

Feature 1.7.1 Reflexes of final [s] in the nominative singular of xenoclitic masculines
[Map ID 349]

Variant values

- 1 s
- 2 zero

Diachronic explanation of variants

- (1) Retention. The variant <s> reflects maintenance of the original final sibilant in the Greek-derived nominative singular masculine ending of xenoclitic (athematic) nouns - _os_.
- (2) Innovation. The variant <zero> has developed through apocope of the final sibilant, leading to the nominative singular masculine ending of xenoclitic (athematic) nouns - _o_.

Attestation of forms

LQCR, RMS, some publications

Geographical distribution of variants in Central Romani

- (1) The variant <s> is attested in a single contiguous area, in the north of Central Romani. This area comprises the Plaščuno variety, all varieties of the Northern, Eastern, Middle and Western North Central subgroups and a single variety of the Western Horehronie region (viz. Slovenská Ľupča).
- (2) The variant <zero> occurs in a single contiguous area, in the south of Central Romani. This area consists of all varieties of the South Central group, all varieties of the transitional subgroups (except of the Slovenská Ľupča variety) and individual adjacent varieties of the Lower Spiš and Turiec regions (viz. Hnilec and Turček).

Geographical distribution of variants in neighbouring dialect groups

- (2) Only the Central Romani variant <zero> 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 | s |
| 2 | zero |

Diachronic explanation of variants

(1) Retention. The variant <s>, including its subvariant /š/, reflects maintenance of the original final sibilant in the accusative singular ending of oikoclitic masculine nouns -_es_, which has developed from the MIA dative-genitive singular ending of masculine and neuter thematic nouns -_assa_ (< OIA -_asya_).

(2) Innovation. The variant <zero> has developed through apocope of the final sibilant, leading to the accusative singular ending of oikoclitic masculine nouns -_e_. In certain dialects, an additional ending -_t_ has secondarily been developed in the accusative singular masculine ending -_et_ by analogy with the accusative form of the 2nd singular person pronoun _tut_.

Attestation of forms

LQCR, RMS, some publications

Geographical distribution of variants in Central Romani

(1) The variant <s> is attested in a single contiguous area, in the north of Central Romani. This area consists of all varieties of the North Central group (including the Plaščuno dialect), except of several Eastern Transitional and all Western Transitional varieties. The variant is also attested in a few adjacent varieties of the Lower Hont region.

(2) The variant <zero> occurs in a single contiguous area, in the south of Central Romani. This area comprises all varieties of the South Central group, most (mainly western and southern) varieties of the Eastern Transitional subgroup and all varieties of the Western Transitional subgroup.

Geographical distribution of variants in neighbouring dialect groups

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

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

(2) The variant <zero> occurs in the neighbouring dialect groups to the south of Central Romani, viz. in Dolenjski, Arli and, as a co-variant of <s>, in Gurbet Romani. These dialect groups constitute a dialect continuum with the southern varieties of Central Romani.

Feature 1.7.3 Reflexes of final [s] in the accusative singular of masculine 3rd person pronoun [Map ID 350]

Variant values

- 1 s
- 2 zero

Diachronic explanation of variants

(1) Retention. The variant <s> reflects maintenance of the original final sibilant in the accusative singular form of the masculine 3rd person pronoun *_les_*. The ending *-_es_* is etymologically identical to the accusative singular ending of oikoclitic masculine nouns *-_es_* (< MIA *-_assa_* < OIA *-_asya_*).

(2) Innovation. The variant <zero> has developed through apocope of the final sibilant, leading to the accusative singular form of the masculine 3rd person pronoun *_le_*. In certain dialects, an additional ending *-_t_* has secondarily been developed in the form *_let_* by analogy with the accusative form of the 2nd singular person pronoun *_tut_*.

Attestation of forms

LQCR, RMS, some publications

Geographical distribution of variants in Central Romani

(1) The variant <s> is attested in a single contiguous area, in the north of Central Romani. This area consists of all varieties of the North Central group (including the Plaščuno dialect), except of several Eastern Transitional, a single Middle Transitional (viz. Drienovo) and all Western Transitional varieties. The variant is also attested in a few adjacent varieties of the Lower Hont region.

(2) The variant <zero> occurs in a single contiguous area, in the south of Central Romani. This area comprises almost all varieties of the South Central group, almost all varieties of the Eastern Transitional subgroup, a single adjacent variety of the Upper Hont region (viz. Drienovo) and all varieties of the Western Transitional subgroup.

Both variants, <s> and <zero>, co-occur in several northern and eastern varieties of the Eastern Transitional subgroup. The variant <s> is more in number than the variant <zero> in most of these varieties.

Geographical distribution of variants in neighbouring dialect groups

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

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

(2) The variant <zero> occurs in the neighbouring dialect groups to the south of Central Romani, viz. in Dolenjski, Arli and, as a co-variant of <s>, in Gurbet Romani. These dialect groups constitute a dialect continuum with the southern varieties of Central Romani.

Feature 1.7.4 Reflexes of final [s] in the accusative of the (singular) reflexive _pes_
[Map ID 351]

Variant values

- 1 s
- 2 zero

Diachronic explanation of variants

(1) Retention. The variant <s> reflects maintenance of the original final sibilant in the accusative form of the reflexive _pes_. The accusative reflexive ending -_es_ is etymologically identical to the accusative singular ending of oikoclitic masculine nouns -_es_ (< MIA -_assa_, OIA -_asya_).

(2) Innovation. The variant <zero> has developed through apocope of the final sibilant, leading to the accusative form of the reflexive _pe_. In certain dialects, an additional ending -_t_ has secondarily been developed in the reflexive pronoun _pet_ by analogy with the accusative form of the 2nd singular person pronoun _tut_.

Attestation of forms

LQCR, RMS, some publications

Geographical distribution of variants in Central Romani

(1) The variant <s> is attested in three discontinuous areas: a) in the north of Central Romani and, as a major variant, b) in the Plaščuno dialect and c) in a single variety of the Lower Nógrád region (viz. Nógrádmárcal). The main, northern, area consists of almost all varieties of the North Central group, except of some southern varieties of the Eastern Transitional subgroup and all varieties of the Western Transitional subgroup. Interestingly, the variant is also attested in a single variety of the South Central subgroup which is not contiguous with the North central varieties, viz. the variety of Nógrádmárcal (Lower Nógrád).

(2) The variant <zero> occurs in three discontinuous areas: a) in the south of Central Romani and, as a co-variant, b) in the Plaščuno dialect and c) in a single variety of the Eastern Zemplín region (viz. Klenová). The main, southern, area comprises all varieties of the South Central group, the overwhelming majority of varieties of the Eastern Transitional subgroup and a single adjacent variety of the Lower Spiš region (viz. Hnilec), a few northern varieties of the Upper Tekov region and all varieties of the Western Transitional subgroup. Interestingly, the variant is also attested in a single variety of the remote region of Eastern Zemplín, viz. in the Klenová variety.

Geographical distribution of variants in neighbouring dialect groups

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

(1) The variant <s> is found in almost all neighbouring dialect groups of Central Romani. It is the only attested variant in Sinti, Northeastern and Transylvanian Romani, and it is the minor variant in the Lovari, Gurbet and Arli Romani.

(2) The variant <zero> occurs in the neighbouring dialect groups to the east and south of Central Romani. It is the only attested variant in Dolenjski Romani, and it is dominant in Lovari, Gurbet and Arli Romani. These dialect groups constitute a dialect continuum with the southern varieties of Central Romani.

Variant values

- | | |
|---|------|
| 1 | s |
| 2 | zero |

Diachronic explanation of variants

(1) Retention. The variant <s> reflects maintenance of the original final sibilant in the adverbial marker *-es*. The adverbial ending *-es* is etymologically identical to the accusative singular ending of oikoclitic masculine nouns *-es* (< MIA *-assa*, OIA *-asya*).

(2) Innovation. The variant <zero> has developed through apocope of the final sibilant, leading to the adverbial marker *-e*.

Attestation of forms

LQCR, RMS, some publications

Geographical distribution of variants in Central Romani

(1) The variant <s> is attested in a single contiguous area, in the north of Central Romani. This area comprises all varieties of the North Central group (including the Plaščuno dialect), except of the Eastern and Western Transitional varieties, all varieties of the Upper Tekov region and a few southern varieties of the Upper Hont region.

(2) The variant <zero> occurs in a single contiguous area, in the south of Central Romani. This area consists of all varieties of the South Central group, the Eastern Transitional varieties and a single variety of the Lower Spiš region (viz. Hnilec), all varieties of the Upper Tekov and a few southern varieties of the Upper Hont region and all Western Transitional varieties.

Geographical distribution of variants in neighbouring dialect groups

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

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

(2) The variant <zero> occurs in the neighbouring dialect groups to the south of Central Romani, viz. in Gurbet, Arli and Dolenjski Romani. These dialect groups constitute a dialect continuum with the southern varieties of Central Romani.

Variant values

- | | |
|---|------|
| 1 | s |
| 2 | zero |

Diachronic explanation of variants

(1) Retention. The variant <s>, including its subvariant /š/, reflects maintenance of the original final sibilant in the etymon _dives_ ‘day’, which continues MIA and OIA _divasa_ - ‘day’.

(2) Innovation. The variant <zero> has developed through apocope of the final sibilant, leading to the forms _dive_ or _dí_ ‘day’ in respective Central Romani dialects.

Attestation of forms

LQCR, RMS, some publications

Geographical distribution of variants in Central Romani

(1) The variant <s> is attested in two discontinuous areas: a) in the Plaščuno dialect and b) in the north of Central Romani. The main, northern, area consists of all varieties of the Northern, Eastern and Middle North Central subgroups, almost all varieties of the Western North Central and Eastern Transitional subgroups and the overwhelming majority of the Middle Transitional varieties (absent in Upper Tekov).

(2) The variant <zero> occurs in a single contiguous area, in the south of Central Romani. This area comprises all varieties of the South Central group, a single adjacent variety of the Eastern Transitional subgroup (viz. Hostišovce), several western varieties of the Middle Transitional subgroup and a single adjacent variety of the Turiec region (viz. Turček), and all Western Transitional varieties

Geographical distribution of variants in neighbouring dialect groups

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

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

(2) The variant <zero> occurs in Arli and Dolenjski Romani, constituting a dialect continuum with the southern varieties of Central Romani.

Variant values

- | | |
|---|------|
| 1 | s |
| 2 | zero |

Diachronic explanation of variants

(1) Retention. The variant <s> reflects maintenance of the original final sibilant in the adverbial form that has developed from a phrase consisting of a demonstrative followed by the nominal etymon *-dives_* ‘day’ (< MIA and OIA *-divasa_* - ‘day’).

(2) Innovation. The variant <zero> has developed through apocope of the final sibilant, leading to the adverbial forms *-_dive_* or *-_dí_* (e.g. *-_adádive_*, *-_adádi_* ‘today’ etc.) in respective Central Romani dialects.

Attestation of forms

LQCR, RMS, some publications

Geographical distribution of variants in Central Romani

(1) The variant <s> is attested in a single contiguous area, in the north of Central Romani. This area consists of almost all varieties of the Northern North Central subgroup, most (mainly northern) varieties of the Eastern North Central subgroup, the overwhelming majority of varieties of the Middle North Central subgroup, almost all Western North Central varieties, a few western varieties of the Eastern Transitional subgroup and most varieties of the Middle Transitional subgroup (absent in Upper Tekov).

(2) The variant <zero> occurs in a single contiguous area, in the south of Central Romani, and sporadically in the northeast of Central Romani. This area comprises a few varieties of the Galicia region, most (mainly southern) varieties of the Eastern North Central subgroup, several eastern and southern varieties of the Middle North Central subgroup, the major part of the transitional varieties (absent in Western Horehronie) and a single adjacent variety of the Turiec region (viz. Turček) and all varieties of the South Central group.

Geographical distribution of variants in neighbouring dialect groups

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

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

(2) The variant <none> occurs in the neighbouring dialect groups to the south of Central Romani, viz. in Gurbet, Arli and Dolenjski Romani. These dialect groups constitute a dialect continuum with the southern varieties of Central Romani.

Variant values

- 1 s :: s
- 2 s :: zero
- 3 zero :: zero

Diachronic explanation of variants

- (1) Retention. The variant <s :: s> represents maintenance of the original final sibilant in the etymon _dives_ ‘day’ (< MIA and OIA _divasa_ - ‘day’) as well as in the complex adverbial form ‘today’ that consists _dives_ as its final segment.
- (2) Innovation. The variant <s :: zero> represents maintenance of the original final sibilant in the noun _dives_ ‘day’ but apocope of the final sibilant in the complex adverbial form ‘today’ that consists the historical _dives_ as its final segment.
- (3) The variant <zero :: zero> represents apocope of the original final sibilant in both the original noun _dives_ ‘day’ and in the complex adverbial form ‘today’ that consists the historical _dives_ as its final segment.

Attestation of forms

LQCR, RMS, some publications

Geographical distribution of variants in Central Romani

- (1) The variant <s :: s> is attested in two discontinuous areas: a) in the Plaščno dialect and b) in the north of Central Romani. The main, northern, area consists of almost all varieties of the Northern and Western North Central subgroups, the overwhelming majority of varieties of the Eastern and Middle North Central subgroups (sporadically attested only in the south), a few western varieties of the Eastern Transitional subgroup and most varieties of the Middle Transitional subgroup (absent in Upper Tekov).
- (2) The variant <s :: zero> occurs sporadically in two discontinuous areas: a) in the east of Central Romani, with a concentration in the southeast of Slovakia and Eastern Už, and b) in the north of the historical Hont county. The much larger, eastern, area comprises a few southern varieties of the Galicia region, most varieties of the Eastern North Central subgroup, several (mostly southern and eastern) varieties of the Middle North Central subgroup, all varieties of the Eastern Transitional subgroup and some adjacent varieties of the Eastern Horehronie region. The second, smaller, area consists of a few varieties of the Upper Hont region, viz. Banská Štiavnica and Domaníky.
- (3) The variant <zero :: zero> is attested in a single contiguous area, in the south of Central Romani. This area comprises all varieties of the South Central group, a single adjacent variety of the Southern Gemer region (viz. Hostišovce), a few varieties of the Upper Hont and all varieties of the Upper Tekov region, a single adjacent variety of the Turiec region (viz. Turček) and all Western Transitional varieties.

Geographical distribution of variants in neighbouring dialect groups

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

- (1) The variant <s :: s> is found in the neighbouring dialect groups to the west, north and east of Central Romani, viz. in Sinti, Northeastern, Transylvanian and Lovari Romani.
- (1–2) The variant <s :: s ~ zero> occurs in Gurbet Romani, i.e. to the southeast of Central Romani.
- (3) The variant <zero :: zero> is found in the neighbouring dialect groups to the south and southwest of Central Romani, viz. in Arli and Dolenjski Romani. These dialect groups constitute a dialect continuum with the southern varieties of Central Romani.

Feature 1.7.10 Reflexes of final [s] in the 3rd person singular perfective -as-
[Map ID 353]

Variant values

- 1 s
- 2 zero

Diachronic explanation of variants

- (1) Retention. The variant <s> maintains the original final sibilant in the 3rd person singular perfective ending -as-. The sibilant has developed through fusion of the MIA enclitic 3rd person non-nominative pronoun -se-.
- (2) Innovation. The variant <zero> has developed through apocope of the final sibilant, leading to the 3rd person singular perfective ending -a-.

Attestation of forms

LQCR, RMS, some publications

Geographical distribution of variants in Central Romani

- (1) The variant <s> is more or less sporadically attested in North Central Romani, with a concentration in the west of this area. With regard to this area, the variant is only sporadically attested in the east of the Northern and Middle North Central subgroups, in the Eastern North Central and Middle Transitional subgroups, and absent in the Eastern and Western Transitional subgroups.
- (2) The variant <zero> occurs in a single contiguous area, in the east and south of Central Romani. This area comprises all varieties of the Central and Western Galicia subgroups, all Eastern North Central varieties, most varieties of the Middle North Central subgroup (absent only in Western Spiš and Liptov), all transitional varieties and all varieties of the South Central group. Additionally, the variant is attested as a co-variant in a few (mostly southern) varieties of the Western North Central subgroup.

Geographical distribution of variants in neighbouring dialect groups

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

- (1) The variant <s> is found in the neighbouring dialect groups to the east, west and northwest of Central Romani, viz. in Lovari, Transylvanian and Sinti Romani.
- (2) The variant <zero> occurs in the neighbouring dialect groups to the south and east of Central Romani, viz. in Dolenjski, Arli, Gurbet and, as a minor variant of <s>, in Transylvanian Romani. All these dialect groups constitute a dialect continuum with the southern and eastern varieties of Central Romani.

Variant values

- | | |
|---|------|
| 1 | st |
| 2 | zero |
| 3 | j |

Diachronic explanation of variants

(1) Retention. The variant <st>, including its subvariant /s/, represents maintenance of the final consonant cluster or at least its sibilant segment in the nominative singular form _grast_ or _gras_ ‘horse’. The Proto-Romani etymon *_grast_ ‘horse’ was a loanword of Armenian _grast_ ‘draught animal’ (Boretzky 1995: 139).

(2) Innovation. The variant <zero> has developed by apocope of the final consonant cluster in _grast_, leading to the nominative singular form _gra_ in respective dialects. Note that the consonant cluster still resurfaces in the plural form _grasta_ ‘horses’, as well as in non-nominative forms, in given dialects.

(3) Innovation. The variant <j> has developed by apocope of the final consonant cluster in _grast_ accompanied by paragoge of a palatal approximant /j/, leading to the nominative singular form _graj_ in respective dialects. The consonant cluster may still be retained in denominal derivations, as for example in an adjective _grastano_ ‘related to horses’, in respective dialects, but as a rule not in the plural and non-nominative forms, which are also based on _graj_ - in given dialects.

Attestation of forms

LQCR, RMS, some publications

Geographical distribution of variants in Central Romani

(1) The variant <st> is attested in four discontinuous areas: a) in the Plaščuno dialect, b) in the northwest of Central Romani, c) in the south and west of the historical Gemer county and c) sporadically in the southeast of Central Romani. The much larger, northwestern, area comprises all varieties of the Western North Central and Western Transitional subgroups, all varieties of the Liptov region, most varieties of the Middle Transitional subgroup (absent only in Eastern Horehronie) and some adjacent varieties of the Northwestern North Central subgroup. The smaller, eastern, area consists of all varieties of the Eastern and Western Gemer regions and almost all varieties of the Southern Gemer region. Additionally, the variant is sporadically attested in the southeastern periphery of Central Romani, viz. in a few southern varieties of the Lower Nógrád region, in a single variety of the Pest region (viz. Páty) and in the Paks variety (Tolna).

(2) The variant <zero> occurs in a single contiguous area, in the south of Central Romani. This area comprises almost all varieties of the South Central group and a single adjacent variety of the Southern Gemer region (viz. Hostišovce).

(3) The variant <j> is attested in a single contiguous area, in the east of Central Romani. This area consists of all varieties of the Northern and Eastern North Central subgroups and almost all varieties of the Middle North Central subgroup with and overlap to the Eastern and Middle Transitional subgroups, viz. all varieties of the Northern Gemer and Eastern Horehronie regions and some adjacent varieties of the Western Horehronie region.

Geographical distribution of variants in neighbouring dialect groups

All three Central Romani variants are attested in the neighbouring dialect groups:

- (1) The variant <st> is found in some neighbouring dialect groups to the east and south of Central Romani, viz. in Transylvanian, Lovari, Gurbet and Arli Romani.
- (2) The variant <zero> occurs in some neighbouring dialect groups to the south of Central Romani, viz. in Gurbet and Dolenjski Romani. These dialect groups constitute a dialect continuum with the southern varieties of Central Romani.
- (3) The variant <j> is found in the neighbouring dialect groups to the north of Central Romani, viz. in Sinti and Northeastern Romani. Northeastern Romani constitutes a dialect continuum with the eastern varieties of Central Romani.

Variant values

- 1 st
- 2 zero

Diachronic explanation of variants

(1) Retention. The variant <st>, including its subvariant /s/, represents maintenance of the final consonant cluster or at least its sibilant segment in the nominative singular form _vast_ or _vas_ ‘hand’. The consonant cluster is a reflex of the consonant cluster /st/ in the OIA etymon _hasta_ - ‘hand’.

(2) Innovation. The variant <zero> has developed by apocope of the final consonant cluster in _vast_, leading to the nominative singular form _va_ in respective dialects. Note that the consonant cluster resurfaces in the plural _vasta_ ‘hands’, as well as in non-nominative forms, in given dialects.

Attestation of forms

LQCR, RMS, some publications

Geographical distribution of variants in Central Romani

(1) The variant <st> is attested in three discontinuous areas: a) in the Plaščuno dialect, b) in the Paks variety (Tolna) and c) in the north of Central Romani. The northern area comprises almost all varieties of the North Central group, the Pukanec variety and individual adjacent varieties of the Lower Hont, Eastern Podunajsko and Southern Záhorie regions.

(2) The variant <zero> occurs in a single contiguous area, in the south of Central Romani. This area consists of almost all varieties of the South Central group and a single adjacent variety of the Southern Gemer region (viz. Hostišovce).

Geographical distribution of variants in neighbouring dialect groups

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

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

(2) The variant <zero> occurs in the neighbouring dialect groups to the southeast and southwest of Central Romani, viz. in Gurbet and Dolenjski Romani. These dialect groups constitute a dialect continuum with the southern varieties of Central Romani.

Feature 1.7.16 Apocope of final [n] in nominalizations in *_ipen_* and *_(i)ben_*
[Map ID 444]

Comments on feature

*xaben not considered (see feature 785 Apocope of final -n in xaben)

Variant values

- 1 no
- 2 yes, optional (rare)
- 3 yes, optional (common)
- 4 yes, obligatory
- 5 yes, lexically determined

Diachronic explanation of variants

(1) Retention. The variant <no> represents maintenance of the original Proto-Romani state in which the nominalizers **_ipen_* and **_iben_* displayed their final nasal. While in *_ipen_* the final nasal is etymologically justifiable in that it occurs in the source OIA suffix *_tvana_* as well, *_iben_* is derived from the OIA gerundive (necessity participle) suffix *_tavva_* - via MIA *_tavva_* -, and the nasal must have been introduced into the suffix on analogy with the denominal suffix *_ipen_*.

(2–5) Innovation. The variant <yes> reflects various degrees of apocope of the final nasal leading to the nominalizers *_ipe_* and *_ibe_* in respective dialects.

Attestation of forms

LQCR, RMS, some publications

Geographical distribution of variants in Central Romani

(1) The variant <no> is attested in three discontinuous areas: a) in the north of Central Romani, b) in the Plaščuno dialect and c) in the Paks variety (Tolna). The main, northern, area comprises almost all varieties of the North Central group, however, it is only sporadically attested in the Western Transitional subgroup.

(2–5) The variant <yes> occurs in three discontinuous areas: a) in the south of Central Romani, b) in the historical Ung county and, c) as a co-variant, in the Plaščuno dialect. The much larger, southern area consists of all varieties of the South Central group, some southern varieties of the Eastern Transitional subgroup, a few varieties of the Middle Transitional subgroup and almost all varieties of the Western Transitional subgroup. Note that while in the South Central Romani group apocope is nearly always obligatory, in varieties of the adjacent Transitional subgroup apocope is only optional. The smaller, eastern, area comprises all varieties of the Eastern Už region and some adjacent varieties of the Western Uh 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 <no> is found in the neighbouring dialect groups to the west and north of Central Romani, viz. in Sinti and Northeastern Romani.

(4) The variant <yes> occurs in the neighbouring dialect groups to the east and south of Central Romani, viz. in Transylvanian, Lovari, Gurbet, Arli and Dolenjski Romani. These dialect groups constitute a dialect continuum with the southern varieties of Central Romani.

Variant values

- 1 n
- 2 zero

Diachronic explanation of variants

(1) Retention. The variant <n> represents maintenance of the final nasal in the noun _xaben_, which is a regular derivation from the root _xa_ - ‘to eat’ by a deverbal nominalizer -_ben_.

(2) Innovation. The variant <zero> reflects apocope of the final nasal, leading to the form _xabe_ in respective dialects.

Attestation of forms

LQCR, RMS, some publications

Geographical distribution of variants in Central Romani

(1) The variant <n> is attested in two more or less discontiguous areas: a) in the north and b) in the southeastern periphery of Central Romani. The much larger, northern, area consists of almost all varieties of the North Central group (absent only in Eastern Už) and almost all varieties of the adjacent Malohont region. In the southeastern periphery, the variant occurs in a single easternmost variety of the Lower Nógrád region (viz. Mátraverebély) and in all varieties of the Southeastern South Central subgroup. Interestingly, the varieties of the Malohont and Lower Nógrád regions are not contiguous.

(2) The variant <zero> is attested in a single contiguous area, in the south of Central Romani. This area comprises almost all varieties of the South Central group (absent only in the Southeastern South Central subgroup) and individual adjacent varieties of the Upper Hont, Upper Tekov and Hlohovec Považie regions.

Geographical distribution of variants in neighbouring dialect groups

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

(1) The variant <n> is found in the neighbouring dialect groups to the west, north and east of Central Romani, viz. in Sinti, Northeastern and Transylvanian Romani. The variant <zero> occurs in the neighbouring dialect groups to the east and south of Central Romani, viz. in Northeastern, Transylvanian, Lovari, Gurbet, Arli and Dolenjski Romani. The southern neighbouring dialect groups constitute a dialect continuum with the southern varieties of Central Romani.

(1–2) Both variants, <n> and <zero>, are attested in the neighbouring dialect groups to the east and northeast of Central Romani, viz. in Northeastern and Transylvanian Romani.

Variant values

- | | |
|---|------|
| 1 | n |
| 2 | zero |

Diachronic explanation of variants

- (1) Retention. The variant <n> represents maintenance of the Proto-Romani final nasal consonant in the participle suffix *_(i)men_*, which was borrowed from the Greek mediopassive participle suffix *_-men_-*.
- (2) Innovation. The variant <zero> represents apocope of the final nasal in the participle suffix, leading to the participle suffix *_(i)me_* in respective dialects.

Attestation of forms

LQCR, RMS, some publications

Geographical distribution of variants in Central Romani

- (1) The variant <n> is attested in two discontinuous areas: a) in the Plaščuno dialect and b) in the north of Central Romani (except of the western periphery) XXX. This area consists of all varieties of the Northern North Central subgroup, almost all Eastern North Central varieties of Slovakia, all varieties of the Middle North Central subgroup, the Orava region and almost all varieties of the Turiec region, a few Eastern Transitional varieties, the overwhelming majority of the Middle Transitional varieties and a single adjacent variety of the Podpoľanie region (viz. Breziny).
- (2) The variant <zero> occurs in two discontinuous areas: a) in the historical Ung county and b) in the south of Central Romani. The much smaller, eastern, area comprises all varieties of the Eastern Už region and some adjacent varieties of the Western Uh region. The larger, southern, area consists of almost all varieties of the South Central group and a few Eastern Transitional and some adjacent Middle Transitional varieties.

Geographical distribution of variants in neighbouring dialect groups

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

- (1) The variant <n> is found in some neighbouring dialect groups to the east, west and northwest of Central Romani, viz. in Transylvanian and Sinti Romani.
- (2) The variant <zero> occurs in almost all neighbouring dialect groups of Central Romani, viz. in Northeastern, Transylvanian, Lovari, Gurbet, Arli and Dolenjski Romani. These dialect groups, apart from Northeastern Romani, consist of a dialect continuum with the southern varieties of Central Romani.

Variant values

- | | |
|---|------|
| 1 | n |
| 2 | zero |

Diachronic explanation of variants

(1) Retention. The variant <n> represents maintenance of the final nasal in the person interrogative pronoun _kon_, which developed by fusion of the OIA pronoun _kaḥ_ ‘who’ with an emphatic participle _púnar_ ‘back, again, moreover, however etc.’, i.e. _kaḥ punar_ ‘who then, who ever’ (cf. CDIAL 2575) via MIA _ko uṇa_, and cf. also Hindi _kaun_ ‘who’.

(2) Innovation. The variant <zero> represents apocope of the final nasal consonant in the person interrogative pronoun _kon_, leading to the person interrogative pronominal form _ko_ in respective dialects.

Attestation of forms

LQCR, RMS, some publications

Geographical distribution of variants in Central Romani

(1) The variant <n> is attested in a single more or less contiguous area, in the northeastern periphery of Central Romani. This area consists of all varieties of the Central Galicia region, a few adjacent varieties of the Western Galicia region (viz. Kulaszne and Krosno) and interestingly a single variety of the Eastern Zemplín region (viz. Klenová).

(2) The variant <zero> is almost general in Central Romani. The variant is only absent in the northeastern periphery of Central Romani, viz. in the western varieties of the Northern North Central subgroup and in a single more or less adjacent variety of the Eastern Zemplín region.

Geographical distribution of variants in neighbouring dialect groups

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

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

(2) The variant <zero> occurs in the neighbouring dialect groups to the east and southeast of Central Romani, viz. in Transylvania, Lovari and Gurbet Romani. These dialect groups constitute a dialect continuum with almost all varieties of Central Romani.

Variant values

- | | |
|---|------|
| 1 | n |
| 2 | zero |

Diachronic explanation of variants

- (1) Retention. The variant <n>, represented in forms such as _verdan_, _vrdan_ and _vurdan_ in Central Romani, refers to maintenance of the final nasal consonant in the Proto-Romani etymon *_verdon_, which was borrowed from an Iranian language; cf. Ossetian _wærdon_.
- (2) Innovation. The variant <zero> represents apocope of the final nasal consonant in the Proto-Romani etymon *_verdon_, leading to forms such as _verdo_ or _verda_ in respective dialects.

Attestation of forms

LQCR, RMS, some publications

Geographical distribution of variants in Central Romani

- (1) The variant <n> is attested in a single contiguous area, in the east of Central Romani. This area consists of the Plaščuno dialect, all varieties of the Northern North Central subgroup, almost all varieties of the Eastern and Middle North Central subgroups, all varieties of the Northern Gemer region, some varieties of the Eastern Horehronie region and a single variety of the Western Horehronie region.
- (2) The variant <zero> occurs in a single contiguous area, in the west and south of Central Romani. This area comprises almost all varieties of the Western North Central and Western Transitional subgroups, almost all southern varieties of the Middle Transitional and southern and western varieties of the Eastern Transitional subgroups and almost all varieties of the South Central group.

Geographical distribution of variants in neighbouring dialect groups

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

- (1) The variant <n> is found in most neighbouring dialect groups of Central Romani, viz. in Sinti, Northeastern, Transylvanian, Lovari and Gurbet Romani.
- (2) The variant <zero> occurs in Dolenjski Romani, constituting a dialect continuum with the southern varieties of Central Romani.