

On the origin of the consonantal  
feminine stems in Romani

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- unjotated: etym counterparts in  $\bar{a}$ -stems
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2. OIA / MIA feminine *i-/ī*-stems:
  - *sūcī-* / *sūī-* > *suv* (jot)
  - *bhūmi-* > *phuv* (jot)
  - *bhagini-* / *bhainī-* > *phen* (jot)

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3. determined phonologically (unjot after velars, etc.)



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3sg *-el* < *-adi*; m.sg.obl *-es* < *-assa*

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regrammaticalization



morphemic split

(nom.pl.m -*a* (*phrala*) < MIA -*āho*, -*āso* < OIA -*āsaḥ*)

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explanation:

- *ā-*stem class most frequent, productive

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