The Dhivehi Language

A Descriptive and Historical Grammar

of Maldivian and Its Dialects

by

Sonja Fritz

Heidelberg

2001

1177

Preface

This book represents a revised and enlarged translation of my habilitation thesis "Deskriptive Grammatik des Maledivischen (Dhivehi) und seiner Dialekte unter Berücksichtigung der sprachhistorischen Entwicklung" which I delivered in Heidelberg, 1997.

I started my work on Dhivehi (Maldivian) in 1988 when I had the opportunity to make some tape recordings with native speakers during a private stay in the Maldives. Shortly after, when I became aware of the fact that there were almost no preliminary studies of a scientific character on the Maldivian language and literature and, particularly, no systematic linguistic studies at all, I started to collect material for an extensive grammatical description of the Dhivehi language. In 1992, I went to the Maldives again in order to continue my work with informants and to make official contact with the corresponding institutions in Māle, whom I asked to help me in planning my future field research. During my 1992 stay, my main informant was Mr. AHMED ABDULLA* from Fuaʾ Mulaku (Gnaviyani [*Ñaviani*] Atoll) who was living in Māle at that time.

In the same year I applied for a special fellowship (Habilitanden-Stipendium) with the German National Research Foundation (Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft, DFG), because without financial supply I could neither have managed the field work in the Maldives nor the following intensive studies which took all my time for four years. I am very grateful to DFG for supporting my work with a generous three years' fellowship and for special support covering the expenses of a three months' field trip to the Maldives (July-October 1993), together with a shorter stay in Colombo (Sri Lanka) where I was concerned with archive studies.

During my work, I became particularly interested in the southern Dhivehi dialects which are very different from the standard language. They were never used as a written language and they never served as an object of linguistic interest before. In this sphere, I am deeply indebted to Mr. HASSAN SAEED *Campapūlmāgē*, Hitadū, Aḍḍū (Seenu [*Sīn*] Atoll) who is highly respected as the most reliable authority on the southernmost dialect. For six weeks he was at my disposal for several hours every day. Thanks to his excellent knowledge of English and his indefatigable help I was able to get a profound knowledge of the grammatical categories of the Aḍḍū dialect within a comparatively short time and to collect approximately 2500 lexemes. HASSAN SAEED also organised a recording session with a professional story teller, Mr. ALI MANIKUFAANU (*Ali Maṇikufānu*, also from Hitadū), whose vivid style of storytelling deeply impressed me. Furthermore, HASSAN SAEED accompanied me for a ten days' research trip to Fuaʾ Mulaku Atoll in order to help me with the communication problems I expected visiting this atoll for the first time. Since my 1993 field research, he has always been ready to answer the questions I sent to him, and when I returned to the Maldives

* In the preface, (Arabic) personal names are not given in the scientific indological transliteration (as normally used in this book) but in a Latin transcription which is officially used in the Maldives themselves. In accordance with Maldivian tradition, I have additionally mentioned the "house names" (*ge* 'house') used as a kind of family names, as far as they have become known to me. The two official names, consisting of a first name and a father's name, a first name and a surname, or even two first names, are very often ambiguous because of the high frequency of a restricted number of names and combinations of names that are met with. Some elder people use only their house names beside their first names, sometimes even affixing the latter ones.

in March 1999 in order to clear up some further problems, he helped me again. I would like to express my gratitude to him not only for his direct contribution to my research work – without which I could not have written this grammar in its present form – but also for introducing me to the peculiarities of daily and cultural life of the southern Maldives.

Concerning the dialect of Fua' Mulaku, I am particularly grateful to my informants Mr. ADNAN IBRAHIM, Mr. MUHAMMAD SAEED and Ms. AMINATH MUHAMMAD SAEED (*Havitta*), Mr. HASSAN SAEED (*Sosan Villa*), Mrs. AMINATH SHEHENAZ and Mrs. FATIMATH IBRAHIM DIDI (*Boḍurage*), Mr. ABDULLAH AFEEF (*Luxury*), Mrs. *Goḷḍan Gēṭu* KADDĀDI and Mr. *Diggāmāge* MUHAMMAD MANIKUFAANU (*Maṇikufānu*) for the fairy tales they told and for their contributions to my systematic collection of lexical and morphological data which were recorded on tape as well. For some tape recordings of the dialect of Huvadū which I could undertake in Aḍḍū and in Fua' Mulaku, I am indebted to Mr. MUHAMMAD SHAKEEL (*Looking Glass*, Tinadū, Gaafu Alifu [*Gāf Alif*] Atoll) and Mr. MUHAMMAD HASSAN (*Morning Paris*, Fares, Gaafu Dhaalu [*Gāf Dāl*] Atoll).

My studies on the standard language of Māle were deeply stimulated by an intensive three weeks' cooperation with Mrs. HABIBA HUSSAIN HABIB, the director of the National Library in Māle, who is also a writer. I am much obliged to her for introducing me into the "palace language" which was the colloquial and written medium of the nobility at the time of the sultans, an almost obsolete idiom she is one of the last native speakers of, and I am very grateful for the numerous tape recordings she allowed me to take. I also owe many thanks to Mr. MUHAMMAD WAHEED (*Maḍulu*) and Mr. ABDULLAH SAADIQ who, as professional writers, helped me with abundant information on the language of modern Dhivehi prose and who provided some tape recordings as well. I owe special thanks to the scholar Mr. HASSAN AHMED MANIKU (Māle) who is one of the best authorities on history and culture of the (Northern) Maldives and who helped me with much scientific information. Last but not least, I have to thank Mr. MOHAMED WAHEED MANDHU (at that time Deputy Director of the National Centre for Linguistic and Historical Research) and Mr. ABDUL SAMEEU HASSAN (at that time Assistant Director of the National Centre) who in 1993 helped me to get access to the southern atolls and to receive special permits for research on inscriptions in the National Museum of Māle and some graveyards.

It would go beyond the scope of this preface to personally express my gratitude to all those Maldivian people who helped me during my stays on the islands. Instead, I would like to express thanks to the Maldivians for their warm welcome and their helpfulness I experienced so many times!

For the scientific support I received in Colombo (Sri Lanka) in October 1993, I have to thank Prof. G.D. WIJAYAWARDHANA and Prof. J.B. DISANAYAKA (both from the Dept. of Sinhala, Faculty of Arts, University of Colombo), Dr. W. Thelma T.P. GUNAWARDANE (Director of the National Museum), Mr. Kalasuri Wilfred M. GUNASEKARA (Library of the Royal Asiatic Society), Dr. Siran U. DERANIYAGALA (Director of the Archeological Survey Dept.) as well as the Director of the National Archive.

I am also very grateful to Mr. Sisira JAYASURIYA (at that time Māle/Colombo), who was my main informant for colloquial Sinhalese and who helped me with Sinhalese literature for many years.

I owe a special thank to Prof. Donald RAYFIELD (Queen Mary College, University of London) who under difficult circumstances procured a copy of H.C.P. BELL's book "The

Maldive Islands. Monograph on the History, Archeology, and Epigraphy" (Colombo 1940) for me. Furthermore I am deeply indebted to him for proof-reading the complete English text of the present book.

I am also very grateful to Prof.Dr. Monika BOEHM-TETTELBACH (Dept. of Modern Indian Studies, South Asia Institute, University of Heidelberg) who supported my studies on Dhivehi from the beginning and who was kind enough to present the German version of the present book as a habilitation thesis to the Faculty of Oriental and Classical Studies of the University of Heidelberg. Furthermore I would like to thank Prof. BOEHM-TETTELBACH very much for proof-reading the German text.

For a proof-reading of the German version, I owe many thanks also to PD Dr. Claus Peter ZOLLER (South Asia Insitute, University of Heidelberg) and to Prof.Dr. Chlodwig WERBA (Dept. of Indology, University of Vienna).

I would also like to express my gratitude to the Faculty of Oriental and Classical Studies of Heidelberg University for having accepted the German text of the present book as a habilitation thesis. I am particularly grateful to the late Prof.Dr. Hubert PETERSMANN who was the Dean of the faculty at that time.

The person I have to thank most of all, however, is my husband, Prof.Dr. Jost GIPPERT, a linguist himself (Chair of Comparative Linguistics, Frankfurt University), who was my constant companion during all my research stays in the Maldives. Without the inspiring suggestions he made and the ongoing discussions we had over all the years, this book could not have been written in its present form. This also holds true for his help with technical problems, concerning particularly hard- and software difficulties. Furthermore, my husband made his collection of Old Dhivehi inscriptions and manuscripts (collected in 1993) available to me which not only enlarged my knowledge of Old Dhivehi but enabled me to describe the historical development of different categories of this language. Furthermore, I would like to thank my husband for proof-reading both the German original and the English translation of this book several times and for preparing the layout and the indexes. I also have to thank my husband for encouraging me to translate the whole book into English and stimulating me in those moments when I was about to lose my strength and self-confidence.

Oberursel, 16 August 2001

Sonja Fritz

Table of contents

Introduction 1

Phonology 17
The sound system 17
The vowels 19
Long vowels 20
Nasal vowels 23
Diphthongs 24
Umlaut phenomena 25
Vocalic alternations 27
The consonants 28
Consonant clusters 36
Geminates 37
Loan phonemes 44
Syllable and word structure 46
Word accent 47
Sandhi 48
On the historical relationship of Dhivehi and Sinhalese 49

Morphology 51
The nominal categories 51
The noun 54
Case system and stem types 54
Genitive 55
Locative 56
Dative 57
Ablative/instrumental 59
i-stems 62
a-stems 63
Consonant stems 63
Root nouns 67
Number, definiteness and indefiniteness 68
Addū 76
Fua' Mulaku 82
Māle 88
Declension types 92
Addū 93
Fua' Mulaku 96
Māle 100
The adjective 102
Adjectival comparison 105

Numerals . . . 107
Cardinal numbers . . . 108
The duodecimal system . . . 122
Ordinal numbers . . . 123
Other categories of numerals . . . 124
The pronominal system . . . 126
Personal pronouns . . . 128
Personal pronouns of the first person . . . 129
Personal pronouns of the second person . . . 133
Personal pronouns of the third person . . . 137
Possessive pronouns . . . 144
Reflexive pronouns . . . 145
Demonstrative pronouns . . . 146
Demonstrative adverbs . . . 150
Modal adverbs . . . 151
Reciprocal pronouns . . . 152
Interrogative pronouns . . . 152
Indefinite pronouns . . . 159
The verbal system . . . 164
The finite present . . . 168
Formation of the causative . . . 170
"Double" causatives . . . 170
The finite preterite . . . 174
The finite future . . . 176
Aḍḍū . . . 177
Fua Mulaku . . . 178
Māle . . . 181
The imperative . . . 182
The infinitive in jussive function . . . 184
Imperatives with the suffix *-ti* . . . 185
Periphrastic imperative formations . . . 187
The infinitive . . . 191
The infinitive of the *a*-stems . . . 192
The infinitive of the *e*-stems . . . 195
The infinitive of the *n*-stems . . . 195
The verbal noun . . . 196
The gerund . . . 196
The participles . . . 198
The participle of the present . . . 199
The participle of the preterite . . . 201
The participle of the future . . . 209
The absolutive (converb) . . . 210
Irregular absolutives . . . 214
Reduplicated absolutives . . . 215
Compound verbs and auxiliary verbs expressing "aktionsart" concepts . . . 216
Combinations with auxiliary verbs in Sinhalese . . . 223
Compound verbs and auxiliary verbs in Dhivehi . . . 225

The potential 231
Māle 232
Aḍḍū 233
Fuaʾ Mulaku 235
Suppletive potential formation 236
Past forms of the potential 236
The potential of "root verbs" 237
Suppletive and combined potential forms 238
Conditional formations 239
Aḍḍū 239
Māle 240
Suppletive verbal paradigms 242
Suppletivism according to number 242
Suppletivism in the formation of tense forms 243
Interrogative forms ("yes/no" questions) 244
Aḍḍū 244
Fuaʾ Mulaku 247
Māle 248
Uninflected words 249

Syntactical sketch 251
Sentence structure 251
subordinate clauses 254
conjunctions 254
Participial subordinate clauses 256
absolutives 257
Verbal nouns 257
Quotation particles and interrogative particles 258
Negated sentences 260

Indexes** 263
Grammatical terms 263
Texts 268
Languages 269
Geographical names 269
Personal names 269
Historical and sociological terms 270

** Indexes of text passages and word forms have been attached to vol. II (p. 225 ff.).

Abbreviations*

A. . . .	Aḍḍū dialect
A.D. . .	Anno Domini
A.H. . .	Anno Hijrae
abl. . .	ablative
abs. . .	absolutive
acc. . .	accusative
adj. . .	adjective
adv. . .	adverb
aff. . . .	affirmative
AMg. . .	Ardhamāgadhī
anim. . .	animate
Ap. . . .	Apabhraṃśa
appr. . .	approximately
Arab. . .	Arabic
Ass. . . .	Assamese
attr. . . .	attribute
aux. . . .	auxiliary verb
B.C. . . .	before Christ
Beng. . .	Bengali (Baṅglā)
BHS . . .	Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit
bot. . . .	botanical
card. . . .	cardinal number
caus. . .	causative
cf.	confer
ch.	chapter
class. . .	classical
conj. . . .	conjunction
cop. . . .	copula(tive)
cp.	compare
dat. . . .	dative
decl. . . .	declension
def. . . .	definite
dem. . . .	demonstrative
dim . . .	diminutive
distr. . .	distributive
Dhiv. . .	Dhivehi
doub. . .	double
e.a.	and elsewhere
East-H. .	East Huvadū dialect
ed.	editor / edited / edition
eds. . . .	editors
e.g. . . .	for example
elem. . .	element
emph. . .	emphatic
Engl. . .	English
esp. . . .	especially
F.	Fua' Mulaku dialect
f(em). . .	feminine
ff.	following pages
foc. . . .	focus
Fr.	French
fut.	future
gen. . . .	genitive
ger. . . .	gerund
Germ. . .	German
Guj. . . .	Gujarati (Gujarātī)
H.	Huvadū dialect
Hi.	Hindi (Hindī)
hon. . . .	honorific
IA	Indo-Aryan
id.	the same
IIA	Insular Indo-Aryan
impv. . .	imperative
inact. . .	inactive
inan. . . .	inanimate
Ind. . . .	Indian / Indic
indef. . .	indefinite
inf.	infinitive
instr. . .	instrumental
interr. . .	interrogative
intr. . . .	intransitive
ipfv. . . .	imperfective
JM. . . .	Jaina Māhārāṣṭrī
l.f. . . .	long form (participle)
Lat. . . .	Latin
lit.	literally
loc. . . .	locative
M.	Māle standard language
Mar. . . .	Marathi (Marāṭhī)
m(asc). .	masculine
MBh. . .	Mahābhārata
MIA . . .	Middle Indo-Aryan
mod. . .	modern
ms.	manuscript
n.	noun
neg. . . .	negated
Nep. . . .	Nepali (Nepāli)
NIA . . .	New Indo-Aryan
nom. . .	nominative
ntr.	neuter
num. . .	numeral
obj. . . .	object
obl. . . .	oblique case
obs. . . .	obsolete
OIA . . .	Old Indo-Aryan
Or.	Oriya (Oṛiyā)
ord. . . .	ordinal number
Pa.	Pali (Pāli)
Panj. . .	Panjabi (Pañjābī)
part. . . .	participle
partc. . .	particle
Pers. . . .	Persian
pers. . . .	personal
pfv. . . .	perfective
PIE . . .	Proto-Indo-European
Pkt. . . .	Prakrit
pl(ur). . .	plural
p.n. . . .	proper name
pol. . . .	polite
Pol. . . .	Polish
poss. . .	possessive
postpos.	postposition
pot. . . .	potential
pred. . .	predicate, predicative
pres. . . .	present (tense)
pret. . . .	preterite
prev. . .	preverb
pron. . .	pronoun
pron.adj.	pronominal adjective
ps.	person
quot. . .	quotation
R.	Rāmāyana
recip. . .	reciprocal
red	reduplicated
refl. . . .	reflexive
repr. . . .	reprint
resp. . . .	respectively
rev. . . .	revised
Russ. . .	Russian
RV	Ṛgveda
sg.	singular
Si.	Sindhi (Sindhī)
Sinh. . .	Sinhalese
Skt. . . .	Sanskrit
subj. . . .	subject
subst. . .	substantive
suff. . . .	suffix
Ś.	Śaurasenī
top. . . .	toponym
trans. . .	transitive
Turk. . .	Turkic
Ved. . . .	Vedic
vb.n. . . .	verbal noun
viz. . . .	namely
voc. . . .	vocational
vol. . . .	volume
West-H.	West Huvadū dialect

* For L1 etc., F1 etc., RA and other abbreviations referring to the Old and Modern Dhivehi texts that were used in the present book, cf. the Survey of historical documents contained in vol. II, p. 215 ff.

Bibliography*

BECHERT (1959): Heinz B., Bemerkungen zur Aussprache des Singhalesischen. *Münchener Studien zur Sprachwissenschaft* 14, 55-62.

BELL (1883): Harry Charles Purvis B., The Máldive Islands. An Account of the Physical Features, Climate, History, Inhabitants, Productions, and Trade. Colombo.

— (1922-35): id., Excerpta Maldiviana 1-14. *Journal of the Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. XXIX, 75 (1922), 99-104 [no. 1]; 76 (1923), 194-214 [no. 2]; 77 (1924), 283-303 [no. 3]; vol. XXX, 78 (1925), 132-142 [no. 4]; 79 (1926), 257-270 [no. 5]; 80 (1927), 436-447 [no. 6]; vol. XXXI, 81 (1928), 180-194 [no. 7]; 82 (1929), 400-414 [no. 8]; 83 (1930), 539-578 [no. 9]; vol. XXXII, 84 (1931), 76-124 [no. 10]; 85 (1932), 226-242 [no. 11]; 86 (1933), 372-387 [no. 12]; vol. XXXIII, 87 (1934), 47-90 [no. 13]; 88 (1935), 169-191 [no. 14].

— (1940): id., The Máldive Islands. Monograph on the History, Archeology, and Epigraphy. Colombo.

BERGER (1953): Hermann B., Zwei Probleme der mittelindischen Lautlehre. München.

— (1992): id., Modern Indo-Aryan. In: Jadranka GVOZDANOVIĆ (ed.), Indo-European Numerals. Berlin - New York, 243-287.

BÜHLER (1934): Karl B., Sprachtheorie. Jena.

CAIN (1992): Bruce D. C., A Grammatical Sketch of Dhivehi. (Pre-publication draft).

— (1995): id., Maldivian Prototypical Passives and Related Constructions. *Anthropological Linguistics* 37/4, 524-540.

CALDWELL (1875): Robert C., A Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian or South Indian Family of Languages. London. (Repr. Madras 1961).

CARTER (1936): Charles C., An English-Sinhalese Dictionary. 2nd, rev. ed. Colombo. (Repr. Colombo 1965).

CHATTERJEE (1988): Ranjit Ch., Aspect and Meaning in Slavic and Indic. Amsterdam.

CLOUGH (1892): B. C., A Sinhalese-English Dictionary. Colombo.

D.B.G.: Divehi bahuge gavāidu (ed. National Centre for Linguistic and Historical Research, Male). Male [not dated].

DE SILVA (1969): M.W.S. de S., The Phonological Efficiency of the Maldivian Writing System. *Anthropological linguistics* 11, 199-208.

— (1970a): id., Some Affinities between Sinhalese and Maldivian. *Journal of the Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* 1970, 20-27.

— (1970b): id., Some Observations on the History of Maldivian. In: *Transactions of the Philological Society* 1970, 137-162.

— (1979): id., Sinhalese and other Island Languages in South Asia. Tübingen.

DISANAYAKA / MANIKU (1990): J.B. D. / Hassan Ahmed M., Say it in Maldivian (Dhivehi). Colombo.

DSL (1935-): A Dictionary of the Sinhalese Language, ed. by W. GEIGER / D.B. JAYATILAKA (1935-41, continued by the University of Ceylon, now ed. by the Ministery of Cultural Affairs). Colombo.

ELIZARENKOVA (1974): Tat'jana Jakovlevna E., Issledovanija po diaxroničeskoj fonologii indoarijskix jazykov. Moskva.

FRITZ (1989-90): Sonja F., Dhivehi. Eine bisher weitgehend unbekannt gebliebene neuindoarische Sprache. *Klagenfurter Beiträge zur Sprachwissenschaft* 15-16, 117-129.

— (1993): id., Wilhelm Geigers Beitrag zur Erforschung des Dhivehi, der Staatssprache der Malediven. *Münchener Studien zur Sprachwissenschaft* 54, 15-32.

FRITZ / GIPPERT (2000): Sonja F. / Jost G., Towards a Historical Phonology of Maldivian. In: Michaela OFITSCH / Christian ZINKO (eds.), 125 Jahre Indogermanistik in Graz, Graz, 139-152.

* This table lists only those titles that are quoted in abbreviated form in the present book.

GAIR (1970): James W. G., Colloquial Sinhalese Clause Structures. The Hague – Paris.

GEIGER (1900): Wilhelm G., Litteratur und Sprache der Singhalesen. Strassburg.

— (1901-02): id., Māldivische Studien. I: *Sitzungsberichte der Königlich-Bayrischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, philosophisch-philologische und historische Klasse*, München [1901], 614-684. II: *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 55, 1901, 371-387. III: *Sitzungsberichte* ... 1902, 107-132.

— (1902): id., Etymological Vocabulary of the Māldivian Language. *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* 1902, 909-938.

— (1916): id., Pāli. Literatur und Sprache. Strassburg.

— (1919): id., Máldivian Linguistic Studies (transl. by J.C. WILLIS / ed. by H.C.P. BELL). In: *Journal of the Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* 27, Extra Number. Colombo. (Repr. Male 1986).

— (1938): id., A Grammar of the Sinhalese Language. Colombo.

— (1941): id., An Etymological Glossary of the Sinhalese Language. Colombo.

— (1941a): id., Studien zur Geschichte und Sprache Ceylons. In: GEIGER (1973), 523-557.

— (1942): id., Beiträge zur singhalesischen Sprachgeschichte. In: GEIGER (1973), 560-636.

— (1973): id., Kleine Schriften zur Indologie und Buddhismuskunde (ed. Heinz BECHERT). Wiesbaden.

GIPPERT (1997): Jost G., Paläographische Untersuchungen mit dem Computer. *Studia Iranica, Mesopotamica et Anatolica* 2, 1996 [1997], 77-100.

— (forthcoming): id., Early New Persian as a Medium of Spreading Islam. To appear in: L. PAUL (ed.), *Proceedings of the conference "Early New Persian"*, Göttingen.

GUNASEKARA (1891): Abraham Mendis G., A Comprehensive Grammar of the Sinhalese Language. Colombo. (Repr. Colombo 1962).

GRIERSON (1903-27): George A. G., Linguistic Survey of India. 11 vols. Calcutta.

HACKER (1958): Paul H., Zur Funktion einiger Hilfsverben im modernen Hindi. *Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur in Mainz, Geistes- und sozialwissenschaftliche Klasse* 4/1958, 189-270.

HINÜBER (1986): Oskar v. H., Das ältere Mittelindisch im Überblick. Wien.

HLSD (1988): Historical and Linguistic Survey of Divehi (ed. National Centre for Linguistic and Historical Research, Male and Department of Sinhala, University of Colombo). Colombo (typoscript).

HOOK (1974): Peter E. H., The Compound Verb in Hindi. Michigan.

ISAČENKO (1962): Aleksandr Vasilevič I., Die russische Sprache der Gegenwart. Halle (Saale).

JAYAWARDENA-MOSER (1996): Premalatha J.-M., Aufbauwortschatz Singhalesisch-Deutsch. Wiesbaden.

— (1993): id., Grundwortschatz Singhalesisch-Deutsch. Wiesbaden.

KELLOG (1875): S.H. K., A Grammar of the Hindi Language. London. (Repr. London 1955).

LIENHARD (1961): Siegfried L., Tempusgebrauch und Aktionsartenbildung in der modernen Hindī. Uppsala.

MALTEN (1983): Th. M., Malediven und Lakkadiven. Materialien zur Bibliographie der Atolle im Indischen Ozean. Wiesbaden.

MANIKU (1988-89): Hassan Ahmed M., Vanavaru. 1: Dhevi (1988). 2: Nakaiy (1989). 3: Dhekunu arumaadhu (1989). 4: Filaaveli (1989). Male.

MANIKU / WIJAYAWARDHANA (1986): Hassan Ahmed M. / G.D. W. (eds.), Isdhoo Loamaafaanu. Colombo.

MASICA (1991): Colin P. M., The Indo-Aryan Languages. Cambridge.

MATZEL (1983): Klaus M., Einführung in die singhalesische Sprache. 2. verb. Aufl., Wiesbaden.

MAYRHOFER (1951): Manfred M., Handbuch des Pāli. 2 Bde. Heidelberg.

— (1965): id., Sanskrit-Grammatik mit sprachvergleichenden Erläuterungen. 2. Aufl., Berlin.

— (1981): id., Laryngalreflexe im Indo-Iranischen; in *Zeitschrift für Phonetik, Sprachwissenschaft und Kommunikationsforschung* 34, 427-438.

— (1986-): id., Etymologisches Wörterbuch des Altindoarischen. Heidelberg.

MCGREGOR (1972): R.S. M., Outline of Hindi Grammar. Oxford.

MHM (1984): Māle Hukuru Miskit (ed. Divehi bahāi tārīxaś xidmat kurā qaumī marukazu [National Center for Linguistic and Historical Research]). Māle.

MITE (1996): Glossary: English-Dhivehi, Dhivehi-English (ed. Male Institute for Teacher Education). Male.

MM: Mālēge miskittak [The Mosques of Māle] (ed. Dept. of Information and Broadcasting). Male [not dated].

NCLHR (1985-91): Divehi basfot. Vols. 1-16 (ed. National Centre for Linguistic and Historical Research). Male [lithographed].

NESPITAL (1981): Helmut, N., Das Futursystem im Hindi und Urdu. Ein Beitrag zur semantischen Analyse der Kategorien Tempus, Aspekt und Modus und ihrer Grammeme. Wiesbaden.

NORMAN (1992): H.R. N., Middle Indo-Aryan. In: Jadranka GVOZDANOVIĆ (ed.), Indo-European Numerals. Berlin - New York, 199-241.

RHYS DAVIDS (1921-25): T.W. R.D. and William Stede, The Pali Text Society's Pali-English Dictionary. Oxford. (Repr. Oxford 1992).

PARANAVITANA (1956): S. P., Sigiri Graffiti. 2 vols. Oxford e.a.

PISCHEL (1981): Richard P., A Grammar of the Prākrit Languages (transl. Subhadra JHĀ). 2nd rev. ed., Delhi.

POŘÍZKA (1967-1970): Vincenc P., On the perfective verbal aspect in Hindi; in: *Archiv Orientální* 35/1 (1967), 64-88; 35/2 (1967), 208-231; 36 (1968), 233-251; 37/1 (1969), 19-47; 37/2, 345-364.

— (1970): id., On some verbal expressions in Hindi, in: *Acta Universitatis Carolinae, Philologica* 5 (1970), 69-86.

PYRARD / GRAY (1878): A. G., The Maldive Islands: with a Vocabulary taken from François PYRARD DE LAVAL. *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* 1878, 173-209.

RENOU (1961): Louis R., Grammaire Sanscrite. 2 vols. Paris.

REYNOLDS (1993): Christopher H.B. R., Maldives. Oxford e.a.

SHISHIDO (1983): M. Sh., English-Dhivehi Dictionary. Male [typoscript].

SŚ (1937-1992): Siṁhala śabdakōṣaya [Sinhalese Dictionary]. 27 vols. (ed. Ministery of Cultural Affairs). Colombo.

STEINGASS (1929): F. S., Persian-English Dictionary. London. (Repr. London 1977).

TURNER (1966): Ralph L. T., A Comparative Dictionary of the Indo-Aryan Languages. Vols. I,II. London e.a.

— (1969): id., A Comparative Dictionary of the Indo-Aryan Languages. Indexes. London e.a.

— (1971): Ralph L. T. / D.R. T., A Comparative Dictionary of the Indo-Aryan Languages. Phonetic Analysis. London e.a.

— (1985): Ralph L. T., A Comparative Dictionary of the Indo-Aryan Languages. Addenda and Corrigenda (ed. J.C. WRIGHT). London e.a.

VYXUXOLEV (1964): V.V. V., Singal'skij jazyk. Moskva.

WEHR (1958): Hans W., Arabisches Wörterbuch für die Schriftsprache der Gegenwart. Wiesbaden.

WERBA (1997): Chlodwig H. W., Verba Indoarica. Die primären und sekundären Wurzeln der Sanskrit-Sprache. Wien.

WHITNEY (1885): William D. W., The Roots, Verb-Forms, and Primary Derivatives of the Sanskrit Language. Leipzig. (Repr. New Haven/Connecticut, 1945).

WIJAYARATNE (1956): D.J. W., History of the Sinhalese Noun. Colombo.

WILSON / CHRISTOPHER (1841): Vocabulary of the Maldivian Language, compiled by Lieut. W. Chr., I.N. Communicated to the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society by J. W. In: *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* 6, 42-76.

YULE / BURNELL (1902): Henry Y. / A.C. B., Hobson-Jobson. A Glossary of Colloquial Anglo-Indian Words and Phrases, and of Kindred Terms, Etymological, Historical, Geographical and Discursive. New edition by William CROOKE. (Repr. Delhi 1989).

ZOGRAF (1976): G.A. Z., Morfologičeskij stroj novyx indoarijskix jazykov. Moskva.

ZOGRAF (1990): G.A. Z., Jazyki južnoj Azii. Moskva.

ZAHAIR (1991): M. Z., Practical Dhivehi. Male.

Introduction

0.1. Dhivehi, the official language of the Republic of Maldives, represents the southernmost Indo-Aryan language and even the southernmost Indo-European language, if we consider the historical distribution of the (earlier) Indo-European languages rather than the comparatively recent expansion of some colonial languages, such as English, French, Spanish or Portuguese. Together with the closely related Sinhalese, the Indo-Aryan language spoken by the major part of Sri Lanka's population, Dhivehi establishes a special subgroup within the Modern Indo-Aryan languages which will hereafter be called "Insular Indo-Aryan" (IIA). This term, which is based on purely geographical facts, is legitimate insofar as the area where the two languages are spoken is confined to the respective insular states.

Because of a high degree of isolation from the Indo-Aryan linguistic area in the Subcontinent, the two insular languages are distinguished by many particular developments affecting different linguistic spheres. In order to understand all these peculiarities it is necessary to consider historical facts and developments, the cultural influences and the history of the languages. The preconditions that characterise the study of the two languages in question are essentially different from each other. While Sinhalese shows the longest continuous literary and historical tradition of all Modern Indo-Aryan languages, Dhivehi has only a very scanty written tradition. This is the reason why long periods in the history of the Maldives have remained almost unknown even today. Inevitably, these facts are also reflected in the history of scientific research into both languages. Without considering Sinhalese a well-founded investigation of Dhivehi is practically impossible. Therefore, this introduction begins with a short outline of the most important stages of the historical studies concerning the two languages.

0.2. The foundation stone of the historical linguistic analysis of Sinhalese as well as of Dhivehi was laid by WILHELM GEIGER (1856-1943) whose comprehensive studies of Pali and Sinhalese are still to be taken seriously. In his 1937 article "The linguistic character of Sinhalese", he definitively rejected all attempts to consider Sinhalese as one of the members of the Dravidic family of languages. Although the Danish linguist RASMUS RASK had classified Sinhalese as a language of the Sanskrit stock as early as 1821, he could not prevent others from trying to prove a relationship between Sinhalese and Tamil.

The material GEIGER used for his etymological, morphological and syntactical investigations was taken from the rich Sinhalese literature which he divided into four main periods: Sinhalese Prakrit (from the 2nd c. B.C. to the 3rd/4th c. A.D.; ancient *Brāhmī* inscriptions); Proto-Sinhalese (from the 4/5th c. to the 8th c.; later *Brāhmī* inscriptions); Medieval Sinhalese (from the 8th c. to the middle of the 13th c.; inscriptions and the most ancient documents of manuscript literature); the period from the middle of the 13th c. up to the present, called "Modern Sinhalese" by GEIGER, which actually has to be subdivided into Classical Sinhalese (from the 13th c. to the 17th c.), and Modern Sinhalese proper (from then on). The latter period comprises the contemporary literary and colloquial language.

To a large extent, Sinhalese inscriptions have been collected and edited within the series *Epigraphia Zeylanica* (Archeological Survey of Ceylon) since 1904. In this connection, S. PARANAVITANA's two volume edition of the "Sīgiri Graffiti" which was published in 1956 is of special interest. Besides the text of the inscriptions of the rock of Sīgiriya it also contains a comprehensive descriptive grammar of Medieval Sinhalese and, furthermore, the most detailed paleographical description of Sinhalese that has ever been published.

0.2.1. However, the most important information on the earliest history of the Sinhalese people is not attested in the Sinhalese language but within two chronicles written in Pali: the *Dīpavaṃsa* ("Island Chronicle")[2] and the *Mahāvaṃsa* ("Great Chronicle"). The latter covers the time from 544 B.C. until 362 A.D.; it was continued under the name of *Cūlavaṃsa* ("Lesser Chronicle") which was carried on until 1781.[3] While the language of the *Dīpavaṃsa* is still inspired by the clerical tradition and, therefore, is characterised by a ponderous style, the *Mahāvaṃsa* which combines Buddhist tradition with a rich folklore can be called a work of poetic artisanship. The author, *Mahānāma*, lived at the end of the 5th c. / beginning of the 6th c.

It is often difficult to distinguish historical facts from pure myths and legends in both of these chronicles. GEIGER whose investigations into the chronicles yielded numerous publications (cf. above), succeeded in filtering much information about historical events and material culture from these texts. The details would exceed the scope of the present study and only a few items are to be mentioned here. Thus, e.g., it is nowadays taken for granted that the first Indo-Aryan colonisation of Sri Lanka took place at about the 5th/4th c. B.C. by tribes coming from the north of the subcontinent; however, the question whether their "proto-homeland" was located in the northwest or in the northeast of India, has not yet been proved satisfactorily. Most of the toponyms mentioned in the chronicle can be interpreted in favour of both sides. Thus, ch. VI of the *Mahāvaṃsa* which relates the colonisation of the island, informs us that *Sīhabāhu*, the father of the legendary first Sinhalese king *Vijaya*, migrated from the land of the *Vaṅga*s where he had married a royal princess, to a region called *Lāṭa*; there he founded his residence *Sīhapura*. While *Vaṅga* obviously refers to Bengal, the name *Lāṭa*, in connection with the hypothesis about the home-land, can be understood in two senses.[4] *Sīhabāhu* ("lion-arm") is described as being the son of a lion and a princess; after he killed his father, he was called *Sīhaḷa*. *Vijaya*'s successors accepted this name as their ethnonym.

Furthermore we can learn from the *Mahāvaṃsa* that the island was inhabited by an aboriginal tribe of an unknown race who can presumably be identified with the ancestors of

[2] HERMANN OLDENBERG, The Dīpavaṃsa. An Ancient Buddhist Historical Record (ed. + transl.). New Delhi-Madras 1992 (1st ed. Berlin 1879).

[3] WILHELM GEIGER (transl.), The Mahāvaṃsa or Great Chronicle of Ceylon. Pali Text Society, London 1980 (1st ed. 1912). – The same (ed.), Cūlavaṃsa being the more recent part of the Mahāvaṃsa. Vols. I, II. Pali Text Soc., London 1980 (1st ed. 1925). – The same (transl.) Cūlavaṃsa Part I. Pali Text Soc., London 1973 (1st ed. 1929). – ANANDA W.P. GURUGE, Mahāvaṃsa. The Great Chronicle of Sri Lanka. Chapters 1-37 (transl. and commentary). Colombo 1989. – Cf. further W. GEIGER's articles collected unter the title of "III. Ceylonesische Chroniken" as part of his "Kleine Schriften zur Indologie und Buddhismuskunde" (ed. HEINZ BECHERT). Wiesbaden 1973, 233-313. – WILHELM GEIGER, Culture of Ceylon in Mediaeval Times (ed. HEINZ BECHERT). repr. Stuttgart 1986.

[4] Cf. the discussion and the bibliography about the different hypotheses given in DE SILVA (1979), 16 ff.

the present-day Vedda people.[5] The Veddas who are neither a Dravidic nor an Indo-Aryan tribe, still live, to a small extent, as hunters and gatherers. The chronicle informs us about intensive contacts between the first Sinhalese settlers and the aborigines up to the point of marriage (*Vijaya* himself took a *yakkhiṇī* as his wife), as well as about close relations with Dravidic tribes from South India.

Soon after the immigration of the Sinhalese to Sri Lanka manifold contacts with different regions of India started to develop. To a certain degree, these relations must have influenced the Sinhalese language. In particular it is likely that the contacts with Tamil which lasted for many centuries left considerable traces; however, so far these interferences have scarcely been investigated.

0.2.2. The language of the immigrants was a MIA dialect which essentially developed in the same way as the MIA vernaculars of the mainland. At the end of the MIA period, Sinhalese Prakrit had reached a typical *Apabhraṃśa* state which is called "Proto-Sinhalese". The linguistic categories of Sinhalese achieved their modern form at the beginning of the 8th c., i.e. on the threshold of the stage which GEIGER called "medieval".

0.3. The abundant early attestations of Sinhalese history have no comparable counterpart on the Maldivian side. The official historiography starts with the year 1153 A.D. which is considered to be the beginning of the conversion of the Maldives to Islam. From this time on a national chronicle was written in Arabic, the so-called *Tārīḫ* ("history"), the original manuscript of which was destroyed in 1752 during a firestorm in Māle. Apart from that, the periods of rulership of the sultans and sultanas,[6] as well as a few important historical facts, were listed in a short chronicle written in Dhivehi, the so-called *Rādavaḷi*, which means "chronicle of the kings". At present, three manuscripts of the *Rādavaḷi* have been found in Māle, but it can be taken for certain that originally there were more variants of the text.

0.3.1. With islamisation, the Maldives became an independent sultanate. They officially kept this status even during the colonial age under the Portuguese, the Dutch and the British. While the Portuguese period (1558-73) was characterised by an enormous brutality, the relations with the Dutch were based on an initiative which was taken by the Maldives themselves; their only obligations consisted of an annual tribute which was paid from 1645 on. From 1754 until 1759, the Maldives voluntarily delivered themselves under the protection of the French who were asked for help against the permanent assaults of Malabar pirates. In 1796, together with Ceylon, the Maldives became a British colony; the only result of this

[5] In the chronicle this people is called *yakkha-*. The Pali word goes back to OIA *yakṣá-* "supernatural being"; Cf. also Sinh. *yakā* "demon, devil" (TURNER 1966, II, 601, no. 10395). According to GEIGER, in the chronicle the word is used for wild tribes living in the mountains. – Cf. furthermore: C.G. SELIGMANN and B.Z. SELIGMANN, The Veddas, Cambridge 1911; M.W.S. DE SILVA, Vedda Language of Ceylon. Texts and Lexicon, Munchen 1972; K.N.O. DHARMADASA and S.W.R. DE A. SAMARASINGHE, The Vanishing Aborigines. Sri Lanka's Veddas in Transition, New Delhi 1990.

[6] In the 14th c. there were three de facto sultanas; in the middle of the 18th c. a nominal sultana was on the Maldivian throne.

eldest son of the legendary Sinhalese king *Sīhabāhu*, prince-regent *Vijaya*, was of evil conduct and became a robber; therefore, he was casted out by his father. *Vijaya* and his male followers, as well as their wifes and children, were provided with three ships. These ships put to sea and landed on different islands. The island where the women landed was called *Mahilādīpaka* (Pali lit. "woman-island"; *mahilā-* "woman" + *dīpa-* ← *dvīpá-* "island" + suffix *-ka*).

Obviously, the Arabic name of the Maldive islands which was used in the Middle Ages by several Arabic travellers and geographers, was derived from the Pali form *Mahilādīpaka* as well. The first author who mentioned the Maldives is Yāqūt (1179-1229) who under the name of *al-dībağāt* refers to about one thousand islands, some of them inhabited, close by each other in the middle of the Indian Ocean.[10] The first extensive description of the Maldives was given by the traveller Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (1304-1377) who calls the islands *ḏībat al-maḥal*.[11]

It cannot be decided with certainty whether the toponym of the Maldives has to be understood as "island(s) of the women" in the sense of the Pali chronicle. Probably the first part of the word represents a linguistic phenomenon which is called a "popular etymology"; nevertheless, the derivation of the second part from OIA *dvīpa-* through MIA *dīpa-* "island" is with no doubt correct.[12]

0.4. If it is true that the toponym *Mahilādīpaka* refers to the Maldives, the report on a simultaneous departure of three ships from the home country and their respective landing on different islands, as given in the *Mahāvaṃsa*, deserves a special interest. On the one hand, the question arises at what time the first migration of Indo-Aryans to the Maldives took place. On the other hand, we may wonder whether the first immigrants came directly from mainland India or via Sri Lanka. If the legend as told in the *Mahāvaṃsa* is not purely invented, it could be taken as an indication that the first Indo-Aryan colonists who travelled to the Maldives arrived there at the same time as those who, coming from India, settled in Sri Lanka. Furthermore, this would imply that Dhivehi and Sinhalese are "sister languages" which developed from a common Prakrit ancestor.

As to the questions concerning the immigration, there is no written tradition at all on the Maldivian side so that we have to rely upon other information. In the given case, the explanatory quality of historical-comparative linguistics is of special interest. With the help of the exact methods of a historical linguistic comparison which, in a few auspicious cases, can be completed by extralinguistic data, it it possible to gain at least a very fragmentary insight into the early periods of Maldivian history which cannot be gained in any other way. An intensive cooperation between philologists and archeologists will be indispensable for this task, but until a short time ago, there were neither the necessary financial means nor a real interest in

[10] YĀQŪT BIN ʿABDALLAH AR-RŪMĪ: Muʿğam al-buldān, 2nd vol., Bairūt 1979, 495.

[11] Voyages d'ibn Battūta. Texte arabe, accompagné d'une traduction par C. DEFREMERY et B.R. SANGUINETI. Paris 1979 (1st ed. 1845).

[12] For the derivation of the word *divehi* meaning "Maldivian", lit. "island-inhabitant, islander" cf. 1.3.9.5 and 2.6.2.3.1.4. The spelling *dhivehi* with initial ⟨*dh*⟩ as used in the official transcription in the Maldives does not reflect an aspirated consonant (for the general loss of aspirates cf. 1.3.1) but marks the dental stop */d/* as against the retroflex */ḍ/* spelled ⟨*d*⟩. Within this spelling system, the dental stops are generally marked by an additional *h*.

saving the remnants of the pre-Islamic era on the Maldivian side. In the most recent past, however, the common and the official opinion has changed; nowadays, a strong interest in the non-Islamic period is arising.

Before they were converted to Islam, the Maldivians were Buddhists. Under the ground of many islands there are ruins of Buddhist temples which are still awaiting excavation. A few monuments that have already been uncovered – in most cases in a very unprofessional way[13] – bear vivid testimony to this epoch of Maldivian history. As to the possibility of serious archeological investigations, no more time must be wasted because of the permanent erosion of the monuments which is caused by the equatorial climate. Until now, no written documents of the Buddhist period of the Maldives have been discovered. Thus, for lack of evidence, the pre-Islamic history of the Maldivian archipelago remains practically unknown.

0.5. As was mentioned above, the time following the conversion to Islam, at least with respect to the reignal years and the names of the sultans, is documented without interruption. There are also some older documents written in Dhivehi, but the limited number of the texts which have been preserved cannot compete in any way with the rich tradition of Sinhalese.

0.5.1. The early Dhivehi texts are written in a script named *Dives akuru* ("Maldivian script"), the oldest type of which is called *Evēla akuru* (lit. "script of that time"[14]). It is quite obvious that this syllabary must be related to the medieval Sinhalese script; like the latter, it must be classified as a subtype of a southern *Brāhmī* cursive. Among the oldest texts we find some inscriptions in *Evēla akuru* on three statues belonging to the National Museum in Māle (approximately from the 12th / 13th c., still unedited), as well as some decrees on copper-plates (*lōmāfānu*) issued by the early Islamic rulers, the earliest ones dating from the late 12th c. Until now, eight copper-plate documents have come to light, each of them consisting of several (up to 50) plates; some of them are in a very bad condition, though, and practically undecipherable. The latest plates must be dated in the 14th c. Two of the *lōmāfānu*s, which are in a better state, have recently been edited by representatives of the "National Centre for Linguistic and Historical Research" in Māle in cooperation with members of the Department of Sinhala of the University of Colombo; in many respects, however, the quality of these editions does not satisfy scientific requirements.[15]

In form, the copper-plates are an imitation of palm leaves, which were the typical writing material of the whole region until recently. While the art of writing on palm leaves is still practised in Sri Lanka by a few professional calligraphers, it has been completely lost in the Maldives. There is good reason to believe that real palm leaves were used as a writing material in the Maldives in older times as well; the extremely humid and hot climate there

[13] Thor HEYERDAHL's expeditions and excavations, as attested particularly in his book "The Maldive Mystery" (London 1986), do not meet any scientific requirements. To a large extent, his conclusions about the prehistory and the Buddhist period of the Maldives are pure illusion. – A special article on this subject is just being prepared by the author of this book.

[14] Dem.pron. *e* "that"; *vēla* "time"; *akuru* "script".

[15] This is especially true for matters in historical linguistics. For further information cf. the material volume of this book, p. 215 f.

must have destroyed them in their entirety. Even the copper-plates show many traces of erosion.

The first *lōmāfānu* plates were discovered as late as 1922 during an expedition which was supervised by the British Archaeological Commissioner for Ceylon, H.C.P. BELL, who is also the author of the most instructive and complete survey on history, geography and ethnology of the Maldive Islands which has ever been written and which, therefore, has not lost its importance until the present time.[16] Furthermore, BELL collected the written documents of Dhivehi as far as they were available, and he even tried to analyse them with the active help of Maldivians. BELL himself had no knowledge of the Maldivian script and language.

0.5.2. Two comparatively extensive inscriptions in *Dives akuru* date from the middle of the 17th c. They are written on a wooden beam and a board and are now stored in the National Museum, Māle. One of these inscriptions was provisionally published by BELL again (1940). Besides the inscriptional attestations, there are numerous manuscripts in *Dives akuru* written on paper (*fatkoḷu* "leaf(piece)", i.e. "manuscript sheet") which date from the 16th up to the 18th c. Two of these texts were edited for the first time by BELL as well. One of the three *Rādavaḷi* manuscripts (cf. above) is also written in *Dives akuru*. Furthermore, there are approximately 20 epitaphs and memorial inscriptions in *Dives akuru* written on stone; most of them have not yet been edited (16th-18th c.). They are to be found in Māle as well as in Mīdū and in Hitadū (Aḍḍū-Atoll).

0.5.3. The written documents of the later period, to a larger extent consisting of decrees and official letters as well, are written in *Tāna*, the right-to-left script which is still in use today. *Tāna* obviously represents a mixed product of modified *Dives akuru* characters and Arabic elements. A curious phenomenon is the use of the Arabic digits for the first nine characters of the Maldivian alphabet. Typologically *Tāna* is a mixture of a syllabary belonging to the southern *Brāhmī* type and an alphabetic script which strictly follows phonological criteria. It is not really known at what time this script emerged. It was used alongside *Dives akuru* for a longer period, until the latter was finally given up at the end of the 19th c. It is an interesting fact that in the south of the Maldives the old script was preserved much longer than in Māle.[17] Several documents from the 18th c. are already written in *Tāna* (some of them have been published in Maldivian journals by members of the "National Centre" in Māle; cf. above). Almost all of the numerous funeral and memorial stone inscriptions in *Tāna* which date from the 18th up to the 20th c. (in Māle, Fua' Mulaku and in Gan, Hitadu and Mīdu, Aḍḍū-Atoll) have not yet been edited. The most extended older text written in *Tāna* is a complete manuscript of the *Rādavaḷi* which was published in Māle in 1979.[18] The oldest literary texts, in the proper sense of the word, that are available to us date from the end of the 19th c.

[16] Cf. the bibliography.
[17] Cf. already FRITZ (1993), 19-20.
[18] Cf. also in the material volume of this book.

0.6. The small amount of linguistic studies (in a wider sense) that have been devoted to Dhivehi so far[19] shows that there has been but little interest in this language. In most cases, Dhivehi is not even mentioned in general indological literature. Exceptions are R.L. TURNER's "Comparative Dictionary of the Indo-Aryan Languages" (1966, I/II), the new edition of G.A. ZOGRAF's "Jazyki južnoj Azii" (1990) and C.P. MASICA's survey "The Indo-Aryan Languages" (1991); the information about Dhivehi as given there does not exceed a few fragmentary notes, however. The amount of special literature having Dhivehi as its subject is very restricted as well. Only a few publications exist, some of them having a very popular character; their only value consists in the material they comprise. In most cases, studies of a more scientific character are not really informative either, and there are practically no works of reference.

0.6.1. Thus, the very first – and still the only existing – sketch of a Maldivian grammar which was published by W. GEIGER at the beginning of the 20th century (1901-1902 and 1919), is very fragmentary. GEIGER himself never had the opportunity to visit the Maldives; his contact with the language remained sporadic. When he was in Colombo in winter 1895-96, he had three short meetings with the Maldivian aristocrat and merchant A. Ebrahim Dīdī Effendi who was the prime minister of the Maldivian Sultan and, at the same time, consul of the Ottoman Empire and who sojourned in Colombo at that time.[20] The outcome of these meetings was a small vocabulary and some paradigms and sentences, which GEIGER noted. Some time later, he was able to enlarge this very restricted material on the basis of an indirect correspondence with a native speaker of Arabic who had a certain knowledge of Dhivehi.[21] As we should expect, the results of these hasty contacts were meagre and not free from mistakes. Because of his brilliant knowledge of the Sinhalese language, however, GEIGER was able to publish at least a rudimentary grammatical sketch which has remained the only printed grammar of Dhivehi until now; its English version was reprinted in unchanged form in 1986 in Māle. In the German original, the chapter on morphology comprises no more than 20 pages (35 pages in the English translation; the difference is mainly due to the printing fonts used, not by an enlargement of information).

0.6.2. Besides this, GEIGER (1902) published a small etymological vocabulary of 435 words which has also remained the only publication of its kind so far. There exists no dictionary yet which could be used for reliable reference. The word list of the French seafarer Pyrard de Laval who sojourned in the Maldives in the 17th c. (PYRARD/GRAY 1878), as well as the vocabulary compiled by the British officers J. Wilson and W. Christopher in the 19th c. (WILSON/CHRISTOPHER 1841) have a certain value for the solution of some problems concerning the historical phonology of Dhivehi, but beyond that their importance is marginal. Some modern glossaries which contain very incomplete collections of the colloquial vocabulary of the modern standard language (partly with mistakes) are of a restricted usability as well (MITE 1986; SHISHIDO 1983; DISANAYAKA/MANIKU 1990). Quite recently, a monolingual dictionary covering 16 volumes appeared in Māle (NCLHR 1985-91; ca. 125 handwritten pages per vol.); it contains so many examples of inaccuracy, however, that its compilers

[19] Cf. the list given in FRITZ (1993), 15 ff. For further bibliographical information cf. the bibliography.
[20] Cf. GEIGER (1973), 345.
[21] For details cf. FRITZ (1993), 23.

(members of the "National Centre for Historical and Linguistic Research", Māle) already begun thinking about a new edition before this project was finished.

0.6.3. Three articles by the Sinhalese philologist M.W.S. DE SILVA (1969, 1970a, 1970b) must be considered as the first efforts to investigate Dhivehi on the basis of modern linguistic methods. DE SILVA for the first time tried to elucidate and to explain the relationship between Dhivehi and Sinhalese. The same goal was aimed at by a team of Sinhalese and Maldivian authors who compiled an (unpublished) study finished in 1988 (HLSD 1988) which comprises a small collection of phonological, morphological, syntactical and lexical correspondences between Dhivehi and Sinhalese; the final conclusions about the genetic relation of the two languages, which are based on poor material and contain many mistakes, do not meet scientific criteria.

0.6.4. The increasing interest of the Maldivians in their own language, history and culture which can be observed nowadays manifests itself in the periodical *Fattūra* which contains articles about Maldivian history and literature, including literary products of contemporary Maldivian original writers as well as translated texts. In *Fattūra* we also find some articles about lexical and morphological questions concerning the Dhivehi language.

0.6.5. The philological studies of the Maldivian scholar HASSAN AHMED MANIKU deserve special interest. Most of his publications are dedicated to the cultural and linguistic heritage of the Maldives (MANIKU, 1988-1989). In more recent times, Dhivehi was the subject of an article on the expression of the passive voice and a provisional "Pre-Publication Draft" of a planned "Grammatical Sketch of Dhivehi" by B. CAIN (1995 / 1992) and two articles by the author of the present book (FRITZ 1989-1990 and 1993).

0.7. The question concerning the approximate time of the first Indo-Aryan migration to the Maldives, which is regarded as a substantial problem by many Maldivians, has yielded two contradictory theses which have to be discussed here.

0.7.1. Although GEIGER's studies about Dhivehi represent the foundation stone of any scientific linguistic investigation into this language, the material he collected did not suffice to judge the "degree of relationship" of Dhivehi and Sinhalese. As to the presumptive period of the Indo-Aryan migration to the Maldive Islands, GEIGER's basic assumption can be proved to be wrong. Relying himself on the prejudice that Dhivehi must be a dialectal offspring of Sinhalese, he concluded that the splitting time was not earlier than the 10th c. A.D. This, however, would imply a real exodus from Sri Lanka to the Maldives to have taken place in the middle ages. But there is no convincing reason why thousands of Sinhalese people should have given up their fertile home country in order to exchange it for the comparatively sterile Maldive Islands; the only imaginable motive for such an emigration could have been a war or an epidemic. However, whatever the reason of such a sudden and powerful colonisation of the Maldives might have been — the Sinhalese chronicle would certainly have mentioned it. But in fact there is not even a short note which could support GEIGER's assumption. Ibn

Battūta who in the 14th c. spent one year and a half in the Maldives working as a cadi, noted everything which seemed to be important to him; if the Maldives had been settled relatively recently, he would certainly have heard about that. And, last but not least, we should expect that the Maldivian chronicle, albeit giving more exact dates only from the year 1153 A.D., would have reported about such a sudden immigration at least in legendary form. Furthermore, the few Maldivian legends that refer to the pre-Islamic period do not contain any indications which speak in favour of a recent mass immigration. None of these extralinguistic arguments supports GEIGER's thesis, which, however, cannot be disproved by them either. Until there are serious archeological investigations that testify to an earlier settlement by Indo-Aryans, we have to look for other pieces of scientific evidence.

0.7.2. The Sinhalese philologist DE SILVA (1970b) published the hypothesis that the Maldives were colonised at the same time as Sri Lanka, by Indo-Aryan tribes who came from South India.[22] According to DE SILVA, a first Indo-Aryan immigration, perhaps of a larger extent, could have taken place as early as the 5th or 4th c. B.C., the possibility of smaller migration waves during the following centuries, probably also from Sri Lanka, not withstanding. In this connection, the episode about the ship used by the women which lands on the island *Mahilā-dīpaka*, as reported in the *Mahāvaṃsa*, deserves a certain interest. It is not difficult to imagine that some of the ships that were on the way to Sri Lanka missed their original destination because of adverse winds or currents and thus landed on the Maldives. Comparable incidents are well known from the more recent past. Besides the attested cases of ships or boats from far away, driven off course, an enormous number of ships were destroyed by reefs surrounding the islands, which are hard to locate for navigators; many of these wrecks are still to be found around the Maldives. Over the last two-three centuries, several cases of crews who have had to stay in the Maldives after their vessels were broken are attested. Thus, the assumption that the first Indo-Aryan settlers might have reached the Maldives by accident, is not completely unfounded.

0.8. Jakob GRIMM's famous sentence according to which "our language is also our history"[23] holds true for many nations and tribes. As to the special case of the Maldivians, the history of the language even represents the only possible basis for investigations into their prehistory. Both GEIGER and DE SILVA built their respective migration theses on linguistic data. GEIGER paid special attention to the common features of Sinhalese and Dhivehi, as far as they were known to him, while DE SILVA, without neglecting the importance of, looked particularly for features that distinguish the two languages. He tried to find divergences concerning the inherited categories as well as special developments in the field of areal typology. However, neither thesis is convincing in its present state; there being but a very small quantity of Dhivehi material at our disposal, neither GEIGER's nor DE SILVA's thesis can be proved or disproved with certainty. Some facts, however, seem to speak in favour of the

[22] Here, the question whether their original homeland was located in the northwest or in the northeast of the Subcontinent was left open by DE SILVA. In a later publication (1979) he considers the "Western hypothesis" as more probable.

[23] "Unsere Sprache ist auch unsere Geschichte." Kleinere Schriften, I, 1864, 290.

assumption that Indo-Aryans might already have been present on the Maldive islands for a certain period, perhaps even a long time before the 10th c. A.D. Neither GEIGER nor DE SILVA were aware of the complicated dialectal situation that is to be found in the Maldives. If they had had the opportunity to investigate more than the standard language, which represents the dialect of Māle, and if they had been able to compare more than only some isolated elements of this particular idiom with Sinhalese, GEIGER's model would be less rigid and DE SILVA's arguments more effective.

0.8.1. Despite some other errors and misleading conclusions, DE SILVA, when regarding the historical-phonological development of Dhivehi and Sinhalese, discovered two essential features that speak in favour of a very early dialectal separation of the two languages.[24] The first feature concerned is the development of the OIA glide */y/* which in initial position is preserved as */y-/* in Sinhalese while it is represented by */d-/* in the same position in Dhivehi without exception (cp., e.g., Sinh. *yanavā* vs. Dhiv. (M.) *danī* "to go" ← OIA *yā́ti* "goes"). This sound law would be less decisive if the dialectal differentiation could not be traced back to the MIA period. The second important phonological divergence is not as archaic as the one just mentioned. It consists in the different development in Dhivehi and Sinhalese of the OIA and MIA affricates.[25] All the other divergences (some of them great) between the phoneme systems of the two insular languages can be assigned to the modern Indo-Aryan epoch only; some of these, however, are already attested in the oldest Maldivian texts (12th c., cf. above). Considering phonological features only, the amount of material which I had the opportunity to study leaves us no doubt that GEIGER's thesis is wrong. His assumption that the first Indo-Aryan settlers of the Maldives came from Sri Lanka and arrived no earlier than the 10th c., can no longer be maintained. In morphology, as well, there are many significant differences between Old Dhivehi and the Sinhalese language of the late medieval period, i.e. the early form of Classical Sinhalese. It is quite improbable that the fundamental morphological differences which characterise some verbal categories might have developed within one or two centuries only, as GEIGER's temporal framework considering the assumed "splitting off" of Dhivehi would imply.[26]

0.8.2. A striking typological difference between Dhivehi and Sinhalese is met with in the structure of the numeral system. Until the most recent past, Dhivehi disposed of a complete duodecimal system which was still in use at the beginning of the 20th c. This system which was characterised by special lexical items based on calculating operations with duodecimal numbers, determined all weights and measures, as well. In contrast to that, there are no attestations of a particular duodecimal system in Sinhalese in any period of its well documented history. However, apart from the obviously dominating duodecimal system, decimal numbers have always existed in Dhivehi, attestations being found already in the old texts. In all dialects, the duodecimal numbers have been replaced by the decimal numbers the system of which shows many innovations as to the formation of the numerals. Some of the more

[24] For details cf. 1.7.
[25] Cf. 1.7.
[26] Cf. GEIGER (1919), 100: "In one word, Máldivian must have separated from Sinhalese at a time when the latter had already, in respect of sound, assumed the form which it has at present. And this, as I think I have proven, was about the year 900 A.D."

archaic Maldivian decimal numbers obviously represent prakritisms[27] which are not attested in Sinhalese; they are of particular interest here.

0.8.3. Regarding the lexical items that were borrowed from Sinhalese into Dhivehi, the Sinhalese language with its unbroken written tradition can be used as chronological parameter. Even though thorough investigations of Sinhalese loanwords in Dhivehi have not yet been undertaken, it is to be expected that the respective diachronical layers of Sinhalese loanwords in Dhivehi reflect different stages in the phonological development of Sinhalese; furthermore, depending on the time when the Sinhalese words were borrowed into Dhivehi, they will also reflect some of the particular sound changes that are exclusively characteristic for Dhivehi. Thus, it is possible that a systematical historical investigation into the Sinhalese loanwords will not only inform us about the intensity and the effectivity of (bilingual) contacts in the course of time, but will perhaps even allow us to draw our conclusions concerning the chronology of the migrations from Sri Lanka to the Maldives.

0.8.4. Despite the more extensive research work that has been devoted to Dhivehi in recent times, and its results which also elucidate parts of the history of the language, it is still too early to decide with certainty whether Dhivehi and Sinhalese developed at about the same time from a common Prakrit ancestor which would allow to call them "sister languages" in the literal sense of the word, as proposed by DE SILVA. We cannot disprove the opposite assumption that Dhivehi might represent a "daughter language" of Sinhalese which split off from it in prehistorical time; it is clear, however, that this time must have been much earlier than GEIGER supposed.

0.9. The relationship between Dhivehi and Sinhalese is not only the most important objective when the history of the language is concerned, but also an indispensable means for judging the evolutional background of certain dialectal phenomena occurring in Dhivehi. Within this framework it is necessary to regard the diglossia which characterises all levels of contemporary Sinhalese. The modern written language is interwoven with many influences from the earlier stages of the literary language, from poetry as well as from classical prose; furthermore, a permanent infiltration of loanwords (often in the function of *mots savants*) from Sanskrit, Pali and Classical Sinhalese can still be observed nowadays. Apart from that, from the point of view of morphology, syntax and stylistics as well, the modern written language is heterogeneous. This can be explained by the parallel use of different diachronical strata which causes the great variety of concomitant stylistic levels we find in the written language. In contrast to this, the colloquial language is characterised by manifold simplifications both in morphology and syntax as well as comparatively reduced stylistic means of expression. The highly developed diglossia we observe in Sinhalese is typical only for languages with a long and popular literary tradition. Thus, a language like Dhivehi with its relatively meagre literary resources is likely to exhibit a completely different picture. Concerning its vocabulary,

[27] Within the given context the term "prakritism" is to be understood in the sense of a "loanword from a MIA language". In Old Dhivehi prakritisms, in correspondence with sanskritisms, were used as *mots savants* (in the written language).

its grammatical categories and its stylistic possibilities, however, Dhivehi is not a "poor" language at all, given its abundant dialectal variation on the one hand and its rich tradition of oral folklore on the other hand. It is written poetry of any kind, however, which has developed only recently as a new literary category and which has remained confined to the standard language.

0.9.1. The speakers of Dhivehi are scattered all over a vast area, the geographical circumstances preventing them from being in very close contact with each other. This situation has resulted in a remarkable dialectal differentiation. The archipelago which consists of ca. 1200 islands, ca. 200 of them inhabited, covers a distance of 885 km from north to south. If we take Minicoy (Maliku) into account, an island now belonging to India which is situated at the northern end of the Maldivian archipelago where Dhivehi is spoken as well, the Maldives extend to a length of about 1000 km. The numerous subdialects are divided into two main groups: a northern and a southern one. The latter is restricted to the three southernmost atolls with the traditional names Huvadū, Fua[ʔ] Mulaku and Aḍḍū.[28] There are some considerable differences between the particular subdialects of the south. The dialectal divergences between North and South Dhivehi are of such a quality that northern Maldivians can hardly understand the southern dialects. The opposite is much easier since the Māle standard language has become widespread. The northern dialect group which extends from the Haddummati (Lām) Atoll in the south up to Minicoy, is very homogeneous. The dialect of Māle is a typical representative of this group.

0.9.1.1. It has been observable during the last years that the active knowledge of the unwritten dialects is getting lost in favour of an increasing competence of the standard language. The fact that the standard language is used in education and administration all over the atolls is not the only reason for this development; the role played by the mass media, television and radio which broadcast from Māle all over the islands, is gaining more and more importance.

0.9.1.2. In many respects, the dialects of Dhivehi represent different diachronical stages in the development of the language. Especially in the field of morphology, the amount of archaic features steadily increases from north to south. Within the three southernmost atolls, the dialect of the Aḍḍū islands which form the southern tip of the whole Maldivian archipelago, is characterised by the highest degree of archaicity. Thus, the different classes of verb conjugation and nominal inflection are best preserved there, morphological simplifications and, as a consequence, irregularities increasing from atoll to atoll towards the north. From a strictly morphological point of view, the southern dialects which are still very rich in forms correspond more to Classical Sinhalese than to northern Dhivehi which has lost many forms and even complete morphological categories. On the other hand, the northern Maldivian dialects, including the colloquial standard language, can be compared with colloquial Sinhalese, the morphology of which has also undergone considerable reductions.

[28] The modern official names are: *Gāf-Alif / Gāf-Dāl* Atoll, *Ñaviyani* (*Gnaviyani*) Atoll and *Sīn* Atoll.

0.9.1.3. As is to be expected, the dialects also show many differences in their vocabularies. In many cases different etyma are used for the same concept. But there are also divergences concerning whole systems. A very prominent example are the personal pronouns where, to a large extent, the northern and the southern dialects show different etyma.

0.9.1.4. In phonological development the interdialectal differences are less significant. As a rule, the vowel system of the standard language is more conservative than that of the southern dialects, while the latter show some archaic features in their consonant system which are not to be found in North Dhivehi (any longer).[29] Some of the phonological divergences between the northern and the southern area can be regarded as archaic.[30]

0.9.1.5. Comparative syntax does not reveal any systematical differences between the dialects. The most decisive point of Maldivian syntax consists in the question whether a sentence contains a finite verb or not. The basic clause structure depends on this predisposition. In comparison with the significance of this main rule, the other syntactical rules play a subordinate role only.

0.9.2. A special development of Dhivehi which is very peculiar from a typological point of view, is confined to the standard language. While the expression of the social status, on the one hand, and politeness, appreciation, despise, intimacy and respect for older people, on the other hand, is not unknown to the languages of the Subcontinent in general, the hierarchical system we find in the traditional language of Māle is unique within the languages of South Asia for different reasons. The pure existence of three formally differentiated social degrees alone would not be surprising as such within the areal context. But, in contrast to the other Modern IA languages, the Maldivian language perfectly reflects the threefold system of social status which originally consisted of commoners (1st honorific degree), nobles (2nd degree) and the king and queen, nowadays replaced by the president and leaders of institutions (3rd degree). In standard Maldivian the expression of hierarchy is strictly organised and completely formalised, the social status being represented by the three honorific degrees as indicated. The language of Māle is the only modern IA dialect where all personal pronouns, including the first person, are systematically distinguished according to the status of the respective person. Thus, all forms are inambiguously marked, which includes that the relation of the particular forms to the respective social level is straight-forward and unchangeable. It is neither possible to change the stylistic level in order to express more intimacy or distance, nor are there any special forms that refer to a hierarchy of age. The primary criterion of this system consists in differentiating status and nothing else. All kind of communication depends on the social rank, acquired by birth, of the speaker, the addressee and third persons referred to. Politeness is important but has no influence on the choice of the respective pronoun.

The expression of status is not restricted to the pronominal system, however. Thus, nouns are integrated into the hierarchical order by help of two special suffixes. Even the use of particles depends on the common status criteria. One of the most remarkable features consists

[29] Cp., e.g., the phonematic difference between /n/ and /ṇ/ as preserved in the southern dialects as against the uniform /n/ appearing in North Dhivehi; cf. 1.3.7.

[30] Cp. M. /l/ vs. A.F. /ḍ/ as described in 1.3.7.2.

in a very strict, hierarchically organised verbal system. Three verbal levels are expressed mainly by causative formations, partly also by lexical means.

The systematic use of the honorific levels has always been a special feature of the capital and its sphere of influence, where the differentiation of the three status classes was an omnipresent phenomenon. Nowadays the significance of the threefold social splitting is loosing importance even here, though, which corresponds with a decreasing competence for the honorific system of the language. The sociolect of the sultan's palace ("palace language") which represents the most elevated level from the stylistical point of view, is almost forgotten now, because the courtly lifestyle has disappeared. In the southern Maldives where the society has always been more homogeneous, there are even no traces whatsoever of a comparable linguistic differentiation.[31]

0.10. The primary goal of the present grammar consists in a detailed comparative description of the morphology of the main dialects of Dhivehi. Furthermore, without a solid knowledge of the morphological relations it would be impossible to give a correct phonological description, because there are many morphonological processes that play an important role in Modern Dhivehi.

From the morphological point of view, the dialect of Aḍḍū is the most conservative one. It is of a special interest because of the high degree of regularity and transparency of its forms. A good knowledge of the morphological system of the Aḍḍū dialect helps to judge and to explain many of the (secondary) developments of the other dialects which seem to be irregular; this is especially true for modern northern Dhivehi which shows a comparatively reduced morphology. Furthermore, without the morphological background of the Aḍḍū dialect, it would be difficult to establish the syntactical function of the oblique case in the standard language, because this inherited case form has almost completely been lost there, while in the southern dialects it is preserved not only as a syntactical factor but, to a certain extent (especially in the pronominal system), also as a morphological unit. The dialect of Fua Mulaku which essentially corresponds with that of Aḍḍū in the manifestation of the formal categories, at the same time shows many morphological peculiarities that are characteristic for northern Dhivehi. As a result of these overlaps, the dialect of Fua Mulaku is less transparent from the formal point of view. With respect to morphology, the dialect of Huvadū is a more typical representant of southern Dhivehi. With regard to the phonology, however, there are some special developments that are characteristic for Huvadū alone.[32]

[31] The Maldivian honorific system will be the subject of a separate study which at present is under preparation. In it, the phenomen will be treated within an enlarged areal context.

[32] Depending on the (mainly temporal) circumstances of my research stay in 1993, I had to concentrate primarily on the two southernmost dialects as well as on the standard language. The material I could collect from Huvadū is relatively restricted and, as a consequence, my Huvadū database is much smaller than the other data collections. Therefore, the dialect of Huvadū plays only a small role within the framework of this book.

Phonology

1. The sound system

Except for some special developments, the sound system of Dhivehi can be regarded as typical for a South Indian language. Among the characteristics common to Modern Indo-Aryan languages, the Maldivian phonemic inventory shows an opposition of long and short vowels, of dental and retroflex consonants as well as of single and geminate consonants, furthermore diphthongs and nasalised vowels (the latter having a phonemic value only in the dialect of Fua' Mulaku, cf. below). There are three peculiar features that Dhivehi shares with Sinhalese, viz. the complete loss of the aspirated consonants, the emergence of prenasalised stops and, finally, considerable vowel changes as a consequence of *umlaut*-processes.

1.1. To illustrate these basic principles, a concise survey of the most important historical sound changes that are responsible for the phonological peculiarities of modern Dhivehi in comparison with its Sinhalese sister language is required.[33] The essential changes occurred gradually, following an hierarchical order within the framework of a continuous process which affected and transformed considerable parts of the sound system.

1.1.1. With the other modern Indo-Aryan languages Dhivehi shares the fundamental sound changes that mark the beginning of this epoch, the earliest characteristics of which can be traced back already to late Middle Indo-Aryan times. For instance, it shows no long vowels in inherited words which could be derived directly from corresponding Old Indo-Aryan long vowels.[34] In general, the long vowels of the modern language have emerged as a secondary result of the contraction of two originally short vowels after the loss of intervocalic consonants during the Middle Indian period.[35]

1.1.2. Old Dhivehi as handed down in its earliest written documents,[36] the *lōmāfānus*, had only open syllables. From the fact that there were no closed syllables, it follows that the prenasalised stops have to be considered as monophonemic (cf. 1.3.4); this coincides with the fact that they were never written as sequences of *nasals* + *stops*. The writing rule also implies that there were no consonant clusters in Old Dhivehi (cf. 1.3.8). In the language of those days, the contemporary (nominal and verbal) consonant stems (cf. 2.3.1.3) still ended in *-u*; e.g. *raṭu* "island, land" (attested since L1 [f/2,1]; today M. [*ra'*] ⟨*raś*⟩) or *eku* "one" (attested since L3 4/1,5; today M. [*e'*] ⟨*ek*⟩), *koṭu* abs. "having done, made" (attested since L1 [d/1,2]; today M. [*ko'*] ⟨*koś*⟩). The question whether the same rule applied to southern Dhivehi in ancient times as well, or whether we have to assume a dialectal differentiation

[33] For a treatise of some general features of the historical phonology of Dhivehi, cf. FRITZ / GIPPERT (2000), 139-152.

[34] Cf., e.g., MASICA (1991), 189. – For concrete Dhivehi examples cf. 1.2.1.

[35] For examples cf. 1.2.1.3.

[36] For the different types of documents cf. introduction, 0.5.1 and furthermore vol.ii. of the present book.

similar to that of nowadays,[37] cannot be answered with certainty, because all linguistic documents were written in the standard language.

1.1.3. The history of Dhivehi – as far as it is attested by written documents – shows that final *-u* in the position after voiceless consonants, nasals and *l* tended to be apocopated more and more in the course of the centuries, while it was conserved after retroflex and voiced consonants. As a result of this development, in modern Dhivehi only the consonants */n/*, */s/*, */k/*, */t/* and */ś* ← *ṭ/* can be found in final position. While */n/* in final position is articulated as a velar [*ŋ*] in all dialects (e.g. *mīhun* [*mīhuŋ*] "people"[38]), the other four consonants mentioned are subject to considerable phonetic changes which for the most part vary from dialect to dialect. The only phoneme that is realised homogeneously is */-k/* which phonetically occurs as glottal stop [ʔ] in the whole Dhivehi speaking area. In the southern dialects, final */-t/* has been changed phonetically to [ʔ] as well,[39] while in the standard language */-t/* is realised as glide [*y*] forming a diphthong with the preceding vowel; for this development cp., e.g., the *casus rectus* M. [*foi*] in comparison with A.F. [*foʔ*] */foṭ/* "book".[40] In the dialect of Aḍḍū as well as the standard language, final */-ś/* is pronounced as [ʔ] too, while we have to state a completely different development for Fuaʔ Mulaku where the phoneme */ś/* is never met with in word-final position. Obviously, there was no tendency in this dialect to omit the following vowel which, however, underwent some qualitative changes; cf. F. *raśo* "island, land" vs. M.A. [*raʔ*] */raś/* (← */raṭu/*, attested since L1 [f/2,1]).[41] While final */-s/* remained unchanged in the standard language and in Aḍḍū, the dialect of Fuaʔ Mulaku shows an allophonic change of */-s/* to [*h*] in the same position, followed by a weakly articulated vowel which echoes the vowel of the preceding syllable; cp., e.g., F. *maha* with M.A. *mas* "fish".[42] The Fuaʔ Mulaku dialect is peculiar with respect to final */l/* as well, for it is the only dialect where this consonant has been preserved to this day in its original phonetic quality (cf. 1.2.1.6).

It follows from these observations that [ʔ] has no phonemic value of its own. It only serves as an allophonic variant of the final consonants M.A.F. */-k/*, A.F. */-t/* and M.A. */-ś/*. It is important to draw attention to the fact that this phonological function of the glottal stop has to be regarded separately from a pure phonetic phenomenon typical not only for Dhivehi and Sinhalese, viz. the automatical articulation of a glottal stop [ʔ] following inevitably every vowel in word-final position, which is a widespread phenomenon throughout the South Asian languages; cp., e.g., the adjective M. *boḍu*, F. *boňḍo*, A. *boňḍa* "big", which is pronounced [*boḍuʔ*], [*boňḍoʔ*] and [*boňḍaʔ*], resp. This kind of glottal stop has neither phonological nor morphological significance.

1.1.4. The nasal *m*, which by apocope of the final *-u* came into absolute final position, was changed into *-n* [*ŋ*], but it remained *m* within the paradigm when it was not final. A tendency of changing ***-m*** → ***-n*** can be noticed already in the earliest documents. Alongside *kamu* "fact, deed" which is attested in this form from L1 (d/2,3) up to the *Tāna*-period, the same word was written in parallel *kan*, which can be found as early as L1 (m0/1,5) as well; cf. also *bimu*

[37] Cf. 2.3.1.3.4.1 below.
[38] Cf. also 2.3.1.3.1.
[39] For examples and for the spelling of the two latter phonemes cf. 2.3.1.3.1.
[40] For more details and examples cf. 1.2.2.4.
[41] For a detailed study on the dative ending F. *-aśa* cf. 2.3.1.1.3.
[42] For some further examples cf. 2.3.1.3.1.

"earth, soil, ground, land" (F3,14; F6,11) with its variant *bin* which is attested in *fatkolus* in the compounds *binbai* "share, portion of land" (F6,11; F8,23) and *bingaṅḍu* "id." (F4,3). There can be no doubt that the spelling with final *-u* does not reflect the actual pronunciation, at least in later times; these forms must be explained as results of historical spelling instead.

1.1.5. Besides the apocope of final *-u* we have to deal with a syncope of medial *-u-* and *-a-* which took place under the same phonological conditions. There is much evidence for this process being as old as the ancient documents. Cp. the name of the island *Isdū* which often occurs as *isu-duvu* since L1 (t/2,4), as against the variant form *is-duvu* appearing in L2 (7,2) and L3 (12/1,3) which already shows syncope;[43] the sibilant *s* in *isdū* was preserved because it belongs to the very few consonants in Dhivehi that are not omitted in final position (cf. 1.1.3 above). Cf. also the ancient word for "officer", lit. "the one having received a task (to do)" which is attested in many documents as *kamu-gati* (L2 6,2; L6 2,4; F5,39.43; cf. also the plural *kamugatīn-āi* "and officers" in L5 5/1,4 as well as the indef. plural forms *kamu-gattakun* in L1 s/1,1 and *kamugatyakun* in L2 37,5), as against syncopated *kam-gati* (L4 f/1,7 and g/1,1; indef. plural *kamgatyakun* "officers" in L3 3/2,1).[44] On the other hand, all consonants which after the loss of the originally word-final vowels could not appear in final position themselves yielded geminates in syncope environments.[45] Cp., e.g., the contemporary name of the southernmost atoll, *Aḍḍū*, which has to be derived through an intermediate form *aṭ-ḍuvu* (L4 a/2,4), syncopated from **aṭa/aṭu-duvu*, lit. "eight-island-(atoll)"; cf. also the name of the island *Toḍḍū* which is attested as *toṭḍuvu* (L2 11,2.3; L3 10/2,3) from **toṭu-duvu*, approximately "ford-island". Another consonant that could not enter final position is *t* as in *batteriā* "rice man, rice farmer" which is attested in its genitive form written *bat-veriage* (L2 28,3). Finally, the same kind of syncope is also responsible for the geminates that characterise the regular formation of causatives (cf. 1.3.9.12).

1.2. The vowels

1.2.1. The vowel system of modern Dhivehi is strictly symmetrical. It consists of five vocalic qualities which show a phonemic differentiation of quantity: *a – ā, i – ī, u – ū, e – ē, o – ō*. As was mentioned above, there are no inherited words with long vowels that could be derived directly from the corresponding long vowels of Old Indo-Aryan. GEIGER (1938, 14-15) shows that the same process is valid for Sinhalese as well where the inherited long vowels merged with the short ones not later than the Proto-Sinhalese period, i.e., the 5th c. A.D.; cp., e.g., Sinh. *gama*, stem *gam-* "village" vs. Pa., Pkt. *gāma-*, OIA *grā́ma-*[46]; Sinh. *nil* "blue, green, dark" vs. Pa. *nīla-*, OIA *nī́la-*[47]; Sinh. *duma*, stem *dum-* "smoke, steem" vs. Pa., Pkt.

[43] For Dhiv. *dū* ← *duvu* "island" cf. 2.6.2.3.1.4.

[44] */gat/*, *gatī* part.pret. of *gannanī*, originally meaning "to get", but nowadays meaning only "to buy"; for more detailed information on this verb cf. 3.11.4.3. – For *kam(u)* cf. 1.1.5.

[45] For details cf. 1.3.9.

[46] Cf. GEIGER (1941), 53, no. 777 and TURNER (1966) I, 234, no. 4368.

[47] Cf. GEIGER (1941), 89, no. 1310 and TURNER (1966) I, 426, no. 7563.

dhūma-, OIA *dhūmá-*[48] etc. Cp. the equivalent words of Dhivehi, *gamu* "village" (L1 t/1,4 etc.; L2 6,3; L3 3/2,2 and 11/1,2; L4 e/2,2 etc.; in Modern Dhivehi only preserved in the island name *Gan*[49]), F. *nil* "blue" (vs. M.A. *nū* ← **niu* ← *nil*[50]), M.A.F. *dun*, i.e. [*duŋ*] */dun/* "smoke, steam".

There are several words in the basic vocabulary of Dhivehi which show medial long vowels in accordance with long vowels of their correspondents in OIA and MIA. These must without doubt be classified as sanskritisms or prakritisms, resp. Cp. A.F. *vēla* "time" with OIA *vélā-* "limit, boundary, time" (cf. TURNER 1966, II, 702, no. 12115); M. *uňdōli*, A.F. *iňdōli* "typical Maldivian wing hanging from the ceiling inside the house" with OIA *hindola-* "wing, swing cradle" vs. Sinh. *idolu-va* "palanquin, sedan", Hi. *hindol(ā)*;[51] M.A.F. *jōli* "a baglike seat or wing outside the house" with OIA **jhola-* "bag" (cf. TURNER 1966, I, 299, no. 5415); M. *dōni*, A.F. *dōṇi* "boat, ship (of the common Maldivian type)" with Pkt. *dōṇī-* "boat", ← OIA *droṇī-* "wooden trough" (MBh.), vs. Pa., Pkt. *doṇa-* ← *dróṇa-* (cf. TURNER 1966, I, 379, no. 6641).

1.2.1.1. **Long vowels** in initial position are extremely rare in Dhivehi. No verb begins with a long vowel, and almost all nouns that show a primary initial long vowel can be explained as sanskritisms such as M.A.F. *ādītta* "Sunday" (OIA *ādityá-* "son of Aditi, name of seven deities, esp. of the sun": TURNER 1966, I, 52, no. 1153), or loanwords that obviously have been borrowed more recently such as M.A.F. *īṭu* "roof tile" (probably from Hi. *īṭ* "id.",[52] cf. Pkt. *iṭṭagā-*, *iṭṭā-*, OIA *íṣṭakā-*; TURNER 1966, I, 72, no. 1600); M.A.F. *āda* "habit, norm, rule" (← Arab. *'ādat* "id."), or M. *ōḍaru* "order" (← Engl. *order*) etc.

Only a few Dhivehi words that belong to the inherited vocabulary have a long initial vowel, which in most cases can be explained by contractions. This is true, e.g. for the long *ē-* of the personal pronouns of the 3.ps.sg., *ēti* "it" and *ēnā* "he, she", of the standard language which obviously developed by a merger of the demonstrative *e* "that" with a noun (*ēti* ← *e+eti* "that thing", cf. 2.6.2.5.1.1; *ēnā* ← *e+V(?)nā*, cf. 2.6.2.5.3). — Other examples can be explained by assuming the loss of a consonant between vowels: cf. A. *ū*[53] "rope, thread, cord" ← **(h)u(v)u* vs. Sinh. *huya*, stem *hul/hū-* "id." ← Pkt. *sūya-*, Skt. *sūta-* "id.",[54] or M.A.F. *ūru* ← **(h)u(v)uru* "pig" vs. Sinh. *(h)ūrā*, stem *(h)ūru-* "id." ← Pkt. *sūara-* ← OIA

[48] Cf. GEIGER (1941), 78, no. 1161; TURNER (1966) I, 392, no. 6849.

[49] *Gan* is the name of the southernmost island of the Aḍḍū-Atoll as well as the name of an island in Haddummati- (= *Lām-*) Atoll. – For the change of final *-m* → *-n* cf. 1.1.4.

[50] For the change of *-l* → *-u* cf. 1.2.1.6.

[51] Cf. TURNER (1966) II, 815, no. 14094 and GEIGER (1941), 21, no. 322.

[52] Although it might seem dubious that Dhivehi could have received direct loans from Hindi or Urdu, it is highly probable that the source of Dhiv. *īṭu* has to be seen in Hi. *īṭ*. The retroflex */ṭ/* shows that the word has been borrowed only recently, because otherwise */ṭ/* would have changed to */ś/* in all dialects except Huvadū. As in many other cases, the word seems to have been imported together with the *reale* it denotes. Roof tiles and normal tiles were unknown in traditional Maldivian architecture and have come into a limited use very recently only; they were imported from India and Sri Lanka. The traditional building material was produced from plants (mostly from the coconut tree) and from coral stone. — Cp. also the common Sinh. word for "tile", *uḷu* (e.g. *uḷu käṭaya* "(roof) tile") which cannot be the source of Dhiv. *īṭu*; the etymology of *uḷu* is not clear, however, cf. TURNER (1966), I, 77, no. 1681 and GEIGER (1941), 29, no. 443.

[53] Cf. also the case forms A. gen. *ūe*, dat. *ūa' /ū-aś/*, abl. *ūn /ū-un/*.

[54] Cf. GEIGER (1941), 193, no. 2915; cf. also TURNER (1966) II, 781, no. 13561 s.v. OIA *sūtra-* "id.".

sūkará- "boar".[55] For the initial long vowel of the presumably inherited numeral M.A.F. *āhi* "80" (cf. 2.5.1.4) there is no convincing explanation so far.

1.2.1.2. A special group among the words with initial long vowel is constituted by certain nominal *i*-stems in Aḍḍū and, to a much higher degree, in Fuaʾ Mulaku. There, the paradigmatic loss of the stem-final *-i* led to a transformation of the phonetic scope of the nouns in question. In most cases the characteristic trait of this process is the lengthening and subsequent accentuation of the root vowel. In the dialect of Aḍḍū, this morphonological process can be noted only sporadically, being restricted, besides a few exceptions, to single oblique case forms and to the definite and indefinite form only.[56] In Fuaʾ Mulaku, however, it has spread throughout whole paradigms, resulting in the emergence of some nouns with initial long vowel.[57] Cf. the nom. A. *aḷi* "ash" beginning with short *a-* as against the gen. A. *āḷe* ← **aḷi-e* with secondary lengthening of the initial vowel; in the Fuaʾ Mulaku equivalent of the word, this vowel spread, by analogy, not only to the nom. *āḷi* but to the whole paradigm (dat. *āḷaha*, abl./instr. *āḷen*); cf. furthermore F. *īhi* "lobster" vs. M.A. *ihi*. — The secondary lengthening of the root vowel is also attested in many *i*-stems with word-initial consonant, cf. A. nom.sg.def. *mēhā /mehi-ā/* "the fly", *fēśā /feśi-ā/* "the box", gen. *fēśe /feśi-e/* as well as F. nom.sg. *mēhi* "fly", *fēśi* "box", *fīśi* "small island, sandbank" (vs. A. nom. *fiśi*) etc.

1.2.1.3. Long vowels that appear in medial as well as final position in modern Dhivehi[58] have mostly come about as a secondary result of contraction of two (identical or different) short vowels. These vocalic contractions must have occurred after intervocalic consonants of the MIA period had been lost. Cp., e.g., M.F. *rā*, A. *(dō)rā* "fermented juice of the liquid taken from the palm-blossom, palm-wine, toddy" (Sinh. *rā* ← *raha* ← Pkt. *rasa-*, OIA *rása-* "sap or juice of plants; taste, flavour"[59]); M. *kīs* "saw", F. *kīhā* ← nom.def. **kīs-ā* through MIA *kakaca-* from Skt. *krakaca-* "id." (cf. the still uncontracted correspondent in the secondary *i*-stem A. *kiéhi* ← **kiés-i*; for more details cf. 2.3.2.8.1.3); M. *bīru*, A.F. *bīri* "deaf", Sinh. *bīri / bihiri* ← Pkt. *bahira-* ← OIA *badhirá-* "id."[60]; M.A. *bēs*, F. *bēhe* "medicine, medicament, drug" (← **bees* ← **behaja* ← **besaja*) corresponding to the Sinh. plural stem *behet* (with the final consonant being unvoiced) with *beheta* as a regular nom.sg. (besides nom.sg. *beheda*, of the original stem *behed-* ← **besaja* ← Pkt. *bhesajja-* "id." ← OIA *bhaiṣajya-*.[61] The final long vowels and diphthongs of most of the nouns that constitute the group of "root nouns" in Dhivehi[62] can also be traced back to vowel contraction which must already have taken place in an early period in this case: cp., e.g., A.F. *gē* (M. *ge*) "house" ← MIA *geha-* ← OIA *gehá-*; M. *fai*, A.F. *fā* "foot, leg" ← Pkt. *pā(y)a-* ← OIA *pā́da-* etc.

[55] Cf. GEIGER (1941), 29, no. 444 and TURNER (1966) II, 780, no. 13544.
[56] Cf. 2.3.2.7.1.2 and the primary paradigm in 2.3.2.11.3.2.
[57] Cf. for details 2.3.2.8.1.4 ff.
[58] There are a few exceptions which for the most part can be explained as borrowed or foreign words; cf. 2.3.1.4.
[59] Cf. GEIGER (1902), 932, no. 351 and (1941), 145, no. 2160; TURNER (1966) II, 616, no. 10650. Cf. also YULE/BURNELL (1902), 927 s.v. *toddy*.
[60] Cf. GEIGER (1941), 123, no. 1832 and TURNER (1966) II, 515, no. 9130.
[61] Cf. TURNER (1966), II, 549, no. 9623.
[62] For some examples cf. 2.3.1.5.

1.2.1.4. A few examples of the dialects of Aḍḍū and Fua' Mulaku show the tendency towards vowel contraction even today. Cp., e.g., A. *nēduru* vs. M.F. *niaduru* "pomelo"; F. *mēre* vs. A. *miara*, M. *miaru* "shark",[63] or F. *lēnī*, A. *lēnāi* vs. M. *lianī* "write".[64] The medial long vowel of indefinite infinitives which are used in negated sentencies (cf. 5.5.4), have obviously developed in the recent past by contraction of two short vowels as well, after the *-n-* of the infinitive ending had been lost. Cp., e.g., the infinitives M. *kuran* "to do" and *hadan* "to make, build, create" with their indefinite forms *kurāka'* and *hadāka'* which most probably have to be derived from **kuran-ak-aś* and *hadan-ak-aś*, resp.

1.2.1.5. In the case of some isolated words the final long vowel can be explained by assuming a merger of an originally short final vowel with the definite suffix, *-ā*; cp., e.g., A.F. *kokkō* (vs. M. *kokko*) "younger brother / sister" from **kokko-ā*; A. *bēbē* (vs. M.F. *bēbe*) "elder brother" from **bēbe-ā* (cf. 2.3.1.4).

1.2.1.6. In the standard language, the final long vowel appearing in the direct case of some nouns is conditioned by the loss of final *-l*[65] which is characteristic for northern Dhivehi. In the remaining forms of the words concerned, */l/* was preserved wherever it was in medial position.[66] In the standard language, the loss of final *-l* did not lead directly to a long vowel, however. Rather, we are dealing with a continuous process here, as the development of M. *-el* into *-eo* (but not *-ē*) shows. The abovementioned tendency is still more evident in the dialect of Aḍḍū where *-l* cannot occur in final position either. Here, final *-l* was vocalised both after *a* and *e*, leading to diphthongisation (*-al* → *-au* and *-el* → *-eo*). In the position after *u* and *o*, however, the merger of *-l* yields the corresponding long vowel (*-ul* → *-ū* and *-ol* → *-ō*), while the change from *-il* to *-ū* presupposes an intermediate **-iu*. As opposed to this,[67] the dialect of Fua' Mulaku has conserved final *-l* even phonetically, as the following examples illustrate: */mal/* "flower, blossom" → M. *mā*, A. *mau*, but F. *mal*; */gal/* "stone, rock" → M. *gā*, A. *gau*, but F. *gal*; */al/* "new" → M. *ā*, A. *au*, but F. *al*; */bal/* "hole" → M. *bā*, A. *bau*, but F. *bal*; */bol/* "head" → M.A. *bō*, but F. *bol*; */kol/* "inner side of the cheek" → M.A. *kō*, but F. *kol*; */lol/* "eye" → M.A. *lō*, but F. *lol*; */mul/* "root" → M.A. *mū*, but F. *mul*; */nil/* "blue" → M.A. *nū* ← **niu*, but F. *nil*; */vel/* "every kind of creeper" → M. *veo*, A. *veu*, but F. *vel*; */tel/* "oil" → M. *teo*, A. *teu*, but F. *tel* etc.

In the words M. *hā*, A. *hau*, F. *haul* "cock" and M. *vā*, A. *vau*, F. *vaul* "flying fox", however, the final long vowel of the standard forms cannot be the result of a secondarily

[63] Cf. Sinh. *mōra-/muvara-* ← Pkt. *magara-*, *mayara-* "shark". The word goes back to OIA *mákara-* "crocodile"; for the change of meaning cf. also Pa. *makara-* "sea-monster" (TURNER 1966, II, 554, no. 9692).

[64] Cf. Sinh. *liyanavā* "id." (GEIGER 1941, 151, no. 2255).

[65] It was only after the apocope of *-u* (cf. 1.1.3), when closed syllables reappeared in Dhivehi, that */l/* could become a final consonant; e.g. *mal* ← **malu* "flower", *bol* ← **bolu* "head" etc.

[66] For examples cf. 1.2.2.3.

[67] This phonetic change is not restricted to Modern IA languages; a comparable vocalisation of final *-l* is to be found in other languages as well, such as in South Slavic: "Vokalische Sprachen weisen die Tendenz auf, Konsonanten zu vokalisieren. Am augenfälligsten geschieht dies im Serbokr(oatischen), wo silbenschliessendes *-l* zu *-o* wird und wo altes sonantisches *l̥* zu *u* wurde. Ebenso werden auch im Slovenischen, z.B. in der Aussprache von Ljubljana, die Endungen 'Vokal plus *l*' und *-ev* zu reinem vokalischem *u*." (A.V. ISAČENKO, Versuch einer Typologie der slavischen Sprachen, in: *Linguistica Slovaca* 1/2, 1939/40, 64-76.)

vocalised *-l* alone, as the vocalism of the corresponding Fua' Mulaku forms *haul* and *vaul* show (not †*hal, val*). Here, the diphthong is based on a contraction (← **savulu / *vavulu*; cf. Sinh. *sävul-ā* "jungle cock, *gallus lafayetti*" which (with unexplained *umlaut*) has to be derived from OIA *capala-* "trembling, fickle" through Pkt. *cavala-*; cf. TURNER 1966, I, 253, no. 4672 and, for Sinh. *vavul-ā* "flying fox", II, 675, no. 11584).

1.2.1.7. The vernacular of Fua' Mulaku is the only Maldivian dialect that has phonemic **nasal vowels**. These vowels occur only in a very restricted area of the originally eight different local idioms which nowadays have merged together more and more. At present only some elderly persons speaking the subdialect in question still have the necessary competence for the inherited nasal vowels which – because of the increasing influence of the standard language – has been lost by younger people in the recent past.

An example of an inherited long nasalised vowel is provided by F. *bą̄śi* "eggplant". */ą̄/* here reflects the nasal consonant of OIA *bhaṇṭākī-* (TURNER 1966, II, 533, no. 9369). The reason for the lengthening of the root vowel (cp. M.A. *baśi*, Sinh. *baṭu* with short *a*) has to be seen in the morphonological rule of *i*-stems which was mentioned above (cf. 1.2.1.2 and 2.3.2.8.1.4.2; cp. also Beng. *bhaṭā*). — A similar example is F. *ką̄śi* "thorn" vs. M.A. *kaśi*, Sinh. *kaṭu-va* "id." which corresponds to *bą̄śi* in its whole paradigm; it has to be derived from OIA *káṇṭaka-* "id." (cp. Pkt. *kaṇṭaa-*; TURNER 1966, I, 133, no. 2668).

In the following examples, the nasal vowel is conditioned by a root-final nasal consonant: *fąi* "worm, caterpillar" vs. A. *faṇi*, M. *fani*; Sinh. *paṇu-vā* (← OIA *prāṇaka-* "living being, animal, worm"[68]); F. *bą̄ni* "bark" with nasal *ą̄* vs. A. *bauni* (the word has no equivalent outside the southernmost dialects). — The same condition applies to the final nasal vowel appearing in the present participle of numerous verbs which can be traced back to an original *-n-*. Examples are the *a*-stem F. *nidą̄* "sleeping" vs. A.M. *nidā* ← **nidana* (but cf. the lengthened form[69] *nidanī* where *-n* is preserved) or the *e*-stem F. *rekę̄* vs. M.A. *rekē* "avoiding, escaping" ← **rekena* (long form *rekenī* "id.")[70].

There are many examples of nasal vowels whose occurrence is not easy to explain, neither on phonological nor on phonetic grounds. This is true, e.g., for F. *kuddą̄* "child" (← *kudi-ā*, sg.def., cf. 2.3.2.8.1.4.3); F. *mą̄di* "ring, jewellery" (Sinh. *mudu-* "finger-ring"; Pkt. *muddā-*, OIA *mudrá-* "seal, signet-ring"[71]; or F. *bą̄zu* "eagle, falcon" (← Pers. *bāz* "falcon, (gos-) hawk"). In the case of F. *fahą* "five" (M.A. *fas*), F. *hą̄*, *hų̄* "yes" (M.A. *hā*), F. *ųhų* "no" (besides M. *nūn*, A.F. *nun*), F. *fahę̄* "if" (cf. A. *fehē*) and F. *mādahą* adv. "tomorrow" (cf. M. *mādama*, A. *māduma*), we realise that the nasal vowel is preceded by *h* which might be responsible for a secondary nasalisation.[72] — There are also verbal forms with nasal vowels that cannot be explained from a linguistic point of view, for example the ending of the absolutive of the *e*-stems which alternates between *-į̄* and *-ī*; cf. the variant forms *temį̄* and *temī* (abs. of *temenī* "get wet").[73]

[68] Cf. TURNER (1966) II, 501, no. 8929; GEIGER (1941), 93, no. 1383.
[69] For the terminology cf. 3.9.
[70] For the implied formation rules cf. 3.9.1.
[71] Cf. TURNER (1966) II, 588, no. 10203 and GEIGER (1941), 136, no. 2033.
[72] It remains possible that the nasal vowel of F. *fahą* "five" represents a direct reflex of that in OIA *páñca* (cf. 2.5.1.1).
[73] For details cf. 3.10.2.

The nasal vowel phonemes of Fua Mulaku must be clearly distinguished from the common Maldivian trend to pronounce short or long vowels in a nasalised way when they precede the nasal consonant *n*; cp., e.g., *mīhun* "people" pronounced as [*mīhũn*]. Besides this, some speakers show a general tendency to a slightly nasalised pronounciation of vowels, irrespective of their phonological surrounding. Both these articulations represent purely **phonetic** phenomena, they have no bearing on the **phonological** system of the language.

1.2.2. In contrast to Sinhalese,[74] Modern Dhivehi possesses true **diphthongs** which because of their apparently ambiguous character need a detailed examination. Basically, we have to distinguish phonemic diphthongs from numerous kinds of diphthongisations that represent the phonetic realisation (i.e. the pronunciation) of certain phonological structures but cannot be interpreted as diphthongs according to phonological rules.

1.2.2.1. The occurrence of phonemic diphthongs is restricted. There are only a few words which show an identical diphthong throughout the whole Dhivehi speaking area, with the diphthong remaining unchanged throughout the paradigm. Leaving aside obvious loanwords such as M.A.F. *sai* "tea"[75] this is true for examples like M.A.F. *māmui* "honey"[76], M.A.F. *vai* "wind",[77] M.A.F. *gai* "body",[78] or M.A.F. *oi* "sea current",[79] the diphthongs of which are the result of a vowel contraction of former disyllabic units.

1.2.2.2. As a rule, phonemic *au-* and *ai*-diphthongs occur only in the southern dialects, however. In northern Dhivehi, the corresponding vowel is long monophthongic *ā* in both cases. Typical examples are F. *haul*, A. *hau* "cock" and F. *vaul*, A. *vau* "flying fox" (M. equivalents *hā* and *vā*, cf. 1.2.1.6), the diphthong of which is based on a contraction of **-avu-*, but also A.F. *kaiśi* vs. M. *kāśi*[80] "ripe coconut" (for cooking) and A.F. *naiśi* vs. M. *nāśi*[81] "coconut shell". The diphthongs of these remain unchanged throughout the whole paradigm (cf. gen. A.F. *haule*, *vaule*; *kaiśe*, *naiśe*). From an etymological point of view, however, the two latter examples cannot be judged in the same way as the divergent root vowels of the corresponding Huvadū-forms *kauṭi* "coconut" and *noṭi* "coconut shell" show.

1.2.2.3. The diphthong *au* as occurring in words of the type A. *mau* "flower, blossom" or *gau* "stone, rock" (vs. F. *mal*, *gal* and M. *mā*, *gā*; cf. 1.2.1.6) is of another origin than the homophone diphthong in the examples mentioned above. In the actual cases, *au* appears as the result of a vocalisation of a word-final *-l*; consequently it is nothing but a phonetic variant of *-al* in final position. It is important to note that *-al* is stable in the paradigm of the words

[74] Cf., e.g., the short notice in MASICA (1991), 116.

[75] Cf. 2.3.1.5.

[76] *māmui* is most probably a compound consisting of (M.) *mā* "flower, blossom" and an independent word **mui* ~ Sinh. *mī* (stem) "honey" (← Pkt. *mahu-*, Skt. *mádhu-*; cf. GEIGER 1941, 135, no. 2012.).

[77] For the etymology cf. 2.3.1.5.

[78] For the etymology cf. 2.3.1.5.

[79] For the etymology cf. 2.3.1.5.

[80] The etymology of this word is unknown.

[81] The etymology of this word is not easy to establish; cf. TURNER (1966), I, 406, no. 7075 s.v. *nārikēla-* "coconut palm and fruit". – In HLSD (1988), 31, M. *nāśi* is identified with a Sinh. word *naṭu* "shell" whose connection with Sinh. *naṭu-va* "stalk of a leaf or fruit, petiole, pedicel" (cf. CLOUGH 1892, 275; SŚ 12, 1985, 5881) remains unclear.

in question (cf. gen. A.F. *mali*, *gali*). Examples like M. *veo*, A.F. *veu* /vel/ "every kind of creeper" and M. *teo*, A.F. *teu* /tel/ "oil" can be considered in the same way (cf. also 1.2.1.6).

1.2.2.4. In the standard language, word-final (phonemic) sequences of vowel + /t/ are treated in the same manner: they are realised as (phonetic) *i*-diphthongs. In contrast to this, final /-t/ is articulated as a glottal stop [ˀ] throughout the southern dialects. Cp., e.g., M. *dai* vs. A.F. *daˀ* /dat/ "tooth", M. *ai* vs. A.F. *aˀ* /at/ "hand, arm", M. *nakai* vs. A.F. *nakaˀ* /nakat/ "lunar constellation", M. *fai* vs. A.F. *faˀ* /fat/ "leaf", M. *foi* vs. A.F. *foˀ* /fot/ "book", M. *goi*, A.F. *goˀ* /got/ "way, manner". This process also affects Arabic loanwords ending in *-at*; cp., e.g., M. *nasēhai* "advise" ← Arab. *naṣīḥat* "id.". In medial position *-t-* remains unchanged in all these cases, e.g. gen.sg. M. *fotuge*, A. *fote*, dat. M.A. *fotaˀ* /fotaś/.

1.2.2.5. In the standard language there is an increasing tendency to pronounce the diphthong /ai/ as a monophthongised lengthened vowel [ǟ]. As mentioned in HLSD, 11, this [ǟ] is further developing into [ē] in the northernmost atolls so that we find, e.g., [sē] and [fēvān] instead of M. [sǟ] (A.F. *sai*) "tea" and M. [fǟvān] (A.F. *faivān*) "shoe, sandal". These cases must be distinguished from the development of original word-final *ai*-diphthongs into M. *-ā* as in the locative suffix M. *-gai* (cf. 2.3.2.13) or in the formative of the "absolutive I", M. *-fai* (cf. 3.11.4.1 and 3.11.4.4), which are realised almost always as [gā] and [fā] today (cf. 1.2.4.3.).

1.2.3. Umlaut phenomena

In the prehistory of Dhivehi, the back vowels *a*, *o* and *u* of the first root syllable were changed into the front vowels *e* ← **ä*, *e* and *i*, when one of the following syllables contained the front vowel *i* or the glide *y*. These "umlaut" processes followed the same principles in Dhivehi as they did in Sinhalese (cf. GEIGER 1938, 13 ff.), although they were less effective in the Maldivian language. On the other hand, an interdialectal comparison of Dhivehi shows that in the southernmost vernaculars there are more examples with umlaut than in the standard language.

1.2.3.1. The umlauting of *a* into *e* is the most frequent one. It is highly probable though not provable[82] that the process went through an intermediate **ä* as in Sinhalese where we find *ä* still today. Cp., e.g., M.A.F. *den* "then" (Sinh. *dän* "now"; Pa. *(i)dāni*, Skt. *idānīm*[83]); M.A. *mehi*, F. *mēhi* "fly" (Sinh. *mäsi-/mähi-* "id.", Pkt. *macchiā-*, OIA *mákṣikā-* f. "fly, bee"[84]); M. *veo*, A.F. *veu* /vev/ "watertank, artificial pool" (Sinh. *väv-* "id."; Pkt. *vāvī-*, OIA *vāpī́-* "id."[85]); M. *veo*, A.F. *veu* /vel/ "every kind of creeper" (Sinh. *väl-* "id."; Pa., Pkt., Skt. *vallī-* "id."[86]); M.A.F. *fen* "water" (Sinh. *pän* "id."; Pa. *pānīya-*, OIA *pānīya-* "id."[87]); M. *rē*, A.F. *rei* "night" (Sinh. *rā̈-*, Pkt. *rāī-* ← **rātī-* vs. Pa. *ratti-*; OIA *rā́trī-*

[82] Neither *Dives akuru* nor *Tāna* provide a grapheme for the sound [ä].
[83] Cf. GEIGER (1941), 74, no. 1085.
[84] Cf. TURNER (1966), II, 554, no. 9696.
[85] Cf. TURNER (1966) II, 672, no. 11529; GEIGER (1941), 162, no. 2415.
[86] Cf. TURNER (1966), II, 666, no. 11429.
[87] Cf. TURNER (1966), I, 456, no. 8082.

"id."[88]); M. *medu*, A.F. *mede* "mid(dle), centre" (Sinh. *mäda* "id."; Pa., Pkt. *majjha-*, OIA *mádhya-* "id."[89]).

In contrast to Sinhalese, Dhivehi shows a comparatively large number of words containing a root vowel *a* which was not changed by umlaut under the given condition. Cp., e.g., *maśi* "loam, clay" vs. Sinh. *mäṭi-* (Pkt. *maṭṭiyā-*, Pa. *mattikā-*, Skt. *mṛttikā-* "earth, clay"[90]) or M.A.F. *fani* "(coconut) treacle" vs. Sinh. *päni/päṇi* "treacle, molasses, honey" (Pa., Skt. *phāṇita-* "inspissated juice of sugarcane and other plants", Pkt. *phāṇiya-* "treacle, molasses"[91]).

1.2.3.1.1. From a morphonological point of view the *a/e*-umlaut plays an important role in verbal paradigms as well, viz. with *a*-stem verbs that have *a* as their root vowel. On the one hand, the *a* of the present stem opposes itself to *e* in the preterite stem; cp. present stems like M.A.F. *bala-* "look (at)", *jaha-* "beat" and *faśa-* "start, begin (to do something)" with their corresponding preterite stems M.A.F. *beli-*, *jehi-* and *feśi-*. The preterite participle of the *a*-stem verbs, identical in its form with the preterite stem, is formed with the suffix *-i* which through intermediate **-ī* goes back to OIA *-ita*; this suffix vowel *i* causes umlaut regularly.[92]

The second morphonological function of the umlaut becomes apparent in the derivation of intransitive, inactive *e*-stem verbs from transitive and/or active *a*-stems with *a* as their root vowel. Here, both the *a* of the root and the stem marker are changed by umlaut; cf. *faśanī* trans. "to start, begin (something)" vs. *feśenī* intr. "to begin", *jahanī* trans. "to beat" vs. *jehenī* intr. "to fall, hit", the causative *vaṭṭanī* trans. "to let fall (something or somebody)" vs. *veṭṭenī* intr. "to fall, be dropped", *fatanī* "to swim (actively, willingly)" vs. the inactive *fetenī* "to sink, drown (by floating)" etc.

1.2.3.2. There are only a few words that show umlaut-change of *u* to *i* throughout the Dhivehi speaking area. In comparison with Sinhalese, Dhivehi provides much fewer examples for this kind of umlaut. One of them is M.A.F. *bin /bim/* "earth, soil, ground" = Sinh. *bim* ← Pkt. *bhūmī-*, Pa. *bhūmi-*, OIA *bhū́mi-*.[93] As a rule, *u*-umlaut is more widespread in the southernmost vernaculars, the corresponding words in northern Dhivehi having preserved *u* as their root vowel, which must be regarded as a conservative trait. Cp., e.g., M. *muśi* vs. A.F. *miśi* "fist" and the Sinh. stem *miṭi-* "id." ← Pa. *muṭṭhi-*, OIA *muṣṭí-* "id.";[94] M. *kuḷi* vs. A.F. *kiḷi* "pond with fresh water", and M. *dūni* vs. A.F. *dīṇi* "bird".

1.2.3.2.1. There is but one available verb showing this type of *u*-umlaut, viz. M. *duvanī* as opposed to A.F. *divanī* "to run" (with *i* in all forms). Here, too, the *u* of the root has remained unchanged in the standard language. The same holds true for Sinhalese which has

[88] Cf. TURNER (1966), II, 619, no. 10702; cf. also 2.3.1.5.

[89] Cf. TURNER (1966), II, 563, no. 9804.

[90] Cf. TURNER (1966), II, 594, no. 10286.

[91] Cf. TURNER (1966) II, 510, no. 9070; GEIGER (1941), 103, no. 1523. – For the binary opposition of */n/* and */ṇ/* in southern Dhivehi cf. 1.3.7.1.

[92] Cf. the table of *a*-verbs in 3.1.4.1; for the derivation of the preterite participle cf. 3.9.2.1.

[93] Cf. TURNER (1966), II, 545, no. 9557.

[94] Cf. TURNER (1966) II, 589, no. 10221 and GEIGER (1941), 133, no. 1977.

preserved the back vowel *u* in the present stem *duva-*, while the preterite stem was changed by umlaut into *divu-* (← **divī-*).[95]

1.2.3.3. Concerning the umlauting of *o* into *e*, Dhivehi does not show many examples either. Cp. M. *lē* "blood" vs. A.F. *lei* with a diphthong and Sinh. *lē*[96] (Pkt. *lohiya-* "red", OIA *lóhita-* "read, reddish substance, blood"). — In the case of M. *dōni*, A.F. *dōṇi* "boat, ship" vs. Sinh. *deṇa* "boat, canoe" the umlauting seems to have been omitted; but the Maldivian word rather represents a prakritism.[97] — Obviously there is not even one verb showing an *umlaut*-change of *o* into *e* (cf. 3.9.2.1).

1.2.4. A comparison of the Maldivian vernaculars reveals some more **vocalic alternations** which can only partially be regarded as regular. This holds true for the following variations:

1.2.4.1. Where *i* is a root vowel in the standard language, it often corresponds with *e* in the southern dialects if followed by *a* in the next syllable. Cp., e.g., M. *tila* – A.F. *tela* "shallow (water); blade"; M. *hila* – A.F. *hela* "rock"; M. *hima* – A.F. *hema* "thin, fragile"; M. *mila* – A.F. *mela* "dirt"; M. *riha* – A.F. *reha* "curry"; M. *dia* – A.F. *dea* "water, liquid" etc.

1.2.4.2. In some cases southern Dhiv. *e* corresponds to M. *u* as a root vowel. Here, too, we observe that it is followed by *a*: M. *nura* – A.F. *nera* "grey hair"; M. *durana* – A.F. *deraṇa* "ring made from rope"; M. *huras* – A.F. *heras* "across, horizontal"; M. *furāḷu* – A.F. *ferāḍa* "roof".

1.2.4.3. A triadic correspondence of root vowels which occurs regularly is that of **M. *ā* – F. *ai* – A. *ei***. It is represented in the pronominal adjective M. *hā*, F. *hai*, A. *hei* "all" and, as a second component, also in the demonstrative adverb M. *ehā*, F. *ehai*, A. *ehei* "so" and in the interrogative pronoun M. *kihā*, F. *kihai*, A. *kihei* "how" (cf. 2.6.7.4.3). Some further examples are M. *velā*, F. *velai*, A. *velei* "green water turtle"; M. *kelā*, F. *kelai*, A. *kelei* "sandal wood"; M. *gurā*, F. *gurai*, A. *gurei* "parrot"; M. *furā*, F. *furai*, A. *furei* "full" and probably the ending of the "absolutive I", M. *-fā*, F. *-fē* ← **-fai*, A. *-fei*.[98] In the given threefold correspondence, the diphthongs that occur in the southernmost dialects must represent an older pronunciation.

1.2.4.4. There are numerous examples that illustrate the correspondence of **M. *o* – A. *e*, F. *e/ē***[99] Cp., e.g., M. *atoḷu* – A.F. *ateḷe* "atoll"; M. *toḷi* – A. *teḷi*, F. *tēḷi* "bean"; M. *goňḍi* – A. *geňḍi*, F. *gēňḍi* "chair"; M. *oḍi* – A.F. *veḍi* "type of (Maldivian) ship"; M. *doḷi* –

[95] For the etymology of this verb cf. GEIGER (1941), 79, no. 1175 and TURNER (1966) I, 284, no. 5168 s.v. *jávate* "hastens".

[96] For the uncontracted variant *lehe* "blood" cf. GEIGER (1938), 86. For the etymology cf. TURNER (1966) II, 650, no. 11165.

[97] For details cf. 1.2.1 above.

[98] Cf. 1.2.2.5 above.

[99] The long vowel *ē* of some nominal *i*-stems is caused by paradigmatic circumstances; cf. 2.3.2.8.1.4.2.

A.F. *deḍi*[100] "front part of the chin"; M. *koḷu* – A.F. *keḍe* "piece; end"; M. *oˀ /oś/* ← **oṭu* – A. *eśa*, F. *eśe* "seed, nut, kernel"; M. *fonu* – A.F. *feṇa* "foam, surf"; M. *honihiru* – A.F. *heṇahiri* "Saturday"; M. *honu* – A. *heṇa*, F. *heṇe* "thunderbolt"; M. *ośōnnanī* – A. *veśionnei*, F. *veśionnaī* "lie (down)".[101] All these examples share a phonological peculiarity in that A. *e* and F. *e/ē* are followed by a retroflex (or former retroflex) consonant. As the early documents of Dhivehi show, the *e*-vocalism of the southern vernaculars represents an older stage of development as opposed to the *o* of the standard language. Since the 14th century the language of Māle has witnessed a systematic change of */e/* into */o/*, where */e/* was followed by a single retroflex consonant. Thus, e.g., *ateḷu* "atoll" is documented with *e* during the whole *lōmāfānu*-period since L1 (s/1,1), while in later times it was almost exclusively written in the form *atoḷu* (e.g. F1,2.4; F4,3; F5,15.16.39; F13,5; F10,9.16; IDMMM 3,6). Another example is *keḷu* "end" (L3 6/1,2.3.4) vs. modern M. *koḷu*. This word occurs in the name of the atoll *Koḷumaḍulu*, which is already attested in the form of the locative *keḷumaḍule* in L1 (t/2,1-2). On the other hand, the final *-e* of A.F. *ateḷe* and other examples has to be considered as a secondary development. While final *-u* was preserved in northern Maldivian, it was obviously adapted (across the retroflex consonant) to the *e* of the penultimate syllable in the southern dialects.

1.2.4.5. For the correspondence of **M. *u*** and **A.F. *e*** in non-final position cf. 1.3.7.2. For details on the regular dialectal differences concerning the final vowels in the direct case of consonant stems (M. *-u*, F. *-o*, A. *-a* etc.) cf. the table and the examples given in 2.3.1.3.4.1.

1.3. The consonants

The consonant system Dhivehi inherited from Old and Middle Indo-Aryan corresponds in most points with that of Sinhalese. For the phonological development of the consonant phonemes, it will therefore be sufficient to refer to GEIGER's comprehensive historical description of the Sinhalese consonants (1938, 39 ff.). The present treatise will focus in the combinatorial processes and special developments of the Maldivian consonant system which are important for a general outline of Dhivehi phonology as well as morphonological relations. In this context, developments that are common exclusively to the "Insular Indo-Aryan" languages as well as phonological tendencies that are confined to Dhivehi deserve a particular interest.

1.3.1. The change of the inherited aspirates into their non-aspirated counterparts can be regarded as a regular process already of the time of Sinhalese Prakrit (from 2nd century B.C. until 4/5th century A.D.): "BIKU stands for *bhikku*, SAGA for *saṃgha* ... TERA for *thera*, DAMA for *dhamma* ..." (GEIGER 1938, 40[102]). According to MASICA (1991), 205, this development resulted from Tamil influence, the Tamil consonant system having no aspirates at all. Cf. also CALDWELL (1875), 130: "Tamil makes no use whatever of aspirates, and has not borrowed any of the aspirated consonants of Sanskrit, nor even the isolated aspirate *h*." GEIGER (ib.) presumes

[100] For the correspondence M. */ḷ/* – A.F. */ḍ/* cf. 1.3.7.2.

[101] For detailed information on this verb cf. 3.9.2.2.3.

[102] Cf. modern Sinhalese *bik* 1. "community of bhikkhus"; 2. "mendicant, bhikkhu" (GEIGER 1941, 121, no. 1808), *saṅga* "multitude, assembly; the community of bhikkhus" (ib. 171, no. 2565), *tera* "aged monk, senior monk" (ib. 67, no. 973), *dama* "law, doctrine; the Buddhist sacred scriptures" (ib. 70, no. 1026).

that "... even Sinhalese Prakrit did not possess any aspirated consonant." If the loss of the aspirates actually took place in such an early period, it remains doubtful, however, whether the linguistic contact between Sinhalese and Tamil could have lasted long enough before in order to provoke such an extensive change. It is possible that already in early Sinhalese Prakrit there was a tendency towards deaspiration which then was reinforced by the influence of the Tamil sound system.

1.3.2. The table below gives a general view of the **consonant phonemes** of contemporary Dhivehi. Loan phonemes which constitute an integral part of the Maldivian consonant system have been included as well.[103]

consonants	labial	labiodental	dental	alveolar	retroflex	palatal	velar	laryngeal
voiceless stops	*p*		*t*		*ṭ*		*k*	
voiced stops	*b*		*d*		*ḍ*		*g*	
prenasalised stops	*m̆b*		*n̆d*		*n̆ḍ*		*n̆g*	
voiceless affricates						*c*		
voiced affricates						*j*		
nasals	*m*		*n*		*ṇ*[104]	*ñ*[105]	*ṅ*	
vibrants				*r*				
laterals				*l*	*ḷ*			
voiceless spirants		*f*		*s*		*ś*		*h*
voiced spirants				*z*				
glides	*v*					*y*		

1.3.3. Except for the prenasalised stops (cf. below), the consonant inventory of Dhivehi is exactly reflected by the modern *Tāna* script;[106] cf. the following table which represents the traditional "alphabetic" order:

Tāna	ހ	ށ	ނ	ރ	ބ	ޅ	ކ	އ	
transcribed	*h*	*ś*	*n*	*r*	*b*	*ḷ*	*k*	*'*	
Tāna	ލ	ގ	ޏ	ސ	ޑ	ޒ	ޓ	ޔ	
transcribed	*l*	*m*	*f*	*d*	*t*	*l*	*g*	*ñ*	
Tāna	ޕ	ޖ	ޗ	ޘ	ޙ	ޚ	ޛ	ޜ	ޝ
transcribed	*s*	*ḍ*	*z*	*ṭ*	*y*	*p*	*j*	*c*	*ṇ*[107]

[1] Phonemes that occur only in Arabic loanwords are written by educated people in accordance with the original spelling. Their pronunciation, however, may be quite distinct from the original sound. The corresponding graphemes will be shown in a special table (cf. 1.3.10.4.).

[2] As an independent phoneme, /ṇ/ exists only in the southernmost dialects of Dhivehi; cf. 1.3.10.

[3] /ñ/ is phonemic in loanwords only; cf. 1.3.7.

[4] Cf. DE SILVA 1969 : 205 ff.

[5] The character for retroflex *ṇ* has become obsolete in standard Dhivehi; it occurs in older *Tāna* texts. Nowadays it is used by a few writers (poets) who speak a southern dialect as their mother tongue.

The vocalisation marks which were taken from the Arabic script are superscribed or subscribed to the basic consonant characters:

Tāna	◌ަ	◌ާ	◌ި	◌ީ	◌ު	◌ū	◌ެ	◌ē	◌ǒ	◌ō	◌
transcribed	*ta*	*tā*	*ti*	*tī*	*tu*	*tū*	*te*	*tē*	*to*	*tō*	*t*

1.3.4. Within the phonological framework of the Indo-Aryan languages and the Indic languages in general, the **prenasalised stops** represent a very particular phenomenon of the two Insular languages, Dhivehi and Sinhalese, only.[108] The articulation of the four phonemes in question, */ňb/*, */ňd/*, */ňḍ/* and */ňg/*, is marked by a considerable shortness in contrast to the pronounciation of the corresponding consonant clusters, *-mb-*, *-nd-* etc. In the modern Sinhalese script the prenasalised stops are represented by special *akṣaras*. Within Sinhalese, the nasal component of the prenasalised plosives has been noted since medieval times, while it was still unmarked in the older *Brāhmī* inscriptions (cf. GEIGER 1938, 68). We find a quite different situation in written Dhivehi. *Dives akuru* never developed any means of writing the prenasalised stops, and *Tāna* has no particular characters for that purpose either. In modern times, however, three different ways to solve the problem have been applied. The most popular one follows the tradition by leaving the nasalisation unmarked and writing only the plosive element; cp., e.g., M. [*kuruňba*] written as ⟨*kuruba*⟩ "young drinking coconut", M. [*uňdagū*] ⟨*udagū*⟩ "difficult"; M. [*iňguru*] ⟨*iguru*⟩ "ginger"; M. [*gaňḍu*] ⟨*gaḍu*⟩ "piece, thing". – For a certain period, the nasal component was expressed by the so-called "empty *nūn*" (*hus nūn*), i.e. an ⟨*n*⟩ letter remaining without any vocalisation marks or *sukkun*, the marker of unvocalised consonants.[109] – Only exceptionally, the prenasalised stops are written as a sequence of full nasal + plosive, but this way of writing is normally regarded as a mistake. However, even now there are no absolute orthographical rules for the correct writing of the prenasalised stops.

Two arguments speak in favour of a monophonematic character of the prenasalised stops, at least in the contemporary language. Support for a monophonematic interpretation of the prenasalised stops is given by the early documents as well. The oldest written specimens of Dhivehi, the *lōmāfānu* inscriptions, show that the language had only open syllables in older times, consonant clusters being systematically excluded. A good example is M. [*gaňḍu*] "piece, thing", written ⟨*gaḍu*⟩ "piece (of land)" in L2 (9,4 etc.), L3 (4/1,2 and 6/1,5), L4 (e/2,1) etc. which means that it has to be analysed as *ga-ňḍu*, an analysis †*gaň-du* being impossible because of the given syllable structure. Another example is the syntagm ⟨*kuburu iduna*⟩ (L2 28,4) "living in the bushes" which, according to modern usage, must represent a syllable sequent *ku-ňbu-ru i-ňdu-na*. – Further evidence for the phonemic status of the prenasalised stops can be gained from minimal pairs. Some modern Dhivehi verb roots ending on a prenasalised plosive do not form the causative with the suffix *-va-*[110] but by "lengthen-

[108] Cf. MASICA (1991), 105: "... the *prenasalised stops* of Sinhalese ... are apparently confined to that language in NIA (although I should add that I have been unable to find any good account of Maldivian phonology)."

[109] Cf. the table in 1.3.3.

[110] For details cf. 3.2.1.1.

ing" *ň* into *n*, which results in phonemic oppositions of the type *-ňd-* vs. *-nd-* etc.[111] Cp., e.g., the transitive verb *aňdanī*[112] "to burn" and its verbal noun *eňdun* with the causative *andanī* "to (let) burn" and its verbal noun, *endun*. Another example is the intransitive verb *eňgenī* "to know, understand"; its verbal noun *eňgun* forms a minimal pair with the verbal noun *engun* .belonging to the causative *anganī* "to inform, let know". If we consider GEIGER's derivation of parallel cases in Sinhalese (1938, 71), we may well conclude, however, that the causative formation of the Maldivian verbs in question can be traced back to an underlying suffix *-va-* as well: thus, *anganī* "to let know" has to be derived through the intermediate forms **aňgňganī* ← **aňg-va-nī* ← **aňga-va-nī* from an obsolete *a*-stem verb **aňganī* with the transitive-active meaning "to understand, recognise (something)" as corresponding to the inactive *eňgenī* "to know, understand".

GEIGER (1938, 67-71) who interprets the Sinhalese prenasalised stops as a sequence of "half nasals" + consonants, provides some etymologies in order to show that the prenasalised plosives always reflect an old nasal which, on the other hand, was not necessarily combined with a plosive. An example for this assumption is Sinh. (= M.A.F.) *kaňburu* "(black)smith" which, through an intermediate form like Pkt., Pa. *kammāra-*, goes back to OIA *karmára-* "id."[113] Such cases seem to be exceptional, though; cp. the counterexamples Sinh. (= A.) *aňba*, M. *aňbu*, F. *aňbo* "mango" with Pkt., Pa. *amba-* (but OIA *āmrá-* "mango", fruit and tree);[114] Sinh. *aňbu* "wife, mother", M.A. *aňbi*, F. *aňbu* "wife" with Pkt., Pa. *ambā-* ← OIA *ambā́-* "mother";[115] Sinh. (= M.) *iňguru*, A.F. *iňgiri* "ginger" with Pa. *siṅgivera-*, OIA *śṛṅgavera-* "id.";[116] Sinh. *haňda/saňda*, M. *haňdu*, A. *haňda*, F. *haňdo* "moon" with Pa. *canda-*, OIA *candrá-* "moon, moonlight"[117] etc.

Dhivehi shows some examples of dialectal variation in the distribution of prenasalised stops in contrast to normal plosives in the same words. In some of these cases it is hard to decide whether an inherited nasal was lost within a certain dialectal area or whether we are dealing with the result of a spontaneous prenasalisation here. Sometimes, both variants appear side by side even within the same dialect. Cp. M. *uňdagū* vs. A.F. *udagū* "difficult"; M. *kuruňba* vs. A.F. *kuruba* "young drinking coconut"; F. *feňḍaga* vs. A. *feḍaga* "big green locust". Usually the southern vernaculars show a stronger tendency towards the plain stops. An exception to this rule is M. *boḍu* vs. A. *boňḍa*, F. *boňḍo* "big, large".

Contemporary Dhivehi has many words which show spontaneous prenasalisation. Foreign words such as *siňgireṭu* (← Engl. *cigarette*) with prenasalised *g* (as against the variant *siga-reṭu*) are good examples for the strength of this tendency.

Sinhalese has a few variants of this kind as well; cf. *sidu* vs. *siňdu* "ocean, river" (← OIA *síndhu-* "river, sindhus; ocean"[118]) or *magul-a* vs. *maňgul-a* "happiness, good fortune, festival" (← OIA *maṅgala-* "auspicious sign, happiness"[119]).

[111] This must not be confused with the paradigmatic change of *-ňd-/-nn-* occurring in the *n*-stem class of verbs; cf. 3.2.2.

[112] For the etymology of this verb cf. 3.9.2.2.2.

[113] Cf. GEIGER (1941), 37, no. 547 and TURNER (1966) I, 147, no. 2898.

[114] Cf. GEIGER (1941), 9, no. 133; TURNER (1966) I, 57, no. 1268.

[115] Cf. GEIGER (1941), 9, no. 131 and TURNER (1966) I, 25, no. 574.

[116] Cf. GEIGER (1941), 20, no. 306; TURNER (1966) II, 730, no. 12588.

[117] Cf. GEIGER (1941), 188, no. 2849 and TURNER (1966) I, 252, no. 4661.

[118] Cf. GEIGER (1941), 179, no. 2699; TURNER (1966) II, 774, no. 13415.

[119] Cf. GEIGER (1941), 126, no. 1875; TURNER (1966) II, 555, no. 9706.

1.3.5. Another sound change that is typical for Dhivehi as well as colloquial Sinhalese, is the transition of */s/* to */h/* in initial and medial position. While Dhivehi has completely lost initial *s-* in its inherited vocabulary, Sinhalese shows a large amount of double forms with *s-* and *h-*, the variants with *s-* being used almost exclusively in the written language and in higher stylistic levels. In the oldest written sources of Dhivehi we often find *s* when it is to be expected from an etymological point of view; cp., e.g., **simu* "border" (in the loc. *sime*, L2 4,1 and L3 2/2,3, and the compound *dia-sin* "water line", L3 4/1,2 etc., spelt *dyasin* in L4 c/2,6), co-occurring with *imu* in the earliest *lōmāfānu*s (L1 mx/2,5, L3 4/1,2 etc.) and appearing as *hin* (in *dyahin* "water line", F4,3) and *in* (F4,2 etc.) in later times (cp. Sinh. *ima/hima/sima*, Pa. Pkt. Skt. *sīmā-* "id.").[120] In the same documents, there are many words with "unetymological" initial *s-*. These must be explained as examples of historical or hypercorrect spelling which implies that in the period in question, written ⟨s⟩ was already pronounced as [h]. Cp., e.g., the Arabic name *Ḥusain*, which besides the original orthography ⟨*ḥus(s)ayn*⟩ (often in inscriptions, e.g. in IDMHM 2,15; ITAG 1,7; very often in RC, e.g. 26,4) is attested as ⟨*susein*⟩ in an *Evēla akuru lōmāfānu* (L2, 36,3).

Some further examples for *s* → *h* in initial position are M. *haňdu*, A. *haňda*, F. *haňdo* "moon" vs. Sinh. *haňda/saňda* "id." (Pa. *canda-*, OIA *candrá-* "id.");[121] M. *hiaḷu*, F. *hiaḷo*, A. *hi.aḷa* "fox, jackal" vs. Sinh. *hivalā/sivalā* "id." (Pkt. *siyāla-*, Pa. *sigāla-*, OIA *śṛgālá-*);[122] M. *huvaňdu*, A. *huvaňda*, F. *huvaňdo* "fragrance, perfume" vs. Sinh. *suvaňda* "id." (Pkt. *suandha-*, Pa., OIA *sugandha-* "id.");[123] M. *hā*, A. *hau*, F. *haul* "cock" vs. Sinh. *sävul-ā* "jungle cock", *gallus lafayetti* (Pkt. *cavala-*, OIA *capala-* "trembling, fickle").[124]

In medial position, the change *s* → *h* has infected inherited words without any exception in all Maldivian dialects; cp., e.g., **divesi* → A.M.F. *divehi* "islander"; **mesi* → M.A. *mehi*, F. *mēhi* "fly"; **jasanī* → M.A.F. *jahanī* "beat" (trans.) etc. Medial *s* was conserved only when it was geminated for morphonological reasons.[125]

Word-final *-s* has remained unchanged in northern Dhivehi and in Aḍḍū while it developed into *h* in Fua Mulaku where it is followed by a secondary short (echo) vowel which is not phonemic. This echo vowel is identical with the vowel of the last syllable; cp., e.g., F. *maha /mas/* "fish" (M.A. *mas*), F. *gehe /ges/* "tree" (A. *ges*, M. *gas*), F. *uhu /us/* "tall, high" (M.A. *us*), F. *faha /fas/* (M.A. *fas* "ground, soil"), F. *bihi /bis/* "egg" (M.A. *bis*), F. *goho /gos/* "going, having gone" (absolutive of *danī* "to go"; M.A. *gos*) etc.[126]

In contrast to the inherited vocabulary, *s* has been preserved in loanwords and foreign words not only on the phonemic, but also on the phonetic level. Cp., e.g., M.A.F. *alanāsi* "Ananas",[127] M.A.F. *mūsun* "monsoon, season",[128] M.A.F. *gamīs* "shirt",[129] etc. The

[120] Cf. GEIGER (1941), 22, no. 341; TURNER (1966) II, 775, no. 13435.

[121] Cf. GEIGER (1941), 188, no. 2849 and TURNER (1966) I, 252, no. 4661.

[122] Cf. GEIGER (1941), 193, no. 2906 and TURNER (1966) II, 729, no. 12578.

[123] Cf. TURNER (1966), II, 776, no. 13454.

[124] Cf. also 1.2.1.6.

[125] For details cf. 1.3.9.5 and 1.3.9.5.1; for the morphological peculiarities cf. 2.3.2.7.1.2.2.

[126] For more examples cf. 2.3.1.3.1; on general tendencies and developments of final consonants, cf. 1.1.3; for the change of */s/* → */h/* in Huvadū cf. 1.3.6.3.

[127] For the worldwide dissemination of the fruit as well as the word denoting it, cf. YULE-BURNELL (1902), 25 ff. s.v. *ananas*; Dhivehi most probably received it via Portuguese.

derivation of M.A.F. *siṭī* "letter" seems to be more complicated. If the word had emerged from OIA **ciṣṭa-* "message"[130] directly or through an intermediate (not attested) MIA form, we would expect neither initial *s-* nor medial *-ṭ-*[131] for contemporary Dhivehi. Even if the Dhivehi word represented a prakritism (in the sense of a *mot savant*), *-ṭ-* could not have been conserved as such. Therefore, the most probable source of *siṭī* is Hi. *ciṭṭhī* "letter";[132] in this case, the change of initial *c-* → *s-* has nothing to do with the similar sound change in the early history of Dhivehi (cp., e.g., Old Dhiv. *sañdu* ← MIA *canda-* "moon").

1.3.6. In the more recent past, Dhivehi has been affected by two remarkable sound changes: */p* → *f/* and */ṭ* → *ś/*.[133] It is not possible, however, to establish the exact date of these changes, because ⟨*f*⟩ and ⟨*ś*⟩ were never written with separate characters before the *Tāna* period. Thus it remains uncertain, since when the *Dives akuru* characters for *p* and *ṭ* can be taken to represent [*f*] and [*ś*], resp. Cp., e.g., the *Dives akuru* forms *pasvana* "fifth" (ordinal number[134]; IDMD 2,4) and *apuremenge* "our" (pers./poss.pron., 1.pl.gen.[135]; RB 1,11) as against their *Tāna* equivalents *fasvana* (ITMHM 4,3; ITAM 1,6) and *afuremenge* (RC 3,13). For *Dives akuru* ⟨ṭ⟩ vs. *Tāna* ⟨ś⟩, cp. *koṭu* (absolutive of *kuranī* "to make, do",[136] attested 209 times, beginning with L1 d/1,2), *raṭu* "island, land" (attested 84 times, beginning with L1 [f/2,1] as well) as against *kośu* (ITMKM 1,13) and *raśu* (RC 32,12) written in *Tāna*. While Maldivian documents do not provide exact information about the time of the spirantisation of */ṭ/* and */p/* themselves, external evidence can be gained from PYRARD's and CHRISTOPHER's wordlists which witness both to the changes of *p* → *f* and *ṭ* → *ś* (in initial and medial position). PYRARD, who sojourned in the Maldives from 1602 to 1607, noted ⟨*p*⟩ in his wordlist in all cases concerned, while CHRISTOPHER, who came to the Maldives in 1834, already wrote ⟨*f*⟩ without any exception. Examples from PYRARD's list are ⟨*alipan*⟩ (M. *alifān*) "fire", ⟨*penne*⟩ (M. *fen*) "water", ⟨*Bouraspaty*⟩ (M. *burāsfati*) "Thursday", ⟨*piohy*⟩ (M. *fióhi*) "knife", ⟨*niapaty*⟩ (M. *niafati*) "finger nail" and the name of the island ⟨*Maspillaspoury*⟩ (cf. M. *fuśi* "small islet, sand bank"); in contrast to these spellings, CHRISTOPHER's list shows ⟨*alifang*⟩, ⟨*feng*⟩, ⟨*Burasfati*⟩, ⟨*fiohi*⟩, ⟨*niafati*⟩. We may conclude that the change of *p* into *f* must have taken place not earlier than the early 17th century and not later than the early 19th century.

[128] Cf. Arab. *mausim* "season, time of festivities and harvest" (WEHR 1958, 950); cf. also YULE-BURNELL 1902), 577.

[129] ← Arab. *qamīṣ* (cf. WEHR 1958, 704).

[130] Cf. TURNER (1966), I, 262, no. 4832.

[131] For details on the development of *-ṭ-* → *-ś-*, cf. 1.3.6.1.

[132] Direct loans from Hindi or Urdu are quite common in modern Dhivehi. The Maldives always had both trading contacts and cultural relations with many parts of the subcontinent, the contacts to Pakistan being particularly close. There are many educated people in Maldives who dispose of a good knowledge of Urdu or Hindi. Last but not least, there is a tradition of visiting India and other countries of the subcontinent regularly because of serious health problems.

[133] For detailed information on the geminates *-pp-* and *-ṭṭ-* cf. 1.3.9.6.

[134] For the ordinal numbers cf. 2.5.2.

[135] For details cf. 2.6.2.3.1.2.

[136] For details on this irregular absolutive formation cf. 3.10.4.

1.3.6.1. For an exact dating of the change of *ṭ* → *ś*, however, the two wordlists do not give any reliable indication. The only fact that can be stated with certainty is that already in PYRARD's time, the non-geminated phoneme */ṭ/* was not realised as [*t*] any longer in medial position. The spellings ⟨*caré*⟩ "ripe coconut" (M. *kāśi*), ⟨*tori*⟩ "peel, shell, bark" (M. *tośi*), ⟨*ystarin*⟩ "hair" (M. *istaśi*), ⟨*aret*⟩ "eight" (M. *aśeˀ /aś-ek/*, indef. form) as well as the name of the island ⟨*Maspillaspoury*⟩ indicate that medial *-ṭ-* was already pronounced as a palatal fricative *r* sound, the articulation being somewhere in between Czech *ř* and Turkish *-r*. CHRISTOPHER indicated a similar spirant by spellings like ⟨*kárhi*⟩ "ripe coconut", ⟨*rorhi*⟩ "flat bread" (M. *rośi*), ⟨*bárhi*⟩ "eggplant" (M. *baśi*), or ⟨*forhi*⟩ "box" (M. *fośi*), while in the case of ⟨*tori*⟩ "bark", ⟨*istari*⟩ "hair" or ⟨*tari*⟩ "plate, dish" (M. *taśi*) he used plain ⟨r⟩ as PYRARD did. GEIGER, who styled this spirant "a sound peculiar to Máldivian, difficult to describe" (1919, 115 / 1986, 116; 1901-1902, III, 127), transcribed it with ⟨*ř*⟩, while BELL used ⟨*r*⟩. The pronunciation of medial */ś/* (← */ṭ/*) as a palatal spirant similar to *ř* can still be heard in Fuaˀ Mulaku and also from the speakers of the "palace language" in Māle,[137] who alternate between [*ř*] and [*ś*] without phonological reasons. It is only on the basis of an intermediate pronunciation [*huři*] that the peculiar development of the participal form M. *huri* (← *huṭi*, cp. A. *hiśi*, F. *hīśī* [long form] and H. *huṭi*, cf. below) can be explained.

1.3.6.2. In the vernacular of Huvadū, the retroflex */ṭ/* is preserved in its original quality without any exception, as the following examples illustrate: H. *kauṭi* "ripe coconut" (M. *kāśi*, A.F. *kaiśi*), H. *galahuṭṭe* gen./loc. "(on) the island Galafuśi" (i.e. "stone-sandbank", ← *gala-huṭye* ← *gala-fuṭi-e*, cf. A.F. gen./loc. *fīśe*), H. *huṭi* part.pret. "being, remaining; standing" (A. *hiśi*, F. *hīśī*, M. *huri*, cf. M. *hunnanī* "to stand, remain, be"; 3.9.2.2.1). The same holds true for the inherited ending of the dative, *-aṭa*, which is preserved in its original form ending in a vowel as well as an apocopated variant ending in *-ṭ* in Huvadū. Cp., e.g., H. *doraṭa* dat. "(to) the door" vs. M.A. *doraˀ /-aś/*, F. *doraha*[138]; H. *mattaṭ* "upward(s)" vs. A. *maṭtaˀ*, M. *maccaˀ /-aś/*, F. *mattaha* (dat. of the *i*-stem *mati* "top; above").

1.3.6.3. The fricative */f/* which had emerged from */p/* in the whole Dhivehi speaking area, finally developed into */h/* in Huvadū. While a similar sound change has remained exceptional in the other dialects (cp., e.g., M. *aharen* ← *afuren* ← **apuren*, pers.pron.1.ps., originally meaning pl. "we", nowadays sg. "I",[139] or M. *kuḷaňduru* ***huhi***, F. *keraňdul* ***hūhi*** vs. A. *keraňduru fufi* "bee hive"), it spread out in Huvadū, where it has affected a wide area. According to HLSD, 154, the subdialect of the eastern parts of the Huvadū-Atoll seems to be more conservative in this respect; cp., e.g., East-H. *fūḷa* "navel" vs. West-H. *hūḷa* (cf. M.A.F. *fūḷu*). The material that has been collected so far does not suffice to draw final conclusions yet. There is no doubt, however, that no other dialect of Dhivehi shows such a strong tendency towards despirantisation in its phonemic system as does Huvadū. This agrees with the fact that the development of *s* → *h* which can be observed in Dhivehi in general has reached a higher level in Huvadū than anywhere else in this language.

[137] For more information on this sociolect cf. the introduction, 0.9.2.
[138] On the particular problem of the dative ending in Fuaˀ Mulaku cf. 2.3.1.1.3.
[139] For details cf. 2.6.2.3.1.2.

1.3.7. The phonemes /ḷ/ and /ṇ/:

In contrast to Sinhalese where the retroflex lateral /ḷ/ coincided with /l/ in pronunciation which led to a permanent confusion in orthography,[140] Dhivehi has preserved the phonemic difference between the laterals. The retroflex /ṇ/, which has also phonetically coincided with its dental counterpart /n/ in Sinhalese,[141] has lost its phonemic status in Standard Dhivehi,[142] while the southern dialects still provide many examples of the retroflex nasal and, furthermore, even some minimal pairs contrasting this with dental /n/.

1.3.7.1. Thus, e.g., M. *fani* "worm, caterpillar" is homophone of M.A.F. *fani* "(coconut) treacle"[143] with dental /n/ in the standard language, while the Addū and Fua' Mulaku dialects show a distinctive retroflex /ṇ/ in A. *faṇi*, F. *fāṇi* "worm"[144]. An example of a minimal pair that is only distinguished by the two phonemes /l/ and /ḷ/ is M.A.F. *ali* "light" (noun and adj.) vs. M.A. *aḷi*, F. *āḷi* "ash, grey".[145]

Some further examples of words containing /ḷ/ and /ṇ/ are M.A.F. *kukuḷu* "hen"; M. *atoḷu*, A.F. *ateḷe* "atoll"; M. *toḷi*, A. *teḷi*, F. *tēḷi* "bean";[146] M. *kuḷi*, A.F. *kiḷi* "(fresh water) pond, tank, lake"; M. *finoḷu*, A. *finoḷa*, F. *finoḷo* "sandbank (island)"; M.A.F. *nāḷi* "Maldivian weight unit of about 1 kilogram"[147] etc. — For the correspondence of M. *ṇ* – A.F. *ṇ* cf. M. *dōni* vs. A.F. *dōṇi* "common Maldivian boat type"; M. *hūnu* vs. A.F. *huṇu* "warm, hot"; M. *ukunu* vs. A.F. *ukuṇu* "flea, louse"; M. *kuni* vs. A.F. *kuṇi* "dirt; dirty, rotten"; M. *dūni* vs. A.F. *dūṇi* "bird"; M. *dekunu* vs. A.F. *dekuṇu* "south" etc.

1.3.7.2. There are some isolated examples of a **correspondence of M. *ḷ* and A.F. *ḍ*** in Dhivehi. Besides the words M. *furāḷu* / A. *ferāḍa* "roof"[148] and M. *ruḷi* / A. *riḍi* "anger, temper", which are doubtful from an etymological point of view, we have to note M. *vaḷu* / A. *vaḍa*, F. *vaḍo* "well" which is related to Sinh. *vaḷa* "hole, pit". This word originates from

[140] Cf. GEIGER (1938), 56: "In some words there is an uncertainty concerning the spelling *ḷ* or *l* and the dictionaries ... quote alternative forms." – MATZEL (1983), 17: "Zwischen l und ḷ besteht ein Unterschied der sprachgeschichtlichen Herkunft, der sich in den Schreibungen l und ḷ erhalten hat. Die Aussprache beider Laute ist jedoch die gleiche."

[141] Cf. GEIGER (1938), 62 on the phonetic loss of Sinh. /ṇ/, often occurring in the written language even nowadays: "But owing to the fact that there is no difference now in pronunciation between *ṇ* and *n* a great confusion has arisen in the Sinh. orthography ... and many words and forms are spelt with *n* by some people and with *ṇ* by others."

[142] The retroflex pronunciation of /ṇ/ as [ṇ] in medial position after /āl/ and before a following vowel which is typical for Standard Dhivehi, is exclusively bound to this phonotactic position and therefore has no phonemic basis; cp., e.g., M. /dānan/ "I shall go" (1.ps.sg.fut. of *danī* "to go"), which is pronounced as [dāṇaŋ] regularly.

[143] Cp. Sinh. *päni/päṇi* "treacle, honey, molasses"; for the etymology cf. 1.2.3.1.

[144] Cp. Sinh. *paṇu-va* "id." (GEIGER 1941, 93, no. 1383).

[145] For the secondary lengthening of the root vowel which is caused by a morphonological rule, cf. 2.3.2.8.1.4.2.

[146] For the secondary lengthening of the Fua' Mulaku variant cf. 2.3.2.8.1.4.2.

[147] For details on the the traditional weights cf. BELL (1883), 118 f.

[148] The etymological connection of this word with OIA, Pa. *paṭala-*, Pkt. *paḍala-* "roof" is rather problematic (cf. TURNER 1966, I, 433, no. 7694). In the Dhivehi forms, both the consonants and the long Dhiv. *ā* could not be explained on this basis.

OIA *avaṭá-* "hole in the ground" which through Pkt. *avaḍa-*[149] developed directly into southern Dhivehi A. *vaḍa*, F. *vaḍo*. The development of *ḍ* into *ḷ* which we observe both in northern Dhivehi and in Sinhalese, must be secondary as against this.

The verb M. *uḷenī* "to live, be, behave" with its equivalents A. *vēňḍenī* and F. *vęṇṇaī* must be considered within the same framework. While in the modern standard language and in Aḍḍū, the inflection of this verb shares the pattern of the *e*-stems, the Fua' Mulaku variant shows the paradigm of the *n*-stems. The correlation of the dialectal variants becomes evident by means of the finite forms; cp., e.g., the 1.ps.sg.pres. M. *uḷen* vs. A. *vēňḍen* and F. *vęňḍin*, or the 1.ps.sg.pret. M. *uḷunin* vs. A. *vēňḍeṇen*, F. *vęňḍunin*.[150] We cannot take it for granted that the northern and southern variants represent the same etymon, but we have to consider that besides the correspondence of the retroflex sounds *ḷ* and *ňḍ*, there are also some older variants of the verb which speak in favour of an etymological relation.[151] For the older standard language, two variant forms of the part.pres. of this verb are attested, viz. *veḷena* (L4 e/1,1) and *vuḷena* (L4 c/2,4; L2 22,3 etc.).[152] It seems obvious that *vu-* represents a later development here, just as *-o-* in *atoḷu* is opposed to *-e-* in older *ateḷu*. Thus we can assume that it was the retroflex consonant which influenced and changed the quality of the preceding vowel here in the same way as *e* became *o* in the position before a retroflex consonant (cf. 1.2.4.4).

Another example of the *ḷ-ḍ*-correspondence is provided by the dialectal variants of the part.pret. of *kuranī* "to make, do". The form M. *kuḷa* "made, done", which is attested frequently since L1 (ms/1,2) but is no longer used nowadays, opposes itself to F. *keḷa* and to A. *keḍe*. In all probability, the *e* vowel of the southernmost dialects represents an earlier phonological stage here, too, just as the retroflex plosive *-ḍ-* in A. *keḍe* seems to be more archaic than the retroflex lateral *-ḷ-* of the other forms.[153]

1.3.8. Like Sinhalese, Dhivehi does not tolerate **consonant clusters** in any position.[154] Thus, all words that show consonant clusters in initial or final position must be of foreign origin; cp., e.g., M. *gasd* "intention" ← Arab. *qaṣd* "aim, purpose, intention", or the sanskritism *pratama* "the first" which is attested in L2 33,2 (← Skt. *prathamá-* (cf. 2.5.2). In contrast to that, consonant groups in medial position can be based on two different developments. Either the words in question are of foreign origin as well (like *haftā* "week" ← Class.Mod.Pers. *hafta*, *ilmu* "knowledge" ← Arab. *ʿilm*, *uxtu* "sister" ← Arab. *uḫt*), or – in all other cases – the cluster extends over a morpheme boundary of compound words (like M. *donkeo*, A. *donkeu*, F. *donkēl* "banana" ← *don* "light, white; fairhaired, lightskinned" + */kel/* "longish fruit"; M.A. *domveli*, F. *domvēli* "fine, white coral sand" ← *don* "light" (s.a.) + M.A. *veli*, F. *vēli* "sand").

In normal pronunciation, consonant clusters occurring in sanskritisms or other foreign words are decomposed by means of anaptyctic vowels, regardless of their position within the

[149] Cf. TURNER (1966) I, 34, no. 774 and GEIGER (1941), 160, no. 2393.

[150] The prenasalised stop in the southern variants of the *n*-stems is regular; cf. also the tables given in 3.2.2.1 and 3.3.2.

[151] Cf. also 3.9.2.2.4.

[152] For more details cf. 3.9.1.1.3.

[153] A detailed account of this participle is given in 3.9.2.2.5. For Sinh. *kaḷa* "done" cf. GEIGER (1938), 57.

[154] Cf., e.g., MASICA 1991, 125-7.

word. Frequent words show these vowels even in their written form; cp., e.g., *fikuru* "thought, thinking, idea" ← Arab. *fikr*; *tarujamā* "translation" ← Arab. *tarğamat*; *vagutu* "time" ← Arab. *waqt*; *iskuru* "screw" ← Engl. *screw*; *furatama* "at first" ← *pratama* (L2 33,2) ← Skt. *prathamá-*; M. *burāsfati* (this spelling is already attested in ITAG 3,2 and ITFM 2,6), F. *berāsfati*, A. *berāsseti* (with *-sf-* → *-ss-*) "Thursday" ← **bri/ahaspati* ← Skt. *bṛ́haspáti-* "name of a deity / the planet Jupiter" (cf. also Sinh. *bṛhaspatindā / brahaspatindā*, Skt. *bṛhaspatidiva- / bṛhaspativāra-* "Thursday"; cf. TURNER 1966, II, 527, nos. 9303 and 9304).

1.3.9. Geminates

DE SILVA has shown in his table (1969, 203) that in modern Dhivehi all consonants with the exception of the prenasalised stops, the palatal spirant *ś* and the glottal spirant *h* can occur as geminates. In contrast to DE SILVA's statement according to which the retroflex lateral *ḷ*, too, appears only as a single consonant, there are a few examples showing geminated *-ḷḷ-* in Dhivehi. It seems, however, that all the words in question are of foreign origin. None of the numerous geminates in Dhivehi can be derived directly from a corresponding geminate in MIA, because during the transition period between MIA and NIA all MIA geminates were reduced to single consonants.[155] Most of the geminates that occur in contemporary Dhivehi can be explained by secondary assimilations of different consonants,[156] the assimilatory processes being progressive or regressive. There are clear indications that progressive assimilations began earlier than those directed backwards; nowadays, however, Dhivehi exhibits much more examples that are due to regressive assimilations. As a matter of fact, regressive assimilations are regularly met with until now as a result of word formation processes or – in rare cases – by phenomena of sandhi[157] combining two words. The regressive assimilation of consonant clusters which leads to the formation of geminates has been reflected by the writing system of the standard language in recent times only. The most common spelling of geminates is ⟨ˀC⟩, while ⟨CC⟩[158] is used less often (e.g. *evvana* "(the) first",[159] now written ⟨*eˀvana*⟩ as against original ⟨*ekvana*⟩ in ITAG 3,1 and ITAM 1,4). In some cases, the various stages of the historical development of geminates is attested in detail in the written sources, as we will see below.

1.3.9.1. *-Cv-* becomes *-CC-* or *-vv-*. The occurrence of progressive assimilations as well as regressive ones at morpheme boundaries is attested by parallel variants such as *raṭṭehi* "friend, compatriot" and *ravvehi* "native, local, indigenous, resident". *raṭṭehi*, being obsolete in the modern standard language, is still known in the southern dialects, where it has an antiquated touch, as well. The word is attested in its indefinite form *raṭvesyaku* already in F11,28, in the 18th century. Dhiv. **raṭvehi-* corresponds to Sinh. *raṭaväsi(yā)* "inhabitant or native of a country", which according to GEIGER has to be traced back through an intermedi-

[155] Cf., e.g., GEIGER 1938, 39 or MASICA 1991, 187.
[156] On the historical development of the geminates cf. 1.1.5.
[157] For details on the sandhi rules cf. 1.6.
[158] The spelling of one and the same word can vary even nowadays, because there are no orthographical rules.
[159] For details cf. 2.5.2.

ate form like Pa. *raṭṭha-vāsi(n)-* to Skt. *rāṣṭra-vāsin-* (from OIA *rāṣṭrá-* "kingdom, country" + *vāsín-* "inhabiting".[160] While the geminate *-ṭṭ-* in *raṭṭehi* is the result of a progressive assimilation of *-ṭv-*, the form *ravvehi*, which is no longer associated with *raṭṭehi* by the native speakers of Dhivehi, obviously has to be traced back to a regressive assimilation of *-ṭv-* into *-vv-*. Considering *ravvehi*, there are two different ways of formation which have to be taken into account. On the one hand, *ravvehi* could be derived directly from **raṭvehi* as well. Although it seems rather unlikely, we cannot exclude the possibility that the two assimilation processes in question occurred at the same time (*-ṭv-* → *-ṭṭ-* and → *-vv-*), within one and the same dialect. On the other hand, we have to take into consideration that the form *ravvehi* could represent a (relatively) recent formation, namely a compound consisting of Dhiv. *ra' /raś/* ← *raṭu* "land, island" and *vehi* ← **vesi* "inhabitant, resident; inhabiting" (= Sinh. *väsiyā* "inhabitant"; cf. also *divehi* ← **divu-vesi* "islander, inhabitant of the islands, i.e. the Maldives", 1.3.9.5) which could have developed independently from the inherited compound **raṭvehi*. While *raṭu* is well documented in Old Dhivehi (since L1), there are no attestations of **vehi* as a single word at all. This is why we cannot expect to find out at what time **vehi* became obsolete in the spoken language. By all means, even if *ravvehi* were of comparativly recent origin, **vehi* still must have been in use at the time of its formation. — One more example of a progressive assimilation of *-ṭv-* → *-ṭṭ-* is *avaṭṭeriā* ← **avaṭ-veri-ā* "neighbour" (lit. "village-person"; M. *ava' /avaś/* ← */avaṭ/* "village" + def. form *veri-ā* "the person"; cf. 2.3.2.4.1). — Further examples showing regressive assimilation of *-Cv-* → *-vv-* are, e.g., M. *hivvaru /hit-varu/* "courage, encouragement" (*hi' /hit/* "heart, mind, feeling"; *varu* "force, size, greatness"); M. *kīvve /kī'-ve/* "why" (cf. 2.6.7.2.5), M. *evves /ek-ves/*, A. *evvies*, F. *evvi-as* "even" (cf. 2.6.7.5).

1.3.9.2. In northern Dhivehi final *-ti* and *-di* were affricated when they were followed by *-e* or *-a*. Through intermediate *-ty-* and *-dy-*, they developed into the geminated affricates *-cc-* and *-jj-*. In contrast, the southern dialects show a progressive assimilation in these cases, which leads to the geminated plosives A.F. *-tt-* and *-dd-*. While the formation of the voiceless geminate *-cc-*, which is attested already for the Old Dhivehi period, has survived in the standard language as a living phonological process until nowadays, the voiced affricate *-jj-*, which derived from *-dy-*, was restricted to some isolated examples. The same holds true for the southernmost vernaculars, where *-ti* before *-e* and *-a* is phonetically realised as *-tt-* while the corresponding development of the voiced geminate, *-dd-*, is met with in a few words only which can be considered as frozen forms.

1.3.9.2.1. From the synchronic point of view, the occurrence of the geminates M. *-cc-* and A.F. *-tt-* is a morphonological feature in the formation of the indefinite form and the dative of the very rare *i*-stems with *-t* as their final root consonant. In addition to this, the morphonological change in question has a paradigmatic function in deriving the following forms in the southernmost dialects: the definite form and all the case forms based on it in Aḍḍū; the gen./loc.sg. in Aḍḍū and Fua' Mulaku; the abl./instr. in Fua' Mulaku. The effect of these morphonological rules may be illustrated with two nouns of this type which are in use nowadays:

[160] Cf. GEIGER (1941), 144, nos. 2138 and 2137; 162, no. 2417. Cf. also TURNER (1966) II, 620, no. 10721 and 676, no. 11605.

The indefinite form of the *i*-stem M.A.F. *eti* "thing", M. *ecce'*, F. *ette'* but A. *etta'*, has to be derived from **eti-ek/*eti-ak* through the intermediate stage **etyek/etyak*.[161] Other current forms are: M. dat.sg. *ecca' /eti-aś/*; F. gen.sg. *ette /eti-e/*, dat.sg. *ettaha /eti-aś/*, abl. *etten /eti-en/*; A. nom.sg.def. *ettā /eti-ā/*; gen.sg.def. *ettāi /eti-ā-i/*, dat.sg.def. *ettā' /eti-ā-aś/*, abl.sg.def. *ettāin /eti-ā-in/*; the distributional plural form M. *ecceti*, A.F. *etteti /eti-eti/* "thing by thing, all things" (cf. 2.3.2.5). Cp. the earliest attestations, *etyāk* (nom.indef.: sic L5 5/2,6), *etyaku* (obl.indef.; F5,26), *etyakaṭu* (dat.indef.; F3,1), *etye* (probably instead of **etyek* as nom.indef.; F3,1), *etyeti* (distributional plural form; F3,7; F2,14; F5,41; F8,29.30). — The case forms of M.A.F. *mati* "top, surface", which are mainly used as local adverbs correspond to those of the preceding noun, cp., e.g., dat. M. *macca'*, A. *matta'*, F. *mattaha /mati-aś/* "to the top; up (to), upwards" (cp. the early attested form *matyaṭa* in L2 5,1); gen./loc. A.F. *matte /mati-e/* "on the surface, at/on the top; above, overhead".

1.3.9.2.2. In the standard language, the affrication of final *-ti* is due to a certain kind of sandhi,[162] when adjectives in predicative position precede the quotation marker *-ē /-eve/*.[163] Cf. M. *rīti* "beautiful" as against *mi koṭari rīccē /rīti-eve/* "this room is beautiful" or M. *hiti* "bitter" as against *sai hiccē /hiti-eve/* "(the) tea is bitter".

1.3.9.3. As was stated above, there are only a few examples of the development of *-di* → *-jj-* in the standard language and of *-di* → *-dd-* in the southern vernaculars. In contrast to the change of *-ti* into *-cc-/-tt-*, which is regularly connected with a paradigmatic function, the parallel sound change of the voiced stop is restricted to isolated unchangeable forms. Thus, in southern Dhivehi, the *i*-stems *kudi-* "child" and *kalamidi-* "prince" show this morphonological process only in their definite nom.sg. and the depending case forms; cf. the nom.sg.def. A. *kuddā* (F. *kuddā̤*) ← **kudi-ā* "the child". In the standard language, besides *kujjā* ← **kudyā* ← **kudi-ā* the indefinite form is affected as well by the affrication; cp. M. *kujje'* ← **kudyek* ← **kudi-ek* "a child".[164] — The nom.sg. *kalamidi* "prince", which is well attested in the history of the language (L6 1,2 and 2,3; RA 21,1; *kalamedi* in F5,38 and RC 14,5), has *kalamijjā* as its definite form which has to be derived through **kalamidyā* from **kalamidi-ā*; all of the (frequent) attestations of this word show ⟨*-nj-*⟩ which was the usual spelling of [*-jj-*], hence the written form is regularly ⟨*kalaminjā*⟩ (e.g. RC 12,10; RC 22,11 etc.). — The modern Dhivehi word for "state, empire", originally "kingdom", which appears in the dialectal variants M. *rājje* (cf. *divehi rājje* as the official name of the Maldives) and A.F. *rādde*, represents a sanskritism. While the form *rādya* (Skt. *rājyá-* "kingship, kingdom", cf. TURNER 1966, II, 619, no. 10694), which is attested already in L1 (g/1,5), L2 (6,1) and L3 (2/1,2 and 3/1,5) with the spelling ⟨*-dy-*⟩ for *-jy-*, represents the nominative, the numerous variants ending in *-e* which appear in different spellings such as *rāddye* (F5,13; F6,10; F7,13.20; F8,18; F13,2; F10,12.15; F11,9.17; IDME 3,25 and 27), *rātde* (F3,8.11), *rāndye* (F9,4; RB 1,3), *rānjē* (RC 8,7), *rājjē* (with Arab. ⟨ـّـ⟩ RA 1,4) have to be explained as a locative form "in the kingdom, in the state". In Modern Dhivehi the frozen form of the locative has been re-interpreted as a nominative.

[161] For the distribution of the two suffixal variants cf. 2.3.2.1 (A.), 2.3.2.2 (F.), 2.3.2.3.1 and 2.3.2.3.1 (M.), resp.

[162] For the sandhi rules cf. 1.6.

[163] Cf. 2.4.

[164] For further details on the morphology and on the use of these forms in the modern language, cf. 2.3.2.7.1.2, 2.3.2.8.1.4.3 and 2.3.2.9.1.3.2.

In standard Dhivehi, the formation of the "preterite IV" which contains *danī* "to go" as an auxiliary verb must be explained within this framework; cp. 1.ps.sg. *-jjain* ← **-diain*, 2./3.ps.sg. and 3.ps.pl. *-jje* ← *-dye* ← **-dia*, 1./2.ps.pl. *-jjaimu* ← **-diaimu*.[165] The historical development is clearly shown by the early attestations of M. *vejje* "became", 3.ps.sg. pret.IV of *vanī* "become", viz. *veddya* (F10,18), *veddye* (F5,21.24; IDMHM 4,21), *vedye* (F10,10), *vejja* (spelled ⟨*venja*⟩; RC 29,11) and ⟨*ve'ja*⟩ (RC 5,3 and 30,13); the earliest attestations of the contemporary form *vejje* (spelled ⟨*ve'je*⟩) can be found on a tombstone of the graveyard of the Māle Hukuru Mosque (ITMHM 1,7; the dating is uncertain) and in RC (2,6).

1.3.9.4. The gemination and palatalisation of *-n-* preceding a stem-final *-i* in combination with the indefinite suffix is restricted to northern Dhivehi. Cf. the indefinite forms *dōññe'* ← **dōnye'* ← **dōniek* ← **dōṇi-ek*[166] "a boat" (M. *dōni* "boat, ship") or *dūññe'* ← **dūnye'* ← **dūniek* ← **dūṇi-ek* "a bird" (M. *dūni* "bird").[167] The same holds true for the ending of the dative (*dōñña'*, *dūñña' /-aśl*).

1.3.9.5. The paradigmatic interchange of *-h-* (← *-s-*) and *-ss-* occurring in some *i*-stems can be found in the whole Dhivehi speaking area, the phonological development of *-si+V* → *-siV* → *-syV* → *-ssV* being equivalent with A.F. *-ti-* → *-tt-* and *-di-* → *-dd-* (cf. 1.3.9.2). Cp., e.g., M.A.F. *divehi* "Maldivian" vs. the nom.sg.indef. M.F. *divesse' /divesi-ekl*, A. *divessa' /divesi-akl* (← **divu-vesi* "islander"[168]). While the nouns ending in *-hi* (← *-si*) have survived as a comparatively homogeneous group in Aḍḍū, they were subject to morphonological simplifications in Fua' Mulaku and even more so in the standard language.[169] Cf. M.A. *mehi*, F. *mēhi* "fly" ← **mesi* (cp. the Sinh. stem *mäsi-/mähi-* ← Skt. *mákṣikā-* "fly, bee"[170]), where in Aḍḍū *-s-* is preserved within the geminate *-ss-* almost throughout the paradigm while we find a compensatory change of *-s-* to *-h-* in Fua' Mulaku: cf. A. nom.def. *messā /mesi-āl*, nom. indef. *messa' /mesi-akl* (besides *mēhā / mēha'*), gen. *messe /mesi-el*, dat. *messa' /mesi-aśl* vs. F. nom.indef. (only) *mēhe' /mesi-ekl*, gen. *mēhe /mesi-el*, dat. *mēha' /mesi-aśl*.

1.3.9.5.1. The formation of causatives from verbs with *-s* as their original final root consonant is affected by the same morphonological interchange of *-h-/-ss-*; cf. *jahanī* ← **jasanī* "beat, strike, kick; blow (wind), ring (bell)" with its causative *jassanī* ← **jasvanī* ← **jasa-va-nī* (cf. 1.3.9.12.1 and 3.2.1.1).

[165] For more details cf. 3.11.4.5.1.

[166] For the loss of */n/* in the standard language cf. 1.3.7.

[167] The statement of HLSD (1988), 15 according to which "a morphophonemic feature of Divehi is that morphemes containing the dental nasal 'n' in the final syllable ... replace this nasal by 'ññ' when they are followed by certain suffixes", is not exact enough, because this is not a question of "certain suffixes". Besides the indefinite suffix, the phonetic process is also triggered by the ending of the dative, i.e. all nominal suffixes with initial vowel are concerned. – On the status of the palatal nasal *ñ* cf. 1.3.10.

[168] On **divu* "island" cf. 2.6.2.3.1.4 (s.v. *uren* ← *vuren*); for **vesi* "inhabitant" cf. 1.3.9.1.

[169] For details and examples cf. 2.3.2.7.1.2.2 and 2.3.2.11.3.3 (Aḍḍū), 2.3.2.8.1.4.4 and 2.3.2.12.5.2 (Fua' Mulaku) and 2.3.2.9.1.3.1 (Māle).

[170] Cf. GEIGER (1941), 133, no. 1975 s.v. *mässā* and TURNER (1966) II, 554, no. 9696 s.v. *makṣā-*.

1.3.9.6. The geminates *-pp-* and *-ṭṭ-* are of particular interest because the inherited Old Maldivian stops */p/* and */ṭ/* are preserved in their original quality only within these geminated consonants (cf. 1.3.6). There are only a few examples as to this, which will be treated below.

1.3.9.6.1. The geminate *-pp-* occurring in the kinship term M. *bappa*, A.F. *bappā*, A. *appā* "father" cannot be analysed any further because the word obviously originated in children's language. – M. *fuppāmē*, A.F. *fuppāmei* "lungs" contains Dhiv. *fuppā-*, which does not exist as an independent word; it second part is M. *mē*, A.F. *mei* "liver".[171] Dhiv. *fuppā-* can be identified with Sinh. *papu-* "lungs" which, according to TURNER (1966, II, 511, no. 9090) has to be derived from OIA *phupphusa-* "lungs". In Sinhalese, we also meet with a word *puppḥusa* "lungs" which, like Dhiv. *fuppā-* (with the regular change of *p-* → *f-*), must be explained as a sanskritism. — A few consonant stems with final */ṭ/* which were combined with the honorific suffix *-puḷu* (→ *-fuḷu*) in the standard language were obviously fixed in this combination before */p/* developed into */f/*. The geminate *-pp-* occurring in these words is the result of an regressive assimilation of *-Cp-*; cf. *appuḷu* ← **at-puḷu* "hand of a person of high social status" and *dappuḷu* ← **dat-puḷu* "tooth of a person of high social status". Most probably, the island name *duppoḷī* (L2 15,1) shows the same development as well. — In a similar way the stem final *-p* of some verbs was preserved in their causative forms (cf. 3.2.1.1) because of a progressive assimilation leading to geminated *-pp-*. Cp., e.g., M.A.F. *hifanī* ← **sipanī* "to hold, catch (something)" with its causative *hippanī* ← **hipvanī* ← **hipa-va-nī* "to let hold, let catch; stick" (cf. also the substantive M.A.F. *hippi* "sticker", reflecting the part.pret. "sticked" of the causative *hippanī*); cp. also *kafanī* ← **kapanī* "to cut (something)" with the simple causative (meanwhile being obsolete) **kappanī* ← **kapa-va-nī* "to let cut" and the double causative (cf. 3.2.1.1.1) M. *kappavanī* "to have something cut (by someone of a lower social class)".

1.3.9.6.2. The geminate *ṭṭ* in many cases has its origin in a progressive assimilation of *-ṭv-*, as in the compound nouns *raṭṭehi* ← **raṭ-vesi* "friend, compatriot" and *avaṭṭeriā* ← **avaṭ-veri-ā* "neighbour" (cf. 1.3.9.1). This is also true for causative formations with *-ṭṭ-* being based on primary verbs with original *-ṭ-* (for *ś* ← *ṭ* cf. 1.3.6.1). Cf. M.A.F. *kośanī* ← **koṭanī* "to chop, cut (e.g., wood)" with the double causative M. *koṭṭavanī* "to let someone (belonging to a lower social class) chop"; the primary causative **koṭṭanī* ← **koṭa-va-nī* does not exist any longer (cf. 1.3.9.12.1 and 3.2.1.1).

1.3.9.6.2.1. The sound change *-ṭṭ-* ← *-ṭy-* is attested, e.g., in *puṭṭāi* ← **puṭi-āi* "and the island" (L1 t/2,1, L2 8,4 etc.; nom. *puṭī* in L1 mx/2,1, L2 9,2 etc.; cf. M. *fuśi*, A. *fiśi*, F. *fīśi* "small island") and *koṭṭāi* ← **koṭi-āi* "and the enclosure" (L2 15,5 etc.; L3 6/2,2; L4 d/2,5), *koṭṭakāi* ← **koṭi-ak-āi* "and an enclosure" (L2 26,4), *koṭṭ-evyana* ← **koṭi-eviana* "being named 'enclosure'" (L2 15,5); cf. the *i*-stem *koṭi* "enclosure, garden, fenced-in area" (cf. modern M.A.F. *kośi* "cage").

[171] The etymology of *mē* / *mei* is not clear.

1.3.9.6.3. The geminate *-ff-* must be of later origin, because it cannot have developed before the transition of */p/* into */f/*. All examples concerned can be explained by assuming regressive assimilations; cf. M. *raffu'* ← **raś-fuś* "landscape, rural district" (for *ra' /raś/* "land, island" cf. 1.3.9.1; *puṭu* as the previous form of */fuś/* "back, surface, top side" is attested, e.g., as a locative *asu puṭe* "on horse back" in L1 (d/1,4); cf. also GEIGER[172] who connects ⟨*fuřu*⟩ "side" (his spelling ⟨*ř*⟩ means */ś* ← *ṭ/*) with Sinh. *piṭa* ← OIA *pṛṣṭhá-* "back, hind part"; M. *fuffu'* ← **fuś-fuś* "grain, cereals" (distributive plural "corn by corn", cf. 2.3.2.5); M. *fu' /fuś/* "flour" corresponds to Sinh. *piṭi* "id.", ← OIA *piṣṭá-* "crushed, ground; flour"[173]; A. *daffa* "sole of the foot" ← **daś(u)-fā*, actually "underside of the foot" (cf. the earlier form *daṭu* in L1 s/1,4; L2 22,2; L5 5/1,2; F3,6; F10,19 etc. and *daśu* in RC 5,12 "underside, bottom"; *daṭun* abl. "from the underside, from below" in F6,20; F7,32.38; F9,16; F11,22 etc.; F13,18; IDMHM 1,12; IDMEM 3,26); M. *fai*, A.F. *fā* "foot" belongs to Sinh. *pā-* "foot", ← OIA *pā́da-*[174]; A. *effahara' /ek faharaś/* "one time, once (upon a time)" (*e' /ek/* num. "one"; */fahar-aś/* dat. of A. *fahara/fāra*, M. *faharu* "time") etc.

1.3.9.7. Different geminates emerged in recent times as a result of assimilation on the morpheme boundary of compounds; cp., e.g., M.A.F. *nikkuri /nit-kuri/* "forehead" (cf. M. *ni' /nit/* "forehead"); M. *ebbas* "agreement" (*/ek/* "one" + */bas/* "word, language"); M.A.F. *emme /ek-me/* "all, entire, whole"[175]. It cannot be excluded that M.A.F. *uddaňḍi /uk-daňḍi/* "sugar cane" reflects a loan compound from Sinhalese (cf. Sinh. *uk*, *uk-daṇḍa*, also *ik*, *ugu*, *iňgu* "sugar cane" ← OIA *ikṣú-* "id."[176]).

1.3.9.8. As a rule, geminates that occur in foreign words are not changed in modern Dhivehi. Cp., e.g., M.A.F. *ādītta* "Sunday" (sanskritism; cf. 1.2.1.1); M.A.F. *buddi* "mind, intellect, spirit" (sanskritism; cf. Skt., Pa. *buddhi-*, Pkt. *buddhī-* "intelligence, discernment"[177]; M. *buḍḍa* "old man" (*mot savant*; cf. Pa., Pkt. *buḍḍha-* "old")[178]; M.A.F. *tayyāru/-a/-o* "ready" (← Pers. *tayyār* "ready"); M. *mudarris* "teacher" (← Arabic "id."); M.A.F. *billūri* "(of) glass" (← Arab. *ballūrī, billaurī* "crystal, of glass"); M. *muazzif* "employee, official" (Arab. *muwaẓẓaf* "id."; cf. WEHR 1958, 960); etc.

1.3.9.9. Nevertheless, many geminates remain that cannot (yet) be explained historically. Cf. M.A.F. *batteli* "Maldivian type of sailing boat"[179]; M. *datta*, A.F. *dattā* "elder sister; older woman"; M. *bokkurā*, A.F. *bokkorā* "small rowing boat"; M. *kokko*, A.F. *kokkō* "younger brother or sister"; M.F. *labba* "yes"[180]; M. *amilla*, A. *ʃamellā*, F. *āmillā* "self, private"; M. *kuḷḷavā* "mangrove"; A. *baḍḍela* "green grasshopper"; M. *diggā*, A. *diggē* "hibiscus"; M. *mamma*, A.F. *mammā* (A. also *ammā*) "mother"; M.A.F. *assēri* "beach"; M.F. *mussaňḍi*,

[172] (1902), 920, no. 153 and (1941), 104, no. 1539.
[173] Cf. TURNER (1966) I, 465, no. 8218 and GEIGER (1941), 104, no. 1540.
[174] Cf. GEIGER (1941), 95, no. 1417.
[175] For detailed information about the pronominal adj. *emme* cf. 2.6.7.4.1.
[176] Cf. GEIGER (1941), 24, no. 364 and TURNER (1966) I, 70, no. 1550.
[177] Cf. TURNER 1966, II, 525, no. 9277.
[178] Cf. TURNER 1966, II, 524, no. 9271.
[179] About the Maldivian boat terms cf. 2.3.2.7.3.2.
[180] In contrast to that cp. A. *hā* "yes".

A. *mussanti* "rich"; M.A.F. *iyye* "yesterday" (cf. Sinh. *īyē* "yesterday", Pkt. *hio*, *hijjo*, Pa. *ajjo*, Skt. *hyáḥ* "id."[181]); M. *falli* "Christian church / Buddhist temple" (*palli* already in L1 [d/2,3 and m02,3], cf. Sinh. *pallīva*, stem *pallī-* "church" with alveolar *-ll-*[182]).

1.3.9.9.1. Concerning the regular correspondence of certain consonant clusters and geminates, we have to note a few specific developments that occur only in a restricted dialectal area. Cp., e.g., M. *burāsfati* "Thursday" (ITAG 3,2, ITFM 2,6), F. *berāsfati* vs. A. *berāsseti* with a transition of *-sf-* to *-ss-* (cf. 1.3.8) or M. *istaśi* "hair" vs. A.F. *issaśi* with a change of *-st-* → *-ss-*. – There is also the very surprising correspondence of M. *-tt-* vs. A. *-ṭṭ-* in M. *kattala*, A. *kaṭṭela* "sweet potato, batata" as well as A. *-gg-* vs. F. *-jj-* in A. *eggúṅ /eggum/* (nom.def. *eggumā*), F. *ejjun* "single blossom of the coconut tree".[183] From a phonological point of view, these correspondences cannot be explained yet.

1.3.9.10. When a consonant stem ending in */-t/* comes into the position before a word with initial consonant, the resulting phonetic process occurring on the morpheme boundary is not the same in northern and southern Dhivehi. While in the standard language the development leads to a diphthong *(Vt+C- → ViC-)*, in the southern dialects a corresponding geminate emerges by regressive assimilation *(Vt+C- → VCC-)*. Cp., e.g., M. *aitila /at-tila/* vs. A.F. *at-tela /at-tela/* "palm" (*/at/* "hand, arm" + M. *tila*, A.F. *tela* "shallow (water); blade"); M. *aidaňḍi* vs. A.F. *addaňḍi* "arm" (*/at/* "hand, arm" + *daňḍi* "stick"); M. *daidoḷi* vs. A.F. *daddoḷi* "chin; jaw(bone)" (*/dat/* "teeth" + *doḷi* "cheekbone"); A. *dakkaśi /dat-kaśi/* "alveols" (*kaśi* "bone"); M. *raigā* vs. A. *raggau*, F. *raggal /rat-gal/* "red coral" (lit. "red stone", */rat/* adj. "red" + */gal/* "stone"); M. *raimas* vs. A. *rammas*, F. *rammaha /rat-mas/* "soldier fish" (actually "red fish", */rat/* "red" + */mas/* "fish").

1.3.9.11. While in the standard language *-rr-* in *sirru* "secret" (← Arab. *sirr* "secret, mystery") is articulated as a geminated alveolar vibrant, the ablative form A. */sirrun/* shows a regular dissimilation into [*sidrun*]. For a similar development in external sandhi cf. 1.6.

1.3.9.12. Geminates in the verbal system

Generally speaking, the gemination of the last consonant of the verbal root has an important morphonologic function in the formation of **causatives**. In many cases the historical development of causatives can thus be traced back both from the formal and from the semantic point of view (for further details cf. 3.2.1.1). Cp. the following examples:

1.3.9.12.1. M.F. *fattanī* ← **fatvanī* ← **fata-va-nī* "to sink" (trans.),[184] actually "to let swim, cause to swim", from the basic verb *fatanī* "to swim"; M.F. *duvvanī*, A. *divvanī* "to drive, ride, sail", lit. "to let run, cause to run", from M.F. *duvanī*, A. *divanī* "to run"; M.A.F. *jassanī* ← **jasvanī* "to land, turn (on)" from M.A.F. *jahanī* ← **jasanī* "to beat, kick, blow". M.A.F. *dakkanī* "to show", lit. "to let see" is derived from the transitive verb

[181] Cf. GEIGER (1941), 24, no. 363 and TURNER (1966) II, 815, no. 14108.

[182] Cf. CARTER 1936, 61.

[183] This word is unknown in the standard language. For the single blossom the common word meaning "flower, blossom", *mā /mall/*, is used here instead.

[184] *fattanī* does not exist in Aḍḍū; for the causative meaning "to sink" the suppletive verb *heruvanī* is used.

**dakanī* "to look" which is obsolete in the modern standard language (but cp. the intr. verb M. *dekenī* "to see" which is derived from the same stem and, furthermore, the *n*-stem pres. A.F. *dak-* "to see" (intr.), with the pres.part. ("long form") A. *dakunei*, F. *dakonaī*). M. *rissanī* "to ache", lit. "to let ache" (e.g. *bolugā /-gai/ rissanī* "to have a headache", lit. "to cause pain in the head") is derived from the trans. **risanī* (cf. M.A.F. *rihenī* ← **risenī* intr. "to ache"). From a formal point of view, M.A.F. *huṭṭanī* trans. "to stop, finish" together with its intransitive derivative, *huṭṭenī* "to stop", are causatives of the irregular *n*-stem verb M. *hunnanī*, A. *hinnei*, F. *hinnāī* "to stand; remain, be" (cf. the part.pret. Old Dhiv. *huṭi*, A. *hiśi*, F. *hīśī*, and Sinh. *hiṭinavā*[185]). The transitive verb M.A.F. *kakkanī* "to cook" formally is a causative of the non-attested basic **kakanī*; cf. the intr. verb *kekenī* "to boil" (of liquids).

1.3.9.12.2. The whole morphological pattern of ***n*-stem verbs** such as M. *bannanī* "to tie", *innanī* "to sit, marry, be married", *dannanī* "to know, understand", *hunnanī* "to stand, stay, remain, be", *vannanī* "to enter" etc.[186] is characterised by the geminate *-nn-*; cf. also 3.2.2, 3.6.5 and 3.9.1.2.

1.3.9.12.3. In the following verbs, the geminates are of different provenance. M. *koppanī /kośfanī/* "to push" is composed of *ko' /koś/* "doing, making" (abs. of *kuranī* "to do, make") and a (nowadays obsolete) verb **panī* with unknown meaning, which seems also to be the second part of M.A.F. *lappanī* ⟨*la'panī*⟩ "to close" (as to the verbal constituent *la'* which cannot yet be explained, cf. M. *laggani* ⟨*la'ganī*⟩ "to float, drift ashore; toss" = A. *lavvanī*; the infixation of the negation particle *ni* in the negated 3.ps.sg.pres. A. *la' ni vei* "(it) is not tossed" proves that *la'* must be an independent word which is used as a constituent of a compound verb here). One more compound verb containing the absolutive */koś/* is M. *kollanī /koślanī/*. The exact meaning of this verb is "to put down (by doing)"; it only occurs in M. *dū kollanī* "to leave" (lit. "to put down slackening" = "to leave by slackening [the boat]"). — The first part of M. *ekkuranī /ek-kuranī/* "to add, mix" consists of the numeral *e' /ek/*; thus, the basic meaning of the verb can be translated with "to make (in) one". — M. *hik-kanī* "to let dry" (only in M. *dia-hikkanī* "to bail water from a leaky boat") obviously is a denominative verb; cf. M.A.F. *hiki* "dry". — M.A.F. *vikkanī* "to sell" goes back to the present stem Skt. *vi-kriṇā-* (Pa. *vikkiṇā-*, Pkt. *vikkiṇa-*) "to sell"[187] via **vikina-*, **vikna-*, the geminate reflecting the older sequence of *-kn-*.

1.3.10. Loan phonemes

While in HLSD (1988, 14), *ñ* is described as a phoneme of its own,[188] DE SILVA (1969, 204) analyses *ñ* as a cluster consisting of the phonetic components [*ny*] which, of course, has no phonemic status as such. Obviously DE SILVA's analysis starts out from such cases as *dūññe'* ← **dūnye'* ← **dūniek* ← **dūṇi-ek* "a bird", the secondary geminated *ññ* of which is hardly phonemic.[189] There are some isolated words with initial *ñ-* in Dhivehi, however.

[185] For the etymology of *hunnanī* cf. 3.9.2.2.1.

[186] A complete list of the *n*-stem verbs is given in 3.4.2.3.

[187] Cf. TURNER 1966, II, 678, no. 11640.

[188] "On the one hand, our corpus of data does not contain any minimal pairs in which this sound contrasts with the dental 'n' ... In our analysis, the palatal nasal will be treated as a distinct phoneme on the grounds that it occurs frequently as a geminate cluster and the Divehins recognise it as distinct unit in their system of writing (ñaviani)."

[189] For details about the geminate *ññ* cf. 1.3.9.4.

the *ñ* of which cannot be analysed as a sequence of *n* and *y* by means of morphonological criteria. As most of these words must be explained as (presumably) old loanwords, it seems to be adequate to see a loan phoneme here, i.e., a sound with a "low phonemic level" within the Maldivian phonological system. There are only a few words with undisputable initial */ñ/* in Dhivehi,[190] M.A. *ñāki* "aimless, foolish talk"; *ñēku* "mentally retarded"; *ñakas* "a sexual practice"; *ñam ñam* ⟨*ñamu ñamu*⟩ "a tropical fruit", bot. "*Cynometra cauliflora*" (rare on the Maldives); the corresponding tree, which was imported from Sri Lanka, is called M.A. *ñam ñam gas/ges*, bot. "*Fabacea leguminosa*". It cannot be excluded that the first three of these words contain the negation particle in its original form, *ni* (cf. modern A.F. *ni* vs. M. *nu*) which might have been reduced to *ny* in the position before a vowel.

1.3.10.1. A very frequent phoneme, which occurs exclusively in loanwords from Arabic and Persian, is */h̆/*. In most cases it is pronounced in its original phonetic value as [x]. Cp., e.g., M.A.F. *tārīx* "date, chronicle, history" ← Arab. *tārīḫ* "id."; A.F. *xādima* "servant" ← Arab. *ḫādim* "male servant", *ḫādima* "female servant"; M. *alī buxairī*, A. *alī boxārī* "Bukhārā plum" ← Pers. *ālu-boxārā* "(dried) prune" etc.

1.3.10.2. There is one more loan phoneme, which can often be heard in its original phonetic quality, viz. */z/*. Cf. M.A.F. *tāzā* "fresh" ← Pers. *tāza* "id.", M. *bāzāru*, A. *bāzāra* "(oriental) bazaar, market" ← Arab./Pers. *bāzār* etc. In contrast to that, we find the original voiced fricative */z/* substituted by [-*d*-] in earlier loanwords; cp., e.g., *namādu* "prayer" (attested since L1 d/2,1) ← Pers. *namāz*).[191]

1.3.10.3. All other foreign phonemes (as listed in the table below) are substituted by autochthonous phonemes until nowadays; cp., e.g., M. *hagīgī* "real" ← Arab. *ḥaqīqī* "id.", M. *fagīru*, A.F. *fakīri* "poor" ← Arab. *faqīr* "id."; M.A.F. *bagīcā* "garden" ← Pers. *bāġča* "id." etc. Only a few people with a good knowledge of Arabic try to pronounce the sounds in question according to their original value.

1.3.10.4. The following table shows Arabic characters and their transliteration into Tāna:

Tāna	ހ	ށ	ނ	ރ	ބ	ޅ	ކ	އ
Arabic	خ	ح	ع	ض	ص	ث	غ	ق
transcribed	*ḫ,x*	*ḥ*	ʿ	*ḍ*	*ṣ*	*ṯ*	*ġ*	*q*
Tāna	ش	ދ	ތ	ދ	ސ	ވ	ފ	ޚ
Arabic	ش	ذ	غ	و	ر	ط	ظ	ژ
transcribed	*š*	*ḏ*	*ġ*	*w*	*r*	*ṭ*	*ẓ*	*ž*

[190] The examples noted here are taken from the monolingual dictionary of Dhivehi (NCLHR 1985-91, 15, 1); HASSAN SAʿĪD confirmed that they are used in Addū as well.

[191] For this type of substitutions cf. GIPPERT (forthcoming).

Examples of Arabic words transcribed into Tāna:

English	Tāna	Arabic	English	Tāna	Arabic
dust	ﺗﯚﺯﻩﺮ	غُبَارٌ	heart	ﺗﯚﺨﯚﻩ	قَلْبٌ
stone	ﺑﺮﻩﺮ	حَجَرٌ	ambergris	ﺑﺮﯚﻩﺮ	عَنْبَرٌ
alms	ﺳﻮﻫﺮﺗﯚﺻ	صَدَقَاةٌ	wine	ﺧﺮﯚﺮ	خَمْرٌ
filter	ﻓﻠﻬﺮﺣ	؟ثِدَامٌ	beat	ﺳﻮﺮﯚﻩ	ضَرْبٌ
captain	ﻏﺮﯚﻩﻩﺮ	رُبَّانٌ	book	ﻏﺮﯚﻩﺮ	؟رِبْرٌ
midday	ﻇﯚﺮﯚﺮ	ظُهْرٌ	road	ﺟﺮﻩﺮﺗ	طَرِيْقٌ
hand	ﻫﺮﻩﺮ	يَدٌ	middle	ﻏﺮﺳﯚﺟ	وَسَطٌ
month	ﺷﻮﺮﯚﺮ	شَهْرٌ	sun	ﻏﺮﺗﻬﺮ	ذَكَاء

1.4. Syllable and word structure

As the earliest written documents of Dhivehi show, there were only open syllables in Old Dhivehi (cf. 1.1.2 ff.). It was only because of the systematic occurrence of the processes of apocope and syncope (cf. 1.1.3 and 1.1.5 above) that in the course of time new types of closed syllables emerged.

The following survey illustrates the most important patterns of word and syllable structure of modern Dhivehi. Geminates are treated like sequences of two different consonants.

1.4.1. Monosyllabic structures: **CV** (consonant-vowel): M.A.F. *de* "two"; **VC**: A.F. *aˀ /at/* (M. *ai*) "hand, arm", M. *oˀ /oś/* (A. *eśa*, F. *eśe*) "seed, kernel"; M.A.F. *en /em/* "bait fish"; **CVC**: M.A.F. *kan /kam/* "fact"; M.A.F. *hūn* "fever"; M.A.F. *tīr* "arrow".

Monosyllabic words which consist of a single long vowel in the standard language, such as *ā* "new", do not represent open syllables from a phonological point of view. Instead we have to deal with the phonetic realisation of a closed syllable here, as the correspondent forms A. *au* and F. *al* show.[192] As a matter of fact, there is no word in Dhivehi which consists of only one long vowel.

1.4.2. Disyllabic structures: **VCV**: M.A. *ihi*, F. *īhi* "lobster"; M.A.F. *udu* "sky"; **CVCV**: M.A.F. *hudu* "white"; M.A. *baśi*, F. *bāśi* "eggplant"; **VCVC**: M.A. *atun*, F. *aten* (abl.) "from, by the hand"; **CVCVC**: M. *bēnun*, A.F. *bēṇun* "wish, will"; **VCCV**: M.A.F. *emme /ek-me/* "all, whole"; **CVCCV**: M. *datta*, A.F. *dattā* "elder sister/woman"; M. *bappa*, A.F. *bappā* "father" **VCCVC**: M.A.F. *emmen /ek-men/* "all (persons)" (pl.).

[192] For more details cf. 1.2.1.6.

1.4.3. Trisyllabic structures: **VCVCV**: M.A.F. *iňgili* "finger, toe"; **CVCVCV**: M.A.F. *huturu* "ugly"; M. *himāru*, A. *himāra*, F. *himāro* "donkey"; **CVCVCVC**: M.A.F. *miturun* (nom.pl.) "friends"; **CVCCVCV**: M.A.F. *batteli* "a kind of Maldivian sailing boat"; M. *bokkurā*, A.F. *bokkorā* "a small boat type".

1.4.4. Word structures like **CVCVCVCV** as well as longer sequences of syllables occur in compound words only. Cp., e.g., M.A. *vāreduni*, F. *vāreheduni* "rain bow".

1.4.5. The phenomenon of **hiatus** is met with very frequently in the southern varieties of Dhivehi. In contrast to that there seems to be a strong tendency in the standard language to avoid sequences of two vowels and, furthermore, to avoid hiatus by insertion of the glide *y* or the glottal stop [ʾ]. Thus, there are oppositions like M. ⟨*hiyā*⟩ – A. *hiala* "shadow", M. ⟨*fiya*⟩ – A.F. *fia* "1) petal, 2) wing" or M. ⟨*tariʾeʾ*, *tariyeʾ*⟩ – A.F. *tarieʾ* /*tari-ek*/ "a star" which seem to be dialectal variants. In pronunciation, however, there is no clear difference between the dialects here. The widely held view of native speakers of the standard language that an intervocalic *-y-* or [ʾ] is audible in such cases, is obviously caused by the spelling. Palaeographic research shows that the assignment of the phonetic value *y* to a given letter is a comparatively recent development in the history of Dhivehi writing. In *Dives akuru* there were only two series of characters designing the initial vowels of words or syllables which could be used at random. It is possible that one of these series has to be traced back to a row of *akṣara*s containing *y-*. We have to consider in this connection that there was no word-initial *y-* in Dhivehi, inherited */y/* having developed into */d/* in early times (cf. 1.7.1).

1.5. **Word accent** as a rule falls on one of the first two syllables in Dhivehi. At the same time, the following tendencies can be made out:

1.5.1. When both syllables are short, or the first syllable is long and the second short, the first syllable is stressed; cp., e.g., M.A.F. *méhi* "fly"; M. *bóḍu*, A. *bóňḍa*, F. *bóňḍo* "big, large"; M.A.F. *tíki* "drop"; M.A.F. *bákari* "goat"; M. *átoḷu*, A.F. *áteḷe* "atoll". — M.A.F. *nāḷi* "weight unit, ca. 1 kg"; M.A.F. *mūsun* "monsoon, season"; M.A.F. *bēsveriā* "medical doctor; traditional naturopath"; M.A.F. *sāfu* "clean, clear"; M.F. *bőkiba*, A. *bőkoba* "pancake".

Because of their special accentuation, three nouns with a paradigmatic interchange of *-h-* and *-ss-* in the position before a stem-final *-i*[193] have to be treated as a particular group within the *i*-stems. Although their first two syllables are short, the stress falls on the second syllable, i.e., on the vowel followed by *h* / *ss*. Cf. M.A.F. *divéhi* "islander, insular", i.e. "Maldivian", indef.sg. M.F. *divésseʾ*, A. *divéssaʾ* "a Maldivian (man or woman)"; A. *fiéhi*, M.F. *fióhi* "knife", indef.sg. A. *fiéssaʾ*, M.F. *fiósseʾ* "a knife"; A. *kiéhi* "saw", indef.sg. *kiéssaʾ* "a saw" (no exact M.F. equivalent[194]).

[193] Cf. 2.3.2.7.1.2.2.
[194] Cf. F. nom.sg. *kīhā*, indef. *kīhāeʾ* and M. nom. *kīs*.

1.5.2. When the first syllable is short and the second long, it is the second syllable which is stressed; cp., e.g., M.A.F. *timā́* "self"; M. *ufāveri*, A. *ufā́* "happy"; M. *furā́ḷu*, A. *ferā́ḍa* "roof"; A. *fehḗ*, F. *fahę́* "if"; M.A.F. *faḷṓ* "papaya". — This rule is not effective, however, when the long syllable is preceded by a geminate; cf. A.F. *báppā* "father", A.F. *mánmmā* "mother" (M. *báppa*, *mánmma*).

1.5.3. When the first two syllables are long, the first syllablle is stressed; cp., e.g., M.A.F. *mī́hā* "(the) man"; M.A.F. *kā́fūru* "camphor".

1.5.4. When in words with three or more syllables the first two syllables are short and the third is long, it is the latter one which is stressed; e.g. M.A.F. *alanā́si* "pine apple"; M. *bakamū́nu*, A.F. *bakamū́ṇu* "owl"; A. *beḷelā́* (def.) "the cat".

To sum up these observations, the **basic rule** of Maldivian word accentuation can be stated as follows: The first long syllable in a word is stressed. This comprises syllables that are closed by geminates or consonant clusters.

1.6. **Sandhi** phenomena do not play an important role in Dhivehi. There are only a few rules that can be considered as unquestionable.

1.6.1. On the basis of orally recorded stories from older native speakers of the Fua' Mulaku dialect we may state the rule that word-final glottal stops (← *-k* or *-t*) are realised as *-d* before initial *l-* or *r-*. Cf. the following two examples:

F. */ruk labāgen/* → *ru' labān*[195] → [*rud-labān*] (T6, 26.31) "bending the coconut trees down"

F. */enek rukaha/* → *ene' rukaha* → [*ened-rukaha*] (T4, 44) "to another coconut tree".

1.6.2. The realisation of geminates[196] instead of sequences consisting of glottal stop + consonant at the word boundary must be considered as a sandhi phenomenon as well; cf. e.g.:

F. */de ruk de-etere/* → *de ru' dētere* → [*de rud-dētere*] (T4, 44a) "between two coconut trees".

1.6.3. In the Aḍḍū dialect, final *-'* ← */-ś, -k, -t/*, occurring in the position before initial vowel or *h*, is changed to *-u*; cf. the following examples:

A. */eage raśaś ebege/* → [*eege raśau ebege*] (T16, 35) "he went to his (own) island" (*ebege* 3.sg.pret. of (M.) *danī* "to go")

A. */fiňdanā gos eňdaś arai/* → [*fiňdanā gos eňdau arai*] (T1, 11) "the F.-bird, having gone (there) and having climbed up to the bed ..." (*gos* abs. of (M.) *danī* "to go", *arai* abs. of *aranī* "to climb")

1.6.4. For the affrication of final *-ti* in predicative adjectives preceding the quotation marker *-ē /-eve/* in the standard language, cf. 1.3.9.2.2.

[195] *labān* ← *labagen*, abs.III "bending / having bent" of *labanī* "to bend (down)",; for the contraction of the abs. III frequently occurring in the F. dialect, cf. 3.11.4.3,

[196] About the phonological rules concerning the formation of geminates cf. 1.3.9.

1.7. On the historical relationship of Dhivehi and Sinhalese

DE SILVA (1970b, 157 ff.) put forward several arguments that might speak in favour of an early dialectal differentiation of Dhivehi and Sinhalese. In the course of the present investigation, DE SILVA's observations as to the comparative-historical phonology of the Insular Indo-Aryan languages deserve of being discussed in detail.

1.7.1. Although DE SILVA had only a very restricted corpus of Maldivian language material at his disposal, he noticed that the initial Sinhalese glide *y-* as inherited from Old and Middle IA *y-*, corresponds to the voiced dental stop *d-* in Dhivehi. He realised that *d-* must have developed through the palatale affricate **j* from the original glide, *y*. At the same time DE SILVA recognised that the few Maldivian words which show initial *y-* must be of foreign origin; cp. the following examples: *yoṭu(-dōni)* "yacht(-boat)" ← Engl. *yacht*, *yagīn* "certain(ty)" ← Arab. *yaqīn* "id."; *yaumīyā* "records, chronicle" ← Arab. *yaumīyāt* "chronicle of everyday life". For the regular correspondence of Dhiv. *d-* and Sinh. *y-*, DE SILVA listed the following correspondences (1970b, 157-8):[197]

M. *danī* / Sinh. *yanavā* "to go"; cf. Pa. *yāti*, but Pkt. *jāi* "id." ← OIA *yáti* "goes, proceeds, moves, walks, travels".[198] The nouns M. *daturu* and Sinh. *yaturu-* "journey", which belong to the same root etymologically, are *mots savants*, as the consonants in medial position show; cf. OIA *yấtrā-* "journey", Pa. *yātrā-* (a sanskritism itself) "id.", but Pkt. *jattā-*.[199]

M.A.F. *da(gaňḍu/-a/-o)* "iron (bar)" / Sinh. *ya* "iron"; cf. Pa. *aya(s)-*, Pkt. *a(y)a-*, OIA *áyas-* "metal, iron".[200]

M.A.F. *dan /daml* "unit of time covering three hours" – Sinh. *yama* "(night) watch"; cf. Pkt. *jāma-* vs. Pa. *yāma-*, Skt. *yấma-* "night watch of three hours".[201]

One more undisputable example which has to be treated in this context is Dhiv. *daśu* (RC 5,12) ← *daṭu* (attested since L1) "underneath"[202] as against Sinh. *yaṭa* adv., postpos. "below, beneath" (← OIA *adhástāt*).[203]

1.7.2. DE SILVA accordingly divides the Indo-Aryan languages into a "*y*-group" and a "*j*-group", depending on the fact whether OIA initial */y/* was preserved or changed into */d/* through intermediate */j/*. He comes to the result that Sinhalese is a "*y*-language" in its main stock while Dhivehi belongs to the *j*-languages. Without any doubt DE SILVA was right in considering this twofold phonological development as a dialectal differentiation which originated in the Prakrit period. It is also right that it can be taken as an indication for a comparatively early separation of Sinhalese and Dhivehi.

[197] Supplementary remarks as well as corrections as to DE SILVA's treatise are not particularly noted.

[198] Cf. TURNER (1966), II, 604, no. 10452.

[199] Cf. GEIGER (1941), 140, no. 2087; TURNER (1966) II, 604, no. 10456.

[200] Cf. GEIGER (1941), 140, no. 2081; TURNER (1966) I, 26, no. 590.

[201] Cf. GEIGER (1941), 141, no. 2095; TURNER (1966) II, 605, no. 10467.

[202] In modern Dhivehi this word has only a locative meaning; cf. loc. M. *daśugā*, A.F. *daśi* "below, beneath", abl. M.A.F. *daśun* "from below", dat. M.A. *daśa'*, F. *daśaha* "down"; Old Dhiv. *daśu* is a common noun still.

[203] Cf. GEIGER (1941), 140, no. 2085.

1.7.3. One more regular difference between Sinhalese and Dhivehi that was already treated by DE SILVA consists in the development of the palatal affricates of the Old and Middle Indo-Aryan period. In Sinhalese the initial */c-/* of inherited words developed into */s-/* which regularly changed into *h-* later; cf. Sinh. *saňda/haňda* "moon" ← MIA *canda-*, OIA *candrá-* "id."[204] An inherited initial */j-/* became */d-/* in Sinhalese, as, e.g., in *divi* "life" ← Pkt. *jīvi(y)a-* ← OIA *jīvitá-* "living, life".[205] Old and Middle IA */-c-/* and */-j-/* in medial position led to Sinh. */-d-/*, which in word-final position further developed into unvoiced *-t*; thus, e.g., Skt. *krakaca-* "saw" at first developed, through an intermediate form like Pa. *kakaca-*, to Sinh. **kiyad-*, then (by devoicing of the stem-final *d*) to the modern stem *kiyat-*.[206] Old medial *-cc-* became Sinh. */s/*,[207] while an inherited medial *-jj-* developed into Sinh. */d/*; cf. Sinh. *mäda* "central, middle, centre" ← Pa., Pkt. *majjha-* ← OIA *mádhya-* "id."[208] The latter sound change can also be found in Dhivehi; cp., e.g., M. *medu*, A.F. *mede* "id.".

Besides the sound change of *-jj-* → *-d-* treated above, DE SILVA realised that the heterogeneous substitution of the inherited palatal affricates in Sinhalese opposes itself to a very homogeneous development in Dhivehi. As a matter of fact, all the corresponding phonemes, which still existed in MIA, merged into a single phoneme in Dhivehi, viz. */s/* which in initial and medial position subsequently changed into *h*.[209] When the Maldivian language material is judged comprehensively, DE SILVA's perceptions of these historical sound changes must be regarded as right in their main points; there are several particular problems, however, that cannot be solved without contradictory results even now. Thus, e.g., OIA *rājan-* "king" (cp. Pa. nom. *rājā*)[210] exists in Dhivehi not only in the form *ras* (attested since L4 [b/2,3 etc.]) which represents the expected development of *-j-* → *-s-*, but also as the stem *radun* which seems to reflect the original *-n*-stem reinterpreted as a *pluralis maiestatis* (attested since L5 [2/2,2: *mahāradun*], cf. 2.3.2.7.4.1). Besides these two variants which occur side by side until nowadays, the singular forms *rāda* (L4 g/1,6; F1,3 etc.; ⟨*rāja*⟩ L2 3,1) and *radu* (F10,18 etc.) are attested as well. The corresponding Sinhalese form is *rada* as expected (cf. the older variants *rad/rat* and the inscriptional form ⟨*raja*⟩[211]). It must be assumed that all Maldivian variants of this word which contain *d* have to be considered as *mots savants*. In these cases, *-d-* must have substituted the Skt. phoneme *-j-* which did not exist as such in the sound system of Old Dhivehi.

[204] Cf. GEIGER (1941), 188, no. 2849 and TURNER (1966) I, 252, no. 4661.

[205] Cf. TURNER (1966), I, 289, no. 5252.

[206] With good reasons, TURNER (1966, I, 185, no. 3570) points out that GEIGER (1941, 43, no. 635) did not recognise that the Sinh. nom.sg. *kiyata* "saw" (stem *kiyat-*) has to be traced back to an original stem **kiyad-* (with *-d-* ← *-j-* ← *-c-*); the stem-final *-t* can be explained by the assumption that the pure stem was used as a plural which led to a devoicing of *-d*, the final result being *kiyat*. The modern form of the nom.sg. (cf. above) was thus derived from this allophonic variant. For a parallel development (from the late MIA period, after early MIA *-c-* ← *-c-* and *-jj-* ← *-jy-* had coincided into the affricate *-j-*), cp. the Sinh. stem *behet-* "medicine", a plural form from which the nom.sg. *beheta* is derived, with the variant *beheda* from an original stem *behed-* which through **beseja* emerged from Pa., Pkt. *bhesajja-* "id." (cf. TURNER 1966, II, 549, no. 9623). Cf. also DE SILVA (1970b), 158 f., and 2.3.2.8.1.3 below.

[207] However, there seem to be almost no examples attesting this sound change, cf. GEIGER (1938), 49.

[208] Cf. GEIGER (1941), 131, no. 1958 and TURNER (1966) II, 563, no. 9804.

[209] For more details cf. 1.3.5.

[210] Cf. TURNER (1966), II, 618, no. 10679.

[211] In the earliest inscriptions of Sinhalese, long and short vowels are usually not distinguished from each other; cf., e.g., GEIGER (1938), 14.

Morphology

2. The nominal categories

The nominal system of Dhivehi comprises nouns, pronouns, adjectives and numerals as parts of speech. Despite of their partially remarkable morphological differences, all Maldivian dialects show the same grammatical categories, viz. case, number, definiteness and indefiniteness.

2.1. In Maldivian the noun has lost grammatical **gender** as a category of its own. This makes a great difference in comparison with modern Sinhalese, where the inherited grammatical distinction of animate masculine and feminine substantives has been preserved until nowadays, natural sexus and grammatical gender always corresponding with each other. Furthermore, the opposition of animate vs. inanimate nouns is expressed in manifold ways in the morphological categories of Sinhalese. The combination of both systems led to a threefold distinction of grammatical gender, animate masculine and feminine nouns being opposed to inanimate neuters. In the nominal system of Dhivehi, however, the morphological expression of the dichotomy of animateness and inanimateness plays a comparatively insignificant role.

2.1.1. Without any doubt GEIGER's observation that the inherited **case system** was sharply diminished already in Prakrit times in the prehistory of Sinhalese[212] is valid for Dhivehi as well. Basically the inherited case forms of Old Indo-Aryan were reduced to distinctive forms of a direct case (*casus rectus*) and an oblique case (*casus obliquus*), the latter one serving as a basis for the formation of secondary case forms which developed in the period of Modern Indo-Aryan only. While the declension of northern Dhivehi, just like the one of Sinhalese, is rather agglutinative, the southern dialects show a much greater variety of inflectional declension patterns. In comparison with the paradigms of MIA, most of these case forms are secondary, however. In particular, the case system of South Dhivehi consists of a direct and an oblique case, a genitive-locative (the two forms being formally identical), a dative and an ablative, the latter serving as an instrumental case as well. In contrast to that, the case inventory of North Dhivehi comprises a special agglutinative locative which is different from the genitive. There is no formal accusative in Dhivehi; the object is morphologically expressed by the direct or the oblique case. Usually the direct case occurs in nominative function as the subject case of finite predicative verbs. When the predicate is infinite, however, the oblique case can serve as a subject case.

2.1.2. In modern Dhivehi the classification of nominal stems derives from the different **declension types**. Thus, the nouns can be divided into consonant stems, *a*-stems and *i*-stems, stems ending in other vowels being rare. On the other hand, consonant stems and *i*-stems have many subtypes. However, neither the stem classes nor the declension paradigms of modern Dhivehi can be derived directly from corresponding Old and Middle Indo-Aryan types, most of the formations in question being the result of secondary developments.

[212] "In der prākritischen Grundlage des Sgh. war der Unterschied der alten Declination bereits aufgehoben" (GEIGER 1900, 56).

2.1.3. The **number system**, which is characterised by the distinction of singular and plural, is interrelated inseparably with the categorical dichotomy of definiteness and indefiniteness. The correlation of these two categories led to a very complex system which is preserved unaltered only in the dialect of Aḍḍū. It is characterised by the fact that the pure nominal stem as a rule functions as a plural form. This is the primary basis of the plural paradigms from which the definite and the indefinite singular forms are derived by additional markings. As to the formation of number, words designing human beings (persons) usually show a peculiar behaviour. In these cases the singular must be considered as primary, the plural being marked by special suffixes. The number system of North Dhivehi differs widely from this system. Here, the plural is regularly formed by a uniform suffix, the original meaning of which is "so much / many" as the earlier written documents of Dhivehi show. Furthermore, these texts reveal that in the language of Māle some hundred years ago the correlation of number and definiteness was practically identical to that preserved in Aḍḍū to this day. Comparing the linguistic areas in question, the treatment of number in the Fuaʾ Mulaku dialect is of special interest, because here, both systems intermingled with each other. In Fuaʾ Mulaku all peculiarities of the categories of number and definiteness can be found on the spot to a certain extent; this special constellation caused the emergence of a great variety of morphological and morphonological irregularities. A functional overlap of the categories of number on the one hand and of definiteness and indefiniteness on the other hand, which is quite similar to that of Aḍḍū, also exists in Sinhalese.[213]

2.1.4. In function, the **pronouns** of Dhivehi can be divided into personal, demonstrative, possessive, reciprocal, interrogative, reflexive and indefinite pronouns and pronominal adjectives. In Dhivehi as in Sinhalese, the relative pronoun was lost already at an early period; instead of relative clauses, both languages use participial constructions regularly.[214] Furthermore, there are no particular negative pronouns in Dhivehi; "nobody, no one, nothing" and the like have to be expressed periphrastically. In congruence with the noun, the pronominal system of Dhivehi distinguishes the categories of case, number, and, to some extent, also definiteness and indefiniteness. Corresponding to what has been said about the nouns, there is no formal expression of grammatical gender in the pronouns of the standard language and the Aḍḍū dialect. In contrast to that, the pronominal system of the Fuaʾ Mulaku vernacular shows a few traces of gender differentiation. Some of the pronouns can be used as attributes as well as independently. Partly the pronominal categories show considerable dialectal divergences; thus, e.g., even some personal pronouns of the northern and southern vernaculars represent different etyma. In Māle, where the social status of the speaker in comparison with that of the addressee is expressed in the first person, different pronouns are used to denote the different hierarchical levels. In southern Dhivehi, we do not find any traces of such a sociolinguistic differentiation. Here, however, the old formal distinction of the direct and the oblique case, which was lost in northern Dhivehi, has been preserved in the pronominal system. Despite the many differences, the Maldivian pronominal system is rather homogeneous in comparison with the "diffuse" pronouns of Sinhalese.[215]

[213] Cf. GEIGER (1900), 57 and 63.

[214] For the invariable form *yam*, which can be traced back to the old relative pronoun, and for the expression of relative clauses in Sinhalese in general cf. GEIGER (1941), 7 and 69 / (1973), 564 and 626.

[215] For Sinhalese pronouns cf. GEIGER (1938), 123 ff. and (1900), 66 ff.; cf. also MATZEL (1983), 30 f.

2.1.5. Neither in attributive nor in predicative position, the **adjective** does not show any morphological variation of its own in both Maldivian and Sinhalese[216]. In particular, there are no suffixal formations of comparatives. Degrees of comparison are expressed by quantifiers such as "big", "great", "more", "rather" or "very". Furthermore, adjectival comparison can be expressed by purely syntactical means. When used independently, however, adjectives have the same inflectional variety as nouns.

2.1.6. The **numeral system** of Modern Dhivehi is the result of a manifold restructuring. Its most striking feature is a particular mode of counting based on a purely duodecimal system, which attracts special attention from a typological point of view. This system which in earlier times was used all over the Maldives, is almost lost nowadays. It is surprising that a similar system, built on duodecimal units, is not attested for Sinhalese at any time of its long history (cf. DE SILVA 1970b, 149). In Modern Dhivehi, as well, a decimal system prevails, in which relic forms of the old autochthonous numeral system are mixed with many sanskritisms and prakritisms. From the cardinal numbers (like nouns), an indefinite form can be derived by suffixation. Ordinal numbers are derived from cardinal numbers by means of a suffix, too.

2.1.7. In Dhivehi the term **"adverb"** is not related to a specific part of speech; it has to be understood as a functional general term instead. Adverbs derived from nominal parts of speech, such as, e.g., nouns or adjectives, but also pronouns, will be treated in the context of their underlying formations.

2.2. There are almost no **word formation** procedures in Dhivehi. As a rule, adjectives and nouns are not distinct from each other by special morphological marks. There are at least four suffixal elements of different productivity, however, by means of which adjectives can be derived from nouns or from already existing adjectives without further morphological marks. The frequency and the distribution of the particular suffixes within the different dialectal areas is subject to a considerable variety. Thus, the suffix *-teri* is obviously restricted to North Dhivehi (cp., e.g., M. *bēnunteri* "useful"), and the same holds true for the rare suffix *-(v)eti* which almost exclusively occurs in the standard language (e.g. M. *lōbiveti* "dear"). In contrast to that, the adjective suffix *-veri*, which goes back to a former independent noun, occurs all over the dialects (e.g. M.A.F. *buddiveri* "wise"). By means of the adjective *gada* "rich, strong", which still occurs as an independent word as well, compound adjectives are derived from nouns. These secondary adjective formations represent a reverse type of *bahuvrīhi* compounds, cp., e.g., M.A.F. *aligada* "bright", lit. "(being) rich (in) light".[217]

2.2.1. For the formation of nouns, there is only one kind of productive derivation in Dhivehi. In order to create nouns with abstract meaning, the word *kan /kaṃ/*, "fact",[218] is added to semantically corresponding adjectives and substantives. Cf. M. *rīti* adj. "beautiful" vs. *rītikan* "beauty", M.A.F. *ufāveri* adj. "glad, happy" vs. *ufāverikan* "happiness", A. *boňḍa* "big,

[216] Cf. GEIGER (1938), 116 f.

[217] For more details and examples cf. 2.4.4.

[218] Dhiv. *kan /kaṃ/*, Sinh. *kama* ← Pa., Pkt. *kamma(n)-* ← OIA *kárman-* "act, work"; cf. TURNER (1966), I, 147, no. 2892, – In the local grammar, *kan* is also used as the term for "verb".

large" vs. *boňḍākan* "bigness, largeness", A. *fakīri* adj. "poor" (← Arab. *faqīr* "poor (one)") vs. *fakīrikan* "poverty"; cf. also *veri* as an originally independent nominal stem meaning "person; leader"[219] vs. *verikan* "government".

2.2.2. There are practically no diminutive formations in Dhivehi. In all the investigated texts there is only one attestation of a suffix with diminutive function, which is joined to a nominal stem. In the Fua' Mulaku version of the fairy tale *Mākana* "The Crane", we find *raḷo-maṇa* instead of F. *raḷo* "wave", *mas-maṇa* instead of F. *maha /masʲ/* "fish", *daro-maṇa* instead of F. *daro* "firewood" etc. (further examples in 5.3.3). Possibly *-maṇa* reflects Dhiv. *maṇi* "pearl". This word, albeit being attested already in L1 (f/1,1), is obsolete in the modern language. Most probably the same etymon[220] occurs also in M. *maniku* ← *maṇiku* which was originally used as an aristocratic title (for an etymological discussion cf. 2.6.2.4.6).

2.2.3. There are two honorific suffixes in Dhivehi, the usage of which is confined to the standard language as well. *-fuḷu* ← *-puḷu* (cf. 1.3.9.6.1) is added to nouns denoting inalienable objects, while *-koḷu* is joined to nouns denoting alienable objects; in both cases the function of the suffixes is to morphologically express the high social level of the owner of the objects in question. Cp., e.g., *iňgili-fuḷu* "finger" or *appuḷu /atpuḷul* "hand" (of a noble person) as against *gamīs-koḷu* "shirt" or *galam-koḷu* "pen" (of a noble person). As a consequence of the increasing democratisation of the Maldivian society, however, the two suffixes are becoming more and more obsolete in the modern language.

2.3. The noun

2.3.1. Case system and stem types

In Dhivehi the formation of the nominal stem types is closely connected to the rules of case formation. Within the system of nominal declension, there is a considerable divergence between the southern and northern dialects. While there are no remarkable differences in the function of the case forms all over the Dhivehi speaking area, their formation is very heterogeneous. Alongside some relics of the inherited inflectional system, an agglutinative declension developed in northern Dhivehi, while the southernmost dialects have preserved more archaic inflectional patterns until nowadays. The actual paradigms cannot be derived directly from the well known declension types of Old and Middle Indo-Aryan, however. According to GEIGER, they had already disappeared to a high degree by the time of Sinhalese Prakrit.[221] Comparing the Sinhalese data with the system we find in Dhivehi, we are forced to

[219] For more details cf. 2.3.2.4.1, 2.3.2.4.2.

[220] Claus Peter ZOLLER (personal information) proposes to derive the suffix from OIA *manák* "a little" (Pkt. *maṇā* etc., cf. TURNER 1966, II, 564, no. 9824).

[221] Cf. GEIGER (1900, 56): "In der prākritischen Grundlage des Sgh. war der Unterschied der alten Declinationen bereits aufgehoben; der Process, den wir im P(āli) beobachten, ist nunmehr vollzogen. ... Die Flexion besteht ... nur noch aus spärlichen Resten. Sie beschränkt sich in der masc. und fem. Declination auf die Bildung eines Casus rectus und eines C. obliquus der beiden Numeri. Die neutr. Declination hat die alten Pluralformen vollständig eingebüßt, im Sing. dagegen ausser dem Nominativ-Accusativ auch den Instrumental und den Locativ

assume that the inflectional state of the presumable Maldivian Prakrit must have been quite similar. The case system of modern Dhivehi and Sinhalese is based on the difference between a direct (or nominative) case (*casus rectus*) and an oblique case (*casus obliquus*), the latter being identical with the pure nominal stem. While the function of the direct case is restricted to the use as a nominative, the oblique case is the basis of all the other case forms. In Dhivehi this holds true for genitive, dative, and ablative in general. Besides this, the northern dialectal area has a particular locative case, too, while in the southernmost vernaculars the locative morphologically coincides with the genitive.

2.3.1.1. In the following paragraphs, we will give a comprehensive survey of the **case suffixes** in particular and – whenever possible – of their etymology. While the **nominative** and the **oblique case** have no homogeneous suffix in Dhivehi, all the other cases are characterised by unambiguous formal markers.

2.3.1.1.1. In the southern dialects, two different kinds of **genitive** formations can be distinguished. The morpheme variants which are used in the formation of the genitive of nouns and pronouns designating "non-persons" in general (A. *-e*, *-i*; F. *-e/-ei*, *-i*[222]), cannot yet be etymologised with certainty. It is quite probable, however, that they correspond with the genitive endings *-ä* and *-hi* which PARANAVITANA (1956, I, cxi) attests for medieval Sinhalese (8th to 10th century A.D.). Following PARANAVITANA, these endings (besides the genitive endings Sinh. *-ā*, *-hu*, *-u* und *-yahu*, occurring in the same inscriptions, which obviously have no equivalents in Dhivehi) have to be derived from "*-sya* in Old Indian which, in Middle Indian, is *-ssa*".[223] They are opposed to the genitive suffix *-ge*, which in the South Maldivian area is used exclusively with nouns and pronouns designating "persons" in a wider sense, while it has become the only formal marker of the genitive in North Maldivian. This suffix must be derived from the locative of *ge* "house" without any doubt. According to GEIGER, the corresponding genitive ending of Sinhalese, *-gē*, has been contracted from *geyi* "in the house"; thus, *goviyā-gē daruvō* has the meaning of "the children (in the house) of the farmer". In this connection, the original genitive meaning of the oblique case preceding *-gē* is still recognisable, at least when appearing in archaic forms.[224] Cf. also PARANAVITANA's statement (ib., cxiii): "*Ge* may therefore be equated with Skt. *gehe* 'in the house', i.e. 'in the

erhalten."

[222] Basically the distribution of the variant endings in the dialect of Aḍḍū depends on the different stem types. In consonant stems, special phonological rules depend on the particularities of the phonological structure of the nouns in question; cf. 2.3.2.11.1 for details. For the dialect of Fua' Mulaku which presents an even more complicated picture, cf. 2.3.2.12.1.

[223] In this connection cp. the genitive forms *rasunasya* (L2 1,5), *rasunsya* (L2 1,4 and 2,1; L3 1/1,2 etc.) and *rasunusia* (L2 1,2) "the king's", which are attested in some written documents of Old Dhivehi and which have to be judged as sanskritisms (*mots savants*). In contrast to that the same documents also show the "real Maldivian" genitive *rasun-ge* "the king's, of the king" which represents today's normal genitive formation of nouns designating persons (L1 ml/1,2; L2 34,5 and L3 15/1,5).

[224] Cf. GEIGER (1942), 32 / (1973), 589: "*-gē*, das dem Sprachgefühl als Endung gilt, ist kontrahiert aus *geyi*, in dem Hause; *goviyā-gē daruvō* bedeutet 'die Kinder (im Hause) des Landmannes.' Die urspr. genetivische Bed. des vor *-gē* stehenden K.obl. ist wohl erkennbar und tritt auch in den archaischen Formen zutage." — Cf. further GEIGER (1941), 57, no. 841 s.v. *geya* "house"; GEIGER (1900), 62 and (1938), 110 as well as TURNER (1966) I, 227, no. 4240 s.v. *gṛhá-* "house"; cf. also WIJAYARATNE (1956), 143-4.

place'. The change in meaning from the loc. to the gen. is a natural one: what is one's house is one's own, so the postposition *ge* came to denote ownership." PARANAVITANA proves that in early medieval Sinhalese *-gē* occurs only as a genitive suffix in connection with personal names, not yet competing with the inherited synthetic formation of the genitive.[225] This observation agrees with what we find in the early written documents of Dhivehi which show that in the earlier stages of the standard language genitive endings in *-e*[226] were usual. Furthermore they prove that the suffix *-ge*, originally added only to nouns designating persons or to personal names, slowly developed into a general marker of the genitive. In the modern standard language, genitives in *-e* are completely unknown.

2.3.1.1.2. In the vernaculars of Aḍḍū and Fuaʾ Mulaku the **locative** of all nouns designating inanimate objects or non-persons is formally identical with the genitive. Hence, the morphemes that denote the locative are A. *-e*, *-i* and F. *-e/-ei*, *-i*. In many cases we can decide only by the context, whether the forms in question have to be interpreted as genitives or as locatives (e.g. A. *fen-e*, F. *fen-ei* "of the water" or "in the water"). In older Dhivehi, most forms in *-e* represent locatives, while an unambiguous genitival use of the same morpheme with inanimate nouns is comparatively rare. Some of the forms attested in L2, which are taken by MANIKU/WIJAYAWARDHANA (1986, viii-ix) to represent the possessive function of the locative, have to be interpreted as locative forms without any doubt in the given context, while other examples remain ambiguous. In two of the passages in question, *maḍule* appears together with the participles *ot* ⟨*otu*⟩ (pres./pret.: L2 10,4) and *ovuna* (pret.pres.: L2 18,4) "being (there), lying"[227] and has to be translated as "(being) in the district" (in contrast to MANIKU/WIJAYAWARDHANA, who translate "of the atoll" [in the sense of an administrative district]). The form *sime* which is rendered as "of the boundaries" (ib.) can be interpreted as a genitive or as a locative as well; cf. the phrase *sime sataru mūṇu* "(the) four sides (*mūṇu*, lit. 'face') on the border" or "(the) four sides of the border", occurring in L2 (4,1-2) and L3 (2/2,3). *geme*, translated as "of the village" (ib.), rather seems to have the function of a genitive in some passages; cp., e.g., *geme kulaaṭa* "to the family/lineage of the village" (attested two times in both L1 g/2,4 and L2 4,5).[228]

2.3.1.1.2.1. For the formal identity of the genitive and the locative, we find an exact parallel in modern Sinhalese: nouns meaning inanimate objects or plants have the ending *-ē* in the genitive and locative singular; cp., e.g., *mal-ē* "of/in the flower", *gam-ē* "of/in the village" (cf. MATZEL 1983, 22). Following GEIGER (1938, 105), the Sinh. suffix *-ē*, serving as a genitive and locative marker, has to be traced back to *-ehi* and, further, to

[225] In modern Sinhalese *-gē* has the function of a genitive ending with all animate nouns (plants excluded); cf., e.g., MATZEL 1983, 22 and 67.

[226] It has not yet been proved by means of the written documents that *-a-* occurring in the last syllable of a substantive could give rise to a gen./loc. ending in *-i* in the older language of Māle, as it is the case in the dialect of Aḍḍū (cf. 2.3.2.11.1).

[227] For the suppletive distribution of the verbs *onnanī* "lie, be (there)" and *tibenī* "be (there)", depending on the number of the subjects involved, cf. the detailed information given in 3.14.1.

[228] The gen./loc. *gem-e* of the stem *gam-* "village" shows a type of umlaut which is very unusual in Dhivehi. The regular form would be *gam-e*. Such a form is indeed attested three times in L1 (md/1,4 and 6; mx/1,5), but it is not yet certain whether *gam-* has the meaning of "village" in these passages in question. The umlauted stem *gem-* is well attested in other case forms too (cp., e.g., the instr./abl. *gemen* in 2.3.1.1.4.1), but it is the only example of this kind of umlaut within a nominal paradigm that has become known until now.

a common basic form ("loc. of *-as-* stems"), which already in the earliest period could have represented both case forms. For lack of convincing evidence, GEIGER's supposition cannot be proved, however, the possibility of a syncretism of separate formal elements characterising the genitive and the locative remaining valid. GEIGER maintains that the locative suffix *-ä* (cp., e.g., *bimä* "on the ground", *gamä* "in the village"; for the gen.suff. *-ä* cf. above), which frequently occurs during the 9th century, is the "result of a contraction" of earlier *-ē*. This assumption cannot be proved by examples or parallel developments, either.

2.3.1.1.2.2. At a relatively late time an analytic locative formation came into use in the standard language of Māle which completely replaced the inherited forms in *-e*. The modern locative suffix *-gā /-gai/* which can be added to inanimate as well as animate nouns, represents the inherited oblique case of the noun *gai* "body". The original meaning of "on, in, at (something or somebody)" was "on/in/at the body (of something or somebody)" accordingly (for more details cf. 2.3.2.13). In the standard language, this formation has already become rigid and is no longer perceived in its original sense. But in the dialect of Fua' Mulaku there exists a special declension type constituted by a few nouns designating animals only, which yields immediate insight into the development of the word *gai* into a case marking suffix (cf. 2.3.2.12.5.5).

2.3.1.1.3. The **dative** ending is *-a' /-aś/* in the standard language as well as in Aḍḍū. In Fua' Mulaku, however, it has the variants *-aha*, *-hā*, *-aśa* besides *-a' /-aś/*, depending on the type of the nominal stem and some additional phonological and phonetic criteria[229]. Without any difficulties the ending M.A.F. *-a' /-aś/* and the variant F. *-aśa* can be traced back to the dative ending *-aṭ(a)* which is frequently attested in the older written documents of Maldivian. This is obviously identical with the Sinhalese dative ending *-(a)ṭa* which through the intermediate stages of Pkt. *aṭṭhaṃ* and *aṭṭhāya* (cf. Pa. *atthaṃ* and *atthāya*) can be derived from Skt. *ártham* or *árthāya*, i.e., the acc./dat. of *ártha-* "aim, cause".[230] It is difficult to decide, however, whether the two variants F. *-aha* and *-hā* represent pure allomorphs of the ending */-aś/*, because a phonetic development of inherited *ṭ* through *ś* into F. *h* (in all positions) would be an exception, as can be shown by many comparable examples (cf. 1.3.6.). Instead, there are some indications which suggest an identification of F. *-aha/-hā* with a genitive ending *-asa/-aha*, which is attested for the most archaic stage of Sinhalese in the function of a dative as well.

2.3.1.1.3.1. GEIGER (1938, 108-9) and (obviously following him) PARANAVITANA (1956, I, cxi) even assume that all Sinhalese dative formations are based on old genitives. GEIGER tries to document the development beginning with the Prakrit period. In the oldest inscriptions, genitives in *-asa* and *-aha* were used as datives, just like the genitives[231] in *-assa* of Pali and Prakrit. Beginning with the 1st century A.D., these genitives occur in combination with a following *-aṭa* (← MIA **-aṭṭhaṃ*) or *-aṭaya* (← MIA **-aṭṭhāya*) / *-ataye* (← MIA **-aṭṭhāyē*). GEIGER and PARANAVITANA demonstrate this development by means of the dative of *saṅga* "multitude, assembly; community of bhikkhus" (← Skt. *saṃgha-*; cf. GEIGER 1941; 171, no. 2565), which is attested in inscriptions with and without sandhi in the form ⟨*sagahaṭa*⟩ (← MIA **saṅghassaṭṭhaṃ*) besides ⟨*sagaha aṭaya/-ye*⟩ (← **saṅghassa aṭṭhāya/-yē*). GEIGER postulates that Sinh. **sagaṭa* or **sagaṭāya* (← **saṅghaṭṭhaṃ*, *°aṭṭhāya*) must have been possible forms as well. In the plural, *-aṭa* is joined to the gen.pl. in *-ana* (← *-ānām*). GEIGER illustrates this

[229] More extensive information as to this will be given in 2.3.2.12.2.

[230] Cf. TURNER (1966), I, 29, no. 638 and further GEIGER (1941), 59, no. 865; (1900); 62; (1938) 108 f.; for the part the dative plays in the formation of the infinitive cf. 3.6.1.1 ff.

[231] The genitives in question have the function of denoting an indirect object.

with the formation *sava satanaṭa* "to all beings", which occurs in a 4th century inscription and which he derives from **savva-sattānaṭṭhaṃ*[232]. The co-occurrence of different formations of this type can be observed up to the medieval period of Sinhalese, where we meet with datives in *-aṭ* (e.g. *gamaṭ* "to the village") and *-ahaṭ* (e.g. *maharad'haṭ* "to the great king") as well as pl. forms in *-anaṭ* (e.g. *maha-saṅgnaṭ* "to the great community"; *minisnaṭ* "to the people"). From the 11/12th century on, *-aṭa*, with a secondary final *-a*, comes into use again (cp., e.g., *mituranaṭa* "to the friends"). In the 12th century, too, the syncopated formant *-ṭa* is attested for the first time with a plural meaning (*mehe-karuvaṇṭa* "to the workers"). The other variants continue to be used, as well, together with a pseudo-suffix *-haṭa* as in *saga-haṭa* which must be explained by a metanalysis of the type *sagahaṭa* "to the community of bhikkhus" (cf. above).[233] The given development is summed up by PARANAVITANA as follows: "Having developed so early and merging itself in the gen. ending, *-ṭa* and *-haṭa* may be considered as dat. case-endings; but when *-aṭa*, *-haṭa*, or *-ṭa* is abstracted from a dat. form in Sinhalese, what remains is a gen." — Both GEIGER and PARANAVITANA seem to postulate that every Sinhalese dative form must necessarily be based on a genitive. We cannot exclude, however, that the compound forms with the dative *árthāya* "for the sake (of)" (cf. above), occurring so frequently in OIA, might have served as a starting point of the formation in question, the derivation of *-haṭa* given above notwithstanding. This can be illustrated by two Skt. examples of compounds (with a verbal noun as their first member) taken from the *Rāmāyaṇa*, viz. *rakṣaṇārthāya* "for the sake / purpose of protection / shelter" (R. 3,8,7; *rakṣaṇa-* "guarding", of *rakṣati* "guards"; cf. TURNER 1966, II, 610, no. 10547 and WERBA 1997, 468) and *harṣaṇārthāya* "for the purpose of frightening" (R. 1,48,7; *harṣaṇa-* "(state of) excitement, agitation, emotion, stimulation", of the root *hṛṣ-* "to bristle; get / become / be glad, excited; shudder"; cf. TURNER 1966, II, 818, WHITNEY 1885, 208 and WERBA 1997, 387).

2.3.1.1.3.2. In particular cases, it will hardly be possible to find out the correct derivation of a given dative form if this is not attested continuously. Even in Sinhalese with its outstanding written tradition, this condition is fulfilled only in special cases. It goes without saying that the situation in Old Dhivehi, with its fragmentary documents, is much more hopeless, the few attested dative forms offering no chance for an exact analysis. We find, e.g., only a handful of plural dative forms such as Sinh. *minisnaṭ* and Old Dhiv. *mīsunaṭa* (L2 5,1), *mīhunaṭu* (L6 1,4), *mīhunan*[234] (F10,21) "to the people" that can be traced back to underlying genitives without any doubt.

In the case of the dative endings *-aha/-hā* and *-aśa/-aʾ*, occurring side by side in Fuaʾ Mulaku, we may presume with a certain probability that the former variants are based directly on an old genitive ending identical to Sinh. *-aha/-asa*, while the latter ones in all likelihood developed in the same way as the dative endings M.A. *-aʾ/-aś/* and Sinh. *-(a)ṭa*. Considering the fact that the vernacular of Fuaʾ Mulaku represents a melting-pot of manifold peculiarities and influences, such a double-tracked development would not be astonishing at all.

2.3.1.1.3.3. In Dhivehi the dative has not only the function of marking indirect objects but also of expressing local and temporal directions, responding to the questions "where (to)?" and "when, (towards) what time?". Besides this, the dative of some nouns and adjectives which are suited from the semantic point of view can be used for the expression of adverbial meanings (manner) without further formal additions or changes; cp., e.g., M. *barābaraʾ/-aś/* as an adverb "excellently" belonging to the adj. *barābaru* "excellent".

[232] Sinh. *sav/hav* "all" ← Pkt. *savva-*, OIA *sárva-*; cf. GEIGER (1941), 190, no. 2875. — Sinh. *satā* (stem *sat-*) "living being, irrational animal" ← Pa., Pkt. *satta-*, OIA *sattvá-*; cf. GEIGER (1941), 172, no. 2578 and TURNER (1966) II, 759, no. 13111.

[233] For this case and for further evidence cf. GEIGER and PARANAVITANA (ib.). GEIGER also gives details on the use of the suffix variants in Sinhalese.

[234] About the frequent spelling of final */-ṭ/* by ⟨*-n*⟩ cf. 3.6.3.2.3.

2.3.1.1.4. The inherited ending of the **ablative/instrumental** is *-in* or *-un* in the standard language and in Aḍḍū, while Fua' Mulaku uses the homogeneous form *-en* (with only one exception, cf. below). In Modern Dhivehi the rules governing the distribution of the given variants are easy to define. In Aḍḍū and in the standard language, all consonant stems (cf. 2.3.1.3) as well as the stems enlarged by the indefinite suffix (cf. 2.3.2.1) build an abl./instr. with *-un*; cp., e.g., the cons. stem *mas* "fish" with M.A. *mahun /mas-un/*; abl./instr.indef. M.A. *mahakun*. As against this, *-in* is the abl./instr.-ending of all *i*- and *a*-stems (cf. 2.3.1.2.1 and 2.3.1.2.2, resp.), as well as a few stems ending in other vowels (cf. 2.3.1.4) and root nouns (cf. 2.3.1.5); cp., e.g., the *i*-stem M.A. *tari* "star" with M. *tarīn*, A. *tarin*, or the *a*-stem M.A. *aňga* "mouth" with M.A. *aňgain*). *-in* is also used with those nouns in Aḍḍū that are enlarged by the definite suffix *-ā*; cp., e.g., *mahāin /mas-ā-in/* "from / by (means of) the (definite) fish"), as well as the frozen definite form in *-ā* of northern Dhivehi (cf. 2.3.2.9). In Fua' Mulaku, however, all variant endings (if they ever existed in this vernacular) coincided into *-en*. In the case of stems ending in a vowel and frozen definite forms, *-en* is joined to the vowel in question without merging phonetically with it; cp., e.g., *mahen* "by/from the fish"; *tarien* "by/from the star"; *aňgaen* "by/from the mouth". The only case where the variant *-un* is conserved in Fua' Mulaku is the abl./instr. of the indefinite form; cp., e.g., F. *keḍak-un* "of a piece" (F.A. *keḍe* = M. *koḷu* "piece, end") or the interrogative pronoun F. *kōntak-un* "by what means, through / by / with which" (cf. 2.6.7.1.3).

In southern Dhivehi, the synthetic formation of the abl./instr. is confined to inanimate nouns and pronouns (in the sense of "non-persons"), and there are no exceptions to this rule. In the standard language, however, the endings *-in* and *-un* are also used for nouns denoting persons; cp., e.g., M. *mīhā-in* "from the man". It seems that in all dialects the use of the ablative/instrumental in *-in/-un/-en* is restricted to the singular and the primary plural (cf. 2.3.2.1); at least, there is no evidence so far of analytic plural formations being enlarged by *-in*, *-un* or *-en*.

2.3.1.1.4.1. Considering medieval Dhivehi, MANIKU/WIJAYAWARDHANA (1986, ix) state that "only singular forms of the ablative are recorded"; they do not take into account, however, that the formal appearance of the plural in the older language was considerably different from that of the modern standard language. The early documents show that the generic plural meaning of the pure nominal stems, which can still be found in the dialect of Aḍḍū (cf. 2.3.2.1), was a feature of the northern Dhivehi speaking area in former times, too, while the analytic plural formation was of comparatively little importance at that time (cf. 2.3.2.3). The statement that the only attestations of the ablative are singular forms, is true from the point of view of the morphology of the modern standard language; but it does not consider the fact that enormous semantical changes have affected some of the forms in question. Furthermore, MANIKU/WIJAYAWARDHANA failed to notice that the ablative in Old Dhivehi ended not only in *-en* and *-un*, but also in *-in*. Cp. the following early attestations of ablatives / instrumentals:

Abl./instr. in *-in*: (1) *i*-stems: *(fenāi) maśīn* "from (water and) clay" (RC 1,6[235]); *bolīn* "from the shells" (L1 g/1,3; *boli* "shell", obviously meaning a medium of currency here); *ruḍīn* "in the manner (of)" (L2 21,1 etc.; **ruḍi* "manner, fashion, way"). (2) A frequently attested example of an ablative in *-in* of an *a*-stem is *hiǧrain* "since the Hijra". *hiǧra*, an Arabic loanword,[236] is normally written in Arabic characters, while the

[235] The passage in question gives a description of the creation of the first man. — *fen* "water" ≈ Sinh. *pän* ← Skt. *pānīya-*, cf. GEIGER (1941), 103, no. 1528; *maśi* "clay" ≈ Sinh. *mäṭi-* "clay" ← Skt. *mṛttikā-* "clay, earth", cf. GEIGER (1941), 131, no. 1952.

[236] Arab. *hiǧrat* "emigration"; the "Hijra" of the Prophet, Muḥammad, is normally used as the stating point of the Islamic era in older Maldivian texts.

Dhivehi ending is mostly added in *Dives akuru* (cp., e.g., F3,7 or IDMHM 3,1) or in *Tāna* (e.g., ITMHM 3,1); in a few cases only the ending is written in Arabic too (unambiguously vocalised, e.g., in F8,16; RC 30,8; IDAM 1,19; cf. also F5,11; F7,12 etc., RC 9,2 and diverse inscriptions). Cp. also *makkāin* "from Mekka" (← Arab. *makka*), written in *Dives akuru* or *Tāna* throughout (F2,2; F3,4; F10,7; F11,7; RA 2,4).

The abl./instr. ending *-en* appears, e.g., with the consonant stem *gam-* in the form *gemen* "from the village"[237] (cf. *gemen nikume* ⟨nikme⟩[238] "coming out of the village" in L1 s/1,1, L3 3/2,1, and L2 6,2, or *māgemen* "from the great / large village" = "from the capital" in L1 s/1,3 etc., L2 27,3 etc.; L3 15/1,4 etc.); cp. also *disen*[239] (from *dis-*) "from the direction of" (L1 md/2,6 etc.; L3 4/1,2 etc.; L4 has the later variant *dihen*: c/2,3 etc.), *mi veren* (from *veru* "land, terrain, ground") "from this terrain" (L4 b/1,1; *veren* also in L3 10/1,4).

The variant ending *-un* occurs, e.g., in *baňḍun* ⟨*baḍun*⟩ "from / out of the womb" (L1 d/1,1, ITMHM 4,6, RC 13,3 etc.; *baňḍu* "belly, stomach"), *mahun* /*mas-un*/ "(starting) from (the) month" (RA 2,6 ≈ RB 1,13 ≈ RC 9,3 / 10,3), *haňdun* ⟨*hadun*⟩ "from the moon/month" (ITAM 1,4; *haňdu* "moon"), *reakun* "from / (in) one night" (ITAH 2,4; abl.indef. of *rē* "night, evening"), *kauverikamun* "by / under the reign" (RC 1,5; *kauverikan* "reign, rule"); *mi uren*[240] *atun* "from the hand of these people" (ITMP 2,4). It seems that the distribution of the suffix variants *-en* and *-un* is not governed by specific rules as some double forms show; cp., e.g., *dabuduven* (L3 10/2,3.5) and *dabuduvun* (L3 3/2,5 and 4/1,5) "from *Daňbudū*" (name of a Maldivian island[241]) or *isduven* (L4 c/2,3) / *is(u)duvun* (L2 6,3.4; 8,1) "from *Isdū*" (name of the island L2 refers to).

2.3.1.1.4.2. Following GEIGER (1938, 104), the corresponding Sinhalese suffix variants *-en* and *-in* go back to *-ena*, the instr. ending of the OIA *a*-declension. Thus, M.A. *atun*, F. *aten*, Sinh. (medieval) *atin* can be derived from Skt. *hástena* "by / with the hand"[242]. For medieval Sinhalese, GEIGER claimed that "there can be no doubt that originally *-in* had its place after a heavy and also after two light syllables, *-en* after a single light syllable"[243]. This rule does not apply to Dhivehi, however, as far as we can tell by its historical development. It has to be stated, though, that the distribution of the suffix variants as described above cannot be found in modern Sinhalese, either. Beginning with the 10th century, GEIGER registers double forms like *desen* and *desin* "from the direction (of)" or *kusen* and *kusin* "from the womb" (≈ Dhiv. *kihun*, e.g. in L8 1,5, cf. Skt. *kukṣí-* "womb").

2.3.1.1.4.3. PARANAVITANA (1956, I, cx) was certainly right in seeing the starting point of the Sinh. formations with *-in* in the *i*-stems: "*Äsin* would be the normal development of Skt.

[237] For the peculiar umlaut of the stem *gam-* "village" cf. fn. 228 above.

[238] For the Mod.Dhiv. absolutive *nukume* of the verb *nukunmanī* "to go / come out, leave" cf. 3.10.3.6.

[239] Corresponding Sinh. forms are the ablatives *desen* and *desin* "from the direction of" of *desa*, stem *des-* "land, region, direction" ← OIA *deśá-* (cf. GEIGER 1938, 104 and 1941, 81, no. 1198; TURNER 1966, I, 374, no. 6547); in contrast to that, Dhiv. *dis-* seems to reflect the OIA root noun *díś-* "direction" (cf. TURNER 1966, I, 363, 6339).

[240] For *uren* cf. 2.6.2.3.1.4.

[241] For *dū* "island" and the variant forms of this word cf. 2.6.2.3.1.4. — The Maldivian island name *Daňbudū* (today *Daňbidū*) means "rose-apple tree island" and corresponds to Skt. *jambudvīpa-*, Pa. *jambudīpa-*, Sinh. *daňbadiva*, all meaning "India"; its basis is Skt., Pa. *jambu-*, Sinh. *daňba* "rose-apple tree" (cf. TURNER 1966, I, 283, nos. 5134 and 5131, as well as GEIGER 1941, nos. 1022 and 1021, resp.). The Maldivian island in question is located in Haddummati Atoll (nowadays administration district Lām Atoll). — The inherited word *daňbu* is obsolete in modern Dhivehi. Today the loanword M.A.F. *jaňbu* is used for "rose-apple".

[242] For the modern equivalents of OIA *hásta-* cf. TURNER (1966), II, 811, no. 14024.

[243] GEIGER (1938), 104 illustrates this by some "examples from medieval inscrs. (8th-12th c.): *atin* from the hand (P. *hattha*), *gämin* from the village (*gāma*), *bimin* from the ground (*bhūmi*), *ambaraṇin* with the ornament (*ābharaṇa*); but *kulen* from the family (*kula*), *diyen* by the water (*daka*), *parapuren* by the lineal descent (*paramparā*)." For further examples cf. WIJAYARATNE (1956), 156 ff.

akṣiṇā through Pkt. *acchinā*; but *-in* has been taken from words like this and used in those like *bara* (*barin*)."[244] The other variants of the ablative ending noticed by PARANAVITANA (1956, I, cxi) for medieval Sinhalese, have no equivalents in Dhivehi (Sinh. *-än*, *-äna*, *-äni*, *-ini*, *-ina*, *-ena*, *-eni*, *-ni*, *-nen*). On the other hand, there is no evidence for an ablative variant in *-un* in Sinhalese at any time. In modern Sinhalese the variant endings have been generally reduced to *-in* and *-en*, with the addition of *-gen* as a new suffix characterising the ablative meaning (← **gēn* ← **gehen* = Pa. *gehena* "from the house"; cf. GEIGER 1900, 62 and further 2.3.1.1.1 above).

2.3.1.1.4.4. Besides the synthetic formation, we find also analytic expressions of ablative and instrumental meanings in both Dhivehi and Sinhalese. In the southernmost Maldivian dialects, the ablative of nouns denoting persons, and pronouns referring to persons can be expressed exclusively by means of a combination of the genitive in *-ge* and A. *farātun*, F. *farāten* "from the side (of), by" or F. *aten* "from / by the hand" (for the frozen abl./instr. forms *farātun/-en* and *aten* cf. 2.3.2.11.4 and 2.3.2.12.4); cp., e.g., A. sg. *mīhāge* / pl. *mīhunge farātun*, F. sg. *mīhāge* / pl. *mīhunge farāten/aten* sg."from/by the man", pl. "from/by the people/men".

2.3.1.1.4.5. In the modern standard language and in the older written documents there are no ablative/instrumental forms that are based on the genitive. In Old Dhivehi the instr./abl. of nouns denoting persons is built with *kuren* (sometimes written ⟨*kren*⟩) which follows the oblique case of the noun as a postposition. Cp., e.g., the plural nouns *mi uren kuren* "from/by these people" (ITMP 1,3); *duvesīn kren* "from/by the islanders", i.e. "from/by the Maldivians" (L2 25,2); *darīn kren* "from/by the children" (L2 32,3). As already noticed by GEIGER (1901-1902, II, 375), *kuren* corresponds in form and function to medieval Sinh. *keren*; cf. the expression *kämiyan keren* "from/by the workers", attested in the 10th century (*kämiyan* obl.pl.; cf. GEIGER 1938, 110). Until now the etymology of *keren* cannot be established with certainty. GEIGER (1941, 48, no. 704) hesitatingly follows PARANAVITANA who proposes to regard *keren* (in analogy with *aten* "from/by the hand", cf. above) as an abl./instr. sg. of *kara* "hand" with umlaut (cf. GEIGER 1941, 38, no. 560).

2.3.1.1.4.6. In modern standard Dhivehi, the postposition *kuren*, following the oblique case of nouns meaning persons, must be translated as "from the side of, from the part of, from". Cp. the following example:

M. *e hisābun aharen* **katību kuren** *ituru suvālutake' kurāne bēnume' o' kamaka' nun fenun eve.* (T8, 168) "From then on, I saw no need", lit. "from that moment on it did not seem desirable to me," "to ask any further questions **from the side of the mayor** about the present fact." (*e* dem.pron. "that"; *hisāb-un* abl. of *hisāb* "mathematics, arithmetics; moment" (← Arab. *ḥisāb*); *aharen* pers.pron. 1.ps.sg., here subject of the part.fut. *kurāne*; *katību* obl.sg. "mayor" + *kuren* postpos. "from the side of" ≈ abl.; *ituru* "further, more" (cf. 2.4.5.2) + */suvālu-tak-ek/* "any further questions", indef.pl. of *suvālu* "question" (← Arab. *su'āl* "question"); *kurāne* "going to make, do" part.fut. (*kuranī* "to do, make"), attributed to */bēnum-ek/*, nom.indef. "a wish"; */ot/* part.pret. of *onnanī* "be there, lie", attributed to the indef.dat. */kam-ak-aś/* "to a fact" of the nom. *kan /kam/*; *nu* negation particle; */fenunu/* part.pret.(intr.) "(having) appeared, seemed" (*fenenī* "appear, seem") + *eve* q.partc.

[244] For OIA *ákṣi-* "eye" cf. TURNER (1966) I, 2, no. 43; cf. also GEIGER (1941), 19, no. 286 on Sinh. *äsa/äha*, stem *äs-/ähi-* "eye". For Sinh. *bara* "weight, load" cf. GEIGER (1941), 119, no. 1774.

2.3.1.1.4.7. Like the dative, the ablative/instrumental can be used to express adverbial meanings. As an example for Old Dhivehi cp. *mi tak aharun* "(during) so many years" (*mi tak* "this/so many/much"[245]; *aharu* "year"); for the modern language cf. M. *e hisābun* "from that moment (on), from then on, since then" (cf. above, 2.3.1.1.4.6).

2.3.1.1.5. The following table presents a concise survey of the **case suffixes** used in Modern Dhivehi. The attributes "animate" and "inanimate" have to be understood in the sense of "person" and "non-person", resp.

cases		Māle	Aḍḍū	Fuaʾ Mulaku
gen.	anim.	*-ge*	*-ge*	*-ge*
	inan.		*-e, -i*	*-e/-ei, -i*
loc.		*-gā* /-gai/	*-e, -i*	*-e/-ei, -i*
dat.		*-aʾ* /-aś/	*-aʾ* /-aś/	*-aha, -hā; -aśa, -aʾ* /-aś/
abl./ instr.	anim.	obl. + *kuren; -in, -un*	gen. *-ge* + *farātun*	gen. *-ge* + *farāten/aten*
	inan.	*-in, -un*	*-in, -un*	*-en,* indef.suff. + *-un*

2.3.1.2. The **nominal stems** of Modern Dhivehi can be divided into two main groups, viz. stems ending in a vowel and stems ending in a consonant. Within vocalic stems, stems in *-i* and *-a* form the largest groups by far, while stems ending in other vowels are restricted to a few words.

2.3.1.2.1. Despite of some variants which are characterised by certain morphonological patterns within the declension paradigm of the southern dialects, the ***i*-stems** represent a very homogeneous group in Dhivehi. Regarding some secondary morphological and phonological developments, we can state that all of the real *i*-stems share two distinctive formal features: first, the stem of the nouns in question ends in *-i* without exception in all dialects; second, the ablative ending is always *-in* in Māle and in Aḍḍū (as against *-un* occurring with the consonant stems); note that in contrast to the other dialects, Fuaʾ Mulaku uses *-en* as the ablative suffix for all stem types (cf. 2.3.1.1.4 above). Cp., e.g., the nominal stems M.A.F. *tari* "star" and M. *toḷi*, A. *teḷi*, F. *tēḷi* "bean" with their ablative forms M. *tarīn* (← **tari-in*), A. *tarin* (but F. *tari-en*) and M. *toḷīn* (← **toḷi-in*), A. *teḷin* (but F. *tēḷen* ← **tēḷi-en*). Whenever one of these two characteristics is missing, the noun in question is not an *i*-stem but a consonant stem which must have undergone a special development in a particular dialectal area (cf. the table given in 2.3.1.3.4.1 below).

As was stated above, the non-enlarged form of the direct case of the *i*-stems is characterised by a final *-i* without any exceptions in all dialects; cp., e.g., M.A.F. *tari* "star"; A. *teḷi*, F. *tēḷi*, M. *toḷi* "bean"; M.A. *mehi*, F. *mēhi* "fly"; M.A.F. *divehi* "Maldivian, islander"; M.A. *ihi*, F. *īhi* "lobster"; M.A. *baśi*, F. *bąśi* "eggplant"; A. *geňḍi*, F. *gēňḍi*, M. *goňḍi*

[245] For the later development of the pronominal adjective *tak* into a plural suffix cf. 2.3.2.3.

"chair" etc. The *i*-stems can further be subdivided into different declension classes, depending on whether the stem vowel remains unchanged within the paradigm or whether it disappears because of certain morphonological rules and, as a consequence, causes a secondary lengthening of the preceding syllable.

2.3.1.2.2. The ***a*-stems** form a large, widely homogeneous group in Dhivehi. They are characterised by a stem vowel *-a* which can be distinguished throughout the whole paradigm. While in northern Dhivehi all nouns with a nominative in *-a* belong to the *a*-stems, in Aḍḍū and in Fuaʾ Mulaku this stem class is not determined by the nominative alone. In these dialects, a nominative ending in *-a* can represent an *a*-stem or a consonant stem. To ascertain the stem class, it is necessary to know the genitive, dative or ablative forms of its primary paradigm, i.e. the paradigm which is marked neither for definiteness nor indefiniteness. The respective case forms of *a*-stems are gen. A.F. *-a-i*, M. *-a-ige*; dat. A.M. *-āʾ* ← *-a-aś*, F. *-āśa* ← *-a-aśa*; abl. A.M. *-a-in*, F. *-a-en*; cp. the following examples (primary stems only): M.A.F. *fia* "wing; petal" (abl. M.A. *fia-in*, F. *fia-en*); A.F. *kuruba*, M. *kuruŏba* "young (drinking) coconut" (abl. A. *kuruba-in*, F. *kuruba-en*, M. *kuruŏba-in*); A. *farabada*, F. *farobada*, M. *farubada* "mountain" (abl. A. *farabada-in*, F. *farobada-en*, M. *farubada-in*); A.F. *hela*, M. *hila* "rock" (abl. A. *hela-in*, F. *hela-en*, M. *hila-in*); A.F. *mela*, M. *mila* "dirt" (abl. A. *mela-in*, F. *mela-en*, M. *mila-in*); M.A.F. *aŏga* "mouth" (abl. M.A. *aŏga-in*, F. *aŏga-en*); A.F. *attela*, M. *attila* [*aitila*] "palm (of the hand)" (abl. A. *attela-in*, F. *attela-en*, M. *attila-in*); A.F. *faitela*, M. *faitila* "foot" (abl. A. *faitela-in*, F. *faitela-en*, M. *faitila-in*); M.A.F. *dida* "flag" (abl. M.A. *dida-in*, F. *dida-en*); M.A.F. *fāga* "bitter gourd" (abl. M.A. *fāga-in*, F. *fāga-en*); A.F. *ohi-bada*, M. *mai-bada* "vertebra" (abl. A. *ohibada-in*, F. *ohibada-en*, M. *maibada-in*); A.F. *reha*, M. *riha* "curry" (abl. A. *reha-in*, F. *reha-en*, M. *riha-in*); M.A.F. *ādītta* "Sunday" (abl. M.A. *ādītta-in*, F. *ādītta-en*); M.A.F. *hōma* "Monday" (abl. M.A. *hōma-in*, F. *hōma-en*); M.A.F. *aŏgāra* "Tuesday" (abl. M.A. *aŏgāra-in*, F. *aŏgāra-en*); M.A.F. *buda* "Wednesday" (abl. M.A. *buda-in*, F. *buda-en*); M.A.F. *kafa* "cotton" (abl. M.A. *kafa-in*, F. *kafa-en*); M.A.F. *kara* "land" (abl. M.A. *kara-in*, F. *kara-en*); A.F. *dea*, M. *dia* "water, liquid" (abl. A. *dea-in*, F. *dea-en*, M. *dia-in*); M.A.F. *vina* "grass" (abl. M.A. *vina-in*, F. *vina-en*) etc. In some cases, we meet with words which because of their declension have to be judged as *a*-stems in one dialect but must be classified as consonant stems in another dialectal area. Cp., e.g., the noun M.F. *buma* "eyebrow" (abl. M. *buma-in*, F. *buma-en*) which in Māle and Fuaʾ Mulaku appears as an *a*-stem, unlike Aḍḍū *bema* which is a consonant stem (abl. A. *bem-un*). Cf. also *feṇa* "foam, surf" which is a (secondary) *a*-stem in Fuaʾ Mulaku, as opposed to the consonant stems A. *feṇa*, M. *fonu* (abl. F. *feṇa-en*, but A. *feṇ-un* and M. *fon-un*).

2.3.1.3. In comparison with the *i*- and *a*-stems, the **consonant stems** form a very heterogeneous group, the divergences mostly depending on the stem-final consonant. Here we have to take into account that only a restricted subset of consonants can appear in word-final position, all others requiring a "supporting" vowel[246]; the quality of these secondary vowels varies from dialect to dialect. As we stated above, there are also some consonant stems whose direct case form ends in *-i* (for particular cases which are found all over the Maldives, cf. 2.3.1.2.1)

[246] For the particular auslaut correspondences cf. the table given in 2.3.1.3.4.1 below.

or in *-a* (only in the southernmost dialects, above all in Aḍḍū; cf. 2.3.1.2.2). It follows that in the case of most consonant stems, it is impossible to deduce the stem class from an isolated nominative alone. Hence, the correct classification of a noun with respect to a particular stem class depends on the knowledge of certain items of the declension paradigm, and, if available, of the corresponding stem forms of the other dialects.

2.3.1.3.1. As a result of peculiar sound laws concerning the auslaut of words in Modern Dhivehi, only a small number of consonant phonemes can occur in word-final position, viz. */n/*, */s/*, */k/*, */t/* and */ś/* (← */t/*) (cf. 1.1.3 above). Furthermore, their phonetic realisation is quite different from that in medial position, so that a remarkable variation has developed in the paradigms of stems ending in these consonants; there are also many dialectal differences. The most consistent realisation is that of the dental nasal */n/*, which is pronounced as a velar [*ŋ*] throughout the Maldives when occurring in final position (cp., e.g., M.A.F. nom. *mūsun* [*musuŋ*] "monsoon, season").

All the other consonants mentioned above are subject to significant phonetic changes when occurring in final position. Thus, final */-k/* is in all dialects realised as a glottal stop, [ʔ] (cp., e.g., M.A.F. nom. *boʔ* */bok/* "frog"; A.F. nom. *fuaʔ*, M. nom. *fōʔ* */fuak/* "betel nut"). In Fuaʔ Mulaku and in Aḍḍū, final */-t/* is represented allophonically by [ʔ] as well, while in Māle the glide [-*y*] is pronounced instead (cp., e.g., A.F. nom. *foʔ*, M. *foi* */fot/* "book"; A.F. nom. *faʔ*, M. nom. *fai* */fat/* "leaf"). In the older documents of Dhivehi, however, */k/* and */t/* are still attested as such in word-final position; cp., e.g., the nominatives *bulat* "betel" (L1 g/1,2 etc., L2 5,3 and 25,4) and *puvak* "areca nut" (L1 my/1,1; L4 e/2,1), or the spelling *puvak mulok* for the name of the island *Fuaʔ Mulaku*, lit. "areca-nut ground" (L4 e/2,1; possibly also in L1 md/1,2, where only *-ku muloku* is preserved). In contrast to that, the spelling *fuvaś mulaku* occurring in a later text (*Tāna*-inscription on a gravestone nearby the Hukuru-Miskit in Māle: ITMHM 2,7), already indicates the phonetic change of final */-k/* (and other stops) to [ʔ].

In Aḍḍū and Māle, [ʔ] also serves as an allophone of final */-ś/* (cp., e.g., M.A. nom. *raʔ* */raś/* as against F. nom. *raśo* "island, land" with a vocalic extension, cf. below). On the other hand, final */-s/* is preserved in Māle and in Aḍḍū in the nominative, but within the paradigm forms of stems in *-s*, there is a regular interchange with [*h*]; in contrast to that, in Fuaʔ Mulaku */s/* has developed into [*h*] in final position as well, a secondary short vowel which is identical with the vowel of the preceding syllable being attached (cp., e.g., M.A. nom. *as* vs. F. nom. *aha* "horse"; M. nom. *mirus*, A. nom. *miris* vs. F. nom. *mirihi* "chili"; M.A. nom. *bēs* vs. F. nom. *behe* "medicine", M. nom. *gas*, A. nom. *ges* vs. F. nom. *gehe* "tree" etc.).

2.3.1.3.2. In auslaut position, stem-final */l/* is preserved exclusively in Fuaʔ Mulaku. In the other vernaculars, it appears only medially within the paradigm. Cp., e.g., the nominative forms F. *haul* vs. A. *hau*, M. *hā* "cock"; F. *bol* vs. M.A. *bō* "head"; F. *gal* vs. A. *gau*, M. *gā* "stone"; F. *tel* vs. A. *teu*, M. *teo* "oil" etc.).

2.3.1.3.3. No other consonants occur in word-final position, at least in inherited words.[247] As a rule, even foreign words ending in a consonant are enlarged by secondary vowels; cp., e.g., the recent English loanwords M. *bōṭu* "boat", *sigareṭu* "cigaret", *ṭīcaru* "teacher".

2.3.1.3.4. The attachment of short vowels after a given consonant stem in the formation of the nominative (direct case) can be shown to be a comparatively archaic feature of Dhivehi,[248] given that the same phenomenon is met with in Modern Sinhalese in the corresponding nouns. The interdialectal differences in the quality of these vowels must be regarded as secondary.

2.3.1.3.4.1. The table given below shows the regular correspondences of additional vowels in the neutral, non-enlarged form of the *casus rectus* of consonant stems. The first two correspondences are by far the most frequent ones, while the correspondences (3) to (7) are restricted to a few words only.

correspondence	Aḍḍū	Fuaʾ Mulaku	Māle
(1)	*-a*	*-o*	*-u*
(2)	*-u*	*-u*	*-u*
(3)	*-a*	*-u*	*-u*
(4)	*-e*	*-e*	*-u*
(5)	*-a*	*-e*	*-u*
(6)	*-u*	*-u*	*-i*
(7)	*-i*	*-i*	*-u*

If nothing else is indicated, the following examples are listed in the order *Māle – Fuaʾ Mulaku – Aḍḍū.*

(1) *aḍu – aḍo – aḍa* "sound, noise, voice"; *aharu – aharo – ahara* "year"; *baḷu – baḷo – baḷa* "dog"; *doru – doro – dora* "door"; *fiavaḷu – fiāḷo – fiavaḷa* "foot, step"; *foḍu – foḍo* (A. *foḍa* is not used as a stem form, only the nom.sg. def. *foḍā* and indef. *foḍaʾ* occur) "drop"; *gaṅḍu – gaṅḍo – gaṅḍa* "vessel"; *haṅdu – haṅdo – haṅda* "moon"; *himāru – himāro – himāra* "donkey"; *hiaḷu – hiaḷo – hivaḷa* "fox, jackal"; *karu – karo – kara* "neck, throat"; *koṅḍu – koṅḍo – koṅḍa* "shoulder"; *kośāru – kośāro – kośāra* "storehouse"; *kotaḷu – kotaḷo – kotaḷa* "bag"; *massaru – massaro – massara* "month"; *madu – mado – mada* M.F. "kernel of the coconut", A. "(kernel) of a nut"; *nanu – naṇo – naṇa* "fishing line"; *nāru – nāro – nāra* "vein, nerve, blood-vessel"; *onu – oṇo – oṇa* "bamboo"; *vaḷu – vaḍo – vaḍa* "well".

(2) M. *bakamūnu*, F.A. *bakamūṇu* "owl"; M. *dekunu*, F.A. *dekuṇu* "south"; M. *faidigumakunu*, F.A. *fādigimakuḍu* "spider"; M.F.A. *fūḷu* "navel"; *hakuru* "sugar"; *hukuru* "Friday"; M. *hūnu*, F.A. *huṇu* "heat; hot, warm"; M.F.A. *ūṭu* "tile"; *javvu* "atmosphere"; *kāfūru* "camphor"; *kaduru* "date(palm)"; *mugu* "lentil,gram; green"; *muṅḍu* "sarong"; M. *mūnu*, F.A. *mūṇu* "face"; M.F. *niaduru*, A. *nēduru* "pomelo, shaddock"; M.F.A. *uḍu* "sky"; *uṅgu* "lap"; *uturu* "north"; *ūru* "pig"; *vagutu* "time"; M. *jaṁburōlu*, F.A. *jaṁburōzu* "star apple"; M.F.A. *jaṁbu* "rose apple"; M. *kahaṁbu* ⟨*kahabu*⟩, F.A. *kahuṁbu* "tortoise"; M. *kāḷu*, F.A. *kauḷu* "crow". — *-u* as a common final stem vowel is also present in a few

[247] For more extensive information about the phonological rules implied, cf. 1.1.3.

[248] An exception to this are the short vowels which are attached to stems in *-s* in Fuaʾ Mulaku: these have to be judged as secondary. Cf. 1.3.5 and further below.

words from the numerous group of nouns denoting persons that are characterised by morphological peculiarities (cf., e.g., 2.3.2.1.2). Cf. M.A.F. *eduru* "teacher"[249]; *haturu* "enemy" (obs.)[250]; M.A. *keoḷu*, F. *keuḷu* "chief of the dhoni-crew"; M.A.F. *mituru* "friend" (obs.)[251]; *uxtu* "sister" (← Arab. *uḫt*).

(3) *fāru – fauru – favara* "wall"; M.F. *fēru*, A. *fēra* "guava". The three following words have to be seen as exceptions within this class, because they are inflected as *a*-stems in Aḍḍū (two of them are loanwords): *bāzu – bq̄zu – (bāza)* "eagle, falcon" (← Pers., Urdu *bāz* "falcon"); M.F. *nāringu* (A. *nāringa*) "orange" (cf. Pers. *nāreng̃ / nāreng / nāring* "(bitter) orange", *nārangī* "mandarine"; Urdu *nārqgī* "orange"). The contracted form A. *henna* ← **heñduna* "morning", whose original final vowel must have been *-u* (like in M.F. *heñdunu*), has to be regarded as a secondary *a*-stem as well.

The following correspondences are documented by a few examples only:

(4) M. *atoḷu*, F.A. *ateḷe* "atoll"; M. *koḷu*, F.A. *keḍe* "piece, end"; M. *eñdu*, F.A. *eñde* "bed"; M. *medu*, F.A. *mede* "middle".

(5) *miaru – mēre – miara* "shark"; *honu – heṇe – hèṇa* "thunderbolt". A. *bera* "drum" is a secondary *a*-stem as well while M. *beru*, F. *bere* belong to the consonant stems (cp. correspondence (3) above).

(6) In the two examples belonging to this type an original final *-u*, preserved in its original quality in the southernmost dialects, changed into *-i* in Māle; cf. F.A. *kehuru* against M. *keheri* "fur" and F.A. *guguru* against M. *guguri* "thunder".

(7) The correspondence of the nominative endings M. *-u* and F.A. *-i* seems to suggest an intermediate position between consonant stems and *i*-stems. There can be no doubt, however, that the words in question have to be considered as consonant stems, at least within the standard language. Most of the Aḍḍū examples have been adapted to the *i*-stems as their ablative ends in *-in*; cf. M. *havīru*, F.A. *havīri*, A. abl. *havīrin* "evening"; M. *honihiru*, F. *heṇihiri*, A. *heṇahiri*, abl. *heṇahirin* "Saturday"; M. *iñguru*, F.A. *iñgiri*, A. abl. *iñgirin* "ginger"; M. *kuḷu*, F.A. *kiḷi*, A. abl. *kiḷin* "saliva"; M. *menduru*, F.A. *mendiri*, A. abl. *mendirin* "noon". In contrast to that, some Aḍḍū examples have preserved the old variant of the ablative: M. *iru*, F.A. *iri*, M.A. abl. *irun* "sun"; M. *kiru*, F.A. *kiri*, M.A. abl. *kirun* "milk".[252]

2.3.1.3.4.2. The phonological rules that have caused the change of the final sound can easily be identified in the case of correspondence (4), A.F. *-e* vs. M. *-u*, where the quality of the final vowel was obviously adapted to that of the penult in the A. and F. words, the triggering element of the process being the retroflex consonant.[253] In other cases, however, the vocalic change has just to be noted, without a phonological reason being perceivable; cp., e.g., the numerous examples of the correspondence of A. *-a* and F. *-o* as against the more archaic *-u* we find in Māle (correspondence 1), or the correspondence of A.F. *-i* as against the original

[249] Cf. Sinh. *āduru* "teacher"; Jaina-Pkt. (AMg.JM.) *āyariya-*, other Prakrits (Ś. etc.) *āaria-* (Ch. WERBA, personal communication; cf. PISCHEL 520 etc.); Pa. *ācariya*, OIA *ācārya-*; cf. GEIGER, (1941) 17, no. 268.

[250] Dhiv. *haturu*, Sinh. *saturu / haturu* represent a *mot savant* which has to be derived from the OIA *u*-stem *śátru-* "enemy". The word cannot be considered as an inherited direct successor of the the original *u*-stem, because the OIA cluster *-tr-* must have changed as early as MIA, yielding a prototype such as Pa. *sattu-* "enemy" (P.E.D., 673). Cf. the antonym *mituru* which shows the same secondary development of *-tr-* (cf. fn. 251).

[251] Like *haturu* "enemy" (cf. fn. 250 above), *mituru* represents a *mot savant*; cf. the correspondent Sinh. word *mituru*, which opposes itself to the synonymous Sinh. form *mit* which developed directly from MIA (Pa., Pkt. *mitta-*, Skt. *mitrá-*; GEIGER (1941), 133, no. 1986).

[252] From a phonological point of view, some adjectives have to be treated within this group as well; cf. M. *bīru*, A.F. *bīri* "deaf"; M. *digu*, A.F. *digi* "long"; M. *tūnu*, A.F. *tūṇi* "hot (spicy)". They are declined only when being used as nouns. For adjectives in general, cf. 2.4.1.

[253] About the influence of retroflex consonants on the surrounding vowels in the southern dialects cf. 3.9.2.2.3 (for *oś̌ōnnanī*), 3.9.2.3 and, further, 1.2.4.4.

-a preserved in Māle again (correspondence 7). If we compare the final vowels occurring in the direct case of the consonant stems both interdialectally and with their equivalents attested in Old Dhivehi, we cannot but conclude that as far as this development is concerned, the language of Māle is more conservative that the southern dialects.

2.3.1.4. Vocalic stems ending in other vowels than *-i* and *-a* are confined to a few words in Dhivehi. Stems with a long-vocalic ending suggest that the word in question is of foreign origin, except for a few cases which can be explained as frozen definite forms of the nom.sg.; cp., e.g., M.F. *bēbe*, A. *bēbē* (presumably from the def. form **bēbe-ā*) "elder brother"; M. *kokko*, A.F. *kokkō* (presumably from the def. form **kokko-ā*) "younger brother / sister". In the case of M.A.F. *faḷō* "papaya", it remains uncertain, however, whether its final *-ō* can be interpreted as a reflex of the definite suffix. Although it seems to be sure that *faḷō* has to be derived from OIA *phála-*, Pa., Pkt. *phala-* "fruit, seed of a fruit, grain", the exact derivation of the Dhivehi word cannot be ascertained. While Sinh. *pala* "fruit" can go back directly to an equivalent MIA form, the retroflex *-ḷ-* of Dhiv. *faḷō* speaks in favour of another intermediate form; maybe Dhiv. *faḷō* is a loanword (cp., e.g., Konkani *phaḷa*).[254] M.A.F. *jādū* "magic, sorcery" reflects Persian *ǧādū* "id.", either directly or via its Urdu equivalent. The etymology of M.A.F. *karā* "water melon" is unknown.

2.3.1.5. Words that can be classified as **root nouns** are very rare in Dhivehi. This category is represented by nouns the root of which is restricted to the minimal structure of {consonant-vowel} in their stem form as well as their paradigm; the vowel in question can be short or long, but also a diphthong. Most of the root nouns belong to the inherited vocabulary. Cp., e.g., nom.sg. M. *ge*, A.F. *gē* "house",[255] gen. A. *gē*, M. *gēge*, dat. M.A. *gea'*, abl. A. *gen*, M. *gein*; the nom.sg. A.F. *gē* seems to be a frozen definite form (cf. above) ← **ge-ā*. This example demonstrates that in Māle the original declension has been replaced by the agglutinative paradigm also in the case of root nouns; hence the declensional forms of the following examples will be given only for the Aḍḍū dialect. Cp., e.g., nom.sg. M.A.F. *gai* "body"[256]

[254] Cf. TURNER (1966) II, 508, no. 9051 and GEIGER (1941), 96, no. 1429. The semantic restriction from a general meaning "fruit" to "papaya" might have occurred because the papaya is one of the most important fruits on the Maldive islands, where only a few plants are cultivated.

[255] Cf. Sinh. *gē*, Pkt., Pa. *geha-* ← OIA *gehá-/gṛhá-*; cf. BERGER (1953), 40, no. 72; GEIGER (1941), 57, no. 341 and TURNER (1966) I, 227, no. 4240.

[256] GEIGER (1902), 920, no. 156 regards Dhiv. *gai* as a correspondent of the Sinh. nominal stem *gat-* "limb, body" which he derives from OIA *gā́tra-* via MIA *gatta-* (cf. GEIGER 1941, 52, no. 762). In contrast, TURNER (1966) II, 822, no. 14445 associates the Dhivehi word (for which he notes an obviously non-existent variant "*gat*" besides *gai*), with Sinh. *gāya* "strength of body" which he also derives from *gā́tra-* "limb, member of body" (RV); "body". Both derivations are problematic as they stand. Via MIA *gatta-*, OIA *gā́tra-* would have led to an intermediate Dhiv. **gat*. As a phonological input form, however, this **gat* (as posited by TURNER) would have yielded M. **[gay → gae, gä]* and A.F. **[ga']*; cp. in this connection the word */fat/* "leaf" (= Sinh. *pata*, stem *pat-* ← Pkt., Pa. *patta-*, OIA *pátra-*, cf. GEIGER (1941), 93, no. 1385 and (1902), 918, no. 122), which shows a similar development: M. *[fai]* → *[fae, fä]*. M.A.F. *gai* can nevertheless represent OIA *gā́tra-* if we assume that its MIA predecessor was **gāta-*, not **gatta-*; in this case we should compare A.F. *rei*, M. *rē* "night" from OIA *rā́trī-* which could yield MIA **rātī-* alongside Pa. *ratti-* according to the MIA "law of two moras". For the alternative results produced by this law cf. GEIGER (1916, 42-3) and, further, n. 261 below; cf. also 1.2.3.1.

(A. gen. *gai* /*gayi*/, dat. *gā'* /*gayaś*/, abl. *gain* /*gayin*/); A.F. *fā*, M. *fai* "foot, leg"[257] (A. gen. *fāi*, dat. *fā'*, abl. *fāin*); nom.sg. M.A.F. *vai* "wind"[258] (A. gen. *vaye*, dat. *vā'* /*vayaś*/, abl. *vain* /*vayin*/); A.F. *gū*, M. *gui* "excrement"[259] (A. gen. *gue*, dat. *gua'*, abl. *guun*); M.A.F. *oi*[260] (besides A. *oivara*, M. *oivaru*) "current" (A. gen.sg.def. *oyei*, other def. case forms missing; A. gen. *oye*, abl. *oyin*; dat. only *oi-vara'*); A.F. *rei*, M. *rē* "night"[261] (no case forms). From its root structure and its declension, the loanword M.A.F. *sai* "tea"[262] (A. gen. *saye*, dat. *saya'*, abl. *sayin*) must be regarded as a root noun as well.

2.3.2. Number, definiteness and indefiniteness

In Dhivehi, the category of number comprises singular and plural. From the formal point of view, the morphological expression of plurality is one of the most heterogeneous elements of Maldivian grammar and, by consequence, of great typological interest. Considering the interdialectal divergences and overlaps of the plural formations, it seems reasonable to describe the particular formations separately for each dialect.

The vernacular of Aḍḍū is the only dialect of Dhivehi that has preserved without restrictions the archaic system in which the formal expression of singularity is linked to that of definiteness and indefiniteness. Regarding the treatment of number, the dialect of Fua' Mulaku, although belonging to southern Dhivehi as well, represents a kind of transitional idiom between the southern and northern dialects. In the modern standard language, the semantic distribution of the concepts of singular and plural and the morphological realisation of number deriving from them, is, to some extent, diametrically opposed to the situation we find in Aḍḍū.

2.3.2.1. One of the most characteristic particularities of the dialect of **Aḍḍū** consists in the fact that the pure nominal stem is frequently used as a generic plural form, if this is not contradicted by the semantics involved. Being unmarked from the morphological point of view, this plural form can be regarded as the primary form of the given noun; this is why the paradigm based on it will hereafter be called the "primary" one. When the plural form is the generic one, singularity must be expressed by additional special suffixes added to the stem. Generally speaking, there are two different singular forms that can be derived from a nominal stem, viz. a definite and an indefinite one, the former being characterised by the definite suffix *-ā* or its variant *-(y)e* (← */-yā/*). The etymological origin of this suffix is not clear, as

[257] In Sinhalese the corresponding nominal stem is *pā*, nom. *paya* "foot"; cf. Pkt. *pā(y)a-*, Pa. *pāda-*, Skt. *pāda-* "foot" (GEIGER 1941, 95, 1417).

[258] Cf. the Sinh. stem *vā* "wind", Pkt. *vā(y)a-*, Pa. *vāta-*, Skt. *vāta-* (GEIGER 1941, 161, no. 2394).

[259] Cf. Sinh. *gū*, OIA *gūtha-* (GEIGER 1902, 921, no. 172; TURNER 1966, II, 827, no. 14449).

[260] The Sinh. correspondents of the Maldivian word are the variants *soya*, *hoya*, *oya*, *sō* and *ō* "small river, rivulet" which by order represent the particular stages of phonological development (← Pkt. *sō(y)a-*, Pa. *sota(s)-*, Skt. *srótas-*; cf. GEIGER 1902, 932, no. 342 and 1941, 33, no. 486; cf. further TURNER 1966, II, 803, nos. 13889 and 13891).

[261] Cf. the corresponding Sinh. stem *rā-*, nom. *rāya* "night", Pkt. *rāī-*, **rātī-* as opposed to Pa. *rattī/i-*, Skt. *rātrī/i-* (cf. GEIGER 1941, 146, no. 2167).

[262] Probably the word meaning "tea" reached Dhivehi in its Arab. form *šāy* (as contrasting with Pers. *čāy* etc.), together with the product itself; for further informations cf., e.g., YULE-BURNELL 1902, 905 ff.

GEIGER stated when he described the same phenomenon for Sinhalese[263]. In contrast to that, the derivation of the indefinite suffix is less problematic. Obviously, A. *-a' /-ak/* and *-e' /-ek/* developed from the stem of the cardinal number "one", *e' /ek/*, in the same way as the Sinhalese indefinite suffix *-ek / -k* which represents the corresponding numeral.[264] In Aḍḍū the distribution of the suffixes *-ā* (def.) and *-a'* (indef.) vs. *-(y)e* (def.) and *-(y)e'* (indef.) depends on a simple rule: The suffixes *-e* and *-e'* which are preceded by a glide *y* in order to avoid hiatus, are joined exclusively to *i*-stems. In contrast to that, the suffixes *-ā* and *-a'* occur with all other vocalic stems and with all consonant stems. Besides this, those *i*-stems which are characterised by a secondary vowel lengthening in the penult, together with a loss of the stem-final *-i* in the genitive and dative as well as the definite and indefinite nominative, can also take the suffixes *-ā* and *-a'*; cp., e.g., the *i*-stem A. *feśi* "box" (nom.pl.), gen. *fēśe* (← **feśi-e*), dat. *fēśa' /fēśaś/* (← **feśi-aś*), nom.sg.def. *fēśā* (← **feśi-ā*), nom.sg.indef. *fēśa' /fēśak/* (← **feśi-ak*); for further examples cf. 2.3.2.7.1.2.3.

2.3.2.1.1. As to the origin of the indefinite form of the *a*-stems, it is not clear from the synchronic point of view whether this represents the suffix *-a' /-ak/* as a whole or a shortened variant */-k/* as in Sinhalese (cf. above). In the former case we would have to assume that it was influenced by the consonant stems, because otherwise we would expect a form **-ā' */-āk/* which is not even once attested in Modern Dhivehi. In the older documents of the language, however, there are some indefinite forms of *a*-stems (among them some sanskritisms, possibly also prakritisms in *-a*), which end in *-a-ak*; cp., e.g., *anga-ak-un* (RC 1,12) "from one limb / from one of the limbs", abl./instr.indef. (Sinh. *aṅga* "limb" ← Pa. *aṅga-*, Skt. *áṅga-* "limb, body"; cf. GEIGER 1941, 3, no. 34 and TURNER 1966, I, 6, no. 114); *boga-ak* (L5 5/1,1, beside *boga-ek* in F3,14; F5,22 etc.) "a benefit" (Dhiv. *boga-* obviously is a sanskritism, because an inherited intervocalic *-g-* would not be preserved (Pa. *bhoga-*, Skt. *bhóga-* "enjoyment, use, possession, hire, wages", cf. TURNER 1966, II, 549, no. 9625); *ma-aku bafa-ak-ai* (RC 1,5-6) "a mother and a father" (cf. 2.3.2.7.4.1.1). The meaning of the following examples can be established only approximately: *veḷḷakāra-ak* (L4 g/1,1, besides *veḷḷakāra* f/1,7) "an officer", *gadyāṇa-ak* (L2 5,4) "a bag" (Skt. *gadyāṇa-*), *hinna-ak* (F8,25 and IDMMM 2,6) "a piece of land which is cleared, rooted out" (cf. *sinya* in L2 6,5 etc.), *kiba-ak-an* (F6,19) "in a manner" (dat.; for the spelling of the dative ending */-aś* ← *-aṭ/* in the form ⟨*-an*⟩ cf. 3.6.3.2.3). We must not conclude from the forms given above that the indefinite suffix of the *a*-stems has to be traced back to *-ak* in general, however. Variants like *boga-ak* and *boga-ek* (cf. above) or the indef. *a*-stem *pada-ek* (F4,1) "a manner, kind", which are attested only with the suffix *-ek*, show that at least already at the time when the *fatkoḷu* document F4 was written (17th century), *a*-stems could be combined also with the suffix variant *-ek*.

2.3.2.1.2. Besides the expression of a generic plural meaning by the pure nominal stem, the dialect of Aḍḍū also shows secondary plural formations by means of two suffixes which,

[263] "Der Casus rectus (Nominativ) der Masculina hat im Sing. jetzt die Endung *-ā*, deren Entstehung schwer zu erklären ist. Es fragt sich namentlich, in was für einem Verhältnisse sie steht zu dem Ausgange *-e*, welchen der N(ominativ) Sg. in den ältesten Inschriften zeigt." (GEIGER 1900, 56).

[264] Cf. Skt. *éka-*; note that both Dhivehi and Sinhalese presuppose a MIA variant *ĕkka-*. For more extensive information cf. GEIGER (1941), 30, no. 445.

however, are used only in a very restricted semantic sphere. In the case of nouns denoting kinship terms, special social relationships and official functions, the fundamental rule, which says that the pure stem has to be understood as a regular plural form, is not effective. Some of the nouns in question use the pure stem as a nominative singular, while in the case of other nouns the definite form of the direct case can be found in this role, though deprived of its original definite meaning. The nominative plural of these nouns is formed with the suffixes *-in / -un* and *-men* which do not overlap in their range of use. The suffix *-in / -un* has an exact parallel in the Sinhalese ending *-an / -in / -un* which is used for the formation of the oblique case in the plural. Following GEIGER it reflects Old Sinh. *-ana* (Skt. *-ānām*, Pa. *-ānam*, Pkt. *-āṇa(ṃ)*) which developed into Sinh. *-an* regularly, *-in* and *-un* being later variants.[265] The second plural suffix of Dhivehi, *-men*, goes back to an adverbial element; cf. the Sinhalese adverb *men* "like, similarly, exactly as" which can be derived from Pa., Skt. *samena* "together"[266]. The Dhivehi suffix *-men*, which is exclusively added to the definite singular form, is not only joined to kinship terms but also to nouns denoting animals; in combination with the latter ones, however, *-men* has the special meaning of "a certain amount (of animals)" or "an assessable number of (animals)". In order to express the unspecified plural meaning "(many) animals", the pure nominal stem is used in most cases. In Aḍḍū, *-men* does not serve as a plural formant for pronouns as it does in Māle. The only exception is the isolated form A. *miāmen* "both" which obviously reflects the pronominal stem *mi* "this" in its definite form, *miā*. The first evidence for *-men* in combination with a pronominal meaning is *kalemen* "you", pers.pron. 2.ps.pl., attested in F6,14, a document from 1123 A.H. / 1711 A.D.

2.3.2.2. In **Fuaʾ Mulaku**, plural formation is less heteromorphic than in Aḍḍū. Unlike Aḍḍū usage, in Fuaʾ Mulaku the unmarked form of a noun cannot automatically be considered as a plural form. It always represents a singular from which an explicit plural can be formed in different ways. This means that normally the singular is identical with the nominal stem, with some exceptional formations recalling the situation in Aḍḍū. The fact that in Fuaʾ Mulaku the nominative singular has to be regarded as the primary form must be the main reason why the formation of a definite singular ceased to be productive in this dialect. While in Aḍḍū the definite suffix represents the only means of marking a singular form which is at the same time morphologically distinct from the indefinite singular, the neutral plural or an ambivalent meaning of number, the grammatical process of number formation has been simplified in Fuaʾ Mulaku to a considerable extent. Here, the pure nominal stem represents the basic singular form, but also expresses definiteness (in contrast to indefinite forms which have to be marked). Hence, it is no longer necessary in Fuaʾ Mulaku to distinguish morphologically the basic singular and a special definite form. On the other hand, there is no reason to suppose that the definite suffix *-ā* might not have been productive in the older language, though in a less extensive form than in Aḍḍū; obviously the suffix *-ā* was only connected to nouns denoting living beings. This is clear from those nouns which have kept the suffix in their ending as a "frozen" morpheme until nowadays, without a trace of its original meaning. In contrast to that, the indefinite form still has the same function in Fuaʾ Mulaku as in Aḍḍū. In both dialects, the indefinite suffix has the variants *-eʾ /-ek/* and *-aʾ /-ak/*, but the distribution

[265] Cf. GEIGER (1900), 57 and (1938), 99-100.
[266] Cf. GEIGER (1900), 69 and (1941), 138, no. 2060; TURNER (1966) II, 762, no. 13173 s.v. *samá-*.

of these variants does not follow the same strict phonological rules in Fua' Mulaku as it does in Addū: While *-a'* is comparatively rare in Fua' Mulaku, *-e'* is here attached not only to *i*-stems but to all other nominal stems as well.

2.3.2.2.1. As for the use of the two suffix variants, there seems to be no connection between the category of animateness and inanimateness in Fua' Mulaku,[267] such as we find in Sinhalese, where the distribution of the indefinite suffixes is governed by strict rules. In modern (colloquial) Sinhalese *-ek* is added only to animate nouns, while *-ak* combines with inanimate nouns; (cp., e.g., Sinh. nom.sg. *minihā* "the man" vs. nom.sg.indef. *minihek* "a man", or nom.sg. *nama* "the name" vs. nom.sg.indef. *namak* "a name").[268]

2.3.2.2.2. In Fua' Mulaku, there is no other way of forming the plural than by adding the suffixes *-un(/-in)*, *-men* and *-te' /-tek/* to the nominative singular form. Concerning the distribution of the variants *-un* and *-in*, we may state the same observations as for the indefinite suffix. The original (probably purely) phonological rule is not effective any more; while *-in* has almost completely dissappeared in the modern dialect of Fua' Mulaku, *-un* being also combined with *i*-stems. As to the semantics of the variants, there are no differences to what applies to Addū (cf. above, 2.3.2.1.2).

The morphological basis of the suffix *-men* is the same as in Addū. Normally, it is attached to the definite singular, although the original meaning and function of this form are lost in the modern vernacular of Fua' Mulaku. As we stated above, the definite singular formant *-ā* occurs only with nouns denoting living beings here; agreeing with this, the plural suffix *-men*, morphologically depending on this element *-ā*, appears only in combination with animate nouns. In contrast to the semantically restricted function that the suffix *-men* has in Addū (cf. above, 2.3.2.1.2), it is used as an ordinary plural suffix in Fua' Mulaku in that it can be added to all nouns denoting animals as well as to some terms designating persons, without expressing anything else than the purely grammatical meaning of plurality.

The suffix *-te' /-tek/* is the most frequent and, considering its meaning, also the most neutral of all plural suffixes that are used in Fua' Mulaku. *-te'* is a phonetical variant of the North Maldivian suffix *-ta' /-tak/* which – except in the dialect of Addū – has become the most common Dhivehi plural suffix of today. The modern grammatical function of the suffix, whose original meaning was "so many/much", is the result of a relatively recent development.

2.3.2.3. During the period of the oldest written Maldivian documents, the expression of number was not much different in the language of **Māle** from the system we still find in the Addū dialect. As textual tradition shows, the radical differences delimiting the northern

[267] Cf. the examples given in 2.3.2.8.1.

[268] For further examples from Colloquial Sinhalese cf., e.g., MATZEL (1983), 22; cf. also 2.3.2.3.1.2. In earlier Sinhalese, however, "a differentiation was made between the three genders and between the oblique case" (GEIGER, 1938, 113 f.; masc. (dir.) *-ek* / (obl.) *-aku*, fem. (dir.) *-ak* / (obl.) *-aka*, neutr. (dir.) *-ak*, *-ek* / (obl.) *-ak*); for evidence from medieval inscriptions cf. WIJAYARATNE (1956), 180 ff. To a certain extent, this formal differentiation is still reflected in the written form of Modern Sinhalese; cf., e.g., MATZEL, 1983, 78 or JAYAWARDENA-MOSER, 1993, 21.

Dhivehi area from the southern dialects, especially from Aḍḍū, in the field of nominal morphology, has developed only in the last centuries. In the medieval language of Māle, the pure nominal stem was still an unmarked form which in some cases could have plural meaning. Furthermore, at that time also the formation of a definite singular was still in use. On the other hand, there are also the first attestations of plural forms with the suffix *-tak* in the early texts.

Most probably the plural formation of northern Dhivehi developed in the following way: the more the principle of suffixation gained importance as a plural formant, the more it was led to a re-interpretation of the pure nominal stem as a singular form. From the semantic point of view, the suffix *-men* was not abstract enough to be able to serve as a general plural suffix; in contrast to that, the pronominal adjective *tak* was obviously neutral enough in its meaning to adopt the function of the generic plural which has been conserved in Aḍḍū until nowadays. *tak*, an originally independent word, developed into a plural suffix which was attached to the nominal stem by means of agglutination.

From a morphological point of view, the system of plural formation is not as rich in northern Dhivehi as it is in the dialect of Fuaʾ Mulaku, where the formal characteristics of the northern area have coincided with those of the southern ones, thus establishing a very complicated system with many synchronic irregularities. The formation of the indefinite form, however, is similar in the modern standard language and in Fuaʾ Mulaku. The same holds true for the occurrence of the definite singular which is confined to some isolated "frozen" forms in both varieties of Dhivehi.

2.3.2.3.1. For the formal expression of indefiniteness in a strict sense, only the suffix *-eʾ /-ek/* is used in Māle. Besides this, however, a suffix variant *-ak* is preserved in several oblique case forms. The suffix *-aku*, as an unenlarged form of the oblique case, is mainly added to nouns expressing undetermined or uncertain local or temporal meanings; cp., e.g., M. *eʾ duvahaku /ek duvas-aku/* "one day". CAIN (1992, 21) calls this suffix "the nonspecified suffix *-aku*". In HLSD (1988, 36), it is documented by some examples such as *mīhaku* (of *mīhā* "man"), *kujjaku* (of *kujjā* "child"), *veriaku* (of *veriā* "person"), *gahaku* (of *gas* "tree"), or *miskitaku* (of *miskiʾ /miskit/* "mosque"); there is no indication, though, of the role *-aku* plays within the case system (cf. 2.3.2.13.2). From the morphological point of view, the suffix *-aku* is an exception, because it is obviously the only formal element of the *casus obliquus* which has been preserved as such in the nominal system.[269]

2.3.2.3.1.1. *-aku* very frequently occurs in connection with a formant *-ī* which will be called a "focus-marker" hereafter. Its (purely syntactical) function consists in indicating the rhematisation of the following part of the sentence. The *-ī* element can be added only to the oblique form of the indefinite suffix which then has the form *-akī* (from **-aku-ī*). Cp., e.g., *aharenge nam-akī nevi kuḍatuttu* "my name is Nevi Kuḍatuttu" (*aharenge* poss.pron. "my", *nan /nam/* "name", *-ak-ī* indef.suff.obl. + focus-marker).[270] It is important to note that there is no corresponding enlarged suffix form †*-ekī* which would be derived from the nominative.

[269] For the syntactical use of the suffix cf. 5.2.1.

[270] More details about the syntactical construction and more examples are given in 5.2.2.

DE SILVA (1970b, 155), who seems not to have noted that *-akī* is an enlarged form of the indefinite suffix, took it for "... the emphatic particle *akii* which often, though not exclusively, emphasises the subject noun or the noun phrase." According to DE SILVA, the imaginary "emphatic particle" Dhiv. *akii* has to be regarded as a functional equivalent of OIA *khálu*, Pa. *khalu* "certainly" (cf. TURNER 1966, I, 202, no. 3846) with its corresponding form *vuu kali* in classical Sinhalese. Furthermore, DE SILVA thought to have found an extra-Maldivian cognate of the element *akii* in Sinhalese Prakrit: "It has been recorded, however, that a Prakritic commentarial work called the *Helaṭuvā*, written in Ceylon about three centuries before Christ, makes some use of an emphatic particle *akii* as a subject-indicating device. Another commentarial work written in Sinhalese during the ninth century, the *Dhampiya aṭuvā gāṭapadaya*, quotes some sentences from the *Helaṭuvā* containing this particle, e.g., *rahado vadānakī āvāṭahi nami* 'the word rahado is the name for a well'." Concerning this latter work,[271] DE SILVA came to the following conclusion: "That the *Dhampiyā aṭuvā gāṭapadaya*, which does not use this particle at all, quotes sentences with it, only to supply further explanatory notes, is to testimony to the fact that it was no longer in use in the ninth century. This form has not been attested since. *akii* has not been attested in that form in any Prakrit either. The presence of *akii* in Maldivian seems to suggest that it might well be a residue of a pre-ninth century stratum of language, and if so, that stratum must have been closely related, if not contemporaneous with, the language of the *Helaṭuvā*." The fact that DE SILVA obviously failed to analyse the enlarged suffix form *-ak-ī* morphologically and regarded it as an independent particle and, furthermore, as a prakritism, may have a simple reason. With the help of the article in question, DE SILVA, having only a limited knowledge of Dhivehi himself, wanted to support his own thesis of a very early Indo-Aryan colonisation of the Maldives[272]; at least he wanted to give counterevidence to GEIGER's thesis (1902, 909) according to which the Maldives were settled by Sinhalese people at a time not earlier than in the 11th or 12th century, Dhivehi consequently being a late dialectal offspring of the Sinhalese language only. Basically DE SILVA's assumption, that in the case of a very early separation of Maldivian and Sinhalese we should expect to find prakritisms in Dhivehi which could serve as evidence, is right. *-akī*, however, cannot be explained as a prakritism and, therefore, cannot be used as a proof of DE SILVA's theory.

2.3.2.3.1.2. Concerning the southernmost dialects, the formal difference between the direct and the oblique case consists only in the final *-u* of the latter one, i.e., *-ak* vs. *-aku*. When the focus-marker *-ī* is added to *-aku*, the final *-u* is preserved in Fua' Mulaku (cf. F. *mīhāku-ī* from *mīhā* "man"), while it gets lost in Aḍḍū as well as in Māle (A. *mīhāk-ī*).

Sinhalese, too, shows a formal differentiation of the direct and the oblique case in the indefinite form, the distribution being closely connected with the grammatical distinction of gender. The following table is a graphical representation of the Sinhalese system on the basis of GEIGER's data (1938, 114):[273]

declension	casus rectus	casus obliquus
I m.	*-ek*	*-aku*
I f.	*-ak*	*-aka*
II n.	*-ak, -ek*	*-ak*

In modern colloquial Sinhalese, the old difference in the distribution of the suffix variants, which was purely grammatical in the beginning, has developed into a differentiation based on semantic criteria only. Thus, in the

[271] Cf. GEIGER (1900), 4: "Für das älteste Prosawerk in singhalesischer Sprache gilt Dampiyā Aṭuvā Gāṭapada Sannaya. Es ist dies ein Glossar zu dem Commentar des Dhammapada, welches von Louis de Zoysa i.J. 1875 aufgefunden wurde, und von dem man annimmt, dass es um die Mitte des 10. Jahrh. geschrieben wurde."

[272] Cf. the introduction, 0.7.2 above.

[273] For a similar table cf. WIJAYARATNE (1956), 180.

spoken language the indefinite suffix *-ek* is only added to nouns denoting living beings, while *-ak* occurs with inanimate nouns.[274]

2.3.2.4. In comparison with the semantically neutral plural suffix *-ta*ˀ, which is attached to nouns of any stem class and meaning in the Dhivehi standard language, the other plural suffixes play only a secondary role. The suffix *-men* has lost its productivity but is still used in connection with kinship terms as in the southern dialects. In Māle, however, it is not added to a (formerly) definite form as in Fuaˀ Mulaku, but directly to the pure stem. The suffix doublets *-un/-in*, which in the northern area are used with the same group of words as in the southern dialects (kinship terms, nouns denoting occupations and titles), have been extended to foreign words denoting living beings.

2.3.2.4.1. The stem *veri* "leader, chief, head; person", with its definite form M.A.F. *veriā* and its plural M.A. *verin*, F. *vērun*, must also be treated in connection with the plural formations in *-in/-un*. In modern Dhivehi, *veri* almost never appears as an independent word; what we do find is fix combinations such as M. *beleni veriā* "guardian", occurring as an isolated formation which consists of the attribute *beleni*, inact. part.pres. of *balanī* "to look", and the "frozen" definite form *veriā*.[275]Besides this, *-veri* regularly occurs as the second part of some nominal compounds in which case it indicates special occupations or particular roles in social life; cp., e.g., M. *atoḷu-veriā*, A. *ateḷe-veriā*, F. *ateḷe-veri* "atoll-chief".[276] In the early documents of Dhivehi, the role of *veri* as the second part of compounds is already well attested; cp. *maˀkai-veri* "head of Mekka" (relating to the Prophet's grandfather; RC 4,11); *bat-veri* "rice-lord" (L2 28,3: gen. *-veriage*); *kārdda-veri* "officer, official" (L4 f/2,5: indef. *-veriak*); *tauliyamūla-veri* "chief-inspector, supervisor" (part of an abstract *-veri-kan*: F3,15; F5,36; etc.); *pemus-veri* (with unknown meaning; F13,7); plural forms are *kārdda-verīn* "officials" (L5 5/2,5; with all probability also in L4 b/2,7 *kārudaveriin*); *tauliya-verīn* "inspectors" (F8,27); *vāru-verīn* "tax collectors" (L5 5/2,4). *veri* can also be attached to other parts of speech; cp. A. *de-verin*, *tin-verin* "two/three people; a unit of two/three people" etc. Here the plural *verin* is used to substantivise the cardinal number in the sense of a collective number (cf. also 2.5.3.1).

2.3.2.4.2. In the following three compounds, *veri* serves as the first part: *veri-raˀ /-raśl* "capital", *veri-kan /-kaṃl* "government", *veri-farāi /-farāṭl* "owner". One more function is to be found in the use of *-veri* as a suffixal element in the formation of adjectives, e.g. M. *lobu-veri* "dear", *buddi-veri* "wise" etc. (cf. 2.4.4.2). The etymological derivation of *veri* is not without problems, all the more since there seems to be no direct equivalent in Sinhalese. TURNER (1985, 14, no. 2218a) derives Dhiv. "*veri* 'leader, possessor'" from **uparika-* "upper", which seems to be reasonable from the phonological and semantical point of view. Another possibility should at least be mentioned, however. In the earliest written documents of Dhivehi we find the forms *lokapāla-varun* "minister" (L1 m0/1,1), *upāsaka-varun* "monk" (L3 15/2,1) and *kadi-varun* "cadi-people" (L3 12/2,4 etc.). The suffix *-varun*, which occurs nowhere else in Dhivehi, obviously finds a parallel in the Sinhalese plural suffix *-varu*, obl. *-varun* which, besides the pure plural function, also has a honorific meaning; it expresses respect as in *ammā-varu* "mothers". For this suffix cf. GEIGER (1938, 103): "There can be no doubt that *-varu* is pl. of

[274] For the use of feminine forms with *-ak* in modern Sinhalese cf. JAYAWARDENA-MOSER (1993), 21 and MATZEL (1983), 22 and 78; cf. also fn. 268 above.

[275] HLSD (1988, 36) mentions the indefinite forms *verieˀ* and *veriaku*, both translated as "person".

[276] Further examples are given in 2.3.2.7.4.1.2, 2.3.2.8.2.2.1, 2.3.2.8.2.5 and 2.3.2.9.2.1.

st(em) *vara* ..., and that this *vara* corresponds to Pk., P(ali), Sk. *vara* which is so frequently used at the end of a compound." A relation between Dhiv. *veri* and O/MIA *vara-* "(the) best"[277] cannot be completely denied; in this case, however, *veri* would have to be traced back to an extended form **vara/ika-*, because otherwise the umlaut would remain unexplained. All in all, the derivation proposed by TURNER seems to be more probable.

2.3.2.5. According to HLSD (1988), 39, Modern Dhivehi uses the reduplication of nominal stems for the formation of plurals at least "to a limited extent". This statement cannot be confirmed by linguistic facts, however. The examples listed in HLSD which will be quoted below in the original transcription as given there, were not accepted as correct Dhivehi forms by any one of the informants[278] that were asked: "ruh ruh – trees, bas bas – buses, ... goLi – square, goLi goLi jeh [sic][279] gamiis 'the shirt with squares'; rogu – stripes, lines, rogu rogu demi munDa 'the sarong with lines'". Nevertheless, some of these examples coincide with a few examples appearing in a small Maldivian school grammar (DBG, 16), viz. *bas-bas* "busses", *kan-kan /kam-kam/* "facts", *avaś-avaś* "villages", *got-got* (*got* "manner"), *ru'-ru' /ruk-ruk/* "coconut trees" and *raś-raś* "islands". The latter formation is attested for Fua' Mulaku in the form [*rad-raśo*] */raś-raś/* (F. *raśo* "island, land"); its meaning is approximately "from island to island". Without doubt, the given examples do not represent plural formations in the literal sense but distributional forms. Such forms are also known from the older written documents where they do not occur frequently either, however. In the following example from the *Gan-* or *Filā-Fatkoḷu* (F3,6), both the governing noun and a participle depending on it appear in a reduplicated form: *fahun vī-vī ras-ras-kalun* has to be translated as "each one of the kings who followed afterwards" ≈ "all the kings, whosoever, who followed" (*fahun* "after"; *vī* "having become", part.pret. of *vanī* "to become"; *ras* "king", *kal-un* pl. of the def.nom. *kalā* "sir, noble, aristocrate")[280]. The same document shows one more distributional form enlarged by *kalun*, namely *bei-bei-kalun* (F3,6-7), approximately meaning "high-ranking people, gentlemen" (lit. "sir-sir-noblemen"). Two further distributional plural formations are *kaukalun /kal-kal-un/* (RA 1,9: dat. *kaukalunaś*) "all the sirs, gentlemen" and *ras-ras-beikalun-āi*[281] (RC 8,11) "all the royal gentlemen". Another distributional form seems to be represented in *atoḷ-atoḷu* "atoll by atoll" (F5,39).

In this connection cf. also GEIGER (1919, 64): "Sometimes, in the formation of the plural, the substantive is doubled: *faffalō-ta'* 'fruits' (from *fal-falō*); *mis-mīhun* 'human beings'." It should be noted, however, that in both these cases the reduplicated nouns are enlarged by means of the typical plural suffixes *-ta'* and *-un*. A "frozen" distributional form can also be found in the plural formation of the adverbial interrogative pronoun A. *kontantāki /kon-tan-tan-ak-i/*, F. *kon-tan-tan-ek-i* "where?", "at which places" (*tan* "place"; cf. 2.6.7.2.1). The pl. M. *ecceti*, A.F. *etteti /eti-eti/* "things" (sg. *eti*) represents a distributional formation as well; it is used for the plural formation of pronouns (cf., e.g., 1.3.9.2.1 and 2.6.7.1.3).

[277] Cf. also TURNER (1966), II, 659, no. 11308.

[278] For the names of the main informants cf. the preface of this grammar.

[279] *jeh* obviously represents a misprint; the correct form would be *jehi* "beaten", part.pret. of *jahanī* "to beat" (probably in the sense of "lined, draped with stripes").

[280] For more extensive information on this word cf. 2.6.2.4.3.1.

[281] For details about *bei-* cf. 2.6.2.4.4.

2.3.2.6. Words denoting "boats" or "ships" have a special position within the nominal morphology of Dhivehi. Thus, in the dialect of Aḍḍū, all the nouns in question are invariable concerning the categories of number, definiteness and indefiniteness; in normal usage, all these grammatical concepts are expressed only by means of the nominal stem (cf. 2.3.2.7.3.2). In contrast to that, in northern Dhivehi the indefinite form and, to a limited extent, also the normal plural in *-ta*ʾ can be formed from the corresponding nouns. Furthermore, there exists a special plural formation in the standard language which is confined exclusively to nouns belonging to the semantic field of "ships", viz. the suffixation of the element *-faharu* (cf. 2.3.2.9.2.4). It is hardly astonishing, though, that the words denoting ships show notable particularities in their formal development, given that all things that are connected with navigation play a special role in Maldivian life; in particular, the presence of ships is a guarantee of survival.

The following examples, which are meant to illustrate the categories treated above, will be given separately for each of the dialects in question. In order to show the historical morphological changes in a more explicit way, the sequence in the description of the dialects will be Aḍḍū – Fuaʾ Mulaku – Māle.

2.3.2.7. Aḍḍū

2.3.2.7.1. In the following paragraphs, the words which serve as examples for the formation of definite and indefinite forms are specified according to their stem classes. As described above, both the definite and the indefinite forms are derived from the pure nominal stem which in all cases given below has a plural meaning.

2.3.2.7.1.1. Consonant stems: *boʾ /bok/* "frogs", *bok-ā* "the frog", *bok-aʾ /bok-ak/* "a frog"; *foʾ /fot/* "books", *fot-ā* "the book"; *fot-aʾ* "a book"; *hau /haul/* "cocks", *haul-ā* "the cock", *haul-aʾ* "a cock"; *makuṇu* "bugs", *makuṇ-ā* "the bug", *makuṇ-aʾ* "a bug"; *mīdeu /mīdel/* "mice, rats", *mīdel-ā* "the mouse", *mīdel-aʾ* "a mouse"; *mas* "fish" (pl.), "fish (as a generic term or food)", *mah-ā* "the fish", *mah-aʾ* "a fish"; *mau /mal/* "flowers", *mal-ā* "the flower", *mal-aʾ* "a flower"; *raḷa* "waves", *raḷ-ā* "the wave", *raḷ-aʾ* "a wave"; *naṇa* "fishing lines", *naṇ-ā* "the fishing line", *naṇ-aʾ* "a fishing line". For the declension of the consonant stems cf. 2.3.2.11.1.

2.3.2.7.1.2. As to *i*-stems, some particular morphonological developments within the paradigm resulted in the existence of different subgroups in modern Aḍḍū. All these groups represent different stages of a process which, however, in the dialect of Aḍḍū has not been accomplished even in a single case, but which in Fuaʾ Mulaku consequently affected the whole paradigm of many nouns. The differences between the particular groups depend on the fact whether the stem-final *-i* which precedes the suffixes marking case forms, definiteness and indefiniteness remains unchanged within the paradigm and, furthermore, whether the root of the noun remains unchanged as well. If the stem-marking *-i* gets lost, the structure of the nominal root changes; then, in most cases, the root vowel is lengthened and falls under stress.

There are a few exceptions which do not show a lengthening of the root vowel but a gemination of the consonant preceding the stem-final sound. Cp. the nominal stem (with singular meaning) *kudi* "child" the *-i* of which is preserved in its plural formation: nom.pl. *kudin*, gen.pl. *kudinge* etc. In the indefinite form *kūdaˀ /kūdakl* "a child", the stem vowel *-i* gets lost, the root vowel *u* being compensatorily lengthened to *ū*. In contrast to that, the definite form **kudi-ā*, despite the expected loss of the root vowel, did not develop into *†kūdā* but into *kuddā*. In this connection, cf. also the *i*-stems which show a paradigmatic interchange of *-h-* and *-ss-* in the primary genitive and dative forms as described in 2.3.2.7.1.2.2.[282]

Depending on whether any forms of the paradigm lose the stem-marking *-i*, and how many of them do so, the nouns in question can be divided into different groups. While in Fuaˀ Mulaku there are many examples showing this effect throughout the paradigm, the corresponding *i*-stems in Aḍḍū present only individual stages of this complex development, which sometimes cannot be clearly separated from each other.

2.3.2.7.1.2.1. The following nouns derive the definite and indefinite forms without a change of the root or the stem-final sound; but all of them show a lengthening of the root vowel in the primary genitive and dative (for the complete declension paradigm cf. 2.3.2.11.3.2): *tari* "stars", *tarie* "the star", *tarieˀ /tari-ekl* "a star"; *boli* "shells", *bolie* "the shell", *bolieˀ* "a shell"; *maḍi* "beetles", *maḍie* "the beetle", *maḍieˀ* "a beetle"; *teḷi* "beans", *teḷie* "the bean", *teḷieˀ* "a bean"; *issaśi* "hair (pl.)", *issaśie* "the hair", *issaśieˀ* "a hair"; *mēlaňfati* "butterflies", *mēlaňfatie* "the butterfly", *mēlaňfatieˀ* "a butterfly"; *mudi* "rings; jewels, jewellery", *mudie* "the ring", *mudieˀ* "a ring"; *tośi* "peels, bark (of fruits, vegetables, trees)", *tośie* "the peel", *tośieˀ* "a (piece of) peel"; *keraňduru fufi* "beehives", *keraňduru fufie* "the beehive", *keraňduru fufieˀ* "a beehive"; etc.

2.3.2.7.1.2.2. A special group within the *i*-stems is characterised by a paradigmatic interchange of *-h-* and *-ss-* in the position before the final *-i* of the nominative form (cf. 1.3.9.5.). The nouns in question belong to the same type of declension as the examples mentioned in 2.3.2.7.1.2.1, but they do not show a secondary lengthening of the vowel preceding the geminate *-ss-* in the primary genitive and dative (for the complete paradigm cf. 2.3.2.11.3.3). In some cases the definite nom.sg. ends in *-ā* and the indefinite nom.sg. in *-aˀ*. Cp., e.g., *mehi* "flies", *messā* (besides secondary *mēhā*) "the fly" and *messaˀ* (besides secondary *mēhaˀ*) "a fly"; *fiéhi* "knives (for food)"; *fiéssā* "the knife", *fiéssaˀ* "a knife". Concerning the category of number, some words of this group are defective. In the case of *kiéhi* "saw(s)" and *suhi* "empty coconut(s)", the primary nominative expresses both numbers; a definite form for the morphological expression of the singular is missing, while the indefinite form exists: *kiéssaˀ* "a saw", *sussaˀ* "an empty coconut". The nominative *lāhi* "1/4 kg" has only a singular meaning, contrasting with the indefinite form *lassaˀ*. Three words which belong to this declension type show the paradigmatic interchange of *-ss-* and *-h-* only in parts of their paradigms, in that they preserve the final sound of the nominative both in the definite and the indefinite form: cp. nom.(pl.) *ihi* "(spiny) lobsters" with nom.sg.def. *ihie*, nom.sg.indef. *ihieˀ* but gen.pl. *isse*, dat.pl. *issaˀ /issaś/*; nom. (pl. and sg.) *fehurehi* "whale shark(s)" with gen.sg.def. *fehurehiei*, nom.sg.indef. *fehurehieˀ* but gen.pl. *fehuresse*, dat.pl. *fehuressaˀ*; in the

[282] For the parallels occurring in Fuaˀ Mulaku cf. 2.3.2.8.1.4.3, for Māle parallels cf. 2.3.2.9.1.3.2.

same way nom. (pl. and sg.) *māvahi* "large wave in the open sea" has gen.sg.def. *māvahiei* and nom.sg.indef. *māvahie'* but gen.pl. *māvasse*, dat.pl. *māvassa'*.

Considering the interchange of *-h-* and *-ss-*, the words *divehi* "Maldivian, islander" and *raṭṭehi* "friend, compatriot" have to be classed in this group as well, as the indefinite forms *divessa'* and *raṭṭessa'* suggest. Within their case formation, however, there are no traces of the morphonological interchange, both nouns showing the peculiar features of words denoting persons (cf. 2.3.2.11.4.1).

2.3.2.7.1.2.3. In the case of some *i*-stems which also belong to the declension type mentioned in 2.3.2.7.1.2.1, the lengthening of the root vowel in the primary dative and genitive co-occurs with a lengthening in the definite and/or indefinite forms; cp., e.g., nom.pl. *feśi* "boxes", gen.pl. *fēśe*, dat.pl. *fēśa' /fēśaś/*, nom.sg.def. *fēśā*, nom.sg.indef. *fēśa' /fēśak/*; nom.pl. *foḷi* "(flat) bread, pancake (as a generic term); loaves of bread", gen.pl. *fōḷe*, dat.pl. *fōḷa' /fōḷaś/*, nom.sg.def. *fōḷā*, nom.sg.indef. *fōḷa' /fōḷak/*; nom.pl. *aṅdun huli* "ulcers of the lower eyelid", gen.pl. *a° hūle*, dat.pl. *a° hūla'*, nom.sg.def. *a° hūlā*, nom.sg.indef. *a° hūla'*.

2.3.2.7.1.2.4. In many examples the stemform serves as a nominative of both plural and singular, while a definite form is missing; cp., e.g., nom.sg./pl. *baśi* "eggplant(s), brinjal(s)", gen. *bāśe*, dat. *bāśa' /bāśaś/*, nom.sg.indef. *bāśa' /bāśak/*; nom.sg./pl. *taśi* "dish(es), plate(s), glass(es)", gen. *tāśe*, dat. *tāśa' /tāśaś/*, nom.sg.indef. *tāśa' /tāśak/*; nom.sg./pl. *fiśi* "little island(s)", gen. *fīśe*, dat. *fīśa' /fīśaś/*, nom.sg.indef. *fīśa' /fīśak/*; nom.sg./pl. *vaśi* "basket(s), bin(s)", gen. *vāśe*, dat. *vāśa' /vāśaś/*, nom.sg.indef. *vāśa' /vāśak/*; nom.sg./pl. *geṅḍi* "chair(s)", gen. *gēṅḍe*, dat. *gēṅḍa' /gēṅḍaś/*, nom.sg.indef. *gēṅḍa' /gēṅḍak/*; etc.

2.3.2.7.1.2.5. In some isolated cases, the lengthening of the root occurs only in the indefinite form and in the primary genitive and dative, but not in the definite form; cf. nom.pl. *kaśi* "(fish)bones, thorns", gen.pl. *kāśe*, dat.pl. *kāśa' /kāśaś/*, nom.sg.indef. *kāśa' /kāśak/*, but nom.sg.def. *kaśie*. A reverse example is the nom.sg./pl. *fali* "oar", with a lengthening of the root vowel in the definite nom.sg. *fālā* but not in the indefinite nom.sg. *falie' /fali-ek/*. This word obviously represents a transitional morphological stage, as can be seen not only from the difference in the formal realisation of the definite and indefinite form but also from the existence of a definite singular form alongside a pure nominal stem with the meaning of a singular. The next example has a transitional character as well: of the nom.pl. *gaḍi* "hours (as a unit of time and date), watches, clocks", we find both the more archaic definite nom.sg. *gaḍie* and a secondary form *gāḍā* (and gen.pl. *gāḍe*, dat.pl. *gāḍa' /gāḍaś/*).

2.3.2.7.2. As mentioned above (2.3.2.7.1.2.4), there are many nouns in Aḍḍū the stem of which has the double function of denoting both a (generic) plural and a singular. In most of these cases, which are spread about all declension-classes, the form of the definite nominative singular is obsolete while the indefinite nominative singular exists. Some of the substantives in question have only a primary declension paradigm (cf. 2.3.2.1 above) with both plural and singular meaning, while others have developed separate paradigms for plural and singular, although their nominative is ambivalent considering number. Thus, e.g., the nominal stems *fehurehi* "whale shark" and *māvahi* "large wave in the open sea" represent the forms of a nom.pl. and a nom.sg. at the same time, but nevertheless they show particular declension

paradigms for the two numbers each. In contrast to that, there are some nouns which use the whole primary paradigm for both singular and plural; cp., e.g., *gē* "house", *raʾ /raśl* "island, land", *fiśi* "little island", *geňḍi* "chair", *vaḷi* "knife" etc.

2.3.2.7.3. Besides the isolated nouns with a defective paradigm as discussed above, there exist several semantical groups in Aḍḍū which are characterised by the absence of one or more of the morphological categories in question.

2.3.2.7.3.1. Thus, in the case of most nouns denoting single or paired parts of the body, the complete primary declension paradigm expresses both numbers; an indefinite nom.sg. can be derived, but there is no definite form. Cf. nom.sg./pl. *lō /lol/* "eye(s)", nom.sg.indef. *lolaʾ*; nom.sg./pl. *aʾ /at/* "hand(s), arm(s)", nom.sg.indef. *ataʾ*; nom.sg./pl. *faitela* "feet, foot", nom.sg.indef. *faitelaʾ*; nom.sg./pl. *bō /bol/* "head(s)", nom.sg.indef. *bolaʾ*; nom.sg./pl. *nēfaʾ /nēfal/* "nose(s)", nom.sg.indef. *nēfataʾ* etc.

Two nouns denoting parts of the body do not fit into this scheme, viz. nom.sg./pl. *daʾ /dal/* "teeth, tooth" and *iňgili* "fingers, toes" which has only plural meaning. From these stems we find both indefinite (*dataʾ* and *iňgilaʾ*) and definite forms (nom.sg. *datā*, *iňgilā*). Most probably, the existence of a definite singular form of these stems is based on the fact that both nouns designate parts of the body which are not single or paired but represent something like a set; hence, the terms in question can be understood as *pluralia tantum*.

2.3.2.7.3.2. Special attention must be drawn to the fact that in Aḍḍū, all words denoting "boats" or "ships" are completely indifferent towards the categories of number, definiteness and indefiniteness from a formal point of view. Thus, the basic forms of the *i*-stems *dōṇi*, *veḍi*, *batteli* and *bokkorā* (traditional types of Maldivian boats and ships) serve as a nominative of both singular and plural; besides that, they are also used when a definite or indefinite singular form would be required, the actual grammatical meaning depending on the context. On the other hand, the nominative *bokkorā* (M. *bokkurā*) most probably reflects a "frozen" definite form (if it is not a loanword ending in a long vowel); this supposition is not only founded on the existence of the long-vocalic ending *-ā*, but also on the case forms: assuming an original consonant stem **bokkorV*, the case formations could be analysed as gen. *bokkor-ā-i*, dat. *bokkor-ā-ʾ* ← */bokkor-ā-aśl*, abl. *bokkor-ā-in*. All other words denoting boats have a primary paradigm which expresses both numbers, without any markings of definiteness or indefiniteness; cp., e.g., gen. *dōṇ-e*, dat. *dōṇ-aʾ /-aśl*, abl. *dōṇ-in*).

2.3.2.7.3.3. It is not surprising that nouns denoting substances of any kind are not differentiated as to the categories of number, definiteness and indefiniteness. All the substantives in question have only a primary declension paradigm. Cp., e.g., *fen* "water", *baʾ /bat/* "cooked rice", *teu /tel/* "oil", *fani* "treacle", *feṇa* "foam, surf", *vāre* "rain", *bin /bim/* "earth, land, ground", *dara* "firewood", *dun /dum/* "smoke".

At least for some of the words which belong to this group, there is a way of expressing some kind of "singularisation". This is provided by special nouns with a basic meaning of "a little, a bit, a piece (of)" which can be combined with the oblique case of terms harmonising with them from the semantical point of view. This results in the expression of the "smallest

possible unit" of the substance in question on the basis of words denoting a "counting unit". In combination with words denoting liquids, it is mainly *foda' /fodak/*, def. *fodā* "a / the drop", and *tika' /tikak/*, def. *tikā* "a / the tiny drop" (smaller than *foda'*) which are used in this way. Cp., e.g., *fen* "water", *fen foda'* "a drop of water", *fen tika'* "a (tiny) drop of water". In the same way, *eśa' /eśak/*, def. *eśā* "a / the seed, kernel (of nut)" is added to nouns denoting a mass consisting of kernels etc. such as rice, cereals, or nuts; cf. *badan* "peanuts" with its definite singular *badan eśā* "the peanut" and its indefinite singular *badan eśa'*, "a (single) peanut". The indefinite singular form *-gaňḍa' /gaňḍak/*, originally an independent word meaning "thing, piece", does not have this status any more but has been reduced to a suffix expressing the "singularisation" of nouns denoting solid substances; cp., e.g., *pān* "bread" with *pāngaňḍa'* "a (loaf of) bread, a piece of bread".

2.3.2.7.4. Secondary plural formation in Aḍḍū

As described in 2.3.2.1.2, in the dialect of Aḍḍū the plural formation on the basis of suffixes is confined to a few groups of animate substantives which can easily be defined from the semantical point of view. The suffix variants *-in/-un*, which are added to the pure stem, occur only with nouns designating persons, i.e. kinship terms and terms of social relationship and occupation. Within this framework, *-in/-un* are used in a wider range than the suffix *-men* which occurs only with kinship terms denoting close relatives. Besides this, however, *-men* is also used in the formation of a secondary, semantically restricted plural of nouns designating animals in Aḍḍū. While the pure stem expresses the general plural meaning in these cases, the plural forms with *-men* have the connotation of "a certain amount of animals, the number of which can be estimated within one moment". As a rule, *-men* can only be added to the form of the definite nominative singular.

2.3.2.7.4.1. Among the most frequent examples of the plural formation with ***-in/-un***, we find nom.sg. *mīhā* "(the) man, human being", nom.pl. *mīhun*; nom.sg. *kuddā* "(the) child", nom.pl. *kudin*; nom.sg. *anhenā* "(the) woman", nom.pl. *anhenun*. In all these cases the nom.sg. represents "frozen" definite forms, the original stem forms *mīs-* and *kudi-* being obsolete. The oblique stem *anhen* is still in use, but only in the function of an attributive quasi-adjective meaning "female" (e.g. *anhen geri* "cows"). Some nouns can be singularised by means of the definite nom.sg. *mīhā* "man" being added to their obliquus: cp., e.g., *firi mīhā* "husband", nom.pl. *firin*; *vaḍi mīhā* "carpenter", nom.pl. *vaḍin*; *anhen mīhā* "woman" (besides *anhenā*, cf. above), nom.pl. *anhenun*. Some nouns use the pure stem as a nom.sg. form; cp., e.g., nom.sg. *dari* "child", nom.pl. *darin*; nom.sg. *lian* "brother-in-law", nom.pl. *lianun*; nom.sg. *aňbi* "wife", nom.pl. *aňbin*; nom.sg. *divehi* "Maldivian", nom.pl. *divehin*; nom.sg. *raṭṭehi* "friend", nom.pl. *raṭṭehin*. At least three nouns which form the plural with the ending *-un* have become obsolete nowadays; these are nom.sg. *mituru* "friend" (Skt. *mitrá-*; cp. also the "frozen" definite form *miturā*), nom.pl. *miturun*; nom.sg. *haturu* "enemy" (Ved. *śátru-*), nom.pl. *haturun*; nom.sg. *eduru* "teacher" (Ved. *ācāryà-*), nom.pl. *edurun*. One more word belonging to this group is the title "king, sultan", nom.sg. *rasgefānu*, which has the two suppletive plural forms *radun* and *raskalun*.

2.3.2.7.4.1.1. Within kinship terminology, there is a remarkable group of words denoting subgroups within the family. These special terms occur only in the plural formed with the

suffix *-in*. Cp., e.g., *de bofa-in* "father and son", lit. "two (together with the) father" (*de* "two"; *bofa* ← *bafa* "father", now used in the def. form *bafā* only); *tin bofa-in* "father and two sons", lit. "three together with the father" (*tin* "three"); *ma-in bafa-in* "parents" (lit. "mothers [and] fathers"); *kau bofa-in* "forefathers, ancestors from the paternal side" (*kau* represents */kal/* "sir" with a regular change of final *-l* into *-u*, cf. 2.6.2.4.3.1); *muni-kāfa-in* "ancestors from the paternal side", consisting of *muni* (obviously an obsolete stem; in this connection cp. the def. form *munnā* "grandmother from the paternal side" which must be traced back to **munyā* ← **muni-ā*) and *kāfa* "grandfather from the paternal side" (today only used in its definite form, *kāfā*); *muni-māfa-in* "ancestors from the maternal side" (the stem *māfa-* "grandfather from the maternal side" is obsolete as well; only the definite form *māfā* is still in use).

2.3.2.7.4.1.2. As mentioned above (cf. 2.3.2.4.1, 2.3.2.4.2), there is a stem *-veri* (nom.sg.def. A. *-veriā*, nom.sg.indef. *-verie'*, nom.pl. *-verin*) which denotes professional or official positions when appearing as the second part of nominal compounds. In Aḍḍū, the compounds in question are very often used only in their definite form when a singular is meant; cp., e.g., nom.sg. *rahumatteriā* ← *rahumat-veri-ā* "friend" (*rahumat* ← Arab. *raḥmat* "compassion, mercy") vs. nom.pl. *rahumatterin*; *bēs-veriā* "medical doctor" (*bēs* "medicine"); *mas-veriā* "fisherman" (*mas* "fish"); *aṭeḷe-veriā* "atoll-chief" (*aṭeḷe* "atoll"); *duā-veriā* "man leading the prayer; preacher" (*duā* ← Arab. *du'ā'* "prayer"); *kaṁburu-veriā* "blacksmith" (M. *kaṁburu* "id."); *fēran-veriā* "weaver"; *tede-veriā* "honest man" (substantivisation of the adjective *tede(veri)* "honest"). In one case *-veri* is used for the formation of a kinship term. This is *faha-veri* "sister-in-law" which represents the nom.sg. form as a pure stem while the gen.sg. *fahaveriā-ge* is derived from a definite form no longer occurring as a nominative as such.

In combination with cardinal numbers, *-verin* is used for the formation of collective numerals; cp. A. *de-verin* "two people; a group of two people", *tin-verin* "three people; a group of three people", *hatara-verin* "four people; a group of four people", etc. (cf. also 2.5.3.1). Beyond that, *-verin* also appears in the plural formation of the pronoun *eă*, *e* "he/she/it; that", serving as a substantivisation formant; cf. nom.pl. *e-verie* and obl.pl. *e-verin* "they; those" (cf. 2.6.2.5.5).

2.3.2.7.4.2. Examples of plurals with ***-men***:

As mentioned above (cf. 2.3.2.1.2), in the dialect of Aḍḍū the plural suffix *-men* is found with two semantically defined groups of nouns only, both of them having a closely delimited character.

2.3.2.7.4.2.1. Like the suffix *-in/-un*, *-men* is used for the plural formation of particular nouns denoting kinship relations and, furthermore, some isolated nouns referring to other members of the social community. Obviously, there are no cases of overlapping in the use of the two suffixes in Aḍḍū, except for the very special compound terms which denote particular units within the family (cf. 2.3.2.7.4.1.1). In all these cases, *-men* is suffixed to the form of the definite singular. Cf. *bappā / bafā / appā* "father" with pl. *bappāmen / bafāmen / appāmen*; *mammā / ammā* "mother" with pl. *mammāmen / ammāmen*; *māfā* "grandfather from the maternal side" with pl. *māfāmen*; *māmā* "grandmother from the maternal side" with pl. *māmāmen*; *kāfā* "grandfather from the paternal side" with pl. *kāfāmen*; *munnā* "grandmother from the paternal side", pl. *munnāmen*; *dattā* "elder sister; older women", pl. *dattāmen*; *bēbē*

"elder brother" (probably ← def.nom.sg. **bēbe-ā*), pl. *bēbēmen*; *kokkō* "younger brother / sister; younger man (m./f.)" (probably ← def.nom.sg. **kokko-ā*), pl. *kokkōmen*.

2.3.2.7.4.2.2. On the other hand, *-men* can be used in Aḍḍū in the formation of a secondary plural of nouns denoting animals, but only under special circumstances: either the number to be denoted is small enough so that it can be estimated at a glance, or it is a selected part or a sector of a herd, swarm, or shoal which is referred to. In all other cases the pure nominal stem is used as plural form. With names of animals as well, *-men* is suffixed to the definite nominative singular so that the plural it constitutes will best be called "definite" too.[283] Cp., e.g., *boˀ /bok/* "frogs" vs. *bokā-men* "the(se) frogs (all) together"; "a certain amount of frogs" (nom.sg.def. *bokā*); *beḷeu /beḷel/* "cats" vs. *beḷelā-men* "the cats" (nom.sg.def. *beḷelā*); *boňḍa* "lizards" vs. *boňḍā-men* "the lizards" (nom.sg.def. *boňḍā*); *mas* "fish" (pl.) vs. *mahā-men* "the fish" (nom.sg.def. *mahā*); *mīdeu /mīdel/* "rats, mice" vs. *mīdelā-men* "the rats or mice" (nom.sg.def. *mīdelā*); *boli* "shells" vs. *bolie-men* "the shells" (nom.sg.def. *bolie*); *ihi* "lobster" vs. *ihie-men* "the lobsters" (nom.sg.def. *ihie*) etc.

2.3.2.8. Fuaˀ Mulaku

In comparison with Aḍḍū, the formation of number, definiteness and indefiniteness in Fuaˀ Mulaku shows many simplifications. Thus, e.g., the formation of a definite singular is not productive at all in this dialect. This agrees with the fact that the pure nominal stem, except for some special cases, can no longer be regarded as a plural form in the modern language (cf. 2.3.2.2).

2.3.2.8.1. The formation of the **indefinite form** still follows the same principle as in Aḍḍū (cf. 2.3.2.1), but nowadays in many cases the distribution of the suffixes *-aˀ /-ak/* and *-eˀ /-ek/* does not depend on phonological rules (any longer) in Fuaˀ Mulaku. The suffix *-eˀ*, which was confined to the *i*-stems originally, more and more has taken the place of the suffix *-aˀ*. Probably this development is due to an increasing influence of the standard language where the suffix *-aˀ* has been lost completely.[284] In Fuaˀ Mulaku, however, this suffix variant still occurs in some isolated word forms like *eśaˀ* "a kernel, seed" (nom.sg. *eśe*), *fodaˀ* (besides *fodeˀ*) "a drop" (nom.sg. *fodo*), *liňboyaˀ* "a lime" (nom.sg. *liňboi*), *telaˀ* "a shoal, shallow (place in the sea)" (nom.sg. *tela*), *likaˀ* "a manner, kind" (stem */lik/*), *miturāˀ* "a friend" (obsolete; nom.sg. *mituru*). When preceding the conjunction *-ā* (← *-āi*) "with", the suffix *-aˀ* has preserved its productivity even without exception. When *-ā* is added to the indefinite form of a noun, the original final *-k* of the suffix is regularly geminated; cp., e.g., *haul-akk-ā* "with a cock" vs. the indef.nom.sg. *haul-eˀ*; *mīdel-akk-ā* "with a rat" vs. the indef.nom.sg. *mīdal-eˀ / mīdel-eˀ* etc.

2.3.2.8.1.1. In Fuaˀ Mulaku, the indefinite form of **consonant stems** is in most cases derived with the suffix *-eˀ* (about *-aˀ* cf. above) which follows the stem-final consonant, the secondary

[283] For the formation of the definite singular cf. 2.3.2.1; for further examples cf. 2.3.2.7.1.
[284] For the suffix *-aku* of the modern standard language cf. 2.3.2.3.1.

short vowels in the ending of the nom.sg.[285] being eliminated. For the declension of the consonant stems in Fua' Mulaku cf. the paradigms given in 2.3.2.12.5.1.

2.3.2.8.1.1.1. For consonant stems without enlarging vowels in the nom.sg. cp., e.g., *faivān* "shoe, sandal" → *faivāne'*; *fa' /fat/* "leaf" → *fate'*; *ihal* "blossom of the coconut tree" → *ihale'*; *hi' /hit/* "heart" → *hite'*; *kan /kam/* "fact; verb" → *kame'*; *kaňdul* "mangrove" → *kaňdule'*; *kēl* "banana tree" → *kēle'*. The original *s*-stems, today ending in *-hV* in Fua' Mulaku (cf. 1.3.5.), also belong to this group; cf. *aha* (← *as*) "horse" → *ahe'*; *maha* (← *mas*) "fish" → *mahe'*; *behe* (← *bes*) "medicine" → *behe'*; *ehe* (← *es*) "jewel" → *ehe'*; *gehe* (← *ges*) "tree" → *gehe'*.

2.3.2.8.1.1.2. For consonant stems that are enlarged with final *-u* in the nom.sg. cp., e.g.,[286] *bą̄zu* "eagle, falcon" → *bą̄ze'*; *beḷalu* "cat" → *beḷale'*; *fauru* "wall" → *faure'*; *heňdunu* "morning" → *heňdune'*; *īṭu* "tile" → *īṭe'*; *jaňbu* "rose apple" → *jaňbe'*; *kaduru* "date (palm)" → *kadure'*; *kahuňbu* "tortoise" → *kahuňbe'*; *karuṇu* "tear" → *karuṇe'*; *mīdalu* "mouse, rat" → *mīdale'*; *mūṇu* "face" → *mūṇe'* etc.

2.3.2.8.1.1.3. For consonant stems that are enlarged with final *-o* in the nom.sg. cp., e.g.,[287] *aḍo* "noise, sound, voice" → *aḍe'*; *aharo* "year" → *ahare'*; *baḷo* "dog" → *baḷe'*; *doro* "door" → *dore'*; *gaňḍo* "vessel, jar" → *gaňḍe'*; *haňdo* "moon" → *haňde'*; *himāro* "donkey" → *himāre'*; *hiāḷo* "fox, jackal" → *hiāḷe'*; *karo* "neck, throat" → *kare'*; *kośāro* "store-house" → *kośāre'*; *massaro* "month" → *massare'*; *naṇo* "fishing line" → *naṇe'*; *nāro* "vein, nerve, blood-vessel" → *nāre'*; *oṇo* "bamboo" → *oṇe'*; *raśo* "island, land" → *raśe'* etc.

2.3.2.8.1.1.4. Consonant stems that are enlarged by *-e* are very rare.[288] As the quantity of the final vowel is not affected by the suffixation of *-e'*, we may assume that the original final *-e* of the nom.sg. gets lost in these cases, the suffix *-e'* which characterises the definite form being added directly to the stem-final consonant. Cp., e.g., *bere* "drum" → *bere'*; *eňde* "bed" → *eňde'*; *mēre* "shark" → *mēre'*.

2.3.2.8.1.2. In *a*-stems, the stem vowel preceding the suffix *-e'* is preserved, the resulting hiatus being tolerated; cp., e.g., F. nom.sg. (but A. pl., cf. above) *kaśa* "spike, thorn" → F. *kaśa-e'* (vs. A. *kaśa'*); F. nom.sg. (A. pl.) *maḍa* "harpoon" → F. *maḍa-e'* (vs. A. *maḍa'*). Other examples are F. *attela* "palm" → *attela-e'*; *faitela* "foot" → *faitela-e'*; *buma* "eye-brow" → *buma-e'*; *dida* "flag" → *dida-e'*; *esfia* "eye-lash" → *esfia-e'*; *fāga* "bitter gourd" → *fāga-e'*; *ifa* "branch → twig" → *ifa-e'*; *ila* "fibre of the coconut" → *ila-e'*; *nera* "grey hair" → *nera-e'*; *ohibada* "vertebra" → *ohibada-e'*. For the declension of the *a*-stems in Fua' Mulaku cf. the table given in 2.3.2.12.5.3.

[285] For the enlargement of consonant stems by means of short vowels cf. 2.3.1.3.
[286] For the corresponding forms of the other dialects cf. 2.3.1.3.4.1, 3.4.2, 2. and 3.
[287] For the corresponding forms of the other dialects cf. 2.3.1.3.4.1, 1.
[288] Cf. also 2.3.1.3.4.1, 4. and 5.

2.3.2.8.1.3. In the case of nom.sg. forms ending in a long vowel, this vowel is preserved in the indefinite form, independently of the etymology of the words in question (cf. also 2.3.1.4). Cp. the following examples which most probably represent "frozen" definite forms in their basic shape (cf. also 2.3.1.4): *kokkō* "younger brother / sister" → *kokkō-e'*; *boňḍā* "lizard" → *boňḍā-e'*; *kīhā* "saw" → *kīhā-e'* etc.

In *boňḍā* and *kīhā*, *-ā* is preserved throughout the paradigm (gen. *boňḍāi*, *kīhāi*; dat. *boňḍāśa*, *kīhāśa*; abl. *boňḍāen*, *kīhāen*) which thus corresponds exactly with the productive declension pattern of the definite singular in Aḍḍū (cf. 2.3.2.11.1.1). F. *kīhā* represents the "frozen" definite form of the nominative *kīs* of the standard language which must have developed directly from **kiyes* ← **kiyas* (through an intermediate form like Pa. *kakaca-* ← Skt. *krakaca-* "saw"; cf. 1.7.3). The corresponding nom.pl. and sg. A. *kiéhi* ← **kiyesi*[289] obviously shows an analogical influence of the *i*-stem A. *fiehi* "knife" (M. *fiohi*; cf. 2.3.2.7.1.2.2).

2.3.2.8.1.4. According to the formation of the indefinite forms, the *i*-stems can be divided into two main groups in Fua' Mulaku, the classification being based on morphonological criteria: either the indefinite suffix is added to the complete stem or it is added to a shortened variant of it which lacks the final *-i*. In the latter case the formation of the indefinite form co-occurs with a lengthening of the root vowel which normally effects the whole paradigm in Fua' Mulaku, while the same morphonological process has been realised only gradually in Aḍḍū (cf. 2.3.2.7.1.2). Depending on whether the nouns in question pertain to one of the two main paradigm types or whether they represent intermediate stages, different morphological subtypes are constituted which, from a synchronic point of view, exhibit a very complicated system (for the particular declension types cf. 2.3.2.12.5.2). The only way to clarify the system of the *i*-stems in Fua' Mulaku consists in a diachronic comparison which must take into account all main dialects of Dhivehi. But even if the historical development is clear, it is not possible to predict the correct indefinite form of an actual *i*-stem without a doubt. Thus, the following description of the main types is meant to yield a general synchronic view of the existing forms rather than to give standardised rules for deriving the correct indefinite form of every *i*-stem.

2.3.2.8.1.4.1. In the most stable type of the *i*-stems, the indefinite nom.sg. is formed without any changes of the root: when *-e'* is suffixed, the stem vowel *-i* is preserved. Cp., e.g., F. *alamāri* "cupboard" → indef. *alamārie'*; *alanāsi* "pineapple" → indef. *alanāsie'*; *bakari* "goat" → indef. *bakarie'*; *boli* "shell" → indef. *bolie'*; *gaḍi* "hour, watch, clock" → indef. *gaḍie'*; *koḷi* "cloud" → indef. *koḷie'*; *maḍi* "beetle" → indef. *maḍie'*; *tari* "star" → indef. *tarie'* etc. While in Fua' Mulaku the root vowel of all disyllabic nouns belonging to this group remains unchanged throughout the paradigm, the corresponding Aḍḍū words show a secondary lengthening of the root vowel (cf. 2.3.2.7.1.2.1).

2.3.2.8.1.4.2. In another group of nouns, the lengthening of the root vowel affects all forms of the paradigm, the stem-final *-i* having disappeared; hence, the indefinite suffix is added directly to the final consonant of the root in these cases. Cp., e.g., nom.sg. *bāśi* "brinjal" (gen. *bāśe*, dat. *bāśaha*, abl. *bāśen*) → indef.nom.sg. *bāśe'*; *tēḷi* "bean" → indef. *tēḷe'*; *dāri* "child" → indef. *dāre'*; *esnāḷi* "inflammation of the upper eye-lid" → indef. *esnāḷe'*; *fāli* "oar"

[289] Cp. A. nom.sg.indef. *kiessa'*, gen. *kiesse*, dat. *kiessa'*, abl. *kiehin*.

→ indef. *fāleʾ*; *fāṇi* "worm" → indef. *fāṇeʾ*; *fēśi* "box" → indef. *fēśeʾ*; *fīśi* "little island" → indef. *fīśeʾ*; *kāśi* "bone, thorn" → indef. *kāśeʾ*; *mūḏi* "ring, jewellery" → indef. *mūḏeʾ*; *tāśi* "dish, plate, glass" → indef. *tāśeʾ* etc. The dialect of Fuaʾ Mulaku is the only vernacular of Dhivehi which has systematised this morphonological process; a similar trend can be observed in Aḍḍū, but only in an initial stage (cf. 2.3.2.7.1.2.4 and 2.3.2.7.1.2.5).

2.3.2.8.1.4.3. Even in Fuaʾ Mulaku there are a few isolated examples, however, in which the lengthening of the root vowel affects but parts of the paradigm. This is true for two *i*-stems at least. One of them is the word meaning "child" with the nom.sg. *kuddāʾ*, obviously a "frozen" definite form of the original stem *kudi* which is obsolete in modern Fuaʾ Mulaku (for the corresponding form in Aḍḍū cf. 2.3.2.7.1.2, 2.3.2.7.4.1). In this word, a lengthened root vowel is found only in the indefinite form *kūdeʾ* and in the plural (nom.pl. *kūdun*, gen.pl. *kūdunge*, dat.pl. *kūdunnaʾ*, abl.pl. *kūdun aten*), while in the singular forms the short vowel preceding the geminate *-dd-* remains unchanged (cf. gen.sg. *kuddāge*, dat.sg. *kuddāśa*, abl.sg. *kuddā aten*). It is true that in inherited Maldivian words there are generally no long vowels preceding a geminated consonant so that the vocalism of the singular paradigm cannot serve as a definitive argument; nevertheless, this word can be taken as an indication of the fact that the indefinite form was the starting point of the lengthening of the root vowel, for *kūdeʾ* must have been derived directly from the original stem *kudi* before this one became obsolete. The other example which has to be mentioned in this connection is the word meaning "wife" with the nom.sg. *aṁbu* and the indef. form *āṁbeʾ*. As a former *i*-stem, this word shows a lengthened root vowel throughout the plural as well (nom.pl. *āṁbun*, gen.pl. *āṁbunge*, dat.pl. *āṁbunnaʾ*, abl.pl. *āṁbun aten*). The original singular paradigm does not exist any longer, however, all singular forms being extended with *mīhā* "man" (gen.sg. *aṁbu mīhāge* etc.; the same development can be observed in Aḍḍū, cf. the gen.sg. *aṁbi mīhāge*). The supposition that the lengthening of the root vowel must have originated in the indefinite form is further supported by the corresponding words in Aḍḍū where the lengthening of the vowel has remained restricted to the indefinite forms *kūdaʾ* and *āṁbaʾ* (cp. the nom.sg. A. *kudi*, *aṁbi* and the nom.pl. A. *kudin*, *aṁbin*).

2.3.2.8.1.4.4. The *i*-stems with a paradigmatic change of *-h-* and *-ss-*, which constitute a considerable subgroup in Aḍḍū (cf. 2.3.2.7.1.2.2), are restricted to a few examples in the dialect of Fuaʾ Mulaku. Here, some of the words in question have been affected by analogical adaptations. Cp., e.g., *īhi* "lobster" and *mēhi* "fly", the whole paradigm of which shows the intervocalic *-h-* in combination with a lengthened root vowel; the indefinite forms are *īheʾ* "a lobster" and *mēheʾ* "a fly". These examples must be classified as belonging to the type described in 2.3.2.8.1.4.2.

Even in Fuaʾ Mulaku, however, there are some words that have preserved the old phonological change of *-h-* and *-ss-*; cp., e.g., *raṭṭehi* "friend" → indef. *raṭṭesseʾ*; *divehi* "Maldivian" → indef. *divesseʾ*; *fiohi* "knife" → indef. *fiosseʾ*; *mulehi* "abscess" → indef. *mulesseʾ*. Possibly, the decisive factor to be seen here is the number of syllables of the word in question, which seems to determine whether the older phonological stage is still preserved or the paradigm has been simplified by the morphonological changes mentioned above. It is a striking fact indeed that all words that have conserved the change of *-h-* and *-ss-* are obviously trisyllabic, while those having generalised the intervocalic *-h-* are disyllabic in their basic structure.

2.3.2.8.2. Plural formation in Fua' Mulaku

2.3.2.8.2.1. The use of the pure nominal stem as an ordinary plural form, which is very likely to have been common to the whole Dhivehi speaking area in former times and which is still typical for the dialect of Aḍḍū, has become obsolete in Fua' Mulaku in favour of secondary formations. Nowadays, there are only a few stem.forms that can still be used as plurals; cp., e.g., sg. *beḷal(u)* "cat", pl. *beḷal* and sg. *mīdal(u)* "mouse, rat", pl. *mīdal*. The nouns in question have secondary plural formations as well, however (cf. 2.3.2.8.2.3.2 and 2.3.2.8.2.4). For the special declension of these words cf. 2.3.2.12.5.5.

2.3.2.8.2.2. In principle, the plural suffixes *-un* and *-in* are used in the same way as in Aḍḍū (cf. 2.3.2.7.1.2, 2.3.2.7.4.1), but the phonological distribution of the two suffix variants has lost its productivity in Fua' Mulaku (cf. 2.3.2.2.2). The suffix *-in*, which originally was confined exclusively to the *i*-stems, is almost obsolete now; the only example that has conserved *-in* is the plural *firin* of *firi* "husband". All the other nouns belonging to the group in question use *-un* for the plural formation, independently of their stem class. Cp., e.g., *mīhā* "man" → pl. *mīhun*; *kuddᾱ* "child" → pl. *kūdun*; *dāri* "child" → pl. *dārun*; *aṁbu* "wife" → pl. *aṁbun*; *mituru* "friend" (obs.) → pl. *miturun*; *raṭṭehi* "friend, compatriot" → pl. *raṭṭessun*; *divehi* "Maldivian" → pl. *divessun*; *vaḍi* "carpenter" → pl. *vaḍiun* (sic); etc.

As in Aḍḍū (cf. 2.3.2.7.4.1), the word meaning "king" shows a suppletive plural formation in Fua' Mulaku as well; cf. F. nom.sg. *radun* "king", nom.pl. *raskalun*. Originally *radun* was a plural form itself, probably used in the sense of a *pluralis maiestatis*.

In Fua' Mulaku, there are some terms designating special units within the family or among the ancestors. These words occur only as *pluralia tantum*; cf. *maun* "mother and child", *maun bafaun* "parents" and *kābafaun* "ancestors" (for the formation cf. 2.3.2.7.4.1.1).

2.3.2.8.2.2.1. The stem *-veri* and its "frozen" definite form *-veriā* are used in the same way and occur with the same nouns as in Aḍḍū (cf. 2.3.2.7.4.1.2; for the derivation of the word cf. 2.3.2.4.1, 2.3.2.4.2). In Fua' Mulaku, however, the nom.pl. has the form *-vērun*. Cp., e.g., *ateḷeveri* "atoll-chief" → nom.pl. *ateḷevērun*; *fahaveri* "sister-in-law" → pl. *fahavērun*; *masveriā* "fisherman" → pl. *masvērun*; *rahumatteriā* (← *rahumat-veri-ā*, cf. ib.) "friend" → pl. *rahumattērun*; etc.

2.3.2.8.2.2.2. As in Aḍḍū (cf. 2.3.2.7.4.1.2), *-verin* is used in Fua' Mulaku as a suffix to build an animate plural of cardinal numbers which serves as a kind of collective numeral (cf. also 2.5.3.1); cp., e.g., *aśoverin* "eight people" (F. *aśo* "eight"), *fahąverin* "five people" (*fahą* "five"). The use of the older form *-verin* instead of the more recent variant *-vērun* underlines the archaic character of these formations.

2.3.2.8.2.3. Considering the morphological role of the plural suffix ***-men***, there are no differences between Fua' Mulaku and Aḍḍū. In both dialects, it is added exclusively to the definite singular in *-ā*, which as a rule is obsolete in modern Fua' Mulaku, occurring only in "frozen" forms (cf. 2.3.2.2.2 and 2.3.2.7.4.2). As to the semantical connotation of the suffix, both dialects agree in most points.

2.3.2.8.2.3.1. A noteworthy difference consists in the fact that there are a few overlaps of the suffixes *-men* and *-un* in the plural formation of kinship terms in Fuaʾ Mulaku, a feature which has not been observed in Aḍḍū. Cp., e.g., F. nom.sg. *fahaveri* "sister-in-law" with the regular nom.pl. *fahavērun* opposing itself to the plural form *fahaveri-ā-men*, which, although being semantically identical, is derived from the old definite nom.sg.

2.3.2.8.2.3.2. Another divergence relating to Aḍḍū is a semantical one. While in Aḍḍū the suffix *-men* has the restricted meaning of "a certain amount (of animals)", it serves as a neutral plural formant without any secondary meaning in Fuaʾ Mulaku. Cp., e.g., *boʾ /bok/* "frog" → pl. *bokāmen* "(many) frogs"; *bakari* "goat" → pl. *bakariāmen* "(many) goats"; *beḷalu* "cat" → pl. *beḷalāmen* "(many) cats"; *fehuṛessei* "whale shark" → pl. *fehuressey(y)ā-men* "(many) whale sharks"; *īhi* "lobster" → pl. *īhāmen* "(many) lobsters"; *kakiḍi* "crab" → pl. *kakiḍāmen* "(many) crabs"; *mēhi* "fly" → pl. *mēhāmen* "(many) flies"; *mīdal(u)* "mouse, rat" → pl. *mīdalāmen*; *vaul* "flying fox" → pl. *vaulāmen*; *rehi* "sprot" → pl. *rehiāmen*; *baḷo* "dog" → pl. *baḷāmen*; etc.

2.3.2.8.2.3.3. From the morphological point of view, nouns forming their plural by means of the suffix *-men* can be divided into two groups in Fuaʾ Mulaku. In the first group, the nom.sg. is identical with the pure stem; this is true, e.g., for *bāẓu* "eagle, falcon", *boʾ /bok/* "frog", *bakari* "goat". In the formation of the plural, the ending *-ā* of the obsolete definite singular reappears in these cases; cf. *bāẓ-ā-men*, *bok-ā-men*, *bakari-ā-men*. In the second group, it is the stem form itself which is obsolete. In these words the "frozen" definite form generally functions as an unmarked nom.sg.; cp., e.g., *bappā* "father" → pl. *bappā-men*; *kāfā* "grandfather from the paternal side" → pl. *kāfā-men*; *boṉḍā* "lizard" → pl. *boṉḍā-men* (the original nominatives *bappa*, *kāfa* and *boṉḍa* no longer exist in modern Fuaʾ Mulaku). With all probability, the two kinship terms *kokko* "younger brother / sister" and *bēbe* "elder brother" with their plural forms *kokkōmen* and *bēbēmen* belong to this group as well (cp. A. *kokkō* ← def.nom.sg. **kokko-ā*, *bēbē* ← def.nom.sg. **bēbe-ā*; cf. also 2.3.2.7.4.2.1). As a rule, words pertaining to this group cannot have a plural in *-un* (cf. 2.3.2.8.2.2 above) or *-teʾ* (cf. 2.3.2.8.2.4 below) because these suffixes are added immediately to the stem, but never to the definite form.

2.3.2.8.2.4. The plural formation by means of the semantically neutral suffix ***-teʾ /-tek/***[290] is very common in the dialect of Fuaʾ Mulaku. The suffix is added to the nom.sg. of animate as well as inanimate nouns; in particular cases it can also be added to nouns denoting persons (cf. 2.3.2.8.2.2.1, 2.3.2.8.2.5 below).

In many cases, *-teʾ* can be used instead of *-men*, e.g. with most nouns denoting animals (cf. 2.3.2.8.2.3.2 above). Cp. the plural forms *botteʾ /bok-tek/* "frogs", *bakari-teʾ* "goats", *beḷal-teʾ* "cats", *fehuressei-teʾ* "whale sharks", *īhi-teʾ* "lobsters", *kakiḍi-teʾ* "crabs", *kahuṁbu-teʾ* "tortoises", *mēhi-teʾ* "flies", *baḷo-teʾ* "dogs", *rehi-teʾ* "sprats", *vaul-teʾ* "flying foxes" etc.

In Fuaʾ Mulaku, the suffix *-teʾ* is also used for the plural formation of words denoting parts of the body, while in Aḍḍū the plural meaning of these nouns is expressed by the pure

[290] For the etymological background of this suffix cf. 2.3.2.2.2.

nominal stem (cf. 2.3.2.7.3.1). Cp., e.g., F. *aˀ /at/* "hand, arm" → pl. *at-teˀ*; *faitela* "foot" → pl. *faitela-teˀ*; *hiˀ /hit/* "heart" → pl. *hit-teˀ*; *iňgili* "finger, toe" → *iňgili-teˀ*; *kakul* "knee" → pl. *kakul-teˀ*; *kāśi* "bone" → pl. *kāśi-teˀ*; *lol* "eye" → pl. *lō-teˀ*; *issaśi* "hair" → pl. *issaśi-teˀ*; *fia* "wing" → *fia-teˀ* etc.

The following examples represent different semantical spheres of inanimate nouns and botanical expressions: *faˀ /fat/* "leaf" → pl. *fat-teˀ*; *gehe /ges/* "tree" → pl. *ges-teˀ*; *ihal* "blossom of the coconut tree" → pl. *ihal-teˀ*; *kaiśi* "coconut" → pl. *kaiśi-teˀ*; *kēl* "banana tree" → pl. *kēl-teˀ*; *kaduru* "date (palm)" → pl. *kaduru-teˀ*; *karā* "water melon" → pl. *karā-teˀ*; *jaňbu* "rose-apple" → pl. *jaňbu-teˀ*; *bere* "drum" → pl. *bere-teˀ*; *faro* "reef" → pl. *faro-teˀ*; *heṇe* "thunderbolt" → pl. *heṇe-teˀ*; *iňdōli* "Maldivian wing" → pl. *iňdōli-teˀ*; *jōli* "Maldivian chair" → pl. *jōli-teˀ*; *kan /kam/* (indef.sg. *kameˀ*) "fact, verb" → pl. *kan-teˀ*; *kan /kan/* (indef.sg. *kaneˀ*) "corner" → pl. *kan-teˀ* etc.

2.3.2.8.2.5. As mentioned above (2.3.2.8.2.4), there are many nouns in Fuaˀ Mulaku, in particular words denoting animals, whose plural can be built with both suffixes in question without a difference of meaning; this is true, e.g., for *bakariāmen / bakariteˀ* "goats" (← *bakari*) and *vaulāmen / vaulteˀ* "flying foxes" (← *vaul*) (for further examples cf. 2.3.2.8.2.3.2 and 2.3.2.8.2.4). One more noun showing a twofold plural formation is the kinship term *kāfā* "grandfather from the paternal side"; besides the original plural *kāfāmen* (cf. 2.3.2.8.2.3.3) we find also *kāfāteˀ*. In a few cases there are even three plural formations existing side by side without any semantical differences. Cp. nom.sg. *beḷal(u)* "cat" with its plural forms *beḷal* (pure nominal stem), *beḷal-ā-men* and *beḷal-teˀ* "cats", or *fahaveri* "sister-in-law" with its plural formations *fahavēr-un*, *fahaveri-ā-men* and *fahaveri-teˀ*. Although both the latter form and *kāfāteˀ* "grandfathers" obviously represent exceptions, the use of *-teˀ* in connection with the two kinship terms shows that *-teˀ* is becoming more and more productive in its function as a plural suffix. Probably this development is due to the increasing influence of the standard language. This is suggested by *edurunteˀ*, the only plural form of *eduru* "teacher" attested in Fuaˀ Mulaku, which is now obsolete throughout the Dhivehi speaking area, and which seems to have been remodelled after M. *edurunta*ˀ vs. A. *edurun*. In contrast to Fuaˀ Mulaku where formations with this type of double marking are treated as normal plural forms, their counterparts still have a special meaning in the standard language (cf. 2.3.2.9.2.3).

2.3.2.9. Māle

In northern Dhivehi, the nominal stem is used as a normal singular form from which the indefinite singular and plural are derived by help of the particular suffixes (cf. 2.3.2.3). As in Fuaˀ Mulaku, the occurrence of the definite form is confined to "frozen", "relic" formations consisting, as a rule, of a definite singular characterised by a final *-ā*;[291] the words in ques-

[291] Not every final *-ā* of a nom.sg. goes back to an older definite form, however. In many cases, a final *-ā* developed from short *a* preceding an original word-final *-l* which got regularly lost in this position. Cp., e.g., M. *mā* "flower" (stem *mal-*; def.sg. A. *malā*), M. *gā* "stone, rock" (stem *gal-*; def.sg. A. *galā*); M. *hā* "cock" (stem *hāl-*; def.sg. A. *haulā*); M. *mīdā* "mouse, rat" (stem *mīdal-*; def.sg. A. *mīdelā*); M. *buḷā* "cat" (stem *buḷal-*; def.sg. A. *beḷelā*). There are also many loanwords ending in a long *-ā*; cp., e.g., *mēvā* "fruits" (Class. Mod.Pers. *mīva* "fruits"; cf. STEINGASS 1929, 1365), *bagīcā* "garden" (Class.Mod.Pers. *bāġča*, cf. STEINGASS

tion have been lexicalised in the modern standard language where they are used as normal nominative singular forms.

Cp., e.g., M. *mīhā* "man" (obsolete stem *mīs*); *kujjā* "child" (← **kudyā* ← *kudi-ā*,[292] obsolete stem *kudi*); *mākanā* "crane" (obsolete stem *mākana*); *-veriā* (stem *-veri*, cf. 2.3.2.4.1) occurring as the second part of compounds like *masveriā* "fisherman" or *atoḷuveriā* "atoll-chief". In the case of *anhenā* "woman" and *firihenā* "man", the definite suffix can be regarded as a marker of substantivisation, the underlying stems *anhen* "female" and *firihen* "male" being treated as adjectives. Without doubt, the honorific personal pronouns *bēkalā* (2nd level, 2./3.ps.sg.) and *bēfuḷā* (3rd level, 2./3.ps.sg.)[293] represent definite forms as well. It remains uncertain, however, whether the vocational form *darifuḷā* "Child!" can be traced back to a "frozen" definite form as well (stem *darifuḷu* ← *dari* "child" + *-fuḷu* honorific suffix, designating inalienable objects; cf. 2.2.3.).

From the grammatical point of view, the pure stem represents the unmarked singular form in the standard language, while the indefinite form, as in the southern dialects, must be regarded as marked. In certain contexts, however, when there is no special need for a morphological expression of number, the nominal stem can also have a vague plural meaning. Such isolated cases can be understood as relics of the system we still observe in modern Aḍḍū (cf. 2.3.2.1); this must, therefore, be considered as more archaic. But these exceptional forms do not contradict the general rule that in the modern standard language suffixation is the only productive method of plural formation.

2.3.2.9.1. In the modern standard language, the **indefinite form**, as the counterpart of the unmarked noun stem which is treated as a definite form, is derived by means of the suffix *-eˀ /-ek/* which is added to the pure nominal stem; the rules applied do not differ from those of southern Dhivehi (cf. 2.3.2.7.1 ff. and 2.3.2.8.1 ff.). As against this, the formation of the indefinite form of the *i*-stems does not cause the complicated special developments we have observed in the southern dialects, in particular in Fuaˀ Mulaku (cf. 2.3.2.7.1.2 and 2.3.2.8.1.4). For the suffix *-aku* "some, any" which in Māle occurs only in the inherited oblique form, cf. 2.3.2.3.1.

2.3.2.9.1.1. For the formation of indefinite forms of consonant stems (some of them enlarged by a short vowel, cf. 2.3.1.3) cp., e.g., nom.sg. *fodu* "drop" → indef.sg. *fod-eˀ*; nom.sg. *jōḍu* "cup; pair" → indef.sg. *jōḍ-eˀ*; nom.sg. *magu* "street, road" → indef.sg. *mag-eˀ*; nom.sg. *bāzu* "eagle, falcon" → indef.sg. *bāz-eˀ*; nom.sg. *mēzu* "table" → indef.sg. *mēz-eˀ*; nom.sg. *rāḷu* "wave" → indef.sg. *rāḷ-eˀ*; nom.sg. *mas* "fish" → indef.sg. *mah-eˀ*; nom.sg. *mīhā* "man" (obsolete stem *mīs*) → indef.sg. *mīh-eˀ*; nom.sg. *buḷā* "cat" → indef.sg. *buḷal-eˀ* (stem *buḷal*); nom.sg. *mīdā* "mouse, rat" → indef.sg. *mīdal-eˀ* (stem *mīdal-*); nom.sg. *rū* "wrinkle" → indef.sg. *rul-eˀ* (stem *rul-*); nom.sg. *ruˀ /rukl* "coconut tree" → indef.sg. *ruk-eˀ*; nom.sg. *donkeo* "banana" → indef.sg. *donkel-eˀ* (stem *donkel-*) etc.

1929, 148), *bamiā* "ocra, lady's fingers" (Mod.Pers. *bāmiya*, cf. STEINGASS 1929, 152; Arab. *bāmiā/bāmiat*, cf. WEHR 1958, 35), *haftā* "week" (Class.Mod.Pers. *hafta*, cf. STEINGASS 1929, 1504). In the modern language, we have to consider the etymology or the forms of the non-nominative cases to be able to decide whether a given word represents a "frozen" definite nominative or whether the final *-ā* must be explained otherwise.

[292] Cf. 2.3.2.7.1.2, 2.3.2.8.1.4.3 and further 1.3.9.3.

[293] For details cf. 2.6.2.4.4 f.

2.3.2.9.1.2. For indefinite forms of *a*-stems cp., e.g., nom.sg. *vāhaka* "story" → indef.sg. *vāhaka-e'*; nom.sg. *maskiba* "one side of a fish" → indef.sg. *maskiba-e'*; nom.sg. *mamma* ⟨*manma*⟩ "mother" → indef.sg. *mamma-e'*; nom.sg. *bappa* "father" → indef.sg. *bappa-e'*; nom.sg. *furēta* "demon" → indef.sg. *furēta-e'*; nom.sg. *sūra* "picture" (← Arab. *ṣūra'*) → indef.sg. *sūra-e'*; nom.sg. *tila* "shallow(s), shoal" → indef.sg. *tila-e'*; nom.sg. *aňga* "mouth" → indef.sg. *aňga-e'*; etc.

2.3.2.9.1.3. For *i*-stems cp., e.g., nom.sg. *bakari* "goat" → indef.sg. *bakari-e'*; nom.sg. *tari* "star" → indef.sg. *tari-e'*; nom.sg. *vaḷi* "knife" → indef.sg. *vaḷi-e'*; nom.sg. *koṭari* "room" → indef.sg. *koṭari-e'*; nom.sg. *taśi* "dish, plate" → indef.sg. *taśi-e'*; nom.sg. *boli* "shell" → indef.sg. *boli-e'*; nom.sg. *kaśi* "bone" → indef.sg. *kaśi-e'*; nom.sg. *fośi* "box" → indef.sg. *fośi-e'*; nom.sg. *fuśi* "little island" → indef.sg. *fuśi-e'*; nom.sg. *toḷi* "bean" → indef.sg. *toḷi-e'*; nom.sg. *dari* "child" → indef.sg. *dari-e'* etc.

2.3.2.9.1.3.1. From a synchronical point of view, the formation of the indefinite form seems to be irregular in a small group of *i*-stems; but an interdialectal historical comparison reveals the phonological background of the apparent irregularities. Cp., e.g., M. nom.sg. *divehi* "Maldivian, islander" → indef.sg. *divesse'*; nom.sg. *gevehi* "house-wife" → indef.sg. *gevesse'*; nom.sg. *lāhi* "1/4 kilogram" (traditional unit of measure) → indef.sg. *lāsse'* etc. As was shown above, the paradigmatic change of *-h-* and *-ss-* which in these *i*-stems occurs in all dialects, is the result of a regular phonological process (cf. 2.3.2.7.1.2.2, 2.3.2.8.1.4.4 and 1.3.5).

2.3.2.9.1.3.2. In some *i*-stems, the addition of the indefinite suffix results in affrication and gemination of the consonant preceding the stem vowel. This, too, is a regular phonological development. Cf. M. nom.sg. *dōni* "boat, ship" → indef.sg. *dōññe'* (← **dōnye'* ← **dōṇi-ek*); nom.sg. *dūni* "bird" → indef.sg. *dūññe'* (← **dūnye'* ← **dūṇi-ek*); nom.sg. *kujjā* "child" ("frozen" definite form of **kudi-ā*, stem *kudi*, cf. 2.3.2.9 above) → indef.sg. *kujje'* (← **kudye'* ← **kudi-ek*); nom.sg. *eti* "thing" → indef.sg. *ecce'* (← **etye'* ← **eti-ek*; the oldest attestation of this form is written *etyāk* [sic] in L5 5/2,6; cf. also 1.3.9.2.1.) — For the declension of the particular stem types cf. 2.3.2.13.1.

2.3.2.9.2. Plural formation in Māle

2.3.2.9.2.1. In northern Dhivehi, the plural suffix *-in/-un* is added to the same class of inherited animate nouns as in the southern dialects (cf. 2.3.2.7.4.1 and 2.3.2.8.2.2 above). Cp., e.g., M. nom.sg. *mīhā* "man" → pl. *mīhun*; nom.sg. *kujjā* ⟨*ku'jā*⟩ "child" → pl. *kudin*; nom.sg. *dari* "child" → pl. *darin*; nom.sg. *aňbi* ⟨*abi*⟩ "wife" → pl. *aňbin*; nom.sg. *firi* "husband" → pl. *firin*; nom.pl. *main bafain* "parents" (plurale tantum); nom.sg. *masveriā* "fisherman" → pl. *masverin* (*mas* "fish"); nom.sg. *baiveriā* "partner" → pl. *baiverin* (*bai* "part, half"); nom.sg. *ahuluveriā* "inhabitant" → pl. *ahuluverin* (*ahulu* ← Arab. *ahl* "family") etc.

In the modern colloquial language of Māle, the suffix *-in/-un*, originally confined to a small, semantically restricted group of nouns, has been extended in its use in that it now serves as the normal plural suffix of several foreign words denoting persons. Cp., e.g., *vēṭaru*

← Engl. *waiter* → pl. *vēṭarun*; *seketṭrī* or *sekreṭarī* ← Engl. *secretary* → pl. *seketṭrīn / sekreṭarīn*; *mehumānu* ← Pers., Urdu *mehmān* "guest" → pl. *mehumānun*; *šahīdu* ← Arab. (also Pers., Urdu) *šahīd* "martyr" → pl. *šahīdun* etc.

2.3.2.9.2.2. In Māle the plural suffix *-men* occurs only with a few kinship terms. Cp., e.g., *bappa* ⟨*ba'pa*⟩ "father" → pl. *bappamen*; *mamma* ⟨*manma*⟩ "mother" → pl. *mammamen*; *bēbe* "elder brother" → pl. *bēbemen*; *kokko* ⟨*ko'ko*⟩ "younger brother / sister" → pl. *kokkomen*. As we can see from these examples, the rule of the southern dialects according to which *-men* can be combined only with the form of the definite nom.sg. is not applicable to the Māle standard language; here, the plural suffix is added to the nominal stem instead which is obsolete in southern Dhivehi but which has the function of a regular nom.sg. in the standard language. There are no indications whatsoever in the older documents that this suffix was ever used outside the sphere of kinship terminology and a few other nouns or pronouns denoting persons. Altogether, there are only two older attestations of the plural formation by means of *-men*, viz. in *kalemen* (F6,17, for *kalēmen*), originally meaning "sirs, ladies and gentlemen; high-ranking people" but nowadays used only as a pers.pron. of the 2.ps.pl. "you" (cf. 2.6.2.4.3.1), and in the pronominal adjective *emmen /ek-men/* (L2 2,5 and 34,1) "all together" (cf. 2.6.7.4.1, 2.6.7.4.2). The use of the suffix with nouns denoting animals, which is common to the dialect of Aḍḍū and, even more so, to that of Fua' Mulaku (cf. 2.3.2.7.4.2 and 2.3.2.8.2.3.2), seems to be unknown in North Dhivehi. Even though the suffix *-men* plays a less important role in the plural formation of the standard language, it is surprising that it has been completely ignored as a plural suffix in all treatises on Dhivehi so far.

2.3.2.9.2.3. The suffix *-ta' /-tak/* has become the most frequent plural formant of northern Dhivehi. It can be used with any animate and inanimate noun and, furthermore, be added to any nominal stem; thus we may regard it as the most neutral plural suffix. For the derivation of *-ta'* which originated in an originally independent word meaning "so many / much", cf. 2.3.2.2.2 and 2.3.2.3; cp. also the declension pattern given in 2.3.2.13.3. For the use of the suffix cp. the following examples which illustrate different semantical spheres and inflectional classes: nom.sg. *bakari* "goat" → pl. *bakarita'*; nom.sg. *tari* "star" → pl. *tarita'*; nom.sg. *vaḷi* "knife" → pl. *vaḷita'*; nom.sg. *koṭari* "room" → pl. *koṭarita'*; nom.sg. *taśi* "dish, plate" → pl. *taśita'*; nom.sg. *iňgili* "finger, toe" → pl. *iňgilita'*; nom.sg. *fuśi* "little island" → pl. *fuśita'*; nom.sg. *duni* "bow" → pl. *dunita'*; nom.sg. *beru* "drum" → pl. *beruta'*; nom.sg. *doru* "door" → pl. *doruta'*; nom.sg. *magu* "street, road" → pl. *maguta'*; nom.sg. *hōnu* "gecko" → pl. *hōnuta'*; nom.sg. *bis* "egg" → pl. *bista'*; nom.sg. *mas* "fish" → pl. *masta'*; nom.sg. *gas* "tree" → pl. *gasta'*; nom.sg. *es* "precious stone" → pl. *esta'*; nom.sg. *fan* "leaf of the coconut tree" → pl. *fanta'*; nom.sg. *ru' /ruk/* "coconut tree" → pl. *rutta' /ruk-tak/*; nom.sg. *foi /fot/* "book" → pl. *foita' /fot-tak/*; nom.sg. *bile' /bilet/* "betel (tree and leaf)" → pl. *biletta'*; nom.sg. *ra' /raś/* "island, land" → pl. *raṭṭa' /raś-tak/* etc.

In a few cases, *-in/-un* and *-ta'* occur side by side as a double suffix. Thus, the only correct plural form of the nom.sg. *eduru* "teacher" is *edurunta'*. In the plural form *mīhunta'*, however, a special meaning is still perceivable. In correspondence with the original meaning of the suffix *-ta'*, *mīhunta'* means "(so) many people / men" while the primary plural *mīhun* has to be translated simply by "people / men".

2.3.2.9.2.4. As in Aḍḍū, the nouns denoting "boats" or "ships" go beyond the scope of the normal plural formation in Māle as well (cf. 2.3.2.7.3.2 and 2.3.2.6). While in Aḍḍū the nouns in question are defective concerning the formation of the definite and indefinite singular and of the plural form, a special formant *-faharu* is used for their plural formation in Māle.[294] Cp., e.g., nom.sg. *dōni* → pl. *dōni-faharu*; nom.sg. *oḍi* → pl. *oḍi-faharu*; nom.sg. *batteli* ⟨*ba'teli*⟩ → pl. *batteli-faharu*; nom.sg. *bokkurā* ⟨*bo'kurā*⟩ → pl. *bokkurā-faharu*; nom.sg. *bōṭu* → pl. *bōṭu-faharu*; nom.sg. *nā* → pl. *nā-faharu*.

Probably *-faharu* is connected with the homophone *faharu* "times" (cp., e.g., *de faharu* "two times"). In two later *fatkoḷu*s the word in question is attested in the indefinite form of the dative. In the given contexts it can still be interpreted as meaning "single, one after another";[295] cf. F13,12, where *faharu* has the same syntagmatic status as *dōṇi* and *oḍi*: ... *oḍi-ak-aṭ dōṇy-ak-aṭ pahar-ak-aṭ* ... "to an *oḍi*, a *dōṇi*, one after another" (*-ak* indef. suffix, *-aṭ* dat. ending); cf. also F11,37: *oḍyakan pahurakan* "to an *oḍi*, to a single one".[296] Both syntactically and semantically, the given examples illustrate how *faharu* could develop into a plural suffix. BELL (1922-35, 79/1926, 267) already noted *odi-faharu* and *ḍóni-faharu* (sic) as plural forms in the modern sense.

Sometimes also *-ta'* is used as a plural suffix of words denoting ships; this, however, seems to be true for deep-sea vessels only, cp. *dōni-ta'* or *oḍi-ta'*.

2.3.2.10. Declension types

An appropriate classification of the declension types of Dhivehi can only be given in direct connection with the stem classes, if the synchronical status as well as the most important diachronical developments are to be taken account of. As mentioned above, the nominal morphology of the Aḍḍū dialect is particularly conservative but also very transparent from the formal point of view; thus, the declension types of this vernacular are predestined to serve as a general parameter for the whole Dhivehi speaking area. Therefore, the declension tables of Aḍḍū will be given in the first place here.

In contrast to the personal pronouns which in the southernmost dialects still show the inherited morphological differentiation between the direct (nominative) and the oblique cases, the nouns are characterised by an almost complete coincidence of these case forms whose basic functional difference can be summarised by the following rule: If the predicate is a finite verb, the subject of the sentence will be in the nominative; but if the predicate is expressed by an infinite verb, the subject can only appear in the form of the oblique case (cf. also 2.1.1.). In the modern language, this difference can only be expressed by syntactical means. From a synchronical point of view, it is therefore necessary to differentiate an inherited (morphological) and a functional (syntactical) oblique case, the first being identical with the nominal stem and serving as a basic form from which all other cases except for the nominative are derived. The functional *casus obliquus*, on the other hand, can also occur as a "frozen" definite form. A purely formal differentiation between nominative and oblique cases of nouns being impossible, the latter will be neglected in the following tables.

[294] Cf. DBG, 16 where *-faharu* is noted as a plural formant for words denoting "ship, boat etc.", too.
[295] Thus the basic meaning according to oral information by HASSAN SA'ĪD as of March, 7 1999.
[296] For the spelling of final *-ṭ* by ⟨*-n*⟩ cf. 3.6.3.2.3.

2.3.2.11. Aḍḍū

In the following paragraphs, only nouns with a complete paradigm of both the singular (definite / indefinite) and plural will serve as examples of the particular declension types.

2.3.2.11.1. On the basis of the ending of the primary (i.e. plural) genitive which represents the primary paradigm, the **consonant stems** can be subdivided into two main types. The nouns of type I and Ia have a gen.pl. ending in *-e*, while those of type Ib end in *-i*. The historical reasons for this divergency are still unknown; but from the synchronical data we can see that the ending in *-i* is confined to nouns showing *-a-* as the vowel of the last syllable of their stem.[297] The difference between type I and subtype Ia can be described as follows: in the case of type I the ending *-in* of the abl.sg. does not merge with the final *-ā* of the definite stem, while subtype Ia shows a contraction into *-ān*.

2.3.2.11.1.1. A. type I: cons.-stem

mīdel- "mouse, rat"	sg. (def. form)	pl. (primary paradigm)
nom.	*mīdelā*	*mīdeu* /mīdel/
gen.	*mīdelāi*	*mīdele*
dat.	*mīdelā'* /mīdel-ā-aś/	*mīdela'* /mīdel-aś/
abl.	*mīdelāin*	*mīdelun*

2.3.2.11.1.2. A. type Ia: cons.-stem

ges- "tree"	sg. (def. form)	pl. (primary paradigm)
nom.	*gehā* /ges-ā/	*ges*
gen.	*gehāi* /ges-ā-i/	*gehe* /ges-e/
dat.	*gehā'* /ges-ā-aś/	*geha'* /ges-aś/
abl.	*gehān* /ges-ā-in/	*gehun* /ges-un/

2.3.2.11.1.3. A. type Ib: cons.-stem

mas- "fish"	sg. (def. form)	pl. (primary paradigm)
nom.	*mahā* /mas-ā/	*mas*
gen.	*mahāi* /mas-ā-i/	*mahi* /mas-i/
dat.	*mahā'* /mas-ā-aś/	*maha'* /mas-aś/
abl.	*mahāin* /mas-ā-in/	*mahun* /mas-un/

[297] This rule seems not to be reversible without exceptions, however, because in Aḍḍū there are also a few examples of consonant stems with the vowel *-a-* in the last syllable of the stem and the genitive of the primary paradigm ending in *-e*: cp., e.g., nom.(sg.) *kaṅḍa* "ocean, open sea" → gen. *kaṅḍe*; nom.(pl.) *jaṁbu* "rose apple" → gen. *jaṁbe*; nom.(sg./pl.) *vaḍa* "well" → gen. *vaḍe*.

2.3.2.11.1.4. Consonant stems with a secondary final short vowel, are subject to the phonological rules as described in 2.3.2.11.1, independently from the quality of the secondary vowel occurring in the nom.sg. Cp. the following examples:

2.3.2.11.1.4.1. A. type I: cons.-stem

jaṁburōz- "star-apple"	sg. (def. form)	pl. (primary paradigm)
nom.	*jaṁburōzā*	*jaṁburōzu*
gen.	*jaṁburōzāi*	*jaṁburōze*
dat.	*jaṁburōzā'*	*jaṁburōza'*
abl.	*jaṁburōzāin*	*jaṁburōzun*

2.3.2.11.1.4.2. A. type Ib: cons.-stem

mad- "nut, kernel"	sg. (def. form)	pl. (primary paradigm)
nom.	*madā*	*mada*
gen.	*madāi*	*madi*
dat.	*madā'*	*mada'*
abl.	*madāin*	*madun*

2.3.2.11.2. The characteristic feature of ***a*-stems** consists in the fact that the stem-final *-a* does not change throughout the case forms of the primary declension. The (secondary) singular paradigm of this type is based on a definite form in *-ā* as well.

2.3.2.11.2.1. A. type II: *a*-stem

kuruba- "young coconut"	sg. (def. form)	pl. (primary paradigm)
nom.	*kurubā* /kuruba-ā/	*kuruba*
gen.	*kurubāi* /kuruba-ā-i/	*kurubai* /kuruba-i/
dat.	*kurubā'* /kuruba-ā-aś/	*kurubā'* /kuruba-aś/
abl.	*kurubāin* /kuruba-ā-in/	*kurubain* /kuruba-in/

2.3.2.11.3. Of ***i*-stems**, there are three variants. Type III, the morphologically basic type, consists of a few nouns only; it is characterised by a stable root vowel which does not change throughout the paradigm. In contrast to that, the nouns of type IIIa show a lengthening of the root vowel in the genitive and the dative of the primary (plural) paradigm, in conjunction with a loss of the stem vowel *-i*. IIIb is a subtype of IIIa; here the stem vowel *-i* is preceded by an original */s/* which is preserved as a geminate in the genitive and dative of the primary paradigm (mostly also in the def. and indef. nom.sg.); the root vowel preceding this geminate can never be lengthened. The other case forms show a regular interchange of intervocalic */s/* and */h/* according to the common sound laws.

2.3.2.11.3.1. A. type III: *i*-stem

geri "cattle"	sg. (def. form)	pl. (primary paradigm)
nom.	*gerie* /geri-ā/	*geri*
gen.	*geriei* /geri-ā-i/	*gerie* /geri-e/
dat.	*geriea'* /geri-ā-aś/	*geria'* /geri-aś/
abl.	*geriein* /geri-ā-in/	*gerin* /geri-in/

2.3.2.11.3.2. A. type IIIa: *i*-stem

tari- "star"	sg. (def. form)	pl. (primary paradigm)
nom.	*tarie* /tari-ā/	*tari*
gen.	*tariei* /tari-ā-i/	*tāre* /tari-e/
dat.	*tariea'* /tari-ā-aś/	*tāra'* /tari-aś/
abl.	*tariein* /tari-ā-in/	*tarin* /tari-in/

2.3.2.11.3.3. A. type IIIb: *i*-stem

mehi- "fly"	sg. (def. form)	pl. (primary paradigm)
nom.	*messā* /mesi-ā/; *mēhā* (secondary)	*mehi*
gen.	*mehiei* /mesi-ā-i/	*messe* /mesi-e/
dat.	*mehiea'* /mesi-ā-aś/	*messa'* /mesi-aś/
abl.	*mehiein* /mesi-ā-in/	*mehin* /mesi-in/

2.3.2.11.4. From a formal point of view, the stem class of the word in question is insignificant for the declension of nouns denoting persons. The declension pattern of type IV is distinguished from all the other paradigms by the appearance of a pronominal genitive ending *-ge* and by an analytic formation of the ablative which consists of the genitive form combined with *farātun* "by (means, help of), from the side of", serving as a postposition here. Depending on their plural formation, the nouns in question can be further divided into subtypes IVa (suffix *-un/-in*) and IVb (suffix *-men*).

2.3.2.11.4.1. A. type IVa (denoting persons):

mīs- "man"	sg. (def. form)	pl. (secondary) *-un/-in*
nom.	*mīhā* /mīs-ā/	*mīhun* /mīs-un/
gen.	*mīhāge* /mīs-ā-ge/	*mīhunge* /mīs-un-ge/
dat.	*mīhā'* /mīs-ā-aś/	*mīhunna'* /mīs-un-aś/
abl.	*mīhāge farātun*	*mīhunge farātun*

2.3.2.11.4.2. A. type IVb (denoting persons):

kokko- "younger brother/sister"	sg. (def. form)	pl. (secondary) *-men*
nom.	*kokkō* /kokko-ā/	*kokkōmen* /kokko-ā-men/
gen.	*kokkōge* /kokko-ā-ge/	*kokkōmenge* /kokko-ā-men-ge/
dat.	*kokkōa'* /kokko-ā-aś/	*kokkōmenna'* /kokko-ā-men-aś/
abl.	*kokkōge farātun*	*kokkōmenge farātun*

2.3.2.12. Fua' Mulaku

Regarding their basic structure, the declension types of the Fua' Mulaku dialect correspond with those of Aḍḍū to a high extent. The particular declension classes occurring in Fua' Mulaku cannot be outlined with the same transparency as in the neighbour dialect of Aḍḍū, however. This fact can be explained by interferences of different kinds; thus, on the one hand, we observe special developments in the field of phonetics, phonology and morphology in the different vernaculars of the eight original villages of Fua' Mulaku which are merging more and more, and, on the other hand, there is an increasing influence of the standard language. Consequently, the tables given below cannot be more than a guideline for understanding the main types, the corresponding Aḍḍū paradigms serving as a general parameter. Without comparing the declension patterns of Aḍḍū which are still "intact" from a diachronic point of view, it would be hard to systematise and to describe the numerous irregularities of the case endings and the frequent morphonological changes of the nominal roots occurring in the dialect of Fua' Mulaku.

2.3.2.12.1. In the declension of **consonant stems**, the ending of the gen.sg. varies between *-i*, *-e* and *-ei*, the two latter variants obviously emerging on the level of phonetic realisation. In some cases, the genitive endings are exact equivalents of those of declension types I, Ia and Ib in Aḍḍū,[298] but there are also correspondences of (1) F. gen. *-e* vs. A. gen. *-i*, (2) F. gen. *-i* vs. A. gen. *-e*, and (3) F. gen. *-ei* vs. A. gen. *-e*, *-i*, which can only to a limited degree be traced back to phonological regularities. The rule described in 2.3.2.11.1 for Aḍḍū, according to which for consonant stems the quality of the vowel of the last stem syllable decides whether the genitive ends in *-e* or *-i*, is only to a certain extent applicable to the corresponding nouns in Fua' Mulaku (cf. F. *maha*, A. *mas* "fish", gen. *mah-i* etc.). As the following examples show, the genitive ending is hardly predictable in Fua' Mulaku, cp. for (1) A. *baḷa*, F. *baḷo* "dog" → gen. A. *baḷ-i*, F. *baḷ-e*; A. *himāra*, F. *himāro* "donkey" → gen. A. *himār-i*, F. *himār-e*; A. *naṇa*, F. *naṇo* "fishing line" → gen. A. *naṇ-i*, F. *naṇ-e*. While in Aḍḍū a (short or long) *-ă-* in the last syllable of the stem is responsible for a genitive ending in *-i*, there are many cases in Fua' Mulaku to which this rule cannot be applied, as the given examples show.

[298] Cf. 2.3.2.11.1; cp., e.g., A.F. *mūṇu* "face", gen. *mūṇ-e*; A.F. *bin /bim/* "earth, land", gen. *bim-e*; A.F. *dun /dum/* "smoke", gen. *dum-e*; A. *mas*, F. *maha* "fish", A.F. gen. *mah-i*; A.F. *kan /kam/* "fact; verb", gen. *kam-i*; A. *haňda*, F. *haňdo* "moon", A.F. gen. *haňd-i*; A. *mau*, F. *mal* "flower", A.F. gen. *mal-i*; A.F. *fua' /fuak/* "areca nut", gen. *fuak-i*.

For the divergence of A. gen. *-e*, F. gen. *-i* (2), cp. A. nom.pl. *beḷeu /beḷell* "cats" (sg.def. *beḷelā* "the cat") → gen.pl. *beḷel-e* vs. F. nom.pl. *beḷal* (sg. *beḷal(u)*) → gen.pl. *beḷal-i*; A. nom.pl. *mīdeu /mīdell* "mice, rats" (sg.def. *mīdelā*) → gen.pl. *mīdel-e* vs. F. nom.pl. *mīdal* (sg. *mīdal(u)*) → gen.pl. *mīdal-i* (for the peculiar number formation characterising these two nouns in Fua' Mulaku, cf. 2.3.2.12.5.5). Note that in both these cases, the vowel of the last stem-syllable is an *a* in the Fua' Mulaku variant which may have caused the *-i* of the primary genitive.

According to the sound laws, the final *-e* of the genitive A. *beḷel-e* (nom. A. *beḷeu*) can be explained by the last stem-syllable not containing an *a* vowel. In this case we must consider that the *e* occurring in the last stem-syllable of A. *beḷeu* has to be regarded as a secondary vowel as the inter-Maldivian correspondences F. *beḷalu* and M. *buḷā /buḷall* and extra-Maldivian cognates show; cp. Sinh. sg.def. *baḷalā* (stem *baḷal*), but also older forms of this word such as Pa. *biḷāra-*, *biḷāla-*, Skt. *biḍāla-* "cat" (cf. GEIGER 1941, 120, no. 1791 and TURNER 1966, II, 521, no. 9237). In Aḍḍū, the original *a* seems to have developed into *e* across the retroflex *ḷ*, probably under the influence of the preceding *e*. There are many examples of a similar adaptation among the consonant stems enlarged with final *-u*.[299] In the case of A. *mīdeu* "mouse, rat" which has no retroflex consonant that might have caused such a change of the vowel, the *e* of the last stem syllable can possibly be explained by assuming an analogical influence of the word denoting "cat" (cp. M. *mīdā /mīdall*, Sinh. sg.def. *mīyā*, stem *mī*; Pa. *mūsika-*, OIA m. *mūṣ-*, *mūṣikā-*; cf. GEIGER 1941, 135, no. 2015 and TURNER 1966, II, 592, no. 10258).

For the divergence of the type F. gen. *-ei*, A. gen. *-e/-i* (3), there are numerous examples; cp. A.F. *kaduru* "date (palm)" → gen. A. *kadur-e*, F. *kadur-ei*; A. *dora*, F. *doro* "door" → gen. A. *dor-e*, F. *dor-ei*; A. *huvaňda*, F. *huvaňdo* "fragrance, perfume" → gen. A. *huvaňd-i*, F. *huvaňd-ei*; A. *kośāra*, F. *kośāro* "store-house" → gen. A. *kośār-i*, F. *kośār-ei*). As in the case of the genitive variants discussed above, the occurrence of the genitive ending F. *-ei* is not predictable. Probably these differences can be explained by local phonetic variation.

2.3.2.12.2. The dative ending *-aśa* (← *-aṭa*), which is typical for Fua' Mulaku, occurs only in connection with the following features: 1) in the case of all stems in *-ā* that go back to definite forms (cp., e.g., *bappā* "father" → dat. *bappāśa*; *mīhā* "man, person" → dat. *mīhāśa*; *kokkō* "younger brother/sister" (← **kokkoā*, → dat. *kokkōśa*) or are loanwords (cp., e.g. *haftā* "week" → dat. *haftāśa*; *fullā* "deer" → dat. *fullāśa*); 2) as a rule, in the case of *a*-stems, with a concomitant lengthening of the stem-final *-a* into *-ā* (cp., e.g., *fia* "wing" → dat. *fiāśa*, *dea* "water, liquid" → dat. *deāśa*); 3) in the case of all consonant stems in *-VhV* (← F. **-VsV* ← Dhiv. *-Vs*) (cp., e.g., *gehe* ← *ges* "tree" → dat. *gehaśa*; *maha* ← *mas* "fish" → dat. *mahaśa*; *faha* ← *fas* "soil" → dat. *fahaśa*); 4) in the case of some consonant stems which either show an archaic declension pattern or which are obsolete now; the words in question preserve the final *-u* characterising the oblique case together with the dative ending, so that they look like *u*-stems. Cp., e.g., *mituru* "friend" (obs.) → dat. *mituruśa*; *beḷalu* "cat" → dat. *beḷaluśa*; *midalu* "mouse, rat" → dat. *midaluśa*.

In all other cases, the dative ending is *-aha*; this is true for all consonant stems (with the exception of the original "*s*-stems", cf. type 3) above) and all *i*-stems. It cannot be decided with certainty whether *-aha* is etymologically distinct from *-aśa* or whether all the variants of the dative ending that occur in Fua' Mulaku can be explained as allomorphs of an underlying *-aṭa* (cf. 2.3.1.1.3.2). — As to the *i*-stems, particular changes of the dative ending led to the existence of two subgroups which can be characterised as follows: 1) The nominal root

[299] Cp., e.g., A. *ateḷe* "atoll" vs. M. *atoḷu* ← *ateḷu*; for this sound change cf. 1.2.4.4.

remains unchanged throughout the whole paradigm (cf. also 2.3.2.7.1.2.1), the dative ending always being *-aha* (cp., e.g., *boli* "shell" → dat. *boliaha*; *jōli* "Maldivian chair" → dat. *jōliaha*; *māvahi* "large wave in the open sea" → dat. *māvahiaha*). A subtype within this group is characterised by a reduction of the ending *-aha* to *-hā*, without a change of the root. There are also some words showing both forms, such as *jangali* "jungle" (→ dat. *jangaliaha* and *jangalihā*) or *aśi* "low table" (→ dat. *aśiaha* and *aśihā*). Many words possess only the reduced form of the ending; cp., e.g., *ali* "light" → dat. *alihā*; *bakari* "goat" → dat. *bakarihā*; *dōṇi* "dhoni-boat" → dat. *dōṇihā*). **2)** The root vowel of disyllabic *i*-stems is either lengthened throughout the whole paradigm or (in rare cases) only in particular forms of the paradigm, the stem vowel *-i* being lost (cf. also 2.3.2.8.1.4.2). In these cases, the dative ending *-aha* remains unchanged; cp., e.g., *dēli* "ink" → dat. *dēlaha*; *bāśi* "brinjal" → dat. *bāśaha*; *dīṇi* "bird" → dat. *dīṇaha*. The same holds true for trisyllabic *i*-stems which normally do not show a lengthening of the root vowel but are characterised by a loss of the stem vowel *-i*; cp., e.g., *akiri* "coral stone" → dat. *akiraha*; *atiri* "beach on the inner side of the atoll" → dat. *atiraha*; *fiohi* "knife" → dat. *fiossaha* etc.

2.3.2.12.3. While in the dialects of Aḍḍū and Māle, the vocalism of the ablative ending depends on the stem in question, there is only a uniform ending *-en* in Fuaʾ Mulaku. For consonant stems, cp., e.g., *aʾ /at/* "hand, arm" → abl. *at-en*; *aharo* "year" → abl. *ahar-en*; *mūṇu* "face" → abl. *mūṇ-en*; for *i*-stems, cp., e.g., *aśi* "low table" → abl. *aśi-en*; *akiri* "coral stone" → abl. *akiren* (← *akiri-en*); *dēli* "ink" → abl. *dēlen* (← *dēli-en*); for *a*-stems, cp., e.g., *attela* "palm" → abl. *attela-en*, *fia* "wing" → abl. *fia-en*; *buma* "eyebrow" → abl. *buma-en*.

2.3.2.12.4. In Fuaʾ Mulaku, there are also some cases of analytic case formation. As a rule, nouns denoting persons form their ablatives either by means of the stem form in combination with the postposition *aten* (lit. "by / from the hand (of)", abl./instr. of *aʾ /at/* "hand") or by means of the genitive combined with the postposition *farāten* ("frozen" abl. "from the side of", cf. 2.3.2.11.4). Cp., e.g., *dāri aten* "from (the side of) the child", *dārun aten* "from the children"; *kāfāge farāten* "from the grandfather", *kābafaunge farātun* "from the ancestors" (for the genitive ending *-ge* cf. 2.3.2.11.4). In very rare cases, the stem of nouns denoting animals is combined with the word *gai* "body" which, albeit being fully inflectible, has no other function than that of a formal element (cp. the examples given in 2.3.2.12.5.5 below).

2.3.2.12.5. The tables below will show only those declension paradigms that can be considered as prototypes in the dialect of Fuaʾ Mulaku. For the phonetical and phonological variants of the genitive and dative forms cf. 2.3.2.12.1 and 2.3.2.12.2 above.

2.3.2.12.5.1. Consonant stems

sg.	"fish"	"face"	"date (palm)"
nom.	*mah-a*	*mūṇ-u*	*kadur-u*
gen.	*mah-i*	*mūṇ-e*	*kadur-ei*
dat.	*mah-aśa*	*mūṇ-aha*	*kadur-aha*
abl.	*mah-en*	*mūṇ-en*	*kadur-en*

2.3.2.12.5.2. *i*-stems

sg.	"shell"	"goat"	"brinjal"	"knife"
nom.	*boli*	*bakari*	*bą̄śi*	*fiohi*
gen.	*boli-e*	*bakari-e*	*bą̄ś-e*	*fioss-e*
dat.	*boli-aha*	*bakari-hā*	*bą̄ś-aha*	*fioss-aha*
abl.	*boli-en*	*bakari-en*	*bą̄ś-en*	*fioss-en*

2.3.2.12.5.3. *a*-stems

sg.	"shallows"
nom.	*tela*
gen.	*tela-i*
dat.	*telāśa* /tela-aśa/
abl.	*tela-en*

2.3.2.12.5.4. Declension pattern of nouns designating persons:

	"mother"		"child"	
	singular	plural	singular	plural
nom.	*mammā* (def.)	*mammā-men*	*dāri* (*i*-stem)	*dārun*[300]
gen.	*mammā-ge*	*mammāmen-ge*	*dāri-ge*	*dārun-ge*
dat.	*mammāśa* /mammā-aśa/	*mammāmenna'* /mammā-men-aś/	*dār-aha*	*dārunna'* /dārun-aś/
abl.	*mammāge farāten*	*mammāmenge farāten*	*dāri aten*	*dārun aten*

2.3.2.12.5.5. In the case of a few consonant stems designating animals (*beḷal(u)* "cat", *mīdal(u)* "mouse, rat", *nannigattu* "snake") which have to be regarded as exceptions, the original plural meaning of the primary declension has been conserved in Fua' Mulaku until present; in these cases, a singularised paradigm cannot be built from the definite form, however. Instead of that, the nominative ending in *-u* in most cases (but not always) has the meaning of a singular, while the corresponding form without *u* (being the original oblique case) in most cases represents the plural. Besides that, there is an analytic declension type (sg. II) consisting of the oblique case and the noun *gai* "body" which has only singular meaning. The regular plural is formed by means of the suffixes *-men* and *-te'* /*-tek*/. The word *nannigati*[301] (pl.) "snake" has no primary singular (sg. I) at all, a singularised paradigm with the nom. *nannigattu* can only be built analytically. The following table may serve as an illustration of the complicated situation.

[300] For this formation cf. 2.3.2.8.2.2.

[301] This noun obviously represents a taboo-word, **nam-ni-gati* "the one not having received a name".

"mouse, rat"	sg. I	sg. II	pl. (primary)
nom.	*mīdalu*	*mīdalu*	*mīdal*
gen.	*mīdali*	*mīdalu gai*	*mīdali*
dat.	*mīdaluśa*	*mīdalu gāśa*	*mīdalaha*
abl.	*mīdalen*	*mīdalu gaen*	*mīdalen*
"cat"	sg. I	sg. II	pl. (primary)
nom.	*beḷalu*	*beḷalu*	*beḷal*
gen.	*beḷali*	*beḷalu gai*	*beḷali*
dat.	*beḷaluśa*	*beḷalu gāśa*	*beḷalaha*
abl.	*beḷalen*	*beḷalu gaen*	*beḷalen*
"snake"	sg. I	sg. II	pl. (primary)
nom.		*nannigattu*	*nannigati*
gen.		*nannigattu gai*	*nannigatte*
dat.		*nannigattu gāśa*	*nannigattaha*
abl.		*nannigattu gaen*	*nannigaten*

2.3.2.13. Māle

In contrast to the numerous dialectal differences we find in the declension patterns of the southern dialects, the nominal inflection of northern Dhivehi is rather uniform, the paradigms of the standard language being representative for the whole dialectal area. As against the synthetic-inflectional declension paradigms of the southern dialects, north Dhivehi has more agglutinative features. Only the formation of the dative and ablative follows the traditional patterns, the case-marking suffixes (dat. *-aʾ /-aś/*, abl. *-in/-un*) being exact correspondences of those of the Aḍḍū-dialect. The genitive suffix *-ge* which in the southernmost dialects occurs only with nouns denoting persons, has been generalised in the standard language, now representing the only suffix with the meaning of a genitive. While in the southern dialects locative functions are expressed by the genitive (or a common gen./loc.) or (in the case of indefinite nouns) the oblique case, the language of Māle possesses a special locative which is characterised by the suffix *-gā /-gai/*. Without a doubt this suffix must be identified with the gen./loc. of the substantive *gai* "body". Thus, M. *gahu-gā* originally means "at/in the body of the tree".[302] The combination of the oblique case of a basic noun with *gai* "in, at the body", here appearing in the function of a locative, corresponds to the formation of a secondary analytic singular paradigm occurring in Fuaʾ Mulaku (cf. 2.3.2.12.5.5); in Māle, this has been restricted to the form of the locative.

Except for the nominative (or direct) case, all case forms are derived from a stem which with all probability originally had the function of a *casus obliquus*. In stems ending in a vowel, the formation of the genitive and locative co-occurs with a lengthening of the stem-

[302] The connection of the locative suffix *-gā* with Sinh. *gāvā* "near" which has been suggested by HLSD, 44, must be excluded because of phonological reasons, cf. GEIGER (1919), 67.

final short vowel. In *a*-stems, the lengthened vowel is surprisingly spelled with ⟨*-ai-*⟩; cp., e.g., ⟨*aňgaige*⟩, ⟨*aňgaigai*⟩ "of/in the mouth". Possibly this spelling can be explained by assuming an underlying synthetic form of the genitive as the one we find in southern Dhivehi (*aňgai*), to which the suffix *-ge*, now serving as the only genitive ending, might have been added in a redundant way. Such a double formation of the genitive would be imaginable for a transitional stage between the original synthetic inflection and the modern agglutinative pattern; thus, the spelling ⟨*aňgai-*⟩ could have conserved a "stage of formal uncertainty". From the point of view of historical linguistics, however, this association would not be correct because the agglutinative genitive in *-ge* seems always to have been derived directly from the stem (or the *casus obliquus*) as consonant stems show (cp., e.g., *gahu-ge* "of the tree"). Maybe the spelling ⟨*-ai-*⟩ for *a* lengthened before the locative suffix can be explained by an adaptation to the spelling of the genitive as there cannot be any doubt that in the given case the suffix *-gā* originally was added to the oblique case as well.

2.3.2.13.1. The following table will give an illustration of the widely uniform character of the singular declension types of the different stem classes:

sg.	cons. stem "tree"	*i*-stem "room"	*a*-stem "mouth"	root noun "house"	frozen def.form "man"
nom.	*gas*	*koṭari*	*aňga*	*ge*	*mīhā*
gen.	*gahu-ge*	*koṭarī-ge*	*aňgā-ge* ⟨aňgaige⟩	*gē-ge*	*mīhā-ge*
dat.	*gah-aʾ* /-aś/	*koṭari-aʾ* /-aś/	*aňgāʾ* /aňga-aś/	*ge-aʾ* /-aś/	*mīhāʾ* /mīhā-aś/
abl.	*gah-un*	*koṭarīn* /koṭari-in/	*aňga-in*	*ge-in*	*mīhā-in*
loc.	*gahu-gā* /-gai/	*koṭarī-gā* /-gai/	*aňgā-gā* ⟨aňgaigai⟩	*gē-gā* /-gai/	*mīhā-gā* /-gai/

2.3.2.13.2. The following table illustrates the declension of the consonant stem *gas* "tree" in the indefinite singular and the plural. The suffix *-aku* characterising the indefinite *casus obliquus* (cf. 2.3.2.3.1) is combined with the inherited case-endings of the dative, */-ak-aś/* and the ablative/instrumental, */-ak-un/*, while the nominative variant of the suffix, *-eʾ /-ek/*, occurs only in combination with the secondary case forms of the genitive, */-ek-ge/* and the locative, */-ek-gai/*. The arrangement of the suffixes marking indefiniteness and plural follows a strictly hierarchical order; this can clearly be seen in the formation of the indefinite plural which consists of the nominal stem + plural suffix + indefinite suffix + case suffix. The example given below can be taken as a prototype of the other stems as well.

"tree"	indef. sg.	indef. pl.
nom.	*gaheʾ* /gas-ek/	*gastakeʾ* /gas-tak-ek/
obl.	*gahaku* /gas-aku/	—
gen.	*gahegge* /-ek-ge/	*gastakegge* /-ek-ge/
dat.	*gahak-aʾ* /-aś/	*gastakak-aʾ* /-aś/
abl.	*gahak-un*	*gastakak-un*
loc.	*gaheggā* /-ek-gai/	*gastakeggā* /-ek-gai/

2.3.2.13.3. The following table shows the plural declension of nouns which uses the suffixes *-ta' /-tak/*, *-in/-un* and *-men*. For the use of the two latter plural suffixes cf. 2.3.2.9.2.1 and 2.3.2.9.2.2. The words serving as examples are *gas* "tree", *mīhā* "man" (stem *mīs*), *dari* "child" and *bappa* "father".

plural	"tree"	"people"	"children"	"fathers"
nom.	*gas-ta' /*gas-tak/	*mīhun /*mīs-un/	*darin /*dari-in/	*bappa-men*
gen.	*gas-taku-ge*	*mīhun-ge*	*darin-ge*	*bappa-men-ge*
dat.	*gas-tak-a' /-*aś/	*mīhunna' /*mīsun-aś/	*darinna' /*darin-aś/	*bappa-menna' /-*men-aś/
abl.	*gas-tak-un*	*mīhun-ge farātun*	*darin-ge farātun*	*bappā-men-ge farātun*
loc.	*gas-taku-gā /-*gai/	*mīhun-gā /-*gai/	*darin-gā /-*gai/	*bappa-men-gā /-*gai/

2.4. The adjective

Dhivehi is one of the few Modern IA languages (besides Sinhalese, Bengali, Assamese, Oriya; cf. ZOGRAF 1976, 137 or MASICA 1991, 251) in which the adjective does not change its form at all. Thus, the categories of case and number as well as the degrees of comparison cannot be expressed by the adjective itself. From the morphological point of view, it makes no difference whether an adjective has the function of an attribute or a predicate. The only changes that may occur are certain sandhi-effects concerning adjectives in predicative position when they are followed by a word with an initial vowel, such as the quotation marker [*ē*], written ⟨*eve*⟩. Cp., e.g., M. *mi koṭari rīccē* (*rīti* + *ē*[303]) "this room is beautiful" as against *rīti koṭari-e' /-ek/* "a beautiful room".

2.4.1. In Dhivehi most of the adjectives are not morphologically distinct from substantive stems; cp., e.g., M. *ā*, A. *au*, F. *al* "new"; M. *bā*, A. *bau*, F. *bal* "old, ancient, antique"; M. *bīru*, A.F. *bīri* "deaf"; M. *digu*, A.F. *digi* "tall" (of human beings); M.A. *avas*, F. *avaha* "rapid, fast"; M. *boḍu*, A. *boňḍa*, F. *boňḍo* "big, large"; M. *raňgaḷu*, A. *raňgaḷa*, F. *raňgaḷo* "beautiful, pretty; good, right"; M.A.F. *don* "fair (haired and skinned)"; M.A.F. *duru* "far"; M.A.F. *huturu* "ugly"; M. *hima*, A.F. *hema* "thin" (e.g. of pencils); M.A. *hiki*, F. *hīki* "dry; thin, meagre", etc.

As a rule, every nominal stem (i.e. the oblique case of a noun) can be used as an adjective if this is not excluded by the meaning. Because of their specific semantics, qualifying and quantifying terms are especially apt to such a double use. Hence, in many cases it is clear from the context only whether a given noun has to be regarded as an adjective or a substantive. Cp., e.g., the following examples which illustrate the use of *ran* "gold, of gold, golden" and *rihi* "silver, of silver, silver(y)" as a substantive: ... *mī ranun o' moḷōgaňḍa'* "... this was a golden axe", lit. "of gold" (abl./instr.; T3, 35); as an attributive adjective: ... *ran moḷōgaňḍāi rihi moḷōgaňḍāi* ... "with the golden axe and with the silver axe" (T3, 48; *moḷōgaňḍā-āi* def. form + particle *-āi* "and"). For other examples of nouns of this type cp. M. *hūnu*, A.F. *huṇu* "heat; hot, warm"; M. *huḷaňgu*, A. *huḷaňga*, F. *huḷaňgo* "West, west wind; western"; M.A.F. *mugu* "lentil, gram; green"; M. *majā* "amusing, exciting; fun";

[303] */rīti-eve/* → **rītyē* → *rīccē*; cf. 1.3.9.2.1.

M. *baru*, A. *bara*, F. *baro* "heavy; load"; M.F. *bali* (A. *nikameti*) "weak, sick", M.F.A. "illness, disease" etc.

2.4.2. Loan adjectives, which to a large extent come directly from Arabic, are used without formal changes. If necessary, they are adapted to the phonetical system of Dhivehi; in many cases, however, such adaptations do not effect the spelling because the original writing is generally imitated. Cp., e.g., M. *hagīgī* ⟨*haqīqī*⟩ "real" ← Arab. *ḥaqīqī* "real, true, original"; M. *fagīru* ⟨*faqīru*⟩, A.F. *fakīri* "poor" ← Arab. *faqīr* "poor (one)"; M.A.F. *tāzā* "fresh" ← Pers. *tāza* (in modern pronunciation *tāze*) "fresh, young, new".

2.4.3. Depending on the meaning of the verbs in question, the participles of the present and the preterite can be used as adjectives as well. In the modern language, there are many participial adjectives that are used independently of the original verbs, which in some cases are obsolete nowadays; cp., e.g., the participle M. *guḷē* "fitting, appropriate, suitable" (part.pres. of *guḷenī* "to be combined (with)"), with its "frozen" negated form *nu guḷē* now meaning "irrelevant", or M. *dirē* "being alive, living" (part.pres. of *direnī* "to come into life"). Some of the participial formations have become idiomatic in the modern language, in syntagms consisting of a nominal and a verbal part. Cp., e.g., M. *agu huri* "expensive, precious", lit. "price being (there)" (*agu* "value, price"; *huri* part.pret. of *hunnanī* "to be, stand, stay, remain") or M. *kamu nu dē* "hopeless", lit. "fact not giving" (*kamu* obl. "fact", *nu* "not", *dē* part.pres. of *denī* "to give").

2.4.4. There are only a few adjectives in Dhivehi that are characterised by formal features which distinguish them morphologically from nouns. At least two suffixal elements that are used to derive adjectives from nouns must be noted in this context: first, the originally independent nominal stem *veri* occurring in this function most frequently in Māle and, second, the adjective *gada* which is common to all dialects of Dhivehi and is still used as an independent adjective meaning "strong, rich". The *i*-stem *-teri*, which occurs only in the function of an adjective suffix, is obviously confined to northern Dhivehi. The comparatively rare suffix *-(v)eti* is also more frequent in the standard language than in southern Dhivehi.

2.4.4.1. There are many compound adjectives that are derived from nouns by means of *gada* "strong, rich" (cf. above). From their formation, these adjectives represent an inverse type of *bahuvrīhi*, the adjective *gada* "strong, rich" serving as the second part. Cp., e.g., M. *aḍu-gada*, A. *aḍa-gada*, F. *aḍo-gada* "loud, noisy", lit. "rich in noise" (M. *aḍu*, A. *aḍa*, F. *aḍo* "noise, voice"); M. *varu-gada*, A. *vara-gada*, F. *varo-gada* "strong, powerful" (M. *varu*, A. *vara*, F. *varo* "strength, power"); M.A.F. *ali-gada* "bright" (*ali* "light"); M.A.F. *vas-gada* "smelly" (M.A. *vas*, F. *vaha* "smell"); M. *avi-gada* "sunny" (M. *avi* "sunshine"); M.A.F. *vai-gada* "windy" (M.A.F. *vai* "wind"); M. *bāru-gada* "effective" (M. *bāru* "force, power, tight"). The names of a couple of friends appearing in some fairy tales, viz. M.A.F. *aňga gada miturā* "the eloquent friend" (lit. "the friend (having) a rich mouth") and M.A.F. *aňga maḍu/maḍa/maḍo miturā* "the taciturn friend" (lit. "the friend (having) a silent mouth"), belong to these formations as well (M.A.F. *aňga* "mouth"; for M. *maḍu* etc. "soft, slow" cf. 2.6.7.4.6; on the *mot savant mituru* "friend", being obsolete in the modern language, cf. 2.3.1.3.4.1). It cannot be excluded that there are some more (still unknown) formations of the inverse *bahuvrīhi*-type with other adjectives in Dhivehi.

2.4.4.2. Many adjectives use the nominal *i*-stem *veri* as a derivational suffix which originally must have had the meaning of "leader" or "person" (cf. 2.3.2.4.2). While this particular meaning of *veri* is still perceivable in composition with nouns, it is no longer transparent in adjective formation. The main function of *-veri* consists in the derivation of adjectives from nouns, a large number of which represents foreign words of Arabic origin. Thus, the suffix *-veri* can be used to form Maldivian adjectives from any Arabic loanword, if there are no obstacles from the semantic point of view. Cp., e.g., M. *adabu-veri* "polite" (M. *adabu* ← Arab. *adab* "good manners, good behaviour"); M. *nasību-veri* "happy" (M. *nasību* ← Arab. *naṣīb* "share (in the profits), happiness, chance, fate"); M. *taguvā-veri* "religious, devout, pious" (M. *taguvā* ⟨*taquvā*⟩ ← Arab. *taqwā* "fear of God, piety, devoutness"); M. *šukuru-veri* "grateful" (M. *šukuru* ← Arab. *šukr* "gratitude"); M.A.F. *hasāda-veri* "envious, jealous" (M.A.F. *hasada* ← Arab. *ḥasad* "envy"); *harakātteri /harakāt-veri/* "active" (← Arab. pl. *ḥarakāt*, sg. *ḥaraka* "motion, action" among other meanings); *amānātteri /amānāt-veri/* "trustworthy, responsible" (← Arab. pl. *amānāt* "goods in trust"; sg. *amāna* "trustworthiness, fidelity, confidence"); M. *zīnatteri /zīnat-veri/* "magnificent, splendid" (← Arab. *zīnat* "adornment, decoration").

Besides nouns of different, sometimes unknown origin, the first part of the compound, which contains the meaning, can also consist of adjectives. Cp. e.g., M.A.F. *buddi-veri* "wise" (M.A.F. *buddi* "mind", possibly a *mot savant*, cp. Skt., Pa., Pkt. *buddhi-* "intelligence, discernment, mind"; TURNER 1966, II, 525, no. 9277); M. *dogu-veri* "false, dishonest, lying" (M. *dogu* "lie, false"; cp. OIA *drógha-* "injurious; injury, treachery"; TURNER 1966, I, 379, no. 6640); M. *aniā-veri* "cruel" (M. *aniā* "cruelty"[304]); M.A.F. *ōgā-veri* "kind"; M.A.F. *ufā-veri* "happy, lucky" (A. also *ufā* "id."); M. *tedu-veri*, A.F. *tede-veri* "honest" (A. also *tede* "id."; cp. the compound verb M. *tedu-vanī* "to get up, stand", lit. "become upright"). M. *enani-veri* "lonely" is derived from the adjective M. *enani* "alone". It seems that M. *lobu-veri* "dear, affectionate" must be kept separate from the noun M. *lōbi* "love" which can also be used as an adjective in the sense of "lovely". Whether *lobu-* and *lōbi* are etymologically connected with each other and of what kind their morphological relation may be is still unknown. It seems that **lōbi-veri* does not exist (any longer), but it obviously was the basis of substantivisations such as *lōbiveriā /-veri-ā/* "lover" and *lōbiverikan* "love affair, proof of love", as well as the adjective *lōbiveti* which is a synonym of *lobuveri* (cp. NCLHR 1985-91, 13, 21-2). M. *hitāma-veri* "unhappy, sad" is derived from the noun M. *hitāma* "sadness, misery" the etymology of which is unknown. The first part of M. *eku-veri* "kind, friendly" is identical with M. *eku*, an adverb reflecting the numeral "one" with the meaning "together (with), whole, entire". M. *eku* obviously represents the "frozen" oblique case of the numeral "one", *eke'* (*/ek-ek/* indef.), from which also the locative forms M. *ekugā /eku-gai/*, A.F. *ekī* are derived with the same meaning (lit. "in one").

2.4.4.3. Only a few adjectives are built with *-teri*, the use of which is confined to the standard language, as their second part. Cp., e.g., *ufeddun-teri* "creative, productive" (*ufeddun* is the verbal noun of *ufaddanī* "to create, make"); *bēnun-teri* "useful" (*bēnun* "need, want, wish"); *kiaman-teri* "obedient" (cp. the complex verb *kiaman vanī* "obey"); *rakkau-teri* or *rakkā-teri*

[304] C. ZOLLER (priv. inf.) proposes an etymological connection with OIA *avanāyá-* "putting down", Sinh. *ona* "act of throwing and pouring down" (TURNER 1966, I, 35, no. 790).

"safe" (cp. the complex verbs *rakkau kuranī* "to save (money)" and *rakkau vun* "to bear, give birth (to)"). A few adjectives with *-teri* can be substantivised; cp., e.g., *ehīteriā /-teri-ā/* "volunteer", derived from *ehī-teri* "helpful" (*ehī* "help"). For the enlargement of the *i*-stem *-teri* by means of the suffix *-ā*, the same rules apply as for */-veri-ā/* (cf. 2.4.4.2 above and 2.3.2.4.1).

2.4.4.4. In the modern language, the adjective suffix *-(v)eti* is mostly met with in the northern area. Cp., e.g., M. *lōbi-veti* "dear" (*lōbi* "love(ly)"); M. *lobu-veti* "dear, affectionate" (*lobu-* "dear"; cf. 2.4.4.2 above); M. *ladu-veti* "shy" (M. *ladu* "id."; A. *lada*, F. *lado* "id."); M. *dahi-veti* "selfish, greedy" (M.A.F. *dahi* "id."). The only adjective with *-(v)eti* which is attested for southern Dhivehi is A. *riveti*, F. *ri(v)eti* "beautiful, pretty"; in the modern standard language, this word occurs only in its contracted form, *rīti*. GEIGER already realised from the variants *riveti* and *rīeti* that the word contains an old copula form (1902, 933, no. 356); he analysed the word as consisting of the stem represented by Pa. *rūpa-* (← OIA *rūpá-* "form, beauty") and *eti*, the Maldivian equivalent of Sinh. *äti* "it is" (Skt. *asti*; cf. 3.11.2.4). While the OIA (and MIA) word meaning "beauty, form" has an immediate continuant in Sinh. *ruva* (stem *rū-* "form, image, comeliness, beauty", cf. GEIGER 1941, 148, no. 2205), the corresponding Dhivehi form **riv- / rī-* is not preserved as an independent word in the modern language. In Dhivehi the noun meaning "beauty" is in its turn derived from the adjective (M. *rīti-kan*, NCLHR 1985-91, 3, 50). The derivation of *riveti / rīti* from **rūpavantī-* as proposed by TURNER (1985, 87, no. 10804a) must be excluded for phonological reasons, even though many other adjectives in *-(v)eti* exist in Dhivehi which were unknown to TURNER. In modern Dhivehi, *-(v)eti* has become a suffix which can approximately be translated as "comprising, containing, embodying"; cp., e.g., *lōbi-veti* "containing love". The glide *-v-* which in all the adjectives in question precedes the formant *-eti*, must have been abstracted from nouns ending in *-u* or *-v* [*w*]; a possible source of this might be the reconstructed form **riv-* mentioned above, or a word like M. *ladu* "shy" before it was transferred to nouns ending in other sounds.

2.4.4.5. Particularly in the standard language, attributive and predicative adjectives denoting colours can be enlarged with M.A.F. *kula* "colour; coloured" without a change of their meaning; cp., e.g., M. *vilu (kula)* "turquoise(-coloured)". A lighter tint of a colour is expressed by M. *madu*, A. *mada*, F. *mado* "a little", while a darker shade is denoted by the adjective M.A.F. *gada* "strong, rich" (cf.2.4.4.1 above) preceding the designation of the colour proper. Thus, e.g., M.A.F. *fehi* "green" can be associated with levels such as *madu/ mada/mado fehi* "light-green" and *gada fehi* "dark-green". Further adjectives expressing colours are M. *kaḷu*, A. *kaḷa*, F. *kaḷo* "black, dark"; M. *rai*, A.F. *raʾ /ratl* "red"; M.A.F. *hudu* "white"; M.A. *nū*, F. *nil* "blue"; M.A. *rīṅdū*, F. *rīṅdul* "yellow, orange"; M.A.F. *mugu* "(pea-)green"; M.F. *muśi*, A. *meśi* "brown".

2.4.5. Adjectival comparison

As in most Modern IA languages (MASICA 1991, 251), there is no productive morphological model of building comparational forms in Dhivehi. This means that the degrees of comparison are not marked by special suffixes as in Old and Middle Indo-Aryan. Instead, comparison

is expressed by means of syntax, sometimes with the additional use of quantifying terms meaning "big", "large", "great", "much", "many", "very" or "a few" which precede the adjective in question.

2.4.5.1. Several adverbs are used for the expression of an **elative**; they comprise, among others, M.A. *vara'*, F. *varaha* (dat. */var-aś/*) "very"; M.A.F. *mā* "very", originally meaning "great" (cf. Sinh. *mā-/maha-* ← MIA and OIA *mahā-* "great", nowadays only occurring as a part of names or titles; GEIGER 1941, 130, no. 1944); M.A. *vara' gina*, F. *varaha gina* "very much"; and M. *nuhanu* "considerably, quite (a)". Cp., e.g., A. *vara' riveti* "very beautiful", F. *mā boňḍo* "very big", A. *vara' gina varabali* "very very tired", M. *nuhanu mīru* "quite tasty", etc. The same adverbs are also used to express an excessive amount of something in the sense of an **excessive** grade: e.g. M. *mi koṭari mā kuḍa* "this room is too small". Adjectives can also be used in a duplicated form to express a higher degree of quality or quantity. Cp. the elative meaning expressed by *vara'* "very" together with a duplicated adjective in A. ... *vara' fakīri fakīri de mafiriakāmen* ... "... a very very poor couple ..." (T3, 1; *vara' /varaś/* "very"; *fakīri* adj. "poor"; *de* card.num. "two"; *ma-firi-ak-ā-men* "couple", lit. "woman-(with)-a-man-together": obl. + obl. + indef.suff. + def.suff. *-ā* preceding the pl.suff. *-men*, cf. 2.3.2.1.2).

2.4.5.2. In Dhivehi, the concept of a **comparative** can only be expressed by a special syntactical construction which uses the postponed adverbial terms M. *vure* or *vuren* "rather" (in the sense of "more") and M. *iturun*, A.F. *itiri* "more, another, increase", the latter also occurring in the dative without a change of meaning (M. *itura'*, A. *itira'*, F. *itiraha /-aś/*), or with the adverbs which serve as elative markers (cf. 2.4.5.1 above). In comparative sentences, the noun being compared (i.e., the comparational standard) appears in the dative as the following examples show:

A. *"balafele ma aňgai tibi au da' afagē raṭṭehi mīhā aňgai tibi datav vanī mā riveti au!"* "Please see that the new teeth in my mouth are nicer than the teeth in the mouth of my friend!", lit. "Please look that the new teeth being in my mouth are **nicer (in comparison) to the teeth** being in the mouth of my friend!" (T11, 15; *bala-fele* polite form of the impv. of *balanī* "look"; *ma aňgai* poss.pron. *ma* + gen./loc. of *aňga* "mouth": "in my mouth"; *tibi* part.pret. of *tibenī* "to be", attr. of *au da' /dat/* "new teeth", nom.pl.; *afagē* poss.pron. "my"; *raṭṭehi* obl. + *mīhā* obl. "friend-man"; *aňgai* loc. "in the mouth"; *tibi* part.pret. of *tibenī* "to be", attr. of *datav /dataś/* dat.pl. "(compared) to the teeth". The long form of the part.pres. *vanī* "becoming, being" has to be explained by interference from the standard language, the correct Aḍḍū-form being *venī*, cp. the unenlarged part.pres. A. *vē*; *mā riveti* here: "more beautiful").

M. ⟨*"re'aś vuren mi rē bar ē, e re'aś vure mi rē bar ē."*⟩ "This night it (the jar) is heavier than last night." lit. "In this night (it is) heavy in comparison to the (last) night, in this night (it is) heavy in comparison to that night." (T12, 13; *re-aś* [*rea*] dat. of *rē* "night", here: "to the (last) night"; *vure(n)* "in comparison to", lit. "rather", correlated with the preceding dat. *re-aś*; *mi rē* dem.pron. + obl. "(in) this night"; *bar* = */baru/* "heavy"; *ē* quot.particle; *e re-aś* dem.pron + nom.dat. "to that night").

In this connection cp. also the following sentence in the dialect of Aḍḍū, where a noun plays the role of the comparational standard (the fairy tale in question is about two unconspicuous fish, quarreling about the question which one of them has more bones):

A. *bēkā gai fileimaḍieav vanī ek kaśi itirau hiśei.* "In the body of the *bēkā*-fish there is one more bone than (in that) of the flounder." lit. "What the body of the *bēkā*-fish is (as) against (that of) the flounder, is to consist of one bone more." (T15, 10; *bēk-ā* obl.def. "the *bēkā*-fish" with postponed *gai* obl. "body": "in

the body of the *bēkā*-fish"[305]; */fileimaḍi-e-aśl* dat.sg.def. of *fileimaḍi* "flounder"; part.pres. M. *vanī* "becoming, being" + focus-marker *-ī* instead of the A.-form *venī*, cp. the preceding sentence; *e' /ek/* "one", attr. of *kaśi* "bone; thorn"; *itirau /itir-aśl* dat. "more"; *hiśei* abs. "being" of *hinnei*, M. *hunnanī* "to stand, be, stay, remain").

2.4.5.3. The pronominal adjectives *emme* "all, whole, entire" (cf. 2.6.7.4.1) and *muḷi* "whole" (cf. 2.6.7.4.4) are used for expressing **superlative** concepts, cp., e.g., M. *emme rīti* "most beautiful, the most beautiful (of all)", or *muḷin raňgaḷu* "best, the best (of all)" (*muḷin* abl., lit. "from the whole"). Cp. the following two sentences in which *emme*, always preceding the adjective, serves as a superlative-formant:

A. *ehen vi mei, eakī e raśi hiśi emme fakīri taulīman ne' mīhā kamugai vege* (T16, 3). "Thus it happened that he became the poorest and least educated man of all (people) on that island." (*emme* pron.adv. "all, of all"; *fakīri* adj. "poor"; *taulīman ne'* "without education", lit. "education not being there"; *taulīman* "education, teaching", M. *ta'(u)līmu* ← Arab. *ta'līm* "id."; *ne' /net/* part.pret. of the verbal noun *netun* "not being (there)"; *mīhā* nom.sg. "man"; for the analysis of the remaining forms cf. 2.6.5.3.1.2).

M. (with interferences from Fua' Mulaku): *ti bahuge tafātuge terein timā hita' emme rieti mi vī aḍḍū baha.* "Best of all the different dialects of this language I like the Aḍḍū-dialect", lit. "Within the diversity of this language the one which has now become beautiful (i.e. the most beautiful) of all to my heart, is the language of Aḍḍū." (T7, 9a; for the exact analysis of the particular forms cf. 2.4.5.3, 2.6.7.4.1).

2.5. Numerals

The Maldivian numeral system is characterised by a very particular typological development: apart from the decimal system which alone is used in the modern language, Old Dhivehi disposed of a complete duodecimal system. In the modern language, however, there are only a few remnants reminding of the old system such as, e.g., M. (modern) *fasdoḷas*, A. *fasdoḷos* "60", lit. "5 times 12". As a matter of fact, "60" was the only duodecimal number that was totally integrated into the decimal system adopted by the standard language by the turn of the 19th to the 20th century. GEIGER (1901-1902, II, 379; 1919, 73) already explained the particular double role of *fasdoḷos* by stating that the number "60" represents the overlapping point of the two systems. Originally, all traditional Maldivian units of measure were based on the number "twelve" as well (cf. BELL 1883, 118-9); they were only gradually adapted to the decimal system. Thus, e.g., the basic dry measure, a *nāḷi*, contained about 0,96 litres; nowadays, however, one *nāḷi* equals one kilogram exactly.

In the southern regions of the Maldives, the old numerals and measures were longer preserved than in the northern parts. In southern Dhivehi, they must still have been used by the beginning of the 20th century, alongside the already prevailing decimal system; nowadays, however, one can hardly find even elderly people in the southernmost atolls who remember the duodecimal numerals.

The fact that Old Dhivehi shows such a perfectly developed duodecimal system is still more impressing as there are obviously no attestations of a corresponding mode of counting in Sinhalese at any time of its well documented history; cf. DE SILVA (1970b, 148-9) who states: "The interesting fact about the Maldivian numeral system is not the lexical similarities

[305] A. *bēkā* (sg.def. of a stem *bē' /bēk/*, M. *bēňgu*) is the only fish in the Maldives that is able to live in saltwater as well as freshwater.

to one language or another but the presence, in the speech of the older generation especially, of a counting device which is not known to have been used in Sinhalese at any stage."

On the one hand, it can be taken for sure that the duodecimal system was the prevailing counting method in the Maldives for a long period but on the other hand, it is nevertheless not probable that the decimal system developed within a short time or was even imported of late. Some archaisms in the decimal numbers as well as the attestations of items of the decimal system in the early Maldivian texts force us to assume that both systems coexisted at least for some centuries, the decimal numbers probably being less important.

There are some significant correspondences between the Maldivian and Old Sinhalese numerals which suggest two different models concerning their origin. Thus, it is imaginable that during the period of close commercial, religious and cultural relations between the Sinhalese and the Maldivians not only the oldest script[306] but also the decimal system including the numerals representing it was brought to the Maldives, where, at least for a while, it was characterised by a limited use, maybe within a particular scope. According to a second model, there might have been at least one dialectal exclave on the Maldives where the decimal system could have been handed down without an interruption since the Prakrit period. There is some evidence, however, that at least a considerable part of the decimal numbers cannot be derived from the Insular Indo-Aryan Prakrit basis. Some unquestionable sound-laws show that these decimal numbers can only be explained as loanwords from an extra-Insular-Indo-Aryan Prakrit of uncertain origin which influenced both the Maldivian and the Sinhalese numeral systems. Besides that, there are many traces of foreign Prakrits and even hyperprakritisms in the Dhivehi decimal system which are not known in Sinhalese.

At a later time, when the duodecimal system was becoming obsolete step by step, the decimal system might have been strengthened by exterior influences, mainly those of medieval Sinhalese; finally, in the recent past, the decimal numbers definitely overruled their duodecimal counterparts.

2.5.1. Cardinal numbers

The numerals from one to ten have different forms for attributive and substantival usage. In attributive function, it is the pure stem which is used, while the substantive form of the cardinal numbers is marked by the indefinite suffix *-e' /-ek/* (derived from the cardinal number "one" itself; cf. 2.3.2.1). Cp., e.g., M.A.F. *e' /ek/* attr. vs. *eke' /ek-ek/* subst. "one", or M.A.F. *tin* attr. vs. M.A.F. *tine' /tin-ek/* subst. "three". GEIGER (1919, 70) succeeded in analysing the substantive forms of the Maldivian numerals by comparison with their Sinhalese correspondences: "The forms probably correspond to the substantive forms in *-ak* in Sinhalese, like *dekak*, *tunak*, ... The original forms are therefore **ekek*, **dek*, **tinek*." In the modern Sinhalese language, these substantivised forms have the function of inanimate collective numerals (cf., e.g., MATZEL 1983, 40). Thus, Sinh. *ekak* means "one, one thing", *dekak* means "(a unit of) two things", *tunak* "(a unit of) three things", etc., contrasting with formations such as *tun-denā* "(the) three persons, a unit of three persons" (*denā* def. "the person"; for more information about these formations cf. GEIGER 1938, 121-2). In comparison to this, the Maldivian numerals in *-e'* do not have a collective meaning; they only serve as counting forms. While in Sinhalese, forms in *-ak* can also be built from higher numbers, the

[306] Cf. the Introduction, 0.5.1.

Dhivehi substantivisations with the suffix *-e'* do not exceed the number "ten" in Dhivehi. From "eleven" upwards, there are only the unenlarged stem-forms which are used both as attributes and as nouns.

While in Sinhalese the positioning of the cardinal numbers before or after the governing noun depends on several criteria (cf. GEIGER 1942, 4 / 1973, 561; MATZEL 1983, 41), the situation is comparatively simple in Dhivehi. As already mentioned by GEIGER (1919, 73), the attributive numeral always precedes the governing noun in this language. Cp., e.g., M. *fas aharu* "five years" (T9, 9), M. *de tin luňbō* "two (or) three limes" (T10, 6), A. *hatara ahara* "four years" (T16, 23), F. *de fāli* "two oars" (T4, 28).

2.5.1.1. To give a complete and detailed survey, the cardinal numbers from "one" to "ten" will be listed below both in their (attributive) stem-form and in their enlarged substantive form which is used for counting.[307]

"One": attr. M.A.F. *e' /ek/*; subst. M.A.F. *eke' /ek-ek/*. Following GEIGER (1941, 30, no. 445), the corresponding Sinh. form *eka*, stem *ek-*, cannot be traced back directly to OIA *éka-* and Pa. *eka-* but presupposes Pkt. *ĕkka-* which with an optional quantitative metathesis represents a regular development from earlier MIA forms with simple *-k-*; *ĕkka-* must be regarded as the basic form not only for Dhivehi and Sinhalese but also for the other NIA languages (cf. also TURNER 1966, I, 119, no. 2462, GEIGER 1902, 916, no. 97 and BERGER 1992, 245).

"Two": attr. M.A.F. *de*; subst. M.A.F. *dē' /de-ek/*. Dhiv. *de* and Sinh. *deka*, stem *de-*, go back to Pkt. *duve, *de* (cf. GEIGER 1941, 80, no. 1182 and 1902, 915, no. 76); cp. Pa. *dve*, *duve* and OIA (fem.) *$d_u$vé* (cf. also TURNER 1966, I, 379, no. 6648).[308]

"Three": attr. M.A.F. *tin*; subst. M.A.F. *tine' /tin-ek/*. GEIGER derives Sinh. *tuna*, stem *tun-* and Dhiv. *tin* from Pkt. *tiṇṇi* ~ Pa. *tīṇi*, Skt. (ntr.) *tríṇi* (GEIGER 1941, 65, no. 949 and 1920, 935, no. 384; cf. also TURNER 1966, I, 342, no. 5994).

"Four": attr. M. *hataru*, A. *hatara*, F. *hataro*; subst. M.A.F. *hatare' /hatar-ek/*. The Dhivehi forms as well as Sinh. *hatara/satara*, *hataru* etc. must be derived from Pkt. ~ Pa. *cattāro* ← OIA *catvắraḥ* (cf. GEIGER 1941, 188, no. 2843 and 1902, 922, no. 185; TURNER 1966, I, 252, no. 4655).

"Five": attr. M.A. *fas*, F. *fahǫ*; subst. M.A.F. *fahe' /fas-ek/*. Dhiv. *fas* and Sinh. *paha/pasa*, stem *pas-* go back to Pkt. ~ Pa. *pañca*, OIA *páñca* (cf. GEIGER 1941, 100, no. 1485 and 1902, 918, no. 120; TURNER 1966, I, 431, no. 7655). Possibly, the OIA nasal has left its traces in the final vowel of F. *fahǫ*.

"Six": attr. M.A.F. *ha*; subst. M.A.F. *hae' /ha-ek/*. Like Sinh. *haya/saya*, stem *ha-/sa-*, Dhiv. *ha* can be derived from Pkt. ~ Pa. *cha* ← OIA *ṣáṭ* (GEIGER 1941, 189, no. 2862 and 1902, 921, no. 175; TURNER 1966, II, 742, no. 12803).

"Seven": attr. M. *hai*, A.F. *ha' /hat/*; subst. M.A.F. *hate' /hat-ek/*. Dhiv. */hat/*, like Sinh. *hata/sata*, stem *hat-/sat-*, goes back to Pkt. ~ Pa. *satta* ← OIA *saptá* (GEIGER 1941, 188, no. 2842 and 1902, 922, no. 184; TURNER 1966, II, 760, no. 13139).

"Eight": attr. M.A. *a'*, F. *aśo /aś/*; subst. M.A.F. *aśe' /aś-ek/*. The numeral is spelled ⟨aťa⟩ by GEIGER (1902, 911, no. 18) in accordance with the contemporary pronunciation.[309] Dhiv. */aś/* (← *aṭ* ← *aṭa*) and Sinh. *aṭa* can be traced back to Pkt. ~ Pa. *aṭṭha* ← OIA *aṣṭắ* (cf. GEIGER 1941, 4, no. 48; TURNER 1966, I, 41, no. 941).

[307] For additional information on the etymology of the numerals cf. GEIGER (1938), 119 ff. and (1900), 65; for the etymological background of the cardinals in Modern Indo-Aryan in general cf. BERGER (1992), 245 ff.

[308] For the distribution of the descendent forms of Pkt. *dō* ← Skt. *$d_u$váu* and Pkt. *duve* ← Skt. *$d_u$ve* in the modern languages and, particularly, a variant "with initial *b-* in Prakrit *bē*, Apabhraṃśa *bi*, which goes back to *dv-* (via **db-*) and is also dominant in all compounds with 'two' (Hi. *bārah* 'twelve', *bāīs* 'twenty-two', etc.)"; cf. BERGER (1992), 246.

[309] For the phonetical background of this spelling, cf. 1.3.6.

"Nine": attr. M.A.F. *nuva*; subst. M.A.F. *nuvae'* /*nuva-ek*/. Dhiv. *nuva*, together with Sinh. *navaya*, stem *nava-* (besides the variant *namaya*, stem *nama-*), comes from Pkt. ~ Pa. *nava*, OIA *náva* (cf. GEIGER 1941, 83, no. 1230 and 1902, 932, no. 339; TURNER 1966, I, 401, no. 6984).

"Ten": attr. M. *diha*, A.F. *deha*; subst. M. *dihae'*, A.F. *dehae'* /*-ek*/. *diha/deha*, like Sinh. *daha/dasa*, goes back to Pkt. *daha*, *dasa*, Pa. *dasa* ← OIA *dáśa* (GEIGER 1941, 73, no. 1065 and 1902, 915, no. 79; TURNER 1966, I, 356, no. 6227).

2.5.1.2. In Modern Dhivehi, the cardinal numbers starting with "eleven" have only one form for attributive and substantival use (cf. 2.5.1 above). When GEIGER (1919, 71) stated about the numbers from "11" to "20" that "the numerals are of interest from the fact that some of them are more closely related to the Pali than the corresponding forms in Sinhalese", he presumably wanted to refer to the archaicity of the forms in question. He was not aware that most of the numbers from "11" to "20" and also most of the higher numbers in Modern Dhivehi represent prakritisms or hybrid formations.

The following etymological discussion of the individual numerals will show that the decimal numbers "11", "12", "13", "14", "16", "17", "18" and "19" of Dhivehi which reflect Prakrit variants have no direct cognates in Sinhalese. Even in the case of "15" (Dhiv. *fanara* as against Old Sinh. *paṇara*, cf. below) we cannot definitely decide whether the two forms represent a one-to-one correspondence.

These facts cannot be regarded as arguments against a common Prakrit source of the two languages, however; cp., e.g., the numerals from "one" to "ten" (cf. 2.5.1.1 above) which with no doubt represent cognates, or Dhiv. *vihi* and Sinh. *visi* "20" which are etymologically identical. Furthermore, it is an unquestionable fact that the duodecimal system was predominant in Dhivehi for a long time, the decimal numbers playing a secondary role only. Thus, it is not surprising that there are unambiguous cognates between some duodecimal numbers of Dhivehi and their etymological correspondences in Sinhalese; cp., e.g., Dhiv./Sinh. *ekoḷos* "11" and Dhiv./Sinh. *doḷos* "12" (cf. below and 2.5.1.8). In the latter language, which presumably never had a duodecimal system, some of the etyma in question have preserved their original meaning as inherited from OIA; cp. Dhiv. *fassihi* "24" as against Sinh. *pasvisi* "25" or Dhiv. *fanas* "48" as against Sinh. *panas* "50" (cf. 2.5.1.8 below).

TURNER who quotes C.H.B. REYNOLDS for the scanty material on Dhivehi available to him (1985, vii[310]) proposed an extra-Insular-Indo-Aryan origin for the numerals "11", "12", "14", "16" and "17" (and most of the higher numbers, cf. below) as well, but the source which he had in mind was Modern Mainland Indo-Aryan. TURNER's etymological proposals concerning the Dhivehi numbers in question are much too vague, however, for being verifiable in detail[311]. The assumption that the numerals from "11" to "19" generally represent loanwords from Hindi is widespread in the Maldives as well. With all probability it reflects an opinion first expressed by BELL (1883, 121): "Beyond 10 a modified form of the Hindústání decimal numeration is that in common use." BELL, who deserves well for his work on

[310] During a short stay in the Maldives REYNOLDS, the author of a short bibliography on the Maldive Islands (1993), collected material for a Dhivehi word-list which he put at TURNER's disposal.

[311] Cf., e.g., TURNER (1985), 15, 2485 on "11": "Md. *egāra* (← Ind.? cf. H(indi) *igārah*)"; Add. 55, 6658 on "12": "Md. *bāra* ← Ind."; Add. 33, 4605 on "14": "Md. *sauda*, *sāda* ← Ind."; Add. 102, 12812 on "16": "Md. *sōḷa* ← M(arathi) or G(ujarati)"; Add. 104, 13146 on "17": "Md. *satāra* ← Ind.".

the history, geography and ethnography of the Maldives,[312] also provided a huge collection of older material of the Dhivehi language. Being neither a philologist nor a linguist, however, he was not able to judge the relationship between the Hindi and Dhivehi numerals which often seem to be very similar to each other. In most cases it is easy to prove that TURNER's vague etymological proposals concerning the Dhivehi numerals (mostly consisting of indications like "← Ind." only) have no linguistic basis. Most of the numerals in question are attested in the written documents of Old Dhivehi; hence it can easily be demonstrated that it is not possible to explain these numerals as loans from Modern Hindi, all the more since there are some typical phonological developments that have to be accounted for (cp., e.g., "14", "16" and "17").

"Eleven": M. *eṅgāra* ⟨*egāra*⟩, A.F. *egāra*. GEIGER (1919, 70 and 1916, 103) identifies *egāra* with Pa. *ekārasa* (besides *ekādasa*). This as well as Pkt. *ekkārasa*, *egārasa* can be traced back to OIA *ékādaśa* "eleven". The same holds true for the IIA numeral stem **ekoḷos* "eleven" which belongs to the duodecimal system (in Dhivehi only; cf. 2.5.1.8).[313] *ekoḷos* is attested in a *Tāna* inscription of the 18th century (ITAG 2,2); it is obsolete in Modern Dhivehi but still in use in Sinhalese. While *ekoḷos* represents the inherited IIA word for "eleven", M. *eṅgāra* ⟨*egāra*⟩, A.F. *egāra* can only be explained as a loanword from a non-IIA language of uncertain origin and unknown time (but cf. particularly Beng. and Or. *egāra*).

"Twelve": M.A.F. *bāra* only indirectly corresponds to Old Sinh. *bara* which GEIGER derives from Pkt. *bārasa/bāraha*, Pa. *bārasa* (1941, 118, no. 1773; 1919, 70; cp. also the hybrid Pa. form *dvādasa* ← OIA *dvádaśa* "twelve"; TURNER 1966, I, 380, no. 6658). The initial *b-* must be taken as a clear evidence that both Dhiv. *bāra* and Sinh. *bara* cannot be traced back to an autochthonous IIA Pkt. form, because the development of *b-* ← OIA *dv-* (via *db-*), being regular for "all Indian languages and a great part of the northwestern languages" (BERGER 1992, 251; cp. Beng., Or., Ass. *bāra*, Hi. *bārah/bārā*[314]; cf. also fn. 308 above), never occurs in Sinhalese or Dhivehi which show initial *d-* instead. Sinh. *bara* shows the regular shortening of MIA *-ā-* → *-a-* which allows to assume that this numeral represents an early loanword from one of the mainland IA Prakrits. The long root vowel of Dhiv. *bāra*, however, speaks in favour of a more recent prakritism or even of a loanword from a Modern IA language. In Sinhalese, *bara* was completely replaced by the inherited *doḷos* "twelve" (stem form used attributively; the substantive form is *doḷaha*, cf. GEIGER 1941, 82, no. 1210). For the corresponding numeral Dhiv. *doḷos*, which is obsolete in the modern language, and the other duodecimal numbers cf. 2.5.1.8 below.

"Thirteen": The long root vowel of M.A.F. *tēra* "13" (for an earlier attestation of this form cp. *tēra* in the *Tāna* inscription ITMP 2,3) indicates a Prakrit loanword (cp. Pkt. */tērasa/* → */tēraha/* → */tēra/*) instead of the expected form *tera* which seems to be attested in the *Dives akuru* inscription IDMHM 5,3.[315] corresponding to Old Sinhalese *tera*; cp. also Hi. *terah*, Nep. Ass. Beng. Or. Guj. *tera*, Mar. *terā* with regular short *-e-*. According to BERGER (1992, 251), these variants "go back, not to Sanskrit *trayōdaśa*, but to Middle Indo-Aryan *terasa* (Pa., Prakrit), *teraha* (Prakrit) ..., **tredaśa*, with an earlier stage **trayadaśa* (or, according to Turner, **trayēdaśa*)". BERGER's supposition (ib.) according to which "the *l*-form, Pa. *telasa* ← **trelasa* ← **trerasa*, which arose by assimilation ... does not survive anywhere in the Indian languages" is perhaps contradicted by a variant *teḷesa* (stem *teḷes*) with retroflex *-ḷ-* appearing in literary Sinhalese which, however, is obsolete in the modern (colloquial) language.[316] GEIGER (1938, 120) explains this form as follows: "The numeral *teḷes* 13 seems also to be derived from MInd. **tēdasa* = Skt. *trayodaśa*". BERGER (ib.), however, derives *tedasa /tēdasa/* (attested in *Aśoka* inscriptions) through **tredasa /trēdaśa/* from **trayadaśa* as well. It cannot be decided with certainty whether the retroflex *-ḷ-* in Sinh. *teḷes* has to be explained by analogy (as described below, s.v. "sixteen") or whether it can be derived directly from a MIA variant containing *-ḷ-*, like Pa. *teḷasa* "13" (cf. RHYS DAVIDS

[312] Cf. the bibliography for details.

[313] For the retroflex *-ḷ-* cf. "sixteen" below. — Cf. TURNER (1966), I, 120, no. 2485; GEIGER (1941), 30, no. 455.

[314] The variants in *-ā* (without a final *-h*) belong to the colloquial language, cp., e.g., MCGREGOR (1972), 61.

[315] The *e* of *tera* (IDMHM 5,3) is not decisive as *Dives akuru* had no means of expressing long *ē*.

[316] In Modern Sinhalese, only *daha-tuna* (stem *daha-tun*) is used for "13" (lit. "ten-three", cf. GEIGER 1938, 118; MATZEL 1983, 39).

1921-25, 297 s.v. *tayo*). — Cf. also GEIGER (1941), 67, no. 980; (1919), 71; TURNER (1966) I, 342, no. 6001: OIA *tráyodaśa*).

"Fourteen": M. *sāda*, A.F. *sauda*. GEIGER (1919, 71) identified the variants *sauda* and *sāda*[317] with Pa. *catuddasa*. Unlike this and the Pa. variant *cuddasa*, the Maldivian examples as well as Hi. *caudah*, Beng. *codda* etc. are much closer to Pkt. *cauddasa*, *caüddasa/caüddaha* (besides *coddasa/coddaha*); all forms can be derived from OIA *cáturdaśa* "14", cf. TURNER 1966, I, 250, no. 4605). The Sinh. numeral *tudusa* (stem *tudus*) which was used in the older literary language,[318] lastly reflects *cáturdaśa* as well; according to GEIGER, however, *tudusa* is the result of a different development in the MIA period, reflecting a case where the first syllable had already been lost before the loss of intervocalic voiceless stops occurred.[319] — The variant *sauda*, which is the older form, is attested in several *Dives akuru* and *Tāna* inscriptions (IDMH 2,11, IDMEM 1,22, IDMD 1,3, and ITAH 1,5) and in the *Rādavaḷi* (RC). — At a glance, the initial *s-* in *sauda* seems to represent a general phonological development of Insular Indo-Aryan, according to which every inherited *c-* of OIA and MIA changed to *s-*. Whenever the affricate *c-* occurs in initial position in Dhivehi, the word in question can with no doubt be categorised as a recent loanword (cf. 1.7.3.). If the Dhivehi numeral had been borrowed from Modern Hi. *caudah* (as popular etymology takes it, cf. 2.5.1.2 above) or if it reflected a later prakritism (cf. Pkt. *cauddasa*), the initial *c-* would have been preserved in its original quality, because the change of *c-* to *s-* was restricted to an early period in the history of the Maldivian language. M. *sāda* and A.F. *sauda* cannot represent an inherited word, however, for the old initial *s-* would have developed into *h-* (cf. 1.3.5). In analogy with M. *hataru* etc. "four" (cf. 2.5.1.1 above), we would expect **hauda* which, however, never existed in Dhivehi. Thus, the initial *s-* of *sāda / sauda* remains problematic.[320] — TURNER (cf. fn. 311) supposed that the Dhivehi variants represent an "Indic" loanword without specifying the period or the language. To sum up the facts, *sauda* can neither be regarded as an autochthonous IIA word, nor can it represent an immediate prakritism or a loanword from a recent period.

"Fifteen": M.A.F. *fanara* corresponds to the numeral *paṇara* "15" of Old Sinhalese which has to be derived (like Old Guj. *panara*, Beng. *panera / ponera* and also variants with a secondarily inserted *-d-* between *n* and *r* such as Hi. *pandrah*, Ass. *pondara* etc.) from a Prakrit form like *paṇṇarasa*, *paṇṇaraha*; cf. also Pa. *paṇṇarasa* (besides *pañcadasa*) ← OIA *páñcadaśa* (cf. GEIGER 1938, 120; TURNER 1966 I, 432, no. 7662; BERGER 1992, 252). We cannot definitely decide, however, whether Dhiv. *fanara* and Sinh. *paṇara* are cognates in the proper sense because of the different results of the OIA cluster *-ñc-* they show. Sinh. *paṇara* reflects a MIA form with *-ṇṇ-* (cf. above), while the Dhiv. word seems to go back to a Pkt. variant with *-nn-*; cp., e.g., Pkt. *pannārasa* and *pannarasa* (cf. BERGER ib.). As a correspondent of Sinh. *paṇara*, we would expect **faṇara* with retroflex *-ṇ-* in the southern dialects.

As a numeral, *paṇara* is obsolete in Modern Sinhalese but the word is still in use as the name of the 15th day of the lunar month (cf. GEIGER 1941, 93, no. 1380). With the meaning of "15", only the Old Sinh. numeral *pahaḷoha/pahaḷosa*, stem *pahaḷos* "15" is used nowadays[321] which, following GEIGER (1900, 65 and 1941, 101, no. 1496), can be identified with Pa. *pañcadasa* (for the retroflex *-ḷ-* in *pahaḷos* cf. "sixteen").

"Sixteen": M.A.F. *sōḷa*, as well as its literary Sinhalese correspondent *soḷosa/soḷasa* (stem *soḷos*) which is obsolete in the modern language, can be derived directly from a preform like Pkt., Pa. *soḷasa* ← OIA *ṣóḍaśa* — **ṣáždaśa* (cf. GEIGER 1941, 187, no. 2832; TURNER 1966, II, 743, no. 12812). On the basis of *soḷos*, GEIGER

[317] Cf. GEIGER (1919, 71): "Instead of *sauda* (which is historically correct), I heard the expression *sāda*." GEIGER's informant *Ebrahim Dīdī* was from Māle; therefore it is not surprising that he used *sāda*, the correct form of the modern standard language, which from the historical point of view represents a more recent stage than *sauda*. The diphthong in *sauda* corresponds to the phonological norm of southern Dhivehi, while the long *-ā-* of the Māle variant can probably be explained by an analogical development. Thus, M. *sāda* is to A.F. *sauda* as, e.g., M. *hā lhāll* (← *lhaull*) "cock" is to A. *hau lhaull*, F. *haul* "id." (cf. 1.2.1.6).

[318] In Modern Sinhalese, only *daha-hatara* (lit. "ten-four") is used for "14" (cf. GEIGER 1938, 118 and MATZEL 1983, 39).

[319] "Es leitet sich von einer Grundform ab, welche die erste Silbe bereits verloren hatte, ehe das Gesetz vom Abfall intervocalischer Tenues in Kraft trat." (GEIGER 1900, 65; cf. also 1941, 65, no. 948).

[320] For another case of an initial *s-* which remains unexplained cp. Dhiv. *siṭī* "letter" (cf. 1.3.5).

[321] Cp. also the neologisms referred to in the sections about "13" and "14", and "16" to "19".

convincingly explains the retroflex *-ḷ-* sounds occurring in Sinh. *ekoḷos* "11" (cf. above), *doḷos* "12" (cf. 2.5.1.8), *pahaḷos* "15" (cf. above), *sataḷos* "17" (cf. below), *aṭaḷos* "18" (cf. below) by assuming an analogical transfer: "The cerebralisation of the intervocalic *d* (→ *ḍ* → *ḷ*) is taken from *soḷos* 16 where it is phonetically justified." (1938, 120). In Modern Sinhalese, *soḷos* has been replaced by *daha-saya* "16", lit. "ten-six" (cf. GEIGER 1938, 118 and MATZEL 1983, 39). The supposition that Dhiv. *sōḷa* could be a loanword from Hindi is disproved by the mere fact that the retroflex */ḷ/* has the status of a phoneme in Dhivehi; this means that it cannot appear arbitrarily neither in the inherited vocabulary nor in loanwords. Hence, we would expect Dhiv. */solā/* if it were a borrowing from Hi. *solah/solā* "16". In this connection cp. also the Prakrit variants *solasa* and *solaha* with *-l-* (cf. TURNER, ib.). TURNER's proposal to explain Dhiv. *sōḷa* as a borrowing from Mar. *soḷā* or Guj. *sol* (1985, 102, 12812) has to be rejected because of the differences in vowel quantity. The only way to explain the long root vowel as well as the initial *s-* of Dhiv. *sōḷa* consists in assuming a prakritism (← */sōḷā/* ← */sōḷaha/* ← */sōḷasa/*).[322]

"Seventeen": M.A.F. *satāra*, which is attested in this form already in an early period of written Dhivehi (F2,4, document of 1627 A.D.), cannot be directly derived from a preform like Pkt., Pa. *sattarasa*, *sattadasa* (← OIA *saptádaśa* "17"; cf. TURNER 1966, II, 761, no. 13146). The initial *s-* (cf. "fourteen" and "sixteen" above) on the one hand and the long root vowel on the other hand show with no doubt that *satāra* cannot be an inherited IIA word. – As against the common popular etymology (cf. above), Hi. *satrah* cannot be the origin of Dhiv. *satāra* because of the long vowel, *-ā-*, either. Whenever initial or medial consonant clusters occurring in foreign words are split in Dhivehi, the resulting anaptyctic vowels can never be long or lengthened (cf. 1.3.8.). The only way to explain the long *-ā-* is to assume a loanword. Although there are similar forms in the north-western group of the Modern IA languages (cp., e.g., Panj. *satārā*), it is very improbable that Dhiv. *satāra* could have been borrowed from there. The Dhivehi form might, however, be explained in a similar way as its equivalent in Panjabi (and other languages); cf. BERGER (1992, 253), according to whom "... the long connecting vowel is taken over from 'eighteen'" (cf. below). Assuming a Pkt. loanword **sattara*, we should expect **satara* as its outcome in Dhivehi. The lengthened medial *-ā-* of the actual form *satāra* could then be explained as the result of an analogical transfer. – Cp. also the literary Sinh. form *sataḷos* "17" which goes back to OIA *saptádaśa* as well (cf. "sixteen" above; GEIGER 1938, 120).[323]

"Eighteen": M.A.F. *aśāra* which in inscriptions is attested also in its older form *aṭāra* (IDMMM 3,4; IDMHM 4,11) does not correspond directly to Old Sinh. *aṭara* and *aṭarasa*, the latter forms showing the regularly shortened medial *-a-* as against Dhiv. *-ā-*. Cf. also literary Sinh. *aṭaḷosa/aṭaḷoha*[324] with short *-a-* (for the retroflex *-ḷ-* cf. "sixteen" above). All these forms go back to OIA *aṣṭādaśa* "18"; intermediate stages are represented by forms such as Pa. *aṭṭhādasa*, Pkt. *aṭṭhadasa*, Pa., Pkt. *aṭṭhārasa*, Pkt. *aṭṭhāraha* (cf. TURNER 1966, I, 41, 946; GEIGER 1941, 4, nos. 52 and 53). Dhiv. *aśāra* cannot be derived directly from an IIA basis, however. With no doubt it has to be explained as a loanword. In analogy with the other numbers (from "11" to "17"), it is most probable that Dhiv. *aṭāra* → *aśāra* reflects a prakritism (cp. Pkt. *aṭṭārasa* / *aṭṭhārasa*). In the (less probable) case of an early borrowing from Hi. *aṭhārah*, as suggested by Maldivian popular etymology (cf. above), the result in Dhivehi would as well be *aśārā* (*ṭ* → *ś* with regular loss of the aspiration; for the sound change involved cf. 3.6.3.2.1.2 and 1.3.6).

"Nineteen": is denoted by two different etyma in Modern Dhivehi. The standard Dhivehi form of the numeral, M. *ona-vihi*, was already known to GEIGER who wrote (1919, 71): "The form for 19 is worthy of note. It shows that in the Prākrit foundation of Sinhalese and Māldivian a form must have existed which corresponded to the Sanskrit *ūna-viṁśati* (with omission of the *eka*)". It must be admitted, though, that in this case, the retroflex *-ṇ-* appearing in A. *oṇa-vihi* and F. *uṇa-vihi* remains as unexplained as that of Pkt. *iguṇavīsaṁ*, *iguṇīvīsaṁ* and *aüṇavīsaṁ* (← *ekūnaviṁśati-*; cf. below[325]). **ūnaviṁśati-*, which is not recorded in MIA, must also be the source of Hi. *un(n)īs* and Beng. *unis* (cf. BERGER 1992, 253), while in Sinhalese there is no attestation of a correspondent form (cf. TURNER 1966, I, 114, no. 2411). The literary, now obsolete Sinh.

[322] Cf. 1.3.5 above and the other numbers beginning with *s-*.

[323] In the modern language, this is replaced by *daha-hata* (cf. MATZEL 1983, 39 and GEIGER 1938, 118).

[324] In Modern Sinhalese, only *daha-aṭa* (lit. "ten-eight") is used for "18" (cf. MATZEL 1983, 39 and GEIGER 1938, 118).

[325] Cp. also the Mar. variants *ekuṇvīs*, *ekuṇīs*, *ekoṇīs* (cf. BERGER 1992, 253).

numeral *ekunvisi* (subst. *ekunvissa*) must be identified with Pa. *ekūnavīsa(ti)-*, OIA *ekonaviṁśati-* "19" (cf. TURNER 1966, I, 120, no. 2499; GEIGER 1938, 121). The literal meaning of *ekonaviṁśati-* and its elliptic variant, **ūnaviṁśati-* is "twenty lacking one". — In Modern Sinhalese, "19", lit. "ten-nine", is expressed only by the two variants *daha-nama(-ya)* and *daha-nava(-ya)*, the forms with *-ya* being used as substantives (cf. MATZEL 1983, 39). — The second numeral in Dhivehi with the meaning of "19", M.A.F. *navāra*, seems to be a recent analogical formation, matching the pattern of *aśāra* "18" and *satāra* "17". A similar form can neither be attested for Sinhalese nor for any of the texts of Old Dhivehi, while the inherited numeral M. *onavihi* occurs as a part of an ordinal number in one of the early *Tāna* inscriptions: *hāhāi duisatta onavihi-vana aharu* "in the thousand and two hundred nineteenth year" (ITMHM 2,2). — It is very improbable that the Dhivehi numerals formed with *ona-* (*oṇa-/uṇa-*) might have been borrowed in this form from a Modern Indo-Aryan mainland language (cf. TURNER 1985, 16, no. 2494: "Md. *ona-* 'less by one' (in *onavihi* '19', *onatirīs* '29', *onasatta* '69' [sic!][326] ← Ind."). While *vihi* "20" as the second part of the numeral "19" represents a regular development according to the sound laws of Dhivehi (cf. below), the case of *onatirīs* "29" and *onasatta* "99" is more complicated (cf. 2.5.1.3 and 2.5.1.6, s.v. *satta* "100"). — A third numeral for "19" documented in older Dhivehi records is *nuva-diha*, lit. "9-10" (ITMHM 4,3 and 7,2; the ordinal number *nuvadiha-vana* "29th" in ITFM 2,3); this form is obsolete in the modern language.

"Twenty": M.A.F. *vihi*, Sinh. *visi* (subst. *vissa*), Hi. *bīs*, Guj. and Mar. *vīs* etc. must be traced back to OIA *viṁśatí-* "20" via nasal-less variants like Pa. *vīsati*, Pkt. *vīsaï*, *vīsā* (cp. also Pkt. *viṁsadi*, Pa. and Pkt. *vīsaṁ*; cf. TURNER 1966, II, 677, no. 11616; GEIGER 1941, 167, no. 2505 and 1938, 121; BERGER 1992, 253). In Old Dhivehi, we find both *vihi* (IDMEM 4,11; ITMHM 1,3 and ITAH 4,7; *vihī* in L5 4/2,6) and *vīs* (IDMHM 6,6). The latter form with long *-ī-*, as well as the compound numerals containing *-vīs* (cf. 2.5.1.3 below) are irregular; the variant *vīs* can only be explained as a prakritism. The spelling *viṁśati*, attested in some *lōmāfānus* (L3 1/1,1; L5 1/1,2 and 4/1,2), represents a pure sanskritism.

2.5.1.3. The formation of the Dhivehi cardinal numbers from "21" to "28" follows the principle of "monadic unit plus decade", in just the same way as the Sinhalese language did in its classical period (cf. GEIGER 1938, 119). In contrast to this, Modern Sinhalese shows a reverse pattern of "decade plus monadic unit". In Dhivehi, only the long-vocalic variant *vīs* (cf. 2.5.1.2 above) is used to denote the meaning of "twenty-...". With no doubt, all the numbers built on *-vīs* must be regarded as prakritisms.

"21": M.A.F. *ekā-vīs*, lit. "1-20" cannot be equated with Class.Sinh. *ek-vissa* (stem *ek-visi*; cp. also the modern form *visi-eka*, stem (adj.) *visi-ek*; cf. GEIGER 1938, 118-9) which may be derived directly from OIA *ékaviṁśati-* via a Prakrit form like *ekkavīsaï*, *ekkavīsaṃ*. A form */ekkihi /ek-visi/* which, according to the sound laws, would represent an exact equivalent of Class.Sinh. *ekvisi-*, does not exist in Dhivehi. TURNER was right in looking for an extra-IIA origin of *ekāvīs*, but Hi. *ikkāīs*, which he proposed, cannot be regarded as a direct source (cf. TURNER 1966, I, 119, no. 2476 and 1985, 15, no. 2476). Instead, *ekāvīs*, which has the appearance of an artificial form, is more likely to represent a prakritism. Most probably, it presupposes a form **ekāvīsa*, a conservative MIA variant with *-k-*, similar to Pa. *ekavīsa* but with a secondary lengthening of *-ā-* which we find in some late MIA variants (cp. *egāvīsā*, *eyāvīsa*, *eāisa*); NORMAN (1992, 214) explains the lengthened *-ā-* by analogy with *egārasa* "11". This contrasts with BERGER's assumption according to which the lengthening of *-ā-* in modern forms like Hi. *ikkāīs*, Nep. *ekāis* and in the MIA variants mentioned above) must be explained by analogy with "the next numeral, 'twenty-two' (Hi. *bāīs*, etc.)"; cf. BERGER 1992, 254 and s.v. "22" below.

"22": M.A.F. *bā-vīs*, lit. "2-20", is already attested in *Dives akuru* inscriptions, both in its cardinal form (IDMDM 1,6) and as an ordinal number *bāvīs-vana* "22nd" (IDAH 1,3; ITAH 3,1). In principle, TURNER's assumption (1985, 55, no. 6672) that *bāvīs* has its origin in an Indic language (not specified by him) is right. The form *bāvīs* which must be derived from OIA *dvā́viṁśati-* represents a prakritism (cp. the Pkt. variants *bāvīsaṃ* etc. and Pa. *bāvīsati-*; cf. TURNER 1966, I, 381, no. 6672 and NORMAN 1992, 214). Theoretically, *bāvīs* might have been taken over from any Prakrit language with the development of OIA *dv-* → MIA *b-* which is untypical

[326] Obviously TURNER confused M. *ona-satta* (A. *oṇa-satta*, F. *uṇa-satta*) "99" with M. *ona-haiteri*, A. *oṇa-hattari*, F. *uṇa-hattari* "69".

for Insular Indo-Aryan (cf. 2.5.1.2). According to the sound laws, OIA *dvâviṁśati-* would have led to Dhiv. **davihi* via a MIA form with initial *dv-* such as Pa. *dvāvīsati-*, *dvāvīsa*. Cp. also Class.Sinh. *de-vissa* (as against the modern form *visi-deka*, stem *visi-de*; cf. GEIGER 1938, 119) which has no equivalent form in Dhivehi (**devihi*).[327]

"23": M.A.F. *tē-vīs*, lit. "3-20", must also be considered as a prakritism. Older attested variants are *tevīsu* (*Dives akuru*; F3,8) and *tēvīs* (*Tāna*; ITAG 6,3). Cp. Class.Sinh. *te-vissa*, stem *te-visi*, which must be derived through an intermediate form like Pkt. *tevīsaṃ*, Pa. *tevīsa* (etc.) from OIA *tráyoviṁśati-* (cf. TURNER 1966, I, 342, no. 6004 and 1985, 49, no. 6004). The correspondent Dhivehi form would be **tevihi*.

"24": M.A.F. *sau-vīs*, lit. "4-20", is already attested in some of the earliest written documents (*sauvīsu* in the *lōmāfānus* L1 d/1,2 and L8 1,2; *sauvīs* in the *Tāna* inscription ITAH 3,2). There are good reasons why *sauvīs* cannot represent an inherited IIA word which would have developed directly through intermediate stages like Pkt. *cauvvīsa*, Pa. *catuvīsa* from OIA *cáturviṁśati-* (cf. TURNER 1966, I, 250, no. 4623). *-vīs* with long *ī* speaks in favour of a prakritism (cf. above). But we can exclude a recent prakritism because in this case the initial *c-* would have been preserved. For the change of OIA and MIA *c-* to *s-* which is characteristic for early Dhivehi but which did not result in an initial *h-* which would be regular in Modern Dhivehi, cf. 2.5.1.2 s.v. "fourteen". The diphthong *-au-*, occurring in all three dialects in this word cannot be inherited as such either. — TURNER's derivation of "*sauvīs* ← Ind." (1985, 33, no. 4623) cannot be upheld if we consider correspondent Modern IA forms such as Hi. *caubīs*, Beng. *cabbiś*. Cf. also Class.Sinh. *satar(a)-vissa*, stem °*visi-*.

"25": M.A.F. *fansa-vīs* must be derived from OIA *páñcaviṁśati-*; cp. Pa. *pañcavīsa* besides *paṇṇavīsati*, *paṇṇuvīsa*, Pkt. *paṇavīsaṃ*, *paṇavīsaī* etc. (cf. TURNER 1966, I, 432, no. 7672; NORMAN 1992, 215). Because of its *-n-*, *fansa-vīs* easily reveals itself as being a prakritism, the regular outcome of OIA *páñcaviṁśati-* being represented in Class.Sinh. *pas-vissa* (stem *pas-visi*) "25" as well as Dhivehi *fassihi* (← Old Dhiv. *pas-visi*) which shows a reinterpretation of the original meaning "25" into the duodecimal number "24" within the prevailing duodecimal system (cf. 2.5.1.8). For *-vīs* cf. above.

"26": M.A.F. *sabbīs*, attested in the spelling ⟨*sa'bīs*⟩ in the *Tāna* inscription ITAG 1,9, goes back to OIA *ṣáḍviṁśati-*; cp. the MIA equivalents Pa. *chabbīsati-* and Pkt. *chavvīsaṃ* (TURNER 1966, II, 742, no. 12796). As in the preceding cases, Dhiv. *sabbīs* must be regarded as a prakritism, not as a loanword from a Modern Indo-Aryan mainland language (cf. TURNER 1985, 103, no. 12796: "Md. *sabbīs* ← Ind."); cp., e.g., Hi. *chabbīs*, Beng. *chābbīś* or Guj. *chavvis* (cf. BERGER 1992, 255). In Dhivehi, OIA *ṣáḍviṁśati-* would have developed into **havihi* via **savisi*, corresponding with Class.Sinh. *savissa* (stem *savisi-*).

"27": M.A.F. *hatā-vīs* is attested in one of the earliest records of Dhivehi in the spelling *ṣatāvīsu* (*lōmāfānu* L2 33,4). The derivation of this word from OIA *saptáviṁśati-* is unproblematical. The Dhivehi form, a prakritism like the preceding numerals, must represent a MIA equivalent such as Pa. *sattavīsati* or Pkt. *sattāvīsaṃ* (cf. TURNER 1966, II, 761, no. 13157). Thus, TURNER's explanation of the Dhivehi numeral as a borrowing from Guj. *sattāvīś* (1985, 104, no. 13157) cannot be supported. According to the sound laws of Insular Indo-Aryan, OIA *saptáviṁśati-* would have led to Dhiv. **hattihi* ← **satvisi* ← **satavisi*.

"28": M.A.F. *aśāvīs*, a prakritism which is first documented in this form in an 18th-century *Tāna* inscription (ITAG 2,6), can be traced back through MIA forms like Pkt. *aṭṭhāvīsaṃ*, Pa. *aṭṭhāvīsati-* to OIA *aṣṭáviṁśati-* (cf. TURNER 1966, I, 42, no. 950). The regular Dhivehi form would be **aṭṭihi* ← **aṭvisi* ← **aṭavisi*.

"29": can be expressed by two etymologically different numerals, in the same way as "19". The prakritism M. *ona-tirīs*, A. *oṇa-tirīs* F. *uṇa-tirīs*, lit. meaning "thirty lacking (one)", reflects OIA *ūnatriṁśat-* "29" (cf. TURNER 1966, I, 114, no. 2408; for *tirīs* "30" cf. 2.5.1.4 below), thus contrasting with Class.Sinh. *ekun-tisa* (stem *ekun-tis*) "29", an inherited IIA form which corresponds to the more "complete" variant OIA *ekona-triṁśat-* (cf. TURNER 1966, I, 120, no. 2496; for other variant forms cf. BERGER 1992, 256). In *Dives akuru* inscriptions, we find *onatiris* (IDMHM 7,4), *onatirīs* (IDAH 1,8) and the ordinal number *oṇatirīsvana* (IDMEM 4,8, spelt with ⟨*ṇ*⟩). For the formation cf. 2.5.1.2, 2.5.1.5.3, s.v. "nineteen". — Of M.A.F. *navā-vīs* "29" (lit. "9-20"), no older attestations have been found so far. At first sight, this seems to be a plain neologism built after the pattern of the preceding numerals *hatāvīs* "27" and *aśāvīs* "28", similar to *navāra* "19" which

[327] Most probably, Sinh. *devisi-* must be derived from a feminine form OIA **d$_u$eviṁśati-* via MIA **dve-/devīsati-*. A formation by analogy with Sinh. *tevisi-* (cf. below) cannot be excluded either; cp. "Marāṭhī *bevīs* (beside *bāvīs*), the *e* [of which] is anticipated from *teīs* 'twenty-three'" (cf. BERGER 1992, 254).

obviously represents an analogical formation after the model of *aśāra* "18" etc. (cf. "nineteen"). In case of analogy, however, we should expect **nuvā-vis* instead; cp. *nuva* "nine" and the analytical formation *nuva-diha* "19". It is not impossible that the vocalism of the first syllable of *navāvīs* might have been caused by a secondary assimilation following *navāra* "19". It is more plausible, however, that *navā-* represents a sanskritism here (cp. Skt. *náva* "nine"). But in this case, too, the long vowel of the second syllable must have been caused by an analogical adaptation to *hatā-vīs* and *aśā-vīs*. It is true that there are not many sanskritisms among the numerals in Dhivehi. At the period of the early written documents, however, some Sanskrit numerals were still available as *mots savants*; cp., e.g., *viṅśati* "20" appearing in some *lōmāfānus* (L3 1/1,1; L5 1/1,2, 4/1,2) as well as *ekaviśati* "21" (L2 1,2). — At least, we must consider the variants of the numeral "29" in Modern Sinhalese in this respect, viz. *visi-namaya* and °*-navaya* (stems *visi-nama* and °*-nava*), lit. meaning "20+9" (cf. GEIGER 1938, 119; MATZEL 1983, 39), which presumably substitute a reverse formation **nama-vissa/nava-vissa*, lit. "9-20", of Classical Sinhalese (cf. "22"). If it ever existed, this form must have been a neologism, too, because in the older documents of Sinhalese only the inherited form *ekuntisa* is attested.

2.5.1.4. The names of the decades from 30 to 90 are also best explained as prakritisms (or in a few cases perhaps as sanskritisms).

"30": M.A.F. *tirīs* which already occurs in some documents of Old Dhivehi (*Dives akuru* inscription IDMEM 1,19; RC 10,3), obviously represents a different development as against Sinh. *tis*, subst. *tisa/tiha* which are derivable directly from Ap. *tīsa*, *tīsaṃ*, Pa. *tiṃsa(ti)-* (cf. GEIGER 1941, 65, no. 944 and 1919, 71; NORMAN 1992, 213). It is still too early to definitely decide by which intermediate forms of the MIA period Modern Dhiv. *tirīs* is related with OIA *triṅśát-* "30" (cp., e.g., Niya *triśa*). In Modern IA we find "beside the normal continuations such as Hi. [etc.] *tīs* ... forms with preserved *tr-* as in ... Gujarātī *trīś*, ... Bengali *tris*, Assamese *trix*, Oṛiyā *triśa*, which can be explained by Sanskrit influence in the eastern languages ... and by association with 'three' ... in the western languages" (BERGER 1992, 256; cf. also TURNER 1966, I, 343, no. 6015). Whether TURNER's reference to an (unspecified) Indic language as the presumptive source of *tirīs* can be taken seriously, is still open to doubt (1985, 49, no. 6015). In this case, *tirīs* could be explained as borrowing with an anaptyctic vowel in the first syllable (perhaps as an "indirect" sanskritism). Considering the other designations of decades, it seems more probable, however, that the form *tirīs* represents a learned prakritism in Dhivehi.

"40": M.A.F. *sāḷīs* is already attested in its modern form in the *Dives akuru* inscription IDMBM 1,5[328]. Its Sinhalese equivalents are the stem variants *satalis/hatalis*, *sataḷis/hataḷis*, and *sālis/sāḷis* (subst. *-a*) which through Pkt. *cattālīsaṃ*, *cālīsaṃ*, Pa. *cattāḷīsaṃ/cattālīsaṃ/cattārīsaṃ* can be derived from OIA *catvāriṅśát-* (cf. GEIGER 1941, 188, no. 2844; RHYS-DAVIDS 1921-25, 261; TURNER 1966, I, 252, no. 4656 and BERGER 1992, 258). According to the sound laws of Dhivehi, a regular development within IIA would have led to **sāḷis* with short *-i-*, which we see in all Sinhalese variants mentioned above. Thus, Dhiv. *sālīs*, too, must be interpreted as a prakritism, reflecting a form like Pkt. *cālīsaṁ*.

"50": M.F. *fansās*, A. *fansas* go back to OIA *pañcāśát-* (with the regular change of *c* to *s*); the numeral *fanas* meaning "48" in the Maldivian duodecimal system (cf. 2.5.1.8 below), which is obsolete in the modern language, must derived from the same source. On the coexistence of these two forms cf. BELL (1883, 121): "Some confusion, however, arises from the co-existence of the two systems [i.e. the decimal and the duodecimal system; S.F.]; thus, *fanas* or *fansás* may be either 48 or 50." GEIGER (1919, 71) obviously failed to verify the two variant forms which he knew from BELL (ib.). — The phonological development of *fanas* and *fansăs* cannot have been the same, despite of their common etymon. Dhiv. *fanas* exactly corresponds to Sinh. *panas* "50" (subst. *panasal/panaha*) which through forms like Pkt. *paṇṇāsaṃ*, Pa. *paṇṇāsa*, *paññāsaṃ* goes back to OIA *pañcāśát-* (cf. GEIGER 1941, 95, no. 1402 and TURNER 1966, I, 433, no. 7682). The medial cluster *-ns-* of *fansăs* reflecting OIA *-ñc-*, however, forces us to assume a sanskritism or a learned prakritism. At the (early) time when the duodecimal system was developing in Dhivehi, the (inherited) form underlying the attested numeral *fanas* "50" must have acquired the new interpretation of "48".

"60" is expressed by two numerals of different etymological origin. M. *fas-doḷas*, A.F. *fas-doḷos* "5×12" is the only duodecimal numeral of Dhivehi that has been completely integrated into the decimal system. According

[328] *sālīsu* (with *-l-*!) in L2 37,5 refers to the prophet *Sāliḥ*; cp. the spelling *sāleh* in L1 ms/1,3.

to GEIGER (1919, 73), the main reason for this can be seen in the fact that the number "60" represents the point of overlap of both counting methods (cf. also 2.5.1.8). — The second numeral denoting "60" is M.A.F. *haṭṭi* which through Pkt. *saṭṭhī*, Pa. *saṭṭhi-* goes back to OIA *ṣaṣṭí-* "60" (cf. TURNER 1966, II, 743, no. 12804 and 1985, 102, no. 12804). From the phonological point of view, Dhiv. *haṭṭi* cannot be exactly identified with Sinh. *säṭa/häṭa* "60" (cf. GEIGER 1941, 191, no. 2886) because of the geminate *-ṭṭ-* which indicates a secondary origin, presumably as a re-prakritisation; in contrast to that cp. the regular development manifesting itself in M.A. *a'*, F. *aśo /aśl* "8" ← Pkt. *aṭṭha*.

"70": M. *haidiha*, F. *haddeha*, A. *haddihe /hat-dihal* "7×10" represents a comparatively recent type of formation (together with *aḍḍiha* "80" and *nuvadiha* "90"); cf. also GEIGER (1919, 71). In contrast to this neologism, M. *haiteri*, A.F. *hattari* "70" reflect MIA forms such as Pkt. *sattariṃ*, Pa. *sattari-* which can be derived from OIA *saptatí-*. Cp. also the corresponding numeral stem of Sinhalese, *hätä/sätä* (GEIGER 1941, 191, no. 2888 and 1938, 118; TURNER 1966, II, 761, no. 13143 and 1985, 104, no. 13143).

"80": For the formation of M. *aḍḍiha*, F. *aḍḍeha*, A. *aḍḍihe /aṭ-dihal* "8×10" cf. "70" above. The numeral is attested in the spelling ⟨*a'diha*⟩ in the *Tāna* inscription ITAG 3,6. — As against this, there is a more archaic variant in Dhivehi, viz. M.A.F. *āhi* which can be traced back to OIA *aśītí-* "80" through intermediate stages like Pkt. *asī/asiṃ*, Pa. *asīti-* (cf. TURNER 1966, I, 40, no. 911 and 1985, 6, no. 911); cp. the correspondent Sinh. form *asū*, subst. *asūva* (GEIGER 1941, 14, no. 222). The initial *ā-* of Dhiv. *āhi* still needs an explanation.

"90" M. *nuva-diha* "9×10" is already documented two times in *Tāna* inscriptions of the 18th century (ITMHM 4,3 and 7,2) as a cardinal number and, furthermore, in the corresponding ordinal form *nuvadiha-vana* in ITFM (2,3). Its modern dialectal variants are A. *nuva-dihe* and F. *nuva-deha*; for the formation cf. "70" above. — For this numeral, too, Dhivehi disposes of a more archaic equivalent in M.F. *navai*, A. *navei* which can be traced back to OIA *navatí-*; cp. Pkt. *nauī*, *naui*, *nauiṃ* etc. (cf. TURNER 1966, I, 402, no. 6995 and 1985, 58, no. 6995; NORMAN 1992, 214). As against this, a different development must be assumed for Sinh. *anū*, subst. *anūva* "90" the initial *a* of which "seems to be due to the analogy of *asūva* eighty" (cf. GEIGER 1941, 8, no. 113).

2.5.1.5. The **monadic entities** from 31 to 39, from 41 to 49 etc. can be formed both by anteposition and by postposition of the monadic units with respect to the decades in question (i.e. in the form of 30-1 and 1-30, resp.). The postpositional formation of the monadic units occurs regularly in adjectival as well as substantival forms, which are distinguished in the same way as their underlying elements (cf. 2.5.1.1). From the point of view of historical linguistics, these formations must have come into use in the relative recent past only. In contrast to that it is very difficult to estimate the relative age of the formations that are composed in the opposite way ("monadic units + decades").

2.5.1.5.1. A few examples may suffice to illustrate the regular formation of the type **"decade + monadic unit"**. "31": M.A.F. adj. *tirīs e' /ekl*, subst. *tirīs eke' /ek-ekl*; "32": adj. *tirīs de*, subst. *tirīs dē' /de-ekl*; "39": adj. *tirīs nuva*, subst. *tirīs nuvae' /nuva-ekl*; "42": adj. *saḷīs de*, subst. *saḷīs dē'*; "63": adj. M. *fasdoḷas tin*, A.F. *fasdoḷos tin*, subst. M. *fasdoḷas tine'*, A.F. *fasdoḷos tine' /tin-ekl* etc.

2.5.1.5.2. The monadic units which are built according to the model **"monadic unit + decade"** do not show homogeneous formations. The morphological diversity of the numerals in question can be explained by the fact that they presuppose at least three types of historical development which cannot easily be determined. There are only a few inherited formations, most of the numerals in question representing so-called "*mots savants*", i.e. learned sanskritisms or prakritisms, which were borrowed at different times. Additionally, there must also be some analogical formations dating from different periods. Besides these main types, there is

a considerable number of numerals which can only be explained as hybrid formations. It would go beyond the scope of the present work to etymologise each of the numerals in question; thus, the following list will only provide their meaning and their equivalents in OIA. Only in particular cases, when a direct derivation from an attested MIA form seems to be possible or there are similar variants in other Modern Indo-Aryan languages, will these forms be given too (without automatically considering them as direct ancestors of the Dhivehi forms, however).[329] As dialectal variation is reduced to a minimum in this part of the Dhivehi numeral system, the list will contain only the forms of the standard language (cf. DISANAYAKA/MANIKU 1990, 99 ff.). The numerals "39", "49" etc. which are built on the pattern *nava-* + "decade" and which have no ancestral forms in OIA will be collected in a particular chapter. For the names of the decades cf. 2.5.1.4.

2.5.1.5.2.1. Formations of the type "monadic unit + decade":

ettirīs "31" (OIA *ékatriṁśat-*, cf. TURNER 1966, I, 119 and 1985, 15, no. 2469);
battirīs "32" (OIA *dvā́triṁśat-*, cf. TURNER 1966, I, 380 and 1985, 55, no. 6657; cp. Guj. *batrīs*);
tettirīs "33" (OIA *tráyastriṁśat-*, cf. TURNER 1966, I, 342 and 1985, 49, no. 6000; cp. Beng. *tetrīś* and Guj. *tetris*);
sauratirīs "34" (OIA *cátustriṁśat-*, cf. TURNER 1966, I, 252, no. 4651); the ordinal number "34th" is attested as *sau-tirīs-vana* in Old Dhiv. (ITAH 6,2; cp. *sauvīs* "24", 2.5.1.3);
fansatirīs "35" (OIA *páñcatriṁśat-*, cf. TURNER 1966, I, 432, no. 7661);
sattirīs "36", attested in the spelling ⟨*satirīs*⟩ in RC 9,3 (OIA *ṣáṭtriṁśat-*, cf. TURNER 1966, II, 742, no. 12786; cp. Guj. *chattrīs*);
satutirīs "37" (OIA *saptatriṁśat-*, cf. TURNER 1966, II, 761, no. 13145);
aśutirīs "38" (OIA *aṣṭā́triṁśat-*, cf. TURNER 1966, I, 41, no. 945; cp. Guj. *āṛtrīs*);

ekāḷīs "41" (OIA *ékacatvāriṁśat-*, cf. TURNER 1966, I, 119 and 1985, 15, no. 2464; cp. Pa. *ekatālīsa*);
bayāḷīs "42" (OIA *dvācatvāriṁśat-*, Pkt. *bāyālīsaṃ*; cf. TURNER 1966, I, 380 and 1985, 55, no. 6656; cp. Hi. *bayālīs*);
teyāḷīs "43" (OIA *trayaścatvāriṁśat-*, Pkt. *tēyālīsaṃ*; cf. TURNER 1966, I, 342 and 1985, 49, no. 5998; cp. Or. *teyālisa*);
saurayāḷīs "44" (OIA *cátuścatvāriṁśat-*, cf. TURNER 1966, I, 251 and 1985, 33, no. 4628; cp. Or. *caürāḷiśa*);
fansayāḷīs "45" (OIA *páñcacatvāriṁśat-*, cf. TURNER 1966, I, 432 and 1985, 62, no. 7659; cp. *-ns-* in Old Sinh. *pansālis* and *-ñc-* in Or. *pañcāḷīsa* as against Pkt. *paṇayālīsā*, *paṇṇayālīsa*);
sayāḷīs "46" (OIA *ṣaṭcatvāriṁśat-*, Pkt. *chāyālīsaṃ*; cf. TURNER 1966, II, 742, no. 12784; cp. Or. *chayālisa*);
satāḷīs "47" (OIA *saptácatvāriṁśat-*, Pkt. *sattālīsaṁ*; cf. TURNER 1966, II, 760 and 1985, 104, no. 13142); the ordinal number *satāḷīs-vana* "47th" is already attested in the *Dives akuru fatkoḷu* F8,16.
aśāḷīs "48" (OIA *aṣṭácatvāriṁśat-*, Pa. *aṭṭhatālīsa*, Ap. *aṭhatālīsa*; cf. TURNER 1966, I, 41, no. 944);

ekāvanna "51" (OIA *ékapañcāśat-*, cf. TURNER 1966, I, 119 and 1985, 15, no. 2472; cp. Pkt. *ekkāvannaṁ*, *ekkāvaṇṇa*, *ekāvaṇṇa*, *ekāvaṇṇā*; NORMAN 1992, 217 explains the *-ā-* by analogy with *ekkārasa* "11");
bāvanna "52" (OIA *dvāpañcāśat-*, cf. TURNER 1966, I, 380 and 1985, 55, no. 6661; cp. Pkt. *bāvaṇṇa(ṁ)*, *bāvannaṁ*);

[329] In the case of the numerals discussed below, TURNER's indication "← Ind.", often appearing in the Addenda and Corrigenda of his work (1985), cannot be taken seriously in general, albeit there are some phonetical convergences between Dhivehi and diverse other Indic languages; cf. also 2.5.1.2. This does not mean, however, that TURNER's assumption of borrowings or influences from non-Insular IA languages can be ruled out with certainty for all items concerned. – For the equivalent forms of MIA cf. NORMAN (1992), 215-221, for those of the Modern IA languages cf. BERGER (1992), 256-274.

tēvanna "53" (OIA *tráyaḥpañcāśat-*, Pkt. *tēvaṇṇaṃ, tēvannaṁ*; cf. TURNER 1966, I, 342 and 1985, 49, no. 5995);
sauravanna "54" (OIA *catuḥpañcāśat-*, cf. TURNER 1966, I, 251, no. 4638);
fansavanna "55" (OIA *páñcapañcāśat-*, Pa. *pañcapaññāsa*, Pkt. *pañcavannaṃ*; cf. TURNER 1966, I, 432, no. 7666);
savanna "56" (OIA *ṣáṭpañcāśat-*, Pkt. *chappannaṃ*; cf. TURNER 1966, II, 742, no. 12787);
satuvanna "57" (OIA *saptapañcāśat-*, Pkt. *sattavannaṁ*; cf. TURNER 1966, II, 761, no. 13149);
aśuvanna "58" (OIA *aṣṭápañcāśat-*, cf. TURNER 1966, I, 42, no. 949; cp. Pkt. *aṭṭhavaṇṇa*);

ekāhaṭṭi "61" (OIA *ékaṣaṣṭi-*, cf. TURNER 1966, I, 119 and 1985, 15, no. 2478; cp. also Sindhī *ekahaṭṭhi*; for the lengthening of *-ā-* cp. Dhiv. "51" above[330]);
bāhaṭṭi "62" (OIA *dvāṣaṣṭi-*, Pkt. *bāsaṭṭhiṃ, bāsaṭṭhi*; cf. TURNER 1966, I, 381 and 1985, 55, no. 6673);
tēhaṭṭi "63" (Skt. *trayaḥśaṣṭi-*, Pa. *tēsaṭṭhi-*, Pkt. *tēsaṭṭhiṁ*; cf. TURNER 1966, I, 342 and 1985, 49, no. 5996); for an older attestation cf. the ordinal number *tēhaṭṭī-vana*, written ⟨*tēha'ṭīvana*⟩ in a *Tāna* inscription (ITMHM 5,2).
saurahaṭṭi "64" (OIA *catuḥṣaṣṭi-*, cf. TURNER 1966, I, 249, no. 4590);
fansahaṭṭi "65" (OIA *pañcaṣaṣṭi-*, Pkt. *pañcasaṭṭhiṃ*; cf. TURNER 1966, I, 432, no. 7674);
sahaṭṭi "66" (OIA *ṣaṭṣaṣṭi-*, Pa. *chasaṭṭhi-*, Pkt. *chasaṭṭhiṃ* (cf. TURNER 1966, II, 742, no. 12790 and NORMAN 1992, 218); cp. also Or. *chaasaṭhi*, Sindhī *chāhaṭhi*[331]);
satuhaṭṭi "67" (OIA *saptaṣaṣṭi-*, Pkt. *sattasaṭṭhi-* etc.; cf. TURNER 1966, II, 761, no. 13158 and NORMAN 1992, 218; cp., e.g., Sindhī *satahaṭhi*, cf. BERGER 1992, 266);
aśuhaṭṭi "68" (OIA *aṣṭáṣaṣṭi-*, Pa. *aṭṭhasaṭṭhi-*, Pkt. *aṭṭhasaṭṭhiṃ* etc.; cf. TURNER 1966, I. 42, no. 953; cp. also Panj. *aṭhahaṭ*);

ekāhaiteri "71" (for the more archaic formations with *°hattari* such as *ekāhattari* etc. in the dialect of Aḍḍū cf. 2.5.1.4 above); OIA *ékasaptati-*, cf. TURNER 1966, I, 119 and 1985, 15, no. 2479; Pkt. *ēkasattarī-*, cf. NORMAN 1992, 218; for Hi. *ik-hattar*, Beng. *ekāttar* etc. cf. BERGER 1992, 267);
bāhaiteri "72" (OIA *dváṣaptati-*, Pkt. *bāvattariṃ*; cf. TURNER 1966, I, 381 and 1985, 55, no. 6674; for Pkt. *bāhattari- / bahattari-* and Hi. etc. *bahattar*, Mar. *bāhattar* cf. BERGER 1992, 267); cp. the attestation of the ordinal number *bāhattarivanaï*[332] in the *Dives akuru* inscription IDMHM 2,4.
tēhaiteri "73" (Skt. *trayaḥsaptati-*, cf. TURNER 1966, I, 49 and 1985, 49, no. 5997; Pa. *tēsattati-*, cf. NORMAN 1992 219; cp. also Hi. and Nep. *tihattar*);
saurahaiteri "74" (OIA *catuḥsaptati-*, cf. TURNER 1966, I, 249, no. 4591; Pkt. *cauhattari-*, cf. NORMAN 1992, 219; cp. also Hi. and Nep. *cauhattar*; for Mar. *ćaurehattar* cp. BERGER 1992, 268);
fansahaiteri "75" (OIA *pañcasaptati-*, Pa. *pañcasattati-*, Pkt. *pañcahattarī-* besides *pañcattariṃ*; cf. TURNER 1966, I, 432, no. 7675 and NORMAN 1992, 219; cp. further Guj. *pañjahatari*);
sahaiteri "76" (OIA *ṣaṭsaptati-*, Pkt. *chāvattariṃ*, Ap. *chāhattari*; cf. TURNER 1966, II, 742, no. 12791 and NORMAN 1992, 219);
satuhaiteri "77" (OIA *saptasaptati-*, Pkt. *sattahattariṃ*; cf. TURNER 1966, II, 761, no. 13159 and NORMAN 1992, 219);
aśuhaiteri "78" (OIA *aṣṭáṣaptati-*, Pkt. *aṭṭhahattariṃ, aṭṭhahattari-* besides *aṭhattariṃ*; cf. TURNER 1966, I. 42, no. 954 and NORMAN 1992, 219);

ekāhi "81" (OIA *ekāśīti-*, cf. TURNER 1966, I, 120 and 1985, 16, no. 2491; Pkt. *ekkāsīi* and *ekkāsīī*, cf. NORMAN 1992, 219; for Beng., Or. etc. *ekāsi* cf. BERGER 1992, 219);
bayāhi "82" (OIA *dvyaśīti-*, cf. TURNER 1966, I, 382 and 1985, 55, no. 6699; for Hi. *bayāsī*, Nep. *bayāsi*. Or. *bayāasi* etc. cf. BERGER 1992, 270);

[330] Cf. also BERGER (1992), 265, who explains the secondary *-ā-* of Panj. *akāhat* "61" by analogy with Panj. *bāhat* "62".
[331] For the secondary lengthening of the *a* in the first syllable cf. BERGER (1992), 266.
[332] The form is not easily readable, therefore its analysis is uncertain. It cannot be completely excluded that the final *-ai* represents a gen./loc. or the postponed element *-ai* meaning "and".

tēāhi "83" (OIA *tryaśīti-*, Pkt. *tēyāsī-* etc.; cf. TURNER 1966, I, 346 and 1985, 50, no. 6086; NORMAN 1992, 220; cp. Or. *teyāasi*);
saurayāhi "84" (OIA *caturaśīti-*, cf. TURNER 1966, I, 249, no. 4597; for Hi. *caurāsī*, Mar. *ċauryāśī* etc. cf. BERGER 1992, 270);
fansayāhi "85" (OIA *pañcāśīti-*, cf. TURNER 1966, I, 433, no. 7683; cp. Guj. *pącyāśī*, Mar. *pącyāsī*, cf. BERGER 1992, 271);
sayāhi "86" (OIA *ṣaḍaśīti-*, Pa. *chaḷāsīti-*; cf. TURNER 1966, II, 742, no. 12793 and NORMAN 1992, 220; for Hi. *chiyāsī*, Beng. *chiyāsi* etc. cf. BERGER 1992, 271);
satāhi "87" (OIA *saptāśīti-*, Pkt. *sattāsīiṃ*; cf. TURNER 1966, II, 761 and 1985, 104, no. 13160; cp., e.g., Hi. etc. *satāsī*, Guj. *satyāśī*; cf. BERGER 1992, 271);
aśāhi "88" (OIA *aṣṭāśīti-*, Pkt. *aṭṭhāsīiṃ* etc., Ap. *aṭṭāsi*; cf. TURNER 1966, I, 42, no. 951 and NORMAN 1992, 220; cp. Beng. *āṭāsi* and Hi. *aṭ(ṭ)hāsī*);

ekānavai "91" (Skt. *ekanavati-*, cf. TURNER 1966, I, 119, no. 2471; cp. Pkt. *ekkaṇauiṁ*, *ekkaṇauī*, cf. NORMAN 1992, 220; cp. also, e.g., Beng. *ekānai*, Hi. *ekānwe*, cf. BERGER 1992, 272);
bayānavai "92" (Skt. *dvinavati-*, cf. TURNER 1966, I, 381 and 1985, 55, no. 6683; cp. also **dviyānavati-* → Panj. *biāṇvę*, cf. BERGER 1992, 272);
tēānavai "93" (Skt. *trayonavati-*, cf. TURNER 1966, I, 342 and 1985, 49, no. 6003);
saurayānavai "94" (Skt. *caturnavati-*, cf. TURNER 1966, I, 250, no. 4614; cp., e.g., Mar. *ċauryāṇṇav* and Beng. *curānabbai*, cf. BERGER 1992, 273);
fansayānavai "95" (OIA *páñcanavati-*, cf. TURNER 1966, I, 432 and 1985, 62, no. 7665);
sayānavai "96" (OIA *ṣáṇṇavati-*, cf. TURNER 1966, II, 742, no. 12800; cp., e.g., Hi. *chiyānawe*, Or. *chayānabe*[333]);
satānavai "97" (OIA *saptanavati-*, cf. TURNER 1966, II, 761 and 1985, 104, no. 13148; cp., e.g., Pkt. *sattāṇauiṁ* "with *-ā-* by analogy with *aṭṭhā-*", cf. NORMAN 1992, 221);
aśānavai "98" (OIA *aṣṭā́navati-*, cf. TURNER 1966, I, 42, no. 948; cp., e.g., Pkt. *aṭṭhāṇauiṁ*, cf. NORMAN 1992, 221).

2.5.1.5.2.2. Formations of the type "9 + decade":

nava-tirīs "39", *nava-sāḷīs* "49", M. *nava-fansās*, A. *nava-fansas* "59", *nava-haṭṭi* "69", M. *nava-haiteri*, A. *nava-hattari* "79", *navāhi /nava-āhi/* "89", M. *navā-navai*, A. *navā-navei*; for *nava-* instead of the expected form *nuva-* "9" cf. "29", treated in 2.5.1.3 above.

2.5.1.5.3. Besides the formations described above, the numbers 39, 49, 59 etc. can also be expressed by subtraction from the following decade, e.g. by formations of the type "1 less than 40, 50" etc. (for this archaic type cf. "19" treated in 2.5.1.2 and "29" treated in 2.5.1.3). Cp., e.g., M. *ona-vihi*, A. *oṇa-vihi*, F. *uṇa-vihi* "19"; M. *ona-tirīs*, A. *oṇa-tirīs* F. *uṇa-tirīs* "29"; M. *ona-saḷīs*, A. *oṇa-saḷīs*, F. *uṇa-saḷīs* "39"; M. *ona-fansās*, A. *oṇa-fansas*, F. *uṇa-fansās* "49"; M. *ona-haṭṭi*, A. *oṇa-haṭṭi*, F. *uṇa-haṭṭi* "59"; M. *ona-haiteri*, A. *oṇa-hattari*, F. *uṇa-hattari* "69"; M. *ona-āhi*, A. *oṇo-āhi* (sic), F. *uṇa-āhi* "79"; M. *ona-satta* (obs.), A. *oṇa-satta*, F. *uṇa-satta* "99" (for *satta* "100" cf. 2.5.1.6 below). The numeral denoting "89" shows the effect of haplology; cp. M. *onavai* ← **ona-navai*, A. *oṇavei* ← **oṇa-navei*, F. *uṇavai* ← **uṇa-navai*.

[333] Cf. BERGER (1992), 273: "The other languages have analogical new formations on the model of the other compounds with 'six'; cf. Hi. *chiyānawe* (*i* from 'sixty six', *-ya-* from 'eighty-six') ..."

2.5.1.6. In the modern language, **"100"** is denoted by M.A.F. *satēka*, a sanskritism which obviously exists only in Dhivehi in this form (Skt. *śatá-* "100" + *éka-* "1"). For the older language, this numeral is attested in the spelling *sateka* in the *Dives akuru* documents F4,2, IDMDM 1,3 and RB 1,12. — Another word for "100" which is obsolete but not completely forgotten in Modern Dhivehi, is M.A.F. *satta*, a form already documented in the *lōmāfānus* (L2 12,1 and 29,2.5, L3 2/2,1, and L5 2/1,4). The derivation of *satta* is problematic because the presumptive ancestral forms of this word, OIA *śatá-* and Pa. *sata-*, cannot explain the existence of a geminated *-tt-* in Dhivehi (cf. TURNER 1966, II, 711, no. 12278). Thus it remains uncertain whether we have to assume a different (emphatic?) basic form or a hyper-prakritisation here. — In contrast to that, the numeral M.A.F. *hia*, together with Sinh. *siya* "100" (subst. *siyaya*), a variant almost obsolete in the modern language, clearly represents the regular outcome of OIA *śatá-*, Pa. *sata-*, Pkt. *sada-*, *saya-* etc.[334] As BELL (1883, 121) and GEIGER (1901-1902, II, 378) recognised, Dhiv. *hia* is semantically ambiguous. Although it was reinterpreted as meaning "96" during the period of the duodecimal system ("8×12"; the highest number which is known within this system, cf. 2.5.1.8), the original meaning "100" did not totally fall into oblivion. Thus, when fish are counted, old people in Addū still use *hia* for "100". Nevertheless, the same people also remember the use of *hia* as an archaic numeral meaning "96".

In Dhivehi the stepping by **hundreds** is expressed by regular composition with *satēka*; cp. M.A.F. *tin-satēka* "300", "3(×)100"; M. *hataru-* / A. *hatara-* / F. *hataro-satēka* "400"; M.A.F. *fas-satēka* "500"; M.A.F. *ha-satēka* "600"; M. *hai-satēka*, A.F. *has-satēka /hat-/* "700" (for "7" cf. 2.5.1.1 above); M.A.F. *as-satēka /aṭ-/* "800" (for "8" cf. 2.5.1.1 above); M.A.F. *nuva-satēka* "900". The only exception to the rule is A.F.M. *duisatta* "200" which obviously represents a sanskritism (cp. Skt. *dviśata-*).

2.5.1.7. **"1000"**: M.A.F. *hās* can be traced back to OIA *sahásra-* "1000" through an intermediate form **sə'assə*; cf. Pa., Pkt. *sahassa-*, further Pkt. *sahasa-*, *sahāsa-* (TURNER 1966, II, 768, no. 13307). The Sinh. equivalent is *dahas/dās* (subst. *dahasa/dāsa*) which substitutes the expected form, **sahas/sās* ← Sinh.Pkt. *sahasa-* (cf. NORMAN 1992, 222). GEIGER (1900, 65 and 1941, 73, no. 1067) prefers to explain the initial *d-* of the Sinh. word by assuming an analogical influence of *dasa/daha* "10", arguing against the alternative derivation form MIA *dasa-sata-* "10×100". An equivalent of this is indeed attested for Old Dhivehi in the form *diha-satta-satirīs* "1036" appearing in a 17th century *Dives akuru fatkoḷu* (F2,3); in this case, however, the reading is not absolutely certain, the manuscript being damaged.

The stepping by thousands is performed by regular composition with *hās* "1000"; cp. M.F. *e'*, A. *eu /ek/ hās* "1000", M.A.F. *de hās* "2000", *tin hās* "3000" etc.

The interaction of the formations described above can easily be illustrated with the following examples of higher numbers: A. *satēka bāhattari* "172", A. *fassatēka aśatirīs* "538"; A. *nuvasatēka aśānavei* "998"; M. *tirīs ha hās a' /aś/ satēka fasdoḷas* "36,860"; M. *haidiha hās* "70,000".

[334] Cf. GEIGER (1941), 179, no. 2708 and (1902), 923, no. 193, further TURNER 1966, II, 711, no. 12278 and NORMAN 1992, 221.

2.5.1.8. The duodecimal system

In the written documents of Old Dhivehi there are only a few numerals that can be regarded as parts of a duodecimal system; the numerals in question will be quoted below. As already stated by GEIGER (1919, 73), the duodecimal method of counting "began to die out" in the language of Mäle at the beginning of the 20th century. Most probably, the duodecimal numbers had the status of mere relic forms even then. In the southern Maldives, the old numeral system must have been preserved for a longer time (cf. 2.5 above); but here too, it has become very difficult to find informants who still remember the duodecimal numbers. It was only with the help of some of the oldest speakers each of the dialects of Aḍḍū and Fua' Mulaku that a complete list of the particular items of the duodecimal system could be prepared. Most of the forms quoted below would have remained obscure without their help.

"12": M.A.F. *doḷos* is the basis of the duodecimal system. The earliest attested forms are *doḷos* and *doḷosu* both appearing in the *lōmāfānu* L1 (g/1,3 and my/1,6), and the reduplicated forms *doḷosu-toḷos* and *doḷosu-toḷosu* in L2 (5,2 and 4) which probably have to be regarded as distributive plurals meaning "twelve each" (*-s_t-* being the result of an assimilation of */-s_d-/*). The interpretation of *doḷos-toḷos* as "twelve thirteen" as proposed by MANIKU/WIJAYAWARDHANA (1986, 5) must be rejected because "13" was never attested in the form **toḷos*; furthermore, this interpretation is not supported by the given context. — TURNER (1966, I, 380, no. 6658) and BERGER (1992, 251) are right in deriving Dhiv. and Sinh. *doḷos* (Sinh. subst. *doḷaha*) from OIA (RV) *duvā́daśa* as against Skt. *dvādaśa* as proposed by GEIGER (1941, 82, no. 1210); cp. also Pa. *dvādasa*, Pkt. *duvālasa* etc. For the Modern Dhivehi numeral *bāra* and Sinh. *bara* "12" which represent the Sanskrit variant, cf. 2.5.1.2; for the retroflex *-ḷ-* cf. 2.5.1.2 above (s.v. "sixteen").

Within the duodecimal system, **"11"** is denoted by *ekoḷos* which can be traced back to OIA *ékādaśa*; *ekoḷos* is to the regular *e(ñ)gāra* (cf. 2.5.1.2) as *doḷos* to *bāra*.

The duodecimal expressions of the numbers in between the steps by twelve are based on the numerals denoting the particular steps to which the monadic units are added. Thus, **"13"** is expressed by M.A.F. *doḷos eke'* "12+1", **"14"** by *doḷos dē'* "12+2", **"15"** by *doḷos tine'* "12+3" etc., up to **"22"** which has the form of *doḷos dihae'* "12-10". The last number preceding the following step by twelve can be formed by a kind of subtraction;[335] cp., e.g., **"23"** which is expressed by F. *ekuni-fassihi* "24 less one" (lit. "24 lacking one"; for *ekuni* cp. OIA *ekona-* "less by one" ← *éka-* + *ūná-*, cf. TURNER 1966, I, 120, no. 2494). This implies that the formation of the last units of decades in the form of "(one) less than 10, 20, 30 etc.", which was inherited from the OIA decimal system, must have been transferred to the duodecimal system; cp. 2.5.1.2 for the formation of "nineteen" and 2.5.1.5.3.

"24": M.A.F. *fassihi* (noted as "24 *fassehi*" with a question mark by GEIGER 1919, 72) is already attested in the *lōmāfānu* L2 (5,4), in the archaic form *pasvisi* which exactly corresponds to Sinh. *pasvisi* "25" (cp. Pa. *pañcavīsa(ti)-*, OIA *pañcaviṁśati-* "25"; cf. TURNER 1966, I, 432, no. 7672). In the given context in the *lōmāfānu*, however, it cannot be decided with certainty whether Old Dhiv. *pasvisi* meant "25" or "24". It is presumably under the influence of the corresponding Sinh. numeral that MANIKU/WIJAYAWARDHANA (1986, 5) translate Dhiv. *pasvisi* with "25". Because of the other duodecimal numbers appearing in the same context (especially *doḷos-toḷos*, cf. above), the meaning of "24" seems to be more probable, however. In more recent times, Dhiv. *pasvisi* → *fassihi* (meaning "24") has been clearly confined to the duodecimal system (cf. also TURNER 1985, 62, no. 7672; cf. 2.5.1.3 for "25"). The reinterpretation implied is not an isolated phenomenon in the history of Dhivehi if we consider the origin of the duodecimal numbers *fanas* "48" and *hia* "96" (cf. below).

The numbers from 25 to 34 (inclusively) are regularly built by "addition"; cp., e.g., **"25":** M.A.F. *fassihi eke'* "24+1"; **"26":** *fassihi dē'* "24+2" etc. GEIGER (1919, 72) notes *"fassehi-haye'* (=2×12+6)" for **"30"**. **"35"**, however, is expressed by "substraction" as "36 minus one": *ekuni-tin-doḷos*.

"36" *tin-doḷos* is "3×12"; **"37"** *tin-doḷos eke'* is "3×12+1" etc. Cf. GEIGER (1919, 73) who noted *tin doḷos hatare'* "3×12+4" for **"40"**. **"47"** *ekuni-fanas* literally means "one less than 48".

[335] Cp., however, the formation of *fas-doḷos ekoḷos* "71" discussed s.v. "60" below.

"48": M.A.F. *fanas*, like *fassihi* "24", presupposes the reinterpretation of an original decimal number which must have happened at the time of the emergence of the duodecimal system. Dhiv. *fanas* ← **panas* corresponds to Sinh. *panas* "50"; cf. TURNER 1985, 62, no. 7682, who identifies *fanas* (besides *fansās* "50", the regular cardinal number of Modern Dhivehi) with OIA *pañcāsát-* "50". For further details concerning the derivation of the concurrent etymological variants cf. 2.5.1.4 s.v. "50" above. The Old Dhiv. numeral *panasu* which is attested in L2 (26,4) is translated as meaning "50" by MANIKU/WIJAYAWARDHANA (1986, 26) who do not consider a duodecimal interpretation; this, however, imposes itself in the given context. Within the framework of the duodecimal system, **"50"** would have been expressed by *fanas dē'* "48+2".

"60": *fas-doḷos* "5×12" is attested for the period of Old Dhivehi in the spelling ⟨*fasdoḷos*⟩ appearing in the *Tāna* inscriptions ITAG (2,2), ITAH (3,6) and ITAM (1,3). *fas-doḷos* is the only duodecimal number which has been integrated into the decimal system and is therefore still in use in the modern language (cf. also 2.5.1.4 s.v. "60"). Correspondingly, the monadic numbers based on "60" such as **"61":** M. *fas-doḷas eke'*, A.F. *fas-doḷos eke'* "5×12+1", **"62":** M. *fas-doḷas dē'*, A.F. *fas-doḷos dē'* "5×12+2" etc., up to **"69":** M. *fas-doḷas nuvae'*, A.F. *fas-doḷos nuvae'*, are still used as well. The highest derivative based on *fas-doḷos* is A.F. *fas-doḷos ekoḷos* **"71"**, lit. meaning "5×12+11", which appears in a *Tāna* inscription from Gan (Aḍḍū Atoll: ITAG 2,2).

"72": F. *fāheti*. This duodecimal number which has so far been attested for the vernacular of Fua' Mulaku only, possibly represents a reinterpreted form of OIA *pañcasaptati-* "75" (cf. TURNER 1966, I, 432, no. 7675). We may assume that the corresponding word for "72" in Aḍḍū and in North Dhivehi was not (much) different from F. *fāheti*. — For further examples of reinterpreted duodecimal numbers cp. 24 (← 25), 48 (← 50) and 96 (← 100).

"84": A.F. *haddoḷos /hat-doḷos/* has the meaning of "7×12".

"96" exists in the dialectal variants F. *hia doḷos* and A.M. *hia*. It represents the highest number that can be found within the duodecimal system; cf. GEIGER (1919, 73) who states: "It is concluded with *hia* (=100) which comes close to 96 (=8×12)." *hia* reflects the inherited word for "100" which, in the same way as "50" was reinterpreted as a duodecimal number (cf. 2.5.1.6). — It may be interesting to note that another word meaning "one hundred", viz. *eksatēka* (cf. 2.5.1.6), can be interpreted as "96" according to the duodecimal system as well. In a *Dives akuru* inscription on a tombstone (IDMHM 7,1-2), we find the Arabic annual date 1196 (A.H.) alongside the Maldivian date which is given as ⟨*hāhai eksatēka*⟩ "1000 and 96". If we assume that a one-to-one correspondence was intended, the monument being an epitaph, we must admit that the Maldivian form is incomplete, either "100" or "96" missing. Thus it cannot be decided with certainty whether *satēka* – like *hia* – could be used for "96" or whether this is an isolated example of mere confusion caused by the influence of *hia*.

2.5.2. Ordinal numbers

In Dhivehi, ordinal numbers are formed by means of the suffix *-vana* which is added to the stem of the cardinal numbers; cp., e.g., M.A.F. *de-vana* "second", *tin-vana* "third", *vihi-vana* "twentieth", *satēka-vana* "hundredth" etc. For ordinal numbers attested in Old Dhivehi cp., e.g., *sa-vana* "6th" (L4 a/1,7), *satāḷīs-vana* "47th" (F8,16), *sau-tirīs-vana* "34th" (ITAH 6,2), *nuvadiha-vana* "90th" (ITFM 2,3). The suffix *-vana* corresponds to *-veni* in Modern Sinhalese which has replaced the Old Sinh. forms *-vana* and *-vanna* (cf. GEIGER 1938, 122 and 1900, 65). In Dhivehi there are no exceptions as to the formation with *-vana*. Hence, also the inherited ordinal number *furatama* "first", which as a sanskritism is irregular from the point of view of the modern language (← OIA *prathamá-*; cf. TURNER 1966, II, 488, no. 8648 and GEIGER 1919, 74), has been replaced by the neologism M.A.F. *evvana /ek-vana/* which is derived from the cardinal number *e'* "one". *furatama* still exists in the contemporary language, but only in the function of an adverb meaning "at first, at the beginning". Unlike that, the inherited ordinal numeral *paḷamu* "first" has been used without interruption until nowadays in Sinhalese; this word goes back to OIA *prathamá-* as well but presupposes an intermediate form with a retroflex stop such as Pa. *paṭhama-* (cf. GEIGER 1941, 101, no.

1500). Furthermore, we find the secondary formation *paḷamu-veni* "first" in colloquial Sinhalese which occurs side by side with its "allegro-variant", *paḷaveni*. Among the ordinal numbers of Sinhalese, there is no form derived from *ek-* "one" (i.e., †*ek-veni*; cf. MATZEL 1983, 41).

While the Sinhalese formations with *-veni* can only be used as adjectives (they must be further enlarged to be usable as substantives; cp., e.g., *paḷamu-veni-yā* "the first", *tun-veni-yā* "the third"), the Maldivian ordinal numbers ending in *-vana* can be substantivised without any morphological change.

2.5.3. Other categories of numerals

2.5.3.1. There are special analytic forms of **collective numerals** in Dhivehi which are used for the morphological expression of the correlation "animate vs. inanimate", here meaning an opposition of "person" and "non-person" in particular. The inanimate collective numerals are generated by adding the noun *eti* "thing" to the numeral stem; this process is uniform throughout the whole Dhivehi speaking area. Cp., e.g., M.A.F. *dēti* ← *de* "two" + *eti* "a unit of two things, a pair, both"; M.A.F. *tin-eti* "a unit of three things"; A. *faheti*, F. *fqheti* ← *fas* "five" + *eti* "a unit of five things" etc. When the collective numeral refers to nouns denoting persons, the numeral stem is combined with *mīhun* "people, men" (pl. of the nominal stem *mīs-* "man"; sg. *mīhā*) in the standard language. Although collective numerals that are enlarged with *mīhun* may also occur in the southern dialects, the formation with *-verin* (the plural of an obsolete noun *veri* which originally had the meaning of "leader, person", cf. 2.3.2.4.2) is much more common there. In general, the combination of a cardinal number with *-verin* is understood as one word, *-verin* being taken as a suffix denoting "person". In the case of formations with *mīhun*, however, only the context can tell whether the formation in question must be interpreted as a real collective number or whether it only denotes a certain "number of people" without a collective meaning. Thus, A.F. *de-verin* has the meaning of a "unit of two persons; both persons", while M.A.F. *de mīhun*, depending on the context, can be translated as "unit of two persons" or, in a more neutral sense, as "two persons (not necessarily connected with each other)". For the "southern" type of formation further cp. A. *fasverin*, F. *fahqverin* "unit of five persons", A.F. *havverin* (*haʾ /hat/* "seven") "unit of seven persons", A. *avverin* "unit of eight persons" (A. *aʾ*, F. *aśo /aś/* "eight"), etc. In Aḍḍū this type of formation is still productive; collective numerals ending in *-verin* can be derived from any numeral stem, even if it denotes a very high number or the numeral in question is a loanword. In the modern dialect of Fuaʾ Mulaku, however, the collective formation by means of *-verin* can no longer be extended to every number. The main reason for this can be seen in the fact that *-verin*, originally the regular plural of an *i*-stem *veri*, has become obsolete in this form as the second part of nouns denoting persons, *-verin* having been replaced by *-vērun* in Fuaʾ Mulaku (cf. 2.3.2.8.2.2.2).

2.5.3.2. **Fractional numbers** are formed analytically with the noun *bai* meaning "part" in Dhivehi. Cp., e.g., M. *de bai kuḷa eʾ /ek/ bai* "1/2", lit. "one part made two parts" (*bai* "part", *kuḷa* "made, done" part.pret. of *kuranī* "to make, do"), *tin bai kuḷa eʾ bai* "1/3", *hataru bai kuḷa eʾ bai* "1/4", etc.

In Sinhalese, too, fractions are expressed periphrastically by nouns meaning "part, share, portion", viz. *bāgaya* and *paṃguva*. Cp., e.g., *aṭen paṃguva* "1/8", lit. "(one) part of eight" (*aṭ-en* abl./instr. of *aṭa* "eight"); *aṭen tun-paṃguva* "3/8", lit. "three part(s) of eight"; *hataren paṃguva* "1/4", lit. "(one) part of four" (cf. GEIGER 1938, 123, and, in greater detail, GUNASEKARA 1891, 147-8).

2.5.3.3. **Multiplicative numerals** are formed with the noun M. *guna*, A. *guṇa* "times" which is suffixed to the cardinal stem; cp., e.g., M. *de-guna*, A. *de-guṇa* "two times, twice, twofold, double", M. *tin-guna*, A. *tin-guṇa* "three times", etc. Corresponding formations also exist in Sinhalese; cp., e.g., *de-guṇa* "twice" or *te-guṇa* "three times", but also the sanskritisms *dvi-guṇa* "twice" and *tri-guṇa* "three times" which are used in the literary language.[336]

M. *guna*, A. *guṇa* is also used as the nominal part of the complex verb M. *guna kuranī*, A. *guṇa keranī* "to multiply, increase, augment", lit. "to make number, amount"; cp. also M. *gunanī*, A. *gaṇanī* "to count" and Sinh. *gaṇinavā* "to count, reckon, enumerate" which have to be derived from Skt. *gaṇaya-*, Pa. *gaṇe-* "to count" (cf. GEIGER 1941, 52, no. 760 and 1902, 921, no. 173).[337]

The Maldivian numerals with *-guṇa/-guna* cannot be directly inherited from the corresponding formations of Old or Middle Indo-Aryan because the original final *-a* would not have been preserved in Modern Dhivehi. A presumptive preform **guṇa* of IIA Prakrit or of an early stage of Old Dhivehi would have developed into **guṇu*, *-u* being a secondary final vowel which, at least in the northern dialects, would have been conserved in the same quality until present.[338] Old Dhiv. †*guṇu* or, at a later time, M. †*gunu*, is not attested, however. Hence, we must presume that A. *guṇa* / M. *guna*, both as a suffixal element and as a noun meaning "amount, number", represent a sanskritism or a borrowing from another Modern Indo-Aryan language; in the latter case, Sinhalese is one of the most probable sources.[339] If Dhiv. *guṇa/guna* represents the Sanskrit form proper, it must have been borrowed at a comparatively recent period so that it could not be affected by the usual change of the word-final vowel any longer.

2.5.3.4. Approximate numerical data

Depending on the degree of uncertainty to be expressed, there are different morphological devices of denoting approximate figures. If the uncertainty concerning the exact number is not particularly important, the numbers in question can simply be arranged as a string; cp., e.g., M.A. *de-tin* "two (or) three" corresponding to Sinh. *de-tun* "id.". For the expression of a

[336] The formations with *-guṇa* represent only one of numerous methods of expressing numeral adjectives and numeral adverbs in Sinhalese as equivalents of Engl. "times, -fold" etc. Cp., e.g., *de-paṭa* "double, twice", *tun-paṭa* "threefold" or *de-varak* "two times", *te-varak* "three times"; for further formations cf., e.g., JAYAWARDENA-MOSER (1996), 2 f.

[337] Cf. TURNER (1985), 29 who, on the one hand, puts M. *gunanī* together with OIA *guṇáyati (1)* "advises" (1966, I, no. 4191), while the nominal element M. *guna*, on the other hand, is identified with *guṇayati (2)* "multiplies" (1966, I, no. 4191a); cf. further TURNER (1966), I, 213, 3993 s.v. *gaṇáyati* "counts" and 224, 4190 s.v. *guṇá-* "... 2. species, quality, good quality". The etymology of the OIA noun *guṇá-*, which has numerous partly contradictory) meanings, is still unclear (cf. MAYRHOFER 1986-, I, 489-490); cp. the OIA multiplicative numerals with °*guṇa-* "-fach, -plex" being quoted ib.: *dví-guṇa-* "twofold", *catur-guṇa-* "fourfold", *pañca-guṇa-* "fivefold"; *tribhír guṇáiḥ* "threefold".

[338] For the final vowels of the consonant stems cf. 2.3.1.3.4.2; for the development of OIA *guṇá-* in diverse NIA languages cf. TURNER (1966), I, 224, no. 4190 and BERGER (1992), 281 f.

[339] Cp. also Modern Hi. *gun* vs. *gunā* in *du-gunā* "twofold", *ti-gunā* "threefold", *das-gunā* "tenfold", etc.; cf. KELLOG 1875, 158.

higher degree of uncertainty, the dialect of Aḍḍū uses indefinite collective numbers (cf. 2.5.3.1 above) in their dative form: cp., e.g., A. *fahettaka' /faheti-ak-aś/* "approximately five (pieces of ...)". This formation can only be used for the numbers between "two" and "ten", however. In the standard language, a presumptive value of "approximately six" is expressed by the dative of the substantive form of the numeral; cp., e.g., M. *haekka' /ha-ekk-aś/* "approximately six", lit. "(up) to (a) six". An indefinite dative can be built for the same purpose from higher numbers as well; cp., e.g., M. *doḷahaka' /doḷas-ak-aś/* "approximately twelve".[340] Following DISANAYAKA/MANIKU (1990, 104), this formation type cannot be used for numbers greater than 60, however. If the number in question has a higher value, it must be combined with *varaka'* ("very" indef. dat.), here functioning as a postpositional adverb (cf. DISANAYAKA/MANIKU, ib.).

2.6. The pronominal system

From the formal point of view, pronouns do not represent a homogeneous morphological class, neither in Dhivehi or Sinhalese nor in most other Indo-Aryan or Indo-European languages. Hence, before trying to classify them, it will be necessary to define the general framework which determines the morphological and semantical limits of the category "pronoun". The main criterion for a clear distinction between the nominal and the pronominal categories is the simple fact that nouns designate elements of extra-linguistic reality by naming them, while the function of the pronouns consists in referring to these elements without specifically naming them.

2.6.1. In the Insular Indo-Aryan languages, a definition and classification of the pronouns on the basis of purely morphological criteria would not be effective because of their formal heterogeneity. In this regard, A.V. ISAČENKO's general statement (1962, 470) according to which "the main feature characterising the pronouns as an independent word-class and distinguishing them from all other parts of speech, is not their form, but their particular 'meaning', their *specific semantics*"[341] is valid for these languages, too.

2.6.1.1. Depending on their syntactic characteristics, the pronouns can be divided into three main groups. The first group consists of **"absolute pronouns"** which have a high degree of substantival function, occurring as subjects or objects of sentences. The second group is represented by **"determinative pronouns"** which have an adjectival function; these pronouns can be used as attributes as well as predicates. The third group consists of **"adverbial pronouns"** which, according to their name, are characterised by several adverbial functions.

[340] There is no particular suffix *-haka'* as presumed by DISANAYAKA/MANIKU (1990, 104).

[341] "Das, was die Pronomina als selbständige Wortklasse kennzeichnet und sie von allen anderen Wortarten unterscheidet, ist nicht ihre Form, sondern ihre eigenartige 'Bedeutung', ihre *spezifische Semantik*." Because of their general character, ISAČENKO's (1962, 469-520) theoretical considerations about the fundamental characteristics of pronouns, which were based on Russian material, can also be used as "coordinates" for the still undescribed pronominal system of Dhivehi. ISAČENKO's extended presentation and discussion of the theoretical context can hardly be regarded as the scope of this chapter, however. ISAČENKO himself relied on formulations made by KARL BRUGMANN (Die Demonstrativpronomina der indogermanischen Sprachen. Abhandlungen der sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften, Bd. 22, 1904) and KARL BÜHLER (Sprachtheorie. Jena 1934).

2.6.1.2. The particular pronominal classes such as personal pronouns, interrogative pronouns, demonstrative pronouns etc. are established by attributing these three pronominal groups to different deictic levels. ISAČENKO[342] assumes two levels arranged as a coordinate system, with the syntactically motivated tripartition of the pronouns representing the vertical axis and the level of the "modified references" (i.e., e.g., references to actual speech acts in the course of which the personal pronouns of the first two persons are used, or references to the ignorance of a speaker in an interrogative situation which requires an interrogative pronoun) appearing as the horizontal axis. The intersection nodes of the two coordinates represent the potential pronominal meanings, the realisation of which may be different from language to language. Thus, for example, there are no relative pronouns, no negative pronouns and no reflexive pronouns proper[343] in Modern Dhivehi. According to their specific meaning, some of the pronominal stems (absolute, determinative and adverbial pronouns) form complete semantical rows along the vertical axis of the coordinate system.[344]

2.6.1.3. The following table shows a simplified variant of ISAČENKO's (1962, 512) model to illustrate the interaction of the two axes as mentioned above. In its adaptation to Dhivehi, the pronominal formations are exemplified by means of Addū pronouns here (pers.pron. 1.ps.sg., interrogative pronouns, dem.pron. *mi/me*).

			personal pronouns	interrogative pronouns	demonstrative pronouns
absolute pronouns	substance	person	*ava*, obl. *ma* "I"	*keyye* "who?"	*mi* (attr.) "this (here)"
		thing	–	*konta'* "what?"	
determinative pronouns	feature	quality	–	*kon* "what kind of, what a?"	*mi kahalei* "such a"
		quantity	–	*kehei vara'* "how much?", *kitaka'* "how many?"	*mi vara'* "so much"
		relation (poss.)	*afagē, ma* "my"	*kankāge* "whose?"	*miagē* "of this"
adverbial pronouns	adverbial factor	mood	–	*kehei, kehenaka'* "how, in which way?"	*mehen* "thus, in this way"
		space	–	*kontāki* "where, at which place?"	*mi tān,* "here, at this place"
		time	–	*konkalaki* "when, at what time?"	*mi kō* "now, at this time"
		causality / finality	–	*kian vegen* "why, what for?"	–

[342] Cf. the tables given in ISAČENKO (1962), 474 and 512.
[343] The pronoun *timā* cannot be assigned a reflexive function in Modern Dhivehi, cf. 2.6.4.
[344] "Achse der allgemeinen logischen Kategorien" according to ISAČENKO.

2.6.1.4. From the functional point of view, the inventory of the pronominal categories is quite homogeneous in Dhivehi. Concerning the realisation of the particular pronominal meanings, however, there are considerable divergences not only between North and South Dhivehi. As to the etymology of the particular pronouns, divergences occur also within the two main dialect groups; in some cases, specific etymological heterogeneities are even met with in neighbouring atolls.

2.6.2. Personal pronouns

In Dhivehi the system of personal pronouns is characterised by the distinction of three persons in both singular and plural. The first two persons exclusively refer to persons or personified beings, while the third person comprises animate beings and objects as well.

The use of demonstrative pronouns as personal pronouns of the 3rd person can be regarded as typical for the Indo-European and also for the Indo-Aryan languages. The demonstrative pronouns in question originally represent a different deictic category than the personal pronouns (cf. 2.6.5.2 below). In Dhivehi, it is primarily the dem.pron. *e* "that" which has the function of a personal pronoun of the 3rd person; in its non-enlarged form, however, it can only be used for inanimate objects ("it"). For the expression of an animate 3.ps.sg. ("he, she"), *e* must be "substantivised" with certain suffixes, while in the 3.ps.pl. ("they"), a plural noun meaning "people, men, persons" is added to it. As the following tables show, the nominalisation is realised by different specialised suffixes or nouns meaning "people" in the Dhivehi dialects.

2.6.2.1. In the standard language, the system of the personal pronouns is characterised by a particular typological development which is completely unknown in southern Dhivehi. In analogy to the three honorific levels of the verbal system (cf. 3.2.1.1.1.), the personal pronouns, too, are differentiated according to three formal levels which express the social position and, to a certain extent, esteem and disregard. The first degree or rank is the lowest one; the corresponding pronouns serve for addressing among (untitled) commoners and are also used by high-ranked people in addressing commoners. The pronouns of the second degree are reserved for the nobility; they are used by aristocrats when speaking with each other but also by members of the first and third class when addressing nobles. The pronouns of the third degree, which represent the highest level of the society, were originally reserved exclusively for the king or the queen; nowadays they are correspondingly used for the president of the Maldives, but also for people in leading positions (heads of departments, directors, professors etc.). When representatives of the second or the third social level refer to themselves, they will always use the pronominal variants of the lowest degree, however.

In the southern Maldives, we observe certain levels in the social hierarchy, too, but they can by no means be regarded as traces of a caste-like society system recalling that of Mālē. This means that the system of the personal pronouns is confined to only one formal level. There is, however, a peculiar development concerning the use of the personal pronouns in Addū which has to be mentioned here. During the last years, the younger generation has more and more lost its competence in using the personal pronouns in an adequate way which often results in confusion and mistakes in the use of the grammatical persons. Especially in the singular, this uncertainty is often compensated by using a proper name instead of the personal

pronoun in question, even when referring to oneself; thus, the pronouns meaning "I", "you", "he" and "she", having become taboo to some extent, are avoided. Some of the younger Addū-speakers even characterise them as "ugly" or "embarrassing". To the older people who still have a full competence in using the pronouns, this taboo appears strange, however. Probably this recent development results from a conflict caused by the fact that nowadays the speakers of these dialects have to learn the standard language with its honorific levels which are completely unusual to them from the point of view of their mother tongue.

2.6.2.2. As the tables given in 2.6.2.6.2 will show, the personal pronouns of the southernmost dialects clearly distinguish a *casus rectus* (nominative) and a *casus obliquus*, which are still differentiated by particular forms. When the predicate verb is finite, the subject of the sentence appears in the direct case; but when the predicate verb is infinite, its subject appears in the oblique case.[345] In northern Dhivehi, this morphosyntactic differentiation exists as well, but the forms of the direct and the oblique case coincide there. This fundamental morphological change must have happened at a very early time as can be followed from the written documents of Old Dhivehi. Even in the oldest texts there are no traces of a morphological opposition of the cases *rectus* and *obliquus* in this sense.

In the following paragraphs, the personal pronouns will be treated one by one. It must be noted right from the beginning that it is not yet possible to present an etymological derivation for all of them.

2.6.2.3. The personal pronouns of the first person

In the dialects of Addū and Fua' Mulaku, the personal pronoun of the 1.ps.sg. ("I") has the form *ava* in the nominative and *ma* in the oblique case. Its equivalents in the standard language are *aḷugaňḍu* for the first and the second honorific level and *aharen* for the third degree. The obl. A.F. *ma* is identical with the Sinh. obl. *mā* which GEIGER (1938, 124) derives from an old instr./abl. of the 1st person pronoun; cp. Pkt. *mae*, Pa. *mayā* (for the OIA obl. stem *ma-* cf. TURNER 1966, II, 554, no. 9691).

As was mentioned above (cf. 2.6.2.2), the opposition between the direct and the oblique case must have died out in the language of Māle a long time ago. Even in the oldest texts that have become known until today, the old oblique form *ma* occurs only one time (in the 16th century *faṭkoḷu* F1,1.5), but in attributive position and in possessive function. Nevertheless, *ma* is mentioned by GEIGER (1919, 75) as a pers.pron. of the 1.ps.sg.[346] DISANAYAKA/MANIKU (1990, 37) note the pronoun *ma* for the 1.ps.sg. besides *aharen* and *aḷugaňḍu* as well. As a matter of fact, *ma* does exist as a very familiar, unofficial form meaning "I", but it serves neither as an oblique case of *aharen* or *aḷugaňḍu*, nor does it belong to a particular level of the threefold honorific system, which is otherwise "omnipresent" in the pronominal categories of standard Dhivehi.[347] Thus, *ma* represents something like an "alien element" within the well-organised system of the personal pronoun in Māle. It is probable that its very restricted use as well as its existence in the language of Māle can be explained by interfer-

[345] For this fundamental rule which has no exceptions cf. 5.2.
[346] For GEIGER's informant cf. the Introduction, 0.6.1 above.
[347] Information by MUHAMMAD WAHEED (Maḍulu), Māle, 24-03-1999.

ence of the southern dialects. As against this, it seems less probable, yet imaginable that *ma* is a relic form from an older period which has been nearly deprived of its original function as an oblique case form but has been secondarily "strengthened" by a later influence from the south. In the normal colloquial and official language as well as in modern literature, *ma* is mostly used in possessive function; as an oblique case it occurs, e.g., in a fairy tale in the sentence *ma im /in/ magaś la'gaḷē* (T1, 50) "let it float ashore to the place (lit. 'road') where I am sitting" (*in* part.pret. of *innanī* "to sit").

2.6.2.3.1. Most probably, the modern nominative forms A.F. *ava* and M. *aharen* are etymologically connected with the form of the 1.ps.pl. "we" we find in the Sinh nom. *api*, obl. *apa*; cf. the older Sinh. forms *āp* und *äp*.

2.6.2.3.1.1. GEIGER (1941, 8, no. 115) identifies this pronoun with the forms of the 1.ps.pl. acc. *aphe*, *apheni*, gen. *aphāka*, loc. *aphesu* appearing in the *Aśoka* inscriptions. *api* and its variants are derived from the reflexive pronoun Pkt. *appa-* which, according to PISCHEL (1981), 226, alternates with *atta-*. PISCHEL deduces both forms from OIA *ātmán-* "breath, soul; self". TURNER (1966, I, 43, no. 986 and 51, no. 1135), while confirming that the Prakrit variants ("*attā, ātā, ādā, āyā* nom., ... *appā* nom.") come from *ātmán-*, rejects the proposal to trace the Sinh. pronoun *api* etc. back to the same form. While noting Sinh. *ata* "self, individuality" as a direct successor of *ātmán-*, he relates *api* and the *Aśoka* forms with the oblique prononimal stem of the 1.ps.pl. OIA *asmá(d)-*. On the problems involved now cf. HINÜBER (1986, 159) who states: "The acc.pl. *aphe* of (Eastern) Aśoka developed from Sanskrit *asmān* through **asvaṃ*: **as-vaṃ*, **as-paṃ* → **apphaṃ* which was later transformed after *maye* [Eastern *Aśoka* 'we']."[348]

2.6.2.3.1.2. M. *aharen* "I", also existing in the variant *ahuren* which is less used today, originally was a plural form meaning "we"; accordingly, GEIGER (1919, 75) still noted *aharen* besides *aharamen* (sic) as a pronoun of the 1.ps.pl. With all probability, *aharen* represents an "allegro-form" (with a change of */f/* to */h/*; cf. below) of an older *afuren* ← *apuren*, well attested in genitive forms which in most of the passages in question have a possessive function. Cp., e.g., *apurenge kau* "our Lord" (F3,3.7; the person in question being the Prophet Muḥammad; *afurenge kau* in *Tāna*, RA 2,3; RC 4,8 and 9,1). The earlier form of the modern 1.ps.pl. M. *aharemen/aharumen* "we", which is enlarged with the plural suffix *-men*,[349] is attested as well; cp. *afuremenge kau* "our Lord" appearing in the *Rādavaḷi* (RC 4,1), which has the older spelling, *apuremenge kau*, in its *Dives akuru* version (RB 1,11).[350] The possessive genitive we find in *afunge kau* "our Lord" (RC 10,1) represents the same form as the one being used in the 1.ps.pl. obl. *afun* "we" (nom. *afū*) in Fua' Mulaku today. Whether *afun* presupposes a pluralisation by means of the suffix *-un*[351] or whether this is a mere "allegro-variant" of *afuren*, cannot be decided with cerainty yet.

Most probably, the form *apuren* goes back to a combination of the oblique case of the pers.pron. 1.ps.pl., **apa*, here used in possessive function, with the plural element *uren*. As an independent word meaning "people", this element is already attested in the earliest documents of Dhivehi (e.g., L1 m0/1,4). In several texts we find *mi uren* "these people" (F1,21; F2,15; F10,11; F12,9) and *e uren* "those people" (dat. *e urenaṭu* F3,6) used like a personal pronoun of the 3.ps.pl., in analogy to the nominal plural formations functioning as pronouns in the modern language; cp., e.g., M. *e mīhun* "those people". The older form of *uren* is *vuren*,[352] cp. *mi vuren*

[348] Cf. HINÜBER (1986), 159: "Aus skt. *asmān* entwickelt sich Aśoka (östlich) acc.pl. *aphe* über **asvaṃ*: **as-vaṃ*, **as-paṃ* → **apphaṃ*, das nach *maye* [*Aśoka* östl. 'wir'] umgestaltet wird."

[349] For the plural suffix *-men* cf. 2.3.2.1.2.

[350] From the different spelling of *Tāna* as against *Dives akuru* texts alone we cannot tell the actual date of the phonetical change of [*p*] to [*f*]; for this problem cf. 1.3.6.

[351] For the plural suffix *-un*, cf. 2.3.2.1.2.

[352] The development of initial *vu-* to *u-* represents a sound law within the history of Dhivehi, cp., e.g., the participle *uḷunu* ← *uḷuṇu* "(having) lived, been" substituting older *vuḷuṇu* (cf. 3.9.2.3).

"these people" appearing in the *lōmāfānus* (L1 m0/2,6; L2 38,3). The same word is further attested in the genitive forms *mi vuren-ge* "of these people" (L1 ms/1,5), *mi uren-ge* "id." (F11,31), *timā uren-ge raśu* "the island of the own people" (F5,17; F10,17; F11,20)[353]; the dative forms *mi vuren-aṭa* "to these people" (L2 36,3), *mi uren-aṭu* "id.", *e uren-aṭu* "to those people" (F3,24 and 6, resp.). In the locational dative form *mi vuren-ge-ṭa* "to these people" (L2 24,2), the genitive ending *-ge* still has preserved its original meaning "house"[354]; thus, the exact translation is "to the house of these people".[355] The form *mi urenn-āi* "with these people" appears in the Palace-inscription (preserved in the National Museum, Māle). Thus, the original meaning of *apuren* must have been "our people"; in the function of a personal pronoun, it can be interpreted as an inclusive plural "we". At a later time, which cannot be exactly determined, *afuren* developed to *ahuren/aharen*, still meaning "we". The phonological change of */f/* to */h/* implied here is not an isolated process. In a considerable part of Huvadū, this sound change is a regular phenomenon, while in the other southern dialects and, still more, in northern Dhivehi, it can be found only in rare cases (cf. 1.3.6.3).

2.6.2.3.1.3. The question arises whether A.F. *ava*, the direct case form of the personal pronoun of the 1.ps.sg., can be regarded as belonging to the same etymon as *afuren / aharen*. Through an intermediate stage **afa*, this form can be derived from **apa* "we" as well. In this case, too, the plural form "we" must have been reinterpreted as a singular, "I" (cf. above).

2.6.2.3.1.4. Possibly *uren* ← *vuren* reflects OIA *vīrá-* "man, hero, son; male of an animal" (cf. TURNER 1966, II. 697, no. 12056) which occurs several times as a part of the traditional Sanskrit names of the Maldivian kings that are attested in the early Dhivehi documents; cp., e.g., the name of the king *vīra-singa* "man-lion" (F3,8; F4.1; F10,14; IDMMM 1,1; IDMHM 1,2). So far there are, however, no clear examples of a change of initial OIA *vī-* to Dhivehi *vu-*. The Sinh. representation of OIA *vīrá-*, *viru* "hero" (TURNER ib.), does not speak in favour of such an assumption either. On the other hand, there seems to be no other case of initial Modern IIA *vi-* going back directly to OIA *vī-* in initial position. In some examples there is a clear correspondence of initial Sinh. *vi-* (from MIA *vī-/vi-*) and Dhiv. *vi-* or *vī-* (with a secondary long vowel); cp., e.g., the following words the MIA ancestors of which have *vī-*: Dhiv. *vihi* "twenty", Sinh. *vissa*, stem *visi-*: Pa. *vīsati-*, OIA *viṁśatí-* (cf. TURNER 1966, II, 677, no. 11616); Dhiv. *vī* "unhusked rice", Sinh. *viya*, stem *vī-*; Pa., Pkt. *vīhi-*, OIA *vrīhí-* (cf. TURNER 1966, II, 708, no. 12233). An unquestionable example of the development OIA and MIA *vi-* → Sinh., Dhiv. *vi-* is M. *vidu-varu*, A.F. *vidi* "lightening", Sinh. *vidu*, Pa. *vijju-*, OIA *vidyút-* (TURNER 1966, II, 683, no. 11742). An argument in favour of the derivation of *vuren* from *vīrá-* may, however, be found in the etymology of the old Dhivehi word for "island", even though its OIA ancestor, *dvīpá-* "island", has a consonant cluster in initial position. The following argumentation is mainly based on the development of the vowel; concerning the phonological development of the initial cluster, the simplified consonantism of MIA *dī-* (cf. Pa. *dīpa-*, *dīpaka-*, Pkt. *dīva-*; cf. TURNER 1966, I 382, no. 6691), representing the regular outcome of OIA *dvī-*, will serve as the starting point of the discussion. Besides the sanskritism *dvīpaya* which is used in the literary language, there are several variants of the same etymon in Sinhalese, reflecting different periods in the history of the language, perhaps also dialectal variation and later Prakrit influences; cp. *diva*, stem *divu* (GEIGER 1941, 77, no. 1129); *divayina*, *dūpata* and *dūva* (cf. CARTER 1936, 261). The Dhivehi word *divu* "island" which serves as the first part of the ethnonym *divehi* (← **divu-vesi* "island-inhabitant"; cf. 1.3.9.5.), is still attested as an independent word in some of the oldest texts (L3 7/2,3 etc.). In the modern language, however, *divu* has been completely lost. The more recent variant *duvu*, partly occurring side by side with *divu* in the same texts (e.g. L3 7/2,4), has been lost as an independent word as well, but is preserved as *-dū* in the second part of toponyms (cp., e.g., *Mīdū*, *Maradū*, *Hitadū*, *Fēdū*, *Makunudū* etc.; cp. also the name of the southernmost atoll, *Aḍḍū*, which represents a compound of Old Dhiv. *aṭ-* (← **aṭa*) "eight"[356] and *-dū*,[357] lit. meaning "eight islands (atoll)").

[353] For the quasi-reflexive pronoun *timā*, cf. 2.6.4.2.

[354] For the meaning and the derivation of the genitive ending, cf. 2.3.1.1.1.

[355] A typological parallel of this can be found in the development of French *chez* "near(by), close to, by, next to, at" from the Lat. abl. *casā* "in, from the house"; cf. W. MEYER-LÜBKE, Romanisches etymologisches Wörterbuch, 3. vollst. neub. Aufl., Heidelberg 1939, 165, no. 1728.

[356] Cf. 2.5.1.1 above s.v. "eight".

In Modern Dhivehi, the inherited word for "island" has been replaced by other etyma as a common noun (cp. M.A. *raʾ*, F. *raśo /raśl* "island"; M. *fuśi*, A. *fiśi*, F. *fīśi* "little island"; M. *finoḷu*, A. *finoḷa*, F. *finoḷo* "island consisting of only one sandbank" etc.). But even if the example mentioned above could be taken to prove the assumption of a development of MIA *vī-* to Dhiv. *vu-*, one more problem arises. The final *-en* of *(v)uren* is not integrated into the system of the Dhivehi plural endings (cf. *-in/-un* in 2.3.2.1.2) which is an important argument to look for another analysis of this *plurale tantum*.

2.6.2.3.2. In Aḍḍū the 1.ps.pl. of the personal pronoun has the forms nom. *afirie* and obl. *afirin*. From the etymological point of view, these forms seem to be ambiguous: on the one hand, they could consist of the personal pronoun of the 1.ps.pl. in its older form, **apa*, or in its later spirantised form, **afa*, merged with the common Dhivehi word *firi* "man, male" (← *piri*, attested, e.g., in the *lōmāfānu*s L1 f/1,4 and L2 36,1); cp. Sinh. *pirimi* "id." and *puris* "man"; Pa. *purisa-*, OIA *púruṣa-* "person, man"[358]. The meaning would in this case be something like "our people" (cp. *aharen* treated above). The problem would arise, however, that **apa-pirin* would regularly have led to **appirin*; according to the sound laws, the geminated *-pp-* would have been preserved in medial position (cf. 1.3.9.6.1). If we postulated a compound of the later (spirantised) forms **afa-firin* instead, the problem caused by the geminate would be the same, because no double spirant *-ff-* exists in Dhivehi; in this case, too, we should expect *-pp-*. The single spirant *-f-* could also be the result of a later reinterpretation by popular etymology, however, caused by the plural *firin* "men" as used in Aḍḍū. Another derivation could start from the oblique form of **apa/afa* instead, which in this case would have been combined with the *plurale tantum (v)uren* "people" (cf. 2.6.2.3.1.4 above). The two constituents of the compound would have merged into the form *afuren* which is well attested in the older written documents. Perhaps, the actual form of the pronoun in Fuaʾ Mulaku, nom. *afū*, obl. *afun* (cf. 2.6.2.3.1.2 above), goes back to the same form. The plural in *-en*, which is not analysable from the modern point of view, could have been reinterpreted as a plural in *-in*, which regularly occurs with nouns denoting persons. From **afur-in*, however, it would be only a small step to the form *afirin*, which would thus be influenced by a popular etymology as well. The nominative form *afirie* "we" must be interpreted phonologically as */afirial/*, thus obviously representing the nominative of a noun with final *-a* in plural function.[359] It remains uncertain whether */afirial/* can reflect an old nom.pl. preserved as an isolated form.

2.6.2.3.3. In the standard language, *aḷugaňḍu* serves as personal pronoun of the 1.ps.sg. in the two lower social levels; beyond that, it is used by the representatives of the third, i.e. highest degree, when referring to themselves in a humble way. The corresponding plural, *aḷugaňḍumen* "we", is formed with the suffix *-men* which also appears in the variant form of the highest degree, *aharemen* (cf. 2.6.2.3.1.2 above). The original meaning of *aḷu-gaňḍu*, "servant, slave", has been lost in the modern language. The word is a nominal compound which literally means "servant-piece". The particular meaning of the element *gaňḍu* ("thing, piece" as a common noun; in northern Dhivehi also "vessel") is not perceivable in this type of

[357] For the development of *-ṭ+d-* → *-ḍḍ-* cf. 1.3.9 above.

[358] Cf. GEIGER (1941), 107, no. 1590 and 112, no. 1671 as well as 1902, 919, no. 136; TURNER (1966) I. 469, no. 8289 and II, 832, no. 14696.

[359] For the morphological expression of the plural in Aḍḍū cf. 2.3.2.1.

compound any longer. As outlined in 2.3.2.7.3.3, the originally independent noun has the function of a singularisation suffix in the modern language; thus, *aḷu-gaňḍu* can be understood as meaning "one (belonging to the group) of the servants / vassals". Referring to oneself as a "servant", "slave" or "vassal" is a formal way of expressing one's own submissive or humble position within the society.

The Old Dhiv. word *aḷu* is obsolete as an independent noun in the modern language; is has been replaced by the loanword M. *xādimu*, A.F. *xādima* "servant" (← Arab. *ḫādim* "id."). The noun *aḷu*, whose etymology is still unknown, often occurs as such in the documents of Old Dhivehi, however, where it was used as a *plurale tantum* meaning "submissives, vassals, (the whole) domestic staff" as well as a singular form meaning "servant, slave". Thus, *aḷu* appears as a neutral singular or plural form in the *lōmāfānu*s (nom.sg.: L2 22,3 etc.; L3 12/2,2.3; nom.pl. *aḷun* "servants, vassals", enlarged with the suffix *-un*: L1 d/2,4; L2 28,2 and 32,5; L3 13/2,5), while the definite nom.sg. *aḷā* "the servant, the vassal" is met with in several *fatkoḷus* (F3,18; F4,5; F5,49; F6,26 etc.; gen.sg.def. *aḷāge*: F7,25; F9,5; F13,10.13.15; cf. also *de aḷun* "two servants" in F3,12). A plural form with a double marking by the suffixes *-tak* and *-un* (cf. 2.3.2.9.2.3) and further combined with *emme* "all" is attested in *emme aḷutakun* "all vassals together" (F5,36). Cp. also the derivative *aḷukamu / aḷukan* "domestic staff; servitude, slavery; service"[360] (*aḷikamu* [!] in L3 2/1,5; *aḷukan* e.g. in F3,17; F5,46; F8,31; cp. also the indef. form *aḷukamak* "a service" in L2 3,4), which shows a type of word-formation for abstract nouns which is still productive in the modern language. The independent word *kan /kam/* "act, deed, fact"[361] can be added to any noun with a concrete meaning; as a second part of a compound, it looses its own meaning, functioning as a derivational suffix which is approximately equivalent to the Engl. abstract suffix *-ship*.[362]

2.6.2.3.4. Besides the forms that have been mentioned so far, in all dialects of Dhivehi the pronoun M.A.F. *timā* can be used as a personal pronoun of the 1.ps. sg. and pl. (*timā-men*) as well. It occurs mainly in direct speech. For the question of a reflexive pronoun existing in Dhivehi cf. 2.6.4.2.

2.6.2.4. The personal pronouns of the second person

2.6.2.4.1. In Aḍḍū and in Fuaʾ Mulaku, the inherited pronoun of the 2.ps.sg. has been preserved. The direct case A.F. *tō* and the oblique case A.F. *ta* exactly correspond with Sinh. *tō* and *tā* "you (thou)", resp. According to GEIGER (1938, 124; cf. also TURNER 1966, I, 336, no. 5889 s.v. *tuvám, tvám* "thou"), the nominative Sinh. *tō* must be derived from a MIA

[360] In Modern Dhivehi, *aḷukan* means "divine service, worship, prayer".

[361] In Modern Dhivehi, *kan* is also used as a grammatical term meaning "verb". For the etymology cp. Sinh. *kama*, stem *kam-* "occupation, act, deed, necessity", Pa. *kamma(n)-*, OIA *kárman-* "act, work"; cf. GEIGER (1941), 37, no. 549; TURNER (1966) I, 147, no. 2892. Cf. also 2.2.1 above.

[362] For the development *kam(u)* → *kan* (implying the change *-m* → *-n*, cf. 1.1.4) cp. the attestation in F8,31 where *aḷukan* precedes a word with initial *k-*: *budaṭ aḷukan kuḷa kafīrun-ai*... "... and the infidels who did service to the Buddha"; *budaṭ* dat. "to the Buddha", *kuḷa* part.pret. "done" (cf. 3.9.2.2.5), *kafīr-un* nom.pl. "infidels, unbelievers", *-ai* "and").

genitive of the pronoun (cp. Pkt. *tava*, *tuha*, Pa. *tava*; OIA *táva*), while the origin of the oblique case Sinh. *tā* can be seen in an old instrumental such as Pkt. *taē* or Pa. *t(v)ayā* (cp. OIA instr. *tvā́*). The Aḍḍū plural forms, nom. *tafirie /tafirial* and obl. *tafirin* "you", which are based on the oblique stem *ta*, are obviously formed by analogy with *afirie /afirial* and *afirin* "we" (cf. 2.6.2.3.2). Just like its presumptive model *afirin*, *ta-firin* could be based on a secondary interpretation by popular etymology as well; this means that it might have been understood as meaning "your men/persons", *ta* being an oblique case in possessive function. In contrast to that, the 2.ps.pl. of the pers.pron. in Fuaʾ Mulaku, nom. *tāmen* "you", obviously represents a regular plural formation with the suffix *-men*. The long *ā* in *tā-men* can be explained in two ways on the basis of the underlying stem *ta*. The first explanation, which is more probable, considers the fact that the plural suffix *-men* as a rule can be added only to the definite form of nouns, even though this formation is no longer productive in the dialect of Fuaʾ Mulaku (cf. 2.3.2.2.2). In this case, the form would have to be analysed as **ta-ā-men*. The second explanation takes into consideration that in Fuaʾ Mulaku, besides the form *ta*, there must have existed a long-vocalic variant **tā* from which the plural would have been derived directly. This derivation would be supported by the corresponding form of the oblique case in Sinhalese which is *tā* as well (cf. GEIGER 1938, 123).

2.6.2.4.2. The F. plural nom. *ti mīhū* (← **mīhṻ* ← *mīhun*), obl. *ti mīhun* which is also used as a 2nd person pronoun "you" is a combination of the demonstrative pronoun *ti* in its attributive form with the plural *mīhun* "people" (stem *mīs-* "man, human being"). Its exact meaning is "these people" (nearby the addressee; cf. 2.6.2.4.4).

2.6.2.4.3. The 2.ps.sg. pronoun *kalē*, which is used in the modern language of Māle for the expression of "you (thou)" on the first (lowest) honorific level, is of nominal origin. It can be traced back to a noun meaning "sir, lord" which is well attested in the early texts; normally it refers to the Prophet Muḥammad, to the sultan or to another high-ranking personality. In its function as a pronoun, *kalē* which originally was used only for males, today refers to female persons as well. The fact that *kalē* represents the lowest and most neutral hierarchic degree, is evidence of a considerable semantic change which illustrates the possibility of a pronominal shift between the social levels. According to GEIGER (1919, 75), *kalē* is the "more respectful" form of address in comparison with *tia*. This implies that at the beginning of the 20th century, *tia* must still have served as the pronoun of the lowest rank in the language of Māle. In the modern standard language, however, it has been replaced in this function by *kalē*. In general, the occurrence of *tia* as a personal pronoun is restricted to the combination with some secondary pronominal elements today which serve as honorific markers of the two higher degrees (for *tia* further cf. 2.6.2.4.4 s.v. *tia bēkalē*).

2.6.2.4.3.1. The etymological origin of *kalē* is still unknown. The nominative of the underlying noun is attested in different final variants which cannot be explained only by dialectal variation. Besides the stem variants *kal-* (in prevocalic position) and *kau* (in final position, e.g. in F3,3; F5,10; F8,12; F10,6; F11,7; IDAM 1,18; RA 1,3 etc.; cp. also the abstract formation *kaukan* "rulership" appearing, e.g., in F3,1.2; RC 28,12) and the definite nom.sg. *kalā* "the Lord" (relating to the Prophet Muḥammad or the sultan; F7,10; RA 1,7 etc.; RC 5,3 etc.), we find the extended forms *kalo* (in *Dives akuru* documents: F1,20.26; F6,15-16; RB 1,6) and *kalō* (in the *Tāna Rādavaḷi*, RC 3,2 etc.). As against this, *kale* and *kalē* have not been attested in the old documents as isolated forms so far. The existence of these variants must be presumed without a doubt, however, because they are

presupposed by the derivatives *kalemen*, nom.pl. "the lords" (F6,17), and *kalēgefānunge*, gen.pl., approximately "of the high-ranking Lord" (*pluralis maiestatis*, denoting the Prophet Muḥammad; RC 10,2; ITMHM 7,6). The older phonological variant of the latter formation, *kalēgepānu*, is preserved in a *Dives akuru* tomb inscription in Mīdū, Aḍḍū (IDAM 1,27) and in the *Rādavaḷi* again (RB 1,11). Cp. also the corresponding formations *kalogepānu* (nom.sg.; F10,6 and IDMHM 6,9) and *kalogepānun* (*pluralis maiestatis*, F11,7) which are based on *kalo*. The etymology of the second part of these compounds, *-pānu/-fānu*, which obviously represents a honorific attribute meaning something like "honourable", is still unknown.

2.6.2.4.3.2. The variants ending in *-e/-ē* and *-o/-ō* seem to represent different forms of address. It cannot be decided with certainty whether the long final vowels have to be explained as emphatic or whether they might be "frozen" definite forms (*kalē* ← **kale-ā* and *kalō* ← **kalo-ā*, cf. 2.3.1.4). It is surprising that *kalo/ō*, when used in attributive function, is often postponed to the word it determines (cp., e.g., *hasan*[363] *kalo*, F1,20); it cannot be excluded that this circumstance, among others, is responsible for the distribution of *-e* and *-o*. Furthermore, there is a noun *kalo* in the dialect of Aḍḍū which is used as a term of endearment when addressing beloved persons, esp. children. According to Ḥassan Saʿīd (personal communication), A. *kalo* cannot be regarded as a pronoun, however.

2.6.2.4.3.3. The following examples may illustrate the different forms of the stem *kal-* "lord" appearing in Old Dhivehi texts: *apurenge kau*, nom.sg., is a frequent formula meaning "our Lord" (since F3,3). In *kau muḥammad* "Lord Muḥammad" (the Prophet; e.g. RA 1,3, RB 1,11 etc.), the attributive *kau* must be interpreted as an oblique case form just as in the compound *kau-kan* "rulership", where *kau* appears as the first part (RC 3,2 etc.; for *-kan* cf. 2.6.2.3.3). The compound *kalamidi* (nom.sg., L6 1,2 and 2,3; RA 21,2) with its definite form *kalaminjā* (RC 23,13 and 37,1; */kalamijjā/* ← **kalamidyā* ← **kalamidi-āl*, cf. 2.3.2.9.1.3.2), which was used as a title meaning "prince" and "princess", is another example of the attributive function of *kal-*; in its enlarged variant form, *kala-*, it here determines the noun *-midi/-mijjā* the meaning and etymology of which is still unclear. In contrast to this, the forms *kalāś /kalā-aś/* (dat.sg.def., RC 34,9[364]) and *kalo-aṭ* (dat.sg., RB 1,14) as well as the gen.sg. *kalo-ge* (F2,8; F3,3; IDMHM 6,8 etc.) are less problematic. *kau-kal-un* (RA 1,9: dat. *-aś*) represents a distributional plural formed by reduplication of the stem,[365] meaning "all the lords (to whom it may concern)"; in the given case, the plural is additionally marked by the suffix *-un*.

In the gen.pl. ⟨*kau-kabal-un-ge*⟩[366] (IDMHM 1,8), meaning "of the gentlemen and ladies", we have a dvandva-compound *kau-kaṁbal-* "gentleman and lady" which is marked with the plural ending *-un* as well. Because of the numerous attestations within unambiguous contexts, the meaning of the consonant stem */kaṁbal/*, the etymology of which is still unclear, can be determined as "lady, Mrs.". Cp. ⟨*kabau*⟩ (for [*kaṁbau*]) ⟨*mariam bibī*⟩ "Mrs. Mariam Bibī" occurring in a *fatkoḷu* (F2,4); in a passage written in Arabic, *kaṁbau* ⟨*kabau*⟩ refers to the Prophet Muḥammad's mother in the *Rādavaḷi* (RC 4,13: ⟨*kabau wahhabu binti āminatu*⟩). A nom.pl. in *-un* is attested in *mi de kaṁbalun* ⟨*kabalun*⟩ "these two women" (RC 6,1.3; F2,5.6). In the same *fatkoḷu* (F2,9), we also find the gen.pl. *kaṁbalunge* ⟨*kabalunge*⟩ "of the women". A definite gen.sg. is represented in *kaṁbalāge* ⟨*kabalāge*⟩ "of the woman" occurring in a *lōmāfānu* (L2 15,5). Presumably *kaṁbulō* ⟨*kabulō*⟩ (RC 19,12) has to be understood as a form of address approximately meaning "honourable lady"; as with *kalō* (cf. above), it remains unclear whether we have to assume an underlying definite form here (← **kaṁbulo-ā*?). Likewise it is not clear how we should analyse the form *kaṁbō* ⟨*kabō*⟩ "woman" which is attested in the *Tāna Rādavaḷi* again (RC 26,5). If it is not a mere "allegro-form" of *kaṁbulō*, we could also suppose some sort of "monophthongisation" of *kaṁbau* here, representing a phonetic variant which depends on the position within a syntagm. Further documented forms are the genitives (sg.) *kaṁbulēge* ⟨*kabulēge*⟩ (ITAG 6,6) and *kaṁbuloge* ⟨*kabuloge*⟩ (F12,6; IDMBM 1,15). The word *kaṁbulo* also occurs in the modern colloquial language of Māle, but it does not mean "lady" any longer. *kaṁbulo* is still used as a form of address, but on another stylistic level than in the documents of Old Dhivehi. Nowadays the use of the word is confined

[363] Sic (in *Dives akuru*). The normal spelling of the name would be *ḥasan* in Arabic script.
[364] The spelling is ⟨*kalāśa*⟩, the *ā* being corrected from *ō*. The final *-a* is uncertain.
[365] For this type of formation cf. 2.3.2.5.
[366] Phonetically this form contains a prenasalised */ṁb/* [*kaukaṁbalunge*]; for the prenasalised stops cf. 1.3.4.

to the inner circle of the family where it functions as a "generation specific" nick-name. This means that *kaṁbulo* can be used by a man when addressing his daughter or his niece in a very familiar way, but he could never use this word for a woman older than himself.[367]

2.6.2.4.4. In the modern language of Māle, the pronoun of the 2.ps. for the second degree of the social hierarchy, i.e., aristocracy, is *tia bēkalē* "you (thou)" in the singular and *tia bēkalun* "you" in the plural. The element *tia* is obviously derived from *ti* "that" (nearby the addressee: "*iste*-deixis", cf. 2.6.5.2), with a suffix *-a* which is used for the substantivisation of demonstrative pronouns in other cases as well (cp. *ea*, 2.6.2.5.3 below). The particular meaning of *tia bēkalē* is "this one near you, the honourable lord" or "the honourable lord there, near you". In a literary sense, *tia bēkalē* can thus be regarded as an indirect vocational form which, however, is used to directly addressing the addressee in question.[368] The second part of this pronoun, *bē-kalē*, is a compound consisting of the title *bē* "bey; prince, sovereign, sir", which is widespread in Islamic countries, and the element *kalē* "lord" that has been dealt with above. In Old Dhivehi, *bē* is attested in the spelling ⟨*bei*⟩ as an independent word meaning "lord" (L4 g/1,6; F3,6; F6,12); when used as the first part of compounds, it is sometimes written ⟨*be*⟩ (for /*bē*/). This word, which presumably entered Dhivehi through Arabic (Arab. *bē*, written ⟨*beyḵ*⟩, cf. WEHR 1958, 76), lastly reflects the Turkic etymon *beg/bey* "ruler, sovereign, prince".[369] The compound is attested in older records as well; cp. the plural forms *beikalun* "noble lords, gentlemen" (nom.pl.; F3,2), *emme beikalun* "all the noble lords" (nom.pl.; F12,6), *bekalun-aś* "to the noble lords" (dat.pl., RB 1,8 written ⟨*bekalunap*⟩ preceding initial *p-*), *bekalun-āi* (RB 1,7) and *beikalun-āi* (RC 8,11) "the noble lords and" (*-āi* lit. "with"), *bei-bei-kalun* "the noble lords (whosoever)" (F3,6-7; reduplicated distributional plural, cf. 2.3.2.5), and the indef. singular *beikalaku* "a (particular) noble lord" (obl.indef., F3,2; F12,3). — In the modern standard language, *bē*[370] is used by the younger members of the (extended) family as a form of addressing elder men.[371]

2.6.2.4.5. The 2.ps.sg. of the personal pronoun of the third degree which originally was reserved for the king is expressed by *tia bēfuḷā* or *tia manikufānu*. Adequate translations for these exclusive forms of addressing would be "your (royal) majesty" or "excellence". As in the case of *tia bēkalē* (cf. above), the first part of *tia bēfuḷā* consists of the enlarged form of the demonstrative pronoun *ti*. *bēfuḷā* is a compound again, containing the loanwords *bē* "prince, ruler, sovereign" and the honorific element *-fuḷu* (cf. 2.2.3) which has the particular

[367] Cf. DISANAYAKA/MANIKU (1990), 116; cp. also the use of *bē* (cf. 2.6.2.4.4).

[368] Typological parallels can easily be found in other languages; quite frequently, high-ranking people cannot be addressed directly. Cp., e.g., German *"Möchte(n) der Herr sich nicht setzen?"*, lit. "Wouldn't the lord like to take a seat?". In Polish, as a matter of principle, no personal pronoun can be used when addressing in a polite way; instead, the nouns *pan* "lord, sir, Mr." and *pani* "lady, Mrs." appear in the role of honorific pronouns. Thus, the literal meaning of the question *Jak się pan ma?* "How are you?" is "How is the lord?" In Italian, as in German, the 3.ps. is used as the polite form of address.

[369] Cf. M. RÄSÄNEN, Versuch eines etymologischen Wörterbuchs der Turksprachen, Helsinki 1969, 67 s.v. *bäg*.

[370] We cannot decide so far whether there is a connection between *bē* "lord" and the kinship term M.F. *bēbe*, A. *bēbē* "elder brother" (cf. 1.2.1.5). It is still unknown whether this etymon represents an original Dhivehi word or a loanword.

[371] Cf. DISANAYAKA/MANIKU (1990), 116. Cp. also the use of *kaṁbulo* (cf. 2.6.2.4.3.3).

function of marking inalienable objects, such as parts of the body or children, of high-ranking persons (cp., e.g., *iňgili-fulu* "finger of a high-ranking person", or *dari-fulu*, originally meaning "child of an aristocratic family"; today, *dari-fulu* can also be used by non-aristocrats, in order to express their high esteem for their own child). Most probably, the final *-ā*, which distinguishes the singular *tia bēfuḷ-ā* from its plural counterpart, *tia bēfuḷun* meaning "you", "ye" (on the highest level), "your highnesses" as well as "your highness / majesty" in the sense of a *pluralis maiestatis*, represents the definite suffix. In the older texts that have been available so far, the forms *bēfuḷu/-ā* and *bēfuḷun* are not attested.

2.6.2.4.6. The addressing form *manikufānu*, which represents an inheritable aristocratic title, is characteristic for a particularly high style. In its original function as a title, *manikufānu* is postponed to first names and patronyms. The unenlarged form *maniku* can be used in the same way but has no pronominal function. In the oldest documents of Dhivehi written in *Evēla* and *Dives akuru* (i.e. *lōmāfānus* and *fatkoḷus* as well as the *Dives akuru* manuscript of the *Rādavaḷi*), the title *manikufānu* seems not to be attested yet. The earliest attestations can be found in *Tāna* inscriptions of a relatively late period, but there are also some examples occurring in *Dives akuru* inscriptions; cp., e.g., the forms *manikupānu* nom.sg. (IDMEM 3,31), *manikupānaṭa* dat.sg. (IDMHM 7,18; spelt with ⟨*n*⟩?), *manikufānu* nom.sg. (ITMHM 2,8 etc.; ITAH 3,6 and 4,9), *maṇikufānu/maṇikufanu* nom.sg. (ITMP 1,4; ITMHM 1,5; ITAG 1,8 and 2,5), *maṇikufānuge* gen.sg. (ITAG 1,6), *maṇikufānunge* gen.pl. pro sg. (ITMHM 1,4; ITAG 2,4). The nom.sg. *maṇiku* is attested only twice (ITMP 1,3; ITAG 3,6). Most probably, the title reflects a word meaning "jewel, precious stone, ornament"; cp. OIA *maṇí-* "jewel", "ornament", Pa., Pkt. *maṇi-* (TURNER 1966, II, 557, no. 9731) as well as Sinh. *miṇa/māṇa*, (stem *miṇi*) "gem, precious stone" (GEIGER 1941, 133, no. 1981) and *māṇika* (stem *māṇik*) "gem, jewel, precious stone" (← Skt. *māṇikya-*; cf. GEIGER 1941, 131, no. 1955). For Old Dhivehi, the form *maṇi* is attested in L1 (f/1,1, obviously in the sense of "pearl"); this must be explained as a sanskritism, the word being unknown in Modern Dhivehi. Thus, the original meaning of the title *maṇikufānu* must have been something like "esteemed jewel" (cf. also 2.2.2; for the element *-pānu/-fānu* cf. 2.6.2.4.3.1).

2.6.2.5. The personal pronouns of the third person

In Dhivehi, the forms which are used for the expression of "he, she, it" and pl. "they" are no personal pronouns by origin. They are all based on the demonstrative pronoun *e* "that" which refers to persons or objects that are located in a certain distance or completely out of sight from the point of view of the speaker as well as the addressee ("*ille*-deixis", cf. 2.6.5.2). The use of deictic pronouns as personal pronouns of the third person is very common in Indo-Aryan (cf., e.g., ZOGRAF 1976, 155 and MASICA 1991, 251). According to GEIGER (1941, 31, 472 and 1938, 124-5), the corresponding Sinhalese pronominal stem *e/ē* "that; he" must be deduced from the old pronominal stem *ay-* which is represented in the OIA nom.sg. *ayám* "this" as well as the nom.sg. *eṣá* "id.". TURNER (1966, I, 26, no. 587) notes that in post-OIA times these two stem variants were contaminated; concerning the etymology of the Sinhalese pronominal stem *e*, however, he decides in favour of *eṣá* (stem *etá-*) as the original form (I 122, 2530 s.v. *ēṣá*).

2.6.2.5.1. In Dhivehi, the use of the unextended demonstrative stem *e* in substantive function is restricted to the inanimate 3.ps.sg., "it". Most frequently, this usage occurs within a syntactical construction which is typical for Dhivehi, the pronoun serving as a means of

reference indicating the immediately following rhematic part of speech.[372] In these cases, it must be connected with the focus-marker *-ī* as in the following two examples:

M. ***e-ī** bodu fikuru.* "This indeed is deep thought." (T8, 115) lit. "What that is, is great thought." (*bodu* "great, big", *fikuru* ← Arab. *fikr* "thinking, thought, reasoning, idea, meaning").

A. *fiňdanā beṇi: **e-ī** magun ġe mīhak-ā fua' keḍa' din aḍa.* (T1, 21) "The f.-bird said: 'This is the sound produced with a piece of betel nut by a man walking outside.'" lit. "...: 'What that is, is (the) sound, given by a man going in the street and a piece of betel nut.'" (*fiňdanā* nom.def. "the f.-bird"; *beṇi* 3.ps.sg.pret. "he said" (M. *bunanī* "to say"); *magun* abl. of A. *maga* "street, road"; *ġe* part.pret. "having gone" (M. *danī* "to go"); *mīhak-ā* obl.indef. "a man" + conj. "and"; *fua' /fuak/* obl. "betel nut"; *keḍa' /keḍak/* obl.indef. "a piece"; *din* part.pret. "given" (*denī* "to give"); *aḍa* nom. "sound, noise").

2.6.2.5.1.1. In Māle as well as the southern dialects, the definite singular *eā* ⟨*eyā*⟩, which consists of the pronominal stem *e-* enlarged with the definite suffix *-ā*, is often used for "it". In the standard language, "it" can also be expressed by the form *ēti* which obviously represents a merged form of the pronoun *e* and the *i*-stem noun *eti* "thing" (*e* + *eti* → *ēti*). Hence, the original meaning of *ēti* must be "that thing". The noun *eti* reflects the old verbal form Skt. *asti*, Pa. *atthi* "(it) is"; cp. also the Sinhalese form *äti/äta* "there is/are" which is indeclinable as well (cf. GEIGER 1941, 17, 256; further cf. 3.9.2.2.5 for *netunī*).

2.6.2.5.1.2. As to the expression of the inanimate 3.ps.pl. "they", there exist two formations which are almost identical in northern and southern Dhivehi. These are the nom.pl. M. *e taketi*, A. *ettaketi* and M. *e ecceti /e eti-eti/*,[373] A. *e etteti* "they, those" (for the complete paradigm cf. 2.6.2.7.8).

2.6.2.5.1.2.1. The form M. *e tak-eti* has to be analysed as a petrified phrase meaning "those, so many things". Within this phrase, both *ta' /tak/*, which later developed into a plural suffix, and *eti*, a former verbal form (cf. 2.6.2.5.1.1 above), can still be understood in their original meaning; cp. the early attested forms *taketi* (2 times IDMMM 4,6); *mi taketi* "these, so many things" (F4,4); gen. *taketige* (ITMKM 1,10). The modern nom.pl. A. *ettaketi* obviously represents a borrowing from the standard language; it seems that *ettaketi* was reinterpreted by popular etymology as a distributional plural *ettak-eti* "a thing-thing" consisting of the indef.sg. *etta' /ettak/* ← **eti-ak* and the unmarked sg. *eti*.[374] The genitive form proves with no doubt that *ettaketi* cannot be an authentic Aḍḍū-formation; it seems that *ettaketīge* is the only example in Aḍḍū of the genitive suffix *-ge*, which is normally confined to nouns denoting persons and to pronouns referring to living beings, being added to a pronominal element that explicitly refers to inanimate objects. In contrast to that cp. the gen.sg. A. *eāi* which is regularly derived from *e* "that".

2.6.2.5.1.2.2. The dialectal variants A. *e etteti* / M. *e ecceti* "they, those" represent real distributional plural forms. The original meaning of the reduplicated form **e eti-eti* is "that thing-thing", "those things".

[372] For this construction cf. 2.6.5.3.1.1 and, furthermore, 5.2.

[373] For the phonological reasons of these developments cf. 1.3.9.2.1.

[374] For the reduplicated distributional plural forms cf. 2.3.2.5.

2.6.2.5.1.2.3. It must be noted that the substantive use of the inanimate pronouns meaning "it" and "they" is comparatively restricted in Dhivehi. Most often pronominal references are avoided, the noun in question being used twice or repeatedly without affecting the sense of style.

2.6.2.5.2. In general, reference to persons can only be expressed by enlarged forms of the pronoun, with respectable differences between the northern and the southern dialects. Unlike the animate pronouns of Sinhalese which are still differentiated by gender (cf. nom.sg. m. *eyā*, f. *ā*; GEIGER 1938, 125), Dhivehi has no gender distinction at all, not even in pronouns.

According to HLSD (1988, 165), F. *evu* (thus spelled for *eu*) is used for "he" while *eya* (for *ea*) means "she". This statement cannot be confirmed by the facts of the living language, however. Considering the (not very many) examples with *eu* that can be approved, the use of the two forms seems to be unsystematical and arbitrary. There is only one circumstance speaking in favour of the assumption that a former gender-specific difference between *ea* and *eu* might have been lost in modern Fua' Mulaku. From all the passages available in Fua' Mulaku texts, we may conclude that the forms *miu* "this one" (m.) and *mia* "this one" (f.) which are derived from the demonstrative pronoun F. *mi* "this" (cf. 2.6.5.2, 2.6.5.3.2), are kept distinct by their gender. In the dialects of Aḍḍū and Māle, however, there are not even any traces of such a differentiation.

2.6.2.5.3. When used as a personal pronoun of an inanimate 3.ps.sg. ("it"), the demonstrative element *e* remains formally unchanged. In the function of a personal pronoun of an animate 3.ps.sg., however, it must be enlarged with special substantivising morphemes. In the dialects of Aḍḍū and Fua' Mulaku, the direct case of the 3.ps.sg. is *ede* "he/she", while the corresponding oblique case has the forms A. *ea* [*ee*] and F. *ea* (*/eu*). A.F. *ea* has a clear parallel in the Sinh. nom./obl. *eyā* "he"; for the (Sinh.) ending *-ā*, GEIGER (1938, 125) concisely notes that in the given case as well as in the case of the other demonstrative pronouns, its function consists in the substantivisation of the pronominal elements. As to the etymology of the final *-a*, it remains unexplained both for Sinhalese and southern Dhivehi. The same is true for the etymological derivation of the formal element *-de* which is not only present in the nom. A.F. *ede* "that one; he/she" but also in the corresponding form of the pronominal stem *mi*; cp. the nom. A. *mide* "this one" (anim.). Most probably, the demonstrative *e* is also concealed in the personal pronoun M. *ēnā* denoting "he" or "she" on the lowest social level. It remains unclear, however, what an element *e* is combined with in this case.

2.6.2.5.4. In the language of Māle, the personal pronouns of the 3.ps.sg. of the second and the third degree correspond to those of the 2.ps.sg. to a large extent as far as their formation is concerned. The main difference between the 2.ps. pronominal forms *tia bēkalē* and *tia bēfuḷā* and their 3rd person equivalents *e bēkalā* and *e bēfuḷā* consists in the deictic orientation. While the pronoun *tia* originally refers to a person near by the addressee (Lat. *iste*), *e* refers to someone further away or even out of sight of the speaker as well as of the addressee (Lat. *ille*). Thus, the literal meaning of the second degree pronoun *e bēkalā* would be "that gentleman/lady (not present during the speech act in question)" (cf. 2.6.2.4.4) while that of the third degree *e bēfuḷā* is "that excellence (not present)". The 3.ps.pl. of the second and third degrees is formed by the plural suffix *-un* which is added to the stem instead of the (former) definite suffix *-ā*, thus yielding 2nd degree *e bēkalun* and 3rd degree *e bēfuḷun* "they".

2.6.2.5.5. Concerning the first, i.e., the lowest social degree, the plural of the 3rd person pronoun is formed analytically as well. Thus, the plural of M. *ēnā* "he, she" is expressed either by *e mīhun* "those people" or by *e bai mīhun* "that part (of the) people" (stem *mīs-* "man, person"; *bai* "part, half"). Semantically, the latter formation suggests a partitive meaning. In Fuaʾ Mulaku, the 3.ps.pl. "they" has the nominative form *e mīhū* (← **mīhų̄* ← *mīhun*) and the oblique case *e mīhun*, while the corresponding plural forms of Aḍḍū are built by means of the noun *veri*, originally meaning "person" (cf. 2.3.2.4.1). Hence, the personal pronoun of the 3.ps.pl. A. nom. *e-verie /e-veria/*, obl. *e-verin* (with shortened variant *even*) "they" can be translated with "those persons, those people". For the final */-a/* of the nominative cf. 2.6.2.3.2.

2.6.2.6. The following tables give an overview of the complete forms of the personal pronouns appearing in the standard language and in the dialects of Aḍḍū and Fuaʾ Mulaku:

2.6.2.6.1. Māle:

		pers.pron.	1st degree	2nd degree	3rd degree
1st sg.		"I"	*aḷugaňḍu*	*aḷugaňḍu*	*aharen*
2nd sg.		"you"	*kalē*	*tia bēfuḷā, tia bēkalē*	*tia bēfuḷā, tia manikufānu*
3rd sg.	(anim.)	"he / she"	*ēnā*	*e bēkalā*	*e bēfuḷā*
	(inan.)	"it"	*e, eā, ēti*	*e, eā, ēti*	*e, eā, ēti*
1st pl.		"we"	*aḷugaňḍumen*	*aḷugaňḍumen*	*aharemen*
2nd pl.		"you"	*kalēmen*	*tia bēkalun*	*tia bēfuḷun*
3rd pl.	(anim.)	"they"	*e mīhun, e bai mīhun*	*e bēkalun*	*e bēfuḷun*
	(inan.)		*e taketi, e ecceti*		

2.6.2.6.2. Aḍḍū:

		pers.pron.	casus rectus	casus obliquus
1st sg.		"I"	*ava*	*ma*
2nd sg.		"you"	*tō*	*ta*
3rd sg.	(anim.)	"he / she"	*ede*	*ea*
	(inan.)	"it"	*e, eā*	*ea*
1st pl.		"we"	*afirie* /afiria/	*afirin*
2nd pl.		"you"	*tafirie* /tafiria/	*tafirin*
3rd pl.	(anim.)	"they"	*everie* /everia/	*everin, even*
	(inan.)		*ettaketi*	*e etteti*

2.6.2.6.3. Fua' Mulaku:

		pers.pron.	casus rectus	casus obliquus
1st sg.		"I"	*ava*	*ma*
2nd sg.		"you"	*tō*	*ta*
3rd sg.	(anim.)	"he /she"	*ede*	*ea, eu*
	(inan.)	"it"	*e*	*ea*
1st pl.		"we"	*afū*	*afun*
2nd pl.		"you"	*tāmen; ti mīhū*	*ti mīhun*
3rd pl.	(anim.)	"they"	*e mīhū*	*e mīhun*
	(inan.)		*e etteti ?*	

2.6.2.7. The following tables illustrate the complete paradigms of the declinable personal pronouns:

2.6.2.7.1. Pers.pron. 1.ps.sg. "I":

	Aḍḍū	Fua' Mulaku	Māle	
			1./2.	3.
nom.	*ava*	*ava*	*aḷugaňḍu*	*aharen*
obl.	*ma*	*ma*	*aḷugaňḍu*	*aharen*
gen.	*afagē, magē*	*mage*	*aḷugaňḍuge*	*aharenge*
dat.	*ma'* /maś/	*maśa*	*aḷugaňḍa'* /-aś/	*aharenna'* /-aś/
abl.	*magē farātun, ma ekuhun*	*mage farāten*		

2.6.2.7.2. Pers.pron. 2.ps.sg. anim. "you"

	Aḍḍū	Fua' Mulaku	Māle		
			1.	2.	3.
nom.	*tō*	*tō*	*kalē / kalā*	*tia bēkalā / tia bēkalē*	*tia bēfuḷā, tia manikufānu*
obl.	*ta*	*ta*	*kalē*	*tia bēkalē*	*tia bēfuḷu, tia manikufānu*
gen.	*tagē*	*tage*	*kalēge*	*tia bēkalēge*	*tia bēfuḷuge, tia manikufānuge*
dat.	*ta'* /ta-aś/	*taśa*	*kale'a'* /kale-aś/	*tia bēkale'a'*	*tia bēfuḷa', tia manikufāna'*
abl.	*tagē farātun; ta ekuhun*	*tage farāten*			

2.6.2.7.3. Pers.pron. 3.ps.sg. anim. "he/she"

	Aḍḍū	Fuaʾ Mulaku	Māle		
			1.	2.	3.
nom.	*ede*	*ede*	*ēnā*	*e bēkalā*	*e bēfuḷā*
obl.	*ea*	*eu, ea*	*ēnā*	*e bēkalē*	*e bēfuḷu*
gen.	*eagē*	*euge, eage*	*ēnāge*	*e bēkalēge*	*e bēfuḷuge*
dat.	*eaʾ* /ea-aś/	*euśa, eaśa*	*ēnāaʾ* /ēnā-aś/	*e bēkaleaʾ*	*e bēfuḷaʾ*
abl.	*eagē farātun*	*euge/eage farāten*			

2.6.2.7.4. Pers.pron. 3.ps.sg. inan. "it"

	Aḍḍū	Fuaʾ Mulaku	Māle	
nom.	*e, eā* (sg.def.)	*e*	*e, eā*	*ēti* ← *e eti*
obl.	*ea*	*ea*		
gen.	*eāi*	*eai*	*ēge* /ea-ge/	*ētī-ge*
dat.	*eāʾ* /eā-aś/	*eaśa*	*eaʾ* /ea-aś/	*ēccaʾ* /ēti-aś/
abl.	*eāin* /eā-in/		*ein* /ea-in/	*ētīn* /ēti-in/
loc.	(= gen.)	(= gen.)	*ēgā* /ea-gai/	*ētī-gā* /-ga/

2.6.2.7.5. Pers.pron. 1.ps.pl. "we"

	Aḍḍū	Fuaʾ Mulaku	Māle	
			1./2.	3.
nom.	*afirie* /afiriya/	*afū*	*aḷugaňḍumen*	*aharemen, mamen*
obl.	*afirin*	*afun*	*aḷugaňḍumen*	*aharemen, mamen*
gen.	*afiringē*	*afunge*	*aḷugaňḍumenge*	*aharemenge, mamenge*
dat.	*afirinnaʾ / afinnaʾ* /-aś/	*afunnaʾ* /-aś/	*aḷugaňḍumenaʾ*	*aharemenaʾ, mamenaʾ*
abl.	*afiringē farātun / afirin ekuhun*	*afunge farāten*		

2.6.2.7.6. Pers.pron. 2.ps.pl. "you"

	Aḍḍū	Fuaʾ Mulaku	Māle		
			1.	2.	3.
nom.	*tafirie* /tafiria/	*tāmen, ti mīhū*	*kalēmen*	*tia bēkalun*	*tia bēfuḷun*
obl.	*tafirin*	*ti mīhun*	*kalēmen*	*tia bēkalun*	*tia bēfuḷun*
gen.	*tafiringē*	*tāmenge, ti mīhunge*	*kalēmenge*	*tia bēkalunge*	*tia bēfuḷunge*
dat.	*tafirinnaʾ* /-aś/, *tafinnaʾ*	*tāmennaʾ, ti mīhunnaʾ*	*kalēmennaʾ* /-aś/	*tia bēkalunnaʾ*	*tia bēfuḷunaʾ*
abl.	*tafiringē farātun, tafirin ekuhun*				

2.6.2.7.7. Pers.pron. 3.ps.pl. anim. "they"

	Aḍḍū	Fuaʾ Mulaku	Māle		
			1.	2.	3.
nom.	*everie* /everia/	*e mīhū*	*e mīhun, e bai mīhun*	*e bēkalun*	*e bēfuḷun*
obl.	*everin, even*	*e mīhun*	*e / e bai mīhun*	*e bēkalun*	*e bēfuḷun*
gen.	*everingē*	*e mīhunge*	*e / e bai mīhunge*	*e bēkalunge*	*e bēfuḷunge*
dat.	*everinnaʾ, evennaʾ*	*e mīhunnaʾ*	*e / e bai mīhunnaʾ*	*e bēkalunnaʾ*	*e bēfuḷunnaʾ*
abl.	*everingē farātun*				

2.6.2.7.8. Pers.pron. 3.ps.pl. "they" (inan.)

	Aḍḍū		Fuaʾ Mulaku	Māle	
nom.	*e taketi*	*e etteti* /eti-eti/	*?*	*e taketi*	*e ecceti* /eti-eti/
gen.	*e takettīgē*	*e ettetīgē*		*e taketīge*	*e eccetīge*
dat.	*e taketaʾ* /-aś/	*e ettetaʾ* /-aś/		*e takeccaʾ* /etaketi-aś/	*e eccecaʾ* /eti-aś/
abl.	*e takettin*	*e ettettin*		*e taketīn* /-i-in/	*e eccetīn* /-i-in/
loc.	(= gen.)			*e taketīgā* /-gai/	*e eccetīgā* /-gai/

2.6.3. Possessive pronouns

From the morphological point of view, the possessive pronouns do not represent an independent category in Dhivehi. As in Sinhalese,[375] possession is expressed by the genitive of the personal pronouns. Only in the first person, *timā* "self" can be used in possessive function as well (cf. 2.6.4.2), but only in reported speech. Cp. the following two examples:

M. *"tia ge-ak-ī* ***aharen-ge*** *ge."* (T8, 71) "This is my house." (lit. "What that house is, is **my** house."; *tia* dem.pron.; *ge* "house", *-ak-ī* indef. suffix + focus-marker *-ī*).

A. *"te-ak-ī* ***timā-gē*** *moḷōgaňḍa nun-āu."* (T3, 37) "This is not **my** axe." (lit. "What that is, is not the self's axe." *te* dem.pron.; *timā-gē* gen. of *timā*, used in possessive function; *moḷōgaňḍa* "axe", unenlarged nominal stem in singular function; *nun* "is not"; *-au* quotation marker).

The following table illustrates all possessive forms that are based on the genitive of the personal pronoun.

poss.pron.	Aḍḍū	Fua' Mulaku	Māle		
			1st degree	2nd degree	3rd degree
1st sg. "my"	*afagē*	*mage*	*aḷugaňḍuge*		*aharenge*
	timāgē	*timāge*	*timāge*		
2nd sg. "your"	*tagē*	*tage*	*kalēge*	*tia bēkalēge*	*tia bēfuḷuge*
3rd sg. "his/her"	*eagē*	*eage, euge*	*ēnāge*	*e bēkalēge*	*e bēfuḷuge*
1st pl. "our"	*afiringē*	*afunge*	*aḷugaňḍumenge*		*aharemenge*
	timāmengē	*timāmenge*	*timāmenge*		
2nd pl. "your"	*tafiringē*	*tāmenge, ti mīhunge*	*kalēmenge*	*tia bēkalunge*	*tia bēfuḷunge*
3rd pl. "their"	*everingē*	*e mīhunge*	*e / e bai mīhunge*	*e bēkalunge*	*e bēfuḷunge*

2.6.3.1. In the southernmost Maldivian dialects, it is more often the pure oblique case of the personal pronoun than its genitive which is used in possessive function. This is one more feature southern Dhivehi shares with Sinhalese but not with the Māle standard language. The oblique case of the personal pronouns being lost as a category of its own in northern Dhivehi, its occurrence as a possessive element is restricted to exceptional cases. The only example of the *casus obliquus* of a personal pronoun in possessive function that can be mentioned in this connection is taken from the fairy tale *fūḷu digu haňdige vāhaka* ("Story of the demon with the long navel") where it occurs in an exclamation quoted as direct speech: M. *"addō ⟨a'dō⟩, **ma** fūḷō!"* (T13, 28) "Ouch, my navel!" The oblique case *ma* meaning "my" is not the only exceptional form within this sentence. The form *fūḷō*, which is attested only here, is not quite clear, either; possibly it represents an (archaic) emphatic (i.e., exclamatory) form of the common Dhivehi word for "navel", *fūḷu*.[376] Another way to explain the long *-ō* of *fūḷō* would be to assume a merger of *fūḷu* and the quotation marker *ē* ← ⟨*eve*⟩ here (cf. 5.4).

[375] Cf., e.g., GEIGER (1942), 6 / (1973), 588; MATZEL (1983), 22.

[376] The etymology of *fūḷu* is unknown.

2.6.3.2. The following two examples illustrate the use of the oblique case of personal pronouns as an attributive possessive element in the dialects of Aḍḍū and Fua' Mulaku:

A. *"mī ta moḷōganḍa tau?" ... "tē ma moḷōganḍa nunāu."* (T3, 59-60) "Is this (here, nearby me) your axe?" — "No, that (there, nearby you) is not my axe." (*mī* = *mi-ī*, dem.pron. *mi* + focus-marker *-ī*; *tē* = *te-ī*, dem.pron. *te* + focus-marker *-ī*; *ma* "my", *ta* "your", obl. case forms of the pers.pron. of the 1st and 2nd ps.sg., resp.; *moḷōgaňḍa* "axe"; *tau* question marker; *nun-āu* negation "is not" + quotation marker).

F. *"ta bere nu nun, ma bere nu nun, ..."* (T2, 64a) "It is not my drum, it is not your drum, ..." (*bere* "drum"; the combination of *nu* (negation particle) and *nun* "not being" represents a quite uncommon double negation; besides that, *nu* represents the northern Dhivehi variant of the negation particle, the regular equivalent in Aḍḍū and Fua' Mulaku being *ni*).

2.6.4. Reflexive pronouns

For the Dhivehi language of his time, GEIGER (1919, 76) noted briefly: "The Reflective Pronoun, also, is employed, clearly in more modest modes of expression, in place of the First Person." As far as this concerns the word *timā*, this statement is still true for Modern Dhivehi; throughout the dialects, *timā* can be used as a personal pronoun meaning "I", but only in reported speech. Cp. the following text passage which is taken from the fairy tale *Moḷōgaňḍa* "The axe", in the dialect of Aḍḍū (T3, 12):

A. *mi kuddā kēfi: "ammāu! timā ēṇei dara hōdāśāu."* "This child said: 'Mother! I'll go to look for (some) fire-wood.'" (lit. "That where I shall go, is to look for fire-wood."; *mi* dem.pron. "this"; *kuddā* sg.def. "child"; *kē-fi* pret.I, 3.ps.sg. "said" ← A. *kēnī*, M. *kianī* "to say"); *ammāu* sg.def. *ammā* "mother", here combined with the quotation marker *-āu* in vocational function; *timā* obl. of the pron. "I (myself)"; *ēṇei* for *ēṇe-ī*, part.fut. of *enī* (M. *annanī*) "to come" + focus-marker; *dara* obj., pure nominal stem in the function of a generic plural "fire-wood"; *hōdāś-āu* inf. + quotation marker "(in order) to look for").

Though being frequent, the use of *timā* as a personal pronoun in reported speech is not obligatory. This is illustrated by the following sentence, which is taken from the same fairy tale:

A. *"ammāu! ma enī dara kośāśāu."* (T3, 17) "Mother, I want to look for some fire-wood."; lit. "Mother! Where I am going, is to cut fire-wood." *ma* obl. case of the pers.pron. "I", here used instead of *timā* with *en-ī*, part.pres. "going" (enlarged by the focus-marker).

2.6.4.1. By etymology, *timā* is related with the Sinhalese reflexive pronoun which in its older, inscriptional form is attested as *tumā* while the modern language has *tamā* (cf. GEIGER 1938, 130). Through an intermediate form like Pa. *tuma-* "oneself, himself", this must be derived from OIA *tmán-* (obl. stem of *ātmā́*) "vital breath, one's own person" (TURNER 1966, I, 341, no. 5983). It remains doubtful, however, whether this formation can be designated as a "reflexive" pronoun in the proper sense of the word, given that it seems never be used for the object of a verbal predicate which is co-referential with the subject of the sentence. As a matter of fact, Dhivehi possesses no formal elements at all for this function which is usually fulfilled by reflexive pronouns in European languages.

2.6.4.2. The following table will give a general view of the dialectal variants of Dhiv. *timā*:

"self"	Addū	Fua Mulaku	Māle
nom./obl.sg.	*timā*	*timā*	*timā*
gen.sg.	*timāgē*	*timāge*	*timāge, timange*, timenge**
dat.sg.	*timā'* /timā-aś/	*timāśa* /timā-aśa/	*timā'* /timā-aś/
abl.sg.	*timāgē farātun / timā ekuhun*	*timāgē ferāten*	
nom./obl.pl.	*timāmen*	*timāmen*	*timāmen*
gen.pl.	*timāmengē*	*timāmenge*	*timāmenge, timennāge**
dat.pl.	*timāmenna'*	*timāmenna'*	*timāmenna'*
abl.pl.	*timāmengē farātun; timāmen ekuhun*	*timāmengē ferāten*	

*) These forms are dialectal variants according to oral information by HASSAN SAʿĪD, March 1999.

2.6.5. Demonstrative pronouns

In Dhivehi, there exist three rows of demonstrative pronouns which correspond to the classical subdivision of deictic meanings as denominable after the Latin demonstratives *hic*, *iste* and *ille*.[377] M.F.A. *mi* is the common pronoun of the *hic*-deixis. It refers to somebody or something in close proximity to the speaker and can be translated with "this one here nearby myself". The pronominal stem M.F. *ti*, A. *te* corresponds to the *iste*-deixis, referring to somebody or something in close proximity to the hearer. The basic meaning of this demonstrative is "the one there nearby you". The meaning of *ti / te* cannot be rendered adequately in English though; depending from the context, it must be translated by "this" or "that". M.F.A. *e* "that" serves as a pronoun of the *ille*-deixis, referring to a person or an object which is out of sight of the speaker as well as of the addressee.

2.6.5.1. The threefold deixis of Dhivehi contrasts with a fourfold one in Modern Sinhalese. GAIR (1970, 31) describes the meaning of the Sinhalese demonstrative stems *mē-*, *ō-/oya-*, *ē-* and *ara-* as follows: "*mee* 'this, these': proximity to speaker, or to both speaker and hearer. *oyə* 'that, those (by you)'; proximity to hearer. *arə* 'that, those (over there)': distal [sic!] from both speaker and hearer; if an object, in sight. *ee* 'that, those (in question)': anaphora: reference to some preceding segmant or topic in the discourse."[378]

[377] For the development of the classical theory on *deixis* cf. BÜHLER (1934, 79 ff.) who also gave an extensive presentation of the contemporary and previous discourse on this theme, in particular by Karl BRUGMANN (Die Demonstrativpronomina der indogermanischen Sprachen. Abhandlungen der sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften, Bd. 22, 1904).

[378] Cf. also MATZEL (1983), 23: "mē- bezeichnet *das näher zum Sprechenden Befindliche*, ō-/oya- bezeichnet *das näher zum Angesprochenen Befindliche*, ē- bezeichnet *das Abwesende, nicht sichtbare, Gedachte*, ara- bezeichnet *das räumlich und zeitlich Entfernte*." Cf. also MASICA (1991), 251.

2.6.5.1.1. According to GEIGER (1919, 76), Dhiv. *mi* "this" corresponds with Sinh. *mĕ* which he derives from the pronominal stem *ē* enlarged with the prefixed pronominal stem *ma-* (GEIGER 1938, 126), in its turn deduced from Pkt., Pa. *ima-*, Skt. *imá-*; TURNER (1966, I, 26 and 1985, 4, no. 587) agrees with this. For the derivation of the pronominal stem Sinh. *ĕ* / Dhiv. *e* "that" cf. 2.6.2.5. The etymology of the demonstrative M.F. *ti*, A. *te*, in its deictic function corresponding with Sinh. *ō/oya-* (cf. above), is still unknown.

2.6.5.1.2. As was mentioned above, there are no particular personal pronouns for the third person in Dhivehi (cf. 2.6.2.5). This morphological gap is filled by the demonstrative pronouns which also function as anaphoric and cataphoric pronouns. Thus, the pronouns of the *that*-deixis normally serve as anaphorics, while the pronoun of the *this*-deixis is mainly used in a cataphoric sense.

2.6.5.2. The table below gives a comprehensive survey of the demonstrative stems that exist in Dhivehi:

dem.pron.attr.	Aḍḍū	Fuaʾ Mulaku	Māle
"hic"	*mi / (me)*	*mi*	*mi*
"iste"	*te*	*ti*	*ti*
"ille"	*e*	*e*	*e*

For the declension of the substantivised demonstratives cf. the tables given in 2.6.2.7.3 and 2.6.2.7.4 which show the enlarged forms of the demonstrative *e* used as personal pronouns of the 3.ps.sg. The declension of the enlarged pronominal forms that are based on *mi* follows the same pattern.

2.6.5.2.1. A. *me*, which is indicated as a variant in the list above, can be explained by an assimilation of the root vowel, the form being exclusively used as an attribute of *hen* "mood, way". *me-hen* which in Modern Aḍḍū is regarded as an inseparable morphological unit, means "(in) this way". In contrast to this, there is no assimilation of *mi* when combined with other words containing *e*; cp., e.g., A. *mi gehā* sg.def. "this tree", *mi gē* sg.def. "this house".

2.6.5.2.2. The attributive use of the demonstrative pronouns can be illustrated by the following examples representing the different dialects.

A. ***mi kuddā kēfi:*** ... (T3, 12) "This child said: ..." (*mi* "this", attr. of *kuddā* nom.def. "child"; *kēfi* 3.ps.sg.pret. "said" (M. *kianī* "to say, speak; to tell, read").

A. ***me-hen beṇi mei*** ...' (T1, 10) "Having spoken this way ..." (*me* "this", attr. of *hen* obl. "mood, way"; *beṇi* part.pret. "(having) said, spoken" (M. *bunanī* "to say, speak"); *mei* nom.loc. in conjunctional function "(at the time) when".

F. *kihinne tai ta ti rukaha gēī?* (T4, 39) "How did you go to that coconut-tree (near you)?" (*kihinne* "how, which way"; *tai* quest.part.; *ta* obl. pers.pron. 2.ps.sg. "you"; *ti* dem.pron. "this (one) near you", attr. of *rukaha*, dat.sg. of *ruʾ /ruk/* "coconut-tree"; *gē-ī* part.pret. "gone" (M. *danī* "to go") + focus marker; lit. "which way was it you went to that coconut-tree (there, near you)?").

M. *e de bēfulun muśimahā duru vī.* (T8, 140) "Those two gentlemen went mackerel fishing." (*e* attr. "those"; *de* "two"; *bēfulun* obl.pl. "gentlemen, nobles"; *muśimahā* for */muśimas-āil* "with the mackerels"; *duru vi-ī* part.pret. of *duru vanī* "to go", lit. "be far (away)", 2nd level + focus marker *-ī*: "where they went (to), is ..."

2.6.5.3. In Sinhalese, the stem form of the demonstrative pronouns can be used in attributive function only. When used independently, they must be enlarged by special suffixes which at the same time express a threefold differentiation of gender, viz. m. *-ā*, f. *-ī*, n. (only inanimate) *-a*; cp., e.g,. Sinh. *eyā* "that one (male person)", *ā* ← **eyī* "that one (female person)" and *eya* "that one (object)" (cf. GEIGER 1938, 125; cf. also 2.6.2.5.3 above). In both these features, Dhivehi is different from Sinhalese.

2.6.5.3.1. First, in all Maldivian dialects demonstrative pronouns referring to "non-persons", i.e. animals in general as well as plants and inanimate things, can be used in their unenlarged form both as attributes and independently. Cp. the following example:

F. ... *ebagēm mā, beḷalaku mi hedī likī goho, mi kāfi.* (T4, 4) "... after she [Mēliāge Dia] had left, a cat, coming (there), ate **this** [a bread fruit]."; lit. "... when she had left, the way a cat acted now, was as follows: coming (here), it ate this." (*ebagēm* = *ebageun* verbal noun in the obl. case, "the leaving" (M. *danī* "to go"); *mā* nom.loc., "when"; *beḷalaku* obl.indef. "a cat"; *mi* dem.pron. in adverbial function "now"; *hedī* part.pret. "done, acted" (M. *hadanī* "to act, do, make, create"); *lik-ī* nom. + focus-marker "what the way was, was (as follows)"; *goho* abs. of "to go" (M. *danī*); *mi* dem.pron. used as substantive, nom., inan. "this (one)"; *kāfi* 3.ps.sg.pret.I (M. *kanī* "to eat").

2.6.5.3.1.1. The demonstrative stems in their unenlarged form can also be used in the syntactic construction with the focus-marker *-ī* emphasising the rhema, which is one of the most typical features of Dhivehi (cp. the sentence treated above). If this marker, which indicates the rhematisation of the following part of the sentence,[379] is added to a demonstrative pronoun, it is usually absorbed by the final vowel of the latter which is lengthened. Cp. the following examples:

A. *mī ta moḷōgaňḍa tau? ... tē ma moḷōgaňḍa nunāu.* "Is this your axe?" ... "No, this is not my axe." (T3, 59-60); *mī* = *mi-ī* "what this (here, nearby myself) is, is ..."; *ta moḷōgaňḍa* "your axe"; *tau* quest.particle; *tē* = *te-ī* "what that (there, nearby you) is, is ..."; *ma moḷogaňḍa* "my axe"; *nun-āu* negation particle + quotation particle).

F. ... *mī ran fēšak ai.* "... what this was, is a golden box." (T1, 54a; *mī* = *mi-ī* "what this (here, nearby him) was, was ..."; *ran* obl. "gold"; *fēšak* ← stem *fēši-* + indef.suff. *-ak* "a box"; *-ai* quotation particle).

M. *mi-ī ves mamma-ek-ge sūra eve. ⟨mī'ī ves manma'e'ge sūra 'eve⟩* "What this [in her eyes] was, was also the figure of a mother." (T9, 37; *mi-ī* "what this is, was ..."; *ves* "also, even, too"; *mamma* "mother", *-ek* def.suff., *-ge* gen.suff.; *sūra* "form, figure, picture, mood" etc. ← Arab. *ṣūra'* "id."[380]; *eve* quot.particle).

Sentences like the following one can be understood within the framework of a similar syntactic context:

A. *boňḍanā ahafi: fiňdanu, fiňdanu, e kon aḍa?* "The B.-bird asked: 'F.-bird, F.-bird, what a noise is that?'" (T1, 20-20a: *boňḍanā* nom.def.; *ahafi* pret.I, 3.ps.sg. (M. *ahanī* "to ask"); *fiňdanu* obl. "F.-bird"; *kon* interr.pron. "which, what a"; *aḍa* nom. (stem form) "noise, sound"). The reason why in this sentence (frequently occurring in the given fairy tale) the focus-marker *-ī* is not added to the pronoun *e*, must obviously be seen in the fact that the rhematic element is sufficiently marked by the interrogative pronoun *kon* which follows immediately after *e*.

[379] For the details of this construction cf. 5.2.

[380] For some further meanings of this word cf., e.g., WEHR (1958), 480.

2.6.5.3.1.2. When persons are referred to, the substantivised pronominal form cannot take the focus-marker *-ī* itself. In such cases, the latter element is either added to the pure demonstrative stem or to the indefinite (oblique) form which is derived with the suffix *-ak*. In the case of M. *ēnā* "that one (m./f.); he/she", the resulting form is *ēnā-ak-ī*, while †*ēnā-ī* does not exist. Cp. the following example:

M. *ēnā'akī ēge nevin.* (T8, 165) "(It is true), he was her captain." lit. "(It is true) that **what he was,**[381] is her [i.e. the ship's] captain." (*ēge* gen.sg. of *e* "it" (inan.) in the function of a poss.pron. "its", here: "her"; *nevin* nom.sg. "captain").

In southern Dhivehi, however, the corresponding form is derived from the oblique case; cp. A. *eāk-ī* (← *ea-ak-ī*) as used in the following sentence:

A. *ehen vi mei, eākī e raśi hiśi emme fakīri taulīman ne' mīhā kamugai vege.* (T16, 3) "Therefore, he (probably) became the poorest and least educated man in this island." lit. "Having become that way (*ehen vi mei*), it became the fact (*kamugai vege*) that he was the one (*eāk-ī*), who was the poorest and least educated man of all in that island." (*e-hen* adv. "(in) that way"; *vi* part.pret. of (M.) *vanī* "become"; *mei* "when" (nom.loc.); *e raśi* "(in/on) that island"; *e* dem.pron., attr. of *raśi*, gen./loc. of *ra' /raśl* "island, land"; *hiśi* part.pret. "having been" (M. *hunnanī* "to be, stand, remain"), attr. of *mīhā* nom.sg. "man"; *emme* pron.adj. "all, of all"; *fakīri* adj. "poor"; *taulīman ne'* "without education", lit. "education not being there"; *taulīman* "education, instruction" (M. *ta'(u)līmu* ← Arab. *ta'līm* "instruction, teaching"; *ne' /net/* part.pret. of the verbal noun *netun* "not to be there"; *kamu-gai* nom. "fact, state", lit. "fact-body": *kamu* obl. + *gai* "body"; *vege* "became" 3.ps.sg. pret.IV of (M.) *vanī* "to become").

2.6.5.3.2. The second formal difference that distinguishes Dhivehi from Sinhalese is the grammatical expression of gender. In the dialect of Aḍḍū as well as North Dhivehi, the substantivised forms of the demonstrative pronouns do not show any differentiation in gender. Only in the dialect of Fua' Mulaku, there are some isolated forms that could possibly be regarded as relics of an originally systematic differentiation of masculine and feminine pronominal forms. In the comparatively numerous texts that have been collected in Fua' Mulaku, the animate substantivised forms of the pronominal stem expressing the *hic*-deixis (i.e., *mi* "this"), shows variant endings which seem to specify gender. Thus, *mi-u* "this one" always refers to a male person while *mi-a* only refers to females. Cp. the following examples from the Fua' Mulaku fairy tale *āḷikeḍeā dērikeḍeā* "The piece of ash and the piece of coal" (T6):

F. ... *mi kuddᾳ boňḍo vege ai. miu ahāfi ai* ... "This boy grew up. He asked ..." (T6, 61-62; *kuddᾳ* "child", here: "boy"; *boňḍo* adj. "big, great"; *vege* pret.IV, 3.ps.sg. (M. *vanī* "to become"); *ai* quot.particle; *mi-u* "this one, he" (m.); *ahāfi* pret.I, 3.ps.sg. (M. *ahanī* "ask")).

F. ... *reha kakkāgen, mia mi hadᾳ likī* ... ".:. having prepared (cooked) the curry, this one [*Mēliage Dia*, she] acts as follows ..." (T6, 19; *reha* "curry (dish)"; *kakkāgen* abs.III (M. *kakkanī* "to cook, prepare"; *mi-a* "this one" (f.), also "she"; *mi hadᾳ likī* "the way she acts is the following": *mi* here used as a temporal adverb "now" (cf. 2.6.5.6 below); *hadᾳ* part.pres. (M. *hadanī* "to do, make, act"; *lik-ī* nominal stem *lik-* "way" + focus-marker *-ī*).

The corresponding forms of the *ille*-deixis, F. *e-u* and *e-a*, do not show such a clear differentiation of gender, however. In particular, the younger generation uses them without any grammatical or semantical difference (cf. also 2.6.2.5.2). The same holds true for the substantivised forms *ti-a* and *ti-u* (demonstrative stem *ti* "iste") which were nominated by the informants as rarely occurring oblique case forms of the personal pronoun of the 2.ps.sg.; in the actual Fua' Mulaku text material, there is only one example attested, viz. dat. *tiuśa* "to

[381] For the nuance of vagueness expressed by *-ak-ī*, cf. 5.2.2.2.

you". It is more probable that *tia* and *tiu* represent relic forms than to assume an influence of the standard language in the modern period. By the way, in the contemporary language of Māle the occurrence of the demonstrative *tia* is confined to the 2nd honorific level; M. *tia* is not common any longer as an unspecified pronoun of the 2.ps.sg. "you" with a neutral meaning (cf. 2.6.2.4.3).

2.6.5.4. In Aḍḍū, the ending of the substantivised demonstrative pronoun depends on syntactical criteria only. If the pronoun in question serves as the subject of a finite verb, it appears in the form of the nominative. If the predicate is represented by an infinite verb, the pronominal subject appears in the oblique case. Cp. the following two examples containing the pronominal stem *mi*. In the first sentence, the demonstrative pronoun is in the nominative:

A. *mide beṇafi* ... "This one said ..." (T3, 45; *mi-de* subst. dem.pron. nom. "this one"; *beṇafi* pret.I, 3.ps.sg., A. *beṇanī* (M. *bunanī*) "to say").

In the second sentence, the demonstrative pronoun appears in the oblique case, serving as the subject of an infinite verb:

A. *ās mia ehī-au:* ... "When he came, he asked as follows: ..." (T3, 55; wtl. "coming, what this one asked, was: ..." *ās* abs. of *enī* "to come; to go" (M. *annanī*); *ehi-ī* part.pret. (M.) *ahanī* "to ask" + focus-marker *-ī*; *-au* quot.particle).

The substantivised forms of the pronominal stem *e* "that" are used in the same way (A. nom. *e-de*, obl. *e-a*). As in Fua' Mulaku (cf. 2.6.5.3.2), substantivisations of the demonstrative stem *te* "iste" are rare in Aḍḍū. The only attested form occurring in the collected texts is *te-ak-ī* (indefinite form + focus-marker *-ī*):

A. *teakī timāgē moḷōgaṅḍa nun-āu.*, lit. "What this one nearby you is, is not my axe." (*timā-ge* pron. in the gen. as poss.pron. "my (own)"; *moḷōgaṅḍa* "axe"; *nun-āu* negation + quot.particle; from the fairy tale *moḷōgaṅḍa* "The axe", T3, 37).

2.6.5.5. In northern Dhivehi, the substantivised demonstrative stems show particular forms for persons and "non-persons". There is no differentiation of gender and also no morphological differentiation of nominative and oblique case forms. In the modern standard language, the deictic pronouns referring to persons, viz. *mīnā* "this person (here, nearby myself)", *tīnā* "this person (there, nearby you)"[382] and *ēnā* "that person" (used as a pers.pron. of the 3.ps.sg. "he / she", cf. 2.6.2.5.3), contrast with only one form that refers to non-human beings and objects, resp., viz. *eā* "that, it"; with all probability, this form represents a petrified definite singular just like the corresponding Aḍḍū form (cf. 2.6.2.7.4). The form element *-nā* remains unclear, both from the etymological and the semantical point of view (cf. also 2.6.2.5.3), all the more since there is no evidence in the written material as to when the enlarged pronominal forms with *-nā* came into use.

2.6.5.6. Demonstrative adverbs

The demonstrative stems M.F.A. *mi* "hic", M.F. *ti*, A. *te* "iste" and M.F.A. *e* "ille" are frequently used as local and temporal adverbs without any further enlargement, retaining their

[382] Cf. Disanayaka/Maniku (1990), 42.

particular deictic function. Thus, *mi* means "here" when used as a local adverb and "now, just now" in the function of a temporal adverb, while *ti/te* means "there, nearby you" as a local adverb and "then, afterwards" in temporal use. Sometimes it is not possible to distinguish the temporal and the local component clearly from each other. In such cases the primary deictic meaning seems to be more important than further local or temporal connotations. The following examples will give an impression of the most characteristic uses of the demonstrative adverbs. In the first two examples, *mi* occurs as a temporal adverb:

F. ... *beḷalaku **mi** hedī likī* ... (T4, 4) "what a cat did **now**, was the following" (for the exact morphological analysis cf. 2.6.5.3.1).

A. ... *mi mussanti vegen **mi** vēṉṉḍenī.* (T3, 66) "... this is (the) way we are living **now**, having become rich now." (*mussanti* adj. "rich"; *vegen* abs.III of A. *venī* "to become" (M. *vanī*); *vēṉṉḍenī* part.pres. "living" (M. *uḷenī*) + focus-marker "that (the way) we are living").

In the following examples, the adverb A. *te* / M. *ti* has a local meaning prevailing:

A. *bala juhāu, ta **te** otī kehenaka' hadagen tau?* (T17, 11) "Look, Juhā, what is it you are doing **there**?" lit. "Look, Juhā, what are you doing down **there**?" (The king asks Juhā, what he is doing in the middle of the road, i.e., "there". — *bala* impv.sg. of (M.) *balanī* "to look"; *juhā-au* nom. (voc.) + quot.particle; *ta* pers.pron. 2.ps.sg. obl. "you"; *otī* part.pret./pres. + focus-marker, (M.) *onnanī* "to lie, be there"; *kehenaka'* "how, in which way"; *hadagen* abs.III, (M.) *hadanī* "to make, act, create"; *tau* quest.particle)

M. ... *damvaru mihen **ti** danī kon tāka'?* (T8, 78) "... what are you strolling about **there** in the middle of the night?" lit. "where is it you are going in this way (over) **there** at three hours past midnight?" (*damvaru* ⟨*danvaru*⟩ "three hours past midnight"; *mi-hen* dem.pron.attr. + nom.obl. "in this way"; *danī* part.pres. "going" + focus-marker; *kon tāk-a'* interr.pron. *kon* + dat.sg.indef. ⟨*tākaś*⟩ /*tān-ak-aś*/ "to which place, where").

The following sentence admits both a temporal and a local interpretation of the pronoun *ti*:

F. *kontākaha tai **ti** enī?* (T5, 6.11.16.20) can be translated as "Where are you going (over) there?" as well as with "Where are you going (right) now?" (lit. "To which place is it you are going (over) there / right now?") In the given fairy tale, a girl asks this question to several kinds of food (an onion, a chili, a lime fruit etc.) which she happens to meet on her way (*kontākaha* "to which place, where to", *kon* interr.pron. "what a, which", *tākaha* /*tan-ak-aś*/ dat.sg.indef. of *tan* "place"; *tai* question particle).

In the following sentence, *e* has the local meaning "there":

A. *e hiśi hei kāyē ede kāfi.* "He ate everything eatable which was **there**." (*hiśi* part.pret. "(having) been", (M.) *hunnanī* "to be, stand, remain, stay"; *hiśi hei* "everything", cf. 2.6.7.4.3; *kāyē* "eatable, something to eat"; *ede* "he", nom. 3.ps.sg. pers.pron.; *kāfi* 3.ps.sg. pret.I).

2.6.5.7. Modal adverbs

Adverbial formations with a modal meaning most frequently consist of one of the demonstrative stems and a noun or pronoun. Cp., e.g., M. *e-hā*, F. *e-hai* and A. *e-hei* "thus, so", all representing a combination of the demonstrative *e* and the pronominal adjective M. *hā*, F. *hai*, A. *hei* "all, everything" (with an unknown etymology; cf. 2.6.7.4.3). Cp. the following adverbial compounds the nominal elements of which are still used independently in the modern language: M.F. *mi-hen*, A. *me-hen* "thus, (in) this way", M.A.F. *e-hen* "thus, (in) that way" (*hen* nom.obl. "manner, way") or M.A. *mi gota'*, F. *mi gotaha* "thus, (in) this way" (/*got-aś*/ dative in adverbial use of M. *goi*, A.F. *go'* /*got*/ "sort, kind, way, manner").

5.3.4. In relation to the principal sentence, subordinate clauses that are based on **absolutives** are either concurrent or anterior. Different from participles, however, the respective temporal taxis cannot be predicted from the form of the absolutive only; without a clarifying context, the temporal correlation of the absolutive and the main clause cannot be estimated unambiguously.[602] Apart from the primary absolutives, there are also secondary absolutive formations; these "compound verbs",[603] consisting of combinations of absolutives and auxiliary verbs very frequently occur in the colloquial language. In contrast to the syntactical restrictions concerning participles, the position of absolutives in a sentence is free. Cp. the following examples:

M. *eňdun teduvegen hus gayā /gai-ai/ hure bēraś nukumejjaīm-eve* "I got up and went outside. I had no shirt on", lit. "Having got up from the bed" (*teduvegen* abs.III of *tedu-vanī* "to get up"), standing there with the naked (upper part of the) body (*hure* abs. of *hunnanī* "to stand, be, remain"), I went outside (*nukumejjaīn* 1.ps.sg.pret.IV[604] of *nukunnanī* "to go / come out") (T8, 8).

A. *kaňḍagen ās de verie de gē eḍafie* "After they came (back) from cutting (wood), the two (people) built two houses", lit. "Having cut (*kaňḍagen* abs.III of *kaňḍanī* 'to cut'), coming / having come (*ās* abs. of (M.) *annanī* 'to come'), the two (people) built two houses (*eḍafie /-ia/* 3.ps.pl.pret.)" (T1, 3).

In the following sentence, the sequence of absolutives represents the rhematic element:

F. *haulu udihīfē goho eggamaha /ek-gamaha/ jehī* "The cock reached the land by flying", lit. "(The way how) the cock (*haulu* obl.) hit (*jehi*+*ī* part.pret. + focus-marker of *jahanī*, lit. 'to strike, beat') (to) the land, was (by) flying (and) going (*udihīfē* abs.I of (M.) *uduhenī* 'to fly'; *goho* abs. of (M.) *danī* 'to go')" (T4, 33).

5.3.5. In contrast to absolutives, **gerunds** imply a fix temporal relation with the main action, the secondary action which is expressed by them always being parallel to that of the primary one.[605] Besides that, gerunds are not different in use or meaning from the absolutive, as the following example shows:

A. *den gōvamun dememun fēru kalēge ekaha' /-aśl gos, kaśie naguvagen kināra assēria' /-aśl gos, iňde mi kēnī* ... "Then, crying (and) struggling (along), he reached the weaver; after having caused (him) to pull out the thorn, he went out to the beach, sat down and said ...", lit. "Then, crying (*gōvamun* ger. of A. *gōvanī* ≈ M. *ronī* 'to cry, howl'), struggling (*dememun* ger. of *demenī* 'to pull oneself, struggle'), having gone (*gos* abs. of (M.) *danī* 'to go') close to the weaver('s person), having caused (him) to pull out the thorn (*nagu-va-gen* abs.III of the caus. *naguvanī* 'to cause to raise, lift up'), having gone to the inner beach-edge (*gos* abs.), sitting (down) (*iňde* abs. of (M.) *innanī* 'sit'), what he said, is (the following words) ..." (*kēnī* part.pret. + focus-marker *-ī* of (M.) *kianī* 'to say')" (T1, 49).

Furthermore, the use of reduplicated gerunds, combined with an absolutive, for the expression of a durative and intensive action is very typical for Dhivehi; cp. the following example:

M. *ēnā liamun liamun gos varubali vejje* "Having been writing for a long time he became tired", lit. "Writing writing going he got tired". (*lianī* "to write"; cf. 3.8.2.2 above).

5.3.6. **Verbal nouns** in the literal sense (i.e., formations such as *belun* "to see"; cf. 3.7.1) can represent subordinate clauses as well. In such cases they always appear at the beginning of a sentence, expressing a secondary action which happens simultaneously with the main action

[602] Cf. also 3.10.
[603] Cf. 3.11.4.
[604] For this formation cf. 3.11.4.5.
[605] Cf. also 3.8.2.

In all such cases, the verbal noun is combined with the element F. *mā*, H. *mai* "when" which presumably represents a petrified noun with a locative meaning. In the recorded texts, this construction most frequently appears in the phrase F. ***beṇum /beṇun/ mā beṇi ai*** "when he / she said (so), (that one) answered (lit. 'said')" (*beṇi* 3.ps.sg.pret.; cf. M. *bunun* of *bunanī* "to say, speak"); it is often used in stories that are told spontaneously and contain a high percentage of direct speech. Cp. the following example:

F. *beṇum mā beṇi ai, timāśa dennēnī raḷomaṇāk-ai* (T2, 7) "When that one said so, (the crane) answered: 'Give me a wave'"; lit. "... what is to be given to me is a wave". (*dennēn-ī* part.fut. + focus-marker; *raḷo-maṇ-ak* + *ai* "wave" + diminutive suff. *-maṇa* + indef.suff. + quotation particle).

It is a remarkable fact that the combination of verbal nouns and *mā* in the function of an introducing syntactical element seems to be restricted to spontaneous narration only. In those oral tales that are stylistically polished as well as literary texts of the standard language, this construction is practically unknown.

5.4. Quotation particles and interrogative particles

The varieties of Dhivehi have a special particle which because of its syntactic use is best called a "quotation particle" or "quotation marker". The particle concerned is *eve* [*ē*] in the standard language, *au/āu* in Aḍḍū and *ai/āi* in Fua' Mulaku. Essentially, two different functions of the quotation particle must be distinguished: on the one hand it serves as a **particle of direct speech**, on the other hand it has the function of an **inferential particle**, i.e. a particle which indicates that the speaker knows only by hearsay what he is talking about. The quotation particle is used only in statements, thus contrasting with the question particle which is *tau* in Aḍḍū and *tai* in Fua' Mulaku; in the standard language there are even four different interrogative particles (*ta*, *tō*, *hei*, *bā*) the use of which depends on the given interrogative situation and the honorific levels implied.[606] In contrast to the interrogative particles, the occurrence of the quotation particles is confined to literary texts in a wider sense. There are considerable differences in their use between the modern prose of the standard language and short stories, fairy tales and legends of popular poetry.

5.4.1. In oral reports and stories, the quotation particle normally appears at the end of passages of direct speech where it can be translated with "... he/she says/said" or the like, equalling an absolutive "by saying". At least the form M. *eve* can indeed be regarded as the petrified absolutive of an obsolete verb **ev(i)anī* "to call, name" several forms of which are attested in *lōmāfānu* documents (L1, L2, L3). The use of *eve* in the sense of "saying" and the part.pres. *eviana / evyana / evyā* in the sense of "called" (cf. 3.9.1.1.1) can be direct remnants of prototypical OIA constructions containing *vi-khyā* "to tell" + *iti* such as, e.g., *iti vikhyāta*, often appearing in the *Mahābhārata*.[607] Similarly, the absolutive A. *kē*, F. *kei* "saying" is used like a quotation particle in Aḍḍū and in Fua' Mulaku, both representing an

[606] For the use of the interrogative particles, especially in yes/no questions, cf. 3.15.2 (Fua' Mulaku) and 3.15.3 (Māle). For the special question forms of finite verbs and, to a certain extent, also of infinite verbs in Aḍḍū cf. 3.15.1.

[607] Cp., e.g., M. 1,61,6. For the etymological background cf. MAYRHOFER (1986-), I, 456 s.v. *khyā* and furthermore TURNER (1966), I, 210 s.v. *khyā*; 47, no. 1040 ff.; (1985), 7, no. 1043 and 102, no. 12842. Cf. further 3.9.1.1.1.

absolutive of M. *kianī* "to say, speak" which reflects the same OIA root, *khyā*.[608] In the given connection, *kē / kei* often has the exhortative meaning of "to tell somebody to do something". This use of particles referring to explicit speech acts will be referred to as "internal" hereafter. When the quotation particle appears at the end of an inferential clause or as an insertion between two parts of a sentence in vernacular texts, it signals that the speaker is talking about something which he only knows by hearsay so that he cannot witness to it. Used like this, the quotation particle can be rendered as "... (as) it is told, (as) they say, as people tell, as the saying goes" etc. This use will from now on be called "external". Furthermore, the particle is often found in vocational function at the end of a clause of exclamation consisting of a personal address or a name only. The following examples, taken from various fairy tales, will illustrate the different functions of the quotational and interrogative particles.

5.4.2. Sentences with a pure narrative or interrogative function where the "external" particle appears at the end of the clause:

A. *mi tibī vara' l-aśl fakīri fakīri de mafiriakāmen āu* "Once there was a very very poor couple, as people **say**", lit. "(What) there once was, is a very poor, poor couple, telling" (T3, 1).

F. *kukuḷu filāge ai* "The hen hid away, **they say**" (T4, 36).

M. *balāli iru hurī ran eve* "When he looked (inside), there was gold (in it), **they say**", lit. "When he looked, (what) there was, is gold, they say" (T1, 65).

5.4.2.1. When the rhematic part of a sentence is moved to the end of a clause (cf. 5.2.3 above), the quotation particle immediately precedes it in most cases:

F. *mi kuddᾱ hitaha erī ai gaśāi ba' tavā kakkānēne* "(What) arose to the mind of this child, was, – **they** say [external] – that she should prepare a pan of *gaśāi*-rice." (T5, 2).

If the order of the sentence parts is inverted (cf. 5.2.3 above), the particles will be placed in between too:

A. *mi tau ta moḷōgaṅḍakī? ... te au ma moḷōgaṅḍakī* "Is this your axe?" — "That (one) is my axe", lit. "What your axe is, (he) **asked** [internal], is it this one near by myself?" ... — "What my axe is, (he) said [internal], is that one (near you)."[609] (T3, 44-45).

F. *kon tākaha tai ti enī?* "Where are you going (to)?", lit. "That where you are going to, is, (he) asked [internal], to which place?" (T5, 6.11.16).

In the following examples, the quotation particle appears in a position after sentences which consist of only one element:

A. *mi kuddā kēfi: ammāu! timā ēṇei dara hōdāśāu*[610] "The child said: 'Mother, I am going to look for firewood'", lit. "This child said: 'Mother, (he) **said** [internal], (where) I shall go is to look for firewood' — (**telling** [internal] or **they say** [external])." (T3, 12)

A. *den, mi kuddā beṇafi: nun-āu, tē lteīl ma moḷogaṅḍa nun* "Then the child said: 'No, this is not my axe'", lit. "Then this child said: 'No **saying** [internal], (what) that is near by you, is not my axe.'" (T3, 41).

5.4.3. Modern prose writing, as it is cultivated in Māle today, is no longer based on the oral vernacular literary tradition. Instead it is mainly influenced by foreign literary genres such as

[608] Cf. GEIGER (1902), 926, no. 247 and (1941), 43, no. 636.

[609] For the deictic elements involved cf. 2.6.5.2.

[610] For the function of the reflexive pronoun in the role of a personal pronoun within the framework of direct speech, cf. 2.6.4.

e.g., the short story. Within such new literary conceptions, the function of the quotation particle *eve* has changed completely. As a matter of principle, it is now attached to every narrative sentence, even if the whole short story is written in the first person and tells about personal experiences. Thus, the use of the quotation particle has become independent from the question whether the subject that is told about can be testified by the speaker's own experience or not. Obviously it is the written form of story-telling which brings in some distance between the story-teller and his "own" experiences so that he refers to them from the view of another person. In this function, the quotation particle represents a newly-developed stylistic device within the comparatively recent genre of belle-lettres in Dhivehi. In order to illustrate this, a small passage of a short-story written in the first person is given below; its subject is a terrifying encounter with a ghost (*Fini mendamegge maḍu hūnu*, "The warmth of a cool midnight", by MUHAMMAD WAHĪD (MAḌULU); T8, 53-57):

M. *kuḍa-koś jehilun vefai fahataś eṁberilaifīm eve* "Anxiously, I glanced behind me", lit. "I turned around, having become a little bit nervous, **saying**."

M. *evves mīhaku net eve.* "Nobody was there, **saying**."

M. *karimaccaś mūnu aṁburā-nu-lā uḷenī koś nubai kunivahegge /kuni-vas-ek-ge/ vas nēfatugai jehijje eve* "But I felt a foul stench", lit. "Although I did not turn (my) face in front, the stench of a bad rotten smell hit on (my) nose, **saying**."

M. *kurin in gotaś eṁburili iru, varaś kairīgai mīhaku huṭṭigen ahannā dimā-aś balan huṭṭ-eve /huṭṭi eve/* "Turning around, I faced a man starring at me", lit. "When turning around in the way (I had been sitting) before, a man having stopped very close by me stopped (in order) to look into my direction, **saying**."

M. *hurihā istaśitaˀ /-takl koḷaś jehijje eve* "My hair rose", lit. "All (my) hair hit upwards, **saying**."

5.5. Negated sentences

For the expression of negation, Dhivehi has different morphological and syntactical means.

5.5.1. The particle M.A.F. *nŭn* has the meaning of the negative clause "it is not"; it corresponds with Engl. "no" as an answer to yes/no questions. Cp., e.g., M. *ingirēsi dannan ta? — nūn.*[611] "Do you know English?" — "No". In this sense, the dialect of Fuaˀ Mulaku prefers *uḷuḷ* to *nun* in most cases.

5.5.1.1. Another important function of M.A.F. *nŭn* is that of a verb negating the rhematic part of a sentence; cp., e.g., M. *mi-ī foteˀ /-ekl* "this is a book", lit. "(what) this is, is a book", in contrast to *mi-ī foteˀ nūn* "this is **not** a book", lit. "(what) this is, is **not** a book". Within this context, *nūn* equals a negated copula meaning "is not". The following example shows *nŭn* in both functions:

A. *mī /mi-ī/ tau koyyāge moḷōgaṇḍakī? — nun-āu. tē /te-ī/ ma moḷōgaṇḍa nun.* (T3, 40-41) "'Is this the boy's axe?' — 'No, this is **not** my axe'", lit. "(What) this (here) is, is – (I) suppose (cf. 5.2.2.4) – the boy's axe?" — "No. What that (there) is, is **not** my axe."

5.5.2. The particle M. *nu*, A.F. *ni* "not" serves as a negation prefix of finite verbs, sometimes also of infinite verbal forms (cf. 5.5.4 below). When a participle which introduces a rhematic part of speech with the focus-marker *-ī* is to be negated, it must be transformed into the

[611] This and the following example are taken from DISANAYAKA/MANIKU (1990), 82 and 83, resp.

corresponding finite form; this causes a change of the whole syntactical construction. In accordance with the rules given in 5.2, the respective transformations must be done gradually by reversing the order of elements, as illustrated in the following example in the Addū dialect: As a positive sentence with the part.pres. *enī* in the long form functioning as a predicate verb, A. *ma ādavegen kāu /kāś/*[612] *enī gē' /ge-aś/* "Normally I go home for eating", lit. "That where I am normally (*ādavegen*) going to eat (inf. *kā'*), is to (the) house", has its subject in the oblique case (*ma* pers.pron. 1.ps.sg.), the rhematic part being placed at the end of the sentence. In the negated version of the same sentence, the predicate verb is transformed into the finite 1.ps.sg. pres., *en* "I go" and, furthermore, it is placed to the end of the clause. The subject is accordingly transformed into the nominative *ava*: A. *ava ādavegen gea' /-aś/ kā' /kāś/ ni en*. "Normally I do **not** go home for eating."

5.5.2.1. In order to express negated requests and prohibitions, the negation prefix M. *nu* / A.F. *ni* precedes the imperative; cp., e.g., M. *balā!* 2.ps.sg./pl. "look!" vs. *nu-balā!* "don't look!" or A.F. 2.ps.sg. *bala!* "look!", 2.ps.pl. *balau!* "look!" vs. *ni-bala!* and *ni-balau!* "don't look!". — For the formal differentiation of inhibitive and preventive forms cf. 3.5.3.

5.5.3. The negated variant of a *verbum substantivum* meaning "to be there, exist" is based on Dhiv. */net/* (M. *nei*, A.F. *ne'*) "is/was not there" which, with its "pseudo-lemmatic form" *netunī* "not being there, not existing", must be derived from OIA *nā́sti*.[613] In most cases, *nei/ne'* is used in like manner as *nŭ̆n* (cf. 5.5.1.1 above), but it can also occur in the function of a participle (pret. and pres.) or an absolutive. In the southern dialects the paradigm of *netunī* is well developed, while it has remained fragmentary in the standard language. *netunī* is regarded as the negative equivalent of the verbs *hunnanī* "to be, stand, remain", *onnanī* "to lie, be there", *innanī* "to sit, be there" and *tibenī* "to exist, be there"; cp., e.g., M. *mēze' /-ek/ eba* ***huri*** "there **is** a table" as against *mēze' nei* "there is not a table, there is no table".[614]

In the sentence A. *gē kō, boňḍanā geaki* ***ne'*** */net/*[615] "When he went (there), the b.-bird was not at home" (T1, 55), the syntactic position of *ne'* can be compared to that of *nŭ̆n* in the examples mentioned in 5.5.1.1; cp. also A. ... *taulīman* ***ne'*** *mīhā* ... "the man **without** education", lit. "the education-**not-being-there** man" (T16, 3; cf. 5.2.2.2). In the following two parts of a sentence (T2, 15), *neti-* appears in absolutive function:

F. ... *baiken en nētī maha ni bēvvigen tibi tākaha* ... "...to a place where some people failed to catch fish because they had no bait fish", lit. "... to a place (*tākaha*) (where) some people (*baiken*) were present (*tibi* 'being'), fish (*maha*) not being catchable (*ni bēvvigen* 'not being catchable', abs.III), bait fish (were) not being (there) (*nētī* abs.)".

A. ... *en* ***netigen****, mas ni bēvigen* ... "... catching no fish because of bait fish lacking ...", lit. ".. bait fish not **being** (there) (*netigen* abs.III), fish not being catchable ...".

5.5.4. Finally, Dhivehi is characterised by a syntactical peculiarity which plays an important role in the negation of impersonal sentences with an infinite predicate verb or with a noun in predicative function. In this case, that part of a sentence which is to be negated appears in an

[612] For this phenomenon of sandhi cf. 1.6.3.
[613] For more information on the secondary verb *netunī*, cf. 3.9.2.2.5.
[614] Examples taken from DISANAYAKA /MANIKU (1990), 85.
[615] For *geaki* cf. also 5.5.4.1.

indefinite form. It makes no difference whether the negation concerns the existence or only a particular quality of something; furthermore, it is indifferent from the formal point of view whether the subject of negation is a noun, an adjective, a pronoun, a verbal noun or an infinitive. Cp. the following examples:

M. *mi dōni vara' /-aśl bodu* "This boat is very big" vs. *mi dōni vara' bode' /-ek/ nūn* "This boat is **not** very big", lit. "a very big (one)";

M. *fansure' /-ek/ bēnun ta*?[616] "Do you want a pencil?", lit. "(Is) a pencil (the object of) desire?" vs. *fansure' bēnume' /-ek/ nūn ta*? "Wouldn't (you) like a pencil?", lit. "(Is) a pencil not (an object of) desire?"[617]

In the following sentence, it is the infinitive of *kuranī* "to make, do" which appears in an indefinite (dative) form, immediately preceding the negation particle *nu*:

M. *iyye ahanna' /-aśl masakkai /-at/ kurāka' /kurākaś/ nu jehunu*[618] "Yesterday I could not work", lit. "Yesterday it did not turn out possible (*jehunu* potential pret. of *jehenī* 'to hit' intr.) for me to do the work". The indefinite form *kurāka'* of the infinitive *kuran* "to make, do" must be analysed as **kuran-ak-aś*, with regular loss of the intervocalic *-n-*.[619]

This type of construction was already noted by DE SILVA (1970b, 153-4) who did not realise that this is a regular formation with the indefinite suffix appearing in the dative, however. He proposed that these form variants might be borrowings: "In negating sentences with the dative affix, *-aś* is changed to *-kaś*. ... Although *-aś* corresponds to Sinh. *-aṭ*, *-kaś* has no equivalent in Sinhalese either in form or in use. *-kaś* [kaˀ] is reminiscent of the Tamil dative Suffix *-kku*, and may well be a Tamil borrowing." On the basis of the material provided here, this view has nothing in its favour and must be rejected.

5.5.4.1. Three further examples (from the Aḍḍū fairy tales *Moḷōgaňḍa* "The axe" and *Fiňḍanāi boňḍanāi* "The f.-bird and the b.-bird" and the Huvadū story *Mākana* "The crane") may suffice to illustrate the use of indefinite forms in connection with the negation. In the first example it is the verbal noun *jehun /jehum/*, of *jahanī* "to beat, strike", which appears in the indefinite form:

A. *arai, mi hedi lekakī, kaňḍā' /-āś/ jehum-ak-āi ni lāi moḷōgaňḍa kōra' /-aś/ vaṭṭali* (T3, 69) "Having climbed up, he dropped the axe into the pond without even striking one blow", lit. "Having climbed up, (what) he now did, was, he dropped the axe into the pond, not putting (negation particle *ni* + abs. *lāi*) with a stroke (*jehum-ak-āi* obl.sg.indef. + particle 'with') in order to cut (inf. */kaňḍāś/*)".

A. *gē kō, boňḍanā geaki ne' /net/* (T1, 55) "When[620] he came / went (there), the b.-bird was not at home", lit. "in a (!) house" (*ge-ak-i* loc.sg.indef.; cf. 5.5.3).

In the following sentence, the indefinite form of the noun *kan* has the function of the conjunction "whether" (cf. 5.3.1.1):

H. *mākanayā boṇi ai, guake denne kāeke /kam-eke/ neňge /nu-eňge/, raḷeke denn-āi.* (T2, 7) "The crane said, (I) do not know whether a dropping is to be given or a wave", lit. "The crane said, it is not known (*nu eňge*) (to me) whether (*kam-eke* nom.sg.indef., lit. 'a fact') to give a dropping (*guake*, obl.indef.) or ('and') to give a wave (*raḷeke* obl.sg.indef.)."

[616] The noun M. *bēnun*, A.F. *bēṇun* "wish, will" is one of the most frequent predicate nouns of the colloquial language; in all dialects of Dhivehi it is used like an infinite, unchangeable verb.

[617] Both examples are taken from DISANAYAKA/MANIKU (1990), 83 and 84, resp.

[618] Sentence provided by ḤABĪBA ḤUSSAIN ḤABĪB, personal communication.

[619] For this development cf. 1.2.1.4.

[620] For the conjunction *kō* cf. 5.3.1.

Indexes

Grammatical terms

archaicity 13, 14, 26, 66, 68, 86, 89, 110, 164, 181
areal typology 10
colloquial language 12, 90, 130, 135, 154, 165, 169
decimal system 53, 107, 108, 110, 116, 122, 123
deixis 127, 128, 136, 137, 139, 151, 252, 253, 259
dialectal variation 13, 14, 18, 31
diglossia 12
duodecimal system 11, 53, 107, 108, 110, 111, 115, 116, 121-123
emphasis 73, 121, 135, 144, 148, 161, 183, 193, 245, 249
father's names V
first names . . . . . V, 137
historical phonology 11, 17, 49
honorific degrees → honorific levels
honorific levels . . 15, 128, 129, 134, 161, 171, 172, 182, 185, 187, 190, 200, 201, 210, 248, 258
honorific system 15, 129
house names V
hyperprakritisation 108, 121
kinship terms 70, 74, 80, 81, 87, 88, 91, 136
loans from Arabic 25, 36, 45, 103, 104, 136, 154
loans from Hindi/Urdu 20, 33, 110, 113, 115
loans from Persian 45
loans from Sinhalese 12, 125
loanwords . . . 12, 20, 24, 25, 29, 32, 36, 42, 45, 59, 60, 65, 66, 68, 79, 88, 90, 103, 104, 108, 110-113, 115, 124, 133, 136, 154
morpheme boundary 36, 37, 42, 43
Morphology: 11-13, 15, 51-250
a-stem nouns 51, 59, 62, 63, 66, 69, 83, 90, 94, 97-99, 101
a-stem verbs . . . 23, 26, 156, 165-167, 169-171, 173-181, 183, 184, 191, 192, 193-202, 206, 208, 211-213 215, 216, 226, 227, 229, 230, 232-236, 246, 247
ablative case . . . 51, 55, 59, 61-63, 95, 98, 100, 159, 162, 249
ablative/instrumental . . 38, 59, 61, 62, 101, 102, 159, 166, 249
absolute interrogative pronouns 153, 156
absolute pronouns 126, 127, 152
absolutive . . . 158, 165, 166, 170, 173, 178, 185, 187, 189-191, 197, 198, 201, 205-207, 210-216, 218, 221-227, 229-238, 241, 242, 245, 254-258, 261
absolutive I 27, 166, 191, 197, 210, 226
absolutive II 166, 210, 226
absolutive III 166, 227
absolutive IV 166
accusative case 51
action nouns 196
active 26, 165, 171, 178, 229, 233, 236, 251
adjectival comparison 53, 102, 105
adjectives . 53, 58, 66, 74, 81, 89, 102-105, 107, 124, 156, 160, 162, 262
adverbial interrogative pronouns 156
adverbial pronouns 126, 127, 152
adverbs 53, 62, 106, 161, 162
agglutinative 51, 54, 67, 72, 100, 101, 181
aktionsart 166, 216-221, 225
alienable 54
analytic . . . 57, 59, 61, 95, 98-100, 160-162, 166, 241
animate . . . 51, 56, 57, 62, 71, 74, 80, 86, 87, 90, 91, 124, 128, 139, 149, 152
animateness 51, 71, 153
aorist 186, 218
approximate numbers 125
attenuative aktionsart 220
auxiliary verbs . . . 40, 166, 168, 178, 180, 182, 187, 189-191, 193, 207, 211, 216, 221-231, 235, 242, 257
bahuvrīhi compounds 53, 103
basic verbal form 183, 202, 241
cardinal numbers 53, 69, 74, 86, 108-110, 114
case 51, 52
case suffixes 55, 62
case system 51, 54, 55
casus obliquus → oblique case
casus rectus → direct case
causal-final interrogative pronouns 158
causative 206
causative formation . . 15, 19, 30, 31, 40, 41, 43, 170, 171
causative suffix 31, 170
causatives . . . 165, 170-172, 182, 200, 201, 205, 222, 232-236
cohortative 183, 184
collective numbers 74, 81, 86, 108, 124, 125
comparative 53, 105, 106
complex verbs 104, 125, 188, 252
composite verbs → compound verbs
compound adjectives 53, 103
compound verbs . . 170, 172, 203, 205, 206, 213, 214, 216, 221-225, 227-231, 257
compounds 36, 42, 44, 47, 74, 81, 89, 104, 133, 135, 136, 151, 152, 154, 156, 158, 162
concurrent 197
conditional 166, 239, 241, 242
conditional clauses 242
conditional conjunctions 239-242, 249, 254
conjugation classes → conjugation types
conjugation patterns → conjugation types
conjugation types . 165, 168, 172, 176, 178, 180, 183, 184, 196, 211, 245
conjunctions 239-242, 249, 250, 254-256
consecutio temporum 258
consonant stem nouns . . 28, 41, 43, 51, 55, 59, 62-67, 69, 76, 82, 83, 89, 93, 94, 96, 97-99, 101, 125, 135

continuous present 230
converb 166, 210, 254
coordinative conjunctions 249
copula verb . . 105, 168, 177-179, 181, 184, 186, 224, 231, 233, 236, 252, 260
counting units 80
dative case . . . 18, 51, 55, 57, 58, 62, 63, 69, 77, 78, 94, 97, 98, 100, 101, 106, 126, 157, 159, 166, 178, 182, 184, 185, 191-195, 249
dative ending 40, 193, 195, 210, 245
decades 116, 117
declarative forms 244, 245
declension 51, 54, 62, 94-96, 98, 99
declension classes 92, 93, 95, 96, 101
defective paradigms 79, 92, 236, 243
definite 253
definite form . . . 21, 38, 39, 52, 67-72, 74, 76-84, 87-89, 91-94, 99, 101, 134
definite plural 82
definite singular . 52, 70-72, 78, 79, 81, 82, 84, 86-88, 92
definite suffix 22, 59, 67, 68, 70, 89, 137, 139
definiteness 51, 52, 63, 68, 70, 76, 79, 82
deixis 146, 149, 150
delimitative aktionsart 220
demonstrative adverbs 150, 249
demonstrative pronouns . 52, 127, 128, 136, 137, 139, 146-151, 162, 252, 253
derivational suffixes 53, 103, 104
derivative verbs 171, 172
determinative pronouns 126, 127, 152
diminutives 54
direct case . 18, 22, 51, 52, 55, 62, 65, 67, 70, 73, 92, 100, 129, 131, 133, 140, 141, 251
distributional plural 75, 122, 135, 136, 138, 156, 160

double absolutive → reduplicated absolutive
double causatives 41, 170, 171, 185, 200
durative aktionsart 225, 254
durative-intensive aktionsart 166, 254, 257
dvandva compounds 135
e-stem verbs . . . 23, 26, 36, 165, 166, 168, 171, 174-177, 180, 182, 184, 191, 192-197, 199, 200, 203, 205, 206, 208, 209, 211, 212, 215, 226-229, 232, 234-237, 246, 247
elative 106
emphatic particle 73, 161
ending 57
excessive grade 106
feminine 51, 74, 149
finite . . . 165, 166, 168, 169, 173, 174, 176-178, 180-182, 187, 189, 190, 193, 201, 205, 207-210, 213, 225-228, 231, 232, 235, 239, 240, 243-245, 251, 254, 258
finite verbs . . 51, 92, 129, 150, 165, 166, 169, 174, 180, 187, 251, 254, 258, 260

focus-element → focus-marker
focus-marker 72, 73, 138, 148, 149, 251-254
fractional numbers 124
frequentative aktionsart 219
frozen definite forms . . 59, 67, 70, 72, 74, 79, 80, 84-90, 92, 97, 101, 135, 150
future . . . 165, 166, 176-182, 185, 186, 189, 192, 193, 198, 199, 207, 209, 210, 225, 226, 230-236, 239, 240, 244, 246
future I 226, 231
future II 226
future participle 165, 166, 181, 182, 209, 210
future potential 231, 233, 235
gender 51, 52, 73, 139, 148-150, 152, 166, 196
generic plural . . 59, 68-70, 72, 76, 78, 82, 86, 88, 94, 133, 246
genitive case . . . 51, 55-58, 61, 63, 69, 77, 78, 94-98, 100, 101, 144
genitive-locative 38, 51, 55, 56, 100
gerund . 165, 166, 173, 196-198, 210, 211, 215, 216, 218, 222-224, 254, 257
gerund I 197, 210
gerund II 197, 210, 215
honorific suffixes 54, 89
i-stem nouns . . . 21, 23, 27, 38-41, 47, 51, 59, 60, 62, 63, 66, 69, 71, 76, 77, 78, 79, 82, 84-86, 89, 90, 94, 95, 97-99, 101, 124, 138, 163
i-stem verbs 191, 203, 204
imperative . . . 165, 166, 173, 182-187, 189-191, 193, 194, 223, 224, 226, 230, 261
imperfect 218
imperfectiva tantum 216
imperfective aspect 186, 216-221
inactive . . 26, 165, 171, 172, 174, 178, 200, 206, 208, 229, 231-238, 251, 255
inactive of the causative . . . 166, 206, 234, 235, 238
inalienable 54, 89, 137
inanimate 51, 56, 57, 59, 62, 71, 74, 87, 88, 91, 108, 124, 128, 137, 138, 139, 148, 152, 243
inanimateness 51, 71, 153
indefinite 53, 59, 149, 253, 262
indefinite form . . 21, 52, 68-70, 72-74, 76-80, 82, 84, 85, 88-90, 92-94, 101, 158
indefinite infinitive 22, 262
indefinite plural 88, 101
indefinite pronouns 52, 154, 159-161, 249, 250
indefinite singular 52, 70, 79, 88, 92, 101
indefinite suffix . . 40, 59, 62, 69-73, 84, 88, 90, 108, 249, 250, 253, 262
indefiniteness 51, 52, 63, 68, 72, 76, 79, 82, 101
indicative 166, 177, 178, 183
infinite . 165, 166, 178, 225, 231, 241, 243-245, 254, 260-262
infinite verbs 51, 92, 129, 150
infinitive . . 22, 57, 154, 159, 165, 166, 177-182, 184, 185, 189, 191, 192, 193-196, 203, 207, 210, 218, 230, 245, 247, 254, 262
infinitive endings 173, 178
infinitive II 231
inflectional 51, 54, 55, 100
ingressive aktionsart 219, 222
injunctive 186, 218
instrumental case 51, 61, 197
interrogative forms 192, 234, 243-245, 258

interrogative particles → question particles
interrogative pronouns . . . 52, 127, 148, 152-159, 162, 164, 244, 249
intransitive . . . 26, 165, 174, 227-229, 232-235, 237, 243
involitive 165
irregular verbs 202, 214
lexical aktionsart 220
local adverbs 150
local interrogatives 156
locational dative 131
locative case 39, 51, 55, 56, 100, 101, 156, 157, 249, 255, 258
long form . . . 23, 166, 169, 198, 200, 201, 203, 205-207, 210, 245, 251
masculine 51, 149
medial 174, 223, 227
modal adverbs 151, 249
modal interrogatives 157
modal pronouns 158
modifying aktionsart 220, 221
monadic units 117
mood 166, 178, 186
multiplicative numbers 125
n-stem nouns 50
n-stem verbs . . 36, 44, 165-167, 171-178, 180, 181, 184, 195-197, 199, 200, 201-208, 212-215, 226-229, 232, 234, 235, 237, 238, 243, 244, 246, 247
nasal presents 173, 204, 205, 207, 213
negation 153, 169, 184, 233-235, 260-262
negation particles 250, 260, 262
negative pronouns 52, 127, 164
neuter 51
nominal stem classes → nominal stem types
nominal stem types 54, 55, 57, 62, 92, 95
nominal system 51
nominative case . . . 51, 55, 63-65, 92, 150, 249, 251
number . . . 51, 52, 56, 68, 70, 71, 76-79, 82, 89, 97, 102
oblique case . . . 15, 21, 51, 52, 55, 57, 61, 70, 72, 73, 79, 92, 97, 99-102, 104, 129, 130, 133-135, 140, 141, 144, 145, 149, 150, 153, 156-159, 178, 239, 245, 249, 251, 261
optative 178, 233
ordinal numbers 53, 123
participles . . . 166, 198, 199, 201, 202, 207, 209, 218, 225, 239, 240, 251, 253-257, 260
particles 249, 250
passive 165, 174, 231, 236, 237
past → preterite
past participle → preterite participle
perdurative-resultative aktionsart 220
perfectiva tantum 216
perfective aspect 186, 216-219, 221
perfectivisation 220, 221
periphrastic constructions 52, 125, 164
periphrastic formations . 187, 189, 201, 207, 225-227, 230
personal endings . . . 168-170, 174, 175, 177-183, 202, 239, 245
personal names 128
personal pronouns 14, 20, 52, 92, 127-130, 133, 134, 136, 137, 139-141, 144, 145, 147, 149, 251
plural . . . 52, 59, 61, 68, 70, 71, 76, 78-80, 82, 87-90, 92, 93, 99, 101, 102
plural suffixes . 52, 62, 69, 72, 74, 75, 80, 81, 86-88, 90-92, 138, 153, 163
pluralia tantum 79, 86, 90, 132, 133, 145
possessive pronouns 52, 144
posterior imperative 185
postpositions 61, 95, 98, 249
potential 166, 177, 178, 191, 231-239, 247
present . 165, 166, 168, 169, 173-175, 177, 179, 181, 183, 186, 197, 198, 199, 204, 207, 208, 213, 214, 218, 230, 232, 234, 239, 244, 246, 247
present conditional 239, 241
present participle . . . 23, 103, 165, 166, 169, 178-181, 199-201, 203, 205, 208, 210, 218, 221, 235, 239, 242, 245, 261
present perfect 220
present potential 231, 233-235, 239, 240
present stem . 26, 165, 166, 168, 170, 172, 180, 183, 197, 199, 201, 205, 207, 208, 209, 211, 243
preterite . 165, 166, 174-176, 178, 179, 181, 198, 199, 201, 202, 208, 210, 225-228, 231, 236, 238, 239, 241, 244, 246
preterite conditional 240, 241
preterite I 166, 191, 226, 228-231
preterite II 166, 226, 228, 229
preterite III 166, 227, 228
preterite IV 40, 166, 228, 229, 238, 239
preterite participle . 26, 103, 165, 166, 174, 175, 190, 201-210, 218, 221, 223, 225, 231, 235-241, 261
preterite participle I 166, 226, 240
preterite participle II 166, 226
preterite participle III 166, 227
preterite participle IV 166, 242
preterite potential 231, 236, 238
preterite stem . . 26, 165, 166, 174, 178, 196, 201, 204
préverbes vides 220, 221
preverbs 244
progressive form 225
pronominal adjectives . . . 52, 62, 91, 107, 154, 158, 159, 160, 162-164, 254
pronominal adverbs 155
pronominal system 52, 128
pronouns . 52, 59, 61, 70, 75, 91, 126, 151, 152, 248, 251, 262
question particles . 154, 157, 189, 244, 247, 248, 254, 255, 256, 258
quotation marker 182, 199, 239, 250, 258-260
quotation particle → quotation marker
reciprocal pronouns 52, 152
recurrent 216
reduplicated absolutive 211, 215, 216, 224, 225
reduplicated gerund 252
reduplication . . 75, 135, 136, 138, 162, 166, 170, 198
reflexive 174, 223, 227, 253
reflexive pronouns 52, 127, 133, 142
relative pronouns 52, 152

resultative aktionsart 220-223, 226, 227, 240
resultative-durative aktionsart 224
thematisation 252, 253
root nouns 21, 59, 67, 68, 101
root verbs 165, 227, 232-235, 237, 247
s-stem nouns 83, 97
short form . . . 166, 180, 181, 198-203, 206, 209, 226, 239, 242
singular 52, 59, 68, 70, 77-79, 88, 89, 93
singularisation 68, 79, 80, 133
subjunctive 166, 231
substantive 53, 160
substantivisation . . . 81, 89, 105, 109, 128, 136, 139, 150, 253
superlative 107, 161, 162
suppletion . . . 172, 178, 216, 228, 236, 238, 239, 242, 243
syncretism 169
synthetic 56, 59, 61, 100, 101
temporal adverbs 150, 151
temporal interrogatives 157
tense 166, 168, 198, 201, 211, 217, 243
terminative-resultative aktionsart 228
thematic present 169
transitive 26, 174, 178, 224, 229, 232-234
u-stem nouns 97
uninflected words 249
vector verbs 221, 222
verbal aspect 166, 186, 216-219, 221
verbal character 219
verbal noun . . 165, 166, 182, 191, 193, 195-197, 254, 257, 262
verbal system 164
vocalic stems 62, 67, 69, 100
vocational forms 89, 135-137, 145
voice 165
word formation 53
mots savants . . 12, 33, 42, 49, 50, 55, 66, 103, 104, 116, 117
nick-names 136
numeral system 11, 53, 107
patronyms 137
personal names 56
Phonology: 1-50
affricates 11, 38, 50
affrication 38, 39, 48, 90
ai-diphthong 24, 25
allegro forms 124, 130, 135, 153, 154, 160
alternation A. -gg- - F. -jj- 43
alternation M. -i - A.F. -u 65, 66
alternation M. -tt- - A. -tṭ- 43
alternation M. -u - A. -a - F. -e 65, 66
alternation M. -u - A. -a - F. -o 65, 66
alternation M. -u - A.F. -e 65, 66, 209
alternation M. -u - A.F. -i 65-67
alternation M. -ḍ- - A.F. -d- 163
alternation M. ā - F. ai - A. ei 27, 255
alternation M. i - A.F. e 27
alternation M. o - A. e - F. e/ē 27, 97
alternation M. u - A.F. e 27, 28
alternation M. ḷ - A.F. ḍ 14, 28, 35, 36
alternation M. ḷ - A.F. ňḍ 36
alternation M.F. -u - A. -a 65, 66
alternation of final vowels in consonant stems . 28, 63
alternation of prenasalised and plain stops 31
anaptyctic vowels 36, 113, 116, 170, 172, 201
apocope 18, 19, 22, 34, 46, 169
aspirates 5, 17, 28
assimilation 158, 170, 195
au-diphthong 24, 112, 115
change -ai → -ā 25
change -al → -au 22
change au → ō 255
change -avu- → -au- 24
change c- → s- 33, 50, 112, 115
change -c- → -s- 116
change -c-/-j- → -d- 50
change -cc- → -s- 50, 214, 215
change -Cp- → -pp- 41
change -Cv- → -CC-/-vv- 37
change -Cv- → -vv- 38
change -di- → -dd- 38-40
change -di- → -dy- → -jj- 38, 39, 239
change -di- → -jj- 228
change dv- → b- 111, 114
change ḍ → ḷ 36, 194
change e → a 152
change e → o 36, 201, 206
change -el → -eo 22
change -el → -eu 22
change -il → -ū 22
change j- → d- 50
change -j- → -s- 50
change -jj- → -d- 50
change -k → -ʾ 18, 64
change -k- → -h- by dissimilation 152, 160
change -kn- → -kk- 44
change -l → -u 20, 22, 64, 81
change -m → -n 18, 20, 133
change -ni- → -ny- → -ññ- 40, 242
change -ol → -ō 22
change p → f 33, 34, 42, 130
change p → f → h 34, 130, 131
change -rt- → -rṭ- 208
change s → h 32, 34, 60, 64, 83, 97
change s- → h- 50, 112, 113, 115
change -sf- → -ss- 37, 43
change -si- → -sy- → -ss- 40
change -st- → -ss- 43
change -ś → -ʾ 18, 64
change -t → -y 18, 64
change -t → -ʾ 18, 64, 205
change -ti- → -tt- 38-40
change -ti- → -ty- → -cc- 38, 39
change ṭ → ś 18, 20, 33, 34, 41, 42, 113, 194
change ṭ → ś → h 57, 178, 194
change u → e 209
change -ul → -ū 22
change vī- → vi- 131
change vī- → vu- 131

change -VtC- → -VCC- 43
change -VtC- → -ViC- 43
change vu- → u- 130
change -y- → -Ø- 241
change y- → d- 11, 47, 49, 241
change -ʾ → -u 244, 261
change -ṭ → -ʾ 182
change -ṭv- → -vv- 38
change -ṭv- → -ṭṭ- 38, 41
change -ṭy- → -ṭṭ- 41
closed syllables 17, 22, 46, 48
consonant clusters . . 17, 30, 36, 37, 43, 44, 48, 113, 116, 131
consonant system 14, 28
consonants in word-final position 18, 64
contraction -ana- → -ā- 156, 199, 200, 262
deaspiration 5, 17, 28, 29, 113
dental consonants 17
dental stops 5
despirantisation 34
diphthongisation 22, 24, 43
diphthongs 17, 18, 21, 23, 24, 27, 67
dissimilation 152, 160
disyllabic word structures 46
echo vowel 18, 32
emphatic lengthening of vowels . . 183, 193, 245, 249
epenthetic vowels 64, 65, 83, 89, 94, 97, 125
equivalence M.A.F. -u 65
fricative r 34, 42, 109, 194
front vowels 25
geminates . . 17, 19, 33, 37, 38, 41-44, 46, 48, 77, 85, 94, 117, 132, 170, 195, 250
gemination 32, 40, 43, 77, 82, 90, 172, 173, 250
glides 11, 25, 47, 49, 64, 105
glottal stop 18, 25, 47, 48, 64, 194, 195, 205
hiatus 47, 69, 83, 160
i-diphthongs 25
influence of retroflex consonants on surrounding vowels 28, 66, 97, 201, 206
interrogative intonation 245
laterals 35
lengthening of root vowels in i-stems . 21, 23, 27, 35, 69, 76-78, 84, 85, 94, 98
loan phonemes 29, 44, 45
long nasalised vowels 23
long vowels . . . 17, 19-22, 46, 50, 67, 79, 84, 85, 88, 111, 113, 115, 116, 135, 183, 193, 202, 216, 244
loss of affricates 5
loss of aspirates 17
loss of intervocalic consonants 17, 20, 21, 262
loss of v- before o 206
loss of word-final -l 88
monophthongisation 25, 135, 216
monosyllabic word structures 46, 165
nasal consonants 18, 23
nasal vowels 17, 23, 24, 180, 199, 201
open syllables 17, 30, 46
opposition of d and ḍ 163
opposition of l and ḷ 35, 111, 113
opposition of n and ṇ 26, 29, 35, 40, 209
opposition of ňd and nd etc. 31
palatal affricates 5
palatalisation 4
paradigmatic interchange of -d- and -nn- 173
paradigmatic interchange of -h- and -ss- . . 40, 47, 77, 78, 85, 9
paradigmatic interchange of -s- and -h- 64, 9
paradigmatic interchange of -ňd- and -nn- . . . 31, 17
prenasalised stops 17, 29-31, 36, 37, 135, 17
progressive assimilation 37, 38, 4
realisation of -ʾ → -d in sandhi 4
realisation of -ʾ → -u in sandhi 4
regressive assimilation 37, 38, 41-43, 132
retroflex consonants 5, 17, 18, 28, 35-37, 9
retroflex stops 19
sandhi 37, 39, 48, 57, 102, 182, 20
secondary nasalisation by -h- 23
spelling system → writing system
spirantisation 33, 132
spontaneous prenasalisation 31
substitution of -j- by -d- 50
substitution of -z- by -d- 45
substitution of foreign phonemes 45
syllable structure 46
syncope 19, 46, 170
trisyllabic word structures 47
umlaut 17, 23, 25, 26, 200, 202, 208, 213
umlaut a/e in a-stem verbs 26, 202
umlaut a/e in the derivation of intransitives . . 26, 171
umlaut in nominal paradigms 56, 60
umlauting of a → ä 25, 202
umlauting of a → e 25, 26, 56, 60, 75, 171, 202, 213
umlauting of o → e 27, 202
umlauting of u → i 26, 202
vocalic alternations 2
vocalisation of -l 22-24
voiced consonants 18
voiceless consonants 18
vowel adaptation u → e 28, 9
vowel contraction 17, 20-24
vowel system 14, 18
word accent 47, 48, 245
word structure 4
palace language . . . . . VI, 15, 34, 181, 23
pluralis maiestatis 50, 86, 135, 13
politeness 187, 190, 19
popular etymology 5, 112, 113, 132, 134, 13
prakritisms 12, 20, 27, 33, 53, 69, 73, 108, 110-11
re-prakritisation 11
Sanskrit names 13
sanskritisms . 12, 20, 36, 39, 41, 42, 49, 53, 55, 69, 11 116, 117, 121, 123, 125, 131, 13
social levels . . . 14, 52, 54, 128, 129, 134, 139, 140, 16 , 171, 187, 19
status levels → social levels
stylistic levels 12, 14, 32, 13
stylistics 1
surnames V

Syntax: ... 12, 14, 251-262
adverbial clauses ... 254
agent ... 178, 228, 229, 231, 239
anaphoric ... 147
attribute ... 52, 53, 102, 105, 108-111, 126, 129, 134, 135, 145, 147, 148, 160, 198, 210, 256
cataphoric ... 147
conditional clauses ... 239-241, 254, 256
dative construction ... 178, 228, 229, 231
declarative sentences ... 245, 255
direct speech ... 133, 144-145, 199, 247, 254, 258
exclamation ... 254, 259
exclamative ... 152, 157, 162, 164
exhortative ... 259
external quotation ... 259
final clauses ... 254
focus ... 251, 252, 254
hortative ... 182
impersonal sentences ... 261
indirect object ... 57, 58
indirect speech ... 185
inferential ... 258, 259
inhibitive ... 186, 261
internal quotation ... 259
interrogative sentences ... 234
irrealis ... 231
passive ... 182-185, 187, 189
local directions ... 58
local questions ... 156
modal questions ... 157
narrative ... 258-260
negated sentences ... 233, 238, 260
nominal sentences ... 252
nominative construction ... 178, 228
object ... 126, 145
participial clauses ... 256
participial constructions ... 52
partitive ... 140, 162
predicate ... 51, 92, 102, 105, 126, 129, 145, 150, 198, 240, 251, 252, 254, 261
preventive ... 186, 261
prohibitive ... 184, 185, 218, 261
questions ... 244, 245, 247, 254
relative clauses ... 52, 256
reported speech → direct speech
rhematisation ... 72, 138, 148, 198, 251, 259
subject ... 51, 56, 92, 126, 129, 145, 150, 166, 178, 251, 252, 256, 261
subordinate clauses ... 254, 256, 257
temporal clauses ... 254
temporal directions ... 58
temporal questions ... 158
vocational ... 259
word order ... 244, 251
yes/no questions ... 244, 247, 248, 258, 260
taxis ... 257
verbal levels → honorific levels ... 15
vocabulary ... 14
Writing system:
alphabet ... 29
Arabic script ... 7, 30, 135
Brāhmī script ... 6, 7, 30, 108
Dives akuru ... 6, 7, 25, 30, 33, 47, 60, 111, 112, 114-116, 118, 119, 121, 123, 130, 134, 135, 137, 190, 194
empty nūn ... 30
Evēla akuru ... 6, 32, 137
historical spelling ... 19, 32
mixed spelling ... 39, 59
orthography ... 30, 37
Sinhalese script ... 30
spelling of final -ṭ by -n ... 58, 69, 92, 154, 159, 194
Tāna ... 7, 18, 25, 29, 30, 33, 45, 46, 60, 64, 111, 112, 114, 115, 117, 119, 123, 130, 134, 135, 137, 190, 194, 203, 229
transcriptional spelling ... 5
vocalisation marks ... 30

Texts

Aśoka inscriptions ... 111, 130, 197
belle-lettres ... 260
copper-plate documents → lōmāfānu
Cūlavaṃsa ... 2
decrees ... 7, 153
Dhammapada ... 73
Dhampiya aṭuvā gāṭapadaya ... 73
Dīpavaṃsa ... 2
epitaphs ... 7
Fatkoḷu documents ... 7, 19, 69, 92, 118, 121, 129, 133, 135, 137
Filā-Fatkoḷu ... 75
folklore ... 13
Gan-Fatkoḷu ... 75
Helaṭuvā ... 73
inscriptions ... 6, 7, 30, 50, 60, 64, 111-117, 119, 123, 135, 137, 192, 212, 213, 239
legal documents ... 153
letters ... 7
lōmāfānu ... 6, 7, 17, 28, 30, 32, 114-116, 121, 122, 131-133, 135, 137, 203, 229, 239, 258
Mahābhārata ... 258
Mahāvaṃsa ... 2, 4, 5, 10
manuscripts ... 7
oral poetry ... 13
palace inscription ... 131, 229
palm leaf documents ... 6
poetry ... 13
Rādavaḷi ... 3, 7, 112, 130, 134, 135, 137, 203
Rāmāyaṇa ... 58
short stories ... 260
Tārīḫ ... 3

Languages

Apabhraṃśa 3
Arabic 4, 5, 25, 29, 32, 45, 46, 59
Ardhamāgadhī 197
Assamese 102
Bengali 102, 222
Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit 204
Classical Sinhalese 1, 11-13, 73, 114, 116
Colloquial Sinhalese 13, 32, 71, 73, 111, 124, 241
Czech 194
Dravidic 1, 3, 186
English 217, 218, 225, 226, 230
Fua' Mulaku idioms 23, 96
Hindi 20, 33, 217, 218, 221, 222, 224
Hindkī 207
Indo-Aryan languages 221
Indo-European languages 218
Insular Indo-Aryan . 1, 108, 112, 115, 126, 207, 214, 218, 222
Insular Prakrit 5, 12, 108, 113, 125
Lahndā 207
Latin 218
Literary Sinhalese 168, 178, 182, 191
Mainland Prakrits 108, 111
Maldivian Prakrit 55
Medieval Sinhalese . 1-3, 55, 61, 174, 202, 212, 213, 215
Modern Sinhalese 1, 112, 114, 146
North Dhivehi 13, 14
Northwest Indo-Aryan languages 207
Oriya 102
Pali 12, 110
Persian 45
Portuguese 32
Proto-Sinhalese 1, 3, 19
Romance languages 218
Russian 166, 186, 216, 217, 219, 221
Sanskrit 12
Semitic languages 217
Sindhī 207
Sinhalese 102, 107, 110
Sinhalese Prakrit 1, 3, 28, 29, 73, 211, 215
Slavic languages 216-219, 221, 222
South Dhivehi 13
Tamil 1, 3, 28, 29, 262
Turkic languages 217
Urdu 20, 33, 218, 221, 222
Vedic 186

Geographical names

Aḍḍū 4, 7, 13, 15, 19, 20, 123, 131
Bengal 2
Daṁbidū 60
Divae 4
Fēdū 131
Fua' Mulaku 4, 7, 13, 15, 64
Gāf-Alif Atoll 13
Gāf-Dāl Atoll 13
Gan 7, 20, 123
Gnaviyani Atoll 13
Haddummati 13, 20, 60, 194
Henveru 157
Hitadū 7, 131
Huvadū 4, 13, 15
Isdū 19, 60
Jambudvīpa 60
Koḷumaḍulu 28
Lakkadives 4
Lām Atoll 13, 20, 60
Lāṭa 2
Madīna 195
Mahilādīpaka 5, 10
Makka 66
Makunudū 131
Malabār 1
Māle 7, 11, 13, 14
Maliku 63
Maradū 131
Mīdū 7, 131, 135
Minicoy 13
Ṅaviyani Atoll 13
Serendivae 4
Sīhapura 2
Sīn Atoll 13
Taprobane 2
Toḍḍū 19
Vaṅga 2

Personal names

Ammianus Marcellinus 4
Bell, H.C.P. 7, 110
Christopher, W. 8, 33, 34
Claudius Ptolemaeus 4
Ebrahim Dīdī 112
Geiger, W. . . . . 1 *et passim*
Ibn Baṭṭūṭa 5, 10
Juhā 151
Muḥammad 59, 130, 134, 135
Pyrard de Laval, F. 8, 33, 34
Sālih 110
Sīhabāhu 2, 5
Sīhaḷa 2
Vijaya 2, 3, 5
Vīrasinga 131
Wilson, J. 8
Yāqūt 5

Historical and sociological terms

archeology 5, 6, 10
British dominion 3, 4
Buddhism 6
caste system 128
Dutch dominion 3
French dominion 3
Hejra 59
homeland 2, 10
Islamisation 3, 4, 6
Islamic era 59
Malabar pirates 3
migration 3-5, 9, 10, 12, 73, 207
Phoenicians 4
Portuguese dominion 3
pre-Islamic era 6, 10
prehistory 6, 10, 25, 51
Sharia 4
Vedda 3

The Dhivehi Language

A Descriptive and Historical Grammar

of Maldivian and Its Dialects

II. Material

by

Sonja Fritz

Heidelberg

2001

Table of contents

Abbreviations and symbols VI
List of figures VI

Texts with interlinear analysis:
T1: *Fiňdanā boňḍanā* (Aḍḍū, Fuaʾ Mulaku, Māle) 1
T2: *Mākanā* (Aḍḍū, Fuaʾ Mulaku, Huvadū) 43
T3: *Moḷōgaňḍa* (Aḍḍū) 79
T4: *Beḷal* (Fuaʾ Mulaku) 97
T5: *Rakkoḷu Māmeli Daita* (Fuaʾ Mulaku) 107
T6: *Āḷikeḍeā dērikeḍeā* (Fuaʾ Mulaku) 113
T7: *Kaiśaki naiśaʾ* (Fuaʾ Mulaku) 131

Texts without interlinear analysis:
Short stories (Māle):
T8: Muḥammad Waḥīd (Maḍulu): *Fini mendamegge maḍu hūnu* 135
T9: Ḥabībā Ḥussain Ḥabīb: *Nimun* 151
T10: ʿAbdullāh Ṣādiq: *Mudarris vantakamuge lōbi* 157
Fairy tales and fables:
T11: *Aňga gada miturāi, aňga maḍu mituru* (1) (Māle / Aḍḍū) 171
T12: *Aňga gada miturāi, aňga maḍu mituru* (2) (Māle) 175
T13: *Fūḷu digu handige vāhaka* (Māle / Fuaʾ Mulaku) 181
T14: *Mākanā fiňdanā* (Māle) 189
T15: *Fileimaḍi* (Aḍḍū) 197
T16: *Nadalla Takuru* (Aḍḍū) 201
T17: *Juhā* (Aḍḍū) 207
T18: *Buddiveri musaḷo* (Fuaʾ Mulaku) 211

Survey of the historical documents having been analysed:
Copper-plate documents in *Evēla-* and *Dives-akuru* (*Lōmāfānu*, L1-8) 215
Documents in *Dives-akuru* on paper and wood (*Fatkoḷu*, F1-13) 217
The chronicle (*Rādavaḷi*, RA-RC) 218
Inscriptions in *Dives-akuru*:
Inscriptions from Aḍḍū (IDAH, IDAM) 219
Inscriptions from Māle (IDMBM, IDMDM, IDMEM, IDMHM, IDMMM) 219
Inscriptions in *Tāna*:
Inscriptions from Aḍḍū (ITAG, ITAH, ITAM) 221
Inscriptions from Fuaʾ Mulaku (ITFM) 222
Inscriptions from Māle (ITMHM, ITMKM, ITMP) 222

Survey map of the Maldivian atolls 224

Indexes 225
Text passages 225
Word forms 228

Abbreviations and symbols*

A	Addū (version)
ABL	ablative
ABS	absolutive
ADJ	adjektive
ADV	adverb
AFF	affirmative
ATTR	attribute (form)
CARD	cardinal
CAUS	causal
COMP	comparational
CONC	concessive
COND	conditional
CONJ	conjunction
COOR	co-ordinating
DAT	dative
DEF	definite
DIM	diminutive (suffix)
DISTR	distributional
DPRON	demonstrative pronoun
EXT	external quotation
F	Fua' Mulaku (version)
FOC	focus (marker)
FUT	future
GEN	genitive
GRND	gerund
H	Huvadū (version)
HON	honorific (suffix)
IMPV	imperative
INDEF	indefinite
INF	infinitive
INT	internal quotation
INTJ	interjection
IPARTC	interrogative particle
IPRON	interrogative pronoun
LOC	locative
M	Māle (version)
MOD	modal
NEG	negated
NOM	nominative
NOUN	noun
OBL	oblique case
ORD	ordinal
PART	participle
PARTC	particle
PASS	passive
PL	plural
PN	personal name
POSTP	postposition
POT	potential
PPRON	personal pronoun
PRED	predicative
PRON	pronoun
PRS	present tense
PT	preterite
QPARTC	quotation particle
RABS	reduplicated absolutive
RGRND	reduplicated gerund
SG	singular
SOC	sociative
TEMP	temporal
TOP	toponym
VB.NOUN	verbal noun
VERB	verb(al form)
VOC	vocative

⟨xxx⟩	Standard language (transcribed)
/xxx\	id., phonologically
▸xxx◂	Addū-Dialect
▴xxx▾	id., phonologically
▷xxx◁	Dialect of Fua' Mulaku
▷xxx◁*	Quotation in standard language
△xxx▽	id., phonologically
>xxx<	Huvadū dialect
xxx	Rearranged text passages

List of figures

Fig. 1: *Fiňdanā boňḍanā* (Ibrahīm Mansūr) . . 130
Fig. 2: *Aňga gada miturā, aňga maḍu miturā* (1 and 2) (ʿAbdullāh Ṣādiq) 174
Fig. 3: *Fūḷu digu handi* (ʿAbdullāh Ṣādiq) . . . 188
Fig. 4: *Mākanā fiňdanā* (ʿAbdullāh Ṣādiq) . . . 196
Fig. 5: *Fatkoḷu* F6 200
Fig. 6: *Fatkoḷu* F11 210
Fig. 7: *Lōmāfānu* L1, pl. d1 214
Fig. 8: *Lōmāfānu* L2, pl. 15 214
Fig. 9: *Lōmāfānu* L3, pl. 3/1 214
Fig. 10: *Lōmāfānu* L4, pl. g/1 214
Fig. 11: Maldivian Atolls 225

* The present list contains the abbreviations and symbols used in the interlinear analysis of texts. For other abbreviations cf. vol I, p. XII.

1

M

(ʾeba ʾuḷē ʾeba ʾuḷē fiḍanfuḷakā boḍanfuḷeʾ.)

	uḷē	*eba*	*uḷē*	*fiňḍanfuḷak*	*ā*	*boňḍanfuḷek*
there	lives	there	lives	a f.-bird	and	a b.-bird
ADV	VERB	ADV	VERB	NOUN	CONJ	NOUN
LOC.		LOC.	PRS.3SG.	OBL.SG.	SOC.	NOM.SG.

Somewhere, there live(d) a *fiňḍanu*(-bird) and a *boňḍanu*(-bird).

A

▸ed duvahi ed duvahi fiňḍanāi boňḍanāi de verin mašvarā koffei gē eḍāʾ nimmalie.◂

ek	*duvahi*	*ek*	*duvahi*	*fiňḍanā*	*āi*	*boňḍanā*	*āi*	*de*	*verin*	*mašvarā*	*koffei*	*gē*	*eḍāś*	*nimmalie*
one	at day	one	at day	the f.-bird	with	the b.-bird	with	two	people	consultation	making	house	to build	they finished
CARD	NOUN	CARD	NOUN	NOUN	CONJ	NOUN	CONJ	CARD	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	VERB	VERB
ATTR.	LOC.	ATTR.	LOC.	NOM.(DEF.)	SOC.	NOM.(DEF.)	SOC.	ATTR.	OBL.PL.	NOM.	ABS.I	NOM.	INF.	PT.II.3PL.

Once upon a time, both the f.-bird and the b.-bird, having consulted each other, finished building their houses.

F

▸ed duvaheki ed duvaheki fiňḍanu-ā boňḍanu-ā de verin ebage-ai dāňḍi kaňḍannaha.◂

ek	*duvaheki*	*ek*	*duvaheki*	*fiňḍanu*	*ā*	*boňḍanu*	*ā*	*de*	*verin*	*ebage*	*ai*	*dāňḍi*	*kaňḍannaha*
one	day	one	day	f.-bird	with	b.-bird	and	two	people	they went off	they say	woodstick	to cut
CARD	NOUN	CARD	NOUN	NOUN	CONJ	NOUN	CONJ	CARD	NOUN	VERB	QPARTC	NOUN	VERB
ATTR.	LOC.INDEF.	ATTR.	LOC.INDEF.	NOM.	SOC.	NOM.	SOC.	ATTR.	NOM.PL.	PT.3PL.	INT.	NOM.	INF.

One day, one day, the f.-bird and the b.-bird, two people, went away in order to cut wood.

2

M

(ʾuḷemun gos fiḍanfuḷu ʾaḷaʾifiyē fī ʾilośin geʾeʾ, boḍanfuḷu ʾaḷaʾifiyē haʾi vakarun geʾeʾ.)

uḷemun	*gos*	*fiňḍanfuḷu*	*aḷaifī*	*ē*	*fī*	*ilośin*	*geek*	*boňḍanfuḷu*	*aḷaifī*	*ē*	*hai*	*vakarun*	*geek*
living	going	f.-bird	what built was	they say	rotten	from brushwood	a house	b.-bird	what built was	they say	all	from wood	a house
VERB	VERB	NOUN	VERB	QPARTC	VERB	NOUN	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	QPARTC	PRON	NOUN	NOUN
GRND.	ABS.	NOM.SG.	PART.PT.I+FOC.	EXT.	PART.PT.	ABL.SG.	NOM.SG.INDEF.	NOM.SG.	PART.PT.I+FOC.	EXT.	ATTR.	ABL.SG.	NOM.SG.INDEF.

As time went by, the f.-bird built a house from rotten brushwood, the b.-bird built a house all from timber.

A

▸gē eḍāʾ vakara kaňḍāʾ gossei, boňḍanā keňḍī hai vakara, fiňḍanā keňḍī fī lieśi.◂

gē	*eḍāś*	*vakara*	*kaňḍāś*	*gosfei*	*boňḍanā*	*keňḍī*	*hai*	*vakara*	*fiňḍanā*	*keňḍī*	*fī*	*lieśi*
house	to build	wood	to cut	having gone	the b.-bird	what it cut was	teak	wood	the f.-bird	what it cut was	rotten	brushwood
NOUN	VERB	NOUN	VERB	VERB	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	VERB	NOUN
NOM.	INF.	NOM.	INF.	ABS.I	OBL.DEF.	PART.PT.+FOC.	OBL.	NOM.	OBL.DEF.	PART.PT.+FOC.	PART.PT.	NOM.

Having gone to cut wood for building the house, the b.-bird cut teak wood (while) the f.-bird cut rotten brushwood.

F

▸gohofē, fiňḍanu keňḍī fī lieśi-ai, boňḍanu keňḍī hai vakar-ai.◂

gohofē	*fiňḍanu*	*keňḍī*	*fī*	*lieśi*	*ai*	*boňḍanu*	*keňḍī*	*hai*	*vakaro*	*ai*
having gone	f.-bird	what he cut was	rotten	brushwood	they say	b.-bird	what he cut was	all	timber	they say
VERB	NOUN	VERB	VERB	NOUN	QPARTC	NOUN	VERB	PRON	NOUN	QPARTC
ABS.I	OBL.	PART.PT.+FOC.	PART.PT.	NOM.	EXT.	OBL.	PART.PT.+FOC.	ATTR.	NOM.	EXT.

Having gone, the f.-bird cut rotten brushwood (while) the b.-bird cut all timber.

Texts
with interlinear analysis

T1: Fiňdanā boňḍanā

The fiňdanā bird and the boňḍanā bird

Aḍḍū: ʿAlī Maṇikufānu; Fuaʾ Mulaku: N.N.; Māle: Ibrāhīm Mansūr*

* For a reproduction of the Māle version as printed in a newspaper, cf. fig. 1, p. 130.

3

A ▸kaňḍagen ās de verie de gē eḍafie.◂

kaňḍagen	*ās*	*de*	*verie*	*de*	*gē*	*eḍafie*
cutting	coming	two	people	two	house	they built
VERB	VERB	CARD	NOUN	CARD	NOUN	VERB
ABS.III	ABS.	ATTR.	NOM.PL.	ATTR.	NOM.	PT.I.3PL.

Having come back from cutting (wood), they built their two houses.

F ▹fiňḍanu gē eḍī raḷo jahā faśi-ai.◃

fiňḍanu	*gē*	*eḍī*	*raḷo*	*jahā*	*faśi*	*ai*
f.-bird	house	where he built was	wave	hitting	beginning (place)	they say
NOUN	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	QPARTC
OBL.	NOM.	PART.PT.+FOC.	OBL.	PART.PRS.	LOC.	EXT.

The f.-bird built his house at the place just where the waves reach.

3a

F ▹boňḍanu gē eḍī eggami-ai.◃

boňḍanu	*gē*	*eḍī*	*eggami*	*ai*
b.-bird	house	where he built was	within the populated area	they say
NOUN	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	QPARTC
OBL.	NOM.	PART.PT.+FOC.	LOC.	EXT.

The b.-bird built his house inside the land.

4

M ⟨ʾaḷaʾigen ʾuḷeni koś ʾeʾ reʾaku ʾaʾi vilāgaḍeʾgaʾi fiḍanfuḷu ge veʾṭiʾje ʾeve.⟩

aḷaigen	*uḷeni*	*koś*	*ek*	*reaku*	*ai*	*vilāgɑḍeggai*	*fiňḍanfuḷu*	*ge*	*veṭṭijje*	*eve*
Having built	living	making	one	in night	having come	in a rain cloud	f.-bird	house	collapsed	they say
VERB	VERB	VERB	CARD	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	QPARTC
ABS.III	PART.PRS.	ABS.	ATTR.	OBL.SG.	PART.PT.	LOC.SG.INDEF.	OBL.SG.	NOM.SG.	PT.IV.3SG.	EXT.

After having built (the houses) and having lived on (like this), in a rain shower which had come one night, the f.-bird's house collapsed.

A ▸ed reaki, gada vissāra āsei, fiňḍanā fī lieśin eḍi gē uduhige.◂

ek	*reaki*	*gada*	*vissāra*	*āsei*	*fiňḍanā*	*fī*	*liieśin*	*eḍi*	*gē*	*uduhige*
one	at a night	strong	rain	coming	the f.-bird	rotten	from brushwood	built	house	it flew up
CARD	NOUN	ADJ	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	VERB
ATTR.	LOC.INDEF.	ATTR.	OBL.	ABS.I	OBL.DEF.	PART.PT.	ABL.	PART.PT.	NOM.	PT.IV.3SG.

One night, when a heavy rain came, the house the f.-bird had built with rotten brushwood flew away.

F ▹fiňḍanu gē eḍāgen, nidanna ov vēlai, raḷo jahā miu bolaha gē veṭṭīge-ai.◃

fiňḍanu	*gē*	*eḍāgen*	*nidanna*	*ot*	*vēlai*	*raḷo*	*jahā*	*miu*	*bolaha*	*gē*	*veṭṭīge*	*ai*
f.-bird	house	having built	to sleep	being	at time	wave	hitting	this one's	to head	house	fell	they say
NOUN	NOUN	VERB	VERB	VERB	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	DPRON	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	QPARTC
OBL.	NOM.	ABS.III	INF.	PART.PRS.	LOC.	NOM.	ABS.	OBL.	DAT.	NOM.	PT.IV.3SG.	EXT.

When the f.-bird was about to sleep after having built his house, a wave struck and so the house fell on his head.

5

M ⟨fidanfuḷu duvamun duvamun gos govāli ʾeve.⟩

fiñdanfuḷu	*duvamun*	*duvamun*	*gos*	*govāli*	*eve.*
f.-bird	going	going	going	cried	they say
NOUN	VERB	VERB	VERB	VERB	QPARTC
NOM.SG.	GRND.	GRND.	ABS.	PT.II.3SG.	EXT.

Running around and around, the f.-bird cried:

A ▸fiñdanā bō hialaʾ netigen, e rei boñḍanā ge ebege.◂

fiñdanā	*bō*	*hialak*	*netigen*	*e*	*rei*	*boñḍanā*	*ge*	*ebege*
the f.-bird	head	shelter	not existing	that	night	the b.-bird	house	he went
NOUN	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	DPRON	NOUN	NOUN	NOUN	VERB
NOM.DEF.	OBL.	NOM.INDEF.	ABS.III	ATTR.	OBL.	OBL.DEF.	OBL.	PT.IV.3SG.

The f.-bird, having no shelter for (his) head (anymore), went to the b.-bird's house that night.

F ▸vettunum mā fiñdanu ebage-ai.◂

vettunun	*mā*	*fiñdanu*	*ebage*	*ai*
falling	when	f.-bird	he went off	they say
VB.NOUN	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	QPARTC
OBL.	LOC.	NOM.	PT.3SG.	EXT.

When (the house) had fallen, the f.-bird went away.

6

M ⟨ʾē! bēbē! bēbē!! timange gegaḍu veʾṭiʾje ʾeve.⟩

ē!	*bēbē!*	*bēbē!!*	*timange*	*gegaḍu*	*vettijje*	*eve*
oh!	(elder) brother!	(elder) brother!	own's	house	collapsed	saying
INTJ	NOUN	NOUN	PRON	NOUN	VERB	QPARTC
*	NOM.SG.	NOM.SG.	GEN.SG.	NOM.SG.	PT.IV.3SG.	EXT.

'Oh, (elder) brother, (elder) brother, my house has collapsed!'

A ▸haudahai derai_ē, rahumatteriā, rei ma eḍi gē uduhige.◂

haudahai	*derai*	*ē*	*rahumatteri*	*āi*	*rei*	*ma*	*eḍi*	*gē*	*uduhige*
totally	pitiful	saying	friend	saying	(to)night	I	built	house	flew up
ADV	ADJ	QPARTC (M!)	NOUN	QPARTC	NOUN	PPRON	VERB	NOUN	VERB
MOD.	PRED.	INT.	NOM.VOC.	INT.	OBL.	OBL.	PART.PT.	NOM.	PT.IV.3SG.

'How very pitiful, (my) friend, (to)night the house I built has flown away.

F ▸goho beṇi-ai, boñḍam bēbē, nidanna ov vēlai, bolaha gē vettīge-ai.◂

goho	*beṇi*	*ai*	*boñḍan*	*bēbē*	*nidanna*	*ot*	*vēlai*	*bolaha*	*gē*	*vettīge*	*ai*
going	he said	they say	b.-bird	brother	to sleep	being	at time	to head	house	fell	saying
VERB	VERB	QPARTC	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	VERB	NOUN	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	QPARTC
ABS	PT.3SG.	EXT.	NOM.	NOM.	INF.	PART.PRS.	LOC.	DAT.	NOM.	PT.IV.3SG.	

Going he said, 'b.-bird, (elder) brother, just when I was about to sleep, (my) house fell upon (my) head.

8a
F(1)

▹**beṇā boñdo aśie veśiot-ai.**◃

beṇā	*boñdo*	*aśie*	*veśiot*	*ai*
saying	big	on table	lay	they say
VERB ABS.	ADJ ATTR.	NOUN LOC.	VERB PT.3SG.	QPARTC EXT.

(At his) saying (so, the f.-bird) lay down on the table.

9
M(1)

⟨**fiñdanfuḷu bunefi 'eve. bodukamun nu kerēnei_ ē.**⟩

fiñdanfuḷu	*bunefi*	*eve*	*bodukamun*	*nu*	*kerēnei*	*ē*
f.-bird	said	they say	from size	not	will dare	saying
NOUN NOM.SG.	VERB PT.1.3SG.	QPARTC EXT.	NOUN ABL.SG.	PARTC NEG.	VERB FUT.3SG.	QPARTC INT.

The f.-bird said, 'I dare not (sleep there) because of the size (of the table).'

A(2)

▹**e tani ōfei, fiñdanā beṇi, madiri kāi kāi ni ovēśi-au.**◃

e	*tani*	*ōfei*	*fiñdanā*	*beṇi*	*madiri*	*kāi*	*kāi*	*ni*	*ovēśi*	*au*
that	in place	having laid	the f.-bird	what it said was	mosquitos	eating	eating	not	will be lyable	saying
DPRON ATTR.	NOUN LOC.	VERB ABS.I	NOUN OBL.DEF.	VERB PART.PT.(+FOC.)	NOUN NOM.	VERB RABS.	VERB RABS.	PARTC NEG.	VERB FUT.3SG.	QPARTC INT.

Having laid down there, the f.-bird said, 'I cannot lie (here) being eaten by mosquitos again and again.'

F(1)

▹**veśifē ovefē, beṇi-ai, madiri ma kan tam, faṇi kan *tan*, mi tanaku nu ovēne.**◃

veśifē	*ovefē*	*beṇi*	*ai*	*madiri*	*ma*	*kan*	*tan*	*faṇi*	*kan*	*tan*	*mi*	*tanaku*	*nu*	*ovēne*
lying	having been	he said	they say	mosquito	me	eating	place	worm	eating	(place)	this	a place	not	is possible to lie down
VERB ABS.I	VERE ABS.I	VERB PT.3SG.	QPARTC EXT.	NOUN OBL.	PPRON NOM.	VERB PART.PRS.	NOUN OBL.	NOUN OBL.	VERB PART.PRS.	NOUN OBL.	DPRON ATTR.	NOUN OBL.INDEF.	PARTC NEG.	VERB PART.PT.POT.

Having laid down, he said, '(this is) a place, where I am eaten by mosquitos, (a place), where I am eaten by worms, on such a place (I) cannot lie.

9a
F(1)

▹**matigea' *aranna tai*.**◃

matigeaś	*aranna*	*tai*
to uphouse	to climb up	whether
NOUN DAT.	VERB INF.	IPARTC INT.

(Should I) go to the uphouse?'

7

M ⟨nidālāne tankoḷe' dī balāś_ eve.⟩

nidālāne	*tankoḷek*	*dī*	*balāś*	*eve*
Going to sleep	a place	giving	to look	saying
VERB	NOUN	VERB	VERB	QPARTC
PART.FUT.II	NOM.SG.INDEF.	ABS.	INF.	EXT.

'Please give me a place for sleeping.'

A ▸ma' nidāṇe tān libiēśī?◂

maś	*nidāṇe*	*tān*	*libiēśī?*
to me	going to sleep	place	will be receivable
PPRON	VERB	NOUN	VERB
DAT.	PART.FUT.	NOM.	FUT.3SG.

Can I receive a place for sleeping?'

F ▹timā nidanna tan keḍa' denna kē.◃

timā	*nidanna*	*tan*	*keḍak*	*denna*	*kē*
self	to sleep	place	piece	to give	saying
PRON	VERB	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	VERB
OBL.	INF.	OBL.	NOM.INDEF.	INF.	ABS.

You (should) give me a (piece of) place for sleeping.'

8

M(1) ⟨boḍanfuḷu buneſi 'eve. boḍu 'aśīgā 'onnāś_ eve.⟩

boňḍanfuḷu	*buneſi*	*eve*	*boḍu*	*aśīgā*	*onnāś*	*eve*
b.-bird	said	they say	big	on table	to lie down	saying
NOUN	VERB	QPARTC	ADJ	NOUN	VERB	QPARTC
NOM.SG.	PT.I.3SG.	EXT.	ATTR.	LOC.SG.	INF.	

The b.-bird told him to sleep on the big table.

A(2) ▸boňḍanā beṇaſi, boňḍa āśe veśionna' kei.◂

boňḍanā	*beṇaſi*	*boňḍa*	*āśe*	*veśionnaś*	*kei*
the b.-bird	he said	big	on table	to lie	telling
NOUN	VERB	ADJ	NOUN	VERB	VERB
OBL.DEF.	PART.PT.I	ATTR.	LOC.	INF.	ABS.

The b.-bird said, 'sleep on the big table.'

F(1) ▹beṇā beṇi-ai, boňḍo aśi matte veśiōnnaha kē.◃

beṇā	*beṇi*	*ai*	*boňḍo*	*aśi*	*matte*	*veśiōnnaha*	*kē.*
saying	he said	they say	big	table	upon	to lie	saying
VERB	VERB	QPARTC	ADJ	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	VERB
ABS.	PT.3SG	EXT.	ATTR.	OBL.	LOC.	INF.	ABS.

(At his) saying (so, the b.-bird) told him to lie down on the big table.

10

M(2) ⟨boḍanfuḷu buneſī_ē. tia hen vi'yā dimā 'eduga'ī 'onnāś_ eve.⟩

boňḍanfuḷu	*buneſī*	*ē*	*tia*	*hen*	*vi*	*ā*	*dimā*	*eňdugai*	*onnāś*	*eve*
b.-bird	what said was	they say	this	way	it be	if	direction	on bed	to lie down	saying
NOUN	VERB	QPARTC	DPRON	NOUN	VERB	CONJ	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	QPARTC
OBL.SG.	PART.PT.IV+FOC	EXT.	ATTR.	OBL.SG.	PART.PT.	COND.	OBL.SG.	LOC.SG.	INF.	INT.

The b.-bird said, 'if it is like this, sleep on the guests' bed (lit. "direction bed", i.e. "bed standing in yonder direction")'.

A(1) **▸me hen beṇi mei, boňḍanā beṇī mi gē dimā hiśi eňde e hiśi-au.◂**

me	*hen*	*beṇi*	*mei*	*boňḍanā*	*beṇī*	*mi*	*gē*	*dimā*	*hiśi*	*eňde*	*e*	*hiśi*	*au*
this	sort	said	when	the b.-bird	what it said was	this	house	direction	being	bed	there	is	saying
DPRON	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	DPRON	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	ADV	VERB	QPARTC
ATTR.	OBL.	PART.PT.	LOC.	OBL.DEF.	PART.PT.+FOC.	ATTR.	OBL.	OBL.	PART.PT.	NOM.	LOC.	PT.3SG.	INT.

As he said so, the b.-bird answered, 'the guests' bed (lit. "bed standing in the direction") of this house is over there.'

11

M(2) ⟨ſidanfuḷu buneſī 'eve. dimākamun nu kerēne 'eve.⟩

ſiňdanfuḷu	*buneſī*	*eve*	*dimākamun*	*nu*	*kerēne*	*eve*
f.-bird	said	they say	from directedness	not	will dare	saying
NOUN	VERB	QPARTC	NOUN	PARTC	VERB	QPARTC
NOM.SG.	PT.I.3SG.	EXT.	ABL.SG.	NEG.	FUT.3SG.	INT.

The f.-bird said, 'because of its being the guests' bed (lit. "of the direction it stands in") I dare not (sleep in it).'

A(1) **▸ſiňdanā gos eňdau arai veśiove vēla keḍakun beṇaſī, makuṇu dāi dāi ni ovēśi-au.◂**

ſiňdanā	*gos*	*eňdaś*	*arai*	*veśiove*	*vēla*	*keḍakun*	*beṇaſī*	*makuṇu*	*dāi*	*dāi*	*ni*	*ovēśi*	*au*
the f.-bird	going	to bed	climbing	lying	while	with a piece	what he said was	bugs	biting	biting	not	will be lyable	saying
NOUN	VERB	NOUN	VERB	VERB	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	VERB	VERB	PARTC	VERB	QPARTC
OBL.DEF.	ABS.	DAT.	ABS.	ABS.	OBL.	ABL.INDEF.	PART.PT.I(+FOC.)	OBL.	RABS.	RABS.	NEG.	FUT.3SG.	INT.

After the f.-bird had gone there and climbed into the bed and lain down, he said after a while, 'I cannot not lie (here) being bitten and bitten by bugs.'

12

M(3) ⟨boḍanfuḷu buneſī 'eve. kuḍa 'aśīga'ī 'onnāś_ eve.⟩

boňḍanfuḷu	*buneſī*	*eve*	*kuḍa*	*aśīgai*	*'onnāś*	*eve*
b.-bird	said	they say	small	on table	to lie down	saying
NOUN	VERB	QPARTC	ADJ	NOUN	VERB	QPARTC
NOM.SG.	PT.I.3SG.	EXT.	ATTR.	LOC.SG.	INF.	INT.

The b.-bird told him to sleep on the small table.

A(3) **▸me hen beṇi mei, boňḍanā beṇaſī, eḷagēňḍe veśionna' kei.◂**

me	*hen*	*beṇi*	*mei*	*boňḍanā*	*beṇaſī*	*eḷagēňḍe*	*veśionnaś*	*kei*
this	sort	said	when	the b.-bird	what it said was	on threshold	to sleep	telling
DPRON	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	VERB	VERB
ATTR.	OBL.	PART.PT.	LOC.	OBL.DEF.	PART.PT.I(+FOC.)	LOC.	INF.	ABS.

After (his) saying so, the b.-bird said, 'lie down on the threshold.'

13

M(3) ⟨fịdanfulu bunefi ʾeve. kuḍakamun nu kerēne ʾeve.⟩

fiñdanfulu	*bunefī*	*eve*	*kuḍakamun*	*nu*	*kerēne*	*eve*
f.-bird	said	they say	from smallness	not	will dare	saying
NOUN	VERB	QPARTC	NOUN	PARTC	VERB	QPARTC
NOM.SG.	PT.1,3SG.	EXT.	ABL.SG.	NEG.	FUT.3SG.	INT.

The f.-bird said, 'because of its small size, (I) dare not (sleep on it).

A(3) **▸beṇi mei, elagēñḍe veśiōfei beṇanī, madiri-ai makuṇāi kāi kāi ni ovēśi-au.◂**

beṇi	*mei*	*elagēñḍe*	*veśiōfei*	*beṇanī*	*madiri*	*ai*	*makuṇu*	*āi*	*kāi*	*kāi*	*ni*	*ovēśi*	*au*
said	when	on threshold	having laid	what he says is	mosquitos	with	bugs	with	eating	eating	not	can lie down	saying
VERB	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	VERB	NOUN	CONJ	NOUN	CONJ	VERB	VERB	PARTC	VERB	QPARTC
PART.PT.	LOC.	LOC.	ABS.1	PART.PRS.+FOC.	OBL.	SOC.	OBL.	SOC.	RABS.	RABS.	NEG.	FUT.3SG.	INT.

Having said so, (the f.-bird), having lain down on the threshold, said, 'I cannot lie (here) being eaten by mosquitos and bugs again and again.'

14

M(4) ⟨tia hen vi'yā, ʾuturu ʾeduga'i ʾonnāś_ ē boḍanfulu bunefi ʾeve.⟩

tia	*hen*	*vi*	*ā*	*ʾuturu*	*eñduga'i*	*onnāś*	*ē*	*boñḍanfulu*	*bunefī*	*eve*
this	way	having become	if	upper	on bed	to sleep	saying	b.-bird	said	they say
DPRON	NOUN	VERB	CONJ	ADJ	NOUN	VERB	QPARTC	NOUN	VERB	QPARTC
ATTR.	OBL.SG.	PART.PT.	COND.	ATTR.	LOC.SG.	INF.	INT.	NOM.SG.	PT.1,3SG.	EXT.

'If it is like this, sleep on the upper bed', the b.-bird said.

F(2) **▸beṇum mā, beṇi-ai, matigeśa arā veśionnaha kē.◂**

beṇum	*mā*	*beṇi*	*ai*	*matigeśa*	*arā*	*veśionnaha*	*kē*
saying	when	he said	they say	to uphouse	climbing	to lie down	saying
NOUN	NOUN	VERB	QPARTC	NOUN	VERB	VERB	VERB
OBL.	LOC.	PT.3SG.	EXT.	DAT.	ABS.	INF.	ABS.

After (his) saying so, (the b.-bird) said, 'lie down on the grill in the kitchen.'

15

M(4) ⟨ʾuturukamun nu kerēne ʾeve.⟩

uturukamun	*nu*	*kerēne*	*eve*
from upperness	not	will dare	saying
NOUN	PARTC	VERB	QPARTC
ABL.SG.	NEG.	FUT.3SG.	INT.

(The f.-bird answered,) 'because of its being located upstairs, (I) dare not (sleep on it).'

F(2) **▸beṇum mā, eu matigeśa arā veśiot-ai◂**

beṇum	*mā*	*eu*	*matigeśa*	*arā*	*veśiot*	*ai*
saying	when	that one's	to uphouse	climbing	he lay down	they say
NOUN	NOUN	DPRON	NOUN	VERB	VERB	QPARTC
OBL.	LOC.	OBL.	DAT.	ABS.	PT.3SG.	EXT.

(At his) saying (so), (the f.-bird) lay down climbing up to (the b.-bird's) uphouse.

16

M(5)

⟨boḍanfuḷu buneſi 'eve. badi gē dumaśi matīga'i 'onnan dāś_ eve.⟩

boňḍanfuḷu	*buneſi*	*eve*	*badi*	*gē*	*dum*	*aśi*	*matīgai*	*onnaś*	*dāś*	*eve*
b.-bird	said	they say	kitchen	house	smoke	table	upon	to sleep	to go	saying
NOUN NOM.SG.	VERB PT.I.3SG.	QPARTC EXT.	NOUN OBL.SG.	NOUN OBL.SG.	NOUN OBL.SG.	NOUN OBL.SG.	NOUN LOC.SG.	VERB INF.	VERB INF.	QPARTC INT.

The b.-bird told him to go to sleep on the hearth (lit. "smoke table") of the kitchen.

A(4)

▸e hen beṇi mei, boňḍanā beṇaſi, badigē aśimāte veśionna' kei.◂

e	*hen*	*beṇi*	*mei*	*boňḍanā*	*beṇaſi*	*badigē*	*aśimāte*	*veśionnaś*	*kei*
that	sort	said	when	the b.-bird	what it said was	kitchen	grill	to lie	telling
DPRON ATTR.	NOUN OBL.	VERB PART.PT.	NOUN LOC.	NOUN OBL.DEF.	VERB PART.PT.I(+FOC.)	NOUN OBL.	NOUN LOC.	VERB INF.	VERB ABS.

After having said so, the b.-bird told (him) to lie down on the grill of the kitchen.

17

M(5)

⟨ſiḍanfuḷu bunñ_ eve. dumaśikamun nu kerēne 'eve.⟩

ſiňḍanfuḷu	*buni*	*eve*	*dumaśikamun*	*nu*	*kerēne*	*eve*
f.-bird	said	they say	from being hearth	not	will dare	saying
NOUN NOM.SG.	VERB PT.3SG.	QPARTC EXT.	NOUN ABL.SG.	PARTC NEG.	VERB FUT.3SG.	QPARTC INT.

The f.-bird said, 'because of its being a hearth (lit. "smoke-table"), (I) dare not (sleep on it).'

A(4)

▸e tani veśiōfei ſiňḍanā beṇaſi, duṁbuḷiei makuṇāi kāi kāi ni ovēśi-au.◂

e	*tani*	*veśiōfei*	*ſiňḍanā*	*beṇaſi*	*duṁbuḷi*	*āi*	*makuṇu*	*āi*	*kāi*	*kāi*	*ni*	*ovēśi*	*au*
that	in place	having laid	the f.-bird	what it said was	soot	with	bugs	with	eating	eating	not	will be lyable	saying
DPRON ATTR.	NOUN LOC.	VERB ABS.I	NOUN OBL.DEF.	VERB PART.PT.I(+FOC.)	NOUN OBL.	CONJ SOC.	NOUN OBL.	CONJ SOC.	VERB RABS.	VERB RABS.	PARTC NEG.	VERB FUT.3SG.	QPARTC INT.

Having laid down there, the f.-bird said, 'I cannot lie (here) being eaten by soot and bugs again and again.'

18

M(6)

⟨boḍanfuḷu buneſi 'eve. tia hen vi'yā bat tavā ſian matīga'i 'onnan dāś_ eve.⟩

boňḍanfuḷu	*buneſi*	*eve*	*tia*	*hen*	*vi*	*ā*	*bat*	*tavā*	*ſian*	*matīgai*	*onnaś*	*dāś*	*eve*
b.-bird	said	they say	this	way	having become	if	rice	cooking pan	lid	upon	to lie down	to go	saying
NOUN NOM.SG.	VERB PT.I.3SG.	QPARTC EXT.	DPRON ATTR.	NOUN OBL.SG.	VERB PART.PT.	CONJ COND.	NOUN OBL.SG.	NOUN OBL.SG.	NOUN OBL.SG.	NOUN LOC.SG.	VERB INF.	VERB INF.	QPARTC INT.

The b.-bird said, 'if it is like this, go (and) lie down on the lid of the rice cooking pan.'

A(5)

▸e hen beṇi mei, boňḍanā beṇaſi, bat tavā fati matte veśionna' kei.◂

e	*hen*	*beṇi*	*mei*	*boňḍanā*	*beṇaſi*	*bat*	*tavā*	*fati*	*matte*	*veśionnaś*	*kei*
that	sort	said	when	the b.-bird	said	rice	cooking pan	of lid	on top	to lie down	telling
DPRON ATTR.	NOUN OBL.	VERB PART.PT.	NOUN LOC.	NOUN NOM.DEF.	VERB PT.3SG.	NOUN NOM.	VERB PART.PRS.	NOUN GEN.	NOUN LOC.	VERB INF.	VERB ABS.

After (his) saying so, 'the b.-bird said, lie down on the lid of the rice cooking pan'.

19

M ⟨mi hen hama bunumun hēva'lā, ta'yār_ ē kiāfa'i, fiḍana duvefa'i gos, bat tavā fian matīga'i, 'oś̄ōve'je 'eve.⟩

mi	*hen*	*hama*	*bunumun*	*hēvallā*	*tayyāru*	*ē*	*kiāfai*	*fiñḍana*	*duvefai*	*gos*	*bat*	*tavā*	*fian*	*matīgai*	*oś̄ōvejje*	*eve*
this	way	just	speaking	having been awake	ready	saying	having said	f.-bird	having run	going	rice	pan	cover	upon	lay down	they say
DPRON	NOUN	ADV	VERB	VERB	ADJ	QPARTC	VERB	NOUN	VERB	VERB	NOUN	NOUN	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	QPARTC
ATTR.	OBL.SG.	MOD.	GRND.	ABS.II	PRED.	INT.	ABS.I	NOM.SG.	ABS.I	ABS.	OBL.SG.	OBL.SG.	OBL.SG.	LOC.SG.	PT.IV.3SG.	EXT.

After they had finished speaking like this, the f.-bird, having said '(I am) ready', lay down upon the lid of the rice cooking pan.

20

M ⟨boḍanfuḷaś̄ ves, nidifā 'iru koḷakun hēlevunu tanā fiḍanfuḷu, bat fuke' kālāfa'i, gu'i fuke' jahāli 'aḍu boḍanfuḷaś̄ 'ivigen govāla'ifi 'eve.⟩

boḍanfuḷaś̄	*ves*	*nidifā*	*iru*	*koḷakun*	*hēlevunu*	*tan*	*ā*	*fiñḍanfuḷu*	*bat*	*fukek*	*kālāfai*	*gui*	*fukek*	*jahāli*	*aḍu*	*boḍanfuḷaś̄*	*ivigen*	*govālaifi*	*'eve*
to b.-bird	also	slept	time	for piece	awakened	place	with	f.-bird	rice	a piece	having eaten	dropping	a piece	laid	noise	to b.-bird	hearing	shouted	they say
NOUN	CONJ	VERB	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	CONJ	NOUN	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	VERB	QPARTC
DAT.SG.	MOD.	ABS.I	OBL.SG.	ABL.SG.INDEF.	PART.PT.PASS.	OBL.SG.	SOC.	OBL.SG.	OBL.SG.	NOM.SG.INDEF.	ABS.II+I	OBL.SG.	NOM.SG.INDEF.	PART.PT.II	NOM.SG.	DAT.SG.	ABS.III	PT.II+I.3SG.	EXT.

When the b.-bird awoke after having slept for a while, he heard the noise the f.-bird (produced by) laying a (piece of) dropping after having eaten a piece of rice, and (he) shouted:

A ▸veśiovefei vēla keḍakun, bat tavā fati mati nagafei, kā' feṭṭi aḍa ivei boñḍanā ahafi:◂

veśiovefei	*vēla*	*keḍakun*	*bat*	*tavā*	*fati*	*mati*	*nagafei*	*kāś̄*	*feṭṭi*	*aḍa*	*ivei*	*boñḍanā*	*ahafi:*
lying	while	with a piece	rice	cooking pan	of lid	top	having lifted	to eat	begun	noise	hearing	the b.-bird	asked
VERB	NOUN	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	VERB	VERB	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	VERB
ABS.I	OBL.	ABL.INDEF.	NOM.	PART.PRS.	GEN.	NOM.	ABS.I	INF.	PART.PT.	NOM.	ABS.	NOM.	PART.PT.I

Having spent some time lying there, having lifted the lid of the cooking pan, the b.-bird heard the sound of (someone) starting to eat and asked:

F ▹ovefē, boñḍanu nidunum mā hedi vaḍāmakī, tel eḷi ala ruñbayye mati muhālā añgāśa lāgen hafāgat-ai.◃

ovefē	*boñḍanu*	*nidunum*	*mā*	*hedi*	*vaḍāmakī*	*tel*	*eḷi*	*ala*	*ruñbayye*	*mati*	*muhālā*	*añgāśa*	*lāgen*	*hafāgat*	*ai*
having laid	b.-bird	sleeping	when	done	a manner is	oil	fried	yams	pot	top	removing	to mouth	laying	he got chewed	they say
VERB	NOUN	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	VERB	VERB	QPARTC
ABS.I	OBL.	OBL.	LOC.	PART.PT.	NOM.INDEF.+FOC.	NOM.	PART.PT.	NOM.	GEN.	OBL.	ABS.II	DAT.	ABS.III	PT.III.3SG.	EXT.

After having lain down and after the b.-bird had fallen asleep, (the f.-bird started) chewing oil fried yam roots (tāro) by putting them into his mouth taking them (from) the pan.

20a

M

⟨ko'kō kon 'aḍe' he'y_ eve.⟩

kokkō	*kon*	*aḍek*	*heyo*	*eve*
(younger) brother	what	a noise	well	saying
NOUN	IPRON	NOUN	ADV	QPARTC
NOM.SG.	ATTR.	NOM.SG.INDEF.	MOD.	INT.

'(Younger) brother, what a noise might (this be)?')

A

▸fiňdanu, fiňdanu, e kon aḍa?◂

fiňdanu	*fiňdanu*	*e*	*kon*	*aḍa*
f.-bird	f.-bird	that	what a	noise
NOUN	NOUN	DPRON	IPRON	NOUN
OBL.	OBL.	NOM.	ATTR.	NOM.

'F.-bird, f.-bird, what a sound is this?'

F

▹hafāgat tā, boňḍanu beṇi-ai, fiňdan, fiňdan, kon aḍe'?◃

hafāgat	*tā*	*boňḍanu*	*beṇi*	*ai*	*fiňdan*	*fiňdan*	*kon*	*aḍek*
chewing	at moment	b.-bird	he said	they say	f.-bird	f.-bird	what	a noise
VERB	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	QPARTC	NOUN	NOUN	IPRON	NOUN
PART.PT.III	OBL.	NOM.	PT.3SG.	EXT.	NOM.	NOM.	ATTR.	NOM.INDEF.

Just when he was chewing, the b.-bird said, 'f.-bird, f.-bird, what a noise is this?'

21

M

⟨fidanfulu bunefi 'eve. 'e'ī magu matin dia mīhaku, din fō' fo'ce' hafāli 'aḍ_ eve.⟩

fiňdanfulu	*bunefi*	*eve*	*eī*	*magu*	*matin*	*dia*	*mīhaku*	*din*	*fōk*	*foccek*	*hafāli*	*aḍu*	*eve*
f.-bird	said	they say	this-is	road	upon	walking	a man	given	betelnut	a piece	chewing	noise	saying
NOUN	VERB	QPARTC	DPRON	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	QPARTC
NOM.SG.	PT.3SG.	EXT.	NOM.+FOC.	OBL.SG.	ABL.SG.	PART.PRS.	OBL.SG.INDEF.	PART.PT.	OBL.SG.	NOM.SG.INDEF.	PART.PT.II	NOM.SG.	INT.

The f.-bird said, 'this is the noise (which (I) am producing by) chewing a piece of betelnut which (I) was given by a man walking on the street.'

A

▸fiňdanā beṇi, eī magun gē mīhakā fua' keḍa' din aḍa.◂

fiňdanā	*beṇi*	*eī*	*magun*	*gē*	*mīhak*	*ā*	*fuak*	*keḍak*	*din*	*aḍa*
the f.-bird	said	this is	on street	going	a man	with	arecanut	a piece	given	noise
NOUN	VERB	DPRON	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	CONJ	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	NOUN
NOM.DEF.	PT.3SG.	NOM.+FOC.	ABL.	PART.PT.	OBL.INDEF.	SOC.	OBL.	OBL.INDEF.	PART.PT.	NOM.

The f.-bird said, 'this is the sound produced (lit. given) by a piece of arecanut and a person walking on the road.'

F

▹benā beṇi-ai, e magē ef faivān-fulu damāli aḍ-ai.◃

benā	*beṇi*	*ai*	*e*	*magē*	*ek*	*faivān-fulu*	*damāli*	*aḍa*	*ai*
saying	he said	they say	that	my	one	foot-part	stretched	sound	saying
VERB	VERB	QPARTC	DPRON	PPRON	CARD	NOUN+HON	VERB	NOUN	QPARTC
ABS.	PT.3SG.	EXT.	NOM.	GEN (M)	ATTR.	NOM.(M.)	PART.PT.II	NOM	INT.

(At his) saying (so), (the f.-bird) said, 'that is the sound of my one foot stretched.'

21a

F

▹kēfē, mi ōtī-ai vago jahān.◃

kēfē	*mi*	*ōtī*	*ai*	*vago*	*jahān*
Having said	now	what he was is	they say	thief	hitting
VERB	ADV	VERB	QPARTC	NOUN	VERB
ABS.I	TEMP.	PART.PRS.+FOC.	EXT.	NOM.	ABS.III

Having said (so), he now was (again) doing something secret (lit "acting like a thief").

22

M

(ʾaneʾkā bat fukeʾ kālāfaʾi guʾi fukeʾ ǰahāli ʾaḍu ʾiviʾje ʾeve.)

anekkā	*bat*	*fukek*	*kālāfai*	*gui*	*fukek*	*jahāli*	*aḍu*	*ivijje*	*eve*
again	rice	a piece	having eaten	dropping	a piece	having laid	noise	was heard	they say
ADV	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	VERB	QPARTC
TEMP.	OBL.SG.	NOM.SG.INDEF.	ABS.II+I	OBL.SG.	NOM.SG.INDEF.	PART.PT.II	NOM.SG.	PT.IV.3SG.	EXT.

Again, the noise (produced by) laying a (piece of) dropping after having eaten a piece of rice was heard.

A

▹vēla keḍakun, eneʾ kalāi aḍaʾ kēfi.◃

vēla	*keḍakun*	*enek*	*kal*	*āi*	*aḍak*	*kēfi*
while	with a piece	another	time	with	a noise	uttered
NOUN	NOUN	PRON	NOUN	CONJ	NOUN	VERB
OBL.	ABL.INDEF.	ATTR.	OBL.	SOC.	NOM.	PT.I.3SG.

After some time, another time a noise (was) uttered.

F

▹eneʾ kalaha boṅḍanu nidunum mā hafāgat-ai.◃

enek	*kalaha*	*boṅḍanu*	*nidunun*	*mā*	*hafāgat*	*ai*
another	to time	b.-bird	sleeping	when	he chewed	they say
PRON	NOUN	NOUN	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	QPARTC
ATTR.	DAT.	OBL.	OBL.	LOC.	PT.3SG.	EXT.

(And) another time he started chewing after the b.-bird had fallen asleep.

23

M ⟨boḍanfuḷu govāli ʾeve. koʾkō kon ʾaḍeʾ heʾy_ eve.⟩

boňḍanfuḷu	*govāli*	*eve*	*kokkō*	*kon*	*aḍek*	*heyo*	*eve*
b.-bird	shouted	they say	brother	what	a noise	well	saying
NOUN	VERB	QPARTC	NOUN	IPRON	NOUN	IPARTC	QPARTC
NOM.SG.	PT.II.3SG.	EXT.	NOM.SG.	ATTR.	NOM.SG.INDEF.	MOD.	INT.

The b.-bird shouted, '(younger) brother, what a noise might (this be)?'

A ▸**boňḍanā ahafi, fiňdanu, fiňdanu, e kon aḍa?**◂

boňḍanā	*ahafi*	*fiňdanu*	*fiňdanu*	*e*	*kon*	*aḍa?*
the b.-bird	asked	f.-bird	f.-bird	that	what a	noise
NOUN	VERB	NOUN	NOUN	DPRON	IPRON	NOUN
NOM.DEF	PT.3SG.	OBL.	OBL.	NOM.	ATTR.	NOM.

The b.-bird asked , 'f.-bird, f.-bird, what a sound is this?'

F ▸**boňḍanu beṇi-ai, fiňdān, fiňdān, e kon aḍeʾ?**◂

boňḍanu	*beṇi*	*ai*	*fiňdān*	*fiňdān*	*e*	*kon*	*aḍek?*
b.-bird	he said	they say	f.-bird	f.-bird	that	what	a noise
NOUN	VERB	QPARTC	NOUN	NOUN	DPRON	IPRON	NOUN
NOM.	PT.3SG.	EXT.	NOM.	NOM.	NOM.	ATTR.	NOM.INDEF.

The b.-bird said, 'f.-bird, f.-bird, what a noise is this?'

24

M ⟨ʾeʾī raʾṭeʾsaku din karanfuleʾ hafāli ʾaḍ_ eve.⟩

eī	*rattessaku*	*din*	*karanfulek*	*hafāli*	*aḍu*	*eve*
this is	a compatriot	given	a clove	chewing	noise	saying
DPRON	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	QPARTC
NOM.+FOC.	OBL.SG.INDEF.	PART.PT.	NOM.SG.INDEF.	PART.PT.II	NOM.SG.	INT.

'This is the noise (which I am producing by) chewing a clove (I) was given by a compatriot.'

A ▸**fiňdanā beṇafi e bērun gē mīhakā bilaʾ keḍaʾ din aḍa.**◂

fiňdanā	*beṇafi*	*e*	*bērun*	*gē*	*mīhak*	*ā*	*bilat*	*keḍak*	*din*	*aḍa*
the f.-bird	said	that	outside	going	a man	with	betel	a piece	given	noise
NOUN	VERB	DPRON	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	CONJ	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	NOUN
NOM.DEF.	PT.3.3SG.	NOM.	ABL.	PART.PT.	OBL.INDEF.	SOC.	OBL.	OBL.INDEF.	PART.PT.	NOM.

The f.-bird said, 'this is the sound produced by a man with a betel leaf walking outside.'

F ▸**beṇā beṇi-ai, e magē eneʾ faivānfuḷu damāli aḍ-ai!**◂

beṇā	*beṇi*	*ai*	*e*	*magē*	*enek*	*faivānfuḷu*	*damāli*	*aḍa*	*ai!*
saying	he said	they say	that	my	another	foot-part	stretched	sound	saying
VERB	VERB	QPARTC	DPRON	PPRON	PRON	NOUN+HON	VERB	NOUN	QPARTC
ABS.	PT.3SG.	EXT.	NOM.	GEN. (M!)	ATTR.	NOM.(M.)	PART.PT.II	NOM.	INT.

(At his) saying (so), (the f.-bird) said, 'that is the sound of my other foot stretched.'

24a

F

▹kēfē, mi ōtī-ai, vago jahān.◃

kēfē	*mi*	*ōtī*	*ai*	*vago*	*jahān*
Having said	now	what he was is	they say	thief	hitting
VERB	ADV	VERB	QPARTC	NOUN	VERB
ABS.I	TEMP.	PART.PRS.+FOC.	EXT.	NOM.	ABS.III

Having said (this), (the f.-bird) again started doing something secret (lit. "(was) acting like a thief").

25

M

⟨ʾaneʾkā ʾiru koḷakun ves, bat fukeʾ kālāfaʾi guʾi fukeʾ jahāli ʾaḍu ʾivun_ eve.⟩

anekkā	*iru*	*koḷakun*	*ves*	*bat*	*fukek*	*kālāfai*	*gui*	*fukek*	*jahāli*	*aḍu*	*ivunu*	*eve*
again	time	with a piece	also	rice	a piece	having eaten	dropping	a piece	having laid	noise	was heard	they say
ADV	NOUN	NOUN	PARTC	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	VERB	QPARTC
TEMP.	OBL.SG.	ABL.SG.	MOD.	OBL.SG.	NOM.SG.INDEF.	ABS.II+I	OBL.SG.	NOM.SG.INDEF.	PART.PT.II	NOM.SG.	PART.PT.PASS.	EXT.

After some more time again, the noise (produced by) laying a dropping after having eaten a piece of rice was heard.

A

▸vēla gaňḍakun, eneʾ kalāi aḍa kēfi.◂

vēla	*gaňḍakun*	*enek*	*kal*	*āi*	*aḍa*	*kēfi*
while	with a piece	another	time	with	a noise	uttered
NOUN	NOUN	PRON	NOUN	CONJ	NOUN	VERB
OBL.	ABL.INDEF.	ATTR.	OBL.	SOC.	NOM.	PT.I.3SG.

After a little while, once again a noise (was) uttered.

F

▹ovefē eneʾ kalah-as boňḍanu nidunum mā hafāgat-ai.◃

ovefē	*enek*	*kalaha*	*as*	*boňḍanu*	*nidunun*	*mā*	*hafāgat*	*ai*
being	another	to time	yet	b.-bird	sleeping	when	he chewed	they say
VERB	PRON	NOUN	PARTC	NOUN	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	QPARTC
ABS.I	ATTR.	DAT.	MOD.	OBL.	OBL.	LOC.	PT.3SG.	EXT.

Staying (so), after the b.-bird had fallen asleep, yet another time he started chewing.

(At his) saying (so), (the f.-bird) said, 'that is the sound of my other foot stretched.'

INT. QPARTC | NOM. NOUN | PART.PT.II | OBL. NOUN

26

M ⟨mi faharu ʾehī mā,⟩

mi	*faharu*	*ehī*	*mā*
this	time	asked	when
DPRON	NOUN	VERB	NOUN
ATTR.	OBL.SG.	PART.PT.	OBL.SG.

This time, when (the b.-bird) asked,

A ▸boṅḍanā ahafi, fiñdanu, fiñdanu, e kon aḍa?◂

boṅḍanā	*ahafi*	*fiñdanu*	*fiñdanu*	*e*	*kon*	*aḍa?*
the b.-bird	asked	f.-bird	f.-bird	that	what a	noise
NOUN	VERB	NOUN	NOUN	DPRON	IPRON	NOUN
NOM.DEF.	PT.3SG	NOM.	NOM.	NOM.	ATTR.	NOM.

The b.-bird asked, 'f.-bird, f.-bird, what a noise is this?'

F ▸hafāgat tā, boṅḍanu beṇi-ai, fiñdan fiñdan, e kon aḍeʾ?◂

hafāgat	*tā*	*boṅḍanu*	*beṇi*	*ai*	*fiñdan*	*fiñdan*	*e*	*kon*	*aḍek*
having chewed	at moment	b.-bird	he said	they say	f.-bird	f.-bird	that	what	a noise
VERB	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	QPARTC	NOUN	NOUN	DPRON	IPRON	NOUN
PART.PT.III	OBL.	NOM.	PT.3SG.	EXT.	NOM.	NOM.	NOM.	ATTR.	NOM.INDEF.

Just when he started chewing, the b.-bird said, 'f.-bird, f.-bird, what a noise is this?'

27

M ⟨bunī ʾeʾī ʾove ʾove varubali vegen, mōliʾakaś damāli ʾaḍ_ eve.⟩

bunī	*eī*	*ove*	*ove*	*varubali*	*vegen*	*hōliakaś*	*damāli*	*aḍu*	*eve*
what he said was	this is	lying	lying	tired	having become	to a wing	pulled	noise	saying
VERB	DPRON	VERB	VERB	ADJ	VERB	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	QPARTC
PART.PT.+FOC.	NOM.+FOC.	ABS.	ABS.	PRED.	ABS.III	DAT.SG.INDEF.	PART.PT.II	NOM.SG.	INT.

(the f.-bird) answered, 'this is the noise (produced by) pulling a wing after having become tired by lying and lying.'

A ▸fiñdanā beṇafi, magun gē mīhakā dun faʾ keḍaʾ din aḍa.◂

fiñdanā	*beṇafi*	*magun*	*gē*	*mīhak*	*ā*	*dum*	*fat*	*keḍak*	*din*	*aḍa*
the f.-bird	said	on street	going	a man	with	smoke	leaf	a piece	given	noise
NOUN	VERB	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	CONJ	NOUN	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	NOUN
NOM.DEF.	PT.1.3SG.	ABL.	PART.PT.	OBL.INDEF.	SOC.	OBL.	OBL.	OBL.INDEF.	PART.PT.	NOM.

The f.-bird said, '(this is) the sound produced by a piece of tobacco and a man walking on the street.'

F ▸beṇā beṇi-ai, e timāge ef fiafuḷu damāli aḍai.◂

beṇā	*beṇi*	*ai*	*e*	*timāge*	*ek*	*fiafuḷu*	*damāli*	*aḍa*	*ai*
saying	he said	they say	that	self's	one	wing-part	stretched	sound	saying
VERB	VERB	QPARTC	DPRON	PPRON	CARD	NOUN+HON	VERB	NOUN	QPARTC
ABS.	PT.3SG.	EXT.	NOM.	GEN. (M.)	ATTR.	NOM.(M.)	PART.PT.II	NOM.	INT.

(At his) saying 'so', (the f.-bird) said, 'that is the sound of one of my wings stretched.'

27a
F

▹benum mā, den ene' kalas vago jahāgen mi ōtī-ai.◃

benum	*mā*	*den*	*enek*	*kal*	*as*	*vago*	*jahāgen*	*mi*	*ōtī*	*ai.*
saying	when	then	another	to time	yet	thief	hitting	now	what he was	they say
VERB	NOUN	ADV	PRON	NOUN	PARTC	NOUN	VERB	ADV	VERB	QPARTC
ABS.I	LOC.	TEMP.	ATTR.	OBL.	MOD.	NOM.	ABS.III	TEMP.	PART.PRS.+FOC.	EXT.

When he said (so), yet another time he started doing something secret (lit. "acting like a thief").

28
A

▹ene' kal-āi-as aḍa kēfi.◃

enek	*kal*	*āi*	*as*	*aḍa*	*kēfi*
another	time	with	yet	a noise	uttered
PRON	NOUN	CONJ	CONJ	NOUN	VERB
ATTR.	OBL.	SOC.	MOD.	NOM.	PT.I.3SG.

Yet another time a noise (was) uttered.

F

▹ovefē, boňḍanu nidunum mā ene' kalas hafāgat-ai◃

ovefē	*boňḍanu*	*nidunum*	*mā*	*ene'*	*kal*	*as*	*hafāgat*	*ai*
being	b.-bird	sleeping	when	another	time	yet	he chewed	they say
VERB	NOUN	NOUN	NOUN	PRON	NOUN	PARTC	VERB	QPARTC
ABS.I	OBL.	OBL.	LOC.	ATTR.	OBL.	MOD.	PT.3SG.	EXT.

After having lain down (again), when the b.-bird was sleeping, he (started) chewing (again).

29
A

▹boňḍanā ahafi, fiňdanu, fiňdanu, e kon aḍa?◃

boňḍanā	*ahafi*	*fiňdanu*	*fiňdanu*	*e*	*kon*	*aḍa*
the b.-bird	asked	f.-bird	f.-bird	that	what a	noise
NOUN	VERB	NOUN	NOUN	DPRON	IPRON	NOUN
NOM.DEF.	PT.3SG.	NOM.	NOM.	NOM.	ATTR.	NOM.

The b.-bird asked , 'f.-bird, f.-bird, what a noise is this?'

F

▹hafāgat tā, boňḍanu beṇi-ai, fiňdan, fiňdan, e kon aḍe?◃

hafāgat	*tā*	*boňḍanu*	*beṇi*	*ai*	*fiňdan*	*fiňdan*	*e*	*kon*	*aḍek*
having chewed	at moment	b.-bird	he said	they say	f.-bird	f.-bird	that	what	a noise
VERB	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	QPARTC	NOUN	NOUN	DPRON	IPRON	NOUN
PART.PT.III	OBL.	NOM.	PT.3SG.	EXT.	NOM.	NOM.	NOM.	ATTR.	NOM.INDEF.

Just when he had started chewing, the b.-bird said, 'f.-bird, f.-bird, what a noise is this?'

30

A

▸fiñdanā beṇafi, eī bērun gē mīhakā huni keḍa din aḍa.◂

fiñdanā	*beṇafi*	*eī*	*bērun*	*gē*	*mīhak*	*ā*	*huni*	*keḍa*	*din*	*aḍa*
the f.-bird	said	that	outside	going	a man	with	lime	a piece	given	noise
NOUN	VERB	DPRON	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	CONJ	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	NOUN
NOM.DEF.	PT.1.3SG.	NOM.	ABL.	PART.PT.	OBL.INDEF.	SOC.	OBL.	OBL.INDEF.	PART.PT.	NOM.

The f.-bird said, 'this is the sound produced by a piece of lime and a man walking outside.'

F

▸beṇā beṇi-ai, e timāge enef fiafuḷu damāli aḍ-ai.◂

beṇā	*beṇi*	*ai*	*e*	*timāge*	*enek*	*fiafuḷu*	*damāli*	*aḍa*	*ai*
saying	he said	they say	that	self's	anonther	wing-part	stretched	sound	saying
VERB	VERB	QPARTC	DPRON	PPRON	PRON	NOUN+HON	VERB	NOUN	QPARTC
ABS.	PT.3SG.	EXT.	NOM.	GEN. (M!)	ATTR.	NOM.(M.)	PART.PT.II	NOM.	INT.

(At his) saying (so), (the f.-bird) said, 'that is the sound of my other wing stretched.'

31

A

▸me hen beṇafei, fiñdanā hedi lehekī, bat tarā fa' kāfei niki hiśi ēne etera' gū lāfei, divi ebege.◂

me	*hen*	*beṇafei*	*fiñdanā*	*hedi*	*lehekī*	*bat*	*tarā*	*fat*	*kāfei*	*niki*	*hiśi*	*ēne*	*eteraś*	*gū*	*lāfei*	*divi*	*ebege*
this	sort	saying	the f.-bird	done	a manner was	rice	cooking	pan	eating	rest	being	remainder	into	dropping	laying	running	went
DPRON	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	VERB	VERB
ATTR.	OBL.	ABS.I	OBL.DEF.	PART.PT.	NOM.INDEF.+FOC.	NOM.	PART.PRS.	OBL.	ABS.I	NOM.	PART.PT.	OBL.	DAT.	NOM.	ABS.I	ABS.	PT.3SG.

After saying so, the f.-bird (finally) ran away after laying a piece of dropping into what was left in the cooking pan after eating.

F

▸kēfē hedī vaḍāmakī, mīge tibi hai ala kā hus kōllā ruṁbai furā gū lāfē.◂

kēfē	*hedī*	*vaḍāmakī*	*mīge*	*tibi*	*hai*	*ala*	*kā*	*hus*	*kōllā*	*ruṁbai*	*furā*	*gū*	*lāfē*
saying	done	a manner was	this one's	being	all	yam	eating	empty	making	pot	filling	dropping	laying
VERB	VERB	NOUN	DPRON	VERB	PRON	NOUN	VERB	ADJ	VERB	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	VERB
ABS.I	PART.PT.	NOM.INDEF.+FOC.	GEN. (M!)	PART.PRS.	ATTR.	NOM.	ABS.	PRED.	ABS.II	OBL.	ABS.	NOM.	ABS.I

After saying (so), he (finally) laid a dropping (and) filled the pot (with it) after having made it empty by eating all the yam it had contained (before).

32

M ⟨den mi hen ʾoʾvā fatis vī mā, fiḏanfuḷu teḏuvegen gos, ʾuḏunu fuʾḏanugaʾi ʾoʾ fūnāʾṭeʾge daśaś vadeʾje ʾeve.⟩

den	*mi*	*hen*	*ovvā*	*fatis*	*vī*	*mā*	*fiḏanfuḷu*	*teḏuvegen*	*gos*	*uḏunu*	*fuḏḏanugai*	*ot*	*fūnāṭṭekge*	*daśaś*	*vadejje*	*eve*
then	this	way	letting be	dawn	was	when	f.-bird	having got up	going	stove	flour chest	being	of a bottom shell	under	entered	they say
ADV	DPRON	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	VERB	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	QPARTC
TEMP.	ATTR.	OBL.SG.	PART.PRS.	NOM.SG.	PART.PT.	OBL.SG.	NOM.SG.	ABS.III	ABS.	OBL.SG.	LOC.SG.	PART.PT.	GEN.SG.INDEF.	DAT.SG.	PT.IV.3SG.	EXT.

Then, when dawn had come, the f.-bird, after having got up, went off and concealed himself under a bottom shell which was in the flour chest of the kitchen.

A **▸den fiñḏanā gos otī, Mēliage Dī Kālō kaiśi gāʾ in tanun emme aḏie oʾ naiśā daśaʾ vedefei.◂**

den	*fiñḏanā*	*gos*	*otī*	*Mēliage*	*Dī*	*Kālō*	*kaiśi*	*gāś*	*in*	*tanun*	*emme*	*aḏie*	*ot*	*naiśā*	*daśaś*	*vedefei*
then	the f.-bird	going	where it was	of M.	daughter	Mrs	coconut	to prepare	sitting	of place	utmost	at bottom	being	the shell	under	entering
ADV	NOUN	VERB	VERB	PN	NOUN	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	VERB	NOUN	ADJ	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	NOUN	VERB
TEMP.	OBL.DEF.	ABS.	PART.PT.+FOC.	GEN.	OBL.	OBL.	NOM.	INF.	PART.PRS.	ABL.	ATTR.	LOC.	PART.PT.	OBL.DEF.	DAT.	ABS.I

Then the f.-bird hid under the coconut shell which was at the utmost bottom of the place where M.D.K. used to sit (when she was about) to prepare coconuts.

F **▸goho, badige fiśiḏune oʾ naiśeki daśaha veñḏefē-ai mi ōtī.◂**

goho	*badige*	*fiśiḏune*	*ot*	*naiśeki*	*daśaha*	*veñḏefē*	*ai*	*mi*	*ōtī*
going	kitchen	in chimney	being	of a shell	under	moving	they say	now	what he was is
VERB	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	QPARTC	ADV	VERB
ABS.	OBL.	LOC.	PART.PRS.	GEN.INDEF.	DAT.	ABS.I	EXT.	TEMP.	PART.PRS.+FOC.

Going (away), he hid under a shell which was in the chimney of the kitchen.

33

M ⟨boḏanfuḷu hedunu teḏuve kudīnnaś kān dēn vegen, badigeʾaś vade bat tavā balālī ʾiru, kamaku dākaś net_ eve.⟩

boñḏanfuḷu	*heñḏunu*	*teḏuve*	*kudīnnaś*	*kāś*	*dēś*	*vegen*	*badigeaś*	*vade*	*bat*	*tavā*	*balālī*	*iru*	*kamaku*	*dākaś*	*net*	*eve*
b.-bird	morning	getting up	to children	to eat	to give	in order	to kitchen	enter	rice	pan	looking	time	a thing	to give	there is not	they say
NOUN	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	VERB	VERB	VERB	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	VERB	QPARTC
OBL.SG.	OBL.SG.	ABS.	DAT.PL.	INF.	INF.	ABS.III	DAT.SG.	ABS.	OBL.SG.	NOM.SG.	PART.PT.II	OBL.SG.	OBL.SG.INDEF.	INF.INDEF.	PRS.3SG.	EXT.

When the b.-bird, having got up in the morning, entered the kitchen in order to give food to the children and looked into the rice cooking pan, there was nothing to give (to them).

A **▸den boñḏanā hennāi teḏuvigen, beli kō mi hiśī bat tarā faʾ kāfei niki hiśi ēne eteraʾ gū lāfei.◂**

den	*boñḏanā*	*hennāi*	*teḏuvigen*	*beli*	*kō*	*mi*	*hiśī*	*bat*	*tarā*	*fat*	*kāfei*	*niki*	*hiśi*	*ēne*	*eteraś*	*gū*	*lāfei*
then	the b.-bird	at morning	getting up	looked	when	now	the way it was was	rice	cooking	pan	eating	rest	being	remainder	into	dropping	laying
ADV	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	VERB	NOUN	ADV	VERB	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	NOUN	NOUN	VERB
TEMP.	OBL.SG.DEF.	LOC.SG.	ABS.III	PART.PT.	OBL.	LOC.	PART.PT.+FOC.	NOM.	PART.PRS.	OBL.?	ABS.I	NOM.	PART.PT.	OBL.	DAT.	NOM.	ABS.I

Then when the b.-bird had got up in the morning and looked around, he realised that a dropping had been laid into what was left in the cooking pan after eating.

F **▸ov vēlai, heñḏune tedēgat-ai boñḏanu.◂**

ot	*vēlai*	*heñḏune*	*tedēgat*	*ai*	*boñḏanu*
being	at time	in morning	he got up	they say	b.-bird
VERB	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	QPARTC	NOUN
PART.PRS.	LOC.	LOC.	PT.III.3SG.	EXT.	NOM.

After remaining (so), the b.-bird got up in the morning.

33a

M ⟨bat tavāga'ī hurī, mulīn gui_ eve.⟩

bat	*tavāgai*	*hurī*	*mulīn*	*gui*	*eve*
rice	in pan	what is	totally	excrements	they say
NOUN	NOUN	VERB	ADJ	NOUN	QPARTC
OBL.SG	LOC.SG.	PART.PT.+FOC.	ABL.	NOM.SG.	EXT.

In the rice pan there were only excrements.

F ▹**tedē matigeśa arā, belī kal, mi e tibi hai ala kāfē, rubāyyē furā gū lāfē hīśi.**◃

tedē	*matigeśa*	*arā*	*belī*	*kal*	*mi*	*e*	*tibi*	*hai*	*ala*	*kāfē*	*rubāyyē*	*furā*	*gū*	*lāfē*	*hīśi*
getting up	to uphouse	climbing	looked	time	this one	that one('s)	being	all	yam	eating	pot	filling	dropping	laying	it was
VERB	NOUN	VERB	VERB	NOUN	DPRON	DPRON	VERB	ADJ	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	VERB	VERB
ABS.	DAT.	ABS.	PART.PT.	OBL.	NOM.	OBL.	PART.PRS.	ATTR.	NOM.	ABS.I	NOM.	ABS.	NOM.	ABS.I	PT.3SG.

When he got up, climbed upon the uphouse and looked around, he realised that all the yam he had (possessed) had been eaten, and the pot had been refilled with a dropping.

34

M ⟨**den ruḷi 'a'īsgen fidanfuḷu hōdamun 'eka'ce' hi'lā nu fenigen, 'ane'kace' hi'lamun gos, fidanfuḷu vade 'ot nāśi hi'lā levi'je 'eve.**⟩

den	*ruḷi*	*aisgen*	*fiňdanfuḷu*	*hōdamun*	*ekaccek*	*hillā*	*nu*	*fenigen*	*anekkace k*	*hillamun*	*gos*	*fiňdanfuḷu*	*vade*	*ot*	*nāśi*	*hillā*	*levijje*	*eve*
then	angry	having (be)come	f.-bird	seeking	one thing	lifting	not	appearing	another thing	lifting	going	f.-bird	entering	being	shell	lifting	shouted	they say
ADV	ADJ	VERB	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	VERB	PARTC	VERB	NOUN	VERB	VERB	NOUN	VERB	VERB	NOUN	VERB	VERB	QPARTC
TEMP.	PRED.	ABS.III	NOM.SG.	GRND.	NOM.SG.INDEF.	ABS.	NEG.	ABS.III	NOM.SG.INDEF	GRND.	ABS.	OBL.SG.	ABS.	PART.PT.	NOM.SG.	ABS.	PT.IV.3SG.	EXT.

Then, having become angry, he went (around) in search for the f.-bird, lifting one thing – he does not show up, lifting another thing and going (on like this). (Finally) when he lifted the shell under which the f.-bird had hid, he shouted:

A ▹**den boňḍanā riḍi aragen fiňdanā hōdāmun hōdāmun mi enī gos Mēliage Dī Kālō kaiśi gā' in tān.**◃

den	*boňḍanā*	*riḍi*	*aragen*	*fiňdanā*	*hōdāmun*	*hōdāmun*	*mi*	*enī*	*gos*	*Mēliage*	*Dī*	*Kālō*	*kaiśi*	*gāś*	*in*	*tāś*
then	the b.-bird	angry	arising	the f.-bird	searching	searching	now	where he comes is	going	of M.	D.	K.	coconut	to prepare	sitting	place
ADV	NOUN	ADJ	VERB	NOUN	VERB	VERB	ADV	VERB	VERB	PN	NOUN	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	VERB	NOUN
TEMP.	OBL.SG.DEF.	PRED.	ABS.III	NOM.SG.DEF.	GRND.	GRND.	TEMP.	PART.PRS.+FOC.	ABS.	GEN.SG.	OBL.	OBL.	NOM.	INF.	PART.PRS.	DAT.

Then the b.-bird, having become angry, went around searching and searching for the f.-bird, and (finally he arrived) at the place where M.D.K. was sitting preparing coconuts.

F ▹**den, huvamun gē kal badige fiśidune o' naiśa daśaha veňḍefē-ai mi ōtī.**◃

den	*huvamun*	*gē*	*kal*	*badige*	*fiśidune*	*ot*	*naiśa*	*daśaha*	*veňḍefē*	*ai*	*mi*	*ōtī*
then	searching	gone	at time	kitchen	in chimney	being	shell	under	moving	they say	now	what he was is
ADV	VERB	VERB	NOUN	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	QPARTC	ADV	VERB
TEMP.	GRND.	PART.PT.	OBL.	OBL.	LOC.	PART.PRS.	OBL.	DAT.	ABS.I	EXT.	TEMP.	PART.PRS.+FOC.

Then, when he went searching him, he (found him) hidden under the coconut shell in the chimney of the kitchen.

34a

A ▸boṇḍanā gos naiśi feredamun gē kō, emme vati oˀ naiśā daśun ea nāgaˀ.◂

boṇḍanā	*gos*	*naiśi*	*feredamun*	*gē*	*kō*	*emme*	*vati*	*ot*	*naiśā*	*daśun*	*ea*	*nāgat*
the b.-bird	going	shells	shuffling	went	when	utmost	at bottom	being	shell	from under	that one	it finally lifted
NOUN	VERB	NOUN	VERB	VERB	NOUN	ADV	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	NOUN	DPRON	VERB
OBL.SG.DEF.	ABS.	NOM.	GRND.	PART.PT.	OBL.	MOD.	LOC.	PART.PRS.	OBL.SG.DEF.	ABL.	NOM.	PT.III.3SG.

By going on shuffling the coconut shells, he finally lifted (the f.-bird up from) under the shell at the utmost bottom (of the heap).

F ▸ov vēlai, damān eregen,◂

ov	*vēlai*	*damān*	*eregen*
being	at time	pulling	being lifted
VERB	NOUN	VERB	VERB
PART.PRS.	LOC.	ABS.III	ABS.III

When he (found him), (the f.-bird), after being lifted up by being pulled,

35

A ▸den taḷamun taḷamun gos, nagafei, hūruvafei, elli mei jeheṇei raˀ bēre hiśi kaśi kuṁburu hālaki etere.◂

den	*taḷamun*	*taḷamun*	*gos*	*nagafei*	*hūruvafei*	*elli*	*mei*	*jeheṇei*	*raś*	*bēre*	*hiśi*	*kaśi*	*kuṁburu*	*hālaki*	*etere*
then	striking	striking	going	lifting	swaying	hurled	when	where it hit was	land	outside	being	thorn	bushes	of a thicket	inside
ADV	VERB	VERB	VERB	VERB	VERB	VERB	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	NOUN	NOUN	NOUN
TEMP.	RGRND.	RGRND.	ABS.	ABS.I	ABS.I	PART.PT.	LOC.	PART.PT.+FOC.	OBL.	LOC.	PART.PT.	OBL.	OBL.	GEN.INDEF.	LOC.

Then (the f.-bird), after being struck on and on, lifted, swayed around and hurled away, hit in the thicket of thorny trees outside of the land.

F ▸taḷā taḷāfē, kudu ge matten, boṇḍo ge matten nagāfē, ellum mā jehūnī kaśi kumburu bāleki.◂

taḷā	*taḷāfē*	*kudu*	*ge*	*matten*	*boṇḍo*	*ge*	*matten*	*nagāfē*	*ellum*	*mā*	*jehūnī*	*kaśi*	*kumburu*	*bāleki*
beating	beating	small	house	from above	big	house	from above	raising	throwing	when	where he hit was	thorn	bush	in a thicket
VERB	VERB	ADJ	NOUN	NOUN	ADJ	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	NOUN	NOUN
ABS.	ABS.I	ATTR.	OBL.	ABL.	ATTR.	OBL.	ABL.	ABS.I	OBL.	LOC.	PART.PT.+FOC.	OBL.	OBL.	LOC.INDEF.

being thrown and being beaten and beaten, being lifted above the small house and above the big house, hit in a thicket of thorny bush(es).

M ⟨den ruḷi ˀaˀisgen ˀatugaˀi hifāfaˀi damā nere ˀilośi faˀceˀ hus vā den taḷāfaˀi⟩

den	*ruḷi*	*aisgen*	*atugai*	*hifāfai*	*damā*	*nere*	*ilośi*	*faccek*	*hus*	*vā*	*den*	*taḷāfai*
then	angry	having (be)come	in hand	grasping	pulling	bringing out	brushwood	a broom	empty	being	then	striking
ADV	ADJ	VERB	NOUN	VERB	VERB	VERB	NOUN	NOUN	ADJ	NOUN	ADV	VERB
TEMP.	PRED.	ABS.III	LOC.SG.	ABS.I	ABS.	ABS.	OBL.SG.	NOM.SG.INDEF.	PRED.	PART.PRS.NOM.	TEMP.	ABS.I

Then, having become (more) angry, he grasped (the f.-bird) with his hand, pulled him, took him outside, struck him (with) a brushwood broom when he was free again,

35a

M ⟨ˀatugaˀi hifā hūrā hūrāfaˀi ˀeˀlālī mā, boḍu ge matin kuḍa ge matin gos veˀṭenī kaśi kuburu valakaś_ eve.⟩

atugai	*hifā*	*hūrā*	*hūrāfai*	*ellālī*	*mā*	*boḍu*	*ge*	*matin*	*kuḍa*	*ge*	*matin*	*gos*	*veṭṭenī*	*kaśi*	*kuṁburu*	*valakaś*	*eve*
in hand	grasping	swaying	swaying	hurled	when	big	house	over	small	house	over	going	where it falls is	thorn	bush	to thicket	they say
NOUN	VERB	VERB	VERB	VERB	NOUN	ADJ	NOUN	NOUN	ADJ	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	VERB	NOUN	NOUN	NOUN	QPARTC
LOC.SG.	ABS.	ABS.	ABS.I	PART.PT.II	OBL.SG.	ATTR.	OBL.SG.	ABL.SG.	ATTR.	OBL.SG.	ABL.SG.	ABS.	PART.PRS.+FOC.	OBL.SG.	OBL.SG.	DAT.SG.INDEF.	EXT.

grasping him (again) with his hand, swaying and swaying him, he hurled him over the big house and over the small house, and he fell down in a thicket of thorny bushes.

36

M ⟨den fidanfuḷu ʾe tāgaʾi ʾove varubali fiḷuvaʾigen nukut ʾiru hurī ʾe tan mi tanaś kaśi heri furifa ʾeve.⟩

den	*fiňdanfuḷu*	*e*	*tāgai*	*ove*	*varubali*	*fiḷuvaigen*	*nukut*	*iru*	*hurī*	*e*	*tan*	*mi*	*tanaś*	*kaśi*	*heri*	*furifa*	*eve*
then	f.-bird	that	in place	being	tired	having hidden	came out	time	where he was is	that	place	this	to place	thorn	pierced	filled up	they say
ADV	NOUN	DPRON	NOUN	VERB	ADJ	VERB	VERB	NOUN	VERB	DPRON	NOUN	DPRON	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	VERB	QPARTC
TEMP.	OBL.SG.	ATTR.	LOC.SG.	ABS.	PRED.	ABS.III	PART.PT.	OBL.SG.	PART.PT.+FOC.	ATTR.	OBL.SG.	ATTR.	DAT.SG.	NOM.SG.	ABS.	ABS.I	EXT.

Then when the f.-bird, having become tired by hiding himself lying in that place, came out, he was filled up, pierced by thorns here and there.

A ▸**jehifei, fai uḍumaʾ kāśaʾ vedege.**◂

jehifei	*fai*	*uḍumaś*	*kāśak*	*vedege*
hitting	foot	to heel	a thorn	entered
VERB	NOUN	NOUN	NOUN	VERB
ABS.I	OBL.	DAT.	NOM.INDEF.	PT.IV.3SG.

When he hit (there), a thorn pierced his heel.

F ▸**mi tani ove heluvigat tav vannaī kāśi-ai.**◂

mi	*tani*	*ove*	*heluvigat*	*tan*	*vannaī*	*kāśi*	*ai*
this	at place	being	got to shake	at moment	what pierced was	thorn	they say
DPRON	NOUN	VERB	VERB	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	QPARTC
ATTR.	LOC.	ABS.	PART.PT.III	OBL.	PART.PRS.+FOC.	NOM.	EXT.

When he was there, just when he (was able to) shake (his body again), his body was pierced by thorn(s).

36a

F ▸**fereḍīgat-as, vannaī kāśi ai.**◂

fereḍīgat	*as*	*vannaī*	*kāśi*	*ai*
got to roll	even if	what pierced was	thorn	they say
VERB	CONJ	VERB	NOUN	QPARTC
PART.PT.III	CONC.	PART.PRS.+FOC.	NOM.	EXT.

(When he was able) to roll again, he was pierced by thorn(s).

37

F ▸**mi hāleki miū telifu kurī lūdīgen.**◂

mi	*hāleki*	*miū*	*telifu*	*kurī*	*lūdīgen*
this	in a state	this one's	ruin	the way it made	being torn
DPRON	NOUN	DPRON	NOUN	VERB	VERB
ATTR.	NOM.INDEF.	OBL.	NOM.	PART.PT.+FOC. (M!)	ABS.III

In this state, he was (practically) destroyed by being torn.

37a

F ▹nukumegat-ai.◃

nukumegat	*ai*
got out	they say
VERB	QPARTC
PART.PT.III	EXT.

Finally he got out.

38

M ⟨den higani koś devunī vaḍān kurā ba'e'ge ka'irī'aś_ eve.⟩

den	*hiñgani*	*koś*	*devunī*	*vaḍān*	*kurā*	*baekge*	*kairiaś*	*eve*
then	walking	doing	where he ended up was	handicraft	making	of a share	to near	they say
ADV	VERB	VERB	VERB	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	NOUN	QPARTC
TEMP.	PART.PRS.	ABS.	PART.PT.POT.+FOC.	NOM.SG.	PART.PRS.	GEN.SG.INDEF.	DAT.SG.	EXT.

Then he walked around, and he ended up near a share of craft(smen).

F ▹nukumegen, goho atire ruk kana matte nukumevūni, veḍi bannaha hīśi haregi doraha ve-ai.◃

nukumegen	*goho*	*atire*	*ruk kana*	*matte*	*nukumevūni*	*veḍi*	*bannaha*	*hīśi*	*haregi*	*doraha*	*ve*	*ai*
getting out	going	of shore	tree trunk	upon	where he was able to get out was	oḍi	to build	being	wharf	near	they say	they say
VERB	VERB	NOUN	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	VERB	VERB	NOUN	NOUN	QPARTC (M?)	QPARTC
ABS.III	ABS.	GEN.	OBL.	LOC.	PART.PT.II.POT.+FOC.	OBL.	INF.	PART.PRS.	OBL.	DAT.	EXT.	EXT.

Coming out and going on along the trunk of a coconut tree on the beach, he finally got out near the wharf where oḍi(s) were being built.

39

M ⟨gosfa'i, fiḍanfuḷu bunefi 'eve. bēbē bēbē 'ē, timange fa'iga'i mihira kaśi naga'i dī balāś_ eve.⟩

gosfai	*fiñdanfuḷu*	*bunefi*	*eve*	*bēbē*	*bēbē*	*ē*	*timange*	*faigai*	*mihira*	*kaśi*	*nagai*	*dī*	*balāś*	*eve*
Having gone	f.-bird	said	they say	(elder) brother	brother	saying	own's	in foot	this here	thorn	taking out	giving	to look	saying
VERB	NOUN	VERB	QPARTC	NOUN	NOUN	QPARTC	PRON	NOUN	DPRON	NOUN	VERB	VERB	VERB	QPARTC
ABS.I	NOM.SG.	PT.I.3SG.	EXT.	NOM.SG.	NOM.SG.	INT.	GEN.SG.	LOC.SG.	ATTR.	NOM.SG.	ABS.	ABS.	INF.	INT.

Having gone (there), the f.-bird said, '(elder) brother, brother, please pull these thorns out of my foot.'

F ▹nukume beṇi-ai, bēbē-ai, timā fāi mi hīśi kāśi naganna vāḷi denna kē.◃

nukume	*beṇi*	*ai*	*bēbē*	*ai*	*timā*	*fāi*	*mi*	*hīśi*	*kāśi*	*naganna*	*vāḷi*	*denna*	*kē*
coming out	he said	they say	brother	saying	self	in foot	here	being	thorn	to tear off	knife	to give	saying
VERB	VERB	QPARTC	NOUN	QPARTC	PRON	NOUN	ADV	VERB	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	VERB	VERB
ABS.	PT.3SG.	EXT.	NOM.	INT.	ATTR.	LOC.	LOC.	PART.PRS.	NOM.	INF.	NOM.	INF.	ABS.

Having come out, he said, '(elder) brother, could you please give me a knife for cutting out the thorn(s) from my foot.'

40

M ⟨bunī mā māvaḍi kaḷēge buneſi ʾeve. bēbe vaḷiʾaku tuḍeʾ net_ eve. ʾehara bēbe kaʾiriʾaś dāś_ eve.⟩

bunī	*mā*	*māvaḍi*	*kaḷēge*	*buneſi*	*eve*	*bēbe*	*vaḷiaku*	*tuňḍek*	*net*	*eve*	*ehara*	*bēbe*	*kairiaś*	*dāś*	*eve*
said	when	main craftsman	sir	said	they say	brother	a knife	a point	there is not	saying	that there	brother	to near	to go	saying
VERB	NOUN	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	QPARTC	NOUN	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	QPARTC	DPRON	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	QPARTC
PART.PT.	OBL.SG.	OBL.SG.	NOM.SG.	PT.3SG.	EXT.	NOM.SG.	OBL.SG.INDEF.	NOM.SG.INDEF.	PRS.3SG.	INT.	ATTR.	OBL.SG.	DAT.SG.	INF.	INT.

When he said (so), the main craftsman said, '(elder) brother, (my) knife has no point. Go to that brother.'

F ▹**beṇā beṇi-ai, bēbē, vāḷe tuňḍaʾ net-ai, e hiśi bēbē ekahi beṇanna kē.**◃

beṇā	*beṇi*	*ai*	*bēbē*	*vāḷe*	*tuňḍak*	*net*	*ai*	*e*	*hiśi*	*bēbē*	*ekahi*	*beṇanna*	*kē*
saying	he said	they say	brother	at knife	point	there is not	saying	there	being	brother	together with	to talk	saying
VERB	VERB	QPARTC	NOUN	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	QPARTC	ADV	VERB	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	VERB
ABS.	PT.3SG.	EXT.	NOM.	LOC.	NOM.SG.INDEF.	PRS.3SG.	INT.	LOC.	PART.PRS.	OBL.	LOC.	INF.	ABS.

(At his) saying (so), (that one) said, '(elder) brother, there is no point on (my) knife, talk to that brother over there.'

41

M ⟨bunī mā ʾēnā kaʾiriʾaś gos fiḍanfuḷu buneſi ʾeve.⟩

bunī	*mā*	*ēnā*	*kairiaś*	*gos*	*fiňḍanfuḷu*	*buneſi*	*eve*
said	when	him	to near	going	f.-bird	said	they say
VERB	NOUN	PPRON	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	VERB	QPARTC
PART.PT.	OBL.SG.	OBL.	DAT.SG.	ABS.	NOM.SG.	ABS.I	EXT.

When he said (so), the f.-bird, going near to (that man), said:

F ▹**beṇā e bēbē ekaha ebage-ai.**◃

beṇā	*e*	*bēbē*	*ekaha*	*ebage*	*ai*
saying	that	brother	near	he went	they say
VERB	DPRON	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	QPARTC
ABS.	ATTR.	OBL.	DAT.	PT.3SG.	EXT.

(At his) saying (so), he went near that (elder) brother.

42

M ⟨bēbē magē faʾigā mihira kaśi nagā dī balāś_ eve.⟩

bēbē	*magē*	*faigā*	*mihira*	*kaśi*	*nagā*	*dī*	*balāś*	*eve*
brother	my	in foot	this here	thorn	taking off	giving	to look	saying
NOUN	PPRON	NOUN	DPRON	NOUN	VERB	VERB	VERB	QPARTC
NOM.SG.	GEN.	LOC.SG.	ATTR.	NOM.SG.	ABS.	ABS.	INF.	INT.

'(Elder) brother, please pull this thorn out of my foot.'

F ▹**goho beṇi-ai bēbē-ai, timā fai mi hīśi kāśi naganna vāḷi denna kē.**◃

goho	*beṇi*	*ai*	*bēbē*	*ai*	*timā*	*fai*	*mi*	*hīśi*	*kāśi*	*naganna*	*vāḷi*	*denna*	*kē*
going	he said	they say	brother	saying	self	in foot	here	being	thorn	to tear off	knife	to give	saying
VERB	VERB	QPARTC	NOUN	QPARTC	PRON	NOUN	ADV	VERB	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	VERB	VERB
ABS.	PT.3SG.	EXT.	NOM.	INT.	ATTR.	LOC.	LOC.	PART.PRS.	NOM.	INF.	NOM.	INF.	ABS.

Having gone (there), he said, 'brother, could you please give me a knife for cutting out the thorn(s) from my foot.'

43

M ⟨bunī mā, ʾēnā bunefi ʾeve bēbe vaḷiʾaku tuḍeʾ net_ eve ʾe hen bēbe kaʾiraś dāś_ eve.⟩

bunī	*mā*	*ēnā*	*bunefi*	*eve*	*bēbe*	*vaḷiaku*	*tuḍek*	*net*	*eve*	*e*	*hen*	*bēbe*	*kairaś*	*dāś*	*eve*
said	when	he	said	they say	brother	a knife	a point	there is not	saying	that	way	brother	to near	to go	saying
VERB	NOUN	PPRON	VERB	QPARTC	NOUN	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	QPARTC	DPRON	NOUN	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	QPARTC
PART.PT.	OBL.SG.	NOM.	PT.1.3SG.	EXT.	NOM.SG.	OBL.SG.INDEF.	NOM.SG.INDEF.	PRS.3SG.	INT.	ATTR.	OBL.SG.	OBL.SG.	DAT.SG.	INF.	INT.

When he said (so), he (the craftsman) said: '(Elder) brother, (my) knife has no point, go to another brother (lit. "of that way").

F **▹beṇā beṇi-ai, timā vāḷeki-as, tuňḍaʾ net--ai, e bēbē ekahi beṇanna kē.◃**

beṇā	*beṇi*	*ai*	*timā*	*vāḷeki*	*as*	*tuňḍak*	*net*	*ai*	*e*	*bēbē*	*ekahi*	*beṇanna*	*kē*
saying	he said	they say	self	at knife	yet	point	there is not	saying	that	brother	together with	to talk	saying
VERB	VERB	QPARTC	PRON	NOUN	CONJ	NOUN	VERB	QPARTC	DPRON	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	VERB
ABS.	PT.3SG.	EXT.	ATTR.	LOC.INDEF.	MOD.	NOM.SG.INDEF.	PRS.3SG.	EXT.	ATTR.	OBL.	LOC.	INF.	ABS.

(At his) saying (so), (that one) said, 'brother, my knife has no point, talk to that brother.'

44

F **▹beṇā ebage-ai.◃**

beṇā	*ebage*	*ai*
saying	he went	they say
VERB	VERB	QPARTC
ABS.	PT.3SG.	EXT.

(At his) saying so, (the f.-bird) went away (again).

45

M ⟨mi hen higa'i ʾekaku ves kaśi naga'i nu dinī mā varaś dera vegen kurānē kameʾ netigen⟩

mi	*hen*	*hiňgai*	*ekaku*	*ves*	*kaśi*	*nagai*	*nu*	*dinī*	*mā*	*varaś*	*dera*	*vegen*	*kurānē*	*kamek*	*netigen*
this	way	walking	one	even	thorn	taking off	not	given	when	very	weak	becoming	going to do	a thing	not being present
DPRON	NOUN	VERB	CARD	PARTC	NOUN	VERB	PARTC	VERB	NOUN	NOUN	ADJ	VERB	VERB	NOUN	VERB
ATTR.	OBL.SG.	ABS.	OBL.SG.INDEF.	MOD.	NOM.SG.	ABS.	NEG.	PART.PT.	OBL.SG.	DAT.SG.	PRED.	ABS.III	PART.FUT.	NOM.SG.INDEF.	ABS.III

Walking around like this and having become very weak after no one could help him to get off the thorns, there was nothing he could do,

45a

M ⟨rōmun rōmun gos nukumevunī ʾatiri maʾcaś_ eve.⟩

rōmun	*rōmun*	*gos*	*nukumevunī*	*atiri*	*maccaś*	*eve*
crying	crying	going	where he arrived at was	beach	upon	they say
VERB	VERB	VERB	VERB	NOUN	NOUN	QPARTC
RGRND.	RGRND.	ABS.	PART.PT.POT.+FOC.	OBL.SG.	DAT.SG.	EXT.

and after running around crying and crying, he finally arrived upon the beach.

46

M

⟨ʔe tāgaʔi rōnu vaśan de tin ʔanhenun tiʔb_ eve.⟩

e	*tāgai*	*rōnu*	*vaśan*	*de*	*tin*	*anhenun*	*tibi*	*eve*
that	in place	rope	twisting	two	three	women	were	they say
DPRON	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	CARD	CARD	NOUN	VERB	QPARTC
ATTR.	LOC.SG.	NOM.SG.	PART.PRS.	ATTR.	ATTR.	NOM.PL.	PT.3PL.	EXT.

At that place, there were two or three women twisting ropes.

46a

M

⟨den ʔe tanaś gos fiďanfuļu bunefi ʔeve.⟩

den	*e*	*tanaś*	*gos*	*fiďanfuļu*	*bunefi*	*eve*
then	that	to place	going	f.-bird	said	they say
ADV	DPRON	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	VERB	QPARTC
TEMP.	ATTR.	DAT.SG.	ABS.	NOM.SG.	PT.1.3SG.	EXT.

Having gone to that place, the f.-bird said:

46b

M

⟨daʔita daʔitā ʔē, timange faʔigā mihira kaśi nagaʔi dī balāś_ eve.⟩

daita	*daitā*	*ē*	*timange*	*faigā*	*mihira*	*kaśi*	*nagai*	*dī*	*balāś*	*eve*
lady	lady	saying	own's	in foot	this here	thorn	taking off	giving	to look	saying
NOUN	NOUN	QPARTC	PRON	NOUN	DPRON	NOUN	VERB	VERB	VERB	QPARTC
NOM.SG.	NOM.SG.	INT.	GEN.SG.	LOC.SG.	ATTR.	NOM.SG.	ABS.	ABS.	INF.	INT.

'Lady, lady, please pull this thorn out off my foot.'

46c

M

⟨bunī mā bunefi ʔeve daʔita vaļiʔaku, tuḍeʔ net_ eve ʔēda daʔita kaʔiriʔaś dāś_ eve.⟩

bunī	*mā*	*bunefi*	*eve*	*daita*	*vaļiaku*	*tuñḍek*	*net*	*eve*	*ēda*	*daita*	*kairiaś*	*dāś*	*eve*
said	when	said	they say	lady	a knife	a point	there is not	saying	that	sister	to near	to go	saying
VERB	NOUN	VERB	QPARTC	NOUN	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	QPARTC	DPRON	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	QPARTC
PART.PT.	OBL.SG.	PT.1.3SG.	EXT.	OBL.SG.	OBL.SG.INDEF.	NOM.SG.INDEF.	PRS.3SG.	INT.	ATTR.	OBL.SG.	DAT.SG.	INF.	INT.

When he said so, she said, 'my knife has no point, go to that lady.'

47

M

⟨bunī mā gos bunefi_ ē da'itā 'ē magē fa'iga'i mihira kaśi naga'i dī balāś_ eve.⟩

bunī	*mā*	*gos*	*bunefī*	*ē*	*daitā*	*ē*	*magē*	*faigai*	*mihira*	*kaśi*	*nagai*	*dī*	*balāś*	*eve*
said	when	going	what he said was	they say	sister	saying	my	in foot	this	thorn	taking off	giving	to look	saying
VERB	NOUN	VERB	VERB	QPARTC	NOUN	QPARTC	PPRON	NOUN	DPRON	NOUN	VERB	VERB	VERB	QPARTC
PART.PT.	OBL.SG.	ABS.	PART.PT.I+FOC.	EXT.	NOM.SG.	INT.	GEN.	LOC.SG.	ATTR.	NOM.SG.	ABS.	ABS.	INF.	INT.

When she said so, going (there) he said, '(elder) sister, please pull this thorn out of my foot.'

F

▹goho, e bēbē ekahi beṇi-ai, timā fai mi hīśi kāśi naganna vāḷi denna kē.◃

goho	*e*	*bēbē*	*ekahi*	*beṇi*	*ai*	*timā*	*fāi*	*mi*	*hīśi*	*kāśi*	*naganna*	*vāḷi*	*denna*	*kē*
going	that	brother	to	he said	they say	self	in foot	here	being	thorn	to tear off	knife	to give	saying
VERB	DPRON	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	QPARTC	PRON	NOUN	ADV	VERB	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	VERB	VERB
ABS.	ATTR.	OBL.	LOC.	PT.3SG.	EXT.	ATTR.	LOC.	LOC.	PART.PRS.	NOM.	INF.	NOM.	INF.	ABS.

Having gone (there), he said to that brother, 'could you please give me a knife for cutting out the thorn(s) from my foot.'

48

M

⟨bunumun mi da'ita, fidanfuḷu fa'in kaśi naga'i dīfi 'eve.⟩

bunumun	*mi*	*daita*	*fiñdanfuḷu*	*fain*	*kaśi*	*nagai*	*dīfi*	*eve*
saying	this	lady	f.-bird	from foot	thorn	taking off	gave	they say
VERB	DPRON	NOUN	NOUN	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	VERB	QPARTC
GRND.	ATTR.	NOM.SG.	OBL.SG.	ABL.SG.	NOM.SG.	ABS.	PT.1,3SG.	EXT.

At his saying so, this lady took off the thorn from the f.-bird's foot for him.

F

▹beṇā derefi-ai.◃

beṇā	*derefī*	*ai*
saying	he gave	they say
VERB	VERB	QPARTC
ABS.	PT.1,3SG.	EXT.

(At his) saying (so), (that one) gave (it to him).

49

M ⟨den fiḏanfuḷu vī ʾufalun gos ʾatiri matīga'i huri rukeʾge daśuga'i ʾidegen mi hen ʾeba kiya ʾeve.⟩

den	*fiňdanfuḷu*	*vī*	*ufalun*	*gos*	*atiri*	*matīgai*	*huri*	*rukegge*	*daśugai*	*iňdegen*	*mi*	*hen*	*eba*	*kia*	*eve*
then	f.-bird	what he became was	by luck	going	beach	upon	being	of a palm tree	under	sitting	this	way	there	speaking	they say
ADV	NOUN	VERB	ADJ	VERB	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	DPRON	NOUN	ADV	VERB	QPARTC
TEMP.	OBL.SG.	PART.PT.+FOC.	ABL.SG.	ABS.	OBL.SG.	LOC.SG.	PART.PT.	GEN.SG.	LOC.SG.	ABS.III	ATTR.	OBL.SG.	LOC.	ABS.	EXT.

Then, the f.-bird, after happily going away and sitting down under a palm tree which stood on the beach, spoke the following (words):

A ▸den gōvamun dememun fēru kalēge ekahaʾ gos, kaśie naguvagen kināra assēriaʾ gos, iňde mi kēnī:◂

den	*gōvamun*	*dememun*	*fēru*	*kalēge*	*ekahaś*	*gos*	*kaśie*	*naguvagen*	*kināra*	*assēriaś*	*gos*	*iňde*	*mi*	*kēnī*
then	crying	pulling himself	weaver	person's	near to	going	the thorn	having torn out	edge	to shore	going	sitting	now	it says
ADV	VERB	VERB	NOUN	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	VERB	ADV	VERB
TEMP.	GRND.	GRND.	OBL.	GEN.	DAT.	ABS.	NOM.DEF.	ABS.III	OBL.	DAT.	ABS.	ABS.	TEMP.	PART.PRS.+FOC.

Then (again), by crying and crawling he moved himself to the weaver's, (and) having got him to tear the thorn out, he went to the shore, sat down and said,

F ▹dinum mā, vāḷi hifān goho, rukkaṇo matte iňde kāśi negege.◃

dinum	*mā*	*vāḷi*	*hifān*	*goho*	*rukkaṇo*	*matte*	*iňde*	*kāśi*	*negege*
giving	when	knife	grasping	going	tree trunk	upon	sitting	thorn	it was pulled out
NOUN	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	VERB	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	VERB
OBL.	LOC.	NOM.	ABS.III	ABS.	OBL.	LOC.	ABS.	NOM.	PT.IV.3SG.

After having been given the knife and having taken (it), he went off and finally he was able to pull out the thorn (while) sitting on the (coconut) tree trunk.

50

M ⟨"ran fośṭeʾ laʾgaḷē, ma in magaś laʾgaḷē ran fośṭeʾ laʾgalē."⟩

ran	*foṭṭek*	*laggā-uḷē*	*ma*	*in*	*magaś*	*laggā-uḷē*	*ran*	*foṭṭek*	*laggā-uḷē*
gold	a box	let float ashore	I	sitting	to road	let float ashore	gold	a box	let float ashore
NOUN	NOUN	VERB	PPRON	VERB	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	NOUN	VERB
OBL.SG.	NOM.SG.INDEF.	ABS.+IMPV.2SG.	OBL.	PART.PRS.	DAT.SG.	ABS.+IMPV.2SG.	OBL.SG.	NOM.SG.INDEF.	ABS.+IMPV.2SG.

'Let a golden box float ashore, let it float ashore to the place (lit. "road") where I am sitting, let a golden box float ashore.'

A ▸'e gē faṇṇaʾ laʾ ni vēňḍe, afagē faṇṇaʾ lav vēňḍe.'◂

e	*gē*	*faṇṇaś*	*lak*	*ni*	*vēňḍe*	*afagē*	*faṇṇaś*	*lak*	*vēňḍe*
that	house	to beach	floating ashore	not	be	our	to beach	floating ashore	be
DPRON	NOUN	NOUN	??	PARTC	VERB	PPRON	NOUN	??	VERB
ATTR.	GEN.	DAT.	??	NEG.	IMPV.2SG.	GEN.	DAT.	??	IMPV.2SG.

'(Whatever there is,) may it not float ashore to the beach of that house but may it float ashore to the beach of our house!'

F ▹'mi kēnī, ta gē faṇṇaʾ tō, ma gē faṇṇaʾ tō, lak-keranī kāka gē faṇṇaʾ tō?'◃

mi	*kēnī*	*ta*	*gē*	*faṇṇaś*	*tō*	*ma*	*gē*	*faṇṇaś*	*tō*	*lak-keranī*	*kāka*	*gē*	*faṇṇaś*	*tō*
now	what he says is	your	of house	to beach way	whether	my	house	to beach way	whether	where it floats is	whose	of house	to beach way	asking
ADV	VERB	PPRON	NOUN	NOUN	IPARTC	PPRON	NOUN	NOUN	IPARTC	VERB	IPRON	NOUN	NOUN	IPARTC
TEMP.	PART.PRS.+FOC.	OBL.	GEN.	DAT.	CONJ.	OBL.	GEN.	DAT.		PART.PRS.+FOC.	OBL.	GEN.	DAT.	

Then he said, '(will it float) to the beach of your house, (will it float) to the beach of my house, to the beach of whose house will it float?'

50a
F

▹ma im magaʾ laggalē, ran foṭṭeʾ laggalē!◃*

ma	*in*	*magaś*	*laggā-uḷē*	*ran*	*foṭṭek*	*laggā-uḷē*
I	sitting	to road	it may float ashore (?)	gold	a box	it may float ashore (?)
PPRON	VERB	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	NOUN	VERB
OBL.	PART.PRS.	DAT. (M!)	ABS.+IMPV.2SG. (M!)	OBL.	NOM.INDEF. (M!)	ABS.+IMPV.2SG. (M!)

'May it float ashore to the place (lit. "road") where I am sitting, may a gold box float ashore (here).'

50b
F

▹'e im magaʾ nu laggalē ran foṭṭeʾ laggalē!'◃*

e	*in*	*magaś*	*nu*	*laggā-uḷē*	*ran*	*foṭṭek*	*laggā-uḷē*
that one	sitting	to street	not	it may float ashore	gold	a box	it may float ashore
DPRON	VERB	NOUN	PARTC	VERB	NOUN	NOUN	VERB
OBL.	PART.PRS.	DAT. (M!)	NEG. (M!)	ABS.+IMPV.2SG. (M!)	OBL.	NOM.INDEF. (M!)	ABS.+IMPV.2SG. (M!)

'May it not float ashore to the place (lit. "road") where that one is sitting, may a gold box float ashore.'

51
M

⟨mi hen kiya kiyā ʾindā foṣṭeʾ ʾoyā ʾanna tan feniʾje ʾeve.⟩

mi	*hen*	*kia*	*kiā*	*indā*	*foṭṭek*	*oi*	*ā*	*anna*	*tan*	*fenijje*	*eve*
this	way	speaking	speaking	sitting	a box	current	with	coming	place	appeared	they say
DPRON	NOUN	VERB	VERB	VERB	NOUN	NOUN	CONJ	VERB	NOUN	VERB	QPARTC
ATTR.	OBL.SG.	RABS.	RABS.	ABS.	NOM.SG.INDEF.	OBL.SG.	SOC.	PART.PRS.	OBL.SG.	PT.IV.3SG.	EXT.

When he was sitting there, talking and talking like this, a box appeared at the place, coming with the current.

A

▹kē vēlei laʾ vī feśigaṅḍaʾ.◃

kē	*vēlei*	*lak*	*vī*	*feśigaṅḍak*
said	while	floating ashore	what became	a box
VERB	NOUN	??	VERB	NOUN
PART.PRS.	LOC.	??	PART.PT.+FOC.	NOM.INDEF.

When he said (so), a box came floating ashore.

F

▹kēnna gatum mā fēśaʾ lak-kōlli-ai.◃

kēnna	*gatun*	*mā*	*fēśak*	*lak-kōlli*	*ai*
to speak	getting	when	a box	floated ashore	they say
VERB	NOUN	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	QPARTC
INF.	OBL.	LOC.	NOM.INDEF.	PT.II.3SG.	EXT.

After he had finished saying so, a box came floating ashore (to him).

52

M ⟨varaś ʾufalun ʾindā ʾaʾis leʾgī mā foši balāli ʾiru taḷudaḍi ves hurī jahāfa ʾeve.⟩

varaś	*ufalun*	*indā*	*ais*	*leggī*	*mā*	*foši*	*balāli*	*iru*	*taḷudaňḍi*	*ves*	*hurī*	*jahāfa*	*eve*
very	happily	sitting	coming	floated	when	box	looked	time	key	even	being	hitting	they say
NOUN	ADJ	VERB	VERB	VERB	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	NOUN	PARTC	VERB	VERB	QPARTC
DAT.SG.	ABL.SG.	ABS.	ABS.	PART.PT.	OBL.SG.	NOM.SG.	PART.PT.II	OBL.SG.	NOM.SG.	MOD.	PART.PT.+FOC.	ABS.	EXT.

When he looked at the box after it had come floating ashore while he was sitting (there) very happily, (he realised that) even the key was fixed (to it.)

53

M ⟨foši huḷuvāli ʾiru, boḍu ran foʾṭek_ eve. hurī ʾeki vaʾtaru vaʾtaruge ran_ eve.⟩

foši	*huḷuvāli*	*iru*	*boḍu*	*ran*	*foṭṭek*	*eve*	*hurī*	*eki*	*vattaru*	*vattaruge*	*ran*	*eve*
box	opened	time	big	gold	a box	they say	what was is	together	form	of form	gold	they say
NOUN	VERB	NOUN	ADJ	NOUN	NOUN	QPARTC	VERB	ADV	NOUN	NOUN	NOUN	QPARTC
NOM.SG.	PART.PT.II	OBL.SG.	ATTR.	OBL.SG.	NOM.SG.INDEF.	EXT.	PART.PT.+FOC.	MOD.	OBL.SG.	GEN.SG.	NOM.SG.	EXT.

When he shook the box, it was a big golden box. There was gold all about.

A ▸huḷuvai beli kō, feśigaňḍi tibī hus ran veli.◂

huḷuvai	*beli*	*kō*	*feśigaňḍi*	*tibī*	*hus*	*ram*	*veli*
opening	looked	when	in box	what was is	empty	gold	sand
VERB	VERB	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	ADJ	NOUN	NOUN
ABS.	PART.PT.	OBL.	LOC.	PART.PT.+FOC.	ATTR.	OBL.	NOM.

When he opened it and looked inside, pure (lit. "empty") golden sand was in the box.

54

M ⟨den rantaʾ minan vegen nāḷiʾeʾ balā diyaʾī, fiḍanfuḷuge bēbe boḍanfuḷuge geyaś_ eve.⟩

den	*rantak*	*minan*	*vegen*	*nāḷiek*	*balā*	*diaī*	*fiňḍanfuḷuge*	*bēbe*	*boňḍanfuḷuge*	*geaś*	*eve*
then	gold	measuring	in order	a vessel	looking	where he went was	f.-bird's	brother	b.-bird's	to house	they say
ADV	NOUN	VERB	VERB	NOUN	VERB	VERB	NOUN	NOUN	NOUN	NOUN	QPARTC
TEMP.	NOM.PL. (!)	INF.	ABS.III	NOM.SG.INDEF.	ABS.	PART.PT.+FOC.	GEN.SG.	OBL.SG.	GEN.SG.	DAT.SG.	EXT.

Then, looking for a vessel to measure the gold, he went to the house of the b.-bird, the f.-bird's (elder) brother.

A ▸vī ufalun, nagai, koňḍaʾ lāgen gos, gē bāhiśuvai, mināʾ gei boňḍanā gēʾ nāḷi hōdāʾ.◂

vī	*ufalun*	*nagai*	*koňḍaś*	*lāgen*	*gos*	*gē*	*bāhiśuvai*	*mināś*	*gei*	*boňḍanā*	*gēś /geaś/*	*nāḷi*	*hōdāś*
become	by luck	lifting	to shoulder	laying	going	in house	storing	to measure	where he went was	the b.-bird	to house	n.-measure	to look for
VERB	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	VERB	VERB	NOUN	VERB	VERB	VERB	NOUN	NOUN	NOUN	VERB
PART.PT.	ABL.	ABS.	DAT.	ABS.III	ABS.	LOC.	ABS.	INF.	PART.PRS.+FOC.	OBL.DEF.	DAT.	NOM.	INF.

Having been lucky that (this) had happened, he lifted it and laid it on (his) shoulder, and having stored it at home, he went to the b.-bird's house in order to search for a *nāḷi* (measure) to weigh it.

F ▸lak-keram mā fiňḍanu hedī vaḍāmakī fēśi nagā koňḍe lān geśa ebage-ai.◂

lak-keran	*mā*	*fiňḍanu*	*hedī*	*vaḍāmakī*	*fēśi*	*nagā*	*koňḍe*	*lāgen*	*geśa*	*ebage*	*ai*
floated ashore	when	f.-bird	done	a manner was	box	taking up	on shoulder	laying	to house	he went	they say
VERB	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	VERB	QPARTC
PART.PRS.	LOC.	OBL.	PART.PT.	NOM.INDEF.+FOC.	NOM.	ABS.	LOC.	ABS.III	DAT.	PT.3SG.	EXT.

When it came floating ashore, the f.-bird lifted the box, laid it on his shoulder and went to his house.

54a
F

▹geśa goho, mati helī kal mī ran-fēśak-ai.◃

geśa	*goho*	*mati*	*helī*	*kal*	*mī*	*ran*	*fēśak*	*ai*
to house	going	cover	turning	time	what this was is	gold	a box	they say
NOUN	VERB	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	DPRON	NOUN	NOUN	QPARTC
DAT.	ABS.	NOM.	PART.PT.	OBL.	NOM.+FOC.	OBL.	NOM.INDEF.	EXT.

When he had gone home and lifted its lid, it turned out to be a box of gold (lit. "gold box").

F

▹mīe furā mi hīśī ran-ai.◃

mīe	*furā*	*mi*	*hīśī*	*ran*	*ai*
in this	filling	here	what was being was	gold	they say
DPRON	VERB	ADV	VERB	NOUN	QPARTC
LOC.	ABS.	LOC.	PART.PRS.+FOC.	NOM.	EXT.

It turned out to be filled with gold.

54b
F

▹hiśu vēlai boṅḍanuśa feṇuvāli-ai nāḷi huvanna.◃

hiśu	*vēlai*	*boṅḍanuśa*	*feṇuvāli*	*ai*	*nāḷi*	*huvanna*
being	at time	to b.-bird	he sent	they say	n.-vessel	to search for
VERB	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	QPARTC	NOUN	VERB
PART.PRS.	LOC.	DAT.	PT.II.3SG.	EXT.	NOM.	INF.

At that time, he sent (someone) to the b.-bird in order to ask for a *nāḷi*-vessel.

55
A

▸gē kō, boṅḍanā geaki ne'.◂

gē	*kō*	*boṅḍanā*	*geaki*	*ne*
went	when	the b.-bird	at home	is not
VERB	NOUN	NOUN	NOUN	VERB
PART.PT.	OBL.	NOM.DEF.	LOC.INDEF.	PRS.3SG.

When he went there, the b.-bird was not at home.

56
A

▸boṅḍanāge anhenun inī.◂

boṅḍanāge	*anhenun*	*inī*
of the b.-bird	wife	is sitting
NOUN	NOUN	VERB
GEN.DEF.	NOM.PL.(HON.)	PART.PT.

(But) the b.-bird's wife was sitting (there).

57

A

▸fiňdanā beṇī, mi aī nāḷi hōdā'.◂

fiňdanā	*beṇī*	*mi*	*aī*	*nāḷi*	*hōdāś*
the f.-bird	said	here	what I have come for is	n.-measure	to look for
NOUN OBL.DEF.	VERB PART.PT.+FOC.	ADV LOC.	VERB PART.PT.+FOC.	NOUN NOM.	VERB INF.

The f.-bird said, 'I have come to look for a *nāḷi* measure.'

F

▸fenum mā, miūśa nāḷi derefi-ai.◂

fenum	*mā*	*miūśa*	*nāḷi*	*derefi*	*ai*
appearing	when	to this one	n.-vessel	he gave	they say
VB.NOUN OBL.	NOUN LOC.	DPRON DAT.	NOUN NOM.	VERB PT.L3SG.	QPARTC EXT.

When (the one he had sent) appeared (there), (the b.-bird) gave him the *nāḷi*.

M

⟨gosfa'i bunefi 'eve. bēbē nāḷi dī balāś_ eve.⟩

gosfai	*bunefi*	*eve*	*bēbē*	*nāḷi*	*dī*	*balāś*	*eve*
Having gone	said	they say	brother	vessel	giving	to look	saying
VERB ABS.I	VERB PT.L3SG.	QPARTC EXT.	NOUN NOM.SG.	NOUN NOM.SG.	VERB ABS.	VERB INF.	QPARTC INT.

Having gone there, he said, 'brother, please give me a measuring vessel.

57a

M

⟨'eī kī' kuran tō 'ehumun, 'e'ce' minelāś_ ē bune nāḷi 'atula'igen higa'je 'eve.⟩

eī	*kīk*	*kuran*	*tō*	*ehumun*	*eccek*	*minelāś*	*ē*	*bune*	*nāḷi*	*atulaigen*	*hiňgajje*	*eve*
this is	what	to do	whether	asking	a thing	to measure	saying	saying	vessel	taking	went off	they say
DPRON NOM.+FOC.	IPRON NOM.	VERB INF.	IPARTC INT.	VERB GRND.	NOUN NOM.SG.	VERB INF.II	QPARTC INT.	VERB ABS.	NOUN NOM.SG.	VERB ABS.III	VERB PT.IV.3SG.	QPARTC EXT.

When (the b.-bird) asked, 'what do (you need it) for?', he said, 'for measuring something' and went off, taking the vessel.

58

A

▸beṇi mei, nāḷi din kō, mi dinī miāi etere tallā kahalei etta' lāfei.◂

beṇi	*mei*	*nāḷi*	*din*	*kō*	*mi*	*dinī*	*miāi*	*etere*	*tallā*	*kahalei*	*ettak*	*lāfei*
said	when	n.-measure	given	when	now	the way she gave was	of this	inside	to stick	of sort	something	laying
VERB PART.PT.	NOUN LOC.	NOUN [illegible]	VERB PART.PT.	NOUN OBL	ADV TEMP.	VERB PART.PT.+FOC.	DPRON GEN.	NOUN LOC.	VERB PART.PRS.	NOUN GEN.	NOUN NOM.INDEF.	VERB ABS.I

At his saying (so), when she gave him the *nāḷi*, she gave it to him after sticking something inside of it.

59

M (ran mine ʾavadi vegen nāḷi gendiyaʾī nāḷīgaʾi huri lōvaḷakaś ran koḷeʾ jahāfa ʾeve.)

ran	*mine*	*avadi*	*vegen*	*nāḷi*	*gendiaī*	*nāḷīgai*	*huri*	*lōvaḷakaś*	*ran*	*koḷek*	*jahāfa*	*eve*
gold	measuring	finished	becoming	vessel	how he took away was	in vessel	being	to a hole	gold	a piece	having left	they say
NOUN	VERB	ADJ	VERB	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	QPARTC
NOM.SG.	ABS.	PRED.	ABS.III	NOM.SG.	PART.PT.+FOC.	LOC.SG.	PART.PRS.	DAT.SG.INDEF.	OBL.SG.	NOM.SG.INDEF.	ABS.I	EXT.

After he had finished measuring the gold, he took it back, (with) a piece of gold having been left in a hole which was in the vessel.

A ▸**fiñdanā gos, ram veli minagen aṁbarai nāḷi derefi.**◂

fiñdanā	*gos*	*ran*	*veli*	*minagen*	*aṁbarai*	*nāḷi*	*derefi*
the f.-bird	going	gold	sand	measuring	turning	n.-measure	he gave
NOUN	VERB	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	VERB	NOUN	VERB
NOM.DEF.	ABS.	OBL.	NOM.	ABS.III	ABS.	NOM.	PT.I.3SG.

The f.-bird went (off and), after measuring the gold sand, he returned the *nāḷi*-measure.

F ▸**nāḷi dinum mā, goho, ran minegen nāḷie fuḷe hīśi baleki etere ran keḍaʾ jahāgen ebage-ai.**◂

nāḷi	*dinum*	*mā*	*goho*	*ran*	*minegen*	*nāḷie*	*fuḷe*	*hīśi*	*baleki*	*etere*	*ran*	*keḍak*	*jahāgen*	*ebage*	*ai*
n.-vessel	giving	when	going	gold	measuring	of n-vessel	in bottom	being	in a hole	within	gold	a piece	hitting	he went	they say
NOUN	VB.NOUN	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	NOUN	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	VERB	QPARTC
NOM.	OBL.	LOC.	ABS.	NOM.	ABS.III	GEN.	LOC.	PART.PRS.	LOC.INDEF.	LOC.	OBL.	NOM.INDEF.	ABS.III	PT.3SG.	EXT.

After being given the *nāḷi*, he went (back); and leaving a piece of gold in a hole which was at the bottom of the *nāḷi* when measuring the gold, (the f.-bird) went back.

60

M (gengos nāḷi dinī mā nāḷi balālāfaʾi ran koḷu fenigen, bunefi ʾeve.)

gengos	*nāḷi*	*dinī*	*mā*	*nāḷi*	*balālāfai*	*ran*	*koḷu*	*fenigen*	*bunefi*	*eve*
having brought	n.-vessel	gave	when	vessel	having inspected	gold	piece	appearing	said	they say
VERB	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	VERB	QPARTC
ABS.	NOM.SG.	PART.PT.	OBL.SG.	NOM.SG.	ABS.II+I	OBL.SG.	NOM.SG.	ABS.III	PT.I.3SG.	EXT.

When he returned the vessel after having brought (it back), (the b.-bird) said when he inspected it and the piece of gold appeared:

A ▸**boñḍanā anhenun nāḷi beli kō, eai etere tibī ram veli tallāfei.**◂

boñḍanā	*anhenun*	*nāḷi*	*beli*	*kō*	*eai*	*etere*	*tibī*	*ran*	*veli*	*tallāfei*
the b.-bird	wife	n.-measure	looked	when	of that	inside	what was was	gold	sand	sticking
NOUN	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	DPRON	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	NOUN	VERB
OBL.DEF.	OBL.PL.(HON.)	NOM.	PART.PT.	OBL.	GEN.	LOC.	PART.PT.+FOC.	OBL.	NOM.	ABS.

When the b.-bird's wife inspected the *nāḷi*-measure, she found gold sand sticking (inside).

61

A ▸**boñḍanā geu ā mei, eage anhenun kēfi, tage rahumatteri fiñdanā ada mi gēʾ nāḷi hōdagen gos, minī ram veli-au.**◂

boñḍanā	*geaś*	*ā*	*mei*	*eage*	*anhenun*	*kēfi*	*tage*	*rahumatteri*	*fiñdanā*	*ada*	*mi*	*gēś*	*nāḷi*	*hōdagen*	*gos*	*minī*	*ran*	*veli-*	*au*
the b.-bird	to house	come	when	that one's	wife	said	your	friend	the f.-bird	today	this	to house	n.	seeking	going	what he measured was	gold	sand	saying
NOUN	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	DPRON	NOUN	VERB	PPRON	NOUN	NOUN	ADV	DPRON	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	VERB	VERB	NOUN	NOUN	QPARTC
OBL.DEF.	DAT.	PART.PT.	LOC.	GEN.	OBL.PL.(HON.)	PART.PT.	GEN.	OBL.	OBL.DEF.	TEMP.	ATTR	DAT.	NOM.	ABS.III	ABS.	PART.PT.+FOC.	OBL.	NOM.	EXT.

When the b.-bird came home, his wife said, 'your friend, the f.-bird, having come to this house today to look for a *nāḷi*-measure, measured gold sand with it.'

61a

A

▸ta gosselāʾ kei, mī ke henakaʾ vī kamaʾ tō balāʾ.◂

ta	*gosselāś*	*kei*	*mī*	*ke*	*henakaś*	*vī*	*kamak*	*tō*	*balāś*
you	please to go	saying	this	which	to a way	come about	a fact	asking	to look
PPRON	VERB	VERB	DPRON	IPRON	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	IPARTC	VERB
OBL.	INF.II	ABS.	NOM.+FOC.	ATTR.	DAT.INDEF.	PART.PT.	NOM.		INF.

She told him, 'Would you (please) go to look how this has come about.'

62

A

▸beṇi mei, boňḍanā ebege.◂

beṇi	*mei*	*boňḍanā*	*ebege*
said	when	the b.-bird	went off
VERB	NOUN	NOUN	VERB
PART.PT.	LOC.	NOM.DEF.	PT.IV.3SG.

At her saying so, the b.-bird went off.

62a

M

(ʾaʾde! ʾaʾdē! nāḷīgaʾi mihirī kon ran koḷeʾ heʾy_ eve.)

adde!	*addē!*	*nāḷīgai*	*mihirī*	*kon*	*ran*	*koḷek*	*heyo*	*eve*
ah!	ah!	in vessel	what this is	what	gold	a piece	well	saying
INTJ	INTJ	NOUN	DPRON	IPRON	NOUN	NOUN	IPARTC	QPARTC
=	=	LOC.SG.	NOM.+FOC.	ATTR.	OBL.SG.	NOM.SG.INDEF.	MOD.	INT.

'Ah, ah! What a piece of gold may this be, in this vessel?'

A

▸den gos ehi rahumatteri miturā, mī ke henakaʾ libeṇe ram vēlaʾ, ta minagen mi hiňganī?◂

den	*gos*	*ehi*	*rahumatteri*	*miturā*	*mī*	*ke*	*henakaś*	*libeṇe*	*ram*	*vēlak*	*ta*	*minagen*	*mi*	*hiňganī?*
then	going	asked	friend	friend	this	which	to a way	received	gold	sand	you	measuring	here	going around
ADV	VERB	VERB	NOUN	NOUN	DPRON	IPRON	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	NOUN	PPRON	VERB	ADV	VERB
TEMP.	ABS.	PART.PT.(+FOC.)	NOM.	NOM.	NOM.(+FOC.)	ATTR.	DAT.INDEF.	PART.PT.	OBL.	NOM.INDEF.	OBL.	ABS.III	LOC.	PART.PRS.

Then, going (there), he asked, 'my friend, how did you come across the gold sand which you have just been measuring?'

F

▹goho dinum mā, miu beṇanī kontākun huī ranat tai?◃

goho	*dinun*	*mā*	*miu*	*beṇanī*	*kontākun*	*huī*	*ranak*	*tai?*
going	giving	when	this one	what he says is	from where	where was found is	a gold	asking
VERB	NOUN	NOUN	DPRON	VERB	IPRON	VERB	NOUN	IPARTC
ABS.	OBL.	LOC.	OBL.	PART.PRS.+FOC.	ABL.	PART.PT.+FOC.	NOM.INDEF.	

After having gone (there) and given it (back), he asked, 'where did you find (this) gold?'

63

(fidanfulu bunefi ʾeve bēbē, timannā ʾeʾlālī mā)

M

fiñdanfulu	*bunefi*	*eve*	*bēbē*	*timan*	*ā*	*ellālī*	*mā*
f.-bird	said	they say	brother	self	with	threw	when
NOUN	VERB	QPARTC	NOUN	PRON	CONJ	VERB	NOUN
NOM.SG.	PT.1.3SG.	EXT.	NOM.SG.	OBL.SG.	SOC.	PART.PT.II	OBL.SG.

The f.-bird said, '(elder) brother, when (you) hurled me (away),

▸fiñdanā kēfi, ta timā taḷai taḷafei elli mei gos jeheṇei raʾ bēre kaśi kuṁburu hāle etere◂

A

fiñdanā	*kēfi*	*ta*	*timā*	*taḷai*	*taḷafei*	*elli*	*mei*	*gos*	*jeheṇeī*	*raś*	*bēre*	*kaśi*	*kuṁburu*	*hāle*	*etere*
the f.-bird	said	you	self	beating	beating	hurled	when	going	where I hit was	land	outside	thorn	bushes	of thicket	inside
NOUN	VERB	PPRON	PRON	VERB	VERB	VERB	NOUN	VERB	VERB	NOUN	NOUN	NOUN	NOUN	NOUN	NOUN
OBL.DEF.	PART.PT.I(+FOC.)	OBL.	NOM.	RABS.	RABS.I	PART.PT.	LOC.	ABS.	PART.PT.+FOC.	OBL.	LOC.	OBL.	OBL.	GEN.	LOC.

The f.-bird said, 'when you hurled me away after beating and beating me, I hit in a thicket of thorny bushes outside the land.'

▸beṇā beṇi-ai, e duvahi, bēbē, timā taḷāfē ellum mā kaśi kuṁburu bāleki-ai jehūni.◂

F

beṇā	*beṇi*	*ai*	*e*	*duvahi*	*bēbē*	*timā*	*taḷāfē*	*ellun*	*mā*	*kaśi*	*kuṁburu*	*bāleki*	*ai*	*jehūni.*
saying	he said	they say	that	at day	brother	self	striking	throwing	when	thorn	bush	in a thicket	saying	where I hit was
VERB	VERB	QPARTC	DPRON	NOUN	NOUN	PRON	VERB	NOUN	NOUN	NOUN	NOUN	NOUN	QPARTC	VERB
ABS.	PT.3SG.	EXT.	ATTR.	LOC.	NOM.	NOM.	ABS.I	OBL.	LOC.	OBL.	OBL.	LOC.INDEF.	INT.	PART.PT.+FOC.

(At his) saying (so), (the f.-bird) said, '(elder) brother, that day when you struck me and threw me (away), I hit in a thicket of thorny bushes.

63a

▸jehifei timā fai uḍumaʾ kāśaʾ van mei, timā dememun dememun gos◂

A

jehifei	*timā*	*fai*	*uḍumaś*	*kāśak*	*van*	*mei*	*timā*	*dememun*	*dememun*	*gos*
hitting	self	foot	to heel	a thorn	entered	when	self	being pulled	being pulled	going
VERB	PRON	NOUN	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	PRON	VERB	VERB	VERB
ABS.I	OBL.	OBL.	DAT.	OBL.INDEF.	PART.PT.	LOC.	OBL.	RGRND.	RGRND.	ABS.

'When I hit (there), a thorn pierced my heel, (and when I) moved off crawling and crawling,

63b

M ⟨ʔatiri matīgaʔi rōn ʔidegen⟩

atiri	*matīgai*	*rōn*	*iňdegen*
beach	upon	to cry	sitting
NOUN	NOUN	VERB	VERB
OBL.SG.	LOC.SG.	INF.	ABS.III

when I was crying, sitting on the beach,

A ▸fēru kalēge ekuhun kaśie naguvagen timā kināra assēriaʔ gos iňde mi kēnī:◂

fēru	*kalēge*	*ekuhun*	*kaśie*	*naguvagen*	*timā*	*kināra*	*assēriaś*	*gos*	*iňde*	*mi*	*kēnī:*
weaver	person's	by	the thorn	having torn out	self	edge	to shore	going	sitting	now	what I am saying is
NOUN	NOUN	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	PRON	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	VERB	ADV	VERB
OBL.	GEN.	ABL.	NOM.DEF.	ABS.III	OBL.	OBL.	DAT.	ABS.	ABS.	TEMP.	PART.PRS.(+FOC.)

after having the thorn torn out by a weaver's person, I went to the shore, and sitting (there), I said:

F ▸jehīgen, e tanen nukumegen goho atire rukkanna matte iňdei timā kēnī-ai:◂

jehīgen	*e*	*tanen*	*nukumegen*	*goho*	*atire*	*rukkanna*	*matte*	*iňdei*	*timā*	*kēnī*	*ai:*
hitting	that	from place	getting out	going	of beach	tree trunk	upon	sitting	self	what said was	saying
VERB	DPRON	NOUN	VERB	VERB	NOUN	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	PRON	VERB	QPARTC
ABS.III	ATTR.	ABL.	ABS.III	ABS.	GEN.	OBL.	LOC.	ABS.	OBL.	PART.PRS.+FOC.	INT.

After having hit there, having got out (again) from this place and having gone (away), I said to myself, sitting on the trunk of a coconut tree:

63c

M ⟨"ran foṣṭeʔ laʔgalē. ma ʔin magaś laʔgalē."⟩

ran	*foṭṭek*	*laggā-uḷē*	*ma*	*in*	*magaś*	*laggā-uḷē*
gold	a box	let float ashore	I	sitting	to road	let float ashore
NOUN	NOUN	VERB	PPRON	VERB	NOUN	VERB
OBL.SG.	NOM.SG.INDEF.	ABS.+IMPV.2SG.	OBL.	PART.PRS.	DAT.SG.	ABS.+IMPV.2SG.

'Let a gold box float ashore, let it float ashore to the beach (lit. "road") where I am sitting, let a gold box float ashore',

A ▸"afagē faṇṇaʔ laʔ vēňḍē e gē faṇṇaʔ laʔ ni vēňḍē!"◂

afagē	*faṇṇaś*	*lak*	*vēňḍē*	*e*	*gē*	*faṇṇaś*	*lak*	*ni*	*vēňḍē*
our	to beach	floating ashore	be	that	of house	to beach	floating	not	be
PPRON	NOUN	??	VERB	DPRON	NOUN	NOUN	??	PARTC	VERB
GEN.	DAT.	??	IMPV.2SG.	ATTR.	GEN.	DAT.	??	NEG.	IMPV.2SG.

'(Whatever may come floating ashore), may it float ashore to the beach of our house, may it not float ashore to the beach of that house.'

F ▸e im magaʔ nu laggalē ma im magaʔ laggalē ran foṭṭaʔ laggalē!"◂*

e	*in*	*magaś*	*nu*	*laggā-uḷē*	*ma*	*in*	*magaś*	*laggā-uḷē*	*ran*	*foṭṭak*	*laggā-uḷē*
that one	sitting	to road	not	it may float ashore	I	sitting	to road	it may float ashore	gold	a box	it may float ashore
DPPRON	VERB	NOUN	PARTC	VERB	PPRON	VERB	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	NOUN	VERB
OBL.(M?)	PART.PRS.	DAT.(M?)	NEG.(M?)	ABS.+IMPV.2SG.(M?)	OBL.	PART.PRS.	DAT.(M?)	ABS.+IMPV.2SG.(M?)	OBL.	NOM.INDEF.	ABS.+IMPV.2SG.(M?)

'May it not float ashore to the beach (lit. "road") where that one is sitting, may it float ashore where I am sitting, may a gold box float (here).'

64

M ⟨mi hen kī mā ʾaʾi ran foṣṭek_ eve.⟩

mi	*hen*	*kī*	*mā*	*ai*	*ran*	*foṭṭek*	*eve*
this	way	spoke	when	what came was	gold	a box	saying
DPRON ATTR.	NOUN OBL.SG.	VERB PART.PT.	NOUN OBL.SG.	VERB PART.PT.+FOC.	NOUN OBL.SG.	NOUN NOM.SG.INDEF.	QPARTC INT.

'when I was talking like this, a gold box came (floating ashore).'

A ▸me hen kē vēlei, laʾ vegei-au feśigaňḍaʾ.◂

me	*hen*	*kē*	*vēlai*	*lak*	*vegeī*	*au*	*feśigaňḍak*
this	way	saying	while	floating	what became was	saying	a box
DPRON ATTR.	NOUN OBL.	VERB PART.PRS.	NOUN LOC.	?? ??	VERB PART.PT.IV+FOC.	QPARTC INT.	NOUN NOM.INDEF.

When (I had) said so, a box came floating ashore.

F ▹mi hen kē vēlai lak-keḷa fēśak-ai.◃

mi	*hen*	*kē*	*vēlai*	*lak-keḷa*	*fēśak*	*ai*
this	way	saying	at time	what came floating ashore was	a box	saying
DPRON ATTR.	NOUN OBL.	VERB PART.PRS.	NOUN LOC.	VERB PART.PT.	NOUN NOM.INDEF.	QPARTC INT.

When (I had) said so, a box came floating ashore.

65

M ⟨balāli ʾiru hurī ran_ eve.⟩

balāli	*iru*	*hurī*	*ran*	*eve*
looked	time	what was is	gold	they say
VERB PART.PT.	NOUN OBL.SG.	VERB PART.PT.+FOC.	NOUN NOM.SG.	QPARTC INT.

When I looked (inside), there was (pure) gold (in it).

A ▸huḷuvai beli kō, tibī ram veli-au.◂

huḷuvai	*beli*	*kō*	*tibī*	*ran*	*veli*	*au*
opening	looked	when	what was there was	gold	sand	saying
VERB ABS.	VERB PART.PT.	NOUN OBL.	VERB PART.PT.+FOC.	NOUN OBL.	NOUN NOM.	QPARTC INT.

When (I) opened (it) and looked (inside), there was gold sand (in it).

F ▹mati helī kal ēye tībī ran-ai.◃

mati	*helī*	*kal*	*ēye*	*tībī*	*ran*	*ai*
cover	turned	time	in that	being	gold	saying
NOUN NOM.	VERB PART.PT.	NOUN OBL.	DPRON LOC.	VERB PART.PRS.+FOC.	NOUN NOM.	QPARTC INT.

When (I) lifted the cover up, there was gold (in it).

66
A

▸den ta gen nāḷi hōdagen ās, mini-au.◂

den	*ta*	*gen*	*nāḷi*	*hōdagen*	*ās*	*mini*	*au*
then	your	from house	n.-measure	looking for	coming	measured	saying
ADV	PPRON	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	VERB	VERB	QPARTC
TEMP.	OBL.	ABL.	OBL.	ABS.III	ABS.	PT.3SG.	INT.

Then, having come to your house to look for a *nāḷi*-measure, (I) measured it', he said.

67
F

▹e-ai mī.◃

e	*ai*	*mī*
that	saying	what this is is
DPRON	QPARTC	DPRON
NOM.	INT.	NOM.+FOC.

This is (all).

68
M

⟨mi hen bunefa'ī, fiḏanfuḷu diya'ī, ge'aś_ eve.⟩

mi	*hen*	*bunefai*	*fiḏanfuḷu*	*diaī*	*geaś*	*eve*
this	way	having spoken	f.-bird	where he went was	to house	they say
DPRON	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	QPARTC
ATTR.	OBL.SG.	ABS.I	OBL.SG.	PART.PT.+FOC.	DAT.SG.	EXT.

Having spoken like this, the f.-bird went home.

69

M ⟨**den boḍanfuḷu ʾamiʾlaʾaś teḷigen boḍu ge matin kuḍa ge matin, ʾeʾligen gos kaśi kuburu vaḷaś jehi kaśi herigen,**⟩

den	*boňḍanfuḷu*	*amillaaś*	*teḷigen*	*boḍu*	*ge*	*matin*	*kuḍa*	*ge*	*matin*	*elligen*	*gos*	*kaśi*	*kuṁburu*	*vaḷaś*	*jehi*	*kaśi*	*herigen*
then	b.-bird	to himself	striking	big	house	over	small	house	over	hurling	going	thorn	bush	to thicket	hit	thorn	piercing
ADV	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	ADJ	NOUN	NOUN	ADJ	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	VERB	NOUN	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	VERB
TEMP.	NOM.SG.	DAT.SG.	ABS.III	ATTR.	OBL.SG.	ABL.SG.	ATTR.	OBL.SG.	ABL.SG.	ABS.III	ABS.	OBL.SG.	OBL.SG.	DAT.SG.	ABS.	NOM.SG.	ABS.III

Then the b.-bird, striking himself, hurling himself over the big house and over the small house, falling down in a thicket of thorny bushes, being pierced by thorns,

A **▸beṇi mei, boňḍanā amellā gos, raʾ bēre kaśi kuṁburu hālaʾ vede, uḍumaʾ kāśaʾ vaduvagen gos,◂**

beṇi	*mei*	*boňḍanā*	*amellā*	*gos*	*raś*	*bēre*	*kaśi*	*kuṁburu*	*hālaś*	*vede*	*uḍumaś*	*kāśak*	*vaduvagen*	*gos*
said	when	the b.-bird	himself	going	land	outside	thorn	bushes	a thicket	entering	to heel	a thorn	causing to enter	going
VERB	NOUN	NOUN	PRON	VERB	NOUN	NOUN	NOUN	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	VERB
PART.PT.	LOC.	OBL.DEF.	PRED.	ABS.	OBL.	LOC.	OBL.	OBL.	DAT.	ABS.	DAT.	NOM.INDEF.	ABS.III	ABS.

After (his) saying (so), the b.-bird went off himself, entered into a thicket of thorny bushes outside the land, had his heel pierced (by) a thorn, went on

F **▸beṇā miu hitaha eri-ai timā-s mi hen ennēnī-ai.◂**

beṇā	*miu*	*hitaha*	*eri*	*ai*	*timā*	*as*	*mi*	*hen*	*ennēnī*	*ai*
saying	this one's	to mind	what arose is	they say	self	too	this	way	shall go	saying
VERB	DPRON	NOUN	VERB	QPARTC	PRON	CONJ	DPRON	NOUN	VERB	QPARTC
ABS.	OBL.	DAT.	PART.PT.+FOC.	EXT.	NOM.	MOD.	ATTR.	NOM.	PART.FUT.	EXT.

After (his) saying so, (the b.-bird) made up his mind, 'I shall go like this myself.'

69a

F **▸hik koggen amillaen teḷīgen ellīgen goho,◂**

hit	*koggen*	*amillaen*	*teḷīgen*	*ellīgen*	*goho*
mind	making	by himself	struck	thrown	going
NOUN	VERB	PRON	VERB	VERB	VERB
NOM.	ABS.III	ABL.	ABS.III	ABS.III	ABS.

After making (up his) mind (like this), striking himself, hurling himself, going (like this),

69b

M ⟨ʔatiri maʔcaś nukume ʔidegen, mi hen gova ʔeve:⟩

atiri	*maccaś*	*nukume*	*iñdegen*	*mi*	*hen*	*govā*	*eve*
beach	upon	going out	sitting	this	way	cries	they say
NOUN	NOUN	VERB	VERB	DEMON	NOUN	VERB	QPARTC
OBL.SG.	DAT.SG.	ABS.	ABS.III	ATTR.	OBL.SG.	PRS.3SG.	EXT.

getting out again to the beach and sitting (there), he cried:

A **▸fēru kalēge ekuhun kaśie uhuruvagen, uhuruvagen kināra assēriaʾ nukume iñde, mi kēnī:◂**

fēru	*kalēge*	*ekuhun*	*kaśie*	*uhuruvagen*	*uhuruvagen*	*kināra*	*assēriaś*	*nukume*	*iñde*	*mi*	*kēnī*
weaver	person's	by	the thorn	having pulled out	having pulled out	edge	to shore	going out	sitting	now	he is saying
NOUN	NOUN	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	VERB	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	VERB	ADV	VERB
OBL.	GEN.	ABL.	NOM.DEF.	RABS.III	RABS.III	OBL.	DAT.	ABS.	ABS.	TEMP.	PART.PRS.+FOC.

and had it pulled out by a weaver; he went on the beach, and sitting (there), he said:

F **▹kaśi kuṁburu bālakaha veṭṭīgen, damāgen nukumegen goho, atire rukkaṇṇa matte iñde mi kēnī:◃**

kaśi	*kuṁburu*	*bālakaha*	*veṭṭīgen*	*damāgen*	*nukumegen*	*goho*	*atire*	*rukkaṇṇa*	*matte*	*iñde*	*mi*	*kēnī:*
thorn	bush	a thicket	falling	pulling	getting out	going	of beach	tree trunk	upon	sitting	now	what he says is:
NOUN	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	VERB	VERB	VERB	NOUN	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	ADV	VERB
OBL.	OBL.	DAT.INDEF.	ABS.III	ABS.III	ABS.III	ABS.	GEN.	OBL.	LOC.	ABS.	TEMP.	PART.PRS.+FOC.

he fell into a thicket of thorny bushes, pulled himself out, got out and went off, and sitting upon a coconut trunk, he said:

69c

M ⟨"ran foṣṭeʾ laʾgaḷē. ma ʾin magaś laʾgaḷē. ʾe ʾin magaś nu laʾgaḷē!"⟩

ran	*foṭṭek*	*laggā-uḷē*	*ma*	*in*	*magaś*	*laggā-uḷē*	*e*	*in*	*magaś*	*nu*	*laggā-uḷē*
gold	a box	let float ashore	I	sitting	to road	let float ashore	that	sitting	to road	not	let float ashore
NOUN	NOUN	VERB	PPRON	VERB	NOUN	VERB	DPRON	VERB	NOUN	PARTC	VERB
OBL.SG.	NOM.SG.INDEF.	ABS.+IMPV.2SG.	OBL.	PART.PRS.	DAT.SG.	ABS.+IMPV.2SG.	OBL.SG.	PART.PRS.	DAT.SG.	NEG.	ABS.+IMPV.2SG.

'Let a gold box float ashore, let it float ashore to the beach where I am sitting, let it not float ashore where that (one) is sitting.

A **▸"afagē faṇṇaʾ laʾ vēṅḍē, e gē faṇṇaʾ laʾ ni vēṅḍē!"◂**

afagē	*faṇṇaś*	*lak*	*vēṅḍē*	*e*	*gē*	*faṇṇaś*	*lak*	*ni*	*vēṅḍē*
our	to beach	floating ashore	be	that	of house	to beach	floating ashore	not	be
PPRON	NOUN	??	VERB	DPRON	NOUN	NOUN	??	PARTC	VERB
GEN.	DAT.	??	IMPV.2SG. ??	ATTR.	GEN.	DAT.	??	NEG.	IMPV.2SG. ??

"(Whatever may come floating ashore), may it float to the beach of our house, may it not float to the beach of that house."

F **▹"e im magaʾ nu laggaḷē, ma im magaʾ laggaḷē, ran foṭṭeʾ laggaḷē!"◃***

e	*in*	*magaś*	*nu*	*laggā-uḷē*	*ma*	*in*	*magaś*	*laggā-uḷē*	*ran*	*foṭṭek*	*laggā-uḷē*
that one	sitting	to road	not	it may float ashore	I	sitting	to road	it may float	gold	a box	it may float ashore
DPRON	VERB	NOUN	PARTC	VERB	PPRON	VERB	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	NOUN	VERB
OBL. (M!)	PART.PRS.	DAT. (M!)	NEG. (M!)	ABS.+IMPV.2SG. (M!)	OBL.	PART.PRS.	DAT. (M)	ABS.+IMPV.2SG. (M!)	OBL.	NOM.INDEF. (M!)	ABS.+IMPV.2SG. (M!)

May it not float ashore to the beach where that one is sitting, may it float to the beach where I am sitting, may a gold box float (here).

70

M

⟨mi hen govan ʾindā foṣṭeʾ ʾannāti feni varaś ʾufalun ʾindā ʾaʾis laʾgaʾifi ʾeve.⟩

mi	*hen*	*govan*	*indā*	*foṭṭek*	*anna*	*eti*	*feni*	*varaś*	*ufalun*	*indā*	*ais*	*lak-gaifi*	*eve*
this	way	to cry	sitting	a box	coming	thing	appeared	very	happy	sitting	coming	came floating ashore	they say
DPRON ATTR.	NOUN OBL.SG.	VERB INF.	VERB ABS.	NOUN NOM.SG.INDEF.	VERB PART.PRS.	NOUN NOM.SG.	VERB ABS.	NOUN DAT.SG.	ADJ ABL.SG.	VERB ABS.	VERB ABS.	VERB PT.I.3SG.	QPARTC EXT.

When he was sitting (there and) crying like this, a box appeared and while he was sitting (there) very happily, it came floating ashore.

A

▸kē vēlei, feśigaṅḍaʾ laʾ vege.◂

kē	*vēlei*	*feśigaṅḍak*	*lak*	*vege*
saying	while	a box	floating	became
VERB PART.PRS.	NOUN LOC.	NOUN NOM.INDEF.	?? ??	VERB PT.IV.3SG.

(At his) saying (so), a box came floating ashore.

F

▸mi hen kē vēlai, fēśaʾ lak-kolli-ai.◂

mi	*hen*	*kē*	*vēlai*	*fēśak*	*lak-kolli*	*ai*
this	way	saying	at time	a box	floated ashore	they say
DPRON ATTR.	NOUN OBL.	VERB PART.PRS.	NOUN LOC.	NOUN NOM.INDEF.	VERB PT.II.3SG.	QPARTC EXT.

(At his) saying so, a box came floating ashore.

70a

F

▸lak-keḷām mā, nagā koṅḍe lāgen geśa hifāgen ebage-ai.◂

lak-keḷān	*mā*	*nagā*	*koṅḍe*	*lāgen*	*geśa*	*hifāgen*	*ebage*	*ai*
floated ashore	when	lifting	on shoulder	laying	to house	taking	he went	they say
VERB PART.PT.	NOUN LOC.	VERB ABS.	NOUN LOC.	VERB ABS.III	NOUN DAT.	VERB ABS.III	VERB PT.3SG.	QPARTC EXT.

When it had come floating ashore, he lifted (it), laid (it) upon his shoulder, and he went away taking (it) to his house.

71

M

⟨mi fośīgaʾi ves, taḷudaḍi hurī jahāfa ʾeve.⟩

mi	*fośīgai*	*ves*	*taḷudaṅḍi*	*hurī*	*jahāfa*	*eve*
this	in box	also	key	what was is	fixed	they say
DPRON ATTR.	NOUN LOC.SG.	PARTC MOD.	NOUN OBL.SG.	VERB PART.PRS.+FOC.	VERB ABS.I	QPARTC EXT.

On this box too, the key was fixed.

F

▸geśa goho, hedī vaḍāmakī, mati halāli-ai.◂

geśa	*goho*	*hedī*	*vaḍāmakī*	*mati*	*halāli*	*ai*
to house	going	done	a manner was	cover	he turned	they say
NOUN DAT.	VERB ABS.	VERB PART.PT.	NOUN NOM.INDEF.+FOC.	NOUN NOM.	VERB PT.II.3SG.	QPARTC EXT.

Having gone home, he lifted the cover.

72
M ⟨'avahaś ranta' nagān vegen matigaḍu huḷuvāli 'iraś, furatama bolaś 'ara'igatī fī kukuḷek_ eve.⟩

avahaś	*rantak*	*nagāgen*	*vegen*	*matigaňḍu*	*huḷuvāli*	*iraś*	*furatama*	*bolaś*	*araigatī*	*fī*	*kukuḷek*	*eve*
quickly	gold	to take off	in order	cover	shook	at time	first	to head	what he received climbing	sitting	a hen	they say
ADJ DAT.SG.	NOUN NOM.PL.	VERB INF.	VERB ABS.III	NOUN NOM.SG.	VERB PART.PT.II	NOUN DAT.SG.	ADV TEMP.	NOUN DAT.SG.	VERB PART.PT.III+FOC.	VERB PART.PT.	NOUN NOM.SG.INDEF.	QPARTC EXT.

When he shook the cover in order to take off the gold quickly, the first (thing) that jumped up to him was a sitting hen.

A ▸**huḷuvai beli kō ea etere otī fīla beḷelak-āi fīla kurafatak-āi.**◂

huḷuvai	*beli*	*kō*	*ea*	*etere*	*otī*	*fīla*	*beḷelak*	*āi*	*fīla*	*kurafatak*	*āi*
opening	looked	when	that	inside	what was is	kids	a cat	with	chicks	a jack knife	with
VERB ABS.	VERB PART.PT.	NOUN OBL.	DPRON OBL.	NOUN LOC.	VERB PART.PT.+FOC.	NOUN OBL.	NOUN NOM.INDEF.	CONJ SOC.	NOUN OBL.	NOUN NOM.INDEF.	CONJ SOC.

When it opened (it) and looked (inside), there was a cat with kittens in it and a jack knife with chicks.

F ▸**helī kal, mie etere mi ōtī beňdefē o' kukuḷu fīlākk-ā, kurafatakk-ā.**◂

helī	*kal*	*mie*	*etere*	*mi*	*ōtī*	*beňdefē*	*ot*	*kukuḷu*	*fīlāk*	*ā*	*kurafatak*	*ā*
turned	time	in this	within	now	what was is	tied up	being	hen	a chicken	with	a jack knife	with
VERB PART.PT.	NOUN OBL.	DPRON LOC.	NOUN LOC.	ADV TEMP.	VERB PART.PRS.+FOC.	VERB ABS.I	VERB PART.PRS.	NOUN NOM.	NOUN OBL.INDEF.	CONJ SOC.	NOUN NOM.INDEF.	CONJ SOC.

When he opened it, there was tied up a hen with a chicken (in it) and a jack knife.

73
M ⟨den 'ara'igatī nagulandāśitakā'ī, bicūtak_ eve. nannugatitakā'ī harufatak_ eve.⟩

den	*araigatī*	*nagulandāśitak*	*āi*	*bicūtak*	*eve*	*nannugatitak*	*āi*	*harufatak*	*eve*
then	what he received climbing was	tail fleas	with	centipedes	they say	snakes	with	serpents	they say
ADV TEMP.	VERB PART.PT.III+FOC.	NOUN NOM.PL.	CONJ SOC.	NOUN NOM.PL.	QPARTC EXT.	NOUN NOM.PL.	CONJ SOC.	NOUN NOM.PL.	QPARTC EXT.

Then, tail fleas and centipedes, snakes and serpents jumped up to him.

74
A ▸**fīla beḷelā dimā keḍeī mia gāu arā'.**◂

fīla	*beḷelā*	*dimā*	*keḍeī*	*mia*	*gāś*	*arāś*
kids	the cat	direction	what they made was	this one	to body	to climb
NOUN OBL.	NOUN OBL.DEF.	NOUN OBL.	VERB PART.PT.+FOC.	DPRON OBL.	NOUN DAT.	VERB INF.

The cat and her kittens started to climb upon his body.

74a
A ▸**kurafa' dimā keḍeī mia kara buri kollā'.**◂

kurafat	*dimā*	*keḍeī*	*mia*	*kara*	*buri*	*kollāś.*
knife	direction	what it made was	this one	throat	cutting	to make
NOUN OBL.	NOUN OBL.	VERB PART.PT.+FOC.	DPRON OBL.	NOUN NOM.	NOUN (OBL.)	VERB INF.II

The knife aimed at cutting his throat.

74b
A

▸den mide divi ebege.◂

den	*mide*	*divi*	*ebege*
then	this one	running	went off
ADV	DPRON	VERB	VERB
TEMP.	NOM.	ABS.	PT.3SG.

He, however, started running away.

75
M

⟨gayaś ʾaraʾigen⟩

gayaś	*araigen*
to body	climbing
NOUN	VERB
DAT.SG.	ABS.III

When (they) climbed up (his) body,

75a
M

⟨kaśi jahaʾi, dat ʾalaʾi hadaʾigatgatun boḍanfuḷu hē netigen veʾṭi maruveʾje ʾeve.⟩

kaśi	*jahai*	*dat*	*alai*	*hadaigatgatun*	*boḍanfuḷu*	*hē*	*netigen*	*vetti*	*maruvejje*	*eve*
thorn	hitting	tooth	ramming in	from all what they did to him	b.-bird	consciousness	not being present	falling	died	they say
NOUN	VERB	NOUN	VERB	VERB	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	VERB	VERB	QPARTC
NOM.SG.	ABS.	NOM.SG.	ABS.	PART.PT.III ABL.DISTR.PL.	NOM.SG.	NOM.SG.	ABS.III	ABS.	PT.IV.3SG.	EXT.

hitting him (with) thorns, ramming their teeth into (him), the b.-bird, having lost consciousness from all what they did to him, fell and died.

F

▸ov vēlai, filau teḷīgatum mā, kurafaʾ huḷuvīgen, ellān goho jehīfē boňḍanu vā neḷi buri vege-ai.◂

ot	*vēlai*	*filak*	*teḷīgatun*	*mā*	*kurafat*	*huḷuvīgen*	*ellān*	*goho*	*jehīfē*	*boňḍanu*	*vā*	*neḷi*	*buri*	*vege*	*ai*
being	at time	a chicken	getting struck	when	knife	opening	throwing	going	hitting	b.-bird	air	pipe	cut	became	they say
VERB	NOUN	NOUN	VB.NOUN	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	VERB	VERB	VERB	NOUN	NOUN	NOUN	ADJ	VERB	QPARTC
PART.PRS.	LOC.	NOM.INDEF.	OBL.	LOC.	NOM.	ABS.III	ABS.III	ABS.	ABS.I	OBL.	OBL.	NOM.	PRED.	PT.IV.3SG.	EXT.

At the same moment, when one chick was struck, the knife opened (by) itself, jumped out, and having been hit (by it), the b.-bird's air pipe was cut.

76
M

⟨vāhaka huʾṭenī ʾeve.⟩

vāhaka	*huṭṭenī*	*eve*
story	is finished	they say
NOUN	VERB	QPARTC
NOM.SG.	PART.PRS.	EXT.

This is the end of the story.

T2: **Mākanā**

The crane

Aḍḍū: ʿAlī Maṇikufānu; Fuaʾ Mulaku: N.N.; Huvadū (Fares): Muḥammad Ḥassan

1

A

▸ed duvahi ed duvahi mākanā uduhigen gos kaňḍi gala matte jassali.◂

ek	*duvahi*	*ek*	*duvahi*	*mākanā*	*uduhigen*	*gos*	*kaňḍi*	*gala*	*matte*	*jassali*
one	day	one	day	the crane	flying	having gone	of sea	rock	upon	hit
CARD ATTR.	NOUN LOC.	CARD ATTR.	NOUN LOC.	NOUN NOM.DEF.	VERB ABS.III	VERB ABS.	NOUN GEN.	NOUN OBL.	NOUN LOC.	VERB PT.II.3SG.

One day, one day, the crane flew up and hit upon a rock in the sea.

F

▹ed duvaheki ed duvaheki mākana galakaha guaʾ lāfi-ai.◃

ek	*duvaheki*	*ek*	*duvaheki*	*mākana*	*galakaha*	*guak*	*lāfi*	*ai*
one	day	one	day	crane	to a rock	a dropping	he laid	they say
CARD ATTR.	NOUN LOC.INDEF.	CARD ATTR.	NOUN LOC.INDEF.	NOUN NOM.	NOUN DAT.INDEF.	NOUN NOM.INDEF.	VERB PT.I.3SG.	QPARTC EXT.

One day, one day, people say, the crane laid a dropping on a rock.

H

>eke dovahaku, mākanayā goho gala koḍa laifi-au guaka.<

eke	*dovahaku*	*mākanayā*	*goho*	*gala*	*koḍa*	*laifi*	*au*	*guaka*
one	a day	the crane	going	rock	piece	he laid	they say	a dropping
CARD ATTR.	NOUN OBL.INDEF.	NOUN NOM.DEF.	VERB ABS.	NOUN OBL.	NOUN OBL.	VERB PT.I.3SG.	QPARTC EXT.	NOUN NOM.INDEF.

One day, the crane went (and) laid a dropping on a piece of rock.

2

A

▸aga dea lāgen ā vagute galāʾ guaʾ lāfei mākanā uduhigen ebege.◂

aga	*dea*	*lāgen*	*ā*	*vagute*	*galāś*	*guak*	*lāfei*	*mākanā*	*uduhigen*	*ebege*
high	tide	laying	come	at time	to the rock	a dropping	having laid	the crane	flying	went off
ADJ ATTR.	NOUN NOM.	VERB ABS.III	VERB PART.PT.	NOUN LOC.	NOUN DAT.DEF.	NOUN NOM.INDEF.	VERB ABS.I	NOUN NOM.DEF.	VERB ABS.III	VERB PT.3SG.

At the time when the high tide came, the crane, having laid a dropping on the rock, flew off (again).

F

▹guaʾ lāfē eba gēm mā, raḷo āho dovvāli-ai.◃

guak	*lāfē*	*eba*	*gēn*	*mā*	*raḷo*	*āho*	*dovvāli*	*ai*
a dropping	having laid	there	going	at time	wave	coming	it washed away	they say
NOUN NOM.INDEF.	VERB ABS.I	ADV LOC.	VB.NOUN OBL.	NOUN LOC.	NOUN NOM.	VERB ABS.	VERB PT.II.3SG.	QPARTC EXT.

When he went away after having laid the dropping, (the) wave came and washed it (away)

H

>guā raḷā āho, doveḍi āi.<

guā	*raḷā*	*āho*	*doveḍi*	*āi*
the dropping	the wave	coming	it washed	they say
NOUN NOM.DEF.	NOUN NOM.DEF.	VERB ABS.	VERB PT.II.3SG.	QPARTC EXT.

The wave came and washed the dropping away.

3

A

▸gossei vēla gaṅḍakun bāi.◂

gosfei	*vēla*	*gaṅḍakun*	*bā*	*ai*
having gone	time	with a piece	he came	they say
VERB	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	QPARTC
ABS.I	OBL.	ABL.INDEF.	PT.3SG.	EXT.

After having gone, he came back after a short while.

F

▹dovvālāi hiśu vēlai bā ve.◃

dovvālāi	*hiśu*	*vēlai*	*bā*	*eve*
having washed away	it being	at time	he came	they say
VERB	VERB	NOUN	VERB	QPARTC (M!)
ABS.II	PART.PRS.	LOC.	PT.3SG.	EXT.

Just when (it) had washed (it away), (the crane) came back.

4

A

▸ās (ek kalaˀ) raḷāi suāla koffi kobā tau timā mi tān lī guaˀ?◂

ās	*ek*	*kalaś*	*raḷā*	*āi*	*suāla*	*kośfi*	*kobā*	*tau*	*timā*	*mi*	*tān*	*lī*	*guak?*
having come	(one	to time)	the wave	with	question	he made	where	asking	self	this	place	laid	dropping
VERB	(CARD	NOUN)	NOUN	CONJ	NOUN	VERB	IPRON	IPARTC	PRON	DPRON	NOUN	VERB	NOUN
ABS.	(ATTR.	DAT.SG.)	OBL.DEF.	SOC.	NOM.	PT.1.3SG.	LOC.	INT.	NOM.DEF.	ATTR.	LOC.	PART.PT.	NOM.INDEF.

Having come, he asked the (aforesaid) wave, 'where is the dropping I have laid here?'

F

▹āho beṇi-ai, timan kalo galakaˀ lī guimaṇa kobā hei_e?◃

āho	*beṇi*	*ai*	*timan*	*kalo*	*galakaś*	*lī*	*guimaṇa*	*kobā*	*hei_e?*
coming	he said	they say	self	lord	to a rock	laid	little dropping	where	well-asking
VERB	VERB	QPARTC	PRON	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	NOUN+DIM	IPRON	ADV+IPARTC
ABS.	PT.3SG.	EXT.	OBL.	OBL.	DAT.INDEF.	PART.PT.	NOM.	LOC.	INT.

Coming back, he said asking, 'where is the (little) dropping I (myself) have laid here on a rock?'

H

>den, mākanayā āho, boṇi āi, tim mīhā galu koḍā lī guā kobai he?<

den	*mākanayā*	*āho*	*boṇi*	*āi*	*tim*	*mīhā*	*galu*	*koḍā*	*lī*	*guā*	*kobai*	*he?*
then	the crane	coming	he said	they say	self	the man	rock	piece	laid	the dropping	where	asking?
ADV	NOUN	VERB	VERB	QPARTC	PRON	NOUN	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	IPRON	IPARTC
TEMP.	NOM.DEF.	ABS.	PT.3SG.	EXT.	ATTR.	OBL.DEF.	OBL.	OBL.DEF.	PART.PT.	NOM.DEF.	LOC.	INT.

Then the crane came and said, 'where is the dropping I (myself) have laid upon (this) piece of rock?'

5

A ▸beṇi mei, raḷā kēfi, ta gua' kan ma gua' kan dēneti timā dovvalim-āu.◂

beṇi	*mei*	*raḷā*	*kēfi*	*ta*	*guak*	*kam*	*ma*	*guak*	*kam*	*dēneti*	*timā*	*dovvalim*	*āu*
said	time	the wave	said	your	a dropping	whether	my	a dropping	whether	not knowing	self	washed away	saying
VERB	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	PPRON	NOUN	NOUN	PPRON	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	PRON	VERB	QPARTC
PART.PT.	LOC.	NOM.DEF.	PT.L3SG.	OBL.	NOM.INDEF.	OBL.	OBL.	NOM.INDEF.	OBL.	ABS.	NOM.DEF.	PT.II.1SG.	INT.

When he had said (so), the wave said, 'not knowing whether it is your dropping or my dropping, I (myself) washed it away.'

F ▸beṇum mā beṇi-ai, timā kalo guimaṇa kan dēneti, dovvālim-ai.◂

beṇun	*mā*	*beṇi*	*ai*	*timā*	*kalo*	*guimaṇa*	*kam*	*dēneti*	*dovvālim*	*ai*
saying	at time	it said	they say	self	lord	little dropping	that	not knowing	I washed away	saying
VB.NOUN	NOUN	VERB	QPARTC	PRON	NOUN	NOUN+DIM	NOUN	VERB	VERB	QPARTC
OBL.	LOC.	PT.3SG.	EXT.	OBL.	OBL.	NOM.DEF.	NOM.	ABS.	PT.I.1SG.	INT.

When (he) said (so), (the wave) said, 'not knowing that it was your (own) dropping, I (myself) washed it away.'

H >boṇim mai, raḷā boṇi-ai, ta gua' kan ma gua' kan nu eñgi, tim mīhā guā dōvelīm-ai.<

boṇin	*mai*	*raḷā*	*boṇi*	*ai*	*ta*	*guak*	*kam*	*ma*	*guak*	*kam*	*nu*	*eñgi*	*tim*	*mīhā*	*guā*	*dōvelīm*	*ai*
saying	at time	the wave	it said	they say	your	a dropping	whether	my	a dropping	whether	not	understanding	self	the man	the dropping	I washed	saying
VB.NOUN	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	QPARTC	PPRON	NOUN	NOUN	PPRON	NOUN	NOUN	PARTC	VERB	PRON	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	QPARTC
OBL.	LOC.	NOM.DEF.	PT.3SG.	EXT.	OBL.	NOM.INDEF.	NOM.	OBL.	NOM.INDEF.	NOM.	NEG.	ABS.	ATTR.	NOM.DEF.	NOM.DEF.	PT.II.1SG.	

When (he) said (so), the wave said, 'not knowing that it was your (own) dropping, I (myself) washed it away.'

6

A ▸ta' dēṇei raḷa' tau, ta' dēṇei gua' tau?◂

taś	*dēṇeī*	*raḷak*	*tau*	*taś*	*dēṇeī*	*guak*	*tau?*
to you	what shall be given	a wave	asking	to you	what shall be given	a dropping	asking
PPRON	VERB	NOUN	IPARTC	PPRON	VERB	NOUN	IPARTC
DAT.	PART.FUT.+FOC.	NOM.INDEF.	INT.	DAT.	PART.FUT.+FOC.	NOM.INDEF.	INT.

'Shall (I) give you a wave or a dropping?'

F ▸kalōśa dennēnī raḷomaṇa' tai guimaṇa' tai?◂

kalōśa	*dennēnī*	*raḷomaṇak*	*tai*	*guimaṇak*	*tai?*
to lord	what is to be given is	a wave	either	a dropping	or
NOUN	VERB	NOUN+DIM	IPARTC	NOUN+DIM	IPARTC
DAT.	PART.FUT.+FOC.	NOM.INDEF.	CONJ.	NOM.INDEF.	CONJ.

'Shall (I) give you a wave or a dropping?'

H >guake demā he, raḷake demā he?<

guake	*demā*	*he*	*raḷake*	*demā*	*he?*
a dropping	we (?) give	asking	a wave	we (?) give	asking
NOUN	VERB	IPARTC	NOUN	VERB	IPARTC
NOM.INDEF.	PRS.IPL. (?)	INT.	NOM.INDEF.	PRS.IPL. (?)	INT.

'Shall I (lit. "we") give (you) a dropping or shall I (lit. "we") give (you) a wave?'

7

A ▸beṇi mei, kēfī timā' dēṇei raḷak-āu.◂

beṇi	*mei*	*kēfī*	*timāś*	*dēṇeī*	*raḷak*	*āu*
said	time	said	to self	what shall be given	a wave	saying
VERB	NOUN	VERB	PRON	VERB	NOUN	QPARTC
PART.PT.	LOC.	PT.1.3SG.	DAT.	PART.FUT.+FOC.	NOM.INDEF.	INT.

When (it) said (so), (the crane) said, 'give me a wave.'

F ▹beṇum mā beṇi-ai, timāśa dennēnī raḷomaṇāk-āi.◃

beṇun	*mā*	*beṇi*	*ai*	*timāśa*	*dennēnī*	*raḷomaṇāk*	*āi*
saying	at time	he said	they say	to self	what is to be given is	a wave	saying
VB.NOUN	NOUN	VERB	QPARTC	PRON	VERB	NOUN	QPARTC
OBL.	LOC.	PT.3SG.	EXT.	DAT.	PART.FUT.+FOC.	NOM.INDEF.	INT.

When (it) said (so), (the crane) said, 'give me a wave.'

H >boṇīm mai, mākanayā boṇi-ai, guake denne kāeke neŋge, raḷeke denn-āi.<

boṇīn	*mai*	*mākanayā*	*boṇi*	*ai*	*guake*	*denne*	*kāeke*	*nu*	*eŋge*	*raḷeke*	*denne*	*ai*
saying	at time	the crane	he said	they say	a dropping	to be given	whether	not	understanding	a wave	to be given	saying
VB.NOUN	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	QPARTC	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	PARTC	VERB	NOUN	VERB	QPARTC
OBL.	LOC.	NOM.DEF.	PT.3SG.	EXT.	NOM.INDEF.	PART.FUT.	NOM.INDEF.	NEG.	ABS.	NOM.INDEF.	PART.FUT.	INT.

As it said (so), the crane said, '(do) not consider (to give) a dropping, give (me) a wave.'

8

A ▸beṇi mei, raḷā tuṁbelāgen gos magigē muhummā bē dea telakamun en ni demigen o' vēlei, raḷā e tān vaṭṭali.◂

beṇi	*mei*	*raḷā*	*tuṁbelāgen*	*gos*	*magigē*	*muhummlā*	*bē*	*dea*	*telakamun*	*em*	*ni*	*demigeln*	*ot*	*vēlei*	*raḷā*	*e*	*tān*	*vaṭṭali*
said	time	the wave	lifting	going of	Magi House	M.	B.	tide	by lowness	bait	not	catchinlg	being	at time	the wave	that	place	dropped
VERB	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	VERB	PN	PN	PN	NOUN	NOUN	NOUN	PARTC	VERB	VERB	NOUN	NOUN	DPRON	NOUN	VERB
PART.PT.	LOC.	NOM.DEF.	ABS.III	ABS.	GEN.	NOM.	NOM.	OBL.	ABL.	NOM.	NEG.	ABS.III	PART.PT.	LOC.	NOM.DEF.	ATTR.	LOC.	PT.II.3SG.

When he had said (so), he took up the wave (and) went off, (and) at the time when M.B. from Magi house was sitting (there), failing to catch bait fish because of the low tide, he dropped the wave (there).

F ▹beṇum mā raḷomaṇa tuṁbelāgen, udihemun udihemun goho baiken raḷe' nētī en ni demigen tibi tākaha vaṭṭāli-ai.◃

beṇuln	*mā*	*raḷomaṇla*	*tuṁbelāgen*	*udihemuln*	*udihemuln*	*goho*	*baiken*	*raḷek*	*nētī*	*em*	*ni*	*demigen*	*tibi*	*tākaha*	*vaṭṭāli*	*ai*
saying	at time	wave	lifting	by flying	by flying	going	some people	a wave	not being	bait fish	not	being catchable	being	to a place	he dropped	they say
VB.NOUN	NOUN	NOUN+DIM	VERB	VERB	VERB	VERB	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	PARTC	VERB	VERB	NOUN	VERB	QPARTC
OBL.	LOC.	NOM.	ABS.III	RGRND.	RGRND.	ABS.	NOM.	NOM.INDEF.	ABS.	NOM.	NEG.	ABS.III	PART.PRS.	DAT.INDEF.	PT.II.3SG.	EXT.

After saying (so), (the crane) lifted up the wave and went on flying and flying, and he dropped (it) at a place where there were some people who failed to catch bait fish because they had no wave.

H >raḷā hifaigen, gē likahaṭa goho, vaṭṭaili āi dōnieke nu hingaigen vonnā tāka.<

raḷā	*hifaigen*	*gē*	*likahaṭa*	*goho*	*vaṭṭaili*	*āi*	*dōnieke*	*nu*	*hingaigen*	*vonnā*	*tāka*
the wave	grasping	gone	to a manner	going	he dropped	saying	a dōni	not	moving	living	to a place
NOUN	VERB	VERB	NOUN	VERB	VERB	QPARTC	NOUN	PARTC	VERB	VERB	NOUN
NOM.DEF.	ABS.III	PART.PT.	DAT.INDEF.(?)	ABS.	PT.II.3SG.	INT.	NOM.INDEF.	NEG.	ABS.III	PART.PRS.	DAT.INDEF. (?)

After grasping the wave, and going (on) the way he was going (before), he dropped it on a place where there were (some people who) did not get their *dōni* going (because of low tide).

9

A ▸vetṭi mei, muhummā bē en damaga'.◂

vetṭi	*mei*	*muhummā*	*bē*	*em*	*damagat*
dropped	when	M	B	bait	he caught
VERB	NOUN	PN	PN	NOUN	VERB
PART.PT.	LOC.	NOM.	NOM.	NOM.	PT.III.3SG.

When (he) dropped (it), M.B. (finally) caught bait fish.

F ▹vaṭṭālā ebegēm mā, mi mīhun en damāgat-ai.◃

vaṭṭālā	*ebegēn*	*mā*	*mi*	*mīhun*	*em*	*damāgat*	*ai*
having dropped	going away	at time	these	people	bait fish	they got catching	saying
VERB	VB.NOUN	NOUN	DPRON	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	QPARTC
ABS.II	OBL.	LOC.	ATTR.	NOM.PL.	NOM.	PT.III.3PL.	INT.

After (he) dropped (it) and went away, these people (finally) succeeded in catching bait fish.

H >e dōṇie mīhun dōṇia hiñguvai gatai, raḷā voḍuva.<

e	*dōṇie*	*mīhun*	*dōṇiā*	*hiñguvai*	*gatai*	*raḷā*	*voḍuva*
those	of *dōṇi*	people	the *dōṇi*	going	they got	the wave	causing to mount
DPRON	NOUN	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	VERB	NOUN	VERB
ATTR.	GEN.	NOM.PL.	NOM.DEF.	ABS.	PT.3PL.	OBL.DEF. (?)	ABS.

The people of that *dōṇi* got the *dōṇi* going, mounting it upon the wave.

10

A ▸en damaga' fahun mākanā bāi.◂

em	*damagat*	*fahun*	*mākanā*	*bā*	*ai*
bait	caught	after	the crane	came	they say
NOUN	VERB	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	QPARTC
NOM.	PART.PT.III	ABL.	NOM.DEF.	PT.3SG.	EXT.

After they had caught bait fish, the crane came (back).

F ▹en damāgen tibi vēlai, bāi-ai.◃

em	*damāgen*	*tibi*	*vēlai*	*bā*	*ai*	*ai*
bait fish	catching	they being	at time	he came	they say	they say
NOUN	VERB	VERB	NOUN	VERB	QPARTC	QPARTC
NOM.	ABS.III	PART.PRS.	LOC.	PT.3SG.	EXT.	EXT.

Just when they had caught (the) bait fish, (the crane) came (back).

11

A

▸āṣ, suāla koffi, kobā tau timā mi tān veṭṭi raḷā?◂

āṣ	*suāla*	*koffi*	*kobā*	*tau*	*timā*	*mi*	*tān*	*veṭṭi*	*raḷā?*
coming	question	he made	where	asking	self	this	place	dropped	the wave
VERB	NOUN	VERB	IPRON	IPARTC	PRON	DPRON	NOUN	VERB	NOUN
ABS.	NOM.	PT.1.3SG.	LOC.	INT.	NOM.	ATTR.	LOC.	PART.PT.	NOM.DEF.

Coming, he asked, 'where is the wave I have dropped here (myself)?'

F

▹āho beṇi-ai, timan kalō galaka' lī guimaṇa dīfā ga' raḷomaṇa kobā hei-e?◃

āho	*beṇi*	*ai*	*timan*	*kalō*	*galakaś*	*lī*	*guimaṇa*	*dīfai*	*gat*	*raḷomaṇa*	*kobā*	*hei-e?*
coming	he said	they say	self	lord	to a rock	laid	dropping	giving	received	wave	where	asking
VERB	VERB	QPARTC	PRON	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	NOUN+DIM	VERB	VERB	NOUN+DIM	IPRON	ADV+IPARTC
ABS.	PT.3SG.	EXT.	ATTR.	OBL.	DAT.INDEF.	PART.PT.	NOM.	ABS.I (M!)	PART.PT.	NOM.	LOC.	INT.

Coming, he said asking, 'where is the wave I (myself) received by giving the dropping I had laid upon a rock?'

H

>den, mākanayā āho, boṇi āi, e tim mīhā galu koḍa' lī guā dīfai ga' raḷā kobai he?<

den	*mākanayā*	*āho*	*boṇi*	*āi*	*e*	*tim*	*mīhā*	*galu*	*koḍaś*	*lī*	*guā*	*dīfai*	*gat*	*raḷā*	*kobai*	*he?*
then	the crane	coming	he said	they say	that	self	the man	rock	to piece	laid	the dropping	giving	received	the wave	where	asking
ADV	NOUN	VERB	VERB	QPARTC	DPRON	PRON	NOUN	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	VERB	VERB	NOUN	IPRON	IPARTC
TEMP.	NOM.DEF.	ABS.	PT.3SG.	INT.	ATTR.	ATTR.	OBL.DEF.	OBL.	DAT.	PART.PT.	OBL.DEF.	ABS.I (M!)	PART.PT.	NOM.DEF.	LOC.	EXT.

Then the crane came back and said asking, 'where is that wave I (myself) received by giving the dropping I had laid on (a) piece of rock?'

12

A

▸beṇi mei, muhummā bē beṇafī, ta raḷa' kan, ma raḷa' kan dēneti, timā en damagamm-āu.◂

beṇi	*mei*	*muhummā*	*bē*	*beṇafī*	*ta*	*raḷak*	*kam*	*ma*	*raḷak*	*kam*	*dēneti*	*timā*	*em*	*damagammā*	*āu*
said	when	M.	B.	said	your	a wave	whether	my	a wave	whether	not knowing	self	bait	we caught	saying
VERB	NOUN	PN	PN	VERB	PPRON	NOUN	NOUN	PPRON	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	PRON	NOUN	VERB	QPARTC
PART.PT.	LOC.	NOM.	NOM.	PT.1.3SG.	OBL.	NOM.INDEF.	NOM.	OBL.	NOM.INDEF.	NOM.	ABS.	NOM.	NOM.	PT.III.1SG.	INT.

When he had said (so), M.B. said, 'not knowing whether it is your wave or whether it is our wave, we (ourself) caught bait fish.'

F

▹beṇā beṇi-ai, kalō raḷomaṇa kan dēneti, en damāgamm-āi.◃

beṇā	*beṇi*	*ai*	*kalō*	*raḷomaṇa*	*kam*	*dēneti*	*em*	*damāgammā*	*āi*
saying	(they) said	they say	lord	wave	that	not knowing	bait fish	we finally caught	saying
VERB	VERB	QPARTC	NOUN	NOUN+DIM	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	VERB	QPARTC
ABS.	PT.3SG.	EXT.	OBL.	NOM.	NOM.	ABS.	NOM.	PT.III.1PL.	INT.

(At his) saying (so), (they) said, 'not knowing that (it was) your wave, we finally caught (some) bait fish.'

H

>boṇīm mai, e dōṇie mīhun boṇi-ai, ta raḷa' kan ma raḷa' kan nu eñgi, tim felā dōṇi hiñguvai gatīm-āi.<

boṇīn	*mai*	*e*	*dōṇie*	*mīhun*	*boṇi*	*ai*	*ta*	*raḷak*	*kam*	*ma*	*raḷak*	*kam*	*nu*	*eñgi*	*tim*	*felā*	*dōṇi*	*hiñguvai*	*gatīn*	*āi*
saying	at time	that	of dōṇi	people	said	they say	your	a wave	whether	my	a wave	whether	not	knowing	self	people	dōṇi	moving	we got	saying
VB.NOUN	NOUN	DPRON	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	QPARTC	PPRON	NOUN	NOUN	PPRON	NOUN	NOUN	PARTC	VERB	PRON	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	VERB	QPARTC
OBL.	LOC.	ATTR.	GEN.	>NOM.PL.	PT.3SG.(!)	EXT.	OBL.	OBL.INDEF.	NOM.	OBL.	OBL.INDEF.	NOM.	NEG.	ABS.	ATTR.	NOM.	NOM.	ABS.	PT.1PL.	INT.

At the time (of his) saying (so), the people of that *dōṇi* said, 'not knowing whether (it is) your wave or our wave, we (ourselves) got the *dōṇi* going.'

13

A

▸taʾ dēṇei raḷaʾ tau, taʾ dēṇei emaʾ tau?◂

taś	*dēṇeī*	*raḷak*	*tau*	*taś*	*dēṇeī*	*emak*	*tau?*
to you	what shall be given	a wave	asking	to you	what shall be given	a bait fish	asking
PPRON DAT.	VERB PART.FUT.+FOC.	NOUN NOM.INDEF.	IPARTC INT.	PPRON DAT.	VERB PART.FUT.+FOC.	NOUN NOM.INDEF.	IPARTC INT.

'Shall we give you a wave or bait fish?'

F

▹kalōśa dennēnī raḷomaṇaʾ tai, emmaṇaʾ tai?◃

kalōśa	*dennēnī*	*raḷomaṇak*	*tai*	*emmaṇak*	*tai?*
to lord	what is to be given is	a wave	either	a bait fish	or
NOUN DAT.	VERB PART.FUT.+FOC.	NOUN+DIM NOM.INDEF.	IPARTC CONJ.	NOUN+DIM NOM.INDEF.	IPARTC CONJ.

'Shall we give you a wave or bait fish?'

H

>raḷeke demā he, emeke demā he?<

raḷeke	*demā*	*he*	*emeke*	*demā*	*he*
a wave	we give	asking	a bait fish	we give	asking
NOUN NOM.INDEF.	VERB PRS.IPL.	IPARTC INT.	NOUN NOM.INDEF.	VERB PRS.IPL.	IPARTC INT.

'Shall we give (you) a wave (or) bait fish?'

14

A

▸beṇi mei kēfi, emme raṅgaḷ-āu emaʾ dēʾ kei.◂

beṇi	*mei*	*kēfi*	*emme*	*raṅgaḷa*	*au*	*emak*	*dēś*	*kei*
said	when	said	most of all	beautiful	saying	a bait fish	to give	saying
VERB PART.PT.	NOUN LOC.	VERB PT.1.3SG.	PARTC MOD.	ADJ PRED.	QPARTC INT.	NOUN NOM.INDEF.	VERB INF.	VERB ABS.

When they had said (so, the crane) said, 'the best (would be) to give me bait fish'.

F

▹beṇum mā beṇi-ai, timāśa dennēnī emmaṇākāi.◃

beṇun	*mā*	*beṇi*	*ai*	*timāśa*	*dennēnī*	*emmaṇāk*	*āi*
saying	at time	he said	they say	to self	what is to be given is	a bait fish-	saying
VB.NOUN OBL.	NOUN LOC.	VERB PT.3SG.	QPARTC EXT.	PRON DAT.	VERB PART.FUT.+FOC.	NOUN NOM.INDEF.	QPARTC INT.

When (they) said so, (the crane) said, 'give me bait fish.'

H

>boṇīm mai, mākanayā boṇi-āi, emeke denn-āi.<

boṇīn	*mai*	*mākanayā*	*boṇi*	*āi*	*emeke*	*denna*	*ai*
saying	at time	the crane	he said	they say	a bait fish	is to be given	saying
VB.NOUN OBL.	NOUN LOC.	NOUN NOM.DEF.	VERB PT.3SG.	QPARTC EXT.	NOUN NOM.INDEF.	VERB INF.	QPARTC INT.

When they said (so), the crane said, 'give (me) bait fish.'

15

A ▸emā dim mei, tuñbelāgen gos dondiegē ali dīdi en netigen, mas ni bēvigen im vēlei dōṇe malamāta' vaṭṭali-au.◂

emā	*din*	*mei*	*tuñbelāgen*	*gos*	*dondiegē*	*ali*	*dīdi*	*em*	*netigen*	*mas*	*ni*	*bēvigen*	*in*	*vēlei*	*dōṇe*	*malamātaś*	*vaṭṭali*	*au*
the bait	given	time	lifting	going	of D.-house	A.	D.	bait	not-being	fish	not	catching	sitting	at time	ship's steering place	he dropped	they say	
NOUN	VERB	NOUN	VERB	VERB	PN	PN	PN	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	PARTC	VERB	VERB	NOUN	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	QPARTC
NOM.DEF.	PART.PT.	LOC.	ABS.III	ABS.	GEN.	NOM.	NOM.	NOM.	ABS.III	NOM.	NEG.	ABS.III	PART.PRS.	LOC.	GEN.	DAT.	PT.II.3SG.	INT.

When he was given the bait fish, he took (it up and) went off, (and) he dropped it on the steering place of the *dōṇi* just when Ali Dīdi from Dondie-house was sitting (there) failing to catch fish (because of) there being no bait fish.

F ▸benum mā emmaṇa tumbelāgen, udihemun udihemun goho baiken en nētī maha ni bēvvigen tibi tākaha vaṭṭālā ebage-ai.◂

benun	*mā*	*emmaṇa*	*tumbelāgen*	*udihemun*	*udihemun*	*goho*	*baiken*	*em*	*nētī*	*maha*	*ni*	*bēvvigen*	*tibi*	*tākaha*	*vaṭṭālā*	*ebage*	*ai*
saying	at time	bait fish	lifting	by flying	by flying	going	some people	bait fish	not being	fish	not	being catchable	being	to a place	dropping	he went off	they say	
NOUN	NOUN	NOUN+DIM	VERB	VERB	VERB	VERB	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	PARTC	VERB	VERB	NOUN	VERB	VERB	QPARTC	
OBL.	LOC.	NOM.	ABS.III	RGRND.	RGRND.	ABS.	NOM.	NOM.INDEF.	ABS.	NOM.	NEG.	ABS.III	PART.PRS.	DAT.INDEF.	ABS.II	PT.IV.3SG.	EXT.	

After saying so, (the crane) took up the bait fish and went on flying and flying, and he dropped (it) on a place where there were some people who failed to catch fish because they had no bait fish.

H >boṇīm mai, emā tuñbulaigen, mākanayā gē likahaṭa goho, dōṇieke baiken emā nu libegen voṇṇā tanaka emā vaṭṭaili-ai.<

boṇīn	*mai*	*emā*	*tuñbulaigen*	*mākanayā*	*gē*	*likahaṭa*	*goho*	*dōṇieke*	*baiken*	*emā*	*nu*	*libegen*	*voṇṇā*	*tanaka*	*emā*	*vaṭṭaili*	*ai*
saying	at time	the bait	lifting	the crane	gone	to a manner	going	a dōṇi	some people	bait fish	not	getting	being	to a place	the bait	he dropped	saying	
NOUN	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	NOUN	NOUN	PARTC	VERB	VERB	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	QPARTC	
OBL.	LOC.	NOM.DEF.	ABS.III	NOM.DEF.	PART.PT.	DAT.INDEF.	ABS.	GEN.INDEF.	NOM.	NOM.DEF.	NEG.	ABS.III	PART.PRS.	DAT.INDEF.	NOM.DEFI.	PT.II.3SG.	INT.	

When he said (so), after taking the bait fish, the crane went on in the way he went (before) and dropped it on a place where there were some *dōṇi* (driving) people who failed finding bait fish.

16

A ▸veṭṭi mei, ali dīdi hedi lekakī, emā bilie eḍafei mas bāga'.◂

veṭṭi	*mei*	*ali*	*dīdi*	*hedi*	*lekakī*	*emā*	*bilie*	*eḍafei*	*mas*	*bāgat*
dropped	when	A.	D.	done	what a way is	the bait fish	on hook	having put	fish	he caught
VERB	NOUN	PN	PN	VERB	NOUN	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	VERB
PART.PT.	LOC.	NOM.	NOM.	PART.PT.	NOM.INDEF.+FOC.	NOM.DEF.	LOC.	ABS.I	NOM.	PT.III.3SG.

When he dropped (it), A.D. (finally) caught fish putting the bait fish on a hook.

F ▸ebagēm mā, mi mīhun maha damāgat-ai.◂

ebagēn	*mā*	*mi*	*mīhun*	*maha*	*damāgat*	*ai*
gone away	at time	these	people	fish	they got catching	saying
VB.NOUN	NOUN	DPRON	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	QPARTC
OBL.	LOC.	ATTR.	NOM.PL.	NOM.	PT.III.3PL.	INT.

When (he) had gone away, these people (finally) succeeded in catching fish.

H >mi dōṇie mīhune eme laigen goho, maha bai gat-ai.<

mi	*dōṇie*	*mīhune*	*eme*	*laigen*	*goho*	*maha*	*bai*	*gat*	*ai*
these	of dōṇi	people	bait fish	laying	going	fish	catching	they got	saying
DPRON	NOUN	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	VERB	NOUN	VERB	VERB	QPARTC
ATTR.	GEN.	NOM.PL.	NOM.	ABS.III	ABS.	NOM.	ABS.	PT.3PL.	INT.

When these *dōṇi* people used (the) bait fish, they finally caught some fish.

17

A ▸teduvi beṇī, amā-u, ma enī dara kośāś-āu.◂

teduvi	*beṇī*	*amā*	*au*	*ma*	*enī*	*dara*	*kośāś*	*āu*
getting up	what he said was	mother	saying	I	where am going is	firewood	to cut	saying
VERB	VERB	NOUN	QPARTC	PPRON	VERB	NOUN	VERB	QPARTC
ABS.	PART.PT.+FOC.	NOM.	INT.	OBL.	PART.PRS.+FOC.	NOM.	INF.	INT.

After getting up he said, 'mother, I am going to cut firewood.'

18

F ▹maha damāgen tibi vēlai bāi.◃

maha	*damāgen*	*tibi*	*vēlai*	*bā*	*ai*
fish	catching	they being	at time	he came	they say
NOUN	VERB	VERB	NOUN	VERB	QPARTC
NOM.	ABS.III	PART.PRS.	LOC.	PT.3SG.	INT.

Just when they caught (the) fish, (the crane) came back.

19

A ▸mas bāgaʾ fahun ās, kēfi, kobā tau timā mi tān veṭṭi emā?◂

mas	*bāgat*	*fahun*	*ās*	*kēfi*	*kobā*	*tau*	*timā*	*mi*	*tān*	*veṭṭi*	*emā?*
fish	caught	after	coming	he said	where	asking	self	this	place	dropped	the bait
NOUN	VERB	NOUN	VERB	VERB	IPRON	IPARTC	PRON	DPRON	NOUN	VERB	NOUN
NOM.	PART.PT.	ABL.	ABS.	PT.1.3SG.	LOC.	INT.	NOM.	ATTR.	LOC.	PART.PT.	NOM.DEF.

After (A.D.) had caught fish (and) come (back, the crane) said, 'where,' he asked, 'is the bait fish I dropped here?'

F ▹āho beṇi-ai, timan kalō galakaʾ lī guimaṇa dīfā gaʾ raḷomaṇa dīfā gaʾ emmaṇa kobā hei_e?◃

āho	*beṇi*	*ai*	*timan*	*kalō*	*galakaś*	*lī*	*guimaṇa*	*dīfai*	*gat*	*raḷomaṇa*	*dīfai*	*gat*	*emmaṇa*	*kobā*	*hei_e?*
coming	he said	they say	self	lord	to a rock	laid	dropping	giving	received	wave	giving	received	bait fish	where	well-asking
VERB	VERB	QPARTC	PRON	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	NOUN+DIM	VERB	VERB	NOUN+DIM	VERB	VERB	NOUN+DIM	IPRON	ADV+IPARTC
ABS.	PT.3SG.	EXT.	ATTR.	OBL.	DAT.INDEF.	PART.PT.	NOUN	ABS.I (M!)	PART.PT.	NOM.	ABS.I (M!)	PART.PT.	NOM.	LOC.	INT.

Coming (back) he said asking, 'where is the bait fish I received giving the wave I had received giving the dropping I had laid on a rock?'

H >maha bai gannā tā, mākanayā āho boṇi-ai, tim mīhā galu koḍaʾ lī guā dīfai gaʾ raḷā dīfai gate emā kobai he?<

maha	*bai*	*gannā*	*tā*	*mākanayā*	*āho*	*boṇi*	*ai*	*tim*	*mīhā*	*galu*	*koḍaś*	*lī*	*guā*	*dīfai*	*gat*	*raḷā*	*dīfai*	*gate*	*emā*	*kobai*	*he?*
fish	catching	getting	at moment	the crane	coming	said	they say	self	the man	rock	to piece	laid	the dropping	giving	got	the wave	giving	got	the bait	where	asking
NOUN	VERB	VERB	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	VERB	QPARTC	PRON	NOUN	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	VERB	VERB	NOUN	VERB	VERB	NOUN	IPRON	IPARTC
NOM.	ABS.	PART.PRS	OBL.	NOM.DEF.	ABS.	PT.3SG.	EXT.	ATTR.	OBL.DEF.	OBL.	DAT.	PART.PT.	NOM.DEF.	ABS.I (M!)	PART.PT.	NOM.DEF.	ABS.I (M!)	PART.PT.	NOM.DEF.	LOC.	INT.

Just at the moment when they caught (the) fish, the crane came (back) and said, 'where is the bait fish I received by giving the wave I (myself) received by giving the dropping I had laid upon a piece of rock?

20

A ▸ta emaʾ kan, ma emaʾ kan dēneti, timā mas ni bēvigen hiñgā vēlei feṇene emā mei-āu, timā mas bāgamm-āu.◂

ta	*emak*	*kam*	*ma*	*emak*	*kam*	*dēneti*	*timā*	*mas*	*ni*	*bēvigen*	*hiñgā*	*vēlei*	*feṇene*	*emā*	*mei*	*āu*	*timā*	*mas*	*bāgammā*	*āu*
your	a bait	whether	my	a bait	whether	not knowing	self	fish	not	catching	going	when	appeared	the bait	because of	saying	self	fish	I caught	saying
PPRON	NOUN	NOUN	PPRON	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	PRON	NOUN	PARTC	VERB	VERB	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	NOUN	QPARTC	PRON	NOUN	VERB	QPARTC
OBL.	NOM.INDEF.	NOM.	OBL.	NOM.INDEF.	NOM.	ABS.	NOM.	NOM.	NEG.	ABS.III	PART.PRS.	LOC.	PART.PT.	NOM.DEF.	LOC.	INT.	NOM.	NOM.	PT.III.1PL.	INT.

Not knowing whether (it is) your bait fish or our bait fish, we finally caught fish because of the bait which appeared when we were going around failing to catch fish.

F ▹beṇum mā mīhun beṇi-ai, kalō emmaṇa kan dēneti, maha bāgamm-āi.◃

beṇun	*mā*	*mīhun*	*beṇi*	*ai*	*kalō*	*emmaṇa*	*kam*	*dēneti*	*maha*	*bāgammā*	*āi*
saying	at time	people	(they) said	they say	lord	bait fish	that	not knowing	fish	we received	saying
VB.NOUN	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	QPARTC	NOUN	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	VERB	QPARTC
OBL.	LOC.	NOM.PL.	PT.3PL.	EXT.	OBL.	NOM.	NOM.	ABS.	NOM.	PT.III 1PL.	INT.

(At his) saying (so), (they) said, 'not knowing that (it was) your bait fish, we finally caught (some) fish.

H >boṇīm mai, e dōṇie mīhune boṇi-ai, ta emaʾ kan tim felāne emaʾ kan nu eñge, tim felā emā laigen goho, maha bā gatim āi.<

boṇīn	*mai*	*e*	*dōṇie*	*mīhune*	*boṇi*	*ai*	*ta*	*emak*	*kam*	*tim*	*felāne*	*emak*	*kam*	*nu*	*eñge*	*tim*	*felā*	*emā*	*laigen*	*goho*	*maha*	*bā*	*gatim*	*āi*
saying	when	those	of dōṇi	people	said	they say	your	a bait	whether	self	people	a bait	whether	not	knowing	self	people	the bait	laying	going	fish	catching	we got	saying
VB.NOUN	NOUN	DPRON	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	QPARTC	PPRON	NOUN	NOUN	PPRON	NOUN	NOUN	NOUN	PARTC	VERB	PRON	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	VERB	NOUN	VERB	VERB	QPARTC
OBL.	LOC.	ATTR.	GEN.	NOM.PL.	PT.3PL.	EXT.	OBL.	OBL.INDEF.	NOM.	OBL.	OBL.PL.	NOM.INDEF.	NOM.	NEG.	ABS.	ATTR.	NOM.	NOM.	ABS.III	ABS.	NOM.	ABS.	PT.1PL.	INT.

When he said (so), those *dōṇi* people said, 'not knowing whether (it is your bait fish or our (own) bait fish, we (finally) caught some fish.

21

A ▸taʾ dēṇei mahaʾ tau, emaʾ tau?◂

taś	*dēṇeī*	*mahak*	*tau*	*emak*	*tau?*
to you	what shall be given is	a fish	asking	a bait	asking
PPRON	VERB	NOUN	IPARTC	NOUN	IPARTC
DAT.	PART.FUT.+FOC.	NOM.INDEF.	INT.	NOM.INDEF.	INT.

Shall we give you a fish or bait fish?'

F ▹kalōśa dennēnī masmaṇaʾ tai emmaṇaʾ tai?◃

kalōśa	*dennēnī*	*masmaṇak*	*tai*	*emmaṇak*	*tai?*
to lord	what is to be given is	a fish	either	a bait fish	or
NOUN	VERB	NOUN+DIM	IPARTC	NOUN+DIM	IPARTC
DAT.	PART.FUT.+FOC.	NOM.	CONJ.	NOM.	CONJ.

Shall we give you a fish or bait fish?'

H >emake demā hē, maheke demā he?<

emake	*demā*	*hē*	*maheke*	*demā*	*he?*
a bait fish	we give	asking	a fish	we give	asking
NOUN	VERB	IPARTC	NOUN	VERB	IPARTC
NOM.INDEF.	PRS.1PL.	INT.	NOM.INDEF.	PRS.1PL.	INT.

Shall we give (you) bait fish, (or) shall we give (you) a fish?

22

A ▸emme raṅgaḷ-āu, maha' dē' kei.◂

emme	*raṅgaḷa*	*āu*	*mahak*	*dēś*	*kei*
most of all	beautiful	saying	a fish	to give	saying
PARTC	ADJ	QPARTC	NOUN	VERB	VERB
MOD.	PRED.	INT.	NOM.INDEF.	INF.	ABS.

'The best (would be),' he said, 'to give (me) a fish'.

F ▸beṇum mā beṇi-ai, tīmāśa dennēnī masmaṇāk-āi.◂

beṇun	*mā*	*beṇi*	*ai*	*tīmāśa*	*dennēnī*	*masmaṇāk*	*āi*
saying	at time	he said	they say	to self	what is to be given is	a fish	saying
VB.NOUN	NOUN	VERB	QPARTC	PRON	VERB	NOUN	QPARTC
OBL.	LOC.	PT.3SG.	EXT.	DAT.	PART.FUT.+FOC.	NOM.INDEF.	INT.

When (they) said so, (the crane) said, 'give me a fish.'

H >boṇīm mai, mākanayā boṇi-ai, maheke denn-āi.<

boṇīn	*mai*	*mākanayā*	*boṇi*	*ai*	*maheke*	*denne*	*ai*
saying	at time	the crane	he said	they say	a fish	is to be given	saying
VB.NOUN	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	QPARTC	NOUN	VERB	QPARTC
OBL.	LOC.	NOM.DEF.	PT.3SG.	EXT.	NOM.INDEF.	PART.FUT.	INT.

When (they) said (so), the crane said, 'give (me) a fish.'

23

F ▸beṇum mā dereſi-ai.◂

beṇum	*mā*	*dereſi*	*ai*
saying	at time	gave	they say
VB.NOUN	NOUN	VERB	QPARTC
OBL.	LOC.	PT.L3PL.	EXT.

When (he) had said (so), (they) gave (it to him).

24

A ▸mahā dim mei, mahā tuṁbelāgen gos, eˀ bākin dara hōdāˀ tibi vēlei everin kurimattaˀ mahā vaṭṭalāi mide ebege.◂

mahā	*din*	*mei*	*mahā*	*tuṁbelāgen*	*gos*	*ek*	*bākin*	*dara*	*hōdāś*	*tibi*	*vēlei*	*everin*	*kurimattaś*	*mahā*	*vaṭṭalāi*	*mide*	*ebege*
the fish	given	when	the fish	lifting	going	one	some people	firewood	to seek	being	when	they	in front of	the fish	having dropped	this one	went
NOUN	VERB	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	VERB	CARD	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	VER3	NOUN	PPRON	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	DPRON	VERB
NOM.DEF.	PART.PT.	LOC.	NOM.DEF.	ABS.III	ABS.	ATTR.	NOM.	NOM.	INF.	PART.PRS.	LOC.	OBL.PL.	DAT.	NOM.DEF.	ABS.II	NOM.	PT.3SG.

When (they) had given (him) the fish, (the crane) took (it) up (and) went (on and), just when (there were) some people (who) were seeking firewood, he dropped the fish in front of these people (and) went off (again).

F ▸mi masmaṇa tumbelāgen, udihemun udihemun goho, Mēliage Dia daro huvanna hīši vēlai e tanaha vaṭṭālāfai ebage-ai.◂

mi	*masmaṇa*	*tumbelāgen*	*udihemun*	*udihemun*	*goho*	*Mēliage*	*Dia*	*daro*	*huvanna*	*hīši*	*vēlai*	*e*	*tanaha*	*vaṭṭālāfai*	*ebage*	*ai*
this	fish	lifting	by flying	by flying	going	of M.	daughter	firewood	looking for	being	at time	that	to place	having dropped	he went off	they say
DPRON	NOUN+DIM	VERB	VERB	VERB	VERB	NOUN	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	VERB	NOUN	DPRON	NOUN	VERB	VERB	QPARTC
ATTR.	NOM.	ABS.III	RGRND.	RGRND.	ABS.	GEN.	OBL.	NOM.	INF.	PART.PRS.	LOC.	ATTR.	DAT.	ABS.I+II	PT.3SG.	EXT.

Taking this fish and going on flying and flying, he dropped (it) just when M.D. was there in order to look for firewood, at that place (he dropped it).

H >mahā tuṁbulaigen, iṅdihegen e gē likahaṭa goho, bāvvi-ai dara hoegen ā mīhakun dara boṅḍaku matte.<

mahā	*tuṁbulaigen*	*iṅdihegen*	*e*	*gē*	*likahaṭa*	*goho*	*bāvvī*	*ai*	*dara*	*hoegen*	*ā*	*mīhakun*	*dara*	*boṅḍaku*	*matte*
the fish	lifting	flying up	that	gone	to a manner	going	where he put was	they say	firewood	looking for	come	from a man	firewood	a bundle	upon
NOUN	VERB	VERB	DPRON	VERB	NOUN	VERB	VERB	QPARTC	NOUN	VERB	VERB	NOUN	NOUN	NOUN	NOUN
NOM.DEF.	ABS.III	ABS.III	ATTR.	PART.PT.	DAT.INDEF.	ABS.	PT.3SG.	EXT.	NOM.	ABS.III	PART.PT.	ABL.INDEF.	OBL.	OBL.INDEF.	LOC.

Taking the fish, (the crane) went on in the way he had gone (before), and (he) put it on a bundle of firewood of a man who had come (there) looking for firewood.

25

F ▸ebagēm mā, mia hedī vaḍāmakī, mi maha nagāgen meluvagen kāfi-ai.◂

ebagēn	*mā*	*mia*	*hedī*	*vaḍāmakī*	*mi*	*maha*	*nagāgen*	*meluvagen*	*kāfi*	*ai*
going away	at time	this one	done	what a manner is	this	fish	taking	cooking	she ate	they say
VB.NOUN	NOUN	DPRON	VERB	NOUN	DPRON	NOUN	VERB	VERB	VERB	QPARTC
OBL.	LOC.	OBL.	PART.PT.	NOM.INDEF.+FOC.	ATTR.	NOM.	ABS.III	ABS.III	PT.1SG.	EXT.

When (he) had gone away (again), she took the fish and after cooking it, she ate (it).

H >bāvīm mai, mi mīhā hedī lihaku, mahā nagai gat-ai.<

bāvīn	*mai*	*mi*	*mīhā*	*hedī*	*lihaku*	*mahā*	*nagai*	*gat*	*ai*
putting	when	this	the man	done	a manner	the fish	lifting	he got	they say
VB.NOUN	NOUN	DPRON	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	VERB	QPARTC
OBL.	LOC.	ATTR.	OBL.DEF.	PART.PT.	OBL.INDEF.	NOM.DEF.	ABS.	PT.3SG.	INT.

When he had left (the fish there), this man took the fish off.

24

A ▸mahā dim mei, mahā tuṁbelāgen gos, e' bākin dara hōdā' tibi vēlei everin kurimattaś mahā vaṭṭalāi mide ebege.◂

mahā	*din*	*mei*	*mahā*	*tuṁbelāgen*	*gos*	*ek*	*bākin*	*dara*	*hōdāś*	*tibi*	*vēlei*	*everin*	*kurimattaś*	*mahā*	*vaṭṭalāi*	*mide*	*ebege*
the fish	given	when	the fish	lifting	going	one	some people	firewood	to seek	being	when	they	in front of	the fish	having dropped	this one	went
NOUN	VERB	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	VERB	CARD	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	VERB	NOUN	PPRON	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	DPRON	VERB
NOM.DEF.	PART.PT.	LOC.	NOM.DEF.	ABS.III	ABS.	ATTR.	NOM.	NOM.	INF.	PART.PRS.	LOC.	OBL.PL.	DAT.	NOM.DEF.	ABS.II	NOM.	PT.3SG.

When (they) had given (him) the fish, (the crane) took (it) up (and) went (on and), just when (there were) some people (who) were seeking firewood, he dropped the fish in front of these people (and) went off (again).

F ▸mi masmaṇa tumbelāgen, udihemun udihemun goho, Mēliage Dia daro huvanna hīśi vēlai e tanaha vaṭṭālāfai ebage-ai.◂

mi	*masmaṇa*	*tumbelāgen*	*udihemun*	*udihemun*	*goho*	*Mēliage*	*Dia*	*daro*	*huvanna*	*hīśi*	*vēlai*	*e*	*tanaha*	*vaṭṭālāfai*	*ebage*	*ai*
this	fish	lifting	by flying	by flying	going	of M.	daughter	firewood	looking for	being	at time	that	to place	having dropped	he went off	they say
DPRON	NOUN+DIM	VERB	VERB	VERB	VERB	NOUN	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	VERB	NOUN	DPRON	NOUN	VERB	VERB	QPARTC
ATTR.	NOM.	ABS.III	RGRND.	RGRND.	ABS.	GEN.	OBL.	NOM.	INF.	PART.PRS.	LOC.	ATTR.	DAT.	ABS.I+II	PT.3SG.	EXT.

Taking this fish and going on flying and flying, he dropped (it) just when M.D. was there in order to look for firewood, at that place (he dropped it).

H >mahā tuṁbulaigen, iṁdihegen e gē likahaṭa goho, bāvvi-ai dara hoegen ā mīhakun dara boṁḍaku matte.<

mahā	*tuṁbulaigen*	*iṁdihegen*	*e*	*gē*	*likahaṭa*	*goho*	*bāvvī*	*ai*	*dara*	*hoegen*	*ā*	*mīhakun*	*dara*	*boṁḍaku*	*matte*
the fish	lifting	flying up	that	gone	to a manner	going	where he put was	they say	firewood	looking for	come	from a man	firewood	a bundle	upon
NOUN	VERB	VERB	DPRON	VERB	NOUN	VERB	VERB	QPARTC	NOUN	VERB	VERB	NOUN	NOUN	NOUN	NOUN
NOM.DEF.	ABS.III	ABS.III	ATTR.	PART.PT.	DAT.INDEF.	ABS.	PT.3SG.	EXT.	NOM.	ABS.III	PART.PT.	ABL.INDEF.	OBL.	OBL.INDEF.	LOC.

Taking the fish, (the crane) went on in the way he had gone (before), and (he) put it on a bundle of firewood of a man who had come (there) looking for firewood.

25

F ▸ebagēm mā, mia hedī vaḍāmakī, mi maha nagāgen meluvagen kāfī-ai.◂

ebagēn	*mā*	*mia*	*hedī*	*vaḍāmakī*	*mi*	*maha*	*nagāgen*	*meluvagen*	*kāfī*	*ai*
going away	at time	this one	done	what a manner is	this	fish	taking	cooking	she ate	they say
VB.NOUN	NOUN	DPRON	VERB	NOUN	DPRON	NOUN	VERB	VERB	VERB	QPARTC
OBL.	LOC.	OBL.	PART.PT.	NOM.INDEF.+FOC.	ATTR.	NOM.	ABS.III	ABS.III	PT.1,3SG.	EXT.

When (he) had gone away (again), she took the fish and after cooking it, she ate (it).

H >bāvīm mai, mi mīhā hedī lihaku, mahā nagai gat-ai.<

bāvīn	*mai*	*mi*	*mīhā*	*hedī*	*lihaku*	*mahā*	*nagai*	*gat*	*ai*
putting	when	this	the man	done	a manner	the fish	lifting	he got	they say
VB.NOUN	NOUN	DPRON	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	VERB	QPARTC
OBL.	LOC.	ATTR.	OBL.DEF.	PART.PT.	OBL.INDEF.	NOM.DEF.	ABS.	PT.3SG.	INT.

When he had left (the fish there), this man took the fish off.

26

▸kāfī fahun, makanā bāi.◂

A

kāfī	*fahun*	*mākanā*	*bā*	*ai*
eaten	after	the crane	he came	they say
VERB	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	QPARTC
PART.PT.	ABL.	NOM.DEF.	PT.3SG.	EXT.

After (they) had eaten (the fish), the crane came (back).

▸kāfē hiśi vēlai bāi-ai.◂

F

kāfē	*hiśi*	*vēlai*	*bā*	*ai*	*ai*
having eaten	she being	at time	he came	they say	they say
VERB	VERB	NOUN	VERB	QPARTC	QPARTC
ABS.I	PART.PRS.	LOC.	PT.3SG.	INT.	INT.

Just when (she) had eaten (it), (the crane) came back.

27

▸ās kēfī, kobā tau timā mi tān veṭṭi mahā?◂

A

ās	*kēfī*	*kobā*	*tau*	*timā*	*mi*	*tān*	*veṭṭi*	*mahā?*
coming	he said	where	asking	self	this	place	dropped	the fish
VERB	VERB	IPRON	IPARTC	PRON	DPRON	NOUN	VERB	NOUN
ABS.	PT.1.3SG.	LOC.	INT.	OBL.	ATTR.	LOC.	PART.PT.	NOM.DEF.

Coming, he said, 'where,' he asked, 'is the fish I dropped here?'

F ▸āho beṇi-ai, timan kalō galakaʾ lī guimaṇa dīfā gaʾ raḷomaṇa dīfā gaʾ emmaṇa dīfā gaʾ masmaṇā kobā hei_e?◂

āho	*beṇi*	*ai*	*timan*	*kalō*	*galakaś*	*lī*	*guimaṇa*	*dīfai*	*gat*	*raḷomaṇa*	*dīfai*	*gat*	*emmaṇa*	*dīfai*	*gat*	*masmaṇa*	*kobā*	*hei_e?*
coming	he said	they say	self	lord	to a rock	laid	dropping	giving	received	wave	giving	received	bait fish	giving	received	fish	where	well asking
VERB	VERB	QPARTC	PRON	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	NOUN+DIM	VERB	VERB	NOUN+DIM	VERB	VERB	NOUN+DIM	VERB	VERB	NOUN+DIM	IPRON	ADV+IPARTC
ABS.	PT.3SG.	EXT.	ATTR.	OBL.	DAT.INDEF.	PART.PT.	NOUN	ABS.I (M!)	PART.PT.	NOM.	ABS.I (M!)	PART.PT.	NOM.	ABS.I (M!)	PART.PT.	NOM.	LOC.	INT.

Coming (back), he said asking, 'where is the fish I received giving the bait fish I had received giving the wave I had received giving the dropping I had laid on a rock?'

H >nagai gatum mai, mākanayā āho boṇi-ai, tim mīhā guā dīfai gate raḷā dīfai gate emā dīfai gate mahā kobai he?<

nagai	*gatun*	*mai*	*mākanayā*	*āho*	*boṇi*	*ai*	*tim*	*mīhā*	*guā*	*dīfai*	*gate*	*raḷā*	*dīfai*	*gate*	*emā*	*dīfai*	*gate*	*mahā*	*kobai*	*he?*
lifting	getting	when	the crane	coming	he said	they say	self	the man	the dropping	giving	got	the wave	giving	got	the bait	giving	got	the fish	where	asking
VERB	VB.NOUN	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	VERB	QPARTC	PRON	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	VERB	NOUN	VERB	VERB	NOUN	VERB	VERB	NOUN	IPRON	IPARTC
ABS.	OBL.	LOC.	NOM.DEF.	ABS.	PT.3SG.	EXT.	ATTR.	OBL.DEF.	NOM.DEF.	ABS.I	PART.PT.	NOM.DEF.	ABS.I	PART.PT.	NOM.DEF.	ABS.I	PART.PT.	NOM.DEF.	LOC.	INT.

When he took (the fish) off, the crane came and said, 'where is the fish I received by giving the bait fish I had received by giving the wave I had received by giving my own dropping?'

28

A ▸ta maha' kan, timāmen maha' kan dēneti, kāfim-āu.◂

ta	*mahak*	*kam*	*timāmen*	*mahak*	*kam*	*dēneti*	*kāfimā*	*āu*
your	a fish	whether	selves	a fish	whether	not knowing	we ate	saying
PPRON	NOUN	NOUN	PRON	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	VERB	QPARTC
OBL.	NOM.INDEF.	NOM.	OBL.PL.	NOM.INDEF.	NOM.	ABS.	PT.1PL.	INT.

'Not knowing whether (it) is your fish or our (own) fish, we ate it.'

F ▹beṇum mā beṇi-ai, kalō masmaṇa kan dēneti kāfīm-ai.◃

beṇun	*mā*	*beṇi*	*ai*	*kalō*	*masmaṇa*	*kan*	*dēneti*	*kāfīm*	*ai*
saying	at time	she said	they say	lord	fish	that	not knowing	I ate	saying
VB.NOUN	NOUN	VERB	QPARTC	NOUN	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	VERB	QPARTC
OBL.	LOC.	PT.3SG	EXT.	OBL.	NOM.	NOM.	ABS.	PT.1.1SG.	INT.

(At his) saying (so), (she) said, 'not knowing that (it was) your fish, I ate it.'

H >boṇīm mai, mi mīhā boṇi-ai, tim mīhā mahā kaifīm-ai.<

boṇīn	*mai*	*mi*	*mīhā*	*boṇi*	*ai*	*tim*	*mīhā*	*mahā*	*kaifīm*	*ai*
saying	at time	this	the man	he said	they say	self	the man	the fish	I ate	saying
VB.NOUN	NOUN	PRON	NOUN	VERB	QPARTC	PRON	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	QPARTC
OBL.	LOC.	ATTR.	NOM.DEF.	PT.3SG.	EXT.	ATTR.	NOM.DEF.	NOM.DEF.	PT.1.1SG.	INT.

When he said (so), the man said, 'I (myself) have eaten the fish.'

29

A ▸ta' dēṇei darabēňḍa' tau, maha' tau?◂

taś	*dēṇeī*	*darabēňḍak*	*tau*	*mahak*	*tau?*
to you	what shall be given is	a firewood bundle	asking	a fish	asking
PPRON	VERB	NOUN	IPARTC	NOUN	IPARTC
DAT.	PART.FUT.+FOC.	NOM.INDEF.	INT.	NOM.INDEF.	INT.

'Shall (we) give you a bundle of firewood or a fish?'

F ▹kalōśa dennēnī masmaṇa' tai daromaṇa' tai?◃

kalōśa	*dennēnī*	*masmaṇak*	*tai*	*daromaṇak*	*tai?*
to lord	what is to be given is	a fish	either	some firewood	or
NOUN	VERB	NOUN+DIM	IPARTC	NOUN+DIM	IPARTC
DAT.	PART.FUT.+FOC.	NOM.	CONJ.	NOM.	CONJ.

'Shall we give you a fish or a (bundle of) firewood?'

H >dara boňḍeke demā he, maheke demā he?<

dara	*boňḍeke*	*demā*	*he*	*maheke*	*demā*	*he?*
firewood	a bundle	we give	asking	a fish	we give	asking
NOUN	NOUN	VERB	IPARTC	NOUN	VERB	IPARTC
OBL.	NOM.INDEF.	PRS.1SG.	INT.	NOM.INDEF.	PRS.1SG.	INT.

'Shall I give (you) a bundle of firewood or shall I give (you) a fish?'

30
F

▹beṇum mā beṇi-ai timāśa denmēni daromaṇa-āi ◃

beṇun	*mā*	*beṇi*	*ai*	*timāsa*	*denmēni*	*daromaṇa*	*āi*
saying	at time	he said	they say	to self	what is to be given is	the firewood	saying
VB.NOUN	NOUN	VERB	QPARTC	PRON	VERB	NOUN	QPARTC
OBL.	LOC.	PT.3SG.	EXT.	DAT.	PART.PUT.+FOC.	NOM.INDEF.	INT.

When (she) said so, (the crane) said, 'give me the firewood (bundle).'

31
F

▹beṇum mā dereſi-ai. ◃

beṇun	*mā*	*dereſi*	*ai*
saying	at time	she gave	they say
VB.NOUN	NOUN	VERB	QPARTC
OBL.	LOC.	PT.1.3SG.	EXT.

When (he) had said (so), (she) gave (it to him).

32
A

▹beṇi mei, darabēṅḍa' dim mei, darabeṅḍie tuṁbelāgen gos Mēliagē Dī Kālō fan alāi rā hiā' in tāka' vaṭṭali.◃

beṇi	*mei*	*darabēṅḍak*	*din*	*mei*	*darabeṅḍiā*	*tuṁbelāgen*	*gos*	*Mēliagē*	*Dī*	*Kālō*	*fan*	*alāi*	*rā*	*hiāś*	*in*	*tākaś*	*vaṭṭali*
said	when	a firewood bundle	given	when	the firewood bundle	lifting	going	of M.-house	Dī	Kālō	leaves	laying	toddy	to boil	sitting	to a place	dropped
VERB	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	VERB	PN	PN	PN	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	VERB	VERB	NOUN	VERB
PART.PT.	LOC.	NOM.INDEF.	PART.PT.	LOC.	NOM.DEF.	ABS.III	ABS.	GEN.	NOM.	NOM.	NOM.	ABS.	NOM.	INF.	PART.PRS.	DAT.INDEF.	PT.II.3SG.

When (they) had said (so) (and) when (they) had given (him) a bundle of firewood, he took it, went (off) (and) dropped (it) at a place where M.D.K. was sitting laying out coconut leaves in order to boil toddy.

F

▹dinum mā, daromaṇa tumbelāgen udihemun udihemun goho, baiken daro nētī fan vallāfē rā hienna tibi tākaha vaṭṭālāi ebage-ai.◃

dinun	*mā*	*daromaṇa*	*tumbelāgen*	*udihemun*	*udihemun*	*goho*	*baiken*	*daro*	*nētī*	*fan*	*vallāfē*	*rā*	*hienna*	*tibi*	*tākaha*	*vaṭṭālāi*	*ebage*	*ai*
giving	when	firewood	lifting	by flying	by flying	going	some	firewood	not being	leaves	laying	toddy	to cook	being	to a place	having dropped	went off	they say
VB.NOUN	NOUN	NOUN+DIM	VERB	VERB	VERB	VERB	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	VERB	VERB	NOUN	VERB	VERB	QPARTC
OBL.	LOC.	NOM.	ABS.III	RGRND.	RGRND.	ABS.	OBL.	NOM.	ABS.	NOM.	INF.	NOM.	INF.	PART.PS.	DAT.INDEF.	ABS.II	PT.3SG.	EXT.

When (she) gave it (to him), (he), taking up the firewood bundle and going on flying and flying, dropped (it) at a place where there were some people (who were) laying out leaves (on the) ground to boil toddy because they had no firewood.

H

>boṇīm mai, dara boṅḍā tuṁbulaigen, iṅdihegen gē likahaṭa goho, <

boṇīn	*mai*	*dara*	*boṅḍā*	*tuṁbulaigen*	*iṅdihegen*	*gē*	*likahaṭa*	*goho*
saying	at time	firewood	the bundle	lifting	flying up	gone	to the manner	going
VB.NOUN	NOUN	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	VERB	VERB	NOUN	VERB
OBL.	LOC.	OBL.	OBL.DEF.	ABS.III	ABS.III	PART.PT.	DAT.INDEF.	ABS.

When he said (so), (the crane) flew off taking the firewood (and) went on in the way he had gone (before).

32a
H

>dara boṅḍā bāvī-ai fan jahaigen rā hinduvanne baikenge gē doro.<

dara	*boṅḍā*	*bāvī*	*ai*	*fan*	*jahaigen*	*rā*	*hinduvanne*	*baikenge*	*gē*	*doro*
firewood	the bundle	he put	they say	leaves	pushing	toddy	cooking	of some people	of house	to (door)
NOUN	NOUN	VERB	QPARTC	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	NOUN	NOUN
OBL.	OBL.DEF.	PART.PT.	EXT.	NOM.	ABS.III	NOM.	PART.PRS.	GEN.	GEN.	OBL.

and laid down the firewood bundle at (the house of) some people who were boiling toddy by putting coconut leaves (in the fire).

A ▸ea hedi lekakī, darabeňdie lafei, rā hiaga'.◂

ea	*hedi*	*lekakī*	*darabeňdiā*	*lāfei*	*rā*	*hiagat*
she	done	what a way is	the firewood bundle	having laid	toddy	she boiled
PPRON	VERB	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	VERB
OBL.	PART.PT.	NOM.INDEF.+FOC.	NOM.DEF.	ABS.I	NOM.	PT.III.3SG.

Laying out the firewood bundle, she (finally managed to) boil toddy.

F ▸ebagēn mā, mi mīhun hedī vaḍāmakī, rā hiāgatt-ai.◂

ebagēn	*mā*	*mi*	*mīhun*	*hedī*	*vaḍāmakī*	*rā*	*hiāgattā*	*ai*
going away	at time	these	people	done	what a manner is	toddy	got cooked	they say
VB.NOUN	NOUN	DPRON	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	QPARTC
OBL.	LOC.	ATTR.	OBL.PL.	PART.PT.	NOM.INDEF.+FOC.	NOM.	PT.III.3PL.	INT.

When (he) had gone away, she got the toddy boiled.

H

bāhai	*ovvai*	*mi*	*mīhun*	*dara*	*boňḍā*	*jahaifai*	*rā*	*hiňduvai*	*gattā*	*ai*
putting	having laid	these	people	firewood	the bundle	hitting	toddy	cooking	they got	they say
VERB	VERB	DPRON	NOUN	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	VERB	VERB	QPARTC
ABS.	ABS.	ATTR.	NOM.PL.	OBL.	NOM.DEP.	ABS.I	NOM.	ABS.	PT.3SG.	EXT.

After putting it there, they succeeded in boiling the toddy by putting the firewood (in the fire).

34

A ▸hiaga' fahun, ās kēfi, kobā tau timā mi tān veṭṭi darabeňdie?◂

hiagat	*fahun*	*ās*	*kēfī*	*kobā*	*tau*	*timā*	*mi*	*tān*	*veṭṭi*	*darabeňdiā?*
cooked	after	coming	he said	where	asking	self	this	place	dropped	the firewood bundle
VERB	NOUN	VERB	VERB	IPRON	IPARTC	PRON	DPRON	NOUN	VERB	NOUN
PART.PT.	ABL.	ABS.	PT.1.3SG.	LOC.	INT.	OBL.	ATTR.	LOC.	PART.PT.	NOM.DEF.

After (she) had cooked (it), the crane said coming (back), 'where,' he asked, 'is the firewood bundle I dropped here?'

H >rā hiňduvai gat tai mākanayā āho boṇi-ai, kobā he tim mīhā dara boňḍā?<

rā	*hiňduvai*	*gat*	*tai*	*mākanayā*	*āho*	*boṇi*	*ai*	*kobā*	*he*	*tim*	*mīhā*	*dara*	*boňḍā?*
toddy	cooking	got	at moment	the crane	coming	he said	they say	where	asking	self	the man	firewood	the bundle
NOUN	VERB	VERB	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	VERB	QPARTC	IPRON	IPARTC	PRON	NOUN	NOUN	NOUN
NOM.	ABS.	PART.PT.	LOC.	NOM.DEF.	ABS.	PT.3SG.	EXT.	LOC.	INT.	ATTR.	OBL.DEF.	OBL.	NOM.DEF.

Just when they had got (the) toddy boiling, the crane came (back) and said asking, 'where is my firewood bundle?'

F ▸āho beṇi-ai, timan kalō galaka' lī guimaṇa dīfā ga' raḷomaṇa dīfā ga' emmaṇa dīfā ga'.◂

āho	*beṇi*	*ai*	*timan*	*kalō*	*galakaś*	*lī*	*guimaṇa*	*dīfai*	*gat*	*raḷomaṇa*	*dīfai*	*gat*	*emmaṇa*	*dīfai*	*gat*
coming	he said	they say	self	lord	to a rock	laid	dropping	giving	received	wave	giving	received	bait fish	giving	received
VERB	VERB	QPARTC	PRON	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	NOUN+DIM	VERB	VERB	NOUN+DIM	VERB	VERB	NOUN+DIM	VERB	VERB
ABS.	PT.3SG.	INT.	ATTR.	OBL.	DAT.INDEF.	PART.PT.	NOUN;	ABS.I (M!)	PART.PT.	NOM.	ABS.I (M!)	PART.PT.	NOM.	ABS.I (M!)	PART.PT.

Coming (back) he said asking, 'where is the firewood (bundle) I received giving the fish I had received giving the bait fish I had received giving the wave I had receive

F

masmaṇa	*difai*	*gat*	*daromaṇa*	*koba*	*hei_e?*
fish	giving	received	firewood	where	well-asking
NOUN+DIM NOM.	VERB ABS.I (M!)	VERB PART.PT.	NOUN+DIM NOM.	IPRON LOC.	ADV+IPARTC INT.

▸masmaṇa difa ga' daromaṇa koba hei-e?◂

giving the bait fish I had received giving the wave I had received giving the dropping I had laid on a rock?'

35

A

▸beṇi mei, dī kālō kēfi, ta darabēňḍa' kan, timā darabēňḍa' kan dēneti, timā rā hiagamm-āu.◂

beṇi	*mei*	*dī*	*kālō*	*kēfi*	*ta*	*darabēňḍak*	*kam*	*timā*	*darabēňḍak*	*kam*	*dēneti*	*timā*	*rā*	*hiagatim*	*āu*
said	when	Dī	Kālō	she said	your	a firewood bundle	whether	self	a firewood bundle	whether	not knowing	self	toddy	I boiled	saying
VERB PART.PT.	NOUN LOC.	PN NOM.	PN NOM.	VERB PT.1SG.	PPRON OBL.	NOUN NOM.INDEF.	NOUN NOM.	PRON ATTR.	NOUN NOM.INDEF.	NOUN NOM.	VERB ABS.	PRON NOM.	NOUN NOM.	VERB PT.III.1SG.	QPARTC INT.

When he had said (so), D.K. said, 'not knowing whether (it is) your firewood bundle or my (own) firewood bundle, I (finally) got (the) toddy boiled.'

F

▸beṇā mi mīhun beṇi-ai, kalō daromaṇa kan dēneti, timāmen rā hiāgamm-āi.◂

beṇā	*mi*	*mīhun*	*beṇi*	*ai*	*kalō*	*daromaṇa*	*kam*	*dēneti*	*timāmen*	*rā*	*hiāgammā*	*ai*
saying	these	people	they said	they say	lord	firewood	that	not knowing	selves	toddy	we got cooking	saying
VERB ABS.	DPRON ATTR.	NOUN NOM.PL.	VERB PT 3PL.	QPARTC EXT.	NOUN OBL.	NOUN NOM.	NOUN NOM.	VERB ABS.	PRON NOM.PL.	NOUN NOM.	VERB PT.III.1PL.	QPARTC INT.

(At his) saying (so), these people said, 'not knowing that (it was) your firewood we (ourselves) got (our) toddy boiled.'

H

>boṇīm mai, mi mīhun boṇi āi, tim mīhun rā hinduvai gatum māi, dara boňḍake demā hē, rāike demā he?<

boṇīn	*mai*	*mi*	*mīhun*	*boṇi*	*āi*	*tim*	*mīhun*	*rā*	*hinduvai*	*gatun*	*māi*	*dara*	*boňḍake*	*demā*	*hē*	*rāike*	*demā*	*he?*
saying	at time	these	people	said	they say	self	people	toddy	cooking	getting	at time	firewood	a bundle	we give	asking	a toddy	we give	asking
VB.NOUN OBL.	NOUN LOC.	DPRON ATTR.	NOUN NOM.PL.	VERB PT.3SG.	QPARTC EXT.	PRON ATTR.	NOUN NOM.PL.	NOUN NOM.	VERB ABS.	NOUN OBL.	NOUN LOC.	NOUN OBL.	NOUN NOM.INDEF.	VERB PRS.1PL.	IPARTC INT.	NOUN NOM.INDEF.	VERB PRS.1PL.	IPARTC INT.

After (his) saying (so), these people said asking, 'after we got (our) toddy boiling, shall we give (you) a firewood bundle (or) shall we give (you) some toddy?'

36

A

▸ta' dēṇei darabēňḍa' tau, fani tulela' tau?◂

taś	*dēṇeī*	*darabēňḍak*	*tau*	*fani*	*tulelak*	*tau?*
to you	what shall be given is	a firewood bundle	asking	treacle	a measure	asking
PPRON DAT.	VERB PART.FUT.+FOC.	NOUN NOM.INDEF.	IPARTC INT.	NOUN OBL.	NOUN NOM.INDEF.	IPARTC INT.

'Shall (I) give you a firewood bundle or some (lit. "a measure of") treacle?'

F

▸kalōśa dēnī fanimaṇa' tai, daromaṇa' tai?◂

kalōśa	*dēnī*	*fanimaṇak*	*tai*	*daromaṇak*	*tai?*
to lord	what is to be given is	treacle	either	firewood	or
NOUN DAT.	VERB PART.PRS.+FOC.	NOUN+DIM NOM.	IPARTC CONJ.	NOUN+DIM NOM.	IPARTC CONJ.

'Shall we give you some treacle or some firewood?'

37

A ▸beṇi mei, kēfī, emme raṅgaḷ-āu, fani tuḷela' dē' kei.◂

beṇi	*mei*	*kēfī*	*emme*	*raṅgaḷa*	*āu*	*fani*	*tuḷelak*	*dēś*	*kei*
said	when	he said	most of all	beautiful	saying	treacle	a measure	to give	saying
VERB	NOUN	VERB	PARTC	ADJ	QPARTC	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	VERB
PART.PT.	LOC.	PT.1SG.	MOD.	PRED.	INT.	OBL.	NOM.INDEF.	INF.	ABS.

When she said (so), he said, '(it) would be best to give (me) some (lit. "a measure of") treacle.'

F ▸beṇi-ai, timāśa dennēnī fanimaṇak-āi.◂

beṇi	*ai*	*timāśa*	*dennēnī*	*fanimaṇak*	*āi*
he said	they say	to self	what is to be given is	a treacle	saying
VERB	QPARTC	PRON	VERB	NOUN	QPARTC
PT.3SG.	EXT.	DAT.	PART.FUT.+FOC.	NOM.INDEF.	INT.

When (they) said so, (the crane) said, 'give me (some) treacle.'

H >boṇim mai boṇī-ai, raike denna.<

boṇim	*mai*	*boṇī*	*ai*	*raike*	*denna*
saying	at time	he said	they say	a toddy	to give
VB.NOUN	NOUN	VERB	QPARTC	NOUN	VERB
OBL.	LOC.	PT.3SG.	EXT.	NOM.INDEF.	INF.

After (their) saying (so), he said, 'give (me) some toddy'.

38

F ▸beṇā mi mīhun derefī-āi.◂

beṇā	*mi*	*mīhun*	*derefī*	*āi*
saying	these	people	(they) gave	they say
VERB	DPRON	NOUN	VERB	QPARTC
ABS.	ATTR.	NOM.PL.	PT.3PL.	INT.

(At his) saying (so), these people gave it (to him).

39

A ▸beṇi mei, fani tuḷelā dim mei, tuṁbelāgen udussaga'.◂

beṇi	*mei*	*fani*	*tuḷelā*	*din*	*mei*	*tuṁbelāgen*	*udussagat*
said	when	treacle	the measure	given	when	lifting	he flew away (intentionally)
VERB	NOUN	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	VERB	VERB
PART.PT.	LOC.	OBL.	NOM.DEF.	PART.PT.	LOC.	ABS.III	PT.III.3SG.

When he had said (so), when he was given the measure of treacle, he started flying taking (it) up.

40

A ▸uduhigen gē leka' gos, eb bakin fani netigen kubus ni fihigen tibi tāka' vaṭṭali.◂

uduhigen	*gē*	*lekaś*	*gos*	*ek*	*bākin*	*fani*	*netigen*	*kubus*	*ni*	*fihigen*	*tibi*	*tākaś*	*vaṭṭali*
flying	gone	to way	going	one	some people	treacle	not being	pancake	not	baking	being	to a place	he dropped
VERB	VERB	NOUN	VERB	CARD	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	PARTC	VERB	VERB	NOUN	VERB
ABS.III	PART.PT.	DAT.	ABS.	ATTR.	NOM.	NOM.	ABS.III	NOM.	NEG.	ABS.III	PART.PRS.	DAT.INDEF.	PT.II.3SG.

As he went on, flying in the way he had been (before), he dropped (it) on a place where there were some people who failed baking pancakes because of not having treacle.

F ▸dinum mā fanimaṇa tumbelāgen udihemun udihemun goho, baiken fani nētī fen eḍāgen kubus fihenna tibi tanakaha vaṭṭālāfē ebage-ai.◂

dinun	*mā*	*fanimaṇa*	*tumbelāgen*	*udihemun*	*udihemun*	*goho*	*baiken*	*fani*	*nētī*	*fen*	*eḍāgen*	*kubus*	*fihenna*	*tibi*	*tanakaha*	*vaṭṭālāfē*	*ebage*	*ai*
giving	at time	treacle	lifting	by flying	by flying	going	some	treacle	not being	water	pouring	pancake	to bake	being	to a place	having dropped	he went	they say
VB.NOUN	NOUN	NOUN+DIM	VERB	VERB	VERB	VERB	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	VERB	VERB	NOUN	VERB	VERB	QPARTC
OBL.	LOC.	NOM.	ABS.III	RGRND.	RGRND.	ABS.	OBL.	NOM.	ABS.	OBL.	ABS.III	NOM.	INF.	PART.PRS.	DAT.INDEF.	ABS.II+1	PT.3SG.	EXT.

When (they) gave it (to him), (he), lifting up the treacle and going on flying and flying, dropped (it) at a place where there were some people (who tried) to bake pancake by pouring water (upon it) because of not having treacle.

H >rāyā hifaigen gē likahaṭa goho, vaṭṭaili āi ottī appana oḍana geaku doraṭa.<

rāyā	*hifaigen*	*gē*	*likahaṭa*	*goho*	*vaṭṭaili*	*āi*	*ottī*	*appana*	*oḍana*	*geaku*	*doraṭa*
the toddy	grasping	gone	to a manner	going	he dropped	they say	where it was	pancake	preparing	a house	to door
NOUN	VERB	VERB	NOUN	VERB	VERB	QPARTC	VERB	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	NOUN
NOM.DEF.	ABS.III	PART.PT.	DAT.INDEF.	ABS.	PT.II.3SG.	EXT.	PART.PT.+FOC.	NOM.	PART.PRS.	OBL.INDEF.	DAT.

Taking the toddy (and) going on in the way (he) had gone (before), he dropped it near a house where there was (somebody) preparing (a) pancake.

41

A ▸everin hedi lekakī, fani tulelā eḍagen, fiśi garagen, kubus fihagattā.◂

everin	*hedi*	*lekakī*	*fani*	*tulelā*	*eḍagen*	*fiśi*	*garagen*	*kubus*	*fihagattā*
those ones	done	what a way is	treacle	the measure	putting	flour	stirring	pancake	they baked
DPRON	VERB	NOUN	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	VERB
OBL.PL.	PART.PT.	NOM.INDEF.+FOC.	OBL.	NOM.DEF.	ABS.III	NOM.	ABS.III	NOM.	PT.III.3PL.

Taking the measure of treacle (and) stirring in (some) flour, these people (finally) got the pancake baked.

F ▸ebagēm mā, mi mīhun fanimaṇa eḍāgen kubus fihāgat-ai.◂

ebagēn	*mā*	*mi*	*mīhun*	*fanimaṇa*	*eḍāgen*	*kubus*	*fihāgat*	*ai*
going away	at time	these	people	treacle	pouring	pancake	they got cooked	they say
VB.NOUN	NOUN	DPRON	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	VERB	QPARTC
OBL.	LOC.	ATTR.	NOM.PL.	NOM.	ABS.III	NOM.	PT.III.3PL.	INT.

When (he) had gone away, these people got the pancake baked by pouring treacle (upon it).

H >mi mīhun ek kala rāyā oḍāfai, appana fihai gat-ai.<

mi	*mīhun*	*ek*	*kala*	*rāyā*	*oḍāfai*	*appana*	*fihai*	*gat*	*ai*
these	people	one	time	the toddy	pouring	pancake	baking	they got	they say
DPRON	NOUN	CARD	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	VERB	VERB	QPARTC
ATTR.	NOM.PL.	ATTR.	OBL.	NOM.DEF.	ABS.I	NOM.	ABS.	PT.3PL.	INT.

These people, pouring the (aforesaid) toddy in it, (finally) got the pancake baked.

42

F

▹kubus fihegen tibi vēlai bā.◃

kubus	*fihegen*	*tibi*	*vēlai*	*bā*	*ai*
pancake	baking	they being	at time	he came back	they say
NOUN	VERB	VERB	NOUN	VERB	QPARTC
NOM.	ABS.III	PART.PRS.	LOC.	PT.3SG.	INT.

Just when they were baking the pancake, (the crane) came back.

43

A

▹vēla kẹdakun, mākanā ās ahafī, kobā tau timā mi tān vẹtti fani tulelā?◃

vēla	*kẹdakun*	*mākanā*	*ās*	*ahafī*	*kobā*	*tau*	*timā*	*mi*	*tān*	*vẹtti*	*fani*	*tulelā?*
time	with a piece	the crane	coming	he asked	where	asking	self	this	place	dropped	treacle	the measure
NOUN	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	VERB	IPRON	IPARTC	PRON	DPRON	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	NOUN
OBL.	ABL.INDEF.	NOM.DEF.	ABS.	PT.3SG.	LOC.	INT.	OBL.	ATTR.	LOC.	PART.PT.	OBL.	NOM.DEF.

After a short while, the crane came (back and) asked, 'where is the measure of treacle I dropped here?'

H

>fīhai gatum mai, āho boṇi-ai, kobai hē tim mīhā rāyā?<

fihai	*gatun*	*mai*	*āho*	*boṇi*	*ai*	*kobai*	*hē*	*tim*	*mīhā*	*rāyā?*
baking	getting	at time	coming	he said	they say	where	asking	self	the man	the toddy
VERB	VB.NOUN	NOUN	VERB	VERB	QPARTC	IPRON	IPARTC	PRON	NOUN	NOUN
ABS.	OBL.	LOC.	ABS.	PT.3SG.	EXT.	LOC.	INT.	ATTR.	OBL.DEF.	NOM.DEF.

Just when (they) got (it) baked, (the crane) came (back and) said, 'where is my toddy?'

F

▹āho beṇi-ai, timan kalō galaka' lī guimaṇa dīfā ga' raḷomaṇa dīfā ga' emmaṇa dīfā ga'.◃

āho	*beṇi*	*ai*	*timan*	*kalō*	*galakaś*	*lī*	*guimaṇa*	*dīfai*	*gat*	*raḷomaṇa*	*dīfai*	*gat*	*emmaṇa*	*dīfai*	*gat*
coming	he said	they say	self	lord	to a rock	laid	dropping	giving	received	wave	giving	received	bait fish	giving	received
VERB	VERB	QPARTC	PRON	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	NOUN+DIM	VERB	VERB	NOUN+DIM	VERB	VERB	NOUN+DIM	VERB	VERB
ABS.	PT.3SG.	EXT.	ATTR.	OBL.	DAT.INDEF.	PART.PT.	NOUN	ABS.I (M!)	PART.PT.	NOM.	ABS.I (M!)	PART.PT.	NOM.	ABS.I (M!)	PART.PT.

Coming (back) he said asking, 'where is the treacle I received giving the firewood I had received giving the fish I had received giving the bait fish I had received

43a

F

▹masmaṇa difā ga' daromaṇa difā ga' fanimaṇa kobā hei-e?◃

masmaṇa	*difai*	*gat*	*daromaṇa*	*difai*	*gat*	*fanimaṇa*	*kobā*	*hei_e?*
fish	giving	received	firewood	giving	received	treacle	where	well-asking
NOUN+DIM	VERB	VERB	NOUN+DIM	VERB	VERB	NOUN+DIM	IPRON	ADV+IPARTC
NOM.	ABS.I (M!)	PART.PT.	NOM.	ABS.I (M!)	PART.PT.	NOM.	LOC.	INT.

giving the wave I had received giving the dropping I had laid on a rock?'

44

A ▸ta fani tuḷela' kan, timāmen fani tuḷela' kan dēneti, kubus fihagamm-āu.◂

ta	*fani*	*tuḷelak*	*kam*	*timāmen*	*fani*	*tuḷelak*	*kam*	*dēneti*	*kubus*	*fihagammā*	*āu*
your	treacle	a measure	whether	selves	treacle	a measure	whether	not knowing	pancake	we baked	saying
PPRON	NOUN	NOUN	NOUN	PPRON	NOUN	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	VERB	QPARTC
OBL.	OBL.	NOM.INDEF.	NOM.	OBL.PL.	OBL.	NOM.INDEF.	NOM.	ABS.	NOM.	PT.1II.1PL.	INT.

'Not knowing whether (it is) your measure of treacle or our (own) measure of treacle, we (finally) baked pancake (with it)', (they) said.

F ▹beṇum mā mi mīhun beṇi-ai, kalō fanimaṇa kan dēneti, kubus fihāgammāi.◃

beṇun	*mā*	*mi*	*mīhun*	*beṇi*	*ai*	*kalō*	*fanimaṇa*	*kam*	*dēneti*	*kubus*	*fihāgammā*	*ai*
saying	at time	these	people	they said	they say	lord	treacle	that	not knowing	pancake	we got baking	saying
VB.NOUN	NOUN	DPRON	NOUN	VERB	QPARTC	NOUN	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	VERB	QPARTC
OBL.	LOC.	ATTR.	NOM.PL.	PT.3PL.	EXT.	OBL.	NOM.+DIM.	NOM.	ABS.	NOM.	PT.1II.1PL.	INT.

(At his) saying (so), these people said, 'not knowing that (it was) your treacle, we (finally) got (our) pancake baked.

H >boṇīm mai boṇi-ai, tim felā ta rāyā nagai gatum mai, appanake demā he, raike demā he?<

boṇīn	*mai*	*boṇi*	*ai*	*tim*	*felā*	*ta*	*rāyā*	*nagai*	*gatun*	*mai*	*appanake*	*demā*	*he*	*raeke*	*demā*	*he?*
saying	at time	they said	they say	self	people	your	toddy	lifting	getting	at time	a pancake	we give	asking	a toddy	we give	asking
VB.NOUN	NOUN	VERB	QPARTC	PRON	NOUN	PPRON	NOUN	VERB	VB.NOUN	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	IPARTC	NOUN	VERB	IPARTC
OBL.	LOC.	PT.3SG.	EXT.	ATTR.	NOM.PL.	OBL.	NOM.	ABS.	OBL.	LOC.	NOM.INDEF.	PRS.1PL.	INT.	NOM.INDEF.	PRS.1PL.	INT.

After (his) saying (so), (they) said asking, 'after we have acquired your toddy (by) taking (it) up, shall we give (you) a pancake (or) shall we give (you) some toddy?'

45

A ▸ta' dēṇei fani tuḷela' tau, kubuha' tau?◂

taś	*dēṇeī*	*fani*	*tuḷelak*	*tau*	*kubuhak*	*tau?*
to you	what shall be given is	treacle	a measure	asking	a pancake	asking
PPRON	VERB	NOUN	NOUN	IPARTC	NOUN	IPARTC
DAT.	PART.FUT.+FOC.	OBL.	NOM.INDEF.	INT.	NOM.INDEF.	INT.

'Shall (we) give you a measure of treacle or a pancake?'

F ▹kalōśa dennēnī kubusmaṇa' tai fanimaṇa' tai?◃

kalōśa	*dennēnī*	*kubusmaṇak*	*tai*	*fanimaṇak*	*tai?*
to lord	what is to be given is	pancake	either	treacle	or
NOUN	VERB	NOUN+DIM	IPARTC	NOUN+DIM	IPARTC
DAT.	PART.FUT.+FOC.	NOM.	CONJ.	NOM.	CONJ.

'Shall we give you a pancake or some treacle?'

46

A

▸beṇi mei, kēfī, kubuha' dē' kei.◂

beṇi	*mei*	*kēfī*	*kubuhak*	*dēś*	*kei*
said	when	he said	a pancake	to give	saying
VERB	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	VERB	VERB
PART.PT.	LOC.	PT.1.3SG	NOM.INDEF.	INF	ABS.

After (their) saying (so), (the crane) said, 'give (me) a pancake.'

F

▹beṇā beṇi-āi, timāśa dennēnī kubusmaṇakk-āi.◃

beṇā	*beṇi*	*ai*	*timāśa*	*dennēnī*	*kubusmaṇak*	*āi*
saying	he said	they say	to self	what is to be given is	a pancake	saying
VERB	VERB	QPARTC	PRON	VERB	NOUN	QPARTC
ABS.	PT.3SG.	EXT.	DAT.	PART.FUT.+FOC.	NOM.INDEF.	INT.

When (they) said so, (the crane) said, 'give me a pancake.'

H

>boṇīm mai boṇi-ai, appanake denn-āi.<

boṇīn	*mai*	*boṇi*	*ai*	*appanake*	*denna*	*ai*
saying	at time	he said	they say	a pancake	to give	saying
VB.NOUN	NOUN	VERB	QPARTC	NOUN	VERB	QPARTC
OBL.	LOC.	PT.3SG.	EXT.	NOM.INDEF.	INF.	INT.

When (they) said so, (the crane) said, 'give me a pancake.'

47

F

▹beṇā mi mīhun derefī-ai.◃

beṇā	*mi*	*mīhun*	*derefī*	*ai*
saying	these	people	(they) gave	they say
VERB	DPRON	NOUN	VERB	QPARTC
ABS.	ATTR.	NOM.PL.	PT.3PL.	

After he had said (so), these people gave (it to him).

48

A ▸kubuhā dim mei, kubuhā tuṁbelāgen gē lekaś gos, fēru kalēge fēran kerā tatune kede bāvvai ebege.◂

kubuhā	*din*	*mei*	*kubuhā*	*tuṁbelāgen*	*gē*	*lekaś*	*gos*	*fēru*	*kalēge*	*fēran*	*kerā*	*tatune*	*kede*	*bāvvai*	*ebege*
the pancake	given	when	the pancake	lifting	gone	to way	going	weaver	mister	weaving	making	of chair	at end	putting	he went off
NOUN	VERB	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	VERB	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	VERB
NOM.DEF.	PART.PT.	LOC.	NOM.DEF.	ABS.III	PART.PT.	DAT.	ABS.	OBL.	OBL.	NOM.	PART.PRS.	GEN	LOC.	ABS.	PT.3SG

When he had been given the pancake (and) taken (it), he went on in the way he had gone (before), (and) after putting it on the end of a weaver's weaving chair, he went off (again).

F ▸dinum mā, kubusmaṇa tumbelāgen, udihemun udihemun goho, fēru kalēge fērān oḷoṁbo dāṅḍe bāvvā ebage-ai.◂

dinun	*mā*	*kubusmaṇa*	*tumbelāgen*	*udihemun*	*udihemun*	*goho*	*fēru*	*kalēge*	*fērān*	*oḷoṁbo*	*dāṅḍe*	*bāvvā*	*ebage*	*ai*
giving	at time	pancake	lifting	by flying	by flying	going	weaver	lord's	weaving	(?)	stick	putting	he went off	they say
VB.NOUN	NOUN	NOUN+DIM	VERB	VERB	VERB	VERB	NOUN	NOUN	NOUN	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	VERB	QPARTC
OBL.	LOC.	NOM.	ABS.III	RGRND.	RGRND.	ABS.	OBL.	GEN.	OBL.	OBL.	LOC.	ABS.	PT.3SG.	EXT.

When (they) gave it (to him), (he), taking up the treacle and going on flying and flying, put (it) on (a) weaver's weaving (?) stick.

H >appana hifaigen gē likahaṭa goho, vaṭṭaili āi bere oḍana baikenge gāṭa.<

appana	*hifaigen*	*gē*	*likahaṭa*	*goho*	*vaṭṭaili*	*āi*	*bere*	*oḍana*	*baikenge*	*gāṭa*
the pancake	grasping	gone	to a manner	going	he dropped	they say	drum	preparing	some people's	to house
NOUN	VERB	VERB	NOUN	VERB	VERB	QPARTC	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	NOUN
NOM.DEF.	ABS.III	PART.PT.	DAT.INDEF.	ABS.	PT.II.3SG.	EXT.	NOM.	PART.PRS.	GEN.	DAT.

Taking the pancake (and) going on in the way (he) had gone (before), he dropped (it) near some people who were fixing (the skin of) a drum.

49

F ▸ebagēm mā, miu dati jehā komme kalaki veṭṭenī-ai.◂

ebagēn	*mā*	*miu*	*dati*	*jehā*	*komme*	*kalaki*	*veṭṭenī*	*ai*
going away	at time	this one	in tooth	hitting	every	in time	it falls	they say
VB.NOUN	NOUN	DPRON	NOUN	VERB	PRON	NOUN	VERB	QPARTC
OBL.	LOC.	OBL.	LOC.	ABS.	ATTR.	LOC.INDEF.	PRS.3SG. (M)	EXT.

After (he) had gone away, it fell down all the way (lit. "time") hitting into the teeth of this one (i.e., the weaver's).

A ▸ebegē mei, fēru kalēge iṅdefei kalaki davvaḍa jahafei kudu ko' mativaḍa nagamun kamun mākanā ē tō balafei,◂

ebegē	*mei*	*fēru*	*kalēge*	*iṅdefei*	*kalaki*	*davvaḍa*	*jahafei*	*kudu*	*koś*	*mativaḍa*	*nagamun*	*kamun*	*mākanā*	*ē*	*tō*	*balafei*
come	when	weaver	mister	sitting	(each) at a time	in-mouth	striking	little	making	off-mouth	raising	eating	the crane	coming	if	looking
VERB	NOUN	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	ADJ	VERB	NOUN	VERB	VERB	NOUN	VERB	CONJ	VERB
PART.PT.	LOC.	OBL.	NOM.	ABS.I	LOC.INDEF.	OBL.	ABS.I	PRED.	ABS.	OBL.	GRND.	GRND.	NOM.DEF.	PART.PRS.		ABS.I

When he went off, the weaver was sitting there, biting off (pieces) from it by putting it in his mouth and taking a little bit off again and again, (each) at a time while looking whether the crane (might) come (back)

49a

A

▸davvaḍa jahamun ē velei, kubuhā hus vege.◂

davvaḍa	*jahamun*	*ē*	*vēlei*	*kubuhā*	*hus*	*vege*
in-mouth	striking	going on	while	the pancake	empty	it became
NOUN OBL.	VERB GRND.	VERB PART.PRS.	NOUN LOC.	NOUN NOM.DEF.	ADJ PRED.	VERB PT.IV.3SG.

and while he was going on putting it in his mouth (like this), the pancake became empty.

50

F

▹veṭṭ' enā hedī, rīḍi arāgen, kāfī-ai.◃

veṭṭ'	*enā*	*hedī*	*rīḍi*	*arāgen*	*kāfī*	*ai*
(it) falling	he	what he did was	angry	climbing up	he ate	they say
VERB ABS.	PRON NOM. (M!)	VERB PART.PT.+FOC.	ADJ. PRED.	VERB ABS.III	VERB PT.1,3SG.	QPARTC EXT.

When it fell (between his teeth), he became angry and swallowed (it).

H

>vaṭṭailīm mai, mi mīhune hedi lihaku appanā kaigen bera oḍai gat-ai.<

vaṭṭailīn	*mai*	*mi*	*mīhune*	*hedi*	*lihaku*	*appanā*	*kaigen*	*bera*	*oḍai*	*gat*	*ai*
dropping	at time	these	people	done	the way (was)	the pancake	eating	the drum	fixing	they got	they say
VB.NOUN OBL.	NOUN LOC.	DPRON ATTR.	NOUN OBL.PL.	VERB PART.PT.	NOUN OBL.SG.INDEF.	NOUN NOM.DEF.	VERB ABS.III	NOUN NOM.DEF.	VERB ABS.	VERB PT.3PL.	QPARTC INT.

After (his) dropping (it), these people got the drum fixed by eating the pancake.

51

A

▸kubuhā hus vi tani keḍa' mākanā bāi.◂

kubuhā	*hus*	*vi*	*tani*	*keḍaś*	*mākanā*	*bā*	*ai*
the pancake	empty	become	of place	to end	the crane	he came	they say
NOUN NOM.DEF.	ADJ PRED.	VERB PART.PT.	NOUN GEN.	NOUN DAT.	NOUN NOM.DEF.	VERB PT.3SG.	QPARTC EXT.

The crane came (back) just at the moment when the pancake had become empty.

F

▹kāfē hi' vēlai bāi.◃

kāfē	*hiśi*	*vēlai*	*bā*	*ai*
having eaten	he being	at time	he came	they say
VERB ABS.I	VERB PART.PRS.	NOUN LOC.	VERB PT.3SG.	QPARTC EXT.

Just when he had eaten it, (the crane) came back.

52

A ▸ās kēfi, kobā tau timā mi tani bēvvi kubuhā?◂

ās	*kēfi*	*kobā*	*tau*	*timā*	*mi*	*tani*	*bēvvi*	*kubuhā?*
coming	he said	where	asking	self	this	in place	put	the pancake
VERB	VERB	IPRON	IPARTC	PRON	DPRON	NOUN	VERB	NOUN
ABS.	PT.1SG.	LOC.	INT.	OBL.	ATTR.	LOC.	PART.PT.	NOM.DEF.

Coming (back), he said, 'where,' he asked, 'is the pancake I dropped in this place?'

H >āho boṇi-ai, kobā he tim mīhā mi tā voṭṭi appanā?<

āho	*boṇi*	*ai*	*kobā*	*he*	*tim*	*mīhā*	*mi*	*tā*	*voṭṭi*	*appanā?*
coming	he said	they say	where	asking	self	the man	this	at place	dropped	the pancake
VERB	VERB	QPARTC	IPRON	IPARTC	PRON	NOUN	DPRON	NOUN	VERB	NOUN
ABS.	PT.3SG.	EXT.	LOC.	INT.	ATTR.	OBL.DEF.	ATTR.	OBL.	PART.PT.	NOM.DEF.

Having come (back), he said asking, 'where is the pancake I dropped in this place?'

F ▹āho beṇi-ai, galakaˀ lī guimaṇa dīfā gaˀ raḷomaṇa dīfā gaˀ emmaṇa dīfā gaˀ.◃

āho	*beṇi*	*ai*	*galakaś*	*lī*	*guimaṇa*	*dīfai*	*gat*	*raḷomaṇa*	*dīfai*	*gat*	*emmaṇa*	*dīfai*	*gat*
coming	he said	they say	to a rock	laid	dropping	giving	received	wave	giving	received	bait fish	giving	received
VERB	VERB	QPARTC	NOUN	VERB	NOUN+DIM	VERB	VERB	NOUN+DIM	VERB	VERB	NOUN+DIM	VERB	VERB
ABS.	PT.3SG.	EXT.	DAT.INDEF.	PART.PT.	NOUN	ABS.I (M!)	PART.PT.	NOM.	ABS.I (M!)	PART.PT.	NOM.	ABS.I (M!)	PART.PT.

Coming (back) he said asking, 'where is the pancake I had received giving the *treacle I received giving* (the) firewood I had received giving the fish I had received giving the bait fish I had received

52a

F ▹masmaṇa dīfā gaˀ daromaṇa *dīfā gaˀ fanimaṇa* dīfā gaˀ kubusmaṇa kobā heie?◃

masmaṇa	*dīfai*	*gat*	*daromaṇa*	*dīfai*	*gat*	*fanimaṇa*	*dīfai*	*gat*	*kubusmaṇa*	*kobā*	*hei_e?*
fish	giving	received	firewood	giving	received	treacle	giving	received	pancake	where	well-asking
NOUN+DIM	VERB	VERB	NOUN+DIM	VERB	VERB	NOUN+DIM	VERB	VERB	NOUN+DIM	IPRON	ADV+IPARTC
NOM.	ABS.I (M!)	PART.PT.	NOM.	ABS.I (M!)	PART.PT.	NOM.	ABS.I (M!)	PART.PT.	NOM.	LOC.	INT.

giving the wave I had received giving the dropping I had laid on a rock?'

53

A ▸beṇi mei, kēfī, ta kubuha' kan, timā kubuha' kan dēneti, davvada jahafei mativada nagamun kamun e vēlei, hus vege.◂

beṇi	*mei*	*kēfi*	*ta*	*kubuhak*	*kan*	*timā*	*kubuha'*	*kan*	*dēneti*	*davvada*	*jahafei*	*mativada*	*nagamun*	*kamun*	*e*	*vēlei*	*hus*	*vege*
said	when	he said	your	a pancake	whether	self	a pancake	whether	not knowing	in-mouth	striking	off-mouth	raising	eating	going on	while	empty	it became
VERB	NOUN	VERB	PPRON	NOUN	NOUN	PRON	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	NOUN,	VERB	NOUN	VERB	VERB	VERB	NOUN	ADJ	VERB
PART.PT.	LOC.	PT.3SG.	OBL.	NOM.INDEF.	NOM.	ATTR.	NOM.INDEF.	NOM.	ABS.	OBL.	ABS.	OBL.	GRND.	GRND.	PART.PRS.	LOC.	PRED.	PT.IV.3SG.

When he had said (so), (the weaver) said, 'while (I was going on eating (it) by biting (bits) off (and) putting (them) in the mouth on and on, not knowing whether (it is) your pancake or my pancake, it became empty.

▸miu beṇi-ai, kalō kubusmaṇa' kan dēneti, kāfīm-ai.◂

F

miu	*beṇi*	*ai*	*kalō*	*kubusmaṇak*	*kam*	*dēneti*	*kāfīm*	*ai*
this one	he said	they say	lord	pancake	that	not knowing	I ate	saying
DPRON	VERB	QPARTC	NOUN	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	VERB	QPARTC
OBL.	PT.3SG.	EXT.	OBL.	NOM.	NOM.	ABS.	PT.III.1SG.	INT.

(At his) saying (so), (the weaver) said, 'not knowing that (it was) your pancake, I ate it.'

>boṇīm mai, mi mīhun boṇi-ai, tim fela appanā kaifīm-ai.<

H

boṇīn	*mai*	*mi*	*mīhun*	*boṇi*	*ai*	*tim*	*fela*	*appanā*	*kaifīm*	*ai*
saying	at time	these	people	they said	they say	self	people	the pancake	we ate	saying
VB.NOUN	NOUN	DPRON	NOUN	VERB	QPARTC	PRON	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	QPARTC
OBL.	LOC.	ATTR.	NOM.PL.	PT.3SG.	INT.	ATTR.	NOM.	NOM.	PT.I.1PL.	INT.

At (his) saying (so), these people said, 'we ate the pancake.'

54

▸ta' dēṇei kubuha' tau, ūtērā' tau?◂

A

taś	*dēṇeī*	*kubuhak*	*tau*	*ūtērāk*	*tau?*
to you	what shall be given is	a pancake	asking	a yarn reel	asking
PPRON	VERB	NOUN	IPARTC	NOUN	IPARTC
DAT.	PART.FUT.+FOC.	NOM.INDEF.	INT.	NOM.INDEF.	INT.

'Shall (I) give you a pancake or a yarn reel?'

▸den miu beṇi-ai, kalōśa dennēnī, ūtērimaṇa' tai, kubusmaṇa' tai?◂

F

den	*miu*	*beṇi*	*ai*	*kalōśa*	*dennēnī*	*ūtērimaṇak*	*tai*	*kubusmaṇak*	*tai?*
then	this one	he said	they say	to lord	what is to be given is	yarn reel	either	pancake	or
ADV	DPRON	VERB	QPARTC	NOUN	VERB	NOUN+DIM	IPARTC	NOUN+DIM	IPARTC
TEMP.	NOM.	PT.3SG.	EXT.	DAT.	PART.FUT.+FOC.	NOM.	CONJ.	NOM.	CONJ.

Then this one said, 'shall we give you (a) yarn reel or a pancake?'

55

A ▸beṇi mei, benafi, ūtērāʾ dĕʾ kei.◂

beṇi	*mei*	*benafi*	*ūtērāk*	*deś*	*kei*
said	when	he said	a yarn reel	to give	saying
VERB PART.PT.	NOUN LOC.	VERB PT.1SG.	NOUN NOM.INDEF.	VERB INF.	VERB ABS.

When he had said (so), (the crane) said, 'give (me) a yarn reel.'

F ▸beṇi-ai, timāśa dennēnī, ūtērimaṇakk-āi.◂

beṇi	*ai*	*timāśa*	*dennēnī*	*ūtērimaṇak*	*āi*
he said	they say	to self	what is to be given is	a yarn reel	saying
VERB PT.3SG.	QPARTC EXT.	PRON DAT.	VERB PART.FUT.+FOC.	NOUN NOM.INDEF.	QPARTC INT.

(When they said so, the crane) said, 'give me a yarn reel.'

56

A ▸beṇi mei, dinī ūtērāʾ.◂

beṇi	*mei*	*dinī*	*ūtērāk.*
said	when	what was given is	a yarn reel
VERB PART.PT.	NOUN LOC.	VERB PART.PT.+FOC.	NOUN NOM.INDEF.

When he had said (so), (he) was given a yarn reel.

F ▸beṇā derefi-ai.◂

beṇā	*derefi*	*ai*
saying	he gave	they say
VERB ABS.	VERB PT.3PL.	QPARTC EXT.

(At his) saying (so), (the weaver) gave (it to him).

56a

A ▸dim mei, hifagen uduhigen gos, kaḷāge beyyā ū mada vegen, naṇa ni eḍigen in tākaʾ vaṭṭalāi ebege-au.◂

din	*mei*	*hifagen*	*uduhigen*	*gos*	*kaḷāge*	*beyyā*	*ū*	*mada*	*vegen*	*naṇa*	*ni*	*eḍigen*	*in*	*tākaś*	*vaṭṭalāi*	*ebege*	*au*
given	when	grasping	flying	going	Kalāge	the Bey	yarn	few	having become	fishing line	not	fixing	sitting	to a place	having dropped	he went	they say
VERB PART.PT.	NOUN LOC.	VERB ABS.III	VERB ABS.III	VERB ABS.	PN NOM.	NOUN NOM.DEF.	NOUN OBL.	ADJ PRED.	VERB ABS.III	NOUN NOM.	PARTC NEG.	VERB ABS.III	VERB PART.PRS	NOUN DAT.INDEF.	VERB ABS.II	VERB PT.3SG	QPARTC INT.

When he was given (it), he went (off) grasping (it), and flying (away), he dropped it at a place where K.B. was sitting, failing to fix (his) fishing line, because of yarn having run short.

56b
A

▸veṭṭi mei, beyyā hedi lekakī, ūtērā lāfei naṇa eḍaga'.◂

veṭṭi	*mei*	*beyyā*	*hedi*	*lekakī*	*ūtērā*	*lāfei*	*naṇa*	*eḍagat*
dropped	when	the bey	done	what the way is	the yarn reel	using	fishing line	he fixed
VERB PART.PT.	NOUN LOC.	NOUN OBL.DEF.	VERB PART.PT.	NOUN NOM.INDEF.+FOC.	NOUN NOM.DEF.	VERB ABS.I	NOUN NOM.	VERB PT.III.3SG.

When (he) dropped it, (K.) Bey was finally able to fix (his) fishing line using the yarn reel.

56c
A

▸naṇa eḍai, avidi vege fahun, bāi.◂

naṇa	*eḍai*	*avidi*	*vege*	*fahun*	*bā*	*ai*
fishing line	fixing	finished	become	after	he came	they say
NOUN NOM.	VERB ABS.	ADJ PRED.	VERB PART.PT.IV	NOUN ABL.	VERB PT.3SG.	QPARTC EXT.

After he had finished fixing the fishing line, (the crane) came back.

56d
A

▸ās kēfi, timā mi tān veṭṭi ūtērā kobā tau?◂

ās	*kēfi*	*timā*	*mi*	*tani*	*veṭṭi*	*ūtērā*	*kobā*	*tau?*
coming	he said	self	this	place	dropped	the yarn reel	where	asking
VERB ABS.	VERB PT.I.3SG.	PRON OBL.	DPRON ATTR.	NOUN LOC.	VERB PART.PT.	NOUN NOM.DEF.	IPRON LOC.	IPARTC INT.

Coming (back), he said, 'where,' he asked, 'is the yarn reel I dropped in this place?'

56e
A

▸beyyā kēfi, ta ūtērā' kan, ma ūtērā' kan ni eñgi naṇa eḍagamm-āu.◂

beyyā	*kēfi*	*ta*	*ūtērāk*	*kam*	*ma*	*ūtērāk*	*kam*	*ni*	*eñgi*	*naṇa*	*eḍagatim*	*āu*
the bey	he said	your	a yarn reel	whether	my	a yarn reel	whether	not	being known	fishing line	I fixed	saying
NOUN NOM.DEF.	VERB PT.I.3SG.	PPRON OBL.	NOUN NOM.INDEF.	NOUN NOM.	PPRON OBL.	NOUN NOM.INDEF.	NOUN NOM.	PARTC NEG.	VERB ABS.	NOUN NOM.	VERB PT.III.1SG.	QPARTC INT.

(K.) Bey said, 'not knowing whether (it is) your yarn reel or my yarn reel, I (finally) fixed (my) fishing line (using it).'

56f
A

▸ta' dēṇei ūtērā' tau nuvata naṇa' tau?◂

taś	*dēṇeī*	*ūtērāk*	*tau*	*nuvata*	*naṇak*	*tau?*
to you	what shall be given is	a yarn reel	asking	or	a fishing line	asking
PPRON DAT.	VERB PART.FUT.+FOC.	NOUN NOM.INDEF.	IPARTC INT.	CONJ COOR.	NOUN NOM.INDEF.	IPARTC INT.

'Shall (I) give you a yarn reel or a fishing line?'

57

A ▸naṇa tuṁbelāgen, e gē leka' gos, Kōgañḍi Fuccelō naṇa maḍa vegen bera' ni emeṇigen hiśi taka' vaṭṭalai ebege.◂

naṇa tuṁbelāgen e gē lekaś gos Kōgañḍi Fuccelō naṇa maḍa vegen berak ni emeṇigen hiśi tākaś vaṭṭalāi ebege

fishing line lifting that gone to way going of Kōgañḍa Fuccelō fishing line few having become a drum not tying being to a place having dropped he went

NOUN VERB DPRON VERB NOUN VERB PN PN NOUN ADJ VERB NOUN PARTC VERB VERB'S NOUN VERB VERB

NOM. ABS.III ATTR. PART.PT. DAT. ABS. GEN. OBL. NOM. PRED. ABS.III NOM.INDEF. NEG. ABS.III PART.PRS. DAT. ABS.II PT.3SG.

Having taken (the) fishing line (and) going (on) in the way he had gone (before), he went and dropped (it) at a place where F. from K. stood, failing to tie (his) drum because of (his) fishing line having run short.

F ▸**dinum mā, utērimaṇa tumbelāgen, udihemun udihemun goho, baiken ū nētī naṇain bera eḍannaha tibi tanakaha vaṭṭalāi ebage-ai.**◂

dinun mā utērimaṇa tumbelāgen udihemun udihemun goho baiken ū nētī naṇain bera eḍannaha tibi tanakaha vaṭṭalāi ebage ai

giving at time yarn reel lifting by flying by flying going some yarn not being from line drum to fix being to a place having dropped he went off they say

VB.NOUN NOUN NOUN+DIM VERB VERB VERB VERB NOUN NOUN VERB NOUN NOUN VERB VERB NOUN VERB VERB QPARTC

OBL. LOC. NOM. ABS.III RGRND. RGRND. ABS. OBL. NOM. ABS. ABL. NOM. INF. PART.PRS. DAT.INDEF. ABS.II+I PT.3SG. EXT.

When (they) gave it (to him), (he), lifting up the treacle and going on flying and flying, dropped (it) at a place where there were some people (who were) trying to fix (a) drum with a fishing line because they had no yarn.

58

F ▸**ebagēm mā, mi mīhun bera eḍāgat-ai.**◂

ebagēn — going away — VB.NOUN — OBL.

mā — at time — NOUN — LOC.

mi — these — DPRON — ATTR.

mīhun — people — NOUN — NOM.PL.

bera — drum — NOUN — NOM.

eḍāgat — they got fixed — VERB — PT.III.3PL.

ai — they say — QPARTC — INT.

When (he) had gone away, these people managed to fix the drum.

59

A ▸**bera' amaṇaga' fahun, mide bāi.**◂

berak — a drum — NOUN — NOM.INDEF.

amaṇagat — tied — VERB — PART.PT.III

fahun — after — NOUN — ABL.

mide — this one — DPRON — NOM.

bā — he came — VERB — PT.3SG.

ai — they say — QPARTC — EXT.

After (K.F.) had tied (his) drum, the crane came (back).

F ▸**bera' eḍāgen tibi vēlai, bāi.**◂

bera' — drum — NOUN — NOM.

eḍāgen — fixing — VERB — ABS.III

tibi — they being — VERB — PART.PRS.

vēlai — at time — NOUN — LOC.

bā — he came back — VERB — PT.3SG.

ai — they say — QPARTC — INT.

Just when they had fixed the drum, (the crane) came back.

60

A ▸ās kēfi, kobā tau timā mi tāu vetti naṇa?◂

ās	*kēfi*	*kobā*	*tau*	*timā*	*mi*	*tani*	*vetti*	*naṇa?*
coming	he said	where	asking	self	this	place	dropped	fishing line
VERB	VERB	IPRON	IPARTC	PRON	DPRON	NOUN	VERB	NOUN
ABS.	PT.1.3SG.	LOC.	INT.	OBL.	ATTR.	LOC.	PART.PT.	NOM.

Coming (back), he said, 'where,' he asked, 'is the fishing line I dropped at this place?'

F ▹āho beṇi-ai, timan kalō galaka' lī guimaṇa dīfā ga' raḷomaṇa dīfā ga' emmaṇa dīfā ga'.◃

āho	*beṇi*	*ai*	*timan*	*kalō*	*galakaś*	*lī*	*guimaṇa*	*dīfai*	*gat*	*raḷomaṇa*	*dīfai*	*gat*	*emmaṇa*	*dīfai*	*gat*
coming	he said	they say	self	lord	to a rock	laid	dropping	giving	received	wave	giving	received	bait fish	giving	received
VERB	VERB	QPARTC	PRON	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	NOUN+DIM	VERB	VERB	NOUN+DIM	VERB	VERB	NOUN+DIM	VERB	VERB
ABS.	PT.3SG.	EXT.	ATTR.	OBL.	DAT.INDEF.	PART.PT.	NOUN	ABS.I (M!)	PART.PT.	NOM.	ABS.I (M!)	PART.PT.	NOM.	ABS.I (M!)	PART.PT.

Coming (back) he said asking, 'where is the yarn reel I received giving the pancake I had received giving the *treacle I had received giving* (the) firewood I had received giving the fish I had received giving the bait fish I had received

60a

F ▹masmaṇa dīfā ga' daromaṇa dīfā ga' *fanimaṇa dīfā ga'* kubusmaṇa dīfā ga' utērimaṇa kobā hei-e?◃

masmaṇa	*dīfai*	*gat*	*daromaṇa*	*dīfai*	*gat*	*fanimaṇa*	*dīfai*	*gat*	*kubusmaṇa*	*dīfai*	*gat*	*utērimaṇa*	*kobā*	*hei_e?*
fish	giving	received	firewood	giving	received	treacle	giving	received	pancake	giving	received	yarn reel	where	well-asking
NOUN+DIM	VERB	VERB	NOUN+DIM	VERB	VERB	NOUN+DIM	VERB	VERB	NOUN+DIM	VERB	VERB	NOUN	IPRON	ADV+IPARTC
NOM.	ABS.I (M!)	PART.PT.	NOM.	ABS.I (M!)	PART.PT.	NOM.	ABS.I (M!)	PART.PT.	NOM.	ABS.I	PART.PT.	NOM.+DIM.	LOC.	INT.

giving the wave I had received giving the dropping I had laid on a rock?'

61

A ▸ta naṇa' kan, ma naṇa' kan dēneti, timā bera' amaṇagamm-āu.◂

ta	*naṇak*	*kam*	*ma*	*naṇak*	*kam*	*dēneti*	*timā*	*berak*	*amaṇagatim*	*āu*
your	a fishing line	whether	my	a fishing line	whether	not knowing	self	a drum	I tied	saying
PPRON	NOUN	NOUN	PRON	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	PRON	NOUN	VERB	QPARTC
OBL.	NOM.INDEF.	NOM.	ATTR.	NOM.INDEF.	NOM.	ABS.	NOM.	NOM.INDEF.	PT.III.1SG.	INT.

'Not knowing, whether (it is) your fishing line or my fishing line, I (used it for) tying.'

F ▹beṇā mi mīhun beṇi-ai, kalō ūtērimaṇa' kan dēneti, bera' eḍāgamm-āi.◃

beṇā	*mi*	*mīhun*	*beṇi*	*ai*	*kalō*	*ūtērimaṇak*	*kam*	*dēneti*	*berak*	*eḍāgammā*	*āi*
saying	these	people	they said	they say	lord	yarn reel	that	not knowing	a drum	we got fixed	saying
NOUN	DPRON	NOUN	VERB	QPARTC	NOUN	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	VERB	QPARTC
ABS.	ATTR.	NOM.PL.	PT.3PL.	EXT.	OBL.	NOM.	NOM.	ABS.	NOM.INDEF.	PT.III.1PL.	INT.

(At his) saying (so), these people said, 'not knowing that (it was) your yarn reel, we finally got (our) drum fixed (with it).'

62

A

taś to you — PPRON DAT.
deṇeī what shall be given is — VERB PART.FUT.+FOC.
naṇak a fishing line — NOUN NOM.INDEF.
tau asking — IPARTC INT.
nuvato or — CONJ COOR.
bera the drum — NOUN NOM.DEF.
tau? asking — IPARTC INT.

'Shall (I) give you a fishing line or the drum?'

▸ta' deṇei naṇa' tau nuvata bera tau?◂

F

kalōśa to lord — NOUN DAT.
dennēnī what is to be given is — VERB PART.FUT.+FOC.
beramaṇak drum — NOUN+DIM NOM.INDEF.
tai either — IPARTC CONJ.
ātērimaṇak yarn reel — NOUN+DIM NOM.INDEF.
tai? or — IPARTC CONJ.

'Shall we give you a drum or a yarn reel?'

▸kalōśa dennēnī, beramaṇa' tai ūtērimaṇa' tai?◂

H

bereke a drum — NOUN NOM.INDEF.
demā we give — VERB PRS.IPL.
he asking — IPARTC INT.
appanake a pancake — NOUN NOM.INDEF.
demā we give — VERB PRS.IPL.
he? asking — IPARTC INT.

'Shall we give (you) a drum (or) shall we give (you) a pancake?'

>bereke demā he, appanake demā he?<

63

A

beṇi said — VERB PART.PT.
mei when — NOUN LOC.
kēfī he said — VERB PT.13SG.
timāś self — PRON DAT.
dēṇeī what shall be given is — VERB PART.PT.+FOC.
bera drum — NOUN OBL.
koloāk a bunch — NOUN NOM.INDEF.
āu saying — QPARTC INT.

When he had said (so), (the crane) said, 'give me a bunch of drum(s).'

▸beṇi mei kēfi, timā' dēṇei bera koloāk-āu.◂

F

beṇā saying — VERB ABS.
beṇi he said — VERB PT.3SG.
ai they say — QPARTC EXT.
timāśa to self — PRON DAT.
dennēnī what is to be given is — VERB PART.FUT.+FOC.
beramaṇāk a drum — NOUN NOM.INDEF.
āi saying — QPARTC INT.

When (they) said so, (the crane) said, 'give me a drum.'

▸beṇā beṇi-ai, timāśa dennēnī beramaṇākāi.◂

H

boṇi he said — VERB PT.3SG.
ai they say — QPARTC EXT.
bereke a drum — NOUN NOM.INDEF.
denna to give — VERB INF.
ai saying — QPARTC INT.

He said, 'give (me) a drum.'

>boṇi-ai, bereke denn-ai.<

63a
A

▸beṇi mei, bera koloā derefi.◂

beṇi	*mei*	*bera*	*koloā*	*derefi*
said	when	drum	the bunch	he gave
VERB	NOUN	NOUN	NOUN	VERB
PART.PT.	LOC.	OBL.	NOM.DEF.	PT.L3SG.

When he had said (so), (K.F.) gave (him) a bunch of drum(s).

64
H

>berā tuṁbulaigen, iṁdihegen gē likahaṭa goho, jahaifi āi o' galahutte koḷu huṭi kēo gehaka.<

berā	*tuṁbulaigen*	*iṁdihegen*	*gē*	*likahaṭa*	*goho*	*jahaifi*	*āi*	*ot*	*galahutte*	*koḷu*	*huṭi*	*kēo*	*gehaka*
the drum	lifting	flying up	gone	to a manner	going	he hit	they say	it was (?)	of Galafuśi	end	being	screwpine	to a tree
NOUN	VERB	VERB	VERB	NOUN	VERB	VERB	QPARTC	VERB	PN	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	NOUN
NOM.DEF.	ABS.III	ABS.III	PART.PT.	DAT.INDEF.	ABS.	PT.L3SG.	EXT.	PART.PT.	GEN.	OBL.	PART.PRS.	OBL.	DAT.INDEF.

Taking the drum, (the crane) went on in the way he had gone (before) and landed on a screwpine tree which was at the end of Galafuśi.

F

▸beṇum mā, beramaṇa tumbelāgen udihemuṇ udihemun goho Mēliage faṇṇei hīśi kē geheki iṁde mi kēnī:◂

beṇun	*mā*	*beramaṇa*	*tumbelāgen*	*udihemun*	*udihemun*	*goho*	*Mēliage*	*faṇṇei*	*hīśi*	*kē*	*geheki*	*iṁde*	*mi*	*kēnī:*
saying	at time	pancake	lifting	by flying	by flying	going	of M	in beach way	being	screwpine	on a tree	sitting down	this	what he says is:
VB.NOUN	NOUN	NOUN+DIM	VERB	VERB	VERB	VERB	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	DPRON	VERB
OBL.	LOC.	NOM.	ABS.III	RGRND.	RGRND.	ABS.	OBL.	LOC.	PART.PRS.	OBL.	LOC.	ABS.	NOM.	PART.PRS.+FOC.

When (he) had said (so), taking up the drum, going on flying and flying and sitting down on a screwpine tree which stood on Mēlia's beach, he said:

64a
F

▸ta bere nu nun, ma bere nu nun, rasge futtilā bere kē, kēgaṅḍi bere, ravā ravā.◂

ta	*bere*	*nu*	*nun*	*ma*	*bere*	*nu*	*nun*	*rasge*	*futtilā*	*bere*	*kē*	*kēgaṅḍi*	*bere*	*ravā*	*ravā*
your	drum	not	is not	my	drum	not	is not	king's	prince-lord (?)	drum	saying	of K	drum	=	=
PPRON	NOUN	PARTC	PARTC	PPRON	NOUN	PARTC	PARTC	NOUN	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	PN (?)	NOUN	INTJ	INTJ
OBL.	NOM.	NEG. (M)	NEG.	OBL.	NOM.	NEG. (M)	NEG.	GEN.	OBL.	NOM.	ABS.	GEN.	NOM.	=	=

'It is not your drum, it is not my drum, it is the king's prince's drum,' he said, 'it is Kēgaṅḍi's drum, craw craw'.

65
A

▸dim mei, bera koloā hifagen, tuṁbelāgen gos, boṅḍa mā singā hi' biā nikavilissa gehaki jehifei iṁde kēnī,◂

din	*mei*	*bera*	*koloā*	*hifagen*	*tuṁbelāgen*	*gos*	*boṅḍa*	*mā*	*singā*	*hit*	*biā*	*nikavilissa*	*gehaki*	*jehifei*	*iṁde*	*kēnī*
given	when	drum	the bunch	grasping	lifting	going	big	huge	lion	heart	beating	flamboyant	on a tree	landing	sitting	what he says is
VERB	NOUN	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	VERB	VERB	ADJ	ADJ	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	VERB	VERB
PART.PT.	LOC.	OBL.	NOM.DEF.	ABS.III	ABS.III	ABS.	ATTR.	ATTR.	OBL.	NOM.	PART.PRS.	OBL.	LOC.INDEF.	ABS.I	ABS.	PART.PRS.+FOC.

When (he) was given (it), grasping the bunch of drums, taking (it), going on and landing upon an amazing huge flamboyant tree and sitting there, he said,

65a

A ▸gua' di, rale' gatin; rale' di, eme' gatin; ema' di, maha' gatin; maha di, dara beṇḍi gatin;◂

gua'	*dī*	*rale'*	*gatin;*	*rale'*	*dī*	*eme'*	*gatin*	*ema'*	*dī*	*maha'*	*gatin*	*maha'*	*di*	*dara*	*beṇḍi*	*gatin*
a dropping	giving	a wave	I received	a wave	giving	a bait fish	I received	a bait fish	giving	a fish	I received	a fish	giving	firewood	bundle	I received
NOUN	VERB	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	NOUN	VERB
NOM.INDEF.	ABS. (M!)	NOM.INDEF. (M!)	PT.1SG.	NOM.INDEF.(M!)	ABS. (M!)	NOM.INDEF.(M!)	PT.1SG.	NOM.INDEF.	ABS. (M!)	NOM.INDEF.	PT.1SG.	NOM.INDEF.	ABS. (M!)	OBL.	NOM.	PT.1SG.

'Having given a dropping, I received a wave; having given a wave, I received (a) bait fish; having given (a) bait fish, I received a fish; having given a fish, I received (a) bundle of firewood;

65b

A ▸dara beṇḍi dī, fani tuḷela' gatin; fani tuḷela' dī, kubuha' gatin; kubuhe' dī, tēra' gatin; tēra' dī, naṇe' gatin;◂

dara	*beṇḍi*	*dī*	*fani*	*tuḷela'*	*gatin*	*fani*	*tuḷela'*	*dī*	*kubuha'*	*gatin*	*kubuhe'*	*dī*	*tēra'*	*gatin*	*tēra'*	*dī*	*naṇe'*	*gatin*
firewood	bundle	giving	treacle	a measure	I received	treacle	a measure	giving	a pancake	I received	a pancake	giving	a reel	I received	a reel	giving	a fishing line	I received
NOUN	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	VERB
OBL.	NOM.INDEF.	ABS. (M!)	OBL.	NOM.INDEF.	PT.1SG.	OBL.	NOM.INDEF.	ABS. (M!)	NOM.INDEF.	PT.1SG.	NOM.INDEF.(M!)	ABS. (M!)	NOM.INDEF.	PT.1SG.	NOM.INDEF.	ABS. (M!)	NOM.INDEF.M!	PT.1SG.

Having given (a) bundle of firewood, I received a measure of treacle; having given a measure of treacle, I received a pancake; having given a reel, I received a fishing line;

65c

A ▸naṇe' dī, bere' gatin: ta bera' nun, ma bera' nun, Kōgaṅḍi Fuccalō berā ravā ravā.◂

naṇe'	*dī*	*bere'*	*gatin*	*ta*	*bera'*	*nun*	*ma*	*bera'*	*nun*	*Kōgaṅḍi*	*Fuccalō*	*berā*	*ravā*	*ravā*
a fishing line	giving	a drum	I received	your	drum	it is not	my	drum	it is not	of Kōgaṇḍa	Fuccalō	the drum	=	=
NOUN	VERB	NOUN	VERB	PPRON	NOUN	PARTC	PPRON	NOUN	PARTC	PN	PN	NOUN	INTJ	INTJ
NOM.INDEF.(M!)	ABS. (M!)	NOM.INDEF.(M!)	PT.1SG.	OBL.	NOM.INDEF.	NEG.	OBL.	NOM.INDEF.	NEG.	GEN.	OBL.	NOM.DEF.	=	=

Having given a fishing line, I received a drum; it is not your drum, it is not my drum, (it is) K. F.'s drum, ravā, ravā.'

66

F ▹mehen kē kē hiśu vēlai, Mēliage dia ebage loṇo furanna.◃

mehen	*kē*	*kē*	*hiśu*	*vēlai*	*Mēliage*	*dia*	*ebage*	*loṇo*	*furanna*
this way	saying	saying	he being	at time	of M.	daughter	she went off	salt	to fill
ADV	VERB	VERB	VERB	NOUN	PN	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	VERB
MOD.	ABS.	ABS.	PART.PRS.	LOC.	GEN.	NOM.	PT.3SG.	NOM.	INF.

While he was talking and talking like this, M.D. went off to fill up (her) salt.

H >jahai huṭṭai, bere jahan iñduvai, mā mellēge dia bāi āi mi tan loṇo huvanna.<

jahai	*huṭṭai*	*bere*	*jahan*	*iñduvai*	*mā*	*mellēge*	*dia*	*bā*	*āi*	*mi*	*tan*	*loṇo*	*huvanna*
hitting	being	drum	to beat	setting	M.	of M.-house	D	she came	they say	this	place	salt	to look for
VERB	VERB	NOUN	VERB	VERB	ADJ	PN	NOUN	VERB	QPARTC	DPRON	NOUN	NOUN	VERB
ABS.	ABS.	NOM.	INF.	ABS.	ATTR.	GEN.	NOM.DEF.	PT.3SG.	EXT.	ATTR.	OBL.	NOM.	INF.

When he had landed there and had started to beat (the) drum, M.M.D. came to his place to look for some salt.

67
F

>erīfē hiśu vēlai, mia beṇi-ai, ti kalō beramaṇa nūn-ai, ti denna kē.<

erīfē	*hiśu*	*vēlai*	*mia*	*beṇi*	*ai*	*tī*	*kalō*	*beramaṇa*	*nūn*	*ai*	*tī*	*denna*	*kē*
getting out	it being	at time	this one	he said	they say	this (your)	lord	drum	is not	saying	this (your) one	to give	saying
VERB ABS.I	VERB PART.PRS.	NOUN LOC.	DPRON OBL. (?)	VERB PT.3SG.	QPARTC EXT.	DPRON ATTR.	NOUN OBL.	NOUN+DIM NOM.	VERB PRS.3SG.	QPARTC INT.	DPRON NOM.	VERB INF.	VERB ABS.

Just when she went out, she said, 'this is not your drum, give (it back to me).'

H

>āho, mia mākanayā here jahān iñduvai, boṇi-ai, ta hitun ta' tī here jahanun he?<

āho	*mia*	*mākanayā*	*here*	*jahān*	*iñduvai*	*boṇi*	*ai*	*ta*	*hitun*	*taś*	*tī*	*here*	*jahanun*	*he?*
coming	this one	the crane	drum	to beat	setting	she said	they say	your	from heart	to you	this	drum	is beatable	asking
VERB ABS.	PPRON NOM.	NOUN NOM.DEF.	NOUN NOM.	VERB INF.	VERB ABS.	VERB PT.3SG.	QPARTC EXT.	PPRON OBL.	NOUN ABL.	PPRON DAT.	DPRON ATTR.	NOUN NOM.	VERB PART.PT.POT.	IPARTC EXT.

Coming (there) when the crane was about to beat the drum, she said, 'do you really think you are able to beat the drum?'

68
H

>boṇīm mai, boṇi-ai, āi, tim mīhā here jahanna gō.<

boṇīn	*mai*	*boṇi*	*ai*	*āi*	*tim*	*mīhā*	*here*	*jahanna*	*gō*
saying	at time	he said	they say	yes	self	to the man	drum	to beat	indeed (?)
VB.NOUN OBL.	NOUN LOC.	VERB PT.3SG.	QPARTC EXT.	PARTC AFF.	PRON OBL.	NOUN DAT.DEF.	NOUN NOM.	VERB INF. (?)	PARTC MOD.

At (her) saying (so), (the crane) said, 'yes, I am indeed able (?) to beat the drum.'

69
H

>boṇīm mai boṇi-ai, mā mellēge dia, <

boṇīn	*mai*	*boṇi*	*ai*	*mā*	*mellēge*	*dia*
saying	at time	he said	they say	M	M	D
VB.NOUN OBL.	NOUN LOC.	VERB PT.3SG.	QPARTC EXT.	ADJ ATTR.	PN GEN.	NOUN NOM.DEF.

At (her) saying (so), he said, 'M.M.D.,

69a
H

>ta angayā ma angayā, de angayā kere rate angayake balan ta angayā hā kollai lanna ke.<

ta	*angayā*	*ma*	*angayā*	*de*	*angayā*	*kere*	*rate*	*angayake*	*balan*	*ta*	*angayā*	*hā*	*kollai*	*lanna*	*ke*
your	the mouth	my	the mouth	two	the mouth	comparing	red	a mouth	to see	your	mouth	open	making	to lay	saying
PPRON OBL.	NOUN NOM.DEF.	PPRON OBL.	NOUN NOM.DEF.	CARD ATTR.	NOUN NOM.DEF.	POSTP LOC.	ADJ ATTR.	NOUN NOM.INDEF.	VERB INF.	PPRON OBL.	NOUN NOM.DEF.	ADJ PRED.	VERB ABS.II	VERB INF.	VERB ABS.

open your mouth,' he said, '(so that we can) see which mouth, your mouth or my mouth, is (the more) red (one).

T3: **Moḷōgaňḍa**

The axe

Aḍḍū: ʿAlī Maṇikufānu

70

H >mā mellēge dia angayā hā keran tā cis kiā guake laifi-ai.<

mā	*mellēge*	*dia*	*angayā*	*hā*	*keran*	*tā*	*cis*	*kiā*	*guake*	*laifi*	*ai*
M.	M.	D.	the mouth	open	making	at moment	chiss	saying	a dropping	he laid	they say
ADJ	PN	NOUN	NOUN	ADJ	VERB	NOUN	INTJ	VERB	NOUN	VERB	QPARTC
ATTR.	GEN.	OBL.DEF.	NOM.DEF.	PRED.	PART.PRS.	OBL.		ABS.	NOM.INDEF.	PT.3SG.	INT.

Just when M.M.D. had opened her mouth, *cis*, he laid a dropping into it.

71

H >mā mellēge dia boṇi-ai, mākanayā vataṭ, berā ēge mattaṭ, kēā gehā ēge mattaṭ ingen fehe nadire'.<

mā	*mellēge*	*dia*	*boṇi*	*ai*	*mākanayā*	*vataṭ*	*berā*	*ēge*	*mattaṭ*	*kēā*	*gehā*	*ēge*	*mattaṭ*	*ingen*	*fehe*	*nadirek*
M.	M.	D.	she said	they say	the crane	down	the drum	of that	upon	the screwpine	the tree	of that	upon	fell	if	a votive gift
ADJ	PN	NOUN	VERB	QPARTC	NOUN	NOUN	NOUN	PPRON	NOUN	NOUN	NOUN	PPRON	NOUN	VERB	CONJ	NOUN
ATTR.	GEN.	NOM.DEF.	PT.3SG.	EXT.	NOM.DEF.	DAT.	NOM.DEF.	GEN.	DAT.	OBL.DEF.	NOM.DEF.	GEN.	DAT.	ABS.	COND.	NOM.INDEF. (M!)

M.M.D. said, '(I should give) a votive gift if the crane fell down, the drum (fell) upon him (and) the screwpine tree (fell) upon that.'

72

F ▹den mia mi tan balāgen hiśei erenī-ai loṇo furanna.◃

den	*mia*	*mi*	*tan*	*balāgen*	*hiśei*	*erenī*	*ai*	*loṇo*	*furanna*
then	this one	this	place	looking	being	what she got out for was	they say	salt	to fill
ADV	DPRON	DPRON	NOUN	VERB	VERB	VERB	QPARTC	NOUN	VERB
TEMP.	OBL.	ATTR.	NOM.	ABS.III	ABS.	PART.PRS.+FOC.	EXT.	NOM.	INF.

Then, looking (around) this place, she got out to fill up (her) salt.

73

F ▹goho goho hiśu velai veṭṭīgen goho jehīfē hataru kakul hambāgen baḍiā gaňḍo mugurāgen ebage-ai.◃

goho	*goho*	*hiśu*	*velai*	*veṭṭīgen*	*goho*	*jehīfē*	*hataru*	*kakul*	*hambāgen*	*baḍiā*	*gaňḍo*	*mugurāgen*	*ebage*	*ai*
going	going	being	at time	falling	going	hitting	four	knee	breaking (?)	belly (?)	piece	cracking	he went off	they say
VERB	VERB	VERB	NOUN	VERB	VERB	VERB	CARD	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	VERB	QPARTC
ABS.	ABS.	PART.PRS.	LOC.	ABS.III	ABS.	ABS.I	ATTR.	NOM.	ABS.III	OBL.	NOM.	ABS.III	PT.3SG.	EXT.

When she was going around (like this), (the crane ?) went off (again), hit (the ground) by falling down, broke (his) knee in four (parts ?) and cracked (his) belly (?).

1

▸mi tibī varaʾ fakīri fakīri de mafiriakāmen-āu◂

mi	*tibī*	*varaś*	*fakīri*	*fakīri*	*de*	*mafiriakāmen*	*āu*
there	who were	very	poor	poor	two	woman-(with)-a-man-together	they say
ADV	VERB	NOUN	ADJ	ADJ	CARD	NOUN	QPARTC
TEMP.	PART.PT.+FOC.	DAT.	ATTR.	ATTR.	ATTR.	NOM.PL.	EXT.

There (once) was a very poor couple.

2

▸kommiak-as mi gē de mafiringe duvas digi vegen gei duvas vari.◂

kommiak	*as*	*mi*	*gē*	*de*	*mafiringe*	*duvas*	*digi*	*vegen*	*geī*	*duvas*	*vari*
how	ever	this	of house	two	of woman-man	day	long	becoming	the way they passed was	time	in a period
ADV	PARTC	DPRON	NOUN	CARD	NOUN	NOUN	ADJ	VERB	VERB	NOUN	NOUN
MOD.	MOD.	ATTR.	GEN.	ATTR.	GEN.PL.	OBL.	PRED.	ABS.III	PART.PT.+FOC.	OBL.	LOC.

In some way or another, these two people lived together for long enough a period of time.

3

▸e gotakaʾ beṇā fehē, bali ve iñdige.◂

e	*gotakaś*	*beṇā*	*fehē*	*bali*	*ve*	*iñdige*
that	to way	calling	if	ill	becoming	she became
DPRON	NOUN	VERB	CONJ	ADJ	VERB	VERB
ATTR.	DAT.INDEF.	ABS.	COND.	PRED.	ABS.	PT.IV.3SG.

In other words, she (finally) became pregnant.

4

▸nuva mas diha furuvai kūdaʾ vehafi.◂

nuva	*mas*	*diha*	*furuvai*	*kūdak*	*vehafī*
nine	month	ten	filling	a child	was born
CARD	NOUN	CARD	VERB	NOUN	VERB
ATTR.	NOM.	ATTR.	ABS.	NOM.INDEF.	PT.I.3SG.

After completion of nine months (and) ten (days), a child was born.

5

▸den e kuddā firi ferā varaʾ aramun gē kō bappā mara vege.◂

den	*e*	*kuddā*	*firi*	*ferā*	*varaś*	*aramun*	*gē*	*kō*	*bappā*	*mara*	*vege*
then	that	the child	husband	fulfilling	to age	climbing	gone	when	father	dead	became
ADV	DPRON	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	VERB	VERB	NOUN	NOUN	ADJ	VERB
TEMP.	ATTR.	OBL.DEF.	OBL.	PART.PRS.	DAT.	GRND.	PART.PT.	OBL.	NOM.DEF.	PRED.	PT.IV.3SG.

Just when this child was about to become mature for marrying, his father died.

6

▸den mi vēṅḍenī amāi de verin ekaṇi.◂

den	*mi*	*vēṅḍenī*	*amā*	*āi*	*de*	*verin*	*ekaṇi*
then	now	the way he was living is	mother	with	two	people	alone
ADV	ADV	VERB	NOUN	CONJ	CARD	NOUN	ADV
TEMP.	TEMP.	PART.PRS.+FOC.	OBL.	SOC.	ATTR.	NOM.PL.	MOD.

Then he had to live alone with (his) mother.

7

▸e hen vēṅḍemun gos duvas keḍa' vegē fahun mi kuddā amā ekuhun ehī-au,◂

e	*hen*	*vēṅḍemun*	*gos*	*duvas*	*keḍak*	*vegē*	*fahun*	*mi*	*kuddā*	*amā*	*ekuhun*	*ehī*	*au*
that	way	living	going	time	a piece	become	after	this	the child	mother	from	he asked	saying
DPRON	NOUN	VERB	VERB	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	DPRON	NOUN	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	QPARTC
ATTR.	OBL.	GRND.	ABS.	OBL.	OBL.INDEF.	PART.PT.IV	ABL.	ATTR.	OBL.DEF.	OBL.DEF.	ABL.	PART.PT.+FOC.	INT.

After a piece of time had passed (during which) they lived like that, the boy asked his mother,

7a

▸bappāge duvas vari bappā duṇie vēṅḍē' keḍeī kon masakkata' tau?◂

bappāge	*duvas*	*vari*	*bappā*	*duṇie*	*vēṅḍēś*	*keḍeī*	*kon*	*masakkatak*	*tau?*
of father	time	in period	father	on earth	to live	what he did was	what	a work	asking
NOUN	NOUN	NOUN	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	VERB	IPRON	NOUN	IPARTC
GEN.DEF.	OBL.	LOC.	OBL.DEF.	LOC.	INF.	PART.PT.+FOC.	ATTR.	NOM.INDEF.	INT.

'What work did (my) father do in order to live on earth during his lifetime?'

8

▸beṇi mei kēfī, bappā kuṁburan kośai vikkī-au.◂

beṇi	*mei*	*kēfi*	*bappā*	*kuṁburan*	*kośai*	*vikkī*	*au*
said	when	said	father	firewood	cutting	sold	saying
VERB	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	VERB	QPARTC
PART.PT.	LOC.	PT.1.3SG.	NOM.DEF.	NOM.	ABS.	PT.3SG.	INT.

At (his) saying (so, she) said, 'father sold firewood after cutting (it).'

9

▸beṇi mei, mi koyyā ahafī, bappā kuṁburan kośi ev-vi-as hatiāra tetibi tau?◂

beṇi	*mei*	*mi*	*koyyā*	*ahafī*	*bappā*	*kuṁburan*	*kośi*	*ev-vi-as*	*hatiāra*	*tetibi*	*tau?*
said	when	this	child	asked	father	firewood	cut	one-become-even	tools	are there	asking
VERB	NOUN	DPRON	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	PRON	NOUN	VERB	IPARTC
PART.PT.	LOC.	ATTR.	NOM.SG.	PT.1.3SG.	OBL.DEF.	NOM.	PART.PT.	ATTR.	NOM.	PT.3PL.	INT.

At (her) saying (so), the child asked, 'are there any tools whatsoever which (my) father used for cutting?'

10

►beṇi mei, amā beṇi, baia' balafela' kēi kudu aśe enteśa◄

beṇi	*mei*	*amā*	*beṇi*	*balāś*	*balafelāś*	*kēi*	*kudu*	*aśe*	*enteśaś*
said	when	mother	said	to look	please to look	saying	small	of table	below
VERB PART.PT.	NOUN LOC.	NOUN OBL.DEF.	VB.NOUN PART.PT.+FOC.	VERB INF.	VERB INF.	VERB ABS.	ADJ ATTR.	NOUN GEN.	NOUN DAT.

At (his) saying so, (his) mother told him 'please (to) look underneath the table.'

11

►mi kuddā beli kō, e tani otī moḷōgaṅḍa'.◄

mi	*kuddā*	*beli*	*kō*	*e*	*tani*	*otī*	*moḷōgaṅḍak*
this	the child	looked	when	that	in place	what was was	an axe
DPRON ATTR.	NOUN OBL.DEF.	VERB PART.PT.	NOUN OBL.	DPRON ATTR.	NOUN LOC.	VERB PART.PT.+FOC.	NOUN NOM.INDEF.

When the child looked, there was an axe at this place.

12

►mi kuddā kēfi, amā-u, timā ēṇei dara hōdāś-āu.◄

mi	*kuddā*	*kēfi*	*amā*	*-au*	*timā*	*ēṇei*	*dara*	*hōdāś*	*āu*
this	child	said	mother	saying	self	where shall go is	firewood	to look for	saying
DPRON ATTR.	NOUN NOM.DEF.	VERB PT.3SG.	NOUN NOM.	QPARTC INT.	PRON OBL.	VERB PART.FUT.+FOC.	NOUN NOM.	VERB INF.	QPARTC INT.

The child said, 'mother, I shall go to look for (some) wood.'

13

►beṇi mei, mi kuddāge amā libeṇe kā eti keḍa' tayyāra kolli.◄

beṇi	*mei*	*mi*	*kuddāge*	*amā*	*libeṇe*	*kā*	*eti*	*keḍak*	*tayyāra*	*kolli*
said	when	this	the child's	mother	received	eating	thing	a piece	ready	made
VERB PART.PT.	NOUN LOC.	DPRON ATTR.	NOUN GEN.DEF.	NOUN NOM.DEF.	VERB PART.PT.	VERB PART.PRS.	NOUN OBL.	NOUN NOM.INDEF.	ADJ PRED.	VERB PT.II.3SG.

At (his) saying (so), this child's mother prepared something to eat which she could find.

14

►mī kāgen, mi kuddā den dara koś-āu ebege.◄

mī	*kāgen*	*mi*	*kuddā*	*den*	*dara*	*kośāś*	*ebege*
this	eating	this	the child	then	firewood	to cut	went off
DPRON NOM.	VERB ABS.III	DPRON ATTR.	VERB NOM.DEF.	ADV TEMP.	NOUN NOM.	VERB INF.	VERB PT.IV.3SG.

After eating this, the child went off to cut firewood.

15

▸gos mi kuddā e duvahi kośi dara vikki mei libeṇei e kami bai rufiā.◂

gos	*mi*	*kuddā*	*e*	*duvahi*	*kośi*	*dara*	*vikki*	*mei*	*libeṇeī*	*ek*	*kami*	*bai*	*rufiā*
going	this	the child	that	on day	cut	firewood	sold	when	what was received was	one	in fact	half	rupee
VERB ABS.	DPRON ATTR.	NOUN OBL.DEF.	DPRON ATTR.	NOUN LOC.	VERB PART.PT.	NOUN NOM.	VERB PART.PT.	NOUN LOC.	VERB PART.PT.+FOC.	CARD ATTR.	NOUN LOC.	NOUN OBL.	NOUN NOM.

When he sold the firewood he had cut that day going out, he received but half a rupee.

16

▸libeṇe mei, e duvahi hama jassagen hiśefei, e rei rei koffei fahi duvahi mi kuddā teduviga'.◂

libeṇe	*mei*	*e*	*duvahi*	*hama*	*jassagen*	*hiśefei*	*e*	*rei*	*rei*	*koffei*	*fahi*	*duvahi*	*mi*	*kuddā*	*teduvigat*
received.	when	that	on day	in agreement	striking	being	that	on night	night	making	after	on day	this	the child	got up
VERB PART.PT.	NOUN LOC.	DPRON ATTR.	NOUN LOC.	ADV MOD.	VERB ABS.III	VERB ABS.I	DPRON ATTR.	NOUN LOC.	NOUN NOM.	VERB ABS.I	NOUN GEN.	NOUN LOC.	DPRON ATTR.	NOUN NOM.DEF.	VERB PT.III.3SG.

After receiving (this) and thus having been contented for that day, and after spending that night, he got up the day after.

17

▸teduvi beṇī, amā-u, ma enī dara kośāś-āu.◂

teduvi	*beṇī*	*amā*	*au*	*ma*	*enī*	*dara*	*kośāś*	*āu*
getting up	what he said was	mother	saying	I	where am going is	firewood	to cut	saying
VERB ABS.	VERB PART.PT.+FOC.	NOUN NOM.	QPARTC INT.	PPRON OBL.	VERB PART.PRS.+FOC.	NOUN NOM.	VERB INF.	QPARTC INT.

After getting up he said, 'mother, I am going to cut firewood.'

18

▸kēfei, e duvahi geī kurie duvaha' vanī bi'dara'.◂

kēfei	*e*	*duvahi*	*geī*	*kurie*	*duvahaś*	*vanī*	*biddaraś*
saying	that	on day	where he went was	before	to day	than	behind
VERB ABS.I	DPRON ATTR.	NOUN LOC.	VERB PART.PT.+FOC.	NOUN GEN.	NOUN DAT.	CONJ COMP.	NOUN DAT.

Having said (so), he went further behind that day than (he had gone) the day before.

19

▸dara kośāgen ās, dara bāzāra' vikkafi.◂

dara	*kośāgen*	*ās*	*dara*	*bāzāraś*	*vikkafi*
firewood	cutting	coming	firewood	to market	he sold
NOUN NOM.	VERB ABS.III	VERB ABS.	NOUN NOM.	NOUN DAT.	VERB PT.I.3SG.

Coming back from cutting firewood, he sold the firewood on the market.

20

▸e duvahi libeṇeī e' kami rufia.◂

e	*duvahi*	*libeṇeī*	*ek*	*kami*	*rufia*
that	on day	what he received was	one	in fact	rupee
DPRON ATTR.	NOUN LOC.	VERB PART.PT.+FOC.	CARD ATTR	NOUN LOC	NOUN NOM

On that day, he gained just one rupee.

21

▸e duvahi den hitau erī māduma ēṇei ēge duraś-āu.◂

e	*duvahi*	*den*	*hitaś*	*erī*	*māduma*	*ēṇeī*	*eage*	*duraś*	*āu*
that	on day	then	to mind	what arose was	tomorrow	where shall go is	of that	further	saying
DPRON ATTR.	NOUN LOC.	ADV TEMP.	NOUN DAT.	VERB PART.PT.+FOC.	ADV TEMP.	VERB PART.FUT.+FOC.	DPRON GEN.	NOUN DAT.	QPARTC INT.

That day, it came to his mind, 'tomorrow, (I shall) go even further than that.'

22

▸kēfei, e rei rei koffei, teduvigen, beṇafī, amā-u, mi enī dara kośāś-āu.◂

kēfei	*e*	*rei*	*rei*	*koffei*	*teduvigen*	*beṇafī*	*amā*	*au*	*mi*	*enī*	*dara*	*kośāś*	*āu*
saying	that	on night	night	making	getting up	he said	mother	saying	now	where I am going is	firewood	to cut	saying
VERB ABS.I	DPRON ATTR.	NOUN LOC.	NOUN NOM.	VERB ABS.I	VERB ABS.III	VERB PT.I.3SG.	NOUN NOM.	QPARTC INT.	ADV TEMP.	VERB PART.PRS.+FOC.	NOUN NOM.	VERB INF.	QPARTC INT.

After saying (so) and spending the night, he got up and said, 'mother, I am now going to cut firewood.'

23

▸den hiñgamun hiñgamun hiñgamun gos, balalī kō, tebi hi' hikifei hiśi vara' boñḍa geha'.◂

den	*hiñgamun*	*hiñgamun*	*hiñgamun*	*gos*	*balalī*	*kō*	*tebi*	*hiśī*	*hikifei*	*hiśi*	*varaś*	*boñḍa*	*gehak*
then	going	going	going	going	looked	when	here	was	dried	being	very	big	a tree
ADV TEMP.	VERB RGRND.	VERB RGRND.	VERB RGRND.	VERB ABS.	VERB PART.PT.II	NOUN OBL.	ADV LOC.	VERB PART.PT.(+FOC.)	VERB ABS.I	VERB PART.PT.	NOUN DAT.	ADJ ATTR.	NOUN NOM.INDEF.

Then, when he finally looked (around) after going on and on, there was a very big tree that had got dry.

24

▸mi gehā hiśī kōraki kaverie.◂

mi	*gehā*	*hiśī*	*kōraki*	*kaverie*
this	the tree	where it stood was	of a pond	near
DPRON ATTR.	NOUN OBL.DEF.	VERB PART.PT.+FOC.	NOUN GEN.INDEF.	NOUN LOC.

This tree stood near a pond.

25

▸den, gehāu arai, ek kala' moḷogaṅḍun e tifara jahaṭi.◂

den	*gehāś*	*arai*	*ek*	*kalaś*	*moḷōgaṅḍun*	*etifaraś*	*jahaṭi*
then	to the tree	climbing	one	to time	with axe	blow	he struck
ADV TEMP.	NOUN DAT.DEF.	VERB ABS.	CARD ATTR.	NOUN DAT.	NOUN ABL.	NOUN DAT.	VERB PT.I.3SG.

Then, having climbed upon the tree, he struck it with his axe one time.

26

jehi mei vī lekakī koyyāge atun moḷōgaṅḍa iṅge.◂

jehi	*mei*	*vī*	*lekakī*	*koyyāge*	*atun*	*moḷōgaṅḍa*	*iṅge*
struck	when	become	a matter was	of the boy	from hand	axe	fell down
VERB PART.PT.	NOUN LOC.	VERB PART.PT.	NOUN NOM.INDEF.+FOC.	NOUN GEN.DEF.	NOUN ABL.	NOUN NOM.(DEF.)	VERB PT.IV.3SG.

When he struck it, the axe fell down from the boy's hand.

27

▸mi gaṅḍa iṅgen gos, jeheṇei kōre etere.◂

mi	*gaṅḍa*	*iṅgen*	*gos*	*jeheṇeī*	*kōre*	*etere*
this	thing	falling	going	where it hit was	of pond	inside
DPRON ATTR.	NOUN OBL.	VERB ABS.III	VERB ABS.	VERB PART.PT.+FOC.	NOUN GEN.	NOUN LOC.

When it fell down, it hit into the pond.

28

▸den, mi kuddā dere velāfei, eri.◂

den	*mi*	*kuddā*	*dere*	*velāfei*	*eri*
then	this	the child	disappointed	having become	climbed down
ADV TEMP.	DPRON ATTR.	NOUN NOM.DEF.	ADJ PRED.	VERB ABS.II+I	VERB PT.3SG.

Then the boy became disappointed and climbed down.

29

▸mi kuddā hiśī gōvā' aḍi keḍa' hara ko' bārā'.◂

mi	*kuddā*	*hiśī*	*gōvāś*	*aḍi*	*keḍak*	*hara*	*koś*	*bārāś*
this	the child	the way he was was	to cry	of voice	a piece	hard	making	aloud
DPRON ATTR.	NOUN OBL.DEF.	VERB PART.PT.+FOC.	VERB INF.	NOUN GEN.	NOUN NOM.INDEF.	ADJ PRED.	VERB ABS.	ADV MOD.

The boy started crying aloud as strong as possible (lit. "making a strong piece of voice").

30

▸e hen hiši velei, kōrun arage miha'.◂

e	*hen*	*hiši*	*vēlei*	*kōrun*	*arage*	*miha'*
that	sort	being	while	from pond	climbed up	a man
DPRON ATTR.	NOUN OBL.	VERB PART.PT.	NOUN LOC.	NOUN ABL.	VERB PART.PT.IV(+FOC.)	NOUN NOM.INDEF.

While he was (standing there), a man climbed up from the pond.

31

▸ede ahafi, koyyā-u, koyyā gōvanī kian vegen tau?◂

ede	*ahafī*	*koyyā*	*au*	*koyyā*	*gōvanī*	*kian*	*vegen*	*tau?*
he	asked	boy	saying	boy	that you are crying is	how	becoming	asking
DPRON NOM.	VERB PT.I.3SG.	NOUN NOM.	QPARTC INT.	NOUN NOM.	VERB PART.PRS.+FOC.	IPRON ABL.	VERB ABS.III	IPARTC INT.

He asked, 'boy, why are you (lit. "the boy") crying like this?'

32

▸timā mi gōvanī timā dara kośā' ginā moḷōgaňḍa mi kōre etera' iňgen-āu, ede beṇafī.◂

timā	*mi*	*gōvanī*	*timā*	*dara*	*kośāś*	*ginā*	*moḷōgaňḍa*	*mi*	*kōre*	*eteraś*	*iňgen*	*āu*	*ede*	*beṇafī*
self	now	why I am crying is	self	firewood	to cut	taken	axe	this	of pond	into	fallen	saying	he	said
PRON OBL.	ADV TEMP.	VERB PART.PRS.+FOC.	PRON OBL.	NOUN NOM.	VERB INF.	VERB PART.PT.	NOUN NOM.	DPRON ATTR.	NOUN GEN.	NOUN DAT.	VERB ABS.III	QPARTC INT.	DPRON NOM.	VERB PT.I.3SG.

'(The reason why) I am crying so is that the axe I took in order to cut firewood fell into this pond,' he said.

33

▸den, ek kala' kalēge kōra' fummali.◂

den	*ek*	*kalaś*	*kalēge*	*kōraś*	*fummali*
then	one	to time	lord	to pond	jumped
ADV TEMP.	CARD ATTR.	NOUN DAT.	NOUN NOM.	NOUN DAT.	VERB PT.II.3SG.

Then the man at once jumped into the pond.

34

▸vēla gaňḍakun, moḷōgaňḍak-āi arage.◂

vēla	*gaňḍakun*	*moḷōgaňḍak*	*āi*	*arage*
time	with a piece	an axe	with	he came up
NOUN OBL.	NOUN ABL.INDEF.	NOUN OBL.INDEF.	CONJ SOC.	VERB PT.IV.3SG.

After a little while, he came up with an axe.

35

▸eri kō, mī ranun o' moḷōgaňḍa'.◂

eri	*kō*	*mī*	*ranun*	*ot*	*moḷōgaňḍak*
climbed	when	this was	from gold	being	an axe
VERB PART.PT.	NOUN OBL.	DPRON NOM.+FOC.	NOUN ABL.	VERB PART.PT.	NOUN NOM.INDEF.

When he came up, it was a golden axe (lit. "from gold").

36

▸arai, kēfi, koyyā, mī tau kalōge moḷōgaňḍakī?◂

arai	*kēfi*	*koyyā*	*mī*	*tau*	*kalōge*	*moḷōgaňḍakī?*
climbing	he said	boy	this	asking	lord's	what an axe is
VERB ABS.	VERB PT.I.3SG.	NOUN NOM.VOC.	DPRON PRED.	IPARTC INT.	NOUN GEN.	NOUN NOM.INDEF.+FOC.

Climbing up he said, 'boy, is this your (lit. "the lord's") axe?'

37

▸mi kuddā benafi, teakī timāgē moḷōgaňḍa nun-āu.◂

mi	*kuddā*	*benafī*	*teakī*	*timāgē*	*moḷōgaňḍa*	*nun*	*āu*
this	the child	he said	what this is	self's	axe	is not	saying
DPRON ATTR.	NOUN NOM.DEF.	VERB PT.I.3SG.	DPRON NOM.INDEF.+FOC.	PRON GEN.	NOUN NOM.	PARTC NEG.	QPARTC INT.

The child said, 'this one is not my axe'.

38

▸beṇi mei, mi gaňḍa kōre etera' ellalāi e mīhā kōre etera' ene' kalāi fummali.◂

beṇi	*mei*	*mi*	*gaňḍa*	*kōre*	*eteraś*	*ellalāi*	*e*	*mīhā*	*kōre*	*eteraś*	*enek*	*kal*	*āi*	*fummali*
said	when	this	piece	of pond	into	throwing	that	the man	of pond	into	another	time	with	jumped
VERB PART.PT.	NOUN LOC.	DPRON ATTR.	NOUN NOM.	NOUN GEN.	NOUN DAT.	VERB ABS.II	DPRON ATTR.	NOUN NOM.DEF.	NOUN GEN.	NOUN DAT.	ADJ ATTR.	NOUN OBL.	CONJ SOC.	VERB PT.II.3SG.

At (his) saying so the man threw the thing into the pond (again) and jumped into the pond another time.

39

▸vēla gaňḍakun, arage.◂

vēla	*gaňḍakun*	*arage*
while	with a piece	he climbed
NOUN OBL.	NOUN ABL.INDEF.	VERB PT.IV.3SG.

After a short while, he came up (again).

40

▸arai kēfī, rihi moḷōgaňḍa' ḍakkafei, mī tau koyyāge moḷōgaňḍakī?◂

arai	*kēfī*	*rihi*	*moḷōgaňḍak*	*ḍakkafei*	*mī*	*tau*	*koyyāge*	*moḷōgaňḍakī?*
climbing	he said	silver	an axe	showing	this	asking	of the boy	what the axe is
VERB ABS.	VERB PT.L3SG.	NOUN OBL.	NOUN NOM.INDEF.	VERB ABS.I	DPRON PRED.	IPARTC INT.	NOUN GEN.DEF.	NOUN NOM.INDEF.+FOC.

Coming up he showed a silver axe and said, 'is this the boy's axe?'

41

▸den, mi kuddā beṇafī, nun-āu, tē ma moḷōgaňḍa nun.◂

den	*mi*	*kuddā*	*beṇafī*	*nun*	*au*	*tē*	*ma*	*moḷōgaňḍa*	*nun*
then	this	the child	said	is not	saying	this is	my	axe	is not
ADV TEMP.	DPRON ATTR.	NOUN NOM.DEF.	VERB PT.L3SG.	PARTC NEG.	QPARTC INT.	DPRON NOM.+FOC.	PPRON OBL.	NOUN NOM.	VERBAL PARTC PRS.3SG.

Then the child said, 'no, this is not my axe'.

42

▸beṇi mei, e kalēge kōra' moḷōgaňḍa ellalāi, ene' kalāi kōra' fummali.◂

beṇi	*mei*	*e*	*kalēge*	*kōraś*	*moḷōgaňḍa*	*ellalāi*	*enek*	*kal*	*āi*	*kōraś*	*fummali*
said	when	that	lord	to pond	the axe	throwing	another	time	with	to pond	jumped
VERB PART.PT.	NOUN LOC.	DPRON ATTR.	NOUN NOM.	NOUN DAT.	NOUN NOM.	VERB ABS.II	ADJ ATTR.	NOUN OBL.	CONJ SOC.	NOUN DAT.	VERB PT.II.3SG.

At (his) saying so, that man, after throwing the axe into the pond (again), jumped into the pond another time.

43

▸vēla keḍakun, aragen bāi, dagaňḍun o' moḷōgaňḍa' hifagen.◂

vēla	*keḍakun*	*aragen*	*bāi*	*dagaňḍun*	*ot*	*moḷōgaňḍak*	*hifagen*
while	with a piece	climbing	how he came back was	from iron	being	an axe	holding
NOUN OBL.	NOUN ABL.INDEF.	VERB ABS.III	VERB PART.PT.+FOC.	NOUN ABL.	VERB PART.PRS.	NOUN NOM.INDEF.	VERB ABS.III

After a short while, he came (back) climbing up (again), holding an iron axe.

44

▸ās, ahanī mī tau ta moḷōgaňḍakī?◂

ās	*ahanī*	*mī*	*tau*	*ta*	*moḷōgaňḍakī?*
coming	what he asks is	this	asking	your	what an axe is
VERB ABS.	VERB PART.PRS.+FOC.	DPRON PRED.	IPARTC INT.	PPRON OBL.	NOUN NOM.INDEF.+FOC.

Coming (forth), he asks: 'Is this your axe?'

45

▸beṇi mei, mide beṇafī, hāu, tē-au ma moḷōgaṇḍaki.◂

beṇi	*mei*	*mide*	*beṇafī*	*hā*	*au*	*tē*	*au*	*ma*	*moḷōgaṇḍaki*
said	when	this one	said	yes	saying	this	saying	my	what an axe is
VERB	NOUN	DPRON	VERB	PARTC	QPARTC	DPRON	QPARTC	PRON	NOUN
PART.PT.	LOC.	NOM.	PT.L3SG.	AFF.	INT.	PRED.	INT.	OBL.	NOM.INDEF.+FOC.

At (his) saying (so), (the boy) said, 'yes, this indeed is my axe'.

46

▸den, mi koyyā tede beṇi kama' ṭakai ran moḷōgaṅḍāi rihi moḷōgaṅḍāi dagaṅḍa moḷōgaṅḍāi tin gaṅḍati derefī.◂

den	*mi*	*koyyā*	*tede*	*beṇi*	*kamaś*	*ṭakai*	*ran*	*moḷōgaṅḍa*	*āi*	*rihi*	*moḷōgaṅḍa*	*āi*	*dagaṅḍa*	*moḷōgaṅḍa*	*āi*	*tin*	*gaṅḍati*	*derefī*
																	piece-	
then	this	the boy	true	spoke	to fact	for	gold	axe	with	silver	axe	with	iron	axe	with	three	thing	he gave
ADV	DPRON	NOUN	ADV	VERB	NOUN	POSTP	NOUN	NOUN	CONJ	NOUN	NOUN	CONJ	NOUN	NOUN	CONJ	CARD	NOUN	VERB
TEMP.	ATTR.	OBL.DEF.	MOD.	PART.PT.	DAT.	CAUS.	OBL.	NOM.	SOC.	OBL.	NOM.	SOC.	OBL.	NOM.	SOC.	ATTR.	NOM.	PT.L3SG.

Then, as the boy spoke truly, he gave him the golden axe and the silver axe and the iron axe, all the three things.

47

▸den, e hisābaka', e mīhāge vāhaka nimeṇei.◂

den	*e*	*hisābakaś*	*e*	*mīhāge*	*vāhaka*	*nimeṇei*
then	that	to amount	that	the man's	story	is finished
ADV	DPRON	NOUN	DPRON	NOUN	NOUN	VERB
TEMP.	ATTR.	DAT.INDEF.	ATTR.	GEN.	NOM.	PT.3SG.

At this point, the story of that man is finished.

48

▸den, ek kala' ran moḷōgaṅḍāi rihi moḷōgaṅḍāi bāzāra' gos vikkafei vara' baivara lāri libigen,◂

den	*ek*	*kalaś*	*ran*	*moḷōgaṅḍa*	*āi*	*rihi*	*moḷōgaṅḍa*	*āi*	*bāzāraś*	*gos*	*vikkafei*	*varaś*	*baivara*	*lāri*	*libigen*
then	one	to time	gold	axe	with	silver	axe	with	to market	going	having sold	very	lots	lārīs	receiving
ADV	CARD	NOUN	NOUN	NOUN	CONJ	NOUN	NOUN	CONJ	NOUN	VERB	VERB	ADV	NOUN	NOUN	VERB
TEMP.	ATTR.	DAT.	OBL.	NOM.	SOC.	OBL.	NOM.	SOC.	DAT.	ABS.	ABS.I	MOD.	OBL.	NOM.	ABS.III

Then, once having gone to the market, having sold the golden axe and the silver axe and having gained a great lot of *lārīs*,

48a

▸koyyāge amāi koyyāi de verin vēñdenī vara' tanavas ko' mussanti koś-āu.◂

koyyāge	*amā*	*āi*	*koyyā*	*āi*	*de*	*verin*	*vēñdenī*	*varaś*	*tanavas*	*koś*	*mussanti*	*koś*	*āu*
the boy's	mother	with	the boy	with	two	people	how they lived was	very	rich	making	rich	making	they say
NOUN	NOUN	CONJ	NOUN	CONJ	CARD	NOUN	VERB	ADV	ADJ	VERB	ADJ	VERB	QPARTC
GEN.	OBL.DEF.	SOC.	OBL.DEF.	SOC.	ATTR.	OBL.PL.	PART.PRS.+FOC.	MOD.	PRED.	ABS.	PRED.	ABS.	EXT.

the boy's mother and the boy lived together, as (people) say, being very very rich.

49

▸e' duvahaki, e gē kaverie hiši e hen geaki mihak e geaś ebege.◂

ed	*duvahaki*	*e*	*gē*	*kaverie*	*hiši*	*e*	*hen*	*geaki*	*mihak*	*e*	*geaś*	*ebege*
one	in a day	that	of house	near	being	that	sort	of a house	a man	that	to house	went
CARD ATTR.	NOUN LOC.INDEF.	DPRON ATTR.	NOUN GEN.	NOUN LOC.	VERB PART.PT.	DPRON ATTR.	NOUN OBL.	NOUN CL.INDEF.	NOUN NOM.INDEF.	DPRON ATTR.	NOUN DAT.	VERB PT.3SG.

One day, a man from another house which was near by their house, came to their house.

50

▸gos, ahafi, daitā-u, tafinna' te vara' lāri libeṇei ke henaka' tau?◂

gos	*ahafi*	*daitā*	*au*	*tafinnaś*	*te*	*varaś*	*lāri*	*libeṇeī*	*ke*	*henakaś*	*tau?*
going	he asked	lady	saying	to you	this	many	lārīs	that were received is	which	to a way	asking
VERB ABS.	VERB PT.1.3SG.	NOUN NOM.	QPARTC INT.	PPRON DAT.PL.	DPRON ATTR.	NOUN DAT.	NOUN OBL.	VERB PART.PT.+FOC.	IPRON ATTR.	NOUN DAT.INDEF.	IPARTC INT.

Coming there, he asked, 'dear old lady in which way did you (manage to) receive so many *lārīs*?'

51

▸koyyā beṇā, tede bahuge matta', ◂

koyyā	*beṇā*	*tede*	*bahuge*	*mattaś*
the boy	saying	true	of speech	upon
NOUN OBL.DEF.	VERB ABS.	ADJ ATTR.	NOUN GEN.	NOUN DAT.

The boy, speaking truly (again) —

51a

▸— koyyākī tede hadā kūdaka' vē hedī —◂

koyyākī	*tede*	*hadā*	*kūdakaś*	*vē*	*hedī*
what the boy is	honestly	making	to a boy	becoming	made
NOUN NOM.SG.DEF.+INDEF.FOC.	ADJ PRED.	VERB PART.PRS.	NOUN DAT.INDEF.	VERB ABS.	VERB PART.PT.

— the boy was such that he was an honest boy indeed —,

51b

▸koyyā beṇafi, timā ed duvahi dara kośā' vegen, kōre assēria' gos, dara kośā' gehāu aragen hiñgā vēlei,◂

koyyā	*beṇafi*	*timā*	*ek*	*duvahi*	*dara*	*kośāś*	*vegen*	*kōre*	*assēriaś*	*gos*	*dara*	*kośāś*	*gehāś*	*aragen*	*hiñgā*	*vēlei*
the boy	said	self	one	on day	firewood	to cut	becoming	of pond	to shore	going	firewood	to cut	to tree	climbing	going	while
NOUN NOM.DEF.	VERB PT.1.3SG.	PRON OBL.	CARD ATTR.	NOUN LOC.	NOUN NOM.	VERB INF.	VERB ABS.III	NOUN GEN.	NOUN DAT.	VERB ABS.	NOUN NOM.	VERB INF.	NOUN DAT.	VERB ABS.III	VERB PART.PRS.	NOUN LOC.

the boy said, 'one day I went off in order to cut firewood; I arrived near by the shore of a pond, and when I had climbed up a tree to cut firewood,

51c

▸moḷōgaṅḍa kōre etera' iŋge-au.◂

moḷōgaṅḍa	*kōre*	*eteraś*	*iŋge*	*au*
axe	of pond	into	fell	saying
NOUN NOM.	NOUN GEN.	NOUN DAT.	VERB PT.IV.3SG.	QPARTC INT.

(my) axe fell into the pond.

52

▸den, timā e kamāi dere vegen hiśi vēlei, kōre eterun eri mīhak ās suāla koffī-āu,◂

den	*timā*	*e*	*kam*	*āi*	*dere*	*vegen*	*hiśi*	*vēlei*	*kōre*	*eterun*	*eri*	*mīhaku*	*ās*	*suāla*	*kośfī*	*āu*
then	self	that	fact	with	sad	becoming	being	while	of pond	from inside	climbed	a man	coming	question	made	saying
ADV TEMP.	PRON OBL.	DPRON ATTR.	NOUN OBL.	CONJ SOC.	ADJ PRED.	VERB ABS.III	VERB PART.PRS.	NOUN LOC.	NOUN GEN.	NOUN ABL.	VERB PART.PT.	NOUN OBL.INDEF.	VERB ABS.	NOUN NOM.	VERB PT.1.3SG.	QPARTC INT.

Then when I was standing there being sad about this, a man came up from inside the pond and asked me,

52a

▸koi gōvanī kian vegen tau?◂

koi	*gōvanī*	*kian*	*vegen*	*tau?*
boy	that you are crying is	why	becoming	asking
NOUN NOM.	VERB PART.PRS.+FOC.	IPRON ABL.	VERB ABS.III	IPARTC INT.

'Boy, why are you crying?'

53

▸koi beṇi-au, timā gōvanī, moḷōgaṅḍa kōra' iŋgen-āu.◂

koi	*beṇi*	*au*	*timā*	*gōvanī*	*moḷōgaṅḍa*	*kōraś*	*iŋgen*	*āu*
boy	said	saying	self	that I am crying is	axe	to pond	having fallen	saying
NOUN NOM.	VERB PT.3SG.	QPARTC INT.	PRON OBL.	VERB PART.PRS.+FOC.	NOUN NOM.	NOUN DAT.	VERB ABS.III	QPARTC INT.

I (lit. "the boy") said, 'I am crying because my axe has fallen into the pond.'

54

▸gossei, beṇi mei, mia kōre aḍia' gossei, aī ran moḷōgaṅḍakāi gen-āu.◂

gosfei	*beṇi*	*mei*	*mia*	*kōre*	*aḍiaś*	*gosfei*	*aī*	*ran*	*moḷōgaṅḍak*	*āi*	*gen*	*-āu*
having gone	said	when	this one	of pond	to bottom	having gone	how he came was	gold	an axe	with	bringing	saying
VERB ABS.I	VERB PART.PT.	NOUN LOC.	DPRON OBL.	NOUN GEN.	NOUN DAT.	VERB ABS.I	VERB PART.PT.+FOC.	NOUN OBL.	NOUN OBL.INDEF.	CONJ SOC.	VERB ABS.	QPARTC INT.

'Having gone away after (my having) spoken (like this), this man, having dived (lit. "gone") to the bottom of the pond, came back carrying a golden axe,' he said.

55

▸as mia ehīau, mī ta moḷōgaňḍa tau?◂

ās	*mia*	*ehī*	*-au*	*mī*	*ta*	*mologaňḍa*	*tau?*
coming	this one	what he asked was	saying	what this is	your	axe	asking
VERB ABS.	DPRON OBL.	VERB PART.PT.+FOC.	QPARTC INT.	DPRON NOM.+FOC.	PPRON OBL.	NOUN NOM.	IPARTC INT.

'Coming back, (the man) asked, "is this your axe?"'

56

▸timā tede bahun beṇafīm-āu, nun-āu, mī ma moḷōgaňḍa nun-āu.◂

timā	*tede*	*bahun*	*beṇafīm*	*āu*	*nun*	*āu*	*mī*	*ma*	*moḷōgaňḍa*	*nun*	*āu*
self	honest	with speech	I said	saying	no	saying	what this is	my	axe	is not	saying
PRON NOM.	ADJ ATTR.	NOUN ABL.	VERB PT.1.SG.	QPARTC INT.	PARTC NEG.	QPARTC INT.	DPRON NOM.+FOC.	PPRON OBL.	NOUN NOM.	PARTC NEG.	QPARTC INT.

'Myself, I said with honest speech, "no, this is not my axe".'

57

▸beṇi mei, ene' kalāi kōra' fummali-au.◂

beṇi	*mei*	*enek*	*kal*	*āi*	*kōraś*	*fummali*	*au*
said	when	another	time	with	to pond	he jumped	saying
VERB PART.PT.	NOUN LOC.	PRON ATTR.	NOUN OBL.	CONJ SOC.	NOUN DAT.	VERB PT.II.3SG.	QPARTC INT.

'At (my) saying so, he jumped into the pond another time', he said.

58

▸gossei, nāgen bāi-au rihi moḷōgaňḍa'.◂

gosfei	*nāgen*	*bāī*	*au*	*rihi*	*moḷōgaňḍak*
having gone	lifting	how he came back was	saying	silver	axe
VERB ABS.	VERB ABS.III	VERB PART.PT.+FOC.	QPARTC INT.	NOUN OBL.	NOUN NOM.INDEF.

'Having gone (there), he came back carrying a silver axe.'

59

▸ās ehī-au, mī ta moḷōgaňḍa tau?◂

ās	*ehī*	*au*	*mī*	*ta*	*moḷōgaňḍa*	*tau?*
coming	he asked	saying	what this is	your	axe	asking
VERB ABS.	VERB PART.PT.+FOC.	QPARTC INT.	DPRON NOM.+FOC.	PPRON OBL.	NOUN NOM.	IPARTC INT.

'Coming back he asked, "is this your axe?"'

60

▸timā beṇim-āu, num-āu, te ma moḷōgaṇḍa num-au.◂

timā	*beṇim*	*āu*	*num*	*āu*	*tē*	*ma*	*moḷōgaṇḍa*	*num*	*āu*
self	I said	saying	is not	saying	what this is	my	axe	is not	saying
PRON	VERB	QPARTC	PARTC.	QPARTC	DPRON	PPRON	NOUN	PARTC	QPARTC
NOM.	PT.1SG.	INT.	NEG.	INT.	NOM.+FOC.	OBL.	NOM.	NEG.	INT.

'I said, "no, this is not my axe".'

61

▸den, ene' kal-āi-as, e kōra' fummali-au.◂

den	*enek*	*kal*	*āi*	*as*	*e*	*kōraś*	*fummali*	*au*
then	another	time	with	yet	that	to pond	he jumped	saying
ADV	PRON	NOUN	CONJ	CONJ	DPRON	NOUN	VERB	QPARTC
TEMP.	ATTR.	OBL.	SOC.	MOD.	ATTR.	DAT.	PT.II.3SG.	INT.

'Then, he jumped into that pond yet another time,' he said.

62

▸fummalāi, nāgen aī dagaṇḍa moḷōgaṇḍak-āu.◂

fummalāi	*nāgen*	*aī*	*dagaṇḍa*	*moḷōgaṇḍak*	*āu*
jumping	lifting	how he came was	iron	an axe	saying
VERB	VERB	VERB	NOUN	NOUN	QPARTC
ABS.II	ABS.III	PART.PT.+FOC.	OBL.	NOM.INDEF.	INT.

'Having jumped (there), he came back carrying an iron axe,' he said.

63

▸den ea ehī-au, mī ta moḷōgaṇḍa tau?◂

den	*ea*	*ehī*	*au*	*mī*	*ta*	*moḷōgaṇḍa*	*tau?*
then	that one	what he asked was	saying	what this is	your	axe	asking
ADV	DPRON	VERB	QPARTC	DPRON	PPRON	NOUN	IPARTC
TEMP.	OBL.	PART.PT.+FOC.	INT.	NOM.+FOC.	OBL.	NOM.	INT.

'Then he asked, "is this your axe?"'

64

▸timā beṇim-āu, hāu, tē ma moḷōgaṇḍa.◂

timā	*beṇim*	*āu*	*hā*	*-au*	*tē*	*ma*	*moḷōgaṇḍa*
self	I said	saying	yes	saying	what this is	my	axe
PRON	VERB	QPARTC	PARTC	QPARTC	DPRON	PPRON	NOUN
NOM.	PT.1SG.	INT.	AFF.	INT.	NOM.+FOC.	OBL.	NOM.

'I said, "yes, this is my axe".'

65

▸beṇi mei, timā tede hadā mihakā vegos ran molōgaṇḍ-āi rihi molōgaṇḍ-ai timaˀ derefi-au.◂

beṇi	*mei*	*timā*	*tede*	*hadā*	*mīhakā*	*vegos*	*ran*	*molōgaṇḍa*	*āi*	*rihi*	*molōgaṇḍe*	*āi*	*timāś*	*derefi*	*au*
said	when	self	honest	acting	a man	having become	gold	axe	and	silver	axe	and	to self	he gave	saying
VERB	NOUN	PRON	ADJ	VERB	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	NOUN	CONJ	NOUN	NOUN	CONJ. SOC.	PRON	VERB	QPARTC
PART.PT.	LOC.	OBL.	PRED.	PART.PRS.	NOM.INDEF.	ABS.IV	OBL.	NOM.	SOC.	OBL.	NOM.		DAT.	PT.3SG.	INT.

'After (my) saying (so), he gave me the golden axe and the silver axe because I had (proved) to be an honest man,' he said.

66

▸e tin gaṇḍa din mei, ginās ea bāzāraˀ vikkafei-au, mi mussanti vegen mi vēṇḍenī.◂

e	*tin*	*gaṇḍa*	*din*	*mei*	*ginās*	*ea*	*bāzāraś*	*vikkafei*	*au*	*mi*	*mussanti*	*vegen*	*mi*	*vēṇḍenī*
those	three	piece	given	when	taking	those	to market	selling	saying	now	rich	having become	now	are living
DPRON	CARD	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	VERB	DPRON	NOUN	VERB	QPARTC	ADV	ADJ	VERB	ADV	VERB
ATTR.	ATTR.	NOM.	PART.PT.	LOC.	ABS.	NOM.	DAT.	ABS.I	INT.	TEMP.	PRED.	ABS.III	TEMP.	PART.PRS.+FOC.

'After he had given (me) those three things, I took them to the market and sold them, (and this is why) we are living (so) rich now,' he said.

67

▸den, mi mīhā geg gos eage hiśi ev varaˀ kūdakāˀ ekehe beṇi-au,◂

den	*mi*	*mīhā*	*geaś*	*gos*	*eage*	*hiśi*	*ek*	*varaś*	*kūdakāś*	*ekehe*	*beṇi*	*au*
then	this	the man	to home	going	this one's	being	one	to size	to a child	with	he said	saying
ADV	DPRON	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	DPRON	VERB	CARD	NOUN	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	QPARTC
TEMP.	ATTR.	NOM.DEF.	DAT.	ABS.	GEN.	PART.PT.	ATTR.	DAT.	DAT.INDEF.	LOC.	PT.3SG.	INT.

Then this man, having gone home (again), told (the story) to a child of his (which was) of the same size:

67a

▸koyyā-u, mi verin mussanti vegen hiñganī mi lekaś-āu.◂

koyyā	*au*	*mi*	*verin*	*mussanti*	*vegen*	*hiñganī*	*mi*	*lekaś*	*āu*
boy	saying	these	people	rich	becoming	that they are going is	this	to way	saying
NOUN	QPARTC	DPRON	NOUN	ADJ	VERB	VERB	DPRON	NOUN	QPARTC
NOM.	INT.	ATTR.	OBL.PL.	PRED.	ABS.III	PART.PRS.+FOC.	ATTR.	DAT.	INT.

'Boy, this is the way how these people have become rich.'

68

▸beṇagen, mi koyyā fahi duvahi molōgaṇḍaˀ hifagen gos e gehāu arage.◂

beṇagen	*mi*	*koyyā*	*fahi*	*duvahi*	*molōgaṇḍak*	*hifagen*	*gos*	*e*	*gehāś*	*arage*
saying	this	the boy	next	on day	an axe	grasping	going	that	to the tree	he climbed up
VERB	DPRON	NOUN	NOUN	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	VERB	DPRON	NOUN	VERB
ABS.III	ATTR.	NOM.DEF.	GEN.	LOC.	NOM.INDEF.	ABS.III	ABS.	ATTR.	DAT.DEF.	PT.IV.3SG.

After (his) having said (so), this boy grasped an axe the next day, went off and climbed up that tree.

69

▸arai, mi hedi lekakī, kaṅḍā' jehumak āi ni lāi moḷōgaṅḍa kōra' vaṭṭali.◂

arai	*mi*	*hedi*	*lekakī*	*kaṅḍāś*	*jehumak*	*āi*	*ni*	*tāi*	*moḷōgaṅḍa*	*kōraś*	*vaṭṭali*
climbing	now	done	a manner was	to cut	a stroke	with	not	using	axe	to pond	he dropped
VERB	ADV	VERB	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	CONJ	PARTC	VERB	NOUN	NOUN	VERB
ABS.	TEMP.	PART.PT.	NOM.INDEF.+FOC.	INF.	OBL.INDEF.	SOC.	NEG.	ABS.	NOM.	DAT.	PT.II.3SG.

Having climbed up, he dropped the axe into the pond without doing one stroke for cutting even.

70

▸den, gehāin eri, mia hiśī gōvāś-āu.◂

den	*gehāin*	*eri*	*mia*	*hiśī*	*gōvāś*	*āu*
then	from the tree	climbing	this one	how he stood was	to cry	saying
ADV	NOUN	VERB	DPRON	VERB	VERB	QPARTC
TEMP.	ABL.DEF.	ABS.	OBL.	PART.PT.+FOC.	INF.	INT.

Then, having climbed down (from) the tree (again), he stood (there) crying.

71

▸hiśi vēlei, ek kala' mīhā kōrun arage-au.◂

hiśi	*vēlei*	*ek*	*kalaś*	*mīhā*	*kōrun*	*arage*	*au*
standing	while	one	to time	the man	from pond	he climbed	they say
VERB	NOUN	CARD	NOUN	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	QPARTC
PART.PT.	LOC.	ATTR.	DAT.	NOM.DEF.	ABL.	PT.IV.3SG.	EXT.

While he was standing (there like this), the man came up from the pond once (again).

72

▸arai suāla keḍ-āu, ta gōvanī kian vegen tau?◂

arai	*suāla*	*keḍe*	*āu*	*ta*	*gōvanī*	*kian*	*vegen*	*tau?*
climbing	question	he made	saying	you	why are crying is	why	becoming	asking
VERB	NOUN	VERB	QPARTC	PPRON	VERB	IPRON	VERB	IPARTC
ABS.	NOM.	PT.3SG.	INT.	OBL.	PART.PRS.+FOC.	ABL.	ABS.III	INT.

Coming up he asked, 'why are you crying?'

73

▸ma gōvanī, ma dara kośā' ginā moḷōgaṅḍa mi kōre aḍie iñgen.◂

ma	*gōvanī*	*ma*	*dara*	*kośāś*	*ginā*	*moḷōgaṅḍa*	*mi*	*kōre*	*aḍie*	*iñgen;*
I	why am crying is	I	firewood	to cut	taken	axe	this	of pond	on bottom	falling
PPRON	VERB	PPRON	NOUN	VERB	VERB	NOUN	DPRON	NOUN	NOUN	VERB
OBL.	PART.PRS.+FOC.	OBL.	NOM.	INF.	PART.PT.	NOM.	ATTR.	GEN.	LOC.	ABS.III

'I am crying because the axe I had taken for cutting firewood fell on the bottom of this pond.'

74

▸e hen vegen-au, tima gōvani.◂

e	*hen*	*vegen*	*au*	*tima*	*gōvani*
that	sort	becoming	saying	self	why I am crying is
DPRON ATTR.	NOUN OBL.	VERB ABS.III	QPARTC INT.	PRON OBL.	VERB PART.PRS.+FOC.

'This is why I am crying', he said.

75

▸den, e mīhā fummalāi gos, bāi-au, ran moḷōgaṅḍa hifagen.◂

den	*e*	*mīhā*	*fummalāi*	*gos*	*bāī*	*au*	*ran*	*moḷōgaṅḍa*	*hifagen*
then	that	the man	jumping	going	how he came back was	saying	gold	axe	holding
ADV TEMP.	DPRON ATTR.	NOUN OBL.DEF.	VERB ABS.II	VERB ABS.	VERB PART.PT.+FOC.	QPARTC INT.	NOUN OBL.	NOUN NOM.	VERB ABS.III

Then that man, having jumped (into the pond), came back holding a golden axe.

76

▸ās, chi-au, mī tau ta moḷōgaṅḍakī?◂

ās	*ehi*	*au*	*mī*	*tau*	*ta*	*moḷōgaṅḍakī?*
coming	he asked	saying	this	asking	your	an axe is
VERB ABS.	VERB PT.3SG.	QPARTC INT.	DPRON NOM.	IPARTC INT.	PPRON OBL.	NOUN NOM.INDEF.+FOC.

Coming back he asked, 'is this your axe?'

77

▸den, mi kuddā beṇi-au, hāu, tē ma moḷōgaṅḍa.◂

den	*mi*	*kuddā*	*beṇi*	*au*	*hā*	*au*	*tē*	*ma*	*moḷōgaṅḍa*
then	this	the child	said	saying	yes	saying	this is	my	axe
ADV TEMP.	DPRON ATTR.	NOUN NOM.DEF.	VERB PT.3SG.	QPARTC INT.	PARTC AFF.	QPARTC INT.	DPRON NOM.+FOC.	PPRON OBL.	NOUN NOM.

Then the child said: 'Yes, this is my axe.'

78

▸beṇi mei, mia riḍi aragen, moḷōgaṅḍa kōra' ellalāi mi kōra' fummali-au.◂

beṇi	*mei*	*mia*	*riḍi*	*aragen*	*moḷōgaṅḍa*	*kōraś*	*ellalāi*	*mi*	*kōraś*	*fummali*	*au*
said	when	this one	angry	climbing	axe	to pond	throwing	this	to pond	jumped	they say
VERB PART.PT.	NOUN LOC.	DPRON OBL.	ADJ PRED.	VERB ABS.III	NOUN NOM.	NOUN DAT.	VERB ABS.II	DPRON ATTR.	NOUN DAT.	VERB PT.II.3SG.	QPARTC INT.

At (his) saying so, the (man), getting angry, hurled the axe into the pond and jumped into the pond (again).

79

▸mī dogo hadā mīhunna' libē natijā-u.◂

mī	*dogo*	*hadā*	*mīhunnaś*	*libē*	*natijā*	*au*
this is	lie	making	to people	being received	result	they say
DPRON NOM.+FOC.	NOUN NOM.	VERB PART.PRS.	NOUN DAT.PL.	VERB PART.PRS.	NOUN NOM.	QPARTC EXT.

This is the result that people get from telling lies.

T4: **Beḷal**

The cat

Fua' Mulaku: Adnān Ibrahīm

1

▹ed duvaheki, ed duvaheki, Mēliage Dia gē indōle iṅdu velai dombaṃkelek vettige.◃

ek	*duvaheki*	*ek*	*duvaheki*	*Mēliage*	*Dia*	*gē*	*indōle*	*iṅdu*	*velai*	*dombaṃkelek*	*vettige*
one	on a day	one	on a day	of M.(-house)	daughter	of house	on swing bed	sitting	at time	a bread fruit	fell
CARD	NOUN	CARD	NOUN	PN	PN	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	NOUN	VERB
ATTR.	LOC.INDEF.	ATTR.	LOC.INDEF.	GEN.	OBL.	GEN.	LOC.	PART.PRS.	LOC.	NOM.INDEF.	PT.IV.3SG.

One day, one day, when M.D. was sitting on the swing bed of (her) house, a ripe breadfruit fell (upon it).

2

▹den, mia goho, mi baṃkēl nagāgen goho, maśāgen gaśāli-ai.◃

den	*mia*	*goho*	*mi*	*baṃkēl*	*nagāgen*	*goho*	*maśāgen*	*gaśāli*	*ai*
then	this one	going	this	bread fruit	lifting	going	peeling	she cooked	they say
ADV	DPRON	VERB	DPRON	NOUN	VERB	VERB	VERB	VERB	QPARTC
TEMP.	NOM.	ABS.	ATTR.	NOM.	ABS.III	ABS.	ABS.III	PT.II.3SG.	EXT.

Then she went, took up the bread fruit, peeled it and cooked it (in syrup).

3

▹gaśāfē bā hiśuvā, kommiaki-s mia bēraha nukumegen ebage-ai.◃

gaśāfē	*bā*	*hiśuvā*	*kommiaki*	*as*	*mia*	*bēraha*	*nukumegen*	*ebage*	*ai*
having cooked	hither	placing	in which way	ever	this one	to outside	leaving	she went	they say
VERB	ADV	VERB	IPRON	PARTC	DPRON	NOUN	VERB	VERB	QPARTC
ABS.I	LOC.	ABS.	LOC.INDEF.	MOD.	NOM.	DAT.	ABS.III	PT.3SG.	EXT.

After cooking it and putting it aside, she for some reason or another went outside.

4

▹gohofē āho, belī kal, ebagēm mā, belalaku mi hedī likī goho, mi kāfi.◃

gohofē	*āho*	*belī*	*kal*	*ebagēn*	*mā*	*belalaku*	*mi*	*hedī*	*likī*	*goho*	*mi*	*kāfi*
having gone	coming	looked	time	going away	when	a cat	now	done	manner was	going	this	it ate
VERB	VERB	VERB	NOUN	VB.NOUN	NOUN	NOUN	ADV	VERB	NOUN	VERB	DPRON	VERB
ABS.I	ABS.	PART.PT.	OBL.	OBL.	LOC.	OBL.INDEF.	TEMP.	PART.PT.	NOM.+FOC.	ABS.	NOM.	PT.I.3SG.

Coming (back) after going out, she looked around (and realised:) when she had gone, a cat had come and eaten it.

5

▹kāfē, veñdefē, mi onnaī fiśidune.◃

kāfē	*veñdefē*	*mi*	*onnaī*	*fiśidune*
having eaten	having entered	now	where she was was	chimney
VERB	VERB	ADV	VERB	NOUN
ABS.I	ABS.I	TEMP.	PART.PRS.+FOC.	LOC.

After eating (it), she had entered the chimney where she still was.

6

▹mi hen o' vēlai, Mēliage Dia geśa gīge-ai.◃

mi	*hen*	*ot*	*vēlai*	*Mēliage*	*Dia*	*geśa*	*gīge*	*ai*
this	way	being	at time	of M.	daughter	to house	she happened to go	they say
DPRON	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	PN	PN	NOUN	VERB	QPARTC
ATTR.	OBL.	PART.PRS.	LOC.	GEN.	NOM.	DAT.	PT.IV.3SG.	EXT.

Just when she was there, M.D. happened to get (back) into (her) house.

7

▹geśa gīgen, balāli kal, mi baụmkēl ē kāfē-ai mi hīśi.◃

geśa	*gīgen*	*balāli*	*kal*	*mi*	*baụmkēl*	*ea*	*kāfē*	*ai*	*mi*	*hīśi*
to house	having happened to go	looked around	time	this	bread fruit	that one	eaten	they say	now	was what it was
NOUN	VERB	VERB	NOUN	DPRON	NOUN	DPRON	VERB	QPARTC	ADV	VERB
DAT.	ABS.III	PART.PT.II	OBL.	ATTR.	OBL.	OBL.	ABS.I	EXT.	TEMP.	PART.PT.+FOC.

Having happened to get to (her) house, she looked around to see where this breadfruit which had been eaten by that (cat) was.

8

▹den mia huvamun huvamun ę̄ vēlai, beḷalu fiśidune o' vēlai fenīge-ai.◃

den	*mia*	*huvamun*	*huvamun*	*ę̄*	*vēlai*	*beḷalu*	*fiśidune*	*ot*	*vēlai*	*fenīge*	*ai*
then	this one	searching	searching	going	at time	cat	in chimney	being	at time	it appeared	they say
ADV	DPRON	VERB	VERB	VERB	NOUN	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	VERB	QPARTC
TEMP.	OBL.	DGRND.	DGRND.	PART.PRS.	LOC.	OBL.	LOC.	PART.PRS.	LOC.	PT.IV.3SG.	EXT.

When she went around searching and searching, the cat appeared in the chimney where it was.

9

▹fenunum mā mi hedī likī, baụmkēl gaśāfē hīśi hado (nuvata tavā) e nagāfē.◃

fenunun	*mā*	*mi*	*hedī*	*likī*	*baụmkēl*	*gaśāfē*	*hīśi*	*hado*	*nuvata*	*tavā*	*e*	*nagāfē*
appearing	when	now	done	way was	bread fruit	cooking	being	clay pot	or	pan	that	she lifted
VB.NOUN	NOUN	ADV	VERB	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	VERB	NOUN	CONJ	NOUN	DPRON	VERB
OBL.	LOC.	TEMP.	PART.PT.	NOM.+FOC.	NOM.	ABS.I	PART.PRS.	NOM.	MOD.	NOM.	NOM.	ABS.I

When (the cat) appeared, (M.D.) grasped the clay pot or the frying pan she had used for cooking the breadfruit.

10

▹ellum mā goho, beḷalu bole jehīfē, ēge ful vettīgen goho, beḷalu kari deraṇegge gote e gaňḍo edīge-ai.◃

ellun	*mā*	*goho*	*beḷalu*	*bole*	*jehīfē*	*ēge*	*ful*	*vettīgen*	*goho*	*beḷalu*	*kari*	*deraṇegge*	*gote*	*e*	*gaňḍo*	*edīge*	*ai*
hurling	when	going	cat	at head	hitting	that one's	bottom	falling	going	cat	neck	of a ring	in way	that	piece	got fixed	they say
VB.NOUN	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	DPRON	NOUN	VERB	VERB	NOUN	NOUN	NOUN	NOUN	DPRON	NOUN	VERB	QPARTC
OBL.	LOC.	ABS.	OBL.	LOC.	ABS.I	GEN.	NOM.	ABS.III	ABS.	OBL.	LOC.	GEN.INDEF.(M!)	LOC.	ATTR.	NOM.	PT.IV.3SG.	EXT.

She hurled it (at the cat), and when it hit the cat's head, its bottom fell off, and like a ring that part got fixed to the neck of the cat.

11

▹edunun na, helalu duvagat-ai◃

edunun	*mā*	*helalu*	*duvagat*	*ai*
fixing	when	cat	started running	they say
VB.NOUN	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	QPARTC
OBL.	LOC.	NOM.	PT.h.3SG.	EXT.

Just when it got fixed like this, the cat started running away.

12

▹duve ę̄ vēlai, lāigātī, emme feratamāśa haulakk-ā.◃

duve	*ę̄*	*vēlai*	*lāigātī*	*emme*	*feratamāśa*	*haulak*	*ā*
running	going	at time	the one she met was	of all	at first	a cock	with
VERB	VERB	NOUN	VERB	PRON	NOUN	NOUN	CONJ
ABS.	PART.PRS.	LOC.	PART.PT.III+FOC.	ATTR.	DAT.	NOM.INDEF.	SOC.

While she was running around, the first one she met with was a cock.

13

▹laiginīfē, haulu ekahi beṇi-ai, haul-āu, timāi ekī hajjaha ni ennen tai?◃

laiginīfē	*haulu*	*ekahi*	*beṇi*	*ai*	*haul*	*āu*	*timāi*	*ekī*	*hajjaha*	*ni*	*ennen*	*tai?*
having met	cock	together with	it said	they say	cock	saying	self	with	to ḥağğ	not	will go	asking
VERB	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	QPARTC	NOUN	QPARTC (A:)	PRON	CARD	NOUN	PARTC	VERB	IPARTC
ABS.III+I	OBL.	LOC.	PT.3SG.	EXT.	NOM.VOC.	INT.	OBL.	LOC.	DAT.	NEG.	FUT.2SG.	INT.

Meeting him, she asked the cock, 'cock, will you not go on a hajj together with me?'

14

▹beṇā haulu beṇi-ai, lā-ilā-illa-llāh ta timā kāfennēn-ai.◃

beṇā	*haulu*	*beṇi*	*ai*	*lā-ilā-illa-llāh*	*ta*	*timā*	*kāfennēn*	*ai*
saying	cock	he said	they say	=	you	self	will definitely eat	saying
VERB	NOUN	VERB	QPARTC	INTJ	PPRON	PRON	VERB	QPARTC
ABS.	NOM.	PT.3SG.	EXT.		NOM.	NOM.	FUT.1.2SG.	INT.

(At her) saying (so), the cock said, 'there is no God but God, you will definitely eat me (at the end).'

15

▹beṇā beṇi-ai, heu ni vennēn-āi, ti hen beṇanna.◃

beṇā	*beṇi*	*ai*	*heu*	*ni*	*vennēn*	*āi*	*ti*	*hen*	*beṇanna*
saying	she said	they say	good	not	it will be	saying	this	way	to say
VERB	VERB	QPARTC	ADJ	PARTC	VERB	QPARTC	DPRON	NOUN	VERB
ABS.	PT.3SG.	EXT.	PRED.	NEG.	FUT.3SG.	INT.	ATTR.	OBL.	INF.

(At his) saying (so), (the cat) said, 'it will not be right to speak in this way.'

16

▹taśa ni fenen tai, timə kari e' tasbiha.◃

taśa	*ni*	*fenen*	*tai*	*timā*	*kari*	*ot*	*tasbiha*
to you	not	is visible	asking	self	on neck	being	rosary
PPRON	PARTC	VERB	IPARTC	PRON	NOUN	VERB	NOUN
DAT.	NEG.	PRS.3SG.	INT.	OBL.	LOC.	PART.PT.	NOM.

'Can't you see it, the rosary that is on my neck?'

17

▹timā ni kannā-ve, hiñganna kē timā ekī.◃

timā	*ni*	*kanna*	*eve*	*hiñganna*	*kē*	*timā*	*ekī*
self	not	to eat	saying	to go	saying	self	with
PRON	PARTC	VERB	QPARTC (M!)	VERB	VERB	PRON	CARD
NOM.	NEG.	INF.	INT.	INF.	ABS.	OBL.	LOC.

(With the words,) 'I shall not eat you,' (the cat) told (the cock) to go together with her.

18

▹benā haulu beni-ai, e hen kamaha venī fahe, timā ebaennā-ve.◃

benā	*haulu*	*beni*	*ai*	*e*	*hen*	*kamaha*	*venī*	*fahe*	*timā*	*ebaenna*	*eve*
saying	cock	he said	they say	that	way	to fact	becoming	if	self	to go there	saying
VERB	NOUN	VERB	QPARTC	DPRON	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	PRON	VERB	QPARTC (M!)
ABS.	NOM.	PT.3SG.	EXT.	ATTR.	OBL.	DAT.	PART.PRS.	LOC.	NOM.	INF.	INT.

(At her) saying (so), (the cock) said, 'if it is like this, let's go there (together).'

19

▹den ẽ vēlai, laigātī, mīdelakk-ā.◃

den	*ẽ*	*vēlai*	*laigātī*	*mīdelak*	*ā*
then	going	at time	what they met was	a rat	with
ADV	VERB	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	CONJ
TEMP.	PART.PRS.	LOC.	PART.PT.III	NOM.INDEF.	SOC.

While they were going (on), they met (with) a rat.

20

▹mīdelakk-ā laiginīfē, mīdelu ekah-as mi benanī, hiñganna kē timā ekī hajjaha enna.◃

mīdelak	*ā*	*laiginīfē*	*mīdelu*	*ekahi*	*as*	*mi*	*benanī*	*hiñganna*	*kē*	*timā*	*ekī*	*hajjaha*	*enna*
a rat	with	having met	rat	together with	too	now	what it says is	to walk	saying	self	with	to haǧǧ	to go
NOUN	CONJ	VERB	NOUN	NOUN	CONJ	ADV	VERB	VERB	VERB	PRON	CARD	NOUN	VERB
NOM.INDEF.	SOC.	ABS.III+1	OBL.	LOC.	MOD.	TEMP.	PART.PRS.+FOC.	INF.	ABS.	OBL.	LOC.	DAT.	INF.

When they met with (the) rat, (the cat) told the rat, too, to go on a hajj together with her.

21

▹beṇā mīdelu-as mi beṇanī, āda vegen-as tai mīdel kā ettak-ai.◃

beṇā	*mīdelu*	*as*	*mi*	*beṇanī*	*āda*	*vegen*	*as*	*taī*	*mīdel*	*kā*	*ettak*	*ai*
saying	rat	too	now	what it says is	custom	becoming	too	what you are is	rat	eating	a thing	saying
VERB	NOUN	CONJ	ADV	VERB	NOUN	VERB	CONJ	PPRON	NOUN	NOUN	NOUN	QPARTC
ABS.	OBL.	MOD.	TEMP.	PART.PRS.+FOC.	NOM.	ABS.III	SOC.	NOM.+FOC.	NOM.	PART.PRS.	NOM.INDEF.	INT.

(At her) saying (so), the rat answered, 'normally, you are an animal (lit. "something") that eats rats'.

22

▹e hem mā timāśa ni kerennēnē enna.◃

e	*hen*	*mā*	*timāśa*	*ni*	*kerennēnē*	*enna*
that	sort	after	to self	not	it will be able to be done	to go
DPRON	NOUN	NOUN	PRON	PARTC	VERB	VERB
ATTR.	OBL.	LOC.	DAT.	NEG.	FUT.3SG.	INF.

'As it is like this, it is not possible for me to go (together with you).'

23

▹beṇā mi beṇī, taśa ni fenen tai, timā kari o' tasbīha gaṅḍo.◃

beṇā	*mi*	*beṇī*	*taśa*	*ni*	*fenen*	*tai*	*timā*	*kari*	*ot*	*tasbīha*	*gaṅḍo*
saying	now	what she said was	to you	not	is visible	asking	self	on neck	being	rosary	piece
VERB	ADV	VERB	PPRON	PARTC	VERB	IPARTC	PRON	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	NOUN
ABS.	TEMP.	PART.PT.+FOC.	DAT.	NEG.	PRS.3SG.	INT.	OBL.	LOC.	PART.PRS.	OBL.	NOM.

(At her) saying (so), (the cat) asked 'don't you see it, the rosary which is on my neck?'

24

▹timā ni kannā-u hiñganna kē timā ekī.◃

timā	*ni*	*kannā*	*au*	*hiñganna*	*kē*	*timā*	*ekī*
self	not	to eat	saying	to go	saying	self	with
PRON	PARTC	VERB	QPARTC	VERB	VERB	PRON	CARD
NOM.	NEG.	INF.	INT.	INF.	ABS.	OBL.	LOC.

(With the words) 'I shall not eat you', (the cat) told her to go with herself.

25

▹den mi gote mīdalu-as hallāgen, beṇoāgen mi enī-ai◃

den	*mi*	*gote*	*mīdalu*	*as*	*hallāgen*	*beṇoāgen*	*mi*	*enī*	*ai*
then	this	in way	rat	too	convincing	persuading	now	how she goes is	they say
ADV	DPRON	NOUN	NOUN	CONJ	VERB	VERB	ADV	VERB	QPARTC
TEMP.	ATTR.	LOC.	NOM.	SOC.	ABS.III	ABS.III	TEMP.	PART.PRS.+FOC.	EXT.

Thus convincing (and) persuading the rat, too, (they) went on.

26

▹ę̄ vēlai laigātī, kukuḷakk-ā.◃

ę̄	*vēlai*	*laigātī*	*kukuḷak*	*ā*
going	at time	what it met was	a hen	with
VERB	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	CONJ
PART.PRS.	LOC.	PART.PT.III+FOC.	NOM.INDEF.	SOC.

When (they) went on (together), (they) met with a hen.

27

▹laiginīfē, kukuḷu ekah-as ama mi hen beṇafē beṇoāgen, mi ge hataroverin enī-ai◃

laiginīfē	*kukuḷu*	*ekahi*	*as*	*ama*	*mi*	*hen*	*beṇafē*	*beṇoāgen*	*mi*	*ge*	*hataroverin*	*enī*	*ai*
having met	hen	together with	too	again (?)	this	way	saying	persuading	these	having gone	four.people	how they go is	they say
VERB	NOUN	NOUN	CONJ	ADV	DPRON	NOUN	VERB	VERB	DPRON	VERB	NOUN	VERB	QPARTC
ABS.III+1	OBL.	LOC.	SOC.	MOD.	ATTR.	OBL.	ABS.I	ABS.III	ATTR.	PART.PT.	OBL.PL.	PART.PRS.+FOC.	EXT.

Having met (the hen and) having persuaded her by talking in the same way, these four people were walking along.

28

▹goho, atire hīśi bokkorā bāgen mi mīhun arāgen, fāli jahāfē] beḷalu-ai de aten de fāli jahanī◃

goho	*atire*	*hīśi*	*bokkorā*	*bāgen*	*mi*	*mīhun*	*arāgen*	*fāli*	*jahāfē*	*beḷalu*	*ai*	*de*	*aten*	*de*	*fāli*	*jahanī*
going	on shore	being	boat	taking	these	people	climbing	oar	rowing	cat	they say	two	by hand	two	oar	who rows is
VERB	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	VERB	DPRON	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	QPARTC	CARD	NOUN	CARD	NOUN	VERB
ABS.	LOC.	PART.PRS.	NOM.	ABS.	ATTR.	NOM.PL.	ABS.III	NOM.	ABS.I	NOM.	EXT.	ATTR.	ABL.	ATTR.	NOM.	PART.PRS.+FOC.

Walking on, (they) took a boat which was on the shore, climbed (upon it), (and) grasping the oars it was the cat who started rowing with both hands on both oars.

29

▹beṇoāgen goho, vaki hisābakaha giūnī◃

beṇoāgen	*goho*	*vaki*	*hisābakaha*	*giūnī*
persuading	going	real	to an amount	was what they reached (unintentionally)
VERB	VERB	ADJ	NOUN	VERB
ABS.III	ABS.	ATTR.	DAT.INDEF.	PART.PT.+FOC.

(Together with the ones) she had persuaded, she (finally) reached a certain distance.

30

▹den yagīnun-as, mīge evvias ettakaha fatāfē eggamaha ni erę̄ hisābaha giunum mā,◃

den	*yagīnun*	*as*	*mīge*	*ek*	*vi*	*as*	*ettakaha*	*fatāfē*	*ek-gamaha*	*ni*	*erę̄*	*hisābaha*	*giunum*	*mā*
then	with certainty	even	these one's	one	becoming	even	to a thing	swimming	to land	not	being climbable	to distance	reaching	after
ADV	NOUN	CONJ	DPRON	CARD	VERB	CONJ	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	PARTC	VERB	NOUN	NOUN	NOUN
TEMP.	ABL.	MOD.	GEN.	ATTR.	ABS.	MOD.	DAT.INDEF.	ABS.I	DAT.	NEG.	PART.PRS.	DAT.	OBL.	LOC.

When the distance they had reached seemed to be such indeed that not even one of them was able to get (back) to the land by swimming,

30a

▹belalu hedī likī fummāgen goho jehīfē haulu gai hifannā mi veṇḍigati.◃

belalu	*hedī*	*likī*	*fummāgen*	*goho*	*jehīfē*	*haulu*	*gai*	*hifanna*	*mi*	*veṇḍigati*
cat	done	manner was	jumping	going	hitting	cock	body	to grasp	now	what it got to be was
NOUN	VERB	NOUN	VERB	VERB	VERB	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	ADV	VERB
OBL.	PART.PT.	NOM.+FOC.	ABS.III	ABS.	ABS.I	OBL.	NOM.	INF.	TEMP.	PART.PT.III+FOC.

the cat jumped on the cock and when she hit him, she tried to grasp the body of the cock.

31

▹vēñḍigannā tan haulu-ā, kukuḷu-ā, mīdalu-ā tin-eti ekī deāśa fummāli-ai.◃

vēñḍigannā	*tan*	*haulu*	*ā*	*kukuḷu*	*ā*	*mīdalu*	*ā*	*tin*	*eti*	*ekī*	*deāśa*	*fummāli*	*ai*
getting to be	moment	cock	with	hen	with	rat	with	three	thing	together	to water	they jumped	they say
VERB	NOUN	NOUN	CONJ	NOUN	CONJ	NOUN	CONJ	CARD	NOUN	CARD	NOUN	VERB	QPARTC
PART.PRS.	OBL.	NOM.	SOC.	NOM.	SOC.	NOM.	SOC.	ATTR.	NOM.	LOC.	DAT.	PT.II.3PL.	EXT.

Just when she started trying this, the cock, the hen, and the rat, all three together jumped into the water.

32

▹haulu udihīfē ge-ai.◃

haulu	*udihīfē*	*ge*	*ai*
cock	flying	went	they say
NOUN	VERB	VERB	QPARTC
NOM.	ABS.I	PT.3SG.	EXT.

The cock went away flying.

33

▹haulu udihīfē goho eggamaha jehī.◃

haulu	*udihīfē*	*goho*	*eggamaha*	*jehī*
cock	flying	going	to land	hit
NOUN	VERB	VERB	NOUN	VERB
NOM.	ABS.I	ABS.	DAT.	PT.3SG.

The cock reached the land by flying.

34

▹kukuḷu-ā mīdalu-ā dē-ti fatāfē eggamaha-ai mi erī.◃

kukuḷu	*ā*	*mīdalu*	*ā*	*de*	*eti*	*fatāfē*	*ek-gamaha*	*ai*	*mi*	*erī*
hen	with	rat	with	two	things	swimming	to land	they say	now	what they climbed up to was
NOUN	CONJ	NOUN	CONJ	CARD	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	QPARTC	ADV	VERB
OBL.	SOC.	OBL.	SOC.	ATTR.	OBL.	ABS.I	DAT.	EXT.	TEMP.	PART.PT.+FOC.

The hen and the rat got upon the land by swimming.

35

▹aranna gat tā belalu-as fatāfē erun(u) kalaha midal mi hedī likī, goho rukakaha mi erī.◃

aranna	*gat*	*tā*	*belalu*	*as*	*fatāfē*	*erun(u)*	*kalaha*	*midal*	*mi*	*nedī*	*likī*	*goho*	*rukakaha*	*mi*	*erī*
to climb up	got	at moment	the cat	too	swimming	able to climb	to time	rat	now	done	manner was	going	to a tree	now	where she climbed up was
VERB	VERB	NOUN	NOUN	CONJ	VERB	VERB	NOUN	NOUN	ADV	VERB	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	ADV	VERB
INF.	PART.PT.	LOC.	OBL.	MOD.	ABS.I	PART.PT.	DAT.	OBL.	TEMP.	PART.PT.	NOM.+FOC.	ABS.	DAT.	TEMP.	PART.PT.+FOC.

Just when they managed to climb up, the cat climbed up there (from) swimming, too, and the rat climbed up a coconut tree.

36

▹kukuḷu fīlāge-ai.◃

kukuḷu	*fīlāge*	*ai*
hen	hid away	they say
NOUN	VERB	QPARTC
NOM.	PT.IV.3SG.	EXT.

The hen hid (somewhere).

37

▹mīdal erī rukaha fahi keḍen beḷalu-as arāge-ai.◃

mīdal	*erī*	*rukaha*	*fahi*	*keḍen*	*beḷalu*	*as*	*arāge*	*ai*
rat	climbed up	to tree	back	from piece	cat	too	climbed up	they say
NOUN	VERB	NOUN	NOUN	NOUN	NOUN	CONJ	VERB	QPARTC
OBL.	PART.PT.	DAT.	GEN.	ABL.	NOM.	MOD.	PT.IV.3SG.	EXT.

From the back side, the cat climbed up the tree the rat had climbed up too.

38

▹beḷalu arā, mīdal gai hifannen hen hīvīm mā, mīdal hedī likī fummāgen goho den hīsí ruka(h)a ebage-ai◃

beḷalu	*arā*	*mīdal*	*gai*	*hifannen*	*hen*	*hit*	*vīm*	*mā*	*mīdal*	*hedī*	*likī*	*fummāgen*	*goho*	*den*	*hīsí*	*ruka(h)a*	*ebage*	*ai*
cat	climbing	mouse	body	being to grasp	way	mind	becoming	when	rat	done	manner was	jumping	going	next	being	to tree	it went	they say
NOUN	VERB	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	NOUN	VB.NOUN	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	VERB	VERB	ADV	VERB	NOUN	VERB	QPARTC
OBL.	ABS.	OBL.	NOM.	PART.FUT.	OBL.	OBL.	OBL.	LOC.	OBL.	PART.PT.	NOM.+FOC.	ABS.III	ABS.	TEMP.	PART.PRS.	DAT.	PT.3SG.	EXT.

When the cat was climbing up and was thinking about the way how she could catch the body of the rat, the rat jumped off to the next tree.

39

▹gēn mā, beḷalu ove ovefē mi ahanī, mīdelā, kihinne tai ta ti rukaha gei?◃

gēn	*mā*	*beḷalu*	*ove*	*ovefē*	*mi*	*ahanī*	*mīdel*	*ā*	*kihinne*	*tai*	*ta*	*ti*	*rukaha*	*gei?*
going	when	cat	staying	staying	now	what it says is	rat	saying	how	asking	you	that	to tree	(the way) you went was
VB.NOUN	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	VERB	ADV	VERB	NOUN	QPARTC	IPRON	IPARTC	PPRON	DPRON	NOUN	VERB
OBL.	LOC.	OBL.	ABS.	ABS.I	TEMP.	PART.PRS.+FOC.	NOM.	INT.	MOD.	INT.	OBL.	ATTR.	DAT.	PART.PT.+FOC.

When she went there, the cat, remaining (where and the way) she was, asked, 'rat, how did you get to that tree?'

▹tima ta ni kaṃnā-ve, gē lik.a beṇanni ke.◃

timā	*ta*	*ni*	*kanna*	*eve*	*gé*	*likak*	*beṇanna*	*ke*
self	you	not	to eat	saying	gone	a manner	to tell	saying
PRON	PPRON	PARTC	VERB	QPARTC (M!)	VERB	NOUN	VERB	VERB
NOM.	NOM.	NEG.	INF.	INT.	PART.PT.	NOM.INDEF.	INF.	ABS

Saying, 'I will not eat you,' she told her to tell her the way she (had managed to) get (there).

41

▹beṇum mā, mīdal mi beṇanī, vai jehīfē, de ru' duru vę̄ kal-ē, timā fummāgātī.◃

beṇun	*mā*	*mīdal*	*mi*	*beṇanī*	*vai*	*jehīfē*	*de*	*ruk*	*duru*	*vę̄*	*kal*	*eve*	*timā*	*fummāgātī*
saying	when	rat	now	what it says is	wind	hitting	two	tree	apart	becoming	at time	saying	self	when I jumped was
VB.NOUN	NOUN	NOUN	ADV	VERB	NOUN	VERB	CARD	NOUN	ADJ	VERB	NOUN	QPARTC (M!)	PRON	VERB
OBL.	LOC.	OBL.	TEMP.	PART.PRS.+FOC.	NOM.	ABS.I	ATTR.	OBL.	PRED.	PART.PRS.	LOC.	INT.	OBL.	PART.PT.III+FOC.

(When she) said (so), the rat answered, 'The moment I jumped was, when, struck by the wind, the two trees went apart.'

42

▹e hen mā, tā-s e likaha fumanna kē.◃

e	*hen*	*mā*	*ta*	*as*	*e*	*likaha*	*fumanna*	*kē*
that	way	after	you	too	that	to way	to jump	saying
DPRON	NOUN	NOUN	PPRON	CONJ	DPRON	NOUN	VERB	VERB
ATTR.	NOM.	LOC.	NOM.	MOD.	ATTR.	DAT.	INF.	ABS.

She told (the cat), 'you too should jump in the same way.'

43

▹beṇum mā, beḷalu mi hedī likī, vai jehīfē, de ru' duru vegen gē tam vaḷi fummāgat-ai◃

beṇun	*mā*	*beḷalu*	*mi*	*hedī*	*likī*	*vai*	*jehīfē*	*de*	*ruk*	*duru*	*vegen*	*gē*	*tan*	*vaḷi*	*fummāgat*	*ai*
saying	when	cat	now	done	a manner was	wind	hitting	two	tree	apart	becoming	gone	place	at moment	it jumped	they say
VB.NOUN	NOUN	NOUN	ADV	VERB	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	CARD	NOUN	ADJ	VERB	VERB	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	QPARTC
OBL.	LOC.	OBL.	TEMP.	PART.PT.	NOM.+FOC.	NOM.	ABS.I	ATTR.	OBL.	PRED.	ABS.III	ABS.	OBL.	LOC.	PT.III.3SG.	EXT.

After her saying so, the cat jumped just when the wind struck and the two trees went apart.

44

▹fummāgatum mā, vī likī, beḷaluśa ened rukaha ni gī, vettīgen goho jehīfē,◃

fummāgatun	*mā*	*vī*	*likī*	*beḷaluśa*	*enek*	*rukaha*	*ni*	*gī*	*vettīgen*	*goho*	*jehīfē*
jumping	when	become	manner was	to cat	another	to tree	not	being reachable	falling	going	hitting
NOUN	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	NOUN	PRON	NOUN	PARTC	VERB	VERB	VERB	VERB
OBL.	LOC.	PART.PT.	NOM.+FOC.	DAT.	ATTR.	DAT.	NEG.	ABS.	ABS.III	ABS.	ABS.I

When she jumped, it happened that the cat did not reach the tree, but falling down she hit (the ground),

44a

▹de rud dētere hīśi kaśagaṅḍakaha emeṇīgen beḷal mara vege-ai.◃

de	*ruk*	*de*	*etere*	*hīśi*	*kaśagaṅḍakaha*	*emeṇīgen*	*beḷal*	*mara*	*vege*	*ai*
two	tree	two	between	being	to a thorn	being pierced	cat	dead	became	they say
CARD	NOUN	CARD	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	ADJ	VERB	QPARTC
ATTR.	OBL.	OBL.	LOC.	PART.PRS.	DAT.INDEF.	ABS.III	NOM.	PRED.	PT.IV.3SG.	EXT.

and pierced by a spike which was between the two trees, the cat died.

T5: [Rakkoḷu Māmeli Daita]*

Fua' Mulaku: Gōḷḍan-Gēṭu Kaddādi (Ḥadīğa)

ḍinnā	**ta**	**ni'**	**kannā'-ve,**	**gē**	**lika'**	**beṇanna**	**kē.'**		
self	von	not	to eat	saving	*eve*	gone	*gē*	a manner	*likak*	to tell	*beṇanna*	saying	*kē*

* An English version (collected and translated by AHMED SHAKEEB) of this story appeared in *Finiashi: Heard in the Islands*, vol. 5, Māle 1990, 6 ff.

1

▹eba vẽñḍi-ai fakiri kūdaku.◃

eba	*vẽñḍi*	*ai*	*fakiri*	*kudaku*
there	lives	they say	poor	a child
ADV	VERB	QPARTC	ADJ.A.	NOUN
LOC.	PRS.3SG.	EXT.	ATTR.	OBL.INDEF.

(Once) there lived a poor child (girl).

2

▹mi kuddą̄ hitaha eri-ai gaśāi bat tavā kakkānēne.◃

mi	*kuddą̄*	*hitaha*	*erī*	*ai*	*gaśāi*	*bat*	*tavā*	*kakkānēne*
this	child	to mind	what arose was	saying	=	rice	pan	(she) will cook
DPRON	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	QPARTC	NOUN	NOUN	NOUN	VERB
ATTR.	OBL.	DAT.	PART.PT.+FOC.	INT.	OBL.	OBL.	NOM.	FUT.3SG.

It came to this girl's mind to cook a pan of *gaśāi* rice.

3

▹hik ko' gaśāi bat tavā kakkāli-ai.◃

hit	*koś*	*gaśāi*	*bat*	*tavā*	*kakkāli*	*ai*
mind	making	=	rice	pan	(she) cooked	they say
NOUN	VERB	NOUN	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	QPARTC
NOM.	ABS.	OBL.	OBL.	NOM.	PT.II.3SG.	EXT.

Having made (up her) mind (like this), she cooked a pan (of) *gaśāi* rice.

4

▹kakkāfē, ba' hiśuvā, lāgen kannen etta' huvanna' vegen ebage-ai.◃

kakkāfē	*bat*	*hiśuvā*	*lāgen*	*kannen*	*ettak*	*huvannaś*	*vegen*	*ebage*	*ai*
having cooked	rice	placing	adding	to be eaten	a thing	to look for	by (it) becoming	she went away	they say
VERB	NOUN	VERB	VERB	VERB	NOUN	VERB	VERB	VERB	QPARTC
ABS.I	NOM.	ABS.	ABS.III	PART.FUT.	NOM.INDEF.	INF.	ABS.III	PT.3SG.	EXT.

Having cooked (it and) having put the rice aside, she went away in order to look for something that she (could) eat it with.

5

▹emun ę̄ vēlai laiginige-ai fiaiakk-ā.◃

emun	*ę̄*	*vēlai*	*laiginige*	*ai*	*fiaiak*	*ā*
by going	going	while	what she happened to meet with was	they say	an onion	with
VERB	VERB	NOUN	VERB	QPARTC	NOUN	CONJ
GRND.	PART.PRS.	LOC.	PART.PT.III+IV+FOC.	EXT.	OBL.INDEF.	SOC.

While going and going (like this), she met with an onion.

6

▹laiginife, beṇi-ai, kon tākaha tai ti eni.◃

laiginifē	*beṇi*	*ai*	*kon*	*tākaha*	*tai*	*ti*	*enī.*
having met	she said	they say	which	to place	asking	there	where you are going is
VERB	VERB	QPARTC	IPRON	NOUN	IPARTC	ADV	VERB
ABS.III+I	PART.PT.+FOC.	EXT.	ATTR.	DAT.INDEF.	INT.	LOC.	PART.PRS.+FOC.

Having met it, she asked, 'where are you there going?'

7

▹beṇā beṇi-ai, timā bime vati ove, fī venna tayyāro vegen nukumegen eni-ai.◃

beṇā	*beṇi*	*ai*	*timā*	*bime*	*vati*	*ove*	*fī*	*venna*	*tayyāro*	*vegen*	*nukumegen*	*enī*	*ai.*
saying	it said	they say	self	of ground	on bottom	lying	rotten	to become	ready	becoming	getting out	what I am going for is	saying
VERB	VERB	QPARTC	NOUN	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	ADJ	VERB	ADJ	VERB	VERB	VERB	QPARTC
ABS.	PT.3SG.	EXT.	OBL.	GEN.	LOC.	ABS.	PRED.	INF.	PRED.	ABS.III	ABS.III	PART.PRS.+FOC.	INT.

When she said (so), it replied, 'lying on the ground, I have nearly started getting rotten, (that's why) I got out and am going (around here now).'

8

▹kēfē, beṇum mā beṇi-ai enna kē timā ekī.◃

kēfē	*beṇun*	*mā*	*beṇi*	*ai*	*enna*	*kē*	*timā*	*ekī*
having said	saying	when	she said	they say	to go	saying	self	with
VERB	VB.NOUN	NOUN	VERB	QPARTC	VERB	VERB	PRON	CARD
ABS.I	OBL.	LOC.	PT.3SG.	EXT.	INF.	ABS.	OBL.	LOC.

After it spoke (in the way) it had spoken, she answered telling (it) to 'come with me.'

9

▹beṇum mā kēfē de verin eni-ai.◃

beṇun	*mā*	*kēfē*	*de*	*verin*	*enī*	*ai*
saying	when	having said	two	people	how they are going is	they say
VB.NOUN	NOUN	VERB	CARD	NOUN	VERB	QPARTC
OBL.	LOC.	ABS.I	ATTR.	OBL.	PART.PRS.+FOC.	EXT.

After (her) saying so, the two (of them) went (on together).

10

▹ę̄ vēlai laiginige-ai mirihakk-ā.◃

ę̄	*vēlai*	*laiginige*	*ai*	*mirihak*	*ā*
going	while	what they happened to meet with was	they say	a chili	with
VERB	NOUN	VERB	QPARTC	NOUN	CONJ
PART.PRS.	LOC.	PART.PT.III+IV+FOC.	EXT.	OBL.INDEF.	SOC.

While going (on like this), they met with a chili.

11

▹dom mirihakk-a laiginife beṇi-ai, kon tākaha tai-ti enī.◃

don	*mirihak*	*ā*	*laiginifē*	*beṇi*	*ai*	*kon*	*tākaha*	*tai*	*ti*	*enī*
fair	a chili	with	having met	she said	they say	which	to place	asking	there	where you are going is
ADJ	NOUN	CONJ	VERB	VERB	QPARTC	IPRON	NOUN	[illegible]	[illegible]	VERB
ATTR.	OBL.INDEF.	SOC.	ABS.III+I	PT.3SG.	EXT.	ATTR.	DAT.INDEF.	INT.	LOC.	PART.PRS.+FOC.

Having met with (the) red chili, (the girl) asked, 'where are you there going?'

12

▹beṇā beṇi-ai, timā mi enī:◃

beṇā	*beṇi*	*ai*	*timā*	*mi*	*enī*
saying	it said	they say	self	here	what I am going for is
VERB	VERB	QPARTC	NOUN	ADV	VERB
ABS.	PT.3SG.	EXT.	OBL.	LOC.	PART.PRS.+FOC.

When (she) said (so), (the chili) answered, 'this is what I am going around for:

12a

▹gehei hiše dom vegen, fī venna tayyāro vegen, nukumegen vetṭīgen eni-ai.◃

gehei	*hiše*	*don*	*vegen*	*fī*	*venna*	*tayyāro*	*vegen*	*nukumegen*	*vetṭīgen*	*enī*	*ai*
on tree	being	fair	becoming	rotten	to become	ready	becoming	getting off	falling	why I am going is	saying
NOUN	VERB	ADJ	VERB	ADJ	VERB	ADJ	VERB	VERB	VERB	VERB	QPARTC
LOC.	ABS.	PRED.	ABS.III	PRED.	INF.	PRED.	ABS.III	ABS.III	ABS.III	PART.PRS.+FOC.	INT.

having become fair (while) being on the tree (and) having started to get rotten, (that's why) I'm going (around now) after getting off and falling down.'

13

▹beṇi-ai enna kē timāi-ā ekī.◃

beṇi	*ai*	*enna*	*kē*	*timāi*	*ā*	*ekī*
she said	they say	to go	telling	self	with	together
VERB	QPARTC	VERB	VERB	PRON	CONJ	CARD
PT.3SG.	EXT.	INF.	ABS.	OBL.	SOC.	LOC.

She said, 'come on together with me.'

14

▹kēfē eni-ai.◃

kēfē	*enī*	*ai*
having said	going	they say
VERB	VERB	QPARTC
ABS.I	PART.PRS.	EXT.

(At) her saying (so), they went (on together).

15

▹ę̄ vēlai laiginige-ai garade maha gelakk-a. ◃

ę̄	*vēlai*	*laiginige*	*...i*	*garade*	*maha*	*gelak*	*a*
going	while	what they happened to meet with was	they say	tuna	fish	a ball	with
VERB	NOUN	VERB	QPARTC	NOUN	NOUN	NOUN	CONJ
PART.PRS.	LOC.	PART.PT.III+IV+FOC.	EXT.	OBL.	OBL.	OBL.INDEF.	SOC.

While going (on like this), they met with a hard ball of tuna fish.

16

▹laiginifē beṇi-ai kon tākaha tai ti enī? ◃

laiginifē	*beṇi*	*ai*	*kon*	*tākaha*	*tai*	*ti*	*enī?*
having met	she said	they say	which	to place	asking	there	where you are going is
VERB	VERB	QPARTC	IPRON	NOUN	IPARTC	ADV	VERB
ABS.III+I	PT.3SG.	EXT.	ATTR.	DAT.INDEF.	INT.	LOC.	PART.PRS.+FOC.

Having met it, she asked, 'where are you there going?'

17

▹beṇum mā beṇi-ai, gulie vati ove, māfā venna tayyāro vegen, enī-ai. ◃

beṇun	*mā*	*beṇi*	*ai*	*gulie*	*vati*	*ove*	*māfā*	*venna*	*tayyāro*	*vegen*	*enī*	*ai*
saying	when	she said	they say	of pot	on bottom	lying	grandfather	to become	ready	becoming	why I am going is	saying
VB.NOUN	NOUN	VERB	QPARTC	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	VERB	ADJ	VERB	VERB	QPARTC
OBL.	LOC.	PT.3SG.	EXT.	GEN.	LOC.	ABS.	NOM.	INF.	PRED.	ABS.III	PART.PRS.+FOC.	INT.

(At her) saying so, (it) answered, 'having been lying on the ground of a clay pot and having started to become a "grandfather", (that's why) I am going.'

18

▹beṇum mā beṇi-ai, enna kē timāi-ā eki. ◃

beṇun	*mā*	*beṇi*	*ai*	*enna*	*kē*	*timāi*	*ā*	*eki*
saying	when	she said	they say	to go	telling	self	with	together
VB.NOUN	NOUN	VERB	QPARTC	VERB	VERB	PRON	CONJ	CARD
OBL.	LOC.	PT.3SG.	EXT.	INF.	ABS.	OBL.	SOC.	LOC.

(At it's) saying (so), she said, 'come on together with me.'

19

▹kēfē ę̄ vēlai, laiginige-ai liṁboyakk-ā. ◃

kēfē	*ę̄*	*vēlai*	*laiginige*	*ai*	*liṁboyak*	*ā*
having said	going	while	what they happened to meet with was	they say	a lime fruit	with
VERB	VERB	NOUN	VERB	QPARTC	NOUN	CONJ
ABS.	PART.PRS.	LOC.	PART.PT.III+IV+FOC.	EXT.	OBL.INDEF.	SOC.

At her saying (so), while going (on in this way), they met with a lime (fruit).

20

▹laiginifē, beṇi-ai, kon takaha tai?◃

laiginifē	*beṇi*	*ai*	*kon*	*takaha*	*tai?*
having met	she said	they say	which	to place	asking
VERB	VERB	QPARTC	IPRON	NOUN	IPARTC
ABS.III+I	PART.PT.+FOC.	EXT.	ATTR.	DAT.INDEF.	INT.

Having met it, she asked, 'where (are you going)?'

21

▹beṇā beṇi-ai gehei ove fal venna tayyāra vegen enī-ai.◃

beṇā	*beṇi*	*ai*	*gehei*	*ove*	*fal*	*venna*	*tayyāra*	*vegen*	*enī*	*ai*
saying	it said	they say	on tree	being	rotten	to become	ready	becoming	why I am going is	saying
VERB	VERB	QPARTC	NOUN	VERB	ADJ	VERB	ADJ	VERB	VERB	QPARTC
ABS.	PT.3SG.	EXT.	LOC.	ABS.	PRED.	INF.	PRED.	ABS.III	PART.PRS.+FOC.	INT.

When (she) said (so), (the chili) answered, '(because of) having started to get rotten (while) being on the tree, (that's why) I'm going (now).'

22

▹beṇā beṇi-ai, enna kē timāi-ā ekī.◃

beṇā	*beṇi*	*ai*	*enna*	*kē*	*timāi*	*ā*	*ekī*
saying	what she said was	they say	to go	telling	self	with	together
VERB	VERB	QPARTC	VERB	VERB	PRON	CONJ	CARD
ABS.	PART.PT.+FOC.	EXT.	INF.	ABS.	OBL.	SOC.	LOC.

(At its) saying (so), (the girl) said, 'come (on) together with me.'

23

▹kēfē faha verin gē kal - fas mā mule faha vagun - kāi kāfē rakkal vegat-ai.◃

kēfē	*fahą*	*verin*	*gē*	*kal*	*fas*	*mā*	*mule*	*fahą*	*vagun*	*kāi*	*kāfē*	*rakkal*	*vegat*	*ai*
having said	five	people	gone	time	five	big	root	five	thieves	eating	eating	saving	became	they say
VERB	CARD	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	CARD (M!)	ADJ	NOUN	CARD	NOUN	VERB	VERB	NOUN	VERB	QPARTC
ABS.I	ATTR.	OBL.PL.	PART.PT.	OBL.	ATTR.	ATTR.	LOC.	ATTR.	NOM.PL.	ABS.	ABS.I	NOM.	PT.III.3SG.	EXT.

At her saying so, the five ("people") went on - five thieves in five big roots - (although) eating and eating, (always something) was saved.

T6: Āḷikeḍeā dērikeḍeā

The piece of ash and the piece of coal

Fua' Mulaku: Diggāmāge Muḥammad Maṇikufānu

1

▹ali kede̩a dēri kede̩a de verin ed duvahaki ebage-ai atiraha.◃

āḷi	*kede̩*	*a*	*dēri*	*kede̩*	*ā*	*de*	*verin*	*ek*	*duvahaki*	*ebage*	*ai*	*atiraha*
ash	piece	with	coal	piece	with	two	people	one	at day	where they went was	they say	to beach
NOUN	NOUN	CONJ	NOUN	NOUN	CONJ	CARD	NOUN	CARD	NOUN	VERB	QPARTC	NOUN
OBL.	OBL.	SOC.	OBL.	OBL.	SOC.	ATTR.	OBL.PL.	ATTR.	LOC.INDEF.	PART.PT.+FOC.	EXT.	DAT.

One day, (the) piece of ash and (the) piece of coal went to the beach.

2

▹goho, dēri kede̩ kēfī-ai, āḷi kede̩, ekahi fummanna kē.◃

goho	*dēri*	*kede̩*	*kēfī*	*ai*	*āḷi*	*kede̩*	*ekahi*	*fummanna*	*kē*
going	coal	piece	what it said was	they say	ash	piece	together	to jump	telling
VERB	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	QPARTC	NOUN	NOUN	CARD	VERB	VERB
ABS.	OBL.	OBL.	PART.PT.I+FOC.	EXT.	OBL.	NOM.	LOC.INDEF.	INF.	ABS.

Going (there), the piece of coal said, 'piece of ash, (let's) jump in!'

3

▹beṇum mā āḷi kede̩ beṇi-ai, ta fummanna kē.◃

beṇun	*mā*	*āḷi*	*kede̩*	*beṇi*	*ai*	*ta*	*fummanna*	*kē*
saying	when	ash	piece	it said	they say	you	to jump	telling
VB.NOUN	NOUN	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	QPARTC	PPRON	VERB	VERB
OBL.	LOC.	OBL.	NOM.	PT.3SG.	EXT.	OBL.	INF.	ABS.

When (it) said so, the piece of ash answered, 'you jump in'.

4

▹beṇegen, dēri kede̩ hedi vaḍāmakī fummāli-ai.◃

beṇegen	*dēri*	*kede̩*	*hedi*	*vaḍāmakī*	*fummāli*	*ai*
saying	coal	piece	done	a way was	it jumped	they say
VERB	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	VERB	QPARTC
ABS.III	OBL.	OBL.	PART.PT.	NOM.INDEF.+FOC.	PT.II.3SG.	EXT.

(At its) saying (so), the piece of coal jumped (into the sea).

5

▹fummum mā, dēri kede̩ uhullāli-ai.◃

fummun	*mā*	*dēri*	*kede̩*	*uhullāli*	*ai*
jumping	when	coal	piece	it floated	they say
VB.NOUN	NOUN	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	QPARTC
OBL.	LOC.	OBL.	NOM.	PT.II.3SG.	EXT.

After (it) jumped (in), the piece of coal floated.

▹uhullun ma, ali kede erige-ai.◃

uhullun	*ma*	*ali*	*kede*	*erige*	*ai*
floating	when	ash	piece	went upon	they say
VB.NOUN	NOUN	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	QPARTC
OBL.	LOC.	OBL.	NOM.	PT.IV.3SG.	EXT

When (it) floated (like this), the piece of ash went onto (the water too).

7

▹eruṇum mā, āli kede gerīge-ai.◃

eruṇun	*mā*	*āli*	*kede*	*gerīge*	*ai*
going upon	when	ash	piece	dissolved	they say
VB.NOUN	NOUN	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	QPARTC
OBL.	LOC.	OBL.	NOM.	PT.IV.3SG.	EXT.

When (it) got in, the piece of ash dissolved.

8

▹dēri kede e hen ove, oaha damamun ralaha talamun goho Mēliage fannaha lakkōli-ai.◃

dēri	*kede*	*e*	*hen*	*ove*	*oaha*	*damamun*	*ralaha*	*talamun*	*goho*	*Mēliage*	*fannaha*	*lak-kōli*	*ai*
coal	piece	that	sort	being	to current	pulling	to wave	beating	going	of M.	to beach way	it floated	they say
NOUN	NOUN	DPRON	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	VERB	VERB	PN	NOUN	VERB	QPARTC
OBL.	NOM.	ATTR.	OBL.	ABS.	DAT.	GRND.	DAT.	GRND.	ABS.	GEN.	DAT.	PT.II.3SG.	EXT.

At the same time, the piece of coal, pulled by the current and beaten by the wave(s), floated upon the Mēlia's beach.

9

▹lakkōgen o' vēlai, Mēliage dia erīge-ai atiraha.◃

lak-kōgen	*ot*	*vēlai*	*Mēliage*	*dia*	*erīgē*	*ai*	*atiraha*
floating	being	at time	of M.	daughter	where she went up was	they say	to shore
VERB	VERB	NOUN	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	QPARTC	NOUN
ABS.III	PART.PRS.	LOC.	GEN.	OBL.	PART.PT.III+FOC.	EXT.	DAT.

Just when (it came) floating, M.D. (lit. "M.'s daughter") happened to go ashore.

10

▹erī mia mi kede nagān goho gee dore vadi lāvi-ai.◃

erī	*mia*	*mi*	*kede*	*nagāgen*	*goho*	*gee*	*dore*	*vadi*	*lāvi*	*ai*
going upon	this one	this	piece	lifting	going	in house	of door	in well	she buried	they say
VERB	DPRON	DPRON	NOUN	VERB	VERB	NOUN	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	QPARTC
ABS.	NOM.	ATTR.	NOM.	ABS.III	ABS.	LOC.	LOC.	LOC.	PT.3SG.	EXT.

Having gone (ashore), she grasped the piece, went off and buried it in (her) house-and-garden.

11

▹vaḍi lāgen mi kēni, haḷiaha faḍā, haḷiaha faḍā.◃

vaḍi	*lāgen*	*mi*	*kēnī*	*haḷaha*	*faḍa*	*haḷiaha*	*faḍa*
in well	burying	now	what she says is	quickly	grow	quickly	grow
NOUN	VERB	ADV	VERB	ADJ	VERB	ADJ	VERB
LOC.	ABS.III	TEMP.	PART.PRS.+FOC.	DAT.	IMPV.2SG.	DAT.	IMPV.2SG.

Burying it, she said, 'grow up quickly, grow up quickly'.

12

▹e hen kē vēlai faḍage-ai.◃

e	*hen*	*kē*	*vēlai*	*faḍage*	*ai*
that	sort	speaking	while	it grew	they say
DPRON	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	VERB	QPARTC
ATTR.	OBL.	PART.PRS.	LOC.	PT.IV.3SG.	EXT.

When she said so, it grew up.

13

▹feḍi kal, māḷoskēlak-ai.◃

feḍi	*kal*	*māḷoskēlak*	*ai*
grown	time	a cooking banana (tree)	they say
VERB	NOUN	NOUN	QPARTC
PART.PT.	OBL.	NOM.INDEF.	EXT.

When it had grown up, (it had become) a cooking banana tree.

14

▹den feḍum mā kēnna hedīgat-ai, haḷiaha boňḍo vē-ai.◃

den	*feḍun*	*mā*	*kēnna*	*hedīgat*	*ai*	*haḷiaha*	*boňḍo*	*vē*	*ai*
then	growing	when	to speak	she got made	they say	quickly	big	become	saying
ADV	VB.NOUN	NOUN	VERB	VERB	QPARTC	ADJ	ADJ	VERB	QPARTC
TEMP.	OBL.	LOC.	INF.	PART.PT.III+FOC.	EXT.	DAT.	PRED.	IMPV.2SG.	INT.

Then when it had grown up, she started saying, 'become tall quickly'.

15

▹boňḍo vīm mā, kēnna hedīgat-ai, haḷiaha fōvā.◃

boňḍo	*vīn*	*mā*	*kēnna*	*hedīgat*	*ai*	*haḷiaha*	*fōva*
big	becoming	when	to speak	she got made	they say	quickly	blossom
ADJ	VB.NOUN	NOUN	VERB	VERB	QPARTC	ADJ	VERB
PRED.	OBL.	LOC.	INF.	PART.PT.III+FOC.	EXT.	DAT.	IMPV.2SG.

When it had become tall, she started saying, 'blossom fast'!

16

▹kemun goho, fovum ma kenna hedigat-ai, haliaha haro ve-ai.◃

kēmun	*goho*	*fōvun*	*mā*	*kēnna*	*hedigat*	*ai*	*haliaha*	*haro*	*ve*	*ai*
speaking	going	blossoming	when	to speak	she got made	they say	quickly	mature	become	saying
VERB	VERB	VB.NOUN	NOUN	VERB	VERB	QPARTC	ADJ	ADJ	VERB	QPARTC
GRND.	ABS.	OBL.	LOC.	INF.	PART.PT.III+FOC.	EXT.	DAT.	NOM.	IMPV.2SG.	INT.

When it blossomed, at her going (on) speaking (like this), she started saying, 'become mature quickly'.

17

▹kē vēlai, haro vī kal, miage tibi-ai ha' fīrihen kūdun.◃

kē	*vēlai*	*haro*	*vī*	*kal*	*miage*	*tibī*	*ai*	*hat*	*fīri*	*hen*	*kūdun*
saying	while	mature	become	time	this one's	what were were	they say	seven	male	sort	children
VERB	NOUN	ADJ	VERB	NOUN	DPRON	VERB	QPARTC	CARD	ADJ	NOUN	NOUN
PART.PRS.	LOC.	PRED.	PART.PT.	OBL.	GEN.	PART.PT.+FOC.	EXT.	ATTR.	ATTR.	OBL.	NOM.PL.

When it became mature, at her saying (so), she received seven boys (lit. "male children").

18

▹fīrihen kūdun tibe, mi mīhun kiavanna ebēmun beṇi-ai,◃

fīri	*hen*	*kūdun*	*tibe*	*mi*	*mīhun*	*kiavanna*	*ebēmun*	*beṇi*	*ai*
male	sort	children	being	these	people	to learn	going away	what they said was	they say
ADJ	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	DPRON	NOUN	VERB	VERB	VERB	QPARTC
ATTR.	OBL.	NOM.PL.	ABS.	ATTR.	OBL.PL.	INF.	GRND.	PART.PT.+FOC.	EXT.

When they went to learn, while they were (still) boys, they said:

18a

▹ammā-ve, timāmen kiavān ę̄ kalaha reha kakkanna kē.◃

ammā	*eve*	*timāmen*	*kiavāgen*	*ę̄*	*kalaha*	*reha*	*kakkanna*	*kē*
mother	saying	selves	learning	coming	to time	curry	to cook	saying
NOUN	QPARTC (M!)	PRON	VERB	VERB	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	VERB
NOM.	INT.	OBL.PL.	ABS.III	PART.PRS.	DAT.	NOM.	INF.	ABS.

'Mother,' they said, telling her to 'cook some curry for ourselves when we come back from learning.'

19

▹kēfē, reha kakkāgen mia mi hadą̄ likī, kūdun en tō balanna mago balāfē reha balani-ai.◃

kēfē	*reha*	*kakkāgen*	*mia*	*mi*	*hadą̄*	*likī*	*kūdun*	*en*	*tō*	*balanna*	*mago*	*balāfē*	*reha*	*balanī*	*ai*
having said	curry	cooking	this one	now	doing	the way was	children	coming	whether	to look	street	looking	curry	looking	they say
VERB	NOUN	VERB	DPRON	ADV	VERB	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	IPARTC	VERB	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	VERB	QPARTC
ABS.I	NOM.	ABS.III	OBL.	TEMP.	PART.PRS.	NOM.+FOC.	NOM.PL.	PART.PRS.	CONJ.	INF.	NOM.	ABS.I	NOM.	PART.PRS.	EXT.

(At their) saying (so), she cooked the curry, looking around the street to see whether the children came back and (at the same time) tasting (lit. "looking") the curry.

20

▹hadamun goho, mī hus vege-ai.◃

hadamun	*goho*	*mī*	*hus*	*vege*	*ai*
doing	going	this	empty	became	they say
VERB	VERB	DPRON	ADJ	VERB	QPARTC
GRND.	ABS.	NOM.	PRED.	PT.IV.3SG.	EXT.

Doing (so) repeatedly, (the curry) became empty.

21

▹hus ve goho hiśu vēlai, kūdun bā ve kiavāgen.◃

hus	*ve*	*goho*	*hiśu*	*vēlai*	*kūdun*	*bā*	*eve*	*kiavāgen*
empty	becoming	going	being	while	children	came	they say	having learned
ADJ	VERB	VERB	VERB	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	QPARTC (M!)	VERB
PRED.	ABS.	ABS.	PART.PT.	LOC.	NOM.PL.	PT.3SG.	EXT.	ABS.III

Just when it was becoming empty, the children came back from learning.

22

▹āhogen kabaro ehum mā, kēfī-ai, mā galo matte boṅḍo dīṇi ā-ve.◃

āhogen	*kabaro*	*ehun*	*mā*	*kēfī*	*ai*	*mā*	*galo*	*matte*	*boṅḍo*	*dīṇi*	*ā*	*eve*
coming	news	asking	when	what she said was	they say	big	rock	of upon	big	bird	came	saying
VERB	NOUN	VB.NOUN	NOUN	VERB	QPARTC	ADJ	NOUN	NOUN	ADJ	NOUN	VERB	QPARTC (M)
ABS.III	NOM.	OBL.	LOC.	PART.PT.I+FOC.	EXT.	ATTR.	OBL.	GEN.	ATTR.	NOM.	PT.3SG.	INT.

When (they) came and asked (their mother) about news, (their mother) said, 'the big bird came from upon the big rock'.

23

▹mi hen matten emun amma reha kakkāfē hiśu vēlai, reha eteraha gua' lāfī-ai.◃

mi	*hen*	*matten*	*emun*	*ammā*	*reha*	*kakkāfē*	*hiśu*	*vēlai*	*reha*	*eteraha*	*guak*	*lāfī*	*ai*
this	sort	from upon	coming	mother	curry	having cooked	being	while	curry	into	a dropping	it laid	saying
DPRON	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	VERB	NOUN	NOUN	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	QPARTC
ATTR.	OBL.	ABL.	GRND.	OBL.	NOM.	ABS.I	PART.PRS.	LOC.	OBL.	DAT.	NOM.INDEF.	PT.I.3SG.	INT.

Coming from upon (there) this way, it laid a dropping into the curry (just when your) mother had finished cooking the curry.

24

▹gua' lāgen mī baṅḍun jahālī mā-ve-ai.◃

guak	*lāgen*	*mī*	*baṅḍun*	*jahālī*	*ma*	*eve*	*ai*
a dropping	laying	this	from belly	beat	I	saying	they say
NOUN	VERB	DPRON	NOUN	VERB	PPRON	QPARTC (M)	QPARTC
NOM.INDEF.	ABS.III	NOM.	ABL.	PART.PT.II+FOC.	NOM.	INT.	EXT.

After it had laid the dropping, I turned this (vessel) upside down.'

25

▹beṇā mi gē ha' beun vege-ai mī bifanna dunidandi hadāgen enna.◃

beṇā	*mi*	*gē*	*hat*	*beun*	*vegē*	*ai*	*mī*	*bifanna*	*dunidandi*	*hadāgen*	*enna*
saying	this	of house	seven	brothers	what they became was	they say	this	to catch	bow	making	to go
VERB ABS.	DPRON ATTR.	NOUN GEN.	CARD ATTR.	NOUN OBL.PL.	VERB PART.PT.IV(+FOC.)	QPARTC EXT.	DPRON NOM.	VERB INF.	NOUN NOM.	VERB ABS.III	VERB INF.

At (her) saying so, the seven brothers of this house decided (lit. "became") to go to catch (the bird) by making bows.

26

▹goho emme feretamāśa laigātī ru' labān kurubā eḍāgen bonna tib baikennā-ve.◃

goho	*emme*	*feretamāśa*	*laigātī*	*ruk*	*labāgen*	*kurubā*	*eḍāgen*	*bonna*	*tibi*	*baiken*	*ā*	*eve*
going	of all	at first	who they met with was	tree	bending	coconut	picking	to drink	being	some people	with	they say
VERB ABS.	ADV	ORD DAT.	VERB PART.PT.III+FOC.	NOUN NOM.	VERB ABS.III	NOUN NOM.	VERB ABS.III	VERB INF.	VERB PART.PT.	NOUN OBL.PL.	CONJ SOC.	QPARTC (M) EXT.

On their way, they first of all met with some (people) who tried (lit. "were") to drink treacle by bending down the trees and picking the coconuts.

27

▹laiginifē, ahāfi-ai, Mēliage ha' beun enī kontākaha tai?◃

laiginifē	*ahāfī*	*ai*	*Mēliage*	*hat*	*beun*	*enī*	*kontākaha*	*tai?*
having met	what they asked was	they say	of M	seven	brothers	where they are going is	to what a place	asking
VERB ABS.I+III	VERB PART.PT.I(+FOC.)	QPARTC EXT.	PN GEN.	CARD ATTR.	NOUN OBL.PL.	VERB PART.PRS.+FOC.	IPRON DAT.	IPARTC INT.

When they met (them), they asked 'where are M.'s seven boys going?'

28

▹ehum mā, e mīhun kēfi-ai, timāmen ē tana' ti mīhun balanī kuma' kerā' tai?◃

ehun	*mā*	*e*	*mīhun*	*kēfī*	*ai*	*timāmen*	*ē*	*tanak*	*ti*	*mīhun*	*balanī*	*kumak*	*kerāś*	*tai?*
asking	when	those	people	what they said was	they say	(our)selves	going	a place	these	people	that you are looking	what	to do	asking
VB.NOUN OBL.	NOUN LOC.	DPRON ATTR.	NOUN OBL.PL.	VERB PART.PT.I(+FOC.)	QPARTC EXT.	PRON OBL.PL.	VERB PART.PRS.	NOUN NOM.INDEF.	DPRON ATTR.	NOUN OBL.PL.	VERB PART.PRS.+FOC.	IPRON NOM.INDEF.	VERB INF.	IPARTC INT.

When they (were) asked, they said, 'why are you interested in the place (where) were we are going?'

29

▹beṇum mā beṇā kēfī-ai, timāmen ekahi ni beṇi-as, timāmenna' engē-ai ti mīhun ti ē tana'.◃

beṇum	*mā*	*beṇā*	*kēfī*	*ai*	*timāmen*	*ekahi*	*ni*	*beṇi*	*as*	*timāmenna'*	*engē*	*ai*	*ti*	*mīhun*	*ti*	*ē*	*tana'*
saying	when	saying	what they said was	they say	(our)selves	together	not	told	even if	to (our)selves	is known	saying	these	people	there	going	a place
VB.NOUN OBL.	NOUN LOC.	VERB ABS.	VERB PART.PT.I(+FOC.)	QPARTC EXT.	PRON OBL.PL.	CARD LOC.INDEF.	PARTC NEG.	VERB PART.PT.	CONJ MOD.	PRON DAT.PL.	VERB PRS.3SG.	QPARTC INT.	DPRON ATTR.	NOUN OBL.PL.	ADV LOC.	VERB PART.PRS.	NOUN NOM.INDEF.

At (their) saying (so), they answered, 'even if (you) do not tell (it) to us, we will know where you are going:

30

▹**ti mīhun ti enī, mā galo matte boňḍo dīṇi hifannā-ve-ai.**◃

ti	*mīhun*	*ti*	*enī*	*mā*	*galo*	*matte*	*boňḍo*	*dīṇi*	*hifannā*	*eve*	*ai*
these	people	there	where you are going is	big	a rock	of upon	big	bird	to catch	saying	they said
DPRON	NOUN	ADV	VERB	ADJ	NOUN	NOUN	ADJ	NOUN	VERB	QPARTC (M)	QPARTC
ATTR.	OBL.PL.	LOC.	PART.PRS.+FOC.	ATTR.	OBL.	GEN.	ATTR.	NOM.	INF.	INT.	INT.

You men are going to catch the big bird from the top of the big rock.

31

▹**boňḍo dīṇi hifennēnī, mi tanen ruˀ labān kurubā eḍāgen bōgen gē kalaki-ai.**◃

boňḍo	*dīṇi*	*hifennēnī*	*mi*	*tanen*	*ruk*	*labāgen*	*kurubā*	*eḍāgen*	*bōgen*	*gē*	*kalaki*	*ai*
big	bird	when it will be catchable is	this	from place	tree	bending	coconut	picking	drinking	gone	in a time	they said
ADJ	NOUN	VERB	DPRON	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	VERB	VERB	VERB	NOUN	QPARTC
ATTR.	OBL.	PART.FUT.+FOC.	ATTR.	ABL.	NOM.	ABS.III	NOM.	ABS.III	ABS.III	PART.PT.	LOC.INDEF.	INT.

(The only way) the big bird will be catchable (for you), is when (lit. "in a time") you go (there after) drinking treacle by bending down the trees and picking coconuts at this place.'

32

▹**beṇā mi mīhunnaˀ vēňḍi vēňḍi mi kamaˀ ni vi-ai.**◃

beṇā	*mi*	*mīhunnaś*	*vēňḍi*	*vēňḍi*	*mi*	*kamaś*	*ni*	*vi*	*ai*
saying	these	to people	moving	moving	this	a fact	not	became	they say
VERB	DPRON	NOUN	VERB	VERB	DPRON	NOUN	PARTC	VERB	QPARTC
ABS.	ATTR.	DAT.PL.	RABS.	RABS.	NOM.	NOM.INDEF.	NEG.	PT.3SG.	EXT.

At (their) saying (so), they, although trying and trying did not succeed (lit. "this did not become a fact to these people").

33

▹**ni vi-as, den kuriáha ge-ai.**◃

ni	*vi*	*as*	*den*	*kuriaha*	*ge*	*ai*
not	became	even if	then	further	they went	they say
PARTC	VERB	CONJ	ADV	NOUN	VERB	QPARTC
NEG.	PART.PT.	MOD.	TEMP.	DAT.	PT.3PL.	EXT.

Even though they did not succeed, they went on forth.

34

▹**e vēlai, laigātī, ū faśuvālī lāgen elḷā bilaˀ kaňḍāgen dohanna tibˀ baikennā ve.**◃

e	*vēlai*	*laigātī*	*ū*	*faśuvālī*	*lāgen*	*elḷā*	*bilat*	*kaňḍāgen*	*dohanna*	*tibi*	*baiken*	*ā*	*eve*
going	while	who they met with was	string	??	laying	throwing	betel	cutting	to chew	being	some people	with	they say
VERB	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	VERB	NOUN	VERB	VERB	VERB	NOUN	CONJ	QPARTC (M)
PART.PRS.	LOC.	PART.PT.III+FOC.	OBL.	NOM.	ABS.III	ABS.	NOM.	ABS.III	INF.	PART.PT.	OBL.PL.	SOC.	EXT.

When they went (on) they met with some (people) who were trying to chew betel leaves they had cut by throwing a string.

35

▹mi mīhunn-as ehī, Mēliage ha' beun-as enī kontākaha tai?◃

mi	*mīhun*	*as*	*ehī*	*Mēliage*	*hat*	*beun*	*as*	*enī*	*kontākaha*	*tai?*
these	people	too	what they asked was	of M	seven	brothers	too	where they are going is	to what place	asking
DPRON	NOUN	PARTC	VERB	PN	CARD	NOUN	PARTC	VERB	IPRON	IPARTC
ATTR.	OBL.PL.	MOD.	PART.PT.+FOC.	GEN.	ATTR.	OBL.PL.	MOD.	PART.PRS.+FOC.	DAT.	INT.

These men too asked, 'where are M.s seven boys going?'

36

▹ehum mā, mi beṇī, timāmen ę̄ tana' ti mīhun balanī kuma' keranna tai.◃

ehun	*mā*	*mi*	*beṇī*	*timāmen*	*ę̄*	*tanak*	*ti*	*mīhun*	*balanī*	*kumak*	*keranna*	*tai*
asking	when	these	what they said was	(our)selves	going	a place	these	people	that you are looking is	why	to do	asking
VB.NOUN	NOUN	DPRON	VERB	PRON	VERB	NOUN	DPRON	NOUN	VERB	IPRON	VERB	IPARTC
OBL.	LOC.	OBL.	PART.PT.+FOC.	OBL.PL.	PART.PRS.	NOM.INDEF.	ATTR.	OBL.PL.	PART.PRS.+FOC.	NOM.INDEF.	INF.	INT.

When they (were) asked, they said, 'why are you people interested in where we are going?'

37

▹beṇā kēfī-ai, ti mīhun ni beṇi-as, timāmenna' tia engē-ai ti mīhun ę̄ tana'.◃

beṇā	*kēfī*	*ai*	*ti*	*mīhun*	*ni*	*beṇi*	*as*	*timāmenna*	*tia*	*engē*	*ai*	*ti*	*mīhun*	*ę̄*	*tanak*
saying	what they said was	they say	these	people	not	said	even if	to (our)selves	this	is known	saying	these	people	going	a place
VERB	VERB	QPARTC	DPRON	NOUN	PARTC	VERB	CONJ	PRON	DPRON	VERB	QPARTC	DPRON	NOUN	VERB	NOUN
ABS.	PART.PT.+FOC.	INT.	ATTR.	OBL.PL.	NEG.	PART.PT.	CONC.	DAT.PL.	NOM.	PRS.3SG.	INT.	ATTR.	OBL.PL.	PART.PRS.	NOM.INDEF.

At (their) saying (so), they said, 'even if you do not tell it to us, we will know the place you are going to.

38

▹ti mīhun ti enī mā galo matte boňḍo ḍīṇi hifannā-ve.◃

ti	*mīhun*	*ti*	*enī*	*mā*	*galo*	*matte*	*boňḍo*	*ḍīṇi*	*hifanna*	*eve*
these	people	there	where you are going is	big	a rock	of upon	big	bird	to catch	they said
DPRON	NOUN	ADV	VERB	ADJ	NOUN	NOUN	ADJ	NOUN	VERB	QPARTC (M)
ATTR.	OBL.PL.	LOC.	PART.PRS.+FOC.	ATTR.	OBL.	GEN.	ATTR.	NOM.	INF.	INT.

You men are going to catch the big bird from the top of the big rock.

39

▹ti mīhunna' ḍīṇi hifennenī, ū faśavāli lāgen bila' kaňḍāgen dohāgen gēm mā-ve.◃

ti	*mīhunnaś*	*ḍīṇi*	*hifennenī*	*ū*	*faśavāli*	*lāgen*	*bilat*	*kaňḍāgen*	*dohāgen*	*gēn*	*mā*	*eve*
these	to people	bird	when it will be catchable is	string	??	using	betel	cutting	chewing	going	when	they said
DPRON	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	VERB	VERB	VB.NOUN	NOUN	QPARTC (M)
ATTR.	DAT.PL.	OBL.	PART.FUT.+FOC.	NOM.	OBL.	ABS.III	NOM.	ABS.III	ABS.III	OBL.	LOC.	INT.

(The only way) you will be able to catch the big bird, is when you go (there after) chewing betel (leaves) you have cut by using a string.'

40

▹e mīhun beṇi-ai, ti kamaˀ ni vennēhe.◃

e	*mīhun*	*beṇi*	*ai*	*ti*	*kamak*	*ni*	*vennēhe*
those	people	what they said was	they say	this	a fact	not	will become
DPRON	NOUN	VERB	QPARTC	DPRON	NOUN	PARTC	VERB
ATTR.	OBL.PL.	PART.PT.+FOC.	EXT.	NOM.	NOM.INDEF.	NEG.	FUT.3SG.

Those men (i.e., the brothers) said, 'this will not be possible (lit. "will not become a fact").'

41

▹kēfe-as gēi kurihā-ve.◃

kēfe	*as*	*gēi*	*ay*	*kurihā*	*eve*
saying	even	where they went was	they say	further	they say
VERB	PARTC	VERB	QPARTC	NOUN	QPARTC (M)
ABS.I	MOD.	PART.PT.+FOC.	EXT.	DAT.	EXT.

Even saying so, they went ahead.

42

▹ę̄ vēlai laiginige-ai rābaḍo kāgen kāṣi duvvā baikenn-ā.◃

ę̄	*vēlai*	*laiginige*	*ai*	*rābaḍo*	*kāgen*	*kāṣi*	*duvvā*	*baiken*	*ā*
going	while	who they met with was	they say	r.-fish	eating	bone(s)	causing to run	some people	with
VERB	NOUN	VERB	QPARTC	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	CONJ
PART.PRS.	LOC.	PART.PT.III+IV+FOC.	EXT.	NOM.	ABS.III	NOM.	PART.PRS.	OBL.PL.	SOC.

While going (on), they met with some (people) who were eating *rābaḍo*-fish and throwing the bones (away).

43

▹mi mīhun ahafi-ai, Mēliage haˀ beun enī kontanakaha tai?◃

mi	*mīhun*	*ahafi*	*ai*	*Mēliage*	*hat*	*beun*	*enī*	*kontanakaha*	*tai?*
these	people	what they asked was	they say	of M.	seven	brothers	where they are going is	to what place	asking
DPRON	NOUN	VERB	QPARTC	PN	CARD	NOUN	VERB	IPRON	IPARTC
ATTR.	OBL.PL.	PART.PT.I+FOC.	EXT.	GEN.	ATTR.	OBL.PL.	PART.PRS.+FOC.	DAT.	INT.

These people asked, 'where are M.'s seven boys going?'

44

▹beṇum mā kēfi-ai, timāmen ę̄ tanaˀ balanī kumaˀ keranna tai.◃

beṇun	*mā*	*kēfi*	*ai*	*timāmen*	*ę̄*	*tanak*	*balanī*	*kumak*	*keranna*	*tai*
saying	when	what they said was	they say	(our)selves	going	a place	that you are looking is	why	to do	asking
VB.NOUN	NOUN	VERB	QPARTC	PRON	VERB	NOUN	VERB	IPRON	VERB	IPARTC
OBL.	LOC.	PART.PT.+FOC.	EXT.	OBL.PL.	PART.PRS.	NOM.INDEF.	PART.PRS.+FOC.	NOM.INDEF.	INF.	INT.

At their saying so, they said, 'why are you interested in where we are going?'

45

▹beṇum mā kēfi-ai, ti mīhun ni beṇi-as, ē tana' timāmenna tia engē-ai.◃

beṇun	*mā*	*kēfi*	*ai*	*ti*	*mīhun*	*ni*	*beṇi*	*as*	*ē*	*tanak*	*timāmenna*	*tia*	*engē*	*ai*
saying	when	what they said was	they say	these	people	not	said	even if	going	a place	to (our)selves	this	is known	saying
VB.NOUN	NOUN	VERB	QPARTC	DPRON	NOUN	PARTC	VERB	CONJ	VERB	NOUN	PRON	DPRON	VERB	QPARTC
OBL.	LOC.	PART.PT.+FOC.	EXT.	ATTR.	OBL.PL.	NEG.	PART.PT.	CONC.	PART.PRS.	NOM.INDEF.	DAT.PL.	NOM.	PRS.3SG.	INT.

At (their) saying (so), they said, 'even if you do not tell it to us, we will know the place you are going to.

46

▹ti mīhun ti enī, mā galo matte boṅḍo dīṇi hifannā-ve.◃

ti	*mīhun*	*ti*	*enī*	*mā*	*galo*	*matte*	*boṅḍo*	*dīṇi*	*hifanna*	*eve*
these	people	there	where you are going is	big	rock	of upon	big	bird	to catch	they said
DPRON	NOUN	ADV	VERB	ADJ	NOUN	NOUN	ADJ	NOUN	VERB	QPARTC (M)
ATTR.	OBL.PL.	LOC.	PART.PRS.+FOC.	ATTR.	OBL.	GEN.	ATTR.	NOM.	INF.	INT.

You men are going to catch the big bird from the top of the big rock.

47

▹ti hen gohogen, ti mīhunna' dīṇi ni hifennēn-ai, mi tanen, rābaḍo kāfē, kāśi duvvālā gēm mā nun fahen.◃

ti	*hen*	*gohogen*	*ti*	*mīhunnaś*	*dīṇi*	*ni*	*hifennēn*	*ai*	*mi*	*tanen*	*rābaḍo*	*kāfē*	*kāśi*	*duvvālā*	*gēn*	*mā*	*nun*	*fahen*
this	sort	by going	these	to people	bird	not	will be catchable	they said	this	from place	r-fish	eating	bones	letting go	goin g	when	is not	after
DPRON	NOUN	VERB	DPRON	NOUN	NOUN	PARTC	VERB	QPARTC	DPRON	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	NOUN	PARTC	NOUN
ATTR.	OBL.	ABS.III	ATTR.	DAT.PL.	OBL.	NEG.	PART.FUT.	INT.	ATTR.	ABL.	NOM.	ABS.I	NOM.	ABS.II	OBL.	LOC.	NEG.	ABL.

(If) this is where you are going, this bird will not be catchable to you (people), except when (lit. "after it not being if") you go there from this place after eating a *rābaḍo*-fish and throwing away the bones.'

48

▹beṇegen, ebage-ai.◃

beṇegen	*ebage*	*ai*
saying	they went off	they say
VERB	VERB	QPARTC
ABS.III	PT.3PL.	EXT.

(At their) saying (so), (the seven brothers) went off.

49

▹gē kal, kuriaha gohogen, fenun kal dīṇi īnī nikavilissa gehe dei fa' vī tani-ai.◃

gē	*kal*	*kuriaha*	*gohogen*	*fenun*	*kal*	*dīṇi*	*īnī*	*nikavilissa*	*gehe*	*de*	*fat*	*vī*	*tani*	*ai*
gone	time	forward	going	appearing	time	bird	where it sat was	flamboyant	tree	two	branch	become	at place	they say
VERB	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	VB.NOUN	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	NOUN	CARD	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	QPARTC
PART.PT.	OBL.	DAT.	ABS.III	OBL.	LOC.	OBL.	PART.PRS.+FOC.	OBL.	OBL.	ATTR.	OBL.	PART.PT.	LOC.	EXT.

When they were going on further, the bird appeared (to them), sitting at the place where a flamboyant tree formed two branches.

50

▹iñdu vēlai, dunidañḍi jehum mā, dunidāñḍen rekīgen udihī-ve.◃

iñdu	*vēlai*	*dunidañḍi*	*jehun*	*mā*	*dunidāñḍen*	*rekīgen*	*udihi*	*eve*
sitting	while	bow	hitting	when	from bow	escaping	it flew off	-they say
VERB	NOUN	NOUN	VB.NOUN	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	VERB	QPARTC (M)
PART.PRS.	LOC.	OBL.	OBL.	LOC.	ABL.	ABS.III	PT.3SG.	EXT.

When it was shot at with the bow while it was sitting there, it flew away, (thus) escaping the bow (shot).

51

▹uduhīgen goho, e gē ha' beun bōfi-ai.◃

uduhīgen	*goho*	*e*	*gē*	*hat*	*beun*	*bōfi*	*ai*
flying	going	that	of house	seven	brothers	it swallowed	they say
VERB	VERB	DPRON	NOUN	CARD	NOUN	VERB	QPARTC
ABS.III	ABS.	ATTR.	GEN.	ATTR.	NOM.PL.	PT.I.3SG.	EXT.

Flying away, it swallowed (lit. "drank") the seven brothers of that house.

52

▹mi vāhaka Mēliaśa ivīgen gōamun gōamun goho lolen vettīge-ai karuṇu foda'.◃

mi	*vāhaka*	*Mēliaśa*	*ivīgen*	*gōamun*	*gōamun*	*goho*	*lolen*	*vettīge*	*ai*	*karuṇu*	*fodak*
this	story	to M.	being heard	crying	crying	going	from eye	what fell was	they say	tear	a drop
DPRON	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	VERB	VERB	VERB	NOUN	VERB	QPARTC	NOUN	NOUN
ATTR.	NOM.	DAT.	ABS.III	GRND.	GRND.	ABS.	ABL.	PART.PT.IV(+FOC.)	EXT.	OBL.	NOM.INDEF.

When M.('s daughter) heard about this story, she went around crying and crying, and a tear drop fell from her eyes.

53

▹den e karuṇu fodo nagāgen, fa' keḍakaha eḍāge-ai.◃

den	*e*	*karuṇu*	*fodo*	*nagāgen*	*fat*	*keḍakaha*	*eḍāge*	*ai*
then	that	tear	drop	lifting	leaf	to a piece	she fixed	they say
ADV	DPRON	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	QPARTC
TEMP.	ATTR.	OBL.	NOM.	ABS.III	OBL.	DAT.INDEF.	PT.IV.3SG.	EXT.

Then, having taken up the drop, she put it on a peace of leaf.

54

▹eḍāfē, mi fa' keḍe hifāgen goho, eḍāfi-ai gulieki eteraha.◃

eḍāfē	*mi*	*fat*	*keḍe*	*hifāgen*	*goho*	*eḍāfi*	*ai*	*gulieki*	*eteraha*
having fixed	this	leaf	piece	grasping	going	where she put it was	they say	of a clay pot	into
VERB	DPRON	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	VERB	VERB	QPARTC	NOUN	NOUN
ABS.I	ATTR.	OBL.	NOM.	ABS.III	ABS.	PART.PT.I(+FOC.)	EXT.	GEN.INDEF.	DAT.

Having fixed it there, she grasped the piece of leaf (and) put it inside a clay pot.

55

▹fa' keḍakaha karuṇu fodo eḍāgen goho iñdōle kenal daśi lavāli-ai.◃

fat	*keḍakaha*	*karuṇu*	*fodo*	*eḍāgen*	*goho*	*iñdōle*	*kenal*	*daśi*	*lavāli*	*ai*
leaf	to a piece	tear	drop	fixing	going	of swing	mat	below	she put	they say
NOUN	NOUN	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	VERB	NOUN	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	QPARTC
OBL.	DAT.INDEF.	OBL.	NOM.	ABS.III	ABS.	GEN.	OBL.	LOC.	PT.II.3SG.	EXT.

Having thus fixed the tear drop to a piece of leaf, she put it under the mat of the swing bed.

56

▹den, guli teḷīgat-ai.◃

den	*guli*	*teḷīgat*	*ai*
then	pot	started shaking	they say
ADV	NOUN	VERB	QPARTC
TEMP.	NOM.	PT.III.3SG.	EXT.

Then the pot started shaking.

57

▹kenal mattaha arāgat-ai.◃

kenal	*mattaha*	*arāgat*	*ai*
mat	upwards	it arose	they say
NOUN	NOUN	VERB	QPARTC
NOM.	DAT.	PT.III.3SG.	EXT.

The mat arose upward.

58

▹guli gaňḍo heluvīgat-ai.◃

guli	*gaňḍo*	*heluvīgat*	*ai*
pot	piece	started shaking	they say
NOUN	NOUN	VERB	QPARTC
OBL.	NOM.	PT.III.3SG.	EXT.

The pot started shaking (even more).

59

▹den duvas keḍakun goho, belī kal mi gulie etere iñḍōle kenal daśi ōtī kudu kūdaku-ai.◃

den	*duvas*	*keḍakun*	*goho*	*belī*	*kal*	*mi*	*gulie*	*etere*	*iñḍōle*	*kenal*	*daśi*	*ōtī*	*kudu*	*kūdaku*	*ai*
then	time	from a piece	going	looked	time	this	pot	inside	of swing	mat	under	what was is	little	a child	they say
ADV	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	VERB	NOUN	DPRON	NOUN	NOUN	NOUN	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	ADJ	NOUN	QPARTC
TEMP.	OBL.	ABL.INDEF.	ABS.	PART.PT.	OBL.	ATTR.	GEN.	LOC.	GEN.	OBL.	LOC.	PART.PT.+FOC.	ATTR.	OBL.INDEF. (!)	EXT.

After some while, when she looked inside, there was a little child in this pot under the mat of the swing.

60

▹den mi kuddą̄ nagāgen, dagonaī-ai.◃

den	*mi*	*kuddą̄*	*nagāgen*	*dagonaī*	*ai*
then	this	child	lifting up	she cared for	they say
ADV	DPRON	NOUN	VERB	VERB	QPARTC
TEMP.	ATTR.	NOM.	ABS.III	PT.3SG.	EXT.

Then she took the child out and fostered it.

61

▹mi hen goho, mi kuddą̄ boñḍo vege-ai.◃

mi	*hen*	*goho*	*mi*	*kuddą̄*	*boñḍo*	*vege*	*ai*
this	sort	going	this	child	big	became	they say
DPRON	NOUN	VERB	DPRON	NOUN	ADJ	VERB	QPARTC
ATTR.	OBL.	ABS.	ATTR.	NOM.	PRED.	PT.IV.3SG.	EXT.

As time passed by (lit. "going on like this"), this child grew up (lit. "became tall").

62

▹miu ahāfi-ai, ammā-ve, ammāśa timā nun fahę, kūdaku ni libun' tai?◃

miu	*ahāfi*	*ai*	*ammā*	*eve*	*ammāśa*	*timā*	*nun*	*fahę*	*kūdaku*	*ni*	*libun*	*tai?*
this one	what he asked was	they say	mother	-saying	to mother	self	not being	after	a child	not	was received	asking
DPRON	VERB	QPARTC	NOUN	QPARTC (M)	NOUN	PRON	PARTC	NOUN	NOUN	PARTC	VERB	IPARTC
OBL.	PART.PT.I(+FOC.)	EXT.	NOM.	INT.	DAT.	OBL.	NEG.	ABL.	OBL.INDEF.	NEG.	PART.PT.	INT.

He asked, 'mother, did (my) mother not receive a child except for myself (lit. "after it not being myself")?'

63

▹beṇum mā, mia kēfi-ai, nun-ai, timāśa libun-ai ha' fīri hen kūdun.◃

beṇun	*mā*	*mia*	*kēfi*	*ai*	*nun*	*ai*	*timāśa*	*libunu*	*ai*	*hat*	*fīri*	*hen*	*kūdun*
saying	when	this one	what she said was	they say	no	saying	to self	what was received is	saying	seven	male	sort	children
VB.NOUN	NOUN	DPRON	VERB	QPARTC	PARTC	QPARTC	PRON	VERB	QPARTC	CARD	ADJ	NOUN	NOUN
OBL.	OBL.	OBL.	PART.PT.I(+FOC.)	EXT.	NEG.	INT.	DAT.	PART.PT.(+FOC.)	INT.	ATTR.	ATTR.	OBL.	NOM.PL.

At his saying (so), she said, 'yes (lit. "no"), I did receive seven boys (before).

64

▹e ha' beun mā galo matte boñḍo dīṇi hifanna gohogen vēṇṇā vēlai mā galo matte boñḍo dīṇi e ha' beun bōfi-ai.◃

e	*hat*	*beun*	*mā*	*galo*	*matte*	*boñḍo*	*dīṇi*	*hifanna*	*gohogen*	*vēṇṇā*	*vēlai*	*mā*	*galo*	*matte*	*boñḍo*	*dīṇi*	*e*	*hat*	*beun*	*bōfi*	*ai*
those	seven	brothers	big	a rock	on top	big	bird	to catch	going	living	while	big	a rock	on top	big	bird	those	seven	brothers	swallowed	they say
DPRON	CARD	NOUN	ADJ	NOUN	NOUN	ADJ	NOUN	VERB	VERB	VERB	NOUN	ADJ	NOUN	NOUN	ADJ	NOUN	DPRON	CARD	NOUN	VERB	QPARTC
ATTR.	ATTR.	OBL.PL.	ATTR.	OBL.	LOC.	ATTR.	NOM.	INF.	ABS.III	PART.PRS.	LOC.	ATTR.	OBL.	LOC.	ATTR.	NOM.	ATTR.	ATTR.	NOM.	PT.I.3SG.	EXT.

When those seven brothers were going to catch the big bird on the big rock, the big bird on the big rock swallowed those seven brothers alive.'

65

▹e mīhunge vāhaka' net-ai.◃

e	*mīhunge*	*vāhakak*	*net*	*ai*
those	of people	news	there is not	saying
DPRON	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	QPARTC
ATTR.	GEN.PL.	NOM.	PRS.3SG.	INT.

There is no (further) news about them (lit. "those people").

66

▹vīm mā, dari-fulu, dīni hifanna' gohogen ni vennēn-ai.◃

vīn	*mā*	*dari-fulu*	*dīni*	*hifanna*	*gohogen*	*ni*	*vennēn*	*ai*
being	when	child	bird	to catch	going	not	it will become	she said
VB.NOUN	NOUN	NOUN+HON (M.)	NOUN	VERB	VERB	PARTC	VERB	QPARTC
OBL.	LOC.	NOM.	NOM.	INF.	ABS.III	NEG.	FUT.3SG.	INT.

This being (so), my child, it will not be possible (lit. "will not become") that you (too) might go to catch the bird.'

67

▹mi hen beṇum mā, miu beṇi āi, nun-ai, timā ennā-ve.◃

mi	*hen*	*beṇum*	*mā*	*miu*	*beṇi*	*āi*	*nun*	*ai*	*timā*	*ennā*	*ve*
this	sort	saying	when	this one	what he said was	they say	no	saying	self	is to go	saying
DPRON	NOUN	VB.NOUN	NOUN	DPRON	VERB	QPARTC	PARTC	QPARTC	PRON	VERB	QPARTC (M)
ATTR.	OBL.	OBL.	LOC.	OBL.	PART.PT.(+FOC.)	EXT.	NEG.	INT.	OBL.	INF.	INT.

After (her) saying so, (the boy) said, 'no, I have to go myself.'

68

▹kēfē, ebage-ai.◃

kēfē	*ebage*	*ai*
having said	he went away	they say
VERB	VERB	QPARTC
ABS.I	PT.3SG.	EXT.

After saying so, he went away.

69

▹goho, boňḍo dīṇi karaha dunidāňḍi jahā miu vaṭṭāgen marāgen kari val gaňḍa' jahāgen damāfē geśa ebaginage-ai.◃

goho	*boňḍo*	*dīṇi*	*karaha*	*dunidāňḍi*	*jahā*	*miu*	*vaṭṭāgen*	*marāgen*	*kari*	*val*	*gaňḍak*	*jahāgen*	*damāfē*	*geśa*	*ebaginage*	*ai*
							causing to									
going	big	bird	to neck	bow	hitting	this one	fall	killing	on neck	rope	a piece	beating	pulling	home	he took	they say
VERB	ADJ	NOUN	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	DPRON	VERB	VERB	NOUN	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	VERB	NOUN	VERB	QPARTC
ABS.	ATTR.	OBL.	DAT.	NOM.	ABS.	OBL.	ABS.III	ABS.III	LOC.	OBL.	NOM.INDEF.	ABS.III	ABS.I	DAT.	PT.IV.3SG.	EXT.

He went (there), shot with the bow at the throat of the bird, caused it to fall down, killed it, tied a rope around its neck and took it home by pulling it.

70

▹geśa gine gohogen, dīṇi baňḍo kaňḍālā, belī kal Mēliage ha' beun tībī keḷenaha ve.◃

geśa	*gine*	*gohogen*	*dīṇi*	*baňḍo*	*kaňḍālā*	*belī*	*kal*	*Mēliage*	*hat*	*beun*	*tībī*	*keḷenaha*	*eve*
home	taking	going	bird	belly	cutting	looked	when	of M.	seven	brothers	how they were was	playing	they say
NOUN	VERB	VERB	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	VERB	NOUN	PN	CARD	NOUN	VERB	VB.NOUN	QPARTC (M)
DAT.	ABS.	ABS.III	OBL.	NOM.	ABS.II	PART.PT.	OBL.	GEN.	ATTR.	OBL.PL.	PART.PT.+FOC.	DAT.	EXT.

Having taken it home, he cut the (bird's) belly and looked inside — (and) M.'s (daughter's) seven boys were playing (there).

71

▹den e mīhun beṇoān goho, dīṇen nukutta-ai.◃

den	*e*	*mīhun*	*beṇoān*	*goho*	*dīṇen*	*nukutta*	*ai*
then	those	people	admonishing	going	from bird	escaped	they say
ADV	DPRON	NOUN	VERB	VERB	NOUN	VERB	QPARTC
TEMP.	ATTR.	NOM.PL.	ABS.III	ABS.	ABL.	PT.3PL.	EXT.

Then, those people, admonished (by him), escaped from the bird.

72

▹dīṇi kaṭṭilāgen reha kakkāgen emme maun kanna' tiv vēlai Mēliage dia nukume.◃

dīṇi	*kaṭṭilāgen*	*reha*	*kakkāgen*	*emme*	*maun*	*kanna*	*tibi*	*vēlai*	*Mēliage*	*dia*	*nukume*
bird	cutting	curry	cooking	all	mother-and-child	to eat	being	while	of M	daughter	goes out
NOUN	VERB	NOUN	VERB	PRON	NOUN	VERB	VERB	NOUN	PN	NOUN	VERB
NOM.	ABS.II+III	NOM.	ABS.III	ATTR.	OBL.PL.	INF.	PART.PT.	LOC.	GEN.	NOM.	PRS.3SG.

He (then) cut the bird, cooked a curry, and just when mother-and-children were about to eat, Mēliage's daughter went out.

73

▹hedī vaḍāmakī, fem bōn vaḍi dāṇi foroāfi-ai.◃

hedī	*vaḍāmakī*	*fen*	*bōn*	*vaḍi*	*dāṇi*	*foroāfi*	*ai*
done	a manner was	water	drinking	well	bucket	she hid	they say
VERB	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	QPARTC
PART.PT.	NOM.INDEF.+FOC.	OBL.	PART.PRS.	GEN.	NOM.	PART.PT.I	EXT.

She hid the bucket of the well (from) where (they used to) drink water.

74

▹den, mi mīhun kāgen nukume, dāṇi nētīgen, e vāhakā dekkum mā mia beṇi-ai,◃

den	*mi*	*mīhun*	*kāgen*	*nukume*	*dāṇi*	*nētīgen*	*e*	*vāhakā*	*dekkun*	*mā*	*mia*	*beṇi*	*ai*
then	these	people	eating	going out	bucket	not being there	that	story	telling	when	this one	what she said was	they say
ADV	DPRON	NOUN	VERB	VERB	NOUN	VERB	DPRON	NOUN	VB.NOUN	NOUN	DPRON	VERB	QPARTC
TEMP.	ATTR.	NOM.PL.	ABS.III	ABS.	NOM.	ABS.III	ATTR.	NOM.	OBL.	LOC.	OBL.	PART.PT.(+FOC.)	EXT.

Then, after eating, her sons (lit. "these people") came out and the bucket was not there; and when they talked about it, she (lit. "this one") said,

... and took it home by pulling it.

74a

▹mi hiňde timāmen ti vaḍen fem bonī leňbīgen goho fen gaňḍi aňga jahā-ve.◃

mi	*hiňde*	*timāmen*	*ti*	*vaḍen*	*fen*	*bonī*	*leňbīgen*	*goho*	*fen*	*gaňḍi*	*aňga*	*jahā*	*eve*
this	at time	selves	there	from well	water	how we drink is	bending	going	water	in piece	mouth	hitting	she said
DPRON ATTR.	NOUN LOC.	PRON OBL.PL.	DPRON ATTR.	NOUN ABL.	NOUN NOM.	VERB PART.PRS.+FOC.	VERB ABS.III	VERB ABS.	NOUN OBL.	NOUN LOC.	NOUN NOM.	VERB ABS.	QPARTC (M) INT.

'now we have to drink water from this well by bending down and putting (lit. "beating") the mouth in the water.'

75

▹den, mi mīhun emmen ekī vaḍaha leňbīgatun mā mia hedī vaḍāmakī emmen fule au eḍā kullā vaḍaha vaṭṭāli-ai.◃

den	*mi*	*mīhun*	*emmen*	*ekī*	*vaḍaha*	*leňbīgatun*	*mā*	*mia*	*hedī*	*vaḍāmakī*	*emmen*	*fule*	*at*	*eḍā*	*kullā*	*vaḍaha*	*vaṭṭāli*	*ai*
then	these	people	all	together	to well	bending down	when	this one	done	a manner was	all	back	hand	putting	pushing	to well	she dropped	they say
ADV TEMP.	DPRON ATTR.	NOUN OBL.PL.	PRON OBL.PL.	NOUN LOC.	NOUN DAT.	VB.NOUN OBL.	NOUN LOC.	DPRON OBL.	VERB PART.PT.	NOUN NOM.INDEF.+FOC.	PRON OBL.PL.	NOUN LOC.	NOUN NOM.	VERB ABS.	VERB ABS.	NOUN DAT.	VERB PT.II.3SG.	QPARTC EXT.

Then, when they all together finally bent down to the well, she put the hand on each one's back, pushed them and caused them to fall into the well.

76

▹ha' gal mati matten jahāli-ai.◃

hat	*gal*	*mati*	*matten*	*jahāli*	*ai*
seven	rocks	top	from top	she hit	they say
CARD ATTR.	NOUN NOM.	NOUN OBL.	NOUN ABL.	VERB PT.II.3SG.	QPARTC EXT.

She put seven stones on top (of them) from above.

77

▹jahālā hiśu vēlai, duvas keḍakun e tanen nukūtī boňḍo haulak-ai.◃

jahālā	*hiśu*	*vēlai*	*duvas*	*keḍakun*	*e*	*tanen*	*nukūtī*	*boňḍo*	*haulak*	*ai*
having hit	being	while	time	with a piece	that	from place	what came out was	big	a cock	they say
VERB ABS.II	VERB PART.PT.	NOUN LOC.	NOUN OBL.	NOUN ABL.INDEF.	DPRON ATTR.	NOUN ABL.	VERB PART.PT.+FOC.	ADJ ATTR.	NOUN NOM.INDEF.	QPARTC EXT.

After she had put (the stones on them), a big cock came out of that place some days after.

78

▹nukume, hedi vaḍamakī, mia kari jahāgen duvvāgat-ai.◃

nukume	*hedi*	*vaḍamakī*	*mia*	*kari*	*jahāgen*	*duvvāgat*	*ai*
coming out	done	a manner was	this one	on neck	hitting	let run away	they say
VERB ABS.	VERB PART.PT	NOUN NOM.INDEF.+FOC.	DPRON OBL.	NOUN LOC.	VERB ABS.III	VERB PART.PT.III	QPARTC EXT.

When he came out, she grasped (lit. "hit") his throat and ran away.

Fig. 1: *Fiňdanā boňdanā* (Ibrahīm Mansūr)

T7: **Kaiśaki naiśaˀ**

The coconut shell

Fuaˀ Mulaku: Muḥammad Saʿīd

1

▹tan keḍa' kurie duvasvaraki hīśi rādde hīśī raskalaku-ai.◃

tan	*keḍak*	*kurie*	*duvasvaraki*	*hīśi*	*rādde*	*hīśī*	*raskalaku*	*ai*
place	a piece	before	in a period	being	kingdom	what there was was	a king-lord	they say
NOUN	NOUN	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	QPARTC
OBL.	OBL.INDEF.	GEN.	LOC.INDEF.	PART.PRS.	LOC.	PART.PRS.+FOC.	OBL.INDEF.	EXT.

In a kingdom existing in a period a long time ago, there was a king.

2

▹e rasgefān e rāddē-ge e tani mi tani-ge vāhakai-ge bahu-ge tafātu ballavanna vegen,◃

e	*rasgefān*	*e*	*rāddē-ge*	*e*	*tani*	*mi*	*tani-ge*	*vāhakai-ge*	*bahu-ge*	*tafātu*	*ballavanna*	*vegen*
that	king's	that	of kingdom	that	of place	this	of place	of speaking	of language	difference	to cause to look	becoming
DPRON	NOUN	DPRON	NOUN	DPRON	NOUN	DPRON	NOUN	NOUN	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	VERB
ATTR.	OBL.	ATTR.	GEN. (M!)	ATTR.	GEN.	ATTR.	GEN. (+M!)	GEN. (M!)	GEN. (M!)	NOM.	INF.	ABS.III

This king, in order to find out the difference between the languages spoken here and there (lit. "in this place (and) that place") in his kingdom,

2a

▹mi heddevī vaḍāmakī, eśa kudu rukaki kudu kudu kaiśa' hifāgen goho, mīhaku lavvā maśovāfē, bāvā.◃

mi	*heddevī*	*vaḍāmakī*	*eśa*	*kudu*	*rukaki*	*kudu*	*kudu*	*kaiśak*	*hifāgen*	*goho*	*mīhaku*	*lavvā*	*maśovāfē*	*bāvā*
now	caused to be done	the way was	seed	small	of a tree	small	small	a coconut	grasping	going	a man	causing to be used	causing to polish	placing
ADV	VERB	NOUN	NOUN	ADJ	NOUN	ADJ	ADJ	NOUN	VERB	VERB	NOUN	VERB	VERB	VERB
TEMP.	PART.PT.	NOM.+FOC.	OBL.	ATTR.	GEN.INDEF.	ATTR.	ATTR.	NOM.INDEF.	ABS.III	ABS.	OBL.INDEF.	ABS.	ABS.I	ABS.

took a very small coconut from a small-seed coconut tree and, after having a man polish it from outside, he placed it (before himself).

3

▹e kaiśi gine goho, mi eḍī vaśiakaha.◃

e	*kaiśi*	*gine*	*goho*	*mi*	*eḍī*	*vaśiakaha*
that	coconut	taking	going	now	where he put was	to a basket
DPRON	NOUN	VERB	VERB	ADV	VERB	NOUN
ATTR.	NOM.	ABS.	ABS.	TEMP.	PART.PT.+FOC.	DAT.INDEF.

After taking this coconut, he put it in a basket.

4

▹eḍāfē, e vaśi gine goho, mi bēvī aśia' matte.◃

eḍāfē	*e*	*vaśi*	*gine*	*goho*	*mi*	*bēvī*	*aśiak*	*matte*
after putting	that	basket	taking	going	now	where he placed was	a table	upon
VERB	DPRON	NOUN	VERB	VERB	ADV	VERB	NOUN	NOUN
ABS.I	ATTR.	NOM.	ABS.	ABS.	TEMP.	PART.PT.+FOC.	OBL.INDEF.	LOC.

After putting it (there), he took this basket and put it on a table.

5

▹bā hiśuvā, eki tan-tanen mīhun gine gohogen, e mīhunn-ā suālu mi kuravvanī, mī kōnta' tai?◃

bā	*hiśuvā*	*eki*	*tan-tanen*	*mīhun*	*gine*	*gohogen*	*e*	*mīhun*	*ā*	*suālu*	*mi*	*kuravvanī*	*mī*	*kōn*	*(et)tak*	*tai?*
hither	causing to stand	together	from place to place	people	taking	by going	those	people	with	question	now	what he caused to be made was	what this is	what	a thing	asking
ADV	VERB	CARD	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	VERB	DPRON	NOUN	CONJ	NOUN	ADV	VERB	DPRON	IPRON	NOUN	IPARTC
LOC.	ABS.	LOC.	ABL.DISTR.PL.	NOM.PL.	ABS.	ABS.III	ATTR.	OBL.PL.	SOC.	NOM.	TEMP.	PART.PRS.+FOC.	NOM.+FOC.	ATTR.	NOM.INDEF.	INT.

After putting it there, he collected people from various places and asked to those people the question, 'what (a thing) is this?'

6
F

▹suālu kurevvum mā, aḍḍu-ateḷe mīhun mi beṇanī,◃

suālu	*kurevvun*	*mā*	*aḍḍū*	*ateḷe*	*mīhun*	*mi*	*beṇanī*
question	causing to make	after	Aḍḍū	atoll	people	now	what they say is
NOUN	VB.NOUN	NOUN	TOP	NOUN	NOUN	ADV	VERB
NOM.	OBL.	LOC.	OBL.	OBL.	OBL.PL.	TEMP.	PART.PRS.+FOC.

When he asked (this) question, the people from Aḍḍū atoll said:

6a
A

▸āśaki matte hiśi vāśaki etere o' eśa kudu rukaki maśafei o' kudu kaiśaki naiśa'.◂

āśaki	*matte*	*hiśi*	*vāśaki*	*etere*	*ot*	*eśa*	*kudu*	*rukaki*	*maśafei*	*ot*	*kudu*	*kaiśaki*	*naiśak*
of a table	upon	being	of a basket	inside	being	seed	small	of a tree	polished	being	small	of a coconut	a shell
NOUN	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	ADJ	NOUN	VERB	VERB	ADJ	NOUN	NOUN
GEN.INDEF.	LOC.	PART.PRS.	GEN.INDEF.	LOC.	PART.PRS.	OBL.	ATTR.	GEN.INDEF.	ABS.I	PART.PRS.	ATTR.	GEN.INDEF.	NOM.INDEF.

'(It is) a shell of a small polished coconut from a small-seed coconut tree, lying in a basket which stands upon a table.'

7
F

▹huvadū-ateḷe mīhun mi beṇanī,◃

huvadū	*ateḷe*	*mīhun*	*mi*	*beṇanī*
Huvadū	atoll	people	now	what they say is
NOUN	NOUN	NOUN	ADV	VERB
OBL.	OBL.	OBL.PL.	TEMP.	PART.PRS.+FOC.

The people from Huvadū atoll said (lit. "say"):

7a
H

>aṭṭaku matte huṭṭi vaṭṭaku etere oṭe oṭā kude rukaku maṭaifai ote kauṭaku noṭṭeke.<

aṭṭaku	*matte*	*huṭṭi*	*vaṭṭaku*	*etere*	*ote*	*oṭā*	*kude*	*rukaku*	*maṭaifai*	*ote*	*kauṭaku*	*noṭṭeke*
of a table	upon	being	of a basket	inside	being	seed	small	of a tree	polished	being	of a coconut	a shell
NOUN	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	NOUN	VERB	NOUN	ADJ	NOUN	VERB	VERB	NOUN	NOUN
GEN.INDEF.	LOC.	PART.PRS.	GEN.INDEF.	LOC.	PART.PRS.	OBL.	ATTR.	GEN.INDEF.	ABS.I	PART.PRS.	GEN.INDEF.	NOM.INDEF.

'(It is) a shell of a small polished coconut from a small-seed coconut tree, lying in a basket which stands upon a table.

8
F ▹den mulaka mīhun mi beṇanī,◃

den	*mulaka*	*mīhun*	*mi*	*beṇanī*
then	(of) Mulaku	people	now	what they say is
ADV TEMP.	NOUN OBL.	NOUN OBL.PL.	ADV TEMP.	VERB PART.PRS.+FOC.

The people from (Fua') Mulaku said (lit. "say"):

8a
F ▹aśieki matte hīśi vaśieki etere o' eśa kudu rukaki maśāfē kaiśaki naiśakāi.◃

aśieki	*matte*	*hīśi*	*vaśieki*	*etere*	*ot*	*eśa*	*kudu*	*rukaki*	*maśāfē*	*kaiśaki*	*naiśakāi*
of a table	upon	being	of a basket	inside	being	seed	small	of a tree	polished	of a coconut	a shell
NOUN GEN.INDEF.	NOUN LOC.	VERB PART.PRS.	NOUN GEN.INDEF.	NOUN LOC.	VERB PART.PRS.	NOUN OBL.	ADJ ATTR.	NOUN GEN.INDEF.	VERB ABS.I	NOUN GEN.INDEF.	NOUN NOM.INDEF.

'(It is) a shell of a small polished coconut from a small-seed coconut tree, lying in a basket which stands upon a table.'

9
F ▹den rasgefānu mi hisābaha gendavāfē, den natījā ivvevī kal vidāḷu venī,◃

den	*rasgefānu*	*mi*	*hisābaha*	*gendavāfē*	*den*	*natījā*	*ivvevī*	*kal*	*vidāḷu*	*venī*
then	king	this	to amount	causing to be lead	then	result	causing to be heard	time	utterant	what he became was
ADV TEMP.	NOUN OBL.	DPRON ATTR.	NOUN DAT.	VERB ABS.I	ADV TEMP.	NOUN NOM.	VERB PART.PT.	NOUN OBL.	NOUN OBL.	VERB PART.PRS.+FOC.

After leading it up to this point, the king let (everybody) hear about the result and uttered,

9a
F ▹ti bahu-ge tafātu-ge terein timā hita' emme rieti mi vī aḍḍū baha.◃

ti	*bahu-ge*	*tafātu-ge*	*terein*	*timā*	*hitaś*	*emme*	*rieti*	*mi*	*vī*	*aḍḍū*	*baha*
this	of language	of diversity	from within	self	to mind	most	beautiful	now	which has become is	Aḍḍū	language
DPRON ATTR.	NOUN GEN. (M!)	NOUN GEN. (M!)	NOUN ABL.	PRON OBL.	NOUN DAT.	ADV MOD.	ADJ PRED.	ADV TEMP.	VERB PART.PT.+FOC.	NOUN OBL.	NOUN NOM.

'Within the diversity of these language(s), the one which has appeared as the most beautiful one to my mind, is the language of Aḍḍū.'

Short stories

T8: Muḥammad Waḥīd (Maḍulu)

Fini mendamegge maḍu hūnu

"The warmth of a cool midnight"*

* The original was published in the author's collective volume *Wahīduge Kuruvahakata*', Māle (Divehi bahā tārixaś xidmat kurā qaumī markazu) 1990, 36 ff.; the English translation (by ABDULLAH SAEED KOSHY) was published in *Finiashi: Heard in the Islands*, ed. L. PRUNER, vol. 4, Māle 1989, 16 ff.

150

1 ⟨hēlevunī hūnu vegennā'i madirīge 'uňdagulā hedi 'eve.⟩
/hēlevunī hūnu vegen-āi madirīge uňdagulā hedi eve
Awakened by annoying mosquitoes and a feeling of warmth,

2 ⟨'eňduga'i 'iśīňdelāfa'i fenunu huvafenuge ma'caś visnālīmeve.⟩
/eňdugai iśīňdelāfai fenunu huvafenuge maccaś visnālīm eve
I sat up in bed and thought about the dream I had.

3 ⟨'e'ves kahala hamajehē huvafenakaś nu ve 'eve.⟩
/ek ves kahala hamajehē huvafenakaś nu ve eve
It was nothing meaningful.

4 ⟨fenu 'aḍīga'i huri koṭari'e'ga'i, mīhaku hās vegen - uḷeni koś fenuneve.⟩
/fenu aḍīgai huri koṭariekgai, mīhaku hās vegen - uḷeni koś fenun eve
A man was suffocating in an underwater room or cabin.

5 ⟨kaňduga'i duvahe'ga'i rōlukurā uḷaňde'ga'i 'iňdevunī tī fenuneve.⟩
/kaňdugai duvahekgai rōlukurā uḷaňdekgai iňdevunī tī fenun eve
I too seemed to be on a vessel rolling heavily on a rough sea.

6 ⟨hitaś 'eri 'eve. 'eki raśraśuga'i ja'samun namaves kaňḍu matīga'i uḷē tā had duvas vī 'eve.⟩
/hitaś eri eve eki raśraśugai jassamun namaves kaňḍu matīgai uḷē tā hat duvas vī eve
It must have been from the travelling I did during the last seven days from one island to another.

7 ⟨nidunī mā 'ēge 'asaruta' huvafenun ves fennanī tā 'eve.⟩
/nidunī mā ēge asarutak huvafenun ves fennanī tā eve
When I was sleeping, this appeared (to me again) in a dream.

8 ⟨eňdun teduvegen hus gayā hure bēraś nukume'ja'īmeve.⟩
/eňdun teduvegen hus gai-āi hure bēraś nukumejjaīm eve
I got up, and went outside. I had no shirt on.

9 ⟨'irākoḷu hingāfa'i huri janarēṭaru ni'vālāfa'i vumā 'eku varaś aňdiri 'eve.⟩
/irākoḷu hingāfai huri janarēṭaru nivvālāfai vumā eku varaś aňdiri eve
Now, the generator was out. Although it was very dark

10 ⟨'alikame' net raśuga'i, taritakun dē 'alikan, fudē vare'ge 'a'yakaś ve 'eve.⟩
/alikamek net raśugai, taritakun dē alikan, fudē varekge ayyakaś ve eve
the starlight gave sufficient light.

11 ⟨kurimatīga'i huri ge'e'ge uňdōli he'lē kan, 'e uňdōlīge vahun kiyā tūli 'aḍun anga'i de 'eve.⟩
/kurimatīgai huri geekge uňdōli hellē kan, e uňdōlīge vahun kiā tūli aḍun angai de eve
From the opposite house I heard a swing creaking.

12 ⟨hitaś 'eri 'eve. mihāru mi 'uḷenī kihā 'ire' vegen bāva 'eve.⟩
/hitaś eri eve. mihāru mi uḷenī kihā irek vegen bāva eve
Curious about the time,

13 ⟨gaḍi'aś balālāfa'i me, haňdān vī mi gaḍīge akuruta' hurī di'lē gotaś nūn kameve.⟩
/gaḍiaś balālāfai me, haňdān vī mi gaḍīge akurutak hurī dillē gotaś nūn kam eve
I glanced at my watch and remembered the numbers were not illuminated.

14 ⟨mīhaku gada ke'sunvare'ga'i ke'sa'igenfi 'eve.⟩
/mīhaku gada kessunvarekgai kessaigenfi eve
Someone started coughing uncontrollably

ni bahāi,
HY) was

15 ⟨ke'sunvaru nu hu'ṭigen gos nēvā hus vān 'uḷē kahala 'eve.⟩
/kessunvaru nu huṭṭigen gos nēvā hus vān uḷē kahala eve
as if he was suffocating.

16 ⟨'e 'aḍaś kan nēňge 'eve. ku'jaku hēla'igen ro'igenfi 'eve.⟩
/e aḍaś kam nu eňge eve. kujjaku hēlaigen roigenfi eve
Possibly awakened by the sound, a child began crying. Or, maybe the crying had wakened him.

17 ⟨nidi 'aḍakun 'anhenaku, 'ūn! 'ūn! 'ūn! kiyan faśa'ifi 'eve.⟩
/nidi aḍakun anhenaku, ūn! ūn! ūn! kian faśaifi eve
A woman commenced singing softly.

18 ⟨ke'sai ganegen 'uḷunu mīhāge ke'sun hu'ṭi'je 'eve.⟩
/kessai ganegen uḷunu mīhāge kessun huṭṭijje eve
The crying stopped. And the coughing ceased as well.

19 ⟨'askanīge daśun kurimatīga'i huri fāruburīge matīga'i 'iśīňdelumaś hiňga'igenfīmeve.⟩
/askanīge daśun kurimatīgai huri fāruburīge matīgai iśīňdelumaś hiňgaigenfīm eve
I strolled over to sit on the low wall under the eaves.

20 ⟨hitaś 'eri 'eve.⟩
/hitaś eri eve
It came to (my) mind:

21 ⟨hādahā hamahimēneve.⟩
/hādahā hamahimēn eve
How quiet it was.

22 ⟨raś nidā, fa'i hilavaḷu 'obum_ē kiyā vagutakī mī'ī tā 'eve.⟩
/raś nidā, fai hilavaḷu obum ē kiā vagutakī mīī tā eve
This must be the time they say the island sleeps and even footsteps cannot be heard.

23 ⟨fāruburi matīga'i iśinnamun hitaś 'eri 'eve. kudinnā'i 'anhenun mihāru tibēnī gēga'i bāva 'eve.⟩
/fāruburi matīgai iśinnamun hitaś eri eve. kudinn-āi anhenun mihāru tibēnī gēgai bāva eve
Relaxing I thought of my wife and children at home.

24 ⟨nūnī ma'ida'ita ge'aś hiňga'i dāne bāva 'eve.⟩
/nūnī maidaita geaś hiňgai dāne bāva eve
Or, maybe they have already moved to my mother-in-law's.

25 ⟨mi daturaś furi 'iru 'aharenge diri 'uḷumuge tere'aś 'a'isfa'i vanī, nu visnumā'ī got dūnu kurumuge koḷigaňḍe'ge vaieve.⟩
/mi daturaś furi iru aharenge diri uḷumuge tereaś aisfai vanī, nu visnum-āi got dūnu kurumuge koḷigaňḍekge vai eve
When I embarked on this tour, my thoughtlessness and inflexibility had aroused stormy winds in my life.

26 ⟨mi kan vān jehunu sabanakī fa'isā 'eve.⟩
/mi kan vān jehunu sabanakī faisā eve
Money was the root.

28 ⟨libē ʾeʾcakun de koḷu nu jeʾsumuge sababun maḍumaḍun daranñaś taketi nagan jehumuge maʾsala ʾeve.⟩
/libē eccakun de koḷu nu jessumuge sababun maḍumaḍun daraññaś taketi nagan jehumuge massala eve
Our income did not cover our expenses and we borrowed.

29 ⟨ʾeʾcetīge ʾagaś ʾaʾisfaʾi vā badalāʾi libē ʾeʾcakun de koḷu jeʾsēne varāʾi nu jeʾsēne varu visnā nu laʾi ʾeʾceti buneven feśumun, den nikut natījāʾakī hit hama-nu-jehumeve.⟩
/eccetīge agaś aisfai vā badalāi libē eccakun de koḷu jessēne varāi nu jessēne varu visnā-nu-lai ecceti buneven feśumun, den nikut natījāakī hit hama-nu-jehum eve
Without considering higher costs and insufficient money, I reproached my wife. All sorts of nagging and unpleasantness resulted.

⟨ʾeki ʾeki šakuvā ʾeve.⟩
/eki eki šakuvā eve
[All kinds of complaints.]

30 ⟨kudinnaś aḷālumugaʾi de mīhunnaś ves faru vā kuḍa kurevunī, ʾekaku ʾanekakaś dera kurumuge niyatuga_ʾeve.⟩
/kudinnaś aḷālumugai de mīhunnaś ves faru vā kuḍa kurevunī, ekaku anekakaś dera kurumuge niyatugai eve
Just to irritate each other, we both developed a negligent attitude towards our children.

31 ⟨ʾēge huri hā ʾuňdagulakāʾi asarutakeʾ ḥaqīqatugaʾi ufulanī kudinneve.⟩
/ēge huri hā uňdagulak-āi asarutakek ḥaqīqatugai ufulanī kudin eve
Naturally, they faced great difficulties.

32 ⟨mi kan visnā ʾiru ves de mīhun kure ʾekaku ves maʾsala hamajeʾsumaś ʾeʾ tāňgaʾi ʾiśīňdelaʾi vāhaka daʾkālumaś ʾisnagākaś nu keruneve.⟩
/mi kan visnā iru ves de mīhun kure ekaku ves massala hamajessumaś ek tāňgai iśīňdelai vāhaka dakkālumaś isnagākaś nu kerun eve
Despite our awareness of this neither of us was courageous enough to sit down and come to a compromising solution.

33 ⟨ʾaharenge ʾanhenunge mizāju raňgaḷaś ʾeňge ʾeve.⟩
/aharenge anhenunge mizāju raňgaḷaś eňge eve
I know how tough my wife can be.

34 ⟨ʾetereʾaś fuňḍufuňḍu viyas bēru fuśun ʾeʾbas vān hit nu ruhē mizājekeve.⟩
/etereaś fuňḍufuňḍu vi-as bēru fuśun ek bas vān hit nu ruhē mizājek eve
Even if she breaks inside, she will never reveal it.

35 ⟨hitaś ʾara_ʾeve.⟩
/hitaś arai eve
It was reflected in the affection we had for our children.

36 ⟨ʾaharen ʾaharenge kudin dekevamun ʾaʾi lōtbaś mi ʾaʾī kon badaleʾ bāva ʾeve.⟩
/aharen aharenge kudin dekevamun ai lōbbaś mi aī kon badalek bāva eve
We were no longer as close as we once were. Their welcoming smiles and shouts decreased.

37 ⟨ʾofīhun ʾaʾis kaʾigen hamajehilā vagutukoḷugaʾi jahā sakarātāʾi kuḷē kuḷivarāʾi nagā majā mihāru vanī ʾehen baiaku kuri kamakaś vefaʾi kahala ʾeve.⟩
/ofīhun ais kaigen hamajehilā vagutukoḷugai jahā sakarāt-āi kuḷē kuḷivarāi nagā majā mihāru vanī ehen bayaku kuri kamakaś vefai kahala eve
The games and fun we enjoyed playing after my office hours

38 ⟨**kudin ves aharennā medu dekenī mā gāt koše' nūneve.** ⟩
/kudin ves aharen-āi medu dekenī mā gāt košek nūn eve. \
seemed like someone else's.

39 ⟨**hinitun vumā'i ba'pā 'ē kiyāfa'i govālun maduvamun 'a'is 'e'ī gēga'i gengulē kudinnaś ve'je** 'eve.⟩
/hinitun vumāi bappā ē kiāfai govālun maduvamun ais eī gēgai gengulē kudinnaś vejje eve\
Now, they seemed like my neighbor's children who come to play at my house.

40 ⟨**'aharenge muli ḥayātaś mi 'a'ī kon kahala badale' bāva** 'eve.⟩
/aharenge muli ḥayātaś mi aī kon kahala badalek bāva eve\
Why such a change in my whole life?

41 ⟨'**aharennaś mi vanī kī' bāva** 'eve.⟩
/aharennaś mi vanī kīk bāva eve\
What has happened to me?

42 ⟨**aharen mīhakā 'inī kī've bāva** 'eve.⟩
/aharen mīhakā inī kīk ve bāva eve\
Why did I get married?

43 ⟨**demafiri'egge bō harukamā'i maṣlahatu netumun 'e demafiringe kudinnaś mi kahala kekuluntakā'i bē 'inṣāfu 'asarutake' kurimati kurun 'e'ī kon kahala hamanujehē kame' heyyeve.**⟩
/de-mafiriekge bō harukam-āi maṣlahatu netumun e de-mafiringe kudinnaś mi kahala kekuluntak-āi bē inṣāfu asarutakek kurimati kurun eī kon kahala hamanujehē kamek heyo eve\
The injustice done to the children and the pain inflicted upon them by two stubborn people is senseless.

44 ⟨**mi hisābun hitaś vannan feśi madarusī da'urā'i, 'eku 'ulunu 'ekuverinnā'i, nagā majātakā'ī, hiňgi lōbīge mēya silsilātakeve.**⟩
/mi hisābun hitaś vannan feśi madarusī daur-āi, eku ulunu ekuverin-āi, nagā majātak-āi, hiňgi lōbīge mēya silsilātak eve\
Then I recalled my school years, the friends, the good times, and the meaningless love affairs.

45 ⟨'**e' gotakun hāda fikure' net majā duvasvarekeve.**⟩
/ek gotakun hāda fikurek net majā duvasvarek eve\
Those were the happy and carefree days.

46 ⟨'**ane' gotakun, hāda haru danā kame' net ulevunu da'urekeve.**⟩
/anek gotakun, hāda haru danā kamek net ulevunu daurek eve\
On the other hand, they were the wasted days.

47 ⟨'**aharen mi'ī mīhunā 'inna mizājuge mīhe' nūneve.**⟩
/aharen mīī mīhunā inna mizājuge mīhek nūn eve\
Maybe I am not the marrying kind.

48 ⟨**zinmā'ā'i vājibutakā'i gedoru belehe'tumā'i darin bodu kurumuge mas'ūli'yatu 'e'ī 'e da urugā'i ves hitaś 'erumun, fūhikan libē kanta'takekeve.**⟩
/zinmā-āi vājibutak-āi gedoru belehettum-āi darin bodu kurumuge masūliyyatu eī e daurugai ves hitaś erumun, fūhikan libē kantaktakek eve\
I have never liked the responsibilities of maintaining a home and rearing children.

49 ⟨konme sababakā hedi kurevunu namaves ka'iveni 'enme fahun 'a'is nākāmiyābu mi vī 'ehen ve kan nēñge 'eve.⟩
/konme sababak-āi hedi kurevunu namaves kaiveni ekme fahun ais nākāmiyābu mi vī ehen ve kam nu eñge eve
Maybe that was why my marriage failed.

50 ⟨duruga'i huri biya nikagahun vā take' 'uduhigenfi 'eve.⟩
/durugai huri bia nikagahun vā takek uduhigenfi eve
The noise of bats flying out of the big banyon tree some distance away

51 ⟨'e vāta' 'e' faharāten gova'igatumā 'eku hamahimēn danvaruge 'omān kan ge'li'je kahala 'eve.⟩
/e vātak ek faharāten govaigatum-āi eku hamahimēn damvaruge omān kan gellijje kahala eve
shattered the midnight silence.

52 ⟨ku'li'akaś berakaṣṭaś mīhe'ge hūnu nēvā 'eḷē kahala hūnu kame' jehila'ifi 'eve.⟩
/kulliakaś berakaṭṭaś mīhekge hūnu nēvā eḷē kahala hūnu kamek jehilaifi eve
Suddenly, I felt warmth, like a person's breath.

53 ⟨kuḍakoś jehilun vefa'i fahataś eṁberila'ifīmeve.⟩
/kuḍa-koś jehilun vefai fahataś eṁberilaifīm eve
Anxiously, I glanced behind me.

54 ⟨'e'ves mīhaku neteve.⟩
/ekves mīhaku net eve
Nobody was there,

55 ⟨kurima'caś mūnu 'aṁburānulā 'uḷeni koś nuba'i kunivahe'ge vas nēfatuga'i jehi'je 'eve.⟩
/kurimaccaś mūnu aṁburā-nu-lā uḷeni koś nubai kunivahekge vas nēfatugai jehijje eve
but I smelled a foul stench.

56 ⟨kurin 'in gotaś 'eṁburili 'iru, varaś ka'irīga'i mīhaku hu'ṭigen 'ahannā dimā'aś balan hu'ṭeve.⟩
/kurin in gotaś eṁburili iru, varaś kairīgai mīhaku huṭṭigen ahannā dimāaś balan huri eve
Turning around, I faced a man starring at me.

57 ⟨hurihā 'istaśita' koḷaś jehi'je 'eve.⟩
/hurihā istaśitak koḷaś jehijje eve
My hair raised

58 ⟨muḷi ga'in hībihi naga'i finive'je 'eve.⟩
/muḷi gain hībihi nagai finivejje eve
and goosebumps formed all over my body; I became cold,

59 ⟨hit 'avas vegenfi 'eve.⟩
/hit avas vegenfi eve
and my heart missed a beat.

60 ⟨fāruge qāgaňḍe'ga'i fa'ivānuge funnābu 'anuvāla'igen 'in tanun ne'ṭi'je 'eve.⟩
/fāruge qāgaňḍekgai faivānuge funnābu anuvālaigen in tanun neṭṭijje eve
My heels slipped from their supporting stone

61 ⟨kurima'caś ve'ṭen 'uḷunu kahala 'eve.⟩
/kurimaccaś veṭṭen uḷunu kahala eve
and I almost fell.

62 ⟨de ʾatun fāruburi matīgaʾi ʾat jaʾsālaʾi hamajehilaʾifīmeve.⟩ 75
/de atun fāruburi matīgai at jassālai hamajehilaifīm eve
I managed to balance myself with my hands.

63 ⟨kurimatīgaʾi huri mīhā ʾaharenge namun govālaʾifi ʾeve.⟩ 76
/kurimatīgai huri mīhā aharenge namun govālaifi eve
Smiling the man addressed me by name.

64 ⟨hīnlāfaʾi hūnu vanī dō ʾē ʾahālaifi ʾeve.⟩ 77
/hīllāfai hūnu vanī dō ē ahālaifi eve
"It is warm, isn't it?

65 ⟨nidan tiya ʾot koṭariʾakī kurin ʾeterege huri tan_ē bunñeve.⟩ 78
/nidan tiya ot koṭariakī kurin eterege huri tan ē buni eve
The room you were sleeping in was the master bedroom.

66 ⟨feṅḍēʾaś ʾeṅdu nereni koś mā fini vāne ʾē ves bunelaʾifi ʾeve.⟩ 79
/feṅḍēaś eṅdu nereni koś mā fini vāne ē ves bunelaifi eve
If you bring the bed onto the veranda, it will be cooler."

67 ⟨kuḷu hikifaʾi vā ʾaṅgaʾige terēgaʾi ʾot dū nere tunfatugaʾi kāʾtālaʾi nēvāʾeʾ lāfaʾi, tiyaʾī kāku hē ʾahālaʾifīmeve.⟩ 80
/kuḷu hikifai vā aṅgaige terēgai ot dū nere tunfatugai kāttālai nēvāek lāfai, tiyaī kāku hē ahālaifīm eve
I moistened my lips with my tongue. Taking a deep breath, I asked who he was. 81

68 ⟨ʾēnā ʾeʾceʾ bunan ʾaṅga huḷuvālumā ʾeku kurīgaʾi duvi kuni vas ʾaʾis nēfatugaʾi jehiʾje ʾeve.⟩
/ēnā eccek bunan aṅga huḷuvālum-āi eku kurīgai duvi kuni vas ais nēfatugai jehijje eve
When he opened his mouth to speak, I caught a whiff of the same rotten smell. 82

69 ⟨maḍumaḍu rōḷi ʾannamun diya dimāʾin, ʾe vas ʾaʾī ʾēnāge gaʾin kan nūnī ʾēnāge ʾaṅgaʾin kan yaqīnā gātaś hī vi ʾeve.⟩
/maḍumaḍu rōḷi annamun diya dimāin, e vas aī ēnāge gain kam nūnī ēnāge aṅgain kam yaqīn-ā gātaś hī vi eve
From the wind direction, I was almost certain the odor came from either his mouth or his body. 83

70 ⟨ʾēnā bunñeve.⟩ 84
/ēnā buni eve
He replied,

71 ⟨"tiya geʾakī ʾaharenge ge.⟩ 85
/"tiya geakī aharenge ge
"This is my house.

72 ⟨ʾaharenge namakī, nevi kuḍatuʾtu."⟩ 86
/aharenge namakī, nevi kuḍatuttu."
My name is Nevi Kudathuththu."

73 ⟨"ʾe kamaku ʾirākoḷaku ʾahanneʾ kaleʾeʾ nu deken.⟩ 87
/"e kamaku irākoḷaku ahannek kaleek nu deken
"I did not see you earlier this evening.

74 ⟨ʾaharenge nan ʾeṅgunī kihineʾ?"⟩ 88
/aharenge nam eṅgunī kihinek?"
How do you know my name?"

⟨"'aharen mihāru mi 'ulenī mi ge'aku nūn.⟩
/"aharen mihāru mi ulenī mi geaku nūn
"I no longer live here.

⟨mi raśaku ves nūn.⟩
/mi raśaku ves nūn
Not even on this island.

⟨nan 'eňgunu gotakī, 'aharenge gēga'i nidā mīhunge nan maśaś 'eňgen jehēne'atī."⟩
/nam eňgunu gotakī, aharenge gēgai nidā mīhunge nam maśaś eňgen jehēneatī."
However, I learned your name because I must know who is sleeping in my house."

⟨"mi raśuga'i nūlenñā mihā danvaru mihen ti danī kon tākaś?"⟩
/"mi raśugai nu uleni-ā mihā damvaru mihen ti danī kon tākaś?"
"If you are not living here, why are you strolling around this house?"

⟨"mi danī mūdaś."⟩
/"mi danī mūdaś."
"I'm going to the sea."

⟨"mihā danvaru!"⟩
/"mihā damvaru!"
"At this hour?" I asked.

⟨"kaňduge darinnaś, mūdaś di'umaś 'ire' 'ire' 'ovē ta?"⟩
/"kaňduge darinnaś, mūdaś diumaś irek irek ovē ta?"
"For the sons of the sea, is there any set time to go to sea?"

⟨mihen bunefa'i 'ēnā hiňga'igenfi 'eve.⟩
/mihen bunefai ēnā hiňgaigenfi eve
Asking this question, he started moving.

⟨'aharenge hit hamajehē gote' nu vi 'eve.⟩
/aharenge hit hamajehē gotek nu vi eve
It did not please me.

⟨ša'kutake' vade'je 'eve.⟩
/šakkutakek vadejje eve
Doubts seized my mind.

⟨'ēnā 'e 'oś danī 'eve.⟩
/ēnā e oś danī eve
He glided away,

⟨'ehen namaves, hiňgāfa'e' nūneve.⟩
/ehen namaves, hiňgāfaek nūn eve
albeit he was not walking

⟨fa'igudu vā hene' hi'e' nu ve 'eve.⟩
/faigudu vā henek hiek nu ve eve
with his feet on the ground.

⟨'aňdirikamun nēňgenī kan nēňge 'eve.⟩
/aňdirikamun nu eňgenī kam nu eňge eve
Was it because I could not see clearly in the dark?

89 ⟨nūnekeve.⟩
/nūnek eve
No!

90 ⟨ʾēnāge ʾateʾ ves faʾeʾ ves ḥarakāteʾ nu kure ʾeve.⟩
/ēnāge atek ves faek ves ḥarakātek nu kurē eve
His limbs were not moving!

91 ⟨ʾe kamaku ʾaʾis matīgaʾi huregen sohemen dā budeʾ hen ʾe ʾoś danī ʾeve.⟩
/e kamaku ais matīgai huregen sohemen dā budek hen e oś danī eve
He glided away like a statue on ice.

92 ⟨miʾīʾ hī vā got bāva ʾeve.⟩
/miī hī vā got bāva eve
It appeared like this.

93 ⟨ʾaharenge sēkukamā hedi hama ʾanna got veʾje ʾeve.⟩
/aharenge sēkukam-āi hedi hama anna got vejje eve
This must be just an illusion.

94 ⟨furētaʾeʾ ʾerī kamaś hitun hī kośgen biru gannan masaʾkat kurātī ʾeve.⟩
/furētaek erī kamaś hitun hī kośgen biru gannan masakkat kurātī eve
I nearly laughed at my stupidity and the imaginary ghost I feared.

95 ⟨kuʾliʾakaś kurin ves vātaʾ ʾuduhigat gahun hērigatumā ʾeku hurihā vātaʾ ʾuduhigenfī ʾeve.⟩
/kulliakaś kurin ves vātak uduhigat gahun hērigatum-āi eku hurihā vātak uduhigenfi eve
Abruptly the bats flew noisily from the banyon tree again.

96 ⟨maḍumaḍun ʾivemun diya rāḷutakuge ʾaḍuge tereʾin varaś boḍu rāḷeʾ goňḍudośuge gātakuge maʾcaś mugurāli ʾaḍu ʾivuneve.⟩
/maḍumaḍun ivemun dia rāḷutakuge aḍuge terein varaś boḍu rāḷek goňḍudośuge gātakuge maccaś mugurāli aḍu ivun eve
Above the constant sounds of the surf washing the shores, came the boom of a big wave breaking

97 ⟨ʾeʾaś fahu, hurihā ʾaḍeʾ keňḍi hamahimēn veʾje ʾeve.⟩
/eaś fahu, hurihā aḍek keňḍi hamahimēn vejje eve
Then all was still and quiet.

98 ⟨ʾeʾves ʾaḍeʾ netī ʾeve.⟩
/ekves aḍek netī eve
There was not one sound even.

99 ⟨maḍumaḍun ʾe ʾivenī mīhaku rō ʾaḍeve.⟩
/maḍumaḍun e ivenī mīhaku rō aḍu eve
I heard a man's faint, weak cry,

100 ⟨balikaśi gotakaśeve.⟩
/balikaśi gotakaś eve

101 ⟨kukurā hen ves hī ve ʾeve.⟩
/kukurā hen ves hī ve eve
sounding more like a whimper.

⟨raŋgaḷaś visnāli ʾiru ʾe ʾaḍu ʾe ʾannanī keʾsā mīhāge ʾaḍu ʾaʾi ge ʾā dimāʾinneve.⟩
/raŋgaḷaś visnāli iru e aḍu e annanī kessā mīhāge aḍu ai ge ā dimāin eve
Finally, I placed it as coming from the coughing man's house.

⟨gētereʾaś vanna hit veʾje ʾeve.⟩
/ge-etereaś vanna hit vejje eve
Wanting to go inside the house where I was sleeping

⟨ʾe kamaku faʾigaʾi vareʾ ves neteve.⟩
/e kamaku faigai varek ves net eve
I tried standing up, but my legs were too weak to support me.

⟨teduvan vī ʾeve.⟩
/teduvan vī eve
I had to get up

⟨nu ves teduvevuneve.⟩
/nu ves teduvevunu eve
but I could not get up.

⟨fahatun ʾateʾ koṅḍugaʾi bāʾvalaʾifi ʾeve.⟩
/fahatun atek koṅḍugai bāvvalaifi eve
A hand tapped my shoulder from behind.

⟨haḷēʾ lavaʾigenfaʾi fāruburi matin fuʾmālevi'je ʾeve.⟩
/haḷēk lavaigenfai fāruburi matin fummālevijje eve
With a shout I sprang off the wall.

⟨"sābas, ʾe kamaku tiyahā jehiḷun kuḍa mīhaku ta, ti ʾinnanī mihā ʾaṅdiri reʾaku, danvaru nukume bēruga?"⟩
/"sābas, e kamaku tiyahā jehilun kuḍa mīhaku ta, ti innanī mihā aṅdiri reaku, damvaru nukume bērugai?"
"Hah! How courageous a man, to sit outside in such a dark night at such a late hour!"

⟨hit teḷē leʾ bārukamunnā nēvā ʾavas vefaʾi vā leʾ boḍukamun de faharaku gudu ve haśi furā nēvāʾeʾ lāfaʾi huʾṭamun kahala gotakaś bunīmeve.⟩
/hit teḷē lek bārukamun-āi nēvā avas vefai vā lek boḍukamun de faharaku gudu ve haśi furā nēvāek lāfai huṭṭamun kahala gotakaś bunīm eve
My racing heart left me almost breathless. I bent over two or three times, and inhaled deeply. After a pause, I protested,

⟨"ʾe kamaku vā šakībaś sābas. muḷin sihiʾje.⟩
/e kamaku vā šakībaś sābas. muḷin sihijje
"But, Shakeeb, you really startled me.

⟨ʾaharen mi ʾinī ..."⟩
/aharen mi inī .
I was here..."

⟨"tiya ʾinī kon fikureʾgaʾi kan maśaś ʾeñge ʾē.⟩
/tiya inī kon fikurekgai kam maśaś eñge ē
"I know what you're thinking.

114 ⟨ʾehen vī mā tā fahatun mīhaku hiňgāfaʾi ʾaʾi kan ves nēňgunī.⟩
/ehen vī mā tā fahatun mīhaku hiňgāfai ai kam ves nu eňgunī
Wasn't it because you were so deeply absorbed that you didn't realise someone was behind you?

115 ⟨ʾeʾī boḍu fikuru."⟩
/eī boḍu fikuru
That indeed is 'deep thought'."

116 ⟨"nūn_ē. ʾaharenge koňḍugaʾi ʾat li ʾiru ʾaharen ʾinī kī tiya buyā fikuraku nūn."⟩
/nūn ē. aharenge koňḍugai at li iru aharen inī kī tia buyā fikuraku nūn
"When you tapped me, I was not thinking about 'it'."

117 ⟨"den kon fikureʾ ta?"⟩
/den kon fikurek ta?
"Then, what else is there?

118 ⟨hus haśi baʾi vī mā hadāne goteʾge fikuruga ta?"⟩
/hus haśi bai vī mā hadāne gotekge fikurugai ta?
Are you planning something since you are single again?"

119 ⟨"nūn_e!⟩
/nūn e!
"No!

120 ⟨ʾeheneʾ ves nūn.⟩
/ehenek ves nūn
Not even that.

121 ⟨mihāru haňdān kuran ʾuḷe ʾuḷe haňdāneʾ ves nu vi.⟩
/mihāru haňdān kuran uḷe uḷe haňdānek ves nu vi
I can't remember, now.

122 ⟨hiňgā gētereʾaś.⟩
/hiňgā ge-etereaś
Let's go in.

123 ⟨kīʾ ta vī, hēlaʾigen diya nukutī?"⟩
/kīk ta vī, hēlaigen dia nukutī?
What woke you up and brought you out?"

124 ⟨"magu hiňgākaś nūn.⟩
/magu hiňgākaś nūn
"It was not to go out for walking."

125 ⟨nidāfaʾi ʾoʾvā nēfatugaʾi jehunu gada kuni vahakun funmaʾigen teduvevunī.⟩
/nidāfai ovvā nēfatugai jehunu gada kuni vahakun fummaigen teduvevunī
"A rotten smell woke me up.

126 ⟨hama tedeʾ. kiriyā hoḍu nu levunī.⟩
/hama tedek. kiriā hoḍu nu levunī
I nearly vomited.

127 ⟨hī vanī kuni gabureʾge kaʾirīgaʾi nidan ʾovevunu hen.⟩
/hī vanī kuni gaburekge kairīgai nidan ovevunu hen
It was like I was sleeping beside a decaying body.

⟨buḷale' ge matīga'i kuni vanī kan nēňge.⟩
/buḷalek ge matīgai kuni vanī kam nu eňge
Maybe a dead cat is decomposing on top of the ceiling."

⟨'e hisābaś bunevunu 'iru, gētere'aś vadevi'je 'eve.⟩
/e hisābaś bunevunu iru, ge-etereaś vadevijje eve
By this time we were inside the house,

⟨'e'ves kahala kuni vahe' neteve.⟩
/ekves kahala kuni vahek net eve
but there was no such smell.

⟨šakību ves de faharaku nēfat damāli 'eve.⟩
/šakību ves de faharaku nēfat damāli eve
Shakeeb even sniffed two or three times.

⟨'iturakaś kuni buḷaluge vāhaka'e' nu dakka 'eve.⟩
/iturakaś kuni buḷaluge vāhakaek nu dakkā eve
We didn't talk about the dead cat any more.

⟨de mīhun de 'eňduga'i 'ośōve mādamāge daturu rēvifa'i vā gotun masa'kat buravāne tā 'ē kiya'igen daturuge vāhaka feśīmeve.⟩
/de mīhun de eňdugai ośōve mādamāge daturu rēvifai vā gotun masakkat buravāne tā ē kiaigen daturuge vāhaka feśīm eve
Lying down on the camp cots, we started discussing tomorrow's busy schedule.

⟨mā gina 'irutake' nu ve, šakībuge 'omān gugurīge maḍumaḍu 'aḍu 'a'is kanfatuga'i jehi'je 'eve.⟩
/mā gina irutakek nu ve, šakībuge 'omān gugurīge maḍumaḍu aḍu ais kanfatugai jehijje eve
Soon the sound of Shakeeb's soft snoring came to my ears.

⟨'aharen ves nidā tō 'e' farātakaś 'eňburila'ifīmeve.⟩
/aharen ves nidā tō ek farātakaś eňburilaifīm eve
Rolling from one side to the other, I tried to sleep too.

⟨'e kamaku vakikame' kan kaňḍa 'aḷā nēňgē konme ves kamakā fikuru kuran feśi'je 'eve.⟩
/e kamaku vakikamek kam kaňḍa aḷā nu eňgē konme ves kamak-āi fikuru kuran feśijje eve
My mind was strangely troubled with disordered thoughts,

⟨fikuru kurevē tō mi 'uḷenī kon kamakā kan visnan visnan 'o'vā, vī gote' nēňguneve.⟩
/fikuru kurevē tō mi uḷenī kon kamak-āi kam visnan visnan ovvā, vī gotek nu eňgunu eve
eluding my grasp until I slowly slipped into sleep.

⟨heňdunu sa'ige mēzu ka'irī ti'bā, 'ahannā šakībā dimā'aś 'atoḷuverin 'išārāt kośla'vāfa'i mi ti'bevi de bēfulun rē uḷu'vi tane' hōdan 'uḷe 'uḷe ves nēňgun_ē bunu'vi 'eve.⟩
/heňdunu saige mēzu kairī tibi-āi, ahann-āi šakīb-āi dimāaś atoḷuverin išārāt koślavvāfai mi tibbevi de bēfulun rē uḷḷuvvi tanek hōdan uḷe uḷe ves nu eňgunu ē bunuvvi eve
While Shakeeb and I were breakfasting with the Atoll Chief, he gestured towards us and said to everyone, "Somebody told me they could not find these two gentlemen last night."

⟨ehen mīhaku bunñeve.⟩
/ehen mīhaku buni eve
Another man said,

140 ⟨"'e de bēfulun muśimahā duru vī."⟩
/e de bēfulun muśimah-āi duru vī
"They went mackerel fishing."

141 ⟨"hus bulīge ganna 'atiri'aś ta?"⟩
/hus bulīge ganna atiriaś ta?
"Did they go to the spot where they could catch them without bait?"

142 ⟨"nūn_ē, bulí'aś sent jahāfa 'e'līma ganna dimā'aś."⟩
/nūn ē, buliaś sent jahāfa ellīma ganna dimāaś
"No. They went where they can catch it with perfumed hooks."

143 ⟨'enmen hīñgenfī 'eve.⟩
/ekmen hīñgenfī eve
Everyone laughed at this.

144 ⟨'aḍu baḍu maḍu valumun 'atoḷuverinnaś javābu de'vā gotaś katību bunu'vi 'eve.⟩
/aḍu baḍu maḍu valumun atoḷuverinnaś javābu devvā gotaś katību bunuvvi eve
As the snickering subsided, the island chief remarked,

145 ⟨"'e de bēfulun 'avahāra le'pevī nevi kuḍatu'tu gē ga." 'ehen mīhaku bunñeve.⟩
/e de bēfulun avahāra leppevī nevi kuḍatuttu gē ga. ehen mīhaku buni eve
"Somebody claimed they slept in Nevi Kudathuththu's house."

146 ⟨"'e de bēfulun bēnunfulu vī gina duvahu faḷaś huri ge'e'ga'i ti'bavan."⟩
/e de bēfulun bēnunfulu vī gina duvahu faḷaś huri geekgai tibbavan
"They wanted a place deserted for a long time."

147 ⟨"'e'ī kī' vegen bā?"⟩
/eī kīk vegen bā?
"What could be the reason?"

148 ⟨"'e'ī guguri danmavā le' 'aḍu gadakamun fāre' ve'ṭun_as 'ehen mīhakaś kame' nu vānī 'ērun kamaś vātī.⟩
/eī guguri dammavā lek aḍu gadakamun fārek veṭṭunu-as ehen mīhakaś kamek nu vānī ērun kamaś vātī
"The reason is that even if a wall breaks because of the loud snoring no one else would get hurt."

149 ⟨'ane'kā ves hini gaňḍekeve.⟩
/anekkā ves hini gaňḍek eve
Again another roar.

150 ⟨nevi kuḍatu'tuge namā'i, faḷu gēge vāhaka'ige 'aḍu 'ivumun sa'i mēzuge 'aňga majaluge tere'as vanna hit keňḍi'je 'eve.⟩
/nevi kuḍatuttuge nam-āi, faḷu gēge vāhakaige aḍu ivumun sai mēzuge aňga majaluge tereaś vanna hit keňḍijje eve
Hearing Nevi Kudathuththu's name and the deserted house mentioned, I withdrew from the small seat around the table

151 ⟨maḍumaḍun 'iňdevē got ve'je 'eve.⟩
/maḍumaḍun iňdevē got vejje eve
and became quiet.

152 **⟨sa'in nimigen 'enmen bēraś nukutumā 'eku katību dabas gennan tō suvālu kośli 'eve.⟩**
/sain nimigen ekmen bēraś nukutum-āi eku katību dabas gennan tō suvālu kośli eve.⟩
After breakfast, we all left the house. The island chief asked whether to fetch my bag or not.

153 **⟨'aharen nan gatīmeve.⟩**
/aharen nam gatīm eve
I was addressed,

154 **⟨'e'aś 'alan huri 'e'ceti ves hunnāne 'eve.⟩**
/eaś alan huri ecceti ves hunnāne eve
"It's almost packed.

155 **⟨"dabas balā hingavā."⟩**
/dabas balā hingavā
I'll go with you to get it," I told him thankfully.

156 **⟨de mīhun 'ekuga'i hiňga'igenfa'i katību kuren 'ahālīmeve.⟩**
/de mīhun ekugai hiňgaigenfai katību kuren ahālīm eve
As I walked with Katheeb, I asked,

157 **⟨"nevi kudatu'tuge ge falaś lāfa'i 'ēnā mi 'ulenī kontāku tō?"⟩**
/nevi kudatuttuge ge falaś lāfai ēnā mi ulenī kontāku tō?
"Where is Nevi Kudathuththu living since he left his house deserted?"

158 **⟨"'as tā, 'eňgi nu la'vā tō?⟩**
/as tā, eňgi nu lavvä tō?
"Oh, you didn't know?

159 **⟨'ēnā ge'lunu fahun bāra 'aharaś vure gina duvas ve'je."⟩**
/ēnā gellunu fahun bāra aharaś vure gina duvas vejje."
It's been 12 years since he was lost."

160 **⟨"ge'lunī 'ē."⟩**
/gellunī ē
"Lost!"

161 **⟨"la'ba! 'e'kala ... 'e'kala ... kon bōte' tō 'e'ī?"⟩**
/labba! ekkala ... ekkala ... kon bōtek tō eī?
"Yes! That... that... which ship was it?"

162 **⟨"kon bōte'?"⟩**
/kon bōtek?
"Which ship?" I asked.

163 **⟨"vi'sakaś divehinnā 'eku ge'lifa'i ve'je nūn tō bōte'?"⟩**
/vissakaś divehin-āi eku gellifai vejje nūn tō bōtek?
"There was one ship lost with 20 or so Maldivians?"

164 **⟨'e bōtuga'i ta 'e kudatu'tu vī?"⟩**
/e bōtugai ta e kudatuttu vī?
"Was Kudathuththu on that ship?"

165 **⟨"la'ba! 'ēnā'akī 'ēge nevin.⟩**
/labba! ēnāakī ēge nevin
"Yes. He was the ship's captain.

166 ⟨'e'ī hāda moḷu mālimī'ek_ē 'iňgē tō."⟩ 178
/eī hāda moḷu mālimīek ē iňgē tō
He was a great navigator."

167 ⟨"'ehen ta."⟩ 179
/ehen ta
"Is it?"

168 ⟨'e hisābun 'aharen katību kuren 'ituru suvālutake' kurāne bēnume' 'ot kamakaś nu fenuneve.⟩ 180
/e hisābun aharen katību kuren ituru suvālutakek kurāne bēnumek ot kamakaś nu fenun eve
From then on, I saw no need to ask further questions.

169 ⟨mīhaku biru gannavālumaś rēga'i rēvi rēvumā'i, 'ami'la'aś hedunu moya hitaś 'ara'i nafusu deke ladugateve.⟩ 181
/mīhaku biru gannavālumaś rēgai rēvi rēvum-āi, amillaaś heňdunu moya hitaś arai nafusu deke ladugat eve
I felt ashamed at reacting to someone's attempts to frighten me. 182

170 ⟨timā'aś visnālumuge furuṣatu nu libē konme daňḍi vaḷe'ga'i 'ehen mīhun 'ēge furuṣatu naga 'eve.⟩
/timāaś visnālumuge furuṣatu nu libē konme daňḍi vaḷekgai ehen mīhun ēge furuṣatu nagā eve 183
Others take advantage of a situation when one cannot think straight.

171 ⟨visnumuge dā'irā vaki gotakaś fālu 'eḷi'je nama timā bumare' hen 'aṁburāla'i 'e mīhun duraś gos tibe henī 'eve.⟩ 184
/visnumuge dāirā vaki gotakaś fālu eḷijje nama timā bumarek hen aṁburālai e mīhun duraś gos tibe henī eve
Then, they spin a man like a top and back off laughing.

172 ⟨mīge fahun mi kahala laňḍe' duvahaku ves libunaka nu dēnamē hitun 'azum kaňḍa 'elīmeve.⟩ 185
/mīge fahun mi kahala laňḍek duvahaku ves libunaka nu dēnamē hitun 'azum kaňḍa eḷīm eve
I pledged to myself that this would never happen to me again.

173 ⟨'ami'la he'vā kamuge ma'caś 'etere haśin ruḷi ves 'a 'eve.⟩ 186
/amilla hevvā kamuge maccaś etere haśin ruḷi ves ā eve
My stupidity irritated me.

174 ⟨mi ruḷīge terēga'i dabahaś hurihā 'e'ce' 'aḷa'i zip bandu kośla'i dabas baha'ṭāfa'i huri koḷu filā goňḍi matin dabas 'ufulālīmeve.⟩
/mi ruḷīge terēgai dabahaś hurihā eccek aḷai zip bandu koślai dabas bahaṭṭāfai huri koḷu filā goňḍ. matin dabas ufulālīm eve
Still angry, I dumped the rest of my things into my bag and closed it.

175 ⟨'e vagutu dabahuge daśuga'i 'ot 'e'ce' bimaś ve'ṭi'je 'eve.⟩
/e vagutu dabahuge daśugai ot eccek bimaś veṭṭijje eve
When I lifted it from the bench where it was placed, something underneath the bag fell on the floor.

176 ⟨guduve negi 'iru 'e'ī bi'lūri gaňḍu teḷi gosfa'i vā gi'ugaňḍakā 'eku 'ot foṭō'ekeve.⟩
/guduve negi iru eī billūri gaňḍu teḷi gosfai vā giugaňḍak-āi eku ot foṭōek eve
It was a framed portrait with the glass broken.

177 ⟨foṭōga'i hurī 'enme mīhekeve, firihenekeve.⟩
/foṭōgai hurī ekme mīhek eve, firihenek eve
A man's picture.

178 ⟨kitan me ʾaňdiri reʾeʾgaʾi fenunu namaves mi foṭōgaʾi mi vā mīhā ʾahannaś vanī fenifa ʾeve.⟩
/kitan me aňdiri reekgai fenunu namaves mi foṭōgai mi vā mīhā ahannaś vanī fenifai eve
Even though the night was dark, I had seen that man.

179 ⟨vāhaka ves vanī daʾkāfa ʾeve.⟩
/vāhaka ves vanī dakkāfai eve
And, I had talked to him.

180 ⟨mā durakun nūneve.⟩
/mā durakun nūn eve
Not from a distance,

181 ⟨sifaʾāʾi ʾis koślāʾi mūnuge baʾṭan ʾeňgē hā kaʾirinneve.⟩
/sifaāi is koślāi mūnuge baṭṭan eňgē hā kairin eve
but from a place where I could clearly distinguish his shape, height, and even facial features.

182 ⟨katību bunuʾvi ʾeve.⟩
/katību bunuvvi eve
Katheeb said,

183 ⟨"miʾī ʾēnā ʾenme fahun raśaś ʾaʾi ʾiru, genaʾi foṭōʾe'.⟩
/miī ēnā ekme fahun raśaś ai iru, genai foṭōek
"He brought this picture the last time he came.

184 ⟨mihāru hirafus burā haḍi vefaʾi ʾot_as ʾēnāʾakī varugada bēkaleʾ kan miʾin ves daʾkaʾi deʾeʾ nūn tō."⟩
/mihāru hirafus burā haḍi vefai ot as ēnāakī varugada bēkalek kam miin ves dakkai deek nūn tō
Even though it's dusty and old, you can still see he had strong features, can't you?"

185 ⟨ʾahannaś bunevunī ʾenme lafuzekeve.⟩
/ahannaś bunevunī ekme lafuzek eve
I could only reply with one word,

186 ⟨ʾeʾī, "laʾba" ʾeve.⟩
/eī, labba eve
"Yes!"

T9: Ḥabībā Ḥussain Ḥabīb

Nimun

"The end"*

* The original was published in *Fattūra*, vol. 82, Māle 1985, 43-45; the English translation (by ABDULLAH SAEED KOSHY) was published in *Finiashi: Heard in the Islands*, ed. L. PRUNER, vol. 3, Māle 1988, 26 ff.

1 ⟨divehi rāʾjēge ʾaduge ʿimārāt ʾotī varaś kulagada gotakaś diʾlā ʾalāfa ʾeve.⟩
/divehi rājjēge aḍuge ʿimārāt otī varaś kulagada gotakaś dillā aḷāfai eve
The Voice of Maldives building was brightly lit,

2 ⟨kuḷakuḷaʾige ʾalitakun zīnatteri kośfa ʾeve.⟩
/kuḷakuḷaige alitakun zīnatteri kośfai eve
adorned by many kinds of coloured bulbs.

3 ⟨baʾeʾ faharu mi zīnatterikamaś ʾituru cālūkamakā jāhu genesdenī muḷi ʿimārātaś ʾaraʾigen dā ratkula ʾeve.⟩
/baek faharu mi zīnatterikamaś ituru cālūkamak-āi jāhu genesdenī muḷi ʿimārātaś araigen dā ratkula eve
The decorations were further embellished by the red light oscillating across the entire building.

4 ⟨šarīfu ʾēnāge geʾin nukume maḍumaḍun hiňgamun ʾe ʾannanī mi dimāʾaśeve.⟩
/šarīfu ēnāge gein nukume maḍumaḍun hiňgamun e annanī mi dimāaś eve
Shareef walked slowly towards this site

5 ⟨miʾī ʾēnāge konme reʾeʾge prōgrameve.⟩
/miī ēnāge konme reekge prōgram eve
— this was his every night program,

6 ⟨ādēheve!⟩
/ādēs eve!
alas! —

7 ⟨rēgaňḍuge keʾumaś fahu hiňgālumeʾ bēʾvumeve.⟩
/rēgaňḍuge keumaś fahu hiňgālumek bēvvum eve
on his nightly after dinner stroll.

8 ⟨hiňgālan mi dimāʾaś ʾaʾumeve.⟩
/hiňgālan mi dimāaś aum eve
And, walking, to get in this direction.

9 ⟨miʾī vētuve diya fas ʾaharuʾsure medu keňḍumeʾ neti ʾēnā kuramun ʾaʾi kasratekeve.⟩
/miī vētuve dia fas ahar-ussure medu keňḍumek neti ēnā kuramun ai kasratek eve
He had done this for the past five years for exercise.

10 ⟨mi rē mi hisābaś ʾaʾumun ʾadi kurimatin vidābabuḷā bokitaʾ fenumun reyakī divehi rāʾjēge ʾaḍaś fanara ʾaharu furē rē kan haňdānaś ʾa ʾeve.⟩
/mi rē mi hisābaś aumun adi kurimatin vidābabuḷā bokitak fenumun reakī divehi rājjēge aḍaś fanara aharu furē rē kam haňdānaś ai eve
On seeing the decorative lights, he remembered that this was Voice of Maldives' fifteenth anniversary.

11 ⟨hama ʾehenme duvahuge ʾavadi neti uḷumugaʾi haňdānun kaʾsāli daʿuvatu kāḍā medu ves ʾēnāge xiyālu ʾeṁburigateve. ʾe ʾonānī ʾofīhuge mēzu matīga ʾeve.⟩
/hama ehen-me duvahuge avadi neti uḷumugai haňdānun kassāli dauvatu kāḍā medu ves ēnāge xiyālu eṁburigat eve. e onānī ofīhuge mēzu matīgai eve
Somewhere on his office desk lay an invitation card forgotten during his busy day.

12 ⟨šarīfu kuriyaś hiňgamun diya ʾeve.⟩
/šarīfu kuriyaś hiňgamun dia eve
Shareef continued on,

13 ⟨fenna kulagada mu'sañdi manzaru balamunneve.⟩
/fenna kulagada mussañdi manzaru balamun eve
observing the colorful scenery.

14 ⟨namaves 'ēnāge hamajehifa'i vā hitaś libunī ku'li sihumekeve.⟩
/namaves ēnāge hamajehifai vā hitaś libunī kulli sihumek eve
Suddenly, he was shocked

15 ⟨hama varaś ku'li'akaśeve.⟩
/hama varaś kulliakaś eve
— all of a sudden —

16 ⟨mi kahala cālū manzare'ge tere'in fennāne kamaś hī ves nu kurā kahala sūra'e' fenumunneve.⟩
/mi kahala cālū manzarekge terein fennāne kamaś hī ves nu kurā kahala sūraek fenumun eve
by seeing an unexpected figure emerge from the splendid tableau.

17 ⟨'anhene' kan hitaś genuvā sūra'ekeve.⟩
/anhenek kam hitaś genuvā sūraek eve
The form seemed like a female.

18 ⟨ša'kaś vure yaqīn kamā 'ēnāge xiyālu ka'iri kośli 'eve.⟩
/šakkaś vure yaqīn kam-āi ēnāge xiyālu kairi kośli eve
His uncertainty was dispelled

19 ⟨'e 'iru himatoḷi 'anhene'ge sūra sīdā 'ēnā'ā dimā'aś 'āde 'eve.⟩
/e iru himatoḷi anhenekge sūra sīdā ēnā-āi dimāaś āde eve
as he made out the shape of a slim woman coming directly towards him.

20 ⟨'annanī 'e'lemun 'anna gotakaśeve.⟩
/annanī ellemun anna gotakaś eve
and going zigzagging along the street.

21 ⟨ba'e' faharu kāli 'aḷamun 'anna hen hī ve 'eve.⟩
/baek faharu kāli aḷamun anna hen hī ve eve

22 ⟨šarīfuge samālukan mihāru hu'ṭifa'i 'e vanī hama 'ekani kurimatin 'e 'anna 'anhene'ge sūra'ā'ḷ sifa'ige ma'caśeve.⟩
/šarīfuge samālukam mihāru huṭṭifai e vanī hama ekani kurimatin e anna anhenekge sūra-āi sifaige maccaś eve

23 ⟨hiñgamun 'anna gotuge ma'caśeve.⟩
/hiñgamun anna gotuge maccaś eve

24 ⟨fahatuga'i divehi rā'jēge 'aḍuge kulagada bokitakā'i ni vi di'lē ran rihi 'adi nūkula'ige 'ali fas farudā 'e'hen fenē 'eve.⟩
/fahatugai divehi rājjēge aḍuge kulagada bokitak-āi ni vi dillē ran rihi adi nūkulaige ali fas farudā ekhen fenē eve

25 ⟨namaves šarīfuge lolakaś 'e kulagada farudā, 'e'ves 'asare' nu kuruva 'eve.⟩
/namaves šarīfuge lolakaś e kulagada farudā, ekves asarek nu kuruvā eve
No longer aware of the brilliant panorama in the background,

26
/ē
27
28
29
30
31
32
33
34
35
36
37

26 ⟨ʾēnāge ḥaʾirān vefaʾi vā sikuḍīge hurihā samālukameʾ vanī kaʾiri vamun ʾanna ʾanhen sūraʾige maʾcaśeve.⟩
/ēnāge ḥairān vefai vā sikuḍīge hurihā samālukamek vanī kairi vamun anna anhen sūraige maccaś eve
he focussed on the advancing person.

27 ⟨šarīfuge varaś kaʾiriyaś ʾaʾisfaʾi ʾe mīhāge hiňgun huʾṭiʾje ʾeve.⟩
/šarīfuge varaś kairiaś aisfai e mīhāge hiňgun huṭṭijje eve
She stopped very close to Shareef,

28 ⟨ʾeʾī hasfas netifaʾi ʾadi ṣiʾḥatu geʾlifaʾi ʾistaśitaʾ hēvifaʾi huri medu ʿumureʾge ʾanhenekeve.⟩
/eī hasfas netifai adi ṣiḥḥatu gellifai istaśitak hēvifai huri medu ʿumurekge anhenek eve
a weak, middle-aged woman, with unkempt hair.

29 ⟨"ʾa .... ʾa .... ʾaharenge darifuḷu duśin ta?"⟩
/a .... a .... aharenge darifuḷu duśin ta?
"H... h... have you seen my child?"

30 ⟨tūruturu ʾaḷaʾaḷā huri zīla ʾaḍeʾ šarīfuge kanfatugaʾi jehuneve.⟩
/turuturu aḷaaḷā huri zīla aḍek šarīfuge kanfatugai jehunu eve
Shareef heard a stuttering piercing voice.

31 ⟨ʾanheneʾge ʾaḍugaʾi hunna ʾomān, ʾadi maḍuma ʾitiri ʾadi kanfataś ʾarā medu ni vi goteʾ ʾe ʾaḍaku neteve.⟩
/anhenekge aḍugai hunna omān, adi maḍuma itiri adi kanfataś arā medu ni vi gotek e aḍaku net eve
That voice was devoid of a woman's usually smooth, soft, pleasing tones.

32 ⟨"bu .... bunē .... bunebala!"⟩
/bu .... bunē .... bunebala!
"T... t... tell me!"

33 ⟨ʾanhenmīhā šarīfā varaś kaʾiriyaś jehilāfā bāraś bunefi ʾeve.⟩
/anhenmīhā šarīf-āi varaś kairiaś jehilāfā bāraś bunefi eve
She drew near, demanding loudly.

34 ⟨šarīfaś libifaʾi vā ḥaʾirānkamakā ʾadi ʾe vagutu ʾēnāʾaś hadan vī goteʾ nēňgumuge hās kamugaʾi ʾēnāʾaś sikuntutaʾ miniṭṭakaś badalu vegen diya ʾiru ves hurevunī ʾeve.⟩
/šarīfaś libifai vā ḥairānkamak-āi adi e vagutu ēnāaś hadan vī gotek nu eňgumuge hās kamugai ēnāaś sikuntutak miniṭṭakaś badalu vegen dia iru ves hurevunī eve
Unable to speak, engrossed in the trembling woman before him, Shareef remained silent as seconds lengthened into minutes.

35 ⟨ʾaňgaʾin nu bune hurevunī ʾeve.⟩
/aňgain nu bune hurevunī eve

36 ⟨kurimatīgaʾi hūrevi hūrevi huri ʾanhenmīhāge nikameti ḥālāʾi ʾadi ʾe mīhāge loluga'i vā biruge tereʾaś geʾlifaʾi hurevunī ʾeve.⟩
/kurimatīgai hūrevi hūrevi huri anhenmīhāge nikameti ḥālāi adi e mīhāge lolugai vā biruge tereaś gellifai hurevunī eve
Her eyes reflected horror and something which Shareef could not name.

37 ⟨miʾī ves manmaʾeʾge sūra ʾeve.⟩
/mīī ves mammaekge sūra eve
She was a mother.

38 ⟨ge'lunu darifuḷe' hōdā manma'ekeve.⟩ 51
/gellunu darifuḷek hōdā mammaek eve
And a mother, anxious for a lost child, never gives up hope.

39 ⟨'e badu naṣību manma'ige karuna hikifa'i huri loluge digaśā hurahaś liyevifa'i, 'adi kurehifa'i, 'e vanī duvahaku ves šarīfu nu dekē fada māyūs kamekeve.⟩ 52
/e badu naṣību mammaige karuna hikifai huri loluge digaśā hurahaś lievifai, adi kurehifai, e vanī duvahaku ves šarīfu nu dekē fada māyūs kamek eve
Certainly Shareef had never before seen the sorrow embedded in this unfortunate mother's dried tears 53

40 ⟨bireve. hitāma 'eve.⟩
/biru eve. hitāma eve

41 ⟨'adi varaś kuḍa 'u'mīde'ge nivemun dā faňḍu 'alikoḷe' ves me 'eve.⟩ 54
/adi varaś kuḍa ummīdekge nivemun dā faňḍu alikoḷek ves me eve
Yet, he also saw a fleeting glimmer of hope.

42 ⟨'irukoḷe' fahun šarīfaś 'iḥsās kurevunī 'ēnāge kurimatīga'i huri 'anhenmīhāge samālukan 'ēnāge mūnun ne'ti'je kameve.⟩ 55
/irukoḷek fahun šarīfaś iḥsās kurevunī ēnāge kurimatīgai huri anhenmīhāge samālukan ēnāge mūnun neṭṭijje kam eve
After a while, Shareef noticed the woman's gaze was not on him, 56

43 ⟨šarīfuge furagahun fenna manzaraś 'e samālukan hiňga'je kameve.⟩
/šarīfuge furagahun fenna manzaraś e samālukan hiňgajje kam eve
but directed behind him. 57

44 ⟨hama 'e 'iḥsāsā 'eku 'ēnā'aś 'ivunī 'aḍufaśgaňḍekeve.⟩
/hama e iḥsās-āi eku ēnāaś ivunī aḍufaśgaňḍek eve
At that moment, he heard a loud noise.

45 ⟨šarīfu 'eṁberigateve.⟩ 58
/šarīfu eṁberigat eve
Spinning around,

46 ⟨ku'li'akaś 'ēnāge kaḷi gos hu'ṭunī kurimatīga'i 'e' vefa'i vā ba'e'ge ma'caśeve.⟩ 59
/kulliakaś ēnāge kaḷi gos huṭṭunī kurimatīgai ek vefai vā baekge maccaś eve
he saw a strange sight. An excited crowd was gathering around something.

47 ⟨ku'li'akaś šarīfu ka'irīga'i huri 'anhenmīhā 'e dimā'aś du'va'igateve.⟩ 60
/kulliakaś šarīfu kairīgai huri anhenmīhā e dimāaś duvvaigat eve
The woman left Shareef and ran towards them.

48 ⟨šarīfu ves haru koś 'e dimā'aś hiňga'igateve.⟩ 61
/šarīfu ves haru koś e dimāaś hiňgaigat eve
Bewildered, Shareef followed.

49 ⟨kī' vegen kan nēňgi du'va'iganemuneve.⟩ 62
/kī' vegen kam nu eňgi duvvaiganemun eve
Not knowing, why he ran

50 ⟨'e' vefa'i 'ot mīhunge tere'aśeve.⟩
/ek vefai ot mīhunge tereaś eve
to the place where people gathered,

51 ⟨šarīfaś fenunī varaś ʾādayā xilāfu manzarekeve.⟩
/šarīfaś fenunī varaś ādai-āi xilāfu manzarek eve
Šarīf realised a very unusual picture,

52 ⟨kuʾli ʾasarutakakun hit nu tanavas kośli manzarekeve.⟩
/kulli asarutakakun hit nu tanavas kośli manzarek eve
a picture, which was not delightful at all by its unpleasant circumstances:

53 ⟨ʿumurun 12 varakaś ʾaharu ve dāne kamaś lafā kurevē kuʾjeʾ ʾat maʾcaś laʾigen de mīhaku huri taneve.⟩
/umurun 12 varakaś aharu ve dāne kamaś lafā kurevē kujjek at maccaś laigen de mīhaku huri tan eve
Two men were picking up a child of about twelve years of age.

54 ⟨šarīfāʾi baʾdalu kuri nikameti ʾanhenmīhā ʾadun ʾadu nagā rō taneve.⟩
/šarīf-āi baddalu kuri nikameti anhenmīhā adun adu nagā rō tan eve
Shareef saw that the woman, on reaching the scene, began wailing uncontrollably.

55 ⟨ʾisāhitaku fuluhunge bayaku ʾaʾis ʾe tanaś huʾṭaʾifi ....⟩
/isāhitaku fuluhunge bayaku ais e tanaś huṭṭaifi ...
In a few moments, the police arrived in a bus.

56 ⟨faś ʾeli bēkaleʾ faʾi bannavaʾi ʾe de maʾin ʾe bahaś leʾvē tō masaʾkat kuraʾva ʾeve.⟩
/faś eli bēkalek fai bannavai e de main e bahaś levvē tō masakkat kuravva eve
An officer got down, and then seemed to assist the mother and child into the vehicle.

57 ⟨mi kan hingumuge terēgaʾi maruvafaʾi ʾot kamaś nuvata hē netifaʾi ʾot kamaś šarīfaś hī vi kuʾjāge muśu terēgaʾi ʾot ʾeʾceʾ šarīfaś fenuneve.⟩
/mi kam hingumuge terēgai maruvafai ot kamaś nuata hē netifai ot kamaś šarīfaś hī vi kujjāge muśu terēgai ot eccek šarīfaś fenun eve
While this was going on, Shareef observed a syringe clenched in the fist of the motionless child.

58 ⟨ʾeʾī ʾinjekšan jahā sirinjekeve. ....⟩
/eī injekšan jahā sirinjek eve ..
It was an injection syringe.

59 ⟨mīhunge tereʾin de mīhakaś bunevuneve.⟩
/mīhunge terein de mīhakaś bunevunu eve
Someone in the crowd gasped,

60 ⟨ʾeʾī kōcceʾ heʾyeve.⟩
/eī kōccek heyo eve
"What is this?"

61 ⟨hašiš heʾyeve .....⟩
/hašiš heyo eve .
"Dead? ... Was it heroin?"

62 ⟨maruvī heʾyeve.⟩
/maruvī heyo eve

T10: ᶜAbdullāh Ṣādiq

Mudarris vantakamuge lōbi

"A teacher's love"*

* The original was published in *Fattūra* 87, Māle 1986, 7-12; the English translation (by ABDULLAH SAEED KOSHY) was published in *Finiashi: Heard in the Islands*, ed. L. PRUNER, vol. 1, Māle 1988, 24 ff.

⟨vagutakī havīruge vaguteve.⟩
/vagutakī havīruge vagutu eve
It was early in the evening.

⟨hilmī mārukēṭaś dān ge'in nukume'je 'eve.⟩
/hilmī mārukēṭaś dān gein nukumejje eve
Hilmy walked to the market from his house,

⟨ge'aś bēnun vā ba'e' taketi gatumaś ṭakaeve.⟩
/geaś bēnun vā baek taketi gatumaś ṭakai eve
to buy some necessities.

⟨'ēnā'aś mārukēṭaś devunu 'iru 'āda'ige duvas duvahek_ē 'e' gotaś 'e tāňga'i 'onna hōbō levumā'i halēkuge 'aḍun muḷi tan vanī gugumālāfa 'eve.⟩
/ēnāaś mārukēṭaś devunu iru ādaige duvas duvahek ē ek gotaś e tāňgai onna hōbō levumāi halēkuge aḍun muḷi tan vanī gugumālāfai eve
When he reached the market, he heard the usual shouting and noises.

⟨'e' tākun maskiba'e' genfa'i ka'irīga'i huri ku'jā'ā havālu kośfī 'eve.⟩
/ek tākun maskibaek genfai kairīgai huri kujjā-āi havālu kośfi eve
He bought half a dried fish and gave it to the boy near him, his carrier.

⟨'ane' tākun de tin luňbō genfa'i 'ēnā'ā ḥavālu kośfī 'eve.⟩
/anek tākun de tin luňbō genfai ēnā-āi ḥavālu kośfi eve
From another stall he purchased two or three limes

⟨den hilmī gatī mirus koḷekeve. āde! rō mirus koḷekeve.⟩
/den ḥilmī gatī mirus koḷek eve. āde! rō mirus koḷek eve
and then Hilmy bought some chillies.

⟨'e'aś fahu 'ēnā miṣrābu jehī daru mārukēṭaśeve. ge'aś daru koḷe' gannāśeve.⟩
/eaś fahu ēnā miṣrābu jehī daru mārukēṭaś eve. geaś daru koḷek gannāś eve
Next, he walked towards where they sold firewood.

⟨"duruvē! duruvē!⟩
/duruvē! duruvē!
"Come here! Come here!

⟨mihirī barābaru kāni daru."⟩
/mihirī barābaru kāni daru
This is the best *kaani* firewood."

⟨"mi tanun nangavā!⟩
/mi tanun nangavā!
"Get it here!

⟨'aḷugaňdumen dēkaś māre' demu."⟩
/aḷugaňdumen dēkaś mārek demu
We give a bundle for two *ruffias*."

⟨"mihirī 'agu heyo daru.⟩
/mihirī agu heyo daru
"Here are the cheap ones.

14 ⟨**doḷakaś mārē'.**"⟩
/doḷakaś mārek
One-and-a-half *ruffia*!"

15 ⟨"**vakaru ba'lava'i gannavamu tō?**"⟩
/vakaru ballavai gannavamu tō?
"Will you buy coconut trunks?"

16 ⟨"**mi dilifilā gendavan vī nūn tō?**"⟩
/mi dilifilā gendavan vī nūn tō?
"Why don't you take some planks from here?"

17 ⟨**ḥilmī 'adi ves kuri'aś hiňgamun de 'eve.**⟩
/ḥilmī adi ves kuriaś hiňgamun de eve
Hilmy continued walking ahead,

18 ⟨'**eki tantan vakivakin balamunneve.**⟩
/eki tantan vakivakin balamun eve
looking in different directions at all the firewood.

19 ⟨**ḥilmī hu'ṭunī 'e tāňga'i huri magū daru funňe'ge ka'irīga 'eve.**⟩
/ḥilmī huṭṭunī e tāňgai huri magū daru funňekge kairīgai eve
He stopped near a boy selling *magoo* firewood.

20 ⟨"**kihine' daru?**"⟩
/kihinek daru?
"How much?"

21 ⟨"**doḷakaś mārē'.**"⟩
/doḷakaś mārek
"One-and-a-half *ruffia*."

22 ⟨**ḥilmī'aś 'is 'e fula'i bala'ilevi'je 'eve.**⟩
/ḥilmīaś is e fulai balailevijje eve
Hilmy stared at the young seller

23 ⟨**doḷakaś mārek_ē buni ku'jā'ā dimā'aś raňgaḷaś bala'ilevi'je 'eve.**⟩
/doḷakaś mārek ē buni kujjā-āi dimāaś raňgaḷaś balailevijje eve
and studied him carefully.

24 ⟨'**ēnā'aś yaqīneve.**⟩
/ēnāaś yaqīn eve
He was certain

25 ⟨'**e 'aḍakī konme ves 'iraku konme ves tākun 'ēnāge kanfatuga'i jehifa'i vā 'aḍekeve.**⟩
/e aḍakī konme ves iraku konme ves tākun ēnāge kanfatugai jehifai vā aḍek eve
that he had heard this voice another place at another time.

26 ⟨**ḥilmī bala'ilumā 'eku 'e ku'jakaś ves mīnā'ā'i dimā'aś bala'ilevi'je 'eve.**⟩
/ḥilmī balailum-āi eku e kujjakaś ves mīnā-āi dimāaś balailevijje eve
Simultaneously, the boy looked up at him.

⟨hataru kaḷi hama vumā ʾeku kuḍa huʾṭumeʾ ʾarāli ʾeve.⟩
/hataru kaḷi hama vum-āi eku kuḍa huṭṭumek arāli eve
Their eyes met, and there was a short pause.

⟨ʾeʾaś fahu āde! ....⟩
/eaś fahu āde! ...
After that, alas!

⟨daru vikkan huri kuʾjāge lolun nīrāli tan fenunī rīti karuna ʾeve.⟩
/daru vikkan huri kujjāge lolun nīrāli tan fenunī rīti karuna eve
Tears trickled down the boy's face.

⟨ḥilmī varaś boḍaś ʾajaʾibu vi ʾeve.⟩
/ḥilmī varaś boḍaś ajaibu vi eve
Hilmy was very surprised.

⟨nama ves ʾe tanun diha varakaś māru daru genfaʾi geʾin genaʾi kuʾjāʾā ḥavālu kośfī ʾeve.⟩
/nama ves e tanun diha varakaś māru daru genfai gein genai kujjā-āi ḥavālu kośfī eve
He bought 10 bundles of firewood, and gave them to his carrier to take home.

⟨"kon nameʾ ta kiyanī?"⟩
/kon namek ta kianī?
"What is your name?"

⟨"naʿīmu. ḥilmīʾakaś ʾaḷugaṅḍu ʾeṅgiʾeʾ nu laʾvāne. nama ves ʾaḷugaṅḍaś ḥilmī ʾeṅgē.⟩
/naʿīmu. ḥilmīakaś aḷugaṅḍu eṅgiek nu lavvāne. nama ves aḷugaṅḍaś ḥilmī eṅgē
"Naeem. Hilmy won't know me, but I know Hilmy.

⟨ʾaḷugaṅḍakī, ḥilmīge darivareʾ."⟩
/aḷugaṅḍakī, ḥilmīge darivarek
I was your student."

⟨"ʾaharenge darivarek_ē?"⟩
/aharenge darivarek ē?
"My student?"

⟨"laʾba. ʾaḷugaṅḍu vaki vī skūlge grēḍ 4Cʾin.⟩
/labba. aḷugaṅḍu vaki vī skūlge grēḍ fōsīin
"Yes. I left school when I was in grade 4C.

⟨ʾaḷugaṅḍuge namakī ʾaḥmadu naʿīmu.⟩
/aḷugaṅḍuge namakī aḥmadu naʿīmu
My name is Ahmed Naeem.

⟨ʾaḷugaṅḍaś ʾeṅgē, ṭīcarunnaś huri hā kudinge nameʾ ʾeṅgiʾeʾ nu laʾvāne kan.⟩
/aḷugaṅḍaś eṅgē, ṭīcarunnaś huri hā kudinge namek eṅgiek nu lavvāne kam
I understand teachers don't know all the students' names.

⟨ʾe gotakī ʾaḷugaṅḍumen haṅdān kuran jehifaʾi ʾonnanī ʾenme tirīhakaś ṭīcarunge nan.⟩
/e gotakī aḷugaṅḍumen haṅdān kuran jehifai onnanī ekme tirīhakaś ṭīcarunge nam
We students only have to remember the names of 30 or so teachers.

⟨ʾeʾā xilāfaś ṭīcarunnaś haṅdān kuraʾvan jehē kudinge ʿadadu, ʾetaʾ satēkaʾakā gāt kurāne.⟩
/eā xilāfaś ṭīcarunnaś haṅdān kuravvan jehē kudinge ʿadadu, etak satēkaak-āi gāt kurāne
However, teachers must remember hundreds of names.

41 ⟨vī mā, ʾe huri hā kudinge nameʾ haňdāneʾ ves nu kureʾvāne."⟩
/vī mā, e huri hā kudinge namek haňdānek ves nu kurevvāne
You cannot recall them all."

42 ⟨kuʾliʾakaś ʾēnā teḷigenfi ʾeve.⟩
/kulliakaś ēnā teḷigenfi eve
Suddenly the boy jumped

43 ⟨hī vī dirēʾ eʾceʾ ʾēnāge gayaś ʾerī henneve.⟩
/hī vī dirēk eccek ēnāge gayaś erī hen eve
as if a live insect climbed on him,

44 ⟨ʾadi ʾeʾā ʾeku konme ves ʾeʾceʾ ʾēnāge ʾatun dū vegen ʾe dimā bin maʾcaś veʾṭiʾje ʾeve.⟩
/adi eā eku konme ves eccek ēnāge atun dū vegen e dimā bim maccaś veṭṭijje eve
and something fell from his hand.

45 ⟨ʾeʾī siňgirēṭeʾge fiḷṭar(u) buriʾekeve.⟩
/eī siňgirēṭekge fiḷṭar(u) buriek eve
It was a cigarette butt.

46 ⟨ʾe fiḷṭarun vaki vegen ʾe fiḷṭaraś vure kurin bin maʾcaś veʾṭifaʾi ʾotī varaś digu hudu ʾaḷigaňḍekeve.⟩
/e fiḷṭarun vaki vegen e fiḷṭaraś vure kurin bim maccaś veṭṭifai otī varaś digu hudu aḷigaňḍek eve
Near the butt was a long piece of white ash.

47 ⟨"ʾān, mihāru haňdān veʾje.⟩
/ān, mihāru haňdān vejje
"Yes, I remember, now.

48 ⟨ʾaḥmadu naʿīmu dō!"⟩
/aḥmadu naʿīmu dō!
You are Ahmed Naeem, aren't you?"

49 ⟨ḥilmī mi ʾaḷikoḷaś balan hurefaʾi buneli ʾeve.⟩
/ḥilmī mi aḷikoḷaś balan hurefai buneli eve
Hilmy eyed the cigarette ash.

50 ⟨"kihineʾ vegen ta skūlun vaki vī?"⟩
/kihinek vegen ta skūlun vaki vī?
"Why did you leave school?"

51 ⟨"promōšan ṭesṭ dādi kaʾiri vefaʾi ʾoʾvā ʾaḷugaňduge manma bali vegen ʾengī mā raśaś diyaʾi.
/"promōšan ṭesṭ dādi kairi vefai ovvā aḷugaňduge mamma bali vegen engī mā raśaś diai
"The promotion test was very close when they informed me my mother was sick, and I knew I must go back to my island.

52 ⟨ʾaḷugaňḍaś raśaś devunu ʾiru manma vanī mi dunye dū kuraʾvaʾi ʾaneʾ duniyeʾaś daṭūru kuraʾvāfaʾi.⟩
/aḷugaňḍaś raśaś devunu iru mamma vanī mi dunie dū kuravvai anek dunieaś daṭuru kuravvāfai
When I reached home, my mother had already left this world and gone to the other.

53 ⟨ʾaḷugaňḍu vanī ʾenme kuḍa ʾiru ves lobuveti baʾpaʾeʾge ʾōgaveri hiyalun maḥrūm vefaʾi.⟩
/aḷugaňḍu vanī ekme kuḍa iru ves lobuveti bappaekge ōgaveri hialun maḥrūm vefai
Even as a small child, I was deprived of the love of a father."

54 ⟨"den heyo." naʿīmuge lolun faʾi bamun dā karuna ʾigē de roňgaś varaś gina ʾiru van den balan hurehurefā ḥilmī ʾe vāhaka huʾṭevāli ʾeve.⟩
/den heyo. naʿīmuge lolun fai bamun dā karuna iňgē de roňgaś varaś gina iru van den balan hurehurefā ḥilmī e vāhaka huṭṭevāli eve
Seeing Naeem's tears, Hilmy halted his tale with, "Now stop,"

55 ⟨ʾadi xud ʾēnā ves ʾis daśaś jahaʾili ʾeve.⟩
/adi xudu ēnā ves is daśaś jahaili eve
and dropped his gaze.

56 ⟨den ḥilmī, naʿīmuge bāga mīhaśāʾi ʾaʾibu vā varaś digu vefaʾi huri tuňbuḷi mati mahaś balaʾili ʾeve.⟩
/den ḥilmī, naʿīmuge bāga mīhaś-āi aibu vā varaś digu vefai huri tuňbuḷi mati mahaś balaili eve
Hilmy looked at Naeem's old shirt, his untrimmed moustache and beard,

57 ⟨ʾadi taṇtangaʾi foti ʾaḷaʾi, rodi ʾaruvāfaʾi huri faṭlūnaśāʾi fū veʾṭen taʾyāru vefaʾi huri faʾivānaś balāli ʾeve.⟩
/adi tantangai foti aḷai, rodi aruvāfai huri faṭlūnaś-āi fū veṭṭen tayyāru vefai huri faivānaś balāli eve
and then at his patched trousers, and slippers, almost worn through.

58 ⟨kuḍa ves šaʾkeʾ neteve.⟩
/kuḍa ves šakkek net eve
There was no doubt

59 ⟨ʾenme fāḷukan boḍu ḥaqīqatakī "hāluge duleve."⟩
/ekme fāḷukam boḍu ḥaqīqatakī ḥāluge dul eve
His state was miserable at any rate.

60 ⟨"den bunan."⟩
/den bunan

61 ⟨ḥilmī ʾēnāʾā dimāʾaś balālāfaʾi buneli ʾeve.⟩
/ḥilmī ēnā-āi dimāaś balālāfai buneli eve
Hilmy glanced at him and said,

62 ⟨"geʾaś gosfaʾi vagute' libiʾje nama mi rē ha gaḍi baʾi ʾehākaś hāʾiru ʾaharemen geʾaś goslaʾi dī ʾiňgē!"⟩
/geaś gosfai vagutek libijje nama mi rē ha gaḍi bai ehākaś hāiru aharemen geaś goslai dī iňgē!"
"If you have time, after you've finished work and gone home, come to my house around 6:30 p.m."

63 ⟨"laʾba!" ʾēnā ʾufulun foḷilāfaʾi bunñeve.⟩
/labba! ēnā ufulun foḷilāfai buni eve
"Yes!" he answered, very happily.

64 ⟨fen bovaʾigenfaʾi vā mīhakaś fen libēne dimāʾaś feniʾje nama ʾe mīhaku ʾe dimāʾaś kihā bārakaś duʾvaʾi gannāne tō ʾeve?⟩
/fen bovaigenfai vā mīhakaś fen libēne dimāaś fenijje nama e mīhaku e dimāaś kihā bārakaś duvvai gannāne tō eve?
If a thirsty man sees a place where he can get water, he will run to that place as fast as possible.

65 ⟨baňḍu ha'i genfa'i vā mīhakaś kā 'eti koḷe' dēne mīhaku ve'je nama 'e mīhaku mi dennevi mīhakā dimā'aś kiha'i bārakaś du'va'i gannāne tō 'eve?⟩
/baňḍu hai genfai vā mīhakaś kā eti koḷek dēne mīhaku vejje nama e mīhaku mi dennevi mīhak-āi dimāaś kihai bārakaś duvvai gannāne tō eve?
If offered food, how fast will a hungry man run to that person?

66 ⟨na'īmu vanī, 'ēnāge 'e hīteri'akaś mihā varaś bēnun vefa 'eve.⟩
/na'īmu vanī, ēnāge e hīteriakaś mihā varaś bēnun vefai eve
Naeem was in need of a helper so badly.

67 ⟨na'īmu fa'i bā hunna ge'aś gos fen varā la'igen ḥilmīmen ge'ā dimā'aś hiňga'igatī 'ēnāge "de fayakun" nūneve.⟩
/na'īmu fai bā hunna geaś gos fen varā laigen ḥilmīmen ge-āi dimāaś hiňgaigatī ēnāge de fayakun nūn eve
Going to where he was staying in Male', Naeem showered, and then rushed towards Hilmy's house. Not with his feet,

68 ⟨kārakaś vure ves haluvi duvelīga'i daturu kurā moṭōsa'ikale'ga'i kahala 'eve.⟩
/kārakaś vure ves haluvi duvelīgai daturu kurā moṭōsaikalekgai kahala eve
he was even faster than a motorcycle or car.

69 ⟨na'īmu varaś birun hure ḥilmīmen gē dorōśi huḷuvāli 'eve.⟩
/na'īmu varaś birun hure ḥilmīmen gē dorōśi huḷuvāli eve
Timidly, Naeem opened Hilmy's door.

70 ⟨'e 'iru, 'ēnā'aś fenunī dādi den me'akā jehen den mi tāňga'i kuḷen tibi de ku'jaku 'e gē hanigōḷi terēn la'igen 'e koḷaś gos nivā vā taneve.⟩
/e iru, ēnāaś fenunī dādi den meak-āi jehen den mi tāňgai kuḷen tibi de kujjaku e gē hanigōḷi terēn laigen e koḷaś gos nivā vā tan eve
Inside, he saw two children disappear into a narrow alleyway.

71 ⟨'iru koḷe' vanden hurelāfa'i 'e tāňga'i huri raňgabīlakaś 'obāli 'eve.⟩
/iru koḷek vanden hurelāfai e tāňgai huri raňgabīlakaś obāli eve
He waited for some time, then pressed the doorbell.

72 ⟨ku'li'akaś medu 'umure'ge firihenaku mi koḷaś 'annātī feni'je 'eve.⟩
/kulliakaś medu 'umurekge firihenaku mi koḷaś annātī fenijje eve
Suddenly Naeem saw a middle-aged man approaching him.

73 ⟨'ēnā muṇḍun 'aruvā jahālāfa'i huri gotunnā'i 'atuga'i 'ot fen dē 'etigaňḍun 'ēnā 'e 'a'ī gastakaś fen dēn 'uḷefa'i kan 'eňge 'eve.⟩
/ēnā muṇḍun aruvā jahālāfai huri gotun-āi atugai ot fen dē etigaňḍun ēnā e aī gastakaś fen dēn uḷefai kam eňge eve
From his tucked up sarong and the watering can in his hand, it was apparent that he was watering the plants.

74 ⟨"kī kurā ku'je'?"⟩
/kīk kurā kujjek?
"What do you want?"

75 ⟨"ḥilmī 'uḷu'vā tō?"⟩
/ḥilmī uḷuvvā tō?
"Is Hilmy at home?"

⟨"'eba 'uḷu'vā. mi nan ganelanī. maḍu koślā!"⟩
/eba uḷuvvā. mi nam ganelanī. maḍu koślā!
"Yes. Wait, I will tell him."

⟨'ēnā 'e farātaś diya tā mā gina 'ire' nu ve, ḥilmī nukume'je 'eve.⟩
/ēnā e farātaś dia tā mā gina irek nu ve, ḥilmī nukumejje eve.⟩
Not long after that man disappeared, Hilmy came out.

⟨'ēnā 'iśīnī 'e gē fenḍā matīga'i huri boḍu 'uňḍō'ye'ga 'eve.⟩
/ēnā iśīnī e gē fenḍā matīgai huri boḍu uňḍōyyekga eve
He sat down on the big swing

⟨'iśīnnamun 'e tāňga'i huri digu goňḍi'akaś 'išārat koślāfa'i na'īmuge gātuga'i 'iśinnan bunñeve.⟩
/iśīnnamun e tāňgai huri digu goňḍiakaś išārat koślāfai na'īmuge gātugai iśinnan buni eve
and showed Naeem a chair.

⟨na'īmu 'e goňḍīga'i 'iśīňde'je 'eve.⟩
/na'īmu e goňḍīgai iśīňdejje eve
Naeem also sat down.

⟨"kihine' ta tiya 'uḷē gēge kanta'?" ḥilmī 'uňḍōlīge valuga'i vātun hifaha'ṭālāfa'i na'īmā dimā'aś kuḍa koś leňbilāfa'i 'ahāli 'eve.⟩
/kihinek ta tia uḷē gēge kantak? ḥilmī uňḍōlīge valugai vātun hifahaṭṭālāfai na'īm-āi dimāaś kuḍa koś leňbilāfai ahāli eve
Hilmy held the swing's rope with his left hand and, slightly bending towards Naeem, asked, "How are things at the house where you are staying now?"

⟨ḥilmī, na'īmā dimā'aś balāli 'eve.⟩
/ḥilmī, na'īm-āi dimāaś balāli eve
He considered Naeem,

⟨mi faharu la'igen 'in gamīs raňgaḷeve.⟩
/mi faharu laigen in ġamīs raňgaḷu eve
noticing that the shirt was a little better,

⟨nama ves giruvānuge 'eterēga'i huri dā roňgun 'e gamīs donnan vefa'i vā kamā'i, konme ves sababakā hure nu dovevifa'i vā kan hāma ve 'eve.⟩
/nama ves giruvānuge eterēgai huri dā roňgun e gamīs donnan vefai vā kam-āi, konme ves sababak-āi hure nu dovevifai vā kam hāma ve eve
but the stain mark on the collar indicated that it needed washing

⟨boluge 'istaśigaňḍu tat vefa'i huri hurumunnā'i mūnu matīga'i huri teyokame'ge sababun fen varāfa'i 'e vanī sa'ibōni koḷe' ves nu lā kan raňgaḷaś visne 'eve.⟩
/boluge istaśigaňḍu tat vefai huri hurumun-āi mūnu matīgai huri teyokamekge sababun fen varāfai e vanī saibōni koḷek ves nu lā kam raňgaḷaś visne eve
and his oily face showed he had not used any soap.

⟨"gēge kanta' raňgaḷu." na'īmu bunñeve.⟩
/gēge kantak raňgaḷu. na'īmu buni eve
"It's all right," Naeem answered.

⟨"ke'in bu'imā'i 'anna'unuge kanta' ves raňgaḷu.⟩
/kein buim-āi annaunuge kantak ves raňgaḷu
"Food and clothing are also all right,

88 ⟨nama ves gēgaʾāʾi gēn bērugaʾi kuran jehē masaʾkatun duvālu dā hataru dan ʾonnanī furifā."⟩
/nama ves gēgai-āi gēn bērugai kuran jehē masakkatun duvālu dā hataru dam onnanī furifā
but a lot of work has to be done at home and outside in the market."

89 ⟨ʾēnāge vāhaka hīvanī teʾtirīhuge holigaṅdeʾ sālīsfahakaś jaʾsālāfaʾi huri henneve.⟩
/ēnāge vāhaka hīvanī tettirīhuge holigaṅdek sālīsfahakaś jassālāfai huri hen eve
He related his story as if a 33 ⅓ rpm record was being played at 45 rpm speed.

90 ⟨"ʾadi baʾeʾ rērē masaʾkat hunna gotun nidenī ves ʾegāra bāra jahā fahun.⟩
/adi baek rērē masakkat hunna gotun nidenī ves egāra bāra jahā fahun
"And, some nights I get to sleep only after 11:00.

91 ⟨ʾaḷugaṅḍu nu lā hiku kiyavā hit vē.⟩
/aḷugaṅḍu nu lā hiku kiavā hit vē
I would like to learn a lot,

92 ⟨ʾehen nama ves furatama kamakī baṅḍu furāna muʾti kurumeʾ nūn tō."⟩
/ehen nama ves furatama kamakī baṅḍu furāna mutti kurumek nūn tō
but first I have to find a way to eat, don't I?

93 ⟨mi kahala geʾakaś mi fē bunī ves ʾehen vegen.⟩
/mi kahala geakaś mi fē bunī ves ehen vegen
That's why I came to this sort of house.

94 ⟨nama ves mihā hisābaś diyaʾi mā ʾaḷugaṅḍakaś deneʾ nu kiyavāne kan ʾaḷugaṅḍaś ʾeṅgiʾje.⟩
/nama ves mihā hisābaś diai mā aḷugaṅḍakaś denek nu kiavāne kam aḷugaṅḍaś eṅgijje
But, now I know that I cannot learn anything.

95 ⟨ʾeʾī ʾaḷugaṅḍumen varuge nasību dera mīhunnaś vevēne kameʾ nūn kan visniʾje."⟩
/eī aḷugaṅḍumen varuge nasību dera mīhunnaś vevēne kamek nūn kan visnijje
Education is not a thing for the unlucky."

96 ⟨naʿīmuge de lolun ʾeʾves hifeheʾṭumeʾ neti karunataʾ faʾi baʾigateve.⟩
/naʿīmuge de lolun ekves hifeheṭṭumek neti karunatak fai baigat eve
There was no holding back the tears from Naeem's eyes.

97 ⟨"ʾaḷugaṅḍakī mi kahala kameʾ minvaru kuraʾvāfaʾi vā mīhakaś vī namaka ʾaḷugaṅḍu ʾe hā kuḍa ʾiru ʾaḷugaṅḍuge baʾpaʾeʾ de mi ʾotumuge ʿālamaś daturēʾ nu kureʾvīs.⟩
/aḷugaṅḍakī mi kahala kamek minvaru kuravvāfai vā mīhakaś vī namaka aḷugaṅḍu e hā kuḍa iru aḷugaṅḍuge bappaek de mi otumuge ʿālamaś daturek nu kurevvīs
"If I was a person destined for it, my father would not have left me when I was so young.

98 ⟨ʾadi manma ves ʾe hā kuʾli goteʾgaʾi kalāñge rahmataś daturēʾ nu kureʾvīs.⟩
/adi mamma ves e hā kulli gotekgai kalāñge rahmataś daturek nu kurevvīs
and my mother also would not have gone to God's blessings so suddenly.

99 ⟨mi huri hā kameʾ mihen hurumā ʾeku ves ʾaḷugaṅḍu hāda kiyavā hiteʾ ve ʾē.⟩
/mi huri hā kamek mihen hurum-āi eku ves aḷugaṅḍu hāda kiavā hitek ve ē
But still I like to learn,

100 ⟨maʾin bafaʾin nagāfaʾi duniye matīgaʾi tibē ʾenme gāt mīhunnakī kiyavaʾi dē mīhun.⟩
/main bafain nagāfai dunie matīgai tibē ekme gāt mīhunnakī kiavai dē mīhun
and, aside from parents, teachers are the most dependable people.

100

101 ⟨ʾehen vī mā, ʾeʾves laduveti kameʾ neti ʾaḷugaňḍuge mudaʾrisaś ʾaḷugaňḍu ʾādēs kuran ʾaḷugaňḍaś kiyavāne goteʾ haʾdavaʾi deʾvā!"⟩
/ehen vī mā, ekves laduveti kamek neti aḷugaňḍuge mudarrisaś aḷugaňḍu ādēs kuran aḷugaňḍaś kiavāne gotek haddavai devvā!
So, I do not feel shy to plead for you to teach me. Please, find a way for me!"

102 ⟨ʾēnāʾaś gis leviʾje ʾeve.⟩
/ēnāaś gis levijje eve
By this time he was sobbing.

103 ⟨"nu roʾi naʿīmu."⟩
/nu roi naʿīmu
"Don't cry, Naeem."

104 ⟨hilmīge ʾatun ʾe kan manā kurumaś ʾišārat koślamun bunñeve.⟩
/hilmīge atun e kam manā kurumaś išārat koślamun buni eve
Hilmy motioned with his hand to stop.

105 ⟨"hama raňgaḷu vāhakaʾeʾ bunan.⟩
/hama raňgaḷu vāhakaek bunan
"Really,

106 ⟨naʿīmu fenifaʾi naʿīmu vī dera fenifaʾi ʾaharen mi geʾaś ʾaʾis dēn mi bunī ves ʾahannaś naʿīmaś tiya kahala furṣateʾ hōdaʾi devi dāne tō balan vegen.⟩
/naʿīmu fenifai naʿīmu vī dera fenifai aharen mi geaś ais dēn mi bunī ves ahannaś naʿīmaś tiya kahala furṣatek hōdai devi dāne tō balan vegen
when I saw you, Naeem, and how sad you were, I told you to come here, to see whether I could provide an educational opportunity for you.

107 ⟨ʾahannaś varaś raňgaḷaś naʿīmaś vefaʾi huri got ʾiḥsās kurevē.⟩
/ahannaś varaś raňgaḷaś naʿīmaś vefai huri got iḥsās kurevē
I understand very well what's happened to you.

108 ⟨tiya kahala kantakugaʾi maṣlaḥataś varaś boḍaś bayan jehēne.⟩
/tia kahala kantakugai maṣlaḥataś varaś boḍaś bayan jehēne
But, in such cases, you must always see that nobody gets angry.

109 ⟨ʾenme furatama naʿīmu ʾe geʾaś gos ʾe gē mīhun gātugaʾi mi vāhaka daʾkālan jehēne.⟩
/ekme furatama naʿīmu e geaś gos e gē mīhun gātugai mi vāhaka dakkālan jehēne
First, go to your place and ask them about this opening.

110 ⟨ʾe mīhunge gātugaʾi bunē, ʾaharen mudaʾrisaku ʾe geʾaś ʾaharen gendavan bēnun veʾje ʾē. ʾehen bunaʾcē ʾiňgē!⟩
/e mīhunge gātugai bunē, aharen mudarrisaku e geaś aharen gendavan bēnun vejje ē. ehen bunaccē iňgē!
Tell them one of your teachers wants to keep you in his home!

111 ⟨den ʾannānī, kon ʾirakun?"⟩
/den annānī, kon irakun?
Then, when will you come back?"

112 ⟨naʿīmu lolun karuna fohelan ʾin gotaś nazaru hingālāfaʾi ḥilmī suvālu kośli ʾeve.⟩
/naʿīmu lolun karuna fohelan in gotaś nazaru hingālāfai ḥilmī suvālu kośli eve
[Hilmy asked Naeem, cleaning the tears that had fallen from his eyes.]

113 ⟨"ʾaḷugaňḍu bēnumī hama mihāru mi vagutu ves mi gēgaʾi hunnan.⟩
/aḷugaňḍu bēnumī hama mihāru mi vagutu ves mi gēgai hunnan
"From this instant, I want to be here.

114 ⟨vī mā, ʾaḷugaňḍu geʾaś goslāfaʾi ʾannākaś mā gina ʾireʾ nu vāne.⟩
/vī mā, aḷugaňḍu geaś goslāfai annākaś mā gina irek nu vāne
It won't take much time to go and come back."

115 ⟨naʿīmu ʾe geʾin nukumeʾje ʾeve.⟩
/naʿīmu e gein nukumejje eve
Naeem left.

116 ⟨ḥilmī ʾe uňḍōlīgaʾi ʾis jahālaʾigen ʾineve.⟩
/ḥilmī e uňḍōlīgai is jahālaigen in eve
Hilmy stayed in the swing, pondering the situation.

117 ⟨ʾēru ḥilmī, hama ʾis jahālaʾigen ʾinīʾakī nūneve.⟩
/ēru ḥilmī, hama is jahālaigen inīakī nūn eve

118 ⟨ʾēnā ʾinī, varaś varugada xiyālutakeʾge tereʾaś geňbigenneve.⟩
/ēnā inī, varaś varugada xiyālutakekge tereaś geňbigenn eve

119 ⟨ḥilmī hitaś ʾara ʾeve.⟩
/ḥilmī hitaś arai eve
It came to his mind,

120 ⟨"hāda moḷu kuʾjekeve.⟩
/hāda moḷu kujjek eve
"He was an excellent student

121 ⟨huri hā māʾdāʾakaś ves ʾēnā hama ʾe hā moḷeve.⟩
/huri hā māddāakaś ves ēnā hama e hā moḷu eve
in all subjects,

122 ⟨liyā leʾ ves ʾe hā rīʿceve.⟩
/liā lek ves e hā rīti eve
especially handwriting," he thought.

123 ⟨vāhaka deʿkumun muḷi skūlun de faharu 1vana hōdafaʾi ve ʾeve.⟩
/vāhaka dekkumun muḷi skūlun de faharu ekvana hōdafai ve eve
"And, he even got the first place in oratory.

124 ⟨skūlge majaʾlāgaʾi ʾenme fahun ʾēnā liyeli ʾiňgirēsi mazumūnuge fen varu raňgaḷukamun huri hā muda'risun tārīfu kureʾvi ʾeve.⟩
/skūlge majallāgai ekme fahun ēnā liyeli iňgirēsi mazumūnuge fen varu raňgaḷukamun huri hā mudarrisun tārīfu kurevvi eve
All the teachers complimented his English essay in the school magazine.

125 ⟨nama ves huri hā ves kamakī taqdīreve.⟩
/nama ves huri hā ves kamakī taqdīr eve
But everything depends on fate.

⟨ʾe fakīraś nikan ʾe dimā vi got balāśeve.⟩
/e fakīraś nikam e dimā vi got balāś eve
See what has happened to him.

⟨manma maruvī ʾeve.⟩
/mamma maruvī eve
His mother died,

⟨ʾulēne raṅgaḷu geʾeʾ ves nu libunī ʾeve!⟩
/uḷēne raṅgaḷu geek ves nu libunī eve!
and he didn't get a good place to live.

⟨ʾēnā, kē.jī.ʾin fenigen mi hisābaś genaʾumugaʾi ʾahannaś koś devifaʾi vā masaʾkateʾ ves madeʾ nu vāne ʾeve.⟩
/ēnā kējīin fenigen mi hisābaś genaumugai ahannaś koś devifai vā masakkatek ves madek nu vāne eve
The work I did in bringing him from kindergarten to this level is more than enough.

⟨masaʾkateʾ faśāfaʾi nu nimenīs.⟩
/masakkatek faśāfai nu nimenīs
However, if you start a work

⟨huʾṭāḷumakī, ʾe masaʾkatuge nimumeʾ nūneve.⟩
/huṭṭāḷumakī, e masakkatuge nimumek nūn eve
you must also complete it.

⟨ʾēnāge taʿulīmī masaʾkat feśi ʾekakī hama gaʾimu ves ʾahanneve.⟩
/ēnāge taulīmī masakkat feśi ekakī hama qaimu ves ahan eve
I am also a person who started his education,

⟨ʾehen vī ʾiru ʾēnā ʾeʾcakaś vanden ʾēnāʾaś kiyavaʾi dinumakī, ʾaharenge ves masaʾkatakaś nu veʾeʾ nu dāne ʾeve.⟩
/ehen vī iru ēnā eccakaś vanden ēnāaś kiavai dinumakī, aharenge ves masakkatakaś nu veek nu dāne eve
so, to teach him until he becomes a man is sort of my duty.

⟨mīnā moḷu vegen qaʾumugaʾi furānī kon maqāmeʾ kan ʾeñgenī kākaś heʾyeve?⟩
/mīnā moḷu vegen qaumugai furānī kon maqāmek kam eñgenī kākaś heyo eve?
Who knows what national post he will hold after his schooling?

⟨ʾadi ʾehen nūn-as ʾe varaś kiyavan ʾe dē kuʾjakaś kiyavaʾi dinumakī, kiyavaʾigen tibē mīhunnaś koś dēn jehēne ves kamekeve.⟩
/adi ehen nūn-as e varaś kiavan e dē kujjakaś kiavai dinumakī, kiavaigen tibē mīhunnaś koś dēn jehēne ves kamek eve
Besides, if he is so eager to learn, it's required for those who know more to teach him.

⟨ʾahannaś ves mihāru ʾe varu kuʾjaku gēgaʾi beheʾṭē varaś faʾisā koḷeʾ ʾeba libe ʾeve.⟩
/ahannaś ves mihāru e varu kujjaku gēgai behetṭē varaś faisā koḷek eba libe eve
Now I earn enough to keep a boy in my house,

⟨vī mā, naʿīmaś ʾēnāge geʾlifaʾi vā mustaq bal hōdaʾi dinumugaʾi ʾaharen ʾehī nu vān vī kīʾ vegen heʾyeve?⟩
/vī mā, naʿīmaś ēnāge gellifai vā mustaq bal hōdai dinumugai aharen ehī nu vān vī kīk vegen heyo eve?
so why shouldn't I help Naeem retrieve his lost future?

138 ⟨**naʿīmu ʾe buni gotun ves ʾēnāge den huri ʾchīteriʾakī ʾēnāge mudaʾriseve.**⟩ 151
/naʿīmu e buni gotun ves ēnāge den huri ehīteriakī ēnāge mudarris eve
From what he said, his teacher is the sole person who could help him now.

139 ⟨**ʾaharen ʾēnā mi gēgaʾi bahaʾṭānameve.**⟩ 15
/aharen ēnā mi gēgai bahaṭṭānam eve
So, I will keep him here,

140 ⟨**ʾaharen ʾēnāʾaś kiyavaʾi dēnameve.**⟩ 15
/aharen ēnāaś kiavai dēnam eve
educate him,

141 ⟨**ʾaharen ʾēnāʾaś mustaq baleʾ hōdaʾi dēnameve.**⟩ 15
/aharen ēnāaś mustaq balek hōdai dēnam eve
and give him a future."

142 ⟨.....⟩ 15

Ibrahim Fulhu's wife's anger was extreme.

143 ⟨"ʾēnāʾaś kon mustaq baleʾ hōdaʾi devēnī kaleʾaś?⟩ 156
/ēnāaś kon mustaq balek hōdai devēnī kaleaś?
"What future is he going to provide you?

144 ⟨ʾeʾī, kalēge mudaʾriseʾ vī mā tiya hitaś ʾaranī kalē laʾvā ʾēnā ʾeʾves masaʾkateʾ nu kuruvāne kamaś dō!⟩ 157
/eī, kalēge mudarrisek vī mā tia hitaś aranī kalē lavvā ēnā ekves masakkatek nu kuruvāne kamaś dō!
Do you think that just because he's your teacher he won't give you any chores! 158

145 ⟨ʾehen vāneʾeʾ nu.⟩ 159
/ehen vāneek nu
Don't think so.

146 ⟨tiya geʾaś kalē gendan tiya ʾuḷenī hama kalē laʾvā nōkirī kuruvan.⟩
/tia geaś kalē gendan tia uḷenī hama kalē lavvā nōkirī kuruvan
They want to take you to get someone to work for them. 160

147 ⟨**gulā nu taḷuvan.**⟩
/gulā nu taḷuvan
161

148 ⟨**mi gēgaʾi kalē tankoḷeʾ raňgaḷaś masaʾkat koś ʾuḷē tan fenunī mā, ḥilmīge hatgaňḍu kūkū lavaʾigatī.**⟩
/mi gēgai kalē tankoḷek raňgaḷaś masakkat koś uḷē tan fenunī mā, ḥilmīge hatgaňḍu kūkū lavaigatī
Since they've seen you working so hard, Hilmy couldn't rest until he got you.

149 ⟨**māleʾaku mihāraku nūḷē tiya bunā kahala mīhaku.**⟩
/māleaku mihāraku nu uḷē tia bunā kahala mīhaku
In Male', there are no such people now.

150 ⟨**ʾenme raňgaḷu. kalē dē. mi geʾin nukumē.**⟩
/ekme raňgaḷu. kalē dē. mi gein nukumē
All right, you can go from this house,

151 ⟨ʾaharemen balānan ḥilmī kaleʾaś kiyavaʾi dē tan.⟩
/aharemen balānan ḥilmī kaleaś kiavai dē tan
but we will see how Hilmy teaches you.

152 ⟨ʾeʾī ʾaharemen nu danna ḥilmīʾeʾ viʾyā!"⟩
/eī aharemen nu danna ḥilmīek vi-āi!"
We know this Hilmy very well."

153 ⟨ʾibrāhīm fuḷuge ʾanhenunge ruḷi vanī, ʾēge haʾdun naʾṭāḷāfa ʾeve.⟩
/ibrāhīm fuḷuge anhenunge ruḷi vanī, ēge haddun naṭṭāḷāfa eve
Ibrahim Fulhu's wife's anger was extreme.

154 ⟨naʿīmuge fośi nere ʾe gē fenḍā maʾcaś ʾeʾḷāḷi ʾeve. nūn, hūrāḷi ʾeve.⟩
/naʿīmuge fośi nere e gē fenḍā maccaś ellāḷi eve. nūn, hūrāḷi eve
She threw Naeem's box of belongings out onto the veranda.

155 ⟨naʿīmu fośi koňḍaś laʾigen, romun romun ʾe geʾin nukumeʾje ʾeve.⟩
/naʿīmu fośi koňḍaś laigen, romun romun e gein nukumejje eve
Naeem shouldered his box and started off, crying.

156 ⟨ʾēnāʾaś ḥilmīmen geʾaś devunu ʾiru ḥilmī ʾinī bat kāśeve.⟩
/ēnäaś ḥilmīmen geaś devunu iru ḥilmī inī bat kāś eve
When he reached Hilmy's place, Hilmy was having his dinner.

157 ⟨ʾirukoḷakun mīhaku nukume naʿīmu govaʾigen vanī gētereʾaśeve.⟩
/irukoḷakun mīhaku nukume naʿīmu govaigen vanī ge etereaś eve
After a few minutes, a man came and showed Naeem in.

158 ⟨fośi beheʾṭī ʾe gē kā geʾā guḷifaʾi hunna koṭariʾeʾga ʾeve.⟩
/fośi beheṭṭī e gē kā ge-āi guḷifai hunna koṭariekgai eve
Naeem's things were placed in the room adjacent to the dining room.

159 ⟨kuḍa ʾirukoḷakun naʿīmu fenunu ʾiru ʾēnā ʾinī bat kāśeve.⟩
/kuḍa irukoḷakun naʿīmu fenunu iru ēnā inī bat kāś eve
Soon, Naeem joined Hilmy at the dinner table,

160 ⟨ḥilmī ʾin mēzuge ʾaneʾ farātuga ʾeve.⟩
/ḥilmī in mēzuge anek farātuga eve
(sitting) vis-à-vis with Hilmy.

161 ⟨ʾe gēgaʾi ʾuḷē don ḥusaʾin varaś rīʾcaś biʾlūri taśīge bērun foḥelaʾifaʾi naʿīmu kaʾirīgaʾi fen taśi baḥaʾṭāli ʾeve.⟩
/e gēgai uḷē don ḥusain varaś rīccaś billūri taśīge bērun foḥelaifai naʿīmu kairīgai fen taśi baḥaṭṭāli eve
Don Hussain, the servant, cleaned a tumbler very carefully and served Naeem water.

Fairy tales and

Fables

T11: **Aňga gada miturāi, aňga maḍu mituru (1)**

"The two friends and Santhimariyanbu"

Māle: ʿAbdullāh Ṣādiq*; Aḍḍū: Ḥassan Saʿīd

* The text in the standard language was published in a newspaper; cp. fig. 2, p. 174. The translation into English appeared in *Finiashi: Heard in the Islands*, ed. L. PRUNER, vol. 1, Māle 1988, 1 ff.

⟨'aga gada miturā 'aga maḍu miturā mī'ī varaś boḍu de 'ekuverīnneve.⟩
/aňga gada miturā aňga maḍu miturā mīī varaś boḍu de ekuverīn eve
▸anga gada miturāi anga maḍa miturāi de vennakī (verinakī) de raṭṭehin (rahumatterin). ◂
Anga Gadha Mithuru and *Anga Madu Mithuru* were two good friends.

⟨'e' re'aku, 'aga maḍu mituru binbi māfuś ka'igen 'atiri matīga'ī⟩
/ek reaku, aňga maḍu mituru bimbi māfuś kaigen atiri matīgai
▸ed reaki biňbi maufiśi keuma' faha', anga maḍa miturā gonodaśa' ebege. ◂
One night, after eating *bimbi maafuh, Anga Madu Mithuru* went to the beach.

⟨huri hoḷu 'a'ṭe'ga'ī nidāfa'ī 'o'vā⟩
/huri hoḷu aṭṭekgai nidāfai ovvā
▸ede hoḷo āśaki irīn, (den ede) nidā' veśio'. ◂
He sat on a *holhu ashi,* then, lay down to sleep on it.

⟨santi mariyabu 'a'is⟩
/santi mariyaňbu ais
▸maufīśe vas dovagen, santumariā anga maḍa miturā nidāu o' vēlei bāi. ◂
Drawn by the smell of *maafuh, Santhimariyanbu* came to *Anga Madu Mithuru* while he slept,

⟨'aga maḍu mituruge huri hā dattake' lu'sāfa'ī varaś ā dattake' jaha'ī dīfī 'eve.⟩
/aňga maḍu mituruge huri hā dattakek lussāfai varaś ā dattakek jahai dīfī eve.
▸eagē da' nagalāi, ehen kahalei au da' seṭa' jahafī. ◂
removed his teeth, and replaced them with a nice, new set of teeth.

6 ⟨hedunu 'aga gada mituruge ge'aś di'umun,⟩
/heňdunu aňga gada mituruge geaś diumun,
▸hennāi, anga maḍa miturā ēge raṭṭehi anga gada miturā ekahau ebege. ◂
In the morning, *Anga Madu Mithuru* visited his friend, *Anga Gadha Mithuru.*

7 ⟨'aha'ifī 'eve. "tiya'ī, kalē kihine' jehi datpila'e' he'yeve."⟩
/ahaifī eve. tiaī, kalē kihinek jehi datpilaek heyo eve.
▸ea' angai tibi au da' fenifei, anga maḍa miturā' e libeṇei kehennaka' tau ehi. ◂
On seeing his friend's nice new teeth, Anga *Gadha Mithuru* asked how he got them.

8 ⟨bunñeve. 'aharen māfuś ka'igen 'atiri matī hoḷu 'aśīga'ī nidifā 'o'vā, santi mariyabu 'a'is jahā dinītī 'eve."⟩
/buni eve. aharen māfuś kaigen atiri matī hoḷu aśīgai nidifā ovvā, santi mariyaňbu ais jahā dinītī eve.
▸anga maḍa miturā santumariāge vāhaka kēi derefei, ea' e da' dinī ea kamaś beṇi. ◂
Anga Madu Mithuru told him the story of *Santhimariyanbu* and how she gave him the nice teeth.

9 ⟨'e 'aḍu 'ahāfa'ī 'aga gada mituru bunñeve.⟩
/e aḍu ahāfai aňga gada mituru buni eve.
▸mi vāhaka aḍa ehuma' fahi anga gada miturā beṇi mi reakī timāge rei au. ◂
After hearing the story, *Anga Gadha Mithuru* said, "Tonight is my night.

10 ⟨mi rē 'aharen ti'a tāga'ī 'onnānameve.⟩
/mi rē aharen tia tāgai onnānam eve.
▸ava etān mi rei ēśun. ◂
I will be there tonight."

11 ⟨ʾe rē māfuś kaʾigen holu ʾaśīgaʾi ʾaga gada mituru ʾoʾvā⟩
/e rē māfuś kaigen holu aśīgai aňga gada mituru ovvā
▸ehen vi mei, e rei anga gada miturā maufiśi kāgen e ede veśioʾ eagē rahumatteriā kurie rei veśioʾ tani.◂
So, that night, *Anga Gadha Mithuru* ate *maafuh* and lay down on the same bed his friend used the previous night.

12 ⟨santi mariyabaś māfuś vas duvaʾigen ʾaʾis⟩
/santi mariyaňbaś māfuś vas duvaigen ais
▸kudu vēlakeḍaʾ fahun maufīśe vas libigen santumariā anga gada miturāʾ ekahaʾ bāi.◂
After a while, drawn by the smell of the *maafuh*, *Santhimariyanbu* came to *Anga Gadha Mithuru*.

13 ⟨dattaʾ luʾsāfaʾi ʾe dattaʾ gōññaś ʾaḷaʾi⟩
/dattak lussāfai e dattak gōññaś aḷai
▸e angai tibi daʾ nagafei ea ati oʾ kotaḷāu eḍafi.◂
pulled out his teeth and put them in her sack.

14 ⟨ʾalun dattakeʾ jahan kamaś koludateʾ jehi tanī, ʾaga gada mituru bunñeve.⟩
/alun dattakek jahan kamaś koludatek jehi tanī, aňga gada mituru buni eve.
▸au daʾ angai jahā faṭṭagaʾ, santumariā angai daḷā tayyāra keḍa koʾ anga maḍa miturā beṇī:◂
Then she started replacing them with nice, new teeth. Just as *Santhimariyanbu* was setting one molar tooth in place, *Anga Gadha Mithuru* said,

15 ⟨"ʾe mituruge dattakaś vure rīti koś dēti! ʾigē" ʾeve.⟩
/e mituruge dattakaś vure rīti koś dēti! iňgē eve.
▸"balafele ma angai tibi au daʾ afagē raṭṭehi mīhāʾ angai tibi datav vanī mā riveti (ãu)".◂
"Please see that my new teeth are nicer than my friend's."

16 ⟨mihen hama bunumun gat birun santi mariyabuge ʾatugā huri dattaʾ aga gada mituruge ʾagaṿaś ʾukālāfaʾi duve higaʾje ʾeve. den dattaʾ hurī hunnāne gotakaśeve.⟩
/mihen hama bunumun gat birun santi mariyaňbuge atugā huri dattak aňga gada mituruge aňgaṿaś ukālāfai duve hiňgajje eve. den dattak hurī hunnāne gotakaś eve.
▸ee mehen beṇi aḍa ahafei, santumariā biri ginagen ea ati oʾ dabahā (kotaḷa) baňḍun jahalāi, ee miṇi mūṇu mati datun forovalāi ebege.◂
Hearing him speak, *Santhimariyanbu* was so frightened that she upset her whole bag and ran away, leaving him covered with teeth sticking to his face.

17 ⟨mi kamā varaś dera vegen⟩
/mi kam-āi varaś dera vegen
▸anga gada miturā mi kamāi deetere varaʾ hitāma koffi.◂
Anga Gadha Mithuru was very sad about this.

18 ⟨ʾaga maḍu mituruge geʾaś diyā mā, varaś malāmāt koś ʾeʾceti kiyā hedi ʾeve.⟩
/aňga maḍu mituruge geaś diā mā, varaś malāmāt koś ecceti kiā hedi eve.
▸hennāi ēge rahumatteri anga gada miturāʾ ekahaʾ gē mei, ede malāmāʾ koffei ihafi.◂
In the morning, when he visited his friend, *Anga Madu Mithuru* laughed and made fun of him.

އަނގަ ގަދަ މިތުރާ، އަނގަ މަޑު މިތުރާ

('Abdullāh Ṣādiq)

Fig. 2: Aňga gada miturā, aňga maḍu miturā (1 and 2)

T12: Aňga gada miturāi, aňga maḍu mituru (2)

"The two friends and the flying jar"

Māle: ʿAbdullāh Ṣādiq*

* The text in the standard language was published in a newspaper; cp. fig. 2, p. 174. The English translation appeared in *Finiashi: Heard in the Islands*, ed. L. PRUNER, vol. 3, Māle 1988, 1 ff.

⟨ʾane' duvahaku, de miturun havīru finñaś higālān nukume'je ʾeve.⟩
/anek duvahaku, de miturun havīru finñaś hiñgālān nukumejje eve.
One evening Anga Gadha Mithuru and Anga Madu Mithuru went for a stroll.

⟨higamun higamun gos kōre'ge ʾa'sēri'aś nukumevi'je ʾeve.⟩
/hiñgamun hiñgamun gos kōrekge assēriaś nukumevijje eve.
They reached the beach when it was almost sunset.

⟨'e hā tanaś devunu tanā ʾiru ʾo'sēn ka'iri vefā vāle' boḍukamun, ge'aś di'umaś vāhaka da'ka'ifi ʾeve.⟩
/e hā tanaś devunu tan-āi iru ossēn kairi vefā vālek boḍukamun, geaś diumaś vāhaka dakkaifi eve.
Just as it was getting dark, Anga Gadha Mithuru decided to go back.

⟨'e kamaku, ʾaga maḍu mituru ge'aś dā hite' nu tveve.⟩
/e kamaku, aňga maḍu mituru geaś dā hitek nu tu eve.
But, as Anga Madu Mithuru did not want to,

⟨mihen ve ge'aś ʾannan jehunī, ʾaga gada mituru ʾekanñeve.⟩
/mihen ve geaś annan jehunī, aňga gada mituru ekani eve.
Anga Gadha Mithuru returned home alone.

⟨'aga maḍu mituru kōruge ʾa'sērīga'i hurelāfa'i, tantan balamun higamun higamun dani koś fenunī ʾe tāge gahe' ka'irīga'i huri jāḍi'ekeve.⟩
/aňga maḍu mituru kōruge assērīgai hurelāfai, tantan balamun hiňgamun hiňgamun dani koś fenunī e tāge gahek kairīgai huri jāḍiek eve.
After walking a little farther, Anga Madu Mithuru saw a huge jar near a tree.

⟨mi jāḍi fenigen ʾaga maḍu mituru gos ʾe jāḍi'aś ʾerefi ʾeve.⟩
/mi jāḍi fenigen aňga maḍu mituru gos e jāḍiaś erefi eve.
He went up to it, and,

⟨'ēru ʾiru ʾo'si ʾadiri ve'je ʾeve.⟩
/ēru iru ossi aňdiri vejje eve.
seeing it empty, decided to spend the night inside the jar.

⟨danba'e' ʾaḷāfa'i ʾaga maḍu mituraś teduvevunī, jāḍi ka'irin bayaku vāhaka da'kā ʾaḍu ʾivigenneve.⟩
/dambaek aḷāfai aňga maḍu mituraś teduvevunī, jāḍi kairin bayaku vāhaka dakkā aḍu ivigen eve.
Late in the night, he was awakened by whispering outside the jar.

⟨'aḍu hurī ʾeku lavā lāfa ʾeve.⟩
/aḍu hurī eku lavā lāfa eve.
Listening carefully,

⟨visnāli ʾiru, 'e'ī, kotaru bayakeve.⟩
/visnāli iru, eī, kotaru bayak eve.
he realised this was made by a lot of pigeons.

⟨'iru koḷakun, ras kotaru digu magu kuḷi'aś kuḷi jahāfa'i, kuru magu kuḷi'aś kuḷi jahāfa'i, jāḍi matin tin faharu funma'igen di'umaś fahu, ʾiven feśī, lava'e'ge ʾaḍeve.⟩
/iru koḷakun, ras kotaru digu magu kuḷiaś kuḷi jahāfai, kuru magu kuḷiaś kuḷi jahāfai, jāḍi matin tin faharu fummaigen diumaś fahu, iven feśī, lavaekge aḍu eve.
The king pigeon did a sword folk dance, and jumped over the jar three times. Next, the pigeons started singing a song,

nslation

13 ⟨re'aś vuren mi rē bar_ē, 'e re'aś vure mi rē bar_ē".⟩
/reaś vuren mi rē baru ē, e reaś vure mi rē baru ē.
"Tonight it's heavier than last night."

14 ⟨mi lava'ige 'aḍā'i 'eku jāḍi ma'caś 'arān faśa'ifi 'eve.⟩
/mi lavaige aḍāi eku jāḍi maccaś arān faśaifi eve.
And, with the singing of that song, Anga Madu Mithuru felt the jar rising up.

15 ⟨'aramun 'aramun gos duniye vaś kuburakaś vī mā, 'ekati 'aneka'caś bunā 'aḍu 'ive 'eve.⟩
/aramun aramun gos dunie vaś kuňburakaś vī mā, ekati anekaccaś bunā aḍu ive eve.
It rose up and up until the earth became a small ball. Anga Madu Mithuru heard the pigeons asking each other,

16 ⟨mi rē gendānī, kon bimakaś he'yeve? bune'peve.⟩
/mi rē gendānī, kon bimakaś heyo eve? bunefi eve.
"Where shall we take the jar tonight?"

17 ⟨mi rē gendānī lō bimaś 'eve.⟩
/mi rē gendānī lō bimaś eve.
"Tonight we'll take it to the bronze land."

18 ⟨'iru koḷakun tane'ga'i baha'ṭa'ifi 'eve.⟩
/iru koḷakun tanekgai bahaṭṭaifi eve.
Then he felt the jar lowered and being set down somewhere.

19 ⟨jāḍin nukut 'iru, 'e sorumen 'e duhi gos vanī, mā duruga 'eve.⟩
/jāḍin nukut iru, e sorumen e duhi gos vanī, mā durugai eve.
After the pigeons flew away, he came out of the jar, and started walking around.

20 ⟨'aga maḍu mituru 'e bimaś fa'ibā higālā hedumaś fahu 'e tāge gasgahun mēvā biňe, ka'i hada'igen jāḍi'aś vade'je 'eve.⟩
/aňga maḍu mituru e bimaś faibā hiňgālā hedumaś fahu e tāge gasgahun mēvā biňde, kai hadaigen jāḍiaś vadejje eve.
He saw lots of fruit trees. After eating some fruit, he went back to sleep in the jar.

21 ⟨'ane' duvas vefa'i 'iru 'ossi 'ehākaś 'iru vumun, kotaruta' 'atu ve'je 'eve.⟩
/anek duvas vefai iru ossi ehākaś iru vumun, kotarutak atu vejje eve.
The next day, at the same time in the evening he heard the same noises as the night before.

22 ⟨ras kotaru digu magu kuḷi'aś kuḷi jahā kuru magu kuḷiaś kuḷi jahā jaḍi matin tin faharu funma'igen di'umaś fahu, 'e' kala lava kiyāfa'i jāḍi 'ufu'lān faśa'ifi 'eve.⟩
/ras kotaru digu magu kuḷiaś kuḷi jahā kuru magu kuḷiaś kuḷi jahā jaḍi matin tin faharu fummaigen diumaś fahu, ek kala lava kiāfai jāḍi ufullān faśaifi eve.
and the king pigeon did the same warlike folk dance as on the previous day. With the song "Tonight it's heavier than last night,"

23 ⟨ma'caś 'arā duniye vaś kuburakaś vī mā, ras kotaru 'ahāli 'eve.⟩
/maccaś arā dunie vaś kuňburakaś vī mā, ras kotaru ahāli eve.
he felt the jar rising. Again, as it rose up until the earth became a small ball the king pigeon asked.

24 ⟨mi rē gendānī, kon bimakaś he'yeve? bunñeve.⟩
/mi rē gendānī, kon bimakaś heyo eve? buni eve.
"Where shall we take the jar tonight?"

178

⟨mi rē gendānī, rihi bimaśeve.⟩
/mi rē gendānī, rihi bimaś eve.
"Tonight we'll take it to the silver land," answered the others.

⟨ʾiru koḷakun jāḍi taneʾgaʾi bahaʾṭāfaʾi, kotarutaʾ diyā mā, ʾe bimaś faʾibā kuḍa rihi koḷeʾ jāḍiʾaś lā heḍumaś fahu, mēvā kaʾigen jāḍiʾaś vade ʾoʾvā ʾiru ʾossi ʾadiri veʾje ʾeve.⟩
/iru koḷakun jāḍi tanekgai bahaṭṭāfai, kotarutak diā mā, e bimaś faibā kuḍa rihi koḷek jāḍiaś lā heḍumaś fahu, mēvā kaigen jāḍiaś vade ovvā iru ossi aňdiri vejje eve.
After some time, Anga Madu Mithuru felt the jar being lowered onto the ground, and heard the pigeons leaving. Slowly, he crept out of the jar. There was silver everywhere. Seeing fruit trees, he ate their fruit and collected some silver. Then he got back in the jar.

⟨hama nidili tanā ʾeku hen kotarutakuge ʾaḍu ʾiviʾje ʾeve.⟩
/hama nidili tan-āi eku hen kotarutakuge aḍu ivijje eve.
That night, once again,

⟨kurī rē fadaʾin kantaʾ kurumaś fahu, jāḍi hifaʾigen, ʾuduhēn faśaʾifi ʾeve.⟩
/kurī rē fadain kantak kurumaś fahu, jāḍi hifaigen, uduhēn faśaifi eve.
the same events took place as before.

⟨duniye vaś kuburakaś vī mā, ras kotaru ʾahaʾifi ʾeve.⟩
/dunie vaś kuṁburakaś vī mā, ras kotaru ahaifi eve.
He heard the king pigeon ask the others

⟨mi rē gendānī, kon bimakaś heʾyeve? bunñeve.⟩
/mi rē gendānī, kon bimakaś heyo eve? buni eve.
where they should take the jar.

⟨mi rē gendānī, ran bimaśeve.⟩
/mi rē gendānī, ran bimaś eve.
They answered that they would take the jar to the golden land.

⟨ʾiru koḷeʾ vumun, jāḍi taneʾgaʾi bahaʾṭāfaʾi, kotarutaʾ higaʾje ʾeve.⟩
/iru koḷek vumun, jāḍi tanekgai bahaṭṭāfai, kotarutak hiňgajje eve.
In a little while he felt the jar being lowered onto the ground and heard the pigeons fly away.

⟨ʾaga maḍu mituru jāḍin ʾarā, bin maʾcaś fēbi ʾiru, tedeʾme ʾeve.⟩
/aňga maḍu mituru jāḍin arā, bin maccaś fēbi iru, tedek-me eve.
Anga Madu Mithuru crawled out of the jar and saw that what the pigeons said was true.

⟨hus raneve.⟩
/hus ran eve.
There was gold all around him.

⟨den bēnun varakaś rantaʾ nagaʾi gengenes jāḍiʾaś ʾaḷā hadaʾigen vade ʾoʾvā kotarutaʾ ʾatu veʾje ʾeve.⟩
/den bēnun varakaś rantak nagai gengenes jāḍiaś aḷā hadaigen vade ovvā kotarutak atu vejje eve.
He collected as much gold as he wanted and got back into the jar. During the night, the pigeons came back for the jar again.

36 **⟨e sāhitu ras kotaru digu magu kuḷi'aś kuḷi jahā kuru magu kuḷi'aś kuḷi jahā hedumaś fahu, jāḍi matin tin faharu funma'igen gosfa jāḍi 'ufulan 'anga'ifi 'eve.⟩**
/e sāhitu ras kotaru digu magu kuḷiaś kuḷi jahā kuru magu kuḷiaś kuḷi jahā hedumaś fahu, jāḍi matin tin faharu fummaigen gosfa jāḍi ufulan angaifi eve.
On the way, he heard them singing again,

37 **⟨"re'aś vure mi rē bar_ē! 'e re'aś vure mi rē bar_ē!" kiyamun jāḍi hifa'igen 'uduhi 'a'is 'ihaś ves jāḍi huri tāga'i baha'ṭa'ifi 'eve.⟩**
/reaś vure mi rē bar ē! e reaś vure mi rē bar ē!" kiamun jāḍi hifaigen uduhi ais ihaś ves jāḍi huri tāgai bahaṭṭaifi eve.
"Tonight it's heavier than last night," and with that they lifted the jar and rose up high until the earth became a small ball.

38 **⟨'e sorumen di'umun jāḍin 'arā ge'aś ranta' 'ufu'la'ifi 'eve.⟩**
/e sorumen diumun jāḍin arā geaś rantak ufullaifi eve.
Finally, they lowered the jar to its original place near the beach. After the pigeons left, Anga Madu Mithuru got out of the jar, and took the silver and gold home with him.

39 **⟨mi kan 'aga gada mituraś 'egigen 'aha'ifi 'eve.⟩**
/mi kan aňga gada mituraś eňgigen ahaifi eve.
Somehow, Anga Gadha Mithuru learned that his friend had come across a lot of gold.

40 **⟨"kale'aś mihā, rantake' libunī kon tākun he'yeve?"⟩**
/kaleaś mihā, rantakek libunī kon tākun heyo eve?
and was very curious to know how he got it.

41 **⟨den 'aga maḍu mituru, hama 'ekani ran bimaś tiya rē, vī huri hā gote' kiyā dīnin vī mā, 'aga gada mituru bunñeve.⟩**
/den aňga maḍu mituru, hama ekani ran bimaś tia rē, vī huri hā gotek kiā dīnin vī mā, aňga gada mituru buni eve.
When Anga Gadha Mithuru asked him how it happened, Anga Madu Mithuru related the story of the last night, when he visited the golden land.

42 **⟨'ahannaś 'e jāḍi da'kan hingāśeve.⟩**
/ahannaś e jāḍi dakkan hingāś eve.
Anga Gadha Mithuru was truly anxious to go and gather the gold,

43 **⟨den de miturun 'ekī ga 'e tanaś higa'je 'eve.⟩**
/den de miturun ekīgai e tanaś hiňgajje eve.
so Anga Madu Mithuru showed him the jar.

44 **⟨balākaś nu hur 'aga gada mituru 'e jāḍi'aś vade'je 'eve.⟩**
/balākaś nu hure aňga gada mituru e jāḍiaś vadejje eve.
Quickly, Anga Gadha Mithuru climbed into the jar

45 **⟨dan ba'e' 'aḷāfa'i, 'e' kala kotaruta' 'a'is ras kotaru digu magu kuḷi'aś kuḷi jahā kuru magu kuḷi'aś kuḷi jahāfa'i jāḍi matin tin faharu gosfa'i jāḍi hifa'igen 'udu'sa'igenfi 'eve.⟩**
/dan baek aḷāfai, ek kala kotarutak ais ras kotaru digu magu kuḷiaś kuḷi jahā kuru magu kuḷiaś kuḷi jahāfai jāḍi matin tin faharu gosfai jāḍi hifaigen udussaigenfi eve.
and waited for the pigeons to come that night. Anga Gadha Mithuru heard the king pigeon doing his dance,

⟨"mi rē ves" kiyanī, "reyaś vuren mi rē bar_ē, ʾe reʾaś vure mi rē bar_ē ..." mi henneve.⟩
/mi rē ves, kianī, reaś vuren mi rē bar ē, e reaś vure mi rē bar ē ... mi hen eve.
and with the song, "Tonight it's heavier than last night,"

⟨maʾcaś ʾarā, duniye vaś kuburakaś vī mā, buneʾpeve.⟩
/maccaś arā, dunie vaś kuṁburakaś vī mā, bunefi eve.
the pigeons lifted the jar and rose up until the earth became a small ball.

⟨"mi rē bahaʾṭānī kon bimeʾgaʾi heʾyeve?" bunñeve.⟩
/mi rē bahaṭṭānī kon bimekgai heyo eve? buni eve.
The king pigeon asked "Where shall we take it tonight?"

⟨"lō bimuga ʾeve."⟩
/lō bimugai eve.
The others replied, "We'll take it to the bronze land."

⟨hama bunumun ʾaga gada mituru ʾovelāfaʾi bunefi ʾeve.⟩
/hama bunumun aṅga gada mituru ovelāfai bunefi eve.
On hearing this, Anga Gadha Mithuru exclaimed,

⟨"nūnekeve!⟩
/nūnek eve!
"No! no.

⟨mi rē ves gendan vānī, hama ran bimaśeve.⟩
/mi rē ves gendan vānī, hama ran bimaś eve.
Tonight you must take it to the golden land also.

⟨ʾaharen viʾyā, vakin lō bimaś gen gos gen ve dāne heʾyeve?⟩
/aharen vi-āi, vakin lō bimaś gen gos gen ve dāne heyo eve?
Just because it is me, why should you take it to the bronze land?"

54 ⟨jāḍi tereʾin ʾaḍeʾ ʾivunu haʾi ʾirun huri hā kotaru jāḍiʾakā jāḍiʾekē kiyāfaʾi dū koślumun ʾaʾis bin matīgaʾi jehunu jehunun jāḍi teḷi, ʾaga gada mituru fis fis veʾje ʾeve.⟩
/jāḍi terein aḍek ivunu hai irun huri hā kotaru jāḍiak-āi jāḍiek ē kiāfai dū koślumun ais bim matīgai jehunu jehunun jāḍi teḷi, aṅga gada mituru fis fis vejje eve.
Terrified at the noise coming from inside the jar, the pigeons let it go. Down came the jar with Anga Gadha Mithuru.

T13: **Fūḷu digu handige vāhaka**

The devil with the long navel

Māle: ʿAbdullāh Ṣādiq*; Fuaʾ Mulaku: Āminat Muḥammad Saʿīd

* The text in the standard language was published in a newspaper; cp. fig. 3, p. 188.

1

M ⟨ʾe ba ʾuḷeyē, ʾe ba ʾuḷeyē, ʾaʾiminā bīʾāʾi, hasan takurā, mi de mafirin ʾidegen ʾuḷetā kuḍa duvaskoḷeʾge fahun hasan takuru furaʾigen, daturaku higaʾje ʾeve.⟩

/e ba uḷē-ē, e ba uḷē-ē, āminā bī-āi, hasan takur-āi, mi de mafirin iňdegen uḷetā kuḍa duvaskoḷekge fahun hasan takuru furaigen, daturaku hiňgajje eve.

Once there lived Āminat Bī and Hassan Takuru. A certain time after having got married, Hassan Takuru embarked for a journey.

F ▷**ed duvaheki vēňdunai āminā bī ai kē mīhaku.**◁

△*ek duvaheki vēňdunaī āminā bī ai kē mīhaku.* ▽

Once there lived a (wo)man called Aminā Bī.

2

M ʾēge fahun, ʾeʾ duvahaku, havīru ʾaʾiminā bī, ʾe raśu hukuru kurā mā miskitu vaḷu dośaś fen balā higaʾje ʾeve.⟩

/ēge fahun, ek duvahaku, havīru āminā bī, e raśu hukuru kurā mā miskitu vaḷu dośaś fen balā hiňgajje eve.

One day, (a little bit) later, Āminat Bī went to the well of the great Friday mosque of her island in the evening in order to fetch (some) water.

F ▷**e mīhā ebage ai miskite vaḍo doraha fen eḍanna.**◁

△*e mīhā ebage ai miskite vaḍo doraha fen eḍanna.* ▽

That woman (lit. "person") went to the well of the mosque to fetch (lit. "pluck") some water.

3

M ⟨ʾaʾimīnā bī fen furan faśāfā balāli tanā fenunī miskitu gibula vī farātugaʾi "fūḷudigi handi" kaś bolu nāśi gaḍakun, bolaś veli furān ʾinda ʾeve.⟩

/āmīnā bī fen furan faśāfā balāli tan-āi fenunī miskitu gibula vī farātugai fūḷudigi handi kaś bolu nāśi gaňḍakun, bolaś veli furān indai eve.

When Āminat Bī, while starting filling in water, looked around, she saw the devil with the long navel who, being aside the Qibla, was shovelling bone sand onto (his) head with a coconut shell.

F ▷**goho, hiśu vēlai, fūḷudigi haňdi hīśī naiśakaha kaʾ vēli eḍān bolaha furanna.**◁

△*goho, hiśu vēlai, fūḷudigi haňdi hīśī naiśakaha kaś vēli eḍān bolaha furanna.* ▽

When she went there, the devil with the long navel was just filling some bone sand, which he had collected in a coconut shell, onto his head.

4

M ⟨ʾaʾimīnā bī gat birun, baḍiyā kihili jahaʾigen, duvefā gos, ʾe hisābu gaḍuge mīhunge gātugaʾi, mi vāhaka bunefi ʾeve.⟩

/āmīnā bī gat birun, baḍiyā kihili jahaigen, duvefā gos, e hisābu gaňḍuge mīhunge gātugai, mi vāhaka bunefi eve.

Āminat Bī was frightened, (she) ran away crying and told this story to the (other) people.

F ▷**hiśu vēlai mi āminā bīśa fennā biraha duvvā gat ai.**◁

△*hiśu vēlai mi āminā bīśa fennā biraha duvvā gat ai.* ▽

When A.B. saw this, she was frightened and ran away.

5

M ⟨ʾe reʾaśu ʾiru oʾsi mīhun nidāfaʾi hila vaḷu ʾobunu tanā ʾekuhen, ʾivunī gē bitu kaʾirīn govāli ʾaḍeve.⟩

/e reaś iru ossi mīhun nidāfai hila vaḷu obunu tan-āi ekuhen, ivunī gē bitu kairīn govāli aḍu eve.

That evening, after sunset, when people were sleeping and no more sound(s) could be heard, she heard the sound of (somebody) calling through the wall.

F ▷**den, kommi rēiki mia nidanna onnā vēlai, fuḷudigi haňdi āho mi beṇanī,**◁

△*den, kommi rēeki mia nidanna onnā vēlai, fuḷudigi haňdi āho mi beṇanī,* ▽

Then, every night when she was sleeping, the devil with the long navel came and asked,

6

M ⟨"**tede' hē. 'a'imīnā bī 'ē? mi 'adu havīru hukuru miskitu gibula vī farātuga'i, fūḷudigu handi, kaś bolu nāśigaḍakun, bolaś veli furān 'indā duśīmā_vē bunīmā hē?**"⟩

/tedek hē. āmīnā bī ē? mi adu havīru hukuru miskitu gibula vī farātugai, fūḷudigu handi, kaś bolu nāśigaṅḍakun, bolaś veli furān indā duśīmā evē bunīmā hē?'\

'Is it true, Āminat Bī, did you tell (the people) that you saw the devil with the long navel shovelling bone sand into (his) mouth with a coconut shell this evening aside of the Qibla of the Friday-Mosque?'

F ▷**teda' tai, āminā bī ai ta diśi tai timā naiśakaha ka' vēli eḍān bolaha furanna hiśu vēlai.**◁

△tedaś tai, āminā bī ai ta diśi tai timā naiśakaha kaś vēli eḍān bolaha furanna hiśu vēlai. ▽

'Is it true, Āminat Bī, that you saw me when I was shovelling bone sand into (my) mouth with a coconut shell?'

7

M ⟨'a'imīnā bī bunī_ē nūnek_ē!⟩

/āmīnā bī buni ē nūnek ē!\

Āminat Bī said: 'No!'

F ▷**beṇum mā, āminā bī beṇī, timā ni dakimā ve ai.**◁

△beṇum mā, āminā bī beṇī, timā ni dakimā eve ai. ▽

At his saying (so), A.B. answered, 'I did not see (that).'

8

M ⟨'aharen bunī, "**ran nāśi kolakun bolaś ran furu'van 'indā duśimā_ve 'eve.**"⟩

/aharen bunī, ran nāśi kolakun bolaś ran furuvvan indā duśimā eve eve.\

'I said, "I saw how he was shovelling gold into (his) mouth (lit. "head") with a golden shell."'

F ▷**timā dīśī ta ran nāśi kolakun bolaha ran furuvanna hiśu vēlai ai.**◁

△timā dīśī ta ran nāśi kolakun bolaha ran furuvanna hiśu vēlai ai. ▽

'I saw you when you were filling gold into your mouth (lit. "head") with a (piece of a) golden coconut shell.'

9

M ⟨**den hī genfa'i handi higa'je.**⟩

/den hī genfai handi hiñgajje.\

Then, (thus) being satisfied, the devil walked away.

F ▷**beṇum mā, den miu kakka' jahāfē ihan ihavun ebage ai.**◁

△beṇum mā, den miu kakkak jahāfē ihan ihavun ebage ai. ▽

At (her) saying (so), he went away laughing 'ha ha ha'.

10

M ⟨**'ane'kā 'ane' rē ves, hama 'e danvaru 'a'is 'ehen 'aha'ifi 'eve. mi faharu ves 'a'imīnā bī bunī. hama, 'ehenneve.**⟩

/anekkā anek rē ves, hama e damvaru ais ehen ahaifi eve. mi faharu ves āmīnā bī bunī, hama, ehen eve.\

Another night, at the same hour, she heard the same (words). This time too, Āminat Bī said 'it was just like this.'

F ▷**den ene' rēekias āho mihen ehum mā, mia beṇī, hama ehen ai.**◁

△den enek rēeki-as āho mihen ehum mā, mia beṇī, hama ehen ai. ▽

Then, yet another night, when he came and asked like this, she answered in just the same way.

11
M ⟨bunumun hī genfa'ī, higa'je 'eve. mi gotaś kanta' vān feśumun, 'a'īmīnā bī hikēn faśa'ifī 'eve.⟩
/bunumun hī genfai, hiñgajje eve. mi gotaś kantak vān feśumun, āmīnā bī hikēn faśaifī eve.
(Once more) satisfied by (her) saying (so), he went away. As it continued to be (lit. "(the) facts having started to be") this way, Āminat Bī began to lose weight (lit. "to get thin").
F **▹e kal hasan fuḷu ni hiśe ai mi raśi.◃**
▵e kal hasan fuḷu ni hiśe ai mi raśi. ▿
At that time, Hassan Fuḷu was not present on that island.

12
M ⟨hasan takuraś 'ādevunu 'iru 'a'īmīnā bī hīvanī kaśi kole' henneve. 'a'īmīnā bī fenifā hasan takuru bune'peve. "'a'īmīnā bī, ti'a hā hikifā tīnī kī' vegen hē?"⟩
/hasan takuraś ādevunu iru aimīnā bī hīvanī kaśi kolek hen eve. āmīnā bī fenifā hasan takuru bunefī eve. āmīnā bī, tia hā hikifā tīnī kīk vegen hē?"
When Hassan Takuru returned, Āminat Bī was (thin) like a piece of bone. When he saw Āminat Bī, Hassan Takuru asked: 'Āminat Bī, why have you become so thin?'
F **▹den hasan fuḷu mi raśaha āho beṇī ettakī kumā tai ta ti varaha hemaī.◃**
▵den hasan fuḷu mi raśaha āho beṇī ettakī kumā tai ta ti varaha hemaī. ▿
Then, when Hassan Fuḷu came (back) to this island, he said 'why are you so very thin?'

13
M ⟨'a'īmīnā bī bunñeve. hasan takuru fura'igen, diya fahun,⟩
/āmīnā bī buni eve. hasan takuru furaigen, dia fahun,
Āminat Bī said: 'after (you,) Hassan Takuru, had embarked and gone away,
F **▹beṇum mā, beṇī◃**
▵beṇum mā, beṇī ▿
When he spoke (like this), (Āminā Bī) said,

14
M ⟨'e' duvahaku havīru, hukuru miskitu vaḷu dośaś fen balā gos hu'ṭā fenunī, fūḷu digu handi miskitu gibula vī farātuga'ī, kaś bolu nāśigaḍakun, bolaś veli furān 'inda 'eve.⟩
/ek duvahaku havīru, hukuru miskitu vaḷu dośaś fen balā gos huṭṭā fenunī, fūḷu digu handi miskitu gibula vī farātugai, kaś bolu nāśigaňḍakun, bolaś veli furān inda eve.
'one day, in the evening, I went to the well of the Friday Mosque in order to get (some) water, (and suddenly) I saw the devil with the long navel who, being near by the *qibla*, was shovelling bone sand into (his) mouth (lit. "head") with a coconut shell.
F **▹fūḷudigi haňdi kommi reiki timā nidanna onnā vēlai, āho uňdagu kō hadanna hedī ai.◃**
▵fūḷudigi haňdi kommi rēeki timā nidanna onnā vēlai, āho uňdagu kō hadanna hedī ai. ▿
'every night, when I lie down for sleeping, the devil with the long navel comes making it difficult (for me) to do so.

15
M ⟨den 'aharen birun 'a'is, 'e vāhaka mi hisābu gaḍu mīhun gātugā bunefīmeve. 'ēge fahun konme re'aku, fūḷu digu handi gēge bitu ka'iri'aś 'a'is, 'ahanī 'eve.⟩
/den aharen birun ais, e vāhaka mi hisābu gaňḍu mīhun gātugā bunefīm eve. ēge fahun konme reaku, fūḷu digu handi gēge bitu kairiaś ais, ahanī eve.
Then, gripped by fear, I told this to the people. Ever since then, every night, the long navelled devil comes near (our) house, asking:

16
M ⟨"tede' hē, 'a'imīnā bī 'ē, hukuru miskitu gibla vī farātuga'i fūḷu digu haṇḍi kaś bolu nāśigaḍakun bolaś veli furān 'indā duśīmā_vē bunīmā hē?"⟩
/"tedek hē, āmīnā bī ē, hukuru miskitu gibla vī farātugai fūḷu digu haṇḍi kaś bolu nāśigaṅḍakun bolaś veli furān indā duśīmā evē bunīmā hē?"
'Is it true, Āminät Bī, that you told (the people) that you saw the long navelled devil near the qibla of the mosque filling sand into (his) mouth (lit. "head") (with) a coconut shell?'

17
M ⟨den 'aharen bunanī, "nūnek_ē! ran nāśi koḷakun, bolaś ran furu'van 'indā duśīmā_ve 'eve." den haṇḍi hī genfa'i, higa'ije 'eve ...⟩
/den aharen bunanī, "nūnek ē! ran nāśi koḷakun, bolaś ran furuvvan indā duśīmā eve eve." den haṇḍi hī genfai, hiñgajje eve ...
Then I say, 'no! I saw him filling gold into (his) mouth (lit. "head") with a golden shell.' Then the devil goes away, contented (as it were).'

18
M ⟨hasan takuru bunñeve. mi rē, 'a'i mā, "'ā'ek_ē duśīm_ē." bunāśeve.⟩
/hasan takuru buni eve. mi rē, ai mā, "āek ē duśīm ē." bunāś eve.
Hasan Takuru said: 'When he will come tonight, (say), "I have watched something new."'
F ▹den, beṇī ettakī hā ve ai tiuśa mi rei laḍa dennā (?) ve.◃
▵den, beṇī ettakī hā ve ai tiuśa mi rei laḍa dennā eve. ▿
Then he said, 'okay, I will play a trick on him tonight.'

19
M ⟨mihen bunefā gēge bi'ta', ragaḷaś ba'dā 'enme lō vaḷe' ves, nu hunnāne hen hadāfa'i 'uturu 'edu bi'doś farātu bitun, heyo varuge 'e' lō vaḷu behe'ti 'eve.⟩
/mihen bunefā gēge bittak raṅgaḷaś baddā ekme lō vaḷek ves nu hunnāne hen hadāfai uturu cṅdu biddoś farātu bitun heyo varuge ek lō vaḷu behetti eve.
After speaking (like this), he inspected the walls of the house well, and taking care that no other hole was present, he made one good hole into the wall beside the upper bed.

20
M ⟨den lonu mirus gaḍe' fuḍuvāfa'i, kośi vaḷi buri'e', ta'yāraś bē'vi 'eve.⟩
/den lonu mirus gaṅḍek fuḍuvāfai, kośi vaḷi buriek, tayyāraś bēvvi eve.
Then he prepared some salt and chili and a blunt knife.
F ▹kēfē, beṇī ettakī tayyāro keranna kē loṇo miris, den kośi kośi vāḷa' huanna kē.◃
▵kēfē, beṇī ettakī tayyāro keranna kē loṇo miris, den kośi kośi vāḷak huanna kē. ▿
Saying so, he told her to prepare some salt and chili and then to look for a very blunt knife.

21
M ▹den, fūḷudigi haṅḍi ām mā, beṇanna kē hā vē ai, hama diśimā ve.◃
▵den, fūḷudigi haṅḍi ām mā, beṇanna kē hā eve ai, hama diśimā eve. ▿
Then (he told her), when the devil comes, to say 'yes, I saw you like this'.

22
M ⟨dan vumun 'ehen rērē ves, fada'in, fūḷu digu haṇḍi 'atu ve'je 'eve.⟩
/dam vumun ehen rērē ves, fadain, fūḷu digu haṇḍi atu vejje eve.
When the time had come this night, the devil with the long navel appeared as usual.
F ▹den, hama e rei bā ve ai.◃
▵den, hama e rei bā ve ai.
Then the (the devil) came (again) the same night.▿

⟨'a'is 'ehen 'ehumun,⟩
/ais ehen ehumun,
When he came and asked (as usual),
F ▷**āṁ mā miu beṇī, teda' tai ta diśi tai naiśi gaṅḍakaha ka' vēli eḍān bolaha furanna hiśu vēlai.**◁
△āṁ mā miu beṇī, tedaś tai ta diśi tai naiśi gaṅḍakaha kaś vēli eḍān bolaha furanna hiśu vēlai. ▽
When he came, he said, 'is it true that you saw (me) when I was filling bone sand into my mouth (lit. "head") using a coconut shell?'

⟨'a'imīnā bī bunñeve. "'ā'ek_ē! duśīmā_ve 'eve."⟩
/āmīnā bī buni eve. "āek ē! duśīmā eve eve."
Āminat Bī said: 'Something new: I saw you!'
F ▷**beṇum mā, āminā bī beṇī, hā ve ai, hama diśimā ve.**◁
△beṇum mā, āminā bī beṇī, hā eve ai, hama diśimā eve. ▽
A.B. answered, 'yes, I saw you like this.'

⟨**den 'ivēn feśī ge vaśa'igen duvā 'aḍeve. 'irukoḷakun 'e' kala lō vaḷun fūḷu bānān faśa'ifi 'eve.**⟩
/den ivēn feśī ge vaśaigen duvā aḍu eve. irukoḷakun ek kala lō vaḷun fūḷu bānān faśaifi eve.
Then (they) heard a noise (he produced) by going around the house. After a certain time he started to put his navel through the hole.
F ▷**den, hedī vaḍāmakī, e tani hīśi balakun fūḷu kullāli ai.**◁
△den, hedī vaḍāmakī, e tani hīśi balakun fūḷu kullāli ai. ▽
Then he pushed his navel through the hole which was there.

⟨**hasan takuru 'ataś kahanī 'eve.**⟩
/hasan takuru ataś kahanī eve.
Hassan Takuru scratched (it) with his hand.
F ▷**kullum mā hasan fuḷu hedī liki, fūḷu gaṇḍo buri kōliai.**◁
△kullum mā hasan fuḷu hedī liki, fūḷu gaṇḍo buri kōliai. ▽
When he pushed it through, Hassan Fuḷu cut off a piece of the navel.

⟨**'eterige furi, bēruge furi, den hus ve'je hen hī vī mā hasan takurufūḷaś ku'ḷi'e', jehumun, pas lāfa'i 'is, bitugā handīge baḍu jehunu 'aḍu 'ivi'je 'eve.**⟩
/eterige furi, bēruge furi, den hus vejje hen hī vī mā hasan takurufūḷaś kulliek jehumun, pas lāfai is, bitugā handīge baṅḍu jehunu aḍu iviije eve.
Hasan Takurufuḷu heard the sound of (the devil's) hitting the wall with his belly after being blown up inside, blown up outside, and bursting.

⟨**'e vagutu 'atuga'i 'ot kośi da'būra vali tila gaḍakun, fūḷuga'i kā'ta'i gatumun fūḷu vaki koślāfā 'e tāga'i lonu mirus, gaḍe' 'aḷa'ifi 'eve. den teḷigenfa'i "'a'dō, ma fūḷō! fūḷaku, fūḷō!"_ē govamun**⟩
/e vagutu atugai ot kośi dabbūra vali tila gaṅḍakun, fūḷugai kāttai gatumun fūḷu vaki koślāfā e tāgai lonu mirus, gaṅḍek aḷaifi eve. den teḷigenfai "addō, ma fūḷō! fūḷaku, fūḷō!" ē govamun
Then (Hassan Takuru) cut the navel with the blunt knife he held in his hand until having cut it through, and (he) put salt and chili on the surface of the wound. Being wounded (in this way), (the devil) cried, 'woe, my navel, my navel!'
F ▷**buri kōfē, loṇo miris līm mā, addōi, ma fūḷē ai.**◁
△buri kōfē, loṇo miris līm mā, addōi, ma fūḷē ai. ▽
After cutting it, (Hassan Takuru) applied some salt and chili, (and the devil said), 'woe, my navel!',

29
M ⟨**duvamun gos, ʾe raśun ves faʾibaʾi gen higaʾje ʾeve.**⟩
/duvamun gos, e raśun ves faibai gen hiňgajje eve.\
and he ran away, leaving this island.
F ▷**kēfē, aḍo lavan lavamun ebage ai.**◁
△*kēfē, aḍo lavan lavamun ebage ai.*▽
Crying (lit. "saying") so, making continuous noise, he went away.

30
M ⟨ʾēge **fahun mi ʾadāʾi jehen den ves fūḷu digu handige ʾudaguleʾ ʾeʾves mīhakaś nu fōra ʾeve** ....⟩
/ēge fahun mi adāi jehen den ves fūḷu digu handige uňdagulek ekves mīhakaś nu fōra eve ....\
After that, nobody ever heard about difficulties produced by the long navelled devil ...

31
M ⟨**vāhaka huʾṭunī ʾeve**⟩
/vāhaka huṭṭunī eve\
The story is finished.

Fig. 3: Fūḷu digu handi (ʿAbdullāh Ṣādiq)

T14: **Mākanā fiňdanā**

"Brother-in-law stork"

Māle: ʿAbdullāh Ṣādiq*

* The text in the standard language was published in a newspaper; cp. fig. 4, p. 196. The English translation appeared in *Finiashi: Heard in the Islands*, ed. L. PRUNER, vol. 2, Māle 1988, 1 ff.

⟨mākanā ʾidegen ʾuḷenī fidanāge daʾtaʾakāʾi ʾeve.⟩
/mākanā iňdegen uḷenī fiňdanāge dattaak-āi eve.
Maakana was married to *Findhana's* elder sister,

⟨fidana ʾidegen ʾuḷenī, mākanāge koʾkoʾakāʾi ʾeve.⟩
/fiňdana iňdegen uḷenī, mākanāge kokkoakāi eve.
and *Findhana* was married to *Maakana's* younger sister.

⟨mi gotun mākanāʾāʾi, fidana vanī, de ḷiʾanunnaśeve.⟩
/mi gotun mākanā-āi, fiňdana vanī, de ḷianunnaś eve.
Therefore, they were brothers-in-law.

⟨ʾeʾ duvahaku fidana ʾaʾis mākanā ḷiʾaśbē gātugaʾi bunñeve:⟩
/ek duvahaku fiňdana ais mākanā ḷianbē gātugai buni eve
One day, *Findhana* came to *Maakana* and suggested,

⟨"konme ves masaʾkateʾ kuravā higāś_ē,"⟩
/konme ves masakkatek kuravā hiňgāś ē
"Let's do some work."

⟨mākanā ḷiʾanbē bunñeve.⟩
/mākanā ḷianbē buni eve.
Maakana asked,

⟨"kurānī kon masaʾkateʾ hē?"⟩
/kurānī kon masaʾkatek hē?
"What shall we do?"

⟨fidana bunñeve.⟩
/fiňdana buni eve.
Findhana answered,

9 ⟨"vaḷu terēn tankoḷeʾ sāfu koślāfaʾi daḍeʾ haʾdamā higāś_ē". ʾenme ragal_ē!⟩
/vaḷu terēn tankoḷek sāfu koślāfai daňḍek haddamā hiňgāś ē. ekme raňgaḷu ē!
"We'll clear a space in the woods and plant something."

10 ⟨den de ḷiʾanun ʾeʾbas kiyālāfā vaḷu tereʾin tangaḍeʾ sāfu kośgen, daḍu kośaʾi fasgaḍu jehumaś fahu, kaʾṭala ʾindaʾifi ʾeve.⟩
/den de ḷianun ekbas kiālāfā vaḷu terein tangaňḍek sāfu kośgen, daňḍu kośai fasgaňḍu jehumaś fahu, kaṭṭala indaifi eve.
So they agreed and started to work. They ploughed and prepared the field and planted sweet potatoes.

11 ⟨duvas koḷakun daḍu hā vanī, gayaś ves ʾaraʾigenfāne henneve.⟩
/duvas koḷakun daňḍu hā vanī, gayaś ves araigenfāne hen eve.
The potatoes grew very well.

12 ⟨ʾe hā varu gadaʾaś daḍu hedi kaʾṭala konnān vī mā, fidana ʾaʾis, mākanā ḷiyanbē gātugaʾi bunñeve.⟩
/e hā varu gadaaś daňḍu hedi kaṭṭala konnān vī mā, fiňdana ais, mākanā ḷiyanbē gātugai buni eve.
When it was time to harvest, *Findhana* went to *Maakana* and said,

13 ⟨"daḍu ʾotī hedifa ʾeve."⟩
/"daňḍu otī hedifai eve."
"Our potatoes are ready for harvesting.

14 ⟨li'anbē bēnun ba'e' bunāś_ē."⟩
/lianbē bēnun baek bunāś ē."
Which part of the field do you want?"

15 ⟨visnālāfa'i bunñeve.⟩
/visnālāfai buni eve.
After thinking for a while, *Maakana* decided,

16 ⟨"'ahannaś daḍun bimuge ma'ceve."⟩
/ahannaś daňḍun bimuge mati eve.
"I want everything above the ground."

17 ⟨fidana bunñeve.⟩
/fiňdana buni eve.
Findhana replied,

18 ⟨"'ahannaś bimuge ʾaḍi tā ʾeve!"⟩
/ahannaś bimuge aḍi tā eve!
"That means I will have to take what is left under the ground."

19 ⟨'e sāhitu mākanā daḍuge bimun ma'caś huri ka'tala kuri ta' kośā la'igen, boḍi'akaś badegen gen gos, gēdoru ma'caś va'ṭāla'ifi ʾeve.⟩
/e sāhitu mākanā daňḍuge bimun maccaś huri kaṭṭala kuri tak kośā laigen, boḍiakaś badegen gen gos, gēdoru maccaś vaṭṭālaifi eve.
They agreed. Within a short time, *Maakana* gathered all the leaves and stems into a pile and took them to his home.

20 ⟨'e vagutu, mākanāge ʾanhenun nukume balālāfa'i bunñeve.⟩
/e vagutu, mākanāge anhenun nukume balālāfai buni eve.
His wife saw them and asked,

21 ⟨"ti'a'ī kī' kurā boḍi vare' he'yeve?"⟩
/tiaī kīk kurā boḍi varek heyo eve?"
"What are these for?"

22 ⟨"mi'ī 'ahuremen de liyamun daḍu ha'dāfa'i 'aharen negi ba 'eve.⟩
/miī ahuremen de liyamun daňḍu haddāfai aharen negi bai eve.
Maakana replied, "We two brothers-in-law planted a sweet potato crop and this is the share I took."

23 ⟨'anhenun 'e'seve. "ko'ko gen diya'ī kon 'e'ce' hē?"⟩
/anhenun ehi eve. kokko gen diaī kon eccek hē?
"Which part did my brother take?" she inquired.

24 ⟨bunñeve. "bimuge ʾaḍi ʾeve!⟩
/buni eve. bimuge aḍi eve!
"What is left under the ground.""

⟨'anhenun bunñeve. ⟩
/anhenun buni eve. \
His wife exclaimed,

⟨"'aharemen ko'koge huri varuge bu'di 'e'ves, kalāge neti'yā 'eve.⟩
/aharemen kokkoge huri varuge buddi ekves, kalāge neti-āi eve.\
"You don't have the brains my brother has.

⟨ka'ṭala'ige 'enme fa'idā huri ba'i hunnānī, bimuge 'aḍīga 'eve."⟩
/kaṭṭalaige ekme faidā huri bai hunnānī, bimuge aḍīgai eve.\
In sweet potatoes, everything valuable is underground. That is where the potatoes are."

⟨mākanā bunñeve.⟩
/mākanā buni eve.\
Maakana said,

⟨"mi faharu vī got tā 'eve! ....⟩
/mi faharu vī got tā eve! ....\
"What to do? It happened this time,

⟨den faharakun, tiya hen, viyaka nu dēnameve."⟩
/den faharakun, tia hen, viaka nu dēnam eve.\
but it will never happen again."

⟨'ane'kā ves daḍu ha'dā <mausim> 'adu ve'je 'eve.⟩
/anekkā ves daňḍu haddā mausim adu vejje eve.\
Soon the next farming season began.

⟨'indāne 'e'cakā'i medu fidana 'ahālī mā ....⟩
/indāne eccak-āi medu fiňdana ahālī mā ....\
Findhana went to *Maakana* and asked, "What shall we plant this time?"

⟨mākanā bunī, "'indāne 'e'ce' 'egēnī ko'ko'aś_ē!"⟩
/mākanā bunī, indāne eccek eňgēnī kokkoaś ē!\
Maakana responded, "That is up to you."

⟨mi henneve. ... "'ān tā 'ē!"⟩
/mi hen eve. ... ān tā ē!\
So,

⟨bunefa'i, mi faharu 'indī zuvāri 'eve.⟩
/bunefai, mi faharu indī zuāri eve.\
Findhana planted corn.

⟨daḍu hedi zuvārita' nukume, 'ośta' jahā don vī mā ḷi'anbe'ā ba'dalu vefa'i fidana bunñeve.⟩
/daňḍu hedi zuāritak ṇukume, oštak jahā don vī mā ḷianbe-āi baddalu vefai fiňdana buni eve.\
When the plants had grown and the corn ripened, *Findhana* met his brother-in-law and said,

⟨"daḍu hedi'je 'eve.⟩
/daňḍu hedijje eve.\
"It is time for harvesting again.

⟨li'anbē, bēnun ba'e' li'anbē nagāś_ē."⟩
/lianbē, bēnun baek lianbē nagāś ē.\
You take which ever part you want."

⟨mākanā bunñeve. "mi faharu 'ahannaś bimuge 'adi 'eve."⟩
/mākanā buni eve. mi faharu ahannaś bimuge adi eve.\
"This time I will take what is underground," *Maakana* said.

⟨fīdana "'enme ragal_ē!"⟩
/fiñdana, ekme raṅgalu ē!\
Findhana replied, "All right,"

41 ⟨bunefa'i, gos zuvārita' kedī mā mākanā 'e gastakuge mūta' naga'igen bodi'akaś badegen gen gos, gēdośaś va'tāla'ifī 'eve.⟩
/bunefai, gos zuāritak keñdī mā mākanā e gastakuge mūtak nagaigen bodiakaś badegen gen gos, gēdośaś vaṭṭālaifī eve.\
and cut down all the corn. When he left, *Maakana* dug out all the roots, and took them to his home.

42 ⟨'e tan dekefā 'anhenun bunñeve.⟩
/e tan dekefā anhenun buni eve.\
Seeing them, his wife demanded,

43 ⟨"tiya yō 'ē" ....⟩
/tia yō ē ....\
"What is this?"

44 ⟨"mī mi faharu dadu ha'da'igen 'ahuren negi ba 'eve."⟩
/mī mi faharu daňdu haddaigen ahuren negi bai eve.\
Maakana said, "This is my share of the corn crop."

45 ⟨ko'ko gen diya'ī kon 'e'ce' hē?"⟩
/kokko gen diaī kon eccek hē?\
"Which part did my brother take?"

46 ⟨mākanā zuvābu dineve. "bimuge ma'ceve."⟩
/mākanā zuābu din eve, bimuge mati eve."\
"What is above the ground."

47 ⟨'anhenun, <hayrān> vefa'i, bunñeve.⟩
/anhenun, hayrān vefai, buni eve.\
His wife complained,

48 ⟨ñaki tiya'ī!⟩
⟨ñaki tiaī⟩
"You are very foolish.

49 ⟨zuvārige fa'idā huri ba'i hunnanī, bimuge matīga 'eve.⟩
/zuārige faidā huri bai hunnanī bimuge matīgai eve.\
The nutritious part of corn is above the ground.

50 ⟨kaļe'akī, bodu moya'ekeve."⟩
/kaļeakī, bodu moyaek eve.\
You are mad."

51 ⟨mākanā bunñeve.⟩
/mākanā buni eve.
Then the stork said,

52 ⟨mi faharu vī got tā ʾeve!⟩
/mi faharu vī got tā eve!
"What to do? It happened this time.

53 ⟨den faharakun hama hilā tiya henēʾ nu vāne ʾeve."⟩
/den faharakun hama hilā tia henek nu vāne eve.
It won't happen again."

54 ⟨ʾaneʾkā ves daḍu haʾdāne ʾuven faśaʾifī ʾeve.⟩
/anekkā ves daňḍu haddāne uven faśaifī eve.
Once more, when the next season began, they started their farming.

55 ⟨mi faharu ves, fīdana, liyanbē kuren ʾindānī kon ʾeʾceʾ tō ʾahāli ʾeve.⟩
/mi faharu ves, fiňdana, liyanbē kuren indānī kon eccek tō ahāli eve.
This time again, *Findhana* asked his brother-in-law, what to plant.

56 ⟨ʾēnā bunī, tiya got ʾegēnī hama koʾkoyaś_ē" ʾeve.⟩
/ēnā bunī, tia got eňgēnī hama kokkoyaś ē eve.
This one said, the one who knows best, are you.

57 ⟨mi faharu ʾindā hiʾtala ʾeve.⟩
/mi faharu indā hittala eve.
They planted *hiththala.*

58 ⟨daḍu hedi hiʾtala faʾibā duvas vī mā, fīdana bunñeve.⟩
/daňḍu hedi hittala faibā duvas vī mā, fiňdana buni eve.
At harvest time, *Findhana* asked his brother-in-law

59 ⟨"daḍu hediʾje ʾeve. bēnun baʾeʾ bunuʾvāś_ē."⟩
/daňḍu hedijje eve. bēnun baek bunuvvāś ē.
to choose his share.

60 ⟨fikuru koślāfaʾi bunñeve.⟩
/fikuru koślāfai buni eve.
Maakana said,

61 ⟨"mi faharu bēbeʾaś bimun maʾceve."⟩
/mi faharu bēbeaś bimun mati eve."
"This time I want what is above the ground."

62 ⟨ʾenme ragaḷ_ē bunefaʾi bunñeve.⟩
/ekme raňgaḷu ē bunefai buni eve.
Findhana said, "All right.

63 ⟨"tiya hennā bēbe gos bēbege baʾi kośālaʾigen gendāśeve.⟩
/tia hen-āi bēbe gos bēbege bai kośālaigen gendāś eve.
Go and take the part you want."

⟨bodu vefa'i varu gada'ī ves li'anbē ti'tā 'eve!"⟩
/bodu vefai varu gadaī ves lianbē titt-āi eve!\

⟨hi'tala gastakuge fattakā kabō kōlita' bodi'akaś badegen tubula'igen, 'ufalun mākanā gos gēdoru ma'caś va'tālī mā⟩
/hittala gastakuge fattak-āi kabō kōlitak bodiakaś badegen tuňbulaigen, ufalun mākanā gos gēdoru maccaś vattālī mā\
So, *Maakana* gathered up all the leaves and stems and took them to his home.

⟨'anhenun 'e hen faharu faharu ves fada'in mī kon 'e'ce' tō 'aha'ifī 'eve.⟩
/anhenun e hen faharu faharu ves fadain mī kon eccek tō ahaifī eve.\
As in the previous times, his wife demanded, "What is this?"

⟨mi'ī mi faharu hi'tala daḍun 'aharen negi ba 'eve. bimun ma'ceve."⟩
/miī mi faharu hittala daňḍun aharen negi bai eve. bimun mati eve.\
Maakana answered, "This is my share from the *hiththala* field."

⟨'anhenun 'antarīs vefa'i bunñeve.⟩
/anhenun antarīs vefai buni eve.\
Then his wife was angry and said,

⟨tiya'ī hama ragaḷu moya'ekeve.⟩
/tiaī hama raňgaḷu moyaek eve.\
"You are a real fool.

⟨hi'tala'ige fa'idā huri ba'ī hunnānī bimuge 'aḍīga 'eve." .....⟩
/hittalaige faidā huri bai hunnānī bimuge aḍīgai eve. .....\
In *hiththala* everything valuable will be underground."

⟨mākanā 'is daśaś jahāla'igen 'idefā bunñeve.⟩
/mākanā is daśaś jahālaigen iňdefā buni eve.\
Maakana pondered what she said.

⟨"mi huri hā bodi'e' ves 'ahannaś mi libunī li'an ko'ko'ā hure 'eve.⟩
/mi huri hā boňḍiek ves ahannaś mi libunī lian kokko-āi hure eve.\
He concluded, "All this has happened because of my brother-in-law.

⟨'e'ce' bunākaś ves nu kurēne nūn hē! ....⟩
/eccek bunākaś ves nu kurēne nūn hē! ....\
But, what can I say?

⟨'e hen vī mā den 'ēnāyā 'ekī 'uḷun hu'tālī 'ē".⟩
/e hen vī mā den ēnāyā ekī uḷun huttālī ē.\
After all he is my brother-in-law. So, I'll stop working with him."

⟨(vāhaka ves nimunī 'eve).⟩
/(vāhaka ves nimunī eve).\

Fig. 4: Mākanā fiǹdanā ('Abdullāh Sādiq

T15: **Fileimaḍi**

"Filomadi"*

Aḍḍū: Ḥassan Saʿīd

* The English translation by ABDULLAH SHAVI (based on an oral version by KARAANGE FATHMA DIDI, Fuaʾ Mulaku) was published in *Finiashi: Heard in the Islands*, ed. L. PRUNER, vol. 4, Māle 1989, 4 ff.

1 ▸ete' zamāna kurin, fari fileimaḍie bēkakāi baddala koffi.◂
▴*etek zamāna kurin, fari fileimaḍia bēkak-āi baddala kośfi.*▾
Long, long ago a reef flounder met a *beki*.

2 ▸e duvahi fileimaḍiege lō hiśī eagē bole de farāti, ehen huśi hei mahāmennas hinne leka'.◂
▴*e duvahi fileimaḍiage lō hiśī eagē bole de farāti, ehen huśi hei mahāmen-as hinne lekaś.*▾
At that time the flounder had an eye on each side of its head, like all the other fish.

3 ▸de mahias vara' (gina) kudu kudu, kā' bēṇun ni vē kahalei kaśi tibei.◂
▴*de mahi-as varaś gina kudu kudu, kāś bēṇun ni vē kahalei kaśi tibei.*▾
Both fish have a great many small bones, making them undesirable for food.

4 ▸rad raśi mīhun e kāi vēňḍenī kaḷēla maha' nuata kaňḍi vēňḍē ehem maha' ni libeṇe fehē.◂
▴*raś raśi mīhun e kāi vēňḍenī kaḷēla mahak nuata kaňḍi vēňḍē ehen mahak ni libeṇe fehē.*▾
Islanders eat them only when they cannot get tuna and other big ocean fish.

5 ▸miāmen baddala vī mei, mahā vāhaka dakkā' faśaga'.◂
▴*miāmen baddala vī mei, mahā vāhaka dakkāś faśagat.*▾
Upon their meeting, the fish began a conversation with each other.

6 ▸e de mahun kure mahakā' gayes enehakā vanī itiri sifā netumuge sababun egē deverie (deeti) ehakā enehakā gai tibi◂ kaśīge adadāi deetere aḍa lavai arairun vē' faṭṭafie.
▴*e de mahun kure mahak-ā gai-es enehak-ā vanī itiri sifā netumuge sababun egē de-verie (de-eti) ehak-ā enehak-ā gai tibi▾ kaśīge adad-āi de-etere aḍa lavai arairun vēś faṭṭafie.*
As they were insignificant fish with little to brag about, they started boasting about the great number of bones they had, teasing each other.

7 ▸e deetīge zuābuge mede everie masveriakāi dimā eṁberigen ahafie:◂
▴*e de-etīge zuābuge mede everie masveriak-āi dimā eṁberigen ahafie:*▾
In the midst of their argument they turned to a fisherman, asking,

8 ▸"afirin kuren emme kaśi ginei kankā gai?◂
▴*afirin kuren ekme kaśi gineī kankā gai?*▾
"Which of us has the most bones?"

9 ▸ede javvāb derefi:◂
▴*ede javvāb derefi:*▾
He answered,

10 ▸"bēkā gai fileimaḍiav vanī ek kaśi itirau hiśei."◂
▴*bēkā gai fileimaḍiaś vanī ek kaśi itiraś hiśei.*▾
"The *beki* has one more bone than the *filomadi*."

11 ▸bēkā hiu hama jehegen kiburuverikamāi ekī fatamun ebege.◂
▴*bēkā hit hama jehegen kiburuverikam-āi ekī fatamun ebege.*▾
Relieved, the *beki* swam away proudly.

12 ▸mi rihikulaige (= rihikulai) mahā minivankamāi ekī eterevarieai gonodaśieai kōreai fatā vēlei ta' mi kalas fenēhe.◂
▴*mi rihikulaige (rihikulai) mahā minivankam-āi ekī eterevarie-āi gonodaśie-āi kōre-āi fatā vēlei ta' mi kal-as fenēhe.*▾
You can still see this silvery fish, swimming freely in lagoons and inshore lakes.

13 ▸**e vagute fileimaḍie onnei fara matte hitāmaverikamāi ekī gōva gōvai.**◂
▴*e vagute fileimaḍie onneī fara matte hitāmaverikam-āi ekī gōva gōvai.*▾
Meanwhile, the flounder remained on the reef, sadly crying and crying.

14 ▸**e hei bārā lō fuhumuge sababun eagē lō bole ef farātaka' kassagen ebege.**◂
▴*e hei bārā lō fuhumuge sababun eagē lō bole ek farātakaś kassagen ebege.*▾
She wept so hard that both eyes slid onto one side of her head.

15 ▸**mi kamāi deetere vī dera boňḍakamun ef fahun fileimaḍie āmunge etere fetun huṭṭalāi aḍiau ebege.**◂
▴*mi kam-āi de-etere vī dera boňḍakamun ek fahun fileimaḍie āmunge etere fetun huṭṭalāi aḍiaś ebege.*▾
Deeply ashamed of her defeat, she no longer swam about openly, but went to the bottom.

16 ▸**adas ee adias vara' ladagani.**◂
▴*adu-as ea adi-as varaś ladagani*▾
Nowadays, still very shy,

17 ▸**ea onnei e kalaki deagaňḍi hinne kula gāu aruva aruvai aḍie veśifei.**◂
▴*ea onneī e kalaki deagaňḍi hinne kula gāś aruva aruvai aḍie veśifei.*▾
she lies flat, camouflaging herself with the drab color of the ocean floor.

18 ▸**takau ea otī kontāki kan beṇā' ni eňgēhe, vara' kaverin fari omau tela tantan ni balā fehēnā.**◂
▴*takaś ea otī kontāki kam beṇāś ni eňgēhe, varaś kaverin fari omaś tela tantan ni balā fehēnā.*▾
You cannot tell where she is, unless you look very closely at the smooth places of the reef in shallow water.

19 ▸**mī fileimaḍie eagē ādāi xilāfu mūṇāi āda kādata' libeṇe go'.**◂
▴*mī fileimaḍie eagē ādāi xilāfu mūṇu-āi āda kādatak libeṇe got.*▾
And that is how the *filomadi* got her strange face and habits.

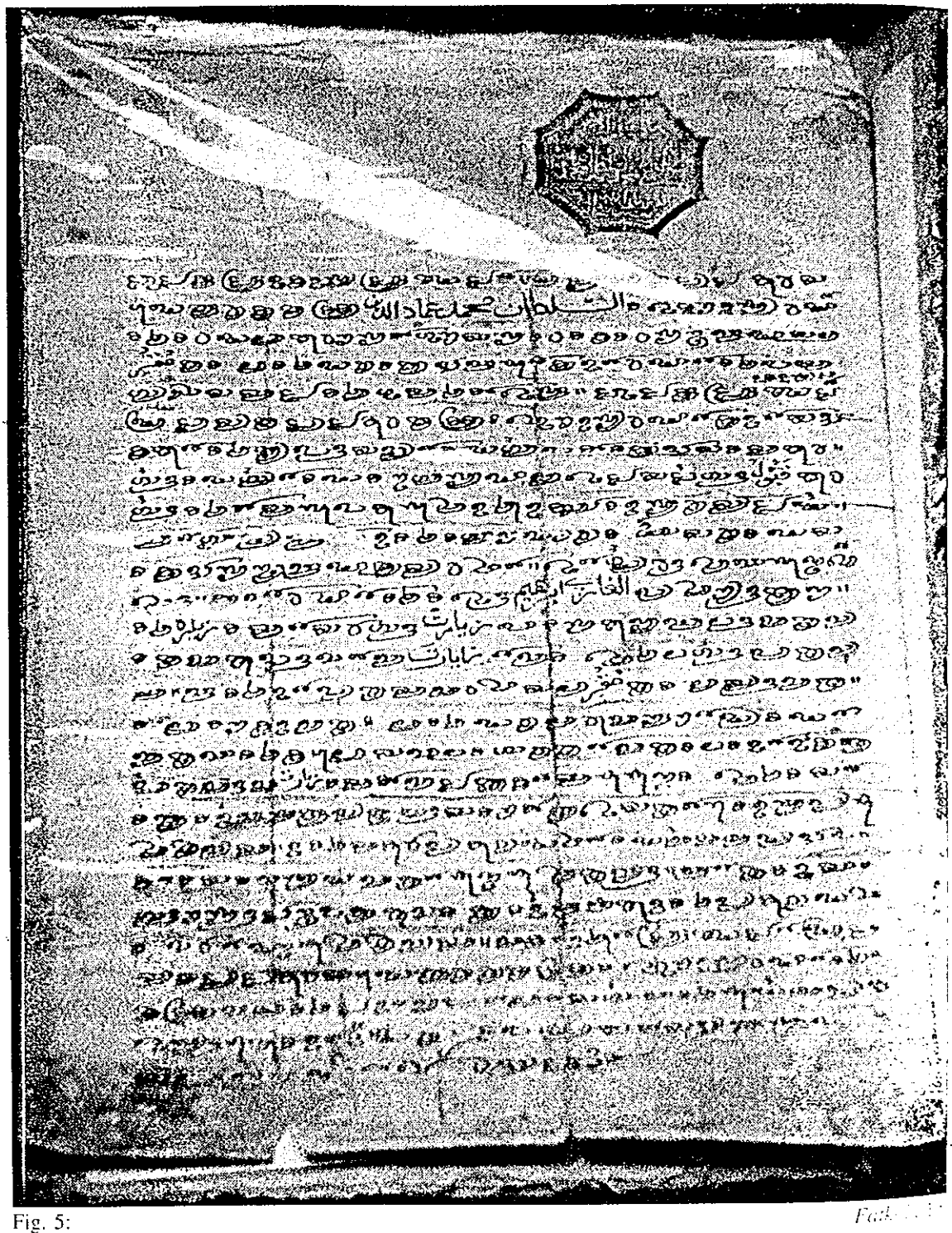

Fig. 5: *Fat*

T16: **Nadalla Takuru***

Addū: Ḥassan Saʿīd

* The English translation by ABDULLAH SHAVI (based on an oral version by MAGIEDURUGE IBRAHIM DIDI, Fuaʾ Mulaku), was published in *Finiashi: Heard in the Islands*, ed. L. PRUNER, vol. 5, Māle 1990, 13 ff.

1 ▸nadellakī huvadu ateḷe huḷaṅga matte farāti faraʾ kaverie onna raśaʾ.◂
▴*nadellakī huvadu ateḷe huḷaṅga matte farāti faraś kaverie onna raśak.*▾
Nadalla is an island located on the long coral reef fringing the western side of Huvadu Atoll.

2 ▸takuru ve hai boṋḍa vī e raśi evvias taulīman ni libi.◂
▴*takuru ve hai boṋḍa vī e raśi ek-vi-as taulīman ni libi.*▾
Takuru was born and raised in Nadalla, but received no schooling.

3 ▸ehen vi mei, eakī e raśi hiśi emme fakīri taulīman neʾ mīhā kamugai vege.◂
▴*ehen vi mei, eakī e raśi hiśi ekme fakīri taulīman net mīhā kamugai vege.*▾
Therefore, he became the poorest and least educated man in his island.

4 ▸ea boṋḍa vi mei, eau eṅgige anhen kudin eaʾ vāhaka dakkāʾ bēṇun nun kan.◂
▴*ea boṋḍa vi mei, eaś eṅgige anhen kudin eaś vāhaka dakkāś bēṇun nun kam.*▾
When he came of age, he realised the girls did not want to talk with him.

5 ▸ee fakīri hāle lēnaʾ kēʾ ni eṅgi hiśi vēlei, evvias mīhakāʾ eaʾ heu edēkaʾ bēṇumaʾ nun.◂
▴*ea fakīri hāle lēnaś kēś ni eṅgi hiśi vēlei, ek-vi-as mīhakāś eaś heu edēkaś bēṇumak nun.*▾
No one esteemed him since he was impoverished and illiterate.

6 ▸eau hī vege, emmennas eei deetere balanī nikameti koʾ kamaʾ.◂
▴*eaś hī vege, ekmen-as eai de-etere balanī nikameti koś kamak.*▾
He resented being despised by everyone.

7 ▸mi kamāi deetere hiu hama ni jehigen, ede ēge raʾ dū koffei addu ateḷe dekuṇe raśakau ebege.◂
▴*mi kam-āi de-etere hit hama ni jehigen, ede ēge raś dū koffei addū ateḷe dekuṇe raśakaś ebege.*▾
Disgusted with his situation, he left his island and sailed south to Addu Atoll.

8 ▸ee enun rad raśias hinnaʾ masakkaʾ keḍe fehēnās, evvias mīhā eei deetere heu gotakaʾ ni beli.◂
▴*ea enun raś raśi-as hinnaś masakkat keḍe fehēnā-as, ek-vi-as mīhā eai de-etere heu gotakaś ni beli.*▾
Although he tried staying in several islands, nobody paid much attention to him.

9 ▸eagē vāhaka dekkun mā raṅgaḷāʾ nun adi eaʾ ni eṅgei mīhun hiʾ jehē kahalei vāhaka kēʾ evennāi vāhaka dakkāʾ.◂
▴*eagē vāhaka dekkun mā raṅgaḷāk nun adi eaś ni eṅgei mīhun hit jehē kahalei vāhaka kēś even-āi vāhaka dakkāś.*▾
His way of talking was unrefined and he did not know any good stories or how to discuss interesting things.

10 ▸emme fahun ede e raʾ dū koffei hankeḍau ebege.◂
▴*ekme fahun ede e raś dū koffei hankeḍaś ebege.*▾
Finally, he settled in the island of Hankede.

10a ▸emme fahun ede hankeḍe au kē raśi vazamveri vegaʾ.◂
▴*ekme fahun ede hankeḍe au kē raśi vazamveri vegat.*▾
(Finally he became a settler in the island named Hankeḍe.)

11 ▸e tani ede mussanti mīhunnaʾ rukau arai kaiśi eḍai dēʾ faśafi.◂
▴*e tani ede mussanti mīhunnaś rukaś arai kaiśi eḍai dēś faśafi.*▾
There he climbed palm trees and harvested coconuts for rich people.

12 ▸tin aharaʾ fahun ede havvā au kē anhen kūḍakāi iṅḍefi.◂
▴*tin aharaś fahun ede havvā au kē anhen kūḍak-āi iṅḍefi.*▾
After three years, he married a girl named Havva.

13 ▸"makī mi kō hama ekaṇi fakīrak-āu" e kaṁbulēge ekehe beṇafi.◂
▴*makī mi kō hama ekaṇi fakīrak-āu, e kaṁbulēge ekehe beṇafi.*▾
"I am only a poor man now," he told her.

14 ▸"ehen fehēnās, ma rāvafei otī mada aharatekaka' faha' mussanti mīhun kamāu hitā mīhakā' vegen, aṁbarā (eṁberi)] raśau ē'."◂
▴*ehen fehēnā-as, ma rāvafei otī mada aharatekakaś fahaś mussanti mīhun kamāś hitā mīhakāś vegen, aṁbarā (eṁberi)· raśaś ēś.*◂
"But I have a scheme for returning to my island in a few years rich and respected."

15 ▸mi vāhaka kēi derefei, evvias mīhakā' ekehe ni beṇā' kēi e kaṁbulēge ekehe ede beṇafi.◂
▴*mi vāhaka kēi derefei, ek-vi-as mīhakāś ekehe ni beṇāś kēi e kaṁbulēge ekehe ede beṇafi.·*
He confided his plan to her and warned her not to tell anybody about it.

16 ▸everie hankede eu ahara' nuata eav vanī gina duvaha' ufāverikamāi ekī vēṇdifie, hisābaka' fakīrikan ihsās kedun nun fehē.◂
▴*everie hankede ek aharaś nuata eaś vanī gina duvahaś ufāverikam-āi ekī vēṇdifie, hisābakaś fakīrikam ihsās kedun nu· fehē.*◂
They lived in Hankede for a year or so, and were happy except for the limitations of their poverty.

17 ▸e ra' dū kedumuge kurie takuru ēge tiṁbili digi koffi.◂
▴*e raś dū kedumuge kurie takuru ēge tiṁbili digi kośfi.·*
Shortly before leaving, Takuru grew a long beard

18 ▸adi hudu annayē ea amellā rakkō kede fāisā' ginafi.◂
▴*adi hudu annayē ea amellā rakkō kede fāisāś ginafi.·*
and bought beautiful white clothes for himself with his hard earned savings.

19 ▸ea vehi raśau eagē anhenunnāi ekī battēlakun ede furafi.◂
▴*ea vehi raśaś eagē anhenun-āi ekī battēlakun ede furafi.·*
He sailed with his wife on a *batteli* back to the island of his birth.

20 ▸huvadu atela' fōramun, ea feratumā' mada kedeī fiōrie.◂
▴*huvadu atelaś fōramun, ea feratumāś mada kedeī fiōrie.·*
Reaching Huvadu atoll it stopped first at the island of Fiori.

21 ▸takuru den gasdu koffi eagē rēvun faśā'.◂
▴*takuru den gasdu koffi eagē rēvun faśāś.·*
Takuru decided he would try his plan there.

22 ▸ede hudu gamīha' lāgen mundu eṅdegen, gonodaśau ebege.◂
▴*ede hudu gamīhak lāgen munḍu eṅdegen, gonodaśaś ebege.·*
He donned his white shirt and *mundu* and went ashore.

23 ▸kiburuverikamāi boṅḍākan dakkamun ede emmenna' anguvafi, ea aī, hatara ahara vē ti ko', arabikarāi hiśe kiavagen kan.◂
▴*kiburuverikam-āi boṅḍākam dakkamun ede ekmennaś anguvafi, ea aī, hatara ahara vē ti koś, arabikarāi hiśe kiavage· kam.*◂
Adopting a proud, aloof attitude, he informed everyone he had just completed four years of study in Arabia.

24 ▸mīhā ee gabūlu koffie, everie ea' geu ē' davvatu derefie.◂
▴*mīhā ea gabūlu koffie, everie eaś geś ēś davvatu derefie.·*
The people believed him. They invited him into their homes,

25 ▸adi ea' raṅgala kā' derefei hadiās derefie.◂
▴*adi eaś raṅgala kāś derefei hadiā-as derefie.·*
and gave him good food and gifts.

26 ▸ehen vī mei, ede nimmafi eagē rēvun kāmiābu kama'.◂
▴*ehen vī mei, ede nimmafi eagē rēvun kāmiābu kamak.·*
So, he concluded, "My plan works."

27 ▸**reigaňḍaki maulūdu kē' ee davvat libeṇe mei, ee vara' jehilun vege.**◂
▴*reigaňḍaki maulūdu kēś ea davvat libeṇe mei, ea varaś jehilun vege.*▾
When he was invited to take part in a *Maulud* at night, Takuru became a bit nervous.

28 ▸**eagē anhenun eau haňḍan ko' derefī "tō bala, mī huśi hei kalaki fassēha kama' nun".**◂
▴*eagē anhenun eaś haňḍan koś derefī. tō bala, mī huśi hei kalaki fassēha kamak nun.*▾
His wife reminded him, "You see, it's not always so easy."

29 ▸**lada gatun nuata e tān geun nun fehē ne' kama' hī koffei ede rāvafī.**◂
▴*lada gatun nuata e tān geun nun fehē net kamak hī koffei ede rāvafī.*▾
Knowing he must go or lose face, he developed a plan of action.

30 ▸**raśi tibi hei muskuḷin eagē vaśai irifei tibe everie maulūdu faṭṭā' kēi beṇafie.**◂
▴*raśi tibi hei muskuḷin eagē vaśai irifei tibe everie maulūdu faṭṭāś kēi beṇafie.*▾
When the most venerable old men of the island gathered around him and sat down, they asked him to start the *Maulud*.

31 ▸**ehen vī mei, ee hite etere rāvafei o' go' matin ede mā'nane' etta' kē' faśafī.**◂
▴*ehen vī mei, ea hite etere rāvafei ot got matin ede mā'nanek ettak kēś faśafī.*▾
So, maintaining his dignified attitude, he began chanting nonsense,

32 ▸**ēge etere bae divehi akurāi arabi aḍāi himenei.**◂
▴*ēge etere bae divehi akura-āi arabi aḍa-āi himenei.*▾
combining Maldivian words and Arabic sounds.

33 ▸**emmennaśas ee kēi etta' eňgei kama' hī koffei ede hama jehige.**◂
▴*ekmennaś-as ea kēi ettak eňgei kamak hī koffei ede hama jehige.*▾
He convinced everyone he knew what he was saying. So he fared better than he expected.

34 ▸**huśi hei kama' raňgaḷa vēhe kamugai balagen, ede eṁberi eagē raśau ebege.**◂
▴*huśi hei kamak raňgaḷa vēhe kamugai balagen, ede eṁberi eagē raśaś ebege.*▾
Very optimistically, he resumed his journey back to his island.

35 ▸**ede e tanias raňgaḷa' vēňḍē' faśafī.**◂
▴*ede e tani-as raňgaḷaś vēňḍēś faśafī.*▾
There he managed extremely well too.

36 ▸**mīhā ee kamāu hitai eagē lafās hōdai miskide duāverikan kiavai dinumaśas edetā.**◂
▴*mīhā ea kamāś hitai eagē lafās hōdai miskide duāverikan kiavai dinumaś-as ḍetā.*▾
People respected him, sought his advice, and often he was asked to lead prayers at the mosque.

37 ▸**ee eki gē gē dīnuge kanteti kerāśas gini gos raňgaḷa kā' etteti dere tafātu go' gota' kamāu hitatā.**◂
▴*ea eki gē gē dīnuge kanteti kerāś-as gini gos raňgaḷa kāś etteti dere tafātu got gotak kamāś hitatā.*▾
He was invited to make religious chants in houses and was given good food and treated with deference.

38 ▸**ee libeṇe tafātu hadiāge sababun ee tanavas mīhakā' vege.**◂
▴*ea libeṇe tafātu hadiāge sababun ea tanavas mīhakāś vege.*▾
He became wealthy from the many presents people gave him.

39 ▸**eagē anhenun hankede havvā eai deetere vara' ufā vei.**◂
▴*eagē anhenun hankede havvā eai de etere varaś ufā vei.*▾
His wife, Hankede Havva, was very happy with him.

40 ▸**ehen fehēnās, e' duvahaki ēge nimun kaveri vege.**◂
▴*ehen fehēnā-as, ek duvahaki ēge nimun kaveri vege.*▾
But inevitably, one day this came to an end.

41 ▸**huvadu ateḷe vādū hinne arabi bas denne nakatteriā e' duvahaki e raśun fenige.**◂
▴*huvadu ateḷe vādū hinne arabi bas denne nakatteriā ek duvahaki e raśun fenige.*▾
A *nakatteriya* from the island of Vadu in the same atoll who was well versed in Arabic, appeared in Nadalla.

42 ▸**ea mīhun mūṇe eḍafei vē kaṇafa' nagalāṇe mīhakā' bēheti hen hī vegē fehē, ede aba daśas dara hōdāśāu kēfei faḷa**◂ **raśakau ebei.**
▴*ea mīhun mūṇe eḍafei vē kaṇafat nagalāṇe mīhakāś bēheti hen hī vegē fehē, ede aba daśas dara hōdāś-āu kēfei faḷa*▾ *raśakaś ebei.*
Usually, Takuru made an excuse to get firewood from a deserted island whenever he heard an important person was expected, avoiding those who could unmask him.

43 ▸**ehen fehēnās, mi mīhākī (mīhakī) mi kan dene hiśi mīhakā' vē hedī, ea aī takurua' ni anguvai sidrun.**◂
▴*ehen fehēnā-as, mi mīhākī (mīhakī) mi kan dene hiśi mīhakāś vē hedī, ea aī takuruaś ni anguvai sirrun.*▾
But this man was an unassuming man who arrived quietly and caught Takuru completely off guard.

44 ▸**e ilmuveriā geaka' van kō, takuru inī e gē etere ek kani fotakun kē kamāu hedē'.**◂
▴*e ilmuveriā geakaś van kō, takuru inī e gē etere ek kani fotakun kē kamāś hedēś.*▾
The scholar entered a house while Takuru was chanting in a corner, pretending to read from a book.

45 ▸**ēge kurimatte, kelei anda andai hiśi.**◂
▴*ēge kurimatte, kelei anda andai hiśi.*▾
A stick of sandalwood burned in front of him.

46 ▸**takuru kē ettaki aḍa ahagen e ilmuveriā ajāibu vege, ea kēnī kon etta' kan ni engi.**◂
▴*takuṛu kē ettaki aḍa ahagen e ilmuveriā ajāibu vege, ea kēnī kon ettak kam ni engi.*▾
Listening to Takuru's chant the educated man wondered, "What is he saying?"

47 ▸**takuru kaverie hiśi mēze kaverie huttigen hiśe ede e fota' balafi.**◂
▴*takuru kaverie hiśi mēze kaverie huttigen hiśe ede e fotaś balafi.*▾
Going to stand beside the table next to Takuru, he glanced at the book.

48 ▸**e fo' lēfei hiśī boṅḍa arabi akurun.**◂
▴*e fot lēfei hiśī boṅḍa arabi akurun.*▾
It was written in bold Arabic characters.

49 ▸**ta kiavanī mi fotun tau takuru ekuhun ede ahafi.**◂
▴*ta kiavanī mi fotun tau takuru ekuhun ede ahafi.*▾
"Were you reading this?" he asked Takuru.

50 ▸**mi tani etau ahara' vē ti ko', mīhunge kamāu hitun libigen hiśefei, takuru maḍa maḍun beṇafi, "hāu".**◂
▴*mi tani etak aharaś vē ti koś, mīhunge kamāś hitun libigen hiśefei, takuru maḍa maḍun beṇafi, "hā-au".*▾
Having been respected here for years Takuru replied with imperturbable calm, "Yes."

51 ▸**tai (= takī) ete' mīhun oḷovā mīhakāu ede beṇafi.**◂
▴*tai (takī) etek mīhun oḷovā mīhak-āu ede beṇafi.*▾
"You are an imposter!" the man declared.

52 ▸**adi ateleverin ekehe beṇāśumāu as beṇi.**◂
▴*adi ateleverin ekehe beṇāśum-āu-as beṇi.*▾
"I will tell the Atoll Chief about you".

53 ▸takuruge kulavara badalu vege.◂
▴*takuruge kulavara badalu vege.*·
Takuru's expression changed.

54 ▸biri verikamun furigen ede ehen ni hadāu ādees koffi.◂
▴*biri verikamun furigen ede ehen ni hadāś ādees kośfi.*·
Filled with fear, he begged him not to do so.

55 ▸nakatteriāge hiu hama jassai denumaˀ ede eagē hitāmaveri zuān duvasvaruge vāhaka kēi derefi.◂
▴*nakatteriāge hit hama jassai denumaś ede eagē hitāmaveri zuān duvasvaruge vāhaka kēi derefi.*·
He told him about his sad youth, hoping to warm the *nakatteriya's* heart.

56 ▸ehen fehēnās, mi mīhā eagē goˀ dū ni kerāˀ vegen ede e raśi verikan kerā raˀ tenaduvau ebege.◂
▴*ehen fehēnā-as, mi mīhā eagē got dū ni kerāś vegen ede e raśi verikam kerā raś tenaduvaś ebege.*·
But this man was relentless in his resolve. He went to the capital island Havaru Tinadu,

57 ▸adi miage vāhaka ateḷeveriā ekehe beṇafi.◂
▴*adi miage vāhaka ateḷeveriā ekehe beṇafi.*·
and revealed the truth to the Atoll Chief.

58 ▸e raśi nadelle mīhun oḷovagen, timāī arabi kiavagen hiśi mīhakāu kēfei vēňḏē mīhau ebihiˀ.◂
▴*e raśi nadelle mīhun oḷovagen, timāī arabi kiavagen hiśi mīhak-āu kēfei vēňḏē mīhak ebihiś.*·
"There is a wretched man on this island Nadalla who claims he spent four years studying in Arabia.

59 ▸hagī gati ea e duvasvara hēda keḍeī divehi rukau arāˀ hankeḍe.◂
▴*hagī gati ea e duvasvara hēda keḍeī divehi rukaś arāś hankeḍe.*·
Actually he spent that time in Hankede climbing coconut palms."

60 ▸ateḷeveriā takuru hōdāˀ bākim feňḍuvafi.◂
▴*ateḷeveriā takuru hōdāś bākin feňḍuvafi.*·
The atoll chief sent a party of men to find Takuru.

61 ▸everie havara tenaduvau ea baginātā.◂
▴*everie havara tenaduvaś ea baginātā.*·
They brought him to Havaru Tinadu.

62 ▸satēka eti fāraˀ jessumaˀ fahi ee aṁbarai nadellaˀ feňḍuvalie.◂
▴*satēka eti fārak jessumaś fahi ea aṁbarai nadellaś feňḍuvalie.*·
After giving him a hundred lashes, they sent him back to Nadalla.

63 ▸takuru eḍi kaṇafaˀ negene mei hankeḍe havvā ladun mara vē varaˀ vi.◂
▴*takuru eḍi kaṇafat negene mei hankeḍe havvā ladun mara vē varaś vi.*·
When Takuru was unmasked, Hankede Havva thought she would die of shame.

64 ▸mi nikameti kan ihusās koggen, e kaṁbulēge ea dū kollāi aṁbarai addu ateḷaˀ ebege.◂
▴*mi nikameti kam ihusās kośgen, e kaṁbulēge ea dū koślāi aṁbarai aḍḍū ateḷaś ebege.*·
Feeling deceived she left him and went back to Addu Atoll.

65 ▸takuru eagē umurun bākī hiśi duvas nadellāi hēda keḍeī fakīri raśi mīhun kamāu ni hitāˀ mīhakāge gote.◂
▴*takuru eagē umurun bākī hiśi duvas nadellāi hēda keḍeī fakīri raśi mīhun kamāś ni hitā mīhakāge gote.*·
Takuru remained in Nadalla the rest of his life, the poorest and least respected man in the island

T17: **Juhā**

Aḍḍū: ʿAlī Maṇikufānu

1 ▸e' duvahi, den mi juhāu kē mīhā eba vēňdei.◂
▴ek duvahi, den mi juhā-au kē mīhā eba vēňdei.·
Once upon a time, there lived a man named Juhā.

2 ▸vara' baňḍu hā hai hūne jehi, vara' nikameti ko' vēňḍenī.◂
▴varaś baňḍu hā hai hūne jehi, varaś nikameti ko' vēňḍenī.·
He was (lit. "lived") very poor and very weak from hunger.

3 ▸den hiśī rasgefānu.◂
▴den hiśī rasgefānu.·
Furthermore (lit. "then"), there was a king.

4 ▸rasgefānu hinnei kāi baňḍa boňḍo koggen.◂
▴rasgefānu hinnei kāi baňḍa boňḍo koggen.·
The king was living (well by) making himself a big stomach by eating.

5 ▸juhāka' kāhetta' ni libe.◂
▴juhāka' kāhetta' ni libe.·
But Juhā received nothing for eating.

6 ▸vara' baňḍu hāu vē vagutu ai.◂
▴vara' baňḍu hāu vē vagutu ai.·
By the time he became more (and more) hungry.

7 ▸mehen vegen, juhā rasgefānau hasadaveri vege.◂
▴mehen vegen, juhā rasgefānau hasadaveri vege.·
Because of this, Juhā started envying the king.

8 ▸den, juhā hitā erī rasgefāna' boňḍia' dēśumāu.◂
▴den, juhā hitā erī rasgefāna' boňḍia' dēśumāu.·
Thus, it came to his mind, 'I am going to play a trick on him.'

9 ▸hitau arafē, rasgefānu hukurau ē magi meda' hedi lekakī gos, boňḍo gūfāla' lāfi.◂
▴hitau arafē, rasgefānu hukurau ē magi meda' hedi lekakī gos, boňḍo gūfāla' lāfi.·
It had come to (his) mind to lay a big dropping into the middle of the road where the king used to go to the Friday prayer.

10 ▸lāfei, hedi lekakī, bole o' bolun koppā nāgen gūfāle matte eḍagen de farāti de a' eḍagen obaga'.◂
▴lāfei, hedi lekakī, bole o' bolun koppā nāgen gūfāle matte eḍagen de farāti de a' eḍagen obaga'.·
After laying it he took off the cap which he had on (his) head, put it on the dropping and pressed (it with his) two hands on both sides.

11 ▸den, (mehen haḍagen o' vēlei), rasgefānu hukura' vaḍagannavamun juhā mehen haḍagen o' vēlei fenigen rasgefānu◂ suāla koffi, bala juhāu, ta te otī kehenaka' haḍagen tau?
▴den, (mehen haḍagen o' vēlei), rasgefānu hukura' vaḍagannavamun juhā mehen haḍagen o' vēlei fenigen rasgefānu· suāla koffi, bala juhāu, ta te otī kehenaka' haḍagen tau?
Then, when the king was ambulating to the Friday prayer and appeared where Juhā was doing this, the king asked, 'look, Juhā, why are you doing this?'

12 ▸beṇi mei kēfi, manipulāu, dene hiś tau timā diśī ranun o' dīṇakāu.◂
▴beṇi mei kēfi, manipulāu, dene hiś tau timā diśī ranun o' dīṇakāu.·
Being asked (so), he said, 'excellency, did you (not) know that I saw a bird from gold?

13 ▸e dīṇā uduhigen ē vēlei, timā bole ou etigaňḍa nagafei, elli mei dīṇā daśi vege au.◂
▴e dīṇā uduhigen ē vēlei, timā bole ou etigaňḍa nagafei, elli mei dīṇā daśi vege au.·
When this bird flew up, I lifted the thing which was on my head, threw it and so the bird got under it

14 ▸**den iñgen ās, jeheṇe mei timā mi otī eḍai obagenāu.**◂
▴*den iñgen ās, jeheṇe mei timā mi otī eḍai obagenāu.*▾
Thus, it fell down, and since it hit the ground, I have been holding (it) by pressing (it).

15 ▸**timā miā nagā' eu at-as dū kollī fehē, miā ebēṇeti mi otī au.**◂
▴*timā miā nagā' eu at-as dū kollī fehē, miā ebēṇeti mi otī au.*▾
If I let loose but one hand to take it, it might happen that it disappears.'

16 ▸**manipuḷāu miā nagai derefelāk kei.**◂
▴*manipuḷāu miā nagai derefelāk kei.*▾
He said: 'Sultan, would you please lift this (for me)!'

17 ▸**beṇi mei, rasgefānu tofigañḍi hifafei, halalāi nagā' hiñgi mei, juhā kēfī, manipuḷāu, tehen kami ni ēśiau.**◂
▴*beṇi mei, rasgefānu tofigañḍi hifafei, halalāi nagā' hiñgi mei, juhā kēfi, manipuḷāu, tehen kami ni ēśiau.*▾
When the king grasped the hat, and tried to lift (it) while holding (it), Juhā said, 'excellency, in this way it may not work (lit. "go").'

18 ▸**e' farāti daśun a' kullā' kei.**◂
▴*e' farāti daśun a' kullā' kei.*▾
He told him to push his hand under (the hat on) one side.

19 ▸**beṇi mei, rasgefānu maḍa maḍun maḍa maḍun toppigañḍi etera' a' veduvi mei, maḍa etta' ati jehige.**◂
▴*beṇi mei, rasgefānu maḍa maḍun maḍa maḍun toppigañḍi etera' a' veduvi mei, maḍa etta' ati jehige.*▾
When the king very very slowly pushed his hand inside the hat, it (the hand) touched something soft.

20 ▸**jeheṇe mei, miśi fihaga'.**◂
▴*jeheṇe mei, miśi fihaga'.*▾
When it touched (that), he closed (his) fist.

21 ▸**miśi fihaga' mei, ati ahurun ahurun gū divage.**◂
▴*miśi fihaga' mei, ati ahurun ahurun gū divage.*▾
After closing his fist, the excrements started running through the fingers of (his) hand.

22 ▸**juhā hedī lekakī, baḍi baḍi lāfei divi ebege.**◂
▴*juhā hedī lekakī, baḍi baḍi lāfei divi ebege.*▾
Juhā, however, ran away, moving his body to and fro.

Fig. 6: *Fatko[illegible]*

T18: **Buddiveri musaḷo**[*]

The wise rabbit

Fua' Mulaku: Āminat Muḥammad Sa'īd

[*] This is a well-known story from the Old Indic *Pañcatantra* (I, 8 in the edition M.R. KALE, Pañcatantra of Viṣṇuśarman, 3rd ed., Delhi 1982, 46 ff.); for other versions of the fable cf. Th. BENFEY, Pantschatantra: Fünf Bücher indischer Fabeln, Märchen und Erzählungen, 1. Th., Leipzig 1859, 179 ff.

1 ▷ed duvahaki vēṅḍun ai jaṅgaliaki minikāvage'.◁
△*ek duvahaki vēṅḍunu ai jaṅgaliaki minikāvagek.* ▽
In a jungle, there once lived a tiger.

2 ▷mi minikāvago hadā vaḍāmakī mi jaṅgalie tibē hai kudu janavāra te kanīy ai.◁
△*mi minikāvago hadā vaḍāmakī mi jaṅgalie tibē hai kudu janavāra te kanī ai.* ▽
He used to eat small living beings in this jungle.

3 ▷den mi kan jaṅgalie ehen janavāro ekaha boṅḍo vegen emmen sallā kō.◁
△*den mi kam jaṅgalie ehen janavāro ekaha boṅḍo vegen ekmen sallā kō.* ▽
Because of this, the other animals in the jungle came together for a meeting.

4 ▷den nimmī euśa sitiya feṇovannāve.◁
△*den nimmī euśa sitiya feṇovanna eve.* ▽
They decided to send him a letter.

5 ▷den euśa timāmenge tedein kommias mīhaku maṇikufānenge keumakaha komme duvaheki ekaku kā ettaka enna.◁
△*den euśa timāmenge tedein kommi-as mīhaku maṇikufānenge keumakaha komme duvaheki ekaku kā ettaka enna.* ▽
One (lit. "a person") from among us will come to (be) your excellency's meal every day.

6 ▷den mi kan singā gabūl keḍi ai.◁
△*den mi kam singā qabūl keḍi ai.* ▽
The lion (!) accepted it.

7 ▷komme duvaheki e' janavāroe' ai.◁
△*komme duvaheki ek janavāroek ai.* ▽
Each day one animal came (to him).

8 ▷adakī musaḷoge duvahai.◁
△*adakī musaḷoge duvas-ai.* ▽
Today is the day of the rabbit.

9 ▷den musaḷośa giūnī mā lahen ai.◁
△*den musaḷośa giūnī mā lahen ai.* ▽
To the rabbit it happened to come very late.

10 ▷den singā hīśī rīḍi arāgennāi.◁
△*den singā hīśī rīḍi arāgen-āi.* ▽
So the lion became angry.

11 ▷singā ehī ai, kumā tai mi hai laha vī.◁
△*singā ehī ai, kumā tai mi hai laha vī.* ▽
The lion asked, 'why has it happened (lit. "become") (that you come) as late as this?'

12 ▷beṇum-mā beṇi ai, mi jaṅgalie o' ehen minīkāvago kahāigen timāśa ni giūnī ai.◁
△*beṇum-mā beṇi ai, mi jaṅgalie ot ehen minīkāvago kahāigen timāśa ni giūnī ai.* ▽
At (his) saying so, (the rabbit) said, 'I could not come to you because of another tiger living (lit. "being") in this jungle who scratched me.

13 ▷eu timā kanna beṇaha hedī ai.◁
△*eu timā kanna beṇaha hedī ai.* ▽
He said that he would eat me himself.'

14 ▷**den singā beṇi ai mi jaňgalie ni hinnā hinnai timā varo mīhaku; mi jaňgalien emme boňḍī timā ve ai.**◁
△*den singā beṇi-ai mi jaňgalie ni hinnā hinnai timā varo mīhaku; mi jaňgalien ekme boňḍī timā ve ai.* ▽
Then the lion said, 'there will be nobody else in this jungle like me. I am the biggest one in this jungle.'

15 ▷**kēfē, gēyāi singāyā ekī musāḷo.**◁
△*kēfē, gēī-āi singāyā ekī musāḷo.* ▽
At (his) saying so, the rabbit went together with the lion (to show him).

16 ▷**e o' tana' balanna gē kal fen gaḍeki etere ti ōtai.**◁
△*e ot tanaś balanna gē kal fen gaňḍeki etere ti ōt-ai.* ▽
When they went (around) looking where that one was, they found him (lit. "he was") in a water pond.

17 ▷**mi singā o' vēlai, ene' siňga hedī vaḍāmakī, fen gaḍi eteraha fummali ai.**◁
△*mi singā ot vēlai, enek siňga hedī vaḍāmakī, fen gaňḍi eteraha fummali ai.* ▽
This lion being there, the other lion jumped into the water pond.

18 ▷**fummum mā eu marovege ai.**◁
△*fummum mā eu marovege ai.* ▽
Jumping in, he died.

19 ▷**euśa mi fenūnī fen gaḍi eteren euge hianī ai.**◁
△*euśa mi fenūnī fen gaňḍi eteren euge hianī ai.* ▽
What he had seen was his (own) reflection (lit. "shadow") from inside the water pond.

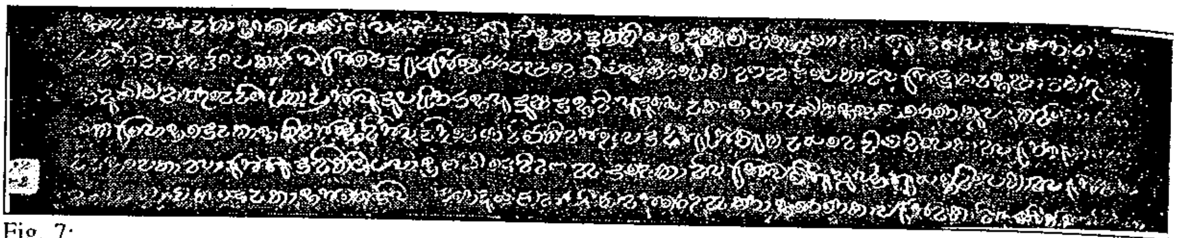

Fig. 7: *Lōmāfānu* L1, pl.

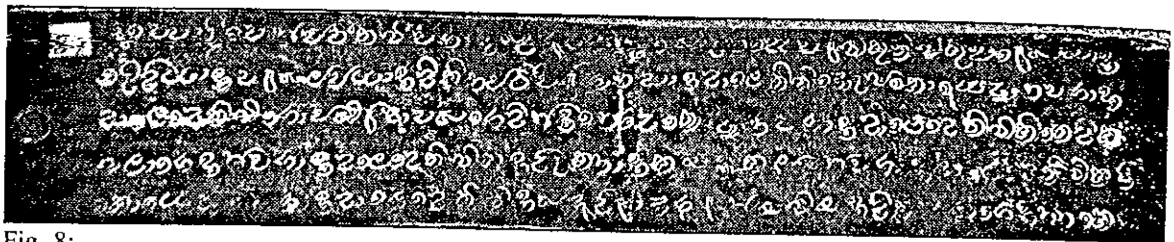

Fig. 8: *Lōmāfānu* L2, pl. 15

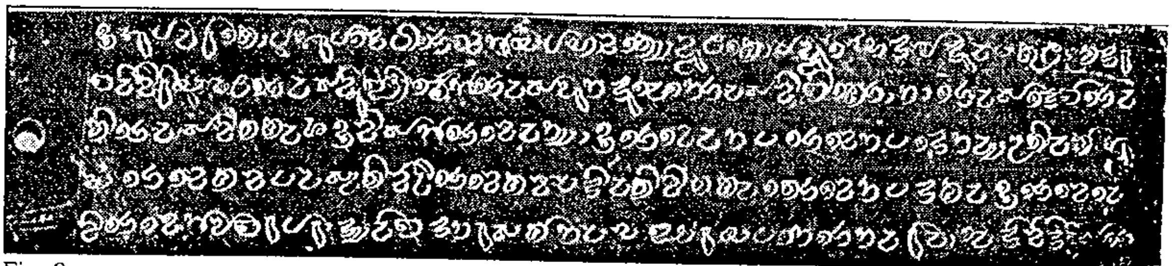

Fig. 9: *Lōmāfānu* L3, p.

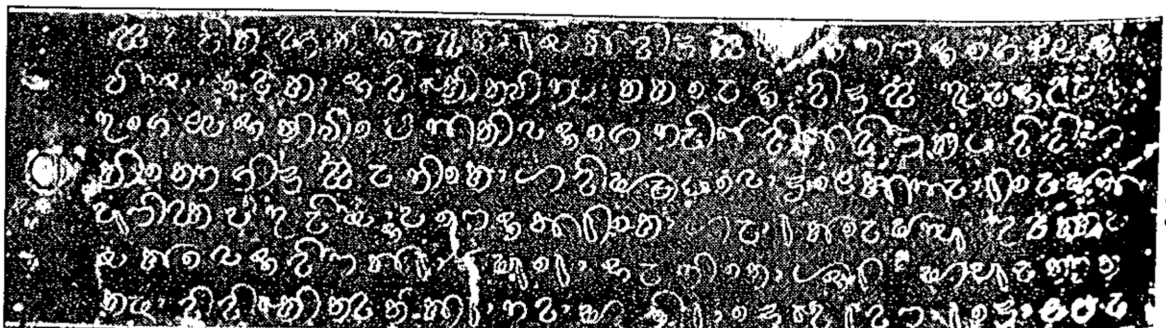

Fig. 10: *Lōmā*

Survey of

historical documents

Copper-plate Documents in *Evēla* and *Dives akuru*

(*Lōmāfānu*)

L1: This *lōmāfānu* was registered as no. 1 by BELL (1940, 180) who named it after "Haḍḍummati" (today Lām) Atoll; given that its subject matter is about the donation of a mosque on the island "Gamuduvu" (today Gamu or Gan) of this atoll[1], the name "**Gamu Lōmāfānu**" would be more appropriate. According to BELL, originally this *lōmāfānu* must have consisted at least of 17 plates originally, the (authentic) page numbers of the manuscript ending with *mṇ* = 17. 15 plates have been preserved, with one plate missing at the beginning. A "rough translation" by BELL can be found under no. 907 (86/82) as part of the author's bequest in the Government Archives, Colombo (Sri Lanka)[2]. According to this translation, the numbering of the plates ranges from *f* (= 2; "i") to *ms* (= 17). The fragments that were left unaccounted for by BELL have provisionally been subsumed under *mx* and *my* here. A plate which BELL subsumed as no. 19 under "Haddummati No. 2" (cf. L4) seems to be a further fragment of the present *lōmāfānu*, given that it exhibits six lines as all the plates listed under L1 do; this plate is referred to as *mz* here. The *lōmāfānu* is dated into the year "582 after the Prophet (Muḥammad) went to heaven"; if this passage refers not to the Ascension of the Prophet (*miʿrāǧ*) but to his death (in A.D. 632), the *lōmāfānu* must have been written about 1194 A.D. This dating coincides with the statement that the *lōmāfānu* was published in the third year of the reign of King Gaḍanādītya.[3] According to the Chronicle of the Kings (*Rādavaḷi*, cf. below: RC 11,10), the beginning of the reign of "Gannādītta" must have occurred in A.H. 588 ≈ A.D. 1192; the king ruled for seven years.

L2: "**Isdū Lōmāfānu**": This *lōmāfānu*, which is named after the island Isdū (in Haddummati or Lām Atoll), is the most voluminous one that has been preserved; it comprises 20 plates à 2 pages à 5 lines. Its first edition was published in 1986 by HASSAN AHMED MANIKU and G.D. WIJAYAWARDHANA ("Isdhoo Loamaafaanu", Colombo: Royal Asiatic Society). The dating of this *lōmāfānu* is identical with that of L1.

L3: "**Daṁbidū Lōmāfānu**": This document, called "Eterukolu (Palace) Lomafanu" or "Lōmāfānu of the inner palace" by BELL (1940, 180 f.), would be better named after

[1] For the atolls and islands referred to in this survey, cf. the map printed as fig. 11 on p. 224 below.
[2] I am grateful to the director of the Archive who allowed me to inspect and use this material.
[3] The name of this king must rather be read as *Gaganādītya*; cf. GIPPERT (forthcoming), fn. 13.

the island of Daṁbidū (in Haddummati or Lām Atoll), because its subject is the donation of a mosque on this island. According to BELL, it must have contained 16 plates (counted from *m* = 1 to *mg* = 16) in the beginning, with plate 14 (*mg* = 16) missing already at the time of BELL, who transcribed plates *m* (single-sided: "A") and *mg* (front page: "A") only. A complete but not very reliable edition was published in 1982 by the "National Centre for Linguistic and Historical Research" in Male (then directed by HASSAN AHMED MANIKU) under the title of "Loamaafaanu: Transliteration, Translation and notes on Palaeography. Vol. 1". This *lōmafānū* is dated into the year "583 after the Ascension of the Prophet to heaven" and into the fourth year of the reign of King Gaḍanādītya; thus, the year A.D. 1195 can be regarded as the date of its origin.

L4: This *lōmāfānu*, which BELL (1940, 182) registered under the name of the "Haddummati Atoll" as well (cp. L1 above), should be better named "**Kudahuvadū Lōmāfānu**" after the island it concerns (in Nīlandu South or Dāl Atoll). It contains 8 plates (à 2 pages à 7 lines) which were presumably written by two different hands, possibly not at the same time. The *lōmāfānu* has not yet been edited so far; a rough translation with a transcription of the first two pages can be found in BELL's bequest (Government Archives, Colombo) under the signature 906/86:81, however. The "Nelles-Jumbo-Guide Malediven", München 1994, p. 47 shows a total view of the given *lōmāfānu* but erroneously identifies it with the "Isdhoo loamaafaana" (sic; cf. L2 above). The date of the *lōmāfānu* refers to the sixth year of the reign of Queen (!) Rāarādesvara, who, according to the chronicle (RC 12,7), ascended the throne in A.H. 630 (≈ A.D. 1232); accordingly, the *lōmāfānu* must have been written A.D. 1237-1238.

L5: The first edition of a document named "**Boḍugalu Lōmāfānu**" can be found in BELL (1940, 182 ff). According to this edition, it contained 10 plates (à 2 pages à 5 lines) at BELL's time. Its date, which is written in Arabic on the first plate, refers to the year A.H. 578, approximately corresponding to A.D. 1356 as the year of its origin. It coincides with the reignal period of Queen Rādaābarnna, who, according to the chronicle (RC 17,1), ascended the throne (for the first time) in A.H. 748.

L6: This single plate of a *lōmāfānu* was published by BELL (1930, 541 ff.) as "no. 1". according to BELL, it belonged to "Mr. E. 'Abdul Hamíd Dídí" in Colombo at that time. BELL stated a high degree of similarity with the "Boḍugalu Lōmāfānu" (L5) from the impression of its handwriting and the figuring of the words in general. There are no references as to the date of origin.

L7: Another single plate of a *lōmāfānu*; it was published by BELL (1930, 552 ff.) as "no. 2". There are no references to the date of origin either.

L8: Fragment (about the half) of a single plate which was published by BELL (1930, 560 ff.) as "no. 3". The *al-ġāzī Ibrāhīm Pāṭinā[kinage]* mentioned here (the name can be supplemented according to the Haññamīdū-Fatkoḷu, cf. F6 below) seems to be identical with Sultan Ibrāhīm III who reigned from A.H. 993 to 1017 (≈ A.D. 1585-1609) and was killed on 28th Šawwal 1017 A.H. (≈ 4.2.1609) when fighting against Malabar pirates. With high probability, the *lōmāfānu* refers to the time of reign of Muhammad Šuğā'i 'Imād ud-dīn (A.H. 1029-1058 ≈ A.D. 1620-1648; cf. BELL 1930, 561 f.).

Documents in Dives-akuru on paper and wood

(*Fatkoḷu*)

F1: "**Koḷufuśi Fatkoḷu**": The document is undated but it can with certainty be assigned to the period of the reign of Sultan Muḥammad Boḍu Takurufānu (between A.D. 1573 and A.D. 1585). It was first edited by BELL (1940, 188 f.). Its subject is the donation of a mosque on the island of Koḷufuśi in Mulaku (Mīm) Atoll.

F2: "**Hasan Pāṭinā Fatkoḷu**": An unedited *fatkoḷu* dated the 17th Šawwal A.H. 1036 (≈ 1.7.1627). Clearly it notarises a decoration.

F3: "**Gan Fatkoḷu**": The document which was edited for the first time by BELL (1940, 190 f.) iš also called "Filā Fatkoḷu"; it consists of an inscription on a wooden board of 1,70 × 0,54 m which attests the donation of a mosque on Gan Island in Aḍḍū Atoll. It is dated the 23rd Muḥarram A.H. 1062 (≈ 5.1.1652), i.e. the fifth year of the reign of Sulṭan Ibrāhīm Iskandar I (time of reign 1648-1687). A coloured photograph of a part of the inscription can be found in M. AMIN, D. WILLETTS, P. MARSHALL, "Journey through Maldives", Nairobi 1992, 14.

F4: "**Bā Miskit Fatkoḷu**": The text attesting the donation of a mosque of the same name in Māle is written on a wooden beam which has been preserved in the Māle Museum since the destruction of the mosque some years ago. A first edition of the inscription (transcribed into *Tāna*) was published in MM, 38 f. The text is dated the 11th Ramadān A.H. 1062 (≈ 16.8.1652); this date again coincides with the fifth year of reign of Ibrāhīm Iskandar I.

F5: "**Gamu Fatkoḷu**": The unedited *fatkoḷu* attests a donation for the rebuilding of the Friday Mosque on Gamu Island in Haddummati (Lām) Atoll (cp. also L1) by Sultan Muḥammad (son of Ḥāğğī ʿAlī Tukkalā) who reigned from A.H 1104-1112 ≈ A.D. 1692-1701. It is dated into the year A.H. 1108 (≈ A.D. 1696).

F6: "**Haññamīdū Fatkoḷu**": This unedited *fatkoḷu* (cp. fig. 5, p. 200) is not identical with the document registered and partly edited by BELL (1930, 565, note 2) under the name of "Haññа Mídú Fat-koḷu" (sic) although both documents refer to the grave of the same Al-ġāzī Ibrāhīm (cf. also L8) on the island of Haññamīdū in Ari (Alif) Atoll. The given *fatkoḷu* notarises that Sultan Muḥammad ʿImād-ud-dīn in the seventh year of his reign transferred the care for this grave to a certain ʿAlī Muqrī ("recitator of the Qurʾān"). Probably, this Muḥammad ʿImād-ud-dīn is the second Sultan known under this name who reigned A.H. 1116-1133 (≈ A.D. 1704-1721); correspondingly, this *fatkoḷu* must have been written by 1711 A.D.

F7: "**Isseri Fatkoḷu**": This document contains a decree by Sultan Muẓaffar Muḥammad ʿImād ud-dīn II who reigned from A.H. 1116 to 1133 (≈ A.D. 1704-1721); it is dated into the year A.H. 1127 ≈ A.D. 1715 and concerns a donation to the island Isseri in Nīlandū South (Dāl) Atoll.

F8: "**Kaňdūdū Fatkoḷu**": The unedited manuscript which is dated into the year A.H. 1147 (≈ A.D. 1735) attests a donation for the Friday Mosque on the island Kaňdūdū in Koḷumaḍulu (Tā) Atoll by Sultan Ibrāhīm Iskandar II who reigned from A.H. 1133 to 1163 (≈ A.D. 1721-1750).

F9: **"Kuramati Fatkoḷu"**: The undated, unedited *fatkoḷu* attests the installation of a certain Mūsā, son of Maḥmūd, as the Ḥatīb of an island with the same name in "Huvadummatti" (Huvadū or Gāf) Atoll by Sultan Ibrāhīm Iskandar II (cf. F8 above). An exact date is missing.

F10: **"Kuḍahuvadū Fatkoḷu"**: This document was edited by BELL (1940, 193 ff.; the illustration given there as plate M contains but the beginning up to line 21). It is dated into the year A.H. 1164 (≈ A.D. 1751), i.e. the second year of the reign of Sultan Muḥammad ʿImād-ud-dīn III (reigning period A.H. 1163-1173 ≈ A.D. 1750-1759). It approves the renewal of an older "*lomāpānu*" concerning the mosque of the island Kuḍahuvadū in Nīlandu (Dāl) Atoll. Possibly this refers to the Lōmāfānu "L4" (cf. above).

F11: **"Diamiňgilī Fatkoḷu"**: This unedited *fatkoḷu* is dated into the year A.H. 1164 (≈ A.D. 1751) too, but it refers to the third year of the reign of Muḥammad ʿImād-ud-dīn III. It attests the donation of a mosque on the island of Diamiňgilī in Koḷumaḍulu (Tā) Atoll (cf. fig. 6, p. 210; a coloured photograph is printed in "Maldives. A Nation of Islands", Male' 1983, 20 f.).

F12: **"Tinadū Fatkoḷu"**: This unedited and undated document was not issued by a Sultan but by different officials. It refers (maybe as a court decision?) to a certain Don Kaňbuloge from Havoḍḍā or Tinadū island (in Huvadū South or Gāf-Dāl Atoll). Probably it was written in the second half of the 18th c.

F13: **"Havoḍḍā Fatkoḷu"**: This unedited *fatkoḷu* which cannot be dated exactly notarises a gift to a certain Ḥassan, son of Muḥammad Ḥatīb, from the island Havoḍḍā in "Huvadummatti" (Huvadū South or Gāf-Dāl) Atoll. Like the preceding document, it probably dates from the second half of the 18th c.

The Chronicle (*Rādavaḷi*)

RA: A *Tāna* manuscript of the *Rādavaḷi*, i.e. the Maldivian chronicle of the kings, which was registered as variant "A" by BELL who published but a short excerpt (one page only; cf. 1940, 198 f.). This version of the *Rādavaḷi* ends with Sultan Muḥammad Kalaminjā, i.e. Muẓaffar Muḥammad ʿImād ud-dīn II, who reigned from A.H. 1116 to 1133 ≈ A.D. 1704-1721. According to BELL, the manuscript consists of 31 pages.

RB: A manuscript of the *Rādavaḷi* written in *Dives akuru* and registered as "B" by BELL who published an excerpt of it. According to BELL, the last name that was recorded in this ms. was that of Sultan Muḥammad ʿImād-ud-dīn III who reigned from A.H. 1163 to 1173 ≈ A.D. 1750-1759; thus, it must have been written about 40 years later than ms. A (cf. above).

RC: A second *Tāna* manuscript of the *Rādavaḷi* which was edited in facsimile in 1979 by the Divehi bahāi tārīxaś xidmat kurā qaumī marukazu [National Center for Linguistic and Historical Research] in Māle. It consists of 38 pages, the content of p. 10 being almost a duplicate of that of p. 9; a fact that can possibly be explained by assuming a change of the underlying manuscript model. This variant — which represents the only complete version of the *Rādavaḷi* we dispose of so far — ends with Šayḫ Ḥāǧǧī Ḥasan who reigned from A.H. 1193 to 1213 ≈ A.D. 1779-1799.

Inscriptions in *Dives akuru*

Inscriptions from Aḍḍū:

IDAH 1: An unedited inscription which cannot be dated exactly, on the gravestone of a certain Don ʿAlī Takurupānu, son of Ḥassan Takurupānu and ʿAīša Bīpānu, from the graveyard of the Medu Mosque in Hitadū.

IDAM 1: An unedited inscription on the gravestone of a certain Ṣanfa, grand-daughter (?) of Muḥammad Paṅḍiā Takurupānu, dated 11th (?) Šaʿbān A.H. 1134 (≈ 19.5.1625). An excellent photograph of this gravestone has been published in "Nelles-Jumbo-Guide Malediven", München 1994, 186.

Inscriptions from Māle:

IDMBM 1: Inscription on the gravestone of a certain ʿAīša Bīpānu, daughter of ʿAlī Baḍeri Takurupānu from Takandū and Āminā Kaṁbulōge from Mārandū (both islands are located in Tiladummati North or Hā-Alif Atoll), died 5th Šaʿbān 1148 (≈ 31.12.1735), from the cemetery of a "Baṅḍāra Mosque" in Māle. A picture of this stone can be found in BELL 1924 (pl. I), its transcription and translation ib. p. 291; for the person of ʿAlī Baḍeri Takurupānu cf. ib. 298. The stone seems not to exist any longer today. It was neither mentioned in the description of the Baṅḍāra Mosque of Henveru in MM, no. 39, p. 99 f., nor in the description of the Baṅḍāra Mosque of Māfannu, ib. no. 24, p. 66 f.

IDMDM 1: Inscription on the gravestone of a certain Ṣanfā Bīpānu, daughter of the Wazīr Ḥāǧǧī Ḥussain Famuladēri, died 22nd Ǧumād al-aḫīra A.H. 1114 (≈ 13.11.1702), from the cemetery of the former Dolidan Mosque in Māle. A picture of the gravestone can be found in BELL 1924 (pl. I), a transcription and translation of the inscription ib., p. 291. Obviously, the stone does not exist any longer either.

IDMDM 2: Inscription on the tombstone of a certain ʿAīša Kabulōge, daughter of Muḥammad Mēnāi Kalōge, died 15th Raǧab 1105 A.H. (≈ 12.3.1694). In MM, no. 14, p. 29, this inscription was transcribed into *Tāna* and listed as No. 5. According to a photography (private property of HASSAN AHMED MANIKU), the original place of this gravestone was to the left of that registered under IDMDM 1, in the graveyard of the Baṅḍāra Mosque in Māle. Obviously it has not been preserved either.

IDMEM 1: Inscription on the tombstone of a certain Maria Kaṅbādi Kilage, daughter of Sultan Muḥammad ʿImād-ud-dīn (I, reigned from A.H. 1029 to 1058 A.H. ≈ A.D. 1620-1648), and one Fātuma Kilage from Bārašu (today Bāraʾ, in Tiladummati North / Hā-Alif Atoll), from the graveyard of the former Eterekoiḷu ("Inner Palace") Mosque; the date of the death is given as the "14th Ramaḍān" without a year being engraved. A picture of the gravestone was provided by BELL (1924, pl. II), together with a transcription and translation (ib., p. 292). In MM, the mosque is listed by the name of "Masǧid ʿAfīf-ud-dīn" (nr. 32, p. 82), the stone appearing as no. 3. Probably it has not been preserved.

IDMEM 3: Inscription on a pillar which reminds of a tombstone by its form; it was placed near the "Eterekoiḷu Mosque" (Inner Palace Mosque) in Māle. It contains a report on the capturing of Māle by Malabar conquerors on the 13th Ṣafar A.H. 1166 (≈ 12.12.1752), who on this occasion kidnapped Sultan Muḥammad ʿImād-ud-dīn III, and the reconquest of Māle by Ḥassan Ranṇa Baḍeri Maṇikupānu and the rebuilding of the palace by Ismāil Māvaḍi. The inscription was first edited by BELL (1940, 173 f. with pl. A, 4); in MM it is listed as no. 1 of the stones pertaining to the mosque "Masğid ʿAfīf-ud-dīn" (no. 32), p. 82. For the contents cp. also ITMP 1-2.

IDMEM 4: Inscription on the gravestone of one Kadīdā (Ḥadīğa) Bīpānu, daughter of ʿĀīša Kaṁbulege from Maḍidū (?, in Miladummaḍulu North or Šaviyani Atoll) and ʿAlī Takurupānu (?) from Māviliputi (?), died 20th Ğumād-al-awwal 1086 A.H. (≈ 11.8.1675), from the cemetery of the Eterekoiḷu ("Inner Palace") Mosque. The inscription seems to be identical with that given as No. 9 in MM under mosque no. 32 (cp. IDMEM 1) on p. 83. Apparently, the stone no longer exists, but a photograph of it has been preserved (private property of HASAN AHMED MANIKU).

IDMHM 1: Inscription on the western wall of the portal of the Friday Mosque (Hukuru Miskit) in Māle, attesting the donation of the Mosque by Sultan Ibrāhīm Iskandar I who reigned 1648-1687 A.D. It has not preserved but there is a picture of it in MHM (1984, 267). A first edition was published by BELL (1940, 171 f. under no. 6e), a second one can be found in MHM (1984, 305).

IDMHM 2: Inscription on the gravestone of a certain Ḥussain Uttama Paḍiāru Takuru, son of Muḥammad Uttama Paḍiāru Takuru from Aḍḍū, died 14th Šaʿbān 1072 A.H. (≈ 4.4.1662), from the graveyard of the Friday Mosque in Māle. The stone is located close to the south-western corner of the mosque; on its backside there is an Arabic inscription. MHM (1984) exhibits a picture of good quality (p. 381) and a transcription into *Tāna* (p. 282).

IDMHM 3: Inscription on the gravestone of a certain Ḥussain Boḍu Doṭimena Kinagepānu, son of Wazīr Muḥammad Pāmuladeri Maṇikupānu, died 6th Ḏū'l-ḥiğğa 1178 A.H. (≈ 27.5.1765), from the cemetery of the Friday Mosque. The stone was registered as no. XIII, 142 in MHM (1984, 372).

IDMHM 4: Inscription on the gravestone of a certain Ḥussain Āmin (?) Kilagepānu, grandson (?) of ʿUmar Rannabaderi Kilage, died 18th Ğumād al-awwal 1089 A.H. (≈ 8.7.1678), from the graveyard of the Friday Mosque. The stone is listed as no. IV, 9 in MHM (1984, 346).

IDMHM 5: Inscription on the tombstone of a certain Āminā Kilagepānu (?), daughter of Ḥussain Boḍu Doṭimena Kilagepānu, from the cemetery of the Friday Mosque in Māle. Its dating has become almost illegible (13. xxx A.H. 11xx). Apparently the stone was not registered in MHM (1984).

IDMHM 6: Inscription on the gravestone of a certain Ibrāhīm (?) Hadeigiri Kalogepānu, died 20th Ğumād al-aḫīra 1131 A.H. (≈ 10.7.1719) (?), from the cemetery of the Friday Mosque in Māle. The inscription has been heavily damaged, the stone having been broken several times. Apparently, it was not registered in MHM (1984).

[DMHM 7: Inscription on the gravestone of a certain Al-ʿAzīz ʿAlī Rannabaḍeri Kilagepānu, son of Wazīr Muḥammad Fāmuladeri Manikupānu, died 29th Šaʿbān 1196 A.H. (≈ 9.8.1782), from the cemetery of the Friday-Mosque in Māle. The stone was registered as no. II, 14 in MHM (1984, 327).

[DMMM 1-4: Inscription on the four walls of the so-called Medu Miskit of Māle, attesting the donation of the mosque by Sultan Ibrāhīm Iskandar I who reigned 1648-1687 A.D. MHM (1984) exhibits a reproduction (p. 173 ff.) as well as a transcription of the text into *Tāna* (p. 97 and 165 ff.). In MM the inscription is not mentioned in the treatise of Medu Miskit (no. 7, p. 14).

Inscriptions in *Tāna*

Inscriptions from Aḍḍū:

ITAG 1: Unedited inscription on the gravestone of a certain Ḥussain Maṇikufānu, son of Ḥasan Maṇikufānu from Gan, died 24th Ǧumād al-awwal A.H. 1148 (≈ 11.10.1735), from the cemetery of the mosque in Gan. Together with three other stones inscribed in *Tāna* (ITAG 2-4), the stone stands in a family grave.

ITAG 2: Unedited inscription on the gravestone of a certain Ibrāhīm Maṇikufānu, son of Sultan ʿAlī bin as-sulṭān Ḥassan Maṇikufānu (ʿAlī VII / Ḥassan X., cf. ITAH 1 / 3), died 28th Ramaḍān 1171 (≈ 4.6.1758), from the cemetery of the mosque in Gan (cp. ITAG 1).

ITAG 3: Unedited inscription on the gravestone of a certain Āminā Māṇika (?), daughter (?) of Ḥussain Maṇikufānu (cp. ITAG 1), died 8th Ḥaǧǧ (Du'l-ḥiǧǧa) 1201 A.H. (≈ 20.9.1787), from the cemetery of the mosque in Gan.

ITAG 6: Unedited inscription on the gravestone of a certain Āminā *Kaṁbulēge*, daughter of (Šuǧā') bin Muḥammad Kalēge, died 23rd Rabīʿ ul-awwal 1173 A.H. (≈ 13.11.1759), from the cemetery of the mosque in Gan (cp. ITAG 1).

ITAH 1: Unedited inscription on the gravestone of a certain Ǧabra'il Saʿīd bin al-ḥāǧǧī Ḥassan (= Sultan Ḥassan X., reigning A.H. 1113 ≈ A.D. 1701), son of Sultan ʿAlī (VII, reigning A.H. 1112 ≈ A.D. 1701), died 14th Ṣafar 1188 A.H. (≈ 26.4.1774), from the cemetery of the Friday Mosque in Hitadū. Together with the tombstone ITAH 2 (cf. below) this stone stands in the so-called "Sultan's grave". For the two sultans concerned cf. BELL (1924, 292).

ITAH 2: Unedited inscription on the gravestone of a certain ʿAlī Maṇikufānu (Takuru?), died 15th Ǧumād al-awwal 1205 A.H. (≈ 20.1.1791), from the cemetery of the Friday Mosque in Hitadū.

ITAH 3: Unedited inscription on the gravestone of a Wazīr Ḥassan bin ʿAlī bin al-sulṭān ḥāǧǧī Ḥassan (X) bin al-sulṭān ʿAlī al-*Karīm* (VII, cf. ITAH 1 above), died 24th Muḥarram 1222 A.H. (≈ 3.4.1807), from the cemetery of the Friday Mosque in Hitadū.

ITAH 4: Unedited inscription on the gravestone of a certain ʿAīša Manika, daughter (?) of Ḥassan Manikufānu, died 20th Muḥarram 1179 (≈ 9.7.1765), from the cemetery of the Friday Mosque in Hitadū. This and another stone (ITAG 5) stand in the so-called "donor's grave".

ITAH 6: Unedited inscription on the gravestone of a certain Muḥammad Takurufānu, son of Yūsuf Faňḍia Takurufānu (?), died 20th Ḏū'l-qaʿda 1134 A.H. (≈ 1.9.1722), from the cemetery of the Friday Mosque in Hitadū.

ITAM 1: Unedited inscription on the gravestone of a certain Āminā Bīfānu, daughter of Sittī Bīfānu and Muḥammad Bodu Takurufānu, died 1st Ḥağğ (Ḏū'l-ḥiğğa) 1161 A.H. (≈ 22.11.1749), from the cemetery in Mīdū.

Inscriptions from Fuaʾ Mulaku:

ITFM 2: Unedited inscription on the gravestone of a certain Ibrāhīm, son of Hussain Fānu, died 4th Ḏū'l-qaʿda (?) 1290 A.H. (≈ 24.12.1873), from the cemetery of Daḍumagu in Fuaʾ Mulaku.

Inscriptions from Māle:

ITMHM 1: Inscription on the gravestone of a certain Muḥammad Maṇikufānu, son of Fāmuladēri Maṇikufānu (?), died 20th Ḏū'l-qaʿda (x13x), from the cemetery of the Friday Mosque in Māle. The stone is registered as no. I, 52 in MHM (1984, 320).

ITMHM 2: Inscription on the gravestone of a certain Ibrāhīm Maṇikufānu, son of a Wazīr Ḥassan Haku[ra]i Takurufānu (cf. ITMHM 4; for the person in question cf. JRAS 1924, 298) and Āminā Manikufānu from Fuaʾ Mulaku, died 3rd Raǧāb 1219 A.H. (≈ 8.10.1804), from the cemetery of the Friday Mosque in Māle. The stone is registered as no. I, 48 in MHM (1984, 319).

ITMHM 3: Inscription on the gravestone of a certain Fāṭumā (sic, in Arabic) Manikufānu, grand-daughter of ʿUmar Bodu Baḍēri Takurufānu, from Aḍḍū, died 12th Ḏū'l-qaʿda 1190 A.H. (≈ 23.12.1776), from the cemetery of the Friday Mosque in Māle. The stone is registered as no. I, 46 in MHM (1984, 319).

ITMHM 4: Inscription on the gravestone of a certain Fātumā Manikufānu, daughter of the Great Wazīr Ḥassan Hakuraʾ Takurufānu (cf. ITMHM 2) from Takkuda (Tiladummati North / Hā-Alif Atoll), died 12th Ḏū'l-qaʿda 1195 A.H. (≈ 30.10.1781), from the cemetery of the Friday Mosque in Māle. The stone is registered as no. I, 45 in MHM (1984, 318 f.).

ITMHM 7: Inscription on the gravestone of a certain Ḥawwā Manikufānu, daughter of Kalu Don ʿAlī Takurufānu and Fātuma Fānu from Boḍugalu, died 9th Rabīʿ al-awwal (?) 1193 A.H. (≈ 27.3.1779), from the cemetery of the Friday Mosque in Māle. The stone is registered as no. III, 4 in MHM (1984, 334).

ITMKM 1: Inscription in the outer wall of the Kaluvakaru Mosque in M[illegible] which attests the foundation of the mosque by Sultan Ḥassan Nūr-ud-dīn ([illegible]gning A.H. 1193-1213 ≈ A.D. 1779-1799) in the tenth year of his reign. [illegible] mosque, whose original place was in the middle of the main street of M[illegible] (Bodu Magu) in Henveru quarter, was transferred to the south-eastern corner [illegible] the Sultan's Park in the 1980ies (private information from HASSAN AHMED M[illegible](KU).

ITMP 1-2: Inscriptions on two wooden beams which were originally [illegible]xed outside and inside of the lintel above the portal of the Sultan's [illegible]ce; today both inscriptions are exhibited in the Māle Museum. Their conte[illegible]similar to that of the *Dives akuru* inscription IDMEM 3 but using other w[illegible]s) is about the conquest of Māle, which was accompanied by the ki[illegible]ping of Sultan Muḥammad ʿImād-ud-dīn III, by Malabar conquerors on t[illegible]3th Ṣafar 1166 A.H. (≈ 12.12.1752), the reconquest of Māle by Ha[illegible] Raṇṇa Baḍeri Maṇikufānu, and the reconstruction of the palace by a cer[illegible] Ismāīl Māvaḍi. The inscription was first edited by BELL (1940, 174 f., no. 2[illegible]

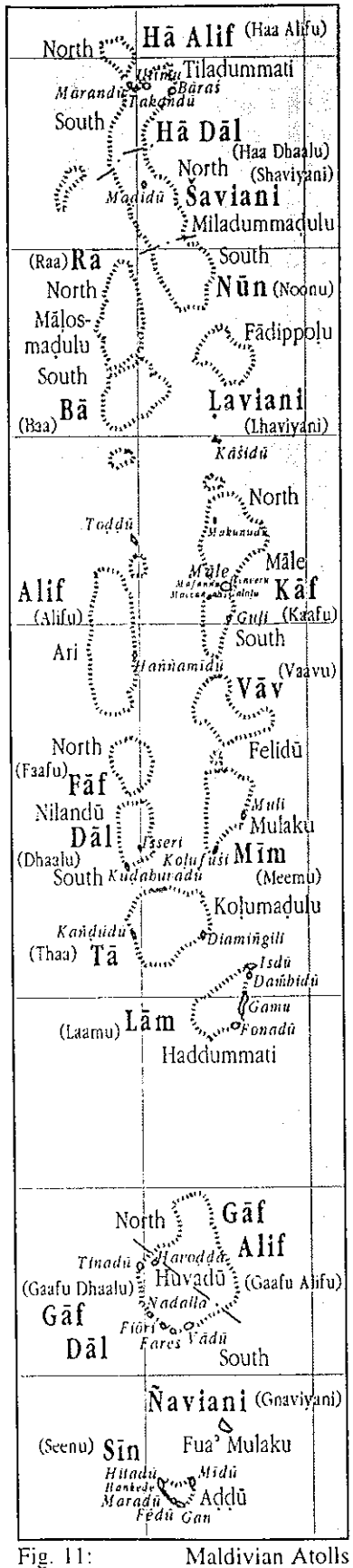

Fig. 11: Maldivian Atolls

Text passages

F1, 1 129
F1, 2 . . . . . 28, 200
F1, 3 50
F1, 4 28
F1, 5 129
F1, 8 194
F1, 9 203
F1, 10 203
F1, 17 200
F1, 20 . . . . . 134, 135
F1, 21 130
F1, 25 200
F1, 26 134
F2, 2 60
F2, 3 . . . . . 121, 195
F2, 4 . . . . . 113, 135
F2, 5 135
F2, 6 135
F2, 7 200
F2, 8 135
F2, 9 135
F2, 14 39
F2, 15 130
F2, 18 201
F3, 1 . . . . . 39, 134
F3, 2 . . . . . 134, 136, 209
F3, 3 . . . . . 130, 134, 135, 199
F3, 4 . . . . . 60, 195
F3, 6 . . . . . 42, 75, 130, 131, 136
F3, 6-7 . . . . . 75, 136
F3, 7 . . . . . 39, 60, 130
F3, 8 . . . . . 39, 115, 131
F3, 10 200
F3, 11 . . . . . 39, 182, 200
F3, 12 . . . . . 133, 200, 201
F3, 14 . . . . . 19, 69, 201
F3, 15 74
F3, 16 . . . . . 200, 201, 209
F3, 17 . . . . . 133, 201
F3, 18 133
F3, 24 131
F4, 1 . . . . . 69, 131, 201
F4, 2 . . . . . 121, 200, 201
F4, 3 . . . . . 19, 28, 200, 205
F4, 4 . . . . . 138, 194, 200
F4, 5 . . . . . 133, 194
F4, 10 134
F4, 11 . . . . . 60, 195
F4, 13 . . . . . 39, 194
F4, 14 200
F4, 15 . . . . . 28, 200
F4, 16 28
F4, 17 . . . . . 131, 210
F5, 18 210
F5, 21 . . . . . 40, 239
F5, 22 69
F5, 24 . . . . . 40, 239
F5, 26 39
F5, 36 . . . . . 74, 133
F5, 38 39
F5, 39 . . . . . 19, 28, 75
F5, 41 . . . . . 39, 201
F5, 43 19
F5, 46 133
F5, 47 201
F5, 49 133
F6, 3 200
F6, 10 39
F6, 11 . . . . . 19, 200
F6, 12 136
F6, 14 . . . . . 70, 194
F6, 15-16 134
F6, 17 135
F6, 19 69
F6, 20 42
F6, 26 133
F7, 9 199
F7, 10 134
F7, 11 195
F7, 12 60
F7, 13 39
F7, 20 . . . . . 39, 200
F7, 21 200
F7, 25 133
F7, 32 42
F7, 38 42
F8, 12 134
F8, 13 . . . . . 133, 199
F8, 16 . . . . . 60, 118, 123
F8, 18 39
F8, 20 194
F8, 23 19
F8, 25 69
F8, 27 74
F8, 29 39
F8, 30 . . . . . 39, 201
F8, 31 133
F8, 32 201
F8, 33 194
F9, 4 39
F9, 5 133
F9, 11 200
F9, 16 42
F10, 6 . . . . . 134, 135, 199
F10, 7 60
F10, 8 195
F10, 9 28
F10, 10 40
F10, 11 130
F10, 12 39
F10, 14 131
F10, 15 39
F10, 16 . . . . . 28, 200
F10, 17 131
F10, 18 . . . . . 40, 50, 239
F10, 19 42
F10, 21 58
F11, 5 200
F11, 7 . . . 60, 134, 135, 195, 199
F11, 9 39
F11, 16 200
F11, 17 39
F11, 20 . . . . . 131, 210
F11, 22 . . . . . 42, 200
F11, 25 200
F11, 28 37
F11, 31 131
F11, 37 . . . . . 92, 194
F12, 3 136
F12, 6 . . . . . 135, 136
F12, 9 130
F13, 2 39
F13, 3 200
F13, 4 200
F13, 5 28
F13, 7 74
F13, 10 133
F13, 11 194
F13, 12 92
F13, 13 133
F13, 15 133
F13, 17 200
F13, 18 . . . . . 42, 201
IDAH 1, 3 114
IDAH 1, 8 115
IDAM 1, 18 134
IDAM 1, 19 60
IDAM 1, 27 135
IDMBM 1, 5 116
IDMBM 1, 15 135
IDMD 1, 3 112
IDMD 2, 4 33
IDMDM 1, 3 121
IDMDM 1, 6 114
IDME 3, 25 39
IDME 3, 27 39
IDMEM 1, 19 116
IDMEM 1, 22 112
IDMEM 3, 14 200

IDMEM 3, 26 42
IDMEM 3, 31 137
IDMEM 4, 8 115
IDMEM 4, 11 114
IDMH 2, 11 112
IDMHM 1, 2 131
IDMHM 1, 8 135
IDMHM 1, 12 42
IDMHM 2, 4 119
IDMHM 2, 9 200
IDMHM 2, 15 32
IDMHM 3, 1 60
IDMHM 4, 11 113
IDMHM 4, 21 40
IDMHM 4, 22 190
IDMHM 5, 3 111
IDMHM 6, 6 114
IDMHM 6, 8 135
IDMHM 6, 9 135
IDMHM 7, 1-2 123
IDMHM 7, 4 115
IDMHM 7, 18 137
IDMMM 1, 1 131
IDMMM 1, 3 200
IDMMM 2, 6 69
IDMMM 3, 4 . . . . . 113, 200
IDMMM 3, 6 28
IDMMM 4, 6 . . . . . 138, 200
ITAG 1, 6 137
ITAG 1, 7 32
ITAG 1, 8 137
ITAG 1, 9 115
ITAG 2, 2 . . . . . 111, 123
ITAG 2, 4 137
ITAG 2, 5 137
ITAG 2, 6 115
ITAG 3, 1 37
ITAG 3, 2 . . . . . 37, 43
ITAG 3, 6 . . . . . 117, 137
ITAG 6, 3 115
ITAG 6, 6 135
ITAH 1, 5 112
ITAH 2, 4 60
ITAH 3, 1 114
ITAH 3, 2 115
ITAH 3, 6 . . . . . 123, 137
ITAH 4, 7 114
ITAH 4, 9 137
ITAH 6, 2 . . . . . 118, 123
ITAM 1, 3 123
ITAM 1, 4 . . . . . 37, 60
ITAM 1, 6 33
ITFM 2, 3 . . . . . 114, 117, 123
ITFM 2, 6 . . . . . 37, 43
ITMHM 1, 3 114
ITMHM 1, 4 137
ITMHM 1, 5 137
ITMHM 1, 7 40
ITMHM 2, 2 114
ITMHM 2, 7 64
ITMHM 2, 8 137
ITMHM 3, 1 60
ITMHM 4, 3 . . . . . 33, 117
ITMHM 4, 6 60
ITMHM 5, 2 119
ITMHM 7, 2 . . . . . 114, 117
ITMHM 7, 6 135
ITMKM 1, 6 210
ITMKM 1, 7 201
ITMKM 1, 10 138
ITMKM 1, 13 33
ITMP 1, 3 . . . . 61, 137, 200, 229
ITMP 1, 4 . . . . . 137, 195
ITMP 2, 3 . . . . . 111, 200
ITMP 2, 4 60
L1 s/1, 1 . . . . . 19, 28, 60
L1 f/1, 1 . . . . . 54, 137
L1 t/2, 1 41
L1 mx/2, 1 41
L1 d/1, 1 60
L1 my/1, 1 64
L1 f/2, 1 . . . . . 17, 18, 33
L1 m0/1, 1 . . . . . 74, 229, 230
L1 t/2, 1-2 28
L1 d/2, 1 45
L1 d/2, 2 . . . . . 209, 237
L1 t/1, 2 . . . . . 157, 200
L1 f/2, 2 200
L1 md/1, 2 64
L1 ms/1, 2 36
L1 g/1, 2 64
L1 d/1, 2 . . . . . 17, 33, 115
L1 mt/1, 2 55
L1 s/1, 3 60
L1 g/1, 3 . . . . . 59, 122
L1 d/2, 3 . . . . . 18, 43, 200, 229
L1 ms/1, 3 116
L1 d/2, 4 . . . . . 133, 209, 237
L1 md/1, 4 56
L1 my/1, 4 200
L1 f/2, 4 199
L1 d/1, 4 . . . . . 42, 229
L1 t/2, 4 19
L1 s/1, 4 42
L1 ms/2, 4 153
L1 mx/2, 4 199
L1 f/1, 4 132
L1 g/2, 4 56
L1 t/1, 4 20
L1 m0/1, 4 130
L1 mx/1, 5 56
L1 ms/1, 5 . . . . . 131, 209
L1 g/1, 5 39
L1 f/1, 5 200
L1 m0/1, 5 . . . . . 18, 199
L1 my/1, 5 200
L1 mx/2, 5 32
L1 f/2, 5 199
L1 d/2, 6 200
L1 md/1, 6 56
L1 md/2, 6 60
L1 ms/2, 6 208
L1 t/2, 6 205
L1 m0/2, 6 131
L1 my/1, 6 122
L1 m02, 3 43
L2 1, 2 55
L2 1, 4 55
L2 1, 5 55
L2 2, 1 . . . . . 55, 209, 237
L2 2, 5 . . 91, 162, 201, 229, 230
L2 3, 1 50
L2 3, 4 . . . . . 133, 200
L2 4, 1-2 56
L2 4, 1 32
L2 4, 3 200
L2 4, 5 56
L2 4, 5 56
L2 5, 1 . . . . . 39, 58
L2 5, 2 . . . . . 122, 200
L2 5, 3 64
L2 5, 4 . . . . . 69, 122
L2 6, 1 . . . . . 39, 200
L2 6, 2 . . . . . 19, 60, 207, 239
L2 6, 4 . . . . . 60, 205
L2 6, 5 69
L2 7, 2 19
L2 8, 1 60
L2 8, 3 199
L2 8, 4 41
L2 9, 2 41
L2 9, 3 209
L2 9, 4 30
L2 10, 1 157
L2 10, 4 56
L2 11, 2 . . . . . 19, 201
L2 11, 3 19
L2 12, 1 121
L2 15, 1 41
L2 15, 5 . . . . . 41, 135
L2 17, 5 201
L2 18, 4 56
L2 21, 1 59
L2 21, 2 199
L2 22, 1 . . . . . 194, 209
L2 22, 2 42
L2 22, 3 . . . . . 36, 133, 200
L2 24, 2 131
L2 25, 2 61
L2 25, 4 64
L2 26, 4 . . . . . 41, 123
L2 27, 3 63
L2 27, 5 239
L2 28, 2 133
L2 28, 3 . . . . . 19, 74
L2 28, 4 30
L2 29, 2 121

L2 29, 5 121
L2 32, 3 61
L2 32, 5 133
L2 33, 2 . . . . . 36, 37
L2 33, 4 115
L2 34, 1 . . . . . 91, 162, 200
L2 34, 2 229
L2 34, 5 55
L2 36, 1 132
L2 36, 3 . . . . . 32, 131
L2 37, 5 . . . . . 19, 116
L2 38, 2 209
L2 38, 3 131
L3 1/1, 1 . . . . . 114, 116
L3 1/1, 2 55
L3 2/2, 1 . . . . . 121, 157
L3 2/1, 2 39
L3 2/2, 3 . . . . . 32, 56
L3 2/1, 5 . . . . . 133, 195
L3 3/2, 1 . . . . . 19, 60, 207, 239
L3 3/2, 2 20
L3 3/1, 3 200
L3 3/2, 4 201
L3 3/2, 5 60
L3 3/1, 5 . . . . . 39, 200
L3 4/2, 2 229
L3 4/1, 2 . . . . . 30, 32, 60
L3 4/1, 5 . . . . . 17, 60
L3 5/1, 3 200
L3 5/2, 4 199
L3 6/1, 2 28
L3 6/2, 2 41
L3 6/1, 3 28
L3 6/1, 4 28
L3 6/1, 5 30
L3 7/2, 3 131
L3 7/2, 4 131
L3 10/2, 3 . . . . . 19, 60
L3 10/1, 4 60
L3 10/2, 5 60
L3 11/1, 2 20
L3 12/1, 1 201
L3 12/2, 2 133
L3 12/1, 3 19
L3 12/2, 3 133
L3 12/2, 4 74
L3 13/2, 5 133
L3 15/2, 1 74
L3 15/2, 2 201
L3 15/1, 4 60
L3 15/1, 5 55
L4 b/1, 1 60
L4 g/1, 1 . . . . . 19, 69
L4 e/2, 1 . . . . . 30, 64
L4 e/1, 1 . . . . . 36, 200
L4 f/1, 1 200
L4 e/2, 2 20
L4 a/2, 2 229
L4 c/1, 2 157
L4 e/1, 3 229
L4 c/2, 3 60
L4 f/2, 3 201
L4 c/1, 3 200
L4 b/2, 3 50
L4 a/2, 4 19
L4 c/2, 4 . . . . . 36, 200
L4 f/1, 5 201
L4 d/1, 5 200
L4 f/2, 5 74
L4 d/2, 5 41
L4 g/1, 6 . . . . . 50, 136
L4 c/2, 6 32
L4 a/1, 7 . . . . . 123, 201
L4 f/1, 7 . . . . . 19, 69
L4 b/2, 7 . . . . . 74, 201, 205
L4 c/1, 7 200
L5 1/1, 2 . . . . . 114, 116
L5 2/2, 2 50
L5 2/1, 4 121
L5 4/2, 2 201
L5 4/1, 2 . . . . . 114, 116
L5 4/2, 3 229
L5 4/2, 6 114
L5 5/1, 1 69
L5 5/1, 2 42
L5 5/2, 3 190
L5 5/2, 4 74
L5 5/1, 4 19
L5 5/2, 5 74
L5 5/2, 6 . . . . . 39, 90, 201
L6 1, 2 . . . . . 39, 135
L6 1, 4 58
L6 2, 1 . . . . . 194, 205
L6 2, 3 . . . . . 39, 135
L6 2, 4 19
L6 2, 5 . . . . . 200, 203
L7 2, 5 . . . . . 200, 203
L8 1, 1 199
L8 1, 2 115
L8 1, 5 60
MBh. 1,61,6 258
R. 1,48,7 58
R. 3,8,7 58
RA 1, 3 . . . . . 134, 135
RA 1, 4 39
RA 1, 7 134
RA 1, 9 . . . . . 75, 135
RA 2, 3 130
RA 2, 4 60
RA 2, 5 195
RA 2, 6 60
RA 2, 8 190
RA 21, 1 39
RA 21, 2 135
RB 1, 3 39
RB 1, 6 134
RB 1, 7 136
RB 1, 8 136
RB 1, 11 . . . . . 33, 130, 135
RB 1, 12 121
RB 1, 13 60
RB 1, 14 135
RC 1, 5-6 69
RC 1, 5 60
RC 1, 6 59
RC 1, 12 69
RC 2, 6 40
RC 3, 2 . . . . . 134, 135
RC 3, 12 210
RC 3, 13 33
RC 4, 1 130
RC 4, 7 200
RC 4, 8 130
RC 4, 11 74
RC 4, 13 135
RC 5, 3 . . . . . 40, 134
RC 5, 9 239
RC 5, 12 . . . . . 42, 49
RC 6, 1 135
RC 6, 3 135
RC 7, 12 229
RC 8, 2 195
RC 8, 7 39
RC 8, 11 . . . . . 75, 136
RC 9, 1 130
RC 9, 2 60
RC 9, 3 . . . . . 60, 118
RC 9, 6 190
RC 9, 9 157
RC 10, 1 130
RC 10, 2 135
RC 10, 3 . . . . . 60, 116
RC 10, 8 157
RC 12, 10 39
RC 13, 3 60
RC 14, 5 39
RC 16, 2 200
RC 19, 12 135
RC 22, 11 39
RC 23, 13 135
RC 26, 4 32
RC 26, 5 135
RC 28, 12 134
RC 29, 11 40
RC 30, 8 60
RC 30, 13 40
RC 32, 12 33
RC 34, 9 135
RC 37, 1 135
Tl, 1 249
Tl, 2 252
Tl, 3 257
Tl, 7 247
Tl, 8 185
Tl, 10 147
Tl, 11 48
Tl, 20-20a 148

T1, 21a 227
T1, 31 152
T1, 33 255
T1, 34a 161
T1, 49 257
T1, 50 130
T1, 51 254
T1, 54a 148
T1, 55 . . . . . 261, 262
T1, 65 259
T2, 7 . . . . . 258, 262
T2, 9 227
T2, 12 255
T2, 15 261
T2, 21 255
T2, 24 160
T2, 60-60a 256
T2, 64a 145
T3, 1 . . . . . 106, 259
T3, 3 230
T3, 12 . . . . . 145, 147, 259
T3, 17 145
T3, 24 252
T3, 26 152
T3, 33 251
T3, 34 251
T3, 35 102
T3, 37 . . . . . 144, 150
T3, 40-41 260
T3, 41 259
T3, 44-45 259
T3, 45 150
T3, 48 102
T3, 55 150
T3, 59-60 . . . . . 145, 148, 253
T3, 66 151
T3, 69 262
T4, 1 251
T4, 4 . . . . . 148, 151
T4, 7 255
T4, 8 254
T4, 12 250
T4, 13 247
T4, 16 248
T4, 19 250
T4, 26 250
T4, 28 109
T4, 31 250
T4, 33 257
T4, 36 259
T4, 39 147
T4, 44a 48
T4, 44 48
T5, 2 259
T5, 6 . . . . . 151, 259
T5, 11 . . . . . 151, 259
T5, 16 . . . . . 151, 259
T5, 20 151
T6, 19 . . . . . 149, 255
T6, 26 48
T6, 31 48
T6, 61-62 149
T6, 62 248
T6, 72 161
T7, 6a 256
T7, 7a 256
T7, 8a 256
T7, 9a 107, 161
T8, 8 257
T8, 40 164
T8, 53-57 260
T8, 71 144
T8, 78 . . . . . 151, 242
T8, 99 252
T8, 101 252
T8, 140 147
T8, 152 255
T8, 165 . . . . . 149, 253
T8, 168 61
T9, 9 109
T9, 12 251
T9, 20 252
T9, 24 250
T9, 29 248
T9, 37 . . . . . 148, 252
T9, 61-62 249
T10, 2 251
T10, 6 109
T10, 15 249
T10, 32 254
T10, 34 254
T10, 36 252
T10, 62 242
T10, 93 164
T10, 100 254
T11, 5 164
T11, 15 106
T12, 13 106
T12, 15 152
T13, 28 144
T15, 10 106
T16, 3 . . . . . 107, 149, 253, 261
T16, 23 109
T16, 35 48
T17, 11 151

Word forms

Old Dhivehi

afunge kau 130
afunge (pers.pron.gen.) 130
afuremenge kau 130
afuremenge (pers.pron.pl.gen.) 33, 130
afuren (pers.pron.) . . 34, 130-132
afurenge kau 130
afurenge (pers.pron.gen.) 130
aharamen (pers.pron.pl.) 130
aharu 62
aharun (abl.) 62
ahuren (pers.pron.) 130
ais (abs.) 229
-ak (indef.suff.) 69, 92
⟨alifang⟩ (Christopher) 33
⟨alipan⟩ (Pyrard) 33
aḷā (nom.sg.def.) 133
aḷāge (gen.sg.def.) 133
aḷikamu 133
aḷu 133
aḷukamak (nom.sg.indef.) . . . 133
aḷukamu 133
aḷukan 133
aḷun (pl.) 133
aḷutakun (nom.pl.) 133
-ana (part.pres.suff.) 199
angaakun (abl.sg.indef.) 69
apuremenge kau 130
apuremenge (pers.pron.pl.gen.) 33, 130
apuren (pers.pron.) 130, 131
apurenge kau 130, 135
apurenge (pers.pron.gen.) . . . 130
arā (part.pres.) 200
⟨aret⟩ (Pyrard) 34
aruā (part.pres.) 200
asu puṭe (loc.) 42
aṭeḷu 28, 36, 97
aṭoḷ-aṭoḷu (distr.pl.) 95
aṭoḷu 28
atun (abl.) 69
aṭ- 131
-aṭ (dat.ending) 57, 92
-aṭa (dat.ending) 57, 97
*aṭa-duvu 70
aṭāra 113
aṭḍuvu (top.) 19
*aṭu-duvu 19
avaṭṭeriā (nom.sg.def.) 41
⟨a'diha⟩ 117
-ā (def.suff.) 70

-āi (conj.) 136
-āś (inf.ending) 182
-āṭ (inf.ending) 182
baňḍu 60
baňḍun (abl.) 60
⟨baḍun⟩ (abl.) 60
bafaakai (obl.sg.indef. + conj.) . 69
*balana (part.pres.) 199
balān (inf.) 193
⟨bárhi⟩ (Christopher) 34
basuna (part.pres.) 201
batveri 74
batveriage (gen.sg.) 19, 74
bāhattarivanai 119
bāvīs 114
bāvīsvana 114
⟨be⟩ 136
bei 75
⟨beį⟩ 136
bei-beikaḷun (distr.pl.) . . . 75, 136
beikaḷaku (obl.sg.indef.) 136
beikalun (pl.) 136
beikalunāi (pl. + conj.) 136
⟨bekaḷunap⟩ (dat.pl.) 136
bekaḷunaś (dat.pl.) 136
bekalunāi (pl. + conj.) 136
/bē/ 136
bē 136
bimu 18
bin 19
binbai 19
bingaňḍu 19
boga 69
bogaak (nom.sg.indef.) 69
bogaek (nom.sg.indef.) 69
boli 59
bolīn (abl.) 59
⟨Bouraspaty⟩ (Pyrard) 33
budaṭ (dat.) 133
bulat 64
⟨Burasfati⟩ (Christopher) 33
⟨caré⟩ (Pyrard) 34
daṁbu 60
dabuduven (top.abl.) 60
dabuduvun (top.abl.) 60
dakvana (part.pres.) 199
darana (part.pres.) 200
darīn kren (abl.pl.) 61
darīn (pl.) 61
daśu 42, 49
daṭan (dat.sg.) 194
daṭaṭ (dat.sg.) 194
daṭaṭa (dat.sg.) 194
⟨daṭaṭu⟩ (dat.sg.) 194
daṭu 42, 49
daṭun (abl.) 42
dā (part.pres.) 200
dena (part.pres.) 200
dene (part.pres.) 200
dia (3.sg.pret.) 239
diame (vb.n.loc.sg.) . . . 207, 239
diasin 32
dihasatta-satirīs 121
dihen (abl.) 60
din (part.pret.) 190, 205
dinpanti (impv.post.) 190
⟨dinu⟩ (part.pret.) 205
dis- (stem) 60
disen (abl.) 60
divehi 131
divu 40, 131
*divu-vesi 40
doḷos 111, 122
doḷos-toḷos 122
doḷosu 122
doḷosu-toḷos 122
doḷosu-toḷosu 122
dorakan (dat.sg.indef.) 194
dorakaṭ (dat.sg.indef.) 194
dōṇi 92
dōṇyakaṭ (dat.sg.indef.) 92
duppoḷī (top.) 41
duvesīn kren (abl.pl.) 61
duvesīn (pl.) 61
duvu 19, 131
dyahin 32
dyasin 32
-e (gen.ending) 56
-e (loc.ending) 56, 57
e uren (pl.) 130
e urenaṭu (dat.pl.) 130, 131
-ek (indef.suff.) 69
ekavīśati 116
/ek-men/ (pron.adj.pl.) 91
ekoḷos 110, 111, 122
eksatēka 123
eku 17
⟨ekvana⟩ 37
emme beikalun 136
emme (pron.adj.) 133
emmen (pron.adj.pl.) 91, 162
-en (abl.ending) 59, 60
-en (plur.suff.) 132
-ena (part.pres.suff.) 200
etyakaṭu (dat.sg.indef.) 39
etyaku (obl.sg.indef.) 39
etyāk (nom.sg.indef.) 39, 90
etye (nom.sg.indef.?) 39
etyeti (distr.pl.) 39
evana (part.pres.) 199
eviana (part.pres.) . . 199, 200, 258
evyana (part.pres.) 199, 258
evyā (part.pres.) 200, 258
faharu 92
fahun (adv.) 75
fanas 110, 116
fasdoḷos 107, 123
fasdoḷos ekoḷos 122
fassihi 110
fasvana 33
-fānu (hon.suff.) 135, 137
fen 59
⟨feng⟩ (Christopher) 33
⟨fiohi⟩ (Christopher) 33
⟨forhi⟩ (Christopher) 34
fuvaś mulaku (top.) 64
gadyāṇaak (nom.sg.indef.) 69
gaḍu 30
gahā (part.pres.) 200
gam- (stem) 56, 60
game (gen./loc.?) 56
gamu 20
ganna (part.pres.) 201
gannaī (part.pres.) 201
-ge (gen.ending) 131
geakan (dat.sg.indef.) 194
geakaṭ (dat.sg.indef.) 194
geme (gen./loc.) 56
gemen (abl.) 56, 60
gen (abs.) 213, 229
gen veḷena (abs. + part.pres.) . 200
gen vuḷe (abs. + part.pres.) . . 200
gena (abs.) 213
gen-ais (abs. + abs.) 230
gene (abs.) 229
gene gos (abs. + abs.) 229
gene vuḷena (abs. + part.pres.) 200
genīī (part.pret.I) 229
gos (abs.) 229
govana (part.pres.) 200
guḷena (part.pres.) 200
haddavāṇē (part.fut.) 210
haddummattyan (top.dat.) . . . 194
haňḍu 60
haňḍun (abl.) 60
⟨hadun⟩ (abl.) 60
hasan kalo (p.n.) 135
hasan (p.n.) 135
hāhai eksatēka 123
hedduman (vb.n.dat.sg.) 195
henevi 157
higā (part.pres.) 201
hiğra 59
hiğrain (abl.) 59
hin 32
hinnaak (nom.sg.indef.) 69
hunnāṇē (part.fut.) 210
huṇna-huṭi (part.pres. + pret.) . 203
huṭi (part.pret.) 34, 44, 203
husayn (p.n.) 32
hussayn (p.n.) 32
iduna (part.pres.) 30, 201
imu 32
in 32
-in (abl.ending) 59
-in (plur.suff.) 132
isduven (top.abl.) 60

isduvu (top.) 19
isduvun (top.abl.) 60
⟨istari⟩ (Christopher) 34
isuduvu (top.) 19
isuduvun (top.abl.) 60
/kaṁbal-/ (stem) 135
kabalāge (gen.sg.def.) 135
[kaṁbalāge] (gen.sg.def.) . . . 135
kabalun (pl.) 135
[kaṁbalun] (pl.) 135
kabalunge (gen.pl.) 135
[kaṁbalunge] gen.pl. 135
kabau 135
[kaṁbau] 135
⟨kabau⟩ 135
⟨kabau wahhabu binti āminatu⟩ 135
kabō (voc.form) 135
[kaṁbō] (voc.form) 135
kabulēge (gen.sg.) 135
[kaṁbulēge] (gen.sg.) 135
[kaṁbulo] 136
kaṁbulo (voc.form) 136
kabuloge (gen.sg.) 135
[kaṁbuloge] (gen.sg.) 135
kabulō (voc.form) 135
[kaṁbulō] (voc.form) 135
kadivarun (pl.) 74
kafīrunāi (nom.pl. + conj.) . . . 133
kal- (stem) 134, 135
kala- 135
kalamedi 39
kalamidi 39, 135
kalaminjā (nom.sg.def.) 135
⟨kalaminjā⟩ (nom.sg.def.) 39
kalā (nom.sg.def.) 75, 134
/kalā-aś/ (dat.sg.def.) 135
kalāś (dat.sg.def.) 135
⟨kalāśa⟩ (dat.sg.def.) 135
kalemen (pl.) 70, 91, 135
kalē 135
kalēgefānunge (gen.pl.) 135
kalēgepānu 135
/kal-kal-un/ (distr.pl.) 75
kalo 134, 135
kaloaṭ (dat.sg.) 135
kaloge (gen.sg.) 135
kalogepānu 135
kalogepānun (pl.) 135
kalun (pl.) 75
kam- (stem) 19, 133
kamgati 19
kamgatyakun (pl.indef.) 19
kamu 18, 19, 133
kamugatīn-āi (nom.pl. + conj.) . 19
kamugattakun (pl.indef.) 19
kamugatyakun (pl.indef.) 19
kan 18
-kan (suff.) 135
⟨kárhi⟩ (Christopher) 34
katību (obl.sg.) 61
kau 134, 135
kau muḥammad 135
kaukaṁbal- (stem) 135
[kaukaṁbalunge] (gen.pl.) . . . 135
⟨kaukabalunge⟩ (gen.pl.) 135
kaukalun (distr.pl.) 75, 135
kaukalunaś (dat.distr.pl.) . 75, 135
kaukan 134, 135
kauverikamun (abl.) 60
kauverikan 60
kārddaveri 74
kārddaveriak (nom.sg.indef.) . . 74
kārddaverīn (pl.) 74
kārudaveriin (pl.) 74
kelu 28
kelumaḍule (top.loc.) 28
kiā (part.pres.) 200
kibaakan (dat.sg.indef.) 69
kihun (abl.) 60
kom-mīsaku (interr.pron.) . . . 153
kon (interr.pron.) 153
kośu (abs.) 33
koṭ (abs.) 215
koṭi 41
koṭṭak-āi (nom.sg.indef. + conj.) 41
koṭṭ-āi (nom.sg. + conj.) 41
koṭṭ-evyana (nom.sg. + part. pres.) 41
koṭu (abs.) 17, 33, 201, 215
krana (part.pres.) 200
⟨kranaṭa⟩ (inf.) 195
⟨kren⟩ (abl.) 61
kuburu 30
kuḷaaṭa (dat.) 56
kuḷa (part.pret.) 133, 208
kuḷaiman (vb.n.dat.sg.) 194
kuḷaimaṭ (vb.n.dat.sg.) 194
kuḷaimaṭu (vb.n.dat.sg.) 194
kuḷain (vb.n.) 194
kurana (part.pres.) 200
kuranaṭa (inf.) 195
kuravana (part.pres.) 200
kuravvana (part.pres.) 200
kuravvā (part.pres.) 200
kurā (part.pres.) 200
kuraṇe (part.fut.) 210
kuren (abl.) 61
kyā (part.pres.) 200
liāś (inf.) 193
liāś-uḷemā (inf. + 1.pl.pres.) . . 230
liāś-uḷemā-ve (inf. + 1.pl.pres. + quot.partc.) 182, 193
liyāś (inf.) 182
liyāś-uḷemā (inf. + 1.pl.pres.) 182, 193
liyāṭ (inf.) 182
liyāṭ-uḷemā (inf. + 1.pl.pres.) 182
lī (pret.part.) 193
līfanti (impv.post.) 19
līpanti (impv.post.) 19
lokapālavarun (pl.) 74
ma (pers.pron.obl.) 123
maaku (obl.sg.indef.) 66
madīnaaś (top.dat.) 19
madīnaaṭu (top.dat.) 19
madīnayaṭ (top.dat.) 19
madīnayaṭu (top.dat.) 19
madīnāan (top.dat.) 19
madīnāaṭ (top.dat.) 19
madīnāāan (top.dat.) 19
maḍule (loc.) 5
mahāradun 5
mahun (abl.) 6
makkāin (top.abl.) 6
manikufānu 13
manikupānaṭa (dat.sg.) 13
manikupānu 13
maṇi 54, 13
maṇiku 54, 13
maṇikufānu 13
maṇikufānuge (gen.sg.) 13
maṇikufānunge (gen.pl.) 13
⟨Maspillaspoury⟩ (Pyrard) . 33, 34
/mas-un/ (abl.) 60
maśi 59
maśīn (abl.) 59
matyaṭa (dat.sg.) 36
ma'kaiveri 74
māgemen (abl.) 60
me (partc.) 161
-men (plur.suff.) 70, 72, 91
mi taketi 15
mi uren (pl.) 13
mi urenaṭu (dat.pl.) 13
mi urennāi (pl. + conj) 13
mi vuren (pl.) 130
mi vurenaṭa (dat.pl.) 13
mi vurenge (gen.pl.) 13
mi vurengeṭa (loc.dat.pl.) 13
-midi 135
-mijjā (nom.sg.def.) 135
mīhunan (dat.pl.) 55
mīhunaṭu (dat.pl.) 55
mīs- (stem) 15
mīsaku (obl.sg.indef.) 153
mīsunaṭa (dat.pl.) 55
muḥammad (p.n.) 135
muloku (top.) 64
mūṇu 56
-na (part.pres.suff.) 201
namādu 45
negena (part.pres.) 200
neguṇu (part.pret.) 200
⟨niafati⟩ (Christopher) 33

⟨niapaty⟩ (Pyrard) 33
nikume (abs.) 60
*nikunna (part.pres.) 201
nikunnai (part.pres.) 201
nimuṇu (part.pret.) 209
nu (neg.partc.) 201
nuvadiha 114, 117
nuvadihavana 114, 117, 123
oḍi 92
oḍiakaṭ (dat.sg.indef.) 92
oḍyakan (dat.sg.indef.) 92
ʻina- (num.elem.) 114
onātiris 115
onavihi 114
onavihivana 114
oṇatirīsvana 115
ot (part.pret.) 56
ovuna (part.pres.) 56
padaek (nom.sg.indef.) 69
paharakaṭ (dat.sg.indef.) 92
paharakaṇ (dat.sg.indef.) 92
paḷḷi 43
panasu 123
pasvana 33
pasvisi 115, 122
-pānu (hon.suff.) 135, 137
pemuṣveri 74
⟨penne⟩ (Pyrard) 33
⟨piohy⟩ (Pyrard) 33
piri 132
pratama 36, 37
-puḷu (hon.suff.) 41, 54
puṭe (loc.) 42
puṭī 41
puṭṭ-āi (nom.sg. + conj.) 41
puṭu 42
puvak 64
puvak mulok (top.) 64
radu 50
radun 50
ras 50, 75
ras-ras-beikalun-āi (distr.pl. + conj.) 75
ras-ras-kalun (distr.pl.) 75
rasunasya (gen.) 55
rasunge (gen.) 55
rasunsya (gen.) 55
rasunusia (gen.) 55
raśu 33, 131
raṭṭehi 37, 38, 41
raṭu 17, 18, 33, 38
raṭvesyaku (obl.sg.indef.) 37
rāda 50
rāddye (loc.) 39
rādya 39
⟨rāja⟩ 50
rājjē (loc.) 39
rāndye (loc.) 39
rānjē (loc.) 39
rātde (loc.) 39
reakun (abl.sg.indef.) 60
rē 60
⟨rorhi⟩ (Christopher) 34
*ruḍi 59
ruḍīn (abl.) 59
saṅḍu 33
sataru 56
satāḷīsvana 118, 123
sateka 121, 123
⟨satirīs⟩ 118
satta 121
sauda 112
sautirīsvana 118, 123
sauvīs 115
sauvīsu 115
savana 123
⟨saʼbīs⟩ 115
sāleh (p.n.) 116
sālīsu (p.n.) 116
sime (loc.) 32, 56
sinya 69
susein (p.n.) 32
ṣatāvīsu 115
-tak (plur.suff.) 72, 133
tak (pron.adj.) 62, 72, 163
taketi 138
taketige (gen.) 138
⟨tari⟩ (Christopher) 34
tauliyamūlaveri 74
tauliyamūlaverikan 74
tauliyaverīn (pl.) 74
*temena (part.pres.) 199
*temene (part.pres.) 199
tevīsu 115
tēhaṭṭīvana 119
⟨tēhaʼṭīvana⟩ 119
tēra 111
tēvīs 115
-ti (impv.suff.) 190
tibena (part.pres.) 200
timā (pron.) 131
⟨tori⟩ (Christopher) 34
⟨tori⟩ (Pyrard) 34
toṭḍuvu (top.) 19
*toṭu-duvu 19
-ṭ (inf.ending) 210
uḷemā (1.pl.pres.) 182
uḷuṇu (part.pret.) 130, 209
-un (abl.ending) 59, 60
-un (plur.suff.) 132, 133, 135
-uṇu (part.pret.suff.) 175, 208, 209
upāsakavarun (pl.) 74
uren kuren (abl.pl.) 61
uren (pl.) . . . 40, 60, 61, 130-132
urenaṭu (dat.pl.) 131
urenge (gen.pl.) 131
urennāi (pl. + conj.) 131
vad- (pres.stem) 201
vaduna (part.pres.) 201
vadunaī (part.pres.) 201
vadai (abs.) 201
vaḍuna (part.pres.) 201
vana (part.pres.) 200
-varun (hon.suff.pl.) 74
vasana (part.pres.) 200
vā (part.pres.) 200
vāṇe (part.fut.) 210
vāruverīn (pl.) 74
veddya (3.sg.pret.IV) 40
veddya-ve (3.sg.pret.IV + quot. partc.) 239
veddye (3.sg.pret.IV) 40
vedye (3.sg.pret.IV) 40
veḍi (part.pret.) 201
vejja (3.sg.pret.IV) 40
veḷena (part.pres.) 36, 200
veḷḷakāra 69
veḷḷakāraak (nom.sg.indef.) . . . 69
venā (part.pres.) 200
⟨venja⟩ (3.sg.pret.IV) 40
veren (abl.) 60
veri 74, 75
veriā (nom.sg.def.) 38
veru 60, 157
*vesi 40
vevuṇu (part.pret.) 209
⟨veʼja⟩ (3.sg.pret.IV) 40
⟨veʼje⟩ (3.sg.pret.IV) 40
vihi 114, 131
viṅśati 114, 116
†viyana 199
vī (part.pret.) 75, 201
vīrasinga (p.n.) 131
vīs 114
-vīs (num.elem.) 114, 115
vī-vī (part.pret.distr.pl.) 75
voḍi (part.pret.) 201
vuḷe (part.pres.) 200
vuḷena (part.pres.) 36, 200
/vuḷē/ (part.pres.) 200
vuḷuṇu (part.pret.) 130, 209
vuṇu (part.pret.) 237, 238
vuren (pl.) 40, 130-132
vurenaṭa (dat.pl.) 131
vurengeṭa (loc.dat.pl.) 131
†vyana 199
⟨ystarin⟩ (Pyrard) 34

Aḍḍū

-Ø (2.sg.ending) 175
/-a/ (2.pl.ending) 175
/-a/ (3.pl.ending) 175
-a (abs.ending) 216, 227
aṁba 31
aṁbi 31, 80, 85, 158
aṁbi mīhāge (gen.sg.) 85
aṁbin (pl.) 80, 85
aṁdanī 204, 213
addaṁḍi 43
aṁḍi (3.sg.pres.) 213
adi (conj.) 250
aṁḍun huli 78
aṁḍun hūla' (dat.) 78
aṁḍun hūla' (nom.sg.indef.) . . . 78
aṁḍun hūlā (nom.sg.def.) 78
aṁḍun hūle (gen.) 78
aḍa 65, 103, 138, 148
aḍagada 103
aḍḍihe 117
afagē (pers.pron.gen.) 106, 127, 141, 144
afinna' (pers.pron.dat.pl.) 142
/afiria/ (pers.pron.nom.pl.) 132, 134
afirie (pers.pron.nom.pl.) 132, 134, 140, 142
afirin ekuhun (pers.pron.abl.pl.) 142
afirin (pers.pron.obl.pl.) . 132, 134, 140, 142
afiringē farātun (pers.pron.abl. pl.) 142
afiringē (pers.pron.gen.pl.) 142, 144
afirinna' (pers.pron.dat.pl.) . . . 142
aṁga 59, 63, 103, 106
aṁga gada miturā 103
aṁga maḍa miturā 103
aṁgai (gen.) 101
aṁgai (loc.) 106
aṁgain (abl.) 59, 63
aṁgāra 63
aṁgārain (abl.) 63
ahafi (3.sg.pret.I) 148
ahara 65, 109
aharenge (pers.pron.gen.) 248
-ai (abs.ending) . . . 212, 216, 227
ai (part.pret.I.f.) 207, 244
-ain (1.sg.pret.ending) 244
-ak (indef.suff.) 73, 152
/-ak/ (indef.suff.) . . . 69, 70, 163
-ak- (indef.suff.stem) 253
-akī (foc.marker) 252, 253
-aku (indef.suff.obl.) 73
/al/ 22
alanāsi 32, 48
ali 35, 103
aligada 53, 103
alī boxārī 45
aḷi 21, 35
amānātteri 104
/amānāt-veri/ 104
ammā (nom.sg.def.) . 42, 81, 145
ammāmen (pl.def.) 81
ammāu (nom.sg.def. + quot. partc.) 145, 259
an (part.pret.) 204
anhen 80, 158
anhen geri 80, 158
anhen mīhā 80, 158
anhenā (nom.sg.def.) 80
anhenun (pl.) 80
annei 204
appā (nom.sg.def.) 41, 81
appāmen (pl.def.) 81
arage (3.sg.pret.IV) 229, 251
arai (abs.) 48
araiēhe (3.sg.pot.pres.) 233
aranī 48, 233, 251
as 64, 83
-as (emph.partc.) . . 160, 161, 250
assatēka 121
assēri 42
/aś/ 109, 117, 124
/-aś/ (dat.ending) 57, 58, 62
aśāra 113, 114, 116
aśāvīs 115, 116
/aś-ek/ 109
aśe' 109
/at/ 25, 43, 46, 79
ata' (nom.sg.indef.) 79
ateḷe 27, 28, 35, 47, 66, 81, 97, 201, 206
ateḷeveri 74
ateḷeveriā (nom.sg.def.) . . . 74, 81
/at-tela/ 43
attela 43, 63
attelain (abl.) 63
atun (abl.) 46, 60
au 22, 102, 106, 164
au (quot.partc.) 144, 150, 258, 259
ava (pers.pron.nom.) 127, 129-131, 140, 141, 228, 244, 246, 261
avas 102
avverin 124
a' 25, 46, 79, 109, 117, 124
-a' (dat.ending) 57, 58, 62
-a' (indef.suff.) 69, 70, 77, 155, 163
-a' (inf.ending) 173
-ā (2.pl.ending) 175
-ā (3.pl.ending) 175
-ā (def.suff.) 68, 69, 77, 106, 138
ā (part.pret.) . . 207, 244, 245, 253, 255
-ā (quest.partc.) 245
āṁba' (nom.sg.indef.) 85
āda 20
ādavegen (adv.) . . . 243, 246, 261
ādītta 20, 42, 63
ādīttain (abl.) 63
ā-ettennā (part.pret. + cond. conj.) 240
ā-fehē (part.pret. + cond.conj.) 240
āhi 21, 117
-āi (conj.) 249, 250
āḷe (gen.) 21
āmelḷā 42
-ān (def.abl.ending) 93
ās (abs.) 150, 215, 257
badan 80
badan eśa' (nom.sg.indef.) 80
badan eśā (nom.sg.def.) 80
baṁḍi (3.sg.pres.) 213
baḍḍela 42
bafā (nom.sg.def.) 81
bafāmen (pl.def.) 81
bagīcā 45, 245
bagīcāi (gen.) 245
bai 124
bai (2.sg.impv.) 194
baivara (pron.adj.) 162
bakamūṇu 48, 65
bakari 47
/bal/ 22
bala (2.sg.impv.) 151, 167, 183, 191, 261
bala (abs.) 167
bala balai (red.abs.) . . . 211, 215
bala- (pres.stem) . . . 26, 167, 192
balafei (abs.I) 211, 227
balafele (2.sg.impv.pol.) 106, 191
balafī (2.sg.pret.I) 226
balafī (3.sg.pret.I) 226
balafī (part.pret.I) 226
balafia (2.pl.pret.I) 226
balafia (3.pl.pret.I) 226
[balafie] (3.pl.pret.I) 226
balafimā (1.pl.pret.I) 226
balafin (1.sg.pret.I) 226
balafī-fehē (part.pret.I + cond. conj.) 248
balagen (abs.III) 211, 227
balai (2.sg.pres.) 189
balai (2.sg.pres.interr.) 240
balai (3.sg.pres.) 169
balai (3.sg.pres.interr.) 240
balai (abs.) . . 167, 191, 211, 215
balai balai (red.abs.) . . . 211, 215
balai derefele (abs. + 2.sg. impv.pol.) 191
balai dīēśi (abs. + 3.sg.pot.pres. interr.) 191
balalāi (abs.II) 211, 227

balali (2.sg.pret.II) 226
balali (3.sg.pret.II) 226
balali (part.pret.II) 226, 240
balalia (2.sg.pret.II) 226
balalia (3.sg.pret.II) 226
[balalie] (2.sg.pret.II) 226
[balalie] (3.sg.pret.II) 226
balalimā (1.sg.pret.II) 226
balalin (1.sg.pret.II) 226
balamā (1.pl.impv.) 183
balamā (1.pl.pres.) 169
balamā (1.pl.pres.interr.) 246
balamī (1.sg.pres.interr.) 246
balamun (ger.) 167, 197
balan (1.sg.pres.) 167, 169
balanī106, 166, 167, 174, 175, 178, 226, 234, 236
balanī (part.pres.l.f.) 198
balatā (2.pl.pres.) 169
balatā (2.pl.pres.interr.) 246
balâtā (3.pl.pres.) 169
balatā (3.pl.pres.interr.) 246
balau (2.pl.impv.) 183, 261
balā (part.pres.) 167, 198
balā-fehē (part.pres. + cond. conj.) 240
balāhe (2.sg.fut.) 176, 178
balāhe (3.sg.fut.) 176, 178
balāheti (2.sg.fut.) 178
balāṇe (part.fut.) . . . 167, 198, 210
balāṇei-(part.fut.l.f.) 167, 198, 210
balāś- (inf.stem) 192
balāśā (inf.interr.) 247
/balāśia/ (2.pl.fut.) 176
/balāśia/ (3.pl.fut.) 176
balāśiā (2.pl.fut.interr.) 246
balāśiā (3.pl.fut.interr.) 246
balāśie (2.pl.fut.) 176
balāśie (3.pl.fut.) 176
balāśī (2.sg.fut.interr.) 246
balāśī (3.sg.fut.interr.) 246
balāśumā (1.pl.fut.) 176
balāśumā (1.pl.fut.interr.) 246
balāśumī (1.sg.fut.interr.) 246
balāśun (1.sg.fut.) . . 167, 176, 177
balā' (inf.) . . . 167, 192, 193, 210
bali ve iñdige (abs. + 3.sg.pret. IV) 230
bala 65, 96
bali (gen.) 96
ban (part.pret.) 204
bannanī 173, 234
bannei 204
bappā (nom.sg.def.) 41, 46, 48, 81
bappāmen (pl.def.) 81
bara 103, 111
baśi 23, 46, 62, 78
/bat/ 79
batteli 42, 47, 79
bau 22, 102
bauni 23
ba' 79
bākin (indef.pron.) 154, 160
/bāśak/ (nom.sg.indef.) 78
/bāśaś/ (dat.) 78
bāśa' (dat.) 78
bāśa' (nom.sg.indef.) 78
bāśe (gen.) 78
bāvīs 114
bāza 66
bāzāra 45
beñde (abs.) 213
beñdeṇe (3.sg.pot.pret.) 237
beñdiēhe (3.sg.pot.pres.) 234
beleṇe (3.sg.pot.pret.) 236
beli (2.sg.pret.) 175
beli (3.sg.pret.) 175
beli (part.pret.) . . . 167, 174, 198, 240, 255
beli- (pret.stem) 26, 167
/belia/ (2.pl.pret.) 175
/belia/ (3.pl.pret.) 175
beliā (3.pl.pres.interr.) 246
beliā (3.pl.pret.interr.) 246
belie (2.pl.pret.) 175
belie (3.pl.pret.) 175
beliēhe (3.sg.pot.pres.) . 178, 232, 234, 240
beliēśī (3.sg.pot.pres.interr.) . 234, 247
belimā (1.pl.pret.) 175
belimā (1.pl.pret.interr.) 246
belimī (1.sg.pret.interr.) 246
belin (1.sg.pret.) . . . 167, 175, 226
belivā (2.pl.pret.) 175
belivā (2.pl.pret.interr.) 246
belī (2.sg.pret.interr.) 246
belī (3.sg.pret.interr.) 246
belī (part.pret.l.f.) 167, 198
belun (vb.n.) 167, 196
/beḷel/ 82, 97
beḷelā (nom.sg.def.) 48, 82, 88, 97
beḷelāmen (pl.def.) 82
beḷele (gen.) 97
beḷeu 82, 97
bema 63
bemun (abl.) 63
beṇafī (3.sg.pret.I) 150
beṇai (3.sg.pres.) 169
beṇanī 150, 234
beṇi (3.sg.pret.) 138
beṇi (part.pret.) 147
beṇiēhe (3.sg.pot.pres.) 234
bera 66
berāsseti 37, 43
bēbē (nom.sg.def.) 22, 67, 81, 87, 136
bēbēmen (pl.def.) 82
/bēk-/ (stem) 107
bēkā (nom.sg.def.) 107
bēkā (obl.sg.def.) 106
bēṇun 46, 262
bēs 21, 64, 81, 83
bēsveriā (nom.sg.def.) 47, 81
bēśiā (3.pl.fut.interr.) 247
bēśī (2.sg.fut.interr.) 247
bēśī (3.sg.fut.interr.) 247
bēśumā (1.pl.fut.interr.) 247
bēśumī (1.sg.fut.interr.) 247
bēśuvā (2.pl.fut.interr.) 247
bēviēhe (3.sg.pot.pres.) 234
bēvigen (abs.III) 261
bē'- (stem) 107
bi (part.pret.) 207
biñde (abs.) 214
biñdeṇe (3.sg.pot.pret.) 237
biñdi (3.sg.pres.) 214
biñdiēhe (3.sg.pot.pres.) 234
bieṇe (3.sg.pot.pret.) 237
billūri 42
/bim/ 26, 79, 96
bime (gen.) 96
bin 26, 79, 96
bin (part.pret.) 204
binnei 204
bis 32
bī (part.pret.l.f.) 207
bīēhe (3.sg.pot.pres.) 234
bīri 21, 66, 102
boñḍa . . . 18, 31, 47, 53, 82, 102
boñḍanā (nom.sg.def.) 148
/boñḍanā-āi/ (nom.sg.def. + conj.) 249
boñḍā (nom.sg.def.) 82
boñḍākan 54
boñḍāmen (pl.def.) 82
bofa 81
bofain (pl.) 81
boi (3.sg.pres.) 215
/bok/ 64, 76, 82
/bokak/ (nom.sg.indef.) 76
boka' (nom.sg.indef.) 76
bokā (nom.sg.def.) 76, 82
bokāmen (pl.def.) 82
bokkorā 42, 47, 79
/bokkor-ā-aś/ (dat.sg.def.) 79
bokkorāi (gen.sg.def.) 79
bokkorāin (abl.sg.def.) 79
bokkorā' (dat.sg.def.) 79
/bol/ 22, 79
bola' (nom.sg.indef.) 79
boli 77, 82
bolie (nom.sg.def.) 77, 82
boliemen (pl.def.) 82
bolie' (nom.sg.indef.) 77
bo' 64, 76, 82
bō 22, 64, 79

bōgen (abs.III) 215
bōi (abs.) 215
bōkoba 47
buda 63
budain (abl.) 63
buddi 42, 104
buddiveri 53, 104
da 49
daddoḷi 43
dañḍi 43
daffa 42
dagañḍa 49
dagi (3.sg.pres.) 213
daguna' (inf.) 203
dagunei 213
dahi 105
dak- (stem) 44
daki (3.sg.pres.) 213
dakkanī 43
dakkaśi 43
dakunei 236
dakunei (part.pres.l.f.) 44
/dam/ 49
/dama-ga/ (3.sg.pret.III) 227
damaga' (3.sg.pret.III) 227
damanī 227, 234
dan 49
dara 79, 160
dara (obl.) 145
dari 80
darin (pl.) 80
/daśaś/ (dat.) 194
daśa' (dat.) 49, 194
daśi (loc.) 49
daśun (abl.) 49, 161
/dat/ 25, 43, 79, 106, 164
/dataś/ (dat.) 106
datav (dat.) 106
data' (nom.sg.indef.) 79
datā (nom.sg.def.) 79
/dat-kaśi/ 43
dattā 46
dattā (nom.sg.def.) 42, 81
dattāmen (pl.def.) 81
da' 25, 79, 106, 164
de 46, 81, 106, 109, 124
de bofain 81
de hās 121
de mīhun 124
dea 27, 63
deain (abl.) 63
dedi 28
/de-ek/ 109
dege (abs.) 213
degeṇe (3.sg.pot.pret.) 237
degi (part.pret.) 203
de-guṇa 125
deha 110
dehae' 110
dei (2.sg.pres.interr.) 247
dei (3.sg.pres.interr.) 247
deke (abs.) 213
dekkiēhe (3.sg.pot.pres.) 236
dekuṇu 35, 65, 209
demā (1.pl.pres.interr.) 247
dememun (ger.) 257
demenī 257
demiēhe (3.sg.pot.pres.) 234
demī (1.sg.pres.interr.) 247
den (adv.) 25, 250
dene (abs.) 207, 214
dene hi' (abs. + part.pret.) . . . 207
deni (3.sg.pres.) 214
denī 138, 205
dennei 207, 236
deraṇa 27
dere (abs.) 191, 215
derefele (2.sg.impv.pol.) 191
derefī-fehē (part.pret.I + cond. conj.) 240
detā (2.pl.pres.interr.) 247
detā (3.pl.pres.interr.) 247
de-tin 125
devana 123
deverin 74, 81, 124
dē-fehē (part.pres. + cond. conj.) 240
dēneti (abs.) 255
dēśā (inf.interr.) 247
dēśiā (3.pl.fut.interr.) 247
dēśī (2.sg.fut.interr.) 247
dēśī (3.sg.fut.interr.) 247
dēśumā (1.pl.fut.interr.) 247
dēśumī (1.sg.fut.interr.) 247
dēśuvā (2.pl.fut.interr.) 247
dēti 124
dēviēhe (3.sg.pot.pres.) 234
dē' 109
dida 63
didain (abl.) 63
dieṇe (3.sg.pot.pret.) 237
diggē 42
digi 66, 102, 158
dimā (1.pl.pret.interr.) 247
dimmī (1.sg.pret.interr.) 247
dimvā (2.pl.pret.interr.) 247
din (part.pret.) 138, 205
dinā (2.pl.pret.interr.) 247
dinā (3.pl.pret.interr.) 247
dinī (2.sg.pret.interr.) 247
dinī (3.sg.pret.interr.) 247
diśi (part.pret.) 203
divage (3.sg.pret.IV) 229
divai (3.sg.pres.) 169
divanī 26, 43, 202
divehi 32, 40, 47, 62, 78, 80, 131
divehin (pl.) 80
divessa' (nom.sg.indef.) 40, 47, 78
divi (part.pret.) 202
divvanī (caus.) 43
dīēhe (3.sg.pot.pres.) 234
dīēśi (3.sg.pot.pres.interr.) 191, 247
dīṇi 26, 35
doḷos 122
doḷos dē' 122
doḷos eke' 122
doḷos tine' 122
domveli 36
don 36, 102
donkeu 36
dora' (dat.) 34
dore (gen.) 97
/dot/ (part.pret.) 206
dotī (part.pret.l.f.) 206
doveṇe (3.sg.pot.pret.) 237
do' (part.pret.) 206
dō- (abs.) 214
dōfei (abs.I) 214
dōi (3.sg.pres.) 214
dōi (abs.) 214
dōṇa' (dat.) 79
dōṇe (gen.) 79
dōṇi 20, 27, 35, 43, 79, 246
dōṇin (abl.) 79
dōrā 21, 65, 97
duā 81
duāveriā (nom.sg.def.) 81
duisatta 121
/dum/ 20, 79, 96
dume (gen.) 96
dun 20, 79, 96
/dur-ak-i/ (loc.sg.indef.) 158
duru 102, 158
duvahaka' (dat.sg.indef.) . . . 158
duvas 158
/duvas-ak-i/ (loc.sg.indef.) . . . 160
-e (2.pl.ending) 175
-e (2.sg.fut.ending) 175
e (2.sg.impv.) 193
-e (3.pl.ending) 175
-e (3.sg.fut.ending) 175
-e (abs.ending) 212-214
-e (def.suff.) 83
e (dem.pron.) . 138, 139, 146-151
e- (dem.pron.stem) 139
e etteti (pers.pron.) 142
e etteti (pers.pron.pl.) . . 139, 142
e ettetīgē (pers.pron.gen.) . . . 143
e ettetta' (pers.pron.dat.) . . . 143
e ettettin (pers.pron.abl.) . . . 143
-e (gen.ending) . 55, 62, 93, 96, 97
-e (loc.ending) 97
e (pers.pron.nom.) . 81, 143, 145
e taketi (pers.pron.) 145
e taketta' (pers.pron.dat.) . . . 145
e takettin (pers.pron.abl.) . . . 145
e taketīgē (pers.pron.gen.) . . . 145

ea (pers.pron.obl.) 81, 139, 140, 142, 150, 245
/ea-akī/ (pers.pron. + foc. marker) 253
eagē farātun (pers.pron.abl.) . . 142
eagē (pers.pron.gen.) 142, 144, 164
ea' (pers.pron.dat.) 142
eā (dem.pron.def.) 138
eā (pers.pron.nom.) . 81, 140, 142
eāi (pers.pron.gen.) 138, 142
eāin (pers.pron.abl.) 142
eākī (pers.pron. + foc.marker) 149, 253
ebe- (prev.) 244
ebe-ge (prev. + 3.sg.pret.) 48
ebe-gen (prev. + 1.sg.pret.) . . 244
/eñdaś/ (dat.sg.) 48
[eñdau] dat.sg. 48
eñde 66
eñde (abs.) 213
ede (pers.pron.nom.) 139, 140, 142, 150, 151, 178
edenī 234
edene (3.sg.pot.pret.) 236
eñdene (3.sg.pot.pret.) 237
ediēhe (3.sg.pot.pres.) 234
edifin (1.sg.pret.I) 226
eduru 66, 80
edurun (pl.) 80, 88
edafie (3.sg.pret.I) 257
[ee] (pers.pron.obl.) 139
effahara' (dat.) 42
egāra 111, 122
eñgene (3.sg.pot.pret.) 236
/eggum/ 43
eggumā (nom.sg.def.) 43
eggun 43
ehakā enehaka' (recip.pron.) . . 152
ehakā (nom.sg.def.) 152
ehei (adv.) 27, 151, 162
ehen (adv.) 149, 151, 164
ehī-au (part.pret. + foc.marker + quot.partc.) 150
ei (2.sg.pres.interr.) 247
-ei (3.sg.pres.ending) 214
ei (3.sg.pres.interr.) 247
-ei (gen.ending) 62
eī (dem.pron. + foc.marker) . . 138
/ek/ . . . 42, 69, 107-109, 160, 161
-ek (indef.suff.) 152
/-ek/ (indef.suff.) . . . 69, 70, 163
ekāhattari 119
ekāvīs 114
/ek-ek/ 108, 109
eketi eneketā' (recip.pron.) . . 152
eke' 108, 109
eki ges-gehun 160
eki gē-gē 160
eki (indef.pron.) 160
eki mīs-mīhun 160
ekī (conj.) 249
ekī (loc.) 104, 249
/ek-me/ (pron.adj.) 42, 46
/ek-men/ (pron.adj.pl.) . . . 46, 161
/ek-men-as/ (pron.adj.pl. + emph.partc.) 161
ekunifanas 122
ekunitindoḷos 122
/ek-vana/ 123
/em/ 46
emā (1.pl.pres.interr.) 247
emī (1.sg.pres.interr.) 247
emme (pron.adj.) 42, 46, 107, 149, 160, 161
emmen (pron.adj.pl.) 46, 161, 162
emmenge (pron.adj.gen.pl.) . . 161
emmenge-as (pron.adj.gen.pl. + emph.partc.) 161
emmenn-as (pron.adj.pl. + emph.partc.) 160, 161
emmennaś-as (pron.adj.dat.pl. + emph.partc.) 161
emmenna' (pron.adj.dat.pl.) . . 161
en 46, 227
en (1.sg.pres.) 261
/en-ak/ (pron.adj.) 163
ena' (pron.adj.) 163
enehaka' (dat.sg.indef.) 152
enī 145, 150, 193, 207, 215, 231, 238, 243, 244, 245, 256
enī (part.pres.I.f.) 145, 180, 243, 261
eriēhe (3.sg.pot.pres.) 233
erige (3.sg.pret.IV) 229
es 83
eśa 28, 46
/eśak/ (nom.sg.indef.) 80
eśa' (nom.sg.indef.) 80
eśā (nom.sg.def.) 80
etā (3.pl.pres.interr.) 247
etere (obl.) 245
etereā (obl. + quest.partc.) . . . 245
eti 39, 75, 124, 138, 155
-eti (fut.suff.) 178
/eti-ak/ (nom.sg.indef.) 164
/eti-eti/ (distr.pl.) 75
/ettak/ (nom.sg.indef.) 138
ettaketi (pers.pron.pl.) . . 138, 140
ettaketīge (pers.pron.pl.gen.) . 138
etta' ne' 164
etta' (nom.sg.indef.) 39, 138
ettā (nom.sg.def.) 39, 152
ettāi (gen.sg.def.) 39
ettāin (abl.sg.def.) 39
ettā' (dat.sg.def.) 39
ettennā (cond.conj.) 239
etteti (distr.pl.) . . 39, 75, 138, 155
eu hās 121
evā (2.pl.pres.interr.) 247
even (pers.pron.obl.pl.) . 140, 143
evenna' (pers.pron.dat.pl.) . . . 143
/e-veria/ (pers.pron.nom.pl.) . . 140
everie (pers.pron.nom.pl.) 81, 140, 143, 246
everin (pers.pron.obl.pl.) . 81, 140, 143
everingē farātun (pers.pron.abl. pl.) 143
everingē (pers.pron.gen.pl.) . 143, 144
everinna' (pers.pron.dat.pl.) . . 143
evvana 123
evvies (conj.) 38
e' 42, 69, 107-109, 123, 161
-e' (indef.suff.) 69, 70
ē (part.pres.) 253
-ēhe (pot.suff.) 178, 233, 234, 236
ēne (part.fut.) 253, 254
ēnei (part.fut.I.f.) 145
ēśā (inf.interr.) 247
-ēśī (pot.suff.interr.) . . . 234, 245
fahara 42
/fahar-aś/ (dat.) 42
fahaveri 81
fahaveriāge (gen.sg.def.) 81
faheti 124
fahettaka' (dat.indef.) 126
fahe' 109
faitela 63, 79
faitelain (abl.) 63
faitela' (nom.sg.indef.) 79
faivān 25
fakīri . . 45, 54, 103, 106, 107, 149
fakīrikan 54
fali 78
/fali-ek/ (nom.sg.indef.) 78
falie' (nom.sg.indef.) 78
faḷō 48, 67
fanara 112
fanas 116, 123
fani 26, 35, 79
fansas 116
fansavīs 115
faṇi 23, 35
farabada 63
farabadain (abl.) 63
farātun (abl.) 61, 62, 95
fas 23, 32, 97, 109, 124
fasdoḷos 107, 116, 123
fasdoḷos dē' 123
fasdoḷos eke' 123
fasdoḷos ekoḷos 123
fasdoḷos nuvae' 123
fasdoḷos tin 117
fasdoḷos tine' 117
/fas-ek/ 109
fassatēka 121

fassatēka aśatirīs 121
fassihi 122, 123
fassihi dē' 122
fassihi eke' 122
fasverin 124
faśa- (pres.stem) 26
faśanī 26, 234
/fat/ 25, 64, 67
fatanī 26
faṭṭa (abs.) 170
faṭṭa-gannanī 170
favara 66
fa' 25, 64
fā 21, 42, 68
fādigimakuḍu 65
fāga 63
fāgain (abl.) 63
fāi (gen.) 68
fāin (abl.) 68
fālā (nom.sg.def.) 78
fāra 42
fā' (dat.) 68
feḍaga 31
fehē (cond.conj.) 23, 48, 239, 240, 248
fehēnnā (cond.conj.) 239
fehi 105
fehurehi 77, 78
fehurehici (gen.sg.def.) 77
fehurehie' (nom.sg.indef.) 77
fehuressa' (dat.) 77
fehuresse (gen.) 77
-fei (abs. ending) 27
-fele (impv.suff.) 191
-feleu (impv.suff.) 191
fen 25, 79, 80
fen foda' (nom.sg.indef.) 80
fen tika' (nom.sg.indef.) 80
fene (gen./loc.) 56
feneṇā (3.pl.pret.interr.) 246
feneṇei (2.sg.pret.interr.) 246
feneṇei (3.sg.pret.interr.) 246
feneṇemā (1.pl.pret.interr.) . . . 246
feneṇemī (1.sg.pret.interr.) . . . 246
feneṇevā (2.pl.pret.interr.) . . . 246
fenēśumī (1.sg.fut.interr.) 246
feniēśia (3.pl.fut.interr.) 246
feniēśiā (2.pl.fut.interr.) 246
feniēśī (2.sg.fut.interr.) 246
feniēśī (3.sg.fut.interr.) 246
feniēśumā (1.pl.fut.interr.) . . . 246
feṇa 28, 63, 79
feṇun (abl.) 63
ferāḍa 27, 35, 48
feśenī 26, 234
feśi 69, 78
feśi- (pret.stem) 26
feśiēhe (3.sg.pot.pres.) 234
fetenī 26
fēra 66
fēranveriā (nom.sg.def.) 81
/fēśak/ (nom.sg.indef.) 69, 78
/fēśaś/ (dat.) 69, 78
fēśa' (dat.) 69, 78
fēśa' (nom.sg.indef.) 69, 78
fēśā (nom.sg.def.) 21, 69, 78
fēśe (gen.) 21, 69, 78
-fi (pret.I) 226
fia 47, 63
fiain (abl.) 63
fiavaḷa 65
fiñdanā (nom.sg.def.) 138
/fiñdanā-āi/ (nom.sg.def. + conj.) 249
fiñdanu (obl.) 148
fiehi 47, 77, 84
fiessa' (nom.sg.indef.) 47, 77
fiessā (nom.sg.def.) 77
fihalin (1.sg.pret.II) 229
fihanī 229
fihenī 229
fihige (3.sg.pret.IV) 229
fileimaḍi 107
/fileimaḍi-e-aś/ (dat.sg.def.) . . 107
finoḷa 35, 132
firi 132
firi mīhā 80
firihen 157
firihen geri 158
firihen kuddā 157
firihen mīhā 157
firin (pl.) 80, 132
fiśi 21, 41, 78, 79, 132
/fīśak/ (nom.sg.indef.) 78
/fīśaś/ (dat.) 78
fīśa' (dat.) 78
fīśa' (nom.sg.indef.) 78
fīśe (gen.) 34, 78
/fodak/ (nom.sg.indef.) 80
foda' (nom.sg.indef.) 65, 80
fodā (nom.sg.def.) 65, 80
fodo 82
foḷi 78
/fot/ 18, 25, 64, 76
/fotaś/ (dat.) 25
fota' (dat.) 25
fota' (nom.sg.indef.) 76
fotā (nom.sg.def.) 76
fote (gen.) 25
fo' 18, 25, 64, 76
/fōḷak/ (nom.sg.indef.) 78
/fōḷaś/ (dat.) 78
fōḷa' (dat.) 78
fōḷa' (nom.sg.indef.) 78
fōḷā (nom.sg.def.) 78
fōḷe (gen.) 78
/fuak/ 64, 96, 138
fuaki (gen.) 96
fua' 64, 96, 138
fufi 34
fummali (3.sg.pret.II) 251
fummanī 251
fuppā- 41
fuppāmei 41
furei 27
fūḷu 34, 65
fūnafin (1.sg.pret.I) 226
fūnalin (1.sg.pret.II) 226
gada 105
gada fehi 105
gaṅḍa 65
/gaṅḍak/ (nom.sg.indef.) 80
-gaṅḍa' (nom.sg.indef.) 80
gaḍi 78
gaḍie (nom.sg.def.) 78
gai 24, 67, 149
gai (gen.) 68
gai (obl.) 106
gain (abl.) 68
/gal/ 22, 43
galā (nom.sg.def.) 88
gali (gen.) 25
gamīs 32
gani (3.sg.pres.) 213
gannei 205
gaṇanī 125
/gat/ (part.pret.) 205
gatī (part.pret.l.f.) 205
gau 22, 24, 69
/gayaś/ (dat.) 68
/gayi/ (gen.) 68
/gayin/ (abl.) 68
ga' (part.pret.) 205
/gāḍaś/ (dat.) 78
gāḍa' (dat.) 78
gāḍā (nom.sg.def.) 78
gāḍe (gen.) 78
gā' (dat.) 68
-ge (gen.ending) . . 61, 62, 95, 138
ge (part.pret.) 138, 205
geaki (loc.sg.indef.) 205
/geaś/ (dat.) 243, 244, 247
gea' (dat.) 67
geñḍi 27, 62, 78, 79
geha' (dat.) 63
gehā (nom.sg.def.) 63
gehā (obl.sg.def.) 253
gehāi (gen.sg.def.) 63
gehān (abl.sg.def.) 93, 63
gehā' (dat.sg.def.) 63
gehe (gen.) 63
gehun (abl.) 63
gei (part.pret.l.f.) 205
-gen (1.sg.pret.) 67
gen (abl.) 68
geri 68
geria' (dat.) 63

gerie (gen.) 95
gerie (nom.sg.def.) 95
geriea' (dat.sg.def.) 95
geriei (gen.sg.def.) 95
geriein (abl.sg.def.) 95
gerin (abl.) 95
ges 32, 64, 83, 93, 97
ges- (stem) 93, 159
ges-gehun (distr.pl.abl.) 160
geu (dat.) 244
gē 21, 67, 79, 243, 247
gē (gen.) 67
/gēñdak/ (nom.sg.indef.) 78
/gēñdaś/ (dat.) 78
gēñḍa' (dat.) 78
gēñḍa' (nom.sg.indef.) 78
gēñḍe (gen.) 78
gē-gē (distr.pl.) 160
gēviēhe (3.sg.pot.pres.) 234
gē' (dat.) 243
[gē'] (dat.) 247
gieṇe (3.sg.pot.pret.) . . . 237, 238
gina ginain 162
gina (pron.adj.) 162
ginain (pron.adj.abl.) 162
gine (abs.) 213, 229
gineṇe (3.sg.pot.pret.) 237
gineviēhe (3.sg.pot.pres.) 234
gīēhe (3.sg.pot.pres.) . . . 234, 236
gīēśī (3.sg.pot.interr.) 247
gīēśī (3.sg.pot.pres.interr.) . . . 247
gos (abs.) . 32, 48, 214, 215, 257
/got/ 25, 151
/got-aś/ (dat.) 151
go' 25, 151
gōvamun (ger.) 257
gōvanī 257
gua' (dat.) 68
gue (gen.) 68
guguru 66
guṇa 125
guṇa keranī 125
-guṇa (num.suff.) 125
gurei 27
guun (abl.) 68
gū 68
ha 109
haña̱da 31, 32, 65, 96
hadagen (abs.III) 151
hadanī 234
haddihe 117
haddoḷos 123
haña̱di (gen.) 96
/ha-ek/. 109
hae' 109
hakuru 65
harakātteri 104
/harakāt-veri/ 104
hasada 104
hasadaveri 104
hasatēka 121
hassatēka 121
/hat/ 109, 124
hatara 109
hatarasatēka 121
hataraverin 81
/hatar-ek/ 109
hatare' 109
hatāvīs 115, 116
/hat-diha/ 117
/hat-doḷos/ 123
hate' 109
hattari 117
-hattari (num.elem.) 119
haturu 66, 80
haturun (pl.) 80
haṭṭi 117
hau 22, 24, 32, 64, 76, 112
/haul/ 76, 112
haula' (nom.sg.def.) 76
haułā (nom.sg.def.) 76, 88
haule (gen.) 24
havīri 66
havīrin (abl.) 66
havverin 124
ha' 109, 124
hā (aff.partc.) 23, 42, 250
hās 121
hedenī 234
hedi (abs.) 255
hediēhe (3.sg.pot.pres.) 234
hei (pron.adj.) . 27, 151, 157, 162
hela 27, 63
helain (abl.) 63
hema 27, 102
hen 147, 151, 157
henna 66
heṇa 28, 66
heṇahiri 28, 66
heṇahirin (abl.) 66
heras 27
heruvanī (caus.) 43
hia 121-123
hiala 47
hiki 44, 102
himāra 47, 65, 96
himāri (gen.) 96
hinnaśumī (1.sg.fut.interr.) . . . 246
hinna' (inf.) 210
hinnāṇe (part.fut.) 210
hinnāṇei (part.fut.l.f.) 210
hinnei 44, 107, 245
hinneśī (2.sg.fut.interr.) 246
hinneśī (3.sg.fut.interr.) 246
hippi 41
hiše (abs.) 205, 214
hišei (3.sg.pres.) 214
hišei (abs.) 107
hišeṇe (3.sg.pot.pret.) 237
hiši hei (indef.pron.) . . . 151, 162
hiši (part.pret.) . 34, 44, 149, 151, 203, 256
hišiēhe (3.sg.pot.pres.) 234
hišimī (1.sg.pret.interr.) 246
hišin (1.sg.pret.) 243
hišī (2.sg.pret.interr.) 246
hišī (3.sg.pret.interr.) 246
hišī (part.pret.l.f.) 245, 252
hišumī (1.sg.pres.interr.) 246
hivaḷa 32, 65
hi' (part.pret.) 207
hōdanī 234
/hōdāś/ (inf.) 160
hōdāśāu (inf. + quot.partc.) . 145, 259
hōdā' (inf.) 160
hōdiēhe (3.sg.pot.pres.) 234
hōma 63
hōmain (abl.) 63
hudu 46, 105
hukuru 65
huḷañga 102
huṇu 35, 65, 102, 209
huturu 47, 102
huṭṭanī 44
huṭṭenī (caus.intr.) 44
huvañda 32, 97
huvañdi (gen.) 97
hūn 46
-i (2.sg.ending) 168
-i (3.sg.ending) 168
-i (3.sg.pres.ending) 213
-i (abs.ending) 212-214
-i (gen.ending) 55, 56, 62, 93, 96, 97
-i (loc.ending) 56
-i (part.pret.suff.) 202, 203
/-ia/ (2.pl.ending) 178
/-ia/ (2.pl.fut.ending) 177
/-ia/ (3.pl.ending) 178
/-ia/ (3.pl.fut.ending) 177
iñde (abs.) 257
iñdei (3.sg.pres.) 214
iñdige (3.sg.pret.IV) 230
iñdōli 20
-ie (2.pl.ending) 178
-ie (2.pl.fut.ending) 177
-ie (3.pl.ending) 178
-ie (3.pl.fut.ending) 177
iñgila' (nom.sg.indef.) 79
iñgilā (nom.sg.def.) 79
iñgili 47, 79
iñgiri 31, 66
iñgirin (abl.) 66
ihi 21, 46, 62, 77, 82
ihie (nom.sg.def.) 77, 82
ihiemen (pl.def.) 82

ihie' (nom.sg.indef.) 77
immī (1.sg.pret.interr.) 246
-in (1.sg.ending) 175
-in (abl.ending) . . 59, 62, 66, 93
in (part.pret.) 204
-in (plur.suff.) 70, 80, 81, 95, 132, 155
inī (2.sg.pret.interr.) 246
inī (3.sg.pret.interr.) 246
inī (part.pret.l.f.) 245
innei 204
iri 66
irīñde (abs.) 214
irīñdeṇe (3.sg.pot.pret.) 237
irīñdi (3.sg.pres.) 214
irīn (part.pret.) 205
irīn- (pres.stem) 173
irīndegen (abs.III) 245
irīndegenā (abs.III + quest. partc.) 245
irīndiēšī (3.sg.pot.pres.interr.) 234, 247
irīndī (2.sg.pres.interr.) 246
irīndī (3.sg.pres.interr.) 246
irīndumā (1.pl.pres.interr.) . . . 246
irīndumī (1.sg.pres.interr.) . . . 246
irīndutā (2.pl.pres.interr.) 246
irīndutā (3.pl.pres.interr.) 246
irīnnaśā (inf.interr.) 247
irīnnaśiā (2.pl.fut.interr.) 246
irīnnaśiā (3.pl.fut.interr.) 246
irīnnaśī (2.sg.fut.interr.) 246
irīnnaśī (3.sg.fut.interr.) 246
irīnnaśumā (1.pl.fut.interr.) . . 246
irīnnaśumī (1.sg.fut.interr.) . . 246
irun (abl.) 66
/issaś/ (dat.) 77
issaśi 43, 77
issaśie (nom.sg.def.) 77
issaśie' (nom.sg.indef.) 77
issa' (dat.) 77
isse (gen.) 77
/itir-aś/ (adv.) 107
itirau (adv.) 107
itira' (adv.) 106
itiri (adv.) 106
iyā (cond.conj.) 240
iyye (adv.) 43, 246
-ī (foc.marker) . 73, 107, 148-150, 152, 251-253, 257, 260
īṭu 20, 65
jaṁbe (gen.) 93
jaṁbu 60, 65, 93
jaṁburōz- (stem) 94
jaṁburōza' (dat.) 94
jaṁburōzā (nom.sg.def.) 94
jaṁburōzāi (gen.sg.def.) 94
jaṁburōzāin (abl.sg.def.) 94
jaṁburōzā' (dat.sg.def.) 94
jaṁburōze (gen.) 94
jaṁburōzu 65, 94
jaṁburōzun (abl.) 94
jaha- (pres.stem) 26
jahafi (3.sg.pret.I) 164
jahanī 26, 32, 40, 43
jassanī (caus.) 40, 43
javvu 65
jādū 67
jehenī 26
jeheṇe (3.sg.pot.pret.) 236
jehi- (pret.stem) 26
/jehum/ (vb.n.) 262
jehumak-āi (obl.sg.indef. + conj.) 262
jehun (vb.n.) 262
jōli 20
juhāu (p.n.nom. + quot.partc.) 151
/-k/ (indef.suff.) 69
kaṁburu 31
kaṁburuveriā (nom.sg.def.) . . . 81
kadure (gen.) 97
kaduru 65, 97
kaṅḍa 93
kaṅḍagen (abs.III) 257
kaṅḍanī 257
/kaṅḍāś/ (inf.) 262
kaṅḍe (gen.) 93
kafa 63, 81
kafain (abl.) 63
kahalei (pron.adj.) 154, 163
kahuṁbu 65
kai (3.sg.pres.) 215
kaiśe (gen.) 24
kaiśi 24, 34
kakkanī 44
/kal/ 81, 255
kal- (stem) 157
kalamidi- (stem) 39
kalēge (nom.) 251
kalo 135
kaḷa 105
/kam/ 46, 96, 240, 255
kama' (nom.sg.indef.) 240
kami (gen.) 96
kamu (obl.) 149
kamugai 149
kan 46, 96, 240, 255
kan (conj.) 255
kankā- (interr.pron.stem) 153
kankāge farātun (interr.pron. abl.) 155
kankāge (interr.pron.gen.) 127, 155
kankā' (interr.pron.dat.) 155
kaṇi (3.sg.pres.) 213
kaṇṇei 203
kara 63, 65, 67
karuṇi 209
kaśa 83
kaśi 23, 43, 78, 107
kaśie (nom.sg.def.) 78
kaṭṭela 43
kau 81
kau bofain 81
kauḷu 65
kaverie (loc.) 245
kāfā (nom.sg.def.) 81
kāfāmen (pl.def.) 81
kāfi (3.sg.pret.I) 151
kāfūru 48, 65
kāgen (abs.III) 215, 227
kāheti (impers.fut.) 162
kāi (abs.) 215
/kāś/ (inf.) 243, 247
/kāśak/ (nom.sg.indef.) 78
/kāśaś/ (dat.) 78
kāśa' (dat.) 78
kāśa' (nom.sg.indef.) 78, 83
kāśe (gen.) 78
kāu (inf.) 243
kāyē 151
kā' (inf.) 247, 261
ke- (interr.pron.stem) 152, 156, 157
ke (part.pret.) 208
/keḍak/ (obl.sg.indef.) 138
keḍa' (obl.sg.indef.) 138
keḍe 28, 59, 66
keḍe (part.pret.) . . . 36, 208, 240
keḍeī (part.pret.l.f.) 208
kehei digi (interr.pron.) 158
kehei duraki (interr.pron.loc.) . 158
kehei duru (interr.pron.) 158
kehei duvahaka' (interr.pron. dat.) 158
kehei (interr.pron.) 127
kehei vara' (interr.pron.) 127, 158
/ke-hen-ak-aś/ (interr.pron.dat.) 158
kehenaka' (interr.pron.dat.) 127, 151, 158
kehuru 66
kei (abs.) 185
kei (part.pret.l.f.) 208
kekenī 44
/kel/ 36
kelei 27
keṇe (abs.) 213
keṇeṇe (3.sg.pot.pret.) 237
keṇi (part.pret.) 205
keṇiēhe (3.sg.pot.pres.) 234
keoḷu 66
kerañduru fufi 34, 77
kerañduru fufie (nom.sg.def.) . . 77
kerañduru fufie' (nom.sg.indef.) 77
keranī 208, 236
keranī-ā (part.pres.l.f. + quest. partc.) 245
kerāṇe (part.fut.) 210
kerāṇei (part.fut.l.f.) 210

kerāś- (inf.stem) 192
kerā' (inf.) 192, 210
keye (interr.pron.nom.) . 153, 155
keyye (interr.pron.nom.) 127, 153, 155
kē (abs.) 258, 259
kē (part.pres.) 254
kēī (3.sg.pret.I) 145, 147
kēnī 145
kēnī (part.pret.I.f.) 257
kian (interr.pron.) 159
kian vegen (interr.pron.) 127, 159
kiehi 21, 47, 77, 84
kiehin (abl.) 84
[kien] (interr.pron.) 159
[kien vegen] (interr.pron.) . . . 159
kiessa' (dat.) 84
kiessa' (nom.sg.indef.) . 47, 77, 84
kiesse (gen.) 84
kiēne (3.sg.pot.pret.) 237
kihei (interr.pron.) . 27, 157, 162
kili 26, 35, 66
kilin (abl.) 66
kiri 66
kirun (abl.) 66
kitaka' (interr.pron.) . . . 127, 158
kīēhe (3.sg.pot.pres.) 234
kobā (interr.pron.) 156
koṁbākin (interr.pron.nom.pl.) 154, 155
koṁbākinge farātun (interr. pron.abl.pl.) 155
koṁbākinge (interr.pron.gen. pl.) 155
koṁbākinna' (interr.pron.dat. pl.) 155
koṅda 65
koṅī-ṅehē (part.pret.I + cond. conj.) 240
kokko- (stem) 96
kokkō (nom.sg.def.) 22, 42, 67, 82, 87, 96
kokkōa' (dat.sg.def.) 96
kokkōge farātun (abl.sg.def.) . . 96
kokkōge (gen.sg.def.) 96
kokkōmen (pl.def.) 82, 96
kokkōmenge farātun (abl.sg. def.) 96
kokkōmenge (gen.pl.def.) 96
kokkōmenna' (dat.pl.def.) 96
/kol/ 22
kolli (part.pret.II) 240
koḷe (abs.) 214
koḷeṇe (3.sg.pot.pret.) 237
koḷi (3.sg.pres.) 214
koḷi (part.pret.) 203
koḷonei 203
kommi duvahaki (indef.pron.) 160
kommi etta' (indef.pron.) 160
kommi (indef.pron.) 160
/kommi-as eti-ak/ (indef.pron.) 160
kommīas etta' (indef.pron.)160, 161
kommīas mīha' (indef.pron.) . 160
kon etteti tekaka' (interr.pron. dat.pl.) 155
kon etteti tekaki (interr.pron. gen.pl.) 155
kon etteti tekakun (interr.pron. abl.pl.) 155
kon etteti teka' (interr.pron.pl. indef.) 155
kon (interr.pron.)127, 148, 152-157, 159, 164
kon kahalei (interr.pron.) 154, 164
/kon-bākin/ (interr.pron.nom. pl.) 154
konkalaka' (interr.pron.dat.) . . 157
konkalaki (interr.pron.loc.)127, 157
konkalakun (interr.pron.abl.) . 157
/kon-me/ (indef.pron.) 161
/kon-mi-as/ (indef.pron. + emph.partc.) 160
konnanī 213
kontaka' (interr.pron.dat.) 155, 156
kontaki (interr.pron.gen.) 155
kontakun (interr.pron.abl.) 155, 156
/kon-tan-ak-aś/ (interr.pron. dat.) 156
/kon-tan-ak-i/ (interr.pron.loc.) 156
/kon-tan-tan-ak-aś/ (interr.pron. dat.pl.) 156
/kon-tan-tan-ak-i/ (interr.pron. loc.pl.) 75, 156
kontantāka' (interr.pron.dat.pl.) 156
kontantāki (interr.pron.loc.pl.) 75, 156
kontantākun (interr.pron.abl.pl.) 156
konta' (interr.pron.) . 127, 153-155
kontāki (interr.pron.loc.) 127, 156
/koś/ (abs.) 215, 242, 255
kośanī 41
kośāra 65, 97
kośāri (gen.) 97
/koś-dī-fi/ (abs. + part.pret.I) . 242
kośi 41
kotaḷa 65
ko' (abs.) 215, 255
kō 22, 157
kō (conj.) 245, 254, 262
kuddā (nom.sg.def.)39, 77, 80, 145, 147, 163
kudi 77, 85
kudi- (stem) 39, 80, 163
kudin (pl.) 77, 80, 85, 163
kudinge (gen.pl.) 77
kudu 163
/kukuḷaś/ (dat.) 247
kukuḷu 35
kula 105
kuṇi 35, 209
kuruba 31, 63, 94
kuruba- (stem) 94
kurubai (gen.) 94
kurubain (abl.) 63, 94
kurubā (nom.sg.def.) 94
kurubāi (gen.sg.def.) 94
kurubāin (abl.sg.def.) 94
kurubā' (dat.) 94
kurubā' (dat.sg.def.) 94
/kūdak/ (nom.sg.indef.) 77
kūda' (nom.sg.indef.) 77, 85
lada 105
lanī 226, 227
lappanī 44, 225
lassa' (nom.sg.indef.) 77
lavvanī 44
la' 44
la' ni vei (3.sg.pres.neg.) 44
lāgen (abs.III) 227
lāhi 77
lāi (abs.) 262
lehekī (nom.sg.indef. + foc. marker) 152
lei 27
lek 152
lekakī (nom.sg.indef. + foc. marker) 152
lemā hiṅga (1.pl.impv. + 2.sg. impv.) 184
lemmā (1.pl.pret.interr.) 246
lemmī (1.sg.pres.interr.) 246
/let/ (part.pret.) 240, 256
letā (3.pl.pret.interr.) 246
letī (2.sg.pret.interr.) 246
letī (3.sg.pret.interr.) 246
levvā (2.pl.pret.interr.) 246
le' (part.pret.) 240, 256
lēi (2.sg.pres.interr.) 246
lēi (3.sg.pres.interr.) 246
lēli (part.pret.II) 240
lēma (1.pl.impv.) 184
lēmī (1.sg.pres.interr.) 246
lēna (part.pres.) 256
/lēna-ī/ (part.pres.I.f.) 245
lēnaṇe (part.fut.) 256
lēnaśumī (1.sg.fut.interr.) 246
lēnayā (part.pres. + foc.marker + quest.partc.) 245
lēnāi 22, 234
lēnei (part.pres.I.f.) 245
lēneśiā (2.pl.fut.interr.) 246
lēneśiā (3.pl.fut.interr.) 246
lēneśī (2.sg.fut.interr.) 246
lēneśī (3.sg.fut.interr.) 246
lēneśumā (1.pl.fut.interr.) 246
lēneśumī (1.sg.fut.interr.) 246
lian 80

lianun (pl.) 80
libenī 234
libiēhe (3.sg.pot.pres.) 234
libiēšī (3.sg.pot.pres.interr.) . . 247
lieṇe (3.sg.pot.pret.) . . . 236, 237
līēhe (3.sg.pot.pres.) 234
/lol/ 22, 79
loḷa' (nom.sg.indef.) 79
lō 22, 79
ma 106
ma ekuhun (pers.pron.abl.) . . 141
ma (pers.pron.obl.) 127, 129, 140, 141, 145, 240, 243-245, 261
mad- (stem) 94
mada 65, 94
mada fehi 105
mada (pron.adj.) 105, 163
mada' (dat.) 94
madā (nom.sg.def.) 94
madāi (gen.sg.def.) 94
madāin (abl.sg.def.) 94
madā' (dat.sg.def.) 94
madi (gen.) 94
maḍun (abl.) 94
madun (pron.adj.abl.) 163
maḍa 83, 103, 163
maḍa' (nom.sg.indef.) 83
maḍi 77
maḍie (nom.sg.def.) 77
maḍie' (nom.sg.indef.) 77
mafiriakāmen (pl.) 106
maga 138
magē farātun (pers.pron.abl.) . 141
magē (pers.pron.gen.) 141
magun (abl.) 138
mahakun (abl.sg.indef.) 59
maha' (dat.) 93
maha' (nom.sg.indef.) 76
mahā (nom.sg.def.) . . . 76, 82, 93
mahāi (gen.sg.def.) 93
mahāin (abl.sg.def.) 59, 93
mahāmen (pl.def.) 82
mahā' (dat.sg.def.) 93
mahi (gen.) 93, 96
mahun (abl.) 59, 93
main bafain 81
main (pl.) 81
makuṇa' (nom.sg.indef.) 76
makuṇā (nom.sg.def.) 76
makuṇu 76, 209
/mal/ 22, 76
mala' (nom.sg.indef.) 76
malā (nom.sg.def.) 76, 88
mali (gen.) 25, 96
mammā (nom.sg.def.) . 42, 48, 81
mammāmen (pl.def.) 81
/mas/ 43
mas 18, 32, 59, 76, 81-83, 93, 96, 97
mas- (stem) 93
masakka' 245
/mas-ā-in/ (abl.sg.def.) 59
massara 65
/mas-un/ (abl.) 59
masveriā (nom.sg.def.) 81
/maś/ (pers.pron.dat.) 247
maśafei (abs.) 256
mati 34, 39
matta' (dat.) 39
matte (gen.) 39
maṭṭa' (dat.) 34
mau 22, 24, 76, 96
ma' (pers.pron.dat.) 141, 228, 229, 234, 236, 238
-mā (1.pl.ending) 168, 175
/-mā/ (1.pl.ending) 177
mā (adv.) 106
māduma (adv.) 23, 247
māfa- (stem) 81
māfā (nom.sg.def.) 81
māfāmen (pl.def.) 81
māmā (nom.sg.def.) 81
māmāmen (pl.def.) 81
māmui 24
māvahi 78
māvahiei (gen.sg.def.) 78
māvahie' (nom.sg.indef.) 78
māvassa' (dat.) 78
māvasse (gen.) 78
me (dem.pron.) 147
-me (emph.partc.) 161
mede 26, 50, 66
mehen (adv.) 127, 147, 151
mehi . . 25, 32, 40, 47, 62, 77, 95
mehi- (stem) 95
mehiea' (dat.sg.def.) 95
mehiei (gen.sg.def.) 95
mehiein (abl.sg.def.) 95
mehin (abl.) 95
mei 41
mei (conj.) 147, 149, 255
mekuṇu 209
mela 27, 63
melain (abl.) 63
-men (plur.suff.) 70, 71, 80-82, 87, 95, 106, 161
mendiri 66
mendirin (abl.) 66
messa' (dat.) 40, 95
messa' (nom.sg.indef.) 40, 77
messā (nom.sg.def.) . . 40, 77, 95
messe (gen.) 40, 95
meśi 105
mēha' (nom.sg.indef.) 40, 77
mēhā (nom.sg.def.) 21, 40, 77, 95
mēlaṁfati 77
mēlaṁfatie (nom.sg.def.) 77
mēlaṁfatie' (nom.sg.indef.) . . . 77
mēze (gen.) 245
mēzu 245
mi (adv.) 245
mi (dem.pron.) 70, 127, 139, 145-147, 150, 151
mi gota' (adv.) 151
mi kahalei (dem.pron.) 127
mi kō (dem.pron.) 127
mi tān (dem.pron.) 127
mi vara' (dem.pron.) 127
miagē (dem.pron.gen.) 127
miara 22, 66
miā (dem.pron.def.) 70
miāmen (pron.pl.) 70
mide (pers.pron.nom.) . . 139, 150
/mi-ī/ (dem.pron. + foc.marker) 253
minai (3.sg.pres.) 169
miris 64
miśi 26
miturā (nom.sg.def.) 80
mituru 66, 80, 103
miturun (nom.pl.) 47, 80
mī (dem.pron. + foc.marker) 145, 148, 253
/mīdel/ 76, 82, 97
mīdel- (stem) 93
mīdela' (dat.) 93
mīdela' (nom.sg.indef.) 76
mīdelā (nom.sg.def.) 76, 82, 88, 93, 97
mīdelāi (gen.sg.def.) 93
mīdelāin (abl.sg.def.) 93
mīdelāmen (pl.def.) 82
mīdelā' (dat.sg.def.) 93
mīdele (gen.) 93, 97
mīdelun (abl.) 93
mīdeu 76, 82, 93, 97
mīhakā (nom.sg.indef. + conj.) 138
mīhakī (nom.sg.indef. + foc. marker) 253
mīha' ne' 164
mīhā (nom.sg.def.) 80, 95, 107, 149
mīhā (nom.sg.def.) 48
mīhā (obl.sg.def.) 106
mīhāge farātun (abl.sg.def.) . . . 95
mīhāge (gen.sg.def.) 61, 95
mīhāī (nom.sg.def. + foc. marker) 252-254
mīhākī (obl.sg.indef. + foc. marker) 73
mīhā' (dat.sg.def.) 95
mīhun (pl.) 80, 95
mīhunge farātun (abl.pl.) . . 61, 95
mīhunge (gen.pl.) 61, 95
mīhunna' (dat.pl.) 95
mīs- (stem) 80, 95
/mīs-ak/ (nom.sg.indef.) . 160, 164
mīs-mīhun (distr.pl.) 160
moḷōgaṅḍa 144, 145, 150

moḷōgaññḍāi (nom.sg.def. + conj.) 102
mudi 77
mudie (nom.sg.def.) 77
mudie' (nom.sg.indef.) 77
muñḍu 65
mugu 65, 102, 105
/mul/ 22
muḷi (pron.adj.) 107
-mun (ger.suff.) 197
muni 81
muni-kāfain (pl.) 81
muni-māfain (pl.) 81
munnā (nom.sg.def.) 81
munnāmen (pl.def.) 81
mussanti 43, 151
mū 22
mūṇe (gen.) 96
mūṇu 65, 96
mūṣun 32, 47, 64
-n (1.sg.ending) 168, 175
/-n/ (1.sg.fut.ending) 177
nagalāi (abs.II) 164
naguvagen (abs.III) 257
naguvanī 257
naiśā (obl.sg.def.) 161
naiše (gen.) 24
naiśi 24
/nakat/ 25
naka' 25
naṇa 65, 76, 96
naṇa' (nom.sg.indef.) 76
naṇā (nom.sg.def.) 76
naṇi (gen.) 96
nava- (num.elem.) 120
/nava-āhi/ 120
navafansas 120
navahattari 120
navahaṭṭi 120
navasāḷīs 120
navatirīs 120
navāhi 120
navānavei 120
navāra 114-116
navāvīs 115, 116
navei 117
nāḷi 35, 47
nāra 65
nāringa 66
-ne (part.pres.suff.) 200
nera 27
/net/ (3.sg.pres.neg.) . . . 261, 262
/net/ (part.pret.) 107, 149
netigen (abs.III) 261
netī (part.pret.l.f.) 208
netun (vb.n.) 149
ne' (3.sg.pres.neg.) 261
ne' (part.pret.) 107, 149, 208, 261
nēduru 22, 65
/nēfat/ 79
nēfata' (nom.sg.indef.) 79
nēfa' 79
ni bala (neg.partc. + 2.sg. impv.) 261
ni balau (neg.partc. + 2.pl. impv.) 261
ni beliēhe (3.sg.pot.pres.neg.) 232, 234
ni e (2.sg.impv.neg.) 193
ni en (neg.partc. + 1.sg.pres.) . 261
ni (neg.partc.) 44, 45, 145, 162, 184, 246, 250, 260, 261, 262
ni temiēhe (3.sg.pot.pres.neg.) 232
ni vediēhe (3.sg.pot.pres.neg.) 232
nidanī 23, 234
nidā (part.pres.) 23
nidāṇe (part.fut.) 247
nideṇe (3.sg.pot.pret.) 236
nidiēhe (3.sg.pot.pres.) 234
nikkuri 42
/nil/ 22
nimenī 212
nimeṇe (part.pret.) 209
nimi (abs.) 212
nimige (3.sg.pret.IV) 228
/nit-kuri/ 42
nukumei (3.sg.pres.) 214
nukumeṇe (3.sg.pot.pret.) . . . 237
nukumi (abs.) 214
nukumiēhe (3.sg.pot.pres.) . . . 234
nukumigatin (1.sg.pret.III) 227, 228
nukumige (3.sg.pret.IV) 228
nukunnei 205
/nukut/ (part.pret.) 205
nukutī (part.pret.l.f.) 205
nuku' (part.pret.) 205
nun (neg.partc.) 23, 144, 245, 250, 260, 261
nun-āu (neg.partc. + quot. partc.) . . . 145, 148, 150, 259, 260
nuva 110, 116, 120
nuvadihe 117
/nuva-ek/. 110
nuvae' 110
nuvasatēka 121
nuvasatēka aśānavei 121
nū 20, 22, 105
ñakas 45
ñam ñam 45
ñam ñam ges 45
ñāki 45
ñēku 45
-ṇe (part.fut.suff.) 210
ohibada 63
ohibadain (abl.) 63
oi 24, 68
oivara 68
oivara' (dat.) 68
oṇa 65
oṇa- (num.elem.) 114
oṇafansas 120
oṇahattari 114, 120
oṇahaṭṭi 120
oṇasaḷīs 120
oṇasatta 114, 120
oṇatirīs 115, 120
oṇavei 120
oṇavihi 113, 120
oṇoāhi 120
/ot/ (part.pret.) 161, 205, 256
otī (part.pret.l.f.) 151, 205
ove (abs.) 214
oveṇe (3.sg.pot.pret.) 237
oye (gen.) 68
oyei (gen.sg.def.) 68
oyin (abl.) 68
o' (part.pret.) 161, 205, 256
ōgāveri 104
pān 80
pāngañḍa' (nom.sg.indef.) 80
radun (pl.) 80
raṅgaḷa 102
raggau 43
rahumat 81
rahumatteriā (nom.sg.def.) 81
rahumatterin (pl.) 81
raḷa 76
raḷa' (nom.sg.indef.) 76
raḷā (nom.sg.def.) 76
rammas 43
ran 102
ranun (abl.) 102
rasgefānu 80
raskalun (pl.) 80
/raś/ 18, 64, 79, 132, 149
/raśaś/ (dat.sg.) 48
[raśau] (dat.sg.) 48
raśi (loc.) 149
/rat/ 43, 105
/rat-gal/ 43
/rat-mas/ 43
raṭṭehi 37, 78, 80, 106
raṭṭehin (pl.) 80
raṭṭessa' (nom.sg.indef.) 78
ra' 18, 64, 79, 105, 132, 149
rā 21
rāddе 39
reha 27, 63
rehain (abl.) 63
rei 25, 67, 68
rekenī 23
rekē (part.pres.) 23
riḍi 35
rihenī 44
rihi 102
riveti 105, 106

rīñdū 105
sabbīs 115
sahi (3.sg.pres.) 213
sahunei 203
sai 24, 25, 68
saḷīs de 117
saḷīs dē' 117
satāra 113, 114
satēka 121
satēka bāhattari 121
satēkavana 123
satta 121
sauda 112
sauvīs 115
saya' (dat.) 68
saye (gen.) 68
sayin (abl.) 68
sāfu 47
sālīs 116
sāḷīs 116
sehe (abs.) 213
seheṇe (3.sg.pot.pret.) 237
sehi (part.pret.) 203
seṭa' (nom.sg.indef.) 164
[sidrun] (abl.) 43
/sirrun/ (abl.) 43
siṭia' (indef.) 245
siṭī 33
sōḷa 112, 113
suhi 77
sussa' (nom.sg.indef.) 77
-śā (interr.inf.ending) 245
-t (part.pret.suff.) 205
ta ekuhun (pers.pron.abl.) . . . 141
ta (pers.pron.obl.) . 133, 134, 140, 141, 145, 151, 178, 245, 255
/tafiria/ (pers.pron.nom.pl.) . . 134
tafirie (pers.pron.nom.pl.) 134, 140, 143, 247
tafirin ekuhun (pers.pron.abl. pl.) 143
tafirin (pers.pron.obl.pl.) 134, 140, 143, 178
tafiringē farātun (pers.pron.abl. pl.) 143
tafiringē (pers.pron.gen.pl.) . 143, 144
tafirinna' (pers.pron.dat.pl.) . . 143
tagē farātun (pers.pron.abl.) . . 141
tagē (pers.pron.gen.) . . . 141, 144
/tak/ 153
tan 75, 156, 247
tan-tan (distr.pl.) 156
tari 59, 62, 77, 95
tari- (stem) 95
tarie (nom.sg.def.) 77, 95
tariea' (dat.sg.def.) 95
tariei (gen.sg.def.) 95
tariein (abl.sg.def.) 95
/tari-ek/ (nom.sg.indef.) . . . 47, 77
tarie' (nom.sg.indef.) 47, 77
tarin (abl.) 59, 62, 95
taśi 78
tau (quest.partc.) 145, 148, 151, 255, 258, 259
taulīman 107, 149
taulīman ne' 107
tayyāra 42
ta' (pers.pron.dat.) 141, 234
-tā (2.pl.ending) 168
-tā (3.pl.ending) 168
tāra' (dat.) 95
tāre (gen.) 95
tārīx 45
/tāśak/ (nom.sg.indef.) 78
/tāśaś/ (dat.) 78
tāśa' (dat.) 78
tāśa' (nom.sg.indef.) 78
tāśe (gen.) 78
tāzā 45, 103
te (dem.pron.) 144, 146, 147, 150, 151
teakī (dem.pron. + foc.marker) 150
tebe- (prev.) 244
tebe-ain (prev. + 1.sg.pret.) . . 244
tebe-āi (prev. + 2.sg.pret. interr.) 247
tebe-āi (prev. + 3.sg.pret. interr.) 247
tebe-āmā (prev. + 1.pl.pret. interr.) 247
tebe-āmī (prev. + 1.sg.pret. interr.) 247
tebe-ātā (prev. + 2.pl.pret. interr.) 247
tebe-ātā (prev. + 3.pl.pret. interr.) 247
tebe-āvā (prev. + 2.pl.pret. interr.) 247
tebe-gen (prev. + 1.sg.pret.) . . 244
teb-ō (3.sg.pres.) 214
tede 81, 104
tedeveri 81, 104
tedeveriā (nom.sg.def.) 81
teduvanī 227
/teduvi-gat/ (3.sg.pret.III) 227
teduviga' (3.sg.pret.III) 227
/te-ī/ (dem.pron. + foc.marker) 253
/tek/ (pron.adj.) 155
/tel/ 22, 25, 79
teḷa 27, 43
teḷi 27, 35, 62, 77
teḷie (nom.sg.def.) 77
teḷie' (nom.sg.indef.) 77
teḷin (abl.) 62
teme (2.sg.impv.) 168, 184
teme- (pres.stem) 168, 209
temei (2.sg.pres.) 174
temei (2.sg.pres.interr.) 244
temei (3.sg.pres.) 174
temei (3.sg.pres.interr.) 244
tememā (1.pl.impv.) 184
tememā (1.pl.pres.) 174
tememā (1.pl.pres.interr.) 244
tememī (1.sg.pres.interr.) 244
tememun (ger.) 168, 195
temen (1.sg.pres.) 168, 174
temenī . . 166, 168, 174, 175, 227, 229, 234
temenī (part.pres.l.f.) 195
temeṇā (2.pl.pret.) 179
temeṇā (3.pl.pret.) 179
temeṇā (3.pl.pret.interr.) 244
temeṇe (2.sg.pret.) 179
temeṇe (3.sg.pot.pret.) 237
temeṇe (3.sg.pret.) 179
temeṇe (part.pret.) . . 168, 179, 195, 205
temeṇe- (pret.stem) 168
temeṇei (2.sg.pret.interr.) 244
temeṇei (3.sg.pret.interr.) 244
temeṇei (part.pret.l.f.) . . 168, 195
temeṇemā (1.pl.pret.) 179
temeṇemā (1.pl.pret.interr.) 244
†temeṇemī (1.sg.pret.interr.) 244
temeṇen (1.sg.pret.) . . . 168, 179
temeṇevā (2.pl.pret.) 179
temeṇevā (2.pl.pret.interr.) 244
temetā (2.pl.pres.) 174
temetā (2.pl.pres.interr.) 244
temetā (3.pl.pres.) 174
temetā (3.pl.pres.interr.) 244
temeu (2.pl.impv.) 184
temē (part.pres.) 168, 195
temēhe (2.sg.fut.) 179, 205
temēhe (3.sg.fut.) 179, 205
temēṇe (part.fut.) . . 168, 195, 205
temēnei (part.fut.l.f.) 168, 195, 205
temēśā (inf.interr.) 245
/temēśia/ (2.pl.fut.) 179
/temēśia/ (3.pl.fut.) 179
temēśie (2.pl.fut.) 179
temēśie (3.pl.fut.) 179
temēśumā (1.pl.fut.) 179
temēśun (1.sg.fut.) 179
temē' (inf.) 168, 195, 205
temi (abs.) 168, 212
temi temi (red.abs.) 212
temiēhe (3.sg.pot.pres.) 234
temiēśī (3.sg.pot.pres.interr.) 234
temifei (abs.I) 212
temige (3.sg.pret.IV) 212
temigen (abs.III) 212
temī gañdu (2.pl.impv.) 184
temī gan (2.sg.impv.) 184
temun (vb.n.) 168, 195

:eu 22, 25, 64, 79
tē (dem.pron. + foc.marker) . 145, 148, 253
tēra 111
tēvīs 115
tibemā (1.pl.pres.interr.) 246
tibenī 106, 242
tibetā (2.pl.pres.interr.) 246
tibetā (3.pl.pres.interr.) 246
tibēśiā (2.pl.fut.interr.) 246
tibēśiā (3.pl.fut.interr.) 246
tibēśumā (1.pl.fut.interr.) 246
tibi (part.pret.) 106, 160, 162
tibiā (3.pl.pret.interr.) 246
tibimā (1.pl.pret.) 243
tibimā (1.pl.pret.interr.) 246
tibivā (2.pl.pret.interr.) 246
/tikak/ (nom.sg.indef.) 80
tika' (nom.sg.indef.) 80
tikā (nom.sg.def.) 80
tiki 47
timā ekuhun (pron.abl.) 146
timā (pron.) ... 48, 133, 144-146
timā (pron.obl.) 145
timāgē farātun (pers.pron.abl.) 146
timāgē (pron.gen.) . 144, 146, 150
timāmen ekuhun (pron.abl.pl.) 146
timāmen (pron.pl.) 146
timāmengē farātun (pron.pl. abl.) 146
timāmengē (pron.gen.pl.) 144, 146
timāmenna' (pron.dat.pl.) 146
timā' (pron.dat.) 146
tin 81, 108, 109
tin bofain 81
tin hās 121
tindoḷos 122
tindoḷos eke' 122
/tin-ek/ 109
tineti 124
tine' 108, 109
tin-guṇa 125
tinsatēka 121
tinvana 123
tinverin 74, 81
tirīs 116
tirīs de 117
tirīs dē' 117
tirīs eke' 117
tirīs e' 117
tirīs nuva 117
tirīs nuvae' 117
tīṇi 66
tīr 46
tośi 77
tośie (nom.sg.def.) 77
tośie' (nom.sg.indef.) 77
tō (pers.pron.nom.) 133, 140, 141, 178, 247
udagū 31
uddaṅḍi 42
uḍu 46, 65
ufā 48, 104, 240
ufāveri 53, 104
uṅgu 65
/uk-daṅḍi/ 42
ukuṇu 35, 209
-umā (1.pl.fut.ending) 177
-un (1.sg.fut.ending) 177
-un (abl.ending) 59, 62
-un (plur.suff.) ... 70, 80, 81, 95
-un (vb.n.suff.) 196
us 32
uturu 65
uxtu 66
ū 20
ūa' (dat.) 20
ūe (gen.) 20
ūn (abl.) 20
ūru 20, 65
-va- (caus.suff.) 170
vad- (pres.stem) 167
vadi (2.sg.pres.) 173
vadi (3.sg.pres.) 173, 213
vadu (2.pl.impv.) 184
vadu (2.sg.impv.) 167, 184
vadumā (1.pl.impv.) 184
vadumā (1.pl.pres.) 173
vadun (1.sg.pres.) 167, 173
vadutā (2.pl.pres.) 173
vadutā (3.pl.pres.) 173
vaḍa 35, 36, 65, 93
vaḍe (gen.) 93
vaḍi mīhā 80
vaḍin (pl.) 80
vagutu 65
vai 24, 68, 103
vaigada 103
vain (abl.) 68
vaḷi 79
vammā (1.pl.pret.) 176
van (2.sg.pret.) 176
van (3.sg.pret.) 176
van (part.pret.) ... 167, 175, 199, 205
van- (pres.stem) 167
van- (pret.stem) 167
-vana (ord.suff.) 123, 124
vanā (2.pl.pret.) 176
vanā (3.pl.pret.) 176
vanin (1.sg.pret.) 167, 176
vanī (part.pres.l.f.) 106, 107
vanī (part.pret.l.f.) 167, 199
vannahe (2.sg.fut.) 177, 178
vannahe (3.sg.fut.) 177, 178
vannaṇe (part.fut.) 167, 199, 210
vannaṇei (part.fut.l.f.)167, 199, 210
/vannaśia/ (2.pl.fut.) 177
/vannaśia/ (3.pl.fut.) 177
vannaśie (2.pl.fut.) 177
vannaśie (3.pl.fut.) 177
vannaśumā (1.pl.fut.) 177
vannaśun (1.sg.fut.) ... 167, 177
vanna' (inf.) .. 167, 195, 196, 210
vanne (part.pres.) .. 167, 199, 200
vannei 205
vannei (part.pres.l.f.) 167, 199, 200
vanu (2.sg.impv.) 167, 184
vanun (1.sg.pres.) 167, 173
vanun (vb.n.) 167, 196
vara 103, 158
varagada 103
/var-ak/ (nom.sg.indef.) 158
vara' (adv.) 106
vara' gina (adv.) 106
vara' (nom.sg.indef.) 158
vas 103
vasgada 103
vaśi 78
/vat/ 161
vati (loc.sg.) 161
vaṭṭanī 26
vau 22, 24
vaule (gen.) 24
/vayaś/ (dat.) 68
vaye (gen.) 68
/vayin/ (abl.) 68
va' 161
-vā (2.pl.ending) 169, 175
-vā (interr.suff.) 169
vāre 79
vāreduni 47
/vāśak/ (nom.sg.indef.) 78
/vāśaś/ (dat.) 78
vāśa' (dat.) 78
vāśa' (nom.sg.indef.) 78
vāśe (gen.) 78
vā' (dat.) 68
ve- (abs.) 236
vede- (abs.) 167, 212, 213
vedefei (abs.I) 213, 227
vedege (3.sg.pret.IV) 228
vedegen (abs.III) 213, 227
vedelāi (abs.II) 213, 227
vedemun (ger.) 167, 197
vedeṇe (3.sg.pot.pret.) 237
vedi (abs.) ... 167, 212, 213, 215
vedi vedi (red.abs.) 215
vediēhe (3.sg.pot.pres.) . 178, 232, 234
vedi 27, 79, 206
vege (3.sg.pret.IV) 149
vegen (abs.III) 151, 159, 215, 255
vegen (conj.) 255
vei (3.sg.pres.) 215
vei (abs.) 215, 236

/vel/ 22, 25
velei 27
veli 36
venī 151, 208
venī (part.pres.l.f.) 106, 107
-veri 81
veri 74, 124, 140
-veriā (nom.sg.def.) 81
veriā (nom.sg.def.) 74
-verie' (nom.sg.indef.) 81
verin (nom.pl.) 74
-verin (pl.) 81, 124
veśi- (abs.) 206
veśi ni oveṇe (3.sg.pot.pret. neg.) 237
veśionnei 28
/veśiot/ (part.pret.) 206
veśiotī (part.pret.l.f.) 206
veśiovefei (abs.I) 214
veśioveṇe (3.sg.pot.pret.) 237
veśio' (part.pret.) 206
veśiōfei (abs.I) 214
veśiōi (3.sg.pres.) 214
veśiōi (abs.) 214
veṭṭenī 26, 36, 182, 212, 230
veṭṭi (abs.) 212, 214
veu 22, 25
/vev/ 25
veveṇe (3.sg.pot.pret.) 237
veviēhe (3.sg.pot.pres.) 234
vē (part.pres.) 106, 200, 240
vēṅḍei (3.sg.pres.) 214
vēṅḍen (1.sg.pres.) 36
vēṅḍenī (part.pres.) 151
vēṅḍeṇe (3.sg.pot.pret.) 237
vēṅḍeṇe (part.pret.) 206
vēṅḍeṇei (part.pret.l.f.) 206
vēṅḍeṇen (1.sg.pret.) 36
vēṅḍiēhe (3.sg.pot.pres.) 234
vē-fehē (part.pres. + cond. conj.) 240
vēhe (3.sg.fut.) 240
vēhe (3.sg.pot.pres.) 236
vēla 20, 160, 254
vēlei (conj.) 160, 249, 254
vēlei (loc.) 160, 249, 254
vēnḍenī 206
vēṇe (part.fut.) 210
vēṇei (part.fut.l.f.) 210
vēśī (3.sg.pot.pres.interr.) . . . 234
vē' (inf.) 210
vi (3.sg.pot.pret.) 238
vi (part.pret.) 149, 208, 237
vidi 131
vihi 114
vihivana 123
vikkanī 44
vina 63
vinain (abl.) 63
vuṇu (part.pret.) 237
xādima 45, 133
xādimā (nom.sg.def.) 253
-y (2.sg.ending) 168
-y (3.sg.ending) 168
yā (cond.conj.) 240
-ye (def.suff.) 68
-ye' (indef.suff.) 69
/-ʔ/ (inf.ending) 210

Fua' Mulaku

-∅ (2.sg.ending) 175
-∅ (3.sg.ending) 175
-a (3.pl.ending) 175
aṁbo 31
aṁbu 31, 85, 86, 158
aṁbu mīhāge (gen.sg.) 85
aṁdanī 173, 213
addaṁḍi 43
adi (conj.) 250
aḍḍeha 117
aḍe' (nom.sg.indef.) 83
aḍo 65, 83, 103
aḍogada 103
afun (pers.pron.obl.pl.) . 130, 132, 142
afunge farāten (pers.pron.abl. pl.) 142
afunge (pers.pron.gen.pl.) 142, 144
afunna' (pers.pron.dat.pl.) . . . 142
afū (pers.pron.nom.pl.) . 130, 132, 141, 142
aṅga 63, 103
aṅga gada miturā 103
aṅga maḍo miturā 103
aṅgaen (abl.) 59, 63
aṅgāra 63
aṅgāraen (abl.) 63
aha 64, 83
-aha (dat.ending) 57, 58, 62, 97, 98
-aha (inf.ending) 173, 181
aharen (abl.) 98
ahare' (nom.sg.indef.) 83
aharo 65, 83, 98
ahāfī (3.sg.pret.I) 149
ahe' (nom.sg.indef.) 83
ai (quot.partc.) 149, 227, 258, 259
-ak (indef.suff.) 73
/-ak/ (indef.suff.) 70, 82
akiraha (dat.) 98
akiren (abl.) 98
akiri 98
-akī (foc.marker) 252, 253
-aku (indef.suff.obl.) 73
al 22, 46, 102
alamāri 84
alamārie' (nom.sg.indef.) 84
alanāsi 32, 48, 84
alanāsie' (nom.sg.indef.) 84
ali 35, 98, 103
aligada 53, 103
alihā (dat.) 98
amānātteri 104
/amānāt-veri/ 104
ammā 248
ammāśa (dat.sg.) 248
ammāve (nom. + quot.partc.) . 248
an (part.pret.) 204
/an-ek/ (pron.adj.) 152
anhen 158
anhen geri 158
anhen mīhā 158
annaha (inf.) 181
annaī 204, 235
annāhinin (1.sg.fut.) 181
annā (part.pres.) 181
aranī 235
arāge (3.sg.pret.IV) 229
-as (emph.partc.) 250
assatēka 121
assēri 42
/aś/ 109, 117, 124
/-aś/ (dat.ending) 57, 62
-aśa (dat.ending) 18, 57, 58, 62, 97
aśāra 113, 114, 116
aśāvīs 115, 116
/aś-ek/ 109
aśe' 109
aśi 98
aśiaha (dat.) 98
aśien (abl.) 98
aśihā (dat.) 98
aśo 86, 109, 117, 124
aśoverin 86
/at/ 25, 43, 46, 88, 98
ateḷe 27, 28, 35, 47, 69
ateḷeveri 87
ateḷevērun (pl.) 87
aten (abl.) 46, 60-62, 85, 98
atin (abl.) 98
atiraha (dat.) 98
atiri 98
/at-tela/ 43
attela 43, 63, 85, 98
attelaen (abl.) 63, 98
attelae' (nom.sg.indef.) 83
atte' (pl.) 88

ava (pers.pron.nom.) 130, 131, 141
avaha 102
a' 25, 46, 88, 98
-a' (dat.ending) 57, 58, 62
-a' (indef.suff.) 70, 82, 158
-ā (1.pl.ending) 177
-ā (abs.ending) 212, 227
-ā (conj.) 82, 249, 250
-ā (def.suff.) 71
ā (part.pres.) 207
āṁbe' (nom.sg.indef.) 85
āṁbun aten (abl.pl.) 85
āṁbun (pl.) 85, 86
āṁbunge (gen.pl.) 85
āṁbunna' (dat.pl.) 85
āda 20
āṅḍi (3.sg.pres.) 213
ādītta 20, 42, 63
ādīttaen (abl.) 63
āhi 21, 117
āho (abs.) 215, 256
āī (part.pret.l.f.) 207
āḷaha (dat.) 21
āḷen (abl.) 21
āḷi 21, 35
āmillā 42
bagīcā 45
baha 161
bahuge (gen.sg.) 161
bai 124
baiken (indef.pron.pl.) 261
baivaro (pron.adj.) 162
bakamūṇu 48, 65
bakari 47, 84, 87, 88, 98, 99
bakariāmen (pl.) 87, 88
bakarie (gen.) 99
bakarien (abl.) 99
bakarie' (nom.sg.indef.) 84
bakarihā (dat.) 98, 99
bakarite' (pl.) 87, 88
bal 22, 102
bala (2.sg.impv.) 167, 183
bala (part.pres.) 167, 198
bala- (pres.stem) 26, 167
balamā (1.pl.impv.) 183
balamā (1.pl.pres.) 169
balamun (ger.) 167, 197
balan (1.sg.pres.) 167, 169
balanī 166, 167, 174, 175, 178, 236
balanī (part.pres.l.f.) . . . 167, 198
balanna (inf.) . 167, 180, 192, 195
balannā (1.pl.fut.) 179, 180
balannā (1.pl.pret.) 176
balannen (1.sg.fut.) 167, 176, 179, 180
balannen (3.sg.fut.) . 176, 179, 180
balannen (part.fut.) 167, 198
balannenā (3.pl.fut.) 176, 179, 180
balannenin (1.sg.fut.) 167, 176, 179
balannenī (part.fut.l.f.) . . 167, 198
balanneye (2.sg.fut.) 180
balanneyye (2.sg.fut.) . . 176, 179
balannē (2.sg.fut.) 176, 179
balannę̄ (part.fut.) 198
balannēva (2.pl.fut.) . . . 176, 179
balannēva (2.sg.fut.) 180
balatta (3.pl.pres.) 169
balau (2.pl.impv.) 183
balayye (2.sg.pres.) 169
balā (3.sg.pres.) 169
balā (abs.) 167, 211, 215
balā balā (red.abs.) 215
balāfē (abs.I) 227
balāgen (abs.III) 227
balālāi (abs.II) 227
balāli (part.pret.II) 255
balāva (2.pl.pres.) 169
balą̄ (part.pres.) 198, 201
bali 103
baḷāmen (pl.) 87
baḷe (gen.) 96
baḷe' (nom.sg.indef.) 83
baḷo 65, 83, 87, 96
baḷote' (pl.) 87
ban (part.pret.) 204
bannaha (inf.) 181
bannaī 204, 235
bannāhinin (1.sg.fut.) 181
banną̄ (part.pres.) 181
bappā 41, 46, 48, 87, 97
bappāmen (pl.) 87
bappāśa (dat.) 97
baro 103
batteli 42, 47
bāṅḍi (3.sg.pres.) 213
bāra 111
bāvīs 114
bą̄ni 23
bą̄śaha (dat.) 84, 98, 99
bą̄śe (gen.) 84, 99
bą̄śen (abl.) 84, 99
bą̄śe' (nom.sg.indef.) 84
bą̄śi 23, 46, 62, 84, 98, 99
bą̄zāmen (pl.) 87
bą̄ze' (nom.sg.indef.) 83
bą̄zu 23, 66, 83, 87
beṅḍe (abs.) 213
beṅḍīennen (3.sg.pot.pres.) . . 235
beṅḍun (3.sg.pot.pret.) 237
behe' (nom.sg.indef.) 83
beli (3.sg.pret.) 175
beli- (pret.stem) 26, 167
belin (1.sg.pret.) 167, 175
belī (part.pret.) 167, 174, 198
belī (part.pret.l.f.) 167, 198
belīa (3.pl.pret.) 175
belīennen (3.sg.pot.pres.) 232
belīmā (1.pl.pret.) 175
belīva (2.pl.pret.) 175
belīyye (1.sg.pret.) 175
belun (3.sg.pot.pret.) 236
belun (vb.n.) 167, 196
beḷal 86, 88, 97, 99
beḷal (pl.) 86, 88, 97, 100
beḷalaha (dat.pl.) 100
beḷalaku (obl.sg.indef.) 148
beḷalāmen (pl.) 87, 88
beḷalen (abl.pl.) 100
beḷalen (abl.sg.) 100
beḷale' (nom.sg.indef.) 83
beḷali (gen.) 97
beḷali (gen.pl.) 100
beḷali (gen.sg.) 100
beḷalte' (pl.) 87, 88
beḷalu 83, 86-88, 97, 99, 100
beḷalu gaen (abl.sg.) 100
beḷalu gai (gen.sg.) 100
beḷalu gāśa (dat.sg.) 100
beḷaluśa (dat.sg.) 97, 100
beṇi (3.sg.pret.) 256, 258
beṇum mā (vb.n. + conj.) . . . 258
beṇum (vb.n.) 258
/beṇun/ (vb.n.) 258
berāsfati 37, 43
bere 66, 83, 88, 145
berete' (pl.) 88
bere' (nom.sg.indef.) 83
bēbe 22, 67, 87, 136
bēbēmen (pl.) 87
bēhe 21, 64, 83
bēṇun 46, 262
bēsveriā 47
bēvvigen (abs.III) 261
biṅḍe (abs.) 214
biṅḍevun (3.sg.pot.pret.) 237
biṅḍi (3.sg.pres.) 214
biṅḍīennen (3.sg.pot.pres.) . . . 235
biṅḍun (3.sg.pot.pret.) 237
bihi 32
billūri 42
/bim/ 26, 96
bime (gen.) 96
bin 26, 96
bin (part.pret.) 204
binna (part.pres.) 181
binnaha (inf.) 181
binnaī 204, 235
binnąhinin (1.sg.fut.) 181
/bis/ 32
biun (3.sg.pot.pret.) 237
bī (part.pret.l.f.) 207
bīennen (3.sg.pot.pres.) 235
bīri 21, 66, 102
boṅḍanu (obl.sg.) 252
boṅḍanu-ā (obl.sg. + conj.) . . 249
boṅḍā 84, 87
boṅḍāen (abl.) 84

boňḍāe' (nom.sg.indef.) 84
boňḍāi (gen.) 84
boňḍāmen (pl.) 87
boňḍāśa (dat.) 84
boňḍo . 18, 31, 47, 102, 106, 149
/bok/ 64, 87
bokāmen (pl.) 87
bokkorā 42, 47
/bok-tek/ (pl.) 87
bol 22, 64
boli 84, 98, 99
boliaha (dat.) 98, 99
bolie (gen.) 99
bolien (abl.) 99
bolie' (nom.sg.indef.) 84
botte' (pl.) 87
bo' 64, 87
bō (3.sg.pres.) 215
bō (abs.) 215
bōkiba 47
buda 63
budaen (abl.) 63
buddi 42, 104
buddiveri 53, 104
buma 63, 83, 98
bumaen (abl.) 63, 98
bumae' (nom.sg.indef.) 83
da 49
daddoḷi 43
daňḍi 43
dagaňḍo 49
dagonaha (inf.) 181, 203
dagonaī 213, 235
dagonāhinin (1.sg.fut.) 181
dagoną̄ (part.pres.) 181
dahi 105
dak- (stem) 44
dakkanī 43
dakonaha (inf.) 181
dakonaī 236
dakonaī (part.pres.l.f.) 44
dakoną̄ (part.pres.) 181
dakunāhinin (1.sg.fut.) 181
/dam/ 49
dan 49
daro 54
daromaṇa 54, 256
daśaha (dat.) 49
/daśaś/ (dat.) 194
daśi (loc.) 49
daśun (abl.) 49
/dat/ 25, 43
dattā 42, 46
da' 25
dāgi (3.sg.pres.) 213
dāki (3.sg.pres.) 213
dāraha (dat.) 99
dāre' (nom.sg.indef.) 84
dāri 84, 86, 99
dāri aten (abl.) 98, 99
dārige (gen.) 99
dārun aten (abl.pl.) 98, 99
dārun (pl.) 86, 99
dārunge (gen.pl.) 99
dārunna' (dat.pl.) 99
de 46, 109, 124
de hās 121
de mīhun 124
dea 27, 63, 97
deaen (abl.) 63
deāśa (dat.) 97
deḍi 28
/de-ek/ 109
dege (abs.) 213
degīennen (3.sg.pot.pres.) . . . 235
degun (3.sg.pot.pret.) 237
deha 110
dehae' 110
deke (abs.) 213
dekkīennen (3.sg.pot.pres.) . . 236
dekuṇu 35, 65
den (adv.) 25, 250
dene (abs.) 207, 214
dene hīśī (abs. + part.pret.l.f.) 207
deni (3.sg.pres.) 214
denī 205
dennaī 207, 236
dennāhinin (1.sg.fut.) 181
dennā̄ (part.pres.) 181
dennēn-ī (part.fut.l.f.) 258
deraṇa 27
dere (abs.) 215
derefē (abs.I) 256
devana 123
deverin 124
dēgī (part.pret.l.f.) 203
dēlaha (dat.) 98
dēlen (abl.) 98
dēli 98
dēneti (abs.) 255
dēti 124
dē' 109
dida 63, 83
didaen (abl.) 63
didae' (nom.sg.indef.) 83
digi 66, 102
din (part.pret.) 205
dinīennen (3.sg.pot.pres.) 235
dinun (3.sg.pot.pret.) 237
divanī 26, 202
divehi 32, 40, 47, 62, 85, 86, 131
divesse' (nom.sg.indef.) 40, 47, 85
divessun (pl.) 86
divi (part.pret.) 202
dīfā (abs.I) 256
dīṇaha (dat.) 98
dīṇi 26, 35, 98
doe (3.sg.pres.) 214
doïennen (3.sg.pot.pres.) 235
doḷos 122
doḷos dē' 122
doḷos tine' 122
domvēli 36
don 36, 102
donkēl 36
donnaha (inf.) 181
donnā (part.pres.) 181
donnāhinin (1.sg.fut.) 181
donnāī 235
doraha (dat.) 34
dorei (gen.) 97
dore' (nom.sg.indef.) 83
doro 65, 83, 97
/dot/ (part.pret.) 205
dovefē (abs.I) 214
dovun (3.sg.pot.pret.) 237
do' (part.pret.) 205
dōi (abs.) 214
dōṇi 20, 27, 35, 43, 98
dōṇihā (dat.) 98
dōtī (part.pret.l.f.) 256
duisatta 121
/dum/ 20, 98
dume (gen.) 97
dun 20, 98
duru 102, 158
duvaha 158
duvanī 43
/duvas-aku/ (obl.sg.indef.) . . . 160
duvvanī (caus.) 43
-e (3.sg.pres.ending) 214
-e (abs.ending) 212-214
e (dem.pron.) . 139, 146, 147, 150, 151
-e (gen.ending) 53, 99
-e (loc.ending) 53
e mīhun (pers.pron.obl.pl.) 140, 143
e mīhunge (pers.pron.gen.pl.) 143, 144
e mīhunna' (pers.pron.dat.pl.) 143
e mīhū (pers.pron.nom.pl.) 143
e (pers.pron.nom.) 141, 142
ea (pers.pron.obl.) . 136, 139, 141, 142
eage farāten (pers.pron.obl.) 142
eage (pers.pron.gen.) 142, 144
eai (pers.pron.gen.) 142
eaśa (pers.pron.dat.) 142
eba-gēm (prev. + vb.n.obl.) 65, 83
eňde 213
eňde (abs.) 213
ede (pers.pron.nom.) 139, 141, 142
eňde' (nom.sg.indef.) 83
eňdīennen (3.sg.pot.pres.) 235
edun (3.sg.pot.pret.) 237

eñdun (3.sg.pot.pret.) 237
eduru 66, 88
edurunte' (pl.) 88
egāra 111, 122
eñgīennen (3.sg.pot.pres.) . . . 236
eñgun (3.sg.pot.pret.) 236
ehai (adv.) 27, 151, 162
ehe 83
ehen (adv.) 151
ehe' (nom.sg.indef.) 83
-ei (gen.ending) 55, 96, 97
-ei (loc.ending) 56
ejjun 43
/ek/ 108, 109, 161
/-ek/ (indef.suff.) 70, 82, 153, 163
ekaku enekakuśa (recip.pron.) 152
/ek-aku/ (obl.sg.indef.) 152
ekāvīs 114
/ek-ek/ 108, 109
eke' 108, 109, 155, 158
ekī (conj.) 249
ekī (loc.) 104, 249
/ek-me/ (pron.adj.) 42, 46
/ek-men/ (pron.adj.pl.) . . . 46, 161
ekuṇi 122
ekunifanas 122
ekunifassiñi 122
ekunitindoḷos 122
/ek-vana/ 123
/em/ 46
emā (1.pl.ending) 177
emā (1.pl.pres.) 180
emmaṇa 256
emme maun 161
emme (pron.adj.) 42, 46, 107, 160, 161
emme rieti 161
emmen ekī (pron.adj.pl.) 162
emmen (pron.adj.pl.) 46, 161, 162
en 46, 261
-en (1.sg.ending) 177
en (1.sg.pres.) 180
-en (3.sg.ending) 177
-en (abl.ending) 59, 62, 98
en (part.pres.) 255
-enā (3.pl.ending) 177
/en-ek/ (pron.adj.) 163
ene' (pron.adj.) 48, 152, 163
-enin (1.sg.ending) 177
enī 207, 215, 231, 235, 238, 243, 247
enī (part.pres.l.f.) 180
ennen (2.sg.fut.) 247
ennen (3.sg.fut.) 235
ennen (3.sg.pres.) 236
erīennen (3.sg.pot.pres.) 235
erīge (3.sg.pret.IV) 229
esfia 83
esfiae' (nom.sg.indef.) 83
esnāḷe' (nom.sg.indef.) 84
esnāḷi 84
eśa' (nom.sg.indef.) 82
eśe 28, 46, 82
eti 39, 75, 124, 155
/eti-ek/ (nom.sg.indef.) 164
/eti-eti/ (distr.pl.) 75
etta (3.pl.pres.) 180
ettaha (dat.sg.) 39
ette (gen.sg.) 39
etten (abl.sg.) 39
etteti (distr.pl.) 39, 75, 155
ette' ne' 164
ette' (nom.sg.indef.) 39
eu (pers.pron.obl.) 139, 141, 142, 149
euge farāten (pers.pron.abl.) . . 142
euge (pers.pron.gen.) . . . 142, 144
euśa (pers.pron.dat.) 142
eve (quot.partc.) 248
evvana 123
evvias (conj.) 38
-eyye (2.sg.ending) 177
eyye (2.sg.pres.) 180
e' 108, 109, 123, 161
e' hās 121
-e' (indef.suff.) . . . 70, 82-84, 163
-ę̄ (1.sg.ending) 177
-ē (2.sg.ending) 177
ē (3.sg.pres.) 180
ę̄ (3.sg.pres.) 180
ę̄ (part.pres.) 254, 255
-ēva (2.pl.ending) 177
ēva (2.pl.pres.) 180
fahaśa (dat.) 97
fahaveri 86-88
fahaveriāmen (pl.) 87, 88
fahaverite' (pl.) 88
fahavērun (pl.) 86-88
fahą 23, 32, 86, 97, 109
fahąverin 86, 124
fahenā (cond.conj.) 239
fahe' 109
fahę̄ (cond.conj.) 23, 48, 239, 248
faitela 63, 83, 88
faitelaen (abl.) 63
faitelae' (nom.sg.indef.) 83
faitelate' (pl.) 88
faivān 25, 83
faivāne' (nom.sg.indef.) 83
fakīri 45, 103
faḷō 48, 67
fanara 112
fanas 123
fani 26, 35
fanimaṇa 256
fansavīs 115
fansās 116
faṇi 23
farāten (abl.) 61, 62, 98
faro 88
farobada 63
farobadaen (abl.) 63
farote' (pl.) 88
/fas/ 32
fasdoḷos 116, 123
fasdoḷos dē' 123
fasdoḷos eke' 123
fasdoḷos ekoḷos 123
fasdoḷos nuvae' 123
fasdoḷos tin 117
fasdoḷos tine' 117
/fas-ek/ 109
fassatēka 121
fassihi 122, 123
fassihi dē' 122
fassihi eke' 122
faśa- (pres.stem) 26
faśanī 26
/fat/ 25, 64, 67, 83, 88
fatanī 26
fate' (nom.sg.indef.) 83
fatte' (pl.) 88
faure' (nom.sg.indef.) 83
fauru 66, 83
fa' 25, 64, 83, 88
fā 21, 42, 68
fādigimakuḍu 65
fāga 63, 83
fāgaen (abl.) 63
fāgae' (nom.sg.indef.) 83
fāheti 123, 124
fāle' (nom.sg.indef.) 85
fāli 84, 109
fāṇe' (nom.sg.indef.) 85
fāṇi 35, 85
feñdaga 31
fehi 105
fehuressei 87
fehuresseite' (pl.) 87
fehuressey(y)āmen (pl.) 87
fen 25
fenei (gen./loc.) 56
fenen (3.sg.pres.) 248
fenenī 248
feṇa 28, 63
feṇaen (abl.) 63
ferāḍa 27
feśenī 26
feśi- (pret.stem) 26
fetenī 26
-fē (abs. ending) 27
fēru 66
fēśak-ai (nom.sg.indef. + quot. partc.) 148
fēśe' (nom.sg.indef.) 85
fēśi 21, 85
fia 47, 63, 88, 97, 98

ſiaen (abl.) 63, 98
ſiaṫe' (pl.) 88
ſiāḷo 65
ſiāśa (dat.) 97
ſiñdanu-ā (obl.sg. + conj.) . . . 249
ſinoḷo 35, 132
ſiohi 47, 85, 98, 99
ſiossaha (dat.) 98, 99
ſiosse (gen.) 99
ſiossen (abl.) 99
ſiosse' (nom.sg.indef.) 47, 85
ſiri 86, 132
ſirihen 157
ſirihen geri 158
ſirihen kuddā 157
ſirihen mīhā 157
ſirin (pl.) 86
ſīśe (gen.) 34
ſīśe' (nom.sg.indef.) 85
ſīśi 21, 41, 85, 132
ſoda' (nom.sg.indef.) 82
ſode' (nom.sg.indef.) 82
ſodo 65
/ſou/ 18, 25, 64
ſo' 18, 25, 64
/ſuak/ 64, 96
ſuaki (gen.) 96
ſua' 64, 96
ſullā 97
ſullāśa (dat.) 97
ſuppā- 41
ſuppāmei 41
ſurai 27
ſūḷu 34, 65
gada 105
gada ſehi 105
gaṅde' (nom.sg.indef.) 83
gaḍi 84
gaḍie' (nom.sg.indef.) 84
gaṅḍo 65, 83
gai 24, 57, 67, 98, 99
/gal/ 43
gal 22, 24, 64
gali (gen.) 25
gamīs 32
gannaha (inf.) 181
gannaī 205, 235
gannā (part.pres.) 181
gannāhinin (1.sg.fut.) 181
/gat/ (part.pret.) 205
ga' (part.pret.) 205, 256
gātī (part.pret.l.f.) 205
gāṇi (3.sg.pres.) 213
-ge (gen.ending) 61, 62, 98
gehaśa (dat.) 97
gehe 32, 64, 83, 88, 97
gehe' (nom.sg.indef.) 83
/ges/ 32, 88
ges-gehun (distr.pl.) 160
geste' (pl.) 88
gē 21, 67
gē (part.pret.) 207
gēṅḍi 27, 62
gēī (part.pret.l.f.) 147, 207
gina (pron.adj.) 162
ginc (abs.) 213, 229
ginevīennen (3.sg.pot.pres.) . . 235
ginevun (3.sg.pot.pret.) 237
giun (3.sg.pot.pret.) 237, 238
gīennen (3.sg.pot.pres.) 236
goho (abs.) . . . 32, 148, 214, 257
/gos/ (abs.) 32
/got/ 25, 151
/got-aś/ (dat.) 151
go' 25, 151
guguru 66
guimaṇa 256
-guṇa (num.suff.) 125
gurai 27
gū 68
ha 109
hadā̱ (part.pres.) 149
haddeha 117
haddoḷos 123
haṅde' (nom.sg.indef.) 83
haṅdi (gen.) 96
haṅdo 31, 32, 65, 83, 96
/ha-ek/. 109
hae' 109
haſtā 97
haftāśa (dat.) 97
hai (pron.adj.) . 27, 151, 157, 162
hajjaha (dat.) 247
hakuru 65
harakātteri 104
/harakāt-veri/ 104
hasada 104
hasadaveri 104
hasatēka 121
hassatēka 121
/hat/ 109, 124
/hatar-ek/ 109
hatare' 109
hataro 109
hatarosatēka 121
hatāvīs 115, 116
/hat-diha/ 117
/hat-doḷos/ 123
hate' 109
hattari 117
haturu 66
haṭṭi 117
haul 22-24, 32, 64, 112, 247
haulakk-ā (obl.sg.indef. + conj.) 82, 250
haul-āu (nom.sg. + quot.partc.) 247
haule (gen.) 24
haule' (nom.sg.indef.) 82
haulu (obl.sg.) 257
haulu-ā (obl.sg. + conj.) 250
havīri 66
havverin 124
ha' 109, 124
-hā (dat.ending) . . 57, 58, 62, 98
hās 121
hā̱ (aff.partc.) 23, 250
hedī (conj.) 255
hedī (part.pret.) 148
heṅdune' (nom.sg.indef.) 83
heṅdunu 66, 83
hela 27, 63
helaen (abl.) 63
hema 27, 102
hen 151, 157
heṇahiri 28
heṇe 28, 66, 88
heṇete' (pl.) 88
heṇihiri 66
heras 27
heye (quest.partc.) 256
hia 121-123
hia doḷos 123
hiaḷo 32, 65, 83
hiāḷe' (nom.sg.indef.) 83
hiki 44, 102
himāre (gen.) 96
himāre' (nom.sg.indef.) 83
himāro 47, 65, 83, 96
hinnaha (inf.) 181
hinnāhinin (1.sg.fut.) 181
hinnāī 44, 235
hinnā̱ (part.pres.) 181
hippi 41
hiśe (3.sg.pres.) 214
hiśe (abs.) 205
hiśevīennen (3.sg.pot.pres.) . . 235
hiśevun (3.sg.pot.pret.) 237
/hit/ 83, 88, 161
/hitaś/ (dat.sg.) 161
hita' (dat.sg.) 161
hite' (nom.sg.indef.) 83
hitte' (pl.) 88
hi' 83, 88, 161
hīśi (part.pret.) 256
hīśin (1.sg.pret.) 243
hīśī hai (indef.pron.) 162
hīśī (part.pret.l.f.) 34, 44, 203, 205
hōma 65
hōmaen (abl.) 63
huanī 235
huanna (inf.) 255
hudu 46, 105
huīennen (3.sg.pot.pres.) 235
hukuru 65
huḷañgo 102
huṇu 35, 65, 102
huturu 47, 102

huṭṭanī 44
huṭṭenī (caus.intr.) 44
huvaňdei (gen.) 97
huvaňdo 32, 97
hūhā (dat.sg.) 195
hūhi 34, 195
hūn 46
-i (3.sg.pres.ending) . . . 168, 213
-i (abs.ending) 212, 237
-i (gen.ending) 55, 96, 97
-i (loc.ending) 56
-i (part.pret.suff.) 202, 203
iňde (3.sg.pres.) 214
iňde (abs.) 214
iňdevīennen (3.sg.pot.pres.) . . 235
iňdevun (3.sg.pot.pret.) 237
iňdōli 20, 88
iňdōlite' (pl.) 88
-ie (2.sg.ending) 168
iʃa' 83
iʃae' (nom.sg.indef.) 83
iňgili 47, 88
iňgilite' (pl.) 88
iňgiri 31, 66
ihal 83, 88
ihale' (nom.sg.indef.) 83
ihalte' (pl.) 88
ihanī 235
ihīennen (3.sg.pot.pres.) 235
iki ges-gehun 160
iki (indef.pron.) 160
iki mīs-mīhun 160
ila 83
ilae' (nom.sg.indef.) 83
-in (1.sg.ending) 175
-in-Ø (3.sg.ending) 177
in (part.pret.) 204
-in (plur.suff.) 71, 86, 155
-inin (1.sg.ending) 177
-inmā (1.pl.ending) 177
-inna (3.pl.ending) 177
innaha (inf.) 181
innaī 204, 235
innāhinin (1.sg.fut.) 181
innā̧ (part.pres.) 181
-inne (2.sg.ending) 177
-invā (2.pl.ending) 177
iri 66
irīňde (abs.) 214
irīňdi (3.sg.pres.) 214
irīňdīennen (3.sg.pot.pres.) . . . 235
irīňdun (3.sg.pot.pret.) 237
irīn (part.pret.) 205
irīn- (pres.stem) 173
irīnnaha (inf.) 181
irīnnaī 205, 235
irīnnā (part.pres.) 181
irīnnāhinin (1.sg.fut.) 181
issaśi 43, 88
issaśite' (pl.) 88
itiraha (adv.) 106
itiri (adv.) 106
iyye (adv.) 43
-ī (foc.marker) . 73, 251-253, 260
īhā (dat.) 195
īhāmen (pl.) 87
īhe' (nom.sg.indef.) 85
īhi 21, 46, 62, 85, 87, 195
īhite' (pl.) 87
īṭe' (nom.sg.indef.) 83
īṭu 20, 65, 83
-īyye (2.sg.ending) 175
jaňbe' (nom.sg.indef.) 83
jaňbu 60, 65, 83, 88
jaňburōzu 65
jaňbute' (pl.) 88
jaha- (pres.stem) 26
jahanī 26, 32, 40, 43, 227
jahāgen (abs.III) 227
jahān (abs.III) 227
jangali 98
jangaliaha (dat.) 98
jangalihā (dat.) 98
jassanī (caus.) 40, 43
javvu 65
jādū 67
jehenī 26
jehi- (pret.stem) 26
jehī (part.pret.l.f.) 257
jehun (3.sg.pot.pret.) 236
jōli 20, 88, 98
jōliaha (dat.) 98
jōlite' (pl.) 88
kaňburu 31
kaňdul 83
kaňdule' (nom.sg.indef.) 83
kaduraha (dat.) 98
kadurei (gen.) 97, 98
kaduren (abl.) 98
kadure' (nom.sg.indef.) 83
kaduru 65, 83, 88, 97, 98
kadurute' (pl.) 88
kaňḍanī 235, 252
kafa 63, 87, 88
kafaen (abl.) 63
kahala (pron.adj.) 154
kahuňbe' (nom.sg.indef.) 83
kahuňbu 65, 83
kahuňbute' (pl.) 87
kaiśe (gen.) 24
kaiśi 24, 34, 88
kaiśite' (pl.) 88
kakiḍāmen (pl.) 87
kakiḍi 87
kakiḍite' (pl.) 87
kakkanī 44
kakkāgen (abs.III) 149
kakul 88
kakulte' (pl.) 88
/kal/ 255
kal (conj.) 254, 255
kal- (stem) 157
kalamidi- (stem) 39
kaḷo 105
/kam/ 46, 83, 88, 96, 255
kame' (nom.sg.indef.) 83, 88
kami (gen.) 96
kan 46, 83, 88, 96, 255
/kan/ 'corner' 88
kan 'corner' 88
kan (conj.) 255
kane' (nom.sg.indef.) 'corner' . 88
kante' (nom.pl.) 'corner' 88
kan-te' (pl.) 88
kaṇṇaha (inf.) 181
kaṇṇaī 203, 235
kaṇṇā̧ (part.pres.) 181
kaṇṇā̧hinin (1.sg.fut.) 181
kara 63, 67, 88
karaen (abl.) 63
karāte' (pl.) 88
kare' 83
kari (loc.sg.) 248
karo 65, 83, 248
karuṇe' (nom.sg.indef.) 83
karuṇu 83
kaśa 83
kaśae' (nom.sg.indef.) 83
kauḷu 65
kā (3.sg.pres.) 215
kā (abs.) 215
kābafaun (pl.) 86
kābafaunge farāten (abl.pl.) . . . 98
kāfāge farāten (abl.) 98
kāfāmen (pl.) 87, 88
kāfāte' (pl.) 88
kāfi (3.sg.pret.I) 148
kāfūru 48, 65
kāgen (abs.III) 227
kāka ataha (interr.pron.dat.) . . 155
kākage farāten (interr.pron.abl.) 155
kākage (interr.pron.gen.) 155
kākaśa (interr.pron.dat.) 155
kān (abs.III) 227
kāṇī (3.sg.pres.) 213
kāśe' (nom.sg.indef.) 85
kāśi 85, 88
kāśite' (pl.) 88
kā̧śi 23
keḍakun (abl.sg.indef.) 59
keḍe 28, 59, 66
keňḍī (part.pret.l.f.) 252
keňḍīennen (3.sg.pot.pres.) . . 235
kehuru 66
kei (abs.) 258, 259
kekenī 44
/kel/ 36

keḷai 27
keḷa (part.pret.) 36, 208
keḷāī (part.pret.l.f.) 208
keḷenaha (inf.) 181
keḷenaī 203, 235
keḷenā (part.pres.) 181
keḷenāhinin (1.sg.fut.) 181
keḷeun (3.sg.pot.pret.) 237
keṇe (abs.) 213, 214
keṇīennen (3.sg.pot.pres.) . . . 235
keṇun (3.sg.pot.pret.) 237
keraṅdul hūhi 34, 195
keranī 208, 236
keranna (inf.) 195
keulu 66
kē (abs.) 185
kē (part.pret.) 208
kēfē (abs.I) 227
kēī (part.pret.l.f.) 208
kēl 83, 88
kēle' (nom.sg.indef.) 83
kēlte' (pl.) 88
kēḷi (3.sg.pres.) 214
kēḷī (part.pret.l.f.) 203
kēnī 227
kẹ̄ṇī (part.pret.l.f.) 203
kēye (interr.pron.nom.) . 153, 155
ki- (interr.pron.stem) 152, 156-158
kihai (interr.pron.) . 27, 157, 162
kihai varakaha (interr.pron.dat.) 158
/ki-hin-ak/ (interr.pron.) 158
kihinake (interr.pron.) 158
kihina' (interr.pron.) 158
kihinne (interr.pron.) . . . 147, 158
kiḷi 26, 35, 66
kiri 66
kitaka' duvaha (interr.pron.) . . 158
kite' duvaha (interr.pron.) . . . 158
kite' (interr.pron.) 158
kiun (3.sg.pot.pret.) 237
kīennen (3.sg.pot.pres.) 235
kīhā 21, 47, 84
kīhāen (abl.) 84
kīhāe' (nom.sg.indef.) 47, 84
kīhāi (gen.) 84
kīhāśa (dat.) 84
koṁbaiken- (interr.pron.stem) 155
koṁbaikenge farāten (interr. pron.abl.pl.) 155
koṁbaikenge (interr.pron.gen. pl.) 155
koṁbaikenna' (interr.pron.dat. pl.) 155
koṁbaikēa (interr.pron.nom.pl.) 155
kobā (interr.pron.) 156
koṇdo 65
kokkō 22, 42, 67, 84, 87, 97
kokkōe' (nom.sg.indef.) 84
kokkōmen (pl.) 87
kokkōśa (dat.) 97
kol 22
koḷi 84
koḷie' (nom.sg.indef.) 84
kommi duvahaku (indef.pron.) 160
kommi ette' (indef.pron.) 160
kommi (indef.pron.) 160
kommias etta' (indef.pron.) . . 160
kommias mīhaku (indef.pron. obl.sg.) 160
kommias mīhe' (indef.pron.) . 160
kon etteti tekakaha (interr.pron. dat.pl.) 155
kon etteti tekakun (interr.pron. abl.pl.) 155
kon etteti tekeke' (interr.pron. nom.pl.) 155, 158
kon etteti tekeki (interr.pron. gen.pl.) 155
kon (interr.pron.) . . 152-157, 159
kon kahala (interr.pron.) 154
konirakun (interr.pron.abl.) . . 157
konkalakaha (interr.pron.dat.) . 157
konkalaki (interr.pron.loc.) . . . 157
konkalakun (interr.pron.abl.) . 157
/kon-me/ (indef.pron.) 161
konnanī 213
kontanakaha (interr.pron.dat.) . 156
kontanakun (interr.pron.abl.) . 156
kontanekaha (interr.pron.dat.) . 156
/kon-tan-ek-i/ (interr.pron.loc.) 156
kontaneki (interr.pron.loc.) . . . 156
kontanekun (interr.pron.abl.) . 156
kontantanakaha (interr.pron.dat. pl.) 156
kontantanakun (interr.pron.abl. pl.) 156
kontantanekaha (interr.pron.dat. pl.) 156
/kon-tan-tan-ek-i/ (interr.pron. loc.pl.) 156
kontantaneki (interr.pron.loc. pl.) 75, 156
kontantanekun (interr.pron.abl. pl.) 156
kontākaha (interr.pron.dat.) . 151, 155, 156
/koś/ (abs.) 255
kośanī 41
kośārei (gen.) 97
kośāre' (nom.sg.indef.) 83
kośāro 65, 83, 97
kośi 41
kotaḷo 65
kō (abs.) 215, 255
kōntakun (interr.pron.abl.) 59, 155
kōnteke' (interr.pron.indef.) . . 153
kōnteke' (interr.pron.nom.) 153-155
kōnteki (interr.pron.gen.) 155
kubusmaṇa 256
kuddā̤ . . 23, 39, 85, 86, 149, 163
kuddā̤ aten (abl.sg.) 85
kuddā̤ge (gen.sg.) 85
kuddā̤śa (dat.sg.) 85
kudi- (stem) 39, 85, 163
kudu 163
kukuḷakk-ā (obl.sg.indef. + conj.) 250
kukuḷu 35
kukuḷu-ā (obl.sg. + conj.) . . . 250
kula 105
kuma' (interr.pron.) 159
kuma' vegen (interr.pron.) . . . 159
kuṇi 35
kuruba 31, 63
kurubaen (abl.) 63
kūdaku (obl.sg.indef.) 248
kūde' (nom.sg.indef.) 85
kūdun aten (abl.pl.) 85
kūdun (pl.) 85, 86, 163
kūdunge (gen.pl.) 85
kūdunna' (dat.pl.) 85
labanī 48
labān (abs.III) 48
labba (aff.partc.) 42
lado 105
lanī 227
lappanī 44, 225
la' 44
lāgen (abs.III) 227
lān (abs.III) 227
lei 27
lēnī 22
libenī 248
liṁboi 82
liṁboya' (nom.sg.indef.) 82
libunu (part.pret.) 248
liennen (3.sg.pot.pres.) 235
lik- (stem) 82
lika' (nom.sg.indef.) 82
likī (nom.sg. + foc.marker) . 145, 149
liun (3.sg.pot.pret.) 236, 237
lol 22, 85
lōte' (pl.) 85
ma (pers.pron.obl.) 129, 141
mado 65
mado fehi 105
mado (pron.adj.) 105, 163
madun (pron.adj.abl.) 163
maḍa 53
maḍae' (nom.sg.indef.) 83
maḍi 84
maḍie' (nom.sg.indef.) 84
maḍo 103, 163
mage farāten (pers.pron.abl.) . 141
mage (pers.pron.gen.) . . 141, 144
maha . . 18, 32, 54, 83, 96-98, 261

mahaśa (dat.) 97, 98
mahen (abl.) 59, 98
mahe' (nom.sg.indef.) 83
mahi (gen.) 96, 98
mal 22, 24, 96
mali (gen.) 25, 96
mammā 42, 48, 99
mammāge farāten (abl.) 99
mammāge (gen.) 99
mammāmen (pl.) 99
mammāmenge farāten (abl.pl.) . 99
mammāmenge (gen.pl.) 99
mammāmenna' (dat.pl.) 99
mammāśa (dat.) 99
-maṇa (dim.suff.) 54, 256
/mas/ 32, 43, 54
masmaṇa 54, 256
massare' (nom.sg.indef.) 83
massaro 65, 83
masveriā 86
masvērun (pl.) 86
maśa (pers.pron.dat.) 141, 228, 236
maśafē (abs.) 256
mati 34, 39
mattaha (dat.) 34, 39
matte (gen.) 39
maun bafaun (pl.) 86
maun (pl.) 86
-mā (1.pl.ending) 168, 175
mā (adv.) 106
mā (conj.) 255, 258
mā (loc.) 148
mādahą (adv.) 23
māmui 24
māvahi 98
māvahiaha (dat.) 98
-me (emph.partc.) 161
mede 26, 50, 66
mei 41
mela 27, 63
melaen (abl.) 63
-men (plur.suff.) 70, 71, 86, 87, 99, 134, 161
mendiri 66
mēha' (dat.) 40, 195
mēhāmen (pl.) 87
mēhe (gen.) 40
mēhe' (nom.sg.indef.) 40, 85
mēhi 21, 25, 32, 40, 47, 62, 85, 87, 195
mēhite' (pl.) 87
mēliage dia (p.n.nom.) 251
mēre 22, 66, 83
mēre' (nom.sg.indef.) 83
mi (dem.pron.) 139, 146-151, 161, 227
mi gotaha (adv.) 151
mi mīhun (pers.pron.pl.) 162
mia (pers.pron.f.) 139, 149
midaluśa (dat.sg.) 97, 100
mihen (adv.) 151
mirihi 64
miśi 26
mitura' (nom.sg.indef.) 82
mituru 66, 82, 86, 97, 103
miturun (nom.pl.) 47, 86
mituruśa (dat.) 97
miu (pers.pron.m.) 139, 149
mī (dem.pron. + foc.marker) . 148
mīdal 86, 87, 97, 99
mīdal (pl.) 86, 97, 100
mīdalaha (dat.pl.) 100
mīdalāmen (pl.) 87
mīdalen (abl.pl.) 100
mīdalen (abl.sg.) 100
mīdale' (nom.sg.indef.) . . . 82, 83
mīdali (gen.pl.) 97, 100
mīdali (gen.sg.) 100
mīdalu . . 83, 86, 87, 97, 99, 100
mīdalu gaen (abl.sg.) 100
mīdalu gai (gen.sg.) 100
mīdalu gāśa (dat.sg.) 100
mīdalu-ā (obl.sg. + conj.) . . . 250
mīdelakk-ā (obl.sg.indef. + conj.) 82, 250
mīdele' (nom.sg.indef.) 82
mīha' ne' 164
mīhā 48, 73, 85, 86, 97
mīhāge (gen.sg.def.) 61
mīhākuī (obl.sg.indef. + foc. marker) 73
mīhāśa (dat.) 97
mīhun (pl.) 86, 134
mīhunge aten (abl.pl.) 61
mīhunge farāten (abl.pl.) 61
mīhunge (gen.pl.) 61
mīs- (stem) 134
/mīs-ak/ (nom.sg.indef.) 164
/mīs-ek/ (nom.sg.indef.) 160
mīs-mīhun (distr.pl.) 160
muñdu 65
mugu 65, 102, 105
mul 22
mulehi 85
mulesse' (nom.sg.indef.) 85
muli (pron.adj.) 107
mussañdi 42
muśi 105
mūṇaha (dat.) 98
mūṇe (gen.) 96, 98
mūṇen (abl.) 98
mūṇe' (nom.sg.indef.) 83
mūṇu 65, 83, 96, 98
mūsun 32, 47, 64
mūde' (nom.sg.indef.) 85
mūdi 23, 85
-n (1.sg.ending) 168, 175
naiśe (gen.) 24
naiśi 24
/nakat/ 25
naka' 25
nam (cond.conj.) 241
nannigaten (abl.pl.) 100
nannigati (pl.) 99, 100
nannigattaha (dat.pl.) 100
nannigatte (gen.pl.) 100
nannigattu 99, 100
nannigattu gaen (abl.sg.) 100
nannigattu gai (gen.sg.) 100
nannigattu gāśa (dat.sg.) 100
naṇe (gen.) 96
naṇe' (nom.sg.indef.) 83
naṇo 65, 83, 96
navai 117
navāra 114-116
navāvīs 115, 116
nāḷi 35, 47
nāre' (nom.sg.indef.) 83
nāringu 66
nāro 65, 83
nera 27, 83
nerae' (nom.sg.indef.) 83
/net/ (3.sg.pres.neg.) 261
ne' (3.sg.pres.neg.) 261
nētī (abs.) 261
ni belīennen (3.sg.pot.pres. neg.) 232
ni (neg.partc.) 45, 145, 184, 250, 260, 261
ni temḭennen (3.sg.pot.pres. neg.) 232
ni veñdevīennen (3.sg.pot.pres. neg.) 232
niaḍuru 22, 65
nidanī 23, 235
nidą̄ (part.pres.) 23
nidīennen (3.sg.pot.pres.) 235
nidun (3.sg.pot.pret.) 236
nikkuri 42
nil 20, 22, 105
nimenī 212
nimī (abs.) 212
nimīge (3.sg.pret.IV) 228
nimun (part.pret.) 209
/nit-kuri/ 42
nu (neg.partc.) 145
nukume (abs.) 214
nukumege (3.sg.pret.IV) 228
nukumevīennen (3.sg.pot.pres.) 235
nukumevun (3.sg.pot.pret.) . . 237
nukumē (3.sg.pres.) 214
nukunnaha (inf.) 181
nukunnaī 205, 235
nukunnā (part.pres.) 181
nukunnāhinin (1.sg.fut.) 181
/nukut/ (part.pret.) 205
nuku' (part.pret.) 205

nukūtī (part.pret.l.f.) 205
nun (neg.partc.) 23, 145, 248, 250, 260, 261
nuva 110, 116
nuvadeha 117
/nuva-ek/. 110
nuvae' 110
nuvasatēka 121
ohibada 63, 83
ohibadaen (abl.) 63
ohibadae' (nom.sg.indef.) 83
oi 24, 68
onnaha (inf.) 181
onnāhinin (1.sg.fut.) 181
oṇe' (nom.sg.indef.) 83
oṇo 65, 83
/oU/ (part.pret.) 181, 205, 248, 256
ove (3.sg.pres.) 214
ove (abs.) 214
ovīennen (3.sg.pot.pres.) 235
ovun (3.sg.pot.pret.) 237
o' (part.pret.) 181, 205, 256
ōgāveri 104
ōlanī 235
ōlīennen (3.sg.pot.pres.) 235
ōtī (part.pret.l.f.) 205, 227
rad-raśo (distr.pl.) 75
radun 86
raññgaḷo 102
raggal 43
rahumatteriā 86
rahumattērun (pl.) 86
raḷo 54
raḷomaṇa 54, 256
raḷomaṇāk-ai (obl.sg.indef. + conj.) 258
rammaha 43
ran (obl.) 148
raskaḷun (pl.) 86
/raś/ 132
raśe' (nom.sg.indef.) 83
raśo 18, 64, 75, 83, 132
/raś-raś/ (distr.pl.) 75
/rat/ 43, 105
/rat-gal/ 43
/rat-mas/ 43
raṭṭehi 37, 85, 86
raṭṭesse' (nom.sg.indef.) 85
raṭṭessun (pl.) 86
ra' 105
rā 21
rādde 39
reha 27, 63, 149
rehaen (abl.) 63
rehi 87
rehiāmen (pl.) 87
rehite' (pl.) 87
rei 25, 67, 68
rekenī 23, 235
rekevīennen (3.sg.pot.pres.) . . 235
rekę̄ (part.pres.) 23
rieti 105, 161
rihā (dat.sg.) 195
rihenī 44
rihi 195
riveti 105, 161
rīñdul 105
[rud] 48
/ruk/ 147
rukaha (dat.) 147
ru' 48, 147
sabbīs 115
sahunaha (inf.) 181
sahunā (part.pres.) 181
sahunāhinin (1.sg.fut.) 181
sahunāī 203, 235
sai 24, 25, 68
saḷīs de 117
saḷīs dē' 117
satāra 113, 114
satēka 121
satēkavana 123
satta 121
sauda 112
sauvīs 115
sāfu 47
sāhi (3.sg.pres.) 213
sālīs 116
sāḷīs 116
sehe (abs.) 213
sehīennen (3.sg.pot.pres.) 235
sehun (3.sg.pot.pret.) 237
sēhī (part.pret.l.f.) 203
siṭī 33
sōḷa 112, 113
-t (part.pret.suff.) 205
ta (pers.pron.obl.) . 133, 134, 141, 147
tafātu 161
tafātuge (gen.sg.) 161
tafīnna' (pers.pron.dat.pl.) . . . 143
tage farāten (pers.pron.abl.) . . 141
tage (pers.pron.gen.) . . . 141, 144
tai (quest.partc.) . 147, 151, 247, 248, 255, 258, 259
tan 75, 151, 156
tan-tan (distr.pl.) 156
tari 62, 84
/tari-ek/ (nom.sg.indef.) 47
tarien (abl.) 59, 62
tarie' (nom.sg.indef.) 47, 84
tasbīha 248
taśa (pers.pron.dat.) . . . 141, 248
tayyāro 42
tākaha (dat.sg.indef.) . . . 151, 261
tāmen (pers.pron.pl.) 134, 141, 143
tāmenge (pers.pron.gen.pl.) . 143, 144
tāmenna' (pers.pron.dat.pl.) . . 143
tārīx 45
tāśe' (nom.sg.indef.) 85
tāśi 85
tāzā 45, 103
tedeveri 104
/-tek/ (plur.suff.) 71, 87, 99
/tek/ (pron.adj.) 155, 158
/tel/ 25
tel 22, 64
tela 27, 43, 82, 99
telaen (abl.) 99
telai (gen.) 99
tela' (nom.sg.indef.) 82
telāśa (dat.) 99
teme- (pres.stem) 168
tememā (1.pl.impv.) 184
tememā (1.pl.pres.) 174
temen (1.sg.pres.) 168, 174
temenī . . . 23, 166, 168, 174, 175, 209, 227, 228, 235
temenį̄ (part.pres.l.f.) . . . 168, 199
temenna (inf.) 168, 195
temennā (1.pl.fut.) 177
temennen (3.sg.fut.) 177
temennen (part.fut.) . . . 168, 199
temennenā (3.pl.fut.) 177
temennenī (part.fut.l.f.) . 168, 199
temenneye (2.sg.fut.) 177
temennę̄ (1.sg.fut.) 168, 177
temennē (2.sg.fut.) 177
temennēva (2.pl.fut.) 177
temetta (3.pl.pres.) 174
temeyye (2.sg.pres.) 174
temę̄ (3.sg.pres.) 174
temę̄ (part.pres.) 168, 199
temę̄va (2.pl.pres.) 174
temī gan (2.sg.impv.III) . 168, 227
temī gatin (1.sg.pret.III) . . . 227
temīge (3.sg.pret.IV) 228
temīgen (abs.III) 227
temīlāi (abs.II) 227
temį̄ (abs.) 23, 168, 212, 215
temį̄ temį̄ (red.abs.) 215
temįennen (3.sg.pot.pres.) 232, 235
temįfē (abs.I) 227
temummā (1.pl.pret.) 176
temun (3.sg.pot.pret.) 236
temun (part.pret.) . 168, 175, 199, 208
temun- (pret.stem) 168
temun (vb.n.) 168, 199
temunin (1.sg.pret.) 168, 176
temunna (3.pl.pret.) 176
temunne (2.sg.pret.) 176
temų̄ (3.sg.pret.) 176
temų̄nī (part.pret.l.f.) . . . 168, 199
temų̄va (2.pl.pret.) 176
terein (abl.) 161

teu 25
-te' (plur.suff.) 71, 87, 88, 99, 163
tēḷen (abl.) 62
tēḷe' (nom.sg.indef.) 84
tēḷi 27, 35, 62, 84
tēra 111
tēvīs 115
ti (dem.pron.) 134, 146, 147, 149-151, 161
ti mīhun (pers.pron.obl.pl.) 134, 141, 143
ti mīhunge (pers.pron.gen.pl.) 143, 144
ti mīhunna' (pers.pron.dat.pl.) 143
ti mīhū (pers.pron.nom.pl.) 134, 141, 143
tia (pers.pron.obl.) 149, 150
tibenī 242
tibi (part.pret.) 162, 261
tibịmā (1.pl.pret.) 243
ṭiki 47
ṭimā (pron.) 48, 133, 145, 146, 161
timāge (pron.gen.) 144, 146
timāgē ferāten (pron.abl.) . . . 146
timāi (pron. + conj.) 247
ṭimāmen (pron.pl.) 146
timāmenge (pron.gen.pl.) 144, 146
timāmengē ferāṭen (pron.abl. pl.) 146
timāmenna' (pron.dat.) 146
ṭimāśa (pron.dat.) 146
tin 108, 109
tin hās 121
tindoḷos 122
tindoḷos eke' 122
/tin-ek/ 109
tineti 124
tine' 108, 109
tinsatēka 121
tinvana 123
tirīs 116
tirīs de 117
tirīs dē' 117
tirīs eke' 117
tirīs e' 117
tirīs nuva 117
tirīs nuvae' 117
tiu (pers.pron.obl.) 149, 150
tiuśa (pers.pron.dat.) 149
tīṇi 66
tīr 46
tō (pers.pron.nom.) 133, 141
-tta (3.pl.ending) 168
udagū 31
uddaṅḍi 42
udihīfē (abs.I) 257
uḍu 46, 65
ufāveri 53, 104
uñgu 65
uhu 32
ụhụ (neg.partc.) . . . 23, 250, 260
/uk-daṅḍi/ 42
ukuṇu 35
-un (abl.ending) 59
-un (plur.suff.) 71, 86, 87, 130, 155
-un (vb.n.suff.) 196
uṇa- (num.elem.) 114
uṇaāhi 120
uṇafansās 120
uṇahattari 114, 120
uṇahaṭṭi 120
uṇasaḷīs 120
uṇasatta 114, 120
uṇatirīs 115, 120
uṇavai 120
uṇavihi 113, 120
/us/ 32
uturu 65
uxtu 66
-ū (2.pl.ending) 177
ūru 20, 65
ūtērimaṇa 256
-va (2.pl.ending) 168, 175
-va- (caus.suff.) 170
vañd- (pres.stem) 167
vañdi (2.sg.impv.) 167, 184
vañdima (1.pl.impv.) 184
vañdimā (1.pl.pres.) 173
vañdimun (ger.) 167, 197
vañdin (1.sg.pres.) 167, 173
vañditta (3.pl.pres.) 173
vañdiu (2.pl.impv.) 184
vañdivva (2.pl.pres.) 173
vañdīyye (2.sg.pres.) 173
vaḍi 86
vaḍiun (pl.) 86
vaḍo 35, 36, 65
vago 227
vago jahanī 227
vagutu 65
vaha 103
vai 24, 68, 103
vaigada 103
vammā (1.pl.pret.) 176
van (3.sg.pret.) 176
van (part.pret.) . . . 167, 175, 199, 205
van- (pres.stem) 167
van- (pret.stem) 167
-vana (ord.suff.) 123, 124
vanin (1.sg.pret.) 167, 176
vanīyye (2.sg.pret.) 176
vanna (3.pl.pret.) 176
vannaha (inf.) 167, 181, 195, 196
vannaī 205, 235
vannaī (part.pres.l.f.) 167, 199, 200
vannan (1.sg.pres.) 167
vannạ̄ (part.pres.) . 167, 181, 199, 200
vannạ̄himmā (1.pl.fut.) 177
vannạ̄himva (2.pl.fut.) 177
vannạ̄hin (3.sg.fut.) 177, 181
vannạ̄hin (part.fut.) 167, 199
vannạ̄hinin (1.sg.fut.) 167, 177, 181
vannạ̄hinī (part.fut.l.f.) . 167, 199
vannạ̄hinna (3.pl.fut.) 177
vannạ̄hinne (2.sg.fut.) 177
vannạ̄hinye (2.sg.fut.) 181
vanun (vb.n.) 167, 196
vanva (2.pl.pret.) 176
varaha (adv.) 106
varaha gina (adv.) 106
varakaha (dat.sg.indef.) 158
varo 103, 158
varogada 103
vasgada 103
vaṭṭanī 26
vaul 22-24, 87, 88
vaulāmen (pl.) 87, 88
vaule (gen.) 24
vaulte' (pl.) 87, 88
vāreheduni 47
vāṇḍi (3.sg.pres.) 173, 213
vāṇī (part.pret.l.f.) 167, 199
ve (3.sg.pres.) 215
veñde (abs.) . . 167, 212, 213, 215
veñde veñde (red.abs.) 215
veñdefē (abs.I) 227
veñdegen (abs.III) 227
veñdelāi (abs.II) 227
veñdevīennen (3.sg.pot.pres.) 232, 235
veñdun (3.sg.pot.pret.) 237
veḍi 27
vege (3.sg.pret.IV) 149
vegen (abs.III) 159, 255
vegen (conj.) 255
/vel/ 25
vel 22
velai 27
venī 208, 235
-veri 86
veri 74, 124
-veriā 86
veriā 74
-verin (pl.) 86, 124
veśi- (abs.) 206
veśi ni ovun (3.sg.pot.pret.neg.) 237
veśionnaha (inf.) 181
veśionnaī 28, 235
veśionnāhinin (1.sg.fut.) 181
veśionnạ̄ (part.pres.) 181
/veśiot/ (part.pret.) 206
veśiove (abs.) 214
veśiovē (3.sg.pres.) 214
veśiovīennen (3.sg.pot.pres.) . 235
veśiovun (3.sg.pot.pret.) 237

veśio' (part.pret.) 206
veśiōtī (part.pret.l.f.) 206
veṭṭenī 26, 212, 235, 251
veṭṭevīennen (3.sg.pot.pres.) . . 235
veṭṭī (abs.) 212
veṭṭīge (3.sg.pret.IV) 251
veu 25
/vev/ 25
vevīennen (3.sg.pot.pres.) 235, 236
vevun (3.sg.pot.pret.) 237
vē (abs.) 215, 236
vę (part.pres.) 200
vęṇḍevīennen (3.sg.pot.pres.) . 235
vęṇḍevun (3.sg.pot.pret.) 237
vęṇḍi (3.sg.pres.) 214
vęṇḍin (1.sg.pres.) 36
vęṇḍī (abs.) 214
vęṇḍun (part.pret.) 206
vęṇḍunin (1.sg.pret.) 36
vęṇḍūnī (part.pret.l.f.) 206
vēla 20, 254
vēlai (conj.) 249, 254
vēlai (loc.) 249, 254
vēli 36
vēnnen (3.sg.pot.pres.) 236
vęṇṇaha (inf.) 181
vęṇṇaī 36, 206, 230, 235
vęṇṇą (part.pres.) 181
vęṇṇąhinin (1.sg.fut.) 181
vērun (nom.pl.) 74
-vērun (plur.suff.) 86, 124
vidi 131
vihi 114
vihivana 123
vikkanī 44
vina 63
vinaen (abl.) 63
vī (part.pret.l.f.) 161, 208
xādima 45, 133
/-ya/ (3.pl.ending) 175
-yye (2.sg.ending) . . 168, 175, 177
/-yye/ (2.sg.ending) 175

Huvadū

-aṭa (dat. ending) 34
doraṭa (dat.) 34
eňge (3.sg.pres.) 262
fūḷa (East-H.) 34
galahuṭṭe (gen.) 34
guake (obl.sg.indef.) 262
huṭi (part.pret.) 34, 256
hūḷa (West-H.) 34
kameke (nom.sg.indef.) 262
kan (conj.) 262
kauṭi 24, 34
maṭṭaṭ (dat.) 34
maṭaifai (abs.) 256
noṭi 24
nu eňge (3.sg.pres.neg.) 262
/ot/ (part.pret.) 256
ote (part.pret.) 256
raḷeke (obl.sg.indef.) 262
-ṭ (dat. ending) 34

Standard Dhivehi (Māle)

-∅ (2.sg.ending) 175
-∅ (3.pl.ending) 175
-∅ (3.sg.ending) 175
-a (subst.suff.) 136
abadu 233
aṁbi 31, 90, 158
⟨abi⟩ 90
aṁbin (pl.) 90
aṁbu 31
aṁburanī 230
aṁburā (abs.) 230
aṁburā annanī 230
adabu 104
adabuveri 104
aňdanī 31, 173, 181, 204, 213, 235, 237
aňdā (3.sg.pres.) 213
aňdā (abs.) 213
adi (conj.) 250
adi-ves (conj.) 250
aḍḍiha 117
aḍḍū (top.) 19, 131
aḍu 65, 103, 152, 252
aḍugada 103
afuremenge (gen.) 33
aňga 59, 63, 90, 101, 103
aňga gada miturā 103
aňga maḍu miturā 103
aňgae' (nom.sg.indef.) 90
⟨aňgaigai⟩ (loc.) 101
⟨aňgaige⟩ (gen.) 101
aňgain (abl.) 59, 63
aňgain (abl.sg.) 101
aňgāgā (loc.sg.) 101
aňgāge (gen.sg.) 101
aňgāra 63
aňgārain (abl.) 63
aňgā' (dat.sg.) 101
agu 103
agu huri 103
ahanī 148-150
/ahannaś/ (pers.pron.dat.) 233, 238, 248
ahanna' (pers.pron.dat.) . 228, 233, 236, 238, 248
aharemen (pers.pron.pl.) 130, 132, 140, 142
aharemena' (pers.pron.dat.pl.) . 142
aharemenge (pers.pron.gen.pl.) 142, 144
aharen (pers.pron.) 34, 61, 129-132, 140, 141, 228, 242
aharenge (gen.) 72
aharenge (pers.pron.gen.) 141, 144, 164, 242
aharenna' (pers.pron.dat.) 141
aharu 65, 109
aharumen (pers.pron.pl.) 130
ahulu 90
ahuluveriā 90
ahuluverin (pl.) 90
ahuren (pers.pron.) 130, 131
ai 25, 46
ai (part.pret.) 207
aidaňḍi 43
ais (abs.) 215
aitila 63
[aitila] 43, 63
aī (part.pret.l.f.) 164, 207
-ak (indef.suff.) 72
/-ak-aś/ (dat.sg.indef.ending) . 101
-akī (foc.marker) . . . 72, 73, 149, 252-254
-aku (indef.suff.obl.) 72, 82, 89, 101, 252
/-ak-un/ (abl.sg.indef.ending) . 101
akuru 6
/al/ 22
alanāsi 32
ali 35
alifān 53
aligada 53, 103
alī buxairī 45
aḷi 35
aḷugaňḍakī (pers.pron. + foc. marker) 254
aḷugaňḍa' (pers.pron.dat.) 141
aḷugaňḍu (pers.pron.) 129, 132, 140, 141, 254
aḷugaňḍu (pers.pron.obl.) 252

aḷugaňḍuge (pers.pron.gen.) 141, 144
aḷugaňḍumen (pers.pron.pl.) . 132, 140, 142
aḷugaňḍumena' (pers.pron.dat. pl.) 142
aḷugaňḍumenge (pers.pron.gen. pl.) 142, 144
aḷukan 133
amānātteri 104
/amānāt-veri/ 104
amilla 42
-an (1.pl.ending) 177
-an (1.sg.ending) 177
-an (1.sg./pl.ending) 181
-an (inf.ending) 173, 182, 193, 194
an (part.pret.) 204
andanī (caus.) 31, 204
/an-ek/ (pron.adj.) 163
/anek-ak-aś/ (dat.sg.indef.) . . . 152
aṇe' (pron.adj.) 152, 163
anganī (caus.) 31, 236
anhen 89, 158
anhen geri 158
anhen mīhā 158
anhenā (nom.sg.def.) 89
aniā 104
aniāveri 104
annanū 45, 150, 164, 169, 172, 179, 180, 185, 193, 207, 215, 229-231, 235, 236, 238, 243-245, 247, 256, 257
annanī (part.pres.l.f.) 252
annāśe (inf.impv.) 185, 194
appuḷu 41, 54
aranī 200, 229, 233
as 64, 83
assanī 232, 233
assatēka 121
assēri 42
/aś/ 109, 117
/-aś/ (dat.ending) . 57, 58, 62, 100
⟨aža⟩ 109
aśāhi 120
aśāḷīs 118
aśānavai 120
aśāra 113, 114, 116
aśāvīs 115, 116
/aś-ek/ 34, 109
aśe' 34, 109
aśuhaiteri 119
aśuhatti 119
aśutirīs 118
aśuvanna 119
/at/ 25, 43
atoḷu . . 27, 28, 35, 36, 47, 66, 97, 201, 206
atoḷuveriā 74, 89
/atpuḷu/ 54
/at-tila/ 43
attila 43, 63
attilain (abl.) 63
atun (abl.) 46, 60
/aṭ-diha/ 117
au 46
avas 102
/avaś/ 38
avaś-avaś (distr.pl.) 75
avatteriā 38
ava' 38
avi 103
avigada 103
a' 109, 117
-a' (dat.ending) . . . 57, 58, 62, 100
-a' (inf.ending) 173
ā 22, 46, 102
-ā (abs.ending) 212, 227
-ā (conj.) 249
-ā (obs.def.suff.) . . . 105, 137, 139
āda 20
ādavegen (adv.) 233
āde (aff.partc.) 250
ādītta 20, 42, 63
ādīttain (abl.) 63
āhi 21, 117
-āi (conj.) 82, 102
/badal-ek/ (nom.sg.indef.) . . . 164
baňde (abs.) 213
baňdevidāne (3.sg.pot.pres.) . 232, 233
baňdevunu (3.sg.pot.pret.) . . . 237
baňdē (3.sg.pres.) 213
bafain (pl.) 90
bagīcā 45, 88
bai 90, 124, 140
bai kamun (ger.) 198
bai kanī 233
baivaru mīhun 162
baivaru (pron.adj.) 162
baiveriā 90
baiverin (pl.) 90
bakamūnu 48, 65
bakari 47, 90, 91
bakarie' (nom.sg.indef.) 90
bakarita' (nom.pl.) 91
/bal/ 22
bala- (pres.stem) 26, 167
balamā (1.pl.impv.) 183
balamu (1.pl.pres.) 169
balamu (2.pl.pres.) 169
balamun (ger.) 167, 197
balan (1.sg.pres.) 167, 169
balan (inf.) 167, 192, 193
balanī 74, 151, 166, 167, 174, 175, 187, 226, 230, 231, 232, 236, 245
balanī (part.pres.l.f.) 167, 198, 199
balā (2.pl.impv.) 183
balā (2.sg.impv.) 167, 183, 186-188
balā (2.sg./pl.impv.) 261
balā (2.sg.pres.) 169
balā (3.pl.pres.) 169
balā (3.sg.pres.) 169
balā (abs.) 167, 211, 215
balā balā (red.abs.) 215
balā (part.pres.) . . . 167, 198, 199
balāfai (abs.I) 227
balāfā (abs.I) 227
balāgen (abs.III) 227
balālā (abs.II) 190
balālā dī fānan (abs.II + abs. + 2.sg.fut.) 190
balālāi (abs.II) 227
balānan (1.pl.fut.) 176
balānan (1.sg.fut.) 167, 176
balāne (2.pl.fut.) 176
balāne (2.sg.fut.) 176
balāne (3.pl.fut.) 176
balāne (3.sg.fut.) 176
balāne (part.fut.) 167, 198
balānī (part.fut.l.f.) 167, 198
balānū (1.pl.fut.) 176
balānū (2.pl.fut.) 176
balāś- (inf.stem) 194
balāśe (inf.impv.) 194
balāti (2.sg.impv.post.) 186
bali 103
bali ve innanī 230
ballavai gannavamu (2.sg.pres.) 249
ballavai gannavanī 249
baḷu 65
bamiā 89
ban (part.pret.) 204
bannanū 4, 173, 181, 204, 213, 232, 233, 235, 237
bappa . . . 41, 46, 48, 90, 91, 102
bappae' (nom.sg.indef.) 90
bappamen (nom.pl.) 91, 102
bappamengā (loc.pl.) 102
bappamenge (gen.pl.) 102
bappamenna' (dat.pl.) 102
bappāmenge farātun (abl.pl.) . 102
barābara' (adv.) 58
barābaru 58
/baru/ 106
baru 103
/bas/ 42
bas 161
bas-bas (distr.pl.) 75
baśi 23, 34, 46, 62
batteli 42, 47, 92
batteli-faharu (pl.) 92
batteriā 19
bayāhi 119
bayāḷīs 118
bayānavai 120
⟨ba'pa⟩ 91
⟨ba'teli⟩ 92
bā 22, 102

bā (quest.partc.) 248, 258
bāhaiteri 119
bāhaṭṭi 119
bānanī 234
bāra 110, 111, 122
bārugada 103
bāva (interr.partc.) 164
bāvanna 118
bāvīs 114
bāzāru 45
bāze' (nom.sg.indef.) 89
bāzu 66, 89
beleni (part.pres.) 74
beleni veriā 74
belenī 231
beli (2.sg.pret.) 175
beli (3.pl.pret.) 175
beli (3.sg.pret.) 175
beli (part.pret.) . . . 167, 174, 198, 202
beli- (pret.stem) 26, 167
belidāne (3.sg.pot.pres.) . 232, 236
belin (1.sg.pret.) 167, 175
belī (part.pret.l.f.) 167, 198
belīmu (1.pl.pret.) 175
belīmu (1.sg.pret.) 231
belīmu (2.pl.pret.) 175
belun (vb.n.) 167, 196, 257
belunu (3.sg.pot.pret.) 236
beru 66, 91
beruta' (nom.pl.) 91
bē 136
bēbe 22, 67, 91, 136
bēbemen (nom.pl.) 91
bēfuḷā (nom.sg.def.) 89, 136, 137
bēfuḷu 137
bēfuḷun (pl.) 137, 147
bēñgu 107
bēkalā (nom.sg.def.) 89
bēkalē 136
/bēnumek/ (nom.sg.indef.) 61, 262
bēnume' (nom.sg.indef.) 262
bēnun 46, 104, 262
bēnunteri 53, 104
bēs 21, 64, 83
bēsveriā 47
biñdanī . 173, 181, 204, 232, 235, 237
biñde (abs.) 214
biñdevunu (3.sg.pot.pret.) . . . 237
biñdē (3.sg.pres.) 214
biñdidāne (3.sg.pot.pres.) 232, 233
biñdunu (3.sg.pot.pret.) 237
/bilet/ (pl.) 91
biletta' (nom.pl.) 91
bile' 91
billūri 42
/bim/ 26
bin 19, 26
bin (part.pret.) 204
binnanī . 173, 181, 204, 214, 232, 234, 237
bis 32, 91
bista' (nom.pl.) 91
bīru 21, 66, 102
boñḍanfuḷe' (nom.sg.indef.) . . 249
boḍe' (adj.indef.) 262
boḍu . 18, 31, 47, 65, 92, 102, 138
boe (3.sg.pres.) 215
boe (abs.) 215, 237
boi (3.sg.pres.) 215
/bok/ 64
bokkurā 42, 47, 79, 92
bokkurā-faharu (pl.) 92
/bol/ 22
boli 90
bolie' (nom.sg.indef.) 90
bolugā rissanī 44
bonī 207, 215, 233-235, 237
bovidāne (3.sg.pot.pres.) 233
bovunu (3.sg.pot.pret.) 237
bo' 64
⟨bo'kurā⟩ 92
bō 22, 64
bōkiba 47
bōn (inf.) 194
bōśe (inf.impv.) 194
bōṭu-faharu (pl.) 92
buda 63
budain (abl.) 63
buddi 42, 104
buddiveri 53, 74, 104
buḍḍa 42
bui (part.pret.) 207
buī (part.pret.l.f.) 207
/buḷal/ 97
buḷal- (stem) 88, 89
buḷale' (nom.sg.indef.) 89
buḷā 88, 89, 97
buma 63
bumain (abl.) 63
bunanī 138, 147, 150, 152, 169, 234, 258
bunā (part.pres.) 152
bunāti (2.sg.impv.post.) 186
bune (abs.) 190, 211
bune dī fānan (abs. + abs. + 2. sg.fut.) 190
bunē (2.sg.impv.) 186
bunē (3.sg.pres.) 169, 211
bunī (part.pres.l.f.) 154
bunun (vb.n.) 258
burāsfati 33, 37, 43
da 49
daṁbidū (top.) 60
daṅḍi 43
dagaṅḍu 49
dahi 105
dahiveti 105
dai 25
daidoḷi 43
dakkanī 43, 199, 226, 236
dakkā (part.pres.) 199
dakkāfānan (1.sg.fut.I) . 189, 226
dakkālā (abs.II) 188
dakkālā devvā (abs.II + 2.sg. impv.) 188
dakkālā dī balā (abs. + abs. + 2.sg.impv.) 188
dakkālā dī balā (abs.II + abs. + 2.sg.impv.) 188
dakkānan (1.sg.fut.) . . . 189, 226
/dam/ 49
damanī 184, 227
damā (2.sg./pl.impv.) 184
damvaru 151
dan 49
danē (3.sg.pres.) 214
danī . 11, 32, 35, 40, 48, 49, 138, 147, 148, 169, 194, 200, 207, 214, 228, 229, 231, 232, 234, 236-239, 242-244, 251, 257
danī (part.pres.l.f.) 151, 242
dannanī . . 44, 181, 207, 214, 236
⟨danvaru⟩ 151
danvaru (obl.) 242
dappuḷu 41
daranī 200
darā (part.pres.) 200
dari 89, 90, 102, 248
darie' (nom.sg.indef.) 90
darifuḷā (voc.form) 89
darifuḷu 89, 137, 248
darin (nom.pl.) 90, 102
daringā (loc.pl.) 102
daringe farātun (abl.pl.) 102
daringe (gen.pl.) 102
darinna' (dat.pl.) 102
/daśaś/ (dat.sg.) 194
daśa' (dat.) 49, 194
daśugā (loc.) 49
daśun (abl.) 49
/dat/ 25, 43
datta 42, 46
daturu 49
dān (inf.) 251
/dānan/ (1.sg.fut.) 235
dāne (3.sg.fut.) 232, 236
-dāne (pot.suff.) 232
[dāṇaŋ] (1.sg.fut.) 35
dāśe (inf.impv.) 194
dāti (2.sg.impv.post.) 186
de 46, 109, 124, 147
de bai kuḷa e' bai 124
de faharu 92
de hās 121
de mīhun 124

/de-ek/ 109
de-guna 125
dekenī 44, 181, 203, 213, 231, 236, 249
dekē (3.sg.pres.) 213
deki (abs.) 213
dekunu 35, 65
demun demun (red.ger.) 198
demun (ger.) 198
den (adv.) 25, 250
den (conj.) 250
dene (abs.) 214
denī 103, 187, 190, 191, 194, 200, 205, 215, 230, 234, 235, 237, 242, 245
de-ṭin 125
devana 123
devunu (3.sg.pot.pret.) 237
devvanī 187
devvā (2.sg.impv.) 187, 188
devvāśe (inf.impv.) 185
dē (2.sg.impv.) 186
dē (part.pres.) 103, 200
dēn (inf.) 194
dēśe (inf.impv.) 194
dēti 124
dē' 109
dia 27, 63
dia (3.sg.pret.) 239, 251
dia (part.pret.) 207
dia-hikkaṇī 44
diain (1.pl.pret.) 239
diain (1.sg.pret.) 239
diain (2.pl.pret.) 239
diain (abl.) 63
diaī (part.pret.l.f.) 207
dida 63
didain (abl.) 63
/dig-ek/ (nom.sg.indef.) 158
dige' (nom.sg.indef.) 158
diggā 42
digu 66, 102, 158
diha 110
dihae' 110
din (part.pret.) 205
direnī 103
direē (part.pres.) 103
divehi5, 32, 38, 40, 47, 62, 90, 131
divehi rājje 39
divesse' (nom.sg.indef.) 40, 47, 90
dī (2.sg.impv.) 187, 188
dī (abs.) 187-190, 215, 242
dīfan (2.sg.impv.l) 242
dīfānan (2.sg.fut.l) 190
dīfānu (2.sg.fut.l) 190
dogu 104
doguveri 104
doḷahaka' (dat.indef.) 126
doḷi 27, 43
doḷos 110, 122
doḷos dē' 122
doḷos dihae' 122
doḷos eke' 122
doḷos tine' 122
domveli 36
don 36, 102
donkel- (stem) 89
donkele' (nom.sg.indef.) 89
donkeo 36, 89
donnanī . 181, 206, 214, 232, 233, 235, 237
dora' (dat.) 34
doru 65, 91
doruta' (nom.pl.) 91
dove (abs.) 214, 233
dovevidāne (3.sg.pot.pres.) . . 232
dovevunu (3.sg.pot.pret.) 237
dovē (3.sg.pres.) 214, 233
dovunī (part.pret.l.f.) 206
dovunu (3.sg.pot.pret.) 237
dovunu (part.pret.) 206
dōni . 20, 27, 35, 40, 90, 92, 233
dōni bannanī 232
dōni-faharu (pl.) 92
dōnita' (pl.) 92
dōññа' (dat.sg.) 40
dōññe' (nom.sg.indef.) 40, 90
drag 249
duisatta 121
/dum/ 20
dun 20
dunita' (nom.pl.) 91
durana 27
/dur-ek/ (nom.sg.indef.) 158
dure' (nom.sg.indef.) 158
duru 102, 147, 158
duru vanī 147
duru vī (part.pret.l.f.) 147
duruvanī 169, 172
duruvē (3.sg.pres.) 169
/duś/ (part.pret.) 203
duśin (2.sg.pret.) 249
duvahaku (obl.sg.indef.) 72
duvan (inf.) 194
duvanī . 26, 43, 169, 172, 202, 229
/duvas-aku/ (obl.sg.indef.) . . . 160
duvāśe (inf.impv.) 194
duvē (3.sg.pres.) 169
duvi (part.pret.) 202
duvvanī (caus.) 43
du' (part.pret.) 203
dū 19, 60
dū kollanī 44
-dū (top.stem) 131
dūni 26, 35, 40, 90, 91
dūññа' (dat.sg.) 40
dūññe' (nom.sg.indef.) . 40, 44, 90
-e (2./3.sg./pl.ending) 181
-e (2.pl.ending) 177
-e (2.sg.ending) 177
-e (3.pl.ending) 177
-e (3.sg.ending) 177
-e (abs.ending) 211-214, 238
e bai mīhun (pers.pron.pl.) 140, 143
e bai mīhunge (pers.pron.gen. pl.) 143, 144
e bai mīhunna' (pers.pron.dat. pl.) 143
e bēfuḷa' (pers.pron.dat.) 142
e bēfuḷā (pers.pron.nom.) 139, 140, 142
e bēfuḷu (pers.pron.obl.) 142
e bēfuḷuge (pers.pron.gen.) 142, 144
e bēfuḷun (pers.pron.pl.) 139, 140, 143
e bēfuḷunge (pers.pron.gen.pl.) 143, 144
e bēfuḷunna' (pers.pron.dat.pl.) 143
e bēkalā (pers.pron.nom.) 139, 140, 142
e bēkaḷea' (pers.pron.dat.) . . . 142
e bēkalē (pers.pron.obl.) 142
e bēkalēge (pers.pron.gen.) 142, 144
e bēkalun (pers.pron.pl.) 139, 140, 143
e bēkalunge (pers.pron.gen.pl.) 143, 144
e bēkalunna' (pers.pron.dat.pl.) 143
e (dem.pron.) 6, 20, 61, 106, 128, 137-139, 146, 147, 150, 151, 252
e- (dem.pron.stem) 138
e eccecca' (pers.pron.dat.pl.) . 143
e ecceti (pers.pron.pl.) . . 138, 140, 143
e eccetīgā (pers.pron.loc.pl.) . 143
e eccetīge (pers.pron.gen.pl.) . 143
e eccetīn (pers.pron.abl.pl.) . . 143
e mīhun (pers.pron.pl.) . 130, 140, 143
e mīhunge (pers.pron.gen.pl.) 143, 144
e mīhunna' (pers.pron.dat.pl.) . 143
e (pers.pron.) 140, 142, 149
e reaś (dat.) 106
e takecca' (pers.pron.dat.pl.) . . 143
e taketi (pers.pron.pl.) . . 138, 140, 143
e taketīgā (pers.pron.loc.pl.) . . 143
e taketīge (pers.pron.gen.pl.) . 143
e taketīn (pers.pron.abl.pl.) . . 143
ea' (pers.pron.dat.) 142
eā (pers.pron.) 138, 140, 142, 150
ebbas 42
eṁburenī 230
eṁburi (abs.) 230
eṁburi annanī 230

eṁburili (part.pret.II) 255
ecca' (dat.sg.) 39
ecceti (distr.pl.) 39, 75, 138
ecce' (nom.sg.indef.) 39, 90
edenī 174, 226, 236
eṁdevunu (3.sg.pot.pret.) 237
eṁdu 66
eṁdun (vb.n.) 31
edunu (3.sg.pot.pret.) 236
eduru 66, 91
edurunta' (pl.) 88, 91
egāra 110
eṁgāra 111, 122
⟨egāra⟩ 111
eṁgenī 31, 232, 236
eṁgidāne (3.sg.pot.pres.) 232
eṁgun (vb.n.) 31
eṁgunu (3.sg.pot.pret.) 236
ehā (adv.) 27, 151, 162, 242
/ehākaś/ (adv.) 242
ehen (adv.) 151
ehī 105
ehīteri 105
ehīteriā (nom.sg.def.) 105
ein (pers.pron.abl.) 142
eī (dem.pron. + foc.marker) . 138, 252
/ek/ 42, 44, 108, 109, 161
ek 17
/-ek/ (indef.suff.) 72, 89, 101, 108, 160
ek- (stem) 164
ekaku anekaka' (recip.pron.) . 152
/ek-aku/ (obl.sg.indef.) 152
ekati anekacca' (recip.pron.) . . 152
ekāhaiteri 119
ekāhaṭṭi 119
ekāhi 119
ekāḷīs 118
ekānavai 120
ekāvanna 118
ekāvīs 114
/ek-ek/ 104, 108, 109
eke' 104, 108, 109
/-ek-gai/ (loc.sg.indef.ending) . 101
/-ek-ge/ (gen.sg.indef.ending) . 101
eki (indef.pron.) 160
eki mīs-mīhun 160
/ek-kuranī/ 44
ekkuranī 44
/ek-me/ (pron.adj.) 42, 46
/ek-men/ (pron.adj.pl.) 46, 91, 161
ekoḷos 110
eku 104
/eku-gai/ (conj.) 249
/eku-gai/ (loc.) 104
ekugai (loc.) 249
ekugā (conj.) 249, 250
ekugā (loc.) 104
ekunifanas 122
ekunitindoḷos 122
ekuveri 104
/ek-vana/ 123
/ek-ves/ (conj.) 38, 164
/em/ 46
emme gina 161
emme madu 161
emme (pron.adj.) 42, 46, 107, 133, 160, 161
emmen (pron.adj.pl.) . 46, 91, 161, 162
en 46
enani 104
enaniveri 104
endun (caus., vb.n.) 31
endunu (3.sg.pot.pret.) 237
engun (caus., vb.n.) 31
es 83, 91
essidāne (3.sg.pot.pres.) . 232, 233
esta' (nom.pl.) 91
eti . 20, 39, 75, 90, 105, 124, 138, 153, 162, 186
-eti (adj.suff.) 53, 103, 105
/eti-ek/ (nom.sg.indef.) . 160, 162, 164
/eti-eti/ (distr.pl.) 138
ettirīs 118
/-eve/ (quot.partc.) 39, 48
eve (quot.partc.) 61, 148, 152, 164, 182, 199, 249, 251, 258, 259, 260
⟨eve⟩ (quot.partc.) 102, 144
evvana 37, 123
evves (conj.) 38
evves ecce' ne' 164
evves ecce' nūn 164
evves mīhaku ne' 164
evves mīhaku nūn 164
evves mīhe' nūn 164
evves tanaka' nūn 164
⟨eyā⟩ (dem.pron.subst.) 138
e' 44, 108, 109, 123, 161
[e'] 17
e' duvahaku (obl.sg.indef.) 72
e' hās 121
-e' (indef.suff.) . 72, 89, 101, 108, 109, 158, 163
⟨e'vana⟩ 37
-ē (3.sg.pres.ending) 211, 213, 214
-ē (quot.partc.) 39, 48
ē (quot.partc.) 106, 144
[ē] (quot.partc.) 102, 258
ēcca' (pers.pron.dat.) 142
ēgā (pers.pron.loc.) 142
ēge (pers.pron.gen.) . . . 142, 149
-ēn (inf.ending) 182, 194
ēnā (pers.pron.) 20, 139, 140, 142, 149, 150, 154, 233, 242
ēnāakī (pers.pron. + foc. marker) 149, 253
ēnāa' (pers.pron.dat.) 142
ēnāge (pers.pron.gen.) . . 142, 144
ēti (pers.pron.) . 20, 138, 140, 142
ētīgā (pers.pron.loc.) 142
ētīge (pers.pron.gen.) 142
ētīn (pers.pron.abl.) 142
[fae] 67
faffalō-ta' (distr.pl.) 75
fagīru 45, 103
faharu 42, 92
-faharu (plur.suff.) 76, 92
fahe' 109
fai 21, 25, 42, 64, 68
[fai] 67
-fai (abs. ending) 25
faidigumakunu 65
faitila 63
faitilain (abl.) 63
faivān 25
faḷḷi 43
faḷō 48, 67
fan 91
-fan- (impv.suff.) 190
fanara 110, 112
fanas 110, 116, 122, 123
fanas dē' 123
fani 23, 26, 35
fansahaiteri 119
fansahaṭṭi 119
fansavanna 119
fansavīs 115
fansayāhi 120
fansayāḷīs 118
fansayānavai 120
fansās 116, 123
fanta' (nom.pl.) 91
⟨faqīru⟩ 103
farubada 63
farubadain (abl.) 63
fas 23, 32, 97, 109, 124
fasdoḷas 107, 116
fasdoḷas dē' 123
fasdoḷas eke' 123
fasdoḷas nuvae' 123
fasdoḷas tin 117
fasdoḷas tine' 117
/fas-ek/ 108
fassatēka 121
⟨fassehi⟩ (Geiger) 122
⟨fassehi-haye'⟩ (Geiger) 122
fassihi 110, 115, 122, 123
fassihi dē' 122
fassihi eke' 122
fasvana 33
faśa- (pres.stem) 26
faśagatun (vb.n.III) 170
faśanī 26, 170

faśuvanī 170
/fat/ 25, 64, 67
fatanī 26, 43
fattanī (caus.) 43
-fā (abs. ending) 27
[fā] (abs. ending) 25
fāga 63
fāgain (abl.) 63
fānan (2.sg.fut.aux.) 190
-fānan (impv.suff.) 189, 226
fānu (2.sg.fut.aux.) 190
-fānu (impv.suff.) 189, 226
fāru 66
[fā] 67
[fāvān] 25
fehi 105
fen 25, 33, 59
fen bonī 233
fenenī 61, 245
fenidāne (3.sg.pot.pres.) 236
fenhanī 236
/fenunu/ (part.pret.) 61
feśenī 26
feśi- (pret.stem) 26
fetenī 26
fēdū (top.) 131
fēru 66
[fēvān] (dial.) 25
fia 63
fiain (abl.) 63
fiavaḷu 65
fiňdanfuḷak-ā (obl.sg.indef. + conj.) 249
fihanī 171
fikuru 37, 138
finoḷu 35, 132
fiohi 33, 47, 84
fiosse' (nom.sg.indef.) 47
firi 90, 132, 157
firihen 89, 157
firihen geri 158
firihen kujjā 157
firihen mīhā 157
firihenā (nom.sg.def.) 89
firin (pl.) 90
fissavanī 171
⟨fiya⟩ 47
fīnanī 226, 229
fode' (nom.sg.indef.) 89
fodu 89
foḍu 65
foi 25, 64, 91
[foi] 18
foita' (nom.pl.) 91
fonu 28, 63
fonun (abl.) 63
fonuvālā (abs.II) 187, 190
fonuvālā dī (abs.II + 2.sg. impv.) 187
fonuvālā dī fānu (abs.II + abs. + 2.pl.fut.) 190
fośi 34, 90
fośie' (nom.sg.indef.) 90
/fot/ 25, 64, 91
fot 18
/fotaś/ (dat.) 25
fota' (dat.) 25
/fot-tak/ (nom.pl.) 91
fotuge (gen.) 25
fō' 64
/fuak/ 64
fua' mulaku (top.) 64
fuffu' (distr.pl.) 42
-fuḷu (hon.suff.) . 41, 54, 89, 136, 249
fuppā- 41
fuppāmē 41
furatama 37, 123
furā 27
furāḷu 27, 35, 48
furēta 90
furētae' (nom.sg.indef.) 90
/fuś/ 42
fuśi 33, 41, 90, 91, 132
fuśie' (nom.sg.indef.) 90
fuśita' (nom.pl.) 91
⟨fuŕu⟩ (Geiger) 42
fu' 42
fūḷō 144
fūḷu 34, 65, 144
gada 53, 103, 105
gada fehi 105
gaňḍu 65, 132
[gaňḍu] 30
⟨gaḍu⟩ 30
-gaňḍu (suff.) 133
gahaka' (dat.sg.indef.) 101
gahaku (obl.sg.indef.) . . . 72, 101
gahakun (abl.sg.indef.) 101
gaha' (dat.sg.) 101
gaheggā (loc.sg.indef.) 101
gahegge (gen.sg.indef.) 101
gahe' (nom.sg.indef.) 101
gahugā (loc.sg.) 100, 101
gahuge (gen.sg.) 101
gahun (abl.sg.) 101
gai 24, 57, 67, 100
-gai (loc.ending) 25, 238
/-gai/ (loc.ending) 57, 62
gai (part.pret.) 205
/gal/ 22, 43
gal- (stem) 88
galamkoḷu 54
gamīs 32, 233
gamīskoḷu 54
gan (top.) 20
gane (abs.) 213, 229
ganevunu (3.sg.pot.pret.) 237
ganē (3.sg.pres.) 213
gannanī 19, 170, 181, 201, 205-207, 213, 227, 229, 235, 237
gannavamu (2.sg.pres.) 249
gas 32, 64, 72, 91, 101, 102
gasd 36
gastakaka' (dat.pl.indef.) 101
gastakakun (abl.pl.indef.) 101
gastaka' (dat.pl.) 102
gastakeggā (loc.pl.indef.) 101
gastakegge (gen.pl.indef.) . . . 101
gastake' (nom.pl.indef.) 101
gastakugā (loc.pl.) 102
gastakuge (gen.pl.) 102
gastakun (abl.pl.) 102
gasta' (nom.pl.) 91, 102
/gat/ (part.pret.) 19, 205
gatī (part.pret.f.) 19, 205
gā 22, 24, 64, 88
[gā] (loc. suffix) 25
-gā (loc.ending) . 57, 62, 100, 101
gānanī 234
ge 21, 55, 67, 101, 164
-ge (gen.ending) . 55, 56, 62, 100, 101
/ge-ak-aś/ (dat.sg.indef.) 164
[geaka'] (dat.sg.indef.) 164
geakī (nom.sg.indef. + foc. marker) 144
/ge-aś/ (dat.sg.) 242
gea' (dat.sg.) 67, 101
gein (abl.sg.) 67, 101, 251
gen (abs.) 229
-gen (abs.suff.) 227
gen guḷenī 181, 203, 213, 229, 235, 237
gendanī 229
gendān (inf.) 229
genes (abs.) 188
genes dī (abs. + 2.sg.impv.) . . 188
genes dī balā (abs. + abs. + 2. sg.impv.) 188
gengos (abs.) 229
gennan (inf.) 230
gennan (part.pres.) 255
gennanī 229, 230, 234
gevehi 90
gevesse' (nom.sg.indef.) 90
gēgā (loc.sg.) 101
gēge (gen.sg.) 67, 101
gievunu (3.sg.pot.pret.) . 237, 238
gina ginain 163
gina (pron.adj.) 161, 162
goňḍi 27, 62
goi 25, 151
gos (abs.) 32, 214, 215, 257
/gosfai/ (abs.I) 242
gosfā (abs.I) 242
/goslai/ (abs.II) 242

goslā (abs.II) 242
/got/ 25, 151
got 75
gotakun (abl.sg.indef.) 160
/got-aś/ (dat.) 151
got-got (distr.pl.) 75
govanī 200, 235
govā (2.sg.impv.) 186
govā (part.pres.) 200
govāti (2.sg.impv.post.) 186
guguri 66
gui 68
guḷanī 171
guḷenī 103, 200
guḷē (part.pres.) 103, 200
guḷuvanī 171
guḷuvvanī 171
guna 125
guna kuranī 125
-guna (num.suff.) 125
gunanī 125
gurā 27
hadaiſīn (1.sg.pret.I) 230
hadan (inf.) 22
hadanī 148, 149, 151, 195, 230, 231
hadāfānan (1.sg.fut.I) 231
hadāka' (inf.dat.indef.) 22
haddavanī 210
haňdu 31, 32, 65
/ha-ek/. 109
haekka' (dat.indef.) 126
hae' 109
hafanī 171
haftā 36, 89
hagīgī 45, 103
hai 109
haidiha 117
haidiha hās 121
haisatēka 121
haiteri 117
hakuru 65
halanī 169
halē (3.sg.pres.) 169
happavanī 171
⟨haqīqī⟩ 103
harakātteri 104
/harakāt-veri/ 104
hasada 104
hasadaveri 104
hasatēka 121
hašiš 249
/hat/ 109
/hatar-ek/ 109
hatare' 109
hataru 109, 112
hataru bai kuḷa e' bai 124
hatarusatēka 121
hatāvīs 115, 116
/hat-diha/ 117
hate' 109
haturu 66
hatti 117
havīru 66
[hayāta'] (dat.sg.) 164
hā 22, 24, 32, 64, 88, 109, 112, 242
hā (aff.partc.) 23, 250
hā (pron.adj.) . 27, 151, 157, 160, 162, 242
/hāl/ 112
hāl- (stem) 88
hās 121
hedenī 255
hedi (abs.) 255
hedi (conj.) 255
heňdunu 66
hehenī . . 181, 203, 213, 235, 237
hehi (abs.) 213
hehunu (part.pret.) 203
hei (quest.partc.) 154, 157, 248, 249, 256, 258
hen 151, 157
henī 235
henveru (top.) 157
herenī 232
heridāne (3.sg.pot.pres.) 232
heyo 248
heyy-eve (quest.partc. + quot. partc.) 249
hē (quest.partc.) . . . 154, 157, 248
hia 121-123
hiaḷu 32, 65
hiccē (adj. + quot.partc.) 39
hifanī 41
hiňgama (1.pl.impv.) 184
hiňgama damā (1.pl.impv. + 2. sg./pl.impv.) 184
hiňganī 184, 201, 229
hiňgā (2.sg./pl.impv.) 184
hiki 44, 102
hikkanī 44
hila 27, 63
hilain (abl.) 63
hima 27, 102
himāru 47, 65
hippanī (caus.) 41
hippi 41
hisāb 61
hisābun (abl.) 61, 62
/hit/ 38
hitadū (top.) 131
hitāma 104
hitāmaveri 104
hiti 39
/hiti-eve/ (adj. + quot.partc.) . . 39
/hit-varu/ 38
hivvaru 38
⟨hiyā⟩ 47
hi' 38
honihiru 28, 66
honu 28, 66
hōdanī 160, 235
hōma 63
hōmain (abl.) 63
hōnu 91
hōnuta' (nom.pl.) 91
hudu 46, 105
huhi 34
hukuru 65
huḷaňgu 102
hunnan (inf.) 203
hunnanī 34, 44, 103, 107, 149, 151, 162, 181, 203, 205, 207, 210, 214, 226, 228, 232, 234, 235, 237-239, 243, 245, 252, 256, 257, 261
huras 27
hure (abs.) . . . 205, 214, 238, 257
hureſīn (1.sg.pret.I) 226
hurejjain (1.sg.pret.IV) . 228, 239
hurejje (2.sg.pret.IV) 228
hurejje (3.sg.pret.IV) 228
hurelin (1.sg.pret.II) 226
hurevidāne (3.sg.pot.pres.) . . . 232
/hurevijjais/ (3.sg.pret.IV + emph.partc.) 238
hurevijjās (3.sg.pret.IV + emph.partc.) 237, 238
hurevijje (3.sg.pret.IV) . . 237-239
hurevun (3.sg.pot.pret.) 237
hurevunīs (3.sg.pot.pret. + emph.partc.) 237, 238
hurevunu (3.sg.pot.pret.) 237
hurē (3.sg.pres.) 214
huri (3.sg.pret.) 261
huri hā duvahaku (indef.pron.) 160
huri hā ecce' (indef.pron.) 160, 162
huri hā (indef.pron.) . . . 160, 162
huri hā tāku (indef.pron.) . . . 160
huri (part.pret.) . 34, 103, 203, 256
⟨hurihā⟩ (indef.pron.) 162
hurin (1.sg.pret.) 243
hus nūn 30
[huři] (part.pret.) 34
huturu 47, 102
huṭṭaiſīn (1.sg.pret.I) 229
huṭṭanī 44, 229, 232, 238
[huṭṭāſīn] (1.sg.pret.I) 224
huṭṭālā (abs.II) 188
huṭṭālā dī (abs.II + 2.sg.impv.) 188
huṭṭenī 229, 232, 238
huṭṭenī (caus.intr.) 44
huṭṭevidāne (3.sg.pot.pres.) 232, 233
huṭṭevunīs (3.sg.pot.pret. + emph.partc.) 238
huṭṭōne (3.sg.pot.pres.) 233
huṭṭi (abs.) 238
huṭṭidāne (3.sg.pot.pres.) 232, 233

huṭṭijjain (1.sg.pret.IV) 229
huṭṭunīs (3.sg.pot.pret. + emph. partc.) 238
huṭṭunu (part.pret.) 238
huvaňdu 32
hūn 46
hūnu 35, 65, 102
/ḥayāt-aś/ (dat.sg.) 164
ḥilmī (p.n.nom.) 251
ḥusain (p.n.) 32
-i (abs.ending) 212, 238
-i (part.pret.suff.) 202
iňde (abs.) 214
iňdefīn (1.sg.pret.I) 226
iňdejjain (1.sg.pret.IV) 228
iňdejje (2.sg.pret.IV) 228
iňdejje (3.sg.pret.IV) 228
iňdelin (1.sg.pret.II) 226
iňdevidāne (3.sg.pot.pres.) . . . 232
iňdevun (3.sg.pot.pret.) 237
iňdevunu (3.sg.pot.pret.) 237
iňdē (3.sg.pres.) 214
iňgili 47, 91
iňgilifulu 54, 137
iňgilita' (nom.pl.) 91
iňguru 31, 66
[iňguru] 30
⟨iguru⟩ 30
ihi 21, 46, 62
ilmu 36
-in (abl.ending) 59, 62, 100
in (part.pret.) 130, 204
-in (plur.suff.) 74, 90, 91, 102, 132
innan (inf.) 203
innanī 44, 130, 173, 181, 201, 205, 214, 226, 228, 230, 232, 235, 237, 243, 245, 257, 261
irakun (abl.sg.indef.) 158
/ir-ek/ (nom.sg.indef.) 158
ire' (nom.sg.indef.) 158
iru . . 66, 157, 158, 242, 249, 255
iru (conj.) 249, 255
irun (abl.) 66
is (emph.partc.) 238
isdū (top.) 19, 60
iskuru 37
istaśi 34, 43
iśīňde (abs.) 214, 230
iśīňde iňde (abs. + abs.) 230
iśīňde in (abs. + part.pret.) . . . 230
iśīňde inī (abs. + part.pres.l.f.) 230
iśīňde inna (abs. + part.pres.) . 230
iśīňde innanī (abs. + part.pres.l. f.) 230
iśīňdevidāne (3.sg.pot.pres.) . . 232
iśīňdevun (3.sg.pot.pret.) 237
iśīňdevunu (3.sg.pot.pret.) . . . 237
iśīňdē (3.sg.pres.) 214
iśīn (part.pret.) 205
iśīnnama (1.pl.impv.) 184
iśīnnama hiňgā (1.pl.impv. + 2. sg./pl.impv.) 184
iśīnnanī . 173, 181, 205, 206, 214, 228, 230, 232, 235, 237, 243, 245
itura' (adv.) 106
ituru (adv.) 61, 106
ivenī 152, 174
ivenī (part.pres.l.f.) 252
/ivē/ (3.sg.pres.) 152
iyā (cond.conj.) . . . 239, 241, 242
iyye (adv.) 43, 238
-ī (foc.marker) . 72, 138, 251-253, 260
-īmu (1.pl.ending) 175
-īmu (2.pl.ending) 175
-īn (1.sg.ending) 175
īṭu 20, 65
jaňbu 60, 65
jaňburōlu 65
jaha- (pres.stem) 26
jahanī 26, 32, 40, 43, 75, 164, 170, 171, 200, 236, 257, 262
jahāgen (abs.III) 227
jassanī (caus.) . . 40, 43, 170, 171
jassavanī (doub.caus.) . . . 170-172
javvu 65
jādū 67
jehenī . . . 26, 171, 172, 236, 262
jehi (part.pret.) 75
jehi- (pret.stem) 26
jehunu (3.sg.pot.pret.) . . 236, 262
jessenī (caus.intr.) 171
jessevenī (doub.caus.intr.) . . . 171
-jjaimu (1./2.pl.pret.IV ending) . 40
-jjain (1.sg.pret.IV ending) 40
-jje (2./3.sg./3.pl.pret.IV ending) 40, 239
jōḍe' (nom.sg.indef.) 89
jōḍu 89
jōli 20
kaňbulo (voc.form) 135
kaňburu 31, 81
kaduru 65
kafa 63
kafain (abl.) 63
kafanī 41
kahaňbu 65
⟨kahabu⟩ 65
kahaḷa (pron.adj.) . . 154, 163, 164
kai (abs.) 215
kakkanī 44, 149
kal- (stem) 134
kalamijjā 39
kalā (pers.pron.) 141
kale'a' (pers.pron.dat.) 141
kalē (pers.pron.) 134, 136, 140, 141
kalēge (pers.pron.gen.) . 141, 144
kalēmen (pers.pron.pl.)91, 140, 143
kalēmenge (pers.pron.gen.pl.) 143, 144
kalēmenna' (pers.pron.dat.pl.) . 143
/kam/ . 46, 53, 61, 133, 164, 255
/kamakaś/ (dat.sg.indef.) 61
kamu nu dē 103
kamu (obl.sg.) 103
kamun (ger.) 198
kan . 18, 46, 53, 61, 133, 164, 255
-kan (suff.) 133
kanī . . . 148, 208, 215, 227, 230, 233-235, 237, 243
kan-kan (distr.pl.) 75
kantakugai (loc.pl.) 164
kappavanī (caus.) 41
kara 63, 67
karain (abl.) 63
karu 65
kaśi 23, 24, 34, 90
kaśie' (nom.sg.indef.) 90
katību kuren (obl. + postpos.) . 61
katību (obl.sg.) 61
kattala 43
kāfūru 48, 65
kāge (interr.pron.gen.sg.) 155
kāgen (abs.III) 227
kāka' (interr.pron.dat.sg.) 155
kāku (interr.pron.nom.sg.) 153, 155
kākuge (interr.pron.gen.sg.) . . 155
kākun (interr.pron.abl.sg.) . . . 155
kāḷu 65, 105
kān (inf.) 194
kāśe (inf.impv.) 194
kāti (2.sg.impv.post.) . . 186, 187
keheri 66
kekenī 44
/kel/ 36
kelā 27
keoḷu 66
kevidāne (3.sg.pot.pres.) 233
kevunu (3.sg.pot.pret.) 237
kē (2.sg.impv.) 186
kē (3.sg.pres.) 215
kē (part.pret.) 208
kēī (part.pret.l.f.) 208
ki- (interr.pron.stem) . . . 152, 153, 156-158
kiaman vanī 104
kiamanteri 104
kianī 145, 147, 185, 200, 227, 257, 259
kiālā (abs.II) 188
kiālā dī balā (abs.II + abs. + 2. sg.impv.) 188
kiek (interr.pron.) 154
kihā dige' (interr.pron.) 158
kihā dure' (interr.pron.) 158
kihā (interr.pron.) . . 27, 157, 162
kihā irakun (interr.pron.abl.) . 158

kihā ire' (interr.pron.) 158
kihā varaka' (interr.pron.dat.) . 158
kihā vare' (interr.pron.) 158
/ki-hin-ek/ (interr.pron.) 158
kihine' (interr.pron.) . . . 158, 159
kihine' vegen (interr.pron.) . . 159
kiru 66
kirun (abl.) 66
kitake' (interr.pron.) 158
kita' (interr.pron.) 158
kīk (interr.pron.) 154
kīkē (interr.pron.) 154, 155
kīnē (interr.pron.) 154, 155
⟨kīṅhē⟩ (interr.pron., Geiger) . 154
kīs 21, 47, 84
kīvve (interr.pron.) 38, 158
kī' (interr.pron.) . . . 154, 155, 159
/kī'-ve/ (interr.pron.) 38
⟨kī've⟩ (interr.pron.) 158
kobā (interr.pron.) 156
kobāhē (interr.pron.) 157
koddin-iā (abs. + part.pret. + cond.conj.) 242
koddīfī (abs. + part.pret.I) . . . 242
koddīfī-ā (abs. + part.pret.I + cond.conj.) 242
koṅdu 65
koffī (part.pret.I) 242
kokko 22, 42, 67, 91
kokkomen (nom.pl.) 91
/kol/ 22
kollanī 44
koḷu 28, 59, 66
-koḷu (hon.suff.) 54
koḷumaḍulu (top.) 28
komme duvahaku (indef.pron.) 160
komme ecce' (indef.pron.) . . . 160
komme gotakun ves (indef. pron.) 160
komme (indef.pron.) . . . 160, 161
komme mīhe' (indef.pron.)160, 161
komme mīhe' ves (indef.pron.) 160
komme tāne' (indef.pron.) . . . 160
komme tāne' ves (indef.pron.) 160
komme ves ecce' (indef.pron.) 160
komme ves (indef.pron.) 160
komme ves mīhe' (indef.pron.) 160
komme ves tāku (indef.pron.) 160
kommehecce' (indef.pron.) . . . 160
kommehecce' ves (indef.pron.) 160
kommes mīhe' (indef.pron.) . . 160
kommes tāku (indef.pron.) . . . 160
kon ecca' (interr.pron.dat.) . . . 155
kon ecce' (interr.pron.nom.) . 153-155
kon etīge (interr.pron.gen.) . . 155
kon etīn (interr.pron.abl.) 155
kon (interr.pron.)152-154, 156, 157, 159, 164, 254
kon kahala (interr.pron.) 154, 164
kon tāka' (interr.pron.) 151
kone (abs.) 213
konevidāne (3.sg.pot.pres.) . . 232
konevunu (3.sg.pot.pret.) 237
konē (3.sg.pres.) 213
koniraku (interr.pron.obl.) . . . 157
/kon-me eti-ek/ (indef.pron.) . 160
/kon-me/ (indef.pron.) . . 160, 161
/kon-me mīs-ek/ (indef.pron.) . 160
konnanī . 181, 203, 213, 232, 234, 235, 237
/kon-tanaku/ (interr.pron.obl.) . 156
kontākaś (interr.pron.dat.) . . . 242
kontāka' (interr.pron.dat.) . . . 156
kontāku (interr.pron.obl.) 156
kontākun (interr.pron.abl.) . . . 156
konunu (part.pret.) 203
koppanī 44
/koś/ (abs.) . . . 44, 215, 238, 242
koś (abs.) 17
kośanī 41, 202
kośāru 65
/koś-din-yā/ (abs. + part.pret. + cond.conj.) 242
/koś-dī-fī/ (abs. + part.pret.I) . 242
/koś-dī-fī-yā/ (abs. + part.pret.I + cond.conj.) 242
/kośfanī/ 44
kośi 41
kośi (part.pret.) 202
/koślanī/. 44
koṭaḷu 65
koṭari 90, 91, 101
koṭaria' (dat.sg.) 101
koṭarie' (nom.sg.indef.) 90
koṭarita' (nom.pl.) 91
koṭarīgā (loc.sg.) 101
koṭarīge (gen.sg.) 101
koṭarīn (abl.sg.) 101
koṭṭavanī (doub.caus.) 41
ko' (abs.) 17, 44, 215, 238
ko' dī balā (abs. + abs. + 2.sg. impv.) 188
⟨ko'ko⟩ 91
kō 22
kōce (interr.pron.nom.) . 154, 155
kudi- (stem) 89, 90, 163
kudin (pl.) 90, 163
kuḍa 106, 163
kujjaku (obl.sg.indef.) 72
kujjā 39, 72, 89, 90, 163
kujje' (nom.sg.indef.) 39, 90
kukuḷu 35
kula 105
kuḷa (part.pret.) . . . 36, 124, 208
kuḷaṅduru huhi 34
kuḷaī (part.pret.I.f.) 208
kuḷe (abs.) 214
kuḷenī 181, 203, 206, 214, 235, 237
kuḷevunu (3.sg.pot.pret.) 237
kuḷē (3.sg.pres.) 214
kuḷi 26, 35
kuḷḷavā 42
kuḷu 66
kuḷunu (part.pret.) 203
kuni 35
kuramu (1.pl.pres.) 169
kuran (1.pl.pres.) 169
kuran (inf.) 22, 194, 262
kuranī . . 33, 36, 44, 61, 124, 169, 194, 200, 201, 202, 208, 210, 214, 215, 233, 236, 238, 241, 242, 245, 248, 262
kuranī (part.pres.I.f.) 154
kuravanī (caus.) 200
kuravā (part.pres.) 200
kuravvanī (doub.caus.) 200
kuravvā (part.pres.) 200
kuravvāṇem (1.sg.fut.) 182
kurā (part.pres.) 200
/kurākaś/ (inf.dat.indef.) 262
kurāka' (inf.dat.indef.) . . . 22, 262
kurāne (part.fut.) 61
kurāśe (inf.impv.) 194
kurāti (2.sg.impv.post.) . 186, 187
kuren (postpos.) 61, 62
kurevēne (3.sg.pot.pres.) 236
kurevidāne (3.sg.pot.pres.)233, 236, 248
/kurevijjais/ (3.sg.pret.IV + emph.partc.) 238
kurevijjās (3.sg.pret.IV + emph.partc.) 238
kurevijje (3.sg.pret.IV) . 238, 239
kurevunīs (3.sg.pot.pret. + emph.partc.) 238
kurevunu (3.sg.pot.pret.) . . . 238
kurē (2.pl.pres.) 169
kurē (2.sg.impv.) 186
kurē (2.sg.pres.) 169
kurē (3.sg.pres.) 169, 238
kuri (part.pret.) 208, 241
kurī (part.pret.I.f.) 208
kuruṁba 31, 63
{kuruṁba} 30
⟨kuruba⟩ 31
kuruṁbain (abl.) 64
kurun (vb.n.) 194
⟨ku'jā⟩ 67
labagen (abs.III) 45
labanī 45
labba (aff.partc.) 42, 250
/labbai/ (aff.partc.) 250
ladu 105
laduveti 105
lagganī 44
lanī . 226, 227, 231, 234, 235, 237

lappanī 44, 225
la' 44
⟨la'ganī⟩ 44
⟨la'panī⟩ 44
lāgen (abs.III) 227
lāhi 90
lāsse' (nom.sg.indef.) 90
lē 27
liamun (ger.) 198, 257
liamun liamun gos (red.ger. + abs.) 257
liamun liamun (red.ger.) 198
lian (inf.) 193, 194
lianī 22, 182, 190, 234, 236, 245, 256, 257
liāśe (inf.impv.) 194
liben (inf.) 194
libenī 174, 232, 242
libēśe (inf.impv.) 194
libidāne (3sg.pot.pres.) 232
libijje (3.sg.pret.IV) 242
lievunu (3.sg.pot.pret.) 237
liunu (3.sg.pot.pret.) 236
lobu- 104, 105
lobuveri 74, 104
lobuveti 105
/lol/ 22
lō 22
lōbi 104, 105
lōbiveriā 104
lōbiverikan 104
lōbiveti 53, 104, 105
luṁbō 109
ma (pers.pron.obl.) . 129, 130, 144
macca' (dat.) 34, 39
madu 65
madu fehi 105
madu madun 163
madu (pron.adj.) . . . 105, 161, 163
madun (pron.adj.abl.) 163
maḍu 103, 163
mage' (nom.sg.indef.) 89
magu 89, 91
maguta' (nom.pl.) 91
mahakun (abl.sg.indef.) 59
mahe' (nom.sg.indef.) 89
mahun (abl.) 59
maibada 63
maibadain (abl.) 63
main bafain (pl.) 90
main (pl.) 90
majā 102
makunudū (top.) 131
/mal/ 22, 43
mal- (stem) 88
mamen (pers.pron.pl.) 142
mamena' (pers.pron.dat.pl.) . . 142
mamenge (pers.pron.gen.pl.) . 142
mamma 42, 48, 90, 91
mammaegge (gen.sg.indef.) . . 148
mammae' (nom.sg.indef.) 90
mammamen (nom.pl.) 91
maniku 54, 137
manikufānu 137
⟨manma⟩ 90, 91
maradū (top.) 131
maranī 185
marāśe (inf.impv.) 185, 194
maru vanī 249
maru vī (3.sg.pret.) 249
/mas/ 43
mas . . . 18, 32, 59, 83, 89-91, 97
/masakkat/ 248
masakka' 248
masakke' (nom.sg.indef.) 242
maskiba 90
maskibae' (nom.sg.indef.) 90
massaru 65
masta' (nom.pl.) 91
/mas-un/ (abl.) 59
masveriā 89, 90
masverin (pl.) 90
maśāfai (abs.) 256
maśi 26, 59
mati 34, 39
mā 22, 24, 43, 88
mā (adv.) 106
māḍama (adv.) 23
mākana- (stem) 89
mākanā 89
māmui 24
-me (emph.partc.) 161, 250
me (partc.) 161
medu 26, 50, 66
mehi 25, 32, 40, 47, 62
mehumānu 91
mehumānun (pl.) 91
-men (plur.suff.)70, 72, 74, 91, 102, 130, 132, 161
menduru 66
mē 41
mēvā 88
mēze' (nom.sg.indef.) 89
mēzu 89
mi (dem.pron.) 106, 146, 147, 150, 151, 164, 238, 242, 248, 252
mi gota' (adv.) 151
mi kahala (pron.adj.) 164
mi rē 106
mi urenge (gen.pl.) 131
miadu (adv.) 161
miadu-me (adv. + emph.partc.) 250
miaru 22, 66
mihen (adv.) 151, 242
mi-ī (dem.pron. + foc.marker) 148, 252
mila 27, 63
milain (abl.) 63
minanī 169
minē (3.sg.pres.) 169
mirus 64
/miskit/ 72
miskitaku (obl.sg.indef.) 72
miski' 72
mis-mīhun (distr.pl.) 75, 160
/mitanugai/ (pron.adv.) 238
mitāgā (pron.adv.) 238
mituru 66, 103
miturun (nom.pl.) 47
mī (dem.pron. + foc.marker) . 252
/mīdal/ 97
mīdal- (stem) 88, 89
mīdale' (nom.sg.indef.) 89
mīdā 88, 89, 97
mīdū (top.) 131
mīhaku (obl.sg.indef.) 72, 164, 252
mīhā 48, 72, 89, 90, 101, 102, 124
mīhāgā (loc.sg.) 101
mīhāge (gen.sg.) 101
mīhāin (abl.) 59
mīhāin (abl.sg.) 101
mīhā' (dat.sg.) 101
mīhe' (nom.sg.indef.) 89
mīhun (pl.)18, 24, 90, 91, 102, 124, 162
mīhungā (loc.pl.) 102
mīhunge farātun (abl.pl.) 102
mīhunge (gen.pl.) 102
mīhunnakī (nom.pl. + foc. marker) 254
mīhunna' (dat.pl.) 102
mīhunta' (pl.) 91
mīnā (pers.pron.) 150
mīru 106
/mīs-/ (stem) 162, 164
mīs- (stem) . . . 89, 102, 124, 140
/mīs-ek/ (nom.sg.indef.) 164
-mu (1.pl.ending) 168, 175
-mu (2.pl.ending) 168, 175
muazzif 42
mudarris 42
muṅḍu 65
mugu 65, 102, 105
/mul/ 22
muḷi (pron.adj.) . . . 107, 162, 164
muḷin (pron.adj.abl.) . . . 107, 162
muḷin raṅgaḷu 162
-mun (ger.suff.) 197
mussaṅḍi 42
muśi 26, 105
muśimahā (obl. + conj.) 147
/muśimas-āi/ (obl. + conj.) . . . 147
mū 22
mūnu 65
mūsun 32, 47, 64
-n (1.sg.ending) 168, 175
-na (part.pres.suff.) 201

naganī 164, 194, 200
nagāśe (inf.impv.) 194
nakai 25
/nakat/ 25
/nam/ 72
nama (cond.conj.) . . 239-242, 250
namakī (obl.sg.indef. + foc. marker) 72
nama-ves (conj.) 250
namādu 45
nan 72
nanu 65
nasēhai 25
nasību 104
nasībuveri 104
nava- (num.elem.) 120
/nava-āhi/ 120
navafansās 120
navahaiteri 120
navahaṭṭi 120
navai 117
navasāḷīs 120
navatirīs 120
navāhi 120
navānavai 120
navāra 114-116
navāvīs 115, 116
nā 92
nā-faharu (pl.) 92
nāḷi 35, 107
nāringu 66
nāru 65
nāśi 24
negenī 200
negē (part.pres.) 200
nei (3.sg.pres.neg.) 261
neśi (part.pret.) 202
/net/ (3.sg.pres.neg.) 261
/net/ (part.pret.) 164, 208
netī (part.pres.f.f.) 208
netun (vb.n.) 107, 164, 208
netunī 138, 208, 261
netunu (part.pret.) 208
nevin 149
niaduru 22, 65
niafati 33
nidanī 23, 229, 236, 247
nidā (part.pres.) 23
nidunu (3.sg.pot.pret.) 236
nikameti 103
nikkuri 42
/nil/ 22
nimenī 209, 212, 228
nimi (abs.) 212
nimijjaimu (1.pl.pret.IV) 228
nimijjaimu (2.pl.pret.IV) 228
nimijjaimu (2.sg.pret.IV) 228
nimijjain (1.sg.pret.IV) 228
nimijje (2.sg.pret.IV) 228
nimijje (3.pl.pret.IV) 228
nimijje (3.sg.pret.IV) 228
nimmālānan (1.sg.fut.II) 226
nimmānan (1.sg.fut.) 226
nimunu (part.pret.) 209
/nit/ 42
/nit-kuri/ 42
ni' 42
nu balā (2.sg./pl.impv.neg.) . . 261
nu belēne (3.sg.pot.pres.neg.) . 232
nu biṅdēne (3.sg.pot.pres.neg.) 233
nu essēne (3.sg.pot.pres.neg.) . 233
nu guḷē (part.pres.neg.) 103
nu huṭṭevēne (3.sg.pot.pres. neg.) 233
nu huṭṭēne (3.sg.pot.pres.neg.) 233
nu kaṅḍā (2.sg.impv.neg.) . . . 186
nu kaṅḍāti (2.sg.impv.post. neg.) 185
nu kurāti (2.sg.impv.post.neg.) 187
nu kurevēne (3.sg.pot.pres. neg.) 233
nu kurevunīs (3.sg.pot.pret.neg. + emph.partc.) 238
nu marāśe (inf.impv.) 185
nu marāśe (inf.impv.neg.) . . . 194
nu (neg.partc.) 45, 184, 233, 250, 260-262
nu taḷāśe (inf.impv.neg.) 194
nu temevēne (3.sg.pot.pres. neg.) 232
/nu uḷen-yā/ (neg.partc. + part. pres. + cond.conj.) 242
nu vadevēne (3.sg.pot.pres. neg.) 232, 233
nuhanu (adv.) 106
nukui (part.pret.) 205
nukume (abs.) 60, 214, 230
nukume uḷemu (abs. + 1.pl. pres.) 230
nukume uḷen (abs. + 1.sg.pres.) 230
nukume uḷē (abs. + 2.pl.pres.) 230
nukume uḷē (abs. + 2.sg.pres.) 230
nukume uḷē (abs. + 3.pl.pres.) 230
nukume uḷē (abs. + 3.sg.pres.) 230
nukumejjaīn (1.sg.pret.IV) . . . 257
nukumejje (1.sg.pret.IV) 228
nukumejje (3.sg.pret.IV) 251
nukumevidāne (3.sg.pot.pres.) 232
nukumevunu (3.sg.pot.pret.) . . 237
nukumē (3.sg.pres.) 214
nukunnama (1.pl.impv.) 184
nukunnama hiṅgā (1.pl.impv. + 2.sg./pl.impv.) 184
nukunnanī 60, 181, 201, 205, 214, 227, 228, 230, 232, 234, 235, 237, 251, 257
/nukut/ (part.pret.) 205
nukutī (part.pret.l.f.) 205
nura 27
nuva 110, 116, 120
nuvadīha 116, 117
/nuva-ek/. 110
nuvae' 110
nuvasatēka 121
nū 20, 22, 61, 103, 105
nūḷeññā (neg.partc. + part.pres. + cond.conj.) 242
nūn (neg.partc.) 23, 250, 260-262
ñakas 45
ñam ñam 45
ñam ñam gas 45
⟨ñamu ñamu⟩ 45
ñāki 45
ñēku 45
oḍi 27, 92, 206
oḍi-faharu (pl.) 92
oḍita' (pl.) 92
oi 24, 68
oi (part.pret.) 205, 256
oivaru 68
ona- (num.elem.) 114
onaāhi 120
onafansās 120
onahaiteri 114, 120
onahaṭṭi 120
onasaḷīs 120
onasatta 114, 120
onatirīs 114, 115, 120
onavai 120
onavihi 113, 114, 120
onnanī 56, 61, 151, 161, 181, 205, 206, 214, 227, 228, 232, 235, 237, 243, 248, 256, 261
onu 65
/oś/ . . . . . 28, 4[illegible]
ośōi (part.pret.) 206
ośōnnanī . 28, 181, 205, 206, 214, 228, 232, 235, 237, 243
/ośōt/ (part.pret.) 206
ośōtī (part.pret.l.f.) 206
ośōve (3.sg.pres.) 214
ośōve (abs.) 214
ośōvevidāne (3.sg.pot.pres.) . . 232
ośōvevunu (3.sg.pot.pret.) . . . 237
/ot/ (part.pret.) 61, 205, 256
otī (part.pret.l.f.) 205
ovevidāne (3.sg.pot.pres.) . . . 232
ovevunu (3.sg.pot.pret.) 237
ovē (3.sg.pres.) 214
o' 28, 45
ōḍaru 27
ōgāveri 104
raffu' 42
rañgaḷu 102, 107
rai 105
raigā 43
raimas 43

rakkau kuranī 105
rakkau vanī 105
rakkauteri 104
rakkāteri 104
ran 102
/raś/ 38, 42, 64, 91, 132
raś 17, 18, 50
raś-raś (distr.pl.) 75
/raś-tak/ (nom.pl.) 91
raśugai (loc.sg.) 242
/rat/ 43, 105
/rat-gal/ 43
/rat-mas/ 43
raṭṭa' (nom.pl.) 91
ravvehi 37, 38
ra' 38, 42, 64, 91, 132
[ra'] 17, 18
rā 21
rāǰje 39
rāǰe' (nom.sg.indef.) 89
rālu 89
reaś (dat.) 106
[rea'] (dat.) 106
rekenī 23
rekē (part.pres.) 23
rē 25, 67, 68, 106
riha 27, 63
rihain (abl.) 63
rihenī 44
rihi 102
rissanī (caus.) 44
riveti 105
rīccē (adj. + quot.partc.) . 39, 102
rīňdū 105
rīeti 105
rīti . . . 39, 53, 102, 105, 107, 161
/rīti-eve/ (adj. + quot.partc.)39, 102
rītikan 53, 105
ronī 257
roši 34
rō (part.pres.) 252
/ruk/ 89, 91
ruke' (nom.sg.indef.) 89
/ruk-ruk/ (distr.pl.) 75
/ruk-tak/ (nom.pl.) 91
rul- (stem) 89
rule' (nom.sg.indef.) 89
ruli 35
rutta' (nom.pl.) 91
ru' 89, 91
ru'-ru' (distr.pl.) 75
rū 89
sabbīs 115
sahaiteri 119
sahatti 119
sai 24, 25, 68
saḷīs de 117
saḷīs dē' 117
satāhi 120
satāḷīs 118
satānavai 120
satāra 110, 113, 114
satēka 121, 123
satēkavana 123
satta 114, 120, 121
sattirīs 118
satuhaiteri 119
satuhaṭṭi 119
satutirīs 118
satuvanna 119
sauda 110, 112
saurahaiteri 119
saurahaṭṭi 119
sauratirīs 118
sauravanna 119
saurayāhi 120
saurayāḷīs 118
saurayānavai 120
sauvīs 115, 118
savanna 119
sayāhi 120
sayālīs 118
sayānavai 120
sāda 110, 112
sāfu 47
sālīs 116
sāḷīs 116
[sǎ] 25
seketṭrī 91
seketṭrīn (pl.) 91
sekreṭarī 91
sekreṭarīn (pl.) 91
[sē] (dial.) 25
sigareṭu 31, 65
siňgireṭu 31
sirru 43
siṭī 33, 112
sōḷa 110, 112, 113
sukkun 30
suvālu 61
/suvālutakek/ (nom.pl.indef.) . . 61
sūra 90, 148
sūrae' (nom.sg.indef.) 90
-śe (inf.impv.ending) 185, 193, 194
šahīdu 91
šahīdun (pl.) 91
šarīfu (p.n.nom.) 251
šukuru 104
šukuruveri 104
-t (part.pret.suff.) 205
ta (quest.partc.) 154, 233, 248, 249, 258
taguvā 104
taguvāveri 104
/-tak/ (plur.suff.) 71, 91, 102
/tak/ (pron.adj.) 138, 158
taketi 138
taḷanī 194
taḷāśe (inf.impv.) 194
tan 156, 160
/tan-ak-aś/ (dat.sg.indef.) 164
/tan-aku/ (obl.sg.indef.) 160
/tan-ek/ (nom.sg.indef.) 160
tanu (obl.sg.) 238
⟨taquvā⟩ 104
tari 59, 62, 90, 91
/tari-ek/ (nom.sg.indef.) 47
tarie' (nom.sg.indef.) 90
tarita' (nom.pl.) 91
⟨tariye'⟩ (nom.sg.indef.) 47
⟨tari'e'⟩ (nom.sg.indef.) 47
tarīn (abl.) 59, 62
tarujamā 37
taśi 34, 90, 91
taśie' (nom.sg.indef.) 90
taśita' (nom.pl.) 91
tayyāru 42
-ta' (plur.suff.) 71, 74, 76, 91, 92, 102, 163
ta' (pron.adj.) 138
ta'līmu 107
ta'ulīmu 107, 149
tārīx 45
tāzā 45, 103
teduvanī 104, 227, 257
teduvegen (abs.III) 257
teduveri 104
/tel/ 22, 25
teḷi (part.pret.) 202
teme- (pres.stem) 168
temelin (1.sg.pret.II) . . . 226, 228
tememā (1.pl.impv.) 184
tememu (1.pl.pres.) 174
tememu (2.pl.pres.) 174
tememun (ger.) 168, 197
temen (1.sg.pres.) 168, 174
temen (inf.) 168, 195
temenī . . 166, 168, 174, 175, 199, 209, 226-228, 231, 232, 236, 238, 245
temenī (part.pres.l.f.) . . . 168, 199
temevidāne (3.sg.pot.pres.) . . 232
temevunīs (3.sg.pot.pret. + emph.partc.) 238
temē (2.pl.impv.) 184
temē (2.sg.impv.) 168, 184
temē (2.sg.pres.) 174
temē (3.pl.pres.) 174
temē (3.sg.pres.) 174
temē (part.pres.) 168, 199
temēnan (1.pl.fut.) 177
temēnan (1.sg.fut.) 168, 177
temēne (2.pl.fut.) 177
temēne (2.sg.fut.) 177
temēne (3.pl.fut.) 177
temēne (3.sg.fut.) 177
temēne (part.fut.) 168, 199

temēnī (part.fut.l.f.) 168, 199
temi (abs.) . . . 168, 212, 215, 238
temi temi (red.abs.) 215
temifai (abs.I) 227
temifā (abs.I) 227
temigen (abs.III) 227
temijjain (1.sg.pret.IV) 228
temijje (3.sg.pret.IV) 228
temilāi (abs.II) 227
temividāne (3.sg.pot.pres.) . . . 232
temun- (pret.stem) 168
temun (vb.n.) 168, 196
temunin (1.sg.pret.) 168, 176
temunī (part.pret.l.f.) . . . 168, 199
temunīmu (1.pl.pret.) 176
temunīmu (2.pl.pret.) 176
temunīs (3.sg.pot.pret. + emph. partc.) 238
temunu (2.sg.pret.) 176
temunu (3.pl.pret.) 176
temunu (3.sg.pot.pret.) 236
temunu (3.sg.pret.) 176
temunu (part.pret.) 168, 175, 199, 209, 238
teo 22, 25, 64
-teri (adj.suff.) 53, 103-105
/-teri-ā/ 105
teyāḷīs 118
tēāhi 120
tēānavai 120
tēhaiteri 119
tēhaṭṭi 119
tēra 111
tēvanna 119
tēvīs 115
ti (dem.pron.) . 136, 146, 147, 150, 151, 164, 242, 252
-ti (impv.suff.) 185, 186
tia bēfuḷa' (pers.pron.dat.) . . . 141
tia bēfuḷā (pers.pron.nom.) . . 136, 139-141
tia bēfuḷu (pers.pron.obl.) . . . 141
tia bēfuḷuge (pers.pron.gen.) 141, 144
tia bēfuḷun (pers.pron.pl.) 137, 140, 143
tia bēfuḷuna' (pers.pron.dat.pl.) 143
tia bēfuḷunge (pers.pron.gen. pl.) 143, 144
tia bēkalā (pers.pron.nom.)140, 141
tia bēkale'a' (pers.pron.dat.) . . 141
tia bēkalē (pers.pron.) . . 134, 136, 139-141
tia bēkalēge (pers.pron.gen.) 141, 144
tia bēkalun (pers.pron.pl.) 136, 140, 143
tia bēkalunge (pers.pron.gen. pl.) 143, 144
tia bēkalunna' (pers.pron.dat. pl.) 143
tia (dem.pron.) 139, 144, 150, 164
tia kahala (dem.pron.) 164
tia manikufāna' (pers.pron.dat.) 141
tia manikufānu (pers.pron.) . 136, 140, 141
tia manikufānuge (pers.pron. gen.) 141
tia (pers.pron.) 134, 136
tibejjaimu (3.sg.pret.IV) 239
tibenī 56, 160, 162, 200, 239, 242, 243, 245, 261
tibē (part.pres.) 200
tibi (part.pret.) 162
tibīmu (1.pl.pret.) 243
tiki 47
tila 27, 43, 90
tilae' (nom.sg.indef.) 90
timange (pron.gen.) 146
timā (pron.) 48, 127, 133, 144-146
timāge (pron.gen.) 144, 146
timāmen (pron.pl.) 133, 146
timāmenge (pron.gen.pl.) 144, 146
timāmenna' (pron.dat.pl.) 146
timā' (pron.dat.) 146
timenge (pron.gen.) 146
timennāge (pron.gen.pl.) 146
tin 108, 109
tin bai kuḷa e' bai 124
⟨tin doḷos hatare'⟩ (Geiger) . . 122
tin hās 121
tindoḷos 122
tindoḷos eke' 122
/tin-ek/ 109
tineti 124
tine' 108, 109
tin-guna 125
tinsatēka 121
tinvana 123
tirīs 115, 116
tirīs de 117
tirīs dē' 117
tirīs eke' 117
tirīs e' 117
tirīs ha hās a'satēka fasdoḷas . 121
tirīs nuva 117
tirīs nuvae' 117
tīnā (pers.pron.) 150
tīr 46
-to (quest.partc.) 189
toḍḍū (top.) 19
toḷi 27, 35, 62, 90
toḷie' (nom.sg.indef.) 90
toḷīn (abl.) 62
toši 34
tō (conj.) 255
tō (quest.partc.) 248, 249, 255, 258
tūnu 66
ṭīcaru 65
uňdagū 31
[uňdagū] 30
⟨udagū⟩ 30
uňdagū kuranī 187
uddaňḍi 42
uňdōli 20
uduhenī 257
uḍu 46, 65
ufaddanī 104
ufā 242
ufāveri 48, 53, 104
ufāverikan 53
ufeddun (vb.n.) 104
ufeddunteri 104
uňgu 65
/uk-daňḍi/ 42
ukunu 35
uḷe (abs.) 214
uḷefin (1.sg.pret.I) 226
uḷemu (1.pl.pres.) 230
uḷen (1.sg.pres.) 36, 230
uḷenī 36, 181, 182, 200, 206, 214, 226, 230, 232, 234, 235, 237, 242
uḷenī (part.pres.l.f.) 151
uḷevidāne (3.sg.pot.pres.) 232
uḷē (2.pl.pres.) 230
uḷē (2.sg.pres.) 230
uḷē (3.pl.pres.) 230
uḷē (3.sg.pres.)[6] 214, 230, 233
uḷē (part.pres.) 200, 242
uḷunin (1.sg.pret.) 36
uḷunī (part.pret.l.f.) 206
uḷunu (part.pret.) 130, 206
-un (abl.ending) 59, 62, 106
-un (plur.suff.) 74, 90, 91, 102, 139
-un (vb.n.suff.) 196
-unu (part.pret.suff.) 208
us 32
uturu 65
uxtu 36, 66
-ū (1./2.pl.ending) 181
-ū (1.pl.ending) 177
ūru 20, 65
-va- (caus.suff.) 170
vad- (pres.stem) 167
vade (2.sg.pres.) 175
vade (3.pl.pres.) 175
vade (3.sg.pres.) 173, 213
vade (abs.) 167, 212, 213, 215, 230
vade uḷemu (abs. + 1.pl.pres.) 230
vade uḷen (abs. + 1.sg.pres.) . 230
vade uḷē (abs. + 2.sg.pres.) . . 230
vade uḷē (abs. + 2.pl.pres.) . . 230
vade uḷē (abs. + 3.pl.pres.) . . 230
vade uḷē (abs. + 3.sg.pres.) . . 230
vade vade (red.abs.) 215
vadefai (abs.I) 227

vadefā (abs.I) 227
vadegen (abs.III) 227
vadelāi (abs.II) 227
vadevidāne (3.sg.pot.pres.) 232, 233
vadevunu (3.sg.pot.pret.) 237
vadē (2.pl.impv.) 184
vadē (2.sg.impv.) 167, 184
⟨vaduna-⟩ (stem) 196

vaḍay (abs.) 172
vaḍay gaṁnavanī 172
/vagut-ek/ (nom.sg.indef.) . . . 242
vagutu 37, 65
vai 24, 68, 103
vaigada 103
vakaru 249
vaki vanī 252
vaki vī (part.pret.l.f.) 252
vaḷi 90, 91
vaḷie' (nom.sg.indef.) 90
vaḷitā' (nom.pl.) 91
vaḷu 35, 65
van (2.sg.pret.) 176
van (3.pl.pret.) 176
van (3.sg.pret.) 176
van (part.pret.) . . . 167, 175, 199, 205
van- (pres.stem) 167
van- (pret.stem) 167
-vana (ord.suff.) 123, 124
vanin (1.sg.pret.) 167, 176
vanī . 40, 75, 149, 151, 158, 161, 200, 208, 210, 215, 230, 232, 234-240, 242, 255
vanī (part.pret.l.f.) 167, 199
vanīmu (1.pl.pret.) 176
vanīmu (2.pl.pret.) 176
vanna (part.pres.) 167, 199-201
vannama (1.pl.impv.) 184
vannamu (1.pl.pres.) 173
vannamu (2.pl.pres.) 173
vannamun (ger.) 167, 197
vannan (1.sg.pres.) 173
vannan (inf.) 167, 195
vannanī . . 44, 166, 167, 173, 175, 181, 205, 213, 228, 230, 232, 234, 235, 237
vannanī (part.pres.l.f.) 167, 199-201
vanna' (inf.) 167, 195, 196
vannānan (1.pl.fut.) 177
vannānan (1.sg.fut.) . . . 167, 177
vannāne (2.pl.fut.) 177
vannāne (2.sg.fut.) 177
vannāne (3.pl.fut.) 177
vannāne (3.sg.fut.) 177
vannāne (part.fut.) 167, 199
vannānī (part.fut.l.f.) . . . 167, 199
vanun (vb.n.) 167, 196
/var-ak-aś/ (dat.sg.indef.) 158
varaka' (dat.sg.indef.) . . 126, 158
vara' (adv.) 106
vara' gina (adv.) 106
/var-ek/ (nom.sg.indef.) 158
vare' (nom.sg.indef.) 158
varu 38, 103, 158
varugada 103
vas 103
vasgada 103
vaśanī 206
vaṭṭailān (inf.II) 231
vaṭṭanī 26
vazan kuranī 188
vā 22, 24
vā (part.pres.) 200
vāhaka 90
vāhakae' (nom.sg.indef.) 90
vānan (1.sg.fut.) 242
vāne (3.sg.fut.) 242
vāreduni 47
ve (abs.) 159, 215, 230
veddye (3.sg.pret.IV) 239
vegen (abs.III) 159, 255
vegen (conj.) 255
vehen (inf.) 194
vehēśe (inf.impv.) 194
vehi 38
vejje (3.sg.pret.IV) 40, 239
/vel/ 22, 25
veli 36
veo 22, 25
-veri 74, 89
veri . . . 54, 74, 75, 103, 104, 124
-veri (adj.suff.) 53, 103, 104
veriaku (obl.sg.indef.) 72, 74
-veriā 89
/-veri-ā/ 105
veriā (nom.sg.def.) 72, 74
verie' (nom.sg.indef.) 74
verifarāi 74
verikan 54, 74
verin (nom.pl.) 74
verira' 74
ves (emph.partc.) . 148, 160, 161, 164, 250
-veti (adj.suff.) 53, 103, 105
vetteni 26, 206, 212
vetti (abs.) 212
/vev/ 25
vevidāne (3.sg.pot.pres.) 232
vevunu (3.sg.pot.pret.) 237
vē (3.sg.pres.) 215
vēla 6, 27
vēṭaru 90
vēṭarun (pl.) 91
vi (part.pret.) 208, 237
viduvaru 131
vihi 110, 114, 131
vihivana 123
vikkanī 44
vilu (kula) 105
vina 63
vinain (abl.) 63
vī 131
vī (part.pret.l.f.) 208
vīs 114
-vīs (num.elem.) 115
voḍi (part.pret.) 201
-vunu (pot.pret.suff.) . . . 237, 238
vure (adv.) 106
vuren (adv.) 106
xādimu 133
yagīn 49
yaumīyā 49
yā (cond.conj.) 239, 241, 242
yoṭu(-dōni) 49
zīnatteri 104
/zīnat-veri/ 104

Old Indic (Sanskrit)

adhástāt 49
akṣiṇā (instr.sg.) 61
ambā́- 31, 158
-ana- (vb.n.suff.) 191, 193
-anaka- (vb.n.suff.) 191
anyá- 152, 163
√as 168
asmá(d)- 130
asmān (pers.pron.acc.pl.) 130
asti (3.sg.pres.) 105, 138, 178, 186, 208, 224
aśīti- 117
aṣṭā́ 109
aṣṭā́catvāriṁśat- 118
aṣṭā́daśa 113
aṣṭā́navati- 120
aṣṭā́pañcāśat- 119
aṣṭā́saptati- 119
aṣṭā́śīti- 120
aṣṭā́ṣaṣṭi- 119
aṣṭā́triṁśat- 118
aṣṭā́viṁśati- 115
avanāyá- 104
avaṭá- 36
-aya- (caus.suff.) 170
ayám (dem.pron.) 137
ācāryà- 66, 80

ādityá- 20
ā́gata- (part.pret.) 207
āgatya (abs.) 215
ákṣi- 61
āmrá- 31
-ānām (gen.pl.ending) 57, 70
áṅga- 69
-āpaya- (caus.suff.) 170
ártha- 57
ártham (acc.sg.) . . . 57, 191, 192
árthāya (dat.sg.) 57, 58
ātmā́ (nom.sg.) 145
ātmán- 130
-āya (dat.ending) 192
áyas- 49
baddhá- (part.pret.) 204
badhirá- 21
badhnā́ti (3.sg.pres.) 204
bahú- 163
bandha- (pres.stem, BHS) . . . 204
bhaṇṭākī- 23
bháiṣajya- 21
bháva- (pres.stem) 208
√bhid 204
bhinátti (3.sg.pres.) 204
bhindati (3.sg.pres., BHS) . . . 204
bhinná- (part.pret.) 204
bhóga- 69
√bhū 208
bhū́mi- 26
bhūtá- (part.pret.) 208
biḍāla- 97
bṛhaspatidiva- 37
bṛhaspativāra- 37
bṛ́haspáti- 37
buddhi- 42, 104
candrá- 31, 32, 50
capala- 23, 32
catuḥpañcāśat- 119
catuḥsaptati- 119
catuḥṣaṣṭi- 119
caturaśīti- 120
caturguṇa- 125
caturnavati- 120
catvā́raḥ (nom.pl.m.) 109
catvāriṁśát- 116
cáturdaśa 112
cáturviṁśati- 115
cátustriṁśat- 118
cátuścatvāriṁśat- 118
*ciṣṭa- 33
dattá- (part.pret.) 205
√dā 204, 205
dádāti (3.sg.pres.) 205
dáśa 110
deśá- 60
dhautá- (part.pret.) 206
√dhāv 206
dhāvati (3.sg.pres.) 206
dhūmá- 20
díś- 60
drógha- 104
dróṇa- 20
droṇī- 20
√dṛś 203
dṛṣṭá- (part.pret.) 203
duvā́daśa 122
duváu 109
duvé 109
*duveviṁśati- 115
dvācatvāriṁśat- 118
dvā́daśa 111, 122
dvāpañcāśat- 118
dvā́saptati- 119
dvāṣaṣṭi- 119
dvā́triṁśat- 118
dvā́viṁśati- 114, 115
dvé 109
*dveviṁśati- 115
dvíguṇa- 125
dvinavati- 120
dviśata- 121
dvīpá- 5, 131
dvyaśīti- 119
éka- 69, 109, 113, 121, 122
ékacatvāriṁśat- 118
ekanavati- 120
ékapañcāśat- 118
ékasaptati- 119
ékaṣaṣṭi- 119
ékatriṁśat- 118
ékaviṁśati- 114
ékādaśa 111, 122
ekāśīti- 119
ekona- (num.elem.) 122
ekonatriṁśat- 115
ekonaviṁśati- 114
-ena (instr.ending) 60
eṣá (dem.pron.) 137
eṣá (dem.pron.nom.sg.m.) . . . 137
etá- 137
gadyāṇa- 69
√gam 214, 215
gaṇaya- 125
gaṇáyati (3.sg.pres.) 125
gatá- (part.pret.) 207
-gatya (abs.) 214
gā́tra- 67
gehá- 21, 67
gehe (loc.) 55
ghaná- 162
grā́ma- 19
gṛbhītá- (part.pret.) 205
gṛbhṇā́ti (3.sg.pres.) 205
gṛhá- 55, 67
gṛhītá- (part.pret.) 205
gṛhṇā́ti (3.sg.pres.) 205
-guṇa- (num.suff.) 125
guṇá- 125
guṇáyati (3.sg.pres.) 125
gūtha- 68
hanmi (1.sg.pres.) 172
hanti (3.sg.pres.) 172
harṣaṇa- 58
harṣaṇārthāya (dat.) 58
hásta- 60
hástena (instr.sg.) 60
hindola- 20
√hṛṣ 58
hyáḥ (adv.) 43
√i 207
idānīm (adv.) 25
ikṣú- 42
imá- (dem.pron.) 147
√indh 204
íṣṭakā- 20
-ita- (part.pret.suff.) 174, 202, 208
iti (quot.partc.) 258
-itvā (abs.ending) 211
jambu- 60
jambudvīpa- (top.) 60
jānāti (3.sg.pres.) 207
jávate 27
*jhola- 20
jīvitá- 50
√jñā 207
-ka- (suff.) 179, 191
karmā́ra- 31
karó- (pres.stem) 208
ká- 152
káḥ púnar (interr.pron.) 153
kālá- 157
káṇṭaka- 23
kárman- 53, 133
√khan 203
khanati (3.sg.pres.) 203
√khād 208
khā́dati (3.sg.pres.) 208
khāditá- (part.pret.) 208
khálu 73
khātá- (part.pret.) 203
√khyā 258, 259
kím (interr.pron.) 154
kiyat- 50
√kṛ 208
krakaca- 21, 50, 84
√krami 205
krī́dati (3.sg.pres.) 203
kṛṇó- (pres.stem) 208
kṛtá- (part.pret.) 208
kṛtvā́ (abs.) 215, 238
kṣudrá- 163
kukṣí- 60
lóhita- 27
ma- (pers.pron.stem) 129
mahā- 106
makṣā- 40

manā́k (adv.) 54
manda- 163
maṅgala- 31
maṇí- 137
mádhu- 24
mádhya- 26, 50
mákara- 22
mákṣikā- 25, 40
-māna- (part.med.suff.) 197
māṇikya- 137
mitrá- 66, 80
mṛttikā- 26, 59
mudrá- 23
muṣṭí- 26
mū́ṣ- 97
mū́ṣikā- 97
-na- (part.pret.suff.) . . . 202, 204
navatí- 117
ná (neg.partc.) 208
nā́man- 241
nārikēla- 24
nā́sti (neg.partc. + 3.sg.pres.) 208, 261
náva 110, 116
niṣkramati (3.sg.pres.) 205
niṣkrānta- √(part.pret.) 205
nī́la- 19
pañcaguṇa- 125
pañcasaptati- 119, 123
pañcaṣaṣṭi- 119
pañcā́śát- 116, 123
pañcāśīti- 120
paṭala- 35
-paya- (caus.suff.) 170
√pā 207
pā́da- 21, 42, 68
páñca 23, 109
páñcacatvāriṁśat- 118
páñcadaśa 112
páñcanavati- 120
páñcapañcāśat- 119
páñcatriṁśat- 118
páñcaviṁśati- 115, 122
pānīya- 25, 59
pátra- 67
phála- 67
phāṇita- 26
phupphusa- 41
píba- (pres.stem) 207
piṣṭá- 42
pītá- (part.pret.) 207
prathamá- 36, 37, 123
prāṇaka- 23
pṛṣṭhá- 42
púruṣa- 132
rakṣaṇa- 58
rakṣaṇārthāya (dat.) 58
rakṣati (3.sg.pres.) 58
rā́jan- 50
rājyá- 39
rásа- 21
rāṣṭravāsin- 38
rāṣṭrá- 38
rā́trī- 25, 67, 68
rūpá- 105
√sad 203, 204
sahásra- 121
samena 70
saṃgha- 57
√sañj 204
sañjayati (3.sg.pres.) 204
sanná- (part.pret.) 204
saptanavati- 120
saptapañcāśat- 119
saptasaptati- 119
saptaṣaṣṭi- 119
saptatí- 117
saptatriṁśat- 118
saptá 109
saptácatvāriṁśat- 118
saptádaśa 113
saptāśīti- 120
saptáviṁśati- 115
sattvá- 58
sáṃdyati (3.sg.pres.) 204
sámiddha- (part.pret.) 204
sáminddhe (3.sg.pres.med.) . . 204
sámūḍha- 162
sárva- 58
sénā- 157
sēnāpati- 157
síndhu- 31
sī́mā- 32
srótas- 68
√sthā 203, 243
sthā́na- 156
sthāpayati (3.sg.pres.caus.) 170, 243
sthitá- (part.pret.) 203
sugandha- 32
suptá- (part.pret.) 206
sūkará- 21
sū́ra- 157
sū́rya- 157
sūta- 20
sū́tra- 20
√svap 206
-sya (gen.ending) 55
śatá- 121
śátru- 66, 80
śṛgālá- 32
śṛṅgavera- 31
ṣaḍaśīti- 120
ṣaṣṭí- 117
ṣaṭcatvāriṁśat- 118
ṣaṭsaptati- 119
ṣaṭṣaṣṭi- 119
ṣáḍviṁśati- 115
ṣáṇṇavati- 120
ṣáṭ 109
ṣáṭpañcāśat- 119
ṣáṭtriṁśat- 118
ṣóḍaśa 112
-ta- (part.pret.suff.) 202-207
táva (pers.pron.gen.sg.) 134
-tha (2.pl.ending) 183
tiṣṭhati (3.sg.pres.) 203
tmán- 145
trayaḥsaptati- 119
trayaḥṣaṣṭi- 119
trayaścatvāriṁśat- 118
trayonavati- 120
tráyaḥpañcāśat- 119
tráyastriṁśat- 118
tráyodaśa 111, 112
tráyoviṁśati- 115
tribhír guṇáiḥ (instr.pl.) 125
triṁśát- 116
tŕ̥ṇi (nom.pl.ntr.) 109
tryaśīti- 120
tuvám (pers.pron.) 133
-tvā (abs.ending) 211
tvā́ (pers.pron.instr.sg.) 134
tvám (pers.pron.) 133
*uparika- 74
ūnatriṁśat- 115
ūnaviṁśati 113
ūná- 122
vallī- 25
vardháyati (3.sg.pres.caus.) . . 172
vāpī́- 25
vára- 75
várdhate (3.sg.pres.med.) 172
vāsín- 38
vā́ta- 68
vélā- 20
vidyút- 131
vihāra- 157
vi-khyā- 258
vikhyāta- 258
vi-kriṇā- (pres.stem) 44
viṁśatí- 114, 131
vīrá- 131
vrajita- (part.pret.) 205
*vrañjati (3.sg.pres.) 173
vrájati (3.sg.pres.) 173
vrīhí- 131
√vr̥j 173, 205
vr̥ṇákti (3.sg.pres.) 173
√vr̥t 206
-ya (abs.ending) 211
yakṣá- 3
√yā 207
-yá- (pass.suff.) 174
yā́ma- 49
yā́ti (3.sg.pres.) 11, 49, 207
yā́trā- 49

Middle Indic:

Apabhraṃśa

aṭhatālīsa 118
aṭṭāsi 120
bi 109
chāhattari 119
tīsa 116
tīsaṃ 116

Pali

amba- 31
-ana- (vb.n.suff.) 192
aṅga- 69
añña- 152
asiṃ 117
asī 117
asīti- 117
-assa (gen.ending) 57
atthaṃ 57
atthāya (dat.) 57
atthi (3.sg.pres.) . . . 138, 186, 224
aṭṭha 109
aṭṭhasaṭṭhi- 119
aṭṭhatālīsa 118
aṭṭhādasa 113
aṭṭhārasa 113
aṭṭhāvīsati- 115
aya(s)- 49
ābharaṇa- 60
ācariya- 66
ādāya (abs.) 212
-āna (part.pres.med.suff.) 199
-ānaṃ (gen.pl.ending) 70
-āpe- (caus.suff.) 170
baddha- (part.pret.) 204
bārasa 111
bāvīsati- 114
bhesajja- 50
bhinna- (part.pret.) 204
bhoga- 69
bhūmi- 26, 60
bhūta- (part.pret.) 208
biḷāla- 97
biḷāra- 97
buddhi- 42, 104
buddha- 42
canda- 31, 32
cattālīsaṃ 116
cattāḷīsaṃ 116
cattārīsaṃ 116
cattāro 109
catuddasa 112
catuvīsa 115
cha 109
chabbīsati- 115
chaḷāsīti- 120
chasaṭṭhi- 119
cuddasa 112
daka- 60
dasa 110
dassanāya (dat.sg.vb.n.) 192
dassati (3.sg.pres.) 203
dāni (adv.) 25
dhovati (3.sg.pres.) 206
dhūma- 20
dinna- (part.pret.) 205
diṭṭha- (part.pret.) 203
dīpa- 5, 131
dīpaka- 131
doṇa- 20
duve 109
dvādasa 111, 122
dvāvīsa 115
dvāvīsati- 115
dve 109
eka- 109
ekatālīsa 118
ekavīsa- 114
ekādasa 111
ekārasa 111
ekūnavīsa(ti)- 114
gaṇe- 125
gata- (part.pret.) 207
gāma- 19, 60
geha- 67
gehena (instr.) 61
hattha- 60
hiyyo (adv.) 43
idāni (adv.) 25
ima- (dem.pron.) 147
jambu- 60
jambudīpa- 60
kakaca- 50, 84
kamma(n)- 53, 133
kammāra- 31
karaṇāya (dat.sg.vb.n.) 192
kata- (part.pret.) 208
kaṭa- (part.pret.) 208
kāla- 157
khalu 73
khanati (3.sg.pres.) 203
khudda- 163
kula- 60
mahilā- 5
mahilādīpaka- (top.) 5, 10
majjha- 26, 50
makara- 22
manda- 163
maṇi- 137
mattikā- 26
mitta- 66
muṭṭhi- 26
mūsika- 97
natthi (3.sg.pres.neg.) 208
nava 110
nāma- 241
nīla- 19
pañca 109
pañcadasa 112
pañcapaññāsa 119
pañcasattati- 119
pañcavīsa 115, 122
pañcavīsati- 122
paññāsaṃ 116
paṇṇarasa 112
paṇṇavīsati 115
paṇṇāsa 116
paṇṇuvīsa 115
paramparā- 60
parihīna- (part.pret.) 209
patta- 67
paṭala- 35
paṭhama- 123
pāda- 68
pānīya- 25
-pe- (caus.suff.) 170
phala- 67
phāṇita- 26
purisa- 132
ratti- 25, 67, 68
raṭṭhavāsin- 38
rājā (nom.sg.) 50
rūpa- 105
sahassa- 121
samena 70
sanna- (part.pret.) 204
sata- 121
satta 109
satta- 58
sattadasa 113
sattarasa 113
sattari- 117
sattavīsati 115
sattu- 66
satthi- 117
saya- 121
sigāla- 32

singivera- 31
sīmā- 32
soḷasa 112
sota(s)- 68
sugandha- 32
suriya- 157
sutta- (part.pret.) 206
sūra- 157
tava (pers.pron.gen.sg.) 134
tayā (pers.pron.instr.sg.) 134
telasa 111
teḷasa 111
terasa 111
tevīsa 115
tēsattati- 119
tēsaṭṭhi- 119
tiṃsa(ti)- 116
tiṇṇi 109
tīṇi 109
tuma- 145
tvayā (pers.pron.instr.sg.) 134
ṭhāna- 156
ṭhito- (part.pret.) 203
uṭṭhāya (abs.) 212
vajati (3.sg.pres.) 173
vara- 75
vāta- 68
vijju- 131
vikkiṇā- (pres.stem) 44
vīhi- 131
vīsaṁ 114
vīsati- 114
yakkha- 3
yāma- 49
yāti (3.sg.pres.) 49
yātrā- 49
-yya (cond.conj.) 241

Prakrits

aa- 49
acchinā (instr.sg.) 61
amba- 31
aṇṇa- 152
appa- (refl.pron.) 130
appā (refl.pron.nom.) 130
-assa (gen.ending) 57
atta- (refl.pron.) 130
attā (refl.pron.nom.) 130
aṭhattariṁ 119
aṭṭārasa 113
aṭṭha 109, 117
aṭṭhadasa 113
aṭṭhahattari- 119
aṭṭhahattariṁ 119
aṭṭhaṁ 57
aṭṭhasaṭṭhiṁ 119
aṭṭhavaṇṇa 119
aṭṭhāṇauiṁ 120
aṭṭhārasa 113
aṭṭhāsīiṁ 120
aṭṭhāvīsaṁ 115
aṭṭhāya (dat.) 57
aüṇavīsaṁ 113
avaḍa- 36
aya- 49
āaa- (part.pret.) 207
āaria- (.) 66
ādā (refl.pron.nom.) 130
āgamamīna- (part.pres.med. AMg.) 197
-āna(ṃ) (gen.pl.ending) 70
ātā (refl.pron.nom.) 130
-āve- (caus.suff.) 170
āyariya- (AMg.JM.) 66
āyā (refl.pron.nom.) 130
bahira- 21
bandha- (pres.stem) 204
bāhattari- 119
bāraha 111
bārasa 111
bāsaṭṭhi 119
bāsaṭṭhiṁ 119
bāvannaṁ 118
bāvaṇṇa 118
bāvaṇṇaṁ 118
bāvattariṁ 119
bāvīsaṁ 114
bāyālīsaṁ 118
bē 109
bhesajja- 21, 50
bhinna (part.pret.) 204
bhūa- (part.pret.) 208
bhūmī- 26
bhūya- (part.pret.) 208
buddhī- 42, 104
buḍḍha- 42
cattālīsaṁ 116
cattāro 109
caüddaha 112
cauddasa 112
caüddasa 112
cauhattari 119
cauvvīsa 115
cavala- 23, 32
cālīsaṁ 116
cha 109
chappannaṁ 119
chasaṭṭhiṁ 119
chavvīsaṁ 115
chāvattariṁ 119
chāyālīsaṁ 118
coddaha 112
coddasa 112
daha 110
dasa 110
dhūma- 20
dinna- (part.pret.) 205
dīva- 131
doṇa- 20
dō 109
dōṇī- 20
duvālasa 122
duve 109
egārasa 111
ekāvaṇṇa 118
ĕkka- 109
ekkaṇauiṁ 120
ekkaṇauī 120
ekkavīsaī 114
ekkavīsaṁ 114
ekkārasa 111, 118
ekkāsīi 119
ekkāvannaṁ 118
ekkāvaṇṇa 118
ēï (3.sg.pres.) 207
ēkasattarī- 119
gaa- (part.pret.) 207
gāma- 19
geha- 67
hijjo (adv.) 43
hio (adv.) 43
iguṇavīsaṁ 113
iguṇīvīsaṁ 113
ima- (dem.pron.) 147
-ittā (abs.ending) 211
iṭṭagā- 20
iṭṭā- 20
jattā- 49
jāi (3.sg.pres.) 49
jāma- 49
jīvi(y)a- 50
kaḍa- (part.pret. AMg.) 208
kamma(n)- 53
kammāra- 31
kaṇṭaa- 23
kaya- (part.pret.) 208
khaṇai (3.sg.pres.) 203
khuḍḍa- 163
lohiya- 27
macchiā- 25
mae (pers.pron.instr.sg.) 129
magara- 22
mahu- 24
majjha- 26, 50
manda- 163

maṇā (adv.) 54
maṇi- 137
maṭṭiyā- 26
mayara- 22
mayā (pers.pron.instr.sg.) 129
muddā- 23
nauiṃ 117
nauī 117
nava 110
ṇatthi (3.sg.pres.neg.) 208
ṇāma- 241
paḍala- 35
pañca 109
pañcahattarī- 119
pañcasaṭṭhiṃ 119
pañcattariṃ 119
pañcavannaṃ 119
pannārasa 112
paṇavīsaī 115
paṇavīsaṃ 115
paṇayālīsā 118
paṇṇaraha 112
paṇṇarasa 112
paṇṇayālīsa 118
paṇṇāsaṃ 116
patta- 67
pāa- 21, 68
pāya- 21, 68
phala- 67
phāṇiya- 26
rasa- 21
rāī- 25, 68
sada- 121
sahasa- 121
sahassa- 121
sanna- (part.pret.) 204
satta 109
satta- 58
sattadasa 113
sattahattariṃ 119
sattarasa 113
sattariṃ 117
sattasaṭṭhi- 119
sattavannaṃ 119
sattālīsaṃ 118
sattāṇauiṃ 120
sattāsīiṃ 120
sattāvīsaṃ 115
saṭṭhī 117
savva- 58
siyāla- 32
sīmā- 32
solaha 113
solasa 113
soḷasa 112
sōa- 68
sōya- 68
suandha- 32
sūara- 20
sūya- 20
taĕ (pers.pron.instr.sg.) 134
tava (pers.pron.gen.sg.) 134
teraha 111
terasa 111
tevīsaṃ 115
/tēra/ 111
/tēraha/ 111
/tērasa/ 111
tēsaṭṭhiṃ 119
tēvannaṃ 119
tēvaṇṇaṃ 119
tēyālīsaṃ 118
tēyāsī 120
triśa (Niya-Pkt.) 116
-ttā (abs.ending) 211
tuha (pers.pron.gen.) 134
vaṁjai (3.sg.pres.) 173
vara- 75
vāa- 68
vāvī- 25
vāya- 68
-ve- (caus.suff.) 170
vikkiṇa- (pres.stem) 44
viṃsadi 114
vīhi- 131
vīsaī 114
vīsaṃ 114
vīsā 114

Other Middle Indic varieties

aa- 49
acchinā (instr.sg.) 61
amba- 31
aṇṇa- 152
appa- (refl.pron.) 130
appā (refl.pron.nom.) 130
-assa (gen.ending) 57
atta- (refl.pron.) 130
attā (refl.pron.nom.) 130
aṭhattariṃ 119
aṭṭārasa 113
aṭṭha 109, 117
aṭṭhadasa 113
aṭṭhahattari- 119
aṭṭhahattariṃ 119
aṭṭhaṃ 57
aṭṭhasaṭṭhiṃ 119
aṭṭhavaṇṇa 119
aṭṭhāṇauiṃ 120
aṭṭhārasa 113
aṭṭhāsīiṃ 120
aṭṭhāvīsaṃ 115
aṭṭhāya (dat.) 57
aüṇavīsaṃ 113
avaḍa- 36
aya- 49
āaa- (part.pret.) 207
āaria- (.) 66
ādā (refl.pron.nom.) 130
āgamamīna- (part.pres.med. AMg.) 197
-āna(ṃ) (gen.pl.ending) 70
ātā (refl.pron.nom.) 130
-āve- (caus.suff.) 170
āyariya- (AMg.JM.) 66
āyā (refl.pron.nom.) 130
bahira- 21
bandha- (pres.stem) 204
bāhattari- 119
bāraha 111
bārasa 111
bāsaṭṭhi 119
bāsaṭṭhiṃ 119
bāvannaṃ 118
bāvaṇṇa 118
bāvaṇṇaṃ 118
bāvattariṃ 119
bāvīsaṃ 114
bāyālīsaṃ 118
bē 109
bhesajja- 21, 50
bhinna (part.pret.) 204
bhūa- (part.pret.) 208
bhūmī- 26
bhūya- (part.pret.) 208
buddhī- 42, 104
buḍḍha- 42
cattālīsaṃ 116
cattāro 109
caüddaha 112
cauddasa 112
caüddasa 112
cauhattari 119
cauvvīsa 115
cavala- 23, 32
cālīsaṃ 116
cha 109
chappannaṃ 119
chasaṭṭhiṃ 119
chavvīsaṃ 115
chāvattariṃ 119
chāyālīsaṃ 118
coddaha 112
coddasa 112
daha 110
dasa 110
dhūma- 20
dinna- (part.pret.) 205

dīva- 131
doṇa- 20
dō 109
dōṇī- 20
duvālasa 122
duve 109
egārasa 111
ekāvaṇṇa 118
ĕkka- 109
ekkaṇauiṃ 120
ekkaṇauī 120
ekkavīsaï 114
ekkavīsaṃ 114
ekkārasa 111, 118
ekkāsīi 119
ekkāvannaṃ 118
ekkāvaṇṇa 118
ēï (3.sg.pres.) 207
ēkasattarī- 119
gaa- (part.pret.) 207
gāïṃa- 19
geha- 67
hijjo (adv.) 43
hio (adv.) 43
iguṇavīsaṃ 113
iguṇīvīsaṃ 113
ima- (dem.pron.) 147
-ittā (abs.ending) 211
iṭṭagā- 20
iṭṭā- 20
jattā- 49
jāi (3.sg.pres.) 49
jāma- 49
jīvi(y)a- 50
kaḍa- (part.pret. AMg.) 208
kamma(n)- 53
kammāra- 31
kaṇṭaa- 23
kaya- (part.pret.) 208
khaṇai (3.sg.pres.) 203
khuḍḍa- 163
lohiya- 27
macchiā- 25
mae (pers.pron.instr.sg.) 129
magara- 22
mahu- 24
majjha- 26, 50
manda- 163
maṇā (adv.) 54
maṇi- 137
maṭṭiyā- 26
mayara- 22
mayā (pers.pron.instr.sg.) 129
muddā- 23
nauiṃ 117
nauī 117
nava 110
ṇatthi (3.sg.pres.neg.) 208
ṇāma- 241
paḍala- 35
pañca 109
pañcahattarī- 119
pañcasaṭṭhiṃ 119
pañcattariṃ 119
pañcavannaṃ 119
pannārasa 112
paṇavīsaï 115
paṇavīsaṃ 115
paṇayālīsā 118
paṇṇaraha 112
paṇṇarasa 112
paṇṇayālīsa 118
paṇṇāsaṃ 116
patta- 67
pāa- 21, 68
pāya- 21, 68
phala- 67
phāṇiya- 26
rasa- 21
rāï- 25, 68
sada- 121
sahasa- 121
sahassa- 121
sanna- (part.pret.) 204
satta 109
satta- 58
sattadasa 113
sattahattariṃ 119
sattarasa 113
sattariṃ 117
sattasaṭṭhi- 119
sattavannaṃ 119
sattālīsaṃ 118
sattāṇauiṃ 120
sattāsīiṃ 120
sattāvīsaṃ 115
saṭṭhī 117
savva- 58
siyāla- 32
sīmā- 32
solaha 113
solasa 113
soḷasa 112
sōa- 68
sōya- 68
suandha- 32
sūara- 20
sūya- 20
taē (pers.pron.instr.sg.) 134
tava (pers.pron.gen.sg.) 134
teraha 111
terasa 111
tevīsaṃ 115
/tēra/ 111
/tēraha/ 111
/tērasa/ 111
tēsaṭṭhiṃ 119
tēvannaṃ 119
tēvaṇṇaṃ 119
tēyālīsaṃ 118
tēyāsī 120
triśa (Niya-Pkt.) 116
-ttā (abs.ending) 211
tuha (pers.pron.gen.) 134
vaṁjai (3.sg.pres.) 173
vara- 75
vāa- 68
vāvī- 25
vāya- 68
-ve- (caus.suff.) 170
vikkiṇa- (pres.stem) 44
viṃsadi 114
vīhi- 131
vīsaï 114
vīsaṃ 114
vīsā 114

Modern Indo-Aryan languages:

Assamese

bāra 111
pondara 112
tera 111
trix 116

Bengali

āṭāsi 120
bāra 111
bhaṭā 23
cabbiś 115
chābbīś 115
chiyāsi 120

codda 112
curānabbai 120
egāra 111
ekānai 120
ekāsi 119
ekāttar 119
panera 112
ponera 112
tera 111
tetrīś 118
tris 116
unis 113

Gujarati

ārtrīs 118
batrīs 118
chattrīs 118
chavvis 115
paçyāśī 120
panara 112
pañjahatari 119
sattāvīś 115
satyāśī 120
soḷ 113
tera 111
tetris 118
trīś 116
vīs 114

Hindi / Urdu

aṭhārah 113
aṭ(ṭ)hāsī 120
-ā (part.suff.) 218
ānā 222
bahattar 119
baiṭhnā 222
bayālīs 118
bayāsī 119
bāz (Urdu) 66
bāīs 109, 114
bārah 109, 111
bārā 111
bīs 114
calnā 222
caubīs 115
caudah 112
cauhattar 119
caurāsī 120
chabbīs 115
chiyānawe 120
chiyāsī 120
ciṭṭhī 33
dasgunā 125
denā 222
dugunā 125
ḍālnā 222
ekānwe 120
gun 125
gunā 125
hindol(ā) 20
igārah 110
ik-hattar 119
ikkāīs 114
īṭ 20
jānā 222
kamugati 19
le ānā 224
le jānā 224
lenā 222
mehmān (Urdu) 91
nāraṇgī (Urdu) 66
nikalnā 222
pahuṃcnā 222
pandrah 112
paṛnā 222
pānā 222
rakhnā 222
satāsī 120
satrah 113
solah 113
solā 113
-tā (part.suff.) 218
terah 111
tigunā 125
tihattar 119
tīs 116
un(n)īs 113
uṭhnā 222

Marathi

bāhattar 119
bāvīs 115
bevīs 115
ćaurehattar 119
ćauryāṇṇav 120
ćauryāśī 120
ekoṇīs 113
ekuṇīs 113
ekuṇvīs 113
paçyāsī 120
soḷā 113
teīs 115
terā 111
vīs 114

Nepali

bayāsi 119
cauhattar 119
ekāis 114
tera 111
tihattar 119

Oriya

bāra 111
bayāasi 119
caürāḷiśa 118
chaasaṭhi 119
chayālisa 118
chayānabe 120
egāra 111
ekāsi 119
pañcāḷīsa 118
tera 111
teyāasi 120
teyālisa 118
triśa 116

Panjabi

akāhat 119
aṭhahaṭ 119
bāhaṭ 119
biāṇvę 120
satārą̃ 113
vañjṇā 173

Sindhi

chāhaṭhi 119
ekahaṭṭhi 119
jjātō 207
satahaṭhi 119

Sinhālese

-∅ (3.sg.ending) 175
aṁba 31, 158
aṁbu- 31, 158
aṁdinavā 204
aṁga 69
-aha (gen./dat.ending) 57, 58
-ahaṭ (dat.ending) 58
-ak (indef.suff.) 71, 108
-ak (indef.suff.fem.) . . 71, 73, 74
-ak (indef.suff.inanim.) 74
-ak (indef.suff.ntr.) 71, 73
-ak (indef.suff.ntr.obl.) . . . 71, 73
-aka (indef.suff.fem.obl.) . . 71, 73
-aku (indef.suff.masc.obl.) . 71, 73
ambaraṇin (abl.) 60
ammāvaru (pl.) 74
-an (plur.suff.) 70
an- (pron.adj.) 152, 163
-ana (gen.pl.ending) 57, 70
-anaṭ (dat.pl.ending) 58
anik- (pron.adj.) 163
anikā (pron.adj.) 152
anikī (pron.adj.) 152
-annaṭ (inf.ending) 191
-annaṭa (inf.ending) 191
-anu (inf.ending) 192
-anuvaṭa (inf.ending) 191
anū 117
anūva 117
apa (pers.pron.obl.) 130
api (pers.pron.) 130
ara- (dem.pron.) 146
ara-gannavā 224
araṃ (abs.) 224
aran-äti (abs. + 3.sg.pres.) . . . 224
-asa (gen./dat.ending) 57, 58
asā (abs.) 212
asū 117
asūva 117
ata 130
-ataye (dat.suff.) 57
atin (abl.) 60
-aṭ (dat.ending) 58
aṭa 109, 125
-aṭa (dat.ending) 57, 58
aṭaloha 113
aṭalos- 113
aṭalosa 113
aṭara 113
aṭarasa 113
-aṭaya (dat.ending) 57
aṭen (abl.) 125
aṭen paṃguva 125
aṭen tunpaṃguva 125
avud (abs.) 215
avuj (abs.) 215
avut (abs.) 215
-ay (abs.ending) 212
-aya (abs.ending; Sinh.Pkt.) . . 211
-ā (abs.ending) 212, 213
-ā (def.suff.) 69
ā (part.pret.) 207
āp (pers.pron.) 130
ā-pu (part.pret.) 223
-ä (gen.ending) 55, 57
-ä (loc.ending) 57
äṁdi (part.pret.) 204
äduru 66
äha 61
ähi- 61
-än (abl.ending) 61
-äna (abl.ending) 61
-äni (abl.ending) 61
äs- 61
äsa 61
äsin (abl.) 60
äta (3.sg.pres.) 138, 208
äti (3.sg.pres.) 105, 138, 178, 186, 208, 224
ävit (abs.) 215
ã (pers.pron.f.) 139, 148
bada (part.pret.) 204
badina (part.pres.) 199
baṁdinavā 204, 223
bahinavā 201
bala (2.sg.impv.) 183
bala-balā (red.abs.) 215
balalā (abs.) 224
balamha (1.pl.impv.) 183
balamin (ger.) 218
balan (inf.) 191, 193
balana- 178
balana (part.pres.) 179, 199
balanaṭa (inf.) 191-193, 195
balanavā 189, 191, 224, 241
balannaṭa (inf.) 191, 195
balannā (part.pres.subst.) 179
balannāha (3.pl.fut.) 179
balannāhu (2.pl.fut.) 179
balannehi (2.sg.fut.) 179
balannem (1.sg.fut.) 179
balannemi (1.sg.fut.) 179
balannemu (1.pl.fut.) 179
balannē (3.sg.fut.) 179
balannō (3.pl.fut.) 179
balaṇṭa (inf.) . 191, 193, 195, 241
balanu (inf.) 191, 193
balav (2.pl.impv.) 183
balava (2.sg.impv.) 183
balay (abs.) 212
balā (abs.) 212, 218
balāpallā (2.pl.impv.) 189
balāpan (2.sg.impv.) 189
balāpiya (2.sg.impv.) 189
balāpiyav (2.pl.impv.) 189
baḷal- 97
baḷalā 97
bara 61, 111, 122
barin (abl.) 61
baṭu- 23
bāgaya 125
bäṁda (abs.) 213
bäṁda-damanavā 224
bäṁda-gannavā 223
bälilla (vb.n.) 196
bälīma (vb.n.) 196
bälma (vb.n.) 196
bälu (part.pret.) 174, 202
bäluma (vb.n.) 196
bäluvem (1.sg.pret.) 179
bändä (abs.) 213
behed- 21, 50
beheda 21, 50
behet- 21, 50
beheta 21, 50
biṁdinavā 204
bihiri 21
bik 28
bim 26
bimä (loc.) 57
bimin (abl.) 60

bī (abs.) 215
bī (part.pret.) 207
bīpu (part.pret.) 223
bīri 21
bonavā 207, 223
brahaspatindā 37
bṛhaspatindā 37
bun (part.pret.) 204
daṁba 60
daṁbadiva (top.) 60
daha 110, 121
daha-aṭa 113
daha-hata 113
daha-hatara 112
daha-nama 114
daha-namaya 114
daha-nava 114
daha-navaya 114
dahas 121
dahasa 121
daha-saya 113
daha-tun- 111
daha-tuna 111
dakinavā 203, 223, 224
dakinu (inf.) 223
dama 28
damanavā 184, 224
danimi (1.sg.pres.) 172
danmi (1.sg.pres.) 172
dannavā 207
dannu (inf.) 223
dasa 110, 121
dat (part.pret.) 207
dānavā 224
dās 121
däka-däka (red.abs.) 215
däka-gannu (inf.) 223
däkalā (abs.) 224
däka-piyanavā 223
däkä (abs.) 213, 224
dän (adv.) 25, 250
däna-gannu (inf.) 223
de-guṇa 125
deka 109
dekak 108
denavā 189, 223
denā 108
deṇa 27
depaṭa 125
des- 60
desa 60
desen (abl.) 60
desin (abl.) 60
de-tun 125
devarak 125
devisi- 115
devissa 115
devuvā (pret.) 206
diallā (2.pl.impv.) 189
diva 131
divayina 131
divi 50
divu- 131
divu (part.pret.) 202
divu- (pret.stem) 27
diyan (2.sg.impv.) 189
diyen (abl.) 60
dī (abs.) 215
dīpallā (2.pl.impv.) 189
dīpan (2.sg.impv.) 189
dīpiya (2.sg.impv.) 189
dī-piyanavā 223
dīpiyav (2.pl.impv.) 189
doḷaha 111, 122
doḷos- 110, 111, 113, 122
dōvanavā 206
dum- 19
duma 19
dun (part.pret.) 205
duṭu (part.pret.) 203
duva- (pres.stem) 27
duvanavā 202
dūpata 131
dūva 131
dvi-guṇa 125
dvīpaya 131
e- (dem.pron.) 137, 147
-e (nom.ending) 69
-ehi (gen./loc.ending) 56
ek- 109, 124
-ek (indef.suff.) 69, 71, 163
-ek (indef.suff.anim.) 74
-ek (indef.suff.masc.) 71, 73
-ek (indef.suff.ntr.) 71, 73
eka 109
ekak 108
ekoḷos- 110, 111, 113
ekuntis- 115
ekuntisa 115, 116
ekunvisi 114
ekunvissa 114
ekvisi- 114
ekvissa 114
-en (abl.ending) 60, 61
-ena (abl.ending) 61
enavā 207, 223, 224
-eni (abl.ending) 61
-enu (inf.ending) 192
eya (pers.pron.ntr.) 148
eyā (pers.pron.) 139
eyā (pers.pron.m.) 139, 148
ē- (dem.pron.) 137, 146, 147
-ē (gen./loc.ending) 56, 57
-ga (2.sg.impv.ending) 183
gam- 19
gama 19
gamaṭ (dat.) 58
gamä (loc.) 57
gamē (gen./loc.) 56
gannavā . . 201, 207, 223-225, 227
gaṇinavā 125
gat- 67
gat (part.pret.) 205, 207
gāvā 100
gāya 67
gämin (abl.) 60
ge (postpos.) 56
-gen (abl.suff.) 61
gena (abs.) 213, 225
gena-enavā 224, 230
gena-gihillā (abs.) 225
gena-yanavā 224, 225, 229
genā-giyapu (abs. + 3.sg.pret.) 225
genēnavā 224
geniyanavā 224
geya 55
geyi (loc.) 55
gē 67
-gē (gen.ending) 55, 56
gēnavā 224
gihillā (abs.) 224, 225, 241
gihillā äti (abs. + 3.sg.pres.) . . 224
gihin (abs.) 214, 224, 225
giya- (part.pret.) 207
giyā (part.pret.) 241
giyā (pret.) 225
gohin (abs.) 214
gos (abs.) 214, 215
gosin (abs.) 214
gotanu (inf.) 224
gotā-lanu (inf.) 224
goviyā-gē (loc.) 55
-guṇa (num.suff.) 125
gū 68
ha- 109
-ha (3.pl.ending) 175
haṁda 31, 32, 50
haṁdinavā 204
hat- 109
hata 109
hatalis- 116
hataḷis- 116
hatara 109
hataren paṃguva 125
hataru 109
haturu 66
-haṭa (dat.ending) 58
hav- (pron.adj.) 51
haya 109
häṁdi (part.pret.) 204
hättā 117
häṭa 117
-hi (2.sg.ending) 168, 175
-hi (gen.ending) 55
hiṁdinavā 204
hima 32
hira- 157

hiri- 157
hiru- 157
hiṭa-pu (part.pret.) 223
hiṭi (part.pret.) 203
hiṭinavā 44, 203, 223, 224
hiṭinu (part.pret.) 205
hivalā 32
hot (part.pret.) 206
hovinava 205
hoya 68
hōdanavā 223
hōdā-gannavā 223
hōnavā 205
hu- 20
-hu (2.pl.ending) . . . 168, 175, 183
-hu (gen.ending) 55
huya 20
hūrā 20
hūru- 20
-i (abs.ending) 211, 212
iṁdinavā 204, 224
iṁdu-va 20
iñgu 42
iñguru 31
ik- 42
-illa (vb.n.suff.) 196
ima 32
-in (abl.ending) 60, 61
-in (plur.suff.) 70
-ina (abl.ending) 61
-ini (abl.ending) 61
innavā 204, 224
ira- 157
iri- 157
iru- 157
-ī (part.pret.suff.) 202, 208
-īma (vb.n.suff.) 196
īyē (adv.) 43
-k (indef.suff.) 69
kaṁburu 31
kaḍaya (abs.; Sinh.Pkt.) 211
kal- 157, 255
kala (conj.) 255
kaḷa (part.pret.) 36, 208
kam- 133
kama 53, 133
kanavaya (abs.; Sinh.Pkt.) . . . 211
kanavā 208
kaninavā 203
(kaṇinavā) 203
kapa-kapā (red.abs.) 215
kapa-kapā unim (red.abs. + 1. sg.pres.) 225
kapamin iṁdim (ger. + 1.sg. pres.) 225
kapamin unim (ger. + 1.sg. pres.) 225
kapannemi (1.sg.fut.) 179
kapā-damanavā 224
kara 61
kara (abs.) 215, 238
karanavā 238, 255
karaṇṭa (inf.) 241
karanu (inf.) 214
karavaya (abs.; Sinh.Pkt.) . . . 211
karavā-piyanu (inf.) 223
karay (abs.) 212
kaṭu (abs., Sinh.Pkt.) 215
kaṭu-va 23
kā (abs.) 215
kämiyan keren (abl.pl.) 61
kämiyan (obl.pl.) 61
kännā (pret.) 203
kā (part.pret.) 208
keḷa (part.pret.) 208
keḷi (part.pret.) 203
keḷinavā 203
keren (abl.) 61
keṭu (part.pret.) 202
ki-kala (interr.pron.) 157
kiyannaṭa (inf.) 184
kiyat 50
kiyat- 50
kiyata (nom.sg.) 50
kiyāpallā (2.pl.impv.) 189
kiyāpan (2.sg.impv.) 189
kiyāpiya (2.sg.impv.) 189
kiyāpiyav (2.pl.impv.) 189
koṭ (abs.) 215
koṭa (abs.) . . . 214, 215, 238, 255
koṭa (conj.) 255
koṭanavā 202
koṭu (abs.) 215
kudu 163
kuḍā 163
kulen (abl.) 60
kuma- (interr.pron.stem) 159
kumak- (interr.pron.) 159
kumaṭ (interr.pron.dat.) 159
kumaṭa (interr.pron.dat.) 159
kusen (abl.) 60
kusin (abl.) 60
lamayā (nom.sg.def.) 241
lanavā 224-226
lā (abs.) 224
-lā (abs.suff.) 225
lehe 27
lē 27
liyanavā 22, 223
liyā-pu (part.pret.) 223
lī (part.pret.) 224
-lī (part.pret.suff.) 225
lū (part.pret.) 224
-lū (part.pret.suff.) 225
-m (1.sg.ending) 168, 175
-ma (emph.partc.) 161
maṁda 163
magul-a 31
maṁgul-a 31
maha- 106
maharad'haṭ (dat.) 58
maha-saṁgnaṭ (dat.pl.) 58
malē (gen./loc.) 56
mama (pers.pron.) 241
maṭa (pers.pron.dat.) 241
mā- 106
mā (pers.pron.obl.) 129
mäda 26, 50, 163
mähi- 25, 40
mäṇa 137
mäṇik- 137
mäṇika 137
mäsi- 25, 40
mässā 40
mäṭi 26
mäṭi- 59
me- (dem.pron.) 147
mehe-karuvanṭa (dat.pl.) 58
men (adv.) 70
mē- (dem.pron.) 146, 147
-mha (1.pl.ending) 168, 175
-mi (1.sg.ending) 168, 175
-min (ger.suff.) 197, 218
minihā (nom.sg.def.) 71
minihek (nom.sg.indef.) 71
minisnaṭ (dat.pl.) 58
miṇa 137
mit- 66
mituranaṭa (dat.pl.) 58
mituru 66
miṭi- 26, 137
mī- 24, 97
mīyā 97
-mō (1.pl.ending) 175
mōra- 22
-mu (1.pl.ending) 168, 175
mudu- 23
muḷu (pron.adj.) 162
muvara- 22
-na (part.pres.suff.) 199
nam- 241
nam (cond.conj.) 241
nama 71, 241
nama- 110
namak (nom.sg.indef.) 71
namaya 110
naṭu 24
naṭuva 24
nava- 110
navaya 110
-nā (inf.ending) 192
nät (3.sg.pres.neg.) 208
näti (3.sg.pres.neg.) 208
näṭu (part.pret.) 202
-nen (abl.ending) 61
-ni (abl.ending) 61
nikmavanavā 205

nikmenavā 205
nikut (part.pret.) 205
nil 19
nimavay (abs.) 212
nimavā (abs.) 212
nuvara (obl.) 241
onā 104
ot (part.pret.) 206
oya 68
oya- (dem.pron.) 146, 147
ō 68
ō- (dem.pron.) 146, 147
paha 109
pahaḷoha 112
pahaḷos- 112, 113
pahaḷosa 112
pala 67
paḷlā (2.pl.impv.) 223
-pallā (impv.suff.) 189
pallī- 43
pallīva 43
paḷamu 123
paḷamuveni 124
paḷamuveniyā 124
paḷaveni 124
paṃguva 125
pan (2.sg.impv.) 223
-pan (impv.suff.) 189
panaha 116
panas 110, 116, 123
panasa 116
-panna (impv.suff.) 189
pansālis 118
paṇara 110, 112
paṇuvā 23, 35
papu- 41
parapuren (abl.) 60
pas- 109
pasa 109
pasvisi- 110, 115, 122
pasvissa 115
pat- 67
pata 67
paya 68
pā- 42, 68
pän 25, 59
päni 26, 35
päṇi 26, 35
penena (part.pres.) 199
peni-penī (red.abs.) 216
pipenavā 212, 224
pipilā (abs.) 224
pipī (abs.) 212
pirihun (part.pret.) 209
pirihuṇu (part.pret.) 209
pirimi 132
piṭa 42
piṭi 42
piya (2.sg.impv.) 223
-piya (impv.suff.) 189
-piyan (impv.suff.) 189
piyanavā 223-225
piyanu (inf.) 189
piyav (2.pl.impv.) 224
-piyav (impv.suff.) 189
-piyava (impv.suff.) 189
pī (part.pret.) 223, 224
-pī (part.pret.suff.) 225
pupphusa 41
puris 132
pū (part.pret.) 223, 224
-pū (part.pret.suff.) 225
rad 50
rada 50
⟨raja⟩ 50
rat 50
raṭaväsi- 37
raṭaväsiyā 37
rā 21
räya 68
rā- 25, 68
ruva 105
rū- 105
sa- 109
sañda 31, 32, 50
sañga 28, 57
⟨sagaha aṭaya⟩ (dat.) 57
⟨sagaha aṭaye⟩ (dat.) 57
sagahaṭa (dat.) 58
⟨sagahaṭa⟩ (dat.) 57
*sagaṭa (dat.) 57
*sagaṭāya (dat.) 57
sahasa- (Sinh.Pkt.) 121
sat- 58, 109
satalis- 116
sataḷis- 116
sataḷos- 113
satanaṭa (dat.pl.) 58
satara 109
satar(a)visi- 115
satar(a)vissa 115
satā 58, 109
saturu 66
sav- (pron.adj.) 58
sava satanaṭa (dat.) 58
savisi- 115
savissa 115
saya 109
sālis- 116
sāḷis- 116
sättā 117
säṭa 117
sävulā 23, 32
sen 157
senevi 157
senevirada 157
sidu 31
siñdu 31
sima 32
siṭinavā 224
sivalā 32
siya 121
siyaya 121
soḷasa 112
soḷos- 112, 113
soḷosa 112
soya 68
sō 68
suvañda 32
-t (2.pl.ending) 168
tabanavā 243
tamā (refl.pron.) 145
tan 156
tā (pers.pron.obl.) 133, 134
täḷu (part.pret.) 202
te-guṇa 125
teḷes- 111
teḷesa 111
temi (part.pret.) 209
temuṇu (part.pret.) 175, 209
tera 28, 111
tevarak 125
tevisi- 115
tevissa 115
-ti (2.pl.ending) 168
tibanavā 243
tibenavā 212, 225, 241, 243
tibenu (inf.) 225
tibī (abs.) 212
tibuṇā (part.pret.) 241
tiha 116
tis- 116
tisa 116
tiyenavā 212, 225, 243
tō (pers.pron.) 133
tri-guṇa 125
tudus- 112
tudusa 112
tumā (refl.pron.) 145
tun- 109
tuna 109
tunak 108
tundenā 108
tunpaṭa 125
tunveniyā 124
-ṭa (dat.ending) 57, 58, 191
-u (gen.ending) 55
-u (part.pret.suff.) 208
ugu 42
uk- 42
uk-daṇḍa 42
uḷu 20
uḷu kätaya 20
-uma (vb.n.suff.) 196
un (part.pret.) 204
-un (plur.suff.) 70
-uṇu (part.pret.suff.) 208

ūrā 20
ūru- 20
-v (2.pl.impv.ending) 183
-va (2.pl.impv.ending) 183
-va (2.sg.impv.ending) 183
-va- (caus.suff.) 170
vadānakī (nom.sg. + foc. marker? Sinh.Pkt.) 73
vadinavā 205
vadinu (inf.) 172
vadnā (inf.) 172, 192, 196
vaḍanavā 172, 201, 206
vaḷa 35
van (part.pret.) 175, 205
-vana (ord.suff.) 123
-vanna (ord.suff.) 123
vañanu (inf.) 173
-varu (plur.suff.) 74
-varun (plur.suff.gen.) 74
vasaṇavā 200
vaṭṭanī 206
vāvulā 23
vā- 68
vä (abs.) 215
väl- 25
väsiyā 38
väṭenavā 206
väv- 25
vehera 157
venavā 208, 237
-veni (ord.suff.) 123, 124
vidu 131
virenavā 224
virī-yanu (abs. + part.pret.) . . 224
viru 131
visi- 110, 114, 131
visi-de- 115
visi-deka 115
visi-ek- 114
visi-eka 114
visi-nama- 116
visi-namaya 116
visi-nava- 116
visi-navaya 116
vissa 114, 131
viya 131
vī- 131
vī (abs.) 215
-vu (2.pl.ending) 168, 183
vuṇu (part.pret.) 209, 237
vuu kali 73
vū (part.pret.) 208, 237
-y (3.sg.ending) 168
ya 49
-yahu (gen.ending) 55
yakā 3
-yallā (impv.suff.) 189
yam (rel.pron.) 52
yama 49
-yan (impv.suff.) 189
yanavā 11, 49, 207, 214, 224, 225, 241
yanu (inf.) 189
yaturu- 49
yaṭa 49
-yi (2.sg.ending) 168
-yi (3.sg.ending) 168

Other Modern Indo-Aryan languages

Hindki jjātā 207
Hindki jjāṇiā 207
Konkani phaḷa 67
Lahnda jātā 207
Lahnda vañjaṇ 173

Arabic

ʿuḫt 36, 66
adab 104
amāna 104
amānāt (pl.) 104
ahl 90
bāzār 45
bāqin 154, 155, 160
bāmiā 89
bāmiat 89
badal 164
badala 164
billaurī 42
ballūrī 42
bē 136
(beyk) 136
tārīḫ 45
tarǧamat 37
taʿlīm 107, 149
taqwā 104
ḥaraka 104
ḥarakāt (pl.) 104
ḥisāb 61
ḥasad 104
Ḥasan (p.n.) 135
Ḥusain (p.n.) 32
ḥaqīqī 45, 103
ḥayāt 164
ḫādim 45, 133
ḫādima 45
duʿā' 81
al-dībağāt 5
ḏībat al-maḥal 5
raḥmat 81
zīnat 104
suʾāl 61
Sālih (p.n.) 116
sirr 43
šāy 68
šukr 104
šahīd 91
ṣūrat 90, 148
ʿādat 20
ʿilm 36
faqīr 45, 54, 103
fikr 37, 138
qaṣd 36
qamīṣ 33
mudarris 42
mausim 33
makka (top.) 60
muwaẓẓaf 42
naṣīb 104
naṣīḥat 25
hiǧrat 59
wazn 188
waqt 37
yaqīn 49
yaumīyāt 49

Persian

ālu-boxārā 45
bāz 23, 66
bāzār 45
bāǧča 45, 88
bāmiya 89
tāza 45, 103
tayyār 42
ǧādū 67
čāy 68
šahīd 91
mehmān 91
mīva 88
nārenǧ 66
nārangī 66
nāring 66
namāz 45
hafta 36, 89

Other languages

Engl. ananas 32
Engl. cigarette 31
Engl. order 20
Engl. screw 37
Engl. secretary 91
Engl. to hammer 219
Engl. toddy 21
Engl. waiter 91
Engl. yacht 49
Fr. chez 131
Germ. gelegen 203
Lat. casā (abl.) 131
Lat. hic 146, 147, 149, 150
Lat. ille 137, 139, 146, 147, 149, 150
Lat. iste 136, 139, 146, 147, 149, 150
PIE: *-mh$_1$no- (part.med.suff.) 197
Pol. pan 136
Pol. pani 136
Russ. bagrit' (ipfv.) 221
Russ. govorit' (ipfv.) . . 216, 220
Russ. mazat' (ipfv.) 220
Russ. namazat' (pfv.) 220
Russ. napisat' (pfv.) 220
Russ. narisovat' (pfv.) 220
Russ. nažat' (pfv.) 220
Russ. obagrit' (pfv.) 221
Russ. obagrjat' (ipfv.) 221
Russ. otkryt' (pfv.) 216
Russ. otkryvat' (ipfv.) 216
Russ. pisat' (ipfv.) 220
Russ. podzabyt' (pfv.) 220
Russ. porabotat' (pfv.) 220
Russ. prorabotat' (pfv.) 220
Russ. rabotat' (ipv.) 220
Russ. risovat' (ipfv.) 220
Russ. skazat' (pfv.) 216
Russ. zabyt' (pfv.) 220
Russ. zagovorit' (pfv.) 220
Turk. beg 136
Turk. bey 136