The Dom language of Aleppo: A preliminary sketch

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1. Preface

The Dom language has been described variably as the language of Middle Eastern Gypsies, the language of groups known by the external appellations Nawar or Gajar, Qurbat or Mitrip, and in recent research by the name Domari. While that name has been attested in the community of speakers in Jerusalem (Matras 2012) it is not used by the community of Dom in Aleppo, who refer to their language as the 'Dom speech' (ḍomà jib) or just ḍom. The suffix -ari appears to represent a derivation from the inflected similative form ḍomvaar 'in the manner of the Dom', resembling the formation of romanes 'in the manner of the Rom', the self-appellation of the related language of the Rom (Roma), usually referred to in research literature in English as 'Romani' based on the adjectival formation romani čhib 'Romani language'.

      Fragmented documentation of the Dom language goes back to the early nineteenth century. Spanning a period of over a century, there are attestations of lexicon and phrases from Azerbaijan in the north to Sudan in the south. We can therefore assume a historical spread of

the language across this entire sphere (cf. Pott 1846, Kruse 1854, Newbold 1856, Paspati 1870; for further references see Matras 2012). Dom lexicon has also entered the special vocabularies of other populations specialising in itinerant trades, as is widely attested for example in Iran as well as in Egypt and other countries. The first comprehensive sketch of Dom grammar and vocabulary was Macalister's (1914) monograph devoted to the Jerusalem dialect. This was followed by work by Matras (1999, 2000, 2003, 2007a, 2007b, 2011, 2012, 2019) on what appeared to be the same dialect in Jerusalem several generations later. Matras carried out his fieldwork among a group of around forty mainly elderly speakers residing in Jerusalem. In the meantime, and at the time of writing, the language of the Palestinian Dom including those of Jerusalem has become moribund if not practically extinct, with knowledge of the inflected language preserved by just a handful of speakers, perhaps only two or three, who have little contact amongst themselves.

In 2009 Yaron Matras met with Bruno Herin, a specialist in Arabic dialects, and encouraged him to try to document the Dom language of northern Syria. He equipped him with methodological aids, in particular the comprehensive elicitation questionnaire developed for Romani dialects by Yaron Matras and Viktor Elšík in 2001 (Romani Dialectological Questionnaire 2001). Herin's brief fieldwork expedition in Aleppo resulted in a short grammatical sketch which relied in part on the questionnaire (Herin 2012, 2014) though it did not exhaust this tool's full descriptive potential. The resulting articles draw heavily on the structure of Matras's (1999) overview of the Jerusalem Domari dialect while noting a number of differences in various areas of structure, such as the erosion of case declensions in the Dom speech of Aleppo and some differences in function word paradigms.

Our aim in this contribution is to expand the documentation of the Dom language of Aleppo by drawing on the full potential of the Romani Dialectological Questionnaire to represent the speech of co-author Kamal Kelzi, a speaker of the language who spent his early years in Aleppo. This work is part of our ongoing, wider project to document the language of the Dom of Aleppo who are now scattered in various diaspora communities (Matras & Kelzi, forthcoming). Below we present data from the questionnaire, along with translations. In this first edition of the preliminary sketch, we have chosen not to include morphological glosses. Morphological parsing should be fairly straightforward for those with an interest in the language who have studied other works on it, and to those who have familiarity with Romani and perhaps also with other Indo-Iranian languages. We also append a list of grammatical affixes as guidance. We hope that the discussion contained in the various sections of this manuscript will facilitate answers to any questions relating to the order and function of morphemes.

2. The Dom of Aleppo

The Dom population of Aleppo emerged gradually through immigration in late Ottoman times. Family clans moved into the city from the surrounding regions in what today constitutes northern Syria and southeastern Turkey. Until several decades ago, most were itinerant, tent-dwelling dentists, traders, practitioners of folk medicine, and manufacturers of medications and remedies, jewellery, sieves, knives, and other tools. Most maintained trans-local networks of trade and family relations, travelling as far as Iran to procure goods for sale. Their typical domain of mobility and residence was the area between Kilis in southeastern Turkey and Deir ez-Zor in northeastern Syria

The Dom of Aleppo are divided into clans and patrilineal sub-clans. The Qaadirlariin constitute one of the larger clans with many sub-clans such as the Kilziiyiin, Miškoyiin, Maḥmadiin, Sammaaḥiin, Qariiboyiin, Ꜥiččeenyiin. Other large Dom clans include the

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Malḥamiin, Naaṣirlariin, Birjolyiin, Qumjiin. Their names often refer to the clan founders' first names or place of origin, e.g. Kilsà Ḍomiin 'the dom from Kilis in southeastern turkey'. Some attest to past specialisation in particular professions: Qumjiin 'goldsmiths', Ḍolčiin 'drum makers'. Others capture traits commonly associated with prominent clan members: Qaadirlariin 'the strong ones', Dastà Ḍom for those who were nomadic until recent times (from Persian dašt 'plain'). While individuals are aware of their clan identities, marriage across clans was in the past and remains common. The original Dom of Aleppo are referred to as the Ḥalabà Ḍom. They are distinguished from the Qiblaavii, the appellation given to the Dom of the coastal regions of Syria but also of other areas in Syria extending from Saraqib to Homs and as far as Damascus.

Dom group identity and relations with outside communities is partly reflected in the internal appellations used for other groups. Kurds are referred to in the language of the Aleppo Dom as prà while Turks are called tuknà or tiknà. Urban Arabs are referred to as ṭaaṭ while Bedouins are called qlaarà. Christians are kuttuur while non-Dom populations who also engage or used to engage in itinerant socio-economic practices and lifestyles are called pardom. A dummy word laamingà can be used for all non-Dom bystanders and is often used to denote police forces, alongside the words gordlariin and qilloriin. The word greevaarà 'headman' is a Sorani Kurdish loan, from gawra 'big'. It is also paraphrased as drongà 'the big one'. We return to the significance of these various appellations and terms to the historical reconstruction of Proto-Domari in the Conclusion.

In the early 1940s the Dom community began to abandon their tent settlements and move into permanent dwelling. They purchased properties in different parts of the city, particularly in Alashrafiyeh, Sheikh Maqsoud, Hillok, Ba'aiedin, Bustan Al-basha, Al-Heydarieh, Masaken Hanano, Sakhor, Sheikh Saeed, Bab An-Nayrab, and Jabal Badro settling alongside the other ethnic groups including Kurds, Turkmens, Bedouins, as well as Aleppo Arabs. After settling in permanent dwellings, in the 1950s, many Aleppo Dom took up the trade in silver between Iraq and Syria. This period is referred to in the local Dom language as orpikii 'towards the silver'. Others traded along the route to Iran carrying fabrics to sell there and importing leather, pistachios, and herbs back to Syria.

Dentistry was the traditional specialisation of the Dom of Aleppo, alongside traditional medicine, artisanry (tool making) and trade. It is believed that traditional dentistry was introduced in Aleppo between 1920 and 1940 by two men named Ahmad-Ido and Abide who combined specialisations in folk medicine with artisanry. Dentistry then spread widely amongst the Dom populations across the Levant, from Aleppo to southern parts of Turkey and northern parts of Jordan. It was initially practised by both men and women while travelling through villages and cities in Syria. However, once new skills were acquired based on the study of some techniques from established dental technicians in laboratories, only men continued the profession. They travelled widely, practising traditional dentistry in Iraq, Lebanon, the Gulf states, and Iran, and later also in West and North Africa and in Europe, staying for a few months and then returning to Syria with their earnings.

As dentistry became more and more widespread, other trades such as artisanry and folk medicine declined. Manufacturing of sieves and other leather goods, jewellery and knives gave way to manual production of gold, silver and platinum teeth, until mass production began to flood the markets and demand for the Doms' skills gradually declined. As both men and women continued to sell tools and artefacts to merchants at local markets, some women specialised in tattooing, producing herbal remedies and treating sick children in villages who did not have easy access to mainstream health care. After the nomadic lifestyle was abandoned, Dom children began to attend local schools, though very few continued into higher education. Boys tended to leave school after nine years to take up jobs at local shops and markets, while girls continued up to the tenth grade but then left usually to become housewives.

In the early 1990s some Dom families from Aleppo took up seasonal work in Lebanon as traders, travelling there during the summer and spring months to sell clothes and other small items which they purchased in Damascus. They kept their homes and plots of land in Syria during this period while renting land first in Beirut and then in Deer Zanun in the Al-Buqaa valley, where they used to set up tents for a couple of months before returning to their homes in Syria.

The Dom community of Aleppo is believed to have been the largest in Syria. Though official numbers are not accessible, we estimate that the Qaadirlariin clan alone comprised some 2,500 individuals, and that the overall number of Dom in the city exceeded 10,000. The community evolved based on local, durable bonds and a shared language and culture. These were at the heart of community members' sense of common destiny and shared socio-economic identity. The Dom language was used by all generations. All Dom of Aleppo were bilingual and now most are multilingual. All are proficient in Arabic which they used in daily communication with other Syrians, at school and for work. Some have some degree of proficiency in Kurdish and Turkish, while some elderly community members have some knowledge of Persian thanks to their past professional activities.

Since the civil war broke out in Syria in 2011, most if not all members of the Dom community of Aleppo left Syria. They are now scattered in Turkey, North Africa and Western Europe, mainly Belgium and France. The Dom language continues to be passed on to the younger generation. In Europe knowledge of Arabic is also still widespread even among young people, alongside that of the local languages. Some of the Dom youth in Belgium and France have picked up Moroccan Arabic from peers of Moroccan background but also retain their Syrian Arabic dialect.

3. Historical classification, contact layers and variation

The Dom language belongs to the New Indo-Aryan group of languages (for a historical overview see Matras 2012). It stands out, like Romani, another diaspora New Indo-Aryan language, through the archaic retention of the Middle Indo-Aryan present-tense person conjugation on the one hand and renewal of the past-tense conjugation modelled on processes commonly found in the so-called Dardic or Frontier languages of Northwest India. In addition, post-nominal local relations expressions become, in both languages, part of the inflectional paradigm.

The language's Indo-Aryan character is preserved and easily detectable in grammatical inflections, pronouns and a wide range of basic vocabulary items such as kinship terms (been 'sister', baar 'brother'), body parts (peeṭ 'stomach', jib 'tongue', sir 'head', akii 'eye') basic expressions of movement (jaa- 'go', aav- 'come', maan- 'stay', vees- 'sit'), nature and landscape (warsiindà 'rain', paanii 'water', ṭaṭà 'hot', diis 'day', vars 'year'), basic numerals (dii 'two', ṭrin 'three', štaar 'four'), deictic local and temporal expressions (keetaa 'where', aj 'today', xuj 'yesterday') and many more.

Contacts with Iranian languages (Persian and Kurdish) led to the replication of many basic vocabulary items including kinship terms like qur 'boy, son', paapiir 'grandfather', nature expressions like psiik 'cat', gluulik 'flower', numerals including ḥawt 'seven', ḥašt 'eight', sii 'thirty', čil 'forty', peenjà 'fifty', ḥazaar 'thousand', niim 'half', quantifiers, prepositions and other grammatical modifiers including haz 'still', har 'every', neezik 'close', heeč 'never', -šii 'too', aaree 'yes', war 'come', zà 'from', bnà 'under', vee 'without', the comparative marker -tar, the directional (versative) case marker -va, as well as many more vocabulary items like duur 'far', niimro 'afternoon', ḥaskar- 'like', vaakar- 'open' including Kurdish words of Arabic etymology like ḍaawaṭ 'wedding', ḥatta 'until', laazim 'must', and ṣibà 'morning'. There is also

a strong presence of Turkic-derived vocabulary, which may have its origins either in contact with nomadic and minority ethnic Turkic populations in western Asia or in the impact of Ottoman Turkish during Ottoman rule, or else via other contact languages. Items include lexical vocabulary such as qaašik 'spoon', qonšii 'neighbour', qaapii 'door', dangiz 'sea', ozgà 'other', zangiil 'rich', as well as discourse particles, grammatical markers, local expressions and particles such as geena 'again', dà 'too', ààn 'most', qaaršii 'opposite' and ààr- 'among, between'.

The impact of the contemporary contact language Arabic appears across all domains of structure, particularly conjunctions, adverbs and discourse expressions such as ṭabʕan 'of course', bil'aaxir 'finally', and the fillers/tags yaʕnii and wallah, faj'a 'suddenly' ʕaadatan 'usually', akiid 'surely', badaal 'instead of', bilḥaqiiqaa 'really', bas 'but', baʕdeen 'and then', bizzabiṭ 'exactly', numerous verbs such as ixtalafkar- 'differ', miḥtaajho- 'need', ṣaddiqkar- 'believe', farriqkar- 'to separate' and nouns in virtually all semantic domains.

As this description is based on the co-author's idiolect, which we recorded systematically using the questionnaire tool, we will not discuss dialect variation among the Dom clans of Aleppo, but simply note that such variation exists, and pertains to vocabulary preferences, pronunciation and in some cases the distribution of some morphological patterns. Overall, however, we can speak of a group of very closely related idioms that justify a shared classification as Aleppo Dom (henceforth AD). This variety is separated by a rather contained number of distinctive isoglosses from the Dom speech documented for Jerusalem as well as among some Dom speakers from Jordan and central Syria (see Matras 2012: 15ff.). Contrasting with these more southern varieties, AD shows use of the plural ending -iin, and of the copula -išt which is also grammaticalised as a progressive marker with lexical verbs. There is also ongoing erosion of gender agreement and consequently of nominal declension classes (see also discussion in Herin 2016). Owing to the relatively recent immigration into an Arabic speaking region, AD does not show as intense structural influence of Arabic compared to the Palestinian and Jordanian dialects (where Arabic-derived modal expressions and their inflection, prepositions, numerals and comparative adjectives prevail), while on the other hand the Kurdish and Turkish components are more extensive. Nonetheless, Arabic loans appear not just in vocabulary but also, as noted above, incipiently or even prominently in grammatical domains such as a clause combining, sentential adverbs and temporal expressions, and even adjective comparison.

These regional differences appear to us at the current state of research to be rather superficial, their emergence traceable possibly to a point in time just a few generations back. Thus, the historical copula -išt is clearly shared and has declined in the Jerusalem dialect through generalisation of the past-tense existential verb hr- 'to (have) become', a verb form that is ubiquitous in the various Domari varieties, while on the other hand gender erosion in AD is still ongoing and thus fairly recent. We therefore find that the tentative split between 'northern' and 'southern' features noted already in Matras (2012), while sustained in further research, does not support the postulation of a so-called 'genetic' split between two major dialects, that is, one that would point to an early split between speaker populations that might be traceable to a place and time before their settlement in their latest known locations (i.e. southeastern Anatolia and northern Syria on the one hand and Palestine-Jordan on the other), a suggestion made by Herin (2016). We return to this question in our concluding remarks.

4. The sound system

Table 1: Sound inventory – consonants

	bilabial	labiodental	alveolar	palatal	velar	uvular	glottal	pharyn-geal
plosive	p b		t tˤ d dˤ		k g	q		
fricative		f v	s sˤ z zˤ	ʃ ʒ	(x) ɣ	χ	ʔ h	ʕ ħ
affricate				tʃ dʒ				
nasal		m	n		ŋ			
lateral			l					
approximant			r					
glide		w		j				

Table 2: Sound inventory – vowels

iː				uː
ɪ	ɨ		ʉ	
eː				oː
(ɛ)		(ə)		
(æ)				ɑ ɑː
		a aː		

Table 3: Transcription system – consonants

	bilabial	labiodental	dental-alveolar	palatal	velar	uvular	glottal	pharyn-geal
plosive	p b		t ṭ d ḍ		k g	q		
fricative		f v	s ṣ z ẓ	š ž	ġ	x	' h	ʕ ḥ
affricate				č j				
nasal		m	n		ng			
lateral			l					
approximant			r					
glide		w		y				

Table 4: Transcription system – vowels

ii				uu
	i		u	
ee				o
				à àà
		a aa		

Our transcription system has two principal features: it groups together sounds that appear to be interchangeable and do not appear as phonemic oppositions where they carry meaning distinctions, and it seeks wherever possible to make the system relatively easy to access for those who do not have training in linguistic fieldwork.

A conspicuous feature of the system of consonants is the presence of pharyngeal consonants and pharyngealised dental consonants, and the presence of uvular sounds and of a voiced velar fricative. These sounds appear frequently but not exclusively in Arabic loanwords. The voiced pharyngeal /ʕ/ is found mostly in Arabic loans and in Kurdish loans of Arabic

etymology: ʕarabaayà 'cart', dfiʕkar 'pay', taʕbaan 'tired', saʕtii 'when', ʕaṣṣibrà 'got angry' and so on. The voiceless pharyngeal /ḥ/ is equally found in Arabic loans – e.g. tiffaaḥ 'apple', ḥabis 'prison', ḥadiiqà 'garden', ḥaflà 'party' – as well as in Kurdish loans, where, as in some Kurdish dialects, it represents an historical guttural /h/ that has undergone pharyngealisation: ḥawt 'seven', ḥašt 'eight', ḥaskar- 'like', ḥazaar 'thousand'. Occasionally we also encounter such pharyngealisation in words of Arabic etymology, like qaḥwà 'coffee'. The uvular stop /q/ is found mainly in Iranian, Turkish and Arabic loans: qur 'boy', qal 'skin', qiič 'leg', qanj 'throat', qonšii 'neighbourhood', qaapii 'door', qariib 'soon', qaḥwà 'coffee'. That is also the case for the voiced velar fricative /ġ/: qaaġat 'letter', čaaġà 'boy', ġariib 'strange', luġà 'speech', ġaabà 'forest'. By contrast, the uvular (sometimes velar) fricative /x/ appears frequently in Indo-Aryan vocabulary – xašt 'hand', xur 'heart', xiif 'snow', xaz 'laugh', xuj 'yesterday' – as well as in Arabic and Kurdish loans: taxt 'bed', xalaṣ 'finish', maṭbax 'kitchen', xwaa 'god'.

The pharyngealised sibilants /ṣ/ and /ẓ/ occur mainly but not exclusively in loanwords. Inherited Indo-Aryan items in which they are found include ṣà 'all' and variably paaṣ- 'with, at'. Other examples of loans from various sources are ṣibà 'morning', ṣaarmà 'cabbage', ʕaṣṣibho- 'get angry', ṣaddiqkar- 'believe', palaṣ 'tent', maṣnaʕ 'factory', aẓin 'I believe', baaẓaar 'weekend', ẓawir 'mouth, laḥiẓakar- 'notice'. With stops, pharyngealisation sometimes represents Old Indo-Aryan retroflex sounds: peeṭ 'belly' (OIA peṭ), ḍom 'Dom' (OIA ḍom), aaṭà 'flour' (OIA aṭṭa). Elsewhere it can also represent Indo-Aryan dental-alveolars and aspirated dental-alveolars: araaṭ 'evening', waṭ 'stone', ṭaṭ- 'warm', ṭroṭ- 'small', ṭind- 'wet', harḍa 'so much', karḍa 'how much', panḍ 'road'. Otherwise, pharyngealised dental-alveolar stops appear in contemporary Arabic loans: ḍaw 'light', ḍaawaṭ 'wedding', ṭaawlà 'table', miṭrib 'musician'.

Consonant gemination is carried over in Arabic lexemes like zakkir- 'remember', šibbaakà 'window', farriq- 'separate', baddil- 'change', where in verbs it often represents word-derivational gemination indicating that the action is intensive, causative or iterative. Lexical gemination is also found in the pre-Arabic component: qullorà 'soldier', beelii 'friend', gajjii 'woman'. It is often grammatical in the subjunctive: lak- 'see', lakkim 'that I see'; ho- 'become', hoččim 'that I become'. It also arises through assimilation of morphemes: kaam-mor 'something', beelyees-saa 'with her friends', lakirdos-saa 'he saw them'; to kar-ee 'you do' contrasting with paanjii kar-r-ee 'he does'.

Noteworthy, also for a historical reconstruction (see final chapter, below), is the variation around the labio-dentals /v/ and /w/. The two sounds are strictly separated in pre-vowel positions, with /v/ apparently continuing Old Indo-Aryan (OIA) */v/ while /w/ goes back to OIA */v/ in the environment of a retroflex: vars 'year' (OIA varṣa), vaay 'wind' (OIA vāyuḥ), veesrom 'I sat' (OIA -viś), contrasting with warsiindà 'rain' (OIA vṛushti), waṭ (OIA vaṭa) 'stone'. In between vowels, however, there is often variation: jivir/jiwir 'woman', sovin/sowin 'gold', ravirdom/rawirdom 'I walked', rovirdom/rowirdom 'I cried', navvà/nawwà 'new'. This variation in the articulation of the labiodental consonant is triggered by back vowels, back-neutral vowels, and centralised vowels (see below), but variation does not occur in the vicinity of front vowels: siivištee 'she sews', greevaarà 'headman'.

The AD vowel system poses some challenges. There are six long vowels: /aa/, /àà/, /ii/, /ee/, /uu/, and /o/. Of those, /o/ lacks a short counterpart, resembling the contact languages Kurmanji Kurdish and Syrian Arabic. For the two a-like vowel qualities and their length oppositions, minimal pairs are easily identified: pnaarà 'old', pnaaraa 'was old', pnààrà 'white', pnààraa 'was white', jan 'give birth', jaan 'know', čar 'drive', čaar 'ash', čààr 'hide'. A diphthong /ay/ appears in variable lexical roots like ayrà 'he arrived', paykeerà 'for yourself', as well as in maaynà 'woman', day 'because' etc.

Short vowels are often variable. We identify four short vowel phonemes /a/, /à/, /i/, and /u/. A vowel [e] is interchangeable with /i/ and is realised alternately as [e, ə, ɪ, i], e.g.

dergà 'long', also dirgà, ser 'head' also sir, merà 'he died', also mrà, mirà. Often, it is an epenthetic vowel, as in ḥabsekii 'from prison', also ḥabsikii. For short /a/, the variants [æ] and [a] occur, while short /u/ and /i/ are often interchangeable, as they are in Kurmanji Kurdish and Syrian Arabic: qur, qir 'boy'. The back vowel realisation as [u] is often conditioned or reinforced by the consonant environment, particularly back consonants like labials, velars and uvulars. Short /à/ is usually [ɑ] but can also be realised as [ɐ] and [ə]. Elsewhere the schwa sound [ə] is a raised variant of /à/ in inflectional endings and word final position or a variant of /i/ that appears in unstressed syllables preceding consonant clusters with a sonorant /rd, rn, rk/, as well as an epenthetic vowel.

In regard to syllable structure, the smallest and most common unit is CVC as in bààb 'father'. We also find CVCV daadii 'grandmother', CVCCV laavtii 'girl', CVCVC paapiir 'grandfather', and CVCVCVC janawar 'animal'. Segments in CV are rare: kaa [future particle], do 'wash!'. Not uncommon however are VC ag 'fire', aj 'today' and VCV aanà 'egg', though here an initial glottal stop, often omitted in our transcription unless it occurs word-internally in Arabic loans, can be interpreted here as C. Word-initial consonant clusters are most common in combinations with sibilants, sonorants and glides: psiik 'cat', vyaar 'town', kšaal 'pull!', čmaarii 'hen', pnààrà 'white', pnaarà 'old', ṭroṭà 'small', hrom 'I became', tmiin 'you.PL', čmaarii 'hen', gluulik 'flower', kwaammor 'somebody'. Less common occurrences bridge stop articular positions as in pčaadom 'I asked', ktii 'how much', or in Arabic syllable boundaries like bduunma 'instead of'. Inflection can have phonotactic implications giving rise to clusters: kaa lakk-im-ir 'I will see you', alongside kaa lak-mi-ri, particularly frequent in the reduction of syllable boundaries when a morpheme is added: qir 'son' > qr-os 'her son', sir 'head' > sr-os 'his head'.

Word stress falls on certain grammatical affixes: case inflection including nominative case endings, plural marker, adjective inflection, subject inflection markers on verbs and possessive markers on nouns, and noun derivation affixes in the absence of following case inflection markers. Arabic loans tend to retain their word stress pattern.

Inherently unstressed grammatical affixes include the remoteness marker /aa/ on verbs following person endings, the conditional marker /saa/, object pronoun affixes inlakird-ós-im 'he didn't see me', and the enclitic copula: haa kiryósaan-ee 'this is their house', qrós-ištomee 'I am his son'.

5. Nouns

5.1 Noun derivation

Nouns ending in consonants typically lack identifiable derivation marking: bààb 'father', qur 'boy', maaniṣ 'person', psiik 'cat', janawar 'animal', goriv 'cow', bakir 'sheep', ošt 'lip', ẓawir 'mouth', jib 'tongue', xur 'heart', xašt 'hand', diis 'day', vaay 'wind'. Nouns in vowels continue an historical gender inflection distinction which, as grammatical gender agreement is eroding in the language and therefore irregular, has come to serve as derivational. Masculines show the ending /-à/: gordlaarà 'soldier', narnà 'man', agorà 'horse', gajà 'man', kičmaarà 'old man'. Feminines end in /-ii/: daadii 'grandmother', biibii 'aunt', laavčii 'girl', gajjii 'woman', čmaarii 'hen'.

The most productive nominal derivation marker is -iiš, borrowed from the Turkish set -ış, -iş, -uş, -üş (with vowel harmony), as in Turkish al-ış ver-iş lit. 'taking-giving' for 'trade', bul-uş 'discovery', gir-iş 'entrance', çık-ış 'exit', and so on. The suffix attaches to Indo-Aryan verbal word stems as in lagiiš 'quarrel', qayyiiš 'food', jayyiiš 'travel, biiš 'fear', but also to Arabic

loans as in ʕaṣṣibiiš 'anger' (ʕaṣṣibiiš maarištirsee 'the anger is killing her'). It is employed most frequently to derive new verbs from nominalised verbal stem, as in mangiiškar- 'beg', ogmiiškar- 'praise', lagiiškar- 'fight', xolamiišho- 'get angry', qayyiiš xuunaan- 'prepare a meal', dirmiiškar- 'push'. It is also used to form ad hoc infinitives as an abstract way of referring to actions, as in paariiš 'buying', ktibkariiš 'writing', vašiiš 'burning', janiiš 'birth'.

An additional nominal derivation marker -vaatii/-vaayii is productive in deriving nouns from adjectives but not encountered frequently, as it is reserved for abstract nominalisations like pkaalvaatii 'hunger', zangiilvaatii 'wealth', mištivaatii 'disease'.

Some nouns are derived ad hoc by juxtaposing two nouns: janiišom diisità 'on my birthday'.

5.2 Gender and number

As noted above, some lexical items carry gender markers as part of their nominal word derivation. Masculines with such vowel derivation markers going back to nominative case inflection take /-à/: gordlarà 'soldier', narnà 'man', agorà 'horse', gajà 'man', kičmaarà 'old man'. Feminines take /-ii/: daadii 'grandmother', biibii 'aunt', laavčii 'girl', gajjii 'woman', čmaarii 'hen'. In most cases, nouns ending in a gender-distinctive vowel derivation marker are animate.

The plural ending is -iin: gluulik − gluulkiin 'flower − flowers', drongà maaniṣ − drongà maaniṣiin 'old person − old people', ṭrotà laavčii − ṭrotà laavčiin 'a little girl − little girls', kirii − kiryiin 'house − houses'. The same plural ending is also added to recent loanwords from Kurdish, Turkish, Arabic, and European languages: qur − quriin 'boy − boys', qonšii − qonšiin 'neighbour − neighbours', ʕarabiiyà − ʕarabiyiin 'cart − carts', mṣaafir − mṣaafriin 'guest − guests', gaatto − gaattoyiin 'cake − cakes', diktor − diktoriin 'doctor − doctors'. In a few cases, Arabic plural inflection is carried over, particularly with lexemes that are generically plural, but the ending -iin is added to those: qaraaybiin 'relatives'.

Overt plural marking is absent when plurality is indicated either by a numeral or another marker of quantity such as buu 'many', komaa 'many', or ktii? 'how many?': ṭrin maaynà 'three women', ṭrin maaniṣ 'three people', štaar diis 'four days', panj daqqee paštar 'five minutes later', buu narnà 'many men', ktii ṭrambiil? 'how many cars?', komaa sir vatii jaannree 'she knows many secrets about him', komaa nawwà kirii? 'many new houses?'. Plural marking is also absent when quantities are expressed wholesale: gaardom vatii paarir fiṭir 'I told her to buy mushroms', nawwà qaab paardà 'he bought new clothes'. On the other hand, generic plurals retain (sometimes double) plural inflection even when accompanied by a quantifier: komaa qaraaybiin xsirrà 'she lost many relatives'.

Singularity is expressed by the postposed indefinite marker -aak, which is often realised as -aa: baarà ṭroṭà laavčaak aštee 'there is a little girl outside', diisaak mangištomee amriikyas zuuroččim 'I want to visit America some day', gajaak lakirdom panḍit rawištee 'I saw a man walking down the street', diyim ġariib kiryaa lakirdom 'I saw a strange house in the village', janiišom diisintà raadyoyaa hrà paaṣom 'I got a radio for my birthday', laavčikii daados paaṣii pkeez sowin gurdanaa aštaa 'the girl's mother had a beautiful gold necklace'.

5.3 Definiteness, referential disambiguation and emphasis

There is no definite article in AD. Definiteness can be expressed by attaching an attributive demonstrative expression to the noun or through the presence of accusative case marking with definite direct objects (see below). The ending -in is used to express disambiguation and can

also function as a marker of agency, or for emphatic presentation, defined as the wish to draw attention to the appearance of a referent in a discourse role that may be contextually unexpected: poliisin ayrosis 'the police came to her', gajin buu sikirrà 'the man got very drunk', narnin mičirdà maaynis 'the man kissed the woman'. The emphatic disambiguation marker can be combined with a demonstrative expression: o maaynin vatom gaardà paanjii nawwaa diyimà 'that woman told me she was new in the village'. It can also be combined with an indefinite marker and with indefinite expressions: vidyaakin tiimaar kardosim 'an old woman looked after me', ṭroṭà quraakinšii ḍaawaṭikii ayrà 'a small boy also came to the wedding', kwaammorin nà mikirdosir eehaanii karaa 'no-one made you do it this way'.

5.4 Nominal case inflection

Nominal case inflection shows a system of three layers that is also characteristic of modern Indo-Aryan languages of the Indian subcontinent (Masica 1990) as well as of Romani (Matras 2002) and of Jerusalem Domari (Matras 2012). Table 5 Provides an overview.

Table 5: Nominal case layers: functions and forms

Layer I	
nominative	ø; à (mas.) ii (fem.)
accusative	is/ees/s (sg.), in/een (pl.)
independent oblique	à/i/ee (sg.)
oblique	à/i/ee (sg.) in (pl)
vocative	ay/ee/ii/o
Layer II	
genitive	kii
dative	t(à)
adessive	ka
locative	m(à)
benefactive	keerà/ keeree
comitative	saa
directional (versative)	va
similative	vaar
Layer III	
postpositional case relation expressions	baar- 'outside', vagir 'in front', čanč- 'next to', neezik 'near', pačii 'behind', bnà 'under', fatuun 'above', qaaršii 'opposite', ààr- 'between', xir- 'because of', čorm- / dormačaar- 'around', manj- 'inside'
prepositions	zà (iz) 'from', maaʕada 'except for', vee 'without', badaal 'instead of'
person-inflected case relation expressions	vaaš- 'with', ab- 'for', vat- 'on, about', veeš- 'from', nik- 'towards', paaṣ- 'with, at', (b)duun 'without'

5.4.1 Layer I case inflection

Layer I case inflection involves several different levels or forms of structure. The nominative is the case of the syntactic subject of the sentence. As noted above, some nouns, especially

animates, continue historical nominal inflection markers ending in a vowel that mark gender. In effect they serve as nominal derivation markers, through which a lexical item is recognisable as a noun, but since they appear in this shape only in the subject role in the nominative case, they also carry the function of Layer I nominative inflection case endings. They are paralleled by zero-marking of nominative case with other nouns including those ending in a consonant, nouns that carry a plural ending, and nouns that carry emphatic subject or indefinite marking.

Indefinite direct object

Indefinite direct objects do not show any explicit non-nominative case marking and cannot be distinguished (except contextually) from nominative subjects:

paykeerà ozgà biiraayaa paardà
'he bought himself another beer'

ġaabeem kiryaa lakirdom
'I saw a house in the forest'

kuryomaan čormintà rawirdà bduunmaa lakkir qaapyaa livaa
'she walked around our house without finding an open door'

gajaak lakirdom panḍit rawištee
'I saw a man walking down the street'

lakirdom maaynaa dikkaanim
'I saw a woman in the shop'

ṭrin maaynà maṭbaxim gaatto kaaštindaa
'three women were baking a cake in the kitchen'

lakirdà ḥaadisaa
'she saw an accident'

paardom ṣowin baalvaa
'I bought a golden bracelet'

Generic quantities are also exempt from direct object case marking, as are nouns accompanied by numerals and quantifiers:

gaardom vatii paarir fiṭir, piivaaz laa ṣaarmà
'I told her to buy mushroms, onions and cabbage'

kiir ḥaskarmee, bas aanà ḥasinkarmee
'I like milk but I do not like eggs'

ṣibim qaḥwà piinee, araaṭimšii čaay piinee
'in the morning we drink coffee and in the evening we drink tea'

siknaardà paa laafčis katr kaarnaar aanà
'she taught her daughter how to boil an egg'

ṭrin luġà jaaništee
'he knows three languages'

Definite direct object

Definite direct objects carry the accusative case. The singular accusative continues what appears to have been a Proto-Domari masculine accusative/oblique in *-as (still present in Jerusalem Domari; corresponds to -es in most dialects of Romani), which in turn continues an Old Indo-Aryan masculine singular genitive ending. In AD, gender-based declension classes are largely neutralised and the form -is is generalised. It is best recognised when added to a noun whose nominative form ends in a consonant:

ṣiba kaa ee kamis xalaas hoččim
'tomorrow I will finish this work'

waṭis ko
'throw the stone'

istaazis pčaadà
'he asked the teacher'

abomkeeree qaaġaṭis vjaaldà
'she sent me the letter'

xabaris sindom
'I heard the news'

gaardà vatom ṭrambiilis fiknim
'he told me to sell the car'

jisris čindom
'I crossed the bridge'

ḥarbis zakkiriištee
'she remembers the war'

eejakis čààrdeend
'they hid the food'

mikirdà tapšis laštir
'she let the plate fall'

sakirdà ḥadiidis ṭʕijkarir
'he could bend the iron'

veesnaardà čaaġis kirsiiyeetà
'she sat the child on the chair'

niirom jaakeetis veešii
'I got the jacket from him'

qamar ʕaardis lifforee
'the moon circles the earth'

Nouns whose nominative form ends in -ii assimilate the accusative ending to -s or -yis:

vidyis lakirdà
'he saw the old woman'

ġariib maanṣikeeree qaapyis vaainkarmee
'I do not open the door to strangers'

kiryis lakirdà
'he had found the house'

byaavištee kopirtyis činir
'she is afraid to cross the bridge'

Nouns with a nominative form ending in a vowel -à (including masculine animates as well as feminine Arabic loans in *-a > -à) often show umlaut assimilation of the accusative marker, giving -ees:

kičmaarees lakirdà
'he saw the old man'

aj kaa neem agorees
'today I will take the horse'

kaasees bandom
'I broke the cup'

abomkeeree risaalees vjaaldà
'she sent me the letter'

There is, however, a strong tendency towards levelling of the different forms and many definite direct object forms are found to 'default' to the accusative ending -is:

narnin mičirdà maaynis
'the man kissed the woman'

nafis maaynis lakirdom
'I saw the same woman'

nafis gajis lakirdom
'I saw the same man'

o maaynis ʕarrif karaadom
'I introduced that woman'

čmaaryis čiryim maardà
'he killed the chicken with a knife'

jindà manis paarčà paarčà
'she cut the bread into pieces'

Plural definite direct objects take the ending -in, apparently derived from the historical (Old Indo-Aryan) genitive plural ending *-an (continued as the plural oblique form in Jerusalem Domari -an and Romani -en):

ee qiijaaġin dowištomee
'I washed these clothes'

paanjii tovištee ṣandoqim
'he is putting [it] in the boxes'

drongà bojii čaaġin biinaaree
'the big dog frightens the children'

aj geenaa nafis maaynin lakirdom ota
'I saw the same women there today again'

pii oṣarin!
'drink the medications!'

Oblique

The oblique case essentially mediates between the nominal stem and Layer II case markers; it serves as a carrier for Layer II case markers (see below). But the oblique can also occur on its own with singular nouns to mediate relations with local expressions (postpositions) and with other nouns in genitive-possessive relationships. Typically, the singular oblique marker is the vowel -à, or -ee with Arabic loans whose nominative form ends in -à. It appears that this form goes back to the historical feminine oblique marker in *-a. We find the so-called 'isolated' oblique without a Layer II marker with postpositions and in possessive constructions:

taxtà fatuun
'above the bed'

malikà vagir
'in front of the king'

dukkaanà vagir
'in front of the shop'

narnaakà pačii
'behind a man'

diyà manjitee
'it is in the middle of the village'

kiryà baarà kindà
'he came out of the house'

kiryà čančitee
'beside the house'

kiryà xrimee
'she is inside the house'

kniisee qaaršii
'opposite the church'

kniisee čormintà
'around the church'

kuryomaan čormintà rawirdà
'she walked around our house'

qaaġat ṭaawlee bnee
'the letter is under the table'

o narnà sir
'that man's head'

gorvà akkees, gorvà akkiin
'the cow's eyes'

gurkà dandees
'the wolf's teeth'

quraakà qamiis
'one boy's shirt'

diyà maayniin
'the women of the village'

čaaġà dandees
'the child's teeth'

čaakeetà očkees
'the sleeves of the jacket'

The independent oblique construction only occurs with singular nouns. The oblique form with plurals – -in, identical to the accusative plural form – only has the mediating function of connecting the noun stem with Layer II case markers:

malik-à vagir, malik-à-kii vagir
'in front of the king'

malik-in-kii vagir
'in front of the kings'

With singular nouns the oblique is incompatible with possessive endings, which later enable the noun to connect to other nouns in possessive constructions through mere juxtaposition:

bààbom kirii
'my father's house'

daadom qaabiin
'my mother's clothes'

biibyom čaaġiin
'my aunt's children'

Oblique endings do not attach to the noun with possessive affixes even when they carry Layer II case endings:

baareemkii kiryeesaan
'my brothers' houses'

dii beeneemkii ḍaamosaa
'the room of my two sisters'

daadomkii orip guštaryos
'my mother's silver ring'

Vocative

The vocative is structurally part of Layer I features of the nouns but it is not an inflectional case ending in the strict sense; rather than mark out relations between the noun and other constituents of the sentence or modifiers, its function is to process the relations between the speaker and the listener. It might therefore be considered to be an illocutionary feature, one through which the speaker wishes to achieve something, or more precisely an instigating procedure, through which the speaker wishes to instigate an action on the part of the listener. Vocatives appear to have a deictic origin, though not one that is clearly traceable to any attested word form. With some nouns, vocatives are not marked through any distinctive ending: vidii! 'old woman!'. Other nouns show prefixed vocative forms: daad 'mother'– aydaa! 'mother!', bààb 'father' – aybàà!/ aybaa! 'father!'. Some take the ending -ee: been 'sister' – beenee! 'sister!', baar 'brother' – baaree! 'brother'. Others take -ii or -o: mààm 'uncles' – mààmii!, mààmo! 'uncle'. Vocatives tend to be prefixed by an appellative expression war! (likely to be a loan from Kurdish with the original meaning 'come!') and its derivations lar, har and ar: war baaree! kay kardoree? 'Oh brother! What have you done?', war aybaa! kay kardoree? 'Oh father! What have you done?', war beenee! kay kaštoree? 'Hey sister! What are you doing?'

Layer II case markers, derived from Middle Indo-Aryan postpositions, have become attached to the oblique nominal base as agglutinating case endings in both the Domari varieties and in Romani. Layer II markers provide the principal semantic specification of case roles, alongside Layer III independent word-forms (adpositions). As noted above, Layer I oblique markers – singular -i, -à and -ee, plural -in – mediate between the noun stem and Layer II case endings (except when the noun stem is followed by a person-possessive affix):

laavčikii daados
'the girl's mother'

o qurikii bààbos
'that boy's father'

gorvikii akkees
'the cow's eyes'

diivaariva
'against the wall'

daawaṭikii
'to the wedding'

panḍit
'on the road'

kiryim
'in the house'

ḥadiiqeem
'in the garden'

ḥafleem
'at the party'

ṭaawleekii
'off the table'

diktoorinkeerà
'for the doctors'

qurinsaa
'with the boys'

mṣaafrinsaa
'with the guests'

qolintà
'in (her) arms'

palaṣinmà
'in tents'

laavčinkii
'from the girls'

diisintà
'about the days'

In the following we list the principal semantic functions of each of the Layer II case markers. This overview will in part overlap with our discussion below where we return to individual semantic case roles and case representation of local relations. Readers are encouraged to use quick text search for cross-reference.

-kii: genitive

Genitive-possessive:

The genitive-possessive is one of the principal functions of the marker -kii and one that is exclusive to this Layer II marker. The marker usually co-occurs with a person-possessive affix that is attached to the possessor, referring back to the object of possession, while -kii attaches to the object of possession itself:

ee štaar laavčinkii daadosaan
'those four girls' mother'

laavčikii daados
'the girl's mother'

o narnikii kiryos
'that man's house'

o narnikii sros
'that man's head'

biibyomkii čaaġees
'my aunt's children'

ṭrin maayninkii naameesaan.
'the women's names'

baareemkii kiryeesaan
'my brothers' houses'

Object of comparison:

There are other ways to mark the object of comparison (see discussion below under Case Representation). The use of the genitive marker -kii is just one of those:

paanjii daaviree asraʕ ṣaayinkii
he runs faster than anyone else

Source of movement or origin:

xij biibyom raṣrà ḥalabikii
'my aunt arrived from Aleppo yesterday'

aṣlos almaanyaakii ayree
'originally she came from Germany'

beevkà diyikii
'from the other village'

zà taanomaankii inree
'she isn't from our area'

bojjin diyomaankii ḥasknaardeen
'we drove the dogs away from our village'

qniinik ṭaawleekii lasrà
'the bottle fell off the table'

kinda ḥabsikii
'he was released from prison'

ee gluulkin beenomkii neerom
'I got these flowers from my sister'

kwaammorikii misrii inneerom
'I didn't get money from anyone'

Cognitive source:

sindomis laavčinkii
'I heard it from the girls'

qirinkii sindom
'I heard it from the boys'

Cause or reason:

fiqrikii mirà
'he died of poverty'

ee zangiilvaaččikii ṣà hreend faxuur buu
'from all this wealth they have become very proud'

laavčom biyaaree agikii
'my daughter is scared of fire'

qahrinkii rowirdà
'she cried of anger'

Material source or substance:

haa guštarii sownikii hree
'this ring is made of gold'

haa kirsiiyà kaaštikii hree
'this chair is made of wood'

kardà šorbaayaa malfuufikii yaa piivaazikii
'she made soup from cabbage and onions'
Means:

čaaǵiin zà šabbaakee sminkii lakirdeend
'the children looked through a hole in the fence'

lakirdà ḥaadisa paa akkinkii vagir
'she saw the accident with her own eyes'

kšaaldà laavčis vaaleeskii
'she pulled the girl by her hair'

Target or goal of action or movement:

This semantic function shows some overlap with other Layer II case endings, notably the dative, directional (versative) and benefactive. The distinctive feature of -kii in such instances is the absence of an implication of containment by the target or goal brought above through the movement. Thus, -kii describes an intended destination or end point but does not capture the rest place of an object that moves. This accounts for its prevalence with the indirect object of the verb 'give' and the depiction of physical directionality:

horee ee minsikii tiika tutun deemee
'perhaps I can give this man some cigarettes'

dee paarčaa gaatto ee čaaǵikii
'give a piece of cake to this one boy!'

gajikii tiika misrii tom
'I gave the man some money'

ammat tà qissiisikii tiika qayyiiš
people gave the priest some food

tom daadomkii pkeez čanyaa
'I gave my mother nice earrings'

aanseeyin ṣuurat čaaǵinkii lakaardà
'the teacher showed pictures to the students'

agorom qonšomkii fikindom
'I sold the horse to my neighbour'

ta jayaa dukkaanikii, kayyaaree kniiseeva ravča
'to go to the shop, you have to walk towards the church.'

buu narnà ayrà ḍaawaṭikii
'many men came to the wedding'

aj araaṭ kayyaaree jaam dukkaanikii
'tonight I need to go to the shop'

ozgà kuryaakkii barkardà
'he moved to another house'

beefkà panḍikii garà
'she turned the other way'

Adpositional:

This function of -kii complements that of the independent oblique discussed above; the noun that is the object of the relational procedure is marked by the genitive case:

maaʕada kičmaareekii
'except for the old man'

maaʕada daadjomkii
'except for my grandmother'

badaal sijqikii
'instead of sausage'

vindaayà sindom iz kuryikii
'I heard music from inside the house'

lavreenkii bnà garà
'it went under the bushes'

lavreenkii bnà buu maandà
'it stayed under the bushes'

bojjiin nasreend kaaštinkii aareenmà
'the dogs ran among the trees'

-t(à): dative

Physical or temporal space of contact:

buu ammat aštaa marità
'there were many people at the funeral'

štaallee čaaǵis paa qolintà
'she carries the child in her arms;

qantaraa komar panḍit lakirdom
'I found a pile of coal on the road'

narnin mičirdà maaynis ošteestà
'the man kissed the woman on the lips'

diyit mirrà
'she went past the village'

tiika vaal sirostà aštaa
'there was little hair on his head'

panḍitištomee
'I'm on my way'

baaẓaarintà
'on weekends'

gajaak lakirdom panḍit rawištee
'I saw a man walking down the street'

pirtii beefkà mafraqika čaaportà juu
'turn left at the second crossroad'

paanjii tovištee ṣandoqin ʕarabaayeetà
'he loaded the boxes onto the wagon'

daadom tordà naḍḍaareen tawleetà
'my mother put glasses on the table'

Cognitive purpose, goal or theme:

škirkardosim ee pkeez čanyintà
'she thanked me for these beautiful earrings'

paanyit lagiiš kardeend
'they fight for the water'

navištomee ṭrin čeeskintà
'I am looking for three young men'

qiṣṣà beelyomtee
'the story is about my friend'

ḥaskarindee jibkarind paa čaaġvaayà diisintà
'they like to tell about their younger days'

yeekeemaantà gaardeen
'we said to one another'

Manner or instrument:

This function partly overlaps with Layer II markers -m(à) (locative) and -saa (comitative) (see below):

ee qiijaaġin xaštomtà dowištomee
'I washed these clothes by hand'

ʕzif karree giitaarit
'he plays the guitar'

Reference for local relations expression:

This function complements that of -kii. There are two types: The marker -t(à) can attach to the noun that provides the reference point for the local relation, accompanied by an adverbial expression that describes the relationship:

ḥabis diyit neezikee
'the prison is near the village'

ota bààraa aštee kniiseet neezikee
'that pub is near the church'

The marker can also modify the local relations expression itself:

vyaar diyà manjitee
'the market is in the middle of the village'

kniisee čormintà rawirdom
'I walked around the church'

-ka: adessive

The distribution of this marker is limited in our corpus to a handful of examples. The marker appears to be a variant, functionally speaking, of the dative marker -t(à), the difference being that it is specialised for the physical point of contact with human beings:

bààbos vjaaldoss daadoska
'his father sent him to his mother'

taneenà diis gajaakkà garom taa misrii mangim
'on Monday I went to the man to ask for money'

niirosim diktoraakkaa
'he took me to a doctor

baʕḍ ammatika
'among some people'

The marker -ka can also attach to personal and demonstrative pronouns to indicate momentary possession (taking possession of something): amaaka 'with me ', tirka 'with you', orika, eerika 'with him/her/it', amiinka 'with us', tmiinka 'with you(pl)', orinka, eerinka 'with them'.

-m(à): locative

Containment in physical space:

štaar qur ee kiryim veesree
'four boys live in this house'

qaabin ṣà ṣandoqaakim tordà
'she put all my clothes into a box'

diyim ġariib kiryaa lakirdom
'I saw a strange house in a village'

kiryos ààn drongà kiryee diyimà
'his house is the biggest in the village'

koma nawwà kirii lakirdom diyimà
'I saw many hew houses in the village'

lakirdom maaynaa dikkaanim
'I saw a woman in the shop'

paanjii nawwee diyimà
'she is new in the village'

heeč palaṣinmà inveesreendee
'they never lived in tents'

eejakkii aaništindisee ee kiryimà ààn pkeezee vyaarim ṣà
'the food they serve in this house is the best in town'

čààrištomee manyeem taxtimà
'I am hiding my pearls in the bed'

bojjà girgim ṣalaa aštaa
'the dog had a chain around his neck'

amaa vyaarim veesromee
'I live in town'

maṭbaxim gaatto kaštindaa
'they were baking a cake in the kitchen'

kirsiiyikii maṭbaximee
'the bench in the kitchen'

aštaa peešii šorbaayim
'there are flies in the soup'

Temporal containment:

horee tammozim kaa warsiindà vaar
'it is possible that it will rain in July'

paanjii yanayrim raṣrà
'he arrived in January'

saaviireend ḥarbim
'they were lost in the war'

Source or cause of state of affairs/ circumstance:

Here there is some overlap with the marker -kii expressing source or origin, the difference being that -m(à) alludes more directly to an element of containment:

mirà ġaamiḍ mištvaaččaakim
'he died of a mysterious disease'

mištirà sababosmà
'she became ill because of him'

qreeč kardà paa kaylà nbiidim
'she stained her dress with wine'

Instrument, manner:

Here there is some overlap with one of the functions of -t(à) discussed above, though here too the distinctive function of -m(à) is to introduce an element of containment, sometimes expressed through the durability or visibility of the outcome of contact between the referenced objects, something that is not present with expressions like 'wash by hand' or 'play the guitar' listed above:

sakee čakkuušim kamkara?
'can you work with a hammer?'

paayis čiryim briinkardom
'I injured myself with the knife'

xašteer ṭaṭà paanyim do
'wash your hands with warm water'

nà vayom ee daynakim
'don't hit me with this stick'

Object of cognitive activity:

Here there is a close relation to the cognitive goal or theme marked by -t(à). Once again, the distinctive semantics of -m(à) are to allude to an element of containment or durability, which captures the rather subtle difference between 'to be about' (see above examples) and 'to think of':

fakkirkarištee xeer paayimà
'he thins only of himself'

Co-temporality with nominalised verbs:

This function belongs to the sphere of clause combining. We mention it here briefly for the sake of exhaustiveness. Here too, the semantic reading of containment is applicable:

akiikariišosmà kaasaadii vodka piireen
'waiting for him we had another glass of vodka'

-keerà/-keeree: benefactive

The particular reading of -keerà/-keeree captures the direct outcome or benefit to the that is incurred by an action to the target of the action.

The outcome or benefit is detectable on the target:

ġariib maanṣikeeree qaapyis vaainkarmee
'I do not open the door to strangers'

vjaaldom ahlomkeeree bariidà karta
'I sent my family a postcard'

The action is focused on shaping or instrumentalising a target:

qṭindee diktorinkeerà
'they call for doctors'

nawwà qaab baarom ḍaawaṭkeerà
'new clothes for my brother's wedding'

pišta harḍa buu misrii ittà ṭrambiilkeeree?
'did he really give so much money for a car?'

kaammorkeeree difiʕinkardà
'he didn't pay for anything'

The marker can attach to pronouns via the local relations expression ab- 'for' or directly with reflexive pronouns:

vaartà ee eejakis aborkeeree ya baareerkeeree
'she left the food for you and your brothers'

abomkeeree qaaġaṭis vjaaldà
'she sent me the letter'

paykeerà kaammor paardor?
'did you buy anything for yourself?'

paykeeromaan pkeez qayyiiš xuunaanee
'we cook nice meals for ourselves'

It also attached to the word xir 'reason' to form the preposition xirkeeree 'because of'.

<hr>

-saa: comitative

The marker -saa covers sociative, comitative and instrumental relations involving various kinds of accompaniment and association:

Co-participants in an action:

mangištomee ee štaar qurinsaa jibkarim
'I want to talk to those four boys'

tiimaarreend paa biibyisaa
'they are growing up with their aunt'

maaynaakisaa jibkardom
'on my way home I talked to a woman'

baaromsaa keelištomaa
'I was playing with my brother'

mṣaafrinsaa gareen
'we went with the guests'

kniisee garom dii beeneemsaa, biibyomsaa laa vaaryomsaa.
'I went to church with my two sisters, my aunt and my daughter-in-law'

garom vyaar dii baareemsaa
'I went to town with my two brothers'

mangištoree ee štaar laavčinsaa keelčaa?
'do you want to play with those four girls?'

lakirdomis ḥafleem dii beelyeessa
'I saw her at the party with her two friends'

bduunma jibkarind yeekinsaa
'without talking to one another'

ʕiišroomee jivromsaa
'I live with my wife'

Physical accompaniment:

bààbomsaa daayim misrii aštee
'my father always has some money with him'

pnee qniinikaa paanii paayeesaa
'take a bottle of water with you'

gaatto aqqorisaa
'cake with nuts'

<div style="border:1px solid gray; background:lightgray;">-va: directional (versative)</div>

The directional (versative) marker -va captures the direction and scope of physical and temporal movement. Its meaning bears close similarities to the Kurdish postposition ve/va and it is likely that it is a borrowing from Kurdish.

Direction of movement:

This marker -va shows some overlap in scope with the dative marker -t(à) in identifying the target of movement, but while -t(à) implies contact with the target, -va only captures the intended target of the movement either precluding or simply indicating ambiguity concerning actual contact:

diivaariva daavirdà
'he ran against the wall'

ta jayaa dukkanikii, kayyaaree kniiseeva ravča
'to go to the shop, you have to walk towards the church'

The marker can also attach to personal pronouns and to person-inflected location expressions:

amaava ayrà
'he came towards me'

koyee o maaniṣkii nikomaanvaa aavištee?
'who is that person that is coming towards us?'

Temporal interval:

varsaakiva
'a year ago'

paanjii yuunyovaayee veesree eeta
'he has lived here since June'

štaar diisivaayee baarà inkindomee
'I didn't go out for four days'

-vaar: similative

While appearing rarely in our questionnaire data sample, this marker is widespread in natural discourse, where its function is to indicate similarity between two referents. In the questionnaire elicitation data it marks the object of comparison and is just one type of case markers available to indicate comparison (see above):

kiryos drongee kiryomvaar
'his house is as big as my house'

paa baarvaar zanggiilee
'he is richer than his brother'

5.4.3 Layer III case representation

Layer III case representation refers to independent expressions of local relations that help modify semantic case roles. There are three groups of expressions, divided according to their position in relation to the noun, their referential scope (full nouns vs. deictic and anaphoric pronouns) and in regard to their inflectional potential:

Postpositional adverbial expressions:

Some of these are the 'generic' expressions of local relations which continue Middle Old-Aryan inventory of local relations expressions both in terms of etymology and semantics and in their typological position as independent local relations expressions of an adverbial nature that are normally connected to nouns via Layer I oblique case markers or Layer II markers (see above). Some are borrowed from Turkish and from Kurdish:

baar- 'outside':

kiryà baarištindee
'they are outside the house'

vagir 'in front':

kiryà vagir
'in front of the house'

čanč- 'next to':

kiryà čančitee
'it is next to the house'

pačii 'behind':

narnaakà pačii
'behind a man'

bnà 'under':

ṭaawlee bnee
'it is under the table'

fatuun 'above':

taxtà fatuun
'above the bed'

qaaršii 'opposite':

kniisee qaaršii madrasee
'opposite the church there is a school'

xir- 'because of, inside':

kiryà xirimee
'she is inside the house'

neezik 'near':

diyit neezikee
'near the village'

ààr- 'between':

ṭaawlee ààreem yaa taxtom ààreem
'between the table and my bed'

čorm-/ dormačaar- 'around':

kuryomaan čormintà rawirdà bduunma lakkir qaapya lvaa
'she walked around our house without finding an open door'

kniisee čormintà rawirdom
'I walked around the church'

insakirdom komee dormačaaros jaam
'I couldn't go around the pile'

hayf ʕaardikii dormačaaros jaaree
'the moon goes around the earth'

manj- 'inside':

kageetaayee o čiriikii manjii qaaġaṭis vaakardor
'where is the knife that you opened the letter with?'

vyaar diyà manjitee
'the market is in the middle of the village'
Prepositions:

These immediately precede the noun. They constitute a rather recent layer in the language and are all borrowed from the contact languages Persian, Kurdish or Arabic:

zà, iz 'from':

ṭrin narnà zà vyaar kurii ravištindee
'three men are walking home from the market'

vindaayà sindom iz kiryikii
'I heard music from inside the house'

badaal 'instead of':

badaal sijqikii garee qurom paardee guldwaanii
'instead of sausages, my son bought sweets'

maaʕada 'except for':

maaʕada daadyomkii kwa diyomaanmà injaannree faal vaakarir
'except for my grandmother nobody in our village knows how to tell the fortune'

maaʕada kičmaareekii ṣaayiin siikaarà piindaa
'except for an old man everybody was smoking'
vee 'without':

vyaar jayyiš vee trambil dii saʕat qaaree
'It takes hours to reach the city without a car'

ko sakiree ʕammir karir kurya vee bizmaar
'who can build a house without nails?'

Person-inflected prepositions:

vaaš- 'with':

nà sakirdom qinaʕkarmis vaašom aaviččir
'I couldn't convince her to come with me'

ab- 'for':

twaqqʕhomee ṣiba kaa sakiččim abor difiʕkarim
'I expect that I will be able to pay you back tomorrow'

vat- 'at, to, about':

beelyees xazištindee vatii
'his friends are laughing at him'

veeš- 'from':

baaros panj vars veešii drongtaree
'her brother is five years older than her'

nik- 'towards':

koyee o maaniṣkii nikomaanvaa aavištee?
'who is that person that is coming towards us?'

paaṣ- 'with, at':

kaanyee paaṣii kiriimor
'she does not have a house'

duun- 'without':

yeerkaanii ištomee duunor
'I am lonely without you'

6. Adjective inflection

Most adjectives carry inflectional endings that derive from either the historical masculine singular ending -à or from the historical feminine singular ending -ii: ozgà/ozgii 'other', beevkà /beevkii 'another', ṭroṭà/ ṭroṭii 'small', uujà/uujii 'high', ṭindà/ṭindii 'wet', dirgà/dirgii 'long'. Gender agreement with the nouns is variable. It is retained in some cases:

haa ṭroṭà qur la haa ṭroṭii laavčii tiimaarreend paa biibyisaa

'this small boy and this small girl grow up with their aunt'

Feminine:

ṭroṭii laavčom byaavištee kopirtyis činir
'my little daughter is scared to go across a bridge'

ṭroṭii laavčaa ayrà taa vaašom načiččir
'a little girl came to the dance with me'

paanjii lajjiikariindii laavčaakee
'she is a shy girl'

haa ṭroṭii jivir paaṣii ṭrin čaaġà aštee
'this little woman has three children'

Masculine:

gaardom ààn ṭroṭà qromtà jibkarir vaašii
'I told my youngest son to talk to him'

ààn drongà narnà
'the oldest man'

ṭroṭà bojjaa
'a small dog'

ṭroṭà čaaġà
'the little boy'

Often, however, the endings are interchangeable and do not capture gender agreement, with a tendency for -à to take over in both environments:

baarà ṭroṭà laavčaa aštee
'there is a small girl outside'

ozgà diyikii aavištee
'he comes from the other village'

har diis istaz siknaaree ṭillaabin nawwà ḥarfaa
'the teacher teaches the pupils a new letter every day'

There is no inherited plural inflection with adjectives, nor a distinction for case. With plural nouns, -ii is sometimes found with feminines, though there is a tendency for -à to be generalised.

drongii maayniin ḥaskarindee kuryà vagir veeštind
'old women like to sit in front of the house'

ṭroṭii beeneem, lakirdomiraan saʕtii guldwanii qaštissaa
'my little sisters, I saw you when you were eating sweets'

ṭrotà laavčiin aktar ilaḥyaan lajjiikarindee
'small girls are often shy'

drongà maanṣiin ḥaskarindee jibkarind paa čaaġvaayà diisintà
'old people like to tell stories about their younger days'

paardees paykeeroraan nawwà tapšii laa qaašik?
'did you buy yourselves new plates and spoons?

ee ṭroṭà qiriin iz duur ayreend
'these small boys came from far away'

ṭarnà qiriin čakkištindee
'young men are courageous'

eeriin ṭroṭà laavčištindee
'these are small girls'

eeriin ṭroṭà quryštindee
'these are small boys'

aj kayyaaree geena otaa jaam beevkà mṣaafrinsaa
'today I have to go there again with other guests'

Adjectives ending in consonants, many of them borrowed, show no inflectional ending:

nà sakirdeen lakkin daadomkii orip guštaryos
'we couldn't find my mother's silver ring'

orip qaašik qafṭiiraa
'the silver spoon was stolen'

diyim ġariib kiryaa lakirdom
'I saw a strange house in a village'

laavčikii daados paaṣii pkeez sowin gurdanaa aštaa
'the girl's mother had a beautiful gold necklace'

zangiil narnaa raṣrà
'a rich man arrived'

Equality comparison is expressed by juxtaposing two nouns with the comparison reference appearing in the similative case:

kiryos drongee kiryomvaar
'is house is as big as my house'

Gradational comparison is expressed using the comparative inflectional marker -tar, of Kurdish origin:

kiryos kiryom drongtaree
'his house is bigger than my house'

baaros panj vars veešii drongtaree
'her brother is five years older than her'

haa kurii o kuryà neeziktaree
'this house is much closer than that one'

paanjii daaviree ṣaayinkii xaliitar,
'she runs faster than anybody else'

baʕiḍ ammatika fiqir haz eeta muundà ẓortaree
'among some people the poverty is even worse than here'

The superlative is generally expresses by the superlative marker ààn of Turkish origin (though possible borrowed via Kurmanji Kurdish):

ààn ṭroṭà qros kaa drongà kamaa hoččir diisaa
'his youngest son will be a great man one day'

eejakkii aaništindisee ee kuryimà ààn pkeezee vyaarim ṣà
'the food they serve in this house is the best in town'

gaardom ààn ṭroṭà qromtà jibkarir vaašii
'I told my youngest son to talk to him'

kiryos ààn drongà kiryee diyimà
'his house is the biggest in the village'

There is also occasional use of Arabic comparative word forms:

paanjii daaviree asraʕ ṣoyinkii
'she runs faster than anyone'

jaanimee paaṣor bu kam aštaašii, ee aaxir dii varsinmà
'I know that you had a lot of work during the past two years'

keetaa biẓẓabit aaxir marrà lakirdoris?
'where exactly did you see him last?'

7. Pronouns

7.1 Personal and reflexive pronouns

Personal pronouns can appear in default or emphatic form, the latter resembling the formation of emphatic nouns with -in giving -een following vowels, in the singular, or the possessive inflection in the third person singular, and drawing on demonstrative stems in the plural:

Table 6: Personal pronouns

person	default	emphatic
1SG	amaa	ameen
2SG	to	teen
3SG	paanjii	paawos, paanjin
1PL	amiin	amaariin
2PL	tmiin	tmaariin, eereeraa(n)
3PL	paanjiin	oriin, eeriin, hanoriin, haneeriin

The distribution of personal and emphatic pronouns is linked to disambiguation and evidentiality (situational inference):

Default (pre-established information, statement about an established topical entity):

paanjii lajjiikariindii laavčaakee
'she is a shy girl'

Emphatic (situation inference, implied contrast to expectations):

paawos vagir otaayee
'she is already there'

eereeraan kamis xaraab kardees
'you are the ones who ruined it'

Pronouns can, in principle, take Layer II markers, in the absence of a person-inflected preposition (see above) that captures the same semantic case:

amaava ayrà
'he came towards me'

The reflexive pronoun paa 'self' takes an anaphoric reference to the nominative subject of the sentence. On its own, uninflected, it usually serves as a possessive pronoun to the aforementioned subject of the sentence:

lakaavištee paa laavčin paa nawwà guštaryis
'she is showing her daughter her new ring'

bàb ḥaawil kaštee paa quris siknaar
'the father is trying to teach his son'

siknaardà paa laafčis katà kaarnaar aanà
'she taught her daughter how to boil an egg'

ṣaayin akaan kardà paa qziikariišim
'she woke up everybody with her screaming'

paa kurii nà sakirdà lakkir dà
'he was so drunk, he couldn't even find his own house'

haa ṭroṭà qur laa haa ṭroṭii laavčii tiimaarreend paa biibyisaa
'this small boy and this small girl grow up with their aunt'

Appearing in other case roles, the reflexive pronoun can take full nominal inflection including oblique and Layer II markers as well as personal-possession markers (see below):

paayis naxaardom baṭṭaaniiyaakim
'I have covered myself with a blanket'

paayis čiryim briinkardom
'I injured myself with the knife'

faj'a paayis aaviineem lakirdà
'she suddenly saw herself in the mirror'

xuj paykeerà kaammor paardor?
'did you buy yourself anything yesterday?'

baaẓaarintà paykeeromaan pkeez qayyiiš xuunaanee
'we cook ourselves nice meals on weekends'

paykeerà ozgà biiraayaa paardà
'he bought himself another beer'

paardees paykeeroraan nawwà tapšii laa qaašik?
'did you buy yourselves new plates and spoons?'

7.2 Pronominal affixes

There are three orders of pronominal affixes in AD. The first order can be the possessor of a noun, the antecedent of a reflexive pronoun or the referent of one of several a person-inflected prepositions (ab- 'for', nik- 'towards, duun 'without'). Note that the identical set of affixes also serves as singular subject markers in past-tense verbs, attached to the perfective marker (see below, Verbs), in positions preceding a pronominal object marker:

Table 7: First order pronominal affixes

	possessive	prepposition	reflexive
	'house'	ab- 'for'	paa 'self'
1SG	kiryom	abom	paayom
2SG	kiryor	abor	paayor
3SG	kiryos	abos	paayis
1PL	kiryomaa(n)	abomaa(n)	paayoma(n), paayeema(n)
2PL	kiryoraa(n)	aboraa(n)	paayoraa(n), paayeera(n)
3PL	kiryosaa(n)	abosaa(n)	paayin

haa laavčoree?
'is this your daughter?'

beenor mič
'kiss your sister!'
With possessive endings, the vowel carrier is -ee- with plural nouns:

xašteer ṭaṭà paanyim do!
'wash your hands with warm water!'

štaar agoreeraakii tik tiikaa manà ittom
'I gave some bread to your four horses'

paayom briinkardom
'I injured myself'

paayin priinkardeend
'they injured themselves'

The second order appears with a closed set of person-inflected prepositions: vaaš- 'with'.. vat- 'on, about', veeš- 'from', paaṣ- 'with, at'.

Table 8: Second order pronominal affixes

	preposition
	veeš- 'from'
1SG	veešom
2SG	veešor
3SG	veešii
1PL	veešomaa(n)
2PL	veešoraa(n)
3PL	veešyaa(n)

Third order pronominal affixes identify a pronominal object or direct object. The affix usually follows subject agreement markers on the verb. The vowel component may assimilate in both sets to a preceding -ee- segment indicating the plural noun.

Table 9: Third order pronominal affixes

	object pronoun
	lakirdos- 's/he saw'
1SG	-im
2SG	-ir
3SG	-is
1PL	-imaa(n)
2PL	-iraa(n)
3PL	-issaa(n)

Third order pronominal affixes follow subject conjugation markers on verbs and refer to direct or indirect objects:

Direct object:

nà lakirdomis
'I didn't see him'

nà lakirdosim
'he didn't see me'

sindomis laavčinkii
'I heard it from the girls'

qrom pčaardosim paa paapiirità
'my son asked me about his grandfather'

lakirdomiraan saʕtii guldwanii qaštissaa
'I saw you when you were eating sweets'

ḥukmin mikirdosimaan kuryeemaan vašnaan
'the government made us burn our houses'

qiṣṣos rownaadosimaan
'his story made us cry'

ayrorsaa, kaa lakkimir
'if you come, I shall see you'

maanggištomee pčaamis ksee eehaanii kardà
'I would like to ask him why he did this'

pčaadosim kay kaiiyaaree karaa taa misrii karaa
'she asked me what to do to earn some more money'

paariirà saʕtii lakirdosis
'she became scared when she saw him'

mkirdosis jaar
'she made him leave'

baarom neerosim diktoraakikaa
'my brother took me to a doctor'

Indirect object:

faj'a ṭroṭà bojjaa ayrosisaan.
'suddenly a small dog came up to them'

misiryeem ṣà tomis
'I gave him all my money'

araaṭa ayrosis poliisin
'one evening the police came to her'

kaa kamaa deemiraa
'I will give you something'

vaašom misrii hoččiraa šii, deemiraa
'if I had some money I would give it to you'

gaardomisee vator zà vagirtar
'I have already said this to you before'

kay tosir?
'what did he give you?"

7.3 Demonstratives and deictic expressions

Table 10: Deictic expressions

Presentative		
haa(naa)	sg.	subject-nominative, this one
huu	sg.	subject-nominative, specific
eer-	sg.	object-accusative, this one
eeriin	pl.	subject-nominative, these
oriin	pl.	subject-nominative, those
Attributive		
haa	sg.	subject-nominative, default
ee	sg.	oblique object, default
o	sg.	specific (subject and object)
ee	pl.	
Referential		
eehaani, eefaanii, eefaantii		such, it
Adverbial		

harḍa, hattii		in such manner
Place		
eeta		here (situative)
ota		there (aforementioned)

Situative and text deixis:

These are expressions – so-called demonstrative pronouns – that put point to either an item that is in the shared focus of attention within the field of shared perception, or to a portion of the aforementioned discourse (so-called text):

haa laavčoree?
'is this your daughter?'

hanaa laavtii ṭroṭyee
'this is a small girl.

kwa dà eeris istaxdim nà kaštee
'no one uses this anymore'

sindom eerit baareemkii
'I heard about it from my two brothers'

eeriin ṭroṭà qurištindee
'these are small boys'

eeriin o ammatiinee taankii kiryeesan vašrà
'these are the people whose houses were burned down'

The presentational deixis haa is also used to point to a situation as whole:

haa geetaayee!
'there she is!'

A specific version of the deixis, huu 'that one', is used for disambiguation:

nà huu nà baaros vaašyaa saččà misrii aštee
'neither he nor his brother have enough money'

Attributive demonstrative ('proximate', default):

The attributive demonstrative accompanies a noun and can be combined with other attributive expressions such as adjectives and numerals. So-called proximate forms are in effect default forms that point to a referent that is immediately accessible in the perceptual space of the speech situation:

haa kirii kaaštikii hree
'this chair is made of wood'

haa kurii o kuryà neeziktaree
'this house is much closer than that one'

haa vars kaa paavim paaṣoraan
'this year I will come to you'

haa guštarii sownikii hree
'this ring is made of gold'

aštee kwaammor ee kiryim veesree, bas injaanmee koyee
'somebody is living in this house but I don't know who'

horee ee minsikii tiika tutuun deemee
'perhaps I can give this man some cigarettes'

štaar ḍomà qur ee kiryim veesree
'four boys live in this house'

dee paarčaa gaatto ee čaaġikii
'give a piece of cake to this one boy!'

ee ṭroṭà quriin iz duur ayreend
'these small boys came from far away'

ee gaattoyiin hreendee aaṭeekii, šakkarikii, kiirikii, yaa aaneekii
'these cakes are made of flour, sugar, milk and eggs'

koyee ee ammatiin?
'who are these people?'

jaanimee paaṣor bu kam aštaa ši, ee aaxir di varsinmà
'I know that you had a lot of work during the past two years'

ee gluulkin beenomkii neerom
'I got these flowers from my sister'

ee štaar laavčinkii daadosaan jaanimee
'I know the mother of those four girls'

mangirdom jaam vyaar ee ṭrin narninsaa
'I wanted to travel to town with those three men'

Attributive demonstrative ('remote', specific):

The so-called remote demonstrative refers to a specific entity that is through disambiguation of potential referents, often drawing on aforementioned information or further specific through a following relative clause:

koyee o maaniṣkii nikomaanvaa aavištee?
'who is that person that is coming towards us?'

haayee o qurkii misrii tomis
'this is the boy who I gave the money to'

war qaṣdom o taankii o awaṣaar garoris
'I mean the place where you went last summer'

o vars ṭrin maaṣ sii lakirdeen
'last year we had three cold months'

o narnà jaandà katir ṣalliḥkarir aalees
'that man knew how to repair instruments'

kaa geetaayee o čiriikii manjii qaaġaṭis vaakardor
'where is the knife that you opened the letter with?'

eeriin o ammatiinee taankii kiryeesan vašrà
'these are the people whose houses were burned down'

o narnikii bààbom jaannraa jibkardà vaašom
'the man who knew my father talked to me'

o maaynis ʕarrif karaadom diyà maaynintà ṣà
'I introduced this woman to all the women in the village'

kwa o kiryim nà veesree
'nobody is living in that house'

haa kurii o kuryà neeziktaree
'this house is much closer than that one'

komaa qaraaybiin o ḥarbim xisirrà
'she lost many relatives in that war'

maaynin gaardà vatom paanjii nawwee ee diyimà
'the woman told me that she was new in the village'

qafṭirdom o ḥadiidin illii girtkardossan
'I stole the iron that he collected'

insakiree lakkirim, o panḍikii garà
'she can't see me, she is turned the other way'

o araaṭ gurkis maardeend
'they killed the wolf last night'

Referential demonstrative:

The referential deictic eehaani puts into focus an aforementioned state of affairs:

mangištomee pčaamis ksee eehaanii kardà
'I would like to ask him why he did this'

kwaamorin nà mikirdosir eehaanii karaa
'no-one made you do it'

Deixis of manner and quantity:

Manner deixis serves to focus on shared situational knowledge and attribute it as a point of reference, validation and evaluation of a presupposed state of affairs:

ksee harḍa ziʕijree?
'why is she so upset?'

iisim kaanyee vaašom ee harḍa misrii
'I don't have so much money with me right now'

hattii qavyaa sakirdà ḥadiidis ṭiʕijkarir
'he was so strong that he could bend the iron'

hattii jibkardà, ziivraakaraadosim kay mangištoma
'he talked so much, he made me forget what I wanted'

hattii piiraa, paa kurii nà sakištaa lakkir dà
'he was so drunk, he couldn't find his own house anymore'

Place deixis:

Here too, the vowel opposition ee-/o- distinguishes default location, immediately accessible in the speech situation, and specific reference, where identification relies on pre-existing or verbalised knowledge:

kiryis lakkiraa šii, eetaa noraa
'if he had found the house, he wouldn't be here now'

qalma aaviččim eetaa veeštim, buu duur zeetaa veesromaa
'before I came to live here I lived far away from here'

sindom ozgà ḍom eetaa veesree geena
'I heard that other Dom live here as well'

kay paaṣoraan eetaa ṣlaaleem kačapa eehaanii warsiindee?
'do you always have that much rain here in the winter?'

ayya laḥẓaakim waqqiʕomee qurom eetaa hoččir
'I expect my son to come here any minute'

aštee paaṣom eeta diiṭrin kamaa karmisaan qalma kirii pirmee
'I have a few things to do here before I can go back home'

narnikii xuj lakirdomis geena eetaayee
'the man that I saw yesterday is here again'

sakirdeend raštind eetaa bakkiir day lavreenkii paṇḍ neereend
'they managed to arrive here early by taking the way through the woods'

jumſaayà diis garom taa daadom lakkim, bas saſtii otaa raṣrom lakirdom kiryim inraa.
'on Friday I went to see my mother, but when I got there I saw that she wasn't home'

xuj mṣaafrinsaa baarikii gareen; aj kaiyyaaree geena otaa jaam beevkà mṣaafrinsaa
'we went to the local bar with some guests yesterday; today I have to go there again with other guests'

lakirdom narnin dikkaanà vagir vindirdeendee; xuj nafis narnin lakirdom otaa geenaa
'I saw men standing in front of the shop; I saw the same men there yesterday as well'

haa krii kaaštikii hree; otaa muundà maſdanikii here.
'this chair is made of wood; that one over there is made of metal'

7.4 Interrogatives

All interrogatives are derived from Indo-Aryan deictic-interrogative stems in k-, with two items drawing on Layer II markers – kee-ta 'at what place' and kee-va 'where to':

Table 11: Interrogatives

ko	who
keen	who (emphatic)
kay	what
kakkà	which, what kind of
kača	when
Kaa, kaanii	where
keeta	where (at what place)
keeva	where to
kat(r)	how
ktii	how many
karḍa	how long, how much
ksee	why

Person:

ko aavištee vaašor?
'who is coming with you?'

koyee ee ammatiin?
'who are these people?'

koyee o maaniṣkii nikomaanvaa aavištee?
'who is that person that is coming towards us?'

The emphatic marker -in/-een attaches to the person interrogative to indicate disambiguation of potential referents:

keen ee kamis kardà?
'who did this?'

Thing:

kay kardoree?
'what have you done?'

kay kaa hoččim saʕtii drongomee
'what shall I become when I become old?'

kay tosir?
'what did he give you?'

kay kardor qanjor iltihaab keeree?
'what did you do for your sore throat?'

The reduplicated form -ka-kk- indicates specification and potential disambiguation:

kakkikeeree ee kamis kardà?
'what did she do this for?'

kakkà šukil ammat eetaa veesree?
'what kind of people live here?'

kakkà eejak bààboraa jivir ḥaskarree?
'what food does your mother-in-law like?'

Time:

Kača kaa iltiqiiyoččin?
When are we going to meet?

Place:

kaa misiryiin? vaašomištindee
'where is the money? With him'

ee ṣibim kaa keetaayee?
'where is he during the day?'

kaa keetaayee paanjii?
'where is she?'

keetaa čaakeetor vaarltor?
'where did you leave your coat?'

keevaa garà?
'where did he go?'

keetaayee o čiriikii manjii qaaġaṭis vaakardor
'where is the knife that you opened the letter with?'

keetaa biẓẓabt aaxir marrà lakirdoris?
'where exactly did you see him last?'

keetaaištoree?
'where are you?'

Manner:

kat raṣrà eetaa?
'how did he get here?'

kat sakinee vyaar jaan bduunma baarom ṭrambiil mangin?
'how can we get to town without asking for my brother's car?'

Quantity:

kitii ṭrambiil aštee paaṣii?
'how many cars does he have?'

ktii vars maandor fiqrim ʕiišroree?
'how many years have you lived in poverty?'

Reason:

ksee kačapaa jayee baarà taa sii paaraa?
'why do you go out and catch a cold all the time?'

ksee harḍa ziʕijree?
'why is she so upset?'

7.5 Indefinite pronouns

Our data allow us to identify forms for the ontological categories person, thing, location and time (manner is absent), and the functional categories specific, negative, free choice and universal. There are some redundancies in the distinctions: For the ontological category person, a distinction is only made between the universal function ('everyone') and all others. For the ontological categories thing and location, negative and free choice forms are closely related. The greatest degree of differentiation is found on the one hand for universal forms, on the other for the ontological category time. There too we find the most frequent occurrence of borrowings: har 'every' from Kurdish builds the universal forms 'everything' and 'everywhere', and in the time category we find the Arabic loanwords aḥyaanan 'sometime', abadan 'never' and daayman 'always' and Kurdish heeč 'never'. Ontological classifiers include kwaam- for

person, kam- for thing and taan (originally 'place') for location. Indefinite markers are -mor (see below) and the nominal indefinite marker -aak, related to the numeral 'one' and possibly a Kurdish loan or model for convergence.

Table 12: Indefinite expressions

	Specific	Negative	Free Choice	Universal
Person	k(u)waammor 'someone'	k(u)waammor 'no-one'	k(u)waammor 'anyone'	ṣaayiin, čee kwa 'everyone'
Thing	kamaa(k) 'something'	kaammor, kulka 'nothing'	kaammor 'anything'	har kam 'everything'
Location	taanaa(k) 'somewhere'	taanmor 'nowhere'	taanmor 'anywhere'	hartaav 'everywhere'
Time	diisaa(k), aḥyaanan 'sometime'	heeč, abadan 'never'	kačaa 'anytime'	kačapa, daayim, daayman 'always'

Specific:

mangištee kwaammor lakkir eetaa
'he wants to meet someone here'

aštee kwaammor ee kiryim veesree
'somebody is living in this house'

kaa kamaa deemiraa
'I would give you something'

lakirdom kamaa – ḥizir kakkee
'I found something – guess what it is'

ʕijbom inčindà eejak, bijjom ozgà kamaa.
'I don't like this food, give me something else'

ḥisrom aštaa kamaak maanjii saččinniraa
'I could feel that something was wrong with her'

amaava ayrà paa pačii kamaa čààrḍaa
'he came towards me hiding something behind his back'

vatom qattirà kamaakà xirkeerà
'he got angry with me because of something'

har araaṭ mangišta taanaa jaar
'every evening he wanted to go somewhere'

mangištomee jaam taanaakikii pkeez yaa haadii isboʕakà qattà
'I want to go somewhere nice and peaceful for a week'

diisaa kayyaaree zuuroččoma
'you should visit me sometime'

Negative:

kwaammorin nà mkirdosir eehaanii kara
'no-one made you do it'

kwa dà eeris istaxdim nà kaštee
'no one uses this anymore'

kwaammorikii misrii inneerom
'I didn't get money from anyone'

gaardà kwaammor nà jaštee
'she said that she did not know anyone'

kwaammor eetaa injaanmee
'I don't know anybody here'

ma aẓin kwaammorin kardoss
'I don't think anyone did it'

kaammor niree
'nothing happened'

paaṣom kaammor nà maandee taa deemir
'I have nothing left to give to you'

kay tosir? kulka/kaammor
'what did he give you? nothing'

ozgà taanmor kaanya jayaa
'there was nowhere else to go'

nà sakirdeen taanmorit lakkinis
'we couldn't find it anywhere'

heeč palaṣinmà inveesreendee
'they never lived in tents'

heeč vatom gaa inkarree kača aavištee
'he never lets me know when he is coming'

amaa heeč vyaar nà jaamee taa manà paarim
'I never go to the market to buy bread'

Free choice:

kwaammorin lakirdosir ota jaštoree?
'has anyone seen you go there?'

aštee kwaammor kiryim niimrontà?
'is there anybody at home at noon?'

kaammor hree?
'has anything happened?'

kaammor lakirdorsa gaar vaatom
'if you see anything, tell me'

xuj paykeerà kaammor paardor?
'did you buy yourself anything yesterday?'

kačaa paawos jaahizee
'he is ready anytime you are'

insakirdeen taanmorit lakkinis
'we couldn't find it anywhere'

Universal:

paanjii daaviree ṣaayinkii xaliitar
'she runs faster than anybody else'

kaammor nà mangirdà taa piyir
'she didn't want anything to drink'

kaammorkeerà difiʕ nà kardà bààrim
'he didn't pay for anything in the pub'

kačapaa ziivraakarree qaapyis banir
'she always forgets to close the door'

kačapaa mangima jaam Hind
'I have always wanted to go to India'

Indefinite determiners:

The indefiniteness marker -mor participates in the derivation of indefinite expressions, as above, but it can also attach productively to nouns, functioning in effect as an indefiniteness determiner:

ozgà ḍommor injaanmee
'I don't know any other Doms'

kaanyee paaṣii kiriimor
'she does not have (any) house'

kaanyee paaṣii baarmor
'she does not have a brother'

miškilmor kaanyee saaʕid karmir
'there's no problem helping you'

nà maandà taanmor čančortà
'there is no more place next to you'

Further indefinite determiners are tiikaa 'some' and the Arabic loan ayy 'any':

tiikaa manà ittom
'I gave some bread'

aj araaṭ kayyaaree jaam dukkaanikii taa paarim tiika qayyiiš
'I need to go to the shop to buy some food tonight'

insakirdà mangiččir veešom tiikaadii misrii
'she did not dare to ask me for some more money'

ayya laḥẓaakim waqqiʕomee qurom eetaa hoččir
'I expect my son to be here any minute'

8. Numerals

The system of numerals is based heavily on Kurdish. The numerals 1-2 converge with Kurdish. Those for 3-5 and 10 are Indic. The other numerals appear to be direct loans from Kurdish. Those from 60-90 show a vigesimal system, which is not found in standard Kurdish but may well be modelled on one of the regional Kurdish dialects:

1-10: yeeka/yoka, dii/didii, ṭrin, štaar, panj, šeeš, ḥawt, ḥašt, nah, daz
11-19: dazyeeka, dazdii, dasṭrin, dašštaar, daspanj, daššeeš, dazḥawt, dazḥašt, daznaa
20-29: viis/viist, viisyeeka, viisdii/viisdidii, viisṭrin, viištaar, viispanj, viiššeeš, viisḥawt, viisḥašt, viisnaa
30-50: sii, čil, peenjà
60-90 ṭrinviist, ṭrinviisdaz, štaarviist, štaarviisdaz
100: ṣaḍ
1000: ḥaẓaar.

In attributive position, numerals precede the noun and are uninflected:

paaṣom bas yee qiraakee
'I have only one son'

dii qol
'two arms'

dii čmaarii
'two chickens'

paaṣom dii beenee
'I have two sisters'

dii beeneemkii ḍaamosaa buu ṭroṭee
'the room of my two sisters is very small'

navištomee ṭrin ṭroṭà narnità ʕarabaayeesaa
'I am looking for three young men with a cart'

ṭrin narnà zà vyaar kurii ravištindee
'three men are walking home from the market'

mangirdom jaam vyaar ee ṭrin narninsaa
'I wanted to travel to town with those three men'

ṭrin maaynà maṭbaxim gaatto kaštindaa
'three women were baking a cake in the kitchen'

štaar laavtii ḥadiiqeem keelištindee
'four girls are playing in the garden'

štaar qur ee kiryim veesree
'four boys live in this house'

ee štaar laavčinkii daadosaan jaanimee
'I know the mother of those four girls'

hrosim panj varsee diyim veesromee
'I have lived in the village for five years now'

panj daqqee paštar jibkardà
'after five minutes he started to talk'

baaros panj vars veešii drongtaree
'her brother is five years older than her'

Other numerals are often incorporated from Arabic. They include ordinal numerals such as awwal 'first' and taali/taanii 'second', as well as dates:

janiirom alf u tsʕmiyyee u tmeenaw tsʕiinim
'I was born in 1998'

Other expressions of time display a mixture of indigenous and Arabic numerals:

gaardom vatii dikkaan vaakarree saʕa daz
'I said to him that the shop opens at 10'

har ṣibà akaan karmee čaaġom saʕa sabʕa
'every morning I wake up my child at 7 o'clock'

ʕadatan ḥawt akaanomee bas aj šeeš akaanṛom
'I normally wake up at 7 o'clock but today I already woke up at 6'

saʕat dazdii qinḍaaġikii nandros aaviree
saʕ tnaʕiš qinḍaaġikii nandros aaviree
'at 12.00 the baby becomes sleepy'

9. VERBS

9.1 Verb derivation and valency

There are three types of verb derivation structures: a) simple verb stems, b) derivations with the passive affix -yaa- or the causative affix -naa-, and c) derivations with the intransitive/inchoative affix -ho- or the transitive affix -kar-. The second group of affixes derive passive and transitive verbs from plain verb stems (transitive and intransitive, respectively). The third group derives verbs from non-verbs (mostly adjectives). It also integrates loan verbs from the contemporary contact language Arabic and in part also from the recent contact language Kurdish.

Table 13: Passive/intransitive and causative/transitive verbs

	present	past
active	sinmee 'I hear'	sindom 'I heard'
passive	sinyaamee 'I am being heard'	siniirom 'I was heard'
active	sikimee 'I learn'	sikirdom 'I learned'
causative	siknaamee 'I teach'	siknaardom 'I taught'
intransitive	byaamee 'I fear'	biirom 'I feared'
transitive	biinaamee 'I frighten'	biinardom 'I frightened'
active	qaamee 'I eat'	qayrom 'I ate'
causative	qaynaamee 'I feed'	qaynaardom 'I fed'
transitive	qreečkarmee 'I make dirty'	qreečkardom 'I made dirty'
intransitive	qreečhomee 'I get dirty'	qreečhrom 'I got dirty'
transitive	ʕaṣṣibkarmee 'I make angry'	ʕaṣṣibkardom 'I made angry'
intransitive	ʕaṣṣibhomee 'I get angry'	ʕaṣṣibhrom 'I got angry'

The following sets of phrases provide an illustration of the distribution of passive/intransitive and causative/transitive verb derivations:

qafṭirdom o ḥadiidin illii girtkardossan
'I stole the iron that he collected'

orip qaašik qaftiiraa
'the silver spoon was stolen'

čaaġom ʕaśśibkarrimee har diis
'my child makes me angry every day'

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paanjii ʕaṣṣibree
'she is angry'

pirtii agorom qonšomkii fikindom
'later I sold the horse to my neighbour'

komar fikniiraa
'the coal was sold'

siknaardà paa laafčis katr kaarnaar aanà
'she taught her daughter how to boil an egg'

haa gajà ḍomà jib sikištee
'this man learns the romani language'

veesnaardà čaaġis kirsiiyeet taa qaynaaris
'she seats the child on the chair to feed it'

kniiseemà aštee ammat veesree aštee ammat vindirdee
'in the church some people are sitting, some are standing'

kiryim veesreenee
'we are sitting in the house'

čaaġà čààriiree maḥmalà pačii
'the child is hiding behind the cupboard'

čààrištomee manyeem taxtimà
'I am hiding my pearls in the bed'

ṭroṭà čaaġin lavree pačii čààriree
'the little child hid behind a tree'

eejakis čààrdeendee
'they hid the food'

kee xalya kirii qreečoree
'the house gets dirty very easily'

čaaġiin kiryis qreeškarindee
'the children make the house dirty'

drongà bojii čaaġin biinaaree
'a big dog frightens the children'

heeč nà byaavištaa šii
'she wasn't afraid at all either'

ag vašištee
'the fire is burning'

eejakis vašnaardeen
'we burned the food'

daadom mkištimmee qaplameen vašnaam
'my mother makes me burn the old blankets'

ḥukmin mkirdosiman kuryeeman vašnaan
'the government made us burn our houses'

čaaġà rovištee
'the child is crying'

biiš rovnaarimee
'the fear makes her cry'

akkos vagir rovirdà
'he cried at the sight of her'

qiṣṣos rovnaadosimaan
'her story made us cry'

saalfâ jibhiirà zivraahiirà šii
'the story was told and forgotten'

daadyomaan awqaat naameemaan ziivraakarree
'our grandmother sometimes forgets our names'

buu jibkardà, ziivraakaraadosim kay mangištoma
'he talked so much, he made me forget what I wanted'

bojjiin diyomankii ḥasknaardeen
'we drove away the dogs from our village'

bojjiin nasreendee lavreenkii ààreenmà
'the dogs run away into the woods'

aj agoreen bakkiir qaynaavištinnee
'today we are feeding the horses early'

ee diisim pkeez eejak qaštinnee
'nowadays we eat good food'

The auxiliary verb mik- (also mal-) is used to build analytical causative constructions:

abomkeeree qaaġaṭis vjaaldà
'she sent me the letter'

bààbos mikirdoss qaaġaṭis vjaalir
'his father made him send the letter'

diisadii kaa maančir
'she is staying for another day'

beelyosee mikirdosis diisadii maančir
'her friend is making her stay for another day'

mikirdà tapšis laštir
'she lets the plate fall'

baarom mikirdosim peeraamis
'my brother made me bring it back'

The affix −(h)o-/-(h)r- on the other hand can be used productively to form inchoative verbs
from adjectives:

drongà maansiin kačapaa mištondee
'old people get sick all the time'

araaṭim buu pkaalomee, bas qayromsa kaa ṭilločim
'in the evening I get very hungry, but if I eat I'll get very fat'

vaalees tiitik tiitik pnààrištindee
'her hair slowly becomes grey'

qaabiinšii ṭinḍireendee
'it is raining outside and the clothes got wet'

saʕtii čaaġà dandees drongoree lissà nifixoree
'when the child's teeth grow, the gums swell'

ṭroṭà čaaġà taankii ee kamis kardà kaa ʕaqiboččir
'the little boy who did this will be punished'

ʕarabiyiin ṣallḥreend xalii xalii
'the carts were being repaired quickly'

čaaġees ṣaa ee kniiseem ʕammidreend
'all his children were baptised at this church'

9.2 Person inflection

Alongside Romani, the Dom language display one of the most conservative states of affairs in
regard to the preservation of the Middle Indo-Aryan present tense conjugation. On the other
hand, it shows a renewal of the part-tense conjugation drawing on what historically appear to
have been in part person possessive endings that attached to a participle (see Matras 2002,

2012), in the singular, and analogical formations to the present tense endings, preceded by a plurality marker -ee-, in the plural.

In the present tense, consonantal endings often combine with epenthetic vowels when adjoined by tense-aspect affixes, or, in the case of the vocalic 2SG inflection ending, with glides y, w or sometimes with underlying consonantal segments from derivation affixes that are shortened in other environments. All consonantal endings can be followed by the contextualising tense marker -ee, the remoteness tense marker -aa, which can accompany both the present and past tense conjugations. In the subjunctive (which also serves the future tense) an internal marker −(ho)čč- usually mediates between the present verb stem and the person ending.

Table 14: Verb conjugation: person inflection markers

	present	past
1SG	-m	-om
2SG	-ee	-or
3SG	-r	-os
1PL	-n	-een
2PL	-s	-ees
3PL	-nd	-eend

9.3 Tense, aspect and modality

Tense, aspect and modality categories are based on combinations of the verb stem, which can inflect for present or past (perfective) with slight phonological alterations (quasi-suppletion, and seldom genuine suppletion), the presence or absence of a perfective tense marker, the presence or absence of external tense markers -ee (contextual) and -aa (remote) and modification through an external future marker kaa and a final conjunction taa 'in order to' or its equivalents.

Table 15: Tense, aspect modality categories

present-contextual	karmee	'I do'
present-progressive	karištomee	'I am doing'
past-habitual	karmaa	'I used to do'
past-progressive	karištomaa	'I was doing'
perfective (simple past)	kardom	'I did'
perfect	kardomee	'I have done'
pluperfect-counterfactual	kardomaa	'I had done'
subjunctive	karim	'that I do'
conditional (past subjunctive)	karmaa	'I would do'
future	kaa karim	'I will do'
imperative	kar!	'do!'

The layout of the verb consists of the lexical verb stem in first position, verb derivation (valency marker), subject person inflection markers, object person inflection marker and tense affix. This means that tense affixes are external not only to subject person inflection markers but also to object person inflection affixes when those occur:

fimmomisee saččà
'I understand him very well'

ṣaddiqinkarmisee
'I don't believe her'

haz jawaazom inneeromee, maaṣaakim neemisee
'I haven't received my passport yet, I'll get it in a month'

jibiinkii jibkarmisaanee abor mixxorim maančind
'you should keep in mind what I tell you'

vaašom misrii hoččiraa šii, deemiraa šii
'if I had some money I would give it to you.

taawos jaanimaa šii, nà pčaadoomraa
'I wouldn't ask you if I knew where it is'

peeṭos duknaavištirsee ya qaykaštee
'his belly hurts him and he vomits'

sindom pzeek kamaa kindosiree vyaarim
'I heard that you have got a good job in town'
mangirdom veešii jaar
'I asked him to go away'

Present-contextual:

The present tense accompanied by the contextualising marker -ee denotes an ongoing an open-ended activity or event:

daayim kiirikii ṣbà bakkiir jaamee
'I usually go for milk early in the morning'

ee ṣibim kaa keetaayee
'where is he during the day?'

baaẓaarintà paykeeromaan pkeez qayyiiš xuunaanee
'we cook ourselves nice meals on weekends'

ṣibim qaḥwà piinee, araamṭim čaay piinee
'in the morning we drink coffee and in the evening we drink tea'

haz karḍa ammat aštee qarit barkarree
'how many people still travel with carts?'

buu zuurorimee bas heeč vatom gaa inkarree kača aavištee
'he visits me often, but he never lets me know when he is coming'

ko sakiree ʕammir karir kurya vee bizmaar
'who can build a house without nails?'

maaʕada daadjomkii kwa diyomaanmà injaannree faal vaakarir
'except for our grandmother nobody in our village knows how to tell the fortune'

hayf ʕaardikii dormačaaros jaaree
'the moon goes around the earth'

komaa sir vatii jaannree
'she knows many secrets about him'

Present-progressive:

The progressive form is built around the affix -išt-, which goes back to a grammaticalised auxiliary based on the existential verb 'to be'. The affix attaches to the present-tense person conjugation markers, with the exception of the 2SG, which uses the perfective person marker here (ka-št-or-ee 'you are doing').

The present-progressive denotes an ongoing activity or event that is within the immediate reach of participants in the interaction and while it is not explicitly delimited in time and space it is understood to be of fixed and short-term duration:

nakom diknaavištee
'my nose hurts'

ṭroṭii laavčom byaavištee kopirtyis činir
'my little daughter is scared to go across a bridge'

mangištomee jaam taanaakkii pkeez yaa haadii isboʕakà qattà
'I want to go somewhere nice and peaceful for a week'

buu zuurorimee bas heeč vatom gaa inkarree kača aavištee
'he visits me often, but he never lets me know when he is coming'

yeekeemaantà gaardeen: keetaaištinnee
'we said to one another: where are we?'

ṭrin narnà zà vyaar kurii ravištindee
'three men are walking home from the market'

bas yee quraakee vee ṣaṣ akiikaštee
'only one boy is waiting quietly'

mangištomee ee štaar qirinsaa jibkarim
'I want to talk to those four boys'

kičmaarà! kay kaštoree
'old man! what are you doing?'

zakkirištee ṭrin maayninkii naameesaan
'she remembers the names of three women'

štaar laavtii ḥadiiqeem keelištindee
'four girls are playing in the garden'

navištomee ṭrin ṭroṭà narnità ʕarabaayeesaa
'I am looking for three young men with a cart'

gajaa lakirdom panḍit rawištee
'I saw a man walking down the street'

The contrast between the present-contextual and present-progressive is nicely illustrated by the following pair of phrases. The first denotes a general, lasting state of affairs; the second, with the same lexical verb, denotes a very particular and narrow temporal window in regard to a delimited ongoing activity:

fimmomisee saččà
'I understand him very well'

'fimmištomee har gaalkii gakaštissee'
I understand every single word he says

Past habitual (present-remote):

This tense-aspect form is composed of the present stem and the external remoteness marker -aa. It denotes an iterative, open-ended activity, often one that serves as the background for another punctual activity:

har diis vyaar jaamaa
'I used to go to the market every day'

jaanimaa laavčaa heeč vaašii misrii kaanyaa
I knew a girl who never had any money with her.

maaʕada kičmaareekii ṣaayiin siikaarà piindaa
Except for an old man everybody was smoking.

paaṣor buu kam aštaa ee aaxir di varsinmà
'you had a lot of work during the past two years'

kačapaa mangima jaam Hind
'I have always wanted to go to India'

Past progressive (progressive remote):

The progressive remote is composed of the present-progressive and the remoteness marker -aa. It transposes into the past an activity or event that are viewed from the perspective of an observer of the yet to be completed state of affairs that is still ongoing:

àarosaam vindirda laa vaašya jibkaštaa
'she was standing between them and talking to them'

baaromssa keelištomaa
'I was playing with my brother'

ṭrin maaynà maṭbaxim gaatto kaštindaa
'three women were baking a cake in the kitchen'

kuriikii jibkarištoraa vatii lakirdomis
'I saw the house that you were talking about'

aštaa narnaa yaaṣyintà vator pčaavištaa
'there was a man asking for you in the afternoon'

har araṭ mangišta taanaa jaar
'every evening he wanted to go somewhere'

horee alkee činištaa
'maybe he was telling lies'

Past perfective (simple past):

The past perfective is formed from the past stem of the lexical verb, to which a perfective marker
is added based on the inflection class (see below), followed by a person marker of the past tense
set. The past perfective denotes an action that has been completed:

pčaadom ko garà vyaar xamiisà diis.
'I asked who went to town on Thursday'

vatom qattirà kamaakà xirkeerà
'he got angry with me because of something'

xuj paykeerà kaammor paardor?
'did you buy yourself anything yesterday?'

ṭroṭii laavčaa ayrà taa vaašom načiččir
'a little girl came to the dance with me'

nà sakirdeen lakkin daadomkii orip guštaryos
'we couldn't find my mother's silver ring'

gaardeen qromaantà vindaayikarà hoččir
'we told our son to become a musician'

paardees paykeeroraan nawwà tapšii laa qaašik?
'did you buy yourselves new plates and spoons?'

čaaġiin z šabbaakee sminkii lakirdeend
'the children looked through a hole in the fence'

eejakis čàardeend
'they hid the food'

ġaabeem kiryaa lakirdom
'I saw a house in the forest'

panḍomtà kirii maaynaakisa jibkardom
'on my way home I talked to a woman'

agorom qonšomkii fikindom.
'I sold the horse to my neighbour'

janiišom diisintà radyoyaa hrà paaṣom
'I got a radio for my birthday'

jibkar abom kay kardor ajà
'tell me what you have done today'

Past perfect:

The past perfect is contextualised past tense. It consists of the past perfective form to which the contextualising marker -ee is added. It denotes a completed action the outcome of which is detectable in the speech situation or immediate context:

haz inraṣree
'he hasn't arrived yet'

kaammor hree?
'has anything happened?'

paaṣom kaammor nà maandee taa deemir
'I have nothing left to give to you'

pištaa šii niiroree tutuun veešii?
'did you really get the tobacco from him?'

badaal sijqikii garee qurom paardee guldwaanii
'instead of sausages my son bought sweets'

Past-perfect as present:

With the verbs 'sit' and 'become' the past-perfect form has acquired a present tense meaning. In both cases, the emphasis is on the outcome of a process that has come to an end:

kiryim veesreenee
'we are sitting in the house'

keetaa veesree ḥaṭṭa awaṣaar?
'where does he live until the summer'

amaa vyaarim veesromee bas paanjii daštit veesree
'I live in town but he lives in the countryside'

aštee kwaammor ee kiryim veesree
'somebody is living in this house'

drongà baarom ruusyaam veesree
'my older brother lives in Russia'

haa guštarii ṣownikii hree
'this ring is made of gold'

haa kirsiiyà kaštikii hree,
'this chair is made of wood'

baarà warsiindà vaštee qaabiinšii ṭinḍireendee
'it is raining outside and the clothes are getting wet'

kirii dihinree
'the house is painted'

paanjii xiṭibree
'he is engaged'

paanjii ʕaṣṣibree
'she is getting angry'

The same form can also be used in the conventional perfect meaning:

sofyaam zà vagirtar veesroree?
'have you ever lived in Sofia?

hrosim panj varsee diyim veesromee
'I have lived in the village for five years now'

heeč palaṣinmà inveesreendee
'they never lived in tents'

Pluperfect and counterfactual (remote past):

The pluperfect is a remote past. It is composed of the past perfective to which the remoteness marker -aa is added. It denotes a past event that had already been completed at a past reference point in time. The decontextualisation achieved by the remoteness marker also lends the pluperfect a counterfactual reading of an event that might have happened but did not:

kiryom ayror bas kiryim niištomaa, baarà garomaa šii
'you came to my house but I was not at home, I had gone out'

vindirdomaa čančortà bas teen nà lakirdorim
'I had been standing next to you but you didn't see me'

qalma kirii raštinaa šii garaa
'before we reached the house she had already gone'

qniinik niiyiirà beelyomkii
'the bottle had been taken away by my friends'

taawos jaanimaa šii, nà pčaadomiraa
'I wouldn't have asked you if I knew where it is'

kiryis lakkiraa šii, eetaa noraa
'if he had found the house, he wouldn't be here now'

aaviččimaa xuj, lakirdomiraa
'if I had come yesterday, I would have seen you'

garaa šii, qalmaa otaa raaštinaa.
'he had already gone before we got there'

vaašom misrii hoččiraa šii, tomiraa šii
'if I had some money, I would have given it to you.'

Subjunctive:

The subjunctive is formed from the bare present tense form of the verb consisting of the verb stem and person ending without a contextualising marker, for most transitive verbs, and through addition to the verb stem of the affix -č- (geminated following vowels) followed by the person conjugation marker, without a contextualising marker, for most verbs of motion or change of state (with a few exceptions, such as jaa- 'go'). The subjunctive denotes dependency of a target action on the realisation of the modality condition expressed by a modal auxiliary or a lexical word that indicates intention. In such purpose clauses, the subjunctive verb is often introduced by the particle taa 'in order to, so that':

mangištomee ṣaḥafii hoččim
'I want to become a journalist'

biyaavištomee rafčim yeerkaanii traakyimà
'I am afraid to walk alone in the dark'

kaa jaam sivčim iis
'I am going to sleep now'

šibbaakees vaakardom taa sakiččim sinmir
'I opened the window so that I can hear you'

kaa šibbaakees banim taa nà sakiččir sinrir.
'I will shut the window so that he can't hear'

insakirdà mangiččir veešom tiikaadii misrii
'she did not dare to ask me for some more money'

paaṣii quwwà kaanya kirii pirčir
'she did not have the strength to walk back home'

nà sakirdom qinaʕkarmis vaašom aaviččir
'I couldn't convince her to come with me'

ammatin ho difiškaštee taa qilčir baaṣim
'she pushes the people aside to get on the bus'

vjaaldeen yeeka taa vaaryis mangiččir
'we sent someone to ask for the bride'

aj araaṭ kayyaaree jaam dukkaanikii taa paarim tiika qayyiiš
'I need to go to the shop to buy some food tonight'

sakee ee simin daavim karaa?
'can you mend these holes with thread?'

ko sakiree ʕammirkarir kurya vee bizmaar
'who can build a house without nails?'

kwa diyomaanmà injaannree faal vaakarir
'nobody in our village knows how to tell the fortune'

paanjiišii qaapyis nà sakirdà vaakarir
'he too could not open the door'

insakirdeen taanmorit lakkinis
'we couldn't find it anywhere'

The subjunctive also appears in adverbial clauses that express anteriority:

qalma aaviččim eetaa veeštim, buu duur zeetaa veesromaa
'before I came to live here I lived far away from here'

Conditional (past subjunctive):

The conditional is composed of the subjunctive with addition of the remoteness marker -aa. It denotes a hypothetical state of affairs that did not take place and is usually accompanied on the parallel side of the construction by the counterfactual or pluperfect tense:

taawos jaanimaa šii, nà pčaadomiraa
'I wouldn't have asked you if I knew where it is'

aaviččimaa xuj, lakirdomiraa
'if I had come yesterday, I would have seen you'

xuj aaviččaasaa lakirdorisaa šii
'if you had come yesterday, you would have seen her.

kiryis lakkiraa šii, eetaa noraa.
'if he had found the house, he wouldn't be here now'

vaašom misrii hoččiraa šii, tomiraa šii
'if I had some money I would give it to you'

Future:

The future tense is an analytical formation. It combines the future marker kaa with the subjunctive:

ṣbaa kaa ee kamis xalaas hoččim pirtii vyaar kaa jaam
'tomorrow I will finish this work and after that I will go to town'

aj kaa neem agorees geena
'today I will take the horse again'

araaṭim buu pkaalomee, bas qayromsaa kaa ṭilloččim
'in the evening I get very hungry, but if I eat I'll get fat'

kay kaa hoččim saʕtii drongomee?
'what shall I become when I become old?

ʕan qariib kaa vaašom saččà misiryaa hoččir taa paarim sayyaarom
'soon I will have enough money to afford my own car'

ṭroṭà čaaġà taankii ee kamis kardà kaa ʕaqiboččir
'the little boy who did this will be punished'

kača kaa iltiqiiyoččin?
'when are we going to meet?'

ààn ṭroṭà qros kaa drongà kamaa hoččir diisa
'his youngest son will be a great man one day'

niimro paštar kaa zuuroččimir
'I will visit you in the afternoon

injaanmee karḍa kaa duur maančim
'I do not know how long I am going to be away'

haa vars kaa paavim paaṣora
'this year I will come to you'

kaa jaam sivčim iis day taʕbaaništomee
'I am going to sleep now because I'm tired'

ṣbaa kaa ee kamis xalaas hoččim pirtii vyaar kaa jam
'tomorrow I will finish this work and after that I will go to town'

kiir buu piiromsaa, kaa čakkoččim
'if I drink a lot of milk, I will be strong'

horee tammozim kaa warsiindà vaar
'it is possible that it will rain in July'

kaa šabbaakees banim taa nà saakiččir sinrir
'I will shut the window so that he can't hear'

diisadii kaa maančir
'she is staying for another day'

Imperative:

The imperative is the command form. It consists structurally in most cases either of the plain verb stem or of the second person subjunctive form, in syntactic isolation and accompanied by the relevant intonation or contextual cue to instigate a command illocution:

huwwaa juu!
'go away!' (sg)

huwwaa jaas
'go away!' (pl)

paa eetaa
'come here!' (sg)

paavis eetaa
'come here!' (pl)

qaymii
'eat!' (sg)

qaymis
'eat!' (pl)

pii
'drink!' (sg)

piiis
'drink!' (pl)

quuẓotii
'bow down!' (sg)

quuẓoččis
'bow down!' (pl)

xalii jirsaaviiyotii
'marry (a woman) soon!' (sg)

xalii jirsaaviiyoččis
'marry (a woman) soon!' (pl)

xalii miniskar
'marry (a man) soon!' (sg)

xalii miniskaris
'marry (a man) soon!' (pl)

aaviččis eetaa
'come here!' (pl)

xolamišnoččis
'don't get angry!' (pl)

beenor mič
'kiss your sister!' (sg)

waṭis ko, ḥadiiqeem duul ẓir
'throw the stone, throw soil in the yard!' (sg)

qaapyis ban!
'close the dor!' (sg)

čaaġis štaal!
'lift the child!' (sg)

ḍhimkaros
'push him!' (sg)

xašteer ṭaṭà paanyim do
'wash your hands with warm water!' (sg)

misiryin girtkar
'collect the money!' (sg)

dee paarčaa gaatto ee čaaġikii
'give a piece of cake to this boy!'

The first-person plural imperative is constructed with the auxiliary verb mik- 'let' as prompt, followed by the subjunctive:

mik kinčin qalma warsiindà vaaree
'let's go out before it starts to rain!'

There are at least two procedures to derive converbal expressions from verb. These are used to form complex sentences in which one predication is used to modify another. The two predications are in a hierarchical relationship with one being the principal and other the secondary one. The converbal constructions might be regarded as gerundial.

In the first such construction, the converbal predicate appears in the past progressive form and is introduced by the particle huušii:

huušii rovištaa čančomaantà veesrà
'crying she sat down next to us'

huušii akiikaštinnaa hrà warsiindà lvaar
'tt started to snow while we were waiting'

huušii akanim kamkaštinnaa vindaayà vindaayà kaštinna,
'we sang songs while we were working in the field'

vindaayà kaštaa huušii qaabin dowištaa
'inging she was washing the laundry'

The second construction type features a nominalisation of the converbal predicate drawing on the nominaliser -iiš, with the nominalised predicate appearing in the locative case:

akiikariišosmà kaasaa vodka piireen
'waiting for him we had a glass of vodka'

ṣaayin akaankardà paa qziikariišim
'she woke up everybody with her screaming'

9.5 Verb inflection classes

Like other related Indo-Iranian languages AD shows several verb inflection classes. Classes are defined through the structural relationship between the present and perfective (past) verb stems, the shape of the perfective marker, and the shape of the subjunctive and the imperative (in particular local phonological processes that have to do with the adaptation of the verb stem to individual person inflection markers, usually in the present tense, and particularly in the second person singular, where they are more variable). Verb derivational procedures such as passive and causative, intransitive/inchoative and transitive markers, also play a role and have an impact on these factors.

Table 16: Group 1: The verb stem ends in a dental or sonorant consonant; an epenthetic vowel or vowel stem reduction may appear with stems ending in -n such as jaan- 'know'
naan- 'bring'; the subjunctive consists of the person-inflected form of the verb stem with absence of the contextualising (or remoteness) marker; the perfective marker is -d-:

kar 'do'
also: gaar- 'say', vaakar- 'open', paar- 'buy', ban- 'shut', čar- 'drive', biinaa- 'frighten', čin- 'cut', sin- 'hear', jaan- 'know', naan- 'bring'

Transitive/agentive derivation and loan verbs are usually integrated into this groups: jibkar- 'speak', kamkar- 'work', ḥaskar- 'like', vaakar- 'open', ṣaddiqkar- 'believe', saaʕidkar- 'help', ḥaawilkar- 'try', qaddimkar- 'serve', etc.

	present	past	imperative	subjunctive
1SG	karmee	kardom		karim
2SG	karee	kardor	kar	karaa
3SG	karree	kardà		karir
1PL	karnee	kardeen		karin
2PL	karsee	kardees	karis	karis
3PL	karindee	kardeend		karind

Table 17: Group 2: This group contains intransitive verbs expressing state or motion; an epenthetic vowel may appear between the stem and consonantal person affixes; the subjunctive uses the marker -č- while the singular imperative has -t-; the perfective marker is -d-:

maan- 'stay'
also: kin- 'exit', vindir- 'stand up'

	present	past	imperative	subjunctive
1SG	maanimee	maandom		maančim
2SG	maanee	maandor	maantii	maančaa
3SG	maaniree	maandà		maančir
1PL	maaninee	maandeen		maančin
2PL	maanisee	maandees	maančis	maančis
3PL	maanindee	maandeend		maančind

Table 18: Group 3: The verb stem ends in a consonant; an epenthetic vowel may appear between the stem and consonantal person affixes; the subjunctive uses the marker -č- and the singular imperative has -t-; the perfective marker contains an intensifying marker -ird-:

rov- 'cry'
xaz- 'laugh', sak- 'can', nang- 'enter', nač- 'dance'
mang- 'want', mič- 'kiss'
The verbs mik- 'leave', lak- 'see, find' also belong to this group but form their subjunctive like Group 1, i.e. without the marker *-č-.

	present	past	imperative	subjunctive
1SG	rovimee	rovirdom		rovčim
2SG	rovee	rovirdor	rovtii	rovčaa
3SG	roviree	rovirdà		rovčir
1PL	rovinee	rovirdeen		rovčin
2PL	rovisee	rovirdees	rovčis	rovčis
3PL	rovindee	rovirdeend		rovčind

Table 19: Group 4: The verb stem is augmented by a transitive/causative derivation marker -naa; the 2SG form shows a mediating consonant -v-; the perfective marker is -rd-:

siknaa- 'teach'
saavnaa- 'lose', pišnaa- 'make sbdy leave', vašnaa- 'burn', rovnaa- 'make sbdy cry', biinaa- 'frighten', qaynaa- 'feed', kààrnaa- 'cook', diknaa- 'hurt'
also: pčaa 'ask'; this verb appear to assimilate the transitive/causative marker, dropping the *-n- segment, while the perfective marker is sometimes simplified from -rd- to -d-

	present	past	imperative	subjunctive
1SG	siknaamee	siknaardom		siknaam
2SG	siknaavee	siknaardor	siknaa	siknaavaa
3SG	siknaaree	siknaardà		siknaar
1PL	siknaanee	siknaardeen		siknaan
2PL	siknaasee	siknaardees	siknaas	siknaas
3PL	siknaandee	siknaardeend		siknaand

Table 20: Group 5: The vowel stem ends in a vowel; the perfective marker is -rd-:

to- 'put'

	present	past	imperative	subjunctive
1SG	tomee	tordom		tom
2SG	towee	tordor	to	towaa
3SG	toree	tordà		tor
1PL	tonee	tordeen		ton
2PL	tosee	tordees	tos	tos
3PL	tondee	tordeend		tond

Table 21: Group 6: The verb stem ends in -s; the subjunctive is formed with the marker -t- (apparently a result of dissimilation of the verb stem to *-č-); the perfective marker is -r-:

vees- 'sit'
raṣ- 'arrive'; here the stem consonant -ṣ- appears as -š- in the subjunctive

	present	past	imperative	subjunctive
1SG	veesimee	veesrom		veeštim
2SG	veesee	veesror	veeštii	veeštaa
3SG	veesiree	veesrà		veeštir
1PL	veesinee	veesreen		veeštin
2PL	veesisee	veesrees	veeštis	veeštis
3PL	veesindee	veesreend		veeštind

Table 22: Group 7: The verb stem ends in a vowel; the perfective marker is -r-:

pii- 'drink'
nee- 'take'

	present	past	imperative	subjunctive
1SG	piimee	piirom		piyim
2SG	piyee	piiror	pii	piyaa
3SG	piiree	piirà		piyir
1PL	piinee	piireen		piyin
2PL	piisee	piirees	piyis	piyis
3PL	piindee	piireend		piyind

Table 23: Group 8: The verb stem alternates between -aav/-aa and -ay; the subjunctive carries the marker -čč- (geminated following an epenthetic vowel) and the singular imperative has -t-; the perfective marker is -r-:

aav- 'come'
qaa- 'eat', vaa- 'hit': these form a sub-group, with no epenthetic vowel before the consonantal person ending and but a glide -y- in the 2SG, and no marker *-č- in the subjunctive.

	present	past	imperative	subjunctive
1SG	aavimee	ayrom		aaviččim
2SG	aavee	ayror	aavitii	aaviččaa
3SG	aaviree	ayrà		aaviččir
1PL	aavinee	ayreen		aaviččin
2PL	aavisee	ayrees	aaviččis	aaviččis
3PL	aavindee	ayreend		aaviččind

Table 24: Group 9: The verb stem is augmented by an intransitive/inchoative/passive derivation marker -yaa-; the subjunctive uses the marker -č- and the singular imperative has -t-; the perfective marker is -iir-:

byaa- 'fear'
čàaryaa- 'hide (itr.)', saavyaa- 'get lost', sinyaa- 'be heard', kov-/kow- (stem alternation present/past) 'fall'

	present	past	imperative	subjunctive
1SG	byaamee	biirom		byaavčim
2SG	byaavee	biiror	byaavtii	byaavčaa
3SG	byaaree	biirà		byaavčir
1PL	byaanee	biireen		byaavčin
2PL	byaasee	biirees	byaavčis	byaavčis
3PL	byaandee	biireend		byaavčind

Table 25: Group 10: The verb stem is augmented by an intransitive/inchoative derivation marker -(h)o-; the subjunctive uses the marker -č- (geminated following the vowel) and the singular imperative has -t-; the perfective marker is -iir-:

drong(h)o- 'grow'
vidd(h)o- 'become old', sikr- 'become drunk'
also jan- 'be born' (no presence of -ho-); here there is no *-č- in the subjunctive

	present	past	imperative	subjunctive
1SG	drongomee	drongiirom		drongoččim
2SG	drongowee	drongiiror	drongotii	drongoččaa
3SG	drongoree	drongiirà		drongoččir
1PL	drongonee	drongiireen		drongoččin
2PL	drongosee	drongiirees	drongoččis	drongoččis
3PL	drongondee	drongiireend		drongoččind

Table 26: Group 11: The verb stem is augmented by an intransitive/inchoative derivation marker -(h)o-; the subjunctive uses the marker -č- (geminated following the vowel) and the singular imperative has -t-; the perfective marker is -r-:

amiišho- 'descend'
xolamiišho- 'get angry', jirsaaviiho- 'marry (a woman)'
Intransitive/non-agentive loan verbs are usually integrated into this group: fimmo- 'understand', ʕiišho- 'live', twaqqʕho- 'expect', krihho- 'hate', ʕaṣṣibho- 'get angry', ziriʕho- 'grow', etc.

	present	past	imperative	subjunctive
1SG	amišhomee	amišrom		amišoččim
2SG	amišhowee	amišror	amišotii	amišoččaa
3SG	amišhoree	amišrà		amišoččir
1PL	amišhonee	amišreen		amišoččin
2PL	amišhosee	amišrees	amišoččis	amišoččis
3PL	amišhondee	amišreend		amišoččind

Table 27: Group 12: The verb stem shows present/past alternation; the subjunctive has -č- (geminated following the vowel) and the singular imperative has -t-; the perfective has -r-:

mar- 'die'

	present	past	imperative	subjunctive
1SG	marmee	mrom		marčim
2SG	maree	miror	martii	marčaa
3SG	marree	mirà		marčir
1PL	marnee	mireen		marčin
2PL	marsee	mires	marčis	marčis
3PL	marindee	mireend		marčind

Table 28: Group 13: The present stem ends in a consonant, the past stem ends in a vowel; the subjunctive has -č- and the singular imperative has -t-; the perfective marker is -t-:

siv- 'sleep'

	present	past	imperative	subjunctive
1SG	sivmee	sittom		sivčim
2SG	svee	sittor	sivtii	sivčaa
3SG	sivree	sittà		sivčir
1PL	sivnee	sitteen		sivčin
2PL	sivsee	sittees	sivčis	sivčis
3PL	sivindee	sitteend		sivčind

Table 29: Group 14: The verb stem consists of a single consonant; the perfective stem is t-:

d- 'give'

	present	past	imperative	subjunctive
1SG	deemee	tom		deem
2SG	diyee	tor	dee	diyaa
3SG	deeree	tà		deer
1PL	deenee	teen		deen
2PL	deesee	tees	dees	dees
3PL	deendee	teend		deend

Table 30: Group 15: The verb stem is suppletive; the perfective marker is -r-: the singular imperative is irregular:

jaa- 'go'

	present	past	imperative	subjunctive
1SG	jaamee	garom		jaam
2SG	jayee	garor	juu	jayaa
3SG	jaaree	garà		jaar
1PL	jaanee	gareen		jaan
2PL	jaasee	garees	jaas	jaas
3PL	jaandee	gareend		jaand

Table 31: Group 16: Present indicative stem often merges with the subjunctive set in -č- (geminated following the vowel) and the singular imperative has -t-; the perfective marker is -r- attaching to the past/perfective verb stem h. The subjunctive if often used as present indicative:

hočč/h- 'become'

	present	past	imperative	subjunctive
1SG	home	hrom		hоččim
2SG	howee	hror	hotii	hočča
3SG	horee	hrà		hoččir
1PL	honee	hreen		hoččin
2PL	hosee	hrees	hoččis	hoččis
3PL	honde	hreend		hoččind

The copula is the verb -išto-. It takes present-tense person inflection markers along with the contextualising marker -ee for the present tense and the remoteness marker -aa for the past tense:

Table 32: Copula inflection

	present	past
1SG	ištomee	ištomaa
2SG	ištoree	ištoraa
3SG	(y)ee	(y)aa
1PL	ištinne	ištinnaa
2PL	ištissee	ištissaa
3PL	ištindee	ištinndaa

The full copula form in -išt- appears with first and second persons as well as in the third person plural:

yeerkaanii ištomee duunor
'I am lonely without you'

araaṭà niimos akaanrom, gaardom: keetaaištomee?
'at midnight I woke up and said: where am I?'

kiryimištomaa
'I was at home'

kiryom ayror bas kiryim niištomaa
'you came to my house but I was not at home'

saʕtii ṭroṭištomaa kačaapaa vyaar jaamaa
'when I was young I used to go to the market often'

paanjiin iis fakkir vayreend bààrimištomaa
'they probably thought that I was in the pub'

garom kirii day taʕbaaništomaa
'I went home because I was tired'

xuj mištištomaa
'yesterday I was ill'

tošii yeerkaanii ištoree duunom?
'are you lonely without me as well?'

kaa geetaaištoree?
'where are you (sg)?'

haa geetaaištoree
'there you are (sg)!'

ṣbaa kiryimništoree
'tomorrow you will not be at home'

kiryimištoraa
'you were at home'

xuj to mištištoraa
'yesterday you were ill'

yeekeemaantà gaardeen: keetaaištinnee?
'we said to one another: where are we?'

haa geetaaištinnee'
'there we are!'

xuj amiin mištištinnaa
'yesterday we were ill'

keetaaištissee?
'where are you (pl)?'

haa geetaaištissee
'there you are (pl)!'
xuj tmiin mištištissaa
'yesterday you (pl) were ill'

čaaǧeem ṣà dirgištindee
'all my children are tall'

čaaǧeem ṣà haz ṭrotištindee
'all my children are still small'

diyim muundà kiyiin ṣà pnààrištindee
'all the houses are white in this village'

eeriin ṭroṭà qurištindee
'these are small boys'

ṭarnà qiriin čakkištindee
'young men are very courageous'

baareemkii kiryeesaan nawwureeštindee laa drongištindee
'my brothers' houses are new and big'

kaa misiryiin? vaašomištindee
'where is the money? with him'

keetaaištindee?
'where are they?'

haa keetaaištindee
'there they are!'

xuj oriin mištištindaa
'yesterday they were ill'

In the third person singular, the tense forms −(y)ee (present, contextual) and −(y)aa (past, remote) are used:

kaa geetaayee paanjii?
'where is she?'

ee ṣbim kaa keetaayee?
'where is he during the day?'

paawos izvagir otaayee
'she is already there'

haa geetaayee, o dirgà lavree čančitee
'there he is, near that tall tree'

qurom ṭroṭee
'my son is small'

haa laavčoree?
'is this your daughter?'

haa huurtomee
'this is my own land'

paanjii lajjiikariindii laavčaakee
'she is a shy girl'

hanaa laavtii ṭroṭyee
'this is a small girl'

paasom bas yee qiraakee
'I have only one son'

ṭroṭà baarom Hingaryaamee
'my younger brother is in Hungary'

bààbom kirii neezikee
'my father's house is nearby'

xuj paanjii mištaa
'yesterday she was ill'

o narnikii kiryos buu pnaaraa
'the man's house was very old'

kiryimaa
'he was at home'

The negation of the third person copula is constructed with the third person inflection marker -r- giving inree 'is not' in the present tense and inraa 'was not' in the past tense (with variants innaa, inyaa, ninyaa):

aansee ozgà taanaakkee, zà taanomaankii inree
'the female teacher is from elsewhere, she isn't from our area'

tomis iyyee day laazmom inraa
'I gave it away because I had no use for it'

qniinik ṭawleet inraa
'the bottle was not on the table'

kiryiminraa
'he was not at home'

paanjii vaašom gaa inraa
'she was not nice to me'

9.7 Presentative / existentialašt- and kaany-

The verb ašt- is an impersonal verb form that denotes existence and is used in presentative constructions to introduce states of affairs. It is normally inflected for the third person with the contextual marker -ee in the present tense and the remoteness marker -aa in the past tense.

aštee kwaammor ee kiryim veesree
'there is somebody is living in this house'

aštee kwaammor kiryim niimrontà?
'is there anybody at home at noon?'

haz karḍa ammat aštee qarit barkarree?
'how many people are there who still travel with carts?'

ḥisrom aštaa kamaak manjii saččà inraa
'I could feel there was something wrong with her'

aštaa maaynaa laa diiṭrin narnà nà jaandomisaan
'there was a woman and a few men who I did not know.

In conjunction with prepositions such as paaṣ- 'with, at, by' or similar, ašt- can denote possession. The existential verb remains uninflected for number:

nà huu nà baaros vaašyaa saččà misi aštee
'neither he nor his brother have enough money'

paaṣom dii been aštee
'I have two sisters'

haa ṭroṭii jivir paaṣii ṭrin čaaġà aštee
'this little woman has three children'

aštee paaṣii baaraa
'she has a brother'

jaanimee paaṣor buu kam aštaa šii
'I know that you had a lot of work'

tiika vaal srostà aštaa
'there was only a little hair on his head'

The negated counterpart to the presentative/ existential verb ašt- is the verb kaany- which equally inflects only for the third person singular, present and past:

ṭaawlee ààreem yaa taxtom ààreem buu taan kaanyee
'there is not much room between the table and my bed'

iisim kaanyee vaašom ee harḍa misrii
'I don't have so much money with me right now'
kaanyee paaṣii kiriimor
'she does not have any house'

kaanyee paaṣii baarmor
'she does not have a brother'

kaanyee paaṣom ṭrambiil
'I do not have a car'

miškilmor kaanyee saaʕid karmir
'I don't have a problem helping you'

jaanimaa laavčaa heeč vaašii misrii kaanyaa
'I knew a girl who never had any money with her'

ozgà taanmor kaanya jayaa
'there was nowhere else to go'

ẓawrosim dand kaanyaa
'there were no teeth in his mouth'

kiryim paaṣom buu kiryà qaab kaanyee
'I do not have much furniture in my room'

buu taan kaanyee
'there is not much room'

paaṣii quwwà kaanyaa kirii pirčir
'she did not have the strength to walk home'

9.8 Inchoative (h)o(čč)-

We already pointed out the inchoative form and its inflection, and its grammaticalisation to derive inchoative meanings from verb stems. The verb (h)o(čč)- 'become' can also occur as an independent verb denote a change of state or an ongoing or repetitive state of affairs, or in the past tense, substance or consistence:

dyomaam har raas issinee araaṭ drongà iḥtiifaala horee
'there is a big celebration in our village every New Year's Eve'

ṣbaa kiryimomee
'tomorrow I will be at home'

siba kiryimowee
'tomorrow you will be at home'

mudiir hoččim
'I become director'

mudiir hoččaa
'you (sg) become director'

mudiir hoččin
'we become directors'

mudiir hoččis
'you (pl) become directors'

mudiir hoččind
'they become directors'

haa guštarii sownikii hree
'this ring is made of gold'

ʕan qariib paaṣomaan ṭrambiilaa horee
'soon we will have a car'

vaašom misrii hoččiraa šii deemiraa
'if I had some money I would give it to you'

haa kirii kaaštikii hree
'this chair is made of wood'

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mudiirrom
'I became director'

mudiirror
'you (sg) became director'

mudiirreen
'we became director'

mudiirrees
'you (pl) became director'

mudiirreend
'they became director'

kaammor niree
'nothing happened'

9.9 Negation

Negation is expressed by the particles in/nà. The particles are proclitics that attach to the inflected verb:

kiryim ništomaa
'I was not at home'

injaštomee vyaar
'I am not going to town'

hazšii madrasee inpirdee
'she has not come back to school yet'

nà jaandomisaan.
'I did not know them'

ksee nà pčaadorim?
'why didn't you ask me?'

nà lakirdosim,
'he didn't see me'

baarà inkindom
'I didn't go out'

nà xazitii ozgà ammatità
'don't laugh at other people!'

nà vayom ee daynakim
'don't hit me with this stick!'

The negation particle usually assimilates to a following vowel if the word stem begins with a vowel:

kirii nayrom
'I did not come home'

akiid haa awaṣaar kaa ṭaṭà noččir
'it is certain that it will not be warm this summer'

With verbs that are composed of a nominal element and a derivational carrier affix, the negation marker appears internally, between the lexical stem and the derivational marker that carries the verb inflection:

aanà ḥasinkarmee
'I do not like eggs'

ġariib maanṣikeeree qaapyis vaainkarmee
'do not open the door to strangers'

kaammorkeeree difiʕinkardà
'he didn't pay for anything'

xolaamišnoččis
'don't (pl) get angry!'

The negation particle often carries the negative meaning with negative indefinites:

kwaammor nà jaaništee
'she did not know anyone'

kaammorkeeree difiʕinkardà
'he didn't pay for anything'

ʕaṣṣibnotii vatom.
don't be mad at me

The negation particle is also used to negate constituents in negative additive constructions:

nà huu nà baaros vaašyaa saččà misrii aštee
'neither he nor his brother have enough money'

nà amaa n nà i beenom buu saafirreenee
'neither I nor my sister have been travelling much'

With Arabic predicates, occasionally the Arabic negation particle ma 'not' is used:

ma aẓin kwaamorin kardoss
'I don't think anyone did it'

10. Case representation

This section revisits the structures discussed under the heading for nominal inflection above, particularly the structural representation of case layers, but from a different perspective: We consider first semantic case roles, i.e. the structural representation of thematic roles in their particular semantic relations with one another and their predicates; we then discuss the structural composition of individual local and temporal relations.

10.1 Semantic case roles

Subject:

The subject of a predication is represented by a noun in the nominative case (or lacking overt case marking other than derivational marking and potentially possessive marking), an independent pronoun, or a subject agreement marker on the verb. The predicative subject is also expressed in the nominative, as is the subject of existential construction, both positive and negative:

paanjii qissiisee
'he is a priest'

mudiir hoččim
'I become director'

ààn drongà narnis valaatim malik kardeend
'the oldest man in the country was made king'

šibbaakom vagir lavraa aštee
'there is a tree in front of my window'

baarà ṭroṭà laavčaak aštee
'there is a small girl outside'

ṭaawlee ààreem yaa taxtom ààreem buu taan kaanyee
'there is not much room between the table and my bed'

qniinik ṭawleet inraa
'the bottle was not on the table'

Experiencer:

The experiencer can be expressed as a syntactic subject, but is often expressed as the possessor of a reference to a state of affairs or as the object-recipient of an action implying a state of affairs:

kiir ḥaskarmee bas aanà ḥasinkarmee
'I like milk but I do not like eggs'

ḥaskarmee kayliinkii bxašt siiviireendee
'I like dresses that are sewn by hand'

krihhomee oṣariinkii kayyaaree neemisaan
'I hate the medicine that I have to take'

ʕijbom inčindà eejak
'I don't like this food'

waaxiz inkarom miftaḥeer saavnaardom
'I am sorry I lost your keys'

aj araaṭ kayyaaree jaam dukkaanikii taa paarim tiika qayyiiš
'I need to go to the shop to buy some food tonight'

kayyaarimaanaa akiikarin warsiindee xirkeeree
'we had to wait because of the rain'

Possessor and object of possession:

The possessor is most frequently expressed by the local relations expressions paaṣ- 'at, with' or vaaš- 'with', inflected to agree with the possessor, while the object of possession appears in the nominative and usually as the subject of the construction, agreeing with the predicate:

paaṣom kaammor nà maandee taa deemir
'I have nothing left to give to you'

paaṣom dii beenee
'I have two sisters'

vaašyaa misrii nà maandaa
'they had no more money'

vaašom misrii hoččiraa šii tomiraa
'if I had some money I would give it to you'

The possessive construction relies on an existential construction with the copula, the inchoative verb ho- 'become' or the existential verbs ašt-:]. Agreement is default in the third person singular, representing generically the object of possession (the possessed):

paaṣom bas yee quraakee
'I have only one son'

gaar štaar diisadirmii, paaṣomaan ṭrambiilaa horee
'in four days, we will have a car'

o qirikii bààbos paaṣii dirgà kuč aštaa
'the boy's father had such a big beard'

jaanimee paaṣor buu kam aštaa šii ee aaxir di varsinmà
'I know that you had a lot of work during the past two years'

haa ṭroṭii jivir paaṣii ṭrin čaaǵà aštee
'this little woman has three children'

o narnikii ayrà ḍaawaṭikii paaṣii nawwà ṭrambiilaa aštee
'the man who came to the wedding has a new car.

paaṣii quwwà kaanyaa kirii pirčir
'she did not have the strength to walk back home'

kay paaṣoraan eetaa ṣlaleem kačapaa eehaanii warsiindee?
'do you always have that much rain here in the winter?'

Possessor in negative clauses:

Negation can be expressed either on the possessor by means of the negation particle ni, or else at the level of the predication as a whole using the negative existential verb kaany-:

nà huu nà baaros vaašyaa saččà misrii aštee'
'neither he nor his brother have enough money'

kaanyee paaṣii kiriimor
'he does not have a house'

kaanyee paaṣom ṭrambiil
'I do not have a car'

jaanimaa laavčaa heeč vaašii misrii kaanyaa
'I knew a girl who never had any money with her'

Local possession:

For possession that refers to the state of being in immediate material possession of an object, the possessor is marked by the comitative/instrumental expression vaaš- 'with' inflected for the possessor, or by the Layer II comitative case marker -saa on the possessor:

kaa misiryiin? vaašištindee
'where is the money? with him'

karḍa aštee vaašor misrii?
'how much money do you have with you?'

bààbomsaa daayim misrii aštee
'my father always has some money with him'

ptaaʕeesaan vaašyaanee
'they have their goods with them'

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External possession:

External possession is expressed by marking the possessor through pronominal possessive inflection on the object of possession (the object of reference), or else by marking the possessor as the subject of the predicate that attributes need or necessity, like kayyaa- 'need, must':

peeṭos duknaavištirsee ya qaykaštee
'his belly hurts and he vomits'

luurkeem diknaavištee
'my knees hurt'

nawwà qaab kayyaarimee baarom ḍaawaṭkeerà
'I need new clothes for my brother's wedding'

Direct object:

We recapitulate briefly the features described in the discussion of Layer I case markers above: The definite direct object takes the accusative case, typically formed by Layer I marker -is/-ees in the singular and -in in the plural. The indefinite direct object is not marked for distinctive case, nor does the accusative case appear when the direct object is marked for possessive by personal possessive affixes, or if it a generic quantity or one specified by a quantifier:

waṭis ko
'throw the stone'

jisris čindom
'I crossed the bridge'

eejakis čààrdeend
'they hid the food'

kaasees bandom
'I broke the cup'

narnin mičirdà maaynis
'the man kissed the woman'

har ṣbà paa qris taxṭikii kšaaliree
'every morning she drags her boy out of bed'

pii oṣarin!
'drink the medications!'

paanjii tovištee ṣandoqin
'he loaded the boxes'

aj agoreen bakkiir qaynaavištinnee
'today we are feeding the horses early'

injaanee kat sakirdà jaar bduunma paa qardin deer
'somehow he managed to leave without paying his debts'

ġaabeem kiryaa lakirdom
'I saw a house in the forest'

gajaak lakirdom paṇḍit ravištee
'I saw a man walking down the street'

gaardom vatii paarir fiṭir, piivaaz laa ṣaarmà
'I told her to buy mushroms, onions and cabbage'

ṭrin luġà jaaništee
'he knows three languages'

xij lakirdom baarom
'I saw my brother yesterday'

xij neerom agorom gareen jawlaa
'yesterday I took my horse and went for a ride'

Indirect object:

Verbs with inherent objects:

The semantics of the verb and the semantic relation between the subject and indirect object determine the case marking of the object:

ṣaddiqinkarmisee
'I don't believe her'

miškilmor kaanyee saaʕid karmir
'it's not a problem for me to help you'

nà xazitii ozgà maanṣintà
'don't laugh at other people'

daadii aamin karree allahim
'grandmother believes in God'

kapkeez giitaarit keelindee
'they play the guitar nicely;

Objects of equation and comparison:

The object of equation takes the similative case. The object of comparison can take the nominative, the genitive, or the inflected local relations expression veeš 'from':

paa baarvaar zanggiilee
'he is as rich as his brother'

haa kirii o kuryà neeziktaree buu
'this house is much closer than that one'

kiryos kiryom drongtaree
'his house is bigger than my house'

paanjii daaviree asraʕ ṣaayinkii
'he runs faster than anybody else'

baaros panj vars veešii drongtaree
'her brother is five years older than her'

Recipient:

The recipient of 'give' is usually expressed in the genitive case, for full nouns, or as an object pronoun affix:

horee ee minsikii tiika tutuun deemee
'perhaps I can give this Gypsy man some cigarettes'

dee paarčaa gaatto ee čaaġikii
'give a piece of cake to this one boy!'

štaar agoreeraakii tiikaa manà ittom
'I gave some bread to your (pl) four horses'

paanjii ittà baarorkii misiryin taa jaar vyaar
'she already gave your brother the money to go to town'

qissiisin tà daadikii čaaġis
'the priest gave the godmother the baby'

ammat tà qissiisikii tiika qayyiiš
'people gave the priest some food'

tom daadomkii pkeez čanya
'I gave my mother nice earrings'

misiryeem ṣà tomis
'I gave him all my money'

'kay tosir?
'what did he give you?'

Other recipients are expressed through the local relations expressions ab- 'for' or vat- 'to', or via the benefactive, dative or genitive case markers:

iis abor šorbaa naaništomee
'I bring you soup now'

paanjii gaardà vatii kat kiryis fiknir.
'he told him how to sell the horse'

xuj paykeerà kaammor paarador
'did you buy yourself anything yesterday'

o maaynis ʕarrif karaadom diyà maanintà ṣà
'I introduced this woman to all the women in the village'

pirtii agorom qonšomkii fikindom
'later I sold the horse to my neighbour'

maangirdom veešii xalii jaar
'I demanded from her to leave immediately'

ġariib maanṣinkeeree qaapyis vaainkarmee
'I do not open the door to strangers'

abomkeerree qaaġaṭis vjaaldà
'she sent me the letter'

vaartà ee eejakis aborkeeree ya baareerkeeree
'he left this food for you and your brothers'

baarom ṣallaḥkarrisee abom
'my brother repairs it for me'

Goal:

Goals can be expressed with the genitive, dative or benefactive case:

daayim kiirikii ṣbà bakkiir jaamee
'I usually go for milk early in the morning'

paanyit lagiiš kardeend
'they fight for the water'

jaanimaa laavčaa misiryikeerree načiraa
'I knew a young girl who danced for money'

pišta harḍa buu misrii ittà ṭrambiilkeerree
'did he really give so much money for a car'

Reason/cause:

Reason or cause can be identified by a specialised local relations expression xir- inflected for the benefactive case, or else by the genitive or locative cases:

iṭṭrreen akiikarin warsiindee xirkeeree
'we had to wait because of the rain'

ee kamà xirkeeree nà lakirdomis ota
'therefore I didn't see her there'

mištiree xroskeeree
'she got ill because of him'

pkaalvaaččinkii mrà
'he died of poverty'

mrà ġaamiḍ mištvaaččaakim
'he died of a mysterious disease'

qahrinkii rovirdà
'she cried of anger'

Source:

The source of the verb 'ask' is expressed as a direct object, whereas other sources, including material source, are typically expressed by the genitive case:

mangištomee pčaamis ksee eehaanii kardà
'I would like to ask him why he did this'

akiid kayyaaree aanseesšii pčaam
'of course I also have to ask the female teacher'

arbiiʕaayà diis geena istaazis pčaadà
'on Wednesday he asked the male teacher again'

ee gluulkin beenomkii neerom
'I got these flowers from my sister'

xabaris qurinkii sindom
'I heard the news from the boys'

sindomis laavčinkii
'I heard it from the girls'

qaftirdosis veešii
'he stole it from him'

insakirdà mangiččir veešom tiikaadii misrii
'she did not dare to ask me for some more money'

pištaa šii neeror tutuun veešii
'did you really get the tobacco from him?'

haa kirsiiyà kaaštikii hree
'this chair is made of wood'

ee gaattoyiin hreendee aaṭeekii, šakkarikii, kiirikii, yaa aaneekii
'these cakes are made of flour, sugar, milk and eggs'

kirsiyikii maṭbaximee o lavreekii hree taankii kiryoman vagir ziriʕraa
'the bench in the kitchen is made of the tree that was growing in front of our house'

kardà šorbaaya malfuufikii yaa piivaazikii
'she made soup from cabbage and onions'

Partitive:

Partitives are most commonly expressed through juxtaposition, the source or generic type or quantity reference following the particular item:

paarča gaatto
'a piece of cake'

finjaanaa qaḥwà
'a cup of coffee'

qantaraa komar
'a pile of coal'

Associative: comitative

Association among actors (co-participants) is expressed via the comitative case marker -saa or the inflected preposition vaaš- 'with:

baaromsa keelištomaa
'I was playing with my brother'

sakee aaviččaa vaašomʔ
'can you come with me?'

garom vyaar dii baareemsaa
'I went to town with my two brothers'

lakirdomis ḥafleem dii beelyeessa
'I saw her at the party with two of her friends'

ptaaʕeesaan vaašyaanee
'they have their goods with them'

Instrumental association is usually expressed by the locative case marker:

xašteer ṭaṭà paanyim do!
'wash your hands with warm water!'

paayis čiryim briinkardom
'I injured myself with the knife'

sakee čakkuušim kamkara?
'can you work with a hammer?'

haz siivištee sivimà
'she still sews with a needle'

qreečkardà paa kaylà nbiidim
'she stained her dress with wine'

nà vayom ee daynakim
'don't hit me with this stick!'

Privative:

Privative relations are expressed by the preposition vee 'without' or duun 'without':

vyaar jayyiiš vee ṭrambiil dii saʕat qaaree
'it takes hours to reach the city without a car'

ko sakiree ʕammirkarir kurya vee bizmaar?
'who can build a house without nails?'

'yeerkaanii ištomee duunor
I am lonely without you'

tošii yeerkaanii ištoree duunom?
'are you lonely without me as well?'

Referential:

The referential object is expressed by the dative case or the preposition vat- 'to, on, about':

kuriikii jibkarištora vatii lakirdomis
'I saw the house that you were talking about'

qrom pčaardosim paa paapiirità,
'my son asked me about his grandfather'

kačapaa vatii jibkarree
'she always speaks about him'

Incorporative: locative

Containment or incorporation in a fixed stated is expressed by the locative case marker -m(à) or in some cases by the local expression xir- 'inside':

kiryà xrimee
'she is inside the house'

didyeemaan him maa him baarom gareen madrasee diyim
'both my brother and I went to school in the village'

lakirdom kičmaara bààrim
'I met an old man in the pub'

štaar qur ee kiryim veesree
'four boys live in this house'

qaabeem ṣà ṣandoqaakim tordà
'she put all my clothes into a box'

diyim ġariib kiryaa lakirdom
'I saw a strange house in a village'

kiryos ààn drongà kiryee diyimà
'his house is the biggest in the village'

koma nawwà kirii lakirdom diyimà
'I saw many hew houses in the village'

lakirdom maaynaa dikkaanim
'I saw a woman in the shop'

Incorporative: ablative

Movement or sensory perception from within a contained reference entity is expressed by the genitive case marker -kii, the preposition zà/iz 'from', or the local relation expression baar- 'outside':

kiryà baarà kindà
'she came out of the house'

ṭrin narnà zà vyaar kurii ravištindee
'three men are walking home from the market'

vindaayà sindom iz kiryikii
'I heard music from inside the house'

beenos suppirmaarkeetkii pirdà
'his sister returns from the market'

kinda ḥabsikii
'he was released from prison'

Non-incorporative:

Non-corporative contact can be expressed by a variety of structures including pronominal object marking, the case markers locative -m(à), dative -t(à), and adessive -ka:

štaar laavtii ḥaadiiqeem keelištindee
'four girls are playing in the garden'

araaṭa poliisin ayrosis
'one evening the police came to her'

buu ammat aštaa marità
'there were so many people at the funeral'

bààbos vjaaldoss daadoska
'his father sent him to his mother'

Proximate:

Proximity is captures by the expressions neezik 'close' and čanč- 'near':

ḥabis diyit neezikee
'the prison is near the village'

haa geetaayee, o dirgà laavree čančitee
'there he is, near that tall tree!'

otaa bààraak aštee kniiseet neezikee
'there is a pub near the church'

Horizontal:

Anterior horizontal relations are expressed by vagir 'in front of':

šibbaakom vagir lavraa aštee
'there is a tree in front of my window'

drongii maayniin ḥaskarindee kiryà vagir veeštind laa ḥaṭṭa araaṭ jibkarind
'old women like to sit in front of the house and talk for hours'

naandà čaaġis malikà vagir
'he brought the small boy in front of the king'

o lavrikii taankii kiryoman vagir ziriʕraa
'the tree that was growing in front of our house'

Posterior horizontal relations are expressed by pač- 'behind':

kiryos bàÀrà pačyee
'his house is behind the pub'

narnaakà pačii ravišta
'she was walking behind a man'

ṭroṭà čaaġin lavree pačii čààriiree
'the little child hid behind a tree'

čaaġà čààriiree maḥmalà pačii
'the child is hiding behind the cupboard'

Vertical:

Inferior vertical relations are expressed by bn- 'under':

qaaġat ṭaawlee bnee
'the letter is under the table'

lavreekii bnà buu maandà
'it stayed under the bushes for a long time'

Superior vertical relations are captured by fatuun 'above':

aštee ṣuuraṭaa taxtà fatuun
'there is a picture above the bed'

Vertical contact is expressed by the dative case marker -t(à):

gajaak lakirdom panḍit rawištee
'I saw a man walking down the street'

tiika vaal srostà aštaa
'there was only a little hair on his head'

qaaġat ṭawleetee
'the letter is on the table'

bààbom ištaaldà čaaġis ʕarabaayeekii
'my father lifted the child on the wagon'

vindirdoma čančortà
'I was standing next to you'

Vertical movement is expressed like movement from other sources, by the genitive case marker -kii:

qniinik ṭaawleekii lasrà
'the bottle fell down from the table'

Other local relations:

'beside':

lavrà kiryà čančitee
'the tree is beside the house'

veesromaa šii čančostà araaṭis ṣà
'I was sitting beside her all night'

'along':

axarà čormintà rawištinna
'we were walking along the river'

'opposite':

kniisee qaaršii madrasee, kniisee qaaršii aštee madrasa
'opposite the church there is the school'

'between':

ààrosaam vindirdaa laa vaašyaa jibkašta
'she was standing between them and talking to them'

ṭaawlee ààreem yaa taxtom ààreem buu taan kaanyee
'there is not much room between the table and my bed'

'around'

kiryomaan čormintà rawirdà bduunmaa lakkir qaapyaa lvaa
'she walked around our house without finding an open door'

kniisee čormintà ravirdoom
'I walked around the church'

10.3 Temporal relations

We divide temporal relations into simultaneous relations covering day, hour, part of the day, day of the week and relative day, month, season, and year; and sequential relations.

Simultaneous: day

ee ṣbim kaa keetaayee
'where is he during the day'

jaaništomee čatiinee kamà jayyiiš komaa saʕat har diis
'I understand that it is difficult to travel to work many hours every day'

aj agoreen bakkiir qaynaavištinnee
'today we are feeding the horses early'

har diis istaaz siknaaree ṭillaabin nawwà ḥarfa
'the teacher teaches the pupils a new letter every day'

har diis čaaġeem ʕaṣṣibkarindimee
'my children make me angry every day'

araaṭim buu pkaalomee, bas qayromsaa kaa ṭilloččim
'in the evening I get very hungry, but if I eat I'll get very fat'

čaaġom ʕaṣṣibkarrimee har diis
'my child makes me angry every day'

nafis gajis lakirdom beefkà diis geenaa
'I saw the same man the next day as well'

Simultaneous: hour

gaardom vatii dikkaan vaakarree saʕa daz
'I said to him that the shop opens at 10'

ʕadatan saʕa sabʕa akaanomee bas aj injaanmee saʕa sittee akaanrom
'I normally wake up at 7 o'clock but today I already woke up at 6'

har ṣbà akaankarmee čaaġom saʕa sabʕa
'every morning I wake up my child at 7 o'clock'

Simultaneous: part of day

Morning:

ṣibim qaḥwà piinee, araaṭimšii čaay piinee
'in the morning we drink coffee and in the evening we drink tea'

daayim kiirikii ṣbà bakkiir jaamee
'I usually go for milk early in the morning'

ḥaskarmee ṣibim finjaanaa qaḥwà pyim
'I like to have a cup of coffee in the morning'

har ṣbà paa qris taxṭikii kšaaliree
'every morning she drags her boy out of bed'

har ṣbà akaankarmee čaaġom saʕa sabʕa
'every morning I wake up my child at 7 o'clock'

Noon:

niimrontà kwa kiryim aštee
'is there anybody at home at noon'

Afternoon:

aštaa narnaa yaaṣyintà vator pčaavišta
'there was a man asking for you in the afternoon'

niimro paštar kaa paaṣor paavim
'I will visit you in the afternoon'

Evening:

har eevaarà mangiraa taanaa jaar
'every evening he wanted to go somewhere'

araaṭaa ayrosis poliisin
'one evening the police came to her'

Night:

araaṭà niimos akaanrom, gaardom: keetaaištomee
'at midnight I woke up and said: where am I'

aj araaṭ kayyaarmee jaam dukkaanikii taa paarim tiikaa qayyiiš
'I need to go to the shop to buy some food tonight'

maandà araaṭis ṣà akaan paa mištà qrà xurkeeree
'she is kept awake throughout the night by her sick child'

o araaṭ gurkis maardeend
'they killed the wolves last night'

saalfees mikirmee araaṭà kamees ziivraakarim
'her story makes me forget my plans for tonight'

veesromaa šii čančostà araaṭis ṣà
'I was sitting beside her all night'

Simultaneous: day of the week

jumʕaayà diis garom taa daadom lakkim
'on Friday I went to see my mother'

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kayyaarree geenaa vyaar jayaa xamiisà diis
'you must go to town again on Thursday'

taneenà diis gajaakkaa garom taa misrii mangim
'on Monday I went to the man to ask for money'

pčaadom ko garà vyaar xamiisà diis
'I asked who went to town on Tuesday'

arbiiʕaayà diis geenaa istaazis pčaadà
'on Wednesday he asked the male teacher again'

didyiinšii him bààbom him baarom aḥad diis vyaar gareend
'both my father and my brother went to the market on Saturday'

saptà diis kniisee garom dii beeneemsaa, biibyomsaa laa vaaryomsaa
'on Saturday I went to church with my two sisters, my aunt and my daughter-in-law'

baaẓaarintà paykeeromaan pkeez qayyiiš xuunaanee
'we cook ourselves nice meals on weekends'

Simultaneous: day, relative

aj, ajà , ajotii , ajotiinii , ajontii 'today':

aj kayyaaree geena otaa jaam beevkà mṣaafrinsaa
'today I have to go there again with other guests'

aj geenaa nafis maaynin lakirdom otaa
'I saw the same women there today again'

jibkar abom kay kardor ajà
'tell me what you have done today'

ʕadatan saʕa sabʕa akaanomee bas aj injaanmee saʕa sittee akaanrom
'I normally wake up at 7 o'clock but today I already woke up at 6'

aj kaa neem agorees geenaa
'today I will take the horse again'

aj ġadaayintà qayreen maasii ya malfuuf
'today we had meat and cabbage for lunch'

xuj, xujà, xujontii, xujotiinii 'yesterday':

xuj mṣaafrinsaa bààrikii gareen
'we went to the local bar with some guests yesterday'

xuj paykeerà kaammor paardor
'did you buy yourself anything yesterday?'

xuj nafis narnin lakirdom otaa geenaa
'I saw the same men there yesterday as well'

narnikii xuj lakirdomis geenaa eetaayee
'the man that I saw yesterday is here again'

xuj neerom agorom gareen jawlaa
'yesterday I took my horse and went for a ride'

xuj aaviččaa šii lakirdorisaa šii
'if you had come yesterday, you would have seen her'

beevkà xuj, beevkà xujotiinii the day before yesterday

ṣba / saḥrii 'tomorrow':

twaqqiʕomee ṣba ṣibà kaa sakiččim abor difaʕkarim
'I expect that I will be able to pay you back tomorrow'

beevkà ṣba, beevkà saḥrii 'the day after tomorrow':

nafii gajis lakirdom beevkà diis geenaa
'I saw the same man the next day as well'

ee diisinmà pkeez eejaak qaštinnee
'nowadays we eat good food'

Simultaneous: month

horee tammozim kaa warsiindà vaar
'it is possible that it will rain in July'

paanjii yanaayrim raṣrà
'he arrived in January'

Simultaneous: season

kay paaṣoraan eetaa ṣlaaleem kačapaa eehaanii warsiindee
'do you always have that much rain here in the winter'

akiid haa awaṣaar kar ṭaṭà noččir
'it is certain that it will not become warm this summer'

awaṣaarà araaṭees qiṭṭiiġ ištindee
'nights are short in summer'

ṣlaaleem yaa warsindee yaa vaayee yaa didyiin yeekee
'in winter it is either rainy or windy or both'

o vars buu kivnaavà siiyya qayrom ṣlaaleemà
'last year I got a very bad cold in the winter'

Simultaneous: year

vatom gaardà ṭrambiilis fiknim aavindà vars
'he told me to sell the car next year'

o vars ṭrin maaṣ sii lakirdeen
'last year we had three cold months'

haa vars rojeet kaa paaṣoraa aaviččim
'this year I will come to you on ramadan'

laavčikii bààbos nawwà ṭrambiilaa paardà haa vars
'the girl's father bought a new car this year'

o vars buu kivnaavà siiyya qayrom ṣlaaleemà
'last year I got a very bad cold in the winter'

Simultaneous: during

jaanimee paaṣor bu kam aštaašii ee aaxir dii varsinmà
'I know that you had a lot of work during the past two years'

Sequential:

panj daqqee paštar ballišrà jibkarir
'after five minutes he started to talk'

baʕd tiika ozgà narnaa ayrà
'after a while another man came'

gaardomisee vator zà vagirtar
'I have already said this to you before'

akiid lakirdorisee zà vagirtar
'surely you must have met him before'

Sequential-durative:

keetaa veesree ḥaṭṭa awaṣaar?
'where does he live until the summer?'

aẓin paanjii yunyuuvaayee veesree eetaa
'I think he has lived here since June'

Distance:

ʕan qariib gaar štaar diisaadii pas paaṣomaan omaan ṭrambiilaa horee
'soon actually in four days we will have a car'

haz jawaazom inneeromee maaṣaakim neemisee
'I haven't received my passport yet I'll get it in a month'

lak ee kiryis haa krii baaromkee bas varsaakim kaa hoččir abom
'see this house this house belongs to my brother but in just a year's time it will be mine'

Extent:

štaar diisivayee baarà inkindomee day warsiindà vaštaa
'for four days I didn't go out because it was raining'

hrosim panj varsee diyim veesromee
'I have lived in the village for five years now'

jaaništomee čatiinee kamà jayyiiš koma saʕat har diis
'I understand that it is difficult to travel to work many hours every day'

diisaadii kaa maančir
'she is staying for another day'

11. Complex constructions

In the following we consider paratactic linking, complementation, embedding, relative and adverbial clauses.

Table 33: Overview of complex clause markers

Paratactic	
predication linking	laa, yaa
noun phrase linking	laa, yaa
focused	him, šii
negative	nà
option	yaa
contrast	bas
Complementation	
purpose/goal	ta
Relative clause	-kii, preposition + inflection
Adverbial clause	
time: simultaneous	saʕtii, huušii, haz, limmin, waxtii
time: repetitive	harma
time: anterior	qalma, qabilmaa
time: posterior	baʕdma
time: posterior durative	ḥatta
means/cause/reason/explanation:	day, la'annu
conditional:	-saa (šii)

concessive:	maʕ'innuu
conditional concessive:	ḥatta law
negative circumstance:	bduunma

11.1 Paratactic chaining

Predication linking:

The typical conjunctions used are laa 'and' and yaa 'and':

baareemkii kiryeesaan nawwištindee laa drongištindee
'my brothers' houses are new and big'

ààrosaam vindirdaa laa vaašya jibkaštaa
'she was standing between them and talking to them'

drongii maayniin ḥaskarindee kuryà vagir veeštind laa ḥaṭṭa araaṭ jibkarind
'old women like to sit in front of the house and talk for hours'

paanjii mištee yaa quḥyaavištee
'she is sick and coughs'

peeṭos duknaavištirsee ya qaykaštee
'his belly hurts him and he vomits'

Predications can also be chained through paratactic juxtaposition without explicit linking expressions (conjunctions):

araaṭà niimos akaanrom, gaardom: keetaaištomee
'at midnight I woke up and said: where am I'

faj'a vindirdà pirtii garà
'he suddenly stood up and went away'

vaakardà qaapyàs manjomaanmà raḥḥibrà
'he opened the door and welcomed us'

xij neerom agorom gareen jawlaa
'yesterday I took my horse and went for a ride'

Nominal & adjectival addition:

Here too the conjunctions are laa and yaa:

aštaa maaynaa laa diiṭrin narnà nà jaandomisaan
'there was a woman and a few men who I did not know'

saptà diis kniisee garom dii beeneemsaa, biibyomsaa laa vaaryomsaa
'on Saturday I went to church with my two sisters, my aunt and my daughter-in-law'

paardees paykeeroraan nawwà tapšii laa qaašik
'did you buy yourselves new plates and spoons?'

gaardom vatii paarir fiṭir, piivaaz yaa ṣaarmà
'I told her to buy mushroms, onions and cabbage'

vaarii kayliin kačapaa pkeezištindee yaa buu bmilištindee
'bridal clothes are always very beautiful and very expensive'

o qrikii daados qiṭṭiġyaa yaa marḥaa
'the boy's mother was short and friendly'

kiryim paaṣom buu kiryà qaab kaanyee, bas kirsiiyaakee, taxtaakee laa ṭaawlaakee
'I do not have much furniture in my room – only a chair, a bed and a desk'

haa ṭroṭà qir laa haa ṭroṭii laavčii tiimaarreend paa biibyisaa
'this small boy and this small girl grow up with their aunt'

ṭaawlee ààreem yaa taxtom ààreem buu taan kaanyee
'there is not much room between the table and my bed'

ee gaattoyiin hreendee aaṭeekii, šakkarikii, kiirikii, yaa aaneekii
'these cakes are made of flour, sugar, milk and eggs'

mangištomee jaam taanaakkii pkeez yaa haadii isboʕaakà qattà
'I want to go somewhere nice and peaceful for a week'

vaartà ee eejakis aborkeeree yaa baareerkeeree
'he left this food for you (sg/pl) and your brothers'

ajokà eejakomaan maasyaa yaa malfuufaa
'today we had meat and cabbage for lunch'

Focused chaining:

Focused addition is expressed in pre-planned constructions by him … him 'both … and', by
the postposed particle šii 'too', or in pre-planned negative addition by nà … nà 'neither .. nor':

didyeemaan him maa him baarom gareen madrasee diyim
'both my brother and I went to school in the village'

dii beeneem sweedim veesreendee, ṭroṭà baaromšii hingaryaaamee
'my two sisters live in sweden and my younger brother is in hungary'

saalfà jibiirà zivraaiirà šii
'the story was told and forgotten'

tiika vaal srostà aštaa, ẓawrosimšii dand kaanyaa
'there was only a little hair on his head and no teeth in his mouth'

baarà warsiindà vaštee qaabiinšii ṭinḍireendee
'it is raining outside and the clothes are getting wet'

kaneem lorreend diknaardeendšii siildà vaayim
'my ears became red and hurt in the cold wind'

nà maa nà beenom buu saafirreenee
'neither my sister nor I have been travelling much'

Option:

ṣlaaleem yaa warsiindee yaa vaayee yaa didyiin yeekee
'in winter it is either rainy or windy or both'

Contrast:

kirsiiyà nawwee, bas taxit buu pnaaree
'the chair is new, but the bed is very old'

kiryom ayror bas kiryim ništomaa
'you came to my house but I was not at home'

aštee kwaamor ee kiryim veesree, bas injaanmee koyee
'somebody is living in this house but I don't know who'

amaa vyaarim veesromee bas paanjii daštit veesree
'I live in town but he lives in the countryside'

11.2 Complementation

In complement constructions tend not to show a complementiser introducing the verbal complement. Exceptions is the occasional usage of the Arabic complementiser innu 'that', often in impersonal constructions, presumably because here recourse to Arabic is triggered by the association with formal and institutional interaction:

ammat ṣà jaaninree innu paanjii buu zangiilee
'it is known that he is very rich'

Complements of circumstance, knowledge ('know'), and perception ('see', 'hear') take indicative verbal complements whereas complements of other feelings and perception, those involving different subject (manipulation complements) and modal complements take a subjunctive complement:

Circumstance:

ḥattii qavyaa sakirdà ḥadiidis ṭʕijkarir
'he was so strong that he could bend the iron'

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ḥattii piiraa, paa kurii nà sakirdà lakkir dà
'he was so drunk, that he couldn't find his own house anymore'

Verbs of perception:

jaanimee paaṣor bu kam aštaa ši, ee aaxir dii varsinmà
'I know that you had a lot of work during the past two years'

gaardom vatii dikkaan vaakarree saʕa daz
'I said to him that the shop opens at 10'

gaardà kwaammor nà jaaništee
'she said that she did not know anyone'

ammat ṣà jaannree innu paanjii buu zangiilee
'it is known that he is very rich'

sindom pzeek kamaa kindosiree vyaarim
'I heard that you have got a good job in town'

bas saʕtii otaa raṣrom lakirdom kiryim inraa
'but when I got there I saw that she wasn't home'

sindom ozkà ḍom eetaa veesree geena
'I heard that other Dom live here as well'

aẓin paanjii yunyuuvaayee veesree eeta
'I think he has lived here since June'

paanjiin iis fakkir vayreend bààrimištomaa
'they probably thought that I was in the pub'

maaynin gaardà vatom paanjii nawwee o diyimà
'the woman told me that she was new in the village'

Different subject (manipulation complements):

nà sakirdom qinaʕkarmis vaašom aaviččir
'I couldn't convince her to come with me'

maʕinnuu paanjii miḥtarim laafčaakee bas bààbos nà mikištissee jirsaavii hoččiris
'although she is a decent girl, his father won't let him marry her'

mkirdosis jaar
'she made him leave'

gaardom ààn ṭroṭà qromtà jibkarir vaašii
'I told my youngest son to talk to him'

gaardeen qromaantà vindaayikarà hoččir
'we told our son to become a musician'

mangirdom veešii xalii jaar
'I demanded from her to leave immediately'

mangištomsee jaar
'I asked him to go away'

veešom bjib misrii mangirdà
'he asked me to give him money'

gaardom vatii paarir fiṭir, piivaaz yaa ṣaarmà
'I told her to buy mushroms, onions, and cabbage'

vatom gaardà ṭrambiilis fiknim aaviindà vars
'he told me to sell the car next year'

Modal complements:

'Can':

sakee ṣaddiqkarosaa, gaalees saččee
'you can believe him, his words are true'

ḥattii qavyaa sakirdà ḥadiidis ṭʕijkarir
'he was so strong that he could bend the iron'

insakimee driskarim day kayyaaree daadom saaʕidkarim
'I cannot study, because I have to help my mother'

nà sakirdeen lakkin daadomkii orip guštaryos
'we couldn't find my mother's silver ring'

nà sakirdom qinaʕkarmis vaašom aaviččir
'I couldn't convince her to come with me'

kat sakinee vyaar jaan bduunma baarom ṭrambiil mangin
'how can we get to town without asking for my brother's car'

insakimee ee paṇḍim čarim, day paṇḍ baniiree
'I cannot drive through this road, because the road is closed'

sakee ee simin daavim karaa
'can you mend these holes with thread'

hattii piiraa, paa kurii nà sakirdà lakkir dà
'he was so drunk, that he couldn't find his own house anymore'

sakee čakkuušim kamkaraa
'can you work with a hammer'

nà sakirdeen taanmorit lakkinis
'we couldn't find it anywhere'

injaanee kat sakirdà jaar bduunma paa qardin deer
'somehow he managed to leave without paying his debts'

insakinee pirčin, ḥatta ḥaatoree
'we cannot go back, until she gets well'

qaapyis nà sakirdom vaakarim
'I couldn't open the door'

paanjii šii qaapyis nà sakirdà vaakarir
'he couldn't open the door either'

sakee aaviččaa vaašom
'can you come with me?'

insakiree kurii jaar
'he can't go home'

'Want':

mangištee zangiil hoččir
'he wants to become rich'

mangištomee ṣaḥafii hoččim
'I want to become a journalist'

mangištee kwaammor lakkir eetaa
'he wants to meet someone here'

inmangištomee dà kamit sinim geenaa
'I do not want to hear about it any more'

mangištisseesaa sakimee saaʕidkarmiraan kirii dahhinkariišim
'if you (pl) want I can help you to paint your house'

mangištomee jaam taanaakkii pkeez yaa haadii isbuuʕakà qattà
'I want to go somewhere nice and peaceful for a week'

inmangištoree vyaar jayaa
'you do not want to go to town'

nà mangištee vyaar jaar
'he doesn't want to go to town'

kačapaa mangimaa jaam hind
'I have always wanted to go to India'

kaammor nà mangirdà taa piyir
'she didn't want anything to drink'

mangištomee ee štaar qirinsaa jibkarim
'I want to talk to those four boys'

mangirdom jaam vyaar ee ṭrin narninsaa
'I wanted to travel to town with those three men'

mangištomee pčaamis ksee eehaanii kardà
'I would like to ask him why he did this'

mangirdom kurii jaam
'I wanted to go home'

diisaak mangiištomee amriikyaas zuuroččim
'I want to visit America some day'

har araaṭ mangištaa taanaa jaar
'every evening he wanted to go somewhere'

mangištoree keelčaa ee štaar laavčinsaa
'do you want to play with those four girls?'

External possibility:

horee vyaar jaamee
'I might go to town'

horee ee minsikii tiika tutuun deemee
'perhaps I can give this man some cigarettes'

horee tammozim kaa warsiindà vaar
'it is possible that it will rain in july'

Necessity:

laazim jayaa otaa ḥattaa law inmaggištoree
'you have to go there, even if you don't want to'

aj araaṭ kayyaarmee jaam dukkaanikii taa paarim tiika qayyiiš
'I need to go to the shop to buy some food tonight'

ta jayaa dukkaanikii, kayyaaree kniiseeva ravčaa
'to go to the shop, you have to walk towards the church'

diisa kayyaaree zuuroččomaa
'you should visit me sometime'

kayyaarmaanaa akiikarin warsiindee xirkeeree
'we had to wait because of the rain'

akiid kayyaaree aanseesšii pčaam
'of course I also have to ask the female teacher'

kayyaaree geenaa vyaar jayaa xamiisà diis
'we must go to town again on Thursday'

aj kayyaaree geena otaa jaam beevkà mṣaafrinsaa
'today I have to go there again with other guests'

kayyaarimaa kinčim fatuunos
'I had to climb over it'

'Know':

o narnà jaandà katir ṣalliḥkarir aalees
'that man knew how to repair instruments'

jaanee ee maakiinees katir istaxdimkaraa
'do you know how to use this machine'

'Begin':

ballišree kamkarir aaxirčim
'he begins to work at last'

huušii akiikaštinna hrà warsiindà lvaar
'it started to snow while we were waiting'

baʕdma madrasees vaartom, ballišrom maṣnaʕim kamkarim
'after I quit school, I started working at a factory'

panj daqqee paštar hrà jibkarir
'after five minutes he started to talk'

hrà saalfà karir
'she started to tell a story'

Verbs of feeling and perspective:

biyaavištomee rafčim yeerkaanii traakyimà
'I am afraid to walk alone in the dark'

bààb ḥaawil kaštee paa quris siknaar
'the father is trying to teach his sons'

tramnniiyomee warsiindà vindirčir xalii
'I hope it stops raining son'

ḥaskarmee ṣbim finjaanaa qaḥwà pyim
'I like to have a cup of coffee in the morning'

ayyaa laḥẓaakim waqqiʕomee qurom eetaa hoččir
'I expect my son to come here any minute'

aštee paaṣom eetaa diiṭrin kamaa karmisaaan qalma kirii pirmee
'I have a few things to do here before I can go back home'

paaṣii quwwà kaanya kirii pirčir
'she did not have the strength to walk back home'
drongà maanṣiin ḥaskariindee jibkarind paa čaaġvaayaa diisintà
'old people like to tell stories about their younger days'

ozgà taanmor kaanya jayaa
'there was nowhere else to go'

kajjaam sivčim iis, day taʕbaaništomee
'I am going to sleep now because I'm tired'

twaqqiʕomee ṣbaa kaa sakiččim abor difiʕkarim
'I expect that I will be able to pay you back tomorrow'

akiid haa awaṣaar kar ṭaṭà noččir
'it is certain that it will not become warm this summer'

jaaništomee čatiinee kamà jayyiiš koma saʕat har diis
'I understand that it is difficult to travel to work many hours every day'

ma aẓin kwaammorin kardoss
'I don't think anyone did it'

ḥisrom aštaa kamaak manjii saččà nraa
'I could feel that something was wrong with her'

11.3 Purpose clauses

Purpose clauses can follow any independent predicate. They are introduced invariably by the Arabic origin final conjunction taa 'in order to, so that'. The embedded predicate expressing the goal appears in the subjunctive:

šibbaakees vaakardom taa sakiččim sinmir
'I opened the window so that I can hear you'

nawwà qaab paardà taa sakiččir vyaar jaar
'he bought new clothes so that he could go into town'

veesnaardà čaaġis kirsiiyeet taa qaynaaris
'she seats the kid on the chair to feed it'

maaṇṣin huwwa difiškaštee taa qilčir baaṣim
'she pushes the people aside to get on the bus'

ʕan qariib kaa vaašom saččà misiryaa hoččir taa paarim sayyaarom
'soon I will have enough money to afford my own car'

aj araaṭ kayyaarmee jaam dikkaanikii taa paarim tiika qayyiiš
'I need to go to the shop to buy some food tonight'

ta jayaa dikkaanikii, kayyaaree kniiseeva ravčaa
'to go to the shop, you have to walk towards the church'

ṭroṭii laavčaa ayrà taa vaašom načiččir
'a small girl came to the dance with me'

paaṣom kaammor nà maandee taa deemir
'I have nothing left to give to you'

jumʕaayà diis garom taa daadom lakkim
'on friday I went to see my mother'

ayrà kiryom taa vaašom jibkarir
'he came to my house to talk to me'

amaa heeč vyaar nà jaamee taa manà paarim
'I never go to the market to buy bread'

taneenà diis gajikaa garom taa misrii mangim
'on monday I went to the man to ask for money'

ayrom kirii taa lakkimir
'I came home to see you'

pčaadosim kay kayyaaree karaa taa misrii karaa
'she asked me what to do to earn some more money'

gajikii tiika misrii titom taa qaḥwà paarir
'I gave the man some money so that he would buy coffee'

11.4 Embeddings

Embedded clauses have independent tense-aspect that is not dependent on the main clause. They are introduced by a conjunction that replicates the shape of the interrogative expression

defining the ontological category into which the embedding falls as a predicate constituent of the main clause verb:

injaanmee karḍaa kaa duur maančim
'I do not know how long I am going to be away'

aštee kwaammor ee kiryim veesree, bas injaanmee koyee
'somebody is living in this house but I don't know who'

heeč nà jaaništomee kay karim
'I don't know what to do at all'

injaaništomee kača kirii jaam
'I don't know when to go home'
fimrom ksee vaartà garà
'I understand why he left'

buu zuurorimee bas heeč vatom gaa inkarree kača aavištee
'he visits me often, but he never lets me know when he is coming'

mangištomee pčaamis ksee eehaanii kardà
'I would like to ask him why he did this'

pčaadosim kay kayyaaree karaa taa misrii karaa
'she asked me what to do to earn some more money'

pčaadom ko garà vyaar xamiisà dis
'I asked who went to town on Tuesday'

siknaardà paa laafčis katir kaarnaar aanà
'she taught her daughter how to boil an egg'

paanjii gaardà vatii kat kiryis fiknir
'he told him how to sell the house'

11.5 Relative clauses

Relative clauses can follow the main clause through mere paratactic juxtaposition:

jaanimaa laavčaa heeč vaašii misrii kaanyaa
'I knew a girl who never had any money with her'

aštaa narnà yaaṣyintà vator pčaavištaa
'there was a man asking for you in the afternoon'

gajaa lakirdom panḍit rawištee
'I saw a man walking down the street'

aštaa maaynaa laa diiṭrin narnà nà jaandomisaan
'there was a woman and a few men who I did not know'

In most cases, the relative particle -kii is attached either directly to the head noun, or to the relative expression taan lit. 'place', followed by the relative clause:

narnikii xij lakirdomis geena eetaayee
'the man that I saw yesterday is here again'

ṭroṭà čaaġà taankii ee kamis kardà kaa ʕaaqiboččir
'the little boy who did this will be punished'

When the head noun is the object of the relative clause, its case relation is usually picked up by a local relations expression inflected for the third person singular in -ii:

kuriikii jibkarištoraa vatii lakirdomis
'I saw the house that you were talking about'

čanṭaayikii vatii navištoraa lakirdoris?
'did you find the bag you were looking for?'

kageetaayee o čiriikii manjii qaaġaṭis vaakardor?
'where is the knife that you opened the letter with?'

Often, the head noun is introduced by the specific contextual demonstrative o 'that one':

koyee o maaniṣkii nikomaanva aavištee?
'who is that person that is coming towards us?'

o narnikii ayrà ḍaawaṭikii paaṣii nawwà ṭrambiilaa aštee
'the man who came to the wedding has a new car'

o jivirkii vaašii jibkardeen geena ee diyim veesree
'the woman that we spoke to lives in his village too'

haayee o qurkii misrii tomis
'this is the boy who I gave the money to'

war qaṣdom o taankii o awaṣaar garoris
'I mean the place where you went last summer'

eeriin o ammatiinee taankii kiryeesan vašrà
'these are the people whose houses were burned down'

In some cases, the Arabic relative pronoun illi 'who, which' is used:

qafṭirdom o ḥadiidin illii girtkardossan
'I stole the iron that he collected'

Adverbial clauses modify a main clause. They are introduced by a variety of conjunctions, most of them borrowed from Arabic, exceptions being the indigenous huušii 'when, as' and day 'because', Kurdish haz 'still', Kurdish waxtii 'when' of Arabic etymology, and the Kurdish-Arabic hybrid harma 'whenever'. We present them following their semantic modification functions:

Time simultaneous: punctual:

huušii akiikaštinna hrà warsiindà lvaar
'it started to snow while we were waiting'

huušii akanim kamkaštinna vindaayà vindaayà kaštinna
'we sang songs while we were working in the field'

kay kaa hoččim saʕtii drongomee
'what shall I become when I become old'

saʕtii ayrom kurii , qantaraa komar panḍit lakirdom
'when I came home I found a pile of coal on the road'

saʕtii qaapyis vaakardom, lavreenkii bnà garà
'when I opened the door, it crawled under the bushes'

haz qaapyis vaa inkardee, warsiindà vayrà
'just as he opened the door, it started to rain'

Time simultaneous: durative:

saʕtii čaaġà dandees drongoree lissà nifixoree
'when the child's teeth grow, the gums swell'

saʕtii ṭroṭištomaa, drongà kuryaakim veesromaa šii vyaaraakim
'when I was young, I lived in a big house in a town'

paariirà saʕtii lakirdoss
'she became scared when she saw him'

waxtii ṭroṭištomaa kačapaa vyaar jaamaa
'when I was young I used to go to the market very often'

ṭroṭii beeneem, lakirdomiraan saʕtii guldwanii qaštissaa
'my little sisters, I saw you when you were eating sweets'

to kayyaaree buu miqyaat hoččaa limmin čaree ṭrambiil
'you must always be very careful when driving a car'

Time simultaneous: repetitive:

har xaziree qonšiin ṣà sakindee sinindis
'whenever he laughs, the whole neighbourhood can hear him'

harma aaviree beeneestà lagiiš karnee
'every time he comes we have a fight about his sisters'

Time anterior:

qalma aaviččim eetaa veeštim, buu duur zeetaa veesromaa
'before I came to live here I lived far away from here'

qalma kirii raštinaa šii garaa
'before we reached the house she had already gone'
garaa šii, qalmaa otaa raaštinaa
'he had already gone before we got there'

mik kinčin qalma warsiindà vaaree
'let's go out before it starts to rain again'

aštee paaṣom eeta diiṭrin kamaa karmisaan qalma kirii pirmee
'I have a few things to do here before I can go back home'

Time posterior: simple:

baʕidma madrasees vaartom, ballišrom maṣnaʕim kamkarim
'after I quit school, I started working at a factory'

Time posterior: durative:

insakinee pirčin, ḥatta ḥaatoree
'we cannot go back, until she gets well'

injaaree ḥatta miftaaḥin lakiree
'he can't leave until he finds the key'

saʕtii ṭroṭištomaa, vidyaakin tiimaar kardosim
'an old woman looked after me when I was little'

Means:

sakirdeen raštind eetaa bakkiir day lavreenkii paṇḍ neereend
'they managed to arrive here early by taking the way through the woods'

Cause:

paayis naxaardom baṭṭaaniyaakim day siiyyee
'I have covered myself with a blanket, because it is cold'

štaar diis baarà inkindom day warsiindà vaštaa
'for four days I didn't go out because it was raining'

garom kirii day taʕbaaništomaa
'I went home because I was tired'

Reason:

qurom rovištee day beelyees xazištindee vatii
'my son is crying because his friends are laughing at him'

tomis iyyee day lazmom inra
'I gave it to them because I didn't need it anymore'

insakimee ee panḍim čarim, day panḍ baniiree
'I cannot drive through this road, because the road is closed'

Explanation:

kaa jaam sivčim iis day taʕbaaništomee
'I am going to sleep now because I'm tired'

insakimee driskarim la'annu kayyaaree daadom saaʕid karim
'I cannot study, because I have to help my mother'

Conditional:

Conditionality can be expressed by juxtaposition, when the conditional mood or past tense is used, usually accompanied by the focus particle šii 'too':

aavičimaa xuj, lakirdomiraa
'if you had come yesterday, you would have seen her'

vaašom misrii hoččiraa šii, deemiraa
'if I had some money I would give it to you'

taawos jaanimaa šii, nà pčaamiraa
'I wouldn't ask you if I knew where it is'

kiryis lakkiraa šii, eetaa noraa
'if he had found the house, he wouldn't be here now'

Elsewhere, it relies on the conditional enclitic particle -saa:

araaṭim buu pkaalomee, bas qayromsaa kaa ṭilločim
'in the evening I get very hungry, but if I eat I'll get fat'

mangištisseesaa sakimee saaʕidkarmiraan kirii dahhinkariišim
'if you want I can help you to paint your house'

kiir buu piiromsaa, kaa čakkoččim
'if I drink a lot of milk, I will be strong'

ayrorsaa, kaa lakkimir
'if you come, I will see you'

vaay vašteesaa, nà kništomee
'if the wind is blowing I will not go out'

The indirect conditional also takes -saa:

istaazis pčaadom aavišteesaa ḍaawaṭikii
'I asked the male teacher whether he is coming to the wedding'

Concessive:

maʕinnuu paanjii miḥtarim laafčaakee bas bààbos nà mkištissee jirsaavii hoččiris
'although she is a decent girl, his father won't let him marry her'

Conditional: Concession:

laazim jayaa ota ḥatta law inmaggištoree
'you have to go there, even if you don't want to'

Circumstance: Negative:

injaanee kat sakirdà jaar bduunma paa qardin deer
'sometimes he managed to leave without paying his debts'

panḍis ṣà ravirdeend bduunma yeekinsaa jibkarind
'they walked all the way without speaking to each other'

kat sakinee vyaar jaan bduunma baarom ṭrambiil mangin?
'how can we get to town without asking for my brother's car?'

kuryomaan čormintà rawirdà bduunma lakkir qaapya lvaa
'she walked around our house without finding an open door'

11.7 Sentential modifiers

Table 34: Sentential modifiers

phase: continuation	haz
phase: positive change	vagir, zà vagirtar
phase: negative change	dà
addition	ǧeena, šii
privative	bas
identity	nafs
universal	ṣaa, ṣà

Phasal adverbs:

'still': haz

aanseeyom haz mištee
'my female teacher is still ill'

haz karda ammat aštee qarit barkarree
'how many people still travel with carts'

čaaġeem ṣà haz ṭrotištindee
'all my children are still small'

'not yet': haz nà/in

haz inraṣree
'he hasn't arrived yet'

haz jawaazom inneeromee, maaṣaakim neemisee
'I haven't received my passport yet, I'll get it in a month'

haz šii nà pirdee madrasee
'she has not come back to school yet'

'already': vagir, zà vagirtar

jaanindee yeekin zà vagirtar
'they already know each other'

gaardomisee vator zà vagirtar
'I have already said this to you before'

paawos vagir otaayee
'she is already there'

'no longer': dà

kuwaa dà eeris istaxdim nà kaštee
'no one uses this anymore'

hattii piiraa, paa kurii nà sakirdà lakkir dà
'he was so drunk, that he couldn't find his own house anymore'

inmangištomee dà ee kamit sinim geenaa
'I do not want to hear about it anymore'

Focus constructions and quantifiers:

Addition: geena, šii

aj kaa neem agorees geena
'today I will take the horse again'

kayyaarree geena vyaar jayaa xamiisà diis
'we must go to town again on Thursday'

arbiiʕaayà diis geena istaazis pčaadà
'on Wednesday he asked the male teacher again'

sindom ozkà ḍom eetaa veesree geena
'I heard that other Dom live here as well'

ṭroṭà quraakinšii ayrà ḍaawaṭikii
'a small boy came to the wedding as well'

kayyaaree aanseesšii pčaam
'I also have to ask the female teacher'

Negative addition: nà .. šii

heeč nà byaavištaa šii
'she wasn't afraid at all either'

paanjiišii qaapyis nà sakirdà vaakarir
'he couldn't open the door either'

Privative: bas

bas yee qurakee vee ṣaṣ akiikaštee
'only one boy is waiting quietly'

paaṣom bas yee qiraakee
'I have only one son'

Identity: naf(i)s

nafis gajis lakirdom beefkà diis geenaa
'I saw the same man the next day as well'

Universal: ṣaa, ṣà

ṣaayeemaan eetaaištinnee
'all of us are here'

čaaǧeem ṣaa dirgištindee
'all my children are tall'

misiryeem ṣaa tomis
'I gave him all my money'

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čaaġeem ṣaa haz ṭrotištindee
'all my children are still small'

12. Word order

Word order in the nouns phrase is stable, placing modifiers like adjective, numeral, demonstrative, as a rule before the head noun:

ee štaar laavčinkii daadosaan jaannree
'I know the mother of those four girls'

paanjii ee vindaayees saččà jaanree
'she knew these songs well'

haa ṭroṭii jivir paaṣii ṭrin čaaġà aštee
'this little woman has three children'

o vars ṭrin maaṣ sii lakirdeen
'last year we had three cold months'

ee gluulkiin beenomkii neerom
'I got these flowers from my sister'

ozgà ḍommor injaanmee
'I don't know other Dom people'

paaṣom dii baaree
'I have two brothers'

baaẓaarintà paykeeromaan pkeez qayyiiš xuunaanee
'at weekends we cook ourselves nice food'

diyim ġariib kiryaa lakirdom
'I saw a strange house in the village'

ṭroṭà quraakinšii ḍaawaṭikii ayrà
'I small boy also came to the wedding'

In possessive constructions, the possessor typically precedes the object of possession:

daadom qaabiin
'my mother's clothes'

biibyom čaaġiin
'my aunt's children'

baareemkii kiryeesaan
'my brothers' houses'

dii beeneemkii ḍaamosa
'the room of my two sisters'

As described above, local relations expressions are divided into postpositions, postposed inflected relational expressions, and prepositions:

taxtà fatuun
'above the bed'

malikà vagir
'in front of the king'

kiryà baarà kindà
'he came out of the house'

diyà manjitee
'in the middle of the village'

kiryà čančitee
'beside the house'

vindaayà sindom iz kiryikii
'I heard music from inside the house'

badaal sijqikii garee qurom paardee guldwaanii
'instead of sausages, my son bought sweets'

vyaar jayyiiš vee ṭrambiil dii saʕat qaaree
'It takes hours to reach the city without a car'

12.2 Verb phrase

Copula/existential verb:

The copula is enclitic:

kiryim ištomaa
'I was at home'

kiryà baarištindee
'they are outside the house'

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yeerkaanii ištomee duunor
'I am lonely without you'

eeriin ṭroṭà qurištindee
'these are small boys'

xuj amiin mištištinnaa
'yesterday we were ill'

Other existential verbs tend to follow word order patterns of lexical verbs (see below):

mudiirreen
'we became directors'

haa ṭroṭii jivir paaṣii ṭrin čaaġà aštee
'this little woman has three children'

Transitive verb with a direct object:

The position of lexical verbs in the sentence is volatile and in transition. The canonical word order is verb-final, but variation is noted, with the verb also occurring in a position preceding the direct object:

qaapyis ban!
ban qaapyis!
'shut the door'

vidyis lakirdà
'he saw the old woman'

ṣbaa kaa ee kamis xalaasoččim
'tommorrow I will finish this work'

ṣbim qaḥwà piinee
'in the morning we drink coffee'

paanjii ee vindaayees saččà jaannree
'she knew these songs well'

Topicalisation of the direct object:

The direct object can also be placed in initial sentence position for emphasis or contrast:

qaapyis nà sakirdom vaakarim
'I couldn't open the door'

kammor nà mangirdà pyir
'she didn't want anything to drink'

Indirect object:

Here too we note an ongoing transition, with variable position of the indirect object before as and after the verb, particularly when the indirect object is the target of movement:

kirii ayrom
ayrom kirii
'I came home'

injaaštomee vyaar
vyaar injaaštomee
'I am not going to town'

Inflected indirect objects tend to precede the verb, showing less variability:

kuwaammorikii misrii inneerom
'I didn't get money from anyone'

Direct and indirect object:

Generally the indirect object tends to precede the direct object when the verb is in final position of the sentence:

iis abor šorbaa naaništomee
'I bring you soup now'

ġaabeem kiryaa lakirdom
'I saw a house in the forest'

agorom qonšomkii fikindom
'I sold my horse to my neighbour'

ṭrin maaynà maṭbaxim gaatto kaštindaa
'three women are baking a cake in the kitchen'

baaẓaarintà paykeeromaan pkeez qayyiiš xuunaanee
'at weekends we cook ourselves nice food'

There is, however, evidence of variation with the lexical verb appearing in initial or early sentence position, followed by the direct and indirect object:

lakirdom maaynaa dikkaanim
'I saw a woman in the shop'

Complement verb:

The complement verb generally follows the main clause in modal constructions:

inmangištee vyaar jaar
'he doesn't want to go to town'

injaaništomee kača kirii jaam
'I don't know when to go home'

horee vyaar jaamee
'I might to go town'

garom taa daadom lakkim
'I went to see my mother'

We find the general variation, however, also within complement clauses:

mangirdom kirii jam
mangirdom jaam kirii
'I wanted to go home'

13. Sentential adverbs

We do not consider adverbs to be an actual functional category; its status as a word class derives from traditional formal linguistic descriptions, not from semantic-typological accounts of grammar. Nevertheless, we would like to conclude with a few remarks on adverbs, which we define here strictly as the lexical class of items the describe predicates or entire predication (that is, excluding such categories as place deictics, phasal adverbs, and so on). Our discussion is brief and not comprehensive but seeks, as in the rest of this essay, to make sense and extract an overview from the elicitation tool that underlies the data for this study, namely the RMS Questionnaire.

The observation from our data is that there are two frequently occurring sentential adverbs that follow the above definition and are indigenous: buu 'much, very' and sačč- 'well'. The first, buu 'much, very', usually modifies adjectives:

dii beeneemkii ḍaamosa buu ṭroṭee.
'the room of my two sisters is very small'

vaarii kayliin buu bmilištindee
'bridal clothes are very expensive;

o narnikii kiryos buu pnaaraa.
'the man's house was very old'

Only occasionally is it found as a modifier of the entire predication:

haa kirii o kiryà neeziktaree buu
'this house is much closer than that one'

gajin buu sikirrà
'the man got very drunk '

The attribute sačč- is more common as an adjective the meaning 'true', 'enough', carries inflection and can serve as a predicate object:

saččà misiryaa
'it was enough money'

gaalees saččee
'his words are true'

Occasionally it is found with attributive scope over the entire predication, in which case it retains its inflectional and predicational features:

paanjii ee vindaayees saččà jaannree
'she knows the songs well'

fimmomisee saččà
'I understand him well'

The other adverbial modifiers that is of non-Arabic origin is the reduplicated form of the quantifier tii- 'such, much' used to denote gradation:

vaalees tiitik tiitik pnààrištindee
'her hair slowly becomes grey'

All other sentential adverbs found in the corpus for this study are derived from the contemporary contact language, Arabic:

faj'a vindirdà pirtii garà
'he suddenly stood up and went away'

varsaakivaa biẓẓabiṭ dii beeneem lakirdom
'I saw my two younger sisters exactly a year ago'

daayim kiirikii ṣbà bakkiir jaamee
'I usually go for milk early in the morning'

ʕadatan saʕa sabʕa akaanomee
'I normally wake up at 7 o'clock'

sakirdeen raštind eetaa bakkiir day lavreenkii paṇḍ neereend
'they managed to arrive here early'

akiid lakirdorisee zà vigirtar
'surely you must have met him before'

aṣlos almaanyaakii ayree
'originally she came from Germany'

14. Conclusion

We conclude our preliminary overview of the structures of the Aleppo Dom language with a few brief remarks covering three areas: a) layers of contact influences and their relevance in contact-theoretical perspective, b) comparison with Jerusalem Domari, the only closely related language variety for which comprehensive documentation exists, and c) implications for a historical reconstruction of what we provisionally call 'Proto-Domari'.

14.1 Contact linguistic observations

We are able to identify etymologies from three, possibly four contact languages that have played a role in the history of AD: Kurdish, Turkish, Arabic and possibly Persian. Arabic is the current contact language that is spoken by all members of the community. Until the outbreak of the civil war in Syria and emigration away from the country, Arabic was used on a daily basis by all age groups. Our observations indicate that it is still being used in families in Europe and Turkey, as well as, for obvious reasons, in North Africa. The data considered in the present study come from the repertoire of a speaker who was raised in a bilingual Dom-Arabic environment. Kurdish and Turkish are not part of the active repertoire of the speaker but were familiar to some degree to ancestors several generations ago. The exact status of Persian isn't clear. A small number of items, such as the preposition zà/iz 'from', appear to be traceable specifically to Persian while other Iranian etymologies could go back to Kurdish or related varieties.

A periodisation of the contact languages is not straightforward. As we describe below, there is evidence that Proto-Domari was in contact with both Kurdish (in all likelihood Central Kurdish or Sorani, or closely related varieties) as well as a Turkic language (possibly Ottoman Turkish, but perhaps also, or in addition, the varieties of Turkic speaking nomadic populations such as Turkmen or Azeri). Without postulating an exact time period, we can nevertheless assume that those contacts existed prior to the split of the ancestor varieties of today's Aleppo Dom language (AD) and Jerusalem Domari (JD) and so before their immigration and settlement in present-day locations. We know that in northern Syria and southeastern Turkey Dom speakers were in contact with Kurmanji Kurdish and Turkish, possibly also with other languages such as Armenian, Neo-Aramaic and Arabic, though we have no attestation or reports on such contacts nor any direct clues from the data from which to infer such contacts.

Arabic:

As Arabic is now the current and principal (indeed, for the speaker considered here, the only) contact language, we begin our inventory of contact phenomena with Syrian Arabic (excluding items of Arabic etymology that clearly entered AD via other languages, such as ṣbaa 'tomorrow' or ḍaawaṭ 'wedding'). Contemporary Syrian Arabic is the source of most attested borrowed lexical verbs, both transitive-agentive and intransitive-experiencer. It is also the source of vocabulary items pertaining to institutional interactions, commerce and so on. That is expected and not of particular theoretical value. Of interest are the borrowings in the various domains of grammatical structure.

The full inventory of Arabic phonemes is carried over along with Arabic loanwords; there is no phonological adaptation of contemporary Arabic loans. That means that the AD phonological system incorporates Arabic phonology wholesale. There is, however, no evidence that Arabic phonological or even phonetic features are carried over into the pre-Arabic lexical component. We comment on the pharyngealisation of consonants below. In numerals, AD uses

Arabic items for dates and optionally for specification of times of the day; that is, in both cases, in connection with institutional or formal procedures. In the class of indefinite pronouns, Arabic items appear for the time indefinites free choice (aḥyaanan 'sometime') and universal (daayim 'always'). In local relations we find contemporary Arabic loans for items that express exception and exclusion (badaal 'instead of', bduun 'without', maaʕada 'except for').

At the level of clause combining, Arabic items appear for contrast (bas 'but'), concession (maʕ'innuu 'although') and concessive condition (ḥatta law 'even if'), as well as with anterior and posterior temporal relations (qalma 'before', baʕdma 'after) and in the form underlying the simultaneous temporal conjunction limiin 'when'. Incipiently, alongside indigenous items or the absence of conjunctions altogether, we also find a conjunction for cause/reason (la'annu 'because') and a complementiser (innu 'that').

Sporadically, use of Arabic comparative/superlative forms is attested in the corpus for this study, though we attribute it in this particular context to the choice of phrase or expression rather than an overall system modification. Our corpus for this study is based on questionnaire elicitation and does not include connected speech; we therefore have little attestation of Arabic discourse particles but we are aware from our overall documentation work that these occur frequently. Contained in the corpus for the present study, however, is the overwhelming presence of Arabic items for almost all sentential adverbs, such as faj'a 'suddenly', ʕadatan 'usually', akiid 'surely', bilḥaqiiqaa 'really', biẓẓabiṭ 'exactly', and so on.

Overall, Arabic items infiltrate and take over precisely the domains in which short term, emerging contact impact is predicted in settings of unidirectional bilingualism involving a recipient minority language used primarily for oral communication in the domestic sphere (Matras 2009/2020): expressions of exception, contrast and discontinuation, discourse markers and sentential adverbs, and fixed expressions of time indefinites.

Kurdish:

The massive impact of Kurdish as a recent contact language continues to manifest itself despite the loss of Kurdish as active language in the community in the past few generations. Kurdish lexical loans are abundant and represent a variety of everyday semantic domains including kinship terms and temporal expressions.

In phonology, the evidence suggest that there is little adaptation of Kurdish loans while on the other hand the phonological system resembles that of Kurmanji Kurdish (as well as Syrian Arabic) in the variability of short /u,i/, the presence and the mode of articulation of long /uu, o/ and the presence of uvular and pharyngeal consonants. In inflectional morphology the impact of Kurdish includes the directional (versative) Layer II case marker -va, the adjective comparative/superlative marker -tar and in all likelihood also the indefinite marker -aak. In numerals, AD adopts the full set of Kurdish items with the exception of 10, 20, and 3-5. The distinctive phonology of ḥawt 'seven' suggests a source either in Central Kurdish or in so-called South Eastern Kurmanji as spoken in the Hakkâri province in Turkey. In the class of indefinite pronouns, we find a Kurdish loan in the set of time for the negative item (heeč 'never'). In local relations we find Kurdish loans for bnà 'below', vee 'without', and neezik 'close'. Among focus particles, phasal adverbs and quantifiers Kurdish items are prominent: har 'every', him 'both', šii 'too', haz 'still'. The focus particle ḥatta 'even' is of Arabic etymology but shared with Kurdish.

At the level of clause combining, we find the particles taa 'in order to' and yaa 'or', both widely present in the entire region and shared with Arabic as well as Persian. The temporal simultaneity conjunctions saʕtii, waxtii 'when' are of Arabic etymology but can be attributed to Kurdish influence due to their ending in -ii, which either represents the Central Kurdish (Sorani) nominal attributive marker -î or an adaptation of the Northern Kurdish (Kurmanji)

marker -ê inspired by the indigenous third person singular person inflection -ii on local relations expressions. The temporal repetition marker harma 'whenever' is a hybrid formation incorporating Kurdish har and Arabic ma.

Overall, the Kurdish impact testifies to a once intense level of contact that had infiltrated not just vocabulary and sentence structure at the level of clause combining and utterance modification but also at the level of basic numerals as well as inflection. In our sample of free speech, not considered for this study, we also find numerous discourse particles of Kurdish origin. We can assume that many of the Arabic-derived grammatical influences listed above have, in the present generation represented by the sample for this study, superseded and in effect replaced earlier Kurdish loans, reducing the visible presence of this recent contact layer in the language.

Turkish:

Turkish provides alongside a series of vocabulary items also traces of earlier more profound impact. At the level of inflectional morphology, we find the noun derivational marker -iiš of Turkish origin. Among local relations expressions we find qaaršii 'opposite' and ààr- 'among, between'. Both can be considered relatively prone to borrowing among local relations expressions as they express the complex relationship between two reference objects (see discussion in Matras 2009/2020). In verb inflection we find the enclitic conditional marker saa 'if' (it is also borrowed from Turkish by some Kurmanji varieties, therefore we cannot exclude the mediating impact of Kurdish here). Focus particles of Turkish origin include dà 'too' and geena 'again' alongside the quantifying particles ozgà, beevkà 'other'. Given their function and especially their infiltration of word derivation morphology and inventory of local relations expressions, we can assume a once profound impact of Turkish (Ottoman Turkish or possibly a related Turkish language) on the forerunner of AD, the traces of which remain, but have otherwise been complemented and in part superseded or replaced by the later impact of Kurdish and now more recently of Arabic.

14.2   Dialectological comparison with Jerusalem Domari (JD), and the question of 'Northern Domari'

We aim in this section to be relatively concise, and so while we focus on the principal points of comparison, our overview will not be detailed and perhaps even not as comprehensive as the current state of data might allow. To recall, we refer to the language of the Aleppo Dom as AD and to Jerusalem Domari as discussed by Matras (2012) and earlier by Macalister (1914) as JD.

Phonology:

In phonology, both languages have very similar systems, including their handling of the Arabic phoneme inventory. Both language varieties show pharyngealisation of dental consonants in inherited Indic words. While it is often volatile and variable, it tends, beyond coincidence, to appear in words where an original Indic retroflex was lost: aaṭà 'flour', ḍom 'Dom', waṭ 'stone', peeṭ 'stomach' and more. We also note that both languages show a loss both of historical retroflex consonants and of historical Indic aspirated consonants. While loss of both features might be taken for granted following emigration from the Indian subcontinent and settlement in regions where the surrounding languages do not necessarily possess them, the development is worth noting not least because Romani, with a similar history of migration and intense contact developments, partly presumed to have encompassed similar regions, in fact retains

distinctive aspiration with voiceless stops, and in some dialects of the Balkans even retains traces of retroflex sounds; moreover, the great diversity of contemporary sound and sound combinations that supersede historical retroflex sounds in Romani points to a relatively shallow periodisation of the loss of retroflex sounds and their retention well into the Early Romani (European medieval) period (see Matras 2002). The development in AD and JD therefore cannot simply be taken for granted, and its presence in both varieties is moreover, and for that reason, in our opinion beyond coincidence. We return to this point and its implications below.

AD is conversative in retaining historical /v/ in initial position and variably in inter-vocalic position, whereas JD consistently has /w/: AD: vees 'sit', vars 'year', vidii 'old woman'; JD wees 'sit', wars 'year', wudii 'old woman'. Both varieties have initial /w/, as in warsiindà 'rain', waṭ 'stone', which suggests that the sound in this position is inherited. As noted above, AD initial /w/ represents OIA */v/ in the vicinity of retroflex sounds, while initial /v/ represents plain OIA */v/. In intervocalic position in the environment of back and central vowels, but not front vowels, AD /v/ is interchangeable with /w/. We can therefore assume that the incipient change from /v/ to /w/ was shared by both language varieties and carried forward more extensively in JD, leading to the complete merger of both sounds in /w/.

The phonological comparison of AD and JD shows some superficial differences such as the centralisation in AD of inflectional *-a, while on the other hand JD shows tendencies to converge with Arabic in assigning voice to historical /p/ and reducing voice in /j, č/; both are, however, ongoing processes. Finally, we note that both languages display some degree of interchangeability and volatility of /ty/ and /č/ (we have not discussed it above since it does not occur in the speech of the speaker recorded for this study). That suggests to us a recent development, perhaps one that emerged independently in the two varieties.

Nouns:

In nominal morphology, both AD and JD share the presence of Turkish-derived nominal derivation marker -iiš. This suggests to us a shared period of contact with Turkic (we deliberately use a somewhat more neutral term here than Turkish or Ottoman Turkish). We return to the implications below. The two varieties differ in the shape of the plural marker on nouns, which is -iin in AD but -e in JD. There is no obvious explanation for the difference. It is unlikely that either form represents a borrowing, not least since it is seldom the case that languages borrow a nominal plural marker wholesale (rather than just for a certain class of nouns). There is a possible connection to the Indic non-nominative plural ending *-an. In both varieties this ending continues in the oblique plural and in JD that is also the ending of the plural third person pronoun paanjan, whereas AD has paanjiin. Thus, there may be a connection between the AD ending -iin and the old *-an, while the nominal ending -e in JD may represent the old adjective plural ending, continued in Romani. (We return below to -iin recalling its presence in inflected plural pronouns in JD). A further difference is the presence in AD of the emphatic nominal marker -in for which there does not seem to be a parallel in JD, as well as the presence of a marker of indefiniteness -mor-, also absent in JD.

In word inflection AD otherwise stands out in substantially reducing gender agreement as well as simplifying the representation of Layer I case inflection, on the one hand, giving rise to a distinction between accusative and oblique (a consequence of the simplified distribution among declension classes leading in effect to a new categorial distinction). Judging by the variation in AD, however, it seems obvious that this development is rather young. Both varieties show very similar, indeed almost identical shape and distribution of most Layer II case markers including the volatility of the distinction between dative *-ta and adessive *-ka and their relation to *-keera, which latter is somewhat in decline among some speakers of JD. The principal difference is the presence in AD of Kurdish-derived directional (versative) -va and of

similative -vaar (for which latter we are unable at this stage to propose an etymology). This might suggest a more intense exposure to Kurdish in AD, hardly surprising given the discussion in the previous section and what we know about the language's recent history. The system of local relations expressed largely through post-nominal expressions, often carrying person inflection agreement, is basically shared but partly obscured by a substantial layer of recent loans from Arabic in JD, which typologically have turned the JD local relations system into one that largely relies on prepositions. This is a recent development which appears to have emerged in situ in Palestinian Domari.

Verbs:

Verb derivation procedures in both varieties are nearly identical, including the reliance on grammaticalised, structurally simplified forms of the verbs kar- 'do' and ho(č)- 'become' for the integration of loan verbs. The system is used mainly for Arabic-derived lexical verbs, but judging from the presence of a number of Kurdish-derived lexical verbs in AD (such as ḥaskar- 'like' and vaakar- 'open') it is older. This process of relying on 'generic' transitive and inchoative verbs as light verbs for verbal lexical loans is ubiquitous in the wider region including Indo-Iranian as well as Turkic languages. However, the particular pattern of grammaticalisation of these forms giving rise to affixes is unique to AD and JD (Romani has a similar system but draws in part on different set of affixes). We therefore, again, consider the similarities to be beyond coincidence and we attribute them to a shared development, with implications for the reconstruction of Proto-Domari (see below). Note that in JD the grammaticalisation of the affix is somewhat more advanced, with the loan verb adaptation form reduced to -k- whereas AD has -kar-, closer to the lexical verb kar- 'do'.

The system of tense, aspect and modality is also near-identical. In particular, the reliance on external tense markers expressing contextualisation and remoteness stands out. This is shared in principle with Romani (albeit drawing on different morphemes, though a common origin cannot be excluded) and appears to be modelled on Kurdish, where a form matching the third person singular copula appears across the paradigm to modify person inflected forms. Here too, therefore, there are implications for the historical reconstruction.

Another parallel is the reliance on the affix -č- for the subjunctive. Both AD and JD show a prevalence with verbs of motion and change of state but a decline with transitive verbs. The development seems to be a bit more advanced in JD, where transitive verbs are never documented with a subjunctive in -č- whereas in AD some verbs optionally take -č- in the subjunctive. This, however, is a rather shallow difference. The fact that a shared ongoing retreat of the form is attested in both varieties leads us to conclude that it can be traced to a shared development.

A further ongoing process in both varieties is the use of past-tense forms to denote a present state of affairs with the verb veesr- (AD) and weesr- (JD)' 'sat' and hr- 'became'. Again, the similarities are beyond coincidence. In JD, use of hr- to denote the present-tense copula is considerably more advanced, while AD relies on -išt, which has largely retreated in JD. However, since -išt is still attested in Macalister's (1914) material we can assume that its retreat is a recent development in JD. This also brings us to the use of -išt as a progressive aspect marker in AD, which is missing from JD. One option might be to regard this as a AD or 'northern' innovation. However, given the recent retreat of the copula -išt in JD, coupled with the use of Arabic kaan- 'was' as a past-tense habitual auxiliary, a more likely scenario might be the loss of the progressive *-išt in JD.

While both varieties retain the existential-presentative ašt- 'there is', they differ in its negated form, AD employing a specific verb form kaanyee 'there isn't' while JD negates a form of the verb ho- 'to become' in nhe' 'there isn't. The final glottal stop accompanying negation

in JD – insakame' 'I cannot' in JD – is not found, so far, in AD, which has insakimee 'I cannot'. Note that even in AD, which retains enclitic -išt, the preferred copula in the third person is simply the contextualising affix -ee for the present and the remoteness marker -aa for the past, respectively, much like JD. A further related difference between the two varieties is the presence in JD of a predicative marker -ik and of the 2SG marker in -k. It is not clear whether the two might be related.

In line with the general erosion of gender inflection in AD, gender distinction is also all but eliminated in the past-tense third singular person but it is retained in JD (ayrà 'he arrived' vs. ayrii 'she arrived'). AD shows alternation of two negation markers, nà and in, whereas in JD we only find in. Finally, AD has a future tense marker kaa (which reminds us of the form used for this function in Balknan dialects of Romani). This is likely to have been lost in JD as modal expressions are generally carried over from Arabic (with the exception of sak- 'can').

Function words:

Here we must distinguish those forms and paradigms that are contact-prone and where we would therefore expect differences, or else a common inventory of recent Arabic loans, and those that are stable. In between there are paradigms that are prone to internal renewal as well as contact. We expect the most stable paradigm to be that of personal pronouns, and indeed the core forms are near identical in both varieties. Next, we expect some renewal driven by the need to ensure constant disambiguation in the paradigms of demonstratives and place deictics. The sets of demonstrative pronouns are nearly identical save some phonological differences. Interrogatives are also basically similar, all derived from the same stems (save loanwords), with JD also showing some internal phonological variation, such that the subtle differences between the two varieties do not seem to substantially exceed differences that we might expect within each of them. Place adverbs, however, rely on different deictic stems. The set of indefinite expressions differs, largely due to the fact that in JD almost the entire set is borrowed from Arabic. Focus particles, phasal adverbs and conjunctions are, as expected, largely borrowed from respective contemporary and recent contact languages. In AD they represent the three contact layers outlined above whereas in JD they are exclusively from Arabic. One shared feature, however, is the Turkic geena 'again' shared by both, with implications for the history of shared contacts. AD retains the Indic ṣà 'all', whereas JD uses a Kurdish borrowing gišt 'all'.

Syntax:

Differences in syntax are attributable in the first instance to the complete convergence of JD syntax with Arabic, save the retention of the copula in enclitic position (which strictly speaking does not conflict with Arabic, which lacks a present-tense copula) and the retention of a GEN-N order in one of two possible possessive constructions. That leads to differences in word order typology: In AD, the shift from verb-final to verb-internal word order is ongoing and appears to be the product of a shift in the principal contact language from Kurdish to Arabic. In addition, as JD has borrowed almost the entire inventory of Arabic prepositions, it has become largely a prepositional language, whereas in AD the balance still favours postnominal local relations expressions. Some of those are still present in JD, while in AD we also find Kurdish, Persian and Arabic derived prepositions. AD also retains an indigenous relativiser (taan)kii, in all likelihood containing a loan element kii shared by Kurdish, Persian and Turkish, with the optional element taan lit. 'place' possibly emulating the Kurdish izafe or nominal attributive marker that often accompanies the k- relativiser. Finally, AD shows an adverbial subordinator huušii 'as', which however is partly based on the Kurdish loan šii 'too'. It is, in that regard, not

a substantial typological trait of AD syntax but one that is attributable to recent contacts, not unlike the use of the Arabic resumptive pronoun in relative clauses in JD.

Summary: Tentative north-south isoglosses

In Matras (2012: 18) a number of north-south isoglosses were postulated based on the then available documentation, most of it fragmentary. It is important to note that 'south' in that discussion begins in central and southern Syria, where a recording from Hauran was considered to align by and large with the dialects of Jerusalem and with a sample from nomadic Dom in Jordan (Rafiq 2011). The so-called 'north' pertained to what was known at the time about varieties from northern Syria including Aleppo, as well as from Lebanon, Azerbaijan, Anatolia and Iraq. We review the features listed there in light of our new material on AD. We take them in the order presented in Matras (2012), citing the brief description offered there, and appending our comment and re-evaluation of each feature based on our analysis of AD:

1. Pronouns. "In the area of pronouns, some northern dialects show a preference for the form hu/uhu for the 3SG subject pronoun, often reserving pandži for special functions such as reflexive. In the south, pandži is the preferred form for the subject pronoun while uhu is used as a remote demonstrative."
　　　The emphasis in the text was on an apparent "preference" to use the demonstrative for the third person singular. Of course, we lack context for the data collected in the older sources. It is quite possible that there was in fact no meaningful difference in function. The impression was based on Patkanoff's (1907, 1908) observation on the speech of the Transcaucasian Dom, where he cites hu 'he' and ohe 'she' but banǵi 'one's own'. As also reported in Matras (2012), the anthropologist Giovanni Bochi recorded pandži 'he/she' in Lebanon in 2004. It is possible, even likely, that the speakers he met in the Lebanese Buqa Valley were from Aleppo. Al Jabawi (2006) also mentions pandži 'he/she'. Thus, paanjii was not missing from the northern attestations. Our data from Aleppo now confirm that it is in fact used in a manner that is very similar to JD.

2. Possessives. "In the northern varieties, independent possessive pronouns may be used in addition to possessive suffixes, while the southern varieties rely exclusively on suffixes."
　　　That impression was based on a number of mentions in the older sources from the northern regions of personal pronouns inflected for the genitive case. Newbold's (1856) examples from Aleppo and Baghdad both show man-ki 'mine', to-ki 'your' and hui-ki 'his' as possessives, alongside the enclitic endings that we find in AD and JD. For Anatolia, Paspati (1870) has ma-ki 'mine', tur-ki 'your' (the -r- possibly being an erroneous transcription), and ori-ki 'his/hers', while for Transcaucasus, Patkanoff has what appear to be inflected possessive pronouns meri 'my' and teri 'your' which are accompanied by the familiar possessive suffixes: meri ben-am 'my sister', mera qar-um 'my home'. These 'genuine' possessive pronouns – matching the Romani forms miro, tiro and the Hindi forms mera, tera, for example – are only attested in Patkanoff's material. The other formations are productive applications of Layer II case markers to pronominal forms. As emphatic markers of possession they appear in AD and JD, too. It is plausible that Proto-Domari had 'genuine' possessive pronouns which were widely lost as possessive suffixes took over. That development may well have taken place under the influence of Sorani Kurdish or closely related languages. The emphatic possessives with Layer II markers are in a sense compensatory for that loss. But we have no evidence of a distinct dialectal innovation, either in the north or in the south. At best, Patkanoff's material attests to an archaism that we do not find in the modern documentation from other regions.

3. Plural in -iin. "At least some of the northern varieties show -n at the end of the plural pronouns amin 'we' and atmin 'you.PL', an ending that is absent in the south (but also in the northernmost variety of Azerbaijan), where the forms are eme and itme (the long form is preserved, however, in the case inflected form eminke 'for us' in Jerusalem Domari)."

While Paspati records plurals in -iin in Anatolia, Patkanoff has plurals in -a/-e such as agura 'horses', khasta 'hands', chuldara 'the childen', dehe 'villages', matching the plural form attested in Palestine and Jordan. The apparent north-south divide thus appears to go back to a simplification, featuring the loss of *-a/-e in AD and the loss of *-iin in JD.

4. Copula. "In verb morphology, all dialects except Jerusalem Domari show productive use of štomi 'I am', while the Jerusalem dialect uses a reanalysed past-tense form of the verb 'to become' – ahromi – for 'I am'."

The copula in št- is clearly related to the existential verb ašt- 'there is' which is found in both AD and JD as an impersonal form. In JD we do not find a person-inflected form derived from this verb stem. However, for the nomadic Dom in Jordan, whose dialect is very closely related to JD, Rafiq (2011) notes stomi 'I am'. That already closes the case in regard to the question of innovation vs archaism: The inflected copula in št- is clearly an archaism that has been lost in JD fairly recently and replaced by the past-tense of ho- 'become'. Our investigation of AD now shows us that the process of extending the past-tense hr- 'became' to the present tense is old and shared; we can therefore infer that this process has simply advanced further in JD, leading to the replacement of the inflected copula in *št-. As observed in Matras (2012), the conservative form is still present in the north: Giovanni Bochi recorded the form štumi 'I am' in the Beqaa Valley in Lebanon in 2004; as pointed out above the speakers he encountered could well have been from Aleppo. Pott (1846) cites for the speech of Gypsies encountered near Beirut the forms stûmi 'I am', stûri 'you are' in the present tense and stûma 'I was', stûra 'you were' in the past. This pattern suggests that the present tense št- is equally derived, like hr- in JD, from an original perfective stem (see also discussion of Romani sin-/sj- 'is' in Matras 2002). Elsewhere in the north, Patkanoff has astum 'I am', astoj 'you are', suggesting a symbiosis of the inflected copula and what appears in contemporary AD and JD as the impersonal existential ašt-; from this we can infer that the original copula was *ašt-, serving in the third person singular also as an existential; the full form remained as an existential in the third singular while the inflected form was reduced to *št- later acquiring an initial epenthetic vowel in AD išt-.

5. Progressive. "The northern dialects show a grammaticalised use of št- to form the progressive present tense of lexical verbs."

This statement is factual, based on the documented distribution of the progressive affix -št-, but it did not suggest that this was necessarily a 'northern' innovation. The -št- progressive is productive in AD but it does not appear in JD. We also find it in a variety of sources from the north, both old and recent: For the Transcaucasus Patkanoff has chazišdind 'they are laughing', mangišdad 'they love', išdišdoj 'you are standing'. For Anatolia, Black (1913) has bee-shtom 'I drink'. In Damascus, Marielle Danbakli recorded in 1990 the form ruw-šti 'crying'. However, the interesting, game changing detail is the presence in Patkanoff's material of another segment, -q/-g, which appears as an augment to the existential verb ašt- in astaq 'there is' and is also inflected for person in possessive constructions: astagum 'I have', astagoj 'you have'. This segment is without a doubt a cognate to the JD predicative marker -ik/-ēk (the vowel interchange depending on the preceding segment), which also appears in Rafiq's Jordanian material, but not in AD. Finally, Rafiq also records traces of the progressive *-št- in the past tense where it is accompanied by the Arabic auxiliary kān 'was': ama ma kān kuryamastomi 'I was not at home'. JD inflects the Arabic auxiliary but does not

show the progressive in *-št-: ama ma kunt kuryama 'I was not at home'. We can therefore reconstruct a Proto-Domari state of affairs as follows: A copula and existential verb *ašt-, a progressive marker derived from that verb *-št-, and a predicative marker *-ak that was inflected for person occurring with the existential verb and possibly also with lexical verbs. AD continues the first two but has lost the predicative marker *-ak. JD continues and generalises the predicative marker *-ak; it is ubiquitous in the third person singular and may well be the origin of the second person singular present tense conjugation marker in -ēk in JD and Jordanian Domari (whereas AD has a vowel ending, as do other documented dialects of the north). JD also continues the impersonal existential verb ašt- but has lost the progressive marker *-št- and the person-inflected copula forms in *št-, replacing the progressive by a combination of the predicative marker -ik/-ēk in the present tense and the inflected Arabic-derived auxiliary kān 'was' in the past, and replacing the inflected copula *št- by the perfect form hr- 'has become'. The Jordanian material suggests that both these processes are fairly recent. In particular, it testifies to the role of the borrowing of the Arabic auxiliary kān 'was' and its extension from an impersonal form to a person-inflected form in replacing what will have been the inherited progressive. It follows that the progressive in -št- is not a 'northern' innovation but a shared inheritance that has been lost in JD, while the predicative marker *-ak is not a 'southern' innovation but a shared inheritance lost in AD.

6. Future tense marker. "In some of the northern dialects, an aspectual marker ka- is used for the present indicative or proximate future."

      Apart from AD this form was also recorded by Giovanni Bochi in Lebanon, but that material, as noted above, may well represent the speech of a group from Aleppo. To date we do not have further evidence of this form. Balkan Romani dialects have a future in ka, which is likely to be an innovation modelled on the analytical future particle derived from the verb 'want' in other Balkan languages. The origin of the Domari kaa is not obvious, but it is noteworthy that some Kurdish varieties, notably the westernmost dialects of Kurmanji in northern Syria (around Afrin and Kobani) have a future particle kê. Here we can allow the possibility of a local innovation in AD in contact with Kurmanji Kurdish, in the absence of evidence of the existence of a similar form in other varieties. There is, however, no evidence to suggest a shared innovation that would be constitutive of a supposed 'northern group'.

7. Function words. "In grammatical vocabulary, the northern dialects retain the Indic particle sa for 'all', contrasting with Kurdish-derived gišt in the south."

      Among the older sources, Pott has sa 'all' for the dialect recorded in Beirut. Since this form is clearly an Indic inheritance, its absence from contemporary documentation in JD merely testifies to its loss, while the presence of the Kurdish loan gist in JD and in Jordan can be regarded as testimony of a once shared pool of function word loans from Kurdish and Turkish, which survive to different degrees in the various contemporary dialects. Thus, Patkanoff has the Kurdish-derived preposition ban 'under', and the Turkish-derived postposition orta- 'amidst'. AD has the first but not the second, and JD has neither (relying heavily on Arabic loans for most local relations).

8. Numerals. "Kurdish numerals are more predominant in the north (but also in Hauran)."

The straightforward explanation for the apparent distribution is the recent replacement of the numerals above 'five' (and excluding 'ten') in JD by Arabic loans.
      Seetzen's list of words from West Bank Palestinian Domari has the Kurdish forms haut 'seven', asch 'eight' and nau 'nine' (mistakenly referred to in Matras 2012 as possibly Indic in origin). Macalister (1914) recorded the same Kurdish-derived numerals šeš- 'six' and hot 'seven'

in Jerusalem. Rafiq has shesh 'six' for Jordanian Domari. This closes the case for the Kurdish numerals being a shared inheritance, which also appeared in the south, until they were replaced by Arabic forms. As noted in Matras (2012), Meyer's recording of a speaker from Hauran in Syria from 1994 also has šeš 'six' from Kurdish, while Marielle Danbakli recorded in Damascus in 1990 the Kurdish-derived form heft 'seven' and hešt 'eight'. For Anatolia, Black (recorded in 1886) has shesh 'six', haft 'seven', hasht 'eight' and so on, from Kurdish. And for Beirut Pott mentions sheish 'six', ḥaut 'seven', ḥaisht 'eight' as well as higher numerals from Kurdish. Thus, the only innovation is the very recent relexification of Kurdish-derived numerals through Arabic loans in JD and emerging also in Jordan. A question remains about the precise dialectal source of the Kurdish numerals. Most descriptions mention hawt 'seven', which we also find in AD; this form is present in Sorani and in so-called South Easten Kurmanji (as spoken in the Hakkâri province in Turkey). Some, however, have haft 'seven' which is the more widespread form in Kurmanji. Other nuances include the apparent diphthongs recorded by Pott, found variably across Kurdish dialects. We might conclude that Proto-Domari was influenced by a network of contacts with Kurdish varieties with some forms showing possible alternation or replacement by very similar forms as contacts shifted from one regional variants to another.

9. Preposition 'from'. "Northern dialects tend to use the Persian preposition z- 'from', while southern dialects use Arabic min."

The Persian-derived preposition is attested already by Newbold for Aleppo and is still found in AD. Here too, as under point 7, we can assume a shared inheritance of loans, some of which survive in contemporary dialects while other do not. Thus, Seetzen's list of Palestinian Domari has the Persian loan pesar 'boy' which is unknown to contemporary speakers of JD. In the case of the preposition 'from' its loss in JD is easily accounted for by the almost wholesale adoption of local relations expressions from Arabic.,

10. Negation. "The negation particle na is found only in the north, while the proclitic in- is found in both northern and southern varieties."

This impression was based on Paspati's mention of na 'not' for Anatolia and Patkanoff's recording of na 'not' for Azerbaijan, while AD has both nà and in. However, we are now aware that Rafiq's material from Jordan also has ne 'not'. Thus, we can reconstruct Proto-Domari as alternating between nà and in (much like Romani, which inherits both and has varying distributions by region and dialect). The form *na will have been lost fairly recently in JD.

11. Comparative. "In morpho-syntax, the Kurdish (and Persian) marker -ter is used to form the comparison of adjectives in the northern varieties (cf. Romani -der), while the southern varieties rely on wholesale borrowing of Arabic comparative word forms."

That Kurdish-derived *-tar is old is evidenced by Newbold's material from Aleppo, whereas the Hauran recording also shows -tar, suggesting it is not a 'northern' innovation. On the other hand, our AD materials show incipient use of Arabic-derived comparative and superlative markers. The loss of *-tar in JD can therefore be regarded as recent and part of the massive income of Arabic on the language.

12. Word order. "Verb-final word order is more likely to be preserved in the northern varieties."

Newbold reports on verb final order in Aleppo, while for Azerbaijan Patkanoff's material shows phrases where the verb is internal to the clause and is followed by the object. Our AD material shows that the change from verb-final to verb-internal is incipient and ongoing, apparently a product of contact with Arabic in recent generations. That impact is stronger in JD and in Jordan. Even there, the copula remains enclitic, an indication that Proto-

Domari was verb-final, as we would expect from a New Indo-Aryan language in contact with verb-final languages such as Persian, Turkish and Kurdish.

13. Loss of gender. "There is some evidence of ongoing or even advanced loss of gender distinction in some of the northern varieties (cf. Herin 2011, 2012)"

As our discussion above shows, the erosion of gender distinction in AD is ongoing and so it must be considered to be a recent development, and should therefore not be regarded as constitutive of a distinct dialect branch. Where relevant examples appear in older sources they suggest that the inherited gender distinction was retained elsewhere in the north: Paktanoff has akilli ǵivi 'clever woman', guldi ǵibisa 'with a sweet tongue', but aqilla manis 'a clever man', lolda agušdari 'a gold ring'.

14. Labiodental consonants. "In phonology, etymological /v/ appears to be retained as /v/ in the north in words like vat 'stone' and vars 'year', compared with /w/ in the south (wat, wars), though the precise value of the notation used in many of the older investigations cannot be ascertained."

This is perhaps one of the most intriguing differences between the contemporary dialects. The distribution of /v/ and /w/ in AD and JD was described above as follows: The partial retention of the opposition /v/ and /w/ in AD can be said to reflect an older state of affairs, while the merger of both sounds as /w/ in JD seems to represent an extension of that very same process rather than a completely separate innovation. Moreover, informal observations suggest that /w/ occurs also in the Qiblaavi dialect of northern Syria. The split is therefore not geographical as such, but reflects, rather, a conservative trait specifically of AD. In the older sources it is often difficult to identity the phonetic quality that is represented by the notations. Thus, for Anatolia Paspati notes vat 'stone' and val 'hair', which we would expect to represent two different sounds in the original state of affairs, though it is also possible that contact with Turkish had blurred the distinction. Pott, on the other hand, from Beirut or its vicinity has raurdom 'I walked' and jûr 'woman', both clearly indicating the loss of */v/. Danbakli for Damascus similarly has ruwari 'cries' while Meyer's recording of Hauran speaker has rawwirdēn 'travelled'. Rafiq's material shows the same generalisation of /w/ as in JD. The overall distribution therefore points to a volatility, both internal and contact-related, of the two sounds that is spread across the different regions and in different times, reinforcing the impression that the retention of some distinction in AD is a local conversative trait. To reiterate, however, our AD material shows that here too the change is incipient, with the distinction between /v/ and /w/ retained in word-initial position but the two frequently alternating in post-vowel position in the environment of back and centralised vowels.

In summary, the evidential basis for the north-south isogloss bundle seems on the one hand to be less solid than considered before, as new data have come to light. It is important to note that the tentative isogloss split identified in Matras (2012) was not claimed there to be constitutive of two branches of the language, each with their separate structural innovations, but merely a bundle of features identified as a spread rather than a split. Our further understanding of these features and their distribution indicates to us that there is no justification for the postulation of a 'northern' and 'southern' dialect division, certainly not one that goes back to a so-called 'genetic' split within the language. Herin (2016: 72) remarks that the distribution of Kurdish and Turkish loans and the different impact of Arabic suggest that the split between what he calls 'northern' and 'southern' Domari (basing that division on Matras' (2012: 15ff.) observations) occurred "rather early, before the migration into Arabic speaking lands". We find no evidence to back up that assessment. We elaborate further and explain our alternative reconstruction scenario in the next section.

14.3 Towards a reconstruction and periodisation of Proto-Domari

Based on the above remarks we are able to postulate several stages in the development of a hypothesised Proto-Domari – a language variety that is unattested but is assumed to have given rise to all known contemporary varieties of the Dom language including those best documented: AD and JD.

At the point of exodus from India, Proto-Domari will have shown the outcome of distinct phonological developments as well as distinct function word paradigms (deictics and interrogatives) compared to Romani, with which it is often associated due to a similar history of migration. Despite the shared inherited legacy as Indo-Aryan languages, and some similarities in subsequent developments, the two languages were separate already at that point in time (see Matras 2002, 2012). However, both show a common development in the nominal case system, incorporating Layer II markers as agglutinated endings, and a common innovation in the past-tense conjugation, incorporating personal possessive endings as person affixes. (Following conventional historical linguistic terminology we use the term 'common development' to refer to a similar process that is displayed by two separate languages, while 'shared development' is reserved for a process that two closely related languages are thought to have undergone jointly prior to their separation from one another). Both innovations resemble those found in some languages of the northwestern Indian subcontinent like Kashmiri, and they are likely to have been acquired in contact with those languages. At the same time, both languages, Domari and Romani, show unique conservative retention of the old present-tense person conjugation, a shared inheritance whose presence testifies to a similar socio-economic status and a similar migration history.

A further common development, that of external tense markers, which partly shapes the overall tense, aspect and modality system adding the dimensions of contextualisation and remoteness, may have been acquired in contact with Kurdish languages. We attribute to the contact with Kurdish, specifically Central Kurdish, also the emergence of the Proto-Domari system of personal affix chaining, as in lakirdo-m-is 'I saw him', which is not encountered in Romani save in the third person in the very conservative Romacilikanes dialect of Parakalamos in northwestern Greece (Matras 2004). (Note that this feature is absent from Northern Kurdish). It is, however, not impossible that Proto-Romani once had a similar system that was eroded as a result of Early Romani contact with Byzantine Greek and the emergence of a new set of independent object pronouns from object demonstratives, now in post-verbal position as word order shifted from verb-final ([S]OV) to verb-internal ([S]VO). Further on the tense-aspect system we note that Romani and Domari each show distinct patterns of cross-paradigm and paradigm-internal analogies among the conjugation paradigms, giving rise to the current sets of person affixes on the verb, which differ among the two language groups (but only slightly internally, i.e. among their respective dialects).

So far, we have discussed common and similar structural legacies in Proto-Domari and Proto-Romani, establishing that the similarities do not prompt us to postulate a shared point of departure for both languages but merely similar development pathways that reflect similar histories of migration and contact, applied to a shared legacy of inherited structures. We now turn our attention to the particular features of Proto-Domari basing those on our comparison of AD and JD.

Proto-Domari appears to have acquired several Turkish structures: the nominal derivation marker -iiš, the focus particle geena 'again' and some Turkish lexical loans, all inherited by contemporary AD and JD. This makes it plausible that other Turkish loans found in AD but not in JD were also acquired by Proto-Domari but were subsequently replaced in JD by Arabic loans. In any case, Proto-Domari was subject to intense impact of one or several

Turkic languages. A further testimony to the intense influence of Turkish on Proto-Domari is the presence of Turkish-derived local relations expressions in several of the sources.

Of major importance is the shared replacement of retroflex sounds through phayngealised consonants. This appears to be a typical convergent development, but we suggest that its adstrate trigger may have been a substrate rather than superstrate; in other words, one possible pathway may have been intermarriage and the integration into the Proto-Domari speaking community of individuals of other language (and by implication ethnic) background. Our contemporary observations suggest that such incorporation of 'outsiders' into Dom clans is commonplace. Those joining the community learn the Dom language and pass it on to their children, albeit often with phonetic interference. The substitution of retroflex features through pharyngeal features might be attributed to the perception of retroflex sounds as pharyngeals by persons whose background languages did not have retroflex sounds. The substitute, pharyngeal sounds, need not have been part of those persons' 'mother tongue' or clan or home language. It could also have been part of the sound inventory of a shared multilingual repertoire consisting of Turkish and Kurdish languages and perhaps also Arabic and Persian. Either way, it is a process that took place in Proto-Domari and its outcome has produced an inheritance shared by AD and JD. (Anecdotally, we have access to an analysis of DNA samples taken from two members of the AD speech community; both show a background in the Indian Subcontinent but also input, amounting to more than 70%, from Western Asian populations).

A further shared Proto-Domari legacy are the names given to other population groups, particularly ṭaaṭ 'Arab' and kuttuur 'Christian', as well as qlaarà 'Bedouin'. Of special relevance is the first, ṭaaṭ 'Arab', known to have been a late medieval Turkish appellation for Arab and Iranian populations. This reinforces the impression of a strong Turkish impact on Proto-Domari in its formation period. In the domain of cultural lexicon we also find a shared Kurdish legacy in the AD word greevaarà, JD grawara 'headman'. The word is a (Sorani) Kurdish borrowing, from gawra 'big'. In both languages, the term can also be paraphrased as 'big man' – AD drongà, JD tilla. The terms are translated into Kurdish and Arabic as mixtar/muxtār, lit. 'the elected one'. But the presence of the concept among the historically nomadic Dom populations is puzzling. Moukhtar is an administrative category introduced by the Ottomans for settled populations, whereas in nomadic Bedouin communities the community leader is the Sheikh, who is the leader of the extended family clan by descent. Among the Dom of Jerusalem, the role of Moukhtar is a combination of an inherited function passed across generations, an elected one approved by the community's elders, and an appointed office confirmed by the authorities of the time (in the case of the Jerusalem community, the Ottomans, then the British, then the Jordanians, and finally the Israelis). The presence of the concept and identical terms in AD and JD suggests a shared form of social organisation and a particular relationship between the nomadic Dom and the Ottoman authorities within a Kurdish-speaking environment, one that attributed to the Dom a position akin to permanent village dwellers rather than nomadic Bedouins, perhaps due to their role as a service-providing skilled economy rather than pastoral nomads.

At the structural level, Proto-Domari acquired a post-nominal enclitic indefinite marker -aak, most likely modelled on Kurdish. It also developed a system of loan verb adaptation. The latter is aligned with other languages of the wider region, from Western Asia to the Indian Subcontinent, exploiting the distinction between the light verbs 'do' and 'become' for verbs expressing an agent and experiencer, respectively. The distinct Proto-Domari development involved the reduction of those light verbs and their use as grammaticalised affixes. As noted above, Romani shows a parallel development but it relies partly on a different set of markers (using causative/transitive derivation affixes for agentives, and subsequently, in the Early Romani period, integrating Greek tense-aspect morphemes as part of the loan verb adaptation system; see Matras 2002).

As noted above, we can also reconstruct a Proto-Domari system of existential predications and aspect drawing on the one hand on the historical existential verb *ašt- and its grammaticalised variant *-št- as a progressive marker and on the other hand on a predicative affix *-ak. Contemporary varieties inherit these forms selectively. Prior to the split into the forerunners of the contemporary varieties AD and JD, Proto-Domari embarked on a pathway of distributional change that saw the use of past-tense stems in present-tense functions for the verbs 'sit' and 'become' and a retreat of the subjunctive marker -č- beginning in transitive verbs. This pathway is continued, to different extents, in contemporary varieties. To this group of phenomena we can also assign the differences between the two varieties in the treatment of /v/ and /w/. As discussed above, in AD initial /v/ is retained, representing an OIA initial */v/, whereas initial /w/ represents an OIA /*v/ in the vicinity of retroflex sounds. (In Romani both give initial /b/). The AD state of affairs therefore seems to us to suggest the original Proto-Domari distribution pattern. The variation between the two sounds in inter-vocalic position appeared to have been incipient already in Proto-Domari and has been carried forward to its full extent in JD, resulting also in the shift of initial */v/ to /w/ in the few words in which it had occurred. It is certainly possible that the development was reinforced by contact with Arabic, which lacks /v/, but it was not triggered by contact, and it is not very recent nor confined to particular regions as we can identify similar variation in a number of sources from different times and places.

The differences now encountered between AD and JD are, we argue, therefore shallow, in the sense that they are likely to have emerged in situ, in the present locations, rather than go back to an ancient division. Historical documentation places the ancestors of JD speakers in the Palestinian West Bank in the early nineteenth century (Seetzen's wordlist of 1806; see Kruse 1854). It is therefore possible that the split between the forerunners of AD and JD occurred as late as the second half of the eighteenth century, with the ancestral variety of AD maintaining contact with Kurdish whereas JD acquired or intensified its contact with Arabic while losing contact with Kurdish. In light of the shared earlier history of contacts it is possible that many of the contact features that appear to be particular to AD were in fact once shared: for example, the presence of local relations expressions derived from Turkish and Kurdish, of the Kurdish-derived directional (versative) marker, and of Kurdish numerals. This is partly confirmed by the distribution of Kurdish-derived numerals, discussed above. The set of lower numerals shows the same retention of Indic items in AD and JD (3-5, 10). It is therefore quite obvious that both varieties once had the same set of Kurdish loans, which JD later replaced by Arabic loans. That means, in effect, a single ancestral variety. The accelerated pace of Arabic impact on JD is clearly documented in the comparison between Macalister's material published in 1914, where for example Arabic modals appear without their Arabic inflection, and Matras's materials published from 1999 onwards, where entire Arabic inflection paradigms are incorporated into the language, among other features.

In conclusion, based on the current availability of data we reconstruct Proto-Domari as a language spoken in the Kurdish regions of the Ottoman Empire, perhaps as late as the second half of the eighteenth century. It had been formed in contact first with Indo-Iranian frontier languages such as Kashmiri and subsequently with Central Kurdish and Turkish languages. Most likely, its speaker community incorporated populations of various backgrounds who shared a multilingual repertoire that included Kurdish, Turkic varieties and possibly Persian and Arabic. It incorporated structural influences from these languages in vocabulary and in grammar, particularly focus particles, relative pronouns and conjunctions, as well as local relations expressions (pre- and postpositions), a noun derivation affix from Turkish, and from Kurdish the indefiniteness marker, the adjective comparison marker, numerals and at least one case marker. It developed a tendency to deploy past-tense forms in present-tense functions for some intransitive verbs ('sit' and 'become'), impacting on the marking of the copula, and

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changes to the distribution of the subjunctive marker and internal aspectual markers (progressive and predicative).

Most features of AD and JD, both similarities and differences, can be attributed to this legacy. Others involve changes to the distribution of some shared inheritance (such as the nominal plural marker, and negation particles), the emergence of an emphatic nominal marker and an indefiniteness marker and the erosion of gender agreement in AD. It is likely that the reflexive pronoun paa and the future marker kaa that are present in AD and which derive from Indic morpho-lexical material were once present in JD and replaced by the Arabic reflexive/reciprocal pronoun baʕḍ and the overall system of Arabic modal auxiliaries, respectively. There are some differences in early lexical loans. For example, AD has Kurdish-derive qur 'son' while JD has zara 'boy'; AD has Turkish-derived ozgà 'other' while JD has guzel 'nice'. This, however, does not indicate to us a major separation of the forerunners of AD and JD. The large number of items shared, such as dii 'town' and geena 'again', testify to a shared pool of multilingual resources. Differences can be attributed to preferences among individual clans, of the kind that we find in contemporary observations as well, or indeed to the emergence of subsequent preferences, in situ. Seetzen's list of Palestinian Domari phrases from the early nineteenth century, for example, contains many Turkish-derived items not mentioned by Macalister (1914) while the latter's wordlist in turn contains Turkish-derived items that were not familiar to the speakers surveyed by Matras (1999, 2012). We must also note that the two languages differ in some of their inherited Indic vocabulary, too. AD has, for example, gunnà 'fault', huurdà 'small pieces', suujin 'needle' and the function words ṣà 'all' and reflexive pronoun paa, all of which are not recorded in JD, while JD has tilla 'big', putr- 'son', not found in AD. We would, of course, not wish to infer from this that the two languages left the Indian Subcontinent at different times and from different places; that would stand in contradiction to the numerous distinctive features that they share. Similarly, following the same method of analysis, we should not take a relatively small number of differences in Kurdish and Turkish lexical loans to infer separate networks of contacts with the populations who spoke these languages and the regions in which they were spoken. Instead, we can reconstruct a shared pool of multilingual resources in a shared linguistic ecology at a shared point in time, the legacy of which has since eroded to various extents in each of the two varieties.

Overall, most of the differences between AD and JD are likely to have emerged in situ, involving loss of a structure inherited from Proto-Domari rather than the innovative development of a new structure. We therefore see no need to postulate separate 'linguistic-genetic branches' within Domari and see no evidence for the historical presence of a distinct 'Northern Domari' branch of the language, notwithstanding the geographical spread that we find among certain features in the rather scanty material collected on other Dom varieties so far.

15. References

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Acknowledgements

Appendix: List of grammatical affixes

affix	meaning/function
vaač	nominal derivation
iiš	nominal derivation
iin	nominal plural
in	definite/emphatic
aa(k)	indefinite
mor	indefinite
-s	accusative singular
-i, -à	oblique singular
-in	accusative/oblique plural
à, ii	adjective
kii	genitive
t(à)	dative
m(à)	locative
ka	adessive
keeree	benefactive
saa	comitative
vaar	similative
va	directional (versative)
-m	1st singular
-r	2nd singular
-s, -à, -ii	3rd singular
-maa(n), -n	1st plural
-raan, -s	2nd plural
-saa(n), -nd	3rd plural
d, r, rd, t	perfective
kar	verb derivation agentive
(h)o	verb derivation experiencer
naa	causative
yaa	passive
in, ni	negation
išt	progressive
(y)ee	contextualising
(y)aa	remoteness
č	subjunctive
saa	conditional
kaa	future