

1 Introduction

Domari (Glottocode: doma1258, ISO 693-3: RMT) belongs to the Central subgroup of Indo-Aryan languages, alongside subcontinental languages such as Hindi, Gujarati-Rajasthani, and other diasporic—so called ‘Gypsy’—languages such as Romani, Domaaki, Parya, and Lomavren. Domari and Romani share with other Central Indo-Aryan languages a series of innovations from Old Indo-Aryan (adapted from Matras 2012, 63):

- O.I.A. /ɾ/ → /i, u/ śṛṇ ‘hear’ (Domari *sən-*, Romani *fun-*, Hindi *sun-*)
- O.I.A. /kṣ/ → /k(h)/ akṣi ‘eyes’ (Domari *aki-*, Romani *yakh*, Hindi *ākḥ*)
- O.I.A. /y/ → /ɟʒ/ yā-‘go’ (Domari *ɟʒa-*, Romani *ɟʒa-*, Hindi *ɟʒa-*)

In addition to this, both Domari and Romani retained consonant clusters that were reduced in the subcontinental languages as early as the Middle Indo-Aryan period, which suggests that Domari and Romani branched off from subcontinental Central Indo-Aryan early in the transition to Middle Indo-Aryan, thought to extend approximately from 600 BCE to 100 CE (Beníšek 2020).¹ Compare also the cognates of Old Indo-Aryan *kāṣṭhā* ‘piece of wood’ in Middle Indo-Aryan, Domari, Romani, and Hindi, as shown in Table 3.1. The cluster /ṣṭh/ is reduced to /tṭh/ in M.I.A. and /ṭh/ in Hindi, whereas both Romani and Domari maintain the historical initial sibilant /ṣ/ in the form of /ʃ/.

Table 3.1: The Cognates of O.I.A. *ka:sṛṭhā* ‘wood’.

O.I.A.	M.I.A.	Domari	Romani	Hindi
<i>kāṣṭhā</i>	<i>kaṭṭha</i>	<i>ka:ʃt</i>	<i>kaʃt</i>	<i>ka:ṭh</i>

Domari is spoken by the Doms, historically a group of commercial nomads scattered in various countries of the Near and Middle East. Like other commercial nomads,

¹ A reviewer points out that this assumption is based on Turner (1926) and refers the reader to Woolner (1928) for a discussion of Turner’s argumentation, which is of course beyond the scope of the present chapter.

the Doms specialize in a wide spectrum of itinerant trades. Domari-speaking Doms are found in Palestine, Jordan, Syria, Lebanon, and Turkey. In Turkey, speakers of Domari can roughly be found between Mersin/Adana and Urfa. Further to the east, at least as far as documented, all the Dom clans shifted to Kurdish and marginally retained an in-group lexicon partly based on Domari called Domani (Herin 2017). Although this is, in all likelihood, no longer the case, there is evidence that Domari was spoken in Iran until the nineteenth century, as attested by a list of words collected by William Ouseley (Ouseley 1823) in Tabriz in 1812 and reproduced in Groome (1891), as shown in Figure 3.1. Most of the words in the list are straightforwardly recognizable from Northern Domari as attested now: *khali* ‘fast’ (Domari *xali*;) and *zever* ‘mouth’ (Domari *za:wər*), just to name a couple. Some items may have been misheard: *nul* ‘salt’ (Domari *lo:n*), *lovki* ‘daughter’ (Domari *lo:ki*: means ‘prostitute’). A couple of items are closer to Southern Domari: *zaru* ‘boy/son’ (Southern Domari *zaro*, not attested in Northern Domari but originally from Kurdish), *paranah* ‘white’ (Southern Domari *prana*, Northern Domari *pna:ra* through metathesis).²

God, <i>Khuia</i> .	white, <i>paranah</i> .	nose, <i>nàk</i> or <i>nànk</i> .
the sun, <i>gam</i> .	green, <i>nîla</i> .	mouth, <i>zever</i> .
moon, <i>miştaw</i> .	quick, <i>khali</i> .	hand, <i>khast</i> .
bread, <i>menaw</i> or <i>menav</i> .	great, <i>barah</i> or <i>varah</i> .	foot, <i>pàf</i> .
water, <i>páni</i> .	little, <i>jînah</i> .	belly, <i>khîum</i> .
horse, <i>agora</i> .	a tent, <i>gari</i> .	leg, <i>lûleh</i> .
cow, <i>mangow</i> .	milk, <i>kihr</i> .	thigh, <i>bûth</i> .
house, <i>gar</i> .	butter, <i>tehl</i> .	sheep, <i>bekra</i> .
salt, <i>nûl</i> .	gold, <i>pildaw</i> .	dog, <i>senûta</i> .
tree, <i>dâr</i> .	silver, <i>urp</i> or <i>ourp</i> .	coat, <i>geisi</i> .
man, <i>manes</i> .	to go, <i>jaunk</i> .	cap, <i>kuli</i> .
woman, <i>jîvi</i> .	to come, <i>paw</i> .	earth, <i>bûih</i> .
fire, <i>aik</i> .	to drink, <i>tepi</i> .	sea, <i>dahns</i> .
boy or son, <i>zarû</i> .	to eat, <i>kamen</i> .	star, <i>chanani</i> .
daughter, <i>lovki</i> .	to fight, <i>lakhti</i> .	flame, <i>alaw</i> or <i>alav</i> .
mother, <i>mami</i> .	to bring, <i>naun</i> .	widow, <i>duljiveh</i> .
father, <i>dadi</i> .	bring bread, <i>menaw naun</i> .	old woman, <i>viddi</i> .
brother, <i>bor</i> .	the wind, <i>vai</i> .	not, <i>tata</i> .
sister, <i>behn</i> .	sword, <i>tuvarar</i> .	cold, <i>si</i> .
fish, <i>metchè</i> .	knife, <i>cheri</i> .	man of the } <i>gara-sabi</i> or
bed, <i>chimarî</i> .	shoes, <i>mîzi</i> .	house, } <i>gara-savi</i> .
smoke, <i>dadû</i> .	finger, <i>angûl</i> .	an infant, <i>khuldar</i> .
good, <i>sona</i> .	ear, <i>kian</i> .	tent-rope, <i>sehli</i> .
bad, <i>pris</i> .	beard, <i>kûich</i> .	three (the number), <i>terân</i> .
black, <i>kala</i> .	eye, <i>aki</i> .	four, <i>ishtâr</i> .

The other numerals nearly the same as in Persian.

Figure 3.1: Domari wordlist collected by William Ouseley in Tabriz in 1812 (Groome 1891, 25).

2 Traceable to O.I.A. *pāṇḍú* ‘white,’ cognate with Romani *parno* ‘white.’

Domari was first attested in the form of wordlists and short sentences collected by European travelers in various eastern countries in the eighteenth century. A discussion of these sources and how it relates to the modern documentation of Domari can be found in Herin (2012) and Matras (2012). The first full-length description of Palestinian Domari is Macalister (1914). Matras (2012) is a recent description of Jerusalem Domari, seemingly the modern-day offspring of the variety described in Macalister (1914). The first grammatical sketch of a Northern variety is Herin (2012), which covers the main characteristics of the dialect of Aleppo. Based on new data from Aleppo, Beirut and Saraqib (Northern Syria), Herin (2014) investigates the core features of Northern Domari. A discussion of the dialectology of Domari as a whole, including data from all the so far attested and documented varieties of both Southern and Northern Domari, can be found in Herin (2016). Herin (2018; 2020) and Matras (2020) provide analyses of the linguistic outcome of contact with Arabic.

The endo-ethnonym is *do:m* (most often realized [d'o:m]). Common exoethnonyms are *nawar* (Levant), *qurba:t'* (northern Syria, Turkey) and *qaraṭ'* (Turkey). The name of the language is minimally *do:m*: *do:m-a-ma* ~ *do:m-ə-m* 'in Domari' (Dom-OBL-INE). Speakers also use the word for 'tongue' or 'word' in a genitive phrase: *do:m-a ga:l* (Dom-OBL word; Beirut Domari) or *do:m-ə ɟib* (Dom-OBL tongue; northern Syria) 'the language of the Doms.' Some groups such as the Doms of Hatay in southern Turkey use the simulative morpheme *-war* as a suffix to form glottonyms: *do:m-war* 'Domari', which can also be augmented with the prefix *i-*: *do:mwa:ri*, optionally followed by *ɟib* 'tongue' *do:mwa:ri ɟib* (realized *do:mva:ri ɟib* in Aleppo).³ The name *do:ma:ni:*, also recorded to refer to the in-group lexicon of the Eastern Anatolian Doms, can also be used as a glottonym by speakers of full-fledged Domari. The name Domari, known to the scholarly community from Macalister (1914), is in all likelihood a contraction of *do:mwa:ri*.

Domari subdivides into two dialect clusters: Southern Domari and Northern Domari. While subdivisions within Southern Domari are still a matter to be investigated, Northern Domari subdivides into the Beirut-Damascus variety and the dialects spoken in northern Syria and southern Turkey. The latter further subdivides into Coastal Domari, spoken by the clans located roughly along the coast of Lebanon (Tripoli northwards), Syria, the Hatay province in Turkey, and Aleppo (Figure 3.2). Southern Domari is primarily spoken in Palestine and Jordan, whereas Northern Domari is primarily spoken in Lebanon, Syria, and Turkey. However, small clans of speakers of southern Domari can also be found in Lebanon and Syria, and small clans

3 Al-Jibāwī (2006) also reports the reverse order *ɟib do:mwa:ri*: (see also Matras 2012, 4), but various consultants do not judge this order as grammatical.

of speakers of Northern Domari can also be found in Jordan. The main innovation of Northern Domari is the loss of grammatical gender as an inflectional category. While it is still robust in Southern Domari, gender marking in Northern Domari is now mostly derivational. The main innovation that occurred in the Beirut-Damascus dialect is the passage from /q/ to /ʔ/, which is a contact-induced change from urban Levantine Arabic.

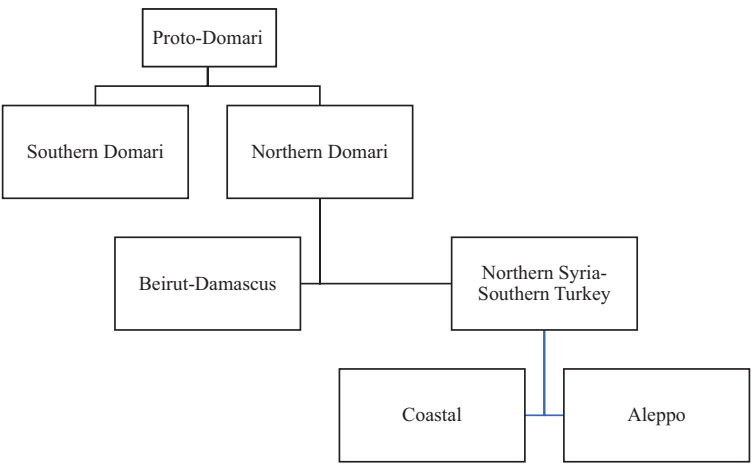


Figure 3.2: The Dialects of Domari.

Domari has no written tradition, and there is hardly any written attestation of Domari. Literate Doms may write Domari for informal purposes in the shape of text messages or emails between friends and relatives. Turkish Doms use the Latin-based alphabet of Turkish, whereas the Arabic alphabet is used in Lebanon, Syria, Palestine, and Jordan. Below is an example of such an informal piece of writing that uses the Latin-based Turkish alphabet (taken from an email):

Et kemkeştöm ge iştine soyeme
e:t(a) ka:m kafto:m ga:j əftəne sə:je:.ma:
here work do.PROG.1s well COP.1p all.PL.1p
'I'm working here, we are all well.'

Tö keni veletim hıştör isın
to: ka:nə vala:t.ə.m (h)əfto:r i:sən
2s which country-OBL-INE COP.2s now
'In which country are you now?'

Language contact is probably what has mostly shaped the phonology and grammar of Domari, due to the fact that its speakers have always been minimally bilingual. The language exhibits different layers of contact: Iranian, Turkic, and Arabic. As for the Iranian layer, elements from Persian, Kurmanji, and Sorani are identifiable:

- Iranian
 - Persian
 - Kurmanji
 - Sorani
- Turkish
- Arabic

Among these, the main current contact languages are Turkish, Arabic, and, to a lesser extent, Kurmanji, especially in the area of Gaziantep-Urfa. It is striking to see that Northern Domari and Southern Domari do not agree in their Iranian component, which suggests that the split between them must have occurred either before they made their way into Iranian-speaking areas or shortly thereafter.

2 Phonology

2.1 Consonants

Table 3.2: Consonant Inventory of Northern Domari.

	Bila- bial	Labio- dental	Dental	Alveo- lar	Postal- veolar	Palatal	Velar	Uvular	Pharyn- geal	Glottal
Nasal	m			n						
Plosive	p b			t d			k g	q		(ʔ)
Fricative		f		s z	ʃ		x		ħ ʕ	h
							ɣ			
Velarised				tˢ dˢ						
				sˢ zˢ						
Affricate					tʃ dʒ					
Approximant	(w)	(ʋ)				j				
Tap				r						
Lateral				l						

The consonantal phonology of Arabic, known for its pharyngeal /ʕ/ and /ħ/ and its series of pharyngealized consonants /tˢ/, /sˢ/, /dˢ/, /zˢ/ (*inter alia*), was integrated wholesale into Domari as shown in (Table 3.2), although the pharyngeals may have been introduced

from Kurmanji: *ša:rd* ‘earth,’ *ħaza:r* ‘thousand’ (identical in some varieties of Kurmanji). Domari also inherited contrasts that are absent from Arabic, such as two-way /b/-/p/ or three-way /k/-/g/-/q/. The velar fricative /ɣ/ seems to have made its way into Domari prior to contact with Arabic: *qa:ʕəɣ* ‘spoon’ (most probably from Iranian, cf., Persian *ga:fog* ‘spoon’), whereas /x/ is the normal reflex of O.I.A. initial /h/: *xəɖʒ* ‘yesterday’ (O.I.A. *hiyás*). The main reflex of the approximant /w/ is [u] in Aleppo and some dialects of southern Turkey. Domari speakers usually retain the affricate /ɖʒ/, but, due to the influence of Levantine Arabic, the fricative allophone [ʒ] has made its way into the language.

2.2 Vowels

As far as vowels are concerned, Northern Domari only has two phonological short vowels /a/ and /ə/, with a lot of allophonic realizations, and six long vowels /a:/, /ɑ:/, /e:/, /i:/, /o:/ and /u:/. The bipartite short vowel system is shared with many Arabic dialects of the northern Levant. Many dialects of Arabic in the area have a five long-vowel system but lack a contrast between a front /a:/ and a back /ɑ:/. Oppositions between /a:/ and /ɑ:/ are found in the inherited Indic stock in Northern Domari: /pna:ra/ ‘old’ versus /pna:ra/ ‘white.’ Historically a masculine marker, final -a has a back realization between [ɑ] to [Λ] in the dialects of northern Syria and southern Turkey but front [a] in the Beirut-Damascus variety. In the dialect of Aleppo, nasalization was also recorded. Due to this back realization of final -a, it is possible to oppose [tʃa:ʕa] ‘boy’ and [tʃa:ʕa(:)] ‘one boy’ after the elision of final /k/ of the indefinite marker -a:k in *tʃa:ʕa-k* ‘one boy’ (boy-INDF). Final [a] and [ɑ] also contrast in the third-person singular in the perfective and the perfect: *we:sr-a* [we:sra] (stay.PRF.3SG-PST) ‘(s)he was staying’ versus *we:sra* [we:sra] (stay.PFV.3SG) ‘(s)he stayed.’ It remains unsettled whether the underlying phonological vowel of final -a is /ɑ:/ or /a/. For notational convenience, {a} was opted for, but it should be borne in mind that the realization of this final vowel lies between [ɑ] to [Λ] and is nasalized in the first text presented below.

2.3 Phonotactics

The phonotactics of Northern Domari are very similar to Levantine Arabic. The most common syllables are Cv(:), Cv:C, although CCv(C) and CCv:(C) are also permitted. High short vowels in unstressed open syllables are elided: [ma:nəs] ‘individual’ versus [ma:nəs-ə-ka] ‘at the individual’ (individual-OBL-ADE). Three consonant clusters that arise from the elision of /ə/ are resolved through anaptyxis between the second and the third consonant. The phonetic value of the added vowel is central [ə], which is identical to the main allophone of /ə/: [mnəs] ‘husband’ but

[mən'so:m] ‘my husband.’ This may also sporadically affect /i:/: [qi:tʃ] ‘leg’ versus [qʃʃo:m] ‘my leg’ (from Sorani Kurdish *qatf* ‘leg’).

Stress is word-final in Domari, a feature inherited from Indic. Borrowed lexemes, even proper nouns, are normally stressed on the ultimate syllable: [xa:ˈləd] ‘Khalid’ (Arabic [ˈxɑ:lɪd]). Exceptions may occur with some toponyms. Consider a location called Jadra in Lebanon where a substantial Dom community is located. In Arabic, stress falls in the first syllable: [ˈʒɑdra]. In all the recorded tokens, speakers keep the Arabic stress on the first syllable [ˈdʒɑdre:-ma] ‘In Jadra’ (Jadra.OBL-INE) instead of the expected second syllable stress [dʒɑdˈre:-ma], here with the inessive case marker *-ma*.

3 Morphology

3.1 Pronouns

Domari has a set of free pronouns that inflects for case and a set of possessive-object pronominal indexes that attaches to nouns and verbs (Table 3.3 and Table 3.4).

Table 3.3: Free and Bound Pronouns in Domari.

	Free	Accusative	Marked nominative	Bound
1sg	(a)ma:	ma-s	(a)me:n	-m
2sg	to:	tər-s	te:n	-r
3sg	pa:ndʒi:	ōr-əs ~ ēr-əs	pa:ndʒən ~ o:rən ~ ēr-ən	-s
1pl	ami:(n)		*	-ma(n)
2pl	(a)tmi:(n)		*	-ra(n)
3pl	pa:ndʒa:	o:r-ən ~ e:r-ən	*	-sa(n)

Table 3.4: Case-inflected Pronouns in Domari.

	Comitative	Ablative	Versative	Adessive	Inessive	Superessive	Benefactive
1sg	wa:ʃo:m	de:ʃo:m	we:ʃo:m	pa:s˚o:m	mandʒo:m	wato:m	abo:m
2sg	wa:ʃo:r	de:ʃo:r	we:ʃo:r	pa:s˚o:r	mandʒo:r	wato:r	abo:r
3sg	wa:ʃi:	de:ʃi:	we:ʃi:	pa:s˚i:	mandʒi:	wati:	abo:s
1pl	wa:ʃo:ma(n)	de:ʃo:ma(n)	we:ʃo:ma(n)	pa:s˚o:ma(n)	mandʒo:ma(n)	wato:ma(n)	abo:ma(n)
2pl	wa:ʃo:r:a(n)	de:ʃo:ra(n)	we:ʃo:ra(n)	pa:s˚o:ra(n)	mandʒo:ra(n)	wato:ra(n)	abo:ra(n)
3pl	wa:ʃya:	de:ʃja:	we:ʃja:	pa:s˚ja:	mandʒja:	watja:	abo:sa:(n)

Since the subject is already indexed on the verb, free pronouns are mostly used for contrastive purposes.

(1) Beirut-Damascus

pa:ndʒja: *kar-and-s-e* *ma:sj-a-ma*
 3p do.IPFV-SBJ.3p-OBJ.3s-PRS meat-OBL-INE
ami:n *kar-an-s-e* *tʃma:rj-a-ma*
 1p do.IPFV-SBJ.1p-3s-PRS chicken-OBL-INE
 ‘They cook it with meat; we cook it with chicken.’

The dialect of Aleppo also uses the distal demonstratives *h(an)u:* (SG) and *(han) o:ri:n* (PL) instead of *pa:ndʒi:* (SG) and *pa:ndʒja:* (PL). In addition to this, Aleppo Domari also has alternative forms for the first-person and second-person singular, respectively *ama:ri:n* ‘we’ and *tma:ri:n* ‘you.’

(2) Aleppo

karde *ħa:dəs* *trəmbi:l-ə-mə...* *hu:* *la* *di:* *tʃa:γ-e:-s*
 do.PRF.3s accident car-OBL-INE DEM.SG and two children-PL-3s
 ‘He had a car accident. . . he and two of his children.’

(3) Aleppo

tma:ri:n *sə:ˈe:-ra:* *nəməz* *karse*
 2p all-PL-2p prayer do.IPFV.2p
 ‘All of you pray.’

The marked nominative forms are used to differentially mark the subject in case of focused or topicalized subject. Differential subject marking is available only on subjects in the singular, hence the gaps in the paradigm in Table 3.3.

(4) Aleppo

gare:n *ame:n* *də* *garo:m* *ti:ka* *ba:r-o:-m* *kəri:*
 go.PFV.1p 1s.NOM DM go.PFV.1s bit brother-SG-1s house
 ‘We went; I went a bit to my brother’s place.’

Pronominal objects may be right-or left-dislocated for information structure purposes. In that case, the accusative-marked free pronoun is used:

(5) Coastal (Latakia)

tər-s *la* *la:fti-o:-r* *ka:* *l-mə:r-əm*
 2s.OBL-ACC and girl-SG-2s FUT SBJV-kill.IPFV-1s
 ‘I’ll kill you and your daughter.’

Example (6) features the use of the third-person singular pronoun marked for superessive case *vati*: ‘on it’ (realized *vati*: in Aleppo). Speakers may also use free pronouns marked with suffixed case-markers as shown in (7), although they are not entirely interchangeable.

(6) Aleppo

awwalma xaft-o:-m to:rdo:m vati:
 as hand-SG-1s put.PFV.1s 3s.SUPE
xaft-o:-m ləyi:rə
 hand-SG-1s be.grasped.PFV.3s
 ‘As soon as I put my hand on it, my hand got an electric shock.’

(7) Beirut-Damascus

iza ka:nye kya: ma:-ta kse: ka: bi:tjam
 if exist.NEG something 1s-SUPE why fut fear.SBJV.1s
tˈma:lʃ-an-ki nye kya: wato:m
 police-OBL.PL.ABL exist.NEG something 1s.SUPE
 ‘If there is nothing on me, why should I be afraid of the police? There is nothing on me.’

3.2 Demonstratives

Adnominal demonstratives inflect for case only in the singular (Table 3.5). Only two values are available: unmarked nominative and oblique. The oblique form is selected when the head noun is marked for case, as shown in (8) and (9).

Table 3.5: Adnominal Demonstratives.

	Proximal		Distal
	Singular	Plural	
nom	<i>ha:</i>		
obl	<i>e:</i>	<i>e:</i>	<i>o:</i>

(8) Aleppo

e: fi:fə pa:ri:fə-ki tʃəl qa:tˢ a:jro:m
 DEM.OBL socket-OBL buying-OBL-ABL forty sheet come.PFV.1s
 ‘After I bought this forty lira socket, I came. ...’

(9) Beirut-Damascus

e: *waʔt-a-ma* *n-ʔafta-r-s-e*
 DEM.OBL time-OBL-INE NEG-eat.PROG-3s.SBJ-3s.OBJ-PRS
ha: *ɖi:l* *sa*
 DEM.NOM generation all
 ‘In this time, this generation doesn’t eat it.’

Pronominal demonstratives behave morphologically like nouns and, as such, are eligible for the full range of case marking (Table 3.6).

Table 3.6: Pronominal Demonstratives.

	Singular		Plural	
	Proximal	Distal	Proximal	Distal
Nominative (unmarked)	<i>ha: ~ hana:</i>	<i>hu: ~ hanu:</i>	<i>e:ri:n</i>	<i>o:ri:n</i>
Nominative (marked)	<i>e:r-ən</i>	<i>o:r-ən</i>	*	*
Accusative	<i>e:r-əs</i>	<i>o:r-əs</i>	<i>e:r-ən</i>	<i>o:r-ən</i>
Oblique	<i>e:r-ə</i>	<i>o:r-ə</i>		
Comitative	<i>e:r-ə-sa</i>	<i>o:r-ə-sa</i>	<i>e:r-ən-sa</i>	<i>o:r-ən-sa</i>
Ablative	<i>e:r-ə-ki</i>	<i>o:r-ə-ki</i>	<i>e:r-ən-ki</i>	<i>o:r-ən-ki</i>
Versative	<i>e:r-ə-wa</i>	<i>o:r-ə-wa</i>	<i>e:r-ən-wa</i>	<i>o:r-ən-wa</i>
Adessive	<i>e:r-ə-ka</i>	<i>o:r-ə-ka</i>	<i>e:r-ən-ka</i>	<i>o:r-ən-ka</i>
Supersessive	<i>e:r-ə-tq</i>	<i>o:r-ə-tq</i>	<i>e:r-ən-tq</i>	<i>o:r-ən-tq</i>
Inessive	<i>e:r-ə-mq</i>	<i>o:r-ə-mq</i>	<i>e:r-ən-mq</i>	<i>o:r-ən-mq</i>

Pronominal objects are normally indexed on the verb, but, when dislocated, they are coded with pronominal demonstratives marked for accusative:

(10) Beirut-Damascus

i:sa e: *ʔa:jf-an#* *e:r-an* *yo:ka mo:r nə-xo:na:wiftare*
 now DEM.OBL food-ACC.PL DEM.PROX-ACC.PL one any NEG-cook.PROG.3s
 ‘Nowadays, these foods, no one cooks them (anymore).’

3.3 Relativizer

Domari uses the Arabic relativizer *illi* (11) and marginally the relativizer *ki* (12) ultimately derived from Iranian, although it may have made its way into the language from Turkish. In both cases, the resumptive pronoun strategy is used. Interestingly,

ki also neutralizes the appearance of the accusative marker *-as* used to differentially mark definite objects (*kəry-as ki* ‘house-ACC REL’ would have been expected).

(11) Beirut-Damascus

tʰa:tʰi:n illi we:sre:ne ʔantʃ-o:-san-ta
 peasants REL stay.PRF.1p side-SG-3p-SUPE
 ‘The Arabs we live next to’

(12) Coastal (Saraqib)

da:ɾdo:r kəri: ki dʒib karm-a wat
 see.PFV.2s house REL tongue do.IPFV.1s-PST 3s.SUPE
 ‘Have you seen the house I was talking about?’

3.4 Interrogatives

Most interrogatives used in Northern Domari (Table 3.7) are inherited. The only form that seems to have arisen from contact is *kəʃkəl* ‘how’ that combines the inherited interrogative formative *k-* ‘what, which’ and *ʃkəl* ‘way,’ which is of course reminiscent of Arabic *ʃikl* ‘shape,’ but it may have been calqued from Iranian. Compounds involving the interrogative ‘what’ and a nominal meaning ‘way’ or ‘style’ to form an interrogative ‘how’ are well attested in Iranian (cf., Persian *ʔe-tor, ʔe-gune* ‘how’). Interrogatives normally occur clause-initially, as shown in (13).

Table 3.7: Interrogatives in Northern Domari (modified after Herin 2014).

	Beirut-Damascus	Northern Syria and Southern Turkey
‘who’		<i>ko:</i>
‘what’	<i>kak(i:)</i>	<i>ka:j / kak(i:)</i>
‘which’	<i>ka:na</i>	<i>ka:nə</i>
‘how’	<i>kasi:</i>	<i>kat, kəʃkəl</i>
‘when’		<i>kasmə, kaʃfa</i>
‘why’		<i>kse:</i>
‘how many’		<i>kʰi:</i>
‘how much’		<i>kardʰa:(k)</i>
‘where’		<i>ke:ta, ka:</i>
‘where to’		<i>ke:wa</i>
‘where from’	<i>z-ke:ta ~ məzke:wa</i>	<i>kəzze:ta, z-ke:ta</i>

(13) Aleppo

ka:j ka: karəs aḏʒo:t ke:ta ka: kəntjəs
 what FUT do.SBJV.2p today where FUT go.out.SBJV.2p
 ‘What will you do today? Where will you go?’

3.5 Nouns

Nouns have the following morphological layout (Table 3.8).

Table 3.8: Morphological Layout of the Noun.

Root	Gender	Indefinite	Layer I/Number	Possessive	Layer II	Meaning
Derivational			Inflectional			
<i>pnɑ:r</i>	<i>y</i>		<i>ə</i>		<i>ki</i>	‘from the white one’
<i>ta:w</i>		<i>a:k</i>	<i>ə</i>		<i>m(a)</i>	‘in one place’
<i>ba:r</i>		<i>a:k</i>	<i>o:</i>	<i>m</i>		‘one of my brother’
<i>kəry</i>			<i>e:</i>	<i>san</i>	<i>ki</i>	‘from/to their houses’

The noun consists of a root, to which derivational morphemes attach, followed by inflectional suffixes. The feminine suffix *-i:* is lexically restricted and can only be considered a derivational device when a pair is attested in the lexicon: *pnɑ:rɑ* ‘white (m.)’ versus *pnɑ:ri:* ‘white (f.)’ or *la:ftɑ* ‘young boy’ versus *la:fti:* ‘young girl’. The indefinite suffix *-a:(k)* is only compatible with the Layer I singular oblique marker *-a ~ -ə* or the singular morpheme *-o:*, which is selected before possessive indexes. Adjectives have the same morphology as nouns and can only be distinguished as a separate word class on syntactic grounds. Only a handful of inherited adjectives ending in *-a* are eligible for gender marking. Examples are *miftɑ-mifti:* ‘sick,’ *nawɑ-nawi:* ‘new,’ *qa:lɑ-qa:li:* ‘black.’ Borrowed adjectives remain invariable. Nouns are pluralized with the suffix *-i:(n)*, *-ən* in the oblique, and *-e:* when followed by a possessive suffix (Table 3.9).

Table 3.9: Plural Marking on Nouns.

<i>la:ftj-i:(n)</i>	(girl-PL)	‘girls’
<i>la:ftj-ən-mɑ</i> [la:ftjɪm:ɑ]	(girl-OBL.PL-INE)	‘among the girls’
<i>la:ftj-e:-r</i>	(girl-PL-2SG)	‘your girls’

Case morphology involves case stacking, whereby the oblique stem is used for the formation of other cases. Table 3.10 features the inflection in both the singular and the plural of *qər* ‘boy’ and *madrasq* ‘school.’

Table 3.10: Nominal Case Morphology.

	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
Nominative (unmarked)	<i>qər</i>	<i>qər-i:(n)</i>	<i>madrasq</i>	<i>madras-i:(n)</i>
Nominative (marked)	<i>qr-ən</i>	*	*	*
Accusative	<i>qr-əs</i>		<i>madras-e:s</i>	
Oblique	<i>qr-ə</i>	<i>qr-ən</i>	<i>madras-e:</i>	<i>madras-e:n</i>
Comitative	<i>qr-ə-sa</i>	<i>qr-ən-sa</i>	<i>madras-e:-sa</i>	<i>madras-e:n-sa</i>
Ablative	<i>qr-ə-ki</i>	<i>qr-ən-ki</i>	<i>madras-e:-ki</i>	<i>madras-e:n-ki</i>
Versative	<i>qr-ə-wa</i>	<i>qr-ən-wa</i>	<i>madras-e:-wa</i>	<i>madras-e:n-wa</i>
Adessive	<i>qr-ə-ka</i>	<i>qr-ən-ka</i>	<i>madras-e:-ka</i>	<i>madras-e:n-ka</i>
Superessive	<i>qr-ə-tq</i>	<i>qr-ən-tq</i>	<i>madras-e:-tq</i>	<i>madras-e:n-tq</i>
Inessive	<i>qr-ə-mq</i>	<i>qr-ən-mq</i>	<i>madras-e:-mq</i>	<i>madras-e:n-mq</i>

The final vowel of some items ending in *-q* that include all the lexemes borrowed from Arabic ending in the feminine morpheme *-a* undergo a vocalic change to *e:* when marked for case: *madrase:* (school.OBL). The marked nominative is a differential subject marker only available on singular human-focused or topic-shifted subjects (see example 4). The accusative is used as a differential object marker for definite objects (14).

(14) Aleppo

aki: kardo:m tʃe:zk-əs
 eye do.PFV.1s boy-ACC
 ‘I waited for the boy.’

All the case suffixes are inherited from Indo-Aryan, except for the versative marker *-wa*, which is derived from the Kurdish postposition *-va*. In Kurdish, *-va* combines with other prepositions, and its range of meanings does not overlap with Domari *-wa*, which primarily encodes spatial direction (15) or temporal distance to the past (16).

(15) Coastal (Antioch)

pa:rdo:mi:n bn-ə-wa ye
 Pardoms below-OBL-VERS COP

‘The Pardoms (Kurdish speaking Doms) live toward the lower part (of the neighborhood).’

(16) Beirut-Damascus

garo:m mistaffe:-ki di: trən di:s-a-wa
go.PFV.1s hospital.OBL-ABL two three day-OBL-VERS
'I went to the hospital a couple of days ago.'

3.6 Numbers

Cardinal numerals are recorded in Table 3.11. Final /a/ in *je:k(a)* was reinterpreted as the indefinite marker *a:k*, as evidenced when material is added to the right: *yo:k-a:k e* 'it's one, there is one.' The form *dədi:* 'two' is used in isolation, whereas *di:* is used as a modifier: *di: la:fti:* 'two girls.' 'Six,' 'seven,' 'eight,' the tens from twenty to fifty, 'hundred,' and 'thousand' were borrowed from Kurdish. 'Sixty' and 'forty' are expressed by multiplying 'twenty,' to which 'ten' is added for 'seventy' and 'ninety.' An interesting alternative was also recorded for 'ninety,' which combines Kurdish *s'add* 'hundred,' Arabic *illa* 'except' and inherited *dazz* 'ten.' As far as ordinals are concerned, all the recorded forms are replicated from Arabic: *awwal* 'first,' *ta:ni* 'second,' *ta:lit* 'third,' One informant reported a non-Arabic strategy consisting of the numeral followed by *lami:*, whose etymology is still unknown: *ye:ka lami:* 'first,' *dədi: lami:* 'second,' *t'rən lami:* 'third.' This strategy seemingly fell out of use in the present-day dialects.

Table 3.11: Cardinal Numbers.

1	<i>je:k(a) ~ jo:ka</i>	11	<i>dazz ye:k</i>	30	<i>si:</i>
2	<i>dədi:, di:</i>	12	<i>dazz dədi:</i>	40	<i>tʃəl</i>
3	<i>t'rən</i>	13	<i>dazz t'rən</i>	50	<i>pe:ndʒa</i>
4	<i>fta:r</i>	14	<i>dəfta:r</i>	60	<i>t'rən wi:st</i>
5	<i>pandʒ</i>	15	<i>dazz pandʒ</i>	70	<i>t'rən wi:st dazz</i>
6	<i>je:f</i>	16	<i>dəfje:f</i>	80	<i>fta:r wi:st</i>
7	<i>ħaft</i> ^c	17	<i>dazz ħaft</i> ^c	90	<i>fta:r wi:st dazz ~ s'add illa dazz</i>
8	<i>ħaft</i>	18	<i>dazz ħaft</i>	100	<i>s'add</i>
9	<i>nah ~ no</i>	19	<i>dazz nah ~ no</i>	1000	<i>ħaza:r</i>
10	<i>dazz</i>	20	<i>wi:st</i>	1000000	<i>malyo:n</i>

3.7 Verbs

The verb consists of a root, to which aspect markers, followed by subject indexes, object indexes, and tense are suffixed (Table 3.12). The valency slot can be occupied by the causative suffix *-na:* or the passive suffix *-y(a:)*. Aspect is *zero* marked for

the imperfective, *-d* or *-rd* for the perfective, *-ft* for the progressive and *-tj* for the subjunctive of intransitive verbs. The subject and object indexes are listed below. Tense has two values: *-e* for present and *-a* for past. The transitive subjunctive slot is optionally filled with the prefix *l(a)*-for transitive verbs or obligatorily with *b-* (and its devoiced allomorph *p-*) for the monosyllabic roots *de:-* ‘give,’ *ne:-* ‘take,’ *aw-* ‘come,’ and *tf-* ‘say’: *ka: b-de:-m* ‘I will give,’ *ka: p-ne:-m* ‘I will take,’ *ka: p-a:w-əm* ‘I will come,’ and *ka: p-tf-əm* ‘I will say.’ The prefix *b-* is in all likelihood replicated from Iranian. The verb *a:n-* ‘bring’ forms its subjunctive with *n-* that is probably cognate with *l-*: *ka: n-a:n-əm* ‘I will bring.’

Table 3.12: Morphological Layout of the Verb.

Transitive subjunctive	Root	Valency	aspect	subject	object	tense	
<i>l</i>	<i>qa:j</i>	<i>na:</i>		<i>m</i>	<i>sa:(n)</i>		‘that I feed (sbjv) them’
	<i>de:</i>		<i>ft</i>	<i>ər</i>	<i>ma:(n)</i>	<i>e</i>	‘He is giving us’
<i>p</i>	<i>ne:</i>			<i>r</i>	<i>əs</i>		‘that he take (sbjv) it’
	<i>pər</i>		<i>tj</i>	<i>əm</i>		<i>a</i>	‘that I returned (sbjv)’

Verbs inflect for person and number. Table 3.13 exhibits the inflections of *kar* ‘do’ in the perfective, imperfective, subjunctive, and progressive. In the imperfective and the progressive, the default tense value is present with the suffix *-e*, although tense marking can occur on all the stems: *kardo:m-a* ‘I had done,’ *kardo:m-e* ‘I have done,’ *karm-e* ‘I do,’ *karm-a* ‘I used to do,’ *kafto:m-e* ‘I am doing,’ *kafto:m-a* ‘I was doing.’ The past tense marker *-a* can also occur in the subjunctive, but if the subjunctive stem is the same as the imperfective, they become homophonous: *karm-a* ‘(that) I did’ or ‘I used to do’ or, in the text below, *dʒa:m-a* in *ka: dʒa:m-a* ‘I wanted to go.’ This often happens in the dialect of Aleppo that makes a limited use of the transitive subjunctive prefix *l-*, but, in other dialects, *l-* is almost always there, so the imperfective and the subjunctive forms are always distinguished. Intransitive verbs use the extension *ti:-*, so both forms are different: *pr-əm-a* ‘I was going back’ versus *pər-tj-əm-a* ‘(that) I came back.’ The perfective stem is formed by adding the extension *-d* or *-rd* to the root: *kar-d-o:m* ‘I did,’ *nanga-rd-o:m* ‘I entered.’

The subjunctive stem is also used to form imperatives. The bare stem is used for the second-person singular *kar* ‘do!’, *ma:nti:* ‘stay!’ In the second-person plural the subjunctive is used: *kar-əs* ‘do (PL)!’, *ma:ntj-əs* ‘stay (PL)!’ As noted above, the subjunctive stem of transitive verbs is also augmented with the prefix *l-*, which expectedly also surfaces in the imperative: *lə-pi:* ~ *pi:* ‘drink,’ plural *lə-py-əs* ~ *py-əs*. In the dialect of Aleppo, the use of the bare stem for the imperative singular contrasts with the second-person singular ending *-a* of the subjunctive. Compare *pi:*

Table 3.13: Inflections of *kar-* ‘do’.

Perfective	Imperfective	Subjunctive (Coastal)	Subjunctive (Aleppo)	Progressive
<i>kardo:m</i>	<i>karme</i>	<i>la-karəm</i>	<i>karəm</i>	<i>kafto:me</i>
<i>kardo:r</i>	<i>kare:</i>	<i>la-kar</i>	<i>kara:</i>	<i>kafto:re</i>
<i>kardə</i>	<i>karre</i>	<i>la-karər</i>	<i>karər</i>	<i>kaftə</i>
<i>karde:n</i>	<i>karne</i>	<i>la-karən</i>	<i>karən</i>	<i>kaftəne</i>
<i>karde:s</i>	<i>karse</i>	<i>la-karəs</i>	<i>karəs</i>	<i>kaftəse</i>
<i>karde:nd</i>	<i>karənde</i>	<i>la-karənd</i>	<i>karənd</i>	<i>kaftənde</i>

‘drink!’ and *py-a:* ‘that you drink’ (*ka: pya:* ‘you will drink’). Irregular formations include *ḏu:* ‘go!’ (< *ḏa:* ‘go’), *qajmi:* ‘eat!’ (< *qa-* ‘eat’).

Like many Indo-Iranian languages, Domari has compound verbs consisting of a lexical unit that carries the semantic load and a light verb that carries inflections. Broadly, the two main light verbs are *kar-* ‘do’ for transitive verbs and *ho:-* ‘become’ for intransitive verbs, although exceptions exist. To integrate verbs from Arabic, speakers extract the imperfective stem: *ʕi:f ho:-* ‘live’ (< Arabic *y-ʕi:f* ‘he lives’), *ʕtabər kar-* ‘consider’ (< Arabic *y-i-ʕtabir* ‘he considers’). Kurdish also provided some verbs. Their integration is very straightforward because Iranian languages use the same light verbs: (*l*)*wa: kar-* ‘open’ realized *va: kar-* in the text below (cf., Kurdish *va kirin*). Sometimes, the noun borrowed from Iranian is used to form complex verbs, whereas Iranian uses the adjectival derivation. This is the case with the noun *bri:n* ‘wound, injury’ borrowed from Kurdish *birin*. While Domari uses *bri:n* as the base for the formation of the light verbs *bri:n hr-* ‘be injured’ and *bri:n kar-* ‘injure,’ Kurdish uses the adjective derivation *birindar: birindar kirin* ‘injure.’

Only two devices are available in Domari to change the valency of the verb. The suffix *-na:* is a valency-increasing device that has a causative function: *qa:j-* ‘eat’ → *qa:j-na:-* ‘feed,’ *we:s-* ‘sit,’ *we:s-na:-* ‘cause to sit,’ *sək-* ‘learn’ → *sək-na:-* ‘teach.’ The other allomorph is *-a:*: *sn-* ‘hear’ → *sn-a:-* ‘cause to hear,’ *kar-* ‘do’ → *kar-a:-* ‘cause to do.’ The suffix *-i:* is a valency-decreasing device that derives mediopassive stems: *qa:j-* ‘eat’ → *qi:-* ‘be eaten,’ *ʕn-* ‘cut,’ *ʕn-i:-* ‘be cut.’

Domari has no nonfinite forms of the verb. Verbal nouns or *masdars* can be derived with the suffix *-i:f*, in all likelihood borrowed from Iranian (cf., Persian-*ef*, which has a similar function): *aw-* ‘come’ → *awi:f* ‘coming,’ *pa:r-* ‘buy’ → *pa:ri:f* ‘buying.’ This way of deriving verbal nouns also applies to complex verbs: *ha:s kar-* ‘love’ → *ha:s kaji:f* ‘loving’ (cf., Kurmanji *hez kirin* ‘love’).

3.8 Adpositions

Domari has both *prepositions* and *postpositions*. The main preposition Domari borrowed from Iranian is ablative *z-* ‘from,’ in all likelihood replicated from a variety close to Persian (cf., Persian *az*).

(17) Aleppo

ḡəv-r-o:-m nava a:yre z ahl-ə-ki
 wife-SG-1s new come.PRF.3s from family-OBL-ABL
 ‘My wife had just come from her family.’

Common Arabic prepositions are *qabəl* ‘before,’ *baʿd* ‘after,’ and many others. Prepositions usually require ablative marking on the noun, as shown in (18).

(18) Coastal (Homs)

baʿd qəf-f-o:-s ʔni:f-ə-ki mra
 after leg-SG-3s cutting-OBL-ABL die.PFV.3s
 ‘After they cut his leg, he died.’

Postpositions are morphemes that cannot be interpreted as nominals in a genitive construction. Such morphemes are inherited *ke:ra* (benefactive), Arabic-derived *qattə* (‘quantity’ < Arabic *qadd*) and similative *-war* ‘like.’ The non-nominal nature of these morphemes can be tested through their incompatibility with possessive suffixes: ***ke:r-o:-s* (intended: ‘for him’), ***qatt-o:-s* (intended: ‘his amount’). The modified noun is marked as oblique, exemplified in (19).

(19) Aleppo

taqri:ban ni:m sa:ʃat-ə qattə sətto:m
 around half hour-OBL quantity sleep.IPFV.1s
 ‘I slept for around half an hour.’

Another Iranian morpheme that could be classified either as a postposition or a Layer II case marker is similative *-war* ‘like, as,’ which seems to be competing with the equivalent Arabic preposition *mitəl* (in dialects in contact with Arabic). Like other postpositions and Layer II markers, the modified noun has to be marked oblique. One argument in favor of classifying *-war* as a postposition is that it does not have specific case-marked free pronominal forms: *ma: war* ‘like me,’ *tər war* ‘like you,’ etc. Compare, for that matter, the genitive marker *-ki* that can attach to

the independent pronoun *ma:ki* in addition to the suppletive form *de:fo:m*, both meaning ‘from me.’ Such a suppletive form is not available in the case of *-war*, hence its classification as a postposition and not a case marker.

(20) Coastal (Homs)

i:sa ami:n tʰa:tʰə war nə-ftəne
 now 1p peasant-OBL like NEG-COP.1p
 ‘We are not like the Arabs.’

In addition to this, Domari also has a set of relational nouns that mostly express various spatial distinctions. One of these relational nouns was borrowed from Kurdish: *bn(q)* ‘below’: *tʰa:wl-e: bn(q)* ‘under the table’ (table-OBL under). These morphemes are different from postpositions because they are clearly nominals, as suggested by their compatibility with possessive bound pronouns: *bn-o:-s* ‘under it’ (under-SG-3s).

3.9 Negation

Domari has two inherited negators that prefix to the verb: *n-* (21) and *m-* (22). The negator *n-* is used in realis moods (perfective, imperfective, and progressive), whereas *m-* is selected with irrealis moods (subjunctive and imperative).

(21) Coastal (Antioch)

ami:n təkənəwar nə-sək-na:-n-sa:-e
 1p Turkish NEG-learn-CAUS-1p.SBJ-3p.OBJ-PRS
 ‘We don’t teach them Turkish.’

(22) Coastal (Latakia)

mə-l-to: lo:n mandʒ
 NEG-SBJV-put.SBJV.2s salt 3s.INE
 ‘Don’t put salt in it!’

4 Syntax

4.1 Word order

4.1.1 NP

The canonical linear order within the NP is (N) (DEM) (NUM) (ADJ) N (REL). Except relative clauses that are right-adjoined, the other modifiers occur leftward of the head noun. Even when elicited, speakers are very reluctant to produce complex NPs in which all the slots are filled. Example (23) is among the most complex that could be elicited.

(23) Coastal (Latakiah)

e: *di:* *tro:t(q)* *ʃa:ɣ-ən-ki* *da:dj-o:-sa:*
 DEM.OBL two small boy-OBL.PL-ABL grandmother-SG-3p
 ‘The grandmother of these two young children’

Speakers may right-dislocate modifiers in case of complex NPs, as attested in the present text where the numeral occurs rightward of the NP in apposition: ‘my cousins, two’ instead of **bibj:o:m-ki di: qɾ-e:-s-sa* (??). The reluctance to break the NP with a numeral may also be triggered by the fact that the two nouns *bibjo:m* ‘my aunt’ and *qɾ* ‘son’ very frequently collocate and, as such, enjoy a fair degree of lexicalization.

(24) Aleppo

bibj-o:-m *qɾ-ən-sa* *dədj-i:n*
 aunt-SG-1s son-OBL.PL-com two-PL
 ‘With two of my cousins, two cousins of mine’

Minimally, nominal modifiers in genitive constructions are marked for oblique case. Another option is to mark the modifier for ablative case and co-reference it on the head with a bound pronoun.

(25) a. Coastal (Homs)

wa:tʰ-ə *kri:* ‘a stone house’
 stone-OBL house

b. Beirut-Damascus

məns-o:-m-ki *be:n-e:-s* ‘my husband’s sisters’
 husband-SG-1s-ABL sister-PL-3s

The oblique marker is not apparent on the modifier with possessive suffixes, because it occupies the same slot as the number marker that is compulsory with possessive indexes:

(26) Aleppo

nangərdo:m ba:r-ø:-m kəry-ə-mə
 enter.PFV.1s brother-SG-1s house-OBL-INE
 ‘I entered my brother’s house.’

Domari also borrowed a set of quantifiers from Iranian, which do not exhibit a unified syntactic behavior. The most frequent is *har* ‘each’ placed leftward of the noun: *har ɣərɸ-e:-m* ‘in each room’ (each room-OBL-INE). The quantifier *ʃand* ‘a couple of,’ originally the interrogative ‘how many’ in Iranian, replicates one of its uses, which incidentally also occurs with Arabic *kam* ‘how many.’ In Domari, the head noun is also marked with the indefinite marker *a:(k)*: *ʃand kam-a:* ‘a couple of things.’

4.1.2 VP

Domari does not have a rich inventory of preverbal particles or auxiliaries, because much of the temporal, modal, and aspectual distinctions are synthetically coded on the verb. A very frequent particle, however, is *ka:* that appears to the left of the verb. Highly polyfunctional, the range of its meanings largely overlap with Levantine Arabic *bidd-* ‘want,’ which can express volition, deontic and epistemic modality, or any kind of future. It occurs in strict adjacency leftward of the verb but remains outside the verbal word. The only material that can be inserted between *ka:* and the verb is the negation marker *m-*: *ka: m-(h)o:tjər* ‘there will not be’ (FUT NEG-become.SBJV.3SG).

(27) Aleppo

ka: dʒa:m ka: pa:vəm
 FUT go.SBJV.1s fut come.SBJV.1s
 ‘I’ll come and go.’

Domari also replicated the Arabic inchoative auxiliary *s’a:r* ‘become’ with its lexical equivalent *hr-/ho:-* ‘become.’ As in Arabic, it inflects for number and person, and it is placed leftward.

(28) Coastal (Saraqib)

hre:nd *l-wa:nd-sa:*
 become.PFV.3p SBJV-hit.SBJV.3p-3p
 ‘They started bombarding them.’

4.1.3 Simple clause

As far as clausal constituent order is concerned, two parameters have to be taken into account: the position of the subject in relation to the verb and the position of the object in relation to the verb. A quick parsing of the text below shows that both VS and SV are attested, and so are OV and VO. In dialectal Arabic, both SV and VS are basic orders. Their selection depends on referent and event continuity: SV signals available reference whereas VS signals new referents and events (Owens, Dodsworth & Rockwood 2009, 62). The text presented here clearly patterns with dialectal Arabic as far as the position of the subject in relation to the verb is concerned. All the instances of VS signal new events, while SV indicates that the referents are available to the hearer. This contrast is exemplified in (29), exhibiting VS and introducing a new event, followed by (30) that exhibits SV and in which the referent and the event were made available in (29).

(29) Aleppo

ga:(l) kardə *vato:m* *ba:r-o:-m*
 word do.PFV.3s 1s.SUPE brother-SG-1s
 ‘My brother told me.’

(30) Aleppo

ba:r-o:-m *ga:rdə*
 brother-SG-1s say.PFV.3s
 ‘My brother said (to me)’

Objects occur both leftward and rightward of the verb. In the dialects of northern Syria, leftward placement seems available only for referentially generic objects, as shown in (31), where *ʕamalijja* ‘operation’ refers to the entire class, not a specific item. This, however, is not the case in the dialects spoken in Turkey, where referentially specific objects can occupy a preverbal position. What this suggests is that the dialects of northern Syria are undergoing convergence toward Arabic as far as word order is concerned. Convergence is complete in relation to the position of the subject, but not in relation to the object that is still conditionally eligible for leftward placement.

(31) Aleppo

ba:r-o:-m ɖʒvər ʕamalijja karde

brother-SG-1s wife operation do.PRF.1s

‘The wife of my brother has had surgery (not a surgery).’

4.2 Nonverbal predication

Domari uses a copula historically related to the verb *ʃt*- ‘stand,’ which inflects for tense, or the copular verb *hr-/ho:-* ‘become.’ They both cliticize to the right of the predicate, which means that they need a host and cannot occur on their own. The copula and the verb *hr-* are normally negated with *n-*, except in third-person singular that triggers a geminated allomorph *nənni-e* ‘it is not’ and *nənni-a* ‘it was not.’

(32) Aleppo

sa:ʕa dazz di: (h)rɔ

hour ten two become.PFV.3s

‘It turned twelve o’clock.’

(33) Coastal (Homs)

la:ʃtj-o:-m pəlħa:dəm a

girl-SG-1s pregnant COP.3s.PST

‘My daughter was pregnant.’

The copular inflects as in Table 3.14. Dialectal variation is not reported here.

Table 3.14: The Copula.

	Present	Past
1sg	<i>ʃto:m-e</i>	<i>ʃto:m-a</i>
2sg	<i>ʃto:r-e</i>	<i>ʃto:r-a</i>
3sg	<i>-e</i>	<i>-a</i>
1pl	<i>ʃtən-e</i>	<i>ʃtən-a</i>
2pl	<i>ʃtəs-e</i>	<i>ʃtəs-a</i>
3pl	<i>ʃtənd-e</i>	<i>ʃtənd-a</i>

Existential clauses are introduced with the copula or the morpheme *aʃti* ‘there is,’ to which the past marker *-a* can be suffixed: *aʃt-a* ‘there was.’

- (34) Coastal (Saraqib)
aft-a amal pərtjəm
 exist-PST hope return.SBJV.1s
 ‘There was hope for me to come back.’

Possessive predicates are coded like existential clauses. The possessor is coded like an adessive or a comitative, depending on the semantics of the possession. General possession uses adessive marking (36) whereas comitative marking indicates physical contiguity (35).

- (35) Coastal (Homs)
wa:f sakkari: e
 3s.COM diabetes COP.3s
 ‘He has diabetes.’

- (36) Coastal (Homs)
be:fk-i: la:ftj-o:-m-ka fi di: qər e
 other-F girl-SG-1s-ADE too two boy COP.3s
 ‘My other daughter also has two boys.’

The dialects spoken in Turkey tend to replicate the Turkish pattern by co-referencing the possessor on the possessee by way of a possessive index.

- (37) Coastal (Antioch)
tʃa:dr-o:-ma: aft-a fi
 tent-SG-1p exist-PST too
 ‘We also had a tent.’

4.3 Complex clauses

Complex clauses considered here include relativization, complementation, adverbial clauses, and coordination. Domari does not seem to have many inherited strategies to combine clauses. As noted in (§3.3), relativization relies either on the Arabic relativizer *illi* or on the Iranian relativizer *ki*. The strategy is that of the resumptive pronoun that is in all likelihood replicated from Arabic. Complementation relies primarily on the Arabic complementizer *inno* or parataxis.

(38) Beirut-Damascus

ma: n-mang-am-s-e inno daxxal (h)o:tjər
 1s NEG-want-1s.SBJ-3s.OBJ-PRS COMP interfere become.SBJV.3s
 mandʒo:m
 1s.INE
 'I don't want him to interfere in my life.'

Domari also borrowed all the adverbial conjunctions of Arabic such as *laʔinno* 'because,' *lamma* 'when,' *baʔadma* 'after that,' *qabəlma* 'before,' and many others. Purpose clauses are introduced with Arabic *minʔa:n* (or a variant thereof), *hatta* or *ta:*, which is also found in other languages of the area. One peculiarity recorded in Aleppo and Coastal Domari is what looks like a circumfixed conjunction *ta: . . . ke:*, combining *ta:* and what could possibly be the short allomorph of the benefactive postposition *ke:ra* or the Iranian-derived subordinator *ki*.

(39) Aleppo

a:ʒra pa:sʔo:m ta: daktjər-əm ke:
 come.PFV.3s 1s.ADE to see.SBJV.3s-1s to
 'He came to my place to see me.'

One construction that does not seem to rely on matter replicated from another language is found a couple of times in the text below. It involves the *masdar* derivation of a verbal root with the suffix *-i:f* marked with ablative case. Semantically, it denotes a temporal relation of posteriority.

(40) Aleppo

e: fi:f-ə pa:ri:f-ə-ki tʃəl qa:tʔ a:ʒro:m
 DEM.OBL socket-OBL buying-OBL-ABL forty sheet come.PFV.1s
 'After I bought the forty lira socket, I came.'

(41) Aleppo

kəry-ə a:vi:f-ə-ki ve:sro:m
 house-OBL coming-OBL-ABL sit.PFV.1s
 'After I came home, I sat.'

Arabic conditional conjunctions *iza* (42) and *law* were integrated into Domari alongside the Turkish conditional morpheme *sa* (43).

(42) Coastal (Homs)

aza ka: l-pa:rəm tʃma:ri: tʃma:ry-a:
 if FUT SBJV-buy.SBJV.1s chicken chicken-INDF
kaffi: n-a:r-m-e
 suffice NEG-do.IPFV.3s-OBJ.1s-PRS
 'If I want to buy chicken, one is not enough for me.'

(43) Coastal (Antioch)

masala do:m-ə-m ye:ka mɾa sa tʃəl di:s
 example Dom-OBL-INE one die.PFV.3s if forty night
aki: kare:
 eye do.IPFV.2s
 'If someone dies among the Dom for example, you wait forty days.'

As far as coordination is concerned, Domari distinguishes NP coordination and clausal coordination. Noun phrase coordination uses the coordinator *la*, probably derived from Turkish.

(44) Aleppo

hu: la di: tʃa.ɣ-e:-s
 3s and two boy-PL-3s
 'he and his two sons'

For other constituents, coordination is ensured with the Kurdish-derived enclitic *fi* that also functions as an additive focus marker 'too.' In the text below, only one instance of *fi* surfaces. The additive focus reading is not always clear, and because it cliticizes to the right, it often flags the right edge of a coordinated constituent. It is also possible for *fi* to coordinate noun phrases, but, in that case, the additive focus reading is obligatory.

(45) Aleppo

bass yaʃni sa:ʃa tʃnaʃaf ve:sro:m-a: fi
 but I.mean hour twelve sit.PFV.1s-PST and/too
 'But at twelve, I was sitting.'

Domari also borrowed other Arabic coordinators, such as *aw* 'or,' *bass* 'but,' and bisyndetic *ja: ja:* 'either. . .or.' The contrastive negation coordinators *la:* . . . *wala:* in addition to *nə* . . . *nə* could have been borrowed from Turkish, Iranian, or could be inherited. Hybrid forms such as *nə* . . . *wala:* are also common.

(46) Coastal (Antioch)

nə *ʃa:rd°-o:-ma* *nə* *ma:l-o:-ma*
 neither land-SG-1p neither goods-SG-1p
nə *məlk-o:-ma* *ka:nye*
 neither property-SG-1p exist.NEG
 ‘We have neither land nor goods nor property.’

5 Lexicon

The lexicon of Domari has not been yet thoroughly investigated. As noted above, different layers are identifiable: Indic (inherited), Iranian, Turkish, and Arabic. The most salient and apparent part of the actual lexicon is without any doubt Arabic, as evidenced in the text presented below. The Iranian layer, although seemingly less intrusive than Arabic, remains significant. Items derived from Iranian languages in the present text are the following: *səbq* ‘morning’ (ultimately from Arabic *s‘ubāḥ*), *bi:bi:* ‘aunt,’ *ma:m* ‘uncle,’ *qər* ‘son,’ *da:wat°* ‘wedding,’ *ni:mro:* ‘midday,’ *ni:m* ‘half,’ *ʃəfti:* ‘watermelon,’ *ħəft* ‘eight,’ *s°add* ‘hundred,’ *ʃəl* ‘forty.’

Below is a short list of Iranian-derived items that could be retrieved from texts:

<i>a:re</i>	‘yes’	<i>za:wər</i>	‘mouth’
<i>bi:bi:</i>	‘aunt’	<i>pani:r</i>	‘cheese’
<i>ngo:ʃtri:</i>	‘ring’	<i>ma:s°t°</i>	‘yoghurt’
<i>bzən</i>	‘goat’	<i>ʃəp</i>	‘left’
<i>mʃo:ri:</i>	‘ant’	<i>bre:ʃmə</i>	‘silk’
<i>ħəngwi:n</i>	‘honey’	<i>ro:ʒq</i>	‘fast, Ramadan’
<i>e:wa:rə</i>	‘evening’	<i>qi:ʃ</i>	‘leg’
<i>səbq</i>	‘morning’	<i>i:səm</i>	‘now’
<i>ni:mro:</i>	‘midday’	<i>ʃəfti:</i>	‘watermelon’
<i>qər</i>	‘son’	<i>ʃə:x</i>	‘branch’
<i>ʃə:ya</i>	‘kid’	<i>ħəj</i>	‘moon’
<i>glu:lək</i>	‘flower’	<i>kərwək</i>	‘worm’
<i>qre:ʃ</i>	‘dirt’	<i>psi:k</i>	‘cat’
<i>ʃa:rd</i>	‘earth’	<i>pa:pi:r</i>	‘grand-father’
<i>pəfəm</i>	‘wool’	<i>si:w</i>	‘apple’

Kurdish is definitely the Iranian language that provided the majority of the Iranian-derived lexicon in Domari. Most of these are shared between Sorani and Kurmanji, so it remains unsettled which one provided these words. Words that could

have come from Kurmanji and not Sorani are *mʃo:ri*: ‘ant’ (Kurmanji *mûrî*) and *glu:lak* ‘flower’ (Kurmanji *kûlilk*). Words that seem to have been borrowed from Sorani are *za:wər* (Sorani زار), *qi:tʃ* (Sorani قاج), *i:səm* ‘now’ (Sorani ئیستا) and *paʃam* ‘wool’ (Sorani پەشم), although the latter may have been borrowed from Persian. Other items may also have been borrowed from Persian: *ni:mro*: ‘noon’ (Persian *nî:mru:z*, Kurmanji *nîvroj*), *tʃap* ‘left’ (Persian *tʃap*, Kurdish *çep* ~ چەپ), *bre:ʃma* ‘silk’ (Persian *abrifam*, Kurmanji *ermûş*, Sorani ئاوریشم). Some other items must be part of the first wave of Iranian borrowings into Domari, and these are in all likelihood taken from Early New Persian. One clear example is the word *ngo:ʃtri*: ‘ring.’ While it may be tempting to trace it back to Old Indic *aṅguṣṭhya*, its phonetic shape clearly suggests that it was borrowed from Persian *angoʃtar*, which is itself borrowed from Indic (Turner 1962, 7). A thorough study of lexical borrowing in Domari clearly remains to be carried out. While this is beyond the scope of the present paper, a quick look at the semantic fields listed in the World Loanword Database (Haspelmath & Tadmor 2009) reveals that Iranian languages provided lexical items in many semantic domains: physical world, kinship, animals, body, food and drink, clothing, vegetation, motion, spatial relations, quantity, time, and others.

6 Texts

6.1 Text 1

The first text presented below was recorded toward the end of July 2010 in Aleppo (northern Syria) with a member of the *Bardʒo:li* clan in his early twenties at that time. Before the war in Syria in 2011, Aleppo was home for a substantial Dom community, part of which lived in and around the neighborhood of Aşrafiyye. Many of the sessions consisted of elicitation based on the Romani Morpho-Syntax questionnaire (Matras & Elšík 2001). After the questionnaire had been covered, the last consultant was prompted to produce a spontaneous text consisting of a narration of what he had been doing the day before, from dawn until dusk. The output was a text five minutes long consisting mostly of a succession of sequences that, as expected from the nature of the initial task, depicts speaker-oriented events. Although the text presented below does not claim to have any inherent added ethnographic value, its relevance is triple-tiered. First, it lays in the fact that the dialect of Aleppo, although belonging to the cluster of Northern dialects, exhibits peculiar features that set it apart from other varieties, such as the labiodental approximant [ʋ] where other dialects have [w], non-syncoated inflections of the verb *kar*-‘do, make,’ as in *kardo:m* ‘I did’ (versus *kro:m* or *ko:m* in other varieties) or lexical items such as *bo:ʒi*: ‘dog’ instead of pan-Domari

sno:ta. Second, with the exception of Herin (2020), in which a short text in Beirut Domari is published, there is (yet) no published text in any dialect of Northern Domari.⁴ Third, Domari may well not be spoken in Aleppo anymore or even in Syria as a whole, because much, if not all, the Dom community left the country after the war began. The following text is therefore a testimony of the Domari dialect spoken in Aleppo at the beginning of the twenty-first century. The speaker repeatedly uses the word *dakkjəm*, which is in all likelihood an assimilation of *daktjəm* ‘(that) I see,’ the first-person singular subjunctive form of the root *dak* ‘see,’ as a sequence marker ‘then, after that.’

1. *garo:m sb-ən-tq tʻabʃan awwal fi aka:n (h)ro:m*
go.PFV.1s morning-OBL.PL-SUPE of.course first thing wake become.PFV.1s
2. *sb-ən-tq bakki:r jaʃni taqri:ban sa:ʃa dazz va kardo:m*
morning-OBL.PL-SUPER early I.mean around hour ten open do.PFV.1s
3. *talfizjo:n-əs ve:sro:m ti:ka ve:sro:m ti:ka baʃde:n garo:m*
television-ACC stay.PFV.1s bit stay.PFV.1s bit then go.PFV.1s
4. *pa:rdo:m qa:ji:f ftʻər (h)ro:m manə pa:rdo:m pərdo:m*
buy.PFV.1s food breakfast become.PFV.1s bread buy.PFV.1s return.PFV.1s
5. *baʃədma pərdo:m ve:sro:m ti:ka kərj-ə-m talfizjo:n-ə-m*
after return.PFV.1s stay.PFV.1s bit house-OBL-INE television-OBL-INE
sa:ʃa
hour
6. *dazz di: (h)rə dazz di: (h)rə ve:sro:m*
ten two become.PFV.3s ten two become.PFV.3s sit.PFV.1s
7. *ti:ka ba:rə pe:ndo:m kərsijj-a:k pe:ndo:m pa:ni: ga:rdo:m*
bit out take.out.PFV.1s chair-INDF take.out.PFV.1s water say.PFV.1s
8. *qəʋr-o:-m-tq abo:m karər qaḥwa kard(a) abo:m*
wife-SG-1s-SUPER 1s.BEN do.SBJV.3s coffee do.PFV.3s 1s.BEN

⁴ Matras (2012, 15–16) reproduces a transcript of a short text seemingly collected in Damascus by the German anthropologist Frank Meyer in the early nineties, but the language represented in the excerpt is unmistakably a dialect of Southern Domari, as attested by the maintenance of grammatical gender.

9. *qaħw-e:s pe:ndo:s-əs ve:sro:m ba:rə dakkjəm a:jrə pa:s'o:m*
 coffee-ACC take.out.PFV.3s-3s sit.PFV.1s out then come.PFV.3s 1s.ADE
10. *bibj-o:-m qər baʃde:n a:jrə ma:m-o:-m qər baʃde:n*
 aunt-SG-1s son then come.PFV.3s uncle-SG-1s son then
11. *a:jrə xa:lo:m qər t'ərn-e:-ma: fta:r-e:-ma:*
 come.PFV.3s maternal.uncle-SG-1s son three-PL-1p four-PL-1p
ve:sre:n sa:-e:n
 sit.PFV.1p all-OBL.PL
12. *ke:rə kardo:m qaħwə ɖʒib karde:n ga:(l) karde:n*
 BEN do.PFV.1s coffee tongue do.PFV.1p word do.PFV.1p
13. *je:ke:ma:-ta inno ka:j ka: karəs aɖo:t ke:ta*
 one-PL-1p-SUPER COMP what FUT do.SBJV.2p today where
14. *ka: kəltjəs bilaʃla:me be:fkə xəɖʒə bibj-o:-m qər*
 FUT exit.SBJV.2p knowing other yesterday aunt-SG-1s son
15. *da:wat°-o:-s a: hajjə (h)ro:m-a asa:s ma: ka:*
 wedding-SG-3s PST prepare become.PFV.1s-PST base 1s FUT
16. *ɖʒa:m-a bass jaʃni sa:ʃa tˈnaʃaʃ ve:sro:m-a: ʃi*
 go.SBJV.1s-PST but I.mean hour twelve sit.PFV.1s-PST and
17. *sa:ʃa waħde u nəʃsˈsˁ garo:m ba:r-o:-m ʃazi:z-o:-m*
 hour one and half go.PFV.1s brother-SG-1s dear-SG-1s
18. *kəri: ve:sro:m kərj-ə-mə ʃazi:z-o:-m kərj-ə-mə dakkjəm*
 house sit.PFV.1s house-OBL-INE dear-SG-1s house-OBL-INE then
tilifo:n-o:-s
 phone-SG-3s
19. *qti:rə ga:(l) kard(a) (v)ato:m ba:r-o:-m n-(h)o:re*
 be.hit.PFV.3s word do.PFV.3s 1s.SUPE brother-SG-1s NEG-become.IPFV.3s
ɖʒa:s
 go.SBJV.2p

21. *d'a:wat[°]-ə-ki ga:rdo:m kse: lianno *** da:d-o:-r...#*
 wedding-OBL-ABL say.PFV.1s why because *** mother-SG-2s
22. *o:ri:n miʃtə (h)re:nd gard(a) vato:m n-(h)o:re...#*
 DEM.PL sick become.PFV.3p say.PFV.3s 1s.SUPER NEG-become.IPFV.3s
23. *ba:r-o:-m ga:rdə n-(h)o:re dʒa:s da:wat[°]-ə-ki*
 brother-SG-1s say.PFV.3s NEG-become.IPFV.3s go.SBJV.2p wedding-OBL-ABL
kse: ga:rdo:m
 why say.PFV.1s
24. *ga:rda liʔanni da:d-o:-r mi:ʃt ə(h)rə n-a:jre:nd*
 say.PFV.1s because father-SG-2s sick become.PFV.3s NEG-come.PFV.3p
pa:s[°]o:ma:
 1p.ADE
25. *xalas[°] ga:rdo:m miʃkil-a:k nənnje sakkər kardo:m talifo:n-əs*
 end say.PFV.1s problem-INDF NEG.COP close do.PFV.1s phone-ACC
26. *baʃde:n va:rto:m garo:m kəri: kərj-ə a:vi:f-ə-ki*
 then leave.PFV.1s go.PFV.1s house house-OBL coming-OBL-ABL
ve:sro:m
 sit.PFV.1s
27. *dakkjim yada dʒa:həz (h)rə qtərd(a) abo:m be:n-o:-m*
 then lunch ready become.PFV.3s hit.PFV.3s 1s.BEN sister-SG-1s
28. *garo:m kəri: pa:s[°]i: garo:m taksijj-a: garo:m kəri:*
 go.PFV.1s house 3s.ADE go.PFV.1s taxi-INDF go.PFV.1s house
29. *ʔaw trəmbi:la garo:m kəri: pasi: ni:mro*
 or car go.PFV.1s house 3s.ADE midday
30. *t[°]at[°]ə ve:sre:n yaddi: (h)re:n pa:s[°]i: qa:jre:n pi:re:n*
 hot sit.PFV.1p lunch become.PFV.1p 3s.ADE eat.PFV.1p drink.PFV.1p
31. *dra:rva:j-ə-tə mədd (h)ro:m sitto:m akkj-e:-m*
 satiety-OBL-SUPER lay become.PFV.1s sleep.PFV.1s eye-PL-1s
na:ndər bard[°]ə
 fatigue full

32. *(h)re* *satto:m* *jaʃni* *taqri:ban* *ni:m* *sa:ʃat-ə* *qattə*
become.PRF.3s sleep.PFV.1s I.mean around half hour-OBL quantity
33. *satto:m* *ʃtardo:m* *garo:m* *be:n-o:-m-ki* *ɖʒa:r-o:-sa:*
sleep.PFV.1s stand.PFV.1s go.PFV.1s sister-SG-1s-ABL neighbor-SG-3p
ba:ly-e:-ma:n *e*
relative-PL-1p COP
34. *ʃaʃli:r-o:-ma:n* *əʃtənde* *bass* *ba:ly-e:-ma:n* *e* *pa:sʃja:* *ve:sre:n*
clan-SG-1p COP.3p but relative-PL-1p COP 3p.ADE sit.PFV.1p
35. *a:vre* *sa:ʃt-a:* *kənde* *z* *mistaʃfa:-ki* *ħa:dəs*
come.IPFV.3s hour-INDF exit.PRF.3s from hospital-ABL accident
karde
do.PRF.3s
36. *trəmbi:l-ə-mə* *hre* *kam-a:* *hu:* *la* *di:* *ʃa:γ-e:-s*
car-OBL-INE become.PRF.3s thing-INDF 3s and two boy-PL-3s
37. *qr-o:-s* *ma:nde* *mistaʃfa:-mə* *jaʃni* *zʃəl* *lo:m* *abo:s*
son-SG-3s stay.PRF.3s hospital-INE I.mean angry become.PFV.1s 3s.BEN
38. *xr-o-m-tə* *yəmm* *(h)rə* *va:rto:m* *a:ʒro:m*
heart-SG-1s-SUPER distress become.PFV.3s leave.PFV.1s come.PFV.1s
a:ndo:m
bring.PFV.1s
39. *ɖʒəvr-o:-m* *kəri:* *a:ʒre:n* *baʃde:n* *ve:sro:m* *ti:ka* *kərj-ə*
wife-SG-1s house come.PFV.1p then sit.PFV.1s bit house-OBL
vəgər
front
40. *dakkjəm* *ba:r-o:-m* *ɖʒvər* *ʃamalijja* *karde* *gare:n* *pa:sʃi:*
then brother-SG-1s wife operation do.PRF.1s go.PFV.1p 3s.ADE
41. *ma:* *ɖʒəvr-o:-m* *ba:r-o:-m* *ba:r-o:-m* *ɖʒvər* *ga:re:n* *pa:sʃi:*
1s wife-SG-1s brother-SG-1s brother-SG-3s wife go.PFV.1p 3s.ADE

42. *fta:r-e:-ma: ba:r-o:-m ne:r(q) abo:s xədʳq ne:r(q)*
 four-PL-1p brother-SG-1s take.PFV.3s 3s.BEN vegetables take.PFV.3s
abo:s
 3s.BEN
43. *gældva:ni: fəfti: ne:r(q) abo:s ne:r(q) abo:s dərɾa:q*
 sweet watermelon take.PFV.3s 3s.BEN take.PFV.3s 3s.BEN peach
44. *dra:k nɔʒa:sʰ *** bass a:jre:n to:rda ʰaft*
 grape pear *** that.is.it come.PFV.1p put.PFV.3s eight
45. *sʰadd qa:tʰ pa:rdo:m taksijj-a: gare:n ba:r-o:-m kəri:*
 hundred sheet take.PFV.1s taxi-INDF go.PFV.1p brother-SG-1s house
46. *awwalma nangərdo:m ba:r-o:-m kərj-ə-mə dakkjəm*
 as.soon.as enter.PFV.1s brother-SG-1s house-OBL-INE then
ma:jni: nangərde:nd
 women enter.PFV.3p
47. *ammāt kəʃma:rə tʰabʃan ammat-ka miʃt-a: aʃti va:rto:m*
 people elderly of.course people-ADE sick-INDF exist leave.PFV.1s
48. *pərdo:m kəri: pərdom kəri: ga:rdo:m ka: ɔʒa:m*
 return.PFV.1s house return.PFV.1s house say.PFV.1s FUT go.SBJV.1s
49. *ka: pa:vəm dakərdo:m bibj-o:-m qər ba:rə vəndərdə*
 FUT come.SBJV.1s see.PFV.1s aunt-SG-1s son out stand.PFV.3s
50. *bibj-o:-m qər avi:f-ə-ki də dakərdo:m kahrab-e:-ki*
 aunt-SG-1s son coming-OBL-ABL DM see.PFV.1s electricity-OBL-ABL
ka:hər-s-e
 need.IPFV.3s-OBJ.3s-PRS
51. *kam ga:rdo:m jaʔta garo:m pa:rdo:m fi:f-a: ʔəl*
 work say.PFV.1s let's.go go.PFV.1s buy.PFV.1s socket-INDF forty
52. *qa:tʰ e: fi:f-ə pa:ri:f-ə-ki ʔəl qa:tʰ a:jro:m*
 sheet DEM.OBL socket-OBL buying-OBL-ABL forty sheet come.PFV.1s

53. *ta: karm-əs awwalma xaft-o:-m to:rdo:m vati: xaft-o:-m*
to do.SBJV.1s-3s as.soon.as hand-SG-1s put.PFV.1s 3s.SUPER hand-SG-1s
54. *læj:rq bi:ro:m garo:m hatta a:ra:t^ə aw e:xirille:l*
be.grasped.PFV.3s fear.PFV.1s go.PFV.1s until night or end.of.night
55. *a:vər tfe:zək abo:m karr-əs aki: kardo:m aki:*
come.SBJV.3s boy 1s.BEN do.PFV.3s-3s eye do.PFV.1s eye
56. *kardo:m tfe:zk-əs dakkjəm be:ljo:m n-a:jraq garo:m*
do.PFV.1s boy-ACC then friend NEG-come.PFV.3s go.PFV.1s
bibj-o:-m
aunt-SG-1s
57. *qər-ən-sa dædj-i:n ga:rdo:m vatja: pa:vəs ve:ftjən*
son-OBL.PL-com two-PL say.PFV.1s 3p.SUPER come.SBJV.2p sit.SBJV.1p
58. *pa:s^əo:m qaḥwa pjən ve:sre:n qaḥwa pi:re:n (da)kkjəm*
1s.ADE coffee drink.SBJV.1p sit.PFV.1p coffee drink.PFV.1p then
59. *gare:n ame:n dɑ garom ti:ka ba:r-o:-m kəri:*
go.PFV.1p 1s.NOM dm go.PFV.1s bit brother-SG-1s house
60. *ve:sro:m ba:raq dakkjəm dʒəvr-o:-m navɑ a:jre z*
sit.PFV.1s out then wife-SG-1s new come.PRF.3s from
ahl-ə-ki
family-OBL-ABL
61. *mift e garo:m abo:s o:sar pa:rdo:m di: z^əarf*
sick cop go.PFV.1s 3s.BEN drug buy.PFV.1s two tablet
62. *pa:rdo:m a:jro:m *** a:ra:t^ə zhu:ra:t kardo:m laqqaḥ*
buy.PFV.1s come.PFV.1s *** night herbal.tea do.PFV.1s lay
63. *(h)rom talfizjon-ə-t ʃallə (h)rom hatta sa:ʃa*
become.PFV.1s television-OBL-SUPER vigil become.PFV.1s until hour
tla:te
three

64. *u nusˈsˤ a:ra:tˤ ħatta ba:n kardə baʃde:n*
 and half night until prayer.call do.PFV.3s then
65. *tərdə:m sr-o:-m sitto:m sa:ʕa i:daʃaf u nusˈsˤ*
 put.PFV.1s head-SG-1s sleep.PFV.1s hour eleven and half
66. *(h)akan (h)ro:m bass*
 wake become.PFV.1s that's.it

I left in the morning. Of course the first thing I did was to wake up, early in the morning, I mean around ten. I turned the television on. I sat a bit then I went to buy food. I had breakfast. I bought bread, I came back. After I came back, I stayed home in front of the television. At twelve, I stayed a bit outside. I took a chair, I took [a glass of] water. I told my wife to make me [some] coffee. She made me [some] coffee. I took it, stayed outside, then my cousin [the son of my aunt] turned up. My cousin [the son of my paternal uncle] came, then my cousin [the son of my maternal uncle] came. The three of us, the four of us sat down. I made coffee for everyone. We talked. We said to each other, 'What are you going to do today? Where are you going to go?', knowing that the day before yesterday (?) was my cousin's wedding. I had prepared myself because I wanted to go, but at twelve, I was sitting. At one-thirty pm I went to my brother's place, sat a bit at my brother's place, and then his phone rang. My brother told me you can't go to the wedding. I said why. (He said) your mother. . . They are sick, he said to me. . . My brother said you can't go to the wedding. I said why. He said because your mother is sick, (the people) didn't come to our place. I said okay, that's not a problem. I turned the phone off then I left and went home. Once I got home, I sat, then lunch was ready. My sister called me. I went to her place. (I took) a taxi, or car, went to her place. It was midday. We sat, had lunch at her place. We ate and drank until we felt satisfied. I lied down and slept. My eyelids were heavy. I slept for about half an hour. I stood up then went to my sister's neighbor. They are our relatives, from our clan, but relatives. I stayed at their place around an hour. He had come out of hospital. He had a car accident, him and his two kids. His son stayed in hospital. I was sorry for him and felt afflicted. I left and brought my wife back home. We arrived, then I stayed in front of the house. My brother's wife had surgery, (so) we went to his [my brother's] place. Me, my wife, my brother, and my brother's wife went to his place, the four of us. My brother brought him vegetables, sweets, watermelon, peaches, grapes, pears, that's all. We came (and) he put out eight hundred Syrian liras. We took a taxi and went to my brother's place. As soon as we got into my brother's house, women came in, elderly people. There was someone sick. I left, went back home. I said, 'I'll go and be (right) back.' I saw my cousin [the son of my aunt] standing outside. After my

cousin came, I noticed that electricity needed to be fixed. I said, ‘Let’s go.’ I went and bought a forty lira socket. After I bought that forty lira socket, I came (back) to do it [fix it]. As soon as I put my hand on it, my hand got an electric shock. I got scared. I went [looked for] a young man to come and to do it for me. I waited and waited for the boy. My friend [the boy] didn’t come. I went with two cousins [sons of aunt] of mine. I told them, ‘Come and let’s sit at my place to drink coffee.’ We drank coffee, then we went. I went a bit to my brother’s house. I stayed outside, then my wife had just come back from her family and (was) sick. I bought her medicine, two tablets, I came. . . In the night, I made herbal tea, lied down (watching) television and stayed awake until three thirty am until the call to prayer. Then I put my head down and slept until eleven thirty am. I woke up. That’s it.

6.2 Text 2

The following text is a translation into Aleppo Domari taken from a YouTube channel dedicated to the world’s languages. The original text is in English and was translated into Aleppo Domari by Kamal Kelzi, a native speaker of Aleppo Domari. Kamal subsequently recorded his voice and posted it on the channel.⁵ Below is a transcript of this recording, to which interlinear glossing and translation were added. From a linguistic point of view, the text is interesting because it hints at the kind of variation one can find within Aleppo Domari itself. It also highlights further lexical peculiarities such as *e:ɖʒak kar* ‘prepare food’ (from Turkish *yiyecek* ‘food’), *axar* ‘stream’ (uncertain etymology) and the adverb *ze:ne:he:* ‘from now on,’ which seems to have lexicalized from the preposition *z* ‘from,’ the oblique demonstrative *e:* and a nominal. As far as phonology is concerned, the text exhibits the transformation /tj/ > /tʃ/ as in *la:fʃi:* ‘girl’ (elsewhere *la:fti:*), *pərtʃər* ‘that (s)he come back’ (elsewhere *pərtjər*). An interesting feature is also the allophone [e] of final /ə/ in connected speech, leaving the back realization from [ə] to [ʌ, ʏ, ɤ] as a pausal phenomenon. No nasalization can be heard in the present recording. This feature can be exemplified in the following segment taken from the text: *la:fʃf-ən ba:re kənda* ‘the girl went out.’ In isolation, *ba:ra* ‘outside’ is realized [ba:ʀɤ]. One notes also the use of the negator *n-* before an imperative, whereas other dialects would have selected *m-*: *nə-ɖʒu:* ‘don’t go’ instead of *mə-ɖʒu:*. Finally, the allomorph of the third-person singular ending in the perfective when bound pronouns are attached

⁵ The recording is accessible at this address: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=zuVbUlkoi-Y>. I would like to thank Kamal Kelzi for his valuable explanations about some features present in the text.

is *-o:w*, as in *lakərd-o:w-əs* ‘she saw him’ and not *-o:s* as in other dialects that would have *dakərd-o:s-əs*.

1. *hre* *nə-(h)re*
become.PRF.3S NEG-become.PRF.3S
2. *tro:ti: la:ftf-a:k a* *la da:d-a:k a*
small girl-INDF COP.PST and mother-INDF COP.PST
3. *ta:n-a:k-ə-t* *ve:sre:nd-a* *bu: lavraq manđi: asft-a*
place-indf-OBL-SUPER stay.PFV.3p-PST much tree 3s.INE EXIST-PST
4. *o: da:d fi katfapā*
DEM.DIST mother and always
5. *ka:ft gə(r)t karr-a* *pa: kri: ne:r-a*
wood collect do.IPFV.3s-PST REFL house take.IPFV.3s-PST
6. *o: ka:ft-ən fi to:r-a* *vatya: ag-a:*
DEM.DIST wood-OLB.PL and put.IPFV.3s-PST 3p.SUPER fire-INDF
vafna:r-a
ignite.IPFV.3s-PST
7. *pərti: ha: da:d la:ftf-ə ke:re mane karr-a* *e:đzak*
then DEM mother girl-OBL BEN bread do.IPFV.3s-PST food
karr-a
do.IPFV.3s-PST
8. *o: la:ftfi fi pa: da:d-ə-t* *he:tf nə-ptfa:r-a*
DEM.DIST girl and REFL mother-OBL-SUPER nothing NEG-ask.IPFV.3s-PST
9. *nə-kanda:r-o:-s* *fi de:r-a*
NEG-attention-SG-3s and give.IPFV.3s-PST
10. *da:d-o:-s fi bu: va:fi: ga:y a*
mother-SG-3s and much 3s.COM good COP.PST
11. *a:yre di:s-a: la:ftf-ən ba:re kənda*
come.PFV.3s day-INDF girl-NOM outside exit.PFV.3s

12. *da:d-o:-s vati: ga:rdə*
mother-SG-3s 3s.SUPER say.PFV.3s
13. *bu: du:r nə-ɟu: sa:vi:ya:ve:*
much far NEG-go.IMP.2s get.lost.IPFV.2s
14. *la:fɸən gara da:d-ə-t nə-pe:ra:də*
girl-NOM go.PFV.3s mother-OBL-SUPE NEG-respond.PFV.3s
15. *rawərdə rawərdə kəry-ə-ki bu: du:r (h)rə*
walk.PFV.3s walk.PFV.3s house-OBL-ABL much far become.PFV.SG
16. *hu: fi rawəft-a ɸərky-ən-ki sʰasʰ sənəšt-a*
DEM and walk.PROG.3s-PST bird-OBL.PL-ABL sound hear.PROG.3s-PST
17. *he: krə a:xar-a: lakərdə ɸantɸ-o:-s-te ve:srə*
that did.PFV.3s stream see.PFV.3s side-SG-3s-SUPE stay.PFV.3s
18. *de: de: a:ra:tʰ (h)rə tra:ki: (h)rə*
well well night become.PFV.3s dark become.PFV.3s
19. *la:fɸən bi:rə mangarde kri: pərtɸər*
girl-NOM fear.PFV.3s want.PFV.3s house return.SBJV.3s
20. *la:fɸi: nə-ɟa:nəfte ke:va ɟa:r də*
girl NEG-know.PROG.3s whither go.SBJV DM
21. *tra:ky e lavre ši bu: ye*
dark COP tree and much COP
22. *lu:w-ən-ki sʰasʰ fi sənəfte pandʰ-əs fi nə-lakəfte*
fox-OBL.PL-ABL sound and hear.PROG.3s way-ACC and NEG-see.PROG.3s
23. *e:ta da:d-o:-s kəry-ə-m aki: kaftər-s-e [kaftəsse]*
here mother-SG-3s house-OBL-INE eye do.PROG.3s.SBJ-3s.OBJ-PRS
24. *i:s a:vəre ti:ka: di: a:vre*
now come.IPFV.3s few other come.IPFV.3s

25. *la:ʃfɪ̃ ʃi haz(i:) nə-pərde*
girl and still NEG-return.PRF.3s
26. *da:d-o:-s kəndə ɡarə vati: navərda*
mother-SG-3s exit.PFV.3s go.PFV.3s 3s.SUPER search.PFV.3s
27. *lakərdo:w-əs we:sre lavre: bən ro:wəʃte*
see.PFV.3s-3s stay.PRF.3s tree.OBL under cry.PROG.3s
28. *e:ta: dɑ la:ʃf-ən pa: da:d-əs lakərda ve:ʃi: da:vərda*
here DM girl-NOM REFL mother-ACC see.PFV.3s 3s.VERS run.PFV.3s
29. *la: la: e:ta: ʃto:me la:*
mother mother here COP.1s mother
30. *da:d-o:-s ɡa:rdɑ ɡa: nə-kro:m vato:r*
mother-SG-3s say.PFV.3s word NEG-do.PFV.1s 2s.SUPER
31. *kəry-ə-ki bu: du:r n-(h)o:e: sa:vi:ya:ve:*
house-OBL-ABL much far NEG-become.IPFV.2s get.lost.IPFV.2s
32. *e: a:ra:tʰ-ə-m ʃi (h)o:ndərna:k mo:r kənr-ər-e*
DEM.OBL night-OBL-INE and ghost any exit.IPFV.3s.SBJ-2s.OBJ-PRS
33. *la:ʃf-ən ɡa:rdɑ ze:ne:he: ɡa:l-o:-r ne:me*
girl-NOM say.PFV.3s from.now.on word-SG-2s take.IPFV.1s
34. *kəry-ə-ki ʃi bu: du:r n-(h)o:me*
house-OBL-ABL and much far NEG-become.IPFV.1s

There was a young girl and a mother. They used to live in a place with a lot of trees. The mother used to collect wood and bring it home. She used to put that wood and ignite a fire with it. She would then make bread and food for the girl. The girl would not ask her anything, and she would not pay attention to her. One day, the girl went out. Her mother told her, ‘Don’t go far; you will get lost.’ The girl left and did not answer her mother, until it got dark. She walked and walked and ended up far away from home. As she was walking, she could hear the songs of the birds. [Time went on], she saw a stream and sat next to it. The girl became afraid. She wanted to go back home, but she didn’t know where to go. It was dark, and there were a lot of trees. She could hear foxes screaming and couldn’t find the way. Her mother was

waiting for her [saying to herself], ‘Now she’ll come; soon she’ll come,’ but the girl wouldn’t come back. The mother went out to look for her. She saw her crying under a tree. At this point, the girl saw her mother and ran toward her [and said], ‘Mom, mom, I’m here.’ Her mother said to her, ‘Didn’t I tell you not to go far away from the house? You’ll get lost. Tonight some ghost might also come to you.’ The girl said, ‘From now on, I’ll do what you say (I’ll take your word) and won’t go far away from the house.’

7 Perspectives

As noted in the introduction, scholarship about Domari is to a large extent still incipient. Besides the wordlists from the nineteenth century, which are extremely limited in scope and sometimes difficult to interpret, published material remains scarce. The Palestinian dialect, as described in Macalister (1914) and more recently in Matras (2012) is the only dialect that enjoys full-length grammatical descriptions. The dialects of Jordan, although closely related to those previously spoken in Palestine, exhibit substantial divergences and remain understudied. As far as the Northern dialects are concerned, my own work covers the dialects of Lebanon, northern Syria, and southern Turkey and allowed me to draw a sketch of geography and dialectology of this group. Data collection, although still underway, is now sufficiently sizeable for a full-length grammar of these varieties, a project that is now ongoing. While much of the dialectal diversity of Lebanon and Syria has been covered, further fieldwork is definitely needed in Jordan, Turkey, and further east. Jordan is of particular interest because it is home to Nomadic clans among which the use of Domari is still very vivid. It is also a contact zone between Southern Domari and Northern Domari, which may have led to dialect mixing. Turkey is also a place that needs further investigation, especially the eastern parts that may still be home for isolated clans still actively using a full-fledged variety of Domari. The presence of groups whose endoethnonym is Dom is also reported in parts of the Kurdish-speaking areas of Iraq. While it is very unlikely that they preserved Domari, there are reports of the use of in-group lexicons that needs to be documented. This would shed light on the relationship between these groups and speakers of full-fledged Domari that are found in the western part of the Middle East.

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