

Learning Domari with Kareem

Kitamura Moe

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Chapter 1

Introduction

Domari is the language of Dom gypsies in the Middle East. The Dom population is currently estimated at 2.2 million in the Middle East. They moved originally from India but Documentation is unclear as to how long they have lived in Jerusalem. We do know it has been for at least 200 years. The statistics in 2004 say that there are between 1,200 and 1,500 Doms in Jerusalem. Domari language is severely endangered in Jerusalem and there seems to be few speakers left. This book is aimed to introduce Domari language to the young Dom generation and to anyone who is interested in the language and culture. This has been one of the dreams of Amoun Sleem, the director of Domari Society of Gypsies in Jerusalem, for many years. This book is mostly based on the speech of Kareem, one of the Domari speakers. I hope that you will not only learn the language but also enjoy Kareem's story.

Domari belongs to the Indo-Aryan family of language and its vocabulary is mixed with Persian, Kurdish, Turkish, Azeri, and Arabic. While Domari has a lot of Arabic

components, I will not focus on Arabic in this book. For this reason it would be better to know at least a little about Arabic in Palestine for learning Domari. If you want to know more about the language I recommend reading ‘A Grammar of Domari’ by Yarom Matras (2012) or ‘The language of the Nawar or Zutt, the Nomad Smiths of Palestine’ by R. A. Stewart Macalister (1914).

Lastly I would like to express my gratitude to the Domari teacher Kareem Sleem, the director of Domari Society of Gypsies in Jerusalem Amoun Sleem for introducing me Kareem, and the director of Bridge to Jerusalem Diana Nelson for assisting with the English.



Because the early gypsy history is an undocumented one, there are various theories. In this book, I'm focusing on the chronological table of Domari's origin.

4-6c CE	Some groups of Domba caste people in the Central India started to migrating to the North. First they went to Dardic lands in North Western India
-10c	They moved westward into Persian speaking area
1011	Firdusi wrote about gypsies in Iran.
11c-	Dom people moved to Anatolia. Some of them stayed in Anatolia and others moved southwards to Arabic speaking zones (as far as Sudan).
18-19c	Europeans found Dom people in Syria, Lebanon, Palestine.
Now	Dom people are scattered in Turkey, Syria, lebanon, Palestine, Jordan, Iran, Iraq, and Egypt.

In addition, we have the modern history of the Jerusalem Dom.

early 20c	'ibrāhīm Sleem led Dom as a Muhtar. Dom people lived by nomadic travelling between Jerusalem and other towns in West Bank. They begun to settle in a tent encampment in Jerusalem, just north of Damascus Gate when 'abd Sleem, a son of 'ibrāhīm Sleem was a Muhtar.
1922	Mandatory Palestine started.
1920s	'abd Sleem praised by British military because he stop the fighting between Arab and Jews when Dom dancers from Jaffa were performing in Jerusalem.
early 1940s	British military administration suspected Dom hiding weapons and removed all the tents. Dom people began to rent houses near Lion's Gate.
1940s	The municipality's environmental health department began to employ Dom people.
1948	Israeli Declaration of Independence
1967	Six-Day war. Many Palestinian Dom moved to Amman.

Chapter 2

Pronunciation

2.1 Vowels

- Short Vowels

/a/	[æ]	<i>ag</i> ‘fire’, <i>qar-i</i> ‘stupid (F ¹)’
	[ɑ]	<i>ama</i> ‘I’, <i>aha</i> ‘This’, <i>aw-</i> ‘come’, <i>qar</i> ‘stupid (M ²)’
/ɔ/	[ɔ]	<i>dɔw-</i> ‘to wash’, <i>rɔw-</i> to cry
/i/	[i]	<i>ikak</i> ‘someone (F)’, <i>ihi</i> ‘this (F)’, <i>di</i> ‘two’
/u/	[u]	<i>urati</i> ‘tomorrow’, <i>muš</i> ‘not’
/e/	[e]	<i>ekak</i> ‘someone (M)’, <i>ehe</i> ‘these, they’
/o/	[o]	<i>botr-</i> ‘son’, <i>-om</i> ‘my’
	[ə]	<i>gozzali</i> ‘good’, <i>šor-i</i> ‘knife’, <i>kor-i</i> ‘house’

- Long vowels

/a:/	[æ:]	<i>ba:y</i> ‘wife’, <i>ma:si</i> ‘meat’
/ɔ:/	[ɔ:]	<i>mɔ:s</i> ‘month’, <i>bɔ:y</i> ‘father’
/i:/	[i:]	<i>ki:k</i> ‘what’, <i>di:s</i> ‘day’
/u:/	[u:]	<i>mabsu:t</i> ‘happy’, <i>šu:ši</i> ‘sleep’
/e:/	[ɛ:]	<i>be:n</i> ‘sister’
/o:/	[o:]	<i>do:m</i> ‘Dom man’, <i>bo:l</i> ‘much’, <i>bizzo:t-a</i> ‘poor (M)’
	[ə:]	<i>bizzo:t-i</i> ‘poor (F)’, <i>lo:n</i> ‘salt’

¹F stands for Feminine.

²M stands for Masculine

2.2 Consonants

'	[ʔ]	Glottal stop as ء in Arabic
‘	[ʕ]	Voiced pharyngeal fricative as ع in Arabic
b	[b]	Voiced bilabial stop as ب in Arabic
d	[d]	Voiced dental stop as د in Arabic
ḍ	[dʕ]	Voiced pharyngealized dental stop as ض in Arabic
f	[f]	Voiceless labiodental fricative as ف in Arabic
g	[g]	Voiced velar stop
ǧ	[ʒ]	Voiced palatal fricative as ج in Jerusalem Arabic
ġ	[ɣ]	Voiced velar fricative as غ in Arabic
h	[h]	Voiceless glottal fricative as ه in Arabic
ħ	[ħ]	Voiceless pharyngeal fricative as ح in Arabic
k	[k]	Voiceless velar stop as ك in Arabic
l	[l]	Alveolar lateral approximant as ل in Arabic
m	[m]	bilabial nasal as م in Arabic
n	[n]	Alveolar nasal as ن in Arabic
p	[p]	Voiceless bilabial stop
q	[q]	Voiceless uvular stop as ق in Arabic
r	[r]	Alveolar trill as ر in Arabic
s	[s]	Voiceless alveolar fricative as س in Arabic
š	[ʃ]	Voiceless postalveolar fricative as ش in Arabic
ṣ	[sʕ]	Voiceless pharyngealized postalveolar fricative as ص in Arabic
t	[t]	Voiceless dental stop as ت in Arabic
ṭ	[tʕ]	Voiceless pharyngealized dental stop as ط in Arabic
w	[w]	bilabial approximant as و in Arabic
x	[x]	Voiceless velar fricative as خ in Arabic
y	[y]	Palatal approximant as ي in Arabic
z	[z]	Voiced alveolar fricative as ز in Arabic

2.3 Stress

The sign ‘ˈ’ indicates the stress in this book. Most Domari words have stresses on the last syllable except for some words such as *ášti* ‘there is’, *mánġan* ‘he/she’,

híndar ‘here’, *hóndar* ‘there’, *áğoti* ‘today’ and *xóğoti* ‘yesterday’.

When the words have inflectional segments as shown below the stresses fall on the inflectional segments.

- Predication markers except for the predication marker of consonant ending words *-i* (→ 3.1)
- Oblique case markers (→ 6.3)
- Possessive pronoun suffixes (→ 4.4)
- Personal inflection suffixes of verbs (→ 6.1, 7.1, 8.1)
- Personal inflection suffixes in possession phrases (→ 5.3)
- Negation marker *-é* (→ 6.2, 7.2, 8.2)
- Object pronominal suffixes (→ 6.4, 7.3, 8.3)

Note that the inflectional segments as shown below don’t have stress on themselves.

- Layer 2 case markers except for *-ke* ‘for’ with pronominal suffixes (→ 6.5)
- Enclitic copula (→ 3.3)
- Indefinite marker (→ 5.4)
- Personal Inflection suffixes of present verbs (→ 6.1)

Chapter 3

How are you?

Muna: *ke:fá ḥa:l-ór?*

Kareem: *amá ghá:y-ro:mi. ató ke:fá ḥa:l-or?*

Muna: *ama mabsú:ṭ-romi.*

ama ism-óm mon-é:k. kí:k ism-ór?

Kareem: *amá ism-óm karí:m-i.*

Muna: *kaddé:š ‘umur-ór?*

Kareem: *ama ‘umur-óm sáb‘a sittí:n-i.*

Muna: *ama xámsa w-‘išrí:n-i.*

Kareem: *muš till-ík ‘umúr-ma. ato štot-ík.*



Muna: How are you?

Kareem: I'm good. And you, how are you?

Muna: I'm well.

My name is Muna. What's your name?

Kareem: My name is Kareem.

Muna: How old are you?

Kareem: I'm 67 years old.

Muna: I'm 25.

Kareem: You are not old. You are young.

ke:fa 'how'

gha:y 'good'

ism 'name'

kadde:š 'how much'

sab'a 'seven'

xamsa 'five'

muš 'not'

-ma 'in'

ḥa:l 'situation'

mabsu:t 'well'

ki:k 'what'

'umur 'age'

sitti:n 'sixty'

'išri:n 'twenty'

till 'old, big'

štot/kašt:ot/kaško:t 'young, small'

3.1 Equational Sentence

An equational sentence refers to a sentence which contains nominal predicate or adjectival predicate and does not have a verb in it. The structure of the sentence is as shown below.

Subject + Predication - Predication marker

The following suffixes are what are referred to predication markers and are added at the end of the predication. The forms vary depending on the ending of predicate nouns or adjectives.

predication	sg.	pl.
ending <i>-a</i> (masculine)	<i>-é:k</i>	
ending <i>-i</i> (feminine)	<i>-ík</i>	<i>-é:ni/-ni</i>
ending in consonants	<i>-i</i>	

As for the two predication markers for the plural predications, *-ni* often accompany the adjective *gha:y* or possessive pronoun suffixes (\rightarrow 4.4).

(1) *amó:n do:mi:y-é:k.*

‘Amoun is a Dom woman.’

The predication is *do:mi:ya*.

(2) *karí:m dó:m-i.*

‘Kareem is a Dom man.’

The predication is *do:m*.

(3) *amé gíš do:m-é:ni.*

‘We are all Doms.’

The predication is *do:me*.

(4) *amá till-é:k.*

‘I’m old.’

The predication is *tilla*.

(5) *ató štot-ík.*

‘You are young.’

The predication is *štoti*.

(6) *amé ghá:y-ni.*

‘We are well.’

The predication is *gha:y*.

The plural form *-e:ni* doesn’t have gender difference. But some plural words show the gender difference with Arabic gender marker *-i:ya*.

(7) *amo:n w-xáḍra do:mi:y-é:ni.*

‘Amoun and Xadra are Dom women.’

(8) *ame do:m-é:ni.*

‘We are Dom’

Arabic negative expression *muš* is used in the negative sentences.

Subject + *múš* + Predication - Predication marker

(9) *móna múš qra:r-ík.*

‘Muna is not a Bedouin woman.’

(10) *ama muš qra:r-é:k. ama dó:m-i.*

‘I am not a Bedouin man. I’m a Dom man.’

3.2 Independent Personal Pronouns

Independent personal pronouns don’t have gender differences. They are used only as the subject of the sentence.

	sg.	pl.
1	<i>amá</i>	<i>amé</i>
2	<i>ató</i>	<i>itmé</i>
3	<i>manǵí/panǵí</i>	<i>mánǵan/pánǵan</i>

- (11) *amá do:m-i.*
‘I am a Dom man.’
- (12) *ató do:mi:y-e:k.*
‘You are a Dom woman.’
- (13) *manǵí yahu:di:y-e:k.*
‘She is a Jewish woman.’
- (14) *manǵí grawar-e:k.*
‘He is a head man.’
- (15) *mánǵan ta:t-e:ni.*
‘They are villagers.’
- (16) *itmé muš do:m-e:ni.*
‘You are not Dom people.’
- (17) *amé do:m-e:ni.*
We are Dom people.

3.3 Copula

In equational sentences, what is called the enclitic copula can also be used interchangeably with the predication markers.

- (18) *ama mišt-e:k.*
‘I’m ill.’

In this sentence, the predication marker *-e:k* is used.

(19) *ama mištá:-ro:mi.*

‘I’m ill’

In this sentence, the enclitic copula *-ro:mi* is used.

The enclitic copula changes its formation depending on the subject’s gender or number. The formation is as shown below.

	sg.	pl.
1	<i>-ro:mi (-no:mi)</i>	<i>-re:ni (-ne:ni)</i>
2	<i>-ro:ri (-no:ri)</i>	<i>-re:si (-ne:si)</i>
3 M	<i>-i</i>	<i>-re:di (-ne:di)</i>
3 F	<i>-i</i>	

(20) *ama mabsú:ṭ-ro:mi.*

‘I’m well.’

(21) *ato mabsú:ṭ-ro:ri?*

‘Are you well?’

(22) *dɔ:y-ór ba:y-ór mabsú:ṭ-re:di?*

‘Are your mother and father fine?’

- (23) *ama-tí:r mabsú:ṭ-re:ni.*
‘We are both fine.’
- (24) *ʕali: mabsúṭ-i.*
‘Aly is well.’
- (25) *manġan giš mabsú:ṭ-re:di.*
‘They are all well ’
- (26) *itme mabsú:ṭ-re:si?*
‘Are you(pl.) well?’

When the predication ends in -n as Arabic origin words such as *ta‘ba:n-* or *za‘la:n-* do, the sound -r- in the enclitic copula assimilates to the -n-.

- (27) *ama ta‘ba:n-no:mi.*
‘I’m tired.’
- (28) *itme za‘la:n-ne:si?*
‘Are you(pl.) irritated?’

Chapter 4

They are Doms

Muna: *kí:k ehé?*

Kareem: *ehé řuwar-é:ni ‘atí:k-ni.*

Muna: *ka:n-é:ni ehé?*

Kareem: *ehé do:m-é:ni minkí:-man-ni.*

ihí ism-ós řabh-á:k, da:dy-ós e:rás-ki.

Muna: *ka:n-ík ahá?*

Kareem: *ahá ism-ós mu:s-á:k.*

w-ahá bə:y-ós-i, ism-ós ‘abéd-i.

Muna: *ghá:y-ni. w-né:n ehé?*

Kareem: *ehé řne:n-é:-ma hayy-ós ba:b zahr-é:k.*



Muna: What are these?

Kareem: These are old pictures.

Muna: Who are they?

Kareem: They are Doms from our community.

This is Sabḥa, grandmother of this man.

Muna: Who is this?

Kareem: This is Musa.

And this is his father, Abed.

Muna: Nice! Where are they?

Kareem: They are in the garden of Zahra gate.

<i>aha</i> ‘this (mascline)’	<i>ṣo:ra</i> (sg.) <i>ṣowar</i> (pl.) ‘picture’
<i>‘ati:k</i> ‘old’	<i>ka:n-e:ni</i> ‘who (pl.)’
<i>ehe</i> ‘these’	<i>minki:-</i> ‘from’
<i>ihi</i> ‘this (feminine)’	<i>da:dy</i> ‘grandmother’
<i>e:ras-</i> ‘this (oblique)’	<i>ka:n-ik</i> ‘who (single)’
<i>be:n</i> ‘sister’	<i>ne:n/kne:n(i)</i> ‘where’
<i>ḡne:ne</i> ‘garden’	<i>-ki</i> ‘from’
<i>hayy-</i> ‘of’	

4.1 Gender of nouns

Domari nouns have two grammatical genders, masculine and feminine. When the words refer to human beings, the grammatical gender follow the natural gender.

Masculine	Feminine
<i>bɔ:y</i> ‘father’	<i>da:y</i> ‘mother’
<i>ba:r</i> ‘brother’	<i>di:r</i> ‘daughter’
<i>botor</i> ‘son’	<i>be:n</i> ‘sister’
<i>bayy</i> ‘husband’	<i>ba:y</i> ‘wife’
<i>za:ra</i> ‘boy’	<i>la:ši</i> ‘girl’

Nouns that refer to non-human beings, including non-human animals, have random gender. In Domari nouns, the group of words ending -a belong to masculine nouns, and the group of words ending -i belong to feminine nouns. As for the words that have consonantal ending, some words belong to masculine nouns and the other to feminine.

Masculine	-a	consonantal ending
	<i>sno:ta</i> ‘dog’ <i>šma:riya</i> ‘chicken’ <i>mana</i> ‘bread’	<i>qar</i> ‘donkey’ <i>wat</i> ‘stone’ <i>di:l</i> ‘earth’
Feminine	-i	consonantal ending
	<i>kori</i> ‘house’ <i>šori</i> ‘knife’ <i>ka:bi</i> ‘door’	<i>wiyar</i> ‘town’

Some words which refer to human beings show gender difference by the word ending -a or -i, or by the consonantal ending or ending -i.

Masculine	Feminine
<i>šo:na</i> ‘son’	<i>šo:ni</i> ‘daughter’
<i>ma:m</i> ‘uncle’	<i>ma:mi</i> ‘aunt’
<i>kaǵa</i> ‘non-Dom man’	<i>kaǵǵi</i> ‘non-Dom woman’
<i>qra:ra</i> ‘Bedouin man’	<i>qra:ri</i> ‘Bedouin woman’

Domari also uses Arabic gender system. Arabic feminine form behave like Domari origin masculine form because they have ending -a/e. Arabic masculine form which have consonantal ending behave like Domari consonantal ending, and Arabic masculine form which have ending -i (by *ي*) behave like Domari feminine form.

(29) *ahá xa:rú:f-i*.

‘This is a sheep.’

(30) *ihí biss-é:k*.

‘This is a cat.’

(31) *manǵí yahu:d-ík*.

‘This is a Jewish man.’

(32) *manǵí yahu:di:y-é:k*.

‘She is a Jewish woman.’

(33) *ama dó:m-i.*
 ‘I am a Dom man.’

(34) *ato do:mi:y-é:k.*
 ‘You are a Dom woman’

4.2 Plural Form

Domari nouns have plural form expressed by the ending -e. The plural form -e doesn't have gender difference. But some plural words show the gender difference using Arabic gender marker -i:ya.

sg.		pl.	
<i>do:m</i>	‘a Dom man’	<i>do:me</i>	‘Dom people’
<i>ta:t</i>	‘a farmer man’	<i>ta:te</i>	‘farmers’
<i>kori</i>	‘a house’	<i>koriye</i>	‘houses’
<i>yahu:d</i>	‘a Jewish man’	<i>yahu:de</i>	‘Jewish people’
<i>kaḡa</i>	‘a non-Dom man’	<i>kaḡe</i>	‘non-Dom men’
<i>mana</i>	‘a bread’	<i>mane</i>	‘breads’

(35) *ahá maná hayy-óm-i.*
 ‘This bread is mine.’

(36) *ehé mané giš hayy-óm-i.*
 ‘These breads are all mine.’

(37) *ehe do:me minkí:-man-ni.*
 ‘These Doms are from our community.’

(38) *ehe do:mi:ye minkí:-man-ni.*

‘These Dom women are from our community.’

4.3 Demonstratives

Domari has four demonstratives. *aha* ‘this’ is masculine form and *ihí* ‘this’ is feminine form. The plural form *ehe* ‘these’ don’t have gender difference. *oho* refers to the things far from the speaker and the listener. *oho* doesn’t have gender difference nor number difference. The demonstratives show as demonstrative pronouns and also as demonstrative adjectives.

	This	These	That/Those
Masculine	<i>ahá</i>	<i>ehé</i>	<i>ohó</i>
Feminine	<i>ihí</i>		

(39) *ahá do:m-i.*

‘This is a Dom man.’

(40) *ihí qra:r-ik.*

‘This is a Bedouin woman.’

(41) *ehé ta:ti:y-e:ni.*

‘They are farmers.’

(42) *ahá man-e:k.*

‘This is a bread.’

- (43) *ihí ka:b-ik.*
‘This is a door.’
- (44) *ehé koriy-e:ni.*
‘These are houses.’
- (45) *ohó wat-e:ni.*
‘Those are stones.’

When the demonstrative works as the adjective, the adjective precedes the noun they modify.

- (46) *aha maná hayy-ó:m-i.*
‘This bread is mine’
- (47) *aha kaǵá tá:t-i w-oho kaǵa muš ta:t-i.*
‘This man is a villager and that man is not a villager.’

4.4 Possessive Pronoun Suffix

Possessive pronoun suffixes for nominative nouns are as shown below.

	sg.	pl.
1	-óm	-ó:man
2	-ór	-ó:ran
3	-ós	-ó:san

This form is used to modify the subject of the sentence. The third pronoun suffix *-os* not only means ‘His/Her’ but also ‘its’.

(48) *ke:fá da:y-ór?*

‘How is your mother?’

(49) *di:r-ós guld-ik.*

‘His daughter is cute.’

(50) *ga:n-ós gha:y.*

‘It smells good (Its smell is good).’

This form is also used in the complement of the equational sentences.

(51) *aha ba:r-óm-i.*

‘This is my brother.’

(52) *ihi da:y-ós-i.*

‘This is his mother.’

(53) *oho koriy-o:san-ni.*

‘That is their house.’

The possessive pronoun suffix has formations for oblique nouns.

These forms are used when the noun that they modify is not a subject nor a subject complement.

	sg.	pl.
1	-ím	-ó:man
2	-ír	-ó:ran
3	-ís	-ó:san

(54) *ke:fa ɣa:l-ós da:dy-ír-ki?*
 ‘How is your grandmother?’

(55) *ato ’akbar min bə:y-ím-ki.*
 ‘You are older than my father.’

The possessive pronoun suffix has formations for plural nouns as well. They are used with both nominal and oblique nouns.

	sg.	pl.
1	-ém	-é:man
2	-ér	-é:ran
3	-és	-é:san

(56) *ehe be:n-ém-ni.*
 ‘These are my sisters.’

(57) *giš ba:r-ém bizzó:t-e:ni.*
 ‘My brothers are all poor.’

(58) *ehe koriy-e:man-ni.*
 ‘These are our houses’

Chapter 5

Are there wells in Temple Mount?

Kareem: *ayyá:m urdunn-a-ki nihe' ḥanafi:y-e:k.
ga-ré:n ḥarám-ma, nan-dé:n ba:ní min
ša:l-ás-ki.*

Muna: *min ḥarám-ki? ášti ša:l-é:ni ḥarám-ma?*

Kareem: *a:, ašti itná's ša:l-é:ni hóndar. ba:n-ík
min ša:l-ás-ki 'áḥsan min ḥanafi:y-é:-ki.
msakká'-i bó:l. hayy-ós ḥanafi:y-é:k tat-ík.*

Muna: *ḥélw-i!*

Kareem: *w-ayyá:m urdunn-á-ki, nihé' kahrabí:ye,
wála tallá:ḡe, wala gá:z, wala telefizó:ne.*



Kareem: In Jordanian days, there was no water tap.
We went to Temple Mount and brought
water from the well.

Muna: From Temple Mount?
Are there wells in Temple Mount?

Kareem: Yes, there are twelve wells there.
The water from the well was better than from
the tap.
It was very cold. The water from the tap was
hot.

Muna: Nice!

Kareem: In Jordanian days there was no electricity
no refrigerator, no gas, no television.

<i>ayya:m</i> ‘days’	<i>urdunn</i> ‘Jordan’
<i>ḥanafi:ye</i> ‘water tap’	<i>gar-</i> ‘went’
<i>ḥarami</i> ‘Temple Mount’	<i>nan-</i> ‘brought’
<i>ba:ni/pa:ni</i> ‘water’	<i>min</i> ‘from’
<i>ša:l</i> ‘the well’	<i>a:</i> ‘yes’
<i>iṭna‘š</i> ‘twelve’	<i>hondar</i> ‘there’
<i>aḥsan</i> ‘better’	<i>msakka‘i</i> ‘cold’
<i>bo:l</i> ‘much’	<i>hayyo-</i> ‘of’
<i>tat</i> ‘hot’	<i>kahrabi:ye</i> ‘electricity’
<i>talla:ḡe</i> ‘refrigerator’	<i>ga:z</i> ‘gas’
<i>telefizo:n</i> ‘television’	

5.1 Existance

ašti express existance. The structure of the existential sentence is as shown below. Predication markers are sometimes added.

ašti + Noun - (Predication marker)

(59) *ašti do:m-e:ni ‘amma:n-a-ma.*

‘There are Doms in Amman.’

(60) *ašti wa:y ágoti.*

‘There is wind today.’

nihe’ expresses non-existance. It comes at the head of the sentences. Non-existential sentences always come without predication maker.

nihe’ + Noun

(61) *nihe’ wala ple híndar.*

‘There is no money here.’

(62) *nihe’ wa:y agoti.*

‘There is no wind today’

5.2 Adjective

Adjectives appear independently as predicates and also in the noun phrases.

(63) *ama mišt-e:k.*

‘I’m ill.’

The adjective *mišt-e:k* is the predicate.

(64) *aha kaǵ-e:k mfall-e:k.*

‘This is a crazy man.’

The adjective *mfall-e:k* makes noun phrase with the noun *kaǵ-e:k*.

Adjectives also have a gender system and a plural form as with nouns. Adjectives show gender and number agreement with the nouns, though plural form doesn’t have gender differences.

(65) *ama mišt:-e:k.*

‘I’m ill (masculine).’

(66) *ama mišt-ik.*

‘I’m ill (feminine).’

(67) *ame mišt-e:ni*

‘We are ill.’

When adjectives make noun phrases with nouns they modify, they often precede the nouns in the subject position, but also comes after the nouns.

(68) *e:rá tillá kaĝa.*
 ‘An old man came.’

(69) *e:rá sno:ṭá tillá.*
 ‘A big dog came.’

When the noun phrase appear as the predication, the adjective follows the noun.

(70) *aha kaĝ-e:k till-e:k.*
 ‘This is a big man.’

(71) *aha sno:t-e:k till-e:k.*
 ‘This is a big dog.’

Arabic adjectives in comparative or superlative form are used to express comparative or superlative.

(72) *manĝi ’aḥsan ikak giš do:m-an-ma.*
 ‘She is the best person of all Dom people.’

(73) *ama ’akbar miši:-r-i bi-ziya:de arbaʕi:n sane.*
 ‘I’m older than you by 40 years.’

Arabic negative expression *muš* is used in the negative sentences.

(74) *aha kağa muš till-e:k ‘umúr-ma bo:l.*

‘This man is not so old.’

(75) *ihí kağgi muš bizzo:t-ik.*

‘This woman is not poor.’

5.3 Possession

In Domari, possession is expressed by the possession phrases *nki:-* or *waši:-*. They change their forms depending on the possessor. Generally the possession phrase precedes the noun that refers to the possession. Consonantal predication marker *-i* often attached to the end of the phrase.

Possessional phrase (*-i/-ni*) + Noun

In general possessional expression, the word *nkí:-* is used. The formations are as follows.

	sg.	pl.
1	<i>nkí:-m</i>	<i>nkí:-man</i>
2	<i>nkí:-r</i>	<i>nkí:-ran</i>
3	<i>nkí:-s</i>	<i>nkí:-san</i>

(76) *nki:-s-i ple.*

‘He has money.’

- (77) *giš mate nki:-san telefizo:ne:-ni.*
 ‘All people have televisions.’

When the sentence has a concrete subject, the subject noun precedes the possession phrase with the third personal form *nki:-s*.

- (78) *muḥammad nki:-s-i ple.*
 ‘Muhammad has money.’
- (79) *amo:n nki:-s-i sayya:r-e:k.*
 ‘Amoun has a car.’
- (80) *muḥammad w-‘ali: nki:-san sayya:r-e:ni.*
 ‘Muhammad and Ali have cars.’

For the expression of current possession, the word *waší:-* is used.

	sg.	pl.
1	<i>wa:ší:-m</i>	<i>wa:ší:-man</i>
2	<i>wa:ší:-r</i>	<i>wa:ší:-ran</i>
3	<i>wa:ší:-s</i>	<i>wa:ší:-san</i>

- (81) *waši:-m-i ple aḡoti.*
 ‘I have money today.’
- (82) *muḥammad-i waši:-s-i ple aḡoti?*
 ‘Muhammad has money today?’

The existential expression *ašti* is used with the possession phrase and indicates possession as well. In that case the structure of the sentence is as shown below.

ašti + Noun + Possessional phrase (-i)

(83) *ašti ple waši:-r?*

‘Do you have money with you?’

(84) *ašti de telefizyo:n-e nki:-man.*

‘We have two televisions.’

Non-existence expression *nihe’* is used to express non-possession.

(85) *nihe’ nki:-san ple.*

‘They don’t have money.’

(86) *nihe’ waši:-m-i titin aḡoti.*

‘I don’t have a cigarette today.’

The non-existential expression *nihe’* is used with the possessional phrase and indicate non-possession.

(87) *nihe’ mana nki:-man.*

‘We don’t have bread.’

In addition to the word *nki-* or *waši-*, Domari has some person-inflected case markers *hayyó-* ‘of’, *mindí:-* ‘in, among’ and *miší:-* ‘from’.

hayyo- means ‘of’, also means possession, but it focuses on to whom the noun is belonging although *nki:-* focuses on possessions.

	sg.	pl.
1	<i>hayyó-m</i>	<i>hayyó:-man</i>
2	<i>hayyó-r</i>	<i>hayyó:-ran</i>
3	<i>hayyó-s</i>	<i>hayyó:-san</i>

(88) *ehe koriy-e:ni hayyo-s do:m-an-ki.*

‘These are houses of Doms.’

(89) *aha kalam hayyo-m-i.*

‘This pen is mine.’

We can also say ‘aha kalam-om-i.’ using the pronominal suffix.

mindí:- means ‘in’ or ‘among’.

	sg.	pl.
1	<i>mindí:-m</i>	<i>mindí:-man</i>
2	<i>mindí:-r</i>	<i>mindí:-ran</i>
3	<i>mindí:-s</i>	<i>mindí:-san</i>

(90) *aha* ‘ošš-*i* *mindi*:-*s* *an*-*e*:*k*.

‘This is the nest with an egg in it.’

(91) *ašti* *ğozda*:*n*-*i* *mindi*:*s*-*i* *ple*.

‘There is a wallet with money in it.’

(92) *mindi*:-*san* *bizzo*:*t*-*e*:*ni* *w*-*mind*-*san* *mabsu*:*t*-*ni*.

‘There are poor people and happy (rich) people among them.’

miši:- means ‘from’. It often appears with the verb *biy*- ‘fear’.

	sg.	pl.
1	<i>miši</i> :- <i>m</i>	<i>miši</i> :- <i>man</i>
2	<i>miši</i> :- <i>r</i>	<i>miši</i> :- <i>ran</i>
3	<i>miši</i> :- <i>s</i>	<i>miši</i> :- <i>san</i>

(93) *biy*-*ári* *miši*:-*s*.

‘She fears me.’

minki:- means ‘from’ as well.

	sg.	pl.
1	<i>minkí</i> :- <i>m</i>	<i>minkí</i> :- <i>man</i>
2	<i>minkí</i> :- <i>r</i>	<i>minkí</i> :- <i>ran</i>
3	<i>minkí</i> :- <i>s</i>	<i>minkí</i> :- <i>san</i>

(94) *ehe do:me minki:-man-ni.*

‘These Doms are from our community.’

5.4 Indefinite marker

When the noun is single and indefinite, indefinite marker *-ak* can be added to the nouns. It’s used to strengthen the meaning of numerical singularity or indefiniteness as variation of the predication marker *-e:k/-ik*. It is also used when the sentence introduces new information.

(95) *aha zara ŷumur-os wárs-ak-i.*

‘This boy is one year old.’

(96) *amo:n nki:s-i sayyá:r-ak.*

‘Amoun has a car’

(97) *kabel dí:s-ak-i*

‘One day before.’

(98) *ší:n-ak ší:n-ak.*

‘little by little.’

(99) *wala kíy-ak.*

‘Nothing.’

Sometimes the indefinite marker *-ak* accompanies the predication marker for consonantal ending *-i*.

- (100) *ašti ík-ak-i ism-os kari:m-e:k.*
 ‘There is one (of my sisters) whose name is Karime.’
- (101) *ašti waši:-m ple ší:n-ak-i.*
 ‘I have a little bit of money.’
- (102) *ašti ék-ak-i dosa:r-e:k hondar.*
 ‘There is somebody black there.’

For plural nouns, the normal predication marker *-e:ni* is always used regardless of definiteness or indefiniteness.

Taking in the indefinite marker *-ak*, some words get new meaning as *ek-ak* ‘Someone(M)’, *ik-ak* ‘someone(F)’, *kiy-ak* ‘something’, or *ši:n-ak* ‘little’.

5.5 Past Form of Non-verbal sentences

Karim uses the same sentence to indicate past tense of the equational sentence, although some speakers use the Arabic verb *ka:n* to indicate past tense.

- (103) *lamma ama štot-e:k, nki:-mi snó:t-ak.*
 ‘When I was little, I had a dog.’

5.6 Numerals

Domari has the inherited numerals from 1 through 6 for citation form. To count from 7 through 20, Arabic origin numerals are used. From 21 on, the inherited Domari numerals from 1 through 3 are used along with Arabic numerals.

1	<i>íkak</i>	21	<i>‘išri:n w-íkak</i>
2	<i>dí:yes</i>	22	<i>‘išri:n w-diyyes</i>
3	<i>táranes</i>	23	<i>‘išri:n w-taranes</i>
4	<i>štá:res</i>	24	<i>‘arba‘ w-‘išri:n</i>
5	<i>bánges</i>		•
6	<i>šésš / sitte:k</i>		•
7	<i>sáb‘-ak</i>	101	<i>míyye w-íkak</i>
8	<i>tamá:niy-ak</i>	200	<i>dí-miyye</i>
9	<i>tís‘-ak</i>	300	<i>tarán-miyye</i>
10	<i>‘ášr-ak</i>	400	<i>‘árba‘-miyye</i>
11	<i>iḥdá‘aš</i>	1000	<i>‘álf-ak</i>

For attribute form only from 1 through 3 inherited numerals are used.

1 stone	<i>wát-ak</i>	21 stones	<i>waḥád w-‘išrí:n-wate</i>
2 stones	<i>dí-wate</i>	22 stones	<i>tenté:n w-‘išrí:n-wate</i>
3 stones	<i>tarán-wate</i>	23 stones	<i>talát w-‘išrí:n-wate</i>
4 stones	<i>‘árba‘-wate</i>	•	
•		•	
•		•	

(104) *hondar ašti tarán-wate.*

‘There are 3 stones there.’

5.7 Interrogatives

Domari interrogatives are as shown below.

<i>ke:fá</i>	‘how’
<i>ke:ké:</i>	‘why’
<i>wakté:š</i>	‘when’
<i>kaddé:š</i>	‘how much/how many’
<i>’áyy/’áyya/’anú</i>	‘which’
<i>kí:</i>	‘what’ (verbal)
<i>kí:k</i>	‘what’ (equational)
<i>ka:ní</i>	‘who’ (verbal, subject)
<i>ka:n-ík</i>	‘who’ (equational)
<i>ke:n-é:ni</i>	‘who’ (equational, plural)
<i>ka:n-ás</i>	‘who’ (verbal, object)
<i>kaniské:k</i>	‘whose, for who’
<i>né:n/kné:n</i>	‘where’ (verbal)
<i>kattá/hattá</i>	‘where’ (equational)

Interrogatives precede the predication of the sentences.

(105) *ke:fá ɣa:l-or?*

‘How are you?’

(106) *ato ke:ké: za’la:n-no:ri?*

‘Why are you angry?’

- (107) *wakté:š sit-or xógoti?*
‘What time did you go to sleep yesterday?’
- (108) *wakté:š bíddak aró urati?*
‘What time will you come tomorrow?’
- (109) *ato kaddé:š ‘omr-or?*
‘How old are you?’
- (110) *kaddé:š waši:-r ple?*
‘How much money do you have?’
- (111) *’anú dí:s biddak aró?*
‘Which day do you want to come?’
- (112) *kaniské:k aha kahwa?*
‘Who is this coffee for?’
- (113) *mona ka:n-ás fe:-rí?*
‘Who did Muna hit?’

As for ‘what’, *ki:k* is for equational sentences and *ki:* is for verbal sentences.

- (114) *kí:k aha?*
‘What is this?’
- (115) *kí:k ehe?*
‘What are these?’

(116) *kí: kar-dór xojoti?*

‘What did you make(cook) yesterday?’

As for ‘who’, *ka:n-ik* is for equational sentences and *ka:ni* is for verbal sentences. *ka:n-e:ni* is plural form of *ka:n-ik* or *ka:ni*, and used in both equational sentences and verbal sentences.

(117) *ka:n-ík aha?*

‘Who is this?’

(118) *kan-ík ihi la:ši?*

‘Who is this girl?’

(119) *ka:n-é:ni ehe?*

‘Who are they?’

(120) *kaní kar-dí aha kahwa?*

‘Who made this coffee?’

As for ‘where’, *katta* is for equational sentences and *ne:n* is for verbal sentences.

(121) *hattá bə:y-om?*

‘Where is my father?’

(122) *né:n ga-rá kari:m?*

‘Where has Kareem gone?’

Interrogatives also make noun clauses.

- (123) *ama ġanamé' né:n ga-rí xaḍra.*
'I don't know where Xadra went.'
- (124) *ġanamé' ke:ké he:né.*
'I don't know why he is like this.'
- (125) *ġanamé' kaddi:š ḥakk-ós.*
'I don't know what the price is.'

Chapter 6

Don't you smoke?

Kareem: *ğ-án amatír kahw-é:-ka piy-án titín-i:.*

Muna: *ama ħobb-om-é' titín-i:.*

Kareem: *né daxxenk-é:k?*

Muna: *daxxenk-amé' wála márr-ak.*

Kareem: *bɔ:y-or daxxénk-ari?*

Muna: *'a:, daxxénk-ari. da:y-om ne daxxenk-ari.*

Kareem: *ama daxxénk-ami bo:l. di boke:t kull yo:m.
daxxemk-ami min 'umur-om sittá's sáne.*



Kareem: Let's go to the cafe to smoke the hookah.

Muna: I don't like the hookah.

Kareem: Don't you smoke?

Muna: I have never smoked even once.

Kareem: Does your father smoke?

Muna: Yes, he smokes. My mother doesn't smoke.

Kareem: I smoke very much. Two packs every day.
I have smoked since I was sixteen years old.

<i>ğ-</i> 'go'	<i>amati:r</i> 'I and you together'
<i>kahwe</i> 'cafe'	<i>piy-</i> 'drink'
<i>titin</i> 'cigarette'	<i>ħobb-</i> 'like'
<i>daxxenk-</i> 'smoke'	<i>wala</i> 'not even'
<i>marra</i> 'time'	<i>boke:t</i> 'pack'
<i>kull</i> 'every/all'	

6.1 Present verb

Present forms are used to indicate everyday customs, progressing matter, or the close future.

Domari verbs should be inflected depending on the subject. Domari has 4 types of inflection in present form.

A class

This is the simplest type of present inflectional suffix. The inflectional suffixes are as shown below.

	sg.	pl.
1	- <i>ámi</i>	- <i>áni</i>
2	- <i>é:k</i>	- <i>ási</i>
3	- <i>ári</i>	- <i>ádi</i>

Most parts of Domari verbs, as shown below, belong to this class.

<i>šar-</i> ‘to hide’	<i>qol-</i> ‘open’	<i>štal-</i> ‘carry’
<i>ban-</i> ‘shut’	<i>ğan-</i> ‘know’	<i>man-</i> ‘leave’
<i>min-</i> ‘hold’	<i>nan-</i> ‘bring’	<i>kar-</i> ‘do’
<i>mar-</i> ‘kill’	<i>bar-</i> ‘take’	<i>bag-</i> ‘break’
<i>mang-</i> ‘ask’	<i>lah-</i> ‘see’ (2 sg. lak)	<i>qaft-</i> ‘steal’
<i>kos-</i> ‘curse’	<i>dɔw-</i> ‘wash’	<i>wɔrk-</i> ‘wear’
<i>mindr-</i> ‘stop’	<i>qnaw-</i> ‘feed’	<i>sn-</i> ‘hear’
<i>kl-</i> ‘exit’	<i>dr-</i> ‘tear’	<i>š-</i> ‘speak’
<i>št-</i> ‘stand’	<i>t-</i> ‘put’	<i>kw-</i> ‘throw’
<i>rɔw-</i> ‘cry’	<i>qam-</i> ‘eat’	<i>fam-</i> ‘hit’

<i>piy-</i> ‘drink’	<i>sak-</i> ‘be able to’	
<i>šary-</i> ‘hide oneself’	<i>bagy-</i> ‘break by oneself’	
<i>biy-</i> ‘be afraid of’	<i>qoly-</i> ‘open by oneself’	
<i>dow-</i> ‘wash’	<i>nišy-</i> ‘dance’	<i>giry-</i> ‘go back’
<i>mary-</i> ‘die’	<i>nišš-</i> ‘enter’	<i>wəst-</i> ‘flee’
<i>wešt-</i> ‘sit’	<i>xašt-</i> ‘laugh’	<i>aw-</i> ‘come’
<i>ǵ-</i> ‘go’ (2 sg. <i>ǵak</i>)	<i>many-</i> ‘remain’	<i>manik-</i> ‘bake’
<i>xol-</i> ‘descend’	<i>wərs-</i> ‘rain’	

Some Domari inherited verbs and Arabic origin verbs which are mainly transitive verbs belong to this class as well. Such verbs have the derivation marker *-k-* at the end of their verb stem, and the stresses fall on their verb stems instead of the inflectional suffixes.

<i>kámk-</i> ‘work’	<i>mangíšk-</i> ‘beg’	<i>qe:yíšk-</i> ‘cook’
<i>‘addímk-</i> ‘invite’	<i>‘allímk-</i> ‘teach’	<i>bó:sk-</i> ‘kiss’
<i>daffík-</i> ‘warm up’	<i>daxxénk-</i> ‘smoke’	<i>dfá‘k-</i> ‘pay’
<i>ǵanník-</i> ‘sing’	<i>rabbík-</i> ‘have animals’	
<i>ktíbik-</i> ‘write’	<i>rawwak-</i> ‘wake up’	<i>sa:fírk-</i> ‘travel’
<i>sallímk-</i> ‘say hello’	<i>ṭabbérik-</i> ‘play the drum’	
<i>šrí:k-</i> ‘buy’		etc.

(126) *š-ári bo:l.*

‘She speaks a lot.’

- (127) *ehe nišy-ádi.*
‘They are dancing.’
- (128) *kul di:s qnaw-ámi sno:t-as.*
‘Every day I feed the dog.’
- (129) *ihi kağgi* ‘*allímk-ari xodwar-an.*
‘That woman teaches the children.’
- (130) *kahwa rawwak-ari sir-ir.*
‘The coffee wakes up your mind.’

Š class

The verbs that belong to this type have -š- augment. The inflectional suffixes and verbs that belong to this class are as shown below.

	sg.	pl.
1	-šámi	-šáni
2	-šé:k	-šási
3	-šári	-šádi

niš-/nik- ‘enter’ *ke-* ‘play’ *šu:-* ‘sleep’
dɔw- ‘run’ *mar-* ‘die’ *dowi-* ‘take a shower’

- (131) *niš-šámi markáz-ka.*
‘I enter to the center.’

(132) *ke-šé:k karate?*

‘Do you play Karate?’

(133) *oho sno:ta šu:-šári kol yo:m.*

‘That dog sleeps every day.’

O class

The inflectional suffixes are as shown below.

	sg.	pl.
1	-ómi	-óni
2	-ók	-ósi
3	-óri	-ódi

Following verbs belong to this class. Domari roots *h-* ‘to become’ and a lot of Arabic roots intransitive verbs belong to this class.

h- ‘to become’ *hibb-* ‘to love’
skun- ‘to reside’ *šumm-* ‘to fast’
‘*allim-* ‘to learn’ *xarraḥ-* ‘to speak’

(134) *ama h-ómi saba‘ w-sitti:n-i.*

‘I’ll be 67 years old.’

(135) *ato šumm-ók ramada:n-ma?*

‘Do you fast on Ramadan?’

E class

Just one verb *d-* ‘to give’ inflects irregularly with the vowel *-e-* .

	sg.	pl.
1	<i>d-émi</i>	<i>d-éni</i>
2	<i>d-é:k</i>	<i>d-ési</i>
3	<i>d-éri</i>	<i>d-édi</i>

(136) *d-émi ple botor-ím-ke kul di:s.*

‘I give my son money every day.’

6.2 Negative form of present verb

For negative sentences with present tense verbs, either prefix *ne* , suffix *-e'* or both of them are attached to the present verb. When the suffix *-e'* is used, the end of the present tense verb *-i* is omitted. As for the second person singular, the inflectional suffix become *-e:y*, *-še:y*, or *-o:y* instead of *-e:k*, *-še:k*, or *-ok* .

ne + Present verb *-é'*

(137) *ne ħobb-om-é' titin-i.*

‘I don't like cigarettes.’

(138) *ǧan-am-é'*.

'I don't know.'

(139) *ne piy-ám xamer-a*.

'I don't drink wine.'

(140) *ato şumm-o:y-é'*.

'You don't fast.'

(141) *da:y-om daxxenk-ar-é'*.

My mother doesn't smoke.

6.3 Oblique case

When the transitive verb takes the direct object, the object noun is inflected to oblique case.

	sg.	pl.
Masculine (ending <i>-a</i>) nouns	<i>-ás</i>	
Feminine (ending <i>-i</i>) nouns	<i>-á</i>	<i>-án</i>
consonant ending nouns	<i>-í</i>	
Arabic origin feminine nouns	<i>-é</i>	

The ending *-i* of the feminine nouns become *-y* before the oblique case marker *-a*.

Some consonant ending feminine nouns are inflected to *-a* and the others to *-i*.

As well, some consonant ending masculine nouns are inflected to *-as* and the others to *-i*.

- (142) *fam-ári za:r-ás.*
‘He hits the boy.’
- (143) *qol-ámi ka:by-á.*
‘I open the door’
- (144) *fam-ári šo:ny-á.*
‘he hits the girl.’
- (145) *ke:yíšk-ani me:ğ-í.*
‘We make lentil soup.’
- (146) *lah-ámi kory-á hayy-os ša:kir-ás-ki kul di:s.*
‘I see Shakir’s house every day.’
- (147) *lah-ámi íkak ya:ba:ni:y-é.*
‘I will see a Japanese woman.’
- (148) *fam-ári kma:ry-án.*
‘He hits the policemen.’
- (149) *lah-ási maṭ-an bo:l-ni hondar?*
‘Do you see a lot of people there?’

The indefinite marker *-ak* or the pronominal suffix are not compatible with the oblique case marker.

- (150) *qam-ámi mán-ak kul yo:m.*
‘I eat a bread every day.’

(151) *fam-ári botr-ís.*

‘He hits his son.’

(152) *ato kusk-é:k wa:l-ír la-ḥa:l-ír?*

‘Do you cut your hair yourself?’

6.4 Object pronominal suffix for present form

Object pronominal suffixes are attached to the verb when the verb takes pronoun as the direct object. For present tense the oblique pronominal suffixes are as shown below.

	sg.	pl.
1	<i>-mi</i>	<i>-mani</i>
2	<i>-ri</i>	<i>-rani</i>
3	<i>-si</i>	<i>-sani</i>

When the object pronouns accompany the present verbs, the end of present verbs *-i* (*-k* for the singular second person) is omitted. For example, *lah-* ‘see’ is as follows.

	sg.	pl.
1	<i>lahám-</i>	<i>lahán-</i>
2	<i>lahé:-</i>	<i>lahás-</i>
3	<i>lahár-</i>	<i>lahád-</i>

- (153) *lah-ám-ri kul di:s.*
 ‘I see you every day.’
- (154) *fa:m-ár-si kul di:s.*
 ‘He hits her every day’
- (155) *dér-mi man-a kul di:s.*
 ‘He gives me bread every day’

6.5 Layer 2 markers

Domari has some additional case markers called layer 2 markers, *-ke* ‘for’, *-ka* ‘to’, *-san* ‘with’, *-ki* ‘from’, *-ma* ‘in’.

Dative case	<i>-ka(-ta)</i>	“to”
Locative case	<i>-ma</i>	“in”
Ablative case	<i>-ki</i>	“of” or “from”
Sociative case	<i>-san</i>	“with”
Benefactive case	<i>-ke</i>	“for”

Nouns are inflected to oblique case when these case markers are added to the nouns. But the oblique case marker for the consonant ending nouns *-i:* is always omitted.

Noun - oblique case marker - Layer 2 marker

For example, oblique case markers with the Layer 2 marker *-ke* 'for' are as shown below.

<i>-á-ke</i>	for feminine (-i & consonant ending) nouns
<i>-ás-ke</i>	for masculine (-a & consonant ending) nouns
<i>-ke</i>	for other consonant ending nouns
<i>-é:-ke</i>	for Arabic origin feminine (ö ending) nouns
<i>-án-ke</i>	for plural nouns

- (156) *nan-ári ba:n-i kari:m-ás-ke.*
 'She is bringing water for Kareem.'
- (157) *ğ-ámi kahw-é:-ka.*
 'I am going to the cafe.'
- (158) *š-ári do:m-ás-ma.*
 'he speaks in Domari.'
- (159) *š-ámi mat-án-san.*
 'I speak with people.'
- (160) *amo:n maṭbáx-ma.*
 'Amoun is in the kitchen.'

The indefinite marker *-ak* is not compatible with Layer 2 markers, but pronoun possessive affixes are compatible.

(161) *manġi 'ákbar min bɔ:y-ím-ki.*

‘He is older than my father.’

(162) *š-é:k da:y-ír-san?*

‘Do you speak with your mother?’

The dative case *-ka* means “to” and is mainly used to indicate direction.

(163) *ġ-áni 'amma:n-á-ka.*

‘We go to Amman.’

(164) *š-ári bɔ:y-ís-ka.*

‘She is speaking to her father.’

The locative case *-ma* means “in” and mainly indicates location.

(165) *skun-n:omi wiyár-ma.*

‘I live in the town (Jerusalem).’

(166) *bo:l do:me: kámk-adi baladi:y-é-ma.*

‘Many Doms work in the city hall.’

(167) *š-ári do:m-ás-ma.*

‘He speaks in Dom.’

The ablative case *-ki* independently means “of” and mainly indicates possession.

(168) *ihi di:r-os be:n-ím-ki.*
 ‘She is my sister’s daughter.’

(169) *ayya:m urdunn-á-ki.*
 ‘Jordanian days’

It is often used with prepositions.

(170) *bɔ:y-om ’ákbar min da:y-ím-ki.*
 ‘My father is older than my mother.’

(171) *ašti bissa ba:ší káby-a-ki.*
 ‘There is the cat behind the door.’

(172) *ašti sno:ṭa agír káby-a-ki.*
 ‘There is the dog in front of the door.’

(173) *telefo:n-or xá:r ḍaftál-ki.*
 ‘Your cellphone is under the note book’

(174) *kámk-ari ba:rá markáz-ki.*
 ‘She is working out of the center.’

The sociative *-san* means ‘with’ and indicates accompanying.

(175) *š-ári da:y-ís-san.*
 ‘She is speaking with her mother.’

(176) *ke-šádi aṣḥa:bé:-san.*

‘He is playing with the friends.’

The benefactive *-ke* means ‘for’ and is often used with the verb *d-* ‘give’, *nan-* ‘bring’, *-šar-* ‘speak’, or *kar-* ‘do/make’. This marker is used when the sentence has both a direct and a target.

(177) *nan-ámi ma:s-í biss-ím-ke.*

‘I bring meat to my cat.’

(178) *d-éri ple kari:m-ás-ke.*

‘She gives money to Kareem.’

-ke has special forms to be used with the pronominal affix.

	sg.	pl.
1	<i>ama:-ké</i>	<i>amen-ké</i>
2	<i>abor-ké</i>	<i>abran-ké</i>
3	<i>abos-ké</i>	<i>absan-ké</i>

(179) *kar-ári amen-ké kahwá.*

‘She is making coffee for us.’

(180) *nan-ámi abor-ké ḥommós-i.*

‘I bring you hummus.’

(181) *ašti di di:r-é: abos-ké.*

‘She has two daughters.

(‘There are two daughters for her)’

6.6 Oblique case of demonstrative pronouns

When the demonstratives are used in oblique cases, the oblique forms are used. It often show with postpositionals. The oblique forms have proximate and distal differences.

	Proximate			Dital		
	M sg.	F sg.	pl.	M sg.	F sg.	pl.
Nominal	ahá	ihí	ehé	ohó	ihí	ehé
Oblique	e:rás	e:rá	e:rán	o:rás	o:rá	o:rán

- (182) *aha bɔ:y-os e:rás-ki.*
 ‘This is this boy’s father.’
- (183) *aha bɔ:y-os e:rá-ki.*
 ‘This is this girl’s father’
- (184) *aha bɔ:y-osan e:rán-ki.*
 ‘This is these children’s father.’
- (185) *aha bɔ:y-os o:rás-ki.*
 ‘This is that boy’s father.’
- (186) *aha bɔy-os o:rá-ki.*
 ‘This is that girl’s father .’
- (187) *aha bɔy-osan o:rán-ki.*
 ‘This is those children’s father.’

Chapter 7

I took care of the cat.

Muna: *nkí:-mi bíss-ak ya:ba:n-á-ma.*

Kareem: *nki:-mi ge:na biss-ak w-mr-í.
tís‘a sní:n rabbík-dom-ís.*

Muna: *kí:k ism-ós?*

Kareem: *nihé’ abos-ké ísm.
aró! e:-rí. ģá! ga-rí. šu:ší:! sit-í.*

Muna: *wallá?*

Kareem: *wálla. ‘allím-ri kalam-án-ka.
rabbík-do:m-ís koriyá-ma, maháll šu:š-ámi.
kull yo:m nan-dóm ‘akél abos-ké.
qnaw-ám-si.
e:-rí bíssa štot-ík. šwayy šwayy tillé:-ri.
lámma mr-í, da:y-óm rów-ri nkí:-s.
w-za‘íl-rom nkí:-s.*

Muna: *ya ḥará:m. amá waḥáš-ro:mi biss-ím.*

Muna: I have a cat in Japan.

Kareem: I also had a cat and it died.

I had took care of it for 9 years.

Muna: What was its name?

Kareem: No name for it. (when I said) “Come!” it came.

“Go!” went out. “Sleep!” slept.

Muna: Really?

Kareem: Really. It learned the words.

I brought food every day, let it eat.

It came in small, and had grown up little by little.

When it died, my mother cried for it.

And I was sad for it.

Muna: Oh, I’m sorry. I miss my cat.

<i>ya:ba:n</i> ‘Japan’	<i>bissa</i> ‘cat’
<i>ge:ná</i> ‘also, too’	<i>mr-</i> ‘died’
<i>tís’a</i> ‘nine’	<i>sní:n</i> ‘years’
<i>rabbík-</i> ‘take care of’	<i>maḥáll</i> ‘space’
<i>’akel</i> ‘food’	<i>qnaw-</i> ‘feed’
<i>e:-</i> ‘came’	<i>tillé:-</i> ‘grew up’
<i>lamma</i> ‘when’	<i>rów-</i> ‘cry’
<i>za’íl-</i> ‘be sad’	<i>ya ḥara:m</i> ‘feel sorry’

7.1 Verb inflection (Past Form)

For past matter, Domari verbs has 5 types of inflection.

D class

This is the simplest type of past inflectional suffixes. The inflectional suffixes and the verbs that belong to this class are as shown below.

	sg.	pl.
1	- <i>dóm</i>	- <i>dé:n</i>
2	- <i>dór</i>	- <i>dé:s</i>
3 M	- <i>dá</i>	- <i>dé</i>
3 F	- <i>dí</i>	- <i>dé</i>

<i>šar-</i> ‘hid’	<i>qol-</i> ‘opened’	<i>štal-</i> ‘carried’
<i>ban-</i> ‘shut’	<i>ğan-</i> ‘knew’	<i>man-</i> ‘left’
<i>min-</i> ‘held’	<i>nan-</i> ‘brought’	<i>kar-</i> ‘did’
<i>mar-</i> ‘killed’	<i>bar-</i> ‘took’	<i>sin-</i> ‘heard’
<i>dir-</i> ‘tore’	<i>kor-</i> ‘threw’	<i>kil-</i> ‘went out’
<i>kel-</i> ‘played’	<i>mindir-</i> ‘stood, stopped’	<i>xol-</i> ‘descended’
<i>šir-</i> ‘spoke’	<i>štir-</i> ‘stood’	<i>tir-</i> ‘put’
<i>kos-</i> ‘cursed’	<i>lah-</i> ‘saw’	<i>qnaw-</i> ‘fed’
<i>dɔw-</i> ‘washed’		

(188) *nan-dóm samák-i: ağoti.*

‘I brought fish today.’

- (189) *kar-dí mansaf.*
‘They made Mansaf.’
- (190) *šir-dóm waši:-s.*
‘I spoke with him.’
- (191) *tir-dí ša:l ama-ké.*
‘She served me rice.’
- (192) *dɔw-dóm kiya:k-é:m.*
‘I washed my clothes.’

The three verbs below have an additional vowel *-i-* to the inflectional suffixes.

	sg.	pl.
1	<i>-idóm</i>	<i>-idé:n</i>
2	<i>-idór</i>	<i>-idé:s</i>
3 M	<i>-ída</i>	<i>-íde</i>
3 F	<i>-ídi</i>	<i>-íde</i>

bag- ‘broke’ *mang-* ‘asked’ *qaft-* ‘stole’

- (193) *qaft-ída ple.*
‘He stole money.’

(194) *bag-idóm kubba:y-e.*

‘I broke the glass.’

Some Domari inherited verbs and many Arabic origin transitive verbs which have the derivation marker *-k-* at the end of their verb stem only have the additional vowel *-i-* to the inflectional suffixes for the third person.

	sg.	pl.
1	<i>-dóm</i>	<i>-dé:n</i>
2	<i>-dór</i>	<i>-dé:s</i>
3 M	<i>-ída</i>	<i>-íde</i>
3 F	<i>-ídi</i>	<i>-íde</i>

<i>kamk-</i> ‘worked’	<i>manik-</i> ‘baked’	<i>wørk-</i> ‘wore’
<i>qe:yíšk-</i> ‘cooked’	<i>mangíšk-</i> ‘begged’	
<i>‘addímk-</i> ‘invited’	<i>‘allímk-</i> ‘taught’	<i>bú:sk-</i> ‘kissed’
<i>dfá‘k-</i> ‘payed’	<i>daffík-</i> ‘warmed up’	
<i>daxxénk-</i> ‘smoked’	<i>ganník-</i> ‘sang’	<i>ktíbk-</i> ‘wrote’
<i>sa:fírk-</i> ‘traveled’	<i>rabbík-</i> ‘took care of’	
<i>sallímk-</i> ‘said hello’	<i>rawwak-</i> ‘woke up’	
<i>šrí:k-</i> ‘bought’	<i>ṭabbérk-</i> ‘played the drum’	etc.

The verb *kamk-* has the stress on the inflectional suffix when the subject is the first or the second person, but on the verb stem when the subject is the third person. The verb *wørk-* always has the stress on the inflectional

suffix. The other verbs in this group have the stress on the last syllable of the verb stem.

(195) *rabbík-dom sno:t-as.*

‘I took care of the dog.’

(196) *kámk-ide baladi:y-e-ma.*

‘They worked in the city hall.’

R class

This is the simple form but has *-r-* instead of *-d-* of D class. The inflectional suffixes and the verbs that belong to this class are as shown below

	sg.	pl.
1	<i>-róm</i>	<i>-ré:n</i>
2	<i>-rór</i>	<i>-ré:s</i>
3 M	<i>-rá</i>	<i>-ré</i>
3 F	<i>-rí</i>	<i>-ré</i>

<i>rɔw-</i> ‘cried’	<i>qe:-</i> ‘ate’	<i>fe:-</i> ‘hit’
<i>pi:-</i> ‘drank’	<i>sak-</i> ‘was able to’	
<i>šari:-</i> ‘hid oneself’		<i>bi:-</i> ‘feared’
<i>bagi:-</i> ‘broke by oneself’		<i>dɔwi:-</i> ‘washed’
<i>qoli:-</i> ‘opened by oneself’		<i>naši:-</i> ‘danced’
<i>giri:-</i> ‘returned’	<i>nig-</i> ‘entered’	<i>wɔz-</i> ‘fled’
<i>dɔw-</i> ‘ran’	<i>wes-</i> ‘sat’	<i>xaz-</i> ‘laughed’
<i>mani-</i> ‘remained’	<i>wɔrs-</i> ‘rained’	<i>e:-</i> ‘came’
<i>ga-</i> ‘went’		

(197) *wɔz-rá* ‘*amman-a-ka*.
‘He fled to Amman.’

(198) *rɔw-rí nki:-s*.
‘She cried for him.’

Domari roots *h-* ‘to become’ and a lot of Arabic roots intransitive verbs also belong to this class.

h- ‘to become’ *hibb-* ‘to love’
skon- ‘to reside’ *šomm-* ‘to fast’
‘allim- ‘to learn’ *xarrif-* ‘to speak’

(199) ‘*allím-re:n do:m min ba:d-ó:man-ki*.
‘We learned Domari from our father.’

(200) *xarríf-re:n bo:li xoğoti*.
‘We talked a lot yesterday.’

0 class

These three verbs *sit-* ‘to sleep’ and *t-* ‘to give’ and *mr-* ‘to die’ belong to this group. The inflectional suffixes of the verbs in this class start by vowels and don’t have common consonants at the head of the suffixes.

sit- ‘to sleep’ *t-* ‘to give’ *mr-* ‘to die’

	sg.	pl.
1	-óm	-é:n
2	-ór	-é:s
3 M	-á	-é
3 F	-í	-é

- (201) *sit-ór gha:y xoǵoti?*
 ‘Did you sleep well yesterday?’
- (202) *t-á ple abos-ke.*
 ‘He gave money for her.’
- (203) *mr-á ékák, w-man-dá ékák.*
 ‘One died and the other remained.’

7.2 Negative Form

For the negative sentence of past tense, prefix *ne* is attached to the past verb.

ne + Past verb

- (204) *ne sit-óm gha:y xoǵoti.*
 ‘I didn’t sleep well yesterday.’
- (205) *fahim-rór wala ne fahim-rór?*
 ‘Did you understand or not?’

(206) *ato ne e:-rór xoǵoti.*

‘You didn’t come yesterday.’

7.3 Verb stems in past and present tense

Some verbs stems differ in past and present tense.

	present	past		present	past
‘to hear’	<i>sn-</i>	<i>sin-</i>	‘to exit’	<i>kl-</i>	<i>kil-</i>
‘to tear’	<i>dr-</i>	<i>dir-</i>	‘to speak’	<i>š-</i>	<i>šir-</i>
‘to stand’	<i>št-</i>	<i>štir-</i>	‘to put’	<i>t-</i>	<i>tir-</i>
‘to throw’	<i>kw-</i>	<i>kor-</i>	‘to eat’	<i>qam-</i>	<i>ke:-</i>
‘to hit’	<i>fam-</i>	<i>fe:-</i>	‘to drink’	<i>piy-</i>	<i>pi:-</i>
‘to fear’	<i>biy-</i>	<i>bi:-</i>	‘to dance’	<i>nišy-</i>	<i>niši:-</i>
‘to return’	<i>giry-</i>	<i>giri:-</i>	‘to die’	<i>mar-</i>	<i>mr-</i>
‘to flee’	<i>wəst-</i>	<i>wəz-</i>	‘to sit’	<i>wešt-</i>	<i>wes-</i>
‘to laugh’	<i>xašt-</i>	<i>xaz-</i>	‘to come’	<i>aw-</i>	<i>e:-</i>
‘to go’	<i>ǵ-</i>	<i>ga-</i>	‘to sleep’	<i>šu:-</i>	<i>sit-</i>
‘to give’	<i>d-</i>	<i>t-</i>	‘to play’	<i>ke-</i>	<i>kel-</i>
‘to enter’	<i>nik-/niš-</i>	<i>nig-</i>			
	‘to hide (oneself)’			<i>šary-</i>	<i>šari:-</i>
	‘to break (intransitive)’			<i>bagy-</i>	<i>bagi:-</i>
	‘to open (intransitive)’			<i>qoly-</i>	<i>qoli:-</i>

7.4 Object pronouns for past verbs

Object pronouns are attached to the end of the verbs when the verb takes the pronoun as the direct object. For past tense, the oblique pronouns are as shown below.

	sg.	pl.
1	- <i>ím</i>	- <i>man</i>
2	- <i>ír</i>	- <i>ran</i>
3	- <i>ís</i>	- <i>san</i>

When the object pronouns accompany the past verbs, past verbs of third person change their forms.

For example, *lah-* ‘see’ is as follows.

	sg.	pl.
1	<i>lah-do:m-</i>	<i>lah-de:n-</i>
2	<i>lah-do:r-</i>	<i>lah-de:s-</i>
3	<i>lah-do:s-</i>	<i>lah-de(d)-</i>

(207) *lah-do:m-ír xoǵoti.*

‘I saw you yesterday.’

(208) *fe:-ro:m-ís.*

‘I hit him.’

(209) *ǵan-do:s-ím?*

‘Did he know me?’

The end of the verb of plural third person, *-d-* is omitted when it comes with the object pronouns of plural first person *-man* ‘us’ or plural third person *-san* ‘them’.

They saw.....			
me	<i>laheded-ím</i>	us	<i>lahedé-man</i>
you(sg.)	<i>laheded-ír</i>	you(pl.)	<i>lahedéd-ran</i>
him	<i>laheded-ís</i>	them	<i>lahedé-san</i>

As for the verb of singular third person, the object pronoun of singular third person *-is* ‘him’ is often omitted.

She/He hit.....			
me	<i>fe:ros-ím</i>	us	<i>fe:rós-man</i>
you(sg.)	<i>fe:ros-ír</i>	you(pl.)	<i>fe:rós-ran</i>
him	<i>fe:rós</i>	them	<i>fe:rós-san</i>

Chapter 8

I want to go to Jordan.

Muna: *de xol-ám ‘amman-á-ka lah-ám do:m-án
hóndar.*

Kareem: *ma:m-óm ‘í:šr-e:k ‘amman-á-ma.*

Muna: *ma:m-ór wlíd-ra híndar, šah?*

Kareem: *a:, wlíd-ra hindar, wiy’ar-ma. e:-rá ḥárb
hayy-ós sáb‘a sittí:n, bi:-rá miší:-s,
wəz-rá ‘amma:n-á-ka.*

Muna: *do:m-é:ni wəz-ré bo:l?*

Kareem: *a:, giš do:mé g-aré ‘amman-a-ka. ’áktar
min tarán ’alf. man-dé mí:ya-ak bass hindar.*

Muna: *ke:ké bə:y-ór w-da:y-ór man-dé hindar?*

Kareem: *bə:y-óm biddó:š ġ-ár. w-bə:y-om
ballášk-ida kámk-ar ‘ind yahu:diy-án-ki.
kámk-ida baladi:y-é-ma, xadímk-ida tarán dúwali,
ma‘ briṭa:ny-án-ki, w-urduny-án-ki,
’á:xar ’íši: ma‘ yahu:d-án-ki.*

Muna: I want to go to Amman to see Doms there.

Kareem: My uncle is living in Amman.

Muna: Your uncle was born here, right?

Kareem: Yes, he was born here in Jerusalem.

The war of 67 came, he feared it,
and fled to Amman.

Muna: Did a lot of Doms flee?

Kareem: Yes, many Doms went to Amman.

More than three thousand.

Only one hundred people remained here.

Muna: Why did your father and mother remain here?

Kareem: My father didn't want to go.

And he began to work at the place of Jews.

He worked in the city hall,

for three nations,

Britain, Jordan, and Jewish.

de 'want'

lah- 'to see'

wlid- 'was borned'

'áktar min 'more than'

man- 'remined'

báss 'only'

ġa- 'to go'

kamk- 'to work'

duwali 'nations'

urduniye 'Jordanian people'

xol- 'to descend'

'í:šr-e:k 'be living'

ħárb 'war'

tarán alf 'three thousand'

míyy-ak 'one hundred'

biddó:š 'he doesn't want'

ballášk- 'began'

xadímk- 'serve'

brīṭa:niye 'British people'

8.1 Subjunctive

Domari verbs have subjunctive form which is used for imperative, future, wish, or possibility expression.

When the subjunctive form of second person is used alone they indicate imperative. Plural form of first person is used alone for solicitation ‘let’s’. *amati:r* ‘I and you together’ often accompany with it.

(210) *kár ama:-ke kahwa.*

‘Make me coffee.’

(211) *ğ-án amati:r ‘amman-á-ka.*

‘Let’s go to Amman together.’

Simple subjunctive verbs are also used to indicate purpose.

(212) *nán ama:-ke kiya:ke: gayyírk-am.*

‘Bring me clothes to change.’

(213) *de xol ‘amman-ná-ka lák do:m-an?*

‘Do you want to go to Amman to see the Doms?’

When the subjunctive verb comes after the Arabic wish expression *bidd-*, it indicates wish or future plan. Future plan is also expressed by using subjunctive verb alone.

(214) *mona bídd-ha: qa:m-ár samaki: aǵoti.*
 ‘Muna will eat fish today.’

(215) *dak ‘allím-o:ši: do:m-as aǵoti?’*
 ‘Do you want to learn Domari today?’

For Subjunctive form, Domari verbs have 3 types of inflection.

A class

Most parts of Domari verbs belong to this class. Inflectional suffix is as follows.

	sg.	pl.
1	-ám	-án
2	-(á/í)	-ás
3	-ár	-ád

(216) *de šri:k-ár ba:ní.*
 ‘She wants to buy water.’

(217) *dha qnaw-ár bissa.*
 ‘She will feed the cat.’

Most verbs in this class, as below, don’t have any inflectional suffix for second person singular ‘You’.

<i>šar-</i> ‘to hide’	<i>qol-</i> ‘open’	<i>štal-</i> ‘carry’
<i>ban-</i> ‘shut’	<i>ǧan-</i> ‘know’	<i>man-</i> ‘leave’
<i>min-</i> ‘hold’	<i>nan-</i> ‘bring’	<i>kar-</i> ‘do’
<i>mar-</i> ‘kill’	<i>bar-</i> ‘take’	<i>bag-</i> ‘break’
<i>qaft-</i> ‘steal’	<i>kos-</i> ‘curse’	<i>dɔw-</i> ‘wash’
<i>qnaw-</i> ‘feed’	<i>xol-</i> ‘descend’	

(218) *qól kaby-a.*

‘Open the door.’

(219) *nán kiya:ke: wɔrk-ám-san.*

‘Bring me clothes to wear.’

A few verbs, as below, have the inflectional suffix *-i* for second person singular.

<i>wɔst-</i> ‘flee’	<i>wešt-</i> ‘sit’	<i>xašt-</i> ‘laugh’
<i>št-</i> ‘stand’		

(220) *wešt-í hindar.*

‘Sit here.’

(221) *wɔst-í ‘amman-a-ka.*

‘Flee to Amman.’

Few other verbs as below have *-a* for it.

<i>ǧ-</i> ‘go’	<i>sak-</i> ‘be able to’	<i>qa:m-</i> ‘eat’
<i>fa:m-</i> ‘hit’	<i>mang-</i> ‘want’	<i>kamk-</i> ‘work’
<i>mangišk-</i> ‘beg’	<i>qe:yišk-</i> ‘cook’	<i>wark-</i> ‘wear’
<i>manik-</i> ‘bake’		

(222) *ǧá šu:ší.*
 ‘Go to sleep.’

(223) *qa:má ma:sí.*
 ‘Eat the meat.’

Arabic origin transitive verbs belong to this group as well. These verbs have the stresses on the verb stems instead of the inflection suffixes.

<i>‘addímk-</i> ‘to invite’	<i>daffík-</i> ‘to warm up’
<i>‘allímk-</i> ‘to teach’	<i>bú:sk-</i> ‘to kiss’
<i>ǧanník-</i> ‘to sing’	<i>rabbík-</i> ‘to take care of animals’
<i>ktíbk-</i> ‘to write’	<i>rawwak-</i> ‘to wake up’
<i>sallímk-</i> ‘to say hello’	<i>ṭabbérk-</i> ‘to play the drum’
<i>šrí:k-</i> ‘to buy’	<i>sa:fírk-</i> ‘to travel’
<i>daxxénk-</i> ‘to smoke’	<i>dfá‘k-</i> ‘to pay’ etc.

(224) *sallímk-a nki:s.*
 ‘Say hello to them.’

(225) *daffík-a ḥa:l-ir.*
 ‘Warm up yourself.’

The other verbs have irregular form for second person singular.

verbs	2 sg.	verbs	2 sg.
<i>sn-</i> ‘to hear’	<i>sin</i>	<i>kl-</i> ‘to exit’	<i>kil</i>
<i>dr-</i> ‘to tear’	<i>dir</i>	<i>š-</i> ‘to speak’	<i>šu</i>
<i>t-</i> ‘to put’	<i>to</i>	<i>kw-</i> ‘to throw’	<i>kor</i>
<i>piy-</i> ‘to drink’	<i>pi</i>	<i>aw-</i> ‘to come’	<i>aro</i>

(226) *sín ya: mona.*

‘Listen, Muna.’

(227) *šú do:m-as-ma.*

‘Speak in Dom.’

(228) *tó sa:l ama:-ke.*

‘Serve me rice.’

(229) *pí kahwa rawwak-ar sir-ír.*

‘Drink the coffee to wake up your mind.’

(230) *aró hindar.*

‘Come here.’

Š class

This class mainly contains Domari roots intransitive verbs. The verbs and the inflectional suffix is as follows.

	sg.	pl.
1	-šám	-šán
2	-ší:	-šás
3	-šár	-šád

ke- ‘to play’ *mindir-* ‘to stand’ *šu:-* ‘to sleep’
dow- ‘to run’ *rəw-* ‘to cry’ *nišš-* ‘to enter’
šari- ‘to hide oneself’ *mar-* ‘to die’
bagi- ‘to break by oneself’ *giri-* ‘to go back’
niši- ‘dance’ *qoli-* ‘to open by oneself’
dowi- ‘to take a shower’ *bi-* ‘to fear’

(231) *bídd-ha: niš-šár.*

‘She will dance.’

(232) *de šu:-šám.*

‘I want to sleep.’

O class

The inflectional suffixes are as shown below.

	sg.	pl.
1	-o:šám	-o:šán
2	-o:ší:	-o:šás
3	-o:šár	-o:šád

The following verbs belong to this class. The Domari inherited verb *h-* ‘to become’ and a lot of Arabic roots

intransitive verbs belong to this class. These verbs have the stresses on the verb stems instead of the inflectional suffixes except for the verb *h-* ‘to become’.

<i>h-</i> ‘to become’	<i>ḥíbb-</i> ‘to love’
<i>skún-</i> ‘to reside’	<i>ṣúmm-</i> ‘to fast’
<i>‘allím-</i> ‘to learn’	<i>xarríf-</i> ‘to speak’

(233) *bidd-í:š sómm-o:šam.*

‘I don’t want to fast.’

(234) *bídd-ak ‘allím-o:ši: do:m aḡoti?*

‘Do you want to learn Domari today?’

(235) *bídd-i: h-o:šám do:m-ik.*

‘I want to be a Dom woman.’

Other

d- ‘to give’ has a different inflected suffix for subjunctive mood as shown below.

	sg.	pl.
1	-ém	-én
2	-én	-és
3	-ér	-éd

(236) *dén mana.*

‘Give me a bread.’

8.2 Negative Form

To negate the imperative form, prefix *na-* is attached to the head of the subjunctive verb.

ne + subjunctive verb

(237) *né ģ-á, aró hindar.*

‘Don’t go, come here.’

(238) *né niš-ší: hindar.*

‘Don’t enter here.’

(239) *né fa:m-á.*

‘Don’t hit.’

To negate the sentence of subjunctive verb with Arabic *bidd-*, *-š* is attached to the *-bidd-* phrase as in Arabic.

(240) *bidd-í:š aw-ám urati.*

‘I will not come tomorrow.’

(241) *bidd-ó:š kámk-ar.*

‘He doesn’t want to work.’

The prefix *ne* and the suffix *-e'* are also used to negate the simple subjunctive verb exactly the same as the present.

ne + subjunctive verb *-é'*

(242) *lah-am-r-é' urati.*

‘I will not see you tomorrow.’

(243) *né 'allím-o:ši: do:m aǵoti?*

‘Won’t you learn Domari today?’

8.3 Object pronouns for subjunctive form

Object pronouns are attached to the end of the verbs to indicate direct objects of pronouns. For subjunctive form the oblique pronouns are as shown below.

	sg.	pl.
1	<i>-ím</i>	<i>-man</i>
2	<i>-ír</i>	<i>-ran</i>
3	<i>-ís</i>	<i>-san</i>

When the object pronouns accompany the subjunctive verbs, the subjunctive verb’s forms are the same with the present forms which are accompanied the object pronouns.

For example, *lah-* ‘see’ is as follows.

	sg.	pl.
1	<i>laham-</i>	<i>lahan-</i>
2	<i>lahe:-</i>	<i>lahas-</i>
3	<i>lahar-</i>	<i>lahad-</i>

(244) *lah-am-ír urati.*

‘I will see you tomorrow.’

(245) *de fam-am-ís.*

‘I want to hit him’

When the object pronouns accompany the subjunctive verbs of singular second person, *-i-* of the object pronouns are omitted.

You will see.....			
me	<i>lahé:-m</i>	us	<i>lahé:-man</i>
you(sg.)	<i>lahé:-r</i>	you(pl.)	<i>lahé:-ran</i>
him	<i>lahé:-s</i>	them	<i>lahé:-san</i>

8.4 Auxiliaries

saka- means ‘can, be able to do’ and is used as the auxiliary verb with subjunctive verbs to indicate ‘can do something, be able to do something’.

saka- is used in present form with subjunctive verbs to indicate present tense.

(246) *sak-ámi kámk-am aġoti.*

‘I can work today.’

(247) *sak-ar-é’ ġ-ár ‘amma:n-a-ka.*

‘She cannot go to Amman.’

by- ‘fear to’ *mang-* ‘ask to’ *many-* ‘keep to’ *samħk-* ‘permit to’ *ballašek-* ‘to start’ *baṭṭalek-* ‘stop to’ are also used as the auxiliary verbs.

(248) *many-ádi xaríf-o:r bo:l.*

‘She kept talking a lot.’

(249) *biy-ámi fam-ar-ím.*

‘I fear that he will hit me’

(250) *bə:y-om ismaħk-ar-é’ ġ-ám la:š-án-san.*

‘My father doesn’t permit me to go with girls.’

(251) *mang-ar-é’ piy-ár wala kiy-ak.*

‘She doesn’t want to drink anything.’

(252) *mona ballíšk-idi kámk-ar markaz-ma.*

‘Muna started working in the center.’

(253) *mangġi baṭṭíl-ra daxxenk-ar.*

‘He stopped smoking.’

Arabic verb *sa:r* ‘began -ing’ or *xalli:-* ‘keep/let -ing’ are used following patterns of Arabic inflection.

(254) *šúrt xarríf-omi do:m ši:n-ak ši:n-ak.*

‘I began to speak Domari little by little.’

(255) *kari:m šá:r kámk-ari baladi:y-e-ma.*

‘Karim began to work in the city hall.’

(256) *xallí:-ha: xarríf-o:šar.*

‘Leave her talking.’

(257) *xallí:-h kámk-ar.*

‘Let him work.’

8.5 Negative form of subjunctive verb

To negate the sentence of subjunctive verb with Arabic *bidd-*, *-š* is attached to the *bidd-* phrase as in Arabic.

(258) *bidd-í:š lah-am-ír urati.*

‘I will not see you tomorrow.’

(259) *bidd-ó:š kámk-ar.*

‘He doesn’t want to work.’

Chapter 9

Glossary of Domari words

agi [æg] fire

agir [ægir] in front of

aḡoti [æʒotɪ] today

aha [æhæ] this m.

ama [æmæ] I

ame [æmɛ] we

ašti [æšti] there is

ato [ætɔ] you sg.

aw- [æw-], *e:-* [ɛ:-] to come

ana [anæ] egg

ara:t [arɑ:t] night

ara:tin [arɑ:tin] at night

a:ta [ɑ:tæ] tahin

bag- [bæg-] to break

bagy- [bægy-] to break (intransitive)

ban- [bæn-] to tie, to shut

bar-/par [bər-] to take

ba:ši [bæ:ši], behind

ba:y [bæ:y] wife

bayy [bæyy] husband

ba:d [bɑ:d] grandfather
ba:r [bɑ:r] brother
ba:ra [bɑ:ra] outside
barda [barda] full
bakra [bakræ] sheep
bɔ:y [bɔ:y] father
be:n [bɛ:n] sister
be:t [bɛ:t] belly
bi:ġ [bi:y] moustache
bišt [bišt] back
biy- [biy/piy-], *bi:-* [bi:-] to fear
bizzo:t [bizzo:t] poor
bo:l [bo:l] much, very
bollohra [bullohra] monkey
botr [botr] son
d- [d-], *t-* [t-] to give
da:di [dæ:di] grandmother
da:y [dæ:y] mother
dand [dand] tooth
dɔw- [dɔw-] to wash
dɔw- [dɔw-] to run
dɔwi- [dɔw-] to take a bath
de:y [dɛ:y] village
di [di] two
di:l [di:l] soil, earth
di:r [di:r] daughter
dirg- [dirg-] long
di:s [di:s] day

di:san [di:sæn] at daytime
di:yes [di:yes] two
do:m [do:m] Dom man
do:ma:ri [do:mɑ:ri] Domari
do:mi:ya [do:mi:ya] Dom woman
dosa:r- [dosɑ:r] dark black
do:w [do:w] laddle
dr- [dr-], *dir-* [dir-] to tear
ehe [ehe] these
e:ra [ɛ:ræ-ki] this f. oblique
e:ran [ɛ:ræn] these oblique
e:ras [ɛ:ræs] this m. oblique
fa:m- [fæ:m-] (*fumn-* [fumn-]), *fe:-* [fɛ:-] to hit
fe:yiš [fɛ:yiʃ] argument, fight
ga:n [gæ:n] smell
ge:na [gɛ:næ] again, more
gha:y [ghæ:y] good, nice
giš [giʃ] all
giry- [giry-], *giri:-* [gir:-] to return
gulda [guldæ] tea
guld- [guld] sweet, beautiful
go:n [go:n] sack bag
gurg [gurg] neck, throat
go:rwa [go:rwæ] cow
guzali [guzæli] good, true
gawara [græwɑra] head man
ǵ- [ɟ-], *ga-* [gæ-] to go
ǵan- [ɟæn-] to know

- ǵa:tr* [dʒæ:tr] son in law
ǵib [dʒib] tongue
ǵu:re: [dʒu:re:] Dom old people
ǵoweri [dʒøwəri] woman (Dom and Arabs)
ǵowi [dʒøwi] louse
h- [h-] to become (O,/,Š)
hayy- [hæyy-] of
he:ne [hɛ:ne] in this way
hindar [hindær] here
hne:n [hnɛ:n] here
hno:n [hno:n] there
hondar [hondar] there
ibka:ra-hro:mi [ibka:rahro:mi] hungry
ikak [ikæk] someone, one
ikš [ikʃ] beard
ihi [ihɪ] this f.
itme [itme] you pl.
ka:bi [kæ:bi] door
kaǵa [kædʒa] non-Dom man
kaǵǵi [kædʒdʒi] non-Dom woman
kl- [kl-], *kil-* [kil-] to exit
kle:d [klɛ:d] neckless
ka:li [kæ:li] goat
kam [kæm] work
kamk- [kæmk-] to work
kan [kæn] ear
ka:nas [kæ:næs] who oblique case, verbal sentence
ka:ni [kæ:ni] who verbal sentence

ka:nik [kæ:nik] who equational sentence
kar- [kær-] to do, to make
kaško:t-/što:t- [ʃtot] small, short
kašinna [kæšinnæ] liar
katta/hatta [hættæ] where equational sentence
ke- [ke-], *kel-* [kel-] to play
ke:ke: [kɛ:kɛ:] why
ki [ki] eye
ki: [ki:] what verbal sentence
ki:k [ki:k] what equational sentence
ki:ri [ki:ri] milk
kiyak [kiyæk] something, a little
kori [kəri] house
ko:ri [ko:ri:] blind
kos- [kos-] to curse
kw- [kw-], *kor-* [kor-] to throw
lah- [læh-] to see
la:ši [læ:ši] Dom girl
lo:n [lə:ni] salt
man- [mæn-] to leave
mang- [mæng-] to want
mangišk- [mængišk-] to go begging
mangšinna [mængiʃinnæ] beggar
manik- [manik-] to bake
many- [mæny-] to stay
mar- [mæ:r-], *mar-* [mær-] to kill
mar- *mr-* [mr-] to die
ma:si [mæ:si] meat

- ma:m* [mɑ:m] uncle
ma:mi [mæ:mi] aunt
mana [mɑnɑ] bread
manġa [mɑnɔʒɑ] inside
ma:s [mɑ:s] month
mat/t [mat] people
me:ġi [mɛ:ɟi] lentils
mfall- [mfall] crazy, bad
mh [mh] face
min- [mi:n-], *min-* [min-] to hold
mindir- [midr-/mindr-], *mindir-* [mindir-] to stand
mindi:- [mindɪ:-] among, in
miši:- [miʃi:-] from
mišt- [miʃt] ill, sick
mohra [mohræ] baby horse
mo:za [mo:zæ] shoe
na [næ] no, not
na:m [næ:m] name
nan- [nan-/na:n-] to bring
naw- [nɑw] new
ne:n [nɛ:n] where verbal sentence
nihe' [niɦɛʔ] there is not
nihi:r [nihi:r] blood
nik- [nik-], *nig-* [niɡ-] to enter
ni:m [ni:m] half
niši:š [niʃi:ʃ] dance
nišy- [nišy-], *niši:* [niši:-] to dance
nki:- [nki:-/inki:-] at (have)

- oho* [oho] that, those
o:ra [o:ræ] that f. oblique
o:ras [o:ræs] that m. oblique
urati [uræti] tomorrow
panġan/manġan [mænzæn] they
panġi/manġi [mændʒi:] he/she
pa:ni/ba:ni [bæ:ni] water
panġes/banġes [bændʒɛs] five
pa:w/ba:w [bɑ:w] leg, foot
pirn/birn [birn] nose
piy- [piy-], *pi:-* [pi:-] to drink
ple [ple] money
po:rki:la [po:rki:læ] Jewish man
po:rki:liya [po:rki:liya] Jewish woman
po:rki:le [po:rki:le] Jewish people
pra:n- [præ:n-] white
qam- [a-/k-] (*qumn-* [qumn-]), *qe:-* [qɛɪ-/kɛɪ-] to eat
qaft- [qaft-] to seal (A, iD, A, qaft)
qaftinna [qaftinnæ] thief
qa:l- [qɑ:l-] black, dark brown
qar [qar] donkey
qarwi [qarwi] coffee
qarw- [qarw-] bitter
qe:yiš [qɛ:yɪʃ/kɛ:yɪʃ] food
qe:yišk- [qɛ:yɪʃk-/kɛ:yɪʃk-] to cook food
qol- [qol-] to open
qoly- [qoly-], *qoli:-* [qoli-] to open (intransitive)
qo:wa [qo:wæ] prophet

qnaw- [qnaw-/knaw-] to feed
qra:ra [qrɑ:ræ] Bedouin man
qra:ri [qræ:ri] Bedouin woman
rɔw- [rɔw-] to cry (Š, R, Š)
rohr- [rohr-] red
rsi:s [rsi:s] black olive
sak- , [sak-] to be able to
sa:li [sɑ:li] rice
sap [sɑp] snake
sayy-ak [sɑyy-ɑk] one hundred
siri [siri] head
sn- [sn-], *sin-* [sin-] to hear, to listen
sno:ta [sno:tæ] dog
š- , *šir-* [ʃ-] to speak
šans [ʃæns] luck
šar- [ʃær-] to hide
šary- [ʃæry-], *šari:-* [ʃæri:-] to hide(intr.)
ša:l [ʃɑ:l] well waterhole
ši:nak [ʃi:næk] a little
šma:ri [ʃmæ:ri] chicken
šu:- [ʃu:-], *sit-* [sit-] to sleep
šo:na [ʃo:næ] non-Dom boy
šo:ni [ʃø:ni] non-Dom girl
šori [ʃəri] knife
št- [ʃt-] to stand
štal- [ʃtæl-] to carry, to raise
šabahtan [ʃabahtæn] at morning
t- [t-], *tir-* [tir-] to put

- taran* [tæræn] three
taranes [tærænes] three
ta:t [tɑ:t] villager man
ta:ti:ya [tæ:ti:yæ] villager woman
ta:te [tæ:te] villagers
tarn- [tarn-] young
tarni young Dom woman [tærni]
tarna young Dom man [tarna]
tat [tat] sun
tat- [tat] hot
till- [till] big
tilla [tilla] king
tirsa:la-hro:mi [tirsæ:læhro:mi] thirsty
titin [titin] tobacco
tma:li/kma:li [kma:li] soldier, police
tma:liye/kma:liye [kma:liye] soldiers, polices
to:ri [to:ri] scarf
waši:- [wɑʃi:] with (have)
wa:l [wɑ:l] hair
wɔrk- [wɔrk-] to wear
wars [wars] year
wars- [wars-] to rain
wɔst- [wɔst-], wɔz- to escape
waʔ [waʔ] stone
wa:y [wɑ:y] wind
wd- [wd] old
wda [wdæ] Dom old man
wde [wdɛ] old people

wdi [wdi] Dom old lady
wešt- [weʃt-], *wes-* [wes-] to sit
wiyar [wiyəɾ] market, Jerusalem
xa:r [xɑ:r] below
xast [xast] hand, arm
xašt- [xɑšt-], *xaz-* [xɑz-] to laugh
xodwar [xodwɑɛ:ni] Dom child
xoḡoti [xoḡotɪ] yesterday
xol- [xol-] to descend
xor [xor] heart
xoyya [xoiyə] God
xre:z [xrɛ:z] turkey
zari [zæri] mouth
za:ra Dom boy [zɑ:ræ]
zard [zardi] gold

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