

Two Domari legends about the origin of the Doms

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Background

The Palestinian Doms belong to the populations known collectively in the literature as 'Middle Eastern Gypsies'.¹ Their own term for their group is *dōm*, in the plural *dōme*. The Arabs usually call them *nawar* or, more pejoratively, *zuṭṭ*. The latter has been in use since medieval times as a collective name for various groups of Indian immigrants to the Middle East, including nomadic musicians, soldiers, and captives (see Grierson 1887); it is often associated with the Indian name *jat*, which in turn can be found as the self-designation of itinerant populations of Indian origin in Afghanistan (Rao 1995) and elsewhere. Dom populations whose language is a variety of Domari are known to exist or to have existed in Lebanon, Syria, Palestine, Jordan, Iraq, and Azerbaijan, referring to themselves as either *dom*, *duman*, *kurbeti*, or *karači*. The term *dom* is a cognate to *rom* (used by Romani-speaking populations in Europe), and *lom* (attested in the Indic-derived vocabulary of the itinerant Poša of Armenia; Finck 1907), as well as to the Indian caste-name *ḍom*, from which the terms appear to derive.

The Doms have traditionally specialised in metalwork and in entertainment. Among the Palestinian Doms, however, these two professions are usually associated with different clans. The ancestors of the Jerusalem Doms were, until several decades ago, tent-dwelling smiths and tanners who produced skewers, horseshoes, and other metal artefacts. Gradually, the men abandoned their traditional profession and sought paid employment in

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various services. Since the 1940s, many have been employed by the municipality's environmental health department. Begging was practised by many women in the community until shortly after the Israeli occupation in 1967, when a system of social services and benefits was introduced. The Jerusalem Doms now distance themselves from the begging activities of other Doms, who are not residents of the city, but arrive as tourists, mainly from Egypt and Jordan, during the Muslim holiday seasons, and can be met begging in and around the Old City of Jerusalem. The young generation of Jerusalem Doms is employed in a variety of professions, mainly in services. A significant number have completed secondary education, some continuing to higher specialised qualifications.

In many respects the Doms are part of Palestinian-Arab society: They have lived among the Arabs for many centuries, they share customs, family organisation structures, and religious beliefs with mainstream Muslim Arabs, and they have lived since the 1940s in the Muslim Quarter of the Old City and more recently also in the neighbourhoods and suburbs of Arab East Jerusalem. Arabic now serves as the principal language of the community and is the only language spoken by the younger generation of Doms. As in rural Arab society, the traditional authority rests with the Mukhtar (Arabic *muxtār*), or community leader, whom the Doms refer to in their language as *gawara*. The position of Mukhtar is a kind of compromise between an elected representative whose appointment reflects a consensus among the influential families and members of the community, a hereditary office, and an external appointment by the authorities, who recognise the Mukhtar as a spokesman on behalf of his community, but expect cooperation, for instance in matters relating to law and order, in return. The traditional tasks of the Mukhtar have been to resolve conflicts and disputes within the community, and to mediate between members of the community and the authorities.

The Mukhtar's role as chief representative of the community is at present being challenged to some extent by the establishment in November 1999 of a 'Foundation for the Promotion of the Gypsies in Israel' [*ha-'amuta le-kidum ha-tso'anim be-yisra'el*]. The Foundation is being backed by a left-wing Israeli party which is in opposition in the Jerusalem municipality, it carries a Hebrew, rather than Arabic, official title, and the title itself flags a connection to Israel, rather than to the West Bank, where the Doms live. At a time when the future of Jerusalem is about to be negotiated between Israeli and Palestinian authorities, this course taken by a number of young Doms

might be interpreted as a statement concerning their own ethnic distinctness; it may however just as well be taken to reflect primarily short-term practical considerations, which seem to outweigh sensitivity to growing concerns about the long-term status of East Jerusalem and its inhabitants.

Estimates put the number of Doms in Jerusalem at anywhere between 600–1000. Only members of the older generation are still fluent speakers of their ancestral language, which they refer to as *dōm*, *dōmī*, or *dōmari*, the latter being the more archaic and now almost obsolete term. It is important to distinguish between Domari as spoken in Jerusalem and elsewhere, and the in-group and secret vocabularies employed by various populations of commercial nomads in the Middle East. Those are sometimes referred to as ‘Gypsy languages’, but they do not share the grammatical structures of Domari. There has been some considerable historical interface between Domari and such secret vocabularies, however, which reflects historical ties among itinerant populations of various origins in the region. Domari influence can be found in the vocabularies of the Mitrip of Kurdistan (Benninghaus 1991), the Karači, Luti, and Kauli of Iran (Amanolahi and Norbeck 1975, Gobineau 1857), the Ghagar and Nawar of Egypt (Newbold 1856), as well as, perhaps most clearly, the Bahlawān of Sudan (Streck 1996: 290–303), whose secret vocabulary is derived almost entirely from Domari.

The earliest documentation and discussion of the language spoken by the Doms—or Domari ‘proper’—appeared in Pott’s (1844) monumental work on Romani, where he drew on a sample collected several decades earlier by Seetzen (and later published in a diary edited by Kruse in 1854). Further material was published by Pott in 1846, drawing on second-hand sources from Syria, followed by Newbold’s (1856) wordlists from northern Syria and from Baghdad, Paspatis’s (1870) material from eastern Anatolia, Groome’s (1891) samples obtained in Beirut and Damascus, and Patkanoff’s (1907/1908) material, which appears to have originated from Azerbaijan. The first and so far unique comprehensive description of the Domari language, which includes a grammar, texts, and a glossary all based on fieldwork carried out in Jerusalem, was published by R. A. S. Macalister in a series of articles in this journal between 1909–13, which subsequently appeared in monograph form (Macalister 1914). Apart from two very brief samples of Syrian Domari that have been in private circulation in recent years,² my own work on the speech of the same community in Jerusalem (Matras 1999) appears to be the first publication since Macalister that is based on recent empirical research. The material for the present contribution stems from the

same corpus of recordings, collected in Jerusalem between 1996 and 1999.

The legends: Context and content

The two legends presented here were told to me by the *gawara* or Mukhtar of the Dom community of Jerusalem, Muḥammad Dīb Slim, in January 1999. The Mukhtar is the grandson of Ibrāhīm Slim, who led the community in the early 20th century, while it was still nomadic, travelling between Jerusalem and other towns in the West Bank. After his death, Ibrāhīm Slim was succeeded by his son, Abed Slim, as Mukhtar. The community had by then settled in a tent encampment in Jerusalem, just north of Damascus Gate, which is where Macalister encountered them. Abed Slim was able to prove his leadership skills during an event which took place sometime in the 1920s, when a fight broke out between Jews and Arabs at a feast at which Dom dancers from Jaffa were performing. Abed separated the two groups, and was praised for doing so by the British military governor of Jerusalem, Ronald Storrs, who awarded him an official document recognising his position as the Mukhtar of the Jerusalem Dom community.

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

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

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

Both legends have the theme of 'ancestral guilt', which is common among peripatetic groups as an explanation of their origin and position in society (Casimir 1987).³ A similar variant of the legend of Banī Rabīṣa and Banī Murra is presented in Meyer (1994: 1–4), who recorded it from Doms in Damascus. Another version was recorded by Canova (1981) among the Nawar of Egypt, and a similar legend portraying ez-Zīr as the king who ordered the Gypsies into exile and nomadism is mentioned by Newbold (1856: 291) in connection with the Helebi of Egypt.

The story of Bahrām Gūr is told by the Persian poet Firdusi in his *Shahname* from the 11th century. The text describes how the Persian king invited a population of some 10,000 Indian musicians, called Luri, in or around 420 AD, to come to Persia and serve as official performers. After attempts to settle them failed, the Luri remained nomadic entertainers. The story receives historical confirmation in various Arabic and Persian chronicles, with at least one source, Ḥamza Iṣfahānī, pre-dating Firdusi (Grierson 1887). The immigration of various northern Indian populations to the Persian Gulf area during the reign of the very same Sassanide king Bahrām V, is rather well described by Byzantine historians (cf. Wink 1990: 156). A legend resembling the Bahrām Gūr story, which relates to the Luti peripatetics of Luristan, was recorded by Amanolahi and Norbeck (1975: 3).

The legend thus obviously has a well-established oral and written tradi-

tion in the Middle East, and is likely to have some factual basis as well, though a clear connection between the Luri and today's Dom, Rom, or Lom cannot be established. The story nonetheless dominates discussions of the origin of the Gypsies in popular literature, and one cannot exclude the possibility that it was adopted by the Jerusalem Dom community rather recently. In fact, while the legend of ez-Zîr and the two clans appears to be well-known to most if not all adult members of the community, it is not clear whether anyone other than the Mukhtar is at all familiar with the story of Bahrām Gūr.⁴

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

Muḥammad Dīb's narrative then has the Doms migrating to India, and finally returning to the Near East with Saladin's forces. The migration to India is necessary in order to reconcile the notion of an origin in a pre-Islamic Arab tribe, in Casimir's (1987) terms the 'original state', before the infliction of punishment, with the well-established fact that the Doms speak an Indian language and so must have originated from India. Whether this testifies to a more recent layer of historical awareness, or whether we could be dealing with a contamination with the legend of Bahrām Gūr, remains unclear. The repeated reference to northern India in both Legends 1 and 2, as well as to the Indian language, suggests that there is indeed an attempt to accommodate information acquired more recently through indirect expo-

sure to an external discussion context about the origin of the Gypsies, into the older and more traditional narrative, updating the latter into a more precise and reliable account.

Legend 2 actually embeds the Bahrām Gūr story into the context of the legend of ez-Zīr. The narrative portrays the Doms initially as Arabs, whose connection to India is not original, but inflicted through their expulsion from their original lands. This allows once again to reconcile the Indian theme with the notion that the Doms were once a self-contained Arab tribe. The tension between self-contained existence and a peripatetic economy, representing the conflict with mainstream sedentary populations, surfaces first in the idea that entertainment professions and nomadism were part of the punishment inflicted by ez-Zīr, and then in the failed attempt by Bahrām Gūr to turn the Doms into farmers. It is then also addressed indirectly in the mentioning of agriculture in connection with the settlement of Doms in Palestine. A further historical theme is the connection drawn between the arrival of the Doms, and the Saladin conquests. This might represent the community's own historical recollection, but it could also be borrowed from the idea that peripatetics arrived in the region as camp-followers of invading Muslim armies (cf. De Goeje 1903).⁵ Likewise, the suggestion that the Doms might have been prisoners of Saladin's armies, though inconsistent with the camp-follower theme, could be derived ultimately from similar suggestions in the literature, while supporting the overall line which portrays the Doms as reluctant nomads and migrants.

In conclusion, it seems useful to relate the two legends as told by the Mukhtar, to Casimir's (1987) universal model of the expression of the relation between transgression of norms and values, guilt, and punishment in peripatetic origin legends. Dominating Legend 1 (the story of the two tribes) is what Casimir calls the typical 'transformation of the niche' from the original state, characterised by independence (an Arab tribe in Syria), to the resulting state of economic dependency, nomadism, and dispersion. This transformation is the result of punishment inflicted on the group for the transgression of norms and values, in our case the murder of Klēb, orchestrated in the middle of a sports competition, in response to the request by the Old Lady. Guilt and shame, which accompany the punishment on Casimir's model, are in this case derived from the tribe's collective responsibility for the deeds of its leader. Legend 2 presents yet a second such transformation, taking the story of the two tribes as portrayed in Legend 1 as a point of departure. Here, the Doms are already nomads, that is, they are

already in the 'resulting state'. But they are given the chance of promotion to a 'high rank' status of independence, through the generosity of the Persian king. Guilt and shame in this case are associated with their inability to make use of this offer and change their habits and lifestyle, which is expressed explicitly in the story (Legend 2/27). Punishment follows this admission of guilt. Further, secondary transformations between high rank/independence and nomadism/dependency are expressed when the Doms' status as prisoners, on the one hand, and their settlement as farmers, on the other, are addressed.

The language of the narratives: Presentation and structure

The two legends are the first Domari narratives to be published since the appearance of Macalister's texts in 1909–13 (and the monograph reprint of 1914). They are also the first published narratives in the language that are based on transcriptions of tape-recorded speech, and the first to appear in print with morphological glossing. Descriptions of the Domari language as spoken in Jerusalem appear in Macalister (1914) and in Matras (1999), and I will concentrate here on issues that directly concern the glossing conventions.

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

The transcripts include numerous Arabisms that are not highlighted, as they form an integral part of the Domari lexical or morphosyntactic structure. They include lexical borrowings from Arabic, prepositions, conjunctions, discourse particles, as well as items that carry Arabic inflections, notably the auxiliaries *kān-* 'to be', *šār-* 'to begin', *xallī-* 'to allow/leave', and

bidd- 'to want', and the complementiser *inn-*. Arabic *qal* is used as an uninflected particle and is glossed 'said'. The filler *hay* is glossed 'this', the filler *hāda* is glossed 'that'. The Arabic definite article is glossed DEF and only appears in Arabic insertions. If an Arabic noun appears in the plural, it is glossed as an English plural (*bisātīn* 'gardens'). Quite often, a Domari plural ending is added to Arabic plural formations; in such cases, the Domari ending is glossed PL (*muzārīfīne* 'farmers.PL').

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

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

Nominal case inflection in Domari is layered (see Matras 1999: 16–21). Layer I includes the default oblique case, and distinguishes gender/number (nominative *šōna* 'boy', *šōnī* 'girl'; oblique *šōnas* 'boy', *šōnya* 'girl'). It is generally followed by Layer II markers, which have agglutinative structure and carry semantic case distinctions (*šōnas-ke* 'for the boy', *šōnas-ki* 'from the boy', etc.). Layer I is consequently indicated in the glossing as a gender/number function, though only in the oblique, distinguishing M, F, PL, which are always followed by an indication of Layer II markers (*šōnaske* 'boy.M.BEN'). Layer II markers are glossed by semantic function: ABL = ablative (also functioning as a general prepositional case and genitive), DAT = dative, LOC = locative, BEN = benefactive. The sociative case is nearly obsolete and does not appear in the transcripts. The accusative is zero-marked at the level of Layer II case marking, in other words, it relies on Layer I marking of a default oblique with no further semantic specifications.

For the sake of consistency, such occurrences are glossed ACC, which represents zero Layer II marking (*šōnas* 'boy.M.ACC').

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

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

Domari allows non-verbal predications: *tillos banī murra nāmos džassās* 'the leader of Banī Murra, his name [is/was] Džassās'. It also has a predicative device, which Macalister (1914) had termed 'predicative suffix', and which allows to construct non-verbal existential predications. Predicative markers are glossed PRED. They are sensitive to the phonological form of the preceding syllable, taking the form -*ēk* following vowel endings in -*a*, -*k* following endings in glottalised -*a*', -*ik* following vowel endings in -*i*, and -*i* following consonantal endings. There are separate markers for the plural, namely -*ēni* following vowels and -*ni* following consonants; those are glossed PL.PRED. The predicative markers can attach to nominative nouns

(*wudi-k* 'old.lady.PRED'), to case-inflected nouns (*pišt-is-m-ēk* 'back.3SG.LOC.PRED = 'in his back'), to adjectives (*till-ēk* 'it is big'), or to verbs, to form converbs, i.e. gerunds or participles (*ktibkad-ēk* 'wrote.PRED = written'). Predicative markers are frequently employed in presentative constructions, as well as, in the absence of Layer I oblique marking, to indicate the accusative of some inanimate Arabic loans (*šardeya romḥi* 'hide.3SG.IMP lance.PRED = he was hiding the lance').

List of gloss abbreviations

1SG	1st person singular (subject or object concord on verb; possessive; pronoun)
2PL	2nd person plural (subject or object concord on verb; possessive; pronoun)
2SG	2nd person singular (subject or object concord on verb; possessive; pronoun)
3PL	3rd person plural (subject or object concord on verb; possessive; pronoun)
3SG	3rd person singular (subject or object concord on verb; possessive; pronoun)
ABL	ablative (Layer II case ending)
ACC	accusative (Layer I oblique + Layer II zero case ending)
BEN	benefactive (Layer II case ending)
COMP	complementiser (of Arabic origin)
COP	enclitic copula
DAT	dative (Layer II case ending)
DEF	definite article (Arabic insertions)
DEM	demonstrative pronoun
F	feminine (3rd person past tense; demonstrative; Layer I oblique case inflection)
IMP	imperfect tense ending
INDEF	indefinite article
INT	interjection
LOC	locative (Layer II case ending)
M	masculine singular (3rd person past tense; demonstrative; Layer I oblique case inflection)
NEG	negation marker
PART	particle

PERF	perfect tense ending
PL	plural (demonstrative; Layer I oblique case inflection)
PRED	predicative marker
REL	relativiser (Arabic origin)
SUBJ	subjunctive (verb mood)

Legend 1

- (1) ašlos dōmankī, ʿa-zamān ‘awwal,
origin.3SG dom.PL.ABL in-time early
The origin of the Doms, *early on*,
- (2) ašti di qabile ʿiṣrēda kāmū fi bilād/ dēyisma
there.is two tribe.PL live.3PL.IMP were.3PL in land town.3SG.LOC
šāmaki.
Syria.ABL
There were two tribes, they used to live *in the land off/in* a Syrian town.
- (3) nāmosan banī qēs ū banī murra.
name.3PL Banī Qēs and Banī Murra
Their name was Banī Qēs and Banī Murra.
- (4) tillos banī qēs nāmos klēb.
big.3SG Banī Qēs name.3SG Klēb
The leader of Banī Qēs, his name was Klēb.
- (5) tillos banī murra nāmos džassās.
big.3SG Banī Murra name.3SG Džassās
The leader of Banī Murra, his name was Džassās.
- (6) w-ehe dīne māmūn putrēnī.
and.DEM.PL two uncle son.PL.PRED
And those two were cousins.
- (7) ašti ikaki wudik, bēnos tubba ḥassān.
there.is one.F old.lady.PRED daughter.3SG Tubba Hassan
There was an old lady, the daughter of Tubba Ḥassān.
- (8) lamma mardos klēb, marda tubba ḥassān malik š-šām,
when killed.3SG.3SG Klēb killed.3SG.M Tubba Hassan King of Syria
When Klēb killed him, he killed Tubba Ḥassān *the King of Syria*,

- (9) biddhā intaqimhōšar/ stadhōšar tāros
 want.3SG.F take.revenge.SUBJ.3SG claim.SUBJ.3SG revenge.3SG
 min dōmanki, yašnī min ehe dīne qabīlanki.
 from Dom.PL.ABL that.is from DEM.PL two tribe.PL.ABL
 She wanted to take revenge/to take revenge from the Doms, that is,
 from those two tribes.
- (10) ērī šala banī murra ša džassāsaski, wāšiš
 came.3SG.F to Banī Murra to Džassās.M.ABL with.3SG
 našdžek ‘ažrabi
 sheep.PRED mangy.PRED
 She came to Banī Murra, to Džassās, and with her was a mangy sheep.
- (11) w-ihī našdža tirdī/ tirdī abuske aha/ zayy
 and.DEM.F sheep put.3SG.F put.3SG.F ON.3SG.BEN DEM.M like
 fuṭūr wa-hāda, faṭar wa-hāda
 perfumes and-that perfume and-that
 And this sheep she put/she put on her this/like perfumes and all that,
 perfume and all that.
- (12) ū širdī absanke ihī našdža qal ihī min
 and said.3SG.F ON.3PL.BEN DEM.F sheep said DEM.F from
 assāshā min in-nāqiz in-nabi šāleḥ
 origin.M from DEF.redeemer DEF.prophet Saleh
 And she said to them: this sheep, she said, is descended from the re-
 deemer the Prophet Saleh.
- (13) ašti nkīs ēkak dusarēk yašni ḥdimkari ihī/ wudi.⁶
 there.is at.3SG one.M black.PRED that.is serves.3SG DEM.F old.lady
 She had a black servant, [who was] serving this/old lady.
- (14) širdī ihī wudi hayke/ dusaraske hayyos,
 said.3SG.F DEM.F old.lady this.BEN black.M.BEN this.3SG
 [This] lady said to/to this servant of hers,
- (15) qal par ihī našdžē, ū dža bisātīnesma
 said take DEM.F sheep.F.ACC and go gardens.3SG.LOC
 klēbaski, xallī ršikar hundar.
 Klēb.M.ABL let.3SG graze.SUBJ.3SG there
 She said: take this sheep, and go to the gardens of Klēb, let her graze
 there.

- (16) aha dusara parda ihī naʃdžē ū bandos,
 DEM.M black took.3SG.M DEM.F sheep.F.ACC and tied.3SG.3SG
 tirdos hayma/ bustānisma klēbaski.
 put.3SG.3SG this.LOC garden.3SG.LOC Klēb.M.ABL
 [This] servant took [this] sheep and tied her, he put her in Klēb's gar-
 den.
- (17) ū bustāni tillēk.
 and garden.PRED big.PRED
 And it was a big garden.
- (18) šārat ihī naʃdža qaṭīfkari min aha šadžarki⁷
 began.3SG.F DEM.F sheep picks.3SG from DEM.M tree.ABL
 ū qāri
 and eats.3SG
 [This] sheep began to pick from [this] tree and to eat.
- (19) ḥurrāšīnes aha bustānki lakeda ihī naʃdžē,
 guards.3SG DEM.M garden.ABL saw.3SG.M DEM.F sheep.ACC
 fērendis mardedis.
 beat.3PL.3SG killed.3PL.3SG
 [This] garden's guards saw [this] sheep, they beat her and killed her.
- (20) dusara hayyos widyaki ēra širda
 black this.3SG old.lady.F.ABL came.3SG.M told.3SG.M
 widyake.
 old.lady.F.BEN
 The old lady's servant came and told the old lady.
- (21) šārat rōwari.
 began.3SG.F cry.3SG
 She began to cry.
- (22) ēra abuske klēb:⁸ karwe wudi, rowēk?
 came.3SG.M 3SG.BEN Klēb INT old.lady cry.2SG
 Klēb [= *Džassās*] came to her: what is it, old lady, [why] are you
 crying?
- (23) qal: lakedori, hurrāšīnes bustāniski hayki
 said saw.2SG.PERF guards.3SG garden.3SG.ABL this.ABL
 klēbaski marde naʃdžim illi ihī assāshā min
 Klēb.M.ABL killed.3PL sheep.1SG REL DEM.F origin.3SG.F from

naſdžāt in-nabi šāleh

sheep.PL DEF.prophet Saleh

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

- (24) *šari džassās abuske: na zſilhōši atu wudi.*
 say.3SG Džassās 3SG.BEN NEG sad.SUBJ.2SG 2SG old.lady
 Džassās says to her: Don't be sad, old lady.
- (25) *ama dēmri badālis ſašrīn naſdža ū ṭayyibkami*
 1SG give.1SG.2SG instead.3SG twenty sheep and improve.1SG
xātror.
 mood.2SG
 I shall give you twenty sheep in its place, and I shall cheer you up.
- (26) *qal: la', ama naqbilome'.*
 said no 1SG NEG.accept.1SG.NEG
 She said: No, I don't accept.
- (27) *yā imma naſdžom gardohori, yā imma marēk amake*
 either sheep.1SG live.3SG either kill.2SG 1SG.BEN
klēbas, yā imma bardika ḥižrom ndžūmi.
 Klēb.M.ACC either fill.SUBJ.2SG lap.1SG stars.PRED
 Either my sheep shall live, or you shall kill Klēb for me, or else fill my lap with stars.
- (28) *yaſni bi-l-farabī: yā naſdžatī tgūm, yā bitmalli*
 that.is in.DEF.Arabic either sheep.1SG stand.3SG.F or fill.2SG
ḥižrī ndžūm, yā imma rās klēb bi-damm yḥūm
 lap.1SG star.PL or else head Klēb in-blood turn.3SG.M
That is, in Arabic: Either my sheep shall rise, or you will fill my lap with stars, or else Klēb's head shall float in blood.
- (29) *džassās qal: ama gardikaram nāſdžor insakame'.*
 Džassās said 1SG revive.SUBJ.1SG sheep.2SG NEG.can.1SG.NEG
 Džassās said: I cannot revive your sheep.
- (30) *ila yēr xuya lamma gardikaris aburke.*
 but without God when revive.3SG.3SG 2SG.BEN
 Only God can revive her for you.

- (31) *ū bardikaram hižror ndžūmi qal hāda ndžūm hāda*
 and fill.SUBJ.1SG lap.2SG stars.PRED said that star.PL that
şafb falayy,
 difficult on.1SG
 And to fill your lap with stars, he said, *these stars that's difficult for me.*
- (32) *amma-n iza biddek rās klēb marḥabābek!*
 but if want.2SG.F head Klēb welcome.in.2SG.F
But if you want Klēb's head, you are welcome to it!
- (33) *dīsak min dīsanki şār klēb ū dżassās*
 day.INDEF from day.PL.ABL began.3SG.M Klēb and Dżassās
kelandi hayta goryanta, şābiqhondi.
 ride.3PL this.DAT horse.PL.DAT compete.3PL
 One day Klēb and Dżassās went out to ride/horses, they had a race.
- (34) *goryos klēbaski şbuqhori goryos hayki, ka/*
 horse.3SG Klēb.M.ABL precede.3SG horse.3SG this.ABL
dżassāsaski.
 Dżassās.M.ABL
 Klēb's horse arrives before/Dżassās's horse.
- (35) *dżassās şardeya romḥi axar şabāyiski ū*
 Dżassās hide.3SG.IMP lance.PRED beneath gown.3SG.ABL and
uhu agrisi aha klēb, fēmēs rumuḥma,
 DEM.M in.front.3SG.PRED DEM.M Klēb hit.PRED.3SG lance.LOC
ila piştismēk,
 but back.3SG.LOC.PRED
 Dżassās was hiding a lance beneath his gown, and just as the other one
 stood in front of him, [this] Klēb, striking him with the lance, directly
 in his back,
- (36) *kibra.*
 fell.3SG.M
 He collapsed.
- (37) *şār parari min nhīriski aha klēb qabil*
 began.3SG.M take.3SG from blood.3SG.ABL DEM.M Klēb before
mā marşar.
 COMP die.SUBJ.3SG
 Klēb started to take from his own blood, before he died.

- (38) ū ktibkari džamfatiske ahāliske, ehe
 and write.3SG community.3SG.BEN people.3SG.BEN DEM.PL
 banī qēs, inni džassās yudurkedosim ū mardosim.
 Banī Qēs COMP Džassās betrayed.3SG.1SG and killed.3SG.1SG
 And [in it] he wrote to his community of people, [these] Banī Qēs,
 [saying] that Džassās betrayed me and killed me.
- (39) ū ‘ūfa sāmiḥkarassanni, ū maras qabilos ehe
 and beware forgive.2PL.3PL and kill.SUBJ2PL tribe.3SG DEM.PL
 banī murra.
 Banī Murra
 And beware not to forgive them, and kill his tribe, [those] Banī
 Murra.
- (40) ēre ahalos klēbaski,
 came.3PL people.3SG Klēb.M.ABL
 Klēb’s people arrived,
- (41) lakede klēbas, rumuḥpištismēk ū pandži
 saw.3PL Klēb.M.ACC lance back.3SG.LOC.PRED and 3SG
 nazaḥkari.
 die.3SG
 They found Klēb, a lance in his back, and he is dying.
- (42) ū ktibkadēk balaṭēṭa inni džassās mardosim.
 and wrote.PRED floor.M.DAT COMP Džassās killed.3SG.1SG
 And he had written on the floorstones that Džassās killed me.
- (43) gara dfinkeda klēbas ū ehra ḥarb
 went.3SG.M burried.3SG.M Klēb.M.ACC and became.3SG war
 bēn banī qēs ū bēn banī murra.
 between Banī Qēs and between Banī Murra
 They went and burried Klēb, and war broke out between Banī Qēs
 and Banī Murra.
- (44) *sabfa snīn ḥarb* bēnatisanni, *sabfa snīn* manda fēyiš
 seven years war between.3PL.PRED seven years stayed.3SG.M war
 bēnatisan.
 between.3PL
Seven years there was *war* between them, *seven years* the war continued
 between them.

- (45) *bi-l-'āxir* putros klēbaski nāmosi džalu,
 at.DEF.end son.3SG Klēb.M.ABL name.3SG.PRED Džalu
 ū sālem ez-zīr aha bāros klēbaski.
 and Salem ez-Zir DEM.M brother.3SG Klēb.M.ABL
In the end, Klēb's son, his name was Džalu, and Salem ez-Zir was the
 brother of Klēb.
- (46) gara mīnda ka/ džassāsas ū mardedis.
 went.3SG.M grabbed.3SG.M Džassās.M.ACC and killed.3PL.3SG
 They went and caught Džassās and they killed him.
- (47) džamaštēs džassāsaski ehe banī murra, 'umurkeda
 people.3SG Džassās.M.ABL DEM.PL Banī Murra ordered.3SG.M
 atnīs aha sālem ez-zīr, xal:
 on.3SG DEM.M Salem ez-Zir said
 As for Džassās's people, [these] Banī Murra, [this] Salem ez-Zir
 decreed, he said:
- (48) itme mamnūfi hōšas hindar.
 2PL forbidden.PRED be.SUBJ.2PL here
 You are not allowed to remain here.
- (49) lāzem džas xalāmma hōšas.
 must go.SUBJ.2PL wilderness.PL.LOC be.SUBJ.2PL
 You must go and live in the wilderness.
- (50) lāzem lamma itme rawasi rawas *bi-fizz iš-šōb*,
 must when 2PL travel.2PL travel.SUBJ.2PL in.strength DEF.heat
w-id-dinya agi
 and.DEF.weather fire.PRED
 When you travel, you must travel *in the hottest time, when the weather*
 is fire-hot.
- (51) ū mamnūfi itme qolas goryanta.
 and forbidden.PRED 2PL ride.SUBJ.2PL horse.PL.DAT
 And you may not ride horses.
- (52) lāzem itme qolas bass ehe qaran.
 must 2PL ride.SUBJ.2PL only DEM.PL donkey.PL.ACC
 You must only ride [these] donkeys.

- (53) mamnūfi arbaḥ-xamse buyūt skunnhōšas maḥ baṣḍ.
 forbidden.PRED four-five houses live.SUBJ.2PL together
 You are not allowed to live together, *four-five households*.
- (54) lāzem tkūnū itme mišāṭṭaṭhresi
 must be.SUBJ.2PL disperseded.COP.2PL
 You must remain dispersed.
- (55) ū itme lāzem maṣīroran hōšas inni bass yaṇnikaras
 and 2PL must destiny.2PL be.SUBJ.2PL COMP only sing.SUBJ.2PL
 ū našīšas.
 and dance.SUBJ.2PL
 And your destiny is that you shall only sing and dance.
- (56) ahak ṣīšatoran itme
 DEM.M.PRED life.2PL 2PL
 This is to be your life.
- (57) ehe dōme itšaṭṭire ū krēn gare tirde?
 DEM.PL Dom.PL dispersed.3PL and where went.3PL settled.3PL
fi šamāl l-hind.
 in north DEF.India
 These Doms dispersed and where did they go and settle? *In northern India.*
- (58) min uhu waxtaski, mande *fi šamāl l-hind.*
 from DEM.M time.M.ABL stayed.3PL in north DEF.India
 From that time on, they remained *in northern India.*
- (59) ṭfallimre l-luya l-hindiyye,
 learned.3PL DEF.language DEF.Indian
 They learned *the Indian language.*
- (60) ila qisem/ qismak minšisan lamma zhurahra ṣallah
 but part part.INDEF from.3PL when appeared.3SG.M Salah
 ed-dīn 'ayyūbī ū ēre *ṣala l-ṣirāq* ū *ṣala š-šām*,
 ed-Din Ayyubi and came.3PL to DEF.Iraq and to DEF.Syria
 But part/one part of them, when Saladin Ayyubi appeared and came
 to *Iraq and to Syria,*

- (61) ū ēre šalafalaštīn ū šārū zaraškandi ū hāda,
and came.3PL to Palestine and started.3PL farm.3PL and that
And they came to Palestine and started to engage in farming and so on,
- (62) ū mande hindar dōme.
and stayed.3PL here Dom.PL
And the Doms have remained here ever since.

Legend 2

- (1) ašlos dōmankī min eh/ qabīlet idž-džassās ū klēb.
origin.3SG Dom.PL.ABL from tribe DEF.Džassās and Klēb
The origin of the Doms is from/the tribe of Džassās and Klēb.
- (2) lamma džassās yudurkeda klēbas ū marda
when Džassās betrayed.3SG.M Klēb.M.ACC and killed.3SG.M
klēbas,
Klēb.M.ACC
When Džassās betrayed Klēb and killed Klēb,
- (3) putros džassāsaski/ putros hayki/ klēbaski ēra
son.3SG Džassās.M.ABL son.3SG this.ABL Klēb.M.ABL came.3SG.M
marda džassāsas.
killed.3SG.M Džassās.M.ACC
The son of Džassās/the son of this/of Klēb came and killed Džassās.
- (4) džassās kân aha tillos banī murra.
Džassās was.3SG DEM.M big.3SG Banī Murra
Džassās was the leader of Banī Murra.
- (5) banī-murra illi hāy/ ehe dōme yaṯnī
Banī Murra REL this DEM.PL Dom.PL that.is
Banī Murra which is the/those are the Doms.
- (6) banī murra yaṯnī bi-l'āxer laqabosan yaṯnī dōmahre.
Banī Murra that.is in.DEF.end name.3PL that.is Dom.became.3PL
Banī Murra, that is, in the end they were called, that is, they became
the Doms.

- (7) putros klēbaski gara marda džassāsas ū
 son.3SG Klēb.M.ABL went.3SG.M killed.3SG.M Džassās.M.ACC and
 ūmurkeda ūšīrista džassāsaski inni
 ordered.3SG.M clan.3SG.DAT Džassās.M.ABL COMP
 mamnūfi qilšad goryanta.
 forbidden.PRED ride.SUBJ.3PL horse.PL.DAT
 The son of Klēb went and killed Džassās and ordered that Džassās's
 clan should not be allowed to ride horses.
- (8) ū da'iman xallihum barāriyamma, skunnhōšad
 and always leave.3PL wilderness.PL.LOC live.SUBJ.3PL
 barariyamma.
 wilderness.PL.LOC
 And [that] they should always stay in the wilderness, live in the
 wilderness.
- (9) ū ūšatosan hōšad na/ našiš.
 and life.3PL be.SUBJ.3PL dance
 And [as for] their way of life, they should be/[it should consist of]
 dancing.
- (10) yannīkad ū našišad ū-hāda yašnī.
 sing.SUBJ.3PL and dance.SUBJ.3PL and.that that.is
 They should sing and dance and so on.
- (11) ū gare skunnahre fī šamāl l-hind.
 and went.3PL lived.3PL in north DEF.India
 And they went to live in northern India.
- (12) ašti ēkaki maliki fī īrān nāmos bahrām gūr.
 is one.M.PRED king.PRED in Iran name.3SG Bahram Gur
 There was a king in Iran, his name was Bahram Gur.
- (13) snari dōmaṇṭa.
 hear.3SG Dom.PL.DAT
 He heard about the Doms.
- (14) pandži ḥibbra biddō lākar dōman
 3SG wished.3SG.M want.3SG.M see.SUBJ.3SG Dom.PL.ACC
 yašnī kīk e/ ūšatos dōmanki.
 that.is how life.3SG Dom.PL.ABL
 He wanted to see the Doms, that is, how/the Doms' life [was like].

- (15) ktibkeda kitābak la ḥākmaske *tabaʃ šamāl l-hind.*
wrote.3SG.M letter.INDEF to governor.M.BEN of north DEF.India
He wrote a letter to the governor of *northern India*.
- (16) mangida mišīs inni nēr abuske min‘akam
asked.3SG.M from.3SG COMP send.SUBJ.3SG to.3SG several
fēlan min dōmanki.
family.PL.ACC from Dom.PL.ABL
He asked him to send him several Dom families.
- (17) ḥākmos *šamāl l-hind* nērda ḥawālī arbaʃ mīt
governor.3SG north DEF.India sent.3SG.M around four hundred
fēle min dōmankī,
family from Dom.PL.ABL
The governor of *northern India* sent some four hundred Dom families.
- (18) tirdosan ehe marākamma ū gare šala īrān.
put.3SG.3PL DEM.PL boats.PL.LOC and went.3PL to Iran
He put them on [those] boats and they went to Iran.
- (19) malakos aha īrān gara istaqbillosan,
king.3SG DEM.M Iran went.3SG.M welcomed.3SG.3PL
The King of Iran went and welcomed them.
- (20) ū ʔosan bītak, ū ʔa la kull kuri
and gave.3SG.3PL land.INDEF and gave.3SG.M to every house
goryak, qameḥ, ū bakarak.
horse.INDEF flour and sheep.INDEF
And he gave them land, and he gave every family a horse, some flour,
and a sheep.
- (21) ‘assās innhom džad kara/ yaʃnī hōšad zayy
so that go.SUBJ.3PL do that.is be.SUBJ.3PL like
muzāriʃīne, zirāʃkarad, ḥṣudkarad hāda
farmers.PL sow.SUBJ.3PL harvest.SUBJ.3PL that
In order that they go and do/that is/become like farmers, sow and
harvest and so on.

- (22) yēbra atnīsan džumfa ēra mitxaffik
 stayed.away.3SG.M ON.3PL week came.3SG.M disguised.PRED
 malikos irānaki bahrām gūr.
 king.3SG Iran.F.ABL Bahram Gur
 He was absent for a week, and he came disguised, the King of Iran,
 Bahram Gur.
- (23) ēra lakeda kull kuri eh/ aha ʕazifōsēk
 came.3SG.M. saw.3SG.M every house DEM.M play.3SG.PRED
 ehe ʕananiyankī ū rabbābēk ū hāda ū ehe
 DEM.PL song.PL.ABL and play.rabbab.PRED and that and DEM.PL
 našyandi ū hāda.
 dance.3PL and that
 He came and saw every family eh/this one is playing [those] songs and
 playing the rabbab and so on and the others are dancing and so on.
- (24) qal ya masaxxame kiyyik/ kiyyik aha li kardesis?
 said oh poor.PL what.PRED what.PRED DEM.M REL did.2PL.3SG
 He said: oh you poor things, what is it that you've done?
- (25) ama tōmran innī eh/ gēsu, kiyāsis gēsuki ū/ ū eh/
 1SG gave.1SG.2PL COMP wheat sacks.3SG wheat.ABL and and
 ū gōrwankī ʕa'assās innī zirāʕkaras ū ḥṣudkaras
 and bulls.ABL on.basis COMP SOW.SUBJ.2PL and harvest.SUBJ.2PL
 ū kate-ta?
 where.PART
 I gave you/so that eh/wheat, sacks of wheat and/and eh/and bulls so
 that you should sow and harvest, and where is it all?
- (26) kate gōrwe, kate gēsu ū illī tōmis abranke?
 where bull.PL where wheat and REL gave.1SG.3SG to.2PL
 Where are the bulls, where is the wheat and all that I have given you?
- (27) qal: yā sīdna iḥna bitlaʕiṣ fi-ʕidnā zirāʕ/
 said oh lord.1PL 1PL emerge.NEG in.hand.1PL farming
 zirāʕkaran wala illi sanaʕōman da'iman raqs ū
 farm.SUBJ.1PL however REL trade.1PL always dance and
 ʕanāk
 song.PRED
 They said: *oh lord, we are not able to farm/to farm*, our only trade is
 always dancing and singing.

- (28) malik zŕilahra minšŕisan ũ pišnawidōsan
king anger.3SG.M from.3PL and expelled.3SG.3PL
The king became angry with them and he expelled them.
- (29) gare ehe dōme skunnahre knēn? fī el-mōsel, illī
went.3PL DEM.PL Dom.PL lived.3PL where in DEF.Mosul REL
fīl-ŕirāq hādī.
in.DEF.Iraq DEM.F
Those Doms went and where did they settle? *In Mosul, the one that is in Iraq.*
- (30) lamma zhurahra šalah ed-dīn l-ayyūbī,
when appeared.3SG.M Salah ed-Din l-Ayyubi
When Saladin el-Ayyubi appeared,
- (31) ũ parda giš dēyan,
and took.3SG.M all town.PL.ACC
And conquered all the towns,
- (32) ũ wšil ŕa-l-ŕirāq, ũ l-mōsil, ũ
and arrived.3SG.M to DEF.Iraq and DEF.Mosul and
iḥtallahra l-mōsil wi-l-ŕirāq ũ hāda,
conquered.3SG.M DEF.Mosul and.DEF.Iraq and that
And he arrived in Iraq, and in Mosul, and he conquered Mosul and Iraq and so on.
- (33) parda min'akam ŕēla min dōmankī yusare
took.3SG.M several family from Dom.PL.ABL prisoners.PL
He took several Dom families prisoner.
- (34) ũ zhifre ŕala sūrīyya ũ lubnān ũ falastīn ũ hāda.
and escaped.3PL to Syria and Lebanon and Palestine and that
And they escaped to Syria and Lebanon and Palestine and so on.
- (35) ehe dōme illi pardosan yusare istawṭunahre
DEM.PL Dom.PL REL took.3SG.3PL prisoners.PL settled.3PL
hīndar hayma fī falastīn
here this.LOC in Palestine
Those Doms whom he took prisoner settled here in this/in Palestine.

- (36) 'iši skunnahre hayma fī šammān ū fī sūrīyya ū fī
 something lived.3PL this.LOC in Amman and in Syria and in
 lubnān ū hāda ū 'iši bi yazzē ū hāda twaṭṭanahre
 Lebanon and this and something in Gaza and that settled.3PL
 hindar.
 here
 Some [went to] live in/in Amman and in Syria and in Lebanon and so
 on and some in Gaza and so on, they settled here.
- (37) yaḥnī min ayyām ṣalaḥ id-dīn dōme twādžidre dēyamma
 that.is from days Salah ed-Din Dom.PL existed.3PL town.PL.LOC
 hindar.
 here
 That is, *since the days of Saladin* the Doms have lived here in these
 towns.

Notes

1. An overview of the literature is attempted in Kenrick (1975–79), though the title 'Romanies' is somewhat misleading there.
2. The first was transcribed and analysed by Jane Nicholson (Austin), the other recorded by Marielle Danbakli (Paris).
3. For Romani legends see for example Pickett and Agogino (1960), and see discussion in Casimir (1987: 378–80).
4. An Israeli anthropologist, who had befriended the Mukhtar during the early 1970s, claimed to have introduced the Mukhtar to the story of Bahrām Gūr (Yigal Tamir, personal communication, 1998).
5. There is of course a gap of several centuries between the Islamic conquests to which De Goeje (1903) refers, and which took place between the seventh and ninth centuries AD, and the Saladin campaigns in the twelfth century.
6. The repair appears to neutralise case marking, and the form should normally be *widya* 'old.lady.F.ACC'.
7. Note the absence of Layer I marking here, as in other inanimate Arabic loans.
8. This is a mix-up, and the speaker actually means Džassās.

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