

Feature 1.5.4 Reflexes of [bn] in _khabni_ ‘pregnant’ [Map ID 182]

Comments on feature

including in verbs meaning ‘to make pregnant’ and ‘to get pregnant’

Variant values

- | | |
|---|----|
| 1 | bn |
| 2 | mn |

Diachronic explanation of variants

(1) Retention. The variant <bn> maintains the original Proto-Romani medial consonant cluster /bn/ in the etymon _khabni_, developed via older *_ghabni_ from MIA _gabbhiṇī_ - and OIA _garbhiṇī_ - ‘having an embryo’.

(2) Innovation. The variant <mn> has developed through a partial regressive assimilation of the original consonant cluster /bn/, which has led to the change of the labial stop into the labial nasal.

Attestation of forms

LQCR, no RMS data, some publications

Geographical distribution of variants in Central Romani

(1) The variant <bn> is more or less sporadically attested in two discontinuous areas: a) in the north of Central Romani and b) in the Tolna county. The main area of occurrence comprises some eastern varieties of the Northern North Central subgroup, a few northwestern varieties of the Eastern North Central subgroup, several varieties of the Middle North Central subgroup, almost all varieties of the Western North Central subgroup and almost all transitional varieties. More to the south, the variant occurs in all varieties of the Podpoľanie, Lower Hont, Northern Podunajsko and Southern Záhorie regions, in the Pukanec variety and in some varieties of the Upper Novohrad and Malohont regions. The southern area is represented by the Paks variety (Tolna).

(2) The variant <mn> is attested in a single contiguous area, in the south of Central Romani. This area comprises several varieties of the Malohont, Upper Novohrad and Lower Nógrád regions, almost all varieties of the Eastern and Middle Podunajsko, Žitný ostrov and Pest regions, all varieties of the Southwestern South Central subgroup and the Versend variety (Baranya).

Geographical distribution of variants in neighbouring dialect groups

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

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

(2) The variant <mn> occurs in some neighbouring dialect groups to the east and south of Central Romani, viz. in Lovari and Arli Romani.

Feature 1.5.5 Reflexes of [bn] in <i>_lubni_</i> ‘whore’ [Map ID 183]
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Comments on feature

including in the meaning ‘woman’

Variant values

- | | |
|---|----|
| 1 | bn |
| 2 | mn |

Diachronic explanation of variants

(1) Retention. The variant <bn> maintains the original Proto-Romani form of the lexeme **_lubni_*, which seems to contain the OIA verbal root *_lubh_* - ‘to be desirous’ (cf. OIA *_lubhyati_*, MIA *_lubbhadi_* ‘is eager, desirous’) and a feminine derivation suffix *-_ni_*. Cf. CDIAL 11086.

(2) Innovation. The variant <mn> has developed by regressive assimilation of the original consonant cluster *-_bn_* - into a nasal cluster *-_mn_* -.

Attestation of forms

LQCR, no RMS data, some publications

Geographical distribution of variants in Central Romani

(1) The variant <bn> is attested throughout the whole Central area. The variant is unattested in the Czechia region, and absent in the Southwestern South Central subgroup including a few varieties of the Žitný ostrov region and in the Eastern Malopolska region.

(2) The variant <mn> occurs in two discontinuous areas: a) in the east of the Malopolska region of Poland and b) in the southwest of Central Romani. The smaller, northern, area consists of most varieties of the Eastern Malopolska region. The southwestern area comprises all varieties of the Southwestern South Central subgroup and a few varieties of the Žitný ostrov region, viz. Dunajská Streda and Podunajské Biskupice.

Geographical distribution of variants in neighbouring dialect groups

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

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

(2) The variant <mn>, as a co-variant of <bn>, occurs in Sinti Romani, i.e. to the west and northwest of Central Romani.

Variant values

- | | |
|---|-----|
| 1 | ndr |
| 2 | r |

Diachronic explanation of variants

(1) Retention. The variant <ndr> has developed from Proto-Romani */nr/ by excrescence of /d/, a homorganic stop, within the original consonant cluster. The Proto-Romani consonant cluster */nr/ was a reflex of OIA and MIA /ṇḍ/ as in OIA _āṇḍa_ - and MIA _aṇḍa_ - ‘egg’ (cf. CDIAL 1111), which is the etymon of the Romani noun. We code this variant as a relative conservatism, with regard to the other variants.

(2) Innovation. The variant <r> has developed from Proto-Romani */nr/ by elision of the nasal of the original consonant cluster, of which only the rhotic phoneme survives.

Attestation of forms

LQCR, RMS, some publications

Geographical distribution of variants in Central Romani

(1) The variant <ndr> is attested in a single contiguous area, in the east of Central Romani. This area comprises all varieties of the Northern and Eastern North Central subgroups, almost all varieties of the Middle North Central subgroup, several varieties of the Eastern Transitional subgroup and all varieties of the Eastern Horehronie region.

(2) The variant <r> occurs in three discontinuous areas: a) in the Plaščuno dialect, b) in Czechia and in the west of Slovakia and c) sporadically in the southeastern periphery of Central Romani. The much larger, western, area consists of all varieties of the Western North Central and Western Transitional subgroups, almost all varieties of the adjacent Liptov region, the overwhelming majority of varieties of the Middle Transitional subgroup (absent only in Eastern Horehronie) and several varieties of the Northwestern South Central subgroup. The variant is also sporadically attested in the southeastern periphery of Central Romani, viz. in a few varieties of the Lower Nógrád region, in the easternmost variety of Pest (viz. Domony) and in all varieties of the Southeastern South Central subgroup.

Geographical distribution of variants in neighbouring dialect groups

(2) Only the Central Romani variant <r> is attested in the neighbouring dialect groups, being found in most of these groups, viz. in Lovari, Sinti, Dolenjski and Arli Romani.

Variant values

- | | |
|---|-----|
| 1 | ndr |
| 2 | r |

Diachronic explanation of variants

(1) Retention. The variant <ndr> has developed from Proto-Romani */nr/ by excrescence of /d/, a homorganic stop, within the original consonant cluster. The Proto-Romani consonant cluster */nr/ was a reflex of OIA and MIA /nd/ as in _maṇḍa_ - ‘scum, cream, a sort of pastry, etc.’ (cf. CDIAL 9735), which is the etymon of the Romani noun. We code this variant as a relative conservatism, with regard to the other variants.

(2) Innovation. The variant <r> has developed from Proto-Romani */nr/ by elision of the nasal of the original consonant cluster, of which only the rhotic phoneme survives.

Attestation of forms

LQCR, RMS, some publications

Geographical distribution of variants in Central Romani

(1) The variant <ndr> occurs in a single contiguous area, in the northeastern periphery of Central Romani. This area consists of all varieties of the Central and Western Galicia and Northern Šariš regions, some varieties of the Northern Zemplín region and a few eastern varieties of the Eastern Zemplín region.

(2) The variant <r> is almost general in Central Romani. The variant is only absent in the western regions of the Northern North Central subgroup, and sporadically attested in the northern and northeastern regions of the Eastern North Central subgroup.

Geographical distribution of variants in neighbouring dialect groups

(2) Only the Central Romani variant <r> is attested in the neighbouring dialect groups, being found to the north, west and south of Central Romani, viz. in Northeastern, Sinti, Dolenjski and Arli Romani.

Variant values

- | | |
|---|-----|
| 1 | ndr |
| 2 | r |

Diachronic explanation of variants

(1) Retention. The variant <ndr> has developed from Proto-Romani */nɾ/ by excrescence of /d/, a homorganic stop, within the original consonant cluster. Similar 1sg possessive pronominal forms with a retroflex consonant occur in some New Indo-Aryan languages as well, cf. e.g. Lahndā _maḍdā_ where the retroflex stop /ɖ/ is even preceded by a nasalized vowel /ĩ/ (cf. CDIAL 9691). We code this variant as a relative coservativism, with regard to the other variants.

(2) Innovation. The variant <r> has developed from Proto-Romani */nɾ/ by elision of the nasal of the original consonant cluster, of which only the rhotic phoneme survives.

Attestation of forms

LQCR, RMS, some publications

Geographical distribution of variants in Central Romani

(1) The variant <ndr> is sporadically attested in the northeastern periphery of Central Romani. More specifically, the variant occurs in all varieties of the Central Galicia region and in almost all varieties of the Western Galicia region, in most varieties of the Northern Šariš region and in a few varieties of the Northern and Eastern Zemplín regions.

(2) The variant <r> is almost general in Central Romani. The variant is only sporadically attested in the Galicia region, and absent in a few varieties in the northeast of Slovakia, viz. in individual varieties of the Northern Šariš and Northern and Eastern Zemplín.

Geographical distribution of variants in neighbouring dialect groups

(2) Only the Central Romani variant <r> is attested in the neighbouring dialect groups, being found in almost all of these groups, except of Gurbet Romani.

Comments on feature

including in derivations such as ‘barefoot’

Variant values

- | | |
|---|-----|
| 1 | ndr |
| 2 | r |

Diachronic explanation of variants

(1) Retention. The variant <ndr> has developed from Proto-Romani */nr/ by excrescence of /d/, a homorganic stop, within the original consonant cluster. The Proto-Romani consonant cluster */nr/ was a reflex of OIA and MIA /ṇḍ/ as in _piṇḍa_ - ‘calf of leg’ (cf. CDIAL 8168), which is the etymon of the Romani noun. We code this variant as a relative conservatism, with regard to the other variants.

(2) The variant <r> has developed from Proto-Romani */nr/ by elision of the nasal of the original consonant cluster, of which only the rhotic phoneme survives.

Attestation of forms

LQCR, RMS, some publications

Geographical distribution of variants in Central Romani

(1) The variant <ndr> is attested in a single contiguous area, in the east of Central Romani. This area consists of almost all varieties of the Northern North Central subgroup, all varieties of the Eastern North Central subgroup, almost all varieties of the Middle North Central and Eastern Transitional subgroups and a single adjacent variety of the Eastern Horehronie region.

(2) The variant <r> is attested in two discontinuous areas: a) in the Plaščuno dialect and b) in the south and west of the Central area. The latter area consists of several varieties of the Western North Central subgroup, all varieties of the Western Transitional subgroup, the western and southern varieties of the Middle Transitional subgroup, a few western varieties of the Eastern Transitional subgroup and all varieties of the South Central group.

Geographical distribution of variants in neighbouring dialect groups

(2) Only the Central Romani variant <r> is attested in the neighbouring dialect groups, being found to the north, west and south of Central Romani, viz. in Northeastern, Sinti, Dolenjski and Arli Romani.

Variant values

- | | |
|---|----|
| 1 | rl |
| 2 | ll |
| 3 | l |

Diachronic explanation of variants

- (1) Retention. The variant <rl> maintains the original consonant cluster */rl/ in _kerlo_ ‘throat’ of unknown etymology (but from South Slavic _grlo_ ‘throat’ according to Boretzky and Igla 1994: 151).
- (2) Innovation. The variant <ll> reflects regressive assimilation of /rl/, which led to gemination in _kello_. In respective Central Romani dialects, the geminate may be preserved due to contact with Hungarian, in which such geminated laterals are common.
- (3) Innovation. The variant <l> represents a subsequent simplification of the geminate, leading to the form _kelo_ in Central Romani, which may have been triggered by contact with Slavic languages (or with German), in which no geminated /l/ normally occurs.

Attestation of forms

LQCR, RMS, some publications

Geographical distribution of variants in Central Romani

- (1) The variant <rl> is attested in three discontinuous areas: a) in the Plaščuno dialect, b) in Slovenia and c) sporadically in the north of Central Romani. The smaller, southern, area consists of all varieties of the Prekmurje region. The much larger, northern, area comprises some varieties of the Northern North Central subgroup (especially in Central Galicia), most varieties of the Eastern and Middle North Central subgroups, several varieties of the Western North Central subgroup, almost all varieties of the Eastern Transitional subgroup and the overwhelming majority of the Middle Transitional varieties.
- (2) The variant <ll> occurs in a single contiguous area, in the southwest of Slovakia and in Hungary. This area consists of the overwhelming majority of varieties of Hungary plus some Lower Nógrád varieties of Slovakia and a single adjacent variety of the Lower Hont region (viz. Kosihoec), all varieties of the Žitný ostrov and Middle Podunajsko regions and some varieties of the Eastern Podunajsko region.
- (3) The variant <l> is attested in two discontinuous areas: a) in the northern periphery of South Central Romani and b) in Austria. The northern area consists of a single variety of the Malohont region, some varieties of the Upper Novohrad and Lower Hont regions and all varieties of the Northern Podunajsko region. The second area comprises a single variety of the Burgenland region (viz. Oberwart).

Geographical distribution of variants in neighbouring dialect groups

(1) Only the Central Romani variant <rl> is attested in the neighbouring dialect groups, being found in all of these groups, viz. in Lovari, Transylvanian, Northeastern, Sinti, Dolenjski, Arli and Gurbet Romani.

Variant values

- | | |
|---|-----|
| 1 | št |
| 2 | štʰ |
| 3 | š |

Diachronic explanation of variants

(1) Retention. The variant <št> represents maintenance of the consonant cluster /št/ and of quality of its alveodental segment in the impossibility modal _našti_, which continues the Proto-Romani negated possibility modal *_na ašti_ ‘cannot, not able’ (cf. Matras 2002: 163). Alternatively, _našti_ may have developed through fusion of a construction that involved a verb negator _na_, the Iranian-derived possibility modal _šaj_ and a non-factual complementizer _te_, i.e. *_na šaj te_ (Boretzky and Igla 1994: 196).

(2) Innovation. The variant <štʰ>, including its subvariants /šč/ and /ść/, reflects palatalization of the alveodental stop in the consonant cluster /št/, leading to forms of the modal _naštʰi(g)_, _našči(g)_ or _naśći(g)_ in respective dialects.

(3) Innovation. The variant <š>, including its subvariant /ś/, has developed through complete assimilation of the consonant cluster /št/ via the palatal variant /štʰ/ (/šč/), leading to a form of the modal _naši(g)_ in respective dialects.

Attestation of forms

LQCR, RMS, some publications

Geographical distribution of variants in Central Romani

(1) The variant <št> occurs in three discontinuous areas: a) in the variety of Krásnohorské Podhradie (Eastern Gemer), b) in the variety of Dobšiná (Northern Gemer) and c) in the south of Central Romani. This southern area comprises the overwhelming majority of varieties of the Northeastern and Northwestern South Central subgroups, all varieties of the Southwestern South Central subgroup and the Paks variety (Tolna).

(2) The variant <štʰ> is attested in a single contiguous area, in the north of Central Romani. This area consists of almost all varieties of the North Central group (absent only in Eastern Už and Western Uh) and several adjacent varieties of the northern regions of the South Central group. Interestingly, the variant is also attested in the south of the Lower Nógrád region (viz. Buják) which is not contiguous with other varieties of the same Northeastern South Central subgroup.

(3) The variant <š> occurs in a single contiguous area, in the east of Central Romani, with a concentration in the historical Ung county. The concentration comprises all varieties of the Eastern Už and Western Uh regions and some adjacent varieties of the Eastern and Southern Zemplín regions. Additionally, the variant is sporadically

attested in other regions of the Eastern North Central subgroup, in a few varieties of the Eastern Malopolska region and in several varieties of the Middle North Central subgroup (absent only in Western Spiš and Liptov).

Geographical distribution of variants in neighbouring dialect groups

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

- (1) The variant <št> is found in all neighbouring dialect groups of Central Romani.
- (2) The variant <št'>, as a co-variant of <št>, occurs in the neighbouring dialect groups to the east of Central Romani, viz. in Transylvanian and Lovari Romani.