DEICTIC CATEGORIES IN GREAT ANDAMANESE

*Dissertation submitted to Jawaharlal Nehru University
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for
the award of the degree of*

MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY

ABHISHEK AVTANS

JNU

**Centre for Linguistics
School of Language, Literature and Culture Studies
Jawaharlal Nehru University
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Date: 24·7·08

CERTIFICATE

This thesis titled "*Deictic Categories in Great Andamanese*", submitted by **Mr. Abhishek Avtans**, Centre for Linguistics, School of Language, Literature and Culture Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi, for the award of the degree of **Master of Philosophy**, is an original work and has not been submitted so far in part or in full, for any other degree or diploma of any University or Institution.

This may be placed before the examiners for evaluation for the award of the degree of Master of Philosophy.

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DECLARATION BY THE CANDIDATE

This dissertation titled *"Deictic Categories in Great Andamanese "* submitted by me for the award of the degree of Master of Philosophy, is an original work and has not been submitted so far in part or in full, for any other degree or diploma of any University or Institution.

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Dedicated to the Andaman Islanders for carrying on and on!

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24.7.06

Abhishek Avtans

List of abbreviations used

1:	First Person
2:	Second Person
3:	Third Person
ACC:	Accusative
AUX:	Auxiliary
CL:	Class Marker
DIR:	Directional
DistInvis:	Distant Invisible Deixis
DistVis:	Distant Visible Deixis
Exist:	Existential
GEN :	Genitive
IMP:	Imperative
IND:	Indicative
LOC:	Locative
NPST:	Non-past tense
Obj:	Object
PL	Plural
ProxClose:	Proximate Close Deixis
ProxInter:	Proximate Intermediate Deixis
PST:	Past
Ref:	Reflexive
SG	Singular
Subj:	Subject

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Chapter 1

Introduction:

Bow, its lower part pulled back,

Bow, its lower part,

On tiptoe, I crept, silently,

On tiptoe, I crept, silently!

> — Free translation of a Great Andamanese (Oko –Juwoi)
> song[1] about pig hunting.

1.1   Defining Deixis

People and their speeches are always located in time and space. Without reference to the context, we cannot convey or make sense of the meanings of words like 'I, You, Here, There, etc'. It has also been observed that interpretation of linguistic utterances may strongly depend both on the linguistic and the non-linguistic context. This context dependence of linguistic reference is known as 'indexicality' (Silverstein 1976). Indexicality is one of the fundamental design features of human languages. Languages around the world employ various means to convey this contextual information. One of the important devices through which languages encode this information in their grammatical system is deixis.

The utterances made by us, are understood by others taking help of clues encoding context provided in the utterances. The basic matrix of context can be described as when and where is sentence uttered, and by whom. These three nodes are also known as deictic centers.[2] The origin of the word 'deixis' is from Greek word 'deiktikos' (deictic) meaning pointing, which reflects the core function of deixis. Deixis has been called by different names in different

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[1] Taken from http://www.andaman.org/BOOK/chapter16/text16.htm

[2] Svorou (1993) proposed that social and psychological contexts are also important factors in understanding the meaning of an utterance.

approaches: Pure index (Pierce 1932), Zeigwörter (index) + symbolwörter (symbol) (Bühler 1934), Indexical symbol (Burks 1948), Indicator (Goodman 1951), Indexical expression (Bar-Hiller 1954), and Shifter (Jesperson 1965, Jakobson 1971).

By Deixis, we mean therefore all clues encoded by the languages and given to us in grammatical forms, in order to localize a speech event and its participants (speakers, hearers and narrated objects or participants) in space and time. Andersen and Keenan (1985:259) define 'deictics' as those linguistic elements whose interpretation in simple sentences makes essential reference to properties of the extra-linguistic context of the utterance in which they occur. Deixis is described by Fillmore (1975) as aspects of language that are called for, 'when the sentences in which they occur are understood as being anchored in some social context, that context is defined in such a way as to identify the time during which the communication act is performed'.

According to John Lyons (1977: 637), by deixis what is meant the location and identification of persons, objects, processes and activities being talked about or referred to, in relation to the spatio-temporal context created and sustained by the act of utterance and participation in it, typically of a single speaker and at least one addressee. On the other hand Heinecke (1998) defines deixis simply as the means in languages which help in pointing to something.

Since the Greek period, (the term deixis in contemporary linguistics has come from Chrysippus's stoic writings in 265 B.C.). Deixis has been a subject of study in philosophy. But linguistic studies on deixis are recent phenomena. During recent years many studies on deixis have been conducted from the linguistic point of view. One of the foremost is the study done by Karl Bühler, a German linguist. Bühler (1934) was the first who used the term 'deixis' in its modern sense and identified temporal, spatial and person as three deictic components. He distinguished the deictic field (Zeigfileld) of language from its symbolic field,

and named the orientational axes of the deictic field, the origo[3] of here/now/I. Following these hypotheses others too followed the suit, resulting in further studies on deixis. Some of the noteworthy linguistic studies on deixis are Frei (1944), Lyons (1968, 1977), Fillmore (1971, 1975), Levinson (1983, 2004), Andersen and Keenan (1985) and Diessel (1999) among others.

In literature, there have been three traditionally recognized categories of deixis based on three axes namely spatio-socio-temporal axes. Spatial deixis is based on location of an entity in relation to the origo (e.g. this, that, here and there). Personal deixis is based on socio-axes (e.g. I and you). And finally temporal deixis is based on reference to time relative to a temporal reference point (e.g. now, then and yesterday) but not including before and earlier (Fillmore 1982: 35, Javella and Klein 1982: 2). Levinson adds to them, social deixis i.e. honorific, and discourse (or text) deixis. Levinson (1983) further argues that visibility i.e. visible or invisible should also be considered as another deictic category. He proposes quite a number of languages of different stocks that encode a basic distinction between objects which are visible and non- visible to participants. This distinction is often subsumed under the place deixis, as it tends to show up in demonstratives, but it is in fact an independent and parallel dimension of deictic organization that ought to be added to the five major categories of deixis." (Levinson 1983: 63).

For the present study, we are restricting ourselves to four major categories of deixis namely, person deixis, spatial deixis, temporal deixis and social deixis.

1.2 Deictic Categories:

There are four major recognized categories of deixis as discussed below:

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[3] Origo, zero point, or deictic center is defined as starting place or orientation point, defined in relation to speaker or addressee or, in a canonical situation where they are co-present, in relation to both simultaneously.

1.2.1 Person Deixis:

Person deixis can be defined as expressions which localize an entity to the position of the speaker or the hearer. First and second person pronouns typically fall under this category of deictic expressions. Apart from providing information about the communication participants i.e. speakers and hearers, they also encode additional information about the referent like number, gender or classification (animate/inanimate) and social status.

1.2.2 Spatial Deixis

Spatial deictics are defined as expressions which localize both the speech participants and narrated participants in space. The spatial location of an entity can be encoded in various ways in a language, and one of the favored device among world languages, is through demonstratives (demonstrative pronouns and demonstrative adjectives). Languages across the world usually display 2-3 term positional system in their spatial deictic expressions, but can go up to 4-5 term contrast. Apart from encoding relative distance between the object referred to and the speaker/hearer, some languages also encode the level on which the referent is located relative to the speaker's/hearer's position. Visibility i.e. ± visibility of the object or speaker/hearer may also be encoded in spatial deictic expressions of some languages.

1.2.3 Temporal Deixis:

Andersen and Keenan (1985) defines temporal deixis as an element which localizes the speech event in time by means of adverbs (e.g. 'now', 'then') or nouns (e.g. 'Friday', 'July').Tense inflection on verbs also fall under the category of temporal deixis. It has also been observed that temporal deixis in the form of adverbs or demonstratives are least common in world languages. On the other hand Levinson (2004) argues that tense is the most pervasive aspect of temporal deixis. He argues that "the grammatical categories called tenses usually encode a

mixture of deictic time distinctions and aspectual distinctions, which are often hard to distinguish" (Levinson, 2004: 97-121)

1.2.4 Social Deixis

Social deixis can be defined as expressions which refer to the social characteristics of, or distinctions between, the participants or referents in a speech event. For example the distinction found between familiar and polite second person pronouns in many Indian languages, is an instance of social deixis. Levinson (2004) says 'social deixis has to do with the marking of social relationships in linguistic expressions, with direct or oblique reference to the social status or role of participants in the speech event. Levinson further argues that there are a number of axes on which relations between the participants or referents are based on.

1.3   The Great Andamanese language: a typological sketch

Edward Sapir was supposed to have said in a lecture at Harvard in 1939, that there were two classes of language, Andamanese, and all the rest (Zide and Pandya, 1989:641). It can be easily gauged by the above statement that the uniqueness and exclusivity of indigenous languages of Andamans is unparalleled. One of the indigenous languages of the Andaman archipelago in the Bay of Bengal, is the Great Andamanese. The Great Andamanese belongs to the fifth language family of India i.e. Andamanese language family (Manoharan:1989). The Andamanese language family is generally categorized into two subgroups namely the Great Andamanese subgroup and little Andaman subgroup 4 (Manoharan, 1989:164, Burenhult 1996:6), of which Great Andamanese belongs to the former subgroup. The Great Andamanese subgroup which takes its name after the bigger landmass of Andaman archipelago i.e. the Great Andaman, is

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4 Consisting of languages of the Jarawas, the Onges and the Sentinelese.

constituted of ten different extinct languages namely Aka-Cari or Sare, Aka- Bo, Aka-Kora or Kʰora, Aka-Jeru, Aka-Bea, Aka-Bale, Aka-Kol, Aka-Juwoi, Aka-Kede and Aka-Pucikwar or pujukkar (Following Zide and Pandya 1989, Manoharan 1987). Today the Great Andamanese is spoken by only 10 speakers out of a population of 54 individuals who live in a small island called Strait Island in the eastern side of south Andaman. The territorial distribution of these ten extinct languages has been a matter of discussion among people working on Andamanese linguistics since the time of British ethnographers. Following is the distribution of languages of the Great Andamanese subgroup:

Table 1: languages of the Great Andamanese subgroup

North Andamanese	Middle Andamanese	South Andamanese
Aka-Chariar	Aka-Kol	Aka-Bea
Aka-Bo	Oko-Juwoi	Aka-Bale
Aka-Khora	Aka-Bojigiar (Puchikwar)	
Aka-Jeru	Aka-Kede	

(Based on Zide and Pandya 1989: 647- 48)

There had been a raging debate among linguists and anthropologists working on Andamanese languages, about the present linguistic status of the Great Andamanese.

Manoharan (1986:27, 1989) calls the Great Andamanese language, a creolized[5] form of languages of the Great Andamanese subgroup and refers to it as 'Present Great Andamanese'. He further states that, this creolized form is predominantly based on Jeru.

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[5] A Creole is a well defined and stable language that originated from a non-trivial combination of two or more languages, typically with many distinctive features that are not inherited from either parent. A Creole must have a pidgin mother.

On the other hand Abbi (2006) considers the language of present great Andamanese people, a 'koine'[6]. She also adds that 'today's Great Andamanese speech is a kind of leveling of different linguistic systems'. Summarily, the Great Andamanese can be seen as a reduced and simplified language which has borrowed or mixed various elements from 10 or less closely related extinct languages. Further, it also shows a predominance of Jeru language, an extinct language from the Great Andamanese subgroup.

1.3.1 Linguistic Profile:

1.3.1.1   The Sound system:

Although it is difficult to isolate features pertaining to the Great Andamanese sound system because of its endangered status, some of the distinctive features can be easily observed. There are 25 consonant sounds in the language. It exhibits a four way phonemic contrast in nasals. Aspiration contrast is found only in voiceless sounds. There are seven vowels sounds and 33 diphthongs in the Great Andamanese sound system. Strong vowel harmony is observed in the Great Andamanese. The other characteristic feature of the Great Andamanese sound system is the absence of glottal fricative [h] and velar voiced plosive [g].
Consonant sounds in the Great Andamanese can be seen in the following table:

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[6] -Koineization is a contact induced process that leads to emergence of new varieties of a language as result of contact between speakers of mutually intelligible varieties of that language (Kerswill and Ann 2000).

Table 2: The Great Andamanese consonant sounds

	Bilabial	Dental	Alveolar	Retroflex	Palatal	Velar
Plosive	p b p^h	t t^h d		ʈ ɖ $ʈ^h$	c j	k k^h
Nasal	m		n		ɲ	ŋ
Trill			r	ʈ		
Fricative	ɸ		s		ʃ	
Lateral				L		
Approximant	w				y	

Table 3: Vowel sounds in the Great Andamanese:

	Front	back
Close	i	u
Close-mid	e	o
Open-mid	ɛ	ɔ
Open		a

1.3.1.2   The lexical and morphological system:

The Great Andamanese displays a unique possession system where there are two ways to form genitives: suffixation and juxtaposition of possessor and possessed nouns (Abbi 2005). In the Great Andamanese, Kinship terms, names of body parts and words denoting parts of whole cannot appear without a possessive prefix. Moreover the possessive system shows dependent marking (Abbi 2006, Burenhult 1996). A very prominent feature of the Great Andamanese is the rich

inventory of personal pronouns. First person plural and second person plural displays a distinction of exclusive/inclusive.

The Great Andamanese also displays a rich system of deictic categories. The Great Andamanese nouns do not have number inflection (Manoharan 1989: 61) but number distinction exists in pronominal system.

The Great Andamanese has a complex verb morphology based on a class system (Abbi 2006, Manoharan 1989). The adjectives show Head-modifer-intensifier paradigm. Another characteristic feature of the Great Andamanese is the compound nouns are always endocentric.

Case system in the Great Andamanese exhibits distinct case markers for accuasative/dative, instrumental/ablative, locative, genitive/experiencer, benefactive and comitative (Abbi 2006)

1.3.1.3   The syntactic and semantic system:

The basic word order in the Great Andamanese is verb final as observed in other languages of Andamanese language family. The Great Andamanese lacks true PPs since they have a set of case like suffixes instead of adpositions (Burenhult 1996). Causative constructions in the Great Andamanese are formed using three different processes: prefixation, suppletion, and by using periphrastic causatives. Great Andamanese also displays serial verb constructions. On the other hand it also exhibits an accusative alignment type (Burenhult 1996).

Negation in the Great Andamanese is done by placing a negative marker post verbally.

1.3.2 Typological mappings:

Pandya (1987) suggests that languages of Great Andamanese subgroup are fairly closely related to each other and distinct from the languages of south Andaman group i.e. Little Andaman subgroup, implying that the Great Andamanese is somehow typologically distinct from the languages of Little Andaman subgroup[7]. Adding to this Abbi (2005) observes that the Great Andamanese is typologically distinct from the languages of the Little Andaman subgroup on the basis of following parameters: sound system, verb complex and possession system.

1.4   Research objectives:

Levinson (2004) says, 'for those who want to treat language as a generative system for objectively describing the world, deixis is one hell of a big black fly in the ointment'. True to the sense above, the present study is an attempt to separate the big black fly from the slime by studying the deictic system of one of the oldest languages of the world i.e. the Great Andamanese which is our precious link in understanding the earliest human civilizations. Andamanese linguistics has always been on the margins of Indian linguistic research, till date. Because of this, almost no major work focusing on deictic categories has been carried out on the Great Andamanese. This makes the systematic study of deictic categories in the Great Andamanese imperative for the true understanding of Andamanese conceptualization of space and time.

Linguists and Anthropologists across the world have categorically stated that the study of language and cosmology of indigenous people of Andamans is crucial for our understanding of human evolution and migration.

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[7] No linguistic research has been carried out on Sentinelese, one of the languages of Little Andaman subgroup.

Deictic categories are deeply rooted in the 'psyche' of the speech community. They operate in an area where language, perception and cognition of a speech community converge. Levinson (2004) argues that 'deixis introduces subjective, attentional, intentional and of course context- dependent properties into natural languages'. Keeping this in mind it becomes imperative to study the deictic system of the Great Andamanese language. The present study tries to explore all five components of the Great Andamanese deictic system namely person, spatial, temporal, discourse and social deixis.

Another major goal of this study is to understand the Andamanese conceptualization of space and time on the basis of this linguistic research.

1.5 A critical appraisal of past literature:

Anybody who surveys reference grammars of any language will certainly notice that description in phonology and morphology are the most extensive, followed then by syntax. Usually the descriptions about semantic and pragmatic aspects are little or negligible. This situation is also prevalent in almost all previous literature on the Great Andamanese language except the recent works such as Manoharan (1987) and Abbi (2006). This lack of description becomes more severe in case of less documented languages like the Great Andamanese. In fact Zide and Pandya (1989) were the first to publish a comprehensive bibliography of Andamanese linguistics.

The studies on Andamanese languages are primarily done by British officials of colonial India such as Temple, Portman, and Man. And in post –independent India by Anthropologists of Anthropological survey of India, such as Manoharan, Basu, Pandya, Vekateshwaran etc. and recently by mainstream linguists like Zide (1989), Abbi (2002) entered the unexplored areas of the Andamanese linguistics. The first attempt to detail Andamanese languages is done by R. Colebrook (1795) in his work: On the Andaman Islanders. But this work limits itself to mere description of some lexicon and phrases.

E. H. Man (1883) is the pioneer in giving detailed description of Andamanese languages including general vocabulary and specimens of language. Man's (1878): *A Grammar of South Andaman languages* gives detailed description of both general grammar and a dictionary of collected vocabulary. Similarly Man's (1923): *A Dictionary of the South Andaman (Aka-Bea)* language provides a good description of possessive and personal pronouns. Though invaluable in its own right in the field of Andamanese linguistics, E.H. Man's works fail to systematically study the languages of Andamans. Apart from this, deictic categories are almost left unexplored. Moreover Man mainly focused on south Andamanese languages like Aka-Bea and Aka-bale, thereby producing extensive literature on these languages but providing scanty references to north Andamanese languages. At present Great Andamanese is predominated by north Andamanese languages like Jeru and Khora, Man's work does not really help us in any serious research on deictic categories.

Another important work on Andamanese linguistics is done by M. V. Portman. Portman's (1887): *A Manual of the Andamanese languages* gives a brief grammar of Andamanese languages and a small dictionary of words from Aka-Bea, Aka-Bojigiyab, Aka-Kede and Aka-Cari languages. Likewise Portman's (1899): *A History of Our Relations with the Andamanese* discusses some vocabulary of the Jarawa and the Bea language. Portman was the first to give 'grounds on' knowledge of Andamanese languages. He provides long comparative vocabulary along with elaborated semantic and morphological notes. For a comparative reconstruction of the present great Andamanese language, Portman's works are certainly a treasure.

R. C. Temple's works on Andamanese languages in his *census Report* (1903) also gives good brief description of Andamanese languages comparing them to the language of Semangs of the Malay Peninsula and the Aetas of the Philippine archipelago. Temple (1930) emphatically talks about the isolation of the Andamanese languages and the unusual 'mixed media' communication style of

communication. Later Temple (1899) proposed his 'universal theory' concerning relationship between universal grammar and languages of Andamans (Zide and Pandya 1989). This Insight on Andamanese languages can be seen in the following statement, where he says

'But though they are "savage" languages, limited in range to the requirements of people capable of but few mental processes, the Andamanese languages are far from being primitive.'

Though Temple's account was exhaustive in giving details of Andamanese languages, but for the purpose of the present study, it lacks any substantial analysis of deictic categories.

The first qualified Anthropologist to work on the Indigenous people of Andamans is A. R. Radcliffe- Brown. Radcilffe-Brown's (1914): *Notes on the languages of Andaman Islands* and *The Andaman Islanders* (1922), deal with Andamanese languages with a scientific approach. But Anthropological orientation in his works leaves gaps in language description.

One of the first Anthropologists of independent India to take note of the Andamanese languages is D. N. Basu. Basu's (1952): *A linguistic introduction to Andamanese*, tries to give a short introduction to Andamanese languages detailing its varieties, general sound system and basic morphology. Deictic categories are left unexplored here as well.

Italian Anthropologist Lidio Cipriani's (1966): *The Andaman Islanders* is again a good study with anthropological orientation providing understanding of 'space' among Andamanese people. But deictic categories are not discussed here as such.

The breakthrough in description of the Great Andamanese language came with the works of S. Manoharan in 1980, in his doctoral dissertation tiltled '*A descriptive study of the Andamanese language*' and later in Manoharan (1989): *A descriptive and comparative study of Andamanese language*. In these works, Manoharan gives a complete phonological and morpho-syntactic description of

the language which he labels 'Present Great Andamanese'. Although Manoharan (1989) is exhaustive in describing the pronominal system but comes short in dealing with exclusivity and honorificity feature of personal pronouns. Similarly Manoharan (1989) shows a three way distance contrast while dealing with the Great Andamanese demonstratives but it is debatable (see Abbi 2006). Temporal deixis has found little attention in this work except of one of its component tense. Likewise social deixis is left unexplored.

Another systematic and scientific study on the Great Andamanese language is done by Anvita Abbi beginning with a pilot survey of Indigenous languages of Andamans in 2001-2002. Abbi's (2003): 'Vanishing voices of the Andaman Islands' gives a fair comparative description of indigenous languages of the Andamans. Similarly Abbi (2005): Is Great Andamanese Typologically Divergent from the Standard average Andamanese, is noteworthy for its attempt at resolving the typological status of great Andamanese.

Latest in the offing, Abbi's (2006): 'Endangered languages of Andaman Islands, is a real breakthrough in the description of indigenous languages of the Andamans from the current typological point of view. Though exhaustive in its own right, it does not give much coverage to deictic categories.

1.6   Methodology:

The Present study is based on first-hand data collected through a five month field work in the Andaman and Nicobar Islands. Primarily, data has been elicited at Strait Island, a small Island in the north-east of the South Andaman, and also at Port Blair, the administrative capital of the union territory of Andaman and Nicobar Islands.

The methodology employed or the present study is deductive. The questionnaire prepared in Andamanese Hindi[8] was followed for data elicitation and then

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[8] Lingua franca of Andaman and Nicobar islands

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corroborated and integrated with observation of discourse. Simultaneously, the discourse had been recorded using a high quality recorder[9]. The data recorded through Hi-MD recorder was then converted to WAV files using Sonic Stage and WAV conversion software. Finally these WAV files were stored in CD-ROMs for convenient reference.

The data elicitation technique used for the present study involved multiple repetitions of target sentences/words by the author as well as by the informant. This has been done to minimize potential errors as the language is almost on the verge of extinction.

Out of the remaining 10 fluent speakers of Great Andamanese, data has been elicited from almost all speakers with emphasis on the 'core group of language speakers'[10].

The core group of speakers for the present study consisted of only six individuals. Following is the list of the core group of speakers in order of elders first:

Table 4: Core group of speakers

Name	Lineage	Gender	Age(Years)
Boa Senior	Claims Jeru lineage	Female	86
Boro	Claims Khora lineage	Female	71
Nao Junior	Claims Bo lineage	Male	57
Peje	Claims Jeru lineage	Male	55
Nu	Claims Jeru lineage	Female	44
Lico	Claims Jeru lineage but raised by the Puchikwar grand father	Female	42

In the present study, the transcription of data follows IPA 93. Moreover, the present study has also used visual-scapes in the form of drawings, pictures and

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[9] SONY Portable Hi-MD recorder.
[10] By Core group, I mean people who are generally regarded by others in the community as having a good understanding of Andamanese language and culture.

maps for data elicitation. Apart from these, all available literature on the Great Andamanese language and indigenous Andamanese society has been used to analyze and corroborate the data.

1.7   The Field

The area of present research was Strait Island, a tribal reserve notified by the government of India. Strait Island is a small island of 2 sq. km located in South Andaman, Andaman and Nicobar Islands. From Port Blair there is biweekly ferry service which is the only mode of conveyance available. Strait is small comma shaped forested Island, known for its caves of bird's nest and plentiful deer (though now they are now rare to find). The settlement for the Great Andamanese at Strait is built and managed by the Andaman administration. The Andamanese settlement was a pleasant and shady environment, conveniently constructed like a model village in India. The Great Andamanese settlement is constructed in semi-circle with concrete houses in rows. The other half is occupied by welfare personnel and police quarters. There is a school for children and a small dispensary for primary health care. All around the houses were coconut palms, swaying in the breeze, alternating with tamarind and mango trees. In short Strait is a peaceful island where the Great Andamanese lead an easy life.

1.8   Overview of the dissertation:

The present study is spread over five chapters. Each chapter is further subdivided into sections depending on the matter of discussion.

Chapter 1: Introduction

The first introductory chapter accounted for definition of deixis, types of deixis, typological sketch of the Great Andamanese, research objectives, a brief review of existing literature on the Great Andamanese and a note on the methodology of the present study.

Chapter 2: People and their islands

This chapter starts with a brief introduction of Andaman and Nicobar Union territory. The chapter then discusses geography and ecology of the Andaman. The chapter also discusses the geological history of Andaman Islands. It later dwells on socio-cultural-political past of Andaman and its indigenous people. The chapter also tries to discuss the geographical spread and later shrink of Indigenous people of the Andaman Islands with focus on the Great Andamanese.

Chapter 3: The Great Andamanese construct of space and time

This chapter begins with a discussion on theoretical background on concept of 'space' and cosmology. Later it discusses the notion of space among the Andaman islanders and the Great Andamanese position on it. Secondly the chapter focuses on theoretical underpinnings of concept of 'time'. Further, the chapter discusses the honey calendar and other associated models and notions of time in the Great Andamanese community.

Chapter 4: Deictic categories in the Great Andamanese

In this chapter, the discussion begins with a note on the concept of deixis. Later the chapter discusses each deictic category at length namely person deixis, spatial deixis, temporal deixis, and finally social deixis. Data collected during the field work is extensively discussed and analyzed here.

Chapter 5: Summary and Conclusion

The last chapter firstly we discuss a short summary of the preceding chapters and then discuss the significant conclusions and findings of the present study after the analysis of collected data. It also discusses finally the scope for future studies on the subject area of present study. Bibliography and appendix follow the chapter. Appendix will contain maps related to the present study, and general profiles of the informants with pictures.

Chapter 2

People and their Islands

2.1   The land:

The Andaman and Nicobar Islands are the largest archipelago system in the Bay of Bengal, floating in splendid isolation by the east of Indian mainland. This union territory stretches over a length of more than 700 kms from north to south, covering a total area of about 8294 sq. km, in the form of 349 islands and 206 rocks and rocky outcrops. These islands are located between 6° 45" and 13° 41" North latitudes, and 92° 12" and 93° 57" East longitude. These 349 islands can be distinguished into two groups geographically. The islands located north of 10° N latitude are known as the Andaman group of Islands while the islands located south of 10° N latitude are called the Nicobar group of islands. There are 325 islands in Andaman group while Nicobar group has 24 islands.

The Great Andaman group of islands is made up of North, Middle and South Andaman Islands, with Baratang Island situated between Middle and South Andaman Islands. Ritchie's archipelago is a group of islands located to the east of Middle Andaman while the labyrinth group is situated Southwest of South Andaman. Out of the total area, 90 percent is forested and 36 percent is designated as tribal reserves[11]. Andaman group of islands cover 6408 sq. km. out of the total land area of Andaman and Nicobar Islands while Nicobar group cover 1841 sq. kms. Out of the total 349 islands only 38 islands are inhabited by human populations – 24 in Andaman group and 12 in Nicobar group of islands.

This large archipelago is separated from mainland Indian land mass by about 1000 km and the nearest land mass in the north from the northern most landmass (Landfall Island) is in Myanmar which is around 280 Kms. away. From

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[11] Tribal reserves are the areas protected exclusively for indigenous people by the Government of India by an act of Parliament. In case of A & N Islands the tribal reserve came into existence by Andaman and Nicobar Islands (Protection of Aboriginal Tribals) Regulation, 1956.

the southern most tip of the Andaman and Nicobar Islands, Sumatra which is around 145 kms away, is the closest landmass.

The islands of the archipelago lie in a crescent that stretches from Cape Negaris of Myanmar to the Banda Arc of Sumatra (Indonesia). These islands are the summits of a submarine mountain range lying on the great tectonic suture zone extending from the eastern Himalayas along the Myanmar border to the Arakan and finally Sumatra and Lesser Sundas. The northern most part of these islands is isolated from cape Negrais in Southern Myanmar by the North Preparis channel and the southern most part is also separated from the Acheen Head of Western Sumatra by the Great channel. There are two more deep channels (1) the ten degree channel which isolates Andaman islands from Nicobar islands and (2) the Sombero channel which isolates Great Nicobar from Nicobar and the Nancowries group.

The physiography of these islands is characterised by undulating topography and intervening valleys. There are, however, some flat islands like Car Nicobar and Trinket. There is no major perennial fresh water river in these islands except Kalpong in North Andaman, while Alexendra, Dagmar and Galathea river in Great Nicobar. There are several rain fed streams which dry up during summer. The coastal line of these islands is wavy with large number of bays, lagoons and serpentine creeks, and extends to about 1962 km. At several places tidal creeks penetrate far inside the land and form outlets for fresh water streams. Two islands of volcanic origin are found here named the Narcondum and the Barren islands. The former is now apparently extinct while the latter is still active. In fact renewed lava eruption is reported from the only active volcano in Barren Island of Andaman Group of Islands in the Indian subcontinent on 28th May 2005 after a gap of 10 years.

Soil cover is rather thin, varying from 2 m to 5 m. It is mostly alluvial on hill tops while diluvial in ridges and valleys. The coastal flats have an admixture of sand,

silty clay and diluvial material with fine fragments of coral lime. The soil is, in general, mild to moderately acidic with high humus on top.

These islands have a tropical climate which is warm, moist and equable. The temperature ranges from 18° C to 34° C. The proximity of the sea and the abundant rainfall prevent extremes of heat. An average of 3000 mm rains per year is received from south west and north east monsoons winds which extend over a period of eight months. That means that except for three months (December-February) the rains are persistent. The extent of rainfall may vary with island. The humidity is high varying from 66 to 85%. In normal conditions the wind speed is fairly constant (5 knots per hour) but during cyclonic weather it may go as high as 120 to 130 knots per hour.

2.2 Geological history:

Geologically, the Andaman and Nicobar Islands belong to a geosynclinal basin. The sediments of this region have gradually changed their characters because of being subjected to continuous tectonic movement as seen in the rocks formations which are highly folded. The geological formations represent a period of sedimentation from cretaceous (about 100 million years) to sub-recent period (less than 10.000 years). The surface deposits of gravel beds and raised soil covers are of recent origin i.e., less than 10,000 years. In general it is believed that the mountain ridges of the island were formed because of oceanic upheavals during late Mesozoic period (100 Million years ago). The present configuration of these islands took shape only about 26 million years ago.

Though there are hardly any studies on geological history of Andaman and Nicobar Islands, archaeological evidences provided by Dutta (1978) and Cooper (2002) deal with this geological change in some detail. There is no doubt that the Andaman Islands are located in one of the world's most volatile and geologically active zones as evident in the devastating earthquake and subsequent Tsunami of 26th December 2006. Dutta (1978), Cooper (2002) and Curray (2005) point out

that until the end of the Pleistocene (about 10,000 years ago), the islands were considerably larger than they are now. Cooper (2002:32-38) in her work on Kitchen Middens[12] in South Bay, Wandoor, Chiriya Tapoo and Jolly Buoy Island, categorically states that there are geological uplifts at the above places per 1000 years continuously supplemented by tidal erosion. This can be shown by the following diagram:

Figure 1: Geological uplifts in Andaman Islands
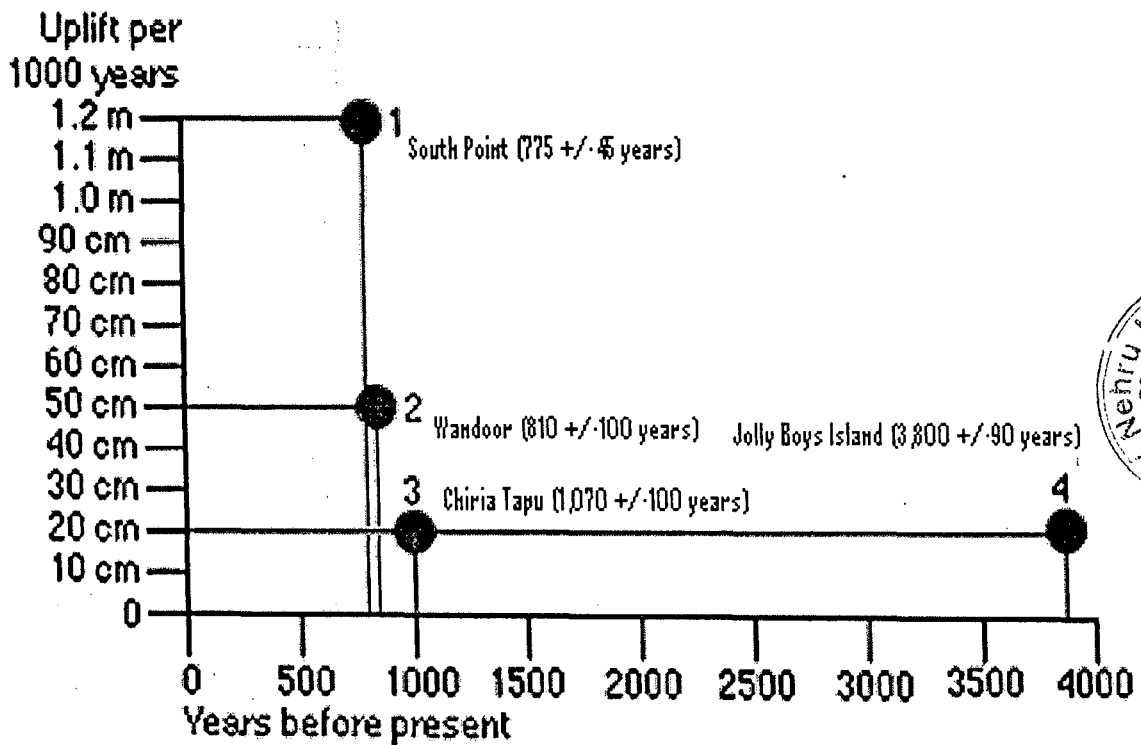
Source: http://andaman.org/BOOK/chapter24/text24.htm#edible with some minor modifications

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[12] Kitchen Middens are the refuse heaps left by a prehistoric settlement; more specifically, a deposit consisting primarily of discarded shell and related cultural material in coastal environments. First studied (1848) in Denmark, middens are an important source of ecological and cultural information. Kitchen middens, generally known as shell mounds in the Americas, usually date from the late Mesolithic period. Their contents include artifacts that can be dated, suggesting the mode of life and technology of ancient peoples. Analysis of animal remains can indicate the climate, season, length of occupation, hunting patterns, and the possible presence of domestication. Such middens generally represent only one component of a complex foraging strategy of migratory hunter-gatherers (The Columbia Encyclopedia, Sixth Edition 2006)

Secondly it has also been pointed out that the northern tip of the Andamans was never connected with the southern most tip of the Asian Mainland. In support of this assertion we can say that if the two tips were connected, it would have made the Andamans a peninsula, enabling some large mammals from mainland Asia to swim across but it is well known that the Andamans lacked any large predators. Thirdly it is also observed that since the end of the Pleistocene (around 10,000 years ago), the islands have been shrinking continuously with slight aberrations. Cooper (2002) also observes that if there are archaelogical remains dating back into the Pleistocene age, many of them would be under water. Thus it can be said that Andaman archipelago was not an isolated area for many years and it is the slow geological upheavals which ultimately made possible its separation from the mainland Asian land mass.

2.3 Flora and Fauna:

The Andaman & Nicobar Islands are known for their pristine forests, unique Wildlife and marine life, beautiful sandy beaches and emerald blue waters surrounding the islands. These islands are one of the world's finest examples of the tropical Islands ecosystem. Endowed with diverse habitats ranging from rain forests to the open ocean, Andaman Islands are an ecologist's paradise. These Islands are distinctive due to diverse ecosystem and abundance of flora and fauna. The evergreen tropical forest, colorful butterflies, moths, ornamental fishes, large number of endemic species such as Robber Crab, Dugong, Hornbill, Megapode , make this region a treat for nature lovers.

Nature has blessed these emerald Islands with luxuriant evergreen tropical rain forest canopy. The vegetation and its dependent fauna have unique characteristics of Indo-Malaysian and Burmese affinities besides unique characteristics of oceanic Islands. The present forest coverage is claimed to be 86.2% of the total land area. Andaman forest is abounding in plethora of timber species numbering 200 or more, out of which about 30 varieties are considered to be commercial. Major commercial timber species are Gurjan and Paduk. Burr

and the Buttress formation in Andaman Paduk are famous for their exceptionally unique charm and figuring. The Rudraksha and aromatic Dhoop/ Resin trees also occur here which are amply used by inhabitants.

The South Andaman forests have a profuse growth of epiphytic vegetation, mostly ferns and orchids. The Middle Andaman harbors mostly moist deciduous forests. North Andaman is characterized by the wet evergreen type, with plenty of woody climbers. The north Nicobar Islands (including Car Nicobar and Battimalv) are marked by the complete absence of evergreen forests, while such forests form the dominant vegetation in the central and southern islands of the Nicobar group. Grasslands occur only in the Nicobars, and while deciduous forests are common in the Andamans, they are almost absent in the Nicobars". This atypical forest coverage is made-up of twelve types namely: (1) Giant evergreen forest (2) Andamans tropical evergreen forest (3) Southern hilltop tropical evergreen forest (4) Cane brakes (5) Wet bamboo brakes (6) Andamans semi-evergreen forest (7) Andamans moist deciduous forest (8) Andamans secondary moist deciduous forest (9) Littoral forest (10) Mangrove forest (11) Brackish water mixed forest (12) Submontane hill valley swamp forest.

About 50 varieties of forest mammals are found to occur in A&N Islands, most of them are understood to be brought in from outside and are now considered endemic due to their prolonged insular adaptation. Rat is the largest group having 26 species followed by 14 species of bat. Among the larger mammals there are two endemic varieties of wild pig namely *Sus Scrofa andamanensis* from Andaman and *S.S.nicobaricus* from Nicobar. The spotted deer *Axis axis*, Barking deer and Sambar are found in Andaman District. Interview Island in Middle Andaman holds a fairly good stock of feral elephants. These elephants were brought in for forest work by a private contractor who subsequently left them loose. Sekhsaria (2003: 64) reports that not all animals introduced to the islands manage to survive. He says that Spotted Deer introduced to the Islands of

Kamorta in the Nicobar group in 1870s failed to survive. Similarly leopards introduced in Middle and South Andaman failed to survive.

There are also some concerns about the problems created in native ecology by the introduction of these exotic species. For example it has been noticed by the ecologist that rising elephant population in the Andaman Islands has led to a significant impact on the native vegetation resulting in decline in growth of native species of bamboo, cane and Pandanus. Moreover it is also important to know that so far, about 2200 varieties of plants have been recorded out of which 200 are endemic and 1300 do not occur in mainland India.

The Andaman & Nicobar Islands also hold a unique avi-fauna exhibiting a high degree of endemism with 270 species, of which 39 % are endemic to these islands. Birds of the Andaman include streaked grasshopper, warbler, yellow wagtail, Olive Backed Sunbird Brown Hawk Owl, etc. The name of few endemics birds are Nicobar Megapode, Swiftlet, Narcondum Hornbill, Andaman teal etc. The rich avi-faunal diversity has always attracted ornithologists and bird watchers to these islands. Apart from birds with about 225 species, the A&N Islands house some of the larger and most spectacular butterflies of the world. Ten species are endemic to these Islands. Mount Harriet National Park is one of the richest areas of butterfly and moth diversity on these Islands.

Sandy beaches of these islands are famous for turtle nesting and there are 96 terrestrial reptiles found here. Some of the notable species of turtle are Leather Back Turtle, Green Sea Turtle, Hawksbill Turtle and Olive Ridley Turtle. Coral and coral reefs are the most fascinating part of marine eco- systems. In all 179 species of corals belonging to 61 genera have been reported. Reefs are mostly of the fringing type on the western coast. Among other marine organisms, 350 species of fish, 350 species of echinoderms, 1000 species of mollusks and many more other forms of life are reported. Among vertebrates dugong, dolphin and whale are unique to these islands.

A wide variety of species of plants and animals, many of which are endemic to these Islands are not found elsewhere. The species richness and endemism is unmatched anywhere else in the world. About 60% of the mammals, 40% of the birds, 31% of reptiles, 16% of amphibians and 70% of mollusca species are endemic to these Islands. These Islands are the treasure house of terrestrial and marine biodiversity and have rightly been recognized as "biodiversity hot spot". The ecosystem of these Islands are however very sensitive and fragile. Even a slight disturbance may lead to irreparable damage to ecosystem and the surrounding environment. Considering the fragile eco -systems of these islands, there is an urgent need for a sustainable and eco-friendly management of Andamanese ecology by the government and all concerned.

2.4 The Andamans in historical perspective:

Andaman Islands are located in the trade route from India to East Asia and that is why they have been known from the earliest times. There have been various interpretations about the name 'Andaman'. The Malays called the Andaman group `Pulan Hantuman' or the `Land of Hanuman' and this has changed to Andaman, concluded Sir Maxwell in the Journal Straits Branch (1886). The Malay looked on the Andamanese (also known as *rakshaasas*) as the descendents of Hanuman, one of the principal characters of the Hindu mythological epic Ramayana (Portman, 1899:19). The palm leaf Tamil inscriptions of Thanjavur refer to it as *Theemai-t-theevugal* (Islands of Harm or Evil). There are also mentions that the islands were part of the domain of the Chola King Rajendra Chola II. There is another theory that the Andamans were named after the Roman cartographer Agathodaimon (of Alexandria) who drew a map of the world of Ptolemy's account, and that the islands in Indian Ocean called by Ptolemy as *Agmmatae* and *Aginatae* referred to the Andamans.

Claudius Ptolemy, a Greco-Roman geographer, was the first to report on the existence of Andaman Islands in 2nd century. Ptolemy wrote of the Andamans as *Bazakata*, derived from the Sanskrit *vivasakrata* , meaning 'stripped of clothes'.

The name Andaman can also be related to the Sanskrit *nanga manava*, the naked man. Marco Polo, the famous Venetian merchant and explorer traveled and explored the Europe-Asia route between 1271 and 1295, wrote both about *Necuveran* (Nicobar) and *Angamanain* (Andaman) as a 'very large island, not governed by a king, with plenty of spices'.

Chinese Buddhist monk I-Tsing also made some brief references about the Andamans in 672 A.D.

Arab accounts of India and China, dating back to AD 851, provide another interesting but exaggerated description of Andaman Islands. In their description of Andaman Islanders Arab travelers note that

"the people on the coast eat human flesh quite raw; their complexion is black; their hair frizzled; their countenance and eyes frightful; their feet are very large and almost a cubit in length; and they go quite naked. They have no embarkations; and if they had they would devour all the passengers they could lay hands on." (Renaudot, 1733:4)

In 1322, Friar Odoric was another traveler who provides accounts of Andaman and Nicobar Islands. Odoric mixed up the existing descriptions and attributed cynocephalic tendencies to the inhabitants of Nicoveran (the Nicobars) (Yule, 1916:97). Then came Nicolo de Conti (Venetian explorer) in 1440 and Master Caesare Fredrike in 1563, who confirm with Marco Polo that cannibals lived on the Andamans (Yule and Burnell 1968:29)

Although most of the early accounts of Andamans and the Andaman Islanders were rather unreliable, there is no doubt that the Andaman Islanders were hostile to outsiders coming up near the shores. Colebrooke (1795)was perhaps the first person to describe the Islanders in an unbiased way. Fredric Mouat (1979) provided the first reliable written account of these islands and their people.

Comprehensive descriptions of Andaman Islands were being written only when British occupied the islands in 1789 and established an early penal colony in the North Andamans. In 1788 Lt. Archibald Blair of the Royal Navy was commissioned by the East India Company to survey the coasts of the Andamans. Soon a site was selected and 200 Indian prisoners were settled in the penal

colony in the year 1789. The port thus established was named Port Cornwallis after the then Governor General Cornwallis.

But the 1793 war with France and bad weather conditions accentuated by an outbreak of Malaria led to many casualties in the penal colony. This ultimately led to abandonment of the penal colony and the prisoners were shifted to a prison camp in Penang.

But the concern over native attacks on shipwrecked crews and the need for a penal settlement after the Indian mutiny and revolt (1857–59) led the British to return to the Andamans. Soon a new penal settlement was established in South Andaman but away from salt water swamp which seemed pernicious to the old penal colony. And thus the new port was christened Port Blair to avoid confusion.

Captain Man, Executive Engineer and Jail superintendent in Maulmin, was specially sent to Port Blair to formally inaugurate the penal settlement. However Dr. James walker was the one who was entrusted with the establishment and running of the penal settlement. On 10th march 1858, Walker, accompanied by an Indian doctor, 50 navy sailors and 500 prisoners reached Port Blair. Soon an island was selected for making it a base of British officials. Named after the marine surveyor Sir Daniel Ross, Ross Island soon became the base. Initially, crude barracks of bamboo and grass were put up for prisoners while the rest of the party stayed on board the ships that had brought them. Later, the freedom fighters built houses, offices, barracks and other structures at the Ross Island, after which they were promptly sent to Viper Island, where the first jail was built in 1867.

British arrival also brought bloodshed and disease to local population across the North, the middle and the South Andamans. There were innumerable violent encounters between the natives and the settlers. This led to the further strengthening of colonial hold on the islands.

Later colonel E H Man took charge of the penal settlement in 1868. In the tenure of Man extensive work was undertaken for the construction of penal settlement.

Man also took over the charge of running the 'Andaman Home' from Reverend Corbyn who started these homes to facilitate effective occupation of the Andamanese territory as earlier attempts at creating a British settlement at Port Blair, by clearing the forest, were met with great hostility and resentment by Andamanese Islanders. By 1865 about 150 Andamanese from different areas were regular residents of Andaman Home, a place that was part school and part prison outside the forest. Man was followed by M.V. Portman in 1874 who took over the running of 'Andaman Homes'.

Meanwhile work on a bigger settlement was undertaken by the forced labor of convicts from India in 1896 and it was completed in 1906 with 698 cells. The Jail was constructed with seven wings, spreading out like a seven-petal flower. In its centre it had a tower with a turret. Connected to this were the three storeys high seven wings with 698 isolated cells. Thus named the Cellular Jail became operational. The cellular Jail housed several hundred prisoners from Indian subcontinent mostly political prisoners including notable ones like Khudi Ram Bose, Vir Vinayak Savarkar, Baba Sohan Singh, Bhai Parmanand, Murtaza Hussain, Mohit Mohan Moitra etc.

One of the significant changes in British policy towards Andaman Islands took place when Lord Mayo, viceroy of India (1869–72), was murdered by a convict at Port Blair during a visit to the Andamans on February 8, 1872. Lord Mayo's murder led to the transfer of the post of commissioner from Burma to Port Blair.

During the Second World War, Andaman Islands were occupied by Japanese forces from 1942 to 1945. Because of a tactic understanding between the Japanese and the Indian freedom fighters, Andamans were nominally put under the rule of *Arzi Hukumate Hind* of Netajee Subhas Chandra Bose during this period. Netajee visited the Islands in late 1943 and hoisted the Indian national flag on Andaman Islands. Netajee renamed the Islands as *Shaheed Dweep* (Martyr Island) and *Swarajya Dweep* (Freedom Island) and a provisional Indian government was declared.

After the end of the war and at the defeat of Japan in the war, Andaman Islands were recaptured by British forces, before becoming part of independent India in 1947. People in mainland India associate the name 'Kala pani' (Black-waters) with Andamans which still have a mystic connotation for Indians, and the penalty island at the edge of the world is still considered an outpost for Indians pilgriming here to salute the national heroes in the setting of Cellular Jail

2.5 Post Independence Andaman and Nicobar

Andaman and Nicobar Islands were declared a union territory of republic of India under the administration of President of India in 1950 with a Lt. Governer governing on his behalf. The Union Territory of Andaman and Nicobar consists of two districts, Andaman district in the north and Nicobar district in the south. Andaman district includes three large islands viz. North Andaman, Middle Andaman and South Andaman and many smaller ones. It extends from Land Fall Islands in the north to Little Andaman in the South. Port Blair in South Andaman is the head quarters of Andaman district and the capital of Union Territory. The Nicobar district extends from Car Nicobar in the north to Great Nicobar in the South. Each district is headed by a deputy commissioner. The District of Andaman consists of two sub-divisions and five tehsils [13] . The District Administration has been entrusted with various activities such as Islanders Identity Cards, implementation of centrally Sponsored Schemes and revenue related activities. Sub-divisions and tehsils in Andaman district can be shown by following table.

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[13] Tehsil is a Hindustani word used in South Asia as a division of land for administrative and taxation purposes.

Table 5: Andaman district

Sub-division	Tehsil
Mayabunder	Diglipur
	Mayabunder
	Rangat
South Andaman	Ferrariganj
	Port Blair
	Little Andaman

The district of Nicobar came into existence on 1st of August, 1974. Before this, it was a part of the district of Andaman. It is headed by Deputy Commissioner stationed at Car Nicobar. The District has 2 sub-divisions viz. Car Nicobar and Nancowry. The second sub-division has jurisdiction over all islands of the district except Car Nicobar. However, for smooth functioning of the administration, it is divided into three circles under the supervision and control of Assistant Commissioners who work directly under Deputy Commissioner. Tribal Councils are the traditionally elected body looking after the welfare of the local people.

Every village in the tribal area is having a village council headed by 1st captain and who is assisted by 2nd and 3rd captain. The Captains are elected democratically by secret ballot normally for tenure of 4 years. Every island/group of islands is having Tribal Council, which is constituted by the 1st Captains of Village Council falling in their jurisdiction. These 1st Captains also select Chief Captain & vice Chief Captain of the Tribal Council. At present in Nicobar district, there are seven Tribal councils namely Car Nicobar, Katchal, Nancowry, Kamorta, Teressa, Chowra and Pilobhabi.

Village Council does play an important role in day-to-day life. They are the link between the Local Administration and the tribal people of the island.

Similarly Nicobar district's sub-divisions and tehsils can be shown by the following table:

Table 6: Nicobar District

Sub-division	Tehsil
Nancowry subdivision	Nancowry
Car Nicobar	Car Nicobar subdivision

2.6 People of Andaman Islands

2.6.1 The Demography:

The Andamans have historically been sparsely populated. In the beginning; there were only the native aborigines-the original inhabitants who have been resisting the onslaught of outsiders till recently (barring the few persistent ones). Even after the British colonized the islands in 1858 and established a penal coloney, the population did not expand immediately. During the British colonial period people from all hues were brought to provide hard manual labor. Indigenous people from Jharkhand area of mainland India like Santhals, Mundas, Kurukhs etc were brought mainly to clear forests and to work for the wealth making timber industry. Similarly Burmese labors were brought in large numbers for managing elephants in timber logging and extraction.

The 1901 Census counted 24,649 people in Andamans. Later in 1925 at Mayabandar another group of indigenous people called Karen were brought from Northern Burma to work for timber industry. By 1941, there were just about 9,000 more. During the Second World War, Japan annexed the islands and the surge in the population did stop for few years. After Independence, aware of the island's strategic value, the Indian government began resettling mainlanders in the islands. And the population started expanding fast. The government gave land to ex-servicemen from defense forces and emigrants from East Pakistan (what is now Bangladesh). To help in administration, it exported bureaucrats and clerks from the mainland. However it was not easy to lure people to the islands. Tropical paradise or not, the isles are two to four sea-tossed days away from the

mainland and the dreaded reminders of *Kala pani*. The government had to dole out goodies in the form of transport, education and health facilities at subsidized rate or for free. The settlers were promised that in an emergency they would be airlifted to the mainland lest something happens. Around the same time, local contractors started bringing cheaper migrant labourers in the islands. Most of them never went back because it made economic sense for them. Then came the enterprising business men from Tamilnadu and Kerala of Mainland India, who today are the forerunners in running all profit making business in the Islands be it running eateries or running illegal liquor vends. By 1961, the population had reached 63,548. Three decades later, it had increased to more than four times to 280,661.

And today according to Census of India 2001, the total population of the Andaman and Nicobar Islands is around, 314,239 out of which 203,968 constitute the population of the Andaman Islands (Please see table 7. for comparative figures). The worst suffers in this making of 'Mini India' were the indigenous people[14] of these islands. Some of them completely vanquished and some survived this onslaught of this alien intrusion in their territory.

The Andaman Islands are the habitat of four different indigenous groups namely the Great Andamanese, the Jarawa, the Onge and the Sentinelese. These indigenous communities seem to have lost the race with the burgeoning population of outsiders. And hence number a very little over the population in an archipelago which was originally theirs. Summarily following communities inhabit the Andaman Islands:

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[14] Indigenous people of Andaman Islands are officially classified as 'primitive tribes' and generally referred as 'tribes' across the literature. I will be using the term 'indigenous people or group' throughout the present work on the grounds that as an anthropological term, the word tribe fell out of favor in the latter part of the 20th century. Some anthropologists rejected the term itself, on the grounds that it could not be precisely defined. Others objected to the negative connotations the word acquired in the colonial context. African scholars, in particular, felt that the term was pejorative as well as inaccurate. Thus, many modern anthropologists replaced it with the designation 'ethnic group', usually defined as a group of people with a common ancestry and language, a shared cultural and historical tradition, and an identifiable territory. One of the current politically correct terms used is 'indigenous people' which has been adopted for the present work.

1. The Indigenous communities viz Great Andamanese, Jarawa, Onge and Sentinelese

2. The migrants or settlers [15] comprising of settled ex-convict families, Ranchis[16], Bengalis, Tamils, Telugus, Malyalis, and Burmese-Karen

The comparative figures of population of indigenous communities and the settlers can be shown by the following table:

Table 7: Population of Andaman and Nicobar Islands

Year	Total	Andaman Islands	Nicobar Islands	Indigenous communities			
				Great Andamanese	Onge	Jarawa[17]	Nicobarese
1901	24,649			625	672	468	5,962
1911	26,459			455	631	114	7,991
1921	27,086			209	346	114	8,248
1931	29,463			90	250	70	9,589
1941	33,768						
1951	30,971			23	150	50	11,902
1961	63,548	48,985	14,563	19	129	500	13,903
1971	1,15,133	93,468	21,665	24	112	275	17,874
1981	1,88,741	1,58,287	30,454	27	100	200	21,172
1991	2,80,661	2,41,453	39,208	28	101	250	
2001	314,239	203,968		36	100	250	

Source: Sekhsaria (2003:15) with some modifications

[15] Migrants are sometimes called 'local' especially for those whose families settled before 1942
[16] Ranchi is the name given to settlers from Jharkhand region of mainland India after the capital city of the newly formed Jharkahnd state
[17] Jarawa demographic data is an estimate

2.6.2 The Indigenous people of Andaman Islands

Indigenous people of Islands of Andaman generally classified as 'Negrito'[18] in traditional literature, are hunters and gatherers who are believed to be the descendents of the very early migrants out of Africa which migrated in a single rapid dispersal occurred somewhere between 60,000 to 75,000 years following a coastal route along the Arabian Peninsula to India, Malaysia, and Australia (Thangaraj et al, 2006). There is no doubt that these indigenous groups living in the islands are the sole owners of the emerald islands. These Andamanese Islanders had been following their traditional way of life i.e. of semi-nomadic hunter-gatherers-fishers, well into the 19th century, when British colonizers began to take control over the islands.

Our awareness about them came to a full circle only when the British colonial officers and Anthropologists like E.H. Man, M.V. Portman, and A.R. Radcliffe-Brown began their comprehensive studies on these islanders. Today these Islanders are Indian citizens and live in government notified 'tribal reserves' spread over the Islands. With good intentions of protecting them and for their welfare in 1975, Government of India established *Andaman Aadim Janjati Vikas Samiti* (AAJVS), as an official tribal welfare body of the Andaman administration. Today AAJVS is the body which dictates the terms in the life of indigenous people who have realized the irreversible invasion of their territory. Present Andaman Islanders can be grouped into four different indigenous groups in the following manner:

2.6.2.1 The Jarawa:

The Jarawas belong to the indigenous group of people inhabiting an area of around 649 sq. Kms. designated as a tribal reserve by Government of India, spread across western coast of South and Middle Andaman. In 1975, the government classified the Jarawas as a primitive tribe under article 342 of Indian constitution. Till recently the Jarawas were hostile to outsiders in their territory,

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[18] Negrito is a Spanish word used for short statured dark skinned people who are different from Africans

but due to continued contact with migrant settlers and government sponsored contact missions, they have started coming out of their territory to make non-hostile contact with the outsiders. This is mainly after the *Enmey* episode and the realization that contact with outside world is altogether an interesting affair (Jarawa Report, 2003). Despite their non-hostile contact, the Jarawas still lead their traditional way of life, occasionally venturing out to seek goods from the other world. But it was observed that this venturing out mood is temporary in nature and as soon as they are back into their natural habitats, they shed all what belongs to the alien's world. Modern medicine is another bridge which is bringing them closer to us. Traditional Jarawa life revolves around their hunting and gathering practices. Their subsistence economy is still very much related to the surrounding environment. Their staple food is wild boars, honey, grubs, tubers, fish and other marine products.

2.6.2.2   The Onge:

The Onges are one of the hunting-gathering communities of Andaman Islands, and are typical representatives of the simplest level of human culture existing in the world. Today around 100 Onges live in a small thickly forested island of 732 sq. Kms named Little Andaman, which is the southern most island in Andaman archipelago. The Onges have two settlements where they live, one at Dugong Creek and the other at South Bay. But the Onges prefer to live at their natural habitat at Dugong creek. Earlier, their movements were confined to the island with occasional forays to other islands in their dug-out out-rigger canoes. They have been in regular contact with outsiders for over a century. For long, they successfully evaded all attempts at contact with the outsiders. Despite their resistance, they were disturbed and were left in a state of destitution for a considerable period of time. During 1950's government of India declared Little Andaman as a tribal reserve in order to protect the interests of the Onge community. But in 1967, Little Andaman was opened up for settlement for people from outside. For the first time, the small and fragile populations of 98 Onges had started living face to face with several thousand people. This resulted in

severe restriction in their mobility and thus in their mode of life. The Onges are traditionally hunters and foragers who hunt wild boars, dugongs, turtles etc and forage various types of tubers, nuts, seeds and honey. Challenging the external agencies at work, the Onges still move from one place to another, leading their traditional way of life. Their ethno botanical knowledge has been described as unmatchable but those days are not far when this external invasion will change all.

2.6.2.3   The Sentinelese

Of all the indigenous societies in India and the rest of the world, the Sentinelese (estimated population around 250) are perhaps the most isolated and the most untouched culturally and biologically. They live on the small island of North Sentinel, off the west coast of South Andaman Island which they still vigorously defend. They are, by all evidence, a true hunting-gathering society with considerable reliance on sea resources, and appear to have close cultural identity with the three Negrito tribes. They are highly suspicious of outsiders. Government sponsored missions tried making friendly contacts with them but all went to vain after few trips. Because of their sensitivity in this regard, there is no administrative presence on this island. Ariel survey of North sentinel Islands after the devastating Tsunami in 2004 found them in good health and composure. In fact on 26th of January, 2006 they killed two Indian poachers who had intruded in their territory.

2.6.2.4   The Great Andamanese

The word Great Andamanese is a misnomer which has been continuously used to define 10 different groups speaking ten different languages, which used to inhabit the whole of Great Andaman group of Islands. Originally the most numerous of the indigenous groups of Andaman Islands, they were the first to come in contact with the outsiders and hence the worst sufferers. The Great Andamanese can be termed as a collection of ten extinct groups which shared linguistic and cultural affinity (Radcliffe-Brown, 1922:497). This linguistic continuum and their

geographical distribution compelled the scholars to categorize the whole group in three divisions namely (Man 1932):

1. Northern group consisting of Aka[19]-Jero (Aka-Jeru), Aka-Khora and Aka-Care groups of indigenous people

2. Central group consisting of Aka-puchikwar (Aka-Pujjukar), Aka-Juwoi, Aka-Kede and Aka-Kol groups of indigenous people

3. Southern group consisting of Aka-Bea and Aka-bale groups of Indigenous people

These people belonging to different groups and occupying different territories across the Andaman Islands maintained cultural and familial ties between their neighboring groups but as whole also there are also evidences of a cultural continuum. Each group or the tribe comprised of several local groups which were further divided on the basis of whether they are coast dwellers (*aryoto*) or forest dwellers (*eremtaga*). Within a local group the only division was of family and a family comprised of a man and a woman with their children (Radcliffe-Brown, 1922:23).

The Great Andamanese were estimated to be to be around 5000 in the early 19th century which readily declined to 625 by the beginning of 20th century due to prolonged contact with outsiders. The reasons for this decline was firstly because of punitive expeditions undertaken by British colonial forces and later by transmission of several diseases like tuberculosis, cholera, measles, syphilis etc from the settlers, when friendly relations were established by the end of 19th century. Once the friendly contacts were established the colonizers used the Great Andamanese to reign in the other hostile groups like the Jarawa and the Onge which resulted in a lot of hostility and bloodshed. Later the Japanese occupation of the islands and the subsequent aerial bombing brought several casualties among the Great Andamanese people who were despised as British spies. By the 1950's almost seven of the Great Andamanese groups (tribes) became extinct and

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[19] The prefix *Aka* is used before every group or language name which according to our analysis means 'his or hers'

whoever remained were mainly from the northern group (Aka- Jero, Aka-Khora and Aka-Care) except the lone survivor from the Aka-pujjukar who is still fondly remembered by the surviving Great Andamanese as 'Loka Raja'.

In 1949, the forest department of Andaman settled the remaining Andamanese at Bluff Island in Middle Andaman and some Great Andamanese men were employed in forest department also. But the settlement was found unsuitable by the Great Andamanese and later the Andaman administration after consulting the chief or Raja[20] of the community who was incidentally a *Pujjukar* man (Loka) selected Strait Island off the eastern coast in the Baratang group of Islands (originally a *Pujjukar* area) for the new settlement. Later in 1969 around 10.79 sq. kms of forest land was cleared at Strait Island and the surviving Great Andamanese were eventually shifted there (Chakraborty, 1990:7). These surviving Great Andamanese were mainly from North Andaman and were living near Webi village of Karens in Mayabandar tehsil.

Today, of the nearly 54 (2006 count) people who can claim the Great Andamanese heritage, many have recent Indian and Karen ancestry as well. Cooper (2002:180) writes that the drastic population reduction among the Great Andamanese has resulted in change in genetic constitution, and expressed concern that the Great Andamanese may soon became extinct altogether. Present Great Andamanese at Strait Island lead a sedentary life with frequent visits to the city whose foundation completely uprooted from their islands. In the past, as recounted by elders, the vices of outside civilization like opium, tobacco and alcohol were introduced to them by their neighbors and co-workers in Bush police[21] and forest department. And these vices resulted in pre-mature deaths in otherwise strong and healthy Great Andamanese community. Though opium

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[20] It is noted by various scholars that the concept of chief or headman was not prevalent in the traditional Great Andamanese society and the designation of chief or Raja given to a person of the society, was a colonial export in order to facilitate efficient administration by the colonizers and later by the Indian government

[21] A colonial force formed by British colonizers to tame hostile indigenous groups of the islands in which Great Andamanese were employed.

consumption has stopped completely because of Government control but alcohol is still a persistent addiction which has led to a loss in self esteem and willingness to work especially among men. This also has to do with the policy of the administration which has made them completely dependent on monthly doles in the form of food provisions and cash. On the other hand marriage alliances outside the community have also resulted in prolonged contact with outsiders necessary and this has resulted in continued exposure to ills of our society (Awaradi, 1990:237). It is not that the Great Andamanese do not want to stay in Strait Island and more willing to stay at the city, but it is the alcoholism and the sheer stand still life of Strait Island which compels them to runaway from there frequently.

The Great Andamanese who were once the largest group of hunters and gatherers, no more actively indulge in hunting and gathering. But still on some occasions they love to hunt turtles with their turtle hunting spears. Fish (cooked Indian style) and government provided rice is their staple food. But they still savor turtle meat and some elders still love their food boiled and blanch in the traditional Great Andamanese way of cooking.

Almost all the young people in the community know little about their language and are also ignorant about their traditional culture and way of life. But still there are some issues which still bind them as the Great Andamanese.

There are some socio-cultural practices which they still treasure like pre-natal naming and a very egalitarian way of thinking.

Apart from Strait Island, the Great Andamanese also have some addresses in the Port Blair town. The government built Aadi Basera modeled after Carbyn's 'Andaman Homes' at Port Blair is one of them which is perennially occupied by one or the other Great Andamanese family. Other locations in Port Blair where the Great Andamanese frequently visit and stay are residential colonies of Prem Nagar and Police line. Moreover around six Great Andamanese children are

currently staying at the hostel of Vivekanand School at Port Blair where they are taking education.

But it is a pity that, despite of such a prolonged contact with Great Andamanese people, settlers see them in awe and usually prefer calling them 'jungli' (a pejorative Hindi word meaning wild). On the top of it, is their ignorance of the grim truth that it is the Great Andamanese who originally and rightfully belong to Andamans and not them.

2.7 Geographical distribution and movement of Great Andamanese and other groups

The history of geographical distribution and spread of the Great Andamanese and the other indigenous groups of Andaman Islands in the archipelago is a tale of many interrelated conditions and necessities. What we know about their geographical distribution is only through the works of colonial scholars like Man (1883) and Radcliffe-Brown (1922). The linguistic and archeological evidences also help us recreate the stage for this spread and shrink.

By Man's account of 1883, the indigenous groups of Andaman Islands were distributed across the Andaman archipelago in the following manner:

❖ Aka-cari in the top most area of North Andaman starting from Port Cornwallis through Saddle Peak.

❖ Aka-Khora in the North Andaman at the eastern coast.

❖ Aka-Jeru in the North Andaman around Mayabandar to Mount Diavolo

❖ Aka-bo in the North Andaman at the western coast around Shark Island and Casuarina bay

❖ Aka-kede in the Middle Andaman, from Interview Island to Rangat Bay

❖ Aka-Kol in the Middle Andaman, around Rangat, Long Island and Guitar Island

❖ Oko-Juwoi in the Middle Andaman, around Flat Island to Spike Island

❖ Aka-Puchikwar in the Middle Andaman, around Baratang Island, Strait Island and Colebrook Island

- ❖ Aka-Bale in Middle Andaman, around Havelock Island, Neil Island and English Island
- ❖ Aka-Bea in South Andaman, around Port Campbell, Mount Harriet and Port Blair
- ❖ Jarawa [22] in South Andaman, around Rutland Island, Sandy Island surrounded by Aka-Bea territory
- ❖ Onge in Little Andaman

Please see map 3 and 4 for reference.

Man (1883) also maintains that the Aka-bea cannot be termed as the undisputed owners of the whole of South Andamans because of presence of the Jarawas in pockets in their territory. Man (1883: xxiii) stipulates on the basis of the Jarawa kitchen middens that the Jarawas are the older occupants than their Bea neighbors.

On the other hand Redcliffe-Brown provides a slightly different view in this regard. Radcliffe-Brown (1922:14) says that the Jarawas are originally the inhabitants of little Andaman on the basis of linguistic and cultural similiarity with the Onges. He further says that the Jarawas must have made their way up to Rutland Island by canoes from the North of Little Andaman and later penetrated further north in South Andaman in Bea area. One of the factors for this invasion Radcliffe-Brown cites is, that the majority of the Bea were coast dwellers and the Jarawas were forest dwellers.

Radliffe-Brown (1922:16) also discusses that the territorially the largest indigenous group was of the Aka-Bea people, follwed by the Aka-kede, the Aka-Puchikwar, the Aka-Jeru and the Aka-kora. While the smaller ones were the Oko-juwoi, the Aka-Kol, the Aka-Bo, the Aka-Bale and the Aka-cari.

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[22] Man (1883) includes Onge under the same umbrella term but here they have been distinguished

The advent of British rule in South Andaman brought disease and colonial force which killed Aka-Bea and drove out the Jarawas further north to the territories once occupied by the Great Andamanese groups as far as Mayabander (Jarawa report, 2003). At the same time fierce battles continued between the Jarawas and the Great Andamanese groups resulting in lot of bloodshed.

Similarly the Sentinelese also seem to have followed the Jarawa route originating in Little Andaman. Radcliffe-Brown also reports that in the time span of 1890 to 1930, the Onges of Little Andamans, started visiting South Andaman in search of hunt as well Iron for arrows, as far as Labyrinth Island in the event of weakening of the Jarawas as well as the Aka-Bea people.

Comparing this recent migration with the early Jarawa migration, we can see that the migrations were necessitated by scarcity of hunt in Little Andaman as well as the realization that the Southern Andaman is a bigger and exploitable area.

But the contact with outsiders stopped this Onge migration as well, for they also started bearing the brunt of alien contact in the form of high mortality and low birth rate.

Today, looking at the geographical distribution of Andaman islanders, we find that Great Andamanese after a brief period of stay at Bluff Island from the Mayabader are now finally settled in Strait Island off the eastern coast. The Jarawas have also stopped further migrations and are mainly concentrated along the west coast of South and Middle Andaman islands. And the Onges in South Bay and Dugong Creek in Little Andama. Also notable is the fact that the population of the Jarawas who are mainly forest dwellers have remained comparatively high, while that of the mainly coast dwellers like the Great Andamanese and the Onge have received a deadly blow.

Thus we see a clear historic inland migration pattern emerging in Andaman Islands where one indigenous groups from southern tip move northwards and the one from the north moving towards the south.

Please refer Map no 3 and 4 for further details.

Chapter 3
The Great Andamanese construct of space and time

"The first point is that cosmologies are unconstrained. They are creation of the human imagination; they do not have to conform to the inconvenient limitations of the real world. But secondly, because cosmologies are invented by human beings, they consist of transformations of the real life experience of those who invent them"

-Edmund Leach, *Social Anthropology* (1982:213)

3.1 Concept of Space
3.1.1 Theoretical foundations:

Anthropologists since the times of Franz Boas, have always been interested in the understanding of use space by different communities, their patterns of settlement and the inherent symbolism, as well as people's conceptualization of notions of time. In order to answer these questions, social anthropologists have always tried to visualize the cosmology of the community under study. *The New Dictionary of Cultural literacy* (2002) defines cosmology as 'a system of beliefs that seeks to describe or explain the origin and structure of the universe. A cosmology attempts to establish an ordered, harmonious framework that integrates time, space, the planets, stars, and other celestial phenomena. In so-called primitive societies, cosmologies help explain the relationship of human beings to the rest of the universe and are therefore closely tied to religious beliefs and practices. In modern industrial societies, cosmologies seek to explain the universe through astronomy and mathematics. Metaphysics also plays a part in the formation of cosmologies.'

Starting point in studies on cosmologies was led down by Emile Durkheim and Marcel Mauss (1902, 1970) in their seminal work 'Primitive Classification'. In this work they mainly seek to address questions related to the origin of ability to

categorize and the possible reasons as to why people divide up the world mentally into different kinds of things. Durkheim and Mauss (1902) give sociological reasons as answers for the above question. While working on Australian aboriginal communities, they observed that first categories presented to so-called primitive societies are 'groups' and subsequently changes in societies led to increasingly complex categories. Durkheim and Mauss (1902, 1970) observed that divisions in one domain are replicated in another: divisions of color correspond to divisions of birds and divisions of seasons and quarters of universe and sections of town and parts of house and parts of body and parts of universe and so forth.

Thus we can say that Durkheim and Mauss (1963:83) view space as a whole to which everything is related.

Pandya (1990:775) observes that Durkheimeian propositions generate categories that are imposed upon social relationships expressed in terms of that structured space.

Another landmark study in this area is by social anthropologist, Claude Lévi-Strauss who elaborated Durkheimian ideas. In 'The Savage Mind', Lévi-Strauss uses the signifier, bricolage[23] (1966:16, 36), to describe how myths are assembled from the rudiments of prior myths and discourses. These elements are combined opportunistically to explain any extant phenomenon. Through myths, primitive science provides an understanding, a "coming-to-know," of everything within the awareness of the senses. Inspired by Jakobson and the Prague School (structural linguistics) Lévi-Strauss said there were underlying structures, but likely to be abstract, more like mathematical formula, with many possible transformations, than an obvious symbolic classification

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[23] The *bricoleur*, says Lévi-Strauss, is someone who uses "the means at hand," that is, the instruments he finds at his disposition around him, those which are already there, which had not been especially conceived with an eye to the operation for which they are to be used and to which one tries by trial and error to adapt them, not hesitating to change them whenever it appears necessary, or to try several of them at once, even if their form and their origin are heterogeneous.

Lévi-Strauss (1966) proposed that these structures are at deep level in all sorts of things such as systems of alliance through marriage exchanges; 'totemic' classifications of animals; ritual; cosmology; and especially mythology. Moreover Lévi-Strauss wrote series of books exploring deep structures in South and North American mythologies. Summarily Lévi-Strauss explored the logical-universal life to which he claimed collective systems of classification could be seen to lead. Rapport and Overing (2000:35) says 'if Chomsky could argue for underlying grammatical structures of which every language and every speech-act might be said to be transformations, then Lévi-Strauss determined that comparably unconscious, deep structures of symbolic classification, albeit now culturally derived, inhabited the minds of socialized individuals. A structural anthropology might chart the vast network of transformations and variations by which the classificatory systems of different cultures and times were linked and the transformatory principles (such as binary opposition) by which this was effected.'

American anthropologist Robert Redfield puts forwards his views on world view of indigenous people with the help of three important assertions in his article 'The primitive world view'(1952:30-36). His first assertion says that in indigenous people's world view there is no sharp separation between confronted and the actors of confrontation. By this he means, among indigenous people there is primary indistinction of personal, natural, and sacred qualities. Secondly he says, in indigenous people's world view there is a predominant attitude which is which regards non-human as the source of authority which sometimes directs the course of the order of the things. He also makes its clear that indigenous people follow a course of mutual existence with non-human. In his own words, 'the primitive person works with the elements, not against them' (1952:35).

In his third assertion, Redfield says that the indigenous people consider universe as morally significant. By that he means, that for indigenous people, man, nature and god are not separable and hence constitute a unitary system of entities acting

mutually with each other. Redfield views can be summed up by saying that the world view of the indigenous people view considers cosmos unitary in which every single entity follows a mutual as well as moral course of existence, along with a predominant attitude working towards participant maintenance.

P. K. Block in his work *'Modern anthropology'* (1968) uses the term *'social space'* to define the notion of space in human societies. Bock proposes that every culture includes a set of space categories which are culturally derived and important for individuals to orient themselves within a culturally created world. Bock believes that all human beings have a sense of being located within a social world (1968:162). He also categorically states that language is an essential part of the human spatial orientation. Talking about variations in conceptualization of social space, Bock (1968: 167) says 'Each societal group develops its own notions of social space, subdividing its territory in any number of ways. Bock also gives an account of interrelationship between social space and social status. He shows that there is a arbitrary system of access to certain social spaces in many communities on the parameters of sacred, profane, gender, class, caste etc. Personal space according to Bock is the way in which individuals in different cultures make use of the area immediately surrounding them and separating them from others. The diversity in categorization, according to Bock, leads to numerous society specific spatial understandings.

Arnold Van Gennep's *'The Rites of Passage'* (1960) is another landmark study on the concept of cosmology and space. Van Gennep (1960:26) views society as a house like space divided into rooms and corridors through which individuals move. In his book Van Gennep places the primary focus on rites, in which individuals-generally with the proceeding of time-step from one social position/status to another. (Such events are birth, various initiations, marriage, and death). Van Gennep claims that these rites accompanying transitions generally consist of three structural elements: rites of separation-preparing the dying person, giving the last rite; rites of transition—for example, the final burial

of the corpse in the cemetery or the group of rites that serve to keep the haunting souls away; and the rites of incorporation—a mass said for the salvation of the departed soul. In the case of a death event, the individual leaves a preliminary state (living) by these rites and through a liminal phase in which the deceased usually is in a temporary state of existence between the world of the living and the dead), and reaches a post-liminary state (dead). Van Gennep argues that these rites socially validate social or biological changes as birth, marriage, and death. They also canalize the accompanying emotional reactions into culturally elaborated frames, thus placing them under partial social control, consequently making these critical situations more predictable.

Commenting on Durkhemian and Van Gennepian understanding of space, Pandya (1990: 776) says," This assumption about space is analogous to one evident in a dramatic performance when the curtain rises and a space, in the form of a stage, is presented to the audience. Once this stage like spaces becomes 'present' for the anthropologist, then all that is dramatized falls into categories such as inside/outside, center/periphery, male/female, wild/domestic, potent/impotent, or safe/dangerous."

Pierre Bourdieu (1977) gives an alternative approach to spatial analysis. Bourdieu's analysis of space focuses on movements within various spatial structures. In Bourdieu's analysis there is a emphasis on how participants observe movement and space, and ultimately associate identities between movement and spatial structure using a given cultural coding and decoding operations. While talking about various spatial structures, Bourdieu (1977: 2) distinguishes two objective categories of space namely 'practical space' and 'abstract space'. By 'practical space' he means the space in which those who are observed actually move and perform various activities and 'abstract space', which is observer's formulated analysis and abstracted notion of space for the observed culture. He further elaborates on the ordering of space which according to him is an informed set of conceptual schemata, but attains its meaning only through

practice. Bourdieu (1977:91) says 'movement through space, constructed in accordance with certain conceptual schemata acts as a mnemonic device and aids in the practical mastery of those schemata'.

Pierre Bourdiieu (1977: 16) also explains how body habits generate cultural features and social structure. He employs the Latin term 'habitus' to characterize the way the body, mind and emotions are simultaneously trained, and used this concept to understand how social status and class position become embodied in everyday life.

In recent times there has been a continued interest in analysis of space, keeping body as its integral and decisive component. This approach of spatial analysis has its roots in the works of Michel Foucault (1975, 1984, and 1986) where he performs a historical analysis of the docile body to social structure and power, and in works of Pierre Bourdieu (1977) and Anthony Giddens (1984) who have sociologically analyzed the relationship between space and body. Earlier theories on relationship between body and space have also led to contemporary comprehensive works on this subject such as Low and Lawrence (2002), and Brown (2000).

Low (2003:11) explores an earlier theory of psychological relationship of the body to space by Eric Erikson[24] (1950). Low argues that in Erikson's theory genital nodes are attributed to spatial modalities. As per Erickson's research on child development, young boys build tall block structures to heights that topple over, whereas young girls create places with static interiors and enclosed spaces. With this as an example Erikson concludes that in young children, representational space is structured by an interpretation of the biological, cultural and psychological aspects of gender expressed externally in architectural form.

Low further investigates earlier anthropological theories on this subject and contends that Mauss (1950), and Bourdieu (1977) contribute to our

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[24] Erikson. E H. (1950). Childhood and society, New York: WW Norton

understanding of interrelationship between body and space. Low (2003:12) says 'Marcel Mauss (1950) argued that acquired habits and somatic tactics, what he called the techniques of the body, incorporate all the cultural arts of using and being in the body and the world. The body is at the same time, the original tool with which humans shape their world and the substance out of which the world is shaped.'

Another notable approach on this interrelationship is given by Mary Douglas (1971) who describes the body as a medium of communication positing a direct relationship of spatial arrangements and social structure beginning with the symbolism of the body and the body boundaries. The major concern of these approaches is to understand how the body symbolism is transformed into spaces within the home and neighborhood.

Proxemics is another area where an interaction between body and space becomes a matter of discussion. Edward Hall, the founder of the field of Proxemics, postulated in his work 'proxemics' (1968) that humans have an innate distancing mechanism, modified by culture, that helps to regulate contact in social situations. Hall proposes four general categories of personal space ranging from intimate to public. He further adds that appropriate spatial variations in social relations are learned as feature of culture, and these patterns vary depending on the community.

On the other hand, Nancy Munn in her work 'Excluded spaces: The figures in the Australian Aboriginal landscape' (1996), discusses space as a symbolic nexus of relations produced out interactions between bodily actors and terrestrial spaces in her research on Australian aboriginals. She says, aborigines make detours while following their religious laws, to avoid seeing an ancient place or hearing the ritual singing currently going on there. Munn argues that by detouring, actors carve out a 'negative space' that extends beyond their spatial field of vision. She demonstrates that how the ancestral law's power of spatial limitation becomes embodied in an actor centered, mobile body, and separate from any fixed center

or place. Summarily Munn (1996) conceives space as an entity which is created by people by moving through it.

Anthropological and sociological theories of cosmology and space draw on a wide range of philosophical and epistemological traditions ranging from structuralism to functionalism, and recent interpretations through interdisciplinary approaches. Our present understanding of how human beings conceptualize cosmology and space in this sense is the culmination of this long running chain of work and explorations on theoretical paradigms of space. In the following section, we discuss the Great Andamanese conceptualization of space.

3.1.2 The Great Andamanese 'Space'

Though the Great Andamanese in present times live a sedentary life in their settlement at Strait Island, being a hunter gatherer community, their conceptualization of 'space' is differs from their agrarian neighbors who are mostly recent settlers in Andaman archipelago. Using the various previous studies on the Great Andamanese people which include ethnographic accounts (Man:1883;Radcliffe-Brown:1922;Chakraborty:1990),archaeological interpretations (Dutta: 1978; Cooper:2002) and my own field work at Strait Island in 2005-2006, an attempt is here being made to visualize and reconstruct the conceptualization of space by the Great Andamanese people. In this Endeavour, there is no denying that studies done on other indigenous groups of Andaman archipelago by scholars such as Cipriani (1966), Pandya (1990, 1993), Sreenathan (2001) have been of immense help mainly because of the common thread of cultural similarity running through all the Andamanese indigenous groups.

Drawing on James Woodburn's (1982) notion of 'immediate return' vs 'delayed return' societies[25], the Great Andamanese who are once inhabited the whole of Great Andaman archipelago, can be classified as immediate return type society. This has to do with several factors. Foremost is that, each of the subgroup of the Great Andamanese group, had rights over a specified territory with a loosely defined border (Man, 1883:36; Radcliffe-Brown, 1922:29). Secondly food resources both marine and terrestrial, were available in plenty leading to temporary migrations mainly caused due to cases such as change in weather, stench arising from refuse at the settlement, death etc. Moreover the problem of scarcity of any resource could be resolved through exchange between neighboring subgroups. Hence even a seasonal unavailability of a particular food or resource did not necessitate long distance movement. By this assertion we certainly do not mean that movement was not a characteristic feature of the Great Andamanese hunting and gathering society but it was only of temporary nature.

In past the Great Andamanese exhibited a dual pattern of habitation based on ecological distinctions, cross cutting the divisions of groups on linguistic differences. Each group was divided into subgroups namely those who are coast dwellers (*ʃiro-tot-pʰol-ɲo* or *aryoto*) and forest dwellers who live in interiors of Islands (*ʈʰi-mikʰu-ka-ɲo* or *eremtaga*). This distinction was chiefly characterized by differences based on food supply and resources (Radcliffe-Brown, 1922:26). It was also observed that some of the groups showed less degree of distinction between forest dwellers and coast dwellers while some others exhibited a clear cut distinction (Radcliffe-Brown, 1922:26). The movement of *aryoto* subgroup was more clearly marked compared to *eremtaga* owing to factors like changing weather, fishing and turtling conditions. On the other hand *eremtaga* subgroup's movement was primarily based on major seasonal variations. For *eremtaga*

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[25] Although both come under band society, in immediate return societies food was consumed on the spot or soon after, while in delayed return societies, food and other resources might be stored for months or years, with marked effects on social organization and cultural notions of property.

subgroup, dry season (November-May) was preferred for long distance migration for the purpose of social visits and collection of fruits, yams and honey.

The Great Andamanese groups also exhibit a pattern of demographic concentration and dispersion. They did not live in uniformly sized groupings throughout the year, but tend to spend part of the year dispersed into small hunting-gathering units and in another part of the year aggregate into much larger units.

We can infer from the above discussion that 'mobility' is a characteristic feature of the Great Andamanese hunting-gathering society. In fact Movement is so important for the Great Andamanese that it is also clearly evident in their habitation in the form of three different types of encampments (Cooper, 2002:98) built and used in accordance with the duration and stay at a particular camp, the number of people occupying it, and the principal activities that are meant to be carried out there. Radcliffe-Brown (1922:32) distinguishes their encampments as follows: Personal encampment – *barij*, Temporary encampment, and Hunting camps.

Keeping the wider significance of movement in the Great Andamanese society in mind and drawing from Bourdieu (1977), Pandya (1990), and Munn (1996), we propose that the Great Andamanese notion of space is not stage like space where actors move but the space itself is comes into being through the practice of movement.

In the Great Andamanese world view, spirits (*lao*) are nothing but what humans become when they die (Radcliffe-Brown, 1922:157). The Great Andamanese generally categorize three types of spirits: Spirits of land (t^hi-mik^hu *lao*), spirits of sky and spirits of sea (*jurua*). The cover term used for all these three types of ancestral spirits is '*lao*'. It can be referred from this, here that the great Andamanese spirits do not leave their humanly habitat i.e. land or sea but continue to transverse the same.

These spirits are both malevolent as well as benefactive, and the Great Andamanese regarded that human encounters with spirits must be controlled. Radcliffe-Brown (1922:140) cites a case of a Great Andamanese man from Aka-Cari group, who was accompanying him in one of his expeditions. Radcliffe – Brown writes that, the Aka-Cari man wanted to go back to his territory from Rutland Island complaining of cold and cough, which he believed was inflected upon him by the malevolent spirits of that area, and once back in his own territory, he would be healed by benefactive spirits of his own land.

The Great Andamanese also believed that the spirits of unborn children live on tree named 'reŋo' and enter their mother's womb from there only. It is further believed that if a baby dies, the soul enters the mother's womb again and is born a second time.

Following Pandya (1990), it can be inferred from the above discussion that, the Great Andamanese spirits and human beings are transformations of one another. The difference lies in their movement. Spirits move in both vertical axis i.e. to say from sky to land/sea or land/sea to sky, and in horizontal axis i.e. from land to sea or vice versa. On the other hand humans and animals move only in horizontal axis. Death of humans results in his/her acquisition of capability to move in vertical axis. So to say, the relationship between spaces occupied by spirits, animals and humans is determined by their patter of movement. The Great Andamanese spirits, animals and humans occupy same space but at different places. This distribution of practical space is greatly dictated by movement of actors namely spirits, animals and humans. The only exception among living humans who can move on vertical axis are spirit communicators (oko-jumu) who claim special powers by their knowledge or capability to communicate with ancestral spirits usually in dreams but also in person (Radcliffe-Brown, 1922:177; Chakraborty, 1990:51). The other exception are birds which also transverse on vertical axis giving them power to sense the approaching spirits, animals and humans (Man, 1883:87). Present the Great Andamanese elders cite names of

birds like '*bɔe*', '*catale*' and '*bolmikʰu*' as having the ability to detect movement of spirits, animals and humans.

Primary essentialities of movement by the Great Andamanese people, is to avoid death and to succeed in hunting and gathering. The Great Andamanese avoid hunting or praying in area occupied by spirits in forest or sea because the encounter could result in loss of life or sickness. On the other hand some encounters are intended where they seek help from benefactive ancestral spirits (Radcliffe-Brown, 1922:177).

One of the important ways to avoid these fatal encounters with malevolent spirits lies in their use of different type of body painting. In the Great Andamanese culture, smell occupies a very prominent place in day to day life. They believe that humans as well as animal bodies emit peculiar smells which can be observed by spirits lurking around. In order to avoid detection of their bodily smell by malevolent spirits or to attract benefactive spirits, they primarily use two major types of clays for body paintings. Paint made out of white clay (konaphole) is believed to cool the body and inhibit the sweat, is used for avoiding malevolent spirits and for masking human smells from animals for successful hunting. On the other hand paint prepared from red ochre soil (*keip*) is believed to heat the body, resulting in emissions of bodily smells either for attracting benefactive ancestral spirits during ceremonial gatherings or for healing from any illness. Similarly the fibre of Hibiscus tiliacous (*bol*) tree is used to ward off spirits of sea and the leaves of '*tɔ:*' tree is used for the same inside the forest.

Conclusively, all living things including spirits are ethno taxonomically categorized on the basis of their differing moving abilities and bodily smells. The ones which emit distinctive smell such as humans and animals are restricted to movement on horizontal axis whereas those who do not emit any distinctive smell move both horizontally as well as vertically. This situation results in

detection of 'human space' by beings capable of observing smells such as spirits and animals thereby making it imperative for humans to use body paintings.

Another dimension of this situation is that when a living thing stops emitting bodily smells, it achieves the status of spirits. Therefore it is the possibility of having or not having distinctive bodily smell, which determines ones position in the Great Andamanese construct of space.

The practice of calling adolescent boys and girls *k^himil* who have undergone turtle eating ceremony (*cokbi-jo*) after abstinence from eating a particular turtle variety (*cokbi*) and certain other restricted food items, for a period of '*ak-op*' (period of abstinence from eating certain food items) also entails the significance of smell in the Great Andamanese society. The reason lies in the Great Andamanese belief that consumption of certain food items for the first time produces excessive heat in the body of the consumer, thereby resulting in an increase in bodily smells which can endanger the life of the consumer if detected by malevolent spirits. In fact Radcliffe-Brown (1922:101) reports that the Great Andamanese believed that youth who have undergone the 'turtle eating ceremony' behave abnormally for few weeks and they need to be looked after.

Alternatively '*k^himil*' can be understood as the initiation to the realization that spirits live with humans and should not be encountered upon unless they are benefactive ancestral spirits.

Thus for the Great Andamanese people, realization and control of the interactions between humans and spirits is crucial is for maintaining life. The movement of spirits in space is also crucial for change in season, so to displease them by overlapping in their path, is not desirable. Hence the Great Andamanese strive to manipulate smells in order to control the movement of spirits and thereby creating a cosmos which is orderly and life sustaining for all.

Pandya (1990:780) while discussing onge cartography and conceptualization of space writes,

'Onge cosmology is a crucial construct of *injube* (space), an aggregate of places (*nanchugey*) consisting of the sea, the forest, and the sky. Each place is either the residence or the visiting place of a specific spirit. Human beings also reside in and move through the places inhabited by spirits. Only smell and the winds move beyond as well as within *injube* and they alone are multidirectional and interconnective.'

This assertion about Onge people applies in almost similar fashion to the Great Andamanese people showing traces of a proto-Andamanese culture.

Summarily the Great Andamanese cultural construct of space can be defined as a practical or abstract space which is formed by movement of spirits, animals and humans along vertical and horizontal axis. The condition for this movement is avoidance or interaction between the actors depending on the usefulness of move undertaken. In the Great Andamanese world view, space and all the natural elements in it (sun, moon, tides, winds, earth, forest etc) together constitute the cosmos. The Great Andamanese cosmos is like a big Indian puppet stage where actors not only move horizontally but also vertically, thereby making the stage constantly engaged.

3.2 Concept of 'time'

Concept of time is a notoriously difficult concept as it is commonly perceived as a dimension of space. This conception of time is generally reflected not only at cosmic level of time but also at the local level of everyday experience. The common practice of referring to the distance between locations in space as the time taken to travel between them is a prime example for this percolation of space-time concept in human psyche. But despite this striking similarity, the dimension of space and time are not interchangeable. This critical issue of concept of time has been a topic of major debate among anthropologists,

archaeologists, sociologists. Some of the critical views are presented in the coming section.

3.2.1 Theoretical background

Sorokin and Merton (1937:615-629) argue that the category of astronomical time is only one of several concepts of time. They elaborate this by raising differing concepts of time in the fields of philosophy (ontological time), psychology and economics (economic time). According to Sorokin and Merton, the need for social collaboration is at the root of social system. They also argue that expressions of time in common usage tells us that social phenomena are frequently adopted as a frame of reference such as 'shortly after World War', 'after Independence of the country', etc. In their opinion, all calendrical systems arise and are perpetuated by social differentiation and a widening area social interaction. Sorokin and Merton (1937:620) cite the Khasi practice of naming of months in as an exemplifier of social requirement as the basis of temporal categorization. They write that in Khasi society, months are named after the activities which take place in each one of them.

Later, one of the forerunners of modern Sociology, Emile Durkheim, finds time in the image of social diversity. Durkheim and his colleagues discuss multiple forms of social time mirrored in the classification of society (Durkheim and Mauss: 1963). According to Durkheim, social time consists of collective representation or categories that derive from and reflect the groupings and varied rhythm of social life. Moreover Durkheim believes that categorical divisions (days, seasons etc) form a meaningful, qualitatively varied rather than abstract, homogenous temporality (Munn, 1992:95).

Functionalist Anthropologist Malinowski emphasizes time concepts as the measure of motion or as time reckoning (Malinowski: 1944). He defines time reckoning as means of coordinating, dating events and gauging the lengths of time spans. Munn (1992:96), comparing Durkheim and Malinowsky, writes

Malinowskian time puts on mundane, empiricist clothing, as compared to the qualitative myth-ritual dress of Durkheimian representation.

Another approach is by famous British anthropologist Evans-pritchard who uses notion of oecological time to present his understanding of time concepts (Evans-Pritchard, 1939: 189-216). According to Evans-Pritchard (1939) oecological time is identified as with time reckoning concepts that convey social activities or a relation between activities. Munn (1992) terms Evans-Pritchard's visualization of time as motion or process not static units or concepts functioning to reckon time. In his own words Evans-Pritchard (1940:100) while talking about Neur experience of time writes

'I do not think that they ever experience the same feeling of fighting against time or of having to coordinate activities with an abstract passage of time, because their points of reference are mainly the activities themselves which are generally of a leisurely character. Events follow a logical order, but they are not controlled by an abstract system, there being no autonomous points of reference to which activities have to conform with precision. Neur are fortunate.'

P. K. Bock in his work 'Modern cultural Anthropology' (1968) writes that like social space, social time is multidimensional. He distinguishes two fundamental types of temporal dimensions namely 'a linear dimension' and 'a cyclical dimension'. By 'linear dimension of time' Bock refers to a situation in which time period α (alpha) is followed period β (beta) and γ (gamma) and so on. Whereas by 'cyclical dimension of time' he refers to a situation in which the sequence of periods is repeated a definite or indefinite number and times. Bock further adds that every cyclical dimension of time includes at least one linear dimension while some complex linear dimensions include one or more cycles. This can be illustrated by the following figures:

Figure 2: Linear, complex and cyclical dimensions of time

$$\alpha \rightarrow \beta \rightarrow \gamma \rightarrow \dots$$

Linear dimension.
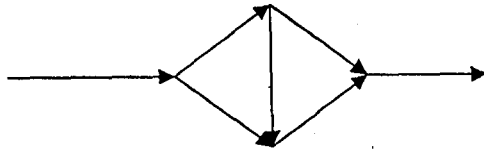
Complex linear dimension
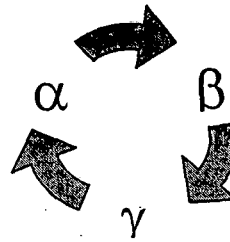
Cyclical dimension

Commenting on the dichotomy of circular-linear dimensions of time, Munn (1992:101) says varied ethnographic accounts since the 1970's have provided substantial evidences of general acceptance of long=term time as incremental process usually conveyed in organic images of continuous and progressive growth or in ancestral, creative place to place travel involving increasing extension from an origin place. Citing the example of C&S Hugh-Jones description of north-west Amazonian Barasana view on time, Munn writes that Barasana view their patrilineal descent groups as incrementally traveling or going away from their ancestral origin. And because this increasing separation is undesirable, Barsana resort to repetitive male initiation to gap this growing distance.

Nancy D Munn (1992:116) views time as a symbolic process continually being produced in everyday practices. She believes that human beings live in multiple

dimension of socio-cultural time such sequencing, timing, past=present-future relations, etc and at a specific instance, a particular temporal dimension takes precedence over other temporal dimensions. Munn writes that these temporal dimensions are lived and apprehended by the people through various meaningful connections among persons, objects and space in day to world.

Summarily, we find that defining time is a difficult issue keeping in mind temporal categorization in agrarian, pre-literate and hunting-gathering societies. But it is clear from the above discussion that the concept of time is grounded to social requirements, objects and space in any society. In the following section, we attempt to understand the conceptualization of time in the Great Andamanese community drawing on this theoretical background.

3.2.2 The Great Andamanese 'time'

Being one of the existing pre-Neolithic societies, the Great Andamanese display a unique temporal system. Following Clark (1992:44), we know that the Andaman islanders categorized time according to local circumstances and there was no notion of abstract time. But rightly pointed out by Cooper (1993:261), local circumstances are not the only basis of temporal categorization. The role of socio-cultural practices, cosmology and mythology also play an important role in the Great Andamanese conceptualization of time.

3.2.2.1 Temporal categorization of natural time

The Great Andamanese primary temporal division of a day is based on movement of sun in the sky. This shows their characteristic relationship with environment. Man (1923:181) writes that in Aka-Bea subgroup there were twelve parts of a day. Similar pattern of division of day is observed by the author in the present great Andamanese community, though they restrict it to only ten temporal divisions.

Another important way to measure time is through lunations i.e. the changing shape of moon. On the basis of the changing shape of moon, the Great

Andamanese divide a cyclic period of roughly thirty days (month in our world view) into four parts viz waxing moon, full moon, waning moon, and moonless night. It is also important to know that movement of moon causes tides in the sea, making this temporal categorization essential for a marine resource dependent community like the Great Andamanese. In the same light Man (1923:182) provides us with 15 different names of tides caused by movement of moon.

3.2.2.2 Seasons and the 'Great Andamanese honey calendar'

The Great Andamanese classification of a solar year is bi-fold. On a broader scale they distinguish three main seasons viz rainy season (*jicer*), summer (*taŋto*) and dry/cold season (*t^{h}ɔubolɔ*). These three primary seasons influenced the terms of migration and subsistence pattern of the Great Andamanese community in yesteryears before they started living sedentary life. Also there is an underlying categorization of three primary seasons on the basis of a particular flower of the time/season (Man, 1923; Chakraborty, 990).

This model of temporal categorization is often termed as the honey calendar of the Great Andamanese. The Great Andamanese honey calendar is based on the name of blooming flowers of that particular time. This naming process is related to not only with seasonal change but also with flower's inherent relation with availability of honey. As pointed out by Radcliffe-Brown (1922:39) honey occupies a special place in the Great Andamanese pattern of subsistence and movement. Similarly significance of flower names can also be gauged from the Great Andamanese ritual of giving girls a flower name after the puberty ceremony. Perhaps the Great Andamanese sub-categorization of primary seasons into minor seasons is more closely related to availability of honey and its taste or smell (Radcliffe-Brown, 1922:119). Interestingly, the Great Andamanese elders of Strait Island claim to know the origin of honey i.e. the flowers which are primarily used by honey bees, just by its smell and taste.

Following this parameter of bi-fold categorization of seasons, the author could collect following flower named seasons.

Table 8: Season names in Great Andmanese

Great Andamanese name	English gloss
jili-ɔrɔ	Onset of summer
pʰoco-ʈɔlɔ	Intense summer (end)
cɔkʰɔro-ʈɔlɔ	Heavy rains
tipok-ʈɔlɔ	Mid summer
rea-ʈɔlɔ	Onset of mild rain
rɛʈ-cer	End of summer and onset of rain

In the same way Man (1923:182) mentions that Aka-Bea people divided the primary season into twenty minor seasons named after flowers blooming at that particular season. Radcliffe-Brown (1922:118) provides a list of flower names which were used by the Great Andamanese as reference points of time. His list of flower names in Aka-Jeru and Aka-Bea, and their corresponding blooming time form Georgian calendar is as follows:

Table 9: Flowers and their Seasons

Aka-Bea Flower Name	Aka-Jeru Flower Name	Corresponding Time
clilipa	celebi	Mid November to mid February
moda	mukui	Mid of February to mid May
ora	okor	
jidga		
yere	jeru	
pataka	botek	
balya	puliu	
rece	re	Mid May to August end
cagara	cokoro	
carapa	carap	September, October and the first half of November
cenra	ʈorok?	
yulu	jili	

3.2.2.3   Hunting-gathering model of temporal categorization

Apart from measuring and categorizing time on the basis of natural events like blooming of seasonal flowers, movement of sun, etc, the Great Andamanese also categorize time on the basis of availability of food resources and best time for hunting an animal or fish. Chakraborty (1990:45) writes about how the Great Andamanese recognize availability of a particular food resource by looking at the blooming flower or fruit of the season. On the same lines, the author could collect some period names either coined after a blooming flower or fruit such as:

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Table 10: Flower names and hunting time

Great Andamanese Name	Relevance
kɔrɔiɲ-ɔrɔ	The period when the fat content in turtles and fish is high
bɔp-ʈɔlɔ	The period when 'bikʰir' , 'lioʈ' and 'bere' fish are found in plenty
loro-ʈɔlɔ	The period best for catching 'pʰiku' and 'ɲuri'
cɔkʰɔro-ʈɔlɔ	The period when pigs have maximum fat. Therefore the best time to hunt pigs

On the other hand, it has also been noticed that the Great Andamanese, also devise some temporal categories after the best hunting time. For example Man (1883:144) writes about the Great Andamanese belief that the best time to hunt turtle or fish is during the ebb favorably between dawn and rising of the waning moon. This period is therefore named as 'aks-tig-pala' in Aka-Bea speech. Similarly Man (1923:182) writes about the best time to collect shell fish known as 'astoya' in Aka-Bea.

Another important basis for temporal categorization is the mode of hunting. On this criterion the Great Andamanese distinguish between the period before colonization and after it. The Great Andamanese call the period before British colonization as 'bibi-poiye' (literally the days when there were no dogs) since dogs became the part of hunting party only after they were introduced to them by the Burmese (Radcliffe-Brown, 1922:36).

3.2.2.4　Socio-cultural model of temporal categorization

The Great Andamanese society places great emphasis on life rituals. These life rituals are not only essential to maintain the Great Andamanese spiritual and cosmological commitments, but they also act as reference points for calculating age. Primarily the Great Andamanese observe four types of rituals viz pre-puberty rites, initiation rites for restricted food items, marriage and death rites. A rough chronological ordering of life cycle time with reference to rituals of life can be shown as:

Figure 3: Naming and aging paradigm of Great Andmanese

↓　Child (with a pre-natal name)　↓	
↓　Pre-puberty ceremony　↓	
Making of scars at back for boys (boys are called 'ejido' for a short span)	Flower name for girls on the onset of menstruation
↓　Period of Aka-op　↓	
(literally meaning that the girl or boy who has undergone Pre-puberty ceremony will now follow certain food restrictions	
↓　Turtle eating ceremony　↓ For both the Boy and the Girl Adulthood attainment stage The boy who has undergone turtle eating ceremony will now be called 'kʰimil' and some food restrictions would be lifted Girls continue to be addressed by their flower names	
↓　Honey/Dugong/Pig eating ceremony　↓	

All food restrictions are lifted Boys regain their Pre-natal name		
↓	Marriage	↓
Birth of the first child Parents are now called by a new name for few months ↓ Girls regain their pre-natal name		↓
↓	Death	↓
↓	Spirits An honorific name /maya/is attached to the Pre-natal name	↓

This paradigm can be explained by the following example:

Consider that a boy and a girl are born around the same time in different families, now the baby boy's pre-natal name was kept '*Ilphe*' and the girl's as '*boa*'. After certain years the girl starts menstruating and the boy also grows up. A pre-puberty ceremony is organized and the Girl is given a new name '*phoco*' after the flower blooming at that time. At the same time scars are made on Boy's back with the help of sharp edged shells and the boy is now called '*ejido*' for few months. Then the boy reverts back to the pre-natal name '*ilphe*' and the girl continues to be addressed as '*phoco*'. After few years at the age of Adulthood attainment, Pig eating ceremony is organized in which the boy is given a new name '*khimil*' by which the boy is addressed for next few months. The girl continues to be called '*phoco*'. After few months the boy regains his pre-natal name '*ilphe*'. Soon after '*ilphe*' and '*phoco*' get married and a child is born to them. After the birth of the child the parents are addressed by a different name which goes on for few months then the mother and the father both regain their

pre-natal names i.e. the man's name as *'ilphe'* and woman's name as *'boa'*. For many years this name continues and finally they die and their name changes to *'maya ilphe'* and *'maya boa'*.

3.2.2.5 Mythological model of temporal categorization

The Great Andamanese folklore is ample in legends relating to the origin of earth, origin of human beings, the great flood and how fire was created and saved by civet cat. The Great Andamanese legend of how animals got transformed into human beings is equally common among all the indigenous groups of Andaman archipelago (Radcliffe-Brown, 1922:189-213). The importance of these legends becomes clear when we come to know that the Great Andamanese categorize prehistoric time on the basis of these legends. For example the origin of earth (*marakele*) becomes a reference point for ancestral history. Similar is the use of legend of great flood, the great drought, the creation and saving of fire and the transformations of animals into human beings. Equally important is the belief that storms caused by the South-Western winds are actually personification of 'tʰarac' (a supernatural being) and the one caused by the North-Eastern wind is of 'bilikʰu' (Radcliffe-Brown, 1922:148). Consequently the Great Andamanese categorize a solar year into time of *'tʰarae'* and time of *'bilikʰu'*

Summarily the Great Andamanese conceptualization of time can be represented by the following table:

Table 11: Great Andamanese conceptualization of time

Time	Parameter Of Temporal Categorization
Natural time	Movement of sun in the sky
	Waning/waxing of moon
	Tide formation
	Blooming of flowers and fruits
	Hunting and gathering criterions
Life –cycle time	Puberty rites
	Turtle eating ceremony
	Marriage
	Birth of a child
	Death
Recent past	Introduction of dogs vs days without dogs
Mythological time	Origin of earth
	Origin of humans
	The great flood
	The great drought
	Creation and saving of fire
	Transformations of animals into humans/spirits

Chapter 4
Deictic categories in the Great Andamanese

Being the only survivor from the Great Andaman subgroup of Andamanese language family, present Great Andamanese language is our only source of getting acquainted with the deep linguistic prehistory of Pre-Neolithic people. Because of our understanding that indexicality, and hence deixis is a fundamental design feature of all human languages, an enquiry into the system of deictic categories in the Great Andamanese language, becomes important for our crucial understanding of complex linguistic-semantic conceptualization of the people from one of the oldest civilizations on earth.

Deictic expressions, deictics, indexicals expressions and indexicals include any linguistic element whose interpretation in simple sentences makes essential reference to properties of the extra-linguistic context in which they occur, that is, an element which speakers and the hearer use to refer and perceive some aspects of the context. In fact they are the most obvious way in which the relationship between language and context is reflected in the structures of the languages themselves. Through deixis we also realize that the natural languages are primarily designed for use in face to face interactions and everyday worldly situations. It has also been argued that pointing gestures are a proto-form of reference, and accordingly deixis can be seen as the earliest form of verbal reference (Rolfe, 1989:25-32). Deictic reference plays an important role in languages in the way that it helps draw relations between linguistic representations and the world. They directly point the listener's attention to the referent in a given situation in which the utterance is made and by relativizing the utterance to the particular context in which a speaker uses them, they relativize the utterance to speaker's perspective.

Moreover the cognitive demands imposed in language processing by this process of realizing the 'perspective' are contrary to apparently semiotic primitiveness (Pierce, 1955) of deictic reference and to its seemingly pervasiveness in all human communication.

Following Levinson (1983:66) the use of deictic expressions can be shown by the following figure

Figure 4: Use of Deictic expressions

```
                    Use of Deictic expressions

            Discourse Deictics         Exophoric


                          Gestural        |        Transposed
                                      Symbolic

                    Contrastive    Non-Contrastive
```
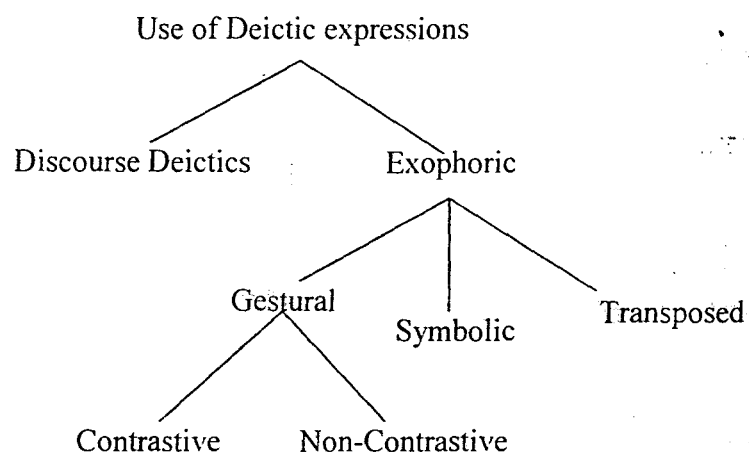
Keeping the definitional restrictions based on formal properties (semantic, morphological and morphosyantactic) of languages, we categorize deictic expressions or elements into more or less closed functional categories of person, spatial, temporal, discourse and social deixis. In the following section we will discuss each of these deictic categories in the Great Andamanese language.

4.1   Person deixis

Person deictics are used to express the identity of the interlocutors in a communication situation. In the Great Andamanese language, this information is linguistically expressed with the help of three types of linguistic elements namely

personal pronouns i.e. bare pronouns (including demonstrative pronouns), pronominal clitics and personal prefixes which are prefixed to nominals for forming genitives constructions.

4.1.1 Personal pronouns

The basic category encoded by personal pronouns is grammatical pronoun. The Great Andamanese displays a vibrantly rich pronominal system as it distinguishes three persons viz first person, second person and third person, and two numbers. Moreover there is an exclusive-inclusive distinction in the first and the second person personal pronouns which is unique to the Great Andamanese in Andamanese language family (Manoharan, 1997: 465). The system of personal pronouns (Bare pronouns) in the Great Andamanese can be shown by the following table:

Table 12: Personal pronouns in the Great Andamanese

	Singular	Plural
1ˢᵗ person	$t^hio{\sim}t^hu$	meŋio (Inclusive) mio~mia~ma (Exclusive)
2ⁿᵈ person	ŋio~ŋa~ŋu	ŋale (Inclusive) ŋole (Exclusive) ŋilio (Exclusive)
3ʳᵈ person	k^hiɖi (Proximate, Near) k^huɖi (Proximate, Intermediate) ɖi (Distant, visible) ɖu (Distant, Invisible)	ɖuna~ɖunio

This table can be further elaborated by following sentences in Great Andamanese:

1. ʈʰio   jero   be
   1SG   Jero   AUX
   I am Jero

2. ʈʰu ʈʰimikʰu-ak   ʈʰut-cɔne-pʰo-b-e
   1SG Forest-LOC   1SG-go-NEG-CL-IND
   I do not go to forest

3. meɲio indiɔn be
   2PL   Indian AUX
   We (inclusive) are Indian

4. meɲio meɲut cɔne b-e
   1pl   1PL   Go   CL-IMP
   We (inclusive) will go

5 mia   pʰring-kɔʃo-il   ʈʰi-bik-ɲo   -k-ɔm
   1PL   Strait   Island- Place-acc-live   CL-NPST
                    LOC
   We (exclusive) live in strait island

6 ma jero   be
   1P Jero   AUX
   L
   We (exclusive) are Jero

7 mio   ʈʰotarpʰuc   bi
   1PL   Andamanese   AUX
   We (exclusive) are Andamanese

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Exclusive –inclusive distinction in 1st person pronouns (plural) can be seen in the above sentences.

8 ŋio   ɖirim   be
   2SG   Black   AUX
   You are dark

9 ŋa   jero   be
   2SG   Jero   AUX
   You are Jero

10. cial   ŋu   tʰi-bik-ɲo   -k-ɔm
     Where   2SG   Place-acc-live   CL-NPST
     Where do you live

11. ŋu   ɲo-ak   ŋut-cɔne   -b-ɔm
     2SG   House-DIR   2sg-go   CL-NPST
     You are going home.

12. ŋalc   jero   be
     2PL   Jero   AUX
     You (Inclusive-Plural) are Jero

13. ŋole   pʰring-kɔʃo-il   tʰi-bik-ɲo-k-ɔm
     2PL   Strait Island-   Place-ACC-live-CL-NPST
                          LOC
     You (exclusive-plural) live in Strait Island

14. ŋilio ŋili-ʃɔm   rɛfe be raʃue kɔm

       2PL 2PL-Ref   Food-ACC-cook-CL-NPST

       You (Pl) cook food yourselves?

Similarly in sentence no. 12, 13 and 14, we see exclusive-inclusive distinction in 2nd person (plural). The setting for data elicitation for sentences no. 12, 13 and 14 can be explained as follows. The informant was sitting with two other Great Andamanese persons. When asked to address both the authors and the other Great Andamanese persons together, the informant used the first form /ŋale/ to include the author as well. While on the other hand, when asked to exclude the author, the informant used the second form /ŋole/.

Interestingly third person pronouns are much more variable across languages than their first and second person counterparts. While most familiar languages use third person pronouns to refer to anything other than discourse participants (e.g. English, French), others restrict their usage to animate entities (e.g. Japanese), and a third set have no distinct third person pronouns, but rather draft demonstratives. The Great Andamanese seemingly belongs to the third set as it uses all the 3rd person pronouns as demonstratives or in other words utilizes both for conveying deictic information.

Besides we also observe following Sidnell (1998) that the degree of closedness of person deictic class in relation to demonstratives is somewhat blurry in the sense that these demonstrative convey spatial relationships. We will be dealing with demonstratives again in the section on spatial deixis.

Following sentences show the usage of 3rd person personal pronouns/demonstratives in the Great Andamanese:

15.   kʰidi   tʰot-ɲo be

         3SG (Prox)   1SG-GEN-house-AUX

         It is my house

16.   kʰudi   loka-tʾot- ɲo be

         3SG   Loka-Gen house-AUX

         It is Loka's house

17.   ɖu   aka- jero be

         3SG   Gen- jero- AUX

         He is jero

18.   ɖi   idɹirim   be

         3SG   black   AUX

         He is dark

19.   ɖu   emoʈelo be

         3SG (Distant)   Fat   AUX

         He is fat

20.   ɖuna   jero be

         3Pl (Distant)   Jero AUX

         They are jero.

21.   ŋu ɖunio rɛfe   bi   tɛss-e

         2SG 3PL food   ACC   give-IMP

         You give them food

4.1.2 Pronominal Clitics

Clitic' is a term conventionally applied as a generalization of the traditional categories proclitic[26] and enclitic[27]. The interest of the category derives from the fact that clitics appear to partake both of the properties of independent words and those of affixes. (Anderson, 2000: 302-333). In traditional grammar enclitics and proclitics are identified as accent-less words (or particles) which depend accentually (or 'lean': hence the name, from Greek kli:no `lean') on an adjacent accented word, and form a prosodic unit together with it. Apart from their characteristic accentual feature, these clitics might show other features as a class as Wackernagel (1892) showed that, in several ancient Indo-European languages, clitics clustered immediately after the first word of their containing sentence, regardless of their individual function. (Cysouw, 2003:2-10)

Secondly it is believed that some 'little' words in some languages appear in positions where the normal syntax of the corresponding syntactic category would not be expected to put them. Most notable among these elements are the pronominal clitics found in many languages and since these are also generally unaccented, the term 'clitic' came to be used to describe that behavior as well.

It is also observed that there are two dimensions of clitic-hood: a phonological one, and a morphosyntactic one. The phonological sense of 'clitic' is that of an element which, in contrast with normal lexical items, is prosodically subordinate to adjacent material. The morphosyntactic sense is that of an element whose positioning within a larger syntactic construction is determined by principles

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[26] A proclitic is a clitic that precedes the word to which it is phonologically joined.

[27] An enclitic is a clitic that is phonologically joined at the end of a preceding word to form a single unit.

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other than those of the language's normal syntax i.e. principles which bear a close similarity to those of morphological affixation. Following Zwicky (1977), we can refer to items displaying these two sorts of property as 'Simple clitics' and Special clitics respectively. We can note that most special clitics are also prosodically dependent and hence simple clitics as well.

Phonologically dependent elements can be regarded as segments or syllables, which do not have a lexically assigned organization into a prosodic word. And as a result of this position, they are necessarily incorporated into an adjacent word by the language's rule(s) of 'stray adjunction', and form a prosodic unit with that word. The principles of stray adjunction often result in a clitic's attaching to a word with which it has no (or even a counter-intuitive) syntactic affiliation (Anderson, 1985: 150-201)

The morphosyntactic dimensions of clitic status have been treated in various ways within different theoretical frameworks. Syntacticians have generally regarded Pronominal Clitics as syntactically homogeneous with other nominals, generated in the corresponding positions and then moved (e.g., to a position immediately preceding the inflected verb of the clause in some languages) by syntactic mechanisms that are somehow sensitive to the item's clitic status. Some others, however, have preferred to treat clitics of this sort as introduced directly in their surface position within the phonological form of a sentence by mechanisms closer to those of morphology than to those of syntax (reflecting their similarity to affixes as opposed to words (Anderson :Ibid)

In the case of the Great Andamanese language, pronominal clitics occupy an important role in the deictic system. The Great Andamanese pronominal clitics are proclitic in nature as they are joined pre-nominally as well as pre-verbally. Firstly we will deal with pre-verbal pronominal clitics in the Great Andamanese. The Great Andamanese utilizes both subject and object proclitics. Pronominal clitics which are placed pre-verbally can be shown by the following table:

Table 13:Pre-verbal Pronominal Clitics in the Great Andamanese

	Subject Cliticts		Object Clitics	
	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
1ˢᵗ person	tʰo, tʰe, tha, tʰu, thot,	mot, me, mo	tʰu, tʰa, the, tʰi	me
2ⁿᵈ person	ŋo, ŋe, ŋu, ŋa, ŋot	ŋele	ŋe	ŋele
3ʳᵈ person	o, u, a, aka, ot	ɖunot	i, ɛm, et, ɛ, ek, e, it, a	ne

As it can be inferred from the above table that the Great Andamanese uses both subject and object proclitics. As pointed out by Abbi (2006), pronimal clitics attached to verbs in the Great Andamanese are obligatory and their bare counterparts are optional. Deictically they convey the identities of the participants and non-participants.

This can be further elaborated by following examples:

22.   tʰo-e-kɔcɔ-b-ɔm

1SG(Subj)-3SG(Obj)-join-CL-NPST

I am joining it

23.   tʰe-ɛm-boe-b-ɔm

ISG(Subj)-3SG(Obj)-Marry-CL-NPST

I am marrying (someone)

24.   boa-l tʰa-ono-b-ɔm

Ground-LOC 1SG(Subj)-sit-CL-NPST

I am sitting on the ground

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25. ʈʰu-i-ʃuiŋe-b-ɔm

1SG(Subj)-3SG(Obj)-blow nose-CL-NPST

I am blowing my nose

26. ʈʰu ʈʰumikʰu-ak ʈhot-cɔne-b-ɔm

1SG forest-DIR 1SG(Subj)-go-CL-NPST

27. cae-ŋo-ʈʰibiŋol-ɔm

Why-2SG(Subj)-cry-NPST

Why are you crying?

28. ŋo-ʈʰa-ta-ʈhie-k-ɔm

2SG(Subj)-1SG(Obj)-TR-bluff-CL-NPST

You are bluffing me

29. ŋe-renkʰɔle-b-ɔm

2SG(Subj)-play-CL-NPST

You are playing

30. ŋu-pʰar-b-em

2SG(Subj)-clap-CL-PROH

You do not clap

31. ŋa-liɖe-b-e

2SG(Subj)-be silent-CL-IMP

You keep quiet

32.   ʈʰimikʰu ŋot-cɔne-pho-b-e

Forest   2SG(Subj)-go-NEG-IMP

Do not go in the forest

33.   o-i-pʰerei k-ɔm

3SG(Subj)-3SG(Obj)-bite-CL-NPST

He is biting (something)

34.   u-a-ta-tɛl-ɔm

3SG(Subj)-3SG(Obj)-TR-hit-CL-NPST

He hits him

35.   aka-ono-b-ɔm

3SG(Subj)-sit-CL-NPST

He is sitting

36   stret-ak mot-cɔne-k-ɔm

Strait-DIR 1PL-go-CL-NPST

We will go to strait

37.   ŋu me-boso-b-e

2SG 1PL-thrash-CL-IMP

You will thrash us

38.   ʈʰu ŋele-boso-b-e

1SG 2PL(Obj)-thrash-CL-IMP

I will thrash you (Pl)

39.   ŋu ɖunio ne-boso-k-e

2SG 3PL 3PL(Obj)-thrash-CL-IMP

You will thrash them

40.   stret-ak ɖunot-cɔne-k-ɔm

Strait-DIR 3PL(Subj)-go-CL-NPST

They will go to strait

The sentences above clearly demonstrate the following characteristics of pre-verbal pronominal clitics in the Great Andamanese:

- ❖ They indicate both the subject and the object in a sentence
- ❖ Pronominal subject and object clitics have phonetic similiarity with their bare counterparts, though some 3rd person clitics are phonetically different
- ❖ A subject clitic always precedes an object clitic if both are attached to the verb
- ❖ There is a phonetic similarity among some subject and object clitics, and their use depends on the context
- ❖ Subject clitics are more numerous than object clitics

4.1.3 Pre-adverbial pronominal clitics

Apart from pre-verbal pronominal clitics, there are also some pronominal clitics which are attached to adverbs of time. These proclitics are prefixed to adverbs of time to indicate the subject of the sentence.

Following examples will elaborate them further

41.   tʰ-ambikʰir stret-ak tʰot-cɔne-b-ɔm

1SG-morning strait-DIR 1SG(Subj)-go-CL-NPST

I will go to strait tomorrow morning

42. m-ambikʰir cɔkbi-bi ji-k-ɔ

1PL-morning turtle-ACC eat-CL-NPST

We (exclusive) ate turtle last morning

43. meŋ-ambikʰir cɔkbi-bi ji-k-ɔ

1PL-morning turtle-ACC eat-CL-NPST

We (inclusive) ate turtle last morning

44. ŋa ŋ-ambikhir cɔkbi-bi ji-k-ɔ

2SG 2SG-morning turtle-ACC eat-CL-NPST

You ate turtle last morning

45. ɲilio ŋali-mbikhir cɔkbi-bi ji-k-ɔ

2PL 2PL-morning turtle-ACC eat-CL-NPST

You (Pl) ate turtle last morning

46. ɖu ak-ambikhir cɔkbi-bi ji-k-ɔ

3SG 3-SG-morning turtle-ACC eat-CL-NPST

He ate turtle last morning

47. ɖunio n-ambikhir cɔkbi-bi ji-k-ɔ

3PL 3P-morning turtle-ACC eat-CL-NPST

They ate turtle last morning

From the above examples, it can be inferred that the Great Andamanese uses pronominal clitics attached to adverbs of time also to provide information about the subject of the sentence. It also seems that adverbs of time cannot appear

without being first prefixed by a pronominal clitic corresponding to the subject nominal. A list of pre-adverbal clitics in the Great Andamanese can be shown as following:

Table 14: Pre-adverbial pronominal clitics

	Singular	Plural
1st person	t^h	m (Exclusive) meŋ (Inclusive)
2nd person	ŋ	ŋalim
3rd person	ak	n

4.1.4 Pronominal clitics in Genitive Constructions

The Great Andamanese interestingly displays another paradigm of use of pronominal clitics in genitive constructions. Pronominal clitics are prefixed to genitives which in turn are prefixed to possessed nouns depending on body partonomy and semantic nature of entities which are possessed by the possessor. A simple genitive construction in Great Andamanese can be shown as:

Pronominal clitic + *Genitive prefix* +*Noun* = *Genitive construction*

Following examples will further elaborate the use of pronominal clitics in Genetive constructions:

48. t^h-er-co

1SG-GEN-head

My head

49.   meŋ-ot-boetɖello

        1PL-GEN-heart

        Our heart

50.   ŋol-ut-bucɔ

        2PL-GEN-lap

        Your (Pl) lap

51.   ʈʰ-a-mimi

        1SG-GEN-mother

        My mother

52.   ɖu-iso-cɔkbi

        3SG-GEN-turtle

        His turtle

53.   n-iso-ko

        3PL-GEN-bow

        Their bow

54.   ʈʰ-ɔ-moʈɔ

        1SG-GEN-leg

        My leg

55.   meŋ-oŋ-kenap

        1PL-GEN-fingers

        Our fingers

56.   ŋ-ara-karap

2SG-GEN-waist

Your waist

It can be seen in the above examples, that pronominal clitics play an important role in genitive constructions and are obligatory. Following table will show us the possible pronominal clitics used in genitive constructions:

Table 15: Pronominal clitics used in Genitive constructions

	Singular	Plural
1ˢᵗ person	t^h-	meŋ-
2ⁿᵈ person	ŋ-	ŋil-, ŋole-, ŋale-, ŋol-, ŋel-
3ʳᵈ person	ɖu-, aka-	n-

4.2 Spatial deixis

Spatial deictic categories in a language identify the location of the referents in relation to that of the speaker and/or hearer. It may also be the case that the spatial deictics localize the referents in relation to some topographical landmarks away from both speaker and the hearer (Sidnell, 1998:2). In the case of the Great Andamanese language spatial location of an entity is grammaticalized mainly through demonstrative pronouns, demonstrative determiners, locative expressions and locative adverbs.

4.2.1 Demonstrative pronouns

According to Dixon (2003:61), demonstratives can be simply defined as grammatical words which can have a deictic reference. Demonstratives are also identified as grammatical elements which are in paradigmatic relation to elements which locate the entity referred. One of the major components of

demonstrative system in any language is demonstrative pronoun(s). Demonstrative pronouns principally occupy argument position of verbs and are used independently. They also exhibit nominal morphological features i.e. they are also marked for number and case in the same way as nouns.

Demonstratives systems are generally described on the basis of two major paradigms:

1. Speaker-anchored distance system
2. Speaker or addressee-anchored system

But it has been observed that some languages use a mix of the two in their demonstrative systems.

It is also very common to find demonstratives in place of third person personal pronouns and for languages to have no personal pronouns in the third person distinct from a demonstrative.

In case of the Great Andamanese, the demonstrative system occupies an important place in conveying spatial deictic information. Demonstrative pronouns in the Great Andamanese exhibit a four-term contrast along the primary dimension of distance to the speaker. On the other hand visibility also plays a role in deciding the deictic distance. It is also to be understood that demonstrative pronouns in the Great Andamanese are unmarked for gender but they are marked for number. Demonstrative pronouns in Great Andamanese can be shown by the following table:

Table 16: Demonstrative pronouns in the Great Andamanese

Deictic distance	Singular	Plural
Proximate, close	kʰiɖi	
Proximate, intermediate	kʰuɖi	
Distant, visible	ɖi	
Distant, invisible	ɖu	ɖuna~ɖunio

This system can be further elaborated by following sentences which were elicited in Strait Island in an experimental setting. During this exercise the informant (Lico, Female) was sitting in her house which happens to be the first house on the path leading towards settlement. The author equested the informant to point out each subsequent house using a demonstrative pronoun one by one including her own. The setting can be described as follows:

Figure 5: Demonstrative data elicitation setting

| Lico's | Loka's | Boa's | Kobo's |
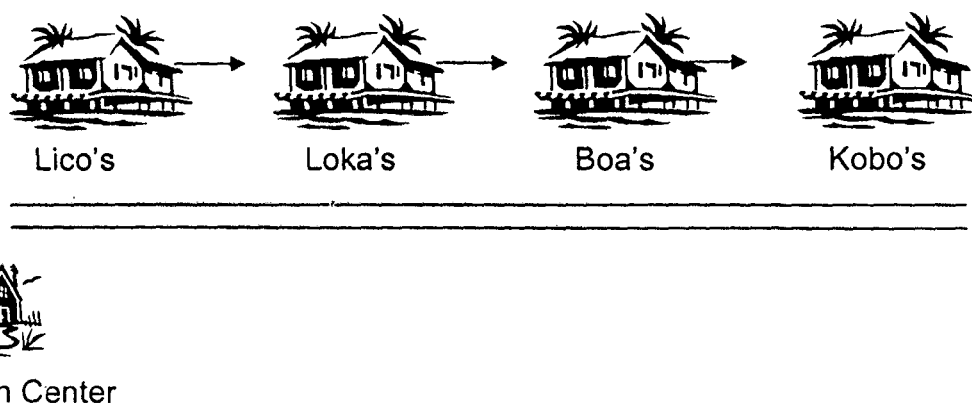
Health Center

Here in the above figure, it is to be understood that Kobo's house is the farthest from the informant's house and the health center (the small figure at the bottom) is invisible from informant's house.

Following are the sentences elicited during this setting:

57.   kʰi-di   tʰ-ot ɲo be

       ProxClose-3SG   1SG-GEN house AUX

       This is my house

58.   kʰu-di   loka ot ɲo be

       ProxInter-3SG   Loka Gen house AUX

       This is Loka's house

59.   kʰu-di   boa ot ɲo be

       ProxInter-3SG   Boa GEN house AUX

       This is Boa's house

60.   di   kɔbɔ ot ɲo be

       DistVis-3SG   Kobo GEN house AUX

       That is Kobo's house

61.   ɖu   kampaunder ot ɲo be

       DistInvis-3SG   Health worker GEN house AUX

       That is health worker's house

It can be observed here that /di/ is inherently marked +Distant and +Visible but when Proximate close morpheme (ProxClose) /kʰi/ is prefixed to it, then it becomes a Proximate close demonstrative pronoun. Similarly when Proximate Intermediate morpheme (ProxInter) /kʰu/ is prefixed to it, then it acts as proximate intermediate demonstrative pronoun.

On the other hand unmarked or bare /di/ remains distant visible demonstrative pronoun. Similarly /ɖu/ is inherently marked as +Distant and +Invisible resulting in it being used as Distant invisible demonstrative pronoun. But it may also be noted that /ɖu/can be used outside spatial deictic framework as well simply signifying 3rd person singular personal pronoun.

4.2.2 Demonstrative determiners

Demonstrative bases which are used as demonstrative pronouns can also be used demonstrative determiners in the same lexical form. These demonstrative bases are used as determiners and appear before head nouns in a noun phrase. In the Great Andamanese, demonstrative pronouns and demonstrative determiners have the same lexical form.

As in the case of demonstrative pronouns, demonstrative determiners are also marked for number. Demonstrative determiners in the Great Andamanese can be elaborated by following examples:

62.　　kʰidi　　　　　　ʈɔŋ loboŋ be

　　　ProxClose3SG　　tree long AUX

　　　This tree is long

63.　　kʰudi　　　　　　er-tɛc moʈelo be

　　　ProxInter3SG　　GEN-leaf fat AUX

　　　This leaf is fat

64.　　di　　　　　　　ɲo buruin ter cɔk jio

　　　ProxVis-3SG　　House mountain GEN front-LOC AUX-exist

　　　This house is in front of the mountain

65. ɖu   ɲo buruin tot bɔl jio

DistInvis-3SG   Mountain GEN behind-LOC house AUX-exist

That house is behind the mountain

66. ɖu   a-sulu motelo be

DistInvisi-3SG   3SG-Sulu fat AUX

That Sulu is fat

67. ɖuna   ra motelo be

DistInvis-3PL   Pig fat (<Hindi)   AUX

Those pigs are fat

4.2.3 Locative expressions

Locative expressions specify the location of an entity with respect to that of another. According to Levinson (2004:97-121), these special set of lexical items cross-linguistically follow three frames of spatial reference namely intrinsic, relative, and absolutive. The speakers across all languages either follow any one of the above mentioned frames of reference or tend to follow a particular frame of reference over others while specifying location of an entity along the asymmetrical axes of spatial orientation.

The Great Andamanese exhibits a rich inventory of locative post-positions or expressions employing them in various contexts.

A typical Schema for locative expression in the Great Andamanese will look like this:

Locative Expression = space lexeme + Locative morpheme

For example:

taral = tara + -l
On = top + LOC

A point to be noted here is that locative morphemes are not obligatory for all locative expressions.

A list of possible locative expressions in the Great Andamanese can be shown by the following table:

Table 17: Locative expressions in Great Andamanse

Great Andamanese	Gloss
tara-l	On (with contact, proximate)
ʃoŋo-l	Above (without contact, distant)
tumbo-l	Under
taratal	Under[28]
tarateono	Under (containment)
bɔ-kɔ	Behind (proximate)
tarabalo	Behind (distant)
kotra-l	Inside (without contact, Proximate)
kotra-kɔ	Inside (with contact, Very proximate)
cɔkʰ~cɔkʰi-l	In front
ceʈʰo	Below
-il	In/On
tekʰi-l	In the middle of
taŋo-l	By the other side
kɛlo	By all sides
cɔkʰɔ-l	By the side of (Distant)
pʰɛtere-l ~ pʰeteri-l	By the side of (Proximate)

---

[28] Used by only one speaker who has been raised by a Pujjukar guardian

The usage of these locative expressions can be seen in the following sentences:

68.　　　tʰ-ot　　ɲo tot　　　　　tara-l kʰeŋc be

　　　　　1SG-GEN house GEN　　Top-LOC cat AUX

　　　　　There is a cat on top of my house

69.　　　tʰ-ot ɲo tot　　　　　ʃoŋo-l kʰider tɔŋ

　　　　　1SG-GEN house GEN　　Above-LOC coconut tree

　　　　　There is a coconut tree above my house

70.　　　a-bie tɔŋ　　　　　　tumbo-l aka-ono k-ɔm

　　　　　Spec-bea tree　　　　Below-LOC 3SG-sit CL-NP

　　　　　Bea is sitting under the tree

71.　　　boa tarata-l ino bi

　　　　　Ground under-LOC water AUX

　　　　　There is water under the ground

72.　　　boa tarateono ino be

　　　　　Ground under water AUX

　　　　　There is water under the ground

73.　　　tʰ-ot bɔkɔ berebe be

　　　　　1SG-GEN behind Berebe AUX

　　　　　Berebe is behind me

74.　　　ɲo tarabalo buli be

　　　　　House behind Buli AUX

　　　　　Buli is behind the house

75.

ɲo kotra-l   mo beno b-ɔm

House inside-LOC   1PL sleep CL-NPST

Wé sleep inside the house

76.   kʰider kotrakɔ   dum be

Coconut Inside   Worm AUX

There are worms inside the coconut

77.   ʈʰ-ot ɲo   ter-cɔkʰi-l kʰeɲe be

1SG-GEN House   GEN-front-LOC cat AUX

There is a cat in front of my house

78.   ʈʰ-er cɔkʰ ʈʰimikʰu be

1SG-GEN front forest AUX

There is forest in front of me

79.   ʈɔŋ tot ceʈʰo kʰider be

Tree GEN below coconut AUX

There is a coconut below the tree

80.   buruin-il   ʈʰicɔp be

Hill-LOC(in/on)   House (indigenous) AUX

There is a house on the hill

81.   buruin ter tekʰ-il   ʈʰimikʰu be

Hill GEN in the middle of   Forest AUX

There is a forest in the middle of the hill

82.   kʰider ʈɔŋ buruin   ter taŋo-l jio

        Coconut tree hill   GEN by the other side-LOC AUX

        Coconut tree is by the other side of the hill

83.   ʈʰ-ot ɲo tot   kɛlo be

        1SG-GEN House GEN   By all sides AUX

        There are trees by all sides of my house

84.   ɲo ta cɔkʰɔ-l kʰider ʈɔŋ be

        House GEN side-LOC coconut tree AUX

        There are coconut trees by the side of the house

85.   ʈʰ-ot ŋo pʰetere-l   loka-t ɲo be

        1SG-GEN House by the side of –LOC   Loka-GEN house AUX

        There is Loka's house by the side of my house

It can be inferred from above examples that in the Great Andamanese locatives have +/- Contact distinction in case of locative expression signifying 'on' or 'above' position which can also be understood as +/- Proximate distinction. Similarly distance becomes a criterion in the use of locative expression signifying 'back' position. Thus we find two forms of locative viz proximate and distant signifying the meaning that the entity is 'at the back of the other'.

Likewise we also find proximate/very proximate distinction in the use of locative expression signifying that the entity is 'inside something'.

An important way of signifying the location is by just suffixing the locative morpheme /-il/ to the nominal itself as in example no. 79

One interesting observation which can be made on Great Andamanese locatives is that almost all seem to have been derived from body part terms of the Great

Andamanese. For example /cɔkʰ/ means 'face' in the Great Andamanese which when suffixed by a locative morpheme signifies the meaning that the entity is in 'front' of something. This issue will be taken up in detail in the section on 'body and space'.

4.2.4 Locative adverbs or demonstrative adverbs:

Locative adverbs have the function of locating an entity in space in relation to the speaker and/or addressee's location in a speech event. It may also be the case that deictic center does not exist with the speaker or the addressee. Languages differ on the division of degrees of distance as reflected in their system of adverbial deictics. In the Great Andamanese locative adverbs exhibit two way distance contrast and are formed by prefixing deixis marking morpheme to locative morpheme. This can be seen in the following examples:

86.   kʰi-el   ci   b-e

ProxClose-LOC come CL-IMP

Come here

87.   kʰu-ol   ŋ-ot   cɔne b-e

ProxInter-LOC 2SG-GEN go CL-IMP

(You) Go there

88   kʰu-ro   ɲo kotra-ak ci b-e

ProxInter-LOC House inside-DIR come CL-IMP

Here, come inside the house

From the above examples it can be understood that each locative adverb is formed by prefixing either 'proximate close deixis' morpheme /kʰi/ or 'proximate intermediate deixis' morpheme to locative morphemes /-el/, /-ol/ and /-ro/.

Therefore it can be said that there is a contrast of 'proximate, close' and 'proximate intermediate' in the Great Andamanese locative adverbs.

4.2.5 Body and space

When we look at the world around us, we generally do not perceive it as a pattern of blank and empty spaces. Rather we perceive distinct figures and objects. In real life situations for human beings, space is decomposed into figures and spatial relations among them. Similarly figures can be stratified into their parts and the spatial relations among them. Our experience of space, then, is not abstract, of empty space but rather of the identity and the relative location of the things in space.

Human body is unique in the sense that it is an individual organism that biologically depends for its reproduction, nurturance and existence on the other individuals and the environment, but even this biological individuality is relative, depending on other social beings. On the other hand it is a physical object which is in space and the space in itself. This peculiarity of human body is clearly demonstrated by Enfield et al (2006: 138) where they say:

"The body is a unique object in human experience, posing a special problem in perception and cognition. It is on the one hand part of our selves, and on the other hand one of the things in the world we encounter. In contrast to ordinary objects, the body affords dual access. It can be seen and touched like any other object, and it can be felt through proprioception and somesthetic inputs."

Thus body poses a unique challenge to our understanding of spatial organization of the world around us. One of the means to understand the spatial organization of body is through the body part terminology. Body part terms help us analyze how languages carve up the body into parts and what are the spatial relations between them.

The Great Andamanese exhibits an extensive lexicon of terms referring to parts of the body. The majority of body parts terms in the Great Andamanese is represnted by simplex terms i.e. lexemes which can not be further analyzed. But the Great Andamanese also displays complex body part terms which are either compound nominals or descriptive in nature. As Anderson (1978: 354) points out that: "basic (simplex) terms are frequently polysemous and often provide the source for derived (complex) terms referring to other body-parts . . . based either on structural similarity or on spatial contiguity". This is true in case of the Great Andamanese as well, as it exhibits a bi-layered use of simplex body part terms.

The Great Andamanese body parts are inherently possessed by the person. Therefore body part terms in the Great Andamanese consists of a noun that obligatorily takes a possessive pronominal prefix indicating an intimate degree of possession i.e they are inalienable possessions. The basic schema of a typical body part term in the Great Andamanese can be shown by the following figure:

Body Part Term = Pronominal Prefix + GEN + Simplex Term (+ GEN + Simplex Term/ Locative Expression)

Interestingly the Great Andamanese body part terms can not be hierarchically organized as it is observed that the Great Andamanese body part terms do not follow any general demarcation of body into different zones. However it is uncertain to determine from the existing data that how many levels of partonomic depth are there in the Great Andamanese body part lexicon. But it sure that the Great Andamanese body part terms defy one of the semantic universals of body part terminology proposed by Anderson (1978:348-351), that human anatomical partonomies rarely exceed five hierarchical levels of depth and never exceed six hierarchical levels. In the Great Andamanese, there is a seven fold division of body part terms based on the genitive affix they are attached with. Keeping this stratification model in mind we can categorize the Great Andamanese body part terms in following seven divisions:

1. Body part terms affixed with /er-/genitive affix. (36 percent of body part terms are prefixed by /er-/affix)

2. Body part terms affixed with /e-/ genitive affix. (17 percent of body part terms are prefixed by /e-/ genitive affix)

3. Body part terms affixed with /ara-/genitive affix. (12 percent of body part terms are prefixed by /ara-/ genitive affix)

4. Body part terms affixed with /ot- ~ ɔt- ~ ut-/ genitive affix. (13 percent of body part terms are prefixed by /ot- ~ ɔt- ~ ut-/ genitive affix)

5. Body part terms affixed with /a-/ genitive affix. (9 percent of body parts terms are prefixed by /a-/ genitive affix)

6. Body part affixed with /o- ~ ɔ-/ genitive affix. (7 percent of body parts terms are prefixed by /o- ~ ɔ-/genitive affix)

7. Body part terms affixed with /oŋ-/ genitive affix. (6 percent of body part terms are prefixed with /oŋ-/ genitive affix)

Inventory of body part terms in the Great Andamanese can be shown by the following tables:

Table 18: Body part terms affixed with /er-/genitive affix

Great Andamanese	English Gloss
ʈʰ-er-co	My skull
ʈʰ-er-kɔbɔ	My scalp
ʈʰ-er-mine	My brain
ʈʰ-er-beŋ	My forehead
ʈʰ-er-buo	My ear
ʈʰ-er-jili	My bone above eyebrow
ʈʰ-er-jili-to-bɛc	My eye brows

tʰ-er-ulu	My eyes
tʰ-er-tut-ɖirim	My iris
tʰ-er-ulu-tut-ʈɔlɔtmo	My white of eye
tʰ-er-ulu-to-bɛc	My eye lashes
tʰ-er-ulu-to-kɔbɔ	My eyelid
tʰ-er-kɔʈʰo	My nose
tʰ-er-kɔʈʰo-ʈɔː	My sinew
tʰ-er-kɔʈʰo-tara-pʰoŋ	My nostrils
tʰ-er-tap	My lower jaw
tʰ-er-tap-bɛc	My beard
tʰ-er-nɔkʰo	My cheeks
tʰ-er-kʰulme	My cheek bone
tʰ-er-pʰile	My teeth
tʰ-er-pʰile-tara-tʰaralc	My gums
tʰ-er-jukʰu	My area between lower lip and nostrils
tʰ-er-jukʰu-bɛc	My moustache
tʰ-er-boa	My lips
tʰ-er-cɔkʰ	My face
tʰ-er-ino	My tears
tʰ-er-luic	My mucus
tʰ-er-kʰum	My shoulder's edge
tʰ-er-bala	My arms
tʰ-er-kʰit	My biceps
tʰ-er-ʈɔŋ	My hand (from elbow to wrist)

tʰ-er-me-tei	My breast
tʰ-er-tek	My waist above the hip bone
tʰ-er-bat and tʰ-ara-ili [29]	My penis
tʰ-er-kara	My vagina
tʰ-er-lɔ	My mole
tʰ-er-layu	My wrinkle
tʰ-er-belɔe	My pimple
tʰ-er-jiriɲe	My veins
er-kara	His/her umbilical cord
er-tei	His/her caul

Table 19: Body part terms affixed with /e-/ genitive affix

Great Andamanese	English Gloss
tʰ-e-tei	My blood
tʰ-e-burɔŋo ʈɔː	My ribs
tʰ-e-pʰilu	My stomach
tʰ-e-pʰilu-pʰet	My belly
tʰe-ŋet	My naval
tʰ-e-sudu	My intestine
tʰ-e-baene	My mesh around intestine
tʰ-e-biʈɔlɔn	My Kidney
tʰ-e-meca	My liver

[29] This term was recorded from the eldest Great Andamanese person Boa Senior (female) but /ili/ also means urine.

Great Andamanese	English Gloss
tʰ-e-teɖu	My pancreas
tʰe-bucɔ	My lap
tʰ-e-biʈɔ-bɛc	My pubic hair
tʰ-e-bot-ʈɔː	My hips
tʰ-e-cɔp-tʰɔmo-ʈɔː	My bone from hips to knee
tʰecɔrɔkʰ	My knee
tʰ-e-cɔrɔkʰ-tɔbun	My knee ball
tʰe-ʈɔː-ot-luic	My bone marrow
meŋ-e-i-ʃoŋo	Our body

Table 20: Body part terms affixed with /ara-/genitive affix

Great Andamanese	English Gloss
tʰ-ara-ʈɔlɔ	My large intestine
tʰ-ara-krap	My back (lower)
tʰ-ara-karap-ʈɔː	My back bone
tʰ-ara-tʰɔmo	My buttocks
tʰ-ara-karap-tʰomo	My groin
tʰ-ara-karap-jiriŋe	My pelvis
tʰ-ara-ʈet	My anus
tʰ-ara-ɖiletmo	My urinary bladder
tʰ-ara-ɖomo	My testicles
tʰ-ara-ɖomo-tot-kɔbɔ	My scrotum
tʰ-ara-ili	My urine
tʰ-ara-pʰu	My excrement

Table 21: Body part terms affixed with /ot- ~ ɔt- ~ ut-/

Great Andamanese	English Gloss
tʰ-ot-bɛc	My hair
tʰ-ot-ʈeŋ	My nape of neck
tʰ-ot-loŋɔ	My neck (lower)
tʰ-ot-ʈɔː	My neck (upper)
tʰ-ut-kʰum	My shoulder
tʰ-ot-bɔ	My back (upper)
tʰ-ot-car	My chest
tʰ-ot-kɔrno	My lungs
tʰ-ut-boit-dello	My heart
tʰ-ot-co-to-bat	My nipple
tʰ-ot-kɔbɔ	My skin
tʰ-ot-bɔk	My glans of penis
tʰ-ot-ʈɔr	My bone of penis
tʰ-ut-kʰirme	My sweat

Table 22: Body part terms affixed with /a-/ genitive affix

Great Andamanese	English Gloss
tʰ-a-pʰoŋ	My mouth
tʰ-a-ʈɛiŋ	My saliva
tʰ-a-pʰup	My cough
tʰ-a-lae	My palate
tʰ-a-tat	My tongue

tʰ-a-ker	My throat
tʰ-a-cɔkʰɔ	My area around armpit

Table 23: Body part affixed with /o- ~ ɔ-/ genitive affix

Great Andamanese	English Gloss
tʰ-o-mɔʈɔ	My leg
tʰ-o-mɔʈɔ-tu-jukʰu	My toe
tʰ-o-mɔʈɔ-ʈo-mikʰu	My sole
tʰ-o-mɔʈɔ-tara-ɖole	My heel
tʰ-o-mɔʈɔ-ʈɔː	My bone below knee
tʰ-o-roŋo	My ankle
tʰ-o-ʈɔnno	My semen

Table 24: Body part terms affixed with /oŋ-/ genitive affix

Great Andamanese	English Gloss
tʰ-oŋ-kenap	My fingers
tʰ-oŋ-kara	My nails
tʰoŋ-kɔrɔ	My palm
tʰ-oŋ-ʈɔː	My wrist bone
tʰ-oŋ-kenap-cɔkʰɔ	My thumb
tʰ-oŋ-kɔrɔ-tot-bɔ	My backside of palm
tʰ-oŋ-pʰoŋ	My armpit

It can be inferred from the above tables that in the Great Andamanese body part terminology possession of body part term by the 'person' is more important than

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a part-whole relationship seen in some body part terms. This is reflected in the majority of simplex terms and a very few number of part-whole relations based body part terms. Thus body part lexicon in the Great Andamanese satisfies the Swanson and Witkowski's claim, that 'the inalienable possession of anatomical terms is the principle or basic relation of this domain and the part–whole relation is secondary at most' (Swanson and Witkowski, 1977: 325). They further claim that expressions like 'my leg' or 'his head' are said to be 'much more appropriate and elicitable expressions in Hopi (or any language) than the reverse relation of "the leg is part of my body" or "the head is part of his body" (Swanson and Witkowski, 1977: 325). This assertion also holds true for the Great Andamanese as well because it was observed in the field that while speaking about any body part it was considered essential to attach an appropriate possessive affix with the body part term whether simplex or complex.

Most importantly it can be said that it is difficult to conclusively establish multi level partonomy for body part lexicon in the Great Andamanese depending on the data collected to date.

4.2.6 Physical Space and topography in the Great Andamanese

Ability to describe the space around us through linguistic expressions in various ways is one of the things which sets us apart from other organisms. Encoding the location of entities requires that the speaker has a complete understanding of the surrounding environment or the dimensions. On this issue languages may diverge significantly from each other, depending on how the spatial arrangement is constructed by their speakers. Present Great Andamanese being the only survivors of the lost world distinguish the space around them quite differently from our way of stratification of space. Following examples will illustrate this in detail:

4.2.6.1   House:

The Great Andamanese permanent encampments occupied by a single family built during the older times consisted of four posts, two at the back about 5-7 feet

high and two in the front about 2-4 feet high. Two horizontal poles of convenient size were attached to the front posts and the other to the back ones. Then a roof was thatched by using cane leaves and slender branches of mangrove, which was placed and tied on the posts. Then screens of palm leaves were thatched and were used to cover the sides. Thus the hut was open from front, but normally covered from all other sides.

In describing a house like this, the Great Andamanese distinguish following portions:

Table 25: Terms for portions of house

Part of the house in Great Andamanese	English Gloss
ɲo-tara-taŋ	Roof of the house (elevated)
ɲo-tara-teŋ	Roof of the house near the ground
ɲo-pʰoŋ	Entrance of the house
ɲo-ta-cɔkʰo	side of the house
ɲo-terolot	Openings in the screens through which smoke goes out (now used for windows)
ɲo-ta-tecɔ	Middle post of the house
ɲo-ta-ʈɔkʰo-pʰareɔ	Platform on which roofing mat is spread
etʰɔr	Knitted mat of leaves used for roofing
takʰuro	Slope of roof
ɲo-kotra	Interior of house

It has been claimed, for example, that there are universal tendencies for specific body part concepts to serve as source domains for conceptualization and expression of other aspects of the world, for example spatial location and topological relationships (Svorou, 1993; Heine, 1997). It is widely known that

And the present Great Andamanese houses in Strait Island look like this:

Picture 2: A Great Andamanese house in Strait Island
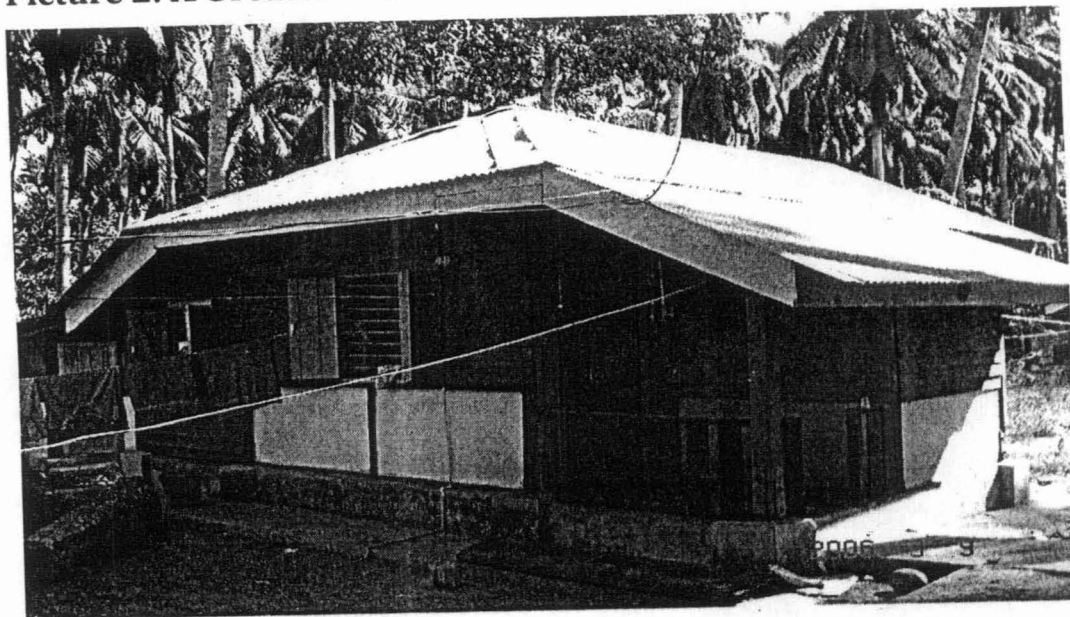
Photographed by the author on 9th March 2006.

4.2.6.2   Tree:

Vegetation in the environment constitutes an integral part of traditional Great Andamanese way of life. The use of different parts of plants and trees for various purposes is essential for their subsistence and survival. Accordingly the Great Andamanese have also assigned different names to various parts of plants and trees. This can be seen in the following table:

Table 26: Terms for the parts of plants and trees

Great Andamanese	English Gloss
ʈɔŋ	Tree
ʈɔkʰo-ter-tek	Trunk of tree
ʈɔkʰo-ta-bɛc	Canopy of tree
ʈɔkʰo-tara-cɛʈʰo	Root of the tree
cɛ	Thorns

description of seascape. Following table will represent the Great Andamanese terms for seascape:

Table 27: Andamanese seascape terms

Great Andamanese	English Gloss
ʈɔrɔ-burɔŋo	Sandy beach
tʰot pʰolo	Shore
sare	Knee deep waters
kera	Beyond sare with waist high water
burukʰu	where under water rocks can be seen
burukʰu-tara-boʈʰo	End of the rocky region
tara-bokʰo-ter-lukʰui	Deep sea
ʃiro	Start of open sea/ocean
ʃiro-tara-cerɛl	Ocean

We can see from the above table that the Great Andamanese divide seascape into 9 parts. This topographical division of the sea shows their intimate and symbiotic relationship with the sea around them. This also becomes important when we know that there is a strong possibility that the present Great Andamanese were coast dwellers ('*aryoto*').

These terms can be represented by the following figure diagrammatically:

Table 28: The Great Andamanese landscape terms

Inland domain	Great Andamanese	English Gloss
Forest	tʰimikʰu	Forest
	aro	Light forest
	tʰimikʰu ɲero	Dense forest
	tʰimikʰu-ʈɔŋ-pʰoŋ	Heart of the jungle
	ʈottaɲo	Sides of the forest
	tʰi-tɔt-be-ta-pʰo	Opening in forest with little undergrowth
	ino-ter-pʰoŋ	Fresh water hole
	tʰi-ʈa-rata	Leveled ground
	tʰi-tot-kɔrɔbo	Dried land
	tʰi-tot-bel	Clear ground
	ʈɔrɔ-boa	Sandy ground
Island	ʈutɖelo	Small island
	ʈhi-tot-kata	Small islet
Coastal	buliu	Creek
	bule	Big creek
	taracara	Small creek
	karaɲik	Sea shore area
	bucɔʈɔŋ	Mangrove area (named metonymically after mangrove tree)
Hill	buruin	Hill

4.3.1 Tense

There are three important categories of inherent inflections for verbs: tense, aspect and mood. Many languages have overt marking for these categories. What is relevant here for temporal deixis is tense. The tense of a verb locates the situation denoted by the relevant clause on a time axis with, in most cases, the moment of speaking as the point of reference. Further there is difference between tense and time. With tense we refer to the grammatical expression of time notions in a language. Time, on the other hand, can be expressed through all kinds of phrases and nouns. The past tense indicates that the situation obtained before the moment of speaking, the present tense indicates the situation the situation obtains at the moment of speaking, and the future tense signals that the situation denoted is located on time axis after the moment of speaking. The function of tense is deictic one, because its interpretation depends on some external point of reference in the speech situation, the time axis.

The interpretation of tense is somewhat more complicated than sketched above. A well known example of a mismatch between form and interpretation is the use of the present tense in referring to past. Another salient feature of tense is that, although it is marked on the verb, its semantic scope is the whole clause to which it belongs. Levinson (2004:97-121) regards tense as the most pervasive aspect of temporal deixis. According to Levinson, the grammatical category called tenses usually encode a mixture of deictic time distinctions and aspectual distinctions, which are often hard to distinguish

In the case of the Great Andamanese, our analysis and the previous works (Manoharan, 1989 and Abbi, 2006) point out that it has a two fold time distinction namely 'past' and 'non past'. Past tense is indicated by suffixing the null morpheme to the verb root complex. Similarly non-past tense is marked by suffixing /ɔm/ ~ /om/to the verb root complex. This can be illustrated by following examples:

89. kɔrɔiɲ sare tara-tal   meo-pʰoŋ   ʈʰibikɲo k-ɔm

     Dugong sea GEN-LOC   stone-hole   Live-CL-IND-NPST

     Dugong lives in the stone cave of sea.

90. ʈʰa-mbikʰir pʰriŋkos-ak   ʈʰ-ut   cɔne b-ɔ

     1SG-yeterday strait-DIR   ISG-GEN   Go CL-IND-PST

     I went to Strait yesterday.

91. a-buli ʈɔrɔ-ak ut   cɔne k-ɔm

     ARG-buli beach-DIR GEN   Go CL-NPST

     Buli is going to the beach.

92. ɖu   cae-bi   iji-ɔ

     3SG what-ACC   eat-IND-PST

     What did he eat?

4.3.2 Temporal Adverbs

The Great Andamanese temporal adverbs are few in number, but are frequently used to encode temporal deixis. Interestingly the most common temporal adverb in the Great Andamanese is /-ambikʰir/ does not encodes temporal deixis on its own, though its meaning changes according to the tense marking on the verb. It is a bound morpheme which takes subject pronominal obligatorily. Hence wherever /-ambikʰir/ is used as a temporal adverb, it realizes its deictic value from the tense marking on the verb. Therefore when a non-past tense marker is suffixed to the verb, the meaning of /-ambikʰir/either signifies the meaning of 'today' or 'tomorrow' depending on the context. Similarly when a past tense

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marker is suffixed to the verb, it signifies the meaning of 'yesterday'. This can be illustrated by following examples:

93. ʈʰ-ambikʰir stret-ak   ʈʰ-ot   cɔne b-ɔm

     1SG-tomorrwo strait-DIR 1SG-GEN   Go CL-NPST

     I am going to Strait tomorrow.

94. a-sulu ak-ambikʰir   stret-ak ot   cɔne b-ɔ

     ARG-Sulu 3SG-yesterday strait-DIR GEN   Go CL-IND-PST

     Sulu went to Strait yesterday.

Apart from this, the Great Andamanese also uses temporal adverbs like /tekʰamo/ and /ittakʰe/ which convey the meaning of 'now'. Their use can be illustrated by the following examples:

95. tekʰamo ŋ-ot   cɔne b-e

     Right Now   2SG-GEN   go   CL-IMP

     'You go right now'

96. kʰilel ittakʰe ʈʰio-b-e

     Here   now   1SG-CL-IND

     I will be here now.

Moreover the Great Andamanese also uses some temporal adverbs which are actually descriptive in nature and thus convey temporal deictic information. For example /tara-sulu-ɖiɖek/ is used for conveying the meaning of 'yesterday' but it literally means 'back day' or 'last day'. Its use can be seen in the following example:

97.   tara-sulu-ɖiɖek-il ʈʰu-cɔkbi-bi ji-k-ɔ

GEN-back-day-LOC 1SGCLT-turtle-ACC eat-CL-PST

I ate turtle last day (yesterday).

Similarly /ʈʰi-ter-otɔ/ is used to convey the meaning of 'next morning' but it literally means 'daybreak'. Its use can be shown by following example:

98.   ʈʰi-ter-otɔ pʰriŋkos-ak ʈʰ-ut-cɔne-b-ɔm

Daybreak Strait-DIR 1SGCLT-go-CL-NPST

I will go to strait at day break (next morning)

In the same way /terkɔ-otɔ/ will signify day before yesterday or day after tomorrow depending on the tense marking on the verb. For example:

99.   terkɔ-otɔ   ʈɔrɔ-ak   ʈʰ-ut-cɔne-b-ɔm

Day after tomorrow beach-DIR 1SGCLT-GEN-go-NPST

I am going to the beach day after tomorrow.

100.   terkɔ-otɔ   porʈbler-ak ʈʰu-ʈʰu-ɔ

Day before yesterday Port Blair-DIR 1SGCLT-reach-NPST

I reached Port Blair day before yesterday

Thus we observe that in the Great Andamanese tense marking is the most important encoders of temporal deixis and most of the temporal adverbs realize their deictic value only in its presence. But as discussed in the section titled 'Great

Andamanese concept of 'Time" in chapter 3 we know that there are other means to convey the information of time in linguistic expressions. For example social and cultural events associated with a particular time become a reference point through which speech time can be expressed. For example Radcliffe-brown's (see chapter 3, section 3.2.2.3) description of the Great Andamanese division of time on the basis of arrival of dogs, is a good exemplifier of this phenomenon. Similarly the Great Andmanese honey calendar and other models of time categorization (see chapter 3, section 3.2.34) are the means by which the Great Andamanese mark time.

4.4 Social Deixis

Social deixis is reference to the social characteristics of, or distinctions between, the participants or referents in a speech event. Levinson (1979: 206) defines social deixis as "those aspects of the language structure which are anchored to the social identities of the participants (including bystanders) in the speech event, or to relations between them, or to relations between them and other informants." Social deixis can be categorized as absolute social deixis and relational social deixis. By absolute deixis we mean, deictic reference to some social characteristic of a referent (especially a person) apart from any relative ranking of referents. And by relational social deixis we mean, deictic reference to a social relationship between the speaker and an addressee, bystander, or other referent in the extralinguistic context.

In the case of the Great Andamanese, the use of relatioanl social deictics is observed. For example the general use of terms for father (/a-mae/) and mother (/a-mime/) as an address term for to any elderly person. Though in present days it is not frequently used because of language loss among the present Great Andamanese, but when I requested my informant to imagine that she[30] is referring to some elderly person. She gave the following sentences:

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[30] Boa Senior (female) was explained the setting by the author before eliciting data

101.   a-mae rɔ:-be ʈɔ:-k-ɔm

        ARG-father canoe-ACC cut-CL-NPST

        He is cutting (making) the canoe

102.   a-mime rɛfe-be ji-k-ɔm

        ARG-mother food-ACC eat-CL-NPST

        She is eating food

In the above examples it can be clearly seen that while referring to an imaginary elderly man and women, the informant is not referring to them by usual personal pronoun (/ɖu/) but by terms for father and mother. It is not the case that they are honorific personal pronouns in themselves as pointed by Manoharan (1989: 73) - but they are just address terms which are used to refer some elderly person. Hence it is clear that their original meaning remains the same i.e. father and mother.

Similarly any elderly person of relatively higher age would be referred by /aka-mae-tara-tɔm/ for males and /aka-mimi-tara-tɔm/ for females.

This situation becomes become more apparent when we realize that the position of elders in the traditional Great Andamanese society is respected and all community decisions are taken with their consent.

Moreover we also came to know from our informants that spouses while addressing each other use the term /imo:/ rather than using pre-natal names.

Another interesting case of use of social deixis is the usage of term /rɔt/ to refer to water instead of the generic term /ino/ while sea faring. We came to know that this is done not to offend the spirits of sea /jurua/. Our informant claimed that if someone uses the generic term /ino/ to refer to water while in the sea, then there would be storms in the sea. This example is comparable to the description of Yeli Dyene language's taboo words under social deixis by Levinson (2004:97-121).

Similarly we also see this process of obligatory usage for few months in the case of puberty attainment name given to young boys /kʰimil/ by all in direct speech, lest something untoward would happen to the boy. This is another clear example of social deixis at work. The only difference is that the bystanders are not humans but the spirits transversing around (please see Chapter 3, section 3.1.2)

Another instance of social deixis at work, can be seen in the use of the term /lao/ which actually means 'spirit' but is now frequently used to refer to outsiders (used in absentia) to the community including the author and the team at Strait Island. The equivalent term for females is /lao-bukʰu/. The significance of this usage lies in the demarcation of social distance between the people belonging to community and those falling outside. In fact the whole setup of outsider's culture is termed as of lao's. Notable is the semantic merge of domains of outsiders and spirits. This dichotomy can be understood in their conceptualization of 'spirits' (please see Chapter 3, section 3.1.2). Like spirits, outsiders also inhabit their physical world and therefore unavoidable. From the above discussion it follows that a comprehensive understanding of social deixis, is possible only by a thorough analysis of the Great Andamanese language and its use in social context. And sadly this seems a distant reality looking at the rate at which the language is losing its ground.

To conclude it can be said on the basis of the above discussions on different deictic categories in the Great Andamanese we can propose that the deictic categories in the Great Andamanese clearly point towards a unique system of organization of space and time which is very different from ours. This system is not only peculiar in its scope of usage but the very basis of the system seems to be bound by the ecological and cultural significance of the surrounding space. Another important point which can be inferred from the above discussions is that the basic cognition of the world and the way life is carried out is culturally specific and unique.

Chapter 5
Summary and Conclusion

In this dissertation, we have tried to analyze and discuss the deictic categories in the Great Andamanese. As pointed out earlier in the dissertation, deictic categories are context dependent linguistic elements; hence the analysis of deictic categories in the Great Andamanese language not only sheds light on its linguistically unexplored areas but also on the very cognition of the people who represent one of the oldest civilizations on earth. The common assumption that the Andaman Islanders such as the Great Andamanese are the Stone Age people and have a simple or allegedly 'primitive' world view gets refuted when we look at the rich deictic system of the Great Andamanese language.

Throughout this dissertation, an attempt has been made to expose this reality linguistically.

Traditionally there are three major categories of categories (Person, Spatial and Temporal deictics). But Levinson (1983) proposed another category namely social deixis later. In the present dissertation, all the above four deictic categories are critically analyzed in the Great Andamanese language. Before elaborating on the conclusive findings of this dissertation, the chapter wise summary of the dissertation needs to be discussed first.

In chapter one, we discussed the basic idea of deixis starting from the notion of indexicality to the modern views on deictic categories. After this, we discussed the four major categories of deixis considered for the present work viz Person, Spatial, Temporal and Social deictics. In the same chapter, we then present a brief typological sketch of Andamanese language, basing our understanding on other scholarly works (Manoharan, 1989; Abbi, 2006; Burenhult, 1996) on the Great Andamanese language. Under the same section, we have also briefly

discussed the typological whereabouts of the Great Andamanese language. Later we have also discussed various scholarly works done on the Great Andamanese language and Andaman Islanders, keeping in mind their implications for the present research. Ultimately in this chapter we discussed methodology of the research ending with an overview of dissertation.

In the second chapter, we have started with a brief introduction to the Andaman and Nicobar Islands detailing its location and constitution. Later we have also discussed the geological history of the Islands with possible fallouts on migratory history of Andaman Islanders. Then we have discussed the ecology and environment of Andaman Islands. After that we have focused on the socio-cultural-political history of Andaman Islands leading to the making of post-independence Andamans. We also discussed the demography and peopling of the Andaman Islands. The various indigenous groups of the islands are also discussed with emphasis on the Great Andamanese. In the end, we have also discussed the geographical distribution and inter-island migrations by the indigenous people of the Andaman Islands from the pre-colonial times.

Chapter three primarily concerns with the conceptualization of space and time among the Great Andamanese. In the beginning of this chapter, we discussed the theoretical aspects of the concept of space and cosmology starting from Durkheim and Mauss (1902) to the recent works done on Australian aboriginals by Munn. Later we have discussed the Great Andamanese concept of space, knowing that the community was hunter and gatherer till recently. After the discussion on the importance of smell and spirits in the Great Andamanese society, we have also discussed the theoretical background of the concept of time leading to its implications on the Great Andamanese way of categorizing of time on the basis of flower names, ceremonies, hunting-gathering and mythology.

In chapter four, the data collected at the field is critically analyzed. In the beginning, a brief overview on the use of deictic expressions is discussed. Later

the chapter discussed personal pronouns and pronominal clitics under the head of Person Deixis in the Great Andamanese. Similarly demonstrative pronouns, demonstrative determiners, locative expressions and locative adverbs are discussed under spatial deixis in the Great Andamanese. Keeping the significance of body and space, ethnoanatomy of body-parts terms in the Great Andamanese is discussed. Later we have discussed the landscape and the seascape terminology of the Great Andamanese. Then we discussed tense and temporal adverbs as the temporal deictic markers in the Great Andamanese. And finally the chapter ends with a discussion on the Great Andamanese social deixis.

Thus we notice that the Great Andamanese deictic system is critically explored not only morpho-synatactically but also semantically and anthropologically to an extent. One of the most important findings of this dissertation lies in the fact that the ethno-semantic aspects of the Great Andamanese are unique on their own and they are rightly reflected in the deictic categories. Similarly a four way distance distinction in spatial deixis is observed in demonstrative pronouns with visibility as a criterion for 'distant' marking spatial deixis. Another notable feature of the Great Andamanese deictic system is the use of immensely rich pronominal clitic system which takes its position pre-verbally and pre-adverbially to mark the subject and the object. Equally amazing is their use in Genetive constructions. Moreover, while there is an ample use of deictic pronouns, there is also remarkable inventory of locative expressions and locative adverbs to mark distance and location.

On the other hand, body partonomy of the Great Andamanese is equally intriguing with seven possible divisions of the body. Likewise the terms of landscape and seascape terms also reveal to us the intricate relationship of the Great Andamanese language with the immediate environment where it is spoken. Tense and temporal adverbs are also important here to mention for their relationship and co-existence. The Great Andamanese have only two tenses viz past and non-past which reflects the completely different Andamanese view of

the time reckoning. And the occurrence of social deictic terms such as honorific markers, taboo words etc, is equally interesting.

Though utmost care has been taken to include almost every possible discussion on deictic categories in the Great Andamanese, this dissertation would not be a fruitful research if it fails to provide directions for future research. One of the areas of future research on deictic categories in the Great Andamanese is the pronominal clitic system of the Great Andamanese, because of its complex use in almost all constructions. Secondly the body partonomy of the Great Andamanese language also needs more focused and test-based research which would resolve the unsolved mysteries of universal terns in body partonomy. Apart from this, another area of possible research is discourse based deixis as it would not only serve the scope of social deixis but the whole pragmatics of the language. Similarly the study of tense-aspect-mood (TAM) and its deictic implication can be a boon to our complete understanding of deixis system in the Great Andamanese.

But a word of urgency should be spread quickly as the language is dying fast unfortunately and we need to implement a comprehensive revitalization plan to stop this language death. Those days are not far when we lose the last word.

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http://www.andaman.org (Website of Andaman Association, Switzerland)

http://www.ccmb.res.in/newccmb/andaman/mystery.html (Website of Centre for Cellular and Molecular Biology, Hyderabad)

http://www.hindustantimes.com/news/specials/andaman/rel20311.html (Shialesh Shekhar's write-up on Andamanese people, November 2003)

http://www.and.nic.in/ (Website of Andaman and Nicobar administration)
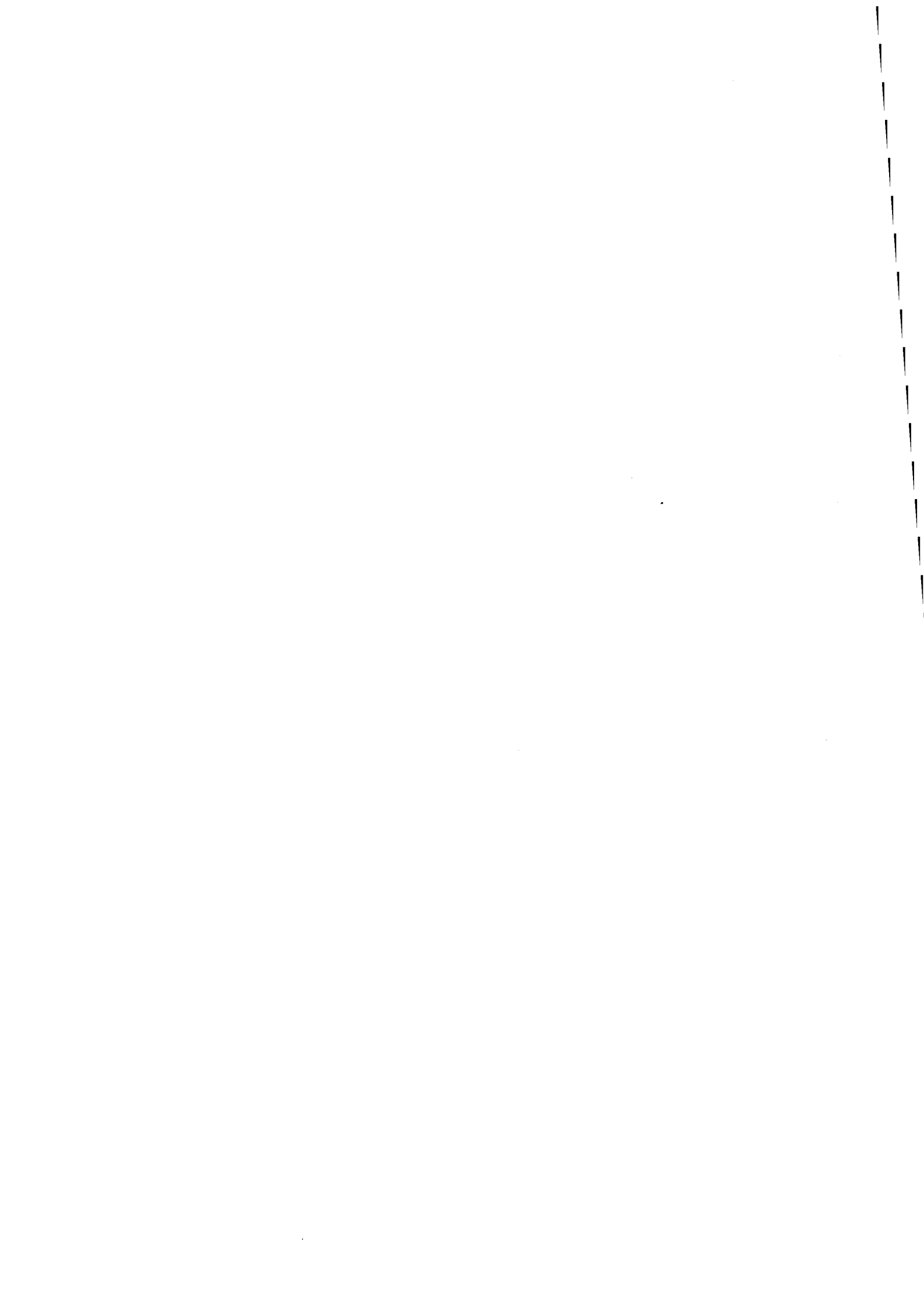
Appendices

Maps

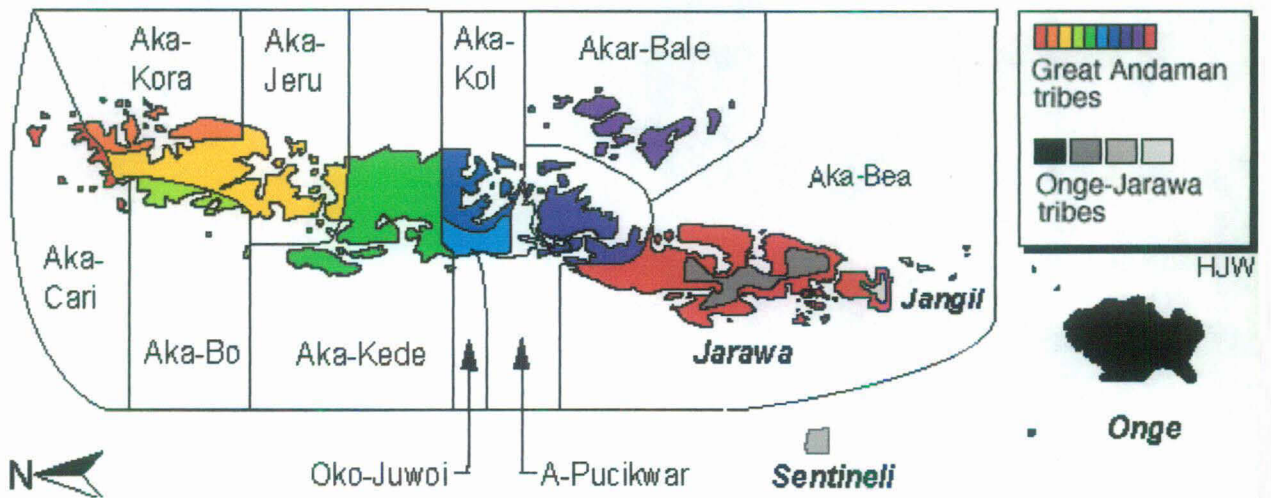## Map 1: Andaman and Nicobar Islands
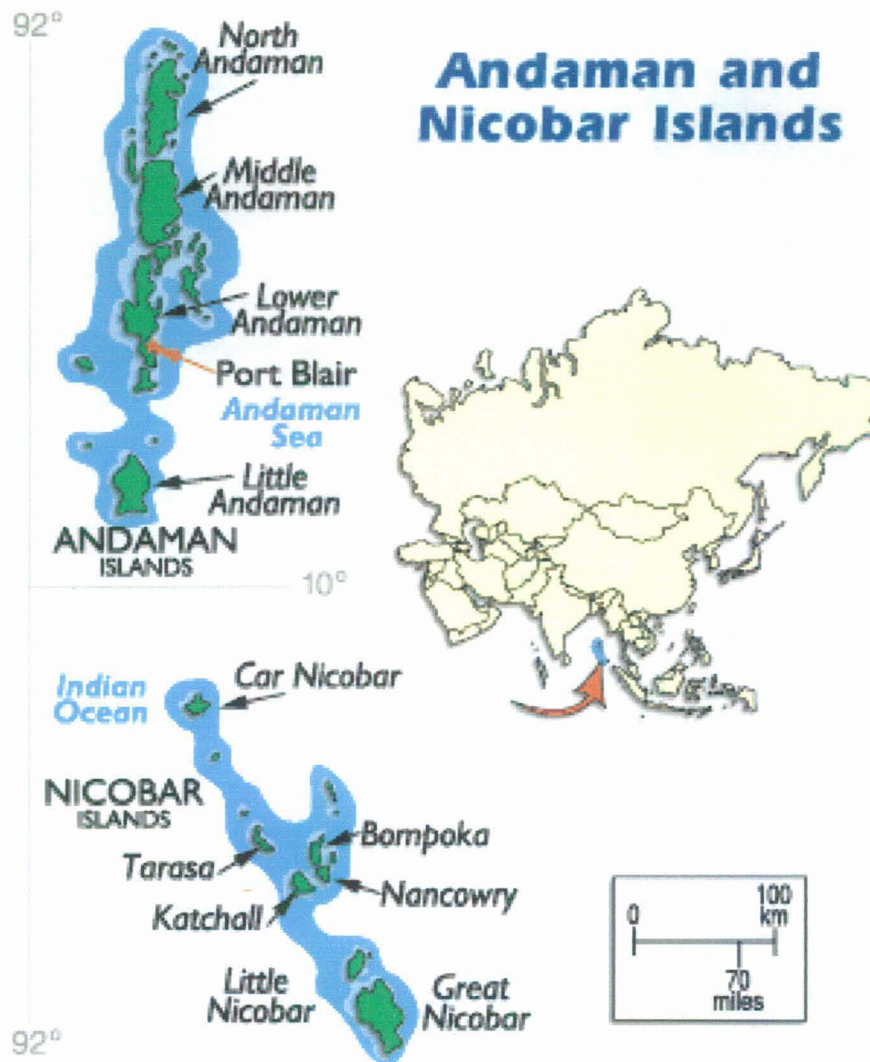
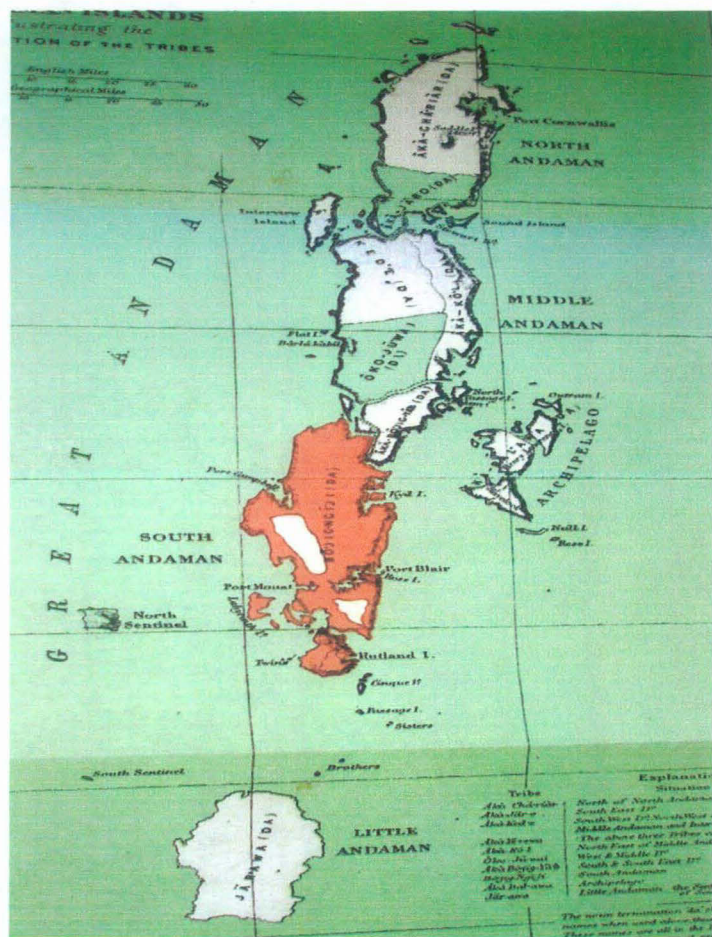**Map 2: Geographical distribution of Andaman Islanders in the present times**
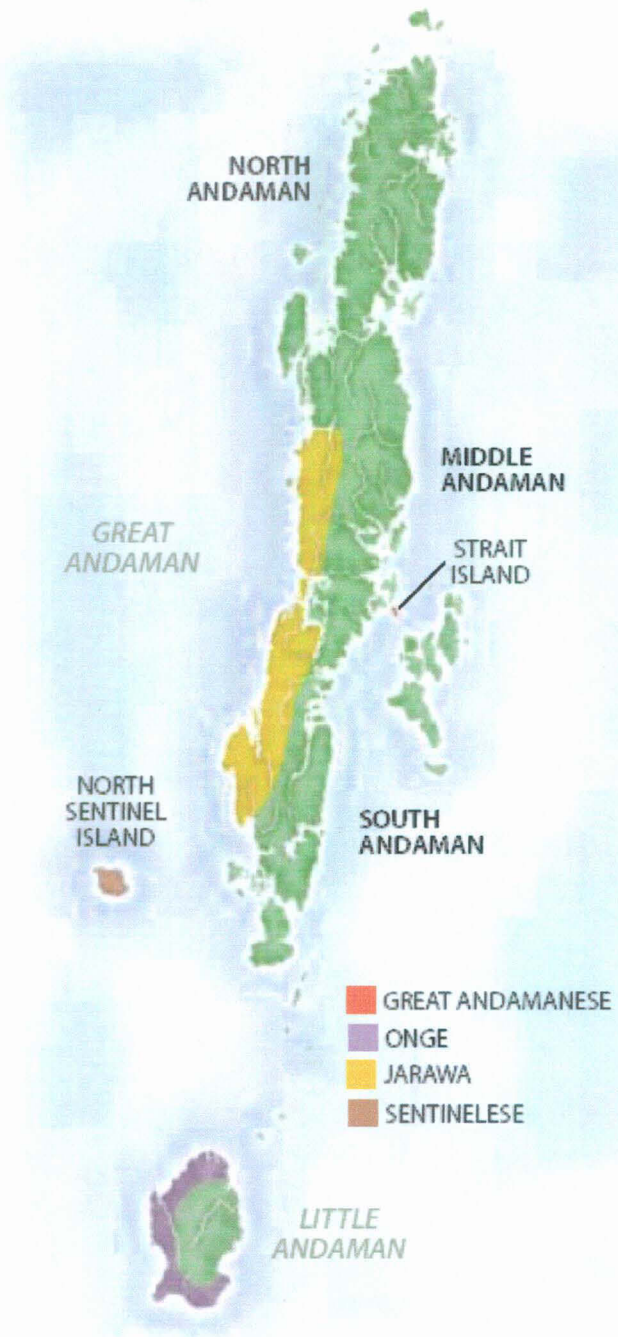
Source: Vekateswar, 1999:84

Map 3: Geographical distribution of Andaman Islanders before 1880

Source: http://www.andaman.org/BOOK/chapter8/text8.htm

Map 4: Geographical distribution of Great Andamanese and other groups after 1880

Source: Man, 1883

# Profiles of the Core Group of Speakers

Boa Senior

Boa senior is the eldest among the surviving Great Andamanese people. She is approximately 81 years old. She claims Jeru lineage, though her mother (named Renge) was a Bo speaker and her father (Tow) was a Jeru speaker. Boa senior was married to late Nao Senior with no children. True to her age and conviction, she is the most fluent speaker of the Great Andamanese language. She tells us that before coming to Strait Island, she used to live around the Mayabander area. Now she lives alone at her small hut in Strait Island and carries on with the daily chores on her own despite her old age. Recently after meeting with an accident at Port Blair, she has dislocated her hip joint, but otherwise she is fit and healthy. Fond of chewing pan and tobacco, she also has a sweet tooth. She has a remarkable understanding of the flora and fauna of the

islands. Moreover she also amazingly knows at least 80 different varieties of birds which seem amuse her a lot. Staying in her melancholy hut, she fondly remembers the time spent with her late husband and the gone away days of Great Andamanese community.

Boro
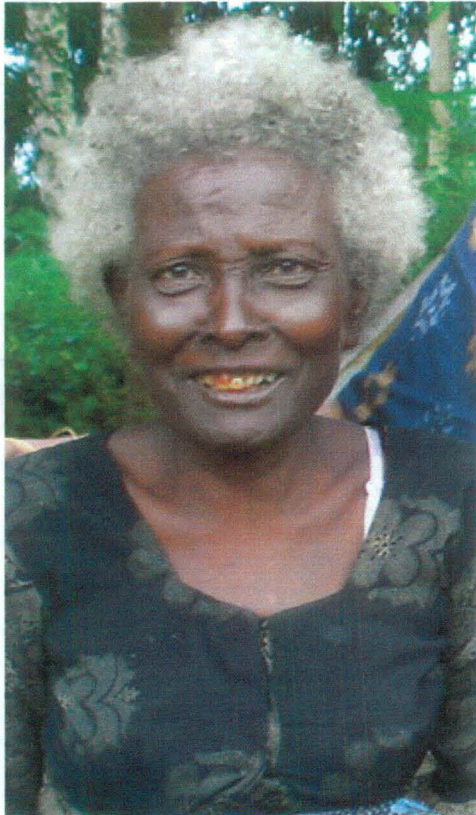
Boro is the second eldest among the surviving Great Andamanese. She is approximately 71 years old. She is the wife of late Ilfe and has four children named Golat (son), Loka (son), Boa Junior (daughter) and Sulu (son). She is a fluent speaker of the present Great Andamanese but prefers talking in Andamani Hindi even to her children. She claims Khora lineage as both her mother (named Bui) and father (named Bie) were from Khora group. Though she seems to have a good command over the language but unfortunately she too is forgetting the language like all

others. She loves children and keeps visiting Prem Nagar (Port Blair) at her daughter in law's residence.

Nao Junior
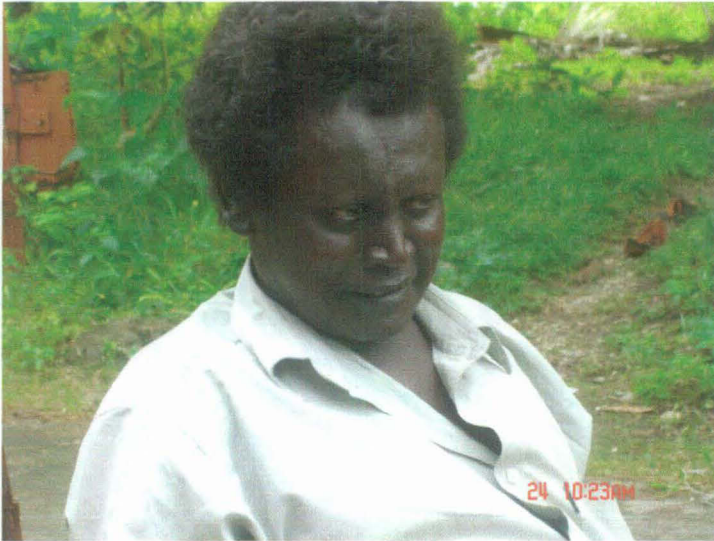
Nao Junior is the third eldest among the surviving Great Andamanese. He is Approximately 57 years old. He is the son of late Maro and younger brother of late Jirake, the king. He claims Bo lineage as his mother and father both were Bo speakers. He is almost bi-lingual in Andamani Hindi and the Great Andamanese. Nao Junior seems to be the most aware person among all the males of the community in all spheres, be it running and mending a transistor to telling old tales of Great Andamanese folk lore. She is married to Boa Jr. who now lives separately with their son Bea. Nao Junior is a gentleman and a descent person but looses his control over the temptations and immerses himself drinking to the hilt when he visits Port Blair. He also works as ward boy at the primary health centre at Strait Island.

Peje

Peje is the fourth eldest among all but 2nd eldest among the males of the Great Andamanese community. He is approximately 55 years old. He claims Jeru lineage, though his mother was a Sare and father was a Jeru. He is married to Nu with seven children - four sons (Jo, Irep, Pharao and Lephae) and three daughters (Tong, Kaba and Ilec). Sadly his health is frail and always needs medical attention, and thus he keeps shuttling from the hospital at Port Blair to Strait Island. He is a fluent speaker of Great Andamanese and seems to know a lot about the surrounding environment. He currently lives with his daughter Tong and son in law Ilphe.

Nu

Nu is the most vocal and assertive woman from the Great Andamanese community. She is approximately 44 years old. She is Peje's wife and has 7 children. She claims Jeru lineage because both her father and mother were Jeru. She is quite a fluent speaker of the Great Andamanese language and speaks Andamani Hindi also proficiently. She is one of the voices of the Great Andamanese community which is heard at AAJVS and Andaman administration.

Lico

Lico is approximately 42 years old. Her mother was a half Great Andamanese and a half Burmese but shge died soon after giving birth to her. She is the eldest daughter of late Jirake. She claims Jeru lineage though she was raised by a Pujjakar man named Loka who a King before Jirake succeeded him. Lico is married to Golat with two sons (Buli and Berebe) and two daughters (Kobo and Lephe). She is a fluent speaker of Great Andamanese and also seems to possess a deep understanding of the Great Andamanese mythology and history. Till recently she was working with the Education department but she left that job and came back to Strait Island. She is the other voice from the Great Andamanese community which resounds in government lobbies.