

Variant values

- 1 phabaj
- 2 jambro OR ambri
- 3 japkos

Diachronic explanation of variants

(1) Retention. The variant <phabaj> represents maintenance of the Proto-Romani etymon *_phabaj_* ‘apple’, which is etymologically related to nouns meaning ‘apple’ in some Northwestern Indo-Aryan (‘Dardic’) languages, e.g. Palula *_babái_* ‘apple’ (cf. CDIAL 9387).

(2) Innovation. The variant <jambro OR ambri>, has developed through a semantic shift of the Proto-Romani noun **_ambrol_* ‘pear’, which is of Iranian origin, from the meaning ‘pear’ to that of ‘apple’.

(3) Slovakism and/or Polonism. The variant <japkos>, including its subvariant *_jablko_*, is a loanword of Slovak *_jablko_* ‘apple’ (or Polish *_jabłko_* ‘apple’ in the Polish dialect) in its colloquial form *_jabko_*.

Attestation of forms

LQCR, RMS, some publications

Geographical distribution of variants in Central Romani

(1) The variant <phabaj> is almost general in Central Romani. The variant is only absent or unattested in the Western North Central dialect regions of Upper Kysuce and Žilina Považie.

(2) The variant <jambro OR ambri> is attested in a single contiguous area, in the historical Trenčín county. This area comprises individual adjacent varieties of the Upper Kysuce and Žilina Považie regions (viz. Vysoká nad Kysucou and Kysucké Nové Mesto) and a single variety of the Trenčín Považie region (viz. Trenčianske Teplice).

(3) The variant <japkos> occurs in two discontinuous areas: a) in a few varieties of the Upper Kysuce and Žilina Považie regions and b) in the Northern North Central variety of Szaflary (Western Malopolska).

Geographical distribution of variants in neighbouring dialect groups

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

Variant values

- 1 bibi
- 2 teta etc.
- 3 néna etc.
- 4 móm

Diachronic explanation of variants

- (1) Retention. The variant <bibi> represents maintenance of the Proto-Romani etymon *_bibi_*, which was borrowed from an Iranian language.
- (2) Wider Slavism. The variant <teta etc.>, manifested in a number of phonological forms, such as *_t'eta_*, *_t'etka_*, *_tetka_*, *_cetka_*, *_totka_*, *_t'otka_*, *_t'et'ka_*, etc., represents a loanword of various dialectal forms of a Slavic etymon for (originally maternal) ‘aunt’, cf. South Slavic *_tetka_*, Czech and Slovak *_teta_*, Polish *_ciotka_*, Ukrainian *_titka_*, Russian *_tjotja_* and their colloquial and dialect-specific forms (e.g. East Slovak *_cetka_*).
- (3) Hungarianism. The variant <néna>, including its subvariants *_njena_*, *_nena_*, *_néňa_*, *_nejni_*, *_nene_*, *_néni_*, *_nad'néni_* etc., is a loanword of Hungarian *_néni_* ‘aunt’.
- (4) Germanism. The variant <móm>, including its subvariant *_muam_*, is a loanword of German *_Muhme_* ‘aunt’.

Attestation of forms

LQCR, RMS, some publications

Geographical distribution of variants in Central Romani

- (1) The variant <bibi> is attested in a more or less contiguous area, in the historical Šariš and Spiš counties, as well as in the northern periphery of Central Romani. This area consists of all varieties of the Northern North Central subgroup, most varieties of the Western Šariš, Lower, Upper and Western Spiš regions, a single adjacent variety of the Liptov region (viz. Pribylina), most varieties of the Eastern and Northern Šariš regions and some varieties of the Northern and Western Zemplín regions. The variant is also attested in most varieties of the Western North Central regions of Upper Kysuce and Žilina Považie and in a few varieties of the Turiec region. The variant is also attested in Puchmajer (1821) for the Czechia region.
- (2) The variant <teta etc.> occurs in three discontinuous areas: a) in the eastern periphery of the Central area, b) in the west of Slovakia and c) in the Baranya county. The first, eastern, area comprises the overwhelming majority of varieties of the Eastern North Central subgroup, plus a few adjacent varieties of the Western and Southern Šariš regions. The second, western, area consists of the overwhelming majority of varieties of the Western North Central subgroup, all varieties of the

Middle and Western Transitional subgroups, a few varieties of the Eastern Transitional subgroup, almost all varieties of the Liptov region, all varieties of the Northern Podunajsko region, the Pukanec variety and some other South Central varieties of the Malohont, Podpoľanie, Upper Novohrad, Eastern Podunajsko and Southern Záhorie region. The third, southern, area is represented only by the Southeastern South Central variety of Versend (Baranya).

(3) The variant <néna etc.> occurs more or less sporadically in the south of Central Romani. More specifically, the variant is attested in the overwhelming majority of varieties of the Northeastern and Northwestern South Central subgroup and in several varieties of the Southwestern South Central subgroup, with a concentration in the Zala and Prekmurje regions. The variant is also attested in several southern region of North Central Romani (Eastern Už, Western and Southern Šariš, Lower Spiš, Abov, and Turňa).

(4) The variant <móm> is attested in a single more or less contiguous area, in the southwest of Central Romani. This area consists of all varieties of almost all varieties of Sopron and Somogy, the variety of the Veszprém region and most varieties of the Burgenland region.

Geographical distribution of variants in neighbouring dialect groups

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

(1) The variant <bibi> is found in the neighbouring dialect groups to the west, northwest and southeast of Central Romani, viz. in Sinti and Gurbet Romani.

(2) The variant <teta etc.> occurs in the neighbouring dialect groups to the northeast, south and southwest of Central Romani, viz. in Northeastern, Arli and Dolenjski Romani.

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

Feature 6.1.7 ‘bed’

Map A [ID 10]: indigenous and earlier loanwords

Map B [ID 1310]: recent loanwords

Variant values

- A1 than
- A2 sovind’i
- A3 vodro(s)
- A4 pato(s)
- A5 ád’o(s)
- B1 nosoja
- B2 post’ela
- B3 priča etc.

Diachronic explanation of variants

(A1) Innovation. The variant <than> has developed through a semantic extension from the original meaning ‘place’ (< MIA _thAAN.a _ - < OIA _sthAAAna _ ‘place’).

(A2) Innovatin. The variant <sovind’i> is a deverbal derivation from the root _sov_ - ‘to sleep’.

(A3) South Slavic. The variant <vodro(s)> is a loanword of old South Slavic *_odrŭ_ ‘bed’ (cf. Serbo-Croatian _odar_ ‘bier’, ‘catafalque’).

(A4) Romanianism. The variant <pato(s)> is a loanword of Romanian _pat_ ‘bed’. In the respective dialect, it may be a loanword from Vlax Romani dialects.

(A5) Hungarianism. The variant <ád’o(s)> is a loanword of Hungarian _ágy_ ‘bed’.

(B1) Hungarianism. The variant <nosoja> is a loanword of archaic Hungarian _nyoszolya_ ‘bed’.

(B2) Slovakism. The variant <post’ela> is a loanword of Slovak _postel’_ ‘bed’.

(B3) Slovakism. The variant <priča etc.> is a loanword of Slovak dialectal _priča_ ‘wooden bed’, with a semantic shift to ‘bed’ in general.

Attestation of forms

LQCR, RMS, some publications

Geographical distribution of variants in Central Romani

(A1) The variant <than> occurs in a single contiguous area, in the southeast of Slovakia. This area comprises all varieties of the Eastern Už region and the southernmost varieties of the Southern Zemplín, Western Uh, Abov and Turňa regions.

(A2) The variant <sovind'i> is attested in the Western North Central variety of Vysoká nad Kysucou (Upper Kysuce).

(A3) The variant <vodro(s)> occurs in a single contiguous area, in the south of Central Romani. This area consists of almost all varieties of the South Central group, all varieties of the Middle and Western Transitional subgroups, almost all varieties of the Eastern Transitional subgroup and several adjacent North Central varieties of the Lower Spiš, Upper Tekov, Nové Mesto Považie and Northern Záhorie regions.

(A4) The variant <pato(s)> is attested in the Plaščuno dialect.

(A5) The variant <ád'o(s)> occurs in a single contiguous area, in the east of Central Romani. This area comprises all varieties of the Northern North Central subgroup and the overwhelming majority of varieties of the Eastern and Middle North Central subgroups.

(B1) The variant <nosoja> is attested in a single contiguous area consisting of two adjacent varieties of the Pest region, viz. Csobánka and Tinnye.

(B2) The variant <post'ela> occurs in a single contiguous area, in the northwest of Central Romani. More specifically, the area comprises all varieties of the Middle Transitional subgroup, almost all varieties of the Western North Central subgroup and a few adjacent varieties of the Western Gemer and Liptov regions. The variant is also attested in the remote variety of Lenartov (Northern Šariš).

(B3) The variant <priča etc.> occurs in a single contiguous area consisting of all varieties of the Púchov Považie 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 <than> is found in Transylvanian Romani, constituting a dialect continuum with the Central Romani varieties of the Transcarpathian region and southeastern Slovakia.

(A4) The variant <pato(s)> occurs in the neighbouring dialect groups to the east and southeast of Central Romani, viz. in Transylvanian, Lovari and Gurbet Romani.

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

Feature 6.1.10 ‘beer’

Map A [ID 356]: complete

Map B [ID 1300]: distribution of pivo(s)**Variant values**

A1 kerko

A2 lovina

A3 bera

A4 šero(s)

B1 pivo(s)

Diachronic explanation of variants

(A1) The variant <kerko>, including its subvariant krko_, has developed through substantivization, accompanied by a semantic specification, of an adjectival etymon kerko ‘bitter’ (< MIA kaḍua - ‘bitter’, OIA kaṭu(ka) - ‘pungent, bitter’; cf. CDIAL 2641).

(A2) The variant <lovina>, including its subvariant lovîna_, is a loanword of old South Slavic olovina ‘yeast, dregs’ with a semantic shift to ‘beer’.

(A3) The variant <bera> is a loanword of Romanian bere ‘beer’.

(A4) Hungarianism. The variant <šero(s)>, including its subvariants šöro_ and šöra_, is a loanword of Hungarian sör (Hungarian dial. ser) ‘beer’.

(B1) The variant <present> refers to a loanword of the common Slavic word for ‘beer’ pivo_ in respective dialects.

Attestation of forms

LQCR, RMS, some publications

Geographical distribution of variants in Central Romani

(A1) The variant <kerko> occurs in two discontinuous areas: a) in the northwest of Slovakia and b) in the Tolna county. The first, northern, area consists of individual varieties of the Upper Kysuce, Žilina Považie and Turiec regions. The second, southern, area is represented only by the Southeastern South Central variety of Paks (Tolna).

(A2) The variant <lovina> is attested in two discontinuous areas: a) in the east of Central Romani and b) in the Czechia region. The much larger, eastern, area consists of most varieties of the Middle North Central subgroup, a few scattered varieties of the Eastern North Central subgroup and the Northern North Central varieties of Volja (Central Galicia) and Krośnica (Eastern Malopolska). The second area comprises all varieties of the Czechia region.

(A3) The variant <bera> is attested in a single contiguous area comprising two adjacent varieties of the Western Galicia region (viz. Krosno and Kulaszne).

(A4) The variant <šero(s)> occurs in a single contiguous area, in the south of Central Romani and in some westernmost varieties of Slovakia. More specifically, this area comprises almost all varieties of the South Central group, individual varieties of the Turňa and Abov regions, several Eastern Transitional varieties, individual varieties of the Upper Hont and Hlohovec Považie regions, a few varieties of the Northern Záhorie region and individual varieties of other Western North Central dialect regions (Nové Mesto, Trenčín and Púchov Považie, and Upper Kysuce).

(B1) The variant <present> occurs in two discontinuous areas: a) in Slovakia, Ukraine and Poland and b) in the Prekmurje region. The first, much larger, area consists of the overwhelming majority of varieties of the North Central group, most varieties of the Northeastern South Central subgroup of Slovakia and a single variety of the Northern Podunajsko region (viz. Skýcov). The second, smaller, area consists of most varieties of the Prekmurje region.

Geographical distribution of variants in neighbouring dialect groups

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

(A1) The variant <lovina> is found in the neighbouring dialect groups to the north and west of Central Romani, viz. in Northeastern and Sinti Romani. These dialect groups constitute a dialect continuum with some northern varieties of Central Romani.

(A3) The variant <bera> occurs in the neighbouring dialect groups to the east of Central Romani, viz. in Lovari and Transylvanian Romani.

(A4) The variant <šero(s)>, as a co-variant of <bera>, is found in Transylvanian Romani, i.e. to the east of Central Romani.

(B1) The Central Romani variant <pivo(s)> is attested found to the south of Central Romani, viz. in Gurbet, Arli and Dolenjski Romani.

Variant values

- 1 fóro(s)
- 2 Požoň etc.
- 3 Brat’islava

Diachronic explanation of variants

- (1) Innovation. The variant <fóro(s)> has developed by a semantic specialization of the noun _fóro(s)_, originally meaning ‘town’ in general to mean a specific town.
- (2) Hungarianism. The variant <požoň etc.> is a loanword of Hungarian _Pozsony_ ‘Bratislava’.
- (3) Slovakism. The variant <brat’islava> is a loanword of Slovak _Bratislava_.

Attestation of forms

LQCR, RMS, no publications

Geographical distribution of variants in Central Romani

- (1) The variant <fóro(s)> is attested in the Northwestern South Central variety of Dunajská Lužná (Žitný ostrov).
- (2) The variant <Požoň etc.> occurs in a single contiguous area, in the south of Central Romani and in some westernmost varieties of Slovakia. This area consists of almost all varieties of the Lower Nógrád region, almost all varieties of the Northwestern, Southwestern and Southeastern South Central subgroups, all varieties of the Northern Záhorie, Nové Mesto and Trenčín Považie regions, a few varieties of the Upper Kysuce region and a single variety of the Turiec region (viz. Martin).
- (3) The variant <Brat’islava> occurs in a single contiguous area, in all varieties of Ukraine and Poland and in the overwhelming majority of varieties of Slovakia. The variant is almost general in the North Central group (only absent in some Western North Central regions), and it is also attested in several South Central varieties of Slovakia, viz. in all varieties of the Malohont, Podpoľanie, Lower Hont and Upper Novohrad regions, in some varieties of the Lower Nógrád and Northern Podunajsko regions.

Geographical distribution of variants in neighbouring dialect groups

- (2) Only the Central Romani variant <požoma etc.> is attested in the neighbouring dialect groups, being found in Lovari Romani, i.e. to the east of Central Romani.

Variant values

- | | |
|---|----------|
| 1 | phral |
| 2 | endáňi |
| 3 | táštvíro |
| 4 | eččo |

Diachronic explanation of variants

(1) Retention. The variant <phral> maintains the original Proto-Romani word, which developed from MIA *_bhrāda-_ (cf. _bhādā_ in the Śauraseṇī Prakrit) and in turn from OIA _bhrātr-_ (nom.sg _bhrātā_). Cf. CDIAL 9661.

(2) Innovation. The variant <endáňi> is a semantic innovation based on the shift in the meaning ‘family’ > ‘brother’.

(3) Hungarianism. The variant <táštvíro> is a loanword of Hungarian _testvér_ ‘sibling’.

(4) Hungarianism. The variant <eččo> is a loanword of Hungarian _öcs_ ‘younger brother’.

Attestation of forms

LQCR, RMS, some publications

Geographical distribution of variants in Central Romani

(1) The variant <phral> is almost general in Central Romani. The variant is only absent or unattested in a few varieties of the Eastern and Middle Podunajsko and Žitný ostrov regions and in a single variety of the Lower Nógrád region.

(2) The variant <endáňi> is attested in the Northeastern South Central variety of Mátraverebély (Lower Nógrád).

(3) The variant <táštvíro> occurs in two adjacent varieties of the Eastern Podunajsko region (viz. Vlčany and Neded) and in individual adjacent varieties of the Middle Podunajsko and Žitný ostrov regions (viz. Jelka and Štvrtok na Ostrove).

(4) The variant <eččo> is attested in two adjacent varieties of the Žitný ostrov region (viz. Rastice and Dunajská Streda) and in a single adjacent variety of the Middle Podunajsko region (viz. Tomášikovo). The variant also occurs in a single variety of the Eastern Podunajsko region, however, this variety is not adjacent to the others.

Geographical distribution of variants in neighbouring dialect groups

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

Variant values

- 1 derivation of parun-
- 2 pohrebo(s) etc.
- 3 temetíši
- 4 poxorono(s)
- 5 sprévot

Diachronic explanation of variants

- (1) Retention. The variant <derivation of parun-> comprises subvariants _paruníbe_, _parunípe_ and _parušágos_, which represent various nominalizations based upon the Greek-derived verb of _parun_ - ‘to bury’ (< Greek _παράχων_ ; cf. Boretzky 2012: 28).
- (2) Wider Slavism. The variant <pohrebo(s) etc.>, including its subvariants _poxrebos_ and _pogrebos_, is a loanword of a Slavic deverbial noun (cf. Slovak _pohreb_, Polish _pogrzeb_, South Slavic _pogreb_ ‘funeral’), which is based on the Slavic verb for ‘to bury’.
- (3) Hungarianism. The variant <temetíši> is a loanword of Hungarian _temetés_ ‘burial’.
- (4) East Slavism. The variant <poxorono(s)> is a loanword of Ukrainian _похорон_ or Russian _похороны_ ‘burial, funeral’.
- (5) Slovenism. The variant <sprévot> is a loanword of Slovene _sprevod_ ‘procession, burial procession’.

Attestation of forms

LQCR, RMS, some publications

Geographical distribution of variants in Central Romani

- (1) The variant <derivation of parun-> occurs in three discontinuous areas: a) in the southeast of Slovakia and b) in the Somogy and c) Burgenland regions. The first, eastern, area comprises several southern varieties of the Eastern North Central subgroups (viz. all varieties of the Eastern Už region, several varieties of the Western Uh and Southern Zemplín regions) and a single variety of the Abov region (viz. Veľká Ida). In the Southwestern South Central group, the variant occurs in all varieties of the Burgenland region and in several varieties of the Somogy region.
- (2) The variant <pohrebo(s) etc.> occurs in a single contiguous area, in the north of Central Romani. This area consists of the overwhelming majority of varieties of the North Central group and a few adjacent South Central varieties of the Malohont, Podpol’anie, Northern Podunajsko and Southern Záhorie regions.

(3) The variant <temetíši> occurs in a single contiguous area, in the south of Central Romani. This area comprises almost all Northeastern and Northwestern South Central varieties, several Southeastern and Southwestern South Central varieties, all varieties of the Turňa and Eastern Gemer region and some varieties of the Southern Gemer region.

(4) The variant <poxorono(s)> is attested in all Northern North Central varieties of Central Galicia.

(5) The variant <sprévot> occurs in a single contiguous area consisting of all varieties of the Prekmurje region.

Geographical distribution of variants in neighbouring dialect groups

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

(1) The variant <derivation of parun-> is found in Arli Romani, i.e. to the south of Central Romani.

(2) The variant <pohrebo(s) etc.> occurs in the neighbouring dialect groups to the northeast and southwest of Central Romani, viz. in Northeastern and Dolenjski Romani.

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

Variant values

- 1 šax
- 2 armi

Diachronic explanation of variants

(1) Retention. The variant <šax>, including its subvariant _ša_, maintains the original Proto-Romani noun, which was derived from OIA _śāka_ - ‘potherb, vegetable’; cf. also Khovar _šax_ ‘green vegetables’ (CDIAL 12370).

(2) Innovation. The variant <armi>, including its variants _armin_, _jarmim_, _harmin_ etc., has developed by semantic extension of Proto-Romani *_armi_ (< Greek _army_ ‘brine, salt water’; cf. Boretzky 2012: 26) from ‘sauerkraut’ to ‘cabbage’ (cf. Meaning of _armi_ for more details).

Attestation of forms

LQCR, RMS, some publications

Geographical distribution of variants in Central Romani

(1) The variant <šax> occurs in a single contiguous area, in the western periphery of Central Romani. This area consists of all varieties of the Southwestern South Central subgroup, Puchmajer (1821) variety of the Czechia region and the western varieties of the Northern Záhorie region.

(2) The variant <armi> is attested throughout the whole Central area. The variant is only absent in the Southwestern South Central subgroup, and rarely attested in the Northern Záhorie region.

Geographical distribution of variants in neighbouring dialect groups

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

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

(2) The variant <armi> occurs in Transylvanian Romani, constituting a dialect continuum with the northern and eastern varieties of Central Romani.

Variant values

- 1 čhavo
- 2 bajatos
- 3 fat’ú

Diachronic explanation of variants

(1) Retention. The variant <čhavo>, including its phonological subvariants _čhávo_, _čávo_, _čavo_, _chavo_, _čha_, _čhá_, _čho_ etc., represents maintenance of the Proto-Romani etymon * _čhavo_ ‘son; (Romani) boy’, which is a reflex of MIA _chāpa_ - (Pali), _chāva_ - (Prakrits) ‘young of an animal’ (CDIAL 5026). Cf. also OIA _śāva_ - ‘young of an animal’ and _chā_ -, _chās_ - of the same meaning in works of Sanskrit lexicographers.

(2) Romanianism. The variant <bajatos> is a loanword of Romanian _băiat_ ‘boy’.

(3) Hungarianism. The variant <fat’ú> is a loanword of Hungarian _fattyú_ ‘bastard, extramarital child’, with a semantic shift to ‘child, boy, son’ in general.

Attestation of forms

LQCR, RMS, some publications

Geographical distribution of variants in Central Romani

(1) The variant <čhavo> is almost general in Central Romani. The variant is only absent or unattested in almost all varieties of the Somogy region and in a single variety of the Burgenland region.

(2) The variant <bajatos> is attested, as a co-variant, in the Plaščuno dialect.

(3) The variant <fat’ú> occurs in four discontinuous areas: a) in the Somogy county in Hungary, b) in the Burgenland region with an overlap to the Sopron county and, c) as a co-variant, in the Northeastern South Central varieties of Vígľaš and Ponická Huta (Podpoľanie) and d) in the Western Transitional variety of Veľké Kostoľany (Hlohovec Považie). With regard to the southwestern areas, the variant occurs in almost all varieties of the Somogy region, in all varieties of the Burgenland region and in the adjacent variety of Fertőrákos (Sopron).

Geographical distribution of variants in neighbouring dialect groups

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

Feature 6.1.40 ‘clothes’

Map A [ID 74]: indigenous and earlier loanwords

Map B [ID 1325]: Hungarian loanwords and _handri_

Map C [ID 1071]: other Slavic loanwords

Map D [ID 1306]: distribution of _gada_

Variant values

A1	uraviben
A2	id’a
A3	fóti
B1	ruhi
B2	rond’i
B3	gúñi
B4	holmi
B5	handri
C1	grati
C2	hábi
C3	renti
C4	šuxi
C5	šmati
D1	gada

Diachronic explanation of variants

(A1) Innovation. The variant <uraviben> has developed through a semantic specification of an abstract noun _uraviben_, derived from a root _ur_ - ‘to clothe’, ‘clothing, dressing’ > ‘clothes’.

(A2) Grecism. The variant <id’a>, including its subvariants _idža_ and _ija_, represents maintenance of the Proto-Romani etymon *_idos_ ‘a piece of cloth, thing’ (plural *_idja_) from Greek _εἶδος_ ([íðos] in Byzantine Greek) ‘form, appearance, type, species, goods’ (cf. Boretzky Gräzismen: 21).

(A3) Hungarianism. The variant <fóti> is a loanword of Hungarian _falt_ ‘stain, spot’, with a semantic shift to ‘clothes’.

(B1) Hungarianism. The variant <ruhi> is a loanword of Hungarian _ruha_ ‘clothes’.

(B2) Hungarianism. The variant <rond’i> is a loanword of Hungarian _rongy_ ‘rag’, with a semantic shift to ‘clothes’.

(B3) Hungarianism. The variant <gúñi> is a loanword of archaic Hungarian _gúnya_ ‘poor clothes’, with a semantic shift to ‘clothes’ in general.

(B4) Hungarianism. The variant <holmi> is a loanword of Hungarian _holmi_ ‘thing’, with a semantic shift to ‘clothes’.

(B5) Slovakism. The variants <handri etc.>, including its various subvariants such as _hundri_, _hadri_, _hanri_ is a loanword of colloquial Slovak _handry_ ‘clothes’.

(C1) Slovakism. The variant <grati> is a loanword of Slovak dialectal _graty_ ‘old stuff, junk’, with a semantic shift to ‘clothes’ in general.

(C2) Slovakism. The variant <hábi> is a loanword of archaic Slovak _háby_ ‘clothes’.

(C3) Slovakism and/or Polonism. The variant <renti> is a loanword of Slovak dialectal _renta_ ‘rag’, with a semantic shift to ‘clothes’ in general, or Polish dialectal _renty_.

(C4) Slovakism. The variant <šuxi> is a loanword of archaic Slovak _šúchy_ ‘clothes’.

(C5) Polonism. The variant <šmati> is a loanword of Polish _szmaty_ ‘rags, worn clothes’, with a semantic shift to ‘clothes’ in general.

(D1) Innovation. The variant <present> refers to attestation of the plural noun _gada_ in the meaning ‘clothes’, which continues the Proto-Romani etymon *_gad_ ‘shirt’. Etymology of *_gad_ is not clear, but it is believed to be related to OIA _gātra_ - ‘limb, body’; cf. also OIA _gātrikā_ - ‘girdle’, Panjabi _gātrā_ ‘sword-belt, sheath’, Hindi _gāṭī_ ‘dress worn by village people like a plaid’ (CDIAL 4124, 4125).

Attestation of forms

LQCR, RMS, some publications

Geographical distribution of variants in Central Romani

(A1) The variant <uraviben> is attested in a single variety of Poland, viz. in Kopernicki (1925, 1930).

(A2) The variant <id’a> occurs in a single contiguous area in the historical Trenčín county. More specifically, this area consists of all varieties of the Púchov, Trenčín and Žilina Považie regions and in almost all varieties of the Upper Kysuce region. Furthermore, the variant is attested in Puchmayer (1821) for the Czechia region.

(A3) The variant <fóti> occurs in three discontinuous areas: a) in the southwest of Central Romani, b) in the Czechia region (viz. Vosoudov) and c) in the Plaščno dialect. The main area of occurrence, the southern area, consists of almost all varieties of the Prekmurje, Somogy and Zala regions.

(B1) The variant <ruhi> occurs in a single contiguous area consisting of almost all varieties of the Žitný ostrov region.

(B2) The variant <rond’i> is sporadically attested in the north and west of South Central Romani. In the north, the variant occurs in several varieties of the Northeastern South Central subgroup, in a single adjacent variety of the Upper Hont region and in a few varieties of the Eastern and Northern Podunajsko regions. More to the south, the variant is attested in all varieties of the Southern Záhorie and Burgenland regions and some varieties of the Sopron region.

(B3) The variant <gúňi> is sporadically attested in the adjacent regions of Upper Hont, Upper Novohrad and in the Pukanec variety.

(B4) The variant <holmi> is attested in a single contiguous area comprising all varieties of the Eastern Už region.

(B5) The variant <handri> occurs more or less sporadically in North Central Romani varieties in Middle Slovakia. More specifically, the variant is attested in almost all Middle Transitional varieties, in several varieties of the Middle and Western North Central subgroups, in almost all varieties of the adjacent Western Gemer region and in individual varieties of the adjacent Hlohovec Považie and Podpoľanie regions.

(C1) The variant <grati> occurs in a single contiguous area, in the historical Spiš and Liptov counties. This area comprises all varieties of the Western Spiš region, several varieties of the Lower Spiš region and a few varieties of the adjacent Liptov, Upper Spiš and Eastern Horehronie regions.

(C2) The variant <hábi> occurs in two discontinuous areas: a) in the northwestern periphery of Central Romani and b) in the Horehronie region. The first, northwestern, area consists of several Western North Central varieties of the Czechia, Northern Záhorie, Nové Mesto Považie and Upper Kysuce regions and a single adjacent variety of the Southern Záhorie region (viz. Jablonové). The second, transitional, area comprises most varieties of the Western and Eastern Horehronie regions.

(C3) The variant <renti> is attested in a single contiguous area, in the east of Central Romani. This area comprises the overwhelming majority of varieties of the Northern and Eastern North Central subgroups and some adjacent varieties of several dialect regions (Eastern Už, Abov, Southern and Western Šariš, and Upper Spiš).

(C4) The variant <šuxi> is attested in two adjacent varieties of the Nové Mesto Považie region, viz. Podolie and Pobedim.

(C5) The variant <šmati> occurs in a single contiguous area, in western varieties of Poland. This area comprises almost all varieties of the Eastern and Western Malopolska regions and some adjacent varieties of the Upper Spiš region.

(D1) The variant <present> is almost general in Central Romani. The variant is only absent or unattested in the northern, northwestern and northeastern periphery of Central Romani.

Geographical distribution of variants in neighbouring dialect groups

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

(B3) Only the Central Romani variant <gúňi> is attested in the neighbouring dialect groups, being found in Transylvanian Romani, i.e. to the east of Central Romani.

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

(D) The Central Romani variant <gada> is attested in Lovari Romani, i.e. to the east of Central Romani.

Variant values

- 1 džukel
- 2 rikono

Diachronic explanation of variants

- (1) The variant <džukel>, including its subvariants _džuklo_ (morphological) and _dzukel_, _d'ukel_, _zukel_, _žukel_ etc. (phonological), maintains the original, Proto-Romani noun _džukel_ ‘dog’, which probably developed from _jakuṭa_ - (also _jukuṭa_ -) ‘eggplant, dog’ attested in works of Old Indian lexicographers.
- (2) The variant <rikono>, including its subvariants _rukono_ and _rokono_ has developed through a semantic shift of Proto-Romani _rikono_ ‘puppy, young dog’ (from Armenian _koriwn_ ‘puppy, young animal’, cf. Boretzky 1995: 143) to mean ‘dog’ in general.

Attestation of forms

LQCR, RMS, some publications

Geographical distribution of variants in Central Romani

- (1) The variant <džukel> occurs in two discontinuous areas: a) in the south and west of Central Romani and b) in the Malopolska region. The much larger, western, area comprises all varieties of the South Central group, all Western North Central and transitional varieties, the Plaščuno dialect, all varieties of the adjacent region of Liptov, and, in addition, the adjacent variety of Hnilec (Lower Spiš). The second, much smaller, area consists of two adjacent Northern North Central varieties of the Eastern Malopolska region (Florynka and Nowy Sącz).
- (2) The variant <rikono> occurs in a single contiguous area, in the east of Central Romani. This area comprises all varieties of the Northern and Eastern North Central subgroups and almost all Middle North Central varieties.

Geographical distribution of variants in neighbouring dialect groups

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

- (1) The variant <džukel> is found in all neighbouring dialect groups of Central Romani.
- (2) The variant <rikono>, as a co-varian of <džukel>, occurs in Transylvanian Romani, constituting a dialect continuum with the eastern varieties of Central Romani.

Feature 6.1.53 ‘egg’

Map A [ID 13]: indigenous and earlier loanwords

Map B [ID 1331]: recent loanwords

Variant values

- A1 anR.o
- A2 kañhajáro
- A3 kañhálo
- A4 kañhalo járo
- A5 kuku
- B1 tojáši(s)
- B2 vajco(s) etc.

Diachronic explanation of variants

(A1) Retention. The variant <anR.o> continues the original Proto-Romani noun, which developed from OIA and MIA *_āṇḍa_* - and MIA *_aṇḍa_* - ‘egg’ respectively (cf. CDIAL 1111).

(A2) Innovation. The variant <kañhajáro> has developed from an endocentric subordinate compound of the noun *_járo_* (< *_anR.o_*) ‘egg’ preceded by *_kañha_* ‘hens’ in the original meaning ‘egg of hens’.

(A3) Innovation. The variant <kañhálo> has developed from a regular adjective derivation based on *_kañhi_* ‘hen’ with a semantic shift ‘related to hen’ > ‘egg’.

(A4) Innovation. The variant <kañhálo járo> has developed through lexicalization from a phrase originally meaning ‘hen’s egg’.

(A5) Innovation. The variant <kuku>, including its variant *_kukóvo_*, has developed through a semantic shift from the Proto-Romani meaning ‘grain’ to ‘egg’ in a loanword of Greek *_kokki_*, *_koukki_* ‘grain, seed’ (Boretzky 2012: 45).

(B1) Hungarianism. The variant <tojáši(s)> is a loanword of Hungarian *_tojás_* ‘egg’.

(B2) Slovakism. The variant <vajco(s)>, including its variant *_vajičko(s)_*, is a loanword of Slovak *_vajce_* ‘egg’ (diminutive *_vajičko_*).

Attestation of forms

LQCR, RMS, some publications

Geographical distribution of variants in Central Romani

(A1) The variant <anR.o> occurs in a single contiguous area, in the north of Central Romani. More specifically, this area comprises almost all varieties of the North Central group and almost all varieties of the adjacent Southern Záhorie region. The variant is also attested in Müller (1869) for the Middle Podunajsko region.

(A2) The variant <kaňhajáro> occurs in three discontinuous areas: a) in the Nógrád county, b) in the southwest of Slovakia and c) in the southeastern periphery of Central Romani. The first, northeastern, area consists of two adjacent varieties of the Lower Nógrád region, viz. Karancsság and Nógrádmartal. The much larger, northwestern, area includes most varieties of the Northern and Eastern Podunajsko regions, the Pukanec variety and several varieties of the adjacent Middle Podunajsko region. The third area consists of all varieties of the Southeastern South Central subgroup.

(A3) The variant <kaňhálo> is attested in two discontinuous areas, in a) western and b) southern varieties of the Northwestern South Central subgroup. The first area comprises most varieties of the Žitný ostrov region and a single adjacent variety of the Middle Podunajsko region. The second, southern, area consists of all varieties of the Pest region.

(A4) The variant <kaňhalo járo> is attested in the Northwestern South Central variety of Vysoká pri Morave (Southern Záhorie).

(A5) The variant <kuku> occurs in two discontinuous areas: a) in the northeast of South Central Romani plus some transitional varieties and b) in the southwest of Central Romani. The first, northern, area comprises most varieties of the Northeastern South Central subgroup, most varieties of the Western Gemer region and a single adjacent variety of the Southern Gemer region (viz. Hostišovce). The second, southern, area consists of all Southwestern South Central varieties.

(B1) The variant <tojáš(i)> occurs in a single more or less contiguous area, in several varieties of southern Slovakia and northern Hungary. More specifically, the area comprises all varieties of the Eastern Gemer region plus the adjacent variety of Rybník (Southern Gemer), almost all varieties of the Lower Nógrád region and several varieties of the Žitný ostrov and Eastern and Middle Podunajsko regions.

(B2) The variant <vajco(s) etc.> occurs sporadically in a few non-adjacent dialect regions in the north of Central Romani. More specifically, the variant is attested in a few varieties of the Western Horehronie region, in individual varieties of the Western Gemer and Upper Kysuce regions and in a few varieties of the Northern Podunajsko region.

Geographical distribution of variants in neighbouring dialect groups

(A1) Only the Central Romani variant <anR.o> is attested in the neighbouring dialect groups, being found in all these groups, except of Northeastern Romani.

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

Feature 6.1.64 ‘field’
Map A [ID 572]: indigenous
Map B [ID 946]: loanwords

Variant values

- A1 maʼa
- A2 phuv
- B1 mezova
- B2 rito(s)
- B3 hatari
- B4 poʼo(s)
- B5 roʼa
- B6 lúka

Diachronic explanation of variants

(A1) Retention. The variant <maʼa>, including its subvariant maʼa, represents maintenance of the Proto-Romani etymon *mal ‘field’, which developed from MIA māla - attested in Prakrits in the meaning ‘garden’; cf. also māla - ‘forest near a village’ in certain Sanskrit texts, as well as Oriya māla ‘jungle’ (CDIAL 10088).

(A2) Innovation. The variant <phuv>, often occurring in plural forms phuva or phuvja, has developed by a semantic extension of the etymon phuv ‘land, earth’ to the the meaning ‘field’.

(B1) Hungarianism. The variant <mezova> is a loanword of Hungarian mező ‘field’.

(B2) Hungarianism. The variant <rito(s)> is a loanword of Hungarian rét ‘meadow’.

(B3) Hungarianism. The variant <hatari> is a loanword of Hungarian határ ‘border; border of the residential area’.

(B4) Slovakism. The variant <poʼo(s)> is a loanword of Slovak pole ‘field’.

(B5) Slovakism. The variant <roʼa> is a loanword of Slovak roľa ‘arable land’.

(B6) Slovakism. The variant <lúka> is a loanword of Slovak lúka ‘meadow’.

Attestation of forms

LQCR, RMS, some publications

Geographical distribution of variants in Central Romani

(A1) The variant <maʼa> occurs in a single contiguous area, in the east of Central Romani. This area comprises the Plaščuno dialect, all varieties of the Northern North

Central subgroup, almost all varieties of the Eastern North Central subgroup and most varieties of the Middle North Central subgroup.

(A2) The variant <phuv> occurs more or less sporadically in southern Slovakia, and only rarely in Hungary. More specifically, the variant is attested in almost all varieties of the Eastern Transitional subgroup, in a single adjacent variety of Lower Spiš (viz. Hnilec), in a few Northeastern South Central varieties of Slovakia, in almost all Northwestern South Central varieties of Slovakia, in some varieties of the Upper Hont region and in individual varieties of some southern regions of the North Central group (Western Uh, Abov, and Turňa). In addition, the variant occasionally occurs in the Southwestern South Central subgroup, viz. in the Burgenland, Somogy, Vas regions.

(B1) The variant <mezova> occurs in a single contiguous area, in the south of Central Romani. More specifically, this area comprises most Southwestern and Southeastern South Central varieties, almost all varieties of the Lower Nógrád region, most varieties of the Pest region and a single variety of the Eastern Podunajsko region.

(B2) The variant <rito> is attested only occasionally in the south of Central Romani. This area consists of a few Western Spiš varieties (Spišské Bystré, Liptovská Teplička), all varieties of the Turňa region, some varieties of the Northern and Southern Gemer regions and individual varieties of several other dialect regions (Lower Spiš, Upper Hont and Lower Hont, Lower Nógrád, Malohont, Eastern Podunajsko, Burgenland, Prekmurje, Somogy and Vas).

(B3) The variant <hatari> occurs in a few non-adjacent varieties of the Northwestern South Central subgroup, viz. in individual varieties of the Eastern, Middle and Northern Podunajsko and Pest regions.

(B4) The variant <poľo(s)> occurs sporadically in the Central varieties of Slovakia, with a concentration in the transitional area. This area comprises almost all Middle Transitional varieties and some varieties of several adjacent dialect regions (Liptov, Western and Southern Gemer, Lower Hont, Malohont, Upper Novohrad, Podpoľanie). The variant is only sporadically attested in the Western and Middle North Central subgroups, and almost absent in the Eastern North Central subgroup.

(B5) The variant <roľa> occurs sporadically in the Central varieties of Slovakia, with two concentration areas: a) in the historical Spiš county and b) in the west of Slovakia. The eastern area consists of several varieties of the Lower and Western Spiš regions and individual varieties of the Upper Spiš and Eastern Horehronie regions. The western area comprises several varieties of the Western North Central subgroup. The variant is also attested in individual varieties of several other dialect regions (Northern Šariš, Hlohovec Považie, Lower Hont, Žitný ostrov, Eastern and Northern Podunajsko, Southern Záhorie).

(B6) The variant <lúka> is attested in a single more or less contiguous area, in the historical Šariš county. This area consists of a few varieties of the Eastern and Northern Šariš regions and individual varieties of the Southern and Western Šariš regions.

Geographical distribution of variants in neighbouring dialect groups

(A1–2) Both Central Romani variants, <maľa> and <phuv>, are found in Lovari Romani, i.e. to the east of Central Romani.

(B2) Only the Central Romani variant <rito(s)> is attested in the neighbouring dialect groups, being found in Lovari Romani, i.e. to the east of Central Romani.

Variant values

- 1 khuro
- 2 žrebetko(s) etc.
- 3 čikó(s)
- 4 hačuri(s)

Diachronic explanation of variants

- (1) Retention. The variant <khuro> maintains the original, Proto-Romani etymon *_khuro_ ‘foal’, which probably continues OIA _ghoṭaka_ - via MIA _ghoḍaa_ - ‘horse’ (cf. also Hindi _ghoṛā_) contaminated (formally as well as semantically) by Armenian _khurak_ ‘foal’ (cf. Boretzky 1995: 143).
- (2) Wider Slavism. The variant <žrebetkos etc.>, including its subvariants _žrjebetkos_, _žreboš_, žr(j)ebcos, etc., is a loanword of a common Slavic etymon for ‘foal’ in its various dialectal and colloquial forms, cf. Serbo-Croatian and Macedonian _ždrebe_, Slovene _žrebe_, Slovak _žriebä_, Polish _žrebię_, Russian _žerebjonok_ etc.
- (3) Hungarianism. The variant <čikó(s)>, including its subvariant _čikóvo_, is a loanword of Hungarian _csikó_ ‘foal’.
- (4) Slovakism. The variant <hačuri(s)>, including its subvariants _hačurkos_ and _hačuricis_, is a loanword of Slovak dialectal _hačur_ ‘foal’.

Attestation of forms

LQCR, no RMS data, some publications

Geographical distribution of variants in Central Romani

- (1) The variant <khuro> is occasionally attested in the west of Central Romani and in the Malopolska region. More specifically, the variant occurs in some (mostly non-adjacent) varieties of the South Central group (only absent in the Northeastern South Central subgroup), in a few non-adjacent varieties of the Western and Northern North Central subgroups (viz. Eastern and Western Malopolska) and in a single Middle Transitional variety of the Upper Hont region. The variant is absent or unattested in the Eastern and Middle North Central subgroups and in the Galicia region.
- (2) The variant <žrebetkos etc.> occasionally occurs in North Central Romani and in a few varieties of Prekmurje. More specifically, the variant is attested in several non-adjacent varieties of all North Central subgroups, except of the Western Transitional subgroup. In the South Central group, the variant is attested in a single variety of the Podpolanie region and in a few varieties of the Prekmurje region.
- (3) The variant <čikó(s)> occurs in a single more or less contiguous area, in the south of Central Romani. This area comprises individual varieties of the Eastern Už, Southern Gemer and Turňa regions, most varieties of the Lower Nógrád and Pest

regions, several Eastern Podunajsko varieties and, in addition, most varieties of the Somogy and Vas regions.

(4) The variant <hačuri(s)> is occasionally attested in two discontinuous areas: a) in the north of the historical Spiš county and b) in the historical Zemplín county. The first area is represented by a single variety of the Upper Spiš region. The second area comprises individual varieties of the adjacent regions of Western Uh and Eastern and Southern Zemplín.

Geographical distribution of variants in neighbouring dialect groups

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

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

(2) The variant <žrebetko(s) etc.>, as a co-variant of <khuro>, occurs in Dolenjski Romani, i.e. to the southwest of Central Romani.

Comments on feature

The form of the nominalized infinitive is indicated in public comments. Loanwords are not considered.

Variant values

- 1 xaben
- 2 nominalized infinitive undeclinable
- 3 nominalized infinitive declinable

Diachronic explanation of variants

(1) Retention. The variant <xaben> represents inherited nominal derivation that is based on the verbal root *_xa_* - ‘to eat’ and marked by the deverbal nominalizer - *_ben_* from the OIA and MIA gerundive marker - *_tavya_* - and *_tavva_* - respectively. It can be assumed that the derivation must have undergone a semantic shift from abstract ‘eating’ to concrete ‘food’ during a Proto-Romani period.

(2) Innovation. The variant <nominalized infinitive undeclinable> reflects slightly nominalized infinitive used in reference to ‘food’, i.e. e.g. *_te xan_* (infinitive complementizer) > *_texan_* (noun). In the varieties that possess this variant, such nominalized infinitive may occur or is attested in the nominative singular only, which indicates its incomplete or half-way nominalization.

(3) Innovation. The variant <nominalized infinitive declinable> reflects fully nominalized infinitive, which, in contrast to the undeclinable variant, is a fully declinable noun possessing all nominal properties (e.g. singular *_texan_*, plural *_texana_*, diminutive *_texanoro_*, obl.sg *_texanes_* - etc.). The inflection is always oikoclitic in respective dialects.

Attestation of forms

LQCR, RMS, some publications

Geographical distribution of variants in Central Romani

(1) The variant <xaben> is almost general in Central Romani. The variant is only absent or unattested in the Eastern Už and Veszprém regions, and only sporadically attested in the Western Uh region.

(2) The variant <nominalized infinitive undeclinable> occurs in two discontinuous areas: a) as a major variant, in the Veszprém county of Hungary and b) as a co-variant, in some varieties of the historical Zemplín county. The southern area is represented by the Southwestern South Central variety of Városlőd (Veszprém). The second, eastern, area consists of several peripheral varieties of the Southern Zemplín region, a few varieties of the Eastern Zemplín region and a single variety of the

Northern Zemplín region (viz. Nižná Jablonka). All these varieties encircle the area where the <nominalized infinitive declinable> variant occurs. The variant is also attested, as a co-variant, in the Western North Central variety of Prašník (Nové Mesto Považie).

(3) The variant <nominalized infinitive declinable> occurs in all varieties of the Eastern Už and Western Uh regions and a few adjacent varieties of the Eastern Zemplín region.

Geographical distribution of variants in neighbouring dialect groups

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

Variant values

- 1 paraš'ovin
- 2 pénteko(s)
- 3 pjatko(s)
- 4 pjontkos

Diachronic explanation of variants

- (1) Grecism. The variant <paraš'ovin>, including its subvariants _paraš'uva_, _parašovin_, and _parasovin_, is a loanword of Greek παρασκευή [parask'eví] ‘Friday’.
- (2) Hungarianism. The variant <pénteko(s)>, including its subvariant _pinteko_, is a loanword of Hungarian _péntek_ ‘Friday’.
- (3) Slovakism. The variant <pjatko(s)>, including its subvariant _pátkos_, is a loanword of Slovak _piatok_ ‘Friday’.
- (4) Polonism. The variant <pjontkos> is a loanword of Polish _piątek_ ‘Friday’.

Attestation of forms

LQCR, RMS, some publications

Geographical distribution of variants in Central Romani

- (1) The variant <parasovin> occurs sporadically throughout the whole Central area. The variant is only absent or unattested in the regions of Žilina Považie, Orava, Liptov, Western Horehronie, Lower Nógrád, Malohont, Western, Southern and Eastern Gemer and Turňa.
- (2) The variant <pénteko(s)> occurs more or less sporadically in the south of Central Romani. The variant occurs in some varieties of the Abov and Turňa region, in the southern varieties of the Eastern Transitional and Northeastern South Central subgroups and in several peripheral varieties of the Somogy region. In addition, the variant is occasionally attested in the Sopron, Vas and Eastern and Middle Podunajsko regions.
- (3) The variant <pjatko(s)> occurs sporadically in the Central varieties of Slovakia. More specifically, this area consists of several North Central varieties of Slovakia and some South Central varieties of the adjacent Lower Hont, Podpoľanie, Upper Novohrad and Southern Záhorie regions.
- (4) The variant <pjontkos> is attested in a single contiguous area, in some North Central varieties of Poland. This area comprises several Northern North Central varieties of the Eastern Malopolska and Western Galicia regions and individual varieties of the adjacent regions of Western Malopolska and Upper Spiš.

Geographical distribution of variants in neighbouring dialect groups

(1) Only the Central Romani variant <paraš'ovin> is attested in the neighbouring dialect groups, being found to the east and south of Central Romani, viz. in Northeastern, Transylvanian, Lovari, Gurbet and Arli Romani.

Feature 6.1.75 ‘friend’

Map A [ID 75]: indigenous and _baráto(s)_

Map B [ID 1286]: Hungarian loanwords other than _baráto(s)_

Map C [ID 1620]: Slavic loanwords

Variant values

- A1 amal
- A2 baráto(s)
- B1 pajtáši(s)
- B2 haveri
- B3 cimbora(s)
- B4 táršo
- C1 narodos
- C2 kamaráto(s)
- C3 kolegas
- C4 drugos

Diachronic explanation of variants

(A1) Retention. The variant <amal>, including its subvariant _mal_, represents maintenance of the Proto-Romani etymon *_amal_ ‘friend’, which was borrowed from an Iranian language; cf. Ossetian _āmbal_, Pashto _mal_ (Boretzky 2012: 220).

(A2) Hungarianism. The variant <baráto(s)> is a loanword of Hungarian _barát_ ‘friend’.

(B1) Hungarianism. The variant <pajtáši(s)> is a loanword of Hungarian _pajtás_ ‘dude, buddy, friend’.

(B2) Hungarianism. The variant <haveri> is a loanword of the colloquial Hungarian noun _haver_ ‘dude, buddy, friend’.

(B3) Hungarianism or Rusynism. The variant <cimbora(s)> is a loanword of Hungarian _cimbora_ ‘dude, buddy, friend’. In dialects of the Transcarpathia region, the variant may also be borrowed from local Rusyn dialects (_cimbora_ ‘friend’).

(B4) Hungarianism. The variant <táršo> is a loanword of Hungarian _társ_ ‘fellow, partner’, with a semantic shift to ‘friend’.

(C1) Wide Slavism. The variant <narodos> is a loanword of a common Slavic etymon _narod_ ‘people, folk, nation’ (cf. Serbo-Croatian, Slovene and East Slavic _narod_, Czech and Slovak _národ_, Polish _naród_ etc.) with a semantic shift to ‘friend’.

(C2) Slovakism and/or Czechism. The variant <kamaráto(s)>, including its subvariant _kamarádo(s)_, is a loanword of respective Slovak and Czech _kamarát_ and _kamarád_ ‘friend’, of ultimately German origin (_Kamerad_).

(C3) Polonism. The variant <kolegas>, including its subvariant _kol'egas_, is a loanword of Polish _kolega_ 'friend'.

(C4) Russianism. The variant <drug> is a loanword of Russian _drug_ 'friend'.

Attestation of forms

LQCR, RMS, some publications

Geographical distribution of variants in Central Romani

(A1) The variant <amal> is attested in two discontinuous areas. First, it is attested in Puchmayer (1821) for the Czechia region. Second, it occurs in two adjacent varieties of the Western Transitional subgroup, viz. in the varieties of Veľké Kostol'any and Madunice (Hlohovec Považie).

(A2) The variant <baráto(s)> occurs in a single more or less contiguous area, in the south of Central Romani. This area comprises almost all South Central varieties of Hungary, almost all varieties of the Eastern Už region, all varieties of the Turňa region, almost all varieties of the Eastern Gemer, Lower Nógrád and Eastern Podunajsko regions, all varieties of the Middle Podunajsko and Žitný ostrov regions and the variety of Pukanec. The variant is also attested in individual adjacent varieties of several other dialect regions (Southern Zemplín, Lower Spiš, Malohont, Hlohovec Považie).

(B1) The variant <pajtáši(s)> is sporadically attested in the south of Central Romani, with a concentration in the southwestern periphery of this area. The area of concentration consists of all varieties of the Burgenland and Prekmurje regions and individual varieties of the Sopron and Vas regions (viz. Fertőrákos and Szakonyfalu). More to the north, the variant occurs in almost all varieties of the Northern Podunajsko region, in a few adjacent varieties of the Eastern Podunajsko region and in the variety of Pukanec. The variant is also sporadically attested the Northeastern South Central subgroup and in individual varieties of the Western Gemer and Hlohovec Považie regions.

(B2) The variant <haveri> occurs in most varieties of the Middle Podunajsko and Žitný ostrov regions, and sporadically in the Lower Nógrád region.

(B3) The variant <cimbora(s)> is attested in several varieties of the Eastern Už region and in a single variety of the non-adjacent region of Eastern Gemer (viz. Krásnohorské Podhradie).

(B4) The variant <táršo> occurs in individual non-adjacent varieties of the Lower Hont and Podpoľanie regions.

(C1) The variant <narodos> occurs in Puchmayer (1821) of the Czechia region.

(C2) The variant <kamarádo(s)> occurs in a single contiguous area, in the North Central varieties of Slovakia and Czech Republic. More specifically, this area comprises almost all North Central varieties of Slovakia (except of all Turňa and most Eastern Gemer varieties), the variety of Boskovice (Czechia), all varieties of the Lower Hont and Southern Záhorie regions, some varieties of the Podpoľanie and Upper Novohrad regions and individual varieties of the Malohont and Northern Podunajsko regions.

(C3) The variant <kolegas> is attested in a single contiguous area, in the northern periphery of Central Romani. This area consists of all varieties of the Northern North Central subgroup and the the Upper Spiš varieties of Poland.

(C4) The variant <drugos> occurs in the Plaščuno dialect.

Geographical distribution of variants in neighbouring dialect groups

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

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

(A2) The variant <baráto(s)> occurs in the neighbouring dialect groups to the east of Central Romani, viz. in Transylvanian and Lovari Romani.

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

Variant values

- | | |
|---|------------|
| 1 | sir |
| 2 | češňáko |
| 3 | fokhad'ma |
| 4 | česneko(s) |
| 5 | čosnakos |

Diachronic explanation of variants

- (1) Retention. The variant <sir>, including its phonological subvariants *_sír_*, *_sirr_*, *_šir_* and *_šír_*, represents maintenance of the original Proto-Romani etymon **_sir_* ‘garlic’, which was borrowed from an Iranian language; cf. Persian *_sīr_* ‘garlic’.
- (2) South Slavic. The variant <češňáko>, including its subvariant *_česňáko_*, is a loanword from South Slavic, cf. Serbo-Croatian *_češnjak_*, Slovene *_česen_* ‘garlic’.
- (3) Hungarian. The variant <fokhad'ma>, including its variant *_fokhajma_*, is a loanword of Hungarian *_fokhagyma_* ‘garlic’.
- (4) Slovak. The variant <cesnako(s)>, including its various subvariants such as *_cesnekos_*, *_ceskos_*, *_česnekos_*, *_cesňekos_* etc., is a loanword of Slovak *_cesnak_* ‘garlic’ and its various dialectal forms.
- (5) Polish. The variant <čosnakos>, including its subvariants *_cosnakos_* and *_čoskos_*, is a loanword of Polish *_czosnek_* ‘garlic’ and its various dialectal forms.

Attestation of forms

LQCR, no RMS data, some publications

Geographical distribution of variants in Central Romani

- (1) The variant <sir> occurs sporadically in three discontinuous areas: a) in the eastern periphery of Central Romani, b) in the north and east of South Central Romani including several adjacent North Central varieties and c) in Czechia (Puchmayer 1821). The eastern area comprises all varieties of the Central Galicia and Eastern Už regions, most varieties of the Western Galicia region, a few varieties of the Northern Šariš and Northern Zemplín regions and a single variety of the Western Uh region. More to the south, the variant is attested in all varieties of the Southeastern South Central subgroup, and sporadically in the Northeastern and Northwestern South Central subgroups, as well as in several adjacent dialect regions of the North Central group (Northern, Southern and Western Gemer, Upper Hont, Upper Tekov, Turiec, Nové Mesto Považie, Hlohovec Považie).
- (2) The variant <češňáko> is attested in a single contiguous area consisting of all varieties of the Southwestern South Central subgroup.

(3) The variant <fokhad'ma> occurs sporadically in the northern varieties of the South Central group, with a concentration in the historical Gemer county. The area of concentration comprises all varieties of the Eastern Gemer region and a single variety of the Turňa region. The variant is sporadically attested in the Lower Nógrád, Eastern and Middle Podunajsko and Žitný ostrov regions.

(4) The variant <česneko(s)> occurs in a single contiguous area comprising the overwhelming majority of North Central varieties of Slovakia and certain adjacent South Central varieties of the dialect regions of Malohont, Podpoľanie, Upper Novohrad, Eastern and Northern Podunajsko, Žitný ostrov and Southern Záhorie. With regard to the North Central varieties of Slovakia, the variant is only absent or unattested in the Eastern, Northern and Southern Gemer and Upper Tekov regions.

(5) The variant <čosnakos> is attested in a single contiguous area, in the northern periphery of Central Romani. This area consists of almost all varieties of the Western and Eastern Malopolska regions, a few adjacent varieties of the Western Galicia region and a single adjacent variety of the Upper Spiš region (viz. Czarna Góra).

Geographical distribution of variants in neighbouring dialect groups

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

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

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

Variant values

- 1 papu(s)
- 2 dzedus

Diachronic explanation of variants

- (1) Grecism. The variant <papu(s)> is a loanword of Greek *παππούς* [pappús] ‘grandfather’.
- (2) Slovakism. The variant <dzedus>, including its subvariants *d’idus* is a loanword of Slovak dialectal *dzeduš* ‘grandfather’.

Attestation of forms

LQCR, RMS, some publications

Geographical distribution of variants in Central Romani

- (1) The variant <papu(s)> is almost general in Central Romani. The variant is only absent or unattested in a few Eastern North Central varieties of the Eastern Zemplín and Western Uh regions.
- (2) The variant <dzedus> is attested in a single contiguous area, in the historical Ung and Zemplín counties. More specifically, this area comprises a couple of more or less contiguous varieties in the adjacent Eastern Zemplín and Western Uh regions.

Geographical distribution of variants in neighbouring dialect groups

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

Variant values

- 1 drakh
- 2 sélló
- 3 hrozno(s)
- 4 vinogronos
- 5 vynyhrados

Diachronic explanation of variants

- (1) Retention. The variant <drakh> represents maintenance of the Proto-Romani etymon *_drakh_, which continues OIA _drākṣā_ - ‘vine, grape’ (MIA _dakkhā_ - in Prakrits).
- (2) Hungarianism. The variant <sélló>, mostly attested in a plural form _séllóvi_, is a loanword of Hungarian _szőlő_ ‘grape’.
- (3) Slovakism. The variant <hrozno(s)> is a loanword of Slovak _hrozno_ ‘grape’.
- (4) Polonism. The variant <vinogronos> is a loanword of Polish _winogrono_ ‘grape’.
- (5) Ukrainianism. The variant <vynyhrados> is a loanword of Ukrainian _vynohrad_ ‘grape’.

Attestation of forms

LQCR, no RMS data, some publications

Geographical distribution of variants in Central Romani

- (1) The variant <drakh> occurs more or less sporadically in a single contiguous area, in the south of Central Romani and in the Czechia region. This area consists of all varieties of the Southeastern and Southwestern South Central subgroups, the southern varieties of the Northeastern South Central subgroup, some varieties of the Northwestern South Central subgroup, the southernmost varieties of the Eastern Už region, almost all varieties of the Turňa region, some varieties of other southern regions of the North Central group (Upper Hont, Hlohovec and Nové Mesto Považie, and Northern Záhorie) and, in addition, two varieties of the Czechia region (viz. Oslavany and Puchmayer 1821).
- (2) The variant <sélló> is attested in two discontinuous areas: a) in the southwest of Slovakia and b) in the south of the historical Gemer county. The first, southwestern, area comprises all varieties of the Middle Podunajsko region, almost all varieties of the Žitný ostrov region and several varieties of the Eastern Podunajsko region. The second, eastern, area consists of almost all varieties of the Eastern Gemer region. The variant is also attested in a single variety of the remote region of Abov.

(3) The variant <hrozno(s)> is attested in a single contiguous area, in the north of Central Romani. This area consists of most varieties of the Eastern Už region, almost all North Central varieties of Slovakia, the northern varieties of the Northeastern South Central subgroup, a single variety of the Northern Podunajsko region and a few varieties of the Southern Záhorie region.

(4) The variant <vinogronos> occurs in a single area, in almost all North Central varieties of Poland. More specifically, this area consists of all varieties of the Eastern and Western Malopolska regions, almost all varieties of the Western Galicia region and a single adjacent variety of the Upper Spiš region.

(5) The variant <vynohrados> is attested in a single contiguous area comprising all varieties of the Central Galicia region and a single adjacent variety of the Western Galicia region (viz. Kulaszne).

Geographical distribution of variants in neighbouring dialect groups

(A1) Only one of the Central Romani variants is attested in the neighbouring dialect groups: The variant <drakh> is found in most neighbouring dialect groups of Central Romani, viz. in Lovari, Gurbet, Arli, Sinti and Dolenjski Romani.

Feature 6.1.89 ‘hammer’

Map A [ID 18]: indigenous words and earlier loanwords

Map B [ID 1322]: recent loanwords

Variant values

- A1 sviri
- A2 čokano(s)
- B1 kalapáči etc.
- B2 bunkó
- B3 bakó
- B4 klad'ivo(s)
- B5 pucka etc.
- B6 mlatko(s)
- B7 młotkos
- B8 mołotko(s)
- B9 kl'epači(s)
- B10 klevces

Diachronic explanation of variants

(A1) Grecism. The variant <sviri> is a loanword of Greek _sfyri_ ‘hammer’ (cf. Boretzky - Igla 1994: 258).

(A2) Romanianism. The variant <čokano(s)> is a loanword of Romanian _ciocan_ ‘hammer’.

(B1) Hungarianism. The variant <kalapáči>, including its morphological variant _kalapáča_, is a loanword of Hungarian _kalapács_ ‘hammer’.

(B2) Hungarianism. The variant <bunkó> is a loanword of Hungarian _bunkó_ ‘maul’, with a semantic shift to ‘hammer’.

(B3) Hungarianism. The variant <bakó> is a loanword of Hungarian _bakó_ ‘maul’, with a semantic shift to ‘hammer’.

(B4) Slovakism. The variant <klad'ivo(s)> is a loanword of Slovak _kladivo_ ‘hammer’.

(B5) Slovakism. The variant <pucka etc.> (including its variant _pucuma_) is a loanword of Slovak dialectal _pucka_ ‘big hammer’.

(B6) Slovakism. The variant <mlatko(s)> is a loanword of Slovak dialectal _mlatok_ ‘big hammer’.

(B7) Polonism. The variant <młotkos> is a loanword of Polish _młotek_ ‘hammer’.

(B8) East Slavic. The variant <mołotkos> is a loanword of Ukrainian or Russian _molotok_ ‘hammer’.

(B9) East Slavic. The variant <kl'epači(s)> is a loanword of Rusyn _klepač_ 'hammer'.

(B10) East Slavic. The variant <klevces> is a loanword of Ukrainian _klevec'_ 'small hammer'.

Attestation of forms

LQCR, RMS, some publications

Geographical distribution of variants in Central Romani

(A1) The variant <sviri> occurs more or less sporadically in a single contiguous area, in the south and west of Central Romani. This area comprises most varieties of the South Central group, most varieties of the Western North Central, Western Transitional and Eastern Transitional subgroups, some varieties of the Middle Transitional subgroup, several western varieties of the Middle North Central subgroup and all varieties of the Western Malopolska region.

(A2) The variant <čokano(s)> is attested in a single contiguous area, in the east of Central Romani. This area comprises the Plaščuno dialect, almost all varieties of the Eastern North Central subgroup, all varieties of the Eastern Malopolska and Western Galicia regions, and several (mostly eastern) varieties of the Middle North Central subgroup, viz. Southern and Western Šariš (all varieties), Upper Spiš, Lower Spiš and Abov (most varieties).

(B1) The variant <kalapáči etc.> occurs in a single contiguous area, in the south of Central Romani. This area comprises almost all varieties of the Lower Nógrád region, most varieties of the Eastern and Middle Podunajsko and Žitný ostrov regions and individual varieties of the Eastern Gemer, Pest and Baranya regions.

(B2) The variant <bunkó> is attested in the Middle North Central variety of Medzev (Turňa).

(B3) The variant <bakó> occurs in the Middle North Central variety of Moldava nad Bodvou (Turňa).

(B4) The variant <klad'ivo(s)> is occasionally attested in the northwest of Central Romani. This area comprises a few non-adjacent varieties of the Western North Central and Middle Transitional subgroups and almost all varieties of the adjacent Liptov region. The variant is also attested in individual varieties of the Lower Hont and Upper Novohrad regions.

(B5) The variant <pucka etc.> occurs in a single contiguous area, in the border area of the historical Hont and Tekov counties. This area consists of most varieties of the Middle Transitional subgroup (only absent in the Eastern Horehronie region), most varieties of the Lower Hont and Podpoľanie regions and a single adjacent variety of the Turiec region.

(B6) The variant <mlatko(s)> occurs in two discontinuous areas: a) in the historical Zemplín and Ung counties and b) in a single variety of the Southern Gemer region (viz. Jelšava). The eastern area comprises some adjacent varieties of the Southern Zemplín, Western Uh and Eastern Už regions.

(B7) The variant <młotkos> is attested in the Northern North Central variety of Kraków (Upper Spiš).

(B8) The variant <mołotko(s)> occurs in a single contiguous area consisting of most varieties of the Central Galicia region.

(B9) The variant <kľepači(s)> is attested in eastern varieties of the Eastern Užn region, viz. Chudl'ovo and Serednje.

(B10) The variant <klevces> is attested in the Central Galician variety of Topil'nycja.

Geographical distribution of variants in neighbouring dialect groups

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

(A1) The variant <sviri> is found in Dolenjski Romani, i.e. to the southwest of Central Romani.

(A2) The variant <čokano(s)> occurs in the neighbouring dialect groups to the east and southeast of Central Romani, viz. in Transylvanian, Lovari and Gurbet Romani. These dialect groups constitute a dialect continuum with the eastern varieties of Central Romani.

(B8) Only the Central Romani variant <mołotko(s)> is attested in the neighbouring dialect groups, being found in Northeastern Romani, i.e. to the northeast of Central Romani.

Variant values

- 1 šošoj
- 2 ňúlo(s)
- 3 zajaco(s) etc.

Diachronic explanation of variants

- (1) Retention. The variant <šošoj> maintains the original, Proto-Romani noun *šošoj ‘hare’, which developed from OIA šaša - ‘hare’ (cf. CDIAL 12357).
- (2) Hungarianism. The variant <ňúlo(s)> is a loanword of Hungarian nyúl ‘hare, rabbit’.
- (3) Wider Slavism. The variant <zajaco(s) etc.>, including its various subvariants zajicos, zajácis, zajoncos, zajencos and zajčos, is a loanword of the common Slavic word for ‘hare’, cf. Czech zajíc, Slovak zajac, Polish zajac, Ukrainian zajec ‘hare’.

Attestation of forms

LQCR, RMS, some publications

Geographical distribution of variants in Central Romani

- (1) The variant <šošoj> occurs in a single contiguous area, in the west of Central Romani. More specifically, this area comprises the overwhelming majority of varieties of the South Central group, except of varieties of the Lower Nógrád and Malohont regions. In the North Central group, the variant is attested in the Plaščuno dialect, in most varieties of the Western North Central and Western Transitional subgroup and in most varieties of the Upper Tekov and Upper Hont regions.
- (2) The variant <ňúlo(s)> occurs in a single contiguous area, in the historical Novohrad and Gemer-Malohont counties. This area comprises all varieties of the Eastern and Southern Gemer, Malohont and Lower Nógrád regions. The variant is also attested in a single variety of the adjacent region of Turňa.
- (3) The variant <zajaco(s) etc.> is attested in a single contiguous area, in the east of Central Romani, and sporadically elsewhere. This area consists of all Eastern and Northern North Central varieties, almost all Middle North Central varieties, almost all varieties of the Turiec region, all varieties of the Orava, Eastern and Western Horehronie, Northern and Western Gemer regions and a few adjacent varieties of the Podpoľanie and Upper Tekov regions.

Geographical distribution of variants in neighbouring dialect groups

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

- (1) The variant <šošoj> is found in all neighbouring dialect groups of Central Romani, except of Northeastern Romani.
- (2) The variant <ňúlo(s)>, as a co-variant of <šošoj>, occurs in Transylvanian Romani, i.e. to the east of Central Romani.
- (3–4) The variants <krulíko(s) etc.> and <zajaco(s) etc.> are found in Northeastern Romani, i.e. to the northeast of Central Romani.

Feature 6.1.92 ‘hat’

Map A [ID 19]: Greek and Hungarian loanwords

Map B [ID 1260]: Slavic loanwords

Variant values

- A1 stadi(k)
- A2 kalapa etc.
- A3 gučma
- B1 klobukos
- B2 širaka
- B3 kapeluxa

Diachronic explanation of variants

(A1) Grecism. The variant <stadi(k)> is a loanword of Greek _skiádi_ ‘straw hat’.

(A2) Hungarianism. The variant <kalapa etc.>, including its subvariants _kalapos_ and _kolopo_, is a loanword of Hungarian _kalap_ ‘hat’.

(A3) Hungarianism. The variant <gučma> is a loanword of Hungarian _kucsma_ ‘a kind of hat’, with a semantic shift to ‘hat’ in general.

(B1) Slovakism. The variant <klobukos> is a loanword of Slovak _klobúk_ ‘hat’.

(B2) Slovakism. The variant <širaka> is a loanword of Slovak dialectal _širák_ ‘hat’.

(B3) Polonism. The variant <kapeluxa> is a loanword of Polish _kapelusz_ ‘hat’.

Attestation of forms

LQCR, RMS, some publications

Geographical distribution of variants in Central Romani

(A1) The variant <stadi(k)> occurs in two discontinuous areas: a) in the north of Central Romani and b) in the Prekmurje region. The much larger, northern, area consists of most varieties of the Western North Central subgroup, several varieties of the Middle Transitional, Northern and Middle North Central subgroups (absent only in the Western and Southern Šariš and Abov regions) and most varieties of the adjacent region of Podpoľanie. The variant is also attested in Müller (1869) for the Middle Podunajsko region. The smaller, southwestern, area comprises most varieties of the Prekmurje region and a single adjacent variety of the Vas region. Interestingly, the variant is also attested in a variety of Blatné Remety of the remote region of Western Uh.

(A2) The variant <kalapa etc.> is attested in a single contiguous area, in the south and east of Central Romani. This area consists of most varieties of the Eastern North Central subgroup, most varieties of the adjacent Western and Central Galicia regions,

several varieties of the eastern regions of the Middle North Central subgroup (Western and Southern Šariš, and Abov), almost all Eastern Transitional varieties, most Northeastern South Central varieties (absent only in the Podpoľanie region), almost all Northwestern South Central and Western Transitional varieties, all Southeastern South Central varieties, as well as all varieties of the Burgenland, Somogy and Veszprém regions. In addition, the variant is also attested in individual varieties of several other dialect regions (Upper and Lower Spiš, Turňa, Upper Hont, Upper Tekov, Nové Mesto Považie, and Northern Záhorie) and in a single variety of the non-adjacent dialect region of Turiec.

(A3) The variant <gučma> is attested in a single contiguous area consisting of all varieties of Zala region and a few varieties of the adjacent Prekmurje region.

(B1) The variant <klobukos> occurs sporadically in North Central varieties of Slovakia and in a few northernmost varieties of the South Central group, viz. in varieties of the Podpoľanie, Lower Hont and Southern Záhorie regions.

(B2) The variant <širaka> occurs in a single contiguous area consisting of almost all Western North Central varieties of the Nové Mesto Považie region.

(B3) The variant <kapeluxa> is attested in a single contiguous area, in the northern Šariš and Malopolska regions. More specifically, this area comprises a few varieties of the Eastern and Western Malopolska regions and a few varieties of the adjacent Northern Šariš 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 <stadi(k)> is found in most neighbouring dialect groups of Central Romani, viz. in Lovari, Gurbet, Arli, Northeastern and Sinti Romani.

(A2) The variant <kalapa etc.> occurs in the neighbouring dialect groups to the east of Central Romani, viz. in Transylvanian and Lovari Romani.

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

Variant values

- 1 ilo
- 2 ogi

Diachronic explanation of variants

(1) Retention. The variant <ilo>, including its subvariants _jilo_ and _d'ilo_, maintains the original Proto-Romani word, which continues OIA _hrdaya_ - via MIA _hidaa_ - ‘heart’ (cf. CDIAL 14152).

(2) Innovation. The variant <ogi>, which in Central Romani is realised in its phonological variants _vod'i_, _vodži_ or _dži_, has developed through a semantic shift from an original meaning ‘soul’.

Attestation of forms

LQCR, RMS, some publications

Geographical distribution of variants in Central Romani

(1) The variant <ilo> is the only attested variant in the North Central group (except of the Czechia region, viz. Vymazal 1900) and in the Northwestern, Northeastern and Southeastern South Central subgroups. With regard to the Southwestern South Central subgroup, the variant occurs only in a single easternmost variety of the Somogy region (viz. Vásárosdombó).

(2) The variant <ogi> occurs in a single contiguous area consisting of all varieties of the Southwestern South Central subgroup. Interestingly, the variant is also attested in Vymazal (1900) for the Czechia region.

Geographical distribution of variants in neighbouring dialect groups

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

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

(2) The variant <ogi> occurs in the neighbouring dialect groups to the west, north and east of Central Romani, viz. in Transylvanian, Northeastern, Sinti and Dolenjski Romani. Sinti Romani constitutes a dialect continuum with some Central varieties of Czechia, while Dolenjski Romani constitutes a dialect continuum with the southwestern varieties of Central Romani.

Feature 6.1.106 ‘kerchief’

Map A [ID 562]: indigenous

Map B [ID 1303]: loanwords

Variant values

A1 dikhlo

A2 khosno

B1 kendóvo

B2 keskeňó

B3 šatka

B4 xustka

Diachronic explanation of variants

(A1) Retention. The variant <dikhlo> probably maintains the original Proto-Romani word in this meaning. However, the precise etymology of *_dikhlo_* has not been clarified yet. The proposal of Mānuš et al (1997: 49) that *_dikhlo_* could be from the OIA perfective participle *_dīkṣita_* - ‘made sacred, consecrated’ is not convincing. Another possibility at hand is its connection with the perfective participle *_dikhlo_* ‘seen’ (to *_dikh_* - ‘to see’). According to Pischel (1894, Beiträge zur Kenntniss der Deutschen Zigeuner, cited in Sampson 1926 II: 81) it originally meant ‘girdle of chastity’ in a sense that it referred to a protective girdle worn by young girls and covering parts of their bodies that were not allowed to be publicly exhibited. In such case, the perfective participle *_dikhlo_* would originally refer to a cover that was ‘seen’.

(A2) Innovation. The variant <khosno> has developed from a verbal adjective of the root *_khos_* - ‘to wipe’ (OIA *_ghrṣ_* -, MIA *_ghams_* - ‘to rub, to polish’), probably through a semantic shift from ‘a cloth for wiping’ into ‘kerchief’. Verbal adjectives *_khosno_* or *_khoslo_* with meanings closer to that of ‘to wipe’, such as ‘towel’, ‘handkerchief’, ‘dish-cloth’, etc., are attested in other Romani dialect branches (cf. Boretzky - Igla 1994: 159).

(B1) Hungarianism. The variant <kendóvo> is a loanword of Hungarian *_kendő_* ‘kerchief’.

(B2) Hungarianism. The variant <keskeňó> is a loanword of archaic Hungarian *_keszkenő_* ‘kerchief’.

(B3) Slovakism. The variant <šatka> is a loanword of Slovak *_šatka_* ‘kerchief’.

(B4) Polonism. The variant <xustka> is a loanword of Polish *_chustka_* ‘kerchief’.

Attestation of forms

LQCR, no RMS data, some publications

Geographical distribution of variants in Central Romani

(A1) The variant <dikhlo> is more or less sporadically attested in a single contiguous area, in the north of Central Romani. This area comprises almost all varieties of Poland, several (mostly northern) varieties of the Eastern and Middle North Central subgroups, several varieties of the Western North Central subgroup and individual varieties of the Eastern and Western Horehronie regions. With regard to the Eastern North Central subgroup, the variant is also attested in the southern regions of this subgroup, namely in some varieties of the Eastern and Southern Zemplín and Western Uh regions. It is interesting that the variant is attested in two discontinuous areas of the Western North Central subgroup, viz. in the northwest of Slovakia (Orava, Turiec, Upper Kysuce, Žilina Považie) and in the southwest of the subgroup (Northern Záhorie and the adjacent variety of Oslavany in Czechia).

(A2) The variant <khosno> occurs more or less sporadically throughout the whole Central area, with a concentration in the south of this area. This area of concentration comprises all varieties of the Southeastern and Southwestern South Central subgroups, almost all varieties of the Northwestern South Central subgroup and a few (southern and western) peripheral varieties of the Lower Nógrád and Malohont regions. More to the north, the variant occurs in almost all varieties of the Western and Middle Transitional subgroups, in a single variety of the Western Gemer region, in some regions of the Western North Central subgroup (Turiec, Nové Mesto, Trenčín and Púchov Považie), in several (mostly southern) varieties of the Middle and Eastern North Central subgroups (absent only in the Northern Šariš and Upper Spiš regions), in all varieties of the Central Galicia region and in a single adjacent variety of the Western Galicia region (viz. Kulaszne). Interestingly, the variant is also attested in Vymazal (1900) for the Czechia region.

(B1) The variant <kendóvo> is attested in a single contiguous area, in the historical Gemer, Novohrad, Hont and Zvolen counties. More specifically, this area comprises the overwhelming majority of varieties of the Eastern Transitional and Northeastern South Central subgroups and a single adjacent variety of the Lower Spiš region. The variant also occurs in a single variety of the remote region of Žitný ostrov (viz. Rastice).

(B2) The variant <keskeňó> occurs in the Northwestern South Central variety of Dunajská Streda (Žitný ostrov).

(B3) The variant <šatka> is occasionally attested in both North and South Central varieties of Slovakia.

(B4) The variant <xustka> occurs in the Northern North Central variety of Kopytowa (Western Galicia).

Geographical distribution of variants in neighbouring dialect groups

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

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

(A2) The variant <khosno> occurs in Arli Romani, constituting a dialect continuum with the southern varieties of Central Romani.

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

Variant values

- 1 életo(s)
- 2 život(s)
- 3 živleňe

Diachronic explanation of variants

- (1) Hungarianism. The variant <életo(s)>, including its phonological subvariant _íleto(s)_, is a loanword of Hungarian _élet_ ‘life’.
- (2) Slovakism. The variant <život(s)> is a loanword of Slovak or Czech _život_ ‘life’.
- (3) Slovenism. The variant <živleňe> is a loanword of Slovene _življenje_ ‘life’.

Geographical distribution of variants in Central Romani

- (1) The variant <életo(s)> occurs in a single contiguous area, in the south of Central Romani. This area consists of the overwhelming majority of varieties of the Northwestern and Southwestern South Central subgroups, the variety of Versend, almost all varieties of the Lower Nógrád region, several varieties of the Eastern Gemer region and a few southern varieties of the Malohont and Lower Hont regions.
- (2) The variant <život(s)> is attested in a single contiguous area, in Slovakia and Czechia. The variant is absent or unattested only in the Western Transitional subgroup, and sporadically attested in the Eastern Transitional subgroup.
- (3) The variant <živleňe> is attested in a single contiguous area comprising all varieties of the Prekmurje region.

Geographical distribution of variants in neighbouring dialect groups

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

Variant values

- 1 kukurica etc.
- 2 bobo(s)
- 3 buzo(s)
- 4 tengerica etc.

Diachronic explanation of variants

(1) Wider Slavism. The variant <kukurica etc.> is a loanword of a widespread Slavic etymon meaning ‘maize’, cf. Serbo-Croatian *_kukuruz_*, Slovak *_kukurica_*, Polish *_kukurydza_*, Ukrainian *_kukurudza_*, Russian *_kukuruza_*, Czech *_kukuřice_* etc., of Ottoman Turkish origin (*_kokoroz_* ‘maize’).

(2) Wider Slavism. The variant <bobo(s)> is a loanword of a common Slavic etymon *_bob_* ‘bean’ (cf. e.g. Serbo-Croatian, Polish, Russian *_bob_* ‘broad bean (*Vicia Faba*)’, Czech *_bob_* ‘bean’ etc.) with a semantic shift to ‘maize’.

(3) Hungarianism. The variant <buzo(s)> is a loanword of the Hungarian *_búza_* ‘wheat’ from archaic Hungarian phrases *_tengeri búza_* or *_török búza_*, literally ‘sea wheat’ and ‘Turkish wheat’ respectively, i.e. ‘maize’.

(4) Slovakism. The variant <tengerica etc.>, including its various subvariants *_kenderica_*, *_tenderica_* and *_čengerica_*, is a loanword of East Slovak dialectal *_tengerica_* ‘maize’ and its various dialectal forms, which is ultimately a loanword of Hungarian *_tengeri_* ‘maize’ (<‘sea’, as in *_tengeri búza_* ‘maize’, literally ‘sea wheat’).

Attestation of forms

LQCR, no RMS data, some publications

Geographical distribution of variants in Central Romani

(1) The variant <kukurica etc.> occurs in two discontinuous areas: a) in the north of Central Romani and b) in the Prekmurje and Zala regions. The much larger, northern, area consists of all varieties of the Northern and Middle North Central and Middle Transitional subgroups, some northwestern varieties of the Eastern North Central subgroup (viz. Eastern and Northern Šariš, Western Zemplín), most varieties of the Eastern Transitional subgroup, the northeastern varieties of the Western North Central subgroup (Orava, Púchov and Žilina Považie, Turiec, Upper Kysuce) and a few varieties of the Northern Záhorie region and finally, a few northern varieties of the Northeastern and Northwestern South Central subgroups. The smaller, southwestern, area comprises all varieties of the Prekmurje and Zala regions.

(2) The variant <bobo(s) etc.> is attested in a single contiguous area, in the south of Central Romani. This area consists of almost all varieties of the Northern Záhorie, Nové Mesto and Hlohovec Považie regions, almost all varieties of the Northwestern

South Central subgroup, almost all varieties of the Lower Nógrád, Upper Novohrad and Malohont regions and several varieties of the Southern and Eastern Gemer regions. More to the south, the variant occurs in all varieties of the Southeastern South Central subgroup and in the Somogy, Veszprém and Burgenland regions.

(3) The variant <buzo(s)> occurs in a single contiguous area, in the east of the historical Zemplín county. More specifically, this area comprises almost all varieties of the Eastern Zemplín region and a few adjacent varieties of the Northern Zemplín region.

(4) The variant <tengerica etc.> is attested in a single contiguous area, in the east of Slovakia including the historical Ung county. This area consists of most varieties of the Eastern North Central subgroup. The variant is only sporadically attested in the Eastern Zemplín and Northern Šariš regions.

Geographical distribution of variants in neighbouring dialect groups

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

(1) The variant <kukurica etc.> is found in the neighbouring dialect groups to the east of Central Romani, viz. in Northeastern, Lovari and Gurbet Romani.

(2) The variant <bobo(s) etc.> occurs in Gurbet Romani, i.e. to the southwest of Central Romani.

Variant values

- 1 masek
- 2 čhon
- 3 hónapo

Diachronic explanation of variants

(1) Retention. The variant <masek> maintains the original, Proto-Romani etymon *masek ‘moon’. It is a reflex of MIA and OIA māsa - ‘moon’ (> Proto-Romani *mas), appended by an extension -ek probably from the Romani numeral jekh ‘one’ (< MIA ekka, OIA eka). The original meaning of masek was therefore probably ‘one month’ (cf. CDIAL 10104).

(2) Innovation. The variant <čhon> has developed through a semantic extension of čhon ‘moon’ (< MIA jonhā < OIA jyotsnā ‘moonlight’). Such an extension might have been triggered by the expressional identity of ‘month’ and ‘moon’ in the contact Slavic languages (Boretyky 1997: 324).

(3) Hungarianism. The variant <hónapo> is a loanword of Hungarian hónap ‘month’.

Attestation of forms

LQCR, RMS, some publications

Geographical distribution of variants in Central Romani

(1) The variant <masek> occurs in a single contiguous area, in the south of Central Romani. This area comprises almost all varieties of the Northwestern South Central subgroup, almost all varieties of the Lower Nógrád region and all varieties of the Southeastern and Southwestern South Central subgroups.

(2) The variant <čhon> occurs in a single contiguous area, in the north of Central Romani. More specifically, this area consists of all varieties of the North Central group, all varieties of the Southern Záhorie, Lower Hont, Malohont, Podpoľanie and Upper Novohrad regions and a single adjacent variety of the Northern Podunajsko region. Interestingly, the variant is also attested in the non-adjacent variety of Bercel (Lower Nógrád).

(3) The variant <hónapo> occurs in the Northeastern South Central variety of Buják (Lower Nógrád).

Geographical distribution of variants in neighbouring dialect groups

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

(1) The variant <masek> is found in Arli Romani, constituting a dialect continuum with the southern varieties of Central Romani.

(2) The variant <čhon> occurs in the neighbouring dialect groups to the east, north and west of Central Romani, viz. in Gurbet, Lovari, Transylvanian, Northeastern and Sinti Romani.

Feature 6.1.123 ‘moon’

Map A [ID 24]: indigenous

Map B [ID 1359]: loanwords

Variant values

A1 čhon

A2 čhomud

B1 holdo(s) etc.

B2 mesjaci(s) etc.

B3 kšożincos

Diachronic explanation of variants

(A1) Retention. The variant <čhon> maintains the original, Proto-Romani noun *_čhon_, which is a reflex of MIA _jonhā_ ‘moonlight’ (< OIA _jyotsnā_ of the historical root _dyut_ - ‘to shine’). Meaning of the Romani noun indicates that a semantic shift from ‘moonlight’ to ‘moon’ must have taken place in some (early) Proto-Romani past.

(A2) Innovation. The variant _čhomud_, including its subvariant _čhumud_, is based on the original etymon _čhon_, but displaying an obscure extension in -(m)ud_. With respect to the presence of similar formations in other Romani dialects, the variant _čhomud_ must also be of Proto-Romani inheritance. Boretzky (2007: 324) suggests contamination of _čhon_ with another etymon, but his and Igla (1994: 58) proposal of contamination of _čhon_ by OIA _kaumudī_ ‘moonlight’ is to be ruled out on phonological grounds. A somewhat more plausible explanation is offered by Mānušs et al (1997: 45), who points to a possible compound word of _čhon_ ‘moon’ and _dud_ ‘light’. If Mānušs explanation holds true, the Proto-Romani difference between _čhon_ and _čhomud_ (or _čhonud_) will have been that between ‘moon’ and ‘moonlight’ respectively. In such a case, the variant _čhomud_ ‘moon’ in Central Romani has developed through a semantic change ‘moonlight’ > ‘moon’ in respective dialects, a change that also occurred earlier for the _čhon_ itself.

(B1) Hungarianism. The variant <holdo(s) etc.>, including its subvariants _hódo_ and _hódvilágo_ (< ‘moonlight’), is a loanword of Hungarian _hold_ ‘moon’.

(B2) Slovakism. The variant <mesjaci(s) etc.>, including its subvariants _mesjasco(s)_, _mesjačikos_, _mešačkos_, _mešnjacis_, is a loanword of Slovak _mesiac_ ‘moon’ or of its diminutive or dialectal variants.

(B3) Polonism. The variant <kšożincos> is a loanword of Polish _księżyc_ ‘moon’.

Attestation of forms

LQCR, RMS, some publications

Geographical distribution of variants in Central Romani

(A1) The variant <čhon> is almost general in Central Romani. The variant is only absent or unattested in the Western Malopolska, Žitný ostrov, Pest, Veszprém, Sopron and Zala regions.

(A2) The variant <čhomut> is attested in a single contiguous area consisting of several varieties of the Northern Šariš region and a single adjacent variety of the Western Galicia region (viz. Świątkowa Mała).

(B1) The variant <holdo(s) etc.> occurs in a single contiguous area, in southern Slovakia and northern Hungary, and sporadically elsewhere. This area comprises a single variety of the Turňa region, almost all varieties of the Eastern Gemer and Lower Nógrád regions, all varieties of the Žitný ostrov and Pest regions, most varieties of the Middle Podunajsko region and a few adjacent varieties of the Eastern Podunajsko region. The variant is also attested in the varieties of Versend (Baranya) and Városlőd (Veszprém).

(B2) The variant <mesjaci(s) etc.> is occasionally attested in the Central varieties of Slovakia. More specifically, the variant occurs sporadically in all North Central subgroups of Slovakia, in the Western Transitional subgroup and in individual varieties of the Podpol'anie, Lower Hont and Lower Nógrád regions.

(B3) The variant <kšożincos> is attested in a single contiguous area, in some western varieties of Poland. This area comprises all varieties of the Western Malopolska region, almost all varieties of the Eastern Malopolska region and a few adjacent varieties of the Upper Spiš 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 <čhon etc.> is found in most neighbouring dialect groups of Central Romani, viz. in Lovari, Gurbet, Arli, Northeastern and Sinti Romani.

(A2) The variant <čhomut etc.> occurs in Transylvanian Romani, i.e. to the east of Central Romani.

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

Feature 6.1.141 ‘pea’

Map A [ID 578]: indigenous and earlier loanwords

Map B [ID 1329]: recent loanwords

Variant values

- A1 xrixil
- A2 graho
- A3 bobo
- B1 boršo(s)
- B2 hraxo(s)
- B3 groxos
- B4 horoxos
- B5 erbežo

Diachronic explanation of variants

(A1) Retention. The variant <xrixil>, including its phonological subvariants _xirxil_, _xrxi_, and _xerxel_, represents maintenance of the Proto-Romani etymon *_rihil_ ‘pea’ (cf. Boretzky and Igla 2004: 212). The noun 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).

(A2) South Slavism. The variant <graho> is a loanword from South Slavic, cf. Macedonian, Bulgarian and Slovene _grah_, Serbo-Croatian _grašak_ (from a diminutive form).

(A3) South Slavism. The variant <bobo> is a loanword of South Slavic (Serbo-Croatian) _bob_ ‘broad bean (*Vicia faba*)’ with a semantic shift to ‘pea’.

(B1) Hungarianism. The variant <boršo(s)>, including its subvariants _boršó(s)_, _boršovo_, _boršóvo_ and _cukorboršó_, is a loanword of Hungarian _borsó_ ‘pea’.

(B2) Slovakism. The variant <hraxo(s)>, including its subvariants _hráxos_, _kraxos_ and _xraxos_, is a loanword of Slovak _hrach_ ‘pea’.

(B3) Polonism. The variant <groxos> is a loanword of Polish _groch_ ‘pea’.

(B4) Ukrainianism. The variant <horoxos> is a loanword of Ukrainian _horox_ ‘pea’.

(B5) Germanism. The variant <erbežo> is a loanword of German _Erbse_ ‘pea’.

Attestation of forms

LQCR, no RMS data, some publications

Geographical distribution of variants in Central Romani

(A1) The variant <xrixil> occurs in three discontinuous areas: a) in the adjacent Malopolska and Galicia regions plus the historical Spiš and Šariš counties, b) in the northwest of Slovakia, c) in the Czechia region. The much larger, northern, area consists of several varieties of the Northern and Middle North Central subgroups (absent only in Liptov, Southern Šariš, Abov, Turňa) and some northern varieties of the Eastern North Central subgroup, viz. of the Northern and Eastern Šariš and Northern Zemplín region. The smaller, northwestern, area comprises a few varieties of the Turiec region and a single variety of the Trenčín Považie region. In the Czechia region, the variant is attested in Puchmayer (1821).

(A2) The variant <graho> is attested in two discontinuous areas: a) in the southwest of Slovakia and b) in a single variety of the Prekmurje region (viz. Odranci – Kamenci). The former area consists of several varieties of the Upper Hont and Upper Tekov regions, a few varieties of the Northeastern South Central subgroup, a few varieties of the Southern Záhorie region and individual varieties of the Eastern and Northern Podunajsko regions.

(A3) The variant <bobo> is attested in a single contiguous area consisting of all varieties the Somogy and Zala regions and almost all varieties of the Prekmurje region.

(B1) The variant <boršo(s)> occurs in a single contiguous area, in the south of Central Romani. This area consists of some western varieties of Abov, all varieties of Turňa, the overwhelming majority of varieties of the Eastern Transitional subgroup, the southern varieties of the Northeastern South Central subgroup (absent only in Podpoľanie and Upper Novohrad), most varieties of the Northwestern South Central subgroup, all Southeastern South Central varieties and individual varieties of the Veszprém and Vas regions.

(B2) The variant <hraxo(s)> occurs in a single contiguous area, in Slovakia including the historical Ung county. This area consists of almost all varieties of the Eastern Už region, the overwhelming majority of North Central varieties of Slovakia and some northern varieties of the Northeastern and Northwestern South Central subgroups.

(B3) The variant <groxos> occurs in a single contiguous area consisting of some varieties of Poland, viz. a few adjacent varieties of the Western Galicia and Eastern Malopolska regions and a single adjacent variety of the Western Malopolska region (viz. Szaflary).

(B4) The variant <horoxos> is attested in a single contiguous area comprising varieties of Ukraine, viz. varieties of the Central Galicia region and some varieties of the Eastern Už region.

(B5) The variant <erbežo> occurs in the Southwestern South Central variety of Kleinbachselten (Burgenland).

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 <xrixil> is found in the neighbouring dialect groups to the east, north and west of Central Romani, viz. in Lovari, Northeastern and Sinti Romani.

(A2) The variant <graho> occurs in the neighbouring dialect groups to the south of Central Romani, viz. in Arli, Gurbet and Dolenjski Romani.

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

(B1) The variant <boršo(s) etc.> is found in Lovari Romani, i.e. to the east of Central Romani.

(B5) The variant <erbežo> occurs in Sinti Romani, i.e. to the west and northwest of Central Romani.

Feature 6.1.143 ‘pear’

Map A [ID 26]: indigenous

Map B [ID 1624]: loanwords

Variant values

A1 ambrol

B1 kruška

B2 körte

B3 hruška

B4 gruška

B5 grůša

Diachronic explanation of variants

(A1) Retention. The variant <ambrol> represents maintenance of the Proto-Romani etymon *_ambrol_ ‘pear’, which is a loanword from an Iranian language; cf. Persian _amrūd_ ‘pear’.

(B1) South Slavism. The variant <kruška> is a loanword of South Slavic _kruška_ ‘pear’.

(B2) Hungarianism. The variant <körte> is a loanword of Hungarian _körte_ ‘pear’.

(B3) Slovakism and/ or Ukrainianism. The variant <hruška> is a loanword of Slovak or Ukrainian _hruška_ ‘pear’.

(B4) Polonism. The variant <gruška> is a loanword of Polish _gruszka_ ‘pear’.

(B5) Russianism. The variant <grůša> is a loanword of Russian _grůša_ ‘pear’.

Attestation of forms

LQCR, RMS, some publications

Geographical distribution of variants in Central Romani

(A1) The variant <ambrol> is rarely attested in the north of Central Romani. More specifically, the variant occurs in a few varieties of the Western Galicia region, in some adjacent varieties of the Northern and Eastern Zemplín regions, in individual varieties of the Eastern Už and Turňa regions and in a few adjacent varieties of the Eastern Gemer region. In the west of Central Romani, the variant is attested in the Trenčianske Teplice variety (Trenčín Považie) and in Puchmayer (1821) for the Czechia region.

(B1) The variant <kruška> is attested in a single contiguous area, in the south of Central Romani. This area comprises all varieties of the Southwestern and Southeastern South Central subgroups, the overwhelming majority of varieties of the Northwestern South Central subgroup, the southern varieties of the Northeastern

South Central subgroup (especially the Malohont and Lower Nógrád varieties) and a single adjacent variety of the Southern Gemer region (viz. Hostišovce).

(B2) The variant <körte> occurs in a few adjacent Eastern Transitional varieties of the Eastern Gemer region.

(B3) The variant <hruška> occurs in a single contiguous area, in the north of Central Romani. This area comprises the majority of Slovak and Ukrainian varieties of the North Central group and several (mostly northern) varieties of the Northeastern and Northwestern South Central subgroups.

(B4) The variant <gruška> is attested in a single contiguous area, in the northern periphery of Central Romani. This area comprises all Polish varieties of the Upper Spiš region, as well as almost all Northern North Central Romani varieties spoken in Poland.

(B5) The variant <gruša> is attested in the Plaščuno dialect.

Geographical distribution of variants in neighbouring dialect groups

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

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

(B1) The variant <kruška> occurs in Arli Romani, i.e. to the south of Central Romani.

(B3) The variant <hruška> is found in Dolenjski Romani, i.e. to the southwest of Central Romani.

(B5) The variant <gruša> occurs in Northeastern Romani, i.e. to the northeast of Central Romani.

Variant values

- 1 positi
- 2 žeba

Diachronic explanation of variants

(1) The variant <positi>, manifested in its various subvariants _posit'i_, _posit'a_, _possik_, _posot'i_, _poťisi_, _poťosi_ etc. in Central Romani, represents the original, Proto-Romani etymon _positi_ ‘pocket’. Etymology of _positi_ has not as yet been convincingly explained. The traditional association (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) Hungarianism. The variant <žeba> is a loanword of Hungarian _zseb_ ‘pocket’.

Attestation of forms

LQCR, RMS, some publications

Geographical distribution of variants in Central Romani

(1) The variant <positi> occurs in two discontinuous areas: a) in the Plaščuno dialect and b) in the west and south of Central Romani. The latter area consists of the Western North Central and Western Transitional subgroups, the overwhelming majority of varieties of the Middle Transitional subgroup, all varieties of the Northwestern, Southwestern and Southeastern South Central subgroups, all varieties of the Podpoľanie and Lower Hont regions and the Mohora variety (Lower Nógrád).

(2) The variant <žeba> is attested in a single contiguous area, in the east of Central Romani. This area comprises all varieties of the Northern, Eastern and Middle North Central and Eastern Transitional subgroups, all varieties of the Eastern Horehronie, Malohont, Upper Novohrad and Lower Nógrád regions (except of the Mohora variety) and a single variety of the Podpoľanie region (viz. Ponická Huta).

Geographical distribution of variants in neighbouring dialect groups

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

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

(2) The variant <žeba> occurs in Transylvanian Romani, i.e. to the east of Central Romani.

Feature 6.1.162 ‘potatoes’

Map A [ID 575]: indigenous

Map B [ID 1618]: loanwords

Variant values

- A1 derivation of phuv-
- A2 bangóre
- A3 phaba
- B1 krumpéri
- B2 krumpli
- B3 zemjaki
- B4 švapki
- B5 kompiri
- B6 bandurki
- B7 gruľi
- B8 hupki
- B9 bul’vi
- B10 japki
- B11 krumpin

Diachronic explanation of variants

(A1) Innovation. The variant <derivation of phuv-> refers to various derivational forms that are based on the noun _phuv_ ‘earth, land’. Such forms may reflect loan translations of nouns ‘potatoe’ in local languages that are often derived from ‘earth, land’; cf. e.g. Slovak _zemiak_ ‘potatoe’ < _zem_ ‘earth, land’ (and cf. also German _Erdapfel_ and dialectal _Grund_ - or _Erdbirne_).

(A2) Innovation. The variant <bangóre> has developed through substantivization, accompanied by a semantic specification, of a diminutive adjective _bangóro_ ‘pretty crooked’ (_bango_ ‘crooked’).

(A3) Innovation. The variant <phaba> has developed through a semantic shift of the Proto-Romani etymon *_phabaj_ (pl *_phaba_) ‘apple’, which is of Northwestern Indo-Aryan (‘Dardic’) origin, from the meaning ‘apple’ to that of ‘potatoe’. The semantic shift was probably triggered by the development in local Slovak dialects, in which _jablko_ ‘apple’ has acquired an additional meaning ‘potatoe’ (cf. also German _Erdapfel_).

(B1) South Slavism. The variant <krumpéri> is a loanword of South Slavic (Slovene and Serbo-Croatian) _krompir_ ‘potato’ of ultimately German origin (< _Grundbirne_).

- (B2) Hungarianism. The variant <krumpli>, including its subvariant *_krumpji_*, is a loanword of colloquial Hungarian *_krumpli_* ‘potato’, which also occurs as *_krumple_* ‘potatoes’ in Slovak dialects. The variant is of ultimately German origin (< *_Grundbirne_*).
- (B3) Slovakism. The variant <zemjaki> is a loanword of Standard Slovak *_zemiak_* ‘potato’.
- (B4) Slovakism. The variant <švapki> is a loanword of Slovak dialectal *_švapka_* ‘potato’.
- (B5) Slovakism. The variant <kompíri> is a loanword of Slovak dialectal *_kompere_* ‘potatoes’ of ultimately German origin (*_Grundbirne_*).
- (B6) Slovakism. The variant <bandurki> is a loanword of Slovak dialectal *_bandurka_* ‘potato’.
- (B7) Slovakism and/or Polonism. The variant <gruľi>, including its subvariant *_hruľi_*, is a loanword of Slovak and Polish dialectal *_grula_* ‘potato’ (pl *_grule_*).
- (B8) Polonism. The variant <hupki>, including its subvariant *_xupki_*, is a loanword of Polish dialectal *_hupka_* ‘potatoe’.
- (B9) Polonism and/or Ukrainianism. The variant <buľvi> is a loanword of either Polish dialectal *_buľwa_* (originally ‘tuber’) or of Ukrainian *_buľba_* ‘potatoe’.
- (B10) Czechism and/or Slovakism. The variant <japki> is a loanword of Czech and Slovak dialectal *_jabko_* ‘apple’ used in the meaning ‘potato’.
- (B11) Germanism. The variant <krumpin>, including its subvariants *_krumpíňi_*, *_krumpi_* and *_khrumpi_*, is a loanword of German dialectal *_Grundbirne_* ‘potato’.

Attestation of forms

LQCR, no RMS data, some publications

Geographical distribution of variants in Central Romani

(A1) The variant <derivation of phuv-> occurs sporadically in the west and south of Central Romani. In the North Central group, the variant is attested in almost all varieties of the Liptov region, in all varieties of the Nové Mesto Považie region and in individual varieties of the Púchov and Trenčín Považie regions. In the South Central group, the variant occurs in a few non-adjacent varieties of the Lower Nógrád region, in individual varieties of the adjacent Podpoľanie and Upper Novohrad regions and, more to the south, in the variety of Paks (Tolna).

(A2) The variant <bangóre> is sporadically attested in a single contiguous area, in the southwest of Central Romani. This area consists of most varieties of the Burgenland region, a single variety of the Prekmurje region (viz. Odranci – Kamenci) and a few varieties of the Somogy region.

(A3) The variant <phaba> occurs in a single contiguous area comprising all varieties of the Upper Kysuce and Žilina Považie regions.

(B1) The variant <krumpéri> occurs in the Southeastern South Central variety of Versend (Baranya).

(B2) The variant <krumpli> is attested in a single contiguous area, in the south of Central Romani. This area comprises all varieties of the Northwestern South Central subgroup, the overwhelming majority of varieties of the Northeastern and Southwestern South Central subgroups, all varieties of the Southern and Western Gemer regions, the overwhelming majority of varieties of the Middle Transitional subgroup (absent only in Eastern Horehronie), a single variety of the Western Transitional subgroup (viz. Kľačany) and a few adjacent varieties of the Northern Záhorie and Turiec regions. Interestingly, the variant also occurs in a single variety of the Púchov Považie region (viz. Horná Breznica).

(B3) The variant <zemjaki> occurs in the Northeastern South Central variety of Suchán (Lower Hont).

(B4) The variant <švapki> occurs in a single contiguous area comprising a few northern varieties of the Turiec region and the adjacent variety of the Orava region (viz. Oravská Poruba).

(B5) The variant <kompiri> is attested in a single contiguous area consisting of almost all varieties of the Abov region.

(B6) The variant <bandurki> is attested in a single contiguous area, in the historical Zemplín, Šariš and Ung counties. More specifically, this area comprises almost all varieties of the Eastern North Central subgroup, all varieties of the adjacent Southern Šariš region and a single adjacent variety of the Abov region (viz. Blažice).

(B7) The variant <gruľi> is attested in a single contiguous area, in the historical Gemer, Spiš and Šariš counties and in the Malopolska region. This area consists of all varieties of the Eastern and Western Malopolska regions, most varieties of the Middle North Central subgroup and all varieties of the adjacent Eastern and Northern Gemer and Eastern Horehronie regions. With regard to the Middle North Central subgroup, the variant is only absent or unattested in the Abov and Southern Šariš regions, and sporadically attested in the Liptov region.

(B8) The variant <hupki> occurs in a single contiguous area comprising all varieties of the Western Galicia region and a single variety of the adjacent Northern Zemplín region (viz. Veľkrop).

(B9) The variant <bul'vi> is attested in a single contiguous area comprising all varieties of the Central Galicia region.

(B10) The variant <japki> is attested in a single contiguous area consisting of most (especially western) varieties of the Northern Záhorie region.

(B11) The variant <krumpin> occurs in a single contiguous area in the southwest of Central Romani. This area comprises 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:

(A1) The variant <derivation of phuv-> is found in Sinti Romani, i.e. to the west and northwest of Central Romani.

(B1) The variant <krumpéri> occurs in Arli Romani, i.e. to the south of Central Romani.

(B2) The variant <krumpli> is found in Lovari Romani, i.e. to the east of Central Romani.

(B9) The variant <bul'vi> occurs in Northeastern Romani, i.e. to the northeast of Central Romani.

Variant values

- 1 das
- 2 s(e)rbo

Diachronic explanation of variants

(1) Retention. The variant <das> reflects the original, Proto-Romani ethnic appellation *_das_ ‘Slav’, which developed from the original meaning ‘slave’ (< MIA and OIA _dAAsa_ - ‘slave’; cf. CDIAL 6316). The semantic shift ‘slave’ > ‘Slav’ was probably triggered by the influence of the Medieval Greek noun _sklavos_, which meant both ‘Slav’ (primary meaning) and ‘slave’ (secondary meaning) in Byzantium.

(2) Wider Slavism and/or Hungarianism. The variant <s(e)rbo> is either a loanword of Hungarian _szerb_ ‘Serb’ or of Slavic _srb_ ‘Serb’.

Attestation of forms

LQCR (only Hungarian version), no RMS data, no publications

Geographical distribution of variants in Central Romani

(1) The variant <das> is attested in two non-adjacent varieties of the South Central group. a) in the variety of Versend (Baranya) and b) in the variety of Csobánka (Pest).

(2) The variant <s(e)rbo> is attested in several South Central varieties of Slovakia and Hungary.

Geographical distribution of variants in neighbouring dialect groups

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

(1) The variant <das> is found in Gurbet Romani, i.e. to the southeast of Central Romani.

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

Variant values

- 1 griho
- 2 bino(s)
- 3 hrixo(s)
- 4 grexos

Diachronic explanation of variants

(1) South Slavism. The variant <griho> is a loanword from South Slavic, cf. Serbo-Croatian (Ikavian) *_grih_* ‘sin’.

(2) Hungarianism. The variant <bino(s)> is a loanword of Hungarian *_bűn_* ‘sin’.

(3) Slovakism. The variant <hrixo(s)> is a loanword of Slovak *_hriech_* ‘sin’.

(4) Polonism. The variant <grexos> is a loanword of Polish *_grzech_* ‘sin’.

Note that the Proto-Romani, Iranian-derived, etymon *_bezex_* is absent in the whole Central Romani.

Attestation of forms

LQCR, no RMS data, some publications

Geographical distribution of variants in Central Romani

(1) The variant <griho> occurs in two discontiguous areas: a) in the north of the Novohrad and in the south of the historical Zvolen county and b) in the southwestern periphery of Central Romani. The northern area consists of a few varieties of the Podpoľanie region and a single northern variety of the Upper Novohrad region (viz. Divín). The southern area comprises all varieties of the Burgenland and Prekmurje regions and a single adjacent variety of the Vas region (viz. Szakonyfalu).

(2) The variant <bino(s)> occurs more or less sporadically throughout the whole Central area. The variant is only sporadically attested in all subgroups of the North Central group, and it is absent or unattested in Austria and Slovenia.

(3) The variant <hrixo(s)> occurs sporadically in the north of Central Romani, especially in the North Central varieties of Slovakia. The variant is also attested in a single adjacent variety of the Western Galicia region (viz. Świątkowa Mała).

(4) The variant <grexo(s)> is attested in a single contiguous area, in some varieties of Poland. More specifically, this area comprises all varieties of the Eastern Małopolska region and a few northern varieties of the Western Galicia region.

Geographical distribution of variants in neighbouring dialect groups

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

- (1) The variant <griho> occurs in the neighbouring dialect groups to the west and south of Central Romani, viz. in Sinti, Gurbet, Arli and Dolenjski Romani.
- (2) The variant <bino(s)> is found in Lovari Romani, i.e. to the east of Central Romani.
- (4) The variant <grexos> occurs in Northeastern Romani, i.e. to the northeast of Central Romani.

Feature 6.1.196 ‘skirt’

Map A [ID 27]: indigenous and earlier loanword

Map B [ID 1612]: recent loanwords

Variant values

A1 pasterni

A2 rokľa

B1 sokňa

B2 sukňa

Diachronic explanation of variants

(A1) Innovation. The variant <pasterni> continues the Proto-Romani noun *_pasterni_ ‘carpet, rug’ (cf. Welsh Romani _păștenō_ ‘carpet, rag’ (Sampson 1926); Rumelian Romani _pasterni_ ‘carpet’ (Paspatis 1870)) with a semantic shift from ‘carpet’ to ‘skirt’. Note that Sampson (1926, II: 271) points out that ‘_pasterni_ of the Nomads serves them both for carpet and covering’. The noun is a reflex of OIA _prastaraṇa_ -, which is attested in the meaning ‘couch, seat’ (cf. also Sinhalese _patharaṇī_ ‘bedding, mattress, bed’ and Gujarati _pāthraṇ_ ‘cloth for sitting on, bedding’; CDIAL 8859) of the prefixed root _pra-str_- ‘to spread, to extent’. The variant is coded here as an innovation with respect to its semantic development.

(A2) South Slavism. The variant <rokľa>, including its subvariants _rokja_, _rokija_, _rokla_ and _rokľi_, is a loanword of South Slavic dialectal _roklja_ ‘dress, skirt’ of ultimately German origin (cf. German _Rock_ ‘skirt’).

(B1) Hungarianism. The variant <sokňa> is a loanword of Hungarian _szoknya_ ‘skirt’.

(B2) Slovakism. The variant <sukňa> is a loanword of Slovak _sukňa_ ‘skirt’.

Attestation of forms

LQCR, RMS, some publications

Geographical distribution of variants in Central Romani

(A1) The variant <pasterni> occurs in a single contiguous area, in the southwest of Slovakia and in the southeastern periphery of Central Romani. This area comprises all varieties of the Southeastern and Northwestern South Central subgroups, except of the Pukanec variety and the Šarovce variety (Eastern Podunajsko).

(A2) The variant <rokľa> is almost general in Central Romani. The variant is only absent in the Southeastern South Central subgroup and almost absent in the Northwestern South Central subgroup.

(B1) The variant <sokňa> occurs in the Northeastern South Central variety of Mučín (Lower Nógrád), as well as in two varieties of the Middle and Eastern Podunajsko regions.

(B2) The variant <sukňa> is occasionally attested in North Central Romani, especially in the northeastern varieties of Slovakia. More specifically, the variant occurs in a few varieties of the Eastern and Northern Zemplín and Upper Spiš regions and individual varieties of the Southern Zemplín, Eastern and Northern Šariš and Northern Záhorie regions.

Geographical distribution of variants in neighbouring dialect groups

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

Feature 6.1.220 ‘teacher’

Map A [ID 8]: indigenous

Map B [ID 1319]: loanwords

Variant values

- A1 raj
- A2 sikhljardo
- B1 učiteľ(i)s etc.
- B2 meštra(s) etc.
- B3 tanító(s) etc.
- B4 rextori(s)
- B5 školňiko(s)

Diachronic explanation of variants

(A1) Innovation. The variant <raj> has developed through a semantic extension of Proto-Romani _raj_ ‘lord’ (< MIA _rāa_ - < OIA rājan- ‘king’) to the meaning ‘teacher’.

(A2) Innovation. The variant <sikhljardo> represents nominal derivation from a transitive verb _sikhljār_ - ‘to teach’.

(B1) Wider Slavism. The variant <učiteľ(i)s etc.>, including various subvariants, such as _učitelis_, _učiteľos_, _naučiteľis_ etc., represents loanwords of Slavic words for ‘teacher’ (cf. Slovene _učitelj_, Slovak _učiteľ_, Polish _nauczyciel_, Ukrainian _učytel’_, Russian _učit’el’_ etc.), which are derived from a Slavic verb for ‘to teach’.

(B2) Hungarianism. The variant <meštra(s) etc.> is a loanword of Hungarian _mester_ ‘master’, with a semantic shift to ‘teacher’.

(B3) Hungarianism. The variant <tanító(s)>, which includes its subvariants _tanítóvo(s)_, _tanítóbáči_ and _tanári(s)_, is a loanword of Hungarian _tanító_ ‘teacher’. The subvariant <tanítóbáči> is a loanword of Hungarian _tanító bácsi_ ‘mister teacher’, while the subvariant <tanári(s)> is a loanword of Hungarian _tanár_ ‘teacher’.

(B4) Slovakism. The variant <rextori(s)> is a loanword of archaic Slovak _rektor_ ‘director’.

(B5) Slovakism. The variant <školňiko(s)> is a loanword of Slovak _školník_ ‘janitor’, with a semantic shift to ‘teacher’.

Attestation of forms

LQCR, RMS, some publications

Geographical distribution of variants in Central Romani

(A1) The variant <raj> is rarely attested in the Central area. It occurs in individual adjacent varieties of the Upper Spiš and Eastern Malopolska region, in a few varieties of the Lower Nógrád region, in the Northern North Central variety of Krosno (Western Galicia) and in South Central individual varieties of Prekmurje and Burgenland.

(A2) The variant <sikhljardo> occasionally occurs in the Central area. The variant is attested in two adjacent varieties of the Southern Gemer region, in a single variety of the Podpoľanie region (viz. Ponická Huta) and in the Paks variety (Tolna).

(B1) The variant <učiteľ(i)s etc.> occurs in two discontinuous areas: a) in the north of Central Romani and b) in the Prekmurje region. The northern area consists of almost all varieties of the North Central group, all varieties of the Southern Záhorie region and a few varieties of some northern regions of the South Central group (Lower Hont, Podpoľanie, Upper Novohrad, Eastern Podunajsko and Pukanec). The second, southern, area comprises two adjacent varieties of the Prekmurje region.

(B2) The variant <meštra(s) etc.> is attested in two discontinuous areas: a) in the historical Gemer and Malohont counties and b) in the southwestern periphery of Central Romani. The northern area comprises almost all varieties of the Northern and Southern Gemer regions and all varieties of the Malohont region. In addition, the variant occurs in a few varieties of several adjacent dialect regions (Lower Spiš, Western Gemer, Lower Hont, Lower Nógrád, Upper Novohrad, Podpoľanie). The southern area consists of the varieties of the Zala, Vas and Burgenland regions and almost all varieties of the Prekmurje region.

(B3) The variant <tanító(s) etc.> occurs in a single more or less contiguous area, in the south of Central Romani. This area comprises all varieties of the Eastern Gemer region and some varieties of other southern regions of North Central Romani (Eastern Už, Western Uh, Southern Zemplín, Turňa), most varieties of the Lower Nógrád region, the overwhelming majority of varieties of the Northwestern South Central subgroup, all varieties of the Somogy and Veszprém regions and the Versend variety (Baranya).

(B4) The variant <rextori(s)> is attested in some adjacent varieties of the Western Spiš region.

(B5) The variant <školník(s)> occurs in a single contiguous area consisting of individual varieties of the Turňa and Lower Spiš regions, viz. Bôrka and Smolník.

Geographical distribution of variants in neighbouring dialect groups

(A2) Only the Central Romani variant <sikhljardo> is attested in the neighbouring dialect groups, being found in Sinti, Northeastern, Gurbet and Arli Romani.

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

(B1) The variant <učiteľ(i)s etc.> is found in Dolenjski Romani, i.e. to the southwest of Central Romani.

(B3) The variant <tanító(s) etc.> occurs in the neighbouring dialect groups to the east of Central Romani, viz. in Transylvanian and Lovari Romani.

Feature 6.1.232 ‘tree’

Map A [ID 30]: indigenous and earlier loanwords

Map B [ID 1621]: recent loanwords

Map C [ID 1053]: named by a kind of tree

Variant values

- A1 rukh
- A2 kašt
- A3 veš
- A4 liṭhi
- B1 stromo(s)
- B2 dževina
- B3 derevo(s)
- C1 agaca
- C2 virba etc.
- C3 buko(s)
- C4 lipa
- C5 smreko(s)
- C6 dubo(s)

Diachronic explanation of variants

(A1) Retention. The variant <rukh> represents maintenance of the Proto-Romani etymon *_rukh_ ‘tree’, which continued MIA _rukkha_ - ‘tree’ (e.g. in Pali; cf. also Nepali _rukh_ ‘tree’; CDIAL 10757), perhaps an irregular development from OIA _vr̥kṣa_ ‘tree’.

(A2) Innovation. The variant <kašt> has developed through a semantic extension of the etymon _kašt_ ‘a piece of wood’ (< OIA _kāṣṭha_ - ‘a piece of wood’) from the meaning ‘wood’ to the meaning ‘tree’. In respective dialects, the extension may have taken place under the influence of contact languages in which the word for ‘tree’ may be expressed through the word for ‘wood’, i.e. by loan translation, cf. Hungarian _fa_ ‘wood; tree’.

(A3) Innovation. The variant <veš> has developed through a semantic extension of the etymon _veš_ ‘woods, forest’ (from Iranian) from the meaning ‘woods, forest’ to the meaning ‘tree’.

(A4) Grecism. The variant <liṭhi>, including its subvariant _liči_, represents maintenance of the Proto-Romani etymon *_lithi_ ‘fruit tree’, which was borrowed from Greek _λύθι_ ‘wild fig tree’ (Boretzky 2012 Gräzismen: 67).

(B1) Slovakism and/or Czechism. The variant <stromo(s)> is a loanword of Slovak or Czech _strom_ ‘tree’.

- (B2) Polonism. The variant <dževina> is a loanword of Polish *_drzewina_* ('sapling?'), derivation from *_drzewo_* 'tree'.
- (B3) Ukrainianism and/or Russianism. The variant <derevo(s)> is a loanword of East Slavic *_derevo_* 'tree'.
- (C1) Hungarianism. The variant <agaca> is a loanword of Hungarian *_akác_* 'locust-tree', with a semantic shift to 'tree' in general.
- (C2) Slovakism and/or Polonism. The variant <virba etc.>, manifested in a variety of subvariants such as *_virba_*, *_firba_*, *_virbaj_*, *_vrba_*, *_firl'bax_*, *_verbin_* and *_hirbiň_*, is either a loanword of Slovak *_vrba_* 'willow' and its dialectal forms or Polish *_wierzba_* 'willow', with a semantic shift to 'tree' in general.
- (C3) Slovakism. The variant <buko(s)> is a loanword of Slovak *_buk_* 'beech', with a semantic shift to 'tree' in general.
- (C4) Slovakism. The variant <lipa> is a loanword of Slovak *_lipa_* 'tilia, lime tree', with a semantic shift to 'tree' in general.
- (C5) Polonism. The variant <smrekos> is a loanword of Polish dialectal *_smrek_* 'spruce', cf. also Slovak *_smrek_* 'spruce', with a semantic shift to 'tree' in general.
- (C6) The variant <dubos> is a loanword of East Slavic *_dub_* 'oak tree', cf. also Slovak *_dub_* 'oak tree', with a semantic shift to 'tree' in general.

Attestation of forms

LQCR, RMS, some publications

Geographical distribution of variants in Central Romani

- (A1) The variant <rukh> is attested in some varieties of the Czechia region, viz. Vosoudov and Vymazal (1900).
- (A2) The variant <kašt> occurs in two discontinuous areas: a) in the south of Central Romani and b) in Poland. The much larger, southern, area comprises the overwhelming majority of varieties of the South Central group (absent in Upper Novohrad and Podpoľanie), most varieties of the Eastern Už region, all varieties of the Turňa and Eastern Gemer regions and some adjacent varieties of other southern regions of the North Central group (Abov, Lower Spiš, Southern Gemer, Western Gemer, Upper Hont, Hlohovec Považie). The much smaller, northern, area consists of most varieties of the Western Galicia and Eastern and Western Malopolska regions and a single adjacent variety of the Upper Spiš region (viz. Czarna Góra).
- (A3) The variant <veš> occurs in a single contiguous area consisting of a few varieties of the Upper Spiš and Western Spiš regions.
- (A4) The variant <liťhi> is attested in the Plaščuno dialect and in two old sources for Western North Central Romani, viz. in Puchmayer (1821) for the Czechia region and in the dialect of Trenčianské Teplice in Slovakia.
- (B1) The variant <stromo(s)> is attested in a single contiguous area, in the north of Central Romani. This area consists of almost all North Central varieties of Slovakia, some adjacent varieties of the Czechia region (viz. Boskovice and Oslavany) and Eastern Už (Užhorod), all varieties of the Podpoľanie, Upper Novohrad and Southern

Záhorie regions, several varieties of the Malohont and Lower Hont regions, a single variety of the Northern Podunajsko region and the Pukanec variety.

(B2) The variant <dževina> occurs in a single contiguous area comprising a few northernmost varieties of the Eastern Malopolska region (viz. Koszary and Nowy Sącz) and a single adjacent variety of the Western Galicia region (viz. Jasło).

(B3) The variant <derevo(s)> occurs in a single contiguous area consisting of all varieties of the Central Galicia region.

(C1) The variant <agaca> occurs in the Middle North Central variety of Veľká Ida (Abov).

(C2) The variant <virba etc.> is sporadically attested in northern Spiš and Šariš. More specifically, the variant occurs in a few varieties of the Upper Spiš region, in the adjacent variety of Szaflary (Western Malopolska) and in a single non-adjacent variety of the Northern Šariš region (viz. Poštárka).

(C3) The variant <buko(s)> occurs in individual adjacent varieties of the Northern and Eastern Zemplín regions, viz. in the varieties of Zbudské Dlhé and Slovenská Volová respectively.

(C4) The variant <lipa> is attested in two adjacent varieties of the Eastern Zemplín region, viz. Vyšný Hrušov and Podskalka.

(C5) The variant <smreko(s)> occurs in the Northern North Central variety of Krošnica (Eastern Malopolska).

(C6) The variant <dubo(s)> is attested in the western varieties of the Eastern Už region, viz. Perečyn, Užhorod and Radvanka.

(C7) The variant <hirbiň> occurs in the Middle North Central variety of Medzev (Turňa).

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 <rukh> is found in Sinti Romani, constituting a dialect continuum with some Central varieties of Czechia.

(A2) The variant <kašt> occurs in all neighbouring dialect groups of Central Romani, viz. in Northeastern, Transylvanian, Lovari, Gurbet, Arli, Dolenjski and Sinti Romani.

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

Variant values

- | | |
|---|--------------|
| 1 | xolev |
| 2 | pantala |
| 3 | bud’oga |
| 4 | galhóta etc. |
| 5 | gakja |
| 6 | plundra |

Diachronic explanation of variants

- (1) Retention. The variant <xolev>, including its phonological subvariants _xolov_, _holov_, _holev_ etc., represents maintenance of the Proto-Romani etymon *_xolev_ ‘trousers’. The etymon *_xolev_ is a loanword from an unknown source, which may have been Iranian, as suggested by Ossetian _xäläf_ ‘trousers’ (cf. also Church Slavonic _xoleva_ ‘stocking’).
- (2) South Slavism. The variant <pantala> is a loanword of South Slavic _pantalon(i)_ (in Macedonian and Bulgarian; _pantalone_ in Serbian) ‘trousers’, cf. also archaic Hungarian _pantalló_ ‘long trousers’, with a semantic shift to ‘trousers’ in general.
- (3) Hungarianism. The variant <bud’oga> is a loanword of archaic Hungarian _bugyogó_ ‘trousers’.
- (4) Slovakism. The variant <galhóta>, including its subvariant _galóta_, is a loanword or Slovak dialectal _galóty_ ‘trousers’, cf. also Czech _kalhoty_ ‘trousers’.
- (5) Polonism. The variant <gakja> is a loanword of Polish dialectal _gacie_ ‘trousers’.
- (6) Slovenism. The variant <plundra> is a loanword of Slovene dialectal _plundre_ ‘wide trousers’, cf. also archaic Hungarian dialectal _plundra(nadrág)_ ‘kind of trousers’.

Attestation of forms

LQCR, no RMS data, some publications

Geographical distribution of variants in Central Romani

- (1) The variant <xolov> is almost general in Central Romani. The variant is only absent or unattested in the Zala, Vas and Prekmurje regions, and it is only sporadically attested in the Northern Záhorie and Nové Mesto Považie regions.
- (2) The variant <pantala> is attested in the Southeastern South Central variety of Versend (Baranya).

(3) The variant <bud'oga> occurs in two adjacent varieties of the Žitný ostrov region, viz. Rastice and Štvrtok na Ostrove.

(4) The variant <gakja> is attested in a single contiguous area comprising almost all varieties of the Western Galicia region.

(5) The variant <galhóta etc.> occurs in a single contiguous area, in the westernmost varieties of North Central Romani in Slovakia. This area comprises almost all varieties of the Northern Záhorie region, all varieties of the Nové Mesto Považie region and a single adjacent variety of the Hlohovec Považie region (viz. Veľké Kostoľany).

(6) The variant <plundra> is attested in a single contiguous area consisting of all varieties of the Zala, Vas and Prekmurje regions.

Geographical distribution of variants in neighbouring dialect groups

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

(1) The variant <xolov> is found in the neighbouring dialect groups to the west and north of Central Romani, viz. in Northeastern, Sinti and Dolenjski Romani.

(2) The variant <pantala> is found in the neighbouring dialect groups to the south and southeast of Central Romani, viz. in Arli and Gurbet Romani. These dialect groups constitute a dialect continuum with the Central variety of Versend (Baranya).

(3) The variant <bud'oga> occurs in Lovari Romani, i.e. to the east of Central Romani.

Feature 6.1.239 ‘uncle’

Map A [ID 530]: complete

Map B [ID 1312]: distribution of _stríco(s)_

Variant values

A1 kak

A2 bači(s)

A3 baťa etc.

A4 ujcu(s) etc.

B1 strýco(s)

Diachronic explanation of variants

(A1) Retention. The variant <kak>, including its morphological subvariant _kakos_, represents maintenance of the Proto-Romani etymon _kak_ ‘uncle’, which was borrowed from an Iranian language.

(A2) Hungarianism. The variant <bači(s)> is a loanword of Hungarian Hung. _(nagy)bácsi_ ‘uncle’.

(A3) Hungarianism. The variant <baťa etc.>, including its subvariants _bát’a_, _bát’u_, _baukja_ etc., is a loanword of Hungarian _nagy-báty_ ‘uncle’ derived from _báty_ ‘older brother’.

(A4) Slovakism. The variant <ujcu(s) etc.>, including its numerous subvariants _ujko_, _ujcos_, _ujo_, _vujcuis_, _ujčok_, _účok_, _účoko_ etc., is a loanword of Slovak _ujec_ ‘(maternal) uncle’ and its various dialectal forms.

(B1) Slovakism. The variant <present> refers to a loanword of Slovak _strýc_ or its dialectal form _strýk_ ‘(paternal) uncle’.

Attestation of forms

LQCR, no RMS data, some publications

Geographical distribution of variants in Central Romani

(A1) The variant <kak> occurs in a single more or less contiguous area, in the northern periphery of Central Romani. This area comprises all varieties of the Northern North Central subgroup, a single adjacent variety of the Upper Spiš region (viz. Czarna Góra), several varieties of the Northern and Eastern Šariš regions, some varieties of the Western Spiš and all varieties of the Liptov region, all varieties of the Upper Kysuce and Žilina Považie regions and a single variety of the Turiec region (viz. Sklabinský Podzámok). The variant is also attested in Puchmajer (1821) for the Czechia region.

(A2) The variant <bači(s)> is more or less sporadically attested in a single contiguous area, in the south of Central Romani and in the historical Abov, Spiš and Šariš

counties. More specifically, this area consists of the overwhelming majority of varieties of the Middle North Central subgroup (absent in Liptov), a few southern varieties of the Eastern Transitional subgroup, almost all varieties of the Upper Hont region, almost all varieties of the Northeastern South Central subgroup and all varieties of the Pest, Sopron, Somogy, Veszprém and Burgenland regions. The variant is only sporadically attested in several other dialect regions of southern Slovakia (Eastern and Middle Podunajsko, Eastern and Southern Gemer, Southern Zemplín, Western Uh, Eastern Už).

(A3) The variant <baťa etc.> occurs in four discontinuous areas: a) in the southwest of Slovakia, b) in southern Gemer, c) in Slovenia and d) in the Versend variety (Baranya). The first, largest, area consists of most Northwestern South Central varieties of Slovakia. The second, eastern, area comprises almost all varieties of the Eastern Gemer region and a single variety of the Western Gemer region. The third, southern, area consists all varieties of the Prekmurje region.

(A4) The variant <ujcu(s) etc.> is attested in three discontinuous areas: a) in the east of Central Romani, b) in almost all varieties of the Western Horehronie region, and c) in the Záhorie region. The much larger, eastern, area consists of most varieties of the Eastern North Central subgroup and a single adjacent variety of the Southern Šariš region (viz. Červenica). The western area comprises two adjacent varieties of the Northern Záhorie region (viz. Prievaly and Hradište pod Vrátnom).

Geographical distribution of variants in neighbouring dialect groups

(A1) Only the Central Romani variant <kak> is attested in the neighbouring dialect groups, being found in almost all of these groups (Lovari, Northeastern, Sinti, Dolenjski, Arli and Gurbet Romani).

(B) The variant is not attested in any of the neighbouring dialect groups.

Variant values

- 1 šut
- 2 šutlo
- 3 eceto
- 4 octo(s)

Diachronic explanation of variants

(1) Retention. The variant <šut> represents maintenance of the Proto-Romani etymon *šut ‘vinegar’ from an OIA adjective śukta - ‘become acid or sour’ and its substantivized form ‘anything fermented or sour’. Cognate forms occur in Northwestern (‘Dardic’) Indo-Aryan languages; e.g. Khowar šut ‘vinegar’ (cf. CDIAL 2504).

(2) Innovation. The variant <šutlo> has developed through substantivization of the Proto-Romani adjective *šutlo ‘sour’ and its semantic specification ‘sour’ > ‘vinegar’. In respective dialects, šutlo still occurs as an adjective with a meaning ‘sour’ as well.

(3) Hungarianism The variant <eceto> is a loanword of Hungarian ecet ‘vinegar’.

(4) Slovakism and/or Polonism. The variant <octo(s)> is a loanword of either Slovak ocot or Polish ocet ‘vinegar’.

Attestation of forms

LQCR, no RMS data, some publications

Geographical distribution of variants in Central Romani

(1) The variant <šut> is almost general in Central Romani. The variant is only absent or unattested in the Eastern Malopolska and Western and Central Galicia regions, and only sporadically attested in the Eastern North Central subgroup.

(2) The variant <šutlo> is attested in two non-adjacent varieties in the east of Central Romani: a) in the varieties of Veľká Ida (Abov) and b) Sačurov (Southern Zemplín).

(3) The variant <eceto> is attested in two discontinuous areas: a) in a few adjacent varieties of the Žitný ostrov region and b) in a single variety of the Lower Nógrád region (viz. Buják).

(4) The variant <octo(s)> occurs in a single contiguous area, in the eastern and northern periphery of Central Romani. This area consists of all varieties of the Northern North Central subgroup (except of Czarny Dunajec), most varieties of the Eastern North Central subgroup (almost absent in Eastern Šariš and Eastern Už), a few adjacent varieties of the Middle North Central subgroup and, in the west, a few varieties of the Upper Kysuce 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 <šut> is found in several neighbouring dialect groups of Central Romani, viz. in Lovari, Gurbet and Sinti Romani.
- (4) The variant <octo(s)> occurs in Northeastern Romani, constituting a dialect continuum with the eastern peripheral varieties of Central Romani.

Variant values

- 1 them
- 2 sveto(s)
- 3 svito
- 4 világo(s)
- 5 svjeto(s)

Diachronic explanation of variants

(1) Retention. The variant <them> represents maintenance of the Proto-Romani etymon *_them_ ‘land, country’ with a slight semantic shift. The etymon is probably a loanword of Armenian _them_ ‘diocese’ (< Greek _θέμα_ ‘administrative unit’; cf. Boretzky 1995: 142-145).

(2) South Slavism and/or Slovakism. The variant <sveto(s)> is a loanword of South Slavic _svet_; cf. Macedonian, Slovene _svet_, Serbo-Croatian _svět_ ‘world’. However, the form _svet_ also occurs in Slovak (but not in Czech, Polish or Ukrainian), so that the variant may also be borrowed from Slovak in respective Central Romani dialects, or its presence has just been reinforced by contact with Slovak.

(3) South Slavism. The variant <svito> is a loanword of South Slavic dialectal _svit_ ‘world’, which occurs in Serbo-Croatian Ikavian dialects.

(4) Hungarianism. The variant <világo(s)> is a loanword of Hungarian _világ_ ‘world’.

(5) Czechism. The variant <svjetos> is a loanword of Czech _svět_, which reaches some western Slovak dialects as well.

Attestation of forms

LQCR, no RMS data, some publications

Geographical distribution of variants in Central Romani

(1) The variant <them> occurs in two discontiguous areas in the southwest of Central Romani: a) in some varieties of the Sopron and Burgenland regions and b) in almost all varieties of the Somogy region.

(2) The variant <sveto(s)> is attested in a single contiguous area, in the north of Central Romani. This area consists of almost all varieties of the Northern, Eastern, Middle and Western North Central subgroups, a few varieties of the Northern Gemer and Malohont regions, almost all varieties of the Eastern and Western Horehronie regions and individual varieties of the Upper Tekov and Northern Podunajsko regions.

(3) The variant <svito(s)> occurs in two discontinuous areas: a) in the historical Novohrad, Hont and Zvolen counties and b) in the Paks variety (Tolna). The main, northern, area comprises almost all varieties of the Upper Tekov and Upper Hont regions, a single variety of the Western Horehronie region, the overwhelming majority of varieties of the Northeastern South Central subgroup, almost all varieties of the Northern Podunajsko region, the variety of Pukanec and a single variety of the adjacent Eastern Podunajsko region (viz. Šarovce).

(4) The variant <világo(s) etc.> is more or less sporadically attested in the south of Central Romani. This area comprises individual varieties of the Turňa and Lower Spiš regions (viz. Moldava nad Bodvou and Hnilec), almost all varieties of the Eastern and Western Transitional subgroups, some adjacent varieties of the Nové Mesto and Trenčín Považie regions, some southernmost varieties of the Lower Nógrád region and almost all varieties of the Northwestern South Central subgroup. More to the south, the variant occurs in several varieties of the Southwestern South Central subgroup (sporadically only in Somogy) and in the Versend variety (Baranya).

(5) The variant <svjetos> occurs in most varieties of the Northern Záhorie region and in a single variety of the Czechia region.

Geographical distribution of variants in neighbouring dialect groups

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

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

(2) The variant <sveto(s)> occurs in the neighbouring dialect groups to the north and west of Central Romani, viz. in Northeastern, Sinti and Dolenjski Romani.