

**COMPARATIVE LEXICON OF
GREAT ANDAMANESE
LANGUAGES**

Dissertation submitted to Jawaharlal Nehru
University in partial fulfilment of the
requirements for the degree of

MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY

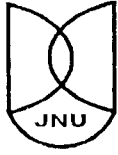
MAYANK



Centre for Linguistics,
School of Language, Literature and Culture Studies
Jawaharlal Nehru University
New Delhi- 110067

2009





Centre for Linguistics
School of Language, Literature & Culture Studies
Jawaharlal Nehru University
New Delhi-110067, India

 JAWAHARLAL NEHRU UNIVERSITY

Date: 29th July 2009

CERTIFICATE

This dissertation titled “**Comparative Lexicon of Great Andamanese Languages**” submitted by **Mr. Mayank**, to the 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.

PROF. ANVITA ABBI)
SUPERVISOR

(PROF. ANVITA ABBI)
CHAIRPERSON

Date: 29th July 2009

DECLARATION BY THE CANDIDATE:

This dissertation titled “**Comparative Lexicon of Great Andamanese Languages**” 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.

(MAYANK)
M. Phil student
CL/SLL &CS
JNU

DEDICATED TO THE GREAT ANDAMANESE PEOPLE

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Chapter - 1

Introduction

1.1. Geographical Location of Andaman and Nicobar Islands:

The Archipelago of the Andaman and Nicobar Islands is situated in the Bay of Bengal, by the east of Indian mainland. The Andaman and Nicobar islands constitute one of the most important union territories of the Indian republic. This union territory stretches over a length of more than 700kms from north to south covering a total area of about 8294 sq. km, comprising of 349 islands and 206 rocks and rocky outcrops. These islands are located between 92nd and 94th meridian of East Longitude and 6th and 19th parallels of North Latitude. This territory comprises of islands some of which are large such as North Andaman, Middle Andaman, South Andaman, Baratang and Little Andaman in the Andaman group (See: Table 1) and Car Nicobar in the Nicobar group. Geologically the islands appear to have been part of the land mass of South-East Asia comprising North-East India, Burma, Thailand, Malaysia and Indonesia. The range of islands form an irregular chain that seems to continue the Himalayan ranges through Myanmar's Arakan Yoma southwards in an arch over 1100 km. of sea into Sumatra, Indonesia.

The physiography of these islands is characterised by undulating topography and intervening valleys. There are, however, some flat islands like Car Nicobar and Trinket. The coastal line of these islands is wavy with large number of bays, lagoons and serpentine creeks, and extends to about 1962 km. Soil cover is rather thin, varying from 2 m to 5 m. 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.

1.2. Geology of Andaman and Nicobar Islands:

The Andamans and Nicobars represent the highest peaks of an under-water mountain range which is itself an extension of the Arakan range in Burma and the Sumatran Barisan ranges to the south. The islands lie parallel to a geological fault line to the east, crossing the Andaman Sea from north to south. The line marks two tectonic plates rubbing against each other: the eastern plate, an extension of the huge Eurasian plate, is stationary, while the Indian plate to the west is moving north to northeast at the rate of a few centimetres a year, taking the Andaman Islands with it. This slow movement is still

pushing up the Himalayan Mountains and causes earthquakes and volcanic activity in and around the islands. India's only active volcanoes, on Barren and Narcondam islands, are caused by the fault line. The Andamans are rising and falling with the erratic local movement of the earth's crust.

On a geological time-scale these are mere shudders, small and rapid. On a human time-scale, however, the shudders have been very slow but some were still rapid enough to have adversely affected human life during the geological instant *Homo sapiens* has been in residence.

The oldest rock formations represent deposits laid down in the deep, open sea from the Cretaceous period immediately preceding the Cainozoic to the middle Tertiary. The islands were born when the sea floor, consisting of a core of faulted sandstone and shale) was lifted and piled up into the present mountain chain during the Oligocene. Ritchie's archipelago, Little Andaman and the Nicobars rose from the sea at a somewhat later stage. Most of the islands are surrounded by coral reefs or extensive mangrove swamps. Behind these formidable coastal defences is a deeply indented shore that provides many good and well-camouflaged anchorages

1.3. The Andaman Islands

The Andaman Islands is a cluster of approximately 250 islands running from north to south of the southeast of the Indian subcontinent in the Bay of Bengal. Out of the total area, 90 percent is forested and 36 percent is designated as tribal reserves. These islands have a tropical climate which is warm, moist and equable. The proximity of the sea and the abundant rainfall prevent extremes of heat. An average of 3000mm rains per year is received from south west and north east monsoons which extends over a period of eight months. The extents of the rainfall vary with island. The humidity is as high as 66 to 85%.

Table 1. The Andaman Islands

No.	Group of Islands	Total No. of Islands	Area in (Sq. Miles)
1	North Andaman	50	585.78
2	Middle Andaman	27	699.84
3	South Andaman	42	832.00
4	Ritchie Archipelago	15	126.61
5	Baratang Island	14	129.25

[Source: Abbi, 2006]

1.4. Historical perspective of the Andaman Islands:

As the Andaman Islands are located in the trade route from India to East Asia, these islands and their dwellers have always attracted fascination and interest of the world. Their languages, location and appearance are subject of great interest. 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 Andamans were also believed to be named after the Roman cartographer Agathodaimon (of Alexandria) who drew a map of the world in Ptolemy's account, and that the islands in Indian Ocean called by Ptolemy as Agmmatae and Aginatae referred to the Andamans. The world knew about them from some vague references of the sea travellers, explorers and scholars. The Andamanese people were become synonymous to certain uncivilised people but whose presence was still uncertain. The early travel-writers gave fearful accounts of their appearance, manners and language. A ninth century Arab writer claimed that they had frightful complexion, frizzled hair, terrible eyes and countenance, large feet almost a cubit in length and move about naked.

1.4.1. Earlier Accounts of the Andaman and Nicobar Islands:

The Greco-Roman geographer, Claudius Ptolemy, in the 2nd Century was the first to report on the existence of Andaman Islands. Ptolemy wrote about 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 travelled 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 the Andaman Islands. Although most of the early accounts of Andamans and their inhabitants were rather unreliable, there is no doubt that the Andaman Islanders were hostile to outsiders coming up near the shores.

1.4.2. 19th Century and Onwards:

Although some accounts of the Andamans and their inhabitants were provided from time to time, these islanders remained virtually unknown to the rest of the world until a few centuries ago. Not much was known about these people till late 19th Century. "Geographical isolations, aided the survival of ancient human lineages in the Andamanese"[Abbi 2003].

In the 19th Century, during the colonisation of India, the outside world became curious to know more about these tribes. Various publications on the Andamanese tribes suggest that the British Government employees were the first to study the various aspects of their life and culture by interacting with them. One of the earliest available articles on these tribes appeared in 1875 by G.E. Dobson. He describes the geographical properties of these islands. He takes into account the zoology of the islands and claims that at one time these islands must have been connected with the Asiatic continent, most probably with Malay or Burma and had formed a part of a large river delta. He remarks that most of the animals found in the Andamans have identical varieties found in Burma, even the small fresh-water fish. In spite of the lush forests, the absence of many mammals, large or small, can be attributed to the fact that a great river might have cut off the islands from the main lands. He draws support from the fact that great rivers like the Amazon have

influenced the distribution of species. He then proceeds to trace the true origin of the 'curious' people on the islands, and surveys the prevailing ideas regarding this. The article also contains a description of the Andamanese tribal people he met in their 'home' as well as some species of birds that he encountered during his stay.

Fox, 1878 opposes the idea proposed by Dobson that Andamans once formed part of the delta of Irrawaddy, saying that the delta was of marine origin and was still rising at that time. So, he argues that within human period, it was not possible to afford any closer connection with the Andaman than it was 'at present'.

Man and Temple [1880] concentrates on the two maps of the Andaman Islands. These are perhaps one of the oldest maps available on these islands. The first map contains information about the distribution of the nine Andamanese tribes that were till then known to the British settlers. The second map gives a "list of the known encampments of the Bojigngiji tribe of the Andamanese, the only one of which we have any real knowledge." The small article also lists some Andamanese place names. A vowel chart of ten vowels and a consonant chart of eight consonants drawn from the same language are also presented. All the examples in this paper are from Bojigngiji tribe, there is no mention of any linguistic input from any of the other tribes.

Thomson, in his 1882 article deals with Andamanese ornaments, specially, necklaces made of bones, human or otherwise. He also draws comparison between these and other such specimens available from other parts of the world for example Esquimaux of the Savage Island, who wore hair ornaments made of bones of polar bear. Examples are also given from the North American Indian practices of wearing bone ornaments.

A number of studies during this time concentrated on the tradition and religion of the Andamanese. One such study was Father Schmidt's on the supreme being of the Andamanese tribe, namely Paluga, where he counters A.R. Brown's observations on the same. Father Schmidt describes the nature and sex of the deity, which, according to him, varies from one tribe to another. Some of the tribes take the deity to be a male and some others to be a female. This difference is also geographically determined, in that the tribes of the South Andaman Puluga-Biliku are a masculine whereas in the Northern parts Biliku was considered a female. He tries to solve the problem of the identification of Biliku and Tarai with his knowledge of the mythology and religion the Austronesian people.

E.H. Man's 1878 work on the arts of the **Andamanese** and **Nicobarese** is a **description** of his encounters with the **Andamanese tribal populations** at different parts of the islands and his way of dealing with them. He also gives a list of various **implements and ornaments** used by the **Andamanese and Nicobarese**. Man's 1883 work [reprinted in 1975] gives detailed descriptions of the "**habits, customs and physical peculiarities**" of the **Andamanese**. The purpose of writing **the book** is stated in the introduction as "in considering the habits, customs and **physical peculiarities** of a savage race, it is **important** to acquire as much information as possible **regarding** the land they inhabit and also to ascertain the nature and extent of the **influences** exercised by, or resulting from, their intercourse with other nationalities". Though intended to be an 'introduction' to the "many points of interest connected with the **Andamans**" the book gives the **physiology and sociology** of the people in fairly good **detail**.

Another important work is Kloss's *In the **Andamans and Nicobars***, [1903] which was a "narrative of a cruise". It also includes a **chapter** on the **Andaman Islands** though the focus in the entire book is on the **Nicobars**. The section on the **Andaman tribes** is too sketchy and does not give any new insight into **their life** in general.

1.4.3. Penal Settlement in Port Blair:

The British occupied the islands in 1789 and **explored** many parts of these islands. The **Andaman Islands** had been known as *kaalaa paanii* ('black waters') by **Indians** as the islands were known for the establishment of **penal settlement** in 1858 by the **British**.

Lt. Archibald Blair of the Royal Navy was **commissioned** by the **East India Company** to survey the coasts of the **Andamans** in 1788. Thereafter, a site was selected and 200 **Indian prisoners** were settled in the **penal colony** in the year 1789. The port was named **port Cornwallis** after the then **Governor General Cornwallis**. But the war with the **French** and other problems led to abandonment of the **penal colony**.

Thereafter, due to attacks on ships and the **great Indian revolt** of 1857 led the **British** to think about the **Andamans** again. A new **penal settlement** was established in **South Andaman** away from the earlier **penal settlement**. The new **penal settlement** had **better weather condition** and was more suitable than the **earlier one**. It was named **Port Blair**.

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. An island was selected for making a base of British officials which was named Ross Island after the marine surveyor Sir Daniel Ross. The establishment of the British penal settlement led to innumerable violent encounters between the natives and the settlers. These encounters together with diseases brought to the locals, led to a dwindling of the population of the locals and a strong hold of the British on the island. Later on colonel E H Man took charge of the penal settlement in 1868 who undertook extensive work for the construction of penal settlement. He was credited with running the 'Andaman Home' for effective occupation of the Andamanese territory. These efforts resulted in bringing about 150 Andamanese from different areas to settle as residents of Andaman Home, a place which 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'. Later on a bigger settlement, which was named Cellular Jail, was undertaken for the convicts and prisoners.

1.4.4. Second World War and Japanese occupation:

During the Second World War, Andaman Islands were occupied by Japanese forces from 1942 to 1945. During that period the Andamans were actually put under the rule of *Arzi Hukumat Hind* of Netajee Subhas Chandra Bose as there was understanding between the Indian freedom fighters and the Japanese. Netajee visited the islands in 1943 and established a provisional Indian government. These islands were renamed as *Shaheed Dweep* (Martyr Island) and *Swarajya Dweep* (Freedom Island). After the Second World War, the Andaman Islands became the part of independent India in 1947.

1.5. The People:

Historically, there have been only native aborigines residing in these islands until the onslaught of outsiders. During the British colonial period, these people were provided hard manual labour jobs. To facilitate living conditions in the islands, indigenous people from mainland India like Santhals, Mundas, Kurukhs, etc. were brought here. Burmese labours were also brought in large numbers for managing elephants in timber trade. In 1926, many convicts from India and Burma were brought in here. The tribe known as Karen was also brought in here in 1927 from Burma and made to settle down in north Andaman. After India's independence in 1947, most of the convicts, having released

from the jail, made Andaman Islands as **their homes**. In addition, refugees from East Pakistan (now Bangladesh) mainly **Bangla speakers** migrated to the islands. The government of India encouraged people **from the mainland** to settle in the Islands in order to populate the area. So, the main **population** is of settlers who brought from different parts of the surrounding areas.

The first census of the Andaman Islands **put the population** at 24,629 people in 1901 (See: Table - 2). After the independence, **due to encouragement** of the Indian government for the settlement in the islands, the **population** expanded fast. Government encouraged migrants and ex-servicemen to **settle in the islands** by giving them handsome perks. Meanwhile during all this time, it was not **easy** to win the confidence of the locals.

Table - 2: Andamanese Tribal population figures between 1858 and 1995.

Tribe	1858	1883	1901	1911	1921	1931	1951	1961	1971	1981	1995
<i>Great Andamanese</i>											
Aka-Cari	100		39	36	17	9					
Aka-Kora	500		96	71	48	24					
Aka-Bo	200		48	62	16	6					
Aka-Jeru	700		218	180	101	46					
Aka-Kede	500		59	34	6	2					
Aka-Kol	100		11	2	0	0					
Oko-Juwoi	300		48	9	5	0					
A-Pucikwar	300		50	36	9	1					
Akar-Bale	300		19	15	4	2					

Aka-Bea	500		37	10	1	0					
Sub-Total	3500	2000	625	455	207	90	33	19	24	24	37
<i>Onge-Jarawa</i>											
Onge	700		672	631	346	250	150	129	112	106	99
Jarawa/Jangil	60	1250	585	231	231	120	50	56	25	250?	>200
Sentineli	?		385	117	117	270	260	50	100	50?	80?
Sub-Total	1300	1250	1642	979	694	440	260	235	237	406?	379?
Grand Total	4800	3750	2267	1434	903	530	293	254	261	430?	416?

Source: <http://www.andaman.org>

1.5.1. The Indigenous People:

The indigenous people of Andaman Islands were the Negrito people of 13 primitive tribes. Ten tribes among these had linguistic affinity with each other, which is known as Great Andamanese, who have now become extinct. At Present, Andaman Islands are home of four Negrito communities (See: Map - 1):

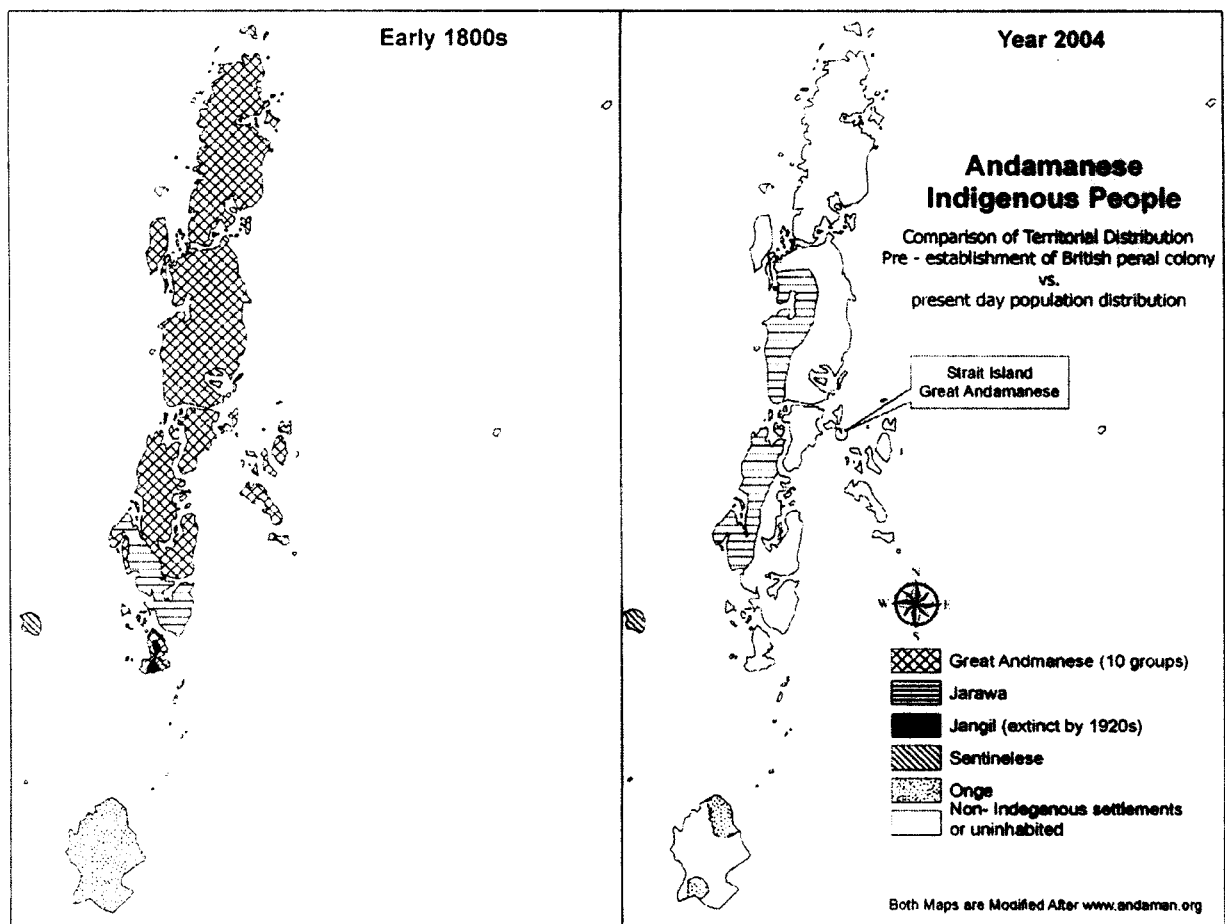
1. The Jarawa
2. The Onge
3. The Sentinelese.
4. The Great Andamanese

Barring Sentinelese, other tribes have been exposed to the mainlanders. Their history of contact varies from tribe to tribe. The Great Andamanese were the first who came in contact with the outsiders, followed by the Onge and the Jarawa. Various attempts have

been made to contact with the Sentinelese, but all resulted in failure. The Jarawa have come to know to the mainlanders very recently. Their first encounter with the outside world is generally believed to be in 1997. A number of the indigenous Negrito communities of the Andaman Islands have become extinct since they came in contact with the outside world. Some tribes (Great Andamanese) have either assimilated with the mainland culture. Among these communities, the Great Andamanese have been studied more extensively.

Map – 1

Comparison of Territorial Distribution Pre – establishment of British penal colony VS. Present day population distribution of Indigenous Andamanese People.



[Source: Abbi, 2008]

1.5.1.1. The Jarawa:

The Jarawa inhabit the west coast of Middle Andaman and South Andaman Islands. The word *Jarawa* is an eponym and is not their own name. It is a word from the Great

Andamanese Aka-Bea which means “stranger”, "enemy" or "hostile people". The Jarawa call themselves *Ya-eng-nga* or *human being*. The Jarawa are generally considered as a hostile community as there is a history of hereditary enmity between the Great Andamanese, particularly, Aka-Bea, which were their immediate neighbours. Jarawas are a hunter-gatherer nomadic tribe surviving on the local forest flora and fauna.

The population of Jarawa today is less than 300, which is still decreasing drastically. The disappearance of the Jarawa from the Port Blair region after the 1790s almost certainly is connected with their early contacts to the British. The diseases that a century later would extinguish their hereditary enemies, quite possibly reduced the number of Jarawa and allowed the Aka-Bea to gain the upper hand.

Jarawa has been hostile towards the Indian government officials and local settlers. They have very recently, as late as 1997, opened up to the outside world. Only now they have started coming out of their territory to make non-hostile contact with the outsiders. Despite all the facilities, the Jarawas prefer to live in their natural habitats.

1.5.1.2. The Onge:

Onges are one of the most primitive tribes in India of the Negrito racial stock. It was formerly distributed across Little Andaman Island and the nearby islets. Up to the 1940s, the Onge were the sole permanent occupants of Little Andaman. Until then, they led a largely traditional way of life despite indications of some traditional trading activity with outsiders. Later on they also stayed at camps established on Rutland Island and the southern tip of South Andaman Island. This semi-nomadic hunter-gatherer tribe is fully dependent on the nature for food. Today around 100 Onges live in a small thickly forested island in Andaman archipelago. The Onges have two settlements where they live, one at Dugong Creek and other at South Bay. But the Onges prefer to live in their natural habitat at Dugong Creek. They have been living without interacting with the outsiders for very long and only for last 100 years they have been in touch with the outsiders. They were granted Little Andaman in 1950 as their tribal reserve by the government of India in order to protect the interests of the Onge community. But in 1967, Little Andaman was opened up for settlement for people from outside which led to direct contact of the Onges with the outside people. This resulted in a serious setback in their way of living as their mobility was restricted severely.

The Onge are the only easily accessible **tribe** of the Onge-Jarawa group. **Because** of their friendliness and relative accessibility **for the past 100 years**, more is known about the Onge than about any other living **Andamanese** group.

1.5.1.3. The Sentinelese:

The Sentinelese are arguably **perhaps** the most isolated and the most **untouched** community in India and the rest of the **world**. Their population is estimated **at about 250**. They are very hostile towards the **outsiders** and do not allow any **contact** with the outsiders. They live on the small island of North Sentinel, off the west coast of South Andaman Island which they still **vigorously defend**. As the evidence **suggests**, they are also a hunting-gathering society with **considerable** reliance on the **sea resources**, and appear to have close identity with the **other** three Negrito tribes. Due to **their hostile** behaviour, there is no presence of any **outsiders** in their island. No government officials have been successful in making contact **with them**. Luckily they survived **the devastating** Tsunami of 2004. There is no information **available** on their **language(s)**. It is **considered** that knowing their language would **shed great light** to the understanding of the relationship between other Negritos **languages** as the Sentinelese have been isolated from time immemorial.

1.5.1.4. The Great Andamanese:

Great Andamanese is a collective term to **refer** to related groups or tribes of **indigenous** peoples who lived throughout most of the **Great Andaman** archipelago. These islanders were foragers, hunter-gatherers community. Males were primarily hunters and fishers, but also engaged in secondary collection **activities**. Females were primarily collectors of vegetable products, reef fauna, and small **animals**. The Great Andamanese were the first people to come in contact with the **settlers** there. There were ten tribes in **this group** spread throughout the Andaman group of **Islands** (See: Map 2). Each of the **tribe** had a distinct dialect of its own. These **languages** are classified in three groups as follows:

The South Andamanese Group:

1. Aka-Bea
2. Aka-Bale

The Middle Andaman Group:

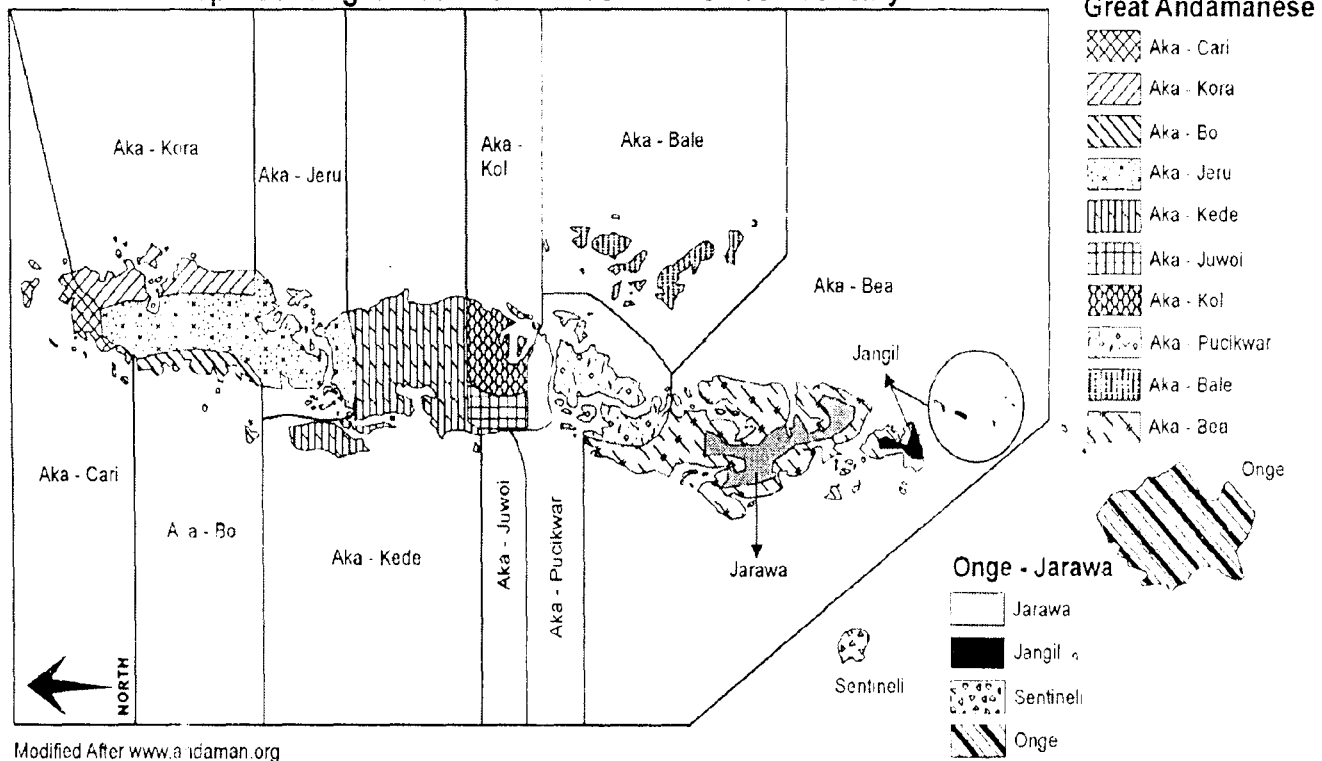
1. Aka-Pucikwar
2. Aka Kol
3. Aka-Kede
4. Aka-Juwoi

The North Andamanese Group:

1. Aka-Jeru
2. Aka-Bo
3. Aka-Khora
4. Aka-Cari

Map - 2

Geographical Distribution of the Ang Family and Ten Different Tribes Representing Great Andamanese in the 19th Century



[Source: Abbi (2008)]

These ten Great Andamanese languages form a linguistic continuum which runs from north to south with neighbouring languages more closely related than those further away from each other. The two languages at the extreme ends of the continuum (Aka-Bea and Aka-Cari) were mutually unintelligible. Such a continuum is known from other societies and is an indication of a very long and undisturbed settlement of the area by the groups involved. Each tribe has its mutually clearly defined geographical area, distinct language and customs. The prefixes Aka-, Akar-, A- or Oko- in their tongues mean *from the mouth* or *language* which implies that they distinguished themselves linguistically. Out of them about six subgroups were extinct by the 20th century. The present day Great Andamanese are a mixed population of the remaining four or five subgroups speaking a somewhat mixed linguistic code with the largest input being from Jeru (Abbi, 2006). The myths and legends of all the Great Andaman tribes also give the same picture of their relatedness with each other.

The Great Andamanese had the tendency to split into smaller units. Before the British came here, there was little contact between various tribes. Each tribe have members of between 200 and 700 and they formed self-reliant groups with no or very little contact with other groups. Within these small tribal groups, they further split into smaller subgroups of jungle-dwellers and shore-dwellers who do not mix much.

Very little is known about the cultural differences between the ten Great Andamanese tribes. Best known from the writings of Man and Portman are the Aka-Bea. Radcliffe-Brown primarily worked on the northern tribe and has presented the interpretation of the available data, so was not much concerned about the collection of new data. He referred to northern tribes as a whole, showing more interest in what they had in common than what divided them. To the Greater Andamanese themselves, their tribal differences seemed enormously important - until 1858 when truly different outsiders moved in.

Table - 3

The figures of the 1901 census on the basis of male / female and adult / children distinction.

Tribe	Number of adults (male/female)	Number of children (male/female)	Total	Children as % of total
<i>Great Andamanese</i>				
Aka-Cari	31 (16/15)	8 (6/2)	39	20.5%
Aka-Kora	63 (31/32)	33 (14/19)	96	34.4%
Aka-Bo	31 (15/16)	17 (7/10)	48	35.4%
Aka-Jeru	178 (98/80)	40 (26/14)	218	18.3%
Aka-Kede	54 (24/30)	5 (3/2)	59	8.5%
Aka-Kol	8 (6/2)	3 (3/0)	11	27.3%
Oko-Juwoi	40 (21/19)	8 (7/1)	48	16.7%
A-Pucikwar	45 (31/14)	5 (2/3)	50	10.0%
Aka-Bea	15 (5/10)	4 (3/1)	19	21.0%
Akar-Bale	30 (14/16)	7 (3/4)	37	18.9%
Total	495 (261/234)	130 (74/56)	625	20.8%

Source: <http://www.andaman.org>

An estimated population of 3000 to 3500 Great Andamanese in the early part of the nineteenth century was reported to be reduced to 625 [See: Table 3 (Census 1901)]. Anthropological study of Great Andamanese was undertaken by A.R. Radcliffe-Brown during 1906-1908 which gave the population figure of the Great Andamanese not more than 620. Since then, the population has declined drastically. The remaining four subgroups also suffered heavily until there were only 28 members alive during the 1970s. Due to government intervention, the situation has improved since then. The outside interference in the ecology and diseases brought by contact with outsiders are the main reasons for such a decline. Today the present day Great Andamanese tribes are reduced to a meagre figure of around 50 people living on a government provided accommodation called 'Strait Island' near Port Blair. Their needs are taken care of by the

Indian government official. Earlier marriages were restricted within tribe. But recently a man has married a non-tribal girl. The life and culture of these people are changing rapidly. This is truer of their language which has now become 'moribund'. For their day-to-day communication, they use an Andamanese variety of Hindi, which has literally replaced the native Great Andamanese languages in almost all domains. Their native culture and old ways of life has been replaced by the dominant mainland culture. As government has provided them all the facilities of food, job, etc. there is a general lack of purpose in their lives. They are more involved with alcohol and tobacco which claimed the death of their king Jirake.

1.6. The Great Andamanese Language:

Various studies in the past, both linguistic and genetic, suggest that Andamanese languages might be the last representatives of the pre-Neolithic South-East Asia. Perhaps, they represent the initial settlement by modern humans [Hagelberg et al 2003]. Genetic and epigenetic data [Endicott et al 2003] suggest long-term isolation of the Andamanese for a period of time, extensive population sub-structure, and or two temporally distinct settlements. Geographical isolations, aided the survival of ancient human lineages in the Andamanese [Abbi 2003].

There is some genetic evidence that the Andamanese have been largely isolated from the rest of humanity for 70,000 years (Abbi 2006). Around 30,000 years ago, there appears to have been some mixing with another group (again, maybe not yet on the islands). Whether the two main groups (Great Andamanese and Onge-Jarawa) represent this partial merging 30,000 years ago is an open question.

Great Andamanese are today bilingual in Hindi and Great Andamanese. Only a few old members have better command of Great Andamanese. On the other hand, the younger generation use Hindi for almost all purposes, due to which they have very less command of the Great Andamanese language. It is observed that the Present Great Andamanese language is no more transmitted to the younger generation which is resulting in loss of the language in the children. At School, the medium of instruction and the subjects are mostly in Hindi and some in English. This results in virtually no environment for the child to develop and learn their native language. With almost 50 members in the community today, the future does not hold many promises for the Great Andamanese culture and language. It is just the time when there will be no speaker left for the Great

Andamanese language. At present there are a few fluent speaker of the language which stands at around eight.

The older generation has also stopped using the language among them and are switching to Hindi. This has negatively affected the retention of the language in the younger generation. Most of the times they cannot remember some particular construction of the language and they have to use Hindi to make themselves understand. Most of the older generation use their native language in front of outsiders and children as a code language for sharing secret among them so that others do not understand what they are talking about. The attitude towards the language among its speakers is varied: most of them have indifference towards the language. Still elders worry about the present of the language, but there is not much that they can do. The younger is not concerned about their language and prefers Hindi as a medium. Outside the home or community domain, Great Andamanese is not relevant. The language has confined to the home or family domain only. This present apathy of the Great Andamanese is brought clearly by the major and prestigious documentation project 'Vanishing Voices of the Great Andamanese (VOGA)' of Great Andamanese language. The field work carried out in the documentation project gave far reaching insights into the endangered situation of the Great Andamanese language.

1.6.1. Phonetic information of the Present Great Andamanese (PGA) language:

The sound system of Great Andamanese is complex and varied¹. Due to the endangered situation of the Great Andamanese language it is difficult to know about the sound system of the language. Also the very small existing population that speak the language do not belong to the same mother variety of the language. Each speaker has a distinct history with regard to the speech of his/her parents. The mutual intelligibility among all the speakers keeps the communication going. Still some the distinctive features can be easily observed. There are 25 consonant sounds in the language. There are seven vowel sounds and around 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 plosive [g].

¹ See Abbi (2006) for more information on sound system in PGA. Most of the information on sound system of PGA has been taken from the book.

1.6.1.1. VOWELS:

Great Andamanese has a seven-vowel system as can be seen from (Table – 4). It gives a large combination of possibilities in the area of diphthongs as given in the (Table - 5). There has been observed very high variation in the inventory of **vowels** and **consonants** among the Great Andamanese speakers **because** of ‘Koine’ and “mixed” nature of the language (Abbi, 2006). Another factor leading to such variation could be the fact that the language is on the verge of extinction and **community** members do not remember many words and their exact pronunciations. The indifference attitude of the younger generations adds up to the deteriorating **condition** of the language. In the fieldwork (2001-02) conducted by Anvita Abbi and **her team**, the mean mid central vowel [ə] in the data was recorded. However, subsequent visits to the speech community and the digital recording of the vowel indicated that the **language** lacks this central vowel.

Table – 4

Vowel phonemes of Great Andamanese

	Front	Central	Back	
High	i			u
Higher mid	e			o
Mean mid				
Lower mid	ɛ			ɔ
Low			a	

(Source: Abbi, 2006)

There are many archi-phonemes observed in this language, which resulted in the neutralisation of the contrast across **speakers**. For example, though /e/ and /ɛ/ stand in contrast, speakers varied between these two vowels. Similar was the situation with /o/ and /ɔ/ which were in free variation, at **times** within the speech of the same speaker,

despite the fact that the two sounds do offer contrast in minimal pairs. Length is not phonemic in the language.

1.6.1.2. Diphthongs

The diphthongs of both short and long vowels are present in the PGA. An epenthetic semivowel is noticed in most of the words with diphthongs beginning with short vowels. Thus for many speakers ia > iya, or ua > uwa. But this phenomenon was not consistent and only a few made this epenthetic insertion. One of the Great Andamanese speakers Peje never used a semivowel between the two vowels. Diphthongs of the PGA are given in Table – 5 below (Abbi, 2006).

Table – 5

Diphthongs of Great Andamanese

Front	Back
ia, iu, io, i:ɔ, ie, i:e,	ua, uo, uɔ,
ei, eo, eɔ,	oa, o:a, o:ɔ, ou, oi, oe, o:e, oe,
ɛo, ɛɔ	ɔi, ɔ:e, ɔe
	ao, a:ɔ, a:u, au, aɛ, a:e, ae, ai,

(Source: Abbi, 2006)

1.6.1.3. Consonants:

The Consonant sounds in the Great **Andamanese** are given below in the **tabular form**.

Table – 6 showing consonant sounds of PGA

	Bilabial	Dental	Alveolar	Retroflex	Palatal	Velar
Plosive	p b p ^h	t t ^h d		t d t ^h	c j	k k ^h
Nasal	m		n		ɲ	ŋ
Trill			r	ɽ		
Fricative	ɸ β	(f)	s		ʃ	(x)
Lateral	l ^w			l		
Approximant	w				y	

(Source: Abbi, 2006)

The PGA has an abundance of **aspirated** and **retroflexed** consonants. It exhibits a four way phonemic contrast in nasals. **Aspiration** contrast is found only in **voiceless sounds** the palatal /c/ has no aspirated counterpart. Thus, /p/ and /p^h/, /t/ and /t^h/, /k/ and /k^h/ contrast phonemically. Plosives are **unreleased** word finally. Many consonant sounds in PGA are found to be in free variation. The following sound pairs are in free variation at the intra-community level, i.e., within the same clan.

[ɸ ~ p^h ~ f]

[β ~ l ~ w ~ l^w]

[k^h ~ x]

[s ~ S]

The sounds in free variation vary from speaker to speaker thus confirming that speakers of the language family are not descendants of the speakers of the same language. In other words, it represents inter-group free variation. However, the substitution of one by the other did not disturb the comprehension of the word in question. The intra-community variation, thus, renders a large number of sound inventories.

Language seems to have changed since Manoharan (1989) reported his work. He had transcribed many of the words with labio-dental [f] while our speakers mostly used voiceless bilabial aspirated plosive [p^h]. Some also used voiceless bilabial fricative [ɸ]. The voiced counterpart [β] was also attested in the speech of one or two consultants sporadically. . Similarly, voiceless velar fricative [x] in the last forty years has changed to voiceless velar aspirated [k^h].

1.6.2. The Lexical and morphological system²:

1.6.2.1. Possession:

The Great Andamanese displays a unique possession system where there are two ways to form genitives: suffixation and juxtaposition of possessor and possessed noun (Abbi 2006). The language offers a wide variety of genitives. The distinctions in various forms do not depend upon the simple binary distinction of alienability/inalienability but on various diverse ethno-semantic categories defining the relation between the possessor and the possessed nouns. Not surprisingly, then, one finds prototypical inalienable categories found in other Indian languages being reclassified in Great Andamanese, each by a distinct genitive suffix [GEN]. Factors such as part-whole relationship, intimate-non intimate relations, independent household of the possessum, and the notion of possessum being part of the possessor, all play an important role in deciding the appropriate genitive suffix [GEN]. The former, i.e. the suffixation process, takes care of a large body of the relation existing between the possessor–possessum. It is the possessor pronoun clitic that the genitive is suffixed to. (Abbi 2006).

11-12/06

² Most part of this section has been taken from Abbi (2006). See Abbi (2006) for detailed information on lexical and morphological notes.

The second method, i.e. the juxtaposition process operates as a compound formation and always marks the ‘distance away from the ego’.

1.6.2.2. Clitics:

Great Andamanese is rich in pronominal clitics. Clitics are obligatory though the bare pronouns of which they are the clitics may or may not be. Subject clitic is prefixed to verb, immediately after the transitive marker if any. The subject clitic is prefixed to the adverb of time also. If the construction has two verbs, double clitics can occur prefixed to each verb form. In case of transitive verb, the object clitic follows the subject clitic.

1.6.2.3. Deixis:

The Great Andamanese also displays a rich system of deictic categories. A very prominent feature of the Great Andamanese is the rich inventory of personal pronouns. First person plural has the distinction of exclusive/inclusive. Distinction between exclusive / non-exclusive was also noted for second person singular and plural pronouns. A four-way distinction in third person pronouns was observed. Thus, proximate, distant [visible], remote [invisible], and a reference to someone/something in an intermediate position between proximate and very proximate in pronouns are maintained. The second person and third person plural forms can be used as honorific. The animate and non-animate distinction is not maintained in interrogative pronouns Abbi (2006).

The Great Andamanese nouns do not have number inflection (Manoharan 1989) but number distinction exists in pronominal system.

1.6.2.4. Case:

Present Great Andamanese (PGA) exhibits distinct case markings /-bi ~ -i ~ -be/ are used for accusative and dative; /-la/ for instrumental and ablative; /-la, ~-il, -uk, -ak [+directional] / for locative; /-iso, -er, -ot, -a, -oŋ/ for genitive and experiencer; /-e/ and /-okka:/ for benefactive and experiencer, and /-boro, -bo/ for comitative. They are suffixed to the appropriate nouns. Nominative and agentive are unmarked. However, those who speak Jero or those who are influenced by Jero prefix /a-/ to every nominal argument in the sentence (Abbi 2006).

1.6.2.5. Verb Morphology:

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

1.6.3. The Syntactic and Semantic System³:

1.6.3.1. Word Order:

The basic word order of the Great Andamanese is verb final as observed in other languages of the Andamanese language family. The modifier follows the modified and the intensifier follows the modifier, but the genitive precedes the governing noun in all kinds of possessions.

The Great Andamanese lacks true PPs since they have a set of case like suffixes instead of adpositions.

1.6.3.2. Causative construction:

Causative constructions in the Great Andamanese are formed using three different processes: Prefixation, Suppletion, and by using Periphrastic Causatives. Morphological causative form is /ta-/ which is prefixed to the verb under consideration. This morpheme is used primarily for increasing valency, and hence is also a transitivizer. Lexical causative occurs in few cases where ditransitive verb such as 'drink' or 'eat' is supplented by a form for 'make someone drink' or 'feed' in addition to /ta-/prefix. The third strategy is periphrastic causatives.

1.6.3.2. Relative Construction:

Any element in a sentence can be relativized by a suffixed particle. There is no distinction between restrictive and non restrictive relative constructions. The relativized clause or phrase operates as a participle and thus a verb when participialized is non finite and modifies the noun.

³ Most part of this section is taken from Abbi (2006). See Abbi (2006) for detailed information on lexical and morphological notes.

1.6.3.3. Serial Verb Construction:

Great Andamanese also displays serial verb constructions. A construction with two verbs in a sequence represents sequential relationship. However, it may or may not indicate a cause and effect relationship. The first verb in the sequence is marked by a participial /-l/ that indicates a completed action or the state of the subject of the action concerned.

1.6.3.4. Negation:

The negative marker is /-p^ho ~ -fu/ and occurs post-verbally before the markers for Tense, Aspect and Mood. In negative existential sentences, it may occur as the negative auxiliary as a free morpheme.

1.6.4. Typology

In a path breaking study about the relationship between the Andamanese languages, Anvita Abbi (2008) concludes that the “Great Andamanese is an isolate which constitutes the sixth language family of India.” This study analyses the lexicon and morpho-syntactic complexities of the three endangered languages of the Andamans – Great Andamanese, Jarawa and Onge. Considering the nature of the language, especially in the realm of the verb morphology, Great Andamanese appears to be very different from other languages of the Andaman tribes, i.e., Jarawa and Onge [Abbi 2006]. In sound structures, many of the consonant sounds are unique to the language and are not shared by other Andamanese languages. It lacks central vowel, though traces of reduced vowel [ə] are noticeable in the speech of many who are semi-speakers or terminal speakers of the language.

1.7. Present Research:

The language situation carved out above gives very complex picture of the Present Great Andamanese language (PGA). It has also been mentioned that Great Andamanese and Proto Jarawa-Onge [Ang] are daughter of the Proto-Andamanese language which separated in the course of history (See Figures - 1 and 3). PGA is both a mixed language and a bilingual mixture. It draws its lexicon from various different but related four (arguably more) varieties of the languages, most of them extinct now (Manoharan, 1989; Abbi, 2006, 2008) (See: Figure - 2). In addition, some grammatical constructions such as verbal complex seem to be the result of a convergence of at least four Andamanese

languages once spoken in the Islands. The present form of Great Andamanese is also highly code mixed with a variety of Hindi spoken in the islands, hence resulting in bilingualism in PGA and Hindi. The PGA is a mixture of a number of Great Andamanese languages such as Aka-Jeru, Aka-Sare, Aka-Pujjika, Aka-Bo, Aka-Kede and many more from the list of 10 tribes once lived in the mainland of the Andaman Islands known as the Great Andaman (Manoharan, 1989; Abbi, 2006).

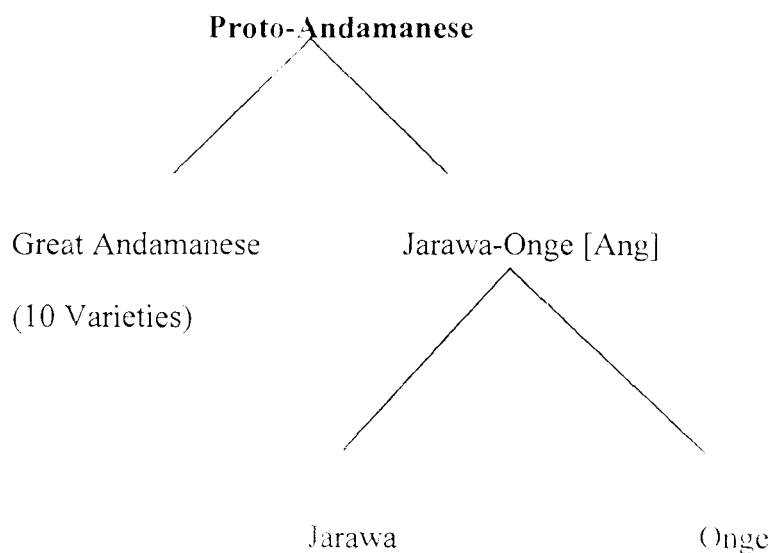


Fig. 1 (Proto) Andamanese languages

[Source: Abbi, 2008]

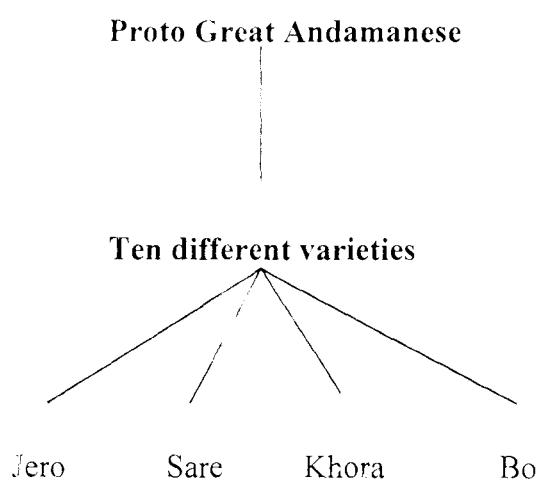


Fig. 2. Proto Great Andamanese.

[Source: Abbi, 2008]

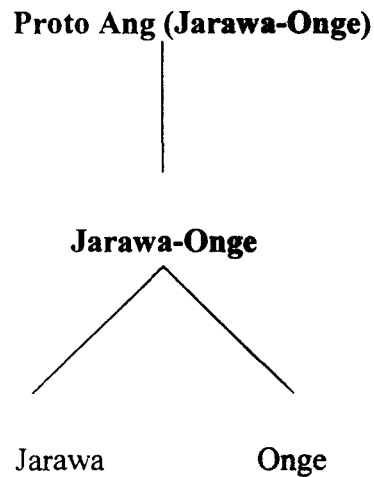


Fig. 3. Proto Ang (Jarawa–Onge).

[Source: Abbi, 2008]

It could be suggested that PGA has borrowed lexical items from these languages. The above mentioned situation results in a structure which not only indicates language death but also challenges linguists to work on it. A claim also exists that the PGA speakers of Strait Island belong to the North Andaman Islands. While working in the major documentation project ‘VOGA’, many interesting facts have been found about the lexicon of PGA. The data presented very high degree of variation in the Lexicon which is true for an endangered language like the PGA.

The complex situation of relationship between Andamanese languages described above prompts a work on the relationship among the Present Great Andamanese (PGA) and the other Great Andamanese languages once spoken in the island. This would aid in knowing about the relationship between these languages. In view of this, the present study is an attempt to find out the proximity of the PGA and four other Great Andamanese languages – Aka-Sare, Aka-Kede, Aka-Pujjekar and Aka-Bea. Out of these four languages two are north Andamanese languages – Aka-Sare and Aka-Kede, one is central Andamanese language-Aka-Pujjekar and one south Andamanese language – Aka-Bea.

1.7.1. Methodology:

1.7.1.1. Data Collection:

The present study is based on first hand data collected during the various field works in the Andaman and Nicobar Islands by Anvita Abbi and her team for the major documentation project 'Vanishing Voices of the Great Andamanese (VOGA)'. Much of the data has also been collected by Anvita Abbi during her field work in the islands before the VOGA project. Primarily, data has been elicited at Strait Island; Most of the data for Present Great Andamanese (PGA) language has been taken from the Great Andamanese trilingual interactive dictionary of the VOGA project. This dictionary is a trilingual in PGA, English and Hindi.

Apart from the PGA dictionary, data has been taken from 'A Descriptive and Comparative Study of the Andamanese Language' by S. Manoharan, 1989, A. R. Radcliffe-Brown's 'The Andaman Islanders', 1922, and E. H. Man's 'A Dictionary of the South Andaman language (Aka-Bea) Language', 1923, have also been consulted for the work.

The source of data for the four languages- Aka-Sare, Aka-Kede, Aka-Pujjekar and Aka-Bea is the pioneering work of Portman (reprinted in 1992) 'Manual of the Andamanese Languages'. This dictionary is indispensable for current comparative study as the data of the four mentioned languages is available in this manual. Though the languages reported here must have been spoken at the beginning of the last century, yet, one can see the historical relationship between the present Great Andamanese and the Northern varieties of the languages spoken hundred years ago.

1.7.2. Method:

After data collection, comparative method has been used for comparative lexicon of these Great Andamanese languages. This method uses the cognates in different languages to find out historical sound changes that have taken place in these languages. The cognates are selected on the basis of different major semantic categories. This method helps in making hypothesis about the relationship between these languages in the form of phonological statements of the sound changes which have occurred among these languages.

1.7.3. Significance of the Work:

Current studies about the Negritos of Southeast Asia and the Andamanese tribes have thrown many questions about the relationship between the Andamanese tribes and

Negritos of Southeast Asia. The result of their **relationship** could solve a **great mystery** regarding early human migration from Africa **some 70,000 years ago**. This could tell whether there was one or two separate migration **out-of-Africa** into the Andamans. Thus, the present study has implications on the ongoing **genetic and linguistic research relating** to the Andamanese and Austronesian languages. **This present study will throw light on the relationship among the Great Andamanese languages, which is very significant linguistically as there have been many claims about the relationship between these languages in general and with PGA in particular. This would also help in documenting and knowing more about the endangered Great Andamanese language.**

1.8. A Critical Review of past Literature on the Andaman Islands and its people:

The Andaman Islands and their inhabitants **have attracted the attention of the human civilization since time immemorial, because they were believed to be the living fossils of the human prehistory. This has led to thorough anthropological understanding of the Andamans and their inhabitants.**

The researchers have been always inspired by **the long isolation of the Andamanese languages as it would help to find out the prehistory of human civilization. The genetic study has been concerned with finding ‘the missing link’ in the process of the ‘peopling of the planet’, and finding the evolutionary roots of the Andamanese in the line of their genetic relation with the African Negritos and those of the South-East Asia. Linguistic research in this light for mapping the ‘global linguistic prehistory’ has been done by Burenhult [1996].**

⁴The British officials of colonial India **have given important contribution in the studies on Andamanese languages. Some of them are Temple, Portman, and Man. In post-independent India, by Anthropological Survey of India and recently by mainstream linguists like Zide (1987), Manoharan (1989) Abbi (2002) entered the unexplored areas of the Andamanese linguistics. R. Colebrook (1975) made the first attempt to detail Andamanese languages is done by in his work: On the Andaman Islanders. This work had its limitation as restrict itself to mere description of some lexicon and phrases.**

⁴ Abhishek Avtans (2006) M. Phil Dissertation (JNU) and Bidisha Som (2006), Ph.D Dissertation (JNU) have been consulted for the literature on Andamanese languages.

E. H. Man (1883) has done commendable job in giving detailed description of Andamanese languages including general vocabulary and specimens of languages. His work, titled *On the Inhabitants of the Andaman Islands*, deals almost exclusively with the two southern, the Aka-Bea and their close relations the Aka-Bale. In Man's day these were the only Andamanese tribes known at all well. Within these limitations Man's book is today still one of the few prime sources on the subject. Temple and Man published a translation of the Lord's Prayer and completed a grammar of the Aka-Bea language. Unfortunately, the grammar was never published, only a fragment appearing in print in 1878. Man is credited with the discovery that there were eight Great Andamanese tribes (two more would not be discovered until 1900) and that they spoke mutually unintelligible languages. Man's (1923) *A Dictionary of the South Andamanese (Aka-Bea) language* is a good attempt to describe the south Andamanese language, Aka-Bea. E. H. Man has given invaluable contribution in the field of Andamanese linguistics. These works are today still one of the few standard works on the subject and indispensable to the serious student of linguistics.

M.V. Portman's 1899 book related why and how contacts were made with the Andamanese and it also contain comments on early vocabularies collected by Fytche, Haughton, and Tickell. M. V. Portman also presented a small amount of Jarawa language data in this book.

Portman's 1887 [reprinted in 1992] book *Manual of the Andamanese Languages* was a commendable attempt to record five Andamanese languages. The first serious attempt at understanding the Andamanese and their language was made by him. He gives a comparative list of words in five Andamanese languages. All his language data come from four Great Andamanese languages; Aka-Bea-da, Aka-Bojigiab, Aka-Kede and Aka-Chariar and one Little Andamanese language, namely, Onge. He gives list of words and conversations in different languages and also attempts at recording some of the 'typical' Andamanese terms or the names of indigenous items. Though the book concentrates on the vocabulary and sentences based on themes, it also gives a very brief sketch of the grammar of the languages. This dictionary is indispensable for any historical work. The eight page introductory grammar of Portman is divided in four sections dealing briefly with the following topics:

1. Alphabet,
2. Word Formation,
3. Parts of Speech and
4. Syntax.

Man's Dictionary [1923] puts together his **knowledge** of the south Andaman **language** of over thirty-two years in the form of **vocabulary** and some additional **sentences** and illustrations. The dictionary is exhaustive. **This** remains a great documentation work on this now-extinct language.

A. R. Radcliff-Brown's 1922 book is a **detailed** anthropological account of the Andamanese people, where he describes in **great** detail their social organization, ceremonial customs, religious and magical **beliefs**, myths and legends and also the technical culture. He describes the language of these people in short, where he gives a brief overview of all the varieties of the **Andamanese** languages he encountered. He also embarks upon bringing out a comparison **between** the Great Andaman and little Andaman group of languages. The anthropological account of the tribe, among other things, describes the hunting implements in **detail**.

R.C. Temple's work on these languages were largely concerned with his 'theory of universal grammar as applied to a group of **savage** languages'. In his [1899] work, he does not give any grammatical sketch of the **language** but provides data from Aka-Bea as examples to his theory. According to his Census chapter, [1903] Andamanese can express only direct and simplest thoughts. **He** takes anthropomorphism present in the language as the sign of its savage nature, **though** agreeing at the same time that the language "shows development as **complicated** and **complete**" as any civilized language. He also mentions lack of generic terms, **back-reference**, conjunctions etc. in the Andamanese languages.

In independent India, D. N. Basu has taken **note** of the Andamanese languages in his work of 1952 'A linguistic introduction to **Andamanese**' in which he gives a short introduction to Andamanese languages **detailing** its varieties, general sound system and basic morphology.

In recent times, S. Manoharan is credited **with** commendable work on **Andamanese** languages. One noteworthy 'linguistic' **account** of the language is the works of S.

Manoharan in 1980, in his doctoral dissertation titled 'A descriptive study of the Andamanese languages' and later in Manoharan [1989] *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'. The phonology section discusses the distribution of various phonemes and their allophones along with the syllabic structure illustrated through wordlist. The noun morphology is also discussed with a section devoted to the prefixes, an important feature in the Great Andamanese word formation process. Both the nouns and verbs are divided into several classes. A significant work in itself, the book, however, ignores discussion on semantics, syntax, and lexicon, of the Great Andamanese at length. This work is indispensable for any student of linguistics interested in Andamanese languages.

Some of the most remarkable contribution for the Andamanese languages has been by Anvita Abbi. She has done several systematic and scientific studies on Andamanese languages beginning with a pilot survey of Indigenous languages of Andamans in 2001. In Abbi (2003), she has given a fair comparative description of indigenous languages of the Andamans. Similarly Abbi (2005): 'Is Great Andamanese Typologically Divergent from the Standard average Andamanese', is a noteworthy work. Abbi (2006): 'Endangered languages of Andaman Islands', is an elaborate work in the description of indigenous languages of the Andaman from the typological point of view.

Her latest work, Abbi (2008): 'Is Great Andamanese genealogically and typologically distinct from Onge and Jarawa?' , is a breakthrough as it finds that the Present Great Andamanese language is an language isolate which forms the sixth language family of India. It has also helped in the historical relationships of the languages of the Andamans and languages of the Negritos of Southeast Asia. It could help in the research of the early human migration out-of-Africa into the Andaman.

1.9. Organization of the Present Study:

The present study is divided into four chapters. There are two major chapters other than the introduction and the conclusion. Each of these chapters is organized as follows:

Chapter 1: Introduction and Review of literature:

The first introductory chapter starts with a brief introduction of the Andaman and Nicobar Union territory. This chapter covers geographical and historical details of the islands with the ecological information. Further on, this chapter accounts for the Andamanese people and socio-cultural and political past of these people. Then it focuses on the Great Andamanese tribe and its language. It gives a brief grammatical sketch of the Great Andamanese language. Then, the subject matter of the present research i.e., the relationship among the Great Andamanese languages is discussed. It also elaborates on what the present dissertation aims to look at. Methodological issues and the organization of the study are also part of this chapter. This chapter also reviews the existing literature in studies related to Andamanese languages and culture.

Chapter 2: Comparative Lexicon of PGA, Aka-Sare, Aka-Kede, Aka-Pujjekar and Aka-Bea.

This chapter gives the comparative lexicon of the cognates of the Present Great Andamanese language and four other Great Andamanese languages- Aka-Sare, Aka-Kede, Aka-Pujjekar and Aka-Bea in the tabular form.

Chapter 3: Phonological result of the Comparative Lexicon

Phonological result of gain, loss and change among these languages are explained in this chapter in a rule form are given this chapter. It gives different rules derived from comparing the different cognates of the Present Great Andamanese language and four above mentioned language.

Chapter 4: Conclusion

The last chapter concludes about the relationship among the Present Great Andamanese language and the four above mentioned on the basis of the above two chapters. It addresses the question of historical relationship between the languages of Andaman Islands. The chapters are followed by a detail list of references and appendix.

Chapter – 2

Cognates of PGA and four extinct Great Andamanese languages

2.1. Cognates

This chapter contains the cognates of Present Great Andamanese language and four extinct Great Andamanese languages – Aka-Sare, Aka-Kede, Aka-Pujjekar and Aka-Bea. Among these languages, Aka-Sare was the Northernmost Great Andamanese language, Aka-Kede was a Northern Middle Great Andamanese language, Aka-Pujjekar was a Southern Middle Great Andamanese language and Aka-Bea was the Southernmost Great Andamanese language¹.

The cognates of these languages are given in the tabular form. The table contains 201 cognates which have been selected on the basis on sound – meaning correspondences in these languages. The data of PGA has been taken from primarily the trilingual interactive dictionary of Great Andamanese language which is being prepared in a major endangered language documentation project, VOGA, JNU. Manoharan (1989) has also been consulted for the PGA lexicon. For other four languages, the data have been taken primarily from Portman, 1887 ‘Manual of the Andamanese Languages’. A. R. Radcliffe-Brown’s ‘The Andaman Islanders’, 1922, and E. H. Man’s ‘A Dictionary of the South Andaman language (Aka-Bea) Language’, 1923, have also been consulted for the data of these languages.

2.2. Orthography Notes:

The spellings of the names of the Great Andamanese languages have been modified so as to adhere for to the current pronunciation of these languages by the present population of Great Andamanese. Given below is the modified spelling of the names of the languages used in this work and the spellings used by the Portman (1887).

Áka Cháriár (Portman) has been modified to Aka-Sare.

Áka Kédé (Portman) has been modified to Aka-Kede.

¹ Refer to Map – 2 given in the Chapter-1.

Áka Bójigiáb (Portman) has been modified to **Aka-Pujjika**r.

Áka Bía-da (Portman) has been modified to **Aka-Bea**.

2.3. Portman's Transcription

The transcription of the data which have **taken** from Portman, 1887, has **not been** changed and original transcription has **been** maintained. The following is the transcription Schema as given in the **introductory** notes of Portman, 1887.

Vowels in Portman (1887)	Corresponding IPA Symbol
---------------------------------	---------------------------------

a has the sound of u in hut	ʌ
ä has the sound of a in rat	æ
á has the sound of a in father	ɑ
āō has the sound of ow in cow	ɑu
e has the sound of e in pet	e
é has the sound of a in name	eɪ
i has the sound of i in fin	ɪ
í has the sound ee in keen	i
o has the sound of o in hot	ɒ
ó has the sound of o in cold	əʊ
u has the sound of u in rule	u
āū has the sound of aw in awful	ɔ

Consonants:

ch has the sound of ch in child	ç
g has the sound of g in game	g
c has the sound of c in cat	k
ng is velar nasal in portman's work	ŋ

The other consonants are identical in **power** with the English.

The words of the four extinct Great Andamanese languages – Aka –Sare, Aka-Kede, Aka-Pujjekar and Aka-Bea, begin with a capital letter in Portman’s dictionary, so they are written without any change in the table of Cognates. Thus, in cognates, words in these languages begin with a Capital letter.

2.4. Lexicon of Great Andamanese language The following is the list of the Cognates of Present Great Andamanese language and four other languages- Aka-Sare, Aka-Kede, Aka-Pujjekar and Aka-Bea.

SL NO	ENGLISH	PGA	AKA-SARE	AKA-KEDE	AKA-PUJJIKAR	AKA-BEA
1	You	nyo	Ngíó	Nguí	Ngule	Ngol
2	Yes	lya ~ eiya	Éá	Wé	Ó	Óba-da
3	Yawn	t ^h əŋ	Áká tánga	Ótem tá	Ótem māōwich	Tápa ké
4	Yam / Potato	kōnmo ~ kōnmo	Kāūnmu	Kāūmó	Chárò	Chátí-da
5	Yam / Potato	mino	Mínó	Mínó	Kune	Gónó-da
6	Wound	uncəm	É chém	Chém	Chém- da	Chum-da
7	Wood	ʈək ^h ot	Tāūku	Tāūku	Tákel	Putu-da
8	Women	buk ^h u	Lāōbuku	Ebuku	Abób	Ápail-da
9	Wipe	ɛšir-e	Tót chír	Tí chāūt	Tiwu lótorar	Tāūnga ké
10	Widower	aralep ^h a	Árálépá	Áraiyépá	Árlépá	Árléba-da
11	Wet	et-ino	Óel inó	Ót inó	Ót éná	Ót ina-da
12	Weep / Remorse	bilup ^h	To bilup	Bílíp	Bílap	Bulap

13	Wedding	em-boya	Eboyó	Em Chígerá	Óm chíker	Ádéní ké
14	Wear	eta-loṭa	Jetá lótá	Jetá lótá	Ébe loter	Eb lótí ké
15	Weak	εlea	Éléá	Éléá	Ab wélé - da	Ab wélab – da
16	Water	Ino	Ínó	Íne	Éná	Ína-da
17	Walk	šolo	Óí choló	Óíchó	Chóleke	Nāō ké
18	Wake	εr-kʰilu	Ér kílú	É kilu	Ab kíle kan	Ab géintá ké
19	Vomit	ei	Áká é	Ótam wéamé	Óm kue	Ádwé ké
20	Urine	Ili	To ílí	Wílé	Chéle	Ulu-da
21	Up	šoŋol	É tongel	Tongel	Táŋgan	Táŋ len
22	Unripe	ḍop	Ju dóp	Dóp	Dóp	Chímítí-da
23	Umrella	kɔbu ~kɔbo	Kāūbu	Kāūbo	Kábo	Kapa-da
24	Two	ertapʰul	Nérpól	Írpól	Írpól	Ikpāūr-da
25	Turtle	ṭro	Tórāū	Tāūro	Tará	Táo-da
26	Turtle	cokbi	Chókbí	Chókbé	Karib	Yadí-da
27	Tooth	er-pʰile ~ εr-pʰile	Mér pílé	Mír pílé	Mo pélá	Í tug-da
28	Tongue	akaṭaṭ	Ákátát	Ákátát	Ótátel	Áká étel-da
29	Throw	e-pʰil	Ué píl	Átá píl	Étí lebe tai kan	Ik élé paidlí ké
30	Throat	aker	Áká kér	Áká énuku	Óéná nurum	Áká órma-da
31	Thorn	ce	Jér ché	Ír che	Ír che	Chukal-da
32	Thirsty	ṭʰu-pʰai	Tá paif	Tá pai	Tó ker	Áká émga-da
33	Tall	eloboŋ	É lóbung	Érló	Áb lāūtí	Áb lapana-da

34	Swing	lele	Arám léá	Arám lélé	Arám lélá kan	Ará lélá ké
35	Swim	ŋoto	Ngāūtāū	Ó ngāūtó	Ngátá	Pid ké
36	Sweat	k ^h irme	Tót kír	Kír	Kimer kan	Gumár ké
37	Sun	dju	Díu	Díe	Pute	Bódó-da
38	Summer	ʃanto	Mót tangtāū	Tángtó	Yére pute	Yéí bódó lin
39	Stool / Shit	buli	Tu bóló	Tó bó	Bóle kan	Chéí ké
40	Stone	meo	Méāū	Mió	Mé-da	Tailí-da
41	Stir	ɛrakot ^h	Jér ketó	Ír ketó	Ír kéte kan	Ír ketí ke
42	Sticky	eta-meʃa	Tóm métó	Jó móng méter	Móng méter	Moiet mailekan-da
43	Stick	ʃoko	Toku	Tāūku	Tákil	Putu-da
44	Spit	ɛk-t ^h oba	Ma tóbá	Chéin	Chén kan	Tubel ké
45	Sour	emece ~ emioi	Joko méo	Ír mía	Mirmá	Ig makanga- da
46	Song	jo	Jójur	Jo	Íāū	Rámit-da
47	Sneeze	ɛɛrp ^h o	Ót chérepu	To chérbo	Chípe kan	Chíbangá ké
48	Snake	šubi ~ subi	Chubi	Chupé	Chupe	Jóbo-da
49	Smoke	lep	Léb	Jéb	Léb	Molla-da
50	Smile, my	motcor	Ó moichur	Mojur	Moichar kan	Áka mujur ké
51	Smell	cowbo	Jé chöbó	Chópo	Chópo	Jába-da

52	Small	ε-leo	Jó tāōu	Lāō	Óte dókan	Ot kujurí ké
53	Sleep	beno	Tubénó	Tír bénó	Mólí kan	Mámí ké
54	Sky	ʈ ~ ʈoo ~ ʈoo	Tāōo	Tāūo	Lémer	Māūro-da
55	Skin	ε-kobo ~ et-kobo	Ót kobāū	Ót kāūpó	Óte katch	Aii-da
56	Sit	aka-uno	Áko uno	Áká wuano	Ár che	Ár bul-da
57	Sink	bit	Ju bít	Jó bít	Óng óm bíté kan	Á tobre ké
58	Sing	jo šoro	Jóur	Jó chóró	Jío chōro kan	Rámit óyó ké
59	Shoot	e-p ^h ire	É píré	É pírá	Ab píré kan	Páinté ké
60	Shiver	u-juro	Ujurol	Ot boicho téretá	Pérétá kan	Bérédí ké
61	Sharpen	sito	Jér Chetāū	Yír chétó	Ír chét kan	Ig jít ké
62	Sharp	ekɔɔp ^h o	Ér roku	Ig rétá	Ír rétá	Ig rénéma-da
63	Share	ora	Urá	Wérá	Yai-da	Yai-da
64	Shade	ʈ ^h iu	Tíu	Tíuwó	Tíu	Día-da
65	Seed	eulu	Ér ulu	Ír tól	Ír ule	Ig bán-da
66	See	tirɔe	Ér tedé	Ír tedé	Ír tílu kan	Ig bádí ké
67	Sea	siro	Chíro	Chíro	Chíre	Juru-da
68	Scar	er-k ^h odo	Ér bí	Ír kódó	Ír kóde	Ig gáda-da

69	Scale	ot-cər	Jet chór	Jot chór	Óte kaitch	Ót aij-da
70	Sand	ʃɔɔ ~ ʃɔɔ	Táro	Tóro	Tāūwer	Tára-da
71	Saliva	a p ^h up	Má pup	Má bub	Télépó	Télépó-da
72	Run away	tebol	Tó tébal	Óʃ tepal	Tápal kan	Ád wéti ké
73	Row	cok ^h	Jok chekāū	Jk chókó	E chó ke	Tápa ké
74	Rope	luremo	Lurémo	Bétmo	Bétmo- da	Bétmo-da
75	Rock	meo	Méāū	Mió	Mé-da	Taili-da
76	Roast	e-šuye	Tó jichué	Je chuá	Chu-kan	Jói ké
77	Ripe	eboe	Ju bóié	Jó bóí	Ong bá	Roich ré
78	Reef	burku	Burku	Burko	Buruke	Bóróga-da
79	Raw	dop	Ju dóp	Jo dóp	Dópel	Chémetí-da
80	Rat	ʃo-ɖe	Tó-dé	Dé	Kétn	Rógo tátma- da
81	Rain	jicɛr	Jó chér	Jó jém	Lékele óng bó- da	Yum lá pá ké
82	Put out (fire)	ɛr-bat	Ír bát	Ír pat	Ír bíle	Í téri ke
83	Put	ɛ-teše	Jó teichi	Jó téichí	Téich kan	Tégí ké
84	Prawn	kɛʃ ^h o	Káttu	Káttó	Kāō-da	Āō-da
85	Play	ereŋ k ^h ol	Éreng kólé	Írimké	Írim kóle	Í jáj ké
86	Pimple	retɕŋ	Réteng	Réteng	Rétang	Rutangaj-da
87	Pigeon	merit ~	Mírid	Mírid	Mírad-da	Murad-da

		merit				
88	Pig	ra	Rá	Rá	Ré-da	Reg-da
89	Peel	ot-kobo	Ot kobo	Ot Körpo	Ot te kaitch	Otaj-da
90	Penis	er-bat	Mér bát	Má pát	Pát-da	Chul-da
91	One	ontoplo	On tolbo	Luáh mó	Lungi	Óbatul
92	Nose	er-koṭʰo	Mér kató	Mír kāūtó	Mír katto	Chóronga-da
93	Night	ir-bat	Yér bát	Yír pát	Pátí-da	Guruk-da
94	Net	oco	Oichó	Oi cho	Oi che	Kud-da
95	Necklace	ṭo	Má kér	Má tāū	Mót ébo	Mákat éta-da
96	Near	beṭopʰa	Bétopo	Péde puíe	Chóte	Lagía-da
97	Navel	enjet	Méngét	Méít	Map tér	Mat ér-da
98	Name	e-liu	É liwu	É liwo	Ote yá- da	Ót ting-da
99	Mouth	pʰoŋ	Póng	Pong	Póng	Bang-da
100	Mother	mimi	Ta mémí	Mémí	Ín	Cháno-lá
101	Moon	qulo ~ qulo	Dolāū	Chírké	Pukí	Ógar-da
102	Midnight	batata mikʰu	Butatá míkul	Pátatam míko	Dirik lettam míko	Gurak chāō
103	Mid-day	qiu	Díu	Díu	Pútu chāō	Bódo chāō
104	Meat	e-tʰomo	Yétomo	Tómo	Tóma-da	Dama-da
105	Mat	baraba	Bárabá	Párepá	Parépa	Pérepa-da
106	Marriage	emboe	Ném boiyó	Ém buiyé	Óngóm chíkar	Á déni ké

107	Look out	irteḍe	Ér tedé	Titoi dé	Ér tílu	Ekbádí ké
108	Long	i-loboŋ	Lóbung	Lāū u	Lāū tí	Lápana-da
109	Listen	akabiŋe	Okotápu ng	Áka binge	É bingé	Í dai ké
110	Lips	er-boa	Ér buáh	Ma puáh	Pé-da	Pé-da
111	Left hand	ekoræ	Mé kórii	Mára kóri	Mír kóri- da	Kóri-da
112	Language	atek ^h o	Aka téku	Áka téku	Ót téki	Áka teggi-da
113	Keep	etaiše	Et tai chá	To tai chí	Taitch kan	Tégiké
114	Jackfruit	kæto	Koiito	Koiíto	Kaiíte	Kaieta-da
115	Iron	reotɔy	Rāō tul	Rāō tul	Póht-da	Tāūl bód da
116	Hot	ik ^h imil	Kímil	Wírí we	Wire wak	Uya-da
117	Honey	t ^h umel	Tímel	Tumel	Koitch chi	Ádja-da
118	Hill	auruin	Burain	Burin	Burin-da	Bóroin-da
119	Heavy	at ^h ile	Jokó tilé	Jo tilé	Íni-da	Ínma-da
120	Heap	et-calo	Ngá rain chálu	Ot chék	Ote chék-da	Ot jegnga-da
121	Head	er-co	É chu	Er chu	Óte tá- da	Chetta-da
122	Hand	oŋ koro	Am kudímo	Am koro	Ankóro- da	Kóro-da
123	Grass- hopper	toimo	Turok toimá	Torak taimí	Moilír péte	Mailí péti-da
124	Grass	ca:lɔ	Chálu	Chémíl	Chémal- da	Yukale
125	Good	enɔl	Nol	Enálé	Ab dém	Béringa-da

126	God	bilik ^h u	Bílek ke	Bílke	Bílak-da	Puluga-da
127	Fruit	etcow	Ér chu	Ót chu	Ót tertá-da	Chetta-da
128	Frog	p ^h orube	Pórubé	Pórubá	Rópan-da	Rópan-da
129	Food	jo	Áka jéo	Te jo	Táma-da	Méknga-da
130	Flesh	εt ^h omo	Ye tomó	Tomó	Tóma-da	Dáma-da
131	Fist	u-mo-t ^h o	Am tó	Am tó	Ong-tó-da	On tó-da
132	Fire	aɽ	Áht	Áht	Áht-da	Chápa-da
133	Finish	arališu	Árá líwu	Jerá liwu	Ár liwa kan	Ár lu ké
134	Fever	etei	O té beno	Er téyi	Ír tála war	Í tála yáb-da
135	Female	buk ^h u	Buku	Buku	Áb ób	Á pail-da
136	Fear	laɽ	Lát	Yát	Lát kan	Ád lát ke
137	Father	amae	A mái	Má	Tá le	Mai o la
138	Fall	boɽo	Botó	Bóto	Óng bódo kan	Pá ké
139	Eye	erulu	Érulu	Ér tol	Írká dig	Ídál-da
140	Evening	tara:y	Terái	Trái	Ta tírí	Tár díya
141	Egg	mulu	Jo péro	Mulo	Mula	Mólo-da
142	Eat	iji ~ eji	Ijó	Jó	Táme	Mék-ke
143	Earth	boa	Buah	Puáh	Pér-da	Gara-da
144	Ear	er buo	Ér buáh	Ér bu	Ír bó-da	Ik poko-da
145	Dugong	kəɽoɽj	Kóroin	Kóroin	Tegbul	Tegbul
146	Drown	bit	Bít	Bít	Óng bit kan	Á tóbré ke

147	Drink	k ^h u	Ku	Ku	Pai kan	Wélij ké
148	Dream	jumu	Yumu	Jumo	Ab cháppan	Táraba-da
149	Dig	et p ^h oŋ	Ára pong	Ot pong	Pung kan	Báng ké
150	Die	emp ^h il	Em píl	Em píl kan	Óngom píl kan	Óko línga ké
151	Day light	ɖiu	Díwu	Díya	Pu ten	Bódo-len
152	Cut	i beliŋ	Eb éling	Eng ó ol	Ár tó kan	Ár kóp ké
153	Creek	buliu	Bulíu	Bólíu	Dína	Jig-da
154	Crab	p ^h oŋ	Pāūn	Pāūn	Pón-da	Bád-da
155	Crab	keo	Rák	Kéo	Kéi wu	Kátta-da
156	Count	elob	Árá lub	Árá lup	Ár lop kan	Ár láp ké
157	Cough	kət	Kāūt	Kāūt	Kutak	Ódga-da
158	Cold	julu	Julu	Julum	Térem- da	Chókí-da
159	Coconut	k ^h ider	Kíder	Kíter	Chéter	Jéder-da
160	Rooster	moco ~ moco ~ moco	Moicha	Moicha	Moicha- da	Télu-da
161	Cloud	tao	Tāō	Taó	Le mar	Tówia-da
162	Climb	rɛp ^h o	Répu	Répo	Répe kan	Ig ngálāō ké
163	Clap	p ^h ur	Pur	Pur	Pité kan	Pédinga ké
164	Chin	eɬap ~ ɛr tap	Ér tap	Má puá	Moi tép	Áka ádal-da
165	Cheek	ɛr nək ^h o	Nóko	Nóko	Ír káp	Áb-da
166	Centipede	korobito	kérébító	kérábító	Kára bit	Karapta-da

167	Cave	p ^h oŋ	Pong	Pong	Ár póng- da	Jág-d
168	Caterpillar / Worm	ɖum	Dum	Wulup	Wéwe	Wéinj-da
169	Carry	e bit k ^h e	Ek tór biṭ ké	Eb bik ké	Áb bila kan	Kátamí ke
170	Call	tere	Télé	Téi	Biyé kan	Érewa ké
171	Butterfly	bemo	Buámó	Bámo	Bámila- da	Pámila-da
172	Burn	e sue	Chué	Chuá	Chu kan	Jói ké
173	Broom	ṭ ^h ibel	Tíbé	Tíbíj	Tí wuj bij	Bujnga-da
174	Breathe	šije	Chingi	Chingé	Éng it che	Áka élet ke
175	Breast	me-tɛi	Mété	Me téyu	Ír kám- da	Í kám-da
176	Brain	mine	Míné	Míné	Mína	Mun-da
177	Boy	e-t ^h ire	Étíré	Étírá	Áb tíré	Áb liga-da
178	Bow	ko	Kó	Kóu	Kóh-da	Kárama-da
179	Bone	e-tɔe	É toi í	É tu wé	Tá-da	Tá-da
180	Boil	firiyo	Pírío	Piruwa	Pun kan	Bóág ké
181	Blood	etei	Été	Téyí	Té wa	Té-da
182	Blind	ṭobo	Tába	Tópo	Tápa	Tápa
183	Black	ɖirim	Dírim	Dírim	Dírek	Putung ája
184	Bite	e-bio	Ébio:	Tong ab pío	Óng ab pé kan	chápíké
185	Birth	t ^h u	Tu	Tu	Tu	Ár dóatinga
186	Big	k ^h uro	Kura	Kuro	Durunga	Chánag-da
187	Belly / stomach	e p ^h ilu	Échulu	Épíl lu	Jódo-da	Chut-te

188	Bath	ʈɔpʰ	Táp	Tóp	Lébe kan	Ludga-kel
189	Bat	oʈ	Wo:t	Wāūt	Wát-da	Wāūt-da
190	Basket	šup	Chup	Chup	Chóp-da	Jóp-da
191	Bark	et kobo	Ot kába	Ot kápo	Óte kait- da	It aij-da
192	Banana	kɔpʰo	Kápo	Kopo-da	Tóbat-da	Éngera-da
193	Bamboo	por ~ pʰɔr	Por	Pör	Báret-da	Pāū-da
194	Bald	ot kobolo	Ót kába ló	Ót kóh- da	Óto kóh- da	Ot tálátim-da
195	Awake	erkʰiluke	Érkhélu	É khilo	Ab khilé	Ábgáinta ké
196	Ashes	biʈʰe	Bát	Pát	Ong Yírbile	Ítéri-da
197	Arm	ŋto	Tong	Tong	Mírkít	Ítí tógó
198	Alone	ɛrla	Ér lá	Íri yá	Írlá	Íjilá
199	Axe / Adze	ɔɔ	Ólo	Wó	Wóló-da	Wóló-da
200	Above	šɔŋol	Tartónge l	Tóngel	Chím-da	Chum-da
201	Leave / Abandoned	mok ~ muk	Móké	Mó	Líchiré	Ót mániré

Chapter-3

Relationship between the Great Andamanese languages

3.0. Introduction

In this chapter, the results of the present comparative study of Present Great Andamanese language (PGA), Aka-Sare, Aka-Kede, Aka-Pujjekar and Aka-Bea have been discussed. This comparison has yielded a large inventory of cognates. Although all the efforts have been taken to ensure the accuracy of comparison between these languages, but due to insufficiency of data, some exceptions to the phonological rules are found. Despite these constraints, interesting results of the relationship among these languages have been established.

Based on the cognates, it can be said that PGA is closer to Sare and Kede languages, since the other two languages (Pujjekar and Bea) demonstrate a very little resemblances in sound meaning correspondences with the PGA. Hence this study focuses primarily on the intensity of the genetic relationship among the three languages – PGA, Sare and Kede.

This chapter has been divided into ten sections:

Section 3.1 discusses the changes in Consonant System of PGA viz-a-viz Sare and Kede, Section 3.2 explores changes in Vowel System. Section 3.3 looks into the changes in diphthongs of these languages. Section 3.4 focuses on the relationship of ‘clitics’ among these languages. Section 3.5 looks into the other linguistic phenomena – such as aspiration and retroflexion. Section 3.6 discusses the cognates which show the lexical borrowings in PGA from Sare and Section 3.7 explores the cognates which show the lexical borrowings in PGA from Kede. Section 3.8 looks into the cognates which show closeness between the two extinct North Great Andamanese languages - Aka-Sare and Aka-Kede. Section 3.9 presents the cognates which show relationship between a Middle Andamanese language (Aka-Pujjekar) and a South Andamanese language (Aka-Bea). Section 3.10 explores the cognates which show closeness among all the five languages included in this study.

3.1. Consonants

This section describes the phonological processes which show the relationship/ changes that have taken place in the consonant system of PGA and the two other extinct Great Andamanese languages – Aka-Sare and Aka-Kede during the course of history of the language.

3.1.1. The sound /w/ of Kede is lost in Sare and PGA if it happens to be in the onset position of a syllable. It can be illustrated from the examples given in (1-5).

1. wé ‘yes’ (Kede)	éá (Sare)	iya (PGA)
2. wílé ‘urine’ (Kede)	íli (Sare)	ili (PGA)
3. tíuwó ‘sit’ (Kede)	tíu (Sare)	tʰiu (PGA)
4. wérá ‘share’ (Kede)	ura (Sare)	ora (PGA)
5. wó ‘axe / adze’ (Kede)	óio (Sare)	oio (PGA)

Exceptions: The sound /w/ is retained in Sare in few words however; it is lost completely in PGA. It can be illustrated from the examples given in (6-7).

6. wāūt ‘bat’ (Kede)	wöt (Sare)	ot (PGA)
7. liwo ‘name’ (Kede)	liwu (Sare)	liu (PGA)

3.1.2. The sound /c/ of Sare and Kede becomes /ʃ/ or /s/ in PGA.

- (1) If /c/ is preceded or followed by a front high vowel /i/.
- (2) If /c/ is followed by a back high vowel /u/.

It can be illustrated from the examples given in (8-13).

8. tí chāūt ‘wipe’ (Kede)	tót chír (Sare)	ɛʃir-e (PGA)
9. chupé ‘snake’ (Kede)	chubi (Sare)	ʃubi (PGA)
10. chíro ‘sea’ (Kede)	chíro (Sare)	siro (PGA)
11. to tai chí ‘Keep’ (Kede)	et tai chá (Sare)	etaiʃe (PGA)
12. je chuá ‘roast’ (Kede)	tó jichué (Sare)	e-ʃuye (PGA)
13. chuá ‘burn’ (Kede)	chué (Sare)	e sue (PGA)

The following examples (14-16) can be given as proof of the above statement as /c/ does not occur in the above mentioned environment hence retaining the sound /c/ in PGA.

14. jot chór ‘scale’ (Kede)	jet chór (Sare)	ɔt-cɔr (PGA)
15. chém ‘wound’ (Kede)	é chém (Sare)	uncem (PGA)
16. er chu ‘head’ (Kede)	é chu (Sare)	er-co (PGA)

3.1.3. The sound /h/ found in Kede and/or Sare is lost in PGA. This phenomenon could not be explored more due to limited data. Consider the examples (17-18) showing loss of the sound /h/ in PGA and in both - Sare and PGA (19).

17. ma puáh ‘lips’ (Kede)	ér buáh (Sare)	er-boa (PGA)
18. áht ‘fire’ (Kede)	áht (Sare)	ɑt (PGA)
19. ót kóh-da ‘bald’ (Kede)	ót kába ló (Sare)	ot kobɔlo (PGA)

3.1.4. The phoneme /g/ has been completely lost in PGA and Sare. Voiced velar plosive [g] sound is found in large number in Bea. Kede and Pujjekar also offer few examples with [g] sound as can be seen from the following examples (20-24).

20. em chígerá ‘wedding’ (Kede)	eboyó(Sare)	em-boya (PGA)
21. ér tol ‘eye’ (Kede)	érulu (Sare)	erulu (PGA)
írká dig (Pujjekar)	ídál-da (Bea)	
22. kóroin ‘dugong’ (Kede)	Kóroin (Sare)	kɔrɔɪn (PGA)
tegbul (Pujjekar)	tegbul (Bea).	
23. puáh ‘earth’ (Kede)	buah (Sare)	boa (PGA)
pér-da(Pujjekar)	para-da (Bea)	
24. ig rétá ‘sharp’ (Kede)	ér roku (Sare)	ekɔrɔp ^h o (PGA)
ír rétá (Pujjekar)	ig rénéma-da (Bea)	

3.1.5. In some cognates, the word final /b/ of Kede and/or Sare devoices to /p/ in PGA.

It can be illustrated from the examples given in (25-26).

25. má bub ‘saliva’ (Kede)	má pup (Sare)	ɑ p ^h up (PGA)
26. jéb ‘smoke’ (Kede)	Léb(Sare)	lep (PGA)

Exception: The word final /b/ in Sare is retained in PGA in one cognate. Consider the following example in (27).

27. árá lup ‘count’ (Kede) árá lub (Sare) elob (PGA)

3.1.6. Syllable initial /p/ of Sare and or Kede has become /p^h/ in PGA. It can be illustrated from the examples given in (28-34).

28. pong ‘mouth’ (Kede) póng (Sare) p^hoŋ (PGA)

29. to chérbo ‘sneeze’ (Kede) ót chérepu (Sare) cεrp^ho (PGA)

30. em píl kan ‘die’ (Kede) em píl (Sare) emp^hil (PGA)

31. répo ‘climb’ (Kede) répu (Sare) rεp^ho (PGA)

32. tá pai ‘thirsty’ (Kede) tá paí (Sare) t^hu-p^hai (PGA)

33. írpól ‘two’ (Kede) nérpól (Sare) ertap^hul (PGA)

34. mír pílé ‘tooth’ (Kede) mér pílé (Sare) p^hile (PGA)

The following examples (35-37) can be given as proof of the above statement as /p/ does not occur in the syllable initial position hence retaining the sound /p/ in PGA.

35. dóp ‘unripe’ (Kede) ju dóp (Sare) dɔp (PGA)

36. má bub ‘saliva’ (Kede) má pup (Sare) a p^hup (PGA)

37. chup ‘basket’ (Kede) chup (Sare) šup (PGA)

3.2. Vowels

This section looks into the phonological processes of change, gain and loss in the vowel system among the languages PGA. Aka-Sare and Aka-Kede during the course of history.

3.2.1. The word final /a/ of Kede is realized as /-e/ in PGA if the penultimate syllable consists of a high vowel. This phenomenon can be illustrated from the examples given in (38-40).

38. é pírá ‘shoot’ (Kede) é píré (Sare) e-p^hire (PGA)

39. pórubá ‘frog’ (Kede) pórubé (Sare) p^horube (PGA)

40. étírá ‘boy’ (Kede) étíré (Sare) e-t^hire (PGA)

The following examples (41-45) can be given as proof of the above statement as the penultimate syllable does not carry high vowel hence retaining the sound /-a/ in PGA.

41. áraiypá ‘widower’ (kede)	árálépá (Sare)	aralep ^h a (PGA)
42. wérá ‘share’ (kede)	urá (Sare)	ora (PGA)
43. jetá lóta ‘wear’ (Kede)	jetá lóta (Sare)	eta-lo ^t a (PGA)
44. párepá ‘mat’ (Kede)	bárabá (Sare)	baraba (PGA)
45. bárabá ‘mat’ (Kede)	bárabá (Sare)	baraba (PGA)

3.2.2. Some of the cognates from the basic vocabulary show retention of the sound /a/ in all the three languages under consideration. Consider the following examples (46-47). It is difficult to ascertain the reasons of the retention due to insufficiency of data.

46. rá ‘pig’ (Kede)	rá (Sare)	ra (PGA)
47. má bub ‘saliva’ (Kede)	má pup (Sare)	a p ^h up (PGA)

3.2.3. If the word in Sare and/or Kede is bisyllabic or polysyllabic and the sound /u/ happens to be in the final syllable of the word, then it changes to the sound /o/ in PGA if the penultimate syllable has a non-high vowel or a front closing diphthong. It can be illustrated from examples given in (48-53).

48. tāūku ‘wood’ (Kede)	tāūku (Sare)	tɔk ^h ot (PGA)
49. tāūku ‘stick’ (Kede)	toku (Sare)	tɔko (PGA)
50. moi ^j ur ‘smile, my’ (Kede)	ó moichur (Sare)	motcor (PGA)
51. er chu ‘head’ (PGA)	é chu (Sare)	er-co (PGA)
52. áka téku ‘language’ (Kede)	aka téku (Sare)	a-tɛk ^h o (PGA)
53. árá lup ‘count’ (Kede)	árá lub (Sare)	elob (PGA)

The following examples (54-59) can be given as proof of the above statement as the penultimate syllable contains a high vowel hence retaining the sound /-u/ in PGA.

54. jerá liwu ‘finish’ (Kede)	árá líwu (Sare)	aralifu (PGA)
55. ebuku ‘women’ (Kede)	lāōbuku (Sare)	buk ^h u (PGA)
56. é kilu ‘wake’ (Kede)	ér kílu (Sare)	k ^h ilu (PGA)

57. bóliu ‘creek’ (Kede)	bulíu (Sare)	buliu (PGA)
58. julum ‘cold’ (Kede)	julu (Sare)	julu (PGA)
59. épil lu ‘belly’	échulu (Sare)	e-p ^h ilu (PGA)

3.2.4. If a bisyllabic or polysyllabic word in Kede and/or Sare has low back vowel /ɒ/ in the final syllable, then, it gains height in PGA if the penultimate syllable has a high vowel. It can be illustrated from examples given in (60-64).

60. burko ‘reef’ (Kede)	urku (Sare)	burku (PGA)
61. é liwo ‘name’ (Kede)	é liwu (Sare)	liu (PGA)
62. pátatam miko ‘midnight’ (Kede)	butatá míkul (Sare)	batata mik ^h u (PGA)
63. é khilo ‘awake’ (Kede)	érkhélu (Sare)	erk ^h iluke (PGA)
64. chíro ‘sea’ (Kede)	chíro (Sare)	siro (PGA)

3.3. Diphthongs:

This section discusses the phonological processes of historical changes in the diphthongs of the PGA, Aka-Sare and Aka-Kede.

3.3.1. The diphthong /ɔi/ of Sare and/or Kede becomes diphthong /ɔi/ or the unit vowel sound /o/ or /ɔ/ in PGA. This phenomenon could not be explored further due to insufficiency of data. Consider the following examples given in (65-70).

65. kóroin ‘dugong’ (Kede)	kóroin (Sare)	kəɔɪn (PGA)
66. torak taimí ‘grass-hopper’ (Kede)	turok toimá (Sare)	ʈɔimo (PGA)
67. moiJur ‘smile, my’ (Kede)	ó moichur (Sare)	motɔɔr (PGA)
68. oi cho ‘net’ (Kede)	oichó (Sare)	oco (PGA)
69. ém buíyé ‘marriage’ (Kede)	ném boiyó (Sare)	emboe (PGA)
70. moicha ‘rooster’ (Kede)	moicha (Sare)	mɔɔ-mocɔ (PGA)

3.3.2. The diphthong /iu/ of Kede and/or Sare is retained in PGA in all instances. It could be illustrated from the examples given in (71-74).

71. bóliu ‘creek’ (Kede)	bulíu (Sare)	buliu (PGA)
72. díu ‘mid-day’ (Kede)	dju (Sare)	díu (PGA)

73. tíuwó ‘shade’ (Kede)	tíu (Sare)	tʰiu (PGA)
74. díe ‘Sun’ (Kede)	díu (Sare)	dju (PGA)

3.4. Clitics

As discussed earlier in section - 1.6.2.2. PGA is very rich in Pro clitics. This section explores the phonological processes involved during the historical development of clitics of the PGA from the extinct Great Andamanese languages. The data of clitics from three languages – PGA, Sare and Kede will be analysed to get to systematic phonological processes that evolved during the course of history.

3.4.1.1. The clitic aka- of Kede and/ Sare is retained in PGA in few cognates. It can be illustrated from examples given in (75-77).

75. áká wuano ‘sit’ (Kede)	áko uno (Sare)	aka-uno (PGA)
76. áka binge ‘listen’ (Kede)	okotápung (Sare)	aka-biŋe (PGA)
77. ákátát ‘tongue’ (Kede)	ákátát (Sare)	aka-ʈaʈ (PGA)

3.4.1.2. In some cognates the clitic /aka-/ of Kede and/or Sare has become /a-/ in PGA. One of senior Great Andamanese, Boa Sr. is a Bo speaker who uses /aka-/ while others use /a-/. Consider the following examples (78-79).

78. áká énuke ‘throat’ (Kede)	áká kér (Sare)	a-ker (PGA)
79. áka téku ‘language’ (Kede)	áka téku (Sare)	a-tekʰo (PGA)

3.4.2. The clitic /eɪ-/ in Kede and/or Sare has become /e-/ in PGA in all instances of cognates except one. This phenomenon can be illustrated from examples given in (80-84)

80. épíl lu ‘belly / stomach’ (Kede)	échulu (Sare)	e philu (PGA)
81. é pírá ‘shoot’ (Kede)	é píré (Sare)	e-phire (PGA)
82. me téyu ‘breast’ (Kede)	mété (Sare)	me-tei (PGA)
83. é liwo ‘name’ (Kede)	é liwu (Sare)	e-liu (PGA)
84. é tu wé ‘bone’ (Kede)	é toi í (Sare)	e-tœ (PGA)

Exception: Only one exception (see 85) has been observed.

85. étirá ‘boy’ (Kede)	étiré (Sare)	α-thire (PGA)
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3.4.3. The clitic /ɔt-/ ~ /əɔt-/ of Kede and/or Sare has been (1) retained in PGA in some cognates; (2) become /et-/ in some cognates. It can be illustrated from examples given in (86-91)

86. jot chór ‘scale’ (Kede)	jet chór (Sare)	ɔt-cɔr (PGA)
87. ót kóh-da ‘bald’ (Kede)	ót kába ló (Sare)	ot kobɔlo (PGA)
88. ot Kōrpo ‘peel’ (Kede)	ot kobo (Sare)	ot-kɔbo (PGA)
89. ót kāūpó ‘skin’ (Kede)	ót kobāū (Sare)	et-kɔbo (PGA)
90. ot kápo ‘bark’ (Kede)	ot kába (Sare)	et kɔbo (PGA)
91. ot pong ‘dig’ (Kede)	ára pong (Sare)	et p ^h oŋ (PGA)

3.4.4. The clitic /em-/ ~ /eim-/ of Kede and/or Sare has become /em-/ in PGA in all instances of the cognates. Consider the following examples (92-94).

92. em píl kan ‘die’ (Kede)	em píl (Sare)	em ^h il (PGA)
93. ém buiyé ‘marriage’ (Kede)	ném boiyó (Sare)	emboe (PGA)
94. em chígerá ‘wedding’ (Kede)	eboyó (Sare)	em-boya (PGA)

3.4.5. The clitics /eir-/ and /-ir/ of Kede and/or Sare has become /er-/ or /ɛr-/ in PGA. Consider the following examples (95-99)

95. é kilu ‘wake’ (Kede)	ér kilu (Sare)	ɛr-k ^h ilu (PGA)
96. ér bu ‘ear’ (Kede)	ér buáh (Sare)	er buo (PGA)
97. ér tol ‘eye’ (Kede)	érulu (Sare)	erulu (PGA)
98. mír pílé ‘tooth’ (Kede)	mér pílé (Sare)	er-p ^h ile ~ ɛr-p ^h ile (PGA)
99. ír pat ‘put out’ (Kede)	ír bát (Sare)	ɛr-bat (PGA)

In some examples the clitic /-ir/ is retained in PGA. Consider the following examples given in (100-101):

100. titoi dé ‘look out’ (Kede)	ér tedé (Sare)	ir-teɖe (PGA)
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101. yír pát ‘night’ (Kede) yér bát (Sare) ir-bat (PGA)

3.5. Aspiration and Retroflexion

3.5.1. Aspiration

The aspiration is found in PGA in **abundance** but other languages under study lacks aspiration. It could be possible that Portman have missed recording **aspiration**; or aspiration developed during the course of time in PGA. But it is difficult to **ascertain** these hypotheses due to lack of availability of data. Consider:

102. [t ^h]:	ótem tá ‘yawn’ (Kede)	áká tánga (Sare)	t ^h ɑŋ (PGA)
103. [k ^h]:	tāūku ‘wood’ (Kede)	tāūku (Sare)	tɔk ^h ot (PGA)
104. [p ^h]:	bílíp ‘weep/ remorse’ (Kede)	to bilup (Sare)	bilup ^h (PGA)
105. [p ^h]:	ír pól ‘two’ (Kede)	nér pól (Sare)	ertap ^h ul
(PGA)			
106. [p ^h]:	mír pílé ‘tooth’ (Kede)	mér pílé (Sare)	p ^h ile (PGA)

Only one exception could be observed **which** appears to be case of aspiration.

107. é khilo ‘awake’ (Kede)	érkhélu (Sare)	erk ^h iluke
(PGA)		

3.5.2. Retroflexion

The retroflex sounds were not mentioned by Portman. However, Manoharan (1989) has recorded a large number of retroflexes. It could be possible that Portman missed the retroflex sounds as it is difficult for an **English** speaker to distinguish retroflex sounds from alveolar sounds. Another possibility is **the** development of retroflex sounds in PGA during the course of history but nothing **could** be certainly established because of lack of data. Consider the following examples given in (108-112).

108. [ʈ]:	‘turtle’ tāūro (Kede)	tórāū (Sare)	tɔro (PGA)
109. [ʈ]:	ákátát ‘tongue’ (Kede)	ákátát (Sare)	akaʈaʈ (PGA)
110. [ɖ]:	dírím ‘black’ (Kede)	dírím (Sare)	ɖirim (PGA)
111. [ɖ]:	díu ‘mid-day’ (Kede)	díu (Sare)	ɖiu (PGA)

112. [tʰ]: túbij ‘broom’ (Kede) túbél (Sare) [tʰibel (PGA)

3.6. Cognates showing Lexical borrowing from Aka-Sare.

This section explores the cognates which show lexical borrowing in PGA from Aka-Sare language which was once spoken in the northern most area of the Great Andamans Islands. Consider the following examples given in (113-130):

113. érló ‘tall’ (Kede)	é lóbung (Sare)	clobon̄ (PGA)
114. ír tól ‘seed’ (Kede)	ér ulu (Sare)	eulu (PGA)
115. bétmo ‘rope’ (Kede)	lurémo (Sare)	luremo (PGA)
116. wírí we ‘hot’ (Kede)	kímil (Sare)	ikʰimil (PGA)
117. em chígerá ‘wedding’ (Kede)	eboyó (Sare)	em-boya (PGA)
118. chéin ‘spit’ (Kede)	ma tóbá (Sare)	ɛk-tʰoba (PGA)
119. chírké ‘moon’ (Kede)	dolāū (Sare)	ɖulɔ ~ ɖulo (PGA)
120. ig rétá ‘sharp’ (Kede)	ér roku (Sare)	ekɔɔpʰo (PGA)
121. ot boicho téretá ‘shiver’ (Kede)	ujurol (Sare)	u-juɔ (PGA)
122. em chígerá ‘wedding’ (Kede)	eboyó (Sare)	em-boya (PGA)
123. áká éniku ‘throat’ (Kede)	áka kér (Sare)	aker (PGA)
124. luáh mó ‘one’ (Kede)	on tolbó (Sare)	ontoplo (PGA)
125. péde puíe ‘near’ (Kede)	bétopo (Sare)	bɛtɔpʰa (PGA)
126. eng ó ol ‘cut’ (Kede)	eb éling (Sare)	i belin̄ (PGA)
127. írimké ‘play’ (Kede)	éring kólé (Sare)	erɛŋ kʰol (PGA)
128. díe ‘Sun’ (Kede)	díu (Sare)	ɖju (PGA)
129. chémil ‘grass’ (Kede)	chálu (Sare)	ca:lɔ (PGA)
130. ér tol ‘eye’ (Kede)	érulu (Sare)	erulu (PGA)

3.7. Cognates showing Lexical borrowing from Aka-Kede.

This section looks into the cognates which show direct lexical borrowing in PGA from the extinct northern Great Andamanese language – Aka-Kede. Consider the following examples (131-140).

131. áka binge ‘listen’ (Kede)	okotápung (Sare)	akabiŋe (PGA)
132. mulo ‘egg’ (Kede)	jo péro (Sare)	mulu (PGA)
133. am kóro ‘hand’ (Kede)	am kudímo (Sare)	ɔŋ korɔ (PGA)
134. épil lu ‘belly / stomach’ (Kede)	échulu (Sare)	e p ^h ilu (PGA)
135. ír kódó ‘scar’ (Kede)	ér bí (Sare)	er-k ^h odo (PGA)
136. jó chóró ‘sing’ (Kede)	jóur (Sare)	jo forɔ (PGA)
137. lāō ‘small’ (Kede)	jó tãōu (Sare)	ε-leo (PGA)
138. má tãū ‘necklace’ (Kede)	má kér (Sare)	tɔ (PGA)
139. er téyi ‘fever’ (Kede)	o té beno (Sare)	etei (PGA)
140. kéó ‘crab’ (Kede)	rák (Sare)	keo (PGA)

3.8. Cognates showing closeness between Aka-Sare and Aka-Kede.

This section explores the closeness between two extinct Great Andamanese languages – Aka-Sare and Aka-Kede. Consider the following cognates (141-161) which shows the close affinity between the two languages.

141. mínó ‘yam / potato’ (Kede)	mínó (Sare)
142. tãūku ‘wood’ (Kede)	tãūku (Sare)
143. jetá lótá ‘wear’ (Kede)	jetá lótá (Sare)
144. éléá ‘weak’ (Kede)	éléá (Sare)
145. réteng ‘pimple’ (Kede)	réteng (Sare)
146. rá ‘pig’ (Kede)	rá (Sare)
147. díu ‘mid-day’ (Kede)	díu (Sare)

148. kóroin ‘dugong’ (Kede)	kóroin (Sare)
149. bít ‘drown’ (Kede)	bít (Sare)
150. pur ‘clap’ (Kede)	pur (Sare)
151. pong ‘cave’ (Kede)	pong (Sare)
152. míné ‘brain’ (Kede)	míné (Sare)
153. dírim ‘black’ (Kede)	dírim (Sare)
154. tu ‘birth’ (Kede)	tu (Sare)
155. buku ‘female’ (Kede)	buku (Sare)
156. chíro ‘sea’ (Kede)	chíro (Sare)
157. ákátát ‘tongue’ (Kede)	ákátát (Sare)
158. chup ‘basket’ (Kede)	chup (Sare)
159. mírid ‘pigeon’ (Kede)	mírid (Sare)
160. jó bít ‘sink’ (Kede)	ju bít (Sare)
161. kāūt ‘cough’ (Kede)	kāūt (Sare)

It has been observed that in the cognates in which Sare and Kede words are same, the PGA invariably has the same word. For example, mino ‘Potato’ (PGA), tɔk^hot ‘wood’ (PGA), eta-loṭa ‘wear’ (PGA), elea ‘weak’ (PGA), reteṅ ‘pimple’ (PGA), ra ‘pig’ (PGA), dju ‘mid-day’ (PGA), kəroin ‘dugong’ (PGA), bit ‘drown’ (PGA), p^hur ‘clap’ (PGA), t^hu ‘birth’ (PGA).

3.9. Cognates showing closeness between Aka-Pujjīkar and Aka-Bea.

This section looks into the cognates which show closeness between the two extinct Great Andamanese languages – Aka-Pujjīkar and Aka-Bea. Aka-Pujjīkar belongs to the middle Andaman group while Aka-Bea belongs to the south Andaman group. Consider the following examples given in (162-176).

162. chém-da ‘wound’ (Pujjīkar)	chum-da (Bea)
163. bílap ‘weep / remorse’ (Pujjīkar)	bulap (Bea)
164. yai-da ‘share’ (Pujjīkar)	yai-da (Bea)

165. télépó ‘saliva’ (Pujjikar)	télépó-da (Bea)
166. bétmo-da ‘rope’ (Pujjikar)	bétmo-da (Bea)
167. mírada ‘pigeon’ (Pujjikar)	murad-da (Bea)
168. ré-da ‘pig’ (Pujjikar)	reg-da (Bea)
169. pé-da ‘lips’ (Pujjikar)	pé-da (Bea)
170. rópan-da ‘frog’ (Pujjikar)	rópan-da (Bea)
171. tegbul ‘dugong’ (Pujjikar)	tegbul (Bea)
172. ír kám-da ‘breast’ (Pujjikar)	í kám-da (Bea)
173. tá-da ‘bone’ (Pujjikar)	tá-da (Bea)
174. tápa ‘blind’ (Pujjikar)	tápa (Bea)
175. wóló-da ‘Axe / Adze’ (Pujjikar)	wóló-da (Bea)
176. chím-da ‘above’ (Pujjikar)	chím-da (Bea)

3.10. Cognates showing closeness of PGA, Aka-Sare, Aka-Kede, Aka-Pujjikar and Aka-Bea.

This section explores the closeness of PGA and the four extinct Great Andamanese languages – Aka-Sare, Aka-Kede, Aka-Pujjikar and Aka-Bea. Consider the examples given in (177-187).

177. tɔbo ‘blind’ (PGA)	tába (Sare)	tópo (Bea)
tápa (Pujjikar)	tápa (Bea)	
178. pʰoŋ ‘mouth’ (PGA)	póng (Sare)	pong (Bea)
póng (Pujjikar)	bang-da (Bea)	
179. ra ‘pig’ (PGA)	rá (Sare)	rá (Kede)
ré-da (Pujjikar)	reg-da (Bea)	
180. merit ~ mirit ‘pigeon’ (PGA)	mírid (Sare)	mírid (Kede)
mírada (Pujjikar)	Murad-da (Bea)	
181. reteŋ ‘pimple’ (PGA)	réteng (Sare)	réteng (Kede)
rétang (Pujjikar)	rutangaj-da (Bea)	

182. burku ‘reef’ (PGA) burku (Sare) burko (Kede)
 buruke(Pujjika) bōróga-da (Bea)
183. t̥ɔro ‘turtle’ (PGA) tórāū (Sare) tāūro (Kede)
 tára (Pujjika) táo-da (Bea)
184. ino ‘water’ (PGA) ínó (Sare) ine (Kede)
 éná (Pujjika) ína-da (Bea)
185. bilup^h ‘weep / remorse’ (PGA) to bilup (Sare) bílip (Kede)
 bílap (Pujjika) bulap (Bea)
186. aralep^{ha} ‘widower’ (PGA) árálépá (Sare) áraiypá
 (Kede) árlépá (Pujjika) árléba-da (Bea)
187. kōbu ~kōbo ‘umbrella’ (PGA) kāūbu (Sare) kāūbo (Kede)
 kábo (Pujjika) kapa-da (Bea)

Chapter - 4

Conclusion

The ancient tribes of the Andaman Islands have attracted several works on different disciplines such as cultural & anthropological studies, linguistic studies, genetic studies etc. Some of these research works have resulted in important insights not only in their respective areas but also in other disciplines, which have further enhanced our knowledge about the Andamanese people and at the same time have raised several questions related to migration of human population in generation and peopling of India specifically.

The present study is first ever comparative work on Present Great Andamanese language (PGA) and the other Great Andamanese languages which explore some of the recent issues raised in linguistic studies of the Andamanese languages. An attempt has been made in this chapter to present answers to the some of the issues raised in the earlier research works relating to the historical relationship between now extinct Great Andamanese languages and PGA in the light of the analyses done in the third chapter. The analyses have been discussed below:

4.1. Consonant and Vowel System:

The consonant and vowel systems of PGA have shown some remarkable relationship with now extinct Great Andamanese languages. Some of the changes have been found to be phonologically regular and have been explained in the form of phonological statements in the last chapter. Some of these phonological phenomena of retention and change are very regular and point to the closer affinity of the three languages – PGA, Aka-Sare and Aka-Kede. It is that most of the cognates of these three languages give regular correspondences in these languages. The results of the comparative analyses of consonant and vowel systems of these languages are explained in following statements:

4.1.1 The loss of /w/ in PGA where it had been present in the other extinct Great Andamanese languages, seems to be the characteristic feature of PGA. We have attested the presence of /w/ in Kede and Sare but not in PGA as can be seen in the previous chapter.

4.1.2. The loss of glottal fricative [h] and velar voiced plosive [g] seem to be characteristic features of PGA. These sounds have been attested in Kede and Sare in some words but it had been completely lost in PGA. The velar voiced plosive [g] has been found in Bea in abundance and some instances of [g] have been attested in Pujjika and Kede as well, but it has been completely lost in the PGA (Manoharan, 1989, in his remarkable work mentioned the absence of [g] in PGA). However name of one of the Great Andamanese man is Golat which suggests that this sound might have been existed in the earlier forms of Great Andamanese languages. Some of the folk songs collected by Abbi (2006)¹ also proves that [g] was very much part of the phonemic inventory of the Great Andamanese language spoken earlier. The glottal fricative [h] is now incorporated in PGA from Hindi especially in the use of the auxiliary [he] 'to be' (Abbi, 2006).

4.2. Diphthongs:

Diphthongs are found in PGA and the other Great Andamanese languages in various forms. It has been found that the number of diphthongs have reduced in PGA as compared to the other Great Andamanese languages. Diphthongs seem to be characteristic feature of PGA and other languages studied. It can be evidently proposed that diphthongs were present in Proto- Great Andamanese.²

4.3. Clitics:

Clitics are found in abundance in all the Great Andamanese languages as established in the present study. The clitics which are present in PGA have also been found in two North Great Andamanese languages – Sare and Kede which have shown regular phonological phenomena in these three languages, which strengthen the claim of closeness of these languages. It can be said that Pro-clitics are salient feature of PGA and other Great Andamanese languages, which suggests that clitics were integral part of the Proto-Andamanese.³

¹ Songs of PGA can be heard on www.andamanese.net to verify the statement.

² See Abbi, 2006 for further information on diphthongs in PGA.

³ See Abbi (2008) for a detailed semantic explanation on clitics in PGA.

4.4. Retroflexion:

Retroflexion has been found in PGA in abundance.⁴ The data recorded by Portman (1987) do not contain aspiration and retroflexion. It could be said that retroflex sounds were present in some of the extinct Great Andamanese languages as PGA has very rich inventory of the retroflex sounds.

4.5. Relationship between PGA and the extinct Great Andamanese languages:

Many scholars [Abbi, 2006, 2008; Manoharan, 1989] have made claims about the relationship among different Great Andamanese languages. The comparative study of cognates of PGA and the four extinct Great languages which were once spoken by different Great Andamanese tribes, have thrown light on the proximity of the relationship among these languages. Various results have come up in the study showing affinity and differences among these languages. These results are given below:

4.5.1. PGA is a northern variety: PGA has been claimed to be related to the Northern Great Andamanese languages (Manoharan, 1989). The present comparative study on the Great Andamanese languages has shown that PGA is closer to a Northern language Aka-Sare of the extinct Great Andamanese languages studied in the present work. PGA is found to be also close to Aka-Kede which was spoken in the Northern-most area of the Middle Andamans. Aka-Pujjekar and Aka-Bea have also shown lesser affinity with PGA as compared to the Aka-Sare and Aka-Kede. PGA found to be the least close to Aka-Bea which is the southernmost Great Andamanese language.

This result can be seen in the light of the fact that the Northern Great Andamanese tribes were the last who came in contact with the outsiders, while Southern Great Andamanese (e.g. Aka-Bea) were among the first who came in contact with the outsiders. It can be said that those tribes which came early in contact with the outsiders were lost faster as compared to the tribes which came in contact later. Thus, most of the present Great Andamanese people are descendents of the Northern Great Andamanese tribes.

⁴ See Manoharan (1989) and Abbi (2006) for further discussion on retroflex sounds in PGA.

4.5.2. Sare and Kede: The comparative study between Sare and Kede shows strong closeness between the two languages. These languages show identical forms in many cognates and these identical forms have been found in PGA as well which tells us about close relationship between the two languages Sare and Kede.

4.5.3. Pujjika and Bea: These languages found to be closer to each other as compared to the other languages included in the study which shows closer relationship between these tribes because of the geographical proximity. (Refer to Map – 2 given in the Chapter 1)

4.5.4. PGA, Sare, Kede, Pujjika and Bea: Some cognates of these five languages have shown identical forms which give evidence that these languages belong to the same Proto-Great Andamanese. Some of the lexical items related to social and Environment domains have shown similar forms in these languages which signify the unbroken thread of cultural similarity running from the North to the South in the pre-historic Andaman.

4.5.5. Is PGA is closer to Jeru: The present Great Andamanese people claim that they speak the language of the Jeru tribe. But this claim is not attested due lack of availability of data (Manoharan, 1989). It is possible that the Great Andamanese were influenced by the Jeru tribe as the Jeru was the biggest tribe among the North Great Andamanese. As of now, it cannot be attested that PGA is the language of the Jeru; rather it is a mixed language which have borrowing from the extinct Great Andamanese languages.

4.6. Mixed language:

PGA has been claimed to be a mixed language. Scholars [Manoharan (1989), Abbi (2006)] have claimed that the Present Great Andamanese tribe is a mixed population and their language too is a Creole⁵ formed by mixing different Great Andamanese languages which were once spoken on the Andaman Islands. The phonetic inventory and lexicon of PGA are found to be a leveling of different linguistic systems which suggests that PGA has been hugely influenced by the extinct Great Andamanese languages particularly Northern branch of these languages.

⁵ See Manoharan, 1989

The claim that PGA is a mixed language gets **support** from the fact the Present Great Andamanese population is descendent of **mixed marriages** of individuals **speaking** mutually intelligible varieties of the same **language group / family**. It should be noted that intermarriages among the different Great Andamanese tribes were encouraged when their population started declining. Since a child **gets** exposure of different languages spoken by his/ her parents, the PGA has **become** a mixture of some of the Great Andamanese languages once spoken in the Andaman Islands.

The current research reconfirms the claim of PGA being a mixed language. Cognates have been found which suggests relationship of PGA with all the languages under consideration in the present work, particularly the Northern Andamanese languages. There have been several instances of lexical **borrowings** in PGA from all the languages under consideration which strongly support **claim** of mixed nature of PGA. The present study which has explored the relationship among PGA and the extinct Great Andamanese languages have found that PGA is **related**, in different degree of closeness, to all the Northern varieties of the Great Andamanese languages.

4.7. To Conclude

The present study has explored different **claims** made about the relationship among the PGA and the extinct Great Andamanese languages in particular and relationship among the extinct Great Andamanese languages **themselves** in general. This study would certainly aid in understanding the historical **development** of PGA and the extinct Great Andamanese languages. It would contribute in finding historical relationship between Andamanese Negrito populations and other **Asian** Negrito populations (the Negritos of the Malay Peninsula and in the Philippines), **and** thus contributing to understand the Great Human Migration (particularly to Andaman Islands) which happened some 70,000 years ago. Andamanese tribes claimed to **be** representatives of the initial settlement of modern humans.⁶

This study would be useful in reconstructing **Proto- Great Andamanese language**. The historical reconstruction of Proto-Great Andamanese language is proposed for **better** understanding of the Great Andamanese languages as it would certainly give **substantial** evidence for the relationship between languages of the different Asian Negrito tribes and

⁶ Refer to Hagelberg et al 2002

hence would aid in understanding the puzzle of Great Human Migration into South-East Asia and South Asia.



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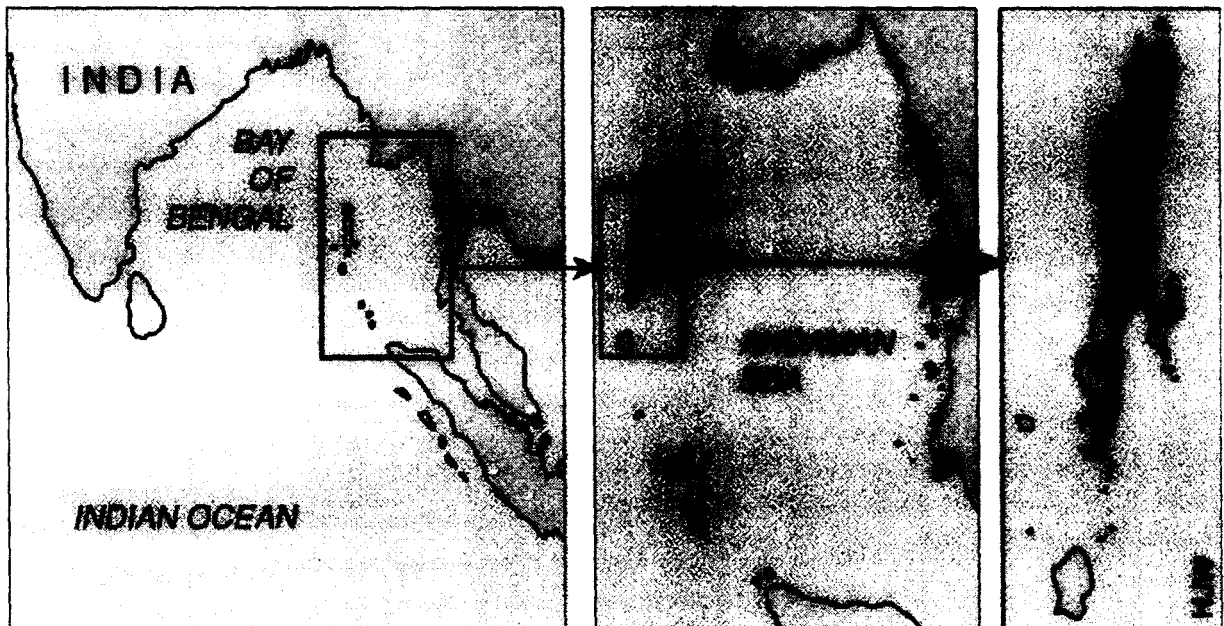
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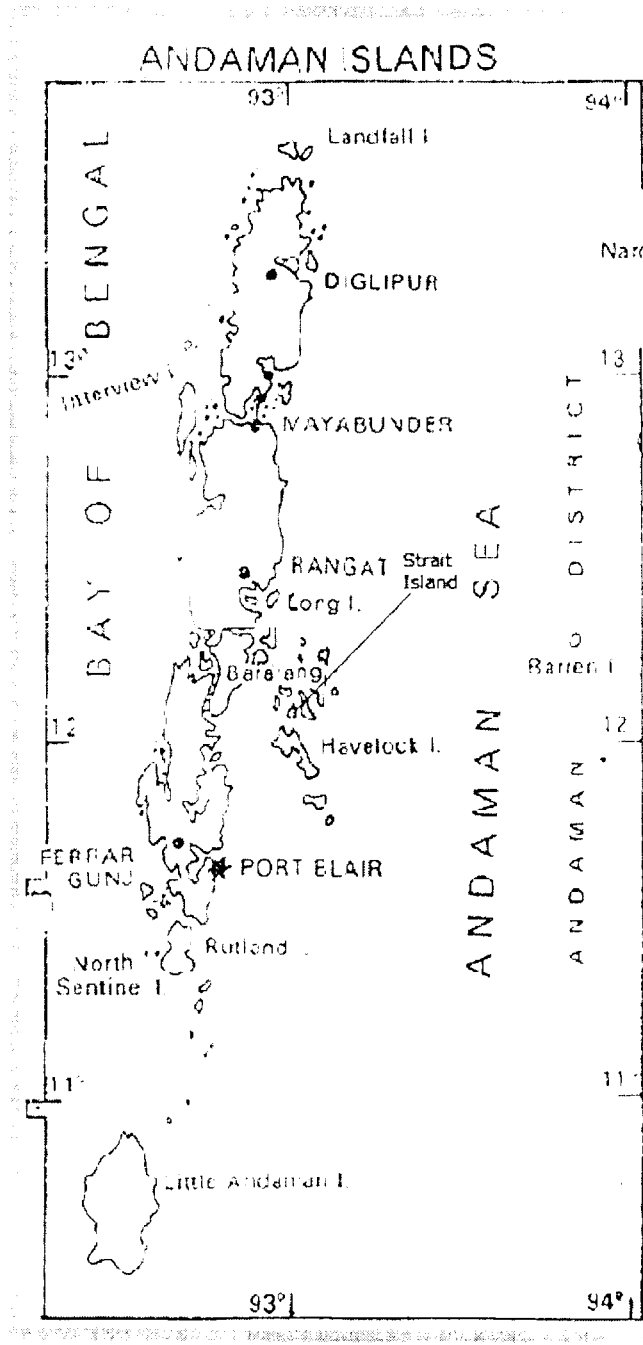
Appendices

Maps and Figures

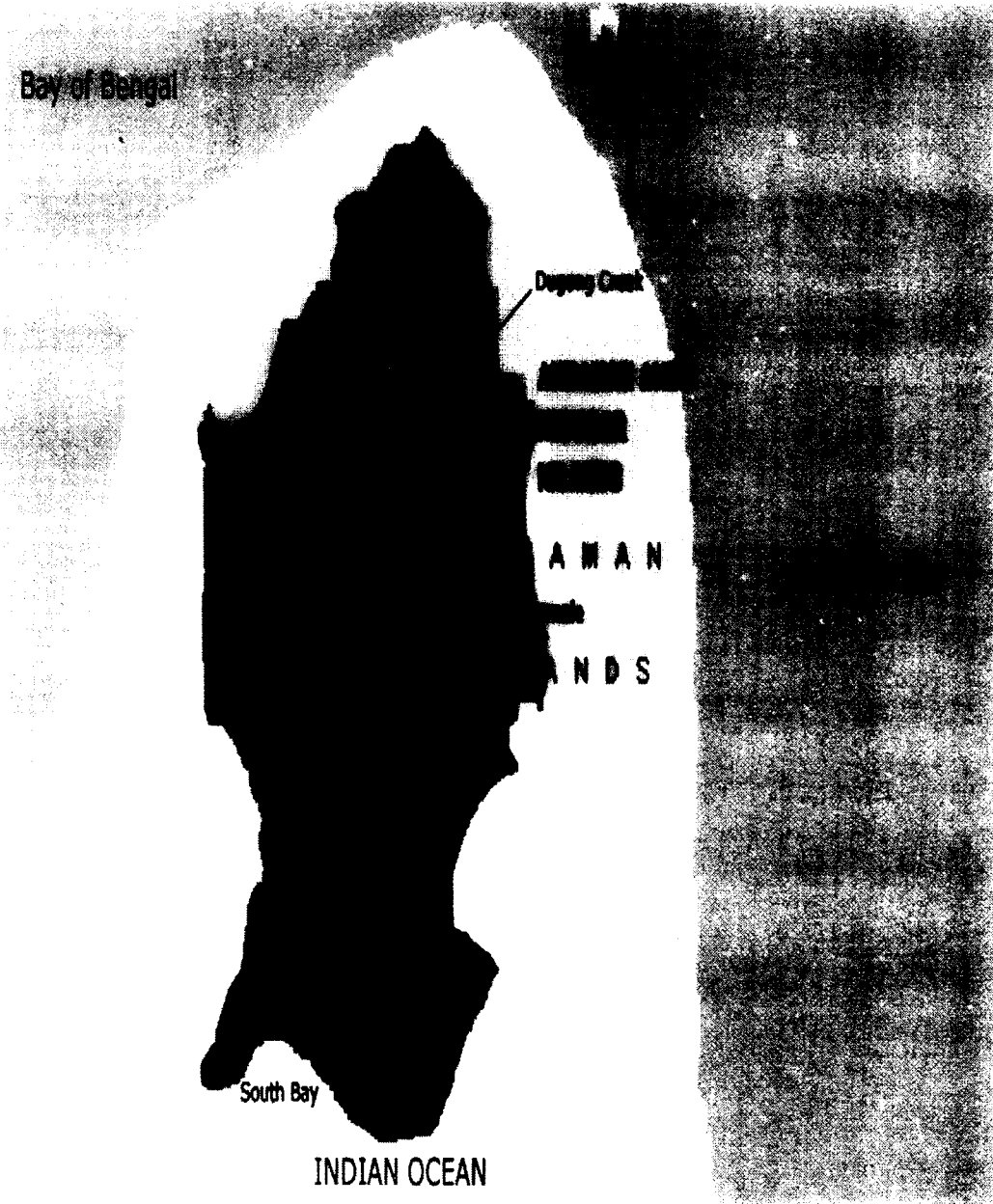


Map -3. Location of the Andaman Islands (Source: Andaman Association Website)

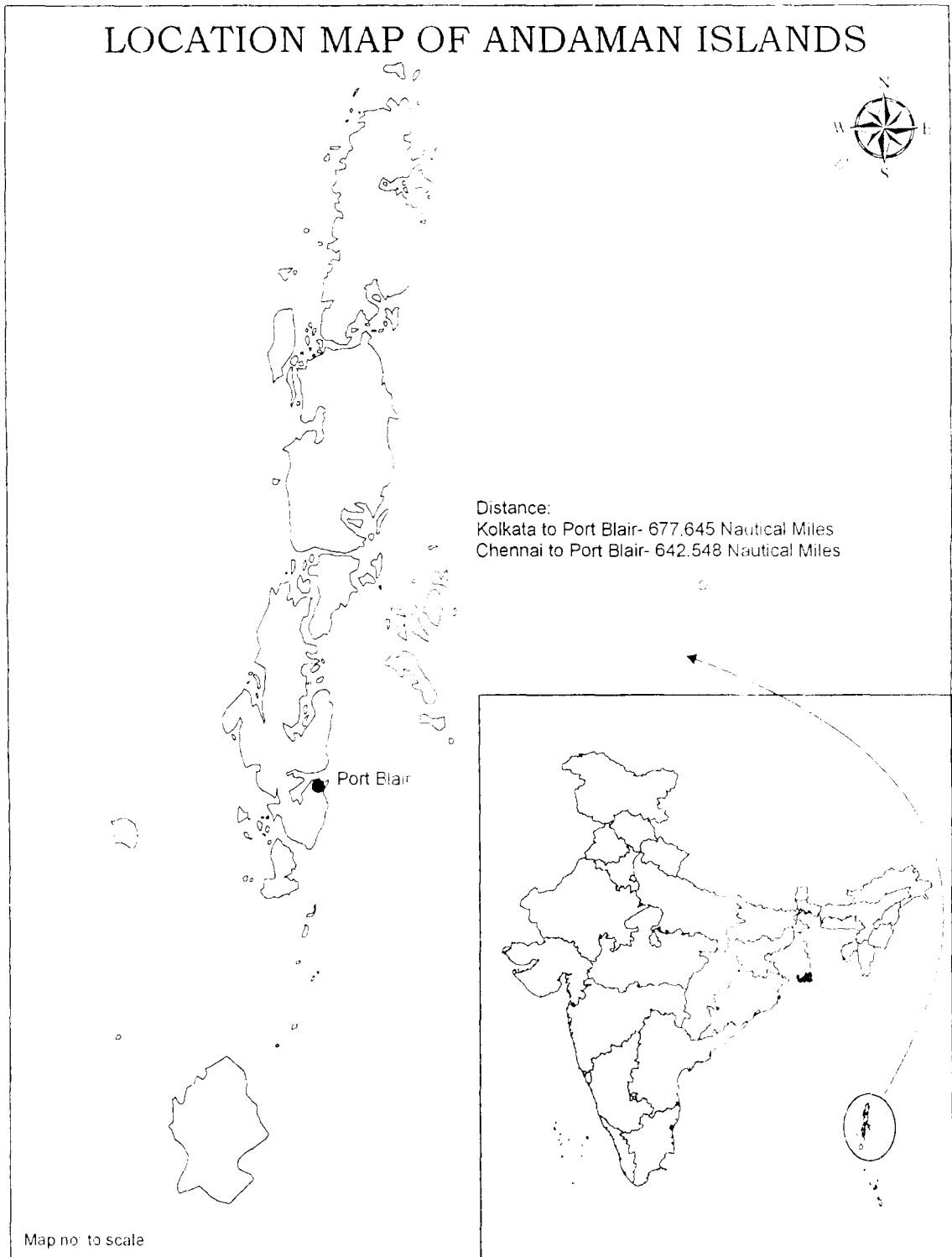
Map - 4. The Andaman Islands



Map – 5. The Little Andaman

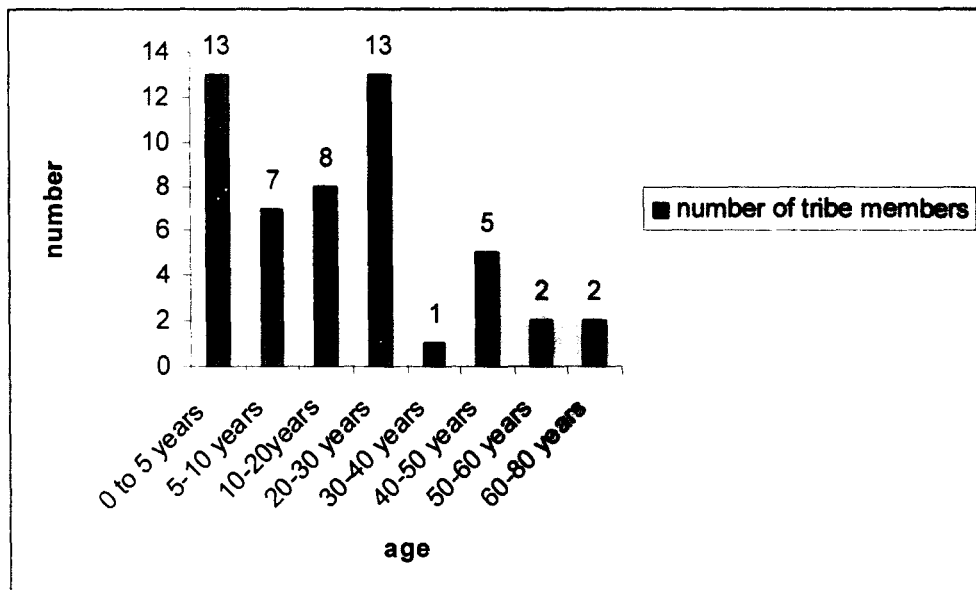


Map – 6 Location of Andaman Islands



[Source: VOGA]

Figure4: The number of members in the Great Andamanese community



[Source: VOGA]