

Comments on feature

in any meaning

Variant values

- | | |
|---|---|
| 1 | t |
| 2 | c |

Diachronic explanation of variants

(1) Retention. The variant <t> represents the original, initial alveolar phoneme of the Proto-Romani adjective **_tikno_*, which developed from OIA *_tīkṣṇá_* - ‘sharp; hot, pungent’ via MIA *_tikkhīṇa_* - ‘pointed, sharp, pungent’ (CDIAL 5839).

(2) Innovation. The variant <c> has developed through prealveolar affrication of the variant <t>.

Attestation of forms

LQCR, RMS, some publications

Geographical distribution of variants in Central Romani

(1) The variant <t> is attested in two discontinuous areas: a) in the west and south of Central Romani and b) in a single variety of the Western Malopolska region. The main area consists of almost all varieties of the South Central group, all varieties of the Western Transitional subgroup and the overwhelming majority of varieties of the Middle Transitional and Western North Central subgroups. Interestingly, the variant is also attested in the non-adjacent variety of Zakopane (Western Malopolska).

(2) The variant <c> occurs in a single contiguous area, in the east of Central Romani. This area comprises the Plaščuno dialect, all varieties of the Northern, Eastern and Middle North Central subgroups, most varieties of the Turiec region, the adjacent varieties of Kysucké Nové Mesto (Žilina Považie) and Oravská Poruba (Orava), the overwhelming majority of varieties of the Eastern Transitional subgroup, all varieties of the Eastern Horehronie region and a few varieties of the Western Horehronie region.

Geographical distribution of variants in neighbouring dialect groups

Both Central Romani variants are attested in the neighbouring dialect groups:

(1) The variant <t> is found in most neighbouring dialect groups of Central Romani, viz. in Northeastern, Sinti, Dolenjski and Arli Romani.

(2) The variant <c> occurs in the neighbouring dialect groups to the east and southeast of Central Romani, viz. in Transylvanian, Lovari and Gurbet Romani.

Feature 1.3.2 Reflexes of [t] in <i>_tirxaj_</i> ‘boot’ [Map ID 291]

Variant values

- 1 t̥
- 2 c
- 3 k

Diachronic explanation of variants

(1) Innovation. The variant <t̥>, including its affricative subvariant /č/ (specified in public comments), has developed through palatalisation of the alveodental stop /t/ in a noun that can be reconstructed as **_tirxaj_* in Proto-Romani, at least on the basis of comparative dialectology. There is no convincing etymology proposed so far, but Boretzky and Igla (2004: 331) refer to Greek *_tsarouxi_* and Ossetian *_cyryx'x_* as possible sources.

(2) Innovation. The variant <c> has developed through prealveolar affrication of the original phoneme /t/.

(3) Innovation. The variant <k> has developed through velarization of the original phoneme /t/.

Note that no Central Romani variety has maintained the original non-palatalized alveolar phoneme /t/ of the Proto-Romani etymon **_tirxaj_*.

Attestation of forms

LQCR, RMS, some publications

Geographical distribution of variants in Central Romani

(1) The variant <t̥> is sporadically attested in a single contiguous area, in the several varieties in the west of Slovakia and in the southeastern periphery of Central Romani. More specifically, this area comprises all varieties of the Southeastern South Central subgroup, the overwhelming majority of varieties of the Northeastern and Northwestern South Central subgroups, a single adjacent variety of the Western Gemer region (viz. Tisovec), most varieties of the Upper Hont and Upper Tekov regions and some varieties of several Western North Central regions (Upper Kysuce, Žilina, Púchov, Trenčín and Nové Mesto Považie, Orava, and Turiec).

(2) The variant <c> occurs in two discontinuous areas: a) in the east of Central Romani and b) in the northwestern periphery of Central Romani. The eastern, much larger, area comprises most varieties of the Northern North Central subgroup, almost all varieties of the Eastern North Central subgroup, several adjacent varieties of the Western Šariš region and a single adjacent variety of the Upper Spiš region (viz.

Jarabina). In the west, the variant is attested in Puchmayer (1821) for the Czechia region.

(3) The variant <k> occurs in a single contiguous area, in the southwest of Central Romani including some South Central varieties of Slovakia. This area consists of almost all varieties of the Southwestern South Central subgroup and two western varieties of the Žitný ostrov region (viz. Podunajské Biskupice and Dunajská Lužná).

Geographical distribution of variants in neighbouring dialect groups

None of the Central Romani variants are attested in the neighbouring dialect groups.

Variant values

- 1 d
- 2 dʰ
- 3 dž
- 4 g

Diachronic explanation of variants

(1) Retention. The variant <d> represents maintenance of the original voiced alveolar stop /d/ in the Proto-Romani etymon **_dives_* ‘day’, which continues MIA and OIA *_divasa_* - ‘day’.

(2) Innovation. The variant <dʰ> has developed through palatalization of the original voiced alveolar stop /d/, leading to forms such as *_dʰives_* in respective dialects. Palatalization may have been triggered by the following high front vowel /i/.

(3) Innovation. The variant <dž>, including the subvariant /dž/, has developed through postalveolar affrication of the palatal variant /dʰ/, leading to forms such as *_džives_* or *_dʒives_* in respective dialects.

(4) Innovation. The variant <g> has developed through velarization of the original voiced alveolar stop /d/, leading to forms such as *_gives_* in respective dialects.

Attestation of forms

LQCR, RMS, some publications

Geographical distribution of variants in Central Romani

(1) The variant <d> occurs in two discontinuous areas: a) in the south and b) in the northwestern periphery of Central Romani. The largest, southern, area comprises all varieties of the South Central group (except of a single variety of the Lower Hont region) and a few western varieties of the Nové Mesto Považie region (viz. Myjava, Brezová pod Bradlom, and Biely Kostol). The northwestern area consists of some varieties of the Czechia region (viz. Vosoudov, Boskovice, and also Vymazal 1900) and a single variety of the Trenčín Považie region (viz. Trenčianske Teplice).

(2) The variant <dʰ> occurs in a single more or less contiguous area, in the northeastern periphery and in the west of Central Romani. This area consists of all varieties of the Central Galicia region, some varieties of the Western Galicia region (viz. Kulaszne and in Kopernicki 1925, 1930), several (mostly eastern) varieties of the Eastern North Central subgroup, all varieties of the Liptov region, almost all varieties of the Abov and Turňa regions and a few varieties of other Middle North Central regions, the overwhelming majority of varieties of the Western North Central and Eastern Transitional subgroups, all varieties of the Middle and Western Transitional subgroups and individual adjacent varieties of the Podpoľanie and Lower Hont regions.

(3) The variant <dž> is attested in a single more or less contiguous area, in the northern periphery and in the east of Central Romani, with a concentration in the historical Spiš county and the Malopolska region. This area of concentration consists of all varieties of the Malopolska region, a single variety of the Western Galicia region (viz. Jasło, as well Kopernicki 1925, 1930), the overwhelming majority of varieties of the Middle North Central subgroup (absent in the Liptov region, and rarely attested in the Turňa and Abov regions), some adjacent varieties of the transitional area (viz. Eastern and Western Horehronie, Northern and Western Gemer) and several (mostly western) varieties of the Eastern North Central subgroup. The variant is also attested in the northwestern periphery, namely in all varieties of the Upper Kysuce region and some northern varieties of the Turiec region.

(4) The variant <g> occurs in a single contiguous area, in some northern varieties of the historical Šariš and Zemplín counties and in some western varieties of the Galicia region. More specifically, this area comprises almost all varieties of the Western Galicia region, all varieties of the Northern Šariš region, most varieties of the Northern Zemplín region and a single adjacent variety of the Eastern Šariš region (viz. Stročín).

Geographical distribution of variants in neighbouring dialect groups

Three of the Central Romani variants are attested in the neighbouring dialect groups:

(1) The variant <d> is found in the neighbouring dialect groups to the north, west and south of Central Romani, viz. in Northeastern, Sinti, Dolenjski and Arli Romani.

(2) The variant <ḍ> occurs in the neighbouring dialect groups to the east and southeast of Central Romani, viz. in Transylvanian, Lovari and Gurbet Romani.

(4) The variant <g>, as a co-variant of <ḍ>, is attested in Transylvanian Romani, i.e. to the east of Central Romani.

Variant values

- 1 d
- 2 dʰ
- 3 g

Diachronic explanation of variants

(1) Retention. The variant <d> represents maintenance of the original voiced alveolar stop /d/ in the Proto-Romani etymon *_dives_ ‘day’, which continues MIA and OIA _divasa_ - ‘day’.

(2) Innovation. The variant <dʰ>, including its affricative subvariants /dʒ/ and /dʒʃ/, has developed through palatalization of the original voiced alveolar stop /d/, leading to forms such as _dʰives_, _dʒives_ and _dʒives_ in respective dialects. Palatalization may have been triggered by the following high front vowel /i/.

(3) Innovation. The variant <g> has developed through velarization of the original voiced alveolar stop /d/, leading to forms such as _gives_ in respective dialects.

Attestation of forms

LQCR, RMS, some publications

Geographical distribution of variants in Central Romani

(1) The variant <d> occurs in two discontinuous areas: a) in the south of Central Romani and b) in some varieties of the Czechia region. The largest, southern, area comprises all varieties of the South Central group (except of a single variety of the Lower Hont region) and a few western varieties of the Nové Mesto Považie region. In the Czechia region, the variant is attested in the varieties of Vosoudov and Boskovice, as well as in Vymazal (1900).

(2) The variant <dʰ> occurs in a single contiguous area, in the north of Central Romani. This area consists of the overwhelming majority of varieties of the North Central group including the Plaščuno dialect and individual varieties of the Podpoľanie and Lower Hont regions (viz. Budča and Ipeľské Úľany). With regard to the North Central varieties, the variant is only sporadically attested in the Western Galicia, Northern Šariš, Northern Zemplín and Czechia regions.

(3) The variant <g> occurs in a single contiguous area, in some northern varieties of the historical Šariš and Zemplín counties and in some western varieties of the Galicia region. More specifically, this area comprises almost all varieties of the Western Galicia region, all varieties of the Northern Šariš region, most varieties of the Northern Zemplín region and a single adjacent variety of the Eastern Šariš region (viz. Stročin).

Geographical distribution of variants in neighbouring dialect groups

Three of the Central Romani variants are attested in the neighbouring dialect groups:

(1) The variant <d> is found in the neighbouring dialect groups to the north, west and south of Central Romani, viz. in Northeastern, Sinti, Dolenjski and Arli Romani.

(2) The variant <dʰ> occurs in the neighbouring dialect groups to the east and southeast of Central Romani, viz. in Transylvanian, Lovari and Gurbet Romani.

(3) The variant <g>, as a co-variant of <dʰ>, is attested in Transylvanian Romani, i.e. to the east of Central Romani.

Variant values

- 1 d
- 2 dʲ
- 3 dʒ
- 4 g

Diachronic explanation of variants

- (1) Retention. The variant <d> represents maintenance of the original voiced alveolar stop /d/ in the segment of the adverb ‘today’ that reflects the Proto-Romani etymon **-dives_* ‘day’ (< MIA and OIA *-divasa_* - ‘day’).
- (2) Innovation. The variant <dʲ> has developed through palatalization of the original voiced alveolar stop /d/. Palatalization may have been triggered by the following high front vowel /i/.
- (3) Innovation. The variant <dʒ>, including the subvariant /dʒ/, has developed through postalveolar affrication of the palatal variant /dʲ/.
- (4) Innovation. The variant <g> has developed through velarization of the original voiced alveolar stop /d/.

Attestation of forms

LQCR, RMS, some publications

Geographical distribution of variants in Central Romani

- (1) The variant <d> occurs in two discontinuous areas: a) in the south of Central Romani and b) in some varieties of the Czechia region. The largest, southern, area comprises all varieties of the South Central group (except of a single variety of the Lower Hont region) and a few varieties of the Nové Mesto Považie region. In the Czechia region, the variant is attested in the variety of Vosoudov and in Vymazal (1900).
- (2) The variant <dʲ> occurs in a single more or less contiguous area, in the northeastern periphery and in the west of Central Romani. This area consists of all varieties of the Central Galicia region and a single adjacent variety of the Western Galicia region (viz. Kulaszne), several (mostly eastern) varieties of the Eastern North Central subgroup, all varieties of the Litpov region, almost all varieties of the Abov and Turňa regions and a few varieties of other Middle North Central regions, the overwhelming majority of varieties of the Western North Central and Eastern Transitional subgroups, all varieties of the Middle and Western Transitional subgroups and individual adjacent varieties of the Podpoľanie and Lower Hont regions.

(3) The variant <dž> is attested in a single more or less contiguous area, in the northern periphery and in the east of Central Romani, with a concentration in the historical Spiš county and the Malopolska region. This area of concentration consists of all varieties of the Malopolska region, a single variety of the Western Galicia region (viz. Jasło), the overwhelming majority of varieties of the Middle North Central subgroup (absent in the Liptov region and more sporadically attested in the Turňa and Abov regions), some adjacent varieties of the transitional area (viz. Eastern and Western Horehronie, Northern and Western Gemer) and several (mostly western) varieties of the Eastern North Central subgroup. The variant is also attested in the northwestern periphery, namely in all varieties of the Upper Kysuce region.

(4) The variant <g> occurs in a single contiguous area consisting of a few adjacent varieties of the Western Galicia region.

Geographical distribution of variants in neighbouring dialect groups

Two of the Central Romani variants are attested in the neighbouring dialect groups:

(1) The variant <d> is found in the neighbouring dialect groups to the north, west and south of Central Romani, viz. in Northeastern, Sinti, Dolenjski and Arli Romani.

(2) The variant <dʰ> occurs in the neighbouring dialect groups to the east and southeast of Central Romani, viz. in Transylvanian, Lovari and Gurbet Romani.

Variant values

- 1 d
- 2 dʰ
- 3 g

Diachronic explanation of variants

(1) Retention. The variant <d> represents maintenance of the original voiced alveolar stop /d/ in the segment of the adverb ‘today’ that reflects the Proto-Romani etymon **_dives_* ‘day’ (< MIA and OIA *_divasa_* - ‘day’).

(2) Innovation. The variant <dʰ>, including its affricative subvariants /dʒ/ and /dʒʰ/, has developed through palatalization of the original voiced alveolar stop /d/. Palatalization may have been triggered by the following high front vowel /i/.

(3) Innovation. The variant <g> has developed through velarization of the original voiced alveolar stop /d/.

Attestation of forms

LQCR, RMS, some publications

Geographical distribution of variants in Central Romani

(1) The variant <d> occurs in two discontinuous areas: a) in the south of Central Romani and b) in some varieties of the Czechia region. The largest, southern, area comprises all varieties of the South Central group (except of a single variety of the Lower Hont region) and a few varieties of the Nové Mesto Považie region. In the Czechia region, the variant is attested in the variety of Vosoudov and in Vymazal (1900).

(2) The variant <dʰ> occurs in a single contiguous area, in the north of Central Romani. This area consists of the overwhelming majority of varieties of the North Central group including the Plaščuno dialect and individual varieties of the Podpoľanie and Lower Hont regions (viz. Budča and Ipeľské Úľany). With regard to the North Central varieties, the variant is only sporadically attested in the Western Galicia and Czechia regions.

(3) The variant <g> occurs in a single contiguous area consisting of a few adjacent varieties of the Western Galicia region.

Geographical distribution of variants in neighbouring dialect groups

Two of the Central Romani variants are attested in the neighbouring dialect groups:

(1) The variant <d> is found in the neighbouring dialect groups to the north, west and south of Central Romani, viz. in Northeastern, Sinti, Dolenjski and Arli Romani.

(2) The variant <d'> occurs in the neighbouring dialect groups to the east and southeast of Central Romani, viz. in Transylvanian, Lovari and Gurbet Romani.

Variant values

- | | |
|---|----|
| 1 | k |
| 2 | t̥ |
| 3 | t |
| 4 | c |

Diachronic explanation of variants

(1) Retention. The variant <k> represents the original initial velar phoneme of the Proto-Romani verb *_kin-*, which continued MIA *_kiṇ-* of the OIA verbal root *_krī-* ‘to buy’ (3sg *_krīṇāti-*; cf. CDIAL 3594).

(2) Innovation. The variant <t̥>, including its affricative subvariant /č/, has developed through palatalisation of the variant /k/.

(3) Innovation. The variant <t> has developed through the loss of palatalization of the variant /t̥/.

(4) Innovation. The variant <c> has developed through prealveolar affrication of the variant /k/.

Attestation of forms

LQCR, RMS, some publications

Geographical distribution of variants in Central Romani

(1) The variant <k> is attested in a single contiguous area, in the west and south of Central Romani. This area comprises the Plaščuno dialect, all varieties of the Western North Central and Middle and Western Transitional subgroups, almost all varieties of the Liptov region, a single adjacent variety of the Western Malopolska region (viz. Zakopane), the Pukanec variety and some other South Central varieties of the adjacent regions of Lower Hont, Žitný ostrov and Southern Záhorie. More to the south, the variant occurs in a single southern variety of the Pest region (viz. Páty) and in all varieties of the Southwestern South Central subgroup. Interestingly, the variant is also attested, as a co-variant, in a few western varieties of the Lower Nógrád region.

(2) The variant <t̥> occurs in a single contiguous area, in the northern and southeastern regions of the South Central group. This area consists of the overwhelming majority of varieties of the Northeastern and Northwestern South Central subgroups and all varieties of the Southeastern South Central subgroup.

(3) The variant <t> is attested in a single contiguous area, in some varieties of the Nógrád and Pest counties. This area comprises several varieties of the Lower Nógrád region and a single adjacent variety of the Pest region (viz. Domony).

(4) The variant <c> occurs in two discontinuous areas: a) in the east of Central Romani and b) in the variety of Dunajská Streda (Žitný ostrov). The main area of

occurrence consists of all varieties of the Northern and Eastern North Central subgroups, all varieties of the Middle North Central subgroup (except of most Liptov varieties), all varieties of the Eastern Transitional subgroup and all varieties of the Eastern Horehronie region.

Geographical distribution of variants in neighbouring dialect groups

Three of the Central Romani variants are attested in the neighbouring dialect groups:

(1) The variant <k> is found in most neighbouring dialect groups of Central Romani, viz. in Sinti and Northeastern Romani, as a co-variant of <t'>, in Lovari and Dolenjski Romani and, as a co-variant of <c>, in Transylvanian Lovari.

(2) The variant <t'> is attested in the neighbouring dialect groups to the east and south of Central Romani, viz. in Lovari, Gurbet, Arli and Dolenjski Romani.

(4) The variant <c> occurs in Transylvanian Romani, constituting a dialect continuum with the eastern varieties of Central Romani.

Variant values

- | | |
|---|----|
| 1 | k |
| 2 | t̥ |
| 3 | č |
| 4 | c |

Diachronic explanation of variants

(1) Retention. The variant <k> represents the original initial phoneme in this etymon, which can be reconstructed as **kiral_* ‘cheese’ for Proto-Romani (from OIA *_kilāṭa_* ‘inspissated milk’; cf. CDIAL 3181).

(2) Innovation. The variant <t̥> has developed through palatalisation of the variant /k/.

(3) Innovation. The variant <č> has developed through postalveolar affrication of the palatalized variant /t̥/.

(4) Innovation. The variant <c> has developed through prealveolar affrication of the variant /k/.

Attestation of forms

LQCR, partly RMS, some publications

Geographical distribution of variants in Central Romani

(1) The variant <k> is attested in two discontinuous areas: a) in the Plaščuno dialect and b) in the southwest of Central Romani including some South Central varieties of Slovakia. The latter area consists of almost all varieties of the Southwestern South Central subgroup and two western varieties of the Žitný ostrov region (viz. Podunajské Biskupice and Dunajská Lužná).

(2) The variant <t̥> occurs in a single contiguous area, in the southeast and north of South Central Romani and the transitional area. More specifically, this area comprises some varieties of the Eastern Transitional, most varieties of the Upper Tekov and Upper Hont regions, a single variety of the Western Transitional subgroup, most varieties of the Northeastern and Northwestern South Central subgroups and all varieties of the Southeastern South Central subgroup.

(3) The variant <č> is only attested in two adjacent varieties of the Northern Gemer region (viz. Rejdová and Slavošovce).

(4) The variant <c> is attested in a single contiguous area, in the north of Central Romani. This area comprises all varieties of the Eastern North Central subgroup and almost all varieties of the Northern, Middle and Western North Central subgroups.

Geographical distribution of variants in neighbouring dialect groups

Two of the Central Romani variants are attested in the neighbouring dialect groups:

(1) The variant <k> is found in the neighbouring dialect groups to the east, west and north of Central Romani, viz. in Lovari, Northeastern and Sinti Romani.

(3) The variant <č> occurs in the neighbouring dialect groups to the south of Central Romani, viz. in Arli and Dolenjski Romani.

Variant values

- 1 k
- 2 t̥

Diachronic explanation of variants

- (1) Retention. The variant <k> represents the original initial velar phoneme of the Proto-Romani etymon **_kirmo_* ‘worm’, which was borrowed from Persian *_kirm_*.
- (2) Innovation. The variant <t̥>, including its affricative subvariant /č/, has developed through palatalisation of the velar variant /k/.

Attestation of forms

LQCR, RMS, some publications

Geographical distribution of variants in Central Romani

- (1) The variant <k> occurs in two more or less discontinuous areas: a) in the Plaščuno dialect, b) in the north and c) southwest of Central Romani. The much larger, northern, area consists of almost all varieties of the North Central group. The smaller, southern, area comprises all varieties of the Southwestern South Central subgroup and a single variety of the Žitný ostrov region (viz. Podunajské Biskupice).
- (2) The variant <t̥> is attested in a single contiguous area, in the southwest of Slovakia and in the eastern varieties of Hungary. This area consists of all varieties of the Southeastern South Central subgroup and the overwhelming majority of varieties of the Northeastern and Northwestern South Central subgroups.

Geographical distribution of variants in neighbouring dialect groups

Both Central Romani variants are attested in the neighbouring dialect groups:

- (1) The variant <k> is found in the neighbouring dialect groups to the east, west and north of Central Romani, viz. in Lovari, Transylvanian, Northeastern and Sinti Romani.
- (2) The variant <t̥> occurs in the neighbouring dialect groups to the east and south of Central Romani, viz. in Lovari, Gurbet, Arli and Dolenjski Romani.

Variant values

- 1 kh
- 2 tʰ
- 3 čh

Diachronic explanation of variants

(1) Retention. The variant <kh> maintains the original Proto-Romani consonant value in the etymon *_khil_* which continues OIA *_ghr̥ta_* - via MIA *_ghida_* - ‘clarified butter, ghee’ (cf. Hindi *ghī*), and is thus a regular reflex of OIA and MIA /gh/.

(2) Innovation. The variant <tʰ> reflects palatalisation of the original velar /kh/, while occlusion is maintained.

(3) Innovation. The variant <čh> reflects palatalisation and postalveolar affrication of the original velar /kh/.

Attestation of forms

LQCR, RMS, some publications

Geographical distribution of variants in Central Romani

(1) The variant <kh> is attested in two discontinuous areas: a) in the Plaščuno dialect and b) in the northeastern periphery of Central Romani. The latter area comprises several Eastern North Central varieties of Slovakia (especially of the Northern Šariš, Northern and Eastern Zemplín regions) and all varieties of the Western Galicia region.

(2) The variant <tʰ> occurs sporadically in the North of Central Romani, with a concentration in southern Slovakia and in the Eastern Už region in Ukraine.

(3) The variant <čh> is attested in three discontinuous areas: a) in most varieties of the Central Galicia region, b) in a greater part of Slovakia with an overlap to the neighbouring countries and c) in the Southeastern South Central variety of Paks (Tolna). The largest area (b) consists of several varieties of Slovakia, some western varieties of the Eastern Už region, all varieties of the Malopolska region and a single Lower Nógrád variety of Hungary (viz. Nógrádmárcal).

Geographical distribution of variants in neighbouring dialect groups

Two of the Central Romani variants are attested in the neighbouring dialect groups:

(1) The variant <kh> is found in Sinti Romani, i.e. to the west and northwest of Central Romani.

(3) The variant <čh> occurs in the neighbouring dialect groups to the east and southeast of Central Romani, viz. in Lovari and Gurbet Romani.

Variant values

- 1 kh
- 2 tʰ
- 3 čh

Diachronic explanation of variants

- (1) Retention. The variant <kh> maintains the original Proto-Romani consonant value in this noun, which seems to have been borrowed from Georgian _khliavi_ (Boretzky - Igla 1994: 143).
- (2) Innovation. The variant <tʰ> reflects palatalisation of the original velar /kh/, while occlusion is maintained.
- (3) Innovation. The variant <čh> reflects palatalisation and postalveolar affrication of the original velar /kh/.

Attestation of forms

LQCR, RMS, some publications

Geographical distribution of variants in Central Romani

- (1) The variant <kh> is attested in a single contiguous area, in the northeast of Slovakia with an overlap to Eastern Už and to the Galicia region of Poland. This area comprises almost all varieties of the Western Galicia region, the northern varieties of the Eastern North Central subgroup (especially Northern and Eastern Šariš, and Northern and Eastern Zemplín), some eastern varieties of the Western Šariš region and individual adjacent varieties of the Eastern Už and Western Uh regions (viz. Chudl’ovo and Kolibabovce).
- (2) The variant <tʰ> occurs in four small discontinuous areas: a) in the Eastern Už region, b) in the south of the historical Gemer county, c) in a single variety of the Abov region and d) in the historical Trenčín county. The first area consists of two adjacent varieties of the Eastern Už region (viz. Perečyn and Sereďnje). The second area comprises most varieties of the Eastern and Southern Gemer regions. The third area is interestingly represented by a single variety of the Abov region, viz. Veľká Ida. Finally, the fourth area is composed of the varieties of the Púchov Považie region.
- (3) The variant <čh> is more or less sporadically attested in a single contiguous area, in the north of Central Romani. This area comprises almost all varieties of the Central Galicia and Eastern Malopolska regions, some southern varieties of the Eastern North Central subgroup, the overwhelming majority of varieties of the Middle North Central subgroup, most varieties of the Western North Central subgroup and a single adjacent variety of the Southern Záhorie region (viz. Jablonové), and several northern varieties of the Eastern Transitional subgroup.

Geographical distribution of variants in neighbouring dialect groups

(1) Only the Central Romani variant <kh> is attested in the neighbouring dialect groups, being found in Transylvanian and Northeastern Romani, constituting a dialect continuum with the eastern peripheral Central varieties.

Comments on feature

including in verbs derived from the adjective

Variant values

- 1 kh
- 2 tʰ
- 3 th

Diachronic explanation of variants

(1) Retention. The variant <kh> maintains the original Proto-Romani consonant value in the etymon _khino_, which continues the OIA and MIA respective perfective participles _kšīna_ - and _khīna_ - ‘worn away, destroyed, exhausted’, and is thus a regular reflex of MIA /kh/ (< OIA /kʃ/).

(2) Innovation. The variant <tʰ> has developed through palatalisation of the original velar /kh/, while occlusion is maintained.

(3) Innovation. The variant <th> has developed through depalatalisation of the variant <tʰ> and its shift into an alveo-dental stop.

Attestation of forms

LQCR, RMS, some publications

Geographical distribution of variants in Central Romani

(1) The variant <kh> is attested in three discontinuous areas: a) in the Plaščuno dialect, b) more or less sporadically in the west of Central Romani and c) rarely in the eastern periphery of Central Romani. The much larger, western, area consists of some southern and western varieties of the Western North Central subgroup (viz. certain varieties of the Northern Záhorie, Nové Mesto and Trenčín Považie and Czechia regions), almost all Western Transitional varieties, all varieties of the Southwestern South Central subgroup, a few adjacent varieties of the Žitný ostrov region (viz. Podunajské Biskupice and Dunajská Lužná) and a single adjacent variety of the Pest region (viz. Páty). The smaller, eastern, area comprises the eastern varieties of the Eastern Už region (viz. Chudl’ovo and Serednje) and a few varieties of the Eastern Zemplín region (viz. Klenová and Ľubiša).

(2) The variant <tʰ> occurs sporadically in a single contiguous area, in the southwest of Slovakia with an overlap to the Pest county. This area consists of almost all varieties of the Upper Tekov region and some varieties of the Upper Hont region, a few adjacent varieties of the Northeastern South Central subgroup (viz. Budča, Kosihovce, and Ipeľské Úľany) and several varieties of the Northwestern South Central subgroup, viz. the Pukanec variety, almost all varieties of the Northern

Podunajsko region, a few varieties of the Eastern and Middle Podunajsko regions and a single variety of the Pest region (viz. Csobánka).

(3) The variant <th> is attested in a single contiguous area, in the southeastern periphery of Central Romani. This area comprises almost all varieties of the Lower Nógrád region, a single variety of the Pest region (viz. Tinnye) and all varieties of the Southeastern South Central subgroup.

Interestingly, all three variants are attested in the Pest region.

Geographical distribution of variants in neighbouring dialect groups

Two of the Central Romani variants are attested in the neighbouring dialect groups:

(1) The variant <kh> is found in most of the neighbouring dialect groups, viz. in Lovari, Transylvanian, Northeastern and Sinti Romani.

(2) The variant <ʔh> occurs in Gurbet Romani, i.e. to the southeast of Central Romani.

Variant values

- 1 g
- 2 dʰ
- 3 d

Diachronic explanation of variants

- (1) Retention. The variant <g> maintains the original, Proto-Romani initial phoneme in this etymon, which developed from OIA *_gītikā_* - ‘song’.
- (2) Innovation. The variant <dʰ>, including its subvariant /dž/, reflects palatalization of the variant /g/.
- (3) Innovation. The variant <d> reflects a change in place of articulation from velar /g/ to alveolar /d/.

Attestation of forms

LQCR, RMS, some publications

Geographical distribution of variants in Central Romani

- (1) The variant /g/ occurs in two discontinuous areas. The much larger, northern, area consists of most varieties of the North Central group and a few adjacent South Central varieties of Southern Záhorie. The second area, in the southwestern periphery of Central Romani, consists of a few varieties of Prekmurje.
- (2) The variant /dʰ/ occurs in a single contiguous area, in the south of Central Romani. More specifically, the area comprises almost all varieties of the South Central group, all varieties of the Upper Tekov and Upper Hont transitional regions, all varieties of the Eastern Transitional subgroup and several (more or less) adjacent North Central varieties in the regions of Turiec, Lower and Upper Spiš, Turňa and Abov.
- (3) The variant /d/ is attested in a few North Central varieties of the historical Spiš county, viz. in Štrba and Lučivná (Western Spiš) and in Levoča (Lower Spiš). Interestingly, the Western Spiš and Lower Spiš varieties are not contiguous.

Geographical distribution of variants in neighbouring dialect groups

Two of the Central Romani variants are attested in the neighbouring dialect groups:

- (1) The variant <g> is found in the neighbouring dialect groups to the east and north of Central Romani, viz. in Lovari, Transylvanian, Sinti and Northeastern Romani.
- (2) The variant <dʰ> occurs in the neighbouring dialect groups to the south of Central Romani, viz. in Gurbet, Arli and Dolenjski Romani.

Both variants, <g> and <dʰ>, are attested in Lovari Romani.

Variant values

- 1 g
- 2 dʰ

Diachronic explanation of variants

(1) The variant <g> maintains the original initial velar phoneme of the Proto-Romani verb **_gen-* ‘to count’, which developed from MIA and OIA *_gaṇ-* ‘to count’ (3sg *_gaṇayati*; cf. CDIAL 3993).

(2) The variant <dʰ> has developed through palatalization of the velar variant /g/.

Attestation of forms

LQCR, RMS, some publications

Geographical distribution of variants in Central Romani

(1) The variant <g> is almost general in Central Romani. The variant is only absent in the Versend variety (Baranya) and unattested in individual varieties of several other dialect regions.

(2) The variant <dʰ> occurs only in the Southeastern South Central variety of Versend (Baranya).

Geographical distribution of variants in neighbouring dialect groups

Both Central Romani variants are attested in the neighbouring dialect groups:

(1) The variant <g> is found in almost all neighbouring dialect groups of Central Romani, viz. in Sinti, Northeastern, Transylvanian, Lovari and Dolenjski Romani.

(2) The variant <dʰ> is found in the neighbouring dialect groups to the east and southeast of Central Romani, viz. in Lovari and Gurbet Romani.