

Feature 4.11.2 ‘forty’

Map A [ID 864]: indigenous and earlier loanwords

Map B [ID 1591]: recent loanwords

Variant values

| | |
|----|------------|
| A1 | štarvaldeš |
| A2 | duvarbiš |
| A3 | saranda |
| B1 | ned'ven |
| B2 | štiricat' |
| B3 | šterdześci |
| B4 | sorok |

Diachronic explanation of variants

(A1) Innovation. The variant <štarvaldeš> is a multiplicative form *štarval* ‘four times’, containing a Romani multiplicative suffix *-var* (< OIA *-vāram*, cf. also Hindi *bār* ‘times’) in its dissimilated form *-val*, plus *deš* ‘ten’. Its literal meaning is thus ‘four times ten’.

(A2) Innovation. The variant <duvarbiš> is a multiplicative form *_duvar_* ‘two times’, containing a Romani multiplicative suffix *-_var_*, plus *_biš_* ‘twenty’. Its literal meaning is thus ‘two times twenty’.

(A3) Grecism. The variant <saranda>, including its subvariant *_štaranda_*, is a loanword of Greek *_σαράντα_* [*_saránta_*] ‘forty’.

(B1) Hungarianism. The variant <ned'ven> is a loanword of Hungarian *_negyven_* ‘forty’.

(B2) Slovakism. The variant <štiricat'>, including its subvariant *_štiricet_*, *_štiricec_*, *_štiracec_* and *_šteracec_*, is a loanword of Slovak *_štyridsať_* ‘forty’.

(B3) Polonism. The variant <šterdześci> is a loanword of Polish *_czterdzieści_* ‘forty’.

(B4) East Slavism. The variant <sorok> is a loanword of East Slavic (Ukrainian or Russian) *_sorok_* ‘forty’.

Attestation of forms

LQCR, RMS, some publications

Geographical distribution of variants in Central Romani

(A1) The variant <štarvaldeš> is attested in three discontinuous areas: a) in the Plaščuno dialect, b) in the Galicia region of Poland and c) in the west of Slovakia and in the south of Central Romani. The smaller, northern, area comprises most varieties

of the Western Galicia region, viz. Kulaszne, Krosno, and Świętkowa Mała. The latter, much larger, area consists of the overwhelming majority of varieties of the South Central group, several transitional varieties, the Western North Central varieties of Oravská Poruba (Orava), Turček and Martin (Turiec), Čáčov and Prievaly (Northern Záhorie).

(A2) The variant <duvarbiš> occurs more or less sporadically in four discontinuous areas: a) in the historical Gemer county, b) in the north of the historical Novohrad county and c) in the northwest of Central Romani. The eastern area comprises the varieties of Slavošovce (Northern Gemer), Kameňany and Rybník (Southern Gemer). The second area consists of the varieties of Divín and Pravica (Upper Novohrad). Finally, the third area comprises the Orava region, the southern varieties of Turiec, the variety of Trenčianske Teplice (Trenčín Považie) and the Czechia region (viz. Puchmajer 1821 and Vymazal 1900).

(A3) 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 Ľupča (Western Horehronie), most varieties of the Eastern Malopolska region and all varieties of the Western Malopolska region.

(B1) The variant <ned'ven> is sporadically attested in the south of Slovakia and in Hungary. More specifically, the variant occurs in a single variety of the Turňa region, in all varieties of the Eastern Gemer region and in several varieties of the Lower Nógrád, Eastern and Middle Podunajsko, Žitný ostrov and Somogy regions.

(B2) The variant <štiricat'> is dominant in Slovakia. The variant is attested in most North Central varieties of Slovakia and in a few adjacent South Central varieties.

(B3) The variant <šterdzešći> occurs in some adjacent varieties of the Western Galicia and Eastern Malopolska regions.

(B4) The variant <sorok> is attested in all varieties of the Central Galicia region.

Geographical distribution of variants in neighbouring dialect groups

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

(A1) The variant <štarvaldeš> is found in most neighbouring dialect groups of Central Romani, viz. in Lovari, Transylvanian, Sinti and Gurbet Romani.

(A3) 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.

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

Feature 4.11.3 ‘fifty’

Map A [ID 117]: indigenous and earlier loanwords

Map B [ID 1592]: recent loanwords

Variant values

- A1 pandžvardeš
- A2 jepaššel
- A3 pandždešuňa
- A4 penda
- B1 ötven
- B2 peďesjat
- B3 pindžišont
- B4 pjet'd'esjat'

Diachronic explanation of variants

(A1) The variant <pandžvardeš> is a multiplicative form pandžvar ‘five times’, containing a Romani multiplicative suffix -var (< OIA -vāram, cf. also Hindi -bār ‘times’) plus -deš ‘ten’. Its literal meaning is thus ‘five times ten’.

(A2) The variant <jepaššel>, including its subvariants, jepašel, epašel and paššel (the latter only non-Central), is a compound of (je)paš ‘half’ and -šel ‘hundred’, thus literally meaning ‘half-hundred’.

(A3) The variant <pandždešuňa> is a compound of pandž ‘five’ and -deš ‘ten’ with an obscure suffix -uňa (-u - from the connector of ten with units, e.g. -dešujekh ‘eleven’, and -ňa from -eňa ‘nine’?). Note that this form is only used by semispeakers for cryptic purposes, which could explain its unusual form.

(A4) The variant <penda> is a loanword of Greek πενήντα [-penínta] ‘fifty’.

(B1) Hungarianism. The variant <ötven> is a loanword of Hungarian ötven ‘fifty’.

(B2) Slovakism. The variant <peďesjat>, including its subvariants padesát and pejdžešac, is a loanword of Slovak päťdesiat ‘fifty’ or its dialectal variants.

(B3) Polonism. The variant <pindžišont> is a loanword of Polish pięćdziesiąt ‘fifty’.

(B4) East Slavism. The variant <pjat'd'esjat>, including its subvariant pid'diš'jat, is a loanword of the East Slavic numeral ‘fifty’, cf. Russian пятьдесят and Ukrainian п'ятдесят.

Attestation of forms

LQCR, no RMS data, some publications

Geographical distribution of variants in Central Romani

(A1) The variant <pandžvardeš> is attested in two discontinuous areas: a) in the Galicia region of Poland with an overlap to the Malopolska region and b) in the south of Central Romani with an overlap to the historical Turiec and Orava counties. The smaller, northern, area comprises some varieties of the Western Galicia region and a single variety of the Eastern Malopolska region (viz. Koszary). The much larger, southern, area consists of the overwhelming majority of varieties of the South Central group, individual varieties of the Southern Gemer and Hlohovec Považie regions, almost all varieties of Upper Hont, all varieties of Upper Tekov, almost all varieties of Turiec and the variety of the Orava region.

(A2) The variant <jepaššel> occurs sporadically throughout the whole Central area, with a concentration a) in Czechia and the western periphery of Slovakia and b) in the Slovak part of the historical Novohrad county with an overlap to the historical Hont county. The former concentration comprises the Bohemian variety described by Puchmajer (1821), almost all Western Transitional varieties, some varieties of Southern and Northern Záhorie and individual varieties of the Trenčín and Púchov Považie regions. The latter concentration consists of most varieties of the Upper Novohrad region, the adjacent Bušince variety (Lower Nógrád) and a few eastern varieties of the Lower Hont region. In addition, the variant is attested in a few varieties of the Pest and Somogy regions and in individual varieties of several other dialect regions (Central Galicia, Northern, Western and Southern Gemer, Pukanec, Northern Podunajsko, and Burgenland).

(A3) The variant <pandždešuňa> occurs in the adjacent Northern North Central varieties of Nyžnje and Lanovyči (Central Galicia).

(A4) The variant <penda> is more or less sporadically attested in a single contiguous area, in Eastern Už and in the east of Slovakia with an overlap to the Horehronie region and to the Malopolska region of Poland. This area comprises all varieties of the Eastern Už region, several Eastern North Central varieties of Slovakia, most varieties of the Middle North Central subgroup, the Slovenská Ľupča variety (Western Horehronie), some varieties of the Eastern Malopolska and all varieties of the Western Malopolska region.

(B1) The variant <ötven> is sporadically attested in the south of Slovakia and in Hungary. More specifically, the variant occurs in all varieties of the Eastern Gemer region, in several Northwestern South Central varieties of Slovakia, in most varieties of the Lower Nógrád and Somogy regions and in the variety of Városlőd (Veszprém).

(B2) The variant <ped'esjat> occurs sporadically in Slovakia, viz. in most North Central and in a few adjacent South Central varieties of Slovakia.

(B3) The variant <pindžišont> is attested in most varieties of Poland.

(B4) The variant <pjat'd'esjat> occurs in most varieties of the Central Galicia region.

Geographical distribution of variants in neighbouring dialect groups

(A) All four Central Romani variants are attested in the neighbouring dialect groups:

(A1) The variant <pandžvardeš> is found in some neighbouring dialect groups to the east and west of Central Romani, viz. in Lovari, Gurbet and Sinti Romani.

- (A2) The variant <jepaššel>, as a co-variant of <pandžvardeš>, occurs in Sinti Romani and, as a co-variant of <pandždešuňa>, in Northeastern Romani.
- (A3) The variant <pandždešuňa> is found in Northeastern Romani, constituting a dialect continuum with some Central Galician varieties of Central Romani.
- (A4) The variant <penda> occurs in Arli Romani, i.e. to the south of Central Romani.
- (B) None of the Central Romani variants are attested in the neighbouring dialect groups.

Feature 4.11.5 ‘thousand’

Map A [ID 456]: indigenous and Hungarian loanwords

Map B [ID 1615]: recent Slavic loanwords

Variant values

A1 deš(var)šel

A2 bar OR baro

A3 ezero(s)

B1 ťisícos etc.

Diachronic explanation of variants

(A1) Innovation. The variant *_deš(var)šel_* comprises two compound numerals *_deš-var-šel_*, lit. ‘ten times hundred’, and *_deš-šel_*, lit. ‘ten-hundred’.

(A2) Innovation. The variant *<bari>*, including its subvariant *_baro šel_*, seems to be based on the adjective *_baro_* ‘big’ (cf. *_baro šel_* ‘big hundred’; the feminine form of *_bari_* is probably due to the feminine forms for ‘thousand’ in contact languages, such as feminine *_tysjača_* in Ukrainian). In respective Central Romani dialects, this numeral form has probably been borrowed from Northeastern Romani.

(A3) Hungarianism. The variant *<ezero(s)>*, including its subvariants *_ezeri(s)_*, *_ezro_*, *_ežro_* and *_zero(s)_*, is a loanword of Hungarian *_ezer_* ‘thousand’.

(B1) North Slavism. The variant *<ťisíco(s)>*, including its various subvariants, such as *_tišic_*, *_tišič_*, *_tišačis_*, *_tišonc_* and *_tysjača_*, is a loanword of the common North Slavic numeral of ‘thousand’; cf. Czech and Slovak *_tisíc_* (with several dialectal forms, such as eastern Slovak *_tišic_*), Polish *_tysiąc_* and Ukrainian *_tysjača_*.

Attestation of forms

LQCR, RMS, some publications

Geographical distribution of variants in Central Romani

(A1) The variant *<deš(var)šel>* is rarely attested in Central Romani and only in old sources, viz. in Puchmajer (1821) and Vymazal (1900) for the Czechia region and in the 19th century descriptions of Domony (Pest) and Paks (Tolna).

(A2) The variant *<bari>* occurs in a single contiguous area consisting of all varieties of the Central Galicia region.

(A3) The variant *<ezero(s)>* is dominant in Central Romani. The variant is absent or unattested especially in the Central Galicia, Western Horehronie and Tolna regions.

(B1) The variant *<ťisíco(s)>* is largely attested in Czechia, Slovakia, Poland and Ukraine. More specifically, the variant occurs in many varieties of the North Central

group and in individual South Central Romani varieties of the Malohont, Podpoľanie, Northern Podunajsko and Southern Záhorie regions.

Geographical distribution of variants in neighbouring dialect groups

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

(A1) The variant <deš(var) šel>, as a co-variant of <ezero(s)>, is found in Sinti Romani, i.e. to the west and northwest of Central Romani.

(A2) The variant <bari> occurs in Northeastern Romani, i.e. to the northeast of Central Romani.

(A3) The variant <ezero(s)> is found in the neighbouring dialect groups to the east, west and northwest of Central Romani, viz. in Lovari, Transylvanian and Sinti Romani.

(B1) The variant <ťisíco(s)>, in its Polish-derived form *_tysjonco_*, is attested in Northeastern Romani, i.e. to the northeast of Central Romani.

Variant values

- 1 jekto
- 2 angluno
- 3 prvo
- 4 elšéno
- 5 peršo
- 6 ejšti

Diachronic explanation of variants

- (1) The variant <jekto> is a regular ordinal numeral marked by the Greek-derived suffix *-to*, which is attached to the cardinal numeral *_jek(h)_* ‘one’.
- (2) The variant <angluno> has developed through semantic extension of the deadverbial adjective *_angluno_* from its original meaning ‘front’.
- (3) Wider Slavism. The variant <prvo>, including its subvariants *_prvvo_* and *_pervo_*, is a loanword of the common Slavic ordinal numeral ‘first’; cf. Slovenian *_prvi_*, Czech *_prv-ní_*, Slovak *_prv-ý_*, and Russian *_perv-yj_* ‘first’.
- (4) Hungarianism. The variant <elšéno>, including its subvariants *_elšebno_*, *_elšemno_* and *_ešebno_*, is a loanword of Hungarian *_első_* ‘first’.
- (5) East Slovakism, Polonism or Ukrainism. The variant <peršo>, including its subvariants *_piršo_* and *_pjeršo_*, is a loanword of an alternative form of the common Slavic ordinal numeral *_prv_-* ‘first’ (see variant <prvo>) that is additionally marked by a Slavic comparative suffix *-š_-*; cf. Polish *_pierwszy_*, Ukrainian *_peršyj_* and East Slovak (dialectal) *_peršy_*.
- (6) Germanism. The variant <ejšti> is a loanword of German *_erste_* ‘first’.

Attestation of forms

LQCR, no RMS data, some publications

Geographical distribution of variants in Central Romani

- (1) The variant <jekto> is attested in Puchmajer (1821) and Vymazal (1900) for the Czechia region and in the variety of Trenčianske Teplice (Trenčín Považie).
- (2) The variant <angluno> occurs in two discontinuous areas: a) in the centre of the historical Gemer county, b) in the Nógrád county in Hungary, and in the variety of Madunice (Hlohovec Považie). The eastern area comprises the adjacent varieties of Ochtiná (Northern Gemer), Chyžné (Western Gemer) and Kameňany (Southern Gemer), while the southern area consists of the Lower Nógrád varieties of Mohora, Ecseg and Mátraverebély.

(3) The variant <prvo> occurs in a single contiguous area, in Czechia and Slovakia, especially in the northwestern part of Slovakia. This area comprises almost all varieties of the Western North Central subgroup and the all varieties of the adjacent Southern Záhorie region, the overwhelming majority of the transitional varieties and some (mostly adjacent) varieties of the Middle North Central and Northeastern South Central subgroups. In addition, the variant is attested in two varieties of the Northern Šariš region, viz. in Lenartov and Zborov.

(4) The variant <elšeno> is attested in a single contiguous area, in the south of Slovakia and in the northern and eastern varieties of Hungary. This area consists of some southern varieties of the Middle North Central and Eastern Transitional subgroups, most varieties of the Northeastern South Central subgroup, all varieties of the Northwestern South Central subgroup (except of the Southern Záhorie varieties) and, in addition, the varieties of Versend (Baranya) and Lengyeltóti (Somogy).

(5) The variant <peršo> occurs in a single contiguous area, in the east of Central Romani. This area comprises all varieties of the Northern North Central subgroup, almost all varieties of the Eastern North Central subgroup and the overwhelming majority of varieties of the Middle North Central subgroup.

(6) The variant <ejšti> occurs in a single contiguous area consisting of almost all varieties of the Southwestern South Central subgroup.

Geographical distribution of variants in neighbouring dialect groups

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

(1) The variant <jekto> occurs in Sinti and Gurbet Romani.

(2) The variant <angluno> is found in Lovari, Sinti and Arli Romani.

(3) The variant <prvo> is found in Dolenjski and Northeastern Romani.

(6) The variant <ejšti>, as a co-variant of <angluno> and <jekto>, occurs in Sinti Romani, i.e. to the west and northwest of Central Romani.

Variant values

- 1 paš
- 2 jepaš

Diachronic explanation of variants

(1) Retention. The variant <paš> continues the original, Proto-Romani fractional numeral *_paš_ ‘half’, which developed from the OIA noun _pārśva_ - ‘side’.

(2) Innovation. The variant <jepaš>, including its subvariants _jekpaš_, _epaš_ and _épaš_, has developed from a compound that consisted of a numeral _jek(h)_ ‘one’ and the conservative fractional numeral _paš_ ‘half’, i.e. *_jekh paš_ ‘one half’.

Attestation of forms

LQCR, RMS, some publications

Geographical distribution of variants in Central Romani

(1) The variant <paš> is attested in two discontinuous areas: a) in the Plaščuno dialect and b) in the Middle Transitional varieties of Slovenská Ľupča, Sielnica (both Western Horehronie) and Jastrabá (Upper Tekov).

(2) The variant <jepaš> is almost general in Central Romani. It occurs in almost all varieties of both the South and North Central groups, except of the Plaščuno dialect and a few varieties of the Western Horehronie region.

Geographical distribution of variants in neighbouring dialect groups

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

(1) The variant <paš> occurs in the neighbouring dialect groups to the west, north and southeast of Central Romani, viz. in Sinti, Northeastern and Gurbet Romani.

(2) The variant <jepaš> is found in Transylvanian Romani, i.e. to the east of Central Romani.