

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:

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| | |
|-------------------------------------|---|
| | inhabited by |
| North Andaman | Great Andamanese |
| Middle Andaman } South Andaman } | Jarawa on the east coast; 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 } Akakora } Akabo } Akajeru } | of North Andaman |
| Akakede } Akakol } Okujuwoi } Apucikwar } | of Middle Andaman |

Akarbale } of South Andaman
Akabea }

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 /ʒ/. 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 |
| Sentinalese | 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 | ḱ | k | Unvoiced |
| | b | d | ḍ | ḡ | - | Voiced |
| | ph | th | - | ḱh | kh | Aspirated unvoiced |
| Nasal | m | n | - | ṅ | ŋ | Voiced |
| Lateral | | | | ṽ | | 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> | tunkenab <i>finger</i> |
| bôr <i>wind</i> | ṭibirbat <i>evening</i> | ṭeb <i>smoke</i> |
| phuṭimu <i>fly</i> | iphèṭ <i>high tide</i> | - |
| phon <i>cave</i> | kerpho <i>sneeze</i> | |
| phôtmô <i>paddle</i> | rêphe <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 /ṽ/ it is heard as /p/, i.e. ṭontôṽṭô (*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 /ḱ/ and people of the younger generation tend to confuse all these sounds using either /ph/ or /p/ or /ḱ/ indiscriminately in the same word. Although the name of my informant, Piḱar, starts with /p/, in my opinion this name was originally either 'Biḱar' or 'Phikar'. When Piḱar was working in the Police Department, his Indian co-workers heard the initial sound as /p/ and his name thus became Piḱar.

DENTAL: t d th

Examples of occurrence:

| Initial | Medial | Final |
|----------------------|---------------------------|---------------------|
| tèye <i>blood</i> | ṭotarbèyik <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> | |
| digono <i>here</i> | tunkhudimu <i>thumb</i> | - |
| di <i>this</i> | akadikhe <i>to swell</i> | |
| du <i>that</i> | khider <i>palm tree</i> | |

| Initial | | Medial | | |
|---------------------------------|-------------|----------------------------------|----------------|---|
| th ^h wo | <i>cold</i> | k ^h th ^h o | <i>cough</i> | - |
| th ^h wu ^h | <i>dew</i> | ugetha ^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> | kaṭaṇe | <i>star</i> | ēraṭ | <i>feather</i> |
| ṭōwo | <i>sky</i> | ērṭēne | <i>to kiss</i> | iphēt | <i>high tide</i> |
| ḍiyu | <i>sun/day</i> | ṭekḥudu | <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

| | | | | | |
|-------|--------------|-------|------------------|--------|----------------|
| ṇōtō | <i>way</i> | bat | <i>night</i> | ḍuṭa | <i>moon</i> |
| ṇōtō | <i>swim</i> | aṭ | <i>fire</i> | du | <i>that</i> |
| ṭōkḥo | <i>wood</i> | tēwo | <i>crocodile</i> | kuruḍe | <i>thunder</i> |
| tēkḥo | <i>story</i> | ṭōwo | <i>sky</i> | tede | <i>to flow</i> |
| | | thōwo | <i>cold</i> | ḍiyu | <i>sun/day</i> |
| | | | | di | <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> | ōtbēyik̠ | <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> | tēk̠ | <i>arrow</i> |
| g̠eṇ | <i>mud</i> | tagew | <i>bird/fish</i> | | |
| g̠iker | <i>rain</i> | iqoke | <i>to eat</i> | | |
| g̠o | <i>song</i> | ugetha ^h | <i>shy</i> | | |
| k̠hubi | <i>snake</i> | ṭekḥudu | <i>stomach</i> | | |
| k̠hare | <i>sea</i> | ēbukḥē | <i>to hit</i> | | |
| k̠hub | <i>basket</i> | ṭekḥowo | <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 /ʒ/ or else makes a sound midway between /kʰ/ and /ʒ/ with considerable effort.

VELARS: k kh

Examples of occurrence:

| Initial | | Medial | | Final | |
|---------|-------------------|----------|-------------------|---------|------------------------|
| kèrèb | <i>bitter</i> | ṭakèr | <i>throat</i> | ṭèkòròk | <i>knee</i> |
| kòropho | <i>sharp</i> | ṭun̄kara | <i>nail</i> | ṭòṭṭòk | <i>to wash oneself</i> |
| kuṭeṭ | <i>there</i> | arakòṅ | <i>lap</i> | ṭèrkòk | <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 k k kh kh

| | | | |
|---------|----------------|----------|---------------------|
| òko | <i>fruit</i> | kò | <i>bow</i> |
| òkòbuṭu | <i>foolish</i> | okò | <i>net</i> |
| ṭòròye | <i>sloping</i> | eḅukhu | <i>lady</i> |
| kòròpho | <i>sharp</i> | èbokhe | <i>to hit, beat</i> |
| arakòṅ | <i>lap</i> | akagekhe | <i>lie</i> |
| kòṅ | <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 ṅ

Examples of occurrence:

| Initial | | Medial | | Final | |
|-----------|-------------------------|-----------|------------------|---------|--------------|
| miṭithe | <i>fog</i> | emuṭu | <i>egg</i> | ḍirim | <i>dark</i> |
| mòkò | <i>chicken</i> | amimi | <i>mother</i> | iyòm | <i>sweet</i> |
| meño | <i>stone</i> | èmphìṭu | <i>dead</i> | ṭorom | <i>salt</i> |
| narakhamo | <i>people</i> | ino | <i>water</i> | - | |
| nònkènkò | <i>two/many</i> | beno | <i>sleepy</i> | | |
| - | | èrnòkho | <i>cheek</i> | | |
| ñebuko | <i>thigh</i> | kaṭañe | <i>star</i> | - | |
| ñakhubi | <i>who is that/name</i> | tèñe | <i>mosquito</i> | | |
| ñòtò | <i>to swim</i> | meño | <i>stone</i> | | |
| - | | ṭènet | <i>navel</i> | geṅ | <i>mud</i> |
| | | tanraṭive | <i>to finish</i> | kòṅ | <i>nut</i> |
| | | ṭun̄korò | <i>palm</i> | ṭaphon̄ | <i>mouth</i> |

Contrast m n ñ ṅ

| | | | |
|------|---------------|---------|---------------|
| 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: ʈ

The only lateral in G.A. is palatal /ʈ/ 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 |
|-------------------|----------------------|------------------------|
| ʈawo <i>ghost</i> | ʈəruʈu <i>eve</i> | ərnòʈ <i>good/well</i> |
| ʈeb <i>smoke</i> | əʈe <i>lightning</i> | guruʈ <i>to shiver</i> |
| ʈək <i>arrow</i> | utʈite <i>dumb</i> | akakèʈ <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> | ərʈam <i>soft</i> | giker <i>rain</i> |
| rèphe <i>food</i> | ʈarakarab <i>waist</i> | ʈokar <i>chest</i> |
| rowò <i>boat</i> | qero <i>to hurry up</i> | ʈèʈer <i>lame</i> |

Contrast ʈ r

| | | |
|-----------------------|---------------------|---------------------|
| kera <i>pond</i> | ñòʈò <i>to cry</i> | mirit <i>pigeon</i> |
| kèʈa <i>dog-flies</i> | iyòrò <i>flower</i> | miʈithe <i>fog</i> |
| | iyòʈè <i>to see</i> | |

SEMIVOWELS: w y

Examples of occurrence:

| Initial | Medial | Final |
|-------------------------|--------------------------|---------------------------|
| (we) | əwune <i>juice</i> | tagew <i>fish/bird</i> |
| (wòm) | kòwo <i>skin</i> | |
| | ʈewaʈa <i>collarbone</i> | |
| yani <i>to save</i> | téye <i>blood</i> | giròy <i>dance/circle</i> |
| yibeʈəno <i>to bite</i> | iyòm <i>sweet</i> | ekhòwòy <i>to smell</i> |
| yewuʈu <i>seed</i> | etaphava <i>dry</i> | ittarʈòy <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, wòm, 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:

| | |
|-------------------------|----------------------|
| ɖiyu <i>sun</i> | iyè <i>pain</i> |
| uʈuyi <i>to whistle</i> | eboye <i>married</i> |
| amaye <i>father</i> | èʈʈòye <i>bone</i> |
| téye <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> | iraṅaṅ <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

| | | |
|-------------------------|----------------------|-----------------------|
| keṛa <i>pond</i> | ke <i>thorn/bush</i> | ɔnrɛb <i>backbone</i> |
| kɛṭa <i>dog-flies</i> | igokɛ <i>to eat</i> | Tɛb <i>smoke</i> |
| keṛwo <i>lizard</i> | geṅ <i>mud</i> | |
| keṛwo <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 /ī/ occurs occasionally as a variant pronunciation in the word-final position.

Examples of occurrence:

| Initial | Medial | Final |
|------------------|---------------------|---------------------|
| ino <i>water</i> | diyu <i>sun/day</i> | khubi <i>snake</i> |
| iye <i>pain</i> | biṭe <i>ash</i> | éyi <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 |
|-------------------------|---------------------|-----------------------|
| okō <i>net</i> | bowa <i>ground</i> | téwo <i>crocodile</i> |
| onṭhé we <i>to jump</i> | ṭaphoṅ <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> | èrnòṭ <i>good</i> | ñòtò <i>way</i> |
| onṭòbuḵ <i>alive</i> | ṭèrṭòṅ <i>arm</i> | ṭarkòthò <i>nose</i> |

Contrast -o -ò

| | |
|------------------|-------------------|
| okō <i>net</i> | ṭòwo <i>sky</i> |
| òko <i>fruit</i> | ṭòwò <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 *mural*. /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> | ebuṭu <i>thin</i> |
| umoké <i>to give/answer</i> | khubi <i>snake</i> | yewuṭu <i>seed</i> |

2.4 Phonetic notes on consonants and vowels

| Phoneme | Allophone | |
|---------|-----------|--|
| b | [p] | Before the cluster /bɾ/, /b/ becomes unvoiced /p/. ɛntɔbɾɔ (ɛntɔpɾɔ) = <i>one</i> . |
| ph | [ɸ] | /ph/ is pronounced as a bilabial fricative when it precedes the vowel /o/. ɛphowa (ɛɸowa) = <i>old man</i> . |
| ṭ | [tʰ] | When it is used as a possessive prefix /ṭ/ is always aspirated whether or not it is combined with any of the other prefixes which are used to distinguish noun classes, i.e. /ṭ, ṭɛr, ṭar, ṭara/ ṭmɔṭɔ (ṭhɔmɔṭɔ) = <i>foot</i> , ṭaḳɛr (ṭhaḳɛr) = <i>throat</i> . |
| ḳh | [ʃ] | /ḳh/ is pronounced as sibilant /ʃ/ when it is followed by the vowels /a/ and /u/, i.e. ḳhare (ʃare) = <i>sea</i> , ṭeḳḥuɖu (ṭɛʃuɖu) = <i>liver</i> . |
| kh | [x] | /kh/ is pronounced as a velar fricative /x/ when it is followed by the vowel /o/, i.e. ṭoḳho (ṭoxo) = <i>tree, wood</i> . |
| r | [r̥] | Strongly trilled /r̥/ occurs in the cluster r + consonant only when that cluster is followed by a vowel, i.e. ittarṭɔy (ittar̥ṭɔy) = <i>to throw</i> , ittarḍuke (ittar̥ḍuke) = <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. ṭarḳōth̄o = <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:

| | | | |
|--------|---------------|----------|---------------------|
| ṭɛṭɛ | <i>hungry</i> | ṭɛ'ṭɛ' | <i>hey! listen!</i> |
| ɾawo | <i>ghost</i> | ɾa'wo | <i>naughty!</i> |
| ɛḳayɛ | <i>bad</i> | ɛḳa'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 d th ɖ ɣ ḳh kh n ñ/ do not appear in word-final position. In the text there is one sentence where /ph/ occurs as a word final: di ṭiɰo 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 | ṛ | w |
| b | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | bṛ | |
| ph | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | phṛ | |
| t | tb | tph | tt | | | | | | | tkh | tm | | tñ | tr | tṛ | tw |
| ṭ | | ṭph | ṭṭ | | | | | | ṭk | | ṭm | | | ṭr | ṭṛ | |
| m | mb | mph | | | | | | | | | | mn | | | mṛ | mw |
| n | | | nt | nth | ṇṭ | ṇḍ | ṇḳ | | nk | | nm | | | nr | nṛ | |
| ñ | | ñph | ñt | | | | ñḳ | | | | | | | ñr | ñṛ | |
| 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 | | rṛ | rw |
| ṛ | | ṛph | ṛt | | ṛṭ | | | | | | ṛm | | ṛn | | | ṛw |
| y | | | yt | | | | | | | | | | | | yṛ | |

(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 | ẽ | d |
| d | o | th d ḍ ḡ ñ |
| d ḡ ṇ | õ | 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 | |
|-----------|-----------------|-------|----------------|
| éntóbTó | <i>one</i> | ra | <i>pig</i> |
| tunkénkó | <i>we</i> | kó | <i>bow</i> |
| ittârduke | <i>to break</i> | at | <i>fire</i> |
| | | iŋ | <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> | étharo |
| <i>old man</i> | ékakhamo |
| <i>old woman</i> | éphowa |
| <i>lady</i> | ebukhu |
| <i>married man</i> | eboye |
| <i>younger sister</i> | arabéTókha |
| <i>younger brother</i> | óttarakhuwithuwe |
| <i>('one born later')</i> | |
| <i>eldest/elder brother</i> | ékókhó |
| <i>baby</i> | arabéTó |
| <i>boy, child, son</i> | atóta |
| <i>baby girl</i> | akata |
| <i>daughter</i> | éyikókha |
| <i>people</i> | narakhamo |

PARTS OF BODY

| | |
|-----------------|----------|
| <i>body</i> | tunkhomo |
| <i>head</i> | érkó |
| <i>hair</i> | tótbéyik |
| <i>forehead</i> | térkók |
| <i>eye</i> | térútu |
| <i>nose</i> | tarkóthó |
| <i>tooth</i> | térbite |

PARTS OF BODY

| | |
|----------------------|----------------|
| <i>tongue</i> | tatab |
| <i>jaw, chin</i> | tértab |
| <i>throat</i> | takér |
| <i>mouth</i> | taphon/ñphon |
| <i>shoulder</i> | térkhum |
| <i>arm</i> | térton |
| <i>ear</i> | térbuwo |
| <i>elbow</i> | téwoTataraduTe |
| <i>palm</i> | tunkoró |
| <i>finger</i> | tunkenab |
| <i>nail</i> | tunkara |
| <i>chest, breast</i> | tokar |
| <i>nipple</i> | météyi |
| <i>stomach</i> | tékotra |
| <i>belly</i> | ephitutarkhuro |
| <i>navel</i> | ténet |
| <i>back, waist</i> | tarakarab |
| <i>buttocks</i> | tarathomo |
| <i>thigh</i> | ékóthomo/ñebuK |
| <i>cheek</i> | érnókhó |
| <i>foot</i> | tómótó |
| <i>knee</i> | térkórók |
| <i>lip</i> | térbowa |
| <i>moustache</i> | térbowabéyik |
| <i>skin</i> | kówo |

PARTS OF BODY

| | |
|---------------------|----------------|
| <i>blood/fever</i> | téye |
| <i>fat</i> | téTóne |
| <i>liver</i> | tekhuđu |
| <i>intestine</i> | imeka |
| <i>kidney</i> | emeiya |
| <i>heart</i> | tótwođuđeTó |
| <i>swelling</i> | onénóye |
| <i>sore</i> | téphar |
| <i>pus</i> | érmine |
| <i>wound</i> | tékhowo |
| <i>pain</i> | iye |
| <i>sweat</i> | khirme |
| <i>bone/awake</i> | éttoye |
| <i>backbone</i> | ónrëb |
| <i>collarbone</i> | tewaTa |
| <i>ankle</i> | ñronó |
| <i>nape of neck</i> | óttoye |
| <i>thumb</i> | tunkhudimu |
| <i>muscle</i> | érbuñ |
| <i>wrinkle</i> | térkerék we |
| <i>lap</i> | arakón |
| <i>eyebrow</i> | téruTútótbéyik |
| <i>armpit</i> | okókuwó |
| <i>testicles</i> | dómo |
| <i>penis</i> | TuT |
| <i>anus</i> | tét |
| <i>vagina</i> | tebu |
| <i>tear</i> | térino |
| <i>mind</i> | términe |

LANDSCAPE/ENVIRONMENT/MISCELLANEOUS

| | |
|----------------------|----------------|
| <i>sun/day</i> | diyu |
| <i>moon</i> | đuTa |
| <i>star</i> | katañe |
| <i>sky</i> | tówo |
| <i>cloud</i> | tótarbéyik |
| <i>fog,mist</i> | miTithe |
| <i>rain</i> | giker |
| <i>night</i> | bat |
| <i>morning</i> | uttó |
| <i>evening</i> | tibirbat |
| <i>afternoon</i> | tóburan |
| <i>dew</i> | tubiT/thówuT |
| <i>water</i> | ino |
| <i>creek</i> | buTu |
| <i>pond</i> | kera |
| <i>ground, earth</i> | bowa |
| <i>stone</i> | meño |
| <i>sand</i> | kót/khóro |
| <i>mountain</i> | buruiñ |
| <i>bush</i> | kañ/kóbón |
| <i>garden</i> | tókho tayiTawo |
| <i>wind, air</i> | bór |

LANDSCAPE/ENVIRONMENT/MISCELLANEOUS

| | |
|-----------------------------|-----------------|
| <i>fire</i> | at |
| <i>smoke</i> | Tëb |
| <i>way/path</i> | ñótó |
| <i>tree, wood</i> | tókho |
| <i>trunk</i> | ekaTON |
| <i>branch</i> | ótTON |
| <i>stump of a tree</i> | ikórowo |
| <i>root</i> | irakan |
| <i>bark of a tree</i> | ithiyu |
| <i>fruit</i> | óko |
| <i>stick</i> | tókhotá |
| <i>small stick</i> | éTewotá |
| <i>big stick</i> | érkhorotá |
| <i>ghost/naughty</i> | Tawo |
| <i>lightning</i> | aTe |
| <i>thunder</i> | kurude |
| <i>rainbow</i> | biTu |
| <i>God</i> | biTikhu |
| <i>mud</i> | geñ |
| <i>light</i> | arakoT |
| <i>darkness/black</i> | dirim |
| <i>island</i> | uTure |
| <i>valley</i> | kóTON |
| <i>forest</i> | tímikhu |
| <i>plain</i> | títótbéTé |
| <i>wet place</i> | titarino |
| <i>thorn/fish bones</i> | ke |
| <i>bay</i> | bukóTON |
| <i>shore</i> | tótphoTó |
| <i>bank</i> | tarphiđu |
| <i>swamp</i> | bën |
| <i>high tide</i> | iphët |
| <i>low tide</i> | igewóm |
| <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> | bite |
| <i>leaf</i> | téyik |
| <i>banana</i> | kópho |
| <i>betelnut</i> | kón |
| <i>basket</i> | khub |
| <i>flower, bud</i> | iyóro |
| <i>seed</i> | yewuTu |
| <i>potato</i> | tóTe |
| <i>sweet potato</i> | mino/éyóm |
| <i>salt/salty water</i> | torom |
| <i>sea</i> | khare |
| <i>well</i> | keT |
| <i>greenery</i> | tótarwe |
| <i>food</i> | rephe |
| <i>palm tree</i> | khider |
| <i>bamboo</i> | to |

LANDSCAPE/ENVIRONMENT/MISCELLANEOUS

| | |
|-----------------|-------------|
| coconut | ekawuTu |
| grass | imikoTu |
| nest | araka/thomu |
| house | no/ṭiko |
| roof | taratān |
| bow | kô |
| arrow | Têk |
| rope | boṭ |
| woman's | ṛiirô |
| covering | tôṭô |
| inside of the | ṭikomikhu |
| house | |
| on top of stone | nôtôtara |
| paddle | phômô |
| net | okô |
| boat | rowô |
| wave | phorôṭ |
| baby carrier | keba |
| juice | ewune |
| conversation | eremar |
| argument | enôteTêto |
| story, talk | têkho |
| tongs | kôye |
| spear | uro |
| {point shaft} | araṭôkho |

ANIMALS

| | |
|------------------|----------------|
| dog | kawo |
| pig | ra |
| dog's tail | arawuṭibi |
| dogs | ôtbeyik |
| dog-flies | kêṭa |
| bird, fish, food | tagew |
| feather | eraṭ |
| egg | emuTu |
| ant | kôyimu |
| moth | ḍum |
| fly | phuṭimu |
| snake | khubi |
| bee | ṭimeṭ |
| mosquito | nîpho |
| rat | tôwude |
| bat | birêye |
| lizard | kewo |
| crocodile | têwo |
| frog | phuruwe, kôruw |
| pigeon | mirit |
| kite | khôṭô |
| chicken | môkô |
| parrot/woman's | kôrôṭô |
| hand ornament | |
| crow | phatka |
| turtle | kôkbi |

ANIMALS

| | |
|--------------|----------|
| seabird | Taka |
| tail of fish | arabeyik |
| crab | kêwo |

PRONOUNS/INTERROGATIVES

| | |
|--------------------|--------------------|
| I | ṭiyo |
| you | nîyo |
| you two | nîṭiyo/nêrphoṭ |
| he | khudi/di |
| you all | nônkênkô |
| they all | dunrôma |
| we | ṭunkênkô |
| we all | ṭarakhamo/ṭeyikôwe |
| all, much | arakhamo we |
| you all | narakhamo we |
| there | kuTeṭ/khudiḡono |
| here | diḡono |
| this | di/khitiyo |
| that | du/khudiayinô |
| that thing (far) | khutagono |
| we (incl.) | nîyo ṭiyo |
| we (du.excl.) | duyio ṭiyo |
| we (pl.excl.) | du ṭiyo |
| one | eṇṭôṭô |
| more than one | nônkênkô |
| (see you all) | |
| what | kayêwe |
| where | khuder |
| when | dekhô |
| how much | nekôphe |
| there/where | khudi |
| who | |
| who are you? | } nâkhubi? |
| what is your name? | |

ADJECTIVES/ADVERBS

| | |
|------------------|------------|
| small | êṭêwo |
| big/full, heavy | êrkhuo |
| good | ernôṭ |
| bad, wrong | ekayê |
| long | êrtôyeṭwum |
| hungry, vocative | têṭê |
| red | ibiraṇ |
| white | êṭôṭôṭmo |
| green, blue | ekaṭawo |
| hot | khimiṭ |
| cold | thôwo |
| blind/one-eyed | ṭôwô |
| dumb | utṭite |
| new, strange | êkôṭôṭ |
| rotten | iburôṭô |
| broken | enduko |
| right (hand) | ekôkhô |

ADJECTIVES/ADVERBS

| | |
|------------------------------|------------------|
| <i>left (hand)</i> | ékôrô |
| <i>thick</i> | énab |
| <i>thin</i> | ébutu/idiñāTô |
| <i>narrow (path)</i> | ñôtôTêwô |
| <i>straight</i> | étôTô |
| <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> | ôtTôk |
| <i>far</i> | karakpho |
| <i>sharp</i> | kôropho |
| <i>blunt</i> | ekokheTa |
| <i>alive</i> | ôntôbuk |
| <i>dead</i> | émphiTu |
| <i>short</i> | ókatta |
| <i>fat</i> | biñoye |
| <i>thirsty</i> | phaye |
| <i>tired</i> | tukîñe |
| <i>lame</i> | têtêr |
| <i>sad</i> | tôtbokayê |
| <i>happy</i> | tôtbonôT |
| <i>empty, house is empty</i> | tiTôwo |
| <i>hurry</i> | gero |
| <i>slow</i> | eréntekhe |
| <i>strong, tight</i> | étTam |
| <i>weak</i> | ilêyatêt/diñāTô |
| <i>angry</i> | ôtwotarake |
| <i>quiet</i> | ênôT tôkô |
| <i>sleepy</i> | ubeno |
| <i>young</i> | erôkhuyi |
| <i>pregnant</i> | arađeTo |
| <i>having a full stomach</i> | araphêt |
| <i>hard</i> | ôtTariwe |
| <i>soft</i> | erTam |
| <i>sweet</i> | iyôm |
| <i>bitter/sour</i> | kêrêb |
| <i>wise, busy</i> | ôtbôtwebinu |
| <i>foolish, dumb</i> | ókôbuTu |
| <i>alone</i> | tôntôbTô/têrTa |
| <i>selfish</i> | tôtwoKayêwe |
| <i>dear</i> | êkrôkhe |
| <i>active</i> | ewuretôtTam |
| <i>poor, worthless</i> | erTeya |
| <i>foreign (person)</i> | ñôttôkwe |
| <i>not one's own</i> | |
| <i>shy</i> | ugethaT |
| <i>handicapped</i> | etêtêr |
| <i>cunning</i> | akakêT |
| <i>wide (path)</i> | êrkhuro ... ñôtô |

ADJECTIVES/ADVERBS

| | |
|---------------------------------|--------------|
| <i>high</i> | itTôdômû |
| <i>low</i> | irakatta |
| <i>sloping</i> | kôrôye |
| <i>loose</i> | êgîrôpho |
| <i>bright</i> | atra |
| <i>raw</i> | dob |
| <i>tame</i> | étataTin |
| <i>barren (woman)</i> | uthirepho |
| <i>infertile</i> | étônTôwo |
| <i>famous</i> | akagekhepho |
| <i>different</i> | étTôk |
| <i>same, alike</i> | étTônKô |
| <i>easy</i> | tîyonôT |
| <i>lie/secret</i> | akagekhe |
| <i>true</i> | akagekhephon |
| <i>slippery</i> | ukhôtôyiñô |
| <i>rough, uneven, dangerous</i> | ékôrôpho |
| <i>closed, shut</i> | êrêmarbeno |
| <i>scattered</i> | êpheTêtra |
| <i>enough/no more</i> | dekho |

VERBS

| | |
|---------------------------------------|------------|
| <i>eat</i> | igokê |
| <i>drink</i> | ikhuwe |
| <i>stand/get up</i> | rôytô/ôytô |
| <i>sit</i> | ônô |
| <i>speak</i> | kôTe |
| <i>walk</i> | êkôTê |
| <i>call out</i> | khuro |
| <i>I eat</i> | tuyigokôm |
| <i>run</i> | tôbôtê |
| <i>take</i> | iña |
| <i>take!</i> | kuwe |
| <i>I'll take</i> | tuwokôm |
| <i>give</i> | kê |
| <i>give him</i> | umokê |
| <i>break</i> | ittarđuke |
| <i>drop</i> | ôytabotô |
| <i>fall</i> | itabotê |
| <i>hit, beat</i> | êbokhe |
| <i>save</i> | yani |
| <i>sleep</i> | beno |
| <i>lie (I am lying on the ground)</i> | tarambeno |
| <i>cry</i> | ñôtô |
| <i>cook (that food)</i> | irakhekê |
| <i>blow fire</i> | eraborakê |
| <i>jump</i> | ônthêwe |
| <i>be afraid</i> | inTatemam |
| <i>laugh</i> | khôTêwe |
| <i>scratch</i> | tuyiñawôm |
| <i>throw</i> | ittartôy |

VERBS

| | |
|-------------------------------------|------------------|
| swim | ñòtò |
| wash (oneself)/ enter into water | ṭòttòk |
| look for | ṭuwentikwòtòm |
| smell | ekhòwòy |
| bow | ṭunburan |
| make a bow | ṭokòwe kòtòyikòm |
| go | ṭòkanewòm |
| come | ṭuṭiwòm |
| come quickly | khuro |
| climb | ekarakòm |
| climb down | ṭòṭewòm |
| hide | ekamò |
| catch | wokò/uwokò |
| turn (intr.) | tamphoròwòm |
| put (in hand) | itèkhe |
| put (on shoulder) | utun |
| push | ṭuwe ṭèrèkòm |
| pull | ṭuwetèno |
| bite | yibeṭèno |
| vomit | èyi |
| cough | kòthò |
| sneeze | kerpho |
| spit | in |
| break wood | ṭoyèttardukòm |
| cut wood | ṭòkherèwòm |
| stop! wait! | itakhe |
| remember | ṭòtwobitèpho |
| forget | ṭòtwobitèkò |
| enter | ṭòtaraṭòṭa |
| go outside | ṭutèrthu |
| bury | emèto |
| make a hole in the ground | ṭòṭibirpho |
| insult | etmòkò |
| swallow | ikhuwe |
| pour out | tuyiko |
| charge/attack | òtmòkè |
| replace | etatèrkòtòyiñe |
| be unable | urephopho èṭèya |
| tie | ṭoyikowòm |
| draw water | ṭoyetènòm |
| lift | okè |
| dig ground | phon |
| burn | ikhubikè |
| die | èphit |
| bring | uwe |
| carry | itmòkòñe |

VERBS

| | |
|-------------------------|------------------|
| grab | ittaratèwoṭè |
| hear | muḍewe |
| see | iyotè |
| want, need | taṭuTokè |
| like | giye |
| sing | go |
| steal | èṭòwe |
| ask | òkòwòye |
| tickle | ṭugethe wòm |
| send | itarotè |
| scold | ituduṭè |
| search | inòne |
| cover | utñiroke |
| uncover | utekhe |
| dance, circle | giròy |
| finish | itanraṭiye |
| wave | phaṭ |
| dive | ñe |
| miss, lose | eraṭiyo |
| shoot (an arrow) | ṭòwetòtòm |
| kill (with an arrow) | ṭuwebuwarṭòṭ |
| kick | ṭòwe ṭrèkhòm |
| pinch | irènam |
| dodge, cheat | atayikhe |
| spear | phonmo |
| hiccup | ñet |
| whistle | uṭuyi |
| grow | athathu |
| bend | ukhoṭito |
| shiver | guruṭ |
| feed | okòkhuwo |
| make a new thing | ènòṭeyime èbanè |
| embrace | èṭṭèrkorme |
| kiss | èrṭèñe |
| rake | ṭuwegirakham |
| float | utebeno |
| meet | kerphon |
| tremble | ugireTam |
| swell | akadikhe |
| flow | tede |
| spill, overflow | ekantekòkho |
| hate | akagekhe |
| (wind) blows | bòrtarke |
| (sun) rises | (diyu) wikipakòm |
| (sun) sets | (diyu) aratèkho |
| (moon) rises | (duṭa) wikipakòm |
| (moon) sets | (duṭa) wiraṭèkòm |

3.2 Phrases and sentences

| | |
|---|------------------------------------|
| <i>my/our father</i> | tamaye |
| <i>your mother</i> | ñamimi |
| <i>his younger brother</i> | arabêTò khikuwe |
| <i>our younger brother</i> | tarabêTò kuwe |
| <i>their younger sister</i> | arabêTò khikuwe |
| <i>our younger sister</i> | tarabêTò khikuwe |
| <i>your baby</i> | ñuthire |
| <i>our baby</i> | tuthire |
| <i>their baby</i> | uthire |
| <i>my head</i> | térko |
| <i>your ear/ears</i> | ñərbuwo |
| <i>dog's two ears</i> | aķawor(do)buwo |
| <i>pig's two ears</i> | ratar(do)buwo |
| <i>dog's two eyes</i> | akawo(do)ėruTu |
| <i>man's two eyes</i> | (do)ñėruTu or (do)mėnėruTu |
| <i>woman's two legs</i> | (do)mėnmòtò |
| <i>bird's nest/nests</i> | tagew tutbotaraka |
| <i>dog's home/homes</i> | ķawo tutño |
| <i>one white dog</i> | ėntòbTò ėķawo (<i>one dog</i>) |
| <i>white dogs</i> | ėtòTòtmo ėķawo |
| <i>small girl</i> | iTėwo khayėbikhu |
| <i>two small girls</i> | (do) nėbikhu |
| <i>I am hot</i> | tutķirme wo |
| <i>I am cold</i> | tòthowowòm |
| <i>he/she is tired</i> | du we maTaye |
| <i>he/she is sick</i> | du we itėbeno |
| <i>my hand is alright</i> | tũnkòronòTwe |
| <i>I am alright</i> | tėrmiñe nòTwe |
| <i>my everything is alright</i> | tėnòTwe |
| <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 ittòTòtmo |
| <i>those clothes are not white</i> | du guke ittòTòtmopho |
| <i>both those flowers are red</i> | du guke ittòTòtmo |
| <i>both these flowers are white</i> | di etèTòtmo |
| <i>both those flowers are not white</i> | du ikakhoba eTtatmopho |
| <i>give me a red flower</i> | tibiran kaytėķhe |
| <i>don't give me a red flower</i> | tibiran kay tėķhim |
| <i>give him/her a white dog</i> | du iyakawo tòTòbutėķhe |
| <i>give that girl a white dog</i> | du we ĩbukhuke igitòTòbutėķhe |
| <i>give that boy a white dog</i> | du we itharo kay igitòTòbutėķhe |
| <i>see her</i> | du weTė or du weyòTė |
| <i>see him</i> | du weyòTė aTòta |
| <i>give us a red flower</i> | di itbiran kay retėķhe |
| <i>don't give us a white flower</i> | multit taTòtmo kaytėķhe wo |
| <i>give them a fish</i> | ni tagew tėķhe or ni ėntòbTò tėķhe |
| <i>don't give them two fish</i> | ni iraTikòm |
| <i>my house is nice</i> | tòtño yinòTwe |
| <i>your eye is not bad</i> | tėruTu kayė phowe |
| <i>her bow is not big</i> | iķhokò tutķhu đunpho we |
| <i>small eye</i> | ėruTuTėwo |
| <i>my eye is not small</i> | tėruTuTėwo 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 tərkhudu
 tötño tēwowe
 di tötñonōtwe
 di ôtñoḱayē phowe
 di tēruṭu nōtweṭō
 du ēruṭu nōṭpho
 ñiḱho aḱawo ēnōṭphoṭō
 du rēphe ēḱayē phoṭō
 du rēphe ēḱayēpho
 di tōḱho ēḱayē phuṭō
 du tōḱho ēnōṭ phuṭō
 di tōḱho ēnōṭ phuṭō
 du tōḱho ēnōṭ phuṭō
 di tīḱo imutarōph
 di ôtño phowe
 du ñiḱhe mutarōpho we
 di iḱhe mutaṭōṭa
 di iḱhe ḱēwo
 du tūtñōpho we
 du utiḱo ñoyēḱhu tōḱhowutēḱhim
 ña ḱhiwutē uḱōnewōm?
 oṭukōnewōm
 taḱew aṭṭa tēḱhe
 ñaḱo ḱayēnōtwe?
 tuḱay we phuṇ phuṭō
 ḱhūṭi wirēphe wiraḱḱhuwe
 dekho iboya?
 tuṅkhider we ḱawoy
 aṭōṭa khider wembēphōm

 tuṅtōḱho wetphuye
 aṭ dīkubike
 aṭṭuru nōtwe?
 bātutḱhu ḱuṇḱi?
 di yobṭe
 aḱhimu bira buḱo ḱhērēwōm?
 egirakēwo bōy kawo
 tuway bikhu binḱekōm
 bōṭmu tīrēphe witeḱhōm?
 ñōtño kay wirēphe?
 ḱawo dimuḱimum?
 khawo tōy nēni
 ebukhe ēnōṭ kharēphe wiḱawo

 diyo dīrim tēḱhe giyopho
 baṭu iḱipho
 du ḱawō tōṇḱi?
 du khider tōṇwe
 di tōṇ nōḱōphu
 ēnōṭwe?
 ētēbenowe
 ḱeyiye
 di utebeno
 tēḱōṇ we
 iḱōṭōṭ ēmbōṭō

*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*

ʈótbu ʈokay we
 unénóya
 ʈubo ʈowo
 ukay ʈato?
 ékotra yiye
 éntoyokó dukó
 di ʈéphar ʈéwopho
 phuʈimu we okoʈé
 phuʈimu etepho
 éʈne étbate
 aramʈatóm eyiye khude
 étébenó khude ʈimikhe iyoʈó

ñéruʈu tutbiran
 ʈéʈoye we kemo
 di ñótó énoʈ
 ʈatñótó khidi gono?
 ʈiker we ebéwo
 ʈaʈino we?
 ʈi ñótó we éroʈaye
 ʈake baye
 takha ñókone we
 ʈuñite ʈay wi réphe
 ñéren taraʈo we
 ʈéruʈu éntóbʈó
 ʈótbéyik tar yikhu phuwe
 temuʈiye oyek ʈirako
 éntóʈó khoʈéphoʈó
 ʈó ótkhó ʈoko
 ʈe ikhañótó taraʈiyo
 ʈwa tatéʈe miʈóʈ
 dekho ñon taraʈiyo?
 eteko?
 ʈémokoye phiragu ʈoko
 ñukay we ʈatóm?
 ñukay wiʈitémóm?
 du we ʈiraké
 amimi kuphuʈ we?
 ñuthire kónérók ʈepho?
 ʈiwe emboye ʈekóm
 di tagew we
 ʈiti bitñóʈé
 ñótréta we
 khiʈeʈ ʈóʈubeno wóm?
 buʈiwu ukowaʈ mómuʈi we

 ittarthude
 buʈiwu ʈéyiño we
 ñókay winʈekóm?
 buʈiwutéwo we
 tatara kór we
 buʈiwu térkhuro we
 ʈó ñótó wóm
 kóʈ ʈéyiño 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

taran̄ khigire tayoñ̄Ta
 ʈi kaȳe we
 tu tun̄ku iʈuwom̄
 duwakawon̄om
 bowakañ̄iʈepho
 tuʈe dir̄tedom̄
 kaʈ ʈino wiʈun̄kōwom̄?
 ephowa kha awophuʈō
 kay khude awophuʈō?
 tēyiyekophaʈo
 Teʈ ʈiwir diʈi
 ak̄hiryur diʈō?
 t̄we kawopho
 du meñ̄o we kōy
 tōn birak̄hērēwe
 ñ̄onōʈ we iboʈom̄
 iko kattake
 akhe diwuʈe phaye
 ne girakē nōrōme
 ñ̄uni kay roʈō?
 ne kōwak tēkho tērōʈē
 ñ̄u kay we kaʈom̄?
 bōye girakē
 boʈō tēr̄kōʈōʈ k̄hiḍ wōm kawone
 it tetekhamo boʈō k̄hiḍ wōm kawone
 ñ̄u kay wirayʈa?
 tōyoʈē phuʈō
 ʈumiñ̄ō tōko k̄hubir wir̄tedum̄
 tō etphowo
 it botatphowe
 dekho ʈo iʈphuʈō
 ʈo iphokom̄
 k̄okbi birtēde
 di kay rowō
 kaʈ phōtmō we?
 phōtmō wōkō giwo
 rowō bin̄kaya
 du rowō ʈak̄hu awo?
 ʈamimi du rowō ʈawo
 di rowō dunō rowa(k̄he)ēnōʈ
 se (Hindi) = from, than
 di ye ēnōʈpho
 kay kaʈo?
 tu girōy wir̄tedum̄
 di k̄hitam girōy we?
 tharōnu girōy wōm
 go bira ʈiʈe kōm
 ibukho nōr tedepho
 akhe khudi ʈoko bōye
 ediye ēnōʈ
 khire ñ̄otō wōm
 di ʈi itēk̄he
 amaye di ʈi itēk̄ha
 diyo ñ̄i itēk̄he phuʈō
 amaye buʈi itēk̄hōm

| | |
|--|-----------------------------------|
| <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 phoɬone |
| <i>tell me</i> | teɬira we |
| <i>go outside</i> | oɬone wòm |
| <i>what are you looking for?</i> | ñi kay birtedum? |
| <i>give me</i> | ɬitəkhe |
| <i>who is that?</i> | du wa kɬhubi? |
| <i>where are you going?</i> | ɬa ñu ɬonòm? or ɬa phuɬone wòm? |
| <i>come to me</i> | teɬo akawo we |
| <i>come inside</i> | khutra ko kawo |
| <i>I need that</i> | du ɬu mokè |
| <i>call him</i> | khudi untete |
| <i>tell him</i> | egirakè |
| <i>I am going, you stay here</i> | ɬoɬone wòm ɬokere wòm |
| <i>he and I are going</i> | khudi otewoɬonam |
| <i>they and I are going</i> | khudi uteka otenoɬone wòm |
| <i>he or they and I are going, you stay here</i> | khudi otenoɬone wòm ñiyoweka kere |
| <i>you and I'll go</i> | khudi otenoɬone wòm |
| <i>I don't know</i> | ebopho, temphe |
| <i>wind blows</i> | boT we erenke kom |

3.3 Text

A boy went to the forest for hunting.
aɬota ukhidək ɬimikhekeT or ɬimikheɬokò

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

There were birds in some trees.
ɬokho toɬton toɬkataT tagew totbekayè birañe

He did not find a pig anywhere.
kaTo raɬon phoTo

Then he went to catch fish in the river.
ukuntò boTòT ubuTiwek tagew toɬore erbuTiñ binkeT/ɬotbeyik nonkekum

Even after a long time he could not find fish.
ɬibura TiTe meTon unɬayè phoT

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

He caught a turtle.
boT ɬokbi noneto we 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 Teteyamiñ ɬokbi totaraTo phurumu miyöta etekheT

Now it was night.
irɬi bateT

Then he climbed up a tree and slept
 iṭṭi kumbuṭumeṭo ṭōkha karēphoṭ ṭōkho ṭōṇwakweka ṭōṇiṭ binuṭ

Next day when he woke up he found that the turtle was not there.
 boṭ akaṇi khirekōyiṭ ḵokbi bikhe itēboṭoyōṭ

The boy was very sad.
 aṭōṭa karkhaye aṭōṭatumwō bikayē raṭiṭ

He said that now he would not go hunting by himself.
 utuṇo taṭiḍu ṇrame ṭērēmna ṭērēmṭe amēbo ṭērēm Takḵhitphuwi koyeṭ twayē ḵhikawoṇ

Then he went towards his home.
 karkha wo ṭōyiṇō akuṇi

On his way he met his father.
 uṇṭaṭa kamayo ḵōṇiṭ

Then both together went hunting.
 butamayeṭ narkhanu ḵhiṭ

Then both of them together hunted down a pig.
 baṭamayeṭu ḵhidiṭoṇora ranōṇa wuyiḵhiṭ

And they returned home happy.
 tenu tumbōnōṭeṭu (untubōnōṭeku) ṇiyowak

All the people together ate the catch.
 ṇtuṇ tarṇi ra eqiye

One man had a stomach-ache.
 untōbṭōkōtra iyeṭ

A girl got a stomach-ache.
 akaṭa ṇtōbṭō we kōtra iyeṭ

Then the girl went to a doctor.
 ukāṭa yeṭab tarenḵeṇ

The doctor gave her medicine.
 ḍakṭare davaye tēḵha
 ḍakṭara (English) = doctor, davā (Hindi) = medicine

And the doctor said: "Come again tomorrow".
 ebuṭ bowa ḍaktareṭ ṇakḵirbuwa wowiṭ

Next day the girl didn't go.
 akaṭa bowa kambī khiro ḵōnephowe tēḵhiṭ

Then the doctor went to the girl's house.
 ḍakṭare akaṭatṇok akuḵōniṭ wawokōtēḵhiṭ

But the girl was not even at home.
 koḵakaṭa ṇōṭiphoweṭo

He just could not find the girl anywhere.
 akaṭa ḵe aṭoḵōṇ phuṭō

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).
- | | | | | | |
|-----|----------------------------|--|---------------------|----------|----------|
| 10. | Man South Andamanese | Portman Aku-Bea South Andamanese | Radcliffe- Brown | mine | |
| | English | | | | |
| | <i>head</i> | chē·ta | ót-chéta-da | ot- čo | ērko |
| | <i>mouth</i> | bang | báng-da | - | ṭaphon |
| | <i>mother</i> | dab chā·nola | chána-da | t'a-mimi | amimi |
| | <i>body</i> | chàu | chāō-da | - | ṭunḡhomo |
| | <i>child</i> | abīṭ·ga | áb-líga-da | ot-tire | atōṭa |
11. "The sound written p in some of the North Andaman languages is really p̣" (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*.

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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The Great Andamanese on Strait Island



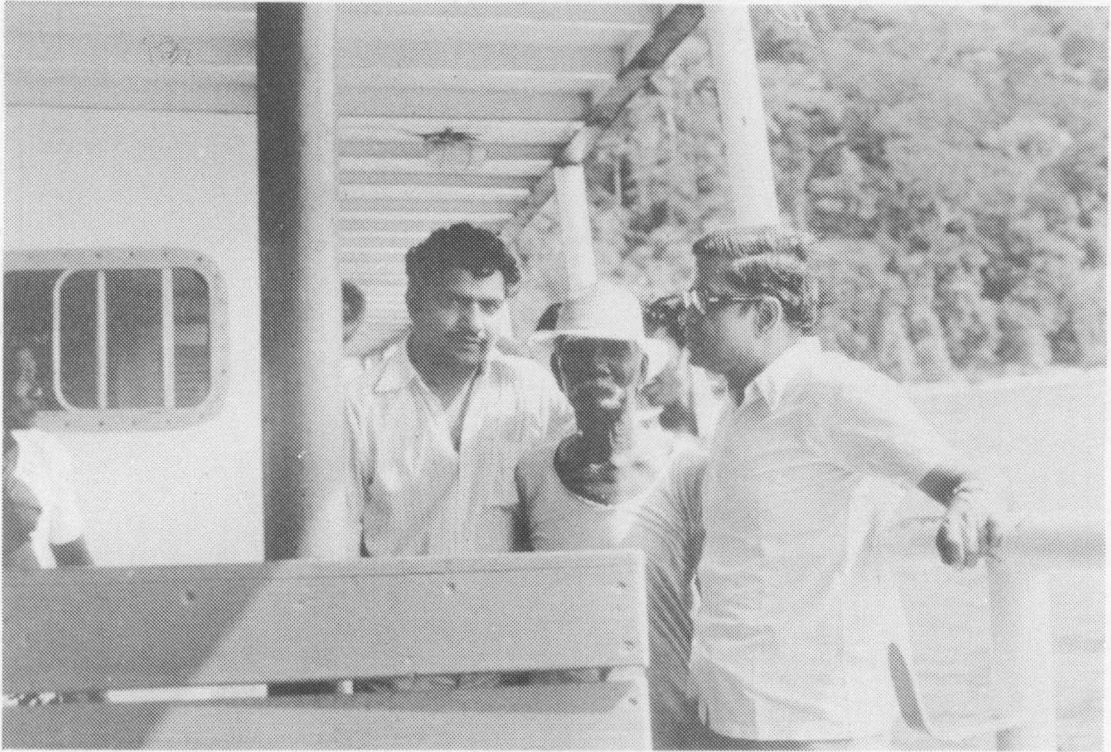
Piḡar at Ādibaserā in Port Blair



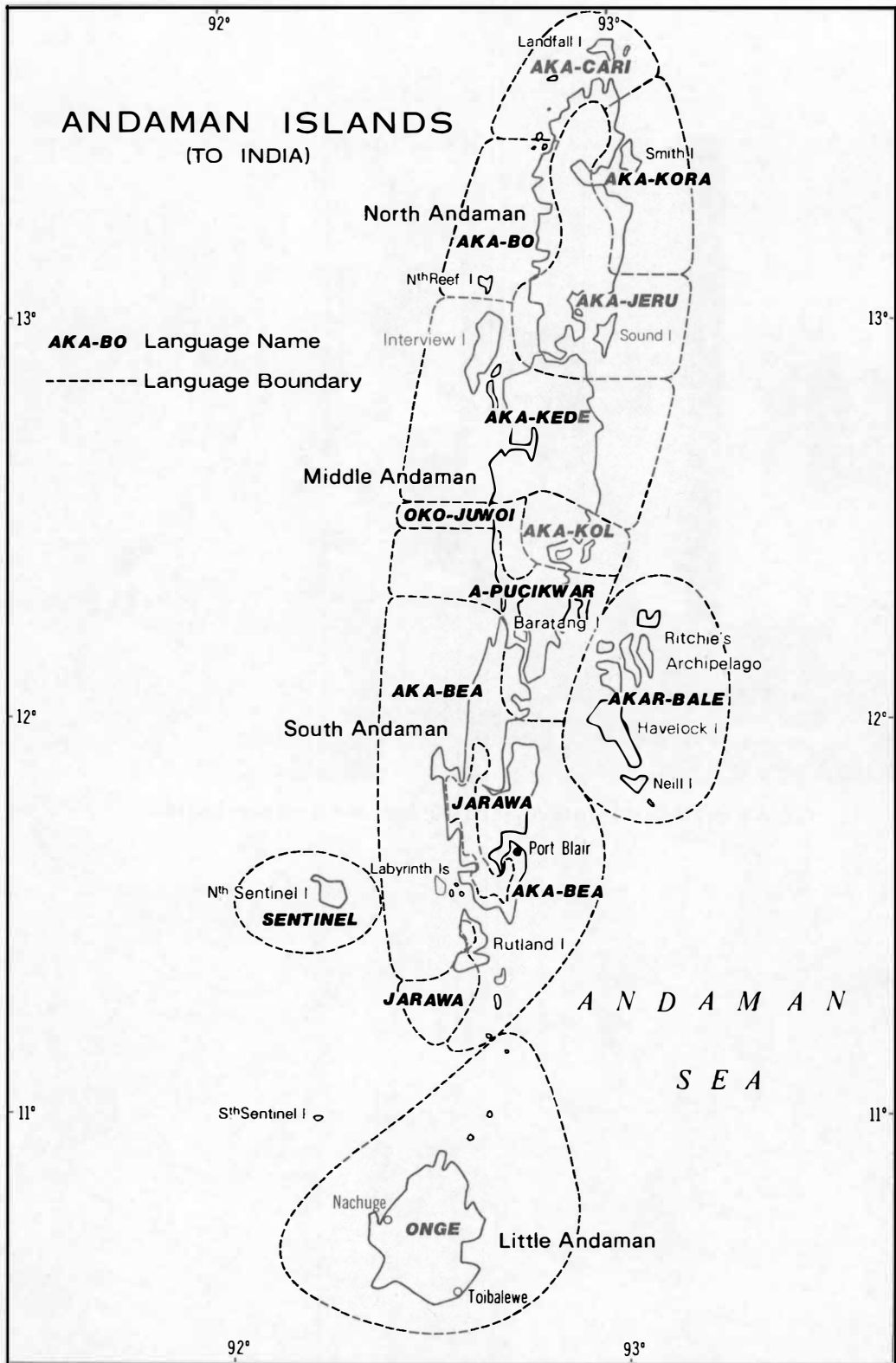
The Great Andamanese women in front of their house on Strait Island



The Great Andamanese on Strait Island with author



Loka (with hat) farewelling author and another Indian



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