A grammatical sketch of Domari

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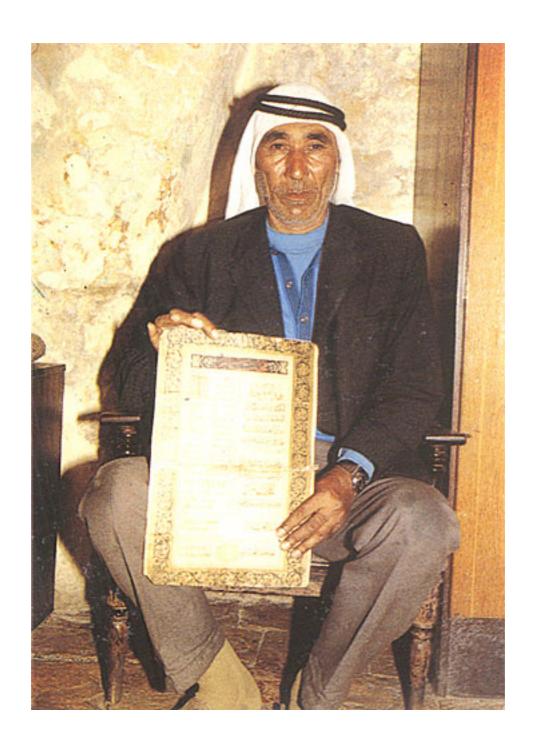The University of Manchester, Oxford Road

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In memory of Muhammad Dib Sleem

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1.1.0. Background information

Domari (also *Dom* or *Domi*) is the language of the Dom minority of Palestine/Israel and Jordan. The origin of the group appears to be in an Indian caste of nomadic service-providers, who specialised in trades such as metalwork and entertainment. The name *dom* is cognate with those of the *řom* (Roma or Romanies) of Europe and the *lom* of the Caucasus and eastern Anatolia, both of which are Indian diasporas living outside the Indian subcontinent and specialising, traditionally or historically, in similar trades, as well as with the names of the *ḍum* of the Hunza valley, and indeed the *ḍom* of India itself, who are similarly known as low-caste commercial nomads. Among the Palestinian Dom one can hear claims that they arrived in the country as camp-followers of the forces of Salāḥ ad-Din al-Ayūbi (Saladin), in the 12th century CE. Historical confirmation of this version is yet to be established. However, the Turkic (including Azeri) and especially Kurdish element in Domari, point to an emigration via the Kurdish regions, possibly in connection with the advancement of the Seljuks.

The earliest known attestations of the Dom and their language in Palestine date from the early 19th century. There are two branches of the community, whose separation goes back at least to the beginning of the 20th century and in all likelihood much earlier, but who maintained close contact until the 1948 war and the separation of Israel, Gaza, and the West Bank (the latter under Egyptian and Jordanian rule, respectively). The first was based mainly in Jaffa (now part of Tel Aviv), on the Mediterranean coast, but travelled along the coast and to the Lower Galilee region in the north of the country. Members of this group engaged in occupations that included bear- and monkey-leaders, dancers and musicians. They became refugees in 1948, when Jaffa was conquered by Israeli forces, and have since been settled in refugee camps in northern Gaza. Their number is unknown.

The second group was based in Jerusalem, travelling throughout the West Bank region between Nablus in the north, and Hebron in the south. The primary trade of the men was metalwork, while the women supported their families by selling various artefacts, or by begging. Although musicians and dancers appear to have existed among this group, too, members of the group nowadays tend to distance themselves from such occupations, as well as from the Dom community of Gaza, with whom these occupations are associated. Metalwork and the nomadic lifestyle was abandoned in the early 1940s, when the Dom men took up regular employment in the British administration's environmental health department as rubbish-collectors, sewage workers, and caretakers in public lavatories, and the families moved into permanent dwelling within the walls of Old City of Jerusalem (where the community is still based today). They continued to specialise in these jobs under the

Jordanian administration after 1948, then under the Israeli administration after 1967, with the first generation retiring once the Israeli pension and social security system was introduced in the early 1970s. The younger generation, including both men and women, are now engaged in a variety of occupations, mainly as wage labourers. Part of the community left for Amman, Jordan during the 1967 war. Others have been moving out of the crowded neighbourhood in the Old City and into various West Bank suburbs during the past two decades. It is therefore difficult to estimate the total number of community members, but it definitely does not exceed 1500, and is probably closer to 700-800.

The Dom are Sunni Muslims, like their Palestinian neighbours, with whom they appear to share most of their customs and way of life. Traditional dress and tattoos are found only among very elderly women in the community, and there are virtually no remaining stories, songs, or marriage or other customs or habits that are unique to the Dom. An exception is begging, which is still a common way of earning a living among middle-aged women of the Jerusalem community (and is still common among younger Dom girls from Gaza and from settlements in the West Bank). Many Jerusalem Dom families host relatives from Jordan who come to the city during the Ramadan month in order to earn money by begging in front of the entrance to the *ḥaram* or Mosque complex. The most frequently cited Dom ritual is the pilgrimage to Nabi Musa (according to Muslim tradition, the burial place of the prophet Moses), in the nearby Judean Desert. Although the place attracts Muslim pilgrims from all sectors of Palestinian society, the Dom have their own celebration at the site, in early April. It seems that in earlier generations, bride price was paid, as among the nomadic Beduins, by the bridegroom to the family of the bride, while among the city-dwellers it was paid to the wife and remained under her control. It is not clear to what extent the older practice remains in view of the rising number of mixed marriages, and indeed the nearly complete absence of marriages within the Dom community during the past two decades.

1.1.1. Alternate names

The Dom are referred to by their Arab-Palestinian neighbours as *nawar*, and the latter are usually ignorant of the existence of the self-appellation *dom*. Depictions of the group and references to them in European literature have tended to adopt the term 'Gypsies' ('Zigeuner', etc.), used to refer to the Roma of Europe; this is also the case in Israel, where the Dom are referred to in the Hebrew press as *tso'anim* (originally a loanblend of German/Yiddish *Zigeuner/tsigeyner*, with Biblical Hebrew *tso'an* 'a region in Egypt', the

assumed country of origin, cf. 'Gypsy' < 'Egyptian') . Elsewhere in the Middle East, related groups are known as *qurbāti* (Syria) or *karači* (Anatolia, Iraq). In Egypt and Sudan, names such as *ġajar*, *ḥalabi* and *bahlawān* are used to refer to various groups of commercial nomads, among whom may also be groups related to the Dom.

1.1.2. Genetic affiliation

Domari is an Indo-Aryan language, belonging apparently to the Central group, i.e. closely related to Hindi, Punjabi, and Gujarati. A precise classification of the language within Indo-Aryan is difficult due to the time lapse since its separation from its original territory, and the uncertainty surrounding the age or even the relative chronology of some of the isoglosses that separate it from other Indo-Aryan languages. The most salient isoglosses connecting it with Central Indian languages, such as Hindi, are the shift of Old Indo-Aryan (OIA) /r̥/ to a vowel /u, i/, as in Sanskrit *mr̥ṣṭaḥ* > Domari *(na)mišta* 'ill', Sanskrit *śr̥n-* > Domari *sin-* 'to hear'; of OIA /kṣ/ to /k/, as in Sanskrit *akṣi* > Domari *iki* 'eye'; of the OIA cluster /sm/ to /m/, as in Sanskrit *asmnan, tusme* > Domari *eme* 'we', *itme* 'you.PL'; and of OIA /y/ to /dž/, as in Sanskrit *yuvatiḥ* > Domari *džuwir* 'woman'.

However, like Romani, Domari also retains several conservative features that are no longer found in the languages of Central India, most notably consonant clusters such as /st/ in *xast* 'hand' (Sanskrit *hasta*), /št/ in *(na)mišta* 'ill' (Sanskrit *mr̥ṣṭaḥ*), or /dr/ in *drak* grape (Sanskrit *drākṣa*), and dental consonants in historically intervocalic position, as in *gara* 'gone' (Sanskrit *gataḥ*). These conservative features are shared with some of the Northwestern Indo-Aryan languages, as are Domari innovations such as the voicing of dentals following /n/ (Sanskrit *danta*, Domari *dand* 'tooth'; Sanskrit *pancan*, Domari *pʌndžes* 'five') and the renewal of the past-tense conjugation through the adoption of enclitic person suffixes (*kard-om* 'I did', *kard-os-is* 'he did it'), these too being shared with Romani.

It appears, therefore, that Domari originated in the Central area, but moved to the Northwest at an intermediate stage in its development, retaining conservative traits, and adopting some Northwestern innovations, a history that closely resembles that of Romani. The two languages also share the retention of much of the Middle Indo-Aryan present-tense set of person concord markers, and, like some languages of the Northwest, the consonantal forms of Layer I case endings in *-s-* (masculine) and *-n-* (plural), as well as the (innovative) agglutination of Layer II case endings (*mansas-ka* 'for the man', Romani *manušes-ke*), which constitute clitics in other languages, and the adoption of 'remoteness' tense markers on the verb (Domari *-a*, Romani *-as).* Nevertheless, the two languages are separated by

several isoglosses, the older of which include the merger of OIA /s, ś, ṣ/ into /s/ in Domari (except in the cluster /št/), while Romani retains /s:š/, and on the other hand the preservation of OIA initial /v/ as /w/ in Domari, against its merger with /b/ in Romani (Sanskrit *varṣa*, Domari *wars*, Romani *berš*). Romani shows additional phonological innovations that are not shared with Domari. In conclusion, it can be said that Domari is an archaic Central Indo-Aryan language that shares several innovations with the Northwest Indo-Aryan languages, and which therefore resembles Romani quite closely.

1.1.3. Geographic location and number of speakers

Domari is a dispersed, non-territorial language, spoken in traditionally nomadic and socially segregated communities throughout the Middle East. Fragmented attestations of the language place it as far north as Azerbaijan and as far south as northern Sudan.The present description is based on the variety spoken in Jerusalem, which appears more or less identical to those spoken in Jaffa/Gaza and Amman. At the time of writing there are no precise figures about the number of fluent speakers in Jerusalem. However, competence in the language tends to be limited to those born before 1950, and so to not more than 10% of the entire community, or around 50-70 individuals. No figures are available for other communities, but the age distribution of speakers appears to be similar, at least for the Dom of Gaza and Amman. The language is thus declining, and is currently highly endangered. Dom communities also exist in Syria, Lebanon, and Iraq. From descriptions of the communities of villages in the Beqaa valley of Lebanon, and in Damascus, it appears that there too the language is spoken only by the older generations. A report from the Iraqi-Jordanian border area from 2002 suggests that there are semi-nomadic Dom communities in which the language is preserved even by the younger generation. All speakers of Domari are also fluent in Arabic, which they use both in transactions with outsiders as well as within the family, and on the whole the community is in the process of shifting to Arabic.

1.2.0. Linguo-geographic information

1.2.1. Dialects

Documentation of Domari outside Jerusalem is fragmented and limited to word lists, most of them collected in the early years of the 20th century. While some differences are

apparent among the lexical and phonological forms attested, the informal nature of the documentation, including non-systematic notation conventions, does not allow us to say much about dialect differences. A prominent isogloss separating the northern dialects of Syria and Lebanon from those of Palestine and Jordan appears to be the use of the demonstrative *uhu* in the north for the 3rd person singular pronoun, while in the south the form is *pandži*, apparently derived from a honorific form of the 3rd person reflexive pronoun **pan* (attested as a reflexive in Azerbaijanian Domari). In Sudan, the only attestation of the language is in the form of a lexicon, which appears to be used as an in-group or secret language, embedded into Arabic, by a group known as Bahlawān.

Oddly, the tiny community of speakers in Jerusalem shows traces of two distinct varieties of the language. Speakers, though aware of the differences, are unable to attribute them to any historical merger of populations in the past nor to any contemporary social division, except a tentative and very vague correlation with age. The variables in question concern a number of morphological processes, for which there is, almost consistently, a difference between a 'conservative' and a 'new' form. The features tend to cluster, so that any one speaker will tend toward consistency in the choice of either 'conservative' or 'new' variants. The variants in question involve, for example, the 'conservative' retention of the 3rd person plural subject affix *-ndi* as opposed to the 'new' use of the simplified *-di*, the retention of the dative marker *-ta* as opposed to *-ka* (a blend of *-ta* and the benefactive marker *-ke* and/or ablative/genitive *-ki*), retention of the sociative marker *-san* versus its replacement through the Arabic preposition *maʕ* 'with', as well as, in phonology, the retention of the affricate /č/ versus its replacement by /š/. Although there is, seemingly, a generation split, with the relatively 'younger' speakers tending toward the 'new' set of variants, the same type of variation was already observed by Macalister (1914), and so it is not a product of recent innovation that emerged among the present-day generation of speakers.

1.3.0. Sociolinguistic situation

1.3.1. Functional status of the language

Domari is now limited to the older generations and is used strictly within the family or with close neighbours who are members of the community. Communication with outsiders in Domari is largely limited in Jerusalem to occasions on which relatives from Amman come to stay in Jerusalem for a short period. There is no known use or even attempt to use Domari in any other form of communication, institutions, media, nor in writing. The

language does not enjoy any form of official recognition. It is making way to Arabic, which is the primary language of cross-generation communication within the family, the language of transactions with neighbours and the outside community, and the language of the workplace, media, religion, and school. Some mainly younger members of the Jerusalem community are also fluent in Hebrew, having worked in West Jerusalem, usually in industry, construction, or services. Domari is an endangered language, and its Palestinian variety can certainly be classified as being nearly extinct.

Apart from the 'Para-Domari' – or, Domari-based lexicon – used by the Sudanese Bahlawān as an in-group language, Domari has also influenced the vocabularies of other secret or in-group languages in the Middle East. Domari vocabulary can be found in various such jargons, including those of the Kawli and Luli of Iran. In Palestine itself, a traditionally nomadic group of metalworkers referred to as 'Kurds' employ an in-group lexicon which is based partly on Kurdish, and partly on Domari. The two populations intermarry and many elderly Dom have some command of this jargon, referred to by them as 'Kurdish'.

1.4.0. Periods in the history of the language

In the absence of any written attestation of the language, the periodisation of Domari relies on an interpretation of language-internal developments, in relation to related languages as well as to contact languages. As mentioned above, Domari can be assumed to have emerged as a Central Indo-Aryan language. Its archaic features might suggest an immigration into the northwestern regions of the Indian subcontinent sometime during the very early transition period from Middle Indo-Aryan to New Indo-Aryan, in the early medieval period. The innovations shared with the languages of the Northwest could suggest that Domari remained in this region of the Indian subcontinent at least until the 10th century CE. There followed a period of contact with (southern) Kurdish, which has contributed lexical vocabulary as well as, arguably, influenced the shape of some grammatical constructions (e.g. the postposed indefinite marker on nouns, cliticisation of person markers, the external vocalic marker of remote tense). Turkic words also entered the language during this period, which therefore might be termed the 'Seljuk' period in the development of the language. Early contacts with Arabic appear to have been with Beduin and rural varieties, either within or outside Palestine. Thus the pronunciation of 'coffee' in Domari is *qahwa*, cf. Jerusalem Arabic *ʔahwe*. Palestinian Domari as documented by Seetzen in the early 19th century, though identical in most vocabulary and grammatical features to present-day

Jerusalem Domari, shows numerous (Ottoman) Turkish loanwords which appear to have disappeared from today's active vocabulary. Seetzen's notes therefore appear to represent a period of active bilingualism, not just in Arabic, but also in the official language of administration at the time, Turkish.

2.0.0. Linguistic description

2.1.0. Phonology

2.1.1. Inventory of sounds

Vowels

Figure 1: Inventory of vowels

	Front		Central		Back
Close	i i:		ɨ ʉ		u u:
		ɪ		ʊ	
Close-mid	e e:				o o:
Open-mid	ɛ			ʌ	ɔ
	æ æ:				
Open	a a:				ɑ ɑ:

Domari vowel phonemes are /a, e, i, o, ʌ, ɔ, u/, of which two, /ʌ, ɔ/, are peripheral. Most of the 'main' vowel phonemes, namely /a, e, i, u/, show considerable variation, both in their individual realisation, as well as among the different phonemes. A nice illustration of vowel phoneme contrasts is provided by the set of demonstratives: /aˈha/ 'this' (M.SG), /uˈhu/ 'that' (M.SG), /iˈhi/ 'this' (F.SG), /eˈhe/ 'these'. The contrast among open and back vowels is rather rare and limited to a few words: /baˈy-om/ 'my wife', /bɔˈy-om/ 'my father'; /panˈdži/ 'he/she', /ˈpʌndžes/ 'five'. Short vowels are more diverse in quality than long vowels. Interchangeability is common among adjacent articulatory positions, the most common interchangeable pairs being [a-æ], [a-ɑ], [a-ʌ], [ʉ-ɨ], [ʊ-ɪ], [o-ʊ], [e-ɛ], [ɛ-æ], [e:-i:], [o:-u:]. Variation is often the product of regressive assimilation triggered by distinct

grammatical endings: [wɐˈda] 'old man', [wɨˈdi:] 'old woman'. Variation among adjacent vowel positions, partial centralisation of high vowels and the fronting of raised back vowels [u > ʉ > ɨ; u > ʊ > ɪ] are processes that are shared with Palestinian as well as with northern Levantine Arabic, and with Kurdish – all significant contiguous languages in the recent history of Domari. From among the overall inventory of vowel sounds, only [ɔ] and [ʌ], both rather infrequent, are not shared with local Palestinian Arabic. Prothetic and epenthetic vocalisation around consonant clusters may also be regarded as a regional phenomenon. Pharyngealisation of dental consonants usually triggers the backing of surrounding *a*-vowels.

Vowel length is generally distinctive for the 'main' vowel phonemes /a, e, i, o, u/, though the duration of a vowel in a given word may vary considerably. Length is characterised by an almost melodic lengthening of the vowel, best recognisable in first syllable position in bi- and multi-syllabic words: [doᵒˈmɛ] 'Doms', [ʔuᵘˈjar] 'town'. A rare minimal pair is [ʈɑt] 'sun, heat', and [ʈɑᵅʈ] 'sedentary Arab, Fallah', confirming nonetheless the distinctive function of length opposition. Length is often compromised, however, usually in final position, as well as in pre-final positions in grammatical endings, showing [e: > e] and [i: > i]: [ᵃhˈre:ni:] 'we are', alongside [ᵃhˈreni]. Among the long vowels, only the *a*-vowels show variation in quality, triggered, as in Arabic, by the following consonant: [baᵃd] 'grandfather', [ʈɑᵅʈ] 'sedentary Arab, Fallah', [wæᵆ j] 'wind'.

Consonants

Figure 2: Inventory of consonants (IPA symbols)

	labial	dental	dental-phrayngalised	Palato-alveolar	velar	uvular	Pharyngeal	glottal
Voiceless stop	p	t	ʈ	(tʃ)	k	q		
Voiced stop	b	d	ḍ	dʒ	g			ʔ
Nasal	m	n						
Lateral		l			(ɫ)			
Trill		r						
Voiceless fricative	f	s	ṣ	ʃ	x	(χ)	ħ	h
Voiced fricative	(v)	z	ẓ	ʒ	ɣ		ʕ	
Semi-vowel	w			j				

There is a tendency towards convergence with Arabic, evident both in the incorporation of Arabic lexical loans without any obligatory phonological adaptation, and so in the wholesale accommodation of Arabic phonemes, as well as in the infiltration of Arabic sounds into the inherited (non-Arabic) component.

Perhaps the most conspicuous feature is the pharyngealisation of dentals, which is distinctive within the Arabic component, but to a large extent variable within the Indic or pre-Arabic component. We thus have the alternations [do:m, ḍo:m] 'Dom', [tat, ṭaṭ] 'heat', [mʊˈtʊr, mʊˈṭʊr] 'urine'. Conventionalisation of pharyngealisation in non-Arabic items can be found in the tendency towards progressive assimilation, where a Domari ending follows an Arabic stem, as in [ṭawˈleːṭa] 'on the table', Arabic *ṭawle* and Domari dative ending *-ta*. There are in addition quite a few non-Arabic lexical items which seem to have adopted pharyngealisation and which display it consistently; examples are [ḍanḍ] 'tooth', [maṭ] 'person', [waṭ] 'stone'.

The pharyngals [ħ] and [ʕ] appear to be restricted to the Arabic component. There are other consonants that may be assigned predominantly but not exclusively to Arabic loan material. Thus [ɣ] appears occasionally in pre-Arabic items, as in [jeˈɣɛr] 'horse', [biɣ] 'moustache', as does [q] – [qɑˈjɪʃ] 'food', [qoːlˈdom] 'I opened', alternating frequently with [k]: [kaˈpi, qaˈpi] 'door' (< Turkish *kapı*), [kaʃṭoˈṭa, qaʃṭoˈṭa] 'small'. [q] is further subject to variation with [χ], as in [qoːlˈdom, χoːlˈdom] 'I opened', [qal, χal] 'said' (discourse particle introducing quotations in narratives, from Arabic *qāl* 'he said'). The realisation in Domari of underlying [q] in Arabic-derived words such as [ˈqahwa] 'coffee' points to an early adoption of this component and to its current perception as an integral part of the Domari system. When conversing in Arabic, Doms will consistently adopt the Jerusalemite pronunciation [ˈʔahwɛ]. The etymological Arabic consonants [θ] and [ð] however do not appear in the material, and their contemporary Palestinian Arabic cognates [t] and [d,z] are found instead. A further consonant that is typical of the Arabic lexical component is [ʔ], though it also functions regularly within the pre-Arabic component indicating verb negation in final position: [biːˈrɛʔ] 's/he does not fear'.

Incongruent with the contiguous Arabic system are the sounds [p], [g] (found in Egyptian, but not in Palestinian Arabic), as well as [tʃ] (found in rural dialects of Arabic in the regions surrounding Jerusalem to the west and northwest, an outcome of palatalisation of underlying [k]: *čalb* < *kalb* 'dog'). All four are restricted to the pre-Arabic component: [pɨˈrɨn] 'nose', [gurˈgiː] 'throat', [tʃanˈtʃɪmma] 'next to me' (*čanč-i-m-ma* 'in my vicinity'). Although the [p-b] contrast remains on the whole distinctive – cf. [paˈjjoːm] 'my husband',

[baˈjoːm] 'my wife' – there are signs of its partial retreat. In initial position, [p] often undergoes lenisation: [p̊ʊˈtɤr] 'son', [ˈp̊andʒi] 's/he'. In medial position, fricativisation can be observed: [kafiˈja] 'door(acc.)'. Also contrasting with Arabic we find, though marginally in the corpus, a voiced labio-dental fricative [v], in variation with [w]: [rovˈrom] alongside [rowˈrom] 'I wept', occasionally replacing underlying Arabic [w] as in [ɤvˈlɪdrom] 'I was born'. A velar *l*-sound also appears rather marginally in [ʃaɫ] 'well, waterhole', [saɫ] 'rice'; it is shared with southern Kurdish, and with Arabic in *'aɫɫah, yaɫɫah*, and in the environment of pharyngals, as in *xaɫɫaṣ*.

A case of sound convergence with Arabic is the status of the alveo-palatal affricates [dʒ] and [tʃ]. The first exists in principle in the inherited inventory of Palestinian Arabic, but is undergoing reduction to a simple fricative [ʒ]. This process is reflected in Domari as well; a general retreat of affricates becomes apparent when one compares our material with that discussed by Macalister. Some words tend to maintain the underlying affricate rather consistently: [laˈdʒi] 'shame' [dʒɤˈdʒi] 'Egyptian'. Affricates are also generally retained following dentals: [ˈpandʒi] 's/he', [manˈdʒa] 'inside'. Elsewhere, there is variation, and in pre-consonantal position, general reduction: [dʒa, ʒa] 'go', [xuˈdʒoti, xuˈʒoti] 'yesterday, [dʒɪb, ʒɪb] 'tongue', but [ʒboːm] 'my tongue'. The voiceless counterpart, which lacks an Arabic match, undergoes a similar though more radical change. In the speech of most speakers interviewed, the affricate is, except among the oldest speakers, almost entirely lost in initial position – [ʃɪrˈdom] 'I spoke' < *čirdom*, [ʃoːˈniː] 'girl' < *čōnī* – and subject to variation in medial position: [laˈtʃiː, laˈʃiː] < *lāči* 'girl'.

Gemination is typical of the Arabic component – [ħɪˈbboːmi] 'I like', from Arabic *-ḥibb-* – though stem gemination also occurs sporadically in inherited (pre-Arabic) lexical items: [tɪˈlla] 'big', [kaˈʒʒa] '(non-Dom) man'. More widespread distinctive gemination can also be the result of consonant assimilation at the attachment point of grammatical affixes: [xɪznawɨˈdeːssan] < *xiznawidēs-san* 'you.PL made them laugh', but [xɪznawɨˈdeːsan] < *xiznawidē-san* 'they made them laugh'; [laˈharri] > *lahar-r-i* 'he sees you', but [laˈhari] < *lahar-i* 'he sees', [kurˈjamma] < *kuriya(n)-ma* 'in the houses', but [kurˈjama] < *kuriya-ma* 'in the house'.

2.1.2. Prosody

Domari has word-level stress, contrasting with the Arabic phoneme-level stress (with accentuated long vowels). Stress falls on the last syllable of lexical items (*ūyár* 'town'), as well as on the grammatical markers for gender/number (*šōn-á/šōn-é* 'boy/boys'), Layer I

case inflection (see below; *dōm/dōm-ás* 'Dom.NOM/ACC.'), possessive personal markers on the noun (*bɔy-óm* 'my father'), person inflection in prepositions (*atnī-r* 'about you'), subject concord markers on the verb (*lahed-óm* 'I saw'), and the postposed synthetic negation marker on the verb (*inmangam-éʔ* 'I don't like'). Unstressed grammatical markers are Layer II case markers (*ūyár-ma* 'in the town'), tense markers (see below; *lahedóm-a* 'I had seen'), and enclitic object markers (*lahedóm-ir* 'I saw you'). In these accentuation patterns Domari, disregarding its particular forms of enclitic object and possessive personal markers and of synthetic negation, matches exactly the features of accentuation encountered in conservative dialects of European Romani. The most noticeable difference between the two languages is the treatment of recent loan nouns. In Romani, European-origin nouns usually maintain their original non-ultimate stress in nominative forms. In Domari, Arabic nouns are adapted to ultimate accentuation patterns: *baladiyyá* 'municipality' < Arabic *baladíyya*. Exceptions are proper nouns, which retain their original stress in the nominative form – *áḥmad* – but adapt in inflected forms – *aḥmadás* (ACC.).

2.1.3. Syllable structure

The typical syllable structures are CV, CVC(CVC), CVCV, CVCCV. Attested word-initial clusters include /tk, tq, tm, tn, tl, th, tf, ts, tṣ, tš, tħ, tw, bk, dr, gr, kl, kr, kw, mh, mn, mr, rk, rf, st, sk, sn, sr, št, šr, šl, šm, fr, fl, xr, xl/. Word-internal clusters are quite common and do not seem to be limited, while word-final clusters are rare and tend to be avoided. In sentence-medial position, clusters of more than two consonants (-C CC-) are avoided through the insertion of an epenthetic vowel [e, i, ɪ] between the first and the second consonant in the sequence.

Lexical roots usually contain up to three syllables. These can usually be followed by up to three syllables of grammatical affixes in nouns, and even more in the case of verbs: consider *xiz-naw-id-e-san-a* 'they had made them laugh', containing the root *xiz-* 'to laugh', the causative marker *-naw-*, the perfective marker *-id-*, the 3.PL subject marker *-e*, the 3rd person plural object marker *-san-*, and the remoteness tense marker *-a*.

2.2.0. Morphophonology

2.2.1. Phonological structure of morpheme and/or word; morpheme-to-syllable correspondence

Apart from assimilation of consonantal segments in the attachment points of grammatical affixes, as discussed above, the only morphological units that adjusts to syllable structure are combinations of the enclitic object pronoun and the external tense markers *-i* (progressive) and *-a* (remote). In the absence of these tense affixes, i.e. in the subjunctive and simple past, consonantal markers of object pronouns are attached to the subject concord marker as an independent syllable, with *-i* at its onset: *laha-m* '(that) I see' (subjunctive), *laha-m-ir* '(that) I see you'; *lahado-m* 'I saw', *lahado-m-ir* 'I saw you'. When external tense markers are present, i.e. in the present indicative, in the perfect, and in the pluperfect, pronominal object clitics loose their independent syllable status and are incorporated into the same syllable of the tense marker: *laha-m-i* 'I see', *laha-m-r-i* 'I see you'; *lahado-m-i* 'I have seen', *lahado-m-r-i* 'I have seen you'; *lahado-m-a* 'I had seen', *lahado-m-r-a* 'I had seen you'.

2.3.0. Semantics and grammar

Domari shows a mixed morphological type. At the level of the expression of grammatical relations, it is overwhelmingly analytic in the expression, for instance, of attributes to the predication, deictic reference, and most local relations. On the other hand, the expression of valency as well as both subject and object concord is synthetic. Expressions of modality and tense and aspect are mixed. At the level of morphological structure, the language shows an older layer of inflectional morphology, which comprises Layer I case marking on the noun, the marking of aspect on the verb, and the marking of subject/object and possessor/object concord on verbs and nouns/location expressions, respectively. Agglutinative morphology is found with Layer II case affixes, verb derivational marking, and tense marking. In Arabic loans which retain Arabic inflection, such as modals and auxiliaries, as well as 'broken' plurals in nouns, inflection is fusional.

2.3.1. Parts of speech; criteria for their identification; expression of universal grammatical notions (overview)

The distinction between parts of speech is made primarily on the basis of their inflectional potential, taking into account also their distributional and referential features. Since predications can be verbal as well as non-verbal – in the latter case, marked by a non-verbal

predication marker –, and since word order is flexible, neither the position nor the mere appearance within a predication is crucial to determining the status of an element. Consider the following kinds of predications:

Noun-Verb

(1)   *dōmiya   mr-i*
       woman die.PERF-F.SG
       'the woman died'

Verb-Verb:

(2)   *gar-om   kamk-am*
       go.PERF-1.SG work-1SG.SUBJ
       'I went to work'

Noun-Noun:

(3)   *bar-om   grawar-ēk*
       brother-1SG.NOM chief-PRED.M.SG
       'My brother is the chief'

Noun-Adjective:

(4)   *zara till-ēk*
       boy big-PRED.M.SG
       'The boy is big'

Pronoun-Pronoun:

(5)   *aha   ama-k-ēk*
       this.M.SG.NOM 1.SG-BEN-PRED
       'This is for me'

Noun-Preposition

(6)   *zara   šanš-i-r-m-ēk*
       boy   next.to-SG.OBL-2SG-LOC-PRED
       'The boy is next to you'

Non-finite verbs (participles) can assume a similar status to nouns and adjectives in non-verbal (non-finite) predications; compare

(7)   *till-a   zara mind-ird-a*
        big-M.SG boy stand-PERF-M.SG
        'The big boy stood up'

with

(8)   *till-a   zara mind-ird-ēk*
        big-M.SG boy   stand-PERF-PRED.M.SG
        'The big boy is standing'

The status of *tilla* as an adjective in the above sentence is determined by its function as an attribute to *zara* 'boy', and characterised by its position, pre-posed to the noun, and its inflectional agreement with the head. The example below illustrates the same word functioning as a noun:

(9)   *till-a   mind-ird-ēk*
        big-M.SG.NOM stand-PERF-PRED.M.SG
        'The big one / the chief / the king is standing'

Alongside combination potential (agreement with the head), referential topicality is thus a crucial distinguishing factor between nouns and adjectives.

On this basis of inflectional potential, distributional potential, and pragmatic referential function, we can identify the following parts of speech: **Verbs** describe processes, and take tense-aspect affixes and obligatory person inflection. **Nouns** describe stable entities, and take case inflection (which is sensitive to class, incorporating gender and number), and in the case of referentially dependent nouns (nouns referred to in relation to contextual entities) they may also carry person inflection. There is thus a continuum, ranging from possession-relevant nouns such as *kury-oman* 'our house', to more ambivalent nouns such as ?*dis-oman* 'our day' (in a figurative sense). **Pronouns** (including demonstratives and person indefinites) refer to context-bound entities and may take case inflection, but not person inflection. **Adjectives** describe attributes of other entities, take agreement and potentially case inflection, but not person inflection. This latter factor distinguishes adjectives from nouns: consider *tilla* 'big', but *till-osan* 'their chief/king', lit. 'their big one'. **Prepositions** and **location adverbs** may either accompany nouns without inflection, or take person inflection when they modify a contextually known entity.

In some cases, they can take Layer II case inflection markers, and can serve as carriers of the non-verbal predication. Elements that carry no inflection at all can be referred to collectively as **particles**, though they differ considerably in their distribution and referential potential, which justifies the identification of sets such as interrogatives, quantifiers, conjunctions, and so on. Note however that clear-cut distinctions between, for instance, discourse markers, adverbs, and focus particles are not always easy to arrive at. Figure 3 summarises the main parts of the speech and their inflectional potential, and illustrates the affinities and differences between the more closely related parts of speech:

Figure 3: The inflectional potential of parts of speech in Domari

Part of speech	Inflectional potential				
	tense/aspect	person	Layer I case	Layer II case	non-verbal predication marker
finite verb	y	y	n	n	n
participle	y	n	y	n	y
adjective	n	n	y	n	y
noun	n	y	y	y	y
pronoun	n	n	y	y	y
preposition	n	y	n	y	y
particle	n	n	n	n	n

Taking a broad view of 'lexical' in the sense of unbound morphemes (lexical entries), we could say that Domari adopts lexical means of expression for stable entities (nouns), stable attributes of entities (adjectives), states, experiences, processes, events and actions (verbs), quantifers, attributes of an entire predication (adverbs), and operators at the clause and interaction levels (conjunctions, interjections and discourse markers). Participants and local relations are expressed both lexically and morphologically. Tense, aspect, and mood are expressed morphologically, while modality is expressed lexically. Syntactic adjacency along with morphological agreement indicate relations between elements in the clause.

2.3.2. Nominal categories

The Domari noun has two genders, masculine and feminine. Masculine nouns often end in -a (*qrar-a* 'Beduin man', *šōn-a* 'son', *zar-a* 'boy', *snot-a* 'dog'), while feminine nouns often

end in *-i* (*qrar-i* 'Beduin woman', *šōn-i* 'daughter', *lāš-i* 'girl',*brar-i* 'cat') or in *-iya* (*dōm-iya* 'Dom woman'). Nouns of both genders can end in consonants: *bar* 'brother' (M), *bɔy-* 'father' (M), *payy-* husband' (M), *bēn* 'sister' (F), *day-* 'mother' (F), *bay-* 'wife' (F). The gender of Arabic nouns (masculine vs. feminine) is generally retained in Domari. Grammatical gender distinction is neutralised in the plural, though the formation of the plural is based on the singular and so it often formally reflects the gender of the singular, and with animates gender is lexicalised (cf. *dōm-e* 'Dom men' vs. *dōm-iye* 'Dom women'). Gender agreement appears with verbs in the 3SG perfective (*barom šird-a* 'my brother said, vs. *bēnom šird-i* 'my sister said'), though this is neutralised when a pronominal object clitic is added (*barom/ bēnom šird-os-is* 'my brother/sister said it'); gender agreement also appears in the non-verbal predication marker (*barom mišt-ēk* 'my brother is ill', vs. *bēnom mišt-ik* 'my sister is ill'). Adjectives in preposed position also agree in gender with the following nouns (*er-a till-a zar-a* 'the big boy came', vs. *er-i till-i lāš-i* 'the big girl came'); there is, however, a tendency to place adjectives in post-nominal position, as non-verbal predications (*er-a zar-a till-ēk* 'the boy came, being big = the big boy came').

2.3.3. Number

Number is generally expressed on nouns by the ending *-e* (*dōm-e* 'Dom men' vs. *dōm-iye* 'Dom women'). In principle, this can also apply to preposed adjectives (*qištot-e kury-e* 'the small houses'). The plural predicative ending is *-ēni* (*ehe dōm-ēni* 'these are Doms'), which is also the preferred construction with adjectives (*kury-ēni qištot-ēni* 'small houses'). In finite verbs, as well as in the pronominal system, number marking is intertwined with person marking, and each person has its individual singular and plural form. An exception are oblique pronominal affixes, which serve as direct and indirect object markers on finite verbs, as possessive markers on nouns, and as prepositional objects on prepositions and local relations adverbs. Here, plurality is indicated by suffixing *-an* to the person stem of the singular (*kury-om* 'my house', *kury-oman* 'our house'; *lahadom-is* 'I saw him/her', *lahadom-san* 'I saw them').

The present-day generation of speakers of Jerusalem Domari has only retained Indo-Aryan forms for the lower numerals *ek-* 'one', *dies* 'two', *taranes* 'three', *štares* 'four', *pandžes* 'five', as well as *das* 'ten' and *siyyak* 'one hundred'. Arabic numerals are used for all other numbers, including ordinal numerals and fractions. A full set of Indic numerals is attested in Macalister (1914), and appears to be still in use among some speakers in Gaza.

2.3.4. Case; expression of possession

Like other New Indo-Aryan languages, Domari shows a three-layered case system. Layer I case markers are selective remnants of Old Indo-Aryan case inflection forms. At this level, there is a distinction between the **nominative**, which is the case of the subject/agent/ undergoer/experiencer

(10) *ehe   dōm-e   raw-ard-e   min dary-o-san-ki*
      these.PL.NOM Dom-PL.NOM travel-PERF-3PL from place-SG.NOM-3PL-ABL
      'Those Doms left their place (of temporary residence)'

(11) *b-īr-e   portkīl-an-ki   dōm-e*
      fear-PERF-3PL Jew-PL.OBL-ABL Dom-PL.NOM
      'The Doms were afraid of the Jews'

and the **oblique**, which is the case of the direct object:

(12) *t-ird-a   man-as*
      put-PERF-3SG.M bread-M.SG.OBL
      'He put the bread'

(13) *lah-ad-om   kažž-as*
      see-PERF-1SG man-M.SG.OBL
      'I saw the man'

(14) *kol-d-om   kapi-ya*
      open-PERF-1SG door-F.SG.OBL
      'I opened the door'

Layer II markers follow the oblique ending. There are five distinct Layer II markers: Dative (-*ta*, or with some speakers -*ka*), Locative (-*ma*), Benefactive (-*ke*), Sociative (-*sanni* or -*san*), and Ablative (-*ki*).

The **Dative** in -*ta* generally expresses contact which does not explicitly entail containment. With location expressions and verbs of motion it expresses the goal of a motion:

(15) *gar-om*   *kam-as-ta*

go.PERF-1SG work-M.SG.OBL-DAT

'I went to work'

(16) *bidd-ī*   *dža-m*   *kury-a-ta*

want-1SG go-1SG.SUBJ house-F.SG.OBL-DAT

'I want to go home'

(17) *t-ird-om*   *kubay-ē*   *ṭawl-ē-ṭa*

put-PERF-1SG cup-F.SG.OBL table-F.SG.OBL-DAT

'I put the cup on the table'

or the location of a state:

(18) *lak-ed-om-s-i*   *wēs-r-ēk*   *kurs-a-ta*

see-PERF-1SG-3SG-PRES sit-PERF-PRED.M.SG chair-F.SG.OBL-DAT

'I have seen him sitting on the chair'.

Further types of contact expressed by the Dative can be with means and instruments –

(19) *mamnūʕ-ī*   *xūl-š-ad*   *gor-yan-ta*

prohibited-PRED ride-SUBJ-3PL horse-PL.OBL-DAT

'They are not allowed to ride horses'

(20) *ʕazifk-and-i*   *rabbab-ē-ta*

play-3PL-PRES rabbab-F.SG.OBL-DAT

'They play the rabbab'

– or among humans:

(21) *tʕarraf-hr-ēn*   *baʕḍ-ē-man-ta*

meet-LOAN.ITR.PERF-1PL REC-PL-1PL-DAT

'We met one another'

Finally, the Dative can also express an abstraction analogous to actual contact:

(22) *sm-ar-i*   *dōm-an-ta*

hear-3SG-PRES Dom-PL.OBL-DAT

'He hears about the Dom'

(23) *š-ird-om*   *abu-s-ke*   *putr-ē-m-ta*
      say-PERF-1SG to-3SG-BEN son-PL-1SG-DAT

'I told him about my sons'

(24) *dawwir-kar-ad-i*   *putr-o-s-ta*
      search-LOAN.TR-3PL-PRES son-SG.NOM-3SG-DAT

'they are looking for his son'

(25) *lagiška-d-e*   *ehe*   *raqqāṣ-an-ta*
      argue-PERF-3PL these.PL dancer-PL.OBL-DAT

'they had an argument about those dancers'.

The Dative in *-ta* is confined to a group of speakers, generally the oldest among the fluent speakers, while in the speech of the others this form has been entirely replaced by *-ka*, which covers exactly the same functions. This development appears to be the result of a levelling within the Layer II paradigm, triggered by the presence of two other forms in *-k-*, namely the Benefactive in *-ke(ra)* and the Ablative/Prepositional in *-kī*.

The **Locative** in *-ma*, by contrast, expresses contained location, either stative –

(26) *šar-y-and-i*   *kury-i-s-ma*   *dōm-an-kī*
      hide-ITR-3PL-PRES house-SG.OBL-3SG-LOC Dom-PL.OBL-ABL

'they are hiding in the houses of the Doms'

– or directional –

(27) *ere*   *hindar ūyar-ma*
      come.PERF-3PL here   town-LOC

'They came here into the town'.

Here too, analogous abstractions can be found:

(28) *kay-ma*   *kallam-ōk*   *atu? dōm-as-ma!*

what-LOC speak-2SG.PRES you Dom-M.SG.OBL-LOC
'What are you speaking (in)? In Domari!'.

The **Benefactive** is the case of the recipient and beneficiary:

(29)   *š-ird-om   dāy-i-m-ke*
say-PERF-1SG mother-SG.OBL-1SG-BEN
'I said to my mother'

(30)   *tu qayiš putr-i-m-ke!*
put food son-SG.OBL-1SG-BEN
'serve food for my son!'

(31)   *t-om-is   ple   ṣadīq-i-m-ke*
give.PERF-1SG-3SG.OBL money friend-SG.OBL-1SG-BEN
'I gave money to my friend'.

The **Sociative** is rare, having been almost entirely replaced by a preposition (Arabic *maʕ* 'with'); it is used in a comitative function:

(32)   *š-ird-om   bɔy-i-m-san*
speak-PERF-1SG father-SG.OBL-1SG-SOC
'I spoke with my father'.

The **Ablative** is found in its original meaning expressing source only among the older speakers, and, it seems, only in expressions implying initial containment –

(33)   *kil-d-om   kury-a-kī*
exit-PERF-1SG house-F.SG.OBL-ABL
'I went out of the house'

– while non-containment is expressed through an added preposition (Arabic *min* 'from'):

(34)   *sin-d-om   min zar-es-kī*
hear-PERF-1SG from boy-M.SG.OBL-ABL
'I heard from the boy'.

Here, the preposition must not be interpreted as merely reinforcing the synthetic Ablative marker. Rather, the Ablative serves as a Prepositional case:

(35) *ama xarrif-r-om*   *maʕ ṣāḫb-i-m-kī*
     I   speak-PERF-1SG with friend-SG.OBL-1SG-ABL
     'I spoke with my friend' (cf. Sociative *ṣāḫbim-san*)

(36) *ama gar-om*   *la kury-i-s-kī*
     I   go.PERF-1SG to house-SG.OBL-3SG-ABL
     'I went to his house' (cf. Dative *kuryis-ta*).

Among the younger among the fluent speakers, who have generalised the use of the ablative preposition *min*, the Ablative no longer has an independent semantic function and is confined to this use as a Prepositional case.

Possession is expressed by consonantal person markers: 1sg *-m*, 2sg *-r*, 3sg *-s*, 1pl *-man*, 2pl *-ran*, 3pl *-san*. Possessive markers are attached to a vowel, so-to-speak a first-layer possessive marker. At the level of this first layer, number and case of the possessed noun are distinguished. Number distinction only appears in the nominative: *kury-o-s* 'his house', *kury-ē-s* 'his houses'; *putr-o-m* 'my son', *putr-ē-m* 'my sons'; *dīr-o-m* 'my daughter', *dīr-ē-m* 'my daughters'. When the possessed noun appears in non-subject position, the vowel indicates oblique case: cf. *bɔy-o-m* 'my father', but *lahedom bɔy-i-m* 'I saw my father'; *kury-o-m* 'my house' and *kury-o-r* 'your house', but *garom min kury-i-m-kī la kury-i-r-kī* 'I went from my house to your house'. The origin of this possessive case inflection is not clear, but it could derive from some form of relativiser or determiner which once mediated between the head noun and a postposed possessive pronoun, agreeing with the head in number and case. Gender agreement may have been levelled at a later stage. The erosion and simplification of this paradigm is still ongoing, and we only find case distinctions in the singular forms – *-om*, *-or*, *-os* vs. *-im*, *-ir*, *-is*, – while the plural forms are, so far, only documented with a single vowel attachment (*-oman*, *-oran*, *-osan*) for nouns in different thematic roles.

The Domari genitive-possessive construction is based on a generalisation of the 3sg possessive marker. It employs the singular possessive marker on the head, irrespective of the actual number of the possessor-determiner, while the determiner itself appears in the ablative-prepositional case (possibly replacing an underlying genitive case in similar function and form). The word order in this format is consistently head-determiner.

(37)   *kury-o-s*   *kažž-as-kī*

house-SG.NOM-3SG man-M.SG.OBL-ABL

'The man's house'

(38)   *grawar-o-s*   *dōm-an-kī*

chief-SG.NOM-3SG   dom-PL.OBL-ABL

'The leader (chief, or Mukhtar) of the Doms'

If the determiner itself is marked for possession in a multiple possessive construction, then the possessive affix may, variably however, carry the oblique form:

(39)   *bɔy-o-s*   *ṣādīq-i-m-kī*

father-SG.NOM-3SG friend-SG.OBL-1SG-ABL

'My friend's father'

but also

(40)   *kury-o-s*   *bār-o-m-kī*

house-SG.NOM-3SG brother-SG.NOM-1SG-ABL

'My brother's house'.

If the head is not in subject position, it takes whatever case reflects its syntactic role; a non-nominative case will then trigger an oblique form of the possessive marker on the head:

(41)   *kury-o-s*

house-SG.NOM-3SG

'His house'

but

(42)   *ama t-ird-om-i*   *kury-i-s-ma*   *bār-o-m-kī*

I   put-PERF-1SG-PRES house-SG.OBL-3SG-LOC brother-SG.NOM-1SG-ABL

'I live [=have settled in] my brother's house'

(43)   *zaman-i-s-ma*   *nohr-an-kī*

time-SG.OBL-3SG-LOC red-PL.OBL-ABL

'In the time of the British (rule)'.

Note that Layer II case affixes follow the possessive marker (*kury-is-ma* 'in his house').

Alongside the principal genitive-possessive construction, a morphologically 'weaker' form expressing multiple possession can be found. It invovles a determiner-possessor that is inflected for person, preceding a head that lacks phoric reference to the possessor:

(44)   *bɔy-i-m*   *kuri*
       father-SG.OBL-1SG house
       'My father's house'.

From a comparison with related and contiguous languages, it would seem that this might represent a simplified form of an underlying det-head construction inherited from Indic; its distribution in the corpus however does not quite support such an interpretation, as the construction seems to surface more frequently among less-fluent speakers. The analytic genitive in *kāk-*, cited by Macalister, appears sporadically – *tomis giš plēm kākīm* 'I gave him all my money'. Noteworthy is that, although at first glance this seems to copy the Arabic analytical genitive-possessive in *tabaʕ-*, albeit based on an indigenous particle most likely of deictic-relative origin, the possessive inflection on *pl-ēm* 'my money' is nevertheless retained. It is yet to be established whether this has constrastive function (as in Arabic, *bēt-ī tabaʕ-ī* 'my own [nobody else's] house', cf. *bēt-ī* or *l-bēt tabaʕ-ī* 'my house').

2.3.5. Verbal categories: voice, tense and aspect, mood, transitivity

The verb stem may be followed by derivational extensions expressing transitivisation (i.e. causative, usually in *-naw-*) or de-transitivisation (i.e. passive, in present *-y-*, past & subjunctive *-ī-*). This derivation is quite productive: *ban-ari* 'he shuts' > *ban-y-ari* 'it is being shut'; *šar-dom* 'I hid (tr.)' > *šar-ī-rom* 'I hid (intr.)'; *qē-ror* 'you ate' > *q-naw-idor* 'you fed', etc.

Aspect consists of the opposition between progresssive (or non-completion), expressed by the present, imperfect, subjunctive; and perfectivity (or completion), expressed by forms based on the historical past participle – preterite or 'unspecified perfective', perfect, pluperfect. Perfective categories are formed through an extension to the verb stem in *-d-* or *-r-*, derived from MIA *-t-*: *lahe-d-om* 'I saw', *ga-r-a* 'he went'.

'Mood' refers to the explicit marking of the subjunctive/optative. This is only applicable to some verbs which employ an historical optative extension in -*š*- for this purpose. For other verbs, the subjunctive is identical to the present indicative, except for its lack of tense specification. Other verb classes have generalised the use of the historical optative extension in -*š*- to indicative forms as well.

Tense is expressed in the final, right-most position in the verb layout. There are two such affixes, which I call the contextualising marker (-*i*) and the de-contextualising or remoteness marker (-*a*). The contextualising marker figures in the present (*laham-i* 'I see') and perfect (*lahedom-i* 'I have seen'). Its function is the actualisation of an action or its result within the currently activated context of the speech event. The de-contextualising marker forms the imperfect when added to the present form (*laham-a* 'I was in the habit of seeing'), and the pluperfect when added to the unspecified perfective form (*lahedom-a* 'I had seen'). Its function is to emphasise the demarcation between the action conveyed by the verb, and the currently activated speech context. Note that it does not intervene with the aspectual qualities of progressivity (present as well as imperfect) or perfectivity (plain perfective as well as pluperfect).

2.3.6. Deictic categories

Person can be expressed for subject roles by free-standing personal pronouns (*ama* 'I', *atu* 'you.SG', *pandži* 'he/she', *eme* 'we', *itme* 'you.PL', *pandžan* 'they'). There are only isolated traces of personal pronouns carrying object inflection – specifically, in the first person of the benefactive case: *ama-ke* 'for me', *emin-ke* 'for us'. In other object roles, and for all other persons, person is expressed by the set of nominal person agreement markers, attached to a local expression: *ab-ur-ke* 'for you', *ab-san-ke* 'for them', *wāš-īm* 'with me', *wāš-īs* 'with him/her'. This same set of nominal person markers is used with nouns to indicate possession: *ben-om* 'my sister', *ben-or* 'your sister'. Verbs carry, potentially, two sets of person agreement markers: one indicating subject agreement, the other indicating (direct) object agreement: *lah-am-i* 'I see', *lah-am-r-i* 'I see you'; *lah-ar-i* 'he sees', *laha-r-m-i* 'he sees me'. There are two sets of subject agreement markers; the first accompanies present stems (*laha-r-* 'he/she sees', *laha-ēk-* 'you.SG see', etc.), the second accompanies perfective stems (*laha-d-a* 'he saw', *laha-d-or* 'you.SG saw'). The first, present set is a continuation of the Old Indo-Aryan set of agreement markers. The second set derives from late Middle Indo-Aryan enclitic object pronouns, and is such is related to the set of person markers indicating the direct object on the verb, the indirect object of local relation expressions, and the possessor of nouns (see sample inflection paradigm below).

Definiteness may be expressed overtly in Domari through accusative case endings, which distinguish generic or indefinite direct objects from those that are contextually or situationally specified: thus

(45)   *ama piy-am-i   guld-as*
       I   drink-1SG-PRES tea-M.SG.OBL
       'I am drinking my tea' (with situational reference to a particular cup of tea)

but

(46)   *ama in-mang-am-e'   piy-am   gulda*
       I   NEG-ask-1SG-PRES.NEG drink-1SG.SUBJ tea.NOM
       'I don't like drinking tea'

(47)   *ama šar-d-om   pl-an*
       I   hide-PERF-1SG money-PL.OBL
       'I hid the money'

but

(48)   *šar-d-om   ple*
       hide-PERF-1SG money.PL.NOM
        'I hid some money'.

This device is rather common in languages that lack overt definite articles, but have regular case inflection, such as Hindi or Turkish.

Indefiniteness may be expressed overtly by a postposed indefinite marker *-ak*, which evidently derives from an underlying form of the numeral 'one' *ek*, reminding of the suffixed indefinite markers of various languages in India, but also of northern Kurdish (Kurmanji):

(49)   *dīs-ak kamkar-and-a*
       day-INDEF work-3PL-PAST
       'One day they were working'

(50) *bidd-ak   šar   kiy-ak*
      want-2SG hide.2SG.SUBJ what-INDEF
       'You want to hide something'

(51) *ama lah-ed-om   kažža-k*
      I   see-PERF-1SG man-INDEF
      'I saw a man'

(52) *ehr-a   wāšī-m   quṣṣa-k*
      become.PERF-3SG.M with-1SG story-INDEF
      'Something (lit. 'a story', < Arabic *quṣṣa*) happened to me'

(53) *fĩ dēy-ak   min   dēy-i-s-kī   l-ʕīrāq*
      in town-INDEF from town-SG.OBL-3SG-ABL Iraq
      'In one of the towns of Iraq'.

Note that the indefinite marker overrides oblique case assignment, which is reserved for definites (*ama lahedom kažž-as* 'I saw the man').

Demonstratives inflect for gender, number, and case, and distinguish near and situational orientation (nominative M.SG *aha*, F.SG *ihi*, PL *ehe*, oblique *er-* with appropriate class endings), from remote (oblique *or-*, a distinct nominative exists only for M.SG *uhu*). Location adverbs are *hindar* 'here' (also *hnēn*) and *hundar* 'there' (also *hnon*).

There are three kinds of expressions of spatial and local relations. Pre-Arabic case relation expressions are generally used with pronominal reference: *wāš-īs* 'with him/her/it', *atn-īr* 'about you', *ab-san-ke* 'for them', *nkī-m* 'in my possession'. A number of prepositions of Arabic origin are also integrated into this pattern: *min-š-īs* 'from him/her/it' (Arabic *min* 'from'), *ʕan-k-īm* 'about me' (Arabic *ʕan* 'about'). Functionally, these expressions correspond directly to the semantic slots of the nominal case paradigm, such as Sociative/Comitative, Dative, Benefactive, Locative, and Ablative. With nominal referents, these relations tend to be expressed by free-standing and uninflected Arabic prepositions:

(54) *min bar-i-m-ki*
      from brother-SG.OBL-1SG-ABL
      'from my brother' (Arabic *min* 'from')

(55) *baʕd ḥarb-as-ki*

after war-M.SG.OBL-ABL

'after the war' (Arabic *baʕd* 'after').

Note that the noun carries the prepositional case marker (Ablative) *-ki.* An additional set of expressions covers more specific spatial relations. It includes *mandža* 'in', *bara* 'out', *paš* 'behind', *agir* 'in front', *atun* 'above', and *axār* 'below'. These expressions are used as adverbial modifiers accompanying case-inflected nouns:

(56) *kury-a-ma   mandža*
      house-F.SG.OBL-LOC inside
      'Inside the house'

(57) *kury-a-ma bara*
      house-F.SG.OBL-LOC outside
      'Outside the house'.

Often, the same expressions are used in a Dependent-Head construction:

(58) *mandž-i-s-ma kury-a-ki*
      inside-SG.OBL-3SG-LOC house-F.SG.OBL-ABL
      'Inside the house' (lit. 'in its-inside from-the-house').

Some, albeit few Arabic expressions are also integrated into this pattern:

(59) *žamb-i-s-ma   lāč-a-ki*
      next.to-SG.OBL-3SG-LOC girl-F.SG.OCL-ABL
      'Next to the girl' (< Arabic *žamb* 'next to').

All particles used at the discourse level to establish relationships with the discourse context are borrowed from Arabic. This includes clause combining particles (*u* 'and', *bass* 'but', *ya* 'or', *la-ʔinno* 'because'), sentential adverbs (*bi-l-marra* 'at all', *bil-ʔāxar* 'finally'), discourse markers (*yaʕni* 'that is'), interjections , and relative pronouns (*illi*).

Negation of the present indicative verb involves both a prefix *n-* and a suffixed glottal stop: *mangamsani* 'I like them' > *nmangamsanéʔ* 'I don't like them'. In some negative constructions, the second component appears on its own: *piyaméʔ* 'I don't drink'. The negated form of *ašte* 'there is' is *nhéʔ*. Other tenses generally take the negator *na*, the

imperative may take *ma* – both preceding the verb. Domari also employs Arabic negators. Arabic *mā ... -iš* or either one of its two components attaches to the inflected Arabic verbs *kān-* and *ṣār-* and to the quasi-verb *bidd-*. Non-verbal predications are negated using Arabic *miśš*: *pandži miśš miśtēk* 'he is not ill'.

2.3.7. Lexical classes (semantic/grammatical classes)

Adverbs and function words consist of a number of subgroups. Expressions of specific local relations may accompany nouns, and may also inflect for anaphoric possession (referring back to the noun which they qualify; see above). Conjunctions and particles are similarly divided into those that are uninflected, such as *ū* 'and', *bass* 'but', and those that may refer back to a topic, such as *liʔann-o* 'because (he/it)'.

Non-finite verb forms are limited in Domari to the participle, which is always derived from the perfective stem, and which always carries a predicative ending, marking gender and number: *mind-ird-ēk* 'standing (M.SG)', *mind-ird-ik* 'standing (F.SG)', *mind-ird-ēni* 'standing (PL)'. Masdars occur indirectly, in the incorporaton of a simplified form of the Arabic verb, derived from the Arabic subjunctive (imperfective) stripped of its person inflection, into a carrier verb indicating valency and marking out the verbal root as a loan: *š(t)rī-k-ami* 'I buy', Arabic *yi-štrī* 'that he buy'.

Interrogative pronouns are *kī* 'what', *kawax* 'when', *krēn* 'where', *kēkē* 'why', *kāni* 'who', *kēhē* 'how', and the Arabic loan *qaddēš* 'how much'. Indefinite pronouns typically derive from interrogatives: *kiy-ak* 'something' (literally 'a what'), *ēk-ak* 'somebody' (literally 'a one'), and in a negated predication 'nothing, nobody' or 'anything, anybody'. The Arabic *ḥādžak* 'something, anything' is also common, and Arabic forms are generally used for other indefinites forms, and an Arabic indefinite marker is used to express universal functions: *kull ēkak* 'everyone'.

Adjectives in Domari are a peculiar class. The overwhelming tendency in discourse is to use them in a fashion that resembles, and derives from, a predicative construction, though the meaning of this construction is shifting to that of a plain attribution:

(60) *er-e*   *dom-ēni*   *bizzot-ēni*
      come.PERF-3PL Dom-PRED.PL poor-PRED.PL
      'Poor people arrived' (= 'it is people, being poor, who arrived').

The trigger for this shift in meaning is possibly the post-nominal position of the adjective in Arabic, which the Domari predicative construction is able to replicate. Adjectives are further odd in that their comparative and superlative forms are fully suppletive, being derived wholesale from Arabic: *tilla* 'big', *ʔakbar* 'bigger'; *qištota* 'small', *ʔzaġar* 'smaller'. Presumably, this is related to the pressure to borrow non-positive marking in adjectives, but the inability to isolate an Arabic non-positive marker due to the fusional, introflectional nature of the Arabi comparative. Speakers are thus tempted to borrow the Arabic non-positive form itself, associated with it non-positive attributes.

2.4.0. Sample paradigms

Figure 4: Personal pronouns:

	1SG	2SG	3SG	1PL	2PL	3PL
NOM	*ama*	*atu*	*pandži*	*eme*	*itme*	*pandžan*
BEN	*amake*	*aburke*	*abuske*	*eminke*	*abranke*	*absanke*
LOC	*nkīm*	*nkīr*	*nkīs*	*nkīman*	*nkīran*	*nkīsan*
DAT	*atnīm*	*atnīr*	*atnīs*	*atnīman*	*atnīran*	*atnīsan*
SOC	*wāšīm*	*wāšīr*	*wāšīs*	*wāšīman*	*wāšīran*	*wāšīsan*
ABL	*minkīm*	*minkīr*	*minkīs*	*minkīman*	*minkīran*	*minkīsan*

The non-nominative cases are in most cases (with the exception of the Benefactive in the first person singular and plural) composed of local relation expressions with a person suffix.

Figure 5: Demonstratives:

Case	Proximate			Remote		
	M.SG	F.SG	PL	M.SG	F.SG	PL
NOM	*aha*	*ihi*	*ehe*	*uhu*	*ihi*	*ehe*
ACC	*eras*	*era*	*eran*	*ōras*	*ōra*	*ōran*
BEN	*eraske*	*erake*	*eranke*	*ōraske*	*ōrake*	*ōranke*
LOC	*erasma*	*erama*	*eramma*	*ōrasma*	*ōrama*	*ōramma*
DAT	*erasta*	*erata*	*eranta*	*ōrasta*	*ōrata*	*ōranta*
SOC	*erassan*	*reasan*	*erassan*	*ōrassan*	*ōrasan*	*ōrassan*
ABL	*eraski*	*eraki*	*eranki*	*ōraski*	*ōraki*	*ōranki*

Verbs:

Figure 6: Transitives: *šar-* 'to hide (something)'

	Pres.Ind.	Subj	Imperf.	Past	Perf.	Pluperf.	Imperat.
1SG	*šarami*	*šaram*	*šarama*	*šardom*	*šardomi*	*šardoma*	
2SG	*šarēk*	*šar*	*šarēya*	*šardor*	*šardori*	*šardora*	*šar*
3SG.M	*šarari*	*šarar*	*šarara*	*šarda*	*šardayi*	*šardaya*	
3SG.F	*šarari*	*šarar*	*šarara*	*šardī*	*šardēyi*	*šardēya*	
1PL	*šarani*	*šaran*	*šarana*	*šardēn*	*šardēni*	*šardēna*	
2PL	*šarasi*	*šaras*	*šarasa*	*šardēs*	*šardēsi*	*šardēsa*	*šaras*
3PL	*šara(n)di*	*šarad*	*šara(n)da*	*šarde*	*šardeyi*	*šardeya*	

Other transitive inflection classes show the following characteristic feature: an epenthetic vowel between the root and the perfective ending: *bagami* 'I break', *bagidom* 'I broke'; reduction of the root vowel: *snami* 'I hear', *sindom* 'I heard'; root extension in *-r-* (originally causative) in the perfective: *dowami* 'I wash', *dowirdom* 'I washed'. Irregular transitives include: *qumnami* 'I eat', past *qērom*; *demi* 'I give', past *tom*.

Figure 7: Analytic verb forms (auxiliaries):

	kān 'used to do'	*ṣār* 'to begin to do'	*bidd-* 'to want to do'
1SG	*kunt šarama*	*ṣirt šarami*	*biddī šaram*
2SG,M	*kunt šarēya*	*ṣirt šarēk*	*biddak šar*
2SG.F	*kuntī šarēya*	*ṣirtī šarēk*	*biddek šar*
3SG.M	*kān šarara*	*ṣār šarari*	*biddo šarar*
3SG.F	*kānat šarara*	*ṣārat šarari*	*biddha šarar*
1PL	*kunnā šarana*	*ṣirnā šarani*	*biddnā šaran*
2PL	*kuntū šarasa*	*ṣirtū šarasi*	*biddkom šaras*
3PL	*kānū šara(n)da*	*ṣārū šara(n)di*	*biddhom šarad*

Figure 8: Transitive verbs with object pronouns:

Subj-Obj	Pres.Ind.	Subj	Imperf.	Past	Perf.	Pluperf.
3SG-1SG	*šararmi*	*šararim*	*šararma*	*šardosim*	*šardosmi*	*šardosma*
1SG-2SG	*šaramri*	*šaramir*	*šaramra*	*šardomir*	*šardomri*	*šardomra*
1SG-3SG	*šaramsi*	*šaramir*	*šaramsa*	*šardomis*	*šardomsi*	*šardomsa*
3SG-1PL	*šararmani*	*šararman*	*šararmana*	*šardosman*	*šardosmani*	*šardosmana*
1SG-2PL	*šaramrani*	*šaramran*	*šaramrana*	*šardomran*	*šardomrani*	*šardomrana*
1SG-3PL	*šaramsani*	*šaramsan*	*šaramsana*	*šardomsan*	*šardomsani*	*šardomsana*

Figure 9: Assimilation patterns with object pronouns (object pronoun *-san* 'them'):

	Pres.Ind.	Past
1SG	*šaramsani*	*šardomsan*
2SG	*šarēssani*	*šardorsan*
3SG.M	*šararsani*	*šardosan*
3SG.F	*šarirsani*	*šardosan*
1PL	*šaransani*	*šardēnsan*
2PL	*šarassani*	*šardēssan*
3PL	*šarassani*	*šardesan*

Figure 10: Intransitives: *šary-* 'to hide'

	Pres.Ind.	Subj	Imperf.	Past	Perf.	Pluperf.	Imperat.
1SG	*šaryami*	*šarīšam*	*šaryama*	*šarīrom*	*šarīromi*	*šarīroma*	
2SG	*šaryāk*	*šarīšī*	*šaryāya*	*šarīror*	*šarīrori*	*šarīrora*	*šarīšī*
3SG.M	*šaryari*	*šarīšar*	*šaryara*	*šarīra*	*šarīrayi*	*šarīraya*	
3SG.F	*šaryari*	*šarīšar*	*šaryara*	*šarīrī*	*šarīrēyi*	*šarīrēya*	
1PL	*šaryani*	*šarīšan*	*šaryana*	*šarīrēn*	*šarīrēni*	*šarīrēna*	
2PL	*šaryasi*	*šarīšas*	*šaryasa*	*šarīrēs*	*šarīrēsi*	*šarīrēsa*	*šarīšas*
3PL	*šarya(n)di*	*šarīšad*	*šarya(n)da*	*šarīre*	*šarīreyi*	*šarīreya*	

Other intransitive inflection classes have the following features: A tendency to adopt the subjunctive form as an indicative present: *kilšami* 'I exit', subjunctive *kilšam*, past *kildom*. They include the verb *hošami* 'I become', *hrom* 'I became' (the non-enclitic version of the copula paradigm). Some intransitive are not derived, and so do not show *-y-* extension to the present stem: *rowami* 'I cry', subjunctive *rošam*, past *rowrom*. Some roots show an extension in *-t-* in present stem: *nastami* 'I flee', past *nasrom*. Irregular intransitives include *šūšami* 'I sleep', past *sitom*; *awami* 'I come', past *ērom*; *džami* 'I go', past *garom*.

Figure 11: Enclitic copula:

	Pres. Ind.	Perf.	Subj	Imperf.	Past	Imp.
1SG	*-(h)omi*	*-hromi*	*-hōšam*	*-hroma*	*-hrom*	
2SG	*-(h)ōk*	*-hrori*	*-hōšī*	*-hrora*	*-hror*	*-hōšī*
3SG.M	*-(h)ori, (h)(or)ēk*	*-ēk*	*-hōšar*	*-ēya*	*-hra*	
3SG.F	*-(h)ori, (h)(or)ik*	*-ik*	*-hōšar*	*-ēya*	*-hrī*	
3SG after consonant	*-ī*					
1PL	*-(h)oni*	*-hrēni*	*-hōšan*	*-hrēna*	*-hrēn*	
2PL	*-(h)osi*	*-hresi*	*-hōšas*	*-hresa*	*-hres*	*-hōšas*
3PL	*-(h)o(n)di, -ē(n)di*	*-ēni*	*-hōšad*	*-ēda*	*-hre*	

The perfect is the preferred from with most predications that do not involve lexical verbs: *ama mištahromi* 'I am ill/ have fallen ill', *pandži mištēk* 'he is ill/ has fallen ill'. The Present Indicative forms are found sporadically: *ʕaṭšānomi* 'I am thirsty'. The set is productive in particular in the adaptation of intransitive loan verbs from Arabic: *ama skunn(h)omi* 'I live', *pandži skunn(h)ori/ skunnēk* 'he lives' (Arabic *-skun-* 'to live').

Nouns:

Figure 12: Nominal inflection classes:

Masculines in NOM -*a*, OBL -*as*		Masculines in NOM -C, OBL -*as*		Masculines in NOM -C, OBL -*ī*	
šōna 'boy'		*dom* 'Dom man'		*xudwar* 'child'	
šōna	*šōne*	*dom*	*dome*	*xudwar*	*xudware*
šōnas	*šōnan*	*domas*	*doman*	*xudwarī*	*xudwaran*
šōnaske	*šōnanke*	*domaske*	*domanke*	*xudwarke*	*xudwaranke*
šōnasma	*šōnamma*	*domasma*	*domamma*	*xudwarma*	*xudwaramma*
šōnasta	*šōnamma*	*domasta*	*domanta*	*xudwarta*	*xudwaranta*
šōnassan	*šōnassan*	*domassan*	*domassan*	*xudwarsan*	*xudwarassan*
šōnaski	*šōnanki*	*domaski*	*domanki*	*xudwarki*	*xudwaranki*

Feminines in NOM -*ī*, OBL -*(y)a*		Feminines in NOM -*a*, OBL -*ē*		Feminines in NOM -C, OBL -*ī*	
lašī 'girl'		*domiya* 'Dom woman'		*ūyar* 'city'	
lašī	*lašye*	*domiya*	*domiye*	*ūyar*	*ūyare*
lašya	*lašyan*	*domiyē*	*domiyan*	*ūyarī*	*ūyaran*
lašyake	*lašyanke*	*domiyēke*	*domiyanke*	*ūyarke*	*ūyaranke*
lašyama	*lašyamma*	*domiyēma*	*domiyamma*	*ūyarma*	*ūyaramma*
lašyata	*lašyanta*	*domiyēta*	*domiyanta*	*ūyarta*	*ūyarannta*
lašyasan	*lašyassan*	*domiyēsan*	*domiyassan*	**ūyarsan*	** ūyarassan*
lašyaki	*lašyanki*	*domiyēki*	*domiyanki*	*ūyarki*	*ūyaranki*

The group {Masculines in NOM -*a*, ACC -*a*} includes primarily inherited Indo-Aryan masculines, such as *kaža* 'man', ACC *kažas*, *mana* 'bread', ACC *manas*. The group {Masculines in NOM -C, ACC -*as*} is widespread, and includes animates as well as inanimates, inherited nouns as well as loans: *dīs* 'day', ACC *dīsas*; *qird* 'monkey' (< Arabic) ACC *qirdas*, *kōmir* 'coal' (< Turkish) ACC *kōmras*; *lagiš* 'fight' (nominalisation), ACC *lagšas*; but note also *gēsu* 'wheat', ACC *gēswas*. Somewhat less frequent is the group {Masculines in NOM -C, ACC -*ī*}, which attracts many Arabic loans, such as *bustān* 'garden', ACC *bustānī*, but also Pre-Arabic words, such as *titin* 'tobacco', ACC *titnī*. Among the feminine nouns is the group of inherited feminines in {NOM -*ī*, ACC

-(y)a}, e.g. *gori* 'horse', ACC *gorya*. The group {Feminines in NOM *-a*, ACC *-ē*} attracts also the numerous Arabic loans that are, in Arabic, feminines in *-a*: *lamba* 'lamp', ACC *lambē*, *šažara* 'tree', ACC *šažarē*. The group {Feminines in NOM *-C*, ACC *-ī*} however is not lexx common: *džuwir* 'woman' ACC *džuwrī*.

Figure 13: Nouns with possessive markers: *bar* 'brother'

	SG.Nom.	SG.Obl.	PL
1SG	*barom*	*barim*	*barēm*
2SG	*baror*	*barir*	*barēr*
3SG	*baros*	*baris*	*barēs*
1PL	*baroman*	*bariman*	*barēman*
2PL	*baroran*	*bariran*	*barēran*
3PL	*barosan*	*barisan*	*barēsan*

Figure 14: Adjectives and participles: *till-* 'big', *mindird-* 'standing'

	attributive	predicative	
	adjective		participle
M.SG	*tilla*	*tillēk*	*mindirdēk*
F.SG	*tillī*	*tillik*	*mindirdik*
PL	*tille*	*tillēni*	*mindirdēni*

2.5.0. Morphosyntax

2.5.1. Word structure

The basic structure of word forms consists of the lexical root, followed by derivational suffixes, and finally by inflectional suffixes. The morphologically most complex word form belongs to verbs. The lexical root is followed optionally by a valency-changing marker (causative or passive), and with Arabic borrowing, by a loan-verb adaptation marker (deriving from one of the Domari roots, 'to do' or 'to become'). This is followed by a perfective marker (in the past or perfective tenses), which is then followed by subject and (optionally) object concord markers, and finally by an external tense marker:

Figure 15: Layout of the verb

xiz-	naw-	(i)d-	om-	san-	a
laugh	CAUS	PERF	1SG	3SG	PAST
root	derivation	aspect	subject concord	object concord	tense
'I had made them laugh'					

In nouns, the root may be followed by one of few productive derivational markers, such as the nominaliser *-iš* or the agentive *-kar*. It is otherwise followed by a Layer I inflection suffix, which is sensitive to declension class, representing gender and number. This suffix also forms the basis for Layer II case inflection markers, which are agglutinated, and which indicate semanic case relations. Possessive suffixes follow an adapted format of Layer I markers:

Figure 16: Nominal inflection layout

mang-	iš-	kar-	an-	ki
beg	NOM	AGEN	OBL.PL	ABL
root	nominal derivation	agentive derivation	Layer I	Layer II
'from the beggars'				

Figure 6: Format for possessive marking

bar-	i-	m-	ki
brother	OBL	1SG	ABL
root	Layer I	possessive	Layer II
'from my brother'			

2.5.2. Word formation

Domari has few productive derivational morphemes. The deverbal nominaliser *-iš* often creates quasi-gerunds/infinitives (or 'masdar') used in nominal reference to an activity: *našiš* 'dancing', from *našy-* 'to dance'; *mangiš* 'begging', from *mang-* 'to ask'. Some derivations also function as plain nouns: *qayiš* 'eating; food', from *q-* 'to eat'. An agentive/adjectival suffix *-na* is similarly attached to verbal roots: *mangišna* 'beggar',

bayyina 'coward' (from *by-* 'to fear'). A feminine derivation marker *-iya* forms feminine counterparts to animate nouns: *dōm* 'Dom man', *dōmiya* 'Dom woman'. Among the most productive derivation markers in the language is the verbalising marker *-k(ar)-* (from *kar-* 'to do'). It often attaches to the masdar forms of inherited verbal roots to form new verbs: *mangiškade* 'they begged', from *mangiš* 'begging', based on *mang-* 'to ask'; *qayiškadi* 'she cooked', from *qayiš* 'dish of food', from *q-* 'to eat'. Alongside *-hr-* (from *hr-* ' to become'), it acts as a loan verb adaptation marker for Arabic verbal roots: *sʔilkada* 'he asked', Arabic - *sʔil-*; *džawizahre* 'they married', Arabic *-džawwiz-*. Further derivation markers in the verbal domain include the causative markers *-naw-/-aw-* – *qami* 'I eat', *qnawami* 'I feed', *biyami* 'I fear', *bnawami* 'I scare'; *kildom* 'I left', *klawidom* 'I removed/pulled/raised' – and the passive marker, present stem *-y-*, past stem *-ī-*: *marari/marda* 'he kills/killed', *maryari/marīra* 'he is being killed/was killed'. Compounding is rare, and occurs in isolated words such as *gištane* 'all' (*giš* 'all', and Turkish-derived *tane* 'item'), and the place-name *guldī-dey* 'Hebron' (lit. 'sweet-town', named after its vineyards).

2.5.3. Simple clause structure. Subject-object relations; syntactic positions; types of simple clause

Domari is a nominative/accusative language. There are two types of predicates: lexical verbs, which agree with the subject (and may also carry pronominal object reference), and non-verbal or copula predications. The copula is enclitic, and may attach to nouns, adjectives, adverbs and especially local relation adverbs, often following Layer II markers (*mindž-i-s-m-ēk* '(is) in the middle'; *kury-a-m-ēk* '(is) at home'), or verb participles, as well as pronouns. Subject agreement with lexical verbs is based on a person/number system, while copula agreement in the 3SG also encodes gender. Yes-no questions are marked by intonation only, wh-questions by a set of interrogative pronouns, usually occupying the first position in the sentence, accompanied by question intonation, and usually V-S order

(61)   *krēn   gar-a   bar-o-rʔ?*
       where go.PERF-3SG.M brother-SG.NOM-2SG
       'Where did your brother go?'

Imperatives are expressed by the imperative form of the verb, which is normally identical to the respective subjunctive form of 2nd persons.

Domari word order can be described as flexible. Out of context, simple declarative clauses are likely to show S-V-O order:

(62)　　*day-o-m*　　　　　　　*nan-d-ī*　　　　　　*man-as*
　　　　mother-SG.NOM-1SG bring-PERF-3SG.F bread-M.SG.OBL
　　　　'My mother brought the bread'

(63)　　*day-o-m*　　　　　　　*gar-īr-ī*　　　　　　*kury-a-ta*
　　　　mother-SG.NOM-1SG return-PERF-3SG.F home-F.SG.OBL-DAT
　　　　'My mother returned home'

In context, anaphoric continuation of subject through subject-agreement on the verb (pro-drop) is common. While the object is not likely to occupy the first position, the demotion of topical subjects to final position is very common:

(64)　　*gar-īr-ī*　　　　　　*kury-a-ta*　　　　　　*day-o-m*
　　　　return-PERF-3SG.F home-F.SG.OBL-DAT mother-SG.NOM-1SG
　　　　'My mother [who had been mentioned in the previous context] returned home'

Topicalisation of objects is typically achieved by left-dislocation, in the nominative case, with subsequent object pronominal resumption:

(65)　　*ū ama manaʕ-ka-d-os-im*　　　　　　　*dža-m*　　　*hnōna*
　　　　and I　prevent-LOAN.TR-PERF-3SG-1SG go-1SG.SUBJ there
　　　　'And me, he prevented me from going there'

2.5.4. Clause combinations

Most clause combinations are achieved by means of coordinating and subordinating conjunctions, all with which are borrowed from Arabic. Conjunctions are generally uninflected function words, though *liʔann-* 'because' may agree with the continuing subject of both clauses (if this subject is identical). In this case, Arabic agreement inflection is used. Note the following examples for coordination:

(66)　　a.　　　*lamma kunt　ama qašṭōṭ-ik,*　　　　*na　nēr-ded-im*
　　　　　　　when　was.1SG I　small-PRED.F.SG NEG send-PERF-3PL

          madāris-an-ka.

          schools-PL.OBL-DAT

b.   *ū baqēt   kury-a-ma   zayy xaddām-ēk*

       and stayed.1SG house.-F.SG.OBL-LOC like   servant-PRED.F.SG

c.   *ū daʔiman yaʕnī kunt   ama kury-a-m-ēk*

       and always that.is was.1SG I   house-F.SG.OBL-LOC-PRED.F.SG

d.   *wala kil-‰am-i   wala   aw-am-i*

       and.not exit-1.SG-PRES and.not come-1SG-PRES

e.   *wala   waddi-ka-d-m-i   maḥall-ak.*

       and.not bring-LOAN.TR-3PL-1SG-PRES   place-INDEF

a.   When I was small, they didn't send me to [any] school.

b.   And [so] I stayed at home like a servant

c.   And I was always I mean at home, not going out nor coming, nor do they take me anywhere.

(67)   *na kil-d-om   bara li'annhā   wars-ar-i*

      NEG exit-PERF-1SG out   because.3SG.F rain-3SG-PRES

      'I did not go out because it was raining'

Embeddings, where the subordinated clause is a constituent, show the only use of indigenous wh-elements in subordinated clauses:

(68)   *ama džan-am-e '   krēn skun-ahr-ēk*

      I   know-1SG-NEG.PRES where live-LOAN.ITR.PERF-PRED.M.SG

      'I don't know where he lives'

(69)   *džan-d-om-i   kī š-ird-a*

      know-PERF-1SG.PRES what Say-PERF-3SG.M

      'I have understood what he said'

Isolated examples in the corpus illustrate nevertheless the beginning infiltration of Arabic structures even here: *žaname' 'ēš biddī karam* 'I don't know what I want to do' (< Arabic *'ēš*).

    Relative clauses are introduced through the Arabic relativiser *illi*. Like Arabic, Domari too has an obligatory resumptive pronoun for all positions except the subject. Where only

one object appears, resumption of the head noun is indicated through object pronominal clitics on the verb (direct object) or a location expression (indirect object):

(70) *kažža illi lah-erd-om-is*   *xužoti*
      man RE see-PERF-1SG-3SG yesterday
      'The man whom I saw [him] yesterday'

(71) *lāši illi   š-ird-om   wāšĭ-s*
      girl REL speak-PERF-1SG with-3SG
      'The girl whom I spoke to [her]'

In principle the same strategy may be followed when the relative clause contains two objects:

(72) *mana illi t-or-is   ama-ke*
      bread REL give.PERF-2SG-3SG 1SG-BEN
      'The bread which you gave [it] to me'

(73) *ple   illi   t-or-san   ama-ke*
      money REL give.PERF-2SG-3PL 1SG.BEN
      'The money(pl) which you gave [them] to me'

At the same time there is also a tendency to employ an Arabic resumptive pronoun for a head noun that is the direct object of the relative clause, while the indirect object is expressed as a pronominal clitic on the verb. Arabic inflection is then used to mark agreement in gender and number between the Arabic resumptive pronoun and its Domari head noun:

(74) *mana illi   t-or-im   iyyā-h*
      bread REL give.PERF-2SG-1SG RES-3SG.M
      'The bread which you gave me [it]'

(75) *ple   illi   t-or-im   iyyā-hum*
      money REL give.PERF-2SG-1SG RES-PL
      'The money(pl) which you gave me [them]'

Note that this has a double effect on the expression of syntactic relations within the sentence: Firstly, what is generally marked as an indirect object, namely the benefactive of the verb 'to give', is expressed as a pronominal clitic using the set of markers and the position in the verb normally reserved for direct objects. Second, Arabic inflection is used productively within the Domari sentence. I shall return to this latter point briefly below.

Complementation and purpose clauses

The key features of complementation structures in Domari are the split between subjunctive and indicative complements (indicated in Domari, as in Arabic, through the choice of mood in the subordinated clause), the presence of a conjunction, and the choice of a modal expression that requires a modal complement. There are only two modal expressions in Domari that are inherited: *sak-* 'to be able to', and *mang-* 'to ask', which latter is restricted to different-subject modal constructions (manipulation). Other modal expressions are Arabic, and carry, if inflected, Arabic inflections: *lāzim* 'must' (impersonal), *ṣār-* 'to be begin' (inflected), *bidd-* 'to want' (nominal inflection), *xallī-* 'to allow' (inflected).

As in Arabic, with same-subject modality no complementiser appears between the main and the complement clause, and the subordinated verb is finite and subjunctive (*biddī karam* 'I want to do'). Manipulation clauses equally require no conjunction, but an overt representation of the manipulee must be present; the subordinated verb is likewise in the subjunctive:

(76) *ama mang-ed-om   minš-īs šrī-k-ar   mana*
      I   ask-PERF-1SG from-3SG buy-LOAN.TR-3SG.SUBJ bread
      'I asked him to buy bread'

(77) *ama š-ird-om   abu-s-ke   aw-ar   wāšī-m*
      I   say-PERF-1SG to-3SG-BEN come-3SG.SUBJ with-1SG
      'I told him to come with me'

(78) *ama bidd-ī   atu šrī-k-a   man-as*
      I   want-1SG you buy-LOAN.TR-2SG.SUBJ bread-M.SG.OBL
      'I want you to buy the bread'

In purpose clauses there is variation in the presence vs absence of a conjunction (which is, if present, always Arabic-derived). The split may be said to follow a continuum of semantic

integration, or in some instances, control by the main actor over the action conveyed by the purpose clause, thus resembling the distribution in Arabic:

(79) *nan   fraɣ-ē-m   wark-am-san!*
      bring.IMP clothe-PL-1SG wear-1SG.SUBJ-3PL
      'Bring my clothes for me to wear'

(80) *ama er-om   kury-a-ta   (ʕašān) lah-am-ir*
      I   come.PERF-1SG house-F.SG.OBL-DAT COMP   see-1SG.SUBJ-2SG
      'I came home (in order) to see you'

(81) *ama t-om-ir   ple (ʕašān) šrī-k-a   mana*
      I   gIve.PERF-1SG-2SG money COMP buy-LOAN.TR-2SG.SUBJ bread
      'I gave you money to buy bread'

(82) *ama qol-d-om   qapiy-a   ʕašān nik-š-ī*
      I   open.PERF-1SG door-F.SG.OBL COMP enter-SUBJ-2SG
      'I opened the door so that you may enter'

Indicative complements follow epistemic verbs. The subordinated verb is in the indicative, and the complement is always introduced by an (Arabic) conjunction *inn-*, which may assume either an impersonal or an inflected form (carrying Arabic inflection):

(83)   *ama sin-d-om   inn-o/inn-ak   atu*
      I   hear-PERF-1SG COMP-3SG/COMP-2SG you
      ʕīš-hr-or-i   hinēn
      live-LOAN.ITR.PERF-2SG-PRES here
      'I heard that you live(d) here'

Adverbial clauses
Domari has converbs which express a co-occurring action. They are based on the attachment of the predicative suffix to the perfective form of the verb. The same function however can also be assumed by the finite present form of the verb, once again matching Arabic, which has two options, present participle and present/future, to express simultaneous action:

(84) *lak-ed-om-is   mind-ird-ēk*
      see-PERF-1SG-3SG stand-PERF-PRED.M.SG
      'I saw him standing'

(85) *lak-ed-om   qapiy-a   ban-īr-ik*
      see-PERF-1SG   door-F.SG.OBL open-PERF-PRED.F.SG
      'I saw the door opening'

(86) *sin-d-om-is   grēfk-ar-i*
      hear-PERF-1SG-3SG sing-3SG-PRES
      'I heard him singing'

Other adverbial subordinations draw on Arabic conjunctions. Noteworthy is the distibution of tense and mood forms: Anteriority triggers, as in Arabic, the subjunctive in the subordinated clause. Realis conditionals show the present tense in both parts of the construction. Irrealis (counterfactual) constructions have unspecified perfective in the subordinated clause, and pluperfect, introduced by the Arabic particle *kān*, in the main clause:

(87) *qabel mā dža-m   xałłaṣ-k-ed-om   kam-as*
      before COMP go-1SG.SUBJ finish-LOAN.TR-PERF-1SG work-M.SG.OBL
      'Before I left I finished my work'

(88) *lamma kunt   ama qaṣṭōṭ-ik,   na nēr-ded-im   madāris-an-ka.*
      when was.1SG I   small-PRED.F.SG NEG send-PERF-3PL schools-PL.OBL-DAT
      'When I was small, they didn't send me to school'

(89) *iza wars-ar-i,   n-aw-am-e'*
      if rain-3SG-PRES NEG-come-1SG-NEG
      'If it rains, I shall not come'

(90) *law ēr-om   xužoti kān lah-erd-om-s-a*
      if   come.PERF-1SG yesterday was see-PERF-1SG-3SG-PAST
      'If I had come yesterday, I would have seen him'

2.6.0. Lexical borrowings

Pre-Arabic loans in Domari include Persian elements (e.g. *pl-e* 'money', Persian *pul*), Kurdish (e.g. *zara* 'boy', *sał* 'rice', *dey* 'town', Kurdish *zaro*, *sał*, *deh*), and Turkic (*bīɣ* 'moustache', *kapi* 'door', *guzel* 'nice'). Much of the lexicon, in all likelihood even the majority of the lexical types (though not necessarily tokens) used in any Domari conversation, comes from Arabic; this includes 50% of the Swadesh list entries of assumed 'core vocabulary'. Arabic items include numerals above 5 (excluding 10 and 100). Arabic nouns are incorporated with their plural counterparts (although Indic plural endings may be added on top of those): *musilm-īn-e* 'Muslims' (Arabic *musilm-īn*) , *zlām-e* 'men' (Arabic *zlām*). Arabic verbs are adapted using the verbalising markers *-k-* (transitive) and *-(h)o-/-hr-* (intransitive) (see above). Arabic vocabulary loans include basic vocabulary items such as *zahra* 'flower' , *šadžara* 'tree', *ʔaṣbaʕ* 'finger', *qamar* 'moon', *ṣāḥib* 'friend', *taʕbān* 'tired', *ʕīšahr-* 'to live' (Arabic *-ʕīš-*), *fakirahr-* 'to think' (Arabic *-fakkir-*), *sʔilk-* 'to ask' (Arabic *-sʔal-*).

In the area of grammar, Arabic provides a series of modal verbs and auxiliaries, including 'want' (*bidd-*), 'must' (*lāzim*), 'begin' (*ṣār-*), 'stop' (*baṭṭal-*), 'continue' (*baqi-*), and the aspectual auxiliary for the habitual-frequentative (*kān-*); all these carry Arabic-derived person and tense-aspect inflection and Arabic negators (*mā*). The entire inventory of unbound prepositions is Arabic-derived (*min* 'from', *baʕd* 'after', *qabil* 'before', *minšān* 'for', *ʕan* 'about', and so on), as are the comparative and superlative forms of adjectives (including the lexical form: thus Indic-derived *tilla* 'big', Arabic-derived *akbar* 'bigger'). All conjunctions, co-ordinating and subordinating, are Arabic (e.g. *ū* 'and', *yā* 'or', *bass* 'but', *liʔann-* 'because', *baʕd mā* 'after', *lamma* 'when', *iza* 'if', and so on), as are focus particles (*ḥatta* 'even', *bass* 'only'), discourse markers (*yaʕnī, absar, baʕdēn*), most indefinite expressions, and most non-deictic adverbs, including phasal adverbs (e.g. *lissa* 'still'). Arabic-derived are also the complementiser introducing complement clauses *inn-*, along with its agreement inflection with the subject of the complement clause, the relativiser *illi*, and the direct object resumptive pronoun in relative clauses *iyyā-*, along with its Arabic agreement inflection with the head noun.

Appendix: Narratives

Background

A number of legends and biographical narratives told by Muḥammad Dīb have already been published in Hebrew by Yaniv (1980). They include, in an edited form, two stories that are also presented here: The first is described by Yaniv as the principal tradition among the Doms pertaining to their origin. It connects the Dom with the tribe of Banī Qēs, which was divided into two clans – Banī Rabīʕa, led by Klēb, and Banī Murra, led by Džassās. A feud broke out between the two clans during the period of the Islamic conquests, as a result of which Džassās killed Klēb. Klēb's son (or in some versions, brother), Sālem ez-Zīr, then took revenge and killed Džassās. He also punished Džassās's clan, Banī Murra, by ruling that they should remain nomadic entertainers, forbidding them to ride horses and allowing only the use of donkeys. The Doms descend from Banī Murra, who travelled first to India, then to various countries in the Middle East, some of them settling in Jerusalem. The second story tells about the Persian king Bahrām Gūr, who invited entertainers from India to settle in his kingdom. He gave them land and expected them to become farmers, but when they disappointed him and continued to make a living as dancers and musicians, he expelled them, ruling that they should remain nomads forever, as punishment.

Both legends have the theme of 'ancestral guilt', which is common among peripatetic groups as an explanation of their origin and position in society (Casimir 1987).[1] A similar variant of the legend of Banī Rabīʕa and Banī Murra is presented in Meyer (1994:1-4), who recorded it from Doms in Damascus. Another version was recorded by Canova (1981) among the Nawar of Egypt, and a similar legend portraying ez-Zīr as the king who ordered the Gypsies into exile and nomadism is mentioned by Newbold (1856:291) in connection with the Helebi of Egypt.

The story of Bahrām Gūr is told by the Persian poet Firdusi in his *Shahname* from the 11th century. The text describes how the Persian king invited a population of some 10,000 Indian musicians, called *luri*, in or around 420 AD, to come to Persia and serve as official performers. After attempts to settle them failed, the Luri remained nomadic entertainers. The story receives historical confirmation in various Arabic and Persian chronicles, with at least one source, Ḥamza Iṣfahānī, pre-dating Firdusi (Grierson 1887). The immigration of various northern Indian populations to the Persian Golf area during the reign of the very

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[1] For Romani legends see for example Pickett & Agogino (1960), and see discussion in Casimir (1987:378-380).

same Sassanide king Bahrām V, is rather well described by Byzantine historians (cf. Wink 1990: 156). A legend resembling the Bahrām Gūr story, which relates to the Luti peripatetics of Luristan, was recorded by Amanolahi & Norbeck (1975:3).

The legend thus obviously has a well-established oral and written tradition in the Middle East, and is likely to be have some factual basis as well, though a clear connection between the Luri and today's Dom, Rom, or Lom cannot be established. The story nonetheless dominates discussions of the origin of the Gypsies in popular literature, and one cannot exclude the possibility that it was adopted by the Jerusalem Dom community rather recently. In fact, while the legend of ez-Zīr and the two clans appears to be well-known to most if not all adult members of the community, it is not clear whether anyone other than the Mukhtar is at all familiar with the story of Bahrām Gūr.[2]

The legends as told by Muḥammad Dīb in Domari include several modifications and mixtures of themes. Firstly, the names of the tribes are slightly altered, with Banī Qēs and Banī Murra figuring as the two rival clans, while Banī Rabīʕa is not mentioned at all. In Legend 1, the daughter of the Syrian King Tubba Ḥassān seeks revenge from Klēb, who had killed her father. She has her servant smuggle a sheep with an infectious mange into Klēb's grounds, hoping to inflict illness on his entire household. The sheep however is killed by Klēb's guards. She then turns to Džassās for help, thereby triggering the feud between the two clans, which ultimately leads to the expulsion of the Doms, the descendants of Džassās. Thus we have as additional themes the origin of the tribes in Syria, and a woman who incites rivalry between the related clans. Noteworthy is the fact that the key line, where the Old Lady calls upon Džassās to kill Klēb, is presented as a rhyming verse in Arabic (Legend 1, Segment 28), indicating that the Domari version is likely to be adopted from Arabic, rather than vice versa. There are two possible conclusions from this: The legend has either been adopted from non-Dom, Arabic-speaking peripatetics in the Near East, or its principal target audience is external, rather than interal (cf. Casimir 1987:376).

Muḥammad Dīb's narrative then has the Doms migrating to India, and finally returning to the Near East with Saladin's forces. The migration to India is necessary in order to reconcile the notion of an origin in a pre-Islamic Arab tribe, in Casimir's (1987) terms the 'original state', before the infliction of punishment, with the well-established fact that the Doms speak an Indian language and so must have originated from India. Whether this

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[2] An Israeli anthropologist, who had befriended the Mukhtar during the early 1970s, claimed to have introduced the Mukhtar to the story of Bahrām Gūr (Yigal Tamir, personal communication, 1998).

testifies to a more recent layer of historical awareness, or whether we could be dealing with a contamination with the legend of Bahrām Gūr, remains unclear. The repeated reference to *northern India* in both Legends 1 and 2, as well as to the Indian language, suggests that there is indeed an attempt to accommodate information acquired more recently through indirect exposure to an external discussion context about the origin of the Gypsies, into the older and more traditional narrative, updating the latter into a more precise and reliable account.

Legend 2 actually embeds the Bahrām Gūr story into the context of the legend of ez-Zīr. The narrative portrays the Doms initially as Arabs, whose connection to India is not original, but inflicted through their expulsion from their original lands. This allows once again to reconcile the Indian theme with the notion that the Doms were once a self-contained Arab tribe. The tension between self-contained existence and a peripatetic economy, representing the conflict with mainstream sedentary populations, surfaces first in the idea that entertainment professions and nomadism were part of the punishment inflicted by ez-Zīr, and then in the failed attempt by Bahrām Gūr to turn the Doms into farmers. It is then also addressed indirectly in the mentioning of agriculture in connection with the settlement of Doms in Palestine. A further historical theme is the connection drawn between the arrival of the Doms, and the Saladin conquests. This might represent the community's own historical recollection, but it could also be borrowed from the idea that peripatetics arrived in the region as camp-followers of invading Muslim armies (cf. de Goeje 1903).[3] Likewise, the suggestion that the Doms might have been prisoners of Saladin's armies, though inconsistent with the camp-follower theme, could be derived ultimately from similar suggestions in the literature, while supporting the overall line which portrays the Doms as reluctant nomads and migrants.

In conclusion, it seems useful to relate the two legends as told by the Mukhtar, to Casimir's (1987) universal model of the expression of the relation between transgression of norms and values, guilt, and punishment in peripatetic origin legends. Dominating Legend 1 (the story of the two tribes) is what Casimir calls the typical 'transformation of the niche' from the original state, characterised by independence (an Arab tribe in Syria), to the resulting state of economic dependency, nomadism, and dispersion. This transformation is the result of punishment inflicted on the group for the transgression of norms and values, in

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[3] There is of course a gap of several centuries between the Islamic conquests to which De Goeje (1903) refers, and which took place between the seventh and nineth centuries AD, and the Saladin campaigns in the twelfth century.

our case the murder of Klēb, orchestrated in the middle of a sports competition, in response to the request by the Old Lady. Guilt and shame, which accompany the punishment on Casimir's model, are in this case derived from the tribe's collective responsibility for the deeds of its leader. Legend 2 presents yet a second such transformation, taking the story of the two tribes as portrayed in Legend 1 as a point of departure. Here, the Doms are already nomads, that is, they are already in the 'resulting state'. But they are given the chance of promotion to a 'high rank' status of independence, through the generosity of the Persian king. Guilt and shame in this case are associated with their inability to make use of this offer and change their habits and lifestyle, which is expressed explicitly in the story (Legend 2/27). Punishment follows this admission of guilt. Further, secondary transformations between high rank/independence and nomadism/dependency are expressed when the Doms' status as prisoners, on the on hand, and their settlement as farmers, on the other, are addressed.

Legend 1

1) aṣlos   dōmankī,   *ʕa-zamān 'awwal,*
   origin.3SG dom.PL.ABL in-time   early
   The origin of the Doms, *early on,*

2) ašti   di qabīle ʕīšrēda   kānū   *fi bilād/*
   there.is two tribe.PL live.3PL.IMP were.3PL in land
   dēyisma   šāmaki.
   town.3SG.LOC Syria.ABL
   There were two tribes, they used to live *in the land of/* in a Syrian town.

3) nāmosan banī qēs ū   banī murra.
   name.3PL Banī Qes and Banī Murra
   Their name was Banī Qes and Banī Murra.

4) tillos   banī qēs nāmos   klēb.
   big.3SG Banī Qes   name.3SG Klēb
   The leader of Banī Qes, his name was Klēb.

5) tillos   banī murra nāmos   džassās.

big.3SG Banī Murra   name.3SG Džassās

The leader of Banī Murra, his name was Džassās.

6) w-ehe   dīne māmun putrēnī.
and.DEM.PL two   uncle   son.PL.PRED
And those two were cousins.

7) ašti   ikaki wudik,   bēnos   tubba ḥassān.
there.is one.F old.ladyPRED daughter.3SG Tubba Hassan
There was an old lady, the daughter of Tubba Hassān.

8) lamma mardos   klēb, marda   tubba ḥassān *malik š-šām,*
when   killed.3SG.3SG Klēb killed.3SG.M Tubba Hassan King of Syria
When Klēb killed him, he killed Tubba Hassān *the King of Syria,*

9) biddhā   intaqimhōšar/   stadhōšar   tāros
want.3SG.F take.revenge.SUBJ.3SG claim.SUBJ.3SG revenge.3SG
min dōmanki,   yaʕnī min ehe   dīne qabīlanki.
from Dom.PL.ABL that.is from Dem.PL two   tribe.PL.ABL
She wanted to take revenge/ to take revenge from the Doms, that is, from those two
tribes.

10)   ērī   ʕala banī murra ʕa džassāsaski,   wāšīš
came.3SG.F to   Banī Murra   to Džassās..M.ABL with.3SG
naʕdžēk ‘ažrabi
sheep.PRED mangy.PRED
She came to Banī Murra, to Džassās, and with her was a mangy sheep.

11)   w-īhī   naʕdža tirdī/   tirdī   abuske   aha/   *zayy*
and.DEM.F sheep   put.3SG.F put.3SG.F on.3SG.BEN DEM.M like
ʕuṭūr   wa-hāda, ʕaṭar   wa-hāda
perfumes and-that   perfume and-that
And this sheep she put/ she put on her this/ *like perfumes and all that, perfume and
all that.*

12) ū širdī   absanke   īhī   naʕdža qal īhī   *min assāshā*
    and said.3SG.F on.3PL.BEN DEM.F sheep   said DEM.F from origin.F
    min in-nāqiz   in-nabi   ṣāleḥ
    from DEF.redeemer DEF.prophet Saleh
    And she said to them: this sheep, she said, *is descended from the redeemer the*
    Prophet Saleh.

13)ašti   nkīs   ēkak dusarēk yaʕni ḥdimkari īhī /   wudi.[4]
    there.is at.3SG one.M black.PRED that.is serves.3SG DEM.F old.lady
    She had a black servant, [who was] serving this/ old lady.

14) širdī   īhī   wudi hayke/ dusaraske hayyos,
    said.3SG DEM.F old.lady this.BEN black.M.BEN this.3SG
    [This] lady said to/ to this servant of hers,

15) qal par īhī   naʕdžē,   ū   dža bisātīnesma
    said take DEM.F sheep.F.ACC and go gardens.3SG.LOC
    klēbaski, xallī rʕikar   hundar.
    Klēb.M.ABL let.3SG graze.SUBJ.3SG there
    She said: take this sheep, and go to the gardens of Klēb, let her graze there.

16) aha   dusara parda   īhī   naʕdžē   ū bandos,
    DEM.M black   took.3SG.M DEM.F sheep.F.ACC and tied.3SG.3SG
    tirdos   hayma/ bustānisma   klēbaski.
    put.3SG.3SG this.LOC garden.3SG.LOC Klēb.M.ABL
    [This] servant took [this] sheep and tied her, he put her in Klēb's garden.

17) ū bustāni   tillēk.
    and garden.PRED big.PRED
    And it was a big garden.

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[4] The repair appears to neutralise case marking, and the form should normally be *widya* 'old.lady.F.ACC'.

18) ṣārat   īhī   naʕdža qaṭifkari min aha   šadžarki[5]
    began.3SG.F DEM.F sheep   picks.3SG from DEM.M tree.ABL
    ū   qāri
    and eats.3SG
    [This] sheep began to pick from [this] tree and to eat.

19) ḥurrāṣīnes aha   bustānki lakeda   īhī   naʕdžē,
    guards.3SG   DEM.M garden.ABL saw.3SG.M DEM.F sheep.ACC
    fḗrendis   mardedis.
    beat.3PL.3SG killed.3PL.3SG
    [This] garden's guards saw [this] sheep, they beat her and killed her.

20) dusara hayyos widyaki   ēra   širda
    black   this.3SG old.lady.F.ABL came.3SG.M told.3SG.M
    widyake.
    old.lady.F.BEN
    The old lady's servant came and told the old lady.

21) ṣārat   rōwari.
    began.3SG.F cry.3SG
    She began to cry.

22) ēra   abuske klēb:[6] karwe wudi, rowēk?
    came.3SG.M 3SG.BEN Klēb INT   old.lady cry.2SG
    Klēb [= *Džassās*] came to her: what is it, old lady, [why] are you crying?

23) qal: lakedori, ḥurrāṣīnes bustāniski   hayki
    said saw.2SG.PERF guards.3SG garden.3SG.ABL this.ABL
    klēbaski   marde   naʕdžim illi īhī
    Klēb.M.ABL killed.3PL sheep.1SG REL DEM.F
    assāshā   min naʕdžāt in-nabi   ṣāleḥ
    origin.3SG.F from sheep.PL DEF.prophet Saleh

She said: Did you see, this/ the guards of Klēb's garden killed my sheep, who is
descended from the sheep flock of the Prophet Saleh.

24) šari   džassās abuske: na zʕilhōši   atu wudi.
say.3SG Džassās 3SG.BEN NEG anger.SUBJ.2SG 2SG old.lady
Džassās says to her: Don't be angry, old lady.

25) ama dēmri   badālis   ʕašrīn naʕdža ū ṭayyibkami
1SG give.1SG.2SG instead.3SG twenty sheep   and improve.1SG
xātror.
Mood.2SG
I shall give you twenty sheep in its place, and I shall cheer you up.

26) qal: la', ama naqbilome'.
said no   1SG NEG.accept.1SG.NEG
She said: No, I don't accept.

27) yā imma naʕdžom gardohori, yā imma marēk amake
either   sheep.1SG live.3SG   either   kill.2SG 1SG.BEN
klēbas,   yā imma bardika   ḥiẓrom ndžūmi.
Klēb.M.ACC either   fill.SUBJ.2SG lap.1SG stars.PRED
Either my sheep shall live, or you shall kill Klēb for me, or else fill my lap with
stars.

28) *yaʕni bi-l-ʕarabī: yā   naʕdžatī tgūm,   yā bitmalli ḥiẓrī*
that.is in.DEF.Arabic either sheep.1SG stand.3SG.F or fill.2SG lap.1SG
ndžūm, yā imma rās   klēb bi-damm yḥūm
star.PL   or else   head Klēb in-blood   turn.3SG.M
*That is, in Arabic: Either my sheep shall rise, or you will fill my lap with stars, or
else Klēb's head shall float in blood.*

29) džassās qal: ama gardikaram   nāʕdžor insakame'.
Dzassas said 1SG revive.SUBJ.1SG sheep.2SG NEG.can.1SG.NEG
Džassās said: I cannot revive your sheep.

30) ila ɣēr   xuya lamma gardikaris   aburke.
    but without God   when   revive.3SG.3SG 2SG.BEN
    Only God can revive her for you.

31) ū   bardikaram ḥiẓror   ndžūmi   qal *hāda ndžūm*
    and fill.SUBJ.1SG lap.2SG starS.PRED said that   star.PL
    hāda ṣaʕb ʕalayy,
    that difficult on.1SG
    And to fill your lap with stars, he said, *these stars that's difficult for me.*

32) *amma-n iza biddek   rās klēb marḥabābek!*
    but   if   want.2SG.F head Klēb welcome.in.2SG.F
    But if you want Klēb's head, you are welcome to it!

33) dīsak   min dīsanki   ṣār   klēb ū džassās kēlandi
    day.INDEF from day.PL.ABL began.3SG.M Klēb and Džassās ride.3PL
    hayta   goryanta,   ṣābiqhondi.
    this.DAT horse.PL.DAT compete.3PL
    One day Klēb and Džassās went out to ride/ horses, they had a race.

34) goryos   klēbaski ṣbuqhori   goryos   hayki, ka/ džassāsaski.
    horse.3SG Klēb.M.ABL precede.3SG horse.3SG this.ABL   Džassās.M.ABL
    Klēb's horse arrives before/ Džassās's horse.

35) džassās šardeya   romḥi   axar ʕabāyiski   ū uhu
    Džassās hide.3SG.IMP lance.PRED beneath gown.3SG.ABL and DEM.M
    agrīsi   aha   klēb, fēmēs   rumuḥma,
    in.front.3SG.PRED DEM.M Klēb hit.PRED.3SG lance.LOC
    ila pištismēk,
    but back.3SG.LOC.PRED
    Džassās was hiding a lance beneath his gown, and just as the other one stood in front of him, [this] Klēb, striking him with the lance, directly in his back,

36) klibra.
    fell.3SG.M

He collapsed.

37) ṣār   parari min nhīriski   aha   klēb qabil mā
    began.3SG.M take.3SG from blood.3SG.ABL DEM.M Klēb before COMP
    maršar.
    die.SUBJ.3SG
    Klēb started to take from his own blood, before he died.

38) ū   ktibkari džamʕatiske   ahaliske,   ehe   banī qēs,
    and write.3SG community.3SG.BEN people.3SG.BEN DEM.PL Banī Qes
    inni džassās ɣudurkedosim   ū   mardosim.
    COMP Džassās betrayed.3SG.1SG and killed.3SG.1SG
    And [in it] he wrote to his community of people, [these] Banī Qes, [saying] that
    Džassās betrayed me and killed me.

39) ū 'ūʕa   sāmiḥkarassanni, ū maras   qabīlos ehe
    and beware forgive.2PL.3PL   and kill.SUBJ2PL tribe.3SG DEM.PL
    banī murra.
    Banī Murra
    And beware not to forgive them, and kill his tribe, [those] Banī Murra.

40) ēre   ahalos   klēbaski,
    came.3PL people.3SG Klēb.M.ABL
    Klēb's people arrived,

41) lakede klēbas,   rumuḥ pištismēk   ū pandži nazaʕkari.
    saw.3PL Klēb.M.ACC lance back.3SG.LOC.PRED and 3SG   die.3SG
    They found Klēb, a lance in his back, and he is dying.

42) ū   ktibkadēk balaṭēṭa inni džassās mardosim.
    and wrote.PRED foor.F.DAT COMP Džassās   killed.3SG.1SM
    And he had written on the floorstones that Džassās killed me.

43) gara   dfinkeda   klēbas   ū ehra   ḥarb bēn
    went.3SG.M burried.3SG.M Klēb.M.ACC and became.3SG war   between
    banī qēs ū bēn   banī murra.

Banī Qes and between Banī Murra

They went and burried Klēb, and war broke out between Banī Qes and Banī Murra.

44) *sab ʕa snīn ḥarb* bēnatīsanni,   *sabʕa snīn* manda   fēyiš
seven years war   between.3PL.PRED seven years   stayed.3SG.M war
bēnatīsan.
between.3PL
Seven years there was *war* between them, *seven years* the war continued between them.

45) *bi-l-ʾāxir* putros klēbaski   nāmosi   džalu,
at.DEF.end son.3SG Klēb.M.ABL name.3SG.PRED Džalu
ū sālem ez-zīr aha   bāros   klēbaski.
and Salem ez-Zir   DEM.M brother.3SG Klēb.M.ABL
In the end, Klēb's son, his name was Džalu, and Salem ez-Zir was the brother of Klēb.

46) gara   mīnda   ka/ džassāsas ū   mardedis.
went.3SG.M grabbed.3SG.M Džassās   and killed.3PL.3SG
They went and caught Džassās and they killed him.

47) džamaʕtēs džassāsaski   ehe   banī murra,
people.3SG Džassās.M.ABL DEM.PL Banī Murra
'umurkeda   atnīs   aha   sālem ez-zīr, xal:
ordered.3SG.M on.3SG DEM.M Salem ez-Zir   said
As for Džassās's people, [these] Banī Murra, [this] Salem ez-Zir decreed, he said:

48) itme mamnūʕi   hōšas   hindar.
2PL   forbidden.PRED be.SUBJ.2PL here
You are not allowed to remain here.

49) lāzem džas   xalāmma   hōšas.
must   go.SUBJ.2PL wilderness.PL.LOC be.SUBJ.2PL
You must go and live in the wilderness.

50) lāzem lamma itme rawasi   rawas   *bi-ʕizz iš-šōb,*
    must when   2PL   travel.2PL travel.SUBJ.2PL in.strength DEF.heat
    w-id-dinya   agi
    and.DEF.weather fire.PRED
    When you travel, you must travel *in the hottest time, when the weather* is fire-hot.

51) ū   mamnūʕi   itme qolas   goryanta.
    and forbidden.PRED 2PL   ride.SUBJ.2PL horse.PL.DAT
    And you may not ride horses.

52) lāzem itme qolas   bass ehe   qaran.
    must   2PL   ride.SUBJ.2PL only DEM.PL donkey.PL.ACC
    You must only ride [these] donkeys.

53) mamnūʕi   *arbaʕ-xamse buyūt* skunnhōšas   maʕ baʕḍ.
    forbidden.PRED four-five   houses live.SUBJ.2PL together
    You are not allowed to live together, *four-five households.*

54) lāzem tkūn   itme mišāṭṭaṭhresi
    must   be.SUBJ.3SG.F 2PL   disperesed.COP.2PL
    You must remain dispersed.

55) ū   itme lāzem maṣīroran hōšas   inni   bass
    and 2PL   must   destiny.2PL be.SUBJ.2PL COMP only
    ɣannikaras   ū   našīšas.
    sing.SUBJ.2PL and dance.SUBJ.2PL
    And your destiny is that you shall only sing and dance.

56) ahak   ʕīšatoran itme
    DEM.M.PRED life.2PL   2PL
    Thus is to be your life.

57) ehe   dōme itšaṭiṭre ū   krēn gare   tirde?
    DEM.PL Dom.PL dispersed.3PL and where went.3PL settled.3PL
    fī šamāl l-hind.
    in north DEF.India

These Doms dispersed and where did they go and settle? *In northern India.*

58)   min uhu   waxtaski,   mande   *fī šamāl l-hind.*
        from DEM.M time.M.ABL stayed.3PL in north DEF.India
        From that time on, the remained *in northern India.*

59)   tʕallimre *l-luɣa   l-hindiyye,*
        learned.3PL DEF.language DEF.Indian
        They learned *the Indian language.*

60)   ila qisem/ qismak   minšīsan lamma zhurahra
        but part   part.INDEF from.3PL when   appeared.3SG.M
        ṣallaḥ ed-dīn ’ayyūbī ū   ēre   *ʕala l-ʕirāq*
        Salah   ed-Din Ayyubi   and came.3PL to DEF.Irag
        ū ʕala š-šām,
        and to DEF.Syria
        But part/ one part of them, when Saladin Ayyubi appeared and came *to Iraq and to Syria,*

61)   ū   ēre   *ʕala falasṭīn* ū   ṣārū   zaraʕkandi ū   hāda,
        and came.3PL to   Palestine and started.3PL farm.3PL   and that
        And they came *to Palestine* and started to engage in farming and so on,

62)   ū   mande   hindar dōme.
        and stayed.3PL here   Dom.PL
        And the Doms have remained here ever since.

Legend 2

1)   aṣlos   dōmankī   min eh/ *qabīlet idž-džassās ū   klēb.*
        origin.3SG Dom.PL.ABL from   tribe   DEF.Džassās and Klēb
        The origin of the Doms is from/ *the tribe of Džassās and Klēb.*

2)   lamma džassās ɣudurkeda   klēbas   ū   marda
        when   Džassās betrayed.3SG.M Klēb.M.ACC and killed.3SG.M

klēbas,
Klēb.M.ACC
When Džassās betrayed Klēb and killed Klēb,

3) putros džassāsaski/ putros hayki/ klēbaski ēra
son.3SG Džassās.M.ABL son.3SG this.ABL Klēb.M.ABL came.3SG.M
marda   džassāsas.
killed.3SG.M Dzassas.M.ACC
The son of Džassās/ the son of this/ of Klēb came and killed Džassās.

4) džassās kān   aha   tillos   banī murra.
Džassās was.3SG DEM.M big.3SG Banī Murra
Džassās was the leader of Banī Murra.

5) banī-murra illi hāy/ ehe   dōme yaʕnī
Banī Murra   REL this   DEM.PL Dom.PL that.is
Banī Murra which is the/ those are the Doms.

6) banī murra yaʕnī *bi-l'āxer* laqabosan yaʕni dōmahre.
Banī Murra   that.is   in.DEF.end name.3PL   that.is Dom.became.3PL
Banī Murra, that is, in the end they were called, that is, they became the Doms.

7) putros klēbaski   gara   marda   džassāsas   ū
son.3SG Klēb.M.ABL went.3SG.M killed.3SG.M Džassās.M.ACC and
ʕumurkeda   ʕašīrista   džassāsaski   inni   mamnūʕi
ordered.3SG.M clan.3SG.DAT Džassās.M.ABL COMP forbidden.PRED
qilšad   goryanta.
ride.SUBJ.3PL horse.PL.DAT
The son of Klēb went and killed Džassās and ordered that Džassās's clan should not
be allowed to ride horses.

8) ū   da'iman xallīhum barāriyamma,   skunnhōšad
and always   leave.3PL wilderness.PL.LOC live.SUBJ.3PL
barariyamma.
wilderness.PL.LOC
And [that] they should always stay in the wilderness, live in the wilderness.

9)   ū   ʕīšatosan hōšad   na/ našiš.
        and life.3PL   be.SUBJ.3PL dance
        And [as for] their way of life, they should be/ [it should consist of] dancing.

10)   ɣannīkad   ū   našīšad   ū-hāda yaʕnī .
        sing.SUBJ.3PL and dance.SUBJ.3PL and.that that.is
        They should sing and dance and so on.

11)   ū gare   skunnahre *fī šamāl l-hind.*
        and went.3PL lived.3PL   in north DEF.India
        And they went to live *in northern India.*

12)   ašti ēkaki maliki   fī īrān nāmos   bahrām gūr.
        is   one.M king.PRED in Iran   name.3SG Bahram Gur
        There was a king in Iran, his name was Bahram Gur.

13)   snari   dōmanṭa.
        hear.3SG Dom.PL.DAT
        He heard about the Doms.

14)   pandžī ḥibbra   biddō   lākar   dōman   yaʕnī
        3SG   wished.3SG.M want.3SG.M see.SUBJ.3SG Dom.PL.ACC that.is
        kīk e/ ʕīšātos dōmanki.
        how   life.3SG Dom.PL.ABL
        He wanted to see the Doms, that is, how/ the Doms' life [was like].

15)   ktibkeda   kitābak   la ḥākmaske   *tabaʕ šamāl l-hind.*
        wrote.3SG.M letter.INDEF to governer.M.BEN of   north DEF.India
        He wrote a letter to the governor *of northern India.*

16)   mangida   mišīs   inni   nēr   abuske min'akam
        asked.3SG.M from.3SG COMP send.SUBJ.3SG to.3SG several
        ʕēlan   min dōmanki.

family.PL.ACC from Dom.PL.ABL

He asked him to send him several Dom families.

17)   ḥākmos   *šamāl l-hind*   nērda   ḥawālī arbaʕ mīt   ʕēle
        governor.3SG north   DEF.India sent.3SG.M around   four hundred family

        min dōmankī,

        from Dom.PL.ABL

        The governor of *northern India* sent some four hundred Dom families.

18)   tirdosan   ehe   marākbamma ū gare   ʕala īrān.
        put.3SG.3PL DEM.PL boats.PL.LOC   and went.3PL   to   Iran

        He put them on [those] boats and they went to Iran.

19)   malakos aha   īrān gara   istaqbillosan,
        kind.3SG DEM.M Iran went.3SG.M welcomed.3SG.3PL

        The King of Iran went and welcomed them.

20)   ū ṭosan   bītak,   ū ṭa   la kull kuri
        and gave.3SG.3PL land.INDEF und gave.3SG.M to every house

        goryak,   qameḫ, ū bakarak.

        horse.INDEF flour   and sheep.INDEF

        And he gave them land, and he gave every family a horse, some flour, and a sheep.

21)   'assās innhom džad   kara/ yaʕnī hōšad   zayy
        so that   go.SUBJ.3PL do   that.is be.SUBJ.3PL like

        muzariʕīne, zirāʕkarad, ḥṣudkarad   hāda

        farmers.PL   sow.SUBJ.3PL harvest.SUBJ.3PL that

        In order that they go and do/ that is/ become like farmers, sow and harvest and so on.

22)   ɣēbra   atnīsan džumʕa ēra   mitxaffik
        stayed.away.3SG.M on.3PL   week   came.3SG.M disguised.PRED

        malikos īrānaki   bahrām gūr.

        king.3SG Iran.F.ABL Bahram Gur

        He was absent for a week, and he came disguised, the King of Iran, Bahram Gur.

23) ēra   lakeda   kull kuri eh/ aha   ʕazifōsēk   ehe
    came.3SGM. saw.3SG.M every house   DEM.M play.3SG.PRED DEM.PL
    ɣananiyankī ū rabbābēk   ū hāda ū ehe   našyandi
    song.PL.ABL   and play.rabbab.PRED and that   and DEM.PL dance.3PL
    ū hāda.
    and that
    He came and saw every family eh/ this one is playing [those] songs and playing the
    rabbab and so on and the others are dancing and so on.

24) qal ya masaxxame kīyyik/ kiyyik   aha   li   kardesis?
    said oh poor.PL   what.PRED what.PRED DEM.M REL did.2PL.3SG
    He said: oh you poor things, what is it that you've done?

25) ama tōmran   innī eh/ gēsu, kiyāsis gēsuki   ū/ ū eh/
    1SG gave.1SG.2PL COMP   wheat sacks.3SG wheat.ABL and and
    ū gōrwankī ʕa'assās innī zirāʕkaras   ū ḥṣudkaras
    and bulls.ABL   on.basis COMP sow.SUBJ.2PL and harvest.SUBJ.2PL
    ū kate-ta?
    where.PART
    I gave you/ so that eh/ wheat, sacks of wheat and/ and eh/ and bulls so that you
    should sow and harvest, and where is it all?

26) kate gōrwe, kate gēsu ū illī tōmis   abranke?
    where bull.PL where wheat and REL gave.1SG.3SG to.2PL
    Where are the bulls, where is the wheat and all that I have given you?

27) qal: *yā sīdna   iḥna bitlaʕiš   fi-idnā   zirāʕ/* zirāʕkaran
    said oh lord.1PL 1PL emerge.NEG in.hand.1PL farming farm.SUBJ.1PL
    wala   illi sanaʕōman da'iman raqs ū ɣanāk
    however REL trade.1PL   always   dance and song.PRED
    They said: *oh lord, we are not able to farm/* to farm, our only trade is always
    dancing and singing.

28) malik zʕilahra   minšīsan ū pišnawidōsan
    king   anger.3SG.M from.3PL and expelled.3SG.3PL
    The King became angry with them and he expelled them.

29)　　gare　　ehe　　dōme　skunnahre knēn? *fī el-mōsel, illī*
　　　 went.3PL DEM.PL Dom.PL lived.3PL　　where　in DEF.Mosul　REL

　　　 fīl-ʕīrāq　hādī.
　　　 in.DEF.Iraq DEM.F
　　　 Those Doms went and where did they settle? *In Mosul, the one that is in Iraq.*

30)　　lamma zhurahra　　　ṣalaḥ ed-dīn l-ayyūbī,
　　　 when　appeared.3SG.M Salah ed-Din l-Ayyubi
　　　 When Saladin el-Ayyubi appeared,

31)　　ū　parda　　　giš dēyan,
　　　 and took.3SG.M all　town.PL.ACC
　　　 And conquered all the towns,

32)　　*ū　wṣil　　　　ʕa-l-ʕīrāq, ū　l-mōsil,*　ū　iḥtallahra
　　　 and arrived.3SG.M to DEF.Iraq and DEF.Mosul and conquered.3SG.M
　　　 l-mōsil　　wi-l-ʕīrāq　ū hāda,
　　　 DEF.Mosul and.DEF.Iraq and that
　　　 And he arrived in Iraq, and in Mosul, and he conquered Mosul and Iraq and so on.

33) parda　　　minʿakam ʕēla　min dōmankī　yusare
　　　 took.3SG.M several　　　family from Dom.PL.ABL prisoners.PL
　　　 He took several Dom families prisoner.

34) ū　zḥifre　　ʕala sūrīyya ū　lubnān ū　falasṭīn ū　hāda.
　　　 and escaped.3PL to　Syria　　and Lebanon and Palestine　and that
　　　 And they escaped to Syria and Lebanon and Palestine and so on.

35) ehe　　dōme　illi pardosan　yusare　　istawṭunahre
　　　 DEM.PL Dom.PL REL took.3SG.3PL prisoners.PL settled.3PL
　　　 hindar hayma　fī falasṭin
　　　 here　　this.LOC in Palestine
　　　 Those Doms whom he took prisoner settled here in this/ in Palestine.

36) 'iši   skunnahre hayma fī ʕammān ū fī sūrīyya ū fī lubnān

something lived.3PL   this.LOC in Amman   and in Syria   and in Lebanon

ū   hāda ū 'išī   bi ɣazzē ū   hāda twaṭṭanahre hindar.

and this   and something in Gaza   and that   settled.3PL   here

Some [went to] live in/ in Amman and in Syria and in Lebanon and so on and some

in Gaza and so on, they settled here.

37) yaʕnī *min ayyām ṣalaḥ id-dīn* dōme   twādžidre dēyamma hindar.

that.is from days   Salah ed-Din   Dom.PL existed.3PL town.PL.LOC here

That is, since the days of Saladin the Doms have lived here in these towns.

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List of Abbreviations

ABL	ablative
AGENT	agentive
BEN	benefactive
CAUS	causative
COMP	complementiser
DAT	dative
F	feminine
IMP	imperative
IND	indicative
INDEF	indefinite article
ITR	intransitive
LOAN	loan verb adaptation marker
LOC	locative
M	masculine
NEG	negator
NOM	nominative
OBL	oblique
PAST	(anterior) past
PERF	perfective
PL	plural
PRED	predication suffix
PRES	present
REC	reciprocal pronoun (Arabic)
REL	relativiser (Arabic)
RES	resumptive pronoun (Arabic)
SG	singular
SOC	sociative
SUBJ	subjunctive
TR	transitive