

GREAT ANDAMANESE: A PRELIMINARY STUDY

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1. INTRODUCTION¹

1.1 The Great Andamanese of Andaman Island

The Andaman and Nicobar Islands are situated in the Bay of Bengal and are a part of India administered by the Central Government as a Union Territory. Port Blair, the capital of these islands, is 1235 km from Calcutta and 1191 km from Madras. The islands are connected to the mainland by two-monthly shipping services from Calcutta and Madras. There is also a bi-weekly Indian Airlines flight from Calcutta. The Andaman and Nicobar Islands consist of 225 islands of varying sizes - scattered from north to south. Their total population is 151,133, according to the 1971 census. The Andaman group of 204 islands cover an area of 6682 sq.km and the 21 islands of Nicobar occupy 1645 sq.km. 7462 sq.km of the total is a restricted area and reserved for forests. These islands have tropical climates and average temperatures vary from 23°C to 31°C throughout the year. Average annual rainfall is 123". June is the most rainy month and humidity throughout the year remains as high as 90%. Here I will be discussing the Andaman group of islands only.

The history of the Andaman Islands goes back to the late 9th century descriptions of Arab travellers.² Marco Polo (1254-1324) records his impressions of these islanders:

Andaman is a very large island, not governed by a king. The inhabitants are idolaters, and are a most brutish and savage race, having heads, eyes, and teeth resembling those of the canine species. Their dispositions are cruel and every person, not being of their own nation, whom they can lay their hands upon, they kill and eat ...³

A new phase in the history of the Andaman Islands begins in 1788 when Lt Blair was sent there to start a free colony. Subsequently the new settlers had several clashes with the natives of the islands.⁴ In 1858 the British established a penal colony after the Indian mutiny of 1857. From then onwards convicts were brought from India and Burma. After India gained independence in 1947 new settlers came from different parts of India. The population of the Andaman Islands now consists of:

1. original inhabitants
2. descendants of convicts
3. early free settlers and their descendants
4. new settlers who came after independence

The original inhabitants of the Andaman Islands are classified as negrito, while those of the Nicobar are considered to be mongoloid in origin.⁵ The Andaman Islands can be divided into six parts as inhabited by different tribal groups:

David Bradley, ed. *Papers in South-East Asian linguistics* No.9: *Language policy, language planning and sociolinguistics in South-East Asia*, 185-214. *Pacific Linguistics*, A-67, 1985.

| | |
|-----------------|---|
| | inhabited by |
| North Andaman | Great Andamanese |
| Middle Andaman | Jarawa on the east coast; |
| South Andaman | Great Andamanese on the west coast |
| Rutland Island | Jarawa |
| Sentinel Island | Sentinelese (only on North Sentinel Island; South Sentinel Island is uninhabited) |
| Little Andaman | Onge |

1.1.1 Sentinelese, Jarawa and Onge

The Sentinelese are reputed to be very hostile by nature. In the documentary "Man in Search of Man", prepared by the Andaman administration, Sentinelese can be seen from a distance letting off showers of arrows. They are as yet basically untouched by modern civilisation. Very little is known about either their language or culture.

The Jarawa are also considered hostile, but a successful attempt to contact them was made by Indian Government officials in 1976. Since then the administration has been developing friendly relations with a group of about 60 Jarawa at Chotalig Bang on the western coast of Middle Andaman Island.

Contact with the Onge of Little Andaman Island can be traced from the time of M.V. Portman, who established friendly relations with them in 1886. This set a pattern which has continued.

Sentinelese, Jarawa and Onge were in the past considered to belong to one group and to have some similarities in their language and customs. However, this is questionable, since no contact has been made with either the Sentinelese or the majority of the population of Jarawa; both are nomadic and still are reported to attack outsiders. It is obviously essential to establish communication if any serious linguistic work is to be done with the nomadic Jarawa group and with the Sentinelese. In January-February 1977 two Jarawa were brought to Port Blair by the Andaman authorities, and some Great Andamanese and Onge people attempted to converse with them but they were unable to communicate. While it is likely that Onge, Jarawa and Sentinelese may have some linguistic similarities, this is still to be explored, a task which assumed great importance and urgency as the number of speakers of these languages is dwindling rapidly.⁶

1.1.2 Great Andamanese

The tribes who live on the North Andaman Island and on the west coast of Middle and South Andaman Island have been given the name Great Andamanese. Previously the Great Andamanese were divided into ten groups:

| | |
|-----------|---------------------|
| Akacari | } of North Andaman |
| Akakora | |
| Akabo | |
| Akajeru | |
| Akakede | } of Middle Andaman |
| Akakol | |
| Okojuwoi | |
| Apucikwar | |

Akarbale }
Akabea } of South Andaman

The G.A. (Great Andamanese) have been friendly since the penal settlement was established in these islands. Late 19th and early 20th century anthropological work and published research that has been done under the titles 'Andaman Island' and 'Andaman Islanders' concern the G.A.

Man's and Portman's linguistic works on the G.A. deal with the southern group of Andamanese languages.⁷ Their phonological inventories show a similar pattern⁸ of labial, alveolar, velar, nasal and semivowel sounds; their alphabets also give a whole range of vowels. They had difficulty in identifying retroflex⁹ and voiced sounds, while they do not provide any evidence of /g/, /h/ and the sibilant /š/. My wordlist¹⁰ differs from the vocabulary given by Man and Portman since the southern group of Andamanese was the first to become extinct. My recording of the language of the present G.A. is similar to the examples of the Aka-jeru group of North Andamanese given by Radcliffe-Brown. Radcliffe-Brown's linguistic notes give valuable information, however he also gave a regular pattern of sounds¹¹ like Man and Portman, and was unable to make a distinction between retroflex and dental sounds.

Culturally and linguistically the ten G.A. groups were thought to be close to each other. The population has declined dramatically for the whole of G.A. Population figures of the Andaman negritos for 1900-1979 are as follows:¹²

| tribe | 1901 | 1931 | 1951 | 1961 | 1971 | 1979 ¹³ |
|------------------|------|------|------|------|------|--------------------|
| Great Andamanese | 625 | 90 | 23 | 19 | 24 | 24 |
| Jarawa | 468 | 70 | 50 | 500 | 300 | 250 |
| Sentinelese | 117 | 50 | - | 50 | 100 | 50 |
| Onge | 672 | 250 | 150 | 129 | 112 | 94 |

There are various reasons for the rapid population loss of the Andaman negritos: they learnt vices from the new settlers, namely addiction to opium, tobacco and alcohol. An epidemic of venereal disease spread among the natives which has resulted in reduced fertility and a significant decline in the birth-rate. Contagious diseases brought by the outsiders, like measles, smallpox, mumps and influenza, also killed many of the original inhabitants as they had no immunity. At the time of colonisation of these islands, the natives resented the occupation by the new settlers. A large number of natives, mainly men, were killed in the ensuing clashes. In the Second World War, bombardment by the Japanese resulted in many casualties among the natives, the Jarawa area being affected the most.¹⁴ Settlement of outsiders and the construction of roads destroyed large parts of the forests, which has affected indigenous hunter-gatherer activities.

In the 1960s, the increasing significance of the Indian Ocean resulted in the Government of India focussing greater attention on its islands situated there. Simultaneously, the Scheduled Castes and Tribes Welfare Scheme under the Union Ministry of Home Affairs began to be implemented. The first committee was set up in 1968 to examine the functions and progress of the welfare of the scheduled caste and scheduled tribes.¹⁵ At that time there were 23 survivors of the G.A. race who lived in Port Blair in an abandoned Japanese bunker in appalling conditions. Most of them, including the women, were opium addicts. In order to get supplies of opium and tobacco, the latter travelled to the town and engaged in prostitution. Many had V.D. and tuberculosis. In 1969, persuaded by Indian officials, they were settled on the uninhabited Strait Island. In the initial stages of their settlement there the G.A. still came to Port Blair in search of

opium and tobacco. Later this activity was checked and a feeling of belonging to Strait Island grew among them.

In January 1980 I had an opportunity to visit Strait Island to work on their language. Strait Island is about 30 km north of Port Blair, with an area of approximately 5 sq.km. It is a four-hour journey by boat from Port Blair. The 'Milāle'¹⁶ makes frequent visits to different settlements of natives in turn and supplies them with rations, gifts and a financial allowance of 50 to 250 Rupees per month to each individual. A social worker is stationed on the island in order to help them to adapt to various aspects of community life and to assist them in their education. There is also an autonomous body funded by the Government, the Andaman Ādim Janajāti Vikās Samati, Port Blair, established in 1976 with the aim of safeguarding health and promoting social and economic development.

My stay on Strait Island was limited to three hours and, since I was not allowed to work there, I persuaded five G.A. to come to Port Blair, where there is a 'transit house for the natives' called Ādibaserā (Shelter of Natives). The characteristics and lifestyle of the G.A. described in the available literature seems to have disappeared in general. What remains of their traditional culture may be as little as turtle-hunting and vague recollections of their god, named Bilikhu. Now there are pictures of Hindu gods in their houses. They dress in the tradition of modern mainland Indians, except for some old men who still prefer to wear only shorts. The younger generation of G.A. are very reluctant to talk about their customs and show no interest in traditional life. In their physical appearance they show a significant change from the previous generation. The four infants in the community lack the characteristic features of the negrito. As a typical example of the current mixing of races in the Strait Island settlement, I want to mention a man called Rāñchīvālā (a man from Ranchi, Bihar) - he is married to a G.A. woman who he first met when these people were living in Port Blair. Later Rāñchīvālā got a job on Strait Island looking after the piggery unit. At present the Government is spending substantial amounts of money on the G.A.

Hindi plays the role of lingua franca in the Andaman Islands. The G.A. with whom I spoke were well versed in Hindi and talked to their children in Hindi most of the time. Those of the younger generation with whom I talked were inhibited when it came to saying anything in their own language and were generally uninterested. For my recording of the language I had to rely on the elderly people; one young couple tried their best to cooperate, but their knowledge was very limited. There are only 24 survivors of the ten different G.A. groups and they now form one community. They have difficulty in conversing with each other because of linguistic differences between the ten different groups. Among my informants, one belonged to the Kora and another, named Biye, to the Jeru group, and the young couple had no idea of their origin. I decided to record primarily one language and to rely on one person, Piḱar, who belongs to the Kora group of the G.A.

When I went back in December 1980 I was not allowed to go to Strait Island or Little Andaman but I was given permission to work at the Ādibaserā in Port Blair with the G.A., who were there at the time. I found out that only six young people in their twenties were living there, desperately looking for a way to stay in Port Blair. Eventually they will succeed and will settle down in Port Blair. The G.A. may survive,¹⁷ which is the absolute concern of the Government of India, but it is evident that with the passing away of the older generation, the remaining G.A. will simply be Indians of the Andaman Islands and their language will become extinct.

1.2 Previous work on phonology

I have already discussed the linguistic work of Man, Portman and Radcliffe-Brown on page 187 of this paper. D.N. Basu's paper (1952) was published when he had worked with the one remaining small group. The latest fieldwork on G.A. was carried out by S. Manoharan around 1977. In an interview with Mr Manoharan in 1980 I learnt that he had submitted a Ph.D. thesis on G.A. at Calcutta University.

The phonological inventories of Basu and Manoharan are as follows:

| Basu | | | | | Manoharan | | | | |
|------|----|-----|----|----|-----------|----|----|---|---|
| p | t | ṭ | c | k | p | t | ṭ | c | k |
| ph | th | tḥ | ch | kh | b | d | ḍ | j | |
| b | d | ḍ | j | g | | th | | | |
| m | n | ṇ | ñ | ṅ | ϕ | s | | | x |
| | | l | | | m | n | ñ | ṅ | |
| | | r | | | | l | | | |
| w | | | y | | | r | | | |
| | | | f | | w | | | y | |

It seems obvious from Basu's inventory that he has adapted the phonemes of G.A. to the framework of his own language, Bengali. Manoharan, as can be seen from the chart above, makes a more serious attempt to analyse the G.A. sound system in its own right. There are, however, several aspects of his analysis which are controversial. His phoneme inventory differs from mine, particularly in regard to /ϕ/, /s/ and /x/ which are my /ph/, /ḳh/ and /kh/. He has also inserted /p/ in his phonemic chart (perhaps to make it look symmetrical). He does not give any example of medial /p/. There are a few examples of final /p/ which I hear as a voiced sound, and regard as an unreleased allophone of /b/. Throughout Manoharan's published and unpublished work I have found only one example of initial /p/, i.e. poruwe (*toad*) which I have recorded as phuruwe. This is in agreement with Radcliffe-Brown: he too heard that /p/ had a 'different' sound which he renders as /p̣/ (see note 11).

2. PHONOLOGY

2.1 Phonemes

G.A. has 20 consonants and eight vowels. The phoneme system is interesting on account of the lack of symmetry; particularly noteworthy is the absence of /p/. There are no examples in my materials, nor in Manoharan's, of a contrast between /b/ and /p/.

2.2 Consonants

| | Bilabial | Dental | Retroflex | Palatal | Velar | |
|-----------|----------|--------|-----------|---------|-------|--------------------|
| Plosive | - | t | ṭ | ç | k | Unvoiced |
| | b | d | ḍ | ç | - | Voiced |
| | ph | th | - | çh | kh | Aspirated unvoiced |
| Nasal | m | n | - | ñ | ŋ | Voiced |
| Lateral | | | | ɽ | | Voiced |
| Flap | | r | | | | Voiced |
| Semivowel | w | | | y | (w) | Voiced |

BILABIALS: b ph

Examples of occurrence:

| Initial | Medial | Final |
|----------------------|----------------------------|------------------------|
| bowa <i>ground</i> | iboya <i>cooked food</i> | kèrèb <i>bitter</i> |
| bat <i>night</i> | arabèyik <i>dog's tail</i> | ṭunkenab <i>finger</i> |
| bôr <i>wind</i> | ṭibirbat <i>evening</i> | ṭeb <i>smoke</i> |
| phuṭimu <i>fly</i> | iphèt <i>high tide</i> | - |
| phoṇ <i>cave</i> | kerpho <i>sneeze</i> | |
| phòtmò <i>paddle</i> | rèphe <i>food</i> | |

Contrast ph b

èphowa *old woman* bowa *ground*

/b/ is a voiced bilabial stop. It is a similar sound to English b as in *brother*. /b/ is always unreleased in final position and therefore at times it may be confused with the /p/ sound, and also when it is followed by palatal /ɽ/ it is heard as /p/, i.e. ṭòntòbṭò (*alone*). /ph/ is an aspirated p as in English word *pat*. In all other published work on G.A. I have seen /p/ as a phoneme while I couldn't find any evidence of it, but I noticed some variation in the pronunciation of /ph/. Since the G.A. are well versed in Hindi they pronounce Hindi /p/ as fricative /ɸ/ and people of the younger generation tend to confuse all these sounds using either /ph/ or /p/ or /ɸ/ indiscriminately in the same word. Although the name of my informant, Piṅar, starts with /p/, in my opinion this name was originally either 'Biṅar' or 'Phiṅar'. When Piṅar was working in the Police Department, his Indian co-workers heard the initial sound as /p/ and his name thus became Piṅar.

DENTAL: t d th

Examples of occurrence:

| Initial | Medial | Final |
|----------------------|---------------------------|---------------------|
| tèye <i>blood</i> | ṭòtarbèyik <i>cloud</i> | bat <i>night</i> |
| tarphido <i>band</i> | ṭatab <i>tongue</i> | mirit <i>pigeon</i> |
| tede <i>flow</i> | ṭitarino <i>wet place</i> | |
| diḡono <i>here</i> | ṭunkhudimu <i>thumb</i> | - |
| di <i>this</i> | akādikhe <i>to swell</i> | |
| du <i>that</i> | khider <i>palm tree</i> | |

| Initial | | Medial | | |
|--|-------------|-----------------------------------|----------------|---|
| th ^h ow ^h | <i>cold</i> | k ^h oth ^h | <i>cough</i> | - |
| th ^h ow ^h u ^h | <i>dew</i> | ugeth ^h a ^h | <i>shy</i> | |
| | | ṭarathomo | <i>buttock</i> | |

These sounds are truly dental, and are made by touching the back of the upper teeth with the tip of the tongue. /th/ is the aspirate corresponding to /t/.

RETROFLEX: ṭ ḍ

Examples of occurrence:

| Initial | | Medial | | Final | |
|-------------------|--------------------------------------|-----------------------|-----------------|-------|------------------|
| ṭime ^h | <i>bee</i> | akaṭa | <i>girl</i> | aṭ | <i>fire</i> |
| ṭōṭō | <i>woman's covering for buttocks</i> | kaṭañe | <i>star</i> | ēraṭ | <i>feather</i> |
| ṭōwo | <i>sky</i> | ērṭēne | <i>to kiss</i> | iphēt | <i>high tide</i> |
| diyu | <i>sun/day</i> | ṭekh ^h udu | <i>liver</i> | - | |
| ḍuṭa | <i>moon</i> | kuruḍe | <i>thunder</i> | | |
| ḍob | <i>raw</i> | ittarḍuke | <i>to break</i> | | |

Contrast ṭ t ḍ d

| | | | | | |
|--------------------|--------------|-------|------------------|--------|----------------|
| n ^h ōtō | <i>way</i> | bat | <i>night</i> | ḍuṭa | <i>moon</i> |
| n ^h ōṭō | <i>swim</i> | aṭ | <i>fire</i> | ḍu | <i>that</i> |
| tōk ^h o | <i>wood</i> | tēwo | <i>crocodile</i> | kuruḍe | <i>thunder</i> |
| tēk ^h o | <i>story</i> | ṭōwo | <i>sky</i> | tede | <i>to flow</i> |
| | | thōwo | <i>cold</i> | ḍiyu | <i>sun/day</i> |
| | | | | ḍi | <i>this</i> |

The retroflex sounds are similar to those used in Hindi. These sounds are produced by pressing the hard palate with the tip of the tongue and releasing the tongue swiftly forward. When it is used as a possessive suffix /ṭ/ is aspirated.

PALATALS: k̠ g̠ k̠h

Examples of occurrence:

| Initial | | Medial | | Final | |
|---------|---------------|-----------------------------------|------------------|----------|-------------------|
| k̠awo | <i>dog</i> | ērko | <i>head</i> | ōṭbēyik̠ | <i>dog's hair</i> |
| k̠e | <i>thorn</i> | arāka | <i>nest</i> | tēyik̠ | <i>leaf</i> |
| k̠okbi | <i>turtle</i> | ēkamō | <i>to hide</i> | ṭēk̠ | <i>arrow</i> |
| geṇ | <i>mud</i> | tagew | <i>bird/fish</i> | | |
| g̠iker | <i>rain</i> | igoke | <i>to eat</i> | | |
| g̠o | <i>song</i> | ugeth ^h a ^h | <i>shy</i> | | |
| k̠hubi | <i>snake</i> | ṭekh ^h udu | <i>stomach</i> | | |
| k̠hare | <i>sea</i> | ēbuk̠hē | <i>to hit</i> | | |
| k̠hub | <i>basket</i> | ṭēk̠howo | <i>wound</i> | | |

These sounds are formed by touching the back of the hard palate. Aspirated /k̠h/ may be confused with the sibilant /ʃ/. That it is distinct from the fricative can be determined by the fact that the G.A., when speaking Hindi, either employs

this sound in place of the sibilant /ʃ/ or else makes a sound midway between /kʰ/ and /ʃ/ with considerable effort.

VELARS: k kh

Examples of occurrence:

| Initial | | Medial | | Final | |
|----------|-------------------|----------|-------------------|----------|------------------------|
| ḳèrèb | <i>bitter</i> | ṭaḳər | <i>throat</i> | ṭèḳòròk | <i>knee</i> |
| ḳòròpho | <i>sharp</i> | ṭuṅkara | <i>nail</i> | ṭòṭṭòk | <i>to wash oneself</i> |
| kuṭeṭ | <i>there</i> | araḳòn | <i>lap</i> | ṭèrḳòk | <i>forehead</i> |
| khuro | <i>come quick</i> | ṭèrkhum | <i>shoulder</i> | - | |
| khòrò | <i>sand</i> | akagekhe | <i>lie/secret</i> | | |
| khirme | <i>sweat</i> | ṭòkho | <i>wood</i> | | |

Contrast ḳ k kh kh

| | | | |
|----------|----------------|----------|---------------------|
| òḳo | <i>fruit</i> | kò | <i>bow</i> |
| òḳòbuṭu | <i>foolish</i> | oḳò | <i>net</i> |
| ḳòròye | <i>sloping</i> | ebukhu | <i>lady</i> |
| ḳòròpho | <i>sharp</i> | èbokhe | <i>to hit, beat</i> |
| araḳòn | <i>lap</i> | akagekhe | <i>lie</i> |
| ḳòn | <i>nut</i> | akagekhe | <i>to hate</i> |

Voiceless velar stop sounds are truly velar and they are produced by the back part of the soft palate with the back part of the tongue.

NASALS: m n ñ ṇ

Examples of occurrence:

| Initial | | Medial | | Final | |
|-----------|-------------------------|-----------|------------------|--------|--------------|
| miṭithe | <i>fog</i> | emuṭu | <i>egg</i> | dirim | <i>dark</i> |
| mòḳò | <i>chicken</i> | amimi | <i>mother</i> | iyòm | <i>sweet</i> |
| meño | <i>stone</i> | èmphīṭu | <i>dead</i> | ṭorom | <i>salt</i> |
| narakhamo | <i>people</i> | ino | <i>water</i> | - | |
| nònḳènkò | <i>two/many</i> | beno | <i>sleepy</i> | | |
| - | | èrnòkho | <i>cheek</i> | | |
| ñebuḳo | <i>thigh</i> | katañe | <i>star</i> | - | |
| ñakḥubi | <i>who is that/name</i> | tèñe | <i>mosquito</i> | | |
| ñòtò | <i>to swim</i> | meño | <i>stone</i> | | |
| - | | ṭènet | <i>navel</i> | gen | <i>mud</i> |
| | | taṅraṭive | <i>to finish</i> | ḳòn | <i>nut</i> |
| | | ṭuṅkorò | <i>palm</i> | ṭaphon | <i>mouth</i> |

Contrast m n ñ ṇ

| | | | |
|------|---------------|---------|---------------|
| ino | <i>water</i> | ṭènet | <i>navel</i> |
| ño | <i>house</i> | ñet | <i>hiccup</i> |
| beno | <i>sleepy</i> | èrnòkho | <i>cheek</i> |
| meño | <i>stone</i> | ṭmòto | <i>foot</i> |
| | | ñòtò | <i>way</i> |

The four nasals are bilabial, dental, palatal and velar respectively.

LATERAL: ʎ

The only lateral in G.A. is palatal /ʎ/ and it is produced by blocking the air with the tongue touching the hard palate and then gradually releasing the air through both sides of the tongue. There is no sign of any dental or alveolar whatsoever.

Examples of occurrence:

| Initial | Medial | Final |
|-------------------|----------------------|------------------------|
| ʎawo <i>ghost</i> | ʎeruʎu <i>eve</i> | ernōʎ <i>good/well</i> |
| ʎeb <i>smoke</i> | aʎe <i>lightning</i> | guruʎ <i>to shiver</i> |
| ʎek <i>arrow</i> | utʎite <i>dumb</i> | akakēʎ <i>cunning</i> |

FLAP: r

There is only one r sound which is alveolar flap /r/. It is pronounced by tapping the tongue behind the alveolum.

Examples of occurrence:

| Initial | Medial | Final |
|-------------------|-------------------------|--------------------|
| ra <i>pig</i> | erʎam <i>soft</i> | giker <i>rain</i> |
| rephe <i>food</i> | ʎarakarab <i>waist</i> | toʎar <i>chest</i> |
| rowo <i>boat</i> | qero <i>to hurry up</i> | ʎeṭer <i>lame</i> |

Contrast ʎ r

| | | |
|-----------------------|---------------------|---------------------|
| kera <i>pond</i> | nōʎo <i>to cry</i> | mirit <i>pigeon</i> |
| kēʎa <i>dog-flies</i> | iyōro <i>flower</i> | miʎithe <i>fog</i> |
| | iyōʎe <i>to see</i> | |

SEMIVOWELS: w y

Examples of occurrence:

| Initial | Medial | Final |
|-------------------------|--------------------------|---------------------------|
| (we) | ewune <i>juice</i> | tagew <i>fish/bird</i> |
| (wōm) | kōwo <i>skin</i> | |
| | ʎewaʎa <i>collarbone</i> | |
| yani <i>to save</i> | tēye <i>blood</i> | girōy <i>dance/circle</i> |
| yibeʎeño <i>to bite</i> | iyōm <i>sweet</i> | ekhōwōy <i>to smell</i> |
| yewuʎu <i>seed</i> | etaphava <i>dry</i> | ittarʎōy <i>to throw</i> |

The semivowel /w/ does not occur in word-initial position, but it is found at the beginning of the bound morpheme we, wōm, the present-tense marker. I have found only one example where it is in word-final position.

/y/ sounds like the English sound y as in the word *yard*. At times the semivowel /y/ is used as a weak glide between /i/ and /u/. A weak glide -y- can also occur after any vowel provided it is followed by /e/. In such cases the glide -y- sometimes may combine with the preceding vowel to form a diphthong:

| | |
|-------------------------|----------------------|
| ʎiyu <i>sun</i> | iye <i>pain</i> |
| uʎuyi <i>to whistle</i> | eboye <i>married</i> |
| amaye <i>father</i> | eṭṭōye <i>bone</i> |
| tēye <i>blood</i> | |

Contrast w b

bowa *ground* ḳeba *baby-carrier*

2.3 Vowels

| | Front | Central | Back |
|------------|-------|---------|------|
| Close | i | | u |
| Half close | e | | o |
| Half open | ɛ | | ɔ |
| Open | | a | |

/a/

/a/ is an unrounded back vowel, further forward than Hindi long ā, but lower and further back than Hindi short a. It approximates the central position of Hindi short a, when it is followed by /r/ or when used as the possessive prefix /a/, as in the word amimi (*mother*) and other nouns denoting close kinship.

Examples of occurrence:

| Initial | Medial | Final |
|--------------------|---------------------|--------------------|
| aṭ <i>fire</i> | ṭatab <i>tongue</i> | ra <i>pig</i> |
| atra <i>bright</i> | iraṭaṅ <i>root</i> | bowa <i>ground</i> |

/e/

/e/ is a front half-close vowel and it is similar in sound to e of the Hindi word ek (*one*).

Examples of occurrence:

| Initial | Medial | Final |
|---------------------------------|-------------------|----------------------|
| ekaṭoṅ <i>trunk (of a tree)</i> | giker <i>rain</i> | miṭithe <i>fog</i> |
| eburaṅ <i>red</i> | keṛa <i>pond</i> | ke <i>thorn/bush</i> |

/ɛ/

This is a front half open vowel and it has the same sound as e in the word egg.

Examples of occurrence:

| Initial | Medial | Final |
|-------------------------|--------------------|---------------------|
| ɛphowa <i>old woman</i> | tɛye <i>blood</i> | igokɛ <i>to eat</i> |
| ɛrko <i>head</i> | ɛṭewo <i>small</i> | ivoṭɛ <i>to see</i> |

Contrast -e -ɛ

| | | |
|-------------------------|----------------------|-----------------------|
| kera <i>pond</i> | ke <i>thorn/bush</i> | ɔnrɛb <i>backbone</i> |
| kɛṭa <i>dog-flies</i> | igokɛ <i>to eat</i> | Teb <i>smoke</i> |
| kɛwo <i>lizard</i> | geṅ <i>mud</i> | |
| ḳɛwo <i>crab/knife</i> | bɛṅ <i>swamp</i> | |

/i/

/i/ is a high close front unrounded vowel and has the same sound as short i in the word *ink*. Cardinal long /ɪ/ occurs occasionally as a variant pronunciation in the word-final position.

Examples of occurrence:

| Initial | Medial | Final |
|------------------|---------------------|---------------------|
| ino <i>water</i> | ɖiyu <i>sun/day</i> | ɕhubi <i>snake</i> |
| iye <i>pain</i> | biɕe <i>ash</i> | ɛyi <i>to vomit</i> |

/o/

/o/ is an unrounded half close back vowel, it has the same sound as o in the Hindi word olā (*hail*).

Examples of occurrence:

| Initial | Medial | Final |
|-------------------------|---------------------|-----------------------|
| okò <i>net</i> | bowa <i>ground</i> | təwo <i>crocodile</i> |
| onthé we <i>to jump</i> | ɕaphon <i>mouth</i> | Tawo <i>ghost</i> |

/ò/

This is a half open back vowel and it sounds like the o on *ox*.

Examples of occurrence:

| Initial | Medial | Final |
|----------------------|-------------------|----------------------|
| òko <i>fruit</i> | èrnòɕ <i>good</i> | ñòtò <i>way</i> |
| òntòbuk <i>alive</i> | ɕèrɕon <i>arm</i> | ɕarkòthò <i>nose</i> |

Contrast -o -ò

| | |
|------------------|-------------------|
| okò <i>net</i> | ɕòwo <i>sky</i> |
| òko <i>fruit</i> | ɕòwò <i>blind</i> |
| èrko <i>head</i> | thòwo <i>clod</i> |

The younger G.A. people frequently mix up /o/ with /ò/ and /e/ with /è/ when these are actually four different phonemes in the speech of the older people.

/u/

This is a rounded close back vowel and it is pronounced like the u in *rural*. /u/ is shortened in word-initial position.

Examples of occurrence:

| Initial | Medial | Final |
|-----------------------------|------------------------------|--------------------|
| uro <i>point of a spear</i> | khuro <i>to come quickly</i> | ebuɕu <i>thin</i> |
| umoké <i>to give/answer</i> | ɕhubi <i>snake</i> | yewuɕu <i>seed</i> |

2.4 Phonetic notes on consonants and vowels

| Phoneme | Allophone | |
|---------|-----------|---|
| b | [p] | Before the cluster /bɪ/, /b/ becomes voiceless /p/. ɛntɔbɪtɔ (ɛntɔpɪtɔ) = <i>one</i> . |
| ph | [ɸ] | /ph/ is pronounced as a bilabial fricative when it precedes the vowel /o/. ɛphowa (ɛɸowa) = <i>old man</i> . |
| t̥ | [tʰ] | When it is used as a possessive prefix /t̥/ is always aspirated whether or not it is combined with any of the other prefixes which are used to distinguish noun classes, i.e. /t̥, t̥ɛr, t̥ar, t̥ara/ t̥mɔtɔ (t̥hmɔtɔ) = <i>foot</i> , t̥akɛr (t̥hakɛr) = <i>throat</i> . |
| kʰ | [ʃ] | /kʰ/ is pronounced as sibilant /ʃ/ when it is followed by the vowels /a/ and /u/, i.e. kʰare (ʃare) = <i>sea</i> , t̥ekʰuɖu (t̥eʃuɖu) = <i>liver</i> . |
| kh | [x] | /kh/ is pronounced as a velar fricative /x/ when it is followed by the vowel /o/, i.e. t̥ɔkho (t̥ɔxo) = <i>tree</i> , <i>wood</i> . |
| r | [r̥] | Strongly trilled /r̥/ occurs in the cluster r + consonant only when that cluster is followed by a vowel, i.e. ittart̥ɔy (ittar̥t̥ɔy) = <i>to throw</i> , ittard̥uke (ittar̥t̥duke) = <i>to break</i> . |
| a | [ǎ] | /a/ is pronounced as a short vowel /ǎ/ if it is followed by /r/ or when it occurs as the possessive prefix /a/. This prefix is used with nouns designating close kin. t̥arkɔthɔ = <i>nose</i> , amimi = <i>mother</i> . |
| u | [ʊ] | /u/ is shortened and lowered to /ʊ/ in word-initial position, i.e. uro (ʊro) = <i>point of a spear</i> . |

2.5 Accent

The accent is very weak and does not appear to be phonemic. Whatever weak accent there is, usually falls on the first syllable. There is, however, an exception: a strong accent marks the final syllable of vocatives and exclamations.

Examples:

| | | | |
|--------|---------------|----------|---------------------|
| t̥ɛt̥ɛ | <i>hungry</i> | t̥ɛ't̥ɛ' | <i>hey! listen!</i> |
| ɪawo | <i>ghost</i> | ɪa'wo | <i>naughty!</i> |
| ɛkayɛ | <i>bad</i> | ɛka'yɛ | <i>wrong!</i> |

2.6 Phonotactics

(a) Phonemes occur initially and finally. Except for velar /ŋ/ all phonemes occur in word-initial position. Phonemes /ph d̥ th̥ ɖ̥ ɡ̥ kʰ kh̥ n̥ ñ̥/ do not appear in word-final position. In the text there is one sentence where /ph/ occurs as a word final: di t̥iɰo imutarɔph = *this is my flower*. All vowels can occur in the word-initial or word-final position.

(b) Consonant clusters. These are the possible intra-morphemic clusters. For examples see vocabulary and sentences.

| | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|----|----|------|------|-----|------|------|------|------|-----|-----|-----|----|----|-----|-----|----|
| | b | ph | t | th | ṭ | ḍ | ḳ | ḳh | k | kh | m | n | ñ | r | ɽ | w |
| b | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | bɽ | |
| ph | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | phɽ | |
| t | tb | tph | tt | | | | | | | tkh | tm | | tñ | tr | tɽ | tw |
| ṭ | | ṭph | ṭṭ | | | | | | ṭk | | ṭm | | | ṭr | ṭɽ | |
| m | mb | mph | | | | | | | | | | mn | | | mɽ | mw |
| n | | | nt | nth | ṇṭ | ṇḍ | ṇḳ | | nk | | nm | | | nr | nɽ | |
| ñ | | ñph | ñt | | | | ñḳ | | | | | | | ñr | ñɽ | |
| ṇ | ṇb | ṇph | | | ṇṭ | ṇḍ | ṇḳ | ṇḳh | ṇk | ṇkh | ṇm | | | ṇr | | |
| ḳ | | ḳph | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| k | kb | | | | | | | | | | | | | kr | | kw |
| r | rb | rph | rt | rth | ṛṭ | ṛḍ | ṛḳ | | rk | rkh | rm | rn | rñ | | rɽ | rw |
| ɽ | | ɽph | ɽt | | ɽṭ | | | | | | ɽm | | ɽn | | | ɽw |
| y | | | yt | | | | | | | | | | | | yɽ | |

(c) Restrictions appear to operate as to permissible consonant-vowel-consonant sequences. The following sequences do not occur in any of the recorded materials:

| Preceding consonants | Vowels | Following consonants |
|----------------------|--------|----------------------|
| d ḍ ḡ | a | |
| k | i | d |
| | e | |
| d ḍ ḡ kh w | é | d |
| d | o | th d ḍ ḡ ñ |
| d ḡ ṇ | ô | d ḡ |
| ṇ | u | |

(d) A syllable can consist of the sequence CCVCC and CV or VC; the most common sequences are CVCC or CCVC and CVC. Examples:

| CCVCC | | CV/VC |
|-----------|-----------------|-------------------|
| éntòbTò | <i>one</i> | ra <i>pig</i> |
| tunkènkò | <i>we</i> | kò <i>bow</i> |
| ittàrduke | <i>to break</i> | at <i>fire</i> |
| | | in <i>to spit</i> |

2.7 Note

My main objective in this basic work was to establish a firm basis for further research on grammar. We now have the recordings of a language which is on the verge of extinction. I hope this paper will give some help in comparative linguistic studies in this relatively little known part of the Indo-Pacific area.

3. RECORDED DATA

3.1 Vocabulary

The use of class-markers is obligatory, nouns and nominals in this vocabulary include the relevant class-marker.

NOUNS

PEOPLE

| | |
|-----------------------------|------------------|
| <i>mother</i> | amimi |
| <i>father</i> | amaye |
| <i>man</i> | ètharo |
| <i>old man</i> | ékakhamo |
| <i>old woman</i> | èphowa |
| <i>lady</i> | ebukhu |
| <i>married man</i> | eboye |
| <i>younger sister</i> | arabètòkha |
| <i>younger brother</i> | òttarakhuwithuwe |
| <i>('one born later')</i> | |
| <i>eldest/elder brother</i> | ékòkho |
| <i>baby</i> | arabètò |
| <i>boy, child, son</i> | a tòta |
| <i>baby girl</i> | akaṭa |
| <i>daughter</i> | èyikòkha |
| <i>people</i> | narakhamo |

PARTS OF BODY

| | |
|-----------------|----------|
| <i>body</i> | tunḡhomo |
| <i>head</i> | èrko |
| <i>hair</i> | tòtbèyik |
| <i>forehead</i> | tèrkòk |
| <i>eye</i> | tèruṭu |
| <i>nose</i> | ṭarkòthò |
| <i>tooth</i> | tèrbite |

PARTS OF BODY

| | |
|----------------------|----------------|
| <i>tongue</i> | tatab |
| <i>jaw, chin</i> | tèrtab |
| <i>throat</i> | takèr |
| <i>mouth</i> | ṭaphon/ñphon |
| <i>shoulder</i> | tèrkhum |
| <i>arm</i> | tèrton |
| <i>ear</i> | tèrbuwo |
| <i>elbow</i> | tèwoṭataraḡuṭe |
| <i>palm</i> | tunḡkorò |
| <i>finger</i> | tunḡkenab |
| <i>nail</i> | tunḡkara |
| <i>chest, breast</i> | toḡar |
| <i>nipple</i> | mètèyi |
| <i>stomach</i> | tèkotra |
| <i>belly</i> | ephiṭutarkhuro |
| <i>navel</i> | tènet |
| <i>back, waist</i> | ṭarakarab |
| <i>buttocks</i> | ṭarathomo |
| <i>thigh</i> | ékòthomo/ñebuḡ |
| <i>cheek</i> | èrnòkho |
| <i>foot</i> | ṭmòtò |
| <i>knee</i> | tèrkòròk |
| <i>lip</i> | tèrbowa |
| <i>moustache</i> | tèrbowabèyik |
| <i>skin</i> | kòwo |

PARTS OF BODY

| | |
|---------------------|----------------|
| <i>blood/fever</i> | tèye |
| <i>fat</i> | tètòne |
| <i>liver</i> | tekħudu |
| <i>intestine</i> | imeka |
| <i>kidney</i> | emeiya |
| <i>heart</i> | ṭòtwotudeṭò |
| <i>swelling</i> | ònénòye |
| <i>sore</i> | tèphar |
| <i>pus</i> | èrmine |
| <i>wound</i> | tékħòwo |
| <i>pain</i> | iye |
| <i>sweat</i> | khirme |
| <i>bone/awake</i> | èṭṭòye |
| <i>backbone</i> | ònrèb |
| <i>collarbone</i> | tewaṭa |
| <i>ankle</i> | ñrònò |
| <i>nape of neck</i> | òṭṭòye |
| <i>thumb</i> | tunħudimu |
| <i>muscle</i> | èrbun |
| <i>wrinkle</i> | tèkèrèk we |
| <i>lap</i> | arakòn |
| <i>eyebrow</i> | tèruṭuṭòtbèyik |
| <i>armpit</i> | okòkuwò |
| <i>testicles</i> | dòmo |
| <i>penis</i> | ṭuṭ |
| <i>anus</i> | tèt |
| <i>vagina</i> | tebu |
| <i>tear</i> | tèrino |
| <i>mind</i> | tèrmine |

LANDSCAPE/ENVIRONMENT/MISCELLANEOUS

| | |
|---------------------|----------------|
| <i>sun/day</i> | ḍiyu |
| <i>moon</i> | ḍuṭa |
| <i>star</i> | katañe |
| <i>sky</i> | ṭòwo |
| <i>cloud</i> | ṭòtarbèyik |
| <i>fog,mist</i> | miṭithe |
| <i>rain</i> | giker |
| <i>night</i> | bat |
| <i>morning</i> | uttò |
| <i>evening</i> | ṭibirbat |
| <i>afternoon</i> | ṭòburan |
| <i>dew</i> | tubiṭ/thòwuṭ |
| <i>water</i> | ino |
| <i>creek</i> | buṭu |
| <i>pond</i> | kera |
| <i>ground,earth</i> | bowa |
| <i>stone</i> | meño |
| <i>sand</i> | kòṭ/khòro |
| <i>mountain</i> | buruṭ |
| <i>bush</i> | kan/ħobòn |
| <i>garden</i> | tòkho tayiṭawo |
| <i>wind,air</i> | bòr |

LANDSCAPE/ENVIRONMENT/MISCELLANEOUS

| | |
|-----------------------------|-----------------|
| <i>fire</i> | at |
| <i>smoke</i> | ṭeb |
| <i>way/path</i> | ñòtò |
| <i>tree,wood</i> | ṭòkho |
| <i>trunk</i> | ekaṭon |
| <i>branch</i> | òṭton |
| <i>stump of a tree</i> | ikòrowo |
| <i>root</i> | irakan |
| <i>bark of a tree</i> | ithiyu |
| <i>fruit</i> | òko |
| <i>stick</i> | ṭòkhota |
| <i>small stick</i> | èṭewota |
| <i>big stick</i> | èrkħurota |
| <i>ghost/naughty</i> | ṭawo |
| <i>lightning</i> | aṭe |
| <i>thunder</i> | kurude |
| <i>rainbow</i> | biṭu |
| <i>God</i> | biṭikhu |
| <i>mud</i> | gen |
| <i>light</i> | arakoṭ |
| <i>darkness/black</i> | ḍirim |
| <i>island</i> | uṭure |
| <i>valley</i> | ḍòṭon |
| <i>forest</i> | ṭimikhu |
| <i>plain</i> | ṭiṭòtbèṭe |
| <i>wet place</i> | ṭitarino |
| <i>thorn/fish bones</i> | ke |
| <i>bay</i> | buḍòṭon |
| <i>shore</i> | ṭòṭphoṭò |
| <i>bank</i> | tarphido |
| <i>swamp</i> | bèn |
| <i>high tide</i> | iphèt |
| <i>low tide</i> | igewòm |
| <i>rainy season</i> | gikerwi ukerom |
| <i>dry season</i> | gikerphowe |
| <i>('there is no rain')</i> | ^ |
| <i>coal</i> | atphin/attarbit |
| <i>ash</i> | biṭe |
| <i>leaf</i> | tèyik |
| <i>banana</i> | kòpho |
| <i>betelnut</i> | ḍòn |
| <i>basket</i> | ḍhub |
| <i>flower,bud</i> | iyòrò |
| <i>seed</i> | yewuṭu |
| <i>potato</i> | ṭòṭe |
| <i>sweet potato</i> | mino/èyòm |
| <i>salt/salty water</i> | ṭorom |
| <i>sea</i> | ḍhare |
| <i>well</i> | keṭ |
| <i>greenery</i> | ṭòtarwe |
| <i>food</i> | reṭpe |
| <i>palm tree</i> | khider |
| <i>bamboo</i> | ṭo |

LANDSCAPE/ENVIRONMENT/MISCELLANEOUS

| | |
|-----------------|-------------|
| coconut | ekawuṭu |
| grass | imikoṭu |
| nest | araka/thòmu |
| house | ño/ṭiko |
| roof | taratāṅ |
| bow | kò |
| arrow | ṭèk |
| rope | boṭ |
| woman's | ñiro |
| covering | ṭòṭò |
| inside of the | ṭikòmikhu |
| house | |
| on top of stone | ñòṭòtara |
| paddle | phòtmò |
| net | okò |
| boat | rowò |
| wave | phoròṭ |
| baby carrier | keba |
| juice | ewune |
| conversation | erèmar |
| argument | enòteṭeto |
| story, talk | tèkho |
| tongs | kòye |
| spear | uro |
| | araṭòkho |

ANIMALS

| | |
|------------------|----------------|
| dog | kawo |
| pig | ra |
| dog's tail | arawuṭibi |
| dogs | òtbèyik |
| dog-flies | kèṭa |
| bird, fish, food | tagaw |
| feather | erat |
| egg | emuṭu |
| ant | kòyimu |
| moth | dum |
| fly | phuṭimu |
| snake | khubi |
| bee | timeṭ |
| mosquito | ñipho |
| rat | ṭowude |
| bat | birèye |
| lizard | kewo |
| crocodile | tèwo |
| frog | phuruwe, kòruw |
| pigeon | mirit |
| kite | khòṭò |
| chicken | mòkò |
| parrot/woman's | kòròṭò |
| hand ornament | |
| crow | phatka |
| turtle | kòkbi |

ANIMALS

| | |
|--------------|----------|
| seabird | Ṭaka |
| tail of fish | arabèyik |
| crab | kèwo |

PRONOUNS/INTERROGATIVES

| | |
|--------------------|--------------------|
| I | ṭiyo |
| you | ñiyo |
| you two | ñiṭiyo/ñèrphoṭ |
| he | khudi/di |
| you all | nònkènkò |
| they all | dunròma |
| we | ṭunkènkò |
| we all | ṭaràkhamo/ṭèyikòwe |
| all, much | arakhamo we |
| you all | narakhamo we |
| there | kuṭeṭ/khudiḡono |
| here | ḡono |
| this | di/khitiyo |
| that | du/khudiayiño |
| that thing (far) | khutagono |
| we (incl.) | ñiyo ṭiyo |
| we (du.excl.) | duyiyo ṭiyo |
| we (pl.excl.) | du ṭiyo |
| one | enṭòṭò |
| more than one | nònkènkò |
| (see you all) | |
| what | kayèwe |
| where | khuder |
| when | ḡekhò |
| how much | nekòphe |
| there/where | khudi |
| who | ñakhubi? |
| who are you? | |
| what is your name? | |

ADJECTIVES/ADVERBS

| | |
|------------------|------------|
| small | ètèwo |
| big/full, heavy | èrkhuero |
| good | èrnòṭ |
| bad, wrong | èkayè |
| long | èrtòyeṭwum |
| hungry, vocative | tètè |
| red | ibirāṅ |
| white | ètòṭòṭmo |
| green, blue | ekatawo |
| hot | khimiṭ |
| cold | thòwo |
| blind/one-eyed | ṭowò |
| dumb | utṭiṭe |
| new, strange | èkòṭòṭ |
| rotten | iburòṭò |
| broken | enduko |
| right (hand) | èkòkhò |

ADJECTIVES/ADVERBS

| | |
|------------------------------|------------------|
| <i>left (hand)</i> | ékòró |
| <i>thick</i> | énab |
| <i>thin</i> | ébutu/idiñāto |
| <i>narrow (path)</i> | nōtōfēwo |
| <i>straight</i> | ētōtō |
| <i>ripe</i> | iphumu |
| <i>cooked (food)</i> | iboya |
| <i>wet</i> | iteno |
| <i>dry</i> | étphaya |
| <i>dry wood</i> | érob |
| <i>other</i> | ótòk |
| <i>far</i> | karakpho |
| <i>sharp</i> | kòropho |
| <i>blunt</i> | ekokheTa |
| <i>alive</i> | ontòbuk |
| <i>dead</i> | émphiTu |
| <i>short</i> | ókatta |
| <i>fat</i> | biŋoye |
| <i>thirsty</i> | phaye |
| <i>tired</i> | tukīne |
| <i>lame</i> | tētēr |
| <i>sad</i> | tòtboḳayè |
| <i>happy</i> | tòtbonót |
| <i>empty, house is empty</i> | tītōwo |
| <i>hurry</i> | gero |
| <i>slow</i> | eréntèkhe |
| <i>strong, tight</i> | étTam |
| <i>weak</i> | ilēyatēt/dinaTo |
| <i>angry</i> | ótwotarake |
| <i>quiet</i> | énót tòḳo |
| <i>sleepy</i> | ubeno |
| <i>young</i> | eròkhuyi |
| <i>pregnant</i> | araḳeTo |
| <i>having a full stomach</i> | araphèt |
| <i>hard</i> | òttariwe |
| <i>soft</i> | erTam |
| <i>sweet</i> | iyòm |
| <i>bitter/sour</i> | kérèb |
| <i>wise, busy</i> | òtbòTwebinu |
| <i>foolish, dumb</i> | òkòbuTu |
| <i>alone</i> | tòntòbTò/tèrTa |
| <i>selfish</i> | tòtwoḳayèwe |
| <i>dear</i> | èkròkhe |
| <i>active</i> | ewuretòtTam |
| <i>poor, worthless</i> | erleya |
| <i>foreign (person)</i> | nòttòkwe |
| <i>not one's own</i> | |
| <i>shy</i> | ugethaT |
| <i>handicapped</i> | ètētēr |
| <i>cunning</i> | akakèT |
| <i>wide (path)</i> | èrkhuro ... nòtò |

ADJECTIVES/ADVERBS

| | |
|---------------------------------|--------------|
| <i>high</i> | ittòḳòmu |
| <i>low</i> | irakatta |
| <i>sloping</i> | kòroye |
| <i>loose</i> | èḡiròpho |
| <i>bright</i> | atra |
| <i>raw</i> | dob |
| <i>tame</i> | ètataTin |
| <i>barren (woman)</i> | uthirepho |
| <i>infertile</i> | ètòntòwo |
| <i>famous</i> | akageḳepho |
| <i>different</i> | ètòk |
| <i>same, alike</i> | èttònkò |
| <i>easy</i> | tīyonót |
| <i>lie/secret</i> | akageḳhe |
| <i>true</i> | akageḳhephon |
| <i>slippery</i> | ukhòTòyiñò |
| <i>rough, uneven, dangerous</i> | èkòrópho |
| <i>closed, shut</i> | èrèmarbeno |
| <i>scattered</i> | èpheTètra |
| <i>enough/no more</i> | ḳekho |

VERBS

| | |
|---------------------------------------|------------|
| <i>eat</i> | igokè |
| <i>drink</i> | ikhuwe |
| <i>stand/get up</i> | ròytò/òytò |
| <i>sit</i> | òñò |
| <i>speak</i> | ḳòTe |
| <i>walk</i> | èḳòTè |
| <i>call out</i> | khuro |
| <i>I eat</i> | tuyigokòm |
| <i>run</i> | tòbòTè |
| <i>take</i> | iña |
| <i>take!</i> | kuwe |
| <i>I'll take</i> | tuwokòm |
| <i>give</i> | ḳè |
| <i>give him</i> | umokè |
| <i>break</i> | ittarḳuke |
| <i>drop</i> | òytaboTò |
| <i>fall</i> | itabotè |
| <i>hit, beat</i> | èboḳhe |
| <i>save</i> | yani |
| <i>sleep</i> | beno |
| <i>lie (I am lying on the ground)</i> | ḳarambeno |
| <i>cry</i> | nòTò |
| <i>cook (that food)</i> | irakhekè |
| <i>blow fire</i> | eraborakè |
| <i>jump</i> | ònthèwe |
| <i>be afraid</i> | inTatemam |
| <i>laugh</i> | khòTèwe |
| <i>scratch</i> | tuyiñawòm |
| <i>throw</i> | ittartòy |

VERBS

| | |
|--------------------------|------------------|
| <i>swim</i> | ñòtò |
| <i>wash (oneself)/</i> | tòttòk |
| <i>enter into water</i> | |
| <i>look for</i> | tuwentikwòlòm |
| <i>smell</i> | ekhòwòy |
| <i>bow</i> | tuñburan |
| <i>make a bow</i> | tokòwe kòtòyikòm |
| <i>go</i> | tòkanewòm |
| <i>come</i> | tuñiwòm |
| <i>come quickly</i> | khuro |
| <i>climb</i> | ekarakòm |
| <i>climb down</i> | tòfèwòm |
| <i>hide</i> | ékamò |
| <i>catch</i> | wokò/uwokò |
| <i>turn (intr.)</i> | tuamphoròwòm |
| <i>put (in hand)</i> | itèkhe |
| <i>put (on shoulder)</i> | utun |
| <i>push</i> | tuwe tèrekòm |
| <i>pull</i> | tuwetèno |
| <i>bite</i> | yibefèno |
| <i>vomit</i> | èyi |
| <i>cough</i> | kòthò |
| <i>sneeze</i> | kerpho |
| <i>spit</i> | in |
| <i>break wood</i> | tòyèttardukòm |
| <i>cut wood</i> | tòkherèwòm |
| <i>stop! wait!</i> | itakhe |
| <i>remember</i> | tòtwobitèpho |
| <i>forget</i> | tòtwobitèkò |
| <i>enter</i> | tòtaraTòta |
| <i>go outside</i> | tutèrthu |
| <i>bury</i> | émèto |
| <i>make a hole in</i> | tòtibirpho |
| <i>the ground</i> | |
| <i>insult</i> | etmòkò |
| <i>swallow</i> | ikhuwe |
| <i>pour out</i> | tuyiko |
| <i>charge/attack</i> | òtmòkè |
| <i>replace</i> | etatèrkòtòyiñe |
| <i>be unable</i> | urephopho èTèya |
| <i>tie</i> | tòyikowòm |
| <i>draw water</i> | tòyetènòm |
| <i>lift</i> | okè |
| <i>dig ground</i> | phon |
| <i>burn</i> | ikhubikè |
| <i>die</i> | èphit |
| <i>bring</i> | uwe |
| <i>carry</i> | itmòkòñe |

VERBS

| | |
|-------------------------|------------------|
| <i>grab</i> | ittaratèwotè |
| <i>hear</i> | mudewe |
| <i>see</i> | iyotè |
| <i>want, need</i> | tañutokè |
| <i>like</i> | giye |
| <i>sing</i> | go |
| <i>steal</i> | ètòwe |
| <i>ask</i> | òkòwòye |
| <i>tickle</i> | tugethe wòm |
| <i>send</i> | itārotè |
| <i>scold</i> | itudutè |
| <i>search</i> | inòne |
| <i>cover</i> | utñirokè |
| <i>uncover</i> | utekhe |
| <i>dance, circle</i> | giròy |
| <i>finish</i> | itanrañiye |
| <i>wave</i> | phañ |
| <i>dive</i> | ñe |
| <i>miss, lose</i> | erañiyo |
| <i>shoot (an arrow)</i> | tòwetòlòm |
| <i>kill (with an</i> | tuwebuwartòt |
| <i>arrow)</i> | |
| <i>kick</i> | tòwe trèkhòm |
| <i>pinch</i> | irènam |
| <i>dodge, cheat</i> | atayikhe |
| <i>spear</i> | phonmo |
| <i>hiccup</i> | ñet |
| <i>whistle</i> | uñuyi |
| <i>grow</i> | atathu |
| <i>bend</i> | ukhoñito |
| <i>shiver</i> | guruñ |
| <i>feed</i> | okòkhuwo |
| <i>make a new thing</i> | ènoTeyime èbanè |
| <i>embrace</i> | ètterkorme |
| <i>kiss</i> | èrtèñe |
| <i>rake</i> | tuwegirakham |
| <i>float</i> | utebeno |
| <i>meet</i> | kerphon |
| <i>tremble</i> | ugireñam |
| <i>swell</i> | akadikhe |
| <i>flow</i> | tede |
| <i>spill, overflow</i> | ekantekòkho |
| <i>hate</i> | akagekhe |
| <i>(wind) blows</i> | bòrtarke |
| <i>(sun) rises</i> | (diyu) wikarakòm |
| <i>(sun) sets</i> | (diyu) araTèkho |
| <i>(moon) rises</i> | (duTa) wikarakòm |
| <i>(moon) sets</i> | (duTa) wiraTèkòm |

3.2 Phrases and sentences

| | |
|---|------------------------------------|
| <i>my/our father</i> | tamaye |
| <i>your mother</i> | ñamimi |
| <i>his younger brother</i> | arabētō k̄hikuwe |
| <i>our younger brother</i> | tarabētō kuwe |
| <i>their younger sister</i> | arabētō k̄hikuwe |
| <i>our younger sister</i> | tarabētō k̄hikuwe |
| <i>your baby</i> | ñuthire |
| <i>our baby</i> | t̄uthire |
| <i>their baby</i> | uthire |
| <i>my head</i> | tērko |
| <i>your ear/ears</i> | ñerbuwo |
| <i>dog's two ears</i> | aḱawor(do)buwo |
| <i>pig's two ears</i> | rātar(do)buwo |
| <i>dog's two eyes</i> | akawo(do)ēruṭu |
| <i>man's two eyes</i> | (do)ñeruṭu or (do)mēñeruṭu |
| <i>woman's two legs</i> | (do)mēnmōtō |
| <i>bird's nest/nests</i> | tagew iutbotaraka |
| <i>dog's home/homes</i> | ḱawo tutño |
| <i>one white dog</i> | ēntōbtō ēḱawo (<i>one dog</i>) |
| <i>white dogs</i> | ētōtōtmo ēḱawo |
| <i>small girl</i> | iñewo khayēbikhu |
| <i>two small girls</i> | (do) nēbikhu |
| <i>I am hot</i> | tutkhirme wo |
| <i>I am cold</i> | tōthōwowōm |
| <i>he/she is tired</i> | du we maṭaye |
| <i>he/she is sick</i> | du we itēbeno |
| <i>my hand is alright</i> | tunḱorōnōṭwe |
| <i>I am alright</i> | tērmiñe nōṭwe |
| <i>my everything is alright</i> | tēnōṭwe |
| <i>this flower is red</i> | di guke itbiran |
| <i>that cloth is not red</i> | du itbiranpho |
| <i>these flowers are white</i> | di guke ittōtōtmo |
| <i>those clothes are not white</i> | du guke ittōtōtmopho |
| <i>both those flowers are red</i> | du guke ittōtōtmo |
| <i>both those flowers are white</i> | di etētōtmo |
| <i>both those flowers are not white</i> | du ikakhōba etṭaṭmopho |
| <i>give me a red flower</i> | t̄ibiran kaytēḱhe |
| <i>don't give me a red flower</i> | t̄ibiran kay tēḱhim |
| <i>give him/her a white dog</i> | du iyakawo tōtōbutēḱhe |
| <i>give that girl a white dog</i> | du we ibukhuke igitōtōbutēḱhe |
| <i>give that boy a white dog</i> | du we itharo kay igitōtōbutēḱhe |
| <i>see her</i> | du weṭe or du weyōṭe |
| <i>see him</i> | du weyōṭe aṭōta |
| <i>give us a red flower</i> | di itbiran kay retēḱhe |
| <i>don't give us a white flower</i> | mulṭit taṭōtmo kaytēḱhe wo |
| <i>give them a fish</i> | ni tagew tēḱhe or ni ēntōbtō tēḱhe |
| <i>don't give them two fish</i> | ni iraṭiḱōm |
| <i>my house is nice</i> | tōtño yinōṭwe |
| <i>your eye is not bad</i> | t̄eruṭu ḱayē phowe |
| <i>her bow is not big</i> | iḱhokō tutkhu duṅpho we |
| <i>small eye</i> | ēruṭuṭewo |
| <i>my eye is not small</i> | t̄eruṭuṭewo phowe |

do (Hindi) = two

their houses are big
 my house is not big
 this house of mine is good
 this house of yours is not bad
 this eye of mine was good
 this eye of his/hers was not good
 this dog of yours was not good
 that food is not bad
 that food was not bad
 this wood is not good
 that wood was not good
 this wood was not good
 that wood is not good
 this/these are my flowers
 this is not your house
 that is not your flower
 these are her clothes
 this is his/her knife
 those are not my houses
 don't give me my father's stick
 who will come with me?
 I (she) will go with you
 put the fish on the fire
 do you have some nice thing?
 I did not dig anything
 go and cook your food
 has food been cooked?
 bring some coconut for me
 a boy is climbing on a tree to pick
 a coconut
 chop some wood for me
 light a fire
 is the fire burning well?
 is that wood heavy?
 (no), it is very light
 who is cutting the bush?
 ask him to bring more wood
 I am going to light a fire
 can we get food here?
 what kind of food is in your village?
 do you like this food?
 come on, we will find something else
 a woman has/women have brought some
 good food
 this is not black man's food
 I can't eat that
 what kind of tree is that?
 that is a coconut tree
 fruit does not come on this tree
 how are you?
 I am sick
 he is sick
 this man is sick
 my hand is sore
 he fell down and got hurt

ôtño têrkhuđu
 tötño têwowe
 di tötñionötwe
 di ôtñoḱayê phowe
 di têruŭu nôtweŭo
 du êruŭu nôtpho
 ñikho aḱawo ênôtphoŭo
 du rêphe êḱayê phoŭo
 du rêphe êḱayêpho
 di tókho êḱayê phuŭo
 du tókho ênôt phuŭo
 di tókho ênôt phuŭo
 du tókho ênôt phuŭo
 di tiko imutarôph
 di ôtño phowe
 du ñikhe mutarôpho we
 di ikhe mutatôṭa
 di ikhe ḱêwo
 du tutñôpho we
 du utiko ñoyekhu tókhowutêḱhim
 ña ḱhiwuṭê ukônewôm?
 ôtukônewôm
 tagêw aṭŭa têḱhe
 ñaḱo ḱayênôtwe?
 tṭḱay we phuḱ phuŭo
 khūŭi wirêphe wirakhuwe
 dekho iboya?
 tṭḱnhider we ḱawoy
 aṭôṭa khider wembêphôm
 tṭṭtókho wetphuye
 aṭ dikubike
 aṭŭuru nôtwe?
 batutkhu ḱunḱi?
 di yobŭe
 aḱhimu bira buko ḱhêrêwôm?
 egirakêwo bôy ḱawo
 tṭṭway bikhu binḱekôm
 bôtmu tîrêphe witeḱhôm?
 ñôtño kay wirêphe?
 ḱawo dimugimum?
 khawo tōy nêni
 ebukhe ênôt kharêphe wiḱawo
 diyo dirim têḱhe giyopho
 baṭu igipho
 du ḱawo tondi?
 du khider tonwe
 di ton nökôphu
 ênôtwe?
 êtêbenowe
 ḱeyiye
 di utebeno
 têḱôn we
 ibotôt êmbôtô

*no, I am not well today
 his foot is swollen
 I fell from the tree
 what is he eating?
 he has a stomach ache
 he broke his arm
 he has a sore leg
 flick the fly out of his eye
 flies are bothering me
 kill those mosquitoes
 he is scared because he is sick
 he went into the forest because he
 was sick
 his eye is sore/red
 my foot is sore
 is this a good path?
 where does this path go?
 rain spoiled it
 where is the water?
 show me the path
 follow me
 you should go today
 I will give you your ration
 you can go ahead
 our eyes are the same
 our hair is different
 he spoke for a long time
 he laughed for a long time
 I waited for him a long time
 I waited for a while for him
 I hit him hard
 have you finished your work?
 is that true?
 my friend came and he said ...
 what are you going to do?
 can you speak?
 tell them
 is your mother alive?
 how many children do you have?
 this man wants to marry
 here is flour, fish, bird
 wait for me here
 you can go ahead
 where can we sleep?
 pull the boat on to the bank of the
 river
 push it again
 I want to go to the river
 why do you want to go?
 there are crocodiles in the river
 the current is very fast
 the river is full
 I am going for a walk
 I am going outside*

tótbu kəkay we
 unənōya
 ʈubo tōwo
 uəkay kəto?
 ēkotra yiye
 ēntōyokō ɖuko
 di tēphar Tēwopho
 phuīmu we okoTē
 phuīmu etepho
 ēTñe ētbaṭe
 aramTatōm eyiye khude
 ētēbeno khude ʈimikhe iyoTō

 ñēruTu tutbiran
 tētōye we kemo
 di nōtō ēnōT
 kətnōtō khidi gono?
 giker we ebēwo
 kaTino we?
 ʈi nōtō we ērōTaye
 ʈake baye
 takha ñōkōne we
 tuñite kay wi rēphe
 ñēren taraTo we
 ʈēruTu ēntōbTō
 ʈōtbēyik tar yikhu phuwe
 temuṭiye oyek girako
 ēntōtō khoTēphoTō
 ʈō ōtkhō tōko
 ʈe ikhañōtō taraTiyo
 ʈwa taTēTe miḱōT
 dekho ñon taraTiyo?
 eteko?
 tēmokoye phiragu Tōko
 ñuəkay we kətōm?
 ñuəkay wiTitemōm?
 du we girakē
 amimi kuphuk we?
 ñuthire kōnērōk Tephō?
 giwe emboye kəkōm
 di tagew we
 ʈiṭi bitñōTē
 ñōtrēta we
 khiTeT tōtubeno wōm?
 buTiwu ukōwak mōmuTi we

 ittarthude
 buTiwu tēyiñō we
 ñōkay winkekōm?
 buTiwutēwō we
 tatara kōr we
 buTiwu tērkhuro we
 ʈō nōtō wōm
 kōT tēyiñō we

I saw him wandering
 this place is not good
 we should go ahead
 they are seated
 they will not come back today
 I can see smoke
 where will we get the water?
 the old man hasn't come yet
 why hasn't he come?
 perhaps he is sick
 make a hole here
 who made this hole?
 I cannot bring it
 bring that stone
 cut the tree
 be careful, it is falling
 sort out that wood
 let it dry in the sun
 tell them to come in
 what did you tell them/him?
 send them a message
 what shall we do?
 say that again
 we will hunt pigs tomorrow
 today we will hunt wild dogs
 have you seen a pig?
 I have not seen (it)
 I see a snake on the stone
 I killed it
 try to kill it from behind
 we have covered it
 now we shall take it out
 keep a lookout for turtles
 is this a boat?
 where are the paddles?
 the paddle is in the boat
 the boat is out of order
 who came in that boat?
 my mother came in that boat
 this boat is better than that

 these people are not good
 what has happened?
 I want to see a dance
 what dance is that?
 now men are dancing
 now singing has stopped
 women are not allowed to see this
 no, but I will ask this girl
 alright, she is a smart girl
 the children are swimming
 give me this
 father gave me this
 he did not give this to you
 father will give you something else

taraṅ khigire tayoñṭa
 ṭi kayè we
 ṭu ṭunṭu iṭuwòm
 duwakawònòm
 bowakañilepho
 ṭuṭe dirtedòm
 kaṭ ṭino witunṭowòm?
 éphowa kha awophuṭò
 kay khude awophuṭò?
 ṭéyiekophaṭo
 ṭeṭ ṭiwir diṭi
 akhiryur diṭò?
 ṭwe kawopho
 du meño we kòy
 ṭòn birakḥèrèwe
 ñònòṭ we iboṭòm
 iko kattake
 akhe diwuṭe phaye
 ne girakè nòròmè
 ñuni kay roṭò?
 ne ṭowak tèkḥo tèròṭè
 ñu kay we ṭaṭòm?
 bòye girake
 boṭò tèrkòṭòṭ khid wòm ṭawone
 it tetekhamo boṭò khid wòm ṭawone
 ñu kay wirayṭa?
 ṭòyoṭè phuṭò
 ṭumiñò ṭòko ṭhubir wirtedum
 ṭò etphowò
 it botatphowe
 dekho ṭo itphuṭò
 ṭo iphokòm
 ṭokbi birtèḍe
 di kay rowò
 kaṭ phòtmò we?
 phòtmò wòkò giwo
 rowò binṭaya
 du rowò ṭakḥu awo?
 ṭamimi du rowò ṭawo
 di rowò dunò rowa(ṭḥe)ènoṭ
 se (Hindi) = from, than
 di ye ènoṭpho
 kay ṭaṭò?
 ṭugiròy wirtedum
 di ṭhitam giròy we?
 tharonu giròy wòm
 go bira ṭite kòm
 ibukho nòr tedepho
 akhe khudi ṭoko bòye
 ediye ènoṭ
 khire ñòṭò wòm
 di ṭi itèḥe
 amaye di ṭi itèḥa
 diyo ñi itèḥe phuṭò
 amaye buṭi itèḥòm

| | |
|--|----------------------------------|
| <i>I am sitting here</i> | TeT ɬawo ño wòm |
| <i>what is that?</i> | duɬay we? |
| <i>give me some rope</i> | ɬiɬay boTwe təkhe |
| <i>I have brought some rope</i> | ɬuboT we kawo |
| <i>go to him</i> | khuti iɬowa phoɬkone |
| <i>tell me</i> | ɬegira we |
| <i>go outside</i> | oɬkone wòm |
| <i>what are you looking for?</i> | ñi kay birtédum? |
| <i>give me</i> | ɬitəkhe |
| <i>who is that?</i> | du wa kɬubi? |
| <i>where are you going?</i> | ɬa ñu ɬonóm? or ɬa phuɬkone wòm? |
| <i>come to me</i> | ɬəkə akawo we |
| <i>come inside</i> | khutra ko kawo |
| <i>I need that</i> | du ɬu məkə |
| <i>call him</i> | khudi untéTe |
| <i>tell him</i> | egirakə |
| <i>I am going, you stay here</i> | ɬoɬkone wòm ɬokere wòm |
| <i>he and I are going</i> | khudi oɬéwoɬonam |
| <i>they and I are going</i> | khudi utəka oɬénokone wòm |
| <i>he or they and I are going, you stay here</i> | khudi oɬénkone wòm ñiyoweka kere |
| <i>you and I'll go</i> | khudi oɬénokone wòm |
| <i>I don't know</i> | ébofho, ɬemphe |
| <i>wind blows</i> | boT we éreñke kòm |

3.3 Text

A boy went to the forest for hunting.
aɬoɬa ukɬidek ɬimikhekeT or ɬimikheɬokò

There were lots of trees in the forest.
ɬimikhu tarakamu beTò

There were birds in some trees.
ɬokho tóɬɬon toɬkataT tagew totbekayə birañe

He did not find a pig anywhere.
kaTò rakon phoTò

Then he went to catch fish in the river.
ukuntò boTòT ubuTiwek tagew toɬkore erbuTin binkeT/ɬotbèyik nonkekum

Even after a long time he could not find fish.
ɬibura Tite meTòn unɬayə phoT

Then he thought of catching a turtle.
boT ɬokbi motomböye deToɬkhara

He caught a turtle.
boT ɬokbi nonetöwe kreko

This turtle was very heavy, therefore he tied the turtle to a tree and placed a heavy stone on top of the turtle.

ɬokho Teb iratɬayer ɬoböyeTo TetTeyamin ɬokbi totaraTo phurumu miyöta étəkheT

Now it was night.
irɬi bateT

Then he climbed up a tree and slept

iṭṭi kumbuṭumeṭo ṭōkha karēphoṭ ṭōkho ṭōnwakweka ṭōṇiṭ binuṭ

Next day when he woke up he found that the turtle was not there.

boṭ akaṇi khirekōyiṭ kōkbi bikhe itēboṭoyōṭ

The boy was very sad.

aṭōṭa karkhaye aṭōṭatumwō biḱayē raṭiṭ

He said that now he would not go hunting by himself.

utuṇo taṭiḍu ṇrame ṭērēmna ṭērēmṭe amēbo ṭērēm Takḱhitphuwi koyeṭ twayē kḱhikawoṇ

Then he went towards his home.

karkha wo ṭōyiṇō akuṇi

On his way he met his father.

uṇṭaṭa kamayo kōṇiṭ

Then both together went hunting.

butamayeṭ narkhanu kḱhiṭ

Then both of them together hunted down a pig.

baṭamayeṭu kḱhiḍiṭoṇora ranōṇa wuyikḱhiṭ

And they returned home happy.

tenu tumbōṇōṭeṭu (untubōṇōṭeku) ṇiyowak

All the people together ate the catch.

ṇṭuṇ tarṇi ra eḱiye

One man had a stomach-ache.

untōṭōkōtra iyeṭ

A girl got a stomach-ache.

akaṭa ṇṭōṭō we kōtra iyeṭ

Then the girl went to a doctor.

ukaṭa yeṭab tarenḱeṇ

The doctor gave her medicine.

ḱakṭare davaye tēkḱha

ḱakṭara (English) = doctor, davā (Hindi) = medicine

And the doctor said: "Come again tomorrow".

ebuṭ bowa ḱaktareṭ ṇakḱhirbuwa wowiṭ

Next day the girl didn't go.

akaṭa bowa kambi khiro kōnephowe tēkḱhiṭ

Then the doctor went to the girl's house.

ḱakṭare akaṭatṇok akuḱōniṭ wawokōtēkḱhiṭ

But the girl was not even at home.

koḱakaṭa ṇōṭiphoweṭo

He just could not find the girl anywhere.

akaṭa ḱe aṭokōṇ phuṭō

17. From the *Indian Express*, September 1, 1982: "With the new birth the total number of members in the tribe now stands at 28."

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NOTES

1. I would like to thank my main informant, Mr Piḡar, and the Andaman Administration, especially Mr Bakhtawar Singh. I am indebted to the A.R.G.S. for the financial assistance enabling me to undertake this research. I would also like to thank Mrs Kari Barz for her valuable suggestions when reading the introduction, and Miss Betty Kat for all her assistance in the preparation of this paper, and, finally, my special thanks are due to Dr L.A. Hercus who inspired me to commence this research and who gave tremendous assistance in the preparation of this paper.
 2. For details see Radcliffe-Brown 1964:7.
 3. In Masefield 1954:347.
 4. See Sri Probhat Kumar Sen 1962:5.
 5. See Man 1932:2.
 6. Refer to the text of Bradley 1983.
 7. Man states "It is to be understood that, unless otherwise stated, the descriptions given here refer to the bōjig-nagīji (more especially the ākǎ-Bēa, i.e. the South Andaman tribe) of Great Andaman in whose territory the Indian Penal Colony is situated."
 8. Portman says: "In the following system of transliteration for the language of the Andamanese I have followed the alphabet used by Mr Man in writing the aka-bea language" (1898:23).
 9. Although Man mentions two different t consonants, t as in *ten* and t as in *tear* (Man 1932:174).
- | English | Man South Andamanese | Portman Aku-Bea South Andamanese | Radcliffe-Brown | mine |
|---------------|----------------------|----------------------------------|-----------------|----------|
| <i>head</i> | chē·ta | ót·chéta·da | ot- čo | érko |
| <i>mouth</i> | bang | bǎng·da | - | ṭaphon |
| <i>mother</i> | dab chá·nola | chána·da | t'a-mimi | amimi |
| <i>body</i> | chàu | chāō·da | - | ṭunḡhomo |
| <i>child</i> | abl̄·ga | áb·líga·da | ot-tire | aṭōṭa |
11. "The sound written p in some of the North Andaman languages is really p̃" (Radcliffe-Brown 1914:37).
 12. Quoted from the Introduction in Dutta 1978. 'The Great Andamanese and Onges' could only be counted from 1961 onwards. Other groups are only rough estimates.
 13. Twenty-four G.A. and 94 Onge are enumerated, and figures for Jarawa and Sentinelese are estimates. These figures have been obtained from a pamphlet published by the Andaman and Nicobar Administration, 1979.
 14. The Japanese occupied the Andaman Islands from March 1942 to October 1945.
 15. See p.127 of *India Year Book 1979*.
 16. Belonging to the Andaman Administration the boat is called *Milāle*, a Jarawa word meaning *friend*.



The Great Andamanese on Strait Island



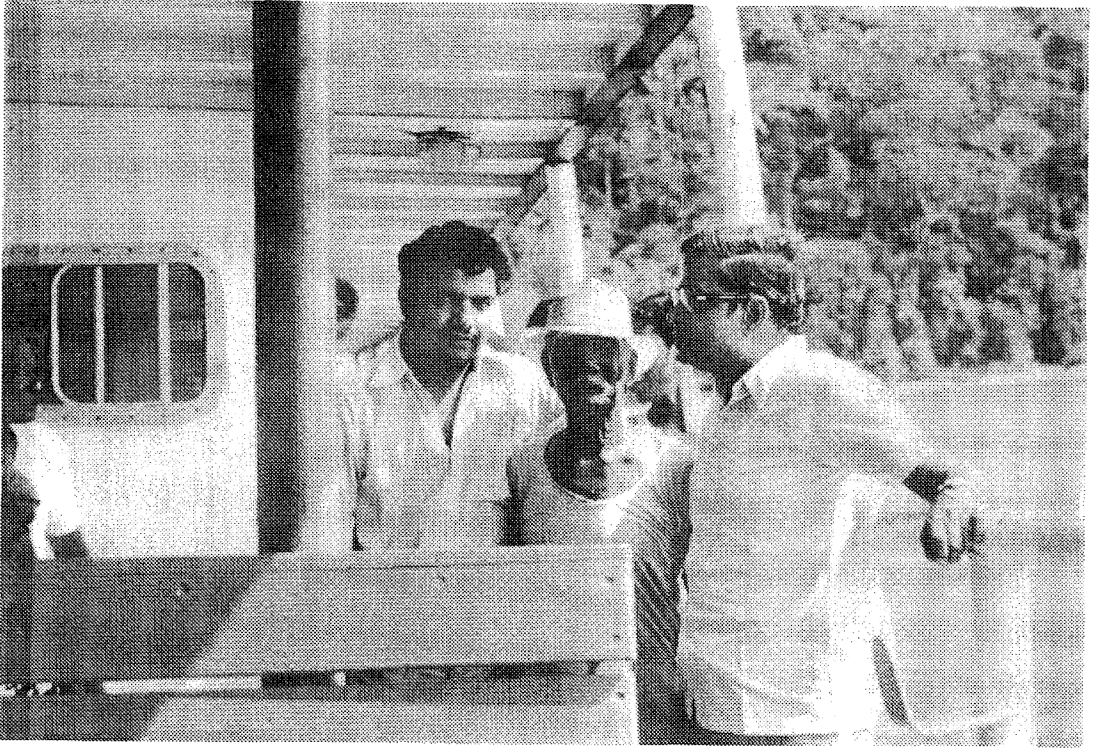
Piḡar at Ādibaserā in Port Blair



The Great Andamanese women in front of their house on Strait Island



The Great Andamanese on Strait Island with author



Loka (with hat) farewelling author and another Indian

