

Feature 3.1.35 Participle suffix in *_paš-l-o_ ‘lying’ and its derivations [Map ID 1410]

Variant values

- 1 -L-
- 2 -T-

Diachronic explanation of variants

(1) Retention. The variant <-L->, including its phonological reflexes /l/, /lʲ/, /j/, zero or reflected in gemination of the preceding sibilant, points to maintenance of the original perfective suffix in a verbal adjective _pašlo_ ‘lying’, which continues the OIA adjective _pāršvala_ - ‘relating to the side’, attested as _pāsalli_ - ‘lying on one’s side’ in MIA, cf. also Panjabi _pāslā_ ‘belonging to a side’ (cf. CDIAL 8121). The OIA _pāršvala_ - is an adjective derivation from a nominal root _pāršva_ - ‘side’ (also reflected in a Romani preposition _paš_), i.e. historically _pašlo_ is not a participle based on a verb.

(2) Innovation. The variant <-T->, including its phonological reflexes /t/, /tʲ/, /č/, /ć/, reflects replacement of the historical suffix -_l_ - by a suffix -_t_ - due perhaps to analogy with verbal roots ending in /š/, which often form perfective stems by means of the suffix -_t_ -.

Attestation of forms

LQCR, RMS, some publications

Geographical distribution of variants in Central Romani

(1) The variant <-L-> is by far the most dominant in Central Romani. The variant is absent or unattested especially in some varieties of the Middle and Western North Central, Eastern Transitional and Northeastern South Central subgroups. The variant <-T-> often co-occurs with the variant <-L->.

(2) The variant <-T-> is occasionally attested in Poland, Slovakia, Hungary and Slovenia. More specifically, the variant occurs in a few Northern North Central varieties of Poland, in the varieties of Czarna Góra (Upper Spiš) and Petrová (Northern Šariš), in some southern varieties of the Middle North Central subgroup, in several northern varieties of the Eastern Transitional subgroup, in several varieties of the Northeastern South Central subgroup, in a few varieties of the Upper Tekov region and in individual varieties of the Upper Hont, Nové Mesto Považie and Middle Podunajsko regions and, more to the south, in the Versend variety (Baranya) and in some varieties of the Somogy and Prekmurje regions.

Geographical distribution of variants in neighbouring dialect groups

(1) Only the Central Romani variant <-L-> is attested in the neighbouring dialect groups, being found in Lovari, Dolenjski and Northeastern Romani.

Variant values

- 1 -ar-
- 2 -av-

Diachronic explanation of variants

(1) Retention. The variant <-ar->, reflected in a verbal transitive base *_sik(h)ljar_-*, represents maintenance of the Proto-Romani transitive derivation by a factitive marker -ar- added to the perfective base *_sik(h)-l-*. In respective dialects, the two transitive derivations based on the root *_sik(h)-*, the other being a derivation in *_av-* with a meaning ‘to show’, are kept distinct.

(2) Innovation. The variant <-av->, reflected in a verbal transitive base *_sik(h)av_-*, has developed through a semantic extension of a different transitive derivation *_sik(h)av_-* from a meaning ‘to show’ to that of ‘to teach’, at the expense of the original derivation *_sik(h)ljar_-*.

Attestation of forms

LQCR, RMS, some publications

Geographical distribution of variants in Central Romani

(1) The variant <-ar-> is sporadically attested throughout the whole Central area, with a concentration in the west of Slovakia and Czechia. The variant is only occasionally attested in the Eastern and Middle North Central and Southwestern South Central subgroups, and absent or unattested especially in the Southeastern South Central subgroup.

(2) The variant <-av-> occurs in two discontinuous areas: a) in the east and b) sporadically in the south of Central Romani. The more compact, eastern, area consists of some varieties of some Northern North Central varieties of Poland and the overwhelming majority of varieties of the Eastern and Middle North Central subgroups. The southern area comprises some varieties of the Southern Gemer and Lower Nógrád regions, most varieties of the Upper Tekov and Upper Hont regions, most varieties of the Northwestern South Central subgroup, almost all varieties of the Southwestern South Central subgroup and the Versend variety (Baranya).

Geographical distribution of variants in neighbouring dialect groups

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

(1) The variant <-ar->, as a co-variant of <-av->, 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 <-av-> occurs in all neighbouring dialect groups of Central Romani, except of Northeastern Romani.