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Towards a Historical Phonology of Maldivian
Sonja FRITZ – Jost GIPPERT, Frankfurt a.M.

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sunday</th>
<th>Monday</th>
<th>Tuesday</th>
<th>Wednesday</th>
<th>Thursday</th>
<th>Friday</th>
<th>Saturday</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ādītu</td>
<td>hōma</td>
<td>aṅgāra</td>
<td>buda</td>
<td>burāsfaṭi</td>
<td>hukuru</td>
<td>honihiru</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

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


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

4 MONIER-WILLIAMS, 943 s.v. 2.vāra gives the following list: Āditya-, Soma-, Māṅgala-, Budā-, Guru, Śukra-, and Sani-vāra “Tuesday”, brhaspāti-vāra “Jupiter’s day, Thursday”, and Sanaś-cara-vāra “Saturday” are nevertheless registered in the dictionary (s.vv. aṅgāra- “charcoal” / Mars, brhas-pāti-, sanaś-cara “walking or moving slowly” / Saturn).
“To it (the heavenly Assembly Hall), Gandharvas and Apsaras go together as do the twenty seven other guardians of the world (i.e. the nakṣatras, cf. below), (and) Venus and Jupiter, as well as Mercury and Mars, and Saturn as well as Rāhu⁵, all the planets in the same way, (and) also the (Vedic) Mantra and the Rathantara (Sāman) as well as Harimat and Vāsumat, (and) the Ādityas with their ruler (Āditya, the sun-god), (and) those (gods) that are called by double-names ...”

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sun</th>
<th>Moon</th>
<th>Mars</th>
<th>Mercury</th>
<th>Jupiter</th>
<th>Venus</th>
<th>Saturn</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(ādityah)</td>
<td>(somah)</td>
<td>aṅgārakah</td>
<td>buḍah</td>
<td>bhṛhaspāthih</td>
<td>śukrah</td>
<td>śanaścaraḥ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ādītta</td>
<td>hōma</td>
<td>aṅgāra</td>
<td>buda</td>
<td>burasfatih</td>
<td>hukuru</td>
<td>honihiru</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

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

⁵ According to Indic astronomy, this is a demon planet causing eclipse.
⁶ S.P. PARANAVITANA has shown that the same assumption has to be made for Sinhalese: Sigiri Graffiti, Oxford e.a. 1956, vol. I, LXI ff.
⁷ Dh. dū is no longer used as a common noun but occurs in very many names of islands and atolls such as aḍḍū, name of the southernmost atoll, lit. “eight-island(-atoll)”, < *aḍḍa-dvīpa-.
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gūṭa- (via *g̣uva), or ṛtī “beautiful” < ṛeti << *ṛūpa- asti(-), lit. “there is beauty”. On this basis, Dh. ṛajj̣e meaning the “state” or “country” can clearly be seen to be a mot savant too (< ṛaye, L. of ṛaja-, or from a Prakrit Nom. ṛāye?).

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

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

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

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

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8 Cp. Prakrit forms such as buhappai mentioned in Pischel-Jha, § 212.
9 For the other sound changes involved cf. below.
used for lunar-based time-reckoning in India since Vedic times. The general designation of these asterisms in Dhivehi is nakay, a regular outcome of Skt. *nakṣatram (via *nakk'atta > *nakatu). The list which is in use at present can be established as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dh.</th>
<th>keti</th>
<th>rūnu</th>
<th>mihaelka</th>
<th>ada</th>
<th>funös</th>
<th>fus</th>
<th>ahaulha</th>
<th>mā</th>
<th>fura</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>begins</td>
<td>6.5</td>
<td>20.5</td>
<td>3.6</td>
<td>17.6</td>
<td>1.7</td>
<td>15.7</td>
<td>29.7</td>
<td>11.8</td>
<td>24.8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dh.</th>
<th>utara</th>
<th>ata</th>
<th>hita</th>
<th>he</th>
<th>vihā</th>
<th>nor</th>
<th>dośa</th>
<th>mula</th>
<th>furahalu</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>begins</td>
<td>7.9</td>
<td>21.9</td>
<td>4.10</td>
<td>18.10</td>
<td>1.11</td>
<td>14.11</td>
<td>27.11</td>
<td>10.12</td>
<td>23.12</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dh.</th>
<th>uturationa</th>
<th>huvan</th>
<th>dināśa</th>
<th>biyavaihā</th>
<th>jafurabaduruva</th>
<th>jafasaduravā</th>
<th>revā</th>
<th>assida</th>
<th>burana</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>begins</td>
<td>6.1</td>
<td>19.1</td>
<td>1.2</td>
<td>14.2</td>
<td>27.2</td>
<td>12.3</td>
<td>26.3</td>
<td>8.4</td>
<td>22.4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

By comparing this with the several lists of lunar mansions preserved in Vedic tradition (AV 19.7.1-5 with the so-called Nakṣatram Kalpa; TS 4.4.10.1; MS 2.1.3.20, KS 39.13; TB 1.5.1; ŚāṅkhGS 1.26)\(^{11}\), it can easily be shown that Dhivehi preserved both the sequence and the names in a peculiar way. The list that is most similar to the one we have in Dhivehi is that of the Atharvaveda where the names are arranged in a versified environment\(^{12}\):

\[
\begin{align*}
citrāni sākām divi rocanāni & \quad sarīṣāpāni būvane javānī |  
*astāvimśām sumati ic'āmāno & \quad āhāni girb'ih saparyāmī nākam ||1||  
suhāvām *me kṛttikā rōhini ca_ & \quad āstu b'adrām mrgaśīrtha śam āḍrā |  
pūnarvasi sāntāh cāru puṣyō & \quad b'āmār āślesā āyanam mag'ā me ||2||  
pūṇyam pūrvā p'ālgunyau cātra hāstaṣ & \quad citrā śivā *svātiṣth suk'ō me astu |  
*rād'o viśāk'e suhāvānurādā & \quad jyēś'ā sunāksatram *āṛṣṭam mūlam ||3||  
ānnam pūrvā rāsāntām me aṣād ā & \quad ārjām *yē *hy'uttara ā vahantu |  
ab'ij̄n me rāsāntām pūṇyam evā & \quad śravanaḥ śrāviṣ'āhuvai rātanam supaṣṭhitā ||4||  
ā me mahāc' c'atāb'isāg vāryā & \quad ā me dvāyā prōśp'apādā suśārma |  
ā revāti cāśvayaijau b'āgam ma & \quad ā me rayām b'ārannyā ā vahantu ||5||
\end{align*}
\]

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

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

\(^{12}\) Text according to the edition in Atharva Veda Sanhita, hrsg.v. R. ROTH / W.D WHITNEY, 3. Aufl., Bonn 1966, 356 (with editors’ emendations marked with an asterisk); translation according to Atharva-Veda-Samhitā, trl. with critical and exegetical commentary by W.D. WHITNEY, rev. and ed. by Ch.R. LANMAN, Cambridge, Mass. 1905 / Repr. Delhi 1984, 2nd half, 906 ff. (the spelling of the Sanskrit words contained in the translation was adapted to present-day transcription usage).
“Seeking favor of the twenty-eight-fold (?) wondrous ones, shining in the sky together, ever-moving, hasting in the creation, I worship with songs the days, the firmament. Easy of invocation for me [be] the Kṛttikās and Rohinī; be Mṛgaśiras excellent, [and] Ārdra healthful; be the two Punarvasus pleasantness, Pushya what is agreeable, the Āśleṣās light, the Maghās progress [for me]. Be the former Phalgunīs and Hasta here auspicious; be Citrā propitious, and Svāti easy for me; be the two Viśākhās bestowal, Anurādhā easy of invocation, Jyeṣṭha a good asterism, Mūla uninjured. Let the former Asādhās give me food; let the latter ones bring refreshment; let Abhijīt give me what is auspicious; let Śravana [and] the Śravisthās make good prosperity, Let Śatabhisaj [bring] to me what is great widely; let the double Proṣṭhadās [bring] to me good protection; let Revati and the two Asvayuj [bring] fortune to me; let the Bharanīs bring to me wealth.”

On the basis of this list, we can establish the following equivalences in comparison with the items of the other Vedic lists indicated\textsuperscript{13}:

\begin{tabular}{|c|c|c|c|c|c|c|c|}
\hline
& 1 & 2 & 3 & 4 & 5 & 6 & 7 \\
\hline
Dh. & keti & rōnu & miahelia & ada & fanōs & fūs & ahuliha \\
\hline
AV & kṛttikāh & rōhinī & mṛgaśīraḥ & ārdra & pūnarvasū & puṣyāḥ & āśleṣāḥ \\
\hline
TS & kṛttikāh & rōhinī & mṛgaśīraḥ & ārdra & pūnarvasū & tiṣyāḥ & āśresāḥ \\
\hline
MS & kṛttikāh & rōhinī & invagā & bāhaḥ & pūnarvasuḥ & tiṣyāḥ & āśleṣāḥ \\
\hline
KS & kṛttikāh & rōhinī & invagā & bāhaḥ & pūnarvasuḥ & tiṣyāḥ & āśleṣāḥ \\
\hline
TB & kṛttikāh & rōhinī & invagā & bāhaḥ & pūnarvasuḥ & tiṣyāḥ & āśresāḥ \\
\hline
SGS & kṛttikāh & rōhinī & mṛgaśīraḥ & ārdraḥ & pūnarvasuḥ & puṣyāḥ & āśleṣāḥ \\
\hline
\hline
\hline
Dh. & mā & fura & utura & ata & hita & hei & vihā \\
\hline
AV & maṅgāḥ & pārvā & pālgunyau & hāstāḥ & citrā & svātiḥ & viṣāk′e \\
\hline
TS & maṅgāḥ & pālgunī & pālgunī & hāstāḥ & citrā & svāti & viṣāk′e \\
\hline
MS & maṅgāḥ & pālgunī & pālgunī & hāstāḥ & citrā & nīṣṭyām & viṣāk′um \\
\hline
KS & maṅgāḥ & pālgunī & pālgunī & āttarāḥ & pālgunī & hāstau & citrā & nīṣṭyā & viṣāk′um \\
\hline
TB & maṅgāḥ & pārve & āttare & hāstāḥ & citrā & nīṣṭyā & viṣāk′e \\
\hline
\end{tabular}

\textsuperscript{13} The names are given in their respective nominative forms (singular, dual, or plural) which are not always easy to establish, however, because of the sandhi conditions met with in their attestations.
There are but a few divergences between the list of the AV and modern Dhivehi usage, which can easily be accounted for:

First, there is no explicit equivalent of Dh.
utra (no. 10) in the AV but this can with no doubt be restored as *uttarā p‘ālγynau (cp. uttarāh p‘ālγnī in KS)\(^{14}\). A peculiarity of Dhivehi consists in the fact that both Dh.
ura (no. 9) and utra (no. 10) reflect the adjectival elements of p‘ārva and uttarā p‘ālγynau (“first” and “later p‘.”) only while in Vedic tradition, it is mostly the adjectives that are not mentioned explicitly (p‘ālγnī [Du.] 2x TS; p‘ālγnī [Pl.] 2x MS; p‘ālγnī [Du.] 2x ŚankhGS; KS has p‘ālγnī without p‘ārva besides uttarāh p‘ālγnī, TB has p‘ūrve p‘ālγnī, then plain uttare)\(^{15}\). In this respect, there is also a striking difference between the Dhivehi tradition and the Sinhalese which has puvapal and uturapal, respectively.

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

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

\(^{15}\) The Naksatra Kalpa has, in its introductory list (AVPs I,1,2), p‘ālγnī besides p‘ālγynau; in other parts of it, we find p‘ūrve p‘ālγynau besides uttare (I,3,1), p‘ūrvayoh p‘ālγynyor besides uttarayor (I,4,3), p‘ūrve p‘ālγynau (I,12,1) besides uttare p‘ālγynau (I,13,1), and the like.
southernmost dialect of the Maldivian language, i.e. the Addū-dialect, where it is called avithi\(^{16}\). The divergence thus met with within the Dhivehi dialects reflects the fact that abhijit was not recognized as an authentic member of the list even in Vedic times, as can be seen in the Yajurveda tradition where only MS and TB mention it while TS and KS do not, thus reducing the number of nakṣatras to 27\(^{17}\). This same number occurs also in the Mahābhārata in the passage quoted above (M. 2,11,19) where it is obviously the nakṣatras that are meant. The special treatment of abhijit may well be due to the fact that it was introduced in the list as an intercalary item only, in order to align the lunar calendar with the solar year\(^{18}\).

A third divergence between the AV and the Dhivehi list consists in the name of the 22nd nakṣatra. While the AV agrees with the YV texts in calling it śravīṣṭāḥ, Dhivehi dinaṣṭa (as well as Sinhalese denaṭa) obviously reflects a different name, daniṣṭāḥ, which is first met with in the ŚanbhGS list (1,26). The assumption that this reflects a later tradition is supported by the fact that daniṣṭāḥ, not śravīṣṭāḥ, is used in Varāhamihira’s Brhatsamhitā\(^{19}\).

Another divergence concerns the names of the 24th and 25th nakṣatras. As against the Vedic tradition which has (pūrvāḥ and uttarāḥ) prost/apadāḥ throughout, Dhivehi uses the names furabaduruva and fasbaduruva which are obviously connected with a later eponym of the nakṣatras in question, viz. (pūrvāḥ and uttarāḥ) bbadrapadāḥ. These names are first met with in some commentary works on Vedic Sūtras such as the Yājñavalkya Śāntikalpa, and they represent normal usage in some better known Sanskrit texts like Varāhamihira’s Brhatsamhitā again\(^{20}\). In having bbadrapadāḥ as their basis, the Dhivehi names of the 24th and 25th nakṣatras are also the only ones where Dhivehi differs considerably from Sinhalese (neglecting purely phonetic divergences), for Sinh. puvaputupa and uturuputupa are clearly derived from the prost/apadāḥ-names prevalent in Vedic\(^{21}\). Lastly, Dhiv. fasbaduruva is peculiar with respect to its first element: As against uttara- reflecting Skt. uttara- in the names of the 10th and 19th nakṣatras, utura < *uttarāḥ (p’agnosis) and uturahala < uttara aṣāḍāh, fasbaduruva contains an element fas which can only represent Skt. paścā-

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\(^{16}\) H.A. MANIKU mentions avithi in his treatise (Nakaiy, 16) but states that it “is no longer in use”.

\(^{17}\) Note that the number of 28 present in the AV passage is based on WHITNEY’s emendation of turmiṣṭaḥ only, but this emendation is strongly supported by the following AV hymn, where the text has aṣṭāviṃśāni; cf. the translation, 907.

\(^{18}\) Cf. H.A. MANIKU, Nakaiy, 16.

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

- utaḥ pūrvāḥ tato rātrir māṣāḥ śuklādvaḥ smṛtāḥ
- śravīṣṭādīni rṣāṇi rtavah śīśīrādayah

“First the day, then the night,
the months, remembered beginning with Śukla (i.e. Vaiśākha, ≈ April-May),
the constellations, beginning with Śravīṣṭā, the seasons, beginning with Śīrā (the cold season) ...”

\(^{20}\) E.g., bbadrapadādvyayam 7,10; deve bbadrapade 9,2; and once bbadrapadām uttaraṃ 7,5.

\(^{21}\) The Sinhalese-English Dictionary by Rev. B. CLOUGH (Colombo 1892) contains the Sanskrit forms pūrvāḥ/apadāḥ and uttarāḥ/apadāḥ as the names of the 26th and 27th (!) lunar asterisms (p. 372 / 75) but no corresponding “colloquial” or “Elu” forms, whereas for pūrvaprost/apadāḥ, puvaputupē is registered as the “Elu form”. The equivalents of uttaraḥ prost/apadāḥ are missing in this dictionary.
“after, behind, backward”. In today’s Dhivehi, this is preserved as a separate word in the ablative form fahun used as a quasi-postposition “after” (quasi < instr. *paścena). The usage of paśca- instead of uttara- seems to be unknown within Sanskrit in this context, but we can compare prācina-proṣṭ apadāyoh, with prācina- derived from prāc- “forward”, appearing once instead of pūrvā proṣṭ apadau in the Nakṣatra Kalpa (I,10,8). The “later” proṣṭ apadā are called uttarā here too.

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

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

aṁnam ca uttarāṇaṁ āpurassaranakṛ attanāmāhe am anigajualam uppādha g’allaxissam

“And, what’s more, I’ll tear off from you the pair of parts [your ears] that go by the name of the asterism that follows Latter Ashādhā, and chuck ’em away.”24

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

22 I,11 is a quotation of the AV hymn in question.
23 This conclusion seems hard for the AV hymn, but we have to consider that it has no counterpart in the Paippālāda recension. A later origin of the AV hymn is also suggested by the fact that it is included as such in the Nakṣatra Kalpa; cf. Ch.R. LANMAN in the AV-translation, p. 907. We fail to understand the view expressed by BOLLING and NEGELEIN in their edition of the Nakṣatra Kalpa according to which “it seems probable that this pariṣṭa originated in the Paippālāda school, and that this is the reason for its citation of AV. 19. 7 and 8 in full” (p. 2).
24 Cf. Rāja-Çekhara’s Karpūra-Mañjārī, ed. by Sten KONOW and trl. by Ch.R. LANMAN, Cambridge, Mass. 1901 (Harvard Oriental Series, IV) / Repr. Delhi 1963, 22 / 233 f. LANMAN’s reasoning (ib., 234) according to which “strictly speaking, Abhijit (containing a Lyrae) comes next after Latter Ashādhā, but it is so far from the ecliptic as hardly to count”, fails to meet the essential point: abhijit did simply not figure in the presumable list, just as it is missing in the TS and KS (and modern Dhivehi and Sinhalese) traditions.
25 For the following discussion, several Sinhalese dictionaries were consulted; most of the forms given are taken from A Dictionary of the Sinhalese Language, compiled under the direction of W. GEIGER by D.B. JAYATILAKA a.o.,
the following list, the Sanskrit names as used in Sinhalese are also contrasted for easy reference:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dh.</th>
<th>keti</th>
<th>r¯onu</th>
<th>miahelia</th>
<th>ada</th>
<th>fun¯os</th>
<th>fus</th>
<th>abuliha</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sh.</td>
<td>käti</td>
<td>reheña</td>
<td>muvasirasa</td>
<td>ade</td>
<td>punāvasa</td>
<td>pusē</td>
<td>aslisa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Skt.</td>
<td>kṛtika</td>
<td>rōhini</td>
<td>mṛgaśiras</td>
<td>ārdra</td>
<td>punarvasu</td>
<td>puyā</td>
<td>aślesā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dh.</td>
<td>mā</td>
<td>fura</td>
<td>utura</td>
<td>ata</td>
<td>hita</td>
<td>hei</td>
<td>vihā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sh.</td>
<td>mag′a</td>
<td>puvapal</td>
<td>uturupal</td>
<td>hata</td>
<td>sita</td>
<td>sā</td>
<td>visā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Skt.</td>
<td>mag′a</td>
<td>pūrvap¯algunī</td>
<td>uttarap¯algunī</td>
<td>hasta</td>
<td>citrā</td>
<td>svāti</td>
<td>viśāk¯a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dh.</td>
<td>nora</td>
<td>dośa</td>
<td>furahala</td>
<td>uturahala</td>
<td>huvan</td>
<td>dinaśa</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sh.</td>
<td>anura</td>
<td>deta</td>
<td>mala</td>
<td>puvasala</td>
<td>uturusala</td>
<td>sūvana</td>
<td>denata</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Skt.</td>
<td>anūrāḍa</td>
<td>jyesṭa</td>
<td>mūla</td>
<td>pūrvāsudā</td>
<td>uttarāsudā</td>
<td>śravana</td>
<td>dhanisṭa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dh.</td>
<td>hiyavihā</td>
<td>furabadaruva</td>
<td>fasbaduruva</td>
<td>rēva</td>
<td>assida</td>
<td>hūruṇu</td>
<td>avihi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sh.</td>
<td>sīvavasa</td>
<td>puvapatupu</td>
<td>uturupatupu</td>
<td>rēvatī</td>
<td>asvida</td>
<td>beraṇa</td>
<td>abjiṭ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Skt.</td>
<td>satabiṣa</td>
<td>pūrvaprōṣṭapadā</td>
<td>uttaraprōṣṭapada</td>
<td>rēvatī</td>
<td>aśvayujā</td>
<td>b’arâni</td>
<td>ab’ijit</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

Colombo 1935- (“DSL”), the Sinhala Šabdakosayā (ed. by) D.B. Jayatilaka, Colombo 1937- (SŚ) and The Sinhalese-English Dictionary by Rev. B. Clough, Colombo 1892 (“Clough”). An Elu list is also given in H.A. Maniku’s Nakai, p. 3.

26 Different from the lists printed above, Sanskrit names are here given not in their nominative but in their stem forms.
27 For this and several other nakṣatras, the dictionaries mention a compound name containing nākata = nakṣatra (kāti-nakata) only.
28 The DSL (p. 192) has ada (and the definite form adaya) besides adē.
29 The alternate name abi noted in DSL (p. 981) is not connected with aślisa (p. 958) etymologically but reflects Skt. abi- “serpent”, used as a name for the constellation in question too.
30 Besides the “correct” Sanskrit form given here, viśāklā and viśākha also occur.
31 The DSL (p. 282) notes, besides anura and its definite form, anurava, also auru and anurē.
32 Clough (p. 368) has puvapatupē.
33 Clough (p. 430) gives the alternate form berâni too.
34 In DSL (p. 1683), this is erroneously identified with uttarapālguṇī. — Clough (p. 75) has uttarapāḍrapadā (sic) as the name of the 27th lunar mansion; see above.
35 As a Sanskritism, the alternate name aśvini is also used.
palatal affricate; cp. *hita vs. *sita (vs. Skt. citr̥a), but also avīhī vs. abījīt (vs. abījīt).

As for Sinhalese, these features lead to the assumption that the names of the naksatras do not belong to the colloquial (i.e. “Elu”) language proper but to the register of the literary language which is characterized by phonological conservatism. As for Dhivehi, however, the regulations observed can be recognized as regular if we assume an unbroken tradition from Old Indic times. For the several developments envolved here, we find quite a lot of examples such as *hai (representing hat, still written (hāt)) “seven” < Skt. āptā (Sinhalese has literary sat- as against colloquial hat-), hiya “hundred” < Skt. sāta(m) (Sinh. siya-), han “skin” < sarnā (Sinh. sam-/ham-), hiy (hit) “mind” < Skt. cittaṁ (Sinh. sit-ḥit-); for the treatment of word-internal and word-final s cp. *dhī “ten” < daśa (Sinh. dasa-/dađa-); bas “language” < Skt. bāśā (Sinh. bas-) with the indefinite form bahe’, quasi < *bāśā ēkā “language”; já “five” < Skt. pāṇca (Sinh. pas-), indef. fahe’, quasi < *pāṇca ēkā “one five”; já “soil” < Skt. pāṃsu(h) (Sinh. pas-) with ablative faḥun < pāṃṣaṇa; and já “after”, contained in faṣbadurūva, < pāsca(t) (Sinh. pas-), abl. faḥun substituting “fahe’” < *paścena. Note that the consonant ś appearing in dināsā and doṣa reflects not an older sibilant but the retroflex stop t we still find in Sinhalese (denaţa / deţa); this had emerged regularly from older -ṛṭ- (< Skt. -ṛṣṭ-; daniṣṭa- / ṭyeṣṭa-).

The regular treatment of word-internal j can be found in ras “king” < rājā (Sinh. rāda35); rihi “silver” < rajata(m) (Sinh. ridī-); bis “egg” < bīja(m) (Sinh. biju-) with indef. bihe’. For the regular loss of h we can adduce examples like mā “great, big” < Skt. mahā(m) (Sinh. mahā / mā); hās “thousand” < sahasra(m) (Sinh. dahas-/dās-), indef. hāhe’; bodu “big” < bhanta(m) (via *bhanta(m)); and ran “gold” < hiranya(m) (Sinh. ran-) which shows that after the loss of h, word-initial short vowels in open syllables were dropped altogether as in diya “water” < udaka(m) or in the name of the 15th naksatra, nora < anurādţā, bēs “medicine” < bāśaj(y)a(m) (Sinh. behet/-bēt-) shows that secondary h sounds that had emerged from sibilants or palatalas also tended to get lost, at least next to high vowels (bēs < *behes); cp. in “boundary” < sīma (Sinh. sim-/him-/īm-), iru “sun” < sūrya(m) (Sinh. hira / ira), or ē “thread” < sūtra(m) (Sinh. hū-).

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

35 This form is still preserved in the dialect of Fua’ Mulaku. The same dialect has substituted word-final -s by -ḥ- + vowel throughout as in bahā “language”; note that in fahā “five” it has even preserved a trace of the Old Indic nasal.
36 The striking divergence of Dhivehi and Sinhalese in the development of word-internal j was first drawn attention to by M.W.S. Sugathapala de Silva (in: Some Observations on the History of Maldivian; TAPS 1970, 137-162).
Another crucial case is the names ending in -a. On the basis of more usual words, we should expect all final syllables first to have been reduced to some unspecified (shewa-like?) short vowel which was later dropped after nasals and voiceless consonants but developed into -u in most other environments. Many of the examples of common words quoted above attest this treatment, and we can easily adduce further examples such as ko’ “having made” (absolutive) < older kot(u) < Skt. kṛtvā (via *kṛtvā, *kurvā, *kuttā, *kottā; Sinh. kota) or hen “sort, kind, type, crowd” < Skt. senā (Sinh. sen-). It is only in peculiar constellations that we find word-final a regularly, viz. after -iy- as in diya “water” < udaka(m) or hiya “hundred” < sata(m) (and possibly -ih- in diha “ten”). Considering the list of naksatra names ending in -a, we might assume that this ending was reintroduced by influence of the Sanskrit equivalents; and indeed it seems that Dhivehi has -a wherever the Sanskrit names are stems in -a or -ā-. But there are some exceptions to this “rule”: The correspondent form of keti, Skt. kṛttikāḥ, is an ā-stem, but the word-final -i of keti, just like Sinh. kātī, may well reflect the regular outcome of -ika- as in mehi “fly” < makkikā (via macc’ikā, Sinh. māśi-māhi-) or even -aka- as in māti “top, surface” < masta(kām) (via matt’aka as against Sinh. mata- < masta(m)?) . Similarly, the name of the 20th naksatra, huvan, shows no secondary influence of the Sanskrit a-stem, śravaṇa-. Here, however, we have to note that the vowel of the second syllable is surprising: As with burunu (older burunu) < b’aran̄i, we should expect huvun; but this may be due to the special environment (*-uvu- > -uva- as *-iyu- > -iya-?). If Dhivehi thus preserves “regular” continuants for some of the stems in -a/-ā at least, it is advisable to consider other solutions of the problem as well. One solution seems to suggest itself by the fact that many of the naksatra names were not singular but dual or plural forms in Sanskrit. Although even Vedic tradition was not always unanimous in this respect, the Dhivehi names in -a might reflect pluralic forms ending in -āh originally. As there are no other traces of Old Indic nominative plural forms of this type, there is no way to prove this, however. Some further investigations into the historical phonology of Maldivian are necessary to solve this problem.

38 In the treatment of the assumed shewa-like word-final vowel, the Dhivehi dialects differ to a large extent: the Addā dialect has -a throughout, while Faa’ Mulaku has -a as in bohudu / bodho “great” vs. standard Dhivehi bodu. The first vowel of both Dhiv. keti and Sinh. kētī will rather reflect a full grade a, *kārtikā-, than a syllabic r; for Dhiv. e / Sinh. ā is the regular outcome of unumlauted a as in e’ (et) “elefant” < hastī via hat’āwhile r would have led to u or i in this position; cp. fāsi “sandbank, island, ridge, back” < prṣ’āka-, but also the name of the third naksatra, miheila < māgaśtrasa- (this name is, by the way, attested in one of the lomājanus in a copperplate inscription of 1194 A.D. in the Sanskritizing form mṛ(a)jggaśtra naksatra; an edition of the copperplate in question is presently being prepared by us). The regular umlaut can also be seen in the name of the 13th naksatra, heı < svāti-.

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

40 Standard Dhivehi has a plural ending in -ta- (<taka- “so much/many” as well as a plural ending -un appearing with some nouns denoting human beings. The latter ending might reflect a former genitive plural ending -ūnām.
## Appendix I: The lists of nakṣatras contained in the Yajurveda Samhitās

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TS 4,4,10,1-2</th>
<th>MS 2,13,20</th>
<th>KS 39,13</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>कृष्णकान्ति नाक्षत्रम्</td>
<td>कृष्णकान्ति नाक्षत्रम्</td>
<td>आग्नि देवताः</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>आग्नि देवताः</td>
<td>आग्नि देवताः</td>
<td>कृष्णकान्ति नाक्षत्रम्</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>__अग्नि रुचिकोऽस्मया</td>
<td>__अग्नि रुचिकोऽस्मया</td>
<td>रुचि त्वः</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>रुचि त्वः</td>
<td>रुचि त्वः</td>
<td>रुचि त्वः</td>
</tr>
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<td>ब्रह्मस्थिती नाक्षत्रम्</td>
<td>ब्रह्मस्थिती नाक्षत्रम्</td>
</tr>
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<td>__नारदकान्ति नाक्षत्रम्</td>
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<td>पितृवृक्षान्त नाक्षत्रम्</td>
<td>पितृवृक्षान्त नाक्षत्रम्</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
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<tr>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>__सूर्यकान्ति नाक्षत्रम्</td>
<td>__सूर्यकान्ति नाक्षत्रम्</td>
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Towards a Historical Phonology of Maldivian

Appendix II: The list of nakṣatras contained in Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa (1.5.1.1-5)

1. agnēḥ kṛtikāḥ | aryamnāḥ pārve pāṅguṇaḥ
2. śukrēḥ parāśāvēḥ jyotīr avatārāḥ | jāyā prāśāvēḥ rsabhō vāstāt | bāgasya uṭṭare
3. apadbhur parāśēḻ āyaḥ vāstāt | vahatāvaḥ prāśāvēḥ vāhamāṇā vāstāt | 3 devāṣāvā savātār haṭāha
4. sōmasya invakāḥ | prasāvāḥ prāśāvēḥ sanīr vāstāt | cchānḍāsa tāyā devātāyā | angiravād vāravād śīda
5. vīraḥ prajāpateḥ sōmasya dāṭārāḥ | arṣāvāḥ prājāpateḥ sōmasya dāṭārāḥ | angiravād vāravād śīda
6. vīraḥ vṛcāḥ vāyūḥ prājāpateḥ sōmasya dāṭārāḥ | arṣāvāḥ prājāpateḥ sōmasya dāṭārāḥ | angiravād vāravād śīda
7. vīraḥ bhuḥ jyotīṣaḥ prājāpateḥ sōmasya dāṭārāḥ | arṣāvāḥ prājāpateḥ sōmasya dāṭārāḥ | angiravād vāravād śīda
8. vīraḥ vṛcāḥ vṛcāḥ prājāpateḥ sōmasya dāṭārāḥ | arṣāvāḥ prājāpateḥ sōmasya dāṭārāḥ | angiravād vāravād śīda
9. vīraḥ prajāpateḥ sōmasya dāṭārāḥ | arṣāvāḥ prājāpateḥ sōmasya dāṭārāḥ | angiravād vāravād śīda
10. vīraḥ vṛcāḥ vṛcāḥ prajāpateḥ sōmasya dāṭārāḥ | arṣāvāḥ prājāpateḥ sōmasya dāṭārāḥ | angiravād vāravād śīda
11. vīraḥ vṛcāḥ vṛcāḥ prajāpateḥ sōmasya dāṭārāḥ | arṣāvāḥ prājāpateḥ sōmasya dāṭārāḥ | angiravād vāravād śīda
12. vīraḥ vṛcāḥ vṛcāḥ prajāpateḥ sōmasya dāṭārāḥ | arṣāvāḥ prājāpateḥ sōmasya dāṭārāḥ | angiravād vāravād śīda
13. vīraḥ vṛcāḥ vṛcāḥ prajāpateḥ sōmasya dāṭārāḥ | arṣāvāḥ prājāpateḥ sōmasya dāṭārāḥ | angiravād vāravād śīda
14. vīraḥ vṛcāḥ vṛcāḥ prajāpateḥ sōmasya dāṭārāḥ | arṣāvāḥ prājāpateḥ sōmasya dāṭārāḥ | angiravād vāravād śīda
15. vīraḥ vṛcāḥ vṛcāḥ prajāpateḥ sōmasya dāṭārāḥ | arṣāvāḥ prājāpateḥ sōmasya dāṭārāḥ | angiravād vāravād śīda

42 Variant reading of B (Bühler's manuscript), preferable as against satabhisam in L.V. Schröder's text.
Appendix III: The list of nakṣatras contained in Śāṅkhāyana Gṛhya Sūtra (1,26)