

INFORMATION TO USERS

The negative microfilm of this dissertation was prepared and inspected by the school granting the degree. We are using this film without further inspection or change. If there are any questions about the content, please write directly to the school. The quality of this reproduction is heavily dependent upon the quality of the original material.

The following explanation of techniques is provided to help clarify notations which may appear on this reproduction.

1. Manuscripts may not always be complete. When it is not possible to obtain missing pages, a note appears to indicate this.
2. When copyrighted materials are removed from the manuscript, a note appears to indicate this.
3. Oversize materials (maps, drawings, and charts) are photographed by sectioning the original, beginning at the upper left hand corner and continuing from left to right in equal sections with small overlaps.

UMI Dissertation
Information Service

A Bell & Howell Information Company
300 N. Zeeb Road, Ann Arbor, Michigan 48106

UMI Number: 9950669

**Copyright 2000 by
Cain, Bruce Dwayne**

All rights reserved.

UMI[®]

UMI Microform 9950669

Copyright 2000 by Bell & Howell Information and Learning Company.

**All rights reserved. This microform edition is protected against
unauthorized copying under Title 17, United States Code.**

**Bell & Howell Information and Learning Company
300 North Zeeb Road
P.O. Box 1346
Ann Arbor, MI 48106-1346**

**DHIVEHI (MALDIVIAN): A SYNCHRONIC AND DIACHRONIC
STUDY**

A Dissertation

**Presented to the Faculty of the Graduate School
of Cornell University**

**in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of
Doctor of Philosophy**

by

Bruce Dwayne Cain

January 2000

© 2000 Bruce Dwayne Cain

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

Bruce was born September 30, 1960 to Clarence T. and Peggy H. Cain in Augsburg, Germany where his father was serving with the United States Army. After obtaining a Bachelor of Arts from Columbia International University in Columbia, South Carolina, Bruce married Katherine Millsap in 1983. They both went on to graduate studies in Applied Linguistics at the University of Texas at Arlington in 1984. After conducting sociolinguistic fieldwork in South Asia, they obtained Master of Arts degrees in Applied Linguistics in 1990. Between 1990 and 1994, Bruce carried out linguistic research in the Republic of Maldives under the auspices of the National Centre for Linguistic and Historical Research (Malé, Maldives). He began his Ph.D. program at Cornell University in August of 1994. Bruce returned to the Maldives to conduct further research in August 1997 until his move to Sri Lanka in July 1998. He completed his requirements for the Ph.D. Degree in September 1999.

To Kathy

“Parents can provide their sons with an inheritance of houses and wealth,
but only the LORD can give an understanding wife.” (Proverbs 19.14, NLT)

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

My research on Dhivehi (Maldivian) was only made possible with the help of many people, and I would like to acknowledge with gratitude those who have gone to great measures to make my work a success. First of all, I extend heart-felt thanks to my many Maldivian friends whose warm welcome and enthusiastic support kept my motivation high throughout the project. The National Centre for Linguistic and Historical Research in Malé helped in innumerable practical ways. His Excellency, Maumoon Abdul Gayoom, the President of the Republic of Maldives, founded the National Centre to encourage research and development in Dhivehi. His Excellency's personal interest in my research is much appreciated. I thank Mr. Abdullah Hameed, Mr. Farooq Hasan, and Mr. Abbas Ibrahim who in their capacity as Directors of the National Centre made the services of the Centre available to me. While many at the Centre helped me in many ways, worthy of special mention are Mr. Mohamed Waheed (Madulu) and Mr. Abdullah Saudiq, Special Advisors at the Centre. As a gifted writer and creative thinker, Mr. Waheed was able to give me great insights into the language and culture. His cultural mentoring and friendship have meant a great deal to me. Mr. Saudiq, a national expert on the Dhivehi language, endured my endless questioning with great patience. His love for the language is contagious. While the National Centre has encouraged me in many ways, the findings of this research, including any of its errors, are my own; and do not reflect the opinions of those at the National Centre.

It takes a special group of friends to sift through a foreigner's bumbling attempts at their language and to welcome that stranger into their midst as one of their own. Our friends on the island of Muli in Meemu Atoll did just that. Practically everyone in Muli welcomed us warmly, and that island will always have a special place in our hearts. Words cannot express the debt of gratitude I owe to Adamfulhu and Fauziyaa and their family at Nooraaneeage with whom we lived for several years. Some special friends with whom I spent countless hours include Ali Saeed (Baahaareege), Ibrahim Latheef (Zumaaneege), and Ibrahim Rasheed. Kathy and I also had the privilege of spending several months on the island of Utheemu in Haa Alifu Atoll, and are grateful for the warm welcome we received there especially from Kuda Bey and his family at Feyrumaage, Ibrahim Latheef of Vaijeheyge, and Abdul Raheem and family.

I collected data from many, and appreciate all those who put up with what seemed like boring, mundane queries. I would like to especially acknowledge Abdullah Naeem Ibrahim from Feydu in Addu Atoll, and his wife, Mahu from Meedhu, for providing the Addu word list. Additional Addu data was given by Faisal Haleem of Meedhu. Ahmed Anwaar of Mathodaa and Mohammed Amir of Fares in Huvadu Atoll were kind enough to give me Huvadu data. Maliku (Mahal) data from Minicoy was made available to me from Prof. James Gair and the Central Institute of Indian Languages in Mysore. I am grateful for all of these.

Much of what I did in the Maldives would not have been possible without the support of some of the expatriate community there. Gene

Keller made my old laptop one of the first computers in the country to display and print multiple scripts including Thaana. He left us in the prime of his life, and is missed by many. Paul Beam and others at Sehga Soft (Malé) continued to develop Thaana fonts, and I have benefited greatly from their help. Leonora Pruner shared her vast wealth of Maldivian folktales with me early on in both Dhivehi and English, and this data proved invaluable. The Volunteer Service Organization gave me the opportunity to try out some of my language learning material with them, and they shared their resources with me as well. Some wonderful doctors and medical personnel helped keep us well in more ways than one. We are also thankful to the many people who opened their homes to us in the capital, and allowed us to “crash” between village visits.

Prof. James Gair, my special committee chair, is the one responsible for giving me the opportunity to study at Cornell, and my debt to him is immeasurable. His vast knowledge of linguistics and South Asian languages has been a constant resource for me to draw upon. As a mentor, Jim gave me many opportunities to develop academically by inviting me to co-write articles and present papers. From the start, he treated me as a colleague, and I deem that one of the greatest honors I have ever received. I have often sought his counsel in several areas, and have benefited greatly from the many hours that he gave me.

I am also honored to have Prof. Linda Waugh and Prof. Carol Rosen on my special committee. In Linda’s classes, I was often reminded that language is wonderfully complex, and different approaches to its study

help one to gain a deeper appreciation of it. I have also benefited from Carol's keen insight into language, her wide exposure to many different types of languages, and her timely, practical advice.

My graduate studies at Cornell were funded by the United States Department of Education Foreign Language and Area Studies Fellowships for the study of Sinhala from 1994 through 1997. I am deeply appreciative of the opportunity this gave me to learn Sinhala and attend Cornell. I would also like to thank my Sinhala teacher, Milan Rodrigo, for her encouragement and friendship. I am also grateful for the help of Prof. W.S. Karunatilake of Kelaniya University (Sri Lanka) with matters pertaining to Sinhala developments.

The grammatical sketch in this dissertation incorporates many of the valuable suggestions offered by Austin Hale, Ron Trail, and Dave Watters who patiently waded through some of my initial attempts at describing Dhivehi phonology and morphosyntax. Their encouragement and practical help have meant a lot to me.

During the final days of dissertation writing, we were greatly helped by the hospitality of Mark and Mary Psiaki and family. Not only did they provide us a place to stay for several months, but welcomed us into their lives as well.

My wife, Kathy, has been a tremendous encouragement to me throughout this whole process. Not only did she help me practically in many ways, but also her confidence in me and her cheerful spirit kept me going when I was less sure of myself. I thank God for her.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH	iii
DEDICATION	iv
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	v
LIST OF TABLES	xvi
LIST OF FIGURES	xvii
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS	xviii
LIST OF SYMBOLS	xx
FIGURE 1: MAP OF MALDIVES	xxi
CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION	1
1.1 General	1
1.2 Maldivian History and Contact Situation	4
1.3 Dialect Information	9
CHAPTER TWO: PREVIOUS WORKS, MATERIAL, AND METHODOLOGY	12
CHAPTER THREE: PHONOLOGY	17
3.1 Dhivehi Segmental Phonemes	17
3.1.1 Consonants	18
3.1.1.1 General Observations	18
3.1.1.2 Foreign Influence and the Phoneme Inventory	20
3.1.2 Vowels	22
3.1.3 Orthography	22
3.2 Dhivehi Syllable Structure and Phonotactics	26
3.2.1 Dhivehi Syllable Patterns	26
3.2.2 Phonemes Occurring in the Syllable Coda and Neutralization	26

3.3	Metrical Stress	30
3.4	Intonation Patterns.....	31
3.5	Compensatory Lengthening and Palatalization in Dhivehi	32
CHAPTER FOUR: MORPHOLOGY.....		38
4.1	Nominal Morphology	38
4.1.1	Gender	38
4.1.2	Dhivehi Case System.....	39
4.1.3	Number Inflection	42
4.1.4	Inflections For Definiteness	43
4.2	Deitic Categories and Pronominal Forms	45
4.2.1	Demonstrative Pronominals	45
4.2.2	Personal Pronominal Forms	46
4.2.3	Interrogative Pronominals.....	49
4.3	Numerals.....	49
4.4	Verbal Morphology.....	52
4.4.1	Verbal Derivational Relationships	52
4.4.2	Verbal Inflections.....	54
4.4.3	Tense and Aspect in Dhivehi	60
4.4.4	Compound Verbs	63
4.4.5	Agreement Marking.....	64
4.5	Other Classes	70
4.5.1	Adjectives	70
4.5.2	Postpositions	71
4.5.3	Adverbs.....	72
4.5.4	Particles and Clitics.....	73
4.5.4.1	Emphasis Markers	73
4.5.4.2	Complement Markers.....	74
4.5.4.3	Interrogative Markers.....	75
4.5.4.4	Copula.....	76
4.5.4.5	Politeness Marker	76
4.5.4.6	Sentence Marker.....	76
4.5.5	Interjections	76

CHAPTER FIVE: SYNTAX	78
5.1 Noun Phrases	78
5.1.1 Locative Noun Phrase	78
5.1.2 Coordinate Noun Phrase	80
5.1.3 Disjunctive Noun Phrases	81
5.1.4 Relative Clauses	82
5.2 Clause Structure	85
5.2.1 Simple Clauses	85
5.2.1.1 Verbal Clauses	85
5.2.1.1.1 General Characteristics	85
5.2.1.1.2 Dative Subject Sentences	86
5.2.1.1.3 Specially Marked Objects	88
5.2.1.2 Non-verbal Clauses	89
5.2.1.2.1 Equational Clauses	89
5.2.1.2.2 Adjectival Clauses	91
5.2.2 Clause Chaining and Embedding	92
5.2.2.1 Participial Clause Chain	93
5.2.2.2 Dhivehi “Conjunctive Participle” Types: <i>-gen</i> and <i>-fā</i>	95
5.2.2.3 Adverbial Clauses	100
5.2.2.4 Conditionals	104
5.2.2.5 Adverbial Noun Phrases	106
5.2.2.5.1 Adverbial Relative Clauses	106
5.2.2.5.2 Verbal Derived Nouns with Adverbial Functions	107
5.2.2.6 Complementation	109
5.2.2.6.1 Sentential Complements	109
5.2.2.6.2 Infinitive Complements	113
5.2.2.6.3 Nominalized Complements	115
5.2.2.6.4 Relative Clause Complements	116
5.2.2.6.5 Participial Complements	117
5.2.3 Pragmatically Marked Structures	118
5.2.3.1 Focus Sentences	118
5.2.3.2 Question Formation	122
5.2.3.2.1 Yes-No Questions	122
5.2.3.2.2 WH-Questions	123

5.2.3.3	Negation	125
5.2.3.3.1	Negation of Verbal Clauses	125
5.2.3.3.2	Negation of Non-Verbal Clauses	127
 CHAPTER SIX: VALENCE, VOLITION, AND VOICE.....		129
6.1	IN-verbs.....	130
6.1.1	The Derivation of IN-verbs	131
6.1.2	Syntactic Distribution of IN-Verbs.....	132
6.1.2.1	IN-Verbs in Involitive Constructions	133
6.1.2.2	Accidental Clauses.....	135
6.1.2.3	IN-Verbs As Passive	135
6.1.2.4	Inactive Clauses	136
6.2	Causatives.....	138
6.2.1	Causative Morpheme.....	138
6.2.2	Syntactic Distribution of Causatives	140
 CHAPTER SEVEN: HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF DHIVEHI PHONOLOGY FROM PROTO-DHIVEHI-SINHALA TO THE PRESENT		144
7.1	Introduction.....	144
7.2	Proto-Dhivehi-Sinhala	153
7.2.1	Common MIA Developments in Proto-Dhivehi- Sinhala	154
7.2.1.1	OIA /š/, /ṣ/, and /s/ Neutralize to /s/	154
7.2.1.2	OIA Consonant Clusters in PDS	155
7.2.1.3	OIA Word Final Consonants	158
7.2.1.4	OIA Long Vowels.....	159
7.2.1.5	Development of Retroflexion and Loss of Vocalic /ɾ/	159
7.2.1.6	Coalescence of OIA /-aya-/ and /-ava-/ to PDS /-e-/ and /-o-/ Respectively.....	160
7.2.2	Proto-Dhivehi-Sinhala Post-migration: Loss of OIA Aspirated Segments.....	161

7.3	Proto-Dhivehi in Comparison with Sinhala Prakrit (2 nd c. B.C. – 4 th c. A.D.)	163
7.3.1	Early Divergence.....	163
7.3.1.1	PDS */y/ Merges with */j/ Word Initially	163
7.3.1.2	PDS Palatals in Proto-Dhivehi.....	165
7.3.1.3	PDS */t/ and */d/ Developments	167
7.3.1.4	Intervocalic */s/ Merges with /h/ as a Later Development.....	170
7.3.2	Overlapping Developments in Proto-Dhivehi and Sinhala Prakrit.....	171
7.3.2.1	Word final /e/ Becomes /i/	172
7.3.2.2	Long Vowels Shorten Word Finally	173
7.3.2.3	Lenition and Spirantization.....	174
7.3.2.4	PDS */s/ Coalesces with /h/ Word Initially.....	177
7.3.2.5	Simplification of Consonant Clusters and Compensatory Lengthening.....	180
7.4	Proto-Dhivehi Developments in Comparison with Proto-Sinhala (4 th c. – 8 th c.).....	182
7.4.1	Unique Developments in Dhivehi	182
7.4.1.1	Proto-Dhivehi-Sinhala */a/, */i/ Become /u/ before /v/	182
7.4.1.2	Proto-Dhivehi-Sinhala */a/ Becomes Dhivehi /i/	183
7.4.1.3	Proto-Dhivehi */u/ Becomes /i/ Word Finally ...	184
7.4.1.4	Retention of Proto-Dhivehi-Sinhala */i/ and */u/.....	185
7.4.1.5	Word Final /i/ from PDS */-aka/ and */-ata/ ...	186
7.4.2	Parallel Developments with Sinhala.....	188
7.4.2.1	Proto-Dhivehi-Sinhala /a/ Becomes /i/ before /y/	188
7.4.2.2	Proto-Dhivehi-Sinhala */a/ Becomes /u/	189
7.4.2.3	Proto-Dhivehi-Sinhala */a/ and */u/ Become /i/ in Initial Light Syllables.....	190
7.4.2.4	Word Initial Vowel Loss.....	191
7.4.2.5	Umlaut.....	192

7.5	Proto-Dhivehi Developments in Comparison with Medieval Sinhala (8 th c. – 12 th c.)	196
7.5.1	Word Final Vowel Deletion and Vowel Replacement...	196
7.5.2	Shortening of All Long Proto Vowels and New Vowel Length	200
7.5.3	Palatal Development.....	202
7.5.3.1	Proto-Dhivehi */c/ Merges with /s/.....	202
7.5.3.2	Proto-Dhivehi */j/ Merges with /d/	203
7.5.4	Medieval Sinhala (8 th -14 th c.) Developments Not Found in Dhivehi.....	204
7.5.4.1	Loss of Contrastive Retroflexion	204
7.5.4.2	Loss of Contrast Between Voiced and Voiceless Stops in Word Final Position.....	204
7.5.4.3	Change of Prenasalized Stops into Nasals	205
7.6	Post 12 th c. Developments in Dhivehi	205
7.6.1	Vowel Elision and Gemination	205
7.6.1.1	Loss of /i/ and /u/ and Gemination.....	205
7.6.1.2	Gemination and Causative Affix.....	207
7.6.2	Change of /s/ to /h/	208
7.6.3	Vowel Backing.....	209
7.6.4	/l/ to /u/	210
7.6.5	/u/ from /l/ Becomes /o/.....	210
7.6.6	/t/ Becomes /ʃ/.....	211
7.6.7	/p/ Becomes /f/	212
7.6.8	Diphthongs to Lengthened Vowels	213
7.7	Summary.....	213

CHAPTER EIGHT: HISTORICAL SOURCES FOR DHIVEHI MORPHOSYNTACTIC CONSTRUCTIONS 220

8.1	Introduction.....	220
8.2	Historical Development of Dhivehi Nominals	223
8.2.1	Notional Gender	223
8.2.2	Postpositions and Cases	224
8.2.3	History of the Plural Markers	228
8.2.4	Pronominal Developments.....	230

8.3	The ta/tō Question Particle	233
8.4	Historical Development of Verbal Morphology	234
8.4.1	Finite Verb Forms	234
8.4.1.1	Origin of the Thematic <i>-a</i> , <i>-e</i> , and <i>-nn</i> Stems ..	234
8.4.1.2	Causatives	237
8.4.1.3	Present Progressives	237
8.4.1.4	Habitual (Simple Present).....	239
8.4.1.5	Past Tense	240
8.4.1.6	Perfect	243
8.4.1.7	Person Markers.....	245
8.4.2	Non-finite Verb Forms	245
8.4.2.1	Conditionals.....	245
8.4.2.2	Participles	246
8.4.2.3	Simultaneous Suffix <i>-mun</i>	248
8.4.2.4	Infinitives.....	249
8.4.2.5	Verbal Nouns.....	250
8.5	Conclusions.....	251
CHAPTER NINE: POSSIBLE DRAVIDIAN INFLUENCE		254
9.1	Dravidian Traces in the Dhivehi Lexicon.....	255
9.2	Possible Dravidian Influence On Dhivehi Phonology	259
9.3	Dhivehi Morphosyntax and Dravidian	264
9.4	Dravidian Contact in the Maldives.....	268
9.5	Conclusions.....	271
CHAPTER TEN: CONCLUSIONS.....		274
APPENDIX A: DHIVEHI TEXT		281
APPENDIX B: COMPARATIVE WORD LIST		287
REFERENCES		344

LIST OF TABLES

Table 3.1: Dhivehi Consonants	17
Table 3.2: Dhivehi Vowels	17
Table 3.3: Thaana Base Characters	23
Table 3.4: Thaana Vowel Signs with Alifu Base Character	24
Table 3.5: Thaana Equivalentents for Transliterated Arabic	24
Table 3.6: Monomorphemic Geminates	27
Table 4.1: Dhivehi Numerals	50
Table 4.2: Dhivehi Duodecimal Numerals	51
Table 4.3: Dhivehi Verb Paradigm	56
Table 4.4: Dhivehi Irregular Verbs	58

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1: Map of Maldives	xxi
Figure 2: Summary of Phonological Developments	214

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

Ad. Addu Atoll	Hyp. Hypothetical
BENE Benefactee Marker	IMPV Imperative
CAUS Causative	IN Involitive/Intransitive
CL Compensatory Lengthening	INDF Indefinite Marker
CMPR Comparative Particle	INF Infinitive
CNPM Coordinate Noun Phrase Marker	INS Instrumental Case
CONC Concessive	INTNS Intensifier
COND Conditional	intr. Intransitive
DAT Dative Case	IRR Irrealis
DBG Dhivehi Bahuge Gavaaidhu	Kan. Kanada
EMPH Emphasis Marker	LOC Locative Case
END Sentence Break Marker	Mal. Malayalam
EQ Equative Marker	Med. Medieval
Foa. Foammulak Atoll	MIA Middle Indo-Aryan
FOC Pragmatic Focus	n. Noun
FUT Future Tense	n3 Non-third Person Marker
GEN Genitive Case	NEG Negation
GER Gerund	NIA New Indo-Aryan
HAB Habitual Aspect	NP Noun Phrase
hon. Honorific (pronouns)	NSPC Unspecified Marker
HON Honorific Particle	OIA Old Indo-Aryan
Huv. Huvadu Atoll	OPT Optative
	Pa. Pali

PD	Proto-Dhivehi	Tam.	Tamil
PDS	Proto-Dhivehi-Sinhala	Tel.	Telegu
PFT	Perfect	TEMP	Temporal Subordinator
Pk.	Prakrit	VOC	Vocative Case
PLU	Plural Marker		
POL	Polite Register		
PRE	Present Tense		
PRO	Progressive		
PRT	Participle		
PS	Proto-Sinhala		
PST	Past Tense		
QP	Question Particle		
QS	Quoted Speech Marker		
REAS	Reason		
rep.	Reported Speech		
RPRT	Relative Participle		
Si.	Sinhala		
SIM	Simultaneous		
Skt.	Sanskrit		
SOC	Sociative Case		
SOV	Subject-Object-Verb		
SP	Sinhala Prakrit		
SUC	Succession		
TAG	Tag Question Marker		

LIST OF SYMBOLS

/ /	Phonemic data
[]	Phonetic data
< >	Orthographic
/C-/	Word initial consonant
/-C-/	Intervocalic consonant
/-C/	Word final consonant
C#	Pre-pause consonant
#C	Post-pause consonant
V:	Lengthened vowel
<	From a protoform
>	To a reflex
*	Unattested protoform or ungrammatical
μ	Mora

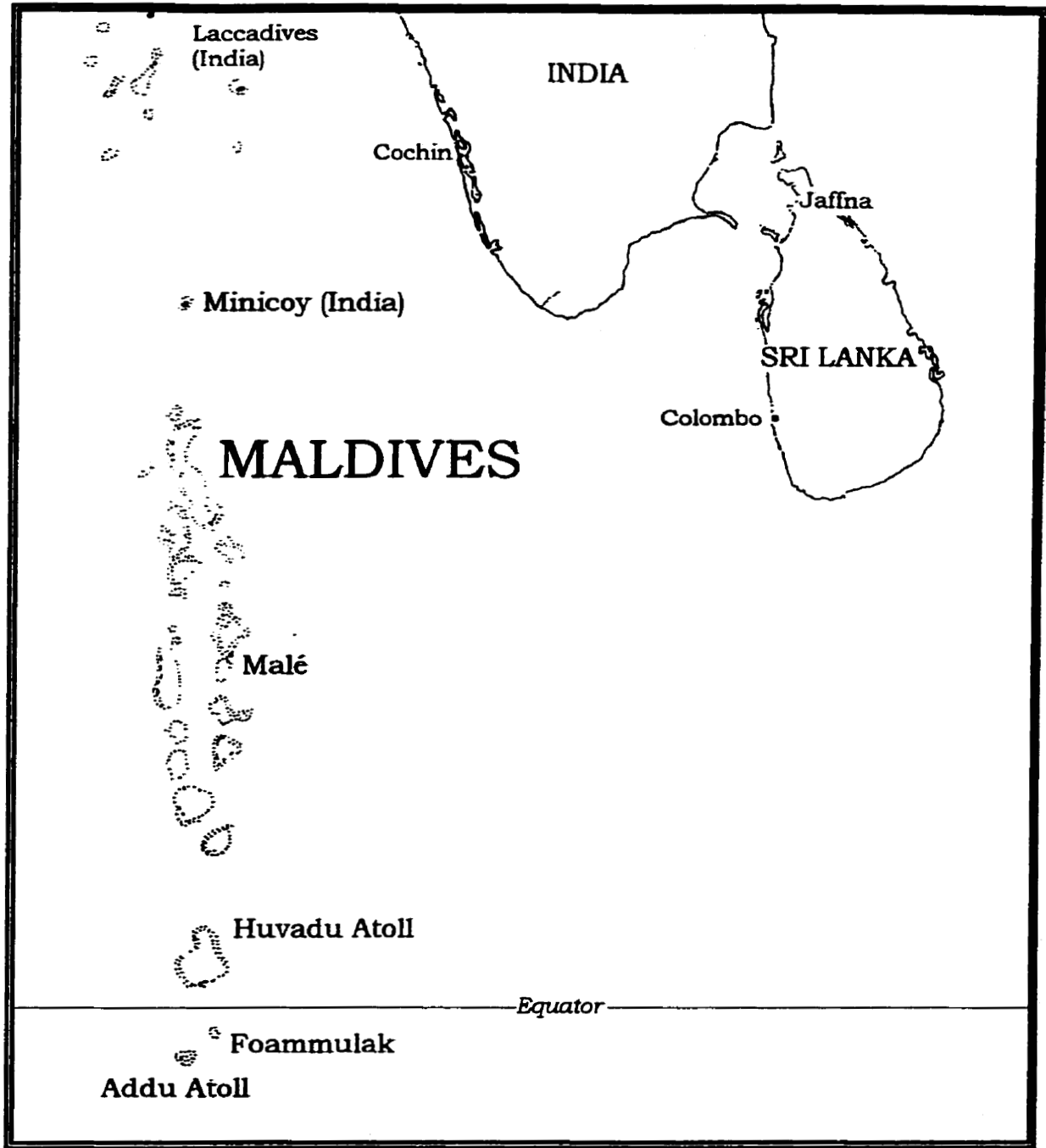


Figure 1: Map of Maldives (scale: 1" = 138 miles ±)

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

1.1 General

Dhivehi¹ (Maldivian) is the national language of the Republic of Maldives, a nation of islands in the Indian Ocean to the west of Sri Lanka and to the southwest of the Indian subcontinent. It consists of approximately 1200 coral islands grouped in atolls spread out over a 450 mile long area from just below India to down below the Equator (Lat. 7° 6' N. to Lat. 0° 42' S.) (Bell 1940: 10). Dhivehi is an Indo-Aryan language closely related to Sinhala, and has the distinction of being the only Indo-European language whose indigenous area extends into the Southern Hemisphere. There are approximately 220,000 speakers of Dhivehi, about 5,000 of whom live in Minicoy (India) where the language is known as Mahl (Statistical Yearbook of the Maldives 1991).

When the Maldives were first peopled and by whom is still unclear. Some have speculated that a group of Aryan speakers settled in the Maldives at the same time that Sri Lanka was settled which could have been as early as the 6th c. B.C. (De Silva 1970b), or possibly earlier (Heyerdahl 1986). Others believe that a group of Aryan speakers came first to Sri Lanka, and much later some settled in the Maldives, bringing

¹ The spelling of *Dhivehi* is in accordance with the official romanization scheme in which *dh* writes dental [d̪], and not the aspirated *dh* found in other Indo-Aryan languages.

their language with them (Gray 1889, Geiger 1919, Bell 1940). It has also been proposed that Maldives was first peopled by Dravidians, and that later Sinhalese came and gained prominence in the islands (Maloney 1980). In physical appearance, Maldivians show physical traits typical of various groups (e.g., Sinhalese, Dravidian, Malaysian, Arab, and African) suggesting that people from various places settled there at one time or another.

While people from various places came to settle in the Maldives, at some point an Aryan language closely related to Sinhala became the lingua franca of the archipelago. The exact nature of the relationship between Dhivehi and Sinhala is a matter of dispute. De Silva (1970b) argues that Dhivehi has a pre-Sinhala substratum suggesting that Sinhala later came to dominate an already existing Aryan language in the archipelago. At the opposite extreme, Vitharana suggests that Dhivehi did not evolve as a separate language until after the 12th c. A.D. at which time they converted to Islam (1995: 16). Geiger (1919: 99) holds that aside from some peculiarities, Dhivehi is not unlike 10th c. A.D. Sinhala. Others have suggested that Dhivehi started showing indications of divergence when umlaut began to be operative in Sinhala in the 4th c. (Reynolds 1974: 197) (Wijesundera et al. 1988: 178). The reason for such divergence of opinion is that the data itself presents some ambiguities. Dhivehi shares features with Sinhala that appear relatively late on the one hand, but it also shows significant indications of early divergence on the other.

In this work, I present evidence that Dhivehi diverged from Proto-Dhivehi-Sinhala as early as the 2nd c. – 1st c. B.C. Subsequent to that, Dhivehi continued to have a similar development to that found in Sinhala history, yet in every period divergence continued. Dhivehi also shows signs that like Sinhala, it too has been impacted by Dravidian. Perhaps as early as the 2nd c. B.C., Proto-Dhivehi-Sinhala came to the Maldives and became the lingua franca of a diverse population made up of Aryan speakers, Dravidians, and possibly others. Contact with Sri Lanka and the subcontinent continued, and as a result Dhivehi shows signs of its neighbors' influence throughout its development.

First, I give a synchronic overview of Dhivehi phonology and morphosyntax. In Chapter 7, I make a detailed analysis of historical phonological developments in Dhivehi as determined by comparisons with Sinhala, and present evidence of Dhivehi's early divergence from Proto-Dhivehi-Sinhala. Chapter 8 presents a summary of what is known about historical prototypes of various morphosyntactic constructions. Some comparisons with Sinhala are made to determine the history of a given structure. Throughout the work, mention is made of the influence nearby Dravidian languages might have played in Dhivehi's development, and these are summarized in Chapter 9. Chapter 10 closes with summaries of my findings, suggestions for further research, and conclusions.

1.2 Maldivian History and Contact Situation

Being located near major sea routes, the Maldives has had extensive contact with other languages, the most being with Sinhala speakers of Sri Lanka, and the Dravidian languages of Indian coastal areas. These have been the principal contacts since ancient times. Although no indigenous historical records dating back to pre-Islamic times (pre-12th c.) exist, references from other writers make it clear that the Maldives were well known. A reference by Periplus (circa 90 A.D.) tells of trade in tortoise-shell of “the kind from the island off Limurike [Malabar]” which might refer to the Maldives and Laccadives (Gray 1889: 426). Ptolemy (2nd c. A.D.) made one of the clearest and earliest references to them, and mentioned some of the islands by name (ibid.) (Geiger 1919: 5). Ammianus Marcellinus, writing in the 4th c., tells of visitors to the Emperor Julian from “Divi” and “Serendivi”. The latter is clearly a reference to Sri Lanka, and the former most probably to the Maldives (Bell 1940: 16) (Gray 1889: 426-427).

Other indications of ancient contact are suggested by archeological discoveries. Cowrie trade formed a vital part in the economy from their own pre-history up until the early part of the 20th c. Cowrie shells were found in the ruins of Lothal in the Gulf of Cambay (in present-day Gujarat), an active port around the 16th c. B.C., and as far away as Norway in pre-historic tombs (circa 6th c. A.D.). The Maldives could have been their source as the particular type of cowrie, *Cypraea moneta*, is an Indo-Pacific mollusk (Heyerdahl 1986: 152, 299-301). The discovery of a Roman

Republic coin in the Maldives minted sometime between 90 B.C. and 100 A.D. also provides some evidence of extensive contact in their pre-history, and suggests some connection with ancient Rome in particular (Heyerdahl 1986: 303-305).

That they were known in the ancient world, does not tell us when the Maldivian islands were first peopled and by whom. All known historical records are silent on the subject. The Maldives are completely ignored by the pre-12th century historical records of Sri Lanka. No mention is made of the Maldives being a dependency of Sri Lanka, nor is there any account of Sinhalese migrations to the Maldives (Geiger 1919: 5) (Bell 1940: 16). This is especially striking given the close affinity in language and culture the two nations share. Gray conjectures that the original inhabitants were Sinhala fishermen from the south who discovered the Maldivian islands while venturing west for better fishing grounds. Originally they would have set up temporary residence there and returned to Sri Lanka with the change of seasons, but gradually they found that living in the atoll islands year round was advantageous. This may have been as late as the 4th c. or 5th c. A.D., according to Gray (1889: 423-425). That there was probably some limited migration cannot be denied, and the emigration of common fishing folk may have gone undetected by the chroniclers. Gray is wrong, however, in assuming a homogenous immigrant population throughout the islands, and he is probably off on his time estimate by at least five hundred years too late. Never the less, the most prominent cultural force in the

Maldives is of Sinhala origin, and that such influence came from gradual migration to the Maldives of Sinhala fishing communities is reasonable.

Before the advent of Islam in the islands, the Maldivians were predominantly Buddhist, and it is likely that Buddhism came from Sri Lanka in the early centuries A.D. when Sri Lankan Buddhist kings were active in promoting the religion (Maloney 1980: 73-75). Recent archaeological investigations on Kashidhoo (Malé Atoll) revealed Buddhist ruins dating back to the 4th c. A.D. (Abbas Ibrahim, personal communication). Many of the Buddhist artifacts found in Maldives attest to strong Mahayana influence. Coral stone stelae, for example, have demonic faces and symbols of the *visarga*, the sword, axe, and bow which are all prominent in Mahayana Buddhism. A statue of the Mahayana goddess *Tara* has also been found.

Mahayana Buddhism was brought to Sri Lanka from India as early as the 2nd c. A.D., but often the teachings were condemned as heretical, and those who propagated them were sometimes exiled. In spite of official censure, the Mahayana teachings were incorporated to some extent in the practice of Buddhism in Sri Lanka (Mudiyanse 1967: 1-11). With Mahayana's emphasis on rites, exorcism and magic, it found a popular following among the masses. This would have been the case among the Maldivian fishing communities as well, where even today the practice of sorcery and magic remains strong. The writings on the stelae resemble 9th c. A.D. Sinhalese characters, and are probably indicative of contact with Mahayana schools in Sri Lanka.

Contact with Dravidians in pre-Islamic Maldives can be inferred by various sources. Maloney believes the Mahavamsa and Dipavamsa, ancient chronicles of Buddhist Sri Lanka, refer to the Maldives when they relate how Sri Lanka was colonized by Aryan speakers from India. According to these accounts, Prince Vijaya from India came with his men to Sri Lanka (circa 6th c. B.C.), and found the island inhabited by *Yakkhas* (a demonic super-human race). Hostilities between the inhabitants and more recent arrivals ensued, but order was restored by the intervention of Buddha when he caused the island of *Giridīpa* to come near, and placed the demonic peoples on it. Then, the island of *Giridīpa* was restored to its original place, and Prince Vijaya was left with Sri Lanka. Maloney suggests that the myth retells how the invaders from India found Sri Lanka inhabited by another people (probably Dravidians), and drove them from their homeland. Some of those who left Sri Lanka came to settle in the Maldives (Maloney 1980: 28-47). Although this interpretation of the myth is speculative, there are reasons to believe early contact with Dravidians in the Maldives. (See Section 9.4.)

Nothing has been written of the extent of contact between the Maldives and South India in pre-Islamic times, but given the geographical proximity such contact can be assumed. (Minicoy, historically the Maldives' northernmost island, is approximately two hundred miles from the Indian coast, and closer still to the Dravidian speech communities of the Laccadive islands.) A pillar commemorating the inauguration of the Pallava king Rajasimha II (c. 690-691, 728-729 A.D.) states, "May he

exercise the royal prerogative...to the extremities of his kingdom, as even to include the thousand islands.” The “thousand islands” probably included the Laccadives and Maldives. Another inscription says of King Rajaraja of the Cola empire (985-1014 A.D.) that he “subdued the many ancient islands, 12,000 (in number)” (Maloney 1980:77). Maloney suggests that these included the Maldives and Laccadives, and the incursions prompted them to maintain their own army (ibid.). If these indeed are references to the Maldives, then it is striking that subjugation of Maldives is mentioned in Dravidian accounts, but not in Sinhala ones.

Arab traders visited the Maldives as early as the 9th c. Several Arab travelers made reference to the Maldives between the 9th c.-11th c. They report that Maldives was ruled by a queen, and that the currency of the islands was the cowry shell (Gray 1889: 423-431). Contacts with Arab traders and other Muslims led to the conversion of the Maldives to Islam in the 12th c. Since their conversion, contact with Arab and Persian speaking Muslims remained prominent, and their languages have made a significant impact on Dhivehi mostly in religious and judicial terms. Contact with Dravidian speaking Muslims from South India also continued.

During a brief period of fifteen years in the 16th c. A.D., Maldives came under the colonial power of the Portuguese, and Portuguese influence is found in some borrowed words (e.g., *mēzu* ‘table’, *alamāri* ‘wardrobe’) (Reynolds 1978: 162). Except for this, the Maldives have always been free of colonial rule.

The Maldives came under British protection from 1887-1965, but the British never ruled them. The British had two air fields there during W.W.II, and later made the one in Addu a military airport. They surrendered the lease for this in 1976 (Maloney 1980: 125-130). During their tenure there, they employed many Maldivians who were quick to learn English.

English knowledge increased with educational opportunities. In the 1960's Sri Lanka began promoting Sinhala as the medium of instruction in its schools, and many English medium teachers sought employment elsewhere. Many jumped at the opportunity to teach in the Maldives at a time when it was beginning to open up to the outside world (Ahmed Zaki, personal communication). This trend towards English continues, and has been greatly accelerated by tourism. Many of the wealthier Maldivians go abroad to study. Earlier generations went to Sri Lanka or Pakistan, and became fluent in Sinhala and Urdu respectively. Scholarships to Arab universities are on the increase. English language education in the West is still preferred by many.

1.3 Dialect Information

Dhivehi has several notable dialects. The standard dialect is that of the capital Malé and the central atolls, and dialects from the far north down to Laamu are very closely related to it. Minicoy, now a part of India, has its own dialect (called Maliku Bas or Mahl) that retains some features of an older Dhivehi, and shows Malayalam influence as well. Still, the Minicoy

dialect is mutually intelligible with Standard Dhivehi, and cultural information in the form of literature and film is shared between the Maldives and Minicoy (Abdullah Saudiq, personal information). The greatest dialect variation is in the far south in Huvadū, Foammulak, and Addu atolls where each atoll has its own dialect more closely related to each other, but very different from those to the north (Wijesundera et al. 1988). These three atolls are geographically separated from the rest of Maldives, and have had extensive contact with Sri Lanka, and are popularly believed to be more like Sinhala. According to many Maldivians, the southern dialects are so distinct that those from Malé cannot understand them, but speakers from those dialects understand Malé dialect because of acquired intelligibility. Apart from the gathering of word lists (Wijesundera et al. 1988), a careful analysis of the southern dialects is yet to be done. Some information on the Addu dialect is found in Fritz (1993) that will soon be supplemented by results of current research (Sonja Gippert-Fritz, personal communication). Unless otherwise noted, references to “Dhivehi” indicate the Malé dialect which has become the standard.

In terms of socio-dialects, the presence in the Maldives of foreign speech is not insignificant. There are over 20,000 foreign workers from near-by South Asian countries, and Maldivians generally use a vastly reduced form of Dhivehi when communicating with them. Irregular verbs are regularized. Subordinated structures are almost non-existent. Tense/aspect is greatly reduced, and foreign words (especially English)

abound. In general, every effort is made to accommodate to the foreigner's idiolect of Dhivehi.² This helps the foreigner acquire the language skills needed for the most basic of tasks on the one hand, but also prevents them from penetrating intimate communication between Maldivians on the other. What impact this *bidhesi dhivehi* (foreign Dhivehi) is having on Dhivehi has not yet been determined.

The relationship of the written language to the spoken Malé dialect is quite close, and the type of diglossic situation found in Sinhala (Gair 1968) does not exist. The close relationship between the written and spoken form, together with a very efficient orthography (Section 3.1.3), and an ambitious program by the Government, are some of the reasons Maldives enjoys a literacy rate exceeding 95% (Statistical Yearbook of Maldives 1991).

² Illustrative of the extent of accommodation are the following comments by foreigners who had lived in the Maldives for some time. A development worker from Egypt once told me that he understood Dhivehi very well because it “uses lots of Arabic with some Sinhala words thrown in.” Yet, an English teacher from Sri Lanka opined, “Why study Dhivehi? It has no grammar at all. It’s just Sinhala with a bunch of Arabic.”

CHAPTER TWO: PREVIOUS WORKS, MATERIAL, AND METHODOLOGY

Published materials on the Dhivehi language are sparse. Early accounts of the language consisted only of word lists collected by various people, some of whom happened to be shipwrecked in the Maldives (Pyrard 1619, Gray 1878, Wilson 1841). Geiger (1902) included these word lists with results of his own research, and gave some etymological background as well. Geiger also provided grammatical information in his *Máldivische Studien*, a collection of lectures published in Germany from 1900-1902. An English translation of these lectures was printed in *Maldivian Linguistic Studies* (1919), a work edited and supplemented by H.C.P. Bell. This remains one of the most significant contributions on the language to date.

Another significant work on Dhivehi is R.L. Turner's *Comparative Dictionary of Indo-Aryan Languages* (1966-1971), and especially *Volume 3: Addendum and Corrigenda* (Wright 1985). These works contain over 850 Dhivehi words that were culled from various sources including previous unpublished material collected by C.H. Reynolds. This work provided the starting point of my phonological comparisons in Chapter 7.

One of the most comprehensive studies of Dhivehi to date is the *Historical and Linguistic Survey of Divehi: Final Report* (hereafter the *Report*) (Wijesundera et al. 1988). This work presents the results of a language survey conducted throughout the Maldives by Maldivian and Sri

Lankan scholars. The report includes information on Dhivehi dialects previously unavailable, and useful grammatical information. The draft manuscript unfortunately suffers from a number of typographical errors, but plans are underway to correct these and publish this very valuable resource (Hassan Maniku, personal communication).

To date no detailed account of Maldivian phonology has been published. Some preliminary observations were made by De Silva (1969) in the article *The Phonological Efficiency of the Maldivian Writing System* and a general outline of the phonology is given in the *Report* (Wijesundera et al. 1988: 10-24). The phonological sketch here is my own work based upon information elicited on site.

A substantial body of national literature on Dhivehi has been done in Dhivehi medium under the auspices of the National Centre for Linguistic and Historical Research. This current work has benefited greatly from *Dhivehi Bas Foiy* (*Dhivehi Language Book*, a multi-volume national dictionary), *Dhivehi Bahuge Gavaaidhu* (*Grammar of the Dhivehi Language*), *Bahuge Hamaige Aymmatee Foiy* (*Handbook of Correct Language*) (Saudiq 1993). The *Dhivehi Bas Foiy* has over 30,000 entries, and an abundance of dialect information.

Of immense help was Fuller's *Dhivehi-English Dictionary*, and *English-Dhivehi Dictionary* (1985) provided graciously by the National Centre with the compiler's consent. This unpublished work of approximately 8,000 entries afforded me quick access to the language, and greatly facilitated the analysis of my text corpus. This was augmented by

Glossary: English-Dhivehi, Dhivehi-English (Institute of Teacher's Education 1991) which contains about 2,500 lexical items. The *English-Dhivehi Dictionary* (Shishido 1985) and *Say It in Maldivian* (Maniku and Disanayake 1990) were especially helpful for language learning.

The methodology of the research consisted of language learning and language research on site. I, together with my wife Kathy, was able to spend several years on a remote island (Muli, Meemu Atoll) in a monolingual environment. There we engaged in intensive language learning by immersion and analysis. Much of the analysis was based on a text corpus consisting of stories and texts from various sources, written and oral.³ Interlinearizing these provided the basis for this grammatical description. The work of Geiger (1919), the *Report* (Wijesundera et al. 1988), and *Dhivehi Bahuge Gavaaidhu* (1984) were especially helpful in the initial parsing. After analyzing a significant corpus, and checking with language informants, I wrote a preliminary sketch (Cain 1992) that was corrected, expanded, and revised after consultations with Maldivian scholars at the National Centre for Linguistic and Historical Research. The grammatical sketch in this thesis is the result of that process.

The historical and comparative analysis was carried out by carefully studying Dhivehi and Sinhala cognates as given in Turner's *Comparative*

³ Unlike Sinhala, Dhivehi is not diglossic to any great extent for those living in the northern and central atolls. The written and spoken varieties in the central atolls are relatively close.

Dictionary of Indo-Aryan Languages (Turner 1966-1971, Wright 1985). I compared the correspondences I found in *CDIAL*, and traced the development of Sinhala as given in Karunatillake's *Historical Phonology of Sinhalese* (1969) to determine how the two languages were related. Dialect information proved essential. I elicited over 800 cognates in the Southern dialect of Addu, and garnered over 1,000 lexical items featuring equivalents in several dialects from *Dhivehi Bas Foiy*. Geiger's *Etymological Vocabulary of the Maldivian Language* (1902) and *An Etymological Glossary of the Sinhalese Language* (1941) and Karunatillake's *Sinhala Etymological Index* (1991) were also used to obtain protoforms in OIA (Vedic and Classical Sanskrit), and comparative forms in MIA (Pali, Prakrit).

Comparative morphosyntax was carried out by comparing my analysis of Dhivehi with Geiger's of Sinhala (Geiger 1938). In his work, Geiger gives what he considers to be the prototypes of many Sinhala constructions as found in OIA/MIA. Wijayaratne (1956) provided an analysis of the history of the Sinhala noun based upon inscriptions beginning in the 3rd c. B.C. Using his work, I compared Dhivehi nouns and looked for similar developments. Twelfth century copper land grants, *Loamaafaanu* (1982) and *Isdhoo Loamaafaanu* (Maniku and Wijayawardhana 1986), provided noun forms that made comparisons with Sinhala of that period possible. Premaratne (1986) provides a detailed analysis of the historical development of Sinhala verbs from the 3rd c. B.C. until 10th c. A.D. I used his work in addition to other sources to investigate

similar patterns in Dhivehi. Probing for possible Dravidian influence was facilitated by Caldwell's *A Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian...Languages* (1875), as well as various articles which investigated possible Dravidian influence in Sinhala (eg., Gair 1976, 1985, 1986, De Silva 1979).

CHAPTER THREE:
PHONOLOGY

3.1 Dhivehi Segmental Phonemes

The segmental phonemes of Dhivehi are as follows:

Table 3.1 Dhivehi Consonants

		Labial	Dental	Retroflex	Palatal	Velar
Stops	Voiceless	p	t	ʈ	c	k
	Voiced	b	d	ɖ	j	g
	Prenasalized	^m b	ⁿ d	ⁿ ɖ		ⁿ g
Nasals		m	n		(ñ)	
Semivowels						y
Lateral			l	ɭ		
Flap				r		
Fricative	Voiceless	f	s	ʃ		h
	Voiced	v	z			

Table 3.2 Dhivehi Vowels

i	u	ī	ū
e	o	ē	ō
a		ā	

3.1.1 Consonants

3.1.1.1 General Observations

Voicing is contrastive in Dhivehi as the following pairs illustrate:

- | | | | |
|-----|----------------|-------------------------|-------------------------------|
| (1) | /p/ and /b/: | /parī/ ‘fairy’ | /bari/ ‘block’ |
| | /t/ and /d/: | /tan/ ‘place’ | /dan/ ‘watch (time interval)’ |
| | /t̪/ and /d̪/: | /t̪akai/ ‘on behalf of’ | /d̪akai/ ‘old hag’ |
| | /k/ and /g/: | /kon/ ‘which’ | /gon/ ‘puffer fish’ |

Although voiceless stops are slightly aspirated word initially and intervocalically, Dhivehi lacks phonemic aspiration. The loss of OIA phonemic aspiration is a trait Dhivehi shares with Sinhala among the Indo-Aryan languages.

Dental and retroflex stops are contrastive: /maḍun/ ‘quietly’, /madun/ ‘seldom’. The segments /t/ and /d/ are articulated just behind the front teeth and are [+anterior].

Dhivehi retroflex segments (/t̪/, /d̪/, /ʃ̪/, and /l̪/) are produced at the very rear part of the alveolar ridge. These segments are only slightly retroflex when compared with other South Asian languages like Tamil whose retroflex segments are produced significantly behind the alveolar ridge (Keating 1991: 34-35). Standard (Malé) Dhivehi has lost the retroflex nasal, but the Addu dialect still retains it: /fani/ ‘juice’ and /faɲi/ ‘worm’.

The status of /ñ/ as a phoneme is unclear. Except for two words, /ñamñam/ ‘cynometra cauliflora (a kind of fruit)’ and /ñaviyani/ ‘Gnaviyani (alphabet letter)’, the /ñ/ only occurs as the result of the fusion of /n/ and /i/: /dūni/ ‘bird’, /dūññek/ ‘a bird’. I include it here as it is represented in Thaana, the Dhivehi writing system (see Section 3.1.3 below).

The /v/ is allophonically [w] both before /a/ in word initial unstressed syllables, and following /u/: /vanī/ [wa'nī] ‘becoming’, /duvē/ [duwē] ‘Run!’. The /v/ is pronounced as [v] when preceding /i/: /vī/ [vī] ‘became’. When geminate /v/ is [vv]: /duvvanī/ [duvvanī] ‘driving’.

Dhivehi has prenasalized stops (^mb, ⁿd, ⁿḍ, ⁿg): /a^mbu/ ‘mango’, /haⁿdu/ ‘moon’, /haⁿḍu/ ‘uncooked rice’, /aⁿga/ ‘mouth’. These segments only occur intervocally. Dhivehi and Sinhala are the only Indo-Aryan languages that have the prenasalized stops.

The inventory of phonemes as given in Table 3.1 above is based upon a contrastive analysis. Some pairs (i.e., /p/ and /f/, /t/ and /ʃ/, /s/ and /h/) were in complementary distribution historically, but later loan words reintroduced the contrasts. These are discussed in Section 3.1.1.2. The contrast in these pairs is neutralized when geminate (see Section 3.5). Dhivehi severely limits which phonemes occur in the coda of the syllable (with the exception of geminate clusters), and the phonemes that do occur there are underspecified for place of articulation. These neutralizations are discussed in Section 3.2.

3.1.1.2 Foreign Influence and the Phoneme Inventory

The influence of other languages has played a great role in Dhivehi phonology. The phoneme /z/, for example, comes entirely from foreign influence: /gāzi/ ‘judge’ (Persian). A number of phonemes in Dhivehi are allophonically related, but a contrast has been re-introduced because of the influence of loan words as seen in the following correspondences:

/p/ and /f/. Synchronically /p/ and /f/ contrast: /pān/ ‘bread’ and /fān/ ‘light’. At one point, Maldivian did not have /f/. /p/ occurred in the language as a primary phoneme without contrastive aspiration. Some time after the 1600’s, word initial and intervocalic /p/ changed to /f/ perhaps as a result of Persian and Arabic influence (Geiger 1919: 116). Historical documents from the 11th c., for example, show ‘five’ rendered as /pas/ whereas today it is /fas/ (Disanayake 1986: 69).

Subsequent to the change from /p/ to /f/, the /p/ found in borrowed words also changed to /f/: /hasfatālu/ ‘hospital’. Currently, however, the /p/ in newly borrowed words is retained: /ripōtu/ ‘report’.⁴ Thus, all single occurrences of /p/ in modern Dhivehi occur only in borrowed words. Unlike those Indo-Aryan languages which feature /f/ only as the result of borrowed lexical items (e.g., Sinhala, Urdu), Dhivehi has it as a primary phoneme.

⁴ Interestingly, ‘hospital’ can also be rendered as /haspiṭalu/ reflecting a more recent borrowing.

Although single occurrences of /p/ and /f/ contrast, in geminate clusters the contrast is neutralized to /p/. This process is described in Section 3.5.

/s/ and /h/: The /s/ occurs in the coda position, but neutralizes to /h/ intervocalically when inflected: /bas/ ‘word’, /bahek/ ‘a word’. However, due to borrowing /s/ and /h/ are contrastive:

- (2) Word initially: /hingā/ ‘operating’ /singā/ ‘lion’
Intervocalically: /aharu/ ‘year’ /asaru/ ‘effect’

/ṣ/ and /ṭ/: /ṣ/, a retroflex grooved fricative, is peculiar to Dhivehi among the Indo-Aryan languages. In some dialects, it is pronounced as [ɽ], a voiceless retroflex flap or trill. The /ṣ/ is related historically and allophonically to /ṭ/ (but not to Sanskrit /ṣ/ or /ṣ/). Sometime after the 12th c., intervocalic /ṭ/ became /ṣ/: /raṭu/ ‘island’ (12th c.), /raṣu-/ ‘island’. The /ṭ/ is retained, however, in geminate clusters: /feṣunī/ ‘started’, /faṭṭaifi/ ‘has caused to start’. The contrast between /ṣ/ and /ṭ/ has come about through loan words: /koṣanī/ ‘cutting’, /koṭari/ ‘room’.

/c/ and /j/: Both /c/ and /j/ are phonemes, but the former only occurs as a fusion of /t/ and /i/ and in loan words: /eccek/ ‘a thing’ (from /eti/ ‘thing’ and /-ek/ ‘INDF’), and /cōku/ ‘chalk’. Similarly the /j/ occurs as a fusion of /d/ and /i/: /rodi/ ‘thread’ and /-ek/ ‘a’ become /rojjek/ ‘a thread’. Loan words have contributed to /j/ as a phoneme: /jagu/ ‘jug’. In one very prolific word, /jehun/ ‘striking’, /j/ developed historically from /g/: /jahā/ ‘strike’ (mod.), /gasai/ ‘strike’ (12th c.).

3.1.2 Vowels

Dhivehi has five basic vowels all with two degrees of vowel length:

- (3) /i/ and /ī/: /biru/ ‘fear’ and /bīru/ ‘deaf’
 /e/ and /ē/: /beru/ ‘drum’ and /bēru/ ‘outside’
 /a/ and /ā/: /kaṣi/ ‘thorn’ and /kāṣi/ ‘coconut’
 /u/ and /ū/: /duni/ ‘bow’ and /dūni/ ‘bird’
 /o/ and /ō/: /fok/ ‘obese’ and /fōk/ ‘areca nut’

The length is a matter of quantity, not quality. The short front vowel /i/ alternates freely with [ɪ] in closed syllables: /bis/ ‘egg’ [bis] ~ [bɪs]. And, /e/ has [ɛ] as an allophone word initially: /eba/ [ɛba] ‘now’. Short /a/, on the other hand, does not reduce to schwa [ə], and /u/ and /o/ are quite stable as well.

3.1.3 Orthography

The Maldives has developed its own unique script, called Thaana, for the writing of Dhivehi. The Thaana script was invented some time in the sixteenth century, and supplanted the earlier Dhivehi Akuru, a script closely resembling those of medieval Sinhala and Tulu. Like Arabic, Thaana writes from right to left. The Thaana base characters were based on Arabic numerals 1-9, and presumably on earlier forms of Maldivian numerals as well, the latter resembling those of Sinhala. These eighteen characters were then modified to make up the full Thaana inventory (Geiger 1919: 20-23) (Bell 1919: 150-164). The basic Thaana alphabet

consists of twenty four basic consonant characters, ten vowel diacritics, and sukun (a diacritic to indicate that that the base character is vowel-less). There are no inherent vowels in Thaana as there are in Indic scripts (see Table 3.3). Vowels are written as satellites around a consonant base character. For vowels that do not follow consonants, a base character empty of phonetic content, called alifu (𐞀), is employed: 𐞀 “a” (see Table 3.4). The basic set of consonants has been further augmented to facilitate the transliteration of Arabic loan words. Table 3.5 shows those commonly used. The Indic order (i.e., *k, kh, g, gh*, and etc.) has been abandoned for a more arbitrary arrangement. A somewhat less elegant Romanized rendition of Dhivehi also exists, and is commonly found in printed materials for foreigners. The names of the letters in the tables below are rendered in this official Latin script.

Table 3.3 Thaana Base Characters⁵

<u>Thaana</u>	<u>Name</u>	<u>Phon.</u>	<u>Thaana</u>	<u>Name</u>	<u>Phon.</u>
𐞀	Haa (h)	/h/	𐞁	Thaa (th)	/t/
𐞂	Shaviyani (sh)	/š/	𐞃	Laamu (l)	/l/
𐞄	Noonu (n)	/n/	𐞅	Gaafu (g)	/g/
𐞆	Raa (r)	/r/	𐞇	Gnaviyani (gn) /ñ/	
𐞈	Baa (b)	/b/	𐞉	Seenu (s)	/s/
𐞊	Lhaviyani (lh)	/l/	𐞋	Daviyani (d)	/d/

⁵ The author gratefully acknowledges Paul Beam, designer of this Thaana font, for permission to use the font in this sketch.

ڪ	Kaafu (k)	/k/	ع	Zaviyani (z)	/z/
ا	Alifu	--	ت	Taviyani (t)	/t/
و	Vaavu (v)	/v/	ي	Yaviyani (y)	/y/
م	Meemu (m)	/m/	پ	Paviyani (p)	/p/
ف	Faafu (f)	/f/	ج	Javiyani (j)	/j/
د	Dhaalu (dh)	/d/	ڪھ	Chaviyani (ch)	/c/

Table 3.4 Thaana Vowel Signs with Alifu Base Character

ا	Abafili (a)	/a/	ا	Ibifili (i)	/i/	ا	Ubufili (u)	/u/
ا	Aabaafili (aa)	/ā/	ا	Eebeeefili (ee)	/ī/	ا	Ooboofili (oo)	/ū/
ا	Ebefili (e)	/e/	ا	Obofili (o)	/o/	ا	Alifu Sukun ⁶	---
ا	Eybeyfili (ey)	/ē/	ا	Oaboafili (oa)	/ō/			

Table 3.5 Thaana Equivalentents for Transliterated Arabic (*Thiki Jehey* Thaana 'Thaana with dots')

ح	غ	ط	ش
خ	ذ	ظ	ص
ع	ث	ق	ض

The following example illustrates a Dhivehi sentence rendered in Thaana. In the transliteration below the Thaana line, the sentence reads

⁶ Alifu Sukun has no direct phonetic correlation. Word finally it indicates a glottal stop as an allophone of underlying /k/, and before other consonants it indicates gemination.

right to left. The degree symbol (°) indicates sukun, and the caret (^) corresponds to alifu:

(4) .eve^af°řok urāy°^at ĩnav °^emak āhiruh uri^ayid am °řa^eg e^
done ready had been everything when went I to house that

e geyař ma diyairu hurihākamek vanī
that house.DAT I go.TEMP everything be.PREPRO

tayyāru koffa eve
ready do.SUC END

‘When I went to that house, everything had been done.’

For further information about Thaana, see Gair and Cain (1995).
For a discussion of the Thaana alphabet in relation to Dhivehi’s phonology,
see De Silva (1969).

3.2 *Dhivehi Syllable Structure and Phonotactics*

3.2.1 *Dhivehi Syllable Patterns*

Dhivehi has the following syllable patterns:

(5)	Light:	(C)V	/de/	‘two’	/e/	‘that’
	Heavy:	(C)VC	/ran/	‘gold’	/us/	‘high’
		(C)VV	/hau/	‘rooster’	/ā/	‘new’
		(C)VVC	/kīs/	‘saw’	/ain/	‘school of fish’

The predominant syllable pattern is CV. With few exceptions, most words are at least bimoraic in syllable weight. Words that are monomoraic are mostly particles that cliticize to the preceding word (e.g., /kobā-ta/ ‘where-question particle?’). The numeral /de/ ‘two’ is the adjectival stem form, and it cliticizes to the head noun it modifies (e.g., /de-mīhun/ ‘two people’).

Complex nuclei include lengthened vowels and the diphthongs /ai/ and /au/. The diphthong /ai/ is often pronounced as [æ̃] in the Malé dialect: /sai/ ‘tea’ [sæ̃].

Dhivehi does not allow consonant clusters in the onset or the coda.

3.2.2 *Phonemes Occurring in the Syllable Coda and Neutralization*

The coda position can be filled by any consonant (except for /f/, /ʃ/, /h/, and /ñ/) when geminate with the onset of the following syllable within a monomorphemic word. The following table illustrates lexical (monomorphemic) gemination:

Table 3.6 Monomorphemic Geminates

/p/	/bappa/	‘father’	/r/	/sirru/	‘secret’
/b/	/obbun/	‘pressuring’	/t/	/vet̪t̪un/	‘falling’
/m/	/mamma/	‘mother’	/d/	/uɖɖun/	‘open side up’
/v/	/bevvun/	‘placing’	/l/	/sell̪i/	‘flea’
/t/	/batti/	‘lamp’	/c/	/kacci/	‘small intestine’
/d/	/buddi/	‘mind’	/j/	/rājje/	‘country’
/n/	/anna/	‘coming’	/y/	/iyye/	‘yesterday’
/s/	/kissaru/	‘boat carpentry’	/k/	/fakkā/	‘good’
/z/	/izzat/	‘respected’	/g/	/diggā/	‘hibiscus (tree)’
/l/	/ellun/	‘throwing’			

The reason /f/, /ʃ/, and /h/ fail to geminate is due to the fact that they are alternations of /p/, /t/, and /s/ respectively as discussed in Section 3.5.

Dhivehi allows only the following underlying phonemes in the coda position word finally:

(6)	/n/	/ran/	[raŋ]	‘gold’	/ranek/	[raneʔ]	‘some gold’
	/m/	/kam-/	[kaŋ]	‘activity’	/kamek/	[kameʔ]	‘an activity’
	/k/	/bok/	[boʔ]	‘frog’	/bokek/	[bokeʔ]	‘a frog’
	/ʃ/	/raʃ/	[raʔ]	‘island’	/raʃek/	[raʃeʔ]	‘an island’
	/t/	/fat/	[fayʔ]	‘leaf’	/fatek/	[fateʔ]	‘a leaf’
	/s/	/bas/	[bas]	‘word’	/bahek/	[baheʔ]	‘a word’

form when writing these segments word finally. Dhivehi orthographic convention does the same.

Allophonic [ʔ] completely assimilates to any word initial consonant that it precedes with the exception of /h/. This is true of compound nouns as well. In these compounds I depict underlying /k/, /s/, and /t/ as geminated with the following consonant.⁸ When /š/ precedes /t/ or /d/ in a compound noun, the /t/ and /d/ become retroflex as illustrated below:

- (8) /k/ /e ruk digu/ [e rud digu] ‘that coconut tree is tall’
 /ruffā/ [ruffā] ‘coconut grove area’ (/ruk/ ‘palm’ + /fā/ ‘grove’)
 /š/ /rašaš dē/ [rašad dē] ‘Go to (your home) island!’
 /fukkiru/ [fukkiru] ‘powder milk’ (/fuš/ ‘powder’ + /kiru/ ‘milk’)
 /adḍiha/ [adḍiha] ‘80’ (/aš/ ‘8’ + /diha/ ‘10’)
 /avattēri/ [avattēri] ‘neighbor’ (/avaš/ ‘around’ + /teri/ ‘person’)
 /t/ /fat košāla/ [fayk košāla] ‘Cut the leaves!’
 /hayddiha/ [hayddiha] ‘seventy’ (/hat/ ‘seven’ + /diha/ ‘ten’)

If, however, the following word begins with /h/ or a vowel, the allophonic [ʔ] (from /k/, /š/, and /t/) patterns with the nasals to become [ŋ]:

- (9) /n/ [kāŋ#āde] ‘Come eat!’ (/kān/ ‘to eat’ + /āde/ ‘Come!’)
 /m/ [galan#ellā] ‘Throw the pen!’ (/galam-/ ‘pen’ + /ellā/ ‘Throw!’)
 /k/ [ruŋ#arā] ‘Climb the tree!’ (/ruk/ ‘palm’ + /arā/ ‘Climb!’)

⁸ In cases where /t/ occurs as a coda within a word, I write the [y] offglide and the assimilated consonant that the /t/ becomes explicitly as a guide to its pronunciation. A consistent rendering of the underlying form would simply write /t/ (e.g. /hatdiha/ ‘70’).

/ʃ/ [aŋ#hās] ‘eight thousand’ (/aʃ/ ‘eight’ + /hās/ ‘thousand’)

/t/ [hayŋ#hās] ‘seven thousand’ (/hat/ ‘seven’ + /hās/ ‘thousand’)

Sometimes /f/ and /l/ also fill coda positions, but they are limited to borrowed words that can vary in pronunciation: /sāfu/ ~ /sāf/ ‘clear’, /failu/ ~ /fail/ ‘file’. Historically, /l/ could be in the coda word finally in Standard Dhivehi, but it eventually dropped out, and the preceding vowel was lengthened. The /l/ resurfaces in inflected forms:

- (10) /buḷā/ ‘cat’ /buḷalek/ ‘a cat’
 /kakū/ ‘knee’ /kakulek/ ‘a knee’
 /lō/ ‘eye’ /lolek/ ‘an eye’

3.3 *Metrical Stress*

Stress is not contrastive in Dhivehi, and is hard to determine.

Intuitive judgments show that the Dhivehi stress rule is as follows:

- (11) a. Stress the heaviest syllable of the leftmost foot: /da'nī/ ‘is going’
 b. If the leftmost foot has no heavy syllables, stress the initial syllable: /'divehi/, /'aharen/ ‘I’.

Thus, Dhivehi is a weight sensitive system very much like Sinhala (Letterman 1997: 236-247). Other heavy syllables in the word receive secondary stress (") if they are not adjacent to the primary stressed syllable ('): /'aha"ren/ ‘I’, /ma'tindā"bōṭu/ ‘airplane’.

- (15) M H M
 alīge kitak kudin eba tibi ta
 Ali.GEN how many children now are QP
 ‘How many children does Ali have?’

In Dhivehi content questions, the nuclear High tone attaches to a stressed syllable. A Mid follows after the High, and continues for the rest of the utterance.

Tag questions tend to be mid tone throughout:

- (16) M
 tī galan dō
 that.EQ pen TAG
 ‘That’s the pen, right?’

Yes-No questions generally start with a high tone followed by a mid tone. If the question ends with a question particle, the question particle will generally be a higher pitch.

- (17) H M H
 mi raⁿgaļu ta
 this good QP
 ‘Is this good?’

3.5 Compensatory Lengthening and Palatalization in Dhivehi

Dhivehi phonology features a type of compensatory lengthening in which /i/ following certain consonants gets deleted before vowel initial

suffixes, and the preceding consonant lengthens. The /i/ does, however, leave a trace of itself behind in some form of palatalization. For example, /rodi/ ‘thread’ plus /-ek/ ‘a’ come together to form /rojjek/ ‘a thread’. The /i/ of /rodi/ is deleted after it palatalizes the /d/, and the resultant /j/ geminates as a type of compensatory lengthening (CL). Thus, Dhivehi features CL of the type: VCV → VCC (a type not found in either Hock’s (1986) or Hayes’ (1989) typological studies of compensatory lengthening). What is especially interesting is that the /i/ deletion is directly linked to its ability to leave a trace of itself behind by either palatalizing the preceding segment as in /di/ to /j/, or by forming an off-glide with the nucleus of the preceding vowel: /boki/ ‘bulb’, /boykkek/ ‘a bulb’. In cases where neither type of palatalization is possible, the /i/ remains: /baḍiyek/ ‘a gun’ from /baḍi/ plus /-ek/.

Dhivehi has a number of vowel initial suffixes, and all of them affect consonant plus *-i* stems in the same way. The following illustrates /lōbi/ ‘love’ with both vowel initial and consonant initial suffixes. Note that only vowel initial suffixes induce the palatalization:

- | | | |
|------|-------------------------------------|--|
| (18) | <u>With vowel initial suffixes:</u> | <u>With consonant initial suffixes:</u> ⁹ |
| | lōybbek ‘love-Indefinite’ | lōbin ‘love- Instrumental’ |
| | lōybbakī ‘love + Equative marker’ | lōbīge ‘love-Genitive’ |
| | lōybbaku ‘love-Unspecified’ | lōbīgai ‘love-Locative’ |
| | lōybbas̄ ‘love-Dative’ | |

⁹ The /i/ lengthens before CV case endings.

The /i/ deletes before vowel initial suffixes only when it can leave a trace of itself behind in terms of both its features and its moraic weight. In (19), the dental (coronal, +anterior) consonant preceding the *-i* palatalizes and lengthens, and the *-i* as a segment is lost. (Note that when prenasalized stops are lengthened, they become full nasals plus consonant.)

(19) Palatalization and Gemination:

Coronals:	eti	‘thing’	eccek	‘a thing’
[+anterior]	rodi	‘thread’	rojjek	‘a thread’
	dōdi	‘ray’	dōjjek	‘a ray’
	fani	‘worm’	faññek	‘a worm’
	duni	‘bow’	duññek	‘a bow’
	dūni	‘bird’	dūññek	‘a bird’
	ha ⁿ di	‘bluefin trevally’	hanjek	‘a bluefin trevally’
	fali	‘oar’	fayyek	‘an oar’

The types of C-i words above which feature palatalization cum gemination are all [coronal] and [+anterior]. Assuming the vowel /i/ has the coronal feature as well, it can be further described as being [-anterior] (Hume 1992). The palatalization in (19) can be interpreted as a process in which the [-anterior] of the /i/ links to the preceding coronal consonant. Once the /i/’s [-anterior] feature merges with the preceding consonant, its moraic weight is reassigned to form the geminate cluster.

When the preceding consonant is either labial or velar, the *-i* trace is manifested as an off-glide on the vowel of the preceding syllable, but the consonant preceding the /i/ still gets lengthened:

(20) Y-offglide and Gemination:

Labials:	lōbi	‘love’	lōybbek	‘a love’
	a ^m bi	‘wife’	aymbek	‘a wife’
	niyami	‘navigator’	niyaymmek	‘a navigator’
	kurafi	‘roach’	kurayppek	‘a roach’
	avi	‘sunlight’	ayvvek	‘sunlight’
Velars:	boki	‘bulb’	boykkek	‘a bulb’
	bureki	‘perch (fish)’	burekkek/buraykkek	‘a perch’
	vāgi	‘strength’	vāyggeek	‘strength’
	fuḷa ⁿ gi	‘flying fish’	fuḷayngeek	‘a flying fish’

I interpret this as a case in which /i/ does not share place features with the preceding labial or velar consonants. Thus, it does not interact with these consonants, and these consonants fail to block /i/’s merger with the nucleus of the preceding syllable. An offglide is then formed. The moraic weight of the /i/ does get reassigned, however, resulting in the geminate clusters seen above.

There are some *i*-ending words which retain the final *-i* before vowel-initial suffixes, and an epenthetic /y/ breaks up the hiatus of the vowels. The palatalization process appears to be blocked. There are two types: words which end in /i/ preceded by a -anterior coronal consonant

(retroflex), and words which end in /i/ preceded by a closed syllable.

These are illustrated in (21) and (22) respectively:

(21) No Palatalization and No Gemination, Type I:

Coronals:	buri ¹⁰	‘tier’	buriyek	‘a tier’
[-anterior]	fali	‘slice (n.)’	faliyek	‘a slice’
	baḍi	‘gun’	baḍiyek	‘a gun’

The /i/ fails to merge with the preceding coronal consonant because the consonant is already [-anterior]. The /i/ cannot merge with the nucleus of the preceding syllable, because the intervening consonant, sharing the coronal place feature with /i/, blocks it from doing so. The /i/ must remain, and an epenthetic /y/ is added to break up the hiatus with the vowel initial suffix.

For the second type, mora-bearing consonants in the coda position of the preceding syllable appear to block the palatalization process. The /i/ is retained, and an epenthetic /y/ is inserted between the /i/ and the ending:

(22) No Palatalization and No Gemination, Type II:

Labials:	nappi	‘bad food’	nappiyek	‘bad food’
	bimbi	‘millet’	bimbiyek	‘millet’
Coronals:	batti	‘light’	battiyek	‘a light’
[+anterior]	buddi	‘mind’	buddiyek	‘a mind’

¹⁰ Dhivehi /r/ patterns with the retroflex segments. The verb *huri* ‘be.PST’, for example, is historically derived from *huṣi*.

	bonti	‘unopened frond’	bontiyek	‘an unopened frond’
	kulli	‘emergency’	kulliyek	‘an emergency’
	jinni	‘jinni’	jinniyek	‘a jinni’
Velar:	fangi	‘frond’	fangiyek	‘a frond’

This data reveals that the /i/ cannot merge across non-coronal consonant clusters to form an offglide, nor can it palatalize preceding dental (coronal, +anterior) segments that are second members of a consonant cluster.¹¹ All the consonant clusters in (22) are homorganic. Thus, in feature geometric terms the feature PLACE is doubly linked. As consonants in the coda position bear moraic weight, this data suggests interaction between moraic weight and place features whereby segments bearing weight block the feature spreading of /i/.¹²

¹¹ To date only one exception to this observation has been noted: /sānti/ ‘mat’ palatalizes to become /sāntšek/ ‘a mat’.

¹² This is a surprising finding given the autonomy of the weight tier and the feature tier (McCarthy 1988). A formal treatment of these findings within the framework of Optimality Theory, a constraint based theory (Prince and Smolensky 1993), is currently underway.

CHAPTER FOUR: MORPHOLOGY

4.1 Nominal Morphology

4.1.1 Gender

Dhivehi nouns fall into two categories: human and non-human. The difference is most clearly seen with plural inflections: Dh. *anhen* ‘woman’, *anhen-un* ‘women’; *kakuni* ‘crab’, *kakuni-tak* ‘crabs’; *gas* ‘tree’, *gas-tak* ‘trees’. Grammatical gender is absent. Adjective and noun agreement patterns, for example, do not show gender classes: *fas fot* ‘five books’, *fas mas* ‘five fish’, *fas mihun* ‘five people’, *fas masverin* ‘five fishermen’, and *fas anhenun* ‘five women’. Sinhala, like Dhivehi, also has largely dropped the grammatical gender typical of Indo-Aryan in favor of notional gender, but the division is between animate and inanimate: Si. *yāluva* ‘friend’, *yāluvo* ‘friends’; *kurulla* ‘bird’, *kurullo* ‘birds’; *potə* ‘book’, *pot* ‘books’. Dhivehi’s noun class system is more akin to that found in Dravidian which differentiates classes in terms of “rational” (includes humans, and super-humans), and “irrational” (includes inanimate objects, animals, and children) (Wijayaratne 1956: 36-37).

The distinction between human and non-human notional gender classes in Dhivehi is important in the selection of case endings, and in the formation of plurals as described in Sections 4.1.2 and 4.1.3 respectively. Noun classes also play a role in the selection of certain locative-stative

verbs. Male referents, for example, will take the *hurun* ‘standing, being (male)’ verb form, and female referents take the *innun* ‘sitting, being (female)’. For further information, see Section 4.4.5.

4.1.2 Dhivehi Case System

There are five cases in Dhivehi for both human and non-human referents:

(23)	<u>Non-Human</u>	<u>Human</u>
Dir.:	fot [foy?] ‘book’	dari ‘child’
Dat.:	fot-aṣ [fota?] ‘to the book’	dariy-aṣ ‘to the child’
Gen.:	fotu-ge ‘of the book’	darī-ge ‘the child’s’
Instr.:	fotu-n ‘from/with the book’	(darī-ge faratu-n ‘from the child’s side’)
Loc.:	fotu-gā ‘in the book’	(darī-ge gai-gā ‘in/on the child’s body’)

Note that the declensions of human and non-human substantives differ in the instrumental and locative cases. The human substantive does not use instrumental and locative cases as such, but postposition phrases with the same function. For example, ‘in the child’ is *darī-ge gai-gā* (literally ‘in the child’s body’). Personal pronouns ending in *-n* lengthen the *-n* before adding the dative case *-aṣ*: *aharen-naṣ* ‘I.DAT’. There is also an older form of a human instrumental *kuren* that is often used with predications of speaking (i.e., questioning, talking, speaking, etc.).

The direct case consists only of the stem and includes nominative and accusative functions. Other case endings are added to the stem. If the stem ends in a consonant then an epenthetical /u/ is added before consonant initial case endings: *fotu-ge* ‘book-GEN’. Stems ending in short vowels other than /u/ lengthen it before genitive and locative cases: *dida* ‘flag’, *didā-gā* ‘flag-LOC’, *ge* ‘house’, *gē-gā* ‘house.LOC’ (see also (23)). The locative case marker has three freely alternating forms: *-gā*, *-ga* and *-gai*. The *-gai* form appears largely in written texts. The dative case is used to indicate semantic GOAL and non-volitional subjects in dative subject constructions. (See Section 5.2.1.1.2.) The instrumental case indicates SOURCE with verbs of motion and INSTRUMENT otherwise, and could be rightly called instrumental ablative. The instrumental case marker is *-in* with stems ending in *-e* and *-a*, and *-n* otherwise:

(24) *ēnā ge-in annanī*
 (s)he house-INS come.PREPRO
 ‘(S)he is coming from the house.’

(25) *ēnā doši-n mas bānanī*
 (s)he pole-INS fishing.PREPRO
 ‘(S)he is fishing with a pole.’

The instrumental and dative case endings can also be used to indicate the adverbial function of MANNER when adjoined to adjectival forms. (See Section 4.5.3.)

In addition to the five cases above, human nominals have vocative and sociative cases as well, both of which are *-ā*: *dariful-ā* ‘child-VOC’ or ‘child-SOC’. The sociative case is used to indicate a wide range of semantic and pragmatic roles, depending on the verb:

Sociative/Comitative:

(26) e mīhun aharemenn-ā vāhakadakkanī divehi bahun
 that people we-SOC talking Dhivehi language
 ‘They are speaking with us in Dhivehi.’

(27) aharen nizām-ā raṭṭehi vi
 I nizām-SOC friend be.FST
 ‘I became friends with Nizām.’

(28) aḷugaⁿḍumenn-ā baddalu kurī muslimun-ge
 we(hon.) -SOC meeting do.PST.FOC Muslim-GEN
 māt mīh-ek
 great person-INDF
 ‘It was a devout Muslim man that met us.’

(29) aharen zūnāy-ā inī
 I Zūnā-SOC be(seated).PST.PRO
 ‘I married Zūnā.’ (lit. ‘I am seated with Zūnā.’)

Patient/Recipient:

- (30) ēnā anna mīhunn-ā suvālu kuranī
 (s)he coming people-SOC question do.PREPRO
 ‘(S)he is questioning the people who are coming’.
- (31) kaⁿḍu-ge raḷu-tak aḷugaⁿḍumenn-ā hamalā dīfi
 sea-GEN wave-PLU we.hon.-SOC attack give.PFT
 ‘The waves attacked us.’
- (32) e mīhun aharenn-ā siṭī havālu kuri
 that people I-SOC letter charge do.PST
 ‘They made me responsible for the letter.’

Benefactive:

- (33) e ejenṭu aḷugaⁿḍumenn-ā havālu vi
 that agent we(hon.)-SOC responsible become.PST
 ‘That agent became responsible for us.’

The sociative case probably developed from coordinate noun phrase structures as described in Section 5.1.2. Note that Sinhala lacks such a case, but it is present in Dravidian (Caldwell 1875: 279-280).

Case endings come after all nominal suffixes: *bas-tak-ek-ge* ‘word-PLU-INDF-GEN’.

4.1.3 Number Inflection

Non-human nouns do not inflect for number generally: *ek fot* ‘one book’, *tin fot* ‘three books’. However, if further clarification is needed,

the plural suffix *-tak* may be added: *fot-tak* ‘books’. This patterns with Dravidian which also often does not specify number when context determines plurality (Caldwell 1875: 234-235). The *-tak* ending is the generic plural marker for all nominals. For sea going vessels, plurality can also be indicated by *faharu: nau faharu* ‘schooners’.

With human referents, plurality is generally specified with the plural marker *-n*: *dari-n* ‘children’. Animate nouns whose stem ends in a consonant take *-un*: *anhen-un* ‘women’. Stems ending in *-a* take *-in*: *sifa-in* ‘soldiers’.

The *-tak* plural can also be used with certain nouns: *mīs-tak* ‘persons’. Personal pronouns take the plural ending *-men*: *kalē-men* ‘you (pl.)’.

4.1.4 Inflections For Definiteness

Dhivehi has three categories of definiteness: definite, indefinite, and unspecified. The definite for non-human nouns is the stem form: *fot* ‘(the) book’. For human referents, there is the definite suffix *-ā*: *māvaḍiy-ā* ‘the boat carpenter’. Indefinite is marked with the suffix *-ek* which is derived from the numeral one as it is in Sinhala: Dh. *fot-ek* ‘a book’, Si. *potak*. The unspecified marker is *-aku*: *mīh-aku* ‘some person or another’. When followed by the dative case marker *-aṣ*, or the instrumental case marker *-n*, this difference is neutralized and only *-aku* occurs: *mīh-ak-aṣ* ‘person-NSPC-DAT’, *mīh-aku-n* ‘person-NSPC-INS’. Both the indefinite and the unspecified can co-occur with demonstratives:

- (34) e duvah-eg-ge musāra e duvah-aku dībala
 that day-INDF-GEN wage that day-NSPC give.IMPV
 ‘Please give that day’s wage on that day.’ or ‘Give the daily wage
 daily.’

Of special interest is the requirement that negated items, be they substantives or adjectives, must take either the indefinite or unspecified ending (see Section 5.2.3.3.).

Suffixing the numeral ‘one’ to indicate indefinite is unique to Dhivehi and Sinhala among the modern Indic languages (with the exception of Nuri) (Wijayarathne 1956: 180). While having this in common, there are differences in how the two languages implement this common innovation. Unlike Dhivehi, Sinhala, in both spoken and literary forms, has several allomorphs for the indefinite suffix: *-ak* (for Class 1, 2, 3, 4 inanimate nouns), *-ek* (for animate nouns) and *-ak* (LS, fem. animate nouns). In Sinhala the oblique form of the indefinite is *-ak(u)*, but it lacks the deictic function of designating something as “unspecified”. In Sinhala the indefinite is used with plural numbers for quantified nominal phrases: *pot tunak* ‘three books’, or *tun potak* ‘three books’ (quantity nominal phrases of the head final type are more uncommon (Fairbanks et al. 1968: 40)). Such usage of the indefinite has not been found in Dhivehi in even the earliest writings. The indefinite suffix in Dhivehi can occur with plurals, but it designates an unknown quantity or “some”, a usage not found in Sinhala: *fot-tak-ek* ‘some books’ (De Silva 1970: 152).

4.2 *Deitic Categories and Pronominal Forms*

4.2.1 **Demonstrative Pronominals**

Dhivehi presents three basic demonstrative adjective/pronouns that indicate spatial deixis as follows:

- (35) *mi* ‘this, these’: proximity to speaker
ti/tiya ‘that, those’: proximity to hearer
e ‘that, those’: distant from both speaker and hearer.

The Dhivehi demonstratives can stand alone for pronouns for inanimate objects without further inflection. The *e* ‘that, those’ is also used anaphorically to refer to something already mentioned or understood in the discourse. Within the sentence, the *e* can also indicate coreferentiality (see also (34)):

- (36) *katību* *de* *hekīn* *e* *mīh-eg-ge* *ge-aṣ*
island chief two witnesses that person-INDF-GEN house-DAT

e *mīh-aku* *fonuvā-lai-fi*
that person-NSPC send-put-PFT

‘The island chief sent the two witnesses each to their own house.’

Demonstratives *mi* ‘this’ and *ti* ‘you’ can also be used coreferentially to indicate ‘I’ and ‘you’ respectively:

(37) kalē ti danī kon tākaš?
 you that go.PREFOC which place.DAT
 ‘Where are you going?’

(38) aharen mi danī geyaš
 I this go.PREFOC house.DAT
 ‘I’m going home.’

4.2.2 Personal Pronominal Forms

Dhivehi’s basic and common personal pronominal system is as follows:

(39)	aharen/ma	‘I’	aharemen/mamen	‘we’
	kalē	‘you’	kalēmen	‘you all’
	ēnā	‘(s)he’	emīhun/ebaimīhun	‘they’
	ēti	‘it’	ēccehi	‘those things’

Note that the third person pronouns are periphrastic and consist of the demonstrative *e* ‘that’ followed by other nominals: *ēti* ‘it’ (*e eti* ‘that thing’), *emīhun* (*e mīhun* ‘those persons’), *ebaimīhun* ‘they’ (*e bai mīhun* ‘that group of people’). All the pronouns beginning with *e* (including *ēnā* ‘(s)he’) have alternate forms relating to proximal distinctions. For example, *ēnā* is the generic third person singular, but *tīnā* and *mīnā* are

also used to denote a person near the addressee and speaker respectively as well as some special uses.¹³

All the pronouns inflect for case, but with some differences. Pronouns endings in *-n* geminate the *n* before vowel initial suffixes: *aharen-n-aṣ* 'I.DAT'. The genitive case *-ge* has the allomorph *-gē* with the first person singular pronoun *ma* 'I', rendering *ma-gē* 'I-GEN' 'my', the identical form in Sinhala and perhaps a borrowing. The *ma* 'I' with the dative case has the peculiar double dative form *maṣaṣ*, and a similar form is found in some southern dialects of Sinhala (e.g., *maṭəṭə*) (Karunatillake, personal communication).

The above table of pronouns is used among equals. Honorifics also play a considerable role in the pronominal system, and give rise to an abundance of forms. Some of the most encountered forms when addressing a superior, or in situations that call for more formality are as follows:

(40)	<i>aḷugaⁿḍu</i>	'I'	<i>aḷugaⁿḍumen</i>	'we'
	<i>tiyabēfuḷā</i>	'you'	<i>tiyabēfuḷun</i>	'you all'
	<i>ebēfuḷā</i>	'(s)he'	<i>ebēfuḷun</i>	'they'

The pronouns in (39) and (40) are the most common. There are two additional pronouns that are somewhat archaic for the second person: *iba* (cf. Si. *oba*) which is equivalent to *tiyabēfuḷun*, and *i^mba/u^mba* (Si. *u^mba*)

¹³ For example, *mīnā* is sometimes used by a woman when addressing her lover, and *tīnā* by a man when addressing the woman.

which is equivalent to *kalē*. The *i^mba* ‘you’ was clearly in use at the beginning of this century in the standard (Malé) dialect (Geiger 1919), but now is no longer used except in some dialects. Another second person pronoun that is currently in use among equals and even with people of higher status is *kalā*. Some dialects use *ta* as a second person pronoun of the same rank as *kalē*. (In Meemu Atoll, *ta* is used only for women.) The third person pronouns *eu* ‘(s)he’ and *eumen* ‘they’ is found in some written texts.

Religious vocabulary has special pronouns. In prayer the first person singular and plural is *alu* (lit. ‘slave’), and *aḷamen* respectively. The first person pronoun for God is *timansuvāmīnge* ‘I (deity)’. The second person pronoun for God is *ibasuvāmīnge* ‘thou’. The first person pronoun for the Prophet Mohammed is *timankalēgefānu* where *kalēgefānu* is a high ranking honorific title.

The *timan* (< OIA *tman* ‘vital breath’) used in the first person pronouns for God and Mohammed is a pronoun related to the Sinhala reflexive *tama* ‘one’s self’, but it no longer has a reflexive usage in Dhivehi. In addition to its usage in religious contexts, the pronoun *timan/timā/timanna* has come primarily to mean first person in reported speech:

- (41) *timanna ves dānamē kiyāfā ēnā diyai*
 I(rep.) also go.FUT.N3.QS said (s)he went
 ‘Having said ‘I will also go’, (s)he went.’

It is also used in some idioms: *timāge mīhun* ‘relatives’ (lit. one’s own people).

4.2.3 Interrogative Pronominals

Dhivehi question words begin with *k-*, a feature shared with many Indo-Aryan languages. Many of the interrogatives are morphologically transparent:

- (42) *kāku* ‘who?’ *kīk* ‘what?’ *kon* ‘which?’
kobā ‘where?’ *kitak* ‘how many?’ *kihinek* ‘how?’
kīvve ‘why?’ (lit. ‘what becomes?’)
koniraku ‘when?’ (lit. ‘which time?’)

4.3 Numerals

Two numeral systems are current in the Maldives. Both of them are identical up to 30. After 30, however, one system places the unit numeral stem before the decade (e.g., *et-tirīs* ‘31’), and the other combines the stem of the decade with the unit numeral (e.g., *tirīs-ekek* ‘31’). The latter system also features numerals multiplied by ten for decades 70, 80, and 90. Sinhala also has similar numeral systems. Classical Sinhala uses the unit numeral stem before the decade, Colloquial the decade with the unit numeral, and general literary something of a combination of the two (Geiger 1938: 118-119) (Wijesundera et al. 1988: 86). Table 4.1 shows the Dhivehi numerals 1-40, the decades up to 100, and etc. Numerals 1-10

have a stem form used adjectivally and in compounds, and an indefinite form for counting.

Table 4.1 Dhivehi Numerals

<u>No.</u>	<u>Stem</u>	<u>Nominal</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>Numeral</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>Numeral</u>
0	sun	sumek				
1	ek [eʔ]	ekek	11	egāra	21	ekāvīs
2	de	dēk	12	bāra	22	bāvīs
3	tin	tinek	13	tēra	23	tēvīs
4	hataru	hatarek	14	sāda	24	sauvīs
5	fas	fahek	15	fanara	25	fansavīs
6	ha	hayek	16	sōḷa	26	sabbīs
7	hat [hayʔ]	hatek	17	satāra	27	hatāvīs
8	aṣ [aʔ]	aṣek	18	aṣāra	28	aṣāvīs
9	nuva	nuvayek	19	navāra/ona	29	navāvīs/ona
				vihi		tirīs
10	diha	dihayek	20	vihi	30	tirīs
<u>No.</u>	<u>Numeral-</u>	<u>Decade-</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>Numeral-</u>	<u>Decade-</u>	
	<u>Decade</u>	<u>Numeral</u>		<u>Decade</u>	<u>Numeral</u>	
31	ettirīs	tirīs ekek	50	fansās	fansās	
32	battirīs	tirīs dēk	60	haṭṭi	fasdoḷas	
33	tettirīs	tirīs tinek	70	hayttari	hayddiha	
34	sauratirīs	tirīs hatarek	80	āhi	aḍḍiha	

35	fansatirīs	tirīs fahek	90	navai	nuvadiha
36	satirīs	tirīs hayek			
37	satutirīs	tirīs hatek	100	satēka	
38	aṣutirīs	tirīs aṣek	200	duisatta	
39	onasāḷīs	tirīs nuvayek	300	tin satēka	
40	sāḷīs	sāḷīs	1000	ek hās	

The decade plus numeral system is currently in fashion, but with some remnants of an older system as well. The number *fas doḷas* ‘60’ (lit., ‘five twelves’) comes from a duodecimal system that has all but disappeared in the Maldives. This number system was used for special purposes such as counting coconuts. According to Maniku (1995: 9-10), numbers 1-10 were the same as in Table 4.1, but from 11 upward the system was reckoned by twelves:

Table 4.2 Dhivehi Duodecimal Numerals

11	ekoḷahek	ekoḷas	22	doḷas dihayek	48	fanas
12	doḷahek	doḷas	23	doḷas ekoḷas	60	fas doḷas
13	doḷas ekek		24	fassihi	72	fāhiti
14	doḷas dēk		25	fassihi ekek...,	84	hayddoḷas
				etc.		
15	doḷas		36	tin doḷas	96	hiya
	tinek..., etc.					

This duodecimal system is not known in Sri Lanka or in India. A duodecimal system was used by the peoples of Mesopotamia, but how this

system could have come to the Maldives is a matter of speculation (Maloney 1980:134-137).

Ordinals consist of the stem form of the numeral followed by *vana*: *tin-vana* ‘third’, *fansavīs-vana* ‘twenty-fifth’, etc. Compare 9th c. Sinhala, *de-vana* ‘second’ (Geiger 1938: 122).¹⁴

4.4 Verbal Morphology

4.4.1 Verbal Derivational Relationships

The Dhivehi verbal system, like Sinhala (Gair 1970), is characterized by derivational relationships between active, causative, and involitive/intransitive verb forms. The presence of a causative or involitive morpheme raises or lowers the valence of the verb respectively, and verbs so derived take on the morphological characteristics of that category:

(43)	<u>Active</u>	<u>Invol./Intrans.</u>	<u>Causative</u>
	hadanī ‘making’	hedenī ‘growing’	haddanī ‘cultivating’
	vaṭṭanī ‘dropping’	vetṭenī ‘falling’	vaṭṭuvanī ‘cause to drop’
	anganī ‘informing’	e ⁿ genī ‘knowing’	anguvanī ‘cause to inform’
	dakkanī ‘showing’	dekenī ‘seeing’	dakkuvanī ‘cause to show’
	balanī ‘looking’	belenī ‘seeing’	ballanī ‘cause to look’

In some cases, the presence of the causative morpheme creates a basic active verb from an involitive/intransitive one, and another causative

¹⁴ The source of *vana* is obscure. Earlier inscriptions also show *vanna*. The *vana* in Sinhala came to be replaced by *veni* by the 14th c. (Geiger 1938: 122).

morpheme is added to make it notionally causative (i.e., *e"genī* ‘understanding’, *anganī* ‘informing’, *anguva-nī* ‘causing to inform’). Some sets permit double causatives (i.e., *ballu-va-nī* ‘cause to look at’). Not all verbs include the full set, and derived verbs often take on special meanings. Causative forms are often used for honorific verbs, for example.

The relationship between the derivational status and the morphological shape is not coterminous, but there are general patterns. Causative and derived involitive verbs (IN-verbs) always have polysyllabic stems. The former always patterns with thematic vowel *-a-* stems, and the latter with thematic *-e-* stem verbs. Verb stems featuring *-e* thematic vowel are generally associated with verbs that are intransitive and/or involitive/experiential in meaning (e.g., *vet̥te-* ‘fall’, *deke-* ‘see’). However, a few *e*-thematic vowel stems are decidedly transitive and volitional (e.g., *kuḷe-nī* ‘playing’). And, some verbs that are semantically involitive fall together with the *a*-stems (e.g., *kassa-nī* ‘sliding (intransitive)’). While the association of the involitive verbs with *e*-thematic vowel stems is a strong one, it is by no means a direct correlation. The term *IN-verb* is reserved for those involitive verbs featuring the *-e* thematic vowel. For a survey of how these valence categories interact with the syntax and details about the causative and the involitive morphemes, see Chapter 6.

4.4.2 Verbal Inflections

In terms of how verbs pattern together morphologically, the division between polysyllabic and monosyllabic verbs stems is an important one in that the former are far more regular (Wijesundera et al. 1988: 54-57). The present verb stem is the form of the stem found with present progressive inflection: *kura-nī* ‘is doing’, *ka-nī* ‘is eating’. In the polysyllabic group of verbs further distinctions can be made between verbs whose thematic vowel is *-a-*, those with *-e-*, and those that feature the geminate *-nn-* in the stem (e.g., *ganna-nī* ‘is getting’).

Table 4.3 gives the Dhivehi verb paradigm with the relevant categories. The present stem, past stem, and present participle provide the basis of the various finite and medial verbs. Verbs fall into one of four major categories as determined by the shape of the present stem. Table 4.3 gives verbs that are fairly illustrative of each category, although there are some irregularities especially among monosyllabic stem verbs, and verbs of the *-nn-* stem type. Polysyllabic present stems featuring *-a-* thematic vowel are quite regular. These verbs are generally transitive, and morphologically derived causatives fall together with them. The IN-verbs are generally involitive and/or intransitive, feature thematic vowel *-e-*, and if detransitivized, require dative subjects: *aharen veṭṭunī* ‘I fell’, *ahannaṣ eⁿgē* ‘I.DAT understand’.

Among the finite verb forms, many aspects/tenses show a person distinction between third person, the unmarked form, and non-third person (I, you, we, you.PLU) which is abbreviated N3. The non-third person

marker (N3) is *-n* (*-m/-mu* underlyingly and in some dialects, and sometimes used in literary Dhivehi as well). Briefly, *Habitual* can also be called “simple present”. *Progressive (Pro.)* indicates a progressive or continuous aspect. *Irrealis* indicates a counterfactual state or activity as in “x would have done y” (see Section 5.2.2.4). The more common finite categories are described in Section 4.4.3. *Reason* medial verbs depict causal statements, *Temporal* the semantic relation of “when”, *Inchoative* “since”, *Simultaneous* “while”, and *Concessive* “although”. These are discussed in Section 5.2.2. The relative participles (*Rel.*) are those which occur adjectivally before a head noun (see Section 5.1.4).

Table 4.3 Dhivehi Verb Paradigm (arranged by stem)

	<u>Mono.</u>	<u>Poly. -a-</u>	<u>-nn- Stems</u>	<u>IN-verbs</u>
Present Stem	ka- 'eat'	jaha- 'strike'	ganna- 'get'	e ⁿ ge- 'know'
Finite:				
Pres. Pro.	kanī	jahanī	gannanī	e ⁿ genī
Future	kāne	jahāne	gannāne	e ⁿ gēne
Future.N3	kānan	jahānan	gannānan	---
Fut. Pro..	kānī	jahānī	gannānī	e ⁿ gēnī
Habit.N3	kan	jahan	gannan	---
Habitual	kai	jahā	ganē	e ⁿ gē
Imperative	kai	jahā	ganē	---
Hortative	kamā	jahamā	gannamā	---

Medial:

Pres. Rel.	kā	jahā	ganna	e ⁿ gē
Infinitive	kān	jahan	gannan	e ⁿ gen
Reason	kātī	jahātī	gannātī	e ⁿ gētī
Simult.	kamun	jahamun	gannamun	e ⁿ gemun
Simult.	kanikoš	jahanikoš	gannanikoš	e ⁿ genikoš

Past Stem	kei-	jehi-	gat-	e ⁿ gunu-
-----------	------	-------	------	----------------------

Finite:

Past	kei	jehi	gat	e ⁿ gunu
Past.N3	kein	jehin	gatin	---
Past Pro.	keī	jehī	gatī	e ⁿ gunī
Irrealis	keīs	jehīs	gatīs	e ⁿ gunīs
Irrealis.N3	keīmus	jehīmus	gatīmus	---

Medial:

Past Rel.	kei	jehi	gat	e ⁿ gunu
Temporal	keīma	jehīma	gatīma	e ⁿ gunīma
Inchoat.	keīssure	jehīssure	gatīssure	e ⁿ gunīssure
Concess.	keyas	jehiyas	gatiyas	e ⁿ gunas

Pres. Participle	kai	jahai	gane	e ⁿ gi
------------------	-----	-------	------	-------------------

Finite:

Perfect	kaifi	jahaiifi	ganefi	e ⁿ gijje
Perfect.N3	kaifin	jahaiifin	ganefin	---

Optative	kaifāne	jahaifāne	ganefāne	e ⁿ gidāne
Opt.N3	kaifānan	jahaifānan	ganefānan	---
Medial:				
Cond.	kaifiyyā	jahaifiyyā	ganefiyyā	e ⁿ gijjeyyā
Suc. -gen	kaigen	jahaigen	ganegen	e ⁿ gigen
Suc. -fā	kaifā	jahāfā ¹⁵	ganefā	e ⁿ gifā

There are a number of irregular verbs that show a mixed pattern of inflection. Table 4.4 shows some of the commonly used ones. In addition, there is a small set of polysyllabic stem verbs featuring thematic vowel *-e-* that pattern similarly to IN-verbs except that they inflect for person, and they do not require dative subjects. *kuḷenī* ‘playing’ is representative:

Table 4.4 Dhivehi Irregular Verbs

	<u>Monosyllabic Irregular</u>	<u>-nn- Irreg.</u>	<u>Poly. -e-</u>	
Present Stem	da- ‘go’	de- ‘give’	anna- ‘come’	kuḷe- ‘play’
Finite:				
Pres. Pro.	danī	denī	annanī	kuḷenī
Future	dāne	dēne	annāne	kuḷēnī
Future.N3	dānan	dēnan	annānan	kuḷēne

¹⁵ Present participles featuring *-ai* undergo a type of vowel harmony when followed by *-fā* rendering such forms as *jahāfā* ‘having hit’. This vowel harmony is further facilitated by the free variation of *ai* and *ā* in many environments (i.e. *jahaifā* is also possible).

Fut. Pro..	dānī	dēnī	annānī	kuļēnan
Habit.N3	dan	dēn	annan	kuļen
Habitual	dē	dē	ādē	kuļē
Imperative	dē	dī	ādē	kuļē
Hortative	damā	---	annamā	kuļemā

Medial:

Pres. Rel.	dā	dē	anna	kuļē
Infinitive	dān	dēn	annan	kuļen
Reason	dātī	dētī	annātī	kuļētī
Simult.	damun	demun	annamun	kuļemun
Simult.	danikoš	denikoš	annanikoš	kuļenikoš

Past Stem	diya-	din-	ai-	kuļunu-
-----------	-------	------	-----	---------

Finite:

Past	diya	din	ai	kuļunu
Past.N3	diyain	dinin	ain	kuļunin
Past Pro.	diyaī	dinī	aī	kuļunī
Irrealis	diyaīs	dinīs	aīs	kuļunīs
Irrealis.N3	diyaīmus	dinīmus	aimus	kuļunīmus

Medial:

Past Rel.	diya	din	ai	kuļunu
Temporal	diyaīma	dinīma	aīma	kuļunīma
Inchoat.	diyaīssure	dinīssure	aīssure	kuļunīssure
Concess.	diyas	dinas	aiyas	kuļunas

Pres. Participle.	gos	dī	ais	kuḷe
Finite:				
Perfect	hi ⁿ gajje	dīfi	atuvejje	kuḷefi
	gosfi/gossi		aisfi/aissi	
Perfect.N3	hi ⁿ gajjain	dīfin	atuvejjain	kuḷefin
	gosfin/gossin		aisfin/aissin	
Optative	hi ⁿ gadāne	dīfāne	aisfāne	kuḷefāne
	gosfāne			
Opt.N3	hi ⁿ gadānan	dīfānan	aisfānan	kuḷefānan
	gosfānan			
Medial:				
Cond.	hi ⁿ gajjiyyā	dīfiyyā	atuvejjiyyā	kuḷefiyyā
Suc.-gen	gosgen	dīgen	aisgen	kuḷegen
Suc.-fā	gosfā	dīfā	aisfā	kuḷefai

Gerund forms of the above verbs are given below . Note that these forms generally show umlaut of /a/ to /e/ of *a*- thematic vowel stems:

(44) Dhivehi Gerunds

keun	‘eating’	jehun	‘striking’
gatun	‘getting’	e ⁿ gun	‘knowing’
diyun	‘going’	dinun	‘giving’
aun	‘coming’	kuḷun	‘playing’

4.4.3 Tense and Aspect in Dhivehi

In this section, I give a brief overview of the grammatical categories found in the inflected forms of the finite Dhivehi verbs. Dhivehi signals three aspects, habitual, progressive, and perfect; and three tenses, past, present and future. Two persons are differentiated among non-progressive verbs, third person (he/she/it/they) and non-third person (I/you/we/you all marked by *-n*). Third person is unmarked. Verbs that inflect for progressive do not differentiate person, and no verbs differentiate number. Below are descriptions of each of the Dhivehi tense and aspects.

Habitual Aspect: The habitual aspect is used to indicate that an activity is a common practice or habit. Sometimes this category is referred to as “simple present.” It is often used to denote a general truth as opposed to a specific event in time and space. The habitual aspect inflects for person (N3 is non-third person):

(45) aharen kommeduvahaku rēḍiyō aḍuahan.
 I every day radio listen.HAB.N3
 ‘I listen to the radio every day.’

(46) mamma kommeduvahaku rēḍiyō aḍuahā.
 mother every day radio listen.HAB
 ‘Mother listens to the radio every day.’

Negative replies to queries are often rendered in the habitual aspect form even when the question is given in the present, past, or perfect tense/aspect. (See Section 5.2.3.3.1.)

Present Progressive: Progressive designates a dynamic event continuing over a given time frame (Chung 1985: 215). For the present progressive, the activity or state is in the process of occurring or being respectively. Present progressive does not inflect for person: *aharen/ēnā danī* ‘I/(s)he is going.’ (Wijesundera et al. 1988: 59).

Perfect: This aspect refers to a completed activity or state in the past that has immediate relevancy to the communication situation in the speech event. This form is used to describe the most recent, relevant information about a given referent for the situation at hand. Maldivian scholars refer to this tense/aspect as “recent past” (Dhivehi Bahuge Gavaaidhu, *Grammar of the Dhivehi Language*). The perfect inflects for person:

(47) *ēnā demme kaifi*
 (s)he just eat.PFT
 ‘(S)he just ate.’

(48) *aharen demme kaifi-n*
 I just eat.PFT-N3
 ‘I just ate.’

Past Tense: This tense inflects for person:

(49) ēnā māle diya
 (s)he Malé went
 ‘(S)he went to Male.’

(50) aharen māle diyain
 I Malé go.PST.N3’
 I went to Male.’

Past Progressive: The past progressive expresses activities or states occurring in the past, but which have a continuative or progressive aspect. This category has practically the same form as the past, but the final vowel is long. The past progressive does not inflect for person: *aharen/ ēnā māle diyai* ‘I/(s)he was going to Māle.’

Future: The future tense inflects for person:

(51) ēnā māle dāne
 (s)he Malé go.FUT
 ‘(S)he will go to Malé.’

(52) aharemen māle dānan
 we Malé go.FUT.N3
 ‘We will go to Malé.’

Future Progressive: The future progressive refers to activities or states in the future with an ongoing aspect. Often there is a sense of immediacy conveyed. The future progressive does not inflect for person: *aharemen mādāma māle dānī* ‘We are going to Māle tomorrow.’

Progressive Verbs and Focus Constructions: Present, past, and future progressive verbs are identical to focus verbs in their respective tenses. These focus verbs are used in constructions that typically depict responses to information questions, and the postposed constituent indicates new and/or asserted information. For example, *aharen diyaī māle* ‘I went to Malé’ or ‘It was to Malé that I went’ (as opposed to some place else). In such constructions, the verb is progressive in form but not necessarily in meaning. For more information on the focus construction, see Section 5.2.3.1.

4.4.4 Compound Verbs

Dhivehi features two kinds of compound verbs. One is made up of a participial form of a verb followed by finite inflections of certain verbs, most commonly *lanī* ‘putting’ (which generally indicates a volitional act): *jahā-li* ‘hit.put.PST’, *marā-li* ‘kill.put.PST’. The verb *gannanī* ‘taking/getting’ can also be used in compound constructions to indicate doing something unreservedly or with abandon: *jahāgatī* ‘hit.take.PST’. (Note that the cognate *gannavā* ‘taking’ in Sinhala is used in compound constructions in that language to indicate a reflexive action. This use is not found in Dhivehi.) Another type of compound verb consists of either a noun or adjective followed by an inflected form of a verb of which *kuranī* is typical: *boḍu kuranī* ‘big doing/raising (children)’, *bēs kuranī* ‘medicine doing/treating’. In Dhivehi foreign speech, loan words combine

with *kuranī* prolifically: *enkurāj kuranī* ‘encouraging’, *suvimu kuranī* ‘swimming’.

4.4.5 Agreement Marking

Dhivehi, unlike Sinhala, does not have distinct number agreement for animate (human) and inanimate (non-human): *de mīhun* ‘two people’, *de mēzu* ‘two tables’. There is some person agreement in the verbs. Dhivehi verbs of the non-involitive sort do have person agreement with a distinction between third (unmarked) and non-third for various tenses/aspects: *kaifi* ‘have eaten’, *kaifi-n* ‘I/we/you/you.PLU have eaten’. Historically, *-n* was the first person singular marker and *-mu* denoted first and second person plural, and second person singular. These have since neutralized possibly because of word-final nasals becoming [ŋ]. The source of the second person ending has not yet been determined. Compare Sinhala endings *-mi/-m* ‘1st p. sing.’, *-mu* ‘1st p. plu.’; *-hi* ‘2nd p. sing.’, *-hu* ‘2nd p. plu.’.

The N3/3rd person subject-verb agreement is the only grammatical agreement that exists in Dhivehi. There is, however, notional/referential agreement that plays a critical role in verb selection. Dhivehi makes a distinction between subjects that can act with volition and those that cannot. Generally speaking, humans and other animate nouns take the volitionally unmarked verbs (unless their volition is suspended), and other referents take involitive verbs. When a door is closing, for example, the involitive *leppenī* ‘is closing’ is used. Likewise, wind does not blow in the

active sense (i.e. *jahanī* ‘is blowing/striking’), but rather non-volitionally as in *vai jehenī* ‘The wind is blowing.IN’¹⁶

The referential agreement for positional-existential verbs shows further complications. The primary meaning of these verbs denotes subjects being in a certain position as follows: *hurun* ‘standing’, *inun* ‘sitting’, *otun* ‘reclining’. These verbs have an existential meaning as well whose use is outlined as follows:

hurun ‘standing’: In its literal meaning, *hurun* refers to anyone actually standing as in (53). As an existential it is used for men (54), any inanimate object with vertical orientation (55), plurality of objects regardless of orientation (56), abstract qualities (57), and objects perceived as containers with the open side up (58):

(53) e anhen kujjā hurī fāru kairī
 that female child be(vert.).PST.FOC wall near
 ‘That girl is standing near the wall.’¹⁷

(54) abduallah hunnanī māle-gā
 Abduallah be(vert.).PRE.FOC Malé.LOC
 ‘Abduallah is in Malé.’

¹⁶ There are exceptions to this general tendency, however: *vissara naganī* ‘the storm is coming (lit. taking)’ but not **negenī* ‘taking.IN’.

¹⁷ Morphologically many of the verbs in (53) – (71) are past tense. However, for positional-existential verbs, the past tense continues to be interpreted as the current state once that state has been entered into. The English translation reflects this by using the present tense.

- (55) fānūzu hurī mēzu matī-gā
lantern be(vert.).PST.FOC table on top of
'The lantern is on the table.'
- (56) fottak mēzu matī-gā eba huri
books table on top of now be(vert.).PST
'The books are on the table.'
- (57) e de mīhun-ge terē-gā
that two people-GEN inside-LOC

rahumaytterikan hurī
friendship be(vert.).PST.PRO

'There is friendship among those two people.'
- (58) jōḍu mēzu matī-gā eba huri
cut table top-LOC now be(vert.).PST
'The cup is on the table.'

inun 'sitting': Used to denote anyone actually sitting (59). As an existential, it refers to women (60), animate bipeds and multipeds (61) and (62), and fruit still attached to the tree (63):

- (59) hassan inī goⁿḍī-gā
Hassan be(seated).PST.FOC chair-LOC
'Hassan is sitting in the chair.'

- (60) madīha inī duvas furi baⁿd-aš at
 Madīhā be(seated).PST.FOC day full stomach-DAT hand
 nu-forā varu ve-fā
 NEG-reaching.RPRT amount be-SUC

‘Madheehaa is in the state of coming to term (in her pregnancy) (lit. ‘the point of complete days where her hands cannot reach around her stomach).’

- (61) kālu kaṣikeyo gahu-gā eba in
 crow screwpine tree-LOC now be(seated).PST
 ‘The crow is in the screwpine tree.’

- (62) faidigumakunu inī fuḷiy-eg-gā
 spider be(seated).PST.FOC bottle-INDF-LOC
 ‘The spider is in a bottle.’

- (63) falō gahu-gā inī
 papaya tree-LOC be(seated).PST.PRO
 ‘The papaya is in the tree.’

otun ‘lying down’: Used to denote anything or anyone actually lying down (64), and existential for singular inanimates with a horizontal orientation (i.e., mattress, book) (65), a legless animate (66) or quadruped (67), natural phenomenon (68), an object perceived as a container whose open side is down (69), and a fruit detached from the tree (70):

- (64) donkamana otī eⁿdu matī-gā
 Don Kamana be(horz.).PST.FOC bed top-LOC
 ‘Don Kamana lay on top of the bed.’
- (65) godaḍi otī eⁿdu-gā
 mattress be(horz.).PST.FOC bed-LOC
 ‘The mattress is on the bed.’
- (66) harufa vina gaⁿḍu matī-gā otī
 snake grass mass top-LOC be(horz.).PST.PRO
 ‘The snake is on the grass.’
- (67) buḷā otī gē-gā
 cat be(horz.).PST.FOC house-LOC
 ‘The cat is in the house.’
- (68) mi otī vai e^mburē mūsun
 this be(horz.).PST.FOC wind turn.RPRT season
 ‘This is the season of changing winds.’
- (69) bō taṣi harugaⁿḍu matī-gā baⁿḍun
 drinking vessel shelf top-LOC upside down
 otī
 be(horz.).PST.PRO
 ‘The tumbler is upside down on top of the shelf.’

- (70) mi otī faḷol-ek
 this be(horz.).PST.FOC papaya-INDF
 ‘This is a papaya.’

In addition to the verbs above, *tibun* ‘being’ is used in reference to plural animates:

- (71) ēru husain-āi donmaniku tibī
 then husain-CNPM donmaniku be.PST.FOC
 faḷu raṣ-eg-gā
 uninhabited island-INDF-LOC

‘At that time, Husain and Don Maniku were on an uninhabited island.’

The above presentation is based on what Dhivehi grammarians have described (Saudiq 1993: 34-42), and on personal observation. There is, however, considerable variation in dialects and idiolects, and many of the finer distinctions of the breakdown are a matter of national debate. Foreigner speech, *Bidhesi Dhivehi*, is probably impacting these categories significantly. Some Maldivians, for example, use the verb *tibenī* ‘being (human, plural)’ for inanimate objects when speaking with foreigners as a result of interaction with Sinhala speakers that confuse *tibenī* with the Sinhala cognate *tibenawa* ‘being (inanimate)’.

4.5 Other Classes

4.5.1 Adjectives

Adjectives come before the nouns they modify, but there is no agreement. Below are examples of common descriptive adjectives:

- (72) *boḍu māvaharu* ‘big ambergris’
kuda faisā koḷu ‘little bit of money’
rīti anhen kujjā ‘pretty girl’

Dhivehi does not have comparative and superlative adjectives as such. Modifications of the adjective are used instead: *varaṣ rīti* ‘very pretty’, *mā rīti* ‘prettier’, *emme rīti* ‘prettiest’.

Numeral adjectives are the stem form of the number noun: *fas mas* ‘five fish’. Monomoraic numbers (with CV syllable structure) are cliticized to the following noun: *ek mas* [emmas] ‘one fish’. The stem form of the numeral combines with *-vana* to form ordinals: *de-vana duvas* ‘second day’.

Adjectives can be derived from nouns in various ways depending on the noun. The derivational suffix *-ī* is used to denote something ‘pertaining to x’: *ahar-ī* ‘annual’ (from *aharu* ‘year’), *jins-ī* ‘sexual’ (from *jinsu* ‘sex’), *vagut-ī* ‘temporary’ (from *vagutu* ‘time’). Two other suffixes, *-veri* and *-teri*, are used to indicate “having the quality of x”: *fāfa-veri* ‘sinful’ (from *fāfu* ‘sin’), *bēnun-teri* ‘useful’ (from *bēnun* ‘want/need’). Generally *-teri* is used to derive words ending in

consonants, and *-veri* with words ending in vowels (Saudiq 1993: 28). Some noun forms and adjectives are the same without any derivational suffixes: *bali* ‘weak’ and ‘sickness’, *valu* ‘wild’ and ‘jungle’.

Some relative clauses have become lexicalized as adjectives. Lexicalized predicate adjective relative clauses are quite common: *nasību dera* ‘unlucky’ (from ‘luck is bad’), *biru kuḍa* ‘brave’ (from ‘fear is small’), *agu heyo* ‘cheap/inexpensive’ (from ‘price is cheap’). Some verbal relative clauses have also been lexicalized as adjectives: *agu huri* ‘valuable’ (from ‘there is value’, *nan huri* ‘famous’ (from ‘there is the name’).

4.5.2 Postpositions

Postpositions are generally not a distinct class in Dhivehi. They are, rather, locative nouns inflected with various case endings: *matī-gā* ‘on top of’ or ‘top-LOC’, *medu-gā* ‘in the middle of’ or ‘middle-LOC’, *tere-in* ‘among’ or ‘interior-INS’. These inflected locative nouns generally follow nouns inflected with the genitive case: *aharen-ge kairī-gā* ‘near me’ or ‘I-GEN near-LOC’. Structurally, these are no different than other kinds of noun phrases. (Compare *aharen-ge koṭarī-gā* ‘inside my room’.) There are, however, some postpositionals that are not so morphologically transparent: *menuvī* ‘apart from’, *fiyavā* ‘except’, *vure(n)* ‘than’, *ṭakai* ‘for (BENE)’, *kuren* ‘from’.

4.5.3 Adverbs

Adverbs as a class in Dhivehi are quite limited. Adverbs as modifications of the clause include temporals such as: *mihāru* ‘now’, *den* ‘then’, *iyye* ‘yesterday’, *miadu* ‘today’, and *mādāma* ‘tomorrow’; and manner adverbs like: *adi* ‘again’, *ekani* ‘alone’, *anekkaves* ‘once again’, *abadu* ‘always’, *ves* ‘also’, *namaves* ‘however’, *ekamaku* ‘but’, *ehen* ‘like that’, *mihen* ‘like this’. Adverbs as modifications of adjectives include: *varaṣ* ‘very’, *mā* ‘more’, *emme* ‘most’, *nuhanu* ‘extremely’.

Adverbial functions are often carried out by noun phrases and case marked substantives. Temporality, for example, can be depicted by a temporal noun phrase usually occurring clause initially. In (73) *ēru* ‘at that time’ consists of literally *e* ‘that’ and *iru* ‘time’:

- (73) *ēru* *aharen mālegai* *ulunu*
 that time I Malé-LOC live.PST
 ‘At that time, I lived in Malé.’

Similarly *mihāru* ‘now’ is made up of *mi* ‘this’, *hā* ‘INTENS’, and *iru* ‘time’. Other examples include: *edduvahaku* ‘one day’ (from *ek* ‘one’ and *duvas* ‘day’ with *-aku* ‘NSPC’), and *evagutu(gai)* ‘at that time’ (from *e* ‘that’, *vagutu* ‘time’ with *-gai* ‘LOC’). Some of these forms have been lexicalized as adverbs, but the temporal nominal is still used productively in subordinate clauses depicting time. The relative participial form of the verb is used with a noun phrase headed by a temporal substantive: *hasan*

miskitaš diya iru ‘when Hasan went to the mosque.’ (See Section 5.2.2.5.1.)

Other types of noun phrases and adjectives are used to modify the clause in various ways. The adverbial function of manner is often depicted by descriptive substantives and/or adjectives inflected with either the dative or the instrumental case: *avahaš* ‘quickly’ (from *avas* ‘quick’ with *-aš* ‘DAT’), *bāraš* ‘quickly’ (from *bāru* ‘speed’ with *-aš* ‘DAT’), *vakin* ‘separately’ (from *vaki* ‘separate’ and *-n* ‘INS’). Which ending the descriptive will take is idiosyncratically determined. Adjectives can also be suffixed with *-koš* as in *gōs-koš* ‘bad-ly’. The *-koš* is a grammaticalization of the present participle of *kuranī* ‘doing’.

4.5.4 Particles and Clitics

Dhivehi features a number of clitics that indicate emphasis, quoted material, etc. These are briefly surveyed below.

4.5.4.1 Emphasis Markers

The emphasis marker *me* generally functions to emphasize the clause as a whole (74), or adverbial clauses (75). Other constituents can also be emphasized with *-me* as indicated in lexicalized forms such as: *demme* ‘now.EMPH’ or ‘just now’, *emme* ‘one.EMPH’ or ‘the most x’.

- (74) vakaru koṣālan ves e hā fasēha-me
 log cut.put.INF also that INTNS easy-EMPH
 ‘To cut logs is just that easy.’

The *me* can also attach to adverbial clauses:

- (75) *dōññaṣ* *aruvan* *hiyālu* *kof-fā-me* *got*
 boat.DAT load.INF idea doing-SUC-EMPH way

ne-eⁿgētī *at-nu-lan* *tibī*
 NEG-know-REAS hand-NEG-put.INF be.PST.PRO

‘They considered loading (it) on the boat, but because they didn’t know how, they didn’t touch it.’

Constituent emphasis is generally marked by *-ē*: *eccek-ē nu-bune* ‘not saying a thing’, *hāda baivarek-ē* ‘What a lot!’. Demonstratives feature the emphasis marker *-ok*: *e-ok danī e bōtu* ‘there goes that boat’.

4.5.4.2 Complement Markers

The marker for quoted speech is also *-ē*: *aharen batek nu-kānam-ē* ‘(I said), “I will not eat rice!”’ Reported speech is marked by *-ō*: *batek nukānam-ō* ‘(He/she reportedly said), “I will not eat rice.”’

The complementizer used with *hīvanī* ‘feeling/thinking (invol.)’ is *hen*, an adverb indicating ‘like, in that way’:

- (76) *don* *ahumadu-aṣ* *hīvī* *kanfat* *doṣ-un* *rihi*
 Don Ahumadu.DAT feel.PST.FOC ear near-INS silver

raⁿgabīlu-tak-ek *jehi* *gat* *hen*
 bell-PLU-INDF strike get.PST like

‘Don Ahumadu felt as if silver bells were ringing near his ears.’

(See also Section 5.2.2.6 for further examples and other types of complementizers.)

4.5.4.3 Interrogative Markers

The interrogative mood is often signaled by the question particle *ta* (*tō* in polite speech). Yes-no questions require it (unless signaled otherwise by intonation): *miskit-aṣṣ danī ta?* ‘Are you going to the mosque?’. For constituent questions, the *ta/tō* is optional. (See Section 5.2.3.2.2 for examples.) The question marker *hē* is also used for constituent questions, especially if the question is repeated: *ti firimīhā kobā hē?* ‘Where is your husband?’. Tag questions are marked by *dō*: *hāda baivarek-ē dō?* ‘That’s quite a lot, isn’t it? Questions expressing some measure of doubt and uncertainty are marked with *bā* (spoken) and *bāva* (written):

(77) *insānaku roṭṭak-aṣṣ nuvata pānak-aṣṣ*
 human.NSPC chappati.NSPC-DAT or bread.NSPC-DAT
vannānī kihinaku-n bāva eve.
 enter.FUT.FOC how.NSPC-INS QP END

‘How would a human enter into some *chappati* or bread?’

4.5.4.4 Copula

Dhivehi features the equative marker *-akī/-ī* as a copula for predicate nominal constructions. The *-akī* and *-ī* are in free variation in most environments, but only the latter is used with demonstrative pronouns: *e-ī yōtu dōññek* ‘that is a yacht *dōni* (a special type of boat).’ (See Section 5.2.1:2.1.)

4.5.4.5 Politeness Marker

The particle *-fulu* is attached to items associated with people of high status, especially body parts: *lō-fulu* ‘eye-HON’.

4.5.4.6 Sentence Marker

The *-eve* appears in written texts as an overt marker for a sentence break:

- (78) *mīhun eⁿgēnī ek oḍi-n daturu kollīma-eve.*
 people understand.FUT.FOC one boat-INS journey do-TEMP-END
 ‘(You) understand people when you travel by the same boat.’

4.5.5 Interjections

Interjections indicating affirmative responses include *hūū* and *aa* ‘yes!’. Various words are used to summon attention: *hāyyō, hō?, lē? yō*. In response to being called the interjection *ōy?* is common. Expressions of fear include *ammakoḷōy?* and *amayyāy?*, and grief is expressed by the word *saharō*. Interjections indicating pain include *addoaddō* and *addoyōy?*. Surprise is indicated by words such as *aaḷe* (negative) and

addē. The interjection *māykkalāko* ‘Oh God!’ is common. *āccī* ‘ugh!’ is used in response to something offensive like fecal matter, but *āccā* ‘Great!’ indicates approval. Various interjections are used as imperatives especially in child-rearing: *hōhō* ‘Don’t touch!’, *bayēbayē* ‘Come!’.

CHAPTER FIVE:
SYNTAX

5.1 Noun Phrases

The Dhivehi noun phrases consist of a head noun preceded by any of the following: relative clauses, genitives, demonstratives, adjectives, and numerals. Numerals must immediately precede the noun:

- (79) mi raⁿgaļu tin fot
this good three book
'these three good books'

Compound nouns are common:

- (80) maru fayyek
maru fali-ek (morpheme by morpheme)
death oar-INDF
'a death oar (idiom for a hard struggle)'

5.1.1 Locative Noun Phrase

Locative noun phrases consist of head noun indicating the location preceded by another nominal often with the genitive case indicating the located. (The overt genitive case marker is optional.) These noun phrases function as postpositionals, but the location noun can take case:

- (81) **ba^mbukeyo gas-taku-ge tere-in**
 breadfruit tree-PLU-GEN interior-INS
 ‘through the breadfruit trees’
- (82) **gislumu-ge terē-gai**
 sobbing.GER-GEN interior-LOC
 ‘sobbing within’
- (83) **duniye maccaš**
 duniye mati-aš (morpheme by morpheme)
 world top-DAT
 ‘on top of the world’
- (84) **mī-ge kuri-n**
 this-GEN past-INS
 ‘before this’

Another type of noun phrase consists of a noun with the dative case followed by a postposition particle. Phrases with the locative substantive *fahu* ‘after/last’ (from *fas* ‘late’) are of this type, as are comparatives and benefactives:

- (85) **tin duvahu-ge daturak-aš fahu**
 three day-GEN journey.NSPC-DAT after
 ‘after a three day journey’

- (86) nuhā fetī nāhid-aṣṣ vure bār-aṣṣ
 Nuhā swim.PST.FOC Nāhid-DAT CMPR fast-DAT
 ‘Nuha swam faster than Nahida.’

- (87) kuḍakudinn-aṣṣ ʔakai
 children-DAT BENE
 ‘for children’

5.1.2 Coordinate Noun Phrase

Coordination in noun phrases is marked by *-ā* (often rendered orthographically as *-āi*).¹⁸ The coordinate marker generally attaches to all the head nouns in a series in spoken Dhivehi: *kir-ā, hakur-ā, bat-ā* ‘coconut milk, sugar, and rice’. The last item in the series often goes without the coordinate marker in written Dhivehi.

Coordinate noun phrases are used extensively to indicate such notions as location, direction, accompaniment, and topic. Nouns are coordinated with a set of locative substantives that function like postpositions. Like substantives, however, these words inflect for case:

- (88) fālam-ā gāt
 jetty-CNPM close
 ‘near the jetty’

¹⁸ Dh. *-ā* is probably related to Si. *hā*, and their source is OIA *saha* ‘and’. The Dh. orthographic rendering of <*āi*> is puzzling, however.

- (89) aharenn-ā dimāy-aš
 I-CNPM direction-DAT
 ‘towards me’
- (90) avaš-ā hama
 neighborhood-CNPM equivalent
 ‘to the edge of the neighborhood’
- (91) bah-ā medu
 language-CNPM middle
 ‘about the language’
- (92) de-mīhunn-ā eku
 two-people-CNPM together
 ‘with the two people’

The *-ā* conjunctive marker is sometimes adjoined to a noun without a following locative substantive when the location is clear from context (e.g., *tan-ā* ‘at the place’). The coordinate noun phrase with the locative substantive *eku* ‘together’ is often used with derived clauses to indicate the adverbial function of accompanying circumstances. (See Section 5.2.2.5.2 for examples.)

5.1.3 Disjunctive Noun Phrases

Disjunctive noun phrases consist of two or more noun phrases conjoined with either *nuvata* or *nūnī* ‘or’. While there is some overlap in their usage, the disjunctive particle *nuvata* ‘or’ indicates that either

conjunct is possible, and may be even both, whereas *nūnī* ‘or’ indicates either *x* or *y*:

- (93) *kāṣhidu-akī māle atoḷu-ge kāṣi koṣāru*
kāshidu-EQ Malé atoll-GEN coconut storehouse
- nuvata divehi rukuge bagīccā*
 or *Dhivehi coconut tree.GEN garden.*

‘Kāshidu is Malé atoll’s coconut storehouse or (its) garden of Maldivian coconut trees.’

- (94) *ahann-akī jinni-ek-ē nūnī furēta-ek-ē nūnī*
I-EQ jinni-INDF-EMPH or monster-INDF-EMPH or
- den kalē hī kurā*
 then you thought do.RPRT
- komme bāvat-eg-ge ves eccekē*
 any type-INDF-GEN also thing.INDF-EMPH

‘I am a jinni, or a devil, or anything that you think I am.’

5.1.4 Relative Clauses

Dhivehi, like Sinhala, has no relative pronouns (perhaps as a result of Dravidian influence (Geiger 1938: 130)). Relative clauses are characterized by the relative participial form of the verb preceding the head

noun of the noun phrase in which they occur. They can also precede other prenominal elements such as the genitive and the adjective:

- (95) [nidā-fā ot] dommaniku-ge doši darifuḷu
 sleep-SUC be(horz.).PST.RPRT Dommaniku-GEN eldest child
 ‘Don Maniku’s eldest child who is asleep’

More than one relative clause can occur in the noun phrase:

- (96) [hasfas net] [satēka rufiyā et-tā ovvā
 useful not 100 rufiyā one-place be(horz.).PRT
 nu-dekē] mīh-ak-aṣ
 NEG-see.RPRT person-NSPC-DAT

‘to a useless person who has not seen 100 rufiyā in one place.’

Internal relative clauses in which the noun being modified occurs within the relative clause are not found in Dhivehi, nor are corelatives.

The relative participial forms are the same as the finite verb for the past and future tenses. The present relative participial form is distinct as indicated in Table 4.3. Relative participles do not inflect for progressive aspect, but all other tense/aspects occur.

The structure of the relative clause adheres to the basic SOV pattern (with gapped elements). In terms of the accessibility hierarchy (Keenan 1985: 141-170), objects, subjects, indirect objects, and “objects of the postposition” can all be relativized:

- (97) [hassan alīy-aṣ din] fot
 Hassan Ali-DAT give.PST.RPRT book
 ‘the book that Hassan gave Ali’
- (98) [alīy-aṣ fot din] hassan
 Ali-DAT book give.PST.RPRT Hassan
 ‘the Hassan who gave the book to Ali’
- (99) [hassan fot din] alī
 Hassan book give.PST.RPRT Ali
 ‘the Ali to whom Hassan gave the book’
- (100) [hassan alīy-aṣ fot din] kāru
 Hassan Ali-DAT book give.PST.RPRT car
 ‘the car in which Hasan gave Ali the book’

(For a discussion on how relative clauses are used for adverbial functions, see Section 5.2.2.5.1.)

5.2 *Clause Structure*

5.2.1 Simple Clauses

Dhivehi clauses may be either verbal or non-verbal.

5.2.1.1 Verbal Clauses

5.2.1.1.1 General Characteristics

Dhivehi clauses are typologically Subject-Object-Verb (SOV), though permutations of this order are common in pragmatically marked sentences. Subjects are either unmarked or marked with the dative in volitionally neutral and non-volitional sentences respectively. Examples of intransitive, transitive, and ditransitive sentences are given below:

Intransitive:

(101) e mīhā duvanī
 that person run.PREPRO
 ‘That man is running.’

(102) fot e heri
 book that be(vert).PST
 ‘The book is there.’

Transitive:

- (103) alī e mīhā duṣ
 Ali that person see.PST
 ‘Ali saw that person.’

- (104) ma fotigaⁿḍu kefin
 I cloth cut.PST.N3
 ‘I cut the cloth.’

Ditransitive:

- (105) hassan alīy-aṣ fotek din
 Hassan Ali-DAT book.INDF give.PST
 ‘Hassan gave a book to Ali.’

It should be noted here that Dhivehi, like Sinhala, features *pro-drop* in that subjects and objects need not be overt, and that null pronouns are the norm when the referents can be identified by context even when person is not marked on the verb. Thus, sentences consisting only of the verb are common.

5.2.1.1.2 Dative Subject Sentences

Dative-subject constructions are a common feature in South Asian languages. The noun phrase that bears the syntactic role of subject takes the dative case. Semantically, the dative-subjects generally indicate that the participant is an Experiencer rather than an Agent. The dative-subject

constructions are used to indicate physical sensations, psychological states, and desires (Masica 1991: 346-349). Unique to Dhivehi and Sinhala among the South Asian languages is the dative subject combining with morphologically derived IN-verbs to indicate non-volitional acts (Wijayawardhana, Wickramasinghe, and Bynon 1991) (Cain 1995).

(106) *e mīhāy-aṣṣ dūni fenunu*
 that person-DAT bird see.IN.PST
 ‘That man saw the bird.’

(107) *mīhāy-aṣṣ duvevenī*
 person-DAT run.IN.PREPRO
 ‘The man is running (involuntarily).’

There is also a small set of verbs that are not of the *e*-stem set, but still require dative subjects:

(108) *ahann-aṣṣ hīvī kalē-akī ēnāge bappā hen*
 I.DAT think.PST.FOC you.EQ (s)he.GEN father that
 ‘I thought that you were his/her father.’

That the dative marked arguments in such constructions are indeed “subjects” is supported by the fact that they pattern syntactically with nominative subjects, control equi-deletion in participial and infinitival clauses (see Sections 5.2.2.2 and 5.2.2.6.2 respectively), and occupy the subject position of the pragmatically neutral clause. They do not, however,

trigger verb agreement as predications in dative subject constructions are always in the unmarked person.

5.2.1.1.3 Specially Marked Objects

Compound predicates made up of noun verb combinations often require specially marked objects. Dative marked objects are common:

- (109) hassan alīy-aṣ malāmāt kuri
 Hassan Ali-DAT insult do.PST
 ‘Hassan insulted Ali.’

For examples of sociative case marked objects, see (26) – (33) above.

Predications of emotion require objects marked with *deke*, a grammaticalization of the participle ‘seeing’:

- (110) aharen ēnā deke lōbi vanī
 I (s)he seeing love become.PREPRO
 ‘I am loving him/her.’

- (111) hassan ali deke nafuratu kure
 Hassan Ali seeing anger do.HAB
 ‘Hassan hates Ali.’

Human referents that are objects of the verb *jahanī* ‘hitting/striking’ must appear with the noun *gai* ‘body’ inflected with the locative case *-gā*:

- (112) hassan alī gai-gā jehi
 Hassan Ali body-LOC hit.PST
 ‘Hassan hit Ali.’

5.2.1.2 Non-verbal Clauses

5.2.1.2.1 Equational Clauses

Non-verbal clauses in Dhivehi are of two types, equational and adjectival. Subjects are unmarked in both. Equational sentences feature the copula *-akī/-ī*. While either *-akī* or *-ī* are interchangeable in most NP NP contexts, *-akī* is the equative marker of choice for nouns and personal pronouns, and *-ī* for demonstratives:

- (113) rašīd-akī aharen-ge gē magu-gai
 Rasheed-EQ I-GEN house street-LOC

 hunna fihāraegge sēṭ-ek
 be(horz.).RPRT store.INDF.GEN clerk-INDF

‘Rasheed is a clerk in a store located on the street that my house is on.’

- (114) e-ī bōṭe?
 that-EQ boat.INDF
 ‘That is a boat.’

This equational sentence with an equative marker attached to the Subject NP as an overt copula is unique among the Indo-Aryan languages, and the source of it has not yet been determined. It has been suggested that the equative marker *-akī* is of pre-Sinhala origin. De Silva claims that *-akī* occurs in a 3rd c. B.C. Prakritic commentary called the *Helatuvā*. The Prakritic form has been cited in Sinhala literature from the ninth century (DeSilva 1970: 156-157). If indeed the *-akī* is of pre-Sinhala origin as DeSilva claims, then it is not at all clear how it could have survived the historical change of OIA /-k-/ to /-y-/ (through /-g-/) in Proto-Dhivehi (see Section 7.3.1.4). De Silva's analysis of the Prakritic material has also been challenged by Vitharana who offers an alternative parsing of the example cited by De Silva. He believes the *ki/kī* in the Sinhala Prakrit to be the interrogative 'what?' (1997: 158).

I suggest that Dh. *-akī* is made up of the unspecified/indefinite oblique marker *-aku* and the copula *-ī*. Support for this analysis is provided by instances where clauses featuring present progressive verbs are negated. Negation in Dhivehi requires the negated element to be inflected as indefinite. When present progressive verbs are negated in a cleft-like construction, *-(a)kī* is suffixed to the negated clause:

- (115) tāhek ves kuḷunī-kī nūn
 taas.INDF even play.PST.PRO-EQ NEG

‘It was not even *taas* (card game) that I was playing.’

The *-a* of *-akī* is elided when following the progressive form. The copula *-ī* that is suffixed to the unspecified/indefinite oblique marker and to demonstratives still needs to be accounted for. A copula of this sort is not found in either the Indo-Aryan or the neighboring Dravidian languages.

5.2.1.2.2 Adjectival Clauses

Adjectival clauses feature the subject followed by adjectival predicate with no overt marking on either.

- (116) *mi fot raⁿgaḷu*
 this book good
 ‘This book is good.’

This differs from Sinhala which requires *-y* if the descriptive adjective ends in a vowel: *mēkə hoⁿda-y* ‘this one is good’. Adjectives which end in a consonant are not marked, and quantifying adjectives are optionally marked: *mēkə alut* ‘this one is new’, *mē bat madi/madi-i* ‘this rice is insufficient’ (Gair 1970: 92-93). Sinhala also features certain types of non-verbal clauses that are not found in Dhivehi. These have predicates consisting of modal adjectives such as *puluan* ‘possible’, and *kæmāti* ‘willing, desiring’: *maṭə sinhələ puluan* ‘I can speak Sinhala’, *mamə mē potəṭə kæmātī* ‘I like this book’.

Dhivehi clauses featuring *bēnun* ‘want/desire’ (borrowed from Ta. *vēnum* (Reynolds 1978: 157)) are of a special type not conveniently

grouped with the others. *bēnun* is technically a noun, but it is syntactically distributed like a verb.

- (117) aharen kōku fuḷi bēnun
 I Coke bottle want
 ‘I want bottled Coke.’

However, *bēnun* focus constructions are not unlike equational sentences:

- (118) aharen bēnum-ī sāmiyā
 I want-EQ Sāmiyā
 ‘I desire Sāmiyā.’

Dhivehi *bēnun* clauses are analogous to *ōnə* clauses in Sinhala, except the latter require a dative subject: *maṭə potak ōnə* ‘I want a book’.

5.2.2 Clause Chaining and Embedding

Dhivehi sentence structure is of the “chaining” type, characterized by only one fully inflected finite verb in combination with partially inflected medial verbs. Thus, there are no sentential coordinated structures in that the finite verb always outranks the medial verb (Longacre 1985: 238). Medial clauses are predicated with either basic participial forms, or participial forms with various endings indicating their adverbial functions. A survey of both is given in Sections 5.2.2.1 and 5.2.2.3 respectively. Two types of “conjunctive participles” are discussed in Section 5.2.2.2. Section 5.2.2.4 gives a summary of conditionals. Adverbial functions are

often rendered through sentential nominalizations, and Section 5.2.2.5 describes these. Clauses as verbal arguments (complements) are presented in Section 5.2.2.6.

5.2.2.1 Participial Clause Chain

Participial clause chains consist of one or more clauses predicated by a participle within a matrix sentence. The participles are inflected only for present tense, and person is not indicated. The temporal relation of the participial clause to the matrix predicate is contextually determined. In,

(119) all the activities are contemporaneous:

- (119) kalē ti tā aⁿga himēn-un lai iⁿdebala
 you that place mouth quiet-INS put.PRT sit.IMPV
 ‘You sit there and keep your mouth quiet!’

In (120) and (121), the participial clauses depict activities prior to the time of matrix predicate:

- (120) dommaniku riyā lā-fā ais maļu-matī iṣṭⁿde
 Dommaniku sail put-SUC come.PRT deck -top sit.PRT
 biḍi-ek rō kolli
 cigarette-INDF burn do.put.PST

‘Don Maniku came from rigging the sail, sat on the deck and lit a cigarette.’

- (121) *ībrāhīm-ge masakkatu-n ēnā-aš libi-fā vā*
 Ibrahim-GEN work-INS (s)he-DAT receive-SUC being.RPRT
gōtī-gai ge-ek aļai gifiiy-ek tayyāru koš
 plot-LOC house-INDF put.PRT bathing area-INDF prepare do.PRT
badige-ek ves aļai fi
 kitchen-INDF also put.PFT

‘On the plot that Ibrāhīm got through his labor, he placed a house, prepared a bathing area, and also built a kitchen.’

Participles can also have an adverbial function that is determined by context. Some of these have been grammaticalized to some extent. Cause is indicated by *hure* (DBG 4: 23), the present participle of *hunnānī* ‘standing/being’ as in (122), and manner by *koš*, present participle of ‘doing’ as in (123).

- (122) *bali-vumā hure gē-in nu-nukumevunī*
 sick-being.GER-CNPM be(vert.).PRT house-INS NEG-exit.IN.PST.FOC
 ‘Because (he) was sick, (he) could not come out of his house.’

- (123) *rīti koš išīⁿdē*
 pretty do.PRT sit.IMPV
 ‘Sit nicely!’

Clauses subordinated by *koš* indicate simultaneity. The verb subordinated with *koš* is a reduced form of the present progressive:

- (124) katību avaṣ-ā varaṣ kairi-ve-fā vani-koṣ honu
 island-chief village-CNPM very close-be-SUC be-doing lightning
 guguri-ek jehi fada gada aḍ-ek ivilevvi
 thunder-INDF strike like strong sound-INDF listen.CAUS.PST

‘While coming close to the village, the island chief heard a noise like thunder.’

The present participle of seeing, *deke*, is used with many predicates of emotion. The notional subject can be part of the matrix clause where it triggers person agreement, or it may be within the participial clause.

Compare (125) and (126):

- (125) aharen ēnā deke lōbi va-n
 I (s)he see.PRT love be.HAB-N3
 ‘I love him/her.’

- (126) aharen ēnā deke lōbi vē
 I (s)he see.PRT love be.HAB
 ‘I love him/her.’

5.2.2.2 Dhivehi “Conjunctive Participle” Types: *-gen* and *-fā*

Like many Indo-Aryan languages (Masica 1991: 397-401), Dhivehi has “conjunctive participle constructions” that typically denote temporal succession. Distinct to Dhivehi, however, is that the participles in such constructions are suffixed by either *-gen* or *-fā* (*-fai* written). Participles

inflected with either of these indicate an activity that preceded the state or activity of the matrix predicate:

- (127) *riyāz fot hifai-gen aī*
Riyāz book grab-SUC came.
 ‘Riyāz grabbed the book and came.’

- (128) *aharen reḍiyō bahaṭṭa-fā aī*
I radio put(vert.).PRT-fā came
 ‘I put up the radio and came.’

There is, however, a subtle difference between the two forms that is difficult to ascertain. Participles inflected with *-gen* generally indicate an activity that is complete prior to the time of the main verb, and the emphasis is on the activity itself. Participles inflected with *-fā* can also indicate a complete activity, but the emphasis is on a resultive state that is of immediate relevance to the matrix predicate. In (128), for example, the radio remains in a state of being placed upright somewhere when the person comes. This stative quality of *-fā* participles is evidenced also with *be* predications which together function as a periphrastic passive (129) or pluperfect (130):

- (129) *dorufatu-ge matī-gai hurī dagaⁿḍu tēri lā-fā*
door-GEN top-GEN be(vert.).PST.FOC metal bar put.PRT-SUC
 ‘At the top of the door, there were placed metal bars.’

- (130) e-ī emmefahuge bēs kamugai ves
 that-EQ final medicine COMP even
- idurīs boḍē vanī bunefa eve
 Idurees Bodee be. FOC say. PRT-SUC END

‘Idurees Bodee had said that that was the final medical treatment.’

Procedural texts utilize the *-fā* participles in describing the various activities that lead up to the main verb:

- (131) mīhaku maruvīma aharemen vaḷugaⁿḍek
 person.NSPC die.PST.PRO-when we pit.INDF
- kone-fā vaḷugaⁿḍaṣṣ gaburu vaṭṭā-fā fas lanī
 dig.PRT-SUC pit.DAT corpse drop.PRT-SUC dirt place.PREPRO

‘When a person died, we would dig a grave, drop the corpse into the grave, and cover (it) with dirt.’

Dhivehi grammarians point out that *-gen* forms are also used when the object of the participial clause remains with the agent of the matrix sentence, but that *-fā* cannot be used in this context (Saudiq 1993: 86-88):

- (132) ēnā-ge haṣigaⁿḍu maruvumaṣṣ fahun
 (s)he-GEN body dying.GER.DAT after

nōkarun damā gāḍiyā gaⁿḍakaš laigen gendiyāi
 servants pull cart part.NSPC.DAT put.PRT-SUC took.PST.PRG

‘After (s)he died, servants put her/his body on a cart and took it
 (away).’

In terms of their formal characteristics, *-gen* participle clauses permit a different subject than that of the matrix sentence whereas *-fā* clauses do not. In (133) below the first *-gen* participial clause takes *ha mīhun* ‘six people’ as its subject, but the subject of the matrix clause is *emmen* ‘everyone’.

(133) *ha mīhun ves nre-gen emmen_i ekī*
 six people also exit-SUC everyone together

jangalīge tereaš 0_i vade-gen filī.
 jungle.GEN inside.DAT enter-SUC hide.PST.PRO

‘Six (additional) people came out as well, and everyone together fled
 into the jungle and hid.’

Note, however, that null subjects in *-gen* clauses following the subject of the matrix sentence must be coreferential with it. (The second *-gen* clause headed by *vadegen* ‘having entered’ has a null subject co-indexed with the subject of the matrix clause.) Null subjects in *-fā* clauses must always be coreferential with the subject of the matrix

regardless of its place in the sentence. In (134) below, the *-fā* clause precedes the matrix subject but it still must be co-indexed with the subject:

- (134) $0_{i/*j}$ e hen bune-fā mūsa_i alīyaš_j malāmāt kurī
 that like say-SUC Moosa Ali.DAT insult do.PST.PRO
 ‘Having said that, Moosa insulted Ali.’

In (135) the compound verb form *malāmāt kurī* ‘insulted’ subcategorizes for an object with the dative case as seen in *alīyaš* ‘Ali.DAT’. Even if the subject of the matrix clause is not overt, the subject of *-fā* clause must still co-index with it, and it cannot co-index with the overt object:

- (135) $0_{i/*j}$ e hen bune-fā 0_i alīyaš_j malāmāt kurī
 that like say-SUC Ali.DAT insult do.PST
 ‘Having said that (he) insulted Ali.’

Dative subject constructions also exhibit subject control of *-fā* clause subjects. In the following two examples, two sentences are compared. (136) is volitive, or at least, not involitive. (137) is involitive. (137) has the sense of a person falling in love with someone else as if the process is beyond the control of the Experiencer which is overtly marked by the dative case:

- (136) $0_{i/*j}$ e hen bune-fā fātun_i alī_j deke
 that like say-SUC Fātun Ali seeing

lōbi vī.

love be.PST.PRO

‘Having said that, Fātun loved Ali.’

- (137) $0_i/*j$ e hen bune-fā fātunaš_i alī_j
 that like say-SUC Fātun.DAT Ali

deke lōbi vevunī.

seeing loving be.IN.PST.PRO

‘Having said that, Fātun loved Ali (uncontrollably).’

The source of the Dhivehi suffix *-gen* is an older form of the participle meaning ‘to take’, and is cognate with Sinhala *-gena* which is also used to subordinate sentences (Wijesundera et al. 1988: 72-73). Compare Si.: *miniha bi gena naṭanava* ‘the man having got drunk, is dancing.’ (ibid.). Generally, however, the Si. *-gena* indicates a reflexive action, and this connotation is missing in Dhivehi (Gunasekara 1891: 180).

The Dh. *fā/fai* is probably the grammaticalized form of a participle meaning ‘to cover’. Sinhala reportedly uses the cognate *-pā* as a grammaticalized conjunctive participle as well (Wijesundera et al. 1988: 71-72).

5.2.2.3 Adverbial Clauses

Non-finite verbal forms inflected with various endings indicate their adverbial function overtly. These are briefly surveyed here.

Concessive adverbial function is marked by *-as* adjoined to the past participle of the verb as in (138), or in the case of negation, to *nūn* as in (139) below:

- (138) *kiyā nu-kiyā eccek nēⁿgun-as*
 tell.RPRT NEG-tell.RPRT thing.INDF NEG.understand.PST.PRT-CONC
aḍu-ge verinn-akī insānun kamaš
 sound-GEN people-EQ human thing(event).DAT
gabūlu kureve
 believe do.HAB.END

‘Although we could not understand what was being said, we believed that the people making the sound were humans.’

- (139) *bō-koš nūn-as abadu hen vārē vehē*
 thick-do.PREPRT NEG-CONC always like rain rain.HAB
 ‘Although it wasn’t heavy, it seemed to always rain.’

Subordinators *-mā* and *-ssure* signal the temporal adverbial functions of *when* and *since* respectively. Both attach to the past tense progressive forms:

- (140) *javābu dēn ne-eⁿgunī-mā*
 answer give.INF NEG-understand.PST.PRO-when

tan-ek dor-ek nu-balā taḷai gannanī
 place-INDF door-INDF NEG-look.PRT strike get.PREPRO

‘When we did not know how to answer, they beat us irrationally.’

(141) takurufānu furī-ssure don ahumadu innanī
 Takurufānu leave.PST.PRO-since Don Ahumadu sit.PRE.FOC

mā fikuruveri-ve-fā
 much thought-be.PRT-SUC

‘Ever since Thakurufānu left, Don Ahumadu remained in deep thought.’

The temporal relation of *before* or *prior to* is indicated by a circumflexion of the negative marker *nu-* and *nīs* around a present stem:

(142) ma nu -viha-nīs kalē kaⁿḍu
 I NEG-giving birth-before you sea

bēru-ve-gen nu-vāne
 outside-be-SUC NEG-be.OPT

‘You should not go out to sea before I give birth.’

Clauses subordinated by *-mun* indicate simultaneity and manner.

The *-mun* is suffixed to the present stem:

- (143) aḷugaⁿḍumenn-ā havāluvi mīhun varaṣ
 we(hon.)-SOC charge.PST.RPRT people very
- hitāma kura-mun aḷugaⁿḍumen govai-gen
 sorrow do-SIM we(hon.) call-SUC
- fulus ofih-aṣ hiⁿga-jje
 police office-DAT go.PFT

‘While grieving, the people who were responsible for us took us to the police office.’

Subordinated clauses with *-tī* indicate cause and reason. The *-tī* is suffixed to optative, present and past tense stems. In the case of the latter two, the final vowel of the stem is always lengthened:

- (144) emīhun balan uḷē-tī aharen-ge karuna-tak foruvīn
 they look.INF be.REAS I-GEN tear-PLU hide.PST.N3
- ‘Because they were there to look, I hid my tears.’

Another way to indicate cause is to use the infinitive:

- (145) mālēgai viyafāri kuran fanara varak-aṣ
 Malé-LOC trade do.INF 15 amount.NSPC-DAT

aharu uḷunī-n
 year be.PST-N3

‘(I) had been living in Malé for about fifteen years to conduct business.’

5.2.2.4 Conditionals

Conditional statements in Dhivehi are made up of the condition predicate inflected with either *-yyā* or *nama*, and the consequent predication. While the two conditional suffixes are quite close in usage, *-yyā* is commonly found in simple conditional statements that reflect the current state in reference to the main predicate:

(146) fahat balaifi-yyā ēnāy-aṣ hīvanī
 behind look.PFT-COND (s)he-DAT feel.PRE.FOC
 kurimati-n eccek arā kaifāne hen
 front-INS thing.INDF ascend.PRT eat.OPT like

‘If (s)he looked behind to the rear, (s)he felt that something would come from the front side and eat him/her.’

Conditional statements with *nama* generally indicate counterfactual irrealis, but do not impose it. The condition is rendered with the past tense and *nama*, and the predicate of hypothetical result is inflected for irrealis:

(147) ēnāy-aš baivaru lāri din nama
 (s)he-DAT much money give.PST COND

ēnā aharemen ṭīm-aš kuḷun-īs
 (s)he we team-DAT play-IRR

‘If (we) would have given a lot of money to him/her, (s)he would have played with our team.’

Aside from these generalities, there is a great deal of overlap in both conditional forms. Both are used, for example, for statements of prediction:

(148) adu ves raⁿgaḷ-aš mas bēnijje-yyā
 today even good-DAT fish catch.PFT-COND

agu-ge kan-tak hama ješši-dāne
 price-GEN thing(event)-PLU equal strike-OPT

‘Even today, if (we) fish well, then the cost of things would be settled.’

(149) kalēmen emīhun-ge at daš-aš hiⁿgajje nama
 you.PLU they-GEN hand under-DAT walk.PFT COND

emīhun-ge jalu-gai hī nu-kurā kahala
 they-GEN jail-LOC thought NEG-do.RPRT type

boḍuti adabu-tak libēne
big torture-PLU receive-FUT

‘If you come under their control, you will receive unthinkable torture in their jail.’

A more careful discourse analysis is needed to determine how the conditionals differ.

On an etymological note, the *nama* is cognate with Sinhala *nam*, but the *-yyā* is of uncertain origin (Wijesundera et al. 1988: 76-77). De Silva (1970b: 56) claims that *-yyā* is cognate with Pali *-yya*, and is evidence for a pre-Sinhala substratum in Dhivehi (see Section 8.4.2.1).

5.2.2.5 Adverbial Noun Phrases

5.2.2.5.1 Adverbial Relative Clauses

Relative clauses in noun phrases headed by *tā* ‘place’ and *iru* ‘time’, indicate temporal adverbial notions *since* and *when* respectively:

(150) mi got-aṣ uḷē tā
this way-DAT live.RPRT place

de mas duvas vī
two month day become.PST.PRO

‘Two months had passed since being in this situation.’

- (151) menduru vi iru hurī fudēvarakaš
 midday be.PST.RPRT time be(vert.).PST.FOC enough
 vadu mas bēvi-fa
 trawler fish catch-SUC

‘When it was midday, enough trawler fish were caught.’

5.2.2.5.2 Verbal Derived Nouns with Adverbial Functions

Non-finite verbs are often rendered as gerunds inflected with the instrumental case to indicate various adverbial functions such as reason, temporal/logical succession, and means as the following sentences illustrate:

- (152) āsultān hasan bērumāte-gē-gai hunnevum-un
 Sultan Hasan Beerumāte-house-LOC staying.POL.GER-INS
 e ge-aš bērumāte gaⁿduvar-ē kiyunu
 that house-DAT Beerumaate palace-QS call.IN.PST

‘Because Sultan Hassan stayed in Beerumāte House, the house was called Beerumāte Palace.’

- (153) e mīhun diyum-un eggam-un ehen bayaku
 that people going.GER-INS shore-INS another group.NSPC

varaš gina kãnā dõññ-aš genaeve
 very much food fishing boat-DAT bring.PST.END

‘After those people left, another group from shore brought lots of food to the boat.’

- (154) goⁿḍudoš-ā kairi kol-lum-un e rašu tere-in
 beach-CNPM close do-putting.GER-INS that island interior-INS
- ivunī bayaku mīhun haļēlavā adu
 hear.IN.PST.FOC group. NSPC people shout.RPRT sound

‘By going close to the beach, we heard the sound of people shouting.’

Another strategy for indicating temporal function with gerunds is to place the gerund inflected with the genitive case within a locative noun phrase featuring *kuri* ‘past’ as its head:

- (155) ekamaku inumu-ge kuri-n
 but marrying.GER-GEN past-INS
- aharen-ge varaš gina vāhaka eba huri
 I - GEN very lot story now be.PST

‘But before marrying (you), I have a lot to say.’

For indicating the temporal relation of *after*, the gerund takes the dative case and is followed by *fahu* ‘after/last’:

- (156) keum-aš fahu aļugaⁿḍumen-ge tahugīgu fešijje
 eating.GER-DAT after we(hon.)-GEN interrogation start.PFT
 ‘After eating, our interrogation began.’

The coordinate noun phrase (Section 5.1.2) with *eku* ‘together, with’ is used with derived verbal nominatives to indicate circumstative and simultative adverbial functions. The predicate of the adverbial clause is in the gerund form:

- (157) gay-aš hībiligaⁿḍ-ek arai-gen diyum-ā
 body-DAT goosebumps-INDF climb-SUC going.GER-CNPM

 eku atu-n vaļi ves dū vejje
 together hand knife also loose become.PFT

‘With goosebumps breaking out all over his body, the knife slipped from his hand.’

5.2.2.6 Complementation

5.2.2.6.1 Sentential Complements

For direct quotes, two strategies are used. For longer quoted material, it is common to simply use quote marks in printed material. This is not illustrated here. Another way complements are encoded into the

sentence is by adding the quoted speech marker *-ē* to the end of the embedded clause:

- (158) sampatu aḷugaⁿḍu gātu ais bunī yūt-aṣ
 Sampatu I(hon.) near coming say.PST.FOC youth-DAT
 soi koffimē
 sign do.PFT.N3.QS

‘Sampatu came to me and said, “(I) have signed on with the Youth (football club).”’

Indirect quotes use some inflection of *kan* (which primarily means ‘thing (event)’, but has also been grammaticalized as a complementizer). As a complementizer, *kan* is inflected with either the locative or dative case, *kamu-gai* and *kam-aṣ* respectively:

- (159) adi yūtā eku kof-fai vā egriment
 and Youth.CNPM together do-SUC be.RPRT agreement
 hamavumun sampataṣ anekkāves legūns
 complete.GER.INS Sampatu.DAT again Legūns
 maruhabā kiyāne kamugai sāhiru bunuvvi
 welcome say.FUT thing(event).LOC Sāhiru said.CAUS.PST

‘Saahiru said that when the contract with Youth (sports club) is complete, Leguns will welcome Sampatu again.’

- (160) yūtu prekṭis faṣanī konirakun tō suvālu
 Youth practice begining when QP question
 kurumun mustāg bunuvvī daⁿḍu libunu
 doing.GER.INS Mustāg say.CAUS.PST.FOC field receive.PRT
 hā avahakaṣ prekṭis faṣāne kam-aṣ eve.
 INTNS fast. NSPC.DAT practice begin.FUT thing(event)-DAT END

‘Having been asked when Youth was to begin practice, Mustag said that as soon as a field is secured, practice will begin.’

(160) above also illustrates that embedded questions need only the question particle *tō/ta*. No other overt complementizer is needed for questions.

Sentential complements are also found with predicates of cognition or perception. Like the quotatives, these complements can use *kamaṣ* as a complementizer:

- (161) ahannaṣ lafā kurevenī hama jessēne kam-aṣ
 I.DAT guess do.IN even touch.FUT thing(event)-DAT
 ‘I estimate that it will even out.’

- (162) aharen hī kurī ēnāge javābakī
 I thought do.PST.FOC he.GEN answer.EQ

siyāsi javābek kam-aş eve
 political answer thing(event)-DAT END

‘I thought that his answer was a political answer.’

Kan without any inflection is also used as a complementizer for propositional complements when the predicate is a form of *eⁿgenī* ‘knowing/understanding’:

(163) mainbafainnaş vānī ves
 parents.DAT become.FUT.FOC also

 e hen kan nēⁿge eve
 that like thing(event) NEG.know END

‘I don’t know (but) that parents are like that. / Perhaps parents are like that.’

Interestingly, for *hīvanī* ‘feeling/thinking (invol.)’ the complementizer *hen* ‘like’ is used rather than a form of *kan*. Compare (164) with (162) above:

(164) don ahumaduaş hīvī kanfat doşun rihi
 Don Ahumadu.DAT feel.PST.FOC ear near.INS silver

 raⁿgabīlutakek jehi gat hen
 bell.PLU.INDF strike get.PST like

‘Don Ahumadu felt as if silver bells were ringing near his ears.’

As seen in (160) above, indirect quotations of questions call for the question particle *tō* as a complementizer. Complements of matrix predicates indicating attempts take the complementizer *tō* as well:

- (165) *boḍu husainu haṣi furā nēvā ellā hit-biru*
 big Husain body filling breath throw.RPRT heart-fear
filuvē tō masakkat kuri
 hide.CAUS.HAB QP work do.PST

‘Big Husain, taking a deep breath, tried to quell the fear.’

- (166) *aharen filē tō belī e kantattak-un*
 I hide.HAB QP look.PST.FOC that thing.PLU.PLU.INS
 ‘I was trying to escape from all these things.’

5.2.2.6.2 Infinitive Complements

Among the predicates that take infinitive complements are *feṣenī* ‘beginning’, *jehenī* ‘striking’, the desiderative *bēnun* ‘want’, and the abilitative *kerenī* ‘able’:

- (167) *aḷugaⁿḍumen daturu kuran faṣai-fī-n*
 we(hon.) journey do.INF start-PFT-N3
 ‘We started to travel.’

- (168) *e fas duvahu ves aḷugaⁿḍumenn-aṣ*
 that 5 day also we(hon.)-DAT

tiben jehunī e-tā-ga
 be.INF strike.PST.IN that-place-LOC

‘During those five days we had to remain in that place.’

- (169) aharemen mi tāⁿgā tiben bēnun
 we this place.LOC stay.INF desire
 ‘We want to stay in this place.’

With infinitival complements only subject equi-deletion is allowed.

Thus, the following sentence is ungrammatical:

- (170) *aharen ēnā annan bēnun
 I (s)he come.INF want
 * ‘I want her to come.’

The nominalized complement *aum-aš* ‘coming.GER-DAT’ must be used instead. (See Section 5.2.2.6.3.) Note that the subject control requirement for infinitive equi-deletion provides support for according subject status to dative marked arguments as in (171) below.

- (171) manje-aš_i ahann-āi 0_i innān keri-dāne hē?
 lass-DAT_i I-SOC 0_i marry.INF able-OPT QP
 ‘Would the maiden be able to marry me?’

5.2.2.6.3 Nominalized Complements

Nominalized complements are made up of gerunds inflected with the dative case. Gerund complements are commonly used with predicates expressing commands, requests, and intentions. With nominalized complements equi-deletion of subjects (172), objects (173), and indirect objects is possible (174):

- (172) aḷugaⁿḍumen-ge mamma gasdu kurevvī
 we(hon.)-GEN mother purpose do.PST.CAUS.FOC
- aḍḍu atoḷu dū-koṣ huvadu atoḷ-aṣ dium-aṣ
 Addu Atoll loose-do.PRT Huvadu Atoll-DAT going.GER-DAT

‘Our mother intended to leave Addu Atoll and go to Huvadu Atoll.’

- (173) mi mīhun ēnā e mīhun kairī maḍukurum-aṣ edunu
 this people (s)he those people close waiting.GER-DAT
 requested

‘They asked him to stay with them for awhile.’ (lit., to wait near them)

- (174) emanikufānu e mīhunn-aṣ mi kan-taku-ge vāhaka
 he(hon.) that people-DAT this thing-PLU-GEN story
- ev-ves mīhaku kairī nu-bunum-aṣ
 one-even person.NSPC close NEG-saying.GER-DAT

amuru kurevvi
order do.CAUS.PST

‘He ordered them to not tell anyone the story of these things.’

5.2.2.6.4 Relative Clause Complements

Relative clause complements consist of the relative participle clause (the complement proper), and a nominal head. Matrix verbs of perception and desideratives require complements to be headed by *tan* ‘place’ and *hit* ‘heart’ respectively. (The bracketed portion is the relative clause):

(175) aharemenn-aṣ [e mīhunge terēgai matī fenvaru
we.DAT those people.GEN among top level
mīhun uḷē] tan ves fenē
people be.RPRT place also see.HAB

‘We also saw that there were high class people among them.’

(176) don ahumadu [raivaru kiyā] hit vi eve
Don Ahumadu poetry say.RPRT heart be.PST END
‘Don Ahumadu liked to recite poetry.’

(177) aharen [nōtu faisā genguḷē] hitek nuvē
I notes money having.RPRT heart.INDF NEG.be.HAB
‘I don’t like having paper money.’

5.2.2.6.5 Participial Complements

Participles can also function as complements in causative and benefactive constructions which feature some form of the verb *denī* ‘giving’:

- (178) *tīcaru kiyavā kudinn-aṣṣ filāvaḷu das koṣ*
 teacher study.RPRT children-DAT lesson learn do.PRT
denī
 give.PREPRO

‘The teacher is teaching the students the lesson.’ (lit. ‘...is giving to the students learning.’)

- (179) *hamīdu wahīd-aṣṣ siṭī liye denī*
 hamīd wahīd-DAT letter write.PRT give.PREPRO
 ‘Hameed is writing the letter for Waheed.’

Periphrastic causative constructions like (178) show equi-deletion under indirect object control where the students are the ones doing the learning, but benefactives (179) do not in that the subject of the matrix clause is the one doing the writing as well.

5.2.3 Pragmatically Marked Structures

5.2.3.1 Focus Sentences

Dhivehi, like Sinhala, has a focused sentence construction consisting of a special form of the verb, and a focused element. The focused element is generally postposed. The focus form of the verb always ends in *-ī* and is identical to the progressive verb (see Section 4.4.3). The following sentences illustrate various focused elements:

(180) māle uḷunīma aharen bonī ais kurīmu
 Male be.PST.PRO-when I drink.PRE.FOC ice cream
 ‘When in Male, it is ice cream that I eat.’

(181) māle uḷunīma ais kurīmu bonī aharen
 Male be.PST.PRO-when ice cream drink.PRE.FOC I
 ‘When in Male, it is I that eats ice cream.’

(182) aharen ais kurīmu bonī māle uḷunīma
 I ice cream drink.PRE.FOC Malé be.PST.PRO-when
 ‘It is when I am in Male that I eat ice cream.’

Typically, the focused element is post-verbal, but need not be:

(183) aharen danī e avaṣaṣ
 I go.PRE.FOC e neighborhood.DAT
 ‘It is to that neighborhood that I am going.’

- (184) aharen e avaš-aš danī
 I that neighborhood-DAT go.PRE.FOC
 ‘It is to that neighborhood that I am going.’¹⁹

Non-verbal focus constructions also occur. The focus marker for the adjectival predicate is also *-ī*:

- (185) Unfocused: mi don keyo raⁿgaḷu
 this banana good
 ‘This banana is good./ These bananas are good.’

- (186) Focused: miadu raⁿgaḷ-ī mi don keyo.
 today good-FOC this banana.
 ‘It is these bananas that are good today.’

Focus constructions are quite abundant in Dhivehi, though the homophony of the focus verb with the progressive makes it difficult to tell them apart when a constituent is not post-posed. The pragmatic context calling for the focus construction includes answers to queries, and circumstances in which a choice is implied. In (186), for example, the context would indicate that more than one type of banana was available at the time. In many details, the Dhivehi focus construction is like the Sinhala one. Compare:

¹⁹Another possible translation of this sentence is, "I am going to the village." The focus verb form and progressive aspect are one and the same, and only context can determine the difference.

(187) adə širi giyē gamə-ṭə (CS)

today Siri go.PST.FOC village-DAT

‘It was to the village that Siri went today.’

(188) miadu ālī diyaī avaṣaṣ (Dh.)

today Ali go.PST.FOC village

‘It was to the village that Ali went today.’

Cleft sentences of the type in (187) and (188) are unique to Dhivehi and Sinhala among the Indo-Aryan languages (Gair 1986: 149).

Neighboring Dravidian languages, however, also have similar constructions. In Dravidian languages, a relative participle can be inflected like a noun with a nominative case marker (or “demonstrative pronoun terminations”) (Caldwell 1875: 542-543). These inflected relative participles become the head noun in a NP NP (equational) type of sentence. Such constructions are a type of cleft:

(189) nān pōn-atu yāḷppāṇattukku (Jaffna Tamil)

I go.PST.NOM Jaffna.DAT

‘(It was) to Jaffna that I went.’

(190) cuppiriamaniyam ceyyir-atu enna (Jaffna Tamil)

Subramaniyam do.PRES-NOM what

‘What is it that Subramaniyam does?’ (Gair 1986: 148)

Dravidian sentences of this type came into Sinhala as a calque, and later Sinhala extended their usage (Gair 1986). While the Sinhala focus

verb is not currently a nominal form, it too was probably derived from a verbal nominative form through the addition of a third person masculine/neuter ending. This derived form initially functioned as the nominal in NP NP sentences, but began functioning as a focus construction by the ninth century:

(191) n[o] balaya yanne kese (Si. 9th c.)

neg. having looked go.PRES.NOM3sg how

‘How does one go away without looking?’

(Sigiri Graffiti, in Paravitana 1956 no. 261) (Gair 1994:13)

The Sinhala verbal nominal later lost its nominative nature in such constructions, and now functions only as a focus verb in cleft constructions. Once the focus construction was borrowed from Dravidian, it further developed and expanded its applicability to include, among other things, semi-obligatory clefting of WH-questions, and obligatory clefting of constituent yes-no questions (Gair 1986: 162).

Like the Dravidian and Sinhala, the Dhivehi focus construction appears to be derived from NP NP (equational) sentences in which the first NP is some type of inflected verbal. The identification of a verbal nominal in this position, however, is more uncertain because there are no adjoined case markers. But, the long *-ī* in focus verb forms like *diya-ī* ‘go.PST.FOC’ in (188) above is probably derived from the copula in proto-typical equational sentences (Section 5.2.1.2.1). Formally, the focus verb *diya-ī*

could be construed as a relative past participle *diya-* suffixed with the equational marker *-ī* construction.

5.2.3.2 Question Formation

5.2.3.2.1 Yes-No Questions

Questions eliciting a yes-no response are formed by the addition of the question particle *ta* (*tō* for polite registers) onto the sentence. The question particle either follows the predication, or attaches to the constituent that is the object of the query. In the case of the latter, the verb must be in the focus form.

(192) eⁿgi nu-lavvā tō?
 understand.PRT NEG-put.CAUS.HAB QP
 ‘Do you not know?’

(193) e bōtu-gai ta e kuḍa tuttu vī?
 that boat-LOC QP that Kuda Tuttu become.PST-FOC
 ‘Was that the boat that Kuda Tuttu was on?’

(194) bākī faisā dinī raⁿgaḷaṣ ta?
 change money give.PST.FOC good.DAT QP
 ‘Did you give the correct change?’

The formation of yes-no questions is very much like the pattern found in Sinhala. Compare:

(195) Siri adə gamə-ʔə giyā də? (CS)

Siri today village-DAT go.PST QP

‘Did Siri go to the village today?’

(196) Alī miadu avaš-aš diya ta?

Ali today village-DAT go.PST QP

‘Did Ali go the village today?’

5.2.3.2.2 WH-Questions

WH-questions use interrogative pronouns and phrases in structures that generally require the focused construction. In such constructions, the question word is the element of focus and is often postposed. The question particle is optional in Dhivehi, and can occur on either the interrogative word, or after the predicate:

(197) kalē danī kon tākaš ta?

you go.PRE.FOC which place.DAT QP

‘Where are you going?’

(198) kon tākaš danī?

which place.DAT go.PRE.FOC

‘Where are (you) going?’

(199) alī kīkē bunī ta?

Ali what.QS say.PST.FOC QP

‘What did Ali say?’

Quantitative interrogatives indicating “how many” and “how much” are exceptions in that they do not require focusing, but they do permit it:

(200) e mīhaku hakuru kihāvarakaṣ gat ta?
 that person.NSPC sugar how much get.PST QP
 ‘How much was the sugar that that person bought?’

(201) e mīhaku hakuru gatī kihāvarakaṣ ta?
 that person.NSPC sugar get.PST.FOC how muchQP
 ‘That person bought the sugar for how much?’

The formation of WH-questions with the focus construction and the question particle is a feature shared with Sinhala. Compare the Colloquial Sinhala below with the Dhivehi:

(202) miniha sīni koccərə gatta də (CS)
 man sugar how much got QP
 ‘How much sugar did the fellow

(203) miniha sīni koccərə də gattə (CS)
 man sugar how much QP got.FOC
 ‘How much sugar was it that the fellow got?’ (Gair 1986: 153)

In Sinhala, however, the occurrence of the QP in WH-questions is semi-obligatory. Except for quantifier WH forms, the question particle in Sinhala must occur with WH-question words (Gair 1981: 153). In this capacity, the QP functions as a focus marker.

5.2.3.3 Negation

5.2.3.3.1 Negation of Verbal Clauses

Verbal clauses in Dhivehi are negated by a negative prefix *nu-*:

- (204) e rē aharen nu-nidan
 that night I NEG-sleep.HAB.N3
 ‘That night I didn’t sleep.’

Dhivehi negatives neutralize tense and aspect to some extent. The negative generally takes the habitual (simple present) aspect regardless if the activity would have occurred in the past. For example, in response to a question like “Have you gone to the hospital?” a person would answer, *nudan* ‘I do not go (habitual non-third person)’ rather than *nudiyain* ‘I did not go’. (Also see (204).) If, however, the negative sentence is a focus construction, the tense distinction remains:

- (205) eccek nu-bun-ī kīvve tō?
 thing.INDF NEG-say.PST-FOC why QP
 ‘Why didn’t you say anything?’

The neutralization of tense and aspect in negation is not found in Sinhala, but it is a common feature of Dravidian. Dravidian neutralizes tense when negating a verb. Tamil *pōgēn* can mean either ‘I did not go,’ ‘I do not go’, or ‘I will not go.’ The time must be determined by context (Caldwell 1875: 470). The neutralization of tense in negations is also

found in Vedda, the aboriginal language of Sri Lanka (De Silva 1970b: 152).

Verbals can also be negated with the existential negative *net* and with the negation of identity *nūn*, but special forms are required. When infinitives are negated, for example, the form of the infinitive featuring the dative case *-aš* is used with the indefinite suffix preceding the case. Compare the infinitives *fennan* ‘to see’ and *hiⁿgan* ‘to walk’ with *fennākaš* and *hiⁿgākaš* respectively. The *-ākaš* infinitives are illustrated below:

(206) evves kahala rukek fennākaš net
 any kind palm.INDF see.NSPC.DAT NEG
 ‘There weren’t any kind of coconut palms to be seen.’

(207) magu hiⁿgākaš nūn
 street walk.NSPC.DAT NEG
 ‘(I’m here) not to walk the street.’

The verbal forms are inflected with unspecified marker *-aku* in (206) and (207) because of a more general requirement that anything negated by either *net* or *nūn* appear with either unspecified or indefinite forms. For examples of nouns and adjectives conforming to this pattern see Section 5.2.3.3.1.

5.2.3.3.2 Negation of Non-Verbal Clauses

Both equative and adjectival predicate clauses in Dhivehi are negated with *nūn*:

(208) aharenn-akī ɖokuɖar-ek nūn
 I-EQ doctor-INDF NEG
 ‘I’m not a doctor.’

(209) aharen e hā moɭ-ek nūn
 I that INTNS smart.INDF NEG
 ‘I’m not all that smart.’

Existential (or “possessive”) clauses are negated with *net* [*ney?*]:

(210) mihāru kōku fuɭi-ek net
 now coke bottle-INDF NEG
 ‘Now there isn’t bottled Coke.’

Note that both nouns and adjectives, (208) and (209) respectively, take the indefinite suffix in negated sentences. In some instances, the non-specified marker *-aku* is used: *evves mīh-aku nūn* ‘There wasn’t anybody.’ Some form of indefinite marker is required in negated clauses. Such a requirement is absent in Sinhala.

In Sinhala, different negatives are used for negating equational and existential clauses; *nemē* and *nāē* respectively:

(211) *mē potə magē potə nemē* (Colloquial Sinhala)

this book my book NEG

‘This book is not my book’

(212) *mehē oyāge potə nā* (Colloquial Sinhala)

here your book NEG

‘Your book isn’t here.’

For predicate adjectives, however, Sinhala uses *nā* as well: *mē potə ho"da nā* ‘this book isn’t good.’ So, both languages differentiate between negation of identification (equational clauses) and negation of existence, but in Dhivehi predicate adjectives pattern with equational clauses while in Sinhala they pattern with existentials (Reynolds 1978: 163).

CHAPTER SIX: VALENCE, VOLITION, AND VOICE

As mentioned in Section 4.4.1, Dhivehi has three categories of verbs that are morphologically related: active, involitive/intransitive (IN-verbs), and causative. As in Sinhala, these derivational categories with the appropriate syntactic constructions combine to make up a well-developed valence/voice system that interacts with notions of volition in intricate ways. Propositions can be overtly signaled as being either volitionally neutral (the unmarked sense), non-volitional, or volitional. The distinction between volitionally neutral acts and non-volitional ones is accomplished through valence changes in the verb in that the latter are often decreased counterparts of the former. Thus, volitionally neutral and non-volitional predications roughly correspond to the active and the IN-verb set respectively. Active volitionality is indicated by a predicate made up of the participial form of the verb followed by an inflected form of *lanī* ‘put, place’: *jahā-li* ‘hit.put.PST’, *marā-li* ‘kill-put.PST’, *ukā-li* ‘throw-put.PST’, *rovvā-li* ‘made cry intentionally (cry.CAUS.put.PST)’.

The notions of animacy and control also play a critical role in determining the volition and valence correspondence in Dhivehi. With few exceptions, referents for volitionally neutral acts and volitional acts must be both animate, and subsequently able to exert control in the proposition. Thus, subjects of active verbs will normally be humans or animals who are in some position to exercise their will. Inanimate referents which

inherently lack any ability to control the situation cannot normally occur as subjects of active predicates.²⁰ One cannot say, for example, **vai doru lappaifi* ‘the wind shut the door’. Similarly, morphologically derived causatives of transitive verbs indicate that the volition of Causer eclipses that of the Causee, and inanimate Causees are not found. So, sentences like ‘he made the tree hit the house’ with derived causatives are impossible.

The sections that follow describe the derived morphology of involitive/intransitive and causative verbs, and the various constructions in which they are found. Volition figures prominently in the various IN-constructions, and but for some notable exceptions, are not unlike those found in Sinhala (Gair 1970) (Inman 1993). For a comparison of Dhivehi and Sinhala involitive constructions, see Cain (1995).

6.1 *IN-verbs*

IN-verbs are employed to indicate that a participant is acting “without volition as a result of some external force or agency” (Gair 1970: 78). The predication itself can be either intransitive and/or non-volitional (e.g., *hedenī* ‘growing (intr.)’ and ‘making (by mistake)’). The derivational morphology for involitives/intransitives is presented in Section 6.1.1, and the syntactic distribution and uses of IN-verbs is given in Section 6.1.2.

²⁰ Exceptions include verbs of motion (i.e., *da-nii* ‘going’), and compound verbs made up of adjectivals and the *to be* verb (e.g., *ituru va-nii* ‘increasing’). These verbs pattern with active verbs morphologically.

6.1.1 The Derivation of IN-verbs

Taking the transitive present stem as a base for other valence changes, the morphological process for deriving the IN-verbs can be described as the fronting of all occurrences of *a* to *e* in the root, and for some types of verbs, the addition of *-ve*. Once derived the IN-verbs pattern like other *e*-stem verbs. (See Section 4.4.1.) The fronting of *a* to *e* is all that is needed to derive most polysyllabic verb stems. The stem-vowels are italicized:

- (213) *vatṭa-nī* ‘dropping’ *veṭte-nī* ‘falling’
anga-nī ‘informing’ *eⁿge-nī* ‘understanding’
jaha-nī ‘striking’ *jehe-nī* ‘striking’
a^mbura-nī ‘turning’ *e^mbure-in* ‘turning’

(Note that *anganī* ‘informing’ is a causative as there is no basic transitive verb for this set.)

Verbs that have monosyllabic verb stems and other irregular verbs with polysyllabic verb stems derive the IN-forms by both internal stem-vowel changes and the addition of *-ve-* following the stem for the present tense. (Note that some of the glosses of the IN-verbs are only representative of possible meanings. Although some of them are glossed with passive meanings, the non-volitional meaning is also available.)

(214)	<i>ka-nī</i>	‘eating’	<i>ke-ve-nī</i>	‘being eaten’
	<i>la-nī</i>	‘putting’	<i>le-ve-nī</i>	‘being put/ inserting’
	<i>ro-nī</i>	‘crying’	<i>ro-ve-nī</i> ²¹	‘crying (involitive)’
	<i>da-nī</i>	‘going’	<i>de-ve-nī</i>	‘reaching (a place)’
	<i>liya-nī</i>	‘writing’	<i>liye-ve-nī</i>	‘being written’
	<i>kura-nī</i>	‘doing’	<i>kure-ve-nī</i>	‘being done’

Non-involitive *e*-stem verbs are derived into involitives by the addition of the IN-morpheme *-ve* as well: *kule-nī* ‘playing’ becomes *kule-ve-nī* ‘is being played’.

6.1.2 Syntactic Distribution of IN-Verbs

Dhivehi uses IN-verbs in three types of clauses: involitive, accidental, and inactive. The following Dhivehi sentences illustrate each of the clause types in contrast with (215) which is the unmarked volitionally neutral clause.

- (215) Active: *aharen doru leppin*
 I door close.PST.N3
 ‘I closed the door.’

²¹ As in past tense inflection, Dhivehi only umlauts /a/ when deriving IN-verbs, whereas Sinhala umlauts /u/ and /o/ as well (e.g., Si. *sōdayi* ‘washes’, *sēdeyi* ‘washes (invol.)’.) (Gunasekara 1891: 204).

(216) **Involitive:** ahannaš doru leppunu
 I.DAT door close.IN.PST
 ‘I closed the door (involuntarily).’

(217) **Accidental:** aharen(ge) at-un doru leppunu
 I.(GEN) hand-INS door close.IN.PST
 ‘I closed the door (accidentally).’

(218) **Inactive:** doru leppunu
 door close.IN.PST
 ‘The door closed.’

I discuss each of these types in turn in the following sections.

6.1.2.1 IN-Verbs in Involitive Constructions

Involitive clauses generally indicate non-intentional activity on the part of the subject. The activity can be either semantically transitive (divalent) as seen in (216) above, intransitive (univalent) (219), or ditransitive (trivalent) (220):

(219) ēnāyaš rovenī
 (s)he.DAT cry.IN.PREPRO
 ‘(S)he is crying (uncontrollably).’

(220) oļumakun rašīdaš alīyaš ēnāge
 confused.GER.NSPC.INS Rasheed.DAT Ali.DAT (s)he.GEN

dabas devunī
 bag give.IN.PST.FOC

‘Being confused, Rasheed gave Ali his bag (by mistake).’

As seen in the above examples, the subject in the involitive clause takes the dative case. The involitive clauses pattern similarly to various perception clauses that also feature dative-case subjects, but whose verb is not necessarily an IN-verb. (See Section 5.2.1.1.2.)

In addition to indicating non-intentional involvement in an activity, Dhivehi involitives are used in polite speech registers when addressing superiors (221), expressing counter-expectations of the locutor (222), and describing abilities (223):

(221) aḷugaⁿdaṣ e massakkat kurevunī iyye
 I(hon.).DAT that work do.IN.PST.FOC yesterday.
 ‘I did that work yesterday.’

(222) mīnāyaṣ tedaṣ rongek demijje
 (s)he.DAT straight line.INDF draw.IN.PFT
 ‘(To my surprise) (s)he has drawn a straight line.’ (DBG 3: 34)

(223) ahannaṣ kukuḷu mas kevēne
 I.DAT chicken meat eat.IN.FUT
 ‘I can eat chicken meat.’

6.1.2.2 Accidental Clauses

The accidental clause is characterized by the actant occurring in a nominal phrase headed by *at-un* ‘hand-INS’. The activity must be semantically transitive. Generally the actants in the accidental clauses possess more agent-like qualities than the dative NPs in involitive constructions. Examples (224) and (225) illustrate this difference:

(224) e kujjāyaṣ viha koḷek kevunu
 that child.DAT poison piece.INDF eat.IN.PST
 ‘That child involuntarily ate some poison.’

(225) e kujjāge atun viha koḷek kevunī
 that child.GEN hand.INS poison piece.INDF eat.IN.PST
 ‘That child ate some poison (unknowingly).’

Example (224) indicates a situation in which a child was fed poison, and there is a sense in which the child was not in control of the activity of eating itself. In (225), however, the child is in some degree in control of eating, but did not intend to eat poison. (225) could not be used of a child who is being fed by someone else, for instance.

6.1.2.3 IN-Verbs As Passive

Dhivehi uses IN-verbs for a proto-typical passive construction, “proto-typical” in the sense that it is characterized structurally by the promotion of a direct object in an active clause to be a subject in the corresponding passive clause (Perlmutter and Postal 1983: 9):

(226) mi darivarunnaṣ allahge fot hitudaskurumaṣ
 this students.DAT Allah.GEN book memorize.GER.DAT
 hitvarudinumuge gotun madurasāge farātun
 encourage.GER.GEN manner.INS school.GEN side.INS
 komme kujjakaṣ mahaku tirīs
 every child.NSPC.DAT month.NSPC thirty
 rufiyā devē
 rupee give.IN.HAB

‘Thirty rupees per month is given from the school to every child to encourage these students to memorize the book of Allah (Koran).’

Example (226) above demonstrates that while it contains an IN-verb, it cannot be interpreted as a non-volitional activity as the purpose adverbial indicates otherwise. Note, however, that the agent is not encoded. Dhivehi passives do not allow any overt agents inflected as an oblique in the passive construction. Such oblique agents would be interpreted as subjects in keeping with an agentivity hierarchy for subjecthood.

6.1.2.4 Inactive Clauses

Inactive clauses are generally intransitive clauses which “often imply a participant acting without volition as a result of some external force or agency” (Gair 1970: 78). Inactive clauses feature an IN-verb and a subject

in the direct, unmarked case. The subjects can be either inanimate as in (218) above, or animate as in (227):

(227) *kujjā vetṭunu*
 child fell.IN
 ‘The child fell.’

Structurally the inactive looks like a passive. Only context can determine if the subject was acted upon by some external force (a passive subject), or if something just happened to it (inactive).

An important matter to note is that it is not always easy to differentiate between inactives and other types of IN-clauses. For Dhivehi it is often the case that arguments understood from context are not made explicit. Thus, a clause that looks like an inactive may, in fact, be another type. If the context indicates that some agent-like referent is the initiator of the activity, then we can determine that the clause in question is not an inactive. In practice, it is not always clear.

A construction that is difficult to categorize is one that features an IN-verb, but has two arguments. I tentatively group them with inactives because like them, the subject is in the direct case and the verb is involitive:

(228) *hasan sofura gai-gā jehunu*
 Hasan Sofura body-LOC hit.IN.PST
 ‘Hasan hit Sofura (accidentally).’ or ‘Hasan brushed up against Sofura.’

The sense of (228) is somewhat hard to capture. According to my sources, such a statement might be used of a young couple walking down the street. The young man casually brushes up against the young lady. While not acting entirely on purpose, there is a sense in which he could have avoided the contact if he had tried.

6.2 Causatives

6.2.1 Causative Morpheme

Dhivehi increases the semantic valence of the verb by means of a causative morpheme. The causative morpheme generally consists of either geminating the final consonant of the verb root and/or the addition of *-(u)va* to the verb root. The first pattern is most common with polysyllabic verb stems, and the second is generally used in double causative constructions. The following triads of intransitive verbs with causative derivations are illustrative. Note that where some intransitives are of the *e*-stem type, causatives feature the thematic vowel *-a* that is more typical of transitive verbs. The glosses here give only a general indication of the meaning. Causative forms can have a variety of definitions, and some forms are used in polite speech registers with no causative meaning whatsoever.

(229) <u>Intransitive Verbs</u>	<u>Causative</u>	<u>Double Causatives</u>
hi ⁿ ga-nī ‘walking’	hinga-nī ‘operate’	hingu-va-nī ‘operate.CAUS’
e ⁿ ge-nī ‘knowing’	anga-nī ‘informing’	angu-va-nī ‘inform.CAUS’
deke-nī ‘seeing’	dakka-nī ‘showing’	dakku-va-nī ‘show.CAUS’
veṭṭe-nī ‘falling’	vaṭṭa-nī ‘dropping’	vaṭṭu-va-nī ‘drop.CAUS’
leppe-nī ‘closing’	lappa-nī ‘closing’	lappu-va-nī ‘close.CAUS’

The two causative patterns are related. As in Sinhala (Karunatilake 1969: 110), the causative gemination pattern probably developed from the *-uva* causative morpheme through a process of vowel reduction and assimilation. The causative morpheme *-uva* adjoined consonant ending verb roots, and the *-u* was subsequently deleted. The juxtaposition of the final verb root consonant and the *-v* led to the latter’s full assimilation: **bal-uva* ‘cause to look’ → **balva-* → *balla-*. The *-u* failed to delete following most retroflex consonants, and gemination did not occur: *aḷ-uva-nī* ‘cause to put’ (cf. *aḷa-nī* ‘placing’), *gir-uva-nī* ‘cause to stir’ (cf. *gira-nī* ‘stirring’). For verb roots ending in a vowel (monosyllabic verb stems), the *-uva* causative morpheme becomes *-vva*: **ka-uva-* ‘cause to eat’ → *kavva-* [kav:a], **la-uva* ‘cause to put’ → *lavva* [lav:a]. In cases where gemination of the causative occurred, double causatives can be formed by the addition of *-uva*: *balla-* ‘cause to look’, *balluva-* ‘cause to look (double causative)’. Thus, these historical developments have led to the presence of three causative allomorphs: gemination for polysyllabic verb stems, *-vva* for monosyllabic stems, and *-uva* for double causatives.

The Dh. causative morpheme *-uva* is cognate with Sinhala's *-ava*. The Dhivehi morpheme was the same historically, but in some environments /a/ became /u/ preceding /v/ in Dhivehi. The prototype *-ava* causative morpheme still exists as a relic form in Dhivehi, but it has come to be a politeness marker to denote a higher ranking social status: *hinguvanī* 'walking (double causative)', *hingava-nī* 'walking (polite register)'. (Some forms with gemination are both causative and polite verb forms: *kuravvanī* 'cause to do' or 'do (polite)'.) Sinhala also has double causative formations: Si. *assava-*, Dh. *assuva-* 'to cause to hear' (Wijesundera et al. 1988: 53).²²

6.2.2 Syntactic Distribution of Causatives

Causatives are derived from intransitives, transitives, and ditransitives. The (b) sentences in the following pairs illustrate how the causative is derived from each transitivity type:

- (230) a. *ēnā duvi* b. *kōcu ēnā duvvi*
 (s)he run.PST coach (s)he run.CAUS.PST
 '(S)heran.' 'The coach made him/her run.'

- (231) a. *kudin siṭī liyanī*
 children letter write.PREPRO
 'The children are writing the letter.'

²² While Sinhala has double causatives in form, apart from a few cases they do not differ in meaning from primary causatives (Hendriksen 1949: 163). In contrast, Dhivehi double causatives generally do indicate secondary causation as seen in (229).

b. mammā kudin lavvā siṭī liyuvvanī
 mother children put.CAUS.PRT letter write.CAUS.PREPRO
 ‘The mother is making the children write the letter.’

(232) a. kudin siṭī fonuvanī bappay-aṣṣ
 children letter send.PRE.FOC father-DAT
 ‘The children are sending the letter to the father.’

b. mammā kudin lavvā siṭī
 mother children put.CAUS.PRT letter

 fonuvvanī bappay-aṣṣ
 send.PRE.FOC father-DAT

 ‘The mother is making the children send the letter to the
 father.’

In (231)b and (232)b, note that sentence featuring causation for transitive and ditransitive verbs require the Causee to be marked with *lavvā*, a causative participle of ‘put’.²³ The use of the verbal *lavvā* allows for the addition of the Causee as its object, since the object argument of the main predicate is already saturated.

²³ This is the case for Sinhala as well which uses *lawwa/lawā*, also a form of causative ‘put’ (Gunasekara 1891: 423).

In addition to indicating causation, derived causatives have a number of other functions. One of which is in polite speech registers to indicate people of rank:²⁴

- (233) *katību* *kiyuvvī* *e* *fot*
 island-chief read.CAUS.PST.FOC that book
 ‘The island chief read that book.’

Causatives are also used as anti-reflexives where the non-derived predicate is inherently reflexive:

- (234) a. *don kamana boļu-gā funā aļanī*
 Don Kamana head-LOC comb put.PREPRO
 ‘Don Kamana is combing (her own) hair.’
- b. *don kamana ēnā-ge kujjā-ge boļu-gā*
 Don Kamana (s)he-GEN child-GEN head-LOC
 funā aļuvanī
 comb put.CAUS.PREPRO
 ‘Don Kamana is combing her child’s hair.’

Some causative forms have been lexicalized in ways not immediately transparent in meaning. Examples include: *jassanī* ‘touching’

²⁴ While for some verbs the causative and polite forms of the verb are identical, others show a difference: *hinguvun* ‘causing to walk’, *hingavun* ‘walking (polite)’.

from *jahanī* 'striking', *lavvani* 'inserting' from *lanī* 'to put', *aḷvani* 'hanging' from *aḷanī* 'place/pour'.

CHAPTER SEVEN:
HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF DHIVEHI PHONOLOGY
FROM PROTO-DHIVEHI-SINHALA TO THE PRESENT

7.1 Introduction

In this chapter I show that Dhivehi began diverging from Sinhala at least by 1st c. B.C., and continued to do so throughout their respective linguistic histories. Evidence for this early divergence comes from the change of word initial OIA²⁵ /y-/ to Proto-Dhivehi */j-/ whereas Sinhala retained OIA /y-/, the change of intervocalic OIA /-j-/ to Proto-Dhivehi */-s-/, and the alternate development of Proto-Dhivehi-Sinhala /t/ and /d/ in Southern Dhivehi. I show that divergence continued in subsequent periods as indicated by sound changes that occurred in Dhivehi's history that are absent in Sinhala's. While Dhivehi began diverging from Sinhala quite early, it continued to develop along similar lines as Sinhala. These sound changes, while remarkably similar, often showed differences in their conditioning environments and/or results in the respective languages. I take this to indicate that they were overlapping developments in closely related languages whose similarity may be attributed to long-term and ongoing contact between the speech communities. My conclusions are based on a careful comparative analysis of Dhivehi with Sinhala in light of historical

²⁵ For OIA (Old Indo-Aryan) and MIA (Middle Indo-Aryan or Middle Indic) examples, I cite Sanskrit and Pali respectively unless otherwise noted.

developments in the latter. The Dhivehi data used in this study came both from previously published material, and information I gathered on site over a period of several years.

My findings differ considerably from those whose work on Dhivehi has preceded my own. To date, the most influential work on Dhivehi has been that of Prof. Wilhelm Geiger (1900-1902, 1902, and 1919). In these preliminary studies, Geiger concluded that Dhivehi was a dialect of Sinhala from which it began diverging as late as the 10th c. A.D., and only from that time onward did Dhivehi develop its own peculiarities (1919: 99-100) (1939: 168). Although some have questioned such a late date (De Silva 1970a, 1970b) (Reynolds 1974) (Wijesundera et al. 1988), Geiger's findings remain for the most part unchallenged, and accepted by many (Vitharana 1997). Geiger himself, however, recognized the weaknesses of his work, and made no claims to having the final word on the matter. Having never gone to the Maldives, he had to rely on scanty secondary sources, a Bengali merchant who had learned Dhivehi as a second language, and on information he had elicited from Ibrahim Didi, Prime Minister to the Maldives Sultan, during a three-day period in Colombo. He had hoped that by publishing his preliminary findings, he would encourage others to take up the study of Dhivehi on site in the Maldives (1919: 59-62).

Geiger's conclusions regarding Dhivehi's relationship to Sinhala are based on several striking similarities between the languages that were known to have been present in Medieval Sinhalese (circa 10th c.).

However, more recently available data reveal that some of these similarities are the result of parallel developments that occurred at different times in the respective languages. For example, Geiger (1919: 108-109) observes that both Dhivehi and Sinhala feature an intervocalic /h/ that developed from Proto-Dhivehi-Sinhala /-c-/ or /-cc-/: Dh. /gahek/ ‘a tree’, Si. /gahak/ (stem in both is /gas/ from OIA /gaccha-/). For Sinhala, the change of /c/ to /h/ (via /s/) intervocalically is first attested in the 9th c.: Si. (9th c.) /sarahā/ ‘having decorated’, OIA /saṃracya-/ (Karunatillake 1969: 118-120). However, the Dhivehi *Loamaafaanu* (1982) text of the late 12th c. shows that intervocalic /s/ had not yet changed at that time: Dh. (12th c.) /pasu/ ‘after’²⁶, Pa. /pacchā/.²⁷ Without knowing the historical context of this change, Geiger erroneously assumed a common innovation.

At first blush, the similarities between Dhivehi and Sinhala are the most conspicuous, and in his groundbreaking study, Geiger focused on these. Unfortunately, the “small differences” that are mentioned in passing are not brought to bear on the question of Dhivehi’s relationship with Sinhala (1919: 102-103). De Silva (1970b) was the first to point out that Geiger had missed some developments that reveal what De Silva considered as a pre-Sinhala substratum. This does not diminish the invaluable contribution Geiger made, but given the accessibility of the

²⁶ This form is also found in the Proto-Sinhala of Sigiri Graffiti (8th c.) (Karunatillake 1991: 350).

²⁷ The possibility that the written form did not accurately represent the spoken form cannot be ruled out entirely; but if that were the case, I would expect to find at least some instances of orthographic variation. Such is not the case, however, in this instance. Medieval Dhivehi of the 12th c. consistently renders OIA /c/ as <s>.

Maldives today we are in a much better position to investigate Dhivehi's historical development in the South Asian context, which is what I undertake here.

More recent studies by others of the relationship between Dhivehi and Sinhala have come up with conclusions different from those of Geiger's. Reynolds believes that the Maldivians were Sinhalese who came from Sri Lanka around the 4th c. A.D. (1993: xiii). Though he does not make it explicit, he appears to have arrived at this conclusion based on the differences in how umlaut was implemented in Dhivehi and Sinhala (Reynolds 1974: 197).²⁸ A group of Sri Lankan and Maldivian scholars reached a similar conclusion in Wijesundera et al. (1988).

A more radical view was put forward by De Silva who proposed that the Maldives was settled by Aryan speakers from India at the same time Sri Lanka was (1970b). He put forward linguistic evidence for what he considered a "pre-Sinhala substratum." According to De Silva, Medieval Sinhala spoken by 10th c. immigrants from Sri Lanka came to dominate an already existing Indo-Aryan language in the Maldives. Much of his evidence has been convincingly challenged by Reynolds (1974). However, De Silva did bring out some interesting differences between Dhivehi and Sinhala (e.g., palatal development) that had been previously overlooked by others (Reynolds 1974: 196), and I have benefited from these leads. My own view differs from that of De Silva in that I have not found any

²⁸ Unfortunately, drawing conclusions about ethnicity based on linguistic evidence is widespread in studies on the Maldives.

evidence suggesting the presence of Indo-Aryan speakers in the Maldives as early as the 5th c. – 4th c. B.C., though that possibility cannot be entirely ruled out. I also have not found any evidence of massive Sinhalese migrations to the Maldives that resulted in Medieval Sinhala supplanting an already existing Indo-Aryan language in the Maldives. Had that been the case, I would have expected even closer conformity of Dhivehi with Sinhala, rather than the pattern of divergence that emerges from the 1st c. B.C. and continues throughout Dhivehi's development.

Because of the access I have had to Dhivehi data and the Maldives, I am in a particularly good position to build on what others have done and offer my own contribution to what is known of the relationship between Dhivehi and Sinhala. In this chapter, I make a careful comparison of the phonological developments of Dhivehi and Sinhala. Cognate sets and possible OIA/MIA protoforms for many Dhivehi words have been proposed by Geiger (1902), Turner (1966-1971) and Wright (1985). These have been expanded by Dhivehi data I gathered in the Maldives (see Appendix B).

The oldest Dhivehi texts discovered to date are the 12th c. copperplate land grants, *Loamaafaanu* (1982) and *Isdhoo Loamaafaanu* (Maniku and Wijayawardhana 1986). These show that Dhivehi was a separate language by that time, closely related to Medieval Sinhala, but whose lexicon was considerably different (Maniku and Wijayawardhana 1982: x). With this dearth of historical documentation in Dhivehi, I often have had to determine Dhivehi's phonological development by comparing

modern forms with Old-Indo-Aryan (Sanskrit) and Middle Indic (generally Pali and Prakrit) together with what is known to be true of Sinhala vis-a-vis epigraphical records dating back to the 3rd c. B.C. For these Sinhala developments, I have relied on Geiger (1938), and Karunatillake (1969). Karunatillake's work is especially helpful in that specifics are given as to when a given sound change shows up in the Sinhala epigraphical record, and where paleographic evidence is scant, sound hypotheses are made based on later attested changes.

An important caveat to keep in mind for all these various periods under discussion is that while we know when certain sound changes occurred in Sinhala's history within a few centuries, the same cannot be said of Dhivehi. An upper limit of the 12th c. A.D. is set for Dhivehi by what is found in the *Loamaafaanu*. The sound changes reported in Sections 7.2-7.5 had to occur prior to that time. The shortening of long vowels and the initial appearance of new long vowels due to elision are examples of pre-12th c. developments (Section 7.5.2). It cannot be assumed, however, that of those changes which Dhivehi and Sinhala have in common, they developed at the same time. In fact, if the *Loamaafaanu* data gives any indication, some changes in Dhivehi could have developed quite a bit later.

Based upon Geiger (1938) and Karunatillake (1969), the historical development of Sinhala may be broken down as follows:

Sinhala Prakrit	Early	3 rd c. B.C. to 1 st c. B.C.
	Middle	1 st c. B.C. to 2 nd c. A.D.
	Late	2 nd c. A.D. to 4 th c. A.D.
Proto-Sinhala		4 th c. A.D. to 8 th c. A.D.
Medieval Sinhala		8 th c. A.D. to 14 th c. A.D.

I will show that Dhivehi began diverging from Sinhala at least by the Early Sinhala Prakrit period (circa 2nd c. – 1st c. B.C.). I refer to the common parent language of modern Dhivehi and Sinhala that dates back before the 1st c. B.C. as Proto-Dhivehi-Sinhala (PDS), and Proto-Dhivehi designates Dhivehi as it may have been from the 1st c. B.C. – 11th c. A.D., a period covering many sound changes but cannot be further broken down with any degree of certainty. Medieval Dhivehi is the language of the 12th c. as attested in the *Loamaafaanu*.

Proto-Dhivehi-Sinhala was at first a Middle Indic language of the Indian subcontinent around the 6th c. – 5th c. B.C., but its place of origin is disputed. One ancient tradition states that the Indo-Aryan speaking community that migrated to Sri Lanka originated in eastern India in the Bengal area. Another indicates that they set out from a western port in what is now Gujarat (Geiger 1938: 1-3) (De Silva 1979: 14-17). To date, the evidence cited for either hypothesis has been inconclusive. Linguistic evidence indicates that Sinhala Prakrit has a number of features that are characteristic of South-Central-East-North Prakrit of Middle Indic (Karunatilake 1969: 141). This is a broad geographical area, and the

specific features cited by Karunatillake (e.g., *-as* ‘OIA nominative singular’ > *-e*) have also been found in a Middle Indic language north of Bombay (Bubenik 1996: 6-8). So, features that are typically cited as “eastern” stretch westward to encompass both the eastern and western sides of the southern portion of modern India. The question of where the original PDS speakers came from may have some relevance as to when they first came to the Maldives. If the Indo-Aryan speaking immigrants had set out from western India, it is conceivable that some of those who migrated by sea would have chanced upon the Maldivian Islands en route. Some have suggested that the ancient stories of Sri Lanka’s prehistory refer to such an early settlement of the Maldives (De Silva 1970b: 150-151) (De Silva 1979: 18-19) (Shahidullah 1933: 744).

Very little is known about India as a linguistic area during the time when the migration of PDS speakers took place. We have no direct evidence of what Middle Indic languages existed at that time (6th c. – 5th c. B.C.). Pali is the oldest attested Middle Indic language, and the earliest inscriptions in that language are from the 4th c. – 2nd c. B.C. Asokan inscriptions dating from the 3rd c. B.C. were in local languages, and these give some indication of the linguistic diversity of the Middle Indic languages (Bubenik 1996: 4-6). The oldest inscriptions of Early Sinhala Prakrit (circa 3rd c. B.C.) reveal a close affinity to these Middle Indic languages. In fact, except for the loss of the aspirated series, all of the sound changes proposed by Karunatillake (1969: 9-47) for the earliest stage of Sinhala conform to what is found in Middle Indic in general. As

Dhivehi shows evidence of all these changes, I assume that these changes began to take place while the PDS speakers were still on the Indian subcontinent. These changes are surveyed in Section 7.2.1.

The loss of the aspirated series, a feature which Dhivehi and Sinhala share (Section 7.2.2), distinguishes PDS from all the other MIA languages, and this change most likely took place after the migration (Gair 1982: 54). As the earliest inscriptions attest to this change, it had to occur some time between the 5th c. – 3rd c. B.C. (Karunatillake 1969: 10-11).

Divergence between Dhivehi and Sinhala first becomes apparent around the 1st c. B.C. Comparative Dhivehi data gives strong evidence of a different pattern of development with the palatals and retroflexed stops from what is found to be the case in Sinhala Prakrit at this time (Section 7.3.1). Other changes of this period (e.g., voicing of voiceless stops intervocalically) are found in Sinhala Prakrit and Dhivehi, but these are not uncommon among the Middle Indic languages generally. I take these to be parallel innovations as a result of language drift (Fox 1995: 218-223).

Comparisons of Dhivehi with what we know of Proto Sinhala (4th c. – 8th c. A.D.), reveal both conformity and diversity (Section 7.4). Most of the sound changes are common assimilatory processes typical of languages generally, and quite common regionally. A particularly unique development which Dhivehi and Proto Sinhala have in common is a pattern of umlaut that is not found in any other Indo-Aryan language (Section 7.4.2.5). While very similar, the umlaut patterns in the respective languages do differ significantly. Contact between the speech communities

probably played a part in the development of these parallel innovations. Like many other language areas, South Asia generally shows patterns of convergence among diverse languages due to contact (Emeneau 1980: 85-196). Contact between the island fishing communities of the Maldives and Sri Lanka was probably extensive, and impacted the Dhivehi language significantly. Even so, Dhivehi continued to develop in ways not found in Proto-Sinhala. These are discussed in Section 7.4.1.

Comparisons of Dhivehi with Medieval Sinhala (8th c. – 12th c.) are made in Section 7.5. Again we find ways in which they are similar and different. A significant difference that occurred at this time is the retention of retroflex of /l/ and /ŋ/ in Dhivehi, but their loss in Sinhala (Section 7.5.4.1).

Finally, post 12th c. developments of Dhivehi are given in Section 7.6. Divergence between Dhivehi and Sinhala is accelerated after the 12th c. The conversion of the Maldives to Islam in the 12th c. may have played a role in reducing the contact with the predominantly Buddhist Sinhala speakers on the one hand, but increasing it with Persian and Arabic speakers on the other. Some changes like /p/ to /f/ have been attributed to increased contact with the latter (Reynolds 1978: 156-157).

7.2 *Proto-Dhivehi-Sinhala*

In this section I survey the changes that took place from OIA to Early Sinhala Prakrit, and show how comparative data in Dhivehi reveals conformity to all of those changes. With the exception of the loss of

contrastive aspiration, all the sound changes that Karunatillake (1969) proposes for the earliest stage of Sinhala are found in Middle Indic (cf. Masica 1991: 166-183). For this reason, it is probable that these changes were already underway on the Indian subcontinent before these Middle Indic speakers ventured southward.

7.2.1 Common MIA Developments in Proto-Dhivehi-Sinhala

7.2.1.1 OIA /š/, /ṣ/, and /s/ Neutralize to /s/

A common Middle Indic development is the neutralization of the OIA sibilants /š/, /ṣ/, and /s/ to one (/s/ in the west, /š/ in the east): OIA /šišya/ ‘pupil’, Pa. /sissa/ (Masica 1991: 168). Sinhala Prakrit inscriptions of the 3rd c. B.C. show that <s> was being used to represent OIA /š/, /ṣ/, and /s/: <siva> for OIA /šiva/ ‘a name’, <tisa> for OIA /tiṣyā/ ‘a name’ (Karunatillake 1969: 15). This indicates that the sibilants were not contrastive. Contemporary Dhivehi data shows evidence that this neutralization took place there as well:

(235) <u>Dhivehi</u>	<u>Sinhala</u>	<u>OIA</u>	<u>MIA</u>
kes ‘pubic hair’	kes ‘hair’	kēša ‘hair’	kēsa
fas ‘earth’	pasa	pāṁṣu	paṁsu
fus ‘8 th asterism’	pusa	puṣyá	phussa

I assume, therefore, that Proto-Dhivehi-Sinhala no longer retained OIA /š/ and /ṣ/. In Dhivehi, there is a retroflex sibilant /š/ rendered by the

Thaana character ‘Shaviyani’ <𑌗>. The /ʃ/ is a reflex of OIA and PDS /t/, and not of the OIA sibilants. (See Section 7.6.6.)

7.2.1.2 OIA Consonant Clusters in PDS

OIA consonant clusters went through a process of assimilation to be rendered as geminates in Middle Indic. While Sinhala epigraphic records before the 8th c. A.D. do not depict consonant clusters orthographically, that consonant clusters existed is evidenced by the fact that reflexes of OIA consonant clusters are consistently rendered whereas reflexes of single consonants fluctuate. For example, OIA intervocalic /kṣ/ is always written as <k> in Sinhala inscriptions from the 3rd c. B.C. until the 4th c. A.D. Contrastively, OIA intervocalic /k/ is rendered as <k> in 3rd c. B.C., but is in free variation with <g> around the 1st c. A.D. From the 2nd c. until the 4th, OIA /k/ fluctuates between <k>, <g>, and <y>. This, in addition to evidence of how the presence of clusters impacted vowel developments, leads Karunatilake to conclude that reflexes of OIA consonant clusters persisted as clusters in Proto-Sinhala until some time prior to the 8th c. A.D. (Karunatilake 1969: 16-19, 57-58).

Such clusters went through significant changes before that time, however. For PDS, and MIA generally, the first consonant in intervocalic OIA consonant clusters assimilated to the second consonant unless the latter was more sonorous, in which case it assimilated to the former. Nasals only assimilated to place. Note that the geminate clusters later underwent a shortening process so that the reflexes in Dhivehi and Sinhala

of such clusters are only single characters. For example, in light of subsequent changes, Mod. Dh. /adu/ 'today' would have developed from OIA /adyá/ as follows: /adyá/ > */adda/ > */āda/ > */ādu/ > /adu/. MIA (Pali) data demonstrates many of the assimilation and gemination patterns of what most likely took place in PDS as well (Karunatillake 1969: 29-36):

	<u>Dhivehi</u>	<u>Sinhala</u>	<u>OIA</u>	<u>MIA</u>
(236) stop ₁ + stop ₂ :				
	ukanī 'throws'	ukanavā	útkasati	---
	ufan 'born'	upan	utpanna-	uppana-
(237) non-palatal stop + nasal:				
	dati 'difficult'	yata	yatna-	yatta
(238) stop + semivowel:				
	adu 'today'	ada	adya	ajjā
(239) stop + sibilant:				
	mas 'fish'	masā	matsya	maccha
(240) nasal + stop/spirant:				
	a ^m bi 'wife'	ambu-	ambi(kā)-	ambā-
(241) nasal + semivowel:				
	anek 'other'	an	anyá	añña
(242) liquid + stop:				
	kaduru 'dates'	kaduru	kharjūra	khajjūrī-
(243) liquid + nasal:				
	kam 'action'	kama	kárman	kamma

(244) /r/ + dental stop:²⁹

voṣṣ ‘brass lamp’ væṭa varti vaṭṭi

(245) sibilant + stop:

aturanī ‘arranges’ aturaṇavā āstarati attharati

(246) sibilant + semivowel:

las ‘late’ las ālasya- ālassa

as ‘horse’ æs āśva assa

(247) sibilant + /r/:

assanī ‘ties’ --- āśrayati ---

For Early Sinhala Prakrit, Karunatillake also furnishes examples of the following cluster types which I have not yet found for Dhivehi due to lack of data: semivowel₁ + semivowel₂, liquid + sibilant (/r/+s/), spirant + nasal, palatal stop + nasal, and nasal₁ + nasal₂. Given the evidence of (236)-(247), I assume that these other clusters assimilated as indicated also.

Note that for OIA consonant clusters consisting of three members, the first two assimilated (and geminated for non-nasals), but the third member dropped out: Dh. /oṣṣ/ ‘camel’, Si. /oṭuvā/, MIA (Pa.) /uṭṭa-/, OIA (Skt.) /úṣṭra/ ‘buffalo’.

²⁹ The combination of /r/ + dental stop became a source of new retroflex geminates in PDS as it did in MIA (Karunatillake 1969: 23-24) (Masica 1991: 176).

OIA consonant clusters occurring word initially simplified to the less sonorous member in PDS and in MIA generally: Dh. /goṣ/ ‘knot’, Si. /gæṭaya/, Pk. /gamṭhi-/, OIA /granthí/.

7.2.1.3 OIA Word Final Consonants

The dropping of word final consonants is a common development in Middle-Indic (e.g., OIA /idānīm/ ‘now’ > Pa. /dāni/) (Masica 1991: 170-171). I assume the loss of final consonants for PDS (c.f., Dh. /den/ ‘then’, and Si. /dæn/ ‘now’ < ... < OIA /idānīm/). An exception to this general pattern found in many eastern MIA languages and in Sinhala Prakrit is the change of OIA nominative and accusative endings of *-as* and *-am* respectively to /e/: Magadhi /dēvē/ < OIA /dēvāḥ/ ‘god’, SP (3rd c. B.C.) /dāne/ < OIA /dānam/ ‘gift’ (Masica 1991: 170) (Karunatillake 1969: 19-20). The /e/ would later become /i/ in both Dhivehi and Sinhala (circa 3rd c. A.D.), and trigger umlaut (circa 4th c. A.D.). Evidence for this change in Dhivehi is scant, but reflexes of OIA /jālam/ in the southern atolls indicates that this process took place in Dhivehi: Ad. /deu/ and Hu. /del-e/ ‘net’ < OIA /jālam/. Assuming subsequent changes, OIA /jālam/ would have developed as follows in the South: /jālam/ > */jāle/ > */jāli/ > */jēli/ > */deli/ > /del-/ (c.f. Si. /dæɪ/). Standard (Malé) Dhivehi has /dal-/ ‘net’ probably derived from the OIA stem form /jāla-/. Karunatillake discusses similar umlauted/unumlauted forms in Sinhala (1969: 82-83). Given this pattern in the southern dialects and a reasonable

explanation for the non-umlauted forms, I assume the change of OIA /-as/ and /-am/ to /e/ for PDS.

7.2.1.4 OIA Long Vowels

In Brahmi inscriptions of Sri Lanka, long vowels were not generally represented. As later phonological developments (e.g., umlaut) critically depend on contrastive length, Karunatillake assumes that OIA vowel length was retained in Sinhala Prakrit (circa 3rd c. B.C.) with one exception: long vowels in closed syllables probably shortened. No later phonological developments depend upon the presence of super heavy syllables (Karunatillake 1969: 21-23). As Dhivehi shows evidence of undergoing later phonological changes in the environment of heavy syllables (e.g., /den/ ‘then’ < OIA /idānīm/), I assume that long vowels were retained in Proto-Dhivehi-Sinhala except for closed syllables. This pattern of mora trimming also existed in early Middle Indic: Pa. /jiṇṇah/ ‘old’ < OIA /jīrṇah/ (Bubenik 1996: 29-30).

7.2.1.5 Development of Retroflexion and Loss of Vocalic /ṛ/

In early Middle Indic, the vocalic /ṛ/ was lost and replaced by /a/, /i/ and /u/: OIA /ṛṇa/ ‘debt’, Pa. /iṇa/ (Masica 1991: 167-168). In some cases, the loss of /ṛ/ was linked to the development of retroflexion of a following dental: OIA /ṛṇtate/ ‘dances’, Pa. /naṭate/ (Bubenik 1996: 59). Comparative data in Dhivehi and Sinhala show this pattern as well:

(248) <u>Dhivehi</u>	<u>Sinhala</u>	<u>OIA</u>
naṣānī ‘dances’	naṣānavā	ṇṛtate
muṣi ‘clay’	mæṭi	mṛttika
fuḷau ‘broad’	puḷul ³⁰	ṇṛthula

The Brahmic inscriptions of Early Sinhala Prakrit (3rd c. B.C.), show OIA /ṛ/ rendered as <a> and <i> : SP /taṇa/ <taṇa> ‘grass’, OIA /ṛṇa/; SP /bāti/ <bati> ‘brother’, OIA /bhrāṭṛ-/ (Karunatillake 1969: 25-26). The later language shows <u> as well, but Karunatillake surmises that OIA /ṛ/ primarily neutralized to /a/ as evidenced by later changes (i.e., umlaut). While the details of such developments cannot be known due to lack of evidence, the general pattern of the development of retroflexion followed by the change of /ṛ/ to /a/ seems to have occurred in PDS as it did in other MIA languages.

7.2.1.6 Coalescence of OIA /-aya-/ and /-ava-/ to PDS /-e-/ and /-o-/ Respectively

Epigraphical evidence indicates that OIA /ai/, /-aya-/, /-ayi-/, and /-avi-/ coalesced with /e/, and /au/ and /-ava-/ coalesced with /o/ in Early Sinhala Prakrit (Karunatillake 1969: 27). Although the evidence is not as robust for some sequences, Dhivehi data does demonstrate that this sound change applied there as well:

³⁰ Though Sinhala lost contrastive retroflexion for lateral by the 8th c., Literary Sinhala often retains it orthographically.

(249)	<u>OIA</u>	<u>MIA</u>	<u>Dhivehi</u>	<u>Sinhala</u>
	trayaḥṣaṣṭi	tēsātthī	tēhaṭṭi ‘sixty-three’	tesæṭi
	tráyōdaṣa	tēlasa	tēra ‘thirteen’	teḷesa/tera
	tailá	tēla	teyo ‘oil’	tel-
	upavasatha	pōsatha-	fō ‘fortnightly observance’	pōya
	yavanāla	joṇṇāliā	donaḷa ‘a kind of grain’	---
	lavaṇá	lōṇa	lonu ‘salt’	lunu/loṇa

As indicated by the Pali (MIA) examples above, these developments were common in early Middle Indic (Masica 1991: 169). I assume, then, that the coalescence was operative in PDS while still on the Indian subcontinent.

7.2.2 Proto-Dhivehi-Sinhala Post-migration: Loss of OIA Aspirated Segments

OIA featured the following aspirated segments: /kh/, /gh/, /ch/, /jh/, /ṭh/, /ḍh/, /th/, /dh/, /ph/, /bh/. The aspirated series is not found in either Dhivehi or Sinhala, a shared characteristic that sets these languages apart from the Indo-Aryan languages of the subcontinent. We can assume that at the time the protolanguage came from the Indian subcontinent, aspirated stops were present in the language (Gair 1982: 54). By the 3rd c. B.C., however, the aspirated stops neutralized to the unaspirated ones as evidenced by orthographic free variation for aspirated/unaspirated stops in Sinhala Prakrit inscriptions: <bata> ~ <bhatu> ‘brother’ but OIA /bhrāṭṛ-/

(Karunatillake 1969: 10-11).³¹ Based on such evidence, the coalescence of the aspirated stops with the corresponding unaspirated stops can be assumed for Proto-Dhivehi-Sinhala by the 3rd c. B.C. The following example shows the reflexes of OIA aspirated stops:

(250) <u>Dhivehi</u>	<u>Sinhala</u>	<u>Sanskrit</u>
kas 'itch'	kas	khasa
gina 'many'	gana	ghana
hat 'umbrella'	cata (3 rd c. A.D.)	chatra
a ⁿ diri 'dark'	a ⁿ dura	andhakāra
duni 'bow'	dunna	dhanus
fonu 'foam'	pana	phēna
baṣi 'brinjal'	baṭu	bhaṇṭākī
ki ^m bū 'crocodile'	ki ^m bulā	kumbhīra

Based on the absence of the aspirated series in modern Dhivehi and evidence of this change in the earliest stage of Sinhala, I assume that the loss of aspiration took place in Proto-Dhivehi-Sinhala by the 3rd c. B.C.³²

³¹ Karunatillake (1969: 42) assumes that a sound change has already become phonemic in a given period whenever the epigraphical record shows free alternation of previously contrastive segments. The orthographic variation results from the conservative nature of the written record.

³² Note that the Dhivehi 12th c. A.D. texts do feature <kh> and <dh> orthographically; but they occur in words in which the aspirated character alternates with the unaspirated ones orthographically, and which would not have been aspirated in any case: <kāpurun> ~ <khāpurun> 'infidel', <dabuduvu> ~ <dhabuduvu> 'dabidū (island name)' (Maniku and Wijayawardhana 1986: vi) (Maniku 1982: 7). Aspirated characters are also found in Sinhala writings dating back to the 7th c. A.D. This reintroduction of aspirated stops into these scripts may have been the result of areal

The only other Indo-Aryan language to feature the loss of phonemic aspiration is the Kasagod dialect of Marathi, spoken in northern Kerala where Malayalam (a Dravidian language) is the state language (Ghatage 1970) (Masica 1991: 103). The loss of aspiration in Proto-Dhivehi-Sinhala is probably due to Dravidian influence (Geiger 1935: xviii) (Bloch 1965: 64-65) (Elizarenkova 1972: 132) (De Silva 1979: 17) (Masica 1991: 205).

7.3 *Proto-Dhivehi in Comparison with Sinhala Prakrit (2nd c. B.C. – 4th c. A.D.)*

7.3.1 Early Divergence

7.3.1.1 PDS */y/ Merges with */j/ Word Initially

De Silva was the first to recognize that Sinhala retains OIA /y/ word initially, but Dhivehi does not. In Dhivehi, OIA word initial /y-/ changed to */j-/ (which later became /d/). Thus, Dhivehi is a *y to j* language as are most Indo-Aryan languages, and Sinhala is not (De Silva 1970: 157-158). In fact, where OIA has */y/ word initially, modern Dhivehi has /d/ consistently if not exclusively. The PDS */y/ became PD */j/ prior to the latter becoming /d/ (i.e., possibly by 8th c.). The change of word initial /y-/ to /j-/ is a common development in early Middle-Indic of the Indian subcontinent (3rd c. – 2nd c. B.C.) (Masica 1991: 169). I tentatively place it as a development in Proto-Dhivehi of the 2nd c. – 1st c. B.C.

Mahayana influence. Mahayana Buddhism uses Sanskrit extensively, and the Brahmi based scripts of the area had to be augmented with Pallava Grantha aspirated characters to meet their needs (Fernando 1950: 223).

(251) <u>Dhivehi</u>	<u>Sinhala</u>	<u>OIA</u>	<u>MIA</u>
da 'iron'	ya	áyas-	ayō
doṣi 'fishing rod'	yæṭi-	yaṣṭí	jaṭṭhi (Pk.)
donaḷa 'kind of grain'	yava	yavanāla	joṇṇāliā
danī 'going'	yanavā	yāti	yāti (Pa.), jāi (Pk.)
daturu 'journey'	yaturu	yātrā	yātrā(Pa.), jattā (Pk.)
dam- 'night watch'	yama	yāma	yāma (Pa.), jāma (Pk.)

Only Sinhala, Kashmiri and some of the Dardic languages have retained OIA /y/ word initially (Masica 1991: 199). Evidence suggests that OIA /y/ had begun to acquire a fricative pronunciation in Early Middle Indic (Masica 1991: 169). If we assume that there was some free variation of /y/ pronounced as [ʒ] ~ [y] in PDS, it is possible that contact between Maldives and Aryan speech communities on the Indian subcontinent reinforced the change of OIA /y/ to /j/. While the details can only be speculated, I consider the /y/ to */j/ in Dhivehi as a striking example of how Dhivehi differs from Sinhala very early on in the development of the respective languages.

7.3.1.2 PDS Palatals in Proto-Dhivehi

Beginning around the 1st c. B.C., Proto-Dhivehi and Middle Sinhala Prakrit show divergent patterns of palatal development. Reflexes of OIA intervocalic /-j-/ came down to modern Dhivehi as /-h-/ (/s/ word finally), but as /d/ in Sinhala (De Silva 1971: 159):

(252) OIA, PDS /-j-/ > /-s-/ > /-s/ and /-h-/:

<u>OIA</u>	<u>MIA</u>	<u>Dhivehi</u>	<u>Sinhala</u>
bīja	bīja	bis ‘egg’	bittaraya
bhedya-	bhājeti	bahanī ‘distributing’	bedannə
rajatá	rajata	rihi ‘silver’	ridī
rājan	rājā	ras ‘ruler’	rada
rujā	rujā	rihenī ‘paining’	ridenu
---	vijāyat	vihanī ‘birthing’	vada-

The change of PDS /-j-/ to /-s-/ in Dhivehi had to occur quite early, for in another development PDS /-c-/ became /-j-/ that would eventually yield /-d-/ as indicated below:

(253) OIA, PDS /-c-/ > /-j-/ > /-d-/:

<u>OIA</u>	<u>MIA</u>	<u>Dhivehi</u>	<u>Sinhala</u>
ācāriya-	ācāriya	eduru ‘tutor’	æduru
āyācatē	āyācati	edenī ‘requests’	ayadinavā

The change of PDS /-c-/ to Sinhala Prakrit /-j-/ is attested orthographically in 1st c. A.D., and we can assume that the phonemic

change occurred prior to that time (Karunatillake 1969: 41-46).³³ Since PDS /-c-/ appears not to have merged with PDS /-j-/ in Dhivehi and yet conforms to the pattern of lenition otherwise, it must be the case that the latter had already changed to /-s-/ prior to that time. This may have been around the 1st c. B.C.

The change of /-j-/ to /-s-/ intervocalically in Dhivehi is indeed a marked one especially in the face of the more general pattern of voicing of intervocalic stops and affricates. A possible cause of this conspicuous change may be Dravidian influence, and an analogy is found in Tamil. The intervocalic /-j-/ of Sanskrit loan words is often rendered with an [-š-] in Tamil: Sa. (OIA) /rājā/ ‘king’, Ta. [rāšā] (Caldwell 1875: 143, 155). Even in modern Jaffna Tamil, Sanskrit loan words featuring intervocalic /-j-/ are pronounced as [s] by many (James Gair, personal communication). I suggest the PDS /-j-/ became /-s-/ as a result of Dravidian influence early in Dhivehi’s history.

While the pattern of PDS /-j-/ to /-s-/ as in (252) is predominant, there are a few words which feature reflexes of /-j-/ as /-d-/ and show conformity to what is found in Sinhala: Dh. /radun/ ‘king’, Si. /rada/, OIA /rājan/. I regard such words as loans. Evidence for this is found in the *Loamaafaanu* and *Isdhoo Loamaafaanu* from the 12th c. A.D. in which ‘(great) king’ is rendered everywhere as (*mā*) *rasun*. Two centuries later, however, in the *Bodugalu Miskit Loamaafaanu* (14th c.) (Bell 1940:

³³ The change of OIA /-c-/ to /-j-/ is also found in many other Middle Indic languages as a parallel development (Bubenik 1996: 54-55) (Masica 1991: 180-181).

183-184), ‘(great) king’ appears as (*mahā*) *radun*. The form *ras* is still in use in such words as *rasgefānu* ‘king’, and *māytraskalānge* ‘God’.

7.3.1.3 PDS */t/ and */d/ Developments

Comparative Dhivehi data of retroflex consonants reveal that Dhivehi speech varieties of the southern atolls (Huvadū, Foammulak, Addu atolls) not only diverge from Sinhala, but from Standard (Malé) Dhivehi as well perhaps as early as the 2nd c. B.C. – 1st c. B.C. In all these languages OIA/PDS */-ḍ-/ becomes /-ḷ-/:

(254) PDS */-ḍ-/ > /-ḷ-/:

<u>OIA</u>	<u>Sinhala</u>	<u>Malé</u>	<u>Huv.</u>	<u>Foa.</u>	<u>Ad.</u>
*adhiyardha	yeyḷa	doḷu ‘1½ of’	doḷe	---	deḷe
*khēḍ	keḷinavā (vb.)	kuḷun ‘playing’	koḷḷan	---	koḷan
pr̥thulá ³⁴	puḷul	fuḷā ‘wide’	---	feḷū	fuḷau
tāḍa	talaya	taḷu ‘lock’	taḷe	taḷo	taḷa
biḍāla	baḷalā	buḷā ‘cat’	---	beḷal	beḷau
baḍiṣa	biḷiya	buḷi ‘hook’	buḷiya	biḷi	biḷi

In addition, Malé Dhivehi and Sinhala show that PDS */-ṭ-/ first neutralizes to */-ḍ-/ to also become /-ḷ-/, but in Southern Dhivehi PDS */-ṭ-/ only becomes /-ḍ-/:

³⁴ OIA /t/ and /d/ became retroflex when preceded by /r/ or /ṛ/ in PDS (Section 7.2.1.2 and Section 7.2.1.5).

(255) OIA/PDS /-t-/ > /-d-/ > /-l-/			OIA/PDS /-t-/ > /-d-/		
<u>OIA</u>	<u>Sinhala</u>	<u>Malé</u>	<u>Huv.</u>	<u>Foa.</u>	<u>Addu</u>
avaṭa	vaḷa	vaḷu 'well'	vaḍe	vaḍo	vaḍa
utkaṭa	ukuḷa	ukuḷu 'hip'	ukuda ³⁵	---	ukuḍu
*phiraṭi	---	furoḷun 'roll'	---	feren ⁿ ḍun	feren ⁿ ḍun
kaṭu	kuḷu	kuḷi 'spicy'	---	---	kuḍi
karkaṭa	kakuḷuvā	kukuḷu 'hen'	hukuḍu	---	kukuḷu ³⁶
kōṭi	keḷa	koḷu 'piece'	---	keḍe	keḍe
sphuṭāti	pæḷavenə-	foḷenī 'bloom'	---	---	feḍenī
sphaṭati	---	feḷun 'split'	---	feḍun	feḍun

The chronological sequence of changes for Malé Dhivehi and Sinhala is then:

1. OIA/PDS /-t-/ > /-d-/
2. /-d-/ (from OIA/PDS /-d-/ and /-t-/ > /-l-/)

In contrast, the sequence for Southern Dhivehi is:

1. OIA/PDS /-d-/ > /-l-/
2. OIA/PDS /-t-/ > /-d-/

So, Southern Dhivehi diverged from Malé Dhivehi before /-t-/ became /-d-/ in that language. This would have had to be quite early. In Sinhala, the loss of contrast between /-t-/ and /-d-/ made its way into the inscriptions by the 1st c. A.D. (Karunatilake 1969: 41-46), and we can

³⁵ Huv. 'vagina'

³⁶ Probably borrowed.

assume that the phonemic neutralization was even earlier. It would follow then, that by the 1st c. B.C., Southern Dhivehi diverged from Malé Dhivehi and Sinhala. As this accords well with the time frame for the divergent palatal development, I conclude that not only did Dhivehi begin to come into its own as a language by the 1st c. B.C., but that dialect differences surfaced by that time as well.

The early development of dialect differences is not surprising given the geographic isolation of Huvadū, Foammulak, and Addu atolls. Huvadū Atoll, the northernmost of the southern group is about fifty miles from the nearest central atoll to the north, the largest expanse of water between neighboring atolls in the Maldives proper.³⁷ The distance between the southern atolls is also substantial, and today each has its own characteristic dialect mutually intelligible with each other, but not so with Standard (Malé) Dhivehi. In this historical survey, I cite how the southern speech differs where data is available, but a comprehensive account of Proto-Southern-Dhivehi is beyond the scope of this present study.

That Malé Dhivehi and Sinhala show the same pattern of retroflexion development is not surprising given that these processes were common in Middle Indic. Pali features the /-ḍ-/ to /-ḷ-/ change: OIA /tāḍa/ ‘latch’, Pa. /tāḷa/ (cf. Dh. /taḷu/). Prakrit shows some variation in such forms as <pīḍā> ~ <pīḷā> for OIA /pīḍā/ ‘pain’ (Masica 1990: 170).³⁸

³⁷ Even with today’s motorized boats, it still takes a day’s journey to cross the expanse, and the ocean currents in these channels can be treacherous.

³⁸ Masica regards the change as allophonic in Pali, but if we accept Karunatilake’s principle (that once orthographic representations shows variation the change is

The change of OIA /t/ to MIA /d/ is found in Maharashtri (Pk.): OIA /kaṭaka/ ‘bracelet’, Maharashtri /kaḍaa/. Also, MIA Prakritic developments show OIA /-ṭ-/ to /-ḷ-/ (presumably through /-ḍ-/): OIA /kheṭa/ ‘saliva’, Ardhamagadhi /kheḷa/ (cf. Dh. /kuḷu/) (Pischel 1965: 198). While the scope and the extent of these developments in Early Middle Indic of the 5th c. B.C. cannot be known for certain, comparative MIA developments from later periods indicate that such changes could have begun to be present at the time PDS was still on the subcontinent. If that is indeed the case, then the patterns seen in Malé Dhivehi and Sinhala, could be the result of drift. What we cannot know for certain is when PDS /-ḍ-/ became Proto-Southern Dhivehi /-ḷ-/. The Sinhala Prakrit intervocalic /-ḷ-/ from PDS /-ḍ-/ probably did not become phonemic until the 3rd c. A.D. (Karunatillake 1969: 52), but the change in Proto-Southern Dhivehi could have been much earlier.

7.3.1.4 Intervocalic */s/ Merges with /h/ as a Later Development

Dhivehi and Sinhala both feature PDS /s/ becoming /h/ intervocalically. This change is quite common in Middle Indic as well (e.g., Ardhamagadhi /daha/ ‘ten’, OIA /daśa-/) (Pischel 1900: 215-264). A later development of /h/ deletion between like vowels is also reflected in the modern forms below:

phonemic), then the change of /ḍ/ to /ḷ/ in Pali and Prakrit would be understood as phonemic as well.

(256)	<u>OIA</u>	<u>Pali</u>	<u>Dhivehi</u>	<u>Sinhala</u>
	dāṣa	dasa	diha ‘ten’	daha
	nāśā	nāsā	nē- ‘nose’	naha/nāē
	mūsala	musala	mō ‘pestle’	mohol
	rāsa	rasa	rā ‘toddy’	raha/rā
	viśā	visa	viha ‘poison’	visa/viha

While both Dhivehi and Sinhala feature the same change, the timing of the change is vastly different in each language. Karunatillake notes that intervocalic /s/ begins to be written as /h/ in Sinhala Prakrit of the 2nd c. A.D., and he proposes that the change of /s/ to /h/ occurred at that time (1969: 56). According to forms found in the *Loamaaḥaanu*, this change could not have happened in Dhivehi even by the 12th c. Intervocalic /s/ from PDS /s/ and /-j-/ are retained at that time: Medieval Dhivehi /dese/ ‘country’ (< OIA /desa-/), Med. Dh. /disen/ ‘direction’ (< OIA /diśa-/), Med. Dh. /rasu-/ ‘king’ (< OIA /raja-/). (Note that words like /rasu-/ indicate that retention of /-s-/ here is not due to borrowing.) Some time after the 12th c., all intervocalic /s/’s from a number of sources (i.e., PDS /s/, /-j-/ and /-cc-/ became /h/.

7.3.2 Overlapping Developments in Proto-Dhivehi and Sinhala Prakrit

While Proto-Dhivehi diverged from Sinhala Prakrit around the 1st c. B.C. as indicated above, there are a number of changes attested in Sinhala Prakrit which occurred in Dhivehi as well. The nature of those changes

makes it very difficult to categorize them as either “shared innovations” (implying no divergence) or “independent innovations” (implying no contact and no common language history), and such a strong dichotomy is probably not useful in this context. By the 1st c. A.D., for example, Sinhala Prakrit lost contrast in voicing for non-labial intervocalic stops (Karunatillake 1969: 41-46). For the most part, Dhivehi conforms to this change, but as seen in Section 7.3.1.3, the retroflex stops in Southern Dhivehi did not lose the voicing contrast at that time. Another characteristic of the changes surveyed here is that all but one (i.e., /s/ > /h/ word initially) are found in Middle Indic languages on the subcontinent in roughly the same time periods. This would indicate that the overlap seen here is a result of “drift” (Sapir 1921) which Greenberg defines as “convergence of genetically related languages” (1957: 46). Greenberg’s analogy about drift in Germanic is appropriate here as well: “A common stage had been set. Small wonder, then, that a similar act ensued” (ibid.). Undoubtedly some conformity was probably reinforced by contact as islanders sought out markets in Sri Lanka, India and beyond for their cowries and fish in exchange for commodities (e.g., rice) not available in the islands.

7.3.2.1 Word final /e/ Becomes /i/

Karunatillake reports that in Sinhala Prakrit (circa 2nd c. A.D.) /e/ became /i/ word finally following a heavy syllable. It is also significant that the derived /i/ (from earlier /e/ and from OIA /i/) triggered the umlaut

rule in a later development: OIA /putras/ ‘son’ > */putte/ > */putti/ > */pūti/ > */pīti/ > /pit/. One piece of evidence for this change in Dhivehi comes from the southern atolls: Ad. /deu/ and Hu. /del-e/ ‘net’ < OIA /jālam/. Assuming subsequent changes, OIA /jālam/ would have developed as follows in the south: /jālam/ > */jāle/ > */jāli/ > */jēli/ > */deli > */del-/ (c.f. Si /dæl/).

Overall, however, evidence for this change is extremely scant in Dhivehi. Except for the southern /del-/ ‘net’ example, I have not found any other word in any of the Dhivehi dialects which show an umlaut that might have been caused by a */i/ reflex of an earlier /e/. It is possible that the PDS */e/ became */i/ only in the southern dialects, but remained */e/ in the standard. Later word final vowels following heavy syllables would be deleted, and evidence of this would have been obliterated. Had the change of */e/ to /i/ taken place in Standard Dhivehi, I would have expected far more examples of what has been called “spontaneous umlaut forms” in regard to Sinhala (Geiger 1938: 27). To date, I have found none. On the other hand, the change of /e/ to /i/ word finally following heavy syllables is found in a number of Middle Indic languages (e.g., Maharashtri /pucchiāi/ ‘asked’ from OIA /prṣṭāyā/) (Bubenik 1996: 31), and it probably happened in Dhivehi as well independently.

7.3.2.2 Long Vowels Shorten Word Finally

Dhivehi and Sinhala shortened OIA long vowels word finally when following a heavy syllable. Evidence for this change, however, is indirect.

Long vowels were not graphically rendered until the 8th c. A.D. in the Sinhala epigraphical record, and the long vowels appearing there are not OIA long vowels, but a new set stemming from deletion of intervocalic segments. Karunatillake reasons that for the new long vowels to develop, the old ones must have shortened. Later in the 8th c., the final vowels, whether reflexes of long or short vowels, were deleted. As they were treated alike, it stands to reason that length was neutralized prior to the 8th c. (e.g., Si. /mal/ ‘flowers’, OIA /mālā-/; Si. /mala/ ‘dirt’, OIA /mala-/), and Karunatillake places this change in the Late Sinhala Prakrit stage (2nd c.- 4th c.) (1969: 49-50). Indications are that Dhivehi shortened word final long vowels after heavy syllables as well (cf. Dh. /mal-/ ‘flowers’, /mila/ ‘grime’). In Middle Indic, long vowels word finally following heavy syllables were also shortened (e.g. Pali /āsi/ ‘be (aorist 3rd singular)’ (Bloch 1965: 44).

7.3.2.3 Lenition and Spirantization

Middle Indic languages feature the lenition (voicing) of stops intervocalically. Examples of this process are found in Pali, and in some Asokan inscriptions, and after the 3rd c. B.C. it became widespread (Bloch 1965: 80). In a later development, spirantization of the voiced stops (except for the retroflex) caused some to become /-y-/ (Bubenik 1996: 54-55) (Masica 1991: 180). For example, Prakrit (Maharashtri) has /paya/ ‘foot’ for OIA/Pali /pada/, and /āgaya/ ‘arrived’ for OIA/Pali /āgata/ (Pischel 1900: 163-164). These changes are found in Dhivehi and Sinhala

as well. The reflex of single intervocalic PDS /k/ and /g/ in modern Dhivehi and Sinhala is /y/. In some cases, the /y/ is deleted in a later development:

(257) <u>Dhivehi</u>	<u>Sinhala</u>	<u>OIA</u>	<u>MIA</u>
niya- '(finger) nail'	niya	nakhá	nakha
ūru 'pig'	ūru	sūkará	sūkara
điya 'liquid'	điya	udaká	daka
liyanī 'write'	liyanavā	likhāti	likhati
bai 'part'	bā	bhāga	bhāga

Evidence for the PDS /t/ to /d/ change in modern Dhivehi is not abundant, partly due to the subsequent changes to intervocalic /y/.

However, based on forms like Dh. /mai/ 'mother' (< */māya/ < */māta/ < OIA /mātr/), I assume that this change holds for Dhivehi as well.

Comparative data shows the subsequent change of /d/ to /y/:

(258) <u>Dhivehi</u>	<u>Sinhala</u>	<u>OIA</u>	<u>MIA</u>
kēn 'food container' ---		khādana	khādana
hiyani 'shadow'	sevana	chādana	chādana
fiyan 'cover'	piyana	pidhāna	pidhāna
vēn 'pain'	veyin	vēdaná	vēdanā

The history of these changes in Sinhala is well attested. Inscriptions show that voicing of intervocalic stops occurred by the 1st c. A.D.: Sinhala Prakrit (1st c.) /niyade/ 'donated', OIA /niyatam/ (Karunatillake 1969:

41-46). The spirantization that caused both /d/ and /g/ to become /y/ intervocalically occurred by the 2nd c. A.D.: SP (2nd c.) /doraya/ ‘of the door’, OIA /dvāraka-/(Karunatillake 1969: 51-52).

In a related process, OIA/PDS /p/ became /v/ intervocalically in both Dhivehi and Sinhala:

(259) <u>Dhivehi</u>	<u>Sinhala</u>	<u>OIA</u>	<u>Pali</u>	<u>Prakrit</u>
avi ‘sunlight’	avu	ātapá	ātapa	āyava
vev- ‘tank’	væv	vāpí	vāpi	vāvī
divehi ‘Maldivian’	div ‘island’	---	dīpa	dīva
govi ‘shepherd’	govi	---	gopaka	---

As seen in the Prakrit examples, this change of /p/ to /v/ intervocalically was common in Middle Indic (Pischel 1900: 171). This change is attested in Sinhala Prakrit as early as the 2nd c. A.D. (Karunatillake 1969: 53-54), about the same time it became common in Middle Indic. In Middle Indic languages, however, the /p/ first neutralizes with intervocalic /b/ before becoming /v/. This is essentially part of the same process of lenition and spirantization for /t/ > /d/ > /y/ (Bubenik 1996: 54-56). Yet, the change of /p/ to /v/ does not always entail neutralization with /b/ in Middle Indic. Prakrit features the /p/ to /v/ change, but maintains OIA intervocalic /b/ in some words: Pk. pibai ‘drinks’, OIA /pibati/. OIA intervocalic /b/ is retained in Sinhala (e.g., Si. /labu/ ‘pumpkin’, OIA /lābu/) (Geiger 1939: 60-61). I can find little evidence of this in Dhivehi. Practically all occurrences of intervocalic /b/

in Dhivehi are reflexes of geminates. One example of the retention of intervocalic PDS /b/ (< OIA /bh/) is: Dh. /libenī/ ‘receive’, Si. /labanavā/, OIA /libhatē/.

7.3.2.4 PDS */s/ Coalesces with /h/ Word Initially

One change found in both Dhivehi and Sinhala that is very uncommon among Indo-Aryan languages is the change of OIA sibilants to /h/ word initially which in turn was deleted:³⁹

(260) <u>Dhivehi</u>	<u>Sinhala</u>	<u>OIA/MIA</u>
akiri ‘pebbles’	akuru	šarkarā
annanī ‘dress (v.)	a ⁿ dinu	sájati
is ‘face’	(h)is	sīsa (Pa.)
im- ‘boundary’	ima	sīmán
innanī ‘sit’	(h)i ⁿ dinavā	sīdati
ui ‘thread’	hū	sútra
iru ‘sun’	(h)iru	súra
ū ‘fork’	ul	šúla

However, there are many words in both Dhivehi and Sinhala which retain the initial /h/ after the change from /s/:

³⁹ Kashmiri is one of the few Indo-Aryan languages featuring the same change: Ka. /atha/ ‘hand’, OIA /hasta/ (Masica 1991: 200).

(261) <u>Dhivehi</u>	<u>Sinhala</u>	<u>OIA</u>	<u>MIA</u>
heki ‘witness’	---	sākṣin	sakkhi
hanu ‘whetstone’	haṇa	šāna	sāṇa
haru ‘hard’	hara	sāra	sāra
hē ‘Hee Nakat’	sā	svātī	sāi (Pk.)
hihū ‘cool’	sihil	šīšira	sisira
hudu ‘white’	hudu	šuddhá	suddha

The presence of forms with and without initial /s/ or /h/ makes the timing of these changes difficult to determine. For Dhivehi, the deletion of word initial /h/ is found in the 12th c. *Loamaafaanu* in such words as /akiri/ ‘pebbles’ and /imu/ ‘boundary’. However, word initial /s/ (< PDS /s/) is also found (e.g., /sim-/ ‘boundary’), and word initial /h/ is not met with at all. If the Dhivehi forms featuring retention of /h/ from OIA sibilants were later borrowings, then it would be the case that inherited PDS word initial /s/ fell together with PDS /h/ and deleted by the 12th c., but how early this change occurred cannot be determined. It had to have been prior to the word final vowel replacement change described in Section 7.5.1; because words like /haru/ and /hanu/ (possibly later borrowings from /sāra/ and /sāṇa/ respectively) conform to word final vowel replacement change, but retain their initial /h-/. Since these later borrowings retain /h-/ (from /s-/), but the inherited word initial /s-/ and /h-/ words do not, the change of PDS /s/ to /h/ (and ultimately to 0 as in */sim-/ > */him-/ > /im-/ ‘boundary’) had already taken place prior to

when these borrowings came into the language, and that was before the operation of word final vowel replacement and subsequent vowel shortening. The change of the later /s/ (from PDS /-j-/ , /c/ , /-cc-/ and borrowed words) to /h/ happened after the 12th c.

For Sinhala too, the history of these changes is not straightforward. Karunatillake identifies cases of word initial /h/ for PDS /s/ as early as the 1st c. A.D.: SP (1st c.) /hamaṇa/ ‘monk’, OIA /ṣramaṇa-/ (1969: 46). During the same period, however, there are many examples of word initial /s/ being retained, but Karunatillake regards these as cases of conservative spelling (1969: 47). Geiger states that traces of this change began in the 4th c., but it was not until the 8th c. that it became commonplace (1938: 82-83). As for the deletion of word initial /h/ (from OIA /h/ and sibilants), Karunatillake places this change as early as 2nd c. A.D. based on only one attestation (i.e., /āta/ ‘hand’ < OIA /hasta-/) (1969: 54-55). In contrast, Geiger regards the deletion of word initial /h/ as a more modern change coming into vogue from the 15th c. onwards (1938: 83).

While the timing of such changes is disputed, it is clear that PDS /s/ in both Dhivehi and Sinhala did become /h/ word initially, and was later deleted. This rather rare change among Indo-Aryan languages may be due to Dravidian influence. Neither Tamil nor Malayalam has /h/ (Caldwell 1976: 149), and a Dravidian population would most likely not pronounce it when speaking either Dhivehi or Sinhala.⁴⁰ That the Aryan speakers would

⁴⁰ Even today, Tamil speakers who are learning Dhivehi as a second language have difficulty in pronouncing word initial /h/.

adopt this change in many words is not surprising if we assume some interaction with Dravidian speaking populations.

7.3.2.5 Simplification of Consonant Clusters and Compensatory Lengthening

PDS consonant clusters in Proto-Dhivehi and in Sinhala Prakrit were simplified, and the preceding vowel lengthened. Many of the examples below have undergone subsequent developments (i.e., vowel shortening):

(262) <u>Dhivehi</u>	<u>Sinhala</u>	<u>OIA</u>	<u>MIA</u>
adu 'today'	ada	adyá	ajjā
a ^m bi 'wife'	a ^m bi (7 th c.)	ambá	---
aṣ 'eight'	aṭa	aṣṭā	aṭṭha
us 'high'	us	ucca	ucca-
ukunu 'louse'	ukuṇā	utkuṇa	okkaṇi (Pk.)
kaṣi 'thorn'	kaṭuva	kaṇṭa	kaṇṭaka
ga ⁿ ḍu 'hunk'	gaḍuva	gaṇḍá	gaṇḍa-
ham- 'skin'	ham	cárman	camma
huni 'lime'	huṇu	cūrṇa	cunṇa
digu 'long'	diga	dīrgha-	dīgha
fati 'row'	peta	paṅktí	panti
huva ⁿ du 'perfume'	suva ⁿ da	sugandha	sugandha
tadu 'pain'	tadē	stabdha	thaddha-

The simplification of clusters with attendant compensatory lengthening is a common development in Middle Indic (Bubenik 1996: 36). Traces of it are found in Pali (e.g. Pa. /kātabba/ ~ /kattaba/ ‘fit to be done’, OIA /kartum/), and it becomes increasingly more common in the later stages. The result of this is seen in many New-Indo-Aryan languages: MIA /satta/ ‘seven’, Hindi /sāt/, Bengali /ṣāt/, Marathi /sāt/ (Masica 1991: 187).

This process took place by the 2nd c. in Sinhala Prakrit: SP (2nd c.) /bīku/ ‘monk’, Pa. /bhikku-/. Nasals plus voiceless stop or spirants lost the nasal entirely: SP (3rd c.) /āṭa/ ‘eight’, Pa. /aṭṭha/; SP (2nd c.) /pāca/ ‘five’, OIA/MIA /pañca-/ (Karunatillake 1969: 57-65). In Dhivehi as well, nasals were lost in this environment (cf. Dh. /fas/ ‘five’).

Of special interest in regard to Sinhala and Dhivehi is Karunatillake’s view that nasals plus voiced stop became prenasalized stops in Sinhala Prakrit as part of this general cluster simplification: Sinhala Prakrit (2nd c.) /sāⁿga/ <saga> ‘monks’, OIA/MIA /sangha-/. Prenasalized stops were not rendered orthographically, but their presence can be ascertained by how nasals and voiced stops interact with a later gemination process (circa 9th c.) in which Karunatillake cites full nasals plus stop as the analogue to geminate consonants under the same conditions of vowel loss and subsequent gemination: Medieval Si. (9th c.) /hæⁿgi/ <hæⁿgi> ‘felt’ when inflected became /hængāk/ <hængāk> ‘that which is felt’ (Karunatillake 1969: 107). Written attestations, however, give a very mixed result as late as the 12th c., and Geiger believes

that this may indicate that the rules for the prenasalized stops were not yet settled in the beginning of the Medieval Sinhala period (circa 8th c.) (Geiger 1938: 69). Dhivehi also features prenasalized stops, but these are not written in the *Loamaafaanu*, and even today the nasal sign is often omitted in the written form. This would indicate that prenasalized stops were well developed by the 12th c., but when they first occurred in Dhivehi is impossible to say.

7.4 *Proto-Dhivehi Developments in Comparison with Proto-Sinhala* **(4th c. – 8th c.)**

7.4.1 Unique Developments in Dhivehi

In this section, I survey a number of sound changes that are unique to Dhivehi that affected words consisting of inherited light syllables. These changes are not found in Sinhala. When these sound changes took place cannot be known with certainty, but as they relate to OIA light syllables, it must be the case that these changes occurred prior to the neutralization of OIA vowel length. If the neutralization of vowel length in Proto-Dhivehi took place around the 8th c. as it did in Proto-Sinhala, then these unique sound changes may have occurred some time between the 4th c. – 8th c. which is when I suggest they were operative.

7.4.1.1 Proto-Dhivehi-Sinhala */a/, */i/ Become /u/ before /v/

The vowels */a/ and */i/ in initial light syllables became /u/ preceding the consonant /v/:

(263)	<u>Dhivehi</u>	<u>Sinhala</u>	<u>OIA</u>
	nuva ‘nine’	nava	nava
	duvas ‘day’	davasa	divasá
	dū ‘tongue’	diva	jihvá

Note that this did not happen in Proto-Sinhala. Rather, PDS /i/ became /a/ as seen in /davasa/ ‘day’ from OIA /divasá/.

7.4.1.2 Proto-Dhivehi-Sinhala */a/ Becomes Dhivehi /i/

The Proto-Dhivehi-Sinhala */a/ in the initial light syllable of polysyllabic words dissimilates to /i/ when /a/ is the nucleus of the following syllable whose onset is not /v/. This development is not found in Sinhala:

(264)	*/a/ > /i/ /C_Ca		
	<u>Dhivehi</u>	<u>Sinhala</u>	<u>OIA/MIA</u>
	kilā ‘earth’	kalal	kalala (Pa.)
	dila ‘pain’	dal-	jvála-
	diha ‘ten’	daha	dáṣa
	dida ‘flag’	dadaya	dhaja (Pa.)
	tila ‘surface’	talaya	tala
	mila ‘grime’	mala	mala-
	riha ‘curry’	...	rasa ‘sap’
	tina ‘breast’	tana	stanah

Southern Dhivehi generally shows */a/ to /e/ change here: /deha/ ‘ten’ (Huv., Ad.), /reha/ ‘curry’ (Ad.), /tela/ ‘blade’ (Huv., Foa., Ad.), /kelau/ ‘mud’ (Ad.). The conditioning environment for this change is difficult to determine. This dissimilation had to occur prior to the 12th c. which is when new vowel length begins to show up in the written record, and may have been as early as the 4th c. – 8th c. Reflexes of PDS /ā/ did not undergo this change to /i/: /mal-/ ‘flower’, OIA /mālā-/.

7.4.1.3 Proto-Dhivehi */u/ Becomes /i/ Word Finally

Subsequent to the change in which PDS /a/ > /u/, in disyllabic words consisting of OIA light syllables (see Ex. (271)), PDS */u/ became /i/ word finally in Dhivehi. This was not the case in Sinhala:

(265) */u/ > /i/ /CVC_

<u>Dhivehi</u>	<u>Sinhala</u>	<u>OIA</u>
tuni ‘thin’	tunu	tanu (P.)
duni ‘bow’	dunu	dhanu (P.)
lui ‘light’	luhu	laghu

In cases where Dhivehi word final /u/ corresponds to Sinhala /u/, the words are derived from proto forms that are not disyllabic words with light syllables. Thus, the rule in (265) is limited to PDS disyllabic words consisting of light syllables:

(266) Word final /u/ correspondences:

<u>Dhivehi</u>	<u>Sinhala</u>	<u>OIA</u>
ituru 'extra'	ituru	átirikta-
uturu 'north'	uturu	uttara-
fa ⁿ ḍu 'pale'	pa ⁿ ḍu	pāṇḍu

This change had to have occurred after the change of /a/ to /u/ before Cu, but prior to the shortening of vowels that generated new light syllables some time before the 12th c.

7.4.1.4 Retention of Proto-Dhivehi-Sinhala */i/ and */u/

Several assimilation processes found in Proto-Sinhala (Karunatillake 1969: 68-71) are not found in Dhivehi. In Dhivehi /i/ in initial light syllables preceding Ca remains /i/, whereas in Sinhala the former generally assimilates to the latter:

(267) <u>Dhivehi</u>	<u>Sinhala</u>	<u>OIA</u>
hila 'stone'	sala	šilá
viha 'poison'	vaha/visa	viṣá
vilu 'shoal'	vil-	bíla

Likewise PDS /u/ in initial light syllables is retained preceding Ca in Dhivehi, but in Sinhala the /u/ assimilates to /a/: Dh. /guna/ 'x times', Si. /gaṇa-/, OIA /guṇayati/ 'counting'.

7.4.1.5 Word Final /i/ from PDS */-aka/ and */-ata/

Dhivehi features a number of words which end in /-i/ that came from OIA forms ending in /-aka/. The PDS */-aka/ and */-ata/ became */-aya/. This */-aya/ eventually yielded /-i/ word finally:

(268) <u>Dhivehi</u>	<u>Huv.</u>	<u>Foa.</u>	<u>Ad.</u>	<u>Sinhala</u>	<u>OIA/MIA</u>
aši 'platform'	---	---	aši	aṭu	aṭṭaka
foi 'Poya'	---	---	fō	pō	upavasatha-
uni 'less'	---	---	---	unu	ūnaka
kaši 'bone'	kaṭi	---	kaši	kaṭu	kaṇṭaka
koši 'cage'	---	---	---	koṭu	koṭṭhaka (Pa.)
doši 'eldest'	---	---	---	deṭu	jyēṣṭhaka
taši 'dish'	taṭi	taši	---	taṭu	taṭṭaka (Pa.)
toši 'breakwater'	---	---	---	toṭu	*tūrthaka
dari 'child'	---	---	---	daru ⁴¹	dāraka-
niyami 'navigator'	---	---	niyemi	niyamu	niyāmaka
fani 'larva'	fani	fāni	fāni	paṇu	pāṇaka

Note that the /-i/ endings in Dhivehi had to come from endings with *-aka* as opposed to the feminine forms in *-ikā*. If they had derived from the latter, the previous vowel would show umlaut, as is indeed the case for words so derived: Dh. /meli/ 'flowers in bloom' < OIA /mallikā/.

⁴¹ Med. Sinhala (10th c.)

In Sinhala of this period, the OIA /-aka/ endings eventually yielded word final /-u/ as seen in the examples above. The change of /a/ to /u/ in Sinhala is the result of a vowel change occurring in trisyllabic (or more) words whereby /a/ became /u/ following a long vowel (Karunatillake 1969: 73). This change applied to many words featuring the OIA pleonastic ending /-ka/ (Geiger 1938: 31) (Wijayarathne 1956: 27). As Dhivehi reflexes of PDS /-aka/ do not end in /u/, it is obvious that Proto-Dhivehi */-aka/ did not undergo this sound change. Karunatillake (personal communication) has suggested that possibly the Proto-Dhivehi */-aka/ forms did become */-uya/, and later */-uy/ > /i/ through loss of */u/. However, forms from OIA words ending in /-uka/ end in /-u/ in Dhivehi and not */-i/ (e.g., Dh. /baɭu/ ‘dog’ < */bāluya/ < OIA /bhalluka/).

That the change of PD */-aya/ to /-i/ had to commence before the neutralization of vowel length is demonstrated by the different derivation of OIA/PDS words featuring */-āya/. These words eventually yield /-ai/.⁴²

(269) *pāya ‘foot’ (cf. OIA pāda)	>	fai
*bāya ‘portion’ (cf. OIA bhāga)	>	ˈbai
*vāya ‘wind’ (cf. OIA vāta)	>	vai
*māya ‘mother’ (cf. OIA mātṛ)	>	mai
*balāya ⁴³ ‘having looked’	>	balai

⁴² In contemporary Dhivehi, the /ai/ does have a variety of pronunciations (i.e., [ai], [ā], [ā̃]) depending on the word and the dialect, but I take these as later innovations since the *Loamaafaamu* (12th c.) features participial forms consistently ending in -ai (e.g. /dakvai/ ‘show’).

Note that Sinhala did not undergo this later change either. Compare: Si. /pā/ ‘leg’, /bā/ ‘portion’, /vā/ ‘wind’, /gā/ ‘limb’.

Other words ending in /i/, apparently acquired the /i/ as a reflex of OIA: Dh. /doṣi/ ‘rod’, Si. /yæṭi/, OIA /yaṣṭi/ (or possibly OIA /yaṣṭikā/). Many of these word final /i/’s may have come about by derivations of OIA forms with /-ikā/ as shown in the following prototype: Dh. /nevi/ ‘navigator’, Si. /nævi/ < OIA /nāvika/.

7.4.2 Parallel Developments with Sinhala

A number of sound changes in Proto-Sinhala also occurred in Proto-Dhivehi as indicated by forms in the contemporary language. Practically all of the changes are assimilatory, and not uncommon. I regard these as parallel developments. A conspicuously unique process which Dhivehi and Sinhala have in common is *umlaut* which is remarkably similar in some ways, but significantly different in others. Those differences I regard as evidence of parallel development, and hence include the change here (Section 7.4.2.5).

7.4.2.1 Proto-Dhivehi-Sinhala /a/ Becomes /i/ before /y/

For both Dhivehi and Sinhala, PDS /a/ in initial light syllables became /i/ before /y/. The /y/ of this period (4th – 8th c. A.D. for Proto-Sinhala) came from OIA /y/ and reflexes of OIA /k/, /g/, and /d/

⁴³ According to Geiger (1938: 160), the prototype for Sinhala forms such as Si. 3rd c. /kaḍāya/ ‘having detached’ are the gerund forms in /-āya/ (Pa. utthāya) which are not confined to just ā-roots. This is the source for the participle forms in Dhivehi as well.

(Karunatillake 1969: 74). In some cases Dhivehi is even more consistent than Sinhala:

(270)	<u>Dhivehi</u>	<u>Sinhala</u>	<u>OIA</u>
	diya ‘liquid’	diya	udaka
	fiya- ‘step’	piya	pada
	miyaru ‘shark’	muvara	makara
	hiyani ‘shade’	hevana	chādana

7.4.2.2 Proto-Dhivehi-Sinhala */a/ Becomes /u/

Dhivehi conforms to the vowel assimilation processes found in Sinhala of the 4th c. – 8th c. whereby */a/ in initial light syllables became /u/ preceding Cu (Karunatillake 1969: 68).

(271) */a/ > /u/ /C_Cu

<u>Dhivehi</u>	<u>Sinhala</u>	<u>OIA</u>
kulunu ‘compassion’	kuluṇa	karuṇā
tuni ‘thin’	tunu	tanu (P.)
duni ‘bow’	dunu	dhanu (P.)
lui ‘light’	luhu	laghu

Proto-Dhivehi-Sinhala /a/ also became /u/ in Dhivehi in the penultimate syllable if preceded by a heavy syllable. This change occurred in Sinhala as well (Karunatillake 1969: 73):

(272) <u>Dhivehi</u>	<u>Sinhala</u>	<u>OIA</u>
katuru ‘scissors’	katura	kartari
kakuni ‘crab’	kakuḷuvā	karkaṭa
muguru ‘hammer’	mugura	mudgara
hakuru ‘sugar’	hakura	šarkarā

A significant difference in Dhivehi, however, is that if the */a/ of the penultimate syllable was followed by /-ya/ (from OIA /-ka/), it did not become /u/. Rather the entire ending /-aya/ was reduced to /i/. See Section 7.4.1.5.

Karunatillake notes that the reflexes of OIA /a/ and /ā/ both became /u/ here which indicates neutralization of length (e.g. SP /sākāra/ ‘honoring’ and /sākara/ ‘pebbles’ become Proto-Sinhala /sakur-/). Thus, he proposes that in polysyllabic words the nucleus of the penultimate syllable was shortened if the ante-penultimate is heavy. He believes this to be the case for all vowels (Karunatillake 1969: 72). Unfortunately, I have no data in Dhivehi to tell, but I tentatively assume that vowels did shorten in Dhivehi as well, and could have done so in roughly the same period (4th – 8th c.)

7.4.2.3 Proto-Dhivehi-Sinhala */a/ and */u/ Become /i/ in Initial Light Syllables

Proto-Dhivehi-Sinhala */a/ and */u/ became /i/ in the initial light syllable of polysyllabic words preceding Ci where C is not /v/. This

assimilation conforms to what is found in Sinhala of the 4th c. – 8th c. (Karunatillake 1969: 68) except where noted in Section 7.4.1.4 above :

(273)	<u>Std. Dhivehi</u>	<u>Addu</u>	<u>Sinhala</u>	<u>OIA/MIA</u>
	mirus ‘pepper’	miris	miris	marīca
	buḷi ‘hook’	biḷi	biliya	baḍiṣa
	firi ‘male	firi	pirimi	purisa (Pa.)

Exceptions are found: Dh. /fani/ ‘fruit drink’, Si. /piṇi/, OIA /praṇīta/. More data is needed to determine the extent to which this assimilation process conforms to Sinhala developments in Proto-Sinhala. Even Karunatillake, however, speaks of this assimilation process as a “general tendency” (1969: 68).

7.4.2.4 Word Initial Vowel Loss

The vowels /a/, /i/, and /u/ were deleted word initially in Proto-Sinhala: Si. (8th c.) /ran/ ‘forest’ < OIA /arañya/, /ran/ ‘gold’ < OIA /hirañya/, Si. (8th c.) /vahan/ ‘sandals’ < OIA /upānaha-/ (Karunatillake 1969: 76-77). The same holds for Dhivehi as well:

(274)	<u>Dhivehi</u>	<u>Sinhala</u>	<u>OIA</u>	<u>MIA</u>
	vaḷu ‘pit’	vaḷa	avaṭá-	avaḍa-(Pk.)
	den ‘then’	dæn	idānīm	idāni/dāni

Note that some MIA languages also feature word initial vowel deletion: Pk. /rayaṇi/ ‘ell’, Dh. /riyan/, Si. /ratani/, from OIA /aratni/. A number of NIA languages also have deletion unaccented word initial

vowels: Guj. /rān/ as in the *Rann of Cutch* from OIA /arañya/ (Masica 1991: 188-89).

7.4.2.5 Umlaut

Both Dhivehi and Sinhala feature an umlaut process by which the long vowels (from OIA and/or compensatory lengthening) */ā/, */ū/, and */o/ were fronted due to the influence of /i/ in the following syllable. Note Dhivehi umlaut differs in that both */ā/ and */o/ front to /e/ whereas in Proto-Sinhala they front to /æ/ and /e/ respectively. The modern forms below show the later development of vowel shortening, and I refer to the modern vowels in this discussion:

(275) Umlaut of PDS /ā/ (data adapted from Geiger 1919: 111):

<u>Dhivehi</u>	<u>Sinhala</u>	<u>Pali</u>
den 'thereupon'	dæn	dāni
fen 'water'	pæn	pāñiya
mehi 'flies'	mæsi	macchiā
res 'multitude'	ræs	rāsi
veu 'pond'	væv	vāpi
veli 'sand'	væli	vālikā
et 'elephant'	æt	hatthi

Note that a later change that caused vowel backing before retroflex consonants obscures evidence of umlaut with some vowels in Standard

Dhivehi, but comparative data from Southern Dhivehi show its existence, and confirms that /u/ and /o/ did, in fact, umlaut as well:

(276) <u>Dhivehi</u>	<u>Huv.</u>	<u>Foa.</u>	<u>Addu</u>	<u>Sinhala</u>	<u>OIA</u>
voṣ 'brass lamp'	voṭe	veṣe	veṣa	væṭa	várti
oṣ 'seed'	---	eṣe	eṣa	æṭa	aṣṭi-
muṣ 'fist'	---	miṣi	miṣi	miṭa	muṣṭi
bim- 'ground'	---	---	---	bim	bhūmi
koḷu 'end'	---	keḷe	keḷe	keḷa	kōṭi

Besides the fronting of both /o/ and /a/ to /e/ in Dhivehi, the Dhivehi umlaut also differs from the Sinhala one in that the former does not apply to the vowels /u/ and /o/ in verbal inflections and derivations whereas the latter does. There are three morphological changes in both Dhivehi and Sinhala which involve umlaut: past tense inflection, involitive derivation, and formation of gerunds. In each of the three, only the vowel /a/ is fronted in Dhivehi, but Sinhala consistently fronts /u/ and /o/ as well. I illustrate each in turn.

An /i/ in a past tense suffix can cause umlaut in both languages for /a/: Dh. /kafanī/ 'cutting (present)', /kefi/ 'cut (past)'; Si. /kapanəva/ 'cut (present)', /kæpu-/ 'cut (past)' < MIA /kappita/ (Geiger 1938: 20-22) (Premaratne 1986: 100). This is not the case for /u/ and /o/ in Dhivehi however:

(277) guḷan 'to connect'	guḷi 'connected' (cf. Si. gæḷapuvā)
oban 'to press'	obi 'pressed' (cf. Si. ebuva)

bunan ‘to say’	buni ‘said’ (cf. Si. binuva)
fuman ‘to jump’	fumi ‘jumped’ (cf. Si. pænna)

In the formation of involitives, /a/ of the verb stem gets fronted in both languages (indicating that */i/ was present at one point in the derivational history), but unlike Sinhala, neither /o/ nor /u/ umlaut in Dhivehi:

(278) Involitive derivations:

<u>Dhivehi</u>		<u>Sinhala</u>	
hadanī ‘making’	> hedenī	hadanavā	> hædenavā
obanī ‘pressing’	> obenī	obanavā	> ebenavā
duvanī ‘running’	> duvevenī	duvanavā	> divenavā

The same pattern is also seen in gerunds:

(279) <u>Dhivehi</u>	<u>Sinhala</u>
hedum- ‘making’	hædīma
obum- ‘pressing’	ebīma
duvum- ‘running’	divīma

That both Dhivehi and Sinhala feature umlaut, a process not shared with any other Indic language, has been regarded by many as determinative in assessing when the two languages diverged. As this umlaut process was present in Sinhala as early as the 4th c. A.D. (Karunatillake 1969: 77-85), it stands to reason that the two languages had not diverged by that time if the umlaut is treated as a shared innovation. Overlooking how umlaut differs

in the two languages, Geiger reached such a conclusion, and declared that Dhivehi shows “*all* the essential peculiarities of Sinhalese in respect of sound” (1919: 111-112) (emphasis mine). Reynolds also believes the umlaut in both to be “one of the indications of a relatively late separation of Sinhala from Maldivian” (1978: 158). Others cite the absence of /æ/ in Dhivehi as an indication that the two languages began to diverge when umlaut was beginning to take shape in Sinhala (circa 4th c.) (De Silva 1970a: 26) (De Silva 1970b: 160) (Wijesundera et al. 1988: 178).

I take the umlaut in Dhivehi and Sinhala to be a parallel development that took place after Dhivehi was established in the Maldives. My research has shown that Dhivehi had already started developing independently of Sinhala by the 1st c. A.D. (Section 7.3.1). A shared innovation three centuries later seems unlikely. Also, the differences of the umlaut in the respective languages are not trivial. The change of both /a/ and /o/ to /e/ in Dhivehi involved a loss of contrast of the two phonemes in that environment, a contrast that is maintained in Sinhala. That this neutralization was complete is shown by the fact that /e/ from both /o/ and /a/ later became subject to vowel backing to /o/ preceding retroflex consonants (cf. /oš/ ‘seed’ and /ko|u/ ‘end’ in (276)). While it is possible that /a/ could have first become /æ/ and was later raised to /e/, there is no evidence of this. Finally, the absence of /u/ and /o/ umlaut in past tense inflection, involitive derivation, and in the formation of gerunds is a clear indication that the verbal morphology was significantly different in Dhivehi and Sinhala when umlaut became operative in the respective languages.

For the latter, that was about the 4th c. A.D., when verbs had also undergone umlaut (Premaratne 1986: 109-110). Like many of the parallel developments already seen, it might be the case that umlaut is part of the drift phenomenon. Umlaut could have been phonetically operative for some time prior to the 4th c. A.D., but how early that would have been is impossible to say.

7.5 Proto-Dhivehi Developments in Comparison with Medieval Sinhala (8th c. – 12th c.)

7.5.1 Word Final Vowel Deletion and Vowel Replacement

At some point prior to the loss in Dhivehi of vowel length (both from OIA and compensatory lengthening, see Section 7.3.2.5 above) (Standard), word final vowels following /k/, /t/, /n/, /m/, /l/, or /s/ in words consisting of three or more moras (at least two light syllables or one heavy syllable) were deleted:

(280) <u>Dhivehi</u>	<u>Sinhala</u>	<u>OIA</u>
ruk ‘coconut tree’	ruk-	*rukša
at ‘hand’	at-	hásta
ran ‘gold’	ran	hiraṇya
ham- ‘skin’	ham-	cárman
mal- ‘flower’	mal-	mālā
mas ‘fish’	mas	mátsya

Other varieties of Dhivehi show some differences in what consonants are allowed word finally for the reflexes of polysyllabic words of three or more moras. Standard Dhivehi and Addu permit /n/, /s/, /t/, and /k/, but not /l/. Word finally /l/ changed to /u/ in Standard and Addu, but Foammulah still permits /l/ there: /mau/ ‘flower’ (Std. older form, Ad.), /mal/ (Fo.). Huvadu, however, generally does not allow any of these consonants word finally for noun stems. So, the words which have undergone this derivation feature /e/ word finally:

(281) <u>Std. Dhivehi</u>	<u>Huvadu</u>
/bat/ ‘rice’ (Ma.)	/bate/ (Hu.)
/dān/ ‘throne’	/dāne/
/fōk/ ‘areca nut’	/fōke/
/gas/ ‘tree’	/gehe/
/vem-/ ⁴⁴ ‘eel’	/veme/
/mau/ or /mā/ ‘flower’	/male/

Significantly, except for some inflected words, all the words which end in consonants in Std. Dhivehi, Foammulak, and Addu are derived from the three mora class. Other words of this category that featured a consonant as the onset of its ultimate syllable other than those given above (i.e., /g/, /t/, /d/, /d/, /f/, /ʎ/, /r/, /v/) replaced the original final vowel with another vowel, but the new vowel is different in each of the major Dhivehi

⁴⁴ Word finally, /-m/ and /-n/ neutralize to [ŋ].

dialects. Standard Dhivehi (Malé) uses the unmarked vowel /u/ throughout, Addu and Foammulak use /a/ and /o/ respectively (except when following /-iC-/, the new vowel is /i/, and /u/ when following /-uC-/), and Huvadu uses only /e/ word finally.

(282) <u>Std. Dhivehi</u>	<u>Huv.</u>	<u>Foa.</u>	<u>Ad.</u>	<u>Si.</u>	<u>OIA/MIA</u>
vaḷu 'pit'	vade	vado	vaḍa	vaḷa	avaṭá-
kiru 'milk'	---	---	kiri	kiri	khīra (Pa.)
ga ⁿ ḍu 'hunk'	ga ⁿ ḍe	ga ⁿ ḍo	ga ⁿ ḍa	---	gaṇḍa
da ^m bu 'jambolam'	---	da ^m bo	da ^m ba	da ^m ba	jambu
dabu 'spoon'	dabe	---	daba	dævi-	dabbī (Pa.)
digu 'long'	---	---	digi	dig-a ⁴⁵	dīrghá
doru 'door'	dore	doro	dora	dora	dvāra (Pa.)
fī ⁿ du 'buttocks'	---	fī ⁿ di	fī ⁿ di	pe ⁿ da	*pēnda
mīru 'tasty'	---	mīri	mīri	mīri	madhura
magu 'street'	---	mago	maga	mag-a	mārga
muṣ 'fist'	---	miṣi	miṣi	miṭi-	muṭṭhi (Pa.)
mugu 'bean'	---	---	mugu	muṇ	mudga
raṣ ⁴⁶ 'island'	raṭe	raṭo	raṣa	raṭa	rāṣtra
ladu 'shame'	lade	lado	lada	lad-a	lajjā

⁴⁵ Many of the Sinhala forms show the latter addition of *-a* as the singular direct case marker.

⁴⁶ The /t/ of the 12th c. (later to be /ṣ/) did not occur word finally until later.

vagu 'tiger'	vage	vago	vaga	vag-a	vaggha (Pk.)
va ⁿ du 'useless'	---	va ⁿ do	va ⁿ da	va ⁿ da	vandhya
voṣ 'brass lamp'	voṭe	---	veṣa	væṭa	várti

This process of vowel deletion followed by vowel replacement after some specified segments is somewhat like that found in Sinhala, but the processes differ significantly in the respective languages and various dialects. For the same word group (consisting of three or more moras), Karunatillake describes a diachronic change in Sinhala of the 4th c. – 8th c. in which all word final vowels (/a/, /i/, /u/, and /e/) neutralized to /a/. Later around the 8th c., this word final /a/ was deleted which in turn allowed any consonant but /h/ to take up the word final position (Karunatillake 1969: 85-86, 92-93) (Wijayaratne 1956: 30-31). Examples from Medieval Sinhala (8th c.) include: /ruk/ 'tree' (cf. Pa./rukka/), /ek/ 'one' (OIA /ēka/). As for the neutralization of all word final vowels to /a/, we have no evidence of such a change in Dhivehi. Word final vowels did delete in Dhivehi but only after certain segments as seen in (280) above.

Beginning from the 8th c. in Sinhala, only words ending in retroflex consonants acquired word final vowels as follows: /i/ or /u/ were added to words whose preceding syllable featured /i/ or /u/ respectively, otherwise /a/ was added. Subsequently long vowels in the penultimate syllable were shortened. Examples include: Medieval Sinhala (10th c.) /utur-u/ 'north' (OIA /úttara-/), /kir-i/ 'milk' (OIA /kṣīrá/), /daⁿḍ-a/ 'punishment', /bar-a/ 'load' (OIA /bhāra/) (Karunatillake 1969: 103-104). In the various

Dhivehi varieties, the replacement vowel occurs after any consonant not permitted word finally, and is not limited to those that are retroflex. As these processes are parallel developments, we cannot ascertain when these changes took place in Dhivehi. It would have had to occur prior to the 12th c., and before heavy syllables from PDS were lost due to vowel shortening.

7.5.2 Shortening of All Long Proto Vowels and New Vowel Length

The current long vowels found in both Dhivehi and Sinhala are not long vowel reflexes from the protolanguage, but rather the result of intervocalic consonant loss between like vowels. The long vowels from earlier stages in both languages (either from OIA long vowels or the result of compensatory lengthening) were shortened by various processes. After these were shortened, new long vowels appeared. In Sinhala's history, both the neutralization of length and development of new vowel length had taken place by the 8th c. (Karunatillake 1969: 71-72, 94-95). Evidence for the loss of vowel length is given below:

(283) <u>Dhivehi</u>	<u>Sinhala</u>	<u>OIA</u>	<u>MIA</u>
dau 'net'	dæl	jāla-	jāla
doṣi 'eldest'	deṭu	jyēṣṭha	jeṭṭha
digu 'long'	diga	dīrgha-	dīgha
bim- 'ground'	bim	---	bhūmi
mirus 'pepper'	miris	miris	marīca
ladu 'shame'	lada	lajjā	lajjā

is ‘face’	(h)is	---	sīsa
danī ‘going’	yanavā	yāti	yāti

In the *Loamaafaanu* (12th c.), we meet with forms like /bim-/ ‘ground’, indicating that the loss of length from reflexes of OIA heavy syllables had taken place by that time. When this change occurred in Dhivehi is not known. New vowel length also begins to appear in forms like Dh. (12th c.) /mā/ ‘great’ (from OIA /mahā/), but these are not abundant. Intervocalic /-s-/ had not yet become /-h-/ by the 12th c.. This change occurred after the 12th c., and the new /-h-/ was to also delete between like vowels, thus increasing the long vowel inventory:

(284) New vowel length (data adapted from Geiger 1919: 105-106):

<u>Dhivehi</u>	<u>Sinhala</u>	<u>MIA</u>
vārē ‘rain’	vaharē	vassa
fāru ‘wound’	pahara	pahāra
nāru ‘nerve’	nahara	nahāru
bīru ‘deaf’	bihiri	badhira
fīru ‘file’	pihiri	---
mīru ‘pleasant’	mihiri	madhura
dūla ‘carpet’	duhul	dukūla
mūdu ‘ocean’	mūdu, muhudu	samudda
bēs ‘medicine’	behet	bhesajja

bēru ‘out of doors’	behera	bāhira
lē ‘blood’	lē	lohita
mō ‘pestle’	mōl, mohol	musala

7.5.3 Palatal Development

7.5.3.1 Proto-Dhivehi */c/ Merges with /s/

Proto-Dhivehi */c/, reflex from PDS /c-/ and /-cc-/, became /s/ word initially and intervocalically. PDS /s-/ had already become /h-/ word initially, if not deleted altogether, by the time of the PDS /c/ change, but intervocalic PD /-s-/ (from PDS /-s-/ and */-j-/) had not. As forms like /sataru/ <satar> ‘four’ (OIA /catvārah/) occur in the *Loamaaḡaanu* of the 12th c., these changes had to have occurred earlier. In a later post-12th c. development, /s/ becomes /h/ except word finally.

Karunatilake finds Sinhala examples of the /c/ to /s/ change in both word initial and intervocalic positions as early as the 8th c. (1969: 89-90). In both Dhivehi and Sinhala, the change of /c/ to /s/ constitutes a merger with intervocalic /-s-/, but the source of that /-s-/ in the respective languages is different: Dh. /-s-/ from PDS /-s-/, /-j-/, /-ss-/ and /-ns-/.; Si. /-s-/ only from PDS /-ss-/ and /-ns-/.

(285) <u>Dhivehi</u>	<u>Sinhala</u>	<u>OIA</u>	<u>MIA</u>
us ‘high’	us	ucca-	ucca-
kas ‘itch’	kas	kacchú	---
hataru ‘four’	hatara	catvārah	cattārō

ha ⁿ du ‘moon’	sa ⁿ da	candrá	canda
hit ‘heart’	sita ‘mind’	citta	citta
fas ‘five’	paha	pāñca	pañca
bahanī ‘distributing’	bedannə	---	bhājeti
ras ‘ruler’	rada	rājan	rājā
vāhaka ‘speech’	vasa	vācyá	vacca

7.5.3.2 Proto-Dhivehi */j/ Merges with /d/

Proto-Dhivehi */j/, the reflex from PDS word initial /j-/, PDS word initial /y-/, and PDS medial /-jj-/, became /d/. Sinhala from the 8th c. also features the change of /j/ to /d/, but the source of the Proto-Sinhala /j/ that had undergone this change included PDS intervocalic /-j-/ (which had become /-s-/ instead in Proto-Dhivehi as described in Section 7.3.1.2), and did not include PDS word initial /y-/ (see Section 7.3.1.1) (Karunatilake 1969: 91):

(286) <u>Dhivehi</u>	<u>Sinhala</u>	<u>OIA</u>	<u>MIA</u>
da ^m bu ‘kind of fruit’	da ^m ba	jambú	jambu
dau ‘net’	dæl	jála	jāla
dū ‘tongue’	diva	jihvá	jivhā
dida ⁴⁷ ‘flag’	dadaya	dhvajá	dhaja
madu ‘marrow’	mada-	majján	majjā
ladu ‘shame’	lada	lajjā	lajjā

⁴⁷ Dhivehi *dida* ‘flag’ is one of the few words that does not conform to the general pattern of PDS /-j-/ to Proto-Dhivehi /-s-/, and it may be a loan (see Section 7.3.1.2).

donaḷa ‘kind of grain’	yava	yavanāla	joṇṇāliā
danī ‘going’	yanavā	yāti	yāti (Pa.), jāi (Pk.)
rihi ‘silver’	ridī	rajatá	rajata

7.5.4 Medieval Sinhala (8th-14th c.) Developments Not Found in Dhivehi

7.5.4.1 Loss of Contrastive Retroflexion

Sinhala lost the contrast between /l/ and /ɭ/, and /n/ and /ɳ/ probably since the second half of the 8th c. A.D. (Karunatillake 1969: 114).

Standard Dhivehi still maintains the contrast in the laterals: Dh. /ali/ ‘light’, /aɭi/ ‘ash’. Perhaps as recently as this century has the contrast between /n/ and /ɳ/ been lost in Standard Dhivehi. Addu, however, still maintains the contrast: Ad. /fani/ ‘juice’, /faɳi/ ‘worm’.

7.5.4.2 Loss of Contrast Between Voiced and Voiceless Stops in Word Final Position

Beginning from the latter half of the 8th c. A.D., Sinhala writings began to write only the voiceless stops word finally: Si. 8th c. /diga/ <diga> ‘length’, /dik/ <dik> ‘long’ (Karunatillake 1969: 114-116). This never happened in Dhivehi (cf. Dh. /digu/ ‘long’ and ‘length’), and could be an indication that final vowel deletion in tri-moraic words did not occur after voiced stops if we assume that they too would have lost their voicing in such an environment.

7.5.4.3 Change of Prenasalized Stops into Nasals

When final vowel deletion took place in Sinhala (i.e. by the 8th c.), prenasalized stops that were the onset of the final syllable became nasals after becoming the coda: Si. /gaⁿga/ ‘river’, /gaŋ/ ‘rivers’; /saⁿda/ ‘moon’, /san/ ‘of the moon’ (Karunatillake 1969: 117-118). This did not happen in Dhivehi probably because vowels were not deleted after prenasalized stops to create the environment in which the change of prenasalized stops to nasals would have taken place (cf. Dh. /haⁿdu/ ‘moon’, /haⁿdaš/ ‘to the moon’).

7.6 *Post 12th c. Developments in Dhivehi*

7.6.1 Vowel Elision and Gemination

7.6.1.1 Loss of /i/ and /u/ and Gemination

Some gemination in Dhivehi developed as a result of the deletion of /u/ between consonants especially after suffixation, causing the consonants to be juxtaposed to later form into geminates. Deletion of /u/ and subsequent gemination is suggested by some other forms in Dhivehi: Dh. 12th c. /raṭu/ ‘island’, Mod. Dh. /raṭṭehi/ ‘friend’ from */raṭuvesi/ ‘island citizen’ (cf. OIA /raṣṭra-vāsin/). (Interestingly, /raṣ/ and /vehi/ have also been reanalyzed later to form /ravvehi/ ‘native inhabitant’.) The loss of */u/ and subsequent gemination may be the process responsible for verb stems featuring -nn- (see Section 8.4.1.1).

In another development, stem final /-i/ elided before vowel initial suffixes and gemination occurred: Dh. /mehi/ ‘fly’, /messekk/ ‘a fly’ (**mesi* + *ek*); Dh. /baši/ < */baṭi/ ‘brinjal’, /baṭṭekk/ ‘a brinjal’ (**baṭi* + *ek*). The /i/ deletion often involved palatalization of the previous consonant, but this was probably a later development. In the 12th c. –14th c., forms that would later have palatalized consonants appear as consonant plus /y/, followed by a suffix: Dh. (14th c.) /ety-ākī/ ‘thing-EQ’, Mod. Dh. /eccakī/; Med. Dh. (12th c.) /maty-e/ ‘on top’ (cf. Mod. Dh. /macc-aṣ/ ‘to the top’). By the 16th c. combinations of /-ti/ and vowel initial suffixes show palatalization and gemination: Dh. (16th c.) /maccaṣ/ ‘to the top’ from /mati/ and dative /-aṣ/ (Bell 1940: 182-189). Even as late as the 17th c., Pyrard (1616) recorded forms like <mandie> [maⁿdiye] (?) ‘girl’ whereas the current form is /manje/ (Gray 1889: 412).

These patterns of gemination are somewhat like that found in Medieval Sinhala as early as the 8th c. One process involved the loss of either /i/ or /u/ between consonants (except when the first consonant is retroflex), and the consonants came together to form a geminate. Suffixation induced many of these changes: Si. 9th c. /pinum/ ‘leaps’, /pimma/ (*pinum* + *a*) (Karunatilake 1969: 108-109). The other gemination process was one in which the loss of either /i/ or /u/ before vowels (except when the former follow a retroflex consonant) led to gemination: Si. 8th c. /æti/ ‘having’, /ætti/ (*æti* + *i*) ‘a woman who has’ (MIA /atthika-); /karanu/ ‘to do’, /karannak/ ‘that which is done’ (*karanu* + *ak*) (Karunatilake 1969: 105-106).

While the gemination patterns in both languages are similar, they differ in that Dhivehi does geminate retroflex consonants and Sinhala does not. They also may differ in when the patterns emerge in the two languages. The deletion of /i/ and subsequent gemination in Dhivehi is first attested in the 16th c. as stated above, but in Sinhala this change appears as early as the 8th c. The presence of gemination as a new formation in both Dhivehi and Sinhala was one of the evidences cited by Geiger for a recent separation of the two languages (1919: 99-100); but as seen here, the processes are not identical, and must therefore be parallel developments.

7.6.1.2 Gemination and Causative Affix

Dhivehi features the causative affix *-uva*. When added to verb roots ending in a retroflex consonant, the *-uva* remains; Dh. *aḷ-uva-nī* ‘is causing to put’. When added to verb roots ending in a non-retroflex consonant, however, gemination of that consonant takes place through a process of /u/ vowel elision and subsequent assimilation of /v/: Dh. **/bal-uva-/ > */balva-/ > */balla-/* ‘cause to look’. The causative morpheme in Sinhala is *-ava*, and causatives there also show a similar pattern of gemination: Si. */kappə/* ‘cause to cut’ < */kapva/* < */kapava/*. Karunatillake observes that the gemination patterns in Sinhala began by the 8th c. A.D. (1969: 110-112). Causative verbs in Medieval Dhivehi of the *Isdhoo Loamaafaanu* (12th c.) reveal that this gemination pattern had not yet taken place then: Med. Dh. */dakva-/* ‘cause to show’, */gasvai/* ‘cause

to apply', /sitvai/ 'cause to think' (Maniku and Wijayawardhana 1986: x). By the mid-14th c., geminate forms begin to appear in the *Bodu Galu Miskit Loamaafaanu* (Bell 1940: 182-186): Dh. (14th c.) /devvi/ 'cause to give', /kurevvi/ 'cause to give'. The loss of /u/ in the causative morpheme and subsequent gemination is similar to the general gemination pattern described in the previous section

7.6.2 Change of /s/ to /h/

After the gemination process of /-si/ to /-ss/ before vowels, intervocalic /-s-/ (from PDS /-s-/, /-ss-/, /-j-/, and /-cc-/) changed to /-h-/: Dh. /gas/ 'tree', /gahek/ 'a tree' (OIA /gaccha-/); Dh. /bas/ 'language', /bahek/ 'a language' (MIA /bhassa-/). As the 12th c. Medieval Dhivehi texts preserve intervocalic PDS /-s-/, the change to /h/ (from /-s-/ from a variety of sources) had to happen after that period. In Pyrard's time (17th c.), the /s/ to /h/ change is seen in some words (e.g., *pahet* 'five', Mod. Dh. /fahek/), but in others it appears to be retained (Gray 1889: 405-422):

(287) <u>Pyrard's Voc.</u>	<u>Phon.</u> ⁴⁸	<u>Mod. Dhivehi</u>
masse 'month'	masē	mahē (<i>mas</i> 'month' + ē 'quote marker')
asse 'horse'	asē	ahē (<i>as</i> 'horse' + ē 'quote marker')
libasse 'gown'	libasē	libahē (<i>libas</i> 'gown' + ē 'quote marker')

⁴⁸ These are my interpretations of the phonetic content of the forms Pyrard cites. Alternatively, these words could have ended in *-ek* [-e?] and the glottal went undetected.

Technically, /fahek/ consists of *fas* ‘five’ and *ek* ‘indefinite’, but /fahek/ is the substantive form used in counting, and could have been considered as a monomorpheme. Later, the change to /h/ intervocalically would occur across morpheme boundaries as seen in the Modern Dhivehi renderings above.

Note that this differs considerably from Sinhala in which PDS intervocalic /-s-/ became /-h-/ around the 2nd c. A.D., and Proto-Sinhala /-s-/ (from /-cc-/, /-ss-/, and /-ns/) became /-h-/ by the 9th c. (Karunatilake 1969: 119-120).

7.6.3 Vowel Backing

Dhivehi features backing of vowels in that the vowels /i/ and /e/ become /u/ and /o/ respectively before retroflex consonants:

(288) /i/ to /u/:

*piṭi	>	puṭi (12th c.)	>	fuṣi ‘islet’
*miṭi (= Si.)	>	*muṭi (= Hu.)	>	muṣi ‘hammer’ (Ad. miṣi)
*biḷi (= Ad.)	>	...	>	buḷi ‘hook’

(289) /e/ to /o/:

ateḷu (12 th c.)	>	...	>	atoḷu ‘atoll’
*feṭi	>	*foṭi	>	foṣi ‘box’ (Ad. feṣi)
teḷi (= Ad.)	>	...	>	toḷi ‘type of fish’
*madeṭi	>	madoṭi (= Hu.)	>	madoṣi ‘coral wood’ (Ad. madeṣi)

As the *Loamaafaanu* of the 12th c. has <atelu > for current /atolu/ ‘atoll’, this vowel backing probably took place in the 13th c. or later. By the 16th c. ‘atoll’ is rendered <atolu> (Bell 1940:187-189). As indicated in the examples above, Southern Dhivehi did not undergo this change.

7.6.4 /l/ to /u/

Word finally /l/ became /u/ in Std. Dhivehi, Addu, and Minicoy, but not in Foammulak and Huvadū:

- (290) mal (= Si.) > mau ‘flower’ (cf. mal-ek ‘a flower’)
mul (= Fo., Si.) > mū ‘root’ (cf. mul-ek ‘a root’)
dal > dau ‘net’ (cf. dal-ek ‘a net’)
dul > dū ‘tongue’ (cf. dul-ek ‘a tongue’)

More recently in the standard dialect the /u/ from /l/ has merged with the preceding vowel: /dā/ ‘net’, /mā/ ‘flower’. But the /u/ is retained both in Addu (the southernmost atoll), and Minicoy (the most northern dialect).

7.6.5 /u/ from /l/ Becomes /o/

Subsequent to /l/ becoming /u/, the /u/ becomes /o/ if preceded by /e/ or /ē/ in Standard Dhivehi.

- (291) tel (= Si.) > teu (= Ad.) > teyo ‘oil’
kēl (= Fo.) > *kēu > keyo ‘banana’
vel (= Fo.) > veu (= Ad.) > veyo ‘creeper’

When these forms are inflected with vowel initial suffixes, the /l/ resurfaces (e.g., /telek/ ‘some oil’, /kēlek/ ‘a banana’).

7.6.6 /t/ Becomes /š/

Proto-Dhivehi /t/ became /š/ intervocalically:

(292) <u>12th c. Dhivehi</u>	<u>Modern Dhivehi</u>
<raṭu> ‘island’	raṣugai ‘on the island’
<-aṭa> ‘dative case’	-aṣ
<koṭu> ‘do’	koṣ

At some point, probably after the 12th c., /š/ came to be allowed word finally where, like /k/, it is realized as a glottal [ʔ]. Forms ending in /š/ in modern Dhivehi ended in /-ṭu/ as seen in the *Loamaafaanu* (12th c.): Mod. Dh. /koṣ/ ‘do (prt.)’, (12th c.) /koṭu/ <koṭu> (cf. Si. /koṭa/). The *Loamaafaanu* orthographically renders the dative case ending as <aṭa>, and /raṣ/ ‘island’ varies as <raṭu>/<raṭa>. The final <-a> in these forms is not written as the script is syllabary with /a/ as the inherant vowel. I take these forms as orthographic variants with the actual final vowel as /-u/.

The /t/ remained only where geminate (e.g., /raṭṭehi/ ‘friend’). The development of /š/ as a distinct phoneme can be traced by comparisons of 12th c. and 16th c. texts (*Loamaafaanu*) (Bell 1925-35: 539-578) (Bell 1940). The /t/ had been rendered like Si. <ṭ> in the 12th c. A.D., but by the 17th c., a new letter came to depict <ṣ>, and <ṭ> was simply an

embellishment of <š> (as would be typical of consonant doubling). This accurately depicted the complementary distribution of [š] and [t], and showed /š/ as the phoneme. The contrast between /š/ and /t/ was later introduced by loan words featuring the latter.

7.6.7 /p/ Becomes /f/

Word initially, and intervocalically, /p/ became /f/:

(293) <u>12th c. Dhivehi</u>	<u>Modern Dhivehi</u>
pas ‘five’	fas
pan ‘frond’	fan
koļipuṭi ‘name of island’	koļufuṣi
upurai ‘uproot’	ufurai/ufurā

This appears to be a relatively recent change, but when this change took place cannot be determined specifically. Texts from the 16th c. are transcribed by Bell (1940: 188-189), as having <f> (e.g., <koļufuṣi> ‘island name’), but *Dhivehi Akuru*⁴⁹, the alphabet used at that time, did not have a separate symbol for <p> (Saeed 1959). The most probable reason for this was the lack of contrast between /p/ and /f/. The former only survived in geminate clusters. Later, borrowed words would introduce the contrast (see Section 3.1.1.2.). Geiger places the change to /f/ after the first of the 17th c. based upon Pyrard’s transcriptions of /p/ (both word

⁴⁹ Bell called the alphabet “Dives Akuru” (1919), but the origin of this name is unknown to me. If Bell had asked an informant to repeat the name of the older alphabet, he would have said “divessē” (for *divehi* and *ē* ‘emphasis marker’).

initially and medially) during the period of 1602-1607 (Geiger 1919: 116). Even today in some dialects (e.g., Kulhuduffushi, Haa Dhaal Atoll) /f/ is pronounced [ɸ] word initially, and this would indicate that the change to /f/ is fairly recent.

7.6.8 Diphthongs to Lengthened Vowels

In addition to the change of /au/ to /ā/ (e.g., /mā/ ‘flower’), diphthongs featuring /ai/ are becoming /ā/ in many dialects, but the change is not yet complete. Both forms are still retained in the written language: <kaiveni>, <kāveni> ‘marriage’; <hurihai> <hurihā> ‘all’. I have not yet determined the phonological environment of /ai/ retention. In dialects where /ai/ is retained the pronunciation varies. In Malé, it is often pronounced as [ǣ] (e.g., /sai/ [sǣ] ‘tea’). This pronunciation is reportedly spreading as students in Male schools from other islands return home with traces of the Malé accent.

7.7 Summary

Figure 2 gives a summary and overview of the findings in this chapter. Language names are underlined. Sound changes that are unique to a given language are aligned underneath it, bolded and italicized. Parallel developments are slightly indented. Sound changes that are critically ordered have a superscript number before them. All the sound changes aligned under Proto-Dhivehi and Dhivehi, also occurred in Proto-Southern-Dhivehi unless otherwise noted. A discussion of the most significant historical developments comes after Fig. 2.

OIA (Sanskrit)Proto-Dhivehi-SinhalaMIA

Pre-immigration: Sibilants neutralize
 Gemination of CC's
 Word final -C loss
 V:C# > VC#

Retroflexion, then loss of r
 -aya- > -e-, -ava- > -o-

Post-immigration: Loss of aspiration (before 3rd c. B.C.)

<u>Proto-Southern Dh.</u>	<u>Proto-Dhivehi</u>	<u>Sinhala Prakrit</u>
	#y- > #j- (1 st c. B.C.)	-s- > -h- (2 nd c. A.D.)
	-j- > -s- (1 st c. B.C.)	
¹ d > l, ² t > d	¹ t > d, ² d > l	¹ t > d, ² d > l
	-e# > -i#	-e# > -i#
	V:# > V#	V:# > V#
	Lenition and spirantization	Lenition and spirantization
	#s- > #h- > 0	#s- > #h- > 0
	VCC > V:C	VCC > V:C
		<u>Proto-Sinhala</u>
	#Cav, #Civ > #Cuv	
#CaCa > #CeCa	#CaCa > #CiCa	#CiCa > #CaCa
	CVCu# > CVCi#	#CuCa > #CaCa
	-aya# > ... > (-i#)	-aya# > ... > (-u#) ⁵⁰
	-āya# > ... > (-ai#)	-āya# > ... > (-ā#)
	#CayV > #CiyV	#CayV > #CiyV
	#CaCu > #CuCu	#CaCu > #CuCu
	#CaCi, #CuCi >	#CaCi, #CuCi >
	#CiCi	#CiCi

Figure 2: Summary of Phonological Developments

⁵⁰ The segments in parenthesis indicate the outcome in the modern languages.

Figure 2 (Continued)

<u>Proto-Southern Dh.</u>	<u>Proto-Dhivehi</u>	<u>Proto-Sinhala</u>
	#VC- > #C-	#VC- > #C-
	Umlaut (\bar{a} , o > e) (verbs: -a only)	Umlaut (\bar{a} > æ, o > e) (verbs: a,o,u)
		<u>Medieval Sinhala</u>
	¹ -CV# > -C ($\mu \geq 3$)	¹ -CV# > -C ($\mu \geq 3$)
² New final vowel (a,o,e)	² New final vowel (u)	² New final vowel (a)
	Vowel shortening	Vowel shortening
	New vowel length	New vowel length
	c-, -c- (<c-, -cc-) > s	c-, -c- (<c-, -cc-) > s
	j (<y-, j-, -jj-, -c-) > d	j (<j-, -j-, -jj-, -c-) > d
		<i>Loss of /ʌ/ and /ɨ/</i>
		<i>Loss of voicing word</i>
		<i>finally</i>
		<i>Word final prenasalized</i>
		<i>stops lost</i>
		<i>Vowel elision and</i>
		<i>gemination</i>
	<u>Dhivehi (post 12th c.)</u>	
	<i>Vowel elision and gemination</i>	
	¹ s > h ⁵¹	
	² -h- > 0 ⁵²	
	¹ l > u (not in Fo. and Huv.)	
	² eu > eo	
	t > š	
	p > f	
	<i>Diphthongs to lengthened vowels</i>	
	<i>Palatalization and gemination</i>	

⁵¹ This change occurs in both Dhivehi and Sinhala, but at very different times.

⁵² The OIA /h/ had already deleted before the 12th c., but /h/ from /s/ deleted after the 12th c.

Proto-Dhivehi-Sinhala had its beginning as a Middle Indic language on the Indian subcontinent. Most of the sound changes that had occurred by the 3rd c. B.C. were shared with Early Middle Indic (represented by Pali), and I take these to be pre-migration changes. The loss of aspiration set PDS apart from other Middle Indic languages, and this change likely took place after the migration of the PDS speakers southward.

Proto-Dhivehi emerged from PDS by the 1st c. B.C. as evidenced by the change of OIA /y-/ to PD */j-/ word initially, the change of intervocalic OIA /-j-/ to PD */-s-/, and the alternate development of PDS /t/ and /d/ in Southern Dhivehi. This change of PDS /d/ to /l/, followed by the /t/ to /d/ change in Southern Dhivehi also indicates that not only was there divergence between Proto-Dhivehi and Sinhala Prakrit by the 1st c. B.C., but that significant dialect differences within Dhivehi had already begun at this time as well. This is strong evidence that PDS speakers had already settled in Maldives' southern atolls prior to the 1st c. B.C.

Other sound changes that are unique to Dhivehi's historical development cannot be placed with certainty to any specific time period, but are still indicative of how much Proto-Dhivehi differed from Sinhala's progenitors (i.e. Sinhala Prakrit, Proto-Sinhala, and Medieval Sinhala). These sound changes can be placed relative to the loss of old vowel length (from OIA, and compensatory lengthening), because the distinction of OIA heavy and light syllables was critical to the environment in which these changes took place. The loss of old vowel length had to have happened prior to the 12th c., but it is difficult to pinpoint when that change might

have taken place. Proto-Sinhala had undergone the same change around the 8th c., but the timing of changes in Sinhala is not necessarily a reliable guide for determining the dating of changes in Dhivehi given the possibility of independent development. However, some time between the 8th c. – 10th c. is not an unreasonable estimate of when Dhivehi lost old vowel length, and I tentatively suggest this general time frame. The changes that occurred prior to the loss of old vowel length could have been operative any time from the 1st c. B.C. – 8th c. A.D.

Prior to the loss of old vowel length, Dhivehi had undergone several sound changes pertaining to light syllables that were not shared with Sinhala. The most significant of these changes were those that had undergone dissimilation. The /a/ of the initial light syllable changed to /i/ before Ca (e.g., /diha/ ‘ten’ < OIA /dāṣa/). In Proto-Sinhala, just the opposite happened: OIA /i/ became Proto-Sinhala /a/ in the initial light syllable preceding Ca (e.g., Proto-Sinhala /sala/, Proto-Dhivehi /hila/ ‘stone’, OIA /šilā/). Dissimilation also took place with the change of Proto-Dhivehi word final /u/ of disyllabic light syllable words to /i/ (e.g., /tuni/ ‘thin’, Si. /tunu/, OIA /tanu/). Another conspicuous Dhivehi change is that of PDS /-aya/ to /i/ word finally where in Sinhala it changed to /-u/ instead (e.g., Dh. /aṣi/ ‘platform’, Si. /aṭu/, OIA /aṭṭaka/).

Although Proto-Dhivehi emerged as distinct from Sinhala Prakrit by the 1st c. B.C., and continued to show unique developments throughout its history that were not found in Sinhala’s, there were also a number of developments in both languages that were quite alike. Many of these were

assimilatory in nature and not aberrant in any way. Some changes, however, were more conspicuous and unique to Dhivehi and Sinhala. The development of prenasalized stops from the simplification of consonant clusters is an early change that stands out. The development of prenasalized stops probably took place in Sinhala Prakrit by the 2nd c. A.D. (Karunatillake 1969: 107). Only Dhivehi and Sinhala feature prenasalized stops among all the Indo-Aryan languages. Umlaut is another process that took place in both Dhivehi and Sinhala, but the implementation of umlaut in these two languages was significantly different. Sinhala fronted /u/, /o/, and /a/ to /i/, /e/, and /æ/ respectively in both nominal and verbal forms; whereas Dhivehi fronted /u/ to /i/, and both /o/ and /a/ to /e/. Dhivehi also restricted the fronting of the back vowels (/u/ and /o/) to non-verbal forms only (see Section 7.4.2.5). The loss of final vowels (in words consisting of three or more moras prior to the loss of old vowel length) followed by a new final vowel was a change found in Proto-Sinhala, Proto-Dhivehi, and in the southern Dhivehi dialects. This change resulted in different outcomes for the respective languages/dialects, however (see Section 7.5.1). Another change not found in other Indo-Aryan languages that appeared in both Dhivehi and Sinhala is the change of a proto /j/ to /d/ (e.g., Dh. /dau/ ‘net’, Si. /dæɪ/, OIA/MIA /jāla/). As pointed out in Section 7.5.3.2, however, the /j/ that fed into this change came from different sources in Dhivehi and Sinhala. Proto-Dhivehi /j/ came from word initial /y-/ as well as word initial /j-/, medial /-jj-/, and intervocalic /-c-/, but not intervocalic /-j-/. Medieval Sinhala /j/ came from word initial

/j-/, intervocalic **/-j-/**, medial **/-jj-/**, and intervocalic **/-c-/**, but not word initial **/y-/**. Some other changes found in both Dhivehi and Sinhala (i.e. **/s/ > /h/**, vowel elision and gemination) had taken place at very different times in the respective languages according to the documented evidence.

This overview of the historical developments in Dhivehi phonology in relation to those in Sinhala present something of an ambiguous picture of how the two languages are related. The evidence of early divergence of Proto-Dhivehi from PDS is clear. It is also evident that Dhivehi continued to develop in ways that Sinhala did not. However, Dhivehi also shows some significant similarities to Sinhala in other ways that are not easy to account for if totally independent development is assumed from the 1st c. B.C. onward. One possible explanation for these overlapping developments is that though Dhivehi began diverging quite early, it continued to come under the influence of developments in Sinhala. As far as we know, the Maldives was never completely sealed off from Sri Lanka. Ongoing language contact between the two countries was probably common, and this may have helped Dhivehi develop in ways similar to what is found in Sinhala.

CHAPTER EIGHT:
HISTORICAL SOURCES FOR DHIVEHI MORPHOSYNTACTIC
CONSTRUCTIONS

8.1 Introduction

In this chapter, I survey some of the possible historical sources for various morphosyntactic constructions and features in Dhivehi. This study summarizes my findings to date with the expectation that these will be significantly modified as more information comes to light. As in the study of Dhivehi's phonological development, we are limited by the dearth of historical Dhivehi data. The oldest Dhivehi texts available, *Loamaafaanu* and *Isdhoo Loamaafaanu* (12th c.), are copper plates which detail the division of land as it pertains to taxation, and they are not particularly robust in terms of morphological inflections and syntactic devices.

This study has drawn upon what is known of Sinhala's historical development a great deal. In cases where a particular morphosyntactic feature in Dhivehi and Sinhala clearly came from the same prototype, Sinhala's linguistic history (which has an unbroken textual witness dating back to the 3rd c. B.C.) provides many insights into how Dhivehi might have developed. While many comparisons between Dhivehi and Sinhala are made in this context, this study is by no means an exhaustive comparison of the two languages. Such a comparison would have to include the many ways Sinhala differs from Dhivehi (e.g., nominal classes, various non-finite verbal inflections, quasi-verbs, etc.). For the purposes of

this present research, I have concentrated on those forms and features that the languages share of which something is known of possible prototypes.

Much of what is known of Sinhala's historical development comes from Geiger (1938). Geiger provides some good historical information on many different aspects of Sinhala, and he offers suggestions for the possible prototypes of many constructions. Wijayaratne (1956) has carefully analyzed Sinhala nominal developments from Early Sinhala Prakrit (circa 3rd c. B.C.) to Medieval Sinhala (circa 10th c. A.D.). Premaratne (1986) traces verbal developments in Sinhala within the same period. These works have proved especially helpful in the study of Dhivehi developments.

Though research on Sinhala's historical development has been substantial, much remains to be done. There are significant gaps in our current knowledge of that language's history that, if filled, could shed some new light on how Dhivehi developed. Both Wijayaratne (1956) and Premaratne (1986) draw upon inscriptional evidence that spans a millenium, but many of the earlier inscriptions were limited in the forms they employed. Non-past verb forms, for example, were not used in inscriptions prior to the 8th c. (Premaratne 1986: 193).⁵³ Neither Wijayaratne (1956) nor Premaratne (1986) included one of Sinhala's most significant epigraphical records, the *Sigiri Graffiti*. The *Sigiri Graffiti* is a

⁵³ Many of the early inscriptions simply recorded information about donations (e.g., donation, donor's name and parentage, and etc.) (Premaratne 1986:10-11). Such limited subject matter probably accounts for the relative paucity of variety in inflected forms.

collection of poetry consisting of over six hundred lines written between the sixth and tenth centuries on the wall of an ancient rock fortress. Though poetry, the style was often conversational (Paranavitana 1956) (Gair 1986: 160-161) (Premaratne 1986: 171-172). Without additional research, conclusions based on the late attestations of some forms are difficult to make with any degree of certainty. In addition, the forms cited in these various works are based on orthographic renderings and are not phonologically reconstructed. Conventional spelling during much of the pre-10th c. period did not write long vowels or mark geminate consonants. This makes the task of tracing the morphological developments in relation to the phonological ones very difficult. More can be known of Dhivehi's history as research on Sinhala moves forward.

This chapter summarizes my findings to date on possible sources for many elements of Dhivehi morphosyntax. The study focuses primarily on nominal developments (Section 8.2) and verbal morphology (Section 8.4). Comparisons with Sinhala in both areas reveal many similarities, and in some instances almost identical forms (e.g., case endings). However, Dhivehi also features some elements not present in Sinhala, and some differences in how the morphology is organized (e.g., human/non-human nominal categories versus animate/inanimate ones in Sinhala). Such similarities and differences suggest that Dhivehi began diverging from Sinhala quite early, but ongoing contact between the speech communities led to some degree of convergence (Section 8.5).

8.2 *Historical Development of Dhivehi Nominals*

8.2.1 Notional Gender

The Dhivehi division of nouns into the two categories of human and non-human (e.g., Dh. *fas fot* ‘five books’ vs. *fas mīhun* ‘five people’) (Section 4.1.1), like Sinhala’s division into animate and inanimate, began with the skewing of grammatical gender differences of MIA. In Pali, for example, an inanimate object that was grammatically either masculine or feminine was sometimes inflected like a neuter. Thus, neuter began to be associated with inanimate. This trend continued in other modern Indic languages as well (e.g., Eastern Bengali, Assamese, and Oriya) (Wijayaratne 1956: 33). The resultant notional gender system probably began supplanting the MIA grammatical gender in Proto-Dhivehi-Sinhala (circa 2nd c. B.C.). Inscriptional evidence in Sri Lanka shows that after the 1st c. B.C. Sinhala Prakrit inanimate nouns (from OIA masculine and neuter forms) dropped the nominative singular in *-e* for the zero-inflection stem form. By the 3rd c. A.D. the distinction between animate and inanimate as notional gender was fixed (Wijayaratne 1956:38). The development of notional gender in Proto-Dhivehi continued as well, but Dhivehi defined its notional classes as human and non-human perhaps as the result of Dravidian influence (see Section 9.3).

8.2.2 Postpositions and Cases

The basic case endings for Dhivehi and Sinhala are given below. The Sinhala case endings show alternations, the choice of which is based on various noun classes and on the Literary vs. the Colloquial language:

(294)	Dhivehi	Sinhala	
		Animate	Inanimate
Direct	0	(varies)	-a/-e
Dative	-aṣ	-aṭa	-aṭa
Genitive	-ge	-gē	-a/-ē
Locative	-gai	NA	-ē
Instrumental	-(u)n/-in	-gen	-en/-in

The Dhivehi dative case *-aṣ*, like Sinhala *-aṭa*, comes from Sanskrit *arthāya*, Pali and Prakrit *aṭṭāya* ‘purpose (dative)’. The dative in Proto-Dhivehi-Sinhala was formed periphrastically with a genitive noun and *aṭaya* (/aṭṭāya/?⁵⁴): *śagaśa aṭaya* ‘for the benefit of the monks’ (circa 3rd c. B.C.). This practice was a continuation and extension of what began in OIA where periphrastic datives began to be employed exclusively in the place of the dative of purpose. By the 1st c. B.C. the *aṭaya* became a postposition and a “quasi-termination” (Wijayaratne 1956: 105-106). The

⁵⁴ Wijayaratne cites examples based on the orthographic rendering. Probable phonemic representations can be ascertained by applying the sound changes reported in Karunatillake (1969). Here and elsewhere in this section, the italicized examples from Wijayaratne are as he gives them.

Proto-Dhivehi-Sinhala *aṭaya* shortened to *-aṭa* (/aṭṭā/?) in Sinhala Prakrit of the 2nd c. A.D. (Wijayaratne 1956: 159).

A distinction in Sinhala between inanimate and animate nouns arises around the 3rd c. A.D. that is not found in Dhivehi. The dative is adjoined directly to stem form for inanimate nouns, but continued to be added to the genitive oblique for animates: Proto-Sinhala (5th c.) *ariyavasa-vaṭ* ‘for the purpose of maintenance of Ariyavasa ceremony’ (5th c.), Medieval Sinhala (10th c.) *maharaj-h-aṭ* ‘to the great king’ (10th c.) (Wijayaratne 1956: 43-44). Dhivehi adds the dative directly to the stem form of both human and non-human nouns, and evidence from Medieval Dhivehi shows that this has been the practice for quite some time: Med. Dhivehi (12th c.) *mūdim-aṭa* ‘to the mudim (religious leader)’, *komme mīhak-aṭa* ‘to every person’ (cf. Med. Sinhala *æjarak-h-aṭa* ‘to a teacher’ (Wijayaratne 1956: 81)). Modern Dhivehi continues this practice: *kafur-aṣ* ‘to the unbeliever’, *miskit-aṣ* ‘to the mosque’.

The Dhivehi genitive suffix *-ge* and Sinhala *-gē* case endings originally came from OIA *geha/gehe* ‘house’. In Sinhala the *-gē* was once the inflected noun *ge-hi/gehe* ‘in the house’ that had developed into a postposition (circa 3rd c. A.D. ?), and finally to a case ending (8th c. – 9th c.) (Wijayaratne 1956: 144).⁵⁵ How the *-ge* developed in Dhivehi is

⁵⁵ The old genitive case (inherited from OIA) had become the general oblique, and the *-gē* ending attached to the oblique to form a new genitive: *Valjeṭuṅ gē piyagæt* ‘the step of Valjeṭu’ (8th or 9th c. A.D.) (Wijayaratne 1956: 144). Although this is the oldest inscriptional attestation of the genitive, Wijayaratne argues that this development of post-positions into cases (the genitive and the animate ablative) probably occurred as

unclear for if it had come from **gehe* then the expected form would have been **-gē* as a result of /h/ deletion. In the 12th c., the form in Medieval Dhivehi was already *-ge*.

The modern Dhivehi *-ge* genitive case ending is adjoined to both human and non-human nominals, but early (12th c.) documents reveal that *-ge* was originally only for human nominals, and *-e* was the genitive/locative for non-humans (Maniku and Wijayawardhana 1986: ix). The *-e* locative/genitive ending still exists in Addu and Huvadu: Ad. *gēnde* ‘of/in the chair’, Huv. *gondē*. The *-e* locative is typical of Asokan inscriptions of the west and northwest of India, and appears in Sinhala inscriptions of the 2nd c. A.D. (Wijayaratne 1956: 107-108). That it appears in both Dhivehi and Sinhala suggests that it was present in Proto-Dhivehi-Sinhala. Alternatively, both Dhivehi and Sinhala could have come under some western Middle Indic influence after they separated. (The change of PDS word initial /y/ to */j/ in Proto-Dhivehi may be another indication of some western influence. See Section 7.3.1.1.)

Modern Dhivehi has *-gai* as the locative ending, and it has replaced the *-e* genitive/locative ending. The historical source for *-gai* has not yet been determined. One of the earliest instances of its use is found in the document *Gan Faykkolu* from the 17th c. (Bell 1940: 190-191) which suggests that it is a borrowed element. One possibility is that the locative

early as the 3rd c. A.D., for it was around this time that these case endings from OS had ceased to function as such (Wijayaratne 1956: 117-22).

case *-gai* is a grammaticalized form of the nominal *gai* ‘body’. But, the source of *gai* ‘body’ is also unclear.⁵⁶

The ins./abl. endings are transparently related in the two languages. These come from Sanskrit *-ena*. In Medieval Sinhala the instrumental ending was *-in/-en* whose alternation came from OIA *-ini/-ena*. This alternation was conditioned by the weight of the syllable preceding the ending. Generally, if the previous syllable was light, the ending would be *-ini*, otherwise *-ena*. This alternation is first attested in the 4th c. A.D. By the 8th c. the endings were shortened to *-in* and *-en*, and these two endings began to be used in free variation (Wijayaratne 1956: 156-57). In Sinhala inscriptions of the 10th c. A.D., for example, we find *desen* ‘from the direction’ (ibid.) (cf. Med. Dh. *disen*, OIA *desa-*). In Modern Dhivehi, the *-en* instrumental/ablative ending no longer survives except in some frozen forms (e.g., *kuren* ‘from’, *suren* ‘since’). It has been replaced by *-un* perhaps because of an analogy with the human plural marker: *-n:-in:-un :: -n:-in:χ*.

The special instrumental *kuren* ‘from’ used as the instrumental/ablative of human substantives is cognate with Si. *keren*. Twelfth century Dhivehi inscriptions attest to its usage where it is orthographically rendered as <*kren*> (probably the written form for /*kuren*/ which is also the modern form) as in *dugapatin kren* ‘from the poor’ (Disanayake and Wijayawardhana 1987: 67-68). The Dhivehi and

⁵⁶ Turner suggests Skt. *gātra*, but this could not have developed into *gai*, but rather **gat*.

Sinhala forms come from the Old Indic *kareṇa* ‘from (or by) the hand’ (Wijayarātne 1956: 142). The earliest attestation of this form in Sinhala is from the 11th c.: *kæmiyan keren* ‘from the officers’ (11th c. A.D.) (Wijayarātne 1956: 144). Although not attested in earlier inscriptions, it is possible that *keren* and other postpositions occurred as early as the 3rd c. A.D. to fulfill the function of the Middle Indic cases that had been dropped by that time (Wijayarātne 1956: 141).

8.2.3 History of the Plural Markers

As discussed in Section 4.1.3, Dhivehi does not require number inflection for plural non-human nouns (e.g., *fas fot* ‘five books’). This continues a pattern in Proto-Dhivehi-Sinhala, and attested in Early Sinhala Prakrit (circa 2nd c. B.C) when inscriptions show that number inflection for neuter nouns was lost (Wijayarātne 1956: 32-38).

The contrast of singular and plural in Sinhala was re-introduced in the 8th c. A.D. when *-a* began to be used to designate the singular (e.g., *Si.phan-a* ‘stone’) (Wijayarātne 1956: 75). Interestingly, the Dhivehi southern dialect of Huvadu also features *-a* as a singular marker: *i"gill-a* ‘finger’, *i"gili* ‘fingers’ (Wijesundera et al. 1988: 161). This designation of the singular with *-a/ā* in Huvadu may be the result of contact with Sinhala of the 8th – 10th c. A.D. Oral tradition speaks of the “cat people” (= *Sinha* ‘lion’?) invading an island in Huvadu Atoll and killing the inhabitants in pre-Islamic times (Heyerdahl 1986: 81). Unlike Sinhala, however, the plural/singular distinction in Huvadu only holds for the direct case. When

inflected for case the number distinction is neutralized: Dh. Huv. *raṭā* ‘island’, *raṭe* ‘islands’, but *rahaṭe* ‘to the island/islands’.

Plurality in Dhivehi can be overtly marked with *-tak* as in *fottak* ‘books’. The *-tak* could possibly be cognate with Si. (9th c.) *tāk* ‘so much’ (< OIA/MIA **tāvātka* < OIA *tāvāt*) (Wijesundera et al. 1988: 38) (Karunatilake 1991: 208). However, the short vowel in *-tak* is left unexplained if that were the case.

The *-n* human plural marker, as in *veri-n* ‘chiefs’, comes from the OIA genitive plural *-ānām* and is cognate with the Sinhala oblique ending for plural animates *-an/-un* (Geiger 1938: 96). Due to general phonological changes, the OIA *-ānām* became *-āna* toward the end of the 2nd c. A.D. in Sinhala Prakrit (Karunatilake 1969: 49), and presumably for Proto-Dhivehi as well.⁵⁷ This genitive plural came to be used as a general oblique in Sinhala Prakrit at this time (Wijayarātne 1956: 118). After vowel shortening and final vowel deletion, the Sinhala oblique ending became *-an* by the 8th c. (Wijayarātne 1956: 133). In Dhivehi, the **-āna* eventually yielded the *-n/-un/-in* plural marker, and came to replace even the OIA/MIA nominative/accusative endings. The human plural allomorphs may have developed as follows:

As in Sinhala (circa 4th c. – 8th c. A.D.), the allomorph **-una* came to follow heavy/accented syllables in conformity with a general sound

⁵⁷ In MIA, and later NIA, the word final *-m* is lost, but the preceding vowel is nasalized: Pa. *pitarāṇā* < OIA *pitṛṇām* ‘son.PLU.GEN’ (Bubenik 1996: 82). Neither Dhivehi nor Sinhala show the nasalization.

change in which /a/ (from /a/ or /ā/) becomes /u/ in that environment (see Section 7.4.2.2) (Wijayaratne 1956: 138) (Karunatilake 1969: 73). The OIA word *corānām* ‘thieves’ developed as follows in both languages: *corānām* > **corānam* > **corāna* > **corana* > **coruna* > **sorun* > *horun* (Dh. direct plural form, Si. oblique). The stem and direct singular form was **hora-* (as it still is in Sinhala), but in Dhivehi word final */a/ following a retroflex became /u/. Thus, the singular and plural forms became *horu* and *horun* respectively. The *-n* of *-un* becomes reanalyzed as a human plural marker. Nominal stems ending in consonant insert /u/ pleonastically in such forms as *anhen-un* ‘female-PLU/women’.

The Dhivehi *-in* allomorph may have developed from forms such as OIA *mātṛnām* ‘of the mothers’: *mātṛnām* > **mātānām* > **mātānam* > **mātāna* > **māyāna* > **māyana* (loss of /ā/ if preceded by heavy syllable (Wijayaratne 1956: 134)) > **maina* > *main* ‘mothers’. The singular form is inherited as *mai*, and the *-n* is construed as the human plural marker. The *-in* became associated with human referents in other forms ending in *-a*: *kāfa-in* ‘grandfathers’, *singaḷain* ‘Sinhalese people’.

8.2.4 Pronominal Developments

The source of the Dhivehi demonstratives is not easy to determine. If Dh. *mi* ‘this (near speaker)’ and Si. *me* ‘this’ are cognate, then ultimately the source for both is MIA **imanī*. Geiger claims that Si. *me* consists of *ma-* (from OIA *ima-*) prefixed to the pronoun *-ē* (1938: 125-126). If this is the case, it is unclear how Dh. *mi* could have come from this as well.

Another possible source for Dh. *mi* is the OIA copula *asmi*. As seen in (38) above, there is a connection between the first person pronominal subject and the demonstrative *mi*. The prototype of sentences of this type may be similar to what has been found in Sinhala inscriptions of the 6th c. A.D.: *puyagonula-mi vaharala cidavi*. ‘I, Puyagonula, caused the timber to be cut.’ (Wijayaratne 1956: 173-174). Wijayaratne points out that the Si. *mi* in these sentences is probably a contracted form of OIA *asmi* ‘I am’. Even in Middle Indic, we find the first person singular form of *vas* being used as an equivalent of *aham* ‘I.NOM’ (ibid.).

Dhivehi *ti* ‘that (near audience)’ is not related to the Sinhala equivalent *oya*. The former may come from OIA *tat*, but the development is difficult to account for. Another possibility is that Dh. *ti* developed from a pronominal *ti* ‘you’ (cf. Medieval Si. *tī* ‘you (fem.)’). The demonstrative *e* is from OIA *ēśá* ‘this’. Note that Dh. has nothing equivalent to Si. *ara* ‘that (distal)’.

The first person *ma* is related to Si. *ma-* ‘I (stem)’ which comes from OIA *ma*. The source of Dh. *aharen* is unclear. An older form of ‘I’ is *ahuren* which in turn probably came from **afuren*. Alternations of /f/ and /h/ are quite common in many Dhivehi dialects (e.g., *huḷaⁿgu* ~ *fuḷaⁿgu* ‘west’). The dialects of Addu and Huvadū have *afa* ‘I’ which suggests that it may be related to the Sinhala first person plural pronoun *api* ‘we’, but the *-ren* is difficult to account for. The *-en* of *-ren* may be a plural marker, and the plural form could have gotten reanalyzed as a singular pronoun analogous to how Dravidian plural pronouns developed

into singulars. An inflected form of *aharen* with the dative is *ahannaṣ* which suggests some relation to OIA *aham*, but the initial vowel of such a form could not have survived.

The third person singular pronouns *ēnā* ‘(s)he/it (distant)’, *mīnā* ‘(s)he/it (near speaker)’, and *tīnā* ‘(s)he/it (near hearer)’ appear to be historically derived from combinations of the proximal demonstratives and the OIA defective pronoun *enam* which served as a third person pronoun (Whitney 1889: 191).

The substantive interrogative pronominal *kāku* ‘who’ may be related to the Si. oblique case *kā* and ultimately comes from OIA *kasya* (Geiger 1938: 128). To this *kā*- is added the indefinite/unspecified marker *-aku*. The indefinite suffix *-ek* may have combined with **ki-* (a stem found in Prakrit) to form the Dhivehi interrogative *kīk* ‘what’. The ‘to be’ verb *ve* is adjoined to *kīk* to form *kīvve* ‘why’. Dhivehi *kihinek* ‘how’ is made up of *ki-* and *hen* ‘like, manner’ (with vowel harmony in the latter), followed by the indefinite article.

CDIAL gives OIA *kaḥ punar* as the etymological source for Dh. *kon* (Turner 1966-1971) (Wright 1985), but how this developed is not clear.

Dhivehi *kobā* ‘where’ appears to be made up of *ko-* which comes from OIA *kuha* or *kva*, and *bā* the question particle (see Section 4.5.4.3). *ko* ‘where’ appears in Medieval Sinhala of the 8th c. as well (Karunatillake 1991: 160).

8.3 *The ta/tō Question Particle*

The Dhivehi question particle *ta* (*to* in polite registers), which is found attached to interrogatives or at the end of questions eliciting yes-no responses (Section 4.5.4.3), is probably related to the Sinhala question particle *da* (*də* in CS). Its development from a common prototype, however, is not straightforward. The Sinhala question particle *da* is believed to have derived from OIA *ca* ‘and’ which is also the source of the conjunctive particle *-d/-t* (Geiger 1938: 167). When used as a conjunctive particle **-da* probably cliticized with the preceding word, and lost its vowel word finally as part of a more general rule. Subsequently, word final /d/ and /t/ neutralized to the latter at the end of the 8th c. B.C. (Karunatillake 1969: 114-116). As a question marker, *da* already occurs in Sinhala Prakrit of the 8th c., and still occurs in Literary Sinhala (Karunatillake 1991: 232).

In Dhivehi, we would expect PDS **ca* (supposedly the source of the question particle) to become either **ha* or **da*, depending on which pattern of palatal development it followed (see Section 7.3.1.2 and Section 7.5.3.1). The /t/ of *ta*, however, is inexplicable. Phrases like *ehen ta?* ‘Is that so?’ make identifying a suitable environment for the devoicing of /d/ rather difficult. The polite alternative *tō* may be explained as coming from **tava* where the *-va* was a causative morpheme that was grammaticalized as a politeness marker in the verbal system.

8.4 Historical Development of Verbal Morphology

8.4.1 Finite Verb Forms

8.4.1.1 Origin of the Thematic *-a*, *-e*, and *-nn* Stems

Dhivehi features three types of (polysyllabic) verb stems: verbs whose thematic vowel is *-a-* (e.g., *jaha-* ‘strike’), those with *-e-* (e.g., *eⁿge-* ‘understand’), and those that feature the geminate *-nn-* in the stem (i.e., *ganna-nī* ‘is getting’) (c.f. Section 4.4.2). Dhivehi verb stems of the first type generally correspond to MIA *-a-* types which are themselves based on OIA thematic stems (Sanskrit first, sixth, and fourth classes). The same holds for Sinhala *-a* thematic vowel stems: Dh. and Si. *liya-* ‘write’, Skt. and Pa. *likha-* (Premaratne 1986: 162-163) (Hendriksen 1949: 155).

Dhivehi *-e-* thematic vowel stems, which are predominantly involitive, like their cognates in Sinhala, are probably derived from the MIA and OIA intransitive and generally passive stems with *-iya/-īya*: Dh. *ele-* ‘to adhere’ (cf. Si. *æle-* ‘to adhere’) < Pa. *alliyati*, Skt. *ālīyatē*. A few verbs are derived from MIA *-āya* forms: Dh. and Si. *nive-* ‘to be extinguished’, Pa. *nibbāyati* (Geiger 1938: 138). The presence of umlaut for this verb class indicates the presence of **i* at some point in the derivational history for both languages, but this period has not yet been determined.⁵⁸

⁵⁸ That the *-i* in *iCa* became *e* is clear from examples like Si. *eļu* ‘Sinhala (old name) < P. *sīhala* (Hendriksen 1949: 154). When the change of MIA *-iya/-īya/-āya* to PDS

For many of the Dhivehi verbs of the *-nn-* type, their Sinhala cognate is of the Class II conjugation featuring *-i-* in the present stem:

(295) <u>Dhivehi</u>	<u>Sinhala</u>	<u>OIA/MIA</u>
konnānī ‘digging’	kaninavā	khanati (cf. Pk. khaṇa-)
gannānī ‘buying’	gannavā (gani-)	gr̥hṇāti
dannānī ‘knowing’	dannavā (dani-)	jānāti
binnānī ‘break off’	bī ⁿ dinavā	bhindati
bannānī ‘tying up’	ba ⁿ dinavā	bandhati
vannānī ‘entering’	vadinavā	vrājati (or āpanna-) ⁵⁹
annānī ‘wrap around’	a ⁿ dinavā	sañjayati
innānī ‘being’	i ⁿ dinavā	sīdati
onnānī ‘lying’	hovinavā	svāpati, sovai (Pk.)
iṣṭinnānī ‘sitting’	hiṭṭinavā	tiṭṭhati (Pa.), ciṭṭha- (Pk.)

It would seem, therefore, that the source for the Sinhala II conjugation and the *-nn-* verbs in Dhivehi are one in the same.⁶⁰ What that might be is still uncertain. Geiger argues that the source of Sinhala Conjugation II is the Sanskrit root class of the type like *han-ti* ‘slay’. The

-e took place is more uncertain. Premaratne (1986: 124) erroneously cites Karunatillake (1969) in claiming the change of *-āya* to OS *-e*. Karunatillake clearly states that MIA *-aya* (not *-āya*) made this change in Early Sinhala Prakrit (1969: 27).⁵⁹ Hendriksen offers this alternative (1949: 158).

⁶⁰ The discussion here concerns Dhivehi verbs with *-nn-* in the stem, but other verbs featuring geminate consonants might also be part of the same group that is cognate with Sinhala’s *i*-stem verbs (e.g., Dh. *kessanī* ‘coughing’, Si. *kasinavā*, OIA *kāsate*).

-i was a later insertion that “crept in” from the preterit participle *-i*. That the *-i* came later is shown by the lack of umlaut in the preceding syllable. Geiger expresses some reservation however, “...it is hardly intelligible how this type which is very rare in Middle-Indian could occur in Sinhalese to such an extent” (1938: 138).

Hendriksen suggests that the source for the Sinhala II verbs comes from OIA/MIA verbs that feature a heavy first syllable. A later phonological change would delete a vowel following a heavy syllable, and cause two consonants to come together to later become geminate. He suggests that the *-i* was introduced later as an anaptyctic vowel after stems ending in *-d* (< OIA *-j*) and may, in fact be a relic of the *-j* (Si. **upajñā* ‘to arise’ > *upadinā*) (Hendriksen 1949: 159). As *-j* became *-d* in the 8th c. (Karunatillake 1969: 91), the *i*-stem of Conjugation II in Sinhala probably began at this time.

That many of the *-nn-* forms are derived from OIA/MIA verbs featuring a heavy syllable suggests that Hendriksen hypothesis about Sinhala II verbs is applicable here as well. What is less clear is how the Dhivehi verb forms feature *-nn-* in such words as *onnanī* ‘lying’ (cf. Si. *hovinavā*, OIA *svápati*). Perhaps analogy played a role here with forms like *ganna-* from OIA *gṛhṇāti*. Verbs featuring *-nn* are attested in 12th c. texts: *dugapatin kren purbbe ganna pas medi boli* ‘the five *medi* of cowries formerly taken from the poor people’ (Loamaafaanu 1982: 34).

8.4.1.2 Causatives

The Dhivehi causative marker *-(u)va*, and its Sinhala cognate *-va*, are historically derived from OIA causative sign *(ā)paya*, the causative marker used with roots ending in *-ā* (Geiger 1938: 154) (Whitney 1889: 1042). Some of the causatives can be derived directly from MIA: Dh. *davanī* ‘roasting’, Si. *davanava* ‘consuming by fire’, corresponds to Pa. *jhāpēti* (Geiger 1941:70).

The historical development of *-paya* to *-va* is difficult to determine. The *-p-* changed to *-v-* around the 2nd c. A.D. in Sinhala Prakrit (Karunatillake 1969: 53-54), a change that is also found in Middle Indic (Geiger 1938: 154-155). The causative marker *-(a)vaya* is found in past participles (“preterit gerunds”) in inscriptions of the 2nd c. A.D.: Sinhala Prakrit (2nd c.) *karavaya* ‘make.CAUS.’, *kanavaya* ‘dig.CAUS.’ (Premaratne 1986: 268). The causative marker *-ava* probably came into use by the 4th c. (Premaratne 1986: 163). Given a form like *-(a)vaya* in the 2nd c., we would expect **(a)ve* due to a general sound change occurring before the 3rd c. B.C. in which intervocalic *-aya-* became *-e-* (Karunatillake 1969: 27). However, **(a)ve* ‘causative marker’ is not found in either Dhivehi or Sinhala. How the causative developed in both languages remains an enigma. For more details on causative morphology, see Section 6.2.1.

8.4.1.3 Present Progressives

The forms found in the present progressive and future probably derive from OIA *-ana* forms followed by the diminutive *-ka* (cf. Dh.

kuranī ‘doing’, *kurāne* ‘do.FUT’, OIA *kāraṇaka* ‘doing’). This is also the most likely source for Sinhala present participles (Gair’s “verbal adjectives”) ending in *-na* (e.g., Si. *balanə* ‘looking’), and *-nu* verbal noun (Gair’s “passive participle”) (e.g., Si. *karanu* ‘doing’) (Geiger 1938: 134).

A form like PDS **karaṇaka* would eventually yield **karanaya* > **karani* > *kurani* in Dhivehi. The participle *kurani-* is found in forms like *kurani-koṣ* ‘while doing’. As a possible nominal *kurani* could have occurred as the head of the first NP in NP NP equational clauses. In that position, it would have been suffixed with *-ī* ‘equative marker’. This may have been the origin of the focus construction (e.g., *aharen kuran-ī masakkat* ‘the thing that I’m doing is work’ or ‘it is work that I’m doing’) (see Section 5.2.3.1). This resultant focus verb form, though originally a nominal, could have later been reanalyzed as a progressive.

While speculative, the above account is analogous to what may have happened in Sinhala. It is perhaps significant that like Dhivehi, Sinhala’s present emphatic (focus) form and its present progressive (“future”) are one in the same. These forms are based on the Sinhala present participle which came from OIA/MIA verbs ending in *-na-ka* as well. After historical phonological changes, the uninflected participle ended in *-na* (e.g., *balana* ‘seeing’, *balanə koṭə* ‘while seeing’). The uninflected form is used adjectivally. As a nominal, the present participle form inflected for the third singular masc./neut. direct (nominative) case ending in *-nnē* for masculine and neuter nouns (e.g., *balannē*). This inflected form was used as the head noun in the initial NP in NP NP sentences that became the

prototype of Sinhala focus clauses (Section 5.2.3.1). The verbs in *-nnē* are also present progressive third person singular predicates. Though they are called “future” traditionally, Geiger explains, “It is obvious that the future meaning of the forms quoted above is not primary. Originally they were to express not an action but a state of longer duration either in present or in preterite time...” (1938: 148).

8.4.1.4 Habitual (Simple Present)

The habitual (simple present) forms in Dhivehi are historically derived from the OIA *-a* stems, causatives, contracted stems and roots ending in *-ā*. These are the sources for the Sinhala present stem forms as well (Geiger 1938: 139):

(296) <u>Dhivehi</u>	<u>Sinhala</u>	<u>OIA/MIA</u>
liya- ‘write’	liya-	likhati (Pa.)
gata- ‘braid’	gota-	ganthati (Pa.)
duva- ‘run’	diva-	javati (Pa.)
kiya- ‘say’	kiya-	katháyati
kafa- ‘cut’	kapa-	kalpáyati
koṣa- ‘cut’	koṭa-	kuṭṭáyati
la- ‘put’	la-	lāgáyati
ka- ‘eat’	ka-	khádati
viha- ‘birthing’	vada-	vijāyati (Pa.)

Note that the present stem (habitual) for *-nn-* verbs is also based on OIA *a*-stems:

(297) <u>Dhivehi</u>	<u>Sinhala</u>	<u>OIA/MIA</u>
i ⁿ da- ‘being’	i ⁿ di-	sídati
gana- ‘buying’	gani-	gṛhṇāti
kona- ‘digging’	kani-	khanati (cf. Pk. khaṇa-)
ba ⁿ da- ‘tying up’	ba ⁿ di-	bandhati
bi ⁿ da- ‘break off’	bi ⁿ di-	bhindati
vana- ‘entering’	vadi-	vrájati

8.4.1.5 Past Tense

Non-involitive past tense forms are derived from OIA *-ita* past passive participial forms such as Skt. *patitá* ‘fallen’. Sample derivations follow:

(298) OIA *tāḍita* from *√taḍ* ‘beat’ > ... > **tāḷiya* > **tēḷiya* > **teḷiya* > **teḷiy* > *teḷi*

OIA *sphāṭita* ‘split’ > ... > **pāṭita* > **pāḍita* > **pāḷita* > **pēḷiya* > **peḷiy* > **peḷi* > *feḷi*

To this past stem, the non-third person marker is added, and *-i* lengthens: *feḷīn* ‘I/you split’. The unmarked stem is the third person form and the past participle.

This formation is essentially the same as the “short-form” past found in Sinhala (Geiger 1938: 146). Compare Si. *bæli* ‘(s)he saw’ and Dh. *beli*.

Geiger believes this form to be comparatively younger than the other Sinhala past tense formation by virtue of its regularity in all three Sinhala verb conjugations. However, Premaratne cites such forms as *vadita* ‘developed.3sg’ as a past tense as early as the 2nd c. A.D. (1986: 256).⁶¹

Some irregular past tense forms come from OIA *-ta* and *-na* participial forms (Geiger 1938: 136-137). As an example of the former we have *duṣ* ‘saw’ (cf., Si. *duṭu*, Pa. *diṭṭha*, OIA *dr̥ṣṭa*). The past tense of ‘give’ *din* is an example of the latter from OIA *dinna*. The Sinhala cognate is *duna*. The change of the *-i* to *-u* in Sinhala is claimed to have taken place after the 6th c. A.D. (Premaratne 1986: 113).

Past tense for the *-nn-* type of verbs is somewhat irregular. The proto-typical past of this class ends in *-n* and does not umlaut the preceding vowel:

(299)	<i>konnanī</i>	‘digging’	<i>konun</i>	‘dug’
	<i>binnanī</i>	‘break off’	<i>bin</i>	‘broke off’
	<i>bannanī</i>	‘tying up’	<i>ban</i>	‘tied’
	<i>annanī</i>	‘wrap around’	<i>an</i>	‘wrapped around’
	<i>innanī</i>	‘being, marrying’	<i>in</i>	‘was’
	<i>iṣṭinnanī</i>	‘sitting’	<i>iṣṭin</i>	‘sat’

⁶¹ Sinhala past tense ordinary formation Class 1 is not found in Dhivehi. The past tense stem for Sinhala Class 1 is formed by umlauting the stem vowel if applicable, and adding *-uv*: *kapa-* ‘cut (pres. stem)’, *kæpuv-* (past stem) (Gair and Karunatilake 1976: 40). Historically, such forms were inflected forms of the preterite participle (e.g., *kæpuvā*) to which person endings were added (e.g., *kæpuvemi* ‘I cut’) (Geiger 1938: 137, 144-145).

gannanī	‘getting’	gat	‘bought’
onnanī	‘lying’	ot	‘lay’

The *-nn-* past tense forms are derived from OIA passive participles ending in *-na*, the same source for some of the Sinhala preterite participles (Geiger 1938: 136-137). Some prototypical examples include: Dh. *bin* ‘broke off’, Si. *bun*, OIA *bhinna*; Dh. *in* ‘sat’, Si. *un*, OIA *sanna*. Participles in *-na* were more common in MIA (Pali) than they were in Sanskrit (Müller 1884: 125), and I assume that by analogy they were even more common in Proto-Dhivehi-Sinhala. The derivative of the *-na* participle becomes the Dhivehi unmarked form for the past tense of *-nn-* verbs (and a few irregular verbs). To this base, the non-third person marker is added (e.g., *binin* ‘I/you broke off’).

The past tense of the IN-verbs is formed like the Sinhala class III conjugation past with *-unu*. Forms like *negunu* ‘take.IN.PST’ are found in Dhivehi of the 12th c, the earliest attested forms in the language. Similar forms are found in Sinhala as early as the 10th c. (Premaratne 1986: 83). The source of these *-unu* forms is still not known. Geiger notes that Sinhala traditional spelling features a retroflex *ṇ* in *-unu*, and this may give some indication of its source (Geiger 1938: 136). The presence of umlaut in both languages indicates that an **i* was present at some point in the derivation.

The above account of the past formation accords well with an etymology of Dhivehi *vi* ‘became’ (also Sinhala *vī*) that goes back to OIA

\sqrt{vas} ‘dwell’. The past tense could have come from *vasita* and developed as follows: *vasita* > **vahita* > ... > **vihiya* > **vīya* > **vī* > *vi* (cf. Si. *vī*). OIA *bhūta* ($\sqrt{bhū}$) is conventionally understood to be the source of Dhivehi and Sinhala ‘to be’ verb (Turner 1966-1971), but how this could have developed into the modern forms in either language is unclear.

The Dhivehi past progressive and the past focus verb are formed by the addition of *-ī* to the past tense stem (e.g., *ke-ī* ‘was eating’). A possible source for *-ī* is the copula *-akī/-ī*. (See Section 5.2.1.2.1 for further discussion.) The history of the past focus/progressive form is still obscure.

8.4.1.6 Perfect

The perfect aspect marker *-fi* as in *bune-fi* ‘(s)he has said’ is historically related to the auxiliary verb *pī* in Sinhala (Wijesundera et al. 1988: 65). This auxiliary verb is a contraction of the preterite participle Si. *piyu/pivu* from *piyanavā* ‘to close’. The participial stem form is most commonly rendered as *pu/pū*, but the *pī* is also found (Geiger 1938: 137). In Sinhala constructions, a past participle (Geiger’s “gerund II”) is followed by inflections of *piyanavā* to express the completeness of an action: Si. 13th c. *huyā pī* ‘peeled’ (Geiger 1938: 161).⁶² In Dhivehi, the completive aspect of this participial form *pī* (>*fi*) comes to dominate to eventually yield the perfect marker. The person markers are then added to

⁶² In Colloquial Sinhala, *pi* ‘perfective’ still signifies completed action but with the implication that the action was undesirable in the estimation of the speaker (Gair 1976: 267).

this ending: *bunefīn* ‘I/you have said.’ This tense/aspect is virtually absent in Dhivehi’s southern dialects. Its absence there is conspicuous in that Standard (Malé) Dhivehi appears to conform more closely to Sinhala in this instance than do the southern dialects which are popularly believed to be more like Sinhala. When this tense/aspect first appeared in Dhivehi is not known, but its limited distribution in the Maldives may indicate that it is a comparatively late development.

The perfect aspect marker for intransitive verbs is *-jje*: *hiⁿgajje* ‘walk/go.PFT’, *vadejje* ‘sit.PFT’, *atuvejje* ‘come.PFT’, *vejje* ‘become.PFT’. When the non-third person ending is added, it yields *-jjain* (*atuvejjain* ‘I/you have come’). Verbs with reduced valence feature *-ijje*: *kevijje* ‘eat.IN.PFT’, *levijje* ‘put.IN.PFT’. Inflections in this second type look very similar to the Sinhala ending *-icci*, and some have suggested that they come from the same source: Si. *kævicci* ‘was eaten’ (Wijesundera et al. 1988: 67). The perfect adjectival form in Colloquial Sinhala is *-iccə*: *kæḍiccə* ‘having been broken’, *veccə* ‘having become’ (Karunatillake 1998: 178). Reynolds suggests that both the Dhivehi and Sinhala perfect markers are of Dravidian origin (1978: 157). If this is so, then the voicing in Dhivehi of a geminate where Dravidian languages lack voicing is difficult to explain. The Dhivehi geminate *-jje* suggests some combination of *-di* and a vowel suffix of *-e*, but how this ultimately goes back to a Dravidian source is unclear.

8.4.1.7 Person Markers

Personal suffixes are added to stems to differentiate between third person (unmarked) and non-third person: *liyunu* ‘(s)he/it/they wrote, *liyunīn* ‘I/you/we/you all wrote.’ This non-third person marker is cognate with Sinhala first person singular ending *-m*, and historically derived from OIA/MIA *-mi* (Geiger 1938: 142). An archaic form *-mu* is also used for first and second person plural, and second person singular. More puzzling is the conflation of first and second person into non-third person. I know of no other Indic language in which this has happened, and losing the distinction between speaker (“I”) and audience (“you”) is not trivial.

Habitual (simple present) and the future have the third person marker *-e*: *liye* ‘(s)he writes’, *liyāne* ‘(s)he will write’. The third person marker *-e* is probably a contraction of final stem vowel *-a* and *-y* (cognate with Si. third person singular marker *-yi*, and derived from OIA/MIA *-ti*).

8.4.2 Non-finite Verb Forms

8.4.2.1 Conditionals

The conditional suffix *-yyā* is unique to Dhivehi, and has been attributed to a relic form of the MIA “concessive” suffix *-yya* (De Silva 1970: 156). By “concessive” De Silva may be referring to the optative (e.g., *nibbāyeyya* from *nibbā* ‘to be extinguished’) (Müller 1884: 108-110). However, given the sound laws that ensued for well over a thousand years, it is very doubtful that such a form could have survived. The *-yyā* conditional looks rather like a combination of some form of **-li* and **ā*.

This **l* may have developed from the Tamil-Malayālam conditional ending in *-il* as in *pōg-il* ‘if you go’ (Caldwell 1875: 529-530).

The conditional *nama* is cognate with Sinhala’s conditional *nam* which is first attested in that language in the 9th c. (Karunatillake 1991: 279). The prototype for these forms has not been established with certainty.

8.4.2.2 Participles

The source for the Dhivehi participles ending in *-ai* are OIA/MIA gerund forms in *-ā-ya* such as Pali *samuggahāya* ‘having embraced’. In Dhivehi, the word final *-a* got dropped, and the resultant **-āy* got resyllabified to yield *-ai*: Dh. **balāya* > **balāy* > *balai*. Participles with *-ai* are attested in the oldest Dhivehi documents available (12th c.). The OIA/MIA gerund forms in *-ā-ya* are also the source for Sinhala past participles ending in *-ā*.⁶³

Dhivehi participles of the *e*-type of verbs are generally characterized by the ending *-i* if they are involitive, and *-e* if volitive: *eⁿgi* ‘understand.IN.PRT’, *kuḷe* ‘play.PRT’. There are exceptions: Dh. *deke* ‘see.IN.PRT’. The source for these may be OIA/MIA gerund forms in *-ya/iya* (e.g., Pa. *pekkhiya* ‘look’) which have also been cited as the source for Sinhala past participles for Conjugations II and III (Geiger 1938:

⁶³ The Sinhala past participle is also called *gerund II* (Geiger 1938: 159) and *preterite gerund* (Premaratne 1986: 140). The *-āya* ending eventually gets shortened to *-ay* around the 8th c., and still later the final *-y* gets dropped, and the *-a* is lengthened: Si **balāya* > **balāy* > **balay* > *balā* ‘looking’. Participle forms with *-ā* have been attested in Sinhala since the 8th c. (Premaratne 1986: 141).

160-161) (Premaratne 1986: 142-143). Comparative Sinhala forms end in *-a*, *-æ* and *-ī*: Si. *bæⁿda*, *bæⁿdæ* ‘bind’ (10th c.), *væṭī* ‘fall’. The presence of umlaut in all of these forms in both languages suggests the presence of **-i*, and a possible source for these forms is the OIA/MIA gerunds in *-iya*. However, the suggested derivations for Sinhala do not account for the variety of forms met with in that language, and it is not clear how OIA/MIA gerunds with *-iya* endings came to be associated with the involitives that characterize Dhivehi *e*-stem verbs and Sinhala’s Conjugation III.

Dhivehi and Sinhala also share some irregular participle forms: *gos* ‘having gone’ (<**-gacca* = Skt. *-gatya*); Dh. *koṣ*, Si. *koṭa/koṭ* (*koṭu* in 2nd c.) ‘having done’. The participle *ais* ‘having come’ in Dhivehi is cognate with Sinhala *ævit*, and probably derived from **āgacca* (Skt. *āgatya*) (Geiger 1938: 159-160). Dh. *gen*, an older participle form for *gannanī* ‘getting’, is cognate with Si. (4th c.) *gena* (Premaratne 1986: 269). The Dh. *gen* and Si. *gena* have become grammaticalized to subordinate clauses (see Section 5.2.2.2.)

Relative participles in Std. Dhivehi generally consist of the present verb stem and a lengthened final *-ā* vowel for many verbs (e.g., *balā eccek* ‘a thing which is looked at’). The southern dialect of Huvadu appears closer to the Sinhala form which is made up of the verb stem plus ending: Huv. *balane*, Si. *balanə* ‘looking’ (Wijesundera et al. 1988: 168).

8.4.2.3 Simultaneous Suffix *-mun*

The Dhivehi simultaneous suffix *-mun* is cognate with Si. *-min* ‘concurrent participle ending’⁶⁴ : Dh. *kuramun*, Si. *karamin* (Wijesundera et al. 1988: 73). The source for this ending is unclear. Geiger proposes that the Sinhala *-min* is the instrumental case of a verbal noun in *-ma* like the modern gerunds in *-īma/-uma* (e.g., *bālīma* ‘looking’). He notes however that such verbal nouns show umlaut, while the concurrent participle form does not (cf. *balamin* ‘while looking’) (Geiger 1938: 158). Dhivehi actually has both an instrumental form of the verbal noun, and a concurrent participle, and their functions are quite close: Dh. *belumun* ‘by looking’, *balamun* ‘while looking’. It is unlikely that the latter derived from the former.

Hettiaratchi (1943) and Premaratne argue that Si. *-min* comes from the OIA present middle participle in *-māna*. According to Premaratne, Hettiaratchi (1943) reports that Asokan and Ardha Maagadhi inscriptions feature *-mina* as a variant to *-māna* (attested in Pali). Premaratne adds that the MIA forms also have a similar function as the Sinhala ending (i.e., simultaneous action) (Premaratne 1986: 139-140). The problem with this view is that it does not explain the absence of umlaut in forms that should have undergone it if indeed the *-min* came from MIA *-mina*. There are forms like Si. *bomin* ‘while drinking’ (Sibl. 219) (Premaratne 1986: 244), for example, which show no umlaut with the concurrent participle, but

⁶⁴ Also called *present participle* (Premaratne 1986: 97) and *gerund I* (Geiger 1938: 158).

whose past tense stem is unlauded (i.e. *bi-*). Another problem with this view is the late attestation of the form. Premaratne observes, “Early inscriptions do not attest the present gerund and even the later inscriptions attest it only once, namely, *demin* (10th c.) ‘give.pres.ger’ (1986: 139).” This is strange for a form supposedly inherited from MIA *-mina*.

That Dhivehi features /u/ instead of /i/ may be explained by analogy with the instrumental case of the gerund (c.f. *belumun* ‘by looking’, and *balamun* ‘while looking’).

8.4.2.4 Infinitives

Dhivehi infinitives consist of the present verb stem suffixed by one of two suffixes, *-n* and *-aṣ*: *kuran*, *kurāṣ* ‘to do’. The former occurs by itself within a sentence, and the latter whenever an additional ending is adjoined such as at sentence end where it is followed by the sentence marker *-eve* (e.g., *kurāṣeve*). The following illustrate these two:

(300) aharen divehi das kuran bēnum-eve.

I Dhivehi learn do.INF want-END

‘I want to learn Dhivehi.’

(301) boḍu husain diya-ī ēnā-ge ekuveri-aṣ

Bodu Husain go.PST-FOC (s)he-GEN friend-DAT

vadai dān govāṣ-eve

trawl go.INF call.INF-END

‘Bodu Husain went to call his friend to go trawling.’

Like infinitives in Sinhala, Dhivehi infinitive forms with *-aṣ* are also used as imperatives: *dū kollāṣe* ‘let (it) go!’ (Geiger 1938: 150) (Wijesundera et al. 1988: 70-71).

The Dhivehi infinitive ending in *-n* is cognate with Sinhala infinitives of the same type: Dh. and Si. *balan* ‘to look’.⁶⁵ The source for this infinitive is accusative singular case of OIA/MIA verbal nouns (cf. Pa. **bhalanam*) (Geiger 1938: 162). The Dhivehi infinitives with *-aṣ* (e.g., *balāṣ-*) are present verb stems suffixed with the dative, and appear unique to Dhivehi. Sinhala also uses the dative *-(a)ṭa* to form some infinitives, but it is found in forms such as *balanṭa* ‘to look’, *balanaṭa* (< MIA **bhalanattam*), and *balannaṭa* (**balanuvata* <... < MIA **bhalanakattam*) (ibid.).

8.4.2.5 Verbal Nouns

Verbal nouns or gerunds in Dhivehi end in *-un* and show umlaut of the verbal root (when the stem vowel is *-a*): *keun* ‘eating’, *belun* ‘looking’, *jehun* ‘striking’, *kurun* ‘doing’. The affinity of this form with Sinhala verbal nouns with *īma/-uma* is transparent: Si. *kerīma* ‘doing’, *kāma* ‘eating’, *bālīma/bæluma* (Wijesundera et al. 1988: 58). The historical development of these verbal nouns is obscure. The presence of umlaut in both languages indicates that the original ending had to include **-i*, but the source of these cognate forms is not known.

⁶⁵ Sinhala also has the infinitive form *balanu* ‘to look’ (< MIA **bhalanakam*) (Geiger 1938: 162) which is not found in Dhivehi.

8.5 Conclusions

This summary of possible sources for some of Dhivehi's morphosyntactic constructions and forms has shown that Dhivehi began to diverge from Sinhala during the Sinhala Prakrit stage. It was during that period that Sinhala developed notional gender based on the animate/inanimate distinction, whereas Dhivehi's notional gender was organized into human/non-human categories. Human and non-human nominals are the only two noun classes found in Dhivehi. This contrasts with Sinhala, both Literary and Colloquial, which features quite a number of nominal categories and sub-categories (i.e. male and female gender distinctions among animate nouns, and several classes of inanimate nouns). Other significant differences between Dhivehi and Sinhala include: the conflating of the first and second person verbal markers in Dhivehi, Dhivehi pronominal forms that apparently do not have cognates in Sinhala (e.g., *aharen* 'I' and *kalē* 'you'), the absence in Dhivehi of the *-i* thematic vowel stem verb class (Sinhala's Class II verbs), Dhivehi's lack of a tense comparable to Sinhala's ordinary past tense, and a conditional suffix (i.e. *-yyā*) not found in Sinhala whose prototype has not yet been determined. This is by no means an exhaustive list, but it does serve to indicate that the languages are quite different and have been for some time.

While such differences are noteworthy, just as striking is the high degree of similarity of many morphosyntactic forms found in both Dhivehi and Sinhala. The case endings in both languages are quite close, and many of these are unique to Dhivehi and Sinhala among the Indo-Aryan

languages: Dh. *-aṣ* and Si. *-atə* ‘dative case’, Dh. *-ge* and Si. *-gē* ‘genitive’ forms, Dh. *kuren* and Si. *keren* ‘from (ablative)’. Both Dhivehi and Sinhala have a three-way division of verbs into active, causative, and involitive/intransitive classes, each of which share derivational morphology that is almost identical in the respective languages. The degree of similarity in Dhivehi and Sinhala for some tense/aspects is quite remarkable (e.g., perfect transitive endings in Dh. *-fi* and Si. *-pi*, and perfect intransitive endings in *-ijje* and *-icci* respectively). Even some irregular participles are virtually the same (e.g., Dh. and Si. *gos* ‘having gone’, Dh. *koṣ* and CS *koṭə* ‘having done’).

On the one hand, Dhivehi features early developments that are significantly different from those found in Sinhala; and on the other, the two languages share many similarities, some of which first appeared relatively late. This pattern is not unlike what was shown to be the case for phonological developments as well. The phonological and morphosyntactic historical developments seem to indicate that PDS speakers were in the Maldives prior to the 1st c. B.C., and differences between Proto-Dhivehi and Sinhala Prakrit began by that time. The Dhivehi and Sinhala speech communities were never totally isolated, however. While the vast expanse of sea helped create a separate speech community, it also left the way open for contact to be maintained between the Maldives and Sri Lanka throughout their respective histories. It must have been the case that Dhivehi continued to come under the influence of Sinhala. Trading with Sri Lanka was probably common since ancient

times. Both Maldivians and Sinhalese were Buddhist prior to the 12th c., and the Maldives may have received instruction from religious centers in Sri Lanka.⁶⁶ There also may have been some small-scale immigration of Sinhala fishermen to various islands in the Maldives. Such contact would have made some degree of convergence very likely.

While this study addresses some aspects of Dhivehi's morphosyntactic development, many questions still remain. Of special interest are those forms that are unique to Dhivehi among all the Indo-Aryan languages (e.g., the *-akī* copula marker). One avenue of research that has not yet been explored thoroughly is that of comparative morphosyntax among Dhivehi dialects.⁶⁷ A careful examination of all the major dialects could yield important information on how these various forms developed in Dhivehi. Also, advances in Sinhala historical studies, especially of Sinhala's verbal system, could shed some new light on what might have happened in Dhivehi. I anticipate revising the tentative findings given in this chapter as more information becomes available about both languages.

⁶⁶ The striking similarity between the Dhivehi Akuru script in 12th c. texts, and the script in Medieval Sinhala texts suggests strong Sinhala influence during this period.

⁶⁷ Wijesundera et al. (1988) made a significant start in the area of Dhivehi dialectology, but this work needs to be expanded.

CHAPTER NINE: POSSIBLE DRAVIDIAN INFLUENCE

In addition to genetic affinity and language contact, some similarities which Dhivehi and Sinhala share may be the result of Dravidian influence on both. The Sinhala and Tamil speech communities have shared the same island home for over two millennia, and Minicoy (Maliku), once the Maldives' northernmost atoll, is less than two hundred miles from the Kerala coast of India. Given the close proximity of Dravidian, some degree of influence was perhaps inevitable. Gair's observation about Sinhala holds for Dhivehi as well:

...what we know of the circumstances would make it astounding if there were not heavy Dravidian influence on Sinhala, and in fact the survival of Sinhala as a clearly Indo-Aryan language might be looked on as a minor miracle of linguistic and cultural history. (Gair 1976: 259)

How heavy such an influence might have been remains to be determined for both Dhivehi and Sinhala. Dravidian impact on the Sinhala lexicon through the adoption of loan words is undisputed, and its' influence on Sinhala syntax has probably contributed to Sinhala's consistent left-branching structures (Gair 1976, 1982, 1985). The extent of Dravidian impact on Sinhala phonology has been viewed as substantial by some (Elizarenkova 1972) while others express caution (Gair 1985). For Dhivehi, Reynolds (1978: 157) believes Dravidian has made "surprisingly little impact," but Maloney (1980) argues for a strong Dravidian

substratum in the Maldives that impacted every area of the culture including language. In this chapter, I survey various areas of Dhivehi which have possibly come under Dravidian influence to one extent or another and compare them with what we know of Sinhala.

9.1 *Dravidian Traces in the Dhivehi Lexicon*

The degree to which the Dhivehi lexicon has borrowed from Dravidian is a matter of dispute. While Reynolds notes some Dravidian loan words (e.g., Dh. *uḷum*- ‘being’ from Ta. *uḷ*, Dh. *dōni* ‘boat’ from Ta. *tōṇi*, and *bēnum*- ‘wanting’ from Ta. *vēnum*), most of these find parallels in Sinhala, and he registers surprise at the relative paucity of Dravidian words in Dhivehi. He attributes this dearth of Dravidian impact to the fact that the Maldives “never had a Tamil-speaking section of the population” (Reynolds 1978: 157). Maloney (1980) challenges this notion, however, and draws on evidence from many areas to show that the Maldives once hosted a significant Dravidian population who may have been the original inhabitants. For linguistic evidence, he identifies several Dravidian loan words that have made their way into the basic vocabulary of home and sea. He furnishes the following examples (Maloney 1980: 62-67):

(302) <u>Dhivehi</u>	<u>Dravidian</u>
<i>bai</i> ‘come’ (nursery language)	<i>vā, bā</i> ‘come’
<i>bēnum</i> ‘wanting’	Mal. <i>vēṇam</i> ; Tam. <i>vēṇḍum</i> ; Col. Tam. <i>vēṇum</i> ‘must’
<i>uḷum</i> - ‘being’	Tam. Mal. Kan. <i>uḷ</i> ‘to be’

<i>amma, mamma</i> ‘mother’	Mal. Kan. <i>amma</i> ; Tam. <i>ammā</i>
<i>appa, bappa</i> ‘father’	Tam. Mal. <i>appan</i> ; Tel. Kan. <i>appa</i>
<i>ḷiyanu</i> ‘brother in law’	Mal. <i>aḷiyan</i> ‘wife’s brother’
<i>fahari</i> ‘sister-in-law’	Tam. <i>paca</i> ; Mal. <i>paśa</i> ; Tel. <i>pasa</i> ‘devotion, love, affection’
<i>danbi</i> ‘child-in-law’	Tam. Mal. <i>tambi</i> ‘younger brother’
<i>kujja</i> ‘child’	Mal. <i>kuṅṅu, kuñci</i> ‘a small one’
<i>atiri</i> ‘beach’	Mal. <i>atir</i> ; Tulu <i>adiru, aduru</i> ; Tam. <i>catir</i> ‘boundary’
<i>vāru</i> ‘rent’ (tax)	Tam. <i>vāru</i> ‘to take by handfuls’ <i>varuvāy</i> ‘income’
<i>kuli</i> ‘house rent’	Tam. Mal. Kan. <i>kūli</i> ‘wages, hire’
<i>boli</i> ‘shell’	Tam. <i>poli</i> ‘shine’
<i>kuru</i> ‘short’	Tam. Mal. <i>kuru</i> ‘short’, but Skt. <i>kharva</i>
<i>naru</i> ‘coir’	Tam. Mal. Kan. <i>nār</i> ; Tulu <i>nāru</i> ‘fiber’
<i>kandi</i> ‘sweetened rice gruel’	Tam. <i>kañji</i> ‘rice water’; Mal. <i>kaññi</i> ‘rice gruel’; Tulu <i>gañji</i> ‘rice gruel’

Maloney notes that most of the words related to the ocean are of Dravidian origin. Though Sinhala has also borrowed many Dravidian

seafaring words, Maloney claims that the borrowing in Dhivehi probably came directly from Dravidian (1980: 67):

(303) Maritime Vocabulary of Dravidian Origin (Maloney 1980: 65-67):

<u>Dhivehi</u>	<u>Dravidian</u>
<i>kaⁿdu</i> 'sea'	Tam.-Mal. <i>kaḍal</i> 'sea, ocean'
<i>kuli</i> 'pond'	Tam.-Mal. <i>kuli</i> 'pit, hole, pond, tank'
<i>faḷu</i> 'shallow water'	Tam. <i>paḷḷam</i> 'pit or depression'
<i>vissāra</i> 'storm'	Mal. <i>viśaru</i> 'rain storm'
<i>kara</i> 'any foreign country'	Mal. <i>kara</i> ; Tam. <i>karai</i> 'shore'
<i>mala</i> 'outline of land'	Mal. <i>mala</i> ; Tam. <i>malai</i> 'mountain, hill'
<i>kunnu</i> 'peak'	Mal. <i>kunṇu</i> ; Tam. <i>kunṇu</i> 'hill, peak'
<i>oḍi</i> 'trading boat'	Mal. <i>oḍi</i> 'narrow racing boat', but Skt. <i>veḍā, hoḍa</i>
<i>kissaru</i> 'curved'	Kan. <i>kōsu, kōcu</i> 'crooked or curved'; Tulu <i>kōsu</i> 'oblique'
<i>vā</i> 'rigging rope'	Tam. <i>vaḍam</i> 'heavy rope'
<i>farumānu</i> 'yard (for sail)'	Tam. <i>paramaram</i> 'yard (for sail)'

As another example of Dravidian influence, Maloney cites several place names that appear to be of Dravidian origin (1980: 68-69):

(304) <u>Dhivehi Place Names</u>	<u>Possible Dravidian Source</u>
<i>Feridū</i> , Alif Atol.	Tam.-Mal. <i>peri-</i> , <i>periya</i> 'large'
<i>Beriyānfaru</i> , Raa	Tam.-Mal. <i>peri-</i> , <i>periya</i> 'large'

<i>Vaikaradū</i> , Haa Alifu	Mal. <i>kara</i> ‘shore’
<i>Tunbakaⁿḍu</i>	Tam. <i>tumban</i> ‘trouble’
<i>Kunnamalai</i> , Noon	Mal. <i>kunnu</i> ; Tam. <i>kunru</i> ‘large rock’ Tam. <i>malai</i> ‘hill’
<i>Komanḍū</i> , Laviyani	Tam.-Mal. <i>kōmān</i> ‘king’
<i>Maradū</i> , Seenu	Tam.-Mal. <i>maram</i> ‘tree’

Some of the evidence is problematic in that it is not entirely clear if words have a Sanskrit (OIA) or Dravidian origin. Dh. *dōni* ‘fishing boat’ may come from Tam.-Mal. *tōni*, but Skt. *drōṇa* could also be the source. Dh. *kuru* ‘short’, for example, may come from Tam. *kuru*, but Geiger suggests Skt. *kharva*. In other cases, the development of the borrowed word is not clear. To get *kaⁿḍu* from Tam. *kaḍal*, for example, Maloney suggests that the Dravidian final *-l* dropped, but according to the phonological pattern elsewhere we would expect a final long vowel in the Dhivehi word if that was the case, and the nasal is unexplained.

While the details of how these words came into Dhivehi still need to be worked out, the nature of the borrowings, if not the extent, does seem to indicate that Dravidian has made a significant contribution to the Dhivehi lexicon. Dravidian loans in the Dhivehi of Minicoy,⁶⁸ now a part of Kerala, are more extensive and include basic kinship terms. Sinhala also has borrowed extensively from Dravidian including kinship terms and basic

⁶⁸ The Dhivehi variety there is also called *Mahl* or *Mahal* in India. In Maldives, it is referred to as *Maliku bas* (Maliku Atoll language).

household items (Gair 1982: 53). As Geiger has observed, however, “...loan words do not touch the character of a language...we must rather try to trace Dravidian influence in grammar and style” (Geiger 1938: vi). In the remainder of this chapter, I survey some phonological and morphosyntactic characteristics in Dhivehi that suggest Dravidian influence.

9.2 *Possible Dravidian Influence On Dhivehi Phonology*

One of the characteristics that sets Dhivehi and Sinhala apart from the other Indo-Aryan languages is the total loss of the aspirated series *kh*, *gh*, *ch*, *jh*, *ṭh*, *ḍh*, *th*, *dh*, *ph*, and *bh*. This loss has been attributed to the influence of Dravidian which also lacks such a contrast (Geiger 1935: xviii) (Bloch 1965: 64-65) (Elizarenkova 1972: 132) (De Silva 1979: 17) (Masica 1991: 205). This explanation seems all the more likely as the only other Indo-Aryan language to have lost contrastive aspiration is the Kasagod dialect of Marathi spoken in Kerala (where Malayalam is the state language) (Masica 1991: 103). Gair (1985), however, suggests that the loss of aspiration in Sinhala (and by extension Dhivehi) may not be a Dravidian substratum effect. He reasons that if Dravidian influence was strong enough to evoke a sudden change like the loss of aspiration, then clear, uncontested evidence of Dravidian influence should be seen elsewhere in the phonology. In this connection, Gair sets forth the following principle for areal studies: “Look at what did *not* happen but might have under the proposed conditions of influence” (1985: 50).

At this juncture, it would be good to review some of the “un-Tamil developments in Sinhala phonology” which Gair cites as examples of what did *not* happen, but perhaps should have if Dravidian influence was as great as some have claimed (1985: 48), and compare these with what we find in Dhivehi.

Sinhala Prakrit neutralized all final vowels (-*a*, -*i*, -*u*, -*e*) to -*a* in polysyllabic words consisting of three or more moras (Karunatillake 1969: 85-86). As Tamil maintains the contrast of all of these vowels, this is a “most un-Tamil development” (Gair 1985: 48). Gair adds, “Furthermore, the Tamil unmarked final vowel (occurring when some other vowel does not) is -*u*, not -*a*” (ibid.). As discussed in Section 7.5.1, there is no evidence in Dhivehi of final vowels neutralizing to -*a*. What apparently happened is that final vowels of the same word type (with three or more moras) became -*u* following consonants not permitted word finally. In fact, -*u* is the unmarked vowel in Dhivehi and occurs wherever loan words need to be brought into conformity with Dhivehi’s syllable structure (e.g., *beḍu šīṭu* ‘bed sheet’), and to break up unpermitted clusters at morpheme breaks (e.g., *fot-u-gai* ‘in the book’). It would seem, then, that Dhivehi follows the Dravidian pattern here where Sinhala does not.

Another characteristic of Sinhala not found in Dravidian languages is the loss of word final vowel -*a* (from the neutralization of all word final vowels) after every consonant but -*h*. In a later development, new increment vowels would appear after retroflex consonants (Karunatillake 1969: 92-104). This resulted in the loss of voicing contrast for the

non-retroflex stops (Gair 1985: 48). Gair concludes, “Clearly this change too was a most counter-Tamil one, since Tamil does not allow final obstruents” (ibid.). Here once again, Dhivehi looks more Dravidian-like than Sinhala. Aside from nasals, *-s*, and sometimes *-l*, Dhivehi only permits *-k*, *-ṣ*, and *-t* (which all neutralize to [ʔ]) word finally (see Section 3.2).

Some have attributed the development of gemination in Sinhala to Dravidian influence, but Gair points out that Sinhala gemination actually reinforces the voiced/voiceless contrast, a contrast not found in Tamil (1985: 45-46). Dhivehi also features gemination and much of what has been observed about Sinhala in that regard applies here as well with one exception, retroflexion. Sinhala retroflex consonants do not geminate, but Tamil ones do. Dhivehi, like Tamil, also geminates retroflex consonants: Dh. *baṭṭek* ‘an eggplant’, *aḍḍiha* ‘eighty’, *seḷḷi* ‘lice’. However, even here the voicing contrast is retained, and invoking Dravidian influence here hardly seems necessary when straightforward phonological reasons are close at hand (i.e., interconsonantal vowel loss). It may be the case, that Dravidian may have reinforced the process, but is not necessarily responsible for it. Even so, the gemination pattern in Dhivehi is relatively more Dravidian-like than Sinhala is.

Having shown that Dhivehi lacks some of the un-Tamil characteristics of Sinhala, I survey here some features of Dhivehi phonology in which Dravidian influence may have played a part. Reynolds, while nonplused at what he sees as the lack of Dravidian

influence in Dhivehi, does suggest that Dravidian may have contributed to the change of ɾ to ʃ , especially in its pronunciation as a voiceless flap or trill [ɾ̥] (1978: 157). Although he does not suggest it, a historical analogy may be found in the development of Proto-Southern-Dravidian alveolar ɾ to r (e.g., Old Tamil *maram* ‘valor’ < Proto-Southern-Dravidian **matam*) (Zvelebil 1990: 7). While Dhivehi ɾ is not alveolar, its’ retroflexion is only slight in comparison with other Indic languages, and something similar to what happened in Dravidian is possible. Contact with the Malabari coast was also extensive post-12th c. when the change of ɾ to ʃ took place.

Another post-12th c. development in Dhivehi is the backing of vowels before retroflex consonants (e.g., *ateɻu* ‘atoll’ > *atoɻu*). This resembles the change found in some Dravidian languages whereby front vowels became central unrounded before retroflex consonants. In Jaffna Tamil, the change is only allophonic (W. S. Karunatillake, personal communication), but in Irula it has become phonemicized (e.g., Tamil *kēɻka* ‘to hear’, Irula *kēkka*) (Zvelebil 1990: 4).

Dravidian influence may also be source of the change of PDS *-j- to -s- intervocalically (circa 1st c. B.C.) which eventually became -h- (e.g., Dh. *rihi* ‘silver’ < OIA *rajata*). Sanskrit loan words in Tamil featuring -j- are often pronounced as [ʃ] instead (Caldwell 1875: 155), and if a Dravidian population were in the Maldives at this time (2nd c. – 1st c. B.C.), they would have pronounced PDS intervocalic *-j- similarly. Even speakers of modern Jaffna Tamil often pronounce intervocalic -j- in borrowed words from Sanskrit as -s- (James Gair, personal

communication). This is speculative at best, but no better scenario suggests itself in light of our current knowledge. This change is extremely marked given the more general pattern of intervocalic voicing due to lenition (see Section 7.3.2.3), but its markedness is also indicative of its possible source. As Gair has observed, “...the more marked...a feature shared by languages in contact is, the more likely it is to represent borrowing” (Gair 1985: 50).

There are other characteristics which Dhivehi shares with its Dravidian neighbors, and for the most part, Sinhala (but are less common in other Indo-Aryan languages) that I can only briefly touch on here. The historical change of *c* to *s* initially and medially which takes place in both Dhivehi and Sinhala (see Section 7.5.3.1 above) “could conceivably reflect” Dravidian influence (Gair 1985: 44). The change of intervocalic **p* to *-v-* is almost universal in Dravidian (Zvelebil 1990: 9), and this too is found in Dhivehi and Sinhala (see Section 7.3.2.3 above). Umlaut, absent in all but Dhivehi and Sinhala among the Indo-Aryan languages, is found in Irula where *a/ā* became *e/ē* preceding **Cay* (e.g., Irula *kere* ‘shore’, Tamil *karai*) (Zvelebil 1990: 6). Consonant clusters even from loan words are avoided in Dhivehi as they are in Dravidian (e.g., Dh. *burus* ‘brush’) (Caldwell 1875: 234-235), but modern Sinhala permits them (e.g., Si. *grīsmā* ‘drought’, *krāme* ‘method’, *mlēcca* ‘uncivilized’) (Karunatilake 1988: 240).⁶⁹ The vowel inventory of Dhivehi is the same as

⁶⁹ At one time Sinhala also broke up the consonant clusters of borrowed words (e.g., *darume* ‘merit’, from OIA *dharma*) (James Gair, personal communication).

Proto-Dravidian's (i.e., *a/ā, i/ī, u/ū, e/ē, o/ō*) with contrastive length being a particularly Dravidian feature (Zvelebil 1990: 6). Sinhala also features contrastive length for all its vowels which has been attributed by some to Dravidian influence (Elizarenkova 1972), but Sinhala also features the additional vowels *æ/ǣ* that are absent in Dhivehi and Dravidian (Gair 1982: 55-56) (Gair 1985: 42). In this regard too, Dhivehi is more Dravidian-like than Sinhala.

9.3 *Dhivehi Morphosyntax and Dravidian*

Possible Dravidian influence has been noted throughout this grammatical sketch. In this section, I summarize these.

Dhivehi's noun class system, which differentiates human and non-human, is more akin to that found in Dravidian which classifies nouns in terms of "rational" (includes humans, and super-humans), and "irrational" (includes inanimate objects, animals, and children). Such a system is said to be "entirely different from that which obtains in Sinhalese" (Wijayaratne 1956: 36-37). Sinhala has notional gender as well, but it categorizes nouns primarily as either animate or inanimate, and Literary Sinhala retains grammatical gender (masculine, feminine, neuter) (Gair 1982: 57).

The Dhivehi declension is closer to the Dravidian model than is Sinhala. There is only one declension in Dhivehi. Human referents only differ from non-human in forming some cases periphrastically, but the case endings themselves are the same for both categories. Dravidian languages

also have only one declension (Zvelebil 1990: 23). Furthermore, like Dhivehi, the nominative in Dravidian is most often simply the noun stem (ibid.) (Caldwell 1875: 260-261). Sinhala is different on both counts. In both Literary and Colloquial Sinhala there are quite a number of different classes of nouns (at least five in either which can be further subdivided) (Karunatilake 1998: 49) (Fairbanks, Gair, and De Silva 1968 II: 186-190) (Gair 1976). Except for some inanimate plurals, the nominative case in Sinhala for both singular and plural is different than the noun stem for either number generally. Dhivehi and Dravidian are also similar in that both have a “conjunctive or social case” (called “sociative case” in Section 4.1.2) (Caldwell 1875: 277-279). Such a case is lacking in Sinhala, but it does exist in some other Indo-Aryan languages (Masica 1991: 230-247).

Unlike Sinhala, Dhivehi non-human nouns do not generally inflect for number (e.g., *ek mas* ‘one fish’, *de mas* ‘two fish’). Plurality can be marked with *-tak* when there is need to make it explicit (e.g., *mastak* ‘fish.PLU’). Dravidian also shares this pattern (e.g., Ta. *mādu* ‘ox’, *nālu mādu* ‘four oxen’, though *mādu-gal* ‘oxen’ is possible) (Caldwell 1875: 234-235). For human referents, Dhivehi inflects for plurality. The plural form is often used as a honorary singular as well (e.g., *anhenun* ‘women’ or ‘wife’). Dravidian also uses plural inflections as honorary singulars (Caldwell 1875: 233-246).

Dhivehi features a three-way deictic contrast for demonstratives: *mi* ‘this (near speaker)’, *ti* ‘that (near hearer)’, *e* ‘that (distant from both speaker and hearer)’. This is very much like the Dravidian distinction: *i*

‘this (near speaker), *u* ‘that (near hearer), *a* ‘that (distant from both speaker and hearer) (Caldwell 1875: 422-423). Sinhala is similar, but includes another category: *mē* ‘this (near speaker)’, *oyə* ‘that (near hearer)’, *ē* ‘that (anaphoric, that which has been referred to earlier)’, and *arə* (distant from both speaker and hearer, but within sight)’ (Gair 1982: 58). Both the Dhivehi and Sinhala pattern may reflect Dravidian influence, but Sinhala modifies the system through independent development while Dhivehi retains it (*ibid.*).

The perfect of Dhivehi verbs with reduced valence is inflected with *-ijje*: *kevijje* ‘eat.IN.PFT’, *levijje* ‘put.IN.PFT’. Inflections in this second type look very similar to the Sinhala ending *-icci*, and some have suggested that they come from the same Dravidian source (Reynolds 1974: 195) (Wijesundera et al. 1988: 67).

Dhivehi verbal negations also follow the Dravidian pattern where Sinhala does not. Dravidian neutralizes tense when negating a verb. Tamil *pōgēn* can mean either ‘I did not go,’ ‘I do not go’, or ‘I will not go.’ The time must be determined by context (Caldwell 1875: 470). In Dhivehi past and present are neutralized in negations. Dh. *nudeken* can mean either ‘I do not see *x*’, or ‘I have not seen *x*’.

Unlike many other Indo-Aryan languages that feature correlatives, Dhivehi and Sinhala have no relative pronouns. This may be attributed to Dravidian influence (Geiger 1938: 130). Relative clauses are characterized by the relative participial form of the verb preceding the head noun of the noun phrase in which they occur (e.g., Dh. *ai mīhā* ‘the person who

came’) (see Section 5.1.4). This is the case for Dravidian languages as well: Ta. *vanda-ā!* ‘the person who came’ or ‘the who-came person’ (Caldwell 1875: 522-523).

Borrowing from Dravidian goes beyond simple lexical items, and includes the importation of a cleft construction as a calque. The cleft-construction featuring a focus finite verb followed by a post-posed focused element is unique to Dhivehi and Sinhala among the Indo-Aryan languages, but a similar construction is found in Dravidian which appears to be the pattern for focus sentences in Sinhala and Dhivehi (Gair 1986) (Cain and Gair 1995). See Section 5.2.3.1 above for more details.

Dhivehi patterns with Sinhala syntactically in constructions that show “pervasive” Dravidian influence (Gair 1985: 51). Subordination in Sinhala, and Dhivehi as well, follows the Dravidian model of clause chaining (see Section 5.2.2). Adjectival participles can precede particles (such as the Dh. grammaticalized temporal noun *iru* ‘sun, time’) for adverbial functions (see Section 5.2.2.5). Direct and indirect quotes feature the complementizer at the end of the quoted material (see Section 5.2.2.6.1) (Gair 1982: 59). (See Gair 1982 and 1985 for Sinhala examples.) These features show that Dhivehi and Sinhala are consistently left-branching languages like their Dravidian neighbors, but quite unlike their Indo-Aryan relatives to the North (Gair 1976: 272). In fact, Dhivehi appears more consistent in this regard than Sinhala, for the latter features numerals after the head noun (e.g., Si. *pot tunak* ‘three books (lit. book a

three)') (Gair 1982: 60) while Dhivehi numerals, like Dravidian, precede the head noun (e.g., Dh. *tin fot* 'three books').

9.4 Dravidian Contact in the Maldives

In light of the linguistic evidence, we can infer that Dravidian did in fact play a significant role in the development of Dhivehi, but the question remains as to how such influence was exerted. Such influence would require either a significant population of Dravidian speakers learning the Indo-Aryan language, but changing it somewhat to match Dravidian categories before dropping their own language, or significant numbers of Dhivehi speakers learning Dravidian to such an extent that their own language got changed. Either of these requires a great deal of contact between the speech communities. Contact would have been established by either a Dravidian population living in the islands, or by extensive trading with the southern coasts of India. While there exists no national Dravidian minority in the country today, there may have been in pre-Islamic Maldives. The Girāvaru people, from the island of the same name, claim to be of Dravidian descent (Maloney 1980: 274-275). According to their legends, they were once the people who ruled Malé and surrounding area. It was by their leave that a young prince from Sri Lanka named *Koimala* came to settle in the Maldives. Subsequently, others arrived as well (Bell 1940: 16). The first island that *Koimala* settled on was called *Rasgetimu* or "king's island" (*tīmu* comes from the Dravidian word meaning 'island'). Bell believes the Girāvaru are the indigenous people of the Maldives

(ibid.). Maloney points out that certain cultural traits of Girāvaru such as the very low divorce rate and widows not remarrying reflect traditional Dravidian values (1980: 274-278). (The divorce rate among Maldivians generally ranks as one of the highest in the world.) The Girāvaru people have now been transferred to the capital, and totally absorbed into the Maldivian mainstream.

The Girāvaru may not have been the only Dravidian people in the islands. Up to just a few centuries ago the Maldivian islands included Minicoy which lies less than two hundred miles from coastal India. The next northernmost atoll, Haa Alif, is about 350 miles from the Indian subcontinent. The closest Sri Lankan port, however, is over four hundred miles away from Malé (Bell 1940: 10). Given the close proximity of Maldives to India, it is highly likely that fishermen from the Indian coast arrived in the Maldives in the pre-Islamic period, and eventually migrated to this rich fishing ground. Dravidian peoples were also known for their seafaring since the 4th c. B.C. Ancient references reveal that the Tamils had a thriving pearl trade since that time, and exported their cargo to the Greeks and Romans. Maloney concludes, “By at least the 3rd or 2nd c. B.C., the Tamil-Malayalis had the technical capacity to settle and populate the Maldives, for Tamil merchants were sailing far afield by then...” (1980: 59). It is also possible that contact was established with Dravidian speaking communities in Sri Lanka. Some fishing communities along Sri Lanka’s western coast were once Tamil speaking (James Gair, personal communication). If this was indeed the case, Dravidian contact could have

come from them, as it is most probable that some of these fishermen migrated to the Maldives as well.

The Sinhalese, too, were travelling overseas as merchants since the early centuries B.C. Brahmi inscriptions refer to *nāvikās* ‘captains’ who traveled as far as Gujarat in the west, and to South-east Asia (Maloney 1980: 74). The first Aryan speaking settlers in the Maldives may have been fishermen from Sri Lanka who migrated in the first few centuries B.C. (Gray 1889: 424). While we may not know who was there first, it can hardly be denied that both Dravidian and Aryan speaking peoples were in the Maldivian islands in significant numbers. The latter, to be sure, came to dominate (as indicated by Girāvaru *Koimala* legend), and Proto-Dhivehi became the lingua franca of the country.

Throughout Maldivian history, contact with India was maintained. Two inscriptions in South India probably make reference to Maldives. The one from the 8th c. A.D. refers to “the thousand-islands”, and the one from the 9th c. to the “many ancient islands, 12,000 in number” (Maloney 1980: 77-78). After the conversion of the Maldives to Islam, contact with Muslim merchants along India’s coast continued to increase. During the 14th and 15th c., Maldives had a close connection with Muslims on the Malabar coast. At times it was a relationship of exploitation, as the Malabaris often raided the Maldives (Bell 1940: 18). Rival Maldivian kings would sometimes enlist the help of Malabari kings to secure their thrones in exchange for tribute to be paid later. Bodu Thakurufaanu asked for and received aid from King Ali Raja of Kaṇṇanur in his successful

overthrow of the Portuguese who had briefly ruled the Maldives in the 16th c. Several years later, King Ali Raja sent a military force to the Maldives and sacked Malé, and exacted the tribute. Harassment from the Malabar kings did not end until the middle of the 17th c., but they had secured Minicoy as part of their domain as a result of these conflicts (Bell 1940: 26-30). (Minicoy later became part of British India, and has never been returned to the Maldives.) Trading with the South Indian coast continued throughout this time. During the 17th c., Pyrard observed that Malabar traders frequented the islands, and brought their families with them (Maloney 1980: 114). Indian traders continued to flourish in the Maldives up until recently when their trading was stopped due to economic reform.

9.5 Conclusions

This survey of Dravidian-like characteristics in Dhivehi has cited many examples from both the phonology and morphosyntax that may be indicative of the influence Dhivehi's neighboring languages played in its' development. A catalogue of Dhivehi and Dravidian similarities is merely a beginning, and by itself indeterminate as to the nature of such influence. As suggested by Gair for areal studies generally (1985: 50), the remaining task would include determining how such influence actually played out, the mechanisms of such influence, and how it may have affected Dhivehi systematically. Limited as we are by the lack of historical documentation, I can only infer by the synchronic distribution of many features that

Dravidian influence was extensive in Dhivehi. Of those more or less similar features which Dhivehi, Sinhala, and Dravidian share, it is not insignificant that Dhivehi often patterns more consistently with Dravidian than does Sinhala. The Maldives' geographical location, long history of contact with its neighbors, and the probability that a Dravidian speaking community once inhabited the Maldives (Maloney 1980), make the possibility of some degree of convergence very likely.

If convergence was extensive, it may be the case that Dhivehi reflects some pidginization/creolization that took place early in its history as a result of interaction between Dravidian and Aryan speech communities. The kinds of changes that may have occurred as a result of Dravidian influence suggest this possibility. Not only does Dhivehi appear to reflect more Dravidian influence than Sinhala in some respects, but it also seems to be lacking much of the complexity found in Sinhala. Reduction of the number of noun classes, absence of grammatical gender in both nominal and verbal inflections, loss of verbal number inflections, and more simplified subordination devices are some of the places where Dhivehi shows widespread simplification in comparison with Sinhala. The Dhivehi lexicon also suggests some reduced complexity. Many common words pertaining to the sea, where one might expect more specialized vocabulary, are made up of descriptive compounds: Dh. *boḍu mas* 'whale' (lit. 'big fish'), *kaḍu mas* 'tuna' (lit. 'sea fish'), *mas oḍi* 'fishing boat' (lit. 'fish boat'), *baḍu oḍi* 'trading boat' (lit. 'goods boat'). Such simplifications, along with evidence of Dravidian influence, can be

indicative of pidginization, but by themselves are insufficient to build a case for it (Southworth 1971: 260). At this point, I can only speculate that some pidginization may have taken place.

Pidginization often takes place where different speech communities interact in a highly stratified society (ibid.). Maldivian society was once so structured. The highest rank of society belonged to royalty, and toddy tappers were of the lowest. Toddy tapping was the traditional occupation of the Girāvaru, a people claiming Dravidian descent (Maloney 1980: 274-295). It may have been the case that those holding the positions of power were descendants of Aryan speakers from Sri Lanka as indicated by many legends. If so, Dhivehi may have developed along similar lines proposed for Marathi (Southworth 1971: 268-271). A PDS-Dravidian pidgin could have developed for inter-caste communication, but the respective languages were maintained for a time within castes. The lower castes could have eventually dropped the Dravidian language in favor of the pidgin. Convergence of the pidgin and Proto-Dhivehi-Sinhala could have occurred over time, perhaps facilitated by people in the middle castes. If this indeed was the case, then Dhivehi could be considered a “semi-creole,” a language with a pidgin in its past (Southworth 1971: 270). An interesting question to consider is which Dravidian language made up the pidgin component. While I cannot undertake it here, a more careful study involving specific comparisons with coastal Malayalam and Tamil (both from Sri Lanka and the Indian subcontinent) could prove insightful for determining the source(s) of that Dravidian influence.

CHAPTER TEN: CONCLUSIONS

In this synchronic and diachronic study of Dhivehi, I have given an overview of Dhivehi phonology and morphosyntax, examined the diachronic phonological developments in comparison with Sinhala, explored possible protoforms for some morphosyntactic structures, and made some preliminary observations on how Dravidian may have impacted the language. In every area Dhivehi's close affinity with Sinhala is evident, and yet, the differences in the two languages are significant. In my opinion, these differences have developed over a period covering two millennia, and many of the similarities they share are the result of their genetic relationship, ongoing contact with each other, and the influence neighboring Dravidian languages had on both.

As detailed in Section 7.3.1, Dhivehi began diverging from Sinhala around the 1st c. B.C. – 1st c. A.D. as evidenced by developments in retroflexion, the change of PDS /y/ to */j/ (and ultimately to /d/), intervocalic PDS /-j-/ to /-s-/, and retention of PDS sibilants until a later date. While Dhivehi diverged from Sinhala quite early, it continued to develop phonologically in ways that are similar to Sinhala (Sections 7.3.2 and 7.4.2). These overlapping developments I have attributed to drift and common phonological changes. Many of the sound changes which Dhivehi and Sinhala share are also found in Middle Indic languages of the Indian subcontinent. The development of umlaut, however, is unique to Sinhala

and Dhivehi. Even in umlaut though Dhivehi differs significantly from Sinhala, and I interpret this too as a parallel development (Section 7.4.2.5). In comparisons of Medieval Dhivehi (12th c.) with Medieval Sinhala (8th c. – 12th c.), I found that many of the developments which have similar results (e.g., gemination, palatal developments, and etc.) are attested at very different times in the two languages (Section 7.5). These were once thought of as common innovations, and led Geiger to the erroneous conclusion that Dhivehi was a dialect of Sinhala that only began diverging from it as recently as the 10th c. A.D. (Geiger 1919: 99).

Dhivehi morphosyntax also reveals its close affinity with Sinhala. The reduced valence verbs and the dative subject constructions in which they are found set Dhivehi and Sinhala apart from other Indo-Aryan languages (Section 6.1.2). In many other details, Dhivehi patterns with Sinhala (e.g., various case endings, inflections for definiteness, and etc.) Many of these similarities are based on common inherited forms from OIA/MIA (Chapter 0). Unique to Dhivehi and Sinhala among the Indo-Aryan languages is the focus cleft-like construction that features a special form of the verb followed by the focused item (e.g., Dh. *aharen danī miskitaṣ* ‘I am going to the mosque.’) (Section 5.2.3.1). A similar focus construction is found in Dravidian, and its presence in Dhivehi and Sinhala may have developed as a calque of the Dravidian model.

The focus construction is among the many possible ways Dravidian has made some impact on Dhivehi and Sinhala. This impact may have contributed to the some of the similarities that Dhivehi and Sinhala share.

Areas showing possible Dravidian influence was taken up in Chapter 9. Dravidian appears to have influenced Dhivehi phonology, morphosyntax, and lexicon. The loss of aspiration in Proto-Dhivehi-Sinhala I believe to be a result of this influence. The early change of PDS /-j-/ to PD */-s-/ may have come about as a result of Dravidian speakers taking up Proto-Dhivehi. The change of /-c-/ to /-s-/ in Dhivehi may have been helped along by Dravidian as was probably the case for Sinhala as well. Dhivehi syllable patterns conform closely to the Dravidian ones. The consistent left branching in both Dhivehi and Sinhala was probably influenced by Dravidian. Dhivehi's distinction between human and non-human notional genders is more like the Dravidian pattern than is Sinhala's animate and inanimate distinction. The lexicon of both Dhivehi and Sinhala feature loan words from Dravidian for basic vocabulary items.

Of special interest is the way in which Dhivehi has appeared to simplify forms through paradigm trimming and recategorization. Inherited noun classes from OIA/MIA were done away with in ways more drastic than seen in Sinhala. Verb paradigms were simplified with the doing away of inflections for number, and the neutralization of first and second person distinctions. I suggested that the presence of Dravidian influence together with simplifications in the grammar might be indicative of some degree of pidginization in Dhivehi (Southworth 1971) (Hock and Joseph 1996: 418-445). Unfortunately we can only speculate about Dhivehi's pre-history. Studies of Dravidian communities that have recently adopted an Indo-Aryan language (such as the Oraon Sadri speakers of West Bengal

and Bangladesh) could shed some light on the extent to which Dravidian affects the structure of the newly acquired language, and possibly reveal the areas of the language most susceptible to pidginization. These findings could then be compared with Dhivehi to determine where Dravidian influence was most likely present. Another matter that has not yet been resolved is the particular source for the Dravidian influence in the Maldives. Dravidian influence in the Maldives could have come from Proto-Southern-Dravidian speakers in India's coastal areas, or more precisely from Malayalam speakers from India's southwest coast, and/or Tamil speakers from India's southeast coast and Sri Lanka. The influence could have also varied throughout Dhivehi's history. At this point, more research is needed to clarify these matters.

While Dhivehi and Sinhala are quite closely related, and have both probably come under significant influence of their linguistic neighbors, Dhivehi has some features that are uniquely its own. In the area of phonology, Dhivehi has the pre-pause neutralization of /k/, /ʃ/, and /t/ to a glottal [ʔ] (precisely [yʔ] for the /t/) (e.g., /raʃ/ [raʔ] 'island').⁷⁰ In addition, the same series that share [ʔ] as an allophone also share [ŋ] before vowels and /h/ (e.g. /bat aḷā/ [bayŋ aḷā] 'Serve the rice!'). Why a nasal would show up in this environment is yet to be explained. The palatalization with gemination patterns for stems ending in /i/ (e.g., /rodi/ 'thread' /rojjek/ 'a thread') makes sense phonologically, but this pattern is

⁷⁰ The pronunciation of /k/ as a glottal also occurs in Malay, and suggests an Austronesian influence in the Maldives.

not found elsewhere in the area as far as I am aware. Dhivehi has retained contrastive retroflexion for its laterals (/l/ and /l̥/), and only recently lost it for its nasals (though Addu still retains it). Sinhala had lost the contrast in both by the 8th c. A.D.

In syntax, Dhivehi is consistently S-O-V and left-branching as are the Dravidian languages and Sinhala. The conspicuous exception to this is the Dhivehi equational clause consisting of NP *+akī/-ī* + NP. The *-akī/-ī* ‘equational marker’ functions as a copula. This is a particularly unique Dhivehi development, and its historical development is still obscure. Also, some of Dhivehi’s common pronominal forms (i.e., *aharen* ‘I’, *kalē* ‘you’) are unlike those of other Indo-Aryan languages, and the sources for these forms remains to be determined.

The grammatical and phonological studies in this work have focused on Standard Dhivehi (the language of Malé and the central atolls), and only briefly touched on Dhivehi dialectology. I showed that divergence within Dhivehi surfaces at the earliest stages of its development with Proto-Southern Dhivehi having an alternative retroflex stop development (Section 7.3.1.3). The southern speech varieties also show some different vowel developments both before and after the 12th c. (Section 7.4.1.1, Section 7.5.1, and 7.6.3). Divergence has been a part of Dhivehi’s development throughout its history, and a detailed account of significant phonological and grammatical differences among the various Dhivehi

dialects has not yet been done.⁷¹ Such a study would need to include Maliku Bas (also known as *Mahal*) of Minicoy whose geographical and eventual political isolation caused that dialect to come under Dravidian influence even more, but still retain forms long since regarded as archaic in Maldives proper. The Dhivehi of the southern atolls of Huvadū, Foammulak, and Addu differ so greatly from Standard Dhivehi that they are reportedly not mutually intelligible with it. Language diversity exists throughout the northern and central atolls as well but to a lesser extent. The Dhivehi of Malé as the official standard is the only Dhivehi used for education and mass media. According to some Maldivian sources, this may be contributing to the loss of language diversity throughout the Maldives.

During the two thousand years or more of its development, Dhivehi has been impacted by various languages to varying degrees. Sinhala and Dravidian, given their close proximity to the Maldives, probably influenced Dhivehi throughout its development. Pali, as the religious language of pre-Islamic Maldives, undoubtedly is the source of some older MIA words. With the advent of Islam, religious and judicial terms from Persian, Urdu, and Arabic flooded into the language. Malay may have had some impact on Dhivehi, but this still needs to be studied. Here at the end of the twentieth century, English is having the greatest impact through education, entertainment, tourism and technology. Borrowed English words abound,

⁷¹ The *Report* (Wijesundera et al. 1988) has made a major contribution to this end, but much remains to be done.

and in some cases are even replacing the Dhivehi terms. More troubling, however, is a trend among the more educated and wealthy, to abandon Dhivehi altogether for English. Over the centuries, Maldivians have always demonstrated a great ability to absorb the various influences that happen upon their shores, adopt what they find useful, and adapt it to make it uniquely their own. It is hoped that their consummate skill in adaptation will not only help Dhivehi endure, but thrive for generations to come.

APPENDIX A:
DHIVEHI TEXT

The *Anga Gadha Mituraai Anga Madu Mituru* story recounts the adventures of two young boys with Santimariyambu. Santimariyambu, a name of Portuguese origin, is someone akin to an elderly tooth fairy who searches for teeth soiled with *maafuh* (a powdery mixture of millet flour and spices). Upon finding such teeth, Santimariyambu removes the soiled teeth, and puts clean teeth in their place. She takes the soiled teeth, scraps off the *maafuh* and feeds it to her children. This particular account of the story comes from a primary reader circulated by the Maldives Ministry of Education.

(305) aⁿga gada mitur-āi aⁿga maḍu mitur-akī
mouth strong friend-CNPM mouth soft friend-EQ

varaṣ boḍu de ekuverinn-eve
very great 2 friend-PL-END

‘Talkative Friend and Reserved Friend were two very good friends.’

(306) ek duvah-aku mi de ekuveri-n eb-bai
one day-NSPC this two friend-PL one-group

ve-gen māfuš mode-gen keī eve
 be-SUC *maafuh* mix-suc eat.PST.PRO end

‘One day they got together, mixed up some *maafuh* and ate it.’

(307) māfuš kai-gen gos hoļu-ašī-gai jassāli
maafuh eat-SUC go.PRT log-platform-LOC touch.PST.RPRT

tanā aⁿga maḍu mitur-aš nidi-jje eve
 place.CNPM mouth soft friend-DAT sleep-PAST END

‘Having eaten the *maafuh*, Reserved Friend went to where the raised log platform was and fell asleep immediately.’

(308) aⁿga maḍu mitur-aš nidi-fā ovvā mi
 mouth soft friend-DAT sleep.IN-SUC be(horz.).PRE.RPRT this

tan-aš santimariya^mbu dat gōni hifai-gen
 place-dat santimariyambu tooth sack grab-suc

atuvejje eve
 come.PFT END

‘Santimariyambu grabbed the tooth bag and came to the place where Reserved Friend was asleep.’

(309) aⁿga maḍu mituru māfuš kai-gen dayt-tak
 mouth soft friend *maafuh* eat-SUC tooth-PLU

haḍi ve-fai vā tan feni-fai dayt-tak
 dirty be-SUC be.PRE.RPRT place see-SUC tooth-PLU

ufurā-lā-fā rīti dat
 remove-put-SUC pretty tooth

pila-ek jahai dīfi-eve
 bunch-INDF put give.PFT-END

‘Having seen where Reserved Friend’s teeth were dirty from eating *maafuh*, she removed (his) teeth and put in beautiful teeth (in their place).’

(310) aⁿga maḍu mituru varaṣ ufalu-n gos aⁿga gada
 mouth soft friend very happy-INS go.PRT mouth strong

mituru kairīgai mi vāhaka kiyai dī-fi eve
 friend near this tale tell give-PFT END

‘Reserved Friend was very happy, and told this story to Talkative Friend.’

(311) timanna ves dānam-ē kiyā-fā aⁿga gada mituru
 I(rep.) also go.N3-FUT-QP tell-SUC mouth strong friend

māfuṣ kai-gen gos hoḷu-aṣī-gai oṣōve
maafuh eat-SUC go.PRT log-platform-LOC recline.PRT

nidā kamaš hadai-gen otī-eve
 asleep thing(event).DAT make-SUC be(horz.).PST.PRO-END

‘Having said “I will also go”, Talkative Friend ate *maafuh*, laid down on the log platform, and pretended to be asleep.’

- (312) aⁿga gada mituru mi hen ovvā mi tan-aš
 mouth strong friend this like be(horz.).PRT this place-DAT
 santimariya^mbu dat gōni hifai-gen atujejje eve
 santimariambu tooth sack grab-SUC come.PFT END

‘Santimariyambu grabbed the tooth bag, and came to where Talkative Friend was lying down like this.’

- (313) aⁿga gada mituru-ge dayt-tak hađi ve-fai vā
 mouth strong friend-GEN tooth-PLU dirty be-SUC be.PRE.RPRT
 tan feni-fai rīti dat pila-ek
 place see-SUC pretty tooth bunch-INDF
 jahan ve-gen dayt-tak ufurā-lai-fi-eve
 put.INF be-SUC tooth-PLU remove-put-PFT-END

‘Having seen where Talkative Friend’s dirty teeth were, she removed those teeth in order to put in pretty teeth.’

- (314) aⁿga gada mitur-aš mađu-n no-ovevi-gen
 mouth strong friend-DAT soft-INS NEG-be(horz.)IN-SUC
- rīti dat pila-ek jahaccē buni ađ-aš
 pretty tooth bunch-INDF put-IMPV say.PST.RPRT sound-DAT
- santimariya^mbu aⁿga gada mituru-ge mūnu
 santimariyambu mouth strong friend-GEN face
- maccaš dayt-tak ukālā-fai duve hiⁿga-jje eve
 top-DAT tooth-PLU throw -PST run walk.PFT END

‘Talkative Friend was not able to lie quietly and at the sound of him saying to her, “Put in a beautiful set of teeth!” Santimariyambu threw the teeth on top of Talkative Friend’s face, and ran away.’

- (315) mihāru aⁿga gada mituru-ge mūnu matī-ga-āi
 now mouth strong friend-GEN face top-LOC-CNPM
- aⁿga matī-gai vanī dat-eve
 mouth top-LOC be.PRE.PRO tooth-END

‘Now, Talkative Friend’s face and mouth are (covered with) teeth.’

- (316) aⁿga gada mituru mi-kam-āi hedi varaš
 mouth strong friend this-thing-CNPM make.IN.PRT very

dera-ve-gen ge-aš hiⁿga-jje eve
sad- be-SUC house-DAT walk-PFT END

‘Talkative Friend, being very sad about what happened, went to his home.’

APPENDIX B:
COMPARATIVE WORD LIST

This word list consists of a compilation from *A Comparative Dictionary of Indo-Aryan Languages* (Turner 1966-1971) (Wright 1985) that I have augmented with data from Addu. The Dhivehi data in the *CDIAL* is divided among the first volume, an addenda in the first volume, and the third volume, all of which must be accessed by cross-referencing two indices. By bringing together all of the data here, we hope to encourage comparative work by making such a task less cumbersome.⁷² I have also regularized and corrected the Dhivehi entries in several places. *CDIAL* culled Dhivehi data from a number of sources whose methods of notation were often different (e.g., *tacourou* ‘nobleman’s title’ from Pyrrard’s list versus *takuru*). I have consistently rendered as ʃ the retroflex grooved fricative sound represented by Shaviyani <مر> in the Thaana script. (In some regional dialects and idiolects, it is sometimes pronounced as a retroflex voiceless flap or trill, and came to be represented in *CDIAL* as either ʃ or ɽ.) I represent prenasalized stops in both Dhivehi and Sinhala by a raised nasal before the stop (e.g., ^mb, ⁿg, and etc.) rather than by the ñ before the stop as done in *CDIAL*. Aside from these differences, I have attempted to keep *CDIAL*’s notation throughout. Like *CDIAL* this word list follows the Indic order based on the Sanskrit entry as indicated for the

⁷² I wish to acknowledge with gratitude the work of Kathy M. Cain who did much of the initial data entry from *CDIAL*.

most part by the sequential order of the *CDIAL* reference numbers. The dash (--) indicates that the data is not available. The gloss is of the Dhivehi entry only, and does not provide a comprehensive definition. An asterisk (*) following the reference number indicates a suspected loan word in Dhivehi as determined in the *CDIAL*. The following abbreviations are used:

No.	Reference number in <i>CDIAL</i>
Sa.	Sanskrit
Pa.	Pali
Pr.	Prakrit
Si.	Sinhala
Dh.	Dhivehi (standard)
Ad.	Addu

No.	14191	00114	00125	00134	00135	00138
Sa.	akṣāra	āṅga-	āṅgāra-	aṅgula-	aṅgūli-	aṅguṣṭhya-
Pa.	akkhara	aṅga-	aṅgāra-	aṅgula-	aṅgulī-	--
Pr.	akkhara	aṅga-	aṅgāra-	aṅgula-	aṅgulī-	--
Si.	--	a ⁿ ga	a ⁿ gura	a ⁿ gal- ⁷³	ä ⁿ gili ⁷⁴	a ⁿ guṭu
Dh.	akuru	a ⁿ gun	a ⁿ guru	a ⁿ gū a ⁿ gul-	i ⁿ gili	a ⁿ goṭi
Ad.	akuru	a ⁿ guṇu	a ⁿ guru	--	i ⁿ gili	a ⁿ goṭi
Gl.	alphabet	limb	charcoal	inch	finger	ring

⁷³ tatsama, *Sinhala Etymological Index (SEI)*, 60 (Karunatilake 1991)

⁷⁴ plural

No.	00170	00211	00242	14209	00256
Sa.	āñjana	átirikta-	adyá	adhástāt	*adhiyardha-
Pa.	--	atiritta-	ajjā	heṭṭhā	--
Pr.	--	aīritta-	ajja	heṭṭhā̃	--
Si.	a ⁿ dun	itiri	ada	--	yēḷa
		ituru			yēḷa
Dh.	a ⁿ dun	ituru	adu	aṣi	doḷu
Ad.	a ⁿ dun	itiri	ada	tondoṣ	deḷa
Gl.	eye black	excess	today	underneath	one and a half

No.	00332	00357	00386	00399	00527b
Sa.	anurādhā-	ántara-	andhakāra-	anyá	!*abhilagati
Pa.	--	antara-	andhakāra-	añña-	--
Pr.	aṇurāhā-	am̐tara	am̐dhāra-	aṇṇa-	--
			am̐dhayāra-	aṇa-	
Si.	anura	atura	a ⁿ dura	an	elenavā
Dh.	nura	etere	a ⁿ diri	anek	elenī
		tere			
Ad.	nura	etere	a ⁿ diri	enak	eluvanī
Gl.	17th asterism	interior	dark	other	hangs

No.	00528a	00574	00574	00587	00590
Sa.	!*abhilāgayati	ambā-	ambā-	ayám	áyas-
Pa.	--	ambā-	ambā-	ayam̐	ayō
		ammā-	ammā-		
Pr.	--	ambā-	ambā-	--	aya-
Si.	--	a ^m buva	ammā	meya-	ya
		abi ⁷⁵			
Dh.	eluvanī	a ^m bi	amā	mi	da
			amma		
Ad.	olovanī	a ^m bi	amā	mi	deu
Gl.	hangs (trans.)	wife	mother	this	iron

⁷⁵ Sigiri Grafiti

No.	14240	14241	00708	00774	00814	
Sa.	aratní	argha	alásá-	avaṭá-	*avariyatē	
Pa.	ratani	aggha	alasa-	āvāṭa-	ōliai	
Pr.	rayaṇi	aggha	alasa-	avaḍa- avaḍaa- ayaḍa-	--	
Si.	--	aga	las	vaḷa	--	
Dh.	riyan	agu	las	vaḷu	varanī	
Ad.	riyan	aga	las	vaḍa	erenavā	
Gl.	ell	price, value	slow	well, pit	pours, rains	
No.	00826	00833	00862	00878a		
Sa.	avalamba-	avalīyatē	avasārayati	!avasravati		
Pa.	ōlamba- ōlambaka-	ōliyati	ōsārēti	ossavana-		
Pr.	--	ōlōí	ōsārēi	--		
Si.	ola ^m bu	elenavā	--	--		
Dh.	ola ^m bu	elenī	ohoranī	ohenī		
Ad.	ola ^m ba	eluvēnī	ohoruvēnī	--		
Gl.	plumb-line	hangs	to pour, drop	overflows, pours out		
No.	00878b	00911	14254	00941	14256	00955
Sa.	!avasrāvayati	aśīti-	áśva	aṣṭā	aṣṭā	aṣṭi-
Pa.	--	asīti-	assa	aṭṭha	aṭṭha	aṭṭhi- aṭṭika-
Pr.	--	asī-	assa	aṭṭha	aṭṭha	aṭṭhi-
Si.	--	asū	ās	aṭa	aṭa	aṭaya- āṭaya-
Dh.	ossanī	āhi	as	aṣ	aṣek	oṣ
Ad.	--	āhi	as	aṣ	aṣek	eṣa
Gl.	pours out	80	horse	8	eight	seed

No.	01044	01045	01072	14269	01235
Sa.	āgacchati	āgacchati	ācāriya-	ātapá	ām
Pa.	āgacchati	āgata-	ācariya- ācariyaka- ācēra-	ātapa	āma
Pr.	āgacchāi	āgaya- āaa- āya- āa	āyariya-	āyava	āma āmañ
Si.	enavā	agata ⁷⁶ ā	ajara ⁷⁷ æduru ⁷⁸	avuva	--
Dh.	annanī	ai	eduru	avi	ā
Ad.	enī	bai	eduru	au	--
Gl.	coming	came	teacher	sunshine	yes
No.	01256	01268	01287	01326	01326
Sa.	āmiśá-	āmrá-	āyācatē	*āruhati	*āruhati
Pa.	āmisa-	amba-	āyācati	āruhati	āruhati
Pr.	āmisa-	amba- ambaya-	āyāyai	āruhai	āruhai
Si.	āma	a ^m bē a ^m b-a ⁷⁹	--	--	aranavā
Dh.	em	a ^m bu	edenī	erenī	aranī
Ad.	em	a ^m ba	edenī	erenī	aranī
Gl.	bait	mango	request	rises	climbs

⁷⁶ 2nd c. B.C.

⁷⁷ Brahmi inscription.

⁷⁸ tatsama (SEI 439)

⁷⁹ SEI 215

No.	01326	01343	01371	01388	01388
Sa.	*āruhati	ārdrā-	ālasya	ālu-	ālu-
Pa.	āruhati	addā	ālassa-	ālu-	ālu-
				āluka-	āluka-
				ālupa-	ālupa-
Pr.	āruhai	addā-	ālassa-	--	--
Si.	--	--	las	alaya	--
			lās		
Dh.	aruvanī	ada	las	ala	aluvi
Ad.	aruvanī	ada	las	alu	--
Gl.	loads	sixth asterism	lateness	yam	potato
No.	14283	01418	01439	01460	
Sa.	ālōka	āvartā-	*āvunāti	āśṛṇōti	
Pa.	ālōka	āvatta-	āvunāti	āsuṇōti	
				āsunāti	
Pr.	ālōga	āvatta-	--	--	
		āvatta-			
Si.	aluva	avaṭa	avuna-	ahanavā	
			amunanavā	asanavā	
Dh.	ali	avaṣ	amunanī	ahanī	
Ad.	ali	--	amananī	ahanī	
Gl.	bright, clear	ward, village	strings together	asks hears	
No.	01460	01468	01507	01550	01558
Sa.	āśrāvayati	āśrayati	āstarati	ikṣú-	iñcāka-
Pa.	--	--	attharati	ucchu-	--
Pr.	--	--	attharaī	--	--
Si.	assanavā	--	aturaṇavā	--	isiyā
					ihiya
					issā
Dh.	assanī	assanī	aturanī	uk	ihi
Ad.	--	assanī	--	--	ihi
Gl.	asks (hon.)	ties	arranges	sugarcane	prawn, lobster

No.	01567	01600	01634	14301	01695
Sa.	idānīm	īṣṭakā-	ucca-	*uccalyati	uḍupa-
Pa.	idāni dāni	iṭṭhakā-	ucca- uccaka-	uccālēti	uḷumpa- uḍuva-
Pr.	idāṇim iyāṇim dāṇim dāṇi iyaṇhim	iṭṭagā- iṭṭā-	ucca- uccaa	uccālēi	--
Si.	dān	--	us	uhulanavā	oḍi oruva
Dh.	den	īṭu ⁸⁰	us	uhulan	oḍi
Ad.	denakak	īṭu	us	uhulār	veḍi
Gl.	next now	tile	high	to lift	boat
No.	01703	01718	01728	01751a	01767
Sa.	*utkaṭa-	útkasati	utkuṇa-	*utkṣurati	úttara-
Pa.	--	--	--	--	uttara-
Pr.	--	ukkāsia-	okkaṇī-	--	uttara-
Si.	ukuḷa ukula	ukanavā	ukuṇā	--	uturu
Dh.	ukuḷu	ukanī	ukunu	ukuranī	uturu
Ad.	--	--	ukunu	ukulanī	uturu
Gl.	buttocks	throws	louse	--	north

⁸⁰ loan word

No.	01770	01809	01814	01814	01814
Sa.	úttarati	*utpaṭati	utpadyatē	utpādayati	utpanna-
Pa.	uttarati	uppāṭēti	uppajjati	--	uppanna-
Pr.	uttarai	uppāḍēi	uppajjai	--	uppaṇṇa-
Si.	uturanavā	upulvanavā upuḷanavā	upadinavā	--	upan
Dh.	uturenī	ufuranī	ufedenī	ufaddanī	ufan
Ad.	--	uhuranī	ufedenī	ufaddanī	ufan
Gl.	--	plucks out or up	is born	produces	--

No.	01861	01864	01913a	01921
Sa.	*ut-śrāyati	*ut-śrīyatē	*utsphārayati	udaká
Pa.	--	--	--	udaka-
Pr.	--	--	--	ḍaka-
Si.	--	--	--	udaga-
Dh.	ussanī	ussanī	ufuranī	udaya-
Ad.	--	--	uhuranī	uaa-
Gl.	makes rise (of bread)	makes rise (of bread)	plucks up or out	diya diya liquid, juice

No.	01964	14316	14321	02063a	02071
Sa.	údgrṇhāti	udgrṇhāti	uddhmāna	!*udrupati	údvaratē
Pa.	uggaṇhāti	uggaṇhāti	uddhana	--	ubbattati
Pr.	--	--	--	--	uvvattai
Si.	ugananavā	uganvanavā	uduna	--	uvvaṭṭai
Dh.	ugenenī	ugen	udun	uruvanī	vaṣanī
Ad.	ugenenī	u ⁿ genen	udun	--	vaṣanī
Gl.	learns	learn	oven, hearth	runs aground ?	rubs on

No.	02188a	02199a	02218a	02242	
Sa.	!*upapacati	!úpabharatē	!*uparika	upavasatha	
Pa.	upapacciyamāna	--	--	upōsatha-	
	-			pōsatha-	
Pr.	--	--	--	pōsaha-	
Si.	--	--	--	pohoya	
				pōya	
				pehe	
Dh.	udanī	uranī	veri	foi	
				fō	
Ad.	--	uranī	veri	fō	
Gl.	puts on to cook	carries (a child)	leader, possessor	fortnightly observance	
No.	02464	02387	02389	02420	02422
Sa.	ékacatvārimśat	úṣṭra	uṣṇá	ūrú	ūrjas
Pa.	--	oṭṭha-	uṇha-	ūru-	--
Pr.	igayāla	uṭṭa-	uṇha-	ūru-	ujja-
	iālīsa		usiṇa-		
Si.	--	oṭuvā	uṇu	uruva	oda ⁸¹
Dh.	ekālīs ⁸²	oṣ	hūnu	uru	uda
Ad.	ekālīs	--	huṇu	uru	uda
Gl.	41	camel	hot	hip	sea swell
No.	02432	02462	02469*	02471*	
Sa.	ūrdhvamukha	éka	ékatrimśat	ēkanavati	
Pa.	uddhamukha-	--	--	--	
Pr.	--	ekka-	--	ekkāṇaüim	
		ikka-			
Si.	uḍumuva	eka	--	--	
Dh.	uḍḍun	ek	ektirīs	ekānavai	
Ad.	--	ek	ektirīs	ekānavai	
Gl.	facing upwards	1	31	91	

⁸¹ Si. 'nectar'

⁸² l.w.

No.	02472*	02476*	02478*	02479*	02485*
Sa.	ēkapañcāṣat	ēkavimśati	ēkaṣaṣṭi	ēkasaptati	ēkādaśa
Pa.	--	--	--	--	ēkadasa
Pr.	ēgāvaṇṇa	ēgavīsā ēgāvīsā ēāisa ekavīsai ekavīsam	ēgasatṭhi-	ekkasattarim ēkattari	ēgādasa ēgārasa
Si.	--	--	--	--	ekaḷos ekaḷaha ekolasa
Dh.	ekāvanna	ekāvīs	ekāhaṭṭi	ekāhattari	egāra
Ad.	ekāvanna	ekāvīs	ekāhaṭṭi	ekāhattari	egāra
Gl.	51	21	61	71	11
No.	02491*	02494*	02528	02530	02541
Sa.	ēkāśīti	ēkōna	ēvam ēva	ēṣá	ōjas
Pa.	--	ēkūna-	ēvamēva	ēsō	ōjā-
Pr.	ekkāsī	ēgūṇa- igūṇa- agūna- aūṇa-	ēvamēva ēmēva ēmēa ēmia	ēsō ēam ēassa	ōya-
Si.	--	--	meva mevu mē	e	oda
Dh.	ekāhi	ona-	-me	e	uda
Ad.	ekāhi	ona	--	e	uda
Gl.	81	less by one	emphatic enclitic	that	sea swell

No.	02575	02588	02588	02619	02621	02621
Sa.	kaḥ punar	kákṣa	kákṣa	kacchapa	kacchū	kacchū
Pa.	--	kaccha-	--	--	--	--
Pr.	--	--	--	--	--	--
Si.	--	kāsa	kihilla		--	--
Dh.	kon	kak	kihili	kaha ^m bu	kas	kahanī
Ad.	kon	--	--	kahu ^m bu	kas	--
Gl.	which?	armpit, gusset of garment	armpit	tortoise-s hell	itch	itches scratches

No.	02641	02668	14348	02703		02703
Sa.	kaṭú	kaṇṭa	káṇṭaka	katháyati		katháyati
Pa.	--	kaṇṭaka	kaṇṭaka	--		--
Pr.	--	kaṇṭaya	--	--		--
Si.	--	--	kaṭuva	--		kiyavanavā
Dh.	kuḷi	kaṣi	kaṣi	kiyanī		kiyavanī
Ad.	kuḍi	kaṣi	kaṣi	kēnī		--
Gl.	spicy	thorn, bone	thorn	reads, calls, sings		studies

No.	02707	02712	02730	02754*	02755	02771*
Sa.	kathita	kadala	kandhara	*kapōtra	kapōlá	kambalá
Pa.	--	--	--	--	--	--
Pr.	--	--	--	--	--	--
Si.	--	kehel kesel keheliya	--	--	kopola kopula	ka ^m bala
Dh.	kī	keyo kēlek	ka ⁿ durā	kotaru	kō kol-	kanbaḷi
Ad.	--	keu	ka ⁿ dara	kotara	kō	--
Gl.	said	banana	nape	pigeon	cheek	blanket, sheep

No.	02811	02814	14361	14362	02830	
Sa.	karuṇā	karōṭi	karkaṭa	karkāru	kārṇa	
Pa.	--	--	kakkaṭaka	kakkāru	--	
Pr.	--	--	kakkaḍa	kakkāluā	--	
Si.	kuluṇa	karaṇavā	kakuḷuvā	kākira	kaṇa kana	
Dh.	kulunu	kuranī	kakuni	kekuri	kan-	
Ad.	--	--	kakiḍi	kekeri	kan-	
Gl.	compassion	do	crab	cucumber	ear	
No.	02837	02858	02877	02892	14369	
Sa.	karṇapattraka	kartari	karpāsa	kārman	kārman	
Pa.	--	--	--	--	kamma	
Pr.	--	--	--	--	kamman	
Si.	--	katura	kapu	kama	kama	
Dh.	kanfat	katuru	kafa	kam	kan kam-	
Ad.	kanfat	katuru	kafa	kam	kan	
Gl.	ear	scissors	cotton	action, event	work	
No.	02898	02944	02993	03019	03083	03135
Sa.	karmāra	kalpāyati	kāka kākkā kāku-	kāṇā	kāla	kāsatē
Pa.	--	--	--	--	--	--
Pr.	--	--	--	--	--	--
Si.	ka ^m bura	kapanavā	kā	kāṇo kaṇa	kaḷu kāli ⁸³	kasinavā kahinavā
Dh.	ka ^m buru	kafanī	kāḷu	kanu	kaḷu	kessanī
Ad.	--	kafanī	kauḷu	kaṇa	kaḷa	kessanī
Gl.	blacksmith	cuts	crow	blind	black	coughs

⁸³ Si. 'dark woman'

No.	03164	03167	03172	03208	14391
Sa.	kím	*kiyatta	kiráti	kukkuṭa ⁸⁴ kikiḷi	kuṅkuma
Pa.	--	--	--	--	kuṅkuma
Pr.	--	--	--	--	kuṅkuma
Si.	ki-	ketek ⁸⁵	--	kukuḷā	kokum
Dh.	kīk	kitak	kiranī	kukuḷu	kukun
Ad.	kiyan	kitak	kiranī	kukuḷu	kukun
Gl.	what?	how much?	weighs	hen	saffron

No.	03241	03317	03380	03401	03427
Sa.	kuṭṭáyati	kumbhīra	kustumbarī	kūpa	kṛttikā
Pa.	--	--	--	--	kattikā
Pr.	--	--	--	--	kattiyā
Si.	koṭānavā	ki ^m bulā	kota ^m buru	ku ^m ba	kāti
Dh.	koṣānī	ki ^m bū ki ^m bul-	kota ^m biri	ku ^m bu	keti
Ad.	koṣānī	ki ^m bū	kota ^m biri	ku ^m bu	keti
Gl.	chops	crocodile	coriander	mast	Pleiades

No.	03469	03471	03474	03483	03497
Sa.	kēvárta	kéśa	kéśara	kōkila	kōṭi
Pa.	kēvaṭṭa-	kēsa	kēsara-	kōkila-	kōṭi ⁸⁶
Pr.	--	--	--	--	--
Si.	kevuḷā	kesa	kesara	kovulā	keḷa
Dh.	keḷu-kam	kes	keheri	koveli	koḷu
Ad.	keḷu-kam	kes	keheri	koveli	keḍe
Gl.	fishing	pubic hair	animal hair, fur	a partic. bird	end

⁸⁴ Si. 'rooster'

⁸⁵ Si. 'indef pron.', 'some', 'a person'

⁸⁶ Pa. 'summit'

No.	14407	03546	03546	03546	03550*	03574
Sa.	kōṭi	kōṣṭha	kōṣṭha	kōṣṭha	kōṣṭhāgāra	krándati
Pa.	kōṭi	koṭṭha	koṭṭha	koṭṭha	koṭṭhāgāra	kandati
Pr.	kōḍi	--	--	--	--	kaṁdaï
Si.	keḷa	koṭa	koṭa	koṭa	koṭāra	kā ⁿ danavā
Dh.	koḷu	koṭari	koḍi	koṣi	koṣāru	ke ⁿ denī
Ad.	keḍa	koṭari	koḍi	--	koṣāra	ke ⁿ denī
Gl.	end	room	frame	cage	storehouse	importunes

No.	03592	03668	03696	03712	03712
Sa.	krīḍati	kṣānti	kṣīrā	kṣudrá	kṣudrá
Pa.	kiḷanā-	khantī	khīra-	khudda-	khudda-
Pr.	kīḍana-	--	khīra-	khudda	khudda
Si.	keḷinavā	--	kira	kuḍa	kuḍa
Dh.	kuḷenī	ket	kiru	kudi	kuḍa
Ad.	koḷanai	ket	kiri	kudu	--
Gl.	plays	patience	milk	small	small

No.	14422	03795	03806	03811	03828
Sa.	kṣurá	khāṇḍatē	khadiraká	khánati	kharjūra
Pa.	khura	khaṇḍati	khairā	khanati	khajjūrī-
Pr.	khura	khaṁḍai	--	khaṇai	khajjūra-
Si.	karaya	kaḍanavā	--	kaninavā	kaduru
Dh.	kura-fat	ka ⁿ ḍanī	kairu	konnani	kaduru
Ad.	kura-fat	ka ⁿ ḍanī	kairi	kennai	kaduru
Gl.	razorblade	breaks	red chewing medicine	digs	dates

No.	03854	03854	03856	03865	03865
Sa.	khasa	khasa	*khasati	khādati	khādati
Pa.	--	--	--	khādati	
Pr.	--	--	khasai	khāai	
				khāi	
Si.	kas	--	--	kanavā	
Dh.	kas	kahanī	kassanī	kanī	kevenī
Ad.	kas	--	kahanī	kanī	--
Gl.	itch	--	slips	eats	eats (invol.)

No.	03867	03897	14433	03931	03941
Sa.	khādana	*khuḍḍha	*khēḍ	*khōṭṭa	khōra
Pa.	khādana	--	kēḷāyati	--	khonḍa-
Pr.	khāṇa	--	khēḍanā	khōḍi-	khōḍa
Si.	--	--	khēlai	--	kora
			keḷanavā		
			kelinavā		
			keḷinavā		
Dh.	kēm	kuḍa	kuḷen	kuṣ	koru
Ad.	kei	--	koḷanaṣ	kuṣ	--
Gl.	food	twisted	to play	error	lame
No.	14438	03955	14440	14443*	03997
Sa.	*gakṣa	gácchati	gaṇáyati	*gāḍḍa	gaṇḍá
Pa.	gaccha	gacchati	gaṇēti	--	gaṇḍa-
Pr.	--	gacchāi	gaṇēi	gaḍḍa	gaṇḍa-
Si.	gasa	gos	gaṇinavā	gāḷa	gaḍuva
Dh.	gas	gos	gunan	gāḍiya	ga ⁿ ḍu
Ad.	ges	--	ganāṣ	gāḍiya	ga ⁿ ḍa
Gl.	tree	having gone	to count	cart	ulcer, swelling
No.	03998	04000*	04029	04031	
Sa.	gaṇḍa	gaṇḍa	gámbhan	gambhīrá	
Pa.	gaṇḍa	gaṇḍaka	--	gambhīra	
Pr.	gaṇḍa	gaṇḍaya	--	gambhīra	
Si.	--	--	--	gā ^m buru	
Dh.	ga ⁿ ḍu	genḍā	ga ^m banī	ge ^m buru	
Ad.	--	--	--	--	
Gl.	(large) piece	rhinoceros	sinks	deep offshore	

No.	14445	04150	04161	04161*	04181	04191
Sa.	gátra	*gāvuta	girí	--	guḍa	guṇáyati
Pa.	gatta	gāvuta	giri-	--	guḷa	guṇṇā
Pr.	gatta	gāūa	giri-	--	guḍiā	guṇēi
					gulia	
Si.	gāya	gavuva	gal gira	--	guḷiya	--
Dh.	gai	gavi	gā	--	guḷa	gunanī
Ad.	gā	--	gau	giri	geḷa geḷe	--
Gl.	strength of body	league	stone	big rock	a edible ball	counts
No.	04191a	04217	04225	04236	04251	
Sa.	guṇayati	gúlma	gūtha	gr̥bhāyāti	gēhá	
Pa.	--	gumba-	gūtha-	gamhāti	gēdha-	
Pr.	--	gumma-	gūha-	gamhai	gēha	
Si.	--	gu ^m ba	gū	gannavā	geya	
Dh.	guna kuranī	go ^m bi	gui	gannanī	ge, gē	
Ad.	guna keranī	--	gūi	gannai	gē	
Gl.	multiplies	dent	dung	takes	house, room	
No.	04274	04274	04275*	04287	04313	
Sa.	gōṇa ⁸⁷	gōṇa	gōṇī	gōdhūma	gōrūpá	
Pa.	gōṇa	--	gōṇaka-	gōdhūma-	gōrūpa	
Pr.	gōṇa	--	--	gōhūma-	gōrūva-	
Si.	gonā	--	--	goyama	geriyā	
Dh.	mī ⁿ gunu	goṇ-geri	gōni	godan	geri	
Ad.	--	--	gōṇi	godan	geri	
Gl.	buffalo	ox	sack	wheat	cow	

⁸⁷ Si. *gon* (plu.)

No.	04353	04354	04354*	04371	04406
Sa.	grantháyati	granthí	granthí	*grāmadāra	ghaṭa
Pa.	ganthēti	ganṭhi-	--	gāmadāraka	ghaṭi-
Pr.	gamṭhaĩ	gamṭhi-	--	gāmāra-	ghaṭi-
Si.	gotanavā	gāṭaya	--	--	--
Dh.	gatanī	goṣ	gaṭari	gamāru	guḷi
Ad.	gatanī	goṣa	--	gamāra	guḷi
Gl.	plaits	knot, button	bale	stupid	jar
No.	04407	04407	04407	04417	04424
Sa.	ghāṭatē	ghāṭatē	ghāṭatē	ghaṭṭáyati	ghaná
Pa.	ghaṭēti	--	ghaṭēti	ghaṭṭēti	ghana-
Pr.	ghaḍēi	--	ghaḍēi	ghaṭṭai	ghaṇa
Si.	galvanavā	--	galvanavā	gaṭanavā	gana
Dh.	guḷanī	gen-guḷenī	gaḷuvanī	gaṣanī	gina
Ad.	gaḍanī	--	--	gaṣanī	gina
Gl.	joins	works for	pushes	stirs up	much, many
No.	04450	04450	04474	04489	
Sa.	ghārṣati	ghārṣati	*ghir	ghurghurā	
Pa.	ghaṁsati	ghaṁsati	--	--	
Pr.	ghaṁsiya-	ghaṁsiya-	--	ghughuri- ⁸⁸	
Si.	--	gānavā	--	guguranavā	
		gahanavā			
Dh.	gānanī	jahanī	giranī	guguranī	
Ad.	gānī	--	--	guguru jahanī	
Gl.	scrapes, grinds	strikes	stirs (into water)	thunders	

⁸⁸ Pr. 'frog'

No.	04489	04501	04509	04529	04605*	
Sa.	ghurghurā	ghṛtá	*ghṛpta	ghóṣati	cáturdaša	
Pa.	--	ghata	--	ghōsēti	catuddasa	
Pr.	--	ghia- ghaya	ghattissam	ghōsaī	caūddasa	
Si.	--	giya	gat	--	sudusa	
Dh.	gu ⁿ guru	gi-teu	gat	govanī	sauda sāda	
Ad.	--	giteu	gat	ōlanī	sauda	
Gl.	rattle	ghee	taken	calls	14	
No.	04614*	04623	04628*	04655		
Sa.	caturnavati	caturvimṣati	cātuṣcatvārimṣat	catvāraḥ		
Pa.	catunahutā-	catuvīsati	--	cattārō		
Pr.	caūṇaū	caūvīsai	caūālīsa	cattārō		
Si.	--	--	sūsālis ⁸⁹	hatara		
Dh.	saurayānavai	sauvīs	saurayāḷīs	hataru		
Ad.	saurayānavai	sauvīs	saurayāḷīs	hatara		
Gl.	94	24	44	four		
No.	04656*	04661	14484	14485	04701	04772
Sa.	catvārimṣāt	candrá	capalá	*cappayati	cárman	cālayati
Pa.	cattārīsam	canda	capala	cappēti	camma	cālēti
Pr.	cattālīsam	caṁda	cavala	--	camma	cālēi
Si.	--	sa ⁿ da	sāvulā	hapanavā	sama	salanavā
Dh.	sāḷīs	ha ⁿ du	hau	hafan	ham	halanī
Ad.	sāḷīs	ha ⁿ da	haua	hafaṣ	ham	heluvanī
Gl.	40	moon	cock	to chew	human skin	shakes

⁸⁹ Archaic

No.	04772	04799	14493	04799		04812
Sa.	cālayati	citta	cittá	citta		citrá
Pa.	cālēti	citta	citta			--
Pr.	cālēi	citta	citta			cittā
Si.	salanavā	sita	hita			sita
Dh.	hallanī	hit	hitu	hitani		hita
Ad.	heluvanī	hit	hita			hita
Gl.	shakes	heart, soul	thought	thinks with care		4th asterism
No.	04815	04842a	04844	04883	04883	04883
Sa.	cintáyati	cīmara	*cīrayati	cūḍa	cūḍa	cūḍa
Pa.	citēti	--	--	cūḷa	cūḷa	--
Pr.	cimtēi	--	--	cūḍā	cūḍā	--
Si.	hitanavā	--	irānavā	siḷu	siḷu	--
Dh.	hitani	timara	irani	huḷu	uḷi	huḷi
Ad.	hitani	--	--	huḷu	veḷi	--
Gl.	thinks	lead, tin	tears	joint	strand of rope	bun of hair
No.	14501	04907	04998	14509	05131	05193
Sa.	cūrṇa	cētas	chárdati	chādana	jambú	jānāti
Pa.	cuṇṇa	cētas	chaddēti	chādana	jambu	jānāti
Pr.	cuṇṇa	cēas	chaḍḍai	chāyaṇa	mambū	jāṇai
Si.	hunu	sey	heḷanavā	hevana	da ^m ba	danvana vā
Dh.	huni	hei hē	aḷani	hiyani	da ^m bu	dannani
Ad.	huni	--	eḍani	hiyani	da ^m ba	dennai
Gl.	lime, mortar	conscious- ness	pours, spreads	shade	a kind of fruit	knows

No.	05193	05198	05213	05228	05234	05236
Sa.	jānāti	jāmāṭṭ	jāla	jihvā	jīraka	*jīrayati
Pa.	--	jāmātar	jāla	jivhā	jīraka	jīrēti
Pr.	--	jāmāu	jāla	jibbhā	jīraya	--
Si.	--	--	dāla	diva	duru	--
			dāli ⁹⁰			
Dh.	dannavanī	da ^m bidari	dalek	dulek	diri	direnī
			dā	dū		
Ad.	--	--	deu	dīтели	diri	diranī
Gl.	informs	son-in-law	net	tongue	cummin	is digested
No.	05236	05273	05286	05292a	05306	
Sa.	*jīrayati	jñaptá	gyéṣṭha	!jyéṣṭhā	jvālati	
Pa.	--	--	jetṭha	--	jalati	
Pr.	--	--	jetṭha	jetṭhā- jiṭṭhā-	jalaī	
Si.	--	dat	deṭu	deṭa	dalvanavā	
Dh.	diruvanī	dat	doṣi	doṣa	dillanī	
Ad.	--	denna	deṣa	doṣa	dillanī	
Gl.	digests	known	eldest	18th lunar mansion	makes shine	
No.	05306	14528	05477	05481	05488*	05489
Sa.	jvālati	jvālita	*ṭōkka	*ṭōppa	ṭhakkura	*ṭhagg
Pa.		jālita	--	--	--	--
Pr.		--	--	ṭōpiā	ṭhakkura	ṭhagiya
Si.		dāli	--	--	--	--
Dh.		deli	ṭukuri	tofi	takuru	--
Ad.	dillenī	deli	ṭukuri	tofi	takuru	ṭekum
Gl.	shines	charcoal	basket	cap	title added to names of noblemen	cheating

⁹⁰ Old Sinhala

No.	05527	05654	14552	05672	14559	05744	05749
Sa.	*ḍaṅṭha	tanú	tanú	tápana	tala	tásara	tāḍa
Pa.	ḍaṅṭhal	tanu	tanu	tapana	tala	tasara	tāḷa
Pr.	--	tanu	taṅu	tavaṅa	tala	--	tāla
Si.	--	--	tunu	--	talaya	tasaraya	talaya
Dh.	ta ⁿ ḍi	tuni	tuni	tavā	tila	tēri	taḷu
Ad.	ta ⁿ ḍi	tuni	tuni	tavā	tela	tēri	taḷa
Gl.	stalk	thin	thin	frying-p an	surface	cotton shuttle	lock

No.	05752	05752	05752a	05774	14562	05798
Sa.	tāḍáyati	--	!*tāḍarukṣa	tāmarasá	tāmbūla	tārā
Pa.	tāḷēti	--	--	--	tambūla	tārā
Pr.	--	tāḍai	--	tāmarasa	--	tārā
Si.	taḷanavā	--	--	ta ^m bara	bulat	taruva
Dh.	taḷanī	teḷenī	tāruk	ta ^m buru	bilet	tari
Ad.	taḷanī	--	tārak	ta ^m buru	bilat	tari
Gl.	knocks, breaks	quakes, knocks around	palmyra palm	red lotus	betel	star

No.	05803	05803	05812	05820	05839	14567
Sa.	tālu	tālu	*tinta	timyati	tīkṣṇá	tīṣṭhati
Pa.	tālu		tinta	--	tikkha	tiṭṭhati
Pr.	tālu		tiṃta	timmamāṅa	tikhiṅa	ciṭṭai
Si.	talla		tet	--	tik	hiṭanavā
Dh.	tala	tali	tet	temenī	tūnu	iṣṭinnan
Ad.	tala		tek	temenī	tīṅi	irinnaṣ
Gl.	crown of head	palate	wet	is wetted	sharp	to sit

No.	05850	05853	05853	05863a	05886	05886
Sa.	tucchyá	tuṇḍa	tuṇḍa	!*tupati	tulá	tulá
Pa.	tuccha	tuṇḍa		tunna	tulā	--
Pr.	tuccha	tumḍa		tuṇṇia	tulā	--
Si.	his	tuḍa		--	tulāva	tulāva
Dh.	hus	tun	tu ⁿ ḍi	tuvvanī	tula	tilafat
Ad.	hus	tu ^m bu	tu ⁿ ḍi	tivvanī	tula	--
Gl.	empty, finished	lip, beak	lip, beak	pricks	the sign Libra	scales

No.	05889	05906	05958	05983	05994
Sa.	tuvám	tṛṇa	tailá	tmán	tráyaḥ
Pa.	taṁ	tiṇa	tēla	tuma	tīṇi
Pr.	tuvam̐	tiṇa	tēla		tiṇṇi
Si.	--	taṇa	tela	tamā	tuna tiṇ
Dh.	ta /tō	--	telu teu teyo	timan timā	tin
Ad.	ta	tina	teu	timan	tin
Gl.	you	milky grass (?)	oil	self	3

No.	05995	05996	05997	05998
Sa.	tráyaḥpañcāśat	trayaḥśaṣṭi	trayaḥsaptati	trayaścatvāriṁś at
Pa.	--	tēsatt̐hi	--	--
Pr.	tēvaṇṇam̐	tēsatt̐him̐	tēvattarim̐	tēyālīsam̐
Si.	--	--	--	--
Dh.	tēvanna	tēhatt̐i	tēhattari	teyālīs
Ad.	tēvanna	--	tēhattari	teyālīs
Gl.	53	63	73	43

No.	06000	06001	06003	06004	06015*
Sa.	tráyastrimṣat	tráyōdaṣa	trayōnavati	tráyōvimṣati	trimṣát
Pa.	tettim̐sa	tēlasa	--	tēvīsa	tim̐sa
Pr.	tettisam̐	tērasa	tēṇavaī	tēvīsam̐	tīsam̐
Si.	tavutisā ⁹¹	teḷesa tera	--	tevisi ⁹²	tisa
Dh.	tettirīs	tēra	teyānavai	tēvīs	tirīs
Ad.	tettirīs	tēra	teyānavai	tēvīs	tirīs
Gl.	33	13	93	23	30

No.	06086	06092	06119	06128	06140
Sa.	tryaṣīti	*thar	dākṣiṇa	daṇḍá	dattá
Pa.	tiyāsīti	thartharāuṇā	dakkhiṇa	daṇḍa	dinna
Pr.	tēi	tharatharēdi	dakkhiṇa	daṇḍa	diṇṇa
Si.	--	--	dakuṇu	daṇḍa da ⁿ ḍ- da ⁿ ḍi	dunu dine din
Dh.	teāhi	turuturu aḷanī	dekunu	da ⁿ ḍi	din
Ad.	teāhi	taḷuvanī	--	da ⁿ ḍi	din
Gl.	83	shakes	south	stick	given

No.	06141	06141	06142	06152	06179
Sa.	dádāti	dádāti	dadrú	dánta	damáyati
Pa.	dēti		daddu	danta	damēti
Pr.	dēi		daddu	daṁta	damēi
Si.	denavā		dadaya	data	dāmi
Dh.	denī	devenī	dadu	dat	damanī
Ad.	denī	--	dada	dak	damanī
Gl.	gives	gives	ringworm	teeth	drags

⁹¹ Old Sinhala

⁹² Old Sinhala

No.	06206*	06227	06250	06250	06294	06298
Sa.	dārvi	dāša	*dāmṣṭra	*dāmṣṭra	dāraka	dāru
Pa.	dabbī	dasa	dāṭhikā-	dāṭhikā-	dāraka	dāru
Pr.	davvī	dasa	--	dādhiā	dāraga	dāru
		daha				
Si.	dāviya	dahaya	dāliya	dāliya	daruvā	dara
Dh.	dabu	diha	doḷi	daḷu	dari	daru
Ad.	daba	deha	deḍi	daḷa	dari	dara
Gl.	stirring spoon	10	jaw	horn, can	child, son, citizen	firewood
No.	06321	06321	06324	06333	06334	06368
Sa.	dāha		dāhayati	divasá	*divasakāla	dīrghá
Pa.	dāha		--	divasa	--	dīgha
	dāha					
Pr.	dāha		--	divasa	--	diggaha
Si.	dādiya	dāḍiya ⁹³	--	davasa	davahala	diga
	dāha	dāya			daval	
Dh.	dahi	dau, dā	davanī	duvas	duvālu	digu
Ad.	dahi	--	davanī	duvas	devau	digi
Gl.	greed	sweat	prepares (food)	day	daytime	long, tall
No.	14609	06459	06475	06495	06507	
Sa.	dukūlá	*duvāra	dustara	dūrá	*dṛkṣati	
Pa.	dukūla	dvāra	duttara	dūra	dakkhati	
Pr.	duūla	duvāra	duttāra	dūra	dakkhāi	
Si.	dūl	dora	--	dura	dakvanavā	
Dh.	dūlu	doru	dutturau	duru	dakkanī	
			dutturā			
Ad.	dūla	dora	dutturau	duru	dakkanī	
Gl.	carpet	doorway, window	difficulty	far	shows, appears	

⁹³ Old Sinhala

No.	06507		06518	06523	06624	06624
Sa.	*dṛkṣati		dṛṣṭá	dēvá devaha ⁹⁴	drávati	drávati
Pa.	dakkhati		diṭṭha	dēva	dava	
Pr.	dakkhāvaī		daṭṭha diṭṭha deṭṭha	dēva	dava	
Si.	dakinavā		duṭu	deva	dav	
Dh.	dekenī		duṣ	devi	duvanī	duvvanī
Ad.	dakkanī		diṣi	devi	divanī	
Gl.	shows, appears		seen	demon	runs	drives
No.	06641	06648	06648*	06656*		06657
Sa.	drōṇa	dva	dva-	dvācatvārimśat		dvātrimśat
Pa.	dōṇī	dvē	dvē-	dvācattālīsa		dvattimsa
Pr.	dōṇī	duvē	duvē-	bāyālīsa		battisa
Si.	deṇiya deṇa	deka	--	--		--
Dh.	dōṇi	de	dui-satta	bayālīs		battirīs
Ad.	dōṇi	de	--	bayālīs		battirīs
Gl.	boat	2	200	42		32
No.	06658	06658*	06661*	06666	06672*	06673*
Sa.	dvādaśa	dvāda- śa	dvāpañcāśat	*dvāra-p ṛṣṭha	dvāvīm- śati	dvāṣaṣṭi
Pa.	--	bārasa	--	--	bavīsati	dvāsaṭṭhi
Pr.	--	bārasa	bāvanna	--	bāvīsa	bāsaṭṭhi
Si.	--	--	--	--	--	--
Dh.	doḷas	bāra	bāvanna	dorāṇi	bāvīs	bāhaṭṭi
Ad.	doḷas	--	--	--	bāvīs	bāhaṭṭi
Gl.	twelve	twelve	52	gateway	22	62

⁹⁴ Old Sinhala

No.	06674*	06683*	06691	06699*	06722a
Sa.	dvāsaptati	dvinavati	dvīpá	dvyaṣīti	!dhániṣṭha
Pa.	--	dvānavuti	dīpa	--	--
Pr.	bāhattari	bāṇaúī	dīva	bāsīi	dhanitṭhā-
Si.	--	--	diva	--	--
			dūva		
Dh.	bāhattari	bayānavai	dū	baāhi	dinaṣa
			duv-		
Ad.	bāhattari	bayānavai	dū	bayāhi	dinaṣa
Gl.	72	92	island	82	24th asterism

No.	06726	06766	06766	06778	06791	06802
Sa.	dhānus	dhavatē	dhavatē	dhānyá	dhāráyati	dhāvati
Pa.	dhanu	--	--	dhaññ	dhārēti	dhāvati
Pr.	dhaṇu	--	--	daṇṇa	dhārēi	dhāvai
Si.	dunna	--	--	dan	daranaṁvā	--
Dh.	duni	duvanī	duvvani	godan	darani	duvanī
Ad.	duni	divanī	divvanī	godan	darani	divanī
Gl.	arrow	runs	drives	wheat	is in debt	runs

No.	06802	06849	06886	06886	06897	06906
Sa.	dhāvati	dhūmá	*dhauvati	*dhauvati	dhvajá	ná
Pa.	--	dhūma	dhōvati	--	dhaja	na
Pr.	--	dhūma	dhōvai	--	dhā	ṇa
Si.	--	duma	--	--	dadaya	na
Dh.	duvvanī	dum-	donnani	dovē	dida	na-, nu-
Ad.	--	dum-	donnai	--	dida	ni
Gl.	drives	smoke	washes	wash	flag	no

No.	06913	06914	06984	06995*	07048*	
Sa.	nákṣatra	nakhá	náva	navatí	nāḍī	
Pa.	nakkhatta	nakha	nava	navuti	nālī	
Pr.	ṇakkhatta	ṇaha	ṇava	ṇavaī	ṇāliā	
Si.	nakata nākāta	niyapotu, niya	namaya nava ⁹⁵	anūva	nāliya	
Dh.	nakat	niyafati	nuva	navai	nāḷi	
Ad.	nakat-	niyafat-	nuva	navai	nāḷi	
Gl.	asterism	nail of finger or toe	9	90	a particular measure	
No.	07067	07075	07075	07081	07082	
Sa.	nāman	nārikēla	nārikēla	nāvā	nāvika	
Pa.	nāman	nālikēra	--	nāva	nāvika	
Pr.	ṇāma	ṇāriēla	--	ṇāvā	ṇāvia	
Si.	nama	--	nerala ⁹⁶	nāva	nāvi	
Dh.	nam-	nāṣi	niroḷu	nau, nā nav-	nevi	
Ad.	nam-	naiṣi	--	nau	nevi	
Gl.	name, reputation	coconut shell	coconut wood	boat	navigator	
No.	07089	07091	07200	07201	07247*	07253
Sa.	nāsā	nāsti	nidrā	nīdrāyati	nimbū	niyāmaka
Pa.	nāsā	natthi	niddā	niddāyati	--	niyāma
Pr.	ṇāsigā	ṇatthi	ṇiddā	ṇiddāadi	--	ṇiāmaya
Si.	nāāya	nāti	ninda	nidanavā	--	niyamuvā
Dh.	nē	net, netī	nidi	nidanī	lu ^m bō	niyami
Ad.	nē	net-	nidi	nidanī	li ^m bōi	niyemi
Gl.	nose	is not	sleep	sleeps	lime fruit	pilot

⁹⁵ Old Sinhala

⁹⁶ Si. 'coconut palm'

No.	07369	07369	07393	07416	07475
Sa.	nirmāti nirmāpayati	nirmāti nirmāpayati	*nirvarayati	nivātá	niṣkarman
Pa.			--	nivāta	nikkamma
Pr.	ṇimmāvaī		ṇivvaḍaī	ṇivāya	ṇikkamma
Si.		nimenavā	--	nivā	nikam
Dh.	nimmanī	nimenī	nerenī	nivai nivā, nival-	nikam-
Ad.	nimmanī		nukumanī	nivau	--
Gl.	finishes (tr.), decides	is finished, ends (intr.)	extracts	shelter	fairly well
No.	07475	07492	07492	07559	07563
Sa.	niṣkarman	nīṣkramati	nīṣkrānta	*nīrīyatē	nīla
Pa.	--	nikkamati	--	--	nīla
Pr.	--	ṇikkamaī	--	--	ṇīla
Si.	--	nikmenavā	--	--	nil
Dh.	nikameti	nikunnanī	nukut	nerenī	nū nul-
Ad.	--	nukunnai	--	nukumanī	nū
Gl.	poor, helpless	goes out, results	gone out	extracts	blue
No.	07573b	07583	07614	07621*	07627*
Sa.	!*nīharati	nṛtyati	nyāyá	pakvá	pakṣá
Pa.	nīharati	naccati	nāya	pakka	pakkha
Pr.	ṇīharaī	ṇaccaī	ṇiāga ṇāya	pakka	pakkha
Si.	--	naṭanavā	niyāva naya	paka	paka
Dh.	nerenī	naṣanī	niyau niyā	fakkā	fankā
Ad.	nukumanī	naṣanī	niyā	--	fankā
Gl.	drives out	dances	judgment	ripe, very good	fan

No.	07644*	07646	07654	07655	07659
Sa.	*paggā	pañktī	*pacyātē	pāñca	pāñcacatvārimśat
Pa.	--	panti	paccati	pañca	--
Pr.	--	pañtī	paccamāṇa	pañca	pacaālīsa
Si.	--	peta	pihanavā	paha	pansālis
Dh.	faguḍi	fati	fihanī	fas	fansayālīs
Ad.	faguḍi	fati	fihanī	fas	fansayālīs
Gl.	turban	seam, line, row	bakes	5	45

No.	07662	07665	07672	07672	07682
Sa.	pāñcadaśa	pañcanavati	pāñcaviṃ- śati	pāñcaviṃ- śati	pañcāśāt
Pa.	pañcadasa paṇṇarasa	pañcāṇaūi	pañcaviṣa	--	paññāsa
Pr.	paṇarasa	--	pañaviṣa	--	paññāsā
Si.	paṇara ⁹⁷ pahaḷos	--	pasvisi	--	panas
Dh.	fanara	fansayā- navai	fansaviṣ	fassihi	fansās
Ad.	fanara	fansayā- navai	fansaviṣ	--	fansās
Gl.	15	95	25	24	50

⁹⁷ Old Sinhala

No.	07682	07692	07700	07700	07700	07733
Sa.	pañcāśāt	paṭa	paṭṭa	paṭṭa	paṭṭa	páttra
Pa.	--	paṭi	paṭṭa	--	--	patta
Pr.	--	paḍa	paṭṭa	--	--	patta
Si.	--	paḷa pala	paṭa	--	--	--
Dh.	fanās	feli	faṣ	foṣā	faṣu(v)i	fat
Ad.	--	feli	faṣa	foṣā	--	fat-
Gl.	48	cotton cloth	strip, chain	cloth or Sinhalese sarong	silk	leaf
No.	07747	07761*	07799h	07918	07960	
Sa.	padá	*padāmśa	paraśú	parṇá	palāśá	
Pa.	pada	--	parasu	paṇṇa	palās	
Pr.	paya	--	parasu	paṇṇa	--	
Si.	piya	--	porova	pana	palā	
Dh.	fiya	faisā	furō	fan	filā	
Ad.	fiya	--	forō	fan	filā	
Gl.	foot	money	axe	coconut leaves	greens, vegetables	
No.	07964	07990	07990	07990	07990	08019
Sa.	palyaṅka	*paśca	*paśca	*paśca	*paśca	pāmśu
Pa.	pallaṅka	pacchatō	--	--		paṁsu
Pr.	pallaṅka	pacchādō	--	paccha		paṁsu
Si.	--	--	--	passa		pasa
Dh.	fala ⁿ gu	fahat	fahu	fas	fassanī	fas
Ad.	--	fahat-	pasu	fas		fas
Gl.	bedspread	behind	after, last	end, behind, backwards	chases	earth, soil

No.	08051	08055	08056	08082	08135	08181
Sa.	pāṇḍú	pātra	pāda	pānīya	pāśáyati	pittá
Pa.	paṇḍu	patta	pāda	pānīya	--	pitta
Pr.	paṁḍu	patta	pāda	pāñā	--	pitta
Si.	pa ⁿ ḍu	paya	paya	pān	pahanavā	pita
Dh.	fa ⁿ ḍu	tilafat	fā, fai	fen	fahan	fit
Ad.	fa ⁿ ḍa	telafat-	fā	fen	fahāk	fit-
Gl.	dim, pale, faded	scales	foot, leg	water, juice, watery	to sew	bile

No.	08196	08209	14693	08218	08265
Sa.	pidhāna	píbatī	píbatī	piṣṭá	putrá
Pa.	pidhāna	pibatī	pibatī	piṭṭha	putta
Pr.	pidhāṇa	pibaī	pibaī	piṭṭha	putta
Si.	piyana	bonavā	bonavā	piṭi	put pit
Dh.	fiyan	bonī	bōn	fuṣ	fut(u)
Ad.	fiyan	bonī	bōṣ	fiṣi	futā
Gl.	lid	drinks	to drink	powder, flour, dough	son, daughter

No.	08276a	08279	08286	14696	08305
Sa.	!púnarvasu	purá ēti	*purima	púruṣa	puṣpyāti
Pa.	--	--	purima	purisa	pupphati
Pr.	puṇavvasu-	--	purima	purusa	--
Si.	--	puranavā	pirimi	puris	pipenavā
Dh.	funōs	furanī	firimīha	firi	fufenī
Ad.	funōs	--	firimīha	firi	fufenī
Gl.	7th lunar mansion	to start	married man	male	is puffed up

No.	08306	08314a	08315	08321	08323
Sa.	puṣyá	!pūgarukṣa	*pūgavṛkṣa	pūta	pūti
Pa.	pussa	--	--	--	pūti
Pr.	pūsa	--	--	puttara	pūi
Si.	pusa	--	puvak	--	--
Dh.	fus	furuk	fuvak fōk	fui	fī-vān
Ad.	fus	--	fuvak	--	fī-vān
Gl.	8th asterism	areca wood	areca nut	cunnus	to rot, stink

No.	08335	14699	08339	08339	08344
Sa.	pūráyati	pūrita	pūrṇá	pūrṇá	!pūrvā
Pa.	pūrēti	pūrita	puṇṇa	--	--
Pr.	pūrēi	pūriya	puṇṇa	--	--
Si.	puravanavā	piri	pun	punu	--
Dh.	furānī	furi	fun	funi	fura
Ad.	furānī	furai	fun	--	fura
Gl.	fills	full	deep, deep place	pile	11th lunar asterism

No.	08347	14700	08361	08379
Sa.	pūrvāṣādhā	pr̥ṣṭhā	pr̥thulá	*pēnda
Pa.	--	piṭṭhē	puthula	--
Pr.	puvvāṣādhā	piṭṭha putṭha	pihula	--
Si.	puvasaḷa	piṭa	paḷal puḷul	pe ⁿ da
Dh.	furahaḷa	fuṣu	fuḷau fuḷā	fi ⁿ du
Ad.	furahaḷa	fiṣi	feḷū	--
Gl.	20th lunar mansion	side	broad, breadth	private parts

No.	08413	08428	08451	08516
Sa.	*pōstaka	prakaṭā	*prakvathati	prajñāyatē
Pa.	potthaka	pākata	pakkaṭhita	paññāyati
Pr.	puttha	--	--	paññāyāi
Si.	pota	paḷa karanavā	kakiya ⁹⁸	--
			kakara	
Dh.	fot	fāḷu kuranī	kakkanī	fennanī
Ad.	fot-	fauḷu kerenī	kakkanī	fenenī
Gl.	book	declares	cooks	appears, seems good

No.	08526	08526	08532	08532	08607
Sa.	prāṇayati	prāṇayati	prāṇīta	prāṇīta	prāṭiṣṭhāti
Pa.	paṇēti	--	paṇīta	--	paṭṭhāya
Pr.	--	--	paṇīya	--	patthamta
Si.	--	--	piṇi	--	paṭā
Dh.	fonuvanī	fonuvālum	fani	foni	faṣanī
Ad.	fi ⁿ ḍuvanī	--	fani	--	faṭṭanī
Gl.	sends	expulsion from Malé	syrup	sweet	begins

No.	08609	08691a	08789	08833
Sa.	*pratiṣṭhāti	*prapūrayati	prāvardhatē	prasādayati
Pa.	patiṭṭhāti	--	pavaddati	pasādēti
	patiṭṭhita			
Pr.	paḍiṭṭhia	--	pavaddhai	pasāēi
Si.	pihiṭanavā	--	--	pahadinavā
	pihiṭi			
Dh.	faṣanī	fōranī	fōdenī	fāddanī
Ad.	faṣanī	fōranī	fōvanī	fūddenī
Gl.	begins	reaches, affects	matures	filters, penetrates

⁹⁸ Old Sinhala

No.	08860	08864	08900	08906	08906
Sa.	*prastarati	prastārá	prahara	prahāra	prahāra
Pa.	pattharati	--	--	pahāra	--
Pr.	pattharaī	patthāra	--	pahāra	--
Si.	paturanavā	patara	--	pāra	--
Dh.	faturuvanī	feturi	faharu	etifaharu	fāru
Ad.	faturuvanī	feteri	--	fahara	--
Gl.	spreads	ringworm	time, occasion	blows	wound
No.	08914	08929	08962	09011	09011
Sa.	prākāra	prāṇaka	*prāvurati	prōñchati	prōñchati
Pa.	pākāra	pāṇaka	pāpurati	puñchati	puñchati
Pr.	pāyārapāra	--	pāvaraṇa	puñchaī	puñchaī
Si.	--	paṇuvā	porovanavā	pisinavā	pisinavā
Dh.	fauru	fani	foruvanī	fussanī	fuhēnī
Ad.	favara	faṇi	forovanī	fuhanī	--
Gl.	wall	larva, worms	covers, hoards, hides	wipes out	wipes
No.	09022	09052	09073	09078	09078
Sa.	plākṣa	phala	*phāla	*phirati	*phirati
Pa.	pilakkha	phala	phāla	--	--
Pr.	palakkha	phala	--	phēraṇa	phēraṇa
Si.	--	--	--	--	--
Dh.	fok	fali	fali	furoḷanī	firukenī
Ad.	fok	fali	fali	--	--
Gl.	name of a tree	oar	oar	rolls, turns over, changes	creeps; crawls

No.	09078	09108	09123	09126	09136	
Sa.	*phirati	phéna	baḍiša	baddhá	bandhá	
Pa.	--	phēṇa	baḷisa	baddha	bandha	
Pr.	--	phēṇa	baḍisa	baddha	bandha	
Si.	--	peṇa pana	balasa biliya	bada	ba ⁿ da badu	
Dh.	furoḷu	fonu	buḷi	baddanī	bandu	
Ad.		feṇa	bili	baddanī	bandu	
Gl.	wheel	foam	hook	encloses, imprisons, overcomes	hoop, band	
No.	09139		09139	09153*	09188a	09194
Sa.	bandhati		bandhati	bárkara	!bahutara	bahulá
Pa.	badhati		--	--	--	bahula
Pr.	bandai		--	--	--	bahula
Si.	bandanavā		--	--	--	bahula bola
Dh.	baddanī		bannanī	bakari	baivaru	bō bol- boli
Ad.	baddanī		--	bakari	baivara	boli
Gl.	encloses		binds, builds	goat	many	thick
No.	09209	09209	09226	09237	09245	09277*
Sa.	*bāppa	*bāppa	*bāhira	biḍāla	bīla	buddhi
Pa.	--	--	bāhira	biḷāla	bila	buddhi
Pr.	bappa	--	bāhira	biḍāla	bila	buddhi
Si.	bapa	--	bāhāra	baḷalā	vila	budu
Dh.	bappa	bafā	bēru	buḷau buḷā (buḷalek)	vilu-	buddi
Ad.	bappā	--	bēra	beḷalā	vila	buddi
Gl.	father	--	outside	cat	shoal, pool	sense

No.	09280	09331	09354	09369	09383
Sa.	bundha	bhaktá	bhaṅgá	bhaṅṭākī	bhánati
Pa.	bunda	bhatta	bhaṅga	bhaṅḍākī	bhaṅati
Pr.	buṁdha	bhatta	bhaṁga	bhiṁṭiyā	bhaṅai
Si.	bunna bundnen ⁹⁹	bata	ba ⁿ gahara	baṭu	baṅanavā baṅinavā
Dh.	buḍu	bat	ba ⁿ gurā	baṣi	bunanī
Ad.	--	bat-	--	baṣi	beṅanī
Gl.	base	cooked rice	liquor	brinjal	says
No.	09396	09398*	09407	09416	09420
Sa.	bháraṅī	*bharavaṣya	bhaluka	bhávati	bhavita
Pa.	bharaṅī	--	--	bhavati	--
Pr.	--	--	--	bhavaī	bhavia
Si.	beraṅi	--	balu ballā	venavā	--
Dh.	burunu	barōsā	baḷu	vanī	vī
Ad.	burunu	barōsā	baḷa	venī	vī
Gl.	the 7th asterism	confidence	dog	becomes, is	was
No.	09430	09440	09440	09441	09441
Sa.	bhāga	bhāṅḍa	bhāṅḍa	bhāṅḍaṣālā	bhāṅḍaṣālā
Pa.	bhāga	bhaṅḍa	--	--	--
Pr.	bhāa bhāga	bhaṁḍa	--	--	--
Si.	bā	baḍa	--	baḍahala	--
Dh.	bai	ba ⁿ ḍu	ba ⁿ ḍiyā	ba ⁿ ḍaha	ba ⁿ ḍahage
Ad.	bai	ba ⁿ ḍa	--	--	--
Gl.	part	stomach, womb	metal pot	pantry	pantry

⁹⁹ Old Sinhala

No.	09442*	09443	09459	09459
Sa.	bhāṇḍāgāra	bhāṇḍāgārika	bhārá	bhārá
Pa.	--	bhadāgārika	bhāra	--
Pr.	bhamḍāgāra	bhamḍāgāri	bhāra	--
Si.	--	baḍahāra ba ⁿ ḍāri	bara	bāra
Dh.	bandāra	ba ⁿ ḍēri	bura	baru
Ad.	bandāra	ba ⁿ ḍēri	bura	--
Gl.	Government, Attorney- General	treasurer	heavy, difficult	burden, load

No.	09474	09474	09479	09479a	09494
Sa.	bhālayatē	bhālayatē	bhāṣā	!*bhāṣāra	bhittí
Pa.	--	--	bhāṣā	--	bhitti
Pr.	--	--	bhāṣā	--	bhitti
Si.	balanavā	balanavā	baha	--	bita bit-
Dh.	balan	balanī	bas	bahuruva	bit
Ad.	--	balanī	bas	bahuruva	bit
Gl.	to look at, to see	looks	word, saying	language	wall

No.	09496	09496	09496	09516
Sa.	bhindati	bhindati	bhindati	bhīrú
Pa.	bhindati	bhindati	--	bhīru-
Pr.	bhimḍai	binnai bhimḍai	--	bhīru
Si.	bi ⁿ ḍinavā bi ⁿ ḍavanavā	bi ⁿ ḍavanavā	bi ⁿ ḍinavā	biru
Dh.	bindanī	binnanī	bi ⁿ ḍenī	biru
Ad.	bi ⁿ ḍanī	--	--	biri
Gl.	snaps	splits (a coconut), picks	cracks	timid, shy, dreadful, terrible

No.	09552	09557	09615	09623		09650
Sa.	bhūtá	bhūmi	bhērī	bhaśajya		bhramara
Pa.	bhūta	bhūmi	bhēri	bhēsajja		bhamarikā
Pr.	bhūa	bhūmi	bhērī	bhēsajja		bhamarī
Si.	vū	bima	beraya	beheda beheta		bamaraya
			berē	behed-		bamarē
Dh.	vi	bim	beru	bēs		bumaru
Ad.	vi	bim	bera	bēs		bumbera
Gl.	became	earth	drum	medicine		spinning top
No.	09651	09661	09688	09691	09692	09696
Sa.	bhramará	bhrátṛ	bhrú	ma	mákara	mákṣā
Pa.	bhamara	bhātā	bhamu	mamamā	makara	makkhikā
		bhātika				
Pr.	bhamara	bhāā	bhumā	maṁ	magara	makkhiā
				mama~		
Si.	bamarā	bāā-	bāma-ya	mama	muvarā	māsi
	ba ^m barā					
Dh.	maburu	bei, bē	buma	ma	miyaru	mehi
Ad.		bē	ben	ma	miyara	mehi
Gl.	bee	brother	eyebrow	I, me	shark	fly
No.	09712	09718	09727		09742	09747
Sa.	majján	mañjiṣṭhā	maṭha		māṇḍala	matkuṇa
Pa.		mañjetṭhī	--		maṇḍala	--
Pr.	majjā	mañjitṭhā	maḍha		maṇḍala	makuṇa
Si.	mada-ya	madaṭa ¹⁰⁰	maḷu-va		maḍulla	makuṇā
	madulla				ma ⁿ ḍula ¹⁰¹	
Dh.	madu	madoṣi	muḷi		maḍulu	makunu
Ad.	mada	madaṣi	muḷi		--	makunu
Gl.	marrow	a weight	chicken-coop		district	bug

¹⁰⁰ Si. small red berry¹⁰¹ Old Sinhala

No.	09747	09754	09758	09784	09793	09804
Sa.	matkuṇa	*matthara	mátsya	mádhu	madhurá	mádhya
Pa.	--	manda	maccha	madhu	madhura	majjha
Pr.	--	maṁda	maccha	madhu mahu	mahura	majjha
Si.	--	ma ⁿ da, mada	masā	mihi	miyuru mihiri mīri	mādda mādi
Dh.	rāmama- kunu	madu	mas	māmui	mīru	medu
Ad.	--	--	mas	māmui	mīri	meda
Gl.	monkey	few ¹⁰²	fish	honey	sweet, pleasant	middle
No.	09828	09828	09871	09875	09890	
Sa.	manuṣyá	manuṣyá	máratē	marīca	márdati	
Pa.	manussa	--	marati	marica	maddati	
Pr.	maṇussa	--	marai	mariamiri	maddai	
Si.	minisā minihā	--	--	miris	maṇḍ- maḍ	
Dh.	mīs mīhā	mini-kiru	merenī	mirus	moḍenī	
Ad.		mini kiri		miris	mati	
Gl.	man, people	breast milk	closes ¹⁰³	red pepper	massages, mixes	

¹⁰² CDIAL originally had 'slow' which is Dh. *maḍu*.

¹⁰³ Dh. *merenī* is erroneously glossed as 'dies' in CDIAL.

No.	14741a	14741a		09926	09951*
Sa.	*malladvīpa	*malladvīpa		masta	mahārājā
Pa.	--	--		mattha	mahārājā
Pr.	--	--		mattha	mahārāya
Si.	--	maldiva		mat-a	maharad
				matta	
				matu	
Dh.	mālē	māldiv		mati	mahāradun
Ad.		--		mati	mahāradun
Gl.	name of capital	Maldives		top, lid, sky	mahārājā
No.	09964	09982	10016	10041	10063
Sa.	mahiṣá	māmsá	mātr̥	māna	māra
Pa.	mahisa	maṁsa	mātā	māna	māra
	mahisa				
	mahisa				
Pr.	mahisam	maṁsa	māyā	māṇa	māra
Si.	mīvā	mas	mava	maninavā	maru-vā
	mīmā		māā		
	miyu				
Dh.	mī ⁿ gunu	mas	mai	manu	maru
Ad.	mī ⁿ gonu	mas		maṇa	mara
Gl.	buffalo cow	flesh	mother	a large measure	death
No.	10066	10071	10092	10104	10132
Sa.	māráyati	mārga	mālā	māsa	*mināti
Pa.	mārēti	magga	mālā	māsa	mināti
					minana
Pr.	mārēi	magga	mālā	māsa	miṇaī
Si.	māreṇavā	maga	mala	masa	minuma
		ma ⁿ ga			
Dh.	maranī	magu	mau	mas	minanī
			mā		
			mal-		
Ad.	maranī	maga	mau	masara	minanī
Gl.	kills	path, road	flower	month	measures

No.	10152	10198	10199	10203	10221	
Sa.	muktā	mudgá	mudgara	mudrá	muṣṭí	
Pa.	muttā	mugga	muggara	muddā	muṭṭhi	
Pr.	muttā	mugga	--	muddā	muṭṭhi	
Si.	mutu	muṃ mu ⁿ g	mugura mu ⁿ guru	mudda	miṭa	
Dh.	mut	mugu	muguru muguranī	mudi	muṣ	
Ad.	mutā	mugu	muguru	mudi	miṣi	
Gl.	pearl	mung bean	mallet, baton	ring	fist, handle	
No.	10221	10223	10231	10234	10250	10254
Sa.	muṣṭí	músala	mūka	mūtra	mūla	mūlā
Pa.	--	musala	mūga	mutta	mūla	--
Pr.	--	musala	mukka mūa	mutta	mūla	mūla
Si.	miṭiya	mohola mōla	muk	mū	mula	--
Dh.	muṣi	mō, mol-	moya	mū	mū mul-	mula
Ad.	--	mulā	mua	mundara	mū	mula
Gl.	hammer	pestle	foolish	urine	root	an asterism
No.	10286	10290	10299	10383	10387	
Sa.	mṛttikā	*mṛdati	mṛṣṭá	mriyātē	mlāyati	
Pa.	mattikā	--	maṭṭha	mīyati	milāyati	
Pr.	maṭṭi	maḷaī	maṭṭha	miyyati	milāaī	
Si.	māṭṭa	--	maṭa	miyanavā	malaya	
Dh.	muṣi	maḷanī	maṣanī	miya danī mījje	milanī	
Ad.	meṣi māṭi	maḷanī	maṣanī	--	malanī	
Gl.	earthenware	waves, aims, draws back threaten-ing ly	grazes, sharpens, slices	dies, died	gets pale	

No.	10412*	10434	10444	10452	10456*	10467
Sa.	yantrá	yavanāla	yaṣṭí	yáti	yátrā	yáma
Pa.	yanta	joṇṇāliā	yaṭṭhi	yāti	yātrā	yāma
Pr.	jamta	--	jaṭṭhi	jāi	jattā	jāma
Si.	yaturu	--	yāṭi-ya	yanavā	yatu	yama
					yaturu	
Dh.	dantura	donaḷa	doṣi	danī	daturu	dam
Ad.	dantera	donaḷa	--	ebēnī	datara	dam
Gl.	trap	a kind of grain	fishing rod	goes	journey	nightwatch
No.	10511	10511	10521	10539	10539	
Sa.	yuṣmad	yuṣmad	yūṣa	rakta	rakta	
Pa.	--	--	yūsa	--	ratta	
Pr.	--	--	jūsa	--	ratta	
Si.	u ^m ba	topi tepi ¹⁰⁴	yusa	--	ratu	
Dh.	imba	tufuren	dos	ratu-lō	rat	
Ad.	ta	tafirin	dos	ranvanlō		
Gl.	you	you	pus	copper	red	
No.	10551	10560	10576	10593	10650	10650
Sa.	rakṣā	raṅga	rajatá	*raṭṭa	rása	rása
Pa.	rakkhā	raṅga	rajata	--	rasa	--
Pr.	rakkhā	raṅga	rayada	raṁdā	rasa	--
Si.	raka	ra ⁿ ga	ridī	raḷu	raha	rā, rāhā ¹⁰⁵
Dh.	rakkau rakkā rakkal-	ra ⁿ ga	rihi	ra ⁿ ḍu	raha	rā
Ad.	rakkō	ra ⁿ ga	rihi	--	raha	--
Gl.	safe	colour	silver	womanish, shy	taste	sweet toddy

¹⁰⁴ Old Sinhala¹⁰⁵ Old Sinhala (Sigiri Grafiti)

No.	10672	10672	10679	10692	10702
Sa.	rākṣasá	rākṣasa	rājan	rājñī	rātrī
Pa.	rakkhasa	rakkhasa rakkhasī	rājā	raññī	ratti
Pr.	rakkhasa	rakkhasa	rāā	raññī rāñī	rattī
Si.	rakus	rakus rakusī	rada	rajñi ¹⁰⁶	rää
Dh.	rakis-bo ⁿ ḍu	ressi	radun	rani-bēka ^m balek	rei, rē
Ad.	rakis-boḍu	ressi	radun	rani-bēka ^m balek	rei
Gl.	lizard ¹⁰⁷	demon	king	queen	night
No.	10704	10720	10721	10721	10723
Sa.	rātryandha	rāśī	rāṣṭrá	rāṣṭrá	rāṣṭravāsin
Pa.	--	rāsi	raṭṭha	--	raṭṭhavāsin
Pr.	rattiamdhā	rāsi	raṭṭha	--	--
Si.	--	rāsa rähā	raṭa	--	raṭavāsiyā
Dh.	rōnā	res	raṣ	veriraṣ	raṣvehi
Ad.	--	--	raṣ	--	raṣvehi
Gl.	night- blindness	mass, crowd	island	capital	native, non-Malé, civilized

¹⁰⁶ Old Sinhala

¹⁰⁷ Glossed as 'bat' in CDIAL.

No.	10743	10749	10749	10751	10753	10757
Sa.	riyáti	ríṣyati	ríṣyati	rī́tí	rī́yatē	*rukṣa
Pa.	--	rissati	--	--	--	rukkha
Pr.	riyai	--	--	rīi	rīṇa rīaí	ruccha rukkha
Si.	renavā	--	--	--	rēṇavā runnā	ruka rika
Dh.	rī	rihenī	rissanī	rī	rī	ruk
Ad.	--	rehenī	--	--	runnā	ruk
Gl.	a discharge	aches	aches	a discharge	a discharge	palm tree
No.	10765	10765	10767	10793	10803	
Sa.	rucyatē	rucyatē	rujā	ruṣṭi	rūpá	
Pa.	ruccati	--	rujā	--	rūpa	
Pr.	ruccai	--	ruā	--	rūva	
Si.	russanavā	--	rada-ya	--	ruva rū	
Dh.	ruhenī	russanī	rihe	ruḷi	rū	
Ad.	ruhenī	--	riḷi	riḷi	--	
Gl.	approves	approves	pain	anger	pattern, shape	
No.	10803	10804a	10807a	10833	10837	10840
Sa.	rūpá	!rūpavant	!*rūṣṭi	rōcís	*rōṭṭa	rōdati
Pa.		rūpavant-	--	--		rōdati
Pr.		rūvavamta-		rōi	roṭṭa	rōyai
Si.		--	--	--	roṭi	--
Dh.	riveti rīti	riveti rīti	ruḷi	rō kuranī	roṣi	ronī
Ad.		rivati	rō keranī	rō keranī	--	--
Gl.	beautiful	beautiful	anger	lights (a fire)	bread	weeps

No.	10864	10881*	10882	10895	10896	
Sa.	rōhiṇī	lakṣá	lakṣaṇá	lagyati	laghú	
Pa.		lakkha	lakkhaṇa	laggati	lahu	
Pr.	rōhiṇī	lakkha	lakkhaṇa	laggāi	lahu	
			lacchaṇa			
Si.	reheṇa	--	lakuṇa	laginavā	luhu	
Dh.	rōnu	lakka	lakunu	lagganī	lui	
Ad.	rōnu	lakka	lakunu	lavvenī	lū	
Gl.	4th lunar asterism	100,000	scar, spot	drifts	light, better in health	
No.	10896	10905	10905	10910	10950	
Sa.	laghú	laṅgháyati	laṅgháyati	lajjā	labhyátē	
Pa.		laṅghēti	laṅghēti	lajjā	labbhati	
Pr.		laṅghēi	laṅghēi	lajjā	labbhaī	
Si.		naginavā legitaka ¹⁰⁸	--	lada	labanavā	
Dh.	haluvi	naganī	nanganī	ladu	libenī	
Ad.		naganī		lada	libenī	
Gl.	speedy	takes	loses	shame, shyness	is got	
No.	10950	10956	10956	10978	10991	11004
Sa.	labhyátē	lambayati	lambayati	lavaṇá	*laṣṭi	lāgáyati
Pa.		lambēti	--	lavaṇa	laṭṭhi	--
				lōṇa		
Pr.		lambēi	--	lūṇa	laṭṭhi	lāēi
Si.		--	--	luṇu	laṭu	lanavā
				loṇa ¹⁰⁹		
Dh.	libbanī	la ^m banī	le ^m benī	lonu	laḷi	lanī
Ad.		la ^m banī	--	loṇa	laḷi	lanī
Gl.	earns	bends	is bent	salt	penis	puts, puts on (clothes)

¹⁰⁸ Old Sinhala¹⁰⁹ Old Sinhala

No.	11004	11009	11009	11048	11074	11074		
Sa.	lāgáyati	lāngūlá	lāngūlá	likhāti	luñcati	luñcati		
Pa.	--	laṅgula		likhati	luñcati			
Pr.	--	laṅgūla		lihai	luñcai			
Si.	--	nagula		liyanavā	--			
Dh.	lavvanī	nagū	nagili	liyanī	luhenī	lussanī		
Ad.	--	nagul-		lēnai	uhurenī			
Gl.	drifts ashore	tail	anchor	draws, writes	looses oneself		pulls up	
No.	11076	11080	11136	11158	11158	11165	11225*	
Sa.	*luṭṭa	luḍāti	*lōḍa	lōhá	lōhá	lōhita	vaḍra	
Pa.	--	lōlēti	lōḷa	lōha-		lōhita		
Pr.	--	lōlēi	lōla	lōha-		lōhia	vaḍḍā	
Si.	--	leḷavanavā	lōra	lela	loho	lō	lehi	--
Dh.	lo ⁿ ḍu	loḷanī	lō	lō	ratu-lō	lei, lē	boḍu	
Ad.	--	--	lol-					
Gl.	lazy	quivers	lō	lō		lē	bo ⁿ ḍa	
			eye	metal	copper	blood	big	
No.	11260	11271	11275	11300	11347	11356		
Sa.	vánati	vándana	vandhya	váyati	*varta	vartáyati		
Pa.	vanati	vandana	vañjha	vāyati		vattēti		
Pr.	vaṇēi	vaṇḍaṇa	vañjha	--	vaṭṭa	vattēi		
Si.	--	vā ⁿ dun	va ⁿ da	viyanavā	vaṭa	vaṭanavā		
Dh.	bannanī	vadun	va ⁿ du	viyanī	vaṣ	vaṣanī		
Ad.	--	vedun	va ⁿ da	venai	vaṣa	vaṣanī		
Gl.	builds	gift	useless, unripe	weaves	circle	twists, surrounds		

No.	11359	11375	11375a		11382	11387
Sa.	vārti	vardhaki	!*vardhakikarman		vardhāyati	vārdhra
Pa.	vaṭṭi	vaḍḍhaki	--		vaḍḍhēti	vaddha
Pr.	vaṭṭi	vaḍḍhaï	--		vaḍḍhaï	vaddha
Si.	vāṭ-a	vaḍu-vā	--		vaḍanavā	vada
Dh.	voṣ	vaḍin	vaḍām		vaḍuvanī	vaḍu
Ad.	veṣa	vaḍin	vaḍām		vaḍuvanī	vada
Gl.	lamp	carpenter	carpentry		lays down	strap
No.	11392	11394	11407	11417	11429	
Sa.	varṣá	vārṣati	valaya	valká	vallī	
			vaḷalla			
Pa.	vassa	vassati	valaya	--	vallī	
Pr.	vāsa	vassadi	valaya	vakka	vallī	
Si.	vaharē	vahinavā	valalu	vaka	vāl-a	
Dh.	vārē	vehenī	uḷā	vaka	veyo	
			uḷal-		veu	
					vel-	
Ad.	--	--	veḷa	vaka	--	
Gl.	rain	rains	bracelet	bark	vine	
No.	11476	11491	11529		11529	11533
Sa.	vācyá	vātá	vāpī		vāpī	vāma
Pa.	--	vāta				vāma
Pr.	vacca	vāya	vāvī			vāma
Si.	vasa	vaha	vāva			--
	vā		vapī ¹¹⁰ vavi			
			veva (6th c.)			
			vää (10th c.)			
Dh.	vāhaka	vai	veyo		veu	vāt
			vevek			
Ad.	vāhaka	vai	veyo			vāt
Gl.	speech, story	wind, air	tank		pond	left-arm

¹¹⁰ Old Sinhala (Brahmi Inscription)

No.	11544	11580	11584	11592*	11616
Sa.	vāyú	vālukā	*vālguḍa	vāsa	vimśatī
Pa.	vāyu	vālukā	vagguli	vāsa	vīsati
Pr.	vāyu	vāluā	vagguli	vāsa	vīsā
Si.	--	vāli	vavulā	--	visi
Dh.	vai	veli	vau	vas	vihi
			vā		
			val-		
Ad.	vai	veli	vaula	vas	vihi
Gl.	rheumatism	sand	bat	fragrance	20
No.	11640	11640	11642	11701*	11703
Sa.	*vikriṇāti	*vikriṇāti	vikrīyatē	vījāyatē	*vijjhāyati
Pa.	vikkiṇāti	--	--	vijāyati	vijjhāyati
Pr.	vikkiṇāi	--	--	viāai	vijjhāi
Si.	vikṇenavā	vikṇnavā	--	--	--
Dh.	vikenī	vikkanī	vikkan	vihanī	vīdanī
Ad.	vikenī		vikāṣ	vehanī	lūdanī
Gl.	is sold	sells	to sell	bears	tears, destroys
No.	11735a	11739	11742	11745a	11759
Sa.	!viditā	viddhā	vidyút	!vidyōtatē	vīdhyati
Pa.	vidita-	viddha	vijju	vijjōtati	vijjhati
Pr.	vidiya-	viddha	vijju	vijjō(v)ia-	vijjhai
	viia-				
Si.	--	vidi	vidu	--	vidinavā
Dh.	viya	vidu	vidu	vidanī	videnī
Ad.	viya	balā	vidi	vidi jahanī	eḍagatī
Gl.	known	hole	lightning	lightens, sparkles	inserts itself

No.	11759	11773	11862	11862	11935	
Sa.	vídhyati	*vināti	*virīyatē	*virīyatē	vīśākhā	
Pa.		vināti	--		visākhā	
Pr.		viṇaṇa	virāi		visāhā	
Si.	viddanavā	--	viruṇu		visā	
			virenavā			
Dh.	viddanī	vinum	virenī	viruvanī	vihā	
Ad.		venai	viranī		vihā	
Gl.	pokes	weaving palm leaves	melts	melts (tr.)	a partic. asterism	
No.	11968	12056*	12064	12069	12096	12106
Sa.	viśá	vīrá	vṛkká	vṛttá	vēṇú	vēdanā́
Pa.	visa	vīra	vakka	vaṭṭa	vēṇu	vēdanā
Pr.	visa	vīra	--	vaṭṭa	vēnu	vēaṇā
Si.	vaha	viru	boku	vaṭa	uṇa	veyin
Dh.	viha	vīru	buk	vaṣ	onu	vēn
Ad.	veha	vīru	buk	vaṣa	oṇa	vēn
Gl.	poison	hero	breast	round	bamboo, reed, reed-pipe	great pain
No.	12132	12138*	12193	12225	12225	
Sa.	vēṣṭáyati	vaidūrya	vyāghrá	vrájati	vrájati	
Pa.	--	vēḷuriya	vaggha	vajati	--	
Pr.	veṭṭhida	vēluria	--	vayaī	--	
Si.	veḷanavā	veraḷu-mini	vaga	vadinavā	--	
Dh.	oḷanī	billūri	vagu	vannanī	vaddanī	
Ad.	veḍunai	billūri	vaga	vanai		
Gl.	rolls up, winds	glass	tiger	enters	admits	

No.	12233	12258	12263*	12290	12311	12337
Sa.	vrihí	šañká	šañkhá	šapátha	šám̐ba	šárkarā
Pa.	--	sañkā	sañkha	sapatha	--	sakkharā
Pr.	--	sañkā	sañkha	--	sa~ba	sakkarā
Si.	--	saka	saka	--	--	sakara
Dh.	vī	sakku	sangu	huvai	abu	akiri
Ad.	vī	sakku	sangu	huvai	aba	akiri
Gl.	paddy, rice-seed	doubt	conch	oath	wooden nail	pebble
No.	12347	12388	12393	12393	12459	12461
Sa.	šarkarā	šāna	šāpa	šāpa	šilá	šilāpaṭṭa
Pa.	--	sāṇa	sāpa	--	silā	silāpaṭṭa
Pr.	--	sāṇa	sāva	--	silā	--
Si.	hakuru	saṇa-gala	sāv	sāv	sal-a	--
Dh.	hakuru	hanu	huvā	ava	hila	hilaṇḍi
			huvai			
Ad.	hakuru	haṇa	huvai	--	hela	--
Gl.	jaggery, sugar	whetstone	oath	spell	stone	mill
No.	12466	12475	12495a	12497	12497	12504
Sa.	šilī	šīšira	!*šīrayati	šīrṣá	šīrṣá	šuktá
Pa.	--	sisira	--	sīsa	sīsa	--
Pr.	--	sisira	sīria	sissa	sissa	--
Si.	sella	sihil	iranavā	sis-a	ih-a	--
Dh.	ili	hihū	iranī	is	ihu	hut
		hihul-				
Ad.	ili	--	--	is	--	hut-
Gl.	wooden nail	cool	broken	head	firstly	sour

No.	12505	12520	12548	12552	12552	
Sa.	śukti	śuddhá	śúṣka	śuṣkati	śuṣkati	
Pa.	--	suddha	sukkha	sukkhita- sukkhati		
Pr.	sutti	suddha	sukka	sukkhāi		
Si.	sutu	hudu	hiku			
Dh.	itā	hudu	hiki	hikkanī	hikenī	
Ad.	itā	hudu	hiki	hikkanī		
Gl.	oyster	white	dry	bales (water)	is dry, constipated, gets thin	
No.	12567*	12575		12578	12588	12609
Sa.	śūnyá	śūla		śṛgālá	śṛṅgavēra	*śēyyā
Pa.	suñña	sūla		sigāla	siṅgivēra	seyyā
Pr.	suṇṇa	sūla		si(g)āla	siṅgavēra	sejjā
Si.	sun	ula		hival-	i ⁿ guru	ā ⁿ da
Dh.	sun	ū		hiyal	i ⁿ guru	e ⁿ du
	sum-	ul-				
Ad.	sun	ū		hiyal	i ⁿ giri	e ⁿ da
Gl.	zero	fork, pointed instrument		jackal	ginger	bed
No.	12618	12626*	12658*	12659	12699	12716
Sa.	*śō	śōddhum	śmaśāná	śmāśru	śrāvaṇa	śrūyātē
Pa.	--	--	susāna	massu	--	sūyati
Pr.	--	--	masāṇa	massū	sāvaṇa	--
Si.	--	--	sohona	masa	--	--
Dh.	hoi	hōdanī	mahāna	matimas	huvan	ivenī
Ad.	hoi	hōdanī	mahāna	matimas	huvan	ivenī
Gl.	hollow cylinder	searches for	grave	moustache	a part. asterism	is heard

No.	12716	12748	12774	12796*	12803
Sa.	śrūyātē	ślōka	śvētā	śaḍvimśati	śaś
Pa.	--	silōka	sēta	chabīsati	cha
Pr.	--	salōga	sēa	chavvīsam	cha
Si.	--	sova	sē	--	ha
Dh.	ivvanī	lava	heva hevā	sabbīs	ha
Ad.	--	lava	--	sabbīs	ha
Gl.	announces, asks	song, poem	white (of drinkable coconut)	26	6

No.	12804	12812*	12859	12899	12899
Sa.	śaśṭī	śōḍaśa	saṅghāṭa	!sāmdahati	!sāmdahati
Pa.	saṭṭhi	sōḷasa	saṅghāṭa	--	--
Pr.	saṭṭhī	sōḷā	saṅghāḍa	--	--
Si.	hāṭa	soḷas	a ⁿ gaḷa	--	--
Dh.	haṭṭi	sōḷa	a ⁿ goḷi	a ⁿ danī	andanī
Ad.	haṭṭi	sōḷa	a ⁿ goḷi	a ⁿ danī	--
Gl.	60	16	junction	burns(intr)	burns(trans)

No.	12961		13011	13043	13043
Sa.	sāmbharati		saṁvatsarā	saṁstarati	saṁstarati
Pa.	--		saṁvacchara	santharati	santharati
Pr.	saṁbharāi		saṁvacchara	saṁthraï	saṁthraï
Si.	a ^m baranavā		avurudda	--	--
Dh.	a ^m buranī		aharu	aturanī	etureni
Ad.	a ^m buranī		ahara	rāvanī	rāvanī
Gl.	twists, changes, translates		year	arranges	is spread

No.	13085	13128	13139	13142*	13143	13146*
Sa.	sájati	sanna	saptá	saptácatvā rimšat	saptatí	saptádaša
Pa.	--	--	satta	--	sattari sattati	sattadasa
Pr.	--	--	satta	sīyālīsa	sattarim	sattara
Si.	ha ⁿ dinavā a ⁿ dinavā	sin	hata	--	hätää hättääva	hataḷoha
Dh.	annanī	in	hat	satālīs	hattari	satāra
Ad.	annai	in	hat	satālīs	hattari	satāra
Gl.	wraps around, puts on	sat	7	47	70	17

No.	13148*	13157*	13160*	13173*	13197a
Sa.	saptanavati	saptāvīmšati	saptāšīti	samá	!sámasyati
Pa.	--	sattavīsati	--	sama	--
Pr.	sattāṇaūim	sattāvīsam	sattāsīim	sama	--
Si.	--	--	satāsu	sama	--
Dh.	satānavai	satāvīs hatāvīs	satāhi	hama	mehenī
Ad.	satānavai	hatāvīs	satāhi	hama	--
Gl.	97	27	87	laws, right, exact, true, just, simply	is united

No.	13222	13236	13239a	13307	13321
Sa.	samāsana	samudrá	*samūna	sahásra	sākṣin
Pa.	samāsana	samudda	--	sahassa	sakkhī
Pr.	--	samudda	--	sahassa	sakkhī
Si.	samahan	mūda	emunenī hamuṇanavā amuṇanavā	dās jahasa ¹¹¹	--
Dh.	mehenī	mūdu	amunanī	hās hāh-	heki
Ad.	--	--	amaṇanī	hās	heki
Gl.	is united	ocean	strings together	1000	witness
No.	13355	13385a	13432	13432	13432
Sa.	sāra	!simhaladvīpa	sīdati	sīdati	sīdati
Pa.	sāra	sīhala	sīdati	--	sīdati
Pr.	sāra	simhala	sīai	--	sīai
Si.	hara	heḷa	hi ⁿ dinavā	--	i ⁿ dinavā
Dh.	harē	oḷudū	bēindanī bēndanī	hunnan	innanī
Ad.	hara	oḷudū	bānī	--	hinnai
Gl.	hard (of coconut shell)	Ceylon	sets, detains	to sit	sits
No.	13432	13435	13454	13479	13495
Sa.	sīdati	sīmán	sugandha	suptá	*sumbha
Pa.	sīdati	sīmā	sugandha	sutta	--
Pr.	sīai	sīmā	suaṇdha	sutta	--
Si.	indanavā	ima him-a	suva ⁿ da	ot	--
Dh.	indanī	im-	huva ⁿ du	ot	obi
Ad.	--	im-	huva ⁿ da	ot	obi
Gl.	sets, plants	boundary	scented	placed	oilpress

¹¹¹ Old Sinhala

No.	13496	13520*	13544	13544*	13561
Sa.	sumbhati	suvaṇṇakāra	sūkará	sūkará	sūtra
Pa.	sumbhati	suvaṇṇakāra	sūkara	--	sutta
Pr.	--	suvaṇṇaāra	sūara	--	sutta
Si.	obanavā	suvaru	(h)ūrā suhuru ¹¹²	--	sū hū huya
Dh.	obanī	sunāru	ūru	--	ui
Ad.	obanī	sunāru	ūru	suvaru	ui
Gl.	presses, disappears	goldsmith	boar, wild pig	pig	thread
No.	13574	13641a	13656	13676	13682
Sa.	sūrya	!skámbhatē	*skupyatē	stabdha	stambha
Pa.	--	khambhēti	--	thaddha	thambha
Pr.	sūria	--	khuppaī	thaddha	thambha
Si.	ira	--	--	tada	ṭa ^m ba
Dh.	iru	ka ^m banī	koppanī	tat	ta ^m bu
Ad.	iri	ka ^m banī	kullanī	tat	ta ^m ba
Gl.	sun	punts	pushes	thick, sluggish	pillar, post
No.	13683	13683	13721	13753	13766
Sa.	stámbhate	stámbhate	stókya	sthána	sthālī
Pa.	--	--	--	ṭhāna	thālī
Pr.	thambhaī	--	thokka	thāṇa	thālī
Si.	tibanavā	tabanavā	ṭika	tan-a tān-a ṭāna ¹¹³	tāli-ya
Dh.	tibenī	tibbanī	tiki	tan	teli
Ad.	tibenī		tiki	tan	teli
Gl.	waits	places, clips	drop, dot	place, time	cooking-pot

¹¹² Old Sinhala¹¹³ Old Sinhala

No.	13794	13796	13817	13825	13825
Sa.	*snāru	*snāvara	sphāṭati	sphāṭayati	sphāṭayati
Pa.	nahāru	--	--	--	--
Pr.	ūhāru	--	--	phāḍēi	--
Si.	nāru	nahara-ya nāru	--	--	pālenavā
Dh.	nāru	nāru	faḷanī	faḷanī	feḷenī
Ad.	nāra	nāra	faḍanī	faḍanī	--
Gl.	sinew	sinew	shoots up (of plants)	chops, rips, unties (sails)	is torn
No.	13826	13842	13857	13889	13891
Sa.	sphāṭita	sphuṭāti	sphōṭayati	srōtas	*srōtra
Pa.	--	phuṭita	--	sōta	--
Pr.	phāḍia	phuḍāi	phōḍēi	sōa	sotta
Si.	--	--	poḷanavā	soya hoya oya	oya
Dh.	faḷi	foḷenī	foḷanī	oi	oi
Ad.	--	feḍenī	foḍanī	oi	oi
Gl.	sector, segment	blossoms	dusts, winnows	stream	--
No.	13902	13922	13937	14003	14018
Sa.	svāpati	svāti	hamsá	*halati	*hallati
Pa.	supati	--	hamsa	--	--
Pr.	su(v)aī	sāi	hamsa	--	hallaī
Si.	hōnavā hovinavā	sā	has	--	--
Dh.	onnanī	hei	rāda as	aḷanī	halanī
Ad.	onnai	- hei	rāda as	eḍanī	heluvanī
Gl.	lies down, remains	asterism	swan	moves	shakes

No.	14018	14024	14027	14029	14039
Sa.	*hallati	hásta	*hastakāra	hastatala	hastín
Pa.	--	hattha	--	hatthatala	hatthin
Pr.		hattha	hatthiyāram kar-	--	hatthi
Si.	--	at-a	--	atala	āt-a
Dh.	hallanī	at	hatiyāru	aitala	et
Ad.		at	hatyāra	atela	et
Gl.	vacillates	hand	weapon	palm	elephant

No.	14079	14108	14108	14110	14174*
Sa.	hiṅgú	hiyás	hiyás	híraṇya	hōḍa
Pa.	hiṅgu	hīyō		hirañña	--
Pr.	hiṅgu	hijjō		hiraṇṇa	--
Si.	--	īyē		ran	--
Dh.	hugu	iyye	īya	ran	oḍi
Ad.	hu ⁿ gu	iyye		ran	veḍi
Gl.	asafoetida	yesterday	yesterday	gold	large kind of boat

REFERENCES

- Apte, Vaman Shivram. 1884. *The Student's English-Sanskrit Dictionary*. Poona, India: Motilal Banarsidass Publishers Private Limited. Reprinted in 1993.
- Bell, H.C.P. 1919. Appendices. W. Geiger, *Maldivian Linguistic Studies, Journal of the Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* 27 (extra number), edited by H.C.P Bell. Reprinted in 1986. Malé, Maldives: National Centre for Linguistic and Historical Research.
- _____. 1922-35. Excerpta Maldiviana. *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society Ceylon Branch*, 29.75: 99-104, 29.76: 194-214, 29.77: 283-303, 30.78: 132-142, 30.79: 257-270, 30.80: 436-447, 31.81: 180-195, 31.82: 400-415, 31.83: 539-578, 32.84: 76-123, 32.85: 226-242, 32.86: 372-387, 33.87: 47-90. 33.88: 169-191. Reprinted as one volume in 1998. New Delhi: Asian Educational Services. Page references are to reprint edition.
- _____. 1940. *The Maldive Islands: Monograph on the History, Archaeology, and Epigraphy*. Colombo: Ceylon Government Press. Reprinted in 1985. Malé, Maldives: National Centre for Linguistic and Historical Research.
- Bloch, Jules. 1934. *L 'indoaryen du Véda aux temps modernes*. (*Indo-Aryan from the Vedas to Modern Times*.) Paris: Adrien-Maisonneuve.
- Bloch, Jules. 1965. *Indo-Aryan from the Vedas to Modern Times*. Trans. by A. Master. Paris: Adrien-Maisonneuve.
- Bubenik, Vit. 1996. *The Structure and Development of Middle Indo-Aryan Dialects*. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass Publishers.
- Cain, Bruce. 1995. Maldivian prototypical passives and related constructions. *Anthropological Linguistics* 37: 524-540.

- Cain, Bruce, and J. Gair. 1995. *Sinhala and Dhivehi comparative syntax: some questions about questions*. Paper presented at South Asia Linguistics Association XVII.
- Caldwell, Robert. 1875. *A Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian or South-Indian Family of Languages*. Reprinted in 1976. Madras: University of Madras.
- Carter, Charles, and D.E. Hettiaratchi. 1936. *An English-Sinhalese Dictionary*. Colombo: Ceylon Observer Press. Reprinted in 1993. New Delhi: Asian Educational Services.
- Chitty, S.C. 1830. On the affinity between Maldivian and Sinhalese languages. *Ceylon Government Gazette*, December 11, 1830.
- Chung, Sandra and Alan Timberlake. 1985. Tense, aspect, mood. In *Language Typology and Syntactic Description, Vol 3: Grammatical Categories and the Lexicon*, ed. by T. Shopen. 202-258. Cambridge University Press.
- Coates, W.A., and M.W.S. De Silva. 1961. The segmental phonemes of Sinhala. *University of Ceylon Review* 18.3-4: 163-175.
- De Silva, M.W.S. 1969. The phonological efficiency of the Maldivian writing system. *Anthropological Linguistics* 11.7: 199-209.
- _____. 1970a. Some affinities between Sinhalese and Maldivian. *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society (Ceylon Branch)*, n.s. 14: 20-27.
- _____. 1970b. Some observations on the history of Maldivian. *Transactions of the Philological Society of London*, 1970.
- _____. 1979. *Sinhalese and Other Island Languages in South Asia*. *Ars Linguistica* 3. Tübingen: Gunter Narr Verlag.

- Dhivehi Bahuge Gavaaidhu.* (Grammar of the Dhivehi Language). 1984. Published in four volumes. Malé, Maldives: National Centre for Linguistic and Historical Research.
- Dhivehi Bas Foiy.* (Dhivehi language book). 1985-1991. Malé, Maldives: National Centre for Linguistic and Historical Research.
- Disanayake, J.B. 1986. Maldivian and Sinhala: some phonological observations. *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society (Sri Lanka)*. 30: 81-100.
- Disanayake, J.B. and Hasan A. Maniku. 1986. Isdhoo Loamaafaanu. *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Sri Lanka*, 32.
- Disanayake, J.B. and G.W. Wijayawardhana. 1987. Some observations on the Maldivian Loamaafaanu copper plates of the twelfth century. *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Sri Lanka*, 31: 62-71.
- Elizarenkova, T. 1972. Influence of Dravidian phonological system on Sinhalese. *International Journal of Dravidian Linguistics*, 1: 2, 126-137.
- Fairbanks, G.H., J.W. Gair, and M.W.S. De Silva. 1968. *Colloquial Sinhalese*. 2 parts. Cornell University: South Asia Program.
- Fox, Anthony. 1995. *Linguistic Reconstruction: An Introduction to Theory and Method*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Fritz, Sonja. 1993. Wilhelm Geigers Beitrag zur Erforschung des Dhivehi, der Staatssprache der Malediven. (Wilhelm Geiger's Contribution to Research on Dhivehi, the Official Language of the Maldives.) *Munchener-Studien-zur-Sprachwissenschaft* 54: 15-32.
- Fuller, Simon. 1985. Dhivehi-English Dictionary and English-Dhivehi Dictionary. 2 vols. Ms.

- Gair, J.W. 1968. Sinhalese diglossia. *Anthropological Linguistics*, 10.8.1-15.
- _____. 1970. *Colloquial Sinhalese Clause Structure*. Mouton, The Hague.
- _____. 1976. The verb in Sinhala, with some preliminary remarks on Dravidianization. *International Journal of Dravidian Linguistics* 5:2, 259-273.
- _____. 1982. Sinhala, an Indo-Aryan isolate. *South Asian Review* 6 (3): 51-64.
- _____. 1985. How Dravidianized was Sinhala phonology: some conclusions and cautions. Veneeta Z. Acson and Richard L. Leed (eds.), *Festschrift for Gordon H. Fairbanks, Oceanic Linguistics Special Publication* 20: 37-55. University of Hawaii Press.
- _____. 1986. Sinhala focused sentences: naturalization of a calque. In *South Asian Languages: Structure, Convergence And Diglossia*, ed. by Bh. Krishnamurti et al. 147-164. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass.
- _____. 1988. Sinhala. In *The Oxford International Encyclopedia of Linguistics*, ed. by William Bright. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- _____. 1994. Universals and the South-South Asian language area. Paper presented at SALA XVI.
- Gair, James W. and W.S. Karunatilaka. 1976. *Literary Sinhala Inflected Forms: A Synopsis*. Ithaca, New York: Cornell University South Asia Program and Department of Modern Languages and Linguistics.
- Gair, James W., S. Suseendrarajah, and W.S. Karunatilaka. 1978. *An Introduction to Spoken Tamil*. Sri Lanka: External Services Agency, University of Sri Lanka.

- Gair, James W. and Bruce D. Cain. 1996. Dhivehi writing. In *The World's Writing Systems*, ed. by Peter T. Daniels and William Bright. Oxford Press.
- Geiger, Wilhelm. 1900-1902. *Máldivische Studien I-III. Sitzungsberichte der phil.-hist. der Kgl. Bayer.* 3 vols. Akademie der Wissenschaften. Munich.
- _____. 1902. Etymological vocabulary of the Maldivian language. *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, Great Britain and Ireland.* 1902 (third series). 909-938.
- _____. 1919. Maldivian linguistic studies. (trans. of *Máldivian Studien* by J.C. Willis), *Journal of the Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* 27 (extra number), edited by H.C.P. Bell. Reprinted in 1986. Malé, Maldives: National Centre for Linguistic and Historical Research.
- _____. 1935. Sinhalese language and literature. In *A Dictionary of the Sinhalese Language*, eds. D.B. Jayatilaka et al. Colombo: The Royal Asiatic Society, Ceylon Branch.
- _____. 1938. *A Grammar of the Sinhalese Language.* Colombo, Sri Lanka: The Royal Asiatic Society, Ceylon Branch. Reprinted in 1995. New Delhi: Asia Educational Services.
- _____. 1941. *An Etymological Glossary of the Sinhalese Language.* Colombo, Sri Lanka: The Royal Asiatic Society, Ceylon Branch. Reprinted in 1997. New Delhi: Asian Educational Services.
- Ghatage, A.M. 1970. Marathi of Kasargod. *Indian Linguistics* 31.4: 138-144.
- Gray, Albert. 1878. The Maldiv Islands with a vocabulary taken from Francois Pyrard de Laval, 1602-1607. *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, new series, 10: 181-182.

- ____ (tr.). 1883. Ibn Batuta in the Maldives and Ceylon. (Translated from the French of MM. Defremery and Sanguinetti.) *Journal of the Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, extra no. Reprinted in 1996. New Delhi: Asian Educational Services.
- ____ (ed. and tr.), assisted by H.C.P. Bell. 1889. *The Voyage of Francois Pyrard of Laval . Vol. 1-2*. London: Hakluyt Society.
- Greenberg, Joseph H. 1957. *Essays in Linguistics*. Viking Fund Publications in Anthropology, Number Twenty-Four. New York: Wenner-Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research, Inc.
- Gunasekara, A.M. 1891. *A Comprehensive Grammar of the Sinhalese Language*. Colombo: Ceylon Government Press. Reprinted in 1986. New Delhi: Asian Educational Services.
- Hayes, Bruce. 1989. Compensatory lengthening in moraic phonology. *Linguistics Inquiry* 20.253-306.
- Heyerdahl, Thor. 1986. *The Maldive Mystery*. Bethesda, Maryland: Adler and Adler Publishers, Inc.
- Hock, H. 1986. Compensatory lengthening: in defense of the concept 'mora'. *Folia Linguistica* 20.431-460.
- Hock, Hans Henrich and Brian D. Joseph. 1996. *Language History, Language Change, and Language Relationship: An Introduction to Historical and Comparative Linguistics*. New York: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Hume, Elizabeth V. 1992. *Front Vowels, Coronal Consonants and Their Interaction in Nonlinear Phonology*. Ph.D. dissertation. Cornell University.
- Inman, Michael V. 1993. *Semantics and Pragmatics of Colloquial Sinhala Involitive Verbs*. Ph.D. dissertation. Stanford, CA: Stanford University.

- Institute for Teacher Education. 1991. *Glossary: English-Dhivehi, Dhivehi-English*. Malé, Maldives: Institute for Teacher Education.
- Karunatillake, W.S. 1966. *A Brief Sketch of Sinhalese Phonology and Morphology*. ms., Cornell University.
- _____. 1969. *Historical Phonology of Sinhalese: From Old Indo-Aryan to the 14th Century A.D.* Ph.D. dissertation, Cornell University.
- _____. 1981. Umlaut in Sinhala. *Indian Journal of Linguistics* 8.2.
- _____. 1988. Sinhala word phonology. *Kalyānī*. Vol. VII, VIII 1988-1989: 224-251.
- _____. 1991. *Sinhala Etymological Index*. Kelaniya, Sri Lanka: Department of Linguistics, University of Kelaniya.
- _____. 1998. *An Introduction to Spoken Sinhala*. 2nd edition. Colombo: M.D. Gunasena and Co., Ltd.
- Keating, Patricia A. 1991. Coronal places of articulation. In *The Special Status of Coronals: Internal and External Evidence*, ed. by C. Paradis and J.-F. Prunet. 29-48. San Diego, CA: Academic Press.
- Keenan, Edward L. 1985. Relative clauses. In *Language Typology and Syntactic Description, Vol 2: Complex Constructions*, ed. T. Shopen. 141-170. Cambridge.
- Ladefoged, Peter. 1993. *A Course in Phonetics*. Third edition. New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich College Publishers.
- Letterman, Rebecca. 1997. *The Effects of Word-Internal Prosody in Sinhala: a Constraint-Based Analysis*. Ph.D. dissertation, Cornell University.

- Loamaafaanu: Transliteration, Translation and Notes on Paleography, Vol. 1.* 1982. National Centre for Linguistic and Historical Research.
- Longacre, Robert E. 1985. Sentences as combinations of clauses. In *Language Typology and Syntactic Description, Vol 2: Complex Constructions*, ed. by T. Shopen. 235-286. Cambridge.
- Mahaathera, A.P. Buddhadatta. 1957. *Concise Pali-English Dictionary*. Colombo. Reprinted in 1994. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass Publishers.
- Maitipe, Sirisena. 1998. *Sinhalese-English Pocket Dictionary*. Colombo: M.D. Gunasena.
- Maloney, Clarence. 1980. *People of the Maldive Islands*. Madras: Orient Longman.
- Maniku, Hassan Ahmed. 1995. Minun. (Measurement). *Vanavaru* no. 5.
- Maniku, Hassan Ahmed, and J.B. Disanayake. 1990. *Say it in Maldivian (Dhivehi)*. Colombo: Lake House Publishers.
- Maniku, Hassan A., and G.D. Wijayawardhana. 1986. *Isdhoo Loamaafaanu*. Colombo: Royal Asiatic Society of Sri Lanka.
- Masica, Colin P. 1991. *The Indo-Aryan Languages*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- McCarthy, J. 1988. Feature geometry and dependency: a review. *Phonetica* 45.2: 84-108.
- McCrindle, J.W. 1897. The Christian topography of Cosmas. *Hakluyt Society I*, 98, p. 364.
- Mudiyanse, Nandasena. 1967. *Mahayana Monuments in Ceylon*. Colombo, Sri Lanka: M.D. Gunasena.

- Paradis, C. and J.-F. Prunet (eds.). 1991. *The Special Status of Coronals: Internal and External Evidence*. San Diego, CA: Academic Press.
- Paranavitana, S. 1956. *Sigiri Graffiti*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Payne, Thomas E. 1997. *Describing Morphosyntax: A Guide for Field Linguists*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Perlmutter, David M. and Paul M. Postal. 1983. Toward a universal characterization of passivization. In *Studies in Relational Grammar, 1*, edited by David M. Perlmutter. 3-29. Chicago: University of Chicago.
- Phadnis, U., and E.D. Luithui. 1985. *Maldives-- Winds of Change in An Atoll State*. New Delhi: South Asian Publishers.
- Pischel, R. 1900. *A Grammar of the Prakrit Languages*. Trans. by Subhadra Jhā. Revised edition. 1981. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass.
- Premaratne, Asoka C. 1986. *The Verb in Early Sinhalese (From 3rd Century B.C. to the 10th Century A.D.)*. Ph.D. dissertation, School of Oriental and African Studies, London.
- Prince, A. and Paul Smolensky. 1993. *Optimality Theory*. Unpublished manuscript.
- Pyrard, Francois. 1619. *Voyage de Francois Pyrard of Laual contenant sa navigation aux Indes Orientales, Maldives, Moluques, Bresil...avec la description des pays...* Third edition. Paris: Sael Thibovst and Remy Dallin.
- Reynolds, C.H.B. 1974. Buddhism and the Maldivian language. In *Buddhist Studies in Honour of I.B. Horner*, eds. L. Cousins et al. 193-198. Dordrecht-Holland: D. Reidel Publishing Co.

- _____. 1978. Linguistic strands in the Maldives. In *Contributions to Asian Studies, Vol. II: Language and Civilization Change in South Asia*, ed. C. Maloney. 156-166. Leiden: E.J. Brill.
- _____. 1993. *Maldives*. World Bibliographical Series Volume 158. Oxford: Clio Press.
- Saeed, Bodufenvahugey Seedhee. 1959. *Dhivehi Akuru (Dhivehi Letters)*. Malé, Maldives.
- Sapir, Edward. 1921. *Language*. New York: Harcourt Brace World.
- Saudiq, Abdullah. 1993. *Bahuge Hamaige Aiyimatee Foiy (Handbook on Correct Language)*. Malé, Maldives: National Centre for Linguistic and Historical Research.
- Shahidulla, M. 1933. The first Aryan colonization of Ceylon. *Indian Historical Quarterly* 9: 742-750.
- Shishido, Masahiro. 1985. English Dhivehi Dictionary. Malé, Maldives: Japan Overseas Co-operation Volunteers (JOCV). Photocopied.
- Silva, M.H. 1961. *Influence of Dravidian on Sinhalese*. Ph.D. dissertation, Oxford.
- Skjølsvold, Arne. 1991. Archaeological test-excavations on the Maldivian islands. *The Kon-Tiki Museum Occasional Papers, Vol. 2*. Oslo.
- Southworth, Franklin C. 1971. Detecting prior creolization: an analysis of the historical origins of Marathi. In *Pidginization and Creolization of Languages*, ed. Dell Hymes. 255-273. Cambridge University Press.
- Statistical Yearbook of Maldives. 1991. Ministry of Planning and Environment. Malé, Maldives.

- Turner, R.L. 1966-1971. *A Comparative Dictionary of the Indo-Aryan Languages*. Vols. 1-2. London: Oxford University Press.
- Vitharana, V. 1997. *Sri-Lankan Maldivian Cultural Affinities*. Mattegodagama, Polgasovita, Sri Lanka: Academy of Sri Lankan Culture.
- Whitney, William Dwight. 1889. *Sanskrit Grammar*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press.
- Wijayaratne, D.J. 1956. *History of the Sinhalese Noun: A Morphological Study Based on Inscriptions*. University of Ceylon.
- Wijayawardhana, G., Daya Wickramasinghe, and Theodora Bynon. 1991. Passive-related constructions in Colloquial Sinhala. ms. To appear in *Valency, Voice, and Control*, eds. David C. Bennett, George Hewitt, and Theodora Bynon.
- Wijesundera, S., G.D. Wiyayawardhana, J.B. Disayanaka, H.A. Manik, and M. Luthfie. 1988. *Historical and Linguistic Survey of Dhivehi: Final Report*. University of Colombo. Photocopied.
- Wilson, J. 1841. Vocabulary of the Maldivian language, compiled by Lieut. W. Christopher. *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* 6: 42-76.
- Wright, James C. 1985. *A Comparative Dictionary of the Indo-Aryan Languages, Vol. 3: Addenda and Corrigenda*. London: School of Oriental and African Studies.
- Zvelebil, Kamil V. 1990. *Dravidian Linguistics: An Introduction*. Pondicherry, India: Pondicherry Institute of Linguistics and Culture.