go.down.PST	
<i>ikḡum.mi</i>	<i>y-nuḡp-u-ž</i>	<i>žars-ō</i> ,	<i>u</i>	<i>ikḡum.mi</i> ...	
before	3-steal.SBJV-P-HD	bell-P	and	before	
<i>nōḥč-in</i>	<i>čal=ōta</i>	<i>nahḥī-t-a</i>	<i>ḡarbōy-ta</i> ,		
go.down.PRS-P	to=that.F	neighbourhood-F-ABS	western-F.DEF		
<i>kaṭl-ū-l</i>	<i>Maxōyel</i>	<i>Ṭaṣlab</i> ,	<i>u</i>	<i>l=ebr=e</i> ,	
kill.PST-3p-HD	PN	PN	and	DO=son=3ms	
<i>u</i>	<i>ebər</i>	<i>ḥōn=e</i>	<i>Baržes</i> .	<i>ē</i> ,	<i>ebər</i>
and	son.of	brother=3ms	PN	yes	son.of
				<i>ḥōt=e</i> .	sister=3ms

<i>niš-laḥl=un</i> forget.PST-1p=3p.DO	<i>han ,</i> these	<i>u</i> and	<i>manin</i> who.P	<i>ḥrin-ōy ?</i> other-P
<i>hanna ,</i> this.M	<i>mō</i> what	<i>ušm=e ?</i> name=3ms	<i>Aḷṭun !</i> PN	<i>kaṭl-ūn .</i> kill.PST-3p+3p.DO
<i>amr-ū-l</i> say.PST-3p-HD	<i>l=eḅər</i> to=son.of	<i>ḥōn=e ,</i> brother=3ms	<i>Baržes ,</i> PN	<i>“ aslēm !”</i> become.muslim.IMP
<i>akam</i> stand.up.PST	<i>ṣalb-il</i> cross.PST-HD	<i>īd=e</i> hand.F=3ms	<i>ṣa=ffōy=e ,</i> upon=face=3ms	
<i>amel=lun ,</i> say.PRS=3p.IO	<i>“ ana</i> me	<i>xan</i> so	<i>ḡīn !”</i> religion+1s	<i>akam</i> stand.up.PST
				<i>kaws-unn=e .</i> shoot.PST-3p=3ms.DO

But there is something (else). When they went down, before they stole the bells, and before ... They went down into the western neighbourhood, they killed Maxōyel Ṭaṣṭab and his son, and the son of his brother Baržes ... Yes, the son of his sister. We forgot them, these ones, and whom else? This one, what was his name? Aḷṭun! They killed them! They said to the son of Baržes's brother, "Become a Muslim!". Then he made the sign of the cross upon his face, (and) told them, "As for me, my religion is like this!" Then they shot him.

5.

<i>ōl</i> EXIST	<i>bisnī-ṭ-a ...</i> girl-F-ABS	<i>kaṭl-ul-l</i> kill.PST-3p-HD	<i>aṭin</i> those	<i>īlōṭa .</i> three.M
<i>ōl</i> EXIST	<i>bisnī-ṭ-a ,</i> girl-F-ABS	<i>kaws-unn=a ,</i> shoot.PST-3p=3fs.DO	<i>ṣal=asōs-a</i> for=reason-ABS	<i>mīl-aṭ .</i> die.PST-3fs
<i>hī</i> she	<i>iḥm-aṭ ,</i> see.PST-3fs	<i>iḥm-aṭ</i> see.PST-3fs	<i>u</i> and	<i>šimṣ-aṭ ,</i> hear.PST-3fs
			<i>u</i> and	<i>hanna .</i> this.M
<i>ūl-a</i> POS-3fs	<i>ṣomr-a</i> life-ABS	<i>met</i> in.order.to	<i>č-aḥk'ē=le</i> 3f-tell.SBJV=3ms.IO	<i>fīṭs-č-a .</i> thuth-F-ABS

sōlk-in *šapp-ō* *masaf-il-l=a*
go.up.PRS-P guy-P give.first.aid.PRS-P-HD=3fs.DO

u *žayš-a* *yimken* *šimmáy .* *infek* *hañin* , *islek* , *šōwet .*
and army-ABS probably with+3p go.out.PST those go.up.PST r e t u r n .
PST

There was a girl ... They killed those three. There was a girl. They shot at her, for this reason she died. She saw, she saw and heard (everything), and so on. She was (still) alive to tell him the truth. Guys came up (to the city and) gave her first aid, and the army was probably with them. Those ones (i.e. the rebels) left, they went up, returned back.

6.

han *aħč-unn=a* *ša=Demsek* , *šw-ul=la* *šamal-yōt-a* ,
these bring.down.PST-3p=3fs.DO to=PN do.PST-3p=3fs. surgery-P-ABS
IO

činya *mō .* *kayyōm* *īd=a* *yañni* *xan .*
dunno what remain.F hand.F=3fs HES so

aħk-aṭ *ša.mazbuṭ* *mō* *īken .*
tell.PST-3fs truthfully what happen.PST

m.žoməlṭa *inne* *aħħaḍ* *amel=lun*
moreover COMP one.M say.PRS=3p.IO

“ *ana* *ču* *man* *n-aslem .*”
I NEG FUT.1s 1-become.muslim.SBJV

hū ... *čūb* *inne* *miskīn-a .*
he NEG+COP COMP poor.man-ABS

xan *iščikōt=e* , *xan* *imōn=e* *hū* , *imōn=e* *hū .*
so conviction=3ms so faith=3ms he faith=3ms he

She was brought down to Damascus, (and) underwent (several) surgeries, I dunno what (else). Her hand was like this. She told truthfully what happened. Moreover, (there was) one who told them, “I won’t become a Muslim”. He (was killed). He is not a poor man. Such is his conviction, such is his faith, his faith.

7.

<i>kaṭl-unn=e</i>	<i>mett ...</i>	<i>almuḥim ,</i>	<i>keṣ-t-a</i>	<i>rrīx-a ,</i>
kill.PST-3p=3ms.DO	about	anyway	story-F-ABS	long-F.INDF

<i>mō</i>	<i>baḥ</i>	<i>n-aḥəkī ?</i>	<i>šagəl-t-a</i>	<i>rrīx-a .</i>
what	should.1p	1-tell.SBJV	thing-F-ABS	long-F.INDF

<i>bes</i>	<i>mʕallōy ,</i>	<i>čūb</i>	<i>xull</i>	<i>anna ,</i>	<i>zōyʕ-in .</i>
but	Maaloula.resident.PDF	NEG+COP	all	this.M	be.afraid. PRS-P

<i>ḡatr-a</i>	<i>m=ḡawwōyɿ=aḥ ,</i>	<i>n-ʔammīn-in ,</i>	<i>čūb</i>	<i>xull</i>	<i>anna .</i>
betrayal-ABS	from=inside=1p	1-believe.PRF-P	NEG+COP	all	this.M

He was killed about ... Anyway, (it is) a long story. What should we tell? It is a long matter. But the people of Maʕlūla were not all that afraid. (There was) betrayal among us, we believe (so), (but) not all that.

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СПИСОК ДОПОЛНИТЕЛЬНЫХ ГЛОСС:

A...A	неадаптированное заимствование из арабского, оставленное негlossированным;
ABS	показатель несвязанной формы существительного;
DO	прямой объект;
IO	косвенный объект;
EXIST	экзистенциальный предикат;
HD	показатель вершинного маркирования в случае, если зависимое с положительным значением определенности следует непосредственно после вершины;
HES	хезитация;
PLEO	плеонастический элемент, связывающий некоторые глагольные формы с показателем вершинного маркирования или с энклитическими объектными местоимениями;
PN	имя собственное;
POS	поссесивный предикат

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Abstract: The publication presents a fragment of a story by Philip Šōŕa (Arabic: Aš-Šāŕir) in the Mašlūla dialect of Modern Western Aramaic. Maaloula is a dialect of the Syrian city of the same name, located 55 km northeast of Damascus. Maaloula is one of three settlements in which dialects of modern Western Aramaic continue to be used as a living language.

The story focuses on the capture of Maaloula by radical Islamists during the Syrian Civil War and the killing of several local residents.

The available corpus of field records of modern Western Aramaic is insufficient to fully describe the grammatical structure of the language. Morphological analysis of texts is the first step towards solving this problem. And it is doubly important, since some features of the morphology of modern Western Aramaic occupy an important place among other modern Aramaic languages.

The recording took place on December 10, 2020, in the city of Maaloula, Syria. Informant – Philip Sho'ra, 83, worked as a baker in Lebanon and returned to Maaloula to become a farmer.

Glossing method: interlinear morpheme-by-morpheme glosses. In addition to the standard designations given in the Leipzig Glossing Rules, some additional glosses have been used (See List of Additional Labels).

Keywords: *Maṣlūla, Modern Western Aramaic*

List of Additional Glosses:

A...A	unaccommodated borrowing from Arabic, which has been left unglossed;
ABS	non-incorporated, unbound form of the noun;
DO	direct object;
IO	indirect object;
EXIST	existential predicate;
HD	a head-marker indicating an immediately following definite dependent;
HES	hesitation;
PLEO	a pleonastic element, which connects some verbal forms to the object marker or enclitic object pronouns;
PN	proper noun;
POS	possessive predicate.

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