

# Translation as Corpus Planning: *The Little Prince* in the Neo-Aramaic Minority Language Turoyo

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## 1 Language Planning and Corpus Planning

During the sixty years of research on language policy and language planning many attempts have been made to define these practices, while the multidimensional character of the processes influencing linguistic behavior of groups and individuals has led to the creation of a variety of methods to conduct research in this area. The character of language policy research has also changed over the decades together with the changing world, which saw the rise and development of independent countries in Asia and Africa as well as waves of people migrating in the 20th and 21st centuries. The core of the language policy definition is, however, the supposition that people may shape language and treat it in terms of values.

Situated at the crossroads of linguistics, sociology, law, political science, anthropology and economy, language policy embraces methodologies from different research fields and requires a multidisciplinary approach. This polyphony of research perspectives is also noticeable in many attempts to define the notion of language policy. The historical overviews of trends in language policy by Ricento (2000) and, more recently, by Jernudd and Nekvapil (2012) present a range of approaches which correspond to the tendencies prevailing in the research areas mentioned above and reflect the dynamics of biological, sociological, technical and political changes in the world.

In the recent three decades, language policy research mainly focused on the ecology of language and the challenges related to the process of globalization. This turn in language policy research favors small and endangered languages. These new approaches also implicate certain new questions (Ricento 2000: 23):

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The most important, and as yet unanswered, question to be addressed by researchers is ‘Why do individuals opt to use (or cease to use) particular languages and varieties for specified functions in different domains, and how do those choices influence – and how are they influenced by – institutional language policy decision-making (local to national and supranational)?’ The implications of this question are that micro-level research (the sociolinguistics of language) will need to be integrated with macro-level investigations (the sociolinguistics of society) to provide a more complete explanation for language behavior – including language change – than is currently available.

Following these assumptions Ricento (2000: 23) uses a broad meaning of the term language policy, which is understood as:

a superordinate term which subsumes ‘language planning.’ Language policy research is concerned not only with official and unofficial acts of governmental and other institutional entities, but also with the historical and cultural events and processes that have influenced, and continue to influence, societal attitudes and practices with regard to language use, acquisition and status.

A broad definition of language policy was also advocated by Spolsky (2004: 5), who proposed its tripartite division into language practices, language beliefs and ideologies, as well as language management. Similarly, Johnson understands language policy as an umbrella term covering a variety of activities focused on language (2013: 13):

*A language policy* is a policy mechanism that impacts the structure, function, use, or acquisition of language and includes:

1. Official regulations – often enacted in the form of written documents, intended to effect some change in the form, function, use, or acquisition of language – which can influence economic, political, and educational opportunity;
2. Unofficial, covert, de facto, and implicit mechanisms, connected to language beliefs and practices, that have regulating power over language use and interaction within communities, workplaces, and schools;
3. Not just products but processes – “policy” as a verb, not a noun – that are driven by a diversity of language policy agents across multiple layers of policy creation, interpretation, appropriation, and instantiation;
4. Policy texts and discourses across multiple contexts and layers of policy activity, which are influenced by the ideologies and discourses unique to that context.

It may be noted that recent publications show a tendency to avoid the division into language policy and language planning, which was present in earlier works, where the term language planning was used in the sense of an active phase of language policy that, in turn, was understood in a narrow sense as a set of ideas or plans used as a basis for making decisions concerning the development of a language. Such understanding of language planning appeared, for instance, in Cooper, who defined it as follows: “Language planning refers to deliberate efforts to influence the behavior of others with respect to the acquisition, structure, or functional allocation of their language codes” (1989: 45). The term language planning in a similar and subsuming language policy meaning was also used by Kaplan and Baldauf (1997: 3). They similarly made an attempt to point to an

extended set of goals of language planning, encompassing language purification, language revival, language reform, language standardization, language spread, lexical modernization, terminological unification, stylistic simplification, interlingual communication, language maintenance, auxiliary codes standardization (Kaplan and Baldauf 1997: 61).

All these activities may serve to fulfill one of the goals of the tripartite division of language planning represented by status planning, corpus planning and acquisition planning. For the purpose of the present paper the most important is the second one, which has been defined by Cooper (1989: 31) as follows:

Corpus planning refers to activities such as coining new terms, reforming spelling, and adopting a new script. It refers, in short, to the creation of new forms, the modification of old ones, or the selection from alternative forms in a spoken or written code.

Usually the burden of conducting these activities rests on such governmental agendas as Language Academies and other decision-making bodies, including even parliaments. However, in the case of languages which have no state protection, a linguistic corpus may be developed by formal or informal groups of speakers, usually writers or the intellectual elite of a given ethnolinguistic community. For example, this is how contemporary literary German (Hochsprache) was elaborated mainly by Martin Luther and widespread by his translation of the Holy Bible. The literary Italian language being based on the Tuscan dialect, on the other hand, owes its development and status to Dante Alighieri, Francesco Petrarca and Giovanni Boccaccio.

The role of translators in the formation of lexical corpuses of languages may also be significant. It is especially visible in the translations from languages that are distant from one another culturally. Let us consider, for instance, the problems with adequate transposition of the meaning of numerous words, but also word-plays, sayings and proverbs, which have no exact counterparts in the target language. Through coining neologisms translators improve the ‘imperfect’ vocabulary of the target language and ipso facto participate actively in corpus planning. Another contribution of translators to corpus planning may be their decision concerning the orthography of proper names and the naturalization of them in the target language.<sup>1</sup>

## 2 Translation into Lesser-Used Languages

The number of texts translated into lesser-used languages reflects their sociolinguistic situation. It is the status of such languages in society that determines if they are regarded as worthy of becoming the target languages for translated texts. The higher

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<sup>1</sup>This can be illustrated with various orthographies based on Roman script used in the naturalization of the Arabic word جهاد (ǧihād) in European languages. One can find, for instance, the following versions: jihad (in English), Dschihad (in German), djihad (in French) and dżihad (in Polish).

their status, the more probable it is that literary texts will be translated into them. This is observable both on a micro and on a macro scale. As noted by Michael Cronin: “The concept of ‘minority’ with respect to language is dynamic rather than static. ‘Minority’ is the expression of a relation not an essence” (1995: 86). Hence, with regard to translation practices, languages exist within a hierarchical order and their position depends on their sociolinguistic status. A language that is dominant in one sociolinguistic situation may be dominated in another. In this context, small and minority languages are usually situated at the bottom of the hierarchy and their speakers are predominantly coerced to be bi- or multi-lingual. This unfavourable linguistic position may even lead to the lack of necessity to have texts (literary, scientific and other) translated into these speakers’ native tongue (cf. Williams 2009: 224–225).

Any decision to translate texts into minority or small languages is both the effect of the positive attitude towards them and an attempt to increase their status within multilingual society. As Cronin has observed, “for minority languages themselves, it is crucial to understand the operation of the translation process itself as the continued existence of the language and the self-perception and the self-confidence of its speakers are intimately bound up with translation effects” (1995: 88). In other words, translation practices may be a survival strategy for languages situated at the bottom of a sociolinguistic hierarchy. In the global perspective, it is the fate of 95% of the 7000 languages spoken in the world today. Despite the fact that only 350 languages have over one million users, they are spoken by 94% of the global population. The disproportion in the number of speakers between smaller and bigger languages is even more glaring if one realizes that virtually half of the world’s population speaks one of the twenty most used languages, among which eight languages (Mandarin, Spanish, English, Bengali, Hindi, Portuguese, Russian and Japanese) have over 100 million users (Crystal 2000: 14; Grenoble 2011: 28). Moreover, in the age of globalization, which favors languages of wider communication, these figures change constantly in favor of stronger tongues.

From the economic viewpoint, the number of speakers of a given language is crucial for the decision of whether or not to produce translations into it. Authors writing in smaller languages have to make a much greater effort to be noticed in the publishing market, which is a disincentive for potential translators. It is therefore particularly interesting to examine translations of world literature into such languages as Turoyo.

### 3 Turoyo Language: An Overview

According to the linguistic classification, Turoyo is a Neo-Aramaic language and belongs to the Central group of Aramaic languages. The homeland of this language was the mountainous massive of Tur Abdin in south-eastern Turkey, hence its name (*turoyo* means mountainous). Other names used to refer to the Turoyo language include, for example, Torani or Surayt, the latter being preferred by native speakers.

It is very difficult to estimate the exact number of Turoyo speakers. According to different data, the figures range from 20,000 up to 100,000. The language is spoken almost exclusively by Christians, the majority of whom belong to the Syriac Orthodox Church. One of the characteristic features of Turoyo is the fact that currently only a small minority of its speakers live in their homeland, in Tur Abdin. This was caused by many factors, including the persecution to which Christians in Turkey were subjected from the year of Sayfo (1915), which led to difficult times for the faithful of the Syriac Church inhabiting south eastern Turkey, as well as the Kurdish revolt against the Turkish authority in 1927. In consequence of these events, many Turoyo speaking Christians fled to Syria and Lebanon. In Syria, they settled down mainly in Qamishli, the town built at the Turkish border, vis á vis the ancient city Nusaybin, whereas in Lebanon they lived in Beirut and Zahle. In the sixties of the 20th century, in Tur Abdin, there were 20,000 Turoyo speakers left. However, in that period, another wave of migration started. Its destiny was, this time, Europe. Syriac Orthodox Christians from Turkey, Lebanon and Syria were coming, legally or illegally, to Germany, Sweden and the Netherlands, seeking there an opportunity for a better life. Their numbers were rising and currently approximately 140,000 of Turoyo live in Europe; the majority of them retained their language (Talay 2002: 68–69). In the first years of the 21st century, only 2000 of the Turoyo speakers remained in Tur Abdin. At present, Turoyo is the language of immigrants.

Turoyo is not a homogenous language and there is a considerable difference between the dialect of Midyad (the main town of Tur Abdin) and the dialects of particular villages, although today these language varieties started to mix due to emigration. Almost all of Turoyo speaking Christians are bi- or multi-lingual. They speak Kurdish (Kurmanji), Turkish or Arabic. In Tur Abdin, even folk tales and songs were usually transmitted in Kurdish. This is why many loanwords from these languages were incorporated to Surayt. Ritter has observed that in Turoyo there are even more verbs of Arabic origin than of those deriving from Syriac. This situation is perceptible particularly in Syria and Lebanon, whereas the Kurmanji influence is visible especially in the corpus of nouns (Ritter 1967: 18–20).

## 4 Neo-Aramaic Literary Tradition

As far as the literary tradition of Neo-Aramaic is concerned, one can point to certain attempts at the standardisation of Eastern Neo-Aramaic used in Iraq and Iran from the past. This variety of Neo-Aramaic was put into writing as early as in the 18th century or probably even earlier (Murre van den Berg 1999: 76). Through the efforts of American Presbyterian and later Anglican missionaries, who in the 19th century came to the region of Urmia Lake (today in Iran), a standardized form of contemporary Eastern Aramaic was established. It is widespread among Assyrian

and Chaldean Christians living in Iraq, Iran and in diaspora, especially in the USA. The orthography of this language was based on the Syriac script.<sup>2</sup>

In its homeland, Turoyo has never been written down, although as Shabo Talay proves, some erroneous Syriac inscriptions from this region may attest that Surayt, in its spoken form, was used there as early as in the 8th century of the Christian era (2009: 375–381). Usually, it was Syriac that served as a literary language for Tur Abdinian Christians. They preferred to write in the vernacular Kurdish by using Syriac letters (the *garshuni* system) rather than try to record Turoyo in this way.<sup>3</sup>

However, some attempts leading to the standardization of Turoyo were made in the European diaspora. The Swedish Turoyo community played a prominent role in this process. This was undoubtedly possible owing to the Swedish educational policy towards immigrants. In 1976, the Swedish Parliament decided that children of newcomers should have the opportunity to learn their mother tongues. That is why the bilingual policy was particularly developed in Sweden. In this system, immigrants' children, when they grew up, could choose which culture, the Swedish or that of their parents, they considered their own as well as which language they wanted to speak (Ishaq 1990: 189–190).

According to Swedish state institutions, the support for home languages of immigrants should not only be limited to school education, but should be offered at all stages of life, even in the pre-school period. As a result, six-year-old (and even younger) immigrant children have an opportunity to attend single language nurseries. Every municipality can make decisions with regard to language education. If there is a sufficient number of pupils of similar age, the preparatory classes in which the majority of lessons are given in the language of immigrants can be organized. Such language education was not obligatory, but only optional (Ishaq 1990: 192).

In Sweden, Turoyo speaking immigrants took advantage of this option and according to the Swedish National Board of Education already by 1979 there were 20 language classes that consisted of Turoyo speakers. In the years 1986–1987, in Södertälje, a town with the largest group of Turoyo speaking immigrants, there were 1156 pupils with 48 language teachers (Ishaq 1990: 193). Such a language education system also required manuals and books written in the languages of immigrants. In the case of Turoyo, which was an unwritten language, it was necessary to make efforts towards its standardization. The commission under the leadership of Yousouf Ishaq, who neither knew Turoyo nor belonged to the Syriac Orthodox community, decided that the new literary language would be written with the Roman script. The alphabet was adjusted for typing and only two special letters were added. The first book in literary Turoyo appeared in 1983. It was a manual *Toxu qorena* [Let us read]. In the following years, other manuals and books in Turoyo were published. The standardization was accompanied by the invention of

<sup>2</sup>More in Murre van den Berg (Murre van den Berg 1999) and Bednarowicz (2008).

<sup>3</sup>In 1880 the American Mission in Mardin requested from the deacon Isaya of Qilith to translate the Gospel of John into Turoyo. This translation, however, had no influence on the Turoyo speaking community of Tur Abdin (Heinrichs 1990: 183–184).

hundreds of new words that could render the terms never used in the Middle East. This standard language was not based on any particular dialect, but was a mixture of them.

At the beginning, the Swedish project for the Turoyo language gained acceptance and great interest among Turoyo speakers. However, there were also critics of this initiative. The main opposition was on part of the Church and some national organizations (Arnold 2005: 86–87). The Church promoted using the Syriac language as the only literary medium. Although it supports the modernization of vocabulary and regularly organizes Suryoyo courses in church schools, for many churchmen Turoyo was nothing else but a corrupt form of Syriac. The use of the Latin script was another factor that discouraged the Church from supporting the Swedish project, since the Syriac script (especially serto) is considered to be an integral part of Church identity (Talay 2002: 74). As far as the national organizations are concerned, they perceive the emergence of the new language as an attempt to divide the nation. There are currently two main national movements among Turoyo speaking Christians, that is Assyrians and Arameans,<sup>4</sup> and they are in state of permanent struggle.

Despite the fervent discussion between Assyrians and Arameans, Turoyo books in the new alphabet are still being published. One of the most important propagators of this form of language expression is Jan Beth-Sawoce, who lives in Sweden and has published many Turoyo books in Latin script, including historical books, manuals and grammars. Roman letters as a medium for producing literary works in Turoyo are also used in Germany. The Nisisbis Foundation supports translating into Turoyo and publishing books for children. These, however, are written in two alphabets, that is Latin (with some peculiarities of orthography that make it somewhat different from the Swedish way of graphemization), and in serto, which is a form of the Syriac script. Latin script is also used as almost the only way of writing Turoyo on Syriac/Aramaic/Assyrian Internet forums.

## 5 The Translation of *The Little Prince* into Turoyo Language

*Le Petit Prince*, originally written in French by Antoine de Saint-Exupéry in 1943, has been so far translated into more than 270 languages, including such tongues as Friuolo, Corsican or Papamianto. Among these translations, one can also find the translations into Neo-Aramaic Turoyo<sup>5</sup> and classical Syriac.<sup>6</sup> The former was created in 2005 by a group of Turoyo speaking Arameans affiliated to

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<sup>4</sup>For more information about the identity conflict between Arameans and Assyrians see Woźniak (2014).

<sup>5</sup>De Saint-Exupéry (2005).

<sup>6</sup>De Saint-Exupéry (2006). *Amīro zcūro*, Neckarsteinach: Tintenfaß, (trans. Evgin Dag).

“Kreis Aramäischer Studierender Heidelberg e.V.” (The Circle of Aramean Students in Heidelberg—registered association), to which belonged Zeki Bilgic, Evgin Dag, Daniyel Demir, David Gelen and Melki Adiyaman. They are relatively young people educated in Europe and engaged in the life of the Aramean community. Two of them were students of Semitic languages, the other two were lawyers, and the last one worked as a doctor. As they were not professional translators, creating the translation was their additional occupation. They devoted every weekend to meet in the Institute of the Semitic Languages and to translate a passage of the book. This joint work allowed them to instantly discuss potential disagreements. These, by the way, were not rare, since each of the five translators originated from a different village in Tur Abdin and spoke a distinguishable dialect. The decision on which word or form should be used in the translation was made democratically by voting (Boxheimer 2005).

The translated book was published under the title *Malkuno zcuro* by Edition Tinterfaß, a small family publishing house, established in 2001 in Neckarsteinach, Germany, which specializes in children literature translated into endangered or dead languages, as well as into contemporary German dialects. Among other publications of the Edition Tinterfaß, there are 50 language versions of *Le Petit Prince*, comprising, among others, the translations into Sorbian, Ladino, Sicilian, Yucateco, Old English, Zazaki, Koalib, Uropi or the Greater Poland dialect. The first edition of *Malkuno zcuro* consisted of 1000 copies. However, because of the growing demand for the book, two further re-editions appeared in 2008 and 2010. The printing was financially supported by the Gesellschaft für Bedrohte Sprachen e.V. and private persons belonging to the Aramean community.

The translation was preceded by a short preface providing clues on how to read Latin letters and special characters used to express the sounds specific for the Turoyo language or those pronounced differently than in the German language. According to the translators, the Turoyo version of *The Little Prince* is not only a documentation of the language, but may also be treated as a textbook in schools during classes of the Turoyo language.<sup>7</sup> As Zeki Bigic observed, “there will be no diaspora unless the spoken language is written down” (Maurhoff 2009).<sup>8</sup> The translation of books into Turoyo is thus not only one of the methods in language policy and language planning, but also the way of planning the Aramean identity. It should be noted that *Malkuno zcuro* is not an isolated translation enterprise, but one of several books published in Turoyo. Until 2016, there appeared, among others, the Turoyo translations of *Cinderella* (2012), *Little Red Riding Hood* (2012), *The Royal Game* by Stefan Zweig (2014) *The Trip to Panama* (2016) by Janosch (Horst Ecker) as well as *Tagoro catiro* [The rich merchant] originally written in Neo-Aramaic by Eliyo and Lea Aydin.

<sup>7</sup> „Der Kleine Prinz in seiner aramäischen Übersetzung wird nicht nur eine Dokumentation der Orthographie sein, sondern auch ein Lese- und Lehrbuch für den muttersprachlichen Unterricht an öffentlichen Schulen” (Kreis Aramäischer Studierender Heidelberg e.V. 2006: 12).

<sup>8</sup> “Ohne Verschriftlichung der gesprochenen Sprache wird es keine Diaspora geben”.



## 6 Corpus Planning in *Malkuno Zcuro*

In comparison with other Neo-Aramaic texts, for instance those published in Sweden or transcriptions of oral folk stories written down by scholars in the 19th and 20th centuries,<sup>9</sup> the language of the Turoyo translation of *The Little Prince* is characterized by linguistic purism and the use of the classical old Syriac language as the main source of word formation. The translators preferred native Aramaic stems to those of Arabic, Kurdish or Turkish origin, despite the fact that they are commonly used in spoken language.

The same preference is visible with regard to coining new words. The translators did not only avoid using stems of non-Syriac origin, but also introduced Syriac grammatical devices absent from modern Turoyo grammar. The following examples of neologisms illustrate these processes:

THE FRENCH ORIGINAL: Lorsque j'avais six ans j'ai vu, une fois, une magnifique image, dans un livre sur la **Forêt Vierge** qui s'appelait "Histoires Vécues". (De Saint-Exupéry 1999: 13)<sup>10</sup>

THE TUROYO TRANSLATION: Cəmri šəṭ əšne ḥzawayli naqla bktowo dcal u **cobo-btulo** dkəṭwa əšme "Šarbe daṭən briše-dḥa" šurto hḡirto. (De Saint-Exupéry 2005: 9)

The expression *cobo-btulo* [primeval forest] is a literal translation of the French *forêt vierge*, where *cobo* denotes "a forest" and *btulo* means "a virgin". The translators did not decide to use calques from German or Turkish, which were used as literary languages in their families. In German, there is the expression *Urwald* [lit. a primeval forest] whereas in Turkish *vahşi ormanlar* [lit. wild forests].

THE FRENCH ORIGINAL: Je savais bien qu'en dehors des grosses planètes comme la Terre, Jupiter, Mars, Vénus, auxquelles on a donné des noms, il y en a des centaines d'autres qui sont quelquefois si petites qu'on a beaucoup de mal à les apercevoir au **télescope**. (De Saint-Exupéry 1999: 22)

THE TUROYO TRANSLATION: Oḡacwayno ḡer ma palite rabe xan di Arco w Jupiter w Mars w Venus, hani dhiw alle əšmone, dkito ba mowāt ḥrene, dkəṭne haqqa nacime dḥa ḥatta bu **abub-dawqo** kogoraš casquto. (De Saint-Exupéry 2005: 14)

The phrase *abub-dawqo* is a genitive construction consisting of the Syriac nouns *abub* [pipe, tube] and *dawqo* [an astronomical observation]. Although there is another term, that is *mrawrwono mḡarwono* [lit. magnifier, which brings closer], to render the internationalism *telescope* in the Turoyo language (Awde et al. 2007: 113), the translators created a new compound word, probably modelled to some extent on the German *Fernrohr*, where *fern* means "far" and *Rohr* is "a pipe".

THE FRENCH ORIGINAL: J'ai vu une belle maison en briques roses, avec **des géraniums** aux fenêtres et des colombes sur le toit... (De Saint-Exupéry 1999: 24)

<sup>9</sup>See Prym and Socin (1881), Abdalla (2001), Jastrow (2008).

<sup>10</sup>The French text is quoted after the edition of *Le Petit Prince* published in 1999 by Gallimard.

THE TUROYO TRANSLATION: Țzeli bayto ġālābe šafiro, macmro bqurmiđe semoqe, w **habobay pilorgo** qma šəbakayđe w yawne cal i gorayđe... (De Saint-Exupéry 2005: 15)

The expression *habobay pilorgo* is the translation of the French word *géraniums*. Literally, the term *habobay pilargo* means “flowers of stork” or “stork flowers” and reflects the old Syriac genitive construction. It is interesting to note that the second segment of the construction is an old Syriac borrowing from Greek πέλαργος meaning “a stork”, which is not used in modern Turoyo, where it has been replaced by the terms *asido* and *laqlaq* borrowed from Arabic (Awde et al. 2007: 111). The source of this neologism is probably pelargonium, the name of another popular flowering plant which is often confused with geranium and which is etymologically related to the Greek word πέλαργος.<sup>11</sup>

THE FRENCH ORIGINAL: Il possédait aussi un **volcan** éteint. (De Saint-Exupéry 1999: 38)

THE TUROYO TRANSLATION: W kətwayle-ste **țur-yoquđo** țafyo. (De Saint-Exupéry 2005: 25)

The *țur-yoquđo* from the translation is the equivalent of the French *volcan*. The term is a neologism based on the Turkish compound *yanardağ*, where *yanar* means *burning* and *dağ* is a mountain. Since the classical Syriac has no word for the volcano, the translators were confronted with the dilemma: to coin a new word or to use a Latin rooted term widespread in numerous languages (even in Arabic—*burkān*). They decided to follow the former option and using the Syriac words *țuro* [a mountain] and *yoquđo* [burning, flaming] created a new compound word *țur-yoquđo*.

THE FRENCH ORIGINAL: Le roi siégeait, habillé de pourpre et d'**hermine**, sur un trône très simple et cependant majestueux. (De Saint-Exupéry 1999: 40)

THE TUROYO TRANSLATION: U malko, lwišo argwono w **esțlo dgumroro**, yatiwowa cal kursi ġālābe fšito elo mcalyo. (De Saint-Exupéry 2005: 27)

The words *esțlo dgumroro*, corresponding to the French *hermine* [ermine] are an example of another neologism based on Syriac vocabulary. In Europe, an ermine-lined coat was a symbol of royalty and high status. However, the stoats are not found in the Middle East, and therefore no term for this animal may be found in Syriac lexis. The translators tried to solve this problem using the name of another mustelid, which was found in Syriac sources. Hence, in the Turoyo translation the ermine means literally “a robe of weasel”. This does not appear to be an effective translation, however. Firstly, in the place of *esțlo* [robe, stole, étoile], we would rather expect any Turoyo word referring to a coat (e.g. *macțofo*). Then, the meaning of the word *gumroro*, although usually translated as “a weasel”, is rather obscure and may also designate a cat (similarly to the Greek αἴλουρος) (Payne-Smith 1879: 681–682). This makes the term *esțlo dgumroro* somewhat ridiculous and does not correspond to the original symbolism of the ermine. Using another Syriac term, e.g.

<sup>11</sup>See the etymology of the Polish word *pelargonia* (Kopaliński 1994: 386).

*sammur* [sable], would be more accurate in this context. Moreover, the Syriac language knows the word *sammuroyo* (Payne-Smith 1901: 2657), which means exactly “a sable-cloak” and which may be used as an adequate equivalent of *ermine*.

THE FRENCH ORIGINAL: La quatrième planète était celle du **businessman**. (De Saint-Exupéry 1999: 49)

THE TUROYO TRANSLATION: U paliṭo dan arbco dḥa **more-fulḥono**-wa. (De Saint-Exupéry 2005: 32)

In this case, *more-fulḥono* is a term corresponding to the internationally widespread English word “businessman”, which was used by de Saint-Exupéry, although its French counterpart, that is *homme d’affaire*, could have been used here. The translators coined a new Turoyo term consisting of the word *more* [owner, lord] and *fulḥono* [work, labour]. It seems to be modelled on the Turkish compound word *iş adamı* [businessman], which literally means “a man of work”, or on a similar term in Arabic, that is *rağul aṣmāl* [a man of works]. It is worth noting that the translators made no use of the words *tagoro* and *tagīr*, which may be found in Turoyo vocabulary as equivalents of the word “businessman” (Awde et al. 2007: 89).

THE FRENCH ORIGINAL: Quand tu as une idée le premier, tu la fais **breveter**: elle est à toi. (De Saint-Exupéry 1999: 52)

THE TUROYO TRANSLATION: Inaqḷa dhowæt u qamoyo daṭile fəkar, w maḳtḡwæt lu fəkrəno **zdeq-taškiḥo**, gtoḡe diḡux. (De Saint-Exupéry 2005: 34)

In the above, *zdeq-taškiḥo* is a compound noun which conveys the meaning of the French word *brevet* [patent]. It was used to translate a verbal construction found in the source text *faire breveter*. Although in many European languages the term patent is an international loanword (also in Turkish—*patent*), the translators decided to create a new term based on Syriac stems. The construction, however, seems to correspond to the Arabic *barāʾat al-iḥtirāʿ* [patent], which may be translated literally as “licence of the invention”. In Syriac, *zdeq* is status constructus of the noun “right” and *taškiḥo* denotes “an invention”. Hence, the compound as a whole renders the meaning of “right of the invention”.

THE FRENCH ORIGINAL: On note d’abord au **crayon** les récits des explorateurs. (De Saint-Exupéry 1999: 59)

THE TUROYO TRANSLATION: A tunoye du mcaqbono ḥa bi qamayto kokotawwe **bqanyo-daboro**. (De Saint-Exupéry 2005: 40)

The expression *qanyo-daboro* is the translation of the French word *crayon* [pencil]; however, the translators rather relied on the German *Bleistift* or, even more probably, the Turkish *kurşun kalem*, where both German *Blei* and Turkish *kurşun* mean “lead”. In a literal sense, *qanyo-daboro* thus means “a pen of lead”. It is interesting that the translators did not use the word *aboroyo* used in spoken Turoyo for pencil and derived from the stem *aboro* [lead] (Awde et al. 2007: 59).

THE FRENCH ORIGINAL: On n'est jamais content là où l'on est, dit l'**aiguilleur**. (De Saint-Exupéry 1999: 79)

THE TUROYO TRANSLATION: “Ha sox latyo raḡyo mi dukto dkətyo”, madcarle **u mastyono da seke**. (De Saint-Exupéry 2005: 50)

The closing *u mastyono da seke* is another neologism coined to convey the meaning of a word with no counterpart in Syriac. The French term *aiguilleur* [pointsman] was translated here through a descriptive phrase. Its first segment is the noun *mastyono* formed on the basis of the Syriac verb *astī*, which means “to turn, turn aside, make to turn”. The next word is an indicator of the genitive, which is the case of the last component of this expression, namely the noun *sekto* in its plural form (*seke*). This may be translated as “a pin” or “a peg”. However, it seems that the translators were influenced here by the Arabic language, in which *sikka* means “a road” or even “a railway” (*sikkat al-ḥadīd*). It is worth mentioning that the noun *mastyono* appears in Classical Syriac, also in the sense of “a seducer” or “an apostate”.

The above analysis of the vocabulary coined during the process of translation demonstrates how closely the translators followed the Syriac language. This is only a small proportion of the words proposed to enter the new literary Turoyo/Surayt language. The translators were aware that many of these neologisms may be incomprehensible for readers, which is why they provided the text with numerous footnotes explicating “difficult words”. They do not only include entirely new coinages, but also words, mainly derived from Syriac, which circulate in the speech of educated Arameans. Such terms as *sabro* [hope], *renyo* [idea], *buqyono* [inquiry] or *men-šel* [abruptly] are purely Syriac nouns. Some of them, e.g. *sabro*, may be understood by the majority of the community, since they often appear in liturgical services or prayers. The others, however, will sound odd for the average speaker of Turoyo.

A particularly interesting group of Syriacisms used in the text of *Malkuno zcuro* includes adverbs, which are formed according to the classical grammatical rules. They are absent from the earlier phonetically transcribed texts, since they did not function in the spoken Turoyo of Tur Abdin, where the prepositional expressions served as a device for adverb formation (Nöldeke 1868: 158–165). Nevertheless, in the translation we may find such words as *bīloyiṭ* [carefully], *gnizoyiṭ* [secretly] *gedšonoyiṭ* [by chance] or *twihoyiṭ* [amazed], which are wholly transposed from Syriac.

It is owing to the translators’ attempt to purify the Turoyo language from non-Syriac vocabulary that the translation of *Le Petit Prince*, which counts only 55 pages, contains as many as 256 footnotes. Each of them contains a term accompanied by its translation into German, French, English, Turkish and Swedish, that is the languages used in the countries in which the Aramean diaspora is the most numerous. The foregoing discussion also demonstrates that it was corpus planning that the translators of *Malkuno zcuro* perceived as one of the most important goals of their work. As a result of their translation, a new variety, which may be referred to as a Turoyo-Syriac hybrid, came into being, which may be to some extent incomprehensible for the average native speaker of Turoyo.

## 7 Conclusions

In conclusion, we may attempt to define the reasons behind the translators' decisions to adopt such a strategy in their translation of *Le Petit Prince* into Aramaic. If we return to the goals of language planning mentioned in the first part of this article, we could argue that the translators aimed at language purification, language revival, language reform, language standardization, language spread, lexical modernization, terminological unification and language maintenance. Undoubtedly, translating one of the masterpieces of world literature into Turoyo Aramaic also raised the status of the language. Moreover, especially the young generation of speakers, that is the young Aramean people dispersed in many countries of Europe and the Middle East, need to have one unified form of language in order to communicate. Currently, they use German, Swedish, Dutch, Turkish and Arabic words to refer to various modern phenomena. In consequence, the Turoyo language gradually evolves into different varieties characterized by the increasing levels of mutual incomprehensibility. By coining new words based on Syriac stems, the translators hoped to create a language common for all Arameans. The focus on the Syriac language, as almost the only source of the formation of new words, also aimed to change the attitude of the Church towards the Turoyo language. Indeed, some priests and even bishops (e.g. Polycarpus Augin Aydin from the Archdiocese of the Netherlands) support the use of the vernacular language, at least partly, in the liturgy. As was noted before, other books were also translated into Turoyo after 2005. The process of the modernization of the language continues and it may help to preserve the Turoyo language and prevent its extinction.

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