Dhivehi (Maldivian)

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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

CONTENTS

ABBREVIATIONS

BENE	Benefactee Marker	LOC	Locative Case
CAUS	Causative	n.	Noun
CMPR	Comparative Particle	N3	Non-third Person Marker
CNPM	Coordinate Noun Phrase Marker	NEG	Negation
CONC	Concessive	NP	Noun Phrase
COND	Conditional	NSPC	Unspecified Marker
DAT	Dative Case	OPT	Optative
DBG	*Dhivehi Bahuge Gavaaidhu*	PFT	Perfect
EMPH	Emphasis Marker	PLU	Plural Marker
END	Sentence Break Marker	POL	Polite Register
EQ	Equative Marker	PRE	Present Tense
FOC	Pragmatic Focus	PRO	Progressive
FUT	Future Tense	PRT	Participle
GEN	Genitive Case	PST	Past Tense
GER	Gerund	QP	Question Particle
HAB	Habitual Aspect	QS	Quoted Speech Marker
hon.	Honorific (pronouns)	REAS	Reason
HON	Honorific Particle	rep.	Reported Speech
Hyp.	Hypothetical	RPRT	Relative Participle
IMPV	Imperative	Si.	Sinhala
IN	Involitive/Intransitive	SIM	Simultaneous
INDF	Indefinite Marker	SOC	Sociative Case
INF	Infinitive	SOV	Subject-Object-Verb
INS	Instrumental Case	SUC	Succession
INTNS	Intensifier	TAG	Tag Question Marker
intr.	Intransitive	TEMP	Temporal Subordinator
IRR	Irrealis	VOC	Vocative Case

0 INTRODUCTION

0.1 General

Dhivehi[1] (Maldivian) is the national language of the Republic of Maldives, a nation of islands in the Indian Ocean to the west of Sri Lanka and to the southwest of the Indian subcontinent. It consists of approximately 1200 coral islands grouped in atolls spread out over a 450 mile long area from just below India to down below the Equator (Lat. 7° 6' N. to Lat. 0° 42' S.) (Bell 1940: 10). Dhivehi is an Indo-Aryan language closely related to Sinhala, and has the distinction of being the only Indo-European language whose indigenous area extends into the Southern Hemisphere. There are approximately 220,000 speakers of Dhivehi, about 5,000 of whom live in Minicoy (India) where the language is known as Mahl (Statistical Yearbook of the Maldives 1991).

When the Maldives were first peopled and by whom is still unclear. Some have speculated that a group of Indo-Aryan speakers settled in the Maldives at the same time that Sri Lanka was settled which could have been as early as the 6th c. B.C. (De Silva 1970b), or possibly earlier (Heyerdahl 1986). Others believe that a group of Indo-Aryan speakers came first to Sri Lanka, and much later some settled in the Maldives, bringing their language with them (Gray 1889, Geiger 1919, Bell 1940). It has also been proposed that Maldives was first peopled by Dravidians, and that later Sinhalese came and gained prominence in the islands (Maloney 1980). In physical appearance, Maldivians show physical traits typical of various groups suggesting that people from various places settled there at one time or another.

While people from various places came to settle in the Maldives, at some point an Indo-Aryan language closely related to Sinhala became the lingua franca of the archipelago. The exact nature of the relationship between Dhivehi and Sinhala is a matter of dispute. De Silva (1970b) argues that Dhivehi has a pre-Sinhala substratum suggesting that Sinhala later came to dominate an already existing Indo-Aryan language in the archipelago. At the opposite extreme, Vitharana suggests that Dhivehi did not evolve as a separate language until after the 12th c. A.D. at which time they converted to Islam (1997: 16). Geiger (1919: 99) holds that aside from some peculiarities, Dhivehi is not unlike 10th c. A.D. Sinhala. Others have suggested that Dhivehi started showing indications of divergence when umlaut began to be operative in Sinhala in the 4th c. (Reynolds 1974: 197; Wijesundera et al. 1988: 178). The reason for such divergence of opinion is that the data itself presents some ambiguities. Dhivehi shares features with Sinhala that appear relatively late on the one hand, but it also shows significant indications of early divergence on the other. Cain (2000) presents evidence that Dhivehi began diverging from Old Sinhala by the 1st c. B.C., and he suggests that the high degree of similarity that still exists between the two languages is the result of ongoing contact between them, and Dravidian influence on both.

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

0.2 Map of Maldives
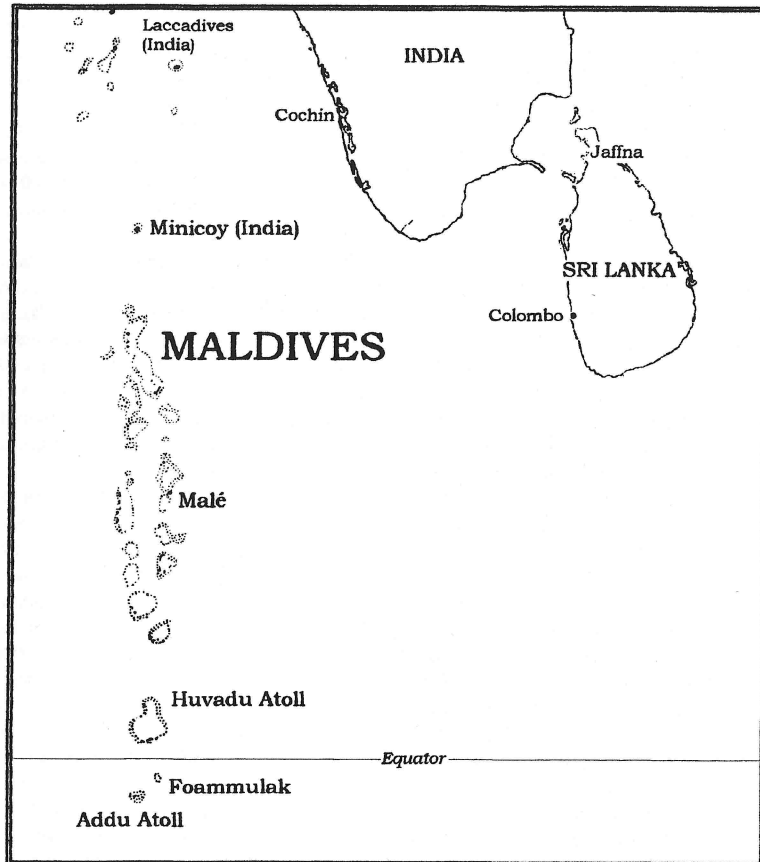
0.3 Maldivian History and Contact Situation

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

a reference to Sri Lanka, and the former most probably to the Maldives (Bell 1940: 16; Gray 1889: 426-427).

Other indications of ancient contact are suggested by archeological discoveries. Cowry trade formed a vital part in the economy from their own pre-history up until the early part of the 20th c. Cowry shells were found in the ruins of Lothal in the Gulf of Cambay (in present-day Gujarat), a an active port around the 16th c. B.C., and as far away as Norway in pre-historic tombs (circa 6th c. A.D.). The Maldives could have been their source as the particular type of cowry, *Cypraea moneta*, is an Indo-Pacific mollusk (Heyerdahl 1986: 152, 299-301). The discovery of a Roman Republic coin in the Maldives minted sometime between 90 B.C. and 100 A.D. also provides some evidence of extensive contact in their pre-history, and suggests some connection with ancient Rome in particular (Heyerdahl 1986: 303-305).

That they were known in the ancient world, does not tell us when the Maldive islands were first peopled and by whom. All known historical records are silent on the subject. The Maldives are completely ignored by the pre-12th century historical records of Sri Lanka. No mention is made of the Maldives being a dependency of Sri Lanka, nor is there any account of Sinhalese migrations to the Maldives (Geiger 1919: 5; Bell 1940: 16). This is especially striking given the close affinity in language and culture the two nations share. Gray conjectures that the original inhabitants were Sinhala fishermen from the south who discovered the Maldive islands while venturing west for better fishing grounds. Originally they would have set up temporary residence there and returned to Sri Lanka with the change of seasons, but gradually they found that living in the atoll islands year round was advantageous. This may have been as late as the 4th c. or 5th c. A.D., according to Gray (1889: 423-425). That there was probably some limited migration cannot be denied, and the emigration of common fishing folk may have gone undetected by the chroniclers. Gray is wrong, however, in assuming a homogenous immigrant population throughout the islands, and he is probably off on his time estimate by at least five hundred years too late. Nevertheless, the most prominent cultural force in the Maldives is of Sinhala origin, and that such influence came from gradual migration to the Maldives of Sinhala fishing communities is reasonable.

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

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

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

Nothing has been written of the extent of contact between the Maldives and South India in pre-Islamic times, but given the geographical proximity such contact can be assumed. (Minicoy, historically the Maldives' northernmost island, is approximately two hundred miles from the Indian coast, and closer still to the Dravidian speech communities of the Laccadive islands.) A pillar commemorating the inauguration of the Pallava king Rajasimha II (c. 690-691, 728-729 A.D.) states, "May he exercise the royal prerogative...to the extremities of his kingdom, as even to include the thousand islands." The "thousand islands" probably included the Laccadives and Maldives. Another inscription says of King Rajaraja of the Cola empire (985-1014 A.D.) that he "subdued the many ancient islands, 12,000 (in number)" (Maloney 1980:77). Maloney suggests that these included the Maldives and Laccadives, and the incursions prompted them to maintain their own army (ibid.). If these indeed are references to the Maldives, then it is striking that subjugation of Maldives is mentioned in Dravidian accounts, but not in Sinhala ones.

Arab traders visited the Maldives as early as the 9th c. Several Arab travelers made reference to the Maldives between the 9th c.-11th c. They report that Maldives was ruled by a queen, and that the currency of the islands was the cowry shell (Gray 1889: 423-431). Contacts with Arab traders and other Muslims led to the conversion of the Maldives to Islam in the 12th c. Since their conversion, contact with Arab and Persian speaking Muslims remained prominent, and their languages have made a significant impact on Dhivehi mostly in religious and judicial terms. Contact with Dravidian speaking Muslims from South India also continued, and contact with Muslims extended eastward to Malaysia and Indonesia with whom trade was commonplace by the early 17th c. (Gray 1889: 292-301).[2]

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

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

English knowledge increased with educational opportunities. In the 1960's Sri Lanka began promoting Sinhala as the medium of instruction in its schools, and many English medium teachers sought employment elsewhere. Many jumped at the opportunity to teach in

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[2] Interestingly, *asē mirus*, Dhivehi for 'pepper', literally means 'Aceh (Indonesia) chili' (Hassan Maniku, personal communication).

the Maldives at a time when it was beginning to open up to the outside world (Ahmed Zaki, personal communication). This trend towards English continues, and has been greatly accelerated by tourism. Many of the wealthier Maldivians go abroad to study. Earlier generations went to Sri Lanka or Pakistan, and became fluent in Sinhala and Urdu respectively. Scholarships to Arab universities are on the increase. English language education in the West is still preferred by many.

0.4 Dialect Information

Dhivehi has several notable dialects. The standard dialect is that of the capital Malé and the central atolls, and dialects from the far north down to Laamu are very closely related to it. Minicoy, now a part of India, has its own dialect (called Maliku Bas or Mahl) that retains some features of an older Dhivehi, and shows Malayalam influence as well. Still, the Minicoy dialect is mutually intelligible with Standard Dhivehi, and cultural information in the form of literature and film is shared between the Maldives and Minicoy (Abdullah Saudiq, personal information). The greatest dialect variation is in the far south in Huvadu, Foammulak, and Addu atolls where each atoll has its own dialect more closely related to each other, but very different from those to the north (Wijesundera et al. 1988). These three atolls are geographically separated from the rest of Maldives, and have had extensive contact with Sri Lanka, and are popularly believed to be more like Sinhala. According to many Maldivians, the southern dialects are so distinct that those from Malé cannot understand them, but speakers from those dialects understand Malé dialect because of acquired intelligibility. Apart from the gathering of word lists (Wijesundera et al. 1988), a careful analysis of the southern dialects is yet to be done. Some information on the Addu dialect is found in Fritz (1993) that will soon be supplemented by results of current research (Sonja Gippert-Fritz, personal communication). Unless otherwise noted, references to "Dhivehi" indicate the Malé dialect which has become the standard.

In terms of socio-dialects, the presence in the Maldives of foreign speech is not insignificant. There are over 20,000 foreign workers from near-by South Asian countries, and Maldivians generally use a vastly reduced form of Dhivehi when communicating with them. Irregular verbs are regularized. Subordinated structures are almost non-existent. Tense/aspect is greatly reduced, and foreign words (especially English) abound. In general, every effort is made to accommodate to the foreigner's idiolect of Dhivehi.[3] This helps foreigners acquire the language skills needed for the most basic of tasks on the one hand, but also prevents them from penetrating intimate communication between Maldivians on the other. What impact this *bidhesi Dhivehi* (foreign Dhivehi) is having on Dhivehi has not yet been determined.

The relationship of the written language to the spoken Malé dialect is quite close, and the type of diglossic situation found in Sinhala (Gair 1968, 1998) does not exist. The close relationship between the written and spoken form, together with a very efficient orthography (Section 1.1.3), and an ambitious program by the Government, are some of the reasons Maldives enjoys a literacy rate exceeding 95% (Statistical Yearbook of Maldives 1991).

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

0.5 Previous Works

Published materials on the Dhivehi language are sparse. Early accounts of the language consisted only of word lists collected by various people, some of whom happened to be shipwrecked in the Maldives (Pyrard 1619, Gray 1878, Wilson 1841). Geiger (1902) included these word lists with results of his own research, and gave some etymological background as well. Geiger also provided grammatical information in his *Máldivische Studien*, a collection of lectures published in Germany from 1900-1902. An English translation of these lectures was printed in *Maldivian Linguistic Studies* (1919), a work edited and supplemented by H.C.P. Bell. This remains one of the most significant contributions on the language to date. Bell's own work (1922-35, 1940) contains significant material on Dhivehi and its setting.

Another important source of information on Dhivehi is R.L. Turner's *Comparative Dictionary of Indo-Aryan Languages* (1966-1971), and especially *Volume 3: Addendum and Corrigenda* (Wright 1985). These works contain over 850 Dhivehi words that were culled from various sources including previous unpublished material collected by C.H.B. Reynolds.

One of the most comprehensive studies of Dhivehi to date is the *Historical and Linguistic Survey of Divehi: Final Report* (hereafter the *Report*) (Wijesundera et al. 1988). This work presents the results of a language survey conducted throughout the Maldives by Maldivian and Sri Lankan scholars. The *Report* includes information on Dhivehi dialects previously unavailable, and useful grammatical information. The draft manuscript unfortunately suffers from a number of typographical errors, but plans are underway to correct these and publish this very valuable resource (Hassan Maniku, personal communication).

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

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

Fuller's *Dhivehi-English Dictionary*, and *English-Dhivehi Dictionary* (1985) is a substantial work that contains over 8,000 Dhivehi entries with English glosses. A prepublication draft of this work was made available to us courtesy of the compiler and the National Centre. Another useful dictionary is the *Glossary: English-Dhivehi, Dhivehi-English* (Institute of Teacher's Education 1991) which contains about 2,500 lexical items. The *English-Dhivehi Dictionary* (Shishido 1985) and *Say It in Maldivian* (Maniku and Disanayake 1990) are especially helpful for language learning and quick access to Dhivehi.

This sketch is based on research conducted on site in the Maldives where Bruce Cain engaged in intensive language learning in a monolingual environment. Much of the analysis was based on a text corpus consisting of stories and texts from various sources, written and oral.[4] Interlinearizing these provided the basis for a preliminary sketch (Cain 1992) that was subsequently revised and expanded for this grammatical description.

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

1 PHONOLOGY

1.1 Dhivehi Segmental Phonemes

The segmental phonemes of Dhivehi are as follows:

Table 1.1 Dhivehi Consonants

		Labial	Dental	Retroflex	Palatal	Velar
Stops	Voiceless	p	t	ṭ	c	k
	Voiced	b	d	ḍ	j	g
	Prenasalized	ᵐb	ⁿd	ⁿḍ		ⁿg
Nasals		m	n		(ñ)	
Semivowels					y	
Lateral			l	ḷ		
Flap				r		
Fricative	Voiceless	f	s	ṣ		h
	Voiced	v	z			

Table 1.2 Dhivehi Vowels

i	u	ī	ū
e	o	ē	ō
	a	ā	

1.1.1 Consonants

1.1.1.1 General Observations

Voicing is contrastive in Dhivehi as the following pairs illustrate:

(1)   /p/ and /b/:   /parī/ 'fairy'   /bari/ 'block'
        /t/ and /d/:   /tan/ 'place'   /dan/ 'watch (time interval)'
        /ṭ/ and /ḍ/:   /ṭakai/ 'on behalf of'   /ḍakai/ 'old hag'
        /k/ and /g/:   /kon/ 'which'   /gon/ 'puffer fish'

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

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

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

The status of /ñ/ as a phoneme is marginal. Except for two words, /ñamñam/ 'cynometra cauliflora (a kind of fruit)' and /ñaviyani/ 'Gnaviyani (alphabet letter)', the /ñ/ only occurs as the result of the fusion of /n/ and /i/: /dūni/ 'bird', /dūññek/ 'a bird'. We include it here as it is represented in Thaana, the Dhivehi writing system (see Section 1.1.3 below).

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

Dhivehi has prenasalized stops (ᵐb, ⁿd, ⁿḍ, ⁿg): /aᵐbu/ 'mango', /haⁿdu/ 'moon', /haⁿḍu/ 'uncooked rice', /aⁿga/ 'mouth'. These segments only occur intervocalically. They share

important properties with single segments (see Section 1.5), and contrast with biconsonantal nasal + voiced stop clusters. Dhivehi and Sinhala appear to be the only Indo-Aryan languages in which prenasalized stops exist and occur in such contrasts.

The inventory of phonemes as given in Table 1.1 above is based on surface contrasts. Some pairs (i.e., /p/ and /f/, /ṭ/ and /ṣ/, /s/ and /h/) were in complementary distribution historically, but later loan words reintroduced the contrasts. These are discussed in Section 1.1.1.2. The contrast in these pairs is neutralized when geminate (see Section 1.5). Dhivehi severely limits which phonemes occur in the coda of the syllable (with the exception of geminate clusters), and the phonemes that do occur there are underspecified for place of articulation. These neutralizations are discussed in Section 1.2.2.

1.1.1.2 Foreign Influence and the Phoneme Inventory

The influence of other languages has played a great role in Dhivehi phonology. The phoneme /z/, for example, comes entirely from foreign influence: /gāzi/ 'judge' (Persian). A number of allophonic relations in Dhivehi have had contrast introduced through loan words as seen in the following:

/p/ and /f/: Synchronically /p/ and /f/ contrast: /pān/ 'bread' and /fān/ 'light'. At one point, Dhivehi had only /p/, but some time after the 1600's, word initial and intervocalic /p/ changed to /f/ perhaps as a result of Persian and Arabic influence (Geiger 1919: 116). Historical documents from the 11th c., for example, show 'five' rendered as /pas/ whereas today it is /fas/ (Disanayake 1986: 69).

Subsequently, /p/ in borrowed words also appeared as /f/: /hasfatālu/ 'hospital'. Currently, however, the /p/ in newly borrowed words is retained: /ripōṭu/ 'report'. [5] Thus, all occurrences of single /p/ in modern Dhivehi are in borrowed words. Unlike those Indo-Aryan languages which feature /f/ only as the result of borrowed lexical items (e.g., Sinhala, Hindi, Urdu), Dhivehi has it as a part of its basic inventory, resulting from sound change, and /p/ represents the borrowed element.

Although single occurrences of /p/ and /f/ contrast, only /p/ occurs geminated where the contrast is neutralized. This alternation is described in Section 1.5.

/s/ and /h/: As a result of sound change ([s] > [h]); /s/ occurred as [s] word finally, but [h] intervocalically, and this alternation is retained morphophonemically: /bas/ 'word', /bahek/ 'a word'. However, due to borrowing /s/ and /h/ are now contrastive:

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

[s] was retained, however, in geminates, producing an /s/~/h/ alternation: /mehi/ 'fly', /messek/ 'a fly' (see Section 1.5).

/ṣ/ and /ṭ/: /ṣ/, a retroflex grooved fricative, is peculiar to Dhivehi among the Indo-Aryan languages. In some dialects, it is pronounced as [ṛ], a voiceless retroflex flap or trill. The /ṣ/ derives historically from retroflex /ṭ/, and not from Sanskrit /š/ or /ṣ/. Sometime after the 12th c., intervocalic /ṭ/ became /ṣ/: /raṭu/ 'island' (12th c.), /raṣu-/ 'island'. The contrast between /ṣ/ and /ṭ/ was introduced through loan words: /koṣanī/ 'cutting', /koṭari/ 'room'. /ṭ/ as [ṭ] was retained, however, in geminate clusters, and the alternation is preserved morphophonemically: /feṣunī/ 'starting', /faṭṭaifi/ 'has caused to start' (see also Section 1.5.2).

/c/ and /j/: Both /c/ and /j/ are phonemes, but the former only occurs as a fusion of /t/ and /i/ and in loan words: /eccek/ 'a thing' (from /eti/ 'thing' and /-ek/ 'INDF', see Section 1.5.2), and /cōku/ 'chalk'. Similarly the /j/ occurs as a fusion of /d/ and /i/: /rodi/ 'thread' and

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[5] Interestingly, 'hospital' can also be rendered as /haspiṭalu/ reflecting a more recent borrowing.

/-ek/ 'a' become /rojjek/ 'a thread'. Loan words have also contributed: /jagu/ 'jug'. However, in one very prolific word, /jehun/ 'striking', /j/ is a reflex of earlier /g/: /jahā/ 'strike'(modern), /gasai/ 'strike' (12th c.).

1.1.2 Vowels

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

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

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

1.1.3 Orthography

The Maldives has developed its own unique script, called Thaana, for the writing of Dhivehi. The Thaana script was created some time in the 17th century (Mohamed 1999: 31), and supplanted the earlier Dhivehi Akuru, a script closely resembling those of medieval Sinhala and Tulu. Like Arabic, Thaana writes from right to left. The Thaana base characters were based on Arabic numerals 1-9, and presumably on earlier forms of Maldivian numerals as well, the latter resembling those of Sinhala. These eighteen characters were then modified to make up the full Thaana inventory (Geiger 1919: 20-23; Bell 1919: 150-164). The basic Thaana alphabet consists of twenty four basic consonant characters, ten vowel diacritics, and *sukun* (a diacritic to indicate that that the base character is vowel-less). There are no inherent vowels in Thaana as there are in Indic scripts (see Table 1.3). Most vowels are written above a consonant base character, except for the vowels /i/ and /ī/ which are written below. For vowels that do not follow consonants, a base character empty of phonetic content, called *alifu* (ﺀ), is employed: ﺄ "a" (see Table 1.4). The basic set of consonants has been further augmented to facilitate the transliteration of Arabic loan words. Table 1.5 shows those commonly used. The Indic order (i.e., *k, kh, g, gh*, and etc.) has been abandoned for a more arbitrary arrangement as seen in Table 1.3. A standard romanized rendition of Dhivehi also exists, and is commonly found in printed materials for foreigners. The letters in parenthesis give the romanized equivalents, and the names of the letters are rendered in it.

Table 1.3 Thaana Base Characters

Letter		Letter		Letter	
Haa (h)	/h/	Vaavu (v)	/v/	Seenu (s)	/s/
Shaviyani (sh)	/ṣ/	Meemu (m)	/m/	Daviyani (d)	/ḍ/
Noonu (n)	/n/	Faafu (f)	/f/	Zaviyani (z)	/z/
Raa (r)	/r/	Dhaalu (dh)	/d/	Taviyani (t)	/ṭ/
Baa (b)	/b/	Thaa (th)	/t/	Yaviyani (y)	/y/
Lhaviyani (lh)	/ḷ/	Laamu (l)	/l/	Paviyani (p)	/p/
Kaafu (k)	/k/	Gaafu (g)	/g/	Javiyani (j)	/j/
Alifu	--	Gnaviyani (gn)	/ñ/	Chaviyani (ch)	/c/

Table 1.4 Thaana Vowel Signs with Alifu Base Character

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

Table 1.5 Thaana Equivalents for Transliterated Arabic
(*Thiki Jehi Thaana* 'dotted Thaana')

غ ع خ ح

ظ ط ث ذ

ق ش ص ض

و

The following example (4) illustrates a Dhivehi sentence rendered in Thaana. In the transliteration below the Thaana line, the sentence reads right to left. The degree symbol (°) indicates *sukun*, and the caret (^) corresponds to *alifu*:

(4)

.eve^af°šok urāy°^at īnav °^emakāhiruh uri^ayid am °ša^eg e^
.done ready is everything when went I to house that

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

tayyāru	koffa	eve
ready	do.SUC	END

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

For further information about Thaana, see Gair and Cain (1996). For a discussion of the Thaana alphabet in relation to Dhivehi's phonology, see De Silva (1969).

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

1.2 Dhivehi Syllable Structure and Phonotactics
1.2.1 Dhivehi Syllable Patterns

Dhivehi has the following syllable patterns:

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

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

Complex nuclei include lengthened vowels and the diphthongs /ai/ and /au/. The diphthong /ai/ is often pronounced as [æ] in the Malé dialect: /sai/ 'tea' [sæ].

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

1.2.2 Phonemes Occurring in the Syllable Coda and Neutralization
1.2.2.1 Word Final Neutralization

Word finally, the only phonetic segments that occur in Dhivehi words are [ŋ], [ʔ], and [s]. However, these represent more underlying elements as shown in (6). These, with their neutralized phonetic representations, are shown in the left column. As the right column shows, they surface when a vowel-initial suffix is attached.

(6)	/n/	/ran/	[raŋ]	'gold'	/ranek/	[raneʔ]	'some gold'
	/m/	/kam-/	[kaŋ]	'activity'	/kamek/	[kameʔ]	'an activity'
	/k/	/bok/	[boʔ]	'frog'	/bokek/	[bokeʔ]	'a frog'
	/š/	/raš/	[raʔ]	'island'	/rašek/	[rašeʔ]	'an island'
	/t/	/fat/	[fayʔ]	'leaf'	/fatek/	[fateʔ]	'a leaf'
	/s/	/bas/	[bas]	'word'	/bahek/	[baheʔ]	'a word'

The nasals /m/ and /n/ neutralize to [ŋ] prepausally, and before words beginning with a vowel or /h/. In this sketch we have followed the practice of Dhivehi orthography by rendering both nasals word finally as /n/. In cases where a distinction needs to be made, we write the /m-/ with the hyphen as illustrated in (8) below.

The non-nasal consonants /k/, /š/ and /t/ neutralize to [ʔ] when prepausal. But, the /t/ surfaces as [ʔ] with a [y] offglide on the preceding vowel: /fat/ [fayʔ] 'leaf'.[7] We give the underlying form when writing these segments word finally. Dhivehi orthographic convention does the same.

At one time, /l/ could also occur word finally in Standard Dhivehi, but it was subsequently lost, and the preceding vowel was lengthened. As with other consonants, the /l/ resurfaces in inflected forms:

(7)	/bulā/ 'cat'	/bulalek/ 'a cat'
	/kakū/ 'knee'	/kakulek/ 'a knee'
	/lō/ 'eye'	/lolek/ 'an eye'

There are instances of [f] and [l] word finally, but they are limited to borrowed words can vary in pronunciation: [sāfu] ~ [sāf] 'clear', [failu] ~ [fail] 'file'.

---

[7] The Addu dialect does not have this off-glide formation: /fat/ [faʔ] 'leaf'.

1.2.2.2 Coda Consonants in Sandhi and Geminates

When followed by another consonant besides /h/, the nasals assimilate to place even across word boundaries:

(8)   /kan/ 'corner'   /kan kairīgā/ [kaŋ kairīgā] 'close to the corner'
                      /kan matīgā/ [kam matīgā] 'on top of the corner'
    /kam-/ 'event'   /kan eⁿgē/ [kaŋ eⁿgē] 'understanding something'
                      /kan nēⁿgē/ [kan nēⁿgē] 'not knowing something'

Allophonic [ʔ] completely assimilates to any word initial consonant that it precedes with the exception of /h/. This is true of compound nouns as well. In these compounds we depict underlying /k/, /s/, and /t/ as geminated with the following consonant. When /ş/ precedes /t/ or /d/ in a compound noun, but not across a syntactic boundary, the /t/ and /d/ become retroflex as illustrated in (9):

(9)   /k/   /e ruk digu/   [e rud digu] 'that coconut tree is tall'
             /ruffā/   [ruffā] 'coconut grove area' (/ruk/ 'palm' + /fā/ 'grove')
    /ş/   /fukkiru/   [fukkiru] 'powder milk' (/fuş/ 'powder' + /kiru/ milk')
         /aḍḍiha/   [aḍḍiha] '80' (/aş/ '8' + /diha/ '10')
                     c.f.: /raşaş dē/[raşad dē] 'Go to (your home) island!'
         /avaṭṭeri/   [avaṭṭeri] 'neighbor' (/avaş/ 'around' + /teri/ 'person')
    /t/   /fat koşāla/   [fayk koşāla] 'Cut the leaves!'
         /hayddiha/[8]   [hayddiha] 'seventy' (/hat/ 'seven' + /diha/ 'ten')

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

(10)   /n/   [kāŋ#āde] 'Come eat!' (/kān/ 'to eat' + /āde/ 'Come!')
       /m/   [galaŋ#ellā] 'Throw the pen!' (/galam-/ 'pen' + /ellā/ 'Throw!')
       /k/   [ruŋ#arā] 'Climb the tree!' (/ruk/ 'palm' + /arā/ 'Climb!')
       /ş/   [aŋ#hās] 'eight thousand' (/aş/ 'eight' + /hās/ 'thousand')
       /t/   [hayŋ#hās] 'seven thousand' (/hat/ 'seven' + /hās/ 'thousand')

The coda position can be filled by any consonant (except for /f/, /ş/, /h/, and /ñ/) when geminate with the onset of the following syllable within a monomorphemic word. Table 1.6 illustrates lexical (monomorphemic) gemination. Geminates also arise as a result of /i/ deletion and compensatory lengthening (see Section 1.5).

Table 1.6 Monomorphemic Geminates

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

---

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

Although /f/, /ş/, and /h/ fail to occur geminated, they do alternate with geminate /p/, /ṭ/, and /s/ respectively as discussed in Section 1.5.

1.3 Metrical Stress

Stress is not contrastive in Dhivehi, and is hard to determine. Intuitive judgments show that the Dhivehi stress rule is as follows:

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

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

1.4 Intonation Patterns

A detailed study of Dhivehi intonation has not yet been carried out, but preliminary observations made about the pitch contours on the basis of speech samples analyzed so far are as follows:

Declarative sentences generally follow an even mid tone, and drop off to a low tone at the end of the sentence:

(12)   M   L
       aharen divehi   das   kuranī
       I   Dhivehi   learn do.PREPRO
       'I am learning Dhivehi.'

Declarative sentences of the focus (cleft) construction type can also feature a H-M-L pattern:

(13)   H   M   L
       aharen mi danī   miskitaş
       I   this go.PRE.FOC mosque.DAT
       'It is to the mosque that I am going.'

The basic pattern for content questions is Mid-High-Mid:

(14)   M H   M
       kobā   ti   raşu   bōṭu
       where   that   island   boat
       'Where is your island's boat?'

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

Tag questions tend to be mid tone throughout:

(16)   M
       ti   galan   dō
       that.EQ   pen   TAG
       'That's the pen, right?'

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

(17)
H	M	H
mi	raⁿgaḷu	ta
this	good	QP

'Is this good?'

1.5 /i/ Deletion and Compensatory Lengthening in Dhivehi

1.5.1 /i/ Deletion and Gemination

Dhivehi phonology features a type of compensatory lengthening in which /i/ following certain consonants gets deleted before vowel initial suffixes, and the preceding consonant lengthens. The /i/ does, however, leave a trace of itself behind in some form in addition to length; either palatalization or the insertion of an offglide on the vowel preceding the geminated consonant. Thus: /rodi/ 'thread' plus /-ek/ 'Indefinite' yields /rojjek/ 'a thread' and /boki/ 'bulb' with the same suffix gives /boykkek/ 'a bulb'. The latter phenomenon is especially interesting because of its typological rarity. Where the preceding consonant is one of a set that is not susceptible to gemination, the stem-final /i/ is retained. Thus: /baḍiyek/ 'a gun' from /baḍi/ plus /-ek/.

Dhivehi has a number of vowel initial suffixes, and all of them affect consonant plus -i stems in the same way. (18) illustrates /lōbi/ 'love' with both vowel initial and consonant initial suffixes. As the right hand column shows, only vowel initial suffixes induce gemination: [9]

(18)
lōybb*ek*	'love-Indefinite'	lōbi*n*	'love- Instrumental'
lōybb*akī*	'love + Equative marker'	lōbī*ge*	'love-Genitive'
lōybb*aku*	'love-Unspecified'	lōbī*gai*	'love-Locative'
lōybb*aš*	'love-Dative'		

The conditions for gemination, and for its inapplicability are given in greater detail in Sections 1.5.2 - 1.5.4.

1.5.2 Gemination With and Without Palatalization

Consonants that are in the dental series ([+coronal] and [+anterior]), (see Section 1.1, Table 1.1) undergo both gemination and palatalization with /i/ deletion, as shown in (19). Note that prenasalized stops behave like single segments in being subject to gemination, but become full nasals plus consonant:

(19)
eti	'thing'	eccek	'a thing'
rodi	'thread'	rojjek	'a thread'
dōdi	'ray'	dōjjek	'a ray'
fani	'worm'	faññek	'a worm'
duni	'bow'	duññek	'a bow'
dūni	'bird'	dūññek	'a bird'
haⁿdi	'bluefin trevally'	hanjek	'a bluefin trevally'
fali	'oar'	fayyek	'an oar'

/š/ and /h/ geminates as /ṭ/ and /s/ respectively, and do not palatalize, as in (20):

(20)
roši	'chapatti'	roṭṭek	'a chapatti'
fehi	'green'	fessek	'a green (algae)'

---

[9] The /i/ lengthens before CV case endings.

1.5.3 Gemination with Offglide

When the preceding consonant is either labial or velar, gemination is accompanied by an offglide on the vowel of the preceding syllable as in (21). Note again that prenasalized stops behave like single segments in being subject to gemination, but become full nasals plus stop:

(21)
Labials:	lōbi	'love'	lōybbek		'a love'
	a^mbi	'wife'	aymbek		'a wife'
	niyami	'navigator'	niyaymmek		'a navigator'
	kurafi	'roach'	kurayppek		'a roach'
	avi	'sunlight'	ayvvek		'sunlight'
Velars:	boki	'bulb'	boykkek		'a bulb'
	bureki	'perch (fish)'	burekkek/buraykkek		'a perch'
	vāgi	'strength'	vāyggek		'strength'
	fuḷaⁿgi	'flying fish'	fuḷayngek		'a flying fish'

1.5.4 Retention of Stem Final /i/ With /y/ Insertion

There are two conditions under which i-ending words retain /i/ before vowel-initial suffixes, and an epenthetic /y/ breaks up the hiatus of the vowels: (a) words which end in /i/ preceded by a retroflex ([-anterior], [-coronal]) consonant or /r/;[10] and (b) words which end in /i/ preceded by a closed syllable (i.e., a geminate or consonant cluster).[11] These are illustrated in (22) and (23) respectively:

(22) No Palatalization and No Gemination, Type I:
buri	'tier'	buriyek	'a tier'
faḷi	'slice (n.)'	faḷiyek	'a slice'
baḍi	'gun'	baḍiyek	'a gun'

(23) No Palatalization and No Gemination, Type II:
nappi	'bad food'	nappiyek	'bad food'
bimbi	'millet'	bimbiyek	'millet'
batti	'light'	battiyek	'a light'
buddi	'mind'	buddiyek	'a mind'
bonti	'unopened frond'	bontiyek	'an unopened frond'
kulli	'emergency'	kulliyek	'an emergency'
jinni	'jinni'	jinniyek	'a jinni'
fangi	'frond'	fangiyek	'a frond'

This data reveals that the /i/ can neither merge across non-coronal consonant clusters to form an offglide, nor can it palatalize preceding dental ([+coronal], [+anterior]) segments when they are second members of a consonant cluster. All the consonant clusters in (23) are homorganic.[12]

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[10] Dhivehi /r/ patterns with the retroflex segments. The verb *huri* 'be.PST', for example, is historically derived from *huši*.

[11] To date only one exception to this observation has been noted: /sānti/ 'mat' palatalizes to become /sāntñek/ 'a mat'.

[12] Cain (1999) gives a formal treatment of these phenomena in feature geometric terms and within the framework of Optimality Theory, a constraint based theory (Prince and Smolensky 1993).

2 MORPHOLOGY

2.1 Nominal Morphology

2.1.1 Gender

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

The distinction between human and non-human notional gender classes in Dhivehi is important in the selection of case endings, and in the formation of plurals as described in Sections 2.1.2 and 2.1.3 respectively. Noun classes also play a role in the selection of certain locative-stative verbs. Male referents, for example, will take the *hurun* 'standing, being (male)' verb form, and female referents take the *innun* 'sitting, being (female)'. For further information, see Section 2.4.5.

2.1.2 Dhivehi Case System

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

(24)

	Non-Human	Human
Dir.:	fot [foy?] 'book'	dari 'child'
Dat.:	fot-aş [fotaʔ] 'to the book'	dariy-aş 'to the child'
Gen.:	fotu-ge 'of the book'	darī-ge 'the child's'
Instr.:	fotu-n 'from/with the book'	(darī-ge faratu-n 'from the child's side')
Loc.:	fotu-gā 'in the book'	(darī-ge gai-gā 'in/on the child's body')

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

The direct case consists only of the stem and includes nominative and accusative functions. Other case endings are added to the stem. If the stem ends in a consonant then an epenthetical /u/ is added before consonant initial case endings: *fotu-ge* 'book-GEN'. Stems ending in short vowels other than /u/ lengthen it before genitive and locative cases: *dida* 'flag', *didā-gā* 'flag-LOC', *ge* 'house', *gē-gā* 'house-LOC' (see also (24)). The locative case marker has three freely alternating forms: *-gā, -ga* and *-gai*. The *-gai* form appears largely in written texts. The dative case is used to indicate semantic GOAL and non-volitional subjects in dative subject constructions. (See Section 3.2.1.1.2.) The instrumental case indicates SOURCE with verbs of motion and INSTRUMENT otherwise, and could be rightly called instrumental ablative. The instrumental case marker is *-in* with stems ending in *-e* and *-a*, and *-n* otherwise:

(25)
ēnā	ge-in	annanī
(s)he	house-INS	come.PREPRO

'(S)he is coming from the house.'

(26)
ēnā	doşi-n	mas bānanī
(s)he	pole-INS	fishing.PREPRO

'(S)he is fishing with a pole.'

The instrumental and dative case endings can also be used to indicate the adverbial function of MANNER when adjoined to adjectival form (see Section 2.5.3.)

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

Sociative/Comitative:

(27)
e	mīhun	aharemenn-ā	vāhakadakkanī	divehi	bahun
that	people	we-SOC	talking	Dhivehi	language.INS

'They are speaking with us in Dhivehi.'

(28)
aharen	nizām-ā	raṭṭehi	vi
I	nizam-SOC	friend	be.PST

'I became friends with Nizaam.'

(29)
aļugaⁿḍumenn-ā	baddalu	kurī	muslimun-ge
we(hon.)-SOC	meeting	do.PST.FOC	Muslim-GEN

māt	mīh-ek
great	person-INDF

'It was a devout Muslim man that met us.'

(30)
aharen	zūnāy-ā	inī
I	Zūnā-SOC	be(seated).PST.PRO

'I married Zuunaa.' (lit. 'I am seated with Zuunaa.')

Patient/Recipient:

(31)
ēnā	anna	mīhunn-ā	suvālu	kuranī
(s)he	coming	people-SOC	question	do.PREPRO

'(S)he is questioning the people who are coming.'

(32)
kaⁿḍu-ge	raļu-tak	aļugaⁿḍumenn-ā	hamalā	dīfi
sea-GEN	wave-PLU	we.hon.-SOC	attack	give.PFT

'The waves attacked us.'

(33)
e	mīhun	aharenn-ā	siṭī	havālu	kuri
that	people	I-SOC	letter	charge	do.PST

'They made me responsible for the letter.'

Benefactive:

(34)
e	ejenṭu	aļugaⁿḍumenn-ā	havālu	vi
that	agent	we(hon.)-SOC	responsible	become.PST

'That agent became responsible for us.'

The sociative case probably developed from coordinate noun phrase structures as described in Section 3.1.2. Note that Sinhala lacks such a case, but it is present in Dravidian (Caldwell 1875: 279-280).

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

2.1.3 Number Inflection

Non-human nouns do not inflect for number generally: *ek fot* 'one book', *tin fot* 'three books'. However, if further clarification is needed, the plural suffix *-tak* may be added: *fot-tak* 'books'. This patterns with Dravidian which also often does not specify number when context determines plurality (Caldwell 1875: 234-235). The *-tak* ending is the generic plural marker for all nominals. For sea going vessels, plurality can also be indicated by *faharu: nau faharu* 'schooners'.

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

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

2.1.4 Inflections For Definiteness

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

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

Of special interest is the requirement that negated items, be they substantives or adjectives, must take either the indefinite or unspecified ending (see Section 3.2.3.3.).

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

2.2 Deitic Categories and Pronominal Forms
2.2.1 Demonstrative Pronominals

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

(36) *mi*   'this, these': proximity to speaker
      ti/tiya   'that, those': proximity to hearer
      e   'that, those': distant from both speaker and hearer.

The *e* 'that, those' is also used anaphorically to refer to something already mentioned or understood in the discourse. Within the sentence, the *e* can also indicate coreferentiality (see also (35)):

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

      e   mīh-aku   fonuvā-lai-fi
      that   person-NSPC   send-put-PFT
      'The island chief sent the two witnesses each to their own house.'

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

(38) kalē   ti   danī   kon   tākaṣ
      you   that   go.PREFOC   which   place.DAT
      'Where are you going?'

(39) aharen   mi   danī   geyaṣ
      I   this   go.PREFOC   house.DAT
      'I'm going home.'

The Dhivehi demonstratives can stand alone for pronouns for inanimate objects without further inflection (40).

(40) e-ī   bōṭek
      that-EQ   boat.INDF
      'That is a boat.'

2.2.2 Personal Pronominal Forms

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

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

Note that the third person pronouns are periphrastic and consist of the demonstrative *e* 'that' followed by other nominals: *ēti* 'it' (*e eti* 'that thing'), *emīhun* (*e mīhun* 'those persons'), *ebaimīhun* 'they (*e bai mīhun* 'that group of people'). All the pronouns beginning with *e* (including *ēnā* '(s)he') have alternate forms relating to proximal distinctions. For example, *ēnā* is the generic third person singular, but *tīnā* and *mīnā* are also used to denote a person near the addressee and speaker respectively as well as some special uses.[13]

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

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

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

(42) aḷugaⁿḍu   'I'   aḷugaⁿḍumen   'we'
      tiyabēfuḷā   'you'   tiyabēfuḷun   'you all'
      ebēfuḷā   '(s)he'   ebēfuḷun   'they'

The pronouns in (41) and (42) are the most common. There are two additional pronouns that are somewhat archaic for the second person: *iba* (cf. Si. *oba*) which is equivalent to *tiyabēfuḷun*, and *iⁿba/uⁿba* (Si. *uⁿba*) which is equivalent to *kalē*. The *iⁿba* 'you' was clearly in use at the beginning of this century in the standard (Malé) dialect (Geiger 1919), but now is no longer used except in some dialects. Another second person pronoun that is currently in use among equals and even with people of higher status is *kalā*. Some dialects use *ta* as a second person pronoun of the same rank as *kalē*. (In Meemu Atoll, *ta* is used only for women.) The third person pronouns *eu* '(s)he' and *eumen* 'they' is found is some written texts.

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

The *timan* (< OIA *tman* 'vital breath') used in the first person pronouns for God and Mohammed is a pronoun related to the Sinhala reflexive *tama* 'one's self', but it does not have a reflexive usage in Dhivehi. However, in addition to its usage in religious contexts, the pronoun *timan/timā/timanna* has come primarily to mean first person (i.e., referring to the person being quoted) in reported speech, a limited logophoric usage:

(43) timanna   ves   dānamē   kiyāfā   ēnā   diyai
      I(rep.)   also   go.FUT.N3.QS said   (s)he   went
      'Having said 'I will also go', (s)he went.'

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

2.2.3   Interrogative Pronominals

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

(44) kāku   'who?'   kīk   'what?'   kon   'which?'
      kobā   'where?'   kitak   'how many?'   kihinek   'how?'
      kīvve 'why?' (lit. 'what becomes?')   koniraku   'when?' (lit. 'which time?')

2.3   Numerals

Two numeral systems are current in the Maldives. Both of them are identical up to 30. After 30, however, one system places the unit numeral stem before the decade (e.g., *et-tirīs* '31'), and the other combines the stem of the decade with the unit numeral (e.g., *tirīs-ekek* '31'). The latter system also features numerals multiplied by ten for decades 70, 80, and 90. Sinhala also has similar numeral systems. Classical Sinhala uses the unit numeral stem before the decade, Colloquial the decade with the unit numeral, and general literary something of a combination of the two (Geiger 1938: 118-119; Wijesundera et al. 1988: 86). Table 2.1 shows the Dhivehi numerals 1-40, the decades up to 100, and etc. Numerals 1-10 have a stem form used adjectivally and in compounds, and an indefinite form for counting.

Table 2.1 Dhivehi Numerals

No.	Stem	Nominal	No.	Numeral	No.	Numeral
0	sun	sumek				
1	ek [e?]	ekek	11	egāra	21	ekāvīs
2	de	dēk	12	bāra	22	bāvīs
3	tin	tinek	13	tēra	23	tēvīs
4	hataru	hatarek	14	sāda	24	sauvīs
5	fas	fahek	15	fanara	25	fansavīs
6	ha	hayek	16	sōḷa	26	sabbīs
7	hat [hay?]	hatek	17	satāra	27	hatāvīs
8	aṣ [a?]	aṣek	18	aṣāra	28	aṣāvīs
9	nuva	nuvayek	19	navāra/onavihi	29	navāvīs/onatirīs
10	diha	dihayek	20	vihi	30	tirīs

No.	Numeral-Decade	Decade-Numeral	No.	Numeral-Decade	Decade-Numeral
31	ettirīs	tirīs ekek	50	fansās	fansās
32	battirīs	tirīs dēk	60	haṭṭi	fasdoḷas
33	tettirīs	tirīs tinek	70	hayttari	hayddiha
34	sauratirīs	tirīs hatarek	80	āhi	aḍḍiha
35	fansatirīs	tirīs fahek	90	navai	nuvadiha
36	satirīs	tirīs hayek			
37	satutirīs	tirīs hatek	100	satēka	
38	aṣutirīs	tirīs aṣek	200	duisatta	
39	onasāḷīs	tirīs nuvayek	300	tin satēka	
40	sāḷīs	sāḷīs	1000	ek hās	

The decade plus numeral system is currently in fashion, but with some remnants of an older system as well. The numeral *fas doḷas* '60' (lit., 'five twelves') comes from a duodecimal system that has all but disappeared in the Maldives. This number system was used for special purposes such as counting coconuts. According to Maniku (1995: 9-10), numerals 1-10 were the same as in Table 2.1, but from 11 upward the system was reckoned by twelves (Table 2.2):

Table 2.2 Dhivehi Duodecimal Numerals

No.			No.		No.	
11	ekoḷahek	ekoḷas	22	doḷas dihayek	48	fanas
12	doḷahek	doḷas	23	doḷas ekoḷas	60	fas doḷas
13	doḷas ekek		24	fassihi	72	fāhiti
14	doḷas dēk		25	fassihi ekek.., etc.	84	hayddoḷas
15	doḷas tinek..., etc.		36	tin doḷas	96	hiya

This duodecimal system is not found, as far as we are aware, in Sri Lanka or in India, and how this system could have come to the Maldives is a matter of speculation (Maloney 1980: 134-137).

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

2.4 Verbal Morphology

2.4.1 Verbal Derivational Relationships

The Dhivehi verbal system, like Sinhala (Gair 1970), is characterized by sets of morphologically related verbs exhibiting derivational relationships between active, causative, and involitive/intransitive verb forms. The presence of a causative or involitive morpheme raises or lowers the valence of the verb respectively. Examples of sets are given in (45).

(45)

Active	Invol./Intrans.	Causative
hadanī 'making'	hedenī 'growing'	haddanī 'cultivating'
vaṭṭanī 'dropping'	veṭṭenī 'falling'	vaṭṭuvanī 'cause to drop'
anganī 'informing'	eⁿgenī 'knowing'	anguvanī 'cause to inform'
dakkanī 'showing'	dekenī 'seeing'	dakkuvanī 'cause to show'
balanī 'looking'	belenī 'seeing'	ballanī 'cause to look'

There are basic classes of Dhivehi verbs based on the stem vowel and the syllabic pattern of the stem (mono- or poly-syllabic) which determine their inflectional patterns (Section 2.4.2), and the derivational process changes the stem class, since the derivational morphemes are associated with specific stem endings. Causative and derived involitive verbs (IN-verbs) always have polysyllabic stems. The former always pattern with thematic vowel -*a*- stems, and the later with thematic -*e*- stem verbs.

The relation between morphological composition and syntactic/semantic function is complex, and not one-to-one. In some sets, there is no basic -*a* form, and the presence of the causative morpheme creates a basic active verb related to an involitive/intransitive one. Another causative morpheme is added to make it notionally causative. This is the case with the set *eⁿgenī* 'understanding', *anganī* 'informing' , *anguvanī* 'causing to inform' in (45) as well as with the *dakkanī* set. Some sets permit double causatives. Thus, *balluvanī* 'cause to look at'. These four forms are representative of a full and basically regular set (see further 4.1.1 and 4.2.1). Not all verbs enter into a full set, however, and some derived verbs take on special meanings. Causative forms are often used for honorific verbs, for example.

Though the relationship between verb type and syntax is complex, there are general patterns. Thus verb stems featuring -*e* thematic vowel are generally associated with verbs that are intransitive and/or involitive/experiential in meaning (e.g., *veṭṭe*- 'fall', *deke*- 'see'). However, a few *e*-thematic vowel stems are decidedly transitive and volitional (e.g., *kuḷenī* 'playing'). Furthermore, some verbs that are semantically involitive belong to the *a*-stem class (e.g., *kassanī* 'sliding (intransitive)'). Thus, while the association of the involitive verbs with *e*-thematic vowel stems is a strong one, it is by no means a direct correlation. The term IN-verb is reserved in this sketch for those involitive verbs featuring the -*e* thematic vowel. For a survey of how these valence categories interact with the syntax and details about the causative and the involitive morphemes, see Sections 4.1 and 4.2.

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

2.4.2 Verbal Inflections

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

Table 2.3 gives the Dhivehi verb paradigm with the relevant categories. The present stem, past stem, and present participle provide the basis of the various finite and medial (non-finite) verbs. Verbs fall into one of four major categories as determined by the shape of the present stem. Table 2.3 gives verbs that are fairly illustrative of each category, although there are some irregularities especially among monosyllabic stem verbs, and verbs of the -*nn*- stem type. Polysyllabic present stems featuring -*a*- thematic vowel are quite regular. These verbs are generally transitive, and morphologically derived causatives fall together with them. The IN-verbs are generally involitive and/or intransitive, feature thematic vowel -*e*-, and if detransitivized, require dative subjects: *aharen veṭṭunī* 'I fell', *ahannaš eⁿgē* 'I.DAT understand'.

Among the finite verb forms, many aspects/tenses show a person distinction between third person, the unmarked form, and non-third person (I, you, we, you.PLU) which is abbreviated N3. The non-third person marker (N3) is -*n* (-*m*/-*mu* underlyingly and in some dialects, and sometimes used in literary Dhivehi as well). Briefly, *Habitual* can also be called "simple present". *Progressive (Pro.)* indicates a progressive or continuous aspect. *Irrealis* indicates a counterfactual state or activity as in "*x* would have done *y*" (see Section 3.2.2.4). The more common finite categories are described in Section 2.4.3. *Reason* medial verbs depict causal statements, *Temporal* the semantic relation of "when", *Inchoative* "since", *Simultaneous* "while", and *Concessive* "although". These are discussed in Section 3.2.2.3. The relative participles (*Rel.*) are those which occur adjectivally before a head noun (see Section 3.1.4).

Table 2.3 Dhivehi Verb Paradigm (arranged by stem)

	Mono.	Poly. -a-	-nn- Stems	IN-verbs
Present Stem	ka- 'eat'	jaha- 'strike'	ganna- 'get'	eⁿge- 'know'
Finite:				
Pres. Pro.	kanī	jahanī	gannanī	eⁿgenī
Future	kāne	jahāne	gannāne	eⁿgēne
Future.N3	kānan	jahānan	gannānan	---
Fut. Pro.	kānī	jahānī	gannānī	eⁿgēnī
Habit.N3	kan	jahan	gannan	---
Habitual	kai	jahā	ganē	eⁿgē
Imperative	kai	jahā	ganē	---
	kamā	jahamā	gannamā	---
Present Stem	ka- 'eat'	jaha- 'strike'	ganna- 'get'	eⁿge- 'know'
Medial:				
Pres. Rel.	kā	jahā	ganna	eⁿgē
Infinitive	kān	jahan	gannan	eⁿgen
Reason	kātī	jahātī	gannātī	eⁿgētī
Simult.	kamun	jahamun	gannamun	eⁿgemun
Simult.	kanikoš	jahanikoš	gannanikoš	eⁿgenikoš

Table 2.3 Dhivehi Verb Paradigm (continued)

	Mono.	Poly. -a-	-nn- Stems	IN-verbs
Past Stem	kei-	jehi-	gat-	e^{n}gunu-
Finite:				
Past	kei	jehi	gat	e^{n}gunu
Past.N3	kein	jehin	gatin	---
Past Pro.	keī	jehī	gatī	e^{n}gunī
Irrealis	keīs	jehīs	gatīs	e^{n}gunīs
Irrealis.N3	keīmus	jehīmus	gatīmus	---
Medial:				
Past Rel.	kei	jehi	gat	e^{n}gunu
Temporal	keīma	jehīma	gatīma	e^{n}gunīma
Inchoat.	keīssure	jehīssure	gatīssure	e^{n}gunīssure
Concess.	keyas	jehiyas	gatiyas	e^{n}gunas
Pres. Participle	kai	jahai	gane	e^{n}gi
Finite:				
Perfect	kaifi	jahaifi	ganefi	e^{n}gijje
Perfect.N3	kaifin	jahaifin	ganefin	---
Optative	kaifāne	jahaifāne	ganefāne	e^{n}gidāne
Opt.N3	kaifānan	jahaifānan	ganefānan	---
Medial:				
Cond.	kaifiyyā	jahaifiyyā	ganefiyyā	e^{n}gijjeyyā
Suc. -gen	kaigen	jahaigen	ganegen	e^{n}gigen
Suc. -fā	kaifā	jahāfā[15]	ganefā	e^{n}gifā

There are a number of irregular verbs that show a mixed pattern of inflection. Table 2.4 shows some of the commonly used ones. In addition, there is a small set of polysyllabic stem verbs featuring thematic vowel -e- that pattern morphologically like IN-verbs except that they inflect for person, and they do not require dative subjects, so that they behave like active verbs (see Section 2.4.1). kuḷenī 'playing' is representative:

Table 2.4 Dhivehi Irregular Verbs

	Monosyllabic Irregular		-nn- Irreg.	Poly. -e-
	da- 'go'	de- 'give'	anna- 'come'	kuḷe- 'play'
Present Stem				
Finite:				
Pres. Pro.	danī	denī	annanī	kuḷenī
Future	dāne	dēne	annāne	kuḷēnī
Future.N3	dānan	dēnan	annānan	kuḷene
Fut. Pro.	dānī	dēnī	annānī	kuḷenan
Habit.N3	dan	dēn	annan	kuḷen
Habitual	dē	dē	ādē	kuḷē
Imperative	dē	dī	ādē	kuḷē
Hortative	damā	---	annamā	kuḷemā

---

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

Medial:				
Pres. Rel.	dā	dē	anna	kuḷē
Infinitive	dān	dēn	annan	kuḷen
Reason	dātī	dētī	annātī	kuḷetī
Simult.	damun	demun	annamun	kuḷemun
Simult.	danikoṣ	denikoṣ	annanikoṣ	kuḷenikoṣ
Past Stem	diya-	din-	ai-	kuḷunu-
Finite:				
Past	diya	din	ai	kuḷunu
Past.N3	diyain	dinin	ain	kuḷunin
Past Pro.	diyaī	dinī	aī	kuḷunī
Irrealis	diyaīs	dinīs	aīs	kuḷunīs
Irrealis.N3	diyaīmus	dinīmus	aimus	kuḷunīmus
Medial:				
Past Rel.	diya	din	ai	kuḷunu
Temporal	diyaīma	dinīma	aīma	kuḷunīma
Inchoat.	diyaīssure	dinīssure	aīssure	kuḷunīssure
Concess.	diyas	dinas	aiyas	kuḷunas
Pres. Participle	gos	dī	ais	kuḷe
Finite:				
Perfect	hi^{n}gajje gosfi/gossi	dīfi	atuvejje aisfi/aissi	kuḷefi
Perfect.N3	hi^{n}gajjain gosfin/gossin	dīfin	atuvejjain aisfin/aissin	kuḷefin
Optative	hi^{n}gadāne gosfāne	dīfāne	aisfāne	kuḷefāne
Opt.N3	hi^{n}gadānan gosfānan	dīfānan	aisfānan	kuḷefānan
Medial:				
Cond.	hi^{n}gajjiyyā	dīfiyyā	atuvejjiyyā	kuḷefiyyā
Suc.-gen	gosgen	dīgen	aisgen	kuḷegen
Suc.-fā	gosfā	dīfā	aisfā	kuḷefai

Gerund forms of the above verbs are given below. Note that these forms show a formal relationship with past tense stems:

(46)

Gerunds	PST	Gerunds	PST
keun 'eating'	kei	jehun 'striking'	jehunu
gatun 'getting'	gat	e^{n}gun 'knowing'	e^{n}gunu
diyun 'going'	diya	dinun 'giving'	din
aun 'coming'	ai	kuḷun 'playing'	kuḷunu

3.4.3 Tense and Aspect in Dhivehi

In this section, we give a brief overview of the grammatical categories found in the inflected forms of the finite Dhivehi verbs. Dhivehi signals three aspects, habitual, progressive, and perfect; and three tenses, past, present and future. Two persons are differentiated among non-progressive verbs, third person (he/she/it/they) and non-third person (I/you/we/you all marked by -n). Third person is unmarked. Verbs in the progressive do not differentiate

person, and no verbs differentiate number. Descriptions of each of the Dhivehi tense and aspects follow.

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

(47) aharen   kommeduvahaku   rēḍiyō   aḍuahan.
     I   every day   radio   listen.HAB.N3
     'I listen to the radio every day.'

(48) mamma   kommeduvahaku   rēḍiyō   aḍuahā.
     mother   every day   radio   listen.HAB
     'Mother listens to the radio every day.'

Negative replies to queries are often rendered in the habitual aspect form even when the question is given in the present, past, or perfect tense/aspect. (See Section 3.2.3.3.1.)

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

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

(49) ēnā   demme   kaifi
     (s)he   just   eat.PFT
     '(S)he just ate.'

(50) aharen   demme   kaifi-n
     I   just   eat.PFT-N3
     'I just ate.'

Past Tense: This tense inflects for person:

(51) ēnā   māle   diya
     (s)he   Malé   went
     '(S)he went to Male.'

(52) aharen   māle   diyain
     I   Malé   go.PST.N3'
     I went to Male.'

Past Progressive: The past progressive expresses activities or states occurring in the past, but which have a continuative or progressive aspect. For most verbs, this category differs from the past only in that the final vowel is long. The past progressive does not inflect for person: *aharen/ ēnā māle diyaī* 'I/(s)he was going to Māle.'

Future: The future tense inflects for person:

(53) ēnā   māle   dāne
     (s)he   Malé   go.FUT
     '(S)he will go to Malé.'

(54) aharemen   māle   dānan
     we   Malé   go.FUT.N3
     'We will go to Malé.'

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

Progressive Verbs and Focus Constructions: Present, past, and future progressive verbs are identical to focus verbs in their respective tenses. These focus verbs are used in constructions that typically depict responses to information questions, and the postposed constituent indicates new and/or asserted information. For example, *aharen diyaī māle* 'I went to Malé' or 'It was to Malé that I went' (as opposed to some place else). In such constructions, the verb is progressive in form but not necessarily in meaning. For more information on the focus construction, see Section 3.2.3.1.

2.4.4 Compound Verbs

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

2.4.5 Agreement Marking

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

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

does not blow in the active sense (i.e. *jahanī* 'is blowing/striking'), but rather non-volitionally as in *vai jehenī* 'The wind is blowing.IN'[16]

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

hurun 'standing': In its literal meaning, *hurun* refers to anyone actually standing as in (55). As an existential it is used for men (56), any inanimate object with vertical orientation (57), plurality of objects regardless of orientation (58), abstract qualities (59), and objects perceived as containers with the open side up (60):

(55)   e   anhen   kujjā   hurī   fāru   kairī
         that   female   child   be(vert.).PST.FOC   wall   near
         'That girl is standing near the wall.'[17]

(56)   abdullah   hunnanī   māle-gā
         Abdullah   be(vert.).PRE.FOC   Malé.LOC
         'Abdullah is in Malé.'

(57)   fānūzu   hurī   mēzu   matī-gā
         lantern   be(vert.).PST.FOC   table   top-LOC
         'The lantern is on the table.'

(58)   fottak   mēzu   matī-gā   eba   huri
         books   table   top-LOC   now   be(vert.).PST
         'The books are on the table.'

(59)   e   de   mīhun-ge   terē-gā
         that   two   people-GEN   inside-LOC

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

         'There is friendship among those two people.'

(60)   jōḍu   mēzu   matī-gā   eba   huri
         cut   table   top-LOC   now   be(vert.).PST
         'The cup is on the table.'

inun 'sitting' is used to denote anyone actually sitting (61). As an existential, it refers to women (62), animate bipeds and multipeds (63) and (64), and fruit still attached to the tree (65):

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

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

[17] Morphologically many of the verbs in (55) – (73) are past tense. However, for positional-existential verbs, the past tense continues to be interpreted as the current state once that state has been entered into. The English translation reflects this by using the present tense.

(62)   madīhā   inī   duvas   furi   baⁿḍ-aṣ   at
         Madiihaa   be(seated).PST.FOC   day   full   stomach-DAT   hand

         nu-forā   varu   ve-fā
         NEG-reaching.RPRT   amount   be-SUC

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

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

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

(65)   falō   gahu-gā   inī
         papaya   tree-LOC   be(seated).PST.PRO
         'The papaya is in the tree.'

otun 'lying down' is used to denote anything or anyone actually lying down (66), and existential for singular inanimates with a horizontal orientation (i.e., mattress, book) (67), a legless animate (68) or quadruped (69), natural phenomenon (70), an object perceived as a container whose open side is down (71), and a fruit detached from the tree (72):

(66)   donkamana   otī   eⁿdu   matī-gā
         Don Kamana   be(horz.).PST.FOC   bed   top-LOC
         'Don Kamana lay on top of the bed.'

(67)   godaḍi   otī   eⁿdu-gā
         mattress   be(horz.).PST.FOC   bed-LOC
         'The mattress is on the bed.'

(68)   harufa   vina   gaⁿḍu   matī-gā   otī
         snake   grass   mass   top-LOC   be(horz.).PST.PRO
         'The snake is on the grass.'

(69)   buḷa   otī   gē-gā
         cat   be(horz.).PST.FOC   house-LOC
         'The cat is in the house.'

(70)   mi   otī   vai   eᵐburē   mūsun
         this   be(horz.).PST.FOC   wind   turn.RPRT   season
         'This is the season of changing winds.'

(71)   bō   taṣi   harugaⁿḍu   matī-gā   baⁿdun   otī
         drinking   vessel   shelf   top-LOC   upside down   be(horz.).PST.PRO
         'The tumbler is upside down on top of the shelf.'

(72)   mi   otī   faḷol-ek
         this   be(horz.).PST.FOC   papaya-INDF
         'This is a papaya.'

In addition to the existential verbs above, the verb *tibun* 'being' is used in reference to plural animates:

(73) ēru   husain-āi   donmaniku   tibī
      then   husain-CNPM   donmaniku   be.PST.FOC

      faļu   raš-eg-gā
      uninhabited   island-INDF-LOC

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

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

2.5 Other Classes
2.5.1 Adjectives

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

(74) *boḍu*   māvaharu   'big ambergris'
      kuḍa   faisā koļu   'little bit of money'
      rīti   anhen kujjā   'pretty girl'

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

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

Adjectives can be derived from nouns in various ways depending on the noun. The derivational suffix *-ī* is used to denote something "pertaining to x": *ahar-ī* 'annual' (from *aharu* 'year'), *jins-ī* 'sexual' (from *jinsu* 'sex'), *vagut-ī* 'temporary' (from *vagutu* 'time'). Two other suffixes, *-veri* and *-teri*, are used to indicate "having the quality of x": *fāfa-veri* 'sinful' (from *fāfu* 'sin'), *bēnun-teri* 'useful' (from *bēnun* 'want/need'). Generally *-teri* is used to derive words ending in consonants, and *-veri* with words ending in vowels (Saudiq 1993: 28). Some noun forms and adjectives are the same without any derivational suffixes: *bali* 'weak' and 'sickness', *valu* 'wild' and 'jungle'.

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

2.5.2 Postpositions

Postpositions are generally not a distinct class in Dhivehi. They are, rather, locative nouns inflected with various case endings: *matī-gā* 'on top of' or 'top-LOC', *medu-gā* 'in the middle of' or 'middle-LOC', *tere-in* 'among' or 'interior-INS'. These inflected locative nouns generally

follow nouns inflected with the genitive case: *aharen-ge kairī-gā* 'near me' or 'I-GEN near-LOC'. Structurally, these are no different than other kinds of noun phrases. (Compare *aharen-ge koṭarī-gā* 'inside my room'.) There are, however, some postpositionals that are not so morphologically transparent: *menuvī* 'apart from', *fiyavā* 'except', *vure(n)* 'than', *ṭakai* 'for (BENE)', *kuren* 'from'.

2.5.3 Adverbs

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

Adverbial functions are often carried out by noun phrases and case marked substantives. Temporality, for example, can be depicted by a temporal noun phrase usually occurring clause initially. In (75) *ēru* 'at that time' consists of literally *e* 'that' and *iru* 'time':

(75) ēru   aharen   mālegai   ulunīn
      that time   I   Malé-LOC   live.PST.N3
      'At that time, I lived in Malé.'

Similarly *mihāru* 'now' is made up of *mi* 'this', *hā* 'INTNS', and *iru* 'time'. Other examples include: *edduvahaku* 'one day' (from *ek* 'one' and *duvas* 'day' with *-aku* 'NSPC'), and *evagutu(gai)* 'at that time' (from *e* 'that', *vagutu* 'time' with *-gai* 'LOC'). Some of these forms have been lexicalized as adverbs, but the temporal nominal is still used productively in subordinate clauses depicting time. The relative participial form of the verb is used with a noun phrase headed by a temporal substantive: *hasan miskitaš diya iru* 'when Hasan went to the mosque.' (see Section 3.2.2.5.1.).

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

2.5.4 Particles and Clitics

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

2.5.4.1 Emphasis Markers

The emphasis marker *me* generally functions to emphasize the clause as a whole (76), or adverbial clauses (77). Other constituents can also be emphasized with *-me* as indicated in lexicalized forms such as: *demme* 'now.EMPH' or 'just now', *emme* 'one.EMPH' or 'the most *x*'.

(76) vakaru   košālan   ves   e   hā   fasēha-me
      log   cut.put.INF   also   that   INTNS   easy-EMPH
      'To cut logs is just that easy.'

The *me* can also attach to adverbial clauses:

(77) dōññaş   aruvan   hiyālu   kof-fā-me   got
      boat.DAT   load.INF   idea   do.PRT-SUC-EMPH   way

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

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

Constituent emphasis is generally marked by *-ē*: *eccek-ē nu-bune* 'not saying <u>a thing</u>', *hāda baivarek-ē* 'What <u>a lot</u>!'. Demonstratives feature the emphasis marker *-ok: e-ok danī e bōṭu* '<u>there</u> goes that boat.'

2.5.4.2 Complement Markers

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

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

(78) don   ahumadu-aş   hīvī   kanfat   doş-un   rihi
      Don   Ahumadu.DAT   feel.PST.FOC   ear   near-INS   silver

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

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

(See also Section 3.2.2.6 for further examples and other types of complementizers.)

2.5.4.3 Interrogative Markers

The interrogative mood is often signaled by the question particle *ta* (*tō* in polite speech). Yes-no questions require it (unless signaled otherwise by intonation): *miskit-aş danī ta?* 'Are you going to the mosque?'. For constituent (WH) questions, the *ta/tō* is optional. (See Section 3.2.3.2.2 for examples.) The question marker *hē* is also used for constituent questions, especially if the question is repeated: *ti firimīhā kobā hē?* 'Where is your husband?'. Tag questions are marked by *dō: hāda baivarek-ē dō?* 'That's quite a lot, isn't it? Questions expressing some measure of doubt and uncertainty are marked with *bā* (spoken) and *bāva* (written):

(79) insānaku   roṭṭak-aş   nuvata   pānak-aş
      human.NSPC   chappati.NSPC-DAT   or   bread.NSPC-DAT

      vannānī   kihinaku-n   bāva   eve
      enter.FUT.FOC   how.NSPC-INS   QP   END

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

2.5.4.4 Copula

Dhivehi features the equative marker *-akī/-ī* as a copula for predicate nominal constructions. The *-akī* and *-ī* are in free variation in most environments, but only the latter is used with demonstrative pronouns: *e-ī yōṭu dōññek* 'that <u>is</u> a yacht *dōni* (a special type of boat).' (See Section 3.2.1.2.1.)

2.5.4.5 Politeness Marker

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

2.5.4.6 Sentence Marker

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

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

2.5.5 Interjections

Interjections indicating affirmative responses include *hūū* and *āā* 'yes!'. Various words are used to summon attention: *hāyyō, hō?, ḷē? yō*. In response to being called the interjection *ōy?* is common. Expressions of fear include *ammakoḷōy?* and *amayyāy?*, and grief is expressed by the word *saharō*. Interjections indicating pain include *addoaddō* and *addoyōy?*. Surprise is indicated by words such as *āāḷe* (negative) and *addē*. The interjection *māykkalāko* 'Oh God!' is common. *āccī* 'ugh!' is used in response to something offensive like fecal matter, but *āccā* 'Great!' indicates approval. Various interjections are used as imperatives especially in child-rearing: *hōhō* 'Don't touch!', *bayēbayē* 'Come!'.

3   SYNTAX
3.1   Noun Phrases

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

(81) mi   raⁿgaḷu   tin   fot
      this   good   three   book
      'these three good books'

      Compound nouns are common:

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

3.1.1   Locative Noun Phrase

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

(83) baᵐbukeyo   gas-taku-ge   tere-in
      breadfruit   tree-PLU-GEN   interior-INS
      'through the breadfruit trees'

(84) gislumu-ge   terē-gai
      sobbing.GER-GEN   interior-LOC
      'sobbing within'

(85) duniye   maccaş
     duniye   mati-aş (morpheme by morpheme)
     world   top-DAT
     'on top of the world'

(86) mī-ge   kuri-n
     this-GEN   past-INS
     'before this'

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

(87) tin   duvahu-ge   daturak-aş   fahu
     three   day-GEN   journey.NSPC-DAT   after
     'after a three day journey'

(88) nuhā   fetī   nāhid-aş   vure   bār-aş
     Nuhaa   swim.PST.FOC   Naahid-DAT   CMPR   fast-DAT
     'Nuhaa swam faster than Naahida.'

(89) kuḍakudinn-aş   ṭakai
     children-DAT   BENE
     'for children'

3.1.2 Coordinate Noun Phrase

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

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

(90) fālam-ā   gāt
     jetty-CNPM   close
     'near the jetty'

(91) aharenn-ā   dimāy-aş
     I-CNPM   direction-DAT
     'towards me'

(92) avaş-ā   hama
     neighborhood-CNPM   equivalent
     'to the edge of the neighborhood'

---

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

(93) bah-ā   medu
     language-CNPM   middle
     'about the language'

(94) de-mīhunn-ā   eku
     two-people-CNPM   together
     'with the two people'

The *-ā* conjunctive marker is sometimes adjoined to a noun without a following locative substantive when the location is clear from context (e.g., *tan-ā* 'at the place'). The coordinate noun phrase with the locative substantive *eku* 'together' is often used with derived clauses to indicate the adverbial function of accompanying circumstances. (See Section 3.2.2.5.2 for examples.)

3.1.3 Disjunctive Noun Phrases

Disjunctive noun phrases consist of two or more noun phrases conjoined with either *nuvata* or *nūnī* 'or'. While there is some overlap in their usage, the disjunctive particle *nuvata* 'or' indicates that either conjunct is possible, and may be even both, whereas *nūnī* 'or' indicates either *x* or *y*:

(95) kāşidu-akī   māle   atoḷu-ge   kāşi   koşāru
     Kaashidu-EQ   Malé   atoll-GEN   coconut   storehouse

     nuvata   divehi   rukuge   bagīccā
     or   Dhivehi   coconut tree.GEN garden.

     'Kaashidu is Malé atoll's coconut storehouse or (its) garden of Maldivian coconut trees.'

(96) ahann-akī   jinni-ek-ē   nūnī furēta-ek-ē   nūnī
     I-EQ   jinni-INDF-EMPH   or   monster-INDF-EMPH   or

     den   kale   hī   kurā
     then   you   thought   do.RPRT

     komme   bāvat-eg-ge   ves   ecceke
     any   type-INDF-GEN   also   thing.INDF-EMPH

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

3.1.4 Relative Clauses

Dhivehi, like Sinhala, has no relative pronouns (perhaps as a result of Dravidian influence (Geiger 1938: 130)). Relative clauses are characterized by the relative participial form of the verb preceding the head noun of the noun phrase in which they occur. They can also precede other prenominal elements such as the genitive and the adjective:

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

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

(98) [hasfas   net]   [satēka   rufiyā   et-tā   ovvā
     useful   not   100   rufiyā   one-place   be(horz.).PRT

     nu-dekē]   mīh-ak-aş
     NEG-see.RPRT person-NSPC-DAT

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

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

The relative participial forms are the same as the finite verb for the past and future tenses. The present relative participial form is distinct as indicated in Table 2.3. Relative participles do not inflect for progressive aspect, but all other tense/aspects occur.

The structure of the relative clause adheres to the basic SOV pattern (with gapped elements). In terms of the accessibility hierarchy (Keenan and Comrie 1977), objects, subjects, indirect objects, and "objects of the postposition" can all be relativized:

(99) [hassan   alīy-aş   din]   fot
     Hassan   Ali-DAT   give.PST.RPRT book
     'the book that Hassan gave Ali'

(100) [alīy-aş   fot   din]   hassan
      Ali-DAT   book   give.PST.RPRT   Hassan
      'the Hassan who gave the book to Ali'

(101) [hassan   fot   din]   alī
      Hassan   book   give.PST.RPRT Ali
      'the Ali to whom Hassan gave the book'

(102) [hassan   alīy-aş   fot   din]   kāru
      Hassan   Ali-DAT   book   give.PST.RPRT   car
      'the car in which Hasan gave Ali the book'

(For a discussion on how relative clauses are used for adverbial functions, see Section 3.2.2.5.1.)

3.2 Clause Structure
3.2.1 Simple Clauses

Dhivehi clauses may be either verbal or non-verbal.

3.2.1.1 Verbal Clauses
3.2.1.1.1 General Characteristics

Dhivehi clauses are typologically Subject-Object-Verb (SOV), though permutations of this order are common in pragmatically marked sentences. Subjects are either unmarked or marked with the dative in volitionally neutral and non-volitional sentences respectively. Examples of intransitive, transitive, and ditransitive sentences are given below (103)-(107):

Intransitive:

(103) e   mīhā   duvanī
      that   person   run.PREPRO
      'That man is running.'

(104) fot   e   heri
      book   that   be(vert).PST
      'The book is there.'

Transitive:

(105) alī   e   mīhā   duş
      Ali   that   person   see.PST
      'Ali saw that person.'

(106) ma   fotiganḍu   kefin
      I   cloth   cut.PFT.N3
      'I have cut the cloth.'

Ditransitive:

(107) hassan   alīy-aş   fotek   din
      Hassan   Ali-DAT   book.INDF   give.PST
      'Hassan gave a book to Ali.'

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

3.2.1.1.2 Dative Subject Sentences

Dative-subject constructions, in which the noun phrase that bears the syntactic role of subject takes the dative case, are a common feature in South Asian languages. Semantically, the dative-subjects generally indicate that the participant is an Experiencer rather than an Agent, so that these constructions are used to indicate physical sensations, psychological states, and desires (Masica 1991: 346-349). Apparently unique to Dhivehi and Sinhala among the South Asian languages is the combination of dative subject with morphologically derived IN-verbs to indicate non-volitional acts (Wijayawardhana, Wickramasinghe, and Bynon 1991; Cain 1995).

(108) e   mīhāy-aş   dūni   fenunu
      that   person-DAT   bird   see.IN.PST
      'That man saw the bird.'

(109) mīhāy-aş   duvevenī
      person-DAT   run.IN.PREPRO
      'The man is running (involuntarily).'

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

(110) ahann-aş   hīvī   kalē-akī   ēnāge   bappā   hen
      I-DAT   think.PST.FOC   you-EQ   (s)he.GEN father   that
      'I thought that you were his/her father.'

That the dative marked arguments in such constructions are indeed "subjects" is supported by the fact that they pattern syntactically with nominative subjects, control equi-deletion in participial and infinitival clauses (see Sections 3.2.2.2 and 3.2.2.6.2 respectively), and occupy the subject position of the pragmatically neutral clause. They do

not, however, trigger verb agreement as predications in dative subject constructions are always in the unmarked person.

3.2.1.1.3 Specially Marked Objects

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

(111) hassan   alīy-aš   malāmāt   kuri
       Hassan   Ali-DAT   insult   do.PST
       'Hassan insulted Ali.'

For examples of sociative case marked objects, see (27) – (34) above. Predications of emotion require objects marked with *deke*, a grammaticalization of the participle 'seeing' (see 3.2.2.1):

(112) aharen   ēnā   deke   lōbi   vanī
       I   (s)he   seeing   love   become.PREPRO
       'I am loving him/her.'

(113) hassan   ali   deke   nafuratu   kure
       Hassan   Ali   seeing   anger   do.HAB
       'Hassan hates Ali.'

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

(114) hassan   alī   gai-gā   jehi
       Hassan   Ali   body-LOC   hit.PST
       'Hassan hit Ali.'

3.2.1.2 Non-verbal Clauses
3.2.1.2.1 Equational Clauses

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

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

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

       'Rashiid is a clerk in a store located on the street that my house is on.'

(116) e-ī   bōṭek
       that-EQ   boat.INDF
       'That is a boat.'

This occurrence of an equational marker attached to the Subject NP as an overt copula is, as far as we are aware, unique among the Indo-Aryan, and in fact South Asian, languages generally. The source of it has not yet been determined. It has been suggested that the equative marker *-akī* is of pre-Sinhala origin. De Silva claims that *-akī* occurs in a 3rd c. B.C. Prakritic commentary called the *Helaṭuvā* . The Prakritic form has been cited in Sinhala

literature from the ninth century (De Silva 1970b: 156-157). If indeed the *-akī* is of pre-Sinhala origin as De Silva claims, then it is not at all clear how it could have survived the historical change of OIA /-k-/ to /-y-/ (through /-g-/) in Proto-Dhivehi. De Silva's analysis of the Prakritic material has also been challenged by Vitharana who offers an alternative parsing of the example cited by De Silva. He believes the *ki/kī* in the Sinhala Prakrit to be the interrogative 'what?' (1997: 158).

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

(117) tāhek   ves   kuḷunī-kī   nūn
       taas.INDF   even   play.PST.PRO-EQ   NEG
       'It was not even *taas* (card game) that I was playing.'

The origin of the copula *-ī* that forms part of the equative marker *-akī* and that occurs suffixed to the unspecified/indefinite oblique marker and to demonstratives still needs to be accounted for. A copula of this sort is not found in either the Indo-Aryan or the neighboring Dravidian languages to our knowledge.

3.2.1.2.2 Adjectival Clauses

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

(118) mi   fot   raⁿgaḷu
       this   book   good
       'This book is good.'

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

Dhivehi clauses featuring *bēnun* 'want/desire' (borrowed from Ta. *vēṇum* (Reynolds 1978: 157)) are of a special type not conveniently grouped with the others. *bēnun* is technically a noun, but it is syntactically distributed like a verb.

(119) aharen   kōku   fuḷi   bēnun
       I   Coke   bottle   want
       'I want bottled Coke.'

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

(120) aharen   bēnum-ī   sāmiyā
       I   want-EQ   Saamiyaa
       'I desire Saamiyaa.'

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

3.2.2 Clause Chaining and Embedding

Dhivehi sentence structure is of the "chaining" type, characterized by only one fully inflected finite verb in combination with partially inflected medial verbs. Thus, there are no sentential coordinated structures in that the finite verb always outranks the medial verb syntactically (Longacre 1985: 238). Medial clauses are predicated with either basic participial forms, or participial forms with various endings indicating their adverbial functions. A survey of both is given in Sections 3.2.2.1 and 3.2.2.3 respectively. Two types of "conjunctive participles" are discussed in Section 3.2.2.2. Section 3.2.2.4 gives a summary of conditionals. Adverbial functions are often rendered through sentential nominalizations, described in Section 3.2.2.5. Clauses as verbal arguments (complements) are presented in Section 3.2.2.6.

3.2.2.1 Participial Clause Chain

Participial clause chains consist of one or more clauses predicated by a participle within a matrix sentence. The participles are inflected only for present tense, and person is not indicated. The temporal relation of the participial clause to the matrix predicate is contextually determined. In (121) all the activities are contemporaneous:

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

In (122) and (123), the participial clauses depict activities prior to the time of matrix predicate (for the *-fā* 'SUC' on some of these participles see 3.2.2.2).

(122) dommaniku riyā lā-fā ais maḷu-matī iṣīⁿde
       Dommaniku sail put-SUC come.PRT deck -top sit.PRT

       biḍi-ek rō   kolli
       cigarette-INDF burn do.put.PST
       'Don Maniku came from rigging the sail, sat on the deck and lit a cigarette.'

(123) ībrāhīm-ge masakkatu-n ēnā-aṣ libi-fā vā
       Ibrahim-GEN work-INS   (s)he-DAT receive-SUC being.RPRT

       gōtī-gai ge-ek   aḷai gifiyy-ek tayyāru koṣ
       plot-LOC house-INDF put.PRT bathing area-INDF prepare do.PRT

       badige-ek ves aḷaifi
       kitchen-INDF also put.PFT

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

Participles can also have an adverbial function that is determined by context. Some of these have been grammaticalized to some extent. Cause is indicated by *hure* (DBG 4: 23), the present participle of *hunnanī* 'standing/being' as in (124), and manner by *koṣ*, present participle of 'doing' as in (125).

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

(125) rīti koṣ iṣīⁿdē
       pretty do.PRT sit.IMPV
       'Sit nicely!'

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

(126) katību   avaṣ-ā   varaṣ kairi-ve-fā   vani-koṣ honu
       island-chief village-CNPM very close-be-SUC be-doing lightning

       guguri-ek   jehi fada gada aḍ-ek   ivilevvi
       thunder-INDF strike like strong sound-INDF listen.CAUS.PST

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

The present participle of seeing, *deke*, is used with many predicates of emotion (Section 3.2.1.1.3). The notional subject can be part of the matrix clause where it triggers person agreement, or it may be within the participial clause. Compare (127) and (128):

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

(128) aharen ēnā deke   lōbi vē
       I   (s)he see.PRT love be.HAB
       'I love him/her.'

3.2.2.2 Dhivehi "Conjunctive Participle" Types: *-gen* and *-fā*

Like many Indo-Aryan languages (Masica 1991: 397-401), Dhivehi has "conjunctive participle constructions" that typically denote temporal succession. An interesting feature of Dhivehi, however, is the occurrence of one of two successive (SUC) particles *-gen* or *-fā* (also written as *-fai*) following the participle in such constructions. A participle with either of these indicates an activity that preceded the state or activity of the matrix predicate:

(129) riyāz fot hifai-gen aī
       Riyaaz book grab-SUC   came.
       'Riyaaz grabbed the book and came.'

(130) aharen reḍiyō bahaṭṭa-fā   aī
       I   radio   put(vert.).PRT-SUC came
       'I put up the radio and came.'

There is, however, a subtle difference between the two forms that is difficult to ascertain. Participles inflected with *-gen* generally indicate an activity that is complete prior to the time of the main verb, and the emphasis is on the activity itself. Participles inflected with *-fā* can also indicate a complete activity, but the emphasis is on a resultive state that is of immediate relevance to the matrix predicate. In (130), for example, the radio remains in a state of being placed upright somewhere when the person comes. This stative quality of *-fā* participles is evidenced also with 'be' predications which together function as a periphrastic passive (131) or pluperfect (132). Note that in these examples the *-fā* clause is focused and postposed (see Section 3.2.3.1):

(131) dorufatu-ge matī-gai   hurī   daga^{n}ḍu tēri lā-fā
door-GEN   top-GEN   be(vert.).PST.FOC   metal   bar   put.PRT-SUC
'At the top of the door, there were placed metal bars.'

(132) e-ī   emmefahuge   bēs   kamugai   ves
that-EQ   final   medicine   thing(event).LOC even

idurīs boḍē   vanī   bune-fa   eve
Iduriis Boḍee be. FOC   say.PRT-SUC   END

'Iduriis Boḍee had said that that was the final medical treatment.'

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

(133) mīhaku   maruvīma   aharemen   vaḷuga^{n}ḍek
person.NSPC   die.PST.PRO-when we   pit.INDF

kone-fā   vaḷuga^{n}ḍaṣ gaburu   vaṭṭā-fā   fas   lanī
dig.PRT-SUC   pit.DAT   corpse   drop.PRT-SUC dirt place.PREPRO

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

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

(134) ēnā-ge   haṣiga^{n}ḍu   maruvumaṣ   fahun
(s)he-GEN   body   dying.GER.DAT   after

nōkarun   damā   gāḍiyā   ga^{n}ḍakaṣ   lai-gen   gendiyaī
servants pull   cart   part.NSPC.DAT   put.PRT-SUC   took.PST.PRO

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

The types also differ in their subject coreference characteristics: -gen participle clauses permit a different subject than that of the matrix sentence whereas -fā clauses require subject coreference. In (135) below the first -gen participial clause takes ha mīhun 'six people' as its subject, but the subject of the matrix clause is emmen 'everyone'.

(135) ha   mīhun ves   nere-gen   emmen$_i$ ekī
six   people also exit-SUC   everyone   together

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

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

However, null subjects in -gen clauses that follow the subject of the matrix sentence must be coreferential with it. (The second -gen clause headed by vadegen 'having entered' in (135) has a null subject co-indexed with the subject of the matrix clause.) Null subjects in -fā clauses must always be coreferential with the subject of the matrix regardless of its place in the sentence. In (136) below, the -fā clause precedes the matrix subject but it still must be co-indexed with the subject:

(136) 0_{i*j} e   hen   bune-fā   mūsa$_i$ alīyaṣ$_j$ malāmāt   kurī
Ø   that like   say-SUC   Muusa   Ali.DAT   insult   do.PST.PRO
'Having said that, Muusa insulted Ali.'

In (137) the compound verb form malāmat kurī 'insulted' subcategorizes for an object with the dative case as seen in alīyaṣ 'Ali.DAT'. Even if the subject of the matrix clause is not overt, the subject of -fā clause must still co-index with it, and it cannot co-index with the overt object:

(137) 0_{i*j} e   hen   bune-fā 0_i alīyaṣ$_j$ malāmāt   kurī
Ø   that like   say-SUC   Ø   Ali.DAT   insult   do.PST
'Having said that (he) insulted Ali.'

Dative subject constructions also exercise subject control of -fā clause subjects. In the following two examples, two sentences are compared. (138) is volitive, or at least, not involitive. (139) is involitive with the sense of a person falling in love with someone else as if the process is beyond the control of the Experiencer overtly marked by the dative case:

(138) 0_{i*j} e   hen   bune-fā   fātun$_i$ alī$_j$ deke   lōbi   vī.
Ø   that like   say-SUC   Faatun   Ali   seeing   love   be.PST.PRO
'Having said that, Faatun loved Ali.'

(139) 0_{i*j} e   hen   bune-fā   fātunaṣ$_i$ alī$_j$ deke   lōbi   vevunī.
Ø   that like   say-SUC   Faatun.DAT   Ali   seeing   loving   be.IN.PST.PRO
'Having said that, Faatun loved Ali (uncontrollably).'

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

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

3.2.2.3 Adverbial Clauses

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

Concessive adverbial function is marked by -as adjoined to the past participle of the verb as in (140), or in the case of negation, to nūn as in (141) below.

(140) kiyā   nu-kiyā   eccek   nē^{n}gun-as
tell.RPRT   NEG-tell.RPRT   thing.INDF   NEG.understand.PST.PRT-CONC

aḍu-ge   verinn-akī   insānun   kamaṣ
sound-GEN   people-EQ   human   thing(event).DAT

gabūlu   kureve
believe   do.HAB.END

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

      'Ever since Takurufaanu left, Don Ahumadu remained in deep thought.'

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

(144) ma   nu -viha-nīs   kalē   kaⁿdu   bēru-ve-gen   nu-vāne
      I   NEG-giving birth-before   you   sea   outside-be-SUC   NEG-be.OPT
      'You should not go out to sea before I give birth.'

Clauses subordinated by *-mun* indicate simultaneity and manner. The *-mun* is suffixed to the present stem:

(145) aⁿugaⁿdumenn-ā   havāluvi   mīhun   varaš   hitāma   kura-mun
      we(hon.)-SOC   charge.PST.RPRT people   very   sorrow   do-SIM

      aⁿugaⁿdumen   govai-gen fulus   ofīh-aš   hiⁿga-jje
      we(hon.)   call-SUC   police   office-DAT   go.PFT

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

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

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

Another way to indicate cause is to use the infinitive:

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

      aharu   uⁿunī-n
      year   be.PST-N3

      '(I) was living in Malé for about fifteen years to conduct business.'

3.2.2.4 Conditionals

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

(148) fahat   balaifī-yyā   ēnāy-aš   hīvanī
      behind   look.PFT-COND   (s)he-DAT   feel.PRE.FOC

      kurimati-n   eccek   arā   kaifāne   hen
      front-INS   thing.INDF ascend.PRT eat.OPT   like

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

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

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

      ēnā   aharemen   tīm-aš   kuⁿun-īs
      (s)he   we   team-DAT   play-IRR

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

      boduti   adabu-tak   libēne
      big   torture-PLU   receive.FUT

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

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

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

3.2.2.5 Adverbial Noun Phrases
3.2.2.5.1 Adverbial Relative Clauses
Relative clauses in noun phrases headed by *tā* 'place' and *iru* 'time', indicate temporal adverbial notions *since* and *when* respectively:

(152) mi   got-aş   uļē   tā
       this   way-DAT   live.RPRT   place

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

       'Two months had passed since being in this situation.'

(153) menduru   vi   iru   hurī   fudēvarakaş
       midday   be.PST.RPRT   time   be(vert.).PST.FOC   enough

       vadu mas   bēvi-fa
       trawler fish   catch-SUC

       'When it was midday, enough trawler fish were caught.'

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

(154) āssultān   hasan   bērumāte-gē-gai   hunnevum-un
       Sultan   Hasan   Beerumāte-house-LOC   staying.POL.GER-INS

       e   ge-aş   bērumāte   ganḍuvar-ē   kiyunu
       that   house-DAT   Beerumaate palace-QS   call.IN.PST

       'Because Sultan Hassan stayed in Beerumaate House, the house was called Beerumaate Palace.'

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

       varaş   gina   kānā   dōñň-aş   genaeve
       very   much   food   fishing boat-DAT   bring.PST.END

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

(156) goⁿḍudoş-ā   kairi   kol-lum-un   e   raşu   tere-in
       beach-CNPM   close   do-putting.GER-INS   that   island   interior-INS

       ivunī   bayaku   mīhun   haḷelavā   adu
       hear.IN.PST.FOC   group. NSPC   people   shout.RPRT sound

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

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

(157) ekamaku   inumu-ge   kuri-n
       but   marrying.GER-GEN   past-INS

       aharen-ge   varaş   gina   vāhaka   eba   huri
       I - GEN   very   lot   story   now   be.PST

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

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

(158) keum-aş   fahu   alugaⁿḍumen-ge   tahugīgu   feşijje
       eating.GER-DAT   after   we(hon.)-GEN   interrogation   start.PFT

       'After eating, our interrogation began.'

The coordinate noun phrase (Section 3.1.2) with *eku* 'together, with' is used with derived verbal nominals to indicate circumstative and simultative adverbial functions. The predicate of the adverbial clause is in the gerund form:

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

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

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

3.2.2.6 Complementation
3.2.2.6.1 Sentential Complements
For direct quotes, two strategies are used. For longer quoted material, it is common to simply use quote marks in printed material. This is not illustrated here. Another way complements are encoded into the sentence is by adding the quoted speech marker *-ē* to the end of the embedded clause:

(160) sampatu   alugaⁿḍu   gātu   ais   bunī   yūt-aş
       Sampatu   I(hon.)   near   coming   say.PST.FOC   youth-DAT

       soi   koffīmē
       sign   do.PFT.N3.QS

       'Sampatu came to me and said, "(I) have signed on with the Youth (football club)."'

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

(161) adi   yūtā   eku   kof-fai   vā   egrimenṭ
       and   Youth. CNPM   together   do-SUC   be.RPRT   agreement

       hamavumun   sampataş   anekkāves   legūns
       complete.GER.INS   Sampatu.DAT   again   Leguuns

maruhabā	kiyāne	kamugai	sāhiru	bunuvvi
welcome	say.FUT	thing(event).LOC	Saahiru	said.CAUS.PST

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

(162)
yūtu	prekṭis	faṣanī	konirakun	tō	suvālu
Youth	practice	beginning	when	QP	question

kurumun	mustāg	bunuvvī	daⁿḍu	libunu
doing.GER.INS	Mustaag	say.CAUS.PST.FOC	field	receive.PRT

hā	avahakaṣ	prekṭis	faṣāne	kam-aṣ	eve
INTNS	fast.NSPC.DAT	practice	begin.FUT	thing(event)-DAT	END

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

(162) above also illustrates that embedded questions need only the question particle *tō/ta*, and no other overt complementizer.

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

(163)
ahannaṣ	lafā	kurevenī	hama	jessēne	kam-aṣ
I.DAT	guess	do.IN.PREFOC	even	touch.FUT	thing(event)-DAT

'I estimate that it will even out.'

(164)
aharen	hī	kurī	ēnāge	javābakī
I	thought	do.PST.FOC	he.GEN	answer.EQ

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

'I thought that his answer was a political answer.'

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

(165)
mainbafainnaṣ	vānī	ves
parents.DAT	become.FUT.FOC	also

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

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

Interestingly, for *hīvanī* 'feeling/thinking (invol.)' the complementizer *hen* 'like' is used rather than a form of *kan*. Compare (166) with (164) above:

(166)
don	ahumaduaṣ	hīvī	kanfat	doṣun	rihi
Don	Ahumadu.DAT	feel.PST.FOC	ear	near.INS	silver

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

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

As seen in (162) above, indirect quotations of questions call for the question particle *tō* as a complementizer. Complements of matrix predicates indicating attempts take the complementizer *tō* as well:

(167)
boḍu	husainu	haṣi	furā	nēvā	ellā	hit-biru
big	Husain	body	filling	breath	throw.RPRT	heart-fear

fīluvē	tō	masakkat	kuri
hide.CAUS.HAB	QP	work	do.PST

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

(168)
aharen	filē	tō	belī	e	kantattak-un
I	hide.HAB	QP	look.PST.FOC	that	thing.PLU.PLU.INS

'I was trying to escape from all those things.'

3.2.2.6.2 Infinitive Complements

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

(169)
aḷugaⁿḍumen	daturu	kuran	faṣai-fī-n
we(hon.)	journey	do.INF	start-PFT-N3

'We started to travel.'

(170)
e	fas	duvahu	ves	aḷugaⁿḍumenn-aṣ
that	5	day	also	we(hon.)-DAT

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

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

(171)
aharemen	mi	tāⁿgā	tiben	bēnun
we	this	place.LOC	stay.INF	desire

'We want to stay in this place.'

In infinitival complements null subjects must be coreferential with the matrix subject. Thus, the following sentence is ungrammatical:

(172)
*aharen	ēnā	annan	bēnun
I	(s)he	come.INF	want

* 'I want her to come.'

The nominalized complement *aum-aṣ* 'coming.GER-DAT' must be used instead. (See Section 3.2.2.6.3.) Note that the subject control requirement for equi-deletion in infinitive complements provides support for according subject status to dative marked arguments as in (173) below.

(173)
manje-aṣ$_i$	0$_i$	ahann-āi	innān	keri-dāne	hē
lass-DAT	Ø	I-SOC	marry.INF	able-OPT	QP

'Would the maiden be able to marry me?'

3.2.2.6.3 Nominalized Complements

Nominalized complements are made up of gerunds inflected with the dative case. Gerund complements are commonly used with predicates expressing commands, requests, and

intentions. With nominalized complements control of null subjects by matrix subjects (174), objects (175), and indirect objects is possible (176):

(174) aḷugaⁿḍumen-ge   mamma   gasdu   kurevvī
       we(hon.)-GEN   mother   purpose   do.PST.CAUS.FOC

       aḍḍu atoḷu dū-koṣ   huvadu   atoḷ-aṣ   dium-aṣ
       Addu Atoll loose-do.PRT Huvadu   Atoll-DAT   going.GER-DAT

       'Our mother intended to leave Addu Atoll and go to Huvadu Atoll.'

(175) mi   mīhun   ēnā   e   mīhun   kairī   maḍukurum-aṣ   edunu
       this people (s)he those people close   waiting.GER-DAT   requested
       'They asked him to stay with them for awhile.' (lit., to wait near them)

(176) emanikufānu   e   mīhunn-aṣ   mi   kan-taku-ge   vāhaka
       he(hon.)   that people-DAT   this thing-PLU-GEN   story

       ev-ves   mīhaku   kairī   nu-bunum-aṣ   amuru kurevvi
       one-even   person.NSPC   close   NEG-saying.GER-DAT   order do.CAUS.PST

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

3.2.2.6.4 Relative Clause Complements

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

(177) aharemenn-aṣ   [e   mīhunge   terēgai   matī   fenvaru
       we.DAT   those people.GEN   among   top   level

       mīhun   uḷē]   tan   ves   fenē
       people   be.RPRT   place   also   see.HAB

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

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

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

3.2.2.6.5 Participial Complements

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

(180) tīcaru   kiyavā   kudinn-aṣ   filāvaḷu   das   koṣ   denī
       teacher   study.RPRT   children-DAT   lesson   learn   do.PRT give.PREPRO
       'The teacher is teaching the students the lesson.' (lit. '...is giving to the students learning.')

(181) hamīdu   wahīd-aṣ   siṭī   liye   denī
       Hamiidu   Wahiid-DAT   letter   write.PRT   give.PREPRO
       'Hamiid is writing the letter for Wahiid.'

Periphrastic causative constructions like (180) show equi-deletion under indirect object control where the students are the ones doing the learning, but benefactives (181) do not in that the subject of the matrix clause is the one doing the writing as well.

3.2.3 Pragmatically Marked Structures

3.2.3.1 Focus Sentences

Dhivehi, like Sinhala, has a focused sentence construction consisting of a special form of the verb, and a focused element. The focused element is generally postposed. The focus form of the verb always ends in *-ī* and is identical to the progressive verb (see Section 2.4.3). The following sentences illustrate various focused elements:

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

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

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

The focused element is commonly postposed, but need not be. Compare (185) and (186):

(185) aharen   danī   e   avaṣaṣ
       I   go.PRE.FOC   e   neighborhood.DAT
       'It is to that neighborhood that I am going.'

(186) aharen   e   avaṣ-aṣ   danī
       I   that   neighborhood-DAT   go.PRE.FOC
       'It is to that neighborhood that I am going.'[19]

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

(187) Unfocused: mi   don keyo   raⁿgaḷu
                     this   banana   good
                     'This banana is good./ These bananas are good.'

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

---

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

Focus constructions are quite abundant in Dhivehi, though the homophony of the focus verb with the progressive makes it difficult to tell them apart when a constituent is not postposed. The pragmatic context calling for the focus construction includes answers to queries, and circumstances in which a choice is implied. In (188), for example, the context would indicate that more than one type of banana was available at the time. In many details, the Dhivehi focus construction is like the Sinhala one. Compare Sinhala (189) and Dhivehi (190) below:

(189) adə   širi   giyē   gamə-ṭə   (Colloquial Sinhala)
      today   Siri   go.PST.FOC village-DAT
      'It was to the village that Siri went today.'

(190) miadu   ālī   diyaī   avaš-aš   (Dhivehi)
      today   Ali   go.PST.FOC village-DAT
      'It was to the village that Ali went today.'

Cleft sentences of the type in (189) and (190) are unique to Dhivehi and Sinhala among the Indo-Aryan languages (Gair 1986: 149). Neighboring Dravidian languages, however, also have similar constructions. In Dravidian languages, a relative participle can be nominalized by the addition of a third person inanimate (non-rational) pronominal affix (or "demonstrative pronoun terminations"- Caldwell 1875: 542-543). One function of these inflected participles is in a type of cleft resembling an NP NP (equational) sentence, as in (191) and (192):

(191) nān   pōn-atu   yāḷppāṇattukku   (Jaffna Tamil)
      I   go.PST.NOM   Jaffna.DAT
      '(It was) to Jaffna that I went.'

(192) cuppiriamaniyam   ceyyir-atu   enna   (Jaffna Tamil)
      Subramaniyam   do.PRES-NOM   what
      'What is it that Subramaniyam does?'   (Gair 1986: 148)

Dravidian sentences of this type appear to have come into Sinhala as a calque, and later Sinhala extended their usage (Gair 1986). While the Sinhala focus verb is not currently a nominal form, it too was probably derived from a verbal nominative form through the addition of a third person masculine/neuter ending. This derived form initially functioned as the nominal in NP NP sentences, but began functioning as a focus construction by the ninth century:

(193) n[o]   balaya   yanne   kese   (Si. 9ᵗʰ c.)
      neg.   having looked   go.PRES.NOM3sg   how
      'How does one go away without looking?'
                 (Sigiri Graffiti, in Paravitana 1956 no. 261) (Gair 1994: 13)

The Sinhala verbal nominal later lost its nominal nature in such constructions, and now functions only as a focus verb in cleft constructions. Once the focus construction was borrowed from Dravidian, it further developed and expanded its applicability to include, among other things, semi-obligatory clefting of WH-questions, and obligatory clefting of constituent yes-no questions (Gair 1986: 162).
Like the Dravidian and Sinhala, the Dhivehi focus construction appears be derived from NP NP (equational) sentences in which the first NP is some type of inflected verbal. The identification of a verbal nominal in this position, however, is more uncertain because there is

no adjoined nominalizing affix. However, the long -ī in focus verb forms like *diya-ī* 'go.PST.FOC' in 0 above is probably derived from the copula in prototypical equational sentences (Section 3.2.1.2.1). Formally, the focus verb *diya-ī* could be construed as a relative past participle *diya-* suffixed with the equational marker *-ī* construction.

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

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

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

(196) bākī   faisā   dinī   raⁿgaḷaš   ta
      change   money   give.PST.FOC good.DAT   QP
      'Did you give the correct change?'

The formation of yes-no questions is very much like the pattern found in Sinhala. Compare Sinhala (197) and Dhivehi (198):

(197) Siri   adə   gamə-ṭə   giyā   də   (Colloquial Sinhala)
      Siri   today   village-DAT   go.PST   QP
      'Did Siri go to the village today?'

(198) Alī   miadu   avaš-aš   diya   ta   (Dhivehi)
      Ali   today   village-DAT   go.PST   QP
      'Did Ali go the village today?'

3.2.3.2.2 WH-Questions
WH-questions in Dhivehi generally require the focused construction (Section 3.2.3.1). In these constructions, the question word (i.e., interrogative word or phrase) is the element of focus and is often postposed. The question particle is optional in Dhivehi, and can occur on either the interrogative word, or after the predicate:

(199) kalē   danī   kon tākaš   ta
      you   go.PRE.FOC   which place.DAT   QP
      'Where are you going?'

(200) kon tākaš   danī
      which place.DAT   go.PRE.FOC
      'Where are (you) going?'

(201) alī   kīkē   bunī   ta
      Ali   what.QS   say.PST.FOC   QP
      'What did Ali say?'

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

(202) e   mīhaku   hakuru   kihāvarakaş   gat   ta
       that   person.NSPC   sugar   how much   get.PST QP
       'How much was the sugar that that person bought?'

(203) e   mīhaku   hakuru   gatī   kihāvarakaş ta
       that   person.NSPC   sugar   get.PST.FOC   how much   QP
       'That person bought the sugar for how much?'

The formation of WH-questions with the focus construction and the question particle is a feature shared with Sinhala. Compare the Colloquial Sinhala below (204)-(205) with the Dhivehi above:

(204) miniha   sīni   koccərə   gatta   də   (Colloquial Sinhala)
       man   sugar   how much   got   QP
       'How much sugar did the fellow get?'

(205) miniha sīni   koccərə   də   gattə   (Colloquial Sinhala)
       man   sugar how much   QP   got.FOC
       'How much sugar was it that the fellow got?'   (Gair 1986: 153)

In Sinhala, however, the occurrence of the QP in WH-questions is virtually obligatory. The question particle in Sinhala must accompany WH-question words, and except for quantifier WH forms, be placed right adjacent to them (Gair 1986: 153). In this capacity, the QP functions as a focus marker, as in (205) as compared with (204).

3.2.3.3 Negation
3.2.3.3.1 Negation of Verbal Clauses
Verbal clauses in Dhivehi are negated by a negative prefix *nu-*:

(206) e   rē   aharen   nu-nidan
       that   night   I   NEG-sleep.HAB.N3
       'That night I didn't sleep.'

Dhivehi negatives neutralize tense and aspect to some extent. The negative generally takes the habitual (simple present) aspect regardless if the activity would have occurred in the past. For example, in response to a question like "Have you gone to the hospital?" a person would answer, *nudan* 'I do not go (habitual non-third person)' rather than *nudiyain* 'I did not go'. (Also see (206).) If, however, the negative sentence is a focus construction, the tense distinction remains:

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

The neutralization of tense and aspect in negation is not found in Sinhala, but it is a common feature of Dravidian. For example, Tamil *pōgēn* can mean either 'I did not go', 'I do not go', or 'I will not go'. The time must be determined by context (Caldwell 1875: 470). The neutralization of tense in negations is also found in Vedda, the aboriginal language of Sri Lanka (De Silva 1970b: 152).

Verbals can also be negated with the existential negative *net* and with the negation of identity *nūn*, but special forms are required. When infinitives are negated, for example, the form of the infinitive featuring the dative case *-aş* is used with the indefinite suffix preceding the case. Compare the infinitives *fennan* 'to see' and *hi"gan* 'to walk' with *fennākaş* and *hi"gākaş* respectively. The *-ākaş* infinitives are illustrated below:

(208) evves   kahala   rukek   fennākaş   net
       any   kind   palm.INDF   see.NSPC.DAT   NEG
       'There weren't any kind of coconut palms to be seen.'

(209) magu   hi"gākaş   nūn
       street   walk.NSPC.DAT   NEG
       '(I'm here) not to walk the street.'

The verbal forms are inflected with unspecified marker *-aku* in (208) and (209) because of a more general requirement that anything negated by either *net* or *nūn* appear with either unspecified or indefinite forms. For examples of nouns and adjectives conforming to this pattern see the following section.

3.2.3.3.2 Negation of Non-Verbal Clauses
Both equative and adjectival predicate clauses in Dhivehi are negated with *nūn*:

(210) aharenn-akī   ḍokuṭar-ek   nūn
       I-EQ   doctor-INDF   NEG
       'I'm not a doctor.'

(211) aharen   e   hā   moḷ-ek   nūn
       I   that   INTNS   smart-INDF   NEG
       'I'm not all that smart.'

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

(212) mihāru   kōku   fuḷi-ek   net
       now   coke   bottle-INDF   NEG
       'Now there isn't bottled Coke.'

Note that both nouns and adjectives, (210) and (211) respectively, take the indefinite suffix in negated sentences. In some instances, the non-specified marker *-aku* is used: *evves mīh-aku nūn* 'There wasn't anybody.' Some form of indefinite marker is required in negated clauses. The requirement of some form of indefinite marker in negated clauses is absent in Sinhala.

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

(213) mē   potə   magē   potə   nemē   (Colloquial Sinhala)
       this   book   my   book   NEG
       'This book is not my book'

(214) mehē   oyāge   potə   nǣ   (Colloquial Sinhala)
       here   your   book   NEG
       'Your book isn't here.'

For predicate adjectives, however, Sinhala uses *næ* as well: *mē potə ho"də næ* 'this book isn't good.' Thus, while both languages differentiate between negation of identification (equational clauses) and negation of existence, in Dhivehi predicate adjectives pattern with equational clauses and in Sinhala with existentials (Reynolds 1978: 163).

4   VALENCE, VOLITION, AND VOICE

As mentioned in Section 2.4.1, Dhivehi has three categories of verbs that are morphologically related: active, involitive/intransitive (IN-verbs), and causative. As in Sinhala, these derivational categories with the appropriate syntactic constructions combine to make up a well-developed valence/voice system that interacts with notions of volition in intricate ways (Gair 1970, 1971, Inman 1993). Propositions can be overtly signaled as being either volitionally neutral (the unmarked sense), non-volitional, or volitional. The distinction between volitionally neutral acts and non-volitional ones is accomplished through valence changes in the verb in that the latter are often decreased counterparts of the former. Thus, volitionally neutral and non-volitional predications roughly correspond to the active and the IN-verb set respectively. Active volitionality is indicated by a predicate made up of the participial form of the verb followed by an inflected form of *lanī* 'put, place'. Thus *jahā-li* 'hit.put.PST', *marā-li* 'kill-put.PST', *ukā-li* 'throw-put.PST', *rovvā-li* 'made cry intentionally (cry.CAUS.put.PST)'.

The notions of animacy and control also play a critical role in determining the volition and valence correspondence in Dhivehi. With few exceptions, referents for volitionally neutral acts and volitional acts must be both animate, and subsequently able to exert control in the proposition. Thus, subjects of active verbs will normally be humans or animals who are in some position to exercise their will. Inanimate referents that inherently lack any ability to control the situation cannot normally occur as subjects of active predicates.[20] One cannot say, for example, **vai doru lappaifi* 'the wind shut the door'. Similarly, morphologically derived causatives of transitive verbs indicate that the volition of Causer overrides that of the Causee, and inanimate Causees are not found. So, sentences like 'he made the tree hit the house' with derived causatives are impossible.

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

4.1   IN-verbs

IN-verbs are employed to indicate that a participant is acting "without volition as a result of some external force or agency" (Gair 1970: 78). The predication itself can be either intransitive and/or non-volitional (e.g., *hedenī* 'growing (intr.)' and 'making (by mistake)'. The derivational morphology for involitives/intransitives is presented in Section 4.1.1, and the syntactic distribution and uses of IN-verbs are given in Section 4.1.2.

4.1.1   The Derivation of IN-verbs

Taking the transitive present stem as a base for other valence changes, the morphological process for deriving the IN-verbs can be described as the fronting of all occurrences of *a* to *e* in the root, and for some types of verbs, the addition of *-ve*. Once derived the IN-verbs pattern

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[20] Exceptions include verbs of motion (i.e., *danī* 'going'), compound verbs made up of adjectivals and the 'be' verb (e.g., *ituru vanī* 'increasing'), and anthropomorphisms as in (32).

like other *e*-stem verbs (see Section 2.4.1). All that is required to derive most polysyllabic verb stems is the fronting of *a* to *e* as in (215). The stem vowels are italicized:

(215)	va*tt*a-nī	'dropping'	ve*tt*e-nī	'falling'
	*a*nga-nī	'informing'	e"ge-nī	'understanding'
	j*a*ha-nī	'striking'	j*e*he-nī	'striking'
	*a*ᵐbur*a*-nī	'turning'	*e*ᵐbur*e*-nī	'turning'
	b*a*la-nī	'looking'	b*e*le-nī	'seeing'

The *anganī* 'informing' set is given here as parallel to the others, since the same general semantic relation holds and *e"genī* is an IN-verb, but *anganī* is actually a causative (as shown by the full nasal cluster that serves as a geminate in relation to the prenasalized stop). This represents a type of set lacking a basic (*a*-type) transitive verb. A similar situation holds for sets like *dekenī* 'seeing' and *dakkanī* 'showing'. Such instances are discussed further in Section 4.2.1 in relation to causativization and see also 2.4.1.

Verbs that have monosyllabic verb stems and other irregular verbs with polysyllabic verb stems derive the IN-forms by both internal stem vowel *a>e* change and the addition of *-ve-* following the stem for the present tense. Note that some of the glosses of the IN-verbs given here are only representative of possible meanings, and by no means exhaustive. Although some of them are glossed with passive meanings, the non-volitional meaning is also available. Note that there are also intransitive based IN-verbs such as *rovenī* 'crying involuntarily' from *ronī* with no valence change:

(216)	k*a*-nī	'eating'	ke-ve-nī	'being eaten'
	l*a*-nī	'putting'	le-ve-nī	'being put/ inserting'
	ro-nī	'crying'	ro-ve-nī[21]	'crying (involitive)'
	d*a*-nī	'going'	de-ve-nī	'reaching (a place)'
	l*i*ya-nī	'writing'	l*i*ye-ve-nī	'being written'
	k*u*ṛa-nī	'doing'	k*u*ṛe-ve-nī	'being done'

There are non-involitive *e*-stem verbs, and corresponding involitive verbs can be formed for them as well, by the addition of the IN-morpheme *-ve*: *kuḷe-nī* 'playing' becomes *kuḷe-ve-nī* 'is being played'.

4.1.2   Syntactic Distribution of IN-Verbs

Dhivehi uses IN-verbs in three types of clauses: involitive, accidental, and inactive. Sentences (218) - (220) illustrate each of the clause types in contrast with (217) which is the unmarked volitionally neutral clause.

(217)	Active:	aharen	doru	leppin
		I	door	close.PST.N3
		'I closed the door.'		

(218)	Involitive:	ahannaṣ	doru	leppunu
		I.DAT	door	close.IN.PST
		'I closed the door (involuntarily).'		

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

(219) Accidental: aharen(ge)   at-un   doru   leppunu
                  I.(GEN)   hand-INS door   close.IN.PST
                  'I closed the door (accidentally).'

(220) Inactive: doru   leppunu
                  door   close.IN.PST
                  'The door closed.'

These types are discussed in turn in the following sections.

4.1.2.1 IN-Verbs in Involitive Constructions

Involitive clauses generally indicate non-intentional activity on the part of the subject. The activity can be either semantically transitive (divalent) as seen in (218) above, intransitive (univalent) as in (221), or ditransitive (trivalent) as in (222):

(221) ēnāyaş   rovenī
      (s)he.DAT   cry.IN.PREPRO
      '(S)he is crying (uncontrollably).'

(222) oļumakun   rašīdaş   alīyaş   ēnāge
      confused.GER.NSPC.INS Rashiid.DAT Ali.DAT (s)he.GEN

      dabas   devunī
      bag   give.IN.PST.FOC

      'Being confused, Rashiid gave Ali his bag (by mistake).'

As seen in the above examples, the subject in the involitive clause takes the dative case. The involitive clauses pattern similarly to various perception clauses that also feature dative-case subjects, but whose verb is not necessarily an IN-verb (see Section 3.2.1.1.2).

In addition to indicating non-intentional involvement in an activity, Dhivehi involitives are used in polite speech registers when addressing superiors (223), expressing counter-expectations of the locutor (224), and describing abilities (225):

(223) aļuga"ḍaş   e   massakkat   kurevunī   iyye
      I(hon.).DAT that work   do.IN.PST.FOC yesterday
      'I did that work yesterday.'

(224) mīnāyaş   tedaş   rongek   demijje
      (s)he.DAT straight line.INDF draw.IN.PFT
      '(To my surprise) (s)he has drawn a straight line.' (DBG 3: 34)

(225) ahannaş   kukuļu   mas   kevēne
      I.DAT   chicken meat eat.IN.FUT
      'I can eat chicken meat.'

4.1.2.2 Accidental Clauses

The accidental clause is characterized by the actant occurring in a nominal phrase headed by *at-un* 'hand-INS'. The activity must be semantically transitive. Generally the actants in the accidental clauses possess more agent-like qualities than the dative NPs in involitive constructions. Examples (226) and (227) illustrate this difference:

(226) e   kujjāyaş   viha   koļek   kevunu
      that child.DAT   poison piece.INDF eat.IN.PST
      'That child involuntarily ate some poison.'   (involitive clause)

(227) e   kujjāge   atun   viha   koļek   kevunī
      that child.GEN hand.INS poison piece.INDF eat.IN.PST
      'That child ate some poison (unknowingly).' (accidental clause)

Example (226) indicates a situation in which a child was fed poison, and there is a sense in which the child was not in control of the activity of eating itself. In (227), however, the child is in some degree in control of eating, but did not intend to eat poison. (227) could not be used of a child who is being fed by someone else, for instance.

4.1.2.3 IN-Verbs As Passive

Dhivehi uses IN-verbs for a prototypical passive construction, "prototypical" in the sense that it is characterized structurally by the promotion of a direct object in an active clause to be a subject in the corresponding passive clause (Perlmutter and Postal 1983: 9) Example (228) below exemplifies this construction. Though it contains an IN-verb, it cannot be interpreted as a non-volitional activity as the purpose adverbial indicates otherwise. Note, however, that the agent is not encoded. Dhivehi passives do not allow any overt agents inflected as an oblique in the passive construction. Such oblique agents would be interpreted as subjects in keeping with an agentivity hierarchy for subjecthood.

(228) mi   darivarunnaş   allahge   fot   hitudaskurumaş
      this students.DAT   Allah.GEN book memorize.GER.DAT

      hitvarudinumuge   gotun   madurasāge   farātun
      encourage.GER.GEN manner.INS school.GEN side.INS

      komme kujjakaş   mahaku   tirīs
      every   child.NSPC.DAT month.NSPC thirty

      rufiyā devē
      rupee give.IN.HAB

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

4.1.2.4 Inactive Clauses

Inactive clauses are generally intransitive clauses which "often imply a participant acting without volition as a result of some external force or agency" (Gair 1970: 78). Inactive clauses feature an IN-verb and a subject in the direct, unmarked case. The subjects can be either inanimate as in (220) above, or animate as in (229):

(229) kujjā   veṭṭunu
      child   fell.IN
      'The child fell.'

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

An important matter to note is that it is not always easy to differentiate between inactives and other types of IN-clauses. For Dhivehi it is often the case that arguments understood from context are not made explicit. Thus, a clause that looks like an inactive may,

in fact, be another type. If the context indicates that some agent-like referent is the initiator of the activity, then we can determine that the clause in question is not an inactive. In practice, it is not always clear.

A construction that is difficult to categorize is one that features an IN-verb, but has two arguments. I tentatively group them with inactives because like them, the subject is in the direct case and the verb is involitive. (230) is an example:

(230) hasan   sofura   gai-gā   jehunu
      Hasan   Sofura   body-LOC   hit.IN.PST
      'Hasan hit Sofura (accidentally).' or 'Hasan brushed up against Sofura.'

The sense of (230) is somewhat hard to capture. According to our sources, such a statement might be used of a young couple walking down the street. The young man casually brushes up against the young lady. While not acting entirely on purpose, there is a sense in which he could have avoided the contact if he had tried.

4.2 Causatives

4.2.1 Causative Morpheme

Dhivehi increases the semantic valence of the verb by means of a causative morpheme. The causative morpheme forms transitives from intransitives, causatives from transitives, and double causatives from causatives. It generally consists of either gemination of the final consonant of the verb root and/or the addition of -(u)va to the verb root. The first pattern is most common with polysyllabic verb stems, and the second is generally used with stems in which the last consonant is one that does not geminate, and in forming double causatives. The triads of intransitive, transitive/causative and double causative verbs in (231) are illustrative. Note that the derivational patterns between the first two columns, as in the case of the IN-derivations in Section 4.1.1 are more complex than can be dealt with here, and not straightforwardly unidirectional. Thus in the first two examples, the causatives exhibit causative gemination in comparison to the intransitives (as usual, prenasalized stops geminate as full nasal clusters), but the intransitives show $a > e$ relation characteristic of IN-derivation. Thus e^{n}genī 'knowing' and anganī 'informing' have appeared also in the chart in (215) in relation to IN-verb formation. What these represent are sets without basic (-a- type) intransitive verbs in which -e- type verbs fulfill that function and stand in a parallel relation to causativization (see Section 4.2.1 and 2.4.1). Also, in the veṭṭenī 'falling' and leppenī 'closing' sets, both intransitive and causative forms have geminates, but the intransitives show the -e- vowels characteristic of IN-forms, so that the derivation could be considered to go in the opposite direction as well. The final set represents sequential transitive and double causative derivation employing the causative morpheme, with the prenasalized stop geminating as usual as a full nasal cluster. However, note that the double causative derivation is straightforward in all cases, and that all causatives and double causatives feature the thematic vowel -a- that is more typical of transitive verbs. The glosses here give only a general indication of the meaning. Causative forms can have a variety of definitions, and some forms are used in polite speech registers with no causative meaning whatsoever.

(231)
Intransitive Verbs	Transitive/Causative	Double Causatives
e^{n}ge-nī 'knowing'	anga-nī 'informing'	angu-va-nī 'informing.CAUS'
deke-nī 'seeing'	dakka-nī 'showing'	dakku-va-nī 'showing.CAUS'
veṭṭe-nī 'falling'	vaṭṭa-nī 'dropping'	vaṭṭu-va-nī 'droping.CAUS'
leppe-nī 'closing'	lappa-nī 'closing'	lappu-va-nī 'closing.CAUS'
hi^{n}ga-nī 'walking'	hinga-nī 'operating'	hingu-va-nī 'operating.CAUS'

The interaction of IN-verb formation and causativization also produces "full" sets with four members based on basic transitive verbs as with the set given in Section 2.4.1 as balanī 'looking', belenī 'seeing', ballanī 'cause to look', and balluvanī 'cause to look at'; and as an additional example, kuranī 'doing', kurevenī 'doing (involitive)', kuruvanī 'cause to do', and kuruvvanī 'cause someone to cause to do'. In the case of kuruvanī 'cause to do', the causative morpheme is -uva, and the double causative kuruvvanī is formed by geminating the final consonant of the causative stem.

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

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

4.2.2 Syntactic Distribution of Causatives

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

(232) a. ēnā   duvi   b. kōcu   ēnā   duvvi
          (s)he   run.PST   coach   (s)he   run.CAUS.PST
          '(S)he ran.'   'The coach made him/her run.'

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[22] While Sinhala has double causatives in form, apart from a few cases they do not differ in meaning from primary causatives (Hendriksen 1949: 163; Reynolds 1980: 146). In contrast, Dhivehi double causatives generally do indicate secondary causation as seen in (231).

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

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

(234) a.   kudin   siṭī   fonuvanī   bappay-aṣ
           children letter   send.PRE.FOC   father-DAT
           'The children are sending the letter to the father.'

       b.   mammā kudin   lavvā   siṭī   fonuvvanī   bappay-aṣ
           mother   children put.CAUS.PRT letter send.PRE.FOC   father-DAT
           'The mother is making the children send the letter to the father.'

In (233)b and (234)b, note that sentences featuring causation for transitive and ditransitive verbs require the Causee to be marked with *lavvā*, a causative participle of 'put'.[23] The use of the verbal *lavvā* allows for the addition of the Causee as its object, since the object argument of the main predicate is already saturated.

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

(235) katību   kiyuvvī   e   fot
       island-chief   read.CAUS.PST.FOC   that   book
       'The island chief read that book.'

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

(236) a.   don   kamana   boḷu-gā   funā   aḷanī
           Don   Kamana   head-LOC   comb put.PREPRO
           'Don Kamana is combing (her own) hair.'

       b.   don   kamana   ēnā-ge   kujjā-ge   boḷu-gā
           Don   Kamana   (s)he-GEN child-GEN head-LOC

           funā   aḷuvanī
           comb   put.CAUS.PREPRO

           'Don Kamana is combing her child's hair.'

Some causative forms have been lexicalized in ways not immediately transparent in meaning. Examples include: *jassanī* 'touching' from *jahanī* 'striking', *lavvanī* 'inserting' from *lanī* 'to put', *aḷuvanī* 'hanging' from *aḷanī* 'place/pour'.

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[23] This is the case for Sinhala as well which uses *lawwa/lawā*, also a form of causative 'put' as a dialectal variant (Gair 1970: 68, n. 7; Gunasekara 1891: 423).
[24] While for some verbs the causative and polite forms of the verb are identical, others show a difference: *hinguvun* 'causing to walk', *hingavun* 'walking (polite)'.

5 DHIVEHI TEXT

The *Anga Gadha Mituraai Anga Madu Mituru* story recounts the adventures of two young boys with Santimariyambu. Santimariyambu, a name of Portuguese origin, is someone akin to an elderly tooth fairy who searches for teeth soiled with *maafuh* (a powdery mixture of millet flour and spices). Upon finding such teeth, Santimariyambu removes the soiled teeth, and puts clean teeth in their place. She takes the soiled teeth, scraps off the *maafuh* and feeds it to her children. This particular account of the story comes from a primary reader circulated by the Maldives Ministry of Education.

(237) aⁿga   gada   mitur-āi   aⁿga   maḍu   mitur-akī
       mouth   strong   friend-CNPM mouth   soft   friend-EQ

      varaṣ   boḍu   de   ekuverinn-eve
      very   great   2   friend-PL-END

      'Talkative Friend and Reserved Friend were two very good friends.'

(238) ek   duvah-aku   mi   de   ekuveri-n   eb-bai
       one   day-NSPC   this two   friend-PL   one-group

      ve-gen   māfuṣ   moḍe-gen kei   eve
      be-SUC   *maafuh* mix-SUC   eat.PST.PRO end

      'One day they got together, mixed up some *maafuh* and ate it.'

(239) māfuṣ   kai-gen   gos   holu-aṣī-gai   jassāli
       maafuh eat-SUC   go.PRT   log- platform-LOC   touch.PST.RPRT

      tanā   aⁿga   maḍu   mitur-aṣ   nidi-jje   eve
      place.CNPM mouth   soft   friend-DAT sleep-PAST END

      'Having eaten the *maafuh*, Reserved Friend went to where the raised log platform was and fell asleep immediately.'

(240) aⁿga   maḍu   mitur-aṣ   nidi-fā   ovvā   mi
       mouth   soft   friend-DAT sleep.IN-SUC be(horz.).PRE.RPRT this

      tan-aṣ   santimariyaᵐbu dat   gōni   hifai-gen
      place-DAT santimariyambu tooth sack   grab-SUC

      atuvejje   eve
      come.PFT   END

      'Santimariyambu grabbed the tooth bag and came to the place where Reserved Friend was asleep.'

(241) aⁿga   maḍu   mituru   māfuṣ   kai-gen   dayt-tak
       mouth   soft   friend   *maafuh* eat-SUC   tooth-PLU

      haḍi   ve-fai   vā   tan   feni-fai   dayt-tak
      dirty   be-SUC   be.PRE.RPRT place see-SUC   tooth-PLU

      ufurā-lā-fā   rīti   dat
      remove-put-SUC pretty   tooth

pila-ek   jahai   dīfi-eve
bunch-INDF   put   give.PFT-END

'Having seen where Reserved Friend's teeth were dirty from eating *maafuh*, she removed (his) teeth and put in beautiful teeth (in their place).'

(242) aⁿga   maḍu   mituru   varaş   ufalu-n   gos   aⁿga   gada
      mouth soft   friend   very   happy-INS   go.PRT   mouth strong

mituru   kairīgai   mi   vāhaka   kiyai   dī-fi   eve
friend   near   this   tale   tell   give-PFT   END

'Reserved Friend was very happy, and told this story to Talkative Friend.'

(243) timanna   ves   dānam-ē   kiyā-fā   aⁿga   gada   mituru
      I(rep.)   also   go.N3-FUT-QP   tell-SUC   mouth   strong   friend

māfuş   kai-gen   gos   holu-aşī-gai   oşōve
maafuh eat-SUC   go.PRT   log-platform-LOC   recline.PRT

nidā   kamaş   hadai-gen   otī-eve
asleep   thing(event).DAT make-SUC   be(horz.).PST.PRO-END

'Having said "I will also go," Talkative Friend ate *maafuh*, laid down on the log platform, and pretended to be asleep.'

(244) aⁿga   gada   mituru   mi   hen   ovvā   mi   tan-aş
      mouth strong   friend   this   like   be(horz.).PRT   this   place-DAT

santimariyaᵐbu   dat   gōni   hifai-gen   atuvejje   eve
santimariambu   tooth   sack   grab-SUC   come.PFT   END

'Santimariyambu grabbed the tooth bag, and came to where Talkative Friend was lying down like this.'

(245) aⁿga   gada   mituru-ge   dayt-tak   haḍi   ve-fai   vā
      mouth strong   friend-GEN   tooth-PLU   dirty   be-SUC   be.PRE.RPRT

tan   feni-fai   rīti   dat   pila-ek
place   see-SUC   pretty   tooth   bunch-INDF

jahan   ve-gen   dayt-tak   ufurā-lai-fi-eve
put.INF   be-SUC   tooth-PLU   remove-put-PFT-END

'Having seen where Talkative Friend's dirty teeth were, she removed those teeth in order to put in pretty teeth.'

(246) aⁿga   gada   mitur-aş   maḍu-n   no-ovevi-gen
      mouth strong   friend-DAT   soft-INS   NEG-be(horz.)IN-SUC

rīti   dat   pila-ek   jahaccē   buni   aḍ-aş
pretty   tooth   bunch-INDF   put-IMPV   say.PST.RPRT sound-DAT

santimariyaᵐbu   aⁿga   gada   mituru-ge   mūnu
santimariambu   mouth   strong   friend-GEN   face

maccaş   dayt-tak   ukālā-fai   duve   hiⁿga-jje   eve
top-DAT   tooth-PLU   throw -PST   run   walk.PFT   END

'Talkative Friend was not able to lie quietly and at the sound of him saying to her, "Put in a beautiful set of teeth!," Santimariyambu threw the teeth on top of Talkative Friend's face, and ran away.'

(247) mihāru   aⁿga   gada   mituru-ge   mūnu   matī-ga-āi
      now   mouth   strong   friend-GEN   face   top-LOC-CNPM

aⁿga   matī-gai   vanī   dat-eve
mouth   top-LOC   be.PRE.PRO   tooth-END

'Now, Talkative Friend's face and mouth are (covered with) teeth.'

(248) aⁿga   gada   mituru   mi-kam-āi   hedi   varaş
      mouth   strong   friend   this-thing-CNPM   make.IN.PRT   very

dera-ve-gen   ge-aş   hiⁿga-jje   eve
sad- be-SUC   house-DAT   walk-PFT   END

'Talkative Friend, being very sad about what happened, went to his home.'

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Dhivehi (Maldivian) is the national language of the Republic of Maldives, an island nation located in the Indian Ocean south of India and to the west of Sri Lanka. Dhivehi is an Indo-Aryan language closely related to Sinhala, and with it forms the southernmost branch. Dhivehi has more than 240,000 speakers in the Maldives, and an additional 5,000 in Minicoy of India where the language is known as Mahal. As the national language of the Maldives, Dhivehi is fully developed and thriving. It has a literary history that spans at least nine centuries, and employs its own unique right-to-left script called Thaana. Dhivehi printed materials are abundant, and it is the language of radio and television. Dhivehi is the medium of education, and literacy in the Maldives exceeds 95%.

While enjoying a privileged status within the Maldives, very little is known about Dhivehi in the outside world. The inventory of published works on Dhivehi is sparse. In more recent years, the Maldives has become more accessible to researchers, and interest in Dhivehi has grown. This sketch describes standard Dhivehi, the dialect spoken in the capital Male' and surrounding atolls, and is based on a corpus of published materials and elicited information gathered on site. Some of the more notable phonological features of Dhivehi include development of prenasalized stops, compensatory lengthening of consonants from vowel loss, and alternations of several consonants with the glottal stop. Morphologically, Dhivehi has a system of volitivity marking for verbal forms. Dhivehi syntax features a cleft-like construction in which the focused item is generally post-verbal, and a predicate nominal construction with an equative marker on the subject.

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