

A Grammar of Domari

Mouton Grammar Library

59

Editors

Georg Bossong

Bernard Comrie

Matthew Dryer

De Gruyter Mouton

A Grammar of Domari

by

Yaron Matras

De Gruyter Mouton

ISBN 978-3-11-028914-5
e-ISBN 978-3-11-029142-1
ISSN 0933-7636

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

A CIP catalog record for this book has been applied for at the Library of Congress.

Bibliographic information published by the Deutsche Nationalbibliothek

The Deutsche Nationalbibliothek lists this publication in the Deutsche Nationalbibliografie; detailed bibliographic data are available in the Internet at <http://dnb.dnb.de>.

© 2012 Walter de Gruyter GmbH & Co. KG, Berlin/Boston

Printing: Hubert & Co. GmbH & Co. KG, Göttingen

⊗ Printed on acid-free paper

Printed in Germany

www.degruyter.com

In memory of Anna Siewierska (1955–2011)

Preface

Domari is one of numerous languages spoken in my home town of Jerusalem – though one of which I only became aware as a professional linguist, having consulted the libraries of European universities and having read in press reports about the continuing presence of the tiny community of ‘Nawar’ or ‘Gypsies’. Now, more than a decade and a half after I heard and recorded the first phrases in spoken Domari, only very few people among the Jerusalem Dom – at the time of writing probably between ten and twenty – are still able to converse in a language that had been preserved in their socially isolated, diasporic community for at least 800 years or more. This book, and the audio recordings that accompany it online, are a testimony to this lost tongue. I wish to thank the people of Bāb l-Ḥuṭṭa in the Old City of Jerusalem for their willingness to provide me with insights into their language and their everyday lives and life stories. I am grateful especially to Miassar Sleem for her dedicated assistance in interpreting much of the recorded data. Support for fieldwork in Jerusalem between 1996–2000 was provided by the Special Research Project on Linguistic and Cultural Contacts in Western Asia and Northern Africa at the University of Mainz, and by small grants from the British Academy and the Endangered Language Fund. Christa Schubert made an invaluable contribution to the technical aspects of archiving and annotating the data in an early phase, and later to the typesetting of the manuscript. Parts of the book were written during my stay as Australian Research Council International Linkage Fellow and Distinguished Fellow of the Institute for Advanced Studies at the Research Centre for Linguistic Typology at La Trobe University, Melbourne, in 2007–2008; the manuscript was completed during my stay as Visiting Fellow at the Laboratory for Languages and Oral Cultures (LACITO) of the National Centre for Scientific Research (CNRS) in Paris, in September–October 2011, and subsequently during my visit as Senior Fellow of the Zukunftscolleg at the University of Konstanz, in January–February 2012. The Zukunftscolleg also kindly provided financial support for the typesetting of the manuscript.

Table of contents

List of tables	xiii
List of figures	xv
List of abbreviations	xv
Chapter 1: Introduction	1
1.1. Domari: Names, definitions, and status	1
1.2. Previous work on Domari and related varieties	4
1.3. Dialect differences in Domari	15
1.4. Domari and Romari	20
1.5. The Dom community of Jerusalem	27
1.6. Data collection and method of analysis	30
Chapter 2: Phonology	36
2.1. Inventory of sounds	36
2.1.1. Short vowels	36
2.1.2. Long vowels	39
2.1.3. Consonants	42
2.2. Variation and minimal pairs	48
2.3. Assimilation processes	54
2.4. Syllable structure	57
2.5. Prosody and stress	61
2.6. Historical phonology	62
Chapter 3: Parts of speech and grammatical inflection	70
3.1. Semantic-pragmatic classification criteria	70
3.2. Inflectional classification criteria	71
3.3. Nominal categories, case inflection and indefiniteness	74
3.4. Verbal categories and tense-aspect-modality marking	78
3.5. Gender, number and person inflection	81
3.6. Non-verbal predications and combinations of parts of speech	83
Chapter 4: Nouns and nominal inflection	87
4.1. Derivation of nouns	87
4.2. Properties of nouns	89
4.2.1. Gender	89
4.2.2. Number	94
4.2.2.1. Number agreement	94
4.2.2.2. Number neutralisation	97

4.2.3. Definiteness and indefiniteness.....	103
4.2.3.1. Functions of the indefiniteness marker.....	103
4.2.3.2. Indefiniteness and predication markers.....	109
4.2.3.3. The expression of definiteness.....	113
4.3. Case inflection.....	128
4.3.1. The layout of nominal case.....	128
4.3.2. Layer I declension classes.....	132
4.3.3. Functions of Layer I case endings.....	141
4.3.4. The Vocative.....	145
4.3.5. Forms and functions of Layer II case endings.....	145
4.3.5.1. Dative.....	147
4.3.5.2. Locative.....	153
4.3.5.3. Benefactive.....	157
4.3.5.4. Ablative.....	160
4.3.5.5. Sociative.....	163
4.4. Possessive morphology.....	164
Chapter 5: Noun modifiers.....	167
5.1. Nominal possessives.....	167
5.1.1. The structure of the genitive-possessive construction.....	167
5.1.2. Functions of the genitive-possessive construction.....	171
5.2. Noun juxtaposition.....	176
5.3. Demonstratives in attributive function.....	177
5.4. Numerals.....	187
5.4.1. Ordinal numbers.....	201
5.5. Adjectives.....	202
5.5.1. Comparative forms of adjectives.....	206
5.6. Quantifiers.....	207
Chapter 6: Pronominal categories.....	210
6.1. Personal pronouns.....	210
6.1.1. Stand-alone subject pronouns.....	210
6.1.2. Pronominal object affixes.....	214
6.2. Demonstrative pronouns.....	218
6.3. Enclitic subject pronouns.....	225
6.4. The use of Arabic referential devices.....	226
6.5. Interrogatives.....	228
6.6. Indefinites.....	232
6.7. Reflexive and reciprocal pronouns.....	237
Chapter 7: Verb inflection, modals and auxiliaries.....	238
7.1. The layout of Domari verbs.....	238
7.2. Verb derivation and loan verbs.....	239
7.2.1. Deriving verbs from non-verbs.....	239
7.2.2. Arabic loan verbs.....	240
7.2.3. Valency-changing derivational morphology.....	244

7.3. Verb stems and person concord	248
7.4. Verb inflection classes	252
7.5. Existential predications	265
7.5.1. <i>ho-</i> : Change of state	265
7.5.2. <i>aštī</i> : Existence and possession	265
7.5.3. The enclitic copula and non-verbal predication markers	268
7.6. Tense, aspect and modality	276
7.6.1. The structure, function and distribution of tense and aspect categories	276
7.6.2. The subjunctive	281
7.6.3. Modals and auxiliaries	287
Chapter 8: Local and temporal relations	293
8.1. The encoding of case relations	293
8.2. The expression of thematic roles	295
8.2.1. Possessor and object of possession	295
8.2.2. Subject roles	297
8.2.3. Object roles	298
8.2.4. Combining two object roles	300
8.2.5. Expression of source	301
8.2.6. Expressions of association and dissociation	303
8.3. Spatial relations	305
8.3.1. Containment and demarcation	305
8.3.2. Dimensional relations	307
8.3.3. Other spatial relations	309
8.4. Temporal relations	310
Chapter 9: Clause structure	312
9.1. Nominal clauses	312
9.2. Information structure in verbal clauses	313
9.3. Interrogative clauses	324
9.4. Imperative clauses	326
9.5. Complex clauses	327
9.5.1. An overview of conjunctions	327
9.5.2. Coordination	328
9.5.3. Embedded questions	330
9.5.4. Relative clauses	331
9.5.5. Complement clauses	333
9.5.5.1. Indicative complements	333
9.5.5.2. Modal complements	335
9.5.6. Purpose clauses	337
9.5.7. Adverbial subordination	338
9.5.7.1. Temporal clauses	338
9.5.7.2. Causal clauses	342
9.5.7.3. Conditional and concessive clauses	344
9.6. Negative clauses	347

Chapter 10: Adverbs and particles	352
10.1. Lexical adverbs	352
10.2. Deictic adverbs and adverbs of place and time	353
10.3. Phasal adverbs	355
10.4. Focus particles	356
10.5. Interjections	358
10.6. Quotation particle	359
10.7. Modal particles	360
10.8. Fillers and tags	363
Chapter 11: The Arabic component	368
11.1. The relevance of contact phenomena	368
11.2. Common borrowings: Lexicon, phonology and discourse markers	369
11.3. Morphological and syntactic borrowing	371
11.4. 'Heavy' grammatical borrowing	377
11.5. Fusion, bilingual suppletion, and free recourse to Arabic grammar and lexicon	379
11.6. The functional continuum in conversational practice	383
Chapter 12: Samples of Talk	391
12.1. Sample 1: The appointment of a head man	391
12.2. Sample 2: Life after retirement	396
12.3. Sample 3: A love tale	403
12.4. Sample 4: From a Dom woman's life story	412
12.5. Sample 5: The origin of the Dom	417
Chapter 13: Notes on the Domari lexicon	426
13.1. The lexical corpus	426
13.2. Etymologies and lexical borrowing	426
13.3. Lexical formation and semantic particularities	429
Chapter 14: Domari vocabulary	431
Notes	445
References	449
Subject index	456
Author index	463

List of tables

<i>Table 1.</i>	Basic vocabulary comparison Domari/ Romani	24
<i>Table 2.</i>	Vowel duration	40
<i>Table 3.</i>	Inventory of consonants	42
<i>Table 4.</i>	Word-initial clusters: stops and nasals	58
<i>Table 5.</i>	Word-initial clusters: fricatives and semi-vowels	59
<i>Table 6.</i>	Simplification of OIA initial and medial consonant clusters	63
<i>Table 7.</i>	Retention of OIA initial and medial consonant clusters lost in MIA	63
<i>Table 8.</i>	Consonants continuing MIA simplifications	64
<i>Table 9.</i>	Medial dental stops	64
<i>Table 10.</i>	Loss of retroflex	64
<i>Table 11.</i>	Realisation of historical retroflex as pharyngealised stop	64
<i>Table 12.</i>	Simplification of /ŋd/ to /n/	65
<i>Table 13.</i>	/d̪d/ to /t/	65
<i>Table 14.</i>	Loss of aspiration	65
<i>Table 15.</i>	Initial and medial /v/ to /w/	65
<i>Table 16.</i>	Convergence of OIA voiceless sibilants to /s/	66
<i>Table 17.</i>	OIA /h/ > /x/	66
<i>Table 18.</i>	The representation of Old Indo-Aryan sounds in Domari	67
<i>Table 19.</i>	Inflectional potential of parts of speech	73
<i>Table 20.</i>	Arabic nouns accompanied by numerals in examples (75)–(82)	103
<i>Table 21.</i>	Use of referential forms for ‘The Dom girl Ghazzale’ in example (150)	126
<i>Table 22.</i>	Use of referential forms for ‘The Bedouin boy’ in example (150)	127
<i>Table 23.</i>	Noun layout, feminine <i>i</i> -declension	131
<i>Table 24.</i>	Noun layout: masculine, consonantal declension	131
<i>Table 25.</i>	Layer I nominal declension classes: Singular	134
<i>Table 26.</i>	Layer I nominal declension classes: Plural	135
<i>Table 27.</i>	Layer II markers (singular nouns) (with Layer I in shaded areas)	146
<i>Table 28.</i>	Layer II markers (with Layer I in shaded areas)	146
<i>Table 29.</i>	Nouns with possessive markers: <i>bar</i> ‘brother’	164
<i>Table 30.</i>	Attributive forms of the demonstrative	177
<i>Table 31.</i>	Domari numerals	188
<i>Table 32.</i>	Higher numerals (Arabic)	193
<i>Table 33.</i>	Some inherited and Arabic-derived noun phrases containing numerals	194
<i>Table 34.</i>	Ordinal numerals (Arabic)	201
<i>Table 35.</i>	Some Domari adjectives	202
<i>Table 36.</i>	Case inflection of personal pronouns	214
<i>Table 37.</i>	Transitive verbs with object pronouns: <i>lah-</i> ‘to see’	217
<i>Table 38.</i>	Demonstrative pronouns	219
<i>Table 39.</i>	Domari interrogatives	229
<i>Table 40.</i>	Indefinite expressions	233
<i>Table 41.</i>	Selection of Arabic loan verbs	243

<i>Table 42.</i>	MIA and Domari present-tense subject concord markers	249
<i>Table 43.</i>	MIA oblique pronouns and Domari past-tense subject concord markers	250
<i>Table 44.</i>	Group 1: Transitives, dental sonorant root: <i>šar-</i> ‘to hide (sth)’	253
<i>Table 45.</i>	Group 2: Transitives, other roots: <i>bag-</i> ‘to break’	254
<i>Table 46.</i>	Group 3: <i>-k-</i> agentive derivations from non-verbs and loan verbs: <i>šrik-</i> ‘to buy’	254
<i>Table 47.</i>	Group 4: Causatives: <i>bnaw-</i> ‘to frighten’	255
<i>Table 48.</i>	Group 5: Syllable reduction: <i>šin-</i> ‘to hear’	255
<i>Table 49.</i>	Group 6: Intensifier-perfective: <i>š-</i> ‘to speak’	256
<i>Table 50.</i>	Group 7: Contracted present: <i>kw-</i> ‘to throw’	256
<i>Table 51.</i>	Group 8: ‘Hybrid’ causative: <i>kišnaw-</i> ‘to lie’	257
<i>Table 52.</i>	Group 9: Present indicative with <i>-š-</i> : <i>kil-</i> ‘to go out’	257
<i>Table 53.</i>	Group 10: Intensifier perfective and 2 nd person <i>-š-</i> : <i>raw-</i> ‘to travel’	258
<i>Table 54.</i>	Group 11: Semi-vocalic root, subjunctive in <i>-š-</i> : <i>row-</i> ‘to cry’	258
<i>Table 55.</i>	Group 12: Quasi-vocalic: <i>qum-/qeym-</i> ‘to eat’	259
<i>Table 56.</i>	Group 13: Vocalic: <i>pī-</i> ‘to drink’	259
<i>Table 57.</i>	Group 14: Vocalic (reduction in perfective): <i>saka-</i> ‘to be able to’	259
<i>Table 58.</i>	Group 16: Vocalic/ intransitive derivation: <i>šary-</i> ‘to hide (oneself)’	260
<i>Table 59.</i>	Group 17: Intransitives, vowel reduction: <i>nišy-</i> ‘to dance’	260
<i>Table 60.</i>	Group 18: Vocalic/ intransitive derivation: <i>mary-</i> ‘to die / to be killed’ ..	261
<i>Table 61.</i>	Group 19: Indicative with <i>-š-</i> augment: <i>nig-</i> ‘to enter’	261
<i>Table 62.</i>	Group 20: Present stem with <i>-t-</i> augment: <i>nas-</i> ‘to flee’	262
<i>Table 63.</i>	Group 21: Suppletive: <i>aw-</i> ‘to come’	262
<i>Table 64.</i>	Group 22: Suppletive: <i>dža-</i> ‘to go’	262
<i>Table 65.</i>	Group 23: Present stem with <i>-š-</i> augment, past in <i>-t-</i> : <i>šū-</i> ‘to sleep’	263
<i>Table 66.</i>	Group 24: Suppletive: <i>de-</i> ‘to give’	263
<i>Table 67.</i>	Group 24: Root vowel <i>-o-</i> : <i>ho-</i> ‘to become’	264
<i>Table 68.</i>	Group 25: Root vowel <i>-o-</i> , perfective in <i>-ir-</i> : <i>kahind-</i> ‘to look’	264
<i>Table 69.</i>	The enclitic copula	273
<i>Table 70.</i>	Overview of inflectional tense-aspect-modality categories: <i>ban-</i> ‘to shut’	277
<i>Table 71.</i>	Major Arabic-derived auxiliaries (with <i>šar-</i> ‘to hide’)	289
<i>Table 72.</i>	Inherited spatial expressions	293
<i>Table 73.</i>	Hybrid, person-inflected case markers	294
<i>Table 74.</i>	Arabic prepositions used in Domari	294
<i>Table 75.</i>	Domari conjunctions and connectors	328
<i>Table 76.</i>	(Arabic) person-inflection of the complementiser <i>inn-</i>	333
<i>Table 77.</i>	Sociolinguistic, discourse-based, and utterance-based foundations of language choice (Domari choices shaded, Arabic plain)	383
<i>Table 78.</i>	Etymological source of lexical items by word class	428

List of figures

<i>Figure 1.</i>	Vowel sounds and vowel phonemes	36
<i>Figure 2.</i>	Layout of the Domari verb	239
<i>Figure 3.</i>	Information structuring in the post-verbal field	316
<i>Figure 4.</i>	Argument roles in the post-verbal field.....	316
<i>Figure 5.</i>	Setting the perspective through the pre-verbal field.....	317
<i>Figure 6.</i>	Routine occupation of pre- and post-verbal fields (a)	321
<i>Figure 7.</i>	Routine occupation of pre- and post-verbal fields (b).....	322
<i>Figure 8.</i>	Topicalisation: object fronting into the pre-verbal field.....	322
<i>Figure 9.</i>	Subject de-accentuation.....	323

List of abbreviations

ABL	ablative
ADJ	adjective
ADV	adverb
AR	Arabic
ATTR	attributive (Kurdish)
AUX	auxiliary
BEN	benefactive
CARD	cardinal (numerals)
CAUS	causative
CMPV	comparative
COMP	complementiser
CONST	construct state (Arabic)
DAT	dative
DEF	definite article (Arabic)
EMP	emphatic marker of imperative
F	feminine
IMP	imperative (Arabic)
IND	indicative
INDEF	indefinite
ITR	intransitive

KURD	Kurdish
LOC	locative
M	masculine
N	noun
NEG	negator
NOM	nominative
NUM	numeral
OBJ	object pronoun (Arabic)
OBL	oblique
PART	particle
PERF	perfective
PERS	Persian
PL	plural
POSS	possessive particle
PRED	predication
PREP	preposition
PRG	progressive
PRO	enclitic pronoun
PRON	pronoun
QUANT	quantifier
REC	reciprocal pronoun (Arabic)
REDUP	reduplication
REFL	reflexive pronoun (Arabic)
REL	relativiser (Arabic)
REM	remoteness
SG	singular
SOC	sociative
SUBJ	subjunctive
TURK	Turkish/Turkic
V	verb
VITR	intransitive verb marker
VTR	transitive verb marker

Chapter 1

Introduction

1.1. Domari: Names, definitions, and status

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 central Sudan. The present description is based on the variety spoken in Jerusalem, which appears to be more or less identical to those spoken in Jaffa/Gaza and Amman, very closely related to varieties spoken by nomadic Dom in Jordan, and somewhat less close but nevertheless quite similar to varieties attested in Lebanon, Syria and southeastern Turkey. 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. Domari is an Indo-Aryan language, with close ties both to languages of Central India and to those of the Northwest (Dardic; see discussion below). The name *dōm* is cognate with those of the *řom* (Roma or Romanies) of Europe and the *lom* of the Caucasus and eastern Anatolia. Both these populations are also of Indian origin and both specialise, traditionally or historically, in similar trades. The name is also related to the name of the *ḍum* population of the Hunza valley in northern Pakistan and indeed to that of the *ḍom* of India, who are 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-Dīn al-Ayyūbi (Saladin) in the twelfth 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 Dom are referred to by their Arab-Palestinian neighbours as *náwar*. Depictions of the group and references to them in European literature have tended to adopt the term ‘Gypsies’ (‘Zigeuner’, ‘Tsiganes’, etc.), which is also used to refer to the Roma of Europe. This is also the case in Israel, where the Dom are referred to in the Hebrew public discourse as *tso’anim* (originally a loanblend of German/Yiddish *Zigeuner/tsigeyner* with Biblical Hebrew *tsoʿan* ‘a region in Egypt’, the assumed country of origin, cf. ‘Gypsy’ < ‘Egyptian’, and the Biblical Hebrew verb *tsoʿan* ‘to wander’). Elsewhere in the Middle

East, related groups are known as *qurbāti* (Syria and Lebanon), *mitrip* (in the Kurdish areas of Turkey and northern Iraq), or *karāči* (Anatolia, Iraq). In Egypt and Sudan, names such as *ġajar*, *ħalabi* and *bahlawān* are used to refer to various groups of commercial nomads among whom may also be groups related to the Dom. Some writers have associated other populations of commercial nomads in Central Asia and Iran, such as the *luli* and *kauli*, with the Dom, but there is no evidence of any historical connection apart from the fact that in-group vocabularies used by these populations often incorporate words of Domari origin.

Competence in the language is largely limited to those born before 1940. During the time fieldwork was carried out for this study, between 1996–2001, the number of fluent speakers was around 50–70 individuals from among a community of around 700. Most speakers were elderly and the number of fluent speakers is known to have decreased significantly since. At the time of writing, the number of fluent speakers of Domari in Jerusalem is estimated at between 10–20.¹ There are semi-speakers in the community who were born and raised in the 1950s–1960s. It appears that the language has not been passed on to children at all since the 1960s, either in Jerusalem or in the closely related communities in Gaza and Amman. Domari, or at least the variety described here, is thus an endangered, moribund language. The principal language of the community is now Palestinian Arabic. Knowledge of Hebrew is widespread especially among the generation of people in their 20s–30s, mainly as a result of work experience in the Israeli neighbourhoods of West Jerusalem. A few individuals have knowledge of English through secondary school, work experience, and occasional immersion with tourists and visitors.

Dom households usually accommodate all generations of a family in a small number of rooms. Together they share cooking and washing facilities. Social and entertaining areas are typically converted into sleeping areas during the night. Elderly members of the household therefore rarely spend time on their own, and so they have few opportunities to use Domari away from the presence of non-speakers or semi-speakers. While this means that younger members of the household are often exposed to the use of Domari, it also means that there is hardly any conversation that takes place only and consistently in Domari without frequent insertions from and switches into Arabic. The language is often used in a form of receptive multilingualism, with younger people understanding some phrases but responding in Arabic, and older people alternating between the two languages.

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 of Domari in any other form of communication, institutions, media, or in writing. The language does not enjoy

any form of official recognition. Claims by a local activist on behalf of the ‘Domari Society of Gypsies in Jerusalem’ that the organisation provides literacy courses in Domari to children² could not be verified, and appear to be a statement of intent rather than an actual description of existing activities. An American Baptist missionary organisation associated with the Wycliffe Foundation of Christian Bible translators set up a so-called ‘Dom Research Center’ in Cyprus as a basis for their activities in several Middle Eastern countries in the late 1990s. During the period between 1999–2009, the Center’s website presented a section called ‘Learning Domari’, written by Donald Kenrick on the basis of materials taken from Macalister (1914) as well as from my own publications. A Christian sermon consisting mainly of readings of the New Testament in Syrian Domari was recorded and distributed in all likelihood by the same missionary group in the early 1990s. There are no other known public uses of Domari.³

The language name ‘Domari’ became known through Macalister (1914), who records it in his dictionary as *dōmāri* ‘the Nuri language’ (the term ‘Nuri’ based on the Arabic word *nāwar* ‘Gypsy’). During my own initial encounters with semi-speakers in the Jerusalem community, in 1996, it appeared that they were familiar with the term *dōm* as the self-designation of the community, but not with the term ‘Domari’. It later became transparent that some speakers use *dōm* to refer to both language and people, while others indeed use the term *dōmari* for the language, as can be seen in the following examples from recorded and transcribed conversations:

- (1) *ama šami wāšī-s dōmari*
I speak-1SG with-3SG Domari
‘I speak to him in Domari.’
- (2) *džan-ar-é’ dōmari, in-džan-ar-é’*
know-3SG-NEG Domari NEG-know-3SG-NEG
‘He doesn’t know Domari, he doesn’t.’
- (3) *ama džan-am-i dōmari*
I know-1SG-PRG Domari
‘I know Domari.’
- (4) *ama ū bay-om till-ik yašni sittin*
I and wife-1SG old-PRED.SG PART sixty
sana šumr, xarraf-on-i dōm
year age speak-1PL-PRG Dom
‘Me and my wife, she is old, sixty years of age, we speak Dom.’
- (5) *džan-ar-é’ in-š-ar-é’ dōm,*
know-3SG-NEG NEG-speak-3SG-NEG Dom

xiff-k-ed-om *dōm-as*
 reduce-VTR-PAST-1SG Dom-OBL.M
 ‘She doesn’t know, she doesn’t speak Dom; I have forgotten my Dom.’

- (6) *ama* *š-am-i* *wāšīr* *ḏōm-as-ma*
 I speak-1SG-PRG with-2SG Dom-OBL.M-LOC
 ‘I am talking to you in Dom.’
- (7) *ama* *ḏōm-as-ma* *nām-om* *xalīl-i*
 I Dom-OBL.M-LOC name-1SG Khalil-PRED.SG
 ‘In Dom my name is Khalil.’
- (8) *kay-ma* *kallam-ok* *atu?* *ḏōm-as-ma!*
 what-LOC speak-2SG you Dom-OBL.M-LOC
 ‘In what [language] are you talking? In Dom!’
- (9) *ama* *š-am-i* *ḏōmari-yas-ma*
 I speak-1SG-PRG Domari-OBL.M-LOC
 ‘I speak in Domari.’

It was only after this was pointed out to the younger people that the very small circle of activists in the community adopted the name ‘Domari’ in the internet presentation of their registered society.⁴

Al-Jibāwī (2006) records the name of the language among the Dom of Syria and Lebanon as *ḏōmwāri*, and at times as *džib ḏōmwāri* ‘the Domwari language’ (*džib* being the word for ‘tongue’ in both Syrian and Palestinian Domari, though its use to denote ‘speech’ is unattested in Jerusalem). It is not obvious which of the forms – with or without *-w-* – is the more archaic. Medieval Indian literature mentions the caste of the *ḏōmba*, yet since the contemporary group name is *ḏōm* it seems unlikely that the labial component in *ḏōmwāri* continues the original *-ba* and it is more likely to be a suffix indicating the language name. The frequent combination with *džib* ‘tongue’, which seems to be a recent innovation, seems to confirm that. Further confirmation is provided by the fact that Macalister (1914: 197) cites the expression *tatwari* as the Domari term for ‘Arabic’, derived from *tat* ‘Arab’.

1.2. Previous work on Domari and related varieties

Probably the earliest reference to the Dom in European publications is Hortens’ (1751: 128–132) description of the Gypsy tent-dwellers of Lebanon and Syria. Said to have come from Egypt and often to make a living by begging, they are described by Hortens as “not Arabs” but related to the

Gypsies of Europe. It wasn't until almost a century later that Wilson (1847) made a similar statement. Familiar with Gypsies in Hungary and with discussions of their language and Indian origin, he reports on his encounters with Gypsies in Lebanon and in the Galilee region in northern Palestine who called themselves 'Nawarah' and spoke according to him an Indian language "which was perfectly intelligible to us from the far east" (p. 211–212). Wilson reports that the Gypsies worked as tinkers and musicians as well as in agriculture, and that they also made fans and wooden needles for sale. With what might be regarded as some over-enthusiasm, he claims that he and his Indian travel companion found their language "almost wholly intelligible", and that "we were able to converse at once with the wanderers with whom we came into contact" (p. 769–770). Wilson mentions that it had been his intention to insert a vocabulary of words and a grammatical sketch of the language into his book, implying that he had collected such data during his travels, but that he chose not to do so due to the appearance of Pott's work which "renders an article of this kind entirely unnecessary in this place". As far as is known, Wilson's notes on the language of the Lebanese and Palestinian Dom have never been recovered or published.

Pott (1846) thus became the first source to publish and discuss any linguistic data on Domari. He bases his discussion on material provided by the Prussian Honorary Consul in Jerusalem, Schulz, which he in turn received in 1842 from an American missionary by the name of Eli Smith, who reportedly collected it near Beirut. We are thus dealing apparently with a northern variety of Domari. Some of the outstanding features of the Domari dialect described by Pott are the absence of plural endings and the use instead of the prefix *sa* (originally 'all'), the appearance of final *-n* on the pronouns *amin* 'we' (Jerusalem Domari *eme*, but cf. Romani *amen*) and *atmin* 'you.PL' (Jerusalem Domari *itme*, cf. Romani *tumen*), the absence of a third person pronoun *pandž-*, the use of the demonstratives *anha* 'this' and *anhě* 'that' (Jerusalem *aha* and *uhu*), the presence of a vowel *-u-* in the 2PL possessive suffix *-run-* (Jerusalem *-ran-*), and the presence of an existential verb *stěmi* 'I am' etc. Little information is provided about the nominal declension, but it appears that the verb conjugation and tense formation described are identical to the patterns found in Jerusalem Domari.

Of particular value to our discussion is the material collected by Ulrich Jasper Seetzen in 1806 in the Palestinian West Bank. The material was published by Kruse in 1854 in the second volume of Seetzen's expedition diary, but appears to have been available to Pott (1846) prior to the publication of his article. It is of special interest first of all because it is most likely to represent the speech of the very ancestors of today's Dom community of Jerusalem. Seetzen met the Gypsies near the towns of Hebron and Nablus. Jerusalem is situated precisely between the two towns and the ancestors of

today's Dom community of Jerusalem are known to have travelled regularly between the three cities, camping in their outskirts for longer periods while offering their services to local residents, until they moved first to semi-permanent and then to permanent dwellings in Jerusalem in the 1940s. Seetzen describes the Náwar camping near Hebron as tent-dwellers who make a living as entertainers, performing music, dance, and stunts in front of the Bedouins, and those near Nablus as tent-dwelling smiths, who make a living by producing and selling nails, sieves, pots, and other iron tools. He notes that they are very poor and cites rumours according to which they do not bury their dead in Muslim cemeteries, but cremate them.

Seetzen's linguistic material was collected among the metalworkers of Nablus before he continued south toward Jerusalem. He chooses the term 'Syrian Gypsies' to refer to the group since the area was part of the Ottoman province of Syria. The wordlist covers body parts, food, landscape, animals, plants, fruit and vegetables, expressions of time, material, persons, and numerals. Most of the lexical material is identical to that collected subsequently among the Dom in Jerusalem, both by Macalister and during my own fieldwork. Peculiarities include many words of Turkish, Kurdish, and Persian origin which are not attested either today or in Macalister's lexicon, such as (in Seetzen's original spelling) *banir* 'cheese', *bias* 'onion', *brindch* 'rice', *dar* 'tree', *pasarú* child, *ode* 'room', and more, and other lexical items that do not correspond to those documented in Jerusalem, such as *nakh* 'nose' (which appears in other Domari varieties, but is replaced by *pirin* in Jerusalem Domari, including Macalister's list), *sündélen* 'moustache' (*bīy* in our corpus and in Macalister), *tschénnanīh* 'star', *dirāk* 'desert', and a few more. Seetzen also documents a number of internal formations for geographical directions based on Arabic expressions – *scherkaskápy* 'east' (Arabic *šarq*), *schemálakápy* 'north' (Arabic *šamāl*), *garbaskápy* 'west' (Arabic *yarb*), possibly with addition of Turkish-derived *kapi* 'door, gate', and *küblékemá* 'south' (Arabic *qibla* 'the direction of prayer', with a locative suffix) – and for days of the week, following the format *haddésk dīs szēs* 'Sunday', most likely Arabic *had-* 'one', with the genitive ending, and *dis-os* 'its-day' (*had-as-ki dis-os* lit. 'the day of the one'). He notes a word for 'paradise' – *Chuja kějřüssma* (*xuya kuryisma* 'in God's house'), and a set of numerals in which the Indic forms *asch* '8' and *nau* '9' are preserved.

Only little information can be derived from Seetzen's phrases about grammatical structures. Gender distinction on the noun is attested in *wuddá* 'old man', *wuddīh* 'old woman'. The genitive and locative cases are attested in the above example *Chuja kějřüssma* (*xuya kury-is-ma* 'in God's house'). The use of an indefiniteness marker on the noun is found in expressions like *wórszak* '(a) year' (*wars-ak*). Non-verbal predication markers can be inferred from presentative forms of nouns: *ungléck* 'toe' appears to show the singular

predication marker *-ēk/-ik* with vocalic nouns (*ungl-ik* ‘it’s a toe’), *unglîn* shows a form akin to present-day *-ēn(i)* for the plural (*ungliy-ēni* ‘these are toes’), and *szoppîh* ‘snake’ shows the singular predication marker *-i* with consonantal nouns (*sap-i* ‘it’s a snake’). Further evidence for a distinction between the two vocalic endings *-ēk/-ik* (with nouns in *-a/-i* respectively) is found in *odekahy* ‘room’ (*oda* ‘room’, *od-ēk ihi* ‘this is a room’) and *kapikahy* ‘door’ (*kapi* ‘door’, *kap-ik ihi* ‘this is a door’). Possessive suffixes identical to those of Jerusalem Domari are attested in *bajûry* ‘father’ (*boy-or-i* ‘it’s your father’) and *dajêr* ‘mother’ (*day-ir* ‘your mother’ in direct object role). We find the same demonstrative in *ahanbíty* ‘wine’ (*aha nbîd-i* ‘this is wine’). Finite verb inflection identical to that of Jerusalem Domari is found in *bány dáuary* ‘river’ (*pani dawari* ‘the water is running’), and *pani ikschálary* ‘valley’ (*pani kšalari* ‘the water is pulling’). Overall, then, it appears that the dialect that Seetzen described was identical in grammatical structure and in much of its lexicon to that of Jerusalem Domari, showing some lexical items that have since apparently disappeared from the language as well as a few lexical differences.

Following in Pott’s (1846) footsteps, Newbold (1856) attempts to provide a comparative survey of Middle Eastern ‘Gypsy’ speech forms. His principal focus is on the secret lexicons of itinerant populations in Egypt, such as Helebis, the Ghagar, and the Nawar, none of which have any direct connection with Domari, as well as on the vocabularies of peripatetic groups in Iran, the Kauli and Ghorbati, which include some words that are apparently of Domari origin, such as *ba* ‘father’, *dai* ‘mother’, *ghora* ‘horse’, and *anai* ‘egg’. Of interest to our discussion is Newbold’s description of the languages of the Kurbati of Aleppo and Antioch in Syria and the Duman of Baghdad in Iraq. Both varieties show the form *hui* for the 3rd person singular pronoun, and both have the genitive ending *-ki* on possessive pronouns (*man-ki* ‘mine’, *to-ki* ‘yours’, *hui-ki* ‘his’). Enclitic possessive endings are also attested: *kustum* ‘my hand’, *kustur* ‘your hand’. It is reported that the Syrian Gypsies of Aleppo refer to themselves as *doum*. Most interestingly, Newbold cites short phrases that show that the language of the Dom of Aleppo retains Indo-Iranian verb-final word order (examples in Newbold’s original transcription, with added glosses):

(10) *ma mana ka-mi*
 I bread eat-1SG
 ‘I eat bread’

(11) *ma z’Antuki eir-oom*
 I from.Antak come.PAST-1SG
 ‘I came from Antak’

- (12) *tu z'Antuki eiroor*
 you from.Antak come.PAST-2SG
 'You came from Antak'
- (13) *namaz soeesh gueh-ter-i*
 prayer sleep good-CMPV-PRED.SG
 'Prayer is better than sleep'

These few phrases also document the use of the pronouns *ma* 'I' and *tu* 'you', the past-tense subject concord endings 1SG *-om* and 2SG *-or*, the present-tense 1SG ending *-mi*, the predication marker *-i*, and the productive use of the nominal derivation ending *-iš* (*so-iš* 'sleep'), all shared with Jerusalem Domari, as well as the Iranian adjective comparative marker *-ter-* and the Persian ablative preposition *z-*, both of which appear to be characteristic features of the northern (Syrian-Lebanese) varieties of Domari (see section 1.3 below).

The next study of Domari is embedded into Paspati's ([1870] 1973) discussion of the Romani dialects of Turkey in the form of materials on the language of 'Asian Gypsies' (p. 115–125). These are attributed to Rev. M. Pratt from the vicinity of Tokat in Anatolia as well as to Paspati's own notes taken during visits in the "interior of Asia Minor" (not to be confused with Paspati's discussion of the language of the Lom or Posha, which consists of an Indic vocabulary embedded into Armenian). The brief discussion provides some clues about grammatical formations and basic lexicon. First person present-tense verbs end in *-am/-emi*: *djami* 'I go', *karami* 'I do', *demi* 'I give', *djanémi* 'I know'. The negation is *na* (*na djanémi* 'I don't know'). Past-tense verbs end in *-rom/-dom*: *ghairóm* 'I went', *pardom* 'I took', *nikildóm* 'I went out'. A plural ending *-in* is attested, which does not appear in Jerusalem (except in the plural predication marker *-ēni*): *di* 'village', plural *dihîn*, *dīs* 'day', plural *disin*. Attested pronominal forms include *me* 'I', *du* 'you', and typically for a northern Domari variety, *hui* 'he'. The usual possessive endings are documented: *searom* 'my head', *khastom* 'my hand', *babom* 'my father', *guriom* 'my house', *khastori* 'your hand'. As in Newbold's Aleppo material, there are also independent possessive pronouns: *maki* 'my', *turki* 'your', *oriki* 'his'. Noteworthy is the adjectival derivation in *gadjuno* 'stranger', which is not attested in Palestinian Domari. In line with other observations on northern Domari varieties we find some attestation of Kurdish vocabulary that is not documented for Palestinian or Jordanian Domari, such as *bapirom* 'my grandfather', *zerkhóshi* 'drunk', *meru* 'man', *sev* 'apple', *beli* 'yes'. Most vocabulary items, however, are shared with Jerusalem Domari: *bahára* 'outside', *val* 'hair', *kutúr* 'Christian, Greek', *vat* 'stone', *dīs* 'day', *drek* 'raisin', *ghehai* 'good' and numerous others.

Patkanoff's (1907–1908) comparative investigation of the speech varieties of the Transcaucasian Gypsies contains the only documentation to date of the northernmost Domari variety as recorded in the town of Yelizabetpol (Ganja) in Azerbaijan. Patkanoff's material is rather extensive, containing over 100 phrases, a grammatical sketch, a short text and a vocabulary of over 260 items. The vocabulary is very closely related to other documented varieties of Domari and there is no doubt that we are dealing here with the very same language. Characteristic are not just words like *aki* 'eye', *pani* 'water', *tata* 'hot', and *val* 'hair', but also the self-appellation *dom* and the very distinctive metathesis formation in *urp* 'silver' (OIA *rūpya*, Romani *rup*). The pronominal system shows *ma* 'I', *tu* 'you', *ame* 'we', *dime* 'you.PL', and the typical northern Domari *hu* 'he', *ohe* 'she', and *hue* 'they'. A reflexive possessive pronoun is attested – *bangi* 'one's own' – which appears to be a cognate of the Jerusalem Domari third person subject pronoun *pandži*. The system of nominal case is well attested in the phrases and we find forms like *dost-a-san* 'with a friend', *aqi-san* 'with fire', *guri-a-qi* 'from the tent', *mina-s-ta* 'from bread', *čaj-y-my* 'in a place'. The plural is formed with *-a*, while *-ha* (which Patkanoff interprets as a Persian plural) appears to indicate definite plural: *duj dom-a* 'two Gypsies', but *dom-a-ha* 'the Gypsies', *guri-a-ha* 'the tents'. The phrases show preposed adjectives – *taz-a sild-a pani* 'fresh cold water', and postpositions – *mira vahri-m* 'in front of me', *qar-az orta-mi* 'in the middle of the house' (with *-az* being the 3SG possessive marker, *orta* a Turkic borrowing meaning 'middle', and *-mi* the Domari locative). Possessive endings show the familiar forms but are accompanied by preposed possessive pronouns: *meri ben-am* 'my sister', *mera chal-um* 'my uncle', *teri qaba-r* 'your rug'

Past tense verb inflection shows close resemblance to that of other Domari varieties: *ma bahandoom* 'I shut' (Jerusalem Domari *ama bandom*), *hu gia* 'he went' (*pandži gara*). In the present tense, the attested person endings are 1SG *-um*, 2SG *-oj*, 3SG *-aq* (which appears to be cognate with the 3SG non-verbal predication marker in Jerusalem Domari *-ēk/-ik*), 1PL *-enq*, 2PL *-iš* and 3PL *-ind*. As in the other northern varieties of Domari, the copula stem *št-* is retained: *ma dom ast-um* 'I am a Gypsy'. Patkanoff is the first to document the use of the copula stem *-št-* as a marker of progressive aspect with lexical verbs: *guj ge-št-uj* 'where are you going?', *givi-ha ru-šd-ind* 'the women are weeping', *chuldar-a chazi-šd-ind* 'the children are laughing' (Jerusalem Domari *xudwar-e xaz-andi*). The possessive construction draws on the possessive or comitative pronominal form and the existential verb: *tera astaq* 'you have', *masan astqaq* 'I have' (lit. 'with me there is'). A curious feature is the derivational prefix *le-/la/laf-* on verbs: *lepi* 'to drink', *lipar* 'to buy', *lafgyri* 'to sell' (Jerusalem Domari *pi-*, *par-*, *kin-* respectively). Word order appears to be mixed, with existential verbs appearing in final position, but lexical verbs often preceding both direct and indirect objects:⁵

- (14) *gand gulda hi*
sugar sweet is
'Sugar is sweet.'
- (15) *hu ka-št-a taz-a masi*
he eat-PRG-3SG fresh-M meat
'He eats fresh meat.'
- (16) *ma ge-št-ium sot-iam*
I go-PRG-1SG sleep-1SG
'I am going to sleep.'
- (17) *ma thi-san ge-št-um deh*
I you-SOC go-PRG-1SG village
'I will go to the village with you.'
- (18) *ma nig-ild-um guri-a-qi*
I leave-PAST-1SG tent-OBL.F.-ABL
'I went out from the tent.'

The negation particle is *na*, as in the other northern Domari varieties:

- (19) *chujia na manqi-šd-a pis manis*
God NEG like-PRG-3SG bad person
'God does not like bad people.'

Once again we find strong influence on the vocabulary of the language from Persian, Turkish/Azeri, and Kurdish – much of this vocabulary shared by two or more of the contact languages: *dost* 'friend', *banir* 'cheese', *ranq* 'colour', *dar* 'tree', *orta* 'middle', *išyk* 'moon', *gyrmyzi* 'red', and *bde* 'give' from Kurdish *bi-de* SUBJ-give 'give!'

Confirmation of the presence of Domari in Anatolia is provided by Black (1913), who in 1886 recorded a short wordlist in a community of Muslim sieve-makers and entertainers near the town of Van who referred to themselves as Doom but were called Boshā by the Armenians and Chingene and Mutrub by the Turks. Black's list shows familiar Domari words such as *muna* 'bread', *bane* 'water', *munas* 'person', *gam* 'sun', the pronouns *ma* 'I' and *tu* 'you', the use of Kurdish numerals *shesh* 'six', *haft* 'seven', *hasht* 'eight' and above. We also find evidence for the use of the copula stem *-št-* as a marker of progressive aspect with lexical verbs, as in Patkanoff's material: *ka-shtom* 'I eat', *bee-shtom* 'I drink'.

There is no doubt that the most influential and comprehensive documentation of Domari to date is Macalister's (1914) monograph on the 'Language of the Nawar or Zutt, the nomad smiths of Palestine', which had

originally been published in a series of articles in the *Journal of the Gypsy Lore Society*. The material was collected in Jerusalem before 1908, apparently from one single speaker. The publication includes a grammatical sketch of 42 pages, a collection of texts consisting mainly of tales that were translated into Domari from Arabic by Macalister's consultant, and a glossary of over 1300 lexical items. Although it has not been possible to identify any direct descendants of Macalister's Dom consultant Shakir Mahsin, and although the publication remains unknown to the community today, it is quite clear from Macalister's description that we are dealing with the same community, and that the dialect described by him is identical to the one used today by the small number of surviving speakers in Jerusalem.

Since the remainder of this work will be devoted to a discussion of the very same variety, it seems worthwhile to draw attention to some of the more obvious gaps in Macalister's account.⁶ One of his major and consistent stumbling blocks was the differentiation between phonotactic variation around epenthetic vowels and vowel morphemes with grammatical meaning. Macalister completely fails to identify the presence of the external tense markers *-i* and *-a* and hence the meaningful distinction between forms like *kardom* 'I did', *kardomi* 'I have done', and *kardoma* 'I had done', or between *qumnam* 'I eat' and *qumnama* 'I was eating'. He also fails to identify the predication marker *-i* which attaches to consonantal nominal stems and is functionally equivalent to the marker *-ēk*, which accompanies vocalic stems; thus *dōm* 'a Dom man', *aha dōm-i* 'this is a Dom man', *dōmiya* 'a Dom woman', *ihi dōmiy-ēk* 'this is a Dom woman'. Lacking sensitivity toward the value of vowel oppositions in grammatical endings, he also fails to recognise *-ēk* and *-ik* as vocalic predication markers that occur in different environments, namely following the stem vowels *-a* and *-i* respectively, and he fails to distinguish between the latter and the indefiniteness marker *-ak*, which retains its shape independently of the nominal stem. Macalister also misses the systematic phonotactic alternations involving the presence and absence of external tense markers around object pronouns, as in *lah-am-ir* 'that I see you', but *lah-am-r-i* 'I see you', *lah-am-r-a* 'I was seeing you'. Nor does he recognise the meaningful vowel oppositions in enclitic object pronouns – nominative *-os* etc., oblique *-is* etc. His description of nominal and verbal paradigms does not take into account all declension and inflection classes. He does not discuss oblique forms of demonstratives, and he misinterprets epenthetic vowels as articles, referring to them as "the superdefinite article". He interprets the intransitive derivation marker *-y-* as a "future tense" (p. 28) and misses its genuine function, claiming that there is no passive derivation in the language. Macalister makes little attempt to discuss etymology or to draw a comparison with other Domari materials, although he was aware of the relevant publications by Pott (1846) and Seetzen. Nonetheless, despite the

gaps, his is the most extensive early description of Domari and the glossary that he produced remains the most exhaustive documentation of the language's lexical vocabulary.

Macalister's (1914) work inspired a number of secondary studies specialising in various aspects of the material. Littmann (1920) examines the integration of Arabic structures into Jerusalem Domari and provides a glossary of Arabic lexical items in the language, which also incorporates Seetzen's wordlist. Littmann provides a useful overview of the adoption into Domari of Arabic syntactic patterns and conjunctions and particles. In connection with other issues, however, there is a series of misinterpretations. Littmann's claim that Arabic nominal loans are frequently assigned the ending **-i* results from a misinterpretation of the predication marker of consonantal stems (*aha qalam-i* 'this is a pencil', from Arabic *qalam* 'pencil'). His claim that Arabic verb inflection is not integrated into Domari rests on the fact that no such integration is documented in Macalister's material; in fact, contemporary Domari offers many examples of such integration (see Chapter 7). It is not clear whether this reflects change within two or three generations, or whether Macalister left out material that he did not regard as 'pure' Domari. Littmann analyses the Arabic verbal stem that is borrowed into Domari as an underlying Arabic imperative, though it seems more attractive to view it as an underlying subjunctive, for both structural and functional reasons (see Chapters 7 and 11). Working under the assumption that Macalister's description of the Domari system of tenses was exhaustive, Littmann puts forward the hypothesis that Domari has lost (sic) tense forms as a result of convergence with Arabic.

Following in Littmann's footsteps, Barr (1943) points out that Domari has absorbed significant structural influences from Persian and Kurdish. He argues for an Iranian origin of the nominaliser affix *-iš* and interprets the use of enclitic pronouns in Domari in the expression of possession and pronominal objects as shaped in accordance with the Kurdish model, which distinguishes between agreement with transitive and intransitive predicates. Here, Barr wrongly bases his argument on the assumed presence of the same subject concord in **rasr-os* 'he arrived' and *nand-os* 'he brought (it)', while in fact subject concord differs, the correct intransitive form being *rasr-a* 'he arrived'. Barr's attempt to derive the Domari subjunctive marker *-č-* from the Kurdish verb *č-* 'to go' seems equally unconvincing (see discussion in Chapter 7).

There are very few modern attempts to document Domari, not least due to an atmosphere in post-colonial Middle Eastern countries that did not favour open research into the culture of ethnic minorities. Even in environments that have been more supportive of research, the Dom community has long been considered inaccessible. Spolsky and Cooper (1991) for instance, in their survey of the languages of Jerusalem, refer to the language mistakenly as 'Romany' (p. 13–14), apparently in an attempt to avoid the term 'Gypsy',

though disregarding the considerable differences between Domari and Romani. Nevertheless, there is some continuation to the fragmented documentation of the language. In an undated student essay composed at the University of Texas, Nicholson analyses nine short sentences recorded in Damascus in 1982 by a Syrian academic by the name of Dr Ghias Barakat, who apparently had been working with Christian missionaries. The brief fragment provides some clues about the structure of Domari as spoken in Damascus. As might be expected, the few forms resemble the other samples from Syria. Possessive endings are the usual *næam-oom* ‘my name’, *barr-oom* ‘my brother’, *læty-uur* ‘your daughter’, *ǰur-uur* ‘your wife’ (the author’s transliteration is retained). Nominal case is documented in *fræansə-mæ* ‘in France’ and in *maareni bakr-e æb-us-ki* ‘we will slaughter a sheep for him’. There is a consonantal plural ending *ǰuur-iin* ‘women’, which also appears in the pronoun *æmiin* ‘we’. Attested present-tense verb endings are 1PL-*eni* and 3PL *-endi*, and an example of an inflected preposition is *basoo-mæn* ‘with us’ (Jerusalem Domari *waši-man*). Another questionnaire elicitation by Marielle Danbakli of the ‘Centre des recherches tsiganes’ in Paris, carried out in Damascus around 1990, documents 53 sentences in Domari. The transcription quality is poor. Recognisable nonetheless are the possessive endings in *nam-ur* ‘your name’, *pit-os* ‘his belly’, the Kurdish-derived numerals *heft* ‘seven’ and *hezt* ‘eight’, the verb forms *ruwari* ‘he cries’ and *ruwsti* ‘crying’, the preposition *abum* ‘to me’ and the demonstrative *ha* ‘this’

A wordlist collected by Giovanni Bochi (2007) among the Dom of the Beqaa valley in Lebanon in 2004 shows familiar forms such as *mangiškari* ‘he is begging’ as well as the pronoun *pandži* ‘he/she’, showing that it is not entirely absent from the northern dialects. We also find use of the *št*-copula in *ma kriye-me štumi* ‘I am at home’ (= ‘in my house’), Kurdish-derived kinship terms such as *kur* ‘son’ and *bapir* ‘grandfather’, possessive constructions based on mere juxtaposition (*wati kri* ‘a stone house’), and interestingly, a progressive-indicative or immediate future construction based on the prefix *ka*:

- (20) *ma ka dža-m kri-yē-ma*
 I IND go-1SG.SUBJ house-OBL-LOC
 ‘I shall go/ I am going home.’

Some notes on the speech forms of the Qurbati groups of Syria are presented by Al-Jibāwī (2006), though most are of limited value since they appear in Arabic script with little adaptation for Domari sound values, and moreover, they contain at times obvious mistakes (such as absence of agreement in verb conjugations) and it appears that the author had on occasion misunderstood his consultants. Among the interesting phenomena that appear to be documented are verb-final word order (*pesara pari piya* ‘the boy drank

water'), alternating 3rd person subject pronouns *hana* and *pandži*, 'long' forms of the plural pronouns *amin* 'we' and *atmin* 'you', and a set of possessive suffixes identical to that of Jerusalem Domari (1SG *-om*, 2SG *-or*, 3SG *-os*, 1PL *-oman*, 2PL *-oran*, 3PL *-osan*) including the alternation between subject case in *-o* (*-om*, *-or* etc.) and object case in *-i* (*-im*, *-ir* etc.).

Herin (2012) bases his description of the Domari of Aleppo on sentence elicitations, using the questionnaire developed by Matras, Elšik, and collaborators for the Manchester Romani Project in 2001.⁷ Herin confirms many of the Syrian Domari forms that have been documented in earlier sources, such as the long plural pronouns *amin* 'we' and *tmin* 'you.PL', the comparative marker *-tar* on adjectives, the preposition *z-* 'from', the progressive aspect in *-št-*, the future marker *ka*, and the copula *štom* 'I am'. In addition, he notes a reflexive pronoun *pa*, the collapse of gender distinction and the generalisation of *-es* as an accusative marker and of *-ə* as an oblique marker for all nouns, a so-called 'versative' case marker *-va*, a superlative marker *an* (from Turkish, possibly via Kurdish), and a relational expression *xor-* 'within'.

The remaining sources related to the language⁸ deal with Domari-derived vocabulary that is used within the framework of another language in special situations of concealed communication among group insiders in other peripatetic populations. Benninghaus (1991) reports on two groups in eastern Anatolia that are described under the label 'Tsiganes': the Poşça (or *Lom*) and the Mıtrıp or Karaçi (*Dom*). The Lom have an historical affinity to Armenian society, though only some of them are Christians. The Dom on the other hand are affiliated with Kurdish society and are speakers of Kurdish. Mıtrıp samples are provided from three communities in Kurdistan: Batman, Elmayaka, and Van. They contain a sizeable number of Domari words, such as *qayim* 'food', *manis* 'person', *pari* 'water', *küri* 'house', *vat* 'stone'. Kurdish derivation suffixes are added to some Domari words: *gorevi* 'cow', *bekrev* 'sheep', *menef* 'bread'. The self-appellation of the group and its reliance on Domari vocabulary for in-group special communication may indicate an origin in a Domari-speaking population, or else intensive immersion with one in the past. We come across a similar phenomenon in central Sudan, the southernmost attestation of a Domari-related variety. For the Bahlawan population of metalworkers, Streck (1996: 295–297) documents several dozen words of Domari origin that are used as a "secret language" among group members, embedded into their local dialect of Arabic. In many cases, frozen grammatical inflections accompany the vocabulary items: *ikioss* 'eye' (*ky-os* 'his eye'), *santass* 'dog' (*snot-as* 'dog [direct object]'), *kuturjess* 'European' (*ktur-as* 'Christian [direct object]'), *sheria* 'knife' (*šir-ya* 'knife [direct object]'), *pim* 'nose', *sutari* 'to sleep' (*sut-ari* 'he/she sleeps'), *qotari* 'to steal' (*qaft-ari* 'he/she steals').

1.3. Dialect differences in Domari

Despite the rather fragmented nature of the documentation of Domari from locations other than Jerusalem, there are sufficient clues to allow us to postulate tentatively at least a series of isoglosses separating two major varieties of the language – a northern (Caucasus, Syria, Lebanon) and a southern (Palestine, Jordan). The use of Domari-derived vocabulary items in in-group varieties of Kurdish and Arabic remains, of course, outside this classification.

For the ‘northern’ group we are in possession of notes published by Pott (Beirut), Newbold (Aleppo), Paspali (Anatolia), Patkanoff (Yelizabetpol/Ganja), and supplemented by the notes of Nicholson and Danbakli (Damascus), Bochi (Beqaa valley), Al-Jibāwī (2006, northern Syria, incl. Aleppo), and recent work by Herin (2011, 2012, Aleppo). A further source from Damascus is a Dom story-teller by the name of Abu Ahmad, originally from a nomadic family based in Hauran in southwestern Syria, who was recorded by Frank Meyer in conjunction with ethnographic research on the community of Dom in Damascus (Meyer 1994). The short recording was made available to me in 1999 and I present an excerpt from it here:

- (21) a. *dirxabiyy-ē-ma št-ēn-a*
D-OBL.F-LOC- be-1PL-REM
- b. *u rawwir-d-ēn min dirxabiyy-ē-ki*
and travel-PAST-1PL from D-OBL.F-ABL
- c. *gar-ēn ḥorān, kam-kar-d-ēn*
go.PAST-1PL Hauran work-VTR-PAST-1PL
- d. *kam-kar-d-ēn gēna/ ger-ēn gēna*
work-VTR-PAST-1PL again go.PAST-1PL again
šati-hr-ēn dirxabiyy-ē-ma
winter-VTR-1PL D-OBL.F-LOC
- e. *many-an-i pandž/ pandž/ yaʕni šeš mas*
stay-1PL-PRG five five PART six month
šatyo-ho-n-i
winter-VTR-1PL-PRG
- f. *gēna raw-an-i dž-an-i gēna ḥorān,*
again travel-1PL-PRG go-1PL-PRG again Hauran
gēna kam-kar-ēn-i
again work-VTR-1PL-PRG

- g. *er-ēn* *inḥa*
come.PAST-1PL here
- h. *man-d-ēn* *inḥa* *dir-ṣasirdžir-ma*
stay-PAST-1PL here D-LOC
- i. *ēr-os-man* *'awwal/* *yaṣni* *pēndžah* *dis/*
come.PAST-3SG-1PL first PART fifty day
pēndžah *waris*
fifty year
- j. *man-d-ēn* *ehrēna.*
stay-PAST-1PL here
- k. *par-d-ēn* *abu-zīr-as-ki* *dir*
take-PAST-1PL Abu-Zir-OBL.M-ABL daughter
ben-i
sister-PRED.SG
- l. *par-d-ēr-is* *putr-im-ke*
take-PAST-1PL-3SG.OBL son-1SG.OBL-BEN
aḥmad-as-ke
Ahmad-OBL.M-BEN
- m. *ṣammur-k-ad-i* *ū* *man-īr-i* *ehnēna*
build-VTR-PAST-F and stay-PAST-F here
- n. *ṣir-nā* *dža-n-i* *kam-k-an-i* *ū*
began-1PL go-1PL-PRG work-VTR-1PL-PRG and
giry-an-i *gēna* *ehnēna*
return-1PL-PRG again here
- o. *man-d-ēn* *ū/* *ṣammur-k-ad-ēn* *ehnēna*
stay-PAST-1PL and build-VTR-PAST-1PL here
- p. *kam-kar-ēr-i* *yarbīl*
work-VTR-1PL-PRG sieve
- a. 'We used to live in Dirxabiyye.
b. And we travelled from Dirxabiyye.
c. We went to Hauran, we worked.
d. We worked (and) back/ we went back, we spent the winter in Dirxabiyye.
e. We stay five/ five or six months we stay the winter.
f. Once again we travel, we go back to Hauran, we work again.
g. We came here.
h. We settled here in Dir Asirjir.

- i. It has now been first/ that is, fifty days/ fifty years [for us here].
- j. We settled here.
- k. We took Abu Zir's sister's daughter.
- l. We took her for my son Ahmad.
- m. She gave birth and she stayed here.
- n. We started to go to work and to return back here.
- o. We stayed and we built up here.
- p. We make sieves.'

As can be seen through a comparison with examples presented in the following chapters, the language of this excerpt is almost identical to the Domari speech of Jerusalem. The only differences that can be identified on the basis of this excerpt are (a) the use of the copula form in *št-* (Jerusalem *ahr-*), (b) use of the numerals *šeš* 'six' and *pēndžah* 'fifty', both from Kurdish, and (c) the forms *inħa* and *ehreħna* 'here' (Jerusalem *ihnēħ, ihneħna*).

For the 'southern' group we have in addition to our own data corpus also the material of Seetzen (Nablus) and Macalister (1914), as well as data recently collected by Rafiq (2011), using the Manchester Romani Project questionnaire, among nomadic Dom based to the north of Amman in Jordan. This variety, too, is almost identical to the Domari speech of Jerusalem, as far as can be ascertained from the available data. Minor differences include (a) the presence of vocabulary items that are not attested in Jerusalem but are known from other Domari varieties, e.g. *lafti* 'girl, daughter', and retention of Anatolian-Mesopotamian vocabulary (Persian, Kurdish, Turkish) such as *piyaz* 'onion', *brindž* 'rice', *išag* 'light', (b) adoption of the Arabic feminine plural marker *-āt* with inherited nouns irrespective of gender: *džuriyāt* 'women', *lāčiyāt* 'girls', *putrāt* 'children', (c) use of the copula in *st-*: *ama ma kāħ kurya-ma stomi* 'I was not at home', (d) optional person inflection on the Arabic auxiliary *kāħ*, (e) retention of the long benefactive suffix *-kera* with full nouns: *tom day-im-kera dahab guzzali* 'I gave my mother beautiful gold'

On the basis of the available materials we can postulate the following tentative differences between the northern and the southern dialects of Domari:

- (a) In the area of pronouns, some northern dialects show a preference for the form *hu/uhu* for the 3SG subject pronoun, often reserving *pandži* for special functions such as reflexive. In the south, *pandži* is the preferred form for the subject pronoun while *uhu* is used as a remote demonstrative. In the northern varieties, independent possessive pronouns may be used in addition to possessive suffixes, while the southern varieties rely exclusively on suffixes. At least some of the northern varieties show *-n* at the end of the plural pronouns *amin*

‘we’ and *atmin* ‘you.PL’, an ending that is absent in the south (but also in the northernmost variety of Azerbaijan), where the forms are *eme* and *itme* (the long form is preserved, however, in the case-inflected form *eminke* ‘for us’ in Jerusalem Domari).

- (b) In verb morphology, all dialects except Jerusalem Domari show productive use of *štomi* ‘I am’, while the Jerusalem dialect uses a re-analysed past-tense form of the verb ‘to become’ – *ahromi* – for ‘I am’.⁹ The northern dialects show a grammaticalised use of *št-* to form the progressive present tense of lexical verbs. In some of the northern dialects, an aspectual marker *ka-* is used for the present indicative or proximate future.
- (c) In grammatical vocabulary, the northern dialects retain the Indic particle *sa* for ‘all’, contrasting with Kurdish-derived *gišt* in the south. Kurdish numerals are more predominant in the north (but also in Hauran). Northern dialects tend to use the Persian preposition *z-* ‘from’, while southern dialects use Arabic *min*. The present-tense negation particle *na* is found only in the north, while the proclitic *in-* is found in both northern and southern varieties.
- (d) In morpho-syntax, the Kurdish (and Persian) marker *-ter* is used to form the comparison of adjectives in the northern varieties (cf. Romani *-der*), while the southern varieties rely on wholesale borrowing of Arabic comparative word forms. Verb-final word order is more likely to be preserved in the northern varieties. There is some evidence of ongoing or even advanced loss of gender distinction in some of the northern varieties (cf. Herin 2011, 2012).
- (e) In phonology, etymological /v/ appears to be retained as /v/ in the north in words like *vat* ‘stone’ and *vars* ‘year’, compared with /w/ in the south (*wat*, *wars*), though the precise value of the notation used in many of the older investigations cannot be ascertained.

Given the state of documentation, none of these differences can be formulated as strict isoglosses. In vocabulary especially, we have seen that different local or tribal dialects make different kinds of selections among both inherited (Indic) and borrowed (‘Mesopotamian and Anatolian’) vocabulary. Nonetheless, an impression is emerging of two groups of dialects, with the split between north and south occurring in Syria: the Damascus and of course Aleppo varieties are part of the northern group, while the Hauran dialect usually patterns together with the Jordanian and Palestinian varieties.

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. The variables in question concern a number of morphological processes for which there is almost invariably 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 relevant forms are the following:

- (a) the ‘conservative’ retention of the 3rd person plural subject affix *-ndi* as opposed to the ‘new’ use of the simplified *-dī*
- (b) retention of the dative marker *-ta*, contrasting with *-ka* (a blend of *-ta* and the benefactive marker *-ke* and/or ablative/genitive *-ki*)
- (c) retention of the sociative (comitative) marker *-sar*, contrasting with its replacement through the Arabic preposition *maʕ* ‘with’
- (d) tendency toward greater retention of the affricate /č/ contrasting with its replacement by /š/
- (e) retention of a long form of the dative case ending *-kera* alongside the shorter form *-ke*
- (f) use of the modality particle *ta* in purpose clauses (correlating with a more conservative usage in Palestinian Arabic), contrasting with the Arabic particle *ʕašān*
- (g) use of original stem-based verb forms in the present indicative, such as *klami* ‘I exit’, *xolami* ‘I descend’, and *xazami* ‘I laugh’, contrasting with the renewal of the present indicative stem following the model of the subjunctive extension with *č > š*: *kilšami* ‘I exit’, *xolšami* ‘I descend’, *xaštami* ‘I laugh’.

There does seem to be a generation split, with the relatively ‘younger’ speakers tending toward the ‘new’ set of variants, and the oldest generation showing overwhelmingly the more ‘conservative’ set. This would indicate a cluster of changes that began to spread in the community in the 1930s. The comparison with Macalister’s (1914) material, collected in Jerusalem before 1908, is inconclusive since Macalister relies on just one single speaker. On the whole, however, this speaker’s usage tends to match the more ‘conservative’ cluster attested in the contemporary speech of the community.

1.4. Domari and Romani

The relationship between Domari and Romani has been the focus of linguistic debates since Pott's (1846) discussion of the language of the Syrian Gypsies. Both Domari and Romani are Indo-Aryan diaspora languages that lack any obvious affiliation to any particular present-day 'sister-language' in the Indian sub-continent. There are also ethnographic similarities between the two speaker populations. They include their self-appellations (*ḍōm*, *řom*), their wholesale designation for outsiders (Domari *kadža*, Romani *gadžo*)¹⁰, and their socio-economic profile as small kinship-based communities that are nomadic or semi-nomadic and specialise in a portfolio of trades that usually includes manufacturing of small tools and entertainment as well as other services. The languages share a linguistic legacy as a result of the fact that they both belong to the Indo-Aryan family of languages. They also share features that distinguish them from other New Indo-Aryan languages as a result of permanent bilingualism and the influence of various contact languages. Thus they both tend to have lost retroflex sounds, verb-final word order, postpositions and conjunctive participles, and both show instead a tendency toward finiteness in complex clauses, a reduction or loss of the infinitive, and many borrowings in the domains of grammatical vocabulary such as conjunctions, modal and adverbial particles, and more.

Most outspoken in support of a shared origin was Sampson (1923, 1927), who regarded Romani, Domari and Lomavren (the now extinct language of the Armenian Posha or Lom, which can be partly reconstructed on the basis of the special vocabulary preserved in their Armenian speech) as derived from a single ancestral language which split into three distinct branches after arriving in Iranian-speaking territory. This view was opposed by Turner (1926), who was the first to examine not just the phonological changes that divide the languages but also the chronology of these changes. Hancock (1995) supported the view of a separate migration based on the fact that Domari and Romani differed in their inventory of Iranian loanwords and are therefore likely to have had separate contacts in Iranian-speaking territory, in different places and at different times.¹¹

The most archaic innovations that are recognisable in both languages can be traced back to the period of transition between Old and Middle Indo-Aryan, before the beginning of the first millennium. Here, both languages share the direction of development with one another and with the bulk of languages that would later on constitute the so-called Central group of Indo-Aryan languages (including Hindi, Gujarati, Rajasthani, and more; cf. Masica 1991). The changes include shift of syllabic /ɾ/ to /u,i/ (OIA *ghṛta*, Domari *gir* 'butter', Romani *khił*) of initial /y/ to /dʒ/ (OIA *yuvatīh*, Domari *džuwir* 'woman', Romani *džuveh*) and of /kʂ/ to /k(h)/ in post-vocal and to /č/ in pre-vocal

positions (OIA *akṣi*, Domari *iki* ‘eye’, Romani *jakh*, OIA *kṣurikā*, Domari *čuri* ‘knife’, Romani *čuri*), as well as the simplification of a series of consonant clusters such as /rp/, /sm/, /pt/ (OIA *sarpa*, Domari *sap* ‘snake’, Romani *sap*) and more (for details see Chapter 2.6). Both languages also participate in a series of reductions of medial consonants. On the other hand, they also show a series of conservative features which continue the Old Indo-Aryan state of affairs, notably the retention of the clusters /dr/, /št/, and more (Domari *drak* ‘grape’). It was on this basis that Turner had postulated a departure from the Central zone before the transition to MIA was completed, and re-location to the Northwestern regions, which were beyond the spread of the particular simplifications that affected these clusters elsewhere. At least one structural difference between Domari and Romani might be dated back to this period: The three OIA sibilants /ś, ṣ, s/ are all continued in Domari as /s/ (except in the cluster /št/), while Romani differentiates between /s/ and /š/, suggesting a possible split already at this early stage.

The next historical period is the beginning transition from Middle to New Indo-Aryan. According to Turner, both Domari and Romani were spoken in the Northwestern regions during this period. Once again both languages show conservative traits by retaining MIA dentals in medial positions, albeit as sonorants rather than stops (OIA/MIA *gata* ‘gone’, Domari *gara*, Romani *gelo*). They both also maintain more or less intact the MIA present-tense person inflection system on verbs. But they also participate in a number of general innovations that take place during this period, such as the reduction of the nominal case system and the loss of the past-tense inflection paradigm. They then share a number of more specific innovations that are common to some but not all NIA languages: They reduce grammatical gender to just masculine and feminine (losing the neuter), they retain oblique case marking on demonstratives, and they show productive causatives in *-naw/-av-*. Several phonological differences between the languages might be traced back to this period: OIA/MIA initial /v/ becomes /w/ in Domari (OIA *varṣa*, Domari *wars* ‘year’), but /b/ in Romani (*bersṣ*), and historical /m/ in final position is continued in Domari but becomes /v/ in Romani. Inherited initial /h/ is continued as /x/ in Domari, but is lost in Romani (OIA *hastā*, Domari *xast* ‘arm’, Romani *v-ast*).

Moving on to the early New Indo-Aryan period, we assume that the two languages are now in contact with local languages of the so-called Dardic group (also referred to as Indo-Iranian frontier languages). Here we witness what are perhaps the most significant shared innovations that characterise Domari and Romani. In phonology, they both undergo a shift in the cluster /nt/ to /nd/, which is common in the region. The languages by now show differences in the realisation of the inherited medial stop – /r/ in Domari (*gara* ‘gone’), /l/ in Romani (*gelo*) – but proceed toward a shared replacement of

internal retroflex sounds through /r/ (OIA *haḍḍa*, Domari *xar* ‘bone’, Romani *heroj*). It is very likely that the loss of voiced aspirated stops took place in contact with the Dardic languages (which also lose them), though its effects are different in the two languages: In Domari aspiration simply disappears and the voiced stops remain (OIA *bhagini*, Domari *ben* ‘sister’), while in Romani voiced aspirates merge with voiceless aspirates (*phen*), and word-internal aspiration is transferred to initial segments (OIA *gandha*, Domari *gan-* ‘stink’, Romani *khand-*).

In morphology, the intensifier *-ar-* is borrowed from neighbouring northern Indo-Aryan languages. In Domari its use is limited, as far as we can tell from contemporary materials, to the reinforcement of past-tense verbs (*lah-ami* ‘I see’, *lah-ar-dom* ‘I saw’), while in Romani it becomes productive as a transitive and causative derivation marker (for details see Matras 2002). A set of postposed local relations expressions are grammaticalised into new case markers, as in the other NIA languages, but in both Domari and Romani they become agglutinating inflectional endings (Domari *mansaske* ‘for the person’, Romani *manušeske*). Both languages employ an unmodified form of the oblique case marker to express the definite direct object: Domari *tarna marda kažž-as* ‘the young boy beat the man’, Romani *o terno marda(s) le gadž-es*. The construction closely resembles the use of the cognate dative form for the same purpose in Kashmiri: *aslam-an lo:y mohan-as* ‘Aslam beat Mohan’ (Koul and Wali 2006: 71).

Finally, both Domari and Romani adopt the renewal pattern of a new past-tense inflection set that appears in the Dardic languages, turning enclitic object pronouns that indicate the agent into subject concord endings that are attached to the past participle (thus *karda* ‘done’ + *me* ‘me’ > *kard-om* ‘done by me = I did’). The outcome of this region-specific early NIA innovation, in conjunction with the extraordinary retention of the set of MIA present-tense concord markers (i.e. *kar-ami* ‘I do’ etc.), lends the Domari and Romani verb systems their unique and exceptional character within modern Indo-Aryan.

Subsequent developments may be assumed to have taken place in contact with Iranian and perhaps also other languages in Mesopotamia or Anatolia; they show once again both similarities and differences between the languages. Both languages lose initial /kh/, but in Domari it is replaced by /q/, presumably borrowed from Iranian, while in Romani it is succeeded by /x/ (Domari *qar* ‘donkey’, Romani *xer*). Remaining retroflex sounds in initial position and geminate retroflex sounds in medial position are replaced by dentals in Domari (OIA *aṭṭa*, Domari *ata* ‘flour’), but are continued in Romani as /ʃ/ (*ařo*, with variant pronunciations, including as retroflex [ɽ] and uvular [ʀ]). Romani undergoes various changes to vowel sounds that do not affect Domari, such as from internal /a/ to /e/ and from inflectional /a/ to /o/ (Domari *tarna* ‘young’, Romani *terno*).

In morphology, Domari develops an auxiliary *č- from an existential verb in *č- which is used to express modality with verbs indicating change of state (see Chapter 7). Romani develops a passive auxiliary *ov- based on the verb ‘to become’, calquing similar usage in Iranian languages. It no longer shows any trace of the inherited OIA/MIA internal passive in -y-, which is preserved in Domari. Both languages develop external tense markers (i.e. uniform markers of tense that follow the subject-concord marker) similar to those found in Kurdish and other Iranian languages. It appears as though both languages made use of the stems *ho-* and *s(t)o-* for the existential verb, as both languages still show cross-dialectal variation in the distribution of copula forms (Jerusalem Domari *homi* ‘I am’, Hauran Domari *štomi*, Sinti Romani *hom*, Arli Romani *sonx*, note also the cognates Domari *(a)h(u)rom* ‘I became’ and Romani *(h)ulom*). Both Domari and Romani also develop verb-derivation strategies based on the grammaticalisations of the verbs ‘to do’ and ‘to become’ – Domari *-kar-* and *-ho-*, Romani *-ker-* (alternating with the causative marker *-ar-*) and *-ov-* (alternating with *-av-* ‘to come’) – which also serve as light verbs and later as grammaticalised affixes for the integration of loan verbs from contact languages.

As regards the distribution of enclitic and bound person markers in subject, possessor, and object role, judging by the variety of agreement patterns found in the Dardic and Iranian languages today and especially the volatility of patterns along the continuum of Kurdish dialects and Pamir languages (see Bynon 1979, Payne 1980), it would not be surprising to assume some degree of volatility within earlier forms of both Domari and Romani. Jerusalem Domari relies on bound pronominal forms, but independent possessive pronouns that are cognate with older possessive forms (e.g. *teri* ‘your’) are attested for other Domari varieties; similarly, Romani generally shows independent object pronouns, derived from demonstratives and modelled on the Greek anaphoric use of *aftó* etc., but at least in one case, that of the Parakalamos dialect of Epirus in northwestern Greece (Matras 2004), we find a distribution of bound object pronominal affixes that is very similar to that of Domari. Thus the Mesopotamian-Anatolian period of Domari and Romani is likely to have witnessed some volatility in this domain.

We may assume that it is also at this stage that the languages develop postposed relative clauses and begin to rely on finite clause combining. Infinitive forms will have been reduced through contact with Iranian and later Arabic (for Domari) and Greek (for Romani). Subsequent developments are known to have affected Romani in particular as a result of its contact with Byzantine Greek: It develops prepositions, conjunctions, preposed definite articles¹², and stand-alone object pronouns based on demonstratives, and it integrates a considerable amount of nominal and verbal morphology from Greek.

What remains is to consider at a glance a brief representative sample of the two languages' lexical inventories. I choose deliberately to use a custom-made scale here. I avoid the Swadesh list because of its obvious inadequacies and language biases (such as consideration of colours, region-specific landscape terms, and grammatical relations that are often expressed through inflection, such as 'with'), and for the sake of efficiency I avoid more elaborate lexical-typological lists such as the one used by the Loanword Typology project (Haspelmath and Tadmor 2009).¹³ Table 1 presents instead selected items from several domains. In the grammatical domain, there is an advantage in focusing on the categories of pronouns, demonstratives, interrogatives, and spatial relations. On the one hand, these are more resistant toward borrowing from contact languages than grammatical expressions such as conjunctions and indefinites. On the other hand, deixis and anaphora are prone to internal renewal triggered by the constant need to maintain effective tools to ensure disambiguation among referents. As for lexical content words, it makes sense to focus on the more stable areas of kinship terms, body parts, landscapes, basic food and basic activities.

Table 1. Basic vocabulary comparison Domari/ Romani

	Domari	Romani
Kinship		
father	<i>bəy</i>	<i>dad</i>
mother	<i>day</i>	<i>daj</i>
son	<i>putur</i>	<i>čhavo</i>
daughter	<i>dīr</i>	<i>čhaj</i>
brother	<i>bar</i>	<i>phral</i>
sister	<i>ben</i>	<i>phen</i>
son-in-law	<i>džatir</i>	<i>džamutro</i>
daughter-in-law	<i>wahri</i>	<i>bori</i>
brother/sister in-law	<i>silif</i>	<i>salo, sali</i>
husband	<i>payy</i>	<i>řom</i>
wife	<i>bay</i>	<i>řomni</i>
grandfather	<i>dad</i>	<i>papos</i> (Grk.)
grandmother	<i>dadī</i>	<i>mami</i> (Grk.)
uncle	<i>mām, xāl</i> (Kurd./Ar.)	<i>kako</i>
aunt	<i>māmī, xālī</i> (Kurd./Ar.)	<i>bibi</i>
Body parts		
head	<i>siri</i>	<i>šero</i>
hair	<i>wal</i>	<i>bal</i>
face	<i>muh</i>	<i>muj</i>
ear	<i>kan</i>	<i>kan</i>
nose	<i>pirin, nak</i>	<i>nakh</i>
eye	<i>iki</i>	<i>jakh</i>

Table 1 (cont.) Basic vocabulary comparison Domari/ Romani

	Domari	Romani
mouth	<i>zari</i>	<i>muj</i>
neck	<i>gurgi</i>	<i>kor</i>
back	<i>pišt</i>	<i>dumo</i>
arm	<i>xast</i>	<i>vast</i>
leg	<i>paw</i>	<i>pinřo, heroj</i>
belly	<i>pet</i>	<i>peř</i>
heart	<i>xur</i>	<i>ilo</i>
breast	<i>řiři</i>	<i>čuči</i>
tooth	<i>dand</i>	<i>dand</i>
tongue	<i>džiř</i>	<i>čhib</i>
blood	<i>nhir</i>	<i>rat</i>
Deictic expressions		
here	<i>hnēn</i>	<i>akaj, akate</i>
there	<i>hnon</i>	<i>okoj, okote</i>
this	<i>aha</i>	<i>aka-</i>
that	<i>uhu</i>	<i>oko-</i>
he/she	<i>pandži</i>	<i>ov/oj</i>
where	<i>krēn</i>	<i>kaj</i>
why	<i>kehni</i>	<i>sostar</i>
how	<i>kēkē</i>	<i>sar</i>
what	<i>ki</i>	<i>so</i>
who	<i>kān</i>	<i>kon</i>
when	<i>kawax</i>	<i>kana</i>
Spatial relations		
inside	<i>mandža</i>	<i>andre</i>
outside	<i>bara</i>	<i>avri</i>
behind	<i>paři</i>	<i>pala</i>
in front	<i>agir</i>	<i>angla</i>
above	<i>atun</i>	<i>opre</i>
below	<i>axar</i>	<i>tela</i>
next to	<i>čanči</i>	<i>paša</i>
Foods		
bread	<i>mana</i>	<i>manřo</i>
water	<i>pani</i>	<i>pani</i>
meat	<i>masi</i>	<i>mas</i>
sweet	<i>gulda</i>	<i>gudlo</i>
salt	<i>lon</i>	<i>lon</i>
egg	<i>ana</i>	<i>anřo</i>
milk	<i>dud</i>	<i>thud</i>
grapes	<i>drak</i>	<i>drakh</i>

Table 1 (cont.) Basic vocabulary comparison Domari/ Romani

	Domari	Romani
Nature		
day	<i>dis</i>	<i>dives</i>
night	<i>arati</i>	<i>rati</i>
wind	<i>wāy</i>	<i>balval</i>
rain	<i>warsinda</i>	<i>biršind</i>
snow	<i>taldž</i> (Ar.)	<i>iv</i>
year	<i>wars</i>	<i>berš</i>
month	<i>masi</i>	<i>mas</i>
sun	<i>tat, gam</i>	<i>kham</i>
moon	<i>qamar</i> (Ar.)	<i>čon</i>
hot	<i>hām</i> (Ar.)	<i>tato</i>
Activities		
give	<i>de-</i>	<i>d-</i>
take	<i>par-</i>	<i>l-</i>
go	<i>dža-</i>	<i>dža-</i>
come	<i>aw-</i>	<i>av-</i>
sleep	<i>sū(č)-</i>	<i>sov-</i>
cry	<i>row-</i>	<i>rov-</i>
die	<i>mary-</i>	<i>mer-</i>
eat	<i>q-</i>	<i>xa-</i>
drink	<i>pi-</i>	<i>pi-</i>
sit	<i>wišť-</i>	<i>bešť-</i>
rise	<i>išť-</i>	<i>ušť-</i>
know	<i>džan-</i>	<i>džan-</i>
hear	<i>sin-</i>	<i>šun-</i>
laugh	<i>xaz-</i>	<i>as-</i>
see	<i>lakh-</i>	<i>dikh-</i>
open	<i>qol-</i>	<i>putr-</i>
shut	<i>ban-</i>	<i>phand-</i>

The picture delivered by the lexical comparison is fully reconcilable with the historical stages in the development of the languages, to the extent that we are able to reconstruct them through cross-dialect comparison and consideration of documented sources on the historical development of Indo-Aryan: We are dealing with two separate languages with an extraordinary history of displacements resulting in recurrent convergent developments, whose paths appear to have crossed during several stages of this remarkable journey. The most likely explanation for the crossing of paths is the shared profile of the speaker communities, which inspires the search for a shared origin in the first place: They are both populations of similar socio-economic (caste) status, on the search for similar opportunities in similar times, and their

related constitutions may have indeed encouraged direct contact and reciprocal influences. Such encounters or mere contiguity will have been responsible for shared or similar structural developments in the languages during each of the historical stages. At the same time there is hardly a single stage for which we are unable to find some developments through which the two languages diverge. There is, in other words, no evidence that Domari and Romani ever constituted a single language, at any period in their development; but there is on the other hand plenty of evidence that they underwent shared developments as a result of sharing the same geo-linguistic environments during successive periods.

1.5. The Dom community of Jerusalem

The Dom belong to the populations known collectively in the literature as 'Middle Eastern Gypsies'.¹⁴ Their own term for their group is *dōm*, in the plural *dōme*. The Arabs usually call them *nawar* or, more pejoratively, *zuff*. 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 can be found as the self-designation of itinerant populations of Indian origin in Afghanistan (Rao 1995) and elsewhere.

The Dom's traditional specialisation was in metalwork and entertainment. Among the Palestinian Dom, however, these two professions are usually associated with different clans. The ancestors of the Jerusalem Dom were, until several decades ago, tent-dwelling smiths and tanners who produced skewers, horseshoes, and other metal artefacts. When the British set up municipal services in Jerusalem, in the early 1920s, the Dom abandoned their traditional professions and sought paid employment in the service of the municipality, as sweepers, in rubbish disposal, and as caretakers in public lavatories. By the 1940s the community came to rely on wage labour and the Dom abandoned their tents and moved into permanent dwelling within the Old City walls.

The bulk of the Dom population of Jerusalem still lives in rented accommodation in Bāb l-Ḥuṭṭa in the northeastern corner of the Muslim quarter of the Old City, just north of Lions Gate and the northern entrance to the Ḥāram, the compound which includes the Dome of the Rock and Al-'Aqṣa Mosques. Some families have left the Old City in recent years to settle in the neighbourhoods, villages, and suburbs in and around East Jerusalem. A sizeable community of expatriates lives in Amman, Jordan, having fled Jerusalem and the West Bank during the six-day war in June 1967. Many Dom maintain family ties with the Amman community, travel to Jordan regularly,

and host visiting relatives in Jerusalem. The community consists of three extended families: Nimr, Slīm, and Buṣārni. There are no reliable figures about the size of the Dom population in Jerusalem. Some members of the community claim a total population of up to one thousand, a figure that is accepted by some observers. A survey carried out in the mid-1970s by an Israeli anthropologist put the entire Dom population of the Old City at the time at between 200–300,¹⁵ which coincides with the figure of 300 given by Yaniv (1980). This would suggest a number of around 600–700 today.

The young generation of Jerusalem Dom is employed in a variety of professions, mainly in services. A significant number have completed secondary education, some continuing to higher specialised qualifications. The changing socio-economic profile of the community has deepened the gaps between the Jerusalem Dom and those in other parts of the country. It is also fracturing the traditional overlap between ethnic identity and socio-economic identity, which had existed previously among the Dom, giving rise to a feeling of an ethnicity vacuum. 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 young Dom women 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 Bedouins, 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 near-complete absence of marriages within the Dom community during the past two decades.

Despite their immersion into Muslim Arab society, the Dom maintain an awareness as a separate community, partly by tradition and partly as a result of everlasting marginalisation and isolation. All members of the community, especially the younger generations, report on incidents of racist abuse and discrimination by mainstream Palestinian society. As a result, many highlight their indifference to Palestinian political aspirations. On the other hand they

are regarded by Israeli authorities as an integral part of the Arab population of East Jerusalem and the West Bank and suffer the same occasional if not continuous abuse from them. Politically this positions the Dom in actual fact much closer to Palestinian than to Israeli society. The Jerusalem Dom have also had occasional contact with European Roma who have visited their community, usually as missionaries for various religious movements. This exposure has prompted a sense of curiosity toward the Romani community in Europe and a number of young Dom have in recent years been exploring the prospects of developing community institutions modelled in some way or another on the experience of Romani cultural and political associations in Europe and the U.S.

As in rural Arab society, the traditional authority within the community rests with the Mukhtar (Arabic *muxtār*) or community leader, whom the Dom call in their language *gawara*. The position of Mukhtar is a kind of compromise between an elected representative whose appointment reflects a consensus among the influential families in 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 has been challenged to some extent by the establishment in November 1999 of a 'Society for the Promotion of the Gypsies in Israel' [ha-'amuta le-kidum ha-tso'anim be-yisra'el]. The Foundation was initially backed by a left-wing Israeli opposition party. 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 Dom live. It is led by a small circle of volunteers – three sisters and a few of their supporters – with some support from Israeli and European and American charitable organisations. The group has succeeded in raising the profile of the tiny minority community at least in the local context, to some extent, through charity events and news reports. In 2011, a social worker was appointed by the Israeli municipality to act as liaison person for the affairs of the community.

A traditional link exists between the Dom community and another minority group in the West Bank known as 'Kurds' (Arabic *krād*, Domari *krāde*) or in their own speech as *rōm* or *rōmāt*. They too descend from itinerant metalworkers who provided their services to villagers in the West Bank, while the Dom served the urban population. The two groups intermarry and are to some extent familiar with each other's languages. The speech of the Kurds however appears to be a secret lexicon which includes lexical items from Kurdish as well as from Domari. Their indigenous name suggests a connection

to the Rom of Europe. Such a connection cannot be ruled out, given the presence of Romani items in the secret vocabularies of other itinerant groups in the Middle East, such as the Ghagar of Egypt (Newbold 1856) or the Poša of eastern Anatolia (Benninghaus 1991).

Although the Dom are aware of the presence of other scattered Dom communities all around the Middle East and the elderly are able to tell about encounters with Dom from Iraq, Syria, and Egypt in the 1930s and 1940s, the political situation during the past decades has prevented contacts with other Dom, with the exception of direct relations in Amman and with occasional Dom visitors from northern Sinai in Egypt. The Dom's awareness of identity and community history is therefore prone to influences from outside sources as well as to traditional tales and stories. Two such traditional tales can be heard, which on occasion are combined into one.¹⁶ The first portrays the Dom as descendants of Džassās, the leader of the tribe of Banū-Murra. In a conflict with another tribe, Džassās killed the rival leader, Klēb. He was then killed in revenge by Klēb's younger brother, Sālem ez-Zīr. Ez-Zīr continued to persecute Banū-Murra and drove them into exile, ruling that they should no longer be allowed to ride horses but only donkeys, that they should remain outdoors, and that they should not be allowed to stay in one place for longer than three nights. A second tale depicts the Dom as descendants of a nomadic tribe of entertainers who were settled in Iran, were given farmland and animals and expected to become farmers. The king, Bahram Gur, who had invited them to settle, later discovered that they had neglected their lands and instead of working spent most of their time singing and dancing. He then banished them from his kingdom and they became nomads again. Both stories are well known and well documented among peripatetic communities in the Middle East. The story of ez-Zīr is better known in the Arab countries (cf. Newbold 1856: 291, Canova 1981), while that of Bahram Gur originates in a Persian poem by Firdausi (see Grierson 1887) but has also entered oral tradition in parts of Iran (cf. Amanolahi and Norbeck 1975:3). Like many origin stories told by peripatetic communities, they portray nomadism as punishment for an 'ancient sin' and assert sedentarism as the normal and original state of affairs in the community's history (cf. Pickett and Agogino 1960, Casimir 1987). According to Yaniv (1980), the legend about Bahram Gur was only adopted by members of the community in the 1970s from foreign sources, through indirect exposure to the literature on Gypsies.

1.6. Data collection and method of analysis

The present study is based on speech data recorded in the Dom community of Jerusalem during regular visits of between one and three weeks, two or three

times a year, in 1996–2000. The initial fieldwork consisted of questionnaire-based interviews with individual speakers who were asked to translate words, phrases, and sentences from colloquial Arabic into Domari. Follow-up questionnaires were then designed to fill gaps and to extend the coverage. The questionnaires were informed by the typological questionnaires developed by a number of working groups as part of the European Science Foundation mammoth project on the Typology of European Languages (EUROTYP), which took place in 1990–1994. The general format was a function-to-form approach, aiming at an exhaustive coverage of semantic functions. Parallel to the questionnaire elicitations I recorded personal narratives and in some cases conversations among speakers as well as a few stories. There is no storytelling tradition in the community and with few exceptions no speakers could be found who were able to tell ‘traditional tales’, and even in the exceptional case the repertoire of such tales was rather small. Most of the connected talk recorded consisted of biographical narration, with speakers reconstructing episodes of their own lives as well as narrating information that they had heard about family and relatives, about other members of the community and about the community’s history. Some narratives discuss traditions and way of life. Many, especially conversations between two speakers, relate to quarrels and feuds within the tiny community. Outside of the interview context, the usual language of communication with the speakers was Arabic, which is the language they use alongside Domari in their homes and the exclusive language of everyday conversation with most of their non-Dom environment. Hebrew was also used on some occasions, with some speakers.

Altogether some nine hours of connected talk (narration and conversation) were transcribed and evaluated, in addition to the audio-recorded questionnaire material. Audio-recorded interviews were conducted with a total of twelve speakers, with up to ten further speakers participating in the background as they were present in the interview setting and occasionally interacted with the principal interviewee, or participating in informal conversations about which written notes were taken during or after the conversation. Such notes usually covered individual vocabulary items and their use or information about patterns of language use, as well as ethnographic background. On this basis I assume that I had personal access to around a quarter of the total number of speakers of Domari in Jerusalem. Many informal conversations were conducted with semi-speakers, and some of those were recorded but were not considered in the present study (but see Matras 1999). Most of the recordings took place in speakers’ homes, or, in some cases, neighbours were invited to speak to me at the home of my hosts in the Bāb l-Ḥuṭṭa neighbourhood. A close working relationship was established with one speaker, with whom I met regularly outside the neighbourhood, in West Jerusalem, and who later visited me in Manchester, funded by a grant from the British Academy. This speaker

assisted me in interpreting the recorded material, in particular connected speech, and in filling gaps that arose in the coverage of forms, paradigms, lexical variants and so on. The examples used in the following chapters are usually taken from the transcriptions of connected speech unless otherwise stated (for samples of transcriptions of talk see Chapter 12).

As a supplement to the natural talk and questionnaire elicitation, the opportunity arose to compare the material compiled by Macalister (1914) directly with Domari as it is spoken in the same community today, almost a century later. For this purpose I read out a number of the stories published by Macalister in his description of Domari (most of which were originally not told in Domari at all, but were translations provided by his consultant of stories which Macalister himself dictated), using the English version as a basis for an oral, spontaneous translation into colloquial Arabic, and recorded speakers' translation of the story, sentence by sentence, back into Domari. A detailed discussion of differences in style and presentation is beyond the scope of this study.

The transliteration system used here has already been employed in my previous work on Domari (Matras 1999, 2000, 2007a) and is designed to capture the principal phonological features of the language including pronunciation variants, while still leaving some room for interpretation of recurring and seemingly random phonetic alternations (see Chapter 2). The choice of diacritics is oriented primarily toward transliteration conventions in Arabic, Iranian, and Romani dialectology. Glosses follow conventional standards in linguistic typology, inspired in particular by the 'Leipzig Rules' with some modifications (see list of abbreviations). Discourse excerpts are presented with minimal reference to meta-linguistic phenomena. Such references include segmentation and sub-numbering of segments of connected speech based on intonation units, the use of the forward slash '/' to indicate speaker self-repair, the use of three dots '...' to indicate omission, and the use of = *italics embedded within an equality sign* = to indicate a speaker's discourse-strategic code-switch into Arabic. Individual Arabic word insertions and even phrase insertions are an inherent part of Domari talk and are not highlighted unless they are interpreted to be motivated by the wish to clarify something that has been said in Domari, and so involve an intentional choice in favour of Arabic.

The following chapters provide a descriptive account of Domari and do not aspire or pretend to follow any particular theoretical model of analysis. As an Indo-European language with heavy influence from a Semitic language, categorisation of most structures in Domari falls within well-established conceptual and terminological conventions. The analysis is nevertheless informed and inspired by two particular theoretical perspectives, which I would like to highlight in these introductory remarks.

The first concerns the position of Pragmatics and the discussion of the function of categories and the choices that speakers make between categories. Although I do not adopt any particular model, I remain inspired by approaches to language that regard pragmatics as a method of analysis¹⁷ rather than just a single component of language or indeed as the purely utilitarian exploitation that lies beyond the formal language ‘system’. To use a metaphor, if the formal structures of a language are to be viewed as a software application, then the pragmatics of a language are, in the view that I subscribe to, not the attempt to stretch the use of this application beyond the purpose for which it was designed, nor the improvisations that the user may add to the purpose-oriented design of the application, nor indeed even just a pre-designed portion of the application itself; rather, pragmatics is the hardware on which the software application – and any other software application – is designed to run. Every natural language is designed to enable human communication. Each and every grammatical category is therefore ‘functional’ in the sense that it serves to trigger a mental operation in the mind of the hearer that will enable communication with the speaker. Communicative activities such as ‘deictic reference’, ‘initiation of a question illocution’, ‘monitoring and directing hearer-sided participation’, or merely ‘naming objects of the real world’ stand above categories such as ‘pronouns’, ‘question particles’, ‘discourse markers’, and ‘nouns’. Such considerations will not lead to a radical departure from conventional modes of a typologically informed presentation and discussion of data in this work, but they will necessarily accompany the interpretation of the functions and meanings of categories and structures. For the organisation of the chapters this will mean that no separate section will be devoted to issues of ‘information structure’, since it is expected that each and every structural domain will somehow participate in the meaningful structuring of information in discourse, and information transmission can therefore not be separated from the transmission of meaning in any stricter sense.

The second issue concerns a question of no less importance to linguistic theory, and that is: what is a language, and how do we define the boundaries of ‘a language’? I had the privilege of beginning to write this manuscript while I was a guest researcher at the Research Centre for Linguistic Typology (RCLT) at La Trobe University, Melbourne, in the second half of 2007. The RCLT was and continues to be one of the renowned centres for the documentation of endangered and smaller languages, and the production of typologically informed descriptive grammars based on original, empirical fieldwork was high on its agenda. However, I recall my surprise when, discussing approaches to deal with code-switches and bilingual insertions in the transcription of conversational and narration data I learned that the Centre’s junior staff had been instructed by the Centre’s founder and then still director, R. M. W. Dixon, to remove such insertions from the transcriptions and to replace them

by ‘authentic’ lexemes representing the ‘original’ language that was the goal of the documentation project. This principle was to be followed even if it meant retrieving the ‘missing’ word from another member of the community and inserting it artificially into the transcription of the discourse of the speaker who had been recorded. It struck me at the time more vividly than ever before that even in the context of first-hand, empirical documentation, a ‘language’ is a linguist’s construction, and that a language description is an idealisation of what the investigator is most interested in rather than an objective, purely scientific way of capturing speakers’ modes of communicating with one another in a speech community.

The problem presents itself for Domari as a language that is permanently in contact with a surrounding language, just like for hundreds or even thousands of other smaller and endangered languages around the world. Speakers in multilingual communities don’t communicate in ‘a language’, nor do they simply communicate in ‘two languages’ or in ‘a choice of either one language or another’ – which would at least have helped the descriptive linguist decide what is and what is not ‘authentic’ and therefore worthy of documenting. Instead, speakers communicate in natural settings using their full repertoire of linguistic structures. As I will demonstrate in some of the following chapters, in the case of Domari the ability to communicate in one’s ‘native’ or ‘family’ language necessarily entails the ability to draw on one’s full competence in another language – in this case Arabic – not just for special stylistic effect or when communicating in what Grosjean (2001) terms the ‘Bilingual Mode’, but even when navigating the strict paradigms of a monolingual mode: To construct comparative forms of adjectives in Domari speakers import corresponding comparative word forms from Arabic, and when using nouns with numerals that are borrowed from Arabic (those above ‘three’) speakers opt for the corresponding Arabic noun forms. This does not simply amount to what has been described as ‘mixed languages’ (cf. Matras and Bakker 2003), since speakers maintain two sets of adjectives and two sets of nouns. Nor is this a simple case of borrowing, because in order to use adjective comparison or number modification productively speakers require active access to an open set of Arabic lexicon. One might describe Domari grammar as having a rule that says: “when you require a comparative form of an adjective, or the form of a noun that is modified by a numeral above ‘three’, then code-switch to Arabic and carry out the operation in that language”. Yet to formulate a grammatical rule in a language that entails switching into another language seems to counter any principle in the manual of descriptive linguistics and indeed the mere concept of languages as self-contained ‘systems’.

The present book will not formulate a theory that will resolve this problem, but it will work around the problem by describing what speakers actually do in such instances: It will define Domari as the repertoire components that

speakers activate when they define their discourse as ‘Domari’. Nonetheless, by pointing out the potential pitfalls and constraints of taking a traditional descriptive approach to language as simply a ‘system’, I hope to make a modest contribution toward re-considering the concept of what exactly a ‘grammar description’ entails especially in settings involving multilingualism and language obsolescence.

Chapter 2

Phonology

2.1. Inventory of sounds

2.1.1. Short vowels

Domari vowel qualities show an almost symmetrical system of distribution across front-back and high-low positions, with a tendency toward greater differentiation among high vowels, where we also find the centralised realisations [ɨ] and [ʉ]. The transition from high [i] and [u] to low [a] is a five-position gradient, through semi-high [ɪ] and [ʊ], mid-position [e] and [o], lower-mid [ɛ] and [ɔ] and semi-low [æ] and [ɑ]. A mid-centralised vowel [ʌ] is peripheral in the system. Nevertheless, it has potentially contrastive character – thus *pandž-* [pʌndʒ] ‘five’, but *pandž-* [pandʒ] the third person pronominal stem. Broadly speaking, vowel sounds tend to alternate with neighbouring variants without any meaningful contrast. Phoneme boundaries can therefore be formed around clusters of adjoining vowels (see Figure 1).

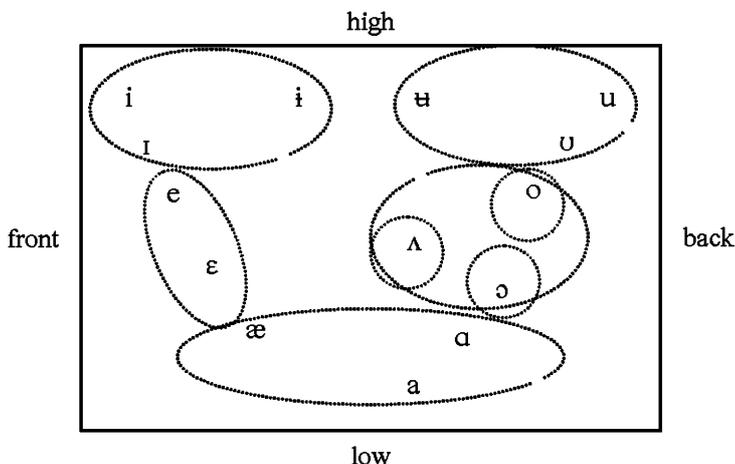


Figure 1. Vowel sounds and vowel phonemes

There is a strong tendency toward symmetry in the system of vowel phonemes. We find a high-front phoneme /i/, a high-back phoneme /u/, and a

low phoneme /a/, each with three variants. In the middle range, the front phoneme /e/ continues the general pattern of high-low variants but the set lacks a centralised member. The corresponding back vowels pose some classification difficulties. As we will see below, straightforward meaningful contrasts are difficult to establish, while at the same time these vowels stand out well as a group in contrast to neighbouring clusters. There are in fact reasons to view the mid-back cluster as a single phonemic value. Not only is /ʌ/, but also /ɔ/, rather rare; but the latter is also highly predictable, as it is found mainly in positions preceding the semi-vowel segments /w/ and /y/.

For the front high vowel /i/, there is a noticeable tendency toward complementary distribution of variants. The high variant [i] appears mostly in open syllables, semi-high [ɪ] in closed syllables, and the centralised variant [ɨ] is found mostly in positions preceding sonorants or surrounding semi-vowels:

[i]	[di]	<i>di</i> ‘two’
	[ˈdʒari]	<i>džari</i> ‘s/he goes’
	[parˈdɛdi]	<i>pardedi</i> ‘they took’
	[ˈʔaʃti]	<i>ašti</i> ‘there is’
[ɪ]	[tʰllɪk]	<i>tillik</i> ‘big’
	[ʔihˈni]	<i>ihri</i> ‘thus’
	[maˈŋɪʃ]	<i>mangiš</i> ‘begging’
[ɨ]	[bɔˈjimke]	<i>boyimke</i> ‘for my father’
	[kinˈdom]	<i>kindom</i> ‘I bought’
	[ˈyimkin]	<i>yimkin</i> ‘perhaps’
	[dʒuˈwir]	<i>džuwir</i> ‘woman’
	[wiʃˈtami]	<i>wištami</i> ‘I sit’

Mid-front vowels pose somewhat of a challenge, too. There are no consistent regularities governing the distribution of the closed (high) realisations of [e] and those of the more open (low) [ɛ], though [e] dominates in closed syllables while [ɛ] is the more frequent in open syllables. Distribution also seems to be influenced by syllable length and assimilation to neighbouring vowels (such as raising in anticipation of /i/ variants):

[e]	[nˈheʔ]	<i>nhe</i> ‘there isn’t’
	[dej], [deːj]	<i>dey, dēy</i> ‘village’
	[eˈri]	<i>eri</i> ‘she arrived’
	[feˈjɪʃ]	<i>feyiš</i> ‘argument, fight’
	[ben]	<i>ben</i> ‘sister’
[ɛ]	[ʔɛˈmɛ]	<i>eme</i> ‘we’
	[ʔɛhˈri]	<i>ehri</i> ‘she became’

[ʔɛ'he]	<i>ehe</i> 'these'
[plɛ]	<i>ple</i> 'money'
[zla:'mɛ]	<i>zlāme</i> 'men'
[gor'jɛ]	<i>gorye</i> 'horses'

The back vowels [u], [ʊ] and [o] are generally stable and consistent in their word stem positions irrespective of environment:

[u]	[ʔkuri]	<i>kuri</i> 'house'
	[xu'dʒoti]	<i>xudžoti</i> 'yesterday'
	[ʔura'ti]	<i>urati</i> 'tomorrow'
	[ʔa'tu]	<i>atu</i> 'you'
[ʊ]	[mu'tur]	<i>mutur</i> 'urine'
	[pu'tur]	<i>putur</i> 'son'
	[ʔhundar]	<i>hundar</i> 'there'
	[gu'zɛl]	<i>guzel</i> 'nice, beautiful'
[o]	[ʔa'dʒoti]	<i>adžoti</i> 'today'
	[lon]	<i>lon</i> 'salt'
	[put'ros]	<i>putros</i> 'his son'
	[ba'rom]	<i>barom</i> 'my brother'

Elsewhere, there appears to be more volatility and frequent alternation among vowels in neighbouring positions, as well as a greater degree of environmental conditioning. Thus [ɐ] tends to occur in close proximity to semi-vowels and sonorants, while [ɔ] always precedes a semi-vowel:

[ɐ]	[sɐn'dom]	<i>sundom</i> 'I heard'
	[wɐ'da]	<i>wuda</i> 'old man'
	[rɔwɐr'dom]	<i>rowurdom</i> 'I travelled'
[ɔ]	[bɔ'jom]	<i>boyom</i> 'my father'
	[dɔ'wami]	<i>dɔwami</i> 'I wash'
	[pɔ'wirta]	<i>powirta</i> 'on your foot'

Open (low) [a] appears to be shorter than its somewhat higher (closed) counterpart [æ], while the latter tends to favour open syllables and the environment of semi-vowels and glottals:

[a]	[na'nami]	<i>nanami</i> 'I bring'
	[pra'na]	<i>prana</i> 'white'
	[za're]	<i>zare</i> 'children'

	[pan'dʒi]	<i>pandži</i> 'he/she'
	[kur'jata]	<i>kuryata</i> 'home'
[æ]	[gæ'rom]	<i>garom</i> 'I went'
	[bisa'wæhra]	<i>bisawahra</i> 'he married'
	[bæ'jom]	<i>bayom</i> 'my wife'
	[mæ'si:]	<i>masi</i> 'meat'
	[ʔæ'gær]	<i>agar</i> 'in front of'
	[læ'hæm]	<i>laham</i> '[that] I see'

The back member of the cluster /a/ favours the environment of dental consonants and especially pharyngealised dentals:

[ɑ]	[xɑst]	<i>xast</i> 'arm'
	[tʰɑtʰ]	<i>tat</i> 'sun'
	[dʰɑndʰ]	<i>dand</i> 'tooth'
	[sʰɑb]	<i>sab</i> 'snake'

The realisation of /a/ as [ɑ] is in fact consistent or obligatory in the immediate environment of pharyngeals, and so one might speak of a pharyngealising effect on the vowel, similar to that found in Arabic.

2.1.2. Long vowels

Vowel lengthening in Domari may have its roots in the language's ancient Indo-Aryan precursor, hence forms within the inherited vocabulary stock, such as [do'mɛ] *dōme* 'the Doms', could show historical continuation of the long vowel. But there is little doubt that vowel quantity is nowadays strongly influenced by lengthening patterns in Arabic. Firstly, Arabic length contrasts are preserved: cf. [bi'zzʰɑbt] *biz-zabt* 'precisely', [zʰɑbt] *zābit* 'officer'. Second, a tendency is emerging to correlate length with stress. As a result, stressed vowel segments often display length: [mɪsta'hre:ni] *mištahrēni* 'they are ill'. At the same time, root long vowels are maintained while grammatical endings take the word stress: [do'mɛ] *dōme* 'the Doms'. Length is more easily identified on stress-carrying grammatical segments: [ʔa'ha ha'libi] *aha ḥalīb-i* 'this is milk', but [pjami ha'li'bi:] *pyami ḥalīb-i* 'I drink the milk (I am drinking the milk)'. Especially /i/ in final stressed position tends to undergo considerable lengthening, thus making the presence or absence of stress a key to the quantity status of the vowel. The orthographical decisions adopted throughout this text for final morphological segments carrying /i/ are therefore partly arbitrary. The feminine ending *-i* on adjectives and past-tense verbs (as in *šird-i* 'she said') carries stress, like the oblique ending *-ī* in *pyami ḥalīb-ī* 'I

drink the milk'. On the other hand, the final segment on the ablative-prepositional case marker *-ki*, the progressive tense marker on verbs *-i* and the consonantal predication marker *-i* are all unstressed. With the exception of the oblique ending *-ī*, it appears that vowel length fluctuates in all these positions, as it does in the nominative form of lexemes such as *kuri* 'house', *brari* 'cat'. Syllable structure plays a role in conditioning the difference between the open and shorter vowel in *putre* 'sons' and the closed, longer vowel in *putrēm* 'my sons'.

Nonetheless, the presence of distinctive vowel lengthening in Domari is confirmed by experimental data.¹⁸ Samples of elicited sentences and of conversational data were examined for inherited (i.e. non-Arabic) words that had been intuitively transliterated as containing long vowels. The results show that long vowel duration is typically 70–120 milliseconds in both conversational and sentence elicitation data, while the typical duration of short vowels is 30–80 milliseconds in conversational data and between 45–100 milliseconds in sentence elicitation data. While this suggests some degree of overlap between long and short vowels as a whole, in fact there is no overlap for individual vowel qualities with the exception of /a/ (where in sentence elicitation data the top 30% of short tokens overlap with the bottom 50% of longer tokens). The duration breakdown obtained for a small sample of between 40–60 tokens per vowel type (short and long vowels counting as separate types) are shown in Table 2.

Table 2. Vowel duration

Vowel	range in conversational data (milliseconds)	range in sentence elicitation data (milliseconds)	mean
/i/	27–53	45–81	54
/e/	28–70	60–85	56.5
/a/	60–80	67–100	80
/o/	70–86	90–110	90
/u/	35–45	40–100	67.5
/i:/	54–100	100–120	87
/e:/	73–97	84–110	91.5
/a:/	77–102	95–117	97
/o:/	102–120	112–135	118.5
/u:/	70–110	over 120	95

The figures show that vowels perceived as long are indeed consistently longer than those perceived as short, at the same time they illustrate how subtle length distinction is in the language. For Thai, Abramson (1974) reports on a typical duration contrast of the range 60–150 milliseconds for short vowels versus 160–360 milliseconds for long vowels. Tsukada (2009) examines mean length oppositions for the vowel quality /a/ and notes 108

milliseconds for the short vowel vs. 250 milliseconds for the long vowel in Arabic, 82 vs. 211 milliseconds for Japanese, and 147 vs. 324 milliseconds for Thai. Compared with these results, Domari vowels appear to be generally short, their range is relatively limited, and the contrast between short and long vowels is less pronounced, ranging typically at a difference of around 30–35 milliseconds, contrasting with well over 100 milliseconds in some other languages.

In terms of quality, long vowels are less differentiated than short vowels. As for their distribution, they can be found both in inherited roots and in grammatical endings:

[i:]	[ʃat'ni:s] [kti:r] [χudwa'ri:] [bi:y] [bi:t] [bi:'ri]	<i>atrīs</i> 'about him' <i>ktīr</i> 'Christian' <i>xudwarī</i> 'the child [direct object]' <i>bīy</i> 'moustache' <i>bīt</i> 'earth' <i>bīri</i> 'she feared'
[e:]	[do:mɪ'je:k] [ke:'ke:] [knem] [hɔ:'ʃe:k] [put'rem]	<i>dōmiyēk</i> 'a Dom woman [predicative]' <i>kēkē</i> 'how' <i>knēn</i> 'where' <i>hōšēk</i> 'you become' <i>putrēm</i> 'my sons'
[u:]	[ʃu:'jar] [dʒu:'dʒaki]	<i>ūyar</i> 'town' džūdžaki '(from) Egypt'
[o:]	[do:mɪ'ja] [so:'wami] [hɔ:'ʃe:k] [ʃo:'na] [sno:'tʰɑ]	<i>dōmiya</i> 'a Dom woman' <i>sōwami</i> 'I sew' <i>hōšēk</i> 'you become' <i>šōna</i> 'boy' <i>snōta</i> 'dog'
[a:]	[ba:'dom] [ta:ti'ja] [la:'ʃi]	<i>bādom</i> 'my grandfather' <i>tātiya</i> 'an Arab woman' <i>lāši</i> 'girl'

Long vowels are also retained in Arabic lexemes:

[i:]	[taʔ'ri:x] [lɪ:ra] [mɪsɪl'mɪ:n]	Arabic <i>ta'rīx</i> 'history' Arabic <i>līra</i> 'pound, lira' Arabic <i>misilmīn</i> 'Muslims'
[e:]	[dʰe:f] [he:tʰ]	Arabic <i>ḍēf</i> 'guest' Arabic <i>ḥēf</i> 'wall'

[u:]	[mlu:k]	Arabic <i>mlūk</i> ‘kings’
	[maʃˈyʊ:l]	Arabic <i>mašyūl</i> ‘busy’
	[ze:ˈtu:n]	Arabic <i>zētūn</i> ‘olives’
[o:]	[balˈkɔ:n]	Arabic <i>balkōn</i> ‘balcony’
[a:]	[busˈta:n]	Arabic <i>bustān</i> ‘garden’
	[daka:ˈki:n]	Arabic <i>dakākīn</i> ‘shops’
	[ʃaˈma:l]	Arabic <i>šamāl</i> ‘north’

2.1.3. Consonants

Domari consonants are a testimony to the language’s fading ‘genetic’ legacy and its advanced stage of convergence with Arabic. The language retains articulatory positions that are shared by both Indo-Aryan systems and Arabic. It shows no trace of Indic retroflex consonants or aspiration but maintains greater symmetry in voice opposition than we find in Arabic, with a contrast [p]:[b], [k]:[g] and marginally also [f]:[v], while Arabic only shows [b], [k] and [f]. A number of sounds, such as [q], [χ] or [x], and [ɣ] might well testify to Mesopotamian influences (Iranian, Turkic) prior to contact with Arabic.

Table 3. Inventory of consonants

	labial	dental	dental- pharyngealised	palato- alveolar	velar	uvular	pharyn- geal	glottal
Vl stop	p	t	tʰ	(tʃ)	k	q		
Vd stop	b	d	dʰ	dʒ	g			ʔ
Nasal	m	n			ŋ			
Lateral		l			ɬ			
Trill		r						
Vl fricative	f	s	sʰ	ʃ	x	χ	ħ	h
Vd fricative	(v)	z	zʰ	(ʒ)	ʁ		ʕ	
Semi-vowel	w			j				

The tendency towards convergence with Arabic is evident both in the incorporation of Arabic lexical loans without any obligatory phonological adaptation and thus in the wholesale accommodation of Arabic phonemes into Domari conversation, but also in the infiltration of Arabic sounds into the inherited (pre-Arabic) component. Perhaps the most conspicuous Arabic contact 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] alongside [dʰo:m]

dōm ‘Dom’, [tat] alongside [tʰatʰ] *tat* ‘heat’, [muʰtʰur] alongside [muʰtʰʊr] *mutur* ‘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 [tʰawʰle:tʰa] *ʔawlēta* ‘on the table’, combining Arabic *ʔawle* and the 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, such as [dʰandʰ] *dand* ‘tooth’, [matʰ] *mat* ‘person’, [watʰ] *wat* ‘stone’.

The pharyngeals [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 the velar fricative [ɣ] appears occasionally in pre-Arabic items, as in [jeʰyer] *yeyer* ‘horse’, [bi:ɣ] *bīy* ‘moustache’, as does the uvular stop [q] – [qaʰjʰ] *qayiš* ‘food’, [qolʰdom] *qoldom* ‘I opened’. The realisation in Domari of [q] representing etymological-historical [q] in Arabic-derived words such as [ʰqahwa] *qahwa* ‘coffee’ points to an early adoption of the word and its perception as an integral part of the Domari system, distinct from Arabic. When conversing in Arabic, Doms will consistently adopt the Jerusalemite pronunciation [ʰahwe]. The etymological Arabic consonants [θ], [ð] and [ðʰ] however do not appear in the corpus, and their contemporary Palestinian Arabic cognates [t] and [d] and [z, zʰ] are found instead, thus [talaʰtʰim] *talātʰin* ‘thirty’, [tʰamni] *tāni* ‘other’, [zʰaʰbit] *zābit* ‘officer’. 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: [bi:ʰreʔ] *bireʰ* ‘s/he does not fear’.

Incongruent with the contiguous Arabic system are the sounds [g] (found in Egyptian, but not in Palestinian Arabic), [p], and [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: [piʰrin] *pirin* ‘nose’, [gurʰgi:] *gurgi* ‘throat’, [tʃanʰtʃimma] *čančimma* ‘next to me’. Although the [p]:[b] contrast remains on the whole distinctive – cf. [paʰjjom] ‘my husband’, [baʰjom] ‘my wife’ – there are signs of its partial retreat. In initial position, [p] often undergoes lenition: [pʰoʰtʰer] *putur* ‘son’, [pʰandʒi] *pandži* ‘s/he’. In medial position, fricativisation can be observed: [kapʰja] *kapyja* ‘door [direct object]’. Also contrasting with Arabic we find, though marginally in the corpus, a voiced labio-dental fricative [v], in variation with [w]: [rovʰrom] alongside [rowʰrom] *rowrom* ‘I wept’; and occasionally replacing underlying Arabic [w], as in [wʰvʰlidrom] ‘I was born’ < *wlidrom* (Arabic *wlid*).

Domari stops cover labial, dental, and velar positions, each with a voiceless and voiced set:

[p]	[pu'tur] [ˈpandʃan] [ʔurp] [ˈplɛ]	<i>putur</i> 'son' <i>pandʃan</i> 'they' <i>urp</i> 'silver' <i>ple</i> 'money'
[b]	[bar] [sʰab] [a'burke]	<i>bar</i> 'brother' <i>sab</i> 'snake' <i>aburke</i> 'for you'
[t]	[tatrɪ'ja] [si'tori] [ta'ranɛs]	<i>tātiya</i> 'an Arab woman' <i>sitori</i> 'you have slept' <i>taranes</i> 'three'
[d]	[dis] [ʃir'da] [dæd'jom]	<i>dis</i> 'day' <i>širda</i> 'he said' <i>dadyom</i> 'my grandmother'
[k]	[ʔekak] [ʃa'buske] [kin'dom]	<i>ekak</i> 'somebody' <i>abuske</i> 'for him/her' <i>kindum</i> 'I bought'
[g]	[go'ri] [ʔag] [ʔa'gɪr]	<i>gori</i> 'horse' <i>ag</i> 'fire' <i>agir</i> 'in front of'

A uvular position shows just a voiceless stop with no voiced counterpart:

[q]	[qol'dom] [qa'jɪʃ] [qafɪ'da]	<i>qoldom</i> 'I opened' <i>qayiʃ</i> 'food' <i>qafɪda</i> 'he stole'
-----	------------------------------------	---

The dental stops have pharyngealised counterparts. They are found mainly in Arabic lexemes but also in some pre-Arabic lexical items, where they always alternate with the respective non-pharyngealised variant:

[tʰ]	[sno:tʰa] [tʰam] [tʰabʰan] [tʰaw'le]	<i>snōṭa</i> 'dog' <i>ṭān</i> 'mattress' Arabic <i>ṭabʰan</i> 'certainly' Arabic <i>ṭawle</i> 'table'
[dʰ]	[dʰandʰ] [dʰom] [ʔay'radʰ] [dʰallo]	<i>ḍand</i> 'tooth' <i>ḍom</i> 'Dom man' Arabic <i>ayrād</i> 'things, stuff, belongings' Arabic <i>ḍallo</i> 'continued'

A palato-alveolar dental affricate also shows, historically at least, voice opposition, but while the voiced affricate is relatively stable, among some speakers the voiceless counterpart is simplified to a sibilant:

[tʃ]	[tʃir'dom]	<i>čirdom</i> 'I said', also [ʃir'dom]
	[tʃo:'ni]	<i>čōni</i> 'girl', also [ʃo:'ni]
	[la:'tʃi]	<i>lāči</i> 'girl', also [la:'ʃi]
[dʒ]	[man'dʒa]	<i>mandža</i> 'inside'
	[dʒari]	<i>džari</i> 'he/she goes'
	[ndʒana'nɛʔ]	<i>ndžanane</i> 'we don't know'

The voiced set of stops also shows a glottal position [ʔ]. Its phonemic status in word-initial position is controversial, as it tends to disappear in word boundaries:

[lahr'domo'ras]	<i>lahedom oras</i> 'I saw that one'
-----------------	--------------------------------------

It is retained, however, after a meaningful pause or else to emphasise a word boundary, in post-vocalic position in the inherited existential negation expression, as well as in Arabic lexemes:

[ʔ]	[ʃir'da(.)ʔa'ru]	<i>širda: aru!</i> 'He said: come!'
	[ka'ran'ʔag]	<i>karan ag!</i> 'Make fire!'
	[nɛʔ]	<i>nhe</i> 'there isn't'
	[taʔ'ri:x]	Arabic <i>ta'riḫ</i> 'history'

Domari has a labial and a dental nasal sound, as well as a rather peripheral velar nasal:

[m]	[mæm'i:]	<i>mami</i> 'aunt'
	[kil'ʃami]	<i>kilšami</i> 'I exit'
	[be'nom]	<i>benom</i> 'my sister'
[n]	[wa'ʃi:san]	<i>wašisan</i> 'with them'
	[noh'ra]	<i>nohra</i> 'red'
	[h'ne:ni]	<i>hnēni</i> 'it is here'
[ŋ]	[ma'ŋɪʃ]	<i>mangiš</i> 'begging'
	[niŋawa'dedɪs]	<i>ningawadedis</i> 'they brought it'

Completing the set of sonorants are the laterals and trill. The trill is dental:

[r]	[ˈgreːfkari]	<i>grēfkari</i> ‘sings’
	[piːˈrom]	<i>pīrom</i> ‘I drank’
	[rawarˈdɛ]	<i>rawarde</i> ‘they travelled’

The more widespread lateral is also dental:

[l]	[tmaˈli]	<i>tmali</i> ‘soldier’
	[lakeˈdom]	<i>lakedom</i> ‘I saw’
	[laˈgɪʃ]	<i>lagiš</i> ‘fight’

A velarised lateral is peripheral. It occurs in two lexemes of Kurdish origin, as well as in the Arabic interjections *ʾallah*, *yallah*, *wallah* and in the environment of Arabic pharyngeals and pharyngealised dentals:

[ɫ]	[ʃaɫ]	<i>šaɫ</i> ‘well, waterhole’
	[saɫ]	<i>saɫ</i> ‘rice’
	[ˈxattasˤ]	<i>xattas</i> ‘enough!’

The most comprehensive set of consonants in terms of variety of articulatory positions is the set of fricatives. The voiceless labial [f] occurs primarily in Arabic lexemes and is rather rare in the pre-Arabic component, while the voiced [v] is rare altogether and, as mentioned above, interchangeable with [w].

[f]	[faˈjɪʃ]	<i>fayiš</i> ‘struggle’
	[fumˈnami]	<i>fumnami</i> ‘I hit’
	[ˈgreːfkari]	<i>grēfkari</i> ‘sings’
[v]	[rovˈrom]	<i>rowrom</i> ‘I wept’, also [rowˈrom]
	[ʔɐvˈɪdrom]	<i>wɪdrom</i> ‘I was born’, also [ʔɐvˈɪdrom] (Arabic <i>wɪd-</i>)

Dental fricatives also have pharyngealised counterparts, once again mainly in Arabic lexemes, but occasionally infiltrating some of the pre-Arabic lexicon:

[s]	[kjos]	<i>kyos</i> ‘his eye’
	[maˈsiː]	<i>masī</i> ‘meat’
	[saˈkami]	<i>sakami</i> ‘I am able’
[z]	[zaˈri]	<i>zari</i> ‘mouth’
	[zaˈra]	<i>zara</i> ‘child’
	[bizoˈta]	<i>bizota</i> ‘poor’

[sʰ]	[sʰɑp] [ʰummuʰsʰ] [ʰsʰaħin]	<i>šap</i> ‘snake’ Arabic <i>ħummuš</i> ‘Humus’ Arabic <i>šahin</i> ‘plate’
[zʰ]	[zʰɑ:bit]	Arabic <i>zābiṭ</i> ‘officer’

Palato-alveolar sibilants are in part, in the case of the voiceless [ʃ], and exclusively in the case of the voiced [ʒ], the outcome of a simplification of the corresponding affricates [tʃ] and [dʒ], with which they are often interchangeable:

[ʃ]	[faʰjɪʃ] [waʰʃi:san] [ʰʃi:nak]	<i>fayiš</i> ‘struggle’ <i>wašisan</i> ‘with them’ <i>šinak</i> ‘a little’, also [tʃi:nak]
[ʒ]	[ʒɪb] [ʒɛʰwir] [ʔaʰʒoti]	<i>žib</i> ‘tongue’, also [dʒɪb] <i>žuwir</i> ‘woman’, also [dʒɛʰwir] <i>ažoti</i> ‘today’, also [ʔaʰdʒoti]

Among the velar fricatives, the voiced counterpart is found predominantly within the Arabic component:

[x]	[xær] [xazʰrom] [aʰxar]	<i>xur</i> ‘heart’ <i>xazrom</i> ‘I laughed’ <i>axar</i> ‘below’
[ɣ]	[biɣ] [jeʰɣɛɾ] [ʰʔazyar]	<i>bīɣ</i> ‘moustache’ <i>yeyer</i> ‘horse’ Arabic <i>azyar</i> ‘smaller’

The set of fricatives includes a voiceless glottal or aspiration, which may also appear in final position:

[h]	[æhʰrom] [hoʰʃam] [ʔuʰhu] [muh]	<i>ahrom</i> ‘I became’ <i>hōšam</i> ‘that I become’ <i>uhu</i> ‘that’ <i>muh</i> ‘mouth’
-----	--	--

Alongside the velar fricative [x] we find a uvular variant [χ], which interchanges both with the velar fricative [x] and with the uvular stop [q] in selected lexemes:

[χ]	[χolʰdom] [χɑl]	<i>xoldom</i> ‘I opened’, also [qolʰdom] <i>xal</i> ‘said’ (particle of indirect speech), also [qɑl]
-----	--------------------	---

The pharyngeal fricatives [ħ] and [ʕ] are found exclusively in Arabic lexemes:

[ħ]	[ʔaħsan]	Arabic <i>aħsan</i> ‘better’
	[dbiħ]	Arabic <i>dbiħ</i> ‘slaughtered animal’
	[ħa:kim]	Arabic <i>ħākim</i> ‘governor’
[ʕ]	[ʕmnaʕkar]	<i>mnaʕkar</i> - Arabic <i>mnaʕ-</i> ‘to prevent’
	[ʕanʕki:m]	<i>ʕankim</i> ‘about me’, Arabic <i>ʕan-</i> ‘about’
	[ʕaʕri:s]	Arabic <i>ʕarīs</i> ‘groom’

The status of the two semi-vowels differs somewhat, at least historically. While labial [w] is well established in various environments and clearly belongs to the inventory of consonants, palatal [j] occurs in the pre-Arabic component only in positions following the vowels /a/ and /o/ and might therefore be considered part of an historical diphthong */ay/ or */oy/ respectively. However, in the Arabic component, we find [j] defining its own syllable boundaries independently of a particular vowel, and so it seems justified to acknowledge its status as a consonant in the contemporary system, and to view the cases of the */ay/ diphthong as historically peripheral, and synchronically interpretable as vowel-consonant sequences:

[w]	[dʒuʕwɪr]	<i>dʒuwir</i> ‘woman’
	[daʕwa:j]	<i>dawāy</i> ‘camel’
	[wæʕda]	<i>wuḍa</i> ‘old’
	[we:sʕrom]	<i>wēsrom</i> ‘I sat’
[j]	[wə:j]	<i>wāy</i> ‘wind’
	[baj]	<i>bay</i> ‘wife’
	[boj]	<i>boj</i> ‘father’
	[jaʕni]	Arabic <i>yaʕni</i> [discourse particle]
	[jimkin]	Arabic <i>yimkin</i> ‘maybe’

2.2. Variation and minimal pairs

A tentative classification of Domari vowel sounds into phonemes was suggested above. According to this model, the language has the short vowel phonemes /a, e, i, o, u, ɔ, ʌ/, and the long vowel phonemes /ā, ē, ī, ō, ū/. The justification for a phonemic length opposition derives mainly from the consistency in the duration of long vowels in particular lexical tokens. This makes vowel length a feature of lexical phonology, one that is distinguished at

the level of individual lexical roots and grammatical morphemes. Minimal pairs are few, but they testify nonetheless to the presence of length as a distinctive feature:

[tat]	<i>tat</i> ‘sun, heat’, though often also [t ^h at ^h]
[tɑ:t]	<i>tāt</i> ‘Arab, villager’

A near minimal pair is:

[tom]	<i>tom</i> ‘I gave’
[do:m]	<i>dōm</i> ‘Dom man’

As mentioned above, we find vowel length correlating with morpheme alteration and word stress in the following minimal pairs:

[ħa ^h li:bi]	in <i>aha ħalīb-i</i> (this milk-PRED.SG) ‘this is milk’
[ħali ^h :bi:]	in <i>ama piyami ħalīb-ī</i> (I drink milk-OBL.M) ‘I drink the milk’
[qa ^h lami]	in <i>aha qalam-i</i> (this pencil-PRED.SG) ‘this is a pencil’
[qala ^h mi:]	in <i>ama parami qalam-ī</i> (I take pencil-OBL.M) ‘I take the pencil’

Paradigmatic length distinctions may also be conditioned by the phoneme environment, and accompanied by minor quality adjustment:

[put ^h rɛ]	<i>putre</i> ‘the sons’
[put ^h rɛ:m]	<i>putrēm</i> ‘my sons’

Minimal pairs among vowel qualities are somewhat more easily identified, despite considerable fluctuation and variation in the realisation of vowels both across speakers and within the repertoires of individual speakers. A nice illustration of vowel phoneme contrasts is provided by the set of demonstratives:

[ʔa ^h ħa]	<i>aha</i> ‘this’ (M.SG)
[ʔi ^h ħi]	<i>iħi</i> ‘this’ (F.SG)
[ʔu ^h ħu]	<i>uħu</i> ‘that’ (M/F.SG)
[ʔɛ ^h ħɛ]	<i>eħe</i> ‘these’

Vowels are distinctive in other grammatical paradigms, too:

[pa ^h rari]	<i>parari</i> ‘he/she takes’
[pa ^h rara]	<i>parara</i> ‘he/she used to take/ was taking’

[par'da]	<i>parda</i> 'he took'
[par'di]	<i>pardī</i> 'she took'
[par'de]	<i>parde</i> 'they took'
[ʔekak]	<i>ekak</i> 'somebody (male)'
[ʔɪkak]	<i>ikak</i> 'somebody (female)'
[ʰɪndar]	<i>hɪndar</i> 'here'
[ʰɪndar]	<i>hundar</i> 'there'

Phonemic distinctiveness does not, however, exclude variation and interchangeability of the same pair of sounds in specific lexical environments. Consider the following variants as examples:

[sʌn'dom], [sɪn'dom]	<i>sundom, sindom</i> 'I heard'
[kʊn'dom], [kɪn'dom]	<i>kundom, kindom</i> 'I bought'
[ma'nʊs], [ma'nɪs]	<i>manus, manis</i> 'person'
[dʒʌ'wɪr], [dʒɪ'wɪr]	<i>dʒuwir, dʒiwir</i> 'woman'
[ʃuri:], [ʃiri:]	<i>šuri, širi</i> 'knife'
[quʃtʰo'tʰa], [qɪʃtʰo'tʰa]	<i>quštoṭa, qištoṭa</i> 'small'
[lake'da], [lake'da]	<i>lakeda, lakada</i> 'he saw'
[bi:sa'wæhra], [bi:sa'wɪhra]	<i>bisawahra</i> 'he married'

As can be seen here, Domari short vowels show frequent tendencies toward interchanging of corresponding front and back positions: [ʌ]-[ɪ], [ʊ]-[ɪ], [u]-[ɪ], [ɛ]-[ɑ]. Much of this mirrors a corresponding tendency in Palestinian Arabic, and is indeed found also in the Arabic component:

[musʊl'mɪn], [mɪsɪl'mɪn]	Arabic <i>musulmān, misilmān</i> 'Muslims'
[ʃʊmkin], [ʃɪmkin]	Arabic <i>yumkin, yimkin</i> 'perhaps'

Domari often goes beyond the 'permissible' variation in Arabic, applying vowel quality fluctuation to some Arabic-derived roots:

[ʰskʊnæhrom], [ʰskɪnæhrom]	<i>skunahrom, skinahrom</i> 'I reside', Arabic <i>skun-</i>
----------------------------	---

Nonetheless, this kind of variation is lexeme-specific and the respective vowel pairs are by no means generally interchangeable. Consider:

[bur'yʊl]	<i>buryul</i> 'burgul', never *[br'yɪl]
[mʊ'tʊr]	<i>mutur</i> 'urine', never *[mɪ'tɪr]
[pʊ'tʊr]	<i>putur</i> 'son', never *[pɪ'tɪr]

and so on. This apparent regularity of the pattern is to some extent useful in distinguishing sound alternation from phonemic oppositions. Thus a rare near minimal pair is this:

[¹ pandzi]	<i>pandži</i> ‘he/she’
[¹ pANDzes]	<i>pandžes</i> ‘five’

The contrast of [a] and [ʌ] is meaningful, albeit in just this particular pair of lexemes. It stands out from the type of alternation pattern seen above among vowel pairs, which in some environments equally constitute meaningful contrasts. A similar case might be made for [ɔ] and [a], which do not show a front-back contrast either, as is typical of free variants. Consider the following contrasts:

[rɔ ¹ wari]	<i>rɔwari</i> ‘he/she cries’
[ra ¹ wari]	<i>rawari</i> ‘he/she travels’
[bo ¹ jom]	<i>boyom</i> ‘my father’
[ba ¹ jom]	<i>bayom</i> ‘my wife’
[dɔ ¹ wari]	<i>dɔwari</i> ‘he/she washes’
[da ¹ wari]	<i>dawari</i> ‘he/she dances’

The phonemic contrast between /ɔ/ and /o/ is, however, as pointed out above, less clear-cut, since /ɔ/ is largely confined to the position preceding semi-vowels. However, there is no paradigmatic alternation that would trigger a shift between the two vowels. Both /ɔ/ and /o/ remain stable in the respective lexical roots to which they belong. While /ɔ/ and /a/ are distinguishable to speakers through minimal pairs, speakers also emphatically reject substitution of /ɔ/ through /o/ – as in, for instance, *[bo¹jom] for ‘my father’ – as more than just a ‘foreign accent’, and view it as a thoroughly misconfigured pronunciation. This leaves the impression that native speaker intuition certainly does not accept the two as variants. As seen above for pairs like [u]-[ɪ], or [ɛ]-[a], free variation and interchangeability in one context does not exclude a meaningful contrast in another.

In the domain of consonants, voice opposition appears stable, even around contrasts such as [p] and [b] which are missing in the contact language Arabic:

[pi: ¹ rom]	<i>pīrom</i> ‘I drank’
[bi: ¹ rom]	<i>bīrom</i> ‘I feared’
[par]	<i>par!</i> ‘take!’
[bar]	<i>bar</i> ‘brother’

[pen]	<i>pen!</i> ‘take out!’
[ben]	<i>ben</i> ‘sister’
[paj'jom]	<i>payyom</i> ‘my husband’
[ba'jom]	<i>bayom</i> ‘my wife’

The contrast remains stable among affricates as well, to the extent that the voiceless affricate is preserved:

[ʔʃari]	<i>čari</i> ‘he/she says’, also [ʔʃari] <i>šari</i>
[dʒari]	<i>džari</i> ‘he/she goes’

Well aligned are also the contrasts between stops, nasals, and semi-vowels:

[watʔ]	<i>waʔ</i> ‘stone’
[matʔ]	<i>maʔ</i> ‘person’
[bit]	<i>bīt</i> ‘earth’
[mi:t]	Arabic <i>mīt</i> ‘hundred’
[wæj]	<i>way</i> ‘wind’
[baj]	<i>bay</i> ‘wife’

Dental and palatal sibilants show stability:

[ʃaʔ]	<i>šaʔ</i> ‘well, waterhole’
[saʔ]	<i>saʔ</i> ‘rice’

However, palato-alveolar affricates [dʒ] and [tʃ] are undergoing a process of simplification to sibilants [ʒ] and [ʃ]. The process mirrors the ongoing simplification of [dʒ] in the Palestinian Arabic dialect of Jerusalem to [ʒ]: [dʒamb] ‘next to’ > [ʒamb]. It may also be influenced by the absence in Jerusalem Arabic of [tʃ]. As a result we can say that in Jerusalem Domari as a whole, palato-alveolar affricates and sibilants are interchangeable. In practice, variation is conditioned by sound, word form, and speaker. The voiceless affricate [tʃ] shows a much greater tendency toward simplification and is missing almost entirely from the repertoire of some speakers. The most common lexical items with etymological [tʃ] can be arranged on a hierarchy of affricate retention, with *čanč-* ‘next to’ most likely to show [tʃ] irrespective of speaker, and *č-* ‘speak’ most likely to show simplification to [ʃ] (*šami* ‘I speak’ etc.):

čanč- ‘next to’ > *lāči* ‘girl’ > *čōna* ‘boy’ > *pači* ‘behind’ > *čuri* ‘knife’ > *č-* ‘to speak’

As a result, utterances such as the following can be found in the corpus, showing differential treatment of etymological [tʃ]:

- (1) *lāči illi š-ird-om wāšī-s*
 girl REL speak-PAST-1SG with-3SG
 ‘The girl that I spoke to’
- (2) *ama wes-r-om čanč-is-ma šōn-as-ki*
 I sit-PAST-1SG next.to-3SG.OBL-LOC boy-OBL.M-ABL
 ‘I sat next to the boy’

It is noteworthy that Macalister (1914) records consistently [tʃ] for his informant.

The voiced counterpart [dʒ] is maintained in some words rather consistently, especially in positions following a dental nasal:

- [la'dʒi] *ladži* ‘shame’
 [dʒu'dʒi] *džudži* ‘Egyptian’
 [dʒu'wir] *džuwir* ‘woman’
 [dʒa'nami] *džanami* ‘I know’
 ['pandʒi] *pandži* ‘he/she’
 [man'dʒa] *mandža* ‘inside’

Elsewhere, there is variation, and especially in pre-consonantal position, general reduction:

- [dʒa], [ʒa] *dža!*, *ža!* ‘go!’
 [xu'dʒoti], [xu'ʒoti] *xudžoti*, *xužoti* ‘yesterday’
 [dʒib], [ʒib] *džib*, *žib* ‘tongue’
 [ʒbo:m] *žbom* ‘my tongue’

This distribution parallels the simplification pattern in the local variety of Arabic, which shows variation in [ʰdʒa:mɪŋ] *džameŋ* ‘mosque’ vs. [ʒa:mɪŋ] *žameŋ*, but consistently [ʒdi:d] *ždid* ‘new’.

As stated above, pharyngeal consonants occur entirely within the inventory of Arabic lexemes, and here the contrast between the two pharyngeal sounds [ħ] and [ʕ] as well as between the pharyngeals and neighbouring glottals is well maintained:

- [hajj] Arabic *hayy* ‘this’ (discourse particle, filler)
 [ħajj] Arabic *ħayy* ‘neighbourhood’
 ['sʔilka'dom] *sʔilka'dom* ‘I asked’, Arabic *sʔil-*
 ['zʔilæh'rom] *zʔilahrom* ‘I became angry’, Arabic *zʔil-*

Naturally, pharyngeals also stand in contrast to similar pre-Arabic lexemes that lack them:

[ʕa'ru:s]	Arabic <i>ʕarūs</i> 'bride'
[ʔa'ru]	<i>aru!</i> 'come!'

The pharyngealisation of dental consonants does, by contrast, infiltrate the pre-Arabic component, where it is often subject to word-internal variation:

[do:m], [dʕo:m]	<i>dōm, dōm</i> 'Dom man'
[tat], [tʕatʕ]	<i>tat, taʕ</i> 'sun, heat'
[mu'tur], [mu'tʕur]	<i>mutur, muʕur</i> 'urine'
[kaʃto'ta], [kaʃtʕo'tʕa]	<i>kaštota, kaštoʕa</i> 'small'

A number of non-Arabic lexical items appear to have adopted pharyngealisation and tend to display it somewhat more consistently:

[dʕandʕ]	<i>daŋd</i> 'tooth'
[matʕ]	<i>maʕ</i> 'person'
[watʕ]	<i>waʕ</i> 'stone'
[bizzo'tʕa]	<i>bizzoʕa</i> 'poor'

A group of consonants around the velar, uvular and glottal positions show a degree of word-specific variation in lexical roots. The most frequent alternations are listed here (for a discussion see sections 2.6 and 2.7 below):

[ka'pi], [qa'pi]	<i>kapi, qapi</i> 'door'
[kaʃto'ta], [qaʃtʕo'tʕa]	<i>kaštota, qaštoʕa</i> 'small'
[kol'dom], [qol'dom], [χol'dom]	<i>koldom, qoldom, xoldom</i> 'I opened'
[qal], [χal], [gal]	<i>qal, xal, gal</i> (quotation particle)
[la'kami], [la'hami]	<i>lakami, lahami</i> 'I see'

2.3. Assimilation processes

Domari shows both productive and non-productive sound assimilation processes. Those that are non-productive are paradigm alternations that are a result of an underlying process of assimilation. We find this in the forms of the non-verbal predication marker. There are two morphemes for the singular predication marker: The first, *-i*, attaches to consonantal stem: *aha xudwar-i* 'it's a child', *ihi džuwir-i* 'it's a woman'. The second attaches to the vowel ending of the noun. The vowel endings of nouns are frequently inflection

endings that are distinguished for gender: masculine singular nominative *-a*, feminine singular nominative *-i*. The predication markers reflect gender distinction by incorporating the underlying inflectional ending:

šōn-a ‘boy’ *aha šōn-ēk* ‘this is a boy’
šōn-i ‘girl’ *ihi šōn-ik* ‘this is a girl’

From this we might derive the following historical reconstruction scenario: The original predication marker may have been **-ek-* or indeed **-eki*. The bisyllabic morpheme came under pressure to undergo simplification and erosion of duration as part of its increase in frequency, as a result of which it was reduced to just one syllable. With consonantal endings, it was shortened to *-i*, losing its consonantal value: **ihi džuwir-eki* > **ihi džuwir-i* ‘this is a woman’. With vowel endings, it assimilated the preceding inflectional marker, but lost its own final vowel to comply with the reduction trend. In this way, masculine **-a + -eki* became **-ēki* > *-ēk*, while feminine **-i + -eki* became **-iki* > *-ik*.

Productive assimilation processes continue to be dynamic. There are two noteworthy processes. The first involves vowels and is characterised by considerable variation and instability, which make it an option of ‘choice’ rather than a predictable rule. Moreover, the alternation produced by vowel assimilation tends to overlap with the variation already observed in many positions among neighbouring short vowels. Vowel assimilation is essentially a regressive assimilation process triggered by adaptation to an inflectional vowel ending. The following provide an illustration:

[wɛ ¹ da]	<i>wud-a</i> ‘old man’
[wi ¹ di]	<i>wid-i</i> ‘old woman’
[rawɛr ¹ dom]	<i>rawurd-om</i> ‘I travelled’
[rawar ¹ da]	<i>raward-a</i> ‘he travelled’
[rawir ¹ di]	<i>rawird-i</i> ‘she travelled’
[ge ¹ su]	<i>gēsu</i> ‘wheat’
[ʔa ¹ ha ge ¹ siwi]	<i>aha gesiw-i</i> ‘this is wheat’

The process can also be found in isolation from paradigms, in the adaptation of root vowels to the inflectional vowel, as in *šuri* ‘knife’ > *širi*, or the fronting of the root vowel in *nišyami* ‘I dance’, for which the past stem is *našīrom*.

Consonant assimilation is a process that reaches across morpheme boundaries and results in distinctive gemination. It has mainly two

environments. The first is the coming together of two identical segments at morpheme boundaries:

[xɪznawi'de:ssan]	<i>xiz-naw-id-ēs-san</i> laugh-CAUS-PAST-2PL-3PL 'you.PL made them laugh'
[xɪznawi'de:san]	<i>xiz-naw-id-ē-san</i> laugh-CAUS-PAST-3PL-3PL 'they made them laugh'
[la'harri]	<i>lah-ar-r-i</i> see-3SG-2SG-PRG 'he sees you'
[la'hari]	<i>lah-ar-i</i> see-3SG-PRG 'he sees'

The second is the regressive quality assimilation of a consonantal segment with the following consonant. This also occurs at morpheme boundaries, and leads to gemination:

[kur'jamma]	underlying <i>kury-a(n)-ma</i> house-OBL.PL-LOC 'in the houses'
[kur'jama]	<i>kury-a-ma</i> house-OBL.F-LOC 'in the house'

Gemination is otherwise a feature of lexical roots. It is typical especially of the Arabic component – [hɪ'bbo:mi] 'I like', from Arabic *ḥibb* – though stem gemination also occurs sporadically in inherited (pre-Arabic) lexical items: [tɪ'lla] *tilla* 'big', [ka'dʒdʒa] *kadždža* '(non-Dom) man', [bɪzzo'tʰa] *bizzoṭa* 'poor'.

Progressive consonantal assimilation is marginally attested in the form of pharyngealisation in non-Arabic items that follow a pharyngealised segment in an Arabic stem:

[taw'le:ʔa]	<i>ṭawl-ē-ṭa</i> table-OBL.F-DAT 'on the table'
-------------	---

2.4. Syllable structure

The majority of Domari lexical roots contain two or three syllables, sometimes with an additional syllable for a vocalic inflectional ending. Lexical roots with more than three syllables are rare, at least in the pre-Arabic component. The Arabic component enriches the inventory of patterns somewhat, though even in the Arabic component derivational templates of more than three syllables are very rare.

Word roots can usually be followed by up to three syllables of grammatical affixes in nouns, and even more in the case of verbs: consider *in-xiz-naw-id-e-san-a* ‘they had not made them laugh’, containing the negation marker *in-*, the root *xiz-* ‘to laugh’, the causative marker *-naw-*, the perfective marker *-id-*, the 3PL subject marker *-e*, the 3PL object marker *-san-*, the remoteness tense marker *-a*, and the postposed negation marker *-’*:

- (3) *in-xiz-naw-id-e-san-á-’*
 NEG-laugh-CAUS-PAST-3PL-3PL-REM-NEG
 ‘they had not made them laugh’

In word roots, there are four main types of syllable structure, each of which forms the core for word formation patterns. The first is the consonant-vowel or open syllable sequence (CV). The sequence can occur in single, duplicate and triplicate format, as well as in a hybrid (open-plus-closed syllable) format:

CV	<i>dža!</i> ‘go!’
CVCV	<i>gěsu</i> ‘wheat’
CVCVCV	<i>dusara</i> ‘black’
CVCVC	<i>džuwir</i> ‘woman’

The vowel-consonant sequence (VC) can occur on its own, or in an extended format with an additional vowel. The consonant in the sequence can be a cluster. A more complex pattern derives an historical duplicate open syllable pattern (CVCV) with an initial vocalic derivation marker. The pattern VCCVC is reserved for the Arabic comparative/superlative template, *aCCaC*:

VC	<i>ag</i> ‘fire’
VCV	<i>eme</i> ‘we’
VCCV	<i>aštj</i> ‘there is’
VCVCV	<i>ažoti</i> ‘yesterday’
VCCVC	Arabic <i>akbar</i> ‘bigger’

A further core structure involves the closed syllable CVC. It can be extended by an open syllable, by another closed sequence, or by a closed sequence with vocalic inflectional ending:

CVC	<i>xur</i> ‘heart’
CVCCV	<i>šukna</i> ‘oil’
CVCCVC	<i>pandžan</i> ‘they’
CVC(C)VCV	<i>bizzoža</i> ‘poor’

Finally, a core syllable can begin in a consonant cluster, and can be either open (CCV) or closed (CCVC). Extension of the pattern is common with an inflectional vowel ending. Other patterns are typical of European loanwords, whereas the extension in *protkiliya* ‘Jewish woman’ is rare.

CCV	<i>ple</i> ‘money’
CCVC	<i>drak</i> ‘grape’
CCVCV	<i>bkara</i> ‘hungry’
CCVCVC	<i>spital</i> ‘hospital’
CCVCCVC	<i>trombil</i> ‘car’
CCVCCVCVCV	<i>protkiliya</i> ‘Jewish woman’

As these various syllable patterns show, word-final consonant clusters are rare and tend to be avoided, while word-internal clusters at syllable boundaries, such as *ašti* ‘there is’ and *sukna* ‘oil’, are quite common and do not seem to pose any obstacles to natural word-formation in the language. Onset clusters are varied, too, but there seem to be some constraints on possible combinations. Tables 4–5 show attested onset consonant clusters. Some occur only in direct loans from Arabic. Others occur in verbal roots of Arabic etymology, which Domari derives by extracting the Arabic triconsonantal root in the template CCiC or CCuC (*wlid-* ‘to be born’, *fiuḥ-* ‘to open’, *s’il-* ‘to ask’, *štrī-* ‘to buy’, and so on).

Table 4. Word-initial clusters: stops and nasals

Voiceless stop + C		Voiced stop + C	
[pl]	<i>ple</i> ‘money’	[bk]	<i>bkara</i> ‘hungry’
[pr]	<i>prana</i> ‘white’	[bl]	Arabic <i>blād</i> ‘country’
[pj]	<i>pyami</i> ‘I drink’	[br]	<i>brari</i> ‘cat’
		[bj]	<i>byari</i> ‘he/she fears’
[tm]	<i>tmali</i> ‘soldier’	[db]	Arabic <i>dbīḥ</i> ‘slaughtered animal’
[tr]	<i>trombil</i> ‘car’	[dr]	<i>drak</i> ‘grape’
[tf]	<i>tfang</i> ‘gun’	[df]	<i>dfinkede</i> ‘they buried’
[th]	<i>thinkeda</i> ‘he accused’	[dʔj]	Arabic <i>dyūf</i> ‘guests’
[tʰh]	<i>tʰīn</i> ‘tahn’		
[tw]	<i>twadžidre</i> ‘they were found’		
[kt]	<i>ktir</i> ‘Christian’	[gr]	<i>grēfkari</i> ‘he/she sings’

Table 4 (cont.) Word-initial clusters: stops and nasals

<i>Voiceless stop + C</i>		<i>Voiced stop + C</i>	
[kn]	<i>knami</i> 'I buy'	[gh]	<i>ghāy</i> 'good'
[kl]	<i>klami</i> 'I wake up'		
[kr]	<i>krēn</i> 'where'	[qn]	<i>qnawida</i> 'he fed'
[kw]	<i>kwira</i> 'it burned'	[qr]	<i>qrare</i> 'Bedouins'
[kj]	<i>kyos</i> 'his eye'	[ql]	Arabic <i>qlām</i> 'pencils'
<i>Nasal + C</i>			
[ml]	Arabic <i>mlūk</i> 'kings'		
[mf]	<i>mfalla</i> 'crazy'		
[mh]	<i>mhom</i> 'my face'		
[mw]	Arabic <i>mwazzaf</i> 'clerk'		
[nh]	<i>nhe</i> 'there isn't'		

Table 5. Word-initial clusters: fricatives and semi-vowels

<i>Voiceless fricative + C</i>		<i>Voiced fricative or semi-vowel + C</i>	
[ft]	<i>fuhkeda</i> 'he conquered'	[w]	<i>wlidahra</i> 'he was born'
[fl]	Arabic <i>flan</i> 'somebody, anonymous'	[ws ^r]	<i>wşulahra</i> 'he arrived'
[fh]	<i>fhimkedom</i> 'I understood'		
[sp]	<i>spital</i> 'hospital'	[zl]	Arabic <i>zlam</i> 'men'
[st]	<i>stannhōši!</i> 'wait!'	[zr]	<i>zraʃkede</i> 'they sowed'
[sk]	<i>skunomi</i> 'I live'	[zh]	<i>zhixrom</i> 'I was bored'
[sb]	<i>sbuqkeda</i> 'he preceded'		
[sn]	<i>sname</i> 'I hear'		
[sl]	<i>slim</i> (family name)		
[s ^r r]	<i>ʃrifkeda</i> 'he exchanged money'		
[s ^h h]	Arabic <i>ʃhāb</i> 'friends'		
[sʔ]	<i>s'ilkedom</i> 'I asked'		
[sw]	Arabic <i>swēq</i> 'markets'		
[ʃt]	<i>ʃtirda</i> 'he stood'	[ʒb]	<i>ʒbom</i> 'my tongue'
[ʃm]	<i>ʃmari</i> 'chicken'	[ʒm]	<i>ʒmiʃkeda</i> 'he collected'
[ʃl]	<i>ʃlixkedom</i> 'I undressed'		
[ʃtr]	<i>ʃtrikeda</i> 'he bought'		
[xt ^r]	<i>xtubkeda</i> 'he got engaged'	[ʔr]	Arabic <i>ʔrāb</i> 'raven'
[xb]	<i>xbuʔkeda</i> 'he hit'		
[xm]	Arabic <i>xmur</i> 'alcohol'		
[xl]	<i>xlawida</i> 'he removed'		
[xr]	<i>xrom</i> 'my heart'		
[hn]	<i>hnōn</i> 'here'	[hk]	<i>hkumkeda</i> 'he ruled'
[hr]	<i>hra</i> 'it became'	[hl]	<i>hlaqkeda</i> 'he shaved'
		[hs]	<i>hsān</i> 'horse'

Favourite onset combinations involve the sonorants [r] and [l] and the fricative [f] in second position, while no onset clusters show [tʃ], [dʒ], [r], [l], or [j] in the first position. The widest range of onset clusters is led by the sibilants [s]. More unusual is perhaps the appearance of several initial clusters where [h], a particularly energy-intensive sound, figures in the second position in the cluster.

The presence of a wide range of onset clusters is offset by a tendency to shift from a syllable pattern CCV(C) toward VCCV(C) (*ple* > *iple* ‘money’, *ktīr* > *iktīr* ‘Christian’) attested in the form of a widespread insertion of epenthetic vowels before the onset position. This is well in line with similar tendencies in the neighbouring languages of the region – not just Arabic, but also Kurdish, Turkish, and Persian, though the Domari epenthetic vowel is invariably inserted before the cluster, rather than within it (as in Turkish *grup* ‘group’ etc.):

[ˈto:mɪsɪˈplɛ]	<i>tomis ple</i> ‘I gave him money’
[gɪʃɪˈplɛ:m]	<i>giš plēm</i> ‘all my money’
[ɪtmaliˈjɛ xal nɪkˈʃi:]	<i>tmaliye xal: nikšī!</i> ‘the soldiers said: enter!’
[ˈʔekakɪkˈti:ri]	<i>ekak ktīri</i> ‘a Christian person’
[ʔaˈmaɪbkaˈræhromi]	<i>ama bkarahromi</i> ‘I am hungry’
[ɪtˈmɛɪˈdʃɪjufahˈresi]	<i>itme ḍyūfahresi</i> ‘you are guests’
[hesˈaʃɪsˈnami]	<i>hešaʃ snami</i> ‘now I hear’
[ɪknaˈwɪrsɪ]	<i>knawɪrsɪ</i> ‘it hurts her’

A somewhat contradictory trend is attested in word roots with the syllable pattern CVC(VC). Here we find a fully conventionalised, phonological rule that supports a limitation on the overall number of syllables within a word amidst fluctuation in the number of inflectional morphemes attached to the root. This results in the reduction of root syllables. In the following examples, a bisyllabic structure is maintained in the word despite the addition of a bisyllabic person and tense ending to a verbal root, by reducing the verbal root to an onset cluster in the position that precedes the stress-carrying syllable:

<i>snámi</i>	‘I hear’ (* < <i>sun-ámi</i>), cf. <i>sun-dom</i> ‘I heard’
<i>knámi</i>	‘I sell’ (* < <i>kun-ámi</i>), cf. <i>kun-dom</i> ‘I sold’

In nominal paradigms, the addition of direct object (independent oblique) case marking as a stressed syllable triggers reduction of the preceding syllable:

<i>manús</i>	‘person’
<i>laherdom mans-ás</i>	‘I saw the person’ (* <i>manus-ás</i>)
<i>gēsú</i>	‘wheat’
<i>pardom gēs-wás</i>	‘I took the wheat’ (* <i>gēsú-ás</i>)

With feminine nouns ending in *-i*, the transition from vowel to glide may still have residual syllabic properties:

[ku'ri:]	<i>kuri</i> 'house'
[kurr'ja], [kur'ja]	<i>kuriya, kurya</i> 'house' (direct object)

The rule of maintaining stress position and number of syllables also triggers re-syllabification when consonantal object person endings on verbs co-occur with external tense markers *-i* (progressive) and *-a* (remote). In the subjunctive and simple past, where such tense affixes are absent, a vowel appears between the preceding inflectional ending (representing the subject) and the object marker:

<i>laha-m</i> '(that) I see' (subjunctive)	<i>laha-m-ir</i> '(that) I see you'
<i>lahado-m</i> 'I saw'	<i>lahado-m-ir</i> '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 lose their independent syllable status and are incorporated into the syllable of the tense marker:

<i>laha-m-i</i> 'I see'	<i>laha-m-r-i</i> 'I see you'
<i>lahado-m-i</i> 'I have seen'	<i>lahado-m-r-i</i> 'I have seen you'
<i>lahado-m-a</i> 'I had seen'	<i>lahado-m-r-a</i> 'I had seen you'

2.5. Prosody and stress

Word-level stress usually falls on the final syllable of lexical words that lack inflectional segments: *ūyár* 'town', *bará* 'outside', *ehé* 'these'. Some grammatical function words and adverbs are exceptions: *húndar* 'there', *xudžóti* 'yesterday', *pándžan* 'they', *táran* 'three'. In inflected words, stress accompanies stress-carrying inflectional segments. These include the following: nominal gender/number markers (*šōn-á/šōn-é* 'boy/boys'), Layer I case inflection markers (see below; *dōm/dōm-ás* 'Dom.NOM/ACC.'), possessive personal markers on the noun (*boy-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-é* '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 object person markers (*lahedóm-ir* 'I saw you'). Most of these patterns strongly resemble those found in the more conservative dialects

of 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.).

2.6. Historical phonology

Domari shares a number of unique features in the development of its historical phonology with Romani, a fact that had added to speculation about the relationship between the two languages, both of which already stand out as Indo-Aryan diaspora languages of socially isolated communities outside of India (see Chapter 1). We owe much to Turner (1926) who illuminated stages in the development especially of Romani by taking into consideration historical layers in the developments of sounds, beginning with the earliest transition period from Old to Middle Indo-Aryan in the first half of the first millennium CE, through the emergence of late Middle Indo-Aryan and on to the development of the modern languages in early medieval times. Turner’s conclusion for Romani had been that an ancient layer of changes was shared specifically with the Central Indian group of languages, which includes Hindi and Gujarati. A number of conservative traits are preserved in Romani, however, which testify to a break away from the Central group and the reach of its innovations, and to a period of settlement in the Northwest, which was left unaffected by them. From Turner’s work grew the prevailing assumption in Romani linguistics that attributes to the early history of the Roma a migration from the Central regions into the Northwest, sometime in the first half of the first millennium, and subsequent migration from there westwards.

Much of this scenario can be directly adopted for Domari, too (see Chapter 1.4). Like Romani, Domari shares a number of ancient innovations with the Central languages of Indo-Aryan, most notably the realisation of Old Indo-Aryan syllabic *r* as *u* or *i* (OIA *śṛṇ-*, Domari *sun-/sin-* ‘to hear’; Hindi *sun-*, Romani *šun-*), the simplification of *kṣ-* to *k(h)* (OIA *akṣi*, MIA *akkhi*, Domari *iki* ‘eye’; Hindi *āk*, Romani (*j*)*akh*), and the shift from initial *y-* to *dž-* (OIA *ya-*, Domari *dža-* ‘go’; Hindi *dža-*, Romani *dža-*). Along with other Central Indian languages such as Hindi, both Domari and Romani share the simplification of OIA initial and medial consonant clusters, first through gemination in MIA and later to simple consonants in the transition to NIA:

Table 6. Simplification of OIA initial and medial consonant clusters

OIA	Domari	Examples					
		OIA	MIA	Hindi	Romani	Domari	Gloss
pt	> t	<i>taptāḥ</i>	<i>tatta</i>	<i>tātā</i>	<i>tato</i>	<i>tata</i>	‘hot’
sth	> t	<i>sthūla</i>	<i>thulla</i>		<i>thulo</i>	<i>tilla</i>	‘big’
rp	> p	<i>sarpa</i>	<i>sappa</i>	<i>sāp</i>	<i>sap</i>	<i>sap</i>	‘snake’

By contrast, both Domari and Romani retain medial and initial consonant clusters that have been lost in the Central languages already during the transition period to MIA:

Table 7. Retention of OIA initial and medial consonant clusters lost in MIA

OIA	Domari	Examples					
		OIA	MIA	Hindi	Romani	Domari	Gloss
ṣṭh	> ṣṭ	<i>oṣṭha</i>	<i>oṭṭha</i>	<i>oṭh</i>	<i>uṣṭ</i>	<i>oṣṭ</i>	‘lip’
tr	> tar	<i>trīṇi</i>	<i>tiṇṇi</i>	<i>tīn</i>	<i>trin</i>	<i>taran</i>	‘three’
ṛt	> ard	<i>kṛta</i>	<i>kada</i>	<i>kīyā</i>	<i>kerdo</i>	<i>karda</i>	‘done’
dr	> dr	<i>drākṣa</i>	<i>dakkhā</i>	<i>dākh</i>	<i>drakh</i>	<i>drak</i>	‘grape’
st	> st	<i>hasta</i>	<i>hattha</i>	<i>hāth</i>	<i>v-ast</i>	<i>xast</i>	‘arm’

Domari, like Romani, thus preserves an ancient, Old Indo-Aryan legacy while at the same time adhering to some of the common patterns that characterise the emergence of New Indo-Aryan well into the second half of the first millennium. This unique position can be explained on the basis of Turner’s scenario of an early migration out of the Central areas and re-settlement in the Northwest, and a migration out of the Indian sub-continent not before the ninth or tenth century CE.

In the context of its separation from Indo-Aryan, Domari undergoes several significant changes to its phonological structure (see Table 18). Vowel length is usually lost, and although present-day Domari does show vowel length opposition it is extremely difficult to draw any direct connections between the presence of length in a contemporary word and its cognate in older forms of Indo-Aryan. One of the few words for which such a correspondence can be established is in fact the group name, *dōm* (OIA *dōmba*). Even here, however, the similarity could be coincidental. Otherwise, vowel quality is generally continued, save for a lowering of historical *ā* in positions preceding labial fricatives (OIA *dhāv-*, Romani *thov-*, Domari *dow-* ‘to wash’).

The principal changes in the inventory of sounds that Domari inherits are in the consonant inventory and its distribution. Domari shows the impact of many of the consonant losses, shifts, and simplifications that characterise the MIA period:

Table 8. Consonants continuing MIA simplifications

OIA	Domari	Examples				
		OIA	MIA	Domari	Gloss	
bh >	b	<i>bhagini</i>	<i>bahiṇī</i>	<i>ben</i>		‘sister’
p >	w	<i>āpaya-</i>	<i>āv-</i>	<i>aw-</i>		‘to come’
kh >	h	<i>mukha</i>	<i>muha</i>	<i>muh</i>		‘face’
sm >	m	<i>asman</i>	<i>amhe</i>	<i>eme</i>		‘we’

On the other hand, like Romani, Domari is conservative in retaining consonantal segments that continue the OIA/MIA medial dental stops /t, d/, which are lost in many of the sub-continental languages. In Domari they are represented as /r/:

Table 9. Medial dental stops

OIA	Domari	Examples					
		OIA	MIA	Hindi	Romani	Domari	Gloss
t >	r	<i>gatāḥ</i>	<i>gada</i>	<i>gayā</i>	<i>gelo</i>	<i>gara</i>	‘gone’
d >	r	<i>hrdayam</i>	<i>hiaya</i>		<i>ilo</i>	<i>xur</i>	‘heart’

A distinctive feature of the two diasporic Indo-Aryan languages, Romani and Domari, is the loss of retroflex consonants. In Domari they are usually replaced by dental stops:

Table 10. Loss of retroflex

OIA	Domari	Examples					
		OIA	MIA	Hindi	Romani	Domari	Gloss
ṭṭ >	t	<i>aṭṭa</i>		<i>aṭa</i>	<i>aṛo</i>	<i>ata</i>	‘flour’
ḍḍh >	d	<i>*vṛḍḍhah</i>	<i>vuddha</i>	<i>buddha</i>	<i>phuṛo</i>	<i>wuda</i>	‘old man’

Sometimes segments that continue the historical retroflex sounds appear in Domari as pharyngealised stops, but it is not possible to ascertain whether this is a coincidence or whether pharyngealisation, which appears to have been acquired through contact with Arabic, entered the language while retroflexes still had a distinct pronunciation, retroflex or other:

Table 11. Realisation of historical retroflex as pharyngealised stop

OIA	Domari	Examples					
		OIA	MIA	Hindi	Romani	Domari	Gloss
ṭ >	t [tʰ]	<i>vaṭa</i>	<i>vaḍa</i>		<i>bar</i>	<i>wat</i> [watʰ]	‘stone’
		<i>peṭ</i>	<i>peṭṭa</i>	<i>peṭ</i>	<i>peṛ</i>	<i>pet</i> [petʰ]	‘belly’

The historical retroflex cluster /ɳɖ/ is simplified in Domari to /n/:

Table 12. Simplification of /ɳɖ/ to /n/

OIA	Domari	Examples					
		OIA	MIA	Hindi	Romani	Domari	Gloss
ɳɖ	> n	<i>aṇḍa</i>	<i>aṇḍa</i>	<i>aṇḍā</i>	<i>anṛo</i>	<i>ana</i>	'egg'
		<i>maṇḍa</i>	<i>maṇḍa</i>		<i>manṛo</i>	<i>mana</i>	'bread'

In the particular case of the cluster /ɖɖ/ we find a trill /r/ as successor:

Table 13. /ɖɖ/ to /r/

OIA	Domari	Examples					
		OIA	MIA	Hindi	Romani	Domari	Gloss
ɖɖ	> r	<i>haḍḍa</i>	<i>haḍḍa</i>	<i>hār</i>	<i>heroj</i>	<i>xar</i>	'bone'

A further typical feature of Indo-Aryan (and wide parts of Indo-Iranian), distinctive aspiration, is also lost in Domari (but retained in Romani):

Table 14. Loss of aspiration

OIA	Domari	Examples					
		OIA	MIA	Hindi	Romani	Domari	Gloss
kh	> q	<i>khād-</i>	<i>khāi</i>	<i>kha-</i>	<i>xa-</i>	<i>qa-</i>	'to eat'
bh	> b	<i>bhaginī</i>	<i>bahinī</i>	<i>behen</i>	<i>phen</i>	<i>ben</i>	'sister'
dh	> d	<i>dhāv-</i>	<i>dhāv-</i>	<i>dho-</i>	<i>thov-</i>	<i>dow-</i>	'to wash'
gh	> g	<i>ghoṭī-</i>	<i>ghoḍa</i>	<i>ghoṛā</i>		<i>gori</i>	'horse'

A small number of additional changes to the inherited stock of sounds and sound distribution lend Domari its present-day position within Indo-Aryan. First is the shift of initial and medial /v/ to /w/:

Table 15. Initial and medial /v/ to /w/

OIA	Domari	Examples					
		OIA	MIA	Hindi	Romani	Domari	Gloss
v	> w	<i>varṣa</i>	<i>varisa</i>	<i>baras</i>	<i>berš</i>	<i>wars</i>	'year'
		<i>nava</i>		<i>naya</i>	<i>nevo</i>	<i>nawa</i>	'new'
		<i>yuvatīḥ</i>			<i>džuvel</i>	<i>džuwir</i>	'woman'
		<i>-viś-</i>	<i>vis-</i>	<i>baiṭh</i>	<i>bēš-</i>	<i>wis-</i>	'sit'

All OIA voiceless sibilants converge in Domari in /s/:

Table 16. Convergence of OIA voiceless sibilants to /s/

OIA	Domari	Examples					Gloss
		OIA	MIA	Hindi	Romani	Domari	
s	> s	<i>sarpa</i>	<i>sappa</i>	<i>sāp</i>	<i>sap</i>	<i>sap</i>	‘snake’
ś	> s	<i>śiras</i>	<i>siru</i>	<i>sir</i>	<i>šero</i>	<i>siri</i>	‘head’
ṣ	> s	<i>manuṣa</i>	<i>manuṣā</i>	<i>mānus</i>	<i>manuṣ</i>	<i>manus</i>	‘person’

Finally, inherited /h/ becomes /x/:

Table 17. OIA /h/ > /x/

OIA	Domari	Examples					Gloss
		OIA	MIA	Hindi	Romani	Domari	
h	> x	<i>hasta</i>	<i>hattha</i>	<i>hāth</i>	<i>v-ast</i>	<i>xast</i>	‘arm’

In addition to the re-structuring of the inherited sound system, there are several developments in the Domari sound system that might be attributed to the period following emigration from the Indian sub-continent and the influence of contact languages. The phonemes /f/, /z/, /q/ and /ɣ/ seem to have entered the language along with loanwords from Persian, Kurdish and later Turkish. The first, /f/, is quite rare in the pre-Arabic component, the root *f-/fumn-* ‘to hit’, *fayiš* ‘fight’ being an isolated exception. The oldest lexical items in which /z/ is attested are equally Iranian loans such as Persian-derived *zard* ‘gold, coin’ and Kurdish-derived *zara* ‘boy’, *zari* ‘mouth’

The distribution of /q/ in Domari is quite remarkable. The citation particle for indirect speech, /qal/, from Arabic *qāl* ‘he said’, seems to be one of the earliest Arabic loans, as indicated by its grammaticalisation far beyond its original meaning in Arabic. Oddly, it is pronounced alternately as /gal/ as well as /xal/. The first, /gal/, is typical of Bedouin dialects but also of Mesopotamian and Gulf Arabic. The fricative pronunciation seems to be unattested in Arabic. At any rate, the fluctuation in the pronunciation of /qal/ suggests that earliest contacts with Arabic may well have been with a dialect in which historical Arabic /q/ is realised as /g/, and not /q/. The occasional interchangeability in Domari of /q/ and /x/ (e.g. *qoldom/xoldom* ‘I opened’) points to a link with Persian, where there remains variation along the spectrum /q-ɣ-x-χ/. But in Domari uvular /q/ sometimes interchanges with /k/, as in *qapi/kapi* (Turkish *kapi*), and it generally replaces historical segments of aspirated /kh/, as in *qar* ‘donkey’, *q-* ‘to eat’. It also alternates quite frequently with historical /k/, as in *qala* ‘black’. This generalisation of the uvular to cover velar sounds is reminiscent of eastern Anatolian, Mesopotamian and Caucasian varieties of Turkish (Azeri), and may have been acquired in contact with one of those languages. The phoneme /ɣ/ appears to have entered the

language with Turkic and Iranian vocabulary such as *bīy* ‘moustache’ and *yeyer* ‘horse’, and is still rarely found outside the Arabic vocabulary.

Domari maintains a phoneme /ʃ/, which however continues in Indo-Aryan material only within the cluster /ʃt/: *mišta* ‘ill’, *štirdom* ‘I stood’, *ašti* ‘there is’. Its distribution is extended as new words enter the language from Kurdish (*šaŋ* ‘well’, *gišt* ‘all’) and Arabic (*šubbāk* ‘window’, *šūri-* ‘to buy’), and more recently as a result of ongoing de-affrication of /č/ (*šmari* < *čmari* ‘chicken’, *lāši* < *lāči* ‘girl’). Its voiced counterpart /ʒ/ is a recent acquisition in the language, arising from ongoing de-affrication of historical [dž]. Finally, Domari, much like many dialects of Kurdish, has adopted Arabic pharyngeals in Arabic loanwords. There is no evidence in Domari to suggest the spread of pharyngeal phonemes into the pre-Arabic component, substituting for others, but we can observe a process of ongoing and seemingly random pharyngealisation of dental consonants, which we can trace in all likelihood to this recent Arabic influence (see above).

Table 18. The representation of Old Indo-Aryan sounds in Domari

OIA	Domari	Example
áh	a	OIA <i>taptáh</i> , Hindi <i>tātā</i> , Romani <i>tato</i> , Domari <i>tata</i> ‘hot’
a	a	OIA <i>nava</i> , Romani <i>nevo</i> , Domari <i>nawa</i> ‘new’
	i	through assimilation: OIA <i>akṣi</i> /MIA <i>akkhi</i> /Domari <i>iki</i> ‘eye’
ā	a	OIA <i>āpaya-</i> , MIA <i>āv-</i> , Romani <i>av-</i> , Domari <i>aw-</i> ‘to come’
	o	preceding labials: OIA <i>dhāv-</i> , Romani <i>thov-</i> , Domari <i>dow-</i> ‘to wash’
e	e	OIA <i>peṭ</i> , Romani <i>peṭ</i> , Domari <i>pet</i> ‘belly’
ē	e	OIA <i>ēka</i> , Romani <i>jekh</i> , Domari <i>ek</i> ‘one’
i	i	OIA <i>siras</i> , MIA <i>siru</i> , Hindi <i>sir</i> , Romani <i>šero</i> , Domari <i>siri</i> ‘head’
ī	i	OIA <i>sīta</i> , MIA <i>sīta</i> , Romani <i>šil</i> , Domari <i>silda</i> ‘cold’
o	o	OIA <i>goṇa</i> , Domari <i>goni</i> ‘sack’
ō	ō	OIA <i>ḍomba</i> , Domari <i>dōm</i> ‘member of the Dom caste’
u	u	OIA <i>kṣurikā</i> , MIA <i>churī</i> , Romani <i>čuri</i> , Domari <i>čuri</i> ‘knife’
ū	u	OIA <i>mūtra</i> , MIA <i>mutta</i> , Romani <i>mutr-</i> , Domari <i>mutur</i> ‘urine’
ṛ	ø	OIA <i>mṛta</i> , MIA <i>muda</i> , Hindi <i>muā</i> , Romani <i>mulo</i> , Domari <i>mra</i> ‘dead’
	i	OIA <i>ghṛta</i> , Hindi <i>ghī</i> , Romani <i>khil</i> , Domari <i>gir</i> ‘butter’
	u	OIA <i>hṛdayam</i> , Romani <i>ilo</i> , Domari <i>xur</i> ‘heart’
ṛt	ard	OIA <i>kṛta</i> , MIA <i>kada</i> , Hindi <i>kiyā</i> , Romani <i>kerdo</i> , Domari <i>karda</i> ‘done’
p	p	OIA <i>pāniya</i> , MIA <i>pāniya</i> , Hindi <i>pāni</i> , Romani <i>pani</i> , Domari <i>pani</i> ‘water’
	w	OIA <i>āpaya-</i> , MIA <i>āv-</i> , Romani <i>av-</i> , Domari <i>aw-</i> ‘to come’
t	t	OIA <i>taruṇa</i> , Romani <i>terno</i> , Domari <i>tarna</i> ‘young’
	r	OIA <i>gatāḥ</i> , Hindi <i>gayā</i> , Romani <i>gelo</i> , Domari <i>gara</i> ‘gone’
k	k/q	OIA <i>kāla</i> , Hindi <i>kāla</i> , Romani <i>kalo</i> , Domari <i>kala/qala</i> ‘black’
b	b	OIA <i>bahis</i> , MIA <i>vāhira</i> , Romani <i>avri</i> , Domari <i>bara</i> ‘out’
d	d	OIA <i>divasa</i> , MIA <i>divasa</i> , Romani <i>dives</i> , Domari <i>dis</i> ‘day’
	r	OIA <i>hṛdayam</i> , Romani <i>ilo</i> , Domari <i>xur</i> ‘heart’

Table 18 (cont.) The representation of Old Indo-Aryan sounds in Domari

OIA	Domari	Example
g	g	OIA <i>gandha</i> , Romani <i>khand-</i> , Domari <i>gan-</i> ‘stink’
	ø	OIA <i>bhaginī</i> , MIA <i>bahinī</i> , Hindi <i>behen</i> , Romani <i>phen</i> , Domari <i>ben</i> ‘sister’
kh	q	OIA <i>khād-</i> , MIA <i>khāi</i> , Hindi <i>kha-</i> , Romani <i>xa-</i> , Domari <i>qa-</i> ‘to eat’
	h	OIA <i>mukha</i> , MIA <i>muha</i> , Romani <i>muj</i> , Domari <i>muh</i> ‘face’
bh	b	OIA <i>bhaginī</i> , MIA <i>bahinī</i> , Hindi <i>behen</i> , Romani <i>phen</i> , Domari <i>ben</i> ‘sister’
dh	d	OIA <i>dhāv-</i> , Hindi <i>dho-</i> , Romani <i>thov-</i> , Domari <i>dow-</i> ‘to wash’
gh	g	OIA <i>ghoṣī-</i> , Hindi <i>ghoḍa</i> , Domari <i>gori</i> ‘horse’
ṭ	ṭ	OIA <i>vaṭa</i> , MIA <i>vaḍa</i> , Romani <i>bar</i> , Domari <i>wat</i> ‘stone’
ḍ	d	OIA <i>ḍōm</i> , Romani <i>řom</i> , Lomavren <i>lom</i> , Domari <i>dōm</i> ‘member of the Dom caste/ man’
ḍḍ	r	OIA <i>haḍḍa</i> , Hindi <i>haḍḍi</i> , Romani <i>heroj</i> , Domari <i>xar</i> ‘bone’
ṭṭ	t	OIA <i>aṭṭa</i> , Hindi <i>aṭa</i> , Romani <i>ařo</i> , Domari <i>ata</i> ‘flour’
ḍḍh	d	OIA <i>*vṛḍḍhah</i> , MIA <i>vudḍha</i> , Romani <i>phuřo</i> , Domari <i>wuda</i> ‘old man’
c	š	OIA <i>catvari</i> , Hindi <i>cār</i> , Romani <i>štar</i> , Domari <i>štar-</i> ‘four’
ch	č	OIA <i>chin-</i> , Romani <i>čin-</i> , Domari <i>čin-</i> ‘to cut’
jj	dž	OIA <i>lajjā</i> , Romani <i>ladž-</i> , Domari <i>ladž</i> ‘shame’
v	w	OIA <i>varša</i> , MIA <i>varisa</i> , Hindi <i>baras</i> , Romani <i>berš</i> , Domari <i>wars</i> ‘year’
	ø	OIA <i>lavana</i> , MIA <i>loṇa</i> , Domari <i>lon</i> ‘salt’
h	x	OIA <i>hasta</i> , MIA <i>hattha</i> , Hindi <i>hāth</i> , Romani <i>v-ast</i> , Domari <i>xast</i> ‘arm’
m	m	OIA <i>manuša</i> , MIA <i>maṇusā</i> , Hindi <i>mānus</i> , Romani <i>manuš</i> , Domari <i>manus</i> ‘person’
n	n	OIA <i>nava</i> , Romani <i>nevo</i> , Domari <i>nawa</i> ‘new’
ṇ	n	OIA <i>goṇa</i> , Romani <i>gono</i> , Domari <i>goni</i> ‘sack’
r	r	OIA <i>siras</i> , MIA <i>siru</i> , Hindi <i>sir</i> , Romani <i>šero</i> , Domari <i>siri</i> ‘head’
l	l	OIA <i>lajjā</i> , Domari <i>ladž</i> ‘shame’
y	dž	OIA <i>yuvatīh</i> , Romani <i>džuveł</i> , Domari <i>džuwir</i> ‘woman’
s	s	OIA <i>arpa</i> , Hindi <i>sāp</i> , Romani <i>sap</i> , Domari <i>sap</i> ‘snake’
ś	s	OIA <i>siras</i> , MIA <i>siru</i> , Hindi <i>sir</i> , Romani <i>šero</i> , Domari <i>siri</i> ‘head’
ṣ	s	OIA <i>manuša</i> , MIA <i>maṇusā</i> , Hindi <i>mānus</i> , Romani <i>manuš</i> , Domari <i>manus</i> ‘person’
tr	tar	OIA <i>trīṇi</i> , MIA <i>tipṇi</i> , Hindi <i>tīn</i> , Romani <i>trin</i> , Domari <i>taran</i> ‘three’
dr	dr	OIA <i>drākṣa</i> , Hindi <i>dākh</i> , Romani <i>drakh</i> , Domari <i>drak</i> ‘grape’
bhr	b	OIA <i>bhrātr-</i> , MIA <i>bhāda</i> , Hindi <i>bhāi</i> , Romani <i>phral</i> , Domari <i>bar</i> ‘brother’
nd	n	OIA <i>gandha</i> , Romani <i>khand-</i> , Domari <i>gan-</i> ‘stink’
nt	nd	OIA <i>danta</i> , Hindi <i>dāt</i> , Romani <i>dand</i> , Domari <i>dand</i> ‘tooth’
nc	ndž	OIA <i>pancan</i> , Hindi <i>pāc</i> , Romani <i>pandž</i> , Domari <i>pandž</i> ‘five’
pt	t	OIA <i>taptāh</i> , Hindi <i>tātā</i> , Romani <i>tato</i> , Domari <i>tata</i> ‘hot’
gn	g	OIA <i>agni</i> , Hindi <i>āg</i> , Romani <i>jag</i> , Domari <i>ag</i> ‘fire’
sm	m	OIA <i>asman</i> , MIA <i>amhe</i> , Hindi <i>ham</i> , Romani <i>ame</i> , Domari <i>eme</i> ‘we’
st	st	OIA <i>hasta</i> , MIA <i>hattha</i> , Hindi <i>hāth</i> , Romani <i>v-ast</i> , Domari <i>xast</i> ‘arm’
sth	t	OIA <i>sthūla</i> , MIA <i>thulla</i> , Romani <i>thulo</i> , Domari <i>tilla</i> ‘big’

Table 18 (cont.) The representation of Old Indo-Aryan sounds in Domari

OIA	Domari	Example
rp	p	OIA <i>sarpa</i> , MIA <i>sappa</i> , Hindi <i>sāp</i> , Romani <i>sap</i> , Domari <i>sap</i> 'snake'
rṇ	n	OIA <i>karṇa</i> , Hindi <i>kān</i> , Romani <i>kan</i> , Domari <i>kan</i> 'ear'
kṣ	k	OIA <i>akṣi</i> , MIA <i>akkhi</i> , Hindi <i>āk</i> , Romani <i>jakh</i> , Domari <i>iki</i> 'eye'
	č	OIA <i>kṣurikā</i> , MIA <i>churī</i> , Romani <i>čuri</i> , Domari <i>čuri</i> 'knife'
ṣṭh	št	OIA <i>oṣṭha</i> , MIA <i>oṭṭha</i> , Hindi <i>oth</i> , Romani <i>ušt</i> , Domari <i>ošt</i> 'lip'
ṇḍ	n	OIA <i>aṇḍa</i> , Hindi <i>aṇḍā</i> , Romani <i>anřo</i> , Domari <i>ana</i> 'egg'

In many ways, the present profile of Domari phonology reflects the language's areal position. Its phoneme inventory is characterised by the presence of a more or less symmetrical contrast of front and back and high and low vowels, with considerable volatility among neighbouring positions and a tendency toward back-front alternation: [u]-[i], [ʊ]-[ɪ], [ɯ]-[ɪ]. It is further characterised by the presence of a uvular stop, the distinctive use of glottals including [h] in coda position, and the presence of pharyngeal consonants and pharyngealisation of dentals. All these are fairly typical not just of Arabic but to a considerable extent also of Kurdish and Neo-Aramaic and to some extent of other languages of the region such as Persian and Azeri. The structure of syllables and the insertion of epenthetic vowels to break clusters in onset position is yet another regional trait, as is, albeit with more limited distribution, the presence of distinctive consonant gemination.

Chapter 3

Parts of speech and grammatical inflection

3.1. Semantic-pragmatic classification criteria

A theoretical approach that sees language structures as anchored in the pragmatics of communicative interaction might assume the position that parts of speech are natural categorisations of the way language-processing functions are mapped onto groups of structures. Pursuant of such a view, one is tempted to search for the semantic-pragmatic motivation behind sub-categories of linguistic structure. Such categorisation can be found in models such as Functional Pragmatics (Ehlich 2007, Ehlich and Rehbein 1986), which distinguish parts of speech on the basis of language-processing tasks that are triggered by linguistic expressions and on the basis of the functional ‘fields’ in which they operate. Their classification includes ‘labels’ (content-lexemes) that name objects, ‘deixis’ which focuses attention on object, ‘operational procedures’ which create links between propositional units, and so on. One of the problems with attempts at such consistent, function-based categorisations is that we tend to lose the link between the function, its word class potential (i.e. its ability to combine with other words) and its structural configuration potential (i.e. its inflectional potential). For instance, the crucial distinction between nouns and verbs is lost if the focus is placed on their lexical potential as ‘labels’ of topical entities and events and actions.

An alternative is to view parts of speech as accommodated on a continuum between the depiction of topical entities and that of events. This would give a cline ranging from nominal entities via referential devices to attributive structures or modifiers such as adjectives and quantifiers and on to the depiction of modality and actual events through verbs. Adjoining points on this continuum would be, for instance, the use of adjectives to denote topical referential entities (as in *tilla* ‘the big one = the king’), on the one hand, and to depict the result of a process or event (as in *mišta* ‘ill’), on the other. Various nominal sub-classes could be defined on the basis of their potential to express topicality and referential precision. Thus personal and demonstrative pronouns would figure close to nouns, though their referential content is not inherent but contextually dependent; indefinite expressions and interrogatives may represent topical entities, but their semantic specification is vague and is

merely outlined through a broad ontological categorisation (person, place, and so on).

3.2. Inflectional classification criteria

A more practical procedure, in line with the agenda of providing a descriptive account of the language and its structures, is to follow natural indicators of parts of speech in the way that the language assigns inflectional potential to different types of words. As an inflectional language, Domari shows a closed group of stable inflectional paradigms. They include the following:

- (a) Gender and number marking, via the inflectional endings *-a* (masculine), *-i* (feminine), and *-e* (plural), in the inflected nominative, as well as *-as* and *-ī* (masculine), *-a* and *-ē* (feminine), and *-an* (plural), in the oblique;
- (b) Layer I case, in the form of the above distinction between nominative and oblique inflection markers on nouns, or in the form of the distinction between nominative *aha/ihi/ehe* and oblique *eras/era/eran* in demonstratives; or in the distinction between *-os* and *-is-* etc. in the possessive affix; or other similar distinctions in some interrogative and indefinites;
- (c) Layer II case inflections, indicating semantic specifications to thematic roles: benefactive *-ke*, sociative/comitative *-san*, locative *-ma*, ablative and prepositional *-ki*, dative *-ta/-ka*.
- (d) Person inflection, within which there are three separate sets. The first is the set of present-tense subject concord markers: 1SG *-am*, 2SG *-ēk*, 3SG *-ar*, 1PL *-an*, 2PL *-as*, 3Pl *-a(n)d*. The two others derive historically from object pronouns. The first of those serves as the set of subject concord markers with past-tense verbs: 1SG *-om*, 2SG *-or*, 3SG *-a/-i* and *-os-*, 1PL *-en*, 2PL *-es*, 3Pl *-e*. The third set serves as markers of possessors (attached to nouns) as well as object pronouns (attached to verbs): 1SG *-om*, 2SG *-or*, 3SG *-os*, 1PL *-oman*, 2PL *-oran*, 3Pl *-osan*. This set is sensitive to Layer I case, showing alternation in the vowel component between *-o-* (nominative) and *-i-* (oblique).
- (e) Tense, aspect and modality markers, consisting of the following: The marker of the past (perfective) stem, usually *-d-* or *-r-* (sometimes accompanied by extensions), which attaches to the verbal lexical stem; markers of progressive (*-i*) and remoteness (*-a*) tense, which

attach to the final segment of the verb expression; and the marker of subjunctive (-*č*- with some verb stems only).

- (f) The marker of indefiniteness *-ak*, and the marking of definiteness through various means, including the suffix *-n*- in numerals.
- (g) Non-verbal predication markers of the third person, which accompany non-finite predicates: the singular vocalic endings *-ik* (following *-i*) and *-ēk* (following *-a*), singular consonantal *-i*, and plural *-ēni*.

There are, of course, certain semantic correlates that accompany the distribution of inflectional paradigms. Gender and number relate to the classification of identifiable actors and objects to which reference is made. Case marking reflects the ability of conceptual entities depicted through words to take on thematic roles within propositions. Person inflection indicates a relation between words and the participants in the interaction as well as absentee topical entities (third persons), and as such compensates for the absence of an inherent deixis/anaphoric reading of the linguistic expression concerned. Indefiniteness is the relationship between the entity and contextual or situative knowledge. Tense, aspect and modality relate to the positioning of events and actions in the perspective of the speech situation. And non-verbal predications relate to the conceptualisation of a relation between entities that together constitute the core of a propositional unit. Thus, inflectional paradigms encode a kind of functional division of labour among different categories of words.

Domari parts of speech differ in their potential to be assigned one or more inflectional paradigms, as well as in their juxtaposition and serialisation potential (their potential to combine with one another) and their potential to represent different kinds of conceptual entities and language-processing tasks. On this basis of inflectional potential, distribution potential, and pragmatic referential function we can identify the following parts of speech: *Verbs* describe activities and 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), indefiniteness marking, as well as person inflection indicating possession. *Pronouns* (including demonstratives and 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’) while *numerals* may take definiteness marking. *Prepositions* and *location adverbs* may either accompany nouns without inflection, or take person inflection. In

some cases, they 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 sub-sets such as quantifiers, conjunctions, focus particles, discourse markers, and so on. Of the various criteria named above, inflectional potential offers the most differentiated and least interpretative basis on which to distinguish between parts of speech (see Table 19).

Table 19. Inflectional potential of parts of speech

	Case Layer I	Case Layer II	In/Definiteness	Gender	Number	Non-Verbal Predication	Person	TAM
Noun	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	
Demonstrative	✓	✓		✓	✓	✓		
Interrogative	✓	✓				✓		
Indefinite	✓	✓	✓			✓		
Personal Pronoun		✓			✓	✓	✓	
Local relation expression		✓			✓	✓	✓	
Adjective	✓	✓		✓	✓	✓		
Numeral	✓		✓			✓		
Gerund		✓			✓		✓	✓
Participle				✓	✓	✓		✓
3SG Past-tense verb				✓	✓			✓
Finite verb					✓		✓	✓
Adverb						✓		
Particle, incl. Quantifier								

Three main clusters of expressions stand out in Table 19: The first are the nominal categories, which take Layer I and Layer II case markers. The second are verbs, which take tense, aspect and modality markers. The third are particles and quantifiers (and one might add, with few exceptions, adverbs), which do not take any inflection at all. We can thus divide Domari parts of speech into these three major categories. Within each of those there are sub-categories, as indicated in Table 19, each with its own, unique inflectional behaviour.

3.3. Nominal categories, case inflection and indefiniteness

Nominal categories can be defined on the basis of their inflectional potential as those that take case inflection (Layers I and II). On the basis of their distribution and semantics, three additional categories can be identified as nominal modifiers: Adjectives and demonstrative adjectives, numerals, and quantifiers.

The typical carriers of Layer I and II case markers are nouns:

- (1) *kuri wāš-ī-r-ī*
house burn-ITR-PAST-F
'The house [subject] burned down.'
- (2) *nig-r-or ihi kury-a*
enter-PAST-2SG this.F house-OBL.F
'You entered this house [direct object].'
- (3) *nhe' wala ikak kury-a-ma*
is.not any one-INDEF house-OBL.M-LOC
'There is nobody in the house [indirect object].'
- (4) *er-a šōna*
arrived.PAST-M boy
'The boy [subject] arrived.'
- (5) *lake-d-om šōn-as*
see-PAST-1SG boy-OBL.M
'I saw the boy [direct object].'
- (6) *pandži šir-d-a šōn-as-ke*
3SG say-PAST-M boy-OBL.M-BEN
'He said to the boy [indirect object]'

Case inflection is also found with the closed class of interrogatives:

- (7) *kān-ik aha?*
who-PRED this.M
'Who is this?'
- (8) *kān-as lake-d-or?*
who-OBL.M see-PAST-2SG
'Whom did you see?'
- (9) *kiy-ik aha*
what-PRED this.M
'What is this?'

- (10) *kē mang-ēk?*
 what.OBL ask-2SG
 ‘What are you asking for?’

Personal pronouns are a paradigm mixture, but are in principle also potential carriers of nominal case inflection, as seen in the contrast between the subject *ama* ‘I’ and the indirect object *amake* ‘for me’ in the following:

- (11) *ama mang-am-i mišī-r štri-ka*
 I ask-1SG-PRG from-2SG buy-VTR.SUBJ.2SG
ama-ke mana
 1SG-BEN bread
 ‘I am asking you to buy bread for me.’

For other persons, non-nominative pronominal forms are suffixed to either verbs or local expressions, as in the 3rd person indirect object *abuske* ‘for/to him’, and 3rd person direct object in *štardomis* ‘I carried her’:

- (12) *bašd zar-es-ki aw-ar-i ab-us-ke*
 after boy-M.OBL-ABL come-3SG-PRG for-3SG-BEN
lāčy-ak
 girl-INDEF
 ‘After the boy he will have a girl.’
- (13) *štar-d-om-is pišt-im-ta*
 carry-PAST-1SG-3SG.OBL back-1SG.OBL-DAT
 ‘I carried her on my back.’

Direct object personal pronouns are invariably expressed by person affixes on the verb, which is why personal pronouns exceptionally do not, strictly speaking, show inflection potential for Layer I, but only for Layer II:

- (14) *pandži š-ird-a emin-ke*
 3SG say-PAST-M 1PL-BEN
 ‘He said to us’
- (15) *pandži žmiš-k-id-os-man*
 3SG collect-VTR-PAST-3SG-1PL
 ‘He made us meet/ called us for a meeting.’

Stand-alone modifiers of nouns, such as numerals, demonstratives, and adjectives, do not inflect for case in attributive position, but they may inflect for case in referential position:

- (16) *er-e* *din-e*
 come.PAST-3PL two-PL
 ‘The two of them [subject] arrived.’
- (17) *lake-d-om* *din-an*
 see-PAST-1SG two-OBL.PL
 ‘I saw the two of them [direct object].’
- (18) *ehe* *tāt-ēri*
 these villager-PRED.PL
 ‘Those (people) [subject] are villagers.’
- (19) *s’il-k-ed-om* *oran*
 ask-VTR-PAST-1SG these.OBL.PL
 ‘I asked those (people) [direct object].’
- (20) *wud-ī* *mišta-h-r-i*
 old-F ill-VTR-PAST-F
 ‘The old woman [subject] fell ill.’
- (21) *t-om-is* *wudy-a-ke*
 give.PAST-1SG-3SG old.F-OBL.F-BEN
 ‘I gave it to the old woman [indirect object].’

We have seen that the potential carriers of case inflection are also potential carriers of thematic roles: Demonstratives, adjectives, and numerals can carry thematic roles when used in referential function (*aha* ‘this one’, *wudī* ‘the old one’, *dine* ‘the two of them’), while nouns, indefinites, personal pronouns, and interrogatives carry thematic roles inherently. Two categories that take a peripheral position within or perhaps merely alongside the cluster of nominal parts of speech are local relations expressions and gerunds. The first belong historically in all likelihood to the category of adverbs. They acquire person inflection complementing the few (first person benefactive) pronominal forms that inflect for case:

- (22) *pandži* *kar-d-os-is* *ama-ke*
 3SG do-PAST-3SG-3SG.OBL 1SG-BEN
 ‘He did this for my benefit/ for me.’
- (23) *ama* *kar-d-om-is* *ab-us-ke*
 I do-PAST-1SG-3SG.OBL for-3SG-BEN
 ‘I did this for his benefit/ for him.’

Some local relation expressions may also take Layer II case endings, which act as modifiers and specifiers of local orientation:

(24) *mandž-is-ma* *kury-a-ki*
 inside-3SG.OBL-LOC house-OBL.F-ABL
 ‘inside the house’

(25) *čanč-is-ma* *šubbāk-ki*
 near-3SG.OBL-LOC window-ABL
 ‘near the window’

Domari verbs show a gerundial form that is used in co-temporal (simultaneous) constructions. It is based on the subjunctive form of the verb, which is followed by a person-possessive ending agreeing with the subject of the construction and a Layer II Ablative-Prepositional case marker, which accompanies the preposition *maʕ* ‘with’. The construction replicates the Arabic co-temporal construction in which *maʕ* ‘with’ is employed with a nominalised form of the verb:

(26) *maʕ šū-š-i-m-ki* *tiknaw-ar-m-i* *gurg-om*
 with sleep-SUBJ-1SG.OBL-ABL hurt-3SG-1SG-PRG neck-1SG
 ‘While I sleep, my neck hurts.’

(27) *maʕ kil-š-im-ki* *gar-om*
 with exit-SUBJ-1SG.OBL-ABL go.PAST-1SG
mutbax-ta *pī-r-om* *ū* *er-om*
 kitchen-DAT drink-PAST-1SG and come.PAST-1SG
 ‘As I went out I entered the kitchen and had a drink and came back.’

Despite the presence of Layer II markers on both these types of expressions, local relations expressions and gerunds can be excluded from consideration as nominal categories since their case marking is not productive but stereotypical: Local relations possessive adverbs as seen in examples (22)–(25) invariably show locative marking, and gerunds as seen in (26)–(27) invariably show ablative case accompanying the preposition *maʕ* ‘with’.

There is yet another inflectional indicator for nominal categories, and that is indefiniteness. The indefinite marker *-ak* is most common with nouns, where its appearance is grammatically productive:

(28) *t-os-san* *bīt-ak*, *gony-ak* *qameḥ* *ū*
 give.PAST-3SG-3PL land-INDEF sack-INDEF flour and
bakar-ak
 sheep-INDEF
 ‘He gave them a piece of land, a sack of flour, and a sheep.’

Some indefinite expressions draw on *-ak* as part of their derivational structure:

- (29) *lah-ad-a na man-ī-r-a wala kiy-ak*
 see-PAST-M NEG stay-ITR-PAST-M no what-INDEF
 ‘He saw that nothing remained.’

The numeral ‘one’ may be accompanied by the marker of indefiniteness in order to highlight singularity:

- (30) *lak-ed-om dōmiy-ak ik-ak*
 see-PAST-1SG Dom.F-INDEF one-INDEF
 ‘I saw one Dom woman.’

Lastly, with Arabic numerals, the indefiniteness marker *-ak* is used in the citation (counting) form:

- (31) *xams-ak-i*
 five-INDEF-PRED.SG
 ‘five’ lit. ‘It’s a five.’

3.4. Verbal categories and tense-aspect-modality marking

Domari verbal stems combine a lexical root depicting an event, action, or state with either a single or a combination of tense, aspect, and modality markers. Sub-categories of the verb can be recognised in varying semantic functions and inflectional features. The finite verb is the form that can take a variety of tense, aspect and modality markers while always combining them with a person affix representing subject concord. Thus in the following, we find *awadi* ‘they come’ in the present-indicative 3PL, *mnaʃkari* ‘he prevents’ in the present-indicative 3SG, *xarriḥōšar* in the present-subjunctive 3SG, *eror* in the past-tense 2SG, and *rabbika* in the imperative-subjunctive 2SG:

- (32) *aw-ad-i giš min dēy-ki maṭ-e*
 come-3PL-PRG all from village-ABL person-PL
 ‘All these people are coming from the village.’
- (33) *ū šār mnaʃ-k-ar-i day-im*
 and began.3SG.M prevent-VTR-3SG-PRG mother-1SG.OBL
yaʃni na xarriḥ-ḥōš-ar wāš-īm, ū ma
 PART NEG speak-SUBJ-3SG with-1SG and NEG

lahar-im.

see-3SG.SUBJ-1SG.OBL

‘And he started to prevent my mother from speaking to me and from seeing me.’

- (34) *atu er-or li rabbi-k-ay-im*
 you come.PAST-2SG COMP educate-VTR-SUBJ.2SG-1SG.OBL
dža rabbi-k-a bay-ir
 go.SUBJ.2SG educate-VTR-SUBJ.2SG wife-2SG.OBL
 ‘You came to educate me, go educate your wife.’

Closely related to the finite verb are the past tense of the 3SG and the participle, both of which express gender and number agreement rather than person in the subject-concord position. The participle utilises the same form as the past tense, but is accompanied by a non-verbal predication marker. Its distribution is limited to verbs that can describe states and situations:

- (35) *džawiz-ah-r-i ek-ak min yaf-ē-ki.*
 marry-VTR-PAST-F one-INDEF from Jaffa-OBL.F-ABL
 ‘She married somebody from Jaffa.’
- (36) *ašti ik-ak portkīliy-ēk*
 there.is one-INDEF Jewish.woman-PRED.SG
wēs-r-ik ihi balakon-ē-ma ū
 sit-PAST-PRED.SG this.F balcony-OBL.F-LOC and
min-d-ik aha ūd-as ū
 hold-PAST-PRED.SG this.M oud-OBL.M and
dandīn-k-ar-i atnī-s
 play-VTR-3SG-PRG on-3SG
 ‘There is a Jewish woman sitting on the balcony holding the oud and playing for him.’

The past-tense *džawizahri* shows feminine gender agreement with the subject, while the predication marker *-ik* indirectly marks gender on the participles *wēsrik* ‘sitting’ and *mindik* ‘holding’ as it joins the underlying adjectival feminine agreement marker *-i*. The past tense of the 3SG in fact converges with finite verbs whenever a pronominal object is specified, in which case subject concord marking reverts from gender/number to person/actor:

- (37) *pandži lak-ed-a kiyak*
 3SG see-PAST-M something
 ‘He saw something.’

- (38) *pandži lak-ed-os-ir*
 3SG see-PAST-3SG-2SG.OBL
 ‘He saw you.’

Like other finite forms, the past tense of the 3SG can also show a range of combinations of tense, aspect and modality markers:

- (39) *pandži lak-ed-os-r-i*
 3SG see-PAST-3SG-2SG-PRG
 ‘He has seen you.’
- (40) *pandži lak-ed-os-r-a*
 3SG see-PAST-3SG-2SG-REM
 ‘He had seen you.’
- (41) *pandži kān lak-ed-os-r-a*
 3SG was.3SG.M see-PAST-3SG-2SG-REM
 ‘He would have seen you.’

The participle, by contrast, is less flexible, and its only modifiable component is the predication marker that attaches to it:

- (42) *pandži mind-ird-ēk*
 3SG stand-PAST-PRED.SG
 ‘He is standing.’
- (43) *pandži mind-ird-ēy-a*
 3SG stand-PAST-PRED.SG-REM
 ‘He was standing.’

Thus, unlike the finite verb, including the 3SG past, the participle consistently lacks person marking as well as potential variation in tense, aspect, and modality marking. It is static, rather than dynamic, and as such semantically closer to nouns and adjectives than to verbs. The gerund, discussed above (examples (26)–(27)), displays similar traits: it is fixed in a particular tense-aspect-modality inflection. Although the gerund admits person inflection, this person inflection is not of the type displayed by finite verbs, but rather the set of person markers that accompany nouns as possessive agreement markers and expressions of local relations as case-inflected pronouns (or person-inflected location adverbs). The gerund and the participle can therefore both be regarded as fringe, non-finite sub-categories in the cluster of verbal forms. They both represent completed states-of-affairs that are attributable to their actors, and as such their morphological behaviour resembles that of nominal attributives.

Despite the variation in inflectional behaviour and its semantic correlates, verbal categories show greater coherence than nominal categories. Verbs are modified either by other verbs, which share full inflectional potential as verbs, or else by particles, which share none of the inflectional properties of verbs. Nominal categories on the other hand include a whole range of nominal modifiers that share only some properties with actual nouns. They also include para-nominal categories, or pronouns: Nominals that lack the content-referential meaning that nouns usually display. In the verbal category, the copula and non-verbal predication markers are the only expressions of a predication that does not have a lexical specification and so is in some ways perhaps akin to pronouns in their relation to nouns (both having thematic roles but only one having an inherent lexical content). The verbal sub-categories above – past-tense 3SG verbs, gerunds, participles, finite verbs – are thus all essentially usages of a rather coherent cluster of functions which can comfortably be defined collectively as ‘verbs’.

3.5. Gender, number and person inflection

Domari inherits the classic Indo-European system of participant-tracking through agreement in gender, number, and person with specified or inferred actors. Participant tracking involving at least some of these classification properties is a feature of nominal modifiers and indexical expressions (demonstrative and personal pronouns), of local relations adverbs, numerals, and verbs. Gender, number, and person inflection are thus cross cutting categories that accompany different parts of speech. Nonetheless, their distribution is asymmetrical and mirrors their functionality in conjunction with the specific functions of the various parts of speech. Number (or rather: plurality) appears to be a higher-ranking category. It is indicated on nouns, adjectives, demonstratives, personal pronouns of all persons, and within the sets of affixed person markers that attach to nouns as possessive markers and to local relations expressions, as well as within those sets that indicate subject and object concord on the verb. Number distinction also appears in non-verbal predication markers. One of the outstanding traits of Domari within the Indo-Aryan language family, which it shares with Romani, is the neutralisation of grammatical gender in the plural, a further indication of how number overrides other inflectional categorizations (elicited examples):

- (44) *aha bizzot-a kadža*
 this.M poor-M man
 ‘this poor man’

- (45) *ihi bizzot-i džuwir*
 this.F poor-F woman
 ‘this poor woman’
- (46) *ehe bizzot-e kadž-e*
 these.PL poor-PL man-PL
 ‘these poor men’
- (47) *ehe bizzot-e džuwr-e*
 these.PL poor-PL woman-PL
 ‘these poor women’

Grammatical gender is an inherent property of nouns, and gender agreement with nouns is indicated in adjectives and demonstratives. In participles, underlying gender agreement is visible through the adaptation of the non-verbal predication marker to the singular gender-bearing affixes masculine *-a* (predication marker *-ēk*) and feminine *-i* (predication marker *-ik*). Gender is also indicated in the past-tense of finite verbs, provided no object pronominal affix is attached. If a pronominal object is specified, then subject-concord is expressed by a gender-neutral person ending (elicited examples):

- (48) *pandži lak-ed-i ben-is*
 3SG see-PAST-F sister-3SG.OBL
 ‘She saw her sister.’
- (49) *pandži lak-ed-a ben-is*
 3SG see-PAST-M sister-3SG.OBL
 ‘He saw his sister.’
- (50) *pandži lak-ed-os-is*
 3SG see-PAST-3SG-3SG.OBL
 ‘She/he saw her/him.’

Note that gender is not indicated on third person pronouns in Domari. Gender agreement does, however, accompany a series of further categories derived from Arabic. Thus the Arabic modals and auxiliaries such as *šār-* ‘to begin’, *kān-* ‘to be (habituality auxiliary)’, *čall-* ‘to remain (continue)’, the impersonal *bidd-* ‘to want’ and more retain their Arabic inflection, which includes gender agreement:

- (51) *š-ird-i ama-ke bidd-hā qumn-ar*
 say-PAST-F 1SG-BEN want-3SG.F eat-SUBJ.3SG
 ‘She said to me that she wants to eat.’

Also marked for gender are the Arabic resumptive object pronoun *iyyā-* and the complementisers *inn-* ‘that’ and *li’ann-* ‘because’.

Person, finally, is expressed inherently in personal pronouns and is otherwise encoded in the set of person markers used to indicate possession of nouns, personal objects of location expressions, and actors/participants in finite verbs and gerunds.

3.6. Non-verbal predications and combinations of parts of speech

Domari predications can be verbal as well as non-verbal. The availability of non-verbal predication markers and their wide distribution among parts of speech (see Table 19) makes it possible to combine various parts of speech into phrases:

Noun-Verb:

- (52) *džuwri mr-i*
 woman die.PAST-F
 ‘The woman died.’

Verb-Verb:

- (53) *gar-om kamk-am*
 go.PAST-1.SG work-1SG.SUBJ
 ‘I went to work.’

Noun-Noun:

- (54) *bar-om grawar-ēk*
 brother-1SG head.man-PRED.SG
 ‘My brother is the head man.’

Noun-Adjective:

- (55) *zara till-ēk*
 boy big-PRED.SG
 ‘The boy is big.’

Pronoun-Pronoun:

- (56) *aha ama-k-ēk*
 this.M 1.SG-BEN-PRED.SG
 ‘This is for me.’

Noun-Preposition/Location expression:

- (57) *zara šanš-ir-m-ēk*
 boy next.to-2SG.OBL-LOC-PRED.SG
 ‘The boy is next to you.’

Attached to lexical verbs, predication markers form gerundial constructions, which one might interpret as nominalisations of verbal stems, in effect, then, an intermediate stage on the continuum between prototypical verbs and nominals:

- (58) *kān-at sūr-os boy-im-ki*
 was-3.SG.F picture-3SG father-1SG.OBL-ABL
šali-ka-d-ik kury-is-ma
 hang-VTR-PAST-PRED.SG house-3SG.OBL-LOC
yāsr-as-ki
 Yassir-OBL.M-ABL
 ‘My father’s picture was hanging in Yassir’s house.’
- (59) *džuwir mindir-d-ik*
 woman stand-PAST-PRED.SG
 ‘The woman is standing.’

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

- (60) *till-a zara mind-ird-a*
 big-M boy stand-PAST-M
 ‘The big boy stood up.’

with

- (61) *till-a zara mind-ird-ēk*
 big-M boy stand-PAST-PRED.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:

- (62) *till-a mind-ird-ēk*
big-M stand-PAST-PRED.SG
‘The big one/ the chief/ the king is standing.’

The potential to accommodate predication markers is also a property of demonstratives and personal pronouns of the third person (while personal pronouns of other persons take verbal copula forms in existential predications):

- (63) *ū itme lāzem mašīr-oran hōš-as*
and you.PL must destiny-2PL become.SUBJ-2PL
inni bass yanni-kar-as ū našī-š-as.
COMP only sing-VTR-2PL.SUBJ and dance-SUBJ-2SG
aha-k šīšat-oran itme
this.M-PRED.SG life-2PL you.PL
‘And your destiny must be that you will only sing and dance. This is your life.’
- (64) *portkiliya kahind-ar-i min balakon-ē-ki,*
Jewess look-3SG-F from balcony-OBL.F-ABL
lak-ed-os-i inn-o aha-k
see-PAST-3SG-PRG COMP-3SG.M this.M-PRED.SG
‘The Jewish woman is looking out from the balcony, and she saw that this was the one.’
- (65) *wi ihi-k illi nan-d-i ḥram-an*
and this.F-PRED.SG REL bring-PAST-F blanket-OBL.PL
‘And this is the one [woman] who sent the blankets.’
- (66) *džan-d-om inni pandži-k illi kar-d-a*
know-PAST-1SG COMP 3SG-PRED.SG REL do-PAST-M
ḥāds-ī maš portkiliy-ē-ki
incident-OBL.M with Jewess-OBL.F-ABL
‘I knew that it was he who carried out the incident with the Jewish girl.’
- (67) *t’akkid-h-r-i minšī-s qal pandži-k*
assure-VITR-PAST-F from-3SG PART 3SG-PRED.SG
aha-k
this.M-PRED.SG
‘She was certain about him, saying that he is the one.’

Adverbs are potential carriers of non-verbal predications when the lexical adverb depicts a state, as in (68), or a deictic reference to a location:

- (68) *ayyām l-’úrduwn hnēna kān*
 days.PL DEF-Jordan here was.3SG.M
bar-d-ēk dōm-ēni mnīn
 fill-PAST-PRED.SG Dom-PRED.PL here
 ‘Under the Jordanian rule it was full of Dom here.’
- (69) *w-ama dža-m-i skun-hōš-am kury-a-ma*
 and-I go-1SG-PRG live-SUBJ-1SG house-OBL.F-LOC
illi hundar-i
 REL there-PRED.SG
 ‘And I am going to live in the house over there.’

Predication markers can attach to numerals in citation form, a practice that is restricted to Arabic numerals:

- (70) *sitt-ak-i*
 six-INDEF-PRED.SG
 ‘six’ lit. ‘It’s a six.’

Chapter 4

Nouns and nominal inflection

4.1. Derivation of nouns

Most nouns in Domari are base-form lexical elements that are not derived through any morphological procedure: *ben* ‘sister’, *wāy* ‘wind’, *qar* ‘donkey’. A further class are recognisable as members of distinct, gender-specific inflection classes: *gori* ‘horse’, *kuri* ‘house’, are both feminine (recognisable through the ending *-i* in the nominative), while *mana* ‘bread’, *qrara* ‘Bedouin’, are masculine (recognisable through the nominative ending *-ā*). Arabic nouns retain their morphological derivation templates, which however are not productive in Domari: *šibbāk* ‘window’, *ḥaddād* ‘blacksmith’, *assās* ‘origin’; *makanse* ‘broom’, *maḥkame* ‘court’, *maqbare* ‘cemetery’, and so on.

Morphological derivation relies on suffixing, mostly of word-class-changing derivational morphemes. Among the few productive derivational suffixes of this kind is *-iš*. Attached to verbal stems, it can derive nouns denoting activities (akin to Arabic *masdar* nominalisation, or the formation of a ‘gerund’), as in *našy-* ‘to dance’ > *našiš* ‘dancing’, *mang-* ‘to beg’ > *mangiš* ‘begging’, *dow-* ‘to dance’ > *dow-iš* ‘dancing’:

- (1) *šišat-osan hō-š-ad našiš*
life-3PL be-SUBJ-3PL dancing
‘May their life consist of dancing.’

- (2) *dža-n-a mangiš-kar-and-a giš dōm-ē-man hundar*
go-1PL-REM begging-VTR-3PL-REM all Dom-PL-1PL there
‘All us Doms, they used to go begging there.’

The same suffix can also derive ‘plain’ nouns from verbal stems: *q-* ‘to eat’ > *qayiš* ‘food’; *fē-* ‘to hit’ > *fēyiš* ‘fight’; *by-* ‘to fear’ > *biyyiš* ‘fear’; *dow-* ‘to wash’ > *dowiš* ‘shower’; *lagiš* ‘argument, fight’, from an obsolete verbal stem **lag-*:

- (3) *t-ar-a ab-us-ke qayiš qumr-ar*
give-3SG-REM for-3SG-BEN food eat-SUBJ.3SG
bōy-im-ke
father-1SG.OBL-BEN
‘She used to give him, my father, food to eat.’

- (4) *gar-i hayāt kury-is-ka*
 went-F Hayat house-3SG.OBL.DAT
yāsr-as-ki, ū lagiš-ka-d-e.
 Yassir-OBL.M-ABL und fight-VTR-PAST-3PL
 ‘Hayat went to Yassir’s house and they had an argument.’
- (5) *kš-os min biyyiš-ki eh-r-i*
 beard-3SG from fear-ABL become-PAST-F
pran-ik
 white-PRED.SG
 ‘From fear his beard became white.’

The suffix *-wāy* is used to derive abstract nouns from adjectives: *lidža* ‘ashamed’ > *lidžwāy* ‘shame’, *mišta* ‘ill’ > *mištawāy* ‘illness’. The suffix *-inna* derives agentive nouns from verbs and nominalised verbs: *kiš-naw-* ‘to tell a lie’ > *kišinna* ‘liar’; *by-* ‘to fear’ > *bayinna* ‘coward’; *qaft-* ‘to steal’ > *qaftinna* ‘thief’; *mangiš* ‘begging’ > *mangišina* ‘beggar’. Nouns can also be derived with no morphological adjustment through referential use of adjectives: *tilla* ‘big’ > *tilla* ‘head man’; *nohra* ‘red’ > *nohra* ‘tomato’ as well as ‘Englishman’; *wuda* ‘old’ > *wuda* ‘old man’. An historical derivational ending for participles and adjectives, masculine *-na* feminine *-ni*, can similarly be interpreted as nominal: *mirna* ‘a dead man’, *mirmi* ‘a dead woman’.

Somewhat more common in their overall distribution are feminine agentive derivations of masculine animate nouns: *-iya*, as in *dōm* ‘Dom man’ > *dōmiya* ‘Dom woman’, *ṭāṭ* ‘villager’ > *ṭāṭiya* ‘woman villager’; *-ni*, as in *ktir* ‘Christian man’ > *ktir-ni* ‘Christian woman’, and *-ī* as in *džatir* ‘brother in law’ > *džatir-ī* ‘sister in law’, *mām* ‘uncle’ > *mām-ī* ‘aunt’. Of all the derivation markers discussed here, only the latter seems to be actively productive in the language. It is used not just with fixed expressions that form part of the inherited vocabulary, but also with Arabic loanwords: *xāl* ‘uncle (maternal)’ > *xāl-ī* ‘aunt (maternal)’.

On the whole, nominal derivation can be said to be marginal in the formation of the Domari lexicon. The above examples sum up not just the morphological means for the productive grammatical derivation of nouns, but also, at least as far as word-class changing derivation is concerned (i.e. not including the feminine derivation markers mentioned), pretty much the entire inventory of lexical items derived in this manner. There is little doubt that the enormous impact of Arabic on the Domari lexicon, especially on nouns, makes the reliance on internal grammatical derivation procedures redundant and so limits considerably the distribution of derivational procedures.

4.2. Properties of nouns

4.2.1. Gender

The Domari noun has two genders, masculine and feminine. With animate nouns that refer to human beings, grammatical gender tends to reflect natural gender: *bar* ‘brother’ (M), *boy-* ‘father’ (M), *putur* ‘son’ (M), *payy-* ‘husband’ (M), *ben* ‘sister’ (F), *day-* ‘mother’ (F), *dīr* ‘daughter’, *bay-* ‘wife’ (F). Nouns representing other, non-human animates show a mixture of genders: *gori* ‘horse’ (F), *brari* ‘cat’ (F), *gorwi* ‘cow’ (F), *qar* ‘donkey’ (M), *snōṭa* ‘dog’ (M), *bakra* ‘lamb’ (M). Gender assignment with inanimates is generally random: *kuri* ‘house’ (F), *ūyar* ‘town’ (F), *bīt* ‘earth’ (M), *šal* ‘well’ (M), *kam* ‘work’ (M), *masī* ‘meat’ (M).

However, nominal declension classes are usually gender-specific and so some nominal inflection endings also represent gender affiliation. Thus there is a masculine inflection class that is characterised by the nominative ending *-a* (*qrar-a* ‘Bedouin man’, *šōn-a* ‘son’, *zar-a* ‘boy’, *snōṭ-a* ‘dog’), and a feminine class in *-ī* (*qrar-ī* ‘Bedouin woman’, *šōn-ī* ‘daughter’, *laš-ī* ‘girl’, *brar-ī* ‘cat’) as well as one in *-iya* (*dōm-īya* ‘Dom woman’, *protkiliya* ‘Jewish woman’). The original gender of Arabic nouns, which is also masculine or feminine, is retained in Domari:

- (6) *dīsak* *ihi* *lamba* *kuwī-r-i* *siry-is-ka*
 day-INDEF this.F lamp fall-PAST-F head-3SG.OBL-DAT
hay-ki, *bar-im* *dīr-ki*
 this-ABL brother-1SG.OBL daughter-ABL
 ‘One day this lamp fell on the head of thingy, my brother’s daughter.’
- (7) *zābiṭ* *xarriḥ-h-r-a* *wāšī-s* *šibrāni-as-ma*
 officer speak-VITR-PAST-M with-3SG Hebrew-OBL.M-LOC
 ‘The officer spoke with him in Hebrew.’

Here, the feminine Arabic loan noun *lamba* ‘lamp’ is accompanied by an attributive demonstrative with feminine inflection, *ihi* ‘this’, and by a past-tense verb the feminine singular, *kuwī-r-i* ‘(she) fell’. The masculine Arabic loan noun *zābiṭ* ‘officer’ is accompanied by a past-tense verb in the masculine, *xarriḥra* ‘spoke’.

Gender is expressed most overtly and consistently in the agreement marking of demonstratives and adjectives, as well as in past-tense verbs in the third person singular (elicited examples):

- (8) *aha zara man-ir-a kury-a-m-ēk*
 this.M boy stay-PAST-M house-OBL-LOC-PRED.SG
 ‘This boy stayed at home.’
- (9) *ihi lāči man-ir-i kury-a-m-ēk*
 this.F girl stay-PAST-F house-OBL-LOC-PRED.SG
 ‘This girl stayed at home.’
- (10) *er-a till-a zara*
 came-M big-M boy
 ‘A big boy arrived.’
- (11) *er-i till-i lāš-i*
 came-F big-F girl
 ‘A big girl arrived.’

With Arabic auxiliaries and modal verbs, such as the habitual auxiliary *kān-*, Arabic feminine agreement inflection is used to express congruence with Domari feminine subject nouns:

- (12) *kān-at par-ar-m-a wāšī-s, ihi Hayāt*
 was-3SG.F take-3SG-1SG-REM with-3SG this.F Hayāt
kam-ka-m ū kān-at par-ar-a
 work-VTR-1SG.SUBJ and was-3SG.F take-3SG-PAST
plē-m.
 money.PL-1SG
 ‘She used to take me with her to work, this [girl] Hayāt, and she used to take away my money.’
- (13) *bass kān-at day-os hayat-ē-ki ghāy*
 but was-3SG.F mother-3SG Hayat-OBL.F-ABL good
wāšī-m
 with-1SG
 ‘But Hayāt’s mother was good to me.’
- (14) *ū kull ma kān aw-ar-m-a*
 and every COMP was.3SG.M come-3SG-1SG-REM
šāris-ak kān dīb š-ar-a
 bridegroom-INDEF was.3SG.M Dib say-3SG-REM
ab-us-ke ihi mfall-ik, mišš ghāy
 to-3SG-BEN this.F crazy-PRED.SG NEG good
 ‘And every time a potential bridegroom came to me Dib used to say to him this one’s crazy, she’s no good.’

Indirectly, non-verbal predication markers may also signal the gender of nouns belonging to the vowel classes of masculine *-a* and feminine *-i*, and of adjectives in predicative function, which also carry these same vowel endings, since the vowel of the nominative inflection marker is assimilated to that of the predication marker (elicited examples):

- (15) *bar-om* *grawar-ēk*
 brother-1SG head.man-PRED.SG
 ‘My brother is the head man.’ (independent: *grawara*)
- (16) *bar-om* *mišt-ēk*
 brother-1SG ill-PRED.SG
 ‘My brother is ill.’ (independent: *mišta*)
- (17) *day-om* *ktīrn-ik*
 mother-1SG Christian-PRED.SG
 ‘My mother is a Christian.’ (independent: *ktīrnī*)
- (18) *day-om* *mišt-ik*
 mother-1SG ill-PRED.SG
 ‘My sister is ill.’ (independent: *mišti*)

This distinction is not found with nouns ending in a consonant, where the predication marker is a uniform *-i*:

- (19) *aha* *zlām-i*
 this.M man-PRED.SG
 ‘This is a man.’
- (20) *ihi* *džuwr-i*
 this.F woman-PRED.SG
 ‘This is a woman.’

Occasionally, gender may also be expressed through the use of the Arabic direct object pronoun *iyyā-* and the Arabic complementiser *im-*, both of which retain their Arabic gender and number inflection (see also section on Arabic-derived referential devices in Chapter 6, and Chapter 11).

Grammatical gender distinction is neutralised in the plural. In this respect, Domari is similar to Romani, which also has no gender distinction in plural agreement markers. The plural agreement marker in Domari is a uniform *-e* for both genders in attributive constructions. However, plural endings usually attach to the stem of the respective noun class. This allows us to recognise underlying feminine derivation markers such as *-ni* and *-iya*, and so it creates a structural contrast between some masculine and feminine nouns in the plural:

dōm-e ‘Dom men’ (singular *dōm*), *dōmiy-e* ‘Dom women’ (singular *dōmiya*); *ktīr-e* ‘Christian men’ (singular *ktīr*), *ktīriy-e* ‘Christian women’ (singular *ktīri*).

Hancock (2006) has suggested that Domari in fact has three genders. This suggestion is not based on any direct analysis of Domari data, either first-hand or from secondary sources, nor does Hancock attempt to illustrate his claim with any examples. The purpose of the claim is to support a historiographical narrative according to which the Dom moved out of India at an earlier date than the Rom. This, in turn, serves to dismiss ethnographic similarities between the Dom and the Rom, most notably their traditional socio-economic profile as commercial, service-providing nomads, and instead to argue that the Rom are descendants of warriors, while the Dom descend from itinerant service castes. The Romani migration from India is constructed within this narrative to coincide with the Islamic invasions of India, while that of the Dom is positioned much earlier. The idea that Domari preserves three genders, as in Old and Middle Indo-Aryan, is intended to support the theory of an earlier Dom migration out of India.

Hancock relies on Macalister in his interpretation of the Domari gender system. Macalister (1914: 9) does indeed mention three genders for Domari, claiming that the neuter is characterised by the identity of nominative and accusative forms; but he fails to provide any examples at all for the neuter, admitting (p. 11) that neuter nouns “appear to be in a process of assimilation to the masculine or feminine declension”. Presumably – he does not provide examples – Macalister was referring to nouns of the type *ūyar* ‘town’, in which, by contrast to other declension classes, Layer II case markers attach directly to the nominative stem: *ūyar-ma* ‘in the town’. Nouns of this type do, however, have a distinct direct object (accusative) marker, which is *-ī*: *lahami ūyar-ī* ‘I see the town’. Macalister was thus mistaken, though it may be that his impression that these nouns were of neuter gender was based on the realisation that this very same accusative ending *-ī* derives from the historical dative form of the neuter class in Middle Indo-Aryan (see 4.1.2).

In any event, Domari nouns that take an accusative in *-ī* have either masculine or feminine gender. This can be seen by examining their agreement pattern. In the following (elicited) examples, there are only two agreement markers on the attributive demonstrative, masculine *-a* and feminine *-i*, and there are only two agreement markers on the past-tense verb, masculine *-a* and feminine *-i*. They serve, respectively, the masculine nouns *zara* ‘boy’ (vowel ending) and *xudwar* ‘child’ (consonantal ending), and the feminine nouns *šōri* ‘girl’ (vowel ending) and *ūyar* ‘town’ (consonantal ending). There is therefore no connection between the oblique ending *-ī* and a third gender agreement pattern, either, and thus altogether no evidence for a neuter gender in Domari:

- (21) *ama džan-am-i aha zar-es*
 I know-1SG-PRG this.M boy-OBL.M
 ‘I know this boy.’
- (22) *aha zar-ĕk*
 this.M boy-PRED.SG
 ‘This is a boy.’
- (23) *zara tilla-h-r-a*
 boy big-VITR-PAST-M
 ‘The boy has grown.’
- (24) *ama džan-am-i aha xudwar-ĭ*
 I know-1SG-PRG this.M child-OBL.M
 ‘I know this child.’
- (25) *aha xudwar-i*
 this.M child-PRED.SG
 ‘This is a child.’
- (26) *xudwar tilla-h-r-a*
 child big-VITR-PAST-M
 ‘The child has grown.’
- (27) *ama džan-am-i ihi šõny-a*
 I know-1SG-PRG this.F girl-OBL.F
 ‘I know this girl.’
- (28) *ihi šõny-ĕk*
 this.F girl-PRED.SG
 ‘This is a girl.’
- (29) *šõni tilla-h-r-i*
 girl big-VITR-PAST-F
 ‘The girl has grown.’
- (30) *ama džan-am-i ihi ūyar-ĭ*
 I know-1SG-PRG this.F town-OBL.F
 ‘I know this town.’
- (31) *ihi ūyar-i*
 this.F town-PRED.SG
 ‘This is a town.’
- (32) *ūyar tilla-h-r-i*
 town big-VITR-PAST-F
 ‘The town has grown.’

4.2.2. Number

4.2.2.1. Number agreement

Plural number is generally expressed on nouns by the ending *-e* (*dōm-e* ‘Dom men’, *dōmiy-e* ‘Dom women’, *xudwar-e* ‘children’). The same ending *-e* is also the plural agreement marker on preposed adjectives, demonstratives, and numerals:

- (33) *qištōt-e xudwar-e*
small-PL child-PL
‘small children’
- (34) *ehe xudwar-e*
these child-PL
‘these children’
- (35) *ehe din-e zirt-e gar-e ūyar-ka*
these two-PL child-PL go.PAST-3PL town-DAT
‘These two boys went to town.’

Numerals in referential function may also take *-e*:

- (36) *ehe din-e*
these two-PL
‘these two/ the two of them’
- (37) *din-ē-san m-r-e, tōr ū nimer*
two.CARD-PL-3PL die-PAST-3PL Tor and Nimer
‘Both of them died, Tor and Nimer.’

In the oblique case, the plural inflection marker on nouns is *-an*. Attributive adjectives, demonstratives and numerals show number agreement but not case agreement with oblique plural nouns:

- (38) *lak-ed-om xudwar-an*
see-PAST-1SG child-OBL.PL
‘I saw the children.’
- (39) *lak-ed-om ehe din-an*
see-PAST-1SG these.PL two-OBL.PL
‘I saw the two of them.’
- (40) *manī-r-e min dīn-an-ki xar-e bass*
stay-PAST-3PL from two-OBL.PL-ABL bone-PL only
‘From both of them only bones remained.’

- (41) *lak-ed-om ehe din-e xudwar-an*
 see-PAST-1SG these.PL two-PL child-OBL.PL
 ‘I saw these two children’
- (42) *ama džan-am-i ehe din-e džuw-r-an*
 I know-1SG-PRG these.PL two-PL woman-OBL.PL
 ‘I know these two women.’

The same suffix *-an* also indicates plurality on the independent third person pronoun – *pandži* ‘he/she’, *pandžan* ‘they’ – as well as on the enclitic personal-possessive and object pronominal affixes: *-o/i-m-an* (1PL), *-o/i-r-an* (2PL), *-o/i-s-an* (3PL). Arabic nouns often retain their original plural formation: *lira* ‘pound’ plural *lirāt*, *xārūf* ‘lamb’ plural *xurfān*, ‘alf’ ‘thousands’ plural ‘*ālāf*. Occasionally Domari plurals are derived from singular Arabic nouns, co-existing with the Arabic plural formation: *suwar* ‘bracelet’ plural *asāwīr* alongside *suware*. More frequently, however, the Arabic plurals are adapted into the Domari nominal inflection: *xēma* ‘tent’ plural *xiyam* alongside *xiyame*, *dukkān* ‘shop’ plural *dakākīn* alongside *dakākīne*, *muslim* ‘Muslim’ plural *musilmīn* alongside *musilmīne*.

- (43) *musilmīn-e kān-ū fēm-and-a inglīziy-an,*
 muslims-PL was-3PL fight-3PL-REM English-OBL.PL
nohr-an
 red-OBL.PL
 ‘The Muslims were fighting the English.’

Plural number can also be indicated by the plural predicative ending *-ēni*:

- (44) *ehe dōm-ēni*
 these Dom-PRED.PL
 ‘These are Doms.’
- (45) *gišt putr-ē-m till-ēni*
 all son-PL-1SG big-PRED.PL
 ‘All my sons are big.’

The Arabic object pronoun *iyyā-* retains its Arabic inflection for number, as in the following example of pronominal resumption in a relative construction:

- (46) *ple illi t-or-im iyyā-hum*
 money.PL REL give.PAST-2SG-1SG.OBL OBJ-PL
 ‘the money that you gave to me’

Arabic enclitic plural agreement markers may also accompany a number of Arabic modal verbs, auxiliaries and semi-modal verbs (lexical verbs that may also modify another verb, such as ‘to keep/let/allow’):

- (47) *par-as* *er-an* *ū* *e-ran* *ū*
 take-2PL.SUBJ these.OBL.PL and these.OBL.PL and
t-as-san *ħabis-ma.* *xallī-hom* *ħabis-ma*
 put-2PL-SUBJ prison-LOC let.2SG.IMP-3PL prison-LOC
talātīn wars
 thirty year
 ‘Take those and those and put them in prison. Keep them in prison for thirty years.’
- (48) *šār-ū* *š-ad-i* *xallī-hum*
 began-3PL speak-3PL-PRG let.2SG.IMP-3PL
naḍḍif-k-ad-i *ehe* *marr-an,* *ehe*
 clean-VTR-3PL-PRG these.PL dead-OBL.PL these.PL
zabbālīn-e
 dustmen.PL-PL
 ‘They started to say let them, these dustmen, clean up these corpses.’

The prototypical semantic reading of plurality is a single referential unit that represents an assembly of discrete conceptual entities belonging to a shared category (e.g. *putrēm* ‘my sons’). Normally, a plural entity can be decomposed or de-constructed and its discrete individual members can be identified and verbalised as singular units (e.g. *putrom* ‘my son’). Conversely, discrete entities can be compiled for referential purposes under a shared plural referent provided they can be defined as a set or category (thus *putrom* ‘my son’ and *dīrom* ‘my daughter’ can be compiled as *zirtēm* ‘my children’, and so on; while on the other hand Domari lacks a collective category that would allow to group together *boyom* ‘my father’ and *dayom* ‘my mother’, as a translation of ‘my parents’). There are some exceptions to these rules, however. The word *ple* ‘money’, for instance, may be conceptualised as an assembly of discrete objects in reality, but it lacks a singular counterpart that would allow speakers to verbalise or name these discrete entities (the etymology however is Persian *pol* ‘unit of payment, coin’; Domari plural formation **pol-e* > *ple*). Collectives consisting of animates also usually carry explicit plural marking:

- (49) *drūz-e* *lagiš-ka-d-e* *maʕ* *tmaliy-an-ki*
 Druze-PL fight-VTR-PAST-3PL with soldier-OBL.PL-ABL
 ‘The Druze argued with the soldiers.’

- (50) *er-e nkī-man dōm-e, qey-r-e ū*
 come.PAST3PL at-1PL Dom-PL eat-PAST-3PL and
pī-r-e nkī-man
 drink-PAST-3PL at-1PL
 ‘The Dom came to us, they ate and drank at our place.’

The conceptualisation of plurality as an assembly of discrete entities that belong to a single category is nicely illustrated by the automatic triggering of morphological plurality on the noun in conjunction with the quantitative determiner *giš* ‘all’:

- (51) *aha kažž-a illi kān mišt-ēk*
 this.M man-NOM.M REL was.3SG.M ill-PRED.SG
qaft-id-a giš xurfān-an illi šind
 steal-PAST-M all sheep.PL-OBL.PL REL at
šēx-as-ki
 Sheikh-OBL.M-ABL
 ‘This man who was ill stole all the sheep that belonged to the Sheikh.’
- (52) *abu ḥasan qē-r-a giš šmary-an*
 Abu Hasan eat-PAST-M all chicken-OBL.PL
 ‘Abu Hasan ate all the chickens.’

4.2.2.2. Number neutralisation

Morphological expression of plurality on nouns is generally neutralised if the noun is accompanied by a numerical expression that already indicates its plurality. Usually, the noun accompanied by a numeral will appear either in a plain singular form, or accompanied by a singular predication marker:

- (53) *boy-om gar-a qādy-as-ke, nēr-d-a*
 father-1SG go.PAST-M judge-OBL.M-BEN send-PAST-M
pašī-san taran tmāl-ēk, gar-e wāšī-san
 behind-3PL three soldier-PRED.SG go.PAST-PL with-3PL
di dōm min hayya-man-ki
 two Dom from PART-1PL-ABL
 ‘My father went to the judge, he sent three soldiers after them, two Dom from among our people went with them.’

- (54) *panži nkī-s taran zar-ēk*
 he by-3SG three boy-PRED.SG
 ‘He has three children.’
- (55) *ama dīs-ak-i rawiḥ-r-om min*
 I day-INDEF-PRED.SG walk-PAST-1SG from
kam-as-ki willa ašti taran čōn-ēk
 work-OBL.M-ABL PART there.is three boy-PRED.SG
 ‘I walked from work one day and suddenly there are three boys [standing] there.’
- (56) *par-d-ēn-i wāši-man taran qar ū gory-ak*
 take-PAST-1PL-PRG with-1PL three donkey and horse-INDEF
 ‘We took with us three donkeys and a horse.’
- (57) *ihi kury-a, badāl-ma ihi sakir-r-ik,*
 this.F house-OBL.F instead.of this.F close-PAST-PRED.SG
aw-ar-i taran kur-ik mindži-s
 come-3SG-PRG three house-PRED.SG inside-3SG
 ‘Instead of keeping this house closed up, it will be converted into three houses.’
- (58) *šiš-oman ghāy bol bol, yašni ehe kury-osan*
 life-1PL good much much PART these.PL house-3PL
dī šēle taran šēl-ēk
 two family three family-PRED.SG
 ‘Our life is very very good, I mean, these households, these two-three families.’

Number neutralisation appears regularly with measurements of time, money, distance, weight, and so on:

- (59) *row-am-i, many-am-i dī sēša taran sēša*
 cry-1SG-PRG stay-1SG-PRG two hour three hour
wēs-r-om-i row-am-i
 sit-PAST-1SG-PRG cry-1SG-PRG
 ‘I cry, I stay there for two hours, three hours, I sit and cry.’
- (60) *dī dīs pand-as-ma-hrom-a*
 two day road-OBL.M-LOC-be.1SG-REM
 ‘I had been on the road for two days.’
- (61) *kull usbūš yašni wēšt-ad-a dī dīs taran dīs*
 every week PART sit-3PL-REM two day three day

hay-ma *dēy-a-ma*, *rawwuḥ-ho-d-a*
 PART-LOC village-OBL.F-LOC walk-VITR-3PL-REM
kury-a-ka, *gēna xatra gēna di diṣ taran diṣ*
 house-OBL.F-DAT again time again two day three day
 ‘Every week they used to spend two-three days there in the village,
 they used to go home, and then once again [they stayed for]
 two-three days.’

(62) *manī-r-e* *ṣind drūz-an-ka* *taran mas*,
 stay-PAST-3PL at Druse-OBL.PL-DAT three month
baṣd taran mas nas-r-e
 after three month leave-PAST-3PL
 ‘They stayed with the Druse for three months, after three months
 they left.’

(63) *ḥkum-ke-d-os* *taran wars, maḥkame*
 sentence-VTR-PAST-3SG three year court
 ‘The court sentenced him to three years.’

(64) *kull ikak tir-d-a* *taran zard*
 every one put-PAST-M three gold
 ‘Each one contributed three pounds.’

(65) *tuxx-ka-d-ed-is* *di xatra*
 shoot-VTR-PAST-3PL-3SG.OBL two time
 ‘They shot it twice.’

Numerals are followed by singular nouns both in the expression of the unit of measurement (e.g. ‘sack’, ‘box’, ‘head’) and often in the expression of the substance or material that is being measured:

(66) *di falla ṣaḥ, di ṣilbe mindži-san zibd-ēk*
 two sack rice two box inside-3PL butter-PRED.SG
 ‘two sacks of rice, two boxes containing butter’

(67) *par-d-om* *di falla gēsu*
 take-PAST-1SG two sack wheat
 ‘I took two sacks of wheat.’

(68) *qaft-id-om* *taran siri xurfān-i*
 steal-PAST-1SG three head lamb.PL-PRED.SG
 ‘I stole three lambs.’¹⁹

In the following, the anaphoric reference to a plural entity – *-san* – in the second half of the sentence shows clearly that there is an underlying

conceptualisation of the subject *di dbīḥ-* ‘two lambs’ as a plural entity, despite the appearance of the noun in the singular. Number neutralisation thus appears to be a strictly formal morphological procedure accompanying numeral specifications of quantity. The subject is marked by the singular predication marker, and agrees with the auxiliary *kān* (via its Arabic inflection in the singular masculine), which carries the past-tense existential construction:

- (69) *kān nkī-man di dbīḥ-ēk, mar-d-ēn-san*
 was.3SG.M at-1PL two lamb-PRED.M kill-PAST-1PL-3PL
ū qē-r-ēn-san
 and eat-PAST-1PL-3PL
 ‘We had two lambs, we slaughtered them and ate them.’

From this we can draw the general conclusion that explicit expression of numerical quantity overrides the morphological expression of plurality on the noun.

However, things are somewhat complicated due to the hybrid etymology of the Domari numeral system. All speakers of Jerusalem Domari use Arabic-derived forms for the numerals ‘6–9’ and for those above ‘10’ (with the occasional exception of ‘100’), and Arabic numerals are usually preferred also for ‘4–5’. Inherited (pre-Arabic) numeral forms are used consistently only for ‘1–3’ (see also Chapter 5). In Arabic, there are singular, dual, and plural forms of the noun; plural forms accompany numerals between ‘3–10’, inclusively, while with numerals above ‘10’ the noun appears in the singular. This general rule is inherited from Old or Classical Arabic, and is retained both in Modern Standard Arabic and in the Palestinian Colloquial Arabic of Jerusalem. At first glance it seems that these rules are respected by Domari speakers when using Arabic-derived numerals. Thus Arabic numerals above ‘10’ are accompanied by singular nouns, i.e. they show number neutralisation. This is observed both with nouns of Arabic origin, as in *sane* ‘year’²⁰ and *lira* ‘pound’, and with nouns belonging to the inherited (pre-Arabic) component, as is the case with *wars* ‘year’ and *kuri* ‘household’:

- (70) *ū kam-k-am-a nkī-s aktar min*
 and work-VTR-1SG-REM by-3SG more from
sitta-ū-šišrīn sane
 six-and-twenty year
 ‘And I worked for her for over twenty six years.’

- (71) *kull wars dē-r-i bizzoṭ-an-ke xamsīn lira*
 every year give-3SG-PRG poor-OBL.PL-BEN fifty lira
 ‘Every year he gives fifty pounds to the poor.’

- (72) *ama džawiz-r-om bay-om xamsa ū šašrīn līra*
 I marry-PAST-1SG wife-1SG five and twenty lira
 ‘I married my wife [paid bride price] for twenty five pounds.’
- (73) *par-as er-an ū e-ran ū*
 take-2PL.SUBJ these.OBL.PL and these.OBL.PL and
t-as-san ħabis-ma. xallī-hom ħabis-ma
 put-2PL-SUBJ prison-LOC keep-2SG.IMP-3PL prison-LOC
talātīn wars
 thirty year
 ‘Take those and those and put them in prison. Keep them in prison for thirty years.’
- (74) *ašti kān šašrīn kuri dom-ēni,*
 there.is was.3SG.M twenty house Dom-PRED.PL
furr-und-i
 travel-3PL-PRG
 ‘There were twenty households of Dom, they were travelling...’

With Arabic-derived numerals below ‘10’, speakers equally tend to follow the rules of number agreement in Arabic, whereby lower numerals are accompanied by plural nouns:

- (75) *kažž-e li min-d-e-san t-e la*
 man-PL REL send-PAST-3PL-3PL give.PAST-3PL to
kull ika ’arbaʿ līrāt
 every one four pound.PL
 ‘The people who sent them gave each one four pounds.’
- (76) *ħākim par-d-a xamas līrāt ū*
 governor take-PAST-M five pound.PL and
ʔ-a boy-im-ke xamas līrāt
 give.PAST-M father-1SG.OBL-BEN five pound.PL
 ‘The governor took five pounds and gave my father five pounds.’
- (77) *baʕd xamast ušhur kil-d-e*
 after five month.PL left-PAST-3PL
 ‘After five months they left.’
- (78) *šurūs-os dōm-an-ki šād-ik, yašni*
 wedding-3SG Dom-OBL.PL-ABL normal-PRED.SG PART
nan-ad-i xamis-sitt xurfān hnōn, mar-ad-i,
 bring-3PL-PRG five-six sheep.PL here kill-3PL-PRG
kar-ad-i ’akel-i, šazim-k-ad-i
 make-3PL-PRG food-PRED.SG invite-VTR-3PL-PRG

maṭ-ērī

people-PRED.PL

‘Dom weddings are normal, that is, they bring over five or six lambs, they slaughter them and make food, they invite people.’

- (79) *tir-d-e-san sidžin-ma, ban-d-ē-san,*
 put-PAST-3PL-3PL prison-LOC shut-PAST-3PL-3PL
manī-r-e ḥbis-ah-r-e sitte snīn
 stay-PAST-3PL imprison-VITR-PAST-3PL six years.PL
 ‘They put them in prison, they locked them up, they stayed imprisoned for six years.’

- (80) *eh-r-a ūmr-om sitte snīn kun-t*
 become-PAST-M age-1SG six year.PL was-1SG
dža-m-a knēn mašāyix-an-ta/
 go-1SG-REM where Sheikh.PL-OBL.PL-DAT
šēx-as-ta madras-ē-ka,
 Sheikh-OBL.M-DAT school-OBL.F.-DAT
uḥfuz-r-om qor’ān-ī
 memorize-PAST-1SG Quran-OBL.M
 ‘When I was six years old I used to go where to the Sheikhs/ to the Sheikh to school, I learned the Qur’an.’

- (81) *ū xatra-k ū ama qašṭōt-ik kār-ū*
 and time-INDEF and I small-PRED.SG was-3PL
yāsir ū boy-im kuri ḥarab-ēni. haḍa
 Yassir and father-1SG.OBL house rival-PRED.PL this
kān ūmr-om yimkin sitte snīn sabʿa snīn
 was.3SG.M age-1SG maybe six year.PL seven year.PL
 ‘And once when I was small, Yassir and my father’s family had a dispute. I was then perhaps six or seven years old.’

- (82) *šir-d-a ab-us-ke manī-š-ī wāšī-man,*
 said-PAST-M to-3SG-BEN stay-SUBJ-2SG with-1PL
par fall-a-k mangiš-ka min
 take sack-INDEF begging-VTR.SUBJ.2SG from
kury-an-ki sabašt iyyām
 house-OBL.PL-ABL seven day.PL
 ‘He said to him stay with us, take a bag and go begging around the houses for seven days.’

Note that the expressions *xamast ušhur* ‘five months’, *sitte snīn* ‘six years’, *xamis-sitt xurfān* ‘five or six lambs’, and *sabašt iyyām* ‘seven days’ are wholesale Arabic, i.e. both numeral and noun are Arabic. The nouns appear

consistently in the plural. Table 20 provides an overview of the plural and singular forms used in examples (75)–(82).

Table 20. Arabic nouns accompanied by numerals in examples (75)–(82)

Plural	Singular	Meaning
<i>lirāt</i>	<i>lira</i>	‘pound’
<i>ušhur</i>	<i>šāher</i>	‘month’
<i>xurfān</i>	<i>xārūf</i>	‘lamb’
<i>snīn</i>	<i>sane</i>	‘year’
<i>iyyām</i>	<i>yōm</i>	‘day’

The choice of noun lexemes with inherited and Arabic numerals is discussed further in the section on Numerals in Chapter 5 (Noun modifiers).

4.2.3. Definiteness and indefiniteness

4.2.3.1. Functions of the indefiniteness marker

Domari has a postposed marker of indefiniteness *-ak*, which appears to derive directly from the historical expression for the numeral ‘1’ in Indo-Iranian, **-ek*. The contemporary expression for ‘1’ in Domari is *ekak*, which combines the original numeral stem with the suffixed indefinite marker. The Domari indefiniteness marker strongly resembles the indefiniteness marker *-ek* in Kurdish (cf. Kurmanji/Bahdini Kurdish *car-ek* ‘once’, *bajar-ek* ‘a town’, Sorani Kurdish *ktaw-ek* ‘a book’, *nama-yek* ‘a letter’, both varieties of Kurdish *roj-ek* ‘a day/one day’), both in its structural appearance and etymology and in its semantic functions. Given other Kurdish influences on Domari, a parallel development or even a direct borrowing from Kurdish cannot be ruled out. The same form *-ek* (*-āk*) has been borrowed from Kurdish into some of the co-territorial dialects of Jewish Neo-Aramaic in Iraq (Khan 2004: 295). An indefinite marker based on **ek* ‘one’ is otherwise not very common in Indo-Iranian, but the grammaticalisation path from the numeral ‘one’ to a marker of indefiniteness is quite frequent and not at all unusual in universal terms. Romani, too, has developed an indefinite marker (*j)ekh*, which continues to be identical to the numeral *jekh* ‘one’, though in Romani it is an independent word form and is preposed to the noun (*jekh var* ‘once’, *jekh foro* ‘a town’, *jekh dives* ‘a day/one day’). We might even speculate about a two-stage development in Domari, leading first to the internal grammaticalisation of ‘one’ to a preposed, independent indefinite article **ek*, and then to the re-positioning of this article as an enclitic marker, triggered by contact with Kurdish and the structural and functional similarities of the

Note that indefinite direct objects are not marked for the oblique case. In this respect they behave like nouns that are accompanied by the lower numerals ‘2–3’, and which are neutralised for both number and case:

- (89) *par-d-ēn-i* *wāšī-man* *taran* *qar* *ū*
 take-PAST-1PL-PRG with-1PL three donkey and
gory-ak
 horse-INDEF
 ‘We took with us three donkeys and a horse.’

Singularity of the noun may be reinforced by adding the numeral ‘1’ to the indefiniteness marker:

- (90) *pēn-d-om* *wāl-ak* *ikak*
 take-PAST-1SG hair-INDEF one
 ‘I removed one hair.’
- (91) *kwī-r-i* *māsūr-ak* *mēšī-s* *manī-r-i*
 fall-PAST-F tube-INDEF from-3SG stay-PAST-F
māsūr-ak *ikak*
 tube-INDEF one
 ‘He dropped one tube, [only] one tube remained.’

A second semantic use of the indefiniteness marker appears less concerned with the quantitative demarcation of the referent as a singular entity and more directed toward the identification of a particular referent and its qualitative disambiguation from a potential set of similar entities. This procedure is carried out in order to help establish a conceptualisation of a referent that might play a role in the unfolding discourse. It is the type of indefiniteness that Givón (1984: 440ff and elsewhere) refers to as a tool used to introduce new topics:

- (92) *kull* *ma* *aw-ar-i* *šaris-ak* *wila*
 every COMP come-3SG-PRG bridegroom-INDEF or
’iši *ša-d-i* *n-h-e’* *nkī-man* *lāšy-e*
 something say-3PL-PRG NEG-is-NEG at-1PL girl-PL
 ‘Every time a bridegroom or something arrived they would say we don’t have girls.’
- (93) *pandži* *adžir-ahr-i* *kury-ak*
 3SG rent-VITR-PRED.SG house-INDEF
 ‘He is renting a house.’

- (94) *par-d-om waṭ-ak ū fē-r-om-is*
 take-PAST-1SG stone-INDEF and hit-PAST-1SG-3SG.OBL
siry-is-ma
 head-3SG.OBL-LOC
 ‘I took a stone and I hit her on the head.’
- (95) *eh-r-a wāšī-m quṣṣ-ak*
 become-PAST-M with-1SG story-INDEF
 ‘Something happened to me.’
- (96) *fī dēy-ak min dēy-e-s-ki l-širāq*
 in town-INDEF from town-PL-3SG-ABL DEF-Iraq
 ‘In one of the towns of Iraq’
- (97) *ama par-d-om kitāb-ak min muddaṣi l-šām*
 I take-PAST-1SG letter-INDEF from prosecutor general
 ‘I received a letter from the prosecutor general.’

A further point on the continuum between numerical singularity and open-ended indefinite reference (see below) is the use of the indefiniteness marker to introduce an entity that does not, in fact, require further specification. Here, the likelihood that the entity will assume a topical role in the unfolding discourse is relatively low. As in other usages of the indefiniteness marker, here too there is an encoding of the singularity and discreteness of the referent. But explicit exemption of the referent from a set is not the pragmatic objective. Nothing particular is being highlighted about the referent. On the contrary, it is its potential to be replaced by any other member of the same set of potential referents – that is, its non-uniqueness – that is being conveyed:

- (98) *xatr-ak dīb fē-r-os-im buks-ak*
 time-INDEF Dib hit-PAST-3SG-1SG.OBL punch-INDEF
pirnē-m-ma
 nose-1SG-LOC
 ‘Once, Dib gave me a punch in the nose.’
- (99) *ū ama yanni-k-ed-om mawāl-ak abdul*
 and I sing.1SG-VTR-PAST-1SG song-INDEF Abdul
wahāb-as-ki
 Wahab-OBL.M-ABL
 ‘And I have sung a song by Abdul Wahab.’
- (100) *man-d-om ’arbaštasšr yōm spītar-ma, kar-d-e*
 stay-PAST-1SG fourteen day hospital-LOC do-PAST-3PL

ama-ke *ʕamaliy-ak* *ū* *kil-d-om*
 1SG-BEN operation-INDEF and leave-PAST-1SG
 ‘I stayed for fourteen days in hospital, they operated on me and I left.’

- (101) *nan* *ama-ke* *ʕarbaʕ* *xurfān*, *mar-ē-san*,
 bring.2SG.SUBJ 1SG-BEN four sheeps.PL kill-2SG-3PL
ū *ama* *kar-am-i* *ab-ur-ke* *min* *farw-an-ki*
 and I do-1SG-PRG for-2SG-BEN from wool-PL-ABL
kabbūd-ak.
 coat-INDEF
 ‘Get me four sheep, slaughter them, and I will make you a coat from the wool.’

- (102) *nan-d-a* *ab-us-ke* *ħaram-ak* *ghāy*
 bring-PAST-3SG for-3SG-BEN blanket-INDEF good
 ‘He brought him a nice blanket.’

- (103) *gar-om* *ʕala* *dēy-ak* *nan-am* *mana*
 go.PAST-1SG on village-INDEF bring-1SG.SUBJ bread
 ‘I went to a village to bring bread.’

In effect, we have a continuum of usages stretching in two directions from a common semantic-conceptual core. In this core meaning of indefiniteness, the explicit marking of the singularity of the referent – its ‘one-ness’ or being ‘one (of a kind)’ – signals the potential existence of a conceptual set of entities that share properties with the referent. Indefiniteness in Domari might be defined in the most basic terms as an instruction to conceptualise such a set. The specific relevance of the set may go in two different directions. In the one direction, the emphasis is on the separation between the referent and the set, and the referent’s quantitative uniqueness (numerical singularity, i.e. ‘only one from the set’) or qualitative uniqueness (particularity and potential topicality, i.e. ‘a specific one from the set’). Taken in the other direction, the emphasis shifts to the non-prominence of the referent as merely an individual member of an entire set of similar entities with similar properties. In this domain, selection of the referent is accidental, even random, or indeed unspecified altogether.

Such is the use of the indefiniteness marker to convey an indefinite expression of time, person, manner, place, quantity, and so on. Its function here is to indicate the randomness of the selection of a day, an occasion, a measure or a location:

- (104) *dīs-ak* *er-a* *hnēna* *džamīl* *l-šāš*
 day-INDEF come.PAST-M here Jamil l-Aas
 ‘One day Jamil l-Aas arrived here.’
- (105) *marr-ak* *bi-talāte* *ū* *sittīn*, *er-a*
 time-INDEF in-three and sixty come.PAST-M
dōm-ēni *min* *l-širāq*
 Dom-PRED.PL from Iraq
 ‘Once in sixty three, Dom from Iraq arrived here.’
- (106) *ū* *ama* *lamma* *tilla-hr-om* *šin-ak*,
 and I when big-VTR.PAST-1SG part-INDEF
gar-om *kam-k-am*
 go.PAST-1SG work-VTR-1SG.SUBJ
 ‘And when I grew up a little, I went to work.’
- (107) *zābiṭ* *yāsr-as-ke* *xal* = *tašāl* =,
 officer Yassir-OBL.M-BEN said come.2SG.IMP
aru, *aru* *mindir-š-ī*
 come.2SG.SUBJ come.2SG.SUBJ stand-SUBJ-2SG
bēn *er-an-ki*, *laqi-k-a*
 between these.OBL.PL-ABL find-VTR-SSG.SUBJ
ab-ur-ke *dary-ak*, *mindir-š-ī* *wāšī-san*
 for-2SG-BEN place-INDEF stand-SUBJ-2SG with-3PL
 ‘The officer said to Yassir = *come* =, come, come stand between these people, find yourself a place, stand with them.’

The final point on the continuum of indefiniteness is the lexicalisation or indeed grammaticalisation of the expression of open-ended, random selection from a pre-defined semantic set. This takes on the form of indefiniteness expressions (indefinite pronouns). The expression ‘pronominal indefiniteness’ used in many descriptive works conveys the sense of open-endedness by relating to the place-holder function that the indefinite expression has (as a ‘pronoun’) and the fact that it can be replaced by any concrete specification that complies with the semantic characterisation of the ontological set. In pragmatic-functional terms, indefinites constitute a hearer-oriented processing task, one that requires the hearer’s imagination in order to conceptualise the precise entity for which the speaker merely defines the broad ontological category. In Domari, not all, but some expressions of indefiniteness rely on the indefiniteness marker *-ak*: those relating to person (*ekak*, *ikak* ‘somebody, nobody, anybody’, from *ek/ik* ‘one’), thing (*kiyak* ‘something, anything, nothing’, from *ki-* ‘what’, as well as *ḥādžak*, from Arabic *ḥādža* ‘object’), and place (*maḥallak* ‘somewhere, anywhere, nowhere’, from Arabic *maḥall* ‘place’) (see discussion of indefinite expressions in Chapter 6).

Indefiniteness in the sense of non-specificity is expressed with plural entities contextually, without any explicit marking of indefiniteness:

- (108) *nēr-d-e* *'arbaʃ* *tmaliy-e* *paši-san*
 send-PAST-3PL four soldier-PL after-3PL
 'They sent four soldiers after them.'
- (109) *par-and-a* *bol* *ple* *yaʃni*, *ple*
 take-3PL-REM much money.PL PART money.PL
kar-and-a
 make-3PL-REM
 'They used to earn a lot of money, they made money.'

It is noteworthy that the indefinite marker interacts with case inflection, in that it is only compatible with Layer I case markers (see Chapter 4.1.1). Thus, indefinite markers can only appear with nouns in subject or direct object role – where they do not inflect for Layer II case markings (indirect objects) and are not accompanied by prepositions. When indirect objects are involved, an indefiniteness marker is ruled out and the interpretation of indefiniteness is always contextual. The following example is therefore ambivalent and the noun could be interpreted out of context as either definite or indefinite:

- (110) *ama* *š-am-i* *maʃ* *kaž-as-ki*
 I talk-1SG-PRG with man-OBL.M-ABL
 'I am talking to a/the man.'

4.2.3.2. Indefiniteness and predication markers

Frequently, indefinite plurals are presented with the non-verbal predication marker:

- (111) *ū* *baʃdēn* *wērma* *ž-āk*, *yaʃni* *z-āk*
 and then wherever go-2SG PART go-2SG
šām-a-ka, *sūrīy-a-ka*, *ž-āk*
 Sham-OBL.F-DAT Syria-OBL.F-DAT go-2SG
libnān-a-ka, *lak-ēk* *dōm-ēni* *bol*
 Lebanon-OBL.F-DAT see-2SG Dom-PRED.PL much
 'Wherever you go, if you go to al-Sham, to Syria, to Lebanon, you find many Dom.'
- (112) *giš* *ašti*, *kury-ē-san* *bard-ēni*,
 all there.is house-PL-3PL full-PRED.PL

telefizyon-ēni, tallāž-ēni
 television-PRED.PL refrigerator-PRED.PL
 ‘They have everything, their houses are full, televisions,
 refrigerators.’

The predicative marker can also accompany indefinite singular nouns, taking the same position as an indefiniteness marker. It does not seem to convey any distinct function and appears in free variation with the indefiniteness marker, though less frequently:

- (113) *er-a wāšī-san zābiṭ-i nām-os*
 come.PAST-3SG with-3PL officer-PRED.SG name-3SG
Collinge
 Collinge
 ‘An officer called Collinge came with them.’
- (114) *bar-om par-d-a kurdiy-ēk*
 brother-1SG take-PAST-M Kurd.F-PRED.SG
 ‘My brother married a Kurdish woman.’
- (115) *wari-k-ar-a mlāy-ēk minšān ma*
 wear-VTR-3SG-REM headscarf-PRED.SG so.that NEG
džan-ad-is yašni, ū xulš-ar-a
 know-3PL-3SG.OBL PART and exit-3SG-REM
mangiš-k-ar-a
 beg-VTR-3SG-REM
 ‘She used to wear a headscarf so that they would not recognise her,
 right, and she used to go out to beg.’
- (116) *ga-r-om riḥl-ēk amak/ yašni ama ū*
 go.PAST-1SG trip-PRED.SG I PART I and
šōny-ēni
 girl-PRED.PL
 ‘I went on a trip me/ I mean me and some girls.’
- (117) *pandži adžir-k-ad-a qaṣ-ēk minšān*
 3SG rent-VTR-PAST-M hall-PRED.SG for
šurus-ki
 wedding-ABL
 ‘He rented a hall for the wedding.’
- (118) *dža-n-a mangiš-kar-and-a giš dōm-ē-man*
 go-1PL-REM begging-VTR-3PL-REM all Dom-PL-1PL
hundar, nan-and-a kiyās-am-ma pl-ēni,
 there bring-3PL-REM sack.PL-OBL.PL-LOC money-PRED.PL

man-ēk, sābūr-i, zēt-i
 bread-PRED.SG soap-PRED.SG oil-PRED.SG

‘We used to go begging there all our people they used to bring sacks of money, bread, soap, oil.’

Though in most cases speakers opt either for the indefiniteness marker or for the predication marker to indicate indefinite nouns, the two morphemes are not incompatible and they may appear together on the same nouns:

- (119) *ū kān ašti ama-ke ben-ak-i,*
 and was.3SG.M there.is 1SG-BEN sister-INDEF-PRED.SG
nām-os ḥayāt-i
 name-3SG Hayat-PRED.SG
 ‘And I had a sister, her name is Hayat.’

It seems to have been the potential interchangeability of the indefinite marker with the predication marker that was behind Macalister’s (1914: 7) translation of *džur-ik*, with a predication marker, as ‘a woman’ – and thus as an example of an indefinite article or at least indefinite usage of the predication marker. Littmann (1920:126) even refers explicitly to the predicative endings *-ik/-ēk* as “indefinite articles”. In our corpus, predicative markers are especially common with attributive nouns and adjectives that accompany indefinite head nouns, the latter carrying the indefinite marker *-ak*:

- (120) *marr-ak ek-ak-i šaḥaf-ik*
 time-INDEF one-INDEF-PRED.SG journalist-PRED.SG
mašr-ik er-a izāš-ē-ta
 Egyptian-PRED.SG come.PAST-M radio.station-OBL.F-DAT
šammān-a-ki.
 Amman-OBL.F-ABL
 ‘Once somebody, an Egyptian journalist, came to Amman radio station.’
- (121) *ašti nkī-s ek-ak dusar-ēk*
 there.is at-3SG one-INDEF black-PRED.SG
 ‘With him is a black person.’
- (122) *kēka wēs-t-or-i maš ek-ak dōm-i?*
 why sit-PAST-2SG-PRG with one-INDEF Dom-PRED.SG
 ‘Why are you sitting together with a Dom person?’
- (123) *nan-d-a ama-ke findžan-ak qaḥw-ēk*
 bring-PAST-M 1SG-BEN cup-INDEF coffee-PRED.SG
 ‘He brought me a cup of coffee.’

- (124) *čir-d-a* *ab-san-ke:* *mušš* *šāḥ-i,* *itme*
 say-PAST-M for-3PL-BEN NEG true-PRED.SG you.PL
ik-ak *mfāll-ēk* *ū* *ik-ak* *šātīr-i?*
 one-INDEF crazy-PRED.SG and one-INDEF gifted-PRED.SG
 ‘He said to them: this isn’t true, one of you is crazy and the other is gifted?’
- (125) *šār* *zābiṭ* *ū* *šōnī* *dē-d-i*
 began.3SG.M officer and girl give-3PL-PRG
awšāf-ē-s, *inn-o* *kān*
 description.PL-PL-3SG COMP-3SG.M was.3SG.M
wāšī-s *šahṇ-ak* *ḥummuṣ-i,* *wāšī-s*
 with-3SG plate-INDEF hummus-PRED.SG with-3SG
mana/ xalb-ak *man-ēk,* *ū* *tir-d-ēk*
 bread loaf-INDEF bread-PRED.SG and put-PAST-PRED.SG
dand-ak *zard*
 tooth-INDEF gold
 ‘The officer and the girl started to describe him, that he had with him a plate of hummus, with him was bread/ a loaf of bread, and that he has a golden tooth.’

From these examples it is clear that the role of defining a referential entity as indefinite, by any of the semantic characteristics of the category (numerical singularity, new topic, random selection of an item from a set, and so on), rests primarily with the indefiniteness marker *-ak* itself. The predicative marker accompanies the attributive component, creating a kind of embedded predication: *xalb-ak man-ēk* ‘a loaf of bread’, lit. ‘a loaf, being bread’; *ek-ak dusar-ēk* ‘a black person’. lit ‘somebody, being black’, and so on. There is thus nothing in the attributive part of the construction that is of direct relevance to our definition and characterisation of indefinite structures in Domari. The only direct relevance of predication marking to indefiniteness is that it can either accompany the indefiniteness marker – *ek-ak-i šahaf-ik* ‘[being] somebody, being a journalist’, *ben-ak-i* ‘[being] a sister’ – or indeed take over the indefiniteness slot altogether: *er-a wāšī-san zābiṭ-i* ‘an officer came with them’, lit. ‘there came with them, being an officer’.

As seen in the above examples, this strategy is especially popular when the indefinite entity is a direct object, and otherwise generally in a position following a lexical (verbal) predicate. Thus, although the preferred option is to mark out indefiniteness of the noun through the indefinite marker *-ak*, there is a clear intrusion of the predicative marker into the construction, via attributes to indefinite head nouns, but also accompanying or even replacing the indefiniteness marker with entities that are pragmatically exposed in post-

verbal position. Nevertheless, a clear-cut functional and structural distinction between indefiniteness markers and predication markers remains.

4.2.3.3. *The expression of definiteness*

Domari does not have a definite article. Definiteness can be expressed on singular and plural direct objects through the use of oblique case marking. By contrast, the absence of case marking on direct objects indicates an unspecified quantity or entity. Consider the following elicited contrasts:

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

(127) *ama in-mang-am-e' piy-am gulda*
 I NEG-ask-1SG-NEG drink-1SG.SUBJ tea
 'I don't wish to drink any tea.'

(128) *pi-r-om qarwy-a*
 drink-PAST-1SG coffee-OBL.F
 'I drank (the/my) coffee.'

(129) *pi-r-om qarwi*
 drink-PAST-1SG coffee
 'I drank (some) coffee.'

(130) *par-d-om man-as*
 take-PAST-1SG bread-OBL.M
 'I took/bought (an identifiable loaf of) bread.'

(131) *par-d-om mana*
 take-PAST-1SG bread
 'I took/bought (some) bread.'

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

(133) *ama šar-d-om ple*
 I hide-PAST-1SG money
 'I hid some money.'

The sometimes rather subtle distinction between definite and indefinite direct object is nicely illustrated by the following utterance from a narration:

- (134) *pandži šir-d-a: pandžan kân-û qol-ad-a*
 3SG say-PAST-M they was-3PL open-3PL-REM
kury-an û bidd-hom qaft-ad ple
 house-OBL.PL and want-3PL steal-3PL money
 ‘He said they used to break into the houses and wanted to steal money.’

The oblique marking on *kuryan* ‘the houses’ indicates that there is a pre-established understanding shared by speaker and hearer as to the identity of the houses in question, which may be derived for instance by conceptualising all houses in a given, identifiable location as the potential targets for the thieves. In any case a signal is given that knowledge about which houses were being raided is available to the listener. By contrast, there is no such pre-conception about any money that is yet to be stolen, and so this entity – *ple* ‘money’ in the nominative plural – is part of an open-ended set of entities that answer to the specifications of the semantic category ‘money’: The hearer does not know, and is unable to create a picture, of whose money, or how much money, the raiders would steal.

The use of direct object case marking to indicate definiteness is widespread in other languages that lack overt definite articles (but may have overt markers of indefiniteness), including languages of the region such as Kurdish, Turkish, and Persian, but also Indo-Aryan languages. Domari thus combines an inherited feature with an areal feature, or perhaps it simply allows us to identify a huge area as a convergent macro-area for this particular feature.

The following examples illustrate the promotion of nouns from an unknown, non-topical entity to one that is in the centre of attention and so determined and identifiable (‘definite’) in the mind of the listener. The initial introduction of the entity is in the form of an indefinite noun, then as a definite noun, which, in the role of the direct object is case-marked for the oblique: *’alf-ak* ‘one thousand’ is thus picked up again as *qêra ’alf-as* ‘he gave the thousand’ in (135); *zard*, an indefinite currency reference, is continued as *parda plan* ‘he took the money’ in (136); *mana û şahnak hummuş* ‘bread and a plate of hummus’ in (137) is referred to in the continuation of the narrative as *manas û hummşî* ‘the bread and the hummus’. Note the absence of overt indefinite marking with expressions of quantity, material, and measurements such as *zard* ‘money, currency’ and *mana* ‘bread’:

- (135) *ha ’alf-ak, û ha xamismiyye. tir-d-a*
 here thousand-INDEF and here five-hundred put
xamismiyye û qê-r-a ’alf-as ama-ta
 five-hundred and eat-PAST-M thousand-OBL.M 1SG-DAT
 ‘Here’s a thousand and here’s five hundred. He put away five hundred and spent the one thousand on me.’

- (136) *qol-d-a* *dozdan-os* *šōny-a-ki.* *lak-id-a*
 open-PAST-M wallet-3SG girl-OBL.F-ABL see-PAST-M
talātīn *zard* *isra'il-ik.* *par-d-a* *pl-an*
 thirty gold Israeli-PRED.SG take-PAST-M money-PL.OBL
min *dozdan-ki* *ū* *tir-d-osan* *džēb-is-ma*
 from wallet-ABL and put-PAST-3PL pocket-3SG.OBL-LOC
 'He opened the girl's wallet. He found thirty Israeli pounds. He took
 the money from the wallet and put it in his pocket.'

- (137) a. *qabel* *sabša* *ū* *ššrīn* *wars* *mām-om*
 before seven and twenty year uncle-1SG
putur *yāsir* *gar-a* *swēq-ē-ta*
 son Yassir go.PAST-M market-OBL.F-DAT
štrī-k-ar *mana* *ū* *šah̄n-ak*
 buy-VTR-3SG.SUBJ bread and plate-INDEF
ḥummuṣ
 hummus
 b. *bašd* *ma* *štrī-k-ad-a* *man-as* *ū*
 after COMP buy-VTR-PAST-M bread-OBL.M and
ḥummuṣ-ī *xul-d-a* *min*
 hummus-OBL.M open-PAST-M from
dakākīn-an-ki/ *bāb* *isbāt* *ū*
 shops.PL-OBL.PL-ABL gate Lions and
kil-d-a *daradž-ē-s* *hay-ki* *illi* *šand*
 descend-PAST-M stair-PL-3SG this-ABL REL at
bāb *isbāt* *ū* *lek-id-a* *ik/* *šōn-ik*
 gate Lions and see-PAST-M one girl-PRED.SG
yahūdiy-ēk *nām-os* *elīza*
 Jewish-PRED.SG name-3SG Eliza
 a. 'Twenty seven years ago my cousin Yassir went to the market
 to buy bread and a plate of hummus.
 b. After he bought the bread and the hummus he came out of the
 shops at/ Lions Gate/ and went down the stairs of this place, at
 Lions Gate, and he saw a/ a Jewish girl, her name was Eliza.

Explicit morphological marking for definiteness independently of oblique case marking exists only with a single lexico-grammatical item in Domari, namely the numeral 'two'. Here, the indefinite form is *dī* (*dī tāṭ* 'two Arabs', *dī bare* 'two brothers') while the definite form is *dīne* (*dīne dōman* 'the two

Doms', *dīne bare* 'the two brothers'). Consider the distribution in the following examples:

- (138) *wuda gar-a, nan-d-a dī*
 old.man go.PAST-3SG-PAST, bring-PAST-3SG two
ḥāḥ min dēy-ki, ban-d-e dīne
 villager from village-ABL, close-PAST-3PL two.DEF
dōm-an ū par-d-ē-san qādiy-as-ke,
 Nawari-OBL.F.PL and take-PAST-PL-3PL judge-OBL.M-BEN
maḥkem-ē-ka
 court-OBL.F-DAT
 'The old man went away, he brought two Arabs from the village, they tied up the two Doms and they took them to the judge, to the court.'
- (139) *aṣṭi dī bar-e, gar-e. mīn-d-ē-san*
 there.is two brother-PL go.PAST-PL hold-PAST-PL-3PL
tmaliy-e pand-as-ma.
 soldier-PL road-OBL.M-LOC
 'There were two brothers. They travelled. Soldiers stopped them on the road. [...]'
- (140) *dīne bar-e gar-e dēy-ka*
 two.DEF brother-PL go.PAST-PL village-DAT
garī-r-e, ma lak-ad-e wala ik-ak
 return-PAST-3PL NEG see-PAST-3PL and.not one
dēy-ma
 village-LOC
 'The two brothers went back to the village, they didn't find anyone in the village.'
- (141) *bardo aha qrara yaṣni baṣd m-r-i*
 also this.M Bedouin PART after die-PAST-F
ihī ṣōnī gēna miṣṭa-h-r-a wi-m-r-a
 this.F girl further ill-VITR-PAST.M and-die-PAST-M
ū dfin-k-ad-e dīn-an maṣbaṣd
 and bury-VTR-PAST-3PL two-OBL.PL together
 'And then, after the girl died, the Bedouin also fell ill and died and they buried the two of them together.'

With Arabic numerals, a similar effect is occasionally achieved by the use of Arabic definite articles:

- (142) *mar-d-e l-'arbaš xurfān*
 kill-PAST-3PL DEF-four sheep.PL
 'They slaughtered the four sheep.'

This includes all ordinal numerals, which are all Arabic-derived:

- (143) *šōnī kahind-ar-i emin-ta, er-i min*
 girl look-3SG-PRG 1PL-DAT come.PAST-F from
awwal eka, wi-t-tāni wi-t-tālet wi-r-rābiš
 first one and-DEF-second and-DEF-third and-DEF-fourth
wi-l-xāmis, lak-ed-i yāsr-as
 and-DEF-fifth see-PAST-3SG-F Yassir-OBL.M
 'The girl looked at us, she approached the first one, and the second,
 and the third, and the fourth, and the fifth, she saw Yassir.'
- (144) *ū putr-os heššaš šalim-ah-r-a till-a*
 and son-3SG now learn-VITR-PAST-M big-M
eh-r-a muḥām-ik, ū dīr-os
 become-PAST-M lawyer-PRED.SG and daughter-3SG
it-tāniye eh-r-i muhandis-ēk.
 DEF-second.F become-PAST-F engineer-PRED.SG
 'And her son has now studied and has become an important lawyer,
 and her other daughter has become an engineer.'

Other widespread usages of the Arabic definite article include indications of dates and times of the day (e.g. *sinet l-'arbaš ū xamsin* 'the year fifty four', *l-muyrub* 'in the evening'), formulaic and discourse-regulating expressions such as *l-muḥimm* 'anyway' (lit. 'the important [thing]') or *bi-l-'āxir* 'finally', and place names and institution names (*dēyeski l-širāq* 'the towns of Iraq', *l'urdunn* 'Jordan'). Occasionally, however, speakers make use of Arabic articles in conjunction with Arabic nouns, though mostly formal terms, institution names, collectives, and other non-domestic vocabulary:

- (145) *dž-āk par-ēk ihi mūdīr-as-ke l-izāša*
 go-2SG take-2SG this.F director-OBL.M-BEN DEF-radio
illi musrār-ē-m-ik
 REL Musrara-OBL.F-LOC-PRED.SG
 'Go and take this to the director of the radio station in Musrara.'
- (146) *šašān ihne ama n-mang-am-san-é' l-šarab*
 because thus I NEG-want-1SG-3PL-NEG DEF-Arabs
 'Because of this I don't like the Arabs.'

Definite subjects in Domari generally lack any form of morphological marking for definiteness. Their pragmatic status as definite is derivable strictly from their contextual interpretation. Quite often, definiteness of the subject correlates with topicality, which may be expressed by exposing the subject in the first, pre-verbal position in the utterance. Consider in (147) the shift between the first mention of *tmaliye* ‘soldiers’ in *mindēsan tmaliye* ‘soldiers stopped them’, as an indefinite subject in post-verbal position, and the second mention in *tmaliye pardēsan* ‘the soldiers took them’, here as a definite subject in pre-verbal position:

- (147) a. *ašti di bar-e, gar-e.*
 there.is two brother-PL go.PAST-PL
- b. *mīn-d-ē-san tmaliye-e pand-as-ma*
 hold-PAST-PL-3PL soldier-PL road-OBL.M-LOC
- c. *itme qaftinn-e-hr-es-i.*
 you.PL thief-PL-be -2PL-PRG
- d. *eme mišš qaftinn-ahr-ēn-i.*
 we NEG thief-be -1PL-PRG
- e. *eme/ er-ēn-i par-an*
 we come.PAST-1PL-PRG take-1PL.SUBJ
qarā’ib-ē-man
 relative.PL-PL-1PL
- f. *tmaliye-e par-d-ē-san. ban-d-ē-san.*
 soldier-PL take-PAST-PL-3PL tie-PAST-PL-3PL
nan-d-ē-san maḥkam-ē-ka
 bring-PAST-PL-3PL court-OBL.F-DAT
- a. ‘There were two brothers, they travelled.
 b. Soldiers stopped them on the road.
 c. You are thieves.
 d. We are not thieves.
 e. We have come to take our relatives.
 f. The soldiers took them, they tied them up, they brought them before the court.’

In the following example, the first mention of *mūdīr* ‘the director’ is as an indirect object, appearing after the predicate. Arguably, the definiteness status of ‘director’ is given by the nature of the term (the expectation that there is one director in every institution and hence the anticipation that knowledge about the existence of a director is presupposed), but no structural indication accompanies this semantic-pragmatic status in either *mūdīr parda* ‘the director

took', *mūdīr xal* 'the director said' or in *biddo iyyāk mudīr* 'the director wants you'. We do, however, see the promotion of *kart* 'card' from an indefinite referent (*kart* in *ašti wāšīm karti* 'I have a card in my possession') to one that is definite, signalled by the oblique marking of the direct object in *parde ehe tmaliye aha kartas* 'the soldiers took the card':

- (148) a. *žamīl tmaliy-an-ke qxal ašti wāšī-m*
 Jamil soldier-OBL.PL-BEN said there.is with-1SG
kart-i par-as-is ū
 card-PRED.SG take-2PL.SUBJ-3SG.OBL and
d-ēs-is hay-ke mudīr-as-ke
 giv-2PL.SUBJ-3SG.OBL this-BEN director-OBL.SG-BEN
- b. *par-d-e ehe tmaliy-e aha*
 take-PAST-3PL these.PL soldier-PL this.M
kart-as ū ningawa-d-ed-is
 card-OBL.M and take.in-PAST-3PL-3SG.OBL
mūdīr-as-ke.
 director-OBL.M-BEN
- c. *mūdīr par-d-a aha zarf-as ū*
 director take-PAST-M this.M envelope-OBL.M and
qol-d-os.
 open-PAST-3SG.OBL
- d. *ū xri-k-ad-a kart-as, lak-ed-a*
 and read-VTR-PAST-M card-OBL.M see-PAST-M
ihi illi ktib-k-ad-i kart-as-ta
 this.F REL write-VTR-PAST-F card-OBL.M-DAT
bay-os-i mūdīr-as-ki.
 wife-3SG-PRED.SG director-OBL.M-ABL
- e. *mūdīr xal dž-as nadi-k-as*
 director said go-2PL.SUBJ call-VTR-2PL.SUBJ
ama-ke aha dōm-as
 1SG-BEN this.M DOM-OBL.M
- f. *tmaliy-e xal nik-šī, bidd-o*
 soldier-PL said enter-2SG.SUBJ want-3SG.M
iyy-ak mudīr.
 RES-2SG.M director

- g. *nig-ir-a* *džamīl ū* *sallim-k-ad-a*
 enter-PAST-M Jamil and greet-VTR-PAST-M
aha *mudīr-as-ta*.
 this.M director-OBL.M-DAT
- a. ‘Jamil said to the soldiers I have with me a letter, take it and give it to this guy, the director
- b. The soldiers took the letter and brought it in to the director.
- c. The director took the envelope and opened it.
- d. He read the letter and saw that it was the director’s wife who had written it.
- e. The director said: go and call this Dom man.
- f. The soldiers said, go in, the director wants you.
- g. Jamil entered and greeted the director.’

While there is obviously no overt definite article that indicates definiteness with subjects in Domari, we do find usage of the demonstrative in a function that does not necessarily serve the focusing or disambiguation of a referent, as in the above example *sallimkada aha mudīrasta* ‘he greeted the director’, or *mūdīr pardā aha zarfas* ‘the director took the envelope’, or indeed *parde ehe tmaliye aha kartas* ‘the soldiers took the letter’. This appears to be the construction to which Macalister (1914: 8) referred as the so-called “superdefinite article”. Macalister’s description of a structurally reduced demonstrative that is attached to the noun does not quite match the structure found in our corpus, however. What we do find is the use of a full adnominal demonstrative with a reduced contrastive deictic function.

In the following narrative excerpt, the speaker introduces the referent ‘lantern’ as part of the background for the event that is being retold. The ‘lantern’ appears as an indefinite noun – an unknown and in the first instance unspecified entity – with a predicative marker: *lambēk* (in ‘we used to light a lantern’). Note that indefiniteness here allows the speaker to introduce the activity of lighting a lamp, rather than establish information about any particular lantern. The speaker then continues to establish the setting of the actual event, now referring to the lantern as *ihi lambē* (in ‘I lit the lantern every night’), accompanied by a demonstrative. Having established the pattern of lighting a lantern in the household as the background to the event, the speaker can now refer to it as a familiar pattern: Lighting the lantern now portrays a routine activity that is familiar to the hearer from the previous context. The complicating event is introduced in the next segment: The lantern fell on somebody’s head. Here again, the speaker refers to the lantern as *ihi lamba*, accompanied by a demonstrative. It is still clear, however, that there is no need for disambiguation, that is for singling out a particular lantern from

among a potential set of similar objects. The demonstrative merely serves to reinforce the familiarity of the lantern – its definiteness – but is not employed in order to instigate any additional processing effort on the part of the hearer in order to identify the specificity of a particular lantern, i.e. to bring a particular lantern into special ‘focus’:

- (149) a. *ū dīs-ak min arat-an-ki kun-t/*
 and day-INDEF from night-OBL.PL-ABL was.-SG
haca/ kān nkī-man n-he-’ kahraba,
 this.M was.3SG.M by-1PL NEG-is-NEG electricity
kun-nā walaʕ-k-ēn-a lamb-ēk.
 was-1PL light-VTR-1PL-REM lantern-PRED.SG
- b. *ū kull lēle ama walaʕ-k-am-i ihi*
 and every night I light-VTR-1SG-PRG this.F
lamb-ē.
 lantern-OBL.F
- c. *dīs-ak ihi lamba kuwī-r-i*
 day-INDEF this.F lantern fall-PAST-F
siry-is-ka hay-ki bar-im
 head-3SG.OBL-DAT this-ABL brother-1SG.OBL
dīr-ki.
 daughter-ABL
- a. ‘And one night I was/ this/ we had no electricity, we used to light a lantern.
- b. And every night I would light the lantern.
- c. And one day the lantern fell on the head of what’s her name, my brother’s daughter.’

One might still ask how we know that the speaker in the previous example is using the demonstrative merely in order to identify an entity that is familiar to the hearer from the immediate context of the discourse, and not in order to single out a particular entity; in other words, how do we know that we are dealing here with definiteness rather than with a situative or discourse-oriented deictic force? The answer lies, beyond the interpretation of the narration itself, also in the comparison of the distribution of demonstratives in other narrations. The following extract from a traditional story allows us to track the typical procedure for the promotion of topical referents along the definiteness scale. Tables 21 and 22 provide an overview of the morphological devices that are used to refer to the two main characters in the story, the Bedouin boy, who is

the Sheikh's son, and the Dom girl Ghazzale, the daughter of the Dom head man:

- (150) a. *ašti kān šašrīn kuri dom-ēni,*
 there.is was.3SG.M twenty house Dom-PRED.PL
furr-und-i
 nomadise-3PL-PRG
- b. *er-a qarar-an-ta*
 come.PAST-M Bedouin-OBL.PL-DAT
ārādīy-is-ma ḥalab-á-ki.
 land.PL-3SG.OBL-LOC Aleppo-OBL.F-ABL
- c. *šār-ū kar-and-i ḥafl-e.*
 began.3PL do-3PL-PRG party-PL
- d. *ašti ik-ak nām-os-ēy-a*
 there.is one-INDEF name-3SG-PRED.SG-REM
yazzāl-ēk ihi guld-ik bol.
 Ghazzale-PRED.SG this.F sweet-PRED.SG very
- e. *boy-os till-os-i dōm-an-ki.*
 father-3SG big-3SG-PRED.SG Dom-OBL.PL-ABL
- f. *šār-at našy-ar-i ū*
 began-3SG.F dance-3SG-PRG and
šazif-k-and-a ab-us-ke
 play.music-VTR-3PL-REM for-3SG-BEN
rabbab-ē-ta dōm-e.
 rabbaba-OBL.F-DAT Dom-PL
- g. *šazif-k-and-i rabbab-ē-ta ū*
 play.music-VTR-3PL-PRG rabbaba-OBL.F-DAT and
pandži našy-ar-i.
 3SG dance-3SG-PRG
- h. *ehe qarar-e šār-ū dē-d-san-i*
 these.PL Bedouin-PL began-3PL give-3PL-3PL-PRG
āṭa, gēsū, = yašni qameḥ yašni ū ṭīn, = ū
 flour wheat PART flour PART and wheat and
šukna = yašni zēt =
 oil PART oil
- i. *ekak min ehe qarar-an-ki*
 one-INDEF from these.PL Bedouin-OBL.PL-ABL

- putr-os-i* *šēx-as-ki* *till-ēk*
 son-3SG-PRED.SG Sheikh-OBL.M-ABL big-PRED.SG
aha,
 this.M
- j. *šār* *kull* *lēle* *aw-ar-i* *nkī-san* *ū*
 began.M every night come-3SG-PRG at-3PL and
shu-r-or-i *ʃand dōm-an-ki*.
 spend.night-VTR.PAST-3SG-PRG at Dom-OBL.PL-ABL
- k. *ū* *ihi* *dōmiya* *yazzāle* *našy-ar-i*
 and this.F Dom.F Ghazzale dance-3SG-PRG
ab-us-ke.
 for-3SG-BEN
- l. *putr-os* *šēx-as-ki* *aha* *qrara*
 son-3SG Sheikh-OBL.M-ABL this.M Bedouin
hay-os *hibb-r-a* *ihi* *dōmiy-ē* *ū*
 this-3SG like-PAST-M this.F Dom-OBL.F and
ihi *dōmiya* *gēna* *hubb-r-os-is*.
 this.F Dom.F further love-PAST-3SG-3SG.OBL
- m. *šār* *qaft-ar-i* *min* *boy-os*
 began.M steal-3SG-PRG from father-3SG
kury-a-ki *aha* *qrara* *nan-ar-i*
 house-OBL.F-ABL this.M Bedouin bring-3SG-PRG
ihi *domiy-ē-ke* *ū* *drāri-k-ed-os-san*
 this.F Dom-OBL.F-BEN and fill-VTR-PAST-3SG-3PL
ple
 money
- n. *qrara* *aha* *šōna*, *mang-id-a* *ihi*
 Bedouin this.M boy ask-PAST-M this.F
domi-yē *min* *boy-is-ki*
 Dom-OBL.F from father-3SG.OBL-ABL
- o. *boy-os* *ma* *rd-ah-r-a* *de-r-is*.
 father-3SG NEG accept-VTR-PAST-M give-3SG.OBL
- p. *yaʃni* *atu* *boy-or* *šēx-i*
 PART you.SG father-2SG Sheikh-PRED.SG
till-ēk
 big-PRED.SG

- q. *ū par ik-ak dōmiya yaʕni*
and take.2SG.SUBJ one-INDEF Dom.F PART
aha yaʕni na-qbul-h-ond-éʔ yaʕni
this.M PART NEG-accept-VITR-3PL-NEG PART
ahl-or.
family-2SG
- r. *gar-a aha šōna šir-d-a*
go.PAST-M this.M boy speak-PAST-M
boy-is-ke, qrara, inni ama
father-OBL.M-BEN Bedouin COMP.1SG I
mang-am-i ihi domiy-ē bidd-ī
want-1SG-PRG this.F Dom-OBL.F want-1SG
par-am itžawwiz-h-om-is.
take-1SG.SUBJ marry-VITR-1SG-3SG.OBL
- s. *boy-os qal ehe dom-ēni ū iza*
father-3SG said these.PL Dom-PRED.PL and if
par-d-or-is mar-am/
take-PAST-2SG-3SG.OBL kill-1SG.SUBJ
mar-am-san-i gištāne, giš dōm-an
kill-1SG.SUBJ-3PL-PRG all all Dom-OBL.PL
mar-am-i.
kill-1SG-PRG
- t. *rfaḍ-k-eḍ-a ka/ aha boy-os aha*
refuse-VTR-PAST-M this.M father-3SG this.M
šōn-as-ki.
boy-OBL.M-ABL
- u. *arātin, = yaʕni fi-l-lēl, = aha šēx*
at.night PART in-DEF-night this.M Sheikh
qrara šir-d-a qarar-an-ke
Bedouin speak-PAST-M Bedouin-OBL.PL-BEN
ḥawū-k-as giš dōm-an min hindar
expel-VTR-2PL.SUBJ all Dom-OBL.PL from here
- v. *tānī dīs aha šōna qrara, putr-os*
next day this.M boy Bedouin son-3SG
šēx-as-ki, gar-a ta lak-ar
Sheikh-OBL.M-ABL go.PAST-M COMP see-3SG.SUBJ

- dōm-an* *ma* *lak-ed-os-san,*
 Dom-OBL.PL NEG see-PAST-3SG-3PL
- w. *raw-ird-ēd-i* *min hundar min uhu*
 travel-PAST-3PL-PRG from there from that.M
des-os-ki
 village-OBL.M-ABL
- x. *ehe* *dōm-e* *raw-ird-e* *min*
 these.PL Dom-PL walk-PAST-3PL from
ḥalab-a-ki *gar-e* *krēn?*
 Aleppo-OBL.F-ABL go.PAST-3PL where
šīraq-a-ta
 Iraq-OBL.F-DAT
- y. *aha* *šōna* *šār* *row-ar-i* *atnī-san,*
 this.M boy began.M cry-3SG-PRG about-3PL
man-d-a *boy-is* *kury-a* *ū*
 leave-PAST-M father-3SG.OBL house-OBL.F and
gar-a *t/ ras-r-a* *dōm-an.*
 go.PAST-M return-PAST-M Dom-OBL.PL
- a. ‘There were twenty Dom households, they travelled.
 b. They came to the Bedouin lands of Aleppo.
 c. They began to give parties.
 d. One of them, her name was Ghazzale, she was very pretty.
 e. Her father was the leader of the Dom.
 f. She began to dance and the Dom would play the rabbaba for her.
 g. They would play the rabbaba and she would dance.
 h. The Bedouin came and began to give them flour, wheat, = *that is flour right and wheat* = and oil = *that is oil* =.
 i. One of these Bedouins was the son of an important Sheikh.
 j. He began to visit them every night and spend the night with the Dom.
 k. And this Dom girl Ghazzale would dance for him.
 l. The Sheikh’s son, the Bedouin, liked the Dom girl and the Dom girl liked him too.
 m. The Bedouin started to steal from his father’s household and to bring things to this Dom girl and to bestow her with money.
 n. The Bedouin boy asked her father for the Dom girl’s hand.
 o. Her father did not agree to give her away.
 p. You are the son of an important Sheikh,

- q. and should you take a Dom girl, your people would not accept this.
- r. The boy went and told his father, the Bedouin, I want this Dom girl, I would like to marry her.
- s. His father said, these are Dom, and if you were to marry her I will kill all of them, I will kill all the Dom.
- t. The boy's father refused.
- u. At night = *that is, at night* = the Bedouin Sheikh said to the Bedouins expel all the Dom from here.
- v. The next day the Bedouin boy, the Sheikh's son, went to see the Dom but could not find them.
- w. They travelled from there from that village of his.
- x. The Dom left Aleppo and where did they go? to Iraq.
- y. The boy started to cry, he left his father's house and he went/ he went back to the Dom.'

Table 21. Use of referential forms for 'The Dom girl Ghazzale' in example (150)

Segment	Form	Gloss	Phrase	Phrase translation
d.	<i>ikak</i>	somebody.F	<i>ikak nāmōsēya yazzālēk</i>	'a girl, her name was Ghazzale'
d.	<i>ihi</i>	this.F	<i>ihi guldik bol</i>	'she is very pretty'
e.	<i>-s</i>	3.SG possessive	<i>boyos tillosi dōmanki</i>	'her father is the leader of the Dom'
f.	<i>-t</i>	3.SG finite	<i>šārat našyari</i>	'she began to dance'
g.	<i>pandži</i>	3.SG pronoun	<i>ū pandži našyari</i>	and she dances'
k.	<i>ihi dōmiya</i>	this.F Dom girl	<i>ū ihi dōmiya yazzāle</i>	'and this Dom girl Ghazzale'
l.	<i>ihi dōmiyē</i>	this.F Dom girl OBL	<i>ḥibbra ihi dōmiyē</i>	'he liked the Dom girl'
l.	<i>ihi dōmiya</i>	this.F Dom girl	<i>ihi dōmiya gēna ḥubbrosis</i>	'the Dom girl like him too'
n.	<i>ihi dōmiyē</i>	this.F Dom girl OBL	<i>mangida ihi dōmiyē</i>	'he asked [to marry] the Dom girl'
r.	<i>ihi dōmiyē</i>	this.F Dom girl OBL	<i>ama mangami ihi dōmiyē</i>	'I am asking for this Dom girl'

Table 22. Use of referential forms for ‘The Bedouin boy’ in example (150)

Segment	Form	Gloss	Phrase	Phrase translation
i.	<i>ekak</i>	somebody.M	<i>ekak min ehe qraranki</i>	‘one of these Bedouins’
i.	<i>aha</i>	this.M	<i>putrosi šēxaski tillēk aha</i>	‘he is the older son of the Sheikh’
j.	–∅	3.SG finite	<i>šār kull lēle awari</i>	‘he began to visit every night’
k.	<i>abuske</i>	for-3SG-BEN	<i>našyari abuske</i>	‘she dances for him’
l.	<i>aha qrara</i>	this.M Bedouin	<i>aha qrara ḥibbra</i>	‘this Bedouin boy loved’
m.	<i>aha qrara</i>	this.M Bedouin	<i>šār qaftari ... aha qrara</i>	‘the Bedouin started stealing’
n.	<i>aha šōna</i>	this.M boy	<i>qrara aha šōna, mangida</i>	‘the Bedouin boy asked’
r.	<i>aha šōna</i>	this.M boy	<i>gara aha šōna širda boyiske</i>	‘the boy went to speak to his father’
t.	<i>aha šōnaski</i>	this.M boy-OBL.M-ABL	<i>rfuḍkeda aha boyos aha šōnaski</i>	‘the boy’s father refused’
v.	<i>aha šōna</i>	this.M boy	<i>aha šōna qrara, ... gara ta lakar</i>	‘the Bedouin boy went to see’
y.	<i>aha šōna</i>	this.M boy	<i>aha šōna šār rowari atnisan</i>	‘the Bedouin boy began to cry’

It is noteworthy that continuous nominal reference to the two identified, principal protagonists in the story is always accompanied by a demonstrative. This use of the demonstrative is not contrastive, and does not involve any shift of focus or disambiguation of the referent within a set of potential referents. We can conclude that Domari has rather lax rules on the distribution of the demonstrative in narrative discourse, or rather that the demonstrative also serves to indicate an established, definite referent in narrations, and not just one that is at the centre of a disambiguating focus. At the same time, we have seen above that definiteness of the noun does not at all require the presence of the demonstrative. In subject (and in indirect object) role, the plain noun, unaccompanied by any morphological modification, is treated as definite when it is a contextually established and familiar entity. In direct object role, definiteness is expressed by the use of the oblique case.

4.3. Case inflection

4.3.1. The layout of nominal case

Like other New Indo-Aryan (NIA) languages, Domari shows a layered system of nominal inflection. I use the terminology coined by Masica (1991), where Layer I refers to inflectional elements inherited directly from Old Indo-Aryan (OIA) which in NIA indicate an opposition of nominative and general oblique; Layer II is a closed and limited set of abstract, grammaticalised markers deriving from Middle Indo-Aryan (MIA) postpositions and postposed location adverbs; and Layer III elements are adpositions, i.e. analytical location specifiers.

Domari resembles Romani in much of its nominal inflection typology: Both languages have resisted phonological erosion of Layer I markers to a considerable extent. The general oblique, a Layer I marker, serves in both languages not only as the basis for further case formations with Layer II-III markers, as it does in other NIA languages, but also as an independent marker of the direct object. Gender, like number, a Layer I property, is maintained in both languages only in the singular, and neutralised in the plural. In both Domari and Romani, Layer II affixes are attached directly to, and are inseparable from the noun, forming in effect a new set of agglutinative synthetic case markers. And both languages are unique among the Indo-Aryan languages in showing exclusively prepositions rather than postpositions as Layer III markers.²¹ Unlike Romani, however, Domari shows no phonological assimilation to the preceding consonant and so no morphophonological alternation in the forms of Layer II markers (cf. Romani *-ke/-ge*, *-te/-de*, etc.). Also in contrast with Romani, the distribution of Layer I-II markers is not constrained by a hierarchy of either animacy or intrinsic referential prominence (see Matras 1997). Nonetheless, referentiality in the form of definiteness does play a role; as we saw above, definite direct objects take on a Layer I oblique case marker while indefinite direct objects do not. The following examples illustrate the distribution of case layers in Domari:

Layer I (inflectional case marking for nominative and oblique):

(151) *gori*
horse
'horse' [subject]

(152) *qar*
donkey
'donkey' [subject]

(153) *gory-a*
horse-OBL.F
'horse' [direct object]

(154) *qar-as*
donkey-OBL.M
'donkey' [direct object]

Layer II (agglutinating case suffixes based on the oblique form):

(155) *gory-a-ta*
horse-OBL.F-DAT
'on the horse' [indirect object]

(156) *qar-as-ta*
donkey-OBL.M-DAT
'on the donkey' [indirect object]

Layer III (prepositions, accompanied by the noun in the Layer II Ablative/Prepositional case):

(157) *agir* *gory-a-ki*
in.front horse-OBL.F-ABL
'in front of the horse' [prepositional object]

(158) *agir* *qar-as-ki*
in.front donkey-OBL.M-ABL
'in front of the donkey' [prepositional object]

Three additional morphological devices interact potentially with nominal case markers. As discussed above, the indefiniteness marker attaches to singular nouns and neutralises Layer I case marking:

(159) *er-a* *kaž-ak*
come.PAST-M man-INDEF
'A man arrived.'

(160) *lah-ed-om* *kaž-ak*
see-PAST-1SG man-INDEF
'I saw a man.'

At the same time, the indefiniteness marker is not compatible with Layer II/III case marking, leaving the definiteness status of the noun structurally undefined and so dependent on contextual interpretation:

- (161) *š-ird-om* *maŕ* *kaž-as-ki*
 talk-PAST-1SG with man-OBL.M-ABL
 ‘I talked with a/the man.’

Second, possessive markers occupy the Layer I case inflection slot. They are generally sensitive, therefore, to nominative (subject-role) and oblique (direct and indirect object-role) case marking, and can be combined with Layer II/III markers as well:

- (162) *aha* *bar-om*
 this.M brother-1SG.NOM²²
 ‘This is my brother.’
- (163) *mar-d-om* *bar-im*
 hit-PAST-1SG brother-1SG.OBL
 ‘I hit my brother.’
- (164) *š-ir-d-om* *maŕ* *bar-im-ki*
 talk-PAST-1SG with brother-1SG.OBL-ABL
 ‘I talked with my brother.’

Finally, non-verbal predication markers occupy a slot that either overrides Layer I case markers, or attaches to Layer II case markers:

- (165) *ihi* *kur-ik* *nohr-ik*
 this.F house-PRED.SG red-PRED.SG
 ‘This is a/the red house.’
- (166) *lah-ed-om* *kur-ik* *nohr-ik*
 see-PAST-1SG house-PRED.SG red-PRED.SG
 ‘I saw a/the red house.’
- (167) *bar-om* *kury-a-m-ēk*
 brother-1SG house-OBL.F.-LOC-PRED.SG
 ‘My brother is in the house.’

Tables 23 and 24 illustrate the interaction of these morphological devices with nominal case inflection for the nouns *gori* ‘horse’ (feminine, *i*-declension) and *qar* ‘donkey’ (masculine, consonantal declension).

Table 23. Noun layout, feminine *i*-declension

Singular		
Nominative	<i>gori</i>	‘horse’
Presentation with predication marker	<i>ihi gorik</i>	‘this is a horse’
Nominative with possessive marker	<i>goryom</i>	‘my horse’
Indirect object with possessive marker	<i>qoldom goryimta</i>	‘I rode my horse’
Indefinite direct object	<i>lakedom goryak</i>	‘I saw a horse’
Definite direct object	<i>lakedom gorya</i>	‘I saw the horse’
Indirect object with Layer II marker	<i>qoldom goryata</i>	‘I rode the horse’
Indirect object with predication marker	<i>pandži goryatēk</i>	‘he is on the horse’
Plural		
Nominative	<i>goriye</i>	‘horses’
Presentation with predication marker	<i>ehe goryēni</i>	‘these are horses’
Nominative with possessive marker	<i>goryēman</i>	‘our horses’
Indirect object with possessive marker	<i>qildēn goryēmanta</i>	‘we rode our horses’
Indefinite direct object	<i>lakedom goryēni</i>	‘I saw some horses’
Definite direct object	<i>lakedom goryan</i>	‘I saw the horses’
Indirect object with Layer II marker	<i>qildēn goryanta</i>	‘we rode the horses’
Indirect object with predication marker	<i>pandžan goryantēk</i>	‘they are on the horses’

Table 24. Noun layout: masculine, consonantal declension

Singular		
Nominative	<i>qar</i>	‘donkey’
Presentation with predication marker	<i>aha qari</i>	‘this is a donkey’
Nominative with possessive marker	<i>qarom</i>	‘my donkey’
Indirect object with possessive marker	<i>qoldom qarimta</i>	‘I rode my donkey’
Indefinite direct object	<i>lakedom qararak</i>	‘I saw a donkey’
Definite direct object	<i>lakedom qararas</i>	‘I saw the donkey’
Indirect object with Layer II marker	<i>qoldom qarasta</i>	‘I rode the donkey’
Indirect object with predication marker	<i>pandži qarastēk</i>	‘he is on the donkey’
Plural		
Nominative	<i>qare</i>	‘donkeys’
Presentation with predication marker	<i>ehe qarēni</i>	‘these are donkeys’
Nominative with possessive marker	<i>qarēman</i>	‘our donkeys’
Indirect object with possessive marker	<i>qildēn qarēmanta</i>	‘we rode our donkeys’
Indefinite direct object	<i>lakedom qarēni</i>	‘I saw some donkeys’
Definite direct object	<i>lakedom qararan</i>	‘I saw the donkeys’
Indirect object with Layer II	<i>qildēn qaranta</i>	‘we rode the donkeys’
Indirect object with predication marker	<i>pandžan qarantēk</i>	‘they are on the donkeys’

The interaction of case marking, indefiniteness marking, possessive marking, and non-verbal predication marking is shown once more in the following narrative examples: In (168), we find a contrast between the phrase

maʕ šōnyanki ‘with the girls’, where the noun shows Layer I and II affixes in conjunction with a Layer III preposition, and the phrase *maʕ šāḥbēmki* ‘with my friends’, where the possessive marker occupies the slot of Layer I case marking:

- (168) *ū in-man-ad-m-eʼ kil-š-am maʕ*
 and NEG-let-3PL-1SG-NEG exit-SUBJ-1SG with
šōny-an-ki, maʕ šāḥb-ē-m-ki, maʕ
 girl-OBL.PL-ABL with friend-PL-1SG-ABL with
ʾiši
 something
 ‘And they wouldn’t let me go out with the girls, with my friends,
 with anything.’

Next, we see how the indefinite marker blocks any nominal case inflection on the indirect object *fī dēy-ak* ‘in a village’, while the possessive marker (which is co-referential with the possessor ‘Iraq’) blocks Layer I case inflection on *min dēyeski* ‘from the villages of’:

- (169) *fī dēy-ak min dēy-ē-s-ki l-šīrāq*
 in town-INDEF from village-SG.OBL-3SG-ABL DEF-Iraq
 ‘In one of the villages of Iraq’

Finally, we see how the predicative marker attaches to the indirect object marked by Layer I and II inflection endings in *kuryamēk* ‘at home’:

- (170) *ū daʾiman yaʕni kur-t ama*
 and always PART was-1SG I
kury-a-m-ēk wala kil-š-am-i
 house-OBL.F-LOC-PRED.SG and.NEG exit-SUBJ-1SG-PRG
wala aw-am-i wala
 and.NEG come-1SG-PRES and.NEG
waddi-k-ar-m-i maḥall-ak
 bring-VTR-3SG-1SG-PRG place-INDEF
 ‘And I was always at home, I wouldn’t go out and I wouldn’t come
 back nor would she take me anywhere.’

4.3.2. Layer I declension classes

As in other Indo-Aryan languages, Domari Layer I inflection continues a small selection of Old- and Middle Indo-Aryan case inflection endings, which have been re-distributed to form a new set of several declension classes. In the

nominative singular, Domari, like other Modern Indo-Aryan languages, tends to form a set of nominative vowel endings by assimilating traces of old nominative endings to contemporary adjectival endings, which distinguish gender and number. Thus we find masculine *-a* and feminine *-i*. In addition there are also consonantal stems and feminine derivation markers *-iya* and *-ni*. The nominative plural ending is invariably *-e*, it too matching the adjectival ending *-e*. Arabic loans for the most part retain their Arabic plural forms, to which the Domari plural suffix *-e* is usually added. All possible Arabic plural formations are retained, including 'full' (suffixed) plurals in *-īn* (masculine) and *-āt* (feminine), and the so-called 'broken' (internal-inflectional) plurals in CCūC, CCāC (= Modern Standard Arabic 'aCCāC), CuCCān, and CaCāCīn.

In the oblique, we find masculine *-as-* continuing the Old and Middle Indo-Aryan masculine and neuter genitive form in *-asya* and *-assa* respectively, and feminine *-a-* continuing the old feminine dative, ablative, and genitive forms containing the segment *-āy(ā)-*. Consonantal declension classes of both genders may show an accusative ending in *-ī* (see below), which appears to continue an old locative case ending of neuter stems in *-i*. Feminine nouns carrying the nominative derivation endings *-iya* and Arabic vocalic feminine nouns in *-a* tend to have an oblique ending *-ē*, in all likelihood a result of vowel assimilation deriving from the old feminine instrumental in *-ayā-*. The overall inherited inventory is thus more complex than in Romani, where the only surviving oblique endings are masculine *-es-* and feminine *-a-*. (Romani declensions are further enriched by Greek-derived nominal endings.) The Domari plural oblique ending is invariably *-an-*, continuing the old genitive plural ending *-ānām* (Romani *-en-*). Arabic nouns are assimilated into the Domari oblique inflection and are distributed among the different declension classes.

Nominal gender is indicated more frequently in the singular oblique stem (*-as-* for masculines, *-iya-* or *-iyē-* for feminines), and for some classes in the vocalic ending of the nominative singular (*-a* for masculines, *-ī* for feminines). In the plural, feminine gender is often indicated through the presence of the glide *-y-* between the stem and plural marker (thus nominative *-iyē*, oblique *-iyan*). Arabic nouns with gender-specific indicators are feminines in *-a* (often dialectal *-e*), masculine plurals in *-īn* and feminine plurals in *-āt*.

The interaction of Layer I nominative and oblique markers in both singular and plural, and their frequent interaction with gender, provide the basis for a division of Domari nouns into declension classes. This division is summarised in Tables 25–26 and explained in the following paragraphs. The Tables present for each declension group (class) an example of nominative and direct object (oblique) forms, as well as of a form with a selected Layer II marker (an indirect object). The latter serves to illustrate the mode of attachment of Layer II markers to the oblique stem, which may differ for the individual classes.²³

Table 25. Layer I nominal declension classes: Singular

Group	Nominative		Oblique (Direct Object)	with Layer II (Indirect Object)
1a	<i>dōm</i>	‘Dom man’	<i>dōm-as</i>	<i>dōm-as-ka</i>
1b	<i>manus</i>	‘person’	<i>mans-as</i>	<i>mans-as-ka</i>
1c	<i>mwazzaf</i>	‘employee’	<i>mwazzaf-as</i>	<i>mwazzaf-as-ka</i>
1d	<i>malik</i>	‘king’	<i>malak-as</i>	<i>malak-as-ka</i>
2	<i>šōna</i>	‘boy’	<i>šōn-as</i>	<i>šōn-as-ka</i>
3	<i>tmali</i>	‘soldier’	<i>tmaly-as</i>	<i>tmaly-as-ke</i>
4a	<i>xudwar</i>	‘child’	<i>xudwar-ī</i>	<i>xudwar-ki</i>
4b	<i>bustān</i>	‘garden’	<i>bustān-ī</i>	<i>bustān-ma</i>
4c	<i>xārūf</i>	‘sheep’	<i>xār-f-ī</i>	<i>xārūf-ki</i>
5	<i>dīr</i>	‘daughter’	<i>dīr-a</i>	<i>dīr-a-ki</i>
6	<i>šōni</i>	‘girl’	<i>šōny-a</i>	<i>šōny-a-ka</i>
7	<i>dōmija</i>	‘Dom woman’	<i>dōmij-ē</i>	<i>dōmij-ē-ki</i>
8	<i>lamba</i>	‘lantern’	<i>lamb-ē</i>	<i>lamb-ē-ki</i>
9	<i>džuwir</i>	‘woman’	<i>džuwir-ī</i>	<i>džuwir-ka</i>
10	<i>libnān</i>	‘Lebanon’		<i>libnān-á-ka</i>

For the sake of simplicity, the groups are numbered consecutively, with their order chosen pretty much at random except for internal groupings based on selected features (i.e. all classes with oblique in *-as* at the beginning, etc.). An alternative labelling scheme might follow Elšík’s (2000) classification scheme for Romani declension classes, which tags the noun’s gender, etymology, phonological shape of the stem, and plural formation. The latter, variation in plural formation, is almost redundant for Domari save for the variation in the carry-over of Arabic plural formation. On this basis, plausible inflection classes for Domari might be *Mø* (inherited masculines ending in a consonant, i.e. with no vowel ending), *Ma* (inherited masculines with the vowel ending *-a*), **Mø-F* (borrowed, for our purposes Arabic-derived, masculines ending in a consonant, with Arabic ‘full’, i.e. suffixed plural formation), **Mø-B* (borrowed, for our purposes Arabic-derived, masculines ending in a consonant, with Arabic ‘broken’, i.e. internal plural formation), *Fø* (inherited feminines ending in a consonant), *Mī* (inherited masculines with the vowel ending *-ī*), and so forth. I choose not to follow such a model below since the differences among the classes are expressed as much in the identity of the oblique marking morpheme as in the features that figure in the class label; adding yet another slot to the formal abbreviation would render a rather complex key to the labelling system. A broad division into numbered groups and selected sub-groups, despite the randomness of their ordering, seems more practical.

Table 26. Layer I nominal declension classes: Plural

Group	Nominative		Oblique (Direct Object)	with Layer II (Indirect Object)
1a	<i>dōm-e</i>	‘Dom men’	<i>dōm-an</i>	<i>dōm-an-ka</i>
1b	<i>mans-e</i>	‘people’	<i>mans-an</i>	<i>mans-an-ka</i>
1c	<i>mwazzafin-e</i>	‘employees’	<i>mwazzafin-an</i>	<i>mwazzafin-an-ke</i>
1d	<i>mlūk-e</i>	‘kings’	<i>mlūk-an</i>	<i>mlūk-an-ka</i>
2	<i>šōn-e</i>	‘boys’	<i>šōn-an</i>	<i>šōn-an-ka</i>
3	<i>tmaliy-e</i>	‘soldiers’	<i>tmaly-an</i>	<i>tmaly-an-ke</i>
4a	<i>xudwar-e</i>	‘children’	<i>xudwar-an</i>	<i>xudwar-an-ki</i>
4b	<i>basātīn-e</i>	‘gardens’	<i>basātīn-an</i>	<i>basātīn-am-ma</i>
4c	<i>xurfān-e</i>	‘sheep’	<i>xurfān-an</i>	<i>xurfān-an-ki</i>
5	<i>dīr-e</i>	‘daughters’	<i>dīr-an</i>	<i>dīr-an-ki</i>
6	<i>šōniy-e</i>	‘girls’	<i>šōny-an</i>	<i>šōny-an-ka</i>
7	<i>dōmiy-e</i>	‘Dom women’	<i>dōmiy-an</i>	<i>dōmiy-an-ki</i>
8	<i>lamb-e</i>	‘lanterns’	<i>lamb-an</i>	<i>lamb-an-ki</i>
9	<i>džuw-r-e</i>	‘women’	<i>džuw-r-an</i>	<i>džuw-r-an-ke</i>

Group 1 contains masculine nouns ending in a consonant whose characteristic inflectional feature is the oblique suffix *-as*. The group can be sub-divided into four sub-classes.

Group 1a encompasses what might be termed as the prototypical Group 1 nouns, which tend to be mostly monosyllabic. Examples are *dōm* ‘Dom man’, *kam* ‘work’, *lon* ‘salt’, *maṭ* ‘person’, *ag* ‘fire’, *saḥ* ‘rice’, *ṭān* ‘mattress’, *ṭāṭ* ‘villager’, *zard* ‘gold’, *wars* ‘year, rain’, *waṭ* ‘stone’, *ṭul* ‘beast’, *dīs* ‘day’, *qar* ‘donkey’, *nām* ‘name’, *bāš* ‘bus’, *bīy* ‘moustache’, *bīt* ‘land’, *pand* ‘road’, *kan* ‘ear’. Arabic male names ending in consonants are usually included in this group, too; e.g. *yāsir*, oblique *yāsras*, *klēb* oblique *klēbas*. Since the stem ending is consonantal, the predication marker is *-i*: *aha dōm-i* ‘this is a Dom man’. Plural formation in this class is through simple addition of the plural marker *-e* (nominative) or *-an* (oblique), and the plural predication marker is the usual *-ēni*.

Group 1b is similar, but its members are bi- or potentially poly-syllabic, resulting in syllable contraction in the oblique stem: *manus* ‘person’, oblique *mansas*, *putur* ‘son’, oblique *putras*. Other examples include *lagiš* ‘fight’, *qayīš* ‘food’. Isolated cases such as *gēsū* ‘wheat’ might be included in this group, since the final vowel can be treated as an underlying /w/, which emerges in the contraction in the oblique form *gēswas*. On other hand, *dawāy* ‘camel’ does not show contraction in the oblique (*dawāyas*) since it contains a long vowel in the second syllable, and it can therefore be accommodated in Group 1a.

Groups 1c–1d include consonantal masculine nouns of Arabic origin. They behave in the same way as the other, inherited nouns in Group 1, but they retain their Arabic plural formation, to which the inherited plural marker *-e* is

suffixed. Group 1c are masculines that show Arabic full plural in *-īr*: *mwazzaf* ‘employee’ plural *mwazzafīn-e*, *zēt* ‘olive’ plural *zētīn-e*, *muslim* ‘Muslim’ plural *musilmīn-e*. Nouns of Group 1d shows an Arabic ‘broken’ plural: *malik* ‘king’ plural *mlūk-e*, *dukkān* ‘shop’ plural *dakākīn-e*. Other members include *qird* ‘monkey’, *šīd* ‘holiday’, *sūq* ‘market’, and so on. Since more or less the full inventory of Arabic lexicon may be integrated either habitually or spontaneously into Domari speech and into Domari morphology, Groups 1c–1d are effectively open-ended. Their choice and frequency is subject to considerable speaker variation.

Group 2 consists of inherited masculine nouns whose nominative singular ending is *-a*, and whose oblique singular affix is *-as*: *šōna* ‘boy’, *kaža* ‘non-Gypsy man/ urban dweller’, *qrara* ‘Bedouin’. The class includes all adjectives that appear in a nominal role, such as *mišta* ‘ill’ (as in *ama zūrahrom mištas* ‘I visited the sick person’), *wuda* ‘old man’, *tilla* ‘chief’, *grawara* ‘head man’, *nohra* ‘Englishman’, and so on. The plural marker is the usual *-e*, which in the nominative replaces the nominative singular marker. The nominative singular vowel ending in *-a* triggers a predication marker singular in *-ēk*: *aha grawarēk* ‘this is the head man’.

Group 3 is a relatively small and etymologically mixed class of masculine nouns showing a nominative singular vowel ending in *-ī* and an oblique singular in *-iyas*. The nominative plural is *-iye*: *tmalī* ‘soldier’, *masī* ‘meat’. The group includes Arabic loans in *-ī*: *kursī* ‘chair’, *yahūdī* ‘Jew’. One of the members of the group is the language name ‘Domari’: *šū dōmariyasma* ‘say it in Domari’. The nominative vowel ending triggers a predication marker singular *-ik*: *aha tmalik* ‘this is a soldier’.

Group 4 is generally characterised by consonantal masculines whose oblique ending is *-ī*. A unique feature of this group (along with the matching feminine nouns of Group 9) is the absence, in the singular, of an oblique marker mediating between the noun stem and Layer II markers. Consider the use of (the Arabic loanword) *ḥummuṣ* ‘hummus’ (sesame paste) in the following examples:

- (171) *qabel sabṣa ū ššrīn wars mām-om putur*
 before seven and twenty year uncle-1SG son
yāsir gar-a swēq-ē-ta štrī-k-ar
 Yassir go.PAST-M market-OBL.F-DAT buy-VTR-3SG.SUBJ
mana ū ṣaḥn-ak ḥummuṣ
 bread and plate-INDEF hummus
 ‘Twenty seven years ago my cousin Yassir went to the market to buy bread and a plate of hummus.’

- (172) *baṣd ma štrī-k-ad-a man-as ū*
 after COMP buy-VTR-PAST-M bread-OBL.M and

humms-ī *xul-d-a* *min* *dakākīn-an-ki*
 hummus-OBL.M open-PAST-M from shops.PL-OBL.PL-ABL
 ‘After he bought the bread and the hummus he came out of the shops.’

- (173) *nig-r-om* *kury-a-ma* *mandža* *lak-ed-om*
 enter-PAST-1SG house-OBL.F-LOC inside see-PAST-1SG
šah̄n-os *hummuš-ki* *ū* *man-as*
 plate-3SG hummus-ABL and bread-OBL.M
 ‘I entered the house and I saw the plate of hummus and the bread.’

The nominative form is *hummuš*, the direct object form with Layer I marking is *hummsī*, and the indirect object (of possession) with Layer II marking is *hummuški*. In this respect, the suffix *-ī* might be interpreted as an accusative marker, and so it does not at all have the function of a general oblique. While this is true for this particular marker, on the whole the system relies on the same marker for accusative and oblique functions and the general characterisation of the marker of definite direct objects as ‘oblique’ (serving an accusative function) is therefore justified. Still, in this particular class there is no obvious explanation for the absence of an oblique stem as a basis for Layer II. Unlike Romani, where such cases are phonologically conditioned (through loss of /s/ in final position, leading to *rome* ‘the man.Direct.Object’, but *romeske* ‘for the man’), there is no evidence of any phonological erosion here, especially since it is the more exposed position that actually does show the marker *-ī*.

Among the sub-divisions, Group 4a contains inherited nouns such as *xudwar* ‘child’, *titin* ‘smoke’, *bākur* ‘walking stick’, as well as Arabic loans such as *halīb* ‘milk’, *qalam* ‘pencil’, *ḥṣān* ‘horse’. The criteria for the assignment of Arabic loans to this class, rather than to the consonantal masculines of Group 1, remain unclear, but the group affiliation of nouns is consistent for all the relevant words and appears to be uniform for all speakers. Group 4b encompasses Arabic loans that show Arabic broken plural formation, such as *bustān* ‘garden’, *šubbāk* ‘window’, *išbaš* ‘finger’, while Group 4c has Arabic loans with an Arabic broken plural, such as *xarūf* ‘lamb, *xatam* ‘ring’, which in the oblique singular show phonological contraction (*xarfi*, *xatmi*). Having consonantal stems, all nouns in Group 4 take the singular predication marker *-i*: *aḥa xudwari* ‘this is a child’

Group 5 contains a relatively small number of consonantal feminine noun stems whose oblique is normally *-a*. They include *dēy* ‘village’, *dīr* ‘daughter’, *day* ‘mother’, *bay* ‘wife’, and *ben* ‘sister’. The latter are kinship terms to which inalienable possession applies, and so they normally appear with possessive suffixes, which in turn neutralise oblique case marking. Thus forms such as *dayimke* ‘for my mother’ and *bayissan* ‘with his wife’ are much more

common than **dayake* ‘for the mother’ or **bayasan* ‘with the wife’, which are not encountered at all in the corpus. It is perhaps not surprising that the word *dēy* ‘village’, which is not subject to inalienable possession, shows fluctuation between retention of the oblique marker, as in *garīrom min dēyaki* ‘I returned from the village’, and assimilation to Group 9, where Layer II markers attach directly to the nominative stem: *garīrom min dēyki*. The corpus even contains one example of assignment of this word to Group 1, with an oblique ending in *-as*: *mīndēn dēyas ū garēn xalilaka* ‘we left the village and went to Hebron’. As consonantal stems, Group 5 nouns take the singular predication marker *-i*, though with most of the nouns in this group the predication marker is likely to follow not the bare nominal stem but a possessive ending: *ihī bayomi* ‘this is my wife’.

Group 6 contains a fairly large number of feminine nouns whose nominative singular ending is *-i* and whose oblique singular ending is *-iya* (the historical *-a* is added to the nominative stem), which is usually contracted to *-ya*. The plural formations equally integrate the singular nominative ending, giving nominative plural *-iye* and contracted oblique plural *-yan-*. The group contains inherited animate nouns that have counterpart masculine nouns in *-a*, or in some cases in a consonant: *šōni* ‘girl’, *protkili* ‘Jewess’, *kaži* ‘non-Gypsy woman’, *tāti* ‘Arab woman’, *qrari* ‘Bedouin woman’, *dadi* ‘grandmother’, *māmi* ‘aunt (paternal)’, *xāli* ‘aunt (maternal)’. Other inherited (pre-Arabic) nouns belonging to the group include *kuri* ‘house’, *siri* ‘head’, *lāši* ‘girl’, *gori* ‘horse’, *brari* ‘cat’, *pari* ‘water’, *kapi* ‘door’, *kali* ‘goat’. The predication marker singular is *-ik*: *ihī kurik tillik* ‘this is a big house’.

Group 7 consists of feminine nouns carrying the nominative derivation ending *-iya*. The oblique formation is *-iyē*, and plural forms are nominative *-iye* and oblique *-iyan*. Note that there is no contraction here, unlike Group 6, indicating the segmental stability of *-iy(a)* as a nominal derivation marker. The group contains foremostly inherited vocabulary, usually feminine counterparts to masculines in a consonantal stem: *dōmiya* ‘Dom woman’, *ktūriya* ‘Christian woman’. Note that some nouns in this group double forms belonging to Group 6: *tātiya* ‘Arab woman’, *protkiliya* ‘Jewish woman’. The singular predication marker is *-iyēk*: *dadyom dōmiyēk* ‘my grandmother is a Dom woman’.

Group 8 are feminine nouns whose nominative singular ending is *-a* and oblique singular *-ē*. The majority of items in this class are feminine Arabic loans: *lamba* ‘lantern’, *ṭawla* ‘table’, *sēfa* ‘hour’, *sūra* ‘picture’, *šažara* ‘tree’, *ḥāra* ‘neighbourhood’, *riḥla* ‘journey’, *kahraba* ‘electricity’, *ḍbiḥa* ‘slaughtered animal’. The group also includes nouns whose Arabic nominal ending is *-iyya*, as well as other feminine nouns where the final *-a* is often interchangeable with *-e* in the Palestinian Arabic dialect of Jerusalem: *ḥafla* ‘party’, *maḥkame* ‘court’, *baladiyya* ‘municipality’, *ḥanafiyye* ‘tap’. Feminine Arabic place

names in *-a* also belong to this class: *yāfa* ‘Jaffa’, *ḥayfa* ‘Haifa’ The singular predication marker is *-ēk*: *ihī lambēk* ‘this is a lantern’.

Group 9 contains a small number of feminine nouns – *džuwir* ‘woman’, *ūyar* ‘town’ – that behave much like the masculine nouns of Group 4. In fact, if nominal gender were to be considered in the classification only when it has overt structural manifestation on the noun itself and not in relation to agreement patterns, then one could easily accommodate nouns of groups 4 and 9 in just one single declension class, containing nouns of both genders. As in Group 4, nouns of Group 9 take an independent oblique or direct object marker in *-ī*, but Layer II markers attach directly to the nominative stem without an oblique base:

(174) *lah-ed-om* *džuwir-ī*
see-PAST-1SG woman-OBL.F
‘I saw the woman’

(175) *š-ird-om* *džuwir-ka*
say-PAST-1SG woman-DAT
‘I said to the woman’

Finally, Group 10 is a peripheral class that contains exclusively feminine place names ending in a consonant. Direct object forms are not attested for any of these place names (nor do they form plurals), but their characteristic feature is the insertion of a stressed segment *-ā-* as an oblique marker mediating between the name and Layer II endings:

(176) *bašdī-s* *bi džumʕ-ak* *er-a* *boy-om*
after-3SG.OBL in week-INDEF come.PAST-M father-1SG
gēna min quds-a-ki *er-a*
again from Jerusalem-OBL.F-ABL come.PAST-M
šamman-a-ta
Amman-OBL.F-DAT
‘And two weeks later my father came back from Jerusalem to Amman.’

(177) *ū ašti wēn-ma-kān ašti šammman-a-ma*
and there.is wherever there.is Amman-OBL.F-LOC
dōm-ēni, ašti yazzē-ma dōm-ēni,
Dom-PRED.PL there.is Gaza-OBL.F-LOC Dom-PRED.PL
ašti bil-ma kān/ bi-šariš-a-ma ašti
there.is in wherever in-AI Arish-OBL.F-LOC there.is
dōm-ēni, mašr-a-ma, wēn-ma dž-āk
Dom-PRED.PL Egypt-OBL.F-LOC wherever go-2SG

lak-ēk *dōm-ēni*, *šām-a-ma* *ašti*
 see-2SG Dom-PRED.PL AlSham-OBL.F-LOC there.is
dōm-ēni, *libnān-a-ma* *dōm-ēni*, *ū*
 Dom-PRED.PL Lebanon-OBL.F-LOC Dom-PRED.PL and
ašti *dōm-ēni* *quds-a-ma*, *ašti*
 there.is Dom-PRED.PL Jerusalem-OBL.F-LOC there.is
dōm-ēni *bi irān-a-ma*. *bērūt-a-ma*.
 Dom-PRED.PL in Iran-OBL.F-LOC Beirut-OBL.F-LOC

‘And everywhere there are Dom in Amman, there are Dom in Gaza, there are everywhere/ there are Dom in Al-Arish, in Egypt, wherever you go you find Dom, in Al-Sham there are Dom, in Lebanon, and there are Dom in Jerusalem, there are Dom in Iran, in Beirut.’

- (178) *ū* *bašdēn* *wēnma* *ž-āk*, *yašni* *z-āk*
 and then wherever go-2SG PART go-2SG
šām-a-ka, *sūrīy-a-ka*, *ž-āk*
 Sham-OBL.F-DAT Syria-OBL.F-DAT go-2SG
libnān-a-ka, *lak-ēk* *dōm-ēni* *bol*
 Lebanon-OBL.F-DAT see-2SG Dom-PRED.PL much
 ‘Wherever you go, if you go to al-Sham, to Syria, to Lebanon, you find many Dom.’

This inflection strategy appears to be productive and thus applicable to any place name, e.g. *šīrāqata* ‘to Iraq’, *qudsata* ‘to Jerusalem’, *ḥalabaki* ‘from Aleppo’, including in some cases to place names that end in a vowel: *ram’allama* ‘in Ramalla’. Exceptional cases are *liddita* ‘to Lydda’ and *talabibita* ‘to Tel Aviv’, where the same principle applies, but where the oblique segment consists of the vowel *-i-* rather than *-a-*. In both these cases it appears that we are dealing with an assimilation to the vowel segment of the preceding, final stem syllable, which is /i/. The rule is not generally one of vowel reduplication, however; thus *qudsata* ‘to Jerusalem’, *bērūtama* ‘in Beirut’. There seem to be only two vowel variants of the oblique affix, a front one and a back one. A number of place names fluctuate between Group 10 and Group 8 (loan feminines in *-a*). Thus we find for *faransa* ‘France’ an indirect object *min faransēki* ‘from France’, but also *min faransáki* as well as *min faransayēki*.

There are a few peripheral declension patterns. The word *zara* ‘child’ (of Kurdish origin *zaro*, ‘boy’) seemingly assimilates to Group 2 of masculine (animate) nouns in *-a*, but its oblique form is *zares*. The plural formation is also irregular, showing modification to the lexical stem: *zirte* ‘children’, oblique *zirtan*. Somewhat related is the inherited word *bar* ‘brother’, for which the oblique form is *bares*. The plural, however, is regular: *bare* ‘brothers’, oblique *baran*. The word *ple* ‘money’ exists only as a plural formation (oblique

plan); it derives from Persian *pol*, for which the Domari plural will have been **pol-e*, giving through syllable contraction *ple*. One finds occasional fluctuations between classes for some words, though this is the exception. Thus we find *min komirki* ‘from/of coal’ (nominative *komir*, or Turkish origin), following Group 4 patterns, alongside *min komraski*, which follows Group 1. Similar variation is attested for the Arabic loan *ḥašiš* ‘grass’: *ḥašišasma* ‘on the grass’ alongside *ḥašišma*, and *šindom ḥašišas* ‘I cut the grass’ alongside *šindom ḥašiši*. For the Arabic loan *kursi* ‘chair’, we find *kursiyasta* ‘on the chair’, but also *kursata* as well as *kursita*. Proper names are also often assigned spontaneous oblique formations, inspired by the gender-relevant inflection patterns:

(179) *yašni ama akbar min nadžw-a-ki di wars*
 PART I older from Najwa-OB.F-ABL two year
 ‘I mean, I’m two years older than Najwa [female name].’

(180) *kam-k-ed-om šind hay-ki ihi*
 work-VTR-PAST-1SG at PART-ABL this.F
ester-ē-ki
 Esther-OBL.F-ABL
 ‘I worked for this one, Esther [female name].’

(181) *ama š-am-i maš mūsa-yes-ki*
 I speak-1SG-PRG with Musa-OBL.M-ABL
 ‘I am talking to Musa [male name].’

(182) *ama dž-am-i ūyar-ka maš mūs-as-ki*
 I go-1SG-PRG town-DAT with Musa-OBL.M-ABL
 ‘I am going to town with Musa [male name].’

4.3.3. Functions of Layer I case endings

Layer I case inflection generally encodes the opposition between nouns in subject and direct object role. These correspond to nominative and independent oblique (i.e. an oblique ending that is not accompanied by Layer II markers) respectively, the latter functioning as an accusative. Citation forms of the noun are nominative, but usually appear with a predicative ending, so that only the underlying nominative inflectional ending can be detected (thus *zarēk* ‘boy’ to nominative *zara*, *kurik* ‘house’ to nominative *kuri*, *waṭi* ‘stone’ to nominative *waṭ*).

Nominative marking allows us to identify nouns in the subject role independently of their position in the utterance and often unguided by the

semantics of the nominal participants (as there is more than one semantic candidate for subject):

- (183) *ehe dōm-e raw-ard-e min dary-osan-ki*
 these.PL Dom-PL travel-PAST-3PL from place-3PL-ABL
 ‘Those Doms left their place (of temporary residence).’
- (184) *bī-r-e portkīl-an-ki dōm-e*
 fear-PAST-3PL Jew-OBL.PL-ABL Dom-PL
 ‘The Doms were afraid of the Jews.’

The independent oblique – oblique marking that is unaccompanied by Layer II markers – indicates the definite or familiar direct object:

- (185) *t-ird-a man-as*
 put-PAST-M bread-OBL.M
 ‘He put down the bread’
- (186) *ama qōl-am-i šubbāk-i*
 I open-1SG-PRG window-OBL.M
 ‘I am opening the window’
- (187) *kol-d-om kapy-a*
 open-PAST-1SG door-OBL.F
 ‘I opened the door’

Independent Layer I oblique marking allows differentiation between different arguments of the verb, similarly releasing the direct object from any dependency on a fixed position within the utterance. Note the direct object *šnōṭas* ‘dog’ that follows the verb in (188), the direct object *qayīšī* ‘food’ in the final position of the utterance in (189), and the direct object *qraras* ‘the Bedouin’ in the initial position in (190):

- (188) *lak-ed-e šnōṭ-as mar-as-s-i dabīṯ-i*
 see-PAST-3PL dog-OBL.M kill-3SG-3SG-PRG hyena-PRED.SG
 ‘They saw the dog being killed by a hyena.’
- (189) *pandži dē-r-i zer-tan-ke qayīš-i*
 3SG give-3SG-PRG boy-OBL.PL-BEN food-OBL.M
 ‘She gives the food to the children.’
- (190) *aha qrar-as putr-os aha*
 this.M Bedouin-OBL.M son-3SG this.M
šēx-as-ki t-ird-ed-is sidžin-ma
 Sheikh-OBL.M-ABL put-PAST-3PL-3SG.OBL prison-LOC
 ‘They put this Bedouin, the Sheikh’s son, in prison.’

In the above examples, the independent oblique accompanies direct objects that are contextually familiar or retrievable and hence can be regarded as definite. The contextual retrievability of an identified direct object entity is a condition for Layer I independent oblique marking. There are various ways in which such retrievability can be achieved. Apart from situative deixis, as in the examples with ‘door’ and ‘window’ above, the independent oblique can indicate inherent familiarity of proper names:

- (191) *gar-om* *ūyar-ta* *lak-am* *mūṣay-es*
 go.PAST-1SG town-DAT see-1SG.SUBJ Musa-OBL.M
 ‘I went to town to visit Musa.’

Syntactic constructions such as relative clauses may contain clarification of unknown entities, allowing them to appear as a definite direct object even in the absence of deictic reference or contextual background:

- (192) *mar-d-a* *qrar-as* *illi* *mar-d-a*
 kill-PAST-M Bedouin-OBL.M REL kill-PAST-M
bōy-is
 father-3SG.OBL
 ‘He killed the Bedouin who killed his father.’

Alternatively, and probably most frequently in narrative discourse, familiarity with an entity is established at the discourse level, allowing its promotion to a definite direct object marked out by Layer I independent oblique (*portkīliyē* ‘the Jewish woman’):

- (193) a. *ašti* *ik-ak* *portkīliy-ēk* *wēs-r-ik*
 there.is one-INDEF Jew.F-PRED.SG sit-PAST-PRED.SG
ihi *balakōn-ē-ma* *ū* *min-d-ik*
 this.F balcony-OBL.F-LOC and hold-PAST-PRED.SG
aha *šūd-as* *ū* *dandīn-k-ar-i* *atnī-s*
 this.M Oud-OBL.M and play-VTR-3SG-PRG on-3SG
 b. *aha* *džamīl* *l-šāš,* *lak-ed-a* *ihi*
 this.M Jamil 1-Aas see-PAST-M this.F
portkīliy-ē *fēmn-ar-i* *aha* *šūd-as-ta*
 Jew.F-OBL.F play-3SG-PRG this.M Oud-OBL.M-DAT
 a. ‘There is a Jewish woman sitting on the balcony holding the oud and playing it.
 b. Jamil 1-Aas saw the Jewish woman playing the oud.’

When familiarity with an entity is given, then an attribute can also carry oblique case and serve as a definite direct object, as in *dīnan* ‘the two’:

- (194) *bardo aha qrara yaʕni baʕd m-r-i*
 also this.M Bedouin PART after die-PAST-F
ihī šōnī gēna mišta-h-r-a wi-m-r-a
 this.F girl further ill-VTR-PAST.M and-die-PAST-M
ū dfin-k-ad-e dīn-an maʕbaʕd
 and bury-VTR-PAST-3PL two-OBL.PL together
 ‘And then, after the girl died, the Bedouin also fell ill and died and they buried the two of them together.’

An entity may be regarded as familiar or retrievable and so qualify for independent oblique marking when it is associated with specialised information, even if it has not been established overtly or explicitly in the immediate contextual environment. On the other hand, indefinite reference that is open-ended (does not limit the set of referents through any specialised information or identification with an aforementioned referent) will not receive independent oblique marking even if it appears in the syntactic-semantic role of a direct object. Compare the direct objects *dakātran* ‘doctors’ (with independent oblique) and *maʕe* ‘people’ (in the nominative, i.e. with no oblique marking) in the two following utterance, with rather similar environments:

- (195) *aha qrara šēx, aha boy-os*
 this.M Bedouin Sheikh this.M father-3SG
šōn-as-ki, nan-ar-i dakātr-an
 boy-OBL.M-ABL bring-3SG-PRG doctors-OBL.PL
inni ʕayyib-kar-ad aha šōn-as
 COMP cure-VTR-3PL.SUBJ this.M boy-OBL.M
 ‘The Bedouin Sheikh, the boy’s father, brings in doctors to cure the son.’
- (196) *aha qrara boy-os šōn-as-ki,*
 this.M Bedouin father-3SG boy-OBL.M-ABL
šār nē-r-i maʕe
 begin.PAST.3SG.M send-3SG-PRG people-PL
dawwir-kar-ad putro-st-a
 look.for-VTR-3PL.SUBJ son-3SG-DAT
 ‘The Bedouin, the boy’s father boy, began to send people to look for his son.’

Exceptionally, we find oblique marking on head nouns in isolated, elicited phrases, where the head noun represents a semantic patient. No comparable examples were found in connected speech:

(197) *man-as* *illi* *t-or-im* *iyyā-h*
bread-OBL.M REL give-2SG-1SG.OBL OBJ-M
‘the bread that you gave me’

(198) *pl-an* *illi* *t-or-san* *ama-ke*
money-OBL.PL REL give-2SG-3SG 1SG-BEN
‘the money that you gave me’

4.3.4. The Vocative

A marginal component of the nominal case system in Domari is the vocative case. Quite like the Romani vocative, the Domari vocative appears to be a rather late development, that is, not a structure that is directly inherited from Middle Indo-Aryan or even from the early, transitional phase into New Indo-Aryan. The synthetic vocative takes on the form of a stressed suffix *-a* that is attached to selected consonantal stems of both genders in the singular only: *māma!* ‘uncle (paternal)!', *xāla!* ‘uncle (maternal)!', *bāda!* ‘grandfather!', *bara!* ‘brother!', *bera!* ‘sister!'. The origin of the suffix may be in a postposed deictic form **ha*. Plural forms as well as additional nouns can take the more productive, preposed Arabic vocative particle *ya*: *ya dadi!* ‘grandmother!', *ya zara!* ‘child!', *ya manis!* ‘man!', *ya bare!* ‘brothers!', *ya bene!* ‘sisters!', *ya lāši!* ‘girl!' (see also Macalister 1914: 11).

4.3.5. Forms and functions of Layer II case endings

As in the other New Indo-Aryan languages, Domari Layer II case markers derive from Middle Indo-Aryan postposed local relations expressions. While in many modern Indo-Aryan languages the set consists of enclitic forms whose position is generally adjacent to the noun phrase, but not necessarily to the noun itself, in both Domari and Romani Layer II markers have become a set of agglutinating case endings that are inseparable from the noun. Each marker is specialised for a range of meanings that categorises a set of relations between the agent, experiencer or undergoer of an activity and other participants (verb arguments) in that activity. An overview of Layer II markers in Domari is provided in Tables 27–28.

Table 27. Layer II markers (singular nouns) (with Layer I in shaded areas)

	Masculine Sg.	Feminine Sg.	
Nominative	<i>šōna</i>	<i>šōni</i>	‘boy/girl’
Oblique	<i>šōn-as</i>	<i>šōny-a</i>	‘boy/girl (Direct Object)’
Dative	<i>šōn-as-ta/-ka</i>	<i>šōny-a-ta/-ka</i>	‘about the boy/girl’
Locative	<i>šōn-as-ma</i>	<i>šōny-a-ma</i>	‘on the boy/girl’
Benefactive	<i>šōn-as-ke</i>	<i>šōny-a-ke</i>	‘for the boy/girl’
Ablative	<i>šōn-as-ki</i>	<i>šōny-a-ki</i>	‘from the boy/girl’
Sociative	<i>šōn-as-san</i>	<i>šōny-a-san</i>	‘with the boy/girl’

Table 28. Layer II markers (with Layer I in shaded areas)

	Masculine Pl.	Feminine Pl.	
Nominative	<i>šōne</i>	<i>šōny-e</i>	‘boys/girls’
Oblique	<i>šōn-an</i>	<i>šōny-an</i>	‘boys/girls (Direct Object)’
Dative	<i>šōn-an-ta/-ka</i>	<i>šōny-an-ta/-ka</i>	‘about the boys/girls’
Locative	<i>šōn-an-ma</i>	<i>šōny-an-ma</i>	‘on the boys/girls’
Benefactive	<i>šōn-an-ke</i>	<i>šōny-an-ke</i>	‘for the boys/girls’
Ablative	<i>šōn-an-ki</i>	<i>šōny-an-ki</i>	‘from the boys/girls’
Sociative	<i>šōn-an-san</i>	<i>šōny-an-san</i>	‘with the boys/girls’

Layer II markers follow the oblique ending. They therefore attach to a different stem base for each and every declension class. Since plural formation is uniform in Layer I, Layer II marking in the plural is also uniform. The markers themselves do not change, however. Domari is conservative in comparison with Romani in that it does not show partial phonological assimilation of Layer II consonantal segments to the preceding segment (cf. Romani *manušeske* ‘for the man’, *manušenge* ‘for the people’; but Domari *mansaska* ‘for the man’ and *mansanka* ‘for the people’).

In terms of the overall stock of forms, compared with Romani, Domari is conservative in maintaining the Locative marker *-ma* (cf. Hindi *-mē*), which in Romani appears to have merged with the Dative (allative) marker **-ta* (Romani *-te*). In contrast to both Hindi and Romani, Domari does not show adjectival genitive Layer II markers with Suffixaufnahme (agreement with both head and modifier). It seems to have re-interpreted the original genitive marker in **-k-* as a general ablative/prepositional case marker (*min kuryimki* ‘from my house’, *maš dirimki* ‘with my daughter’). Romani has a specialised ablative marker *-tar* indicating source, while in most Romani dialects it is the locative marker *-te* that takes on the function of a general prepositional case (Romani *mande* ‘with me/ at mine’, *pala mande* ‘behind me’). The Domari Benefactive case *-ke* and the Sociative *-san* appear to have the same origins and similar functions as they do in Romani (*-ke* and *-sa*).

Herin (2012) confirms the same set of Layer II markers for the Domari variety of Aleppo, and reports in addition on a form *-va*, which he calls “versative” (with the meaning ‘towards’, ‘in the direction of’). This latter form, recorded both in Aleppo and in Beirut, seems not to be attested with actual nouns, however. It is found only with the interrogative ‘where’ (in the sense of ‘where to’) and with temporal and local expressions. The limited distribution and the absence of attestation of *-va* with nouns calls into question its place on the paradigm of Layer II markers. It is more likely that this is a borrowing of the Kurdish postposition *ve*, which has similar semantic functions.

The set of Layer II markers in Jerusalem Domari shows some volatility. Firstly, there is general competition at the level of individual expressions between inherited case marking and Arabic expressions of local relations, which may accompany Arabic lexicon. The carry-over of Arabic relational expressions into the inventory of inherited vocabulary is found with Arabic *maʕ* ‘with’, which many speakers use to accompany, or to replace the Layer II Sociative marker *-san* (thus *maʕ dʒuwrisan* ‘with the woman’, but *maʕ ʃāhbēmki* ‘with my friends’). The Ablative marker *-ki* is equally accompanied in most instances by the Arabic preposition *min* (*min kuryaki* ‘from the house’), and is otherwise used with other prepositions, bleached of its individual semantics, as a generic prepositional case. Finally, some speakers replace the Dative marker *-ta* by a form in *-ka*, which appears to be a contamination of Dative *-ta* and Benefactive *-ke*. The functions of individual Layer II markers are discussed below.

4.3.5.1. Dative

The Dative in *-ta* (*-ka* for some speakers) generally expresses direction. It appears most commonly with the expression of the target of physical motion involving displacement of the subject or experiencer into a defined, demarcated space. This includes various forms of location, such as place-names, buildings, institutions, and so on:

- (199) *dʒa-n* *yaf-ē-ta*, *dʒa-n* *lidd-ī-ta*,
 go-1PL Jaffa-OBL.F-DAT go-1PL Lydda-OBL.F-DAT
dʒa-n *raml-ē-ta*.
 go-1PL Ramallah-OBL.F-DAT
 ‘We go to Jaffa, we go to Lydda, we go to Ramlah.’

- (200) *gar-om* *kam-as-ta*
 go.PAST-1SG work-OBL.M-DAT
 ‘I went to work.’

- (201) *bidd-ī dža-m kury-a-ta*
 want-1SG go-1SG.SUBJ house-OBL.F-DAT
 ‘I want to go home.’
- (202) *mūdīr ning-aw-id-os yurf-is-ta*
 director enter-CAUS-PAST-3SG room-3SG.OBL-DAT
prov-an-ki
 rehearsal-OBL.PL-DAT
 ‘The director took him into the rehearsal room.’
- (203) *dža-nd-i qahawē/ qahawīy-an-ta, džan-d-i*
 go-3PL-PRG café café-OBL.PL-DAT go-3PL-PRG
kury-an-ta, našy-and-i ū hada
 house-ONL.PL-DAT dance-3PL-PRG and PART
minšān lim-kar-ad
 in.order.to earn-VTR-3PL.SUBJ
 ‘They go to the café/ to the cafés, they go to the houses, they dance and so on in order to earn a living.’
- (204) *qabel sabʿa ū ššrīn wars mām-om putur*
 before seven and twenty year uncle-1SG son
yāsīr gar-a swēq-ē-ta štrī-k-ar
 Yassir go.PAST-M market-OBL.F-DAT buy-VTR-3SG.SUBJ
mana ū šaḥn-ak ḥummuš
 bread and plate-INDEF hummus
 ‘Twenty seven years ago my cousin Yassir went to the market to buy bread and a plate of hummus.’
- (205) *bidd-ī dža-m ḥaram-ka šalli-k-am.*
 want-1SG go-1SG.SUBJ Haram-DAT pray-VTR-1SG.SUBJ
 ‘I want to go to the Mosque to pray.’
- (206) *ben-os hey-ki la-ha-s-sāʿa mangiš-k-ar-i*
 sister-3SG PART-ABL to.this.day begging-VTR-3SG-PRG
yaʿni mangiš-k-ar-i, dž-ar-i
 PART begging-VTR-3SG-PRG go-3SG-PRG
dēy-an-ka, šīnd šarab ʿisrāʿīl
 village-OBL.PL-DAT at Arab Israel
 ‘What’s her name’s sister to this day continues to go begging I mean she goes begging, she goes to the villages, to the Israeli Arabs.’

Expression of location in smaller, contained spaces is a further, albeit less frequent usage of the Dative. Note that this may include movement and static location:

- (207) *lak-ed-om-s-i* *wēs-r-ēk* *kurs-a-ta*
 see-PAST-1SG-3SG-PRG sit-PAST-PRED.SG chair-OBL.F-DAT
 ‘I have seen him sitting on the chair.’
- (208) *t-ird-om* *kubay-ē* *ṭawl-ē-ṭa*
 put-PAST-1SG cup-OBL.F table-OBL.F-DAT
 ‘I put the cup on the table.’
- (209) *dīs-ak* *ihi* *lamba* *kuwī-r-i* *siry-is-ka*
 day-INDEF this.F lantern fall-PAST-F head-3SG.OBL-DAT
hay-ki *bar-im* *dīr-ki*
 this-ABL brother-1SG.OBL daughter-ABL
 ‘And one day the lantern fell on the head of what’s her name, my brother’s daughter.’

The target location identified by the Dative also consist of the property associated with persons:

- (210) *wara-k-ad-i* *ghāy* *ū* *yaṣni* *ū* *dža-d-i*
 dress-VTR-3PL-PRG good and PART and go-3PL-PRG
boṣ-os-an-ka *ṣayid-k-ad-i* *ū*
 father-3SG-OBL.PL-DAT celebrate-VTR-3PL-PRG and
par-ad-i *putr-ē-san.*
 take-3PL-PRG son-PL-3PL
 ‘They dress well and they go to their parents’ to celebrate and they take their sons.’

A further use of the Dative is to identify a physical location that is the target of bodily movement involving displacement of a secondary object by an agent:

- (211) *štar-d-om-is* *pišt-im-ta*
 lift-PAST-1SG-3SG.OBL back-1SG.OBL-DAT
 ‘I lifted it on my back.’
- (212) *ṣumur* *in-te-m-e’* *paty-a* *siry-im-ka*
 ever NEG-put-1SG-NEG scarf-OBL.F head-1SG.OBL-DAT
 ‘I never put the headscarf on my head.’
- (213) *štal-ar-a* *tanak-ē-s* *wasax-ki* *kitf-is-ta*
 lift-3SG-REM barrel-PL-3SG dirt-ABL shoulder-3SG.OBL-DAT
 ‘He carried barrels of rubbish on his shoulder.’

- (214) *t-ird-a* *man-as* *ū* *ṣaḥn-os* *ḥummuṣ-i*
 put-PAST-M bread-OBL.M and plate-3SG hummus-PRED.SG
bīt-as-ta
 ground-OBL.M-DAT
 'He put the bread and the plate of hummus on the ground.'

This same meaning of the Dative can also be identified in references to tools, instruments and domestic animals of various kinds:

- (215) *mamnūf-i* *xūl-š-ad* *gor-yan-ta*
 prohibited-PRED.SG ride-SUBJ-3PL horse-PL.OBL-DAT
 'They are not allowed to ride horses.'
- (216) *ṣazifk-and-i* *rabbab-ē-ta*
 play-3PL-PRG rabbab-OBL.F-DAT
 'They play the rabbab.'
- (217) *lak-ed-a* *ihi* *portkīliy-ē* *fēmn-ar-i* *aha*
 see-PAST-M this.F Jew.F-OBL.F strike-3SG-PRG this.M
šūd-as-ta
 oud-OBL.M-DAT
 'He saw this Jewish woman playing the oud.'
- (218) *ū* *xri-k-ad-a* *kart-as,* *lak-ed-a*
 and read-VTR-PAST-M card-OBL.M see-PAST-M
ihi *illi* *ktib-k-ad-i* *kart-as-ta*
 this.F REL write-VTR-PAST-F card-OBL.M
bay-os-i *mūdir-as-ki.*
 wife-3SG-PRED director-OBL.M-ABL
 'He read the card, he saw that the one who wrote on the card was the director's wife.'

Human beings can also figure as the target of physical movement associated with the Dative:

- (219) *wazaʕ-k-and-i* *ehe* *maṭ-an-ta* *illi*
 divide-VTR-3PL-PRG these.PL person-OB.PL REL
mawdžud-ni.
 present-PRED.PL
 'They distribute it among those people who are present.'
- (220) *nan-d-a* *farriq-k-ad-a* *giš*
 bring-PAST-M divide-VTR-PAST-REM all

dōm-an-ka *ehe* *ħram-an*
 Dom-OBL.PL-DAT these.PL blanket-OBL.PL
 ‘He brought and distributed these blankets to all the Dom.’

A substantial use of the Dative is in a manner that is metaphorical to physical movement, where the object is the target of an emotional, cognitive, vocal or other sensory activity:

- (221) *sn-ar-i* *dōm-an-ta*
 hear-3SG-PRG Dom-OBL.PL-DAT
 ‘He hears about the Dom.’
- (222) *ū* *šār-ū* *farrudž-h-ond-i* *ehe*
 and began.3PL watch-VITR-3PPL-PRG these.PL
raqqāšīn-an-ta
 dancer.PL-OBL.PL-DAT
 ‘And they started watching the dancers.’
- (223) *š-ird-om* *abu-s-ke* *putr-ē-m-ta*
 say-PAST-1SG to-3SG-BEN son-PL-1SG-DAT
 ‘I told him about my sons.’
- (224) *tšarraf-h-r-ēn* *bašd-ē-man-ta*
 meet-VITR-PAST-1PL REC-PL-1PL-DAT
 ‘We met one another.’
- (225) *dawwir-kar-ad-i* *putr-o-s-ta*
 search-LOAN.TR-3PL-PRES son-SG.NOM-3SG-DAT
 ‘They are looking for his son.’
- (226) *lagiška-d-e* *ehe* *raqqāš-an-ta*
 argue-PAST-3PL these.PL dancer-PL.OBL-DAT
 ‘They had an argument about those dancers.’
- (227) *kahind-or-i* *sēš-ē-ka*
 look-3SG-PRG watch-OBL.F-DAT
 ‘She is looking at the watch.’

An extension of the latter are activities that exercise control or power over a target:

- (228) *min* *waxt-as-ki* *boy-om* *ehr-a*
 from time-OBL.M-ABL father-1SG become.PAST-M
muxtār *dōm-an-ta*.
 head.man Dom-OBL.PL-DAT
 ‘From then on my father became the head man of the Dom.’

- (229) *wafaq-k-ad-a* *tašyīn-im-ta,* *muxtār.*
 agree-VTR-PAST-M appointment-1SG.OBL-DAT head.man
 ‘He agreed to my appointment as head man.’
- (230) *putr-os* *klēb-as-ki* *gar-a* *mar-d-a*
 son-3SG Kleb-OBL.M-ABL go.PAST-M kill-PAST-M
džassās-as *ū* *‘umur-k-ad-a* *šašīr-is-ta*
 Jassas-OBL.M and order-VTR-PAST-M tribe-3SG.OBL-DAT
žassās-as-ki *innī* *mamnūš-i* *qil-š-ad*
 Jassas-OBL.M COMP forbidden-PRED.SG ride-SUBJ-3PL
gory-an-ta
 horse-OBL.PL-DAT
 ‘Kleb’s son went and killed Jassas and he issued an order to Jassas’s tribe that they are not allowed to ride horses.’

Finally, the Dative can also express the object of emotions in metaphorical, idiomatic constructions:

- (231) *t-ird-i* *ky-is* *šāhb-is-ka* *ḥammām-ki*
 put-PAST-F eye-3SG.OBL owner-3SG.OBL-DAT bath-ABL
 ‘She became fond of [= she put her eye on] the manager of the bathhouse’.
- (232) *bass* *dōm* *illi* *mn-ēni* *giš*
 but Dom REL here-PRED.PL all
dayyaš-k-id-os-i *pēt-is-ka*
 lose-VTR-PAST-3SG-PRG stomach-3SG.OBL-DAT
 ‘But the Dom who are here waste all their money on food [= lose it all to the stomach].’
- (233) *mutr-am-i* *siry-ir-ka*
 urinate-1SG-PRG head-2SG.OBL-DAT
 ‘I despise you [= urinate on your head].’

It should be noted that the great majority of these usages of the Domari Dative, if not indeed all, correspond to uses of the Arabic preposition *ša(la)* ‘on, at, upon’. The following example is a nice illustration, as the use of the Arabic word *ḥsāb* ‘expense’ serves to replicate in Domari the Arabic expression *ša(la) ḥsāb* ‘at the expense of’, which is used in its original Arabic form in the first part of the utterance:

- (234) *itme* *bi* *isrā’il* *tšallim-h-os* *ša* *ḥsāb*
 you.PL in Israel learn-VTR-2PL at expense

dawl-ē-ki *eme tʃallim-h-on-i*
 government-OBL.F-ABL we learn-VITR-1PL-PRG
ħsāb-is-ka *džeb-oman-ki*
 expense-3SG.OBL-DAT pocket-1PL-ABL
 ‘You in Israel study at the expense of the state, we study at our own
 expense [= at the expense of our pocket].’

4.3.5.2. Locative

The Locative in *-ma* indicates containment within a location:

- (235) *šar-y-and-i* *kury-is-ma* *dōm-an-ki*
 hide-ITR-3PL-PRG house-3SG.OBL-LOC Dom-OBL.PL-ABL
 ‘They are hiding in the houses of the Doms.’
- (236) *boy-os* *kam-k-ar-a* *baladiy-ē-ma*
 father-3SG work-VTR-3SG-REM municipality-OBL.F-DAT
 ‘His father used to work at the municipality.’
- (237) *ašti* *ik-ak* *portkiliy-ēk* *wēs-r-ik*
 there.is one-INDEF Jew.F-PRED.SG sit-PAST-PRED.SG
ihi *balakōn-ē-ma*
 this.F balcony-OBL.F-LOC
 ‘There is a Jewish woman sitting on the balcony.’
- (238) *qol-d-e* *izāš-ak* *ramall-a-ma.*
 open-PAST-3PL radio.station-INDEF Ramallah-OBL.F-LOC
kam-k-ed-a *mindži-s* *aha džamīl l-šāš*
 work-VTR-PAST-M inside-3SG.OBL this.M Jamil l-Aas
izāš-ē-ma.
 radio.station-OBL.F-LOC
 ‘They opened a radio station in Ramallah. Jamil l-Aas worked in it,
 at the radio station.’
- (239) *di* *dīs* *pand-as-ma-hr-om-a*
 two day road-OBL.M-LOC-be -1SG-REM
 ‘I was on the road for two days.’

With place names, the Locative expresses a static relation, complementing the Dative, which expresses re-location to a destination:

- (240) *sanat* *sitte-ū-xamsīn* *qol-d-a* *izāš-ak*
 year six-and-fifty open-PAST-M radio.station-INDEF

ʕamman-a-ma, nqul-ah-r-a min
 Amman-OBL.F-LOC move-VITR-PAST-M from
ramall-a-ki ʕamman-a-ta.
 Ramallah-OBL.F-ABL Amman-OBL.F-DAT
 ‘In the year fifty-six he opened a radio station in Amman, and he moved from Ramallah to Amman.’

With other spatial descriptions, however, the Locative may also indicate the target of movement, provided the movement results in the containment of the subject that moves or the object that is being moved within the spatial domain of the target:

- (241) *nig-r-om kury-a-ma*
 enter-PAST-1SG house-OBL.F-LOC
 ‘I entered the house.’
- (242) *nan-d-a kart kaškot-ək, ū ktib-k-ad-a*
 bring-PAST-M card small-PRED.SG and write-VTR-PAST-M
atnī-s, ū t-ird-os-is aha
 on-3SG and put-PAST-3SG-3SG.OBL this.M
zarf-as-ma
 envelope-M.OBL-LOC
 ‘He brought a small card and he wrote on it, and he put it in the envelope.’
- (243) *kull usbūf yaʕni wēšt-ad-a di dīs taran dīs*
 every week PART sit-3PL-REM two day three day
hay-ma dēy-am-ma
 PART-LOC village-OBL.PL-LOC
 ‘Every week like they would sit like in the villages for two or three days.’
- (244) *er-e hindar ūyar-ma*
 come.PAST-3PL here town-LOC
 ‘They came here into the town.’
- (245) *par-as er-an ū e-ran ū*
 take-2PL.SUBJ these.OBL.PL and these.OBL.PL and
t-as-san ḥabis-ma.
 put-2PL.SUBJ prison-LOC
 ‘Take them and put them in prison.’
- (246) *par-d-os mēštī-m, lah-ed-om-is*
 take-PAST-3SG from-1SG see-PAST-1SG-3SG.OBL

xast-is-ma, š-am-i aha
 hand-3SG.OBL-LOC say-1SG-PRG this.M
ama-k-ēk aha xātim.
 1SG-BEN-PRED.SG this.M ring
 ‘She took it from me, I saw it in her hand, I say this is mine, that ring.’

The Locative can describe a target of an action performed through a body part or an instrument; once again the meaning associated with the Locative is physical containment or absorption of the action within the spatial limits of the target:

(247) *la t-am širy-a pēt-ir-ma*
 PART give-1SG.SUBJ knife-OBL.F stomach-2SG.OBL-LOC
ū kar-am-ir di šaqfa.
 and do-1SG.SUBJ-2SG two piece
 ‘I shall stick the knife in your stomach and cut you in two pieces.’

(248) *par-d-om waṭ-ak ū fē-r-om-is*
 take-PAST-1SG stone-INDEF and hit-PAST-1SG-3SG.OBL
siry-is-ma.
 head-3SG.OBL-LOC
 ‘I took a stone and hit him on the head.’

In a number of cases there are metaphorical extensions to this reading of spatial containment:

(249) *ū giš bīt-or ktib-k-ēs-i nām-is-ma*
 and all land-2SG write-VTR-2PL-PRG name-3SG.OBL-LOC
 ‘And you register all your land in her name.’

Expressions of time are similarly treated by analogy to spatial containment:

(250) *zaman-is-ma nohr-an-ki, ašti*
 time-3SG.OBL-LOC English-OBL.PL-ABL there.is
dōm-ēni kār-ū aw-and-a min
 DOM-PRED.PL was-3PL come-3PL-REM from
džūdž-a-ki.
 Egypt-OBL.F-ABL
 ‘During the times of the English there were Dom who used to come from Egypt.’

A separate function of the Locative is the expression of instrumental usages of an object:

- (251) *šār-ū fēr-and-i baṣḍ baṣḍ-ē-san*
 began-3PL hit-3PL-PRG REC REC-PL-3PL
waṭ-an-ma.
 stone-OBL.PL-LOC
 ‘They began to throw stones at one another.’
- (252) *ū fēr-d-os-im širy-a-ma/ pišt-im-ma*
 and hit-3SG-1SG.OBL knife-OBL.F-LOC back-1SG.OBL-LOC
yaṣni
 PART
 ‘He struck me with the knife in my back.’
- (253) *kān-ū dow-ad-a masalan quš-k-ad-a*
 was.3PL wash-3PL-REM for.example sweep-VTR-3PI-REM
kury-a pany-a-ma
 house-OBL.F water-OBL.F-LOC
 ‘They used to wash for example they would sweep the house with water.’
- (254) *qol ama-ke fall-ē minšān*
 open 1SG-BEN sack-OBL.F so.that
saṣid-k-am-ir ag-as-ma.
 help-VTR-1SG.SUBJ-2SG.OBL fire-OBL.M-LOC
 ‘Open the sack for me so that I can help you with the fire.’
- (255) *qayiš-i masī tan-d-e ab-us-ke*
 food-PRED.SG meat put-PAST-3PL for-3SG-BEN
qayiš-as-ma
 food-OBL.M-LOC
 ‘They gave him a meat dish as a meal.’
- (256) *kay-ma kallam-ōk atu? dōm-as-ma!*
 what-LOC speak-2SG you Dom-OBL.M-LOC
 ‘What are you speaking (in)? In Domari!’
- (257) *fēm-as-s-i rumuḥ-ma illa*
 hit-3SG-3SG-PRG spear-LOC direct
pišt-is-m-ēk
 back-3SG.OBL-LOC-PRED.SG
 ‘He hits him with the spear directly in his back.’

- (258) *eme skun-ahr-ēni adžar-ma*
 we live-VTR-PRED.PL rent-LOC
 ‘We live [in return for] rent.’

4.3.5.3. Benefactive

The Benefactive is the case of the recipient and beneficiary, usually the animate goal of an activity, often involving transfer of an object, or else a sensory action intended to be understood and taken on by the target. Typical verbs that control the Benefactive case are ‘to give’, ‘to bring’, ‘to say/tell’, ‘to show’, ‘to sell’, all of which allow and in some cases require both a direct object and a target:

- (259) *t-a boy-is-ke xamsin lira*
 gave.PAST-M father-3SG.OBL-BEN fifty pound
 ‘He gave my father fifty pounds.’
- (260) *t-om-is ple šadiq-im-ke*
 give.PAST-1SG-3SG.OBL money friend-1SG.OBL-BEN
 ‘I gave money to my friend.’
- (261) *š-ird-om day-im-ke*
 say-PAST-1SG mother-1SG.OBL-BEN
 ‘I said to my mother’
- (262) *ū xarrif-k-ad-a ab-us-ke kī*
 and speak-VTR-PAST-M for-3SG-BEN what
eh-r-a wāšī-s
 become-PAST-M with-3SG.OBL
 ‘And he told him what had happened to him.’
- (263) *nimer nan-d-a gēna dbiḥ-ak abu*
 Nimer bring-PAST-M again sheep-INDEF Abu
ḥasan-as-ke
 Hasan-OBL.M-BEN
 ‘Nimer brought Abu Hasan another sheep.’
- (264) *dfāḥ-kar-d-i mahr-ī boy-is-ke*
 pay-VTR-PAST-F bride.price-OBL.M father-3SG.OBL-BEN
 ‘She paid the bride price to her father.’
- (265) *nēr-d-a tmaliy-ak boy-im-ke*
 send-PAST-M soldier-INDEF father-1SG.OBL-BEN
 ‘He sent a soldier to my father.’

- (266) *tu qayiř putr-im-ke!*
 put food son-1SG.OBL-BEN
 ‘Serve food to my son!’

In addition, the Benefactive can appear with an open set of other activities from which the target can benefit:

- (267) *pandži qol-d-a ab-us-ke fall-ē*
 3SG open-PAST-M for-3SG-BEN sack-OBL.F
 ‘She opened the sack for him.’

- (268) *kar-d-e ama-ke řamaliy-ak ū*
 do-PAST-3PL 1SG-BEN operation-INDEF and
kil-d-om
 leave-PAST-1SG
 ‘They operated on me and I left.’

- (269) *par-d-a řmary-an, nan-d-osan*
 take-PAST-M chicken-OBL.PL bring-PAST-3PL
bar-is-ke
 brother-3SG.OBL-BEN
 ‘He took the chickens, he brought them to his brother.’

In some cases, the Benefactive identifies a person who is the destination of a physical movement. Encoded in the use of the Benefactive in such cases is the notion that the target benefits in some form from the movement, i.e. from the arrival of the actor or object that is being moved, or at the very least acts as an active recipient of the entity that has moved:

- (270) *ū eme gar-ēn řākm-as-ke*
 and we go.PAST-1PL governor-OBL.M-BEN
 ‘And we went to the governor.’

In a construction with *ařti* ‘there is’, the Benefactive encodes the possessor:

- (271) *kān ařti ab-us-ke di zar-e*
 was.3SG.M there.is for-3SG-BEN two child-PL
 ‘He had two children.’

- (272) *boy-im-ke kān ařti bol kam*
 father-1SG.OBL-BEN was.3SG.M there.is much work
 ‘My father had a lot of work.’

Further uses of the Benefactive which exploit its inherent meaning of a recipient that is affected by an action of transfer or movement, can be seen in the following, where it encodes the object of a transaction and the outcome of physical growth, respectively:

- (273) *dfaš-ka-d-e* *ḥākm-as-ke* *badāl*
 pay-VTR-PAST-PL governon-OBL.M-BEN instead
aha *šnōṭ-as-ke* *šašar* *lirāt*
 this.M dog-OBL.M-BEN ten pound.PL
 ‘They paid the governor ten pounds for the dog.’
- (274) *kil-d-a* *wāl* *ab-us-ke* *kš-os-ke*
 emerge-PAST-M hair for-3SG-BEN beard-3SG-BEN
 ‘He grew his hair to a beard.’

A variant form of the Benefactive marker is *-kera*, which appears to be older, though the presence of contracted *-ke* in other Domari varieties as well as in Romani suggest a prolonged co-existence of the variants *-ke* and *-kera* in the language, rather than an innovation from *-kera* directly to *-ke* in Jerusalem Domari:

- (275) *awwal* *lāšy-ak* *yanni-k-ad-i* *džuw-r-e*
 first girl-INDEF sing-VTR-3PL-PRG woman-PL
usbūš-ak, *lāšy-a-kera.*
 week-INDEF girl-OBL.F-BEN
 ‘A first girl [= who is born], the women sing for a week, for the girl.’
- (276) *ḥatta* *giš* *dōm-e/* *š-ird-om-is* *ab-ur-kera,*
 even all Dom-PL say-PAST-1SG-3SG.OBL for-2SG-BEN
dōm-e *min* *awwal* *giš* *hindari,* *ghāy-ni.*
 Dom-PL from first all here good-PRED.PL
 ‘And even all the Dom/ I told you this, the Dom were here from the beginning, they are good.’
- (277) *nan-d-a/* *fariq-k-ad-e* *giš*
 bring-PAST-M distribute-VTR-PAST-PL all
dōm-an-ka *ehe* *ḥram-an,*
 Dom-OBL.PL-DAT these.PL blanket-OBL.PL
nan-d-a *ḥram-ēni* *emin-kera*
 bring-PAST-M blanket-PRED.PL IPL-BEN
 ‘He brought/ they distributed these blankets among all the Dom, he brought us blankets.’

- (278) *ik-ak* *protkil-ēk,* *hayy* *dōm-i* *zayy/*
 one-INDEF Jew-PRED.SG PART Dom-PRED.SG like
gar-a *bara,* *š-ird-a* *ab-us-kera* *dōm-e-man*
 go.PAST outside say-PAST-M for-3SG-BEN Dom-3PL-1PL
hinēk *bizot-ēni* *ū* *mizot-ēni,*
 here poor-PRED.PL and REDUP-PRED.PL
 ‘Somebody, a Jewish woman, and this Dom person, like/ he went out
 and he told her that our Dom here are poor and all that.’

4.3.5.4. Ablative

The Ablative appears to be related historically to the genitive marker **-k-*, but its meaning has shifted to cover other functions. The term ‘ablative’ is justified based on the meaning of the affix when attached to a noun in isolation, where it normally indicates source or origin of movement or of emotional or sensory activity, as well as material source (texture):

- (279) *man-ad-m-e’* *kil-š-am* *kury-a-ki.*
 let-3PL-1SG-NEG emerge-SUBJ-1SG house-OBL.F-ABL
 ‘They wouldn’t allow me to leave the house.’
- (280) *sin-d-om* *min* *zar-es-ki*
 hear-PAST-1SG from boy-OBL.M-ABL
 ‘I heard from the boy.’
- (281) *yašni* *šar-y-an-e’* *bašd-ē-man-ki*
 PART hide-ITR-1PL-NEG REC-PL-1PL-ABL
 ‘We don’t hide from one another.’
- (282) *eme* *skun-ēn* *hindar* *kury-is-ma*
 we live-1PL here house-3SG.OBL-LOC
waṭ-an-ki
 stone-OBL.PL-ABL
 ‘We live here in stone houses.’

Embedded in a two-word structure, however, the Ablative covers a range of other functions. Closest to its original genitive meaning is the use of the Ablative to encode the possessor. Note that the contemporary possessive construction relies equally on the possessive morphology that is attached to the head, whereas the historical New Indo-Aryan genitive-possession construction will have relied primarily on the genitive marking of the possessor:

- (283) *adžar-os kury-a-ki miyye ū šašrīn*
 rent-3SG house-OBL.F-ABL hundred and twenty
dinār-i
 Dinar-PRED.SG
 ‘The house rent is one hundred and twenty dinars.’
- (284) *kān-at sūr-os boy-im-ki*
 was-3.SG.F picture-3SG father-1SG.OBL-ABL
šali-ka-r-ik kury-is-ma
 hang-VTR-PAST-PRED.SG house-3SG.OBL-LOC
yāsir-as-ki
 Yassir-OBL.M-ABL
 ‘My father’s picture was hanging in Yassir’s house.’
- (285) *dōm-ē-s ūyar-ki bikūn kam-kar-d-i,*
 DOM-PL-3SG town-ABL be.3SG.M work-VTR-3PL-PRG
mwazzafīn-ēni baladiy-ē-ma
 employees-PRED.PL municipality-LOC
 ‘The Dom of this town are all employed, they are municipality employees.’
- (286) *xāl-os dir-i payy-im-ki*
 uncle-3SG daughter-PRED.SG husband-1SG.OBL-ABL
 ‘[She is] the cousin [=uncle’s daughter] of my husband.’ = ‘my husband’s cousin’
- (287) *boy-os till-os-i dōm-an-ki.*
 father-3SG big-3SG-PRED.SG Dom-OBL.PL-ABL
 ‘His father is the leader of the Dom.’
- (288) *ayyām ’urduṛny-a-ki*
 day.PL Jordan-OBL.F-ABL
 ‘the days of Jordanian rule’

The genitive case of the possessor has the unique property of attributing the concept represented by the possessor wholesale to the object of possession, and thus being paired with another noun, which in turn may carry its own Layer II case ending. This can be seen in the following, where the object of possession is modified by Locative, while the possessor carries *-ki*:

- (289) *t-ird-a xast-os xast-is-ma*
 put-PAST-M hand-3SG hand-3SG.OBL-LOC
boy-im-ki
 father-1SG.OBL-ABL
 ‘He put his hand in my father’s hand.’

On this basis, the historical genitive-possessive construction can be drawn upon for contemporary expressions of local relations. Here, the local expressions *mandža* ‘inside’ and *čanč-* ‘next to’ are nominalised and treated as the object of possession, while the noun that provides the point of reference for the local relation assumes the form of a genitive-possessor:

- (290) *t-am-i* *bakr-ē* *ihnē*, *mandž-is-ma*
 give-1SG-PRG stick-OBL.F here inside-3SG.OBL-LOC
sayyar-ē-ki
 car-OBL.F-ABL
 ‘I put the stick inside the car.’

- (291) *wēs-r-om* *čanč-is-ma* *šibbāk-ki*
 sit-PAST-1SG next.to.3SG.OBL-LOC window-ABL
 ‘I sat near the window.’

The connection between possessor and source appears to be in the interpretation of the possessor as representing a quality that is transferred onto another referent. Thus, pertaining to a ‘house’ is an inherent property of the concept of ‘rent’ in the expression ‘house rent’; similarly, being of stone is a property of ‘houses’ in ‘stone houses’, and in this manner being of a specified origin is a property attributed to movement from a source in the ablative relation. This extension of meaning and distribution – one could speak of the grammaticalisation of the original (historical) genitive case – continues to cover local relations in general, with the original-genitive-now-Ablative serving as a general prepositional case in constructions with both inherited and Arabic expressions of local relations. No doubt, the use of *-ki* in expressions of local relations that are modelled on the genitive-possessive construction, as above, supports the extension of the marker to other local relations and thus facilitates its generalisation as a prepositional case-marker. Alongside the case of the possessor, the Ablative is probably used most often as the case of the nominal indirect object that is accompanied by a preposition (prepositional object):

- (292) *wēs-r-ēn-i* *axar* *hay-ki*, *sadžar-ēk-i*
 sit-PAST-1PL-PRG below PART-ABL tree-OBL.F-ABL
 ‘We sat under this tree.’

- (293) *kšal-d-om* *ihi* *kaly-a* *agir* *dukān-as-ki*
 pull-PAST-1SG this.F goat-OBL.F in.front shop-OBL.M-ABL
 ‘I pulled this goat in front of the shop.’

- (294) *ama xarrif-r-om maʕ šāḥb-im-ki*
 I speak-PAST-1SG with friend-1SG.OBL-ABL
 ‘I spoke with my friend’ (cf. Sociative *šāḥbim-san*)
- (295) *ama gar-om la kury-is-ki*
 I go.PAST-1SG to house-3SG.OBL-ABL
 ‘I went to his house.’ (cf. Dative *kuryis-ta*)
- (296) *ū pandži min bēṭlaḥm-a-ki*
 and 3SG from Bethlehem-OBL.F-ABL
 ‘And he is from Bethlehem.’
- (297) *aha šīd-osan ahamm ’iši šīnd*
 this.M holiday-3PL important.CMPV thing at
dōm-an-ki in-nabī mūša.
 Dom-OBL.PL-ABL DEF-Nabi Musa
 ‘This is their holiday, the most important thing for the Dom is Nabi-Musa.’
- (298) *eh-r-a feyiš bēn pōrtkīl-an-ki ū*
 become-PAST-M conflict between Jew-OBL.PL-ABL and
bēn muslimīn-an-ki.
 between Muslim-OBL.PL-ABL
 ‘A conflict started between the Jews and the Muslims.’

4.3.5.5. Sociative

The Sociative *-san* is a marginal case marker in the Domari variety of Jerusalem, having been almost entirely replaced by the Arabic preposition *maʕ* ‘with’ among the majority of speakers. It is used in a comitative function; all examples in the corpus are limited to its occurrence with the verb *š-* ‘to speak’:

- (299) *putr-ē-m š-ad-i ama-kera ki-k*
 son-PL-1SG speak-3PL-PRG 1SG-BEN what-PRED.SG
šw-ēk, ki-k šw-ēk day-ir-san?
 speak-2SG what-PRED.SG speak-2SG mother-2SG.OBL-SOC
 ‘My sons say to me how are you talking, how are you talking to your mother?’
- (300) *š-ird-om boy-im-san*
 speak-PAST-1SG father-1SG.OBL-SOC
 ‘I spoke with my father.’

4.4. Possessive morphology

Deictic and anaphoric possession (pronominal possession) is expressed in Domari through a series of consonantal person markers (see Table 29).

Table 29. Nouns with possessive markers: *bar* ‘brother’

	SG.Nom.	SG.Obl.	PL
1SG	<i>barom</i>	<i>barim-</i>	<i>barēm</i>
2SG	<i>baror</i>	<i>barir-</i>	<i>barēr</i>
3SG	<i>baros</i>	<i>baris-</i>	<i>barēs</i>
1PL	<i>baroman</i>	<i>baroman-</i>	<i>barēman</i>
2PL	<i>baroran</i>	<i>baroran-</i>	<i>barēran</i>
3PL	<i>barosan</i>	<i>barosan-</i>	<i>barēsan</i>

They are in principle identical with the set of markers used as object affixes on verbs and as person affixes on a series of local relations expressions, and they overlap in part – in the singular forms for the first and second persons – also with the set of subject concord markers used with past-tense (perfective stems):

- (301) *day-om, day-or*
‘my mother’, ‘your mother’
- (302) *day-im-ke, day-ir-ke*
‘for my mother’, ‘for your mother’
- (303) *lahedos-im, lahedos-ir*
‘he saw me’, ‘he saw you’
- (304) *wāšī-m, wāšī-r*
‘with me’, ‘with you’
- (305) *lahed-om-is, lahed-or-is*
‘I saw him, ‘you saw him’

As shown above, nominal possessive markers occupy the Layer I slot in the nominal case layout. They thus override, or rather incorporate, nominative and oblique case marking. Nominative possessive affixes – possessive affixes that accompany nouns in subject position – show a vowel *-o-* mediating between the noun stem and the consonantal marker or person that refers to the possessor, while oblique possessive affixes – those in direct and indirect object position, including those accompanied by Layer II markers – show a mediating vowel *-i-* (note that for the sake of simplicity, only oblique possessive markers are glossed OBL, while nominative markers are treated in the glossing as default):

- (306) *yāsir bar-om-i min day-im-ki*
 Yassir brother-1SG-PRED.SG from mother-1SG.OBL-ABL
ū dīb bar-om-i min bay-im-ki
 and Dib brother-1SG-PRED.SG from father-1SG.OBL-ABL
 ‘Yassir is my brother from my mother’s side, and Dib is my brother
 from my father’s side.’
- (307) *ama t-ird-om-i kury-is-ma*
 I put-PAST-1SG-PRG house-3SG.OBL-LOC
bar-om-ki
 brother-3SG-ABL
 ‘I live [=have settled in] my brother’s house.’
- (308) *zaman-is-ma nohr-an-ki*
 time-3SG.OBL-LOC red-OBL.PL-ABL
 ‘In the time of the British (rule)’
- (309) *štal-ar-a tanak-ē-s wasax-ki kitf-is-ta*
 lift-3SG-REM barrel-PL-3SG dirt-ABL shoulder-3SG.OBL-DAT
 ‘He carried barrels of rubbish on his shoulder.’
- (310) *ama xarrif-r-om maʕ sāḥb-im-ki*
 I speak-PAST-1SG with friend-1SG.OBL-ABL
 ‘I spoke with my friend.’

Case agreement rules on possessive markers are undergoing erosion and are subject to variation. In the plural, only a single form exists (*-oman*, *-oran*, *-osan*) irrespective of case.

- (311) *day-om min šammār-a-ki, mišš min*
 mother-1SG from Amman-OBL.F-ABL NEG from
šēl-oman-ki day-om
 family-1PL-ABL mother-1SG
 ‘My mother is from Amman, she is not from our family.’
- (312) *ehe dōm-e raw-ard-e min dary-osan-ki*
 these.PL Dom-PL travel-PAST-3PL from place-3PL-ABL
 ‘These Dom travelled from their location.’

In the singular, nominative forms can be found occasionally on nouns in oblique (object) role:

- (313) *nig-r-om kury-os-ta lak-ed-om*
 enter-PAST-1SG house-3SG-DAT see-PAST-1SG

man-as *ū* *hāda*
 bread-OBL.M and PART
 ‘I entered the house, I found the bread and so on.’

Plural objects of possession assimilate the plural ending *-e* into a long vowel *-ē-* preceding the consonantal possessive ending. Plural possessive forms are not sensitive to case and remain uniform (see Table 29):

(314) *ū* *in-man-ad-m-e'* *kil-š-am* *maʕ*
 and NEG-let-3SP-1SG-NEG exit-SUBJ-1SG with
šōny-an-ki, *maʕ* *šāhb-ē-m-ki,*
 girl-OBL.PL-ABL with friend-PL-1SG-ABL
 ‘And they wouldn’t let me go out with the girls, with my friends.’

(315) *ašti* *ik-ak-i* *kurdiy-ēk* *kān-at*
 there.is one-INDEF-PRED.SG Kurd.F-PRED.SG was.3SG.F
hnon, *min qarāib-ē-s-ki* *šōn-as-ki.*
 here from relative.PL-PL-3SG-ABL boy-OBL.M-ABL
 ‘There is a Kurdish girl who was here, from the boy’s relatives.’

(316) *šār-ū* *fēr-and-i* *baʕd* *baʕd-ē-san*
 began-3PL hit-3PL-PRG REC REC-PL-3PL
waʕ-ar-ma.
 stone-OBL.PL-LOC
 ‘They began to throw stones at one another.’

The origin of the consonantal person affixes that serve as possessive forms (as well as object, subject, and prepositional object marker) is in late Middle Indo-Aryan object pronouns, first person **m-*, second person **t-* (giving *-r-* in Domari through regular sound shift of dental to *-r-* in intervocalic position, cf. MIA *gata* ‘went’, Domari *gara*), and third person **s-*. The plural forms are a uniform extension for the respective singular forms, drawing on the form *-an*, which derives from a plural genitive ending in the MIA nominal case system (**-ānām*). The origin of the vowel case inflection marker that mediates between the noun stem and the person-possessive ending is less clear, but it could be in a 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 (thus **putur y-o me* ‘son REL.NOM me’ = ‘my son’, **putur y-o te* ‘thy son’, giving *putrom* ‘my son’, *putror* ‘your son’, etc.). Inalienable possession is manifested in Domari through the obligatory possessive marking of kinship terms and names for body parts: *dayom* ‘my mother’, *kyor* ‘your eye’, *baros* ‘her brother’, *kšos* ‘his beard’, *štēm* ‘my lips’, *xrom* ‘my heart’, *payēman* ‘our feet’, *putrēsan* ‘their sons’, and so on.

Chapter 5

Noun modifiers

5.1. Nominal possessives

5.1.1. The structure of the genitive-possessive construction

The Domari genitive-possessive construction combines possessive marking on the head (the object of possession) with Layer II Ablative marking on the modifier (the possessor). The 3SG possessive marker is generalised without showing number agreement with the possessor:

(1) *kury-os kažž-as-ki*
house-3SG man-OBL.M-ABL
'the man's house'

(2) *grawar-os dōm-an-ki*
chief-3SG dom-OBL.PL-ABL
'the leader of the Dom'

If the modifier (possessor) itself is marked for pronominal possession, then the pronominal possessive affix may, variably however, appear in the oblique form:

(3) *boy-os šādīq-im-ki*
father-3SG friend-1SG.OBL-ABL
'my friend's father'

but also

(4) *kury-os bar-om-ki*
house-3SG brother-1SG-ABL
'my brother's house'

The morphosyntactic pattern for possessive constructions in present-day Jerusalem Domari is thus this:

Head-PossSG + Modifier-ABL

The construction clearly resembles the genitive-possessive construction that is used for specificity in the Colloquial Arabic variety of Jerusalem:

- (5) Domari: *kury-os boy-im-ki*
house-3SG father-1SG.OBL-ABL
- Arabic: *bēt-o la-'abū-y*
house-3SG to-father-1SG
'my father's house'

The matching pivotal features of the two constructions are firstly the order of the two noun phrase constituents, head and modifier, and beyond that the nature of the morphological marking on each of them – possession in agreement with the modifier on the head, and a default indirect object marking on the modifier (albeit preposed in Arabic, postposed in Domari). This appears to be a younger construction in the language, created or propagated in recent generations as part of an advancing process of morphosyntactic convergence with Arabic. The genitive-possessive construction mentioned by Macalister (1914) has the layout

Modifier- \emptyset + Head- \emptyset :

- (6) *boy-im kuri*
father-1SG.BL house
'my father's house'

Note that both the order of elements differs, and there is no agreement with the modifier on the head, nor indirect object marking of the modifier-possessor. This construction appears to be prevalent also in the Domari varieties of Syria and Lebanon. It resembles in the order of constituents the general New Indo-Aryan construction, except that the latter usually shows adjectival agreement between the genitive marker on the modifier, and the head (Modifier-genitive-adj. Head- \emptyset), as in the following example from Romani:

- (7) Romani: *mir-e dad-es-k-o kher*
my-OBL father-OBL.M-GEN-M house
'my father's house'

Among the contiguous languages, Turkish, which is the source of only superficial lexical borrowings into Palestinian Domari, shows a similar Modifier-Head order, but with head-agreement with the modifier-possessor,

the traditional Arabic construction resembles the one that marks specificity of the modifier except that it lacks the morphological agreement marker on the head and the indirect object marking on the modifier, while Kurdish, also with an intensive historical impact on Domari, shows Head-Modifier order and an attributive particle attached to the Head:

- (8) Turkish: *baba-m ev-i*
 father-1SG house-3SG
- Arabic (traditional): *bēt 'abū-y*
 house father-1SG
- Kurdish (Kurmanji): *mal-a bav-ê min*
 house-ATTR.F father-ATTR.M 1SG.OBL
- Kurdish (Sorani): *maṭ-î bawḵ-im*
 house-ATTR father-1SG
 'my father's house'

Clearly, while the earlier history of Domari would allow us to expect Modifier-Head arrangement, as in Romani and other New Indo-Aryan languages, the pressure from the contact languages could be expected to lead to a switch in the order, toward a Head-Modifier structure. On the whole, the Modifier- \emptyset +Head- \emptyset construction as described by Macalister for Domari is rather marginal in our corpus, though some examples are found:

- (9) *ū xatra-k ū ama qaşṭōt-ik kār-ū*
 and time-INDEF and I small-PRED.SG was-3PL
yāsir ū boy-im kuri ḥarab-ēni
 Yassir and father-1SG.OBL house rival-PRED
 'And once when I was small, Yassir and my father's family had a dispute.'
- (10) *dīs-ak ihi lamba kuwī-r-i siry-is-ka*
 day-INDEF this.F lantern fall-PAST-F head-3SG.OBL-DAT
hay-ki bar-im dīr-ki
 this-ABL brother-1SG.OBL daughter-ABL
 'And one day the lantern fell on the head of what's her name, my brother's daughter.'
- (11) *aha šōna šār row-ar-i atrī-san,*
 this.M boy began.M cry-3SG-PRG about-3PL
man-d-a boy-is kury-a ū
 leave-PAST-M father-3SG.OBL house-OBL.F and

gar-a *t/ ras-r-a* *dōm-an*.
 go.PAST-M return-PAST-M Dom-OBL.PL
 ‘The boy started to cry, he left his father’s house and he went/ he went back to the Dom.’

A variant of the same construction, also very marginal in the corpus, has the structure Modifier-OBL + Head- \emptyset :

(12) *illa* *kuwī-r-i* *yāsir-as* *ḍīr*
 except fall-PAST-F Yassir-OBL.M daughter
 ‘Except that it fell on Yassir’s daughter.’

(13) *kull* *ma* *nik-š-ari*, *zrit-ēni*
 every COMP descend-SUBJ-3SG child-PRED.PL
kuštot-ēni: *yallah*, *mangiš-ahr-esi*, *dōm-ahr-esi*
 small-PRED.PL PART beggar-be-2PL Dom-be-2PL
mangiš-hr-esi, *ū* *yulut-h-od-i* *dōm-an*
 beggar-be-2PL and insult-VITR-3PL-PRG Dom-OBL.PL
putr-an-ka
 son-OBL.PL-DAT
 ‘Every time he went out, the small children [say]: go, you are beggars, you are Gypsies, beggars, and they insult the Doms’ children.’

There are only very few occurrences of this construction in the corpus, yet enough for it to be considered as fully developed and not an ad hoc device used idiosyncratically. The use of the independent oblique as the case of the possessor may indeed reflect the very old historical function of this marker as a genitive case. Note that in Romani, the independent oblique is on the whole assigned similar distribution rules and functions as in Domari. But in Romani, the independent oblique is also the historical case of the possessor, which is continued in a larger number of varieties of the language (cf. Matras 2002: 85–87).

A further, analytical possessive construction is attested in the corpus and also mentioned by Macalister (1914). It involves the particle *kāk-*, which in principle might be regarded as a structural match to the Arabic possessive particle *tabaʕ*. Etymologically, the particle seems to be based on the interrogative element *k-* along with an historical genitive ending *-k-*. The particle is only used for pronominal possession, with possessive suffixes attaching to the particle as well as, alternatively, to the head noun:

- (14) *t-om-is* *giš* *pl-e-m* *kākī-m*
 take.PAST-1SG all money-PL-1SG POSS-1SG
 ‘I took all my money.’
- (15) *yōm-i* *nig-r-om* *wara-kar-d-om*
 day-INDEF enter-PAST-1SG wear-VTR-PAST-1SG
kiy-ak-ē-m. *ū* *par-d-om* *bakr-i*
 what-INDEF-PL-1SG and take-PAST-1SG stick-OBL.M
kāk-os.
 POSS-3SG
 ‘One day I went in, I put on my things, and I took his walking stick.’

The possessive particle can itself take on a pronominal function, representing in a plural form marked for the 3rd person possessive ‘items belonging to a third person’:

- (16) *kar-ad-i* *ek-ak* *kāk-ē-s* *xēl-as-ki,*
 make-3PL-PRG one-INDEF POSS-PL-3SG horse-OBL.M-ABL
kar-ad-i *kāk-ē-s* *qar-an-ki,* *pāndžan*
 make-3PL-PRG POSS-PL-3SG donkey-OBL.M-ABL they
ḥaddid-k-ad-i *šātīr-ni*
 metal-VTR-3PL-PRG industrious-PRED.PL
 ‘They make such things belonging to horses, they make things for donkeys, they are experienced metalworkers.’

5.1.2. Functions of the genitive-possessive construction

Among the most frequent usages of the possessive construction is the employment of the modifier to provide information on the material composition or the physical/spatial source or origin of the head:

- (17) *eme* *skun-ēn* *hindar* *kury-is-ma*
 we live-3PL here house-3SG.OBL-LOC
waṭ-an-ki
 stone-OBL.PL-ABL
 ‘We live here in stone houses.’
- (18) *masīy-os* *dawāy-ki*
 meat-3SG camel-ABL
 ‘camel meat’

- (19) *pī-r-om* *awwal* *šafta* *min* *qahw-ē-ki*,
 drink-PAST-1SG first sip from coffee-OBL.F-ABL
lak-ed-om *tašm-os* *qahw-ē-ki*
 see-PAST-1SG taste-3SG coffee-OBL.F-ABL
tyayyir-ah-r-i
 changed-VITR-PAST-F
 ‘I drink the first sip from the coffee, I found that its taste had changed.’
- (20) *dōm-ē-s* *yaf-ē-ki* *lamma* *kān*
 Dom-PL-3SG Jaffa-OBL.F-ABL when was.3SG.M
aw-and-a *ūyar-ta* *hindar*, *šuš-and-a* *šand*
 come-3PL-REM town-DAT here sleep-3PL-REM at
dōm-ē-man-ki *hindar* *ūyar-ma*.
 Dom-PL-1PL-ABL here town-LOC
 ‘When the Dom of Jaffa came here to Jerusalem, the used to stay with our Dom here in Jerusalem.’²⁴

Often, possessive constructions are used to display family genealogical relations:

- (21) *bād-os*, *xāl-os-i* *boy-im-ki*,
 grandfather-3SG uncle-3SG-PRED.SG father-1SG.OBL-ABL
ū *dady-os/* *māmy-os* *boy-is-ki*
 and grandmother-3SG aunt-3SG father-3SG.OBL-ABL
dady-om-i
 grandmother-1SG-PRED.SG
 ‘His grandfather is my father’s maternal uncle, and his grandmother/ his father’s paternal aunt is my grandmother.’
- (22) *day-os*, *dady-os* *mām-is*
 mother-3SG grandmother-3SG uncle-3SG.OBL
dīr-i *boy-im-ki*. *ama* *xāl-os*
 daughter-PRED.SG father-1SG.OBL-ABL. I uncle-3SG
er-a-ki. *xāl-os-i* *day-is-ki*
 this.F-OBL.F-ABL uncle-3SG-PRED.SG mother-3SG.OBL-ABL
 ‘Her mother, her grandmother is my father’s paternal female cousin. I am her maternal uncle. Her mother’s maternal uncle.’
- (23) *boy-os* *bikūn* *xāl-os-i*
 father-3SG is.3SG.M uncle-3SG-PRED.SG
boy-im-ki, *yašni* *bitkūn* *pandži*
 father-1SG.OBL-ABL PART is.3SG.F 3SG

dīr-os *xāl-im-ki*
 daughter-3SG uncle-1SG.OBL-ABL
 ‘Her father is my father’s maternal uncle, so she is my maternal female cousin.’

- (24) *aha* *qrara* *boy-os* *šōn-as-ki*,
 this.M Bedouin father-3SG boy-OBL.M-ABL
šār *nē-r-i* *maṭe*
 begin.PAST.3SG.M send-3SG-PRG people-PL
dawwir-kar-ad *putr-os-ta*
 look.for-VTR-3PL.SUBJ son-3SG-DAT
 ‘The Bedouin, the boy’s father boy, began to send people to look for his son.’

Not surprisingly, when discussing possession we find that the construction often shows a head that is described as a property of the modifier, in the sense that the modifier has ownership over it, or exerts a kind of power or control over the head, or is responsible for shaping it:

- (25) *er-e* *tmaliy-ē-s* *inglīziy-an-ki*
 come.PAST-3PL soldier-PL-3SG English-OBL.PL-ABL
 ‘The English soldiers [= soldiers of the English] arrived.’
- (26) *fēm-and-a* *inglīziy-an* *taxtax-k-ad-a* *ū*
 hit-3PL-REM English-OBL.PL shot-VTR-PAST-REM and
aw-ad-a *šary-ad-a* *kury-ē-s-ma*
 come-3PL-REM hide-3PL-REM house-PL-3SG-LOC
dōm-an-ki, *aw-ad-a* *inglīziy-e*
 Dom-OBLPL-ABL, come-3PL-REM English-PL
lak-ad-san-a *kury-ē-s-ma* *dōm-an-ki*
 find-PAST-3PL-REM house-PL-3SG-LOC Dom-OBLPL-ABL
 ‘They used to attack the English, they used to shoot and they used to come and hide in the houses of the Dom, so the English used to come and find them in the houses of the Dom.’
- (27) *šurūs-os* *dōm-an-ki* *šād-ik*
 wedding-3SG Dom-OBL.PL-ABL regular-PRED.SG
 ‘Dom weddings are normal.’
- (28) *gar-ēn* *skun-ēn* *hōš-as-ma*
 go.PAST-1PL live-1PL.SUBJ yard-OBL.M-LOC
muxtār-as-ki
 head.man-OBL.M-ABL
 ‘We went to live in the head man’s courtyard.’

The possessive construction sometimes represents a relationship whereby the head exercises a function – either practical or symbolic – in relation to the modifier:

- (29) *payy-os* *mudīr-os-i* *bank-as-ki*
 husband-3SG diector-3SG-PRED.SG bank-OBL.M-ABL
 ‘Her husband is a bank director.’
- (30) *ū* *par-d-a* *xitm-os* *muxtar-ē-ki*
 and take-PAST-M seal-3SG leadership-OBL.F-ABL
minšī-m
 from-1SG
 ‘And he took the leadership seal from me.’

In some instances, the possessive construction shows an Arabic head, with no possessive marking. Favourite candidates for this kind of structure are expressions of temporal and local relations that are taken over from Arabic, and which in conjunction with a genitive-possessive modifier provide an adverbial specification of a temporal or local semantic nature:

- (31) *’āyyām* *boy-oman-ki*
 day.PL father-1PL-ABL
 ‘in our father’s days’
- (32) *ama* *gar-om-i* *eh/* *nawaḥī* *qahw-ē-ki*
 I go.PAST-1SG-PRG surrounding café-OBL.F-ABL
ū *hada*
 and PART
 ‘I had gone eh/ around the café and so on.’

A construction emerges in these examples that might be seen as a blend between the Domari genitive-possessive construction, and the Arabic genitive attribution (*Idāfa*). The latter shows a similar order of elements, i.e. Head-Modifier, usually with no further morphological marking, and is thus used in Arabic in environments that are very similar to those in the above examples. This blend is, however, subject to variation, and one encounters just as frequently full integration of the very same Arabic expressions into the Domari genitive-possessive construction:

- (33) *gēna* *qabil* *ayyām-ē-san* *nahr-as-ki*,
 further before dayPL-PL-3PL English-OBL.M-ABL
kān-ū *giš* *dōm-e* *skun-ahr-end-a* *knēn?*
 was.3SG.M all Dom-PL live-VITR-3PL-REM where
 ‘Long before the days of the English, where did all the Dom used to live?’

A final remark on the genitive-possessive construction concerns what Macalister (1914: 14) attempted to identify as a Persian or Persian-type Izafe construction in *-i*. According to Macalister, this may take on two distinct forms: The plain Izafe consists merely of an insertion of the Izafe marker in-between the head and the determiner-possessor: *siri-i-manus* ‘the man’s head’. The second type is a contamination of the Izafe with the inflected genitive-possessive construction outlined above, namely *siryos-i-manusask*. As far as the first structure is concerned, I have been unable to find any trace of it whatsoever, and it is not clear whether it has since perished, or whether some kind of misinterpretation might be involved. As for the ‘contaminated’ structure, the data appear to be quite straightforward in suggesting that this has, in fact, little to do with a Persian (or rather, Sorani Kurdish; Persian has *-e*, Sorani has *-î*) Izafe structure. Instead we are dealing here in all likelihood with the predication marker that is attached to consonantal stems, namely *-i*. Consider first the following two examples:

- (34) *ihi kury-om-i*
 this.F house-1SG-PRED.SG
 ‘This is my house.’
- (35) *ihi kury-os-i boy-im-ki*
 this.F house-3SG-PRED.SG father-1SG.OBL-ABL
 ‘This is my father’s house.’

The singular predication marker *-i* has the same function and the same position in both examples, except that in the second example the noun to which it is attached is followed by a genitive-possessive modifier. The logic of the positioning of the predication marker between the head and modifier follows the logic of the predication, which binds together the topical entity – in these two cases the deictic reference ‘this’ – with the predicate noun ‘house’. The modifier appears as an external attribute to the predicate noun, it is not in itself part of the object of the predication. In this way, we can equally explain the appearance of *-i* in the following examples, repeated from the earlier part of this section:

- (36) *payy-os mudîr-os-i bank-as-ki*
 husband-3SG diector-3SG-PRED.SG bank-OBL.M-ABL
 ‘Her husband is a bank director.’
- (37) *boy-os bikûn xâl-os-i*
 father-3SG is.3SG.M uncle-3SG-PRED.SG
boy-im-ki
 father-1SG.OBL-ABL
 ‘Her father is my father’s maternal uncle.’

The segment *-i* following the head in some of the genitive-possessive constructions has therefore nothing to do with a Persian-type attribution, but rather with the role of the head noun in a presentative construction for which Domari employs predication markers, of which *-i* happens to be not just one of the frequent, but the one normally attached to consonantal stems.

5.2. Noun juxtaposition

A marginal strategy in Domari conversation is to make use of the juxtaposition of nouns as a way of attribution or semantic modification, without drawing on a genitive-possessive construction:

- (38) *arātin*, = *yaʕni fī-l-lēl*, = *aha šēx*
 at.night PART in-DEF-night this.M Sheikh
qrara šīr-d-a qrar-an-ke
 Bedouin speak-PAST-M Bedouin-OBL.PL-BEN
ḥawū-k-as giš dōm-an min hindar
 expel-VTR-2PL.SUBJ all Dom-OBL.PL from here
 ‘At night = that is, at night = the Bedouin Sheikh said to the Bedouins expel all the Dom from here.’
- (39) *tānī dīs aha šōna qrara, putr-os*
 next day this.M boy Bedouin son-3SG
šēx-as-ki, gar-a ta lak-ar
 Sheikh-OBL.M-ABL go.PAST-M COMP see-3SG.SUBJ
dōm-an ma lak-ed-os-san.
 Dom-OBL.PL NEG see-PAST-3SG-3PL
 ‘The next day the Bedouin boy, the Sheikh’s son, went to see the Dom but could not find them.’
- (40) *šōnī portkīliya xul-d-i bāb isbāt lak-ed-ī*
 girl Jewish.F descend-PAST-F gate Lions see-PAST-F
tmāliy-as aha nām-os abu slēman.
 soldier-OBL.M this.M name-3SG Abu Suleiman
 ‘The Jewish girl went down Lions Gate and met this policeman named Abu Suleiman.’

Note that in all examples of this usage, we find an attributive noun that is animate and which also belongs to the declension class that shows gender inflection in the nominative – *-a* for masculine singular in *qrara* ‘Bedouin’, and *-iya* for feminine singular in *portkīliya* ‘Jewish woman’. These nouns are thus related structurally, but also semantically, to adjectives, which potentially at least carry gender agreement and indicate an attribute that can be associated

with another nominal entity, in these cases ethnicity. Whether these properties of the nouns lend themselves to an employment in such makeshift attributive constructions, or whether the construction is in principle open to other noun combinations, cannot be said with certainty on the basis of just a handful of examples.

5.3. Demonstratives in attributive function

Domari demonstratives may appear as stand alone pronouns that refer to known, aforementioned or otherwise identifiable entities; or they may accompany nouns in attributive position. We deal here with the latter usage. Under the formal aspects of the attributive demonstratives we must consider first the obligatory presence of gender and number agreement with the head noun:

Table 30. Attributive forms of the demonstrative

M.SG	F.SG	PL
<i>aha/uhu</i>	<i>ihī</i>	<i>ehe</i>

As seen in Table 30 and the following examples, gender and number agreement is present with demonstratives, but there is no agreement for case:

- (41) *qrara aha šōna, mang-id-a ihī*
 Bedouin this.M boy ask-PAST-M this.F
domi-yē min boy-is-ki
 Dom-OBL.F from father-3SG.OBL-ABL
 ‘The Bedouin boy asked her father for the Dom girl’s hand.’
- (42) *šār qaft-ar-i min boy-os*
 began.M steal-3SG-PRG from father-3SG
kury-a-ki aha qrara nan-ar-i ihī
 house-OBL.F-ABL this.M Bedouin bring-3SG-PRG this.F
domiy-ē-ke ū drāri-k-ed-os-san ple
 Dom-OBL.F-BEN and fill-VTR-PAST-3SG-3PL money
 ‘The boy started to steal from his father’s household and to bring things to this Dom girl and to bestow her with money.’
- (43) *rḥud-k-ed-a ka/ aha boy-os aha*
 refuse-VTR-PAST-M this.M father-3SG this.M
šōn-as-ki.
 boy-OBL.M-ABL
 ‘The boy’s father refused.’

- (44) *ehe dōm-e illi awa-d-i min-l-awwal*
 these.PL Dom-PL REL come-3PL-PRG originally
ehe ḥaddad-ri ḥaddid-k-ad-i
 these.PL blacksmith-PRED.PL iron-VTR-3PL-PRG
 ‘These Dom who are arriving are originally blacksmiths, they are metalworkers.’
- (45) *qal itme bidd-kum raḥil-kar-as ama-ke*
 said you.PL want-2PL drive-VTR-2PL.SUBJ 1SG-BEN
ehe dōm-an ḥabs-kar-as-san
 these.PL Dom-OBL.PL arrest-VTR-2PL.SUBJ-3PL
 ‘He said you should drive these Dom away for me, arrest them.’
- (46) *mar-d-a aha bakr-as, ċin-d-a*
 kill-PAST-M this.M sheep-OBL.M cut-PAST-M
wirk-as
 thigh-OBL.M
 ‘He slaughtered the sheep and cut its thigh.’
- (47) *aha qrara šēx, aha boy-os*
 this.M Bedouin Sheikh this.M father-3SG
šōn-as-ki, nan-ar-i dakātr-an
 boy-OBL.M-ABL bring-3SG-PRG doctors-OBL.PL
inni ṭayyib-kar-ad aha šōn-as
 COMP cure-VTR-3PL.SUBJ this.M boy-OBL.M
 ‘The Bedouin Sheikh, the boy’s father, brings in doctors to cure the son.’
- (48) *wis-law-id-os ʔa aha kurs-as-ta,*
 sit-CAUS-PAST-3SG on this.M chair-OBL.M-DAT
sallim-k-ed-os aha ʔūd-as, portkiliya
 surrender-VTR-PAST-3SG this.M oud-OBL.M Jew.F
 ‘She made him sit on the chair, she handed him the oud, the Jewish woman.’

Demonstratives accompany nouns as a way of emphasising the familiarity of the nominal entity and of instructing the listener to retrieve relevant contextual information about this entity. As discussed and exemplified in section 4.2.3.3 above, the use of attributive demonstratives in Domari does not necessarily require a shift of focus and is not necessarily targeted toward the disambiguation of a particular referent from a potential set of referents that answer to the same semantic parameters set by the nominal lexical item. In this respect, the deictic force of Domari demonstratives in attributive position is arguably weaker or ‘bleached’ compared to some other languages.

Among the functions of the Domari attributive demonstrative is to establish a connection between a referent and the situative domain of the interaction setting, by pointing to the immediate physical presence of this referent in the speech situation:

- (49) a. *ašti pl-e law ašti bass*
 there.is money-PL if there.is but
yal-ak d-dinya
 expensive-INDEF DEF-life
- b. *aha bantalon par-an-s-a nīm zard*
 this.M trousers take-1PL-3SG-REM half gold
zard-ak,
 gold-INDEF
- c. *l-yōm par-an-s-i bi talātīn lira*
 today take-1PL-3SG-PRG in thirty lira.PL
aha bantalon-i
 this.NOM trousers-PRED.SG
- a. ‘There may be money, but life is expensive.
 b. We used to buy these trousers for half a pound or one pound.
 c. Nowadays we buy them for thirty pounds, [that’s what] these trousers are.’

Such situative reference – *deixis ad oculos* – might be regarded as the prototypical meaning of the demonstrative, but it is not typical of the majority of instances in which the demonstrative is used. The situative meaning can be exploited in narration by using the demonstrative to refer to an entity that is, in fact, both unknown from the preceding discourse context and unidentifiable in the actual speech situation. Such use of the demonstrative transposes the listener conceptually into the original setting of the event – *deixis ad phantasma* or ‘imagination deixis’ (cf. Bühler 1934) – where the demonstrative can be interpreted with reference to an element of the speech situation that is perceivable through sensory means.

Note, however, in the following example, that this kind of use of the attributive demonstrative differs from the prototype: First, the demonstrative is postposed to the head noun (*lakedi tmāliyas aha* ‘she saw this policeman’). Second, in this position it mediates between the head noun and a name identifying the head noun: *lakedi tmāliyas aha nāmos abu slēman* ‘she saw this policeman his name [is] Abu Suleiman’, and *tmāli aha abu slēman taṣṣilla...* ‘this policeman Abu Suleiman contacted ...’:

- (50) a. *šōnī portkīliya xul-d-i bāb isbāt*
 girl Jewish.F descend-PAST-F gate Lions
lak-ed-i tmāliy-as aha nām-os
 see-PAST-F soldier-OBL.M this.M name-3SG
abu slēman.
 Abu Suleiman
- b. *š-ird-i ab-us-ke inni ek-ak*
 say-PAST-F for-3SG-BEN COMP one-INDEF
er-a, par-d-a pl-ē-s ū
 come.PAST-M take-PAST-M money-PL-3SG and
kšal-d-a širy-a atnī-s ū
 pull-PAST-M knife-OBL.F on-3SG and
htaššib-r-os ū hada
 rape-PAST-3SG and PART
- c. *tmāli aha abu slēman taššill-a*
 soldier this.M Abu Suleiman call-M
tmāliy-ē-s-ma hay-ki qašl-ē-ki,
 soldier-PL-3SG-LOC PART-ABL Qashle-OBL.F-ABL
maskubiyy-ē-ki.
 Maskubiyye-OBL.F-ABL
- a. ‘The Jewish girl went down Lions Gate and met this policeman named Abu Suleiman.
- b. She told him that somebody came, took her money and pulled a knife at her and raped her and so on.
- c. The policeman, Abu Suleiman, called the police in like/ the Qashle, he called the police of the Maskubiyye.²⁵

Other narrative uses of the attributive demonstrative include the creation of emotional distance to the referent. In the following example, the referent *Yassir* is introduced at the beginning of the narrative. Its topical status continues as the referent’s actions are described in sequence. When the complicating event sets in – depicting Yassir’s attack on the young woman – a sense of irony is created through the use of the proper name *Yassir* along with the attributive demonstrative *aha*, as if there is a need to further identify an entity that is already uniquely and exclusively identified by its proper name. Moreover, the adding of *mansomān* ‘our man’ as a further nominal attribute strengthens the irony, marking out the familiarity and implying particular presupposed knowledge about the referent, while at the same time serving as an opening to the description of the referent’s despicable actions:

- (51) a. *qabel sabʕa ū ʕšrīn wars mām-om*
 before seven and twenty year uncle-1SG
putur yāsir gar-a swēq-ē-ta
 son Yassir go.PAST-M market-OBL.F-DAT
štrī-k-ar mana ū ʕaḥn-ak
 buy-VTR-3SG.SUBJ bread and plate-INDEF
ḥummuṣ
 hummus
- b. *baʕd ma štrī-k-a-d-a man-as ū*
 after COMP buy-VTR-PAST-M bread-OBL.M and
ḥummuṣ-i xul-d-a min
 hummus-OBL.M open-PAST-M from
dakākīn-ar-ki/ bāb isbāt ū
 shops.PL-OBL.PL-ABL gate Lions and
kil-d-a daradž-ē-s hay-ki illi ʕand
 descend-PAST-M stair-PL-3SG this-ABL REL at
bāb isbāt ū lek-id-a ik/ šōn-ik
 gate Lions and see-PAST-M one girl-PRED.SG
yahūdiy-ēk nām-os elīza
 Jewish-PRED.SG name-3SG Eliza
- c. *kil-d-i sūr-as-ta minšān*
 climb-PAST-F wall-OBL.M-DAT in.order
ʕawwir-k-ar manāzir-ē-s hay-ki,
 picture-VTR-3SG.SUBJ view-PL-3SG PART-ABL
ūyar-ki.
 town-ABL
- d. *mans-oman aha yāsir kil-d-a paši*
 person-1PL this.M Yassir climb-PAST-M behind
šōny-a-ki ū t-ird-a man-as ū
 girl-OBL.F-ABL and put-PAST-M bread-OBL.M and
ʕaḥn-os ḥummuṣ-i bīt-as-ta ū
 plate-3SG hummus-PRED.SG land-OBL.M-DAT and
mīn-d-a šōny-a ū ʕār/
 hold-PAST-M girl-OBL.F and began.3SG.M
ʕabud-k-ed-os ū ʕār
 hug-VTR-PAST-3SG and began.3SG.M

- bawus-kar-i* *mindži-s*
 kiss-VTR-3SG-PRG inside-3SG
- a. ‘Twenty seven years ago my cousin Yassir went to the market to buy bread and a plate of hummus.
- b. After he bought the bread and the hummus he came out of the shops at/ Lions Gate/ and went down the stairs of this place, at Lions Gate, and he saw a/ a Jewish girl, her name was Eliza.
- c. She was climbing the [city] wall in order to photograph the views of Jerusalem.
- d. This man of ours Yassir [=our man Yassir] climbed after the girl and put down the bread and the plate of hummus on the ground and he held the girl and began/ he hugged her and started to kiss her.’

In most instances, however, the use of the attributive demonstrative of the set *aha/ihi/ehe* simply serves to continue an established reference to an identified topical entity. Thus in the following, the use of *ehe* in *farrudžhondi ehe raqqāšīnanta* ‘they are watching the dancers’ is little more than an indication of referential continuity:

- (52) a. *ū nan-d-e raqqāšāt min yazzē min*
 and bring-PAST-3PL dancer.PL from Gaza from
yāf-ē-ki dōmiy-ēni naši-r-e.
 Jaffa-OBL.F-ABL Dom.F-PRED.PL travel-PAST-3PL
- b. *er-e portkīl-ēni bol-ni*
 come.PAST-3PL Jew-PRED.PL many-PRED.PL
l-mušarib-as-ki ū er-a
 to-Mushariba-OBL.M-ABL and come.PAST-M
gēna muslim-ēni min ūyar-ki
 further Muslim.PL-PRED.PL from town-ABL
mandža
 inside
- c. *ū šār-ū farrudž-h-ond-i ehe*
 and began-3PL watch-VTR-3PL-PRG these.PL
raqqāšīn-an-ta ū našy-and-i ū
 dancer.PL-OBL.PL-DAT and dance-3PL-PRG and
hay-ond-i
 PART-3PL-PRG

- kury-a* *sūr-as-ki*
house-OBL.F wall-OBL.M-ABL
- e. *skun-ēn mindži-s aw-ar-i talatīn sine*
live-1PL inside-3SG come-3SG-PRG thirty year
- f. *er-a isrā'il kil-ad-is-man,*
come.PAST-M Israel expel-PAST-3SG.OBL-1PL
kil-ad-is-man kury-a-ki
expel-PAST-3SG.OBL-1PL house-OBL.F.SG-ABL
er-a-ki
that-OBL.F-ABL
- g. *ū la-ssēša ihi ḥaqora wāšī-man-i ū*
and still this.F deeds with-1PLn and
kuri sakkim-ik
house closed-PRED.SG
- a. 'We accommodated him here and we went to live in the head man's courtyard.
b. We lived there for one year.
c. We bought a house back on the wall.²⁶
d. We bought it for the price of a house on the wall.
e. We lived in it for thirty years.
f. Israel came and forced us out, forced us out of the house, out of that one.
g. We still have the deeds with us and the house is secured.'

Note that we find a demonstrative in the Ablative case – *erkaki* 'from that one'. This is not an attributive demonstrative, but a pronominal form, an apposition to *kuryaki* 'from the house' which precedes it. Its purpose is to resolve the potential ambiguity between the references that are being made to two separate houses, both along the wall, which the speaker and his family had bought and inhabited at different times.

An example of the attributive demonstrative is found at the very end of the excerpt: *la-ssēša ihi ḥaqora wāšīman* 'we still have the deeds to the house'. It is noteworthy that the entity in question – 'deeds' – has not been introduced into the discourse previously in any explicit manner, i.e. by naming or reference or description. Rather, the speaker is relying on general knowledge in assuming that the existence of deeds for every house that has been legally purchased is presupposed. The use of the attributive demonstrative *ihi* in *ihi ḥaqora* 'the deeds' means that relevant information about the referent is derivable from the context, namely from the information provided in the preceding discourse about the purchasing of the house. The nominal entity that

is modified by *ihī* is thus not previously mentioned but nevertheless conceptually accessible.

This nicely illustrates the broad range of usages of the Domari attributive demonstrative *aha* etc. It assigns to the noun to which it is attached the status of an identifiable and accessible referential entity that can be retrieved from information available to both the speaker and the listener. This information can be established in relation to the speech situation by activating sensory means, or alternatively it can be drawn from explicit verbal reference made as part of the propositional content of the preceding discourse, or else from inferences made on the basis of the discourse content coupled with general, shared knowledge and presuppositions. The structure *aha* + noun thus indicates that a referent is ‘identifiable, retrievable, accessible’. The frequent repetition in Domari narration chains of the same noun accompanied by *aha* indicates that *aha* is fully compatible with referential continuity in discourse and that no special effort is required from the listener in order to disambiguate the referent.

In this latter respect, the Domari deictic reference system shows an opposition between the ‘accessible’ demonstrative *aha* and a more specialised, ‘disambiguating’ or ‘specific’ demonstrative *uhu*. This opposition is only attested among the attributive forms in the masculine singular. Among the pronominal forms, the opposition is apparent in the oblique sets *er-* ‘proximate, accessible’ vs. *or-* ‘distant, disambiguating’, while the nominative forms show the same levelling as in the attributive set, namely an opposition *aha/uhu* in the masculine singular, but uniform feminine singular *ihī* and plural *ehe* respectively.

The differentiation in the oblique and in the masculine singular nominative seems to be the remainder of a more systematic distinction once made throughout the system, if one is to judge by the comparison with Romani dialects, which generally show a four-term system of demonstratives, both pronominal and attributive, in which ‘specificity’ is one semantic dimension, and ‘source of knowledge’ (speech situation vs. discourse) another (see Matras 1998b). The attributive function of Domari *uhu* is to indicate explicit separation of the referent from other potential referents belonging to the same set as defined by the semantics of the head noun. Thus, it works by directing the listener to search for referential demarcation, disambiguation, and the specificity of the relevant referent to which *uhu* is attributed:

- (55) *baʕdēn* *pandžan* *nas-r-e.* *na* *manī-r-e*
 then they leave-PAST-3PL NEG stay-PAST-3PL
uhu *maṭraḥ-ma.*
 that.M place-LOC
 ‘And then they left, they didn’t stay in that place.’

- (56) a. *tānī dīs aha šōna qrara, putr-os*
 next day this.M boy Bedouin son-3SG
šēx-as-ki, gar-a ta
 Sheikh-OBL.M-ABL go.PAST-M COMP
lak-ar dōm-an ma lak-ed-os-san,
 see-3SG.SUBJ Dom-OBL.PL NEG see-PAST-3SG-3PL
- b. *raw-ird-ēd-i min hundar min uhu*
 travel-PAST-3PL-PRG from there from that.M
des-os-ki
 village-OBL.M-ABL
- a. ‘The next day the Bedouin boy, the Sheikh’s son, went to see the Dom but could not find them.
- b. They travelled from there from that village of his.’
- (57) a. *džan-d-om inni pandži-k illi*
 know-PAST-1SG COMP 3SG-PRED.SG REL
kar-d-a hāds-ī maʿ portkiliy-ē-ki.
 do-PAST-M incident-OBL.M with Jewess-OBL.F-ABL
- b. *amma uhu waxt-as-ma ma hibb-r-om*
 but that time-OBL.M-LOC NEG like-PAST-1SG
dža-m xabbir-k-am-i tmāliy-an
 go-1SG.SUBJ inform-VTR-1SG.PRG soldier-OBL.PL
muskubiyy-ē-ki hayy-os uhu zābī-as.
 Muskubiyye-OBL.F-ABL PART-3SG that officer-OBL.M
- a. ‘I knew that he is the one who was responsible for the incident with the Jewish girl.
- b. But at that moment I didn’t wish to inform the Muskubiyye police, that guy, the officer.’

Many of the instances of *uhu* in the corpus pertain to the disambiguation of particular moments in time, and occur in more or less fixed constructions along with expressions of time:

- (58) *min uhu waxt-as-ki, man-d-e fi*
 from that.M time-OBL.M-ABL stay-PAST-3PL in
šamāl l-hind.
 north DEF-India
 ‘From that time onwards they stayed in northern India.’

- (59) *uhu waxt-as-ma kān sabša wlād ū*
 that time-OBL.M-LOC was.3SG.M seven boy.PL and
barāt ab-us-ke, yāsir.
 girl.PL for-3SG-BEN Yassir
 ‘At that time Yassir had seven children.’
- (60) *min uhu ayyām-an-ki šukk-r-a*
 from that day.PL-OBL.PL-ABL doubt-PAST-M
mindži-m
 from-1SG.OBL
 ‘Since those days on he does not trust me.’
- (61) *uhu waxt-as-ma kān ḥibb-or-i*
 that time-OBL.M-LOC was.3SG.M love-3SG-PRG
ik-ak ū hada ū sak-r-ēy-e’
 one-INDEF and PART and can-PAST-REM-NEG
par-ar-is ū hada
 take-3SG.SUBJ-3SG.OBL and PART
 ‘At that time he was in love with someone and so on and he couldn’t marry her and so on.’

5.4. Numerals

The numeral system of Jerusalem Domari has undergone a significant change over the past century with the loss of the inherited Indic forms for most numerals above ‘five’. Macalister (1914: 18–19) still documents the cardinal citation forms *šas* ‘six’ and *ḥōt* ‘seven’, alongside the secondary, complex formations *taran-wa-taran* ‘six’ (lit. ‘three-and-three’), *štar-wa-taran* ‘seven’ (lit. ‘four-and-three’), *štar-wa-štar* ‘eight’ (lit. ‘four-and-four’), *štar-wa-parndž* (lit. ‘four-and-five’) ‘nine’, as well as *das-wa-yikak* ‘eleven’ (‘ten-and-one’), *wīs-ila-yikak* ‘nineteen’ (‘twenty-without-one’), *wīs-u-yikak* ‘twenty one’ (lit. ‘twenty-and-one’), and so on. He also records composed numerals for *taran-das* ‘thirty’ (‘three-ten’), *štar-das* ‘forty’ (‘four-ten’), *nīm-sai* ‘fifty’ (‘half-hundred’), *šaš-das* ‘sixty’ (‘six-ten’), *ḥōt-das* ‘seventy’ (‘seven-ten’), *di-sai* ‘two hundred’, *das-sai* ‘one thousand’ (‘ten-hundred’) and so on. The linking elements – *wa*, *u* ‘and’ and *ila* ‘without’ – are Arabic-derived, while the word *nīm* ‘half’ derives from Persian. Macalister reports that Arabic forms are used for ordinal and other fractional expressions.

I was able to record the same inherited forms listed by Macalister from an elderly speaker originating from the coastal town of Jaffa, now resident in a refugee camp in Gaza. By contrast, none of these composed forms are attested in the present-day speech of the Jerusalem community, nor are the forms *šas*

‘six’ and *ḥōṭ* ‘seven’ used or even familiar to any of the speakers, while *wīs* ‘twenty’ and *siyyak* ‘one hundred’ are familiar to some but not attested in any spontaneous usage. Instead we find the Arabic forms *sitt*- ‘six’, *sabaʿ*- ‘seven’, *tamāni*- ‘eight’, *tisʿa*- ‘nine’, *ʿašr*- ‘ten’, *ʿišrīn* ‘twenty’, and so on, as well as *miyye* ‘hundred’ and *ʿalf* ‘thousand’. Numbers above ‘20’ may be constructed following the inherited pattern, for citation purposes: *ʿišrīn-i ū taranes-i* ‘twenty three’. Here, the Arabic form *išrīn* ‘twenty’ is followed by the inherited *taran* ‘three’. Usually, however, the entire Arabic expression is preferred, with the smaller numeral preceding the higher (decimal) one: *ʿarbaʿ ū ʿišrīn* ‘twenty four’.

The fact that Macalister was able to record inherited forms and compositions, and their presence, apparently, in the coastal community of Domari speakers, can be taken as an indicator of the conservative nature of Palestinian Domari, in some respects at least, compared to the northern Domari varieties of Syria and Lebanon, which replace numerals above ‘5’ with the Kurdish forms *šeš*, *heft*, *hešt*, and *noh*. It is possible that speakers of ‘southern’ Domari – Palestinian and Jordanian varieties – moved away from the Kurdish-speaking areas at an earlier stage. Reportedly, Kurdish serves as an important contact language among some of the Dom communities in Lebanon to this day,²⁷ and it is certainly known among the Qurbati of Aleppo and Qamishli in northern Syria.

The present-day system of cardinal numerals can be divided into citation forms, also used in counting, and attributive forms, which accompany nouns (see Table 31). Arabic numerals appear in the citation form with an indefinite marker followed by a predicative marker, rendering a presentative construction akin to something like ‘it’s a six’, ‘it’s an eight’. It appears that this form complements the citation suffix *-es* which accompanies inherited numerals in this function.

Table 31. Domari numerals

Numeral	citation	attribute	attribute definite
1	<i>ikak</i>		
2	<i>diyyes</i>	<i>di</i>	<i>dine</i>
3	<i>taranes</i>	<i>taran</i>	<i>tarane</i>
4	<i>štares</i>	<i>ʿarbaʿ</i>	<i>štarne</i>
5	<i>pandžes</i>	<i>xamis</i>	
6	<i>sitt-ēk-i</i>	<i>sitt</i>	
7	<i>sabʿ-ak-i</i>	<i>sabaʿ</i>	
8	<i>tamāniy-ak-i</i>	<i>taman</i>	
9	<i>tisʿ-ak-i</i>	<i>tisʿa</i>	
10	<i>das</i> ‘ten’, <i>ʿašr-ak-i</i>	<i>ʿašr</i>	
20	<i>ʿišrīn-i, wīs-i</i>	<i>išrīn</i>	

Table 31 (cont.) Domari numerals

Numeral	citation	attribute	attribute definite
21	<i>ʕiʕrīn ū ekak-i</i>	<i>wāhed u ʕiʕrīn</i>	
22	<i>ʕiʕrīn-i ū diyyes-i</i>	<i>tnēn u ʕiʕrīn</i>	
23	<i>ʕiʕrīn-i ū taranes-i</i>	<i>talāte u ʕiʕrīn</i>	
24	<i>'arbaʕ ū ʕiʕrīn</i>	<i>'arbaʕ ū ʕiʕrīn</i>	
100	<i>miyyēk hi, siyy-ak-i</i>	<i>miyye</i>	<i>mit</i>
1000	<i>'alf-ak-i</i>		

The citation form for 'one' is composed of the inherited numerical form *ik-* (< **ek*) accompanied by the indefinite marker *-ak* – *ikak* (feminine) or *ekak* (masculine). On its own, the form assumes a referential function:

- (62) *aʕti diyyes minʕī-sar: ek-ak nām-os*
 there.is two from-3PL one-INDEF name-3SG
aḥmad ū ek-ak nām-os talāl.
 Ahmad and one-INDEF name-3SG Talal
 'There are two of them: one is called Ahmad and one is called Talal.'

A further use of *ikak/ekak* – often in reduced form, *ika/eka* – is in determined referential constructions:

- (63) *bisāw-ah-r-a gēna maʕ diyyes, kull ika*
 marry-VITR-PAST-M again with two every one
nan-d-i ab-us-ke zar-ak.
 bring-PAST-F for-3SG-BEN boy-INDEF
 'He married two once again, each one bore him a boy.'

In attributive function, *ikak* is postposed to the noun, like Arabic *wāhed*. The noun it follows is already determined for indefiniteness through the suffix *-ak*:

- (64) *gorw-ak ik-ak nas-r-i*
 cow-INDEF one-INDEF flee-PAST-F
 'One cow ran away.'
- (65) *lak-ed-om dōmiy-ak ik-ak*
 see-PAST-1SG Dom.F-INDEF one-INDEF
 'I saw one Dom woman.'
- (66) *pen-d-om wāl-ak ik-ak*
 pull-PAST-1SG hair-INDEF one-INDEF
 'I removed one hair.'

The citation (referential) forms for ‘1–5’ are generally the inherited Indic forms, to which the suffix *-es* is attached (see Table 31). Citation forms are used either in sequential counting of objects, or in reference to unnamed (indefinite) entities:

- (67) *ašti* *diyyes*
 there.is two
 ‘There are two (of them).’
- (68) a. *kān* *džawiz-ah-r-ēk* *taranes*
 was.3SG.M marry-VITR-PAST-PRED.SG three
boy-om:
 father-1SG
- b. *džawiz-ah-r-ēk* *kān* *day-os*
 marry-VITR-PAST-PRED.SG was.3SG.M mother-3SG
dīb-as-ki, *ū* *gēna* *ik-ak,* *ū*
 Dib-OBL.M-ABL and again one-INDEF and
day-im
 mother-1SG.OBL
- a. ‘My father was married to three:
 b. He was married to Dib’s mother, and to another one, and to my mother.’
- (69) *man-d-i* *putr-ē-s* *qištoṭ-ēni,* *taranes,*
 send-PAST-F child-PL-3SG small-PRED.PL three
šabd-as *ū* *nadžw-āy* *ū* *samīrá*
 Abed-OBL.M and Nadjwa-OBL.F and Samira.OBL.F
 ‘She left her little children, three of them, Abed, Nadjwa and Samira.’

The citation form is common in the expression ‘one or two’, where it correlates with the indefinite marker *-ak*, often in expressions of time:

- (70) *bašdī-s* *bi* *džumš-ak* *diyyes,* *er-a* *aha*
 after-SG in week-INDEF two came-M this.M
šōna *illi* *xaz-r-e* *atnī-s,* *illi*
 boy REL laugh-PAST-3PL about-3SG REL
kam-k-ar-i *hotēl-ma,* *ama-ta* *hindar*
 work-VTR-3SG.PRG hotel-LOC 1SG-DAT here

kury-a-ta

house-OBL.F-DAT

‘After a week or two, this boy whom they laughed at, who works at the hotel, came to my house.’

- (71) *pandži akbar minši-m wars-ak diyyes*
 3SG bigger from-1SG year-INDEF two
 ‘She is a year or two older than me.’

The citation (referential) suffix *-es* is absent when the numeral is used in attributive function. The numeral then precedes the head noun:

- (72) *ašti di bar-e*
 there.is two brother-PL
 ‘There are two brothers.’

- (73) *pandži nkī-s taran zar-ēk*
 3SG at-3SG three boy-PRED.SG
 ‘She has three boys.’

- (74) *rōw-am-i, man-y-am-i di sēša taran sēša*
 cry-1SG-PRG stay-ITR-1SG-PRG two hour three hour
wēs-r-om-i rōw-am-i
 sit-PAST-1SG-PRG cry-1SG-PRG
 ‘I cry, I stay there for two three hours sitting and crying.’

Gender agreement is neutralised in the plural and so inherited numerals do not agree with the head noun in gender. However, unlike adjectives, inherited numerals do agree with the noun in definiteness, expressed by the affix *-n* followed by the plural agreement marker:

- (75) *din-e kany-ē-m*
 two-PL ear-PL-1SG
 ‘my two ears’

- (76) *er-e din-e bar-e*
 arrived-PL two-PL brother-PL
 ‘The two brothers arrived.’

- (77) *ū qayiš-k-ad-e, pī-r-e ū qēy-r-e*
 and food-VTR-PAST-PL drink-PAST-PL and eat-PAST-PL
ū dfiš-k-ad-e din-e miyy-an
 and bury-VTR-PAST-PL two-PL hundred-OBL.PL
 ‘And they prepared food and they drank and ate and spent [= buried] two hundred.’

- (78) *ban-d-e* *din-e* *dōm-an* *ū* *par-d-ē-san*
 tie-PAST-PL two-PL Dom-OBL.PL and take-PAST-PL-3PL
qādiy-as-ke, *maḥkem-ē-ka.*
 judge-OBL.M-BEN court-OBL.F-DAT
 ‘They tied these two Doms and they brought them in front of the judge, to the court.’

Definite inherited numerals in referential function take regular Layer I case endings:

- (79) *bardo* *aha* *qrara* *yaʕni* *baʕd* *m-r-i* *ihi*
 also this.M Bedouin PART after die-PAST-F this.F
šōnī *gēna* *mišta-h-r-a* *wi-m-r-a* *ū*
 girl further ill-VTR-PAST.M and-die-PAST-M and
dfin-k-ad-e *dīn-an* *maʕbaʕd*
 bury-VTR-PAST-3PL two-OBL.PL together
 ‘And then, after the girl died, the Bedouin also fell ill and died and they buried the two of them together.’
- (80) *ama* *džan-am-i* *ehe* *štarn-an*
 I know-1SG-PRG these.PL four-OBL.PL
 ‘I know these four (people).’

In practice, these rules apply mainly to the numerals ‘2’ and ‘3’. Although speakers are able to cite inherited forms up to and including ‘5’, in conversation Arabic forms are usually used in attributive position from ‘4’ upwards:

- (81) *qaft-id-e* *ʕarbaʕ* *qar-e* *ū* *di* *gorw-e*
 steal-PAST-3PL four donkey-PL and two cow-PL
 ‘They stole two donkeys and two cows.’
- (82) *mar-d-e* *l-ʕarbaʕ* *xurfān*
 kill-PAST-3PL DEF-four sheep.PL
 ‘They slaughtered the four sheep.’

As discussed in detail in Chapter 4, inherited numerals tend to be accompanied by number neutralisation on the noun (i.e. by a singular form of the noun). Arabic numerals up to ‘10’ trigger plural formation on the noun, while those above ‘10’ appear with singular nouns. With the numerals from ‘2’ to ‘5’, where speakers have, in principle, a choice between inherited numeral forms and Arabic numerals, the preference is for Arabic nouns to be accompanied by Arabic numerals. Usually, Arabic numerals prevail for ‘4’

and above, so that the choice between etymological variants is effectively limited to ‘2’ and ‘3’

Higher numerals and expressions for measurements and dates are invariably Arabic (see Table 32):

- (83) *džadmid-k-ed-om* *bħudūd tamāni ū řařřin*
 collect-VTR-PAST-1SG around eight and twenty
zard urdunnī
 gold Jordanian
 ‘I saved around twenty eight Jordanian pounds.’
- (84) *džadwiz-r-om-is* *bi-řahr řařara sinet*
 marry-PAST-1SG-3SG.OBL in-month ten year
l-’arbař ū xamsin
 DEF-four and fifty
 ‘I married her in October [tenth month] in the year fifty four.’
- (85) *bass ehe illi awa-d-i,* *ehe kull yom*
 but these.PL REL come-3PL-PRG these.PL every day
lim-k-ad-i *xamas miyye sitt mit řekel*
 earn-VTR-3PL-PRG five hundred six hundred Shekel
mangiř, minsān nē-d *payy-ē-san-kerā*
 begging so.that bring-3PL.SUBJ husband-PL-3PL-BEN
 ‘But those who come, they earn every day five hundred six hundred Shekel from begging, to bring to their husbands.’

Table 32. Higher numerals (Arabic)

Numeral	Form	Numeral	Form
30	<i>talātīn</i>	70	<i>sabřin</i>
40	<i>’arbařin</i>	80	<i>tamānin</i>
50	<i>xamsin</i>	90	<i>tisřin</i>
60	<i>sittin</i>		

When we examine the example utterances given above for the use of nouns with inherited numerals ‘2–3’, and for the use of nouns with numerals between ‘4–10’, we find quite a few cases of vocabulary doubling, whereby inherited nouns are used with inherited numerals and Arabic nouns are used with Arabic numerals. Distinct number agreement rules accompany the two sub-sets: number neutralisation with the inherited numerals ‘2–3’, plural marking with the Arabic numerals ‘4–10’ (Table 33).

Table 33. Some inherited and Arabic-derived noun phrases containing numerals

Inherited numeral, inherited singular noun	Arabic numeral, Arabic plural noun
<i>di dīs taran dīs</i> ‘two days three days’	<i>sabaft iyyām</i> ‘seven days’
<i>taran mas</i> ‘three months’	<i>xamast ušhur</i> ‘five months’
<i>taran wars</i> ‘three years’	<i>sitte snīn</i> ‘six years’
<i>taran zard</i> ‘three pounds’	<i>xamas līrāt</i> ‘five pounds’

It appears to be the case that Arabic numerals from ‘4–10’ not only trigger plural agreement on the noun, but that they also trigger selection of an Arabic noun rather than its existing inherited counterpart. This impression is confirmed by further examples.²⁸

- (86) *boy-om pand-as-ma šri-ka-d-a*
 father-1SG road-OBL.M-LOC buy-VTR-PAST-M
gorw-ik bi xamsa qruš ū gorw-ak.
 horse-PRED.SG in five penny.PL and cow-INDEF
manī-r-e nkī-man taran mas ū m-r-e.
 stay-PAST-3PL at-1PL three month and die-PAST-3PL
 ‘On the road my father bought a mare for five pennies and a cow.
 They stayed with us for three months and they died.’

The following example shows a switch between the Arabic plural noun *wlād* ‘boys’ (for which there is a widely used inherited equivalent, *šōne* ‘boys’) and the inherited singular noun *lāši* ‘girl’, coinciding with the use of the Arabic numeral ‘*arbaʿ*’ ‘four’ and inherited *di* ‘two’:

- (87) *xallif-ka-d-i mēšī-s ʿarbaʿ wlād ū di lāši*
 bear-VTR-PAST-F from-3SG four boy.PL and two girl
 ‘She bore him four boys and two girls.’

Since speakers do not have a choice in regard to the etymological variant of the numeral, the question arises whether the use of Arabic numerals necessarily triggers the choice of an Arabic noun. It may be that the constraint requires the plural marking of the noun regardless of its etymology; the preference for Arabic nouns (in the plural) with Arabic numerals may simply constitute an urge by speakers to avoid having to form plurals with Domari nouns which, with lower (inherited) numerals, and presumably historically, appeared in the singular when accompanied by numerals and therefore display a residual resistance to plural formation in the environment of numerals. The following example extends the puzzle yet further:

- (88) *t-es-san* *yarama* *taman* *danānīr*,
 give.2PL.SUBJ-3PL fine eight.ATTR dinar.PL,
tamāniye *zard*
 eight.CARD gold
 ‘Give them a fine, eight dinars, eight units [of payment].’

Here, we find a speaker’s repetition of a numeral-bearing noun phrase (‘eight dinars’). In the first realisation, an Arabic attributive numeral is used along with the Arabic so-called ‘broken’ plural formation for the word ‘dinar’: *taman danānīr* ‘eight dinars’. The repetition that follows clearly stems from the speaker’s need to replace or refine his original choice of naming the currency unit. Instead of ‘dinar’ he now uses the inherited Domari word, which literally means ‘gold’ but is used generically in the language for units of payment. Whether the speaker became uncertain that the original unit of payment referred to was indeed dinar, or whether the choice of an inherited word is a form of linguistic purism and was viewed by the speaker as more ‘authentic’, is difficult to decide. What is striking is that the inherited noun not only lacks plural marking, thus following the Domari rule on number neutralisation with numerals, but that the Arabic-derived numeral ‘8’, for which there exists no non-Arabic (inherited) counterpart, is modified. Instead of the attributive *taman* which normally precedes nouns (in Colloquial Palestinian Arabic), the speaker now opts for the cardinal form *tamāniye* that is used for counting. It appears as though this modification reduces somewhat the discrepancy between the Arabic (attributive) lower numeral and a noun that lacks plurality marking. The speaker’s apparent motivation, upon an instance of reflection, is to repair his utterance by opting for the non-Arabic expression *zard* instead of *dinar*. This triggers an adaptation of the Arabic numeral for ‘8’, which makes it easier (though not grammatical, from the point of view of the rules of Arabic) to reconcile the absence of plurality marking on *zard* with the use of a lower Arabic numeral (since cardinal numerals do not trigger plurality, as they are not normally followed by nouns to which they act as attributes).

The preceding example shows us perhaps the exception to the rule, that is, a procedure is followed when it is stylistically dispreferred to maintain the full dichotomy between inherited nouns phrases (here: numeral and noun), on the one hand, and Arabic ones on the other. The more commonplace practice in the corpus is represented by the following examples, where the speaker alternates within the very same utterance between two forms of the same word, inherited *dīs* ‘day’ and Arabic *īyyām* ‘days’:

- (89) *nig-r-a* *awwal* *dīs* *ū* *tānī* *dīs*, *yaʕni*
 pass-PAST-M first day and second day PART

yimkin *manī-r-ēn* *nkī-san* *xamast* *iyyām* *sitt*
 maybe stay-PAST-1PL by-3PL five day.PL six
iyyām, *lamma* *rawwiḥ-r-ēn*
 day.PL when go-PAST-1PL

‘The first day went by, the second day, finally we may have stayed with them for five or six days by the time we left.’

It is noteworthy that here we do not even have a contrast of etymology among numerals. The ordinal numerals *awwal* ‘first’ and *tānī* ‘second’ in the first part of the utterance are both Arabic, as are the attributive numerals *xamast* ‘five’ and *sitt* ‘six’ in the second part. But ordinals, naturally, require singular, not plural marking (‘first day’, ‘second day’). There is thus no clash between the two system components. In those positions where a clash is anticipated, i.e. where the Domari noun would normally lack plural marking but where the Arabic numerals *xamast* ‘five’ and *sitt* ‘six’ do trigger plural marking, the speaker abandons the inherited lexeme *dīs* ‘day’ and uses the Arabic plural *iyyām* ‘days’ instead.

The impression gained from natural, connected speech, namely that speakers are somehow guided to opt for the Arabic-derived noun with Arabic-derived numerals and in this way to follow the Arabic rule on agreement (plural form of the noun with lower numerals), is further confirmed by a set of translation tasks put to several speakers through targeted elicitation (note that the model phrase for translation was provided in these cases in Hebrew, not in Arabic):

- (90) *qabil* *di* *wars*
 before two year
 ‘two years ago’
- (91) *qabil* *taran* *wars*
 before three year
 ‘three years ago’
- (92) *qabil* *’arba’* *snīn*
 before four year.PL
 ‘four years ago’
- (93) *qabil* *šēšrīn* *sane*
 before twenty year
 ‘twenty years ago’
- (94) *kury-ak* *ikak*
 house-INDEF one
 ‘one house’

- (95) *di kuri*
two house
'two houses'
- (96) *taran kuri*
three house
'three houses'
- (97) *'arbaš byūt*
four house.PL
'four houses'
- (98) *šəšrīn kuri*
twenty house
'twenty houses'
- (99) *zar-ak ikak*
boy-INDEF one
'one boy'
- (100) *di zara*
two boy
'two boys'
- (101) *taran zara*
three boy
'three boys'
- (102) *'arbaš wlād*
four boy.PL
'four boys'
- (103) *šašare wlād*
ten boy.PL
'ten boys'

Invariably, this elicitation illustrates speakers' preference for the inherited (pre-Arabic) words *wars* 'year', *kuri* 'house' and *zara* 'boy' in the singular form with the inherited numerals *-ak* (suffixed indefiniteness marker 'one'), *di* 'two' and *taran* 'three'. At the same time we see a preference for the Arabic counterparts *snīn* 'years' (singular *sane*), *byūt* 'houses' (singular *bēh*), and *wlād* 'boys' (singular *walad*), in the plural, with the Arabic numerals *'arbaš* 'four' and *šašare* 'ten'. Note that none of the cases of Arabic plural nouns in these examples show morphological integration into Domari plural formation with *-e*. Rather, the entire noun phrase appears to be produced in Arabic, much like a codeswitch.²⁹ The results for the Arabic numeral *šəšrīn* 'twenty', which

in Arabic triggers number neutralisation (i.e. dropping of plurality), are mixed: For ‘house’ we get a switch back to the inherited word *kuri*, here once again in the singular, which is consistent with the part of the paradigm that showed lower, inherited numerals. For ‘year’, by contrast, the speaker continues with Arabic *sane*, albeit in the singular, in line with the Arabic rules on number neutralisation with higher numerals (above ‘10’).

We thus find some degree of consistency that follows a pattern, but also variation. Clearly, the selection of nouns by etymology is a matter of speakers’ choice and is not constrained in any absolute way by the use of a particular numeral. At the same time speakers appear conscious of the patterns of number neutralisation and number agreement that are triggered by individual sub-sets of numerals, namely the inherited numerals under ‘4’, the Arabic numerals between ‘4–10’, and the Arabic numerals above ‘10’. The rule seems to be to make optimal use of the flexibility of the lexicon in order to follow this latter pattern consistently. Under ‘optimal use’ the guiding principle appears to give preference, with Arabic numerals, to combinations with Arabic lexicon in what might be termed ‘para-formulaic’ constructions, that is, constructions that appear more natural as they are replicated from the use of Arabic in Arabic-speaking settings, and unlike the use of inherited expressions do not require the adjustment of taking on explicit plural marking with numerals.

That flexibility predominates, and adjustments are made, can be seen from the following examples. In the first pair, the speaker has only a single choice for the word ‘lamb’, namely Arabic-derived *xāruf* (plural *xurfān*). In the first example, number is neutralised as the word follows the inherited numeral *taran* ‘three’, though note the hesitation and repetition around the numeral before the actual verbalisation of the noun. In the second part, the same noun appears in the plural, accompanied by the Arabic numeral *’arbaʿ* ‘four’:

- (104) *baʿdēn ʕarīs, iza ašti wāšī-s bol*
 then bridegroom if there.is with-3SG much
ple, mar-ar-i taran/ taran xāruf
 money.PL kill-3SG-PRG three three lamb
 ‘And then if the bridegroom has enough money, he slaughters three/
 three lambs.’
- (105) *ašti maṭ-ēni mar-and-i ’arbaʿ xurfān*
 there.is people-PRED.PL kill-3PL-PRG four lamb.PL
 ‘There are people who slaughter four lambs.’

The following pair of examples illustrates the same strategy, here with the Arabic word *’alf* ‘thousand’ (plural *’ālāf*). Once again, there is no inherited counterpart expression. Here too, the word appears in the singular with the

inherited numeral *di* ‘two’, but in the plural with the Arabic numerals *xamest* ‘five’ and *sitt* ‘six’:

- (106) *t-om* *la tāni di 'alf, wallaḥi*
 give.PAST-1SG to other two thousand by.God
 ‘I gave the other one two thousand, by God.’
- (107) *yaṣni in-kafi-k-ar-s-é' mahma*
 PART NEG-suffice-VTR-3SG-3SG-NEG whatever
par-ar-i ple, xamest 'ālāf, sitt
 take-3SG-PRG money.PL five thousand.PL six
'ālāf par-ar, kafi-k-ar-s-é'
 thousand.PL take-3SG.SUBJ suffice-VTR-3SG-3SG-NEG
ple
 money.PL
 ‘Well, it isn’t enough for him, no matter how much money he gets,
 he might get five thousand, six thousand, it isn’t enough for him.’

From these examples it would seem yet again that the governing principle that is adhered to consistently is the absence or presence of plural marking with certain sub-sets of the numeral system: absence of morphological plurality with inherited lower numerals ‘2–3’, presence of morphological plurality with Arabic lower numerals ‘4–10’. The singular morphology of the Arabic nouns *di 'alf* ‘two thousand’ and *taran xāruḥ* ‘three lambs’ testifies to the adaptability to this principle of morphological marking on the noun, regardless of the noun’s etymology. The following examples appear to confirm this observation from the opposite perspective: Here we have morphological plurality on an inherited noun in combination with an Arabic lower numeral:

- (108) *er-e 'arbaṣ tmaliy-e gory-an-ka*
 come.PAST-3PL four soldier-PL horse-OBL.PL-DAT
 ‘Three soldiers came riding on horses.’
- (109) *qaft-id-e 'arbaṣ qar-e ū di gorw-e*
 steal-PAST-3PL four donkey-PL and two cow-PL
 ‘They stole two donkeys and two cows.’

In combination with an Arabic numeral, the nouns *tmaliye* ‘soldiers’ (singular *tmali*), *qare* ‘donkeys’ (singular *qar*), and *gorwe* ‘cows’ (singular *gorwi*) appear in the plural form. Here too, morphological marking of plurality is triggered by the sub-set membership of the numeral, not by the etymology of the noun.

One might therefore simply formulate the principle of plurality marking with Domari numerals as mapped on the basis of sub-sets of numerals: Sub-set ‘2–3’ takes singular marking, sub-set ‘4–10’ takes plural marking, sub-set ‘11’ and above takes singular marking. Speakers’ strategy of preferring Arabic nouns with Arabic numerals speaks in favour of the existence of some kind of synchronic compartmentalisation that goes beyond the mere imposition of morphological constraints on sub-sets of numerals of different etymology. Our final example in this connection shows that speakers have considerable improvisation flexibility and feel the need to make use of it:

- (110) *qaft-id-e* *'arbaʃ gorw-e/* *'arbaʃ gorw-āt qaft-id-e*
 steal-PAST-3PL four cow-PL four cow-PL steal-PAST-3PL
 ‘They stole four cows/ they stole four cows.’

Here, the speaker at first accommodates the inherited noun *gorwa* ‘cow’ to the requirement of overt plurality marking with the Arabic numeral *'arbaʃ* ‘four’, using the common Domari plural form, *gorwe* ‘cows’. But she then repairs her utterance, repeating the same content but highlighting a new plural formation for the same inherited word, one which imports in effect the Arabic feminine plural marker *-āt*.

We can summarise our discussion of plurality marking and number neutralisation with numerals as follows: Domari has incorporated the Arabic numeral system for the numerals ‘4’ and above, though isolated usages of the inherited forms for ‘4’, ‘10’ and ‘100’ are also attested, usually not in attributive function. With the incorporation of these numerals, Domari has also adopted the rules on plurality marking of nouns accompanied by numerals in Arabic. As a result, the Domari number agreement system with numerals now shows three sub-sets: The first, consisting of inherited ‘2–3’, neutralises morphological plurality on the noun. The second, consisting of Arabic-derived ‘4–10’, requires morphological plurality on the noun. The third, also from Arabic, covers numerals above ‘10’, and again neutralises plurality marking on the noun. The overwhelming tendency is for nouns to accommodate to these rules on plurality marking, irrespective of the etymology of the noun. This goes in both directions, that is, it applies for both Arabic and inherited nouns. However, having a lexical repertoire at their disposal that includes Arabic counterpart expressions for most of the inherited Domari lexicon³⁰, Domari speakers often opt for Arabic nouns in combination with Arabic numerals.

In effect, then, the borrowing of a sub-system from Arabic (including grammatical vocabulary – numerals – and the agreement rules that accompany them) and its integration into Domari morpho-syntax triggers a tendency to make active choices that favour (but do not require) insertional codeswitching into Arabic in the environment of Arabic-derived numerals. This is an

interesting co-occurrence of borrowing and codeswitching ('borrowing' being an historical integration process that has been completed and may allow semantic differentiation, 'codeswitching' being the synchronic availability of alternative means of expression of identical or near-identical meaning which may be juxtaposed for stylistic effect or merely in order to accommodate to situative or contextual constraints). The etymology of a borrowed sub-set of numerals remains apparent to speakers due to their familiarity with and use of Arabic in many domains of interaction. As a result, an association is maintained between what is now a component of the Domari morpho-lexicon, and the availability of Arabic lexicon in the bilingual repertoire. It is this association that speakers activate when making quasi-etymological choices in connection with distinct sub-sets of numerals.

5.4.1. Ordinal numbers

Similarly, Domari speakers rely entirely on the Arabic part of their bilingual repertoire for the expression of ordinal numbers (Table 34). Note that definiteness with ordinals is expressed as in Arabic, through addition of the definite article *-l-* or dental consonant gemination:

- (111) a. *šōnī kahind-ar-i emin-ta,*
girl look-3SG-PRG 1PL-DAT
- b. *er-i min awwal eka, wi-t-tānī*
came-F from first one and-DEF-second
wi-t-tālet wi-r-rābiš wi-l-xāmis,
and-DEF-third and-DEF-fourth and-DEF-fifth
- c. *lak-ed-i yāsr-as*
see-PAST-F Yassir-OBL.M
- a. 'The girl looks at us.
- b. She passes from the first, to the second, and the third, and the fourth, and the fifth.
- c. She saw Yassir.'

Table 34. Ordinal numerals (Arabic)

Ordinal	Masculine Singular	Feminine Singular
First	<i>'awwal</i>	<i>'ūla</i>
Second	<i>tānī</i>	<i>tāniye</i>
Third	<i>tālīt</i>	<i>tālīte</i>
Fourth	<i>rābiš</i>	<i>rābiše</i>
Fifth	<i>xāmis</i>	<i>xāmise</i>

Table 34 (cont.) Ordinal numerals (Arabic)

Ordinal	Masculine Singular	Feminine Singular
Sixth	<i>sādis</i>	<i>sādise</i>
Seventh	<i>sābiʿ</i>	<i>sābiʿe</i>
Eighth	<i>tāmin</i>	<i>tāmine</i>
Ninth	<i>tāsiʿ</i>	<i>tāsiʿe</i>
Tenth	<i>ʿāšīr</i>	<i>ʿāšīre</i>

5.5. Adjectives

The category of ‘adjective’ is not entirely unproblematic in Domari. The existence of citation forms of adjectives which carry inflectional agreement (gender and number) with their head noun, and are preposed to the head noun when the full noun phrase is cited, points to the existence in principle of adjectives as a separate word class. Such citation forms are usually obtained through elicitation of isolated phrases:

(112) *er-a till-a zara*
 came-M big-M boy
 ‘The big boy arrived.’

(113) *er-i till-i lāši*
 came-F big-F girl
 ‘The big girl arrived.’

(114) *er-e till-e zar-e*
 came-PL big-PL boy-PL
 ‘The big boys arrived.’

A series of word-forms showing both attributive semantics and the inflectional quality (potential) of adjectives can be obtained through elicitation (by requesting one-word descriptions of objects) or via translation tasks. Some examples are listed in Table 35:

Table 35. Some Domari adjectives

<i>prana</i>	‘white’	<i>drara</i>	‘rich’
<i>qala</i>	‘black’	<i>bizzota</i>	‘poor’
<i>nawa</i>	‘new’	<i>gulda</i>	‘sweet’
<i>ʿatīq</i>	‘old’	<i>šamda</i>	‘dirty’
<i>mišta</i>	‘ill’	<i>mfalla</i>	‘crazy’
<i>tilla</i>	‘big’	<i>tarna</i>	‘young’
<i>kaškūṭa</i>	‘small’	<i>dirga</i>	‘long’
<i>bkara</i>	‘hungry’	<i>parda</i>	‘full’

Only rarely do we find preposed adjectives in conversation:

- (115) *ihi bizzot-i kury-a-m-ēk ihnēn ha*
 this.F poor-F house-OBL.F-LOC-PRED.SG here PART
 ‘in this poor house here’

Adjective attribution is usually organised instead in one of several construction types. The adjective is most often a predicate object that follows the head noun in what resembles a presentative construction. It is followed by an enclitic, non-verbal predication marker. With inherited adjectives that end in an inflectional vowel, the form of the predication marker allows determining the underlying vocalic inflection agreement marker, as this marker is incorporated into the predication marker: Masculines in *-a* take the predication marker *-ēk* and feminines in *-i* take the predication marker *-ik*. In this way, underlying gender agreement with singular nouns is still represented, despite the absence of overt agreement inflection:

- (116) *aha zar-ēk kaškōt-ēk*
 this.M boy-PRED.SG small-PRED.SG
 ‘This is a small boy / This boy is small.’

- (117) *ihi šōnī gul-d-ik*
 this.F girl sweet-PRED.SG
 ‘This is a pretty girl / This girl is pretty.’

- (118) *pandži nkī-s sayyār-ak naw-ik*
 he by-3SG car-INDEF new-PRED.SG
 ‘He has a new car.’

- (119) *pandži mišt-ēk*
 3SG ill-PRED.SG
 ‘He is ill.’

- (120) *pandži mišt-ik*
 3SG ill-PRED.SG
 ‘She is ill.’

With adjectives that do not take a vowel inflection marker, namely *bol* ‘many’, *ghāy* ‘beautiful’, and *guzel* ‘good’, as well as with Arabic adjectival loans (e.g. *mašyūl* ‘busy’, *bšīd* ‘far’), the predication marker is a uniform *-i* (present) or *-a* (past) and does not identify gender:

- (121) *lake-d-om-is mašyūl-i*
 see-PAST-1SG-3SG.OBL busy-PRED.SG
 ‘I found him/her busy.’

- (122) *šiš-os dōm-an-ki guzel-i*
 life-3SG Dom-OBL.PL good-PRED.SG
 ‘The Doms lead a good life.’
- (123) *šaf kān bšīd-a*
 well was.3SG.M far-REM
 ‘The well was far.’

The plural predication marker, of course, equally neutralises gender:

- (124) *pandžan mfall-ēni*
 they crazy-PRED.PL
 ‘They are crazy.’
- (125) *ašti dōm-ēni bizzot-ēni*
 there.is Dom-PRED.PL poor-PRED.PL
 ‘Some Doms are poor.’

Such appearance of adjectives as objects of a non-verbal predication is by far the most common use of adjectival modifiers in free speech.³¹ Note that the construction may appear either independently in the phrase, or alongside an existential predication, or alongside a lexical (verbal) predication. In all cases, the head noun may, but does not have to, carry matching non-verbal predication marking:

- (126) *kān ašti abu-s-ke di zar-e ik-ak*
 was.3SG.M there.is for-3SG-BEN two child-PL one-INDEF
till-ēk ū ik-ak qašṭōt-ēk
 big-PRED.SG and one-INDEF small-PRED.SG
 ‘He had two children, an older one and a younger one.’
- (127) *kahind-ar-a kury-is-ma bizzot-as-ki*
 look-3SG-REM house-3SG.OBL-LOC poor-OBL.M-ABL
lak-ed-a šōn-ik guld-ik.
 see-PAST-M girl-PRED.SG pretty-PRED.SG
 ‘He looked into the poor man’s house and saw a beautiful girl.’
- (128) *ū wšil-ah-r-e la šind dēy kašṭōt-ik*
 and arrive-VITR-PAST-3PL to at village small-PRED.SG
 ‘And they arrived in a small village.’
- (129) *xazr-end-i atrī-s ū d-ē-s-i*
 laugh-3PL-PRG on-3SG and give-3PL-3SG-PRG

qanīn-ak *bard-ik* *pan-ik* *ū* *hada*
 bottle-INDEF full-PRED.SG water-PRED.SG and PART
 ‘They laugh at him and they give him a bottle full of water and so on.’

- (130) *dīr-os* *till-ik* *n-xarīf-h-or-i* *maʕ/*
 daughter-3SG big-PRED.SG NEG-speak-VITR-3SG-PRG with
maʕ ben-is-ki *wala maʕ day-is-ki.*
 with sister-3SG.OBL-ABL nor with mother-3SG.OBL-ABL
 ‘Her older daughter does not speak with her sister nor with her mother.’

- (131) *kš-os* *min* *biyyiṣ-ki* *eh-r-i* *pran-ik*
 beard-3SG from fear-ABL become-PAST-F white-PRED.SG
 ‘From fear his beard became white.’

Occasionally, adjectival predications are embedded into restrictive relative clauses in attributive function:

- (132) *putr-os* *il* *qaṣṭōt-ēk* *gar-a* *qaft-ar.*
 son-3SG REL small-PRED.SG go.PAST-M steal-3SG.SUBJ
 ‘His small son went stealing.’

- (133) *šōna* *š-ird-a* *kažž-as-ke* *illi* *bizzot-ēk*
 boy say-PAST-M man-OBL.M-BEN REL poor-PRED.SG
ama bidd-ī *bisāwa-hōš-am* *ihi* *lāčy-a.*
 I want-1SG marry-VITR.SUBJ-1SG this.F girl-OBL.F
 ‘The boy said to the poor man I want to marry this girl.’

- (134) *aha* *kažža* *illi* *kān* *mišt-ēk* *qaft-id-a*
 this.M man REL was.3SG.M ill-PRED.SG steal-PAST-M
giš xurfān-an *illi* *ʕind* *šēx-as-ki*
 all sheep.PL-OBL.PL REL at Sheikh-OBL.SG-ABL
 ‘The sick man stole all the Sheikh’s sheep.’

- (135) *baʕd* *ma* *pandži* *gar-a,* *bar-os* *illi*
 after COMP 3SG go.PAST-M brother-3SG REL
mʕall-ēk *kil-d-a* *sadžar-ē-ka*
 crazy-PRED.SG exit-PAST-M tree-OBL.F-DAT
 ‘After he left, his crazy brother climbed up a tree.’

- (136) *nan-d-a* *kart kaškot-ēk,* *ū* *ktib-k-ad-a*
 bring-PAST-M card small-PRED.SG and write-VTR-PAST-M
atnī-s, *ū* *t-ird-os-is* *aha*
 on-3SG and put-PAST-3SG-3SG.OBL this.M

zarf-as-ma

envelope-M.OBL-LOC

‘He brought a small card and he wrote on it, and he put it in the envelope.’

5.5.1. Comparative forms of adjectives

Comparative and superlative forms of adjectives are relatively rare. In isolated cases, superlatives can be formed drawing on non-verbal predications where the superlative adjective (with no particular derivation marking) precedes the head noun:

- (137) *ū ama kaštut-ik šōn-ik, yaʕni min*
 and I small-PRED.SG girl-PRED.SG PART from
džil-im-ki
 age-1SG-ABL
 ‘And I am the youngest girl, I mean in regard to my age.’

Normally, both comparative and superlative formations draw directly on the Arabic comparative and superlative form. The two forms are morphologically identical, but differ in their syntax, the comparative being followed by a preposition ‘from’ and the object of comparison:

- (138) *pandži akbar minšī-m wars-ak diyyes*
 3SG bigger from-1SG year-INDEF two
 ‘He is a year or two older than I am.’
- (139) *yaʕni ama akbar min nadžwa-ki di wars*
 PART I bigger from Najwa-ABL two year
 ‘So I am two years older than Najwa.’
- (140) *kīk aha hōš-ar grawara w-ama*
 how this.M become.SUBJ-3SG head.man and-I
akbar minšī-s ūmur-ma yaʕni?
 bigger from-3SG age-LOC PART
 ‘So how can he be head man if I am of an older age than he is?’

The superlative takes a preposed attributive position and is followed directly by the head noun that it modifies:

- (141) *eme aḥsan nās dōm-am-ma giš hindar-i,*
 we best people Dom-OBL.PL-LOC all here-PRED.SG

illi skun-h-ēn hindar

REL live-VITR-1PL here

‘We are the best people among the Dom all of us here, those of us who live here.’

(142) *ṣaḥafi š-ar-i ab-us-ke kār/ kār-ik*

journalist say-3SG-PRG for-3SG-BEN which which-PRED.SG

aḥsan yannīwa laḥan-k-ed-or-is?

best song compose-VTR-PAST-2SG-3SG.OBL

‘The journalist says to him: Which/ which is the best song you’ve ever written?’

We can safely assume that the wholesale borrowing of comparative/superlative forms is motivated in the first instance by the universal tendency toward the borrowing of comparative/superlative derivation morphology in language contact situations, in particular into smaller, vernacular languages of bilingual populations. Romani dialects, for example, consistently borrow comparative and superlative particles, as do many other minority languages (see Matras 2009: 190–191). Domari varieties in Syria and Lebanon appear to have borrowed the Kurdish comparative/superlative suffix *-tir*. But Jerusalem Domari faces a challenge, as the Arabic comparative/superlative formation is not based on a distinct morpheme that can be isolated from the lexical stem of the adjective. Instead, it is expressed as a template – áCCaC – into which the triconsonantal root is inserted. This makes it difficult to replicate with Domari inherited adjectives. The solution is to employ the complete Arabic word-form, resulting in a system of complete bilingual suppletion, with every inherited positive form of an adjective – such as *tilla* ‘big’, *kaštota* ‘small’, *ghāy* ‘good’ and so on – having an Arabic-derived counterpart comparative/superlative form – *akbar* ‘bigger’, *azyar* ‘smaller’, *aḥsan* ‘better’. Once again, as in the case of numeral agreement, we find that the borrowing of a grammatical feature from Arabic results in the wholesale integration of an Arabic word-class into Domari speech.

5.6. Quantifiers

The class of quantifiers consists of largely uninflected modifiers and shows a mixture of etymologies. The expressions of quantity measure *šinak* ‘a little, some’ (*šin* ‘thing’ + indefiniteness marker *-ak*) and *bol* ‘much’ are inherited (Indo-Aryan), while *giš* ‘all’ is a Kurdish borrowing, and *kull* ‘every, each’ and *akam* ‘a few’ are Arabic.

Quantifiers tend to appear in preposed position to the head noun. They do not influence the inflection of the head noun, which will appear either with a predication marker, or, in the case of definite objects, inflected for case:

- (143) *gišt putr-ē-m kaškōṭ-ēni*
 all son-PL-1SG small-PRED.PL
 ‘All my children are small.’
- (144) *ṭ-om-is giš plē-m*
 give.PAST-1SG-3SG.OBL all money.PL-1SG
 ‘I gave him all my money.’
- (145) *er-a abu ḥasan pī-r-a giš pany-a.*
 come.PAST-M Abu Ḥasan drink-PAST-M all water-OBL.F
 ‘Abu Hasan came and drank all the water.’
- (146) *nabī mūša dāʿiman kull kuri kar-ad-i*
 Nabi Musa always every house make-3PL-PRG
qēyiš-i.
 food-PRED.SG
 ‘During the Nabi Musa [pilgrimage], every household prepares food.’
- (147) *kull ikak tir-d-a taran zard*
 every one put-PAST-M three gold
 ‘Each one contributed three pounds.’
- (148) *gar-a nan-d-a akam kažž-ēk*
 go.PAST-M bring-PAST-M a.few man-PRED.SG
 ‘He went and brought a few men.’
- (149) *ū ašti mnēna bol dōm-ēni*
 and there.is here many Dom-PRED.PL
 ‘And there are many Dom here.’

There is, however, some variation in the positioning of quantifiers, and they may also, like adjectives, follow the head noun, often accompanied by predication markers:

- (150) *ama bass nkī-m-i šīnak pl-ēni*
 I only at-1SG-PRED.SG little money-PRED.PL
 ‘I only have a little money.’
- (151) *nkī-m pl-ēni šīnak-ni*
 at-1SG money-PRED.PL little-PRED.PL
 ‘I have a little money.’

- (152) *ama nkī-m-i bol ple*
 I by-1SG-PRED.SG much money.PL
 ‘I have a lot of money.’
- (153) *ama ašti inkī-m ple bol*
 I there.is by-1SG money.PL much
 ‘I have a lot of money.’
- (154) *baʕdēn n-h-eʕ kān ple bol,*
 then NEG-is-NEG was.3SG.M money.PL much
xiyam-ēni kān giš
 tent-PRED.PL was.3SG.M all
 ‘And then there wasn’t much money, it was all tents.’

Chapter 6

Pronominal categories

6.1. Personal pronouns

6.1.1. Stand-alone subject pronouns

The independent, nominative pronouns for the 1st and 2nd persons (*ama*, *atu*, plural *eme*, *itne*) are straightforward derivations of Indic pronouns. For the 3rd person, Domari has *pandži* (singular) and *pandžan* (plural). These appear to be derived from reflexives in an historical oblique form *appn-*. The identical form is documented as a 3rd person reflexive for Transcaucasian Karači by Patkanoff (1908: 262): *Hye duhend banđi khasta* ‘they wash[ed] their (own) hands’.

Domari tends not to employ overt pronouns in closely connected predication chains with continuous subjects and relies instead on subject agreement markers on the verb for the maintenance of topic continuity. Stand-alone nominative pronouns tend to serve some kind of contrastive function, indicating an element of discontinuity. In the following examples, pronouns single out demarcated actors or help express explicit juxtaposition of actors:

- (1) *kān* *eme ū* *pandžan sawa* *gar-ēn-a*
was.3SG.M we and they together go-PAST-1PL-REM
‘We could have gone together with them.’
- (2) a. *ū/ ū* *n-kam-k-ad-e’*
 and and NEG-work-VTR-3PL-NEG
- b. *dž-ad-i* *mangiš-k-ad-i* *da’iman*,
 go-3PL-PRG begging-VTR-3PL-PRG always
 bay-ē-san.
 wife-PL-3PL
- c. *ū* *pandžan* *wēs-r-ēd-i* *kury-a-ma*,
 and they sit-PAST-3PL-PRG house-OBL.F-LOC
 zlām-e.
 men.PL-PL
- a. ‘And/ and they don’t work.’

- b. They always go begging, their wives.
 c. And they sit at home, the men.’
- (3) a. *itme bi isrā’il tʃallim-h-os ʃa ʃsāb*
 you.PL in Israel learn-VITR-2PL at expense
dawl-ē-ki.
 government-OBL.F-ABL
- b. *eme tʃallim-h-on-i ʃsāb-is-ka*
 we learn-VITR-1PL-PRG expense-3SG.OBL-DAT
džeb-oman-ki
 pocket-1PL-ABL
- a. ‘You in Israel study at the expense of the state,
 b. We study at our own expense [= at the expense of our pocket].’

An explicitly contrastive use of a distinct pronominal form – *amayis* ‘me, myself’ – is attested only once in the corpus:

- (4) *waddi-k-ed-os madras-an-ka ū amayis ma*
 bring-VTR-PAST-3SG school-OBL.PL-DAT and me NEG
nēr-d-os-im
 send-PAST-3SG-1SG.OBL
 ‘She took her to school but she didn’t send me.’

In combination with deictic-situative reference, the anaphoric 3rd person pronoun *pandži* serves to relate contextual knowledge about an actor to an identifiable entity, thus supporting disambiguation:

- (5) *t’akkid-h-r-i minšī-s qal pandži-k*
 assure-VITR-PAST-F from-3SG PART 3SG-PRED.SG
aha-k
 this.M-PRED.SG
 ‘She was certain about him, saying that he is the one.’

In conjunction with impersonal modal constructions, personal pronouns help clarify the identity of the intended subject-topic:

- (6) *ū itme lāzem mašīr-oran hōš-as inni*
 and you.PL must destiny-2PL be.SUBJ-2PL COMP
bass ʃanni-kar-as ū našī-š-as.
 only sing-VTR-2PL.SUBJ and dance-SUBJ-2PL
 ‘And as for you, your destiny shall be that you will only sing and dance.’

In narration, personal pronouns often identify a subject switch around direct quotes:

- (7) *gar-a aha šōna š-ird-a boy-is-ke,*
 go.PAST-M this.M boy speak-PAST-M father-OBL.M-BEN
qrara, inni ama mang-am-i ihi
 Bedouin COMP.1SG I want-1SG-PRG this.F
domiy-ē bidd-ī par-am
 Dom-OBL.F want-1SG take-1SG.SUBJ
iṭṭawwiz-h-om-is.
 marry-VITR-1SG-3SG.OBL
 ‘The boy went and told his father, the Bedouin, [saying that] I want this Dom girl, I would like to marry her.’
- (8) *š-ird-om ab-us-ke, š-am-i itme*
 say-PAST-1SG for-3SG-BEN say-1SG-PRG you.PL
mang-as hayy yāsir-as ū bar-ē-s
 want-2PL PART Yassir and brother-PL-3SG
 ‘I said to him, I say, you are looking for this guy Yassir and his brothers’

Also occurring frequently around topic shifts in quotes, but not limited to those, is the use of personal pronouns to indicate surprise:

- (9) *mudīr š-ar-i ab-us-ke min krēn*
 director say-3SG-PRG for-3SG-BEN from where
džan-d-or atu ihi šōniy-a?
 know-PAST-2SG you.SG this.F girl-OBL.F
 ‘The director says to him, where do you know this girl from?’

Seemingly in contrast with its more widespread function to indicate topic discontinuity, we find a grammaticalised use of the stand-alone nominative personal pronoun expressing topic continuity in what is essentially a calque of the Arabic co-temporal construction (consisting in Arabic of an additive conjunction, a personal pronoun and present-tense gerund):

- (10) *er-e ahal-os klēb-as-ki*
 come.PAST-3PL people-3SG Kleb-OBL.M-ABL
lak-ed-e klēb-as rumuḥ
 see-PAST-3PL Kleb-OBL.M spear
bišt-is-m-ēk, ū pandži nazaṣ-k-ar-i
 back-3SG.OBL-LOC-PRED.SG and 3SG die-VTR-3SG-PRG
 ‘Kleb’s people arrived and saw Kleb with a spear in his back, dying [= and he is dying].’

- (11) *bəy-om gar-a ḥākīm-as-ke ū*
 father-1SG go.PAST-M governor-OBL.M-BEN and
pandži by-ar-i
 3SG fear-3SG-PRG
 ‘My father went to the governor, scared [= and he is afraid].’

Finally, a rather distinct function of the stand-alone nominative personal pronoun is to act as a kind of reminder of the identity of a continuous albeit downgraded topic-actor, a usage that we typically find at the end of a chain of predications, and in the final position of an utterance:

- (12) a. *ḥākīm t-os šahāda-k*
 governor give.PAST-3SG certificate-INDEF
- b. *hatta aha turdžmān qal tilla yašni*
 PART this.M translator said.M big PART
l-ḥākīm qal mabšūt-i bol
 DEF-governor said.M happy-PRED.SG much
minsī-r yašni
 from-2SG PART
- c. = *inna-k inte sašad-t =/*
 COMP-2SG you helped-2SG
sašad-k-ed-or tmaliy-an, ū
 help-VTR-PAST-2SG soldier-OBL.PL and
gir-raw-id-or giš ehe maṭ-an
 return-CAUS-PAST-2SG all these.PL people-OBL.PL
min ehe/ min portkil-an-ka
 from these.PL from Jew-OBL.PL-DAT
- d. *mabšūt-i ktīr minsī-r.*
 happy-PRED.SG much from-2SG
- e. *w-hatta qal hatta ihi šahāda-t*
 and-PART said.3M PART this.F certificate-CONSTR
muxtār, šayin-k-ad-os-ir muxtār pandži.
 head.man appoint-VTR-PAST-3SG-2SG head.man 3G
- a. ‘The governor gave him a certificate.
 b. Well, the interpreter said that the chief, that is the governor was very happy with you.
 c. = that you helped =/ you helped the soldiers, and you drove back all those people from [attacking] the Jews.
 d. He is very happy with you.

- e. And so here's a head man certificate, he has appointed you head man.'

6.1.2. Pronominal object affixes

Strictly speaking, personal pronouns do not inflect for nominal case. Instead, pronominal endings are attached to local relations expressions. These match, semantically and in their functional distribution, Layer II nominal inflection markers (see Table 36). But further expressions cover additional semantic functions.³²

Table 36. Case inflection of personal pronouns

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

These local relations expressions appear uniquely with pronominal endings, and cannot be used with full nouns. Their distribution is thus complementary to that of Layer II nominal case markers:

- (13) *š-ird-i* *ab-us-ke* *d-ē-m* *xatm-i*
 say-PAST-F for-3SG-BEN give-2SG.SUBJ-1SG ring-OBL.M
 'She said to her, give me the ring.'
- (14) *kull* *ma* *aw-ar-i* *šaris-ak* *wila*
 every COMP come-3SG-PRG bridegroom-INDEF or
 'iši *š-ad-i* *n-h-e'* *nkī-man* *lāšy-e*.
 something say-3PL-PRG NEG-is-NEG at-1PL girl-PL
 'Every time a bridegroom or something comes by they say, we don't have any girls.'
- (15) *ašrif-r-a* *atnī-s,* *aha* *čōn-as-ta,* *wāšī-s*
 know-PAST-M on-3SG this.M boy-OBL.M-DAT with-3SG
ik-ak *walāh* *boy-os-i* *aha-k*.
 one-INDEF PART father-3SG-PRED.SG this.M-PRED.SG
 'He knew about him, about this boy, he was with somebody and that was his father.'

- (16) *ama yaʕni xaʕlaʕ ɖall-ēt-nī by-am-i minšī-s.*
 I PART PART stay-1SG-1SG fear-1SG-PRG from-3SG
 ‘Well I was always really scared of her.’

The Benefactive case is the only form in which the same Layer II suffix that is used with nouns – *-ke* – is also employed with pronominal forms. In the first person singular and plural, this suffix actually attaches directly to the nominative stem of the pronominal form: *amake* ‘for me’, *eminke* ‘for us’ (here the insertion *-in-* can be regarded as part of the historical nominative form of the pronoun, cf. Romani *amen*). A variant of the Benefactive suffix in this position is *-kera* (*amakera* ‘for me’, *eminkera* ‘for us’). The other forms in the Benefactive set combine the local expression *ab-* with the pronominal form for the second and third person, and the nominal Benefactive suffix *-ke* or *-kera* (*aburke* ‘for you.SG’, etc.).

The other cases show consistent combinations of a local relations expression and a person suffix, mediated by the vowel *-ī-*. The Locative form *nk-* seems to derive from a form **nek-* ‘at, by’, which might possibly go back to the Iranian (Kurdish/Persian) preposition *nezik* ‘close to’. The Dative form *atn-* ‘to’ is evidently cognate with the local adverbial *atun* ‘above, on, upon’.

The origin of Sociative *wāš-* is less clear. The Syrian Domari form is apparently *vāš-*, which reminds us of the Romani multi-purpose preposition *vaš* ‘in front of, towards, against, about’. If we regard the segment *-š-* as secondary, however, then the *wā-* might be related to the conjunction *w, ū* ‘and’, giving the comitative meaning of the Sociative. Such an interpretation is supported by the occasional substitution of *wā-* by the Arabic preposition *maʕ* ‘with’, giving forms like *maʕšīm* ‘with me’. It is further strengthened by the possible origins of the Ablative *mink-*, which has the variants *minš-* as well as *mēš-*. Here too it appears that *-š-* goes back to a distinct morphological marker of possession, while the lexical root of the marker is Arabic *min* ‘from’.

On the whole, then, it seems that we are dealing with a set of markers that are rather young in the history of the language, having emerged in their current forms following contact with Arabic, yet in all likelihood drawing on an earlier template. To judge by available data (e.g. Herin 2012), Syrian Domari shares this pattern as well as some of the forms involved (*ab-* ‘for’). The set continues to be productive, as seen from the fact that it can integrate variants to existing categories based on Arabic forms, as well as new forms, such as *ʕankīm* ‘about me’, *baʕdis* ‘after it’, and so on using the Arabic preposition *ʕan* and the augment *-kī-* encountered above in the Ablative (*minkīm* ‘from me’).

The actual bound person endings that attach to these local relations expressions are in all likelihood of an older date. We are dealing here with the same set of affixes that serve as possessive markers when attached to nouns, and which supply some of the subject agreement affixes with past-tense verbs.

These are derived from late Middle Indo-Aryan oblique pronouns in **m-* (1SG), **t-* (2SG) and **s-* (3SG), on the basis of which plural formations in *-an* are constructed:

1SG	<i>-m-</i>
2SG	<i>-t-</i>
3SG	<i>-s-</i>
1PL	<i>-man-</i>
2PL	<i>-ran-</i>
3PL	<i>-san-</i>

When attached to verbs, their primary function is to indicate direct objects:

- (17) *fē-r-os-im* *širy-a-ma/* *pišt-im-ma*
hit-PAST-3SG-1SG knife-OBL.F-LOC back-1SG-LOC
'He stabbed me with a knife in my back.'
- (18) *eme bidd-na mnaṣ-k-ar-san* *ḥukūma*
we want-1PL prevent-VTR-3SG.SUBJ-3PL government
inni aw-ad *mangiš-k-ad* *hindar*
COMP come-3SG.SUBJ begging-VTR-3SG.SUBJ here
'We want the government to prevent them from coming to beg here.'
- (19) *aw-ad-i* *hindar bahdil-k-ad-man-i* *hindar*
come-3PL-PRG here embarrass-VTR-3PL-1PL-PRG here
'They come here and they embarrass us here.'

With some predicates, however, person endings (object pronominal affixes) may indicate a whole range of non-subject participants, including external possessor, indirect object, and the experiencer:

- (20) *knaw-ar-s-i* *paw-os*
hurt-3SG-3SG-PRG leg-3SG
'Her leg hurts.'
- (21) *kull dīs kān-u d-ēd-man-a* *xams ū*
every day was-3PL give-3PL-1PL-REM five and
šašrīn qirš falastīnī
twenty penny Palestinian
'Every day they used to give us twenty five Palestinian pence.'
- (22) *er-os-im* *fikir*
come.PAST-3SG-1SG idea
'I got an idea.'

Person suffixes in object function are subjected to the phonotactic interplay of the complex syllable structure of verbs, most notably the presence or absence of progressive and remote tense suffixes *-i* and *-a* respectively, as well as to some consonant assimilation processes that occur in the proximity of certain consonantal subject agreement markers. Table 37 gives an overview of the variation in the syllable position and shape of object person markers on verbs. Beginning with the 1SG subject in the first column, the first row gives the forms for the 2SG object in the following tense-aspect-modality categories:

- (23) Present Indicative: *lah-am-r-i*
see-1SG-2SG-PRG
'I see you'
- (24) Subjunctive: *lah-am-ir*
see-1SG-2SG
'[that] I see you'
- (25) Imperfect: *lah-am-r-a*
see-1SG-2SG-REM
'I was seeing you'
- (26) Past: *lah-ed-om-ir*
see-PAST-1SG-2SG
'I saw you'
- (27) Perfect: *lah-ed-om-r-i*
see-PAST-1SG-2SG-PRG
'I have seen you'
- (28) Pluperfect: *lah-ed-om-r-a*
see-PAST-1SG-2SG-REM
'I had seen you'

Table 37. Transitive verbs with object pronouns: *lah-* 'to see'

Obj.	Pres.Indic.	Subjunct.	Imperfect	Past	Perfect	Pluperfect
Subject: 1SG						
2SG	<i>lahamri</i>	<i>lahamir</i>	<i>lahamra</i>	<i>lahedomir</i>	<i>lahedomri</i>	<i>lahedomra</i>
3SG	<i>lahamsi</i>	<i>lahamis</i>	<i>lahamsa</i>	<i>lahedomis</i>	<i>lahedomsi</i>	<i>lahedomsa</i>
2PL	<i>lahamrani</i>	<i>lahamran</i>	<i>lahamrana</i>	<i>lahedomran</i>	<i>lahedomrani</i>	<i>lahedomrana</i>
3PL	<i>lahamsani</i>	<i>lahamsan</i>	<i>lahamsana</i>	<i>lahedomsan</i>	<i>lahedomساني</i>	<i>lahedomšana</i>

Table 37 (cont.) Transitive verbs with object pronouns: lah- ‘to see’

Obj.	Pres. Indic.	Subjunct.	Imperf.	Past	Perfect	Pluperfect
Subject: 2SG						
1SG	<i>lahēmi</i>	<i>lahēm</i>	<i>lahēma</i>	<i>lahedorim</i>	<i>lahedormi</i>	<i>lahedorma</i>
3SG	<i>lahēsi</i>	<i>lahēs</i>	<i>lahēsa</i>	<i>lahedoris</i>	<i>lahedorsi</i>	<i>lahedorsa</i>
1PL	<i>lahēmani</i>	<i>lahēman</i>	<i>lahēmana</i>	<i>lahedorman</i>	<i>lahedormani</i>	<i>lahedormana</i>
3PL	<i>lahēssani</i>	<i>lahēsan</i>	<i>lahēšana</i>	<i>lahedorsan</i>	<i>lahedorsani</i>	<i>lahedorsana</i>
Subject: 3SG						
1SG	<i>laharmi</i>	<i>laharim</i>	<i>laharma</i>	<i>lahedosim</i>	<i>lahedosmi</i>	<i>lahedosma</i>
2SG	<i>laharri</i>	<i>laharir</i>	<i>laharra</i>	<i>lahedosir</i>	<i>lahedosri</i>	<i>lahedosra</i>
3SG	<i>laharsi</i>	<i>laharis</i>	<i>laharsa</i>	<i>lahedosis</i>	<i>lahedossi</i>	<i>lahedossa</i>
1PL	<i>laharmani</i>	<i>laharman</i>	<i>laharmana</i>	<i>lahedosman</i>	<i>lahedosmani</i>	<i>lahedosmana</i>
2PL	<i>laharrani</i>	<i>laharran</i>	<i>laharrana</i>	<i>lahedosran</i>	<i>lahedosrani</i>	<i>lahedosrana</i>
3PL	<i>laharsani</i>	<i>laharsan</i>	<i>laharsana</i>	<i>lahedossan</i>	<i>lahedossani</i>	<i>lahedossana</i>
Subject: 1PL						
2SG	<i>lahanri</i>	<i>lahanir</i>	<i>lahanra</i>	<i>lahedēnir</i>	<i>lahedēnri</i>	<i>lahedēnra</i>
3SG	<i>lahansi</i>	<i>lahanis</i>	<i>lahansa</i>	<i>lahedēnis</i>	<i>lahedēnsi</i>	<i>lahedēnsa</i>
2PL	<i>lahanrani</i>	<i>lahanran</i>	<i>lahanrana</i>	<i>lahedēnran</i>	<i>lahedēnrani</i>	<i>lahedēnrana</i>
3PL	<i>lahansani</i>	<i>lahansan</i>	<i>lahansana</i>	<i>lahedēnsan</i>	<i>lahedēnsani</i>	<i>lahedēnsana</i>
Subject: 2PL						
1SG	<i>lahasmi</i>	<i>lahasim</i>	<i>lahasma</i>	<i>lahedēsim</i>	<i>lahedēsmi</i>	<i>lahedēsma</i>
3SG	<i>lahassi</i>	<i>lahasis</i>	<i>lahassa</i>	<i>lahedēsis</i>	<i>lahedēssi</i>	<i>lahedēssa</i>
1PL	<i>lahasmani</i>	<i>lahasman</i>	<i>lahasmana</i>	<i>lahedēsman</i>	<i>lahedēsmani</i>	<i>lahedēsmana</i>
3PL	<i>lahassani</i>	<i>lahassan</i>	<i>lahassana</i>	<i>lahedēssan</i>	<i>lahedēssani</i>	<i>lahedēssana</i>
Subject: 3PL						
1SG	<i>lahadmi</i>	<i>lahadim</i>	<i>lahadma</i>	<i>lahededim</i>	<i>lahededmi</i>	<i>lahededma</i>
2SG	<i>lahadri</i>	<i>lahadir</i>	<i>lahadra</i>	<i>lahededir</i>	<i>lahededri</i>	<i>lahededra</i>
3SG	<i>lahadsi</i>	<i>lahadis</i>	<i>lahadsa</i>	<i>lahededis</i>	<i>lahededsi</i>	<i>lahededsa</i>
1PL	<i>lahadmani</i>	<i>lahadman</i>	<i>lahadmana</i>	<i>lahedeman</i>	<i>lahedemani</i>	<i>lahedemana</i>
2PL	<i>lahadrani</i>	<i>lahadran</i>	<i>lahadrana</i>	<i>lahededran</i>	<i>lahededrani</i>	<i>lahededrana</i>
3PL	<i>lahadsani</i>	<i>lahadsan</i>	<i>lahadsana</i>	<i>lahedesan</i>	<i>lahedesani</i>	<i>lahedesana</i>

6.2. Demonstrative pronouns

We define those deictic forms that encode 3rd person entities and are not used in attributive function as ‘demonstrative pronouns’ or ‘stand-alone demonstratives’. Clearly, this definition is applicable in principle both to the ‘deictic’ or demonstrative forms in *-h-* – *aha* and *uhu* (masculine singular), *ihi* (feminine singular) *ehe* (plural) – and to the ‘anaphoric’ or 3rd person pronouns

pandži (singular), *pandžan* (plural). Indeed, in the northern dialects of Domari (Syria, Iraq, Caucasus) it appears that the series in *-h-* serves both functions, or that in some varieties the forms in *-h-* are interchangeable with those in *pan-*. In Jerusalem Domari, the principal functional distinction between the two sets is the specialisation of *pandži* for previously named or identified, human or animate salient topics. The functions of the series of stand-alone demonstratives in *-h-* may indeed overlap with those of the 3rd person pronoun, but they are not limited to them. Most importantly, as we shall see below, the series in *-h-* makes reference to inanimates as well as humans/animates, to new and discontinuous entities rather than just to salient continuous topics, and its reference is situation-based and not limited to the retrieval of conceptual entities from the verbalised discourse context. In short, the distribution of *pandži* and of *aha* etc. may partly overlap, but that of *aha* is broader.

In the following we will therefore pay special attention to the discourse distribution of the set. To begin with, demonstratives have the structural characteristics of distinguishing gender in the singular forms in addition to the opposition of number, in distinguishing between stand-alone subject and object forms, and in distinguishing an internal semantic opposition related to the intensity of deictic reference. As in many Indo-Aryan languages, this opposition is expressed in the vowel stem of the form, often as an opposition between high and low: /o, u/ vs. /a, æ/. Conventionally, this opposition is associated with the dimension of ‘distance’ from the speaker or from the shared position of speaker and listener.³³ Macalister (1914: 23) mentions an opposition of distance only for the masculine singular nominative, though the opposition also exists for both genders and both numbers in the non-nominative forms. Nonetheless, in the nominative gender and number distinctness does indeed override case roles. In the oblique stem, by contrast, nominal case inflection also encodes gender and number (see Table 38).

Table 38. Demonstrative pronouns

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

Demonstratives can be used in Domari for situative reference to entities and actors that are present in the speech setting and can be identified through

sensory means. In the following example, a man is speaking in the presence of his wife. His use of the demonstratives *ihi* and *eraki* refers to her, and the listener is able to identify her from her presence in the situation:

- (29) a. *ama džawiz-r-om bay-om xamsa ū*
 I marry-PAST-1SG wife-1SG five and
šašrīn līra
 twenty lira
- b. *boj-os džawiz-r-a talātīn līra*
 father-3SG marry-PAST-M thirty lira
- c. *day-os māmī-m dīr-i.*
 mother-3SG aunt-1SG daughter-PRED.SG
- d. *day-os er-a-ki māmī-m*
 mother-3SG this-OBL.F-ABL aunt-1SG
dīr-i.
 daughter-PRED.SG
- e. *kēka aw-ad-i hindari*
 thus come-3PL-PRG here
- f. *ama xāl-os ihi,*
 I uncle.maternal-3SG this.F
- g. *ihi ama xāl-os-i.*
 this.F I uncle.maternal-3SG-PRED.SG
- a. 'I married my wife for twenty five pounds.
 b. Her father married for thirty pounds.
 c. Her mother is my paternal cousin.
 d. This one's mother is my paternal cousin.
 e. That's how they came here.
 f. I am her maternal uncle, this one.
 g. This one, I'm her maternal uncle.'

Note that in the first part of the conversation excerpt, back-reference to the 'wife' – introduced in the first segment – is achieved through the use of just pronominal possessive endings *-os* (*boj-os* 'her father', *day-os* 'her mother'). In the fourth segment, however, the reference is reinforced through the possessive construction whose head is the feminine singular demonstrative (here, in the case of the possessor: *eraki* 'of this one'). This serves as a reminder to the listener to identify the referent in the speech situation. This mode of reference continues in the final two segments, where this time the subject demonstrative *ihi* is topicalised first through right-dislocation, then through left-dislocation outside the syntactic frame of the phrase. Here,

dislocation of the demonstrative serves as a quasi-autonomous deictic action intended to re-establish a focus for the adjoining predication.

In the following conversation extract, a similar reference is made to a person who is present in the speech situation: *zayy aha boyiski* ‘like this one’s father’ Later on there is a further situative reference, albeit indirect: *ehe kuštōtēni* ‘these are young’. It does not target a specific individual or group of individuals, but refers wholesale to the presence in the immediate environment of the household of young persons who are not speakers of Domari, and indeed through them to the presence in the community as a whole of a young generation that is no longer fluent in the community heritage tongue:

- (30) a. *baṭil-ah-r-e* *xarrif-hōš-ad* *dōm*
 stop-VITR-PAST-3PL speak-VITR.SUBJ-3PL Dom
- b. *xarīf, till-ēni* *xarrif-h-od-i* *dōm.*
 little big-PRED.PL speak-VITR-3PL-PRG Dom
- c. *zayy aha boy-is-ke/ ama ū boy-os,*
 like this.M father-3G.OBL-BEN I and father-3G
ama ū muxtār xarrif-h-on-i dōm
 I and head.man speak-VITR-1PL-PRG Dom
- d. *amman ehe kuštōt-ēni xarrif-h-od-e’*
 but these.PL small-PRED.PL speak-VITR-3PL-NEG
dōm.
 Dom
- e. *džan-ad-e’ dōm xarrif-h-od-i.*
 know-3PL-NEG Dom speak-VITR-3PL-PRG
- a. ‘They stopped talking Domari.
 b. A little, the old ones talk Domari.
 c. Like this one’s father, me and his father, me and the head man,
 we talk Domari.
 d. But these are young, they don’t speak Domari.
 e. They don’t know how to speak Domari.’

In the following example, the speaker is discussing how the image of the Dom as beggars prevails and is used to prejudice even those members of the community who do not engage in such practices. His use of the demonstratives reconstructs a situative deixis (*‘deixis ad oculus’*) that accompanies the procedure of, quite possibly, a physical gesture and in any case direct identification of the object of reference through sensory means. However, speaker and listener are not actually in that situation. Rather, it is the narration framework that transposes them into an imaginary situation. The use of the

demonstrative here to point at a third individual who is not present is thus an imaginary-situative deixis (cf. Bühler's (1934) '*deixis ad phantasma*')

- (31) a. *yaʕni mahmaykūn ama ghāy ahr-om law*
 PART no.matter I good be-1SG if
rō-š-am wāšī-r
 walk-SUBJ-1SG with-2SG
- b. *š-ad-i aha dōm mangiš-k-ar-i.*
 say-3PL-PRG this.M Dom begging-VTR-3SG-PRG
- c. *dōm mangiš-k-ar-i aha*
 Dom begging-VTR-3SG-PRG this.M
- a. 'So regardless of whether I am respectable, if I am walking with you,
- b. They say: This one is a Dom, he goes begging.
- c. A Dom, he goes begging, this one.'

In all these instances, reference through the demonstrative is to human beings, but it is in some sense impersonal, in that it does not take into account any established information about these human beings as individual characters. Rather, it merely singles them out as objects of perception – either real or within an imaginary sphere. This captures one of the essential differences between the deictic reference through the demonstrative (*aha, ihi, ehe*), whose focus is perceptual-sensory, and anaphoric reference through *paṇḍži*, whose focus is conceptual.

Nonetheless, demonstratives may also refer to entities introduced in the verbal context of the discourse and hence accessible not by sensory means through direct perception, but through conceptualisation of the meaning content of the discourse. Consider the following:

- (32) a. *boy-os qal ehe dom-ēni ū iza*
 father-3SG said these.PL Dom-PRED.PL and if
par-d-or-is mar-am/
 take-PAST-2SG-3SG kill-1SG.SUBJ
mar-am-san-i gištane,
 kill-1SG.SUBJ-3PL-PRG all
- b. *giš dōm-an mar-am-i.*
 all Dom-OBL.PL kill-1SG-PRES
- a. 'His father said, these are Dom, and if you were to marry her, I will kill all of them.
- b. I will kill all the Dom.'

- (33) *ū sālem ez-zīr, aha bar-os-i*
 and Salem ez-Zir this.M brother-3SG-PRED.SG
klēb-as-ki.
 Kleb-OBL.M-ABL
 ‘And Salem ez-Zir, that’s Kleb’s brother.’

In both cases, the demonstrative leads back to an aforementioned entity. In example (32) it is the mention in the previous context of the story (and the conversation between father and son depicted in it) of the girl whom the son wishes to marry and her family background. The demonstrative *ehe* refers to the community of people that had been the subject of discussion, but not to any of their individual characteristics. It is thus, in a way, impersonal, despite that fact that it contains a reference to human actors. In example (33), while the reference achieved by *aha* is of course to a particular individual, it is once again not to that individual as a familiar personality, but rather to his name, for the purposes of clarification concerning someone who is, in fact, hitherto unfamiliar to the listener. In both instances, the demonstrative operates as a clarification device at the discourse level, focusing on identifiable referents not under the assumption that they are in fact familiar to the listener, but as a means of introducing an explanatory account that would shape the listener’s image of these referents.

In a similar function we find a regularised, grammaticalised use of the demonstrative first at the head of a restrictive relative clause, announcing the supply of explanatory information about a topical referent, and then at the head of the main clause, recapitulating that information and incorporating it into the image of the actor:

- (34) *bass ehe illi aw-ad-i, ehe kull yōm*
 but these.PL REL come-3PL-PRG these.PL every day
lim-k-ad-i xamas miyye sitt mit šēkel
 earn-VTR-3PL-PRG five hundred six hundred Shekel
mangiš, minšān n-ēd payy-ē-sar-kera
 begging so.that bring-3PL.SUBJ husband-PL-3PL-BEN
 ‘But those who come, they earn every day five hundred six hundred Shekel from begging, to bring to their husbands.’
- (35) *qal aha illi šašir-k-ed-or atrī-s aha*
 said.M this.M REL point-VTR-PAST-2SG on-3SG this.M
džawiz-r-ēk ḥatta bay-os ḥatta putr-ē-s
 marry-PAST-PRED.SG even wife-3SG even child-PL-3SG
 ‘He said the one whom you pointed out, this one is married, he has a wife and children.’

In a similar construction, demonstratives serve as heads of the relative clauses without a co-demonstrative introducing the main clause, relying instead on the continuous presence of the information established about the head referent:

- (36) *ū xri-k-ad-a kart-as, lak-ed-a ihi*
 and read-VTR-PAST-M card-OBL.M see-PAST-M this.F
illi ktīb-k-ad-i kart-as-ta bay-os-i
 REL write-VTR-PAST-F card-OBL.M-DAT wife-3SG-PRED.SG
mūdir-as-ki.
 director-OBL.M-ABL
 ‘He read the letter and saw that the one who had written on the card was the director’s wife.’
- (37) *ihi illi par-d-om-is, kān-at*
 this.F REL take-PAST-1SG-3SG was-F
yaṭīm-ēy-a, boy-os m-r-ēy-a
 orphan-PRED.SG-REM father-3SG die-PAST-PRED.SG-REM
 ‘The one whom I married was an orphan, her father had died.’

Having surveyed the principal functions of the demonstrative set in *aha* etc. especially in regard to its relation to the 3rd person pronoun *pardži*, I now turn to the semantic opposition within the demonstrative set, namely that which in the nominative masculine singular forms is mapped on to the distinction between *aha* and *uhu*. In Chapter 5, when discussing the distinction between the attributive demonstratives *aha* and *uhu*, I mentioned the features of specificity and intensified disambiguation that are associated with *uhu*. This essentially characterises the stand-alone demonstrative *uhu* in its relationship to *aha*. The specific demonstrative is highly ‘marked’ in the sense that it has a very specialised function and its appearance in the corpus is therefore rather infrequent.

- (38) a. *gory-o-s klēb-as-ki šbuq-h-or-i*
 horse-3SG Kleb-OBL.M-ABL precede-VITR-3SG-PRG
gory-os hay-ki-ka džassās-as-ki
 horse-3SG PART-ABL-DAT Jassas-OBL.M-ABL
- b. *džassās šar-d-ēy-a romḥ-i*
 Jassas hide-PAST-PRED.SG-REM spear- OBL.M
axar šabāy-is-ki
 below gown-3SG.OBL-ABL
- c. *ū uhu agrī-s-i aha klēb*
 and that in.front-3SG-PRED.SG this.M Kleb

fēm-ar-s-i *rumuḥ-ma* *illa*
 hit-3SG-3SG-PRG spear-LOC direct
pišt-is-m-ēk
 back-3SG.OBL-LOC-PRED.SG

- a. ‘Kleb’s horse beat what’s his name’s Jassas’s horse.
 b. Jassas was hiding a spear beneath his gown.
 c. And as he [the other one] was in front of him, Kleb hits him with the spear directly in his back.’

Here we see the (rather rare) use of *uhu* for the purpose of referent disambiguation in narration. The story is about the rivalry between Kleb and Jassas, the two tribal leaders. The excerpt documents one of the climatic moments in which Kleb strikes down his rival. The setting is that of a close horseback race between them, and the specific moment that would change the course of history for the tribes involved is one in which the two come into physical proximity of one another, both engaged in a similar activity. The need to distinguish who is the one carrying the weapon and who is the one that is being slain is of course the key to the appreciation of the story. In this context, the demonstrative *uhu* is there to shift the focus of attention from the most recent topical entity of the previous utterance, Jassas, onto the rival Kleb. For clarification, then speaker then immediately spells out the name of the intended referent, *aha klēb* ‘this Kleb’.

6.3. Enclitic subject pronouns

Domari has an additional marginal referent-tracking device, alongside pronouns, bound person endings and demonstratives. We can call them ‘enclitic subject pronouns’, in order to differentiate them from stand-alone pronouns of the 3rd person as well as from the pronominal affixes used to mark possessors and objects and indeed subjects in past-tense verbs. They are limited to 3rd person entities, and their distribution is limited to interrogative and presentative phrases, where they attach to the interrogative pronoun or to the presentative particle. In narration, the enclitic pronoun therefore appears mainly within direct and indirect quotes:

- (39) *š-ird-a* *ab-us-ke* *kate-ta* *baḷta ya*
 say-PAST-M for-3SG-BEN where-PRO.M coat PART
abu ḥasan?
 Abu Hasan
 ‘He said to him: where is the coat, oh Abu Hasan?’

- (40) *aha li šāṭir-i bar-os*
 this.M REL cunning-PRED.SG brother-3SG
š-ird-a ab-us-ke: kate-ta mana ū
 say-PAST-M for-3SG-BEN where-PRO.M bread and
aha li nan-d-or-san?
 this.M REL bring-PAST-2SG-3PL
 ‘The one with the cunning brother said to him: Where is the bread
 and the things that you brought?’
- (41) *s’il-k-ed-om-is kate-ta mūša*
 ask-VTR-PAST-1SG-3SG where-PRO.M Musa
 ‘I asked him: Where is Musa?’
- (42) *š-ird-i ab-us-ke: kate-te bāqy-os*
 say-PAST-F for-3SG-BEN: where-PRO.PL rest-3SG
xurfān-an-ki?
 lambs-OBL.PL-ABL
 ‘She said to him: Where are the other lambs?’

The enclitic subject pronoun inflects for gender and number: *kate-ta?* ‘where is he?’, *kate-ti?* ‘where is she?’, *kate-te?* ‘where are they?’. It is attested in questions about location as well as in presentative constructions: *haṭe-ta!* ‘there he is!’, *haṭe-ti!* ‘there she is!’, *haṭe-te!* ‘there they are!’. At first glance, we seem to be dealing with an historical Middle Indo-Aryan deictic stem in **t-*, though normal sound development in Domari would have rendered a contemporary **r-*; indeed Romani dialects have a widespread enclitic subject pronoun *lo*, which is often restricted to similar environments – interrogatives and presentatives (cf. Vlax Romani *kaj-lo?* ‘where is he?’, *eta-lo!* ‘there he is!’). It is more likely, however, that Domari *ta* is cognate with the *t-* deictic stem (augmented through *-al-* or *-an-*) that is found in Romani dialects mainly in Macedonia and neighbouring regions; this form, too, has similar distribution patterns: *kaj talo/taj tano?* ‘where is he?’ *ek talo/tano!* ‘there he is!’

6.4. The use of Arabic referential devices

A marginal and yet noteworthy category that belongs to the inventory of Domari reference-tracking devices is the use of Arabic anaphoric forms. The broader definition of ‘anaphora’ might take into account person marking on borrowed auxiliaries and modal expressions; we leave those out of the present discussion, however, and return to them in the discussion of the inflection of paradigms of modals and auxiliaries. But a further, stand-alone anaphoric

device from Arabic – *iyyā-* – is used for resumptive reference to entities in object role in some clauses:

- (43) *šir-d-a* *putr-os-ke* *qal* *iza* *atu*
 say-PAST-M son-3SG-BEN PART if you.SG
bidd-ak *iyyā-hā* *qal* *xallaṣ*, *dža* *nan-is*
 want-2SG.M OBJ-3SG.F PART fine go bring-3SG
 ‘He said to his son, if you want her then fine, go get her.’
- (44) *l-hākim/* *hākim* *ūratī* *bidd-o* *iyyā-k*
 DEF-governor governor tomorrow want-3SG.M OBJ-2SG.M
hayte *dža* *ab-us-ke* *maktab-is-ta*
 PART go.SUBJ.2SG for-3SG-BEN office-3SG.OBL-DAT
 ‘The governor/ the governor wants you tomorrow, go see him at his office.’
- (45) *ū* *džuw-r-e* *dža-nd-a* *ū* *mangiš-ka-d-e*,
 and woman-PL go-3PL-REM and begging-VTR-PAST-3PL
mišš *muhimm* *dža-r* *mangiš-ka-r*,
 NEG important go-3.SG.SUBJ begging-VTR-3SG.SUBJ
dža-r *kar-ar* *illi* *bidd-hā* *iyyā-h*,
 go-3SG.SUBJ do-3SG.SUBJ REL want-3SG.F OBJ-3SG.F
l-muhimm *nan-ar* *ab-us-ke* *pl-e*.
 DEF-important bring-3SG.SUBJ for-3SG-BEN money-PL
 ‘And the women used to go begging, no matter whether she would go begging, or go and do what she wanted, the important thing is to bring him money.’

In all these preceding examples it seems that the motivation for selecting *iyyā-* is the use of the Arabic loan *bidd-* ‘to want’, which is accompanied by its Arabic nominal inflection (*bidd-ak* ‘you want’, literally ‘your-wish’, *bidd-o* ‘he wants’, *bidd-hā* ‘she wants’). The set of Domari bound person affixes is avoided with the Arabic nominal inflection that accompanies *bidd-* (i.e. a structure such as **bidd-ak-is* lit. ‘you-want-it’ is not permissible). The Arabic object pronoun maintains its person, gender and number agreement with the intended referent; thus we find *iyyā-hā* ‘her (direct object)’ with reference to the girl whom the boy wanted to marry (example (43)), *iyyā-k* ‘you.SG.M (direct object)’ with reference to the addressee in the quote (example (44)), and *iyyā-h* ‘it.SG.M (direct object)’, and as an impersonal back-reference correlating with the relativiser *illi* in the sense of ‘whatever she wants’ (example (45)).

A related motivation seems to be behind the use of the Arabic resumptive pronoun in the following example:

- (46) *gar-e nan-d-e řabāy-os boy-im-ki,*
 went-3PL bring-PAST-3PL robe-3SG father-OBL.SG-1SG-ABL
labis-k-ad-ed-im iyyā-hā.
 wear-VTR-PAST-3PL-1SG OBJ-3SG.F
 ‘They went to bring my father’s robe, they dressed me with it/ put it on me.’

Here the speaker uses Arabic *ıyyā-hā* ‘it.SG.F (direct object)’ with reference to the ‘robe’ following a long verb that already contains one object person ending – *labiskadedim* ‘they dressed me’. The semi-agglutinative character of the Domari verb layout allows for the addition of just one object entity through personal affixes into a verb complex. Indirect objects may be expressed as affixes, as in *erosim* ‘it came to me’. But the pronominal affix slot gives precedence to direct objects. In the case of example (46), we have a competition between two direct objects of the transitive verb ‘to dress’ – the one who is being dressed, and the dress that is being used. This competition is resolved by expressing the second object analytically, using the Arabic pronoun. Most likely, however, the procedure involves not in the first instance any application of strict ordering constraints on Domari morphemes, but rather a simple calque on the Arabic pattern *labbasū-nı iyyā-hā* ‘they dressed me [it]’ which accompanies the borrowing of the Arabic expression *labbis-* ‘to dress’.

Anaphoric agreement drawing on a further Arabic structural device is found in the employment of Arabic complementisers, which may carry person, gender, and number agreement:

- (47) *aylabiy-osan ř-ad-i inn-hom min řamāl-os-ki*
 majority-3PL say-3PL-PRG COMP-3PL from north-3SG-ABL
hnūd-an-ki, yā min l-bakistān
 India-OBL.PL-ABL or from DEF-Pakistan
 ‘Most people say that they are from northern India or from Pakistan.’
- (48) *ū pandži in-džan-ar-e’ inn-hā*
 and 3SG NEG-know-3SG-NEG COMP-3SG.F
džāžan-i.
 pregnant-PRED.SG
 ‘And she doesn’t know that she is pregnant.’

6.5. Interrogatives

Domari interrogatives are based on the historical set of Middle Indo-Aryan interrogatives in *k-*. This includes the ‘thing’-interrogative *ki* ‘what’. In this, Domari differs from Romani, which has *so* for ‘what’ and derives further

interrogatives from this base in *s-* (*sar* ‘how’, *savo* ‘which’, and so on). The full set of Domari interrogatives is given in Table 39. Note that while the forms *ki* ‘what’ and *kāni* ‘who, which’ are uniform within the corpus, there is quite a bit of variation in the forms for ‘where’, ‘how’, and ‘why’. At the same time the system as a whole shows some semantic overlap, with *kāni* covering both the categories ‘person’ and ‘specific thing’, and the series *kēkē kehni/ kēnē* covering both manner and reason. For ‘when’, we find two distinct forms. The first, *kawax*, appears to be a blend between the inherited base-interrogative **ka* and Arabic-derived **wax(t) < waqt*. The other, *waqtēš*, is a direct loan from Arabic. It is a widespread form which is, however, not derived from the Jerusalem dialect of Arabic and appears to be an earlier loan. The same can be said for *qadēš* ‘how much’. There is no trace of an inherited interrogative for quantity, but the Jerusalem form has a glottal stop in initial position (‘*adēš*). The pattern of interrogative borrowing resembles very much the hierarchy found in Romani dialects – and one that is indeed widespread in other contact situations as well (cf. Matras 2009: 199).

Table 39. Domari interrogatives

<i>ki</i> (also <i>ka-</i>)	‘what’
<i>kāni</i>	‘who’, ‘which’
<i>krēn</i> (also <i>knēn, katē</i>)	‘where’
<i>kēkē</i> (also <i>kehni, kēnē</i>)	‘how’, ‘why’
<i>kawax</i> (also <i>waqtēš</i>)	‘when’
<i>qadēš</i>	‘how much’

The interrogatives ‘what’ and ‘who’ commonly occur in accompaniment of the non-verbal predication marker *-ik*, as they represent information that is encoded in the form of nominal entities:

- (49) *kiy-ik* *aha?*
 what-PRED.SG this.M
 ‘What is this?’
- (50) *kiy-ik* *nām-or?*
 what-PRED.SG name-2SG
 ‘What is your name?’
- (51) *kiy-ik* *bidd-ak?*
 what-PRED.SG want-2SG.M
 ‘What do you want?’

- (52) *s'il-kar-am-s-i* *kiy-ik* *ra'y-or* *bi*
 ask-VTR-1SG-3SG-PRG what-PRED.SG view-2SG in
šabd-l-ḥalīm?
 Abd-l-Halim
 'I ask him, what do you think of Abd l-Halim?'
- (53) *kān-ik* *skun-ēk* *hindar?*
 who-PRED.SG live-PRED.SG here
 'Who is living here?'
- (54) *kān-ik* *aḥsan* *yarnīwa*
 who-PRED.SG best song
laḥar-k-ed-or-is?
 compose-VTR-PAST-2SG-3SG.OBL
 'Which is the best song you've composed?'

With *kān-ik* 'who', the interrogative is often followed by a relative clause:

- (55) a. *kān-ik* *illi* *wāšī-r-i?*
 who-PRED.SG REL with-2SG-PRED.SG
 b. *n-he-*' *wāšī-m* *wala* *ik-ak.*
 NEG-is-NEG with-1SG no one-INDEF
 a. 'Who is with you?
 b. Nobody is with me.'
- (56) *kān-ik* *il* *er-a?*
 who-PRED.SG REL come.PAST-M
 'Who arrived?'
- (57) *nimer* *ma* *džan-d-a* *kān-ik* *mindži-san*
 lion NEG know-PAST-M who-PRED.SG from-3PL
illi *qēy-r-a* *xurfān-an.*
 REL eat-PAST-M lamb.PL-BL.PL
 'The tiger didn't know which one of them had eaten the lambs.'

ki 'what' (and its variant *kē*), on the other hand, can also occur independently, without the predication marker, when the information it encodes entails an activity (predication) rather than a nominal entity:

- (58) *ki* *bidd-o* *kar-ar* *mat?*
 what want-3SG.M do-3SG.SUBJ person
 'What can one do?'

- (59) *ažoti džan-d-or-i?/ džan-d-or-i kē*
 today know-PAST-2SG-PRG?/ know-PAST-2SG-PRG what
kar-ad-i dōm-ē-man? dōm-ē-man par-ad-i
 do-3PL-PRG Dom-PL-1PL Dom-PL-1PL take-3PL-PRG
tātiy-e
 Arab.F-PL
 ‘Do you know?/ do you know what our Dom are doing today? They are marrying Arab women.’

Predication markers are not found with the other interrogatives, which do not represent potential nominal entities:

- (60) *kate gōrw-e, kate gēsū ū illi t-om-is*
 where cow-PL where wheat and REL give.PAST-1SG-3SG
ab-ran-ke?
 for-2PL-BEN
 ‘Where are the cows, where is the wheat and what I gave you?’
- (61) a. *yašni kān by-ar-i inn-o*
 PART was.3SG.M fear-3SG-PRG COMP-M
aw-ad kury-a-ka ū bay-os
 come-3PL.SUBJ house-OBL.F-DAT and wife-3SG
mišš kury-a-m-ēk.
 NEG house-OBL.F-LOC-PRED.SG
- b. *kate yasmin, gar-i mangiš-k-ar?*
 where Yasmin go.PAST-F begging-VTR-3SG.SUBJ
 a. ‘He used to be afraid that they would come home and his wife would not be at home.
 b. Where is Yasmin, has she gone begging?’
- (62) a. *giš dōm-e waz-r-e min quds-a-ki,*
 all Dom-PL flee-PAST-PL from Jerusalem-OBL.F-ABL
 b. *krēn gar-e? šamman-a-ta*
 where go.PAST-PL Amman-OBL.F-DAT
 a. ‘All the Dom fled from Jerusalem.
 b. Where did they go? To Amman.’
- (63) *kēkē n’-aw-ēy-e’ šamman-a-ka lah-an-ir?*
 why NEG-come-2SG-NEG Amman-OBL.F-DAT see-1PL-2SG
 ‘Why don’t you come to Amman so we can see you?’

- (64) a. *ū šarrif-ah-r-om šankī-s, šār*
 and know-VITR-PAST-1SG of-3SG began.M
xarrif-h-or-i wāšī-m:
 speak-VITR-3SG-PRG with-1SG
- b. *krēn skun-ah-r-or-i, ū qadēš*
 where live-VITR-PAST-2SG-PRG and how.much
šūmr-or, ū ‘išī
 age-2SG and PART
- a. ‘And I recognised him, he started to talk to me:
 b. Where do you live, and how old are you, and so on.’

In conjunction with nominal entities, the interrogatives *ki* ‘what’ and *kāni* ‘who’ can appear in attributive function, eliciting specification about the noun:

- (65) *qahwa-t-is-ke š-am-i ya zalame,*
 coffee-CONST-3SG.OBL-BEN say-1SG-PRG PART man
ki qahw-ē-ki nan-d-or-is ama-ke?
 what coffee-OBL.F-ABL bring-PAST-2SG-3SG 1SG-BEN
 ‘I’m speaking of his coffee, man, what kind of coffee did you bring me?’
- (66) *krēn gar-or, maš kāni šōn-as-ki*
 where go.PAST-2SG with who boy-OBL.M-ABL
gar-or?
 go.PAST-2SG
 ‘Where did you go, with which boy did you go?’

Person interrogatives and location interrogatives may be accompanied by local relation expressions (prepositions):

- (67) *mudīr š-ar-i ab-us-ke min krēn*
 director say-3SG-PRG for-3SG-BEN from where
džan-d-or atu ihi šōny-a?
 know-PAST-2SG you this.F girl-OBL.F
 ‘The director says to him: where did you know this girl from?’

6.6. Indefinites

As discussed in Chapter 4 in connection with indefiniteness marking on nouns, the notion of ‘pronominal indefiniteness’ conveys a sense of referential open-endedness by relating to the place-holder function that the indefinite

expression has as a ‘pronoun’, and simultaneously to the fact that the placeholder can be replaced by any concrete specification that complies with the semantic characterisation of the ontological set. Other, ‘assertive’ pronouns – personal pronouns, demonstrative pronouns – operate within a sphere of a shared referential domain, where there is agreement between speaker and hearer about a single and unique entity that is represented by the pronoun. Interrogative pronouns, by contrast, open an ontological category within which the listener is prompted through the question illocution to supplement information about a referent. Indefinite pronouns do not participate in this question illocution and do not prompt the listener to verbalise a referent within the semantic parameters set by the pronoun. However, they do indicate a gap in the speaker’s own verbalisation of the proposition content, thus prompting the listener to supplement the missing information non-verbally. They are in this way related functionally to interrogatives, and indeed many languages derive indefinite pronouns from interrogatives.

In Domari, the device for marking indefiniteness on nouns – the marker *-ak*, derived apparently from the numeral **ek* ‘one’ – is also the most frequent marker of pronominal indefiniteness (see Table 40). The ontological element in indefinite expressions is either an interrogative, or a noun, or a numeral:

Table 40. Indefinite expressions

	Specific	Negative	Free-choice	Universal
Determiner	<i>šinak</i>	<i>wala</i>	<i>ayy</i>	<i>kull</i>
Person	<i>ekak</i>	<i>wala ekak</i>	<i>ekak, wala ekak, ayy ekak</i>	<i>kull eka</i>
Thing	<i>kiyak, ḥādžak, išī</i>	<i>wala kiyak, wala ḥādžak</i>	<i>wala kiyak, wala ḥādžak</i>	<i>kullši/kullšay</i>
Location	<i>maḥallak</i>	<i>wala maḥallak</i>	<i>ayy maḥall</i>	<i>kull maḥall</i>
Time	<i>marrēni</i>	<i>wala marra, mimarra</i>	<i>ayy marra</i>	<i>da’iman</i>

The form *šinak* is an indefinite determiner of nouns derived from the noun *šin* (*čin*) ‘piece’ (from *šin-/čin-* ‘to cut’):

(68) *ašti nkī-m šinak ple*
 there.is at-1SG some money
 ‘I have some money.’

(69) *iq-naw-ē-m šinak qāyīš*
 eat-CAUS-2SG.SUBJ-1SG some food
 ‘Give me some food to eat.’

The person indefinite is *ekak/ikak* ‘somebody’, based on *ek* ‘one’. The generic indefinite (‘Thing’) is *kiyak* ‘something’, based on the interrogative *ki* ‘what’. An alternative is Arabic *iši* ‘something’, as well as *ḥādžak* ‘something’, based on Arabic *ḥādža*. The latter derives from a noun meaning ‘object, thing’, but is used in some Arabic dialects as an indefinite expression. It is thus likely that it has been borrowed into Domari in its indefinite function, though it does not appear in this function in the Palestinian Arab dialect of Jerusalem and is therefore likely to be an older and more established loan, possibly from Bedouin dialects. The location indefinite is *maḥallak* ‘somewhere’. Once again, the expression is originally an Arabic noun – *maḥall* ‘place’ – but it is already in use in Arabic (including Jerusalem Arabic) in an indefinite function. Domari integrates the two expressions into its general template for indefinite expressions by adding the indefiniteness marker *-ak*. The time indefinite is also Arabic – *marrēni* ‘sometimes’ (Arabic *marra* ‘once’) –, appearing with the plural predication marker to indicate repetition. A singular time indefinite (‘sometime’) is not attested. Note however that an effect similar to indefiniteness – ontological specification of the category without specification of the unit or entity – can be achieved for time by means of the expression *dīsak* ‘one day’, in conjunction with a ‘genuine’ indefinite expression, which may make the expression of singular time indefiniteness somewhat redundant:

- (70) *dīs-ak* *er-a* *nkī-man* *ek-ak* *nām-o-s*
 day-INDEF come.PAST at-1PL one-INDEF name-3SG
l-bāšā
 Al-Pasha
 ‘One day somebody came to our house, his name was Al-Pasha.’

The Arabic determiners *wala* (negative), *ayy* (free-choice), and *kull* (universal) accompany nouns productively, whereby the negative determiner triggers the use of the indefinite marker *-ak* on the noun:

- (71) *št-ird-i* *yūla* *sabaḥtan* *ma* *lak-ed-i* *wala*
 stand-PAST-F ghost morning NEG see-PAST-F any
šmary-ak
 chicken-INDEF
 ‘The ghost stood up in the morning and couldn’t find a single chicken.’
- (72) *sir-t* *kam-k-am* *nkī-s* *kull* *dīs*
 became-1SG work-VTR-1SG.SUBJ at-3SG every day
 ‘I started working for her every day.’

We find the same Arabic determiners accompanying inherited expressions for person (e.g. *wala eka* ‘nobody’, *ayy eka* ‘anybody’), forming negative and free-choice expressions for generic (‘thing’) indefinites (*wala kiyak*, *wala ḥādžak* ‘nothing’) and negative forms for location indefiniteness (*wala maḥallak*):

- (73) *na lak-ad-e wala ik-ak dēy-ma.*
 NEG see-PAST-3PL any one-INDEF village-LOC
 ‘They didn’t find anybody in the village.’
- (74) *aw-ar-i nkī-s ayy eka nkī-s/ t-ad-i*
 come-3SG-PRG at-3SG any one at-3SG give-3PL-PRG
ab-us-kerā
 for-3SG-BEN
 ‘Whoever comes to him/ they are generous with him.’
- (75) *laḥ-ad-a na manī-r-a wala kiy-ak.*
 see-PAST-M NEG stay-PAST-M no what-INDEF
 ‘He saw that nothing remained.’
- (76) *na par-d-e na fraye wala*
 NEG take-PAST-3PL NEG clothes.PL no
ḥādž-ak na par-d-e wāšī-san
 thing-INDEF NEG take-PAST-3PL with-3PL
 ‘They didn’t take any clothes or anything with them.’
- (77) *wala kil-š-am-i wala aw-am-i wala*
 and.NEG exit-SUBJ-1SG-PRG and.NEG PRED.SG and.NEG
waddī-k-ar-m-i maḥall-ak
 and.NEG-bring-VTR-3SG-1SG-PRG place-INDEF
 ‘I wouldn’t go out or come back, nor would she take me anywhere.’

In all other instances, Domari employs the full Arabic expression; this includes the universal expression of thing (*kullšī/kullšay* ‘everything’) and time (*da’iman* ‘always’), and negative expression of time (note that free-choice expressions for location and time and universal expressions for location are unattested in spontaneous, connected speech, but speakers maintain that Arabic expressions are used for these functions):

- (78) *par-ar-m-a burdkān, par-ar-m-a moz,*
 take-3SG-1SG-REM orange take-3SG-1SG-REM banana
par-ar-m-a māsi, qayiši ihi-k, kullšay
 take-3SG-1SG-REM meat food this.F-PRED.SG everything
 ‘He used to bring me oranges, he used to bring me bananas, he used to bring me meat, that is, food, everything.’

- (79) *ū da'iman yašni kur-t ama*
 and always PART was-1SG I
kury-a-m-ēk
 house-OBL.F-LOC-PRED.SG
 'And I was always at home.'

Indefinite expressions can also be determined, suggesting pragmatically that the missing entity is in fact identifiable:

- (80) *aha kiy-ak ehr-a*
 this.M what-INDEF become.PAST-M
ḥār-ir-ma
 neighbourhood-2SG.OBL-LOC
 'This something [incident] took place in your neighbourhood.'

As in many languages, positive indefiniteness acquires a negative reading in negative predications:

- (81) *lamma-n gar-e dfin-k-ad-ed-is*
 when go.PAST-3PL bury-VTR-PAST-3PL-3SG.OBL
maqbar-ē-ta, giš dōm-e šan
 cemetery-OBL.F-DAT all Dom-PL from
maqbar-ē-ki mindir-d-a qal eme
 cemetery-OBL.F-ABL stand-PAST-M said we
bidd-nā-š ik-ak hōš-ar grawara
 want-1PL-NEG one-INDEF become.SUBJ-3SG head.man
emin-ta layēr putr-os
 1PL-DAT except son-3SG
 'When they went to bury him in the cemetery, all the Dom on the way from the cemetery said we don't want anybody except his son to be our head man.'

Otherwise, negative indefinite expressions may also occur alongside negative predications ('double negation'):

- (82) *manī-r-ēn nkī-san bašd sitt iyyām*
 stay-PAST-1PL at-3PL after six day.PL
rawwiḥ-ahr-ēn kury-a-ka n-h-e'
 leave-VTR.PAST-1PL house-OBL.F-DAT NEG-is-NEG
wala ik-ak kury-a-ma.
 no one-INDEF house-OBL.F-LOC
 'We stayed with them, after six days we went home, there was nobody at home.'

6.7. Reflexive and reciprocal pronouns

Domari employs the Arabic reflexive pronoun *ḥāl-*, derived from the word ‘state’, as well as the Arabic reciprocal pronoun *baṣḍ-*, both in combination with person/possessive inflection:

- (83) *ū naḍḍif-k-ad-a ḥāl-os ū gar-a*
 and clean-VTR-PAST-M REFL-3SG and go.PAST-M
īzāṣ-ē-ta kinēn? illi fi l-mūsrra.
 radio-OBL.F-DAT where REL in DEF-Musrara
 ‘And he cleaned himself up and he went to the broadcasting station
 where? [The one] that is in Musrara.’
- (84) *ṣār-u fēr-and-i baṣḍ baṣḍ-ē-san waṭ-an-ma.*
 began-3PL hit-3PL-PRG REC REC-PL-3PL stone-OBL.PL-LOC
 ‘They started to throw stones at one another.’
- (85) *tṣarraf-h-r-ēn baṣḍ-ē-man-ta*
 meet-VTR.PAST-1PL REC-PL-1PL-DAT
 ‘We met one another.’

Chapter 7

Verb inflection, modals and auxiliaries

7.1. The layout of Domari verbs

The Domari verb is characterised by its retention of MIA person affixes in the present conjugation and the emergence of a past-tense conjugation through the attachment of person affixes to the historical past participle in *-ta*. Both phenomena are shared with Romani, although the individual forms differ in part.

The lexical root occupies the first or left-most position in the linear blueprint for the Domari verb (see Figure 2). It is followed by an optional slot, which accommodates derivational markers. There are two types of derivational markers. The first derives verbs from non-verbs as well as from Arabic verb roots. There is a transitive or agentive derivational morpheme *-k(ar)-* and an intransitive or non-agentive morpheme *-(h)(r)o-*. The first is based on the verb *kar-* ‘to do’, the second on *h(r)o-* ‘to become’. The derivational slot may also be occupied by morphemes that derive verbs from verbal roots; here too a valency-based distinction is made between the transitive/causative marker *-naw-* (*-law-*) or *-aw-* and the intransitive/passive marker *-y-* (past-tense *-ī-*).

The next slot in the verbal complex is modal-aspectual. It accommodates firstly a distinction between Past and Present. Semantically, this distinction relates to the state of completion of the event, which is captured for the past stem in Indo-Aryan languages by the functional term ‘perfective’ (cf. Masica 1991). The present encodes the non-perfective perspective on the event. Note that some usages of the non-perfective are compatible with the remote or past tense, such as past-tense habituality or repetition. The present is the default category and it often coincides in form with the plain verb root. The past is usually encoded by a special past-stem or perfective marker, and sometimes also by minor modifications to the lexical root itself. ‘Modality’ refers to the explicit marking of the subjunctive. This appears with some verbs, which employ a subjunctive extension to the stem in *-š-* (*-č-*). With other verbs, the subjunctive is identical to the present indicative except for its lack of tense specification. Some verb classes have generalised the use of the extension in *-š-* to the present indicative forms as well (see below).

The aspect/mood position is followed by a subject concord marker, which in turn may be followed by a pronominal object marker. The right-most

margin of the verb template accommodates external tense markers. These indicate the relationship between the event depicted by the verb, and the speech situation or discourse context. The progressive marker *-i* contextualises the predication as integrated into, and overlapping with the speech situation or discourse context. The remoteness marker *-a* de-contextualises the predication and indicates a demarcation between the setting of the event depicted by the verb, and that of the ongoing interaction. Slots for negation are added outside the verb template, on either side of it: *mangami* ‘I like’, *in-mangam-é* ‘I don’t like’; *sakre* ‘they were able to’, *ma sakr-é* ‘they were unable to’.

Verb root	Derivation	Aspect/ Modality	Subject	Object	Tense	
<i>grēf-</i> sing	<i>k-</i> VTR		<i>am-</i> 1SG		<i>i</i> PRG	‘I sing / I am singing’
<i>xiz -</i> laugh	<i>naw-</i> CAUS	<i>id-</i> PAST	<i>om-</i> 1SG	<i>san-</i> 3PL	<i>a</i> REM	‘I had made them laugh’
<i>lah-</i> see			<i>ad-</i> 3PL	<i>man-</i> 1PL	<i>i</i> PRG	‘They see us’
<i>bag-</i> break	<i>y-</i> ITR		<i>ar-</i> 3SG		<i>a</i> REM	‘It used to break’
<i>šar-</i> hide	<i>ī-</i> ITR	<i>š-</i> SUBJ	<i>am</i> 1SG			‘(that) I hide/ let me hide’ (intrans.)

Figure 2. Layout of the Domari verb

7.2. Verb derivation and loan verbs

7.2.1. Deriving verbs from non-verbs

The productive procedure for the derivation of new verbs in Domari is by means of specialised word-class changing, derivational morphology that derives verbs from non-verbs: nouns, adjectives, and quasi-nominalised forms of Arabic verb roots (see below). The procedure involves the suffixing of a verbal derivation marker *-ka(r)-* or *-(h)o-/(h)r-* to the lexical root. The two suffixes derive from the independent verbs *kar-* ‘to do’ (OIA *kar-*) and *ho-/hr-* ‘to become/ to have become’³⁴ (OIA *bhū-*). Variation in their form shows that they are still undergoing structural erosion. Variation in their meaning, ranging from compound readings (‘to do X’, ‘to become X’) to more integrated

meanings, indicates that they are still undergoing semantic bleaching. Both are signs of their relatively young and still ongoing grammaticalisation process (cf. Heine, Claudi, and Hünnemeyer 1991, Hopper and Traugott 1993).

With pre-Arabic roots, the derivation affix *-k(ar)-* derives verbs from nouns. In most cases the nouns are themselves derived from verbs via the nominaliser *-iš-* and so *-k(ar)-* adds a secondary derivation procedure.

<i>mangiš</i>	‘begging’	<i>mangiškami</i>	‘I beg’
<i>qayiš</i>	‘food’	<i>qayiškami</i>	‘I cook’
<i>lagiš</i>	‘fight’	<i>lagiškami</i>	‘I fight’
<i>kam</i>	‘work’	<i>kamkami</i>	‘I work’
<i>grēf</i>	‘song’	<i>grēfkami</i>	‘I sing’

The affix *-(h)o-/- (h)r-* derives verbs within the pre-Arabic component from adjectives:

<i>tilla</i>	‘big’	<i>tillahromi</i>	‘I have grown’
<i>barda</i>	‘full’	<i>bardahra</i>	‘it filled/ became full’
<i>wida</i>	‘old’	<i>widahra</i>	‘he grew old’
<i>mišta</i>	‘ill’	<i>mištahri</i>	‘she fell ill’

This distribution also assigns the two derivation markers distinct semantic specialisations within the word derivation procedures that apply to the pre-Arabic lexical component: The marker *-k(ar)-* derived form ‘to do’ adds an agentive reading to the subject of the verb that is based on the nominal lexical stem (‘I initiate and carry out X’). By contrast, the morph *-hr-* from ‘to have become’ assigns the role of an experiencer or undergoer to the subject of the verb that is derived from the adjective (‘I undergo the process of X’).

7.2.2. Arabic loan verbs

From this division of semantic roles the two markers also derive their most productive function in the language, which is to integrate loan verbs from Arabic. Like many other languages, Domari does not allow direct integration of verbal stems into its inflection paradigms, but requires instead a verbalising element that treats the borrowed verbal root as a non-verb, and adapts it into the receiving language by assigning to it the properties of a predication.³⁵ An added complication is the fact that Arabic lacks an obvious default verbal root form that is not inflected, due to the nature of Arabic-Semitic inflectional and derivational procedures, which involve the insertion of a consonantal root with

abstract semantic meaning into a meaningful morpho-phonological template. Most languages that borrow verbs from Arabic select the so-called *maṣḍar* or verbal noun form, which is a secondary nominalisation, akin perhaps to some extent to the Domari nominal derivations in *-iṣ-* and best translated into English by means of a gerundial form such as *fath l-ḥudūd* ‘the opening of the borders’. This is then incorporated by means of an inflected ‘light verb’, e.g. Persian *ta’līm dādan* ‘to teach’ (lit. ‘to give teaching’), Turkish *teşekkür etmek* ‘to thank’ (‘to do thanking’), Urdu *tabādla karnā* ‘to transfer’ (‘to make exchange’). A distinction is generally made between light verbs for transitive or agentive loans (usually ‘to do’, ‘to make’, ‘to give’; cf. Turkish *etmek*, Kurdish *kirin*, Persian *kardan*, Urdu *karnā*) and those used to integrate intransitive or non-agentive loans (usually ‘to become’, sometimes ‘to fall’; Turkish *olmak*, Kurdish *bûn*, Persian *šodan*, Urdu *honā*). Romani, too, appears to have used two distinct procedures to incorporate transitive and intransitive loan verbs. Transitive verbs were adapted using the marker *-ker-* (from *ker-* ‘to do’) or the transitive derivation marker *-ar-*, while the verb *-ov-* or *-av-* ‘to become’ was attached to intransitive verbs. Continuation of this distinction is maintained in most Romani dialects (cf. Matras 2002: 128–135).

In Domari, the form of the Arabic verb that is carried over is one that is in fact non-existent in the Arabic source. It is, rather, a constructed form that contains the relevant root consonants in sequence, gemination of the middle consonant wherever this is meaningful in the original Arabic derivation template, and a selection of vowels within the root that is representative of the vowel pattern of the relevant Arabic inflection class. The form is, however, stripped of any person agreement or tense, aspect or modality markers. It is thus different from the Arabic imperative form, which Littmann (1920: 131) believed was the underlying form borrowed into Domari. It also differs from the Arabic 3SG subjunctive, which is also a rather ‘minimalist’ form in Arabic but still has person, gender, and number agreement and a vowel pattern that is much more systematic than the reduced pattern found in the Arabic root element that is carried over into Domari. Thus, the Arabic root *s.ʿl* ‘to ask’ derives in Palestinian Arabic the subjunctive 3SG *yisʿal* and the imperative *ʿisʿal*, yet the root form that is imported into Domari is *sʿil-* (*sʿilokedom* ‘I asked’).

The meaning of the verb root determines which Domari derivation morpheme acts as its adaptation marker. The semantic specialisation of the two Domari verb derivation morphemes can be nicely illustrated through these rare examples of alternation of the same Arabic roots with different loan verb markers, in accordance with the semantic structure of the respective predicates:

- (1) *par-d-a* *tfang-ī*, *tuxx-k-ad-a* *kažž-as*,
 take-PAST-M gun-OBL.M shoot-VTR-PAST-M man-OBL.M
intaxx-ah-r-a, *mar-ī-r-a* *kažža*
 be.shot-VTR-PAST-M die-ITR-PAST-M man
 ‘He took the gun, he shot the man. The man was shot and died.’
- (2) *ū* *day-os* *džawwiz-hr-i* *ekak*
 and mother-3SG marry-VTR.PAST-F one
 ‘And her mother married someone.’
- (3) *ama* *wafaq-k-ad-om-i* *inn-i*
 I agree-VTR-PAST-1SG-PRG COMP-1SG
džawwiz-k-am-is *ab-ur-ke*
 marry-VTR-1SG-3SG.OBL to-2SG-BEN
 ‘I have agreed to marry her to you.’
- (4) *rawwaḥ-kar-d-ēn-is* *kury-is-ta*
 go-VTR-PAST-1PL-3SG.OBL house-3SG.OBL-DAT
 ‘We sent him home (to his house).’
- (5) *rawwaḥ-ah-r-a* *maṣr-a-ta*
 go-VTR-PAST-M Egypt-OBL.F-DAT
 ‘He went to Egypt.’

The two Arabic verbs *tuxx-* ‘to shoot’ and *intaxx-* ‘to be shot’ are integrated as ready-made lexical derivations from Arabic, and are each accompanied by a distinct integration marker in Domari. In the other two cases, agentivity and valency are indicated strictly through the choice of Domari loanverb integration marker. The contrast between *džawwizhri* ‘she married’ and *džawwizkamis* ‘I shall marry her off’, both transitive verbs, might be interpreted as one of transitive and causative structure, as can be the opposition between intransitive *rawwaḥahra* ‘he went away’ and transitive *rawwaḥkardēnis* ‘we sent him away’.

A look at a larger sample of Arabic verbs and their mode of integration reveals that the choice of loan verb adaptation marker is dependent not primarily on the syntactic argument structure of the verb, but on the semantic properties of the subject in respect of the action. Table 41 offers a comparison of a number of verbs found in the corpus. The verbs are arranged on a tentative continuum between ‘clear transitivity/intransitivity’ at the top, and ‘fuzzy transitivity/intransitivity’ at the bottom part of the table. Fuzzy transitives are activities that do not require an overt and explicit direct object, while fuzzy intransitives allow a direct object.

Table 41. Selection of Arabic loan verbs

Arabic roots with <i>-k(ar)-</i>		Arabic roots with <i>-(h)o/(h)r-</i>	
clear transitivity		clear intransitivity	
<i>rabbikar-</i>	'to raise'	<i>indžannih-</i>	'to go crazy'
<i>wazink-</i>	'to weigh (tr)'	<i>skurro-</i>	'to reside'
<i>qaṭaʿkar-</i>	'to slice'	<i>ʕiṣhr-</i>	'to live'
<i>dabbirkar-</i>	'to arrange'	<i>skuto-</i>	'to be quiet'
<i>laḥank-</i>	'to compose'	<i>qarribho-</i>	'to approach'
<i>think-</i>	'to accuse'	<i>rawiḥhr-</i>	'to walk'
<i>š(t)riik-</i>	'to buy'	<i>zhurahr-</i>	'to appear'
<i>naḍḍiik-</i>	'to clean'	<i>xarrafo-</i>	'to speak'
<i>sakkirk-</i>	'to shut'	<i>intaqimho-</i>	'to take revenge'
<i>waddik-</i>	'to send'	<i>nqulahr-</i>	'to move'
<i>ṭayyibk-</i>	'to heal'	<i>inhisso-</i>	'to feel'
<i>ʕallimk-</i>	'to teach'	<i>ʕallimhr-</i>	'to learn'
<i>rfaḍk-</i>	'to refuse'	<i>rdahr-</i>	'to accept'
<i>s'ilk-</i>	'to ask'	<i>šbuqho-</i>	'to precede'
<i>nadik-</i>	'to call'	<i>baṭṭilahr-</i>	'to stop, quit'
<i>yannik-</i>	'to sing'	<i>radžiho-</i>	'to make a request'
<i>ʕaziik-</i>	'to play music'	<i>fhimo-</i>	'to understand'
<i>qriikar-</i>	'to read'	<i>uḥfužhr-</i>	'to memorise'
<i>ktibk-</i>	'to write'	<i>ḥibbo-</i>	'to like'
fuzzy transitivity		fuzzy intransitivity	

The common denominator for each group of verbs is the status of the subject. Arabic roots are integrated with *-k(ar)-* if their subject is the initiator and intentional agent of an action, in which case the action is likely to have triggered a result that is in some way detectable on, or can at least be attributed to an object. In this way, *-k(ar)-* continues its function of deriving initiated activities from the nouns that describe them. Arabic verbs are integrated with *-(h)o/(h)r-* if their subject is an undergoer or experiencer of the action or event, in which case the outcome of the action will show its signs on the emotional or physical state of the subject. This continues the marker's earlier function of deriving inchoatives from adjectives, a function that is now extended to a wider class of verbs of the kind that has been termed 'unaccusative' (Perlmutter 1978). The following example offers a nice illustration:

- (6) *xallaṣ-ah-r-om* *kam-as*
 finish-VITR-PAST-1SG work-OBL.M
 'I finished my work'

The verb 'to finish' is obviously transitive, and its direct object *kam-as* is identified as such through the unmodified oblique case marking. The subject is

acting intentionally and is not simply the recipient of an action initiated or controlled by outsiders or by external sources. But the Arabic verb root *xallaṣ* ‘finish’ is incorporated into Domari by means of the intransitive derivational morpheme *ahr-* (‘to become’). This captures a subtle but crucial semantic feature of the predicate, namely the fact that completion of the activity leaves the subject free of work obligations and thus in a state resulting from the activity that is different to the state in which he was before the completion of the activity. It is this resultative state affecting the subject that is captured by the choice of derivation/loan-verb adaptation marker.

7.2.3. Valency-changing derivational morphology

Domari has two further verb-derivational strategies, both of which involve alternating the valency of existing verb roots. The language continues the OIA passive derivation *-y-* (MIA *-jj-*) in the form of a derivational affix *-y-* (past *-ī-r-*) whose function is to change transitive verb roots into intransitives. In the following examples the change in valency amounts to a transposition from an active to a passive construction, whereby the direct object-patient of the active construction becomes the subject-patient of the passive construction (cf. Siewierska 1984):³⁶

- (7) a. *ama ban-ami kapiy-a*
I shut-1SG door-OBL.F
‘I shut the door’
- b. *kapi ban-y-ari*
door shut -ITR-3SG
‘The door is closing’
- (8) a. *ama qol-d-om šubbāk-ī*
I open-PAST-1SG window-OBL.M
‘I opened the window’
- b. *šubbāk qol-ī-r-a*
window open-ITR-PAST-M
‘The window was opened’
- (9) a. *pandži kšal-d-a širy-a*
3SG pull-PAST-M knife-OBL.F
‘He pulled a knife’

- b. *širi kšal-ī-r-i*
knife pull-ITR-PAST-F
'The knife was pulled'
- (10) a. *dir-d-a fray-ē-s šōny-a-ki*
tear-PAST-M clothes-PL-3SG girl-OBL.F.ABL
'He tore the girl's clothes'
- b. *qamīs-os dir-ī-r-a*
shirt-3SG tear-ITR-PAST-M
'Her shirt was torn'
- (11) a. *kar-d-e maḥkame*
do-PAST-3PL trial
'They carried out a trial'
- b. *kar-ī-r-a ab-us-ke maḥkame*
do-ITR-PAST-M for-3SG-BEN trial
'He was put on trial'
- (12) a. *mar-d-ed-is*
kill-PAST-3PL-3SG.OBL
'They killed him'
- b. *pandži mar-ī-r-a*
3SG kill-ITR-PAST-M
'He was killed'

There are, however, other kinds of contrastive pairs that arise through intransitive derivations. The intransitive derivation may allow either a passive reading or one that portrays an unintentional event that affects the intransitive subject:

- (13) a. *bag-ird-om lamb-ē*
break-PAST-1SG lantern-OBL.F
'I broke the lantern'
- b. *bag-ī-r-i lamba*
break-ITR-PAST-F lantern
'The lantern broke'

The intransitive can have an active reading, where the subject is an active and intentional undergoer or experiencer of the activity:

- (14) a. *džassās šar-d-ēy-a* *romḥ-i*
 Jassas hide-PAST-PRED.SG-REM lance-PRED.SG
 ‘Jassas was hiding a lance’
- b. *qafinna šar-y-ar-a*
 this hide-ITR-3SG-REM
 ‘The thief was hiding’

In some cases, the intransitive derivation has a medio-passive reading, with the subject carrying out the action on him/herself:

- (15) a. *dow-ami fray-ē-m*
 wash-1SG clothes-PL-1SG
 ‘I am washing my clothes’
- b. *dow-y-ami*
 wash-ITR-1SG
 ‘I am washing (myself)’

Some intransitive derivations merely neutralise the transitive argument structure of the transitive base verb, resulting in a semantically related activity that lacks a direct object:

- (16) a. *man-ami ūyar-ī*
 leave-1SG town-OBL.M
 ‘I am leaving the town’
- b. *man-y-ami ūyar-ma*
 stay-ITR-1SG town-LOC
 ‘I am staying in the town’

A further pair of affixes, *-aw-* and *-naw-* (*-law-*), attach to both transitive and intransitive roots to add an argument or increase the valency of the lexical verb. In the case of some roots, the acquired meaning is causative, indicating that a potential actor is being prompted to initiate or carry out an action (cf. Shibatani 2001):

- (17) a. *q-ami*
 eat-1SG
 ‘I eat’
- b. *q-naw-ami xudwar-an*
 eat-CAUS-1SG child-OBL.PL
 ‘I feed the children’

- (18) a. *xaz-r-ed-i* *atr-īs*
 laugh-PAST-3PL-PRG on-3SG
 ‘They laughed at him’
- b. *xiz-naw-id-ed-is*
 laugh-CAUS-PAST-3PL-3SG
 ‘They made him laugh’
- (19) a. *pandži wēs-r-a*
 3SG sit-PAST-M
 ‘He sat’
- b. *ama wis-law-id-om-san*
 I sit-CAUS-PAST-1SG-3PL
 ‘I made them sit’

Alternatively, increasing valency may simply mean that a transitive verb is derived from an intransitive one:

- (20) a. *kil-d-om*
 descend-PAST-1SG
 ‘I descended’
- b. *kl-aw-id-om*
 descend-CAUS-PAST-1SG
 ‘I lowered’

In some cases the causative affix functions simply as a word derivation marker, deriving a transitive verb from a non-verb. An example is *tik-naw-ari* ‘it hurts’, from the noun **dukh* (cf. Romani *dukh-al* ‘it hurts’, Hindi/Urdu *dukh dēnā* ‘to hurt’).

Available resources are drawn upon to derive both transitive and intransitive verbs from base roots. Sometimes each member of a pair of counterpart verbs owes its form and meaning to a process of secondary derivation; we thus get ‘passives’ contrasting with ‘causatives’, which in effect amounts to a valency opposition between intransitive and transitive:

- (21) a. *lamba waš-ī-r-i*
 lantern burn-ITR-PAST-F
 ‘The lantern burnt.’
- b. *ama wiš-naw-id-om* *lamb-ē*
 I burn-CAUS-PAST-1SG lantern-OBL.F
 ‘I burnt the lantern.’

- (22) a. *b-y-an-a* *minšī-s*
fear-ITR-1PL-REM from-3SG
'We used to fear him.'
- b. *b-naw-id-ēn-is*
fear-CAUS-PAST-1PL-3SG.OBL
'We frightened him.'
- (23) a. *gar-ī-r-om* *kury-a-ta*
returned-ITR-PAST-1SG house-OBL.F-DAT
'I returned home'
- b. *gir-naw-id-a* *giš dōm-an*
return.CAUS-PAST-M all Dom-PL.OBL
'He made all the Dom return.'

7.3. Verb stems and person concord

As in other Indo-Iranian languages, the Domari verb consists of two stems, the present and past. As explained above, the meaning of the so-called present stem is essentially non-perfective, while the past stem has an inherently perfective meaning, conveying actions and events in their completed state. The stem distinction is thus aspectual in nature. The formal distinction between the present and perfect stems is usually made by means of a perfective marker which extends the present stem to form the past: *ban-* 'to shut' > *ban-d-* 'to have shut, to be shut'. The perfective marker derives from the OIA/MIA participle marker *-(i)ta*. In general, then, the present stem serves as a kind of default verb stem while the past-perfective stem is morphologically more complex, showing an extension. Some verbs, however, show phonological differences between the present and past stems. Most are minor differences such as syllable reduction in the present stem: *sn-ami* 'I hear' < *sin-dom* 'I heard'. In a few rare cases stems show morphological suppletion: *dža-* 'to go', *gar-* 'to have gone/ to be gone'.

The two verb stems, present and past, command two distinct sets of subject concord markers. The present set of subject concord marker in Domari is a direct continuation of the MIA set of person markers. This makes Domari, along with Romani, one of the morphologically most archaic languages within the New Indo-Aryan language family, most of whose members have lost the present-stem set of concord markers and preserve traces of them only with auxiliaries. Table 42 shows the MIA present-tense person markers and their continuation in Domari:³⁷

Table 42. MIA and Domari present-tense subject concord markers

	MIA (Pali)	Domari
1SG	<i>-ami</i>	<i>-ami</i>
2SG	<i>-asi</i>	<i>-ēk</i>
3SG	<i>-ati</i>	<i>-ari</i>
1PL	<i>-āma</i>	<i>-ēn</i>
2PL	<i>-atha</i>	<i>-asi</i>
3PL	<i>-anti</i>	<i>-a(n)di</i>

The direct historical continuation of the forms for the 1SG and 3PL is most easily recognisable; the erosion of the 3PL is ongoing and one finds among Jerusalem speakers variation between the form that retains the nasal, and the simplified form. The marker for the 3SG is equally a direct descendant of the MIA form, adhering to the general shift of medial *-t-* in MIA to *-r-* in Domari (MIA *gata* ‘gone’ > Domari *gara*). The emergence of the other forms is, in the absence of historical records for the language, subject to interpretation. It would appear that the 2PL shows the outcome of an intra-person analogy to the historical 2SG in **-si*.

The 2SG form is the most volatile in the entire Domari person inflection paradigm (see below) and it appears that the current form *-ēk* is the product of a rather late renewal process. There are two possible origins for the contemporary 2SG: It may be cognate with the Dardic 2SG ending *-kh* (e.g. Kashmiri), or it may have been copied from the non-verbal predication marker *-ēk* and so it is perhaps traceable to a participial or gerundial marker. There are two further possibilities of indicating the 2SG person concord. The first is zero marking, which appears with most verbs in the subjunctive and imperative. This is easy to explain through the general default status of the 2SG command form, which is entirely situative-contextual and thus stripped of any marking beyond the bare lexical stem of the verb. This command form then serves as a model for the syntactically embedded subjunctive, which is in a similar fashion dependent, albeit upon its immediate syntactic and propositional environment rather than on the pragmatics of the speech situation. A further marker for the 2SG in Domari is *-ī*. This too is the less regular form and is largely restricted to the subjunctive paradigm that is used with some verbs and is constructed on the basis of the augment *-š-* (see discussion below). The link between the appearance of the subjunctive stem augment in *-š-* and the 2SG marker *-ī* suggests that the latter may have originated in the person conjugation of what had once been a distinct auxiliary verb **š-* (this consonantal form is preferred for the reconstruction since it remains the pronunciation of the form in the more ‘conservative’ speech; see Chapters 1 and 2). Now, *-ī* is a well-established marker for the 2SG in Iranian and in some of the Indo-Iranian frontier languages. The form *č-*, in turn, is common in the northern Indo-Aryan

languages as an auxiliary. We should therefore entertain the possibility that the augment $-š-$ < $-č-$ is a borrowing from one of the Dardic languages into Domari, and that the person ending $-ī$ of the 2SG has been borrowed with it.³⁸

As for the 1PL in $-ēn$, it appears to be an analogy to the identical 1PL form $-ēn$ which we find in the past-tense set of person endings, and which derives from the MIA 1PL oblique pronoun **ne* (see below). The vowel in both the 2SG and 1PL marker is overridden by the root vowel of vocalic roots, thus *dža-k* ‘you go’, *dža-n* ‘we go’, *ho-k* ‘you become’, *ho-n* ‘we become’.

Table 43. MIA oblique pronouns and Domari past-tense subject concord markers

	MIA pronoun	Domari subject	Domari agent
1SG	<i>-me</i>	<i>-om</i>	<i>-om</i>
2SG	<i>-te</i>	<i>-or</i>	<i>-or</i>
3SG.M	<i>-se</i>	<i>-a</i>	<i>-os</i>
3SG.F	<i>-se</i>	<i>-i</i>	<i>-os</i>
1PL	<i>-ne</i>	<i>-ēn</i>	<i>-ēn</i>
2PL	<i>-be</i>	<i>-ēs</i>	<i>-ēs</i>
3PL	<i>-se</i>	<i>-e</i>	<i>-e-d-</i>

The disappearance of the old past-tense inflection is common to all New Indo-Aryan languages. The finite past-tense forms were succeeded by a generalisation of the past participle, giving rise to a new, ergative alignment system in which the transitive participle agreed with the patient or direct object and the intransitive participle agreed with the subject/agent (cf. Bubeník 1989). This state of affairs is continued in many of the NIA languages to this today (e.g. Hindi/Urdu). Domari, like Romani, follows the development pattern of the Dardic or ‘frontier languages’ such as Kashmiri and Shina. Here, oblique personal pronouns representing the agent were attached to the participle, accompanying initially in all likelihood just transitive predicates, following the format [done+by-me] (the thematic role of the pronoun was expressed in all likelihood by the case of the pronoun rather than by an adposition). Subsequently, these oblique pronouns became integrated into the participle, forming a new past-tense conjugation. Alignment shifted away from ergative and back to nominative-accusative. By analogy to transitive verbs, the new conjugation was then adopted also for intransitive verbs. MIA oblique pronouns and Domari past-tense subject concord markers are shown in Table 43.

Crucial to our reconstruction scenario is the distinction made in Domari between subject and agent markers in the 3SG past tense set. The subject markers are essentially adjectival endings which continue to represent the older state of affairs of a past participle agreeing with the subject in intransitive verb: *gar-a* ‘he went’, *gar-i* ‘she went’ (cf. Hindi/Urdu *giy-ā* ‘he

went', *gij-ī* 'she went'). The Domari verb system has undergone a levelling process at the end of which transitive verbs have adopted the same adjectival endings, now expressing subject rather than object agreement: *qēr-a* 'he ate', *qēr-i* 'she ate' (but note object agreement with transitives in Hindi/Urdu: *dekh-ā* 'X saw him', *dekh-ī* 'X saw her'). The agent markers in Domari can be traced back to the oblique pronouns, like (most of) the other person endings. They appear in Domari past-tense verbs whenever a pronominal object is specified: Thus *laked-os-man* 'he/she saw us', *nērd-os-im* 'he/she sent me', and so on. The connection between the 3SG agentive marking in *-os* and the specification of an object allows us to establish a direct link between the emergence of *-os* as a person marker in the new past-tense person inflection paradigm and the position of its predecessor, 3SG *-se*, in the set of oblique person markers representing the agentive role in earlier stages of the language.

This link can be verified for the remainder of the singular paradigm. The form for the 1SG *-om* bears the same relation to the MIA 1SG oblique pronoun *-me*, as does the 2SG form *-or* to the MIA 2SG oblique pronoun *-te* (consider once again the shift of medial dental stop to /t/ in Domari). The vowel *-o-*, which connects the consonantal pronominal form to the verb stem, is inflectional in nature. It alternates with *-i-*, which appears when the pronominal affix represents an object: *nērd-os-im* 'he/she sent me', *nērd-os-is* 'he/she sent him/her'. The alternation is thus case-sensitive and points to a nominal or pronominal element, possibly an inflected relativiser, which once mediated between the verb and the subject and object pronoun.

It remains necessary to account for the plural forms in the past-tense person set. The 1PL does not pose any particular problems if one accepts the scenario suggested here for the singular forms. We can draw the same link between the 1PL ending *-ēn* and the MIA oblique pronoun *-ne*. The difference in the mediating vowel can be explained by the plural meaning of the suffix. If the mediating vowel does indeed go back to a nominal or pronominal element that was inflected for case, then its inflection is likely to have been sensitive also to number, in which case the ending *-e* (lengthened and raised to /ē/ in closed syllables) nicely complements the nominative masculine singular *-o*. It is then this 1PL ending of the past tense that serves as a model for the counterpart 1PL present-tense form and is copied into that set.

In the 2PL we have the opposite process, namely the copying of the form from the present-tense person set (which in turn is copied from the original 2SG of that same set). The consonantal form is then integrated into the same vowel mediation pattern as the 1PL. Finally, the 3PL behaves in a somewhat similar way to the 3SG in retaining the adjectival-participial plural ending *-e*. A partial analogy to the present tense set surfaces when a vowel is added to the 3PL past-tense form: *parde* 'they took', *parde-d-a* 'they would have taken', *parde-d-is* 'they took it'.

Pronominal objects are expressed in Domari through a set of object concord markers that are identical in principle to the set of pronominal possessive markers discussed in Chapter 6. They too derive from the set of MIA singular oblique pronouns: 1SG *-im*, 2SG *-ir*, 3SG *-is*. The plural forms are created on the basis of the singular forms, adding the nominal oblique plural ending *-an*: 1PL *-man*, 2PL *-ran*, 3PL *-san*. Object markers always follow subject markers within the morphological template of the verb:

(24) *par-d-om-is*
take-PAST-1SG-3SG.OBL
'I took it'

(25) *nēr-d-or-im*
send-PAST-2SG-1SG.OBL
'You sent me'

Typically, object pronouns appear with transitive verbs, as in the preceding examples. There are, however, instances where an object pronoun may appear with an intransitive verb to express the beneficiary, experiencer, or goal of an action or event. In such cases, the 3SG subject is encoded as an agent, with *-os-*:

(26) *m-r-os-ir*
die-PAST-3SG-2SG.OBL
'He died on you'

(27) *er-os-im*
come.PAST-3G-1SG.OBL
'He came to me'

(28) *pandži ras-r-os-im*
3SG run-PAST-3SG-1SG.OBL
'He ran after me'

7.4. Verb inflection classes

Domari verb inflection classes are shaped by a number of different factors including the phonological shape of the verb root, the reliance on intensifying morphemes, syllable reduction and epenthesis, variation and restructuring in the existential verb, shifts between the historical optative and indicative paradigms, root suppletion, and quasi-suppletion. The individual verb inflection classes are usually distinguished by one or more of the following features:

- (a) The identity of the perfective or past tense marker that follows the verb root in past tense (perfective) formations. The perfective marker continues the OIA/MIA participle marker *-(i)ta*. Its contemporary formants in Domari are *-d-* in positions following roots that end in the consonants /r, n, l, g, t, k/ and partly /w, s/, *-r-* following vowel roots as well as the consonants /w, s, z/, and in one exceptional case *-t-*.
- (b) The presence of a past-tense intensifier *-ir-* or *-er-* mediating between the verb root and the perfective ending, deriving in all likelihood from the transitive and intensifier marker **-ar-* in MIA; and the presence of an augment *-in-* in a similar position, derived apparently from the participial ending *-in-*;
- (c) The presence of an intrusive vowel *-i-* or *-e-* between the verb root and the perfective marker;
- (d) Syllable reduction of the verb root in the present tense;
- (e) The subjunctive paradigm and its reliance on secondary stem modification in the form of the augment *-š-*;
- (f) Quasi-suppletive lexical roots in which the shape of the past-tense (perfective) root undergoes significant changes compared with its present-tense (non-perfective) counterpart, and genuinely suppletive roots, where past and present stems derive from distinct lexemes.

The tables below provide overviews of the inflection patterns of individual groups using in each case a single MIA verb example, followed by a selective list of other verbs belonging to the same group and a brief description.

Table 44. Group 1: Transitives, dental sonorant root: *šar-* ‘to hide (sth)’

	Pres.Ind.	Subj.	Imperf.	Past	Perf.	Pluperf.	Imperat.
1SG	<i>šarami</i>	<i>šaram</i>	<i>šarama</i>	<i>šardom</i>	<i>šardomi</i>	<i>šardoma</i>	
2SG	<i>šarēk</i>	<i>šar</i>	<i>šarēya</i>	<i>šardor</i>	<i>šardori</i>	<i>šardora</i>	<i>šar</i>
3SG.M	<i>šarari</i>	<i>šarar</i>	<i>šarara</i>	<i>šarda</i>	<i>šardēk</i>	<i>šardēya</i>	
3SG.F	<i>šarari</i>	<i>šarar</i>	<i>šarara</i>	<i>šardi</i>	<i>šardik</i>	<i>šardīya</i>	
1PL	<i>šarani</i>	<i>šaran</i>	<i>šarana</i>	<i>šardēn</i>	<i>šardēni</i>	<i>šardēna</i>	
2PL	<i>šarasi</i>	<i>šaras</i>	<i>šarasa</i>	<i>šardēs</i>	<i>šardēsi</i>	<i>šardēsa</i>	<i>šaras</i>
3PL	<i>šara(n)di</i>	<i>šarad</i>	<i>šara(n)da</i>	<i>šarde</i>	<i>šardēdi</i>	<i>šardēda</i>	

kšal- ‘to pull’, *qol-* ‘to open’, *štal-* ‘to carry’, *ban-* ‘to shut’, *džan-* ‘to know’, *man-* ‘to leave’, *min-* ‘to hold’, *nan-* ‘to bring’, *pēn-* ‘to take out’, *šin-* ‘to cut’, *kar-* ‘to do’, *mar-* ‘to kill’, *par-* ‘to take’

Group 1 might be regarded as the ‘plain’ inflection class. Its verbal roots end in the dental sonorants /l, n, r/. The perfective marker is *-d*, which immediately follows the verb root. The present subjunctive stem is identical to the present indicative, for all persons. The 2SG subjunctive/imperative form is zero-marked. Verbs belonging to this group tend to be transitive.

Table 45. Group 2: Transitives, other roots: *bag-* ‘to break’

	Pres.Ind.	Subj.	Imperf.	Past	Perf.	Pluperf.	Imperat.
1SG	<i>bagami</i>	<i>bagam</i>	<i>bagama</i>	<i>bagidom</i>	<i>bagidomi</i>	<i>bagidoma</i>	
2SG	<i>bagēk</i>	<i>bag</i>	<i>bagēya</i>	<i>bagidor</i>	<i>bagidori</i>	<i>bagidora</i>	<i>bag</i>
3SG.M	<i>bagari</i>	<i>bagar</i>	<i>bagara</i>	<i>bagida</i>	<i>bagidēk</i>	<i>bagidēya</i>	
3SG.F	<i>bagari</i>	<i>bagar</i>	<i>bagara</i>	<i>bagidi</i>	<i>bagidik</i>	<i>bagidiya</i>	
1PL	<i>bagani</i>	<i>bagan</i>	<i>bagana</i>	<i>bagidēn</i>	<i>bagidēni</i>	<i>bagidēna</i>	
2PL	<i>bagasi</i>	<i>bagas</i>	<i>bagasa</i>	<i>bagidēs</i>	<i>bagidēsi</i>	<i>bagidēsa</i>	<i>bagas</i>
3PL	<i>baga(n)di</i>	<i>bagad</i>	<i>baga(n)da</i>	<i>bagide</i>	<i>bagidēdi</i>	<i>bagidēda</i>	

mang- ‘to ask’, *lah-* (*lak-*) ‘to see’, *qaft-* ‘to steal’, *radž-* ‘throw out’, *kos-* ‘to curse’, *sow-* ‘to sew’, *dow-* ‘to wash’ (tr)

Verbs belonging to Group 2 behave in a way that is very similar to Group 1, except that the perfective marker *-d* is introduced by an intrusive vowel *-i-* (or *-a-* or *-e-*). This group contains verb roots ending in a variety of consonants. It illustrates the historical intolerance toward medial clusters of the form /Cd/.³⁹

Table 46. Group 3: *-k-* agentive derivations from non-verbs and loan verbs: *štrik-* ‘to buy’

	Pres.Ind.	Subj.	Imperf.	Past	Perf.	Pluperf.	Imperat.
1SG	<i>štrikami</i>	<i>štrikam</i>	<i>štrikama</i>	<i>štrikedom</i>	<i>štrikedomi</i>	<i>štrikedoma</i>	
2SG	<i>štrikēk</i>	<i>štrika</i>	<i>štrikēya</i>	<i>štrikedor</i>	<i>štrikedori</i>	<i>štrikedora</i>	<i>štrika</i>
3SG.M	<i>štrikari</i>	<i>štrikar</i>	<i>štrikara</i>	<i>štrikeda</i>	<i>štrikedēk</i>	<i>štrikedēya</i>	
3SG.F	<i>štrikari</i>	<i>štrikar</i>	<i>štrikara</i>	<i>štrikedi</i>	<i>štrikedik</i>	<i>štrikediya</i>	
1PL	<i>štrikani</i>	<i>štrikan</i>	<i>štrikana</i>	<i>štrikedēn</i>	<i>štrikedēni</i>	<i>štrikedēna</i>	
2PL	<i>štrikasi</i>	<i>štrikas</i>	<i>štrikasa</i>	<i>štrikedēs</i>	<i>štrikedēsi</i>	<i>štrikedēsa</i>	<i>štrikas</i>
3PL	<i>štrika(n)di</i>	<i>štrikad</i>	<i>štrika(n)da</i>	<i>štrikede</i>	<i>štrikedēdi</i>	<i>štrikedēda</i>	

dfašk- ‘to pay’, *džawizk-* ‘to marry (tr)’, *gāk-* ‘to speak’, *grēfk-* ‘to sing’, *habisk-* ‘to arrest’, *haddidk-* ‘to work metal’, *hađirk-* ‘to prepare’, *hafizk-* ‘to preserve’, *ħsudk-* ‘to harvest’, *kafik-* ‘to suffice’, *kamk-* ‘to work’, *ktišk-* ‘to write’, *ladžik-* ‘to be shy’, *lagišk-* ‘to quarrel’, *lahink-* ‘to sing’, *mangišk-* ‘to beg’, *muwāifaqk-* ‘to agree’, *nađifk-* ‘to clean’, *qayišk-* ‘to cook’, *raħilk-*, *rfuđk-* ‘to refuse’, *s’ilk-* ‘to ask’, *saffirk-* ‘to deport’, *sakirk-* ‘to shut’, *sakirk-* ‘to shut’, *war(a)k-* ‘to wear’, *waržik-* ‘to show’, *xalašk-* ‘to finish’, *zirāišk-* ‘to sew’, *řawidk-* ‘to protect’, *řayidk-* ‘to celebrate’, *řazik-* ‘to play music’, *řazimk-* ‘to invite’

Group 3 essentially belongs to Group 2 and adheres to exactly the same principles as Group 2, but contains the specific case of verb stems formed by the derivation marker *-k-*. This group contains by far the largest number of verbs and alongside the derivation in *-hr-* it is the only genuinely open and productive class of verbs in Domari, incorporating all Arabic stems with agentive meaning.

Table 47. Group 4: Causatives: *bnaw-* ‘to frighten’

	Pres.Ind.	Subj.	Imperf.	Past	Perf.	Pluperf.	Imperat.
1SG	<i>bnawami</i>	<i>bnawam</i>	<i>bnawama</i>	<i>bnawidom</i>	<i>bnawidomi</i>	<i>bnawidoma</i>	
2SG	<i>bnawēk</i>	<i>bnaw</i>	<i>bnawēya</i>	<i>bnawidor</i>	<i>bnawidori</i>	<i>bnawidora</i>	<i>bnaw</i>
3SG.M	<i>bnawari</i>	<i>bnawar</i>	<i>bnawara</i>	<i>bnawida</i>	<i>bnawidēk</i>	<i>bnawidēya</i>	
3SG.F	<i>bnawari</i>	<i>bnawar</i>	<i>bnawara</i>	<i>bnawidi</i>	<i>bnawidik</i>	<i>bnawidiya</i>	
1PL	<i>bnawani</i>	<i>bnawan</i>	<i>bnawana</i>	<i>bnawidēn</i>	<i>bnawidēni</i>	<i>bnawidēna</i>	
2PL	<i>bnawasi</i>	<i>bnawas</i>	<i>bnawasa</i>	<i>bnawidēs</i>	<i>bnawidēsi</i>	<i>bnawidēsa</i>	<i>bnawas</i>
3PL	<i>bnawa(n)di</i>	<i>bnawad</i>	<i>bnawa(n)da</i>	<i>bnawide</i>	<i>bnawidēdi</i>	<i>bnawidēda</i>	

girnaw- ‘to bring back’, *klaw-* ‘to raise’, *mindraw-* ‘to stop’, *ningaw-* ‘to take in’, *qnaw-* ‘to feed’, *tiknaw-* ‘to hurt’, *wislaw-* ‘to have somebody sit’, *wišnaw-* ‘to burn’, *xiznaw-* ‘to make somebody laugh’

Group 4 is similarly a sub-group of Group 2, with which it shares all features. It contains verbs that are derived by means of the causative derivation marker *-naw-* or *-aw-*.

Table 48. Group 5: Syllable reduction: *sin-* ‘to hear’

	Pres.Ind.	Subj.	Imperf.	Past	Perf.	Pluperf.	Imperat.
1SG	<i>snami</i>	<i>snam</i>	<i>snama</i>	<i>sindom</i>	<i>sindomi</i>	<i>sindoma</i>	
2SG	<i>snēk</i>	<i>sin</i>	<i>snēya</i>	<i>sindor</i>	<i>sindori</i>	<i>sindora</i>	<i>sin</i>
3SG.M	<i>snari</i>	<i>snar</i>	<i>snara</i>	<i>sinda</i>	<i>sindēk</i>	<i>sindēya</i>	
3SG.F	<i>snari</i>	<i>snar</i>	<i>snara</i>	<i>sindi</i>	<i>sindik</i>	<i>sindiya</i>	
1PL	<i>snani</i>	<i>snan</i>	<i>snana</i>	<i>sindēn</i>	<i>sindēni</i>	<i>sindēna</i>	
2PL	<i>snasi</i>	<i>snas</i>	<i>snasa</i>	<i>sindēs</i>	<i>sindēsi</i>	<i>sindēsa</i>	<i>snas</i>
3PL	<i>sna(n)di</i>	<i>snad</i>	<i>sna(n)da</i>	<i>sinde</i>	<i>sindēdi</i>	<i>sindēda</i>	

kin- ‘to sell’, *kil-* ‘to exit’ (but see below), *dir-* ‘to tear’

Verbs in Group 5 match the same principal features of those of Group 1, but show syllable reduction in the present (non-perfective) of a root containing *CiC*.

Table 49. Group 6: Intensifier-perfective: *š-* ‘to speak’

	Pres.Ind.	Subj.	Imperf.	Past	Perf.	Pluperf.	Imperat.
1SG	<i>šami</i>	<i>šam</i>	<i>šama</i>	<i>širdom</i>	<i>širdomi</i>	<i>širdoma</i>	
2SG	<i>š(w)ēk</i>	<i>šū</i>	<i>šēya</i>	<i>širdor</i>	<i>širdori</i>	<i>širdora</i>	<i>šū</i>
3SG.M	<i>šari</i>	<i>šar</i>	<i>šara</i>	<i>širda</i>	<i>širdēk</i>	<i>širdēya</i>	
3SG.F	<i>šari</i>	<i>šar</i>	<i>šara</i>	<i>širdi</i>	<i>širdik</i>	<i>širdiya</i>	
1PL	<i>šani</i>	<i>šan</i>	<i>šana</i>	<i>širdēn</i>	<i>širdēni</i>	<i>širdēna</i>	
2PL	<i>šasi</i>	<i>šas</i>	<i>šasa</i>	<i>širdēs</i>	<i>širdēsi</i>	<i>širdēsa</i>	<i>šas</i>
3PL	<i>ša(n)di</i>	<i>šad</i>	<i>ša(n)da</i>	<i>širde</i>	<i>širdēdi</i>	<i>širdēda</i>	

nē- ‘to send’ (1SG *nēmi*, 2SG *nēk*, 2SG subjunctive/imperative *nē*), *mišt-* ‘I kiss’ (2SG subjunctive *mišt*), *št-* ‘to stand up’ (2SG subjunctive/imperative *št*), *t-* ‘to put’ (1SG *twami*, 2SG *tēk*, 2SG subjunctive/imperative *tū*)

Group 6 is somewhat diverse in its composition, showing roots that tend to be phonologically volatile and therefore showing some variation in the paradigmatic relationship especially of the 2SG indicative and subjunctive/imperative to the other forms. It is perhaps this instability of the root component and the fact that roots belonging to the group do not follow the more usual CVC syllable structure for verb roots, that has triggered the addition of an intensifier morpheme *-ir-* between the root and the past (perfective) marker.⁴⁰

Table 50. Group 7: Contracted present: *kw-* ‘to throw’

	Pres.Ind.	Subj.	Imperf.	Past	Perf.	Pluperf.	Imperat.
1SG	<i>kwami</i>	<i>kwam</i>	<i>kwama</i>	<i>kurdom</i>	<i>kurdomi</i>	<i>kurdoma</i>	
2SG	<i>kwēk</i>	<i>kur</i>	<i>kwēya</i>	<i>kurdor</i>	<i>kurdori</i>	<i>kurdora</i>	<i>kur</i>
3SG.M	<i>kwari</i>	<i>kwar</i>	<i>kwara</i>	<i>kurda</i>	<i>kurdēk</i>	<i>kurdēya</i>	
3SG.F	<i>kwari</i>	<i>kwar</i>	<i>kwara</i>	<i>kurdi</i>	<i>kurdik</i>	<i>kurdiya</i>	
1PL	<i>kwani</i>	<i>kwan</i>	<i>kwana</i>	<i>kurdēn</i>	<i>kurdēni</i>	<i>kurdēna</i>	
2PL	<i>kwasi</i>	<i>kwas</i>	<i>kwasa</i>	<i>kurdēs</i>	<i>kurdēsi</i>	<i>kurdēsa</i>	<i>kwas</i>
3PL	<i>kwa(n)di</i>	<i>kwad</i>	<i>kwa(n)da</i>	<i>kurde</i>	<i>kurdēdi</i>	<i>kurdēda</i>	

Class 7 contains one single verb, *kw-* ‘to throw’, the original root of which is **kur-*. It appears that the final /r/ segment of the root was re-interpreted as the intensifier *-ir-* in the position immediately preceding the perfective marker *-d-*, as a result of which this segment was omitted from the present stem. The original form is preserved in the 2SG subjunctive/imperative *kur*.

Table 51. Group 8: ‘Hybrid’ causative: *kišnaw-* ‘to lie’

	Pres.Ind.	Subj.	Imperf.	Past	Perf.	Pluperf.	Imperat.
1SG	<i>kišnawami</i>	<i>kišnawam</i>	<i>kišnawama</i>	<i>kašindom</i>	<i>kašindomi</i>	<i>kašindoma</i>	
2SG	<i>kišnawēk</i>	<i>kišnaw</i>	<i>kišnawēya</i>	<i>kašindor</i>	<i>kašindori</i>	<i>kašindora</i>	<i>kišnaw</i>
3SG.M	<i>kišnawari</i>	<i>kišnawar</i>	<i>kišnawara</i>	<i>kašinda</i>	<i>kašindēk</i>	<i>kašindēya</i>	
3SG.F	<i>kišnawari</i>	<i>kišnawar</i>	<i>kišnawara</i>	<i>kašindi</i>	<i>kašindik</i>	<i>kašindīya</i>	
1PL	<i>kišnawani</i>	<i>kišnawan</i>	<i>kišnawana</i>	<i>kašindēn</i>	<i>kašindēni</i>	<i>kašindēna</i>	
2PL	<i>kišnawasi</i>	<i>kišnawas</i>	<i>kišnawasa</i>	<i>kašindēs</i>	<i>kašindēsi</i>	<i>kašindēsa</i>	<i>kišnawas</i>
3PL	<i>kišnawa(n)di</i>	<i>kišnawad</i>	<i>kišnawa(n)da</i>	<i>kašinde</i>	<i>kašindēdi</i>	<i>kašindēda</i>	

Here too we have just one single representative of a distinct inflection pattern. The verb *kišnaw-* ‘to lie’ appears to be a causative derivation in its present stem, but the causative marker is missing in the past. One might have expected a form like **kišnawida*. It is possible that the insertion in *-in-* derives from the MIA adjectival and participle ending *-ina*; this ending is productive in the past-tense formation of some verbs in Romani, but so far it has not been observed in Domari. It is noteworthy that the past-tense form *kaširdom*, with the intensifier *-ir-*, also occurs; here too the root vowel appears as /a/ rather than /i/.

Table 52. Group 9: Present indicative with *-š-*: *kil-* ‘to go out’

	Pres.Ind.	Subj.	Imperf.	Past	Perf.	Pluperf.	Imperat.
1SG	<i>kilšami</i>	<i>kilšam</i>	<i>kilšama</i>	<i>kildom</i>	<i>kildomi</i>	<i>kildoma</i>	
2SG	<i>kilšēk</i>	<i>kilši</i>	<i>kilšēya</i>	<i>kildor</i>	<i>kildori</i>	<i>kildora</i>	<i>kilši</i>
3SG.M	<i>kilšari</i>	<i>kilšar</i>	<i>kilšara</i>	<i>kilda</i>	<i>kildēk</i>	<i>kildēya</i>	
3SG.F	<i>kilšari</i>	<i>kilšar</i>	<i>kilšara</i>	<i>kildi</i>	<i>kildik</i>	<i>kildīya</i>	
1PL	<i>kilšani</i>	<i>kilšan</i>	<i>kilšana</i>	<i>kildēn</i>	<i>kildēni</i>	<i>kildēna</i>	
2PL	<i>kilšasi</i>	<i>kilšas</i>	<i>kilšasa</i>	<i>kildēs</i>	<i>kildēsi</i>	<i>kildēsa</i>	<i>kilšas</i>
3PL	<i>kilša(n)di</i>	<i>kilšad</i>	<i>kilša(n)da</i>	<i>kilde</i>	<i>kildēdi</i>	<i>kildēda</i>	

kel- ‘to play’, *mindir-* ‘to stand’, *xol-* ‘to descend’

There is variation surrounding this group within the speech community, with the more ‘conservative’ dialect showing the forms *klami* and *xolami* rather than *kilšami* and *xolšami*. It is therefore clear that the introduction of the stem augment in *-š-* is a recent innovation. The model is obviously the subjunctive construction of some verbs, where the use of the augment *-š-* is widespread (see below). Since these verbs also rely on *-š-* in the subjunctive, even among the ‘conservative’ speakers, it appears that the subjunctive formation has been generalised throughout the present stem and copied into the indicative as well, among some speakers. The question arises as to the motivation behind this extension. What the verbs in this class have in common is the semantic meaning of movement. It seems therefore that an association

exists between the augment *-š-* and verbs of movement; we shall return to this issue in the discussion of the subjunctive below. Note that the 2SG person marker that accompanies the augment in *-š-* is invariably *-ī*, as discussed in section 7.3 above.

Table 53. Group 10: Intensifier perfective and 2nd person *-š-*: *raw-* ‘to travel’

	Pres.Ind.	Subj.	Imperf.	Past	Perf.	Pluperf.	Imperat.
1SG	<i>rawami</i>	<i>rawam</i>	<i>rawama</i>	<i>rawirdom</i>	<i>rawirdomi</i>	<i>rawirdoma</i>	
2SG	<i>rawēk</i>	<i>rawšī</i>	<i>rawēya</i>	<i>rawirdor</i>	<i>rawirdori</i>	<i>rawirdora</i>	<i>rawšī</i>
3SG.M	<i>rawari</i>	<i>rawar</i>	<i>rawara</i>	<i>rawirda</i>	<i>rawirdēk</i>	<i>rawirdēya</i>	
3SG.F	<i>rawari</i>	<i>rawar</i>	<i>rawara</i>	<i>rawirdi</i>	<i>rawirdik</i>	<i>rawirdīya</i>	
1PL	<i>rawani</i>	<i>rawan</i>	<i>rawana</i>	<i>rawirdēn</i>	<i>rawirdēni</i>	<i>rawirdēna</i>	
2PL	<i>rawasi</i>	<i>rawšas</i>	<i>rawasa</i>	<i>rawirdēs</i>	<i>rawirdēsi</i>	<i>rawirdēsa</i>	<i>rawšas</i>
3PL	<i>rawa(n)di</i>	<i>rawad</i>	<i>rawa(n)da</i>	<i>rawirde</i>	<i>rawirdēdi</i>	<i>rawirdēda</i>	

This unique verb has two distinctive features. The first is the insertion of the intensifier morpheme *-ir-* in the past, which we already saw in Group 6. The second feature is exceptional and consists of the selective use of the subjunctive augment *-š-* for the second person (singular and plural) only. It is noteworthy that the person ending is *-ī*. It appears then that the spread of distinct subjunctive marking is asymmetrical, favouring the second person as ‘marked’ (in the sense discussed by Elšík and Matras 2006), and within that person, the singular form.

Table 54. Group 11: Semi-vocalic root, subjunctive in *-š-*: *raw-* ‘to cry’

	Pres.Ind.	Subj.	Imperf.	Past	Perf.	Pluperf.	Imperat.
1SG	<i>rawami</i>	<i>rawšam</i>	<i>rawama</i>	<i>rawrom</i>	<i>rawromi</i>	<i>rawroma</i>	
2SG	<i>rawēk</i>	<i>rawšī</i>	<i>rawēya</i>	<i>rawror</i>	<i>rawrori</i>	<i>rawrora</i>	<i>rawšī</i>
3SG.M	<i>rawari</i>	<i>rawšar</i>	<i>rawara</i>	<i>rawra</i>	<i>rawrēk</i>	<i>rawrēya</i>	
3SG.F	<i>rawari</i>	<i>rawšar</i>	<i>rawara</i>	<i>rawri</i>	<i>rawrik</i>	<i>rawriya</i>	
1PL	<i>rawani</i>	<i>rawšan</i>	<i>rawana</i>	<i>rawrēn</i>	<i>rawrēni</i>	<i>rawrēna</i>	
2PL	<i>rawasi</i>	<i>rawšas</i>	<i>rawasa</i>	<i>rawrēs</i>	<i>rawrēsi</i>	<i>rawrēsa</i>	<i>rawšas</i>
3PL	<i>rawa(n)di</i>	<i>rawšad</i>	<i>rawa(n)da</i>	<i>rawre</i>	<i>rawrēdi</i>	<i>rawrēda</i>	

naw- ‘to search’ (2SG subjunctive/imperative *nawišī*, with intrusive vowel)

Group 11, one of the more marginal inflection groups, is characterised by the presence of a semi-vowel as the final root segment, as a result of which the verb patterns with the vocalic roots and selects *-r-* as a perfective marker. Both verbs attested as part of this group are associated with movement or state, which may be behind their consistent adoption of the augment *-š-* for the entire subjunctive paradigm.

Table 55. Group 12: Quasi-vocalic: *qumn-/qeym-* ‘to eat’

	Pres.Ind.	Subj.	Imperf.	Past	Perf.	Pluperf.	Imperat.
1SG	<i>qumnami</i>	<i>qumnam</i>	<i>qumnama</i>	<i>qērom</i>	<i>qēromi</i>	<i>qēroma</i>	
2SG	<i>qumnēk</i>	<i>qumna</i>	<i>qumnēya</i>	<i>qēror</i>	<i>qērori</i>	<i>qērora</i>	<i>qumna</i>
3SG.M	<i>qumnari</i>	<i>qumnar</i>	<i>qumnara</i>	<i>qēra</i>	<i>qērēk</i>	<i>qērēya</i>	
3SG.F	<i>qumnari</i>	<i>qumnar</i>	<i>qumnara</i>	<i>qēri</i>	<i>qērik</i>	<i>qērēya</i>	
1PL	<i>qumnani</i>	<i>qumnan</i>	<i>qumnana</i>	<i>qērēn</i>	<i>qērēni</i>	<i>qērēna</i>	
2PL	<i>qumnasi</i>	<i>qumnas</i>	<i>qumnasa</i>	<i>qērēs</i>	<i>qērēsi</i>	<i>qērēsa</i>	<i>qumnas</i>
3PL	<i>qumna(n)di</i>	<i>qumnad</i>	<i>qumna(n)da</i>	<i>qēre</i>	<i>qērēdi</i>	<i>qērēda</i>	

fumn-/ -feym- ‘to hit’; *xeym-* ‘to defecate’

Group 12 verbs behave like vocalic roots in their selection of the perfective marker *-r-* and presence of a vowel in the final segment of the perfective stem. In the present stem however they adopt a nasal segment that mediates between the historical root and the person concord. The verb ‘to eat’ also has an alternative conjugation in *qa-* (1SG *qami*, 2SG *qak*, etc.).

Table 56. Group 13: Vocalic: *pī-* ‘to drink’

	Pres.Ind.	Subj.	Imperf.	Past	Perf.	Pluperf.	Imperat.
1SG	<i>pyami</i>	<i>pyam</i>	<i>pyama</i>	<i>pīrom</i>	<i>pīromi</i>	<i>pīroma</i>	
2SG	<i>pyēk</i>	<i>pī</i>	<i>pyaya</i>	<i>pīror</i>	<i>pīrori</i>	<i>pīrora</i>	<i>pī</i>
3SG.M	<i>pyari</i>	<i>pyar</i>	<i>pyara</i>	<i>pīra</i>	<i>pīrēk</i>	<i>pīrēya</i>	
3SG.F	<i>pyari</i>	<i>pyar</i>	<i>pyara</i>	<i>pīri</i>	<i>pīrik</i>	<i>pīriya</i>	
1PL	<i>pyani</i>	<i>pyan</i>	<i>pyana</i>	<i>pīrēn</i>	<i>pīrēni</i>	<i>pīrēna</i>	
2PL	<i>pyasi</i>	<i>pyas</i>	<i>pyasa</i>	<i>pīrēs</i>	<i>pīrēsi</i>	<i>pīrēsa</i>	<i>pyas</i>
3PL	<i>pya(n)di</i>	<i>pyad</i>	<i>pya(n)da</i>	<i>pīre</i>	<i>pīrēdi</i>	<i>pīrēda</i>	

The ‘genuine’ vocalic roots take the perfective marker *-r-* and convert the vowel segment into a semi-vowel in positions preceding vocalic person affixes.

Table 57. Group 14: Vocalic (reduction in perfective): *saka-* ‘to be able to’

	Pres.Ind.	Subj.	Imperf.	Past	Perf.	Pluperf.
1SG	<i>sakami</i>	<i>sakam</i>	<i>sakama</i>	<i>sakarom</i>	<i>sakaromi</i>	<i>sakaroma</i>
2SG	<i>sakēk</i>	<i>saka</i>	<i>sakaya</i>	<i>sakaror</i>	<i>sakarori</i>	<i>sakarora</i>
3SG.M	<i>sakari</i>	<i>sakar</i>	<i>sakara</i>	<i>sakra</i>	<i>sakrēk</i>	<i>sakrēya</i>
3SG.F	<i>sakari</i>	<i>sakar</i>	<i>sakara</i>	<i>sakri</i>	<i>sakrik</i>	<i>sakriya</i>
1PL	<i>sakani</i>	<i>sakan</i>	<i>sakana</i>	<i>sakrēn</i>	<i>sakrēni</i>	<i>sakrēna</i>
2PL	<i>sakasi</i>	<i>sakas</i>	<i>sakasa</i>	<i>sakrēs</i>	<i>sakrēsi</i>	<i>sakrēsa</i>
3PL	<i>saka(n)di</i>	<i>sakad</i>	<i>saka(n)da</i>	<i>sakre</i>	<i>sakrēdi</i>	<i>sakrēda</i>

This unique modal verb of Indo-Aryan etymology in Domari is a vocalic root and behaves like one, though there is a tendency toward syllable reduction

in some of the perfective forms, rendering an inconsistent paradigm, but one which continues to rely on *-r-* as the perfective marker throughout.

Table 58. Group 16: Vocalic/ intransitive derivation: *šary-* ‘to hide (oneself)’

	Pres.Ind.	Subj.	Imperf.	Past	Perf.	Pluperf.	Imperat.
1SG	<i>šaryami</i>	<i>šarišam</i>	<i>šaryama</i>	<i>šarīrom</i>	<i>šarīromi</i>	<i>šarīroma</i>	
2SG	<i>šaryēk</i>	<i>šariši</i>	<i>šaryēya</i>	<i>šarīror</i>	<i>šarīrori</i>	<i>šarīrora</i>	<i>šariši</i>
3SG.M	<i>šaryari</i>	<i>šarišar</i>	<i>šaryara</i>	<i>šarīra</i>	<i>šarīrēk</i>	<i>šarīrēya</i>	
3SG.F	<i>šaryari</i>	<i>šarišar</i>	<i>šaryara</i>	<i>šarīri</i>	<i>šarīrik</i>	<i>šarīriya</i>	
1PL	<i>šaryani</i>	<i>šarišan</i>	<i>šaryana</i>	<i>šarīrēn</i>	<i>šarīrēni</i>	<i>šarīrēna</i>	
2PL	<i>šaryasi</i>	<i>šarišas</i>	<i>šaryasa</i>	<i>šarīrēs</i>	<i>šarīrēsi</i>	<i>šarīrēsa</i>	<i>šarišas</i>
3PL	<i>šarya(n)di</i>	<i>šarišad</i>	<i>šarya(n)da</i>	<i>šarīre</i>	<i>šarīrēdi</i>	<i>šarīrēda</i>	

bagy ‘to break’, *bany-* ‘to be shut’, *by-* ‘to fear’, *dowy-* ‘to wash’, *many-* ‘to stay’, *mary-* ‘to be killed’, *qafty-* ‘to be stolen’, *qoly-* ‘to open’, *wašy-* ‘to be burned’

The number of verbs that behave as vocalic and select a perfective marker *-r-* preceded by a stem vowel is greatly increased through the productiveness of the intransitive or passive derivation in *-i*. In positions preceding vocalic person endings, the stem vowel is reduced to a semi-vowel /y/. The full vowel remains in positions preceding the perfective marker *-r-* as well as in positions preceding the subjunctive augment *-š-*. As a rule, intransitive derivations always take the subjunctive augment *-š-*, which reinforces the impression of a connection between this marker and the semantics of states, movement, and change of state. A special case belonging to this group is the impersonal verb *wars-* ‘to rain’. It differs from the usual present forms of the group in that it lacks an intransitive marker *-y-* and appears very much like a default, plain verb: *warsari* ‘it is raining’. The subjunctive, however, takes the stem augment in *-š-*: *biddhā waršišar* ‘lit. it wants to rain’ (‘it is likely to rain’). The perfective stem is formed in a way that is similar to the derived intransitives: *warsiri* ‘it has rained’.

Table 59. Group 17: Intransitives, vowel reduction: *nišy-* ‘to dance’

	Pres.Ind.	Subj.	Imperf.	Past	Perf.	Pluperf.	Imperat.
1SG	<i>nišyami</i>	<i>našišam</i>	<i>nišyama</i>	<i>našīrom</i>	<i>našīromi</i>	<i>našīroma</i>	
2SG	<i>nišyēk</i>	<i>našiši</i>	<i>nišyēya</i>	<i>našīror</i>	<i>našīrori</i>	<i>našīrora</i>	<i>našiši</i>
3SG.M	<i>nišyari</i>	<i>našišar</i>	<i>nišyara</i>	<i>našīra</i>	<i>našīrēk</i>	<i>našīrēya</i>	
3SG.F	<i>nišyari</i>	<i>našišar</i>	<i>nišyara</i>	<i>našīri</i>	<i>našīrik</i>	<i>našīriya</i>	
1PL	<i>nišyani</i>	<i>našišan</i>	<i>nišyana</i>	<i>našīrēn</i>	<i>našīrēni</i>	<i>našīrēna</i>	
2PL	<i>nišyasi</i>	<i>našišas</i>	<i>nišyasa</i>	<i>našīrēs</i>	<i>našīrēsi</i>	<i>našīrēsa</i>	<i>našišas</i>
3PL	<i>nišya(n)di</i>	<i>našišad</i>	<i>nišya(n)da</i>	<i>našīre</i>	<i>našīrēdi</i>	<i>našīrēda</i>	

giryami ‘I return’

Characteristic of this sub-group of intransitive derivations is their tendency to reduce their root vowel /a/ to /i/ in the non-perfective indicative (present and imperfect), though the variant *našyari* ‘she is dancing’ can also be heard.

Table 60. Group 18: Vocalic/ intransitive derivation: *mary-* ‘to die / to be killed’

	Pres.Ind.	Subj.	Imperf.	Past	Perf.	Pluperf.	Imperat.
1SG	<i>maryami</i>	<i>marišam</i>	<i>maryama</i>	<i>mrom</i>	<i>mromi</i>	<i>mroma</i>	
2SG	<i>maryək</i>	<i>mariši</i>	<i>maryeya</i>	<i>mror</i>	<i>mrori</i>	<i>mrorra</i>	<i>mariši</i>
3SG.M	<i>maryari</i>	<i>marišar</i>	<i>maryara</i>	<i>mra</i>	<i>mrək</i>	<i>mrëya</i>	
3SG.F	<i>maryari</i>	<i>marišar</i>	<i>maryara</i>	<i>mri</i>	<i>mrík</i>	<i>mrïya</i>	
1PL	<i>maryani</i>	<i>marišan</i>	<i>maryana</i>	<i>mrēn</i>	<i>mrēni</i>	<i>mrēna</i>	
2PL	<i>maryasi</i>	<i>marišas</i>	<i>maryasa</i>	<i>mrēs</i>	<i>mrēsi</i>	<i>mrēsa</i>	<i>marišas</i>
3PL	<i>marya(n)di</i>	<i>marišad</i>	<i>marya(n)da</i>	<i>mre</i>	<i>mrēdi</i>	<i>mrēda</i>	

This particular verb capitalises on the existence of the ancient stem **mr-* ‘to die’ (MIA past participle *muda* > **mura* > *mra*) and at the same time on the availability of an intransitive derivation based on the related verb *mar-* ‘to strike, to hit, to kill’ to compose a hybrid paradigm carrying the features of an intransitive derivation in the present and that of a vocalic root in the past. As an intransitive derivation, the subjunctive takes the augment in *-š-* with the accompanying particularity of the 2SG person marker.

Table 61. Group 19: Indicative with *-š-* augment: *nig-* ‘to enter’

	Pres.Ind.	Subj.	Imperf.	Past	Perf.	Pluperf.	Imperat.
1SG	<i>nikšami</i>	<i>nikšam</i>	<i>nikšama</i>	<i>nigrom</i>	<i>nigromi</i>	<i>nigroma</i>	
2SG	<i>nikšək</i>	<i>nikši</i>	<i>nikšeya</i>	<i>nigror</i>	<i>nigrori</i>	<i>nigrorra</i>	<i>nikši</i>
3SG.M	<i>nikšari</i>	<i>nikšar</i>	<i>nikšara</i>	<i>nigra</i>	<i>nigrək</i>	<i>nigrëya</i>	
3SG.F	<i>nikšari</i>	<i>nikšar</i>	<i>nikšara</i>	<i>nigri</i>	<i>nigrík</i>	<i>nigrëya</i>	
1PL	<i>nikšani</i>	<i>nikšan</i>	<i>nikšana</i>	<i>nigrēn</i>	<i>nigrēni</i>	<i>nigrēna</i>	
2PL	<i>nikšasi</i>	<i>nikšas</i>	<i>nikšasa</i>	<i>nigrēs</i>	<i>nigrēsi</i>	<i>nigrēsa</i>	<i>nikšas</i>
3PL	<i>nikša(n)di</i>	<i>nikšad</i>	<i>nikša(n)da</i>	<i>nigre</i>	<i>nigrēdi</i>	<i>nigrēda</i>	

The original root of this verb appears to be *nig-* (cf. Romani *ing-er-* ‘to bring along, to enter’), which survives in the perfective stem but seems to have undergone partial phonological assimilation to the *-š-* augment and hence devoicing of the root consonant in the present stem. Like Group 9, we have an extension of the subjunctive stem to the present indicative stem. Here too, the verb describes movement or change of state.

Table 62. Group 20: Present stem with *-t-* augment: *nas-* ‘to flee’

	Pres.Ind.	Subj.	Imperf.	Past	Perf.	Pluperf.	Imperat.
1SG	<i>nastami</i>	<i>nastam</i>	<i>nastama</i>	<i>nasrom</i>	<i>nasromi</i>	<i>nasroma</i>	
2SG	<i>nastēk</i>	<i>nastī</i>	<i>nastēya</i>	<i>nasror</i>	<i>nasrori</i>	<i>nasrora</i>	<i>nastī</i>
3SG.M	<i>nastari</i>	<i>nastar</i>	<i>nastara</i>	<i>nasra</i>	<i>nasrēk</i>	<i>nasrēya</i>	
3SG.F	<i>nastari</i>	<i>nastar</i>	<i>nastara</i>	<i>nasri</i>	<i>nasrik</i>	<i>nasrēya</i>	
1PL	<i>nastani</i>	<i>nastan</i>	<i>nastana</i>	<i>nasrēn</i>	<i>nasrēni</i>	<i>nasrēna</i>	
2PL	<i>nastasi</i>	<i>nastas</i>	<i>nastasa</i>	<i>nasrēs</i>	<i>nasrēsi</i>	<i>nasrēsa</i>	<i>nastas</i>
3PL	<i>nasta(n)di</i>	<i>nastad</i>	<i>nasta(n)da</i>	<i>nasre</i>	<i>nasrēdi</i>	<i>nasrēda</i>	

ras- ‘to run’ (*rastami*), *weštami* ‘I sit’ (past *wesrom*), *xaštami* ‘I laugh’ (past *xazrom*)

These verb roots in a final dental sibilant *-s/-z* are consistent in their choice of the perfective marker *-r-*, and it is interesting that they attract a stem augment *-t-* in the present and that this augment in some of the cases triggers a palatalisation of the sibilant to *-š-*. That the *-t-* augment is somehow historically connected to an auxiliary is suggested by the fact that, like the subjunctive augment *-š-*, it too carries the 2SG person ending in *-ī*. Macalister (1914: 31) offers a reasonable explanation, and that is that the subjunctive augment, originally *-č-* or */tš/* (in the pronunciation of Macalister’s consultant and of today’s conservative speakers), has undergone metathesis in the environment of the dental sibilant, giving rise to either */st/* or */št/*. Thus the augment *-t-* is originally the subjunctive augment *-š-* (*-č-*), carrying with it the 2SG person marker *-ī*, which, as in Groups 9 and 19, is extended to the present indicative.

Table 63. Group 21: Suppletive: *aw-* ‘to come’

	Pres.Ind.	Subj.	Imperf.	Past	Perf.	Pluperf.	Imperat.
1SG	<i>awami</i>	<i>awam</i>	<i>awama</i>	<i>erom</i>	<i>eromi</i>	<i>eroma</i>	
2SG	<i>awēk</i>	<i>aru</i>	<i>awēya</i>	<i>eror</i>	<i>erori</i>	<i>erora</i>	<i>aru</i>
3SG.M	<i>awari</i>	<i>awar</i>	<i>awara</i>	<i>era</i>	<i>erēk</i>	<i>erēya</i>	
3SG.F	<i>awari</i>	<i>awar</i>	<i>awara</i>	<i>eri</i>	<i>erik</i>	<i>erīya</i>	
1PL	<i>awani</i>	<i>awan</i>	<i>awana</i>	<i>erēn</i>	<i>erēni</i>	<i>erēna</i>	
2PL	<i>awasi</i>	<i>awas</i>	<i>awasa</i>	<i>erēs</i>	<i>erēsi</i>	<i>erēsa</i>	<i>awas</i>
3PL	<i>awa(n)di</i>	<i>awad</i>	<i>awa(n)da</i>	<i>ere</i>	<i>erēdi</i>	<i>erēda</i>	

The verbs *aw-* ‘to come’ (Table 63) and *dža-* ‘to go’ (Table 64) are the only two genuine suppletive verbs in Domari, following the general pattern in NIA. Their inflection is otherwise regular, but both derive past stems from separate lexical roots ending in a vowel: *e-* ‘to have come’, and *ga-* ‘to have gone’

Table 64. Group 22: Suppletive: *dža-* ‘to go’

	Pres.Ind.	Subj.	Imperf.	Past	Perf.	Pluperf.	Imperat.
1SG	<i>džami</i>	<i>džam</i>	<i>džama</i>	<i>garom</i>	<i>garomi</i>	<i>garoma</i>	
2SG	<i>džak</i>	<i>dža</i>	<i>džaya</i>	<i>garor</i>	<i>garori</i>	<i>garora</i>	<i>dža</i>
3SG.M	<i>džari</i>	<i>džar</i>	<i>džara</i>	<i>gara</i>	<i>garēk</i>	<i>garēya</i>	
3SG.F	<i>džari</i>	<i>džar</i>	<i>džara</i>	<i>gari</i>	<i>garik</i>	<i>gariya</i>	
1PL	<i>džani</i>	<i>džan</i>	<i>džana</i>	<i>garēn</i>	<i>garēni</i>	<i>garēna</i>	
2PL	<i>džasi</i>	<i>džas</i>	<i>džasa</i>	<i>garēs</i>	<i>garēsi</i>	<i>garēsa</i>	<i>džas</i>
3PL	<i>dža(n)di</i>	<i>džad</i>	<i>dža(n)da</i>	<i>gare</i>	<i>garēdi</i>	<i>garēda</i>	

Table 65. Group 23: Present stem with *-š-* augment, past in *-t-*: *šū-* ‘to sleep’

	Pres.Ind.	Subj.	Imperf.	Past	Perf.	Pluperf.	Imperat.
1SG	<i>šušami</i>	<i>šušam</i>	<i>šušama</i>	<i>sitom</i>	<i>sitomi</i>	<i>sitoma</i>	
2SG	<i>šušək</i>	<i>šušī</i>	<i>šušəya</i>	<i>sitor</i>	<i>sitori</i>	<i>sitora</i>	<i>šušī</i>
3SG.M	<i>šušari</i>	<i>šušar</i>	<i>šušara</i>	<i>sita</i>	<i>sitək</i>	<i>sitəya</i>	
3SG.F	<i>šušari</i>	<i>šušar</i>	<i>šušara</i>	<i>siti</i>	<i>sitik</i>	<i>sitəya</i>	
1PL	<i>šušani</i>	<i>šušan</i>	<i>šušana</i>	<i>sitēn</i>	<i>sitēni</i>	<i>sitēna</i>	
2PL	<i>šušasi</i>	<i>šušas</i>	<i>šušasa</i>	<i>sitēs</i>	<i>sitēsi</i>	<i>sitēsa</i>	<i>šušas</i>
3PL	<i>šušā(n)di</i>	<i>šušād</i>	<i>šušā(n)da</i>	<i>site</i>	<i>sitēdi</i>	<i>sitēda</i>	

The verb *šū-* ‘to sleep’ (OIA *svapa-*, MIA *soppa-*) (Table 65) preserves a perfective stem that goes back directly to the simplified MIA participle (OIA *supta*, MIA *sutta*) and hence retains the *-t-* perfective formant in the perfective stem *sit-* (also *sut-*). The entire present stem, indicative as well as subjunctive, is augmented by the subjunctive extension *-š-*. The change of the present stem consonant from *s-* to *š-* appears to be recent and triggered by assimilation to the subjunctive augment. Macalister (1914: 192) still documents the present stem as *sūč-*, with a corresponding causative form *s-law-* ‘to put to sleep’.

Table 66. Group 24: Suppletive: *de-* ‘to give’

	Pres.Ind.	Subj.	Imperf.	Past	Perf.	Pluperf.	Imperat.
1SG	<i>demi</i>	<i>dem</i>	<i>dema</i>	<i>tom</i>	<i>tomi</i>	<i>toma</i>	
2SG	<i>dək</i>	<i>de</i>	<i>dəya</i>	<i>tor</i>	<i>tori</i>	<i>tora</i>	<i>de</i>
3SG.M	<i>deri</i>	<i>der</i>	<i>dera</i>	<i>ta</i>	<i>tək</i>	<i>təya</i>	
3SG.F	<i>deri</i>	<i>der</i>	<i>dera</i>	<i>ti</i>	<i>tik</i>	<i>tīya</i>	
1PL	<i>deni</i>	<i>den</i>	<i>dena</i>	<i>tēn</i>	<i>tēni</i>	<i>tēna</i>	
2PL	<i>desi</i>	<i>des</i>	<i>desa</i>	<i>tēs</i>	<i>tēsi</i>	<i>tēsa</i>	<i>des</i>
3PL	<i>de(n)di</i>	<i>ded</i>	<i>de(n)da</i>	<i>tede</i>	<i>tēdi</i>	<i>tēda</i>	

The verb *de-* is suppletive although its two lexical stems are historically related. The vocalic present stem *de-* is supplemented by a consonantal stem **d-* in the past, which converges with the participle form, giving the past form *t-*.

Table 67. Group 24: Root vowel *-o-* *ho-* ‘to become’

	Pres.Ind.	Subj.	Imperf.	Past	Perf.	Pluperf.	Imperat.
1SG	<i>(h)omi</i>	<i>hōšam</i>	<i>(h)oma</i>	<i>hrom</i>	<i>hromi</i>	<i>hroma</i>	
2SG	<i>(h)ok</i>	<i>hōšī</i>	<i>(h)oya</i>	<i>hror</i>	<i>hrori</i>	<i>hrorā</i>	<i>hōšī</i>
3SG.M	<i>(h)ori</i>	<i>hōšar</i>	<i>(h)ora</i>	<i>hra</i>	<i>hrēk</i>	<i>hrēya</i>	
3SG.F	<i>(h)ori</i>	<i>hōšar</i>	<i>(h)ora</i>	<i>hri</i>	<i>hrik</i>	<i>hrīya</i>	
1PL	<i>(h)oni</i>	<i>hōšan</i>	<i>(h)ona</i>	<i>hron</i>	<i>hrēni</i>	<i>hrēna</i>	
2PL	<i>(h)osi</i>	<i>hōšas</i>	<i>(h)osa</i>	<i>hrēs</i>	<i>hrēsi</i>	<i>hrēsa</i>	<i>hōšas</i>
3PL	<i>(h)o(n)di</i>	<i>hōšad</i>	<i>(h)o(n)da</i>	<i>hre</i>	<i>hre(n)di</i>	<i>hrēnda</i>	

hibb- ‘to love’, *šikk-* ‘to contemplate’, *skun-* ‘to reside’, *šum-* ‘to fast’, *tšallim-* ‘to learn’, *xarif-* ‘to converse’, *zšil-* ‘they get angry’, etc.

The verb *ho-* ‘to become’ (from OIA *bhū-*) has a special position within the verb inflection system. It is the only verb with a root vowel *-o-*. As a vocalic root, the perfective stem takes the perfective marker *-r-* giving **ho-r-*, which is reduced to *hr-*. The initial /h/ consonant of the root is volatile and is often omitted, giving rise to a quasi-suppletive verb with *-o-* in the present stem and *hr-* (or even just *-r-*) in the perfective stem. As a verb describing change of state, *ho-* takes the augmented subjunctive in *-š-*. It also serves as the ‘light verb’-based adaptation morpheme used to integrate Arabic verbal roots into the language. The roots listed here as part of the same Group are selected examples of such borrowings. In effect, the integration of a vocalic stem *-o-* with a borrowed lexical root creates a separate vocalic inflection class in *-o-*: *hibbomi* ‘I love’, *skunomi* ‘I reside’, and so on.⁴¹

Table 68. Group 25: Root vowel *-o-*, perfective in *-ir-*: *kahínd-* ‘to look’

	Pres.Ind.	Subj.	Imperf.	Past	Perf.	Pluperf.
1SG	<i>kahíndomi</i>	<i>kahíndōšam</i>	<i>kahíndoma</i>	<i>kahíndirom</i>	<i>kahíndiromi</i>	<i>kahíndiroma</i>
2SG	<i>kahíndok</i>	<i>kahíndōšī</i>	<i>kahíndoya</i>	<i>kahíndiror</i>	<i>kahíndirori</i>	<i>kahíndirora</i>
3SG.M	<i>kahíndori</i>	<i>kahíndōšar</i>	<i>kahíndora</i>	<i>kahíndira</i>	<i>kahíndirēk</i>	<i>kahíndirēya</i>
3SG.F	<i>kahíndori</i>	<i>kahíndōšar</i>	<i>kahíndora</i>	<i>kahíndiri</i>	<i>kahíndirik</i>	<i>kahíndirēya</i>
1PL	<i>kahíndoni</i>	<i>kahíndōšan</i>	<i>kahíndona</i>	<i>kahíndirēn</i>	<i>kahíndirēni</i>	<i>kahíndirēna</i>
2PL	<i>kahíndosi</i>	<i>kahíndōšas</i>	<i>kahíndosa</i>	<i>kahíndirēs</i>	<i>kahíndirēsi</i>	<i>kahíndirēsa</i>
3PL	<i>kahíndodi</i>	<i>kahíndōšad</i>	<i>kahíndoda</i>	<i>kahíndire</i>	<i>kahíndiredi</i>	<i>kahíndireda</i>

This is an exceptional verb already in its syllable structure. It appears to be one of the earlier loan verbs integrated by means of attaching the existential verb *ho-* to the borrowed root, which appears to have been *kahínd-*. The unusual accent position suggests the possibility that the original root may have itself been composed, perhaps with the *-d-* element serving originally as a light verb based on the verb ‘to give’ in Indo-Iranian (*de-*, *d-*, *dān*, etc.). The original lexical component might therefore have been *kahin-*, a metathesis of

Persian *negah* ‘to look’ is a remote possibility. The choice of subjunctive in *-š-* will have been triggered as a matter of routine through the inflection basis in *ho-* and does not necessarily reflect the verb’s particular semantics. In fact it is possible that *kahīnd-* dates back to a period in which *ho-* was the only option for integrating loan verbs, i.e. before the verb *-k(ar)-* became available for this purpose. It is noteworthy that some speakers construct the subjunctive with *-k-*: *kahīndokam* etc. This illustrates the verb’s volatility in between the two integration classes. Unusual is also the formation of the past. One would have expected a straightforward perfective marking in *hr-*. It seems that this is obstructed by the impermissible sound cluster /dh/ at the end of the stem, hence the intruding vowel in *-i-* (**kahīndhrom* > **kahīndihrom* > *kahīndirom*).

7.5. Existential predications

7.5.1. *ho-*: Change of state

The verb *ho-* ‘to become’ is used in Domari to indicate a change of state. The predication object usually follows the verb:

- (29) *boy-om eh-r-a grawara*
 father-1SG become-PAST-M head.man
 ‘My father became head man.’
- (30) *kēkē h-r-om-i xar-e?*
 why become-PAST-1SG-PRG bone-PL
 ‘Why have I become bones (= lost considerable amount of weight)?’
- (31) *eh-r-a fayiš bēn portkīl-an-ki ū*
 become-PAST-M conflict between Jew-OBL.PL-ABL and
musilmīr-an-ki
 Muslims-OBL.PL-ABL
 ‘A conflict broke out between the Jews and Muslims.’
- (32) *atu gara ho-k gard-a*
 you gone become-2SG healthy-M
 ‘You are going to get well.’

7.5.2. *aštī*: Existence and possession

The existential particle *aštī* is the only representative in Jerusalem of Domari of the verb paradigm in *št-*, which is attested in other varieties of the language (see Chapter 1) and which appears to derive from OIA *sthā-* ‘to stand’. Domari

aṣṭi is a particle that appears only in impersonal and uninflected form, though it can be accompanied by the Arabic auxiliary *kān* ‘was’ to express past tense:

- (33) *ʕusmaliy-ēni, yimkin kān aṣṭi wāṣī-s*
 gold.coin-PRED.PL maybe was.3SG.M there.is with-3SG
xamsīn sittīn waḥade
 fifty sixty one
 ‘(Ottoman) gold coins, he had maybe fifty or sixty of them’

The existential particle serves three major functions. The first is to describe situations and states of affairs by singling out the existence of a relevant entity, or by identifying a topical entity in relation to its location or other attributes:

- (34) *ū aṣṭi dōm-ēni quds-a-ma, aṣṭi*
 and there.is Dom-PRED.PL Jerusalem-OBL.F-LOC there.is
dōm-ēni bi irān-a-ma. bērūt-a-ma.
 Dom-PRED.PL in Iran-OBL.F-LOC Beirut-OBL.F-LOC
 ‘And there are Dom in Jerusalem, there are Dom in Iran, in Beirut.’
- (35) *baʕdēn yaʕni baʕd sitt iyyām aṣṭi marn-ēni*
 then PART after six days there.is dead-PRED.PL
bol pand-am-ma yaʕni gān-osan kil-d-i.
 much road-OBL.PL-LOC PART smell-3PL come.out-PAST-F
 ‘Then, after six days, there were many dead people on the streets, you could smell them.’

The second function of *aṣṭi* is to introduce new topical entities into the discourse. This can serve the purpose of identifying topics that are about to assume a major role in the content of an unfolding narration, or else to define the role of topics by singling them out and clarifying relevant attributes:

- (36) *aṣṭi ek-ak min dōm-ē-man-ki nām-os*
 there.is one-INDEF from Dom-PL-1PL-ABL name-3SG
dʒamil l-ʕāṣ.
 Jamil 1-Aas
 ‘There is somebody among our people by the name of Jamil 1-Aas’
- (37) *aṣṭi ik-ak portkiliy-ēk wēs-r-ik*
 there.is one-INDEF Jew.woman-PRED.SG sit-PAST-PRED.SG
ihi balakon-ē-ma ū min-d-ik
 this.F balcony-OBL.F-LOC and hold-PAST-PRED.SG
aha ʕūd-as ū dandīn-k-ar-i atrī-s
 this.M oud-OBL.M and play-VTR-3SG-PRG on-3SG
 ‘There is a Jewish woman sitting on the balcony and holding an oud and playing it.’

- (38) *qal ašti diyyes-i xaz-r-e ama-ta*
 said there.is two-PRED.SG laugh-PAST-3PL me-DAT
par-d-e ple minši-m
 take-PAST-3PL money from-1SG
 ‘He said there are two people who laughed at me and took money from me.’
- (39) *ašti ħibb-o-d-i dža-n madras-an-ka*
 there.is like-VITR-3PL-PRG go-3PL.SUBJ school-OBL.PL-DAT
ū ašti n-ħibb-o-d-e’.
 and there.is NEG-like-VITR-3PL-NEG
 ‘There are those who like going to school and there are those who don’t.’
- (40) *zaman-is-ma nohr-an-ki, ašti dōm-ēni*
 time-3SG.OBL-LOC red-OBL.PL-ABL there.is Dom-PRED.PL
kān-ū aw-and-a min džūdž-a-ki
 was-3PL come-3PL-REM from Egypt-OBL.F-ABL
 ‘During the time of the British there were Dom who used to come from Egypt.’

Finally, *ašti* can be used to indicate possession:

- (41) *bašdēn řaris, iza ašti wāši-s bol ple,*
 then groom if there.is with-3SG much money
mar-ar-i taran/ taran xāruf
 kill-3SG-PrG three three lamb
 ‘Then the groom, if he has a lot of money, will slaughter three/ three lambs.’
- (42) *ama-ke ašti ben-i, řamman-a-ma*
 1SG-BEN there.is sister-PRED.SG Amman-OBL.F-LOC
řawiz-r-ik
 marry-PAST-PRED.SG
 ‘I have a sister, she is married in Amman.’
- (43) *ašti nkī-san telefzyon-ēni, tallāž-ēni,*
 there.is by-3PL television-PRED.PL fridge-PRED.PL
kam-k-ad-i.
 work-VTR-3PL-PRG
 ‘They have televisions, fridges, they work.’

7.5.3. The enclitic copula and non-verbal predication markers

We saw above that the existential verb *ho-* expresses a change of state and typically occupies a position preceding the predicate object, which encodes the outcome of the change. By contrast, the Domari copula or predicate of substantive existential predications is enclitic. The forms and respective positions of the two verbs are nicely illustrated by the following example:

- (44) *eh-r-i* *džažan* *ū* *pandži* *in-džan-ar-e'*
 become-PAST-F pregnant and 3SG NEG-know-3SG-NEG
inn-hā *džažan-i*
 COMP-3SG.F pregnant-PRED.SG
 'She became pregnant and she did not know that she is pregnant.'

The Domari copula paradigm consists of two separate sets of forms that combine into a single functional frame. The first set is best described as markers of a non-verbal predication: Their role is to induce a predication relationship without relying on the finiteness of a lexical predicate (= a verb). Effectively, they de-couple the initiation of the predication from the presence of a lexical verb. The effect is bi-directional: Predication markers can initiate a predication in relation to an element that is not a verb, such as a noun or pronoun (nominal or pronominal predication), an adjective (adjectival predication), or an adverbial expression of local relations (adverbial predication). They can also 'de-commission' the initiation of a predication by a verbal element by attaching to the lexical part of the verb and turning it into a gerundial form, thereby cancelling its finiteness. Non-verbal predication markers take on the form *-i* following consonantal stems, *-ēk* following stems in *-a*, and *-ik* following stems in *-i*:

- (45) *bar-om* *gawar-ēk*
 brother-1SG head.man-PRED.SG
 'My brother is the head man.'
- (46) *dady-om* *wud-ik*
 grandmother-1SG old-PRED.SG
 'My grandmother is old.'
- (47) *ihi* *džuwri* *dōmiy-ēk*
 this.F woman Dom.woman-PRED.SG
 'This woman is a Dom woman.'
- (48) *pandž-ik* *illi* *kar-d-a* *hāds-i*
 he-PRED.SG REL do-PAST-M incident-OBL.M
 'It is he who carried out the incident.'

- (49) *ben-om kury-a-m-ēk*
 sister-1SG house-OBL.F-LOC-PRED.SG
 ‘My sister is in the house.’
- (50) *šōni minēn-i*
 girl here-PRED.SG
 ‘The girl is here.’
- (51) *ben-om ihi-k*
 sister-1SG this.F-PRED.SG
 ‘My sister is this one. (= It is this one who is my sister.)’

The plural formant in this set is *-ēni*:⁴²

- (52) *ek-ak-i malik-i ab-us-ke*
 one-INDEF-PRED.SG king-PRED.SG for-3SG-BEN
xaddām-ēni
 servant-PRED.PL
 ‘There is a king, he has servants.’
- (53) *ša-d-i dom-ēni mangišna-hr-esi ū hada*
 say-3PL-PRG Dom-PRED.PL beggar-be-2PL and PART
 ‘They say (these are) Dom, you are beggars, and so on.’
- (54) *š-ird-a tmaliy-an-ke illi*
 say-PAST-M soldier-OBL.PL-BEN REL
širaq-a-m-ēni
 Iraq-OBL.F-LOC-PRED.PL
 ‘He spoke to the soldiers who were in Iraq.’

When predication markers are used with lexical verbs, they usually express completed states, represented by attaching the predication marker to the perfective stem of the verb:

- (55) *wud-a mindir-d-ēk*
 old-M stand-PAST-PRED.SG
 ‘The old man is standing.’
- (56) *day-om gar-ik*
 mother-1SG go.PAST-PRED.SG
 ‘My mother is gone.’

- (57) *aštī ik-ak portkīliy-ēk wēs-r-ik*
 there.is one-INDEF Jew.woman-PRED.SG sit-PAST-PRED.SG
ihi balakon-ē-ma ū min-d-ik
 this.F balcony-OBL.F.-LOC and hold-PAST-PRED.SG
aħa sūd-as ū dandīn-k-ar-i atrī-s
 this.M oud-OBL.M and play-VTR-3SG-PRG on-3SG
 ‘There is a Jewish woman sitting on the balcony and holding an oud
 and playing it.’
- (58) *payy-om imr-ēk zamān ab-us-ke*
 husband-1SG die.PAST-PRED.SG time for-3SG-BEN
 ‘My husband has been dead for a long time.’

Marginally, however, we also find predication markers accompanying present-stem verbs:

- (59) *kšal-ēk kursīy-as*
 pull-PRED.SG chair-OBL.M
 ‘He is pulling the chair.’

As discussed already in Chapters 4 and 5, predication markers often accompany indefinite nouns as well as adjectival modifiers:

- (60) a. *nan-d-e farriq-k-ad-e giš*
 bring-PAST-3PL distribute-VTR-PAST-3PL all
dōm-an-ka eħe ħram-an
 Dom-OBL.PL-DAT these.PL blankets-OBL.PL
- b. *nan-d-e ħram-ēni emin-kera*
 bring-PAST-3PL blankets-OBL.PRED.PL 1PL-BEN
- c. *ihi š-ird-i wāšī-san bizzot-ēni dōm-e*
 this.F say-PAST-F with-3PL poor-PRED.PL Dom-PL
ħindar
 here
- a. ‘They brought and distributed these blankets to all the Dom.
 b. They brought us blankets.
 c. She spoke to them, to the poor Dom here.’
- (61) *amman eħe kuštot-ēni xarrif-h-od-e’ dōm.*
 but these.PL small-PRED.PL speak-VITR-3PPL-NEG Dom
 ‘But the young people don’t speak Domari.’ (‘But these are young
 people, they don’t speak Domari.’)

- (62) *xaz-r-ed-i* *atrî-s* *û* *dê-d-s-i*
 laugh-PAST-3PL-PRG about-3SG and give-3PL-3SG-PRG
qanîn-ak *bard-ik* *pan-ik*
 bottle-INDEF full-PRED.SG water-PRED.SG
 ‘They’ve laughed at him and they’ve given him a bottle full of water.’
- (63) *bar-om* *par-d-a* *kurdîy-êk*
 brother-1SG take-PAST-M Kurd.woman-PRED.SG
 ‘My brother married a Kurdish woman.’

Predication endings belonging to this set mainly accompany third person entities, but they are occasionally used with other persons as well:

- (64) *ama kury-a-m-êk*
 I house-OBL.F-LOC-PRED.SG
 ‘I am at home’
- (65) *ama minên-i*
 I here-PRED.SG
 ‘I am here’
- (66) *atu mišt-êk*
 you ill-PRED.SG
 ‘You are ill’

In such cases, they often alternate with the person-inflected copula forms:

- (67) *atu dôm-i?*
 you Dom-PRED.SG
 ‘Are you a Dom?’
- (68) *atu dôm-ahr-or-i?*
 you Dom-be-2SG-PRG
 ‘Are you a Dom?’

Predication markers have several different etymological sources. The singular ending *-i* that attaches to consonantal stems derives in all likelihood from a 3SG copula **hi* (but see also alternative scenario described in Chapter 2.3 above). The forms that attach to vowels appear to derive from an earlier (though unattested) from **-ek*, which, assimilated to the preceding vowel gives *-êk* (after *-a*) and *-ik* (after *-i*). The plural form *-êni* may be a combination of the plural **-an* (used in Domari as the oblique plural ending of nominals, but also in the nominative in the plural formation of possessive endings such as

-oman ‘ours’, *-oran* ‘yours’; cf. also the plural of nouns in *-in* attested in some northern Domari varieties) with the copula form **hi* > *i*, triggering umlaut **-an-i* > *-ēni*. The past tense form combines *-i* and *-ēn* respectively with the remoteness tense marker *-a* to form *-ēya* and *-ēna*:

(69) *illi mfāla kān mindir-d-ēy-a hnon*
REL crazy was.3SG.M stand-PAST-PRED.SG-REM here
‘The crazy one was standing here’

(70) *pandži kury-a-m-ēy-a*
3SG house-OBL.F-LOC-PRED.SG-REM
‘He was at home’

In word stems in *-i* the stem vowel overrides the vowel component of the predication suffix:

(71) *tmali*
‘soldier’

(72) *pandži tmal-ik*
3SG soldier-PRED.SG
‘He is a soldier’

(73) *pandži tmali-ya*
3SG soldier-PRED.SG.REM
‘He was a soldier’

The predication markers share some of their key functions as substantive-existential (copula) verbs with a set of forms derived from the perfective stem of the verb *hr-* ‘to have become’. These are the copula forms that are used for the first and second persons (see Table 69). The perfect tense of the verb *ho-* ‘to become’ has been re-interpreted in the relevant environments to mean ‘to be’, replacing the older **sto-* which is attested in this function in other Domari dialects but not in Jerusalem. The present subjunctive remains identical with that of the verb *ho-* ‘to become’ but with adjectives it takes an enclitic position, like the indicative copula. The past is formed through attachment of the remoteness marker *-a*, with the optional but frequent addition of the Arabic past-tense copula in its original Arabic inflection, as an accompanying auxiliary. The formal difference between the enclitic copula and the perfect tense of the verb ‘to become’ is thus their position in the sentence:

(74) *ama mudir-hr-om-i*
I director-be-1SG-PRG
‘I am the director’ (enclitic copula)

- (75) *ama hr-om-i mudīr*
 I become-PAST-1SG.PRG director
 ‘I have become the director’ (‘to become’ perfect)

Table 69. The enclitic copula

	Pres.Ind.	Subj.	Imperf. Aux	Imperf.	Imperat.
1SG	<i>-hromi</i>	<i>-hōšam</i>	<i>kunt</i>	<i>-hroma</i>	
2SG.M	<i>-hrori</i>	<i>-hōšī</i>	<i>kunt</i>	<i>-hrora</i>	<i>-hōšī</i>
2SG.F	<i>-hrori</i>	<i>-hōšī</i>	<i>kunti</i>	<i>-hrora</i>	<i>-hōšī</i>
3SG.M	<i>-ēk/-i</i>	<i>-hōšar</i>	<i>kān</i>	<i>-ēya</i>	
3SG.F	<i>-ik/-i</i>	<i>-hōšar</i>	<i>kānat</i>	<i>-ēya</i>	
1PL	<i>-hrēni</i>	<i>-hōšan</i>	<i>kunna</i>	<i>-hrēna</i>	
2PL	<i>-hrēsi</i>	<i>-hōšas</i>	<i>kuntū</i>	<i>-hrēsa</i>	<i>-hōšas</i>
3PL	<i>-hrendi; -ēni/-ni</i>	<i>-hōšad</i>	<i>kānū</i>	<i>-hrenda</i>	

The examples below illustrate the distribution of some verbal and non-verbal forms belonging to the enclitic copula paradigm:

- (76) a. *mišta-hr-om-i, n-saka-m-e’ kam-k-am.*
 ill-be-1SG-PRG NEG-can-1SG-NEG work-VTR-1SG.SUBJ
- b. *ama ū bay-om n-saka-n-e’*
 I and wife-1SG NEG-can-1PL-NEG
kam-k-an.
 work-VTR-1PL.SUBJ
- c. *mišta-hr-ēn-i, ū bašdēn tilla-hr-ēn-i*
 ill-be-1PL-PRG and then big-be-PL-PRG
- a. ‘I am ill, I cannot work.
 b. I and my wife, we cannot work.
 c. We are ill and then, we are old.’
- (77) *da’iman ihni kān-ū š-ad-a emin-ke*
 always thus was.3PL say-3PL.REM 1PL-Ben
mangišna-hr-es-i itme.
 beggar-be-2PL-PRG you.PL
 ‘They always used to say this to us, you are beggars.’
- (78) *itme qam-ē-man hr-es-i*
 youPL. relatives-PL-1PL be-2PL-PRG
 ‘You are our relatives.’
- (79) *w-eme kaškūta-hr-ēn-a ma kān-iš ašte*
 and-we small-be-1PL-REM NEG was.3SG.M-NEG there.is

kahraba

electricity

‘When we were small there was no electricity.’

The position and structure of the enclitic copula can be further illustrated by these contrastive examples (constructed):

Adjectival predication:

(80) *ama mišta-hr-om-i*
I ill-be-1SG-PRG
‘I am ill.’

(81) *xužoti kun-t mišta-hr-om-a*
yesterday was-1SG ill-be-1SG-REM
‘Yesterday I was ill.’

(82) *ma bidd-ī mišta-hōš-am*
NEG want-1SG ill-be.SUBJ-1SG
‘I don’t want to be ill.’

Nominal predication:

(83) *ama grawara-hr-om-i*
I head.man-be-1SG-PRG
‘I am the head man.’

(84) *waxt-is-ma kun-t grawara-hr-om-a*
time-3SG.OBL-LOC was-1SG head.man-be-1SG-REM
‘At the time I was the head man.’

(85) *ma bidd-ī hōš-am grawara*
NEG want-1SG be/become.SUBJ-1SG head.man
‘I don’t want to become the head man.’

Adverbial predication:

(86) *ama kury-a-ma-hr-om-i*
I house-OBL.F-LOC-be-1SG-PRG
‘I am in the house.’

(87) *xužoti kun-t kury-a-ma-hr-om-a*
yesterday was-1SG house-OBL.F-LOC-be-1SG-REM
‘Yesterday I was in the house.’

- (88) *ma bidd-ī hōš-am kury-a-ma*
 NEG want-1SG be/become.SUBJ-1SG house-OBL.F-LOC
 ‘I don’t want to be in the house.’

The copula is the only predicative element in Jerusalem Domari that has retained its enclitic or phrase-final position. Domari lexical verbs otherwise follow the same principles of linear distribution in the sentence as their Arabic counterparts. The reason for this might be found in the typological mismatch between Domari and Arabic in the structure of the copula verb. Arabic has nominal, adjectival, and adverbial predications that do not require either a finite or an alternative predication element:

- (89) *'ana šayyān*
 I ill
 ‘I am ill.’
- (90) *'ana l-muxtār*
 I DEF-head.man
 ‘I am the head man.’
- (91) *'ana fī l-bēt*
 I in DEF-house
 ‘I am in the house.’

However, this structure is only possible in the present tense. In the past tense, Arabic draws on the inflected existential verb *k.w.r.*

- (92) *mbāreḥ kun-t šayyān*
 yesterday was-1SG ill
 ‘Yesterday I was ill.’

Domari thus aligns itself with the typology of Arabic while maintaining its own historical legacy: The enclitic position of the Domari copula does not seem to contradict the overall rules on the distribution of stand-alone finite lexical verbs, which match those of Arabic. The linear layout of past-tense existential predications converges with that of Arabic by adopting the Arabic past-tense copula on a wholesale basis, with its person inflection, as a past-tense auxiliary to the enclitic copula. This auxiliary also accompanies the impersonal existential *ašti* to form its past tense:

- (93) *ū kān ašti ama-ke ben-ak-i*
 and was.3SG.M there.is I-BEN sister-INDEF-PRED.SG
 ‘And I used to have a sister.’

7.6. Tense, aspect and modality

7.6.1. The structure, function and distribution of tense and aspect categories

Disregarding the subjunctive augment *-š-* and variation in the person marker for the 2SG as well as phonologically-conditioned fluctuation and marginal suppletion, issues that were dealt with in section 7.4 above, the Domari system of tense-aspect modality consists formally of two structural dimensions: The first is the (aspectual) opposition between present or non-perfective stem and past or perfective stem, conveying the semantic opposition of non-completion versus completion of the action. This dimension is represented by the presence or absence of a perfective marker and partly by the phonological (or, in the case of suppletive verbs, lexical) shape of the verb stem. It is shared in principle by all languages of the Indo-Iranian macro-family and thus it represents an ancient and stable structural legacy. The second dimension is the temporal dimension. It is represented by vowel markers which are positioned at the extreme end of the verb layout, external even to the relatively young person concord markers (see sections 7.1 and 7.3), and which are unstressed, suggesting that they are the product of a rather late development in the language's history.

These external tense markers appear symmetrically with both aspectual stems, present and past. There are two such markers. The first is *-i*, which represents a proximate, ongoing event or activity whose progress (hence 'progressive') can be observed or experienced in the immediate interaction context. The second, *-a*, represents a remote event or activity that is inaccessible from within the ongoing interaction context. The absence of an external tense marker is equally meaningful: With the present stem it represents the absence of a progressive unfolding of the event or action and so the dependency of the event or action on the fulfillment of external conditions – hence subjunctive (*karam* 'that I do, I should do'). With the past stem it represents the inability to relate the completion of the event directly to any situational circumstances, and so the dependency of the truth value of the statement made about it on the reliability and subjective authority of the speaker. In this respect the simple, unmodified past is a declarative mode (*kardom* 'I did'), while the modified, contextualised perfect is an evidence-based mode of presentation (*kardom-i* 'I have done'). The remoteness marker *-a* does not interfere with the internal structure of the event, but transposes it away from the perspective of the ongoing interaction context and into the realm of the unreachable and inaccessible. Thus a present-stem remote event is one that is portrayed as not yet completed, but in spite of that is removed and so not within reach of the present speech situation. This characterises the imperfect or habitual past (*karam-a* 'I was doing, I used to do'). The perfective

(past) stem, when modified by the remoteness marker, conveys an event that is both completed and, in its resulting form or product, inaccessible in the present speech setting. This characterises the pluperfect, anterior past or counterfactual mood (*kardom-a* ‘I had done, I would have done’).

Table 70 repeats the overview of inflectional tense-aspect-modality categories in Domari that was already provided for individual verb groups in section 7.4.

Table 70. Overview of inflectional tense-aspect-modality categories: *ban-* ‘to shut’

	Pres.Ind.	Subj.	Imperf.	Past	Perf.	Pluperf.	Imperat.
1SG	<i>banami</i>	<i>banam</i>	<i>banama</i>	<i>bandom</i>	<i>bandomi</i>	<i>bandoma</i>	
2SG	<i>banēk</i>	<i>ban</i>	<i>banēya</i>	<i>bandor</i>	<i>bandori</i>	<i>bandora</i>	<i>ban</i>
3SG.M	<i>banari</i>	<i>banar</i>	<i>banara</i>	<i>banda</i>	<i>bandēk</i>	<i>bandēya</i>	
3SG.F	<i>banari</i>	<i>banar</i>	<i>banara</i>	<i>bandi</i>	<i>bandik</i>	<i>bandiya</i>	
1PL	<i>banani</i>	<i>banan</i>	<i>banana</i>	<i>bandēn</i>	<i>bandēni</i>	<i>bandēna</i>	
2PL	<i>banasi</i>	<i>banas</i>	<i>banasa</i>	<i>bandēs</i>	<i>bandēsi</i>	<i>bandēsa</i>	<i>banas</i>
3PL	<i>bana(n)di</i>	<i>banad</i>	<i>bana(n)da</i>	<i>bande</i>	<i>bandēdi</i>	<i>bandēda</i>	

Although it is attractive to trace the affix *-i* that follows person concord markers in the present (1SG *-ami*, 3SG *-ari* etc.) directly to the ancestor forms in MIA (1SG *-ami*, 3SG *-ati* etc.), it seems that its appearance in both the present and past paradigms is at the very least reinforced by the independent copula **hi* and that its present function is inspired by an external model. That model is likely to have been Kurdish or perhaps another Iranian language where the 3SG copula forms an agglutinating uniform affix across all persons in the paradigm and serves to contextualise the past-tense predication: cf. Kurdish *ketim* ‘I fell’, *çûm* ‘I went’, but *ketime* ‘I have fallen’, *çûme* ‘I have gone’. The reading of ‘perfect’ is applicable to some varieties of Kurdish, while others make use of the extended form as a kind of evidential or sometimes as a specific narrative tense. Domari has developed both the contextualising-progressive *-i* and a counterpart de-contextualising, remoteness marker *-a*. Romani has developed a similar, uniform external tense marker **-asi* (in the individual dialects usually *-as*, *-a*, *-s*, or *-ahi*) which also has a remoteness meaning.

The perfective or past that lacks contextual-progressive modification is the default past, which focuses on the event or action without implying any statement about the relevance of that event or action to the ongoing communicative interaction setting:

- (94) *qal ama lak-ed-om ihi šōn-ik*
 said I see-PAST-1SG this.F girl-PRED.SG
wēs-r-ik balkon-ē-ma
 sit-PAST-PRED.SG balcony-OBL.F.-LOC
 ‘He said, I saw this girl sitting on the balcony.’
- (95) *qal ya ’ustāz ama gar-om šal-’urdunn ū*
 said PART sir I go.PAST-1SG to.DEF-Jordan and
lake-d-om aha džamil l-šāšy-as.
 see-PAST-1SG this.M Jamil l-Aas
 ‘He said Sir, I went to Jordan and I met this Jamil l-Aas.’
- (96) *mudīr š-ar-i ab-us-ke min krēn*
 director say-3SG-PRG for-3SG-BEN from where
džan-d-or atu ihi šōniy-a?
 know-PAST-2SG you this.F girl-OBL.F
 ‘The director says to him, where did you know this girl from?’

As in Arabic, Domari uses the simple past as a conditional:

- (97) *qal iza garī-r-or marra tānī šal-’urdunn*
 said if return-PAST-2SG time second to.DEF-Jordan
ū lak-ed-or džamil-as s’il-kar-is:
 and see-PAST-2SG Jamil-OBL.M ask-VTR.SUBJ-3SG.OBL
 ‘He said if you returned a second time to Jordan and saw Jamil ask him.’
- (98) *lak-ird-om-ir kil-d-or bara*
 see-PAST-1SG-2SG.OBL exit-PAST-2SG outside
mar-am-r-i
 kill-1SG-2SG-PRG
 ‘If I see you going out I will kill you.’

The perfect, by contrast, emphasises the immediate contextual relevance of an accomplished event, state, or action. Note first of all the incompatibility of the perfect when a remote time specification is made:

- (99) *ama gar-om-i sūq-as-ka*
 I go.PAST-1SG-PRG market-OBL.M-DAT
 ‘I have been to the market.’
- (100) *ama xužoti gar-om sūq-as-ka*
 I yesterday go.PAST-1SG market-OBL.M-DAT
 ‘I went to the market yesterday.’

The perfect is selected when the result of the action can be derived or proven based on situational evidence, or when it has direct relevance to shaping the immediate situation:

- (101) *ama ašti wāšī-m šar-d-om-i maʕ*
 I there.is with-1SG hide-PAST-1SG-PRG with
xāl-om-ki xamsīn zard urduṛnī
 uncle-1SG-ABL fifty gold Jordanian
 ‘I have in my possession, I have hidden away with my uncle fifty Jordanian pounds.’
- (102) *atu man-d-or-m-i xarrif-hōš-am*
 you leave-PAST-2SG-1SG-PRG speak-VITR.SUBJ-1SG
 ‘You have given me permission me to speak.’
- (103) *ama na man-d-om-i kiya*
 I NEG leave-PAST-1SG-PRG something
 ‘I have not left anything.’
- (104) *ama wafaq-k-ad-om-i inni*
 I agree-VTR-PAST-1SG-PRG COMP
džawiz-k-am-is ab-ur-ke.
 marry-VTR-1SG.SUBJ-3SG.OBL for-2SG-BEN
 ‘I have agreed to marry her to you.’ (= ‘I have agreed to let [my daughter] marry you.’)
- (105) *ama kam-k-am-eʾ yaʕni wēs-r-om-i*
 I work-VTR-1SG-NEG PART sit-PAST-1SG-PRG
 ‘I do not work, that is, I have retired’ (lit. ‘I have sat down’)

With verbs expressing state and condition, the perfect usually represents the actuality of the accomplished state and is often used in the sense of a present tense: consider *weštami* ‘I sit (habitually)’ but *wēsromi* ‘I am seated’; *bagami* ‘I break’, but *bagīromi!* ‘I am exhausted’ (lit. ‘I have been broken’); *šūšami* ‘I sleep’, but *sitomi* ‘I am sleeping/ I have fallen asleep’; *byami* ‘I fear’, but *bīromi* ‘I am scared’. The Domari perfect is also generally the tense chosen by speakers to translate Arabic present participles expressing state: Arabic *inte nāyem* ‘you are asleep’ > Domari *atu sitori* ‘You have fallen asleep’, while the present *šūšēk* ‘you sleep’ has habitual meaning (‘You generally sleep’, e.g. ‘at home’ or ‘early in the morning’), and the unspecified past *sitor* may refer to a state that is not contextually relevant, that is, does not extend into the present speech situation (e.g. ‘You slept well last night’). For verbs indicating a change of state, there is a strong tendency for the perfect to take over all instances of immediate contextual relevance, reducing the present to habitual

readings; thus *da'iman byami* 'I am always frightened', but *heṣṣaḥ bīromi* 'I am now frightened'. Against this background it is easy to understand the transposition of the perfect of the existential verb, *hromi* 'I have become', to its present-tense copula meaning 'I am'.

The imperfect, composed of the present stem with a remoteness marker *-a*, is used to express events that are portrayed as non-completed and so either habitual or repetitive or still unfolding, but which are situated remotely in time and space from the present speech situation and so do not overlap with the interaction context:

(106) *boy-os kam-k-ar-a baladiy-ē-ma*
 father-3SG work-VTR-3SG-REM municipality-OBL.F.-LOC
 'His father used to work for the municipality.'

(107) a. *aṣṭi pl-e law aṣṭi bass*
 there.is money-PL if there.is but
yal-ak d-dinya
 expensive-INDEF DEF-life

b. *aha bantalon par-an-s-a nīm zard*
 this.M trousers take-1PL-3SG-REM half gold
zard-ak,
 gold-INDEF

c. *l-yōm par-an-s-i bi talātīn lira*
 today take-1PL-3SG-PRG in thirty lira.PL
aha bantalon-i.
 this.NOM trousers-PRED.SG

a. 'There may be money, but life is expensive.

b. We used to buy these trousers for half a pound or one pound.

c. Nowadays we buy them for thirty pounds, [that's what] these trousers are.'

The Arabic past-tense copula *kān/kun-* is often used to reinforce the imperfect, modelled on the Arabic imperfect, which consists of the auxiliary *kān/kun-* accompanying the present-subjunctive or the present participle:

(108) *kull dīs kun-t dža-m-a ūyar-ta*
 every day was-1SG go-1SG-REM town-DAT
 'I used to go to town every day.'

(109) a. *ū da'iman lamma bidd-hā dža-r*
 and always when want-3SG.F go-3SG.SUBJ

- kān-at par-ar-s-a wāšī-s ū 'išī*
was-F take-3SG-3SG-REM with-3SG and PART
- b. *ū ama man-ar-m-a kury-a-ma*
and I leave-3SG-1SG-REM house-OBL.F-LOC
- msih-k-am ū qušš-k-am*
wipe-VTR-1SG.SUBJ and scrub-VTR-1SG.SUBJ
- a. 'And when she wanted to go out she always used to take her with her and so on,
- b. and she left me at home to wipe and to scrub.'

The pluperfect, which also relies on the remoteness or de-contextualising suffix *-a*, is most frequently encountered in counterfactual constructions. Here, an uninflected form of Arabic *kān* is used, copying the use of uninflected *kān* in such constructions in Arabic:

- (110) *law wāšī-m ple kān t-om-r-a*
if with-1SG money was.3SG.M give.PAST-1SG-2SG-REM
'If I had had money I would have given it to you.'
- (111) *law er-om xužoti kān*
if come.PAST-1SG yesterday was.3SG.M
lah-erd-om-s-a
see-PAST-1SG-3SG-REM
'If I had come yesterday I would have seen him.'
- (112) *kān ihi par-d-iy-a*
was.3SG.M this.F take-PAST-PRED.SG-REM
bakalor-is
baccalaureate-3SG.OBL
'She would have received her baccalaureate.'

7.6.2. The subjunctive

Domari aligns itself with various languages of the region – Persian, Kurdish, Neo-Aramaic, Arabic, Azeri – in showing no (or merely a reduced) modal infinitive. The usual way to express an embedded non-factual predication in most languages of the Anatolian-Mesopotamian linguistic area is through a distinct subjunctive mood. The loss or reduction of the infinitive extends also to Romani and its principal Anatolian contact language, Modern Greek, and of course to the languages of the Balkans. Although we have no direct attestation

of earlier forms of Domari, it is safe to assume that the language's forerunner, like all other early New Indo-Aryan languages, did make use of non-finite verb forms, especially in embeddings and modal constructions. Domari will have lost its infinitive through contact.

Although older stages of the language may have had a distinct optative mood, there is no evidence of any direct continuation of such a structure into present-day Domari. Instead there are two principles guiding the structural composition of the Domari subjunctive. The first is the use of the present stem in the absence of a temporal specification (through either progressive-contextual *-i* or remote *-a*). This is an iconic representation of a verb-form that is tense-less and which can only be contextualised by being dependent on another, matrix predication. Whether the subjunctive became marked historically through the omission of tense markers, or whether the subjunctive in fact represents the direct continuation of the MIA present-indicative conjugation, is open to speculation. By comparison, Romani too uses the 'short' forms of the present stems as a subjunctive, whereas 'long' forms (with addition of *-a*) are reserved for the indicative, future, declarative or conditional. In any event it is clear that the plain present stem that now serves as a subjunctive has a long history within the language.

The second structural formation of the Domari subjunctive appears to be of younger age. It involves, as mentioned already in section 7.4 above, the addition of an augment morpheme to the present stem. This augment is pronounced /š/ by most speakers today, but some of the most elderly speakers still use the affricate pronunciation /č/, which is also the one recorded by Macalister (1914). We can therefore assume that in historical context it is correct to speak of a subjunctive augment *-č-* that entered the language at some point in its earlier history. The form is not particular to Palestinian Domari, and can also be found in the Domari of Aleppo with verbs such as 'to enter' and 'to come' (Herin 2012). The composition of the augment and its position between stem and person ending suggest that its origin may have been in a grammaticalised auxiliary verb, which at some earlier point may have carried its own person inflection. Its present position in the word also suggests that it was incorporated into the language at a point when auxiliaries were still postposed to lexical verbs, which more or less rules out contact with Iranian (or Arabic) as a likely trigger (for replication of the pattern) or source (of the morpheme itself). Barr's (1943) suggestion that the subjunctive augment represents the Kurdish verb *çûn* 'to go' must therefore be rejected. On the other hand, postposed auxiliaries in *č-* and *čh-* are widespread in Indo-Aryan (the latter going back to the MIA copula *acchati*), especially in the languages of the northern parts of the sub-continent (Kashmiri, Assamese, Nepali, Bengali, but also Gujarati, where it derives from the OIA verb *kṣi-* 'to dwell, exist'; cf.

Masica 1991: 285). Modern Kashmiri in fact has as its main present-tense auxiliary the verb *chu*, which however is preposed to the lexical verb.

Apart from the form of the augment, there are two further clues as to its possible origin and emergence. As we saw in section 7.4, the subjunctive augment appears only with some verbs. These are the verbs ‘to be’, all intransitive derivations (passives), the verbs ‘to go out’, ‘to enter’, ‘to descend’, ‘to return’, ‘to stand’, ‘to play’, ‘to dance’, ‘to cry’, and ‘to sleep’, as well as, restricted to the second person, ‘to travel’. Once we disentangle the effects of metathesis, we can also add ‘to flee’, ‘to run’, ‘to sit’, and ‘to laugh’ to the list. It is thus clear that the subjunctive *-č-* augment favours verbs of motion, emotion, state, and change of state. It also appears that its path into the language involves the manipulative-imperative form. This is evident from the occasional asymmetrical distribution of the augment, which favours the second person (singular and plural) over other persons, and it is also evident from the fact that the subjunctive augment accommodates the same person endings as the indicative paradigm with the exception of one, and that is the second person singular, for which the augment carries its own particular form, *-ī*. This person ending in turn adds a further possible clue to the origin of the augment. The form *-ī* for the second person singular is rare in Indo-Aryan, but common in Iranian, where the historical ending **-asi* went through a process of aspiration to **-ahi* leading to *-ī* (e.g. in both Kurdish and Persian). While we know that person concord affixes are very rarely borrowed from one language to another in isolation (cf. Matras 2009), the possibility of a wholesale incorporation of a postposed, emphatic imperative auxiliary to encourage motion, based on the root *č-* from a medieval form of an Indo-Iranian contact variety must be considered a realistic possibility. The marker will have then made its way from the command form to modal dependent uses for other persons as well, and from verbs denoting physical motion to related, somewhat more abstract meanings involving transformation and states, and finally, in some cases, also from the subjunctive into the indicative paradigm.

The present-day uses of the Domari subjunctive are very similar to those of its counterparts in Arabic, Kurdish, Neo-Aramaic and other languages of the area. It encodes non-factual events that are dependent either implicitly on the realisation of an intention, or explicitly on the realisation of a condition expressed by the matrix predicate. The subjunctive appears independently of a matrix predicate in expressions of intention, which come close to expressing a future tense. Note that in two of the cases, the intentionality is supported by a subjunctive particle, *ta* and *la*, both adopted from Arabic:

- (113) *sabaḥtan ta laḥ-am tōr-as bidd-ī*
 morning PART see-1SG.SUBJ bull-OBL.M want-1SG
mar-am-is ihi šury-a-ma
 kill-1SG.SUBJ-3SG.OBL this.F knife-OBL.G-LOC
 ‘In the morning I shall find the bull and I want to kill it with this knife.’
- (114) *yaṣni atu boy-or šēx-i till-ēk ū*
 PART you father-2SG sheikh-PRED.SG big-PRED.SG and
par ik-ak dōmiya yaṣni aha
 take.2SG.SUBJ one-INDEF Dom.woman PART this.M
yaṣni na-qbul-ond-e’ yaṣni ahl-or.
 PART NEG-accept-VITR.3PL-NEG PART family-2SG
 ‘So your father is an important leader and you [wish to] marry a Dom woman, well, this your family will not accept.’
- (115) *la t-am širy-a pēt-ir-ma ū*
 PART put-1SG.SUBJ knife-OBL.F belly-2SG-LOC and
kar-am-ir di šaqfa.
 make-1SG-2SG.OBL two piece
 ‘I shall stick the knife in your belly and cut you in two parts.’

Further uses of the subjunctive independently of embeddings and a matrix predicate can be found when the intentionality is derived either from the speech situation and the illocutionary structure of the utterance (a question targeting intentions and wishes, or a command), or through the description of circumstances that serve in effect as equivalent to a matrix verb:

- (116) *t-ar ab-ur-ke kōla?*
 put-3SG.SUBJ for-2SG-BEN cola?
 ‘Should she pour you some cola?’
- (117) *nan fraḡ-ē-m war-k-am-san*
 bring.2SG.SUBJ clothes-PL-1SG wear-VTR-1SG.SUBJ-3PL
 ‘Bring my clothes so that I can put them on.’
- (118) *bass n-h-e’ ple tʿallim-hōš-ar aktar*
 but NEG-is-NEG money study-VITR-3SG.SUBJ more
 ‘But there is no money for her to carry on studying.’

Purpose clauses also provide a structure through which the conditions on the possible or prospective realisation of the action captured in the subjunctive mood are outlined:

- (119) *gar-a ta lak-ar dōm-an ma*
 go.PAST-M PART see-3SG.SUBJ Dom-OBL.PL NEG
lak-ed-osan
 see-PAST-3PL
 'He went to find the Dom [but] he could not find them.'
- (120) *kil-d-i kury-a-ki, nig-r-om mandža*
 exit-PAST-F house-OBL.F-ABL enter-PAST-1SG inside
la qaft-am di mana
 PART steal-1SG.SUBJ two bread
 'She left the house, I went inside to steal two loaves of bread.'

The subjunctive mood is otherwise a consistent feature of embedded verbs that are the complements of matrix verbs denoting emotions, intentions, or power relations. As in other languages, it is possible for the subject of the matrix verb to differ from that of the embedded predicate, in which case a so-called 'manipulation' reading (the influence of one actor on another) is provided. The interpretation of 'manipulation' in this context is broad and can engulf anything from fear to direct permission:

- (121) *b-y-am-i fumn-ar-is*
 fear-ITR-1SG-PRG hit-3SG.SUBJ-3SG.OBL
 'I am afraid that he will hit her.'
- (122) *payy-om man-ar-m-e' kil-š-am*
 husband-1SG let-3SG-1SG-NEG exit-SUBJ-1SG
 'My husband doesn't allow me to go out.'

The modal particle *xallī* from Arabic (Arabic *yxallī* 'to allow'), carrying Arabic object agreement, is used productively for prompting actions:

- (123) *xallī-nā skun-hōš-an yašni hnēna*
 let-1PL live-VITR.SUBJ-1PL PART here
 'Let us live here.'
- (124) *xallī-hā dža-r šand payy-is-ki*
 let-3SG.F go-3SG.SUBJ to husband-3SG.OBL-ABL
 'Let her go to her husband.'

Verbs expressing preferences may be employed as matrix verbs with subjunctive complements:

- (125) *ama in-mang-am-é' piy-am gulda*
 I NEG-like-1SG-NEG drink-1SG.SUBJ tea
 'I don't like to drink tea.'

- (126) *ašti ḥibb-o-d-i dža-n madras-an-ka*
 there.is like-VITR-3PL-PRG go-3PL.SUBJ school-OBL.PL-DAT
ū ašti n-ḥibb-o-d-é'
 and there.is NEG-like-VITR-3PL-NEG
 'There are those who like going to school and there are those who don't.'

Use of the subjunctive is otherwise conventionalised in same-subject constructions with the modal verbs *saka-* 'to be able to', and *bidd-* 'to want', as well as with the impersonal modality marker *lāzim* 'must':

- (127) *ama in-saka-m-e' bag-am yamīn-i*
 I NEG-can-1SG-NEG break-1SG.SUBJ oath-PRED.SG
 'I can't break an oath.'
- (128) *mišta-hr-om-i, saka-m-e' kam-k-am. ama*
 ill-be-1SG-PRG can-1SG-NEG work-VTR-1SG.SUBJ I
ū boy-os saka-n-e' kam-k-an
 and father-3SG can-1PL-NEG work-VTR-1PL.SUBJ
 'I am ill, I cannot work. I and her father cannot work.'
- (129) *uhu waxt-as-ma kān ḥibb-or-i*
 that time-OBL.M-LOC was.3SG.M love-3SG-PRG
ik-ak ū hada ū sak-r-ēy-e'
 one-INDEF and PART and can-PAST-PRED.SG-REM
par-ar-is ū hada
 take-3SG.SUBJ-3SG.OBL and PART
 'At that time he was in love with somebody and so on and he could not marry her and so on.'
- (130) *ama mang-am-i ihi domiy-ē bidd-ī*
 I like-1SG-PRG this.F Dom.woman-OBL.F want-1SG
par-am itzawwiz-om-is
 take-1SG.SUBJ marry-1SG.SUBJ-3SG.OBL
 'I like this Dom woman, I want to take her and marry her.'
- (131) *ehe dōm-e qal lak, bidd-ak ūš-hōš-ī*
 these.PL Dom-PL said look want-2SG live-SUBJ-2SG
wāšī-man?
 with-1PL
 'These Dom said look, do you want to live with us?'

- (132) *gal eme bidd-nā-š ek-ak hōš-ar*
 said we want-1PL-NEG one-INDEF become.SUBJ-3SG
gawara emin-ta layēr putr-os
 head.man 1PL-DAT except son-3SG
 ‘They said we don’t want anyone other than his son to become head man.’

Note that *bidd-* can also express, as in Arabic, likelihood and so anticipated or future tense events:

- (133) *šār-ū šad-i bidd-o hōš-ar*
 began-PL say-3PL-PRG want-3SGM become.SUBJ-3SG
ħarb, bidd-o hōš-ar ħarb, li’anno
 war want-3SGM become.SUBJ-3SG war because
aw-ad-i yahūdiy-e, protkil-e
 come-3PL-PRG Jew-PL Jew-PL
 ‘They started to say there is going to be a war, there is going to be a war, because the Jews are coming.’

Finally, the Arabic impersonal particle *lāzem* is the primary modal expression of necessity and of course also triggers the subjunctive in its complement verb:

- (134) *lāzem atu sašid-kar-ē-man*
 must you help-VTR-2SG-1PL
 ‘You must help us.’
- (135) *ū itne lāzem mašir-oran hōš-as inni*
 and you.PL must destiny-2PL be.SUBJ-2PL COMP
bass yanni-kar-as ū našī-š-as
 only sing-VTR-2PL.SUBJ and dance-SUBJ-2PL
 ‘And your destiny must be that you should only sing and dance.’

7.6.3. Modals and auxiliaries

Domari employs a series of modal and aspectual auxiliaries that modify the structure of predications. In order to clarify the borderline between auxiliaries and sentence or modal particles, I define auxiliaries as word forms that are directly linked specifically to the main lexical predicate rather than to the overall propositional content of the utterance. Formally, auxiliaries also tend to exhibit the structure of person-inflected verbs and in some cases they even

show independent tense and aspect inflection too, while particles are by definition uninflected (see chapter 3 on Parts of Speech). There are a number of exceptions in which auxiliaries are represented by ‘frozen’ inflected forms, i.e. they derive from an inflected form but their inflection is not productive, or else they show restricted inflection.

Perhaps the most extraordinary feature of Domari auxiliaries is that they are all, with the sole exception of *saka-* ‘to be able to’, replicated from Arabic. We might call this a ‘wholesale’ replication as it involves both a full class of functionally related items, that is, the Arabic system of modal and aspectual auxiliaries is replicated as a whole; and since the material that is replicated covers not just the lexical word forms but also their entire grammatical inflection, which in turn is diverse (i.e. not all auxiliaries inflect in the same way). This is theoretically intriguing, for several reasons. Firstly, although languages in contact are known to borrow verbs including auxiliary verbs, it is very rare for languages to borrow finite inflection markers on the verb, be they person markers or tense-aspect markers, and it is even more seldom that we encounter the borrowing of an entire finite inflection paradigm that is borrowed alongside a verb. A notable exception are some of the Romani dialects of the Balkans, which borrow Turkish verbs along with their Turkish inflection. This phenomenon is also incipient in Romani dialects in Russia and Greece, where inflected verbs are borrowed together with their inflection. Nonetheless even in these cases the compartmentalisation is not functional; verbs are borrowed as verbs, not as grammatical operators. Other Romani dialects borrow individual modal verbs with parts of their original conjugation, e.g. Serbian *moram* ‘I must’, *mora* ‘he must’ in the Gurbet Romani dialects of southeastern Europe (cf. Matras 2002: 134, 207).

Still, the state of affairs in Jerusalem Domari is rare. Even Macalister (1914) describes the use of Arabic auxiliaries in the dialect as frozen forms, without a productive inflection. This appears to have changed over the past few generations. One might now regard the entire system of auxiliaries as – somewhat metaphorically – ‘delegated’ out of the language and into Arabic. In reality, what Domari language users are doing is simply generalising their system of auxiliary verbs across their repertoire of linguistic structures to enable it to be drawn upon in any communicative interaction setting, regardless of its participant constellation, contextual content, degree of formality, and so on (cf. Chapter 1). We have here a further example of a functional sub-system of the grammatical apparatus that cannot simply be assigned to one ‘language’ or another in the bilingual’s repertoire, but which serves all settings in which the bilingual communicates, or, in traditional terms, it transcends language boundaries.

Table 71. Major Arabic-derived auxiliaries (with *šar-* ‘to hide’)

	<i>kān</i> ‘used to do’	<i>šār</i> ‘began to do’	<i>bidd-</i> ‘want to do’
1SG	<i>kunt šarama</i>	<i>širt šarami</i>	<i>biddī šaram</i>
2SG.M	<i>kunt šarēya</i>	<i>širt šarēk</i>	<i>biddak šar</i>
2SG.F	<i>kuntī šarēya</i>	<i>širtī šarēk</i>	<i>biddek šar</i>
3SG.M	<i>kān šarara</i>	<i>šār šarari</i>	<i>biddo šarar</i>
3SG.F	<i>kānat šarara</i>	<i>šarat šarari</i>	<i>biddhā šarar</i>
1PL	<i>kunnā šarana</i>	<i>šimā šarani</i>	<i>biddnā šaran</i>
2PL	<i>kuntū šarasa</i>	<i>širtū šarasi</i>	<i>biddkom šaras</i>
3PL	<i>kānū šara(n)da</i>	<i>šārū šara(n)di</i>	<i>biddhom šarad</i>
	<i>baqa</i> ‘went on to do’	<i>xallī</i> ‘to let do’	<i>ḡall-</i> ‘to keep doing’
1SG	<i>baqēt šarama</i>	<i>xallī-ni šaram</i>	<i>ḡallētnī šarami</i>
2SG.M	<i>baqēt šarēya</i>		<i>ḡallēt šarēk</i>
2SG.F	<i>baqētī šarēya</i>		<i>ḡallētī šarēk</i>
3SG.M	<i>baqa šarara</i>	<i>xallī-h šarar</i>	<i>ḡallo šarari</i>
3SG.F	<i>baqat šarara</i>	<i>xallī-hā šarar</i>	<i>ḡallhā šarari</i>
1PL	<i>baqēnā šarana</i>		<i>ḡallētnā šarani</i>
2PL	<i>baqētū šarasa</i>		<i>ḡallētkū šarasi</i>
3PL	<i>baqū šara(n)da</i>	<i>xallī-hom šarad</i>	<i>ḡallhom šara(n)di</i>

Table 71 provides a partial overview of some of the principal auxiliaries, their inflectional behaviour and the agreement and inflection patterns that they govern in respect of their complement lexical verb.

We can divide the inventory of auxiliaries into modal and aspectual. The first, modal auxiliaries, establish the conditions under which a foreseen or intended action might take place in reality. Modality is thus inherently linked to non-factuality. These modals tend to trigger the use of the subjunctive in the complement or main lexical verb that they modify. In the previous section we already discussed examples of the following modal auxiliaries that govern the subjunctive mood on the complement verb: The pre-Arabic inflected verb *saka-* ‘to be able to’ carries inherited Indic subject concord that agrees with the subject of the complement verb. The Arabic inflected nominal auxiliary *bidd-* ‘to want’ carries Arabic person (possessive) inflection, which equally agrees with the subject of the embedded lexical verb of the complement. The Arabic lexical verb *ḡibb-* ‘to wish, like’ in conjunction with a complement lexical verb is used as an auxiliary, adapting to Domari loan-verb inflection patterns for intransitives (*-ho-*, past *-ro-* etc.). The Arabic impersonal auxiliary *xallī-* ‘to allow’ takes Arabic pronominal object-agreement with the targeted or intended subject of the main, complement predicate. Finally, the Arabic non-inflected (impersonal) modal auxiliary *lāzim* ‘must’ also governs the subjunctive in the complement.

Aspectual auxiliaries are those that characterise the unfolding of the factual event captured by the complement verb in relation to its initiation and termination, its duration, frequency and repetition, continuation, and present perspective. The Arabic past-tense existential verb *kān-* is used along with its Arabic inflection to reinforce the remoteness aspect of the imperfect tense that conveys habituality, repetition or continuity:

- (136) a. *kān-ū giš dōm-e skun-ahr-end-a hnēn*
was-3PL all Dom-PL live-VITR-3PL-REM here
- b. *ū kān-ū skun-ond-a kury-ē-s-ma*
and was-3PL live-VITR.3PL-REM house-PL-3SG-LOC
hay-ki/ fall-as-ki
PART-ABL canvas-OBL.M-ABL
- c. *musilmīn-e kān-ū fēm-and-a inglīziy-an,*
Muslims-PL was-3PL hit-3PL-REM English-OBL.PL
nohr-an,
English-OBL.PL
- d. *ū aw-ad-a ehe musilmīn-e*
and come-3PL-REM these.PL Muslims-PL
šar-y-ad-a xašabiyy-ē-s-ma dōm-an-ki
hide-ITR-3PL-REM hut-PL-3SG-LOC Dom-OBL.PL-ABL
- a. ‘All the Dom used to live here.
b. And they used to live in tents from canvas.
c. The Muslims were fighting the English,
d. And the Muslims used to come and hide in the wooden huts of the Dom.’

The Arabic verb *šār-* ‘to become’ is used, as in Arabic, in conjunction with another complement verb to indicate the initiation of an action (‘to begin’). Here too the Arabic inflection is replicated in Domari. Note that the mood of the complement verb may fluctuate between subjunctive and indicative:

- (137) *ū bašdēn širt kam-k-am nkī-s*
and then began.1SG work-VTR-1SG.SUBJ at-3SG
kull dīs
every day
‘And after that I started to work for her every day.’

- (138) *šār-at š-ari ab-us-ke ama bidd-ī/*
began-3SG.F say-3SG for-3SG-BEN I want-1SG

bidd-ī dżawuz-hōš-am
 want-1SG marry-VITR.SUBJ-1SG
 ‘She started to tel him I want to/ I want to get married.’

A further fully inflected Arabic auxiliary is *baqa-*, whose original independent meaning is ‘to stay’. In its function as an auxiliary it carries the meaning ‘to continue’ in a repetitive manner. When relating to repetitive past events, the complement verb appears in the imperfect:

- (139) *ū baq-ēt radžo-h-om-s-a yašni*
 and stayed-1SG ask-VITR-1SG-3SG-REM PART
waddi-kar-im madras-ē-ka
 send-VTR-1SG.SUBJ school-OBL.F-DAT
 ‘And I kept asking her to send me to school.’
- (140) *baq-ēt dža-m-a kam-k-am-a*
 stayed-1SG go-1SG-REM work-VTR-1SG-REM
 ‘I kept going to work.’

The Arabic verb root *baṭṭil-* ‘to cease’ is integrated into the Domari templates for non-agentive loan verbs. The complement appears in the subjunctive:

- (141) *min waqt-iyis-ki baṭṭil-ah-r-a*
 from time-3SG.OBL-ABL stop-VITR-PAST-M
fumr-ar-im
 beat-3SG.SUBJ-1SG
 ‘From that moment he stopped beating me.’

The Arabic auxiliary *ḡallo* (from the verb *ḡall-* ‘to remain’) is used to indicate persistence of an action (‘to keep doing’). Its unusually hybrid subject-possessive inflection paradigm is replicated from Arabic:

- (142) *par-ar-i hašiš-a py-ar-i ū*
 take-3SG-PRG hashish-OBL.F smoke-3SG-PRG and
absar 'iši, ḡall-o xašt-ar-i: lāš-ik
 PART remain-3SG.M laugh-3SG-PRG girl-PRED.SG
nan ama-ke ple nan
 bring.SUBJ.2SG 1SG-BEN money bring.SUBJ.2SG
ama-ke ple
 1SG-BEN money
 ‘He takes the hashish and smokes it and I don’t know what, he keeps on laughing: girl give me money, give me money.’

- (143) *gar-i* *š-ird-i* *day-is-ke* *qal*
 go.PAST-F say-PAST-F mother-3SG.OBL-BEN said
putr-or *ḍall-o* *fumn-ar-i* *ben-im*
 son-2SG remain-3SG.M hit-3SG-PRG sister-1SG.OBL
 ‘She went and said to his mother, she said your son keeps beating my sister.’

The impersonal auxiliary *šawid* (from the Arabic participle *šāwid* ‘returning’) is used to indicate an action that repeats a similar action that preceded it involving the same actors and/or restoring a similar state of affairs:

- (144) *šawid par-d-ēn* *kury-a* *sūr-as-k-ēk*
 again take-PAST-1PL house-OBL.F wall-OBL.M-DAT-PRED.SG
 ‘Once again we bought a house adjoining the wall.’
- (145) *šawid garī-r-ēn* *er-ēn*
 again return-PAST-1PL come.PAST-1PL
kury-ē-man-ta *hindar* *quds-a-ma*
 house-PL-1PL-DAT here Jerusalem-OBL.F-LOC
 ‘Once again we returned to our houses here in Jerusalem.’

Finally, the Domari form *gara*, literally ‘he went’, is used as a calque on the Arabic uninflected particle *rāḥ* which indicates a proximate future:

- (146) *pandžan gara bisāwa-h-od-i*
 they went marry-VITR-3PL-PRG
 ‘They are going to get married.’
- (147) *atu gara ho-k* *garda*
 you went become-2SG well
 ‘You are going to get well.’

Chapter 8

Local and temporal relations

8.1. The encoding of case relations

Domari makes use of several distinct categories of structural resources for the expression of spatial relations and those pertaining to thematic (semantic) roles, some of which are also extended to temporal relations. Layer II inflectional case markers figure prominently in encoding thematic roles and spatial relations. They have been dealt with in detail in Chapter 4.3.5 and the discussion will not be repeated here. A small set of inherited spatial expressions is presented in Table 72. These expressions show various syntactic behaviour patterns. Some are adverbial in nature and follow the noun in the locative case:

- (1) *kurya-ma bara*
house-LOC outside
'outside the house'

Others behave like inflected nominals that modify another noun in a possessive-genitive construction:

- (2) *čanč-is-ma kurya-ki*
next-3SG.OBL-LOC house-ABL
'next to the house'

Other expressions are genuine prepositions that precede a noun in the ablative case:

- (3) *paši kurya-ki*
behind house-ABL
'behind the house'

Table 72. Inherited spatial expressions

<i>mandža</i>	'inside'	<i>axar</i>	'below'
<i>bara</i>	'outside'	<i>paši</i>	'behind'
<i>atun</i>	'above'	<i>čanč-</i>	'next to'
<i>agir</i>	'in front of'		

A further closed set of expressions is reserved for pronominal objects (see Table 73). We can refer to them as person-inflected spatial relations markers, or alternatively as case-inflected pronominal expressions (see Chapter 6.1.2). Each one of these markers corresponds to a counterpart expression that is used to modify full nouns. Etymologically the set is of a hybrid or mixed character. The forms *atrī-* and *ab-* appear to derive from Indic adverbial and pronominal expressions, respectively (cf. Domari *atun* ‘above’). The origin of *nk-* is less clear, while *ʃank-* seems to represent a contamination between *nk-* and the Arabic preposition *ʃan* ‘about, of’. The comitative forms *wāš-* and *māš-* seem to derive from the Arabic conjunction *w-* ‘and, along with’ and the Arabic preposition *maʃ* ‘with’, respectively. The origin of the augment *-š-* is not sufficiently clear, but its position and function might support an origin in the Kurdish postposed focus marker *jî* [ʒi:] ‘too’, thus **wa-žī-m* ‘and-also-I’, **maʃ-žī-m* ‘with-also-I’ > *wāšim*, *māšim* ‘with-me’. The ablative forms *minš-*, *mēš-*, *mindž-* might be interpreted along similar lines: Arabic *min* ‘from’ serving as a basis, supplemented by **žī* to form *minšim* ‘from me’ etc., contracted in *mēš-*, and showing assimilation in *mindž-*. This set is in principle open to new Arabic prepositions as they adopt Domari person inflection to represent case-inflected pronouns (see below).

Table 73. Hybrid, person-inflected case markers

<i>atrī-</i>	‘on, for’	<i>ʃankī-</i>	‘on, about’
<i>abu-</i>	‘to, for’	<i>wāšī-, māšī-</i>	‘with’
<i>nkī-</i>	‘at’	<i>minšī-, mēšī-, mindžī-</i>	‘from’

The great majority of expressions for local and temporal relations are borrowed directly from Arabic (see Table 74 for a non-exhaustive overview). They precede the noun, which usually appears in a case-inflected (Layer II Ablative) form.

Table 74. Arabic prepositions used in Domari

<i>ʃan</i>	‘on, about’	<i>ʃašān</i>	‘because’	<i>nawāhi</i>	‘toward’
<i>maʃ</i>	‘with’	<i>minšān</i>	‘for’	<i>qabil</i>	‘before’
<i>min</i>	‘from’	<i>min yēr</i>	‘without’	<i>baʃd</i>	‘after’
<i>la, ʃala</i>	‘to’	<i>bidūn, min dūn</i>	‘without’	<i>layāyet</i>	‘until’
<i>fi</i>	‘in’	<i>bēn</i>	‘between’	<i>bi</i>	‘in, for’
<i>zayy</i>	‘like’	<i>ḥawāli</i>	‘around’	<i>diq</i>	‘against’
<i>ʃind (ʃand)</i>	‘at’	<i>badāl</i>	‘instead of’	<i>min ḡamn</i>	‘among’
<i>žamb</i>	‘next to’	<i>illa yēr</i>	‘except for’		

As noted, some of these Arabic prepositions show inflectional potential in Domari, as they combine with Domari pronominal endings: *minšān-ī-m* ‘for

my sake', *badāl-is* 'in its place', *bašd-os* 'thereafter', *bēnat-ī-san* 'between them', and so on, following the pattern of the so-called hybrid case expressions.

8.2. The expression of thematic roles

8.2.1. Possessor and object of possession

The Domari possessive construction has already been discussed in detail in Chapter 5.1. Here we recapitulate the key features of the marking of key participant roles, that of the possessor and object of possession. In the full genitive-possessive construction involving two nouns, the object of possession (head) occupies the first position in the phrase and takes 3rd person possessive (pronominal) inflection in agreement with the possessor. The possessor (modifier) takes the second position in the pair of expressions and is inflected for the Ablative case. In example (4) the distribution of roles is illustrated by the words *boy-os* 'his-father' (object of possession or head) and *šōn-as-ki* 'of-the-son' (possessor or modifier); a similar setup is followed for *ṭalab-os* *putr-os-ki* 'his son's request' in example (5).

- (4) *aha qrara boy-os šōn-as-ki, šār*
 this.M Bedouin father-3SG boy-OBL.M-ABL started.3SG.M
nē-r-i maṭ-e dawwir-kar-ad
 send-3SG-PRG people-PL search-VTR-3PL.SUBJ
putr-os-ta.
 son-3SG-DAT
 'The Bedouin, the boy's father, began sending out people to search for his son.'

- (5) *yašni ma nafiz-k-ad-a ṭalab-os*
 PART NEG carry.out-VTR-PAST-M request-3SG
putr-os-ki
 son-3SG-ABL
 'In other words, he did not carry out his son's request.'

Exceptions to this scheme of identifying participant roles in the possessive construction are found in particular in the specification of fixed kinship relations. Here the roles appear typically in reverse order, with the possessor-modifier appearing first and the object of possession or head appearing second. Moreover, morphological marking of any interdependency between the two participants is dropped, leaving linear juxtaposition as the only formal morphosyntactic feature of the construction – thus in example (6) *boy-im kuri*

‘my father’s household’, in (7) *bar-im dīr-ki* ‘of my brother’s daughter’ (= ‘my niece’) etc.:

- (6) *ū xatr-ak ū ama qašṭōṭ-ik kān-ū*
 and time-INDEF and I small-PRED.SG was-3PL
yāsir ū boy-im kuri ḥarab-ēni.
 Yassir and father-1SG.OBL house fall.out-PRED.PL
 ‘And once when I was small Yassir and my father’s household fell out.’
- (7) *dis-ak ihi lamba kuwī-r-i siry-is-ka*
 day-INDEF this.F lantern fall-PAST-F head-3SG.OBL-DAT
hay-ki bar-im dīr-ki, nažw-a-ki.
 PART-ABL brother-1SG.OBL daughter-ABL Najwa-OBL.F-ABL
 ‘One day the lantern fell on what’s her name’s head, my niece, Najwa.’

Existential possession is based around an existential predication with the impersonal predicate *ašti* ‘there is’. The object of possession is the subject of the construction. The possessor is expressed through a choice of several case markers, among them the Layer II Benefactive in *-ke* (or the relevant pronominal forms), and the case expressions *nkī-* ‘at’ or *wāšī-* ‘with’:

- (8) *ašti ama-ke mām-om putr-ēni*
 there.is 1SG-BEN uncle-1SG son-PRED.PL
 ‘I have cousins.’
- (9) *ašti ab-us-ke di zar-e.*
 there.is for-3SG-BEN two child-PL
 ‘He has two children.’
- (10) *ašti nkī-s ’arbaʿ wlad*
 there.is by-3SG four children
 ‘He has four children.’
- (11) *amma li wāšī-san ple ašti nkī-san ḥanafiyye*
 PART REL with-3PL money there.is by-3PL tap
ū kull ’iši
 and every thing
 ‘Those who have money have running water and everything.’
- (12) *š-ird-e ab-us-ke ašti nkī-r/ wāšī-r*
 say-PAST-3PL for-3SG-BEN there.is by-2SG with-2SG
yašni šaraṭān-i
 PART cancer-PRED.SG
 ‘They told him: you have cancer.’

Domari usually expresses the external possessor (the undergoer or target of an external process) as a direct or indirect object, though examples are primarily pronominal:

- (13) *tiknaw-ar-s-i* *bašdēn* *pow-os*
hurt-3SG-3SG-PRG after foot-3SG
'And then her foot hurts.'
- (14) *er-os-is* *aha* *kurdi*
come.PAST-3SG-3SG.OBL this.M Kurd
'This Kurd came to see him.'

8.2.2. Subject roles

Domari is a subject-prominent language. Subject roles are generally expressed by a syntactic subject in the nominative case. This subject governs subject-agreement with the predicate. The pattern also extends to both personal and impersonal predications in which the subject is not an active, reflective agent but an experiencer of an emotional state such as 'need', 'must', or 'like':

- (15) *lāzem* *atu* *sašid-kar-ē-man*
must you.SG help-VTR-2SG-1PL
'You must help us.'
- (16) *kān* *hibb-ho-r-m-a* *bol* *š-ad-i/*
was.3SG.M like-VITR-3SG-1SG-REM much say-3PL-PRG
š-ird-e *ama-ke,* *boy-om*
say-PAST-3PL 1SG-BEN father-1SG
'He loved me very much, they say/ they told me, my father.'

Changes of state, and the subject of promotion to a state, usually maintain the same typical morphosyntactic subject features:

- (17) *lamma* *hōš-ar* *lāši* *šumr-os* *xamistaššr*
when become.SUBJ-3SG girl age-3SG fifteen
sane *sittaššr* *sane,* *stann-ho-r-i*
year sixteen year wait-VITR-3SG-PRG
aw-ar-is *šaris-ak*
come-3SG.SUBJ-3SG.OBL bridegroom-INDEF
džawiz-hōš-ar *džar* *kury-is-ka*
marry-VITR.SUBJ-3SG go-3SG.SUBJ house-3SG.OBL-DAT

wēšt-ar *kury-is-ma*
sit.SUBJ-3SG house-3SG.OBL-LOC

‘When a girl reaches the age of fifteen or sixteen, she waits for a bridegroom to marry her, so she can go to his house to live in his house.’

Predications expressing change of state or promotion to a state frequently rely on the non-verbal predication to represent the outcome of the process:

(18) *chr-a* *lagiš-i*
become.PAST-M fight-PRED.SG
‘A fight broke out.’

(19) *bašdēn* *chr-i* *mišt-ik*
then become.PAST-F ill-PRED.SG
‘Then she became ill.’

(20) *yašni* *atu* *boj-or* *šēx-i* *till-ēk*
PART you.SG father-2SG Sheikh-PRED.SG big-PRED.SG
‘So your father is an important Sheikh.’

Promotion to state may also show the subject that is the outcome or target of the process in an object-recipient role, marked by the case element *wāšī-* ‘with’; this construction tends to be limited to the accidental experiencer:

(21) *zakkir-ho-k* *hāds-ī* *illi* *chr-a*
remember-VITR-2SG incident-OBL.M REL become.PAST-M
wāšī-r *atun* *sūr-as-ki?*
with-2SG above wall-OBL.M-ABL
‘Do you remember the incident that happened to you on top of the wall?’

8.2.3. Object roles

In addition to the canonical direct object, Domari uses the direct object case (accusative or unmodified oblique) to express a series of object roles such as the benefactive of the verbs ‘to help’ and ‘to wait for’:

(22) *ū* *kull* *lēle* *ama* *walaŕ-k-am-i* *ihi*
and every night I switch.on-VTR-1SG-PRG this.F
lamb-ē.
lamp-OBL.F
‘And every night I switch on this lantern.’

- (23) *lāzem atu saʿid-kar-ē-man*
 must you.SG help-VTR-2SG-1PL
 ‘You must help us.’
- (24) *šār-at row-ar-i ū ʾiši qal*
 began.3SG.F weep-3SG-PRG and thing PART
stannu-ho-d-m-i maṭ-e hnona šāḥb-ē-m
 wait-VTR-3PL-1SG-PRG people-PL there friend-PL-1SG
ū maṭ-e šazim-k-ed-om
 and people-PL invite-VTR-PAST-1SG
 ‘She began to cry and so on saying people are waiting for me there,
 my friends and people I invited.’

The object of resemblance (likeness) is generally presented through a non-verbal predication carrying the nominative form of the noun:

- (25) *baq-ēt kury-a-ma zayy xaddām-ēk*
 stay-1SG house-OBL.F-LOC like servant-PRED.SG
 ‘I stayed at home like a servant.’
- (26) *dis-ak eḥr-a zayy sahr-ēk*
 day-INDEF become.PAST-M like party-PRED.SG
šurs-i dōm-ar-ka
 wedding-PRED.SG Dom-OBL.PL-DAT
 ‘One day there was like a party, a wedding among the Dom.’

A series of object roles take on either the dative case or a dative preposition *atr-* ‘on, upon’. This structure is often used to imitate the configuration of corresponding constructions in Arabic where the relevant object is introduced by the preposition *ʕala-* ‘on, upon’. They include the objects of verbs like ‘to understand’, ‘to greet’, and ‘to search for’:

- (27) *pandži š-ar-i dōm, ama š-am-i dōm,*
 3SG speak-3SG-PRG Dom I speak-1SG-PRG Dom
pandži fhim-ar-i ama-ka, ama
 3SG understand-3SG-PRG 1SG-DAT I
fh-am-i atrī-s.
 understand-1SG-PRG on-3SG
 ‘He speaks Dom, I speak Dom, he understands me, I understand him.’
- (28) *ū sallim-k-ad-a atrī-s.*
 and greet-VTR-PAST-M on-3SG
 ‘And he greeted him.’

- (29) *aha q̄rara boy-os šōn-as-ki, šār*
 this.M Bedouin father-3SG boy-OBL.M-ABL started.3SG.M
nē-r-i maṭ-e dawwir-kar-ad putr-os-ta.
 send-3SG-PRG people-PL search-VTR-3PL.SUBJ son-3SG-DAT
 ‘The Bedouin, the boy’s father, began sending out people to search
 for his son.’

A separate group of semantically related verbs, similarly expressing attitudes to a target object, directly follow the Arabic model by adapting and using the Arabic preposition *ʕan-* (as *ʕankī-*) to mark the object:

- (30) *layāyet hessaṭ xašt-ad-i ʕankī-s.*
 till now laugh-3PL-PRG about-3SG
 ‘Until now they still laugh at him.’
- (31) *wa thim-k-ad-ed-is mindži-m inn-i*
 and accuse-VTR-PAST-3PL-3SG.OBL from-1SG COMP-1SG
ama kur-d-om-is xuṣūṣī ʕankī-s
 I throw-PAST-1SG-3SG.OBL especially at-3SG
 ‘And they accused me of throwing it at her on purpose.’

8.2.4. Combining two object roles

A series of Domari verbs show two object participants – a direct object and a recipient or benefactor. Pronominal inflection will often cover one of the participants, usually the recipient/benefactor. The direct object of the construction appears in the unmodified oblique or a presentation mode that overrides inflectional case, such as an indefinite or non-verbal predication:

- (32) *ū t-os-im ʕūd-as*
 and give.PAST-3SG-1SG.OBL oud-OBL.M
 ‘And she gave me the oud.’
- (33) *ḥākim t-os šahād-ak*
 governor give.PAST-3SG certificate-INDEF
 ‘The governor gave him a certificate.’

In the case of two full nominal objects, various splits in case marking can be found. With the verb ‘to give’ we can find the recipient encoded in the Benefactive case while the direct object retains direct object case marking (unmodified oblique):

- (34) *d-es* *pl-an* *putr-ē-m-ke* *ū*
 give-2PL.SUBJ money-OBL.PL son-PL-1SG-BEN and
bay-im-ke
 wife-1SG.OBL-BEN
 ‘Give the money to my sons and to my wife.’

With the verb ‘to show’, two subsequent direct objects can be found:

- (35) *xatr-ēni* *kār-at* *šar-ar-a*,
 time-PRED.PL was-3SG.F hide-3SG-REM
n-wardži-k-ar-e’ *payy-is* *yašni* *giš*
 NEG-show-VTR-3SG-NEG husband-3SG.OBL PART all
pl-an.
 money-OBL.PL
 ‘Sometimes she used to hide (it), she didn’t show her husband all the money.’

Roles can otherwise be split between the Benefactive case and another object preposition/case marker, such as the Dative:

- (36) *pandži* *š-ird-a* *ama-ke* *atni-r*
 3SG say-PAST-M I-BEN on-2SG
 ‘He told me about you.’

Only seldom do we find the benefactive role expressed by an Arabic benefactive preposition:

- (37) *atu* *bidd-ak* *šri-k-a* *minšāni-m* *mana*
 you.SG want-2SG buy-VTR-2SG.SUBJ for-1SG bread
 ‘You want to buy some bread for me.’

8.2.5. Expression of source

Most expressions of source rely on the Arabic preposition *min* ‘from’. It covers the source of verbal permission, information and material donation, as well as the trigger of emotional states such as fear:

- (38) *er-os-is* *aha* *kurdī*, *mang-id-os*
 come.PAST-3SG-3SG.OBL this.M Kurd ask-PAST-3SG
min *boy-is-ki*
 from father-3SG.OBL-ABL
 ‘This Kurdish man came to her, he asked her father for her (= to marry her).’

- (39) *gar-om nkī-s řařān mang-am mēř-is ple*
 go.PAST-1SG by-3SG for ask-1SG.SUBJ from-3SG money
 ‘I went to him to ask him for money.’
- (40) *kān-at by-ar-i min yāsr-as-ki day-om*
 was-3SG.F fear-3SG-PRG from Yassir-OBL.M-ABL mother-1SG
 ‘My mother used to be scared of Yassir.’

Reason or cause, by contrast, are marked out by a specialised Arabic preposition, *řařān* ‘because of’:

- (41) *waqt-os lagiř-k-ad-e muslimīn-e ū portkīl-e*
 time-3SG fight-VTR-PAST-3PL Muslims-PL and Jew-PL
mař bařđ řařān raqqāřan-ar-ki
 with REC for dancer-OBL.PL-ABL
 ‘At the time the Muslims and the Jews were fighting over the dancers.’
- (42) *ū řařān ihni, hāda nařwa, đir-os*
 and because thus this Najwa daughter-3SG
till-ik n-xarriř-ho-r-i mař/ mař
 big-PRED.SG NEG-speak-VTR-3SG-PRG with with
ben-is-ki wala mař day-is-ki
 sister-3SG.OBL-ABL nor with mother-3SG.OBL-ABL
 ‘And because of that, Najwa, her older daughter, does not speak with her sister nor with her mother.’

In the case of material origin, Domari follows the configuration features of the corresponding Arabic construction and refrains from assigning any relational case to the material source, relying instead on mere linear juxtaposition and the non-verbal predication marker:

- (43) *řri-k-ad-e xātm-ak urp-i*
 buy-VTR-PAST-3PL ring-INDEF silver-PRED.SG
 ‘They bought a silver ring.’

The Arabic source preposition *min* re-appears in partitive constructions, either accompanied by the Ablative case (*min đōmanki* ‘of Dom’), or in conjunction with a non-verbal predication (*min mamluři* ‘of pickles’). Here it alternates with zero marking of the source substance (*tanakak zēt* ‘a pot of oil’):

- (44) *ḥākm-os šamāl l-hind nēr-d-a ḥawālī*
 governor-3SG north DEF-India send-PAST-M around
'arbaš mīt šēle min dōm-an-ki
 four hundred family from Dom-OBL.PL-ABL
 'The governor of northern India sent approximately four hundred families of Doms.'
- (45) *fī dēy-ak min dēy-ē-s-ki l-širāq*
 in village-INDEF from village-PL-3SG-ABL DEF-Iraq
 'in one of the villages of Iraq'
- (46) *šabi-k-ad-a ama-ke tanak-ak zēt ū tanak-ak*
 fill-VTR-PAST-M I-BEN pot-INDEF oil and pot-INDEF
min mamluḥ-i
 from salted-PRED.SG
 'He filled for me a pot of oil and a pot of pickles.'

Historical origin and descent are expressed, like the prototype source, with *min* in conjunction with the prepositional-ablative case marker on plain nouns:

- (47) *yāsir bar-om-i min day-im-ki*
 Yassir brother-1SG-PRED.SG from mother-1SG.OBL-ABL
ū dīb bar-om-i min boy-im-ki
 and Dib brother-1SG-PRED.SG from father-1SG.OBL-ABL
 'Yassir is my brother from my mother's side and Dib is my brother from my father's side.'
- (48) *ašl-os dōm-an-ki min eh/ qābilet*
 origin-3SG Dom-OBL.PL-ABL from tribe
iž-žassās ū klēb
 DEF-Jassas and Kleb
 'The origin of the Dom is uh/ in the tribe of Jassas and Kleb.'

8.2.6. Expressions of association and dissociation

As discussed in Chapter 4.3.5.5, the Domari Layer II Sociative *-san* can be used to express comitative roles. Its use is limited, however, to some speakers, and even among those speakers, to a relatively small number of nouns. Generally, the favoured expression for comitative roles is the Arabic preposition *maš* 'with':

- (49) *aha džamīl šār ḥarb-k-ar-i maʿ*
 this.M Jamil began.3SG.M fight-VTR-3SG-PRG with
muslimīn-ar-ki
 Muslims-OBL.PL-ABL
 ‘Jamil took up arms together with the Muslims.’
- (50) *ama gar-om maʿ xāl-om kury-a-ki*
 I go.PAST-1SG with uncle-1SG house-OBL.F-ABL
šammān-a-ta
 Amman-OBL.F-DAT
 ‘I went with my uncle’s family to Amman.’

Negative association or dissociation is expressed consistently through Arabic prepositions. These include the Arabic privative forms *min yēr* and *mindūn* ‘without’:

- (51) *sabaḥtan f-ar-m-i qatl-ak, ū ḍuhr*
 morning hit-3SG-1SG-PRG beating-INDEF and noon
qatl-ak, ū-l-muyrub qatl-ak, min yēr
 beating-INDEF and-DEF-evening beating-INDEF without
ayye ḥādž-ak
 any reason-INDEF
 ‘In the morning she gives me a beating, and at noon a beating, and in the evening a beating, without any reason.’
- (52) *žmiš-k-ird-os-man mindūn mišād*
 gather-VTR-PAST-3SG-1PL without appointment
 ‘He summoned us without an appointment.’

The Arabic preposition *badāl* is used to express the object of substitution and exchange:

- (53) *č-ird-om boy-is-ke de-m-s-i*
 speak-PAST-1SG father-3SG.OBL-BEN give-1SG-3SG-PRG
šašrīn lira badāl bar-im-ki.
 twenty lira instead brother-1SG.OBL-ABL
 ‘I told his father I would give him twenty lira [standing in] for my brother.’
- (54) *dfāš-k-ad-e ḥākm-as-ke badāl aha*
 pay-VTR-PAST-3PL governor-OBL.M-BEN instead this.M
šnōš-as-ke šašar līrāt
 dog-OBL.M-BEN ten lira.PL
 ‘He paid the governor ten lira in exchange for the dog.’

- (55) *ama de-m-r-i badāl-is ʕašrīn naʕdža*
 I give-1SG-2SG-PRG instead-3SG.OBL twenty sheep
 ‘I will give you twenty sheep for that one.’

Exemption is expressed through the Arabic complex particle-cum-preposition *illa yēr* ‘except’:

- (56) *illa yēr xuya la ma gardī-kar-is*
 except God PART NEG recuperate-VTR-3SG.OBL
ab-ur-ke
 for-2SG-BEN
 ‘Except for God nobody will bring her back to life for you.’

8.3. Spatial relations

8.3.1. Containment and demarcation

Stative containment within a space as well as movement into a contained space are captured by the adverbial marker *mandža* ‘inside’, often in conjunction with the Locative Layer II case marker:

- (57) *ama wēs-r-om-i kurya-ma mandža*
 I sit-PAST-1SG-PRG house-OBL.F-LOC inside
 ‘I am sitting inside the house.’
- (58) *nig-r-om kury-a-ma mandža*
 enter-PAST-1SG house-OBL.F-LOC inside
 ‘I entered the house.’

As mentioned above, *mandža* can also be used as a nominal modifier in a genitive-possessive construction expressing the contained sphere of an object:

- (59) *t-am-i bakr-ē ihnē, mandž-is-ma*
 put-1SG-PRG stick-OBL.F thus inside-3SG.OBL-LOC
sayyar-ē-ki
 car-OBL.F-ABL
 ‘I put the stick inside the car like this.’

A parallel expression for non-containment, *bara* ‘outside’, can similarly capture both stative relations and movement:

- (60) *ama wēs-r-om-i kury-a-ma bara*
 I sit-PAST-1SG-PRG house-OBL.F-LOC outside
 ‘I am sitting outside the house.’
- (61) *kl-ēk bara!*
 exit-2SG outside
 ‘Go outside!’

Objects of movement – both point of departure and destination – are commonly expressed by Layer II case markers such as the Ablative and Dative respectively (Chapter 4.3.5.1, Chapter 4.3.5.4). Some of the functions of Arabic prepositions overlap with those of Layer II markers, which continue to accompany the preposition:

- (62) *ama kul-d-om-i min kury-a-ki*
 I exit-PAST-1SG-PRG from house-OBL.F-ABL
 ‘I went out of the house.’

Arabic prepositions such as *min* ‘from’ and *la* ‘to’ are also used for more specialised functions such as precise demarcation of the point of departure and point of destination:

- (63) *raw-ird-ed-i min hundar min uhu des-os-ki*
 leave-PAST-3PL-PRG from here from that place-3SG-ABL
 ‘They have left here, they have left that particular place.’
- (64) *ama kil-d-om min kury-im-ki la*
 I exit-PAST-1SG from house-1SG.OBL-ABL to
kury-ir-ki
 house-2SG.OBL-ABL
 ‘I went out from my house to your house.’

Other specialised prepositions from Arabic are used to express the intermittent target of movement, and the hosting object:

- (65) *min-as ḥal-ē-ran dža-s rawāḥī*
 hold-2PL.SUBJ state-PL-2PL go-2PL.SUBJ toward
sitnā maryam
 Our.Lady Mary
 ‘Get a move on and go toward Our Lady Mary.’
- (66) *gar-om baladiy-ē-ta šand Teddy Kollek*
 go.PAST-1SG municipality-OBL.F-DAT at Teddy Kollek
 ‘I went to the municipality to [see] Teddy Kollek.’

- (67) *ū ama kam-k-am-i šind yahūdīy-an-ki.*
 and I work-VTR-1SG-PRG at Jewish-OBL.PL-ABL
 ‘And I work in Jewish people’s homes.’
- (68) *nig-aw-id-ē-san ehe yurf-ē-ma*
 enter-CAUS-PAST-PL-3PL these room-OBL.F-LOC
šōn-an ū yāsr-as ū hāda ū ama
 boy-OBL.PL and Yassir-OBL.M and that and I
gēna min ḍamnī-san.
 also from among-3PL
 ‘They brought them into the room, the boys and Yassir and so on and I was also among them’

8.3.2. Dimensional relations

While the great majority of semantically specified spatial and local expressions in Domari are taken over directly from Arabic, the domain of dimensional spatial relations – both horizontal and vertical – is dominated by inherited, pre-Arabic expressions. Proximity may be an exception to the rule. It is often expressed by the word *čanč*- ‘next to’, which is used in a nominal genitive-possessive construction:

- (69) *wēs-r-om čanč-is-ma šibbāk-ki*
 sit-PAST-1SG next.to-3SG.OBL-LOC window-ABL
 ‘I sat next to the window.’

The etymology of *čanč*- is not entirely clear. It possibly represents Kurdish *cem* /dʒæm^h/, a preposition meaning ‘at’, which in turn derives from the Arabic root /dʒ.m.ʔ/ meaning ‘to assemble, to group’. Less likely is an early derivation from Arabic *džānīb* ‘side’. The latter gives rise in Arabic itself to the preposition *žamb* ‘next to’, which is often used in Domari as an alternative to *čanč*-, though also embedded in a similar kind of nominal construction:

- (70) *žamb-is-ma kury-oman-ki*
 next.to-3SG.OBL-LOC house-1PL-ABL
 ‘next to our house’

Horizontal relations are represented by the inherited *agir* ‘in front’ and *paši* ‘behind’, both accompanying the noun in the Ablative-prepositional case:

- (71) *quš-k-ad-a* *bara* *yaʕni* *agir*
sweep-VTR-3PL-REM outside PART in.front
kury-a-ki
house-OBL.F-ABL
'They were sweeping outside, that is, in front of the house.'
- (72) *wēšt-an-a* *agir* *tābun-ki* *šinak* *ū* *sow-an-a*
sit-1PL-REM in.front stove-ABL a.little and sew-1PL-REM
'We were sitting in front of the stove and doing some sewing.'
- (73) *aha* *yāsir* *kil-d-a* *paši* *šōny-a-ki*
this.M Yassir exit-PAST-M behind girl-OBL.F-ABL
'Yassir sneaked up behind the girl.'

Vertical relations are expressed by inherited *axar* 'below' and *atun* 'above', in a similar construction:

- (74) *wēs-r-ēn-i* *axar* *sadžar-ē-ki*
sit-PAST-1PL-PRG below tree-OBL.F-ABL
'We sat beneath the tree.'
- (75) *džassās* *šar-d-ēy-a* *romḥ-ī* *axar*
Jassas hide-PAST-PRED.SG-REM spear-OBL.M below
šabāy-is-ki
gown-3SG.OBL-ABL
'Jassas had hidden the spear beneath his gown'
- (76) *nig-r-om* *kury-a-ma* *mandža* *lak-ed-om*
enter-PAST-1SG house-OBL.F-LOC inside see-PAST-1SG
šahḥ-os *ḥummuš-ki* *ū* *man-as* *atun*
plate-3SG hummus-ABL and bread-OBL.M above
frāy-an-ki *tir-end-i*
clothes-OBL.PL-ABL put-3PL-PRG
'I entered the house and I saw the plate of hummus and the bread standing on top of the clothes.'
- (77) *zakkir-ho-k* *ḥāds-ī* *illi* *ehr-a*
remember-VITR-2SG incident-OBL.M REL become.PAST-M
wāšī-r *atun* *sūr-as-ki?*
with-2SG above wall-OBL.M-ABL
'Do you remember the incident that happened to you on top of the wall?'

Further specifications of horizontal and vertical relations may be derived through combinations with Arabic-derived expressions such as *min* 'from':

- (78) *išt-ard-e* *xašab-ē* *min* *axar*
 pull-PAST-3PL wood-OBL.F from below
 ‘They raised the wood from below.’

8.3.3. Other spatial relations

Further spatial relations are constructed entirely with the help of Arabic expressions, especially when they involve a complex, two-point indexical orientation. This pertains for instance to *bēn* ‘between’:

- (79) *kān* *waqtos* *ḥarb-os/* *ḥarb-i* *bēn*
 was.3G.M time-3SG war-3SG war-PRED.SG between
yahūdiy-an-ki *ū* *bēn* *musilmīn-an-ki*
 Jew-OBL.PL and between Muslims-OBL.PL-ABL
 ‘It was the time of the war/ it was war between the Jews and the Muslims.’

- (80) *sabʿa snīn*, *ḥarb* *bēnati-san-i*.
 seven years war between-3PL-PRED.SG
 ‘Seven years the war between them lasted.’

We also find Arabic expressions indicating the point of orientation or approximation – *ḥawālī* ‘approximately’ – and the target of opposition – *diḍ* ‘against’:

- (81) *ḥākm-os* *šamāl* *l-hind* *nēr-d-a* *ḥawālī*
 governor-3SG north DEF-India send-PAST-M around
ʿarbaʿ mīt *šēle* *min* *dōm-an-ki*
 four hundred family from DOM-OBL.PL-ABL
 ‘The governor of northern India sent around four hundred families of Doms.’

- (82) *yaʿni* *n-kar-ad-eʿ* *mašākl-ē* *maʿ*
 PART NEG-do-3PL-NEG problems-OBL.F with
ḥukum-ē-ki *wala* *diḍ* *ḥukum-ē-ki*
 government-OBL.F-ABL nor against government-OBL.F-ABL
 ‘Well, they don’t cause any trouble [either] with the government nor against the government.’

The demarcation of routes of movement, finally, aligns itself with the expression of source and movement away from a source location:

- (83) *pandži kil-d-a min kafiy-a-ki*
 3SG exit-PAST-M from door-OBL.F-ABL
 ‘He left through the door.’

8.4. Temporal relations

Temporal relations are expressed through lexicalised elements that name time intervals, on the one hand, and by a series of prepositions that help establish relational grids of a quantitative nature among specified points in time. The first group is etymologically mixed but shows heavy reliance nonetheless on Arabic. While expressions like *dis* ‘day’, *aratin* ‘night’, *mas* ‘month’, *wars* ‘year’, *adžoti* ‘today’, *xudžoti* ‘yesterday’ and *urati* ‘tomorrow’ are all Indic, for the times of day we find Turkish *sabahtan* ‘in the morning’ alongside Arabic *ḍuhr* ‘noon’ and *muyrub* ‘evening’:

- (84) *sabahtan f-ar-m-i qatl-ak, ū ḍuhr*
 morning hit-3SG-1SG-PRG beating-INDEF and noon
qatl-ak, ū-l-muyrub qatl-ak, min yēr
 beating-INDEF and-DEF-evening beating-INDEF without
ayye ḥādž-ak
 any reason-INDEF
 ‘In the morning she gives me a beating, and at noon a beating, and in the evening a beating, without any reason.’

Other calendar expressions such as ‘week’, the days of the week, and months, are also Arabic:

- (85) *džumŕ-ak*
 week-INDEF
 ‘one week’
- (86) *dis-os kân yōm xamis-i*
 day-3SG was.3SG.M day five-PRED.SG
 ‘That day was Thursday.’
- (87) *dis sabt-as-ki*
 day Saturday-OBL.M-ABL
 ‘Saturday’

Arabic *sēf* ‘summer’, *xarīf* ‘autumn’, and *šita* ‘winter’ are used for the seasons. The expression *mōsamma* (Arabic *mawsim* ‘season’) was recorded for ‘in the spring’.

Basic sequential temporal relations are expressed by the Arabic prepositions *qabil* (*qabel*) ‘before’ and *baʿd* ‘after’:

- (88) *qabil ayyām-ē-san nohr-as-ki*
before days-PL-3PL British-OBL.M-ABL
‘before the days of the British’
- (89) *baʿd sitt iyyām rawwiḥ-ahr-ēn kury-a-ka*
after six days travel-VITR.PAST-1PL house-OBL.F-DAT
‘Six days later/ After six days we travelled home.’
- (90) *baʿdī-s bi dżumʿ-ak er-a boy-om gēna*
after-3SG.OBL in week-INDEF come.PAST-M father-1SG again
min quds-a-ki er-a ʿammān-a-ta
from Jerusalem-OBL.F-ABL come.PAST-M Amman-OBL.F-DAT
‘A week later my father came back from Jerusalem to Amman.’

Time distance and extent are served by the Arabic forms *qabel* ‘before’ (‘ago’), *min* ‘from’ (‘since’), and *layāyet* ‘until’:

- (91) *qabel sabʿa ū ʿšrīn wars*
before seven and twenty year
‘twenty seven years ago’
- (92) *min ayyām ʿalāḥ id-dīn dōm-e twādżid-r-e*
from days Salah Ed-Din Dom-PL present-PAST-3PL
dēy-am-ma hindar
village-OBL.PL-LOC here
‘The Dom have been present in the villages here since the days of Saladin.’
- (93) *layāyet hassēʿa, dża-r-i ʿand yasmīn-a-ki*
until now go-3SG-PRG at Yasmin-OBL.F-ABL
qumn-ar-i
eat-3SG-PRG
‘To this day she goes to Yasmin to eat.’

Chapter 9

Clause structure

9.1. Nominal clauses

Non-verbal predication markers in Domari support the formation of clauses that lack a lexical or existential predicate. The canonical nominal clause consists of two nominal components: the first takes on the subject-topic role and usually benefits from exposure in the first position in the clause, while the second element carries the non-verbal predication marker and serves as a nominal predicate:

- (1) *aha ama-k-ēk*
this.M 1SG-BEN-PRED.SG
'This is for me.'
- (2) *bar-om grawar-ēk*
brother-1SG head.man-PRED.SG
'My brother is the head man.'

There are further elaborations on this structure. Both the nominal 'subject' and the nominal 'predicate' can be complex, accompanied by modifying elements:

- (3) *yaʕni atu boy-or šēx-i till-ēk*
PART you.SG father-2SG Sheikh-PRED.SG big-PRED.SG
'So your father is an important Sheikh.'

Nominal clauses often follow lexical-verbal clauses in order to clarify the status of a particular nominal element that is co-referential with a constituent of the verbal clause:

- (4) *boy-om dżawiz-k-ed-os bar-os*
father-1SG marry-VTR-PAST-3SG brother-3SG
dīr-i, nām-os ḥamziyy-ēk
daughter-PRED.SG name-3SG Hamziyya-PRED.SG
'My father married his niece, her name is Hamziyya.'

The following example illustrates a typical chain of nominal clauses that serves to establish information about a topical discourse participant:

- (5) a. *ašti ik-ak*
there.is one-INDEF
- b. *nam-os-ēy-a yazzāl-ēk*
name-3SG-PRED.SG-REM Ghazzale-PRED.SG
- c. *ihi gul-d-ik bol.*
this.F beautiful-PRED.SG much
- d. *boy-os till-os-i dōm-an-ki.*
father-3SG big-3SG-PRED.SG Dom-OBL.PL-ABL
- a. ‘There is a girl.
b. Her name was Ghazzale.
c. She is very pretty.
d. Her father is the leader of the Dom.’

9.2. Information structure in verbal clauses

Aside from nominal clauses, utterances in Domari typically consist of verbal clauses that contain lexical predications. The core of the lexical predication in verbal clauses is the finite verb. It serves as an anchor for the core propositional information that is carried by the predication by relating it to the event participants (via subject and object concord and the verb’s argument structure) and, through the specification of tense-aspect-modality, to real-world events and presuppositions and to the speech situation. Just as the finite lexical verb constitutes the core of the verbal predication, so the chaining of verbal predicates in discourse constitutes the backbone of narration in Domari:

- (6) a. *qabel sabša ū ššrīn wars mām-om*
before seven and twenty year uncle-1SG
putur yāsir gar-a swēq-ē-ta
son Yassir go.PAST-M market-OBL.F-DAT
štrī-k-ar mana ū šaḥn-ak
buy-VTR-3SG.SUBJ bread and plate-INDEF
ḥummuṣ
hummus
- b. *bašd ma štrī-k-ad-a man-as ū*
after COMP buy-VTR-PAST-M bread-OBL.M and

- ħummuṣ-ī xul-d-a min*
 hummus-OBL.M open-PAST-M from
dakākīn-an-ki/ bāb isbāt
 shops.PL-OBL.PL-ABL gate Lions
- c. *ū kil-d-a daradž-ē-s hay-ki illi*
 and descend-PAST-M stair-PL-3SG this-ABL REL
ʕand bāb isbāt
 at gate Lions
- d. *ū lak-id-a ik/ šōn-ik yahūdiy-ēk*
 and see-PAST-M one girl-PRED.SG Jewish-PRED.SG
nam-os eliza.
 name-3SG Eliza
- e. *kil-d-i sūr-as-ta minšān*
 exit-PAST-F wall-OBL.M-DAT for
ṣawwir-k-ar manāzir-ē-s hay-ki,
 photograph-VTR-3SG.SUBJ views-PL-3SG PART-ABL
ūyar-ki.
 city-ABL
- f. *mans-oman aha yāsir kil-d-a paši*
 person-1PL this.M Yassir exit-PAST-M behind
šōny-a-ki
 girl-OBL.F-ABL
- g. *ū tir-d-a man-as ū ṣaħn-os*
 and put-PAST-M bread-OBL.M and plate-3SG
ħummuṣ-i bīt-as-ta
 hummus-PRED.SG ground-OBL.M-DAT
- h. *ū mīn-d-a šōny-a*
 and hold-PAST-M girl-OBL.F
- i. *ū šār ʕabud-k-ed-os*
 and began.3SG.M hug-VTR-PAST-3SG
- j. *ū šār bawus-k-ar-i mindži-s/*
 and began.3SG.M kiss-VTR-3SG-PRG from-3SG
mišt-ar-i mindži-s.
 kiss-VTR-3SG-PRG from-3SG
- k. *qol-d-a dozdan-os šōny-a-ki.*
 open-PAST-M wallet-3SG girl-OBL.F-ABL

- l. *lak-id-a talātīn zard isra'il-ik.*
see-PAST-M thirty gold Israeli-PRED.SG
- m. *par-d-a pl-an min dozdan-ki*
take-PAST-M money-OBL.PL from wallet-ABL
- n. *ū tir-d-osan džēb-is-ma*
and put-PAST-3PL pocket-3SG.OBL-LOC
- o. *ū kšal-d-a*
and leave-PAST-M
- a. 'Twenty seven years ago my cousin Yassir went to the market to buy bread and a plate of hummus.
- b. After he bought the bread and the hummus he came out of the shops at/ Lions Gate/
- c. And he went down the stairs of this place, at Lions Gate.
- d. And he met a/ a Jewish girl by the name of Eliza.
- e. She climbed the wall in order to take pictures of the city views.
- f. Our man Yassir sneaked up behind the girl.
- g. And he put the bread and the plate of hummus on the ground.
- h. And he grabbed the girl.
- i. And he started to hug her.
- j. And he started to kiss her.
- k. He opened the girl's wallet.
- l. He found thirty Israeli pounds.
- m. He took the money from the wallet.
- n. And he put it in his pocket.
- o. And he left.'

The example shows that the finite verb, the anchor of the predication and propositional core of the utterance, tends to appear at the very beginning of the utterance or verbal clause, sometimes accompanied by an auxiliary. The pre-verbal field is only narrowly occupied, and is often left unoccupied. The bulk of the material that is not part of the finite verb and its auxiliaries is accommodated in the post-verbal field. The positions farther away from the finite verb tend to be reserved for new information, while those more closely adjoining the finite verb accommodate arguments whose identity is given or presupposed (see Figure 3).

pre-verbal field	finite verb	post-verbal field proximate/given	remote/new
<i>ū</i> And	<i>tir-d-a</i> he put	<i>man-as ū şahn-os hummuş-i</i> the bread and the plate of hummus	<i>bīt-as-ta</i> on the ground

Figure 3. Information structuring in the post-verbal field

In the absence of an information hierarchy within the post-verbal field, an argument hierarchy appears whereby direct objects tend to have precedence for proximity to the verb over indirect objects:

pre-verbal field	finite verb	post-verbal field direct object	indirect object
	<i>par-d-a</i> He took	<i>pl-an</i> the money	<i>min dozdan-ki</i> from the wallet

Figure 4. Argument roles in the post-verbal field

In the extract depicting the ‘Lions Gate’ incident (example (6)) we see clearly how the chaining of finite verbs serves as a device for the presentation of event sequences in discourse. The appearance of the verb in the initial position of the utterance ensures continuous involvement of the listener in the unfolding story. The pre-verbal field appears to have an interruptive function, postponing the presentation of the next lexical predication in the chain and so delaying the progression of the narrative. In the above story – the encounter at Lions Gate – the pre-verbal field accommodates almost exclusively the connector *ū* ‘and’. This and other connectors take on an explicitly supporting role in constructing the chain of events. They signal continuity by returning to the previous position in the discourse and supplementing it with new information that is relevant for the completion of the story. Their ‘interruptive’ behaviour in delaying the initiation of the predicate is thus offset by their direct contribution to the continuation of the chain (‘speaker’s continuity’ and ‘speaker’s addition’, in Schiffrin’s 1987 terms) and to reinforcing the links between individual propositional units.

We find further use of the pre-verbal field for the specification of temporal, location and other aspects of the setting, as well as for the presentation of a new actor-topic perspective on the chain of events (Figure 5).

In the opening utterance of the Lions Gate episode, the scene for the story is set for the reconstruction of the background for the narrative, in typical narrative-strategic fashion (Labov and Waletzky 1967, Labov 2006). The

narrator makes use of a time adverbial to set the temporal perspective. He then names the principal actor, whose actions constitute the core of the event sequence reconstruction that is to follow. For this purpose the speaker makes use of a balanced clause structure in this particular utterance: The pre-verbal field contains both the temporal specification and the identification of the subject-topic. The post-verbal field contains both the argument of the verb (a verb of motion that takes an indirect object), as well as a purpose clause that offers a glimpse into the continuing unfolding of the story.

pre-verbal field		verb	post-verbal field	
adverbial specification of setting	topic/actor		second argument	purpose clause
<i>qabel sabʕa ū ššrīn wars</i>	<i>mām-om putur yāsir</i>	<i>gar-a</i>	<i>swēq-ē-ta</i>	<i>štrī-k-ar mana ū šaḥn-ak ḥummuṣ</i>
Twenty seven years ago	my cousin Yassir	went	to the market	to buy bread and a plate of hummus

Figure 5. Setting the perspective through the pre-verbal field

Taken from this functional angle, the positioning of the subject in pre-verbal position is not simply a case of default or ‘basic’ subject-verb word order, but rather a strategic use of the field structure of the clause on either side of the finite verb. The pre-verbal subject serves the purpose of offering a perspective on the event, one that justifies the postponement of the predication. Further on in the excerpt we encounter use of the pre-verbal field for the establishment of the subject perspective in the case of a subject-switch:

- (7) a. *kil-d-i sūr-as-ta minšān*
 exit-PAST-F wall-OBL.M-DAT for
šawwir-k-ar manāzīr-ē-s hay-ki,
 photograph-VTR-3SG.SUBJ views-PL-3SG PART-ABL
ūyar-ki
 city-ABL
- b. *mans-oman aha yāsir kil-d-a paši*
 person-1PL this.M Yassir exit-PAST-M behind
šōny-a-ki
 girl-OBL.F-ABL
- a. ‘She climbed the wall in order to take pictures of the city views.
- b. Our man Yassir sneaked behind the girl.’

The changed perspective with the switch from a depiction of the girl's action to that of Yassir's actions is signalled by introducing the subject-topic *mansoman aha yāsir* 'our man Yassir' in the pre-verbal field, delaying the initiation of the predication and so interrupting the run-up in the chain of events. This sentence perspective is often termed 'categorical', as it relies on the depiction of a particular referential category (cf. Sasse 1987).

By contrast, the post-verbal subject often indicates that the perspective taken on the utterance is 'thetic', that is, based on the continuation of the thematic parameters set in the immediately preceding utterance context, and characterised through immediate initiation of the predicate without further modification to those parameters. Consider the following sequence:

- (8) a. *žamīl tmalij-an-ke qxal: ašti wāšī-m*
 Jamil soldier-OBL.PL-BEN said there.is with-1SG
kart-i
 card-PRED.SG
- b. *par-as-is ū dē-s-is*
 take-2PL.SUBJ-3SG.OBL and give-2PL.SUBJ-3SG.OBL
hay-ke mudīr-as-ke
 this-BEN director-OBL.SG-BEN
- c. *par-d-e ehe tmalij-e aha*
 take-PAST-3PL these.PL soldier-PL this.M
kart-as ū ning-awa-d-ed-is
 card-OBL.M and enter-CAUS-PAST-3PL-3SG.OBL
mūdīr-as-ke.
 director-OBL.M-BEN
- d. *mūdīr par-d-a aha zarf-as ū*
 director take-PAST-M this.M envelope-OBL.M and
qol-d-os
 open-PAST-3SG.OBL
- a. 'Jamil said to the soldiers: I have with me a letter,
 b. Take it and give it to this man, the director.
 c. The soldiers took the letter and brought it in to the director.
 d. The director took the envelope and opened it.'

The perspective taken at the beginning of the excerpt is categorical, centering on the topical entity Jamil and his plans and intentions. The next named subject, however, 'the soldiers', occupies a position immediately following the verb. It is part of the post-verbal field; it follows the initiation of the predicate and so it relies on the content of the predication to establish the

perspective, rather than on the profile of the subject. At the same time the subject ‘the soldiers’ does not appear in the right-most position in the post-verbal field, which remains reserved for new rather than given information. The reliance on the verb rather than the subject for a ‘thetic’ perspective is a tool used to achieve connectivity between the utterance and its preceding context. In this instance, the immediate initiation of the predicate indicates that the action carried out by the soldiers is a direct consequence of the instructions provided to them by Jamil (as depicted in the preceding utterance). The subject ‘the soldiers’ is specified for the purposes of information completeness, but the fact that it is explicitly named is not allowed to interfere with the initiation of the predication and so with the flavour of an immediate, consequential succession of events.

By contrast, the final utterance in the sequence shows a shift in perspective, with the director’s intentional actions playing the foregrounded role. The emphasis here is on the switch in subject roles between the soldiers and the director. Once again the categorical perspective takes over, triggering a delay in the initiation of the predication, which alerts the listener to a turn in the organisation of events.

More variant types in the structuring of information in the verbal clauses are documented through the following excerpt depicting the ‘Lantern incident’:

- (9) a. *ū kān ašti ama-ke*
and was.3SG.M there.is 1SG-BEN
ben-ak-i, nam-os hayāt-i.
sister-INDEF-PRED.SG name-3SG Hayat-PRED.SG
- b. *sabaḥtan f-ar-m-i qatl-ak, ū ḍuhr*
morning hit-3SG-1SG-PRG beating-INDEF and noon
qatl-ak, ū-l-muyrub qatl-ak.
beating-INDEF and-DEF-evening beating-INDEF
- c. *min yēr ayye ḥādž-ak.*
without any reason-INDEF
- d. *ū in-man-ad-m-e’ kil-š-am maʕ*
and NEG-let-3PL-1SG-NEG exit-SUBJ-1SG with
šōny-an-ki, maʕ šāḥb-ē-m-ki, maʕ ‘iši.
girl-OBL.PL-ABL with friend-PL-1SG-ABL with anything
- e. *ū dīs-ak min arat-an-ki kun-t/ hada*
and day-INDEF from night-OBL.PL-ABL was-1SG this

- f. *kān nkī-man n-h-e' kahraba,*
was.3SG.M at-1PL NEG-is-NEG electricity
- g. *kun-nā walaʕ-k-ēn-a lamb-ēk.*
was-1PL light-VTR-1PL-REM lantern-PRED.SG
- h. *ū kull lēle ama walaʕ-k-am-i ihi*
and every night I light-VTR-1SG-PRG this.F
lamb-ē.
lantern-OBL.F
- i. *dīs-ak ihi lamba kuwī-r-i*
day-INDEF this.F lantern fall-PAST-F
siry-is-ka hay-ki bar-im
head-3SG.OBL-DAT PART-ABL brother-1SG.OBL
dīr-ki, naʒwā-ki.
daughter-ABL Najwa-ABL
- j. *wa thim-k-ad-ed-is mindʒī-m*
and accuse-VTR-PAST-3PL-3SG.OBL from-1SG
inn-i ama kur-d-om-is
COMP-1SG I throw-PAST-1SG-3SG.OBL
xuṣūṣī ʕankī-s.
deliberately on-3SG
- k. *ū mīn-d-os-im ihi ḥayyāt,*
and grab-PAST-3SG-1SG.OBL this.F Hayat
fēr-os-im, mar-d-os-im
hit.PAST-3SG-1SG.OBL kill-PAST-3SG-1SG.OBL
fēyiš-ki.
beating-ABL
- l. *ū daʕiman lamma bidd-hā dʒa-r*
and always when want-3SG.F go-3SG.SUBJ
kān-at par-ar-s-a wāšī-s ū ʕiṣi
was-3SG.F take-3SG-3SG-REM with-3SG and anything
- m. *ū ama man-ar-m-a kury-a-ma*
and I leave-3SG-1SG-REM house-OBL.F-LOC
msiḥ-k-am ū qušš-k-am ū
scrub-VTR-1SG.SUBJ and sweep-VTR-1SG.SUBJ and
ʒlī-k-am.
wash-VTR-1SG.SUBJ

- a. ‘And I had a sister, her name is Hayat.
- b. She used to hit me – a beating in the morning, a beating at noon, a beating in the evening,
- c. Without a reason.
- d. And they wouldn’t let me go out with the girls, with my friends, with anyone.
- e. And one day I was/ this
- f. We didn’t have electricity.
- g. We used to light a lantern.
- h. And every evening I would light this lantern.
- i. One day the lamp fell down on the head of what’s her name, my niece Najwa.
- j. And they accused me of throwing it at her deliberately.
- k. And Hayat grabbed me, she hit me, she beat me to death.
- l. And every time she went out she would take her with her and so on.
- m. And she left me at home to scrub and to sweep and to wash.’

We are by now familiar with the routine of using the pre-verbal field to establish a new perspective on the predication that is to follow, thus justifying the delayed presentation of the finite verb and an interruption in the chaining of lexical predicates in the narration. Let us review two typical cases of a routine occupation of both the pre-verbal and post-verbal fields. Figure 6 from the Lantern episode shows the pre-verbal field accommodating a considerable amount of information necessary in order to place the predication in context: An opening through a connector, a time adverb, and the identification of the subject. Post-verbally we only find the second argument of the predicate, which in context constitutes given information.

Figure 7, also from the Lantern episode, similarly shows use of the pre-verbal field for the establishment of a temporal setting for the specific event, followed by the promotion of a secondary topic ‘the lantern’ to subject in this utterance and so the opening of a new categorical perspective. The post-verbal field remains elaborately occupied, too, with a specification of the indirect object, the secondary argument of the intransitive verb.

pre-verbal field			verb	post-verbal field
connector	time adverb	subject	verb	direct object
<i>ū</i> And	<i>kull lāle</i> every night	<i>ama</i> I	<i>walaʃkami</i> light	<i>ihī lambē</i> this lantern

Figure 6. Routine occupation of pre- and post-verbal fields (a)

pre-verbal field		verb	post-verbal field
time adverb	subject	verb	indirect object
<i>disak</i> One day	<i>īhi lamba</i> this lantern	<i>kuwīri</i> fell	<i>siryiska hayki barim dīrki, nažwāki</i> on the head of what's her name, my niece Najwa

Figure 7. Routine occupation of pre- and post-verbal fields (b)

Once again we can rely on the functional configuration of the verbal clause structure to explain speakers' choices in mapping key constituents on the linear plan of the utterance, without having to resort to impressionistic terms such as 'basic', 'default' or 'unmarked' word order. Figure 8 depicts a further utterance from the Lantern episode, here one in which the content of the direct object entity 'I' is fronted into the pre-verbal field. It is thus the direct object that delays initiation of the predication, creating the effect of contrast between the narrator and her rival Najwa, who was taken by Hayat on expeditions outside the house while the narrator was kept imprisoned in the home.

pre-verbal field		verb	post-verbal field	
connector	direct object		local adverb	complement
<i>ū</i> And	<i>ama</i> me	<i>manarma</i> she kept me	<i>kuryama</i> at home	<i>msiḥkam ū qušškam ū žlikam</i> to scrub and to sweep and to wash

Figure 8. Topicalisation: object fronting into the pre-verbal field

If the placement of a topical entity in the pre-verbal field is a case of topicalisation – taking the topic's point of view as the perspective on the utterance – then both subject and object seem eligible to undergo such topicalisation, i.e. to take advantage of the categorical perspective of the pre-verbal field. Note similarly the use of a full nominal direct object in such function in the following example:

- (10) *aha qar-as putr-os aha*
 this.M Bedouin-OBL.M son-3SG this.M
šēx-as-ki t-ird-ed-is sidžin-ma
 Sheikh-OBL.M-ABL put-PAST-3PL-3SG.OBL prison-LOC
 'They put this Bedouin, the Sheikh's son, in prison.'

Many Domari clauses show the positioning of subjects fairly late in the sentence, in a manner that gives the impression that they are being de-accentuated. Figure 9 shows a case from the Lantern episode:

pre-verbal field connector	verb verb	post-verbal field subject
<i>ū</i> And	<i>mīn-d-os-im</i> grabbed me	<i>ihī ḥayyāt</i> this Hayat

Figure 9. Subject de-accentuation

In fact, the post-verbal field is especially productive in order to introduce new subjects – either indefinite, new topics that are yet unknown, or else well-known and well-established subject-topics which, however, are yet to play their role in the unfolding of the current story line:

- (11) *eh-r-a* *wāšī-m* *quṣṣ-ak*
become-PAST-M with-1SG story-INDEF
‘Something happened to me.’
- (12) *dis-ak* *er-a* *hnēna* *džamīl* *l-šāṣ*
day-INDEF come.PAST-M here Jamil l-Aas
‘One day Jamil l-Aas arrived here.’

There is value in explicitly identifying the subject, but not at the price of delaying the initiation of the predication and possibly breaking the depiction of a close chain of successive events. At the same time, the placement of the subject immediately after the verb in order to express a consequential relation between this subject’s action and the content of the preceding utterance may not be appropriate, either. De-accentuation of the subject within the post-verbal field provides a solution for such cases:

- (13) *šār-at* *našy-ar-i* *ū* *šazif-k-and-a*
began-3SG.F dance-3SGPRG and play-VTR-3PL-REM
ab-us-ke *rabbab-ē-ṭa* *dōm-e*
for-3SG-BEN rabbaba-OBL.F-DAT Dom-PL
‘She started to dance and the Dom accompanied her on the rabbab.’
- (14) *šār* *qaft-ar-i* *mīn* *boy-os*
began.M steal-3SG-PRG from father-3SG
kury-a-ki *aha* *qrara*
house-OBL.F-ABL this.M Bedouin
‘The Bedouin started to steal from his father’s household.’

Note that the extreme position of the subject at the edge of the post-verbal field creates the impression that we are dealing with new information. This is, however, obviously not the case, for the entity ‘the Dom’ in example (13) is

identifiable from the story context (as is the reference to ‘this Bedouin’ in example (14)). It is precisely this manipulation of the extreme post-verbal position for an entity that does not require introduction that creates the special effect, that of an ‘afterthought’, which is associated with this kind of de-accentuation of subjects.

9.3. Interrogative clauses

Interrogative clauses are prototypically embedded into question or interrogative illocutionary acts through which the speaker solicits a reaction on the part of the addressee. A particular form of interrogative is the offer:

- (15) *t-ar* *ab-ur-ke* *kōla?*
 put-3SG.SUBJ for-2SG-BEN cola?
 ‘Should she pour you some cola?’

Offers are typologically similar to imperatives (see below) in that they tend to show the verb in the subjunctive/imperative mood, in initial position, without a pre-verbal field. The offer is, however, a question directed at an addressee, rather than a command, since it is intended to elicit a response from the addressee as to whether to instigate the action of a second or third party. In offers, the principal structural feature indicating the question illocution is the rising intonation, coupled with the use of subjunctive/imperative mood of the verb which indicates the suspended realisation of the action.

Other questions typically constitute a request for information, and are marked, in addition to intonation, by an interrogative pronoun, which contains an ontological framing of the semantic domain within which the intended reply falls. The preferred position for the interrogative pronoun is in the pre-verbal field:

- (16) *ki* *š-ird-a* *yāsir?*
 what say-PAST-M Yassir
 ‘What did Yassir say?’

Of course not all questions are contextually interpretable as direct requests for information. Interrogative structures may have the appearance of requests for information but may function pragmatically as prompts or invitations, or as a means of directing attention and soliciting emotional solidarity with a destitute state of affairs:

- (17) *kēkē n-aw-ēy-e' šammān-a-ka*
 why NEG-come-2SG-NEG Amman-OBL.F-DAT
lah-an-ir?
 see-1PL.SUBJ-2SG.OBL
 'Why don't you come to Amman so we can see you?'
- (18) *ki bidd-o kar-ar mat?*
 what want-3SG do-3SG.SUBJ person
 'What does one want to do?'
- (19) *ažoti džan-d-or-i kē kar-ad-i dōm-ē-man?*
 today know-PAST-2SG-PRG what do-3PL-PRG Dom-PL-1PL
 'Do you know what our Dom are doing nowadays?'

Structurally, these questions, too, can rely either on highlighting 'missing' information by means of an interrogative pronoun, or else on soliciting the listener's agreement or disagreement to (or affirmative confirmation or denial of) the state of affairs depicted in the predication. The latter – yes/no questions – can be marked by intonation alone, or by an explicit elicitation of the listener's opinion through phrases such as *wila la* 'or not' (see below).

Like imperatives, interrogative clauses commonly appear in narration as quotations:

- (20) *ašti maṭ-ēni zʕil-ho-d-i, kēka*
 there.is person-PRED.PL angry-VITR-3PL-PRG why
wēst-or-i maʕ ek-ak dōm-i?
 sit.PAST-2SG-PRG with one-INDEF Dom-PRED.SG
aha dōm-i, kēkē š-ēk māšī-s?
 this.M Dom-PRED.SG why talk-2SG with-3SG
 'Some people get angry: Why are you sitting with a Dom person?
 This person is a Dom, why are you talking to him?'
- (21) *s'il-k-ad-a mfall-as kān-ik kar-d-a*
 ask-VTR-PAST-M crazy-OBL.M who-PRED.SG do-PAST-M
er-as?
 this-OBL.M
 'He asked the crazy one: who did this?'
- (22) *šōna illi iʕtid-ah-r-a atnī-r wāšī-sar-i*
 boy REL attack-VITR-PAST-M on-2SG with-3PL-PRED.SG
wila la?
 or not
 'Is the boy who attacked you among them or not?'

A very common device in Domari narrations is the so-called ‘rhetorical’ question. In discourse-analytical terms, its function is to involve the listener in the action of narrating by prompting the listener into searching for a reply to a fictitious question, thus engaging the listener in problem-solving tasks such as identifying possible scenarios for the further exposition of the story-line (cf. Reershemius 1997: 94 ff.):

- (23) *er-a, krēn skun-ah-r-a? nkī-man hindar,*
 come.PAST-M where live-VITR-PAST-M at-1PL here
xāl-os-i.
 uncle-3SG-PRED.SG
 ‘Her uncle arrived, where did he stay? Here with us.’
- (24) *baśd sitt iyyām rawwiḥ-ah-r-ēn kury-a-ka*
 after six days go-VITR-PAST-1PL house-OBL.F-DAT
n-h-e’ wala ek-ak kury-a-ma. krēn
 NEG-is-NEG any one-INDEF house-OBL.F-LOC where
kān-ū? giš yaśni šar-ī-r-ed-i
 was-3PL all PART hide-ITR-PAST-3PL-PRG
 ‘Six days later we came back home, there was nobody at home.
 Where were they? They were all hiding.’
- (25) *baśdēn eh-r-a ḥarb t-tamānī ū ’arbaśīn,*
 then become-PAST-M war DEF-eight and forty
giš dōm-e waz-r-e min quds-a-ki.
 all Dom-PL flee-PAST-3PL from Jerusalem-OBL.F-ABL
krēn gar-e? šammār-a-ta
 where go.PAST-3PL Amman-OBL.F-DAT
 ‘Then the war of forty-eight started, all the Dom fled from
 Jerusalem. Where did they go? To Amman.’

9.4. Imperative clauses

Imperative clauses in Domari make use of the 2nd person subjunctive/imperative form in order to formulate an instruction, command, or request. Typical of imperative clauses is the absence, in the overwhelming number of cases, of a pre-verbal field and the immediate initiation of the predication, which encodes the command or instruction directed at the listener. In a corpus consisting largely of narration, imperative clauses mainly appear in quotations:

- (26) *zābiṭ aha Collinge qal: aru grawara,*
 office this.M Collinge PART come.2SG.SUBJ head.man
bidd-nā kar-an tašxīs.
 want-1PL do-1PL.SUBJ identification
 ‘The officer Collinge said: Come here, chief, we want to carry out an identification parade.’
- (27) a. *žamīl tmaliy-an-ke qxal: ašti wāšī-m*
 Jamil soldier-OBL.PL-BEN said there.is with-1SG
kart-i
 card-PRED.SG
- b. *par-as-is ū dē-s-is*
 take-2PL.SUBJ-3SG.OBL and give-2PL.SUBJ-3SG.OBL
hay-ke mudīr-as-ke
 this-BEN director-OBL.SG-BEN
- a. ‘Jamil said to the soldiers: I have with me a letter,
 b. Take it and give it to this man, the director.
- (28) *pandži š-ar-a ama-ke: na, wēšt-ī*
 3SG say-3SG-REM I-BEN no sit-2SG.SUBJ
kury-a-ma atu, na dža
 house-OBL.F-LOC you.SG NEG go.2SG.SUBJ
madrās-ē-ka!
 school-OBL.F-DAT
 ‘She used to say to me: No, you sit at home, don’t go to school!’

9.5. Complex clauses

9.5.1. An overview of conjunctions

Like Palestinian Arabic, Domari relies mainly on conjunctions, in addition to a limited number of participial forms of the verb, in order to express connections between clauses. The entire inventory of Domari conjunctions is adopted from Palestinian Arabic and remains identical to contemporary use in Arabic. We may speak of a ‘fusion’ of the systems of connectivity in the two languages (cf. Matras 1998a, 2005), with Domari adopting not just single forms and structures from Arabic but the entire category of connectivity marking on a wholesale basis. Table 75 offers an overview of Domari conjunctions and connectors.

Table 75. Domari conjunctions and connectors.

<i>ū</i>	‘and’	<i>qabel mā</i>	‘before’
<i>wala</i>	‘and not’, ‘neither’, ‘either’	<i>baʕd mā</i>	‘after’
<i>yā</i>	‘or’	<i>min-yōm-ma</i>	‘since’
<i>wila</i>	‘or’, ‘or else’, ‘neither’	<i>iza</i>	‘if’
<i>bass</i>	‘but’, ‘only’, ‘however’	<i>law</i>	‘if’
<i>illi</i>	relative pronoun	<i>bi-rrayem</i>	‘despite’, ‘although’
<i>inn-</i>	‘that’	<i>ʕašān</i>	‘for’, ‘in order to’
<i>liʕann</i>	‘because’	<i>minsān</i>	‘for’, ‘in order to’
<i>lamma</i>	‘when’	<i>ta</i>	‘in order to’
<i>kull mā</i>	‘whenever’		

9.5.2. Coordination

The conjunction *ū* (*w*) is the primary means of connecting propositions in discourse and achieving a chaining effect of events in narration:

- (29) a. *par-d-a* *pl-an* *min* *dozdan-ki*
 take-PAST-M money-OBL.PL from wallet-ABL
- b. *ū* *tir-d-osan* *džēb-is-ma*
 and put-PAST-3PL pocket-3SG.OBL-LOC
- c. *ū* *kšal-d-a*
 and leave-PAST-M
- a. ‘He took the money from the wallet.
 b. And he put it in his pocket.
 c. And he left.’

It is also used to combine two propositional entities into a shared, overall conceptual category:

- (30) *ašti* *ik-ak* *nam-os,* *faḏāʕ* *ū* *ik-ak*
 there.is one-INDEF name-3SG Fada and one-INDEF
- nam-os* *rāya*
 name-3SG Raya
- ‘There is one named Fada and one named Raya.’

The conjunction *wala* ‘and not’ connects negative propositions to display a succession of unfulfilled events:

- (31) *min uhu waxt-as-ki in-š-ar-e'*
 from that time-OBL.M-ABL NEG-speak-3SG-NEG
wāšī-m wala ama š-am-i wāšī-s
 with-1SG nor I speak-1SG-PRG with-3SG
 'Since that time he doesn't speak with me nor do I speak with him.'
- (32) *yaʿni n-kar-ad-e' mašākl-ē maʿ*
 PART NEG-do-3PL-NEG problems-OBL.F with
ḥukum-ē-ki wala diḍ ḥukum-ē-ki
 government-OBL.F-ABL nor against government-OBL.F-ABL
 'Well, they don't cause any trouble [either] with the government nor against the government.'

Like its positive counterpart, *wala* can equally conjoin single entities that are absent, non-existent or unfulfilled:

- (33) *ihni kān-ū žli-k-ad-a, n-h-e' wila*
 thus was-3PL wash-VTR-3PL-REM, NEG-is-NEG neither
ḥanaḥiyye wala 'iši
 tap nor anything
 'That's how they used to wash, there was neither a tap nor anything.'

Alternatives are demarcated in two different fashions: The conjunction *yā* conjoins two propositions or entities whose respective existence or truth value is not necessarily mutually exclusive:

- (34) *da'iman ḥšur-ahr-om-i kury-a-ma yā*
 always kept-VITR-1SG-PRG house-OBL.F-LOC or
par-ar-m-i wāšī-s kam-k-am, ū
 take-3SG-1SG-PRG with-3SG work-VTR-1SG.SUBJ and
par-ar-i pl-ē-m
 take-3SG-PRG money-PL-1SG
 'I am always locked up at home, or else she takes me with her to work, and she takes my money.'
- (35) *š-ad-i inn-hom min šamāl-os-ki*
 say-3PL-PRG COMP-3PL from north-3SG-ABL
hnūd-an-ki, yā min l-bakistān
 India-OBL.PL-ABL or from Pakistan
 'They say that they are from northern India, or from Pakistan.'

The conjunction *wila* by contrast introduces an alternative that is not compatible with the preceding entity or propositional content to which it is conjoined:

- (36) *šōna illi ištīd-ah-r-a atrī-r wāšī-san-i*
 boy REL attack-VITR-PAST-M on-2SG with-3PL-PRED.SG
wīla la?
 or not
 ‘Is the boy who attacked you among them or not?’

A common use of *wīla* is in the filler *wīla ’išī* ‘or something’, which broadly speaking leaves imaginary scope for an alternative depiction of the relevant state of affairs:

- (37) *kull ma aw-ar-i šarīs-ak wīla*
 every COMP come-3SG-PRG bridegroom-INDEF or
’išī š-ad-i n-h-e’ nkī-man lāšy-e.
 anything say-3PL-PRG NEG-is-NEG at-1PL girl-PL
 ‘Every time a prospective bridegroom or something arrives they say we don’t have girls.’

The contrastive conjunction is *bass* (which also serves as a focus particle meaning ‘only’), which blocks certain possible inferences from a preceding statement:

- (38) *adžoti ašti pl-e, bass yāl-ik*
 today there.is money-PL but expensive-PRED.SG
 ‘Today people have money, but things are expensive.’
- (39) *ū našy-ad-a, ū yanni-k-ad-a, bass*
 and dance-3PL-REM and sing-VTR-3PL-REM but
šīša ghāy-a
 life good-REM
 ‘And they used to dance, and they used to sing, but life was good.’
- (40) *akbar min yasmīn-a-ki pandži yimkin talātīn*
 bigger from Yasmin-OBL.F-ABL 3SG perhaps thirty
sane bass kān ghāy bol aha abu sašīd
 year but was.3SG.M good very this.M Abu Said
 ‘He was maybe thirty years older than Yasmin, but he was very good, this man Abu Said.’

9.5.3. Embedded questions

Embedded questions are indirect questions that are integrated as complements into complex clauses, accompanying verbs of knowledge and perception. Their use in spontaneous, connected speech is extremely limited. Their syntactic

organisation pattern is no different than that of counterpart structures in Arabic or most European languages: The complement tends to follow the matrix verb, it is introduced by a semantically specialised interrogative serving as a complementiser, and the complement verb tends to show independent choice of tense-aspect:

- (41) *ama dʒan-am-e' krēn skun-ahr-ēk*
 I know-1SG-NEG where live-VTR.PAST-PRED.SG
 'I don't know where he lives.'
- (42) *dʒan-d-om-i kī š-ird-a*
 know-PAST-1SG-PRG what say-PAST-M
 'I have understood what he said.'
- (43) *aʒoti dʒan-d-or-i kē kar-ad-i dōm-ē-man?*
 today know-PAST-2SG-PRG what do-3PL-PRG Dom-PL-1PL
 'Do you know what our Dom are doing nowadays?'

9.5.4. Relative clauses

Relative clauses are introduced by the Arabic relativiser *illi*. As in Arabic, they follow the head noun and introduce a predication that provides supplementary, clarifying or identifying information about the head noun. The position of relative clauses tends to precede the main clause predication; it thus suspends the main predication until clarification concerning the identity of the head noun is delivered:

- (44) *lak-ed-a ihi illi ktib-k-ad-i*
 see-PAST-M this.F REL write-VTR-PAST-F
kart-as-ta bay-os-i mudīr-as-ki
 letter-OBL.M-DAT wife-3SG-PRED.SG director-OBL.M-ABL
 'He realised that the one who had written the letter was the director's wife.'

Relative clauses are often pre-planned and their head noun is exposed by a demonstrative in order to draw attention to the clarifying information that is being delivered:

- (45) *ehe dōm-e illi aw-ad-i min-l-awwal,*
 these Dom-PL REL come-3PL-PRG from-DEF-beginning
ehe ḥaddad-ni, ḥaddid-k-ad-i
 these smith-PRED.PL metal-VTR-3PL-PRG
 'Those Doms who came at the beginning, they were smiths, they worked with metal.'

Like Arabic, Domari too has an obligatory resumptive pronoun co-referent for all thematic roles of the head noun within the relative clause except the subject. Resumption of the head noun is indicated through object pronominal affixes on the verb or a location expression:

- (46) *ama bidd-ī širy-a illi kšal-d-or-is*
 I want-1SG knife-OBL.F REL pull-PAST-2SG-3SG.OBL
šōny-a-ta
 girl-OBL.F-DAT
 ‘I want the knife that you pulled [it] on the girl.’
- (47) *ihī illi par-d-om-is, kān-at*
 this.F REL take-PAST-1SG-3SG.OBL was-3SG.F
yatīm-ēy-a
 orphan-PRED.SG-REM
 ‘The one whom I married [her] was an orphan.’
- (48) *qal kiyy-ik ihī yaʕni illi*
 PART what-PRED.SG this.F PART REL
nan-d-or-s-i
 bring-PAST-2SG-3SG-PRG
 ‘He said, who is this that you have brought [her]?’

In isolated cases we find 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:

- (49) *mana illi t-or-im iyyā-h*
 bread REL give.PAST-2SG-1SG.OBL OBJ-3SG.M
 ‘the bread that you gave me [it]’
- (50) *pl-e illi t-or-im iyyā-hum*
 money-PL REL give.PAST-2SG-1SG.OBL OBJ-PL
 ‘the money that you gave me [them]’

A significant proportion of relative clauses rely on a nominal clause structure:

- (51) *gar-a, pen-d-a fray-an illi*
 go.PAST-M remove-PAST-M clothes-OBL.PL REL
wusix-ni illi atnī-s-ni ū gar-a
 dirty-PRED.PL REL on-3SG-PRED.PL and go.PAST-M

daw-ad-a *ū* *hada* *ū* *šattif-k-ad-a*
 wash-PAST-M and PART and dry-VTR-PAST-M
 ‘He went, he removed the dirty clothes that he was wearing and he went and washed and all that and dried them.’

- (52) *ū* *naḍḍif-k-ad-a* *ḥāl-os* *ū* *gar-a*
 and clean-VTR-PAST-M REFL-3SG and go.PAST-M
izāṣ-ē-ta *kinēn?* *illi* *fi* *l-mūsrra*.
 radio-OBL.F-DAT where REL in DEF-Musrara
 ‘And he cleaned himself up and he went to the broadcasting station where? [The one] that is in Musrara.’

- (53) *er-a* *izāṣ-ē-ta* *ehe* *tmaliy-e*
 come.PAST-M radio-OBL.F-DAT these.PL soldier-PL
illi *kapiy-ak-ēni* *qal* *krēn* *gar-or-i?*
 REL door-INDEF-PRED.PL PART where go.PAST-2SG-PRG
 ‘He arrived at the radio station, the soldiers who are at one of the doors said where did you go?’

9.5.5. Complement clauses

9.5.5.1. Indicative complements

Indicative complements follow epistemic verbs (*verba dicendi* or verbs of perception, such as ‘to say’, ‘to know’, ‘to see’, ‘to hear’, ‘to understand’, and so on). The subordinated verb appears in the indicative, and the complement is generally introduced by the Arabic complementiser *inn-*, which normally carries Arabic person inflection in agreement with the subject of the complement clause:

Table 76. (Arabic) person-inflection of the complementiser *inn-*

1SG	<i>inn-i</i>
2SG.M	<i>inn-ak</i>
2SG.F	<i>inn-ek</i>
3SG.M	<i>inn-o</i>
3SG.F	<i>inn-hā</i>
1PL	<i>in-nā</i>
2PL	<i>inn-kum</i>
3PL	<i>inn-hom</i>

- (54) *lak-ed-os-i inn-o aha-k*
 see-PAST-3SG-PRG COMP-3SG.M this.M-PRED.SG
illi f-ēr-a mawāl-i
 REL hit-PAST-M mawal-PRED.SG
 ‘She realised that it was he who sang the Mawal.’
- (55) *ū pandži in-džan-ar-e’ inn-hā*
 and 3SG NEG-know-3SG-NEG COMP-3SG.F
džažan-i.
 pregnant-PRED.SG
 ‘And she didn’t know that she was pregnant.’
- (56) *aylabiy-osan š-ad-i inn-hom min*
 majority-3PL say-3PL-PRG COMP-3PL from
šamāl-os-ki hnūd-an-ki
 north-3SG-ABL India-OBL.PL-ABL
 ‘Most of them say that they are from northern India.’
- (57) *n-ħibb-od-e’ dōm-as, řašān džan-ad-i*
 NEG-like-3PL-NEG Dom-OBL.M because know-3PL-PRG
in-nā dōm
 COMP-1PL Dom
 ‘They don’t like the Dom, because they know that we are Dom.’
- (58) *wa thim-k-ad-ed-is mindži-m inn-i*
 and accuse-VTR-PAST-3PL-3SG.OBL from-1SG COMP-1SG
ama kur-d-om-is xušūši řankī-s
 I throw-PAST-1SG-3SG.OBL deliberately at-3SG
 ‘And they accused me of throwing it at her deliberately.’

The order of constituents within the indicative complement clause is flexible. The complementiser may be followed by the subject of the complement clause, the predicate, or indeed a nominal predicate in a nominal complement clause. An alternative to the inflected complementiser is a generalised form of the complementiser – *inni* or sometimes *inn-o* – which does not show agreement with the subject of the complement clause. It tends to appear immediately before that subject:

- (59) *kān payy-os š-ar-a ab-us-ke iza*
 was.3SG.M husband-3SG say-3SG-REM to-3SG-BEN if
džan-ad-i řelat-om inni atu džā-k
 know-3PL-PRG family-1SG COMP you.SG go-2SG
mangiš-k-ēk yabayēy fčaḥ-k-ad-m-i.
 begging-VTR-2SG PART frown-VTR-3PL-1SG-PRG

payy-os *li'inn-o* *tāt-i* *kān*
 husband-3SG because-3SG.M Arab-PRED.SG was.3SG.M
 'Her husband used to say to her, if my family knew that you are going out begging, oh my dear, they would disown me. Because her husband was an Arab.'

Note that the complementiser can also be used in this way to introduce direct speech:

- (60) *ū* *ktib-k-ad-ēk* *baḷaṭ-ē-ṭa* *inni*
 and write-VTR-PAST-PRED.SG stone-OBL.F-DAT COMP
džassās *mar-d-os-im*.
 Jassas kill-PAST-3SG-1SG.OBL
 'And he wrote on the stone [that]: Jassas killed me.'
- (61) *gar-a* *aha* *šōna* *š-ird-a* *boy-is-ke,*
 go.PAST-M this.M boy say-PAST-M father-3SG.OBL-BEN
qrara, *inni* *ama* *mang-am-i* *ihi* *domiy-ē*
 Bedouin COMP I love-1SG-PRG this.F Dom.woman-OBL.F
bidd-ī *par-am* *itžawwiz-om-is*.
 want-1SG take-1SG.SUBJ marry-1SG.SUBJ-3SG.OBL
 'The boy went and said to his father, the Bedouin [that]: I love this Dom woman, I want to marry her.'

9.5.5.2. Modal complements

Domari aligns itself with various languages of the Anatolian-Mesopotamian region in showing a structural distinction between modal and indicative complements. This is connected with the prevalence in Domari, as in some other languages of the region (including Arabic, Kurdish, Neo-Aramaic, Azeri, and to some extent Persian), of finiteness in all or most clause-combining strategies. The absence of a modal infinitive requires a distinct marking of the dependency relationship between the finite verb in the modal complement clause and the matrix verb (the modal verb). In Domari, the transition between the matrix and modal complement clause is usually smooth and unmediated; the dependency of the modal complement is expressed in the first instance through the choice of the subjunctive mood on the complement verb:

- (62) *ihi* *sak-ar-e'* *kam-k-ar*
 this.F can-3SG-NEG work-VTR-3SG.SUBJ
 'She cannot work.'

- (63) *bidd-ī dža-m ḥaram-ka ṣalli-k-am*
 want-1SG go-1SG.SUBJ mosque-DAT pray-VTR-1SG.SUBJ
 ‘I want to go to the mosque to pray.’

Same-subject modal complements show subject-concord agreement between the modal expression of the matrix clause, and the modal complement verb. In different-subject constructions, also called ‘manipulation’ clauses (complex clauses in which an actor is depicted as instigating an action by another actor), the procedure followed is essentially similar: Both verbs are finite. The matrix clause contains an indicative modal (manipulation) predicate, while the embedded complement appears in the subjunctive mood. Subject-concord obviously follows the referential topics of the respective clauses, leading to an interruption in agreement patterns in the two clauses. Like same-subject modal complements, no conjunction is required in order to introduce the complement, nor is an overt specification of the subject of the embedded verb necessary:

- (64) *bidd-hom ek-ak saʿid-k-ar-san*
 want-3PL one-INDEF help-VTR-3SG.SUBJ-3PL
 ‘They want somebody to help them.’
- (65) *ū in-man-ad-m-eʿ kil-š-am maʿ*
 and NEG-let-3PL-1SG-NEG exit-SUBJ-1SG with
šōny-an-ki, maʿ sāḥb-ē-m-ki, maʿ ʿiṣi
 girl-OBL.PL-ABL with friend-PL-1SG-ABL with anything
 ‘And they would not let me go out with the girls, with my friends, with anyone.’
- (66) *ū baq-ēt radžo-h-om-s-a yaʿni*
 and stayed-1SG plead-VTR-1SG-3SG-REM PART
waddi-k-ar-im madras-ē-ka
 send-VTR-3SG.SUBJ-1SG.OBL school-OBL.F-DAT
 ‘And I kept pleading with her to send me to school.’

In both same- and different-subject modality complements, use of a general (uninflected) complementiser *inni* introducing the complement is an option:

- (67) *aha boy-os šōn-as-ki nan-ar-i*
 this.M father-3SG boy-OBL.M-ABL bring-3SG-PRG
dakāʾr-an inni ṭayyib-kar-ad aha
 doctors-OBL.PL COMP cure-VTR-3PPL.SUBJ this.M
šōn-as
 boy-OBL.M
 ‘The boy’s father sends doctors to cure the boy.’

- (68) *ū itme lāzem maṣīr-oran hōš-as irni*
 and you.PL must destiny-2PL be.SUBJ-2PL COMP
bass yanni-kar-as ū našī-š-as
 only sing-VTR-2PL.SUBJ and dance-SUBJ-2PL
 ‘And your destiny will be that you will only sing and dance.’
- (69) *ū ama wafaq-k-ad-om-i inn-i*
 and I agree-VTR-PAST-1SG-PRG COMP-1SG
dżawiz-k-am-is ab-ur-ke
 marry-VTR-1SG.SUBJ-3SG.OBL for-2SG-BEN
 ‘And I agree to marry her to you.’

9.5.6. Purpose clauses

Purpose clauses are related to modality complements in that they too are depictions of target events and actions whose realisation is dependent on that of the conditions set out implicitly through the matrix clauses. Consequently, purpose predicates equally appear in the subjunctive mood, indicating non-realisation or conditional realisation. The particular feature of purpose clauses is the fact that the group of matrix verbs constitutes an open class rather than a specialised category of modal auxiliaries or *verba dicendi* (predicates of command, instruction and so on); any activity can in principle be carried out in order to lead to any other. This implies a rather loose information connection, by comparison with modality constructions, between the matrix verb and the embedded target verb (purpose verb). This in turn is reflected by the tendency to mark out the purpose clause through an Arabic conjunction *minšān* ‘in order to’ (also ‘for’), in all but the most tightly integrated combination of predicates:

- (70) *nan fray-ē-m wark-am-san!*
 bring.2SG.SUBJ clothes-PL-1SG wear-1SG.SUBJ-3PL
 ‘Bring my clothes for me to wear!’
- (71) *dža-nd-i kury-an-ta, našy-and-i ū*
 go-3PL-PRG house-OBL.PL-DAT dance-3PL-PRG and
hāda minšān lim-kar-ad
 PART for earn-VTR-3PL.SUBJ
 ‘They go to the houses, they dance and so on in order to earn money.’
- (72) *kil-d-i sūr-as-ta minšān*
 exit-PAST-F wall-OBL.M-DAT for
šawwir-k-ar manāzir-ē-s hay-ki,
 photograph-VTR-3SG.SUBJ views-PL-3SG PART-ABL

ūyar-ki
city-ABL

‘She climbed the wall in order to take pictures of the city views.’

- (73) *giš qol-d-ed-i* *pet-ē-san* *ehe*
all open-PAST-3PL-PRG belly-PL-3PL these.PL
čōn-e, *minsān* *par-ad* *pl-an* *mēšī-s*
boy-PL for take-3PL.SUBJ money-OBL.PL from-3SG
‘They all opened their bellies [= developed an appetite], these boys,
in order to take her money.’

A second final conjunction, *ta*, is considered somewhat old-fashioned; as is the case in Arabic, it is used by some elderly speakers but is being replaced by *minsān*. Nevertheless, we encounter occasional utterances in which *ta* introduces purpose clauses:

- (74) *tāni* *dis* *aha* *šōna* *qrara,* *putr-os*
second day this.M boy Bedouin son-3SG
šex-as-ki, *gar-a* *ta* *lak-ar*
Sheikh-OBL.M-ABL go.PAST-M PART see-3SG.SUBJ
dōm-an *ma* *lak-ed-osan*
Dom-OBL.PL NEG see-PAST-3PL
‘The next day this Bedouin boy, the Sheikh’s son, went to find the Dom, but he didn’t find them.’

9.5.7. Adverbial subordination

As in the case of clause combining strategies in general, adverbial subordination in Domari replicates almost entirely and on a wholesale basis the structural strategies of adverbial subordination in colloquial Palestinian Arabic. The present section offers an overview of selected semantic types of adverbial clause that are prominent in the corpus.

9.5.7.1. Temporal clauses

While adverbial clauses, like other clause combining strategies in Domari, rely principally on constructing connections between finite clauses, simultaneous temporality or co-temporality is a notable exception, owing to the presence also in Arabic of non-finite and semi-finite strategies of adverbial subordination in this particular semantic domain.

Firstly, Domari shows a co-temporal construction that relies on a nominalised form of the verb. This form is used exclusively in this construction and does not have any further function or distribution in the language. It is based on the verb root, to which the person suffix of the oblique possessor is attached. The word is introduced by the Arabic preposition *maʕ* ‘with’ and is inflected for the ablative-prepositional Layer II case. The construction replicates the Arabic co-temporal construction, which is based on a genuine nominal form corresponding to the verbal root, which is inflected for the possessor indicating the actor (*maʕ nōmt-ī* ‘as I sleep’ = ‘with my sleep’):

(75) *maʕ šuš-im-ki tiknaw-ar-m-i gurg-om*
 with sleep-1SG.OBL-ABL hurt-3SG-1SG-PRG neck-1SG
 ‘As I sleep, my neck hurts.’

(76) *maʕ kilš-im-ki gar-om mutbax-ta*
 with exit-1SG.OBL-ABL go.PAST-1SG kitchen-DAT
pī-r-om ū er-om
 drink-PAST-1SG and come.PAST-1SG
 ‘As I went out, I entered the kitchen, I drank and came back.’

A second non-finite strategy is the use of pseudo-converbs consisting of past-tense stems marked by non-verbal predication markers, a kind of participle that replicates the Arabic present participle (*qāʕed* ‘sitting’, *wāʕef* ‘standing’, etc.):

(77) *lak-ed-om-is mind-ird-ēk*
 see-PAST-1SG-3SG.OBL stand-PAST-PRED.SG
 ‘I saw him standing.’

(78) *lak-ed-om qapiy-a ban-ī-r-ik*
 see-PAST-1SG door-OBL.F open-ITR-PAST-PRED.SG
 ‘I saw the door opening.’

A functionally related co-temporal construction has the subordinated predicate in a finite, present tense form, once again a structure that matches one of the options in Arabic:

(79) *sin-d-om-is grēf-k-ar-i*
 hear-PAST-1SG-3SG.OBL sing-VTR-3SG-PRG
 ‘I heard him singing.’

Finally, again as in Arabic, co-temporality can also be expressed by an additive conjunction *ū* introducing a finite adverbial clause. There are no constraints on the identity of the subject in either part of the construction:

- (80) *ʕazif-k-and-i rabbāb-ē-ta ū pandži*
 play-VTR-3PL-PRG rabbaba-OBL.F-DAT and 3SG
našy-ar-i
 dance-3SG-PRG
 ‘They play the rabbaba while she’s dancing.’
- (81) *lak-ed-om-is w-ama kil-d-om min*
 see-PAST-1SG-3SG.OBL and-I exit-PAST-1SG from
qapiy-a-ki
 door-OBL.F-ABL
 ‘I saw her as I was going out the door.’
- (82) *ḍand-ē-m tiknaw-ad-m-i ū ama*
 tooth-PL-1SG hurt-3PL-1SG-PRG and I
sit-om-i
 sleep.PAST-1SG-PRG
 ‘My teeth hurt as I sleep.’

Another way of expressing co-temporality relies on introducing the adverbial clause with the Arabic conjunction *lamma* ‘when’:

- (83) *lamma kun-t ama qašṭōt-ik, na*
 when was-1SG I small-PRED.SG NEG
nēr-d-ed-im madāris-an-ka
 send-PAST-3PL-1SG.OBL schools-OBL.PL-DAT
 ‘When I was small, they didn’t send me to school.’
- (84) *dōm-ē-s yaf-ē-ki lamma kān*
 Dom-PL-3SG Jaffa-OBL.F-ABL when was.3SG.M
aw-and-a ūyar-ta hindar, šuš-and-a šand
 come-3PL-REM city-DAT here sleep-3PL-REM at
dōm-ē-man-ki hindar ūyar-ma
 Dom-PL-1PL-ABL here city-LOC
 ‘The Dom of Jaffa, when they used to come here to Jerusalem, they used to stay with our Dom here in Jerusalem.’
- (85) *lamma lak-ed-a xāl-os indžann-ahr-a*
 when see-PAST-M uncle-3SG crazy-VITR.PAST-M
boy-om
 father-1SG
 ‘When he saw his uncle, my father went crazy.’

- (86) *lamma hōš-ar lāši ūmr-os xamistaššr sane*
 when be.SUBJ-3SG girl age-3SG fifteen year
sittaššr sane, stanno-ho-r-i aw-ar-is
 sixteen year wait-VITR-3SG-PRG come-3SG.SUBJ-3SG.OBL
šaris-ak džawiz-hōš-ar džar
 bridegroom-INDEF marry-VITR.SUBJ-3SG go-3SG.SUBJ
kury-is-ka wēšt-ar kury-is-ma
 house-3SG.OBL-DAT sit-3SG.SUBJ house-3SG.OBL-LOC
 ‘When a girl reaches the age of fifteen or sixteen years, she waits for
 a bridegroom to approach her so that she can marry and go to his
 house to live in his house.’

Repetitive relations are expressed by the Arabic conjunction *kull ma* ‘every time’:

- (87) *kull ma aw-ar-i šaris-ak wila*
 every COMP come-3SG-PRG bridegroom-INDEF or
’iši ša-d-i n-h-e’ nkī-man lāšy-e
 something say-3PL-PRG NEG-is-NEG at-1PL girl-PL
 ‘Every time a bridegroom or something arrived they would say we
 don’t have girls.’
- (88) *kull ma bidd-nā rawwiḥ-hōš-an š-ad-i*
 every COMP want-1PL go-VITR.SUBJ-1PL say-3PL-PRG
emin-ke la’, xalli manī-š-as hnēna
 we-BEN no let’s stay-SUBJ-1PL here
 ‘Every time we want to go they say to us: No, let us stay here.’

Duration of a subordinated event (‘since’) is expressed by the Arabic expression *min-yōm-ma*, literally ‘from the day that’:

- (89) *ama/ min yōm ma nig-r-e yahūdiy-e*
 I from day COMP enter-PAST-3PL Jew-PL
emin-ka na nig-r-om minmarra ’urdunni-a
 we-DAT NEG enter-PAST-1SG at.all Jordan-OBL.F
 ‘I/ since the Jews arrived here I haven’t visited Jordan at all.’

Anterior and posterior adverbial clauses are introduced by the conjunctions *qabel ma* ‘before’ and *bašd ma* ‘after’ respectively. Note that in line with tense-aspect-modality mapping in the corresponding Arabic constructions, clauses introduced with *qabel ma* ‘before’ show the predicate in the subjunctive (cf. Arabic *qabel ma ašmal* ‘before I do’), while posterior clauses generally appear in the indicative mood:

- (90) *qabel ma dža-m xaŋaš-k-ed-om*
 before COMP go-1SG.SUBJ finish-VTR-PAST-1SG
kam-as
 work-OBL.M
 ‘Before I left I finished my work.’
- (91) *qabel ma skun-hōš-am hnēn-i kun-t*
 before COMP live-VTR.SUBJ-1SG here-PRED.SG was-1SG
ūyar-m-ēk
 city-LOC-PRED.SG
 ‘Before I came to live here I lived in the city.’
- (92) *bašd ma štrī-k-ad-a man-as ū*
 after COMP buy-VTR-PAST-M bread-OBL.M and
ħumms-ī xul-d-a min dakākīn-ar-ki/
 hummus-OBL.M open-PAST-M from shops.PL-OBL.PL-ABL
bāb isbāt ū kil-d-a daradž-ē-s hay-ki
 gate Lions and descend-PAST-M stair-PL-3SG this-ABL
illi šand bāb isbāt
 REL at gate Lions
 ‘After he bought the bread and the hummus he came out of the shops
 at/ Lions Gate/ and went down the stairs of this place, at Lions Gate.’
- (93) *bašd ma xaŋaš-k-ed-a kam-os gar-a*
 after COMP finish-VTR-PAST-M work-3SG go.PAST-M
kury-is-ta
 house-3SG.OBL-DAT
 ‘After he finished his work he went home.’

9.5.7.2. Causal clauses

The principal feature of causal constructions is the introductory Arabic conjunction *li’ann-* (also *la’inn-*), which often carries Arabic pronominal agreement with the subject of the causal clause, drawing on the same set of markers as the complementiser *inn-* to which it is structurally related (see Table 76 above).

- (94) *bardo baq-ēt dža-m-a kam-k-am-a,*
 also stayed-1SG go-1SG-REM work-VTR-1SG-REM
li’ann-o boy-om n-kam-k-ar-e’
 because-3SG.M father-1SG NEG-work-VTR-3SG-NEG
 ‘I also continued to work, because my father did not work.’

- (95) *kān* *payy-os* *š-ar-a* *ab-us-ke* *iza*
 was.3SG.M husband-3SG say-3SG-REM to-3SG-BEN if
džan-ad-i *šēlat-om* *inni* *atu* *džā-k*
 know-3PL-PRG family-1SG COMP you.SG go-2SG
mangiš-k-ēk *yabayēy* *fḏaḥ-k-ad-m-i*
 begging-VTR-2SG PART frown-VTR-3PL-1SG-PRG
payy-os *li'inn-o* *tāt-i* *kān*
 husband-3SG because-3SG.M Arab-PRED.SG was.3SG.M
 'Her husband used to say to her, if my family knew that you are
 going out begging, oh my dear, they would disown me. Because her
 husband was an Arab.'

Agreement with the conjunction often follows Arabic rules of agreement; thus weather conditions, for example, appear in the feminine singular (the Arabic construction revolving around the subject expression *ad-dunya* 'the world'):

- (96) *na* *kil-d-om* *bara* *li'ann-hā* *wars-ar-i*
 NEG exit-PAST-1SG out because-3SG.F rain-3SG-PRES
 'I did not go out because it was raining.'

Agreement is often dropped, however, and the 3SG.M form *li'anno* is generalised:

- (97) *šār-ū* *š-ad-i* *bidd-o* *hōš-ar* *ḥarb,*
 started-3PL say-3PL-PRG want-3SG.M be.SUBJ-3SG war
li'anno *aw-ad-i* *yahūdiy-e,* *protkil-e*
 because come-3PL-PRG Jew-PL Jew-PL
 'They began to say that there is going to be a war, because the Jews
 are coming.'

Causal clauses may follow the main clause, as in the above examples; alternatively, they may also precede the main clause, building up an argumentation chain to account for the state of affairs depicted in the main propositional unit. The causal clause will often appear in seeming isolation, disconnected syntactically from a fully-formed complex sentence yet well embedded at the discourse level into the content structure of the narrative account:

- (98) *li'inno* *n-h-e'* *pani,* *lamma* *kār-ū*
 because NEG-is-NEG water when was-3PL
žli-k-ad-a *n-h-e'* *ḥanafiyye* *kān,*
 wash-VTR-3PL-REM NEG-is-NEG tap was.3SG.M

t-ad-a kahriy-ak/ yaʕni ʃaħn-ak mindži-s
 put-3PL-REM bowl-INDEF PART dish-INDEF inside-3SG
sābūr-ēk, ū ʃaħn-ak till-ēk mindži-s
 soap-PRED.SG and dish-INDEF big-PRED.SG inside-3SG
pan-ik
 water-PRED.SG

‘Because there was no water, when they used to wash, there was no water tap, they used to put a bowl, like a dish with soap, and a large dish with water.’

A justification can also be provided, as in Arabic, by the conjunction *ʃašān* ‘because, for’:

(99) *min uhu ayyām-an-ki ʃukk-r-a mindži-m*
 from that days-OBL.PL-ABL suspect-PAST-M from-1SG
ʃašān nig-r-om kury-os-ta lak-ed-om
 because enter-PAST-1SG house-3SG-DAT see-PAST-1SG
man-as ū hada
 bread-OBL.M and PART

‘From that day on he suspected me because I had entered his house and I saw the bread and all that.’

9.5.7.3. Conditional and concessive clauses

Domari has four types of conditional clauses, all of which closely follow the Arabic format of conditional constructions. The first – present-realis conditional – is introduced by the conjunction *iza* ‘if’, followed by the conditional clause verb in the present indicative. The main clause (apodosis) can appear in the subjunctive/imperative or in the present indicative, often taking a future-oriented reading. The reading of the present-realis conditional is that of a condition that has a high chance of fulfillment or indeed is known to be realistic, and thus implies a realistic apodosis:

(100) *š-ird-a putr-os-ke qal iza atu bidd-ak*
 say-PAST-M son-3SG-BEN PART if you.SG want-2SG
iyyā-hā, qal xallʃas, dža nan-is
 OBJ-3SG.F PART PART go.SUBJ.2SG bring-3SG.OBL
 ‘He said to his son, if you want her, then fine, go and get her.’

(101) *iza wars-ar-i, n-aw-am-eʻ*
 if rain-3SG-PRG NEG-come-1SG-NEG
 ‘If it rains, I shall not come.’

The conjunction *iza* is sometimes left out, leaving the conditional construction to rely on the mere juxtaposition of condition and apodosis:

- (102) *ek-ak mišta-h-or-i, aw-ar-i ambulans*
 one-INDEF ill-VITR-3SG-PRG come-3SG-PRG ambulance
par-an-s-i mustašfa-ka
 take-1PL-3SG-PRG hospital-DAT
 ‘If somebody is ill, an ambulance arrives and we take him to hospital.’

The potential-conditional describes a rather specific and particular condition, which may be realised if particular circumstances are met, and consequently an apodosis that stands a realistic chance of materialising subject to those particular circumstances. Here, *iza* ‘if’ is accompanied by the verb in the past tense while the apodosis appears in the subjunctive/imperative or present indicative:

- (103) *š-ird-a saḥafiy-an-ke qal iza*
 say-PAST-M journalist-PL-BEN PART if
garī-r-or marra tānī šal-’urdunn ū
 return-PAST-2SG time second to.DEF-Jordan and
lak-ed-or džamīl-as s’il-kar-is
 see-PAST-2SG Jamil-OBL.M ask-VTR-3SG.OBL
 ‘He said to the journalists, if you ever go back to Jordan and see Jamil, ask him.’

- (104) *boy-os qal ehe dom-ēni ū iza*
 father-3SG PART these.PL Dom-PRED.PL and if
par-d-or-is mar-am/ mar-am-sar-i gištāne,
 take-PAST-2SG-3SG.OBL kill-1SG kill-1SG-3PL-PRG all
giš dōm-an mar-am-i
 all Dom-OBL.PL kill-1SG-PRG
 ‘His father said, these are Dom, and if you marry her, I will kill/ I will kill them all, I will kill all the Dom.’

The present-irrealis sets a condition that is less likely to materialise. It is characterised by the use of the irrealis conjunction *law* ‘if’, accompanied by the verb in the past or remote tense, in the conditional clause, while the apodosis appears in the present indicative:

- (105) *qal tabšan džan-am-s-i, wa-law yēb-r-a*
 PART of.course know-1SG-3SG-PRG and-if miss-PAST-M
ama-ta šašara snīn džan-am-s-i
 1SG-DAT ten years know-1SG-3SG-PRG
 ‘He said of course I know him, and if I didn’t see him for ten years I would still know him.’
- (106) *law mar-ē-m-a, n-warak-am-san-e’*
 if kill-2SG-1SG-REM NEG-wear-1SG-3PL-NEG
 ‘If you killed me, I wouldn’t wear them.’
- (107) *law d-ē-m-a šašr līrāt in-q-am-e’*
 if give-2SG-1SG-REM ten pounds NEG-eat-1SG-NEG
agir maṭ-an-ki
 in.front person-OBL.PL-ABL
 ‘If you gave me ten pounds I wouldn’t eat in front of people.’

Finally, in the past-irrealis or counterfactual, the condition can no longer materialise. The positing of a condition and apodosis therefore relates to a hypothetical state of affairs. Here, the conjunction *law* ‘if’ is accompanied by the past or remote tense in the conditional clause, and by the counterfactual auxiliary *kān* accompanied by the pluperfect in the main clause:

- (108) *law er-om xužoti kān lah-erd-om-s-a*
 if come.PAST-1SG yesterday was see-PAST-1SG-3SG-REM
 ‘If I had come yesterday, I would have seen him.’
- (109) *kān ihi par-d-iy-a bakaloris awwal, law*
 was this.F take-PAST-F-REM baccalaureat first if
ašti ple
 there.is money
 ‘She would have taken her baccalaureat first, had there been money.’
- (110) *wallah law many-ar-a kān eme ū pandžan*
 PART if stay-1PL-REM was we and they
sawa gar-ēn-a
 together go.PAST-1PL-REM
 ‘Well, if we had stayed, we and they would have gone together.’

Concessive clauses are introduced by the Arabic conjunctions *bi-rrayem min* or *bi-rrayem inn-* ‘despite, although’:

- (111) *dabbir-k-ad-i* *hāl-ē-san,* *bi-rrayem min* *yaʕni*
 sort-VTR-3PL-PRG REFL-PL-3PL although PART
mangiš-k-ad-i *giš*
 begging-VTR-3PL-PRG all
 ‘They get by, although they all go begging.’
- (112) a. *ama/ min yōm ma* *nig-r-e* *yahudiy-e*
 I from day COMP enter-PAST-3PL Jew-PL
emin-ka na *nig-r-om* *minmarra* *ʕurdunni-a*
 we-DAT NEG enter-PAST-1SG at.all Jordan-OBL.F
- b. *yaʕni* *bi-rrayem* *inn-i* *ama-ke* *ašti*
 PART although COMP-1SG I-BEN there.is
ben-i, *ʕammān-a-ma*
 sister-PRED.SG Amman-OBL.F-LOC
ʒawwiz-r-ēk
 marry-PAST-PRED.SG
- a. ‘I/ since the Jews arrived here I haven’t visited Jordan at all.
 b. Even though I have a sister who is married in Amman.’

9.6. Negative clauses

The negation particle used as a negating speech act in a negative response to a question is *na*, though Arabic *laʕ*’ is also frequently used. The negation of lexical predicates takes on two distinct forms, one for the present and one for past tense. The format for the present tenses involves typically a double pattern, with the prefix *in-* (often reduced to *n-*) introducing the verbal stem, and the accented suffix *-é*’ (ending in a glottal stop), following at the end of the lexical predicate. There is often a tendency to omit the prefix, allowing the negation procedure to rely entirely on the glottalised suffix:

- (113) *baʕdēn in-kar-ad-éʕ* *maʕakl-ē* *maʕ*
 then NEG-do-3PL-NEG problems-OBL.F with
ħukum-ē-ki
 government-OBL.F-ABL
 ‘And then they don’t cause the government any problems.’
- (114) *yaʕni in-kafi-k-ar-s-éʕ* *mahma*
 PART NEG-suffice-VTR-3SG-3SG-NEG whatever
par-ar-i *ple,* *xamest* *ʕalāf,* *sitt* *ʕalāf*
 take-3SG-PRG money five thousands six thousands

par-ar, kafi-k-ar-s-é' ple
 take-3SG.SUBJ suffice-VTR-3SG-3SG-NEG money
 'Well, however much money she earns is not enough for her.
 Whether she earns five thousand, six thousand, the money isn't
 enough for her.'

- (115) *džawwiz-k-an-e' minšī-san yašni*
 marry-VTR-1PL-NEG from-3PL PART
 'We don't marry them.'

The negative counterpart to the existential expression *ašti* 'there is' is based on the same configuration, drawing on the verb stem in *h-* 'to be':

- (116) *n-h-e' ab-san-ke ašdāš-e*
 NEG-is-NEG for-3PL-BEN enemies-PL
 'They have no enemies.'
- (117) *n-h-e' ple sašid-k-ar-san*
 NEG-is-NEG money help-VTR-3SG.SUBJ-3PL
 'There is no money to help them.'

Double negative focus or negative addition ('neither nor') is expressed through negation of the first verb followed by the Arabic conjunction *wala* 'nor', or else with the Arabic conjunction pair *la ... wala*.

- (118) *min uhu waxt-as-ki in-š-ar-e'*
 from that time-OBL.M-ABL NEG-speak-3SG-NEG
wāšī-m wala ama š-am-i wāšī-s
 with-1SG nor I speak-1SG-PRG with-3SG
 'Since that time he doesn't speak with me nor do I speak with him.'
- (119) *ama hēssaš wēs-r-om-i hnēn, la*
 I now sit-PAST-1SG-PRG here NEG
kam-k-am-i wala hayk-am-i
 work-VTR-1SG-PRG nor PART-1SG-PRG
 'I am now relaxing here, I don't work nor anything.'
- (120) *bass ehe krād-ēni, la par-d-e*
 but these Kurds-PRED.PL NEG take-PAST-3PL
minšī-man yašni wala eme d-ēn-san-i
 from-1PL PART nor we give-1PL-3PL-PRG
 'But these Kurds, they didn't take from us nor do we give to them.'

Negation in the imperative/subjunctive and past tenses relies on the inherited particle *na*, which is often interchangeable with the Arabic past-tense and subjunctive negation particle *ma*:

- (121) *pandži š-ar-a ama-ke: na, wēšt-ī*
 3SG say-3SG-REM I-BEN no sit-2SG.SUBJ
kury-a-ma atu, na džā
 house-OBL.F-LOC you.SG NEG go.2SG.SUBJ
madrās-ē-ka!
 school-OBL.F-DAT
 ‘She used to say to me: No, you sit at home, don’t go to school!’
- (122) *ū sār mnaš-k-ar-i day-im*
 and began.3SG.M prevent-VTR-3SG-PRG mother-1SG.OBL
yašni na xarrif-hōš-ar wāšī-m, ū ma
 PART NEG speak-VITR.SUBJ-3SG with-1SG and NEG
lah-ar-im
 see-3SG.SUBJ-1SG.OBL
 ‘And he began to prevent my mother from speaking to me and from seeing me.’
- (123) *la, na gar-om yazz-ē-ka minmarra*
 no NEG go.PAST-1SG Gaza-OBL.F-DAT ever
 ‘No, I have never been to Gaza.’
- (124) *ma nig-r-om ’urdunni-a-ka ama, na*
 NEG enter-PAST-1SG Jordan-OBL.F-DAT I NEG
gar-om, l-hēssaš na gar-om
 go.PAST-1SG to-now NEG go.PAST-1SG
 ‘I haven’t visited Jordan, I didn’t go, so far I didn’t go.’
- (125) *aktar min talātin xamsa-ū-talātin sara ma*
 more from thirty five-and-thirty year NEG
lak-ed-om-is
 see-PAST-1SG-3SG.OBL
 ‘I haven’t seen him for more than thirty or thirty-five years.’

Arabic negation particles take over completely in two contexts. The first is in the negation of Arabic-inflected modal auxiliaries. Here, the preferred negation is the Arabic negation suffix *-š*.

- (126) *kull ma aw-ar-a ab-us-ke*
 every COMP come-3SG-REM for-3SG-BEN
šarīs-ak kān š-ar-a na
 bridegroom-INDEF was.3SG.M say-3SG-REM no
ben-om bidd-hā-š žawwiz-hōš-ar
 sister-1SG want-3SG.F-NEG marry-VITR.SUBJ-3SG
 ‘Whenever a bridegroom came for her she would say no, my sister
 doesn’t want to marry.’
- (127) *da’iman hēk kar-ar-i mašākl-e.*
 always thus make-3SG-PRG problems-PL
bidd-o-š dža-r madāris-an-ka.
 want-3SG.M-NEG go-3SG.SUBJ school-OBL.PL-DAT
 ‘He is always making problems. He doesn’t want to go to school.’

The second wholesale replication from Arabic in the negation domain is the negation of nominal clauses, where the Arabic nominal negation particle *mišš* is employed:

- (128) *day-os kān-at ihi li*
 mother-3SG was-3SG.F this.F REL
rabbi-k-ed-os-im mišš day-om-i.
 raise-VTR-PAST-3SG-1SG.OBL NEG mother-1SG
 ‘His mother was the one who raised me, not my mother.’
- (129) *yašni kān by-ar-i inn-o*
 PART was.3SG.M fear-3SG-PRG COMP-3SG.M
aw-ar kury-a-ka ū bay-os mišš
 come-3SG.SUBJ huse-OBL.F-DAT and wife-3SG NEG
kury-a-m-ēk
 house-OBL.F-LOC-PRED.SG
 ‘Well, he used to be afraid that he would come home and his wife
 would not be at home.’
- (130) *day-om min šammān-a-ki, mišš min*
 mother-1SG from Amman-OBL.F-ABL NEG from
šēl-oman-ki day-om
 family-1PL-ABL mother-1SG
 ‘My mother is from Amman, she’s not from our family, my mother.’

The same particle is also used to negate adjectives and adverbs, nominal adjectives in non-verbal predications, and independent aspectual auxiliaries:

- (131) *ū gištane-san kār-ū yaʕni ʕamil-k-ad-m-a*
 and all-3SG was-3PL PART do-VTR-3PL-1SG-REM
mišš ghāy kury-a-ma
 NEG good house-OBL.F-LOC
 ‘And they were all treating me not well at home.’
- (132) *lamma kun-t ʕašrīn sine ʕumr-om ihni,*
 when was-1SG twenty year age-1SG thus
er-a šōn-ak mišš dōm-i
 come.PAST-M boy-INDEF NEG Dom-PRED.SG
 ‘When I was around twenty years old, a non-Dom boy came.’
- (133) *ū š-ird-a ab-us-ke dakātr-e, xaʕlaṣ*
 and say-PAST-M for-3SG-BEN doctors-PL enough
atu mišš raḥ nan gēna xudwar-e
 you.SG NEG go bring again children
 ‘And the doctor said to her, that’s it, you are not going to bear any more children.’

Chapter 10

Adverbs and particles

10.1. Lexical adverbs

‘Adverbs’ constitute a fuzzy and ill-defined category in most languages. It is often a kind of leftover category, a wholesale classification of parts of speech with various functional values that do not comfortably correspond to the structural definitions of other types of sentence constituents. Domari is no exception, and this chapter therefore deals with an array of functional elements. Their primary common feature is their lack of inflectional morphology and their tendency to have modifying scope over an entire propositional content at the sentence or utterance level, or at the very least over the predication.

Within this group of words we can distinguish various sub-groups. Firstly, Domari can be said to possess a syntactic-semantic category of ‘lexical adverbs’: these are modifiers with lexical content (rather than indexical function; see below) that are employed as attributes to a verbal or non-verbal predication:

- (1) *ū gištan-ē-san kân-ū yašni šamil-k-ad-m-a*
and all-PL-3PL was-3PL PART treat-VTR-3PL-1SG-REM
mišš ghāy kury-a-ma
NEG well house-OBL.F-LOC
‘And they all used to not treat me well at home’

- (2) *šār-ū kar-and-i hafl-ē, ašti ik-ak*
started-3PL do-3PL-PRG party-OBL.F there.is one-INDEF
nām-os-ēy-a yazzāl-ēk ihi guld-ik
name-3SG-PRED.SG-REM Ghazzale this.F sweet-PRED.SG
bol.
very
‘They started to have a party, there was one girl, her name was Ghazzale, she was very pretty’

The forms *ghāy* ‘well’ and *bol* ‘very’ are probably the prototypical and most widely used inherited lexical adverbs in Domari. Note their position and function as a modifier to the verb *šamilkadma* ‘they used to treat me’ in (1),

and to the predicate adjective in the non-verbal predication *guldik* '(she) is pretty' in (2). Other lexical adverbs typically derive from Arabic and are used to describe the predication in respect of, for instance, the composition of its actors (examples (3)–(4)), its intentionality (example (5)), or its directionality or duration (examples (6)–(7)).

- (3) *waffah law many-an-a k̄ān eme ū pandžan*
 PART if stay-1PL-REM was.3SG.M we and they
sawa gar-ēn-a
 together go.PAST-1PL-REM
 'Indeed, had we stayed, we would have gone together with them.'
- (4) *ū ama dža-m-a mangiš-k-am-a min*
 and I go-1SG-REM begging-VTR-1SG-REM from
wēn ma k̄ān laḥāl-i
 where COMP was.3SG.M alone-1SG
 'And I used to go begging anywhere on my own.'
- (5) *wa thim-k-ad-ed-is mindži-m inn-i*
 and accuse-VTR-PAST-3PL-3SG.OBL from-1SG COMP-1SG
ama kur-d-om-is xušūšī šankī-s
 I throw-PAST-1SG-3SG.OBL deliberately at-3SG
 'And they accused me of throwing it at her deliberately.'
- (6) *ya eme kul-d-ēn-i duyri riḥ-a-ka*
 or we descend-PAST-1PL-PRG directly Jericho-OBL.F-DAT
 'Or we went straight to Jericho.'
- (7) *eme skun-h-ēn hindar zamān*
 we live-VITR-1PL here long
 'We have been living here for a long time.'

Expressions of quantity can be regarded equally as adverbial following the above definition:

- (8) *waqt-os ama till-ah-r-om šin-ak*
 time-3SG I big-VITR-PAST-1SG little-INDEF
 'Then I grew up a little.'

10.2. Deictic adverbs and adverbs of place and time

Deictic adverbs are a closed class of deictic or indexical expressions whose referential function is not pronominal, i.e. it does not extend to topical entities, but to dimensions of manner or space. The most obvious are place deixis or

place adverbs, which in Domari are all pre-Arabic – *hnēn* and *hindar* ‘here’, *hnon* and *hundar* ‘there’. The parallel expressions for time – *hessaʃ* ‘now’ and *waqtos* ‘then’ – are both derived from Arabic (though *waqtos* is a Domari composition, consisting of Arabic *waqt* ‘time’ and the Domari anaphoric 3SG possessive marker *-os*):

- (9) *dža-nd-a* *dēy-an-ta* *mandža, nawāḥi zayy*
 go-3PL-REM village-OBL.PL-DAT inside around like
yaf-ē-ki *zayy bir sabʃ* *zayy hada, dža-n-a*
 Jaffa-OBL.F-ABL like Bir Saba like PART go-1PL-REM
mangiš-kar-and-a *giš dōm-ē-man* *hundar*
 begging-VTR-3PL-REM all Dom-PL-1PL there
 ‘They used to go into the villages, around [places] like Jaffa, like Bir Saba, like that, we used to go and all our people used to go begging there.’
- (10) *ama hessaʃ wēsr-om-i* *hnēn, la*
 I now sit.PAST-1SG-PRG here NEG
kam-k-am-i *wala hayk-am-i*
 work-VTR-1SG-PRG nor PART-1SG-PRG
 ‘I am now sitting here, I don’t work or anything.’
- (11) *waqt-os* *lagiš-k-ad-e* *musilm-īn-e* *ū* *portkīl-e*
 time-3SG fight-VTR-PAST-3PL Muslims-PL and Jew-PL
maʃ baʃd
 together
 ‘At the time, the Muslims and the Jews were fighting with one another.’

Two deictic expressions of manner are found in adverbial use: inherited *ihni* and Arabic *hēk*, both ‘thus’:

- (12) *ihni kār-ū* *žli-k-ad-a* *n-h-eʻ* *wila*
 thus was-3PL wash-VTR-3PL-REM NEG-is-NEG neither
ḥanafiyye wala iši
 tap nor something
 ‘They used to do the washing up like this, there was no water tap or anything.’
- (13) *min-d-i* *siry-im* *ihni f-ēr-os-is*
 hold-PAST-F head-1SG.OBL thus hit-PAST-3SG-3SG.OBL
ḥēt-as-ma
 wall-OBL.M-LOC
 ‘She held my head like this, and she hit it against the wall.’

- (14) *da'imān hēk kar-ar-i mašākl-e*
 always thus do-3SG-PRG problems-PL
 'He is always causing problems like this.'
- (15) *li'ann-o aha dīb siry-os zayy hēt hēk-i*
 because-3SG.M this.M Dib head-3SG like wall thus-PRED.SG
 'Because this [fellow] Dib, his head is [thick] like a wall.'

Local and temporal adverbs have been discussed already in Chapter 8.3–8.4. They include a series of inherited spatial adverbs such as *atun* 'above', *axar* 'below', *bara* 'outside' and *mandža* 'inside', and the deictic-indexical temporal terms *xudžoti* 'yesterday', *adžoti* 'today', *urati* 'tomorrow'. Interestingly, times of the day are the only semantic domain that demonstrates any specific adverbial derivational morphology: *disan* 'during the day', from *dis* 'day'. The form is replicated in the expression *sabahtan* 'in the morning', from Turkish *sabah* (Arabic *ṣubḥ*), possibly by analogy to the Turkish inflected form *sabahta* 'in the morning', and in all likelihood also in *aratanki* 'at night', where the derivational segment *-an* is followed by an Ablative case marker. A further clue to an adverbial derivation marker *-a*, which might once have been productive in earlier stages of the language, is found in the hybrid construction *min dīra* 'from afar' (Arabic *min* 'from', local expression *dīr* 'far', possibly a Kurdish loan). In the temporal domain, too, there is some overlap between adverbs and indefinite expressions, mainly from Arabic, such as *da'imān* 'always', *minmarra* 'never'. Consider:

- (16) *na, bi-hayāt-i na nig-er-om yazz-ē*
 no in-life-1SG NEG enter-PAST-1SG Gaza-OBL.F
 'No, I have never visited Gaza.'

10.3. Phasal adverbs

The term 'phasal adverbs' is assigned in the context of European languages to word forms that process expectations about the duration, continuation and termination of events (see Van der Auwera 1998). In European languages, the class of phasal adverbs is a small closed set typically containing equivalents of the expressions 'still', 'already', 'no longer', 'not yet', 'anymore', and so on. In contact situations, phasal adverbs prove to be highly susceptible to borrowing especially into oral, minority languages (see Matras 1998a, 2009: 197ff). The fact that the set of phasal adverbs is under-represented in Arabic, with concepts such as 'already' missing altogether, results, unsurprisingly, in just a very shallow representation of phasal adverbs in Domari, which employs

Arabic *lissa* and *lēyzāl*, both ‘still’, to express unexpected continuity, or, in the negated form, discontinuity:

- (17) *'āyyām* *boy-oman-ki/* *lissa* *eme/* *kištūt-ahr-ēn-i*
 days father-1PL-ABL still we small-be-1PL-PRG
lissa eme...
 still we
 ‘In the days of our fathers/ we were still/ we were still small...’
- (18) *ama* *t-ird-om-ir* *xēr-as-ma* *ū*
 I put-PAST-1SG-2SG.OBL goodness-OBL.M-LOC and
atu *lēyzāl* *bidd-ek* *mangiš-k-a?*
 you.SG still want-2SG.F begging-VTR-2SG.SUBJ
 ‘I placed you in this richness and you still want to go begging?’
- (19) *yaʕni* *n-džan-ēn-e'* *lissa* *eme* *bi-žabt* *min*
 PART NEG-know-1PL-NEG still we exactly from
ayy/ min ayy qabil-ē-ki.
 which from which tribe-OBL.F-ABL
 ‘Well, we did not yet know exactly from which/ from which tribe.’

10.4. Focus particles

Closely related to phasal adverbs is the set of focus particles. Here too we are dealing with presupposition-based operators that process expectations in relation to key propositional content of the utterance. The Turkish-derived form *gēna* ‘too, also’ acts as a kind of generic focus particle. It appears both on its own and as a reinforcer in conjunction with other, Arabic focus particles. Its general meaning is one that indicates supplementation of content to a presupposition inventory:

- (20) *ašti* *gēna* *ama-ke* *dīr-ak-i*
 there.is also 1SG-BEN daughter-INDEF-PRED.SG
tʕallim-ho-r-i
 learn-VITR-3SG-PRG
 ‘And I also have a daughter who is studying.’

The Arabic focus particles *bardo* ‘also, too’ and *ḥatta* ‘even’ both express related meanings, as they too highlight the extension of the propositional content to include an element that is not part of the established presuppositional domain; both can be accompanied by *gēna*.

- (21) *džawiz-ahr-e* *ihi* *rāya* *ū* *ek-ak,* *ū*
 marry-VITR.PAST-3PL this.F Raya and one-INDEF and
bardo *gēna,* *pandži* *wēšt-ar-i* *kury-a-ma* *ū*
 too also 3SG sit-3SG-PRG house-OBL.F-LOC and
pandži *dža-r-i* *mangiš-k-ar-i*
 3SG go-3SG-PRG begging-VTR-3SG-PRG
šamman-a-ma
 Amman-OBL.F-LOC
 ‘This Raya married somebody, and once again, he sits at home and she goes begging in Amman.’
- (22) *ū* *bardo* *dīb* *gēna* *kān* *mišš* *ghāy,* *kān-at*
 and also Dib too was.3SG.M NEG good was-3SG.F
bay-os *da’iman* *yašni* *šamil-k-ar-m-i* *mišš*
 wife-3SG always PART treat-VTR-3SG-1SG-PRG NEG
ghāy *ū* *’iši*
 good and thing
 ‘And Dib was also mean, his wife would always treat me badly and stuff.’
- (23) *hatta* *min* *tēr-as-ki* *gēna/* *tiyor-an-ki*
 even from bird-OBL.M-ABL also birds-OBL.PL-ABL
mangiš-k-ēk?
 begging-VTR-2SG
 ‘Do you beg even from the bird/ from the birds?’

Negative focus seems to exclude *gēna*, which carries the reading of a positive supplement to expectations:

- (24) *na* *par-d-e* *wāšī-san* *fray-ē-san,* *hatta*
 NEG take-PAST-3PL with-3PL clothing-PL-3PL even
šmariy-ēni *nkī-san,* *man-d-ē-san* *ū*
 chicken-PRED.PL at-3PL leave-PAST-PL-3PL and
gar-e *waz-r-e*
 go.PAST-3PL flee-PAST-3PL
 ‘They didn’t take their clothes with them, [nor] even their chickens that they had, they left them and they fled.’

Exemption, also a negative focus, is expressed by the Arabic particle *bass* ‘only’, without further modification:

- (25) *bass* *dīb* *ū* *yāsir* *in-džawiz-k-ad-e’* *lāšy-an*
 only Dib and Yassir NEG-marry-VTR-3PL-NEG girl-OBL.PL
 ‘Only Dib and Yassir won’t let their daughters marry.’

10.5. Interjections

Not surprisingly, interjections are yet another functional domain that shows wholesale fusion with Arabic. We are dealing here with particles whose function is to mark out emotional attitudes and to solicit the listener's adoption of the speaker's emotional stand. With *yabayēy* we find an expression of concern:

- (26) *iza dʒan-ad-i ūlat-om inni atu dʒā-k*
 if know-3PL-PRG family-1SG COMP you.SG go-2SG
mangiš-k-ēk yabayēy fdaḥ-k-ad-m-i.
 begging-VTR-2SG PART frown-VTR-3PL-1SG-PRG
 'If my family knew that you are going out begging, oh my dear, they would disown me.'

The interjection *yallaḥ* expresses encouragement:

- (27) *ṭayyib qal yallaḥ, dow xast-ē-r ū*
 good PART PART wash.2SG.SUBJ hand-PL-2SG and
fray-ē-r ū aru kil-šī
 clothing-PL-2SG and come.2SG.SUBJ enter-2SG.SUBJ
 'All right, he said, come on, wash your hands and your clothes and come on in.'

The particle *xallaṣ* (derived in Arabic from the verb 'to complete') indicates the termination of a process of reflection that precedes an action, and thus the point of initiation or prompting of the intended action:

- (28) *dʒa nan-is ū*
 go.2SG.SUBJ bring.2SG.SUBJ-3SG.OBL and
par-is ū ama/ xallaṣ/ ū ama
 take.2SG.SUBJ-3SG.OBL and I PART and I
wāfaq-k-ad-om-i inni dʒawiz-k-am-is
 agree-VTR-PAST-1SG-PRG COMP marry-VTR-1SG-3SG.OBL
ab-ur-ke
 for-2SG-BEN
 'Go bring her and take her and I/ enough/ and I agree to let her marry you.'

Finally, Arabic *wallaḥ* (lit. 'by God') replicates the structure of an oath in announcing the speaker's commitment to a declaration of intent that is not easy for the listener to accept:

- (29) *ū waxt-is-ki aha yāsir š-ar-i*
 and time-3SG.OBL-ABL this.M Yassir say-3SG-PRG
ama-ke waḥḥah, nig-r-or ihi kury-a,
 I-BEN PART enter-PAST-SG this.F house-OBL.F
la t-am širy-a pēt-ir-ma
 COMP put-1SG.SUBJ knife-OBL.F belly-2SG.OBL-LOC
ū kar-am-ir dī šaqfa
 and make-1SG.SUBJ-2SG.OBL two piece
 ‘And at that moment Yassir says to me by God, if you enter this house I will stick the knife in your belly and cut you into two pieces.’

10.6. Quotation particle

Among the less obvious structures of Arabic origin in Domari is the use of a particle *qal* (also *gal*, *qaxal*) to indicate quoted speech. The particle goes back to the Arabic past-tense 3SG verb *qāl* ‘he said’ (in Bedouin and Gulf dialects *gāl*). Its grammaticalisation path to an uninflected, generalised particle appears, however, to have emerged as an innovation within Domari. Note that *qal* is placed at the beginning of the direct quote, and further that as a particle it does not show agreement with the subject as the original producer of the quoted utterance, whether named or not:

- (30) *ehe dōm-e qal lak, bidd-ak*
 these Dom-PL PART look.2SG.SUBJ want-2SG.M
šiš-hōš-ī wāšī-man?
 live-VITR.SUBJ-2SG with-1PL
 ‘These Dom said: Look, do you want to live with us?’
- (31) *dis-ak ihi ben-om ḥayāt gar-i*
 day-INDEF this.F sister-1SG Hayat go.PAST-F
š-ird-i day-is-ke qal putr-or
 say-PAST-F mother-3SG.OBL-BEN PART son-2SG
ḍall-o fūmn-ar-i ben-im ū
 continue-3SG.M hit-3SG-PRG sister-1SG.OBL and
kull yōm kull yōm, kiyy-ik aha?
 every day every day what-PRED.SG this
 ‘One day my sister Hayat went and spoke to his mother, she said: Your son keeps hitting my sister every day every day, what is this?’

- (32) *ehr-i* *sēša* *šašara* *ħdašš*, *qal* *xallaš*
 become.PAST-F clock ten eleven PART PART
dža *šliħ-k-a* *frāy-ē-r*
 go.2SG.SUBJ take.off-VTR-2SG.SUBJ clothing-PL-2SG
 ‘It had become ten or eleven o’clock, he said: Enough, go and take
 off your clothes.’

10.7. Modal particles

Modal particles modify the speaker’s mode of presenting states of affairs. They convey cues in relation to the relevance of the presentation and play a role in structuring the conversational turn and in positioning the utterance or segment in a chain or sequence of segments. Once again we are dealing with a functional domain for which Domari shows wholesale fusion with the corresponding category set in Arabic. That is to say that the entire system or apparatus of modal particle marking is identical in the two languages, or, from a speaker’s perspective, that identical procedures for modal particles are applied regardless of whether the interaction setting is defined as Arabic or Domari.

The Arabic particle *atāri* indicates the opening of a new segment within a complex chain of events. Its original lexical meaning is one of approximation – ‘just like’ – and it is this residual meaning that is attributed to the following propositional content, qualifying it as a true and accurate depiction of real-world events:

- (33) *atāri* *ama* *par-d-om* *kitāb-ak* *min*
 PART I take-PAST-1SG letter-INDEF from
l-muddaši *l-šām*, *inni* *wēn* *ma*
 DEF-prosecutor DEF-general COMP where COMP
lak-am-san *ehe* *dōm-an*, *sallim-k-am-san*
 see-1SG.SUBJ-3PL these Dom-OBL.PL render-VTR-1SG.3PL
tmaliy-an-ke
 soldier-OBL.PL-BEN
 ‘Well/In fact, I received a letter from the prosecutor general saying
 that if I should encounter these Dom anywhere, I should surrender
 them to the police.’

- (34) *rawwaħ-hr-ēn* *kury-a-ka*. *wa* *atāri*
 travel-VTR.PAST-1PL house-OBL.F-DAT and PART
šār-ū *š-ad-i* *emin-ke:* *kind-ahr-ēs*
 began-3PL say-3PL-PRG we-BEN look-VTR.PAST-2PL

ū krēn gar-ēs ū krēn šar-ī-r-ēs?
 and where go.PAST-2PL and where hide-ITR-PAST-2PL
 ‘We went home. And so they began to say to us: Look here, where did you go, and where have you been hiding?’

A more explicit explanatory-descriptive function is carried by *masalan* ‘for example’, which makes a very specific contribution to structuring an argument by introducing a specific case in support of a general statement:

(35) *nkī-man eme hada/ yaʕni masalan dow-an-i*
 at-1PL we this PART for.example wash-1PL-PRG
māsy-a min ḥālī-s
 meat-OBL.F from self-3SG
 ‘It is our custom that/ like for example we rinse the meat on its own (separately).’

(36) *ḥafiz-k-ad-ide dēf-as-ka, masalan*
 guard-VTR-PAST-3PL hospitality-OBL.M-DAT for.example
aw-ar-i nkī-san masīḥ-ik, aw-ar-i
 come-3SG-PRG at-3PL Christian-PRED.SG come-3SG-PRG
nkī-san yāhūd-ik, awari nkī-san ’išī,
 at-3PL Jew-PRED.SG come-3SG-PRG at-3PL something
iḥtiram-o-s-s-i ḍayyif-k-as-s-i
 respect-VITR-3PL-3OBL-PRG host-VTR-3PL-3OBL-PR
 ‘They maintain hospitality, for example if a Christian comes to them, if a Jew comes to them, if anybody comes, they respect him and they offer him hospitality.’

Particles such as *l-muhimm* ‘the important [thing is]’ = ‘anyway’ can be used to indicate the transition between speech events within the narration itself, signalling the upgrading of the speech action from a description of background to foregrounding content:

(37) *min waqt-is-ki in-f-ar-m-e’,*
 from time-3SG.OBL-ABL NEG-hit-3SG-1SG-NEG
by-ar-i ū/ l-muhimm tilla-hr-om-i yaʕni
 fear-3SG-PRG and DEF-important big-VITR.PAST-1SG PART
lamma ehr-a ṣumr-om tnaʕšr sane talataʕšr
 when become.PAST-M age-1SG twelve year thirteen
sane, kam-k-ed-om šind hay-ki ihi
 year work-VTR-PAST-1SG at PART-ABL this.F

ester-ē-ki

Esther-OBL.F-ABL

‘Since then, he no longer beats me, he is afraid. And/ anyway, I grew up and when I was twelve or thirteen years old, I worked at what’s her name’s, Esther’s.’

The particle *l-ḥāšil* ‘at the end, finally’ highlights the key outcome of a chain of events, a piece of information that deserves special attention as a climax or turning point in the narration:

- (38) *l-ḥāšil, dżawiz-r-om-is bi-šahr šašara*
 DEF-end marry-PAST-1SG-3SG.OBL in-month ten
sinet l-’arbaš ū xamsīn, dżawiz-r-om-is
 year DEF-four and fifty, marry-PAST-1SG-3SG.OBL
 ‘Finally, I married her in October in the year fifty four, I married her.’

- (39) *l-ḥāšil, er-os-im xabar inni xal*
 DEF-end come.PAST-3SG-1SG.OBL news COMP PART
hatta mawdżud-ni fi dżabal n-nađif
 PART found-PRED.PL in mount DEF-Nadif
šamman-a-ma
 Amman-OBL.F-LOC
 ‘Finally, I received information that they are located in Mount Nadif in Amman.’

The particle *bašdēn* ‘then, afterwards’ is used to organise events in temporal sequence:

- (40) *bašdēn yašni bašd sitt iyyām ašti marn-ēni*
 then PART after six days there.is dead-PRED.PL
bol panda-m-ma yašni gān-osan kil-d-i
 much road-OBL.PL-LOC PART smell-3PL exit-PAST-F
 ‘And then, after six days there were many dead bodies in the streets, you could smell them.’

The same particle can also operate at the interactional level: rather than adjoining events in temporal succession within the story, it signals an addition to what the speaker wishes to convey and so a continuation of the sequence of speech actions:

- (41) *ū baʕdēn wēn ma žā-k, yaʕni zā-k*
 and then where COMP go-2SG PART go-2SG
šām-a-ka, sūrīy-a-ka, žā-k
 Syria-OBL.F-DAT Syria-OBL.F-DAT go-2SG
libnān-a-ka, lak-ēk dōm-ēni bol
 Lebanon-OBL.F-DAT see-2SG Dom-PRED.PL much
 ‘And then, wherever you go, whether you go to Syria, go to Lebanon, you will find many Dom.’

Somewhat of a functional hybrid is the Arabic particle *yimkin* ‘perhaps’. On the one hand, it acts like a lexical adverb in qualifying the state of affairs depicted by the predication. On the other hand, it conveys the speaker’s attitude to the proposition as an attempt to deliver reliable information, which, however, requires a degree of hedging:

- (42) *hāda kān šumr-om yimkin sitte snīn sabʕa snīn*
 that was.3SG age-1SM maybe six years seven years
 ‘I was then maybe six or seven years old.’
- (43) *nig-r-a awwal dis ū tāni dis, yaʕni*
 pass-PAST-M first day and second day PART
yimkin man-ī-r-ēn nkī-san xamast iyyām sitt
 maybe stay-ITR-PAST-1PL at-3PL five days six
iyyām, lamma rawwiḥ-r-ēn
 days when leave-PAST-1PL
 ‘The first day went by and the second day, and so we stayed with them maybe five or six days by the time we left.’

10.8. Fillers and tags

The set of fillers and tags, often neglected in dictionaries and other forms of language documentation, constitutes an integral component of the inventory of communicative structures. Once again, as a class of expressions that specialise in regulating and organising interaction at the discourse level, it is not surprising to find the wholesale adoption of the set of Arabic operators in Domari. It is yet a further indication of the fusion of the so-called monitoring-and-directing apparatus of the two languages and the generalisation of the Arabic set across the entire linguistic repertoire of Domari-Arabic bilinguals. Fillers and tags serve primarily as tokens of the speaker’s control over the turn and monitoring of the hearer’s processing of the turn. The most common fillers/tags in the Domari corpus are adopted from Arabic and used exactly in the same fashion in which they are used in Arabic. We find *ū* *ʕšī* lit. ‘and

something' (freely translatable as 'and stuff' or 'and the like'), *yaʕni* 'that is' (which has also been borrowed into numerous other contact languages of Arabic, including Turkish, Kurdish, Hebrew, and Neo-Aramaic), *ū hāda* 'and that' ('and so on'), *abʕar* 'what do I know' (also 'like', 'just like'), and *hay* 'that'.

The filler *ū 'iši*, literally 'and something', serves as a placeholder for a non-verbalised information unit in a chain of similar information units. Like fillers in general, its principal function is to protect the speaker's turn in view of the speaker's inability or apparent inability to complete the verbalisation of a full chain or set of information units:

- (44) *ū ɕabbir-k-ad-i ɕalī-san minēn ū*
and sort.out-VTR-3PL-PRG self-3PL here and
kam-k-ad-i ū 'iši yaʕni
work-VTR-3PL-PRG and thing PART
'And they sort themselves out here and they work and so on.'
- (45) *wardži-k-ed-os-man dahab-i illi*
show-VTR-PAST-3SG-1PL gold-PRED.SG REL
qaft-id-os-i w-'iši
steal-PAST-3SG-PRG and-thing
'She showed us the gold that she had stolen and all that.'
- (46) *šār xarrif-ho-r-i wāšī-m: krēn*
began.3SG.M speak-VTR-3SG-PRG with-1SG where
skun-ahr-or-i ū qadēš ūm-r-or ū 'iši
live-VTR-2SG-PRG and how.much age-2SG and thing
'He started to talk to me: where do you live and how old are you and so on.'

A very similar function is filled by *ū hāda*, literally 'and that', the main difference being the higher degree of specificity that this filler implies in respect of the missing or non-verbalised entity. Note that while the set of potential information units covered by *ū 'iši* is extremely broad and unlimited, that covered by *ū hāda* is expected to fit into a more restricted, more strictly defined set of country names, person names, or other contained and well-established paradigm:

- (47) *išī skun-ahr-e hay-ma fī ū sammān ū*
some live-VTR.PAST-3PL PART-LOC in Amman and
fī sūriyya ū fī lubnān ū hāda ū išī bi
in Syria and in Lebanon and that and some in

yazze ū hāda twaṭṭan-ahr-e hindar
 Gaza and that settle-VITR.PAST-3PL here
 ‘Some live in this, in Amman and in Syria and in Lebanon and so on,
 and some in Gaza and so on, they settled there.’

- (48) *nig-aw-id-ē-san ehe yurf-ē-ma*
 enter-CAUS-PAST-PL-3PL these room-OBL.F-LOC
šōn-an ū yāsr-as ū hāda ū ama
 boy-OBL.PL and Yassir-OBL.M and that and I
gēna min ḍamrī-san
 also from among-3SG
 ‘They brought them into the room, the boys and Yassir and so on and
 I was also among them.’

The particle *abšar* derives from an Arabic present-tense verb ‘I regard, I contemplate’. It is used as a particle as an indication of the speaker’s hesitation to provide accurate relevant information and the speaker’s choice instead to leave an information gap. In this way the particle indicates that there is still additional, non-verbalised relevant content that should be supplemented in the listener’s imagination. The particle is usually accompanied by an indefinite or interrogative expression, which delimits the semantic domain to which this supplementary information belongs:

- (49) *dis-ak er-a nkī-man qaft-id-ik*
 day-INDEF come.PAST-M at-1PL steal-PAST-PRED.SG
bol zard-e abšar min krēn
 much gold-PL PART from where
 ‘One day, a lot of stolen gold arrived at our place, who knows from
 where.’
- (50) *par-ar-i ḥašīš-a py-ar-i ū abšar*
 take-3SG-PRG hashish-OBL.F drink-3SG-PRG and PART
’iši
 thing
 ‘He takes drugs, he smokes and what do I know.’
- (51) *qāl-at lawlāt-o putr-or abšar ki kar-d-a*
 said-3SG.F if-3SG.M son-2SG PART what do-PAST-M
ab-us-ke?
 for-3SG-BEN
 ‘She said: what if your son has done who knows what to her?’

In all likelihood the most frequent filler/tag in the corpus is *yašni*, a placeholder and tag which signals the speaker’s commitment to clarification

and thus reassures the listener of the speaker's authority, competence, and credibility as narrator. In this respect, *yaʕni*, like other particles, especially other fillers/tags, serves to maintain harmony and a sense of cooperation in discourse interaction:

- (52) *baʕdēn giš dōm-ē-man illi mn-ēni ašraf*
 then all Dom-PL-1PL REL here-PRED.PL respectable
dōm-ēni. yaʕni ašraf dōm-ēni,
 Dom-PRED.PL PART respectable Dom-PRED.PL
yaʕni ḥafiz-k-ad-i šaraf-ka ū
 PART guard-VTR-3PL-PRG honour-DAT and
karam-is-ka, ḥafiz-k-ad-i
 respect-3SG.OBL-DAT guard-VTR-3PL-PRG
dēf-as-ka
 hospitality-OBL.M-DAT
 'And then, all our Dom who are based here are the most respectable
 Dom, I mean the most respectable Dom, I mean they maintain their
 honour and respect, they maintain their hospitality.'
- (53) *yaʕni n-kar-ad-e' mašākl-ē-ma la maf*
 PART NEG-do-3PL-NEG problem-OBL.F-LOC NEG with
ḥukum-ē-ki wala diḍ
 government-OBL.F-ABL nor against
ḥukum-ē-ki
 government-OBL.F-ABL
 'Like, they don't engage in any problems either with the government
 or against the government.'
- (54) *boy-os ma rd-ahr-a*
 father-3SG NEG agree-VITR.PAST-M
de-r-is yaʕni atu boy-or
 give-3SG.SUBJ-3SG.OBL PART you.SG father-2SG
šēx-i till-ēk ū par
 Sheikh-PRED.SG big-PRED.SG and take.2SG.SUBJ
ik-ak dōmiya yaʕni aha yaʕni
 one-INDEF Dom.woman PART this.M PART
na-qbul-o-nd-é' yaʕni ahl-or
 NEG-accept-VITR-3PL-NEG PART family-2SG
 'Her father did not agree to give her away. I mean, your father is an
 important Sheikh, and you [want to] take a Dom girl, I mean, this,
 like, your family will not, like, accept.'

Finally, the Arabic particle of deictic origin *hay* ‘this, that’ (‘thingy’) serves either as a substitute for a very specific word, delaying the articulation of that word as though verbalising the search procedure through which the word is retrieved, or else reduplicating an articulated expression and thus amplifying its meaning by allowing the listener to supplement an imaginary content into the same constituent slot. Note that unlike all other particles, *hay* carries inflection, though it would be more accurate to describe its inflection as a mere replication of the inflection of the lexical target expression that it replaces or augments, and so as belonging to the semantic-syntactic slot that is being occupied by the placeholder *hay*, rather than a genuine accommodation of any content expression *hay* to the argument structure of the predication of the clause:

- (55) *lamma min-d-e yāsr-as*
 when hold-PAST-3PL Yassir-OBL.M
kšal-d-ed-is hay-ta qašl-ē-ta
 pull-PAST-3PL-3SG.OBL PART-DAT Qishle-OBL.F-DAT
 ‘When they arrested Yassir, they took him to this, to the Qishle.’
- (56) *ū kān-ū skun-o-nd-a kury-ē-s-ma*
 and was-3PL live-VITR-3PL-REM house-PL-3SG-LOC
hay-ki/ fall-as-ki
 PART-ABL sack-OBL.M-ABL
 ‘And they used to live in tents made of this/ of sacks.’
- (57) *ū gar-a maktab-is hay-ki till-as-ki*
 and go.PAST-M office-3SG.OBL PART-ABL big-OBL.M-ABL
 ‘And he went to the office of this one, of the boss.’
- (58) *ū šār-ū farrudž-ho-nd-i ehe*
 and began-3PL look-VITR-3PL-PRG these
raqqāšīn-an-ta ū našy-and-i ū
 dancers-OBL.PL-DAT and dance-3PL-PRG and
hay-ond-i
 this-3PL-PRG
 ‘And they are watching the dancers dance and that.’
- (59) *ama hessaʔ wēsr-om-i hnēn, la*
 I now sit.PAST-1SG-PRG here NEG
kam-k-am-i wala hayk-am-i
 work-VTR-1SG-PRG nor PART-1SG-PRG
 ‘I am now sitting here, I don’t work or anything.’

Chapter 11

The Arabic component

11.1. The relevance of contact phenomena

All speakers of Domari in Jerusalem (and probably in most other communities too) are bilingual. For the Jerusalem community of speakers, Domari has retreated to become merely the language of intimate conversation among elderly family members of the household, and on rare occasions with other elderly neighbours or with visiting relations from Jordan. Even such conversations in Domari are often interrupted by exchanges in Arabic with other, younger members of the extended household. Domari talk itself is of course chequered not only with Arabic expressions, but also with switches into Arabic for stylistic and discourse-strategic purposes such as emphasis, direct quotes, side remarks, and so on. The structural intertwining of Domari and Arabic and the degree to which active bilingual speakers maintain a license to integrate Arabic in Domari conversation pose a potential problem to the descriptive agenda when the need arises to distinguish which structures are, and which are not, part of the stable structural inventory of Domari.

The following remarks are devoted to a brief survey of those structures, primarily grammatical, that derive from Arabic and are shared with Arabic in the sense that they are employed by speakers both in the context of Domari conversation and in interactions in Arabic. Nonetheless, they constitute a stable and integral part of the structural inventory of Domari without which Domari talk cannot be formed, and so without which the structures of Domari cannot be exhaustively described. With reference to the individual chapters in which the respective structures are described in more detail, I approach the adoption of Arabic features in this chapter from a contact-typological perspective, following the cline of borrowing that has by now been described for a number of different cross-linguistic samples (see discussion in Matras 2007b and 2009). I examine first those parts of the structural inventory that are generally more susceptible to borrowing and show more frequent borrowing in contact situations, and then proceed to those that are more rarely affected by contact-induced change. Finally, I examine the borderline between structural borrowing from Arabic into Domari and speakers' ad hoc, situational and conversational motivation to choose Arabic structures in an interaction context that is defined as 'Domari', even when non-Arabic alternatives and equivalents are available.

11.2. Common borrowings: Lexicon, phonology and discourse markers

It is well accepted that, save in exceptional cases where the replication of word forms from a neighbouring language may be considered taboo, lexical vocabulary is the most likely category to be affected by contact. This is a product of both the frequency and extreme differentiation of lexical vocabulary compared to function words or grammatical paradigms, and a reflection of the role of the lexicon in representing new concepts, objects, products, and routines. This holds true especially for nouns, which are usually the most borrowable word class. As outlined in Chapter 13, around two thirds of the vocabulary items attested in the corpus of connected speech in Domari derive from Arabic. There are twice as many Arabic nouns in the corpus as non-Arabic nouns, and as many Arabic verbs as non-Arabic verbs. Even basic vocabulary is affected by borrowing, Arabic words appearing in semantic domains such as body-parts, animals, daily routines and elements of nature. As discussed in Chapter 5.4, the use of Arabic numerals as modifiers tends to trigger the selection of an Arabic noun even if for the relevant concept an inherited Domari word is available and in common use. Thus speakers will opt for

- (1) *taran zara*
 three child
 ‘three children’

but for

- (2) *'arbaʕ wlād*
 four children
 ‘four children’

Similarly, comparative forms of adjectives are inherently Arabic, even if a corresponding positive form exists in Domari. Thus we find

- (3) *atu qaštōt-ik*
 you.SG small-PRED.SG
 ‘You are small.’

but

- (4) *atu azyar mēšī-m-i*
 you.SG smaller from-1SG-PRED.SG
 ‘You are smaller than I.’

This means that Domari speakers do not only rely heavily on Arabic vocabulary to express particular concepts, but they also avail themselves, in certain morphosyntactic and lexical environments, of Arabic vocabulary as an option even for concepts that are covered by the inherited lexicon. Large parts of the Arabic lexicon are thus directly integrated as optional forms in Domari, doubling inherited lexemes.

Along with borrowed vocabulary, Domari imports the original phonological forms from Arabic. Being a community that is fluently bilingual and has presumably been so for many generations, Domari speakers do not integrate Arabic loans phonologically but maintain all original phonological features of Arabic vocabulary when it is used in Domari conversations. With two-thirds of the lexicon deriving from Arabic, this means that the entire inventory of Arabic phonemes is also available in Domari without any constraints. Phonemes that are limited by and large to Arabic vocabulary and can be assumed to have entered the language from Arabic are the pharyngeals [ħ] and [ʕ]. The sounds [q], [ɣ] and [l] as well as [z] and [f] appear mostly in Arabic loans, but there is evidence that they entered the language already through contact with Iranian languages (see Chapters 1 and 2). Not entirely clear is the status of the pharyngealised dental consonants [d^ɣ, t^ɣ, s^ɣ]. They too are largely confined to Arabic-derived vocabulary, but they can also be found in inherited words of Indo-Aryan stock, where they even tend to represent original retroflex sounds rather consistently (cf. *ḍōm* ‘Dom’, *pēṭ* ‘belly’). It is somewhat hard to imagine that retroflex sounds were preserved outside of India until contact with Arabic occurred, and were only then replaced directly by corresponding pharyngealised dentals, but in the absence of an alternative explanation this scenario cannot be ruled out (note that some Romani dialects of the Balkans continue to preserve etymological retroflex sounds in the same environments and in cognate word forms). An ongoing phonological innovation that is shared with Arabic is the simplification of the affricate [dʒ] to the fricative [ʒ] in inherited lexemes, inspired by a matching development in colloquial Arabic and triggering in turn a corresponding simplification of [tʃ] to [ʃ] in the inherited lexicon (for details see Chapter 2).

We now move on to grammatical function words. It is safe to say that the once commonplace assumption that grammatical function words, and connectors in particular, are somehow protected from contact-induced change (borrowing) has not only been proven wrong, but that we now have cross-linguistic evidence that connectors belong to the most contact-susceptible categories, especially in constellations where the oral language of a bilingual minority, used primarily in the domestic domain, is in contact with the language of a monolingual majority that dominates interaction in the public domain. In Matras (1998a) I explained the frequently encountered wholesale replacement – or ‘fusion’ – of the class of ‘utterance modifiers’ (connectors,

discourse particles, interjections, fillers and tags) as motivated by the communicative need to reduce the burden of appropriate selection within the bilingual repertoire especially around routine verbal gestures that reach out to monitor and direct the listener's processing of discourse content and participation in the interaction. Regulating interaction is a burden, and the need to choose among distinct sets of forms from a bilingual repertoire in order to do so adds to the burden. As long as bilingualism is widespread and accepted, the minority community will often compromise the need to continuously control the selection of language-specific forms in favour of a generalisation of just one set of interaction-regulating structures across the repertoire, regardless of the language of interaction.

This approach to grammatical borrowing puts the bilingual speaker, rather than the structures and categories as language system components, in the middle of the process (see Matras 2009). The generalisation of just one set of interaction-regulating elements has communicative advantages for the bilingual speaker, as long as the community of speakers applies a lax attitude toward innovative change that does not penalise speakers for allowing parallel components of their bilingual repertoire to undergo such fusion. The outcome of the process in Domari is, from the speakers' viewpoint, the absence of any major distinction, apart from few minor differences, between Domari and Arabic when it comes to regulating interaction, combining utterances and clauses, and processing presuppositions through uninflected operators or via the juxtaposition of information units in discourse and at the utterance level. What this means is that Domari shares with Arabic its entire inventory of connectors and conjunctions (both coordinating and subordinating), discourse markers, fillers, tags, interjections, and most focus particles, as well as the use of word order variants to convey information structuring (for examples see Chapters 9 and 10). From a diachronic perspective, Domari has adopted Arabic structures in this domain on a wholesale or near wholesale basis. Synchronically, this means that speakers' distinction between interacting in Arabic and interacting in Domari does not extend to such discourse-regulating procedures, which rely on the same structures regardless of the chosen language of conversation.

11.3. Morphological and syntactic borrowing

A frequently observed tendency is for derivational morphology to be more easily borrowed than inflectional morphology. This leads in many cases to an implicational hierarchy, which foresees that if inflectional morphology has been borrowed, then derivational morphology will also have been borrowed from the same source (see already Moravcsik 1975, Field 2002, Matras 2009).

Domari, however, does not appear to show any borrowing of derivational morphology from Arabic. It might be hypothesised that one reason for this is the free license that Domari speakers assume to incorporate any Arabic nominal and verbal stem into the language. From a functional viewpoint, this makes the adoption of productive derivational morphology from Arabic redundant. Rather than creating new lexemes based on inherited lexical roots and Arabic derivational procedures, Domari simply resorts to ready-made Arabic lexemes. A further factor may be structural-typological. Most Arabic derivational procedures do not involve separate, transparent affixes, but changes in a complex template of function-carrying consonants and vowels, into which an abstract, usually tri-consonantal semantic-lexical root is inserted. Since the mere concept of abstract consonantal roots is absent from Domari, each Domari lexical root would have to be potentially reanalysed in order to break it down into consonantal components that could then be inserted into an Arabic-Semitic derivational template. Such a procedure is not theoretically impossible; in fact it is found in the integration of European lexemes into Modern Hebrew (e.g. *simsim* ‘the sending of SMS text messages’, *lefaksēs* ‘to send a fax’, and so on). However, here we find the reverse direction of borrowing, as it is not the derivation template that is being isolated and replicated in another language, but the lexical root that is being incorporated into a productive system of template-based derivation. The example of comparative forms of adjectives in Domari shows us that there is a preference against the import of Semitic derivational and inflectional templates from Arabic even in tightly defined paradigms, and that speakers opt instead for a kind of bilingual suppletion, where different members of the same paradigm are expressed by different lexemes, some inherited and some borrowed (thus *tilla* ‘big’, Arabic *akbar* ‘bigger’; see Chapter 5.5).

The marking of plurality on nouns is often considered a borderline case between derivational and inflectional morphology. It is encountered frequently in situations of historical language contact accompanying borrowed nouns (cf. English *phenomenon* – *phenomena*, *fungus* – *fungi*), and sometimes diffusing into the inherited vocabulary as well (cf. the Romanian plural ending on a Greek loanword in Vlax Romani *for-uri* ‘towns’). In Domari we find three distinct strategies that are often applied side by side, that is, by the same speakers and to the same lexemes. Frequently encountered, especially with Arabic sound plurals, and in particular with reference to human beings, is the retention of the Arabic plural form, to which the Domari plural ending *-e* is then added: *muslim* ‘Muslim’, plural *musilm-īn-e* (see Chapter 4.3.2). The Domari plural ending sometimes acts alone, however, especially when it is followed by a further suffix: *ṣāḥbe* ‘girlfriend’, *ṣāḥb-ē-m* ‘my girlfriends’ (rather than **ṣāḥb-āt-om* or **ṣāḥb-āt-ē-m*). A common occurrence is the use of Arabic plural nouns, especially but not exclusively in ‘broken’ inflections:

'iyyām 'days', from Arabic *yōm* 'day', *kyās-is gēsu* 'sacks of wheat'; Arabic *kīs* 'sack', plural *kyās*). Nonetheless, we do not encounter any instances of the use of Arabic plural inflection with inherited (pre-Arabic) Domari nouns. The borrowing of Arabic plural markers can thus be interpreted as a by-product of the borrowing of Arabic lexemes, not as the borrowing of an independent, productive derivational-inflectional procedure. Indeed, in some cases, speakers show a consistent preference for the use of Arabic plural forms in singular meaning: *gara madāris-an-ka* 'he went to school' (Arabic *madrāse* 'school', plural *madāris*, note that Layer I inflection also shows the Domari oblique plural affix *-an-*).

Arguably, then, because of the template-based system of derivational and much of the inflectional system of Arabic morphology, it is impossible to identify discrete grammatical morphemes in Arabic and so futile to search for the borrowing of such morphemes into Domari. We do, however, find extensive borrowing of free standing Arabic grammatical morphemes. In addition to connectors, subordinators, particles, and interjections, mentioned above, Domari employs the Arabic impersonal modality marker *lāzim* 'must', the impersonal and uninflected conditional particle *kān* (derived from the Arabic past-tense auxiliary), the relativiser *illi* and the complementiser *inni*. Connectivity devices replicate the structure of Arabic not just in the form of connectors but also in the overall configuration of clauses. Word order in complex and simple clauses is largely compatible in the two languages, and we find similar use of pre- and post-verbal fields for information structuring (see Chapter 9.2).

In nominal clauses, the two languages agree in the position of numeral and demonstrative modifiers. Historically, they differ in the configuration of the genitive-possession construction and in the position of adjectives. Here we find ongoing adjustments in Domari that show a tendency toward convergence with Arabic. Canonical Domari has two formats for the possessive construction:

- (5) *boy-im kuri*
 father-1SG house
 'My father's house'
- (6) *kury-os boy-im-ki*
 house-3SG father-1SG.OBL-ABL
 'My father's house'

The second, in the order head-determiner, is by far the more widespread, and contrasts with the normal Indo-Aryan determiner-head construction. It matches however the Iranian type, as well as the Arabic type (example (7)) and a construction that is frequently found in colloquial Arabic (example (8)):

- (7) *bēt abū-y*
house father-1SG
'My father's house'
- (8) *bēt-ō la-'abū-y*
house-3SG to-father-1SG
'My father's house'

The canonical position of adjectives in Domari is, as in other Indo-Aryan languages, in front of the noun, while in Arabic, adjectives follow the noun. However, as discussed in Chapter 5.4, speakers show an overwhelming preference to avoid pre-posed adjectives (as in example (9)) and instead make use of the non-verbal predication marker in order to allow the adjective to follow the noun (example (10)):

- (9) *er-i qištōt-i šōni*
come.PAST-F little-F girl
'A little girl arrived.'
- (10) *er-i šōni qištōt-ik*
come.PAST-F girl little-PRED.SG
'A little girl arrived.' [= 'A girl arrived, being little.']

Compare the latter construction with Arabic:

- (11) *adža-t bint zyīr-e*
come.PAST-F.SG girl little-F
'A little girl arrived.'

Convergence in form-function mapping or 'pattern replication' (see Matras 2009) is common in many other aspects of the nominal clause, too. As in Arabic, citation forms of many inalienable nouns must include possessive marking: thus *boy-om* 'my father' for 'father', *siry-om* 'my head' for 'head', cf. Arabic *abū-y* 'my father', *rās-ī* 'my head'. The erosion of the deictic focusing quality of the attributive demonstratives *aha/ihi/ehe* and their very frequent occurrence even with well identifiable and continuous nouns (see Chapter 5.3) resembles the tendency in Arabic discourse toward generalisation of the reduced demonstrative *hā-* (< *hāda/hādi/hadōl*), which tends to accompany the Arabic definite article in similar contexts. Domari copies Arabic also in the configuration of the representation of thematic roles. The possessive, for example, is expressed in both languages by an impersonal existential marker accompanied by a person-inflected preposition meaning 'at' or 'with' (see Chapter 8.2):

(15) Domari: *ama* *mišta-hr-om-i*
 I ill-be-1SG-PRG

Arabic: '*ana* *šayyān*
 I ill.M

‘I am ill.’

In the past tense, however, where Arabic does use a copula auxiliary, Domari aligns itself with Arabic by replicating the Arabic auxiliary:

(16) Domari: *ama* *kun-t* *mišta-hr-om-a*
 I was-1SG ill-be-1SG-REM

Arabic: '*ana* *kun-t* *šayyān*
 I was-1SG ill.M

‘I was ill.’

The Domari tense system continues the Indo-Iranian system, showing a split in present and past (perfective) stems accompanied by external markers of present-progressive vs. past-remote tense. However, we find considerable overlap with Arabic in the configuration of aspectual and mood distinctions as well as in the structuring of co-temporal constructions. Domari replicates the Arabic proximate future auxiliary *rāḥ*, which derives from the past-tense form of the verb ‘to go’, through its own past-tense form of the verb ‘to go’, *gara* (see Chapter 7.6.3). Like Palestinian Arabic, Domari distinguishes between a present-indicative and a present-subjunctive mood, the latter appearing in dependent modality clauses as well as in imperative and optative constructions.

Like Arabic, Domari shows three distinct co-temporal adverbial constructions (see Chapter 9.5.7). In the first, the subordinate clause is introduced by the conjunction ‘and’ and the verb is finite and indicative:

(17) Domari: *kahind-ad-i* *ū* *pandži* *našy-ar-i*
 look-3PL-PRG and 3SG dance-3SG-PRG

Arabic: *b-yi-tfarradž-ū* *ū* *hiyye* *b-t-ur'uš*
 PRG-3.M-look-PL and she PRG-3.SG.F-dance

‘They watch while she dances.’

In the second, the subordinated predicate appears in the present participle:

- (18) Domari: *lah-erd-om-is* *mindir-d-ēk*
 see-PAST-1SG-3SG.OBL stand-PAST-PRED.SG
- Arabic: *šuf-t-o* *wā’ef*
 see.PAST-1SG-3SG standing
- ‘I saw him standing.’

The final option shows a nominalised verb, whose possessive inflection indicates the subject/agent, introduced by the preposition ‘with’ in the subordinate position alongside a finite main clause:

- (19) Domari: *maʕ šuš-im-ki* *tiknaw-ar-m-i*
 with sleep.SUBJ-1SG.OBL-ABL hurt-3SG-1SG-PRG
gurg-om
 neck-1SG
- Arabic: *maʕ nōmt-ī* *b-t-uwǧǧīʕ-nī* *raqbat-ī*
 with sleep-1SG PRG-3SG.F-hurt-1SG neck-1SG
- ‘As I sleep, my neck hurts.’

11.4. ‘Heavy’ grammatical borrowing

The term ‘heavy’ borrowing is seemingly a quantitative expression, suggesting a certain mass of either forms or categories that are carried over from one language into another. Effectively, though, the notion of ‘heavy’ borrowing implies a qualitative state that sees the infiltration of contact influences not just into a broader set of categories and functions, but into particular functions that are not usually susceptible to contact influences in other settings. This suggests that there is a proven, universal hierarchy of contact-susceptibility, one that allows us to make tentative predictions about the likelihood of individual functions to be affected by contact developments, relative to others (on borrowing hierarchies see Matras 1998a, Field 2002, Matras 2007b, 2009, and see already Thomason and Kaufman 1988).

In the domain of grammatical lexicon or function words, Domari stands out in particular in its nearly wholesale adoption of Arabic local and temporal expressions. While the system of Layer II inflectional case marking is still largely intact and productive, we see considerable reliance on Arabic prepositions for both spatial and temporal as well as for more abstract relations (see details in Chapter 8). Arabic prepositions such as *maʕ* ‘with’ and *min*

‘from’ appear to be much more productive than the synthetic comitative and ablative case markers, respectively. With other relations, there is often an asymmetrical configuration: On the one hand, in the absence of an Arabic benefactive preposition, the benefactive case remains productive. On the other, complex and highly specialised spatial relations such as ‘between’ and ‘toward’ rely completely on Arabic expressions. Two further classes of function words are carried over on an almost wholesale basis. These are indefinite expressions (see Chapter 6.6), which typically combine Arabic ontological markers with a generic Domari marker of indefiniteness *-ak*, and attributive numerals above ‘three’ (cardinals above ‘six’, excluding ‘one hundred’) (see Chapter 5.4). Negation markers for past-tense verbs and nominal clauses are also replicated from Arabic (see Chapter 9.6).

From this it is obvious that the great majority of stand-alone, uninflected function words or grammatical vocabulary items derive from, or rather are shared with Arabic. Domari thus meets the vague criteria for ‘heavy borrowing’ in both quantity and quality, relying both frequently and for key functions on structures replicated from Arabic. A further functional category in which we find wholesale paradigm replication from Arabic is the group of aspectual and modal auxiliaries. Domari utilises two distinct groups of Arabic auxiliary verbs, each with its complete Arabic person inflection paradigm. The first are verbs that take Arabic subject agreement: *kān* ‘was’, *ṣār* ‘began’, *baqa* ‘went on’. The second are nominal or verbal forms that take Arabic possessor agreement: *bidd-* ‘want’, *ḍall-* ‘continue’, *xalli-* ‘allow’ (see Chapter 7.6.3 for paradigms and usage examples). The adoption of Arabic person inflection along with these auxiliaries means that bound, morphological person inflection from Arabic is in principle productive in Domari, and can be co-referential with Domari expressions. In fact, the replication of Arabic person inflection in Domari introduces new typological distinctions into the language:

- (20) *pandži kān ṣāḥb-om-a*
 3SG was.3SG.M friend-1SG-REM
 ‘He was my friend’ (Arabic *ṣāḥeb* ‘friend.M’)
- (21) *pandži kān-at ṣāḥb-om-a*
 3SG was.3SG-F friend-1SG-REM
 ‘She was my friend’ (Arabic *ṣāḥbe* ‘friend.F’)

Here, Domari phonotactics resulting from the addition of the possessive and remoteness suffixes to the noun, reduce the gender difference between Arabic *ṣāḥeb* ‘male friend’ and *ṣāḥbe* ‘female friend’ in the inflected form; however, each of the two forms triggers different agreement markers on the Arabic auxiliary. Such markers are not available to differentiate gender within the Domari component.

Cross-linguistic investigations of grammatical borrowing have shown that deictic and anaphoric elements are relatively resistant to matter replication (direct replication of phonological word forms) in contact situations (see discussion in Matras 2009: 203). On the whole this generalisation holds true for Domari, too. Nonetheless, deictic and anaphoric agreement markers from Arabic may accompany not only aspectual and modal auxiliaries, but also Arabic connectors such as the complementiser *inn-* (see Chapter 9.5.5) and the negative conditional *lawlāt-* ‘if not, unless’, the object preposition and resumptive pronoun *iyyā-*, the reflexive pronoun *hāl-* and the related adverb *lahāl-* ‘alone’, and the reciprocal pronoun *bašd-*. Some of these items have anaphoric qualities themselves. Nonetheless, it is important to note that Arabic person inflection is never sufficiently productive in Domari to be assigned to pre-Arabic grammatical or lexical material. Rather, it is the operational procedure of certain inflected Arabic grammatical operators that is replicated in its entirety, hence the license to activate Arabic inflectional elements to accompany them. Still, this means that Arabic inflectional paradigms are available as productive resources to Domari speakers while speaking Domari and are not blocked by language choice.

11.5. Fusion, bilingual suppletion, and free recourse to Arabic grammar and lexicon

This latter point brings us to a definition of the reciprocal relations between Domari and Arabic as distinct structural components of the linguistic repertoires of bilingual Dom speakers. From a diachronic and system-oriented viewpoint, we can distinguish two different uses of Arabic-derived material in Domari. The first are structures that can easily be characterised as ‘borrowings’ or integrated loans. They appear regularly and usually without any native, inherited alternative that can be assigned historically to the pre-Arabic component. At first glance, cases such as the preposition *bašd* ‘after’ appear straightforward: it is used by all speakers and consistently in its particular meaning, and it does not compete with any inherited, pre-Arabic alternative, and so it is not stylistically marked. But already a closely related expression such as the Arabic preposition *maš* ‘with’ confronts us with a more challenging case. As discussed in Chapter 1.3, this preposition is preferred by some speakers, while others employ the Layer II comitative (sociative) marker *-san*. Nonetheless, we can at least claim that those speakers who show a preference for *maš* have ‘borrowed’ or integrated it into their form of Domari.

More intriguing are cases of wholesale incorporation of category sets from Arabic. If contemporary Jerusalem Domari were spoken in isolation, by a remote population of monolinguals, then there is no doubt that one would

characterise the nearly full sets of Arabic prepositions, conjunctions, particles, indefinites, and numerals as borrowings. From the synchronic perspective of the active bilingual speaker, however, it is questionable whether one can draw a strict demarcation line between two separate linguistic systems without acknowledging that certain language-processing functions are triggered and guided by the very same inventory of structural forms that belong to the speaker's repertoire of communicative structures as a whole, rather than to a particular 'language'.

Consider by analogy the British habit of holding the door in public passages or corridors in public buildings open for the next person to pass through, regardless of whether this person is an acquaintance or a stranger. Generally viewed as a gesture of politeness, this custom is of course not a linguistic structure, but it is nonetheless an act of communicative value. Now, imagine a Welsh-English bilingual crossing from one wing of a public building to another in Caernarfon, North Wales, followed by a fellow visitor to the institution. Holding the door open to allow the stranger to pass with less effort, will the Welsh-English bilingual consider his/her communicative gesture to be Welsh or English? The answer is likely to be, that the gesture is physical and therefore linguistically neutral, and the question is therefore irrelevant. The point I wish to make, however, is that our inventory of communicative activities is arranged on a continuum, ranging from physical gestures, through to pitch, intensity and rhythm of voice, on to intonation and tone and patterns of emphasising information chunks, through exposition and juxtaposition, through to lexically-peripheral expressions such as tags and fillers, on to connectors and operators with a more strictly defined semantic meaning, and finally onto words and grammatical markers that are easiest to identify as belonging to a particular 'language'. Somewhere on this continuum, forms of communication that may be viewed by users as universal rather than language-specific (but are of course equally confined to a particular cultural environment) give way to words and inflections that define interaction in one rather than another 'language'. For speakers of Domari, entire sets of language-processing functions assume identical forms regardless of whether interaction is taking place in Domari, the intimate language of elderly family relations and Dom friends and neighbours, or in Arabic, the language of the wider environment. I have referred to this process in earlier work as 'fusion' (Matras 1998a, 2005).

There is another indication that the relevant entity to which we must relate grammatical (not just communicative) competence in multilingual environments is the bilingual speaker's repertoire, rather than the speaker's two (or more) language 'systems'. It comes from what we might term 'bilingual suppletion'. This has been addressed in the previous chapters in connection with the construction of comparative and superlative forms of

adjectives (Chapter 5.5), and in connection with the choice of nouns with inherited numerals and with numerals deriving from Arabic (Chapter 5.4). It was argued above that a formal rule accounting for the use of Arabic lexemes to match inherited lexemes in comparative adjectives and with numerals above ‘four’ would have to either accommodate a suppletive paradigm that encompasses all adjectives and all nouns in the language, in which (at least) half the paradigm would be identical with the Arabic translations of the relevant lexemes; or else it would have to state that in order to express certain positions in the paradigm, speakers must switch into their second language – a contradiction in terms for a language-specific formal rule of grammar. While the practical problem seems contained for adjectives, given that the entire corpus only shows less than seventy distinct adjectival lexemes, for countable nouns we are clearly dealing with an open class. A consistently suppletive paradigm would therefore seem highly unusual. The inevitable conclusion is that speaking Domari entails by definition speaking Arabic, hence the grammatical and communicative rules of Domari permit and at times instruct speakers to avail themselves of those parts of the repertoire that are used in interaction in Arabic even as part of Domari conversation.

What, then, is the difference between speaking Domari and speaking Arabic? This brings us to the second type of Arabic influence, which cannot be easily defined as ‘borrowing’ or even ‘fusion’, but rather as codemixing or codeswitching, following most conventional definitions of these terms. In Matras (2009: 110–111) I define the difference between ‘borrowing’ and ‘codeswitching/codemixing’ as a continuum. At the far end, on the ‘borrowing’ side, we find regular occurrence of single words (rather than phrases), often with grammatical function or representing specific referents (such as names of institutions or other cultural terms), which are integrated morphologically into the recipient language. For Domari, phonological integration is not a relevant criterion since Domari incorporates the entire Arabic phonological system. The diffusion of loanwords (‘borrowings’) into a monolingual population is also not relevant for Domari, since all speakers are bilingual. However, we might add the absence of any non-Arabic (inherited) word for the same concept as an additional criterion to help identify borrowings. In this respect, Arabic numerals like ‘six’ or ‘seven’ are borrowings, since they occur regularly, have an operational function, and have no inherited equivalent (meaning that they cannot be used merely as stylistic variants). On the other hand, Arabic nouns for everyday concepts like ‘house’, ‘boy’, ‘girl’, or ‘day’ that are triggered by the use of Arabic numerals such as ‘six’ or ‘seven’ constitute a borderline case, one which appears to be situated outside the conventional continuum. At the other end of the continuum, the ‘codeswitching/codemixing’ end, we find optional insertions of words as well as entire phrases and utterances, often intentionally for special conversational

and stylistic effects, on an irregular and usually less predictable basis. Within code-switches, morphological integration is usually not observed.

Table 77 offers an overview of the key parameters that condition the choice of language – Domari or Arabic – in the Jerusalem Dom community. The choice is triggered in the first instance at the sociolinguistic level by the nature of the interaction setting, and specifically, within a given setting, by the choice of interlocutor. Thus, Domari is used exclusively among elderly Dom members of the community who are personally acquainted with one another, and in most cases are members of the same family. Nowadays, as most speakers are no longer economically active, the language is used almost exclusively in the home. But even the home setting does not prescribe the consistent use of Domari. Turning to a younger member of the family, such as a daughter or a grandson, an elderly Dom will invariably speak Arabic. The presence of younger members of the family as bystanders, let alone of strangers (non-Dom), is also likely to trigger the use of Arabic even with an interlocutor with whom Domari is otherwise the preferred language of interaction. It goes without saying that all interactions with non-Dom or those that take place outside the home in public take place in Arabic.

Arabic is also present, however, within Domari interactions. During a conversation in Domari, contextual cues may trigger the use of Arabic phrases or utterances or even a series of utterances for stylistic effect or for organising the sequential structure of the conversation. While Domari remains the ‘backbone’ language of the main narrative chain and the plain, ‘unmarked’ turn, Arabic might be chosen for side-remarks, explanations, emphasis or directives (see already discussion of the conversational functions of codeswitching in Auer 1984 and 1995). The question remains how we distinguish between Domari and Arabic utterances in environments where switching takes place, taking into consideration that Domari itself contains a considerable amount of Arabic-derived structures. My proposal is to rely on the principal means that speakers select in order to deliver the core of the propositional content of the utterance, which amounts to their choice for the delivery and contextual anchoring of the predication. The grammatical instrument that allows the speaker to contextualise the predication (i.e. to relate it to an actor, to a time-deictic dimension, and to real-world relevance) is finite verb inflection. The choice of finite inflection on the main (lexical) predicate represents the speaker’s choice of language for the delivery of the proposition. This choice will, in turn, be harmonious with the speaker’s discourse-strategic choice of language at the conversational level, which in turn will be embedded into the availability of choices and the preferences set by the choice of interlocutor in a given interaction setting.

Table 77. Sociolinguistic, discourse-based, and utterance-based foundations of language choice (Domari choices shaded, Arabic plain)

interaction setting	interlocutor (bystander)	elderly Dom (family, acquaintance)
		young people, non-Dom, strangers
conversational context	stylistic effect, sequential structure	main narrative chain; unmarked turn
		side-comments, explanations, quotations
delivery of proposition	structure of finite predication	lexical finite verb inflection: Domari
		lexical finite verb inflection: Arabic

11.6. The functional continuum in conversational practice

To conclude, we can now attempt to implement this interpretation of language choice and language variation for a series of examples from the corpus, which show, or may be considered to show ambiguity in regard to the language of the utterance. We begin with a set of utterances, which, following from the above definition, are without a doubt Domari utterances, rather than Arabic utterances. Here the speakers are making a clear choice in favour of Domari as the language of interaction and consequently as the language in which the predication is delivered. Nonetheless, owing to the specific content and choice of words, the utterance consists of lexical (and potentially grammatical) material that derives largely from Arabic. For the sake of comparison I will insert a constructed Arabic translation to accompany each of the recorded Domari utterances from the corpus:

(22) Domari: *aktar min talātīn xamsa ū talātīn sana*
 more from thirty five and thirty year
ma lak-ed-om-is
 NEG see-PAST-1SG-3SG.OBL

Arabic: *aktar min talātīn xamsa ū talātīn sana*
 more from thirty five and thirty year
ma šuf-t-hā
 NEG see.PAST-1SG-3SG.F

‘It has been more than thirty, thirty five years since I’ve seen her.’

The point made above is nicely illustrated by this example, where the original Domari and Arabic translation differ merely in the choice of predicate and its finite inflection (Domari *lak-ed-om-is* ‘I saw here’, Arabic *šuf-t-hā*). Note the full overlap, otherwise, in vocabulary choices, owing to the generalisation in Domari of Arabic forms of comparative adjectives (*aktar* ‘more’), the use of Arabic prepositions, the generalisation of Arabic numerals above ‘three’ and the use of Arabic nouns in conjunction with Arabic numerals, and finally the use of the Arabic past-tense negation marker *ma*.

- | | | | | | |
|--------------|-------------------|----------------|---------------|--------------|-------------|
| (23) Domari: | <i>hāda/ kān</i> | <i>šumr-om</i> | <i>yimkin</i> | <i>sitte</i> | <i>snīn</i> |
| | this was.3SG.M | age-1SG | maybe | six | years |
| | <i>sabša snīn</i> | | | | |
| | seven | years | | | |
| Arabic: | <i>hāda/ kān</i> | <i>šumr-ī</i> | <i>yimkin</i> | <i>sitte</i> | <i>snīn</i> |
| | this was.3SG.M | age-1SG | maybe | six | years |
| | <i>sabša snīn</i> | | | | |
| | seven | years | | | |

‘This/ I was maybe six or seven years old.’

Here the predicate is somewhat ambiguous, since we are dealing with a nominal predication in the past tense. The Arabic past-tense copula *kān* serves in both languages as a past-tense auxiliary. In order to identify the language of the (nominal) predication we rely here on the inflection of the predicate noun, *šumr* ‘age’. Indeed, the only difference between the two versions, and what makes the first (original) utterance from the corpus a Domari rather Arabic sentence, is the speaker’s choice of the 1SG possessive inflection *-om* (*šumr-om* ‘my age’, cf. Arabic *šumr-ī*).

- | | | | | |
|--------------|--------------------|---------------------|--------------|------------------|
| (24) Domari: | <i>mamnūš-i</i> | <i>’arbaš-xamse</i> | <i>buyūt</i> | |
| | prohibited-PRED.SG | four-five | houses | |
| | <i>skun-hōš-as</i> | <i>maš bašd</i> | | |
| | live-VITR.SUBJ-2PL | together | | |
| Arabic: | <i>mamnūš</i> | <i>’arbaš-xamse</i> | <i>buyūt</i> | <i>tu-skun-ū</i> |
| | prohibited | four-five | houses | 2.SUBJ-live-PL |
| | <i>maš bašd</i> | | | |
| | together | | | |

‘It is prohibited that you live together in four or five households.’

The differences between the two versions in this latter example are somewhat subtle, as we are dealing here with two clauses, a matrix nominal clause and an embedded modal complement clause. Consequently, we find a difference in the structuring of both predications: The Domari nominal predication is marked out by the Domari non-verbal predication marker *-i* on the predicate adjective, which is absent in Arabic. The Domari embedded predication is a finite verb in the subjunctive, *skun-* ‘to live’, which happens to derive from Arabic. Its mood and person inflection are unique to Domari and reflect the speaker’s choice of Domari for the delivery of the predication in this utterance. The source of all lexical material in the two versions is once again identical, deriving entirely from Arabic.

(25) Domari: *ū min trēn ū sabšīn liyāyet hesēša*
 and from two and seventy until now
stamirr-ahr-om w-ama
 persist-VITR.PAST-1SG and-I
kam-k-am-i dāxliy-ē-ma
 work-VTR-1SG-PRG interior-OBL.F-LOC

Arabic: *ū min trēn ū sabšīn liyāyet hesēša*
 and from two and seventy until now
stamrar-t w-ana b-a-štyel fī
 persist.PAST-1SG and-I PRG-1SG-work in
d-dāxiliyye
 DEF-interior

‘And I’ve persisted from seventy two until now, I work at the interior ministry.’

Here too, there are two predications, and it is the form of these predications that characterise the utterance as Domari or Arabic. The verb ‘to persist’ is of Arabic origin in the Domari utterance, but takes Domari adaptation markers and person and tense inflection. The verb ‘to work’ differs from its Arabic counterpart, in both lexical root and inflection. In addition, the indirect object ‘at the interior ministry’ is structured differently, Domari drawing on its layered case inflection system and showing no definite article.

Contrasting with the above set of examples, the following excerpts show the insertion of Arabic utterance and utterance portions for strategic and stylistic, conversation-structuring side-remarks. Usually, the Arabic phrase constitutes a repetition and translation of the immediately preceding phrase in Domari. In some instances one can interpret these repetitions/translations as the speaker’s wish to provide an explanation in order to ensure that the listener

has understood the original message. In such instances, the translation is usually introduced by the explicative discourse marker *yaʕni* ‘that is’:

- (26) *ū baʕdēn par-d-os-im giš usbuʕ-i,*
 and then take-PAST-3SG-1SG.OBL all week-PRED.SG
 = *yaʕni kull usbuʕ axad-at-nī =*
 PART every week take.PAST-3SG.F-1SG.OBL
 ‘And then she took me every week = *that is every week she took me* =.’
- (27) *im-r-a xalil-a-ma, = yaʕni twaffa*
 die-PAST-M Hebron-OBL.F-LOC PART die.PAST.3SG.M
fī-l-xalil =
 in-DEF-Hebron
 ‘He died in Hebron, = *that is he died in Hebron* =.’

In other cases, it appears that subsequent translation into Arabic is the speaker’s way of emphasising the content and ensuring that each and every aspect of the information units provided as background in a narration is appreciated in its relevance to the story:

- (28) *w-ehe di-ne, = yaʕni it-tinēn =, māmun*
 and-these two-DEF PART DEF-two uncle
putr-ēni, = wlād ʕamm =
 son-PRED.PL children uncle
 ‘And these two = *that is the two of them* = are cousins = *cousins* =.’

Further cases of codeswitching show classic stylistic motivations such as the authentication of a direct quotation within the narration:

- (29) *lamma wʕull-ēn ʕofēr-as-ke ʕ-am-i: = waqif*
 when arrive-1PL driver-OBL.M-BEN say-1SG-PRG stop
hon ʕwayye bass bidd-nā n-ʕūf qāʕed l-maxfār =
 here a.little only want-1PL 1PL-see commander DEF-station
 ‘When we arrive I say to the driver: = “*stop here a minute, we just want to see the station commander*” =.’

Note that each of the switches into Arabic in the preceding examples shows full-scale Arabic predications, while similarly the Domari part of the utterance contains a Domari finite predication (nominal clauses in Domari usually showing non-verbal predication markers, while Arabic nominal clauses lack explicit predication marking). We are thus able to identify phrase switches in line with the principles outlined in Table 77 above: In an interaction setting

and with an interlocutor with whom the chosen language of interaction is Domari, a contextual cue triggers the use of an Arabic utterance, identifiable through the fact that the anchoring of its predication is managed by drawing on Arabic finite verb morphology (or nominal clauses).

The model must, however, account for two further language-mixing phenomena. The first is the insertion into Domari utterances of Arabic phrases without the occurrence of a switch into an autonomous Arabic predication. Typically, we are dealing here with noun phrases or adverbial phrases that describe temporal or spatial settings as well as individual thematic roles. Their characteristic structural feature is the use of Arabic grammatical material that is not otherwise borrowed into Domari, but in these cases is not embedded into an Arabic predication, either. This includes Arabic definite articles signalling Arabic genitive-attributive constructions (e.g. *ayyām l-ʿurdunn* lit. ‘the days of Jordan’, rather than Domari *waqtos ʿurdunnaki* or similar), Arabic definite articles in attributive constructions (*l-luya l-hindīyye* ‘the Indian language’), Arabic prepositions that are not otherwise used in Domari, such as *ʕala* ‘to’ (cf. *ʕala l-ʕirāq* ‘to Iraq’, immediately followed by the speaker’s correction into Domari, *ʕirāq-a-ta* ‘to Iraq’) and *fī* ‘in’ (*fī ʕamāl l-hind* ‘in northern India’), attributive adjectives showing Arabic agreement and word order (*blād muqaddase* ‘a holy city’), quantifiers with definite head nouns (*džamīʕ l-mudun* ‘all the towns’, cf. Domari *giʕ ūyare* etc.), and more:

- (30) = *ayyām l-ʿurdunn* = *hnēna kān bard-ēk*
 days DEF-Jordan here was.3SG.M full-PRED.SG
dōm-ēni mnēn
 Dom-PRED.PL here
 ‘= Under Jordanian rule = there were many Dom here.’
- (31) *tʕallim-r-e* = *l-luya l-hindīyye* =
 learn-PAST-3PL DEF-language DEF-Indian
 ‘They learned = the Indian language =.’
- (32) *ehe dōm-e raw-ird-e min ḥalab-a-ki*
 these Dom-PL travel-PAST-3PL from Aleppo-OBL.F-ABL
gar-e krēn, = ʕala l-ʕirāq =, ʕirāq-a-ta yaʕni
 go.PAST-3PL where to Iraq Iraq-OBL.F-DAT PART
 ‘These Dom travelled from Aleppo where did they go, = to Iraq =,
 that is to Iraq.’
- (33) *ihi = blād muqaddase, min džamīʕ l-mudun =*
 this.F city holy from all DEF-towns
aw-ad-i
 come-3PL-PRG
 ‘This is = a holy city = they come = from all the towns =.’

- (34) *ū krēn gar-e t-ird-e? = fi šamāl l-hind =*
 and where go.PAST-3PL put-PAST-3PL in northern DEF-India
 ‘And where did they go and settle? = in northern India =.’

In some instances one might argue that the Arabic phrase is more easily accessible as it exists in Arabic as a fixed, stereotype expression. Thus the phrase *l-luya l-hindiyye* ‘the Indian language’ does not have an obvious Domari translation and would have to be rendered by an ad hoc genitive-possessive construction based on the same lexical items. Similarly, *blād muqaddase* ‘the holy city’ is an established concept. In some cases, a choice for an Arabic phrase will trigger further Arabic structures. Thus the phrase *blād muqaddase* ‘the holy city’ in example (33) clearly serves as a trigger for the following prepositional phrase *min džamīl l-mudun* ‘from all the towns’; it is noteworthy that the speaker wishes to ‘control’ the interaction by returning to Domari as the default language of the utterance, re-established through the choice of the Domari finite verb *awadi* ‘they come’ at the very end of the utterance. In the case of *šamāl l-hind* ‘northern India’, the abstract concept denoting a remote region is likely to be an import from Arabic-language public discourse or publications, while the Arabic preposition *fi* ‘in’ is merely an accommodation to that choice.

However, in other cases, speakers clearly have options, and having considered one of them, as in *šala l-šīraq* ‘to Iraq’, they may re-consider and re-structure the utterance, drawing here on Domari *šīraq-a-ta*. This brings us to the final set of examples, which show that many Arabic insertions may be classified as such since they do not conform to the criterion of regularity and predictability that characterises genuine borrowings, but unlike stylistic insertions or switches they do not seem to have any particular contextual functionality either, and appear to be random choices licensed purely by the fact that Domari speakers all have permanent recourse to Arabic while engaging in Domari conversation, and so all Arabic forms are in principle permissible:

- (35) *lāzem t-kūr-ū itme mišāttat-hr-es-i*
 must 2-be-PL you.PL nomad-be-2PL-PRG
 ‘You must remain nomads.’
- (36) *ū š-ird-a ab-us-ke dakātr-e, xaḷḷaš atu*
 and say-PAST-M for-3SG-BEN doctors-PL PART you.SG
mišš raḥ nan gēna xudwar-e
 NEG gone bring.SUBJ.2SG again child-PL
 ‘And the doctors said to her, that’s it, you will not bear any more children.’

- (37) *ama gar-om ʕa-l-ʿurduɾn ū lak-ed-om*
 I go.PAST-1SG to-DEF-Jordan and see-PAST-1SG
aha dʒamil l-ʕāsy-as
 this.M Jamil l-Aas-OBL.M
 ‘I went to Jordan and I met this Jamil l-Aas.’

In example (35) the speaker brings a quotation in Domari, in which the Arabic impersonal modal *lāzem* ‘must’ is followed by, and perhaps triggers the use of the finite existential verb *t-kūn-ū* ‘you shall be’ in Arabic, though the utterance continues with a predicate noun to which a Domari copula is attached. Since the status of *lāzem* is ambiguous, we might view this as a re-negotiation of the language of interaction in the middle of the utterance, or simply accept the Arabic insertion as a random choice in favour of a legitimate variant that is part of the shared linguistic repertoire of the speaker and the listener. In example (36), potential ambiguity of language choice is given, possibly as a result of the choice of the Arabic negator *mišš*, which is then followed by the Arabic aspectual marker *raḥ* (rather than its Domari equivalent *gara*). Finally, example (37) shows once more the use of the Arabic preposition *ʕa* ‘to’ followed by the Arabic definite article (rather than the Domari case inflection, cf. *ʿurduɾnaka* ‘to Jordan’).

Some important conclusions must be drawn from these examples. The first is that there is, by and large, an internal order governing the selection of Domari and Arabic components in Dom conversations. In this respect, Domari is not a ‘mixed language’ in the sense discussed in collections such as Bakker and Mous (1994) or Matras and Bakker (2003). Its Indic and Arabic components are not complementary, but can work contrastively to achieve interactional, contextual and stylistic differentiation. In historical and sociolinguistic perspective, Domari did not arise as a product of a new language contact situation, but shows an Arabic component that has been acquired over time and has led in some cases to the prevalence of Arabic-derived structures in entire sub-systems and functional categories. Nonetheless, unlike ‘mixed languages’ Domari fails to show an etymological split between basic lexicon and the source of finite verb inflection for lexical predications, the most important common structural trait that can be assigned to the group of idioms classified intuitively as ‘mixed languages’ (see Matras 2003). At the same time, the free recourse to Arabic system components, the tendency toward bilingual suppletion in some domains, and the license to embed even just random structures from Arabic (the latter is a frequently encountered feature of bilingual conversation, and the former is not entirely unattested in other languages in contact, either) point to a need to refine somewhat our notions of ‘linguageness’ and to view the unit of linguistic description in multilingual contexts not in the first instance as the speaker’s

accumulated knowledge of separate ‘languages’ or ‘language systems’, but to focus our attention instead on speakers’ modes of negotiating their entire personal and collective repertoires of linguistic and communicative structures.

Chapter 12

Samples of Talk

For Audio files for the following samples see:
<http://dx.doi.org/10.1515/9783110291421.fm>

12.1. Sample 1: The appointment of a head man

dōm-e kār-ū/ dōm-ē-man = yaʕni nawar-nā =
Dom-PL was-3PL Dom-PL-1PL PART Dom-1PL
kam-k-ad-a ḥaddādīn-e
work-VTR-3PL-REM blacksmiths-PL

The Dom used to/ our Doms = *that is, our Gypsies* = used to work as blacksmiths.

ū kār-ū skun-o-nd-a ku/ kury-ē-s-ma
and was-3PL live-VITR-3PL-REM hou/ house-PL-3SG-LOC
hay-ki/ fall-as-ki yaʕni
PART-ABL fabric-OBL.M-ABL PART

And they used to live in houses from like/ fabric, right.

šawādir-ēn-a kār-ū kury-ē-san
nylon.covers-PRED.PL-REM was-3PL house-PL-3PL

Their houses were covered in nylon.

= *xiyam yaʕni šawādir ū kiyās yaʕni ū hada =*
tents PART nylon.covers and sacks PART and this
= *Tents like nylon covers and sacks and so on =*.

ū ḥaddīd-kar-and-a.
and metal-VTR-3PL-REM
And they used to work in metal.

gēna qabil ayyām-ē-san nohr-as-ki.
also before days-PL-3PL red-OBL.M-ABL
Also before the days of the British.

= *l'inglīz/ ayyām l'inglīz =*
DEF-English days DEF-English
= *The English/ the period of English rule =*

kān-ū giš dōm-e skun-ahr-end-a knēn? ſand
 was-3PL all Dom-PL live-VITR-3PL-REM where at
hēy-ki ma/ mušērem, mušērem-as-ka.
 PART-ABL Musherem Musherem-OBL.M.DAT

Where did all the Doms used to live? In this place, Musherem, in Musherem.

giš kury-ē-man gēna falli ū xiyam-ēn-a kān-ū
 all house-PL-1PL also fabric and tent-PRED.PL-REM was-3PL
 All our houses were made of fabric, they were tents.

skun-ahr-end-a hundar.
 live-VITR-3PL-REM there
 That's where they used to live.

ayyām-ē-s boy-im-ki kān
 days-PL-3SG father-OBL.SG-1SG-ABL was.3SG.M
qašqot-ēy-a boy-om.
 small-PRED.SG-REM father-1SG
 In my father's days, my father was young.

knēn skun-ahr-end-a ſand/ dōm-e? ſand sāſid ū
 where live-VITR-3PL-REM at Dom-PL at Said and
saſid-as-ki.
 Said-OBL.M-ABL

Where were the Doms living? In Said and Said.

dīs-ak ehr-a zayy sahr-ēk ſurs-i
 day-INDEF become-PAST-M like party-PRED.SG wedding-PRED.SG
dōm-an-ka
 Dom-OBL.PL-DAT

One day there was a wedding party among the Doms.

ū nan-d-e raqqāš-āt min yazzē/ min
 and bring-PAST-3PL dancer-PL from Gaza from
yāf-ē-ki.
 Jaffa-OBL.F-ABL

And they brought in dancers from Gaza/ from Jaffa.

dōmiy-ēni našī-r-e.
 Dom.woman-PRED.PL dance-PAST-3PL
 Dom women danced.

ifzaſ-ahr-e portkil-ēni bol-ni
 arrive-VITR.PAST-3PL Jew-PRED.PL much-PRED.PL
l-mušarib-as-ki ū er-a gēna
 DEF-Musharib-OBL.M-ABL and come.PAST-M also

musilmīn-ēni min ūyar-ki mandža.
 Muslims-PRED.PL from town-ABL inside

Many Jews came from Al-Musharib and also Muslims came from inside the Old City.

ū šār-u farrudž-ho-nd-i šan ehe
 and began.3PL watch-VITR-3PL-PRG at these.PL
raqqāšīn-an-ta ū našy-and-i ū hayo-nd-i
 dancers-OBL.PL-DAT and dance-3PL-PRG and this-3PL-PRG
 And they started to watch these dancers dancing and so on.

waqt-os lağıš-k-ad-e musilmīn-e ū portkīl-e
 time-3.SG fight-VTR-PAST-3PL Muslims-PL and Jew-PL
maš bašd šašān raqqāšan-an-ki.
 with REC because dancer-OBL.PL-ABL
 Art the time, the Muslims had a fight with the Jews over the dancers.

šār-u fēr-and-i bašd bašd-ē-san waš-an-ma.
 began-3PL hit-3PL-PRG REC REC-PL-3PL stone-OBL.PL-LOC
 They started to throw stones at one another.

hašta gēna dōm-e hayy-ē-man ifzaš-ahr-a maš
 PART also Dom-PL PART-PL-1PL arrive-VITR.PAST-M with
musilmīn-an-ki šār-at fēr-and-i portkīl-an-ma.
 Muslims-OBL.PL-ABL began-F hit-3PL-PRG Jew-OBL.PL-LOC
 And then our Doms arrived with the Muslims and started to fight the Jews.

er-e tmāliy-e hākīm šaskar-ik
 come.PAST-3PL soldier-PL governor military-PRED.SG
aha inglīz-an hayy-os, nām-os Storrs.
 this.M English-OBL.PL PART-3SG name-3SG Storrs
 Soldiers arrived, the English military governor, this man, his name was Storrs.

ū tmāliy-ēni wāš-īs ū hada ū xuld-ēk
 and soldier-PRED.PL with-3SG and this and ride-PRED.SG
hay-ta gory-a-ta.
 PART-DAT horse-OBL.F-DAT
 And he's got soldiers with him and all that and he is riding a horse.

ū farrudž-ahr-a/ tmāliy-e inglīzī, saka-r-ed-e'
 and look-VTR.PAST-M soldier-PL English can-PAST-3PL-NEG
mnaš-kar-ad ehe toš-ē.
 prevent-VTR-3PL.SUBJ this.PL incident-OBL.F
 And he saw that the English soldiers were unable to prevent this incident.

boy-om gar-a, gir-naw-id-a giš dōm-an
 father-1SG go.PAST-M drive-CAUS-PAST-M all Dom-OBL.PL

ū gir-naw-id-a giš muslimīn-an.
and drive-CAUS-PAST-M all Muslims-OBL.PL

My father arrived, he pulled back all the Doms and he pulled back all the Muslims.

nig-r-e hay-ta mušarim-as-ta
enter-PAST-3PL PART-DAT Musherem-OBL.M-DAT
yaḥūdīy-an-ki yaḥni ehe muslimīn-e.
Jew-OBL.PL-DAT PART these.PL Muslims-PL

The Muslims entered the Jewish [area] Musherem.

gar-a boy-om gir-naw-id-osan.
go.PAST-M father-1SG drive-CAUS-PAST-3PL
My father went and pulled them back.

ḥākim aha inglīzī tʿadžīb-r-a, qal ḥatta
governor this English surprise-PAST-M PART even
tmāliyy-ēni ū hada ma sak-r-e-ʿ
soldier-PRED.PL and this NEG can-PAST-3PL-NEG
mnaḥ-kar-ad ihi toš-ē.
prevent-VTR-3PL.SUBJ this.F incident-OBL.F

The English governor was surprised, he said that even the soldiers and all that were unable to prevent this incident.

kēhri ek-ak zayy er-as-ki gir-naw-id-a
how one-INDEF like that-OBL.M-ABL drive-CAUS-PAST-M
giš ehe umm-ē?
all these.PL people-OBL.F

How could somebody like him pull back all these people?

nēr-d-a tmāliyy-ak boy-im-ke.
send-PAST-M soldier-INDEF father-1SG.OBL-BEN
He sent a soldier to my father.

xal aru, bidd-o iyy-āk ḥākim/
PART come.2SG.SUBJ want-3SG.M OBJ-2SG.M governor
yaḥni tilla.
PART big

He said: Come, the governor wants you/ that is the chief.

= *yaḥni* = *tilla* = *yaḥni* *l-kbīr* =
PART big PART DEF-big
= *That is* = the chief = *that's the chief* =

Mm.

boy-o-m gar-a ḥākim-as-ke ū pandži
 father-1SG go.PAST-M governor-OBL.M-BEN and 3SG
by-ar-i
 fear-3SG-PRG

My father went to the governor in fear.

bīr-ēk inni ḥabis-kar-is tilla
 fear-PRED.SG COMP imprison-VTR-3SG.OBL big
 Afraid that the chief will lock him up.

tir-d-a xast-os xast-is-ma boy-im-ki
 put-PAST.M hand-3SG hand-3SG.OBL-LOC father-1SG.OBL-ABL
 He put his hand in my father's hand.

xal urati bidd-ak aru ama-ke
 PART tomorrow want-2SG.M come.2SG.SUBJ me-BEN
saray-ē-ta
 Saray-OBL.F-DAT

He said: Tomorrow I would like you to come to see me at the Saraya.

yaʕni knēn maktab-os? bi ʕaqbat is-sarāya.
 PART when office-3SG in Aqbat is-Saraya
 That is, where is his office? At Aqbat s-Saraya.

tāni dīs gar-a par-d-a diyyes min
 second day go.PAST-M take-PAST-M two from
dōm-an-ki
 Dom-OBL.PL-ABL

The next day he went and took with him two guys from among the Dom.

ū gar-a maktab-is hayy-ki till-as-ki
 and go.PAST-M office-3SG.OBL PART-ABL big-OBL.M-ABL
aha ḥākm-as-ki.
 this.M governor-OBL.M-ABL

And he went to this guy's office, the chief's, the governor's.

ḥākim t-os šahād-ak
 governor give.PAST-3SG certificate-INDEF
 The governor gave him a certificate.

hatta aha turdžman qal tilla yaʕni l-ḥākim
 PART this.M translator PART big PART DEF-governor
qal mabšūṭ-i bol minšī-r
 PART happy-PRED.SG much from-2SG

And the translator said: The chief, that is the governor, is very happy with you.

= *yaʕni mabʕūṭ ktīr minn-ak inn-ak inte*
 PART happy much from-2SG.M COMP-2SG.M 2SG.M
yaʕni saʕad-t il- =
 PART helped-2SG.M DEF-

= *that is he is very happy with you because you helped the/ =*

saʕad-k-ed-or tmaliy-an, ū gir-naw-id-or
 help-VTR-PAST-2SG soldier-OBL.PL and drive-CAUS-PAST-2SG

giš ehe maṭ-an min ehe/ min
 all these.PL person-OBL.PL from these.PL from

portkil-an-ka.

Jews-OBL.PL-DAT

you helped the soldiers, and you pulled back all these people from these/ from the Jews.

mabʕūṭ-i ktīr minšī-r.
 happy-PRED.SG much from-2SG

He is very happy with you.

w-hatta qal hatta ihi šahādat muxtār
 and-PART PART PART this.F certificate head.man

ʕayin-k-ad-os-ir muxtār pandži
 appoint-VTR-PAST-3SG-2SG.OBL head.man 3SG

And he said here's a head man's certificate, he is appointing you head man.

min waxt-as-ki boy-om ehr-a muxtār
 from time-OBL.M-ABL father-1SG become.PAST-M head.man

dōm-an-ta.

Dom-OBL.PL-DAT

From that time my father became the head man of the Doms.

12.2. Sample 2: Life after retirement

ʕa zamān l-ʕurdunn kil-d-om baladiy-ē-ma
 during time DEF-Jordan exit-PAST-1SG municipality-OBL.F-LOC

During the Jordanian rule I joined the municipality.

ama kam-kar-(am-a) baladiy-ē-ma ʕa zamān
 I work-VTR-1SG-REM municipality-OBL.F-LOC during time

ʕurdunn

Jordan

I worked for the municipality during the Jordanian rule.

ū er-i isrā'il, kam-k-ad-ēn wāšī-s.
 and come.PAST-F Israel work-VTR-PAST-1PL with-3SG
 And the Israelis arrived, and we worked for them.

ū xdim-ke-d-om trēn ū talātīn sine
 and serve-VTR-PAST-1SG two and thirty year
baladiy-ē-ma
 municipality-OBL.F-LOC

I served the municipality for thirty two years.

ū fāwid-k-ed-om baladiy-ē-ki, taqāʿud.
 and return-VTR-PAST-1SG municipality-OBL.F-ABL retirement
 And I left the municipality, I retired.

mišt-ahr-om-i, saka-m-e' kam-k-am.
 ill-be-1SG-PRG can-1SG-NEG work-VTR-1SG.SUBJ
 I am ill, I cannot work.

ama ū boy-o-s saka-n-e' kam-k-an
 I and father-3SG can-1PL-NEG work-VTR-1PL.SUBJ
 Me and her father, we cannot work.

mišt-ahr-ēn-i, ū baʿdēn till-ahr-ēn-i.
 ill-be-1PL-PRG and then old-be-1PL-PRG
 We are ill, and then, we are old.

[...]

yaʿni ama na wēs-r-om xiyam-an
 PART I NEG sit-PAST-1SG tents-OBL.PL
 Well, I never lived in tents.

ama wēs-r-om hindar wēs-r-om yaʿni kur-ik
 I sit-PAST-1SG here sit-PAST-1SG PART house-PRED.SG
waṭ-i
 stone-PRED.SG

I lived here, I lived in a stone house.

eme skun-ēn hindar kury-is-ma waṭ-an-ki
 we live-1PL here house-3SG.OBL-LOC stone-OBL.PL-ABL
 We live here in stone houses.

awwal ma skun-ēn hindar/ skun-ēn hindar/
 first COMP live-1PL here live-1PL here
 We first moved here/ we live here/

awwal ma skun-ēn hindar ben-o-m dżawiz-r-i hindar
 first COMP live-1PL here sister-1SG marry-PAST-F here
 We first moved here when my sister got married here.

awwal ma skun-ēn hindar
 first COMP live-1PL here

We first moved here.

er-ēn min wādī džōz skun-ēn hindar.
 come.PAST-1PL from Wadi Joz live-1PL.SUBJ here

We came to live here from Wadi Joz to live here.

bād-os xāl-os-i boy-im-ki
 grandfather-3SG uncle.maternal-3SG-PRED.SG father-1SG.OBL-ABL
 Her grandfather is my father's maternal uncle.

ū dādy-os/ dādy-os, eh/ māmy-os
 and grandmother-3SG grandmother-3SG aunt.paternal-3SG
boy-is-ki dādy-om-i
 father-3SG.OBL-ABL grandmother-1SG-PRED.SG

And her grandmother/ her grandmother, uh/ her father's paternal aunt is my grandmother.

skun-ēn hindar er-a bād-os illi
 live-1PL here come.PAST-M grandfather-3SG REL
bi-l-lubnān mišt-ēk
 in-DEF-Lebanon ill-PRED.SG

We live here, and her grandfather who lives in Lebanon arrived, he was ill.

mišt-ēk.
 ill-PRED.SG
 He is ill.

er-a, krēn skun-ahr-a nkī-man hindar,
 come.PAST-M where live-VITR.PAST-M at-1PL here
xāl-os-i.

uncle.maternal-3SG-PRED.SG

He arrived, where did he live? With us here, her maternal uncle.

lamma lake-d-a xāl-os indžann-ahr-a
 when see-PAST-M uncle.maternal-3SG went.crazy-VITR.PAST-M
boy-om
 father-1SG

When my father saw his maternal uncle, he went crazy.

hāsīl, sakkin-k-ad-ed-is hindar wila gar-ēn
 conclusion live-VTR-PAST-3PL-3SG.OBL here but go.PAST-1PL
skun-ēn ḥōš-as-ma muxtār-as-ki.
 live-1PL.SUBJ courtyard-OBL.M-LOC chief-OBL.SG-ABL

Anyway, he was accommodated here but we went to live in the head man's courtyard.

skun-ēn wars-ak-i
 live-1PL year-INDEF-PRED.SG
 We lived there for one year.

ʕawid par-d-ēn kury-a sūr-as-k-ēk
 back take-PAST-1PL house-OBL.F wall-OBL.M-DAT-PRED.SG
 And we took the house back on the wall.

par-d-ēn-is pl-am-ma kury-a
 take-PAST-1PL-3SG.OBL money-OBL.PL-LOC house-OBL.F
sūr-as-ki.
 wall-OBL.M-ABL

We paid for it the price of a house on the wall.

skun-ēn mindžī-s aw-ar-i talatīn sine
 live-1PL in-3SG come-3SG-PRG thirty year
 We lived there for around thirty years now.

er-a isrā'il kil-ad-is-man, kil-ad-is-man
 come.PAST-M Israel exit-PAST-3SG-1PL exit-PAST-3SG-1PL
kury-a-ki er-a-ki.
 house-OBL.F-ABL that-OBL.F-ABL

The Israelis came and forced us out, forced us out of that house.

ū la-s-sēʕa ihi ʕaḡora wāšī-man-i ū kuri
 and till-DEF-hour this.F deed with-1PL-PRED.SG and house
sakkir-ik
 closed-PRED.SG

And to this day we have the deeds, but the house is closed.

ū eme skun-ahr-ēn-i adžar-ma
 and we live-VIT-1PL-PRG rent-LOC
 And we are renting.

hatta ʕa zamān l-urduwn,
 PART during time DEF-Jordan
 And during the Jordanian rule,

ihi ʕa zamān l-urduwn ʕiṣ-oman-i
 this.F during time DEF-Jordan life-1PL-PRED.SG
 This was our life during the Jordanian rule.

kam-kar-ēn baladiy-ē-ma.
 work-VTR-1PL municipality-OBL.F-LOC
 We worked for the municipality.

par-an sitt sabaʕ lirāt l-ḥamdu-l-illah baqa ghāy
 take-1PL.SUBJ six seven lira.PL DEF-thank-to-God stay.3SG.M good
 If we earned six or seven pounds, that was fine.

rxīṣ kiyak, xārūf/ par-an-s-a xārūf-i bi
 cheap something lamb take-1PL-3SG-REM lamb-PRED.SG in
zard-ak ū nim dī zard, xārūf.
 gold-INDEF and half two gold lamb
 Things were cheap, we used to buy lamb for a pound and a half, two pounds,
 lamb.

kīl-os masy-a-ki bi sitte qrūš-i
 kilo-3SG meat-OBL.F-ABL in six penny-PRED.SG
 A kilo of meat for six pence.

Ṣarūsa talātīn līra par-an-s-a xamsa ū Ṣšrīn līra.
 bride thirty lira take-1PL-3SG.REM five and twenty lira
 For a bride we used to pay twenty five lira.

ama dʒawiz-r-om bay-om xamsa ū Ṣašrīn līra.
 I marry-PAST-1SG wife-1SG five and twenty lira
 I married my wife for twenty five lira.

boy-os dʒawiz-r-a talātīn līra
 father-3SG marry-PAST-M thirty lira
 Her father married for thirty lira.

day-os mām-im dīr-i.
 mother-3SG paternal.uncle-1SG.OBL daughter-PRED.SG
 Her mother is my cousin.

day-os er-a-ki mām-im dīr-i.
 mother-3SG this-OBL.F-ABL paternal.uncle-1SG.OBL daughter-PRED.SG
 This one's mother is my cousin.

kēka awa-d-i hindar-i, ama xāl-os ihi
 how come-3PL-PRG here I maternal.uncle-3SG this.F
 That's why they come here, I am her uncle.

ihi ama xāl-os-i.
 this.F I maternal.uncle-3SG-PRED.SG
 I am this one's uncle.

day-os/ dādy-os mām-is
 mother-3SG grandmother-3SG paternal.uncle-3SG.OBL
dīr-i boy-im-ki.
 daughter-PRED.SG father-1SG-ABL
 Her mother/ her grandmother is my father's cousin.

ama xāl-os er-a-ki.
 I maternal.uncle-3SG this-OBL.F-ABL
 I am her uncle.

xāl-os-i day-is-ki
 maternal.uncle-3SG-PRED.SG mother-3SG.OBL-ABL
 Her mother's uncle.

ū yēr illi ūš-r-ēn mašallah kam-kar-d-ēn,
 and except REL live-PAST-1PL God.blessing work-VTR-PAST-1PL
 And apart from living, with God's blessing we worked.

lamma nig-r-i isrā'īl, er-e ban-d-e
 when enter-PAST-F Israel come.PAST-3PL close-PAST-3PL
kury-a
 house-OBL.F
 When the Israelis arrived, they came and shut down the house.

ban-d-e kury-a er-e ū
 close-PAST-3PL house-OBL.F come.PAST-3PL and
gar-ēn adžir-hr-ēn adžar-am-ma.
 go.PAST-1PL rent-VITR.PAST-1PL rent-OBL.PL-LOC
 They closed the house and we went and took a house for rent.

ū ḥatta ihi ḥaḡora bard-ehr-i dīl ū
 and even this.F deed full-become.PAST-F sand and
trāb ū xamm-ēk išī
 dust and dirt-PRED.SG thing
 And even though the deeds are now full of sand and dust and dirt and all.

ū gēna skun-ahr-ēn-a hindar ūšr-ahr-ēn-a ghāy.
 and again live-VITR-1PL-REM here live-VITR-1PL-REM well
 And once again we are living here, we live well.

bass n-h-e' ple.
 but NEG-is-NEG money
 But there is no money.

ištahl-an dīl-as ū kull/ bidd-nā yašni musāšad
 carry-1PL sand-OBL.M and all want-1PL PART help
 We carry the sand and all/ we want help.

n-h-e' wašī-man ple
 NEG-is-NEG with-1PL money
 We don't have money.

yaʕni sēʕad-kar-man mat,
 PART help-VTR-1PL person
 Somebody should help us,

qol-an ihi kury-a, badāl ma ihi
 open-1PL.SUBJ this.F house-OBL.F instead COMP this.F
sakkir-ik.
 closed-PRED.SG

to open the house, instead of keeping it closed.

awa-r-i taran kur-ik mindžī-s
 come-3SG-PRG three house-PRED.SG inside-3SG
 One can make three houses out of it.

ʕiš-r-ēn-i baq-ēnā.
 live-PAST-1PL-PRG stayed-1PL
 We have continued to live.

par-an-a sabʕa lirāt ū nuṣṣ baladiy-ē-ma
 take-1PL-REM seven lira.PL and half municipality-OBL.F-LOC
 We used to earn seven and a half pounds at the municipality.

ʕir-nā par-an-i xams ū ʕašrīn lira yaʕlāt maʕiʕ
 began-1PL take-1PL-PRG five and twenty lira life expenses
 We started to get twenty five lira inflation bonus.

ū xamis ū ʕašrīn lira zayy xmist/ sabʕat alāf
 and five and twenty lira like five seven thousand.PL
israil-a-ki
 Israel-OBL.F-ABL

And twenty five lira is like five/ seven thousand Israeli pounds.

ʕiša ghāy.
 life good
 Life is good.

yaʕni lamma nikš-an-i kar-an-i ḥafl-ak, ya
 PART when enter-1PL-PRG do-1PL-PRG party-INDEF or
ʕurus, zard-ak zard-ak ū nīm di zard-i
 wedding gold-INDEF gold-INDEF and half two gold-PRED.SG
 Like if we want to have a party or wedding, a pound or a pound and a half, two pounds.

mišš zayy adžoti, ʕarbaʕ xamas mit lira fi-hā
 NEG like today four five hundred lira in-3SG.F
ʕurdunni.
 Jordanian

Not like today, it costs four five hundred Jordanian lira.

ŷīša giš ghāy, ħilu.
 life all good beautiful
 Life is good, beautiful.

mišš zayy adžoti ašti ple, bass yala-k
 NEG like today there.is money but expensive-PRED.SG
 Not like today, there is money, but things are expensive.

ašti ple, law ašti bass yala-k d-dinya.
 there.is money if there.is but expensive-PRED.SG DEF-life
 There is money, if you have it, but life is expensive.

aha bantalon par-an-s-a nīm zard zard-ak
 this.M trousers take-1PL-3SG-REM half gold gold-INDEF
 We used to buy this pair of trousers for half a pound, one pound.

l-yōm par-an-s-i bi talātin lira aha
 DEF-day take-1PL-3SG-PRG in thirty lira this.M
bantalon-i.
 trousers-PRED.SG

Today we would buy these trousers for thirty lira.

12.3. Sample 3: A love tale

ašti kān ŷašrīn kuri dom-ēni, furr-und-i
 there.is was.3SG.M twenty house Dom-PRED.PL nomadise-3PL-PRG
 There were twenty Dom households, they travelled.

er-a qrar-ar-ta ārādīy-is-ma
 come.PAST-M Bedouin-OBL.PL-DAT land.PL-3SG.OBL-LOC
ħalab-a-ki.
 Aleppo-OBL.F-ABL

They came to the Bedouin lands of Aleppo.

šār-ū kar-and-i ħafl-e.
 began.3PL do-3PL-PRG party-PL
 They began to give parties.

ašti ik-ak nām-os-ēy-a yazzāl-ēk
 there.is one-INDEF name-3SG-PRED.SG-REM Ghazzale-PRED.SG
ihi guld-ik bol.
 this.F sweet-PRED.SG very

One of them, her name was Ghazzale, she was very pretty.

boy-os till-os-i dōm-an-ki.
 father-3SG big-3SG-PRED.SG Dom-OBL.PL-ABL
 Her father was the leader of the Dom.

šār-at našy-ar-i ū šazif-k-and-a
 began-3SG.F dance-3SG-PRG and play.music-VTR-3PL-REM
ab-us-ke rabbab-ē-ta dōm-e.
 for-3SG-BEN Rabbaba-OBL.F-DAT Dom-PL
 She began to dance and the Dom would play the rabbaba for her.

šazif-k-and-i rabbab-ē-ta ū pandži
 play.music-VTR-3PL-PRG Rabbaba-OBL.F-DAT and 3SG
našy-ar-i.
 dance-3SG-PRG
 They would play the rabbaba and she would dance.

ehe qarar-e šār-ū dē-d-san-i āṭa, gēsū,
 these.PL Bedouin-PL began-3PL give-3PL-3PL-PRG flour wheat
 = *yašni qameḥ yašni ū ṭhīn = ū šukna = yašni zēt =.*
 PART flour PART and wheat and oil PART oil
 The Bedouin came and began to give them flour, wheat, = *that is flour right*
and wheat = and oil = that is oil =.

ekak min ehe qarar-an-ki
 one-INDEF from these.PL Bedouin-OBL.PL-ABL
putr-os-i šēx-as-ki till-ēk aha,
 son-3SG-PRED.SG Sheikh-OBL.M-ABL big-PRED.SG this.M
 One of these Bedouins was the son of an important Sheikh.

šār kull lēle aw-ar-i nkī-san ū
 began.M every night come-3SG-PRG at-3PL and
shu-r-or-i 'and dōm-an-ki.
 spend.night-VITR.PAST-3SG-PRG at Dom-OBL.PL-ABL
 He began to visit them every night and spend the night with the Dom.

ū ihi dōmiya yazzāle našy-ar-i ab-us-ke.
 and this.F Dom.F Ghazzale dance-3SG-PRG for-3SG-BEN
 And this Dom girl Ghazzale would dance for him.

par-d-i šaql-os = yašni 'ēš? salbat l-šaqel
 take-PAST-F brain-3SG PART what took.3SG.F DEF-brain
tabašo =
 his

He was overwhelmed by her = *That is, what? He was overwhelmed by her =.*

ihi dōmiya yazzāle xṭub-r-iya kār-at
 this.F Dom.woman Ghazzale engage-PAST-REM was-3SG.F

mang-ī-r-iya mām-os putr-as-ke,
 ask-ITR-PAST-REM paternal.unclke-3SG son-OBL.M-BEN

This Dom woman, Ghazzale, was engaged, she was promised to her cousin.

= *yaʕni maṣṭūube l-ʿibn ʕamm-hā* =
 PART engaged.F to-son paternal.uncle-3SG.F

= *that is, she was engaged to her cousin* =

putr-os šēx-as-ki aha qrara hay-os ḥibb-r-a
 son-3SG Sheikh-OBL.M-ABL this.M Bedouin this-3SG like-PAST-M

ihi dōmiy-ē ū ihi dōmiya gēna
 this.F Dom-OBL.F and this.F Dom.F further

ḥubb-r-os-is.

love-PAST-3SG-3SG.OBL

The Sheikh's son, the Bedouin, liked the Dom girl and the Dom girl liked him too.

šār qaft-ar-i min boy-os kury-a-ki
 began.M steal-3SG-PRG from father-3SG house-OBL.F-ABL

aha qrara nan-ar-i ihi domiy-ē-ke
 this.M Bedouin bring-3SG-PRG this.F Dom-OBL.F-BEN

ū drāri-k-ed-os-san ple ū fray-e ma
 and fill-VTR-PAST-3SG-3PL money and clothes NEG

fray-e ū hada.

clothes and that

The Bedouin started to steal from his father's household and to bring things to this Dom girl and to bestow on her money and clothes and so on.

qrara aha šōna, mang-id-a ihi domi-yē min
 Bedouin this.M boy ask-PAST-M this.F Dom-OBL.F from

boy-is-ki

father-3SG.OBL-ABL

The Bedouin boy asked her father for the Dom girl's hand.

boy-os ma rd-ah-r-a de-r-is.
 father-3SG NEG accept-VTR give-3SG.OBL

Her father did not agree to give her away.

yaʕni atu boy-or šēx-i till-ēk
 PART you.SG father-2SG Sheikh-PRED.SG big-PRED.SG

Your father is an important Sheikh,

ū *par* *ik-ak* *dōmiya* *yaʕni* *aha*
 and take.2SG.SUBJ one-INDEF Dom.F PART this.M
yaʕni *na-qbul-h-ond-éʕ* *yaʕni* *ahl-or*
 PART NEG-accept-VITR-3PL-NEG PART family-2SG
 = *yaʕni* *ahlak* *ma* *bi-ʕbal-ū* =
 PART family-2SG.M NEG PROG-agree-3PL-NEG

And should you take a Dom girl, your people would not accept this, = *that is*,
your family will not accept this =

gar-a *aha* *šōna* *šir-d-a* *boy-is-ke,*
 go.PAST-M this.M boy speak-PAST-M father-OBL.M-BEN
qrara, *inni* *ama* *mang-am-i* *ihi*
 Bedouin COMP.1SG I want-1SG-PRG this.F
domiy-ē *bidd-ī* *par-am* *itʕawwiz-h-om-is.*
 Dom-OBL.F want-1SG take-1SG.SUBJ marry-VITR-1SG-3SG.OBL

The boy went and told his father, the Bedouin, I want this Dom girl, I would
 like to marry her.

boy-os *qal* *ehe* *dom-ēni* *ū* *iza*
 father-3SG said these.PL Dom-PRED.PL and if
par-d-or-is *mar-am/* *mar-am-san-i*
 take-PAST-2SG-3SG kill-1SG.SUBJ kill-1SG.SUBJ-3PL-PRG
gišʕāne, *giš* *dōm-an* *mar-am-i.*
 all all Dom-OBL.PL kill-1SG-PRES

His father said, these are Dom, and if you were to marry her I will kill all of
 them, I will kill all the Dom.

rfaḍ-k-ed-a *ka/* *aha* *boy-os* *aha* *šōn-as-ki.*
 refuse-VTR-PAST-M ka/ this.M father-3SG this.M boy-OBL.M-ABL
 The boy's father refused.

arātin, = *yaʕni* *fī-l-lēl* = *aha* *šēx* *qrara*
 at.night PART in-DEF-night this.M Sheikh Bedouin
šir-d-a *qrar-an-ke* *ḥawū-k-as* *giš*
 speak-PAST-M Bedouin-OBL.PL-BEN expel-VTR-2PL.SUBJ all
dōm-an *min* *hindar*
 Dom-OBL.PL from here

At night = *that is*, *at night* = the Bedouin Sheikh said to the Bedouins: Expel
 all the Dom from here.

tānī *dīs* *aha* *šōna* *qrara,* *putr-os* *šēx-as-ki,*
 next day this.M boy Bedouin son-3SG Sheikh-OBL.M-ABL
gar-a *ta* *lak-ar* *dōm-an* *ma*
 go.PAST-M COMP see-3SG.SUBJ Dom-OBL.PL NEG

lak-ed-os-sar,
see-PAST-3SG-3PL

The next day the Bedouin boy, the Sheikh's son, went to see the Dom but could not find them.

raw-ird-ēd-i min hundar min uhu des-os-ki,
travel-PAST-3PL-PRG from there from that.M village-OBL.M-ABL
= *yaʕni raḥalū =*
PART travelled.3PL

They travelled from there from that village, = *that is they travelled =*.

ehe dōm-e raw-ird-e min hay-ki min
these.PL Dom-PL walk-PAST-3PL from PART-ABL from
ḥalab-a-ki gar-e krēn? = ʕala l-ʕiraq, =
Aleppo-OBL.F-ABL go.PAST-3PL where to DEF-Iraq, =
ʕiraq-a-ta yaʕni ʕiraq-a-ta.
Iraq-OBL.F-DAT PART Iraq-OBL.F-DAT

The Dom left Aleppo and where did they go? = *to Iraq =*, that is to Iraq.

aha ʕōna ʕār row-ar-i atrī-san, man-d-a
this.M boy began.M cry-3SG-PRG about-3PL leave-PAST-M
boy-is kury-a ū gar-a t/
father-3SG.OBL house-OBL.F and go.PAST-M
ras-r-a dōm-an.
return-PAST-M Dom-OBL.PL

The boy started to cry, he left his father's house and he went/ he went back to the Dom.

ū kull/ kull mā aw-ar-i ʕala dēy-ak,
and every every COMP come-3SG-PRG to village-INDEF
= *yaʕni kull mā biʕi ʕala l-balad =*
PART every COM come.3SG to DEF-village

And every/ every time he arrived in a village, = *that is every time he came to a village =*

s'il-k-ar-i ma/ ma er-e dōm-e nkī-ran
ask-VTR-3SG-PRG NEG NEG come.PAST-3PL Dom-PL by-2PL
hindar?
here

He asks: Didn't any Dom arrive here in your town?

ʕ-and-i: la, ma er-e.
speak-3PL-PRG no NEG come.PAST-3PL
They say: No, they haven't arrived.

<i>bi-l- 'āxir</i>	<i>nḍall-ahr-a</i>	<i>atnīs-an,</i>	<i>lak-ed-osan</i>
at-DEF-end	succeed-VTR.PAST-M	about-3PL	see-PAST-3PL
<i>tir-d-ed-i</i>	<i>fī/ fī</i>	<i>dēy-ak</i>	<i>min</i>
stand-PAST-3PL-PRG	in in	village-INDEF	from
<i>dēy-ē-s-ki</i>	<i>l-širāq.</i>		
village-PL-3SG-ABL	DEF-Iraq		

At the end he succeeded, he found them stopping in/ in one of the towns of Iraq.

<i>eh-e</i>	<i>dōm-e</i>	<i>qal</i>	<i>lak,</i>	<i>bidd-ak</i>
these.PL	Dom-PL	PART	see.2SG.SUBJ	want-2SG.M
<i>šiš-hōš-ī</i>	<i>wāšī-man?</i>			
live-be.SUBJ-2SG	with-1PL			

The Dom said: Look, do you want to live with us?

<i>bidd-ak</i>	<i>kam-k-a</i>	<i>zeyy-ak</i>	<i>zayy-nā,</i>
want-2SG.M	work-VTR-2SG.SUBJ	like-2SG.M	like-1PL
<i>bidd-ak</i>	<i>hōš-ī</i>	<i>ṭabbil-k-a</i>	
want-2SG.M	become-2SG.SUBJ	drum-VTR-2SG.SUBJ	

Do you want to work just like us, do you want to play the drums?

<i>šallim-k-ar-r-i</i>	<i>kihni</i>	<i>fumna</i>	<i>ṭabl-ē-ta.</i>
teach-VTR-1PL-2SG-PRG	how	hit-2SG.SUBJ	drum-OBL.F-DAT

We will teach you how to hit the drum.

<i>fēm-ar-i</i>	<i>ṭabl-ē-ṭa,</i>	<i>ū</i>	<i>ihi</i>	<i>šōni</i>	<i>yazzāle</i>
hit-3SG-PRG	drum-OBL.F-DAT	and	this.F	girl	Ghazzale
<i>dōmiya</i>	<i>našy-ar-i.</i>				
Dom.woman	dance-3SG-PRG				

He strikes the drum, and the Dom girl Ghazzale dances.

<i>dža-r-i/</i>	<i>dža-nd-i</i>	<i>qahaw-ē/</i>	<i>qahawiy-an-ta,</i>	
go-3SG-PRES	go-3PL-PRES	coffee	café-OBL.PL-DAT	
<i>dža-nd-i</i>	<i>kury-an-ta,</i>	<i>našy-and-i</i>	<i>ū</i>	
go-3PL-PRES	house-OBL.PL-DAT	dance-3PL-PRG	and	
<i>hada</i>	<i>minšān</i>	<i>lim-kar-ad</i>	<i>ple,</i>	<i>= yašni</i>
this	for	earn-VTR-3PL.SUBJ	money	PART
<i>y-ilm-ū</i>	<i>mašāri =</i>			
3-earn-PL	money			

He goes/ they go to coffee/ to the cafés, they go to houses, they dance and all that in order to earn money = *that is to earn money* =.

<i>il-muhimm,</i>	<i>par-d-a</i>	<i>ihi</i>	<i>dōmiy-ē,</i>
DEF-important	take-PAST-M	this.F	Dom.womani-OBL.F

aha qrara.
this.M Bedouin

Anyway, this Bedouin married this Dom woman.

aha qrara boy-os šōn-as-ki, šār
this.M Bedouin father-3SG boy-OBL.M-ABL began.3SG.M
nēr-r-i maṭ-e dawwir-kar-ad putr-os-ta.
send-3SG-PRG people-PL search-VTR-3PL.SUBJ son-3SG-DAT
The Bedouin, the boy's father, began sending people to search for his son.

er-as-os xabar-i inni haṭṭa
come.PAST-3SG-3SG news-PRED.SG COMP PART
wēsr-ēk putr-os šand dōm-an-ki,
sit-PAST-PRED.SG son-3SG at Dom-OBL.PL-ABL
tabbal-k-ar-i ū hundar/ ū dōmiya
drum-VTR-3SG-PRES and there and Dom.woman
našy-ar-i.
dance-3SG-PRG

He received information that his son was living with the Dom, striking the drum there while the Dom woman dances.

boy-os min-d-a ḥāl-os ū gar-a, krēn?
father-3SG take-PAST-M self-3SG and go.PAST-M where
šīrāq-a-ta.
Iraq-OBL.F-DAT

His father left and where did he go? To Iraq.

š-ird-a tmāliy-an-ke illi šīraq-a-m-ēni,
speak-PAST-M soldier-OBL.PL-BEN REL Iraq-OBL.F-LOC-PRED.PL
He spoke to the soldiers who were in Iraq.

qal itme bidd-kum raḥil-kar-as ama-ke
PART you.PL want-2PL leave-VTR-2PL.SUBJ 1SG-BEN
ehe dōm-an ḥabs-kar-as-san
these.PL Dom-OBL.PL arrest-VTR-2PL.SUBJ-3PL
He said: you must drive out these Dom for me and arrest them.

ū putr-om t-as-is sidžin-ma ū
and son-1SG put-2PL.SUBJ-3SG.OBL prison-LOC and
saffir-k-as-is hay-ta, ḥalab-a-ta.
travel-VTR-2PL.SUBJ-3SG.OBL this-DAT Aleppo-OBL.F-DAT
And as for my son, you should put him in prison and deport him to this, to Aleppo.

= *yaʕni misik-ū raḥḥil-ū ha-nawar, ū ibn-ī*
 PART catch-2PL deport-2PL these-Gypsies and son-1SG
hāda imisk-ū-hu ḥuṭ-ū-hu
 this.M catch-2PL-3SG.M put.2PL.IMPF-3SG.M-3SG.SUBJ
bi-sidžen, ū baʕdēn saffr-ū-h wēn ʕala
 in-prison and then deport-2PL-3SG.M where to
ḥalab =
 Aleppo

= *that is grab these Gypsies and send them away, and arrest my son and put him in prison, and then send him away where? To Aleppo =.*

er-e tmaliy-e ḥawu-k-ad-e dōm-an
 come.PAST-3PL soldier-PL drive-VTR-PAST-3PL Dom-OBL.PL
ū min-d-a aha qarar-as putr-os aha
 and stay-PAST-M this.M Bedouin son-3SG this.M
šēx-as-ki
 Sheikh-OBL.M-ABL

The soldiers came and drove away the Doms and the Bedouin, the Sheikh's son, stayed.

tir-d-ed-is sidžin-ma min sidžin-ki
 put-PAST-3PL-3SG.OBL prison-LOC from prison-ABL
saffir-k-ad-ed-is kinēn? ʕala ḥalab.
 deport-VTR-PAST-3PL-3SG.OBL where to Aleppo

They put him in prison and from prison they deported him where? To Aleppo.

šōna er-a žnūn wāšī-s, dōmiya gēna
 boy come.PAST-M crazy with-3SG Dom.woman also
er-i žnūn wāšī-s.
 come.PAST-F crazy with-3SG

The boy went out of his mind, the Dom girl also went out or her mind.

aha qarara šēx, aha boy-os šōn-as-ki,
 this.M Bedouin Sheikh this.M father-3SG boy-OBL.M-ABL
nan-ar-i dakātr-an inni ṭayyib-kar-ad
 bring-3SG-PRG doctors-OBL.PL COMP good-VTR-3PL.SUBJ
aha šōn-as
 this.M boy-OBL.M

The Bedouin Sheikh, the boy's father, brought in doctors in order to cure the boy.

džan-d-ed-e' dakātra ab-us-ke.
 know-PAST-3PL-NEG doctors for-3SG-BEN
 The doctors didn't know how to help him.

qrara aha šēx naddim-r-a inni kihni
 Bedouin this.M Sheikh regret-PAST-M COMP how
yašni ma nafiz-k-ad-a ṭalab-os putr-os-ki
 PART NEG fulfil-VTR-PAST-M wish-3SG son-3SG-ABL

The Bedouin Sheikh regretted that he had failed to fulfil his son's wish.

š-ir-d-a putr-os-ke qal iza atu bidd-ak
 speak-PAST-M son-3SG-BEN PART if you.SG want-2SG.M
iyyā-ha, qal xallaṣ, dža nan-is
 OBJ-3SG.F PART fine go.2SG.SUBJ bring.2SG.SUBJ-3SG.OBL

He said to his son, if you want her, then that's fine, go on and take her.

ū par-is ū ama xallaṣ ū ama
 and take.2SG.SUBJ-3SG.OBL and I fine and I
wāfaq-k-ad-om-i inni dżawiz-k-am-is
 agree-VTR-PAST-1SG-PRG COMP marry-VTR-1SG.SUBJ-3SG.OBL
ab-ur-ke.
 for-2SG-BEN

And take her and fine, and I agree to marry her to you.

ihi dōmiya min kutr mā yašni mang-ar-a
 this.F Dom.woman from much COMP PART want-3SG-REM
aha qrar-as, mišt-ahr-i hada w mr-i.
 this.M Bedouin-OBL.M ill-VTR.PAST-F this and die.PAST-F

The Dom woman loved the Bedouin so much, that she fell ill and died.

er-a aha šōna ſand dōm-an-ki: kate,
 come.PAST-M this.M boy at Dom-OBL.PL-ABL where
kate yazzāle kate yazzāle? qxal yazzāle mr-i.
 where Ghazzale where Ghazzale PART Ghazzale die.PAST-F

The boy came to the Dom: Where is Ghazzale, where is Ghazzale? They said: Ghazzale died.

bardo aha qrara yašni bašd mr-i ihi šōni
 also this.M Bedouin PART after die.PAST-F this.F girl
gēna mišt-ahr-a wi mr-a ū dfin-k-ad-e
 also ill-VTR.PAST-M and die.PAST-M and bury-VTR-PAST-3PL
dīn-an mašbašd.
 two-OBL.PPL together

So the boy too, after the girl died, also fell ill and died, and they buried the two of them together.

12.4. Sample 4: From a Dom woman's life story

lamma kun-t ama qašṭōt-ik, na
 when was-1SG I small-PRED.SG NEG
nēr-d-ed-im madrasa/ madāris-an-ka.
 send-PAST-3PL-1SG.OBL school schools-OBL.PL-DAT
 When I was small, they didn't send me to school/ to school.

vē⁶³/ ū baq-ēt kury-a-ma zayy xaddām-ēk,
 and and stayed-1SG house-OBL.F-LOC like servant-PRED.SG
man-ad-m-a kam-k-am kury-a-ma.
 leave-3PL-1SG-REM work-VTR-1SG.SUBJ house-OBL.F-LOC
 And/ and I stayed at home like a servant, they left me to work at home.

man-ad-m-e' kil-š-am kury-a-ki.
 leave-3PL-1SG-NEG exit-SUBJ-1SG house-OBL.F-ABL
 They would not let me leave the house.

ū kān ašti ama-ke ben-ak-i,
 and was.3SG.M there.is I-BEN sister-INDEF-PRED.SG
nam-os ḥayāt-i.
 name-3SG Hayat-PRED.SG
 And I had a sister, her name is Hayat.

sabaḥtan f-ar-m-i qatl-ak, ū duhr
 morning hit-3SG-1SG-PRG beating-INDEF and noon
qatl-ak, ū-l-muyrub qatl-ak.
 beating-INDEF and-DEF-evening beating-INDEF
 She used to hit me – a beating in the morning, a beating at noon, a beating in the evening,

minyēr ayye ḥādž-ak.
 without any reason-INDEF
 Without a reason.

ū in-man-ad-m-e' kil-š-am maṣ
 and NEG-let-3PL-1SG-NEG exit-SUBJ-1SG with
šōny-an-ki, maṣ sāḥb-ē-m-ki, maṣ 'iši.
 girl-OBL.PL-ABL with friend-PL-1SG-ABL with anything
 And they wouldn't let me go out with the girls, with my friends, with anyone.

ū dīs-ak min arat-an-ki kun-t/ hada
 and day-INDEF from night-OBL.PL-ABL was-1SG this
 And one day I was/ this

kān nkī-man n-h-e' kahraba,
was.3SG.M at-1PL NEG-is-NEG electricity
We didn't have electricity.

kun-nā walaŕ-k-ēn-a lamb-ēk.
was-1PL light-VTR-1PL-REM lantern-PRED.SG
We used to light a lantern.

ū kull lēle ama walaŕ-k-am-i ihi lamb-ē.
and every night I light-VTR-1SG-PRG this.F lantern-OBL.F
And every evening I would light this lantern.

dīs-ak ihi lamba kuwī-r-i siry-is-ka
day-INDEF this.F lantern fall-PAST-F head-3SG.OBL-DAT
hay-ki bar-im dīr-ki, nažwā-ki.
PART-ABL brother-1SG.OBL daughter-ABL Najwa-ABL
One day the lamp fell down on the head of what's her name, my niece Najwa.

wa thim-k-ad-ed-is mindžī-m inn-i
and accuse-VTR-PAST-3PL-3SG.OBL from-1SG COMP-1SG
ama kur-d-om-is xušūšī ſankī-s.
I throw-PAST-1SG-3SG.OBL deliberately on-3SG
And they accused me of throwing it at her deliberately.

ū mīn-d-os-im ihi hayyāt,
and grab-PAST-3SG-1SG.OBL this.F Hayat
fēr-os-im, mar-d-os-im fēyiš-ki.
hit.PAST-3SG-1SG.OBL kill-PAST-3SG-1SG.OBL beating-ABL
And Hayat grabbed me, she hit me, she beat me to death.

ū qal ama kur-d-om-is xušūšī
and PART I throw-PAST-1SG-3SG.OBL especially
mh-os-ka ſašān mh-os waš-ī-š-ar
face-3SG-DAT so.that face-3SG burn-ITR-SUBJ-3SG
And she said that I threw it deliberately in her face in order to burn her face.

ū da'imān lamma bidd-hā dža-r kān-at
and always when want-3SG.F go-3SG.SUBJ was-3SG.F
par-ar-s-a wāšī-s ū 'iši
take-3SG-3SG-REM with-3SG and anything
And every time she went out she would take her with her and so on.

ū ama man-ar-m-a kury-a-ma
and I leave-3SG-1SG-REM house-OBL.F-LOC
msih-k-am ū qušš-k-am ū
scrub-VTR-1SG.SUBJ and sweep-VTR-1SG.SUBJ and

žlī-k-am.

wash-VTR-1SG.SUBJ

And she left me at home to scrub and to sweep and to wash.

kān-ū dē-d-m-a kahry-ak
 was-3PL give-3PL-1SG-REM pot-INDEF

žlī-k-am-is akbar minšī-m-i.
 wash.up-VTR-1SG-3SG.OBL bigger from-1SG-PRED.SG

They used to give me a pot to wash that was bigger than me.

ū par-d-os-is madras-an-ka
 and take-PAST-3SG-3SG.OBL school-OBL.PL-DAT
waddi-k-ed-os
 bring-VTR-PAST-3SG

And she took her to school she brought her [there].

yašni ama akbar min nadžwā-ki di wars
 PART I older from Najwa-ABL two year
 Well, I'm two years older than Najwa.

waddi-k-ed-os madras-an-ka ū amayis ma
 bring-VTR-PAST-3SG school-OBL.PL-DAT and me NEG
nēr-d-os-im.
 send-PAST-3SG-1SG.OBL

She brought her to school but she didn't send me.

yašni ma šalim-ahr-om.
 PART NEG learn-VTR.PAST-1SG
 So I didn't study.

ū ama lamma till-ahr-om šīnak, ga-rom
 and I when old-ITR.PAST-1SG a.little go.PAST-1SG
kam-k-am.
 work-VTR-1SG.SUBJ

And when I grew a bit older I went to work.

kān-at par-ar-m-a wāšī-s ihī ḥayāt
 was-3SG.F take-3SG-1SG-REM with-3SG this.F Hayat
kam-k-am ū kān-at par-ar-a
 work-VTR-1SG.SUBJ and was-3SG.F take-3SG-REM
pl-ē-m.
 money-PL-1SG

She used to take me with her, Hayat, to work and she used to take away my money.

ū baq-ēt radžo-ho-m-s-a yašni
 and stayed-1SG beg-VITR-1SG-3SG-REM PART
waddi-k-ar-im madras-ē-ka.
 bring-VTR-3SG.SUBJ-1SG school-OBL.F-DAT
 And I kept asking her to bring me to school.

pandži š-ar-a ama-ke: na, wēšti
 3SG speak-3SG-REM I-BEN NEG sit.2SG.SUBJ
kury-a-ma atu, na dža
 house-OBL.F-LOC you.SG NEG go.2SG.SUBJ
madras-ē-ka!
 school-OBL.F-DAT

She said to me: No, you sit at home, don't go to school!

ū da'iman yašni kun-t ama kury-a-m-ēk
 and always PART was-1SG I house-OBL.F-LOC-PRED.SG
wala kilš-am-i wala aw-am-i, wala
 neither exit-1SG-PRG neither come-1SG-PRG neither
waddi-k-ar-m-i maḥall-ak.
 bring-VTR-3SG-1SG-PRG place-INDEF

And I was always at home, I didn't go out nor did I come nor would she take me anywhere.

da'iman ḥšur-ahr-om-i kury-a-ma
 always cramp-be-1SG house-OBL.F-LOC
 Always cramped at home.

ya par-ar-m-i wāši-s kam-k-am, ū
 or take-3SG-1SG-PRG with-3SG work-VTR-1SG.SUBJ and
par-ar-i pl-ē-m.
 take-3SG-PRG money-PL-1SG

Or she would take me with her to work and take away my money.

ū gištan-ē-san kān-ū yašni šamil-k-ad-m-a
 and all-3PL was-3PL PART treat-VTR-3PL-1SG-REM
mišš ghāy kury-a-ma
 NEG good house-OBL.F-LOC

And they would all treat me badly at home.

bass kān-at day-os ḥayat-ē-ki ghāy wāši-m.
 but was-3SG.F mother-3SG Hayat-OBL.F-ABL good with-1SG
 Only Hayat's mother was nice to me.

pandži rabbi-k-ed-os-im.
 3SG raise-VTR-PAST-3SG-1SG
 She was the one who raised me.

yaʕni lamma kār-at ḥayy-āt f-ār-m-a wila
 PART when was-3SG.F Hayat hit-3SG-1SG-REM or
ʾiʕi kār-at ʕazir-kar-s-a.
 something was-3SG.F scold-VTR-3SG-REM

That is, when Hayat used to hit me or something, she would scold her.

ū bardo dīb gēna kār mišš ghāy,
 and also Dib too was.3SG.M NEG good
 And Dib was also mean to me.

kār-at bay-os daʾiman yaʕni ʕamil-k-ar-m-i
 was-3SG.F wife-3SG always PART treat-VTR-3SG-1SG-PRG
mišš ghāy ū ʾiʕi.
 NEG good and thing

His wife used to treat me badly and so on.

xatr-ak dīb fē-r-os-im buks-ak pīrnē-m-ma
 time-INDEF Dib hit-PAST-3SG-1SG punch-INDEF nose-1SG-LOC
 Once, Dib punched me in the nose.

minšān par-am/ ʕri-k-am ab-us-ke,
 for take-1SG.SUBJ buy-VTR-1SG.SUBJ for-3SG-BEN
na rd-ahr-om
 NEG agree-VITR.PAST-1SG

[He wanted me] to take/ to go shopping for him, I refused.

fē-r-os-im buks-ak pīrnē-m-ma
 hit-PAST-3SG-1SG punch-INDEF nose-1SG-LOC
xl-aw-id-a awi/ yaʕni aw-ar-i di
 open-CAUS-PAST-M come/ PART come-3SG-PRG two
sēʕa xulš-ar-i nhīr min pīrnē-m-ki.
 hour exit-3SG-PRG blood from nose-1SG-ABL

He punched me in the nose and made/ my nose was bleeding for two hours.

min waqtīy-is-ki in-f-ar-m-eʿ, by-ar-i
 from time-3SG.OBL-ABL NEG-hit-3SG-1SG-NEG fear-3SG-PRG
 From that time on he didn't hit me, he was scared.

ū/ l-muḥimm till-ahr-om-i yaʕni lamma
 and DEF-important big-VITR.PAST-1SG PART when
ehr-a ʕumr-om tnaʕšr sane talataʕšr sane,
 become.PAST-M age-1SG twelve year thirteen year
 And/ Anyway when I reached the age of twelve or thirteen years,

kam-k-ed-om *šind hay-ki* *ihi* *ester-ē-ki*
 work-VTR-PAST-1SG at PART-ABL this.F Esther-OBL.F-ABL
 I worked for this woman, Esther.

rabbi-k-ed-om *putr-ē-s* *ū* *layāyet* *yašni/*
 raise-VTR-PAST-1SG son-PL-3SG and till PART
yašni qabil di wars baṭṭil-ahr-om *minkī-s.*
 PART before two year stop-VITR.PAST-1SG from-3SG
 I raised her sons and until/ like two years ago I stopped working for her.

kān-at *šamil-k-ar-m-a* *ghāy, zayy ihi*
 was-3SG.F treat-VTR-3SG-1SG-REM good like this.F
yašni zayy day-om-i, *t-os-im*
 PART like mother-1SG-PRED.SG give.PAST-3SG-1SG.OBL
ḥubb ū ḥannān ū 'iši.
 love and compassion and thing
 She used to treat me well, like/ as if she was my mother, she gave me love and compassion and all that.

ū *bi-l'-āxar* *absar* *yayir-ahr-i* *ū*
 and at-DEF-end wonder change-VITR.PAST-F and
baṭṭil-ahr-i *šamil-k-ar-im.*
 stop-VITR.PAST-F employ-VTR-3SG.SUBJ-1SG
 And at the end, somehow she changed and stopped employing me.

12.5. Sample 5: The origin of the Dom

ašl-os *dōm-an-ki,* *ša-zamān* *'awwal,*
 origin-3SG Dom-PL-ABL in-time early
 The origin of the Dom, early on,

ašti *di qabil-e* *šiš-r-ēd-a* *kān-ū* *fi*
 there.is two tribe-PL live-VITR-3PL-REM was-3PL in
bilād/ dēs-is-ma *šām-a-ki.*
 land. town-3SG.OBL-LOC Syria-OBL.F-ABL
 There were two tribes, they used to live in the land of/ in a Syrian town.

nām-osan *banī qēs* *ū* *banī murra.*
 name-3PL Bani Qes and Bani Murra
 Their name was Bani Qes and Bani Murra.

till-os *banī qēs* *nām-os* *klēb.*
 big-3SG Bani Qes name-3SG Kleb
 The leader of Bani Qes, his name was Kleb.

till-os banī murra nām-os dʒassās.

big-3SG Bani Murra name-3SG Jassas

The leader of Bani Murra, his name was Jassas.

w-ehe dīn-e = yaʕni it-tinēn = māmum

and-these.PL two-PL PART DEF-two uncle

putr-ēni = wlā-ʕamm =

son-PRED.PL cousins

And those two, = *that is the two of them* = were cousins = *cousins* =.

aʕti ik-ak-i wud-ik, ben-os

there.is one-INDEF-PRED.SG old.lady-PRED.SG sister-3SG

tubba ḥassān.

Tubba Hassan

There was an old lady, the sister of Tubba Hassan.

lamma mar-d-os klēb, mar-d-a tubba ḥassān

when kill-PAST-3SG Klēb kill-PAST-M Tubba Hassan

malik š-šām,

King DEF-Syria

When Kleb killed him, he killed Tubba Hassan the King of Syria,

bidd-hā intaqim-hōš-ar/ stad-hōš-ar
want-3SG.F revenge-VITR.SUBJ-3SG claim-VITR.SUBJ-3SG

tār-os min dōm-an-ki, yaʕni min
revenge-3SG from Dom-OBL.PL-ABL PART from

ehe dīn-e qabil-an-ki.
these.PL two-PL tribe-OBL.PL-ABL

She wanted to take revenge/ to take revenge from the Doms, that is, from those two tribes.

er-i ʕala banī murra ʕa dʒassās-as-ki,
come.PAST-F to Bani Murra to Dʒassās-OBL.M-ABL

wāšī-š naʕdʒ-ēk ʕaʕrab-i.
with-3SG sheep-PRED.SG mangy-PRED.SG

She came to Bani Murra, to Jassas, and with her was a mangy sheep.

w-ihī naʕdʒa t-ir-d-i/ t-ir-d-i ab-us-ke
and-this.F sheep put-3SG-F put-3SG-F for-3SG-BEN
aha/ = zayy ʕuʕūr wa-hāda, ʕaʕar wa-hāda =.
this.M like 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 =.

ū š-ird-i ab-sar-ke ihi naʕdža qal ihi
 and say-PAST-F for-3PL-BEN this.F sheep PART this.F
min assās-hā. min in-nāqiz in-nabi šāleḥ.
 from origin-F from DEF-redeemer DEF-prophet Saleh

And she said to them: this sheep, she said, is descended from the redeemer the Prophet Saleh.

ašti nkī-s ek-ak dusar-ēk yaʕni
 there.is at-3SG one-INDEF black-PRED.SG PART
xdim-k-ar-i ihi/ wudi.
 serve-TR-3SG.PRG this.F old.lady

She had a black servant, serving this/ old lady.

š-ird-i ihi wudi hay-ke/ dusar-as-ke hayy-os,
 say-PAST-F this.F old.lady this-BEN black-OBL.M-BEN PART-3SG
 The lady said to/ to her servant,

qal par ihi naʕg-ē, ū dža
 PART take.2SG.SUBJ this.F sheep-OBL.F and go.2SG.SUBJ
bisātīn-ē-s-ma klēb-as-ki, xallī-h
 gardens-PL-3SG-LOC Kleb-OBL.M-ABL let-3SG
rʕi-k-ar hundar.
 graze-VTR-3SG.SUBJ there

She said: take this sheep, and go to Kleb's gardens, let her graze there.

aha dusara par-d-a ihi naʕg-ē ū
 this.M black take-PAST-M this.F sheep-OBL.F and
ban-d-os, t-ird-os hay-ma/ bustān-is-ma
 tie-PAST-3SG put-PAST-3SG PART-LOC garden-3SG.OBL-LOC
klēb-as-ki.

Klēb-OBL.M-ABL

The servant took the sheep and tied her, he put her in Kleb's garden.

ū bustān-i till-ēk.
 and garden-PRED.SG big-PRED.SG
 And it was a big garden.

šār-at ihi naʕga qaṭif-k-ar-i min aha
 began-3SG.F this.F sheep pick-VTR-3SG-PRG from this.M
šadžar-ki. ū q-ār-i.
 tree-ABL and eat-3SG-PRG

The sheep began to pick from a tree and to eat.

ḥurrāšīn-ē-s aha bustān-ki lak-ed-a ihi
 guards-PL-3SG this.M garden-ABL see-PAST-3SG-M this.F

naʕg-ē. fē-r-ed-is mar-d-ed-is.
 sheep-OBL.F beat-PAST-3PL-3SG.OBL kill-PAST-3PL-3SG.OBL

The garden's guards saw the sheep, they beat it and killed it.

dusara hayy-os widy-a-ki er-a š-ird-a
 black this-3SG old-lady-OBL.F-ABL come.PAST-M say-PAST-M
widy-a-ke.
 old-lady-OBL.F-BEN

The old lady's black man came and told the old lady.

šār-at row-ar-i, = yaʕni šār-at tʕayyeṭ =
 began-3SG.F cry-3SG-PRG PART began-3SG.F cry.3SG.F.SUBJ
 She began to cry, = *that is, she began to cry* =.

er-a ab-us-ke klēb: karwe wudī, = mā
 come.PAST-M for-3SG-BEN Kleb PART old.lady what
lek? = row-ēk?
 to.2SG.F cry-2SG

Kleb⁴⁴ came to her: what is it, old lady, = *what's the matter?* = you're crying?

qal: lak-ed-or-i, hurrāšīn-ē-s bustān-is-ki
 PART see-PAST-2SG-PRG guards-PL-3SG garden-3SG.OBL-ABL
hay-ki klēb-as-ki mar-d-e naʕg-om illi
 this-ABL Klēb-M-ABL kill-PAST-3PL sheep-1SG REL
ihī = assās-hā min naʕgāt in-nabī šāleḥ =
 this.F origin-3SG-F from sheep-PL DEF-prophet Saleh

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

š-ar-i dʒassās ab-us-ke: na zʕil-hōš-ī
 say-3SG Jassas for-3SG-BEN NEG anger-VITR.SUBJ-2SG
atu wudī.
 you.SG old.lady

Jassas says to her: Don't be angry, old lady.

ama dē-m-r-i badāl-is ʕašrīn naʕga ū
 I give-1SG-2SG-PRG instead-3SG.OBL twenty sheep and
ṭayyib-k-am-i xātr-or.
 improve-VTR-1SG-PRG mood-2SG

I shall give you twenty sheep in its place and I shall cheer you up.

qal: la', ama na-qbil-om-e'.
 PART no I NEG-accept-1SG-NEG
 She said: No, I don't accept.

yā imma naʕg-om gardo-ho-r-i, yā imma
 either if sheep-1SG live-VITR-3SG-PRG either if

mar-ēk ama-ke klēb-as, yā imma
 kill-2SG 1SG-BEN Kleb-OBL.M either if
bardi-k-a hižr-om ndžūm-i.
 fill-VTR-2SG.SUBJ lap-1SG stars-PRED.SG

Either my sheep shall live, or you shall kill Klēb for me, or else fill my lap with stars.

= *yaʕni bi-l-ʕarabi.⁴⁵ yā naʕgtī tgūm, yā*
 PART in-DEF-Arabic either sheep-1SG stand-3SG-F or
bitmalli hižri. ndžūm, yā imma rās klēb bi-damm
 fill-2SG lap-1SG star.PL or else head Klēb in-blood
yħūm =
 turn-3SG-M

= *In other words, in Arabic: Either my sheep shall rise, or you will fill my lap with stars, or else Klēb's head shall float in blood =.*

džassās qal: ama gardi-kar-am naʕg-or
 Jassas said I revive-VTR-1SG.SUBJ sheep-2SG
in-saka-m-e'.
 NEG-can-1SG-NEG

Jassas said: I cannot revive your sheep.

ila yēr xuya lamma gardi-k-ar-is ab-ur-ke.
 but without God when revive-VTR-3SG.SUBJ-3SG for-2SG-BEN
 Only God can revive her for you.

ū bardi-kar-am hižr-or ndžūm-i qal
 and fill-VTR-1SG.SUBJ lap-2SG stars-PRED.SG PART
 = *hāda ndžūm hāda ʕaʕb ʕala-yy =*
 that star.PL that difficult on-1SG

And to fill your lap with stars, he said, = *these stars that's difficult for me =.*

= *amma-n iza bidd-ek rās klēb marħabā-b-ek! =*
 but if want-2SG.F head Kleb welcome-in-2SG.F
 = *But if you want Kleb's head, you are welcome to it! =*

dīs-ak min dīs-an-ki = yaʕni yōm min
 day-INDEF from day-OBL.PL-ABL PART day from
l-'ayyām = ʕār klēb ū džassās kēl-and-i
 DEF-days began-3SG.M Kleb and Jassas ride-3PL-PRG
hay-ta gory-an-ta, ʕābiq-h-ond-i.
 PART-DAT horse-OBL.PL-DAT compete-VITR-3PL-PRG

One day = *that is one day* = Kleb and Jassas went out to ride/ horses, they had a race.

= *yaʕni* *ʕār* *yitʕābiqū* *ʿēš?* *ʕa-l-xēl* =
 PART began.3SG.M compete.3PL.SUBJ what on-DEF-horse
 = *That is they held what? a riding competition =*

gory-os *klēb-as-ki* *ʕbuq-h-or-i* *gory-os*
 horse-3SG Klēb-OBL.M-ABL precede-VITR-3SG-PRG horse-3SG
hay-ki, *ka/* *dʒassās-as-ki.*
 PART-ABL Jassas-OBL.M-ABL
 Kleb's horse beat/ Jassas's horse.

dʒassās *ʕar-d-ēy-a* *romḥ-i* *axar*
 Jassas hide-PAST-PRED.SG-REM lance-PRED.SG beneath
ʕabāy-is-ki *ū* *uhu* *agrī-s-i* *aha*
 gown-3SG.OBL-ABL and that.M. in.front-3SG-PRED.SG this.M
klēb, *fē-r-os* *rumuḥ-ma,* *ila* *pišt-is-m-ēk.*
 Kleb hit-PAST-3SG lance-LOC but back-3SG-LOC-PRED.SG
 Jassas was hiding a lance beneath his gown, and just as the other one, Kleb,
 stood in front of him, he struck him with the lance directly in his back.

klib-r-a.
 fall-PAST-M
 He collapsed.

ʕār *par-ar-i* *min* *nhīr-is-ki* *aha*
 began-3SG.M take-3SG-PRG from blood-3SG.OBL-ABL this.M
klēb *qabil* *mā* *mar-š-ar.*
 Kleb before COMP die-SUBJ-3SG
 Kleb started to take his own blood, before he died.

ū *ktib-k-ar-i* *dʒamʕat-is-ke*
 and write-VTR-3SG-PRG community-3SG.OBL-BEN
ahal-is-ke, *ehe* *banī* *qēs,* *inni* *dʒassās*
 people-3SG.OBL-BEN these.PL Banī Qes. COMP Jassas
yudur-k-ed-os-im *ū* *mar-d-os-im.*
 betrayed-VTR-PAST-3SG-1SG.OBL and killed-PAST-3SG-1SG.OBL
 And [in it] he wrote to his community of people, Bani Qes, [saying] that Jassas
 betrayed me and killed me.

ū *ʿūʕa* *sāmiḥ-kar-as-san-i,* *ū* *mar-as*
 and beware forgive-VTR-2PL-3PL-PRG and kill-2PL.SUBJ
qabil-os *ehe* *banī* *murra*
 tribe-3SG these.PL Banī Murra.
 And beware not to forgive them, and kill his tribe, Bani Murra.

er-e ahal-os klēb-as-ki.
 came-3PL people-3SG Kleb-OBL.M-ABL
 Kleb's people arrived.

lak-ed-e klēb-as, rumuḥ pišt-is-m-ēk
 saw-PAST-3PL Klēb-OBL.M lance back-3SG.OBL-LOC-PRED.SG
ū pandži nazaʔ-k-ar-i.
 and 3SG die-VTR-3SG-PRG
 They found Kleb, a lance in his back, and he is dying.

ū ktib-k-ad-ēk balaḥ-ē-ṭa inni
 and write-VTR-PAST-PRED.SG floor-OBL.F-DAT COMP
dʒassās mar-d-os-im.
 Jassas kill-PAST-3SG-1SG.OBL
 And he had written on the floor: Jassas killed me.

gar-e dfin-k-ed-e klēb-as ū ehr-a
 go.PAST-3PL bury-VTR-PAST-3PL Kleb-OBL.M and become.PAST-M
ḥarb bēn banī qēs ū bēn banī murra.
 war between Bani Qes and between Bani Murra
 They went and buried Kleb, and war broke out between Bani Qes and Bani Murra.

sabʔa snīn ḥarb bēnati-san-i, sabʔa snīn man-d-a
 seven years war between-3PL-PRED.SG seven years stay-PAST-M
fēyiš bēnati-san.
 fight between-3PL
 Seven years there was war between them, seven years the war continued between them.

bi-l-ʾāxir putr-os klēb-as-ki nām-os-i
 at-DEF-end son-3SG Kleb-OBL.M-ABL name-3SG-PRED.SG
dʒalu. ū sālem ez-zīr aha bar-os klēb-as-ki.
 Jalu and Salem ez-Zir this.M brother-3SG Klēb-OBL.M-ABL
 In the end, Kleb's son, his name was Jalu, and Salem ez-Zir was the brother of Kleb.

gar-a min-d-a ka/ dʒassās-as ū mar-d-ed-is.
 go.PAST-M grabbed-3SG-M Jassas and killed-3PL-3SG
 They went and caught Jassas and they killed him.

dʒamaʔt-ē-s dʒassās-as-ki ehe banī murra,
 people-PL-3SG Dʒassās-OBL.M-ABL these.PL Banī Murra
ʾumur-k-ed-a atnī-s aha sālem ez-zīr, xal:
 ordered-VTR-PAST-M on-3SG this.M Salem ez-Zir PART
 As for Jassas' people, the Bani Murra, Salem ez-Zir decreed upon them:

itme mamnūš-i hōš-as hindar = yašni
 you.PL forbidden-PRED.SG be.SUBJ-2PL here PART
mamnūšīn yitammū hōn =
 forbidden.PL stay.3PL.SUBJ here

You are not allowed to remain here = *that is forbidden to stay here =*.

lāzem dža-s xalāy-ma hōš-as.
 must go-2PL.SUBJ wilderness-LOC be-2PL.SUBJ
 You must go and live in the wilderness.

= *yašni lāzim tiskenu intu bi-l-xala, bi-s-šahra*
 PART must live.2PL.SUBJ 2PL in-DEF-wilderness in-DEF-desert
 = *That is, you must live in the wild, in the desert =*

lāzem lamman itme raw-as-i, raw-as bi-šizz
 must when 2PL travel-2PL-PRG travel-2PL.SUBJ in-strength
iš-šōb w-id-dīnya ag-i.
 DEF-heat and-DEF-weather fire-PRED.SG

When you travel, you must travel in the hottest time, when the weather is hot.

= *yašni wi-d-dīnya hām =*
 PART and-DEF-weather hot
 = *That is in the hot weather =*

ū mamnūš-i itme qol-as gory-an-ta.
 and forbidden-PRED.SG 2PL ride-2PL.SUBJ horse-OBL.PL-DAT
 And you may not ride horses.

= *yašni mamnūš tirkebū l-xēl =*
 PART forbidden ride.2PL.SUBJ DEF-horse
 = *That is you are not allowed to ride horses =*

lāzem itme qol-as bass ehe qar-an.
 must 2PL ride-2PL.SUBJ only these.PL donkey-OBL.PL
 You must only ride donkeys.

= *tirkebū l-xamīr =*
 ride.2PL.SUBJ DEF-donkey
 = *Ride donkeys =*

mamnūš-i 'arbaš-xamse buyūt skun-hōš-as maš bašd.
 forbidden-PRED four-five houses live-VITR.SUBJ-2PL together
 You are not allowed to live together, four-five households.

lāzem tkūn itme mišāṭṭaḥ-hr-es-i.
 must be.SUBJ.3SG.F you.PL dispersed-be-2PL-PRG
 You must remain dispersed.

ū itme lāzem maṣīr-oran hōš-as irni bass
and you.PL must destiny-2PL be-2PL.SUBJ COMP only

yanni-kar-as ū našī-š-as.
sing-VTR-2PL.SUBJ and dance-SUBJ-2PL

And your destiny is that you shall only sing and dance.

aħa-k ūšat-oran itme.
this.M-PRED.SG life-2PL you.PL

Thus is to be your life.

eħe dōm-e itšaṭī-r-e ū krēn gar-e
this.PL Dom-PL dispersed-PAST-3PL and where go.PAST-3PL
tird-e? = fī šamāl l-hind =.
settle-PAST-3PL in north DEF-India

The Dom dispersed and where did they go and settle? = *In northern India* =.

min uħu waxt-as-ki, man-d-e = fī šamāl l-hind =.
from that.M time-OBL.M-ABL stay-PAST-3PL in north DEF-India
From that time on, they remained = *in northern India* =.

tšallim-r-e = l-luya l-hindiyye =,
learn-PAST-3PL DEF-language DEF-Indian
They learned = *the Indian language* =.

ila qisem/ qism-ak minšī-san lamma zhur-ahr-a
but part part-INDEF from-3PL when appear-PAST-M
šallaħ ed-dīn 'ayyūbī ū er-a ū ū
Salah ed-Din Ayyubi and come.PAST-M to DEF-Iraq and
ū ū
to DEF-Syria

But part/ one part of them, when Saladin Ayubi appeared and came to Iraq and to Syria.

ū er-e ū ū
and come.PAST-3PL to Palestine and started-3PL
zaraḥ-k-and-i ū hāda.
farm-VTR-3PL-PRG and that

And they came to Palestine and started to engage in farming and so on.

ū man-d-e hīndar dōm-e.
and stay-PAST-3PL here Dom-PL
And the Dom have remained here.

Chapter 13

Notes on the Domari lexicon

13.1. The lexical corpus

The present chapter accompanies the complete Vocabulary list that documents all lexical items recorded in the corpus of connected speech as well as through targeted elicitation (see Chapter 14). Altogether around 960 words were retrieved from the transcriptions, of which over one third (around 360) are of pre-Arabic origin. This includes single-word insertions from Arabic as well as Arabic prepositional phrases and possessive-genitive constructions (such as ‘at the police station’, or ‘prosecutor-general’), but excludes Arabic phrase insertions that contain a finite lexical verb in Arabic (Arabic-inflected auxiliaries are common in Domari and are considered part of the stable structure of the language; see Chapters 7 and 11). Some 55 non-Arabic lexical items listed by Macalister (1914) remain unattested in our corpus and unknown to speakers who were asked whether they recognised them, suggesting a decline in the knowledge of Domari vocabulary in the past two to three generations.

13.2. Etymologies and lexical borrowing

Domari etymologies reveal several layers of historical contacts, notably a small group of Persian loans, several Turkic (Turkish and/or Azeri) items, and a somewhat larger group of Kurdish-derived vocabulary. Turkic (Turkish and/or Azeri) words include *kapi* ‘door’, *sabahtan* ‘in the morning’, *guzel* ‘pretty, beautiful’, *komir* ‘coal’, *gēna* ‘too’ (Turkish *gine* ‘again, also’), *bīy* ‘moustache’ and probably also *tāt* ‘Arab’. Kurdish items include *gawara* ‘head man’ (Kurdish *gawra* ‘great, big’), *gišt* ‘all’, *kurt* ‘short’, *karamakē* ‘please’, *dēy* ‘village’, *mast* ‘yoghurt’, *tfang* ‘gun’, *xuya* ‘God’, *mām* ‘paternal uncle’, *sał* ‘rice’, *šał* ‘waterhole’, *dari* ‘place’, *zara* ‘child’, and more. Shared between Kurdish and Arabic are *xāl* ‘maternal uncle’, and in addition shared with Persian are *baxt* ‘luck’ and *nafar* ‘person’. Words of Persian origin include *nīm* ‘half’, *ple* ‘money’ (Persian singular *pol*), and *zard* ‘gold’. The small number of Persian loans reflects either the time depth of contact, or indeed the fact that Persian items may have entered the language via secondary sources such as Turkish, Kurdish or even Arabic. Contact with Turkish

continued presumably until the end of Ottoman rule in Palestine in 1917, and the wordlists published by Seetzen and Macalister testify to a somewhat larger number of active loans from Turkish during the Ottoman period.

The relatively larger number of Kurdish borrowings clearly indicates prolonged contact with this language, which for the Jerusalem Dom can be assumed to have taken place prior to immigration to Palestine. On this basis it is not surprising that much of the Kurdish vocabulary that appears in the Domari varieties of Syria and Lebanon, where Dom are still in contact with Kurds, is not attested in the Jerusalem dialect. A number of words that are typically attested for other Domari varieties but are not in use in Jerusalem include Kurdish numerals, especially those above 'six', the Kurdish (but also Turkish and Persian) words *birinç* 'rice' and *banir* 'cheese', Kurdish *bapir* 'grandfather, ancestor' and *dar* 'tree', but also Indic *nak* 'nose', *gir* 'butter', *goni* 'bag', *ungli* 'toe', *čenani* 'star', and *lafti* 'girl'. The presence of some of these words in the neighbouring variety of Jordan as well as in Seetzen's vocabulary suggests nonetheless that the rate of retention of older loans simply varies from community to community, or indeed that some contacts with Kurdish speakers continued well after emigration out of the Kurdish regions, facilitated through the nomadic lifestyle of both the Dom and of some Kurdish-speaking populations in the region. Our consultants themselves report on contacts with nomadic Dom from Iraq in Palestine and Jordan as late as the 1940s, and one of our consultants reports that his wife's family had relatives in Lebanon (see Chapter 12).

It is not possible to establish precisely when and where initial contact with spoken Arabic took place, but the presence of the form *gal* alongside *qal* for the quotative particle (Arabic *qāl* 'he said') hints at contacts with Bedouin dialects (though Kurdish also has *qal* 'speech'). Other Arabic loans clearly derive from contacts with Arab populations, either nomadic or settled, other than that of Jerusalem or the other West Bank towns amongst whom the Dom have been living at least for the past two centuries. We find for example the words *qahwa* 'coffee' and *qabil* 'before', contrasting with Jerusalem Arabic *'ahwe* and *'abil*, compositions based on *waqt-* and *waxt-* 'time' (e.g. *waqtos* 'at the time, then'), contrasting with Jerusalem Arabic *wa'et*, and words like *hessaŋ* 'now', contrasting with Jerusalem Arabic *halla*. Note that when speaking Arabic, Dom from Jerusalem naturally use the Jerusalem forms rather than the corresponding Arabic-derived counterparts used in Domari. The language also shows a number of creative processes that are applied to Arabic vocabulary. In addition to the volatility of /q/ (as /q/, /x/, /qx/ and /g/), alternations can be found between *fardžik-* 'to show' (Arabic *f.r.dž*) and *wardžik-*. Occasionally we encounter creative derivations such as *bisawahr-* 'to get married', based on Arabic *bi-sawa* 'together'.

In the opening remarks above I alluded to the enormous proportion of Arabic-derived vocabulary in the corpus of natural speech: around two-thirds of lexical items used are Arabic loans. Table 78 shows the breakdown of words by etymology for the major word classes. It shows that the number of inherited words and that of Arabic words are nearly identical for adjectives and verbs, while borrowed nouns and adverbs outnumber the corresponding inherited stock by almost 2:1. Not included in the table are pronouns, which constitute a conservative category that is almost entirely inherited, as well as conjunctions, modal particles, and interjections, which are, by contrast, almost entirely Arabic (see Chapters 9, 10 and 11).

Table 78. Etymological source of lexical items by word class

Word class	Inherited (Indic)	Kurdish, Turkish, or Persian	Arabic
Nouns	150	20	280
Verbs	110	0	118
Adverbs	18	3	30
Adjectives	31	2	32

An outstanding finding is the high rate of verbs of Arabic origin. Drawing on conventionalised morphological integration strategies for verbs, as discussed in Chapter 7, Domari speakers can avail themselves spontaneously of virtually any Arabic verbal root and integrate it into their speech, regardless of whether or not it is an established term in Domari. The same principle applies, of course, to nouns as well, and to some degree to adjectives and lexical adverbs. The higher proportion of Arabic nouns can be said to merely reflect the greater semantic-lexical differentiation for which speakers rely on nouns.

Basic vocabulary, on the other hand, shows much higher dependency on inherited lexemes. We can draw on three distinct, albeit related indicators for the purpose of ascertaining the proportion of stable, inherited basic vocabulary. Firstly, for the original or ‘long’ Swadesh list containing 225 items (Swadesh 1950), we find 89 Arabic borrowings, which amounts to ca. 40%. By contrast, only 26 items out of Swadesh’s ‘final’ or ‘standard’ 100-word list (Swadesh 1971: 283), or 26%, are Arabic loans. Of the pre-Arabic elements represented on these lists, only a single item can be clearly established as a non-Indic early loan, namely *gišt* ‘all’, from Kurdish.

A more recent tool was introduced by the Loanword Typology Project (Haspelmath and Tadmor 2009). While it was not possible to elicit the full working list of 1,460 meanings for Domari (indeed the total number of lexical items recorded in the corpus is significantly lower), we can relate our findings to the 100-item so-called Leipzig-Jakarta list of basic vocabulary. This list bears a strong resemblance to the Swadesh lists, but is a result of empirical

comparisons among a sample of languages, in particular extraction of the most stable vocabulary items among the entries in the longer working list. Interestingly, Domari shows the exact same number of borrowings (i.e. Arabic-derived items) on the Leipzig-Jakarta list as on the 100-item Swadesh list, namely 26 (26%). This puts Domari just within the range of languages considered as ‘high borrowers’ by the Leipzig Loanword Typology Project (Haspelmath and Tadmor 2009), at a rate close to that of languages like Swahili and Takkia. Meanings on the list that are replaced by Arabic loans in Domari include a number of animals (‘ant’, ‘bird’, ‘fish’), activities (‘to run’, ‘to fly’, ‘to crush’), elements of nature (‘star’, ‘soil’, ‘shade’, ‘ash’, ‘leaf’, ‘root’), and some body-parts (‘knee’, ‘navel’, ‘liver’, ‘thigh’; also ‘wing’, ‘tail’). On the whole, one of the most interesting and significant findings is the relationship between the rate of borrowing in basic vocabulary, and the fact that speakers rely on borrowings for some two-thirds of the actual vocabulary types used in actual conversation.

13.3. Lexical formation and semantic particularities

Although Domari is a full-fledged language of family conversation at least among the older generation, we cannot overlook some features that are typical of in-group speech varieties as favoured by populations of commercial nomads (so-called peripatetic populations). As is well known, such in-group speech varieties frequently rely on a camouflaged lexicon in order to make the content of messages accessible only to fellow group-members. Favourite strategies of lexicon camouflaging include manipulation (reversal, repetition, substitution) of syllables, use of dummy (archaic, or otherwise non-productive) morphological affixes, use of metaphorical meaning extension, as well as the use of borrowed vocabulary. Some in-group vocabularies, such as the varieties known as ‘Para-Romani’, rely almost entirely on vocabulary retained from the speech (in this case Romani) of older generations following language shift in the community (see Matras 2010 on Angloromani).

In Domari we find some features that are common to the lexical inventories of peripatetic groups in general, and those descending from populations affiliated with the Indian *dom* castes in particular. Typical of the latter is the fundamental division in reference to human beings between group-members and outsiders. The designation for group-members draws on the original caste denomination – *dōm*, while the generic reference to outsiders is *kadža*, a term often mapped by contemporary speakers of the language to the Arabic designation *maḍari* or ‘urban dweller’. Much like in-group vocabularies, Domari maintains internal designations for a number of ethnic groups rather than rely on sound-corresponding forms of these groups’ self-appellations.

These include *ṭāt* '(settled) Arab', *qrara* 'Bedouin, Jordanian', *džudži* 'Egyptian', *ktīr* 'Christian', *portkīla* 'Jew', *nohra* (= 'red') 'British'. Some of those may be recycled names for peoples who were contiguous with the Dom before their immigration into Palestine (for example *ṭāt*, a Turkic appellation for Arabs, derives from the name of a Caucasian people who speak an Iranian language, Tat). Others are perhaps borrowings from other languages. The term *nohra* is clearly a purposeful creation inspired either by the red hair common among British forces, or else by the red shade of pale skin exposed to the Mideastern sun. As for *portkīla*, a possible connection might exist to the citrus-growing enterprises of Jewish settlers in the coastal plain area in the early twentieth century, based on Arabic *buṭūqāl* 'orange' (< *Portugal*). An Arabic-based etymology, however, would not explain the reconstruction of initial *p* in Domari, but the source may be Turkish *portakal*.

Other instances of metaphorical meaning extension are found in the names of some common products, such as *qarwi* originally 'bitter' for 'coffee', and *gulda* 'sweet' for 'tea'. Like typical in-group vocabularies, Domari shows internal, camouflage place names, based on the group's associations with the economic and geographical relevance of the place in question. Thus, among the Dom inhabitants of Jerusalem, the town's name is simply *ūyar* 'the town', while Hebron in the West Bank is referred to as *guldi dēy* 'the sweet village', because of its vineyards. Macalister (1914: 6–7) lists additional internal place names, including *till-ūyara-erhona* 'the big city there' ('Damascus'), and *paniak-ūyara* 'the water city' ('Beirut'), neither of which was familiar to our consultants, while Seetzen's list includes names for geographical directions, usually composed of the relevant Arabic word along with the Turkish *kapi* 'door, gate' (*garbaskapy* 'west', from Arabic *yarb*, *schemalakapy* 'north', from Arabic *šemāl*, and so on; cf. Chapter 1).

Chapter 14

Domari vocabulary

A

- ab-*, for, prep
abadan, at all, adv, Ar.
abşar, I wonder [interjection, filler],
part, Ar.
adžar, rent, n, Ar.
adžoti, today, adv
ag, fire, n
agir, in front of, prep
aylab, majority, n, Ar.
ayrāde, things, n, Ar.
aha, this m, pron
ahāli, people, n, Ar.
aħamm, most important, adj, Ar.
aħbal, idiot, n, Ar.
ahl, family, parents, n, Ar.
aħlah, beautiful, adj, Ar.
aħlan, welcome!, part, Ar.
aħmar, red, adj, Ar.
aħr-, to be, to become, v
aħsan, better, adj, Ar.
akam, few, quant, Ar.
akbar, bigger, adj, Ar.
akil, food, n, Ar.
akkid, sure, adv, Ar.
aktar, more, adj, Ar.
aktariyye, majority, n, Ar.
'ālāf, thousands, num, Ar.
'alf, thousand, num, Ar.
allah, God, n, Ar.
alwān, colours, n, Ar.
ama, I, pron
ambulans, ambulance, n, Ar.
ame, we, pron
amma, however, whereas, conj, Ar.
ana, egg, n
ančaf, most honest, adj, Ar.
aqwa, stronger, adj, Ar.
ārāč, lands, n, Ar.
arat, night, n
aratin, at night, adv
'*arbaś*, four, num, Ar.
'*arbaśin*, forty, num, Ar.
'*arbaśtaśš*, fourteen, num, Ar.
arč, land, n, Ar.
ašābiś, fingers, n, Ar.
asawir, bracelet, n, Ar.
ašhābe, friends, n, Ar.
aškāl, types, n, Ar.
aśl, origin, n, Ar.
aşlan, originally, adv, Ar.
aşraf, sincerest, adj, Ar.
aş-şām, Syria, n, Ar.
assāshā, originally, adv, Ar.
aşti, there is, v
ata, flour, n
atāri, part, Ar.
atnī-, about, prep
atu, you.SG, pron
atun, above, adv
aw-, to come, *er-*, v
awsa, dodgy, adj
awşāf, features, n, Ar.
awwal, first, before, earlier, adj, Ar.
axar, below, adv
axčar, green, adj, Ar.
āxir, last, adj, Ar.

axlāq, morals, n, Ar.
ayy, any, quant, Ar.
ayyām, days, n, Ar.
ašdāse, enemies, n, Ar.

B

bad, grandfather, n
badāl, instead of, prep, Ar.
bag-, to break (tr.), v
bagy-, to break (intr.), v
baḥar, lake, sea, n, Ar.
bakaloris, baccalaureate, n, Ar.
bakra, lamb, n
bala, without, prep, Ar.
balad, country, n, Ar.
baladiyye, municipality, n, Ar.
balāṭa, floor tile, n, Ar.
balʿe, sandals, n
balki, maybe, part, Ar.
balkon, balcony, n, Ar.
balwi, bracelet, n
ban-, to tie, to shut, v
bandora, tomato, n, Ar.
bank, bank, n, Ar.
bantalon, trousers, n, Ar.
baqa, still, continue, keep, v aux,
 Ar.
baqara, cow, n, Ar.
bāqi, rest, n, Ar.
bar, brother, n
bara, outside, adv
barari, wilderness, n
barda, full, adj
bardo, also, part, Ar.
bariṭāniya, Britain, n, Ar.
barwe, eyebrows, n
basātūn, groves, n, Ar.
bāsbort, passport, n, Ar.
bass, but, only, conj, Ar.
baṭṭilahr-, to stop, v, Ar.

bawusk-, to kiss, v, Ar.
baxt, luck, n, Ar., Kurd.
bay, wife, n
bašd, after, prep, Ar.
bašd, each other, pron, Ar.
bašdēn, then, part, Ar.
boj, father, n
ben, sister, n
bēn, between, prep, Ar.
bḥudūd, around, prep, Ar.
bi, for, in, prep, Ar.
bidd-, to want, v aux, Ar.
bīy, moustache, n, Turk.
biḥayāti, during my life, ever, adv,
 Ar.
bil'āxir, finally, adv, Ar.
bil'awwal, initially, firstly, adv, Ar.
binisba, as for, prep, Ar.
bisawahr-, to be married, v, Ar.
bisawak-, to marry off, v, Ar.
bīš, earth, n
bitindžan, aubergine, n, Ar.
biyyinna, coward, n
biyyiš, fear, n
bi-zyāde, excessively, adv, Ar.
bizzōš, poor, adj
bkara, hungry, adj
bnaw-, to frighten, v
bol, much, very, adv
bostadži, postman, n, Ar.
brari, cat, n
bsuṭahr-, to be happy, v, Ar.
bta'rix, with date, on, adv, Ar.
buks, punch, n, Ar.
bul, arse, n
burdkān, oranges, n, Ar.
buryul, bulgur, n, Ar.
bustān, grove, n, Ar.
by-, fear, v
bšid, far, adj, Ar.

Č

čanč-, next to, prep
čar-, to hide, v
čin-, to cut, v
činak, a little, adv
čōna, boy, n

D

d-, to give, *t-*, v
da'iman, always, adv, Ar.
dabāba, tank, n, Ar.
dabāyih, slaughtered animals, n, Ar.
dabbirk-, organise, manage, v, Ar.
dadi, grandmother, n
dakātre, doctors, n, Ar.
dakkākīne, shops, n, Ar.
danab, tail, n, Ar.
danānīr, dinars, n, Ar.
dari, place, n, Kurd.
daw-, to dance, v
dawāy, camel, n
dawla, country, n, Ar.
dawra, course, n, Ar.
day, mother, n
dbiħa, slaughtered animal, n, Ar.
dow-, to wash, v
dowīš, shower, n
dēy (des), village, n, Kurd.
dfink-, to bury, v, Ar.
dfīk-, to pay, v, Ar.
dī, two, num
diknaw-, to show, v
dīl, sand, n
dīn, religion, n, Ar.
dīnar, dinar, n, Ar.
dinya, life, world, n, Ar.
dīr, daughter, n
dīra, far away, adj
dīrga, long, adj

dīs, day, n
disar, in the daytime, adv
diyarahr-, to appear, v, Ar.
diyyes, two, num
dōm, Dom man, Dom, n
dōmarī, Domari, n
dōmiya, Gypsy woman, n
dōw, laddle, n
dozdan, wallet, n
dr-, to cut, *dird-*, v
dra-, I tear, *dird-*, v
drak, grapes, n
drara, rich, adj
driho-, to get used to, v
drīra, broken, adj
dud, milk, n
dūd, worm, n
duyri, immediately, straight, adv,
 Ar.
dukkān, shop, n, Ar.
dusara, black, adj

Ḍ

ḍallo, stay, keep, v aux, Ar.
ḍaman, insurance, n, Ar.
ḍanḍ, tooth, n
ḍēf, guest, n, Ar.
ḍiḍ, against, prep, Ar.
ḍimn, among, prep, Ar.
ḍiyyiq, narrow, adj, Ar.
ḍuhur, noon, adv, Ar.

DŽ

dža-, to go, *gar-*, v
džabal, mountain, n, Ar.
džabark-, to force, v, Ar.
džahizk-, to prepare, v, Ar.
džal-, to send, v

džamāšat, group, n, Ar.
džamb, next to, prep, Ar.
džamiš, all, quant, Ar.
džamiš, mosque, n, Ar.
džamiše, university, n, Ar.
džan-, to know, v
džanāh, wing, n, Ar.
džār, neighbour, n, Ar.
džaride, newspaper, n, Ar.
džariḥ, wound, n, Ar.
džatir, son in law, n
džatri, daughter in law, n
džaw, barley, n
džawwizahr-, to marry, v, Ar.
džawwizk-, to marry off, v, Ar.
džažan, pregnant, adj
džazma, boot, n
džēb, pocket, n, Ar.
džēš, army, n, Ar.
džib, tongue, n
džidd, grandfather, n, Ar.
džil, generation, n, Ar.
džil, leather, n, Ar.
džoz, pair, n, Ar.
džūdža, Egypt, n
džumša, week, n, Ar.
džuw, louse, n
džuwir, woman, n

E

ehe, these pl, pron
ekak, one m, pron
eme, we, pron
eran, these.OBL.PL, pron
eras, this.OBL.M, pron

F

f-, to hit, *fēr-*, v

fādi, empty, adj, Ar.
fadž'a, suddenly, adv, Ar.
fakkirho-, to think, v, Ar.
fall, sack, n
fallitk-, to release, v, Ar.
fardžik-, to show, v, Ar.
farn, oven, n, Ar.
farrahkar-, to rejoice, v, Ar.
farridžk-, to watch, to show, v, Ar.
farsa, mattress, n, Ar.
farwa, fur, n, Ar.
faržik-, to show, v, Ar.
fatra, period, n, Ar.
fauran, immediately, adv, Ar.
fawāke, fruit, n, Ar.
fayiš, argument, fight, n
fčaḥk-, to scandalize, v, Ar.
fhimho-, to understand, v, Ar.
fi, in, prep, Ar.
fikkiro-, to think, v, Ar.
filān, whoever, pron, Ar.
findžān, cup, n, Ar.
fraye, clothing, n, Ar.
fuḥk-, to conquer, v, Ar.
fumn-, to hit, *fēr-*, v
funduq, hotel, n, Ar.

G

gāk-, to speak, *gagid-*, v
gal, *qal*, [citation particle], part, Ar.
gali, cheek, n
gam, dusk, n
gān, smell, n
garda, well, adj
gari, jar, n
gaz-, to bite, *gazid-*, v
gēna, again, adv, Turk.
gēsu, wheat, n
ghāy, good, nice, adj

girnaw-, to bring back, to return
(tr.), v
giry-, to enter, v
giš, all, quant, Kurd.
gīs, manure, excrement, n
gištane, all, quant, Kurd.
godi, brain, n
gori, horse, n
gorwi, cow, n
gawara, head man, n, Kurd.
grēfk-, to sing, v
gulda, sweet, adj
gulda, tea, n
guldidēy, Hebron, n
gurgi, neck, throat, n
guzel, good, true, adj, Turk.

Y

yali, expensive, adj, Ar.
yarnik-, to sing, v, Ar.
yarib, stranger, n, Ar.
yarif, loaf, n, Ar.
yaşbar, without consent, adv, Ar.
yassāle, washing machine, n, Ar.
yaṭṭik-, to cover, v, Ar.
yayyirk-, to change, v, Ar.
yēr, except, prep, Ar.
yībho-, to be absent, v, Ar.
yīr, jealous, adj, Ar.
yrāb, raven, n, Ar.
yudurk-, to betray, v, Ar.
yul, ghou, beast, n, Ar.
yurfe, room, n, Ar.
yusk-, to stab, v, Ar.

H

hada, [filler], part, Ar.
hawā, air, n, Ar.

hawiyye, identity card, n, Ar.
hay, this [filler], part, Ar.
hdžimk-, to attack, v, Ar.
hēk, like this, adv, Ar.
hessaī, now, adv, Ar.
heyka, [filler], part, Ar.
hindar, here, adv
hnēr, here, adv
hnor, there, adv
hnōna, here, adv
hnūd, Indians, n, Ar.
hōš-, to become [subjunctive], v
hotēl, hotel, n, Ar.
hundar, there, adv

Ḥ

ḥabba, grain, n, Ar.
ḥabel, rope, n, Ar.
ḥabs, prison, n, Ar.
ḥaddād, blacksmith, n, Ar.
ḥadīd, iron, n, Ar.
ḥādīs, accident, n, Ar.
ḥādzak, something, indef, Ar.
ḥafla, party, n, Ar.
ḥākim, governor, n, Ar.
ḥal-, self, pron, Ar.
ḥalīb, milk, n, Ar.
ḥanafiyye, tap, n, Ar.
ḥaqq, right, n, Ar.
ḥaram, blanket, n, Ar.
ḥarb, war, n, Ar.
ḥāris, guard, n, Ar.
ḥāšil, conclusion, n, Ar.
ḥasinahr-, to improve, v, Ar.
ḥašiš, grass, n, Ar.
ḥatta, even, part, Ar.
ḥawālī, around, prep, Ar.
ḥawilk-, to try, v, Ar.
ḥawuk-, to drive away, v, Ar.
ḥaywān, animal, n, Ar.

ħbisahr-, to be imprisoned, v, Ar.
ħdaššr, eleven, num, Ar.
ħdimk-, to serve, v, Ar.
ħeṭ, wall, n, Ar.
ħfuḍk-, to protect, v, Ar.
ħibbo-, to like, v, Ar.
ħissahr-, to feel, v, Ar.
ħižr, lap, n, Ar.
ħkumk-, to sentence, v, Ar.
ħsāb, expense, n, Ar.
ħsubk-, to calculate, n, Ar.
ħsud, harvest, n, Ar.
ħšur, cramp, n, Ar.
ħubb, love, n, Ar.
ħuḍn, hug, n, Ar.
ħukūme, government, n, Ar.
ħummuš, hummus, n, Ar.
ħurāš, guards, n, Ar.
ħurr, free, adj, Ar.

I

idž, spirit, n, Ar.
ihi, this f, pron
iħmarrahr-, to become red, v, Ar.
iħni, so, like this, adv
iħša', census, n, Ar.
iħtallahr-, to occupy, v, Ar.
iħūfilo-, to celebrate, v, Ar.
iħūrām, respect, n, Ar.
ik-ak, one f, pron
iki, eye, n
illa, except, prep, Ar.
illi, [relative pronoun], pron, Ar.
il-muħimm, anyway, part, Ar.
il-urduwn, Jordann, n, Ar.
indžannahr-, to go crazy, v, Ar.
indžawizahr-, to get married, v, Ar.
inglīz, English, n, Ar.
inkān, if, conj, Ar.
inn-, *inni*, *inno*, that, part, Ar.

intaqimahr-, to take revenge, v, Ar.
intaxxahr-, to be shot, v, Ar.
išbaš, finger, n, Ar.
isbūš, week, n, Ar.
išī, thing [filler], pron, part, Ar.
išk, dry, adj
isrā'il, Israel, n, Ar.
istawṭunahr-, to settle, v, Ar.
itme, you.PL, pron
iyyā-, [object pronoun, resumptive pronoun], pron, Ar.
iyyām, days, n, Ar.
iza, if, conj, Ar.
izāšā, radio station, n, Ar.
ištīdahr-, to rape, v, Ar.

K

k-, to prepare, *kid-*, v
kabbūd, coat, n, Ar.
kadža, man, n
kadžī, woman, n
kafi, *kapi*, door, n, Turk.
kahindo-, to look at, v
kahraba, electricity, n, Ar.
kahri, bowl, n
kāki-, [possessive particle], part
kali, goat, n
kam, work, n
kamk-, to work, v
kan, ear, n
kān, was, [progressive and conditional auxiliary], v aux, Ar.
kān, who, pron
kar-, to do, v
karamakē, please, adv, Kurd.
karīm, generous, adj, Ar.
kart, card, n, Ar.
karwi, coffee, n
kasa, cup, n, Ar.
kaškōš, small, adj

kašt, wooden stick, n
kašōṭ, small, adj
kata, where, pron
katnī, fart, n
kawax, when, pron
kāz, gas, n, Ar.
kē, what, pron
kēkē, how, why, pron
kel-, to play, v
kēnē, how, pron
ki, what, pron
kibda, liver, n, Ar.
kil-, to exit, to descend, v
killšī, everything, pron, Ar.
kīlo, kilo, n, Ar.
kīs, bag, n, Ar.
kišīn, lie, n
kišīnna, liar, n
kišīnaw-, to tell a lie, v
kitāb, book, n, Ar.
kiyyak, something, a little, pron
klaw-, to lower, v
kn-, to sell, *kind-*, v
knēn, where, pron
komir, coal, n, Turk.
kōr, blind, adj
koš, beard, n
kos-, to curse, *kosed-*, v
krāde, Kurds, n, Ar.
krēn, where, pron
kšal-, to pull, v
ktibk-, to write, v, Ar.
ktīr, Christian, n
kubāy, cup, n, Ar.
kull, every, quant, Ar.
kundare, shoes, n, Ar.
kurdī, Kurd, n, Ar.
kuri, house, n
kurt, short, adj, Kurd.
kuy-, to fall, v
kw-, to throw, *kurd-*, v

L

la, in order to, part, Ar.
la, no, part, Ar.
la'imn-, because, conj, Ar.
lāči, girl, n
ladžik-, to be shy, v
lagan, bowl, n
layāyet, till, conj, Ar.
layēr, except, prep, Ar.
lagiš, fight, quarrel, n
lagišk-, to fight, v
lah-, to see, *laherd-*, v
lahadd, till, prep, Ar.
laḥāl-, alone, adj, Ar.
laḥank-, to compose, v, Ar.
lak-, to see, *laked-*, v
lamba, lamp, lantern, n, Ar.
lamlimk-, to collect, v, Ar.
lamma, when, conj, Ar.
las, mud, n
law, if, conj, Ar.
lawla, except, unless, conj, Ar.
lāzem, must, v aux, Ar.
l-ḥāsil, anyway, part, Ar.
li, [relative pronoun], pron, Ar.
li'imn-, because, conj, Ar.
libnān, Lebanon, n, Ar.
lidd, Lydda, n, Ar.
limk-, to earn, v, Ar.
līra, lira, n, Ar.
lissa, still, adv, Ar.
lon, salt, n
l-xamīs, Thursday, adv, Ar.

M

ma, not, part
ma, [complementiser], part, Ar.
mablūl, wet, adj, Ar.
mabšūt, happy, adj, Ar.

madāris, schools, n, Ar.
maḥkame, court, trial, n, Ar.
mahma, whatever, pron, Ar.
mahr, dowry, n, Ar.
mak-, to rub, v
makanse, broom, n, Ar.
maktab, office, n, Ar.
malik, king, n, Ar.
malyon, million, num, Ar.
mām, uncle (paternal), n, Kurd.
māmi, aunt (paternal), n, Kurd.
mamluḥ, salted, adj, Ar.
mamnūf, forbidden, adj, Ar.
man-, to leave, v
mana, bread, n
manāzir, scenes, n, Ar.
manašk-, to prevent, v, Ar.
mandža, inside, adv
mang-, to want, to like, v
mangiš, begging, n
mangišk-, to go begging, v
mangšinna, beggar, n
manik-, to bake, v
manus, person, n
many-, to stay, v
mar-, to kill, v
marahīd, toilets, n, Ar.
markaz, centre, n, Ar.
marra, once, pron, Ar.
marrāt, sometimes, pron, Ar.
mary-, to die, *mra-*, v
mas, month, n
mašakle, problems, n, Ar.
masalan, for example, adv, Ar.
mašyūl, busy, adj, Ar.
masi, meat, n
mašir, destiny, n, Ar.
māst, yoghurt, n, Kurd.
māsūra, tube, n, Ar.
maṭ, person, n
maṭ, somebody, pron
mawāl, mawal, n, Ar.

mawzafin, employees, n, Ar.
maxfar, police station, n, Ar.
mažbaṭ, petition, n, Ar.
mažīdiyak, 20 pence, n, Ar.
maš, with, prep, Ar.
mašāš, salary, n, Ar.
mašaskar, camp, n, Ar.
mašbašd together, adv, Ar.
mēdži, lentils, n
mēši-, from, prep, Ar.
mfalla, crazy, adj
miftāḥ, key, n, Ar.
min, from, prep, Ar.
min-, to hold, v
minaw-, to cause to take, v
mindir(š)-, to stand, v
mindž-, from, prep, Ar.
minēn, here, adv
minyēr, without, prep, Ar.
minsār, for, in order to, prep, conj,

Ar.

minši-, from, prep, Ar.
mirna, dead person, n
misilmīn, Muslims, n, Ar.
mišš, not, part, Ar.
mišt-, to kiss, *mištird-*, v
mišta, ill, adj
mištwāy, illness, n
mišād, appointment, n, Ar.
mlāye, chador, n, Ar.
mōsam, season, n
moz, bananas, n, Ar.
moza, shoe, n
msiḥk-, to wipe, v, Ar.
muddaši, prosecutor, n, Ar.
mudīr, director, n, Ar.
muṣrub, evening, n, Ar.
muh, face, n
muḥāmi, lawyer, n, Ar.
mumkin, possible, adj, Ar.
musāšade, help, n, Ar.
mušš, not, part, Ar.

mustašfa, hospital, n, Ar.
mutardžim, translator, n, Ar.
mutbax, kitchen, n, Ar.
muṭur, urine, n
muxtār, mayor, n, Ar.
mwazzaf, employee, n, Ar.
mʕalme, teacher, n, Ar.

N

na, no, not, part
nāblis, Nablus, n, Ar.
naḍḍik-, to clean, v, Ar.
naddimk-, regret, v, Ar.
nadīk-, to call, v, Ar.
nafar, person, n, Kurd.
nām, name, n
nan-, to bring, v
nāšif, dry, adj, Ar.
našiš, dance, n
nast-, to escape, *nasr-*, v
našy-, to dance, v
naw-, to search, *nawr-*, v
nawa, new, adj
naʕdza, female sheep, n, Ar.
nḍif, clean, adj, Ar.
ndžūm, stars, n, Ar.
nē-, to send, *nērd-*, v
nhe', there is not, v
nhīr, blood, n
nikš-, to enter, *nigr-*, v
nīm, half, num, Pers.
ningaw-, to take in, v
niswān, women, n, Ar.
nkī-, at, by, prep
nohra, red, English, adj
nohri, tomato, n
nqulahr-, to move, v, Ar.

O

ora-, that (oblique), pron
ošt, lip, n

P

pāči, behind, prep
pand, road, n
pandžan, they, pron
pandži, he, she, pron
pani, water, n
par-, to take, v
payy, husband, n
pow, leg, foot, n
pēr-, to take out, v
peṭ, belly, n
pirin, nose, n
piskī, fart, n
pišnaw-, to spend, v
pišt, back, n
ple, money, n, Pers.
prana, white, adj
protkila, Jew, n
protkiliya, Jewess, n
putur, son, n
pandžes, five, num
py-, to drink, *pīr-*, v

Q

q-, to eat, *qēr-*, v
qabel, before, prep, Ar.
qabila, tribe, n, Ar.
qabr, grave, n, Ar.
qaddēš, how much, pron, Ar.
qādi, judge, n, Ar.
qafit-, to steal, *qafitid-*, v
qafinna, m thief, n
qahwa, coffee, n, Ar.

qal, [citation particle], part, Ar.
qala, black, adj
qalam, pencil, pen, n, Ar.
qamar, moon, n, Ar.
qamiš, shirt, n, Ar.
qandi, throat, n
qāqa, raven, n, Ar.
qar, donkey, n
qarā'ibe, relatives, family, n, Ar.
qarn, horn, n, Ar.
qarwa, bitter, adj
qarwi, coffee, n
qatla, beating, n, Ar.
qayiš, food, n
qayišk-, to cook food, v
qayk-, vomit, v
qēyiš, food, n
qḥutk-, to scratch, v, Ar.
qird, monkey, n, Ar.
qirš, penny, n, Ar.
qnaw-, to feed, v
qoḥk-, to cough, v
qol-, to open, to ride, v
qowa, prophet, n
qrara, Bedouin, Jordanian, n
qrare, Jordan, n
qrik-, to read, v, Ar.
qumn-, to eat, *qēr-*, v
quššk-, to sweep, v, Ar.

R

rabbāba, rabbaba, n, Ar.
rabbik-, to raise, v, Ar.
radž-, to throw out, *radžid-*, v
raqqāšāt, dancers, n, Ar.
rašt-, to arrive, *rasr-*, v
ratl, pound, n, Ar.
raw-, to travel, v
rawwaḥahr-, to leave, v, Ar.
rawwaḥk-, to send away, v, Ar.

rōw-, to weep, v
rdahr-, to reject, to refuse, v, Ar.
rīš, feather, n
romḥ, spear, n, Ar.
roš- (*rōw-*), to cry, *rōwr-*, v
rqāqa, crumb, n, Ar.
rsīs, black olive, n
rudahr-, to accept, v, Ar.
rxīš, cheap, adj, Ar.

S

s'ilk-, to ask, v, Ar.
sabab, reason, n, Ar.
sabaḥtan, in the morning, adv,
 Turk.
sabt, Saturday, adv, Ar.
sābūn, soap, n, Ar.
sabša, seven, num, Ar.
sadžar, tree, n, Ar.
saffirk-, to deport, v, Ar.
sahra, soiree, n, Ar.
sahrān, awake, adj, Ar.
saka-, to be able to, *sakar-*, v
sakkirk-, to shut, v, Ar.
sał, rice, n, Kurd.
sallik-, to pray, v, Ar.
samak, fish, n, Ar.
sap, snake, n
sawa, together, adv, Ar.
sāyiy, goldsmith, n, Ar.
sayyak, one hundred, num
sayyāra, car, n, Ar.
sayyifk-, to spend the summer, v,
 Ar.
sow-, sew, *sowr-*, v
sēf, summer, n, Ar.
sēša, hour, n, Ar.
sidžin, prison, n, Ar.
sīḥk-, to shout, v, Ar.
silda, cold, adj

siliŋ, sibling in law, n, Ar.
siri, head, n
sitašš, sixteen, num, Ar.
sitte, six, num, Ar.
sittin, sixty, num, Ar.
skunahr-, to live, v, Ar.
skurrahr-, to get drunk, v, Ar.
sn-, to hear, *sind-*, v
snaw-, to inform, v
sōni, girl, n
spital, hospital, n, Ar.
stannho-, to wait, v, Ar.
stašmilk-, to use, v, Ar.
sukkar, sugar, n, Ar.
sūq, market, n, Ar.

Ş

şab, snake, n
şādīq, friend, n, Ar.
şahafî, journalist, n, Ar.
şāhib, friend, n, Ar.
şahr, plate, n, Ar.
şār, to begin, v aux, Ar.
şaraţār, cancer, n, Ar.
şawwirk-, to photograph, v, Ar.
şbuqho-, to precede, v, Ar.
şnoja, dog, n
şriŋk-, to spend, v, Ar.
şūmk-, to fast, v, Ar.

Ş

ş-, to speak, *şird-*, v
ş(t)riŋk-, to buy, v, Ar.
şabābik, windows, n, Ar.
şahāda, certificate, n, Ar.
şal, well, waterhole, n, Kurd.
şām, Syria, n, Ar.
şamāl, North, n, Ar.

şanda, bad, adj
şaqfa, piece, n, Ar.
şar-, to hide (tr.), v
şareŋ, street, n, Ar.
şariş, hideout, n
şary-, to hide (intr.), v
şatik-, to spend the winter, v, Ar.
şattifk-, to dry, v, Ar.
şattitahr-, to wander, v, Ar.
şawādir, nylon covers, n, Ar.
şbiqk-, to precede, v, Ar.
şhidahr-, to witness, v, Ar.
şibbāk, window, n, Ar.
şifk-, to spit, v, Ar.
şimmk-, to smell, to breathe, v, Ar.
şinak, a little, pron
şiši, breast, n
şita, winter, n, Ar.
şlihk-, to take off, v, Ar.
şmāriya, chicken, n
şōna, boy, n
şt-, to rise, to stand, v
ştal-, to carry, to raise, v
ştares, four, num
şukkahr-, to suspect, v, Ar.
şukna, oil, n
şuri, knife, n
şüş-, to sleep, *siŋ-*, v
şw-, to speak, *şird-*, v

T

t-, to put, *tird-*, v
talatašš, thirteen, num, Ar.
talatīn, thirty, num, Ar.
taldž, snow, ice, n, Ar.
talidžahr-, to freeze, v, Ar.
tālīt, third, num, Ar.
tallādže, refrigerator, n, Ar.
tamāni, eight, num, Ar.
tamanīn, eighty, num, Ar.

tanaka, tank/pot, n, Ar.
tanga, narrow, adj
tānī, other, second, again, num, Ar.
taqāʿud, pension, n, Ar.
taran, three, num
taranis, three, num
tarna, young, adj
tata, hot, adj
tawle, table, m, Ar.
tawna, thin, adj
telefizyon, television, n, Ar.
telefon, telephone, n, Ar.
tfang, gun, n, Kurd.
thimk-, to accuse, v, Ar.
tiknaw-, to hurt, v
tilla, big, adj
tirsala, thirsty, adj
tisʿa, nine, num, Ar.
titin, tobacco, n, Kurd.
tmali, soldier, n
trāšš, twelve, num, Ar.
tošahr-, to wander, v, Ar.
trāb, dust, n, Ar.
trombil, car, n, Ar.
tundžar, pot, n, Ar.
turdžman, translator, n, Ar.
turki, Turkish, n, Ar.
tuxxk-, to shoot, v, Ar.
tw-, to put, *tird-*, v
twādžidahr-, to be found, v, Ar.
tʿallimahr-, to learn, v, Ar.

T

tabšan, of course, adv, Ar.
ṭaliq, divorce, n, Ar.
ṭan, bed, mattress, n
ṭarmabil, car, n, Ar.
ṭaṭ, sun, n
ṭāṭ, Arab, villager, n
ṭayyeb, good, part, Ar.

ṭēr, bird, n, Ar.
ṭirahr-, to fly, v, Ar.

U

ū, and, conj, Ar.
ūʿišī, and so on, part, Ar.
uḥfuzhr-, to memorise, v, Ar.
uhu, that, pron
urati, tomorrow, adv
urdurn, Jordan, n, Ar.
urup, silver, n
usbūʿ, week, n, Ar.
ustāz, teacher, n, Ar.
ūyar, town, Jerusalem, n

W

wa, and, conj, Ar.
waddik-, to send, v, Ar.
wāfaqk-, to agree, v, Ar.
wahrī, daughter in law, n, Ar.
wāl, hair, n
wala, nor, not even, and not, conj,
 Ar.
walaw, despite, conj, Ar.
walašk-, to light, v, Ar.
waqt, time, n, Ar.
waqtos, then, adv, Ar.
warak-, to wear, v, Ar.
wardžik-, to show, v, Ar.
wark-, to wear, v
wars, rain, year, n
wāšī-, with, prep, Ar.
wašy-, to burn (itr.), v
waṭ, stone, n
wāy, air, wind, n
wēnma, wherever, pron, Ar.
wešt-, to sit, *wēsr-*, v
widahr-, to grow old, v

widi, old lady, n
wila, no, or, conj, Ar.
wislaw-, to seat, v
wišnaw-, to burn (tr.), v
wşillo-, to arrive, v, Ar.
wuda, old man, n

X

xaddāme, servant, n, Ar.
xāl, uncle (maternal), n, Kurd., Ar.
xāli, aunt (maternal), n, Kurd., Ar.
xatlaş, enough, adv, Ar.
xallī-, to leave, to let, to allow, v
 aux, Ar.
xamastaşş, fifteen, num, Ar.
xamastaşsar, fifteen, num, Ar.
xamest, five, num, Ar.
xamse, five, num, Ar.
xamsin, fifty, num, Ar.
xar, bone, n
xarbūş, tent, n, Ar.
xārfār, sheep, n, Ar.
xarrişk-, to speak, v, Ar.
xārūf, lamb, n, Ar.
xaşab, wood, n, Ar.
xast, hand, arm, n
xaşt-, to laugh, *xazr-*, v
xātem, ring, n, Ar.
xatrak, once, adv, Ar.
xatṭak, a pound, n, Ar.
xdimk-, to serve, v, Ar.
xēm-, defecate, v
xēme, tent, n, Ar.
xissahr-, to feel, v, Ar.
xitm, stamp, n, Ar.
xiznaw-, to make sb. laugh, v
xlaw-, to take out, v
xo-, to cook (itr.), *xor-*, v
xol-, to descend, v
xuḍra, vegetables, n, Ar.

xudwar, child, n
xudžoti, yesterday, adv
xur, heart, n
xuşūşī, especially, adv, Ar.
xuya, God, n, Kurd.

Y

yā, or, either, conj, Ar.
yabayēy, [interjection], part, Ar.
yāfē, Jaffa, n, Ar.
yafḥa, [interjection], part, Ar.
yaşni, that is [filler, tag], part, Ar.
yeyer, horse, n

Z

zakinya, rabbaba, n, Ar.
zakkirahr-, to remember, v, Ar.
zamān, long time, adv, Ar.
zar-, to comb, v
zara, child, pl *zirte*, n
zard, gold, n, Pers.
zarf, envelop, n, Ar.
zari, mouth, n, Kurd.
zayy, like, prep, Ar.
zētūn, olives, n, Ar.
zhurahr-, to appear, v, Ar.
zing, zinc, n, Ar.
zinnahr-, to recall, to reflect, v, Ar.
zlāme, men, n, Ar.
zşilahr-, to be angry, to be upset, v,
 Ar.

Z

zābiş, officer, n, Ar.
zurno-, to think, v, Ar.

Ž

žbin, forehead, n, Ar.
žild, skin, n, Ar.
žirān, neighbour, n, Ar.
žlik-, to wash up, v, Ar.

Ŧ

Ŧa(l), at, on, prep, Ar.
Ŧabāye, gown, n, Ar.
Ŧala, on, to, prep, Ar.
Ŧallimahr-, to learn, v, Ar.
Ŧand, at, among, prep, Ar.
Ŧankī-, about, prep, Ar.
Ŧaql, mind, n, Ar.

Ŧarīs, bridegroom, n, Ar.
Ŧarūs, bride, n, Ar.
Ŧašān, because, for, prep, Ar.
Ŧašāy, wooden stick, n, Ar.
Ŧašrīn, twenty, num, Ar.
Ŧaššān, thirsty, adj, Ar.
Ŧazifk-, to play music, v, Ar.
Ŧibrānī, Hebrew, n, Ar.
Ŧīd, festival, n, Ar.
Ŧiddk-, to count, v, Ar.
Ŧind, at, among, prep, Ar.
Ŧisahr-, to live, v, Ar.
Ŧūd, oud, n, Ar.
Ŧumr, age, n, Ar.
Ŧunšūriyye, racism, n, Ar.
Ŧurus, wedding, n, Ar.

Notes

1. Noga Buber-Bendavid and Ofra Regev, p.c. April 2012 (see also Buber-Bendavid 2010).
2. <http://domarisociety.wix.com/domari-society-website>, under ‘Cultural preservation’, accessed in December 2011.
3. A number of Christian missionary videos appear on the web in a form of Persian used by the Luli community of commercial nomads or Travellers, wrongly labeled as ‘Domari’.
4. ‘The Domari Society of Gypsies in Jerusalem’; for its website see <http://domarisociety.wix.com/domari-society-website>, last accessed in December 2011. The official name of the society, which is registered in Israel, is in Hebrew. It does not include the name ‘Domari’, but is called ‘The Society for the Promotion of the Gypsies in Israel’ [ha-ʿamuta le-kidum ha-tsoʻanim be-yisraʻel].
5. The term ‘indirect object’ is used here to denote an object that is marked by a case other than the independent oblique, and which may also be accompanied by a preposition.
6. For a more detailed discussion see Matras (1999).
7. <http://romani.humanities.manchester.ac.uk/rms/browse/phrases/phraselist>
8. Recent documentation of the speech of nomadic Dom in Jordan was carried out under my supervision by Ayisha Rafiq (2011). As this manuscript is being finalised, work by Herin (2012) on the Domari variety of Aleppo, based on elicitation using the questionnaire designed by the Manchester Romani Project, is in press, and further documentation work by Fida Bizri and by Bruno Herin among the Dom of Lebanon is underway.
9. Macalister (1914: 35) mentions the form *aštom* but says that it is very rarely used.
10. Grierson (1922, XI) notes cognate expressions in various languages of itinerant groups in India itself: Dom *kājwā*, Kanjari *kājari*, Sasi *kajjā*, Nati *kājā*. The word is often found with the additional meaning ‘settled’ or ‘farmer’, reinforcing the impression of an historical self-identification as a non-sedentary group.
11. Hancock (1995) relies exclusively on Macalister (1914) for the Domari data. As we have seen, considerable variation is found in the Iranian vocabulary among other varieties of the language. In subsequent work, Hancock (2006) attempts to prove that the Rom and the Dom are of different origins, arguing that the ancestors of the Rom, to whom he attributes his own descent, were high-caste warriors who resisted the Islamic invasions of medieval India, while the Dom were low-caste commercial nomads (see also Hancock 2002).
12. Sampson ([1926] 1968: 152) had suggested a connection between the *h*-deixis *aha*, *ihī*, *ehe* in Domari and the vocalic definite article *o*, *i*, *e* in Romani, but this connection can easily be dismissed on the basis of a cross-dialectal comparison of definites articles in Romani which allows us to derive them without much doubt from the Romani deictic forms *ov*, *oj*, *ole* (see Matras 2002: 106ff.).

13. But compare the list of items below with the 100-item ‘Leipzig-Jakarta’ list of stable vocabulary developed there.
14. An overview of the literature is attempted in Kenrick (1976–1979), though the title ‘Romanies...’ is somewhat misleading there.
15. Yigal Tamir, p.c., 1998.
16. Both stories already appear in Yaniv (1980). During fieldwork in Jerusalem I was also able to record them in several variations and from more than one speaker.
17. Among many works that interpret grammar in communicative perspective are Chafe (1970), Givón (1984), Croft (2001), and the works of Functional Pragmatic School (Rehbein 1977, Ehlich 2007).
18. I am grateful to Christa Schubert for participating in the experiment design and for carrying out the measurements.
19. Note that in this example, the Arabic plural form *xurfān* is being treated as a singular noun through the singular predication marking.
20. Arguably, this word is inserted in what we might consider a code-switch, though no stylistic effect is detectable. The utterance begins with several elements for which Arabic word-forms are the only available choice – *aktar min* ‘more than’, followed by a higher numeral of Arabic origin, and it is possible that this sequence triggers the use of the Arabic noun *sane* rather than its inherited equivalent *wars*.
21. Some Indo-Aryan ‘frontier’ languages in the northwestern part of the subcontinent show limited use of prepositions, while some Romani dialects in contact with postpositional languages such as Finnish and Azeri show limited use of postpositions.
22. The gloss ‘NOM’ for the Layer I nominative case is indicated here for the sake of contrastive illustration. For the sake of simplicity, and following the same practice that is applied to nominal case endings on nouns, it is omitted from the glossing of nominative possessive and subject person affix in the general glossing of examples, and only the oblique form of the possessive and object person affix is glossed as ‘OBL’ to mark out the contrast between the two.
23. Note that different Layer II markers are used in the table for illustration purposes.
24. The use of *ūyar* ‘the town’ among the Jerusalem Dom is often a specific reference to Jerusalem. Compare the use in Arabic of *l-bilād* ‘the country’ among Palestinians, and in Hebrew of *ha-’arec* ‘the country’ among Israelis, to refer to Palestine/Israel.
25. Qashle (from Turkish *kışla* ‘barracks’) and Maskubiye (from ‘Moscow’ = the ‘Russian Compound’) are well-known police stations in the centre of Jerusalem.
26. This refers to the Old City walls. The majority of the Dom of Jerusalem live in houses that are adjoined to the wall. Some of these houses even use portions of the wall as supporting structures.
27. Fida Bizri, p.c., October 2011.
28. At the same time it is not clear whether a possible alternative for Arabic *qrūṣ* ‘pennies’ exists in Domari (*zard* literally ‘gold’ seems to refer generically to coins or a unit of currency).
29. It is of course difficult to draw the line between codeswitches and borrowings in situations of community bilingualism. For a close discussion of the facts in

Domari see Chapter 11 on the ‘Arabic component’ For a general review of this debate and my own view on the codeswitching-borrowing continuum see Matras (2009, Chapter 5).

30. There are very few exceptions. Even culture-specific terminology such as the words for ethnicities - *dōm* ‘Gypsy’, *kažža* ‘non-Gypsy’, *fāṭ* ‘Arab’ and so on are usually translated by Domari speakers into Arabic regularly and consistently, in this case as *nawari*, *madani* ‘urban resident’, and *fallāh* ‘peasant’ respectively. See also Chapter 13 on the Domari lexicon.
31. It seems plausible to assume that this preference is motivated by a need to converge to the Arabic model construction, in which adjectives follow the noun (cf. Matras 2007a).
32. A rare occurrence in the corpus is the inflected pronominal form *amatīs* ‘me and him’
33. But see Matras (1998b) for an alternative analysis of the four-term demonstrative system of Romani dialects
34. On the interchangeability of *homi* ‘I am/ I become’ and *hromi* ‘I have become/ I am’ see discussion below.
35. For a cross-linguistic discussion of such loan verb integration strategies see already Moravcsik 1975, as well as Muysken 2000, Matras 2009, Wohlgemuth 2009.
36. Some of the examples cited in this section derive from elicitations and direct questions put to speakers on the basis of related constructions that appears in spontaneous, connected speech.
37. For a comparison with Romani, which shows a very similar development, see Matras (2002: 143–151).
38. The borrowing of individual person markers into verb inflection paradigms is otherwise very rare (cf. Matras 2009). Nonetheless, as Domari itself exhibits in relation to its Arabic component, auxiliaries are frequently borrowed in cases of intense language contact, and they are sometimes borrowed along with their original person inflection. See discussion of Arabic auxiliaries and person inflection further below in this chapter.
39. Note that in Romani verb roots with non-dental consonants tend to shift to the vocalic class, which takes the perfective marker in *-l-*, corresponding historically to the Domari perfective marker in *-r-*.
40. Romani makes use of the morpheme *-ar-* for transitive derivations but also occasionally for past-tense formations, as *phagav* ‘I break’, *phag-er-dom* ‘I broke’
41. In some cases, there is an apparent assimilation of Arabic loan verbs into the ‘default’ inflection class of inherited verbs: cf. *fhim-ar-i* ‘he understands’
42. A number of adjectives and adverbs show a shortened version of the plural predication marker in *-ni*. They include *hindarni* ‘they are here’, *hundarni* ‘they are there’, *ghāyni* ‘they are good’, *bolni* ‘they are plentiful’, *atnīsni* ‘they are with him (in his possession)’, as well as various Arabic-derived adjectives such as *wusixni* ‘they are dirty’, *mabṣuṭni* ‘they are cheerful’, *mawdžudni* ‘they are present’, and several more.

43. This is a bilingual selection error, showing Hebrew *ve* 'and'. The speaker is fluent in Hebrew and often speaks Hebrew to the interviewer. For bilingual selection errors involving conjunctions see Matras 1998a.
44. The speaker confused the two names here; he meant to say 'Jassas'.
45. The motivation to switch to Arabic here derives from the fact that the original story is normally told in Arabic, and that the following lines, which introduce the climax of the story, rhyme in Arabic.

References

- Abramson, Arthur S.
1974 Experimental phonetics in phonology: vowel duration in Thai. *PASAA: A Journal of Language Teaching and Learning in Thailand* 4: 71–90.
- Al-Jibāwī, A. D. Ali
2006 *Ṣašā'ir an-Nawar fī bilād iš-šām* [The Nawar Tribes of Syria]. Damascus: Halbuni.
- Amanolahi, Sekandar and Edward Norbeck
1975 The Luti, an outcaste group of Iran. *Rice University Studies* 61 (2): 1–12.
- Auer, Peter
1984 *Bilingual Conversation*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
1995 The pragmatics of code-switching: a sequential approach. In *One Speaker, Two Languages: Cross-disciplinary Perspectives on Code-switching*, Lesley Milroy and Peter Muysken (eds.), 115–35. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Bakker, Peter and Maarten Mous (eds.)
1994 *Mixed languages. 15 Case Studies in Language Intertwining*. Amsterdam: IFOTT.
- Barr, K.
1943 Bidrag til Sigøjnerdialekternes grammatik. II: Iranske elementer i Nūri [Contribution to the grammar of the Gypsy dialect. II: Iranian elements in Nuri]. In *In Memoriam Kr. Sandfeld. Udgivet paa 70-Aarsdagen for Hans Fødsel* [In memory of Kr. Sandfeld. Issued for the 70th birthday of Hans Fødsel], Rosally Brøndal and Hans Fødsel (eds.), 31–46. København: Nordisk Forlag.
- Benninghaus, Rüdiger
1991 Les tsiganes de la turquie orientale. *Etudes Tsiganes* 3 (91): 47–60.
- Black, George Fraser
1913 The Gypsies of Armenia. *Journal of the Gypsy Lore Society*, new series, 6: 327–330.
- Bochi, Giovanni
2007 The production of difference: sociality, work and mobility in a community of Syrian Dom between Lebanon and Syria. Ph. D. diss., The London School of Economics and Political Science, University of London.

Bubeník, Vit

- 1989 An interpretation of split ergativity in Indo-Iranian languages. *Diachronica* VI (2): 181–211.

Buber-Bendavid, Noga

- 2010 Tsoanim bi-Yrushalayim. Toshavim be-Shuley ha-Ir [Gypsies in Jerusalem. Residents in the city margins]. MA diss., Hebrew University of Jerusalem.

Bynon, Theodora

- 1979 The ergative construction in Kurdish. *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 42: 211–224.

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.), 373–390. Vienna: Böhlau.

Chafe, Wallace

- 1970 *Meaning and the Structure of Language*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

Croft, William

- 2001 *Radical Construction Grammar: Syntactic Theory in Typological Perspective*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Ehlich, Konrad

- 2007 *Sprache und Sprachliches Handeln*. Berlin: Mouton De Gruyter.

Ehlich, Konrad and Jochen Rehbein

- 1986 *Muster und Institution*. Tübingen: Narr.

Elšík, Viktor

- 2000 Romani nominal paradigms: Their structure, diversity, and development. In *Grammatical Relations in Romani: The Noun Phrase*, Viktor Elšík and Yaron Matras (eds.), 9–30. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Elšík, Viktor and Yaron Matras

- 2006 *Markedness and Language Change: The Romani Sample*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

Field, Fredric W.

- 2002 *Linguistic Borrowing in Bilingual Contexts*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Givón, Talmy

- 1984 *Syntax. A Functional-Typological Introduction*. Vol. 1. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

- Grierson, George
 1887 Arabic and Persian references to Gypsies. *Indian Antiquary* 16: 257–258.
 1922 *Linguistic Survey of India. Vol. XI: Gipsy Languages*. Calcutta: Superintendent Government Printers.
- Grosjean, François
 2001 The bilingual's language modes. In *One mind, Two Languages. Bilingual Language Processing*, J. L. Nicol (ed.), 1–22. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Hancock, Ian
 1995 On the migration and affiliation of the Dōmba: Iranian words in Rom, Lom, and Dom Gypsy. In *Romani in Contact. The History, Structure and Sociology of a Language*, Yaron Matras (ed.), 25–51. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
 2002 *We Are the Romani People*. Hatfield: University of Hertfordshire Press.
 2006 On Romani origins and identity: questions for discussion. In *Gypsies and the Problem of Identities: Contextual, Constructed and Contested*, Adrian Marsh and Elin Strand (eds.), 69–92. Istanbul: Swedish Research Institute.
- Haspelmath, Martin and Uri Tadmor (eds.)
 2009 *Loanwords in the World's Languages: A Comparative Handbook*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Heine, Bernd, Ulrike Claudi and Friederike Hünemeyer
 1991 *Grammaticalization: A Conceptual Framework*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Herin, Bruno
 2011 More on Domari. Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Gypsy Lore Society, Graz, September 2011.
 2012 The Domari language of Aleppo (Syria). *Linguistic Discovery* 10 (2): 1–52.
- Hopper, Paul J. and Elizabeth C. Traugott
 1993 *Grammaticalization*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Hortens, Jonas
 1751 *Reise Nach Dem Weiland Gelobten Nun Aber Seit Siebzehn Hundert Jahren Unter dem Fluche Liegenden Lande, Wie Auch Nach Egypten, dem Berg Libanon, Syrien und Mesopotamien*. Halle: Grunert.
- Kenrick, Donald
 1976 Romanies in the Middle East 1. *Roma* 1 (3): 5–9.
 1977 Romanies in the Middle East 2. *Roma* 2 (1): 30–36.
 1979 Romanies in the Middle East 3. *Roma* 3 (1): 23–39.
- Koul, Omkar N. and Kashi Wali
 2006 *Modern Kashmiri Grammar*. Springfield: Dunwoody Press.

Kruse, Friedrich

- 1854 *Ulrich Jasper Seetzen's Reisen durch Syrien, Palästina, Phönicien, die Transjordan-Länder, Arabia Petraea und Unter-Aegypten*. Vol. II. Berlin: Reimer.

Labov, William

- 2006 Narrative preconstruction. *Narrative Inquiry* 16: 37–45.

Labov, William and Joshua Waletzky

- 1967 Narrative analysis. In *Essays on the Verbal and Visual Arts*, J. Helm (ed.), 12–44. Seattle: University of Washington Press.

Littmann, Enno

- 1920 *Zigeuner-Arabisch*. Bonn/Leipzig: Kurt Schroeder.

Macalister, Robert A. S.

- 1914 *The Language of the Nawar of Zutt, the Nomad Smiths of Palestine*. Gypsy Lore Society Monographs 3. London: Edinburgh University Press.

Masica, Colin P.

- 1991 *The Indo-Aryan Languages*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Matras, Yaron

- 1997 The typology of case relations and case layer distribution in Romani. In *The Typology and Dialectology of Romani*, Yaron Matras, Peter Bakker and Hristo Kyuchukov (eds.), 61–93. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- 1998a Utterance modifiers and universals of grammatical borrowing. *Linguistics* 36: 281–331.
- 1998b Deixis and deictic oppositions in discourse: evidence from Romani. *Journal of Pragmatics* 29-4, 393–428.
- 1999 The state of present-day Domari in Jerusalem. *Mediterranean Language Review* 11: 1–58.
- 2000 Two Domari legends about the origin of the Doms. *Romani Studies*, 5th series, 10: 53–79.
- 2002 *Romani: A Linguistic Introduction*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press
- 2003 Mixed languages: re-examining the structural prototype. In *The Mixed Language Debate. Theoretical and Empirical Advances*, Yaron Matras and Peter Bakker (eds.), 151–175. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- 2004 Romacilikanes: The Romani dialect of Parakalamos. *Romani Studies* 14 (1): 59–109.
- 2005 The full extent of fusion: A test case for connectivity and language contact. In *Kulturelle und Sprachliche Kontakte: Prozesse des Wandels in Historischen Spannungsfeldern Nordostafrikas/Westasiens*, Akten zum 2. Symposium des SFB 295, Walter Bisang, Thomas Bierschenk, Detlev Kreikenbom und Ursula Verhoeven (eds.), 241–255. Würzburg: Ergon Verlag.

- 2007a Grammatical borrowing in Domari. In *Grammatical Borrowing in Cross-Linguistic Perspective*, Yaron Matras and Jeanette Sakel (eds.), 151–164. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- 2007b The borrowability of grammatical categories. In *Grammatical Borrowing in Cross-Linguistic Perspective*, Yaron Matras and Jeanette Sakel (eds.), 31–74. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- 2009 *Language Contact*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- 2010 *Romani in Britain: The Afterlife of a Language*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
- Matras, Yaron and Peter Bakker (eds.)
2003 *The Mixed Language Debate. Theoretical and Empirical Advances*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Meyer, Frank
1994 *Döm und Turkmän in Stadt und Land Damaskus*. Erlangen: Fränkische Geographische Gesellschaft.
- Moravcsik, Edith
1975 Verb borrowing. *Wiener Linguistische Gazette* 8: 3–30.
- Muysken, Pieter
2000 *Bilingual Speech. A Typology of Code-Mixing*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Newbold, F.R.S.
1856 The Gypsies of Egypt. *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland* 16: 285–312.
- Nicholson, Jane
No date A fragment of modern Domari. Ms., University of Austin, Texas.
- Paspati, Alexandre G.
1973 Reprint. *Études sur les Tchinghianés ou Bohémiens de l'Empire Ottoman*. Osnabrück: Biblio, 1870.
- Patkanoff, K.P.
1907 Some words on the dialects of the Transcaucasian Gypsies. *Journal of the Gypsy Lore Society*, new series, 1: 229–257.
1908 Some words on the dialects of the Transcaucasian Gypsies. *Journal of the Gypsy Lore Society*, new series, 2: 246–266, 325–334.
- Payne, John R.
1980 The decay of ergativity in Pamir languages. *Lingua* 51: 147–186.
- Perlmutter, David M.
1978 Impersonal passives and the Unaccusative Hypothesis. *Proceedings of the 4th Annual Meeting of the Berkeley Linguistics Society, UC Berkeley*, 157–189.

- Pickett, David W. and George A. Agogino
1960 Two legends of the nails of the cross. *Journal of the Gypsy Lore Society*, 3rd series, 39: 73–77.
- Pott, August F.
1846 Über die Sprache der Zigeuner in Syrien. *Zeitschrift für die Wissenschaft der Sprache* 1: 175–186.
- Rafiq, Ayisha
2011 A linguistic analysis of Domari in its social setting of Jordan. Undergraduate diss., University of Manchester.
- Rao, Aparna
1995 Marginality and language use: The example of peripatetics in Afghanistan. *Journal of the Gypsy Lore Society*, 5th series, 5: 69–95.
- Reershemius, Gertrud
1997 *Biographisches Erzählen auf Jiddisch. Grammatische und Diskurs-analytische Untersuchungen*. Tübingen: Niemeyer.
- Rehbein, Jochen
1977 *Komplexes Handeln. Elemente zur Handlungstheorie der Sprache*. Stuttgart: Metzler.
- Sampson, John
1923 On the origin and early migration of the Gypsies. *Journal of the Gypsy Lore Society*, 3rd series, 2: 156–169.
1927 Notes on Professor R.L. Turner's 'The position of Romani in Indo-Aryan' *Journal of the Gypsy Lore Society*, 3rd series, 6: 57–68.
1968 Reprint. *The Dialect of the Gypsies of Wales, Being the Older Form of British Romani Preserved in the Speech of the Clan of Abram Wood*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1926.
- Sasse, Hans-Jürgen
1987 Thethetic/categorical distinction revisited. *Linguistics* 25: 511–580.
- Schiffrin, Deborah
1987 *Discourse Markers*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Shibatani, Masayoshi (ed.)
2001 *The Grammar of Causation and Interpersonal Manipulation*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Siewierska, Anna
1984 *The Passive. A Comparative Linguistic Analysis*. Sydney: Croom Helm.
- Spolsky, Bernard and Robert L. Cooper
1991 *The Languages of Jerusalem*. Oxford: Clarendon.
- Streck, Bernhard
1996 *Die Halab*. Munich: Trickster Verlag.

- Swadesh, Morris
 1950 Salish internal relationships. *International Journal of American Linguistics* 16: 157–167.
 1971 *The Origin and Diversification of Language*. (Edited post mortem by Joel Sherzer). Chicago: Aldine.
- Thomason, Sarah Gray and Terrence Kaufman
 1988 *Language Contact, Creolization and Genetic Linguistics*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Tsukada, Kimiko
 2009 An acoustic comparison of vowel length contrasts in Arabic, Japanese and Thai: durational and spectral data. *International Journal on Asian Language Processing* 19 (4): 127–138.
- Turner, Ralph L.
 1926 The position of Romani in Indo-Aryan. *Journal of the Gypsy Lore Society*, 3rd series, 5: 145–189.
- Van der Auwera, Johan
 1998 Phasal adverbials in the languages of Europe. In *Adverbial Constructions in the Languages of Europe*, Johan Van der Auwera and Donall P. Ó Baoill (eds.), 25–145. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Wilson, John
 1847 *The Lands of the Bible. Visited and Described in an Extensive Journey Undertaken with Special Reference to the Promotion of Biblical Research and the Advancement of the Cause of Philanthropy*. Vol. 2. Edinburgh: William Whyte and Co.
- Wohlgemuth, Jan
 2009 *A Typology of Verbal Borrowings*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Yaniv, Yaakov
 1980 *Ha-Tso'anim bi-Yehuda uvi-Yerushalayim* [The Gypsies in Judea and in Jerusalem]. Jerusalem: Ariel.

Subject index

- ablative, 8, 19, 40, 71, 77, 129, 133, 146, 147, 160, 162, 167, 184, 215, 293, 294, 295, 302, 303, 306, 307, 339, 355, 377
- accusative, 14, 92, 133, 137, 141, 250, 298
- adjective, 9, 14, 18, 34, 39, 70, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 88, 89, 91, 94, 111, 136, 176, 191, 202, 203, 204, 206, 207, 208, 239, 240, 243, 268, 272, 350, 353, 369, 372, 373, 374, 380, 384, 385, 387, 428, 447
- adverbial clause, 338, 339, 340, 341
- adverbs
- lexical, 86, 352, 363, 428
 - of place, 72, 76, 353, 355
 - of time, 353, 355
- Afghanistan, 27
- agentive, 88, 238, 240, 241, 251, 254, 255, 291
- agreement
- gender, 71, 72, 79, 81, 82, 91, 92, 128, 133, 176, 177, 191, 202, 203, 226, 227, 228, 241, 313, 332
 - number, 8, 71, 72, 79, 81, 91, 94, 95, 101, 128, 133, 166, 167, 177, 193, 198, 200, 202, 226, 227, 228, 241, 313, 332
 - person, 8, 9, 12, 17, 21, 22, 23, 61, 71, 72, 78, 79, 81, 164, 238, 241, 248, 249, 250, 251, 259, 276, 277, 283, 289, 313, 336, 378, 385, 447
- Aleppo, 7, 8, 14, 15, 18, 122, 125, 126, 140, 147, 188, 282, 387, 403, 407, 409, 410, 445
- Amman, 1, 2, 17, 27, 30, 111, 139, 140, 154, 165, 231, 267, 304, 311, 325, 326, 347, 350, 357, 362, 364, 365
- anaphora, 24, 226
- Anatolia, 1, 2, 8, 10, 14, 15, 22, 30
- animate, 88, 89, 138, 140, 157, 176, 219
- Arabic, 2, 3, 4, 6, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 17, 18, 19, 23, 29, 31, 32, 34, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 62, 64, 66, 67, 69, 77, 78, 82, 83, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 95, 96, 100, 101, 102, 103, 108, 116, 117, 133, 134, 135, 136, 137, 138, 141, 145, 147, 152, 162, 163, 168, 169, 170, 174, 187, 188, 189, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200, 201, 202, 203, 206, 207, 212, 215, 226, 227, 228, 229, 234, 235, 237, 238, 239, 240, 241, 242, 243, 244, 255, 264, 266, 272, 275, 278, 279, 280, 281, 282, 283, 285, 287, 288, 289, 290, 291, 292, 294, 299, 300, 301, 302, 303, 304, 305, 306, 307, 308, 309, 310, 311, 327, 331, 332, 333, 335, 337, 338, 339, 340, 341, 342, 343, 344, 346, 347, 348, 349, 350, 353, 354, 355, 356, 357, 358, 359, 360, 363, 365, 367, 368, 369, 370, 371, 372, 373, 374, 375, 376, 377, 378, 379, 380, 381, 382, 383, 384, 385, 386, 387, 388, 389, 421, 426, 427, 428, 429, 430, 446, 447, 448
- Arabs, 27, 115, 116, 117, 148, 430
- article
- definite, 23, 113, 114, 116, 117, 120, 201, 374, 385, 387, 389, 445
 - indefinite, 103, 111
- aspect, 9, 10, 14, 71, 72, 73, 78, 80, 217, 238, 239, 241, 276, 277, 288, 290, 313, 331, 341
- aspiration, 22, 42, 47, 65, 66, 283
- assimilation, 37, 43, 54, 55, 56, 67, 128, 133, 140, 146, 217, 261, 294

- auxiliary, 17, 23, 82, 90, 96, 100, 226,
 238, 248, 249, 250, 262, 266, 272,
 275, 280, 282, 283, 287, 288, 289,
 290, 291, 292, 315, 337, 346, 349,
 350, 373, 376, 378, 379, 384, 426,
 447
 Azerbaijan, 1, 9, 18
 Azeri, 1, 10, 66, 69, 281, 335, 426, 446
 Baghdad, 7
 Bahlwan, 2, 14
 Bedouins, 6, 28, 59, 125, 126, 127,
 176, 404, 406
 Beirut, 5, 15, 140, 147, 266, 430
 benefactive, 17, 19, 71, 76, 146, 147,
 157, 158, 159, 215, 296, 298, 300,
 301, 378
 beneficiary, 157, 252
 Bengali, 282
 borrowing, 9, 18, 24, 34, 103, 147, 200,
 207, 228, 229, 250, 288, 355, 368,
 369, 370, 371, 372, 373, 377, 378,
 381, 426, 429, 447
 case layer, 128
 Layer I, 61, 71, 109, 128, 129, 130,
 132, 141, 192
 Layer II, 61, 71, 73, 76, 92, 109,
 128, 130, 145, 161, 305, 306, 339
 Layer III, 128, 129, 132
 causative, 22, 23, 57, 238, 242, 246,
 247, 255, 257, 263
 Central Asia, 2
 Christians, 3, 13, 14
 code-switching, 32, 33, 34, 381, 446
 comitative, 9, 19, 71, 163, 215, 294,
 303, 377, 379
 comparative, 8, 14, 18, 34, 57, 206,
 207, 369, 372, 380, 384
 complement clause, 333, 334, 335, 385
 complementiser, 91, 331, 333, 334,
 335, 336, 342, 373, 379
 concessive, 344, 346
 conditional, 278, 282, 337, 344, 345,
 346, 373, 379
 conjunction, 12, 23, 24, 73, 212, 215,
 294, 327, 328, 329, 330, 336, 337,
 338, 339, 340, 341, 342, 343, 344,
 345, 346, 348, 371, 376, 379, 428,
 448
 consonant, 39, 42, 43, 46, 48, 51, 53,
 54, 55, 56, 57, 63, 64, 67, 69, 91,
 128, 133, 134, 135, 138, 139, 201,
 217, 241, 253, 254, 261, 263, 264,
 370, 372, 447
 consonant cluster, 21, 58, 62, 63
 copula, 9, 10, 13, 14, 17, 23, 81, 85,
 268, 271, 272, 273, 274, 275, 277,
 280, 282, 375, 376, 384, 389
 Cyprus, 3
 Damascus, 13, 15, 18, 430
 Dardic, 1, 21, 22, 23, 249, 250
 dative, 19, 22, 43, 71, 92, 133, 146,
 147, 148, 149, 150, 151, 152, 153,
 163, 215, 299, 301, 306
 definiteness, 72, 73, 103, 113, 114,
 115, 118, 120, 121, 127, 128, 129,
 191, 201
 deixis, 24, 70, 72, 143, 179, 221, 353,
 445
 demonstrative, 5, 7, 11, 13, 17, 21, 23,
 24, 49, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 81,
 82, 85, 89, 92, 94, 120, 121, 127,
 177, 178, 179, 180, 182, 183, 184,
 185, 218, 219, 220, 221, 222, 223,
 224, 225, 233, 331, 373, 374, 447
 dental, 39, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 52, 53,
 54, 64, 67, 166, 201, 251, 253, 254,
 262, 370, 447
 derivation
 noun, 8, 14, 87, 88, 91, 133, 138
 verb, 9, 11, 22, 23, 78, 238, 239,
 240, 241, 242, 244, 245, 246, 247,
 447
 derivation marker, 11, 22, 57, 88, 91,
 133, 138, 238, 239, 240, 241, 247,
 255, 355
 diphthong, 48
 direct object, 7, 9, 14, 22, 41, 43, 60,
 61, 74, 75, 76, 91, 92, 105, 109, 112,

- 113, 114, 119, 127, 128, 129, 131, 133, 137, 139, 141, 142, 143, 144, 157, 216, 227, 228, 242, 243, 244, 246, 250, 298, 300, 301, 316, 321, 322, 332, 375
- discourse particle. *See* particle
- Egypt, 1, 4, 7, 30, 41, 139, 140, 155, 242, 267
- enclitic pronoun, 7, 11, 12, 22, 81, 95, 217, 225, 252
- English, 2, 32, 155, 173, 174, 241, 290, 372, 380, 391, 393, 394
- epenthetic vowel, 11, 60, 69
- ergative, 250
- EUROTYP, 31
- existential, 5, 9, 23, 45, 85, 100, 204, 252, 264, 265, 266, 268, 272, 275, 280, 290, 296, 312, 348, 374, 389
- filler, 53, 330, 363, 364, 365, 371, 380
- focus, 70, 73, 121, 127, 178, 221, 222, 225, 294, 330, 348, 356, 357, 371
- Galilee, 5
- Gaza, 1, 2, 28, 139, 140, 182, 183, 187, 349, 355, 365, 392
- gemination, 55, 56, 62, 69, 201, 241
- gender, 6, 14, 17, 18, 21, 55, 61, 71, 72, 73, 79, 81, 82, 83, 87, 89, 91, 92, 128, 133, 134, 139, 141, 176, 191, 203, 204, 219, 378
- genitive, 6, 7, 19, 133, 146, 160, 161, 162, 166, 167, 168, 170, 171, 174, 175, 176, 293, 295, 305, 307, 373, 387, 388, 426
- German, 1
- gerund, 73, 76, 77, 80, 87, 212
- Greece, 23, 288
- Greek, 23, 133, 281, 372
- Grierson, George, 465
- Gujarati, 20, 62, 282
- Gypsy, 1, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 11, 12, 20, 27, 29, 30, 136, 138, 170, 391, 410, 445, 447
- habitual, 90, 238, 276, 279, 280
- Hancock, Ian, 465
- Hauran, 15, 16, 18, 23
- Head Man (see also Mukhtar), 83, 88, 91, 122, 136, 151, 152, 173, 184, 206, 214, 221, 236, 265, 268, 274, 275, 287, 312, 391, 396, 398, 426
- Hebrew, 1, 2, 29, 31, 89, 196, 364, 372, 445, 446, 448
- Hebron, 5, 138, 386, 430
- Herin, Bruno, 465
- Hindi, 20, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 146, 247, 250
- Hungary, 5
- imperative, 12, 78, 241, 249, 254, 256, 258, 283, 324, 325, 326, 344, 345, 349, 376
- imperfect, 280, 290, 291
- imperfective, 217, 261, 276
- inalienable possessive, 137, 166, 374
- indefiniteness, 6, 11, 72, 74, 77, 78, 103, 104, 105, 106, 107, 108, 109, 110, 111, 112, 114, 118, 119, 120, 129, 131, 144, 189, 197, 207, 232, 233, 234, 235, 236, 323, 355, 378
- indefinites, 24, 70, 71, 72, 73, 76, 78, 104, 105, 107, 108, 109, 110, 111, 113, 114, 115, 120, 128, 131, 232, 233, 234, 235, 236, 270, 300, 365, 379
- India, 1, 62, 92, 186, 228, 303, 309, 329, 334, 370, 387, 388, 425, 445
- Indian languages, 5, 62
- indirect object, 9, 74, 75, 76, 109, 118, 127, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 137, 140, 162, 164, 168, 169, 216, 228, 297, 316, 317, 321, 322, 332, 385
- indirect speech, 47, 66
- interrogative, 24, 70, 71, 73, 74, 76, 147, 170, 225, 226, 228, 229, 230, 231, 232, 233, 234, 324, 325, 331, 365

- intransitive, 11, 12, 238, 241, 242, 244,
 245, 246, 247, 250, 252, 260, 261,
 283, 321, 375
 Iran, 2, 7, 30, 140, 266
 Iraq, 2, 7, 30, 103, 106, 108, 117, 125,
 126, 132, 140, 219, 269, 303, 387,
 388, 407, 408, 409, 425, 427
 isogloss, 15, 18
 Israel, 1, 29, 148, 152, 153, 184, 211,
 397, 399, 401, 402, 445, 446

 Jaffa, 1, 79, 139, 147, 172, 182, 183,
 187, 340, 354, 392
 Jerusalem, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 11,
 12, 14, 15, 17, 18, 19, 23, 27, 28, 29,
 30, 31, 43, 52, 100, 138, 139, 140,
 147, 159, 163, 167, 168, 172, 182,
 187, 207, 219, 229, 231, 234, 249,
 265, 266, 272, 275, 288, 292, 311,
 326, 340, 368, 379, 382, 427, 430,
 445, 446
 Jews, 142, 163, 183, 213, 265, 287,
 302, 309, 341, 343, 347, 354, 393,
 396
 Jordan, 1, 15, 17, 27, 28, 86, 117, 161,
 278, 341, 345, 347, 349, 368, 387,
 389, 396, 399, 427, 445

 Karací, 2, 14
 Kashmiri, 22, 249, 250, 282
 kinship terms, 13, 24, 137, 166, 295
 Kurdish, 1, 2, 6, 8, 10, 12, 13, 14, 15,
 17, 18, 23, 29, 46, 60, 66, 67, 69,
 103, 110, 114, 140, 147, 166, 169,
 175, 188, 207, 215, 241, 271, 277,
 281, 282, 283, 294, 301, 307, 335,
 355, 364, 426, 427, 428
 Kurds, 29, 348, 427

 Lebanon, 1, 2, 4, 13, 15, 109, 134, 140,
 168, 188, 207, 363, 364, 365, 398,
 427, 445
 loan verbs, 23, 239, 240, 242, 243, 254,
 264, 291, 447
 Loanword Typology, 24, 428

 loanwords, 12, 20, 58, 66, 67, 88, 136,
 372, 381
 local relations, 22, 76, 77, 80, 81, 145,
 147, 162, 164, 174, 214, 215, 268
 locative, 6, 9, 71, 77, 133, 146, 293
 Lom, 1, 8, 14, 20
 Luli, 2, 445

 Macalister, Robert A. S., 465
 Manchester Romani Project, 14, 17,
 445
 Matras, Yaron, 465
 Middle Indo-Aryan, 20, 62, 92, 128,
 132, 133, 145, 166, 216, 226, 228
 missionaries, 3, 5, 13, 29, 445
 Mitrip, 2, 10, 14
 modal verb, 82, 90, 96, 238, 259, 281,
 286, 287, 288, 289, 335, 337, 349,
 378, 379, 389
 modality, 19, 23, 70, 71, 72, 73, 78, 80,
 211, 217, 226, 238, 239, 241, 276,
 277, 283, 286, 287, 289, 313, 335,
 336, 337, 341, 373, 376
 mood, 238, 277, 281, 282, 284, 285,
 289, 290, 324, 335, 336, 337, 341,
 376, 385, 420
 Mukhtar, 29

 Nablus, 5, 6, 17
 Nawar, 1, 3, 5, 6, 7, 10
 negation, 8, 10, 18, 43, 45, 57, 61, 236,
 239, 347, 348, 349, 350, 378, 384
 Nepali, 282
 nominaliser, 12, 240
 non-verbal predication, 6, 9, 54, 72, 73,
 79, 81, 82, 83, 86, 91, 109, 130, 131,
 203, 204, 206, 229, 249, 268, 298,
 299, 300, 302, 312, 339, 350, 352,
 353, 374, 375, 385, 386
 noun, 6, 34, 54, 61, 72, 73, 81, 83, 84,
 85, 87, 88, 89, 91, 92, 97, 100, 102,
 103, 105, 109, 112, 114, 120, 127,
 128, 129, 131, 132, 134, 136, 137,
 139, 141, 145, 160, 161, 162, 164,
 166, 167, 168, 170, 175, 176, 177,
 179, 185, 189, 191, 192, 194, 195,

- 196, 197, 198, 199, 200, 202, 203,
204, 206, 208, 232, 233, 234, 241,
247, 268, 293, 294, 299, 307, 331,
332, 369, 374, 378, 384, 387, 389,
446, 447
- number, 34, 61, 72, 73, 79, 81, 94, 95,
97, 98, 100, 105, 219, 251
- number neutralisation, 97, 98, 100, 192,
193, 195, 198, 200
- numeral, 6, 10, 13, 17, 18, 34, 72, 73,
74, 75, 76, 78, 81, 86, 94, 97, 99,
100, 101, 102, 103, 104, 105, 115,
116, 117, 187, 188, 189, 191, 192,
193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 199,
200, 201, 202, 207, 233, 369, 373,
378, 379, 380, 381, 384, 427, 446
- Nuri, 3
- Ottoman Empire, 6, 266, 427
- Pakistan, 1, 228, 329
- Palestine, 1, 5, 10, 15, 425, 427, 430,
446
- participle, 20, 22, 73, 79, 80, 81, 82,
84, 88, 238, 248, 250, 253, 257, 261,
263, 279, 280, 292, 339, 376
- particle, 10, 12, 18, 19, 20, 33, 47, 48,
53, 54, 66, 73, 81, 145, 169, 170,
171, 207, 225, 265, 266, 283, 285,
287, 292, 305, 330, 347, 349, 350,
352, 356, 357, 358, 359, 360, 361,
362, 363, 365, 366, 367, 371, 373,
379, 427, 428
- passive, 11, 23, 238, 244, 245, 246, 260
- past tense, 8, 9, 18, 21, 22, 39, 71, 73,
78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 89, 92, 100, 164,
215, 217, 225, 238, 250, 251, 253,
257, 266, 272, 275, 277, 280, 290,
339, 345, 347, 349, 359, 373, 376,
378, 384, 447
- perfect, 61, 217, 218, 248, 272, 276,
277, 278, 279
- perfective, 57, 71, 164, 238, 248, 253,
254, 255, 256, 258, 259, 260, 261,
262, 263, 264, 269, 272, 276, 277,
376, 447
- Persian, 6, 8, 9, 10, 12, 17, 18, 30, 60,
66, 69, 96, 114, 141, 175, 176, 187,
215, 241, 265, 281, 283, 335, 426,
427, 428, 445
- person concord, on verb. *See*
agreement: person
- person inflection, 61, 72, 76, 79, 80, 81,
275, 282, 294, 333, 378, 379
on verbs. *See* agreement: person
- personal pronoun, 5, 7, 8, 9, 10, 13, 14,
17, 23, 24, 33, 70, 71, 72, 75, 76, 80,
81, 82, 83, 85, 91, 95, 108, 126, 166,
177, 210, 211, 212, 213, 214, 215,
216, 217, 218, 219, 224, 225, 226,
227, 228, 233, 237, 250, 251, 252,
268, 294, 324, 325, 332, 379, 428
- pharyngeal, 39, 43, 46, 48, 53, 54, 67,
69, 370
- phasal adverb, 355, 356
- pluperfect, 61, 217, 218, 281, 346
- plural, 5, 7, 9, 13, 14, 17, 19, 27, 71,
72, 81, 91, 94, 95, 96, 99, 100, 101,
103, 109, 113, 114, 128, 131, 133,
134, 135, 136, 137, 138, 140, 145,
146, 165, 166, 171, 185, 191, 192,
193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 199,
200, 204, 210, 215, 216, 218, 234,
251, 252, 258, 269, 271, 283, 372,
446
- Posça. *See* Posha
- Posha (see also Lom), 8, 14, 20
- possessive, 5, 7, 8, 9, 13, 14, 17, 23, 61,
71, 72, 77, 80, 81, 126, 130, 131,
132, 160, 162, 164, 165, 166, 167,
168, 170, 171, 172, 174, 175, 176,
215, 220, 252, 271, 289, 291, 293,
295, 305, 307, 354, 373, 374, 377,
378, 384, 388, 426, 446
- post-verbal field, 315, 316, 317, 318,
321, 322, 323, 373, 375
- pragmatics, 33, 70, 249
- predication marker, 6, 8, 9, 11, 12, 40,
54, 55, 72, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85,
86, 91, 95, 97, 100, 109, 111, 113,
130, 131, 135, 136, 137, 138, 139,
175, 176, 203, 204, 208, 229, 230,

- 231, 234, 249, 268, 269, 270, 271,
272, 302, 312, 339, 374, 375, 385,
386
- preposition, 8, 13, 14, 18, 19, 23, 61,
72, 77, 84, 109, 128, 129, 132, 147,
152, 162, 163, 206, 215, 232, 293,
294, 299, 300, 301, 302, 303, 304,
305, 306, 307, 310, 311, 339, 374,
375, 377, 379, 384, 387, 388, 389,
446
- pre-verbal field, 315, 316, 317, 318,
321, 322, 323, 324, 326
- progressive, 9, 10, 13, 14, 18, 40, 56,
61, 71, 217, 239, 276, 277, 282, 376
- prosody, 61
- quantifier, 70, 73, 74, 207, 208, 387
- quotation, 54, 359, 386, 389
- Qurbati, 2, 13, 188
- Rafiq, Ayisha, 465
- Rajasthani, 20
- reciprocal, 237, 379
- reflexive, 9, 14, 17, 210, 237, 379
- relative clause, 23, 143, 205, 223, 224,
230, 331, 332
- relative pronoun. *See* relativiser
- relativiser, 166, 227, 251, 328, 331, 373
- remoteness, 17, 57, 61, 71, 217, 219,
238, 239, 272, 276, 277, 278, 280,
281, 282, 290, 316, 345, 346, 376,
378
- repertoire, 31, 34, 49, 52, 200, 201,
288, 363, 371, 379, 380, 389, 390
- resumption, 83, 95, 227, 332, 379
- retroflex, 20, 22, 42, 64, 65, 370
- Romani, 1, 5, 8, 9, 12, 13, 14, 17, 18,
20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 29, 30,
32, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 81,
91, 92, 103, 128, 133, 134, 137, 145,
146, 159, 168, 169, 170, 185, 207,
215, 226, 228, 238, 241, 247, 248,
250, 257, 261, 277, 281, 282,
288, 370, 372, 429, 445, 446, 447
- Saladin, 1, 311, 425
- sibilant, 21, 45, 47, 52, 60, 65, 66, 262
- Sinai, 30
- sociative, 19, 71, 146, 147, 163, 215,
303, 379
- stop, 21, 22, 43, 44, 45, 52, 58, 59, 64
- stress, 39, 49, 60, 61
- subjunctive, 12, 19, 61, 72, 77, 78, 217,
238, 241, 249, 253, 254, 256, 257,
258, 260, 261, 262, 263, 264, 265,
272, 276, 280, 281, 282, 283, 284,
285, 286, 287, 289, 290, 291, 324,
326, 335, 336, 337, 341, 344, 345,
349, 376, 385
- Sudan, 1, 2, 14
- superlative, 14, 57, 206, 207, 380
- syllable, 37, 38, 40, 48, 55, 57, 58, 60,
61, 69, 135, 140, 141, 217, 248, 251,
252, 253, 255, 256, 259, 264, 429
- Syria, 1, 2, 4, 6, 7, 13, 15, 18, 30, 109,
140, 168, 188, 207, 219, 363, 364,
365, 417, 418, 425, 427
- tag, 363, 365, 371, 380
- temporal relations, 293, 294, 310, 311
- tense, 5, 11, 12, 23, 60, 61, 71, 72, 73,
78, 80, 239, 241, 276, 277, 282, 283,
287, 288, 313, 331, 341, 376, 385
- thematic role, 71, 72, 76, 81, 250, 293,
295, 332, 374, 387
- topic, 70, 72, 106, 107, 112, 114, 118,
121, 175, 180, 182, 183, 210, 211,
212, 213, 220, 223, 225, 266, 312,
313, 316, 317, 318, 321, 322, 353
- transitive, 12, 22, 217, 218, 228, 238,
241, 242, 243, 244, 246, 247, 250,
251, 252, 253, 254, 375, 447
- trill, 42, 45, 65
- Turkey, 1, 2, 8
- Turkic, 1, 9, 42, 67, 426, 430
- Turkish, 6, 10, 14, 17, 60, 66, 114, 141,
168, 169, 241, 288, 310, 355, 356,
364, 426, 427, 428, 430, 446
- uvular, 22, 42, 43, 44, 47, 54, 66, 69
- velar, 42, 43, 45, 47, 54, 66

- verb, 1, 5, 7, 8, 9, 12, 13, 18, 19, 20,
22, 23, 43, 71, 72, 73, 75, 77, 78, 79,
80, 81, 83, 89, 92, 96, 142, 145, 163,
210, 228, 238, 239, 240, 241, 243,
246, 248, 249, 250, 251, 252, 253,
254, 255, 256, 257, 258, 259, 260,
261, 262, 263, 264, 265, 268, 269,
272, 275, 276, 277, 280, 282, 284,
285, 287, 288, 289, 290, 291, 300,
301, 313, 315, 316, 317, 318, 321,
322, 323, 324, 327, 331, 332, 333,
335, 336, 337, 339, 344, 345, 348,
352, 358, 359, 365, 375, 376, 377,
382, 383, 385, 387, 388, 389, 426,
428, 447
- voiced, 22, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 53, 58,
59, 67
- voiceless, 22, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 52, 58,
59, 65, 66
- vowel, 5, 22, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42,
48, 49, 50, 51, 54, 55, 57, 58, 60, 61,
63, 69, 71, 91, 92, 104, 133, 134,
135, 136, 140, 164, 166, 203, 215,
219, 241, 250, 251, 253, 254, 257,
258, 259, 260, 261, 262, 264, 265,
271, 272, 276, 372
long vowels, 39, 40, 41, 48, 135, 166
short vowels, 36, 40, 41, 48, 50, 55
vowel duration, 40
- West Bank, 5, 27, 28, 29, 427, 430
- word order, 7, 9, 13, 18, 20, 317, 322,
371, 373, 387
- Yelizabetpol, 9, 15
- Yiddish, 1
- Zutt, 10

Author index

- Abramson, Arthur S., 40
Agogino, George A., 30
Al-Jibāwī, A. D. Ali, 4, 13, 15
Amanolahi, Sekandar, 30
Auer, Peter, 382
Bakker, Peter, 34, 389
Barr, K., 12, 282
Benninghaus, Rüdiger, 14, 30
Black, George Fraser, 10
Bochi, Giovanni, 13, 15
Bubeník, Vit, 250
Buber-Bendavid, Noga, 445
Bynon, Theodora, 23
Canova, Giovanni, 30
Casimir, Michael J., 30
Chafe, Wallace, 446
Claudi, Ulrike, 240
Cooper, Robert L., 12
Croft, William, 446
Ehlich, Konrad, 70, 446
Elšík, Viktor, 14, 134, 258
Field, Fredric W., 371, 377
Givón, Talmy, 105, 446
Grierson, George, 27, 30, 445
Grosjean, François, 34
Hancock, Ian, 20, 92, 445
Haspelmath, Martin, 24, 428
Heine, Bernd, 240
Herin, Bruno, 14, 15, 18, 147, 215,
282, 445
Hopper, Paul J., 240
Hortens, Jonas, 4
Hünemeyer, Friederike, 240
Kaufman, Terrence, 377
Kenrick, Donald, 3, 446
Koul, Omkar N., 22
Kruse, Friedrich, 5
Labov, William, 316
Littmann, Erno, 12, 111, 241
Macalister, Robert A. S., 3, 4, 6, 10, 11,
12, 17, 19, 32, 53, 92, 111, 120, 145,
168, 169, 170, 175, 187, 188, 219,
262, 263, 282, 288, 426, 427, 430,
445
Masica, Colin P., 20, 128, 238, 283
Matras, Yaron, 14, 22, 23, 31, 32, 34,
128, 170, 185, 207, 229, 241, 258,
283, 288, 327, 355, 368, 370, 371,
374, 377, 379, 380, 381, 389, 429,
445, 447, 448
Meyer, Frank, 15
Moravcsik, Edith, 371, 447
Mous, Maarten, 389
Muysken, Pieter, 447
Newbold, F.R.S., 7, 8, 15, 30
Nicholson, Jane, 13, 15
Norbeck, Edward, 30
Paspatis, Alexandre G., 8, 15
Patkanoff, K.P., 9, 10, 15, 210
Payne, John R., 23
Perlmutter, David M., 243
Pickett, David W., 30
Pott, August F., 5, 7, 11, 15, 20
Rafiq, Ayisha, 17, 445
Rao, Aparna, 27
Reershemius, Gertrud, 326
Rehbein, Jochen, 70, 446
Sampson, John, 20, 445
Sasse, Hans-Jürgen, 318
Schiffrin, Deborah, 316
Shibatani, Masayoshi, 246
Siewierska, Anna, 244
Spolsky, Bernard, 12
Streck, Bernhard, 14
Swadesh, Morris, 24, 428
Tadmor, Uri, 24, 428
Thomason, Sarah Gray, 377
Traugott, Elizabeth C., 240
Tsukada, Kimiko, 40
Turner, Ralph L., 20, 21, 62, 63
Van der Auwera, Johan, 355
Waletzky, 316

Wali, Kashi, 22

Wilson, John, 5

Wohlgemuth, Jan, 447

Yaniv, Yaakov, 28, 30, 446