ENCYCLOPEDIA OF LANGUAGE AND LINGUISTICS SECOND EDITION
CONTRIBUTORS' INSTRUCTIONS

PROOFREADING

The text content for your contribution is in final form when you receive proofs. Read proofs for accuracy and clarity, as well as for typographical errors, but please DO NOT REWRITE.

At the end of your article you will find a page which will contain several non-print items: abstract, author biographies and photographs, captions for any multimedia components, keywords (for indexing purposes), and the full contact details of each author. Full addresses are used to keep our records up-to-date (they will not appear in the published work) – for the lead author, this is the address that the honorarium will be sent. Please ensure that all of these items are checked thoroughly.

Titles and headings should be checked carefully for spelling and capitalization. Please be sure that the correct typeface and size have been used to indicate the proper level of heading. Review numbered items for proper order – e.g., tables, figures, footnotes, and lists. Proofread the captions and credit lines of illustrations and tables. Ensure that any material requiring permissions has the required credit line.

Any copy-editor questions are presented in an accompanying Manuscript Query list at the end of the proofs. Please address these questions as necessary. While it is appreciated that some articles will require updating/revising, please try to keep any alterations to a minimum. Excessive alterations may be charged to the contributors.

Note that these proofs may not resemble the image quality of the final printed version of the work, and are for content checking only. Artwork will have been redrawn/relabelled as necessary, and is represented at the final size.

PLEASE KEEP A COPY OF ANY CORRECTIONS YOU MAKE.

DESPATCH OF CORRECTIONS

Proof corrections should be returned in one communication to your academic editor KEITH BROWN by using one of the following methods:

1. If corrections are minor they should be listed in an e-mail to ekb1002@cam.ac.uk A copy should also be sent to: lali_proofs@elsevier.com. The e-mail should state the article code number in the subject line. Corrections should be consecutively numbered and should state the paragraph number, line number within that paragraph, and the correction.

2. If corrections are substantial, send the amended hardcopy by courier to KEITH BROWN, 7 Bulstrode Gardens, Cambridge CB3 0EN, UK, with a copy by fax to the Elsevier MRW Production Department (fax number: +44 (0)1865 843974). If it is not possible to courier your corrections, fax the relevant marked pages to the Elsevier MRW Production Department with a covering note clearly stating the article code number and title.

Note that a delay in the return of proofs could mean a delay in publication. Should we not receive corrected proofs within 7 days, the editors and Elsevier will proceed without your corrections.

CHECKLIST

Manuscript queries addressed/answered?   ❑

Affiliations, names and addresses checked and verified?   ❑

'Further Reading' section checked and completed?   ❑

Permissions details checked and completed?   ❑

Outstanding permissions letters attached/enclosed?   ❑

Figures and tables checked?   ❑

If you have any questions regarding these proofs please contact the Elsevier MRW Production Department at: lali_proofs@elsevier.com .

a0005
Domari

Y Matras, University of Manchester, Manchester, UK

s0005
Definitions

p0005
Domari is the language of populations that were traditionally commercial nomads (metalworkers and entertainers) throughout the Middle East and neighboring regions. Fragmented documentation exists from Azerbaijan in the north, through to Sudan in the south. There are still Domari-speaking communities in Lebanon, Syria, and Jordan; the number of speakers is unknown. The only well-documented variety is that of Jerusalem, now spoken by only up to 100 elderly people. They refer to their language as Dōmari or Dōmi. Names in other regions include Domani and Qurbati.

s0010
History

p0010
Like Romani, Domari shares a number of ancient isoglosses with the Central branch of Indo-Aryan, most notably the realization of Old Indo-Aryan *ṛ* as *u* or *i* (Sanskrit *śṛṇ-*, Domari *sun-/sin-* 'to hear') and of *kṣ-* as *k(h)* (Sanskrit *akṣi*, Domari *aki* 'eye'). It also preserves a number of clusters that have been lost in the other Central languages (Sanskrit *drākṣa*, Domari *drak* 'grape'; Sanskrit *oṣṭha*, Domari *ošt* 'lip'; Sanskrit *hasta*, Domari *xast* 'hand'). It appears therefore that Domari, like Romani, emerged as one of the Central Indic languages, but migrated prior to the loss of these clusters to the northwest, where the clusters were generally retained. Both Romani and Domari also share the pattern of renewal of the past-tense conjugation (through affixation of oblique enclitic pronouns to the past participle) with northwestern Indian frontier languages such as Kashmiri and Shina. The morphology of the two languages is similar in other respects: Both retain the old present conjugation in the verb (Domari *kar-ami* 'I do'), and consonantal endings of the oblique nominal case (Domari *mans-as* 'man.OBL', *mans-an* 'men.OBL'), and both show agglutination of secondary (Layer II) case endings (Domari *mans-as-ka* 'for the man').

p0015
It had therefore been assumed that Romani and Domari derived from the same ancestor idiom, and split only after leaving the Indian subcontinent. However, some isoglosses separating the two languages in phonology, morphology, and lexicon appear to be rather old, and point instead to a similar phenomenon of gradual northward and westward migrations, perhaps even to convergent development, rather than to a shared origin. Typical phonological developments that characterize Domari are loss of aspiration in *bh*, *dh*, *gh* to *b*, *d*, *g*; shift of medial *d*, *t* to *r*, of initial *v* to *w*, and of the retroflexes *ḍ*, *ṭ*, *ḍḍ*, *ṭṭ*, *ḍh*, etc., to *r*, *t*, and *d*.

s0015
The sound system

p0020
There is much volatility and variation in the Domari sound system. Consonants include the stops *b*, *d*, and *g*, and *p*, *t*, *k*, *q*, and *ʔ*, the fricatives *f*, *x*, *χ*, *ɣ*, and *h*, liquids *r* and *l* (and, marginally, a velarized *ł*), the glides *y* and *w* (alternating with *v*), and the sibilants *s*, *z*, and *š*. The affricates *dž* and *tč* alternate with their sibilant counterparts *ž* and *š*. Pharyngealization of the dentals *d*, *t*, *s*, and *z* enters the language in Arabic loans, but is often imported into the pre-Arabic (Indic) lexicon as well (e.g. /waːtˤ/ 'stone'). The pharyngeals *ħ* and *ʕ* appear only in Arabic loans. Consonant gemination is distinctive.

p0025
Domari vowel phonemes are *a*, *e*, *i*, *o*, *ɔ*, and *u*, each showing a number of allophonic variants. Vowel length is generally distinctive, though the duration of a vowel in a given word may vary considerably. Stress normally falls on the final inflectional segment of the word. Unstressed affixes are agglutinative (Layer II) case endings, external tense markers, and enclitic object pronouns.

s0020
Morphology

s0025
Nominal forms

p0030
The principal inflectional alternation in the noun is between two "basic" or Layer I cases, nominative and oblique. Vocalic stems in the inherited (Indic) lexical component have the nominative endings *-a* (masculine) and *-i* (feminine). The most common oblique endings in the singular are *-as-* (*-s-* with vocalic stems) for masculines and *-ya-* (*-ē-* with vocalic stems) for feminines. Some consonantal stems, especially Arabic loans, take *-ī-* or *-ē-*. The oblique plural ending is generally *-(y)an-*. The oblique stem serves as the case of the direct object, and as the base for further (Layer II) agglutinative case formation, with the endings *-ta* (dative), *-ma* (locative), *-ka* (directive and benefactive), *-ki* (ablative and prepositional), and *-san(ni)* (instrumental and comitative).

p0035
Demonstratives and adjectives in attributive position agree with the head noun in gender, number, and case. Enclitic pronouns are used with nouns as possessive endings. They encode case and number (*putr-o-m* 'my son', *putr-i-m-ka* 'for my son', *putr-e-m* 'my sons'), as well as person (*putr-o-man* 'our son'). These enclitic pronouns also serve as object-concord

markers with verbs, and as subject-concord markers with past-tense (perfective) verbs (*laked-om-ir* 'I saw you', *laked-or-im* 'you saw me'). The genitive-possessive construction marks the head with a possessive affix and the dependent in the ablative/prepositional case (*kury-os mans-as-ki* house-3SG man-OBL-ABL 'the man's house').

Verbs

Domari retains the Old Indo-Aryan intransitive (passive) derivation marker *-y-* (*ban-ari* 'shuts', *ban-y-ari* 'is being shut'). The transitive/causative marker *-naw-* is also productive (*q-ari* 'eats', *q-naw-ari* 'feeds'). The verb root with derivational augmentation constitutes the present or nonperfective stem. The perfective stem is formed by means of a perfective extension marker (*ban-ami* 'I close', *ban-d-om* 'I closed'). Arabic verb roots are integrated by means of the 'carrier' verbs *-k(ar)-* (transitive, from 'to do'), and *-h(r)-* (intransitive, from 'to become').

There are two sets of person markers. The present stem conjugation is (mostly) a direct continuation of the Old Indo-Aryan set of person markers (1SG *-m-*, 2SG *-k-*, 3SG *-r-*, 1PL *-n-*, 2PL *-s-*, 3PL *-n(d)-*). The perfective set derives partly from possessive markers in the singular, and from a combination of sources in the plural (1SG *-m-*, 2SG *-r-*, 3SG *-s-* [or M *-a*, F *-i*], 1PL *-n-*, 2PL *-s-*, 3PL *-e-*). The 3SG distinguishes between plain subjects, which show gender agreement (*kard-a* 'he did', *kard-i* 'she did'), and agentive subjects (*kard-os-is* 'he/she did it').

Tenses draw on the two stems, present and perfective, and the affixes *-i-* (progressive) and *-a-* (remote), which are external to the person affixes. The present stem followed by *-i-* constitutes the present/ future tense (*laha-m-r-i* 'I see you'); followed by *-a-* it indicates the imperfect/habitual (*laha-m-r-a* 'I used to see you/was seeing you'). The perfective stem forms the basis for the simple past (*lake-d-om-ir* 'I saw you'), the perfect (*lake-d-om-r-i* 'I have seen you'), and the pluperfect/counterfactual (*lake-d-om-r-a* 'I had seen you/would have seen you').

The copula is enclitic. In the third person, predicate nouns and adjectives take a predicative suffix (M *-ēk*, F *-ik*, PL *-ēni*). Most of the modal verbs are borrowed from Arabic, and carry Arabic person and tense inflection.

Syntax

Domari shows syntactic convergence with Arabic. Word order is OV-based and flexible, and clauses are finite. All conjunctions and particles and most adverbs and numerals are borrowed from Arabic, as are most of the prepositions. While demonstratives precede the noun, there is a tendency to use adjectives mainly in predicative constructions, which agrees with the Arabic word order noun-adjective.

See also: Arabic (02081); Indo-Aryan Languages (02221); Romani (04471).

Bibliography

Macalister R A S (1914). *The language of the Nawar or Zutt, the nomad smiths of Palestine.* Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

Matras Y (1999). 'The state of present-day Domari in Jerusalem.' *Mediterranean Language Review 11,* 1–58.

Matras Y (2002). *Romani: a linguistic introduction.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Non-Print Items

Abstract:

Domari is an endangered, archaic Indo-Aryan language spoken in the Middle East by populations who refer to themselves as Dom or Qurbati, and are usually called by the Arabs Nawar. It is part of the phenomenon of Indo-Aryan diaspora languages spoken by peripatetic groups (so-called 'Gypsies').

Biography:

Yaron Matras (M.A., Ph.D., Hamburg) is Professor of Linguistics at the University of Manchester, UK. He studied linguistics, German, and Arabic in Jerusalem (Israel), Tübingen (Germany), and Hamburg (Germany). His areas of research specialism include contact linguistics, dialectology, functional typology, and pragmatics. He participated in the Eurotyp project in the early 1990s, and has led research projects on Romani typology and dialectology, on mixed languages, and on convergence and linguistic areas, and is one of the coordinators of the RomLex project (an online Romani lexicon). He has published extensively on Romani, including the monograph *Romani: a linguistic introduction* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002),and a series of edited and coedited volumes on the language. He has also published on Kurdish linguistics (and is coeditor, with Geoffrey Haig, of a collection on Kurdish linguistics, a special issue of *Sprachtypologie und Universalienforschung 55*, 2002), German dialects (coauthor, with Gertrud Reershemius, of *Low German*, Munich: Lincom Europa, 2003), Domari, and Turkish. Other major publications include "Utterance modifiers and universals of grammatical borrowing" (*Linguistics 36*, 1998), "Mixed languages: a functional-communicative approach" (*Bilingualism: Language and Cognition 3*, 2000), and *The mixed language debate*, coedited with Peter Bakker (Berlin: Mouton, 2004).

Keywords: Romani, Indo-Aryan, Gypsy, Nawar, Qurbati, Domani, Domi, Dom, Arabic, Middle East, Kashmiri, Shina

Author Contact Information:

Yaron Matras
Department of Linguistics
University of Manchester
Manchester M13 9PL
UK
y.matras@man.ac.uk