Feature 6.3.4 'bitter' [Map ID 658]

Variant values

- 1 kerko
- 2 kešerino
- 3 horko
- 4 goško

Diachronic explanation of variants

- (1) Retention. The variant <kerko>, including its subvariants _kirko_ and _krko_, represents maintenance of the original, Proto-Romani adjectival etymon *_kerko_, which developed from MIA _kadua_- 'bitter' and in turn from OIA _katu(ka)_- 'pungent, bitter' (cf. CDIAL 2641).
- (2) Hungarianism. The variant <kešeríno> is a loanword of Hungarian _keserű_ 'bitter'.
- (3) Slovakism. The variant <horko> is a loanword of Slovak hork-ý 'bitter'.
- (4) Polonism. The variant <goško> is a loanword of Polish _gorzk-i_ 'bitter'.

Attestation of forms

LQCR, no RMS data, some publications

Geographical distribution of variants in Central Romani

- (1) The variant <kerko> is more or less sporadically attested throughout the whole Central area, with a concentration in the south and in the eastern periphery of Central Romani. The variant is only sporadically attested in the Malopolska region in Poland and in the Middle and Western North Central and Middle Transitional subgroups.
- (2) The variant <kešeríno> occurs only rarely in Southern Slovakia and Northern Hungary, viz. in a few varieties of the Lower Nógrád region and in the varieties of Šarovce (Eastern Podunajsko) and Kajal (Middle Podunajsko).
- (3) The variant <horko> is sporadically attested in Slovakia, viz. in several North Central varieties of Slovakia (especially of the Middle and Western North Central and middle Transitional subgroups) and in a few South Central varieties of Slovakia.
- (4) The variant <goško> occurs in several varieties of Poland, viz. in all varieties of the Eastern Malopolska region and in the adjacent varieties of Kopytowa (Western Galicia), Szaflary (Western Malopolska) and Czarna Gora (Upper Spiš).

Geographical distribution of variants in neighbouring dialect groups

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

Feature 6.3.5 'blue' [Map ID 660]

Variant values

- 1 modro
- 2 plávo
- 3 kik(n)o
- 4 belavo
- 5 ňebjesko
- 6 sino

Diachronic explanation of variants

- (1) Wider Slavic. The variant <modro> is a loanword of the Slavic _modr-y_, which occurs in both South and West Slavic. It follows that there may be different sources of the adjective in respective Central Romani dialects. While in Southwestern SCR the adjective _modro_ must reflect an earlier South Slavic borrowing, _modro_ in Slovak Romani dialects may have been borrowed from the current contact language, viz. Slovak
- (2) South Slavic. The variant <plavo> is a loanword of the South Slavic pláv 'blue'.
- (3) Hungarian. The variant <kík(n)o>, including its variant _kékno_, is a loanword of Hungarian _kék_ 'blue'.
- (4) Slovak. The variant <belavo> is a loanword of Slovak dialectal belav-y 'blue'.
- (5) Polish. The variant < ňebjesko > is a loanword of Polish niebiesk-i 'blue'.
- (6) East Slavic. The variant <sino> is a loanword of East Slavic (Ukrainian or Russian) _sin-ij 'blue'.

Attestation of forms

LQCR, no RMS data, some publications

Geographical distribution of variants in Central Romani

(1) The variant <modro> is attested in two slightly discontiguous areas: a) more or less sporadically in Slovakia and b) in Austria and in the Transdanubia region in Hungary. The former area consists of all Western North Central varieties of Slovakia and the varieties of the adjacent Southern Záhorie region, all Western and Middle Transitional varieties and several adjacent varieties of the Middle North Central, Eastern Transitional and Northeastern South Central subgroups. The variant is only sporadically attested in the east of Slovakia. The more compact, southern, area comprises almost all varieties of the Burgenland region as well as almost all South Central varieties of Hungary.

- (2) The variant <plávo> occurs in two slightly discontiguous areas in the southwestern periphery of Central Romani: a) in the Prekmurje region and b) in a single variety of the Burgenland region (viz. Oberwart).
- (3) The variant <kík(n)o> is attested in four discontiguous areas: a) in the Eastern Už region, b) in the south of Slovakia including the Nógrád and Pest counties in Hungary and c) in the varieties of Versend (Baranya) and d) Lengyeltóti (Somogy). The smaller, eastern, area consists of all varieties of the Eastern Už region, while the much larger, second, area comprises all varieties of Turňa and the adjacent varieties of Veľká Ida (Abov) and Smolník (Lower Spiš), all varieties of Eastern and Southern Gemer, most (mainly southern) varieties of the Northeastern South Central subgroup and all varieties of the Northwestern South Central subgroup, except of the Southern Záhorie varieties.
- (4) The variant <belavo> occurs in a single contiguous area, in the east of Slovakia. This area comprises almost all Eastern North Central varieties of Slovakia, the overwhelming majority of varieties of the Middle North Central subgroup and some varieties of the Northern Gemer region.
- (5) The variant < ňebjesko > is attested in all Central varieties of Poland.
- (6) The variant <sino> occurs in a single contiguous area consisting of all varieties of the Central Galicia reigon.

Geographical distribution of variants in neighbouring dialect groups

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

- (1) The variant <modro>, as a co-variant of <plávo>, occurs in Dolenjski Romani, i.e. to the southwest of Central Romani.
- (2) The variant <plávo> is found in the neighbouring dialect groups to the south of Central Romani, viz. in Gurbet, Arli and Dolenjski Romani.
- (3) The variant <kík(n)o> is found in Sinti Romani, i.e. to the west and northwest of Central Romani.
- (6) The variant <sino> occurs in Northeastern Romani, i.e. to the northeast of Central Romani.

Comments on feature

excluding in the verb šužar- 'to clean' and in the collocation šužo djiv 'corn'

Variant values

- 1 šužo
- 2 čisto
- 3 rajn

Diachronic explanation of variants

- (1) Retention. The variant <šužo> maintains the original Proto-Romani adjective, which is based on the OIA root _śudh_- 'to purify' (cf. _śuddha_- 'purified, clean'). With respect to the word-internal sibilant /ž/ the Romani adjective may be based on a gerundive form *_śudhya_- 'to be made pure' (attested as _śodhya_- in Sanskrit) via MIA *_śujjha_- with some progressive assimilation changing the word-internal affricate into a sibilant; cf. CDIAL 12525.
- (2) Wider Slavic. The variant <čisto> is a loanword of a Slavic adjective 'clean', e.g. Slovak čistý, Polish czysty, Ukrainian čystyj, Russian čistyj.
- (3) German. The variant <rajn> is a loanword of German rein 'clean'.

Attestation of forms

LQCR, RMS, some publications

Geographical distribution of variants in Central Romani

- (1) The variant <šužo> is attested in three discontiguous areas: a) in Ukraine, in the south of Slovakia and in the Nógrád, Pest, Tolna and Baranya counties in Hungary, and b) only sporadically in the northwestern periphery of Slovakia and c) in the Burgenland and Prekmurje regions. The former area consists of almost all varieties of the Central Galicia region, several southern varieties of the Eastern and Middle North Central subgroups, the overwhelming majority of varieties of the transitional subgroups (except of all Eastern and Western Horehronie varieties), the adjacent Western North Central variety of Turček (Turiec) and all varieties of the Northeastern, Northwestern and Southeastern South Central subgroups. In addition, the variant occurs in the Western North Central varieties of Trenčianske Teplice (Trenčín Považie) and Gbely (Northern Záhorie) and in some varieties of the Prekmurje and Burgenland regions.
- (2) The variant <čisto> occurs in two discontiguous areas: a) in the Plaščuno dialect and b) in the north of Central Romani. The main, northern, area comprises all varieties of the Northern North Central subgroup, the overwhelming majority of the Eastern and Middle North Central varieties of Slovakia, almost all Western North

Central varieties, all varieties of the Eastern and Western Horehronie regions and the adjacent variety of Jastrabá (Upper Tekov).

(3) The variant <rajn> is attested in a single contiguous area consisting of almost all varieties of the Southwestern South Central subgroup.

Geographical distribution of variants in neighbouring dialect groups

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

- (1) The variant <šužo> is found in almost all neighbouring dialect groups of Central Romani, viz. in Transylvanian, Lovari, Gurbet, Dolenjski, Northeastern and Sinti Romani.
- (2) The variant <čisto>, mainly as a co-variant of <šužo>, occurs in the neighbouring dialect groups to the northeast and south of Central Romani, viz. in Northeastern, Gurbet, Arli and Dolenjski Romani.
- (3) The variant <rajn>, as a co-variant of <šužo>, is found in Sinti Romani, i.e. to the west and northwest of Central Romani.

Feature 6.3.14 'healthy' [Map ID 662]

Variant values

- 1 sasto
- 2 egéšégešno
- 3 zdravo

Diachronic explanation of variants

- (1) Retention. The variant <sasto> is an inherited adjective, which continues OIA _svastha_- 'well, healthy' (CDIAL 13917), cf. also the OIA noun _svAAsthya_- 'health'.
- (2) Hungarian. The variant <egéségesno> is a loanword of Hungarian _egészséges_ 'healthy'.
- (3) Slovak. The variant <zdravo> is a loanword of Slovak _zdravý_ 'healthy'.

Attestation of forms

LQCR, no RMS data, some publications

Geographical distribution of variants in Central Romani

- (1) The variant <sasto> is dominant in Central Romani. The variant is absent in almost all varieties of the Eastern North Central subgroup.
- (2) The variant <egéšégešno> is sporadically attested in four discontiguous areas in the south of Central Romani: a) in the Podunajsko region, b) in the Nógrád, c) Somogy and d) Veszprém counties. More specifically, the variant occurs in some Northwestern South Central varieties of Slovakia, in several varieties of the Lower Nógrád and Somogy regions and in the variety of Városlőd (Veszprém). The variant <egéšégešno> often co-occurs with the variant <sasto>.
- (3) The variant <zdravo> occurs in a single contiguous area, in the eastern periphery of Central Romani, and rarely elsewhere in Slovakia. The main area of occurrence consists of almost all varieties of the Western Galicia region, almost all varieties of the Eastern North Central subgroup and some adjacent varieties of the Middle North Central subgroup. In addition, the variant is attested in individual varieties of the Western Gemer, Malohont and Northern Gemer regions.

Geographical distribution of variants in neighbouring dialect groups

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

Feature 6.3.15 'hot' [Map ID 1291]

Variant values

- 1 kerado
- 2 kerďardo
- 3 jagalo
- 4 xačardo
- 5 thárdo
- 6 for(r)óno
- 7 vr(e)lo

Diachronic explanation of variants

- (1) Retention. The variant <kerado> is an historical perfective participle of a causative verb _kerav_- 'to cause to boil' with a semantic shift to 'hot'. The verbal root _ker_- 'to boil', which is not etymologically related to a homonymous root _ker_- 'to do', is derived from MIA _kaD.h_- and in turn from OIA _kvath_- 'to boil' (cf. OIA causative _kvAAthayati_ 'causes to boil'), cf. CDIAL 3635. Note that in respective Central Romani dialects in which this variant occurs _kerav_- no longer occurrs as a verb, and the adjective _kerado_ is its only vestige. The meaning 'to (cause to) boil' has been taken over by a verb _tav_-, whose original meaning was that of 'to cook meal' in Proto-Romani (< OIA causative _tAApayati_ 'makes warm').
- (2) Retention. The variant <kerd'ardo> is another perfective participle of a transitive derivation of the verb _ker_- 'to boil' with the same semantic shift as in the variant <kerado>. In contrast to the latter, <kerd'ardo> is based on another derivation _kerd'ar-_ marked by a factitive marker -_ar_- added to a perfective participle _ker-d_-, which is still attested in certain Central Romani dialects in a intransitive verb of the type _ker-d'-ov-el_ 'boils'. The original regular causative verb _kerav_- was lost in respective dialects due perhaps to its homonymy with another causative verb _kerav_- 'to cause to do' and was replaced by a secondary transitive derivation _kerd'ar_- based on the mediopassive verb.
- (3) Internal innovation. The variant <jagalo> is an adjectice derivation of _jag_ 'fire' with a semantic shift from 'fiery, flaming' to 'hot'.
- (4) Internal innovation. The variant <xačardo> is a regular perfective participle of the transitive verb xačar 'to burn' with a semantic shift from 'burnt' to 'hot'.
- (5) Internal innovation. The variant <thárdo> is a regular perfective participle of the transitive verb thár 'to burn' with a semantic shift from 'burnt' to 'hot'.
- (6) Hungarian. The variant <for(r)óno> is a loanword of Hungarian forró 'hot'.
- (7) Slovak. The variant <vr(e)lo> is a loanword of Slovak _vrel-ý_ 'boiling' or dialectal vrl-ý with a semantic shift to 'hot'.

Attestation of forms

LQCR, RMS, some publications

Geographical distribution of variants in Central Romani

- (1) The variant <kerado> is attested in three discontiguous areas: a) in the east of Central Romani, b) in the western periphery of Slovakia and c) in the Southeastern South Central variety of Paks (Tolna). The largest, eastern, area consists of all varieties of the Northern and Eastern North Central subgroups (except of the Šarišská Trstená variety) and the overwhelming majority of varieties of the Middle North Central subgroup. The much smaller, western, area comprises all varieties of the Púchov, Nové Mesto and Hlohovec Považie regions and almost all varieties of the Southern Záhorie region.
- (2) The variant <kerd'ardo> occurs only sporadically in the Prekmurje, Zala and Somogy regions.
- (3) The variant <jagalo> is sporadically attested in three discontiguous areas: a) in the east of the Gemer region, b) in the Novohrad and Podpol'anie region and c) in the southwest of Central Romani. The first area consists of almost all varieties of the Northern Gemer region and the adjacent varieties of Smolník (Lower Spiš) and Pašková (Eastern Gemer). The second area comprises most varieties of the Upper Novohrad and Podpol'anie regions and a single adjacent variety of the Upper Tekov region (viz. Stará Kremnička). Finally, the third area consists of the overwhelming majority of varieties of the Burgenland and Prekmurje regions, some varieties of the Somogy region and the variety of Városlőd (Veszprém).
- (4) The variant <xačardo> occurs in two discontiguous areas: a) in the Plaščuno dialect and b) in the north of the historical Trenčín county consisting of most varieties of the Upper Kysuce region and a single variety of the Žilina Považie region (viz. Turie).
- (5) The variant <thárdo> is attested in a single contiguous area, in the historical Turiec county with an overlap to the Tekov county. This area comprises almost all varieties of the Turiec region and a single adjacent variety of the Upper Tekov region (viz. Jastrabá).
- (6) The variant <for(r)óno> occurs in three discontiguous areas: a) sporadically in the south of Slovakia with an overlap to the Nógrád county and b) in the South Central varieties of Versend (Baranya) and c) Baté (Somogy). The main area of occurrence consists of individual varieties of the Abov and Turňa counties, a few southern varieties of the Eastern Transitional subgroup, in several Northeastern South Central varieties of Slovakia and the variety of Nógrádszakál (Lower Nógrád) and most Northwestern South Central varieties of Slovakia.
- (7) The variant <vr(e)lo> is attested in three discontiguous areas: a) in the north of the Záhorie region and b) in the Middle Transitional varieties of Pohronská Polhora (Western Horehronie) and c) Bzovík (Upper Hont). The main area of occurrence comprises almost all varieties of the Northern Záhorie 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 <kerado> is found in Lovari Romani, i.e. to the east of Central Romani.
- (4) The variant <xačardo> occurs in Northeastern Romani, constituting a dialect continuum with the Plaščuno dialect of Central Romani.

Feature 6.3.16 'long' [Map ID 47]

Variant values

- 1 d'ind'ardo
- 2 dugo
- 3 lungo

Diachronic explanation of variants

- (1) Retention. The variant <d'ind'ardo>, including its subvariants _džindžardo_, _gind'ardo_, _gind'ardo_, is a perfective participle of _d'ind'ar_- 'to lengthen', which in turn is an historical factitive verb of the Proto-Romani adjective *_dingo_ (< MIA diggha -, OIA dIIrgha 'long').
- (2) South Slavic. The variant <dugo> is a loanword of South Slavic dug 'long'.
- (3) Romanian. The variant < lungo> is a loanword of Romanian _lung_ 'long'.

Attestation of forms

LQCR, RMS, some publications

Geographical distribution of variants in Central Romani

- (1) The variant <d'ind'ardo> is sporadically attested in a single contiguous area, in the east of Central Romani. This area consists of most varieties of the Central Galicia region and a few Northern North Central varieties of Poland, all varieties of the Eastern Už region and several Eastern and Middle North Central varieties of Slovakia.
- (2) The variant <dugo> occurs in a single contiguous area, in the west and south of Central Romani. This area comprises all varieties of the Western North Central subgroup and all varieties of the adjacent Liptov region, almost all varieties of the transitional subgroups and some adjacent Middle North Central varieties (viz. some varieties of Turňa and Abov, and the Hnilec variety) and, finally, almost all varieties of the South Central group.
- (3) The variant < lungo> is attested in the Plaščuno dialect.

In the d'ind'ardo area, there are many dialects in which the meaning 'long' is rendered by baro 'big' only. Strangely enough, there no such cases in the dugo area (a few exceptions where only baro has been attested in the dugo area are rather accidental).

Geographical distribution of variants in neighbouring dialect groups

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

(1) The variant <d'ind'ardo> is found in Northeastern Romani, constituting a dialect continuum with the eastern varieties of Central Romani.

- (2) The variant <dugo> occurs in the neighbouring dialect groups to the south and southwest of Central Romani, viz. in Arli and Dolenjski Romani.
- (3) The variant < lungo> is found in some neighbouring dialect groups to the east and west of Central Romani, viz. in Transylvanian, Lovari, Gurbet and Sinti Romani.

Feature 6.3.17 'past, last': loanwords [Map ID 1164]

Variant values

- 1 multno
- 2 mult
- 3 minulo
- 4 lejcti

Diachronic explanation of variants

- (1) Hungarianism. The variant <multno> is a loanword of Hungarian múlt 'past'.
- (2) Hungarianism. The variant <mult> is a loanword of Hungarian mult 'past'.
- (3) Slovakism. The variant <minulo> is a loanword of Slovak minul-ý 'past'.
- (4) Germanism. The variant < lejcti> is a loanword of German _letzte_ 'last', with a semantic extension to 'past'.

Attestation of forms

LQCR, RMS, some publications

Geographical distribution of variants in Central Romani

- (1) The variant <multno> is sporadically attested in southern Slovakia and in Hungary, with a concentration the Lower Nógrád and Pest regions.
- (2) The variant <mult> occurs in several varieties of the Somogy region and in a single variety of the Zala region (viz. in Németfalu).
- (3) The variant <minulo> is sporadically attested in the Galicia region of Ukraine and in Slovakia, with a concentration in the Western North Central and Middle Transitional subgroups.
- (4) The variant < lejcti > occurs in all varieties of the Burgenland region.

Geographical distribution of variants in neighbouring dialect groups

(4) Only the Central Romani variant <lejcti> is attested in the neighbouring dialect groups, being found in Sinti Romani, i.e. to the west and northwest of Central Romani.

Feature 6.3.18 'pregnant' [Map ID 663]

Comments on feature

excluding in verb derived from the adjective; often only such verbs are attested

Variant values

- 1 khabni
- 2 phari
- 3 thuli
- 4 bare pereskeri
- 5 állapotošni
- 6 hrubo

Diachronic explanation of variants

- (1) Retention. The variant <khabni> is an inherited Indic adjective, a reflex of MIA _gabbhiṇī_- and in turn of OIA _garbhiṇī_- 'pregnant', lit. 'having an embryo' (< OIA _garbha 'womb; foetus, embryo').
- (2) Innovation. The variant <phari> has developed through semantic extension from the meaning 'heavy'.
- (3) Innovation. The variant <thuli> has developed through semantic extension from the meaning 'thick, fat; rough'.
- (4) Innovation. The variant
 sare pereskeri> has developed through semantic extension of a genitive collocation consisting of _baro_ 'big' and _per_ 'belly', i.e. from the meaning 'of a big belly'.
- (5) Hungarianism. The variant <állapotošni> is a loanword of Hungarian _állapotos_ 'pregnant'.
- (6) Slovakism. The variant hrubo is a loanword of Slovak dialectal _hrub-á_ 'pregnant' ('rough' in Standard Slovak).

Attestation of forms

LQCR, no RMS data, some publications

Geographical distribution of variants in Central Romani

- (1) The variant <khabni> is dominant in Central Romani. The variant is absent or unattested especially in the historical Zemplín and Ung counties, and only rarely attested in the historical Spiš county and in the Malopolska region in Poland.
- (2) The variant <phari> occurs in a single more or less contiguous area, in the east of Central Romani, and only rarely in the northwestern periphery of Central Romani. The eastern area consists of almost all varieties of Poland, the overwhelming majority

of varieties of the Eastern North Central subgoup and several varieties of the Middle North Central subgroup. In addition, the variant occurs in the Western North Central varieties of Turie (Žilina Považie), Biely Kostol (Nové Mesto Považie) and Vosoudov (Czechia).

- (3) The variant <thuli> is attested in a single contiguous area, in the Nógrád county in Hungary with an overlap to the Novohrad region in Slovakia. This area comprises most Lower Nógrád varieties of Hungary and the variety of Kiarov (Lower Nógrád).
- (4) The variant
 bare pereskeri> occurs in the Eastern Transitional varieties of Krásnohorské Podhradie and Brzotín (Eastern Gemer).
- (5) The variant <állapotošni> is attested in the Northwestern South Central variety of Šarovce (Eastern Podunajsko).
- (6) The variant <a href="https://www.ncbe.ni.gov.ncbe.

Geographical distribution of variants in neighbouring dialect groups

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

- (1) The variant <khabni> is found in almost all neighbouring dialect groups of Central Romani, viz. in Lovari, Gurbet, Arli, Dolenjski, Northeastern and Sinti Romani.
- (2) The variant <phari>, as a co-variant of <khabni>, occurs in the neighbouring dialect groups to the west and north of Central Romani, viz. in Sinti and Northeastern Romani. These dialect groups constitute a dialect continuum with the eastern and northern peripheral varieties of Central Romani.

Feature 6.3.22 'sour' [Map ID 659]

Variant values

- 1 šutlo
- 2 kislo
- 3 kvašno

Diachronic explanation of variants

- (1) Retention. The variant <šutlo>, including its subvariant _šuklo_, represents maintenance of the Proto-Romani adjective *_šutlo_ 'sour', which reflects an early (Middle Indo-Aryan or even earlier) derivation from an etymon whose reflex was Proto-Romani *_šut_ 'vinegar' (< OIA _śukta_ 'anything sour or fermented'). Cognate forms occur in Northwestern ('Dardic') Indo-Aryan languages; cf. e.g. Gawar-Bati šutāla 'sour' (cf. CDIAL 2504).
- (2) Slovakism. The variant < kislo > is a loanword of Slovak kyslý 'sour'.
- (3) Polonism. The variant <kvašno> is a loanword of Polish _kwaśn-y_ 'sour'.

Attestation of forms

LQCR, no RMS data, some publications

Geographical distribution of variants in Central Romani

- (1) The variant <šutlo> is almost general in Central Romani. The variant is only absent or unattested in a few varieties of Poland and in a single variety of the Záhorie region.
- (2) The variant <kislo> is attested in the Western North Central variety of Štefanov (Northern Záhorie).
- (3) The variant <kvašno> occurs in the Northern North Central varieties of Kopytowa (Western Galicia) and Nowy Sącz (Eastern Malopolska).

Geographical distribution of variants in neighbouring dialect groups

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

- (1) The variant <šutlo> is found in most neighbouring dialect groups of Central Romani, viz. in Lovari, Gurbet, Arli, Northeastern and Sinti Romani.
- (2) The variant <kislo> (< Slovene _kisel_) occurs in Dolenjski Romani, i.e. to the southwest of Central Romani.