

### **Comments on feature**

including in the meanings ‘to put’, ‘to run away’ etc.

### **Variant values**

- 1     i
- 2     u

### **Diachronic explanation of variants**

(1) Retention. The variant <i> maintains the original, Proto-Romani form of the verb \_čhiv\_ - ‘to throw’, which developed by contamination of OIA \_kšip\_ - ‘to throw’ by \_chup\_ - ‘to touch’ (cf. Prakrit \_chiv\_ - ‘to touch’; CDIAL 5055).

(2) Innovation. The variant <u> has developed through rounding of the original vowel /i/, leading to a verbal root form \_čhuv\_ - in respective dialects. Labialization has been triggered by the following labial fricative /v/, i.e. by partial regressive assimilation.

### **Attestation of forms**

LQCR, RMS, some publications

### **Geographical distribution of variants in Central Romani**

(1) The variant <i> is almost general in Central Romani. The variant is only absent or unattested in a few eastern varieties of the Eastern Zemplín region and in a single variety of the Western Uh region.

(2) The variant <u> occurs in a single area, in the eastern periphery of Slovakia. This area consists of a few eastern varieties of the Eastern Zemplín region and a single variety of the Western Uh region (viz. Blatné Remety). The Western Uh variety is not contiguous with the Eastern Zemplín varieties.

### **Geographical distribution of variants in neighbouring dialect groups**

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

(1) The variant <i> 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 <u> occurs in the neighbouring dialect groups to the east of Central Romani, viz. in Transylvanian, Lovari, Gurbet and, as a co-variant of <i>, in Northeastern Romani.

**Variant values**

- 1 e
- 2 i

**Diachronic explanation of variants**

(1) Retention. The variant <e>, reflected in Central Romani forms *\_devel\_*, *\_del\_*, *\_dél\_* or *\_dejl\_*, maintains the mid vowel(s) of the Proto-Romani etymon \**\_devel\_* ‘God’, which continues the OIA abstract noun *\_devatā\_* - ‘godhead, divinity’ (<*\_deva\_* - ‘god’) via MIA *\_devadā\_* -.

(2) Innovation. The variant <i> has developed through raising of the mid vowel /e/ in contracted forms of the etymon \**\_devel\_*, leading to a form *\_dil\_* in respective dialects.

**Attestation of forms**

LQCR, RMS, some publications

**Geographical distribution of variants in Central Romani**

(1) The variant <e> is almost general in Central Romani. The variant is only absent in some varieties of the eastern periphery of Slovakia and in a single variety of the Eastern Malopolska region.

(2) The variant <i> is attested in a single contiguous area, in the eastern periphery of Slovakia. This area comprises most varieties of the Eastern Zemplín and Western Uh regions and a single adjacent variety of the Northern Zemplín region (viz. Nižná Jablonka).

**Geographical distribution of variants in neighbouring dialect groups**

(1) Only the Central Romani variant <e> is attested in the neighbouring dialect groups.

### **Variant values**

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| 1 | e |
| 2 | i |

### **Diachronic explanation of variants**

(1) Retention. The variant <e> maintains the original mid front vowel value /e/ of the Proto-Romani verb \**\_gen-* ‘to count’. The mid front vowel /e/ is a regular reflex of /a/ in the MIA and OIA verbal root *\_gaṇ-* ‘to count’ (3sg *\_gaṇayati-*; cf. CDIAL 3993).

(2) Innovation. The variant <i> has developed through raising of the original mid vowel /e/.

### **Attestation of forms**

LQCR, RMS, some publications

### **Geographical distribution of variants in Central Romani**

(1) The variant <e> is attested in two slightly discontinuous areas: a) in the eastern periphery of Central Romani and b) in the south of Central Romani. The smaller, eastern, area consists of almost all varieties of the Galicia region, almost all varieties of the Eastern North Central subgroup and several eastern varieties of the Middle North Central subgroup (viz. Western and Southern Šariš, and Abov). The much larger, southern, area comprises the overwhelming majority of varieties of the Eastern Transitional subgroup, a single variety of the Lower Spiš region (viz. Hnilec) and almost all varieties of the Northeastern, Northwestern and Southwestern South Central subgroups.

(2) The variant <i> occurs in three discontinuous areas: a) in the Plaščuno dialect, b) in the north of Central Romani (except of the eastern periphery) and c) in the southeastern periphery of Central Romani. The main, northern, area comprises all varieties of the Malopolska region and a single adjacent variety of the Western Galicia region (viz. Jasło), most (mainly western) varieties of the Middle North Central subgroup, almost all varieties of the Western North Central subgroup, almost all varieties of Western Gemer and almost all Middle Transitional and all Western Transitional varieties. The variant is also attested in a few adjacent northern varieties of the South Central group, viz. in a single variety of the Podpoľanie region, in all varieties of the Lower Hont region, in the Pukanec variety and in a few varieties of the Northern Podunajsko region. The smaller, southeastern, area consists of all varieties of the Southeastern South Central subgroup, viz. Paks and Versend.

### **Geographical distribution of variants in neighbouring dialect groups**

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

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

(2) The variant <e> occurs in Dolenjski Romani, i.e. to the southwest of Central Romani.

**Variant values**

- 1 a
- 2 e

**Diachronic explanation of variants**

(1) Retention. The variant <a> maintains the original vowel value of the lexeme, which developed from /ā/ in OIA \_bhrātar\_ - ‘brother’.

(2) Innovation. The variant <e> reflects raising of the original /a/.

**Attestation of forms**

LQCR, RMS, some publications

**Geographical distribution of variants in Central Romani**

(1) The variant <a> is almost general in Central Romani. The variant is only absent or unattested in a single variety of the Žitný ostrov region (viz. Dunajská Lužná).

(2) The variant <e> occurs in two non-adjacent varieties of the Northwestern South Central subgroup, viz. in the variety of Dunajská Lužná (Žitný ostrov) and Páty (Pest).

**Geographical distribution of variants in neighbouring dialect groups**

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

**Variant values**

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| 1 | e |
| 2 | o |

**Diachronic explanation of variants**

(1) Retention. The variant <e> represents maintenance of the mid front vowel in the Proto-Romani adjectival etymon *\*\_bokeli\_* ‘bakery product’, which was borrowed from Armenian *\_bokeł\_* ‘bakery product, white bread roll’ (Boretzky 1995: 142).

(2) Innovation. The variant <o> has developed through distant progressive vowel assimilation in the original *\*\_bokeli\_*, giving rise to *\_bokoli\_* in respective dialects.

**Attestation of forms**

LQCR, no RMS data, some publications

**Geographical distribution of variants in Central Romani**

(1) The variant <e> occurs in a single contiguous area, in the east of Central Romani. This area comprises some southern varieties of the Central and Western Galicia regions, most varieties of the Eastern North Central subgroup, several varieties of the Middle North Central subgroup, the overwhelming majority of varieties of the Eastern Transitional subgroup, a few adjacent varieties of the Eastern Horehronie region, some varieties of the Northeastern South Central subgroup and the variety of Paks (Tolna).

(2) The variant <o> occurs in a single contiguous area, in the northwest of Central Romani. This area consists of the overwhelming majority of varieties of the Western North Central and Middle Transitional subgroups and a single variety of the Western Transitional subgroup (viz. Kľáčany).

**Geographical distribution of variants in neighbouring dialect groups**

(2) Only the Central Romani variant <o> is attested in the neighbouring dialect groups, being found to the east and southeast of Central Romani, i.e. in Lovari and Gurbet Romani.

### Variant values

- 1 e
- 2 i
- 3 zero

### Diachronic explanation of variants

(1) Retention. The variant <e> represents maintenance of the original mid front vowel /e/ in the Proto-Romani adjectival etymon \**\_kerko\_* ‘bitter’. The Proto-Romani \*/e/ was a regular reflex of the MIA short intervocalic vowel /a/ in *\_kaḍua\_* - ‘bitter’ (< OIA *\_kaṭu(k)a\_* - ‘pungent, bitter’) with an extension in *\_kk\_* - (i.e. from \**\_kaḍukka\_* - ; cf. CDIAL 2641).

(2) Innovation. The variant <i> has developed by rising of the original vowel /e/, leading to the form *\_kirko\_* in respective Central Romani dialects.

(3) Innovation. The variant <zero> has developed by reduction of the vowels /i/ or /e/, leading to the form *\_krko\_* in respective Central Romani dialects.

### Attestation of forms

LQCR, no RMS data, some publications

### Geographical distribution of variants in Central Romani

(1) The variant <e> is attested in a single contiguous area, in the south of Central Romani including the southern varieties of Slovakia and the varieties of Ukraine. More specifically, this area consists of all varieties of the Central Galicia region, the southern and eastern varieties of the Eastern North Central subgroup (especially the Eastern and Southern Zemplín, Western Uh and Eastern Už regions), a few southernmost varieties of Abov, almost all varieties of the Eastern Transitional subgroup and a single adjacent variety of the Lower Spiš region (viz. Hnilec), the Western Transitional subgroup and almost all varieties of the South Central group.

(2) The variant <i> occurs sporadically in the east of Slovakia and in Poland. This area comprises a few varieties of the Northern North Central subgroup, several (mostly northwestern) varieties of the Eastern North Central subgroup and some (mostly southeastern) varieties of the Middle North Central subgroup.

(3) The variant <zero> is more or less sporadically attested in three discontinuous areas in the north of Central Romani: a) in the northern border region of the historical Zemplín and Šariš counties, b) in the west of the historical Spiš county and c) in northwest of Central Romani including a part of the historical Tekov and Hont counties. The first area consists of some varieties of the Northern Šariš and Northern Zemplín regions. The second area comprises only two easternmost varieties of the Western Spiš region (viz. Gánovce and Veľká Lomnica). Finally, the much larger, western, area consists of most varieties of the Upper Hont and Upper Tekov regions,

the Pukanec variety and several varieties of the Western North Central subgroup, viz. all varieties of the Nové Mesto Považie region, individual varieties of the Turiec, Púchov and Trenčín Považie regions and the Czechia region (Puchmayer 1821, Vymazal 1900).

### **Geographical distribution of variants in neighbouring dialect groups**

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

(1) The variant <e> is found in the neighbouring dialect groups to the east and south of Central Romani, viz. in Lovari, Gurbet, Arli and Dolenjski Romani.

(2) The variant <i> occurs in some neighbouring dialect groups to the east, north and west of Central Romani, viz. in Lovari, Northeastern and Sinti Romani. Northeastern Romani constitutes a dialect continuum with some Central Romani varieties of Poland.



### **Variant values**

- 1 e
- 2 i
- 3 zero

### **Diachronic explanation of variants**

(1) Retention. The variant <e> probably maintains the original vowel /e/ in \_kerlo\_ ‘throat’ of unknown etymology (but from South Slavic \_grlo\_ ‘throat’ according to Boretzky and Igla 1994: 151).

(2) Innovation. The variant <i> seems to reflect rising of the original vowel /e/, leading to the form \_kirlo\_ in respective Central Romani dialects.

(3) Innovation. The variant <zero> has probably developed through reduction of the vowel, leading to the form \_krlo\_ in respective Central Romani dialects.

In case the South Slavic etymology held true, the variant <zero> might represent retention, while the variants <i> and <e> would developed by anaptyxis from the original form \_krlo\_.

### **Attestation of forms**

LQCR, RMS, some publications

### **Geographical distribution of variants in Central Romani**

(1) The variant <e> is attested in three discontinuous areas: a) in the easternmost Plaščuno dialect, b) in all varieties of the Central Galicia region and c) in the south of Central Romani consisting of the overwhelming majority of varieties of the South Central group.

(2) The variant <i> occurs in two discontinuous areas: a) in the Plaščuno dialect and b) in the east of Central Romani. The eastern area comprises several (mostly western and southern) varieties of the Eastern North Central subgroup, several (mostly eastern) varieties of the Middle North Central subgroup, individual adjacent varieties of the Western Malopolska and Western Galicia regions (viz. Czarny Dunajec and Kulaszne) and all varieties of the Eastern, Northern and Southern Gemer regions.

(3) The variant <zero> is attested in most varieties of the Middle Transitional subgroups and in all varieties of the Western Gemer region. Additionally, the variant is sporadically attested in the Western and Middle North Central subgroups.

### **Geographical distribution of variants in neighbouring dialect groups**

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

- (1) The variant <e> is found in Transylvanian Romani, i.e. to the east of Central Romani.
- (2) The variant <i> occurs in the neighbouring dialect groups to the east and northeast of Central Romani, viz. in Lovari and Northeastern Romani. Northeastern Romani constitutes a dialect continuum with the some eastern varieties of Central Romani.
- (3) The variant <zero> is found in the neighbouring dialect groups to the south and southeast of Central Romani, viz. in Arli and Gurbet Romani.

### **Variant values**

- 1 e
- 2 zero
- 3 u

### **Diachronic explanation of variants**

- (1) Retention. The variant <e>, represented in forms such as *\_verdan\_*, *\_verda\_* and *\_verdo\_* in Central Romani, refers to maintenance of the original vowel quality in the Proto-Romani etymon \**\_verdon\_*, which was borrowed from an Iranian language; cf. Ossetian *\_wærdon\_*.
- (2) Innovation. The variant <zero> represents syncope of the mid vowel /e/ in the Proto-Romani etymon \**\_verdon\_*, leading to forms such as *\_vrđan\_* in respective dialects.
- (3) Innovation. The variant <u> has developed through assimilation of the mid vowel /e/ to the preceding labiodental fricative /v/, leading to forms such as *\_vurđan\_* in respective dialects.

### **Attestation of forms**

LQCR, RMS, some publications

### **Geographical distribution of variants in Central Romani**

- (1) The variant <e> is almost general in Central Romani. The variant is sporadically attested in the Horehronie region, and absent in the Liptov region and in some varieties of several other dialect regions.
- (2) The variant <zero> occurs sporadically in the Horehronie region with an overlap to the Liptov region. More specifically, the variant is attested in a few varieties of the Eastern Horehronie region and in individual varieties of the Western Horehronie and Liptov regions.
- (3) The variant <u> occurs in two discontinuous areas: a) in the Plaščuno dialect and b) in some varieties of Poland, viz. in a few northern varieties of the Eastern Malopolska region and in a single northern variety of the Western Galicia region (viz. Krosno).

### **Geographical distribution of variants in neighbouring dialect groups**

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

- (2) The variant <zero> is found in the neighbouring dialect groups to the south and southwest of Central Romani, viz. in Arli and Dolenjski Romani.

(3) The variant <u> occurs in the neighbouring dialect groups to the east, north and west of Central Romani, viz. in Transylvanian, Lovari, Northeastern and Sinti Romani. Northeastern Romani constitutes a dialect continuum with some Central Romani varieties of Poland.

### Variant values

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| 1 | e |
| 2 | o |

### Diachronic explanation of variants

(1) Retention. The variant <e> maintains the mid front vowel quality /e/ in the Proto-Romani etymon *\*\_xolev\_* ‘trousers’. The etymon *\*\_xolev\_* represents a loanword into Proto-Romani from an unknown source, but one that may have been Iranian, as suggested by Ossetian *\_xäläf\_* ‘trousers’ (cf. also Church Slavonic *\_xoleva\_* ‘stocking’).

(2) Innovation. The variant <o> has developed through rounding of the original mid front vowel, i.e. by a sound change /e/ > /o/, leading to forms such as *\_xolov\_* and *\_holov\_* in respective Central Romani dialects. Rounding was probably triggered by the following labiodental fricative /v/.

### Attestation of forms

LQCR, no RMS data, some publications

### Geographical distribution of variants in Central Romani

(1) The variant <e> occurs in a single contiguous area, in the southwest of Central Romani. This area comprises the overwhelming majority of varieties of the Southwestern and Northwestern South Central subgroups (absent in Vas, Zala, Prekmurje; and Southern Záhorie) and individual adjacent varieties of the Lower Nógrád, Upper Tekov and Hlohovec Považie regions, viz. Vanyarc, Horná Ždaňa and Kľačany.

(2) The variant <o> is attested in two discontinuous areas: a) in the north and east of Central Romani and b) in the Paks variety (Tolna). The main area consists of almost all varieties of the North Central group, almost all varieties of the Northeastern South Central subgroup and all varieties of the Southern Záhorie region.

### Geographical distribution of variants in neighbouring dialect groups

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

(1) The variant <e> occurs in the neighbouring dialect groups to the west of Central Romani, viz. in Sinti and Dolenjski Romani. The Dolenjski dialect group constitute a dialect continuum with the southwestern varieties of Central Romani.

(2) The variant <o> is found in Northeastern Romani, i.e. to the northeast of Central Romani.

### Variant values

- 1 i
- 2 u
- 3 o

### Diachronic explanation of variants

- (1) Retention. The variant <i> maintains the original, Proto-Romani form of the noun *\_rikono\_* ‘puppy, young dog’, which has probably been borrowed from Armenian *\_koriwn\_* ‘puppy, young animal’ (cf. Boretzky 1995: 143).
- (2) Innovation. The variant <u> has developed through rounding of the original vowel /i/, leading to a form *\_rukono\_* in respective dialects. Labialization has probably been triggered by the round vowel /o/ of the following syllable, i.e. by partial regressive vowel assimilation.
- (3) Innovation. The variant <o> has developed through lowering of the vowel /u/ (see the variant <u>). Lowering has been triggered by the vowel /o/ of the following syllable, i.e. by complete regressive vowel assimilation.

### Attestation of forms

LQCR, RMS, some publications

### Geographical distribution of variants in Central Romani

- (1) The variant <i> is attested in two more or less discontinuous areas: a) in a historical Abov, Šariš and Zemplín counties with an overlap to the west of the Galicia region and b) in the north of the historical Spiš region and the east of the Malopolska region. The first, eastern, area consists of most varieties of the Western Galicia region, several western varieties of the Eastern North Central subgroup (Northern and Eastern Šariš, Northern, Eastern and Western Zemplín) and several eastern varieties of the Middle North Central subgroup (Western and Southern Šariš, Lower Spiš, and Abov). The second, much smaller, area comprises all varieties of the Western Malopolska region, the northern varieties of the Upper Spiš region and a few northern varieties of the Western Spiš region.
- (2) The variant <u> occurs in a single more or less contiguous area, in the east of Central Romani. This area comprises all varieties of the Central Galicia and Eastern Malopolska regions and some varieties of the Western Galicia region, several (mostly eastern and southern) varieties of the Eastern North Central subgroup and most varieties of the Middle North Central subgroup. With regard to the Middle North Central subgroup, the variant is only absent or unattested in the Southern Šariš region.
- (3) The variant <o> is attested in two couples of varieties of the northeastern periphery of Central Romani. More specifically, the variant occurs in adjacent

varieties of Klenová (Eastern Zemplín) and Perečyn (Eastern Už) and in adjacent varieties of Medzilaborce (Northern Zemplín) and Kulaszne (Western Galicia).

**Geographical distribution of variants in neighbouring dialect groups**

(1) Only the Central Romani variant <i> is attested in the neighbouring dialect groups, being found in Transylvanian Romani, i.e. to the east of Central Romani.