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Towards a Historical Phonology of Maldivian

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Among the modern Indo-Aryan languages, Dhivehi, the language of the Maldivian Islands, is peculiar in many respects. Although it has been generally accepted that Maldivian is most closely related to Sinhalese, both the mutual relationship of these two languages and their position within the Indo-Aryan phylum are still far from being clear¹. Given that there are no reliable records whatsoever that could tell us about the migration(s) leading to the inhabitation of the Maldivian Islands, and given that written tradition within the Maldives begins as late as the 12th century A.D. only², many centuries after the period when the first settlement must have taken place, historical linguistics is the only field of investigation that we can expect to gain evidence from. In the present article, we shall try to demonstrate to what extent the historical development of Maldivian word forms can be traced back to their Old Indo-Aryan bases by assuming regular sound changes arranged in a relative chronology, and what obstacles we meet with while trying to establish this.

One set of Dhivehi words the etymological background of which is especially easy to reveal is the names of the days of the week. In today's standard language, their list is as follows³:

Sunday	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday	Saturday
<i>āditta</i>	<i>hōma</i>	<i>aṅgāra</i>	<i>buda</i>	<i>burāsfati</i>	<i>hukuru</i>	<i>honihiru</i>

There can be no doubt that these forms reflect the names of the sun, the moon and the five visible planets which were used, in compounds containing *-vāra-* “time of”, to denote the seven days of the week in Sanskrit as well⁴ and which we find, e.g., beautifully arranged in the second book of the Mahābhārata (M 2,11,19-22):

¹ A first account of the etymology of Dhivehi words was published by W. GEIGER (Etymological Vocabulary of the Maldivian Language, in: JRAS 1902, 909-938) who also wrote the first grammar of the language (Maldivian Linguistic Studies, trl. by J.C. WILLIS, ed. by H.C.P. BELL, in: JCBRAS 27, Extra Number, 1919 / Repr. Male 1986). The present study is the result of field work which was carried out by us during several trips to the Maldives between 1987 and 1999. An exhaustive treatise of the Maldivian language and its dialects, based on a habilitation thesis of Heidelberg, 1997, with the German title “Deskriptive Grammatik des Maldivischen [Dhivehi] und seiner Dialekte unter Berücksichtigung der sprachhistorischen Entwicklung”, will soon be published by S. FRITZ.

² The first survey about Maldivian written documents was published by H.C.P. BELL in: The Maldivian Islands. Monograph on the history, archeology, and epigraphy. Colombo 1940. For a short account cf. J. GIPPERT, in: Studia Iranica, Mesopotamica et Anatolica 2, 1996 [1997], 77 ff. A corpus of Maldivian epigraphical and manuscript sources is at present being prepared for publication.

³ The list is given, e.g., in H.A. MANIKU / J.B. DISANAYAKA, Say it in Maldivian (Dhivehi), Colombo 1990, 131, in a simplified romanized spelling and with the word *duvas* “day” added to each of the names.

⁴ MONIER-WILLIAMS, 943 s.v. 2.vāra gives the following list: *Āditya-*, *Soma-*, *Mangala-*, *Bud^a-*, *Guru*, *Śukra-*, and *Śani-v(āra-)*; *aṅgāraka-vāra* “Tuesday”, *bṛhaspati-vāra* “Jupiter’s day, Thursday”, and *Śanaiś-cara-vāra* “Saturday” are nevertheless registered in the dictionary (s.vv. *aṅgāraka-* “charcoal” / Mars, *bṛhas-pāti-*, *śanaiś-cara* “walking or moving slowly” / Saturn).

āyānti tasyām sahitā
 vimśatiḥ saptacaivānye
 śukro brhaspatiścaiva
 śanaiścaraśca rāhuśca
 mantrō rat̥am̐taraścaiva
 ādityāḥ sād̐irājāno

gand^harvāpsarasas ta^hā
 lokapālāśca sarvaśaḥ
 bud^ho 'ṅāraka eva ca
 grahāḥ sarve ta^haiva ca
 harimān vasumān api
 nānā dvamdvair udāhrtāḥ

“To it (the heavenly Assembly Hall), Gandharvas and Apsarās go together as do the twenty seven other guardians of the world (i.e. the *nakṣatras*, cf. below), (and) **Venus** and **Jupiter**, as well as **Mercury** and **Mars**, and **Saturn** as well as Rāhu⁵, all the planets in the same way, (and) also the (Vedic) Mantra and the Rathantara (Sāman)

as well as Harimat and Vasumat,

(and) the Ādityas with their ruler (Āditya, the sun-god), (and) those (gods) that are called by double-names ...”

Confronting the Dhivehi words with the Sanskrit names as present in this arrangement, we will immediately note some typical divergences that can be regarded as regular sound correspondences. This holds true, e.g., for the treatment of word-initial sibilants which in Dhivehi are replaced by *h*- throughout:

Sun	Moon	Mars	Mercury	Jupiter	Venus	Saturn
(ādityaḥ)	(somaḥ)	aṅgārakaḥ	bud ^h aḥ	brhaspatiḥ	śukraḥ	śanaiścaraḥ
āditta	hōma	aṅgāra	buda	burasfati	hukuru	honihipu

The same treatment will be seen in the Dhivehi outcome of Skt. *sapta* “seven”, which is *hay* in today’s standard language.

There are many other features of the names in question, however, which prove that they do not reflect a plain, undisturbed development from Old Indic via some Middle Indo-Aryan (Prakrit) stage into modern Dhivehi but that they must have been (re)introduced secondarily as learned sanskritisms. This holds true, e.g., for the long *ā*-vowel present in *āditta* and *aṅgāra*. The preservation of this vowel is contradictory to a great mass of words which show that Old Indic long vowels must have been shortened at a very early stage of the development of Dhivehi⁶ so that they are reflected by short vowels in this language regularly; cp. the following examples: Skt. *grāma*- “village” > Dh. *gan* (in older records *gamu*), Skt. *rāṣṭra*- “country” > Dh. *ra*’ “land, island” (older *raṭu*), Skt. *rājā* “king” > Dh. *ras*, Skt. *st^hāna*- “place” > Dh. *tan* (older *tanu*), Skt. *catvāraḥ* “four” > Dh. *hataru*, Skt. *sīma*- “boundary” > Dh. *in* (older *himu*, *imu*), Skt. *kṣīra*- “milk” > Dh. *kiru*. Wherever Dhivehi has long vowels today, these can have arisen secondarily only, by contraction as in *mā* “huge” < *mahā* (with loss of *-h-*), *dū* “island” < *dvīpa*- (via older *divu*, *duvu*)⁷, *gū* “excrements” <

⁵ According to Indic astronomy, this is a demon planet causing eclipsis.

⁶ S.P. PARANAVITANA has shown that the same assumption has to be made for Sinhalese: Sigiri Graffiti, Oxford e.a. 1956, vol. I, LXI ff.

⁷ Dh. *dū* is no longer used as a common noun but occurs in very many names of islands and atolls such as *aḍḍū*, name of the southernmost atoll, lit. “eight-island(-atoll)”, < **aṣṭa-dvīpa*-.

gūṭ^ha- (via **guvu*), or *rīti* “beautiful” < *rieti* << **rūpa- asti(-)*, lit. “there is beauty”. On this basis, Dh. *rājjē* meaning the “state” or “country” can clearly be seen to be a mot savant too (< *rājye*, L. of *rājya-*, or from a Prakrit Nom. *rājye?*).

Another peculiarity of the names in question is the treatment of final syllables. As can be seen from the counterexamples cited above, the usual reflex of Sanskrit final syllables is Dh. *-u*, disappearing after nasals and voiceless consonants within the period of written tradition. This is true for the ending *-am* of Skt. thematic neutres which must be seen in, e.g., *gamu* > *gam* > *gan*, << *grāmam*, or *raṭu* > *raṭ* > *ra’*, << *rāṣṭram*, as well as for other stems and endings such as *-o* (or *-ah* ?) to be assumed for *hataru* (< *catvāro* / *-ah*) or *-ā* as present in nom. *rājā* which must be the basis of *ras*. There are only very few conditions under which Dh. re-developed a wordfinal *-a*; Dh. *hiya* “100” < *śatam* and *diya* “sea (level)” < Skt. *udakam* show that this happened where **-iyu* would have to be expected in wordfinal position. Considering all this, only *hukuru* (from *śukrah*, *śukro*) and *hoṇihiru* (from *śanaiścaraḥ*, *-o*) seem to attest the expected development of final vowels within our list.

The names for Wednesday and Thursday reveal another peculiarity in showing the plain (non-geminate) stops of Skt. *bud^ha-* and (*brhas-*)*pati-* unaltered. Although Dh. *f* is the regular outcome of word-initial *p-* as in *fay* < older *patu* < Skt. *patra-* “leaf” or *fen* < older *penu* < Skt. *pānīya-* “(drinking) water”, we find a clear counterexample showing that *burasfati* does not correspond to the sound laws, in the title of the highest military rank, *henevi*, which reflects Skt. *senāpati-* and which shows no consonantal reflex of Skt. *-t-* at all. The general rule can be stated as follows: Old Indic single stops in intervocalic position were, by lenition, first reduced to *y*, *v*, or nothing (leaving hiatus), later leading to vowel contraction as in the examples *dū* (< *dvīpa-*, via *divu*) or *gū* (< *gūṭ^ha-*, via **guvu*) cited above. There is only one class of stops that escapes this rule, viz. cerebrals: The *-ṭ-* we find in Skt. *kukkuṭa-* “cock” is preserved as a retroflex *ḷ* in *kukulu* “hen”.

This latter word witnesses to another general rule as well: Where Dhivehi shows single intervocalic stops, these must have resulted from earlier geminates. In this way, we find a “correct” Dh. *budu* resulting from Old Indic *budd^ha-* (and thus contrasting with secondary *buda* “Wednesday” which substitutes a regular **bū* < **buvu* < *bud^ha-*), but also a great lot of examples with secondary geminates such as *raṭu* (> modern *ra’*) < *rāṣṭra-* via Middle Indic **raṭto*, *atu* “hand” (> modern *ay*) < *hasta-* via Middle Indic **hat^ho*, or *eti* “there is, there being” < **asti(-)* via Middle Indic **att^hi(-)*. Considering these latter examples, we can assume that Skt. *brhaspati-* would first have developed into something like **buhappayī*⁸ which, if treated regularly, would most probably have led to Dh. **bofi*; this means that in *burasfati*, the *-f-* can be taken as regular (reflecting the secondary geminate *-pp-*), but not the *-t-*⁹.

In order to gain further insight into the sound changes leading to Dhivehi and their relative chronology, let us have a look into another field of words that is quite peculiar in this respect, viz. the names of the so-called lunar mansions, i.e. asterisms

⁸ Cp. Prakrit forms such as *buhappāi* mentioned in Pischel-Jha, § 212.

⁹ For the other sound changes involved cf. below.

used for lunar-based time-reckoning in India since Vedic times. The general designation of these asterisms in Dhivehi is *nakay*, a regular outcome of Skt. *nakṣatram* (via **nakk^hatta* > **nakatu*). The list which is in use at present can be established as follows¹⁰:

Dh.	<i>keti</i>	<i>rōnu</i>	<i>miahelia</i>	<i>ada</i>	<i>funōs</i>	<i>fus</i>	<i>ahuliha</i>	<i>mā</i>	<i>fura</i>
begins	6.5.	20.5.	3.6.	17.6.	1.7.	15.7.	29.7.	11.8.	24.8.
Dh.	<i>utura</i>	<i>ata</i>	<i>hita</i>	<i>hei</i>	<i>vihā</i>	<i>nora</i>	<i>doṣa</i>	<i>mula</i>	<i>furahaḷa</i>
begins	7.9.	21.9.	4.10.	18.10.	1.11.	14.11.	27.11.	10.12.	23.12.
Dh.	<i>uturahaḷa</i>	<i>huvan</i>	<i>dinaṣa</i>	<i>hiyavihā</i>	<i>furabaduruva</i>	<i>fasbaduruva</i>	<i>rēva</i>	<i>assida</i>	<i>burunu</i>
begins	6.1.	19.1.	1.2.	14.2.	27.2.	12.3.	26.3.	8.4.	22.4.

By comparing this with the several lists of lunar mansions preserved in Vedic tradition (AV 19,7,1-5 with the so-called Nakṣatra Kalpa; TS 4,4,10,1; MS 2,13,20, KS 39,13; TB 1,5,1; ŚāṅkhGS 1,26)¹¹, it can easily be shown that Dhivehi preserved both the sequence and the names in a peculiar way. The list that is most similar to the one we have in Dhivehi is that of the Atharvaveda where the names are arranged in a versified environment¹²:

citrāni sākāṃ divī rocanāni
**aṣṭāvīmśaṃ sumatīm icc^hāmāno*
*suhāvaṃ *me kṛtikā rōhiṇī ca_*
pūnarvasū sūnṛtā cāru puṣyō
pūnyam pūrvā p^hālgunyaw cātra hāstaś
**rād^ho viśāk^he suhāvānurād^hā*
ānnaṃ pūrvā rāsantām me aṣāḍ^hā
ab^hijīn me rāsantām pūnyam evā
ā me mahāc c^hatāb^hiṣag vārīya
ā revātī cāśvayūjau b^hāgaṃ ma

sarīsrpāni b^hūvane javāni |
āhāni gīrb^htī saparyāmi nākam ||1||
_āstu b^hādrām mṛgāśīrah śām ādrā |
b^hānūr āśleśā āyanam mag^hā me ||2||
*citrā śivā *svātīh suk^hō me astu |*
*vyēṣṭ^hā sunākṣatram *āriṣṭam mūlam ||3||*
*ūrjam *yé *hy *uttara ā vahantu |*
śrāvaṇah śrāvīṣṭ^hāh kurvatām supuṣṭīm ||4||
ā me dvayā prōṣṭ^hāpadā suśārma |
ā me rayīm b^hāraṇya ā vahantu ||5||

¹⁰ A first comprehensive treatise of the Dhivehi lunar mansions was published by Hassan Ahmed MANIKU under the title *Nakay* as vol. 2 of the series *Vanavaru*, Māle' 1988 (cp. also H.A. MANIKU / J.B. DISANAYAKE, Say it in Maldivian (Dhivehi), Colombo 1990, 135). The list given below was verified with the help of Mr. Hassan SAEED, Hitadū, during field work in 1993 and 1999. H.A. MANIKU's list begins with *assida*, the first lunar mansion of the *hulaṅgu* season, i.e. the season of South-West Monsoon (April to December); it was rearranged here to match with the Old Indic lists treated below. The transfer of the beginning of the series by two asterisms (to the west) represents a (younger) tradition shared by Indic and Arabic astronomy, cf. W.D. WHITNEY, *Oriental and Linguistic Studies*, vol. 2, 421.

¹¹ For a survey of Vedic traditions on the *nakṣatras*, cf. A.A. MACDONELL / A.B. KEITH, *Vedic Index of Names and Subjects*, London 1912 / Repr. Delhi 1982, vol. 1, 413 ff. For easy convenience, the lists of TS, MS, KS, TB, and ŚāṅkhGS are reproduced in transcription at the end of the present article. The list contained in the so-called Nakṣatra-Kalpa, one of the *Parīśiṣṭas* of the Atharva-Veda, is basically identical with the one given in the *Samhitā* (Śaunaka) text; cf. the edition in *The Parīśiṣṭas of the Atharvaveda*, ed. G.M. BOLLING / J.v. NEGELEIN, vol. I, Leipzig 1909, 3 ff. (*Parīśiṣṭa I*).

¹² Text according to the edition in *Atharva Veda Sanhita*, hrsg.v. R. ROTH / W.D. WHITNEY, 3. Aufl., Bonn 1966, 356 (with editors' emendations marked with an asterisk); translation according to *Atharva-Veda-Samhitā*, trl. with critical and exegetical commentary by W.D. WHITNEY, rev. and ed. by Ch.R. LANMAN, Cambridge, Mass. 1905 / Repr. Delhi 1984, 2nd half, 906 ff. (the spelling of the Sanskrit words contained in the translation was adapted to present-day transcription usage).

“Seeking favor of the twenty-eight-fold (?) wondrous ones, shining in the sky together, ever-moving, hasting in the creation, I worship with songs the days, the firmament. Easy of invocation for me [be] the Kṛttikās and Rohiṇī; be Mṛgaśiras excellent, [and] Ārdrā healthful; be the two Punarvasus pleasantness, Pushya what is agreeable, the Āśleṣās light, the Maghās progress [for me]. Be the former Phalgunīs and Hasta here auspicious; be Citrā propitious, and Svāti easy for me; be the two Viśākhās bestowal, Anurādhā easy of invocation, Jyeṣṭha a good asterism, Mūla uninjured. Let the former Aṣādhās give me food; let the latter ones bring refreshment; let Abhijit give me what is auspicious; let Śravaṇa [and] the Śraviṣṭhās make good prosperity. Let Śatabhisaj [bring] to me what is great widely; let the double Proṣṭhapadās [bring] to me good protection; let Revatī and the two Aśvayuj [bring] fortune to me; let the Bharanīs bring to me wealth.”

On the basis of this list, we can establish the following equivalences in comparison with the items of the other Vedic lists indicated¹³:

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Dh.	<i>keti</i>	<i>rōnu</i>	<i>miahelia</i>	<i>ada</i>	<i>funōs</i>	<i>fus</i>	<i>ahuliha</i>
AV	<i>kṛttikāḥ</i>	<i>rōhiṇī</i>	<i>mṛgāśiraḥ</i>	<i>ārdrā</i>	<i>púnarvasū</i>	<i>puṣyāḥ</i>	<i>āśleṣāḥ</i>
TS	<i>kṛttikāḥ</i>	<i>rōhiṇī</i>	<i>mṛgaśīrṣām</i>	<i>ārdrā</i>	<i>púnarvasūt</i>	<i>tiṣyāḥ</i>	<i>āśreṣāḥ</i>
MS	<i>kṛttikāḥ</i>	<i>rōhiṇī</i>	<i>invagā</i>	<i>bāhūḥ</i>	<i>púnarvasuḥ</i>	<i>tiṣyāḥ</i>	<i>āśleṣāḥ</i>
KS	<i>kṛttikāḥ</i>	<i>rōhiṇī</i>	<i>invakā</i>	<i>bāhūḥ</i>	<i>púnarvasuḥ</i>	<i>tiṣyāḥ</i>	<i>āśleṣāḥ</i>
TB	<i>kṛttikāḥ</i>	<i>rohiṇī</i>	<i>invakā</i>	<i>bāhū</i>	<i>púnarvasū</i>	<i>tiṣyāḥ</i>	<i>āśreṣāḥ</i>
ŚGS	<i>kṛttikāḥ</i>	<i>rohiṇī</i>	<i>mṛgaśiraḥ</i>	<i>ārdrāḥ</i>	<i>punarvasū</i>	<i>puṣyāḥ</i>	<i>aśleṣāḥ</i>
	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
Dh.	<i>mā</i>	<i>fura</i>	<i>utura</i>	<i>ata</i>	<i>hita</i>	<i>hei</i>	<i>vihā</i>
AV	<i>mag^hāḥ</i>	<i>pūrvā</i>		<i>hástah</i>	<i>citrā</i>	<i>svātīḥ</i>	<i>viśāk^he</i>
		<i>p^hālgun^{yau}</i>					
TS	<i>mag^hāḥ</i>	<i>p^hālgunī</i>	<i>p^hālgunī</i>	<i>hástah</i>	<i>citrā</i>	<i>svātī</i>	<i>viśāk^he</i>
MS	<i>mag^hāḥ</i>	<i>p^hālgunīḥ</i>	<i>p^hālgunīḥ</i>	<i>hástah</i>	<i>citrā</i>	<i>nīṣṭyam</i>	<i>viśāk^haṃ</i>
KS	<i>mag^hāḥ</i>	<i>p^hālgunīḥ</i>	<i>úttarāḥ</i> <i>p^hālgunīḥ</i>	<i>hástau</i>	<i>citrā</i>	<i>nīṣṭyā</i>	<i>viśāk^haṃ</i>
TB	<i>mag^hāḥ</i>	<i>pūrve</i>	<i>úttare</i>	<i>hástah</i>	<i>citrā</i>	<i>nīṣṭyā</i>	<i>viśāk^he</i>
		<i>p^hālgunī</i>					

¹³ The names are given in their respective nominative forms (singular, dual, or plural) which are not always easy to establish, however, because of the sandhi conditions met with in their attestations.

	15	16	17	18	19	20	21
Dh.	<i>nora</i>	<i>dośa</i>	<i>mula</i>	<i>furahaḷa</i>	<i>uturahaḷa</i>		<i>huvan</i>
AV	<i>anurād^hā</i>	<i>jyeṣṭ^hā</i>	<i>mūlam</i>	<i>pūrvāḥ</i> <i>aṣād^hāḥ</i>	<i>uttare</i> <i>aṣād^hāḥ</i>	<i>ab^hijīt</i>	<i>śravanaḥ</i>
TS	<i>anūrād^hā</i>	<i>rohiṇī</i>	<i>vicītau</i>	<i>aṣād^hāḥ</i>	<i>aṣād^hāḥ</i>		<i>śronā</i>
MS	<i>anūrād^hā</i>	<i>jyeṣṭ^hā</i>	<i>mūlam</i>	<i>aṣād^hāḥ</i>	<i>aṣād^hāḥ</i>	<i>ab^hijīt</i>	<i>śronā</i>
KS	<i>anūrād^hā</i>	<i>jyeṣṭ^hā</i>	<i>mūlam</i>	<i>aṣād^hāḥ</i>	<i>úttarā</i> <i>aṣād^hāḥ</i>		<i>aśvatt^hāḥ</i>
TB	<i>anūrād^hāḥ</i>	<i>rohiṇī</i>	<i>mūlavārhaṇī</i>	<i>pūrvā</i> <i>aṣād^hāḥ</i>	<i>úttarā</i>	<i>(ab^hijitam)</i>	<i>śronā</i>
ŚGS	<i>anurād^hā</i>	<i>jyeṣṭ^ham</i>	<i>mūlam</i>	<i>aṣād^hāḥ</i>	<i>aṣād^hāḥ</i>	<i>ab^hijīt</i>	<i>śravaṇaḥ</i>
	22	23	24	25	26	27	28
Dh.	<i>dinaśa</i>	<i>hiyavihā</i>	<i>furabaduruva</i>	<i>fasbaduruva</i>	<i>rēva</i>	<i>assida</i>	<i>burunu</i>
AV	<i>śráviṣṭ^hāḥ</i>	<i>śatab^hiṣak</i>	<i>pūrvāḥ</i>	<i>úttarāḥ</i>	<i>revatī</i>	<i>aśvayújau</i>	<i>b^hāraṇyaḥ</i>
TS	<i>śráviṣṭ^hāḥ</i>	<i>śatāb^hiṣak</i>	<i>proṣṭ^hapadāḥ</i>	<i>proṣṭ^hapadāḥ</i>	<i>revatī</i>	<i>aśvayújau</i>	<i>apab^hāraṇīḥ</i>
MS	<i>śráviṣṭ^hāḥ</i>	<i>*śatāb^hiṣak</i>	<i>proṣṭ^hapadāḥ</i>	<i>proṣṭ^hapadāḥ</i>	<i>revatī</i>	<i>aśvayújau</i>	<i>b^hāraṇīḥ</i>
KS	<i>śráviṣṭ^hāḥ</i>	<i>śatāb^hiṣak</i>	<i>proṣṭ^hapadāḥ</i>	<i>úttare</i> <i>proṣṭ^hapadāḥ</i>	<i>revatī</i>	<i>aśvayújau</i>	<i>apab^hāraṇīḥ</i>
TB	<i>śráviṣṭhāḥ</i>	<i>śatāb^hiṣak</i>	<i>pūrve</i>	<i>úttare</i>	<i>revatī</i>	<i>aśvayújau</i>	<i>apab^hāraṇīḥ</i>
ŚGS	<i>d^hāniṣṭ^hāḥ</i>	<i>śatab^hiṣak</i>	<i>proṣṭ^hapadāḥ</i>	<i>proṣṭ^hapadāḥ</i>	<i>revatī</i>	<i>aśvinī</i>	<i>b^hāraṇīḥ</i>

There are but a few divergences between the list of the AV and modern Dhivehi usage, which can easily be accounted for:

First, there is no explicit equivalent of Dh. *utura* (no. 10) in the AV but this can with no doubt be restored as **úttarā p^hālgunyau* (cp. *úttarāḥ p^hālgunīḥ* in KS)¹⁴. A peculiarity of Dhivehi consists in the fact that both Dh. *fura* (no. 9) and *utura* (no. 10) reflect the adjectival elements of *pūrvā* and *úttarā p^hālgunyau* (“first” and “later *p^h.*”) only while in Vedic tradition, it is mostly the adjectives that are not mentioned explicitly (*p^hālgunī* [Du.] 2x TS; *p^hālgunīḥ* [Pl.] 2x MS; *p^hālgunī* [Du.] 2x ŚaṅkhGS; KS has *p^hālgunīḥ* without *pūrvāḥ* besides *úttarāḥ p^hālgunīḥ*, TB has *pūrve p^hālgunī*, then plain *úttare*)¹⁵. In this respect, there is also a striking difference between the Dhivehi tradition and the Sinhalese which has *puvapal* and *uturupal*, respectively.

Second, an equivalent of AV *ab^hijīt* is missing in the Maldivian list. This is true for modern standard Dhivehi, but the obvious counterpiece of *ab^hijīt* is still used in the

¹⁴ Cf. W.D. WHITNEY who in his commentary (in the AV-translation, 908) “wonders whether *uttara* is not somehow hidden in the awkwardly redundant *átra*”.

¹⁵ The Nakṣatra Kalpa has, in its introductory list (AVPś I,1,2), *p^hālgunī* besides *p^hālgunyau*; in other parts of it, we find *pūrve p^hālgunyau* besides *uttare* (I,3,1), *pūrvayoh p^hālgunyor* besides *uttarayor* (I,4,3), *pūrve p^hālgunyau* (I,12,1) besides *uttare p^hālgunyau* (I,13,1), and the like.

southernmost dialect of the Maldivian language, i.e. the Aḍḍū-dialect, where it is called *avihi*¹⁶. The divergence thus met with within the Dhivehi dialects reflects the fact that *ab^hijīt* was not recognized as an authentic member of the list even in Vedic times, as can be seen in the Yajurveda tradition where only MS and TB mention it while TS and KS do not, thus reducing the number of *nakṣatras* to 27¹⁷. This same number occurs also in the Mahābhārata in the passage quoted above (M. 2,11,19) where it is obviously the *nakṣatras* that are meant. The special treatment of *ab^hijīt* may well be due to the fact that it was introduced in the list as an intercalary item only, in order to align the lunar calendar with the solar year¹⁸.

A third divergence between the AV and the Dhivehi list consists in the name of the 22nd *nakṣatra*. While the AV agrees with the YV texts in calling it *śraviṣṭ^hāḥ*, Dhivehi *dinaśa* (as well as Sinhalese *denaṭa*) obviously reflects a different name, *d^haniṣṭ^hāḥ*, which is first met with in the ŚāṅkhGS list (1,26). The assumption that this reflects a later tradition is supported by the fact that *d^haniṣṭ^hāḥ*, not *śraviṣṭ^hāḥ*, is used in Varāhamihira's *Bṛhatsaṃhitā*¹⁹.

Another divergence concerns the names of the 24th and 25th *nakṣatras*. As against the Vedic tradition which has (*pūrvāḥ* and *uttarāḥ*) *proṣṭ^hapadāḥ* throughout, Dhivehi uses the names *furabaduruva* and *fasbaduruva* which are obviously connected with a later eponym of the *nakṣatras* in question, viz. (*pūrvāḥ* and *uttarāḥ*) *b^hadrapadāḥ*. These names are first met with in some commentary works on Vedic Sūtras such as the Yājñavalkya Śāntikalpa, and they represent normal usage in some better known Sanskrit texts like Varāhamihira's *Bṛhatsaṃhitā* again²⁰. In having *b^hadrapadāḥ* as their basis, the Dhivehi names of the 24th and 25th *nakṣatras* are also the only ones where Dhivehi differs considerably from Sinhalese (neglecting purely phonetic divergences), for Sinh. *puvaputupa* and *uturuputupa* are clearly derived from the *proṣṭ^hapadā*-names prevalent in Vedic²¹. Lastly, Dhiv. *fasbaduruva* is peculiar with respect to its first element: As against *utura-* reflecting Skt. *uttara-* in the names of the 10th and 19th *nakṣatras*, *utura* < **uttarāḥ* (*p^halgunīḥ*) and *uturahaḥa* < *uttarā aṣāḍ^hāḥ*, *fasbaduruva* contains an element *fas* which can only represent Skt. *paścā-*

¹⁶ H.A. MANIKU mentions *avihi* in his treatise (Nakaiy, 16) but states that it "is no longer in use".

¹⁷ Note that the number of 28 present in the AV passage is based on WHITNEY's emendation of *turmīśam* only, but this emendation is strongly supported by the following AV hymn, where the text has *aṣṭāviṃśāni*; cf. the translation, 907.

¹⁸ Cf. H.A. MANIKU, Nakaiy, 16.

¹⁹ E.g., 101, 5-6. — In the Mahābhārata, *d^haniṣṭ^hā-* occurs three times (3,219,10; 13,63,29; 13,89,12) while *śraviṣṭ^hā-* is met with but once (14,44,2) where, astonishingly, it is named the beginning of the *r̥kṣas*, i.e. asterisms or lunar mansions:

<i>ahah pūrvam tato rātrir</i>	<i>māsāḥ sukḷādayaḥ smṛtāḥ</i>
<i>śraviṣṭ^hādīni r̥kṣāni</i>	<i>rtavaḥ śisīrādayaḥ</i>

"First the day, then the night,

the months, remembered beginning with Śukla (i.e. Vaiśākha, ≈ April-May),

the constellations, beginning with Śraviṣṭ^hā,

the seasons, beginning with Śisīra (the cold season) ..."

²⁰ E.g., *b^hadrapadāvyaṃ* 7,10; *dve b^hadrapade* 9,2; and once *b^hadrapadām uttarām* 7,5.

²¹ The Sinhalese-English Dictionary by Rev. B. CLOUGH (Colombo 1892) contains the Sanskrit forms *pūrvab^hadrapadā* and *uttarab^hadrapada* as the names of the 26th and 27th (!) lunar asterisms (p. 372 / 75) but no corresponding "colloquial" or "Elu" forms, whereas for *pūrvaproṣṭ^hapadā*, *puvapuṭupē* is registered as the "Elu form". The equivalents of *uttarāḥ proṣṭ^hapadāḥ* are missing in this dictionary.

“after, behind, backward”. In today’s Dhivehi, this is preserved as a separate word in the ablative form *fahun* used as a quasi-postposition “after” (quasi < instr. **paścena*). The usage of *paśca-* instead of *uttara-* seems to be unknown within Sanskrit in this context, but we can compare *prācīna-proṣṭ^hapadayoḥ*, with *prācīna-* derived from *prāc-* “forward”, appearing once instead of *pūrvā proṣṭ^hapadau* in the Nakṣatra Kalpa (I,10,8). The “later” *proṣṭ^hapadā* are called *uttarā* here too.

As against the other old lists of *nakṣatras*, the most striking agreement between the Dhivehi list and that of the Atharvaveda consists in the fact that here, the 21st lunar mansion is named *śrāvāna-*, the form clearly reflected by Dhivehi *huvan*, while the Yajurveda tradition has either *śronā* (TS, MS), or *aśvatt^hāḥ* (KS). It is quite evident, however, that *śrāvāna-*, must represent a younger stratum, because this form is also found in the later Sūtra texts (ŚāṅkhGS 1,26). We can even assume that within the AV verse in question, *śrāvānaḥ* reflects not the original wording but a later (redactional) remodelling of **śronāḥ*, for with tri-syllabic *śrāvānaḥ* the given triṣṭubh verse has one exceeding syllable; but note that the Nakṣatra Kalpa has, in its metrical parts, trisyllabic *śrāvāna-* throughout (I,4,6; I,5,4; I,10,6 etc.²²).

Another noteworthy coincidence between the AV list and present Dhivehi usage consists in the name of the 6th *nakṣatra*, which is *puṣyā-* as against the YV tradition which has *tiṣyā-* (TS) / *tīṣya-* (MS, KS) instead. As both these features (*śrāvāna-*, *puṣya-*) reoccur in the list of the Śāṅkhāyana-Gṛhya-Sūtra, they can be regarded as later developments within Vedic tradition²³, a view which is further supported by the fact that the name of the 21st *nakṣatra* is used in a play of words in Rājaśekhara’s Prakrit drama Karpūra-Mañjarī (I, 20,31): Here, the name of “the asterism that follows Latter Ashādhā” is used to denote a “pair of parts” of the body that might be “torn off”, and it is clear that this must mean the ears which are called *śrāvāna-* in Sanskrit, not the buttocks (*śronī*) which might be associated with *śronā* (lit. “lame”):

annaṃ ca uttarāsāḍ^hāpurassaraṇakk^hattaṇāmaheam aṅgajualam uppāḍia g^hallissam
 “And, what’s more, I’ll tear off from you the pair of parts [your ears] that go by the name of the asterism that follows Latter Ashādhā, and chuck ’em away.”²⁴

With regard to the position of the Dhivehi names of the *nakṣatras* within All-Indic tradition, their Sinhalese correspondences must not be neglected. For this comparison, it is not the plain Sanskrit forms, used as such in Sinhalese until present times, that have to be considered but the forms belonging to the colloquial language²⁵. In

²² I,11 is a quotation of the AV hymn in question.

²³ This conclusion seems hard for the AV hymn, but we have to consider that it has no counterpart in the Paippalāda recension. A later origin of the AV hymn is also suggested by the fact that it is included as such in the Nakṣatra Kalpa; cf. Ch.R. LANMAN in the AV-translation, p. 907. We fail to understand the view expressed by BOLLING and NEGELEIN in their edition of the Nakṣatra Kalpa according to which “it seems probable that this pariśiṣṭa originated in the Paippalāda school, and that this is the reason for its citation of AV. 19. 7 and 8 in full” (p. 2).

²⁴ Cf. Rāja-Çekhara’s Karpūra-Mañjarī, ed. by Sten KONOW and trl. by Ch.R. LANMAN, Cambridge, Mass. 1901 (Harvard Oriental Series, IV) / Repr. Delhi 1963, 21 / 233 f. LANMAN’s reasoning (ib., 234¹) according to which “strictly speaking, Abhijit (containing α Lyrae) comes next after Latter Ashādhā, but it is so far from the ecliptic as hardly to count”, fails to meet the essential point: *ab^hijit* did simply not figure in the presumable list, just as it is missing in the TS and KS (and modern Dhivehi and Sinhalese) traditions.

²⁵ For the following discussion, several Sinhalese dictionaries were consulted; most of the forms given are taken from A Dictionary of the Sinhalese Language, compiled under the direction of W. GEIGER by D.B. JAYATILAKA a.o.,

the following list, the Sanskrit names as used in Sinhalese are also contrasted for easy reference²⁶:

Dh.	<i>keti</i>	<i>rōnu</i>	<i>miahelia</i>	<i>ada</i>	<i>funōs</i>	<i>fus</i>	<i>ahuliha</i>
Sh.	<i>kāti</i> ²⁷	<i>reheṇa</i>	<i>muvasirasa</i>	<i>adē</i> ²⁸	<i>punāvāsa</i>	<i>pusē</i>	<i>aslisa</i> ²⁹
Skt.	<i>kr̥tika</i>	<i>rōhiṇī</i>	<i>mṛgaśīras</i>	<i>ārdra</i>	<i>punarvasu</i>	<i>puṣya</i>	<i>aśleṣā</i>
Dh.	<i>mā</i>	<i>fura</i>	<i>utura</i>	<i>ata</i>	<i>hita</i>	<i>hei</i>	<i>vihā</i>
Sh.	<i>mag^ha</i>	<i>puvapal</i>	<i>uturupal</i>	<i>hata</i>	<i>sita</i>	<i>sā</i>	<i>visā</i>
Skt.	<i>mag^hā</i>	<i>pūrvap^hālgunī</i>	<i>uttarap^hālgunī</i>	<i>hasta</i>	<i>citrā</i>	<i>svāti</i>	<i>viśāk^hā</i> ³⁰
Dh.	<i>nora</i>	<i>dośa</i>	<i>mula</i>	<i>furahaḷa</i>	<i>uturahaḷa</i>	<i>huvan</i>	<i>dinaśa</i>
Sh.	<i>anura</i> ³¹	<i>deṭa</i>	<i>mula</i>	<i>puvasaḷa</i>	<i>uturusala</i>	<i>suvana</i>	<i>denaṭa</i>
Skt.	<i>anurād^hā</i>	<i>jyeṣṭ^ha</i>	<i>mūla</i>	<i>pūrvāṣāḍ^hā</i>	<i>uttarāṣāḍ^hā</i>	<i>śravaṇa</i>	<i>d^haniṣṭ^ha</i>
Dh.	<i>hiyavihā</i>	<i>furabaduruva</i>	<i>fasbaduruva</i>	<i>rēva</i>	<i>assida</i>	<i>burunu</i>	<i>avihi</i>
Sh.	<i>siyavasa</i>	<i>puvapuṭupa</i> ³²	<i>uturupuṭupa</i>	<i>rēvatī</i>	<i>asvida</i>	<i>beraṇa</i> ³³	<i>abijit</i>
Skt.	<i>śatab^hiṣā</i>	<i>pūrvaprōṣṭ^hapadā</i>	<i>uttaraprōṣṭ^hapadā</i> ³⁴	<i>rēvatī</i>	<i>aśvayujā</i> ³⁵	<i>b^haraṇī</i>	<i>ab^hijit</i>

When comparing the lists given above, it is obvious at a first glance that most of the Sinhalese forms are much closer to the Sanskrit than their Maldivian counterparts. This is true not only for the treatment of sibilants which are, as a rule, preserved as *s* in Sinhalese whereas Maldivian shows *h* regularly; cp. *miahelia* vs. *muvasirasa* (vs. Skt. *mṛgaśīras*) or *ahuliha* vs. *aslisa* (vs. Skt. *aśleṣā*). Dhivehi has *s* only in word-final position (cp. *funōs* vs. *punāvāsa* vs. Skt. *punarvasu* or *fus* vs. *pusē* vs. Skt. *puṣya*) and in *assida* (vs. *asvida* vs. *aśvayujā*) where we have a geminate, *ss*. Another divergence of this type can be seen in *rōnu* vs. *reheṇa* (vs. *rōhiṇī*) and *ata* vs. *hata* (vs. *hasta*) where Maldivian shows no reflex of the original *h* which is still present in the Sinhalese form. *h* does occur, however, in Dhivehi where it reflects an original

Colombo 1935- (“DSL”), the *Sinhala Śabdakoṣayā* (ed. by) D.B. JAYATILAKA, Colombo 1937- (SS) and The Sinhalese-English Dictionary by Rev. B. CLOUGH, Colombo 1892 (“Clough”). An Elu list is also given in H.A. MANIKU’s *Nakaiy*, p. 3.

²⁶ Different from the lists printed above, Sanskrit names are here given not in their nominative but in their stem forms.

²⁷ For this and several other *nakṣatras*, the dictionaries mention a compound name containing *nākata* = *nakṣatra* (*kāti-nākata*) only.

²⁸ The DSL (p. 192) has *ada* (and the definite form *adaya*) besides *adē*.

²⁹ The alternate name *ahi* noted in DSL (p. 981) is not connected with *aslisa* (p. 958) etymologically but reflects Skt. *ahi*- “serpent”, used as a name for the constellation in question too.

³⁰ Besides the “correct” Sanskrit form given here, *viśāk^hā* and *viśāk^ha* also occur.

³¹ The DSL (p. 282) notes, besides *anura* and its definite form, *anuraya*, also *anure* and *anurē*.

³² Clough (p. 368) has *puvapuṭupē*.

³³ Clough (p. 430) gives the alternate form *beraṇi* too.

³⁴ In DSL (p. 1683), this is erroneously identified with *uttarap^halgunī*. — CLOUGH (p. 75) has *uttarab^hādrapada* (sic) as the name of the 27th lunar mansion; see above.

³⁵ As a Sanskritism, the alternate name *aśvinī* is also used.

palatal affricate; cp. *hita* vs. *sita* (vs. Skt. *citrā*), but also *avihi* vs. *abijit* (vs. *ab^hijit*). As for Sinhalese, these features lead to the assumption that the names of the *nakṣatras* do not belong to the colloquial (i.e. “Elu”) language proper but to the register of the literary language which is characterized by phonological conservatism. As for Dhivehi, however, the regulations observed can be recognized as regular if we assume an unbroken tradition from Old Indic times. For the several developments involved here, we find quite a lot of examples such as *hay* (representing *hat*, still written ⟨hat⟩) “seven” < Skt. *hapta* (Sinhalese has literary *sat-* as against colloquial *hat-*), *hiya* “hundred” < Skt. *śata(m)* (Sinh. *siya-*), *han* “skin” < *śarma* (Sinh. *sam-/ham-*), *hiy* ⟨hit⟩ “mind” < Skt. *cittam* (Sinh. *sit-/hit-*); for the treatment of word-internal and word-final *s* cp. *diha* “ten” < *daśa* (Sinh. *dasa-/daha-*); *bas* “language” < Skt. *b^hāṣā* (Sinh. *bas-*) with the indefinite form *bahe*, quasi < **b^hāṣā ḷkkā* “one language”; *fas* “five” < Skt. *pañca* (Sinh. *pas-*), indef. *fahe*, quasi < **pañca ḷkkā* “one five”; *fas* “soil” < Skt. *pāṃsu(h)* (Sinh. *pas-*) with ablative *fahun* < *pāṃsuna*; and *fas* “after”, contained in *fasbaduruva*, < *paścā(t)* (Sinh. *pas-*), abl. *fahun* substituting **fahen*³⁶ < **paścena*. Note that the consonant *ś* appearing in *dinaśa* and *dośa* reflects not an older sibilant but the retroflex stop *ṣ* we still find in Sinhalese (*denaṣa* / *deṣa*); this had emerged regularly from older *-ṣṭ^h-* (< Skt. *-ṣṭ^h-*: *d^haniṣṭ^ha-* / *jyeṣṭ^ha-*).

The regular treatment of word-internal *j* can be found in *ras* “king” < *rājā* (Sinh. *rada*³⁷); *rihi* “silver” < *rajata(m)* (Sinh. *ridi-*); *bis* “egg” < *bīja(m)* (Sinh. *biju-*) with indef. *bihe*. For the regular loss of *h* we can adduce examples like *mā* “great, big” < Skt. *mahā(n)* (Sinh. *mahā* / *mā*); *hās* “thousand” < *sahasra(m)* (Sinh. *dahas-/dās-*), indef. *hāhe*; *boḍu* “big” < *bṛhanta(m)* (via **bṛhaṅtam*); and *ran* “gold” < *hiranya(m)* (Sinh. *ran-*) which shows that after the loss of *h*, word-initial short vowels in open syllables were dropped altogether as in *diya* “water” < *udaka(m)* or in the name of the 15th *nakṣatra*, *nora* < *anurād^hā*. *bēs* “medicine” < *b^haiṣaj(y)a(m)* (Sinh. *behet-/bēt-*) shows that secondary *h* sounds that had emerged from sibilants or palatals also tended to get lost, at least next to high vowels (*bēs* < **behes*); cp. in “boundary” < *śīmā* (Sinh. *sim-/him-/im-*), *iru* “sun” < *sūriya(m)* (Sinh. *hira* / *ira*), or *ū* “thread” < *sūtra(m)* (Sinh. *hū-*).

Nevertheless, there are some indications in the Maldivian list of *nakṣatras* which suggest that even in this language, they were secondarily influenced by learned tradition. This is especially true for the name *rēva* which is irregular in at least two respects: Dhivehi *-ē-* does not continue plain Sanskrit *-e-* normally which developed into short *e* in Dhivehi as in *hen* < *senā*; long *-ē-* arose secondarily only, by contraction of two syllables as in *bēs* < **behes* < *baiṣajya(m)*. And in the second syllable, we should expect an indirect reflex of the final *-tī* which should have caused umlaut as in *henevi* < *senāpati*. Thus, we should expect something like **revi* instead of *rēva* as the name of the 25th *nakṣatra*.

³⁶ This form is still preserved in the dialect of Fua’ Mulaku. The same dialect has substituted word-final *-s* by *-h* + vowel throughout as in *baha* “language”; note that in *fahā* “five” it has even preserved a trace of the Old Indic nasal.

³⁷ The striking divergence of Dhivehi and Sinhalese in the development of word-internal *j* was first drawn attention to by M.W.S. SUGATHAPALA DE SILVA (in: *Some Observations on the History of Maldivian*; TAPS 1970, 137-162).

Another crucial case is the names ending in *-a*. On the basis of more usual words, we should expect all final syllables first to have been reduced to some unspecified (shewa-like?) short vowel which was later dropped after nasals and voiceless consonants but developed into *-u* in most other environments³⁸. Many of the examples of common words quoted above attest this treatment, and we can easily adduce further examples such as *ko* ‘having made’ (absolutive) < older *koṭ(u)* < Skt. *kṛtvā* (via **kṛtvā*, **kuṭvā*, **kuttā*, **kottā*; Sinh. *koṭa*) or *hen* ‘sort, kind, type, crowd’ < Skt. *senā* (Sinh. *sen-*). It is only in peculiar constellations that we find word-final *a* regularly, viz. after *-iy-* as in *diya* ‘water’ < *udaka(m)* or *hiya* ‘hundred’ < *śata(m)* (and possibly *-ih-* in *diha* ‘ten’). Considering the list of *nakṣatra* names ending in *-a*, we might assume that this ending was reintroduced by influence of the Sanskrit equivalents; and indeed it seems that Dhivehi has *-a* wherever the Sanskrit names are stems in *-a-* or *-ā-*. But there are some exceptions to this ‘rule’: The correspondent form of *keti*, Skt. *kṛttikāḥ*, is an *ā*-stem, but the word-final *-i* of *keti*, just like Sinh. *kāti*, may well reflect the regular outcome of *-ika-* as in *mehi* ‘fly’ < *makṣikā* (via *macc^hikā*, Sinh. *māsi-/māhi-*) or even *-aka-* as in *mati* ‘top, surface’ < *mastaka(m)* (via *matt^haka* as against Sinh. *mata-* < *masta(m)*?)³⁹. Similarly, the name of the 20th *nakṣatra*, *huvan*, shows no secondary influence of the Sanskrit *a*-stem, *śravaṇa-*. Here, however, we have to note that the vowel of the second syllable is surprising: As with *burunu* (older *buruṇu*⁴⁰) < *b^haraṇī*, we should expect *huvun*; but this may be due to the special environment (**-uvu-* > *-uva-* as **-iyu-* > *-iya-*?).

If Dhivehi thus preserves ‘regular’ continuants for some of the stems in *-a/-ā* at least, it is advisable to consider other solutions of the problem as well. One solution seems to suggest itself by the fact that many of the *nakṣatra* names were not singular but dual or plural forms in Sanskrit. Although even Vedic tradition was not always unanimous in this respect, the Dhivehi names in *-a* might reflect pluralic forms ending in *-āḥ* originally. As there are no other traces of Old Indic nominative plural forms of this type⁴¹, there is no way to prove this, however. Some further investigations into the historical phonology of Maldivian are necessary to solve this problem.

³⁸ In the treatment of the assumed shewa-like word-final vowel, the Dhivehi dialects differ to a large extent: the Aḍḍū dialect has *-a* throughout, while Fua’ Mulaku has *-o* as in *boṇḍa / boṇḍo* ‘great’ vs. standard Dhivehi *boḍu*.

³⁹ The first vowel of both Dhiv. *keti* and Sinh. *kāti* will rather reflect a full grade *a*, **karttikā-*, than a syllabic *r*; for Dhiv. *e* / Sinh. *ā* is the regular outcome of unlauded *a* as in *e*’ (et) ‘elefant’ < *hastī* via *hatt^hi* while *r* would have led to *u* or *i* in this position; cp. *fusi* ‘sandbank, island, ridge, back’ < *prṣṭ^haka-*, but also the name of the third *nakṣatra*, *mīahelīa* < *mṛgaśīrasa-* (this name is, by the way, attested in one of the *lōmāfānus* in a copperplate inscription of 1194 A.D. in the Sanskritizing form *mr(a)ggaśīra nakṣatra*; an edition of the copperplate in question is presently being prepared by us). The regular umlaut can also be seen in the name of the 13th *nakṣatra*, *hei* < *svāti-*.

⁴⁰ The merger of retroflex *ṇ* with dental *n* can be shown to have occurred only recently in standard Dhivehi: The southern dialects still preserve the distinction, and the Tāna script originally possessed a character of its own to denote the retroflex sound. The Aḍḍū equivalent of *burunu* is *buruṇa*.

⁴¹ Standard Dhivehi has a plural ending in *-ta*’ (-tak) < **tāvataka-* ‘so much/many’ as well as a plural ending *-un* appearing with some nouns denoting human beings. The latter ending might reflect a former genitive plural ending *-īnām*.

Appendix I: The lists of *nakṣatras* contained in the Yajurveda Saṃhitās

TS 4,4,10,1-2	MS 2,13,20	KS 39,13
<i>kṛttikā nākṣatram</i>	<i>kṛttikā nākṣatram</i>	<i>agnír devátā_</i>
<i>agnír devátā_</i>	<i>agnír devátā_</i>	<i>kṛttikā nākṣatram</i>
<i>_agné rúcaḥ st^ha</i>	<i>agné rúcaḥ st^ha</i>	
<i>prajāpater d^hātúḥ sómasya</i>	<i>prajāpateḥ sómasya d^hatúr</i>	
<i>rcé tvā</i>	<i>rcé tvā</i>	
<i>rucé tvā</i>	<i>rucé tvā</i>	
<i>dyuté tvā</i>		
<i>b^hāsé tvā</i>	<i>b^hāsé tvā</i>	
<i>jyótiṣe tvā</i>	<i>jyótiṣe tvā</i>	
	<i>téna chándasā téna bráhmaṇā</i>	
	<i>táyā devátayā_</i>	
	<i>_aṅgirasvád d^hruvā sīda</i>	
<i>rohiṇí nākṣatram</i>	<i>rohiṇí nākṣatram</i>	<i>prajāpatir devátā</i>
<i>prajāpatir devátā</i>	<i>prajāpatir devátā_</i>	<i>rohiṇí nākṣatram</i>
<i>mṛgaśīrśám nākṣatram</i>	<i>_invagā nākṣatram</i>	<i>marúto devátā_</i>
<i>sómo devátā_</i>	<i>marúto devátā</i>	<i>_invakā nākṣatram</i>
<i>_ārdṛā nākṣatram</i>	<i>bāhúr nākṣatram</i>	<i>rudró devátā</i>
<i>rudró devátā</i>	<i>rudró devátā</i>	<i>bāhúr nākṣatram</i>
<i>púnarvasū nākṣatram</i>	<i>púnarvasur nākṣatram</i>	<i>áditir devátā</i>
<i>áditir devátā</i>	<i>áditir devátā</i>	<i>púnarvasur nākṣatram</i>
<i>tíṣyo nākṣatram</i>	<i>tíṣyo nākṣatram</i>	<i>bṛhaspátir devátā_</i>
<i>bṛhaspátir devátā_</i>	<i>bṛhaspátir devátā_</i>	<i>tíṣyo nākṣatram</i>
<i>_āsresā nākṣatram</i>	<i>_āsleśā nākṣatram</i>	<i>sarpā devátā_</i>
<i>sarpā devátā</i>	<i>sarpā devátā</i>	<i>_āsleśā nākṣatram</i>
<i>mag^hā nākṣatram</i>	<i>mag^hā nākṣatram</i>	<i>pítáro devátā</i>
<i>pítáro devátā</i>	<i>pítáro devátā</i>	<i>mag^hā nākṣatram</i>
<i>p^hálgunī nākṣatram</i>	<i>p^hálgunīr nākṣatram</i>	<i>b^hágo devátā</i>
<i>2 aryamā devátā</i>	<i>b^hágo devátā</i>	<i>p^hálgunīr nākṣatram</i>
<i>p^hálgunī nākṣatram</i>	<i>p^hálgunīr nākṣatram</i>	<i>aryamā devátā_</i>
<i>b^hágo devátā</i>	<i>aryamā devátā</i>	<i>_úttarāḥ p^hálgunīr nākṣatram</i>
<i>hásto nākṣatram</i>	<i>hásto nākṣatram</i>	<i>savitā devátā</i>
<i>savitā devátā</i>	<i>savitā devátā</i>	<i>hástau nākṣatram</i>
<i>citrā nākṣatram</i>	<i>citrā nākṣatram</i>	<i>tvástā devátā</i>
<i>índro devátā</i>	<i>tvástā devátā</i>	<i>citrā nākṣatram</i>
<i>svātī nākṣatram</i>	<i>níṣtyam nākṣatram</i>	<i>vāyúr devátā</i>
<i>vāyúr devátā</i>	<i>vāyúr devátā</i>	<i>níṣtyā nākṣatram</i>
<i>vísāk^he nākṣatram</i>	<i>vísāk^ham nākṣatram</i>	<i>índrāgnī devátā</i>
<i>índrāgnī devátā</i>	<i>índrāgnī devátā_</i>	<i>vísāk^ham nākṣatram</i>
<i>anūrād^hā nākṣatram</i>	<i>anūrād^hā nākṣatram</i>	<i>mitró devátā_</i>
<i>mitró devátā</i>	<i>mitró devátā</i>	<i>_anūrād^hā nākṣatram</i>
<i>rohiṇí nākṣatram</i>	<i>jyeṣṭ^hā nākṣatram</i>	<i>índro devátā</i>
<i>índro devátā</i>	<i>váruno devátā</i>	<i>jyeṣṭ^hā nākṣatram</i>
<i>vicṛtau nākṣatram</i>	<i>múlam nākṣatram</i>	<i>nírṛtir devátā</i>
<i>pítáro devátā_</i>	<i>nírṛtir devátā_</i>	<i>múlam nākṣatram</i>
<i>_aṣād^hā nākṣatram</i>	<i>_aṣād^hā nākṣatram</i>	<i>āpo devátā_</i>
<i>āpo devátā_</i>	<i>āpo devátā_</i>	<i>_aṣād^hā nākṣatram</i>
<i>_aṣād^hā nākṣatram</i>	<i>aṣād^hā nākṣatram</i>	<i>vísve devā devátā_</i>
<i>vísve devā devátā</i>	<i>vísve devā devátā_</i>	<i>_úttarā aṣād^hā nākṣatram</i>
	<i>ab^hijín nākṣatram</i>	

<i>śronā nákṣatram</i>	<i>brahmā devātā </i>	<i>vīṣnur devātā_</i>
<i>vīṣnur devātā</i>	<i>śronā nákṣatram </i>	<i>_aśvatt^hó nákṣatram</i>
<i>śráviṣṭ^hā nákṣatram</i>	<i>vīṣnur devātā </i>	<i>vásavo devātā</i>
<i>vásavaḥ 3 devātā</i>	<i>śráviṣṭ^hā nákṣatram </i>	<i>śráviṣṭ^hā nákṣatram</i>
<i>śatáb^hiṣaṇ nákṣatram</i>	<i>vásavo devātā </i>	<i>váruṇo devātā</i>
<i>índro devātā</i>	<i>śatáb^hiṣaṇ⁴² nákṣatram </i>	<i>śatáb^hiṣaṇ nákṣatram</i>
<i>proṣṭ^hapadā nákṣatram</i>	<i>índro devātā </i>	<i>ajā ékapād devātā</i>
<i>ajā ékapād devātā</i>	<i>proṣṭ^hapadā nákṣatram </i>	<i>proṣṭ^hapadā nákṣatram</i>
<i>proṣṭ^hapadā nákṣatram</i>	<i>áhir bud^hnyò devātā </i>	<i>áhir bud^hnyò devātā_</i>
<i>áhir bud^hnyò devātā</i>	<i>proṣṭ^hapadā nákṣatram </i>	<i>_úttare proṣṭ^hapadā nákṣatram</i>
<i>revátī nákṣatram</i>	<i>ajā ékapād devātā </i>	
<i>pūṣā devātā_</i>	<i>revátī nákṣatram </i>	
<i>_aśvayújau nákṣatram</i>	<i>pūṣā devātā_ </i>	<i>pūṣā devātā</i>
<i>aśvínau devātā_</i>	<i>aśvayújau nákṣatram </i>	<i>revátī nákṣatram</i>
<i>_apab^hāraṇīr nákṣatram</i>	<i>aśvínau devātā_ </i>	<i>aśvínau devātā_</i>
<i>yamó devātā</i>	<i>b^hāraṇīr nákṣatram </i>	<i>_aśvayújau nákṣatram</i>
	<i>yamó devātā </i>	<i>yamó devātā_</i>
	<i>brāhmaṇó nákṣatram </i>	<i>_apab^hāraṇīr nákṣatram</i>
	<i>sómo devātā_ </i>	
	<i>_agné rúcaḥ s^ha </i>	<i>agné rúcas s^ha</i>
	<i>prajāpateḥ sómasya d^hātúr </i>	<i>prajāpates sómasya d^hātúr</i>
		<i>b^hūyāsaṃ prájaniṣṭya</i>
	<i>ṛcé tvā </i>	
	<i>rucé tvā </i>	
	<i>b^hāsé tvā </i>	
	<i>jyótiṣe tvā </i>	
	<i>téna chāndasā téna brāhmaṇā</i>	
	<i>táyā devátayā_</i>	<i>téna brāhmaṇā téna</i>
	<i>_aṅgirasvād d^hruvā sīda</i>	<i>cchāndasā táyā devátayā_</i>
		<i>_aṅgirasvād d^hruvās sīdata 13 </i>

Appendix II: The list of *nákṣatras* contained in Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa (1,5,1,1-5)

1 <i>agnéḥ kṛttikāḥ </i>	<i>aryamnáḥ pūrve p^hálgunī </i>
<i>śukráṃ parástāt_ jyótiḥ avástāt </i>	<i>jāyā parástād ṛṣab^hò 'vástāt </i>
<i>prajāpate rohiṇī </i>	<i>b^hágasya_úttare </i>
<i>āpaḥ parástād ósad^hayo 'vástāt </i>	<i>vahatávaḥ parástād váhamānā avástāt </i>
<i>sómasya_ invakā </i>	<i>3 devásya savitúr hástaḥ </i>
<i>vítatāni parástād váyanto 'vástāt </i>	<i>prasaváḥ parástāt sanír avástāt </i>
<i>rudrásya bāhū </i>	<i>índrasya citrā </i>
<i>mṛgayávaḥ parástād vikṣārò 'vástāt </i>	<i>ṛtām parástāt satyám avástāt </i>
<i>ádityai púnarvasū </i>	<i>vāyór níṣṭyā </i>
<i>vātaḥ parástād ārdram avástāt </i>	<i>vratátiḥ parástād ásid^hir avástāt </i>
2 <i>b^hhaspátes tiṣyāḥ </i>	<i>indrāgniýór víśāk^he </i>
<i>júhvataḥ parástād yájamānā avástāt </i>	<i>yugāni parástāt kṛśámānā avástāt </i>
<i>sarpānām āsreṣāḥ </i>	<i>mitrásya_ anūrād^hāḥ </i>
<i>ab^hyāgácc^hantaḥ parástād ab^hyānrītyanto 'vástāt </i>	<i>ab^hyāróhat parástād ab^hyārūd^ham avástāt </i>
<i>pitṛñām mag^hāḥ </i>	4 <i>índrasya rohiṇī </i>
<i>rudántaḥ parástād apab^hraṃśò 'vástāt </i>	<i>śṛnát parástāt pratiṣṭṇád avástāt </i>

⁴² Variant reading of B (BÜHLER's manuscript), preferable as against *śatab^hiṣam* in L.v. SCHROEDER's text.

<i>nírṛtyai mūlavārhanī </i>	<i>ajásya_ékapadaḥ pūrve proṣṭ^hapadāḥ </i>
<i>pratib^hañjantaḥ parástāt pratiṣṛṇānto 'vástāt </i>	<i>vaiśvānarām parástād vaiśvāvasavám</i>
<i>apām pūrvā aṣāḍ^hāḥ </i>	<i>avástāt </i>
<i>várcaḥ parástāt sámítir avástāt </i>	<i>áher bud^hnyasya_úttare </i>
<i>viśveṣām devānām úttarāḥ </i>	<i>ab^hiṣīncāntaḥ parástād ab^hiṣuṇvānto 'vástāt </i>
<i>ab^hijáyat parástād ab^hijitam avástāt </i>	<i>pūṣṇó revātī </i>
<i>viṣṇoḥ śronā </i>	<i>gāvaḥ parástād vatsā avástāt </i>
<i>prcc^hāmānāḥ parástāt pánt^hā avástāt </i>	<i>aśvínor aśvayújav </i>
<i>5 vāsūnām śráviṣṭ^hāḥ </i>	<i>grāmaḥ parástāt sēnā_avástāt </i>
<i>b^hūtām parástād b^hūtīr avástāt </i>	<i>yamásyā_apab^hāraṇīḥ </i>
<i>índrasya śatāb^hiṣak </i>	<i>apakārsantaḥ parástād apavāhanto 'vástāt </i>
<i>viśvávyacāḥ parástād viśváksitir avástāt </i>	<i>pūrṇā paścād yát te devā ádad^huḥ </i>

Appendix III: The list of *nakṣatras* contained in Śāṅkhāyana Grhya Sūtra (1,26)

<i>_ūrd^hvam saṃvatsarād grhye 'gnau juhōti</i>	<i>mitrāyānurād^hāyā</i>
<i>agnaye kṛttikāb^hyaḥ</i>	<i>indrāya jyeṣṭ^hāya</i>
<i>prajāpataye rohiṇyai</i>	<i>nírṛtyai mūlāyā_</i>
<i>somāya mṛgaśirase</i>	<i>_adb^hyo 'ṣāḍ^hāb^hyo</i>
<i>rudrāyārdrāb^hyo</i>	<i>viśveb^hyo deveb^hyo 'ṣāḍ^hāb^hyo</i>
<i>'ditaye punarvasub^hyām</i>	<i>brahmaṇe 'b^hijite</i>
<i>brhaspataye puṣyāya</i>	<i>viṣṇave śravanāya</i>
<i>sarpeb^hyo 'śleṣāb^hyaḥ</i>	<i>vāsub^hyo d^haniṣṭ^hāb^hyo</i>
<i>pitrb^hyo mag^hāb^hyo</i>	<i>varuṇāya śatāb^hiṣaje</i>
<i>b^hagāya p^halgunīb^hyām</i>	<i>'jāyaikapade proṣṭ^hapadāb^hyo</i>
<i>aryamṇe p^halgunīb^hyām</i>	<i>'hīrbud^hnyāya proṣṭ^hapadāb^hyaḥ</i>
<i>savitre hastāya</i>	<i>pūṣṇe revatyā</i>
<i>tvaṣṭre citrāyai</i>	<i>aśvīb^hyām aśvinīb^hyām</i>
<i>vāyave svātāya</i>	<i>yamāya b^hāraṇīb^hyaḥ</i>
<i>indrāgnīb^hyām viśāk^hāb^hyām</i>	