

Two Texts in Syrian Domari

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1 Introduction

The goal of this paper is to present two fully glossed¹ and translated texts in Domari, a lesser-documented Indo-Aryan language spoken in the Middle East by the Dom. At the time of writing, published texts are available in Matras (2000; 2012) for Palestinian Domari and Herin (2020) for Beirut Domari. The aim is therefore to fill this gap and provide a sample of a naturally occurring narration in a variety of Syrian Domari. Although the first description of a Domari dialect is more than a century old (Macalister 1914) and Domari has been previously discussed in various works, scholarship based on original fieldwork and data collection is so far limited to the three above-mentioned authors. All other previous discussions were based on Macalister's material and were used in relation to the Indo-Aryan origins of the Roma and their language Romani.² Although it is now commonly accepted that both the Roma and the Dom are offshoots of peripatetic communities of Indian origins and that both Romani and Domari belong to the central group of Indo-Aryan languages (Matras 2002), virtually nothing is known about the ancient history of these groups, except what historical linguistics allows us to infer. In this respect, it appears that the Roma and Romani enjoy a much deeper depth than Domari in terms of historical record. While Romani word-lists appear as early as the 15th century, the presence of the Roma is attested in Europe from the 14th century (Adiego 2020). Nothing similar is available for the Dom and Domari, and information begins to surface in Western scholarship only around the middle of the 19th century.³ Various word-lists collected in the 19th century are available in Pott (1846), Kruse (1854), Newbold (1856), Paspatis (1870), Groome (1891), Patkanoff (1907; 1908). Except Kruse (1854) which presents material from Palestinian Domari and Patkanoff (1907; 1908) whose material

1 The glosses used here follow as closely as possible the Leipzig Glossing Rules: ABL (ablative), ACC (accusative), ADE (adessive), BEN (benefactive), CAUS (causative), COM (comitative), COMP (complementiser), COP (copula), DEM (demonstrative), FOC (focus), FUT (future), INE (inessive), INDF (indefinite), IPFV (imperfective), NOM (nominative), NMLZ (nominaliser), OBJ (object), OBL (oblique), PASS (passive), PFV (perfective), PL (plural), PRS (present), PST (past), SBJ (subject), SBJV (subjunctive), SG (singular), VERS (versative).

2 See Turner (1926) and more recently Hancock (1995).

3 Matras (2012: 4) mentions Horten (1751) as the first author to report the presence of Gypsy-like groups in the Northern Levant, followed by Wilson (1847) one century later.

seemingly refer to a rather divergent variety of Domari, the data reported in these sources belong to the northern cluster, and as such, are closely related to the language of the texts presented below. In addition to Macaliser (1914), descriptive and comparative work can be found *inter alia* in Matras (1999; 2012; 2020) for Palestinian Domari and Herin (2012; 2014; 2016; 2018; 2020) for the varieties spoken in Lebanon, Syria and Turkey. Documentary linguistics has for several decades now established itself as a separate and fruitful line of investigation within linguistics. As stated by Himmelmann (1998: 166), "the aim of a language documentation [...] is to provide a comprehensive record of the linguistic practices characteristic of a given speech community". The present contribution is fully rooted within this discipline and given the paucity of material in Domari, whether descriptive or documentary, the publication of texts in any of its varieties is of paramount importance.

2 The Dom people

As far as Syria and Lebanon are concerned, ethnographic work has been carried out by Meyer (1994; 2004) for the Dom of Damascus, and Bochi (2007; 2011; 2015) who investigated Dom communities along the Syrian-Lebanese border. The Dom closely correspond to the definition of "peripatetics" as put forward in Rao (1985: 100):

...toutes les communautés endogames itinérantes dont les activités essentielles ne consistent pas à produire des denrées alimentaires, et qui vivent principalement de la vente de biens et de services à des individus ou groupes humains que nous désignerons désormais comme leur « clientèle ».

The Dom have indeed been largely endogamous, itinerant, and tend to live in symbiosis either with settled populations or pastoral nomads to which they provide various services and goods. The nature of these services and goods are variable both in time and space. They are thus highly context-dependent and are directly related to the ability of the group to identify an economic niche that would fulfil a potential need amongst their "clientele". As already noted by Meyer (1994: 73), a common pattern is a sex-based division of labour: men craft and women engage in *mangīš*. Although the word *mangīš* is usually translated as 'begging', it is actually an umbrella term that initially and historically denotes door-to-door commercial activities. Typically, women would move from house to house in order to sell or barter small items. In the absence of transaction, begging may happen. As far as Syria and Lebanon are concerned, male activities included sieve-making, metal work and more recently informal dentistry, respectively referred to in Domari as *ḥālat* ~ *kaw kayīš*, *qamḡīwatī* and *dand kayīš* ~ *dand-ə kam*.⁴ The Dom of northern Syria strongly reject

4 *Ḥālat* and *kaw* both mean 'sieve'. The word *kayīš* is the nominalisation of the verbal root *kar-* 'to do'. *Qamḡīwatī* is composed of the Turkish-derived word *qamḡī* (Turkish *kuyumcu* 'jeweler') and the suffix *watī* used to derive abstract nouns. The phrase *dand kayīš* literally means 'teeth-making' and *dand-ə kam* may be glossed 'tooth-OBL work'.

entertainment-related occupations such as music and dancing, which they claim is usually practiced by another group called the Pardom. The ethnic and linguistic identity of the Pardom is still a matter to be investigated, although preliminary observations indicate that they may be Kurdish-speaking peripatetics.

Endogamy is usually strict, although bringing in women from outside is allowed. Giving away women to non-Dom men is only accepted in exchange of a high dowry (*bāšlāḡ* ‘dowry’). In the absence of agreement from the family, abduction (*pārīš nasīš*)⁵ may happen. If the abductor is a Dom, reconciliation is usually concluded in exchange for a financial compensation but if the abductor is an outsider, it often results in complete ostracism, or more rarely murder. Marital unions are usually preferential, implying a prevalence of first degree cousins from the father side. The social structure is organised by tribe or by clan (*māllat* ‘tribe’). Geographically, Dom populations or populations of Dom origin are located in Palestine, Jordan, Lebanon, Syria, Turkey, Iraq and Iran. The Dom of Syria and Lebanon refer to other groups using a north-south division. Those living southwards are labelled *qāblāwī* while those located northwards are called *šmālī*, respectively from Arabic *qibli* ‘south’ and *šamāl* ‘north’. The Dom of Aleppo also call the Dom living to the east of the Aleppo *šarq-a dōm* (east-OBL Dom) ‘the Dom of the East, eastern Dom’ (*šarq* means ‘east’ in Arabic). The Dom of Damascus and Beirut use the endonym *ḥalabyīn*.⁶ Due to their isolation and relatively small number, they are usually not known to other Dom groups. Contrary to the Dom of northern Syria, they are aware of the existence of southern Domari speaking Dom and refer to them as *blāli* (see below for the linguistic division). Common exonyms in the area include *nawar*, *qarač(i)*, *qurbāt* amongst others. Interestingly, the only area where the ethnonym *dōm* is known to the local non-Dom populations is Northern Iraq and Iran, as opposed to Lebanon or Syria where the term *dōm* is completely unknown to the locals. The degree of unawareness amongst many lay city-dwellers goes to the point of lumping together Bedouins and Dom under the appellation of *nawar*, which is extremely derogatory.

Since the unrest in Syria which started in 2011, virtually all the Syrian Dom migrated outwards. Many of them sought refuge in Lebanon and Turkey, while a sizeable proportion managed to reach Western Europe, mostly Spain, France and Belgium. Brussels is now home to a considerable Dom community who originated from Western and Northern Syria (Latakīyah, Aleppo, Saraqīb, Homs). This new migratory context has far-reaching consequences on the sociology and anthropology of the community, which is now exposed to radically different anthropological

5 A compound literally meaning ‘taking-fleeing’.

6 *Ḥalabī* means literally ‘from the town of Aleppo’, although it refers to Damascus, as shown in the following utterance from a speaker from Beirut: *dādōm, šām-a dōm ḥalaby-an-ki* ‘my mother (is) from the Dom of Damascus, from the Ḥalabī-s’ (my_mother, Damascus-OBL Dom Ḥalabī-OBL.PL-ABL)

structures, in addition to new contact languages (mostly French and more marginally Flemish).

3 The Domari language

Since Macalister (1914), the common glossonym used in western academia has been Domari. The Dom themselves do not call their language Domari and refer to it as *ḏōm* ‘Dom’, *ḏōm-ə ǧəb* ‘Dom language’, *ḏōmwar*, *ḏōmwārī* and also *ḏōmānī*. The term *ḏōmwar* exhibits the Iranian-derived similitive suffix *-war* which may be augmented with the Arabic adjectiviser suffix *-i* in *ḏōmwārī*. The suffix *-war* is normally used for language names: *pər-war* ‘Kurdish’ (*pər* ‘Kurd’), *ṭāṭ-war* ~ *qlār-war* ‘Arabic’ (*ṭāṭ* ‘peasant’ and *qlārā* ‘Bedouin’), *təknə-war* ‘Turkish’ (*təknə* ‘Turk, Turkey’). Arabic is also referred to as *ṭāṭwārī* with the *-i* suffix.

In the current state of knowledge, full-fledged Domari is known to be spoken in the Western Levant, in a strip stretching from Palestine⁷ and Jordan in the south, until southern Turkey. Further to the east, beyond Urfa, the Doms all seemingly shifted to Kurdish. In these areas, remnants of Domari are found in the form of an in-group lexicon that largely draws on Domari, locally called *ḏōmānī*.



Figure 1: Approximate area where Domari is known to be spoken

⁷ The presence of Dom is reported in East Jerusalem and the West Bank which, at the time of writing, are not part of Israel proper.

Domari is divided into two dialectal clusters, as shown in Figure 2: southern Domari and northern Domari. Southern Domari is mainly spoken in Palestine (see footnote above) and Jordan, whereas as northern Domari is spoken in Lebanon, Syria, and Turkey. Southern Domari probably further subdivides into Jerusalem Domari and Jordanian-nomadic Domari. Northern Domari, as far as documented subdivides into Beirut-Damascus, Coastal Syrian and Aleppo. Coastal Syrian dialects include the varieties spoken along the coast of Syria and the northern parts of Lebanon (Tripoli, Latakiah) and also further inland (Homs, Hama, Saraqib, Idlib), in addition to Antioch in Turkey (Hatay Province). More research is needed to see if the dialects spoken to the north-east of Aleppo and the south of Turkey should be recognised as a separate group.

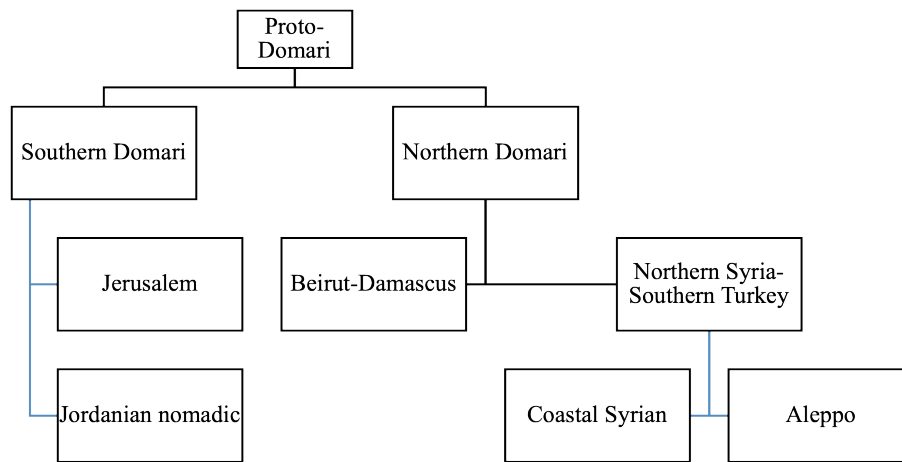


Figure 2: The dialects of Domari

There is a sharp linguistic division between southern Domari and northern Domari. Both the lexicon and the grammar of these two macro-varieties exhibit significant differences to the point that mutual intelligibility is relatively low. When exposed to recordings in southern Domari, speakers of northern Domari report understanding between fifty percent to almost nothing, except for the Arabic insertions. Given such a low mutual intelligibility, it seems justified to consider southern Domari and northern Domari two different, albeit closely related languages. The main innovation of Northern Domari is the loss of grammatical gender, which is still robust in the

south. The innovation that sets apart the Beirut-Damascus variety is glottal realisation [ʔ] of etymological /q/. The main difference between Coastal and Aleppo Domari lies in the realisation of /w/, which is realised [ʋ] ~ [v] in Aleppo and [w] in Coastal Domari. Aleppo Domari also exhibits further peculiarities such as the loss or partial loss of the transitive subjunctive prefix *l-*. Discussions of the relevant features can be found in Herin (2012; 2014).⁸

4 The texts

The first text was recorded in 2011 in Beirut with a young consultant in his early twenties at that time and originally from the town of Saraqib in northern Syria. Like many Syrian Dom teens and young adults, he was working as a shoe-polisher in the streets of East Beirut. Much of the sessions were devoted to eliciting words and sentences. In the end, I asked him to produce a narration of a salient event he had recently witnessed and this is story he came up with: a three-minute-long narrative that recounts how his uncle had adopted an abandoned child.

The second text was recorded in Tripoli (Lebanon) in 2015 with a female speaker in her early forties who originated from Homs (Syria). Although the main focus of my fieldwork at that time was the Dom of Beirut, I ventured to Tripoli to meet this speaker who was an acquaintance of a friend of mine. We sat down in a public place for about two hours. Much of the session consisted of a semi-directive interview including open questions about the life of the informant. One of the questions was inspired by Labov's habit to ask the speaker to recall a moment of fear, in order to lower the level of control on form and prompt the speaker to resort to the vernacular. Accordingly, I asked the informant if she had ever been in a car accident, which she had. The text below is taken from her narration of this event. The description of the accident itself is not very precise and presumably reflects the state of confusion in which they were after the accident.

The transcription used here is largely based on the international standard ISO 233 for the Romanisation of Arabic⁹ because Domari, at least as spoken in Syria,

8 Matras (2012: 17–18) lists a series of grammatical and lexical features but most of these are not diagnostic of a northern-southern split, probably due to lack of available documentation at the time of writing. For instance, *pāngī* is the common 3sg independent pronoun both in the north and the south, the copula *št-* is also available in the south (even in Palestinian Domari as documented by Macalister 1914), future *kā* was also recorded in Jordan, the comparative marker *-tar* (not *-ter*) is not available in Beirut-Damascus, and [v] (and [ʋ]) as a reflex of /w/ is only salient in Aleppo and varieties spoken in Turkey. There remains the progressive extension *št-*, the Iranian preposition *z* and the quantifier *sā* 'all' which were first described and put forward as distinct northern features in Herin (2012). There are actually dozens of lexical-grammatical features that separate the two dialect clusters but, as mentioned above, the primary isogloss pertains to gender distinction.

9 With the exception of {x} instead of [ħ] for I.P.A. [χ] ~ [x]. Additional signs are {a} for roughly I.P.A. [ʌ] and [ā] for I.P.A. [ɑ:].

integrated much of the phonology of Arabic. The glossing system adheres as closely as possible to the Leipzig Glossing Rules. The texts are not segmented clause by clause or sentence by sentence but by utterances, each of which is bounded by a perceptible pause.

4.1 The language of the texts

Although the grammar and sounds of Domari have been to a great extent influenced by various contact languages, it retained much of its inherited Indic features especially in the realm of morphology. Nouns have the following morphological structure (Table 1). Examples are taken from the texts below. The first two slots after the root can be occupied by the feminine marker *-ī* and the indefinite suffix *-ā(k)*. Proto-Domari most probably had a two-way gender distinction which has been kept in Southern Domari but is lost in Northern Domari. Gender marking in these dialects stopped being inflectional and become essentially derivational, albeit with a limited productivity. The three last slots are inflectional and are occupied by case and possessive markers. Case-marking involves case-stacking, with an oblique-inflected form which serves as the base for other case-markers.

Table 1: Morphological template of nouns

Root	Gender	Indefinite	Layer I / Number	Pos- ses- sive	Layer II	Gloss	Translation
	Derivational		Inflectional				
gaḡ	y	ā(k)				non_D om-F- INDF	‘a non-Dom woman’
gaḡ			əs			non_D om- ACC	‘a non-Dom man’ (accusative case)
gaḡ			ə		sa	non_D om- OBL- COM	‘with a non- Dom man’
nār̄n			ē	mā		man- PL-1PL	‘our husbands’

Verbs have the following morphological structure (Table 2). All the slots cannot be occupied at the same time as the most leftward slot which marks transitive verbs in the subjunctive cannot co-occur with perfective morphology.

Table 2: Morphological template of verbs

	Subjunctive (transitive)	Root	Valency	Aspect	Subject	Object	Tense
		k		t	ēnd	s	e
Gloss		throw		PFV	3PL	3SG	PRS
Translation	‘they have thrown him’						
		məč	nā		r	s	e
Gloss		kiss	CAUS		3SG	3SG	PRS
Translation	‘she breastfeeds him’						
		banǵ	ī	r	ə		
Gloss		break	PASS	PFV	3SG		
Translation	‘it got broken’						
	l	dak			ar		
Gloss	SBJV	see			3SG		
Translation	‘That (s)he see’						

Noun phrases typically have the following topology. Examples are taken from the texts below. Because complex noun phrases are rare in spontaneous speech, examples with all the slots filled are not to be found.

Table 3: Topology of noun phrases

Noun modifier	Demonstrative	Numeral	Adjective	Head	Relative	Translation
		dazz		ğəlləfti		‘ten girls’
		ten		girl		
	ē			čört-ə-mə		‘in that pit’
	DEM.OBL			pit- OBL- INE		
			axər	čəg-ə-m		‘with my last child’
			last	child- OBL- INE		
dəbūsiyy-ē				panɖ-ə-tə		‘on the road to Dəbūsiyye’
Dəbūsiyye-OBL				path- OBL- SUPE		

As far the topology of simple clauses is concerned, it seems that the position of the subject with respect to the verb is replicated from Arabic (Owens, Dodsworth & Rockwood 2009). The VS order normally signals the introduction of a new referent or event as shown in (1) in which the referent ‘a non-Dom woman’ is introduced for the first time. The SV order signals available reference, as shown in (2) where the referent ‘the driver’ is retrievable to the hearer because it has already been mentioned in the co-text.

- (1) āyr-ə gəggy-ək e
 come.PFV-3SG non_Dom_woman-INDF COP.3SG
 ‘A non-Dom woman came’

- (2) šəffēr-ən ġəb kr-e nārn-ē-mā-sa
 driver-NOM tongue do.PFV.3SG-PRS man-PL-1PL-COM
 ‘The driver had spoken with our husbands’

As far as the position of the object with respect to the verb is concerned, it seems that specific referent that are part of shared knowledge or common ground tend to be placed preverbally as shown in (3) and (4) where the objects *xr-əs* ‘the heart’ and *aḷḷah-əs* ‘God’ occur to the left of the verb.

- (3) kyāk e xr-əs wašnā-r-e
 thing COP.3SG heart-ACC burn.IPFV-3SG-PRS
 ‘It was a heart-breaking thing (to see)’
- (4) aḷḷah-əs byāty-ənd-a nə-kt-ēnd-s-a šī
 God-ACC fear.SBJV-3PL-PST NEG-throw.PFV-3PL-OBJ.3SG-PST FOC
 ‘Had they feared God, they wouldn’t have abandoned him’

Referential entities in object position whether definite or indefinite but not part of the common ground tend to occur postverbally, as exemplified in (5) where the object *čāḡ-ā* ‘a boy’ is referential and indefinite and in (6) where *nāfkōs* ‘his navel’ is referential and definite.

- (5) tāre dārd-ōm čāḡ-ā čōrt-ə-mə
 he_said see.PFV-1SG child-INDF pit-OBL-INE
 ‘He said I saw an (abandoned) child in a pit’
- (6) čənd-ēnd nāfk-ō-s
 cut.PFV-3PL navel-SG-3SG
 ‘They cut his navel cord’

The copula as well as semantically related state verbs occur in clause-final position as shown in (7) where the verb *mānda* ‘it remained’ is placed clause-finally.

- (7) mā-sa wəswās mānd-a
 1sg-COM obsession remain.PFV-3SG
 ‘I couldn’t help thinking about him’

There seems to be much more to be said about word order in Northern Domari because it interplays with both the semantics and pragmatics of both the subject and the object as well as language contact.

From a dialectological point of view, the texts exhibit many of the salient features found in Coastal Syrian dialects, a review of which can be found in Herin (2014; 2016). These are, *inter alia*:

- syncopated forms:
dārde < *dakarde* ‘he has seen’
ke < *karde* ‘he has done’
l-ār-ər < *la-karər* ‘that he do (subjunctive)’
- apocopated forms:
čāg-ā < *čāg-āk* ‘a boy’
‘*adl-āk-ə-m* < ‘*adl-āk-ə-mā* ‘in a bag’
pāš < *pāšī* ‘at him’
gēn < *gēnā* ‘also’
īs < *īsəm* ~ *īsən* ‘now’

Coastal dialects also elide final /n/ in the plural of bound pronouns even when the present tense marker *-e* or the copula *-e* attach to the left: *nē-nd-mā-e* ‘they take us’ (take.IPFV-3PL-1PL.OBJ-PRS) vs Beirut-Damascus *nē-nd-man-e*.

4.2 A note on language contact

As far as contact is concerned, Northern Domari borrowed extensively from Iranian, Turkish and Arabic. In Syria, Arabic was of course the main contact language. Arabic insertions are therefore very common in the present texts. One observes not only lexemes but also phrases such as *fā'il xēr* 'right doer' or *ibn ḥarām* 'son of illicit'. The use of these in the first text are interesting because they have been re-interpreted as one invariable unit. These expressions are both masculine in Arabic but they are used here to refer to female entities: *fā'il xēr* refers the non-Dom woman who breastfed the abandoned boy and *ibn ḥarām* refers to the mother of the abandoned boy. There are also patterns that are replicated from Arabic. One obvious case is the so-called cognate object construction which involves a nominalisation of the verb placed in object position to modify the scope of the predication. In (8), the nominal *kūš* 'throwing' is the masdar derivation of the verbal root *kō-* 'to throw' and is placed in object position.

- (8) kt-ēnd-s(e) ē kūš-əs
throw.PFV-3PL-OBJ.3SG-PRS DEM.OBL throwing-ACC
'they have abandoned him in such a way'

More intriguing is example (10) which displays the form *fəkrun*, glossed here ‘they thought’. It is actually Arabic *fəkr-un* ‘their thought’ with the noun *fəkr* ‘thought’ and the Northern Levantine Arabic 3PL bound pronoun *-un*. This structure in Coastal Northern Domari normally functions as a predicate and inflects as it does in Arabic.

- (9) fəkrun mr-e
they_thought die.PFV.3SG-PRS
'They thought he was dead'

There are also subtle pattern replications such the use of the lexical verb *št-* ‘stand’ as marker of sequence, which in practice serves the purpose of a coordinator, as exemplified in (10).

- (10) *štard-a taḥqīq-ə sāwy-ən tāre*
 get_up.PFV-3SG investigation-OBL owner-NOM he_said
 ‘Then the investigator said’

Narrative structuring devices such as *waḥḥa* ‘by God’ or the complementiser *inno* are also borrowed from Arabic. Borrowings that are traceable to Iranian are *nīm* ‘half’, *bībī* ‘ant’, *čāḡa* ‘boy’, *qər* ‘son’, *nāfək* ‘navel (cord)’, *sāx ~ sāḡ* ‘alive’, *ēwāra* ‘evening’. Some items which are ultimately of Arabic origin where mediated through Kurdish, such as *sā‘at* ‘hour’ (Arabic *sā‘a*). The texts also contain two indirect borrowings from French, namely *šəffēr* ‘driver’ (French *chauffeur*) and *sarḥīs* ‘collective taxi’ (< French *taxi service*), which made their way into Domari through the mediation of Syro-Lebanese Arabic. Contrary to what can be observed in varieties that are highly influenced by Arabic, such as Jerusalem Domari and to a lesser extent Beirut-Damascus Domari, the texts below do not exhibit code-switching and Arabic insertions are limited to lexical-phrasal segments, in addition to the pattern borrowings highlighted above.

4.3 First text: an abandoned child

- (1) *mās-ā nīm-ə-wa e*
 month-INDF half-OBL-VERS cop.3SG
 ‘A month and a half ago’
- (2) *ḥār-ē-mə štōm-a*
 town-OBL-IN COP.1SG-PST
 ‘I was in town’
- (3) *xbər (h)r-ēn xāl-ō-mā*
 informed become.PFV-1PL maternal_uncle-SG-1PL
 ‘We were informed, my maternal uncle (was informed)’
- (4) *bīby-ō-mā qər*
 aunt-SG-1PL son
 ‘My cousin (lit. the son of my aunt)’
- (5) *dārd-e čāḡ-ā*
 see.PFV.3SG-PRS child-INDF
 ‘had seen a child’

- (6) āyr-ə xabbər kar-r ahl-əs
come.PFV-3SG inform do.SBJV-3SG family-ACC
'He came to inform his family'
- (7) tāre dārd-ōm čāg-ā čōrt-ə-mə
he_said see.PFV-1SG child-INDF pit-OBL-INE
'He said I saw an (abandoned) child in a pit'
- (8) ēta (h)r-e
here become.PFV.3SG-PRS
'It's here'
- (9) gar-ēnd tāre wēš dāhard-ēnd-əs
go.PFV-3PL he_said 3SG.VERS see.PFV-3PL-OBJ.3SG
'They went to him (and) saw him'
- (10) ləff kr-ēnd-s-e 'adl-āk-ə-m
wrap do.PFV-3PL-OBJ.3SG-PRS bag-INDF-OBL-INE
'They had wrapped him in a bag'
- (11) kt-ēnd-s-e čōrt-ə-mə
throw.PFV-3PL-OBL.3SG-PRS pit-OBL-INE
'and thrown him in a pit'
- (12) 'əmr-ō-s yē dīs-āk e
age-SG-3SG one day-INDF COP.3SG
'He was one day old'
- (13) fəkrun mr-e
they_thought die.PFV.3SG-PRS
'They thought he was dead'
- (14) ānēnd-əs āyrēnd
bring.PFV.3PL-OBJ.3SG come.PFV.3PL
'They brought him and came'
- (15) hā č-ər-e mr-e
dem say.IPFV-3SG-PRS die.PFV.3SG-PRS
'This one was saying that he was dead'
- (16) hā č-ər-e sāg e
dem say.IPFV-3SG-PRS alive COP.3SG
'That one was saying he was alive'

- (17) ānd-ēnd-əs dārd-ēnd sāḡ e
bring.PFV-3PL-OBJ.3SG see.PFV-3PL alive COP.3SG
'They brought him (and) saw that he was alive'
- (18) štərd-ēnd pāṛnārd-ēnd-əs
stand.PFV-3PL wash.PFV-3PL-OBJ.3SG
'Then they washed him'
- (19) čənd-ēnd nāfk-ō-s
cut.PFV-3PL navel-SG-3SG
'They cut his navel cord'
- (20) sāḡ kənd-ə
alive go_out.PFV-3SG
'He turned out to be alive'
- (21) āyr-ə gaḡḡy-āk e
come.PFV-3SG non_Dom_woman-INDF COP.3SG
'A non-Dom woman came'
- (22) fā'il xēr məčnārd-ōs-əs
doer right breastfeed.PFV-3SG-OBJ.3SG
'a rightdoer, and breastfed him'
- (23) sāḡ kənd-ə
alive go_out.PFV-3SG
'He turned out to be alive'
- (24) ammat-ən šaddəq nə-k-e
people-NOM believe NEG-DO.PFV.3SG-PRS
'People couldn't believe it'
- (25) mā-sa wəswās mānd-ə
1SG-COM obsession remain.PFV-3SG
'I couldn't help thinking about him'
- (26) yawmiyyan ḡā-m-e pāšyā
daily go.IPFV-1SG-PRS 3PL.ADE
'I would go to see him daily'

- (27) yawmiyyan ġā-m-e pāšya
daily go.IPFV-1SG-PRS 3PL.ADE
'I would go to see him daily'
- (28) wəswās wāšōm qəld-a
obsession 1SG.COM get_on.PFV-3SG
'I kept thinking about him'
- (29) yawmiyyan kā ġā-m pāšyā
daily FUT go.SBJV-1SG 3PL.ADE
kā l-dak-m-əs
FUT SBJV-SEE.SBJV-1SG-OBJ.3SG
'I had to go and see him daily'
- (30) har dī(s) ġā-m-e pāšyā dak-am-s-e
every day go.IPFV-1SG-PRS 3PL.ADE see.IPFV-1SG-OBJ.3SG-PRS
'Every day I would go and see him'
- (31) hā āw-ar-e məčnā-r-s-e
DEM come.IPFV-3SG-PRS breastfeed.IPFV-3SG-OBJ.3SG-PRS
'(The non-Dom woman) would come and breastfeed him'
- (32) hā āw-ar-e məčnā-r-s-e
DEM come.PFV-3SG-PRS breastfeed.IPFV-3SG-OBJ.3SG-PRS
'(The non-Dom woman) would come and breastfeed him'
- (33) kyāk e xr-əs wašnā-r-e
thing COP.3SG heart-ACC burn.IPFV-3SG-PRS
'It was a heart-breaking thing (to see)'
- (34) lahallaq bāl-ō-m-m e ši
until_now mind-SG-1SG-INE COP.3SG FOC
bāl-ō-m-ki nə-ġā-r-e
mind-SG-1SG-ABL neg-go.IPFV-3SG-PRS
'Until now he's in my mind, he doesn't get off my mind'
- (35) walla
by_God
'So'
- (36) har dīs ġā-m-e pāšyā dak-am-s-e
every day go.IPFV-1SG-PRS 3PL.ADE see.IPFV-1SG-OBJ.3SG-PRS
'I would go and see him every day'

- (37) kat (h)r-a xālo hā čāga
 how become.PFV-3SG maternal_uncle dem child
 ‘(I would ask) how is the boy uncle?’
- (38) waḷḷa gā ye lḥamdilla
 by_God good COP.3SG praise_God
 ‘He is well, praise be to God’
- (39) kərda ft-ōm lakan dād-ō-s
 how_much say.PFV-1SG so mother-SG-3SG
 ‘I said, his mother’
- (40) ibnḥarām e
 son_of_illicit COP.3SG
 ‘is heartless’
- (41) ē kūš-əs kt-ōs-s-e
 DEM.OBL throwing-ACC throw.PFV-3SG-OBJ.3SG-PRS
 ‘(for having) abandoned him in such a way’
- (42) xr-ō-sā nə-wašnārd-e wala kyāk e
 heart-SG-3PL NEG-burn.PFV.3SG-PRS neither thing COP.3SG
 ‘It wouldn’t (even) break their heart or anything’
- (43) ē kūš-əs kt-ēnd-s-e
 DEM.OBL throwing-ACC throw.PFV-3PL-OBJ.3SG-PRS
 la hay k-ēnd-e
 and this do.PFV-3PL-PRS
 ‘to have abandoned him in such a way and having done this’
- (44) xāl-ō-m tāre waḷḷa ērīn
 maternal_uncle-SG-1SG he_said by_God DEM.PL
 ibnḥarām əšənde tāre
 son_of_illicit COP.3PL he_said
 ‘My uncle said, you know, these (people) are ruthless’
- (45) kt-ēnd-s-(e) ē kūš-əs
 throw.PFV-3PL-OBJ.3SG-PRS DEM.OBL throwing-ACC
 ‘having abandoned him in such a way’
- (46) ērīn aḷḷah-əs nə-byā-nd-e
 DEM.PL God-ACC NEG-fear.IPFV-3PL-PRS

- wala kyā hō-nd-e
neither thing become.IPFV-3PL-PRS
'These (people) don't even fear God or anything'
- (47) aḷlah-əs byāty-ənd-a nə-kt-ēnd-s-a šī
God-ACC fear.SBJV-3PL-PST NEG-throw.PFV-3PL-OBJ.3SG-PST FOC
'Had they feared God, they wouldn't have abandoned him'
- (48) kt-ēnd-s-e
throw.PFV-3PL-OBJ.3SG-PRS
'They had thrown him away'
- (49) sb-ə mh-ən-tə sā'at paṅṅ
morning-OBL face-OBL.PL-SUPE hour five
'early in the morning at five'
- (50) ḥatta sā'at štār ēwār mānd-e
until hour four afternoon remain.PFV.3SG-PRS
'until four in the afternoon, (they boy) had remained'
- (51) ē čōrt-ə-mə
DEM.OBL pit-OBL-INE
'in that pit'
- (52) gā ye snōtə mərr
good COP.3SG dog pass
nə-(h)r-e nə-qāyr-ōs-s-e
NEG-become.PFV.3SG-PRS NEG-eat.PFV-3SG-OBJ.3SG-PRS
'It's fortunate (that) a dog hadn't passed by and eaten him'
- (53) kyā-mōr mərr nə-(h)r-e
thing-any PASS NEG-become.PFV.3SG-PRS
nə-qāyr-ōs-s-e
NEG-eat.PFV-3SG-OBJ.3SG-PRS
'Nothing had passed by and eaten him'
- (54) aḷla mh-ō-s-mə kā l-dak-ar tāre
god face-SG-3SG-INE FUT SBJV-see.SBJV-3SG he_said
'He said, God will commiserate with him (lit. he will see in his face)'
- (55) inno
COMP
'that'

- (56) *kā* 'iṣ (h)ōty-ər
FUT live become.SBJV-3SG
'he will live'
- (57) *aḷl-ən* ḡwāld-ōs-s
God-NOM send.PFV-3SG-OBJ.3SG
'God had sent him'
- (58) *xāl-ō-m-ka* *xāl-ō-m* ḡwər
maternal_uncle-SG-1SG-ADE maternal_uncle-SG-1SG wife
mr-e
die.pfv.3sg-prs
'to my uncle, the uncle's wife had died'
- (59) *pāṣ* *štār* *pang* *čāḡ(a)* *e*
3SG.ADE four five child COP.3SG
drōnga *šənde* *čāḡ-ē-s*
big COP.3PL child-PL-3SG
'He had four five children, they are adults'
- (60) *ḡərsāwī* (h)r-e ḡēn
marry become.PFV.3SG-PRS also
aḷla *nə-tt-ōs-(əs)* *čāḡa*
God NEG-give.PFV-3SG-OBJ.3SG child
'He has remarried but God didn't grant him a child'
- (61) *aḷla* *mh-ō-s-ma* *kā* *l-dak-ar*
God face-SG-3SG-INE FUT SBJV-see.SBJV-3SG
'God will commiserate with him'
- (62) *abōr* *aḷl-ən* *čāḡ-ā* ḡwāld-ā
2SG.BEN God child-INDF send.PFV-3SG
rabbī *kar-əs*
upbringing do.SBJV.2SG-OBJ.3SG
'God sent you a boy for you to raise him'
- (63) *iṣ* *lahallaq* *pāṣy* *e*
now until_now 3SG.ADE COP.3SG
'Until now, (the boy) is with him'

4.4 Second text: a road accident

- (1) trən xatrə ḥādəs kr-ōm mēn
three time accident do.PFV-1SG 1SG.NOM
'As far as I am concerned, I had three road accidents'
- (2) xatr-ā ḥādəs-ā gēn ē-mə ḥəms-ə-mə
time-INDF accident-INDF also DEM-INE Homs-OBL-INE
'Once I also had an accident in Homs'
- (3) gar-ēn bəyyā'-wātī ka-št-ən-e
go.PFV-1PL selling-NMLZ do-PROG-1PL-PRS
'We went selling'
- (4) (a)mī dazz ḡəllāftī štəne dazz ḡəllāftī
1pl ten girl cop.1pl ten girl
'We were ten girls, ten'
- (5) biby-ō-m wāšōmā e
aunt-SG-1SG 1PL.COM COP.3SG
qayn-ō-m wāšōmā e
brother_in_law-SG-1PL 1PL.COM COP.3SG
'My aunt was with us, my husband's brother was with me'
- (6) bəyyā'-wātī dōm kar-r-a zəmən-ən-tə
selling-NMLZ Dom do.IPFV-3SG-PST time-OBL.PL-SUPE
'Back in the day, the Dom used to go selling'
- (7) dazz wars-ə-wa e
ten year-OBL-VERS COP.3SG
'Ten years ago'
- (8) āyr-ēn sarfīs-ə-m əštəne
come.PFV-1PL taxi-OBL-INE COP.1PL
'We came by taxi'
- (9) gar-ēn bnān pərd-ēn āyr-ēn
go.PFV.1PL Lebanon return.PFV-1PL come.PFV-1PL
'We went to Lebanon and came back'
- (10) ḡā-n-a āw-an-a ḥməš bnān
go.IPFV-1PL-PST come.IPFV-1PL-PST Homs Lebanon
'We used to come and go from Homs (Syria) to Lebanon'

- (11) zə bnān pəṛ-n-a ḡā-n-a krī
 from Lebanon return.IPFV-1PL-PST go.IPFV-1PL-PST house
 'From Lebanon, we used to come back home'
- (12) gar-ēn sarfīs-ə-m qald-ēn gaḡ-ə-sa
 go.PFV-1PL taxi-OBL-INE get_on.PFV-1PL non_Dom_man-OBL-COM
 'We got on a taxi with a (non-Dom) man'
- (13) daz ḡəllāftī štən-a
 ten girl COP.1PL-PST
 'We were ten girls'
- (14) hā sarfīs gar-a mīr (h)r-a
 DEM taxi go.PFV-3SG lean become
 hē gar-a hā āyr-a
 so go.PFV-3SG DEM come.PFV-3SG
 'This taxi started leaning like this, and went'
- (15) kaky-ə-m wāyr-a dīwār-ə-m
 what-OBL-INE hit.PFV-3SG wall-OBL-INE
 'What did it hit? A wall'
- (16) z dīwār-ə-ki kēt nəṭṭ (h)r-a
 from wall-OBL-ABL where jump become.PFV-3SG
 čōrt-ə-m lasr-a
 pit-OBL-ABL fall.PFV-3SG
 'From the wall where did it jump? It fell in a pit'
- (17) čōrtā kakī hr-a wāšōmā
 pit what become.PFV-3SG 1PL.COM
 'A pit, what happened to us?'
- (18) pəlhādəm štōm-a mā āxər čāḡ-ə-m
 pregnant COP.1SG-PST 1SG last child-OBL-INE
 'I was pregnant with my last child'
- (19) biby-ō-m-ki fakk-ō-s baḡṭīr-a
 aunt-SG-1SG-ABL mandible-SG-3SG be_broken.PFV-3SG
 'My aunt broke her mandible'

- (20) bēly-ō-m-ki mā-ki bēly-ō-m
friend-SG-1SG-ABL 1SG-ABL friend-SG-1SG
'My friend'
- (21) sr-ō-s baṅṅīr-a
head-SG-3SG be_broken.PFV-3SG
'(my friend) broke his head'
- (22) yēk-āk e kan-ō-s čnīr-a
one-INDF COP.3SG ear-SG-3SG be_cut.PFV-3SG
'Someone else had his ear cut'
- (23) yēk-āk pīl-ō-s baṅṅīr-a
one-INDF shoulder-SG-3SG be_broken.PFV-3SG
'Someone else broke his shoulder'
- (24) sa māstašf-ē-ki gar-ēnd tō
all hospital-OBL-ABL go.PFV-3PL 2SG
bār-ō-m war əštōr
brother-SG-1SG like COP.2SG
'They all went to hospital, you are like my brother'¹⁰
- (25) sa sər mfarrə' štəne qəč gōnda štəne
all head untied COP.1PL leg nude COP.1PL
'We all had lost our veil, our legs were uncovered'
- (26) w'ī nə-(h)r-ēn-e pā-ə-t
aware NEG-become.PFV-1PL-PRS REFL-OBL-SUPE
'We were not aware of the state we were in'
- (27) št-ənd-e nē-nd-mā-e mašf-ē-ki
go_up.IPFV-3PL-PRS take.IPFV-3PL-1PL.OBJ-PRS hospital-OBL-ABL
'So they take us to hospital'
- (28) māstašf-ē nām waṭani həms-ə-m
hospital-OBL name National Homs-OBL-INE
'The name of the hospital is (the) national (*waṭani*) hospital in Homs'

¹⁰ The expression 'you are like my brother' signals that the speaker wants to say something that in a general context would be considered inappropriate and that the speaker considers interlocutor close enough. In this case, she goes on saying that her hair was not covered anymore and that her legs were exposed.

- (29) ḡəb kr-ēn nārn-ē-mā-sa šəffēr-ən
tongue do.PRIV-1PL man-PL-1PL-COM driver-NOM
'We spoke with our husbands, the driver...'
- (30) šəffēr-ə-t kānye kyāmōr n-ə(h)rə
driver-OBL-SUPE cop.3SG.NEG anything NEG-become.PFV-3SG
'The driver didn't have anything'
- (31) šəffēr-ən ḡəb kr-e nārn-ē-mā-sa
driver-NOM tongue do.PRIV.3SG-PRS man-PL-1PL-COM
'The driver had spoken with our husbands'
- (32) tar ḡəllāfty-ē-rā ḥādəs kr-ēnd-e
he_said woman-PL-2PL accident do.PFV-3PL-PRS
'He said your women had an accident'
- (33) dābūsiyy-ē paṇḍ-ə-tə
Dābūsiyye-OBL path-OBL-SUPE
'On the road of Dābūsiyye'
- (34) yā raš-as-sā-e yā nə-raš-as-sā-e
either follow.IPFV-2PL-3PL-PRS or NEG-follow-2PL-3PL-PRS
'Either you join them (to hospital) or you don't'
- (35) aktar ḡəllāftī baqwat ḍərr ə(h)r-e
most women much injured become.PFV.3SG-PRS
'Most women got injured badly'
- (36) ašti ši ḡəllāftī ḍərr nə-(h)r-e
EXIST FOC girl injured NEG-become.PFV.3SG-PRS
'Some women were not injured'
- (37) qədrət rabb il'ālamīn mā-ki māš....
power God the_worlds 1SG-ABL month...
'Thank God, I was...'
- (38) pəlhādəm əštōm-a ḥaft māš
pregnant COP.1SG-PST seven month
'I was in my seven month of pregnancy'

- (39) kəlkā nə-(h)r-ə watōm-tə
 nothing NEG-become.PFV-3SG 1SG.SUPE-SUPE
 ‘Nothing happened to me’
- (40) wala qōl-ō-m baṅṅīr-ə
 neither arm-SG-1SG be_broken.PFV-3SG

 wala sr-ō-m baṅṅīr-ə
 nor head-SG-1SG be_broken.PFV-3SG
 ‘Neither my arm nor my head got broken’
- (41) kəlkā nə-(h)rə watōm-tə
 nothing NEG-become.PFV-3SG 1SG.SUPE-SUPE
 ‘Nothing happened to me’
- (42) bass rudūd
 only contractions
 ‘Only contractions’
- (43) pəlhādəm əštōm-a rdūd hr-ə wāšōm
 pregnant COP.1SG-PST contractions become.PFV-3SG 1SG.COM
 ‘I was pregnant (and) I had contractions’
- (44) biby-ō-m-ki fakk-ō-s baṭṭūl baṅṅīr-ə
 aunt-SG-1SG-ABL mandible-SG-3SG completely be_broken.PFV-3SG
 ‘My aunt’s mandible was completely broken’
- (45) biby-ō-m mang-ar-e ḡəb l-ār-ər
 aunt-SG-1SG want.IPFV-3SG-PRS tongue SBJV-do.IPFV-3SG
 ‘My aunt wants to speak’
- (46) n-sak-ar-e žəb l-ār-ər
 NEG-can.IPFV-3SG-PRS tongue SBJV-do.IPFV-3SG
 ‘(but) she can’t speak’
- (47) biby-ō-m kēr dī ‘amaliyya kar-r-e
 aunt-SG-1SG BEN two operation do.IPFV-3SG-PRS
 fakk-ō-s kēra
 mandible-SG-3SG BEN
 ‘For my aunt, she had two operations for her mandible’

- (48) fakk-ō-s-ki biby-ō-m pīl-ō-s
mandible-SG-3SG-ABL aunt-SG-1SG shoulder-SG-3SG
'Her mandible, my aunt, her shoulder'
- (49) qōl-ō-s sīn-ō-s-tā wāyr-ā
arm-SG-3SG chest-SG-3SG-SUPE hit.PFV-3SG
'Her arm hit her chest'
- (50) hē āyr-ā siyyāra manğōmā-m
DEM come.PFV-3SG car 1PL.INE-INE
qaləb qləb (h)r-ā
overturn overturn become.PFV-3SG
'This came, the car rolled over as we were inside'
- (51) ksē waqtəl dūlāb-ē-s wagar mānd-ēnd
why when wheel-PL-3SG front remain-PFV-3PL
'Why? When the wheels remained in front...'
- (52) ē lāfty-ə mām-ō-s ġəwr-ə-ki
DEM daughter-OBL uncle-SG-3SG wife-OBL-ABL
'The daughter, the wife of the uncle...'
- (53) məns-ō-m-ki mām-ō-s lāftī
husband-SG-1SG-ABL uncle-SG-3SG daughter
'The daughter of the uncle of my husband (my husband's cousin)'
- (54) baṅṅīr-ā sr-ō-s
be_broken.PFV-3SG head-SG-3SG
'got her head broken'
- (55) ġīrān-ō-mā baṅṅīr-ā qōl-ō-s
neighbour-SG-1PL be_broken.PFV-3SG arm-SG-3SG
'Our neighbour got his arm broken'
- (56) bēly-ō-m-ki baṅṅīr-ā qəč-ō-s
friend-SG-1SG-ABL be_broken.PFV-3SG leg-SG-3SG
'My friend had her leg broken'
- (57) bass ḥamdilla marīš kānye
but praise_to_God death COP.3SG.NEG
'But thank God no one died'

- (58) *sa banğış e ya'ni*
all injury COP.3SG I_mean
'There was only injuries'
- (59) *ašti ġəllāfty-īn mand-ēnd dī dīs mašf-ē-m*
EXIST woman-PL remain.PFV-3PL two day hospital-OBL-INE
'Some women stayed two days in hospital'
- (60) *ṭrən dīs ašti ši ġəllāfty-īn*
three day EXIST also woman-PL
awwal b awwal
first in first
'Some stayed three days, they went out one by one'
- (61) *kyā nə-(h)r(a) ḥamdilla rabb il'ālamīn*
thing neg-become.PFV-3SG praise_to_God lord two.worlds
'Nothing happened, thank God'
- (62) *bass sa təşwīr a təşwīr*
only all photo PST photo
'They only x-rayed'
- (63) *şawwər ka-š-ənd-mā-e*
picture do.IPFV-PROG-3PL-1PL.OBJ-PRS
fḥəş ka-š-ənd-mā-e
control do.IPFV-PROG-3PL-1PL-PRS
'They x-rayed us and controlled us'
- (64) *bass patī sr-ē-mā-t kānye*
but veil head-PL-1PL-SUPE COP.3SG.NEG
'But we were unveiled'
- (65) *qīč gōnda štəne*
leg nude COP.1PL
'Our legs were uncovered'
- (66) *ya'ni bēn mr-ēn-e bēn šāx əştən-a*
I_mean between die.PFV-1PL-PRS between alive COP.1PL-PST
'We were between dead and alive'
- (67) *bass qədrət rabb il'ālamīn ənsān-ā*
but power God the_worlds individual-INDF

- dərr nə-(h)r-a
injury NEG-become.PFV-3SG
'but thank God no one was injured (died)'
- (68) sə sāx kənd-e
all alive exit.PFV.3SG-PRS
'Everyone was alive'
- (69) bass baŋgĩš la rdūd sə ašt-a
only injury and contraction all EXIST-PST
'There were only injuries and contractions'
- (70) šəb kr-ēnd-mā ɣarām e
withdraw do.PFV-3PL-1PL illicit COP.3SG
'The took us out, it was bad'
- (71) trən siyyār e
three cars COP.3SG
'There were three cars'
- (72) daz mənəš štəne
ten people COP.1PL
'We were ten people'
- (73) daz ǧəllāftī wāšōmā dī nār n e
ten woman 1PL.COM two man COP.3SG
z dēšōmā šəffēr ši
from 1PL.ABL driver also
'Ten girls, and two of our men, and the driver also'
- (74) nēr-ēnd-mā mašf-ē-ki
take.PFV-3PL-1PL hospital-OBL-ABL
'They took us to hospital'
- (75) šəffēr-ən ɣakkəm kr-ōs-mā ɣsāb-ə-t
driver-NOM treat do.PFV-3SG-1PL account-OBL-SUPE
'The driver got us treated at his own expense'
- (76) ɣarāmi
thief
'Thief'

- (77) ḥakkəm kar-r-mā-e ḥsāb-ə-t
 treat do.IPFV-3SG-1PL-PRS account-OBL-SUPE
 ‘He got us treated at his own expense’
- (78) illi abōs qōl-ō-s ḡabbər əkr-a
 REL 3SG.BEN arm-SG-3SG strengthen do.PFV-3SG
 ‘Someone had his arm bandaged’
- (79) sr-ō-s sīwərd-a
 head-SG-3SG sew.PFV-3SG
 ‘(Someone) had his head sewed’
- (80) alli fakk-ō-s baṅṭīr-a abōs kēr
 REL mandible-SG-3SG be_broken.PFV-3SG 3SG.BEN BEN
 kr-a ‘amaliyya
 do.PFV-3SG operation
 ‘The one who had his mandible broken had an operation’
- (81) hā šəffēr mānd-a maṅṭōmā-m
 DEM driver remain.PFV-3SG 1PL.INE-INE
 šəffēr-ə kēra taḥqīq kr-ēnd
 driver-OBL BEN investigation do.PFV-3PL
 ‘The driver stayed amongst us, they investigated him’
- (82) šəffēr siyyāra abōs ənnye
 driver car 3SG.BEN COP.3SG.NEG
 bār-ō-s-k(i) e
 brother-SG-3SG-ABL COP.3SG
 ‘The car was not the driver’s; it was his brother’s’
- (83) štə-n-e gaḡ-əs nēr-ēnd
 get_up.IPFV-1PL-PRS non_Dom_man-ACC take.PFV-3PL
 ḥabs-ə-ki
 prison-OBL-ABL
 ‘So they took the man to prison’
- (84) ḥabsa nēr-ēnd-əs
 prison take.PFV-3PL-3SG
 ‘They took him to prison’
- (85) taḥqīq kr-ēnd maṅṭī
 investigation do.PFV-3PL 3SG.INE
 ‘They investigated him’

- (86) štərd-ə taḥqīq-ə sāwy-ən tāre
 get_up.PFV-3SG investigation-OBL owner-NOM he_said
 ‘Then the investigator said’
- (87) kā ġā-s kā sqəṭ l-ār-əs dəda
 FUT go.SBJV-2PL FUT drop SBJV-do.SBJV-2PL so
 ‘You will go and drop (the lawsuit)’
- (88) abōs sqəṭ krēnd da‘w-ēs
 3SG.BEN drop do.PFV-3PL lawsuit-ACC
 ‘They dropped the lawsuit against him’

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