

LOSS AND RE-INTRODUCTION OF NASALS IN SINHALESE.

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In studying the phonological system of Sinhalese it is important to bear in mind that the Sinhalese language had separated itself from the main group of Indo-Aryan languages many centuries before the time when the distinctive features of the Prakrits were evolved, and has led its own life without having any intimate contact with other languages of the family to which it belonged. A solid block of Dravidian speaking people separated the Sinhalese from the Aryan speaking races of India. It is for this very reason that Sinhalese shows differences in phonological development that distinguishes it from other modern Indo-Aryan vernaculars of the continent.

The oldest specimens of the Sinhalese language are found in the Brahmi inscriptions dating from about the last quarter of the 3rd c. B. C. to about the 1st c. A. C., of which copies of about one thousand two hundred have been secured.¹ The script of these cave and rock inscriptions is the same as that of the most ancient historical inscriptions of India, the most notable of which are the Asokan inscriptions. Not only in the script but also in the language there seems to be dialectal affinity in these inscriptions, which has made Geiger to refer to the language of the Ceylon records as Sinhalese Prakrit.²

Among the chief phonological changes observed in the simplification of the Indo-Aryan speech at various stages of its growth, some of the most dynamic changes observed in the Brahmi inscriptions are the reduction of double and geminated consonants to single ones, the dropping of the anusvāra and the shortening of long vowels.

A theory has been put forward by scholars as Geiger³ and Hultsch⁴ that this was only graphic and that in actual pronunciation of that time all these features were prevalent. This theory

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¹ Senarat Paranavitana, *Sinhalayō*, Ceylon, 1967, p. 3 ff.,

Wilhelm Geiger, *A grammar of the Sinhalese language*, (Colombo, 1938), p. 2 ff.

² W. Geiger, op. cit., p. 3.

³ W. Geiger, op. cit. p. 14.

⁴ E. Hultsch, *Inscriptions of Asoka CII, Vol. 1*, (Oxford 1925), p. lix.

has been based on the evidence of the occurrence in later Prakrit inscriptions as the British Museum Plates of Chārudevi and in the Plates of Vijaya Deva Varman (E. I., 8,144 & 9,57) of the double consonants unchanged and of words as *saṅg*, *saṅga* 'brotherhood', *Mihind* and *Mihīṅu* (Pr. N.) in the proto-language of Sinhalese of a later date (i. e. 7th to 8th c. A. C.) with the nasal plus consonants.

As rightly pointed out by Paranavitana¹, these copper plate grants (which have been the criterion of judgement as to the pronunciation of the Brahmi epigraphs) may either belong to a dialect that preserved the Middle Indo-Aryan features as the double consonants, anusvāra etc. or they may have been written in a literary form of speech befitting the character of those documents, while the Asokan edicts as well as the early Buddhist inscriptions in Ceylon were meant to be read by the ordinary man and hence were written in a form of speech that was in everyday use in the mouth of the average man. It has also been pointed out by the same scholar² that this was not a graphic representation of a different pronunciation, on paleographical and orthographical grounds, because the Brahmi script had at that time the symbols for conjunct consonants (which were of frequent occurrence in the Asokan edicts as well as in the 1st c. inscriptions of Ceylon³), as well as for the anusvāra (found in the Brahmi inscriptions of India, although absent in the Ceylon records) and the stroke showing vowel length (found in the earliest epigraphs of Ceylon and the Asokan inscriptions). He also draws one's attention to the fact⁴ that in all these instances where the spelling is said to be different from the pronunciation in the oldest inscriptions the later phonetic development is in conformity with the spelling and not with the assumed pronunciation. Long vowels which have been written as short in the Brahmi inscriptions are found to have shortened by the 8th c. in documents of which the pronunciation is no longer a matter of speculation. Double consonants which were written as single in the 1st c. B. C. were also pronounced as single in the 8th c., The nasals which were omitted in the early records were also non-existent in the later language. The copper plate grants of India have therefore to be dismissed as a criterion of judgement as to the pronunciation of these records.

¹ S. Paranavitana, *Sigiri Graffiti*, Vol. I, 1952, Intro. p. lxii. ff.

² S. Paranavitana. op. cit., p. lxiv § 222.

³ Müller, *Ancient Inscriptions of Ceylon* (No. 20) circa 43-21 B. C.

⁴ S. Paranavitana, op. cit., p. lxv § 225.

Thus we see that there is ample evidence for the loss of the nasal in conjunct consonant groups $\overset{(h)}{n}k$, $\overset{(h)}{n}g$, $\overset{(h)}{n}c$, $\overset{(h)}{n}j$, mp , $\overset{(h)}{m}b$, $\overset{(h)}{nt}$, $\overset{(h)}{nd}$, $\overset{(h)}{n}t$, $\overset{(h)}{n}d$ in the earliest phase of the evolution of Sinhalese as depicted in the Brahmi records of Ceylon (3rd c. B. C. to 5th c. A. C.). This was a continuation of the phonological process of simplification observed in the Prakrits by way of assimilation and reduction of conjoint consonants which started at the Middle Indo-Aryan stage. Thus-

- O.I. *saṅkhapāla* > M. I. *saṅkhapāla* > Sinh. *sakpal* (Pr.N.) 10th c. A.C.
 O.I. *saṅghassa* > M. I. *saṅghassa* > Sinh. *sagasa* 'to the brotherhood' 2nd c. B.C.
 O.I. *laṅhitaka* > M. I. *laṅhitaka* > Sinh. *legitaka* 'raised' 1st c. A.C.
lāgū (SigGrf. 245, 8thc. A.C.)
 O.I. *Devānampriya* > M.I. *Devānampiya* > Sinh. *Devanipiya* (Pr.N.) 1st c. or 2nd c. A.C.
 O.I. *campaka* > M.I. *campaka* > Sinh. *sapu* 'N. of a tree'
 O.I. *ambara* > M.I. *ambara* > Sinh. *abara, abura* 'sky' 9th c. A.C.
 O.I. *ambā, ambikā* > M.I. *ambā, ambikā* > Sinh. *abu* 'wife', 'woman' 8th c. A.C.
 O.I. *pankti* > M.I. *panti* > Sinh. *pet* 'row', 'line', 'stretch of land' 10th c. A.C.
 O.I. *abhyantara* > M.I. *abbhantara* > Sinh. *abatura* 'inside' 10th c. A.C.
 O.I. *bandha* > M.I. *baddha* > Sinh. *bad* 'tied', 'connected' 1st c. A.C.
 O.I. *kaṅṭha* > M.I. *kaṅṭha* > Sinh. *kaṭa* 'throat', 'mouth', 'orifice' 12th c. A.C.
 O.I. *kaṅṭaka* > M.I. *kaṅṭaka* > Sinh. *kaṭu* 'thorn'
 O.I. *bhaṅḍa* > M.I. *bhṅḍa* > Sinh. *baḍa* in 'badakarika' (=Skt. *bhāṅḍāgārika*) 'treasurer' 1st c. A.C.
 O.I. *caṅḍa* > M.I. *caṅḍa* > Sinh. *sāḍa* 'fierce', 'strong' 1st c. A.C.

The loss of the anusvāra ṃ is seen in examples as—

- M.I. *yāguṃ ca bhataṃ ca* Sinh. *yaku ca bata ca* 'gruel and boiled rice' (Epz I p. 62³ 1st c. B.C.)
 M.I. *vihāraṃ kārāpaya* Sinh. *vihara karavaya* 'having got a monastery erected' (Epz I p. 148 1st c. B.C.)

O.I. *saṃvatsara* M.I. *saṃvacchara* Sinh. *havajara* 'year' (Epz III p. 251 4th c. A.C.)

Thus the rule concerning the nasals in the Sinhalese Prakrit may be generalised as follows—

Nas. → ϕ / $\begin{matrix} \text{--- stop} \\ \text{--- \#} \end{matrix}$

The *re-introduction* of nasals to the environment of stop consonants is an important phase in the evolution of Sinhalese. This phonological rule seems to have been added to the grammar of Sinhalese when the single velar and dental stops in intervocalic positions started to get eliminated by way of further simplification of its sound system. The latter feature is first observed in the Tonigala inscription of the 4th c. A.C. where forms as *niyama* < M.I. *nigama* 'market place'; *miya* < M.I. *madhu* 'honey'; *dī* < M.I. *dadhi* 'coagulated milk'; *pavaya* < M.I. *pabbata* 'mountain' are met with¹. As evidenced by a few records of the 4th c. A.C. a stage of voicing seems to have preceded the final dropping of these consonants in intervocalic positions. Forms as *paḍiḍita* (Skt. *praṭiṣṭhita*: P. *paṭiṭṭhita*) (Epz I p. 145) are sporadically found in early Sinhalese inscriptions². Voicing in the chain of palatals is also³ noticeable at this period. The form *paḍiḍita* later appears as *pihiḍi* 'situated' after the dropping of the voiced stop —*d*—. Thus we see that a 'push-chain' in sound change³ has been working from the Middle Indo-Aryan times to the Proto-Sinhalese era in two stages—

STAGE I

kk	(h)	}	→k
	(h)		
ṅk	(h)	}	→k
gg	(h)	}	→g
	(h)		
ṅg	(h)	}	→g
pp	(h)	}	→p
	(h)		
mp	(h)	}	→p

¹ W. Geiger, op. cit., p. 146 § 41.

² S. Paranavitana, op. cit., p. lxxvii.

³ Martinet André, 1952, 'Functions, structure and sound change' Word, 8 pp, 1-32

STAGE I (contd.)

$\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{bb} \\ \text{mb} \end{array} \right\} \begin{array}{l} \text{(h)} \\ \text{(h)} \end{array} \rightarrow \text{b}$
 $\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{tt} \\ \text{nt} \end{array} \right\} \begin{array}{l} \text{(h)} \\ \text{(h)} \end{array} \rightarrow \text{t}$
 $\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{dd} \\ \text{nd} \end{array} \right\} \begin{array}{l} \text{(h)} \\ \text{(h)} \end{array} \rightarrow \text{d}$
 $\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{tt} \\ \text{nt} \end{array} \right\} \begin{array}{l} \text{(h)} \\ \text{(h)} \end{array} \rightarrow \text{t}$
 $\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{dd} \\ \text{nd} \end{array} \right\} \begin{array}{l} \text{(h)} \\ \text{(h)} \end{array} \rightarrow \text{d}$
 $\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{cc} \\ \text{ñc} \end{array} \right\} \begin{array}{l} \text{(h)} \\ \text{(h)} \end{array} \rightarrow \text{c}$
 $\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{jj} \\ \text{ñj} \end{array} \right\} \begin{array}{l} \text{(h)} \\ \text{(h)} \end{array} \rightarrow \text{j}$

STAGE II

$\text{k} \rightarrow \text{g} \rightarrow \phi$
 $\text{t} \rightarrow \text{d} \rightarrow \phi$
 $\text{p} \rightarrow \text{b} \rightarrow \text{v}$
 $\text{t} \rightarrow \text{d} \rightarrow \phi$
 $\text{c} \rightarrow \text{j} \rightarrow \text{d}$

If this phonological process had persisted in the grammar of Sinhalese there would have been a large percentage of homonyms in the language that would have resulted in ambiguity of expression. Old Indian forms as *kumuda* 'water-lily', *nidāgha* 'drought' and *phalaka* 'shield' would have produced forms as **kumu*, **niyā*, and **palā* respectively, thus merging with forms derived from M.I. *kumma* (Sinh. *kumu*) 'a tortoise', O.I. *nyāya* (Sinh. *niyā*) 'mode', 'manner' and O.I. *palāśa* (Sinh. *palā*) 'herbs'.

Thus the re-introduction of the nasal to the environment of the voiced stop-consonants seems to have been a measure taken to reinforce these consonants thereby preventing their disappearance¹ and thus keeping a symmetrical balance in the sound system of the language². The nasalized consonants are first observed in the

¹ S. Paranavitana, op. cit., p. lviii § 203.

² Robert D. King, *Historical Linguistics and Generative grammar*, (New Jersey, 1969), p. 193 ff.

Sigiri Graffiti ascribed to the 7th and 8th c. A.C. where the nasal and the consonant following it have been written in full as if both were fully pronounced¹. But the metre of the verses indicate that the nasal was not fully pronounced. The manner in which the half-nasal was written in the Graffiti would also indicate that when the consonant was originally reinforced, it was with a full nasal, but the genius of the language refused to have it as such and would have accommodated only a tinge of it. The insertion of the full nasal would also have had the effect of adding to the number of morae of the word, the rule of keeping to which seems to have been observed at this period². Thus we see that a full nasal has been added if the consonant was not vocalised, while the consonant was nasalized (i.e. only half the nasal element was added) if a vowel followed it. This rule may be formulated as follows-

- (a) voiced stop → nasalized / v—v
 (b) voiced stop → nasal + / —#

In this early phase of the reintroduction of the nasal to the language one notices an inconsistency as regards the usage of the nasalized consonant (or symbol for it) in the epigraphs between the 7th and 12th centuries. Nasalized and non-nasalized forms are found in the same verse written by the same individual (as for example *mag* and *maṅg* in Sig.Grf. v. 35, 9th c.); forms as *peleḅu* and *pelebu* 'enamoured' are found in verses of the same period (Sig.Grf. 113, 8th c.; 331, 8th c.). This variation may be ascribed to an inconsistency in spelling on the part of the scribes or the forms may have been used in free variation owing to dialectal differences which may have prevailed during those times. In the old *Gāraṅṅigala* inscription (Epz III, p. 198; 8th c.) the symbol for the nasalized consonant is entirely missing: forms as *hindvā*, *bāndā*, *kumbur* occur along with *Mihid* (= *Mihind* Pr. N.) and *sigā* (= *siḅā* 'having begged'). Also in the Vessagiri inscription (Epz I, p. 32 sq) ascribed to the 10th c., side by side with forms as *saṅg*, *Dambdiv*, *muṅg*, which seem to be in conformity with rule (b) observed above, we find forms as *maṅga* 'way', *hinduvā* 'having stationed', *kumbura* 'field', *Mihindu* (Pr. N.) with the full nasal whereas we expect a nasalized consonant, because even in inscriptions of the 9th c. (Epz I, p. 168 sq., 174) the symbol for the nasalized consonant

¹ S. Paranavitana, op. cit. p. lix § 205.

² S. Paranavitana, op. cit. p. lx § 210.

has been used in words as *maṅḍala* 'disc' and *saṅga* 'brotherhood'. We come across not only forms as *kaṇḍapinda* 'fragments (of cloth) and lumps (of food)' and *kaṇḍāpiṇḍā* in inscriptions of the same king Mahinda IV (circa. 956 to 972 A.C.) but also forms as *kaḍa-no-koṭa* 'without interruption' in the 12th c. (Epz. II, p. 270²¹) and in the 10th c. *daḍ* or *daḍā* (ib. I, p. 247^{20, 21}) side by side with the more frequent form *dand*.

This leads us to the numerous class of words in which the nasalized consonants represent a conjoint consonant in the Old Indian of which the first is a nasal as in *saṅga*: Skt. Pa *saṅgha*. It may well be argued that the nasal element in such words is a direct descendent of the nasal in the corresponding Sanskrit forms. But it is evident from the facts already cited that for nearly a thousand years from about the 3rd c. B.C. forms as *saga* which are a result of the 'push-chain' process in sound change are found in lithic records without a nasal. It was this very condition of the absence of the nasal immediately preceding the voiced stop in the earlier phase of the language that brought about the confusion when it was introduced in the proto stage of its development. The fact that the nasalization in *saṅga* is secondary is further attested by forms as *kumund* (Skt. *kumuda*) and *niyaṅga* (Skt. *nidāgha*) the prototypes of which had no nasal at all in the Old Indian and Middle Indian stages. Thus we have—

- O.I. *mārga* > M.I. *magga* > Sinh. *mag/maṅg* 'way', 'road' (Sig-
Graf. 35, 9th c. -both fms.
maṅga 'way', 'road' (ib. 250, 9th c.)
- O.I. *samudra* > M.I. *samudda* > Sinh. *samuḍā* 'sea', 'ocean'
(SigGrf. 86, 9th c.);
muhuḍā (ib. 427, 9th c.);
muhuda (GirS. 71, 15th c.)
- O.I. *pralōbhita* > M.I. *palōbhita* > Sinh. *paleḍi* 'enamoured' (SigGrf. 100,
9th c.);
peleḍu (preterite fm. ib. 113, 8th c.)
pelebi (ib. 245, 8th c.);
pelebu (ib. 331, 8th c.)
- O.I. *mūrdhan* > M.I. *muddhana* > Sinh. *muḍan* 'summit' (SigGrf. 286,
8th c.)
- O.I. *pralubdha* > M.I. *paluddha* > Sinh. *puluḍu* 'enamoured', 'enticed'
(SigGrf. 345, 8th c.)
puludu (ib. 86, 9th c.)

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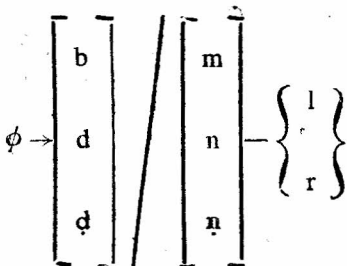
- O.I. *urvarā* > M.I. *ubbarā* > Sinh. *kubura* 'field' (SīgGrf.441, 8thc.)
kuḅur (ib. 605, 8th c.) (Epz I,92;
Kvp. p. 46, 13th c.);
mod. *kuḅura*
- O.I. *Kapila* > M.I. *Kapila* > Sinh. *Kiḅul* (Pr. N.) SīgGrf. 620,8thc)
O.I. *snigdha* > M.I. *siniddha* > Sinh. *sinind* 'lovely', 'beloved'
(SīgGrf. 13, 8th c.)
siniḅu (Dhpr., p. 39, 12th c.)
- O.I. *kumuda* > M.I. *kumuda* > Sinh. *kumund* 'water-lily' (SīgGrf.
177, 8th c.);
mod. *kumudu*
- O.I. *Mucalinda* > M.I. *Mucalinda* > Sinh. *Muḅalind* (Pr. N.) (SīgGrf.28.
9th c.)
Mudaliḅu (PurNv. 20, 15th c.)
- O.I. *viruddha* > M.I. *viruddha* > Sinh. *viruḅu* / *virudu* 'hostile', 'opposed'
O.I. *Arjuna* > M.I. *Ajjuna* > Sinh. *aḅun* 'N. of the third of the five
Pāṇḍava princes' (MRūp. p. 83,
15th c.)
- O.I. *ardha* > M.I. *addha* > Sinh. *aḅa* 'half-share', 'share' 13th c.
O.I. *chādayati* > M.I. *chādayati* > Sinh. *haḅinu* 'to wear' 10th c.; mod
aḅinu
- O.I. *ārjava* > M.I. *ajjava* > Sinh. **arudu aduru* / *aḅuru* 'straight',
'sincere' (in **kiriya*)
- O.I. *gadrabha* > M.I. *gaddhabha* > Sinh. *gāḅubu* 'ass', 'donkey'
O.I. *madgura* > M.I. *maggura* > Sinh. *maḅuru* / *maguru* 'N. of a kind
of fish'
- O.I. *siḅhara* > M.I. *siḅha* > Sinh. *siḅu* / *hiḅu* 'speedy', 'hasty'
O.I. *jarāyu* > M.I. *jalābu* Sinh. *dalaḅu* 'after-birth', 'placenta',
'womb'
- O.I. *nabhas* > M.I. *nabhas* > Sinh. *nuḅa* 'sky'; also *nuba*
O.I. *mudga* > M.I. *mugga* > Sinh. *muḅu* / *mugu* (st. fm. *muḅ* or
muḅu 'kind of pulse', 'green-gram')
- O.I. *nidāgha* > M.I. *nidāgha* > Sinh. *niyaḅa* 'heat', 'hot season'
O.I. *madhūka* > M.I. *madhūka* > Sinh. *mihīḅu* 'Basia Latifolia'
O.I. *śidati* > M.I. *śidati* > Sinh. *hiḅinu* / *iḅinu* 'to sit', 'to stay'
O.I. *krōḅa* > M.I. *kōḅa* > Sinh. *koḅa* 'top of arm', 'head of
shoulder'
- O.I. *mudrā* > M.I. *muddā* > Sinh. *muḅuva* / *munda* 12th c. 'signet
ring, ring'
mod. *mudda*
- O.I. *mūrdhan* > M.I. *muddhana* > Sinh. *muḅuna* / *muduna* 'head', 'peak'

- O.I. *daridra* > M.I. *daḷidda* > Sinh. *diḷiḍḍu* 'poor'
 O.I. *durbala* > M.I. *dubbala* > Sinh. *duḅul* 'weak', 'infirm'
 O.I. *kalabha* > M.I. *kalabha* > Sinh. *kalab̄ayā* 'young elephant'
 O.I. *bhrājita* > M.I. *bhrājita* > Sinh. *biḷi* 'shone' 12th c.

Forms with secondary nasalization according to the theory presented are—

- O.I. *gaṅgā* > M.I. *gaṅgā* > Sinh. *gaḡa* (st. fm. *gaṃ*) 'river'
 O.I. *aṅgana* > M.I. *aṅgana* > Sinh. *aḡunu* 'court-yard'
 O.I. *aṅgāra* > M.I. *aṅgāra* > Sinh. *aḡuru* 'charcoal'
 O.I. *aṅgada* > M.I. *aṅgada* > Sinh. *aḡu* 'armlet'
 O.I. *aṅjana* > M.I. *aṅjana* > Sinh. *aḡun* 'collyrium'
 O.I. *sr̄ṅga* > M.I. *siṅga/saṅga* > Sinh. *haḡa / aḡa* (st. fm. *aṃ*) 'horn'
 O.I. *kuṅḍala* > M.I. *kuṅḍala* > Sinh. *koḡol* 'ear-ring'
 O.I. *saṅḍāsa* > M.I. *saṅḍāsa* > Sinh. *haḡu / aḡu* pair of tongs'
 O.I. *maṅḍapa* > M.I. *maṅḍapa* > Sinh. *maḡu / maḡu* 'hut'
 O.I. *suṅḍā* > M.I. *suṅḍā* > Sinh. *soḡa* 'trunk of an elephant'
 O.I. *andhakāra* > M.I. *andhakāra* > Sinh. *aḡuru* 'darkness'
 O.I. *kunda* > M.I. *kunda* > Sinh. *koḡa* 'a kind of jasmine'
 O.I. *stamba* > M.I. *thamba/ṭhamba* > Sinh. *tāḡa* (st. fm. *tām*) 'pillar'
 O.I. *kumbha* > M.I. *kumbha* > Sinh. *kuḡu* 'pot'

In a number of words the nasalized consonants \bar{a} \bar{d} \bar{b} have been substituted for the nasals \bar{n} , \bar{m} of the O.I. and M.I. forms. The introduction of the voiced stop to the environment of the nasal is a sound change observed in the Middle Indo-Aryan stage (see Wackernagel, *Altind. Gram.*, 157; Bloch, *LM*, 136). This phonetic rule which may be formulated as



seems to be due to the influence of the laterals in the environment of the nasal sounds. This same rule is observed in English in forms as *humility* > *humble*, *sing+er* > *singer*. Thus this rule of adding the homorganic stop

consonants is an input rule that has preceded the nasalization of stop consonants.

O.I. <i>āmra</i>	▷ M.I. <i>amba</i>	▷ Sinh. <i>aḅa</i> 'mango'
O.I. <i>tāmra</i>	▷ M.I. <i>tamba</i>	▷ Sinh. <i>taḅa</i> 'copper'
O.I. <i>parṇākāra</i>	▷ M.I. <i>pañākāra</i>	▷ Sinh. <i>paḅuru</i> 'tax', 'custom', 'present' 10th c.
O.I. <i>karmāra</i>	▷ M.I. <i>kammāra</i>	▷ Sinh. <i>kaḅuru</i> 'smith'
O.I. <i>vānara</i>	▷ M.I. <i>vānara</i>	▷ Sinh. <i>vaḅuru</i> 'monkey'
O.I. <i>tāmarasa</i>	▷ M.I. <i>tāmarasa</i>	▷ Sinh. <i>taḅuru</i> 'lotus'
O.I. <i>viyāma</i>	▷ M.I. <i>ḥyāma/byāma</i>	▷ Sinh. <i>baḅa</i> 'cubit'
O.I. <i>bhramara</i>	▷ M.I. <i>bhamara</i>	▷ Sinh. <i>baḅara</i> '(bumble) bee'
O.I. <i>yusmad</i>	▷ M.I. <i>jumha</i>	▷ Sinh. <i>uḅa</i> 'you'
O.I. <i>dhūmra</i>	▷ M.I. <i>dhumma</i>	▷ Sinh. <i>duḅuru</i> 'brown'
O.I. <i>ām̐la</i>	▷ M.I. <i>ambila</i>	▷ Sinh. <i>āḅul</i> 'sour'
O.I. <i>namra</i>	▷ M.I. <i>namra</i>	▷ Sinh. <i>nāḅuru</i> 'inclined'
O.I. <i>pāda-mūla</i>	▷ M.I. <i>pāda-mūla</i>	▷ Sinh. <i>pāḅul</i> 'at the feet' 12th c.
O.I. <i>timira</i>	▷ M.I. <i>timira</i>	▷ Sinh. <i>tiḅiri</i> in <i>tiḅiri-gē</i> 'dark-room' 'lying-in-room'

Thus we see that the feature of adding the corresponding stop consonant to the nasal of its class is a continuation of the rule observed in the Middle Indian as is also attested in some of the Modern Indo-Aryan Vernaculars of the continent. But the nasalization of the stop consonant is in keeping with the rule already indicated in the grammar of Sinhalese and which is a development characteristic of its individual development after breaking away from the main group of Indo-Aryan languages.

Thus to Sinh. *vaḅuru* correspond, Sh. gur. *vandur*; K. *wādur*; P. ludh. *bāndār* (L. awān. *bāndri*); bhid. *bādar*; N. *bādhar*; A. *bāndar*; B. *bādar*; Or. *bāndar*; lakh. *bādar*; H. *bādar*; Mar.W. *bādro*; G. *vādar*; *vāndro*; M. *vādar*; Ko. *vāmdar*.

To Sinh. *āḅulu* correspond—

S. *āwiro*; L. *awān*, *āvalā*; Or *ābrā*; Bhoj. *āwārā*; G. *āblu*; M. *āvḷā*; Ko. *āvālō*.

To Sinh. *baḅara* correspond—

Pk *bhavarō*; P. *bhāvar*; Mth. *bhāwar*; Bhoj. *bhāwarā*; O Aw. *bhamvara*; M. *bhōvar*; Ko. *bhōvaru*; Md. *mabru*.

To Sinh. *tiḅiri* correspond—

K. *tēmba* 'cataract of the eyes.' But it is interesting to note that in this sense the form found in Sinhalese is *timira* (the loan fm.) in Sinhalese medical works.

Thus the re-introduction of the nasal marks the evolution of the nasalized consonants or seminasal stops \bar{b} , \bar{g} , \bar{d} , \bar{d} , \bar{j} in Sinhalese, which according to Sapir and Twaddell is a mental series.¹ This feature has ever since been a characteristic that distinguishes it from the Dravidian tongues as well as from the living Indo-Aryan languages of North India. Grammarians such as the author of the *Sidat Saḡarāva* the standard grammar of the 13th c., and Prof. Wilhelm Geiger have noted the peculiarity of these sounds in the Sinhalese phonetic system.² Although nasalisation is observed in some Modern Indo-Aryan languages as Hindi and Oriya, it is of a different nature³—in these languages, either a full nasal has been added or a vowel has been nasalized—the nasalized stop is a feature found only in Sinhalese (see Appendix for nasalized forms as seen in some Modern Indo-Aryan Vernaculars of the continent of India).

These semi-nasalized occlusives of Sinhalese give the impression acoustically of being combinations of a very short nasal and an occlusive. The nasal element is never stressed so much as to make the syllable preceding it a heavy one. Thus we see that there is a contrast between a segment comprising a nasalized consonant and a segment comprising a nasal plus consonant. Accent does not precede in the case of the former segment, while in the case of the latter the accent always precedes. Thus it may be a difference in accentuation that gave rise to the semi-nasal stops in Sinhalese; and this may be due to a non-Aryan influence which the language may have experienced after it started its individual career on the island. Even the author of the *Sidat Saḡarāva* speaks of a 'niṣpanna' element (or indigenous stratum) in describing his grammar of the 13th c., It is also interesting to note that there are nasalized consonants in certain non-Aryan languages as the languages of the Pacific Islands and Nicobarese, which belong to the Malayo-Polynesian group, and in certain African languages as Ful.⁴ Mr. Martin Wickramasinghe⁵ refers to 'elements in Sinhalese culture, which suggest a direct or indirect connection with the Pacific Islands' which indicate that the language may also have been influenced along with these cultural minglings.

¹ M. Joos, *Readings in Linguistics*, Vol. I, pp. 24, 25, 27.

² W. Geiger, *Op. cit.* p. 11.

³ J. Beams, *A Comparative grammar of the Modern Indo-Aryan languages of India*, Vol. I, p. 25.

⁴ Trubetzkoy, *Principles of phonology*, (University of California Press, 1969), p. 169.

⁵ Martin Wickramasinghe, *Aspects of Sinhalese Culture*, p. 28 ff.

As Daniel Jones has concluded¹ these nasalized consonants may be regarded as separate phonemes in Sinhalese as they are phonologically distinguished from the normal (non-nasalized) occlusives on the one hand and from the combination of nasal plus occlusive on the other. Thus we have—

kaṅga 'body', 'trunk of a tree' (Skt. *skanda*; Pa. *khandā*) / *kanda* 'hill' / *kada* 'pingo' (Skt., Pa. *kāja*)

aṅga 'horn' (Skt. *śṛṅga*; Pa. *siṅga*; Pkt. *saṅga*) / *aṅga* 'feature' (Pa., Skt. *aṅgā*) / *aga* 'end', 'tip' (Skt. *agra*; Pa. *agga*)

āṅga 'sound', 'cry' (this alternates with *haṅga*) / *aṅḍa* 'egg', 'testicle' (Pa. Skt. *aṅḍa*) / *aḍa* 'half' (Skt. *ardha*, Pa. *aḍḍha*)

In the Modern language there is a tendency of denasalization. But this is limited only to certain forms which do not appear unnatural with the denasalization. Thus

naṅguta > *naguta* 'tail' (Pa. *naṅgutṭha*)

piṅga > *piḍa* 'lump', 'piece' (Pa., Skt. *piṅḍa*)

maṅgul > *magul* 'auspicious', 'of or pertaining to a wedding' (Skt. *maṅgalya* Pa. *maṅgalla*)

tuṅga > *tuda* 'beak', 'point' (Pa. Skt. *tuṅḍa*)

baṅgu > *badu* 'articles' (Pa., Skt. *bhāṅḍa*)

piṅguru > *piduru* 'straw' Pa., Skt. *piṅjara*)

Thus the reintroduction of the nasal to Sinhalese may primarily be considered as a phonetic device that the language acquired by way of keeping the symmetrical balance of its phonological content while the nasalization of the voiced stops may be the influence of a primitive non-Aryan element that may have come into contact synchronous with this reintroduction. However an examination of the phonemic content of the language confirms that these semi-nasal stops are an integral part of its grammar that distinguishes it from the other languages of the Indo-Aryan group.

¹ Daniel Jones *The Phoneme*, p. 81.

APPENDIX

Some nasal correspondences in Modern Indo-Aryan Vernaculars of India.¹

Skt. *urvārā*; Pa. ubbarī M. ūbar 'retentive of moisture (of arable land)';
Skt. *kumuda* 'esculant white lily'; Pa. *kumuda* 'white lotus', Or.
kaī; O.Aw. kūī F. pl.; H. kuī 'lotus'

Skt. *mārga* 'track', 'road'; Pa. *magga* 'path'; O.B. *māga* 'path'
(rhymes with *saṅgā*, ODBL § 363) B, māñ 'vulva'; H. māg, magg;
m; māg f.; Md. magu; P. māg; Ku. gng. māñ; mānga; Mth. māg;
OAw. mānga; G. māg, mag 'path', 'side', 'room', 'space'; M.
māg 'road', 'track'.

Skt. *mudgara* 'mallet'; Pa. *muggara* 'club', 'mallet', K. mōngil
'club, wooden mane for applying plaster'; S. muñiro 'washerman's
mallet'; L. muṅglī 'mallet'; P. m ūgli 'pestle'; Ku. , mūgro, mugrī 'club';
gng. muñar; N. muñro 'mallet'; B. mugur; Or. mūgura; Bi.
mūgrā 'washerman's mallet'; Mth. muṅgar 'club', 'mallet'; Bhōj. mūgrā.

Skt. *mūrdhan* 'crown', 'head', 'top', 'chief', 'beginning'; Pa. *muddhan*;
'head', 'summit'; Paś. laur. mūndā 'top of head'; ar. mūdoō 'on
the top of'; S. muṅḍhu 'chief'; 'top', 'front', 'source'; M. mūdhī
'head'; P. muṅḍ; Or. muṅḍa; W. Pah (Joshi) mūd; G. mūdī; M. mūd.
Skt. *samudra* 'sea'; Pa. *samudda*; Md. mūdu; O. Aw. samūnda.

Skt. *snigdha* 'unctuous', 'greasy', 'oily'; Pa. *siniddha*, 'wet', 'greasy'.

Skt. *mudrā* 'seal', 'signet ring'; (lang. of the Kharostī inscriptions
in Chinese Turkistan) mu(m)dra; S. muṅdra 'seal'; L. mundrī 'ring';
P. mundar 'ear-ring'; gng. munar 'ring'; N. mun(d)ro; Bi. mūdri
'iron-ring' fastened to blade of scraper; G. mūdri 'ring'.

¹ R. L. Turner, *A Comparative Dictionary of the Indo-Aryan languages*,
(London, 1966).

ABBREVIATIONS

General

A.C.	=	After Christ
B.C.	=	Before Christ
c.	=	century
fm.	=	form
Nas.	=	Nasal
st. f.	=	stem form
ib.	=	ibidem, in the same place
Pr. N.	=	Proper Name
ff.	=	(and) the following

languages

A.	=	Assamese
ar.	=	Areti dialect of Pashai
B.	=	Bengali
bhal.	=	Bhālesī dialect of West Pahārī
bhiḍ.	=	Bhiḍḍāi sub-dialect of Bhadravāhī dialect of west-Paharī
Bhōj	=	Bhojpurī
Bi.	=	Bihārī
gng.	=	Gaṅgoī dialect of Kumaunī
H.	=	Hindī
K.	=	Kashmirī
Ku.	=	Kumaunī
Ko.	=	Konkanī
L.	=	Lahndā
lauḥ.	=	Lauḥwānī dialect of Pashai
M.	=	Marathī
Md.	=	Maldivian
M.I.	=	Middle Indian
Mth.	=	Maithilī
N.	=	Nepālī
lakh.	=	Lakhīmpurī dialect of Awādhī
O.Aw.	=	Old Awādhī
O.I.	=	Old Indian
O.B.	=	Old Bengālī
Or.	=	Oriyā
P.	=	Puñjābī
Pa.	=	Pāli

Pas.	=	Pashai
Pkt.	=	Prākṛit
Pah.	=	Pahārī
S.	=	Sindhī
Sinh.	=	Sinhalese
Sh.	=	Shinā (Śinā - Dardic)
Skt.	=	Sanskrit

Texts

E.I.	=	Epigraphia Indica
Epz.	=	Epigraphia Zeylanica, Archaeological Survey of Ceylon, Vols. 1-5 Lond. 1912, ff.
DhpAgp.	=	Dhampiya-Aṭuvā-Gāṭapadayā ed. D. B. Jayatileka, 1933. (10thc.)
Dhpr.	=	Dharmapradīpikāva ed. Sri Dharmārāma, 1906, 12thc.
GirS.	=	Girā Sandesaya, ed. T. Sugathapāla, 1924, 15thc.
Kvp.	=	Kankhāvitaranī-Piṭapota, ed. Paññāsēkhara, 1936, 15thc.
MRup.	=	Mahā-Rūpa-Siddhi-Sannaya, ed. B. K. Dharmaratna, 1926, 13thc.
SigGrf.	=	Sigiri Graffiti, Archaeological Survey of Ceylon, Vol. I (introduction) by S. Paranavitana, Oxford, 1956; Vol. II (text).