Two Domari legends about the origin of the Doms

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Background

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

¹ An overview of the literature is attempted in Kenrick (1975-1979), though the title ‘Romanies …’ is somewhat misleading there.
Armenia; Finck 1907), as well as to the Indian caste-name ḍom, from which the terms appear to derive.

The Doms have traditionally specialised in metalwork and in entertainment. Among the Palestinian Doms, however, these two professions are usually associated with different clans. The ancestors of the Jerusalem Doms were, until several decades ago, tent-dwelling smiths and tanners who produced skewers, horseshoes, and other metal artefacts. Gradually, the men abandoned their traditional profession and sought paid employment in various services. Since the 1940s, many have been employed by the municipality’s environmental health department. Begging was practised by many women in the community until shortly after the Israeli occupation in 1967, when a system of social services and benefits was introduced. The Jerusalem Doms now distance themselves from the begging activities of other Doms, who are not residents of the city, but arrive as tourists, mainly from Egypt and Jordan, during the Muslim holiday seasons, and can be met begging in and around the Old City of Jerusalem. The young generation of Jerusalem Doms is employed in a variety of professions, mainly in services. A significant number have completed secondary education, some continuing to higher specialised qualifications.

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

The Mukhtar’s role as chief representative of the community is at present being challenged to some extent by the establishment in November 1999 of a ‘Foundation for the Promotion of the Gypsies in Israel’ [ha-‘amuta le-kidum ha-tso’anim be-yisra’el]. The Foundation is being backed by a left-wing Israeli party which is in opposition in the Jerusalem municipality, it carries a Hebrew, rather than Arabic, official title, and the title itself flags a connection to Israel, rather than to the West Bank, where the Doms live. At a time when the future of Jerusalem is about to be negotiated between Israeli and Palestinian authorities, this course taken by a number of young Doms might be interpreted as a statement concerning their own ethnic distinctness; it may however just as well be taken to reflect primarily short-term practical considerations, which seem to outweigh sensitivity to growing concerns about the long-term status of East Jerusalem and its inhabitants.

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

The earliest documentation and discussion of the language spoken by the Doms – or Domari ‘proper’ – appeared in Pott’s (1844) monumental work on Romani, where he drew on a sample collected several decades earlier by Seetzen (and later published in a diary edited by Kruse in 1854). Further material was published by Pott in 1846, drawing on second-hand sources from Syria, followed by Newbold’s (1856) wordlists from northern Syria and from Baghdad, Paspati’s (1870) material from eastern Anatolia, Groome’s (1891) samples obtained in Beirut and Damascus, and Patkanoff’s (1907/1908) material, which appears to have originated from Azerbaijan. The first and so far unique comprehensive description of the Domari language, which includes a grammar, texts, and a glossary all based on fieldwork carried out in Jerusalem, was published by R. A. S. Macalister in a series of articles in this journal between 1909-1913, which subsequently appeared in monograph form (Macalister 1914). Apart from two very brief samples of Syrian Domari that have been in private circulation in recent years, my own work on the speech of the same community in Jerusalem (Matras 1999) appears to be the first publication since Macalister that is based on recent empirical research. The material for the present contribution stems from the same corpus of recordings, collected in Jerusalem between 1996 and 1999.

**The legends: context and content**

The two legends presented here were told to me by the *grawara* or Mukhtar of the Dom community of Jerusalem, Muḥammad Dīb Sīm, in January 1999. The Mukhtar is the grandson of Ibrāhīm Sīm, who led the

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2 The first was transcribed and analysed by Jane Nicholson (Austin), the other recorded by Marielle Danbakli (Paris).
community in the early 20th century, while it was still nomadic, travelling between Jerusalem and other towns in the West Bank. After his death, Ibrāhīm Slīm was succeeded by his son, Abed Slīm, as Mukhtar. The community had by then settled in a tent encampment in Jerusalem, just north of Damascus Gate, which is where Macalister encountered them. Abed Slīm was able to prove his leadership skills during an event which took place sometime in the 1920s, when a fight broke out between Jews and Arabs at a feast at which Dom dancers from Jaffa were performing. Abed separated the two groups, and was praised for doing so by the British military governor of Jerusalem, Ronald Storrs, who awarded him an official document recognising his position as the Mukhtar of the Jerusalem Dom community.

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

A number of legends and biographical narratives told by Muḥammad Dīb have already been published in Hebrew by Yaniv (1980). They in-
clude, in an edited form, two stories that are also presented here: The first is described by Yaniv as the principal tradition among the Doms pertaining to their origin. It connects the Dom with the tribe of Banī Qēs, which was divided into two clans – Banī Rabīʕa, led by Klēb, and Banī Murra, led by Džassās. A feud broke out between the two clans during the period of the Islamic conquests, as a result of which Džassās killed Klēb. Klēb’s son (or in some versions, brother), Sālem ez-Zīr, then took revenge and killed Džassās. He also punished Džassās’s clan, Banī Murra, by ruling that they should remain nomadic entertainers, forbidding them to ride horses and allowing only the use of donkeys. The Doms descend from Banī Murra, who travelled first to India, then to various countries in the Middle East, some of them settling in Jerusalem. The second story tells about the Persian king Bahrām Gūr, who invited entertainers from India to settle in his kingdom. He gave them land and expected them to become farmers, but when they disappointed him and continued to make a living as dancers and musicians, he expelled them, ruling that they should remain nomads forever, as punishment.

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

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

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

The legends as told by Muḥammad Dīb in Domari include several modifications and mixtures of themes. Firstly, the names of the tribes are slightly altered, with Banī Qēs and Banī Murra figuring as the two rival clans, while Banī Rabiʿa is not mentioned at all. In Legend 1, the daughter of the Syrian King Tubba Ḥassān seeks revenge from Klēb, who had killed her father. She has her servant smuggle a sheep with an infectious mange into Klēb’s grounds, hoping to inflict illness on his entire household. The sheep however is killed by Klēb’s guards. She then turns to Dżassās for help, thereby triggering the feud between the two clans,

4 An Israeli anthropologist, who had befriended the Mukhtar during the early 1970s, claimed to have introduced the Mukhtar to the story of Bahrām Gūr (Yigal Tamir, personal communication, 1998).
which ultimately leads to the expulsion of the Doms, the descendants of Džassâs. Thus we have as additional themes the origin of the tribes in Syria, and a woman who incites rivalry between the related clans. Noteworthy is the fact that the key line, where the Old Lady calls upon Džassâs to kill Klèb, is presented as a rhyming verse in Arabic (Legend 1, Segment 28), indicating that the Domari version is likely to be adopted from Arabic, rather than vice versa. There are two possible conclusions from this: The legend has either been adopted from non-Dom, Arabic-speaking peripatetics in the Near East, or its principal target audience is external, rather than interal (cf. Casimir 1987:376).

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

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

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

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5 There is of course a gap of several centuries between the Islamic conquests to which De Goeje (1903) refers, and which took place between the seventh and ninth centuries AD, and the Saladin campaigns in the twelfth century.
they are given the chance of promotion to a ‘high rank’ status of independence, through the generosity of the Persian king. Guilt and shame in this case are associated with their inability to make use of this offer and change their habits and lifestyle, which is expressed explicitly in the story (Legend 2/27). Punishment follows this admission of guilt. Further, secondary transformations between high rank/independence and nomadism/dependency are expressed when the Doms’ status as prisoners, on the one hand, and their settlement as farmers, on the other, are addressed.

The language of the narratives: presentation and structure

The two legends are the first Domari narratives to be published since the appearance of Macalister’s texts in 1909-1913 (and the monograph reprint of 1914). They are also the first published narratives in the language that are based on transcriptions of tape-recorded speech, and the first to appear in print with morphological glossing. Descriptions of the Domari language as spoken in Jerusalem appear in Macalister (1914) and in Matras (1999), and I will concentrate here on issues that directly concern the glossing conventions.

The legends are presented here with minimal editing. The transcription contains repetitions, hesitations, repairs by the speaker, as well as Arabic insertions. Omitted were only participation signals by the hearer/interviewer (aha, mhm, etc.), and occasional translations into Arabic of entire utterances. The transcripts are divided into segments which represent content and intonational units. Arabic insertions are highlighted in *Italics* if they constitute phrases containing more than just one single item, and if it appears that the speaker had a choice of inserting indigenous items in their place. This may typically pertain to morphosyntactic rather than lexical structure; thus *malik iš-šām* ‘the King of Syria’ (Legend 1/8) is an Arabic possessive-genitive construction. The speaker could in principle have chosen an indigenous construction: *malikos šămaki* (cf. *malikos ūrānak* ‘the King of Iran’, in Legend 2/22).
The transcripts include numerous Arabisms that are not highlighted, as they form an integral part of the Domari lexical or morphosyntactic structure. They include lexical borrowings from Arabic, prepositions, conjunctions, discourse particles, as well as items that carry Arabic inflections, notably the auxiliaries *kān* ‘to be’, *šār*- ‘to begin’, *xalš*- ‘to allow/leave’, and *bidd*- ‘to want’, and the complementiser *inn*-. Arabic *qal* is used as an uninflected particle and is glossed ‘said’. The filler *hay* is glossed ‘this’, the filler *hāda* is glossed ‘that’. The Arabic definite article is glossed DEF and only appears in Arabic insertions. If an Arabic noun appears in the plural, it is glossed as an English plural (*bisāttn* ‘gardens’). Quite often, a Domari plural ending is added to Arabic plural formations; in such cases, the Domari ending is glossed PL (*muzarišine* ‘farmers.PL’).

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

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

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

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

Verbs are glossed in the English present tense for the Domari present, imperfect, and subjunctive, and in the English past for the Domari simple past and perfect. The Domari present and simple past are treated as default tenses. The present however has an external morphological ter-
Domari allows non-verbal predications: *tillos banī murra nāmos džassās* ‘the leader of Banī Murra, his name [is/was] Džassās’. It also has a predicative device, which Macalister (1914) had termed ‘predicative suffix’, and which allows to construct non-verbal existential predications. Predicative markers are glossed PRED. They are sensitive to the phonological form of the preceding syllable, taking the form -ēk following vowel endings in -a, -k following endings in glottalised -a’, -ik following vowel endings in -i, and -i following consonantal endings. There are separate markers for the plural, namely -ēni following vowels and -ni following consonants; those are glossed PL.PRED. The predicative markers can attach to nominative nouns (*wudi-k* ‘old.lady.PRED’), to case-inflected nouns (*pišt-iš-m-ēk* ‘back.3SG.LOC.PRED = ‘in his back’), to adjectives (*till-ēk* ‘it is big’), or to verbs, to form converbs, i.e. gerunds or participles (*ktibkad-ēk* ‘wrote.PRED = written’). Predicative markers are frequently employed in presentative constructions, as well as, in the absence of Layer I oblique marking, to indicate the accusative of some inanimate Arabic loans (*šardeya romḥi* ‘hide.3SG.IMP lance.PRED = he was hiding the lance’).
### List of gloss abbreviations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Description</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1SG</td>
<td>1st person singular (subject or object concord on verb; possessive; pronoun)</td>
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<tr>
<td>2PL</td>
<td>2nd person plural (subject or object concord on verb; possessive; pronoun)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2SG</td>
<td>2nd person singular (subject or object concord on verb; possessive; pronoun)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3PL</td>
<td>3rd person plural (subject or object concord on verb; possessive; pronoun)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3SG</td>
<td>3rd person singular (subject or object concord on verb; possessive; pronoun)</td>
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<tr>
<td>ABL</td>
<td>ablative (Layer II case ending)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ACC</td>
<td>accusative (Layer I oblique + Layer II zero case ending)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BEN</td>
<td>benefactive (Layer II case ending)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>COMP</td>
<td>complementiser (of Arabic origin)</td>
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<tr>
<td>COP</td>
<td>enclitic copula</td>
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<tr>
<td>DAT</td>
<td>dative (Layer II case ending)</td>
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<tr>
<td>DEF</td>
<td>definite article (Arabic insertions)</td>
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<tr>
<td>DEM</td>
<td>demonstrative pronoun</td>
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<tr>
<td>F</td>
<td>feminine (3rd person past tense; demonstrative; Layer I oblique case inflection)</td>
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<tr>
<td>IMP</td>
<td>imperfect tense ending</td>
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<tr>
<td>INDEF</td>
<td>indefinite article</td>
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<tr>
<td>INT</td>
<td>interjection</td>
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<tr>
<td>LOC</td>
<td>locative (Layer II case ending)</td>
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<tr>
<td>M</td>
<td>masculine singular (3rd person past tense; demonstrative; Layer I oblique case inflection)</td>
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<tr>
<td>NEG</td>
<td>negation marker</td>
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<tr>
<td>PART</td>
<td>particle</td>
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<tr>
<td>PERF</td>
<td>perfect tense ending</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PL</td>
<td>plural (demonstrative; Layer I oblique case inflection)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PRED</td>
<td>predicative marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>REL</td>
<td>relativiser (Arabic origin)</td>
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<tr>
<td>SUBJ</td>
<td>subjunctive (verb mood)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Legend 1

1) ašlos dōmankī, ʿa-zamān ʿawwal,  
   origin.3SG dom.PL.ABL in-time early  
The origin of the Doms, early on,

2) ašti di qabīle ūšrēda kānū fi bilād/  
   there.is two tribe.PL live.3PL.IMP were.3PL in land  
   dēyisma šāmaki.  
   There were two tribes, they used to live in the land of/ in a Syrian town.

3) nāmosan banī qēs ū banī murra.  
   name.3PL Banī Qes and Banī Murra  
   Their name was Banī Qes and Banī Murra.

4) tillos banī qēs nāmos klēb.  
   big.3SG Banī Qes name.3SG Klēb  
   The leader of Banī Qes, his name was Klēb.

5) tillos banī murra nāmos džassās.  
   big.3SG Banī Murra name.3SG Džassās  
   The leader of Banī Murra, his name was Džassās.

6) w-ehe dīne māmun putrēnī.  
   and.DEM.PL two uncle son.PL.PRED  
   And those two were cousins.

7) ašti ikaki wudik, bēnos tubba ḥassān.  
   there.is one.F old.ladyPRED daughter.3SG Tubba Hassan  
   There was an old lady, the daughter of Tubba Hassān.
8) lamma mardos klēb, marda tubba ḥassān malik š-šām,  
when killed.3SG.3SG Klēb killed.3SG.3SG Tubba Hassan King of Syria  
When Klēb killed him, he killed Tubba Hassān the King of Syria,

9) biddhā intaqimhōṣar/ stadhōṣar tāros  
want.3SG.F take.revenge.SUBJ.3SG claim.SUBJ.3SG revenge.3SG  
min dōmanki, yašnī min ehe dīne qabīlanki.  
from Dom.PL.ABL that.is from Dem.PL two tribe.PL.ABL  
She wanted to take revenge/to take revenge from the Doms, that is,  
from those two tribes.

10) ērī ʿala banī murra ʿa dżassāsaski, wāšīš  
came.3SG.F to Banī Murra to Dżassās..M.ABL with.3SG  
naʿdżēk ʿaẓrabī  
sheep.PRED mangy.PRED  
She came to Banī Murra, to Dżassās, and with her was a mangy  
sheep.

11) w-īhī naʿdżā tirdī/ tirdī abuske aha/ zayy  
and.DEMLF sheep put.3SG.F put.3SG.F on.3SG.BEN DEM.M like  
šūṭār wa-hāda, šaṭar wa-hāda  
perfumes and-that perfume and-that  
And this sheep she put/she put on her this/ like perfumes and all  
that, perfume and all that.

12) ū širdī absoranke īhī naʿdżā qal īhī min assāshā  
and said.3SG.F on.3PL.BEN DEM.M sheep said DEM.F from origin.F  
min in-nāqīz in-nabi šāleḥ  
from DEF.redeemer DEF.prophet Saleh  
And she said to them: this sheep, she said, is descended from the  
redeemer the Prophet Saleh.
13) ašti nkīs ēkak dusarēk yašni ḫdimkari īhī / wudi.\(^6\)
there.is at.3SG one.M black.PRED that.is serves.3SG DEM.F old.lady
She had a black servant, [who was] serving this/ old lady.

14) širīdī īhī wūdi hayke/ dusaraske hayyos,
said.3SG DEM.F old.lady this.BEN black.M.BEN this.3SG
[This] lady said to/ to this servant of hers,

15) qal par īhī naḍžē, ū dža bīsātīnesma
said take DEM.F sheep.F.ACC and go gardens.3SG.LOC
klēbaski, xallī rūikar hundar.
Klēb.M.ABL let.3SG graze.SUBJ.3SG there
She said: take this sheep, and go to the gardens of Klēb, let her graze there.

16) aha dusara parda īhī naḍžē ū bandos,
DEM.M black took.3SG.M DEM.F sheep.F.ACC and tied.3SG.3SG
tirdos hayma/ bustānīsmα klēbaski.
put.3SG.3SG this.LOC garden.3SG.LOC Klēb.M.ABL
[This] servant took [this] sheep and tied her, he put her in Klēb’s garden.

17) ū bustānī tillēk.
and garden.PRED big.PRED
And it was a big garden.

\(^6\) The repair appears to neutralise case marking, and the form should normally be wīdyā
‘old.lady.F.ACC’.
18) ṣārat ṭīḥī naʿīdżā qaṭifkārī min aḥa ᵇaḍžarkī⁷
  began.3SG.F DEM.F sheep picks.3SG from DEM.M tree.ABL ū qārī
  and eats.3SG
  [This] sheep began to pick from [this] tree and to eat.

19) ḥurrāšīnes aha bustānki lakeda ṭīḥī naʿīdžē,
  guards.3SG DEM.M garden.ABL saw.3SG.M DEM.F sheep.ACC
  fērendis mardedis.
  beat.3PL.3SG killed.3PL.3SG
  [This] garden’s guards saw [this] sheep, they beat her and killed her.

20) dusara hayyos widyaki ēra širda
  black this.3SG old.lady.F.ABL came.3SG.M told.3SG.M
  widyake.
  old.lady.F.BEN
  The old lady’s servant came and told the old lady.

21) ṣārat rōwari.
  began.3SG.F cry.3SG
  She began to cry.

22) ēra abuske klēb:⁸ karwe wudi, rowēk?
  came.3SG.M 3SG.BEN Klēb INT old.lady cry.2SG

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⁷ Note the absence of Layer I marking here, as in other inanimate Arabic loans.

⁸ This is a mix-up, and the speaker actually means Dżassās.
Klēb [= Dżassās] came to her: what is it, old lady, [why] are you crying?

23) qal: lakedori, hurraşînes bustâniski hayki
said saw.2SG.PERF guards.3SG garden.3SG.ABL this.ABL
klēbaski marde našdžim illi įhī
Klēb.M.ABL killed.3PL sheep.1SG REL DEM.F
assāshā min našdžat in-nabi şāleḥ
origin.3SG.F from sheep.PL DEF.prophet Saleh
She said: Did you see, this/ the guards of Klēb’s garden killed my sheep, who is descended from the sheep flock of the Prophet Saleh.

24) šari dżassās abuske: na zųilhōşi atu wudi.
say.3SG Dżassās 3SG.BEN NEG anger.SUBJ.2SG 2SG old.lady
Dżassās says to her: Don’t be angry, old lady.

25) ama dēmri badālis ḥašrīn našdža ü ṣayyibkami
1SG give.1SG.2SG instead.3SG twenty sheep and improve.1SG
xātror.
Mood.2SG
I shall give you twenty sheep in its place, and I shall cheer you up.

26) qal: la’, ama naqbilome’.
said no 1SG NEG.accept.1SG.NEG
She said: No, I don’t accept.
27) yā imma naʿdžom gardohori, yā imma marēk amake
either sheep.1SG live.3SG either kill.2SG 1SG.BEN
klēbas, yā imma bardika ḥīżrom ndžūmi.
Klēb.M.ACC either fill.SUBJ.2SG lap.1SG stars.PRED
Either my sheep shall live, or you shall kill Klēb for me, or else
fill my lap with stars.

28) yaṣni bi-l-ṣarabī: yā naṣdžatī tgūm, yā bitmalli ḥīżrī
that.is in.DEF.Arabic either sheep.1SG stand.3SG.F or fill.2SG lap.1SG
ndžūm, yā imma rās klēb bi-damm yḥūm
star.PL or else head Klēb in-blood turn.3SG.M
That is, in Arabic: Either my sheep shall rise, or you will fill my
lap with stars, or else Klēb’s head shall float in blood.

29) dżassās qal: ama gardikaram nāṣdžor insakame’.
Dzassas said 1SG revive.SUBJ.1SG sheep.2SG NEG.can.1SG.NEG
Dżassās said: I cannot revive your sheep.

30) ila yër xuya lamma gardikaris aburke.
but without God when revive.3SG.3SG 2SG.BEN
Only God can revive her for you.

31) ū bardikaram ḥīżrōr ndžūmi qal hāda ndžūm
and fill.SUBJ.1SG lap.2SG star.S.PRED said that star.PL
hāda ṣaʾf bīlayy,
that difficult on.1SG
And to fill your lap with stars, he said, these stars that’s difficult
for me.
32) amma-n iza biddek ṛās klēb marḥabābek!
   but if want.2SG.F head Klēb welcome.in.2SG.F
   But if you want Klēb’s head, you are welcome to it!

33) dīsak min dīsanki šār klēb ū džassās kēlandi
day.INDEF from day.PL.ABL began.3SG.M Klēb and Džassās ride.3PL
hayta goryanta, šābīqhondi.
this.DAT horse.PL.DAT compete.3PL
One day Klēb and Džassās went out to ride/ horses, they had a race.

34) goryos klēbaski ṣbuqhorī goryos hayki, ka/ džassāsaski.
horse.3SG Klēb.M.ABL precede.3SG horse.3SG this.ABL Džassās.M.ABL
Klēb’s horse arrives before/ Džassās’s horse.

35) džassās šardeya romḥi axar ʕabāyiski ū uhu
Džassās hide.3SG.IMP lance.PRED beneath gown.3SG.ABL and DEM.M
agrisi aha klēb, fēmēs rumūhma,
in.front.3SG.PRED DEM.M Klēb hit.PRED.3SG lance.LOC
ila pištismēk,
but back.3SG.LOC.PRED
Džassās was hiding a lance beneath his gown, and just as the other
one stood in front of him, [this] Klēb, striking him with the lance,
directly in his back,

36) klibra.
fell.3SG.M
He collapsed.

37) šār  parari  min  nhīriski  aha  klēb  qabil  mā
began.3SG.M take.3SG from  blood.3SG.ABL DEM.M Klēb  before  COMP
maršar.
die.SUBJ.3SG
Klēb started to take from his own blood, before he died.

38) ū  ktibkari  džamī‘atiske  ahaliske,  ehe  banī  qēs,
and write.3SG community.3SG.BEN  people.3SG.BEN DEM.PL Banī Qes
inni  džassās  yudurkedosim  ū  mardosim.
COMP  Džassās  betrayed.3SG.1SG and killed.3SG.1SG
And [in it] he wrote to his community of people, [these] Banī Qes,
[saying]  that  Džassās  betrayed  me  and  killed  me.

39) ū ’ūṣa  sämiḥkarassanni,  ū  maras  qabīlos  ehe
and  beware  forgive.2PL.3PL  and  kill.SUBJ2PL  tribe.3SG  DEM.PL
banī  murra.
Banī  Murra
And  beware  not  to  forgive  them,  and  kill  his  tribe,  [those]  Banī  Murra.

40) ēre  ahalos  klēbaski,
came.3PL  people.3SG Klēb.M.ABL
Klēb’s  people  arrived,

41) lakede  klēbas,  rumuḥ  pištismēk  ū  pandži  nazaʾkari.
saw.3PL  Klēb.M.ACC  lance  back.3SG.LOC.PRED  and  3SG  die.3SG
They found Klēb, a lance in his back, and he is dying.

42) ü ktibkadēk balaṭēṭa inni džassās mardosim.
and wrote.PRED foot.F.DAT COMP Džassās killed.3SG.1SM
And he had written on the floorstones that Džassās killed me.

43) gara dfīnkeda klēbas ū ehra ḫarb bēn
went.3SG.M burried.3SG.M Klēb.M.ACC and became.3SG war between
banī qēs ū bēn banī murra.
Banī Qes and between Banī Murra
They went and burried Klēb, and war broke out between Banī Qes and Banī Murra.

44) sabʿa snīn ḫarb bēnatīsanni, sabʿa snīn manda ḡeyiš
seven years war between.3PL.PRED seven years stayed.3SG.M war
bēnāṭīsan.
between.3PL
Seven years there was war between them, seven years the war continued between them.

45) bi-lʿāxir putros klēbaski nāmosi džalu,
at.DEF.end son.3SG Klēb.M.ABL name.3SG.PRED Džalu
ū sälem ez-zīr aha bāros klēbaski.
and Salem ez-Zir DEM.M brother.3SG Klēb.M.ABL
In the end, Klēb’s son, his name was Džalu, and Salem ez-Zir was the brother of Klēb.
46) **gara mînda ka/ dżassāsas ū mardedis.**

wented.3SG.M grabbed.3SG.M Dżassās and killed.3PL.3SG

They went and caught Dżassās and they killed him.

47) **dżamaštēs dżassāsaski ehe banī murra,**

people.3SG Dżassās.M.ABL DEM.PL Banī Murra

ʻumurkeda atnīs aha sālem ez-zīr, xal:

ordered.3SG.M on.3SG DEM.M Salem ez-Zir said

As for Dżassās’s people, [these] Banī Murra, [this] Salem ez-Zir decreed, he said:

48) **itme mamnūñî hōšas hindar.**

2PL forbidden.PRED be.SUBJ.2PL here

You are not allowed to remain here.

49) **lāzem dżas xalāmma hōšas.**

must go.SUBJ.2PL wilderness.PL.DAT be.SUBJ.2PL

You must go and live in the wilderness.

50) **lāzem lamma itme rawasi rawas bi-šīzz iš-šōb,**

must when 2PL travel.2PL travel.SUBJ.2PL in.strength DEF.heat

w-id-dinya agi

and.DEF.weather fire.PRED

When you travel, you must travel **in the hottest time, when the weather** is fire-hot.

51) **ū mamnūñî itme qolas goryanta.**

and forbidden.PRED 2PL ride.SUBJ.2PL horse.PL.DAT
And you may not ride horses.

52) lāzem itme qolas bass ehe qaran.
    must 2PL ride.SUBJ.2PL only DEM.PL donkey.PL.ACC
You must only ride [these] donkeys.

53) mamnūfī arbaʿ-xamse buyūt skunnhōšas maʿ baʿd.
    forbidden.PRED four-five houses live.SUBJ.2PL together
You are not allowed to live together, *four-five households*.

54) lāzem tkūn itme mišāṭṭaṭhresi
    must be.SUBJ.3SG.F 2PL dispersed.COP.2PL
You must remain dispersed.

55) ū itme lāzem maṣīroran hōšas inni bass
and 2PL must destiny.2PL be.SUBJ.2PL COMP only
    ɣannikaras ū našīšas.
    sing.SUBJ.2PL and dance.SUBJ.2PL
And your destiny is that you shall only sing and dance.

56) ahak ūṭaṭorān itme
    DEM.M.PRED life.2PL 2PL
Thus is to be your life.

57) ehe dōme itšaṭṭire ū krēn gare tirde?
    DEM.PL Dom.PL dispersed.3PL and where went.3PL settled.3PL
    ftī šamāl l-hind.
in north DEF.India
These Doms dispersed and where did they go and settle? In northern India.

58) min uhu waxtaski, mande fi šamāl l-hind.
From DEM.M time.M.ABL stayed.3PL in north DEF.India
From that time on, the remained in northern India.

59) tšallimre l-luya l-hindiyye,
They learned the Indian language.

60) ila qisem/ qismak minšīsan lamma zhurahra
But part part.INDEF from.3PL when appeared.3SG.M
Ṣallaḥ ed-dīn ῦayūbī ū ĕre Šala š-šām
Salah ed-Din Ayyubi and came.3PL to DEF.Irag
ū Šala š-šām,
and to DEF.Syria
But part/ one part of them, when Saladin Ayyubi appeared and
came to Iraq and to Syria,

61) ū ĕre Šala falasṭīn ū šārū zaraškandi ū hāda,
And they came to Palestine and started.3PL farm.3PL and that
and came.3PL to Palestine and started.3PL farm.3PL and that
And they came to Palestine and started to engage in farming and so on,

62) ū mande hindar dôme.
And the Doms have remained here ever since.
Legend 2

1) aşlos dömankī min eh/ qabīlet idż-dżassās ü klēb.
   origin.3SG Dom.PL.ABL from tribe DEF.Dżassās and Klēb
   The origin of the Doms is from the tribe of Dżassās and Klēb.

2) lamma dżassās yudurkedā klēbas ü marda
   when Dżassās betrayed.3SG.M Klēb.M.ACC and killed.3SG.M
   klēbas,
   Klēb.M.ACC
   When Dżassās betrayed Klēb and killed Klēb,

3) putros dżassāsaski/ putros hayki/ klēbaski ēra
   son.3SG Dżassās.M.ABL son.3SG this.ABL Klēb.M.ABL came.3SG.M
   marda dżassāsas.
   killed.3SG.M Dzassas.M.ACC
   The son of Dżassās/ the son of this/ of Klēb came and killed
   Dżassās.

4) dżassās kān aha tillos banī murra.
   Dżassās was.3SG DEM.M big.3SG Banī Murra
   Dżassās was the leader of Banī Murra.

5) banī-murra illi hāy/ ehe dōme ya’nī
   Banī Murra REL this DEM.PL Dom.PL that.is
   Banī Murra which is the/ those are the Doms.
6) banī murra ya'īnī bi-l’āxer laqabosan ya'īni dōmahre.
Banī Murra that.is in.DEF.end name.3PL that.is Dom.became.3PL
Banī Murra, that is, in the end they were called, that is, they be-
came the Doms.

7) putros klēbaski gara marda džassāsū ü son.3SG Klēb.M.ABL went.3SG.M killed.3SG.M Džassās.M.ACC and
ṣumurkeda ʕašīrista džassāsaki inni mamnūši ordered.3SG.M clan.3SG.DAT Džassās.M.ABL COMP forbidden.PRED
qīlšād goryanta.
ride.SUBJ.3PL horse.PL.DAT
The son of Klēb went and killed Džassās and ordered that
Džassās’s clan should not be allowed to ride horses.

8) ū da’īman xallīhum barāriyamma, skunnhōšad
and always leave.3PL wilderness.PL.LOC live.SUBJ.3PL
barariyamma.
wilderness.PL.LOC
And [that] they should always stay in the wilderness, live in the
wilderness.

9) ū ʕīšatosan hōšad na/ naśiš.
and life.3PL be.SUBJ.3PL dance
And [as for] their way of life, they should be/ [it should consist of]
dancing.
Two Domari legends

10) ɣannīkad ü našīšad ü-hāda yaʔnī.
They should sing and dance and so on.

11) ù gare skunnahre fi ṣamāl l-hind.
And they went to live in northern India.

12) aștī ēkaki maliki fi īrān nāmos bahrām gūr.
There was a king in Iran, his name was Bahram Gur.

13) snari dōmanaṭa.
He heard about the Doms.

14) pandžī ḥībbra biddō lākar dōman yaʔnī
He wanted to see the Doms, that is, how/ the Doms’ life [was like].

15) ktibkeda kitābak la ḥākmaske tabaṣ ṣamāl l-hind.
He wrote a letter to the governor of northern India.
16) mangida mišīs inni nēr abuske min’akam
asked.3SG.M from.3SG COMP send.SUBJ.3SG to.3SG several
ʕēlan min dōmanki.
family.PL.ACC from Dom.PL.ABL
He asked him to send him several Dom families.

17) ḥākmos šamāl l-hind nērdī ḥawālī arbaʕ mīt ʕēle
governor.3SG north DEF.India sent.3SG.M around four hundred family
min dōmankī,
from Dom.PL.ABL
The governor of northern India sent some four hundred Dom families.

18) tirdosan ehe marākbamma ū gare ʕala īrān.
pot.3SG.3PL DEM.PL boats.PL.LOC and went.3PL to Iran
He put them on [those] boats and they went to Iran.

19) malakos aha īrān gara istaqbillosan,
kind.3SG DEM.M Iran went.3SG.M welcomed.3SG.3PL
The King of Iran went and welcomed them.

20) ū ṭosan bītak, ū ẓa la kull kuri
and gave.3SG.3PL land.INDEF und gave.3SG.M to every house
goryak, qameḥ, ū bakarak.
horse.INDEF flour and sheep.INDEF
And he gave them land, and he gave every family a horse, some
flour, and a sheep.
21) ‘assās innhom dżad kara/ ya’ānī hōšad zayy
so that go.SUBJ.3PL do that.is be.SUBJ.3PL like
muzarišīne, zirāykarad, ḫṣudkarad hāda
farmers.PL sow.SUBJ.3PL harvest.SUBJ.3PL that
In order that they go and do/ that is/ become like farmers, sow and
harvest and so on.

22) yēbra atnīsan dżum‘a ēra mixaffīk
stayed.away.3SG.M on.3PL week came.3SG.M disguised.PRED
malikos ūrānaki bahrām gūr.
king.3SG Iran.F.ABL Bahram Gur
He was absent for a week, and he came disguised, the King of
Iran, Bahram Gur.

23) ēra lakeda kull kuri eh/ aha ūazifōsēk ehe
came.3SG. saw.3SG.M every house DEM.M play.3SG.PRED DEM.PL
yananiyankī ū rabbābēk ū hāda ū ehe našyandi
song.PL.ABL and play.rabbab.PRED and that and DEM.PL dance.3PL
ū hāda.
and that
He came and saw every family eh/ this one is playing [those]
songs and playing the rabbab and so on and the others are dancing
and so on.

24) qal ya masaxxame kīyyik/ kīyyik aha li kardesis?
said oh poor.PL what.PRED what.PRED DEM.M REL did.2PL.3SG
He said: oh you poor things, what is it that you’ve done?
25) ama tômran innî eh/ gêsu, kiyâsis gêsuki ü/ ü eh/
1SG gave.1SG.2PL COMP wheat sacks.3SG.3SG wheat.ABL and and
ü gôrwankï ÿa’âssäs innî zîrî̇kâras ü ḥûdkaras
and bulls.ABL on.basis COMP sow.SUBJ.2PL and harvest.SUBJ.2PL
ü kate-ta?
where.PART
I gave you/ so that eh/ wheat, sacks of wheat and/ and eh/ and
bulls so that you should sow and harvest, and where is it all?

26) kate gôrwe, kate gêsu ü illî tômis abranke?
where bull.PL where wheat and REL gave.1SG.3SG to.2PL
Where are the bulls, where is the wheat and all that I have given
you?

27) qal: yâ sûdînâ ihîna bitla′î̇s fi-îdînâ zîrî̇y/ zîrî̇ykarârâ
said oh lord.1PL 1PL emerge.NEG in.hand.1PL farming farm.SUBJ.1PL
wala illî sana′šîman da′îman raqîs ü yanâk
however REL trade.1PL always dance and song.PRED
They said: oh lord, we are not able to farm/ to farm, our only trade
is always dancing and singing.

28) malik zîlahra minšîsan ü pišnawîdîsan
king anger.3SG.M from.3PL and expelled.3SG.3PL
The King became angry with them and he expelled them.

29) gare ehe dôme skunahre knên? fi el-môsel, illî
went.3PL DEM.PL Dom.PL lived.3PL where in DEF.Mosul REL
Those Doms went and where did they settle? *In Mosul, the one that is in Iraq.*

30) *lamma zhurahra šalaḥ ed-dīn l-ayyūbī,*
    when appeared.3SG.M Salah ed-Din l-Ayyubi
When Saladin el-Ayyubi appeared,

31) *ū pardā giš dēyan,*
    and took.3SG.M all town.PL.ACC
And conquered all the towns,

32) *ū wšīl Ša-l-īrrāq, ū l-mōsil, ū ihtallahra*
    and arrived.3SG.M to DEF.Iraq and DEF.Mosul and conquered.3SG.M
l-mōsil wi-l-īrrāq ū hāda,
    DEF.Mosul and.DEF.Iraq and that
*And he arrived in Iraq, and in Mosul, and he conquered Mosul and Iraq and so on.*

33) *parda min’akam Ŧēla min dōmankī yusare*
    took.3SG.M several family from Dom.PL.ABL prisoners.PL
He took several Dom families prisoner.

34) *ū zhīfīre Ŧala sūrīyya ū lubnān ū falasṭīn ū hāda.*
    and escaped.3PL to Syria and Lebanon and Palestine
And they escaped to Syria and Lebanon and Palestine and so on.
35) ehe dōme illi pardosan yusare istawṭunahre
DEM.PL Dom.PL REL took.3SG.3PL prisoners.PL settled.3PL
hindar hayma ǧī falaṣṭīn
here  this.LOC in Palestine
Those Doms whom he took prisoner settled here in this/ in Palestine.

36) ‘išī skunnahre hayma ǧī ūmmān ū ǧī sūrīyya ū ǧī lubnān
something lived.3PL this.LOC in Amman and in Syria and in Lebanon
ū hāda ū ‘išī bi ǧāzzē ū hāda twaṭṭanahre hindar.
and this and something in Gaza and that settled.3PL here
Some [went to] live in/ in Amman and in Syria and in Lebanon
and so on and some in Gaza and so on, they settled here.

37) yaʾnī min ayyām ṣalaḥ id-dīn dōme  twādžidre dēyamma hindar.
that.is from days Salah ed-Din Dom.PL existed.3PL town.PL.LOC here
That is, since the days of Saladin the Doms have lived here in these towns.
References


