

Variant values

- 1 'sauerkraut'
- 2 'cabbage'

Diachronic explanation of variants

(1) Retention. The variant <'sauerkraut'> maintains the more original meaning of the Proto-Romani etymon **_armi_*, which was borrowed from Greek *_army_* 'brine, salt water'. With respect to the meaning of the Greek noun, there must have been an earlier semantic shift from 'brine' to 'sauerkraut' via 'sauerkraut submerged into brine' that took place during a Proto-Romani period (cf. Boretzky 2012: 26). As no Romani dialects display the original meaning 'brine', however, the meaning 'sauerkraut' is considered most conservative in Romani.

(2) Innovation. The variant <'cabbage'> reflects a semantic extension from the conservative meaning 'sauerkraut' to 'cabbage'. In respective dialects, the meaning 'cabbage' usually co-occurs with the meaning 'sauerkraut', and their differentiation is done through other devices, e.g. by an attributive adjective, such as *_šutlo_* 'acid' (e.g. *_šutli armin_* lit. 'acid cabbage', i.e. 'sauerkraut', etc.).

Attestation of forms

only the meaning 'cabbage' in LQCR and RMS, some publications

Geographical distribution of variants in Central Romani

(1) The variant <'sauerkraut'> occurs in two discontinuous areas: a) in Czechia and in western varieties of the Záhorie region and b) in some varieties of the Southwestern South Central subgroup.

(2) The variant <'cabbage'> is by far the most dominant in Central Romani. The variant is only absent or unattested in the Czechia region, in almost all varieties of the Northern Záhorie region and in the Southwestern South Central subgroup.

Geographical distribution of variants in neighbouring dialect groups

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

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

(2) The variant <'cabbage'> is found in Transylvanian Romani, constituting a dialect continuum with the overwhelming majority of the Central Romani varieties.

Variant values

- 1 'kerchief'
- 2 'rag'
- 3 'cloth'

Diachronic explanation of variants

(1) Retention. The variant <'kerchief'> probably maintains the original Proto-Romani meaning of the lexeme, as this meaning occurs in other Romani dialect branches as well. However, the precise etymology of *_dikhlo_* has not been clarified yet. The proposal of Mānušs 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'). Cf. also Sampson (1926 II: 81).

(2) Innovation. The variant <'rag'> reflects a semantic shift of the lexeme from the original meaning 'kerchief'.

(3) Innovation. The variant <'cloth'> reflects a semantic shift of the lexeme from the original meaning 'kerchief'.

Attestation of forms

LQCR (excluding the meaning 'cloth'), no RMS data, some publications

Geographical distribution of variants in Central Romani

(1) The variant <'kerchief'> is sporadically attested in the north and in the eastern periphery of Central Romani. This area consists of almost all varieties of Poland, several Eastern North Central varieties of Slovakia, some northern varieties of the Middle North Central subgroup, individual adjacent varieties of the Eastern and Western Horehronie regions and several varieties of the Western North Central subgroup.

(2) The variant <'rag'> occurs in the adjacent Middle North Central varieties of Smolník (Lower Spiš), Moldava nad Bodvou (Turňa) and Veľká Ida (Abov).

(3) The variant <'cloth'> is attested in the Eastern North Central varieties of Ľubiša and Klenová (Eastern 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 <'kerchief'> is found in several neighbouring dialect groups of Central Romani, viz. in Northeastern, Sinti, Lovari and Gurbet Romani.

(2) The variant <'cloth'>, as a co-variant of <kerchief>, occurs in Lovari Romani, i.e. to the east of Central Romani.

Variant values

- 1 'whore'
- 2 'whore' AND 'woman' (in teasing)
- 3 'woman'

Diachronic explanation of variants

(1) Retention. The variant <'whore'> maintains the original Proto-Romani meaning of the lexeme, which seems to contain the OIA verbal root *_lubh_* - 'to be desirous' (cf. OIA *_lubhyati_*, MIA *_lubbhadi_* 'is eager, desirous') and a feminine derivation formant *-_n-i_*. Cf. CDIAL 11086.

(2) Innovation. The variant <'whore' AND 'woman' (in teasing)> reflects a semantic extension of the lexeme from the original 'whore' to one that also refers to a 'woman' during teasing.

(3) Innovation. The variant <'woman'> reflects a further semantic shift of the lexeme from 'woman' (in teasing) to 'woman' in general, accompanied by the loss of the original meaning 'whore'.

Attestation of forms

LQCR, no RMS data, some publications

Geographical distribution of variants in Central Romani

(1) The variant <'whore'> is by far the most dominant in Central Romani. The variant is only absent or unattested in the overwhelming majority of the Southwestern South Central varieties of Hungary.

(2) The variant <'whore' AND 'woman' (in teasing)> is attested in the adjacent Southwestern South Central varieties of Szakonyfalu (Vas) and Nemesapáti (Zala).

(3) The variant <'woman'> occurs in two discontinuous areas: a) in the Sopron region and b) in the overwhelming majority of varieties of the Somogy region. With regard to the Somogy region, the variant is only unattested in a few peripheral varieties, viz. Vásárosdombó, Baté, Táska, and Nagykanizsa.

Geographical distribution of variants in neighbouring dialect groups

(1) Only the Central Romani variant <'whore'> is attested in the neighbouring dialect groups, being found in most of these groups (Lovari, Northeastern, Sinti and Dolenjski Romani).

Variant values

- 1 'soul'
- 2 'heart'
- 3 'belly'
- 4 'breath'

Diachronic explanation of variants

- (1) Retention. The variant <'soul'> maintains the original Proto-Romani meaning of the lexeme, which was borrowed from Armenian *_ogi_*.
- (2) Innovation. The variant <'heart'> reflects a semantic shift of the lexeme from the original 'soul'.
- (3) Innovation. The variant <'belly'> reflects a semantic shift of the lexeme from the original 'soul'.
- (4) Innovation. The variant <'breath'> reflects a semantic shift of the lexeme from the original 'soul'.

Attestation of forms

LQCR, RMS, some publications; excluding the meaning 'breath'

Geographical distribution of variants in Central Romani

- (1) The variant <'soul'> occurs sporadically in the north and in the southeastern periphery of Central Romani. On the other hand, the variant is absent or unattested in the Plaščuno dialect and in almost all varieties of the Southwestern South Central subgroup.
- (2) The variant <'heart'> is attested in Vymazal (1900) for the Czechia region and in all varieties of the Southwestern South Central subgroup.
- (3) The variant <'belly'> occurs in a single contiguous area comprising some varieties of the Northern Šariš region, viz. Zborov, Poštárka, Petrová and Lenartov.
- (4) The variant <'breath'> is attested in the Southeastern South Central variety of Versend (Baranya).

Geographical distribution of variants in neighbouring dialect groups

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

- (1) The variant <'soul'> is found in the neighbouring dialect groups to the east and southeast of Central Romani, viz. in Transylvanian, Lovari and Gurbet Romani.
- (2) The variant <'heart'> occurs in most neighbouring dialect groups of Central Romani, viz. in Transylvanian, Northeastern, Sinti and Dolenjski Romani. Dolenjski

Romani constitute a dialect continuum with the southwestern varieties of Central Romani.

(3) The variant <'belly'> is found in Arli Romani, i.e. to the south of Central Romani.

Variant values

- 1 'hazelnut'
- 2 'nut' (in general)

Diachronic explanation of variants

(1) Retention. The variant < 'hazelnut' > maintains the original Proto-Romani meaning of the lexeme, which was borrowed from an Iranian language, cf. Kurdish *_bendak_* (Boretzky - Iglá 1994: 213).

(2) Innovation. The variant < 'nut (in general)' > reflects a semantic extension of the lexeme from the original 'hazelnut' into more general 'nut', thus not distinguishing between specific species of nuts (e.g. between 'hazelnut' and 'walnut').

Attestation of forms

LQCR, RMS (only the meaning 'nut'), some publications

Geographical distribution of variants in Central Romani

(1) The variant < 'hazelnut' > is attested in five discontinuous areas in the south of Central Romani: a) in several varieties of the Eastern Už region, b) in the variety of Večec (Western Zemplín), c) in the east of the Gemer region, d) in the Hont region and e) in the southwestern periphery of Central Romani. More specifically, the third region comprises a few varieties of the Northern and Eastern Gemer regions, while the fourth area consists of a few varieties of the Lower Hont region, most varieties of the Upper Hont region and the adjacent variety of Pukanec (Pukanec). Finally, the fifth area includes all varieties of the Burgenland region, a few varieties of the Prekmurje region, individual varieties of the Vas and Zala regions and the varieties of Csokonyavisona and Tarany in the Somogy region.

(2) The variant < 'nut' (in general) > occurs more or less sporadically in two slightly discontinuous areas: a) in the east of Central Romani and b) in the border area of the historical Turiec, Tekov and Zvolen counties. The larger, eastern, area comprises some varieties of the Central and Western Galicia regions, the overwhelming majority of the Eastern and Middle North Central varieties of Slovakia, most varieties of the Eastern Horehronie region, several northern varieties of the Eastern Transitional subgroup and some adjacent varieties of the Malohont region. The latter, much smaller, area consists of several varieties of the Upper Tekov region, some adjacent varieties of the Turiec region 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 <hazelnut> is found in the neighbouring dialect groups to the east and southeast of Central Romani, viz. in Lovari and Gurbet Romani.

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

Variant values

- 1 'garlic'
- 2 'onion'

Diachronic explanation of variants

(1) Retention. The variant <'garlic'> maintains the original, Proto-Romani meaning of the etymon **_sir_* 'garlic', which represents a loanword from an Iranian language, cf. Persian *_sīr_* 'garlic'.

(2) Innovation. The variant <'onion'> reflects a semantic shift of the etymon *_sir_* from the original meaning 'garlic' to that of 'onion'.

Attestation of forms

LQCR, no RMS data (only the meaning 'onion'), some publications

Geographical distribution of variants in Central Romani

(1) The variant <'garlic'> is sporadically attested in the north and in the southeastern periphery of Central Romani. The variant is absent or unattested especially in the Malopolska region in Poland, as well as in the Middle North Central and Southwestern South Central subgroups.

(2) The variant <'onion'> occurs in a single contiguous area consisting of all varieties of the Southwestern South Central subgroup.

Geographical distribution of variants in neighbouring dialect groups

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