- 1 kh
- 2 x

# Diachronic explanation of variants

(1) Retention. The variant <kh>, including its unaspirated subvariant /k/, maintains occlusion of the initial consonant in the etymon \*\_khosno\_, which is etymologically connected with the verb \_khos\_- 'to wipe' (< MIA \_ghams\_-, OIA \_ghrs\_- 'to rub, to polish').

(2) Innovation. The variant  $\langle x \rangle$  has developed through the loss of occlusion in the initial consonant of the etymon \*\_khosno\_.

# **Attestation of forms**

LQCR, no RMS data, some publications

# Geographical distribution of variants in Central Romani

(1) The variant <kh> occurs more or less sporadically throughout the whole Central area. The variant is only rarely attested in the Northern North Central, Eastern Transitional and Northeastern South Central subgroups and in the Horehronie region.

(2) The variant  $\langle x \rangle$  occurs only sporadically in Slovakia. More specifically, the variant is attested in a few mostly non-adjacent varieties of the Eastern and Middle North Central subgroups, in a single variety of the Turiec region (viz. Kunešov) and in two adjacent varieties of the Eastern Podunajsko region (viz. Komjatice and Šarovce).

# 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 Arli Romani, i.e. to the south of Central Romani.

1 l 2 zero 3 r

### **Diachronic explanation of variants**

(1) Retention. The variant <l>, including its palatal subvariants /l'/ and /j/, represents the original initial lateral phoneme of the verb, which has probably developed by univerbation of a complex verb that consisted of \_1\_- 'to take' and \_ker\_- 'to do'.

(2) Innovation. The variant <zero> has developed by aphaeresis of the lateral variant /l/.

(3) Innovation. The variant <r> has developed by rhotacism of the lateral variant /l/. Rhotacism may have been triggered by the presence of another rhotic at the end of the verbal root, i.e. by distant regressive consonant assimilation.

#### **Attestation of forms**

LQCR, RMS, some publications

#### Geographical distribution of variants in Central Romani

(1) The variant <l> occurs in two discontiguous areas, in the northeast and southwest of Central Romani, and sporadically elsewhere. The much larger, eastern, area comprises the Plaščuno dialect, most varieties of the Northern North Central subgroup, almost all varieties of the Eastern and Middle North Central subgroups, the variety of the adjacent Orava region, a few varieties of the Eastern Transitional subgroup and several varieties of the Middle Transitional subgroup. The southwestern area consists of the the overwhelming majority of varieties of the Southwestern South Central subgroup, except of all varieties of the Prekmurje region among others. Additionally, the variant is attested, as a co-variant, in a few varieties of the Western North Central and Northeastern South Central subgroups (viz. in the Upper Kysuce, Turiec, Nové Mesto Považie, Podpol'anie, Upper Novohrad and Lower Nógrád regions).

(2) The variant <zero> occurs in a single more or less contiguous area, in the southeast and northwest of Central Romani, and sporadically elsewhere. This area consists of almost all varieties of the Western North Central and Western Transitional subgroups, several varieties of the Middle and Eastern Transitional subgroups and all varieties of the Northeastern, Northwestern and Southeastern South Central subgroups. The variant is only occasionally attested in other subgroups of Central Romani, viz. in some varieties of the Western Galicia region, in some southern varieties of the Middle North Central subgroup, a single variety of the Western Uh region (viz. Pavlovce nad Uhom), in a few peripheral varieties of the Somogy region and in a single variety of the Burgenland region.

(3) The variant <r> occurs in two discontiguous areas: a) in the Eastern North Central variety of Klenová (Eastern Zemplín) and b) in the Prekmurje region in Slovenia with an overlap to the Burgenland region in Austria. The latter area consists of all varieties of the Prekmurje region and a single variety of the Burgenland region (viz. Unterwart).

# Geographical distribution of variants in neighbouring dialect groups

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

(1) The variant <l>, as a co-variant of <zero>, is found in Lovari Romani, i.e. to the east of Central Romani.

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

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

1 t

2 k

# **Diachronic explanation of variants**

(1) Retention. The variant <t> represents maintenance of the voiceless alveolar stop in the Proto-Romani adjective \*\_šutlo\_ 'sour', which reflects an earlier (Middle Indo-Aryan at the latest) derivation from \*\_šut\_ 'vinegar' (< OIA \_śukta\_- 'anything sour or fermented'). Similar cognate forms with an alveolar stop are also attested in in Northwestern ('Dardic') Indo-Aryan languages; cf. e.g. Gawar-Bati \_šutāla\_ 'sour' (cf. CDIAL 2504).

(2) Innovation. The variant <k> has developed through velarization of the alveolar stop in \*\_šutlo\_, giving rise to \_šuklo\_ in respective dialects.

# **Attestation of forms**

LQCR, no RMS data, some publications

#### Geographical distribution of variants in Central Romani

(1) The variant <t> is almost general in Central Romani. The variant is only absent in a single variety of the Western Uh region viz. Pavlovce nad Uhom).

(2) The variant <k> occurs in a single western variety of the Eastern Už region (viz. Radvanka) and in a single adjacent variety of the Western Uh region (viz. Pavlovce nad Uhom).

#### 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 some neighbouring dialect groups to the north, west and south of Central Romani, viz. in Northeastern, Sinti and Arli Romani.

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

- 1 v 2 p 3 m 4 l
- 5 zero

# **Diachronic explanation of variants**

(1) The variant /v/ maintains the original Proto-Romani sound, which developed by de-vocalisation of the feminine u-stem marker in MIA \_assu-\_ (< OIA \_aśru-\_)

- (2) The variant /p/ reflects occlusivisation of the variant /v/.
- (3) The variant /m/ reflects nasalisation of the variant /v/.
- (4) The variant /l/ reflects lateralisation of the variant /v/.
- (5) The variant <zero> reflects the loss of /v/.

# Attestation of forms

LQCR, RMS, some publications

# Geographical distribution of variants in Central Romani

(1) The variant  $\langle v \rangle$  is attested throughout the whole Central area (including the Plaščuno dialect), with a concentration in the south. The variant is absent especially in the historical Liptov, Spiš and Šariš counties. The area of concentration consists of almost all varieties of the South Central group and several varieties of the southern regions of North Central Romani, viz. several southern varieties of the Eastern North Central subgroup, a few varieties of the Middle North Central subgroup (viz. Veľká Ida and Hnilec) and the overwhelming majority of the transitional varieties. In addition, the variant occurs in most varieties of the Galicia region and in several varieties of the Western North Central subgroup.

(2) The variant is attested in the Paks variety (Tolna) and in two slightly discontiguous areas in the north of Central Romani: a) in the east of Slovakia and in the Malopolska region of Poland and b) in the northwestern periphery of Slovakia. The much larger, eastern, area comprises the varieties of the Malopolska region and a single adjacent variety of the Western Galicia region (viz. Jasło), most (mainly northern) varieties of the Eastern North Central subgroup, almost all varieties of the Middle North Central subgroup, all varieties of the adjacent Eastern Horehronie region and a few varieties of the Western Horehronie region. The smaller, western, area consists of several Western North Central varieties of Slovakia, viz. all varieties of Upper Kysuce, individual varieties of Žilina and Púchov Považie and Turiec, and almost all varieties of the Northern Záhorie region. (3) The variant <m> occurs in a single contiguous area, in the historical Ung county. This area comprises some southern varieties of the Western Uh region and a single adjacent variety of the Eastern Už region (viz. Radvanka).

(4) The variant <l> is attested in the south of the historical Gemer county. More specifically, the variant occurs in individual varieties of the adjacent Eastern Gemer and Southern Gemer regions, viz. Krásnohorské Podhradie and Jelšava. Interestingly, these varieties are not contiguous.

(5) The variant <zero> is attested in the Northeastern South Central variety of Hriňová (Podpoľanie).

# Geographical distribution of variants in neighbouring dialect groups

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