

### **Variant values**

- 1     sastr
- 2     srast
- 3     strast
- 4     trast

### **Diachronic explanation of variants**

(1) Retention. The variant <sastr> maintains the original consonant sequence of the Proto-Romani word, which developed from OIA *\_śastra-* ‘instrument for cutting, knife, weapon, iron etc.’.

(2) Innovation. The variant <srast> reflects a transference of a rhotic from the end of the word.

(3) Innovation. The variant <strast> reflects a transference of word-final *-\_str\_* to the beginning of the word, with the final /t/ being conserved at the end, which leads to the unetymological double occurrence of /t/ in this variant.

(4) Innovation. The variant <trast> reflects a transference of word-final *-\_tr\_* to the beginning of the word, with final /t/ being conserved at the end of the word, which leads to the unetymological double occurrence of /t/ in this variant. In contrast to the variant <str\_*\_st*>, the initial *\_s\_* no longer occurs at the beginning of this variant.

### **Attestation of forms**

LQCR, RMS, some publications

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

(1) The variant <sastr> is attested in two discontinuous areas: a) in the northwest of Central Romani and b) in the southeastern periphery of the Somogy county. The much larger, northwestern, area comprises almost all varieties of the Western Horehronie and Turiec regions and all varieties of the Orava, Upper Kysuce, Žilina, Púchov and Trenčín Považie and Czechia regions. The southern area is represented by two peripheral varieties of the Somogy county, viz. Vásárosdombó and Homokszentgyörgy.

(2) The variant <srast> occurs in a single contiguous area consisting of all varieties of the Southwestern South Central subgroup, except of the Homokszentgyörgy variety (Somogy).

(3) The variant <strast> is attested in a single contiguous area, in several westernmost North Central varieties of Slovakia, and also in Puchmayer (1821) for the Czechia region. More specifically, this area comprises all varieties of the Northern Záhorie

and Nové Mesto Považie regions and individual adjacent varieties of the Southern Záhorie and Hlohovec Považie regions (viz. Jablonové and Veľké Kostofany).

(4) The variant <trast> is the most widespread variant in Central Romani. The variant is only absent in the Southwestern South Central subgroup, and almost absent in the Western North Central subgroup and in the Western Horehronie 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 <sastr> is found in almost all neighbouring dialect groups of Central Romani, viz. in Northeastern, Sinti, Lovari, Gurbet, Arli and Dolenjski Romani.

(4) The variant <trast>, as a co-variant of <strast>, occurs in Transylvanian Romani constituting a dialect continuum with the eastern varieties of Central Romani.

### **Variant values**

- 1 asv-
- 2 avs-
- 3 sav-

### **Diachronic explanation of variants**

(1) Retention. The variant <asv-> (including its variants <asm->, <asl->) maintains the original Proto-Romani form, which reflects the MIA sequence of the root *\_ass\_* followed by the feminine stem marker *\_-u\_* (< OIA *aśru-*).

(2) Innovation. The variant <avs-> (including its variant <aps->) has developed through a metathesis of consonantal segments in <asv->.

(3) Innovation. The variant <sav-> has developed through a vowel/consonant metathesis of <asv->.

### **Attestation of forms**

LQCR, RMS, some publications

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

(1) The variant <asv-> is attested in two discontinuous areas: a) in the Plaščuno dialect and b) in the south of Central Romani. The main, southern, area consists of several southern varieties of the Eastern North Central subgroup (especially Eastern Už, Western Uh and Southern Zemplín), a single variety of the Abov region (viz. Veľká Ida), almost all varieties of the Eastern Transitional subgroup and a single adjacent variety of the Lower Spiš region (viz. Hnilec), a few varieties of the Middle Transitional subgroup, almost all varieties of the Western Transitional subgroup as well as almost all varieties of the South Central group.

(2) The variant <avs-> occurs in two discontinuous areas: a) in the variety of Paks (Tolna) and b) in the north of Central Romani. The main, northern, area comprises almost all varieties of the Northern and Middle North Central subgroups, most (mainly northern) varieties of the Eastern North Central subgroup, the overwhelming majority of varieties of the Western North Central subgroup and a single adjacent variety of the Hlohovec Považie region (viz. Madunice), almost all varieties of the Middle Transitional subgroup and a few adjacent western varieties of the Northeastern South Central subgroup (viz. Breziny, Sucháň and Slatina).

(3) The variant <sav-> is attested in the Western North Central variety of Horná Štubňa (Turiec).

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

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

### **Variant values**

- 1 hl
- 2 lh

### **Diachronic explanation of variants**

(1) Retention. The variant <hl>, including *-\_xl\_-*, maintains the original consonant sequence in Proto-Romani *\*\_buhlo\_*, which developed from OIA and MIA *\_bahula\_* ‘large’.

(2) Innovation. The variant <lh> reflects a word-internal consonant metathesis in the original *\*\_buhlo\_*.

### **Attestation of forms**

LQCR, no RMS data, some publications

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

(1) The variant <hl> is attested in a single contiguous area, in the north of Central Romani. This area comprises almost all varieties of the North Central group, several Northeastern South Central varieties of Slovakia, the Pukanec variety and a single variety of the Southern Záhorie region (viz. Jablonové).

(2) The variant <lh> occurs in a single contiguous area, in the south of Central Romani. This area consists of almost all varieties of the Southeastern, Southwestern and Northwestern South Central subgroups, almost all varieties of the Lower Nógrád region and individual varieties of the Upper Novohrad and Lower Hont regions.

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

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

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

(2) The variant <lh>, as a co-variant of <hl>, occurs in Lovari Romani, constituting a dialect continuum with the southern varieties of Central Romani.

### **Variant values**

- 1     hn
- 2     nh

### **Diachronic explanation of variants**

(1) Retention. The variant <hn>, including its subvariant /xn/, maintains the original consonant sequence of the Proto-Romani word \*\_kahni\_, whose etymology is not satisfactorily known, but may reflect OIA \_ku-pakṣiṇī- ‘having bad wings’ (cf. Mānuṣṣ et al. 1997: 70) via MIA regular development \*\_kuvakkhiṇī-.

(2) Innovation. The variant <nh> reflects a word-medial consonant metathesis in the original \_kahni\_.

### **Attestation of forms**

LQCR, RMS, some publications

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

(1) The variant <hn> occurs in two discontinuous areas: a) in the Plaščuno dialect and b) in the north of Central Romani. The northern area comprises almost all varieties of the North Central group, several (mostly northwestern) varieties of the Northeastern South Central subgroup and all varieties of the Southern Záhorie region.

(2) The variant <nh> is attested in a single contiguous area, in the south of Central Romani. This area consists of all varieties of the Southeastern and Southwestern South Central subgroups, most (mainly southern and eastern) varieties of the Northeastern South Central subgroup, almost all varieties of the Northwestern South Central subgroup (absent in Southern Záhorie) and individual adjacent varieties of the Eastern Gemer and Upper Hont regions (viz. Gemerská Hôrka and Drienovo).

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

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

### **Variant values**

- 1 *liv-in-*
- 2 *vil-in-*

### **Diachronic explanation of variants**

(1) Retention. The variant <*liv-in-*> maintains the original consonant sequence of the Hungarian loanword (cf. Hung. inflected stem *\_löv-\_*).

(2) Innovation. The variant <*vil-in-*> reflects a consonant metathesis in the initial two syllables of the original variant <*liv-in-*>.

### **Attestation of forms**

LQCR, no RMS data, some publications

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

(1) The variant <*liv-in-*> is more or less sporadically attested in the north of Central Romani. This area consists of all varieties of the Galicia region, almost all varieties of the Eastern North Central subgroup, several (mostly southern) varieties of the Middle North Central subgroup, all varieties of the Eastern Transitional subgroup, the overwhelming majority of the Northeastern South Central varieties and some Northwestern South Central varieties of Slovakia.

(2) The variant <*vil-in-*> occurs in a single contiguous area, in the historical Spiš and Šariš counties including the Malopolska region, and sporadically in the eastern periphery of Central Romani. This area comprises all varieties of the Malopolska region and a single adjacent variety of the Western Galicia region (viz. Kopytowa), the overwhelming majority of the Middle North Central varieties and some adjacent varieties of the Eastern North Central and Middle Transitional subgroups. In addition, the variant is attested in individual varieties of the Eastern Zemplín and Eastern Už regions (viz. Klenová and Chudl'ovo) and in two adjacent varieties of the Southern Zemplín region (viz. Sačurov and Sečovce).

The variant <*vil-in-*> is surrounded by the variant <*liv-in-*>.

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

Neither of the Central Romani variants is attested in the neighbouring dialect groups.

### **Variant values**

- 1     *nilaj*
- 2     *linaj*
- 3     *lijan*

### **Diachronic explanation of variants**

(1) Retention. The variant <*nilaj*> maintains the original sequence of consonants in Proto-Romani \**\_nilaj\_*, which developed from MIA *\_nīdāha-* and OIA *\_nidāgha-* ‘hot season’ (cf. CDIAL 7193).

(2) Innovation. The variant <*linaj*> has developed through a metathesis of the original initial /n/ and word-medial /l/ in *\_nilaj\_*.

(3) Innovation. The variant <*lijan*> has developed through a metathesis of word-medial /n/ and final /j/ in the variant *\_linaj\_*.

### **Attestation of forms**

LQCR, RMS, some publications

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

(1) The variant <*nilaj*> is attested in three slightly discontinuous areas: a) in the northeast and b) in the southeastern and c) southwestern periphery of Central Romani. The more compact, northeastern, area consists of almost all varieties of the Galicia region, all varieties of the Eastern North Central subgroup and several eastern varieties of the Middle North Central subgroup, viz. especially varieties of the Western and Southern Šariš and Abov regions. The southeastern area consists of the southern varieties of the Eastern Transitional subgroup, several eastern and almost all southern varieties of the Northeastern South Central subgroup, a single variety of Pest (viz. Domony) and the Paks variety (Tolna). The southwestern area comprises some peripheral varieties of the Somogy region, all varieties of the Zala region and almost all varieties of the Vas and Prekmurje regions.

(2) The variant <*linaj*> is attested throughout the whole Central area (including the Plaščuno dialect), with a concentration in the northwest of this area. The concentration consists of the western varieties of the Northern North Central subgroup, most Middle North Central varieties, almost all Western North Central and the overwhelming majority of the transitional varieties. The variant occurs only sporadically in the South Central subgroups of Central Romani.

(3) The variant <*lijan*> is attested in two discontinuous areas: a) in a single variety of the Turňa region (viz. Moldava nad Bodvou) and b) in the southwestern periphery of Slovakia. This southwestern area consists of all varieties of the Žitný ostrov region and a single adjacent variety of the Southern Záhorie region (viz. Jablonové).



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

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

(1) The variant <nilaj> 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 <linaj> occurs in Northeastern Romani, constituting a dialect continuum with the Malopolska varieties of Central Romani.

**Variant values**

- 1 roj
- 2 jor

**Diachronic explanation of variants**

(1) Retention. The variant <roj> continues the Proto-Romani form \*řoj ‘spoon’, which is cognate with Hindi doī (< MIA đova - ‘wooden spoon’; cf. CDIAL 5573).

(2) Innovation. The variant <jor> has developed through a consonant metathesis from roj.

**Attestation of forms**

LQCR, RMS, some publications

**Geographical distribution of variants in Central Romani**

(1) The variant <roj> is almost general in Central Romani. The variant is only absent or unattested in a single variety of the Northern Záhorie region (viz. Štefanov).

(2) The variant <jor> occurs in the Western North Central variety of Štefanov (Northern Záhorie).

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

(1) Only the Central Romani variant <roj> 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 *sviri*
- 2 *sivri*
- 3 *sirvi*

### **Diachronic explanation of variants**

- (1) Retention. The variant <*sviri*> maintains the original sound sequence of the Proto-Romani word; cf. Greek *\_sfyri\_*.
- (2) Innovation. The variant <*sivri*> reflects a vowel-consonant metathesis of /v/ and /i/ in the original *\_sviri\_*.
- (3) Innovation. The variant <*sirvi*> reflects a further consonant metathesis of word-medial /v/ and /r/ in innovative *\_sivri\_*.

### **Attestation of forms**

LQCR, RMS, some publications

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

- (1) The variant <*sviri*> is more or less sporadically attested in a single contiguous areas, in the west and south of Central Romani. This area comprises all varieties of the Eastern Malopolska region, several (mostly western) varieties of the Middle North Central subgroup, the overwhelming majority of the Western North Central varieties and some transitional varieties. More to the south, the variant occurs in the Paks variety (Tolna) and in almost all varieties of the Southwestern South Central subgroup; and only sporadically in the Northeastern and Northwestern subgroups.
- (2) The variant <*sivri*> is attested in a single contiguous area, in the historical Gemer county. This area consists of almost all varieties of the Southern Gemer region, a few varieties of the Northern Gemer region and individual varieties of the Eastern and Western Gemer regions.
- (3) The variant <*sirvi*> occurs in a single contiguous area comprising a few adjacent varieties of the Eastern Gemer region and a single adjacent variety of the Northern Gemer region (viz. Ochtiná).

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

- (1) Only the Central Romani variant <*sviri*> is attested in the neighbouring dialect groups, being found in Dolenjski Romani, i.e. to the southwest of Central Romani.