

### Variant values

- 1     posit'i
- 2     posit'a
- 3     possik
- 4     pot'isi
- 5     pot'osi

### Diachronic explanation of variants

(1) Retention. The variant <posit'i>, including its phonological subvariants *\_positi\_*, *\_posiči\_*, *\_posiki\_*, probably represents the original form of the etymon, which can be reconstructed as *\_positi\_* in Proto-Romani on the basis of comparative dialectology. However, the forms of this etymon are too numerous across Romani and its etymology has not as yet been convincingly explained. The traditional etymological derivation (cf. Sampson 1926 II: 284; Boretzky and Igla 1994: 222) with OIA *\_prasiti\_* ‘a net for catching birds’; ‘binding’, ‘fetter’ (only in works of lexicographers) can easily be refuted on phonological grounds. Note also that OIA *\_prasiti\_* does not have any reflexes in NIA languages, as it is not referred to by CDIAL.

(2) Innovation. The variant <posit'a>, including its subvariants *\_posiča\_*, *\_pošiča\_*, *\_posikja\_*, *\_pusiča\_*, *\_pusikja\_*, has developed through morphological reaffiliation of the noun from an oikoclitic (thematic) feminine *\_posit'i\_* to a xenoclitic (athematic) feminine *\_posit'a\_*.

(3) Innovation. The variant <possik> has come to light through apocope of the final feminine ending accompanied by velarization of the original final alveolar stop /t/ and gemination of the root-internal sibilant.

(4) Innovation. The variant <pot'isi> has developed through consonant metathesis of the original variant *\_posit'i\_*.

(5) Innovation. The variant <pot'osi> has developed through distant progressive vowel assimilation from the already metathetic variant *\_pot'isi\_*.

### Attestation of forms

LQCR, RMS, some publications

### Geographical distribution of variants in Central Romani

(1) The variant <posit'i> occurs in two discontinuous areas: a) in the Plaščuno dialect and b) in Czechia and in the west of Slovakia with an overlap to some varieties in the southeastern periphery of Hungary. The latter area consists of all varieties of the Western North Central and Western Transitional subgroups, almost all varieties of the Middle Transitional subgroup, several western varieties of the Northeastern South

Central subgroup, most varieties of the Northwestern South Central subgroup and the Paks variety (Tolna).

(2) The variant <posit'a> is attested in two discontinuous areas: a) in the northwest and b) in the southwest of South Central Romani. The former, northern, area comprises a few adjacent varieties of the Middle Podunajsko region, whereas the much larger, southern, area consists of all varieties of the Southwestern South Central subgroup and the Versend variety (Baranya).

(3) The variant <possik> occurs in a few western varieties of the Žitný ostrov region.

(4) The variant <po'isi> is attested in a single contiguous area consisting of a few varieties of the Middle Podunajsko region.

(5) The variant <po'osi> occurs in a single contiguous area comprising a few varieties of the Žitný ostrov region and a single adjacent variety of the Middle Podunajsko region (viz. Tomášikovo).

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

Only the Central Romani variant <posot'i> is attested in the neighbouring dialect groups, being found in Lovari Romani, i.e. to the east of Central Romani.

### **Variant values**

- 1 Požoňa
- 2 Požomba
- 3 Požoma

### **Diachronic explanation of variants**

- (1) Retention. The variant <Požoňa> is a loanword of the nominative singular form of Hungarian *\_Pozsony\_* ‘Bratislava’.
- (2) Retention. The variant <Požomba> is a loanword of the Hungarian illative singular form *\_Pozsonyba\_* ‘to Bratislava’.
- (3) Innovation. The variant <Požoma> has developed by simplification of the consonant cluster /mb/ in *\_Požomba\_* from the Hungarian illative form *\_Pozsonyba\_* ‘to Bratislava’.

### **Attestation of forms**

LQCR, RMS, some publications

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

- (1) The variant <Požoňa> is attested in a single contiguous area, in Hungary and in the south of the historical Gemer county. This area comprises almost all varieties of Hungary and a single variety of the Eastern Gemer region (viz. Pašková).
- (2) The variant <Požomba> occurs in a single contiguous area, in the north of the historical Trenčín county with an overlap to the historical Turiec county. This area consists of almost all varieties of the Upper Kysuce region and a single variety of the Turiec region (viz. Martin).
- (3) The variant <Požoma> is attested in a single contiguous area, in the west of Slovakia with a little overlap to the Nógrád county of Hungary. This area comprises all varieties of the Trenčín and Nové Mesto Považie and Northern Záhorie regions, a single Western Transitional variety (viz. Madunice), almost all Northwestern South Central varieties of Slovakia and a few northern varieties of the Lower Nógrád region (viz. Mučín, Bušince, and Nógrádszakál).

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

None of the Central Romani variants are attested in the neighbouring dialect groups.

**Variant values**

- 1 *saranda*
- 2 *štaranda*

**Diachronic explanation of variants**

- (1) The variant <*saranda*> maintains the original form of the loanword of Greek *\_σαράντα\_* [*\_saránta\_*] ‘forty’.
- (2) The variant <*štaranda*> has developed through contamination of the Greek-derived numeral *\_saranda\_* by the Romani numeral *\_štar\_* ‘four’.

**Attestation of forms**

LQCR, RMS, some publications

**Geographical distribution of variants in Central Romani**

- (1) The variant <*saranda*> is attested in a single contiguous area, in the Eastern Už region of Ukraine and in the east of Slovakia with an overlap to the Horehronie region and to the Malopolska region of Poland. This area consists of all varieties of the Eastern Už region, several Eastern North Central varieties of Slovakia, most varieties of the Middle North Central subgroup, the variety of Slovenská Lupča (Western Horehronie), a single variety of the Eastern Malopolska region (viz. Florynka) and all varieties of the Western Malopolska region.
- (2) The variant <*štaranda*> occurs in the adjacent Northern North Central varieties of Koszary and Nowy Sącz (Eastern Malopolska), as well as in the Middle North Central variety of Spišská Nová Ves (Lower Spiš).

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

Only one of the Central Romani variants is attested in the neighbouring dialect groups:

- (1) The variant <*saranda*> is found in the neighbouring dialect groups to the south and northeast of Central Romani, viz. in Arli and Northeastern Romani. The Northeastern dialect group constitute a dialect continuum with several eastern varieties of Central Romani.

### **Variant values**

- 1 *tengerica*
- 2 *čengerica*
- 3 *kenderica*
- 4 *tenderica*

### **Diachronic explanation of variants**

(1) Retention. The variant <*tengerica*> represents the original form that reflects Hungarian *\_tengeri\_* ‘maize’ (< ‘sea’, from a phrase *\_tengeri búza\_* literally ‘sea wheat’, i.e. ‘maize’).

(2) Innovation. The variant <*čengerica*> has developed through palatalization and postalveolar affrication of the initial alveolar stop in the original *\_tengerica\_*.

(3) Innovation. The variant <*kenderica*> has developed through metathesis of the initial alveolar stop and the velar stop of the second syllable in the original *\_tengerica\_*. Note that positional voicing has not changed during the metathesis process.

(4) Innovation. The variant <*tenderica*>, including its subvariant *\_denderica\_*, has developed either through progressive consonant assimilation in the original *\_tengerica\_* or through regressive assimilation of the metathetic variant *\_kenderica\_*.

All variants (1) through (4) represent loanwords of respective forms from different East Slovak dialects.

### **Attestation of forms**

LQCR, no RMS data, some publications

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

(1) The variant <*tengerica*> is attested in a single contiguous area consisting of some southeastern varieties of the Eastern North Central subgroup, viz. almost all varieties of the Eastern Už region, a few southern varieties of the Western Uh region and a single adjacent variety of the Southern Zemplín region.

(2) The variant <*čengerica*> occurs in a single contiguous area comprising a few adjacent varieties of the Eastern Šariš region.

(3) The variant <*kenderica*> is attested in a single contiguous area, in the east of Slovakia with an overlap to Ukraine. This area comprises several (mostly southern) Eastern North Central varieties of Slovakia and a single adjacent variety of the Eastern Už region (viz. Perečyn).

(4) The variant <*tenderica*> occurs in a single contiguous area, in the border area of the historical Zemplín and Šariš counties. This area consists of a few varieties of the

Northern Zemplín and Northern Šariš regions and a single adjacent variety of the Eastern Šariš region (viz. Stročín).

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

None of the Central Romani variants are attested in the neighbouring dialect groups.

### Variant values

- 1 ri
- 2 ir
- 3 er
- 4 r

### Diachronic explanation of variants

(1) Retention. The variant <ri>, manifested in a form *\_xrixil\_* in Central Romani, represents maintenance of /ri/ in the Proto-Romani etymon *\*\_rihil\_* ‘pea’ (cf. Boretzky and Iglá 2004: 212), which developed into *\_xrixil\_* in Central Romani. The etymon is probably related to Hindi *\_rahlā\_* ‘chickpea (*Cicer arietinum*)’ and Nepali *\_rahar(i)\_* ‘lentil’, for which Turner reconstructs a source etymon *\*\_rahala\_* or *\*\_rāhala\_* - ‘a kind of pulse’ (CDIAL 10667).

(2) Innovation. The variant <ir>, including its subvariant /îr/ and manifested in forms *\_xirxil\_* and *\_xîrxîl\_* in Central Romani, has developed through metathesis of /r/ and /i/ in the first syllable of the etymon *\*\_xrixil\_*.

(3) Innovation. The variant <er>, manifested in a form *\_xerxeł\_* in Central Romani, has developed through vowel lowering of the metathetic variant <ir>.

(4) Innovation. The variant <r>, manifested in a form *\_xrxl\_* in Central Romani, has developed by syncope of /i/ in the metathetic variant <ir>.

### Attestation of forms

LQCR, some publication; no RMS

### Geographical distribution of variants in Central Romani

(1) The variant <ri> is rarely attested in a single contiguous area in the northwest of Central Romani. More specifically, the variant occurs in a few varieties of the Western North Central Romani subgroup, viz. in Puchmayer (1821) for the Czechia region, in the variety of Trenčianské Teplice of the Trenčín Povázie region and in two varieties of the Turiec region.

(2) The variant <ir> occurs in a single contiguous area in the north of Central Romani. This area comprises Middle North Central Romani varieties of the Western Spiš, Lower Spiš, Upper Spiš and Western Šariš regions and Eastern North Central Romani varieties of the Northern Šariš region, extending into two individual varieties of the Eastern Šariš and Northern Zemplín regions. Furthermore, the variant is also sporadically attested in several varieties of the Malopolska and Western Galicia region in Poland.

(3) The variant <er> occurs in a single Northern North Central Romani variety of the Central Galicia region, viz. in Topyl’nycja.

(4) The variant <r> is intermittently attested in the same area where the variant <ir> occurs. Within the Middle North Central Romani subgroup, the variant occurs in two varieties of the Western Spiš region, in a single variety of the Upper Spiš regions and in several adjacent varieties of the Lower Spiš regions. Furthermore, the variant occurs in another small contiguous area, which comprises two varieties of the Northern Šariš region, an adjacent Polish variety of Świętkowa Mała in the Western Galicia region and a variety of Veľkrop in the Northern Zemplín region.

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

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

(1) The variant <ri> occurs in Sinti Romani, which thus constitutes a continuum with the Western North Central Romani varieties.

(2) The variant <ir> is attested in Lovari and Northeastern Romani, which constitute a continuum with the Eastern and Northern North Central Romani varieties.