Two Domari legends about the origin of the Doms

Yaron Matras

Background

The Doms belong to the populations known collectively in the literature as 'Middle Eastern Gypsies'.[1] Their own term for their group is *dōm*, in the plural *dōme*. The Arabs usually call them *nawar* or, more pejoratively, *zuṭṭ*. The latter has been in use since medieval times as a collective name for various groups of Indian immigrants to the Middle East, including nomadic musicians, soldiers, and captives (see Grierson 1887); it is often associated with the Indian name *jat*, which in turn can be found as the self-designation of itinerant populations of Indian origin in Afghanistan (Rao 1995) and elsewhere. Dom populations whose language is a variety of Domari are known to exist or to have existed in Lebanon, Syria, Palestine, Jordan, Iraq, and Azerbaijan, referring to themselves as either *dom*, *duman*, *kurbeti*, or *karači*. The term *dom* is a cognate to *rom* (used by Romani-speaking populations in Europe), and *lom* (attested in the Indic-derived vocabulary of the itinerant Poša of

---

[1] An overview of the literature is attempted in Kenrick (1975-1979), though the title 'Romanies …' is somewhat misleading there.

Armenia; Finck 1907), as well as to the Indian caste-name *ḍom*, from which the terms appear to derive.

The Doms have traditionally specialised in metalwork and in entertainment. Among the Palestinian Doms, however, these two professions are usually associated with different clans. The ancestors of the Jerusalem Doms were, until several decades ago, tent-dwelling smiths and tinners who produced skewers, horseshoes, and other metal artefacts. Gradually, the men abandoned their traditional profession and sought paid employment in various services. Since the 1940s, many have been employed by the municipality's environmental health department. Begging was practised by many women in the community until shortly after the Israeli occupation in 1967, when a system of social services and benefits was introduced. The Jerusalem Doms now distance themselves from the begging activities of other Doms, who are not residents of the city, but arrive as tourists, mainly from Egypt and Jordan, during the Muslim holiday seasons, and can be met begging in and around the Old City of Jerusalem. The young generation of Jerusalem Doms is employed in a variety of professions, mainly in services. A significant number have completed secondary education, some continuing to higher specialised qualifications.

In many respects the Doms are part of Palestinian-Arab society: They have lived among the Arabs for many centuries, they share customs, family organisation structures, and religious beliefs with mainstream Muslim Arabs, and they have lived since the 1940s in the Muslim Quarter of the Old City and more recently also in the neighbourhoods and suburbs of Arab East Jerusalem. Arabic now serves as the principal language of the community and is the only language spoken by the younger generation of Doms. As in rural Arab society, the traditional authority rests with the Mukhtar (Arabic *muxtār*), or community leader, whom the Doms refer to in their language as *grawara*. The position of Mukhtar is a kind of compromise between an elected representative whose appointment reflects a consensus among the influential families and members of the community, a hereditary office, and an external appointment by the

authorities, who recognise the Mukhtar as a spokesman on behalf of his community, but expect cooperation, for instance in matters relating to law and order, in return. The traditional tasks of the Mukhtar have been to resolve conflicts and disputes within the community, and to mediate between members of the community and the authorities.

The Mukhtar's role as chief representative of the community is at present being challenged to some extent by the establishment in November 1999 of a 'Foundation for the Promotion of the Gypsies in Israel' [ha-'amuta le-kidum ha-tso'anim be-yisra'el]. The Foundation is being backed by a left-wing Israeli party which is in opposition in the Jerusalem municipality, it carries a Hebrew, rather than Arabic, official title, and the title itself flags a connection to Israel, rather than to the West Bank, where the Doms live. At a time when the future of Jerusalem is about to be negotiated between Israeli and Palestinian authorities, this course taken by a number of young Doms might be interpreted as a statement concerning their own ethnic distinctness; it may however just as well be taken to reflect primarily short-term practical considerations, which seem to outweigh sensitivity to growing concerns about the long-term status of East Jerusalem and its inhabitants.

Estimates put the number of Doms in Jerusalem at anywhere between 600-1000. Only members of the older generation are still fluent speakers of their ancestral language, which they refer to as *dōm*, *dōmī*, or *dōmari*, the latter being the more archaic and now almost obsolete term. It is important to distinguish between Domari as spoken in Jerusalem and elsewhere, and the in-group and secret vocabularies employed by various populations of commercial nomads in the Middle East. Those are sometimes referred to as 'Gypsy languages', but they do not share the grammatical structures of Domari. There has been some considerable historical interface between Domari and such secret vocabularies, however, which reflects historical ties among itinerant populations of various origins in the region. Domari influence can be found in the vocabularies of the Mıtrıp of Kurdistan (Benninghaus 1991), the Karači, Luti, and Kauli of Iran (Amanolahi & Norbeck 1975, Gobineau 1857), the Ghagar and Nawar of Egypt (Newbold 1856), as well as, perhaps most clearly, the

Bahlawān of Sudan (Streck 1996: 290-303), whose secret vocabulary is derived almost entirely from Domari.

The earliest documentation and discussion of the language spoken by the Doms – or Domari 'proper' – appeared in Pott's (1844) monumental work on Romani, where he drew on a sample collected several decades earlier by Seetzen (and later published in a diary edited by Kruse in 1854). Further material was published by Pott in 1846, drawing on second-hand sources from Syria, followed by Newbold's (1856) wordlists from northern Syria and from Baghdad, Paspati's (1870) material from eastern Anatolia, Groome's (1891) samples obtained in Beirut and Damascus, and Patkanoff's (1907/1908) material, which appears to have originated from Azerbaijan. The first and so far unique comprehensive description of the Domari language, which includes a grammar, texts, and a glossary all based on fieldwork carried out in Jerusalem, was published by R. A. S. Macalister in a series of articles in this journal between 1909-1913, which subsequently appeared in monograph form (Macalister 1914). Apart from two very brief samples of Syrian Domari that have been in private circulation in recent years,[2] my own work on the speech of the same community in Jerusalem (Matras 1999) appears to be the first publication since Macalister that is based on recent empirical research. The material for the present contribution stems from the same corpus of recordings, collected in Jerusalem between 1996 and 1999.

The legends: context and content

The two legends presented here were told to me by the *grawara* or Mukhtar of the Dom community of Jerusalem, Muḥammad Dīb Slīm, in January 1999. The Mukhtar is the grandson of Ibrāhīm Slīm, who led the

---

[2] The first was transcribed and analysed by Jane Nicholson (Austin), the other recorded by Marielle Danbakli (Paris).

community in the early 20th century, while it was still nomadic, travelling between Jerusalem and other towns in the West Bank. After his death, Ibrāhīm Slīm was succeeded by his son, Abed Slīm, as Mukhtar. The community had by then settled in a tent encampment in Jerusalem, just north of Damascus Gate, which is where Macalister encountered them. Abed Slīm was able to prove his leadership skills during an event which took place sometime in the 1920s, when a fight broke out between Jews and Arabs at a feast at which Dom dancers from Jaffa were performing. Abed separated the two groups, and was praised for doing so by the British military governor of Jerusalem, Ronald Storrs, who awarded him an official document recognising his position as the Mukhtar of the Jerusalem Dom community.

In the early 1940s, the Dom were suspected by the British military administration of hiding weapons used in the Palestinian resistance against the British rule, and their encampment was dissolved. They gradually began to find rented accommodation within the Walls of the Old City, in the Muslim Quarter, just north of Lions Gate and the Mosque compound or Ḥaram. Changing occupation patterns in the community and a growing dependency on paid employment allowed them to do so. Abed Slīm, who held the position of Mukhtar, did not seek any other employment and was supported by members of his family. He died in December 1956, and was succeeded immediately by his son Muḥammad Dīb, then aged 23, who was elected Mukhtar by an assembly of community elders. His election was recognised officially by the Jordanian authorities, who issued him with a letter of appointment in January 1957. There was however opposition to his election among some Doms, which triggered continuing rivalry and even led to a stabbing incident of which he was the victim, in the mid 1960s. Following the Israeli occupation of June 1967, Muḥammad Dīb's appointment as Mukhtar was officially reaffirmed by the Israeli Mayor of Jerusalem, Teddy Kollek, in October 1968.

A number of legends and biographical narratives told by Muḥammad Dīb have already been published in Hebrew by Yaniv (1980). They in-

clude, 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).[3] 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

---

[3] For Romani legends see for example Pickett & Agogino (1960), and see discussion in Casimir

(1987:378-380).

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 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.[4]

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,

---

[4] 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).

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 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).[5] 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 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

---

[5] 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.

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.

The language of the narratives: presentation and structure

The two legends are the first Domari narratives to be published since the appearance of Macalister's texts in 1909-1913 (and the monograph reprint of 1914). They are also the first published narratives in the language that are based on transcriptions of tape-recorded speech, and the first to appear in print with morphological glossing. Descriptions of the Domari language as spoken in Jerusalem appear in Macalister (1914) and in Matras (1999), and I will concentrate here on issues that directly concern the glossing conventions.

The legends are presented here with minimal editing. The transcription contains repetitions, hesitations, repairs by the speaker, as well as Arabic insertions. Omitted were only participation signals by the hearer/interviewer (*aha*, *mhm*, etc.), and occasional translations into Arabic of entire utterances. The transcripts are divided into segments which represent content and intonational units. Arabic insertions are highlighted in *Italics* if they constitute phrases containing more than just one single item, and if it appears that the speaker had a choice of inserting indigenous items in their place. This may typically pertain to morphosyntactic rather than lexical structure; thus *malik iš-šām* 'the King of Syria' (Legend 1/8) is an Arabic possessive-genitive construction. The speaker could in principle have chosen an indigenous construction: *malikos šāmaki* (cf. *malikos īrānaki* 'the King of Iran', in Legend 2/22).

The transcripts include numerous Arabisms that are not highlighted, as they form an integral part of the Domari lexical or morphosyntactic structure. They include lexical borrowings from Arabic, prepositions, conjunctions, discourse particles, as well as items that carry Arabic inflections, notably the auxiliaries *kān* 'to be', *ṣār-* 'to begin', *xallī-* 'to allow/leave', and *bidd-* 'to want', and the complementiser *inn-*. Arabic *qal* is used as an uninflected particle and is glossed 'said'. The filler *hay* is glossed 'this', the filler *hāda* is glossed 'that'. The Arabic definite article is glossed DEF and only appears in Arabic insertions. If an Arabic noun appears in the plural, it is glossed as an English plural (*bisātīn* 'gardens'). Quite often, a Domari plural ending is added to Arabic plural formations; in such cases, the Domari ending is glossed PL (*muzariʕīne* 'farmers.PL').

Domari has gender inflection in the singular, which is indicated as M (masculine) and F (feminine). In the plural (PL), gender is neutralised. Gender/number inflection is indicated with demonstratives, which are glossed DEM. The frequent use of demonstratives in non-focused positions is rendered in the English translation through the insertion of demonstratives in square brackets. Forms of the 3rd person singular of past-tense verbs are also marked for gender, unless they are followed by a pronominal object clitic: *širda* 'said.3SG.M = he said', *širdī* 'said.3SG.F = she said', but *mardosim* 'killed.3SG.1SG = he/she killed me'.

Person markers may refer to either one of two sets of concord markers. The first is restricted to present-tense, imperfect, and subjunctive verbs and marks the subject. The second marks the subject of past-tense verbs, the pronominal object of verbs in any tense/mood, as well as the pronominal and genitive possessor of nouns (*bāy-om* 'father.1SG = my father', *malik-os īrānaki* 'king.3SG Iran.F.ABL = the king of Iran'). With verbs, pronominal object clitics always follow subject concord markers: *lak-am-r-i* 'see.1SG.2SG + tense marker = I see you', *laked-om-is* 'saw.1SG.3SG = I saw him/her'.

Nominal case inflection in Domari is layered (see Matras 1999:16-21). Layer I includes the default oblique case, and distinguishes gen-

der/number (nominative *šōna* 'boy', *šōnī* 'girl'; oblique *šōnas* 'boy', *šōnya* 'girl'). It is generally followed by Layer II markers, which have agglutinative structure and carry semantic case distinctions (*šōnas-ke* 'for the boy', *šōnas-ki* 'from the boy', etc.). Layer I is consequently indicated in the glossing as a gender/number function, though only in the oblique, distinguishing M, F, PL, which are always followed by an indication of Layer II markers (*šōnaske* 'boy.M.BEN'). Layer II markers are glossed by semantic function: ABL = ablative (also functioning as a general prepositional case and genitive), DAT = dative, LOC = locative, BEN = benefactive. The sociative case is nearly obsolete and does not appear in the transcripts. The accusative is zero-marked at the level of Layer II case marking, in other words, it relies on Layer I marking of a default oblique with no further semantic specifications. For the sake of consistency, such occurrences are glossed ACC, which represents zero Layer II marking (*šōnas* 'boy.M.ACC').

Possessive markers override Layer I gender/number marking, but are themselves sensitive to oblique positions. Their oblique forms however are not indicated in the glossing, but are taken for granted when followed by a Layer II marker: *ʕašīr-os džassās-as-ki* 'clan.3SG Džassās.M.ABL = the clan (nominative possessive) of Džassās (ablative)', but *ʕumurkeda ʕašīr-is-ta džassāsaski* 'ordered.3SG.M clan.3SG.DAT Džassās.M.ABL = he ordered the clan (dative possessive) of Džassās (ablative)'. Inanimate Arabic loans occasionally do not take Layer I endings: *rumuḥ-ma* 'lance.LOC = with a lance'. In indigenous (=non-Arabic) person-inflected prepositions, case markers are not indictaed: *abuske* is glossed 'to.3SG', but is composed of **ab* 'to', *-us* '3SG oblique pronominal clitic in possessive function' and *-ke* 'Benefactive Layer II case marker'.

Verbs are glossed in the English present tense for the Domari present, imperfect, and subjunctive, and in the English past for the Domari simple past and perfect. The Domari present and simple past are treated as default tenses. The present however has an external morphological ter-

mination *-i*, which follows both subject concord markers and oblique pronominal clitics (*dē-m-r-i* 'give.1SG.2SG + external tense = I give you', *lak-am-i* 'see.1SG + external tense = I see'). The subjunctive may either be morphologically simple (*lakam* 'I [should] see') , or it can be indicated by a subjunctive morph (*mar-š-ar* 'die.SUBJ.3SG = he [should] die', compare *mari* 'he dies'), and is consequently glossed SUBJ throughout. The imperfect has an external ending *-a* which is added to the present-tense form, and is glossed IMP. The perfect has an external ending *-i* which is added to the past-tense form, and is glossed PERF. The pluperfect does not appear in the transcript. Occasionally, number agreement is missing with past-tense verbs.

Domari allows non-verbal predications: *tillos banī murra nāmos džassās* 'the leader of Banī Murra, his name [is/was] Džassās'. It also has a predicative device, which Macalister (1914) had termed 'predicative suffix', and which allows to construct non-verbal existential predications. Predicative markers are glossed PRED. They are sensitive to the phonological form of the preceding syllable, taking the form *-ēk* following vowel endings in *-a*, *-k* following endings in glottalised *-a'*, *-ik* following vowel endings in *-i*, and *-i* following consonantal endings. There are separate markers for the plural, namely *-ēni* following vowels and *-ni* following consonants; those are glossed PL.PRED. The predicative markers can attach to nominative nouns (*wudi-k* 'old.lady.PRED'), to case-inflected nouns (*pišt-is-m-ēk* 'back.3SG.LOC.PRED = 'in his back'), to adjectives (*till-ēk* 'it is big'), or to verbs, to form converbs, i.e. gerunds or participles (*ktibkad-ēk* 'wrote.PRED = written'). Predicative markers are frequently employed in presentative constructions, as well as, in the absence of Layer I oblique marking, to indicate the accusative of some inanimate Arabic loans (*šardeya romḥi* 'hide.3SG.IMP lance.PRED = he was hiding the lance').

List of gloss abbreviations

1SG   1st person singular (subject or object concord on verb; possessive; pronoun)

2PL   2nd person plural (subject or object concord on verb; possessive; pronoun)

2SG   2nd person singular (subject or object concord on verb; possessive; pronoun)

3PL   3rd person plural (subject or object concord on verb; possessive; pronoun)

3SG   3rd person singular (subject or object concord on verb; possessive; pronoun)
ABL   ablative (Layer II case ending)
ACC   accusative (Layer I oblique + Layer II zero case ending)
BEN   benefactive (Layer II case ending)
COMP   complementiser (of Arabic origin)
COP   enclitic copula
DAT   dative (Layer II case ending)
DEF   definite article (Arabic insertions)
DEM   demonstrative pronoun

F feminine (3rd person past tense; demonstrative; Layer I oblique case inflection)
IMP   imperfect tense ending
INDEF indefinite article
INT   interjection
LOC   locative (Layer II case ending)

M masculine singular (3rd person past tense; demonstrative; Layer I oblique case inflection)
NEG   negation marker
PART   particle
PERF   perfect tense ending
PLplural (demonstrative; Layer I oblique case inflection)
PRED   predicative marker
REL   relativiser (Arabic origin)
SUBJ   subjunctive (verb mood)

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   ʻažrabi
        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.[6]
       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.

---

[6] 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[7]
       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
       fērendis   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:[8] karwe wudi, rowēk?
       came.3SG.M 3SG.BEN Klēb INT   old.lady cry.2SG

---

[7] Note the absence of Layer I marking here, as in other inanimate Arabic loans.

[8] This is a mix-up, and the speaker actually means *Dżassās*.

Klēb [= *Džassās*] came to her: what is it, old lady, [why] are you crying?

23) qal: lakedori,   hurrāṣīnes 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   ḥižrom   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 ḥižrī*
      that.is in.DEF.Arabic either sheep.1SG stand.3SG.F or fill.2SG lap.1SG
      ndžūm, yā imma rās   klēb bi-damm yḫūm
      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 ḥižror   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)   *sabʕa 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-'āxir* 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   *fi 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 ʾayyūbī ū ēre   ʕala l-ʕirāq
       Salah   ed-Din Ayyubi and came.3PL to DEF.Iraq
       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 *fi šamāl l-hind*.
     and went.3PL lived.3PL   in north DEF.India

     And they went to live *in northern India*.

12) ašti ēkaki maliki   fi 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,   qameḥ, 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-taʔ
       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   min'akam 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 Pales-
       tine.

36)   ‘iši   skunnahre hayma fī ʕammān ū   fī sūrīyya ū   fī lubnān
       something lived.3PL   this.LOC in Amman   and in Syria   and in Leba-
       non
       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.

References

Amanolahi, Sekandar & Norbeck, Edward. 1975. The Luti, an outcaste group of Iran. Rice University Studies 61(2): 1-12.

Benninghaus, Rüdiger. 1991. Les Tsiganes de la Turquie orientale. Etudes Tsiganes 3:47-60.

Canova, Giovanni. 1981. Notte sulle tradizioni zingare in Egitto attraverso la testimonianza di un capo Nawar. Lacio Drom 17(6):4-25.

Casimir, Michael J. 1987. In search of guilt: Legends on the origin of the peripatetic niche. *In* The other nomads. Peripatetic minorities in cross-cultural perspective. Aparna Rao, ed. Pp. 373-390. Vienna: Böhlau.

De Goeje, M. J. 1903. Mémoires sur les migrations des Tsiganes à travers l'Asie. Leiden: Brill.

Finck, Franz N. 1907. Die Grundzüge des armenisch-zigeunerischen Sprachbaus. Journal of the Gypsy Lore Society. New series. 1:34-60.

Gobineau, A. 1857. Persische Studien. Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft 11:689-699.

Grierson, George. 1887. Arabic and Persian references to Gypsies. Indian Antiquary 16:257-258.

Grierson, George A. 1888. Dļoms, Jâts, and the origin of the Gypsies. Journal of the Gypsy Lore Society 1:71-76.

Groome, Francis H. 1891. Persian and Syrian Gypsies. Journal of the Gypsy Lore Society 2:21-27.

Kenrick, Donald. 1975-1979. Romanies in the Middle East 1-3. Roma 1(3):5-9; 2(1):30-36; 3(1):23-39.

Kruse, Fr. 1854. Ulrich Jasper Seetzen's Reisen durch Syrien, Palästina, Phönicien [...]. II. Berlin: Reimer.

Macalister, R. A. S. 1914. The language of the Nawar of Zutt, the nomad smiths of Palestine. (Gypsy Lore Society Monographs 3). London: Edinburgh University Press.

Matras, Yaron. 1999. The state of present-day Domari in Jerusalem. Mediterranean Language Review 11:1-58.

Meyer, Frank. 1994. Dōm und Turkmān in Stadt und Land Damaskus. Erlangen: Fränkische Geographische Gesellschaft.

Newbold, F. R. S. 1856. The Gypsies of Egypt. Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland.

Nicholson, Jane. Undated. A fragment of modern Domari. Unpublished Ms., University of Austin, Texas.

Paspati, Alexandre G. 1870 [1973] Études sur les Tchinghianés ou Bohémiens de l'Empire Ottoman. Osnabrück: Biblio.

Patkanoff, K.P. 1907/1908. Some words on the dialects of the Transcaucasian Gypsies. Journal of the Gypsy Lore Society. New Series. 1:229-257; 2:246-266, 325-334.

Pickett, David W. & Agogino, George A. 1960. Two legends of the nails of the cross. Journal of the Gypsy Lore Society. Third Series. 39:73-77.

Pott, August F. 1844-1845. Die Zigeuner in Europa und Asien. Halle: Heynemann.

Pott. August F. 1846. Über die Sprache der Zigeuner in Syrien. Zeitschrift für die Wissenschaft der Sprache 1:175-186.

Rao, Aparna. 1995. Marginality and language use: The example of peripatetics in Afghanistan. Journal of the Gypsy Lore Society. Fifth Series. 5:69-95.

Streck, Bernhard. 1996. Die Ḥalab. Munich: Trickster Verlag.

Yaniv, Y. 1980 (?) Ha-Tso'anim bi-Yehuda u-vi-Yerushalayim. [The Gypsies in Judea and in Jerusalem]. Jerusalem: Ariel.

Wink, André. 1990. Al-Hind. The making of the Indo-Islamic world. Volume 1. Leiden: Brill.