# A Grammar of **Akajeru**

Fragments of a traditional North Andamanese dialect



Raoul Zamponi and Bernard Comrie

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# A Grammar of Akajeru

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# Abbreviations and symbols

```
1, 2, 3 1<sup>st</sup>, 2<sup>nd</sup>, 3<sup>rd</sup> person
```

ABS absolutive
adj adjective
adv adverb
AKJ Akajeru
CAUS causative
cop copula

DEF definite (article)
DEM demonstrative

DIST distal

DISTPST distant past

EMPH emphatic

IMMPST immediate past

INS instrumental

INV invisible

k.o. kind of

n noun

NA North Andaman(ese)

NEG negative

Man (1919–23)

npst non-past part particle

PGA Present-day Great Andamanese

PL, pl. plural

postp postposition
Poss possessive
PREV preverb
PRON, pron pronoun
PROX proximal

RB<sub>1</sub> Radcliffe-Brown (1914) RB<sub>2</sub> Radcliffe-Brown (1933) REFL reflexive
sg. singular
sp somatic prefix
sp. species

y/N polarity questionmorpheme boundaryclitic boundaryphonetic notation

verb

~ variant

v

? uncertain, unknown

ç female ♂ male

### Preface

The present work is part of our ongoing effort to analyse all the extant material on the now-extinct traditional Great Andamanese languages, as they were documented in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. For a general account of the languages and their documentation, see Comrie and Zamponi (2017).

More specifically, this work provides an analysis, with citation of all original sources, of all the extant material for the Akajeru variety of the North Andamanese language. It also incidentally does the same for the very limited material from the Akabo and Akakhora varieties of North Andamanese, as well as for material documented as not further specified 'North Andaman(ese)'. It does not, however, include the more extensively documented Akachari variety of North Andamanese, to which we plan to devote a separate monograph.

We are grateful to anonymous reviewers for comments on draft manuscripts.

Raoul Zamponi and Bernard Comrie Macerata, Italy, and Santa Barbara, California, April 2021

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# Introduction

This work is an attempt to describe some aspects of the phonology (Chapter 2), grammatical system (Chapters 3–6) and lexicon (Chapter 8) of Akajeru, 1 a traditional dialect of North Andaman Island – the northern island of Great Andaman in the Andaman Islands – as it was reportedly used around the beginning of the twentieth century. It also aims to offer a complete documentation of Akajeru by supplying, in original transcription and translation, all the material of this dialect from all its known sources, in addition to further unspecified North Andamanese material also recorded in the early 1900s and the scanty material from the two minimally documented traditional North Andamanese varieties Akabo and Akakhora.

Akajeru is agreed to be the main component of Present-day Great Andamanese (PGA) (Basu 1952: 57; Manoharan 1989: 8; Abbi 2006: 22; Avtans 2006: 7; Choudhary 2006: 13; Som 2006: 10), a speech variety remembered in 2013 by five Great Andamanese people in the age range 50 to 58 living on Strait Island who ordinarily speak the Andaman variety of Hindi, only three of whom are today still alive (Abbi 2013: 8; Abbi 2020). Abbi (2013: 14, 26) indicates that, while PGA draws its lexicon from all the dialects of North Andamanese, its grammar is primarily based on Akajeru. She also reports (p. 21) that almost all speakers of PGA claim Akajeru as their mother language (cf. also Manoharan (1989: 8)), the other heritage dialects being marginalised and ignored. In Chapter 7, we will attempt to evaluate the consistency of the Akajeru component in PGA by comparing forms and constructions of the two speech varieties.

In this chapter, we will present the sources that document Akajeru (section 1.1) and some background information about its speakers (section 1.2), as well as attempt to define the type of relationship that links Akajeru to the other speech varieties once spoken on North

Andaman Island as well as to the rest of the Great Andamanese language family (section 1.3).

### 1.1 Sources

The primary sources for this work are the fragments of Akajeru (words, phrases and some short sentences) contained (passim) in the pages of Alfred R. Radcliffe-Brown's monograph *The Andaman Islanders* (1922), which gathers the results of his anthropological research carried out on the Andamans between 1906 and 1908. Although the languages of the archipelago were not the main object of the British anthropologist's activity, this volume contains an appendix titled 'The spelling of Andamanese words' (pp. 495-7) with some observations on the languages of Great Andaman and Little Andaman. This linguistic information was substantially increased in the second edition of the volume (Radcliffe-Brown 1933, hereafter RB<sub>2</sub>), in which the abovementioned appendix is replaced by a separate brief essay on the sounds and the grammar of the Andamanese languages ('The Andamanese languages', pp. 495–504) with some first-hand material on Akajeru and Önge (Little Andaman) and some other data on the Akabea language of the southern portion of Great Andaman from Portman (1898). This chapter, as well as the rest of the monograph, also contains numerous forms and constructions generically presented as 'North Andaman[ese]' (or, in abbreviation, 'NA'; note that except in extended direct quotes, where we preserve the original terminology, we use 'North Andamanese' for the language, 'North Andaman' for the geographic area). Probably, for these forms and constructions there is 'very little difference (...) between the four tribes of the North (Aka-Čari, Aka-Kora, Aka-Bo and Aka-Jeru)', as Radcliffe-Brown (p. 53) indicates in presenting a set of 11 terms used to denote kinship relationships in North Andaman. Of the 85 words recorded by the anthropologist in RB, as 'North Andamanese' and for which (thanks to him) we know the exact Akajeru equivalent form, 83 are also Akajeru forms, the two exceptions being <dula> 'moon' (Akajeru: <čirikli>) and <ali> 'lightning' (Akajeru: <ele>). It is therefore highly probable that at least most of the 'North Andamanese' hapax legomena contained in RB, are specifically Akajeru words or words also used in this specific dialect.2

Radcliffe-Brown, in 1914, had already published an article dedicated to the languages of the Andaman Islands (hereafter RB<sub>1</sub>). This work contains grammatical notes on Önge and some words of Akajeru, a few of which

(five) are not included in RB<sub>2</sub>. The appendix to Radcliffe-Brown (1922) also includes two expressions not found in RB<sub>2</sub>; otherwise, all material in the former is also in the latter, and we refer consistently to page numbers in RB<sub>2</sub>.

Another source containing material of the traditional speech of the Akajeru is a dictionary of Akabea by Edward H. Man, Officer in Charge of the Andamanese in 1875–9, first published in 1919–23 as a series of supplements to the journal *Indian Antiquary*.<sup>3</sup> In Appendix VI (pp. 169–72), this dictionary (hereafter M) contains a 'Comparative list of words in certain Andaman dialects as recorded in 1876–79. Words indicating various organs and portions of the human body', including 46 Akajeru ('âkà-yêre') anatomical terms.

The only other Akajeru linguistic material of which we are aware is a list of 28 toponyms published in Temple (1903: 31). These and several other Andamanese toponyms were gathered in situ by Man in the framework of the Census of the Andamanese outside the Penal Settlement undertaken in 1901. We reproduce the list in its entirety here: <Anâto> (Dot Island), <Âr-kōl> (Latouche Island), <Chaka-mit-kòito> (bay W. of Cadell Point), <Chàubalo-râ-chéto> (encampment on S. side of Casuarina Bay), <Chíro-méo> (Snark (? Shark)<sup>4</sup> Island), <Chóloprâ (Wreck Point), <Iltomata> (Brown Point), <Ina-ta-râ-jóle> (encampment at S. W. of Pembroke Bay), <Jíre-míku> (hill on N. side of Saddle Peak), <Karáne-téo> (Kwangtung Island), <Kárate-tàt-chíro> (Casuarina Bay), <Ko-po> (point between Yulik and Lamia Bay), <Lau-tíche> (Camp Bay), <Méo-pong> (territory within a radius of few miles of Cadell Point), <Miriti-râ pong> (Stewart Island), <Pârò> (Eileen Bay), <Pâroto-míku> (Saddle Peak), <Pòròng-chíro> (Austin Strait), < Rengo-to-tía > (south extremity of Lamia Bay), < Tâ-burongo > (north of Cadell Point), <Tàkla> (Aves Island (also Berkeley group)), <Tára-chíro> (Bacon Bay), <Tàu-chàu> (encampment at E. end of Austin Strait), <Tàu-kàt-chíro> (Pembroke Bay), <Tàul-l'âr-míku> (Sound Island), <Tébi-chíro> (N. Reef Island), <Tòrop-tot-chéto> (encampment on N. side of Casuarina Bay), <Yulik> (point North of Tara-lait).

Portman (1898: 11) observes: 'The Andamanese have always been able to explain to me the names of places, even when these names would seem to have some very remote origin'. He also shows (pp. 108–15) that several toponyms of the middle and southern sectors of Great Andaman are transparent compound words or have the structure of noun phrases and include, mostly, common nouns denoting tree species, parts of the tree or the human body and geographical objects.

**Table 1.1** Some Akajeru common nouns attested also in toponyms

Toponym	Akajeru	Akachari	PGA	Meaning
component				
<âr-míku>ª	aramiku	-	imik <sup>h</sup> u <sup>b</sup>	'space under'
<bur>ongo&gt;c</bur>	евигэŋо	-	eburəŋo	'side of the body'
<lau></lau>	lau	lau	lao	'spirit'
<méo></méo>	meo	теэ	теэ	'stone'
<râ pong="">d</râ>	<i>ε</i> гароŋ	arapoŋ	$p^ho\eta$	'cave'
<rengo></rengo>	геŋо	-	reŋo	'tree sp.:
				Ficus laccifera'
<tàu></tàu>	tau	tau	too	'sky'

### Notes

At least three of the Akajeru toponyms in Temple's list look like compounds or noun phrases.

$$<$$
Chíro-méo $>$   $<$ Méo-pong $>$   $<$ Tôrop-tot-chéto $>$   $tiro-meo$   $meo-pon$   $torop$   $t=ot-tfeto$   $tiree\_sp.$   $torop$   $tiree\_sp.$   $tiree\_sp.$ 

Some of the common nouns or roots we can identify in Temple's toponyms also occur in Radcliffe-Brown or Man's Akajeru linguistic material and have known cognates in Akachari, a dialect of the north of North Andaman (1.3.1), and/or PGA. These are given in Table 1.1.

Other nouns apparently contained in the toponyms were not recorded elsewhere. They are similar or identical in form to Akachari and/or PGA nouns denoting for the most part tree species or animals. These are given in Table 1.2.

### 1.1.1 Radcliffe-Brown as a linguist

Alfred R. Radcliffe-Brown (1881–1955), our main source for the traditional Akajeru language, spent the years 1906–8 conducting fieldwork in the Andaman Islands, almost immediately after completing his undergraduate studies in Cambridge in 1905. This was his first extensive field project. His publications setting out the results of his work (Radcliffe-Brown 1914,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>a</sup> Without somatic prefix *ara-* ~ εra (3.2.1.2) in <Jíre-míku> and <Pâroto-míku>.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>b</sup> 'space inside' (cf. ara-mikhu 'stomach').

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>c</sup> Without somatic prefix *e*- in <Tâ-burongo> (3.2.1.3).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>d</sup> Without somatic prefix  $\varepsilon ra$ - ~  $\varepsilon ra$  in <Méo-pong>.

**Table 1.2** Some Akajeru common nouns attested only in toponyms

Akajeru	Akachari	PGA	Meaning	
<chíro></chíro>	tfiro	siro	'sea'	
<kòito></kòito>	kɔitɔ	koeto təŋ	'jackfruit tree: Artocarpus chaplasha'	
<ko-po></ko-po>	-	кэро	'banana tree'	
<ot-chéto></ot-chéto>	-	otco:tto	'hump'a	
<pârò></pârò>	paro	-	'k.o. grub'	
<tôrop></tôrop>	-	to:rop	'tree sp.'	
<téo></téo>	teo	teo	ʻiguana, crocodile' <sup>b</sup>	

### Notes

1922, 1933) contain little explicit reflection on methodology, in particular linguistic methodology, and indeed most of the few remarks on the latter included in Radcliffe-Brown (1922) were not carried across to the second edition of 1933. His interests were clearly primarily (and appropriately) social anthropological, with linguistics very much an auxiliary discipline. He mentions no explicit linguistic training, other than some in phonetics.

His original intention was to work with the Önge on Little Andaman Island, whose language belongs to the Ongan family, quite distinct from the Great Andamanese family to which Akajeru belongs, and at that time virtually undocumented. However, he abandoned this plan when faced with the difficulties of acquiring a new language with no aids.

I spent nearly three months camped with natives of the Little Andaman, giving most of the time to learning their language ... At the end of three months I found that at the same rate of progress it would take me two or three years to learn to speak the language sufficiently well to begin to question the natives about their customs and beliefs and understand their answers ... (Radcliffe-Brown 1922: vii–viii)

He therefore decided to turn his attention to the Great Andamanese language family, already the subject of documentation by Edward Horace Man and Maurice Vidal Portman (see the References), though concentrating on North Andamanese, the language furthest removed from those

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>a</sup> If <ot-chéto> is the equivalent of the PGA form here indicated, it is possible that it used adjectivally ('humpbacked') in <Tôrop-tot-chéto> (see above).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>b</sup> Cf. also Akajeru <teo> 'bird sp.'.

on which Man and Portman had worked most intensively, in particular Akabea. He describes the progress of his language skills as follows:

In my work amongst the natives of the Great Andaman I at first made use of Hindustani, which the younger men and women all speak more or less imperfectly, and gradually acquired a knowledge of the dialects of the North Andaman. (Radcliffe-Brown 1922: viii)

It is impossible to judge from this clearly what level of proficiency he acquired in North Andamanese. An indication of how he viewed the role of language learning in anthropological fieldwork can be gleaned from the following remarks relating to Opuchikwar (from the Middle Andamanese branch of Great Andamanese) and Akarbale (from the South Andamanese branch of Great Andamanese).

Towards the end of my stay in the islands I was able to obtain the services as interpreter of a man of the Akar-Bale tribe who spoke English well and was of considerable intelligence ... With his help I was able to do some work with the Akar-Bale and A-Pucikwar tribes, and I found that with such an interpreter I was able to obtain much fuller and more reliable results than I could by using my own knowledge of the native language supplemented by Hindustani. If I had had his services from the outset my work would have been much easier and more thorough. (Radcliffe-Brown 1922: viii)

Apparently he was happy to work without having to learn the language if this was possible.

Radcliffe-Brown did, however, indicate his intention to publish further on the indigenous languages of the Andaman Islands:

The languages of the Andaman Islands are chiefly of interest as affording material for the study of comparative grammar and the psychology of language. I had hoped to be able to make some use of the large mass of linguistic material collected by Mr E. H. Man and arranged by Sir Richard Temple, which the latter was so kind as to permit me to examine. Mr Man, however, expressed the intention of publishing that material himself. Therefore, rather than delay longer, I began the publication of my own linguistic studies in a series of papers in the journal *Anthropos*, of which, however, only the first had appeared when the outbreak of war

interrupted them.<sup>6</sup> I cannot say when the publication of these notes will be resumed. (Radcliffe-Brown 1922: viii–ix)

However, the three works discussed below are the only relevant ones that he published; the appendix to RB<sub>2</sub> is the only substantial linguistic publication subsequent to the remarks quoted above.

With specific regard to phonetics, we return in Chapter 2 to the consideration of the level of accuracy of Radcliffe-Brown's transcriptions, for now we note his own recognition of his limitations:

My knowledge of the principles of phonetics when I went to the Andamans was very inadequate, and my subsequent studies have shown me that my phonetic analysis of the Andamanese languages is far from satisfactory. Further I have consciously omitted to distinguish in writing between different sounds nearly related to each other, such as different forms of the consonants t, d, k and g. (RB<sub>1</sub>: 37)

Although I had acquired some knowledge of phonetics before I went to the Andamans, as a necessary part of the preliminary training of an ethnologist, yet it was not really sufficient to enable me to deal in a thoroughly scientific manner with the problems of Andamanese phonetics, and my further studies of the subject give me reason to believe that my phonetic analysis of the Andaman languages was not as thorough as it might have been. (Radcliffe-Brown 1922: 496, fn. 1)

The further studies referred to in this passage took place in the absence of native speakers, so there was no further possibility of checking data directly. After 1908 Radcliffe-Brown did not, as far as we have been able to ascertain, return to the Andamans or have any contact with native speakers of the indigenous languages.

It is easy to be critical in retrospect. We note that Radcliffe-Brown was a trailblazer of social anthropological methodology, and that without his linguistic material we would know virtually nothing of the traditional Akajeru language. We are very much in his debt.

### 1.2 The Akajeru

When the British, in 1858, established a permanent settlement and penal colony at Port Blair, on South Andaman Island, the Akajeru inhabited the

southern portion of North Andaman Island and the northern extremity of Middle Andaman (Portman 1899: 21), their neighbours being the Akabo on the north-west, the Akakhora on the north-east and the Akakede on the south (on Middle Andaman). We do not know how many Akajeru there were at the time of the contact. For the year 1858, the number of the people of the four native groups of North Andaman (Akajeru, Akabo, Akakhora and Akachari) is estimated by Radcliffe-Brown (RB<sub>2</sub>: 18) to be about 1,500, based on what the Andamanese were able to tell him of the conditions under which they formerly lived. Between 1901 and 1931, four enumerations of the indigenous populations of Great Andaman were attempted in connection with the census of India (Temple 1903: 6; Lowis 1912: 76; Lowis 1923: 12; Bonington 1932: 22–3). Such enumerations were of course very difficult and liable to error. Limited to the Akajeru and the other three groups of North Andaman, their results are given in Table 1.3.

The demographic decline of the Akajeru highlighted by Table 1.3 forms part of a general demographic collapse of the indigenous populations of Great Andaman after the British established the permanent settlement and penal colony at Port Blair. It is estimated that the indigenous population of the islands, excluding the Jarawa (a group speaking a language unrelated to any other language of Great Andaman), amounted to 3,500 people in the early part of the nineteenth century (Local Gazetteer 1908: 5). Imported diseases (pneumonia in 1868, syphilis in 1876, measles in 1877 and influenza in 1892), to which the islanders had no immunity, decimated the tribes at the end of the nineteenth century. In 1901, only 625 Great Andamanese were left, excluding again the Jarawa (Temple 1903: 6), and subsequent censuses report steadily declining numbers: 455 in 1911, 209 in 1921, 90 in 1931 (Lowis 1912: 76; Lowis 1923: 12; Bonington 1932: 22-3). In 1951, the number of the Great Andamanese had shrunk to about 23. Their number dwindled to an all-time low of only 19 in 1961 (Chattopadhyay 2003: 77; Mohanty 2006: 37). In 1970, the few surviving Great Andamanese, mostly from North Andaman or of North Andaman descent, were

**Table 1.3** The demographic decline of the Akajeru

Year	Akajeru	Akachari	Akakhora	Akabo	Total
1901	218	39	96	48	401
1911	180	36	71	62	349
1921	101	17	48	18	184
1931	46	9	24	6	85

relocated on the small Strait Island, off the east coast of Middle Andaman, in an attempt to protect them from diseases and other threats. They were 23 in all (Chattopadhyay 2003: 61). The number of Great Andamanese has slowly increased since then, to 27 (1981), 28 (1989), 32 (1991), 40 (1994), 42 (2001), 50 (2005) and 56 (2013) (Chattopadhyay 2003: 77; Raha 2005: 23; Abbi 2006: 6; Abbi 2013: 19–20). However, the people identified as Great Andamanese since 1970 have included people with partly Burmese or Indian descent.

# 1.3 Genealogical position of Akajeru and co-dialects

Although Akajeru is regarded as an independent language both in the literature on the Andamanese languages and, usually, in catalogues of the languages of the world (and also has an ISO 639-3 code, like most of the known natural languages: [akj]), in fact, it is one of the four dialects (or, probably, groups of dialects) that were once spoken on North Andaman Island. We have proposed the name North Andamanese for this language (Comrie and Zamponi 2017: 57). The other three (main) dialects of this language (also with an ISO 639-3 code) are the varieties of the remaining traditional groups of the island: Akachari [aci] (1.3.1), Akabo [akm] (1.3.2) and Akakhora [ack] (1.3.3). Together with the extinct Akakede language [akx], once spoken on the northern half of Middle Andaman and on Interview Island (Portman 1899: 21), North Andamanese forms one of the three (well-defined) subgroups of the Great Andamanese language family, the other subgroups, also now extinct, being Middle Andamanese (including the closely related Opuchikwar [apq], Okol [aky] and Okojuwoi [okj]) and South Andamanese (including Akabea [abj] and Akarbale [acl]) (Comrie and Zamponi 2019).

### 1.3.1 Akachari

At the time of contact, the Akachari inhabited the coast of the northern half of North Andaman and the adjacent small islands (Portman 1899: 21; Temple 1903: 31). Their dialect is the best attested among those traditionally spoken in North Andaman, having been documented, together with Akabea, Opuchikwar, Akakede and Önge, in the *Manual of the Andamanese Languages* compiled by Maurice V. Portman, comprising a comparative vocabulary covering over a thousand headwords and a phrase-book of 100 pages (Portman 1887).<sup>8</sup>

INTRODUCTION

In order to have an idea of the degree of differentiation that separated the traditional forms of Akajeru and Akachari, in Table 1.4 we present a comparative word list of basic vocabulary of the two varieties based on Swadesh's 200-word list as published in Gudschinsky (1956). It must be noted that there are, however, actually only 53 entries in this comparative word list due to the fact that for 144 entries of Swadesh's list no available source indicates the Akajeru and/or the Akachari equivalent. It should also be also taken into account that the Akajeru and Akachari forms of Table 1.4 are given in a tentative, semi-phonetic transcription (see section 2.4, as regards Akajeru).

**Table 1.4** Comparative Akajeru–Akachari word list

	English	Akajeru	Akachari	Cognate	Notes
1.	at	=il	=il ~ =l	+	locative
					postposition
2.	bad	etfai	ebekedeŋ	_	
3.	belly	itpet	pet	+	Akajeru itpet is
					probably a
					possessed form
					(see 3.2.3)
4.	big	εrkuro	erkuro	+	
5.	blood	tei	ete	+	
6.	bone	tɔi	toi	+	
7.	child	ottire	ottire	+	possessed form
					(see 3.2.1.6)
8.	cold	otdzulu	otdzulu	+	of weather
9.	to die	e-m-pil	e-m-pil	+	
10.	dog	bibi	bibi	+	post-contact term
11.	ear	εrbuo	erbuo	+	
12.	eye	εrulu	erulu	+	
13.	to fall	boto	boto	+	
14.	father	akamai	akamai	+	
15.	foot	oŋmatɔ	omatɔ	+	
16.	fruit	ottfo	ottfu	+	
17.	good	enol	пэ	+	
18.	hair	otbetf	otbetf	+	see endnote 5 to
					Chapter 7

(Continued table 1.4)

# (Continued table 4)

	English	Akajeru	Akachari	Cognate	Notes
19.	hand	oŋkɔra	oŋkɔra	+	
20.	head	εrtfo	ertfo	+	
21.	husband	ebui	etaru	_	Akachari etaru also = 'man'
22.	I	tio	tio	+	emphatic
23.	in	=il	=il ~ =l	+	locative postposition
24.	leaf	tetf	tetf	+	see endnote 5 to Chapter 7
25.	long	elobuŋ	elobuŋ	+	
26.	man	etaru	etaru	+	adult male
27.	many	tfope	<i>tfope</i>	+	
28.	meat	etomo	etomo	+	
29.	mother	akamimi	akamimi	+	
30.	mouth	akapoŋ	akapoŋ	+	
31.	neck	otloŋo	otloŋo	+	
32.	night	bat	bat	+	
33.	nose	εrkɔto	erkəto	+	
34.	not	ри	ри	+	
35.	rain	dzitfer	dzotfεr	+	
36.	rope	luremo	luremo	+	
37.	to say	akarka	eremer	_	
38.	sea	tfiro	tfiro	+	
39.	to sing	дзobi eur	фobi eur	+	= 'to sing a song'
40.	sky	tau	tau	+	
41.	to sleep	beno	beno	+	
42.	small	eleo	lau	+	
43.	snake	fubi	tfubi	+	
44.	star	katan	katain	+	small star
45.	stone	тео	теэ	+	
46.	sun	diu	diu	+	
47.	there	kulel	kulol	+	
48.	they	nio	nio	+	emphatic

(Continued table 1.4)

### (Continued table 1.4)

	English	Akajeru	Akachari	Cognate	Notes
49.	this	kidi	kidi	+	
50.	thou	ŋio	nio	+	emphatic
51.	tongue	akatat	akatat	+	
52.	tooth	εrpile	erpile	+	
53.	water	ino	ino	+	
54.	we	mio	mio	+	emphatic
55.	who	atfiu	atfu	+	
56.	wife	ebui	ebuku	_	Akachari ebuku
					also = 'woman'
57.	wind	boto	bɔto	+	
58.	woman	ebuku	ebuku	+	

We may count 54 cognates among the 58 items above, giving a cognation of 93 per cent, which strongly suggests two dialects of the same language, not two distinct languages.

### 1.3.2 Akabo

The Akabo were located in the central-eastern sector of North Andaman (cf. map II after p. 510 in  $RB_2$ ). The available documentation of their (traditional) dialect is much poorer than those of Akachari and Akajeru. All that remains is some words transmitted to us by  $RB_2$ : the 18 items reported in Table 1.5 (where they are compared with their Akajeru, Akachari and PGA equivalents, when known) and a few proper names: the autonym akabo (in <t'a-Bo> 'I am Aka-Bo'; p. 24, with the alternant a- of somatic prefix aka-  $\sim a$ - used after a proclitic personal pronoun), the names of three creeks (<Kelera>, <Teradikili> and <Teraut>; pp. 28, 192), the name of a village (<Čaičue>;  $RB_2$ : 29) and the names of two supernatural beings (<Biliku> ( $\mathfrak P$ ) and <Tarai> ( $\mathfrak P$ ); pp. 147, 150) also occurring, with the same form, in Akajeru and Akakhora.

In addition, six words occur in  $RB_2$  (p. 199) that the author probably gathered from an Akabo informant. Four of them are bird names (<čelene>, <čereo>, <čotot> and <toroi>). The remaining words are a toponym (<Poroket>) and the name of a male supernatural being (<Poroket>). The four bird names and the name of the supernatural being were also recorded by Radcliffe-Brown, with exactly the same form, from Akajeru informants. The toponym corresponds to the PGA noun  $p^h$ oroket

**Table 1.5** Akabo words from  $RB_2$  compared with their equivalents in Akajeru, Akachari and PGA

Akabo	Meaning	Page(s)	Akajeru	Akachari	PGA
<bari></bari>	'fish sp.'ª	97	-	-	-
<bol></bol>	'fish sp.'ª	97	bol	-	bol
<b<u>oto&gt;</b<u>	'wind' <sup>b</sup>	147	boto	bɔto	bətə <sup>c</sup>
<bul> <buliu></buliu></bul>	'creek'	28	buliu	buliu	buliu
<burto></burto>	'fish sp.'ª	97	-	burto	bu:rtho
<čiro>d	'liver (of an animal)'	103	tfiro	-	ciro
<čubi>e	'snake'	97	tfubi	tf ubi	∫ubi
<kibir></kibir>	'tree sp.'	103	-	-	ki:bir
<jutpu></jutpu>	'alone' (?) <sup>f</sup>	192	dzutpu	-	-
<koloko>g</koloko>	'COLLECTIVE'h	28	koloko	-	kɔlɔko
<kot></kot>	'nest of the white ants'	192	kət	-	kətotcoi
<kuato></kuato>	'fish sp.'a	97	-	-	-
<ńyuri>	'fish sp.: Plotosus sp.'	97, 103	nuri	-	nure <sup>j</sup>
<or-čubi></or-čubi>	'snake sp.: Ophiophagus elaps'	97	ərtfubi	ortfubi	or∫ubi
<t'>k</t'>	'I'	24	t=	t=	t=
<tare></tare>	'plant sp.'	103	tare	-	-
<ra>d</ra>	ʻpig'	103	ra	ra	ra
<uluku>e</uluku>	'snake sp.'	97	-	-	uluk <sup>h</sup> u

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>a</sup> A fish found in inland creeks.

 $<sup>^{\</sup>rm b}$  Also in <Biliku boto> 'N. E. Wind' (lit. 'Biliku wind') and <Tarai boto> 'S. W. Wind' (lit. 'Tarai wind') (RB $_2$ : 147).

c 'storm'.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>d</sup> In <ra-čiro> 'plant sp.' (lit. 'liver of pig').

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>e</sup> In <uluku-čubi> 'snake sp.'.

f This is (also) the name of the first man on earth (RB<sub>2</sub>: 383).

<sup>\*</sup> Also in the following names of Akabo local groups: <Kelera buliu koloko>, <Teradikili buliu koloko> and <Turaut buliu koloko> (RB<sub>9</sub>: 28).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>h</sup> Used with human nouns.

i 'mound of white ants'.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>j</sup> 'eel, mangur fish'.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>k</sup> In <t'a-Bo> 'I am Aka-Bo'.

'heaven' recorded by Abbi (2012: 130). The name of the supernatural being (son of <Biliku> and <Tarai>) recalls the PGA name of the first man of the Andaman Islands:  $p^hertauido$  (Abbi 2013: 279).

As Table 1.5 shows, there are no distinctive elements in the poor available lexical material of Akabo that separate this speech from Akajeru. This fact and Radcliffe-Brown's observation that '[a] man of the *Aka-Jeru* tribe could understand without any great difficulty a man speaking *Aka-Bo*' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 25) allow us to establish that the traditional varieties of the Akajeru and the Akabo were undoubtedly mutually intelligible dialects of the same language.<sup>10</sup>

### 1.3.3 Akakhora

The Akakhora occupied the central-western sector of North Andaman (cf. again map II after p. 510 in RB $_2$ ). The surviving material of their traditional dialect is also minimal. RB $_2$  (pp. 147 and 199) contains the seven common nouns given in Table 1.6, one toponym (<Čarona>) and the names of two supernatural beings (<Biliku> ( $^\circ$ ) and <Tarai> ( $^\circ$ )) also recorded from Akajeru and Akabo speakers.

Temple (1903: 31) supplies a list of 11 toponyms: <Bôl-pòli> (inland encampment between Port Cornwallis and Temple Sound), <Cho-â-póng> (Trilby Island), <Kòi-cho> (Pocock Island), <Kôto-par> (Cadell Bay), <Pâro-júe> (Cape Price), <Po-chumbo> or <Bo-pung> (Ross Island at mouth of Port Cornwallis), <Ròth> (Craggy Island),

**Table 1.6** Akakhora words from  $RB_2$  compared with their equivalents in Akajeru, Akachari and PGA

Akakhora	Gloss	Akajeru	Akachari	PGA
<body></body>	'wind'a	boto	boto	bɔtɔ <sup>b</sup>
<kelil></kelil>	'bird sp.'	-	-	-
<loito></loito>	'k.o. root'	loito	loito	loitok <sup>c</sup>
<meo>d</meo>	'stone'	тео	теэ	теэ
<mikulu></mikulu>	'k.o. root'	mikulu	mikulu	mikulu
<peč></peč>	'pot'd	petf	paitf	$pec \sim p^h \varepsilon c$
<t<u>oroi&gt;</t<u>	'bird sp.'	-	-	-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>a</sup> Also in <Biliku boto> 'N. E. Wind' (lit. 'Biliku wind') and <Tarai boto> 'S. W. Wind' (lit. 'Tarai wind') (RB<sub>o</sub>: 147).

b 'storm'.

c 'k.o. of vegetarian food'.

d In <Peč-meo>, a place-name.

<Tàu-râ-míku> (Excelsior Island), <Tébi-chíro> (Chatham Island (Port Cornwallis)), <Tí-kô-dung> (encampment on N. E. of N. Andaman near Reef Island), <Tôlubu-tòng> (Port Cornwallis). In one of these toponyms we can recognise a noun phrase composed of a noun and an adjective.

```
<Tí-kô-dung>

ti koduŋ

place small

'small place'<sup>11</sup>
```

Another toponym has the structure of a possessive noun phrase, but lacks the expected definite article t= (see section 4.1.3). 12

```
<Tàu-râ-míku>
tau (a)ra-miku
sky sp-space_under
'space under (the) sky'
```

Overall, we have identified nine Akakhora common words (in one case just the root of a word) in the 11 toponyms published by Temple. None of them was also recorded by Radcliffe-Brown. These forms are given in Table 1.7 together with Akajeru, Akachari and PGA forms with identical or similar shapes.

<b>Table 1.7</b> Some Akakhora words attested only in toponym
---

Akakhora	Akajeru	Akachari	PGA	Meaning
<râ-míku></râ-míku>	aramiku	-	imik <sup>h</sup> u <sup>a</sup>	'space under'
<bôl></bôl>	_b	bolc	bol	'tree sp.: Hibiscus tiliaceus' <sup>d</sup>
<chíro></chíro>	tfiro	tfiro	siro	'sea'
<kodung></kodung>	-	-	koduŋ	'small'
<pâro></pâro>	-	paro	-	'fish sp.'
<póng>e</póng>	erapoŋ	arapoŋ	$p^ho\eta$	'cave'
<tàu></tàu>	tau	tau	too	'sky'
<ti>&gt;</ti>	ti	ti	t <sup>h</sup> i	'place'
<tòng></tòng>	-	aka-toŋ	ton	'tree'

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>a</sup> 'space inside' (cf. ara-mikhu 'stomach').

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>b</sup> Cf. Radcliffe-Brown's 'North Andamanese' bol 'Hibiscus tiliaceus' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 118).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>c</sup> Recorded as 'Melochia velutina', but probably 'Hibiscus tiliaceus', like the 'North Andamanese' and PGA forms.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>d</sup> Or, alternatively, 'fish sp.' (Akajeru <bol>, PGA bol).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>e</sup> Without somatic prefix ara- ~ εra (3.2.1.2) in <Cho-â-póng>.

The sparse Akakhora material that has reached us also does not contain recognisable unique elements not found in Akajeru. Therefore, it is very likely that what we are dealing with is a further variety of a single language once spoken across the whole North Andaman Island.

- 1 A.k.a. Jeru and Jero. In Akajeru, & eru is the name of a tree of the Sterculia genus. In the traditional autonym of the Akajeru, which is also a glottonym, the noun & eru is prefixed by a reflex of the Proto-Great Andamanese somatic prefix (see section 3.2.1) \*aka- 'mouth', in the sense of 'language', like the names of all the other groups of Great Andaman, excluding the Jarawa (see Comrie and Zamponi 2017: 67, n. 8). It is probable that the common occurrence in the Andamanese linguistic and anthropological literature of names of Great Andamanese groups without the somatic prefix 'mouth, language' (like Jeru/Jero or, also, for example, Bo and Bea) follows Richard C. Temple's (1903: 48) decision to discard this prefix, '[f] or the sake of brevity', and use 'the roots only of tribal names' (but note also the earlier terms Puchikwár (for o-putfik-war) and Kol (for o-kɔl) in Portman (1896: 362)).
- 2 In this work, we will also use the 'North Andamanese' linguistic material in RB<sub>2</sub>. Forms and constructions recorded by Radcliffe-Brown only as 'North Andamanese' will be reported in this work followed by the abbreviation NA.
- 3 Also issued in book form as a single volume (Man 1923).
- 4 The variant names are from the original.
- 5 His family name at birth was Brown, legally changed to Radcliffe-Brown in 1926. We follow scholarly tradition in referring to him consistently as Radcliffe-Brown.
- 6 The reference is to RB<sub>1</sub>.
- 7 This language is related to the language of the Önge of Little Andaman Island, with which it forms the Ongan family. The language of the (practically) uncontacted inhabitants of North Sentinel Island could be a third member of this small family.
- 8 A handful of Akachari words are also contained in RB, (pp. 96, 141, 147, 201 and 202).
- 9 Unlike Radcliffe-Brown, Portman does not distinguish the close-mid front vowel [e] from the open-mid from vowel [ε] in his transcription of Akachari and other Great Andamanese languages, although there is a phonemic contrast between them in these languages. The symbol e of the Akachari forms of Table 1.1, all from Portman (1887), is therefore a common notation of the two vowels of the mid-front area.
- 10 Abbi (2012: xxiv) reports that many of the words a woman who came from the Akabo group (Boa Sr) used were not comprehensible to the other speakers or rememberers of PGA. This, of course, does not imply that her speech was totally unintelligible to the other speakers or rememberers of PGA.
- 11 Cf. *t*<sup>h</sup>*ikoduŋp*<sup>h</sup>*ubi* 'big place' in Abbi (2012: 391), analysable as *t*<sup>h</sup>*i koduŋ p*<sup>h</sup>*u*=*bi* (place big neg=cop) 'ft is not a small place'.
- 12 The exact same item is also recorded by Temple (1903: 31) as the local name of an island (West Island) in Akachari territory. An almost identical item, with the expected definite article t=, is the local name of an island in Akakede territory (Interview Island): <Tàu-tara-míku> (Temple 1903: 32).

2

# **Phonology**

### 2.1 Phonemes

### 2.1.1 Consonants

The spelling used by Radcliffe-Brown for transcribing Akajeru and the other North Andamanese dialects makes use of a phonetic transcription, albeit simplified, based on the Anthropos alphabet of Wilhelm Schmidt (1907). He employs 14 consonantal graphemes: <b, č, d, j, k, l, m, n, ń, n, p, r, t, y> (see RB2: 494). The Akajeru words recorded by Man are written using the following graphemes and digraphs: <b, ch, d, j, k, l, m, n, ng, p, r, t, th>. Of the sound values of four graphemes used by Radcliffe-Brown we have a short description.

The sign  $\eta$  is used for the nasalised guttural or velar stop [sic] and  $\acute{n}$  for palatalised n; the sounds denoted by  $\check{c}$  and  $\check{j}$ , while varying somewhat in different dialects, frequently approximate more nearly to palatalised t and d than to affricates t and d; (RB<sub>2</sub>: 496)

There are no words with the palatal nasal [ $\mathfrak{p}$ ] among those recorded by Man. The velar nasal [ $\mathfrak{p}$ ] is transcribed by the British officer with <ng>, while for [ $\mathfrak{t}$ ]  $\sim$  [c] and [ $\mathfrak{t}$ ]  $\sim$  [ $\mathfrak{z}$ ] the digraph <ch> and letter <j> are used. Also note that the alternation of  $\mathfrak{t}$  and  $\mathfrak{t}$  between palatal affricate and palatal stop to which Radcliffe-Brown refers has also been reported for PGA (Basu 1952: 61; Abbi 2013: 51).

Radcliffe-Brown also indicates that in Andamanese languages 'there are variations in the pronunciation of the dental stops t and d, prepalatal, dental or alveolar, and cerebral enunciation being heard, but it is not evident that these variations constitute distinct phonemes in any of the languages' (RB $_{\circ}$ : 496). Retroflection is an areal trait of the Andaman

**Table 2.1** Probable Akajeru/NA words with dental and retroflex stops and their orthographic representation

Akajeru/NA		PGA	Meaning
Radcliffe-	Man		
Brown			
<mite></mite>	-	mite	'bird sp.'
<otone> (NA)</otone>	-	otoni	'son-in-law,
			daughter-in-law'
-	<îr-tap>	ertap	'lower jaw'
<taka></taka>	-	taka	'bird sp.'
<milite> (NA)</milite>	-	bilițe	'mist'
<boto></boto>	-	boto	'fall'
< <u>e</u> ra-bat>	-	era:bat	'tail (of snake or turtle)'
-	<âkà-tât>	akatat	'tongue'
-	<îr-kît>	erxi:t	'arm'
<tiriń></tiriń>	-	t <sup>h</sup> iriŋ	'kingfisher sp.'
<e-tomo></e-tomo>	-	et <sup>h</sup> omo	'flesh, meat'
<ti>&gt;</ti>	-	t <sup>h</sup> i	'place'
<ti-miku> (NA)</ti-miku>	-	t <sup>h</sup> imik <sup>h</sup> u	'forest, jungle'
<etharu> (NA)</etharu>	-	t <sup>h</sup> aro	'man, male' (PGA: 'male')
-	<îr-kâto>	erkɔtʰo	'nose'
<kidi></kidi>	-	k <sup>h</sup> idi	'this'
<deko></deko>	-	dek <sup>h</sup> o	'enough'
<bido></bido>	-	bido	'palm sp.: Calamus tigrinus'

Islands attested both in Great Andamanese and in Ongan (see Zamponi and Comrie 2020: 31). PGA has three retroflex stops, [t], [th] and [d], in phonemic opposition with their dental counterparts [t], [th] and [d]. Surely traditional Akajeru had the same three retroflex stops as PGA, but both Radcliffe-Brown and Man fail to recognise them in their transcription of Akajeru or 'North Andamanese' (NA) words (see Table 2.1).

Nor does Radcliffe-Brown's transcription of Akajeru distinguish the aspirated stops  $[p^h]$ ,  $[t^h]$  and  $[k^h]$  occurring in PGA (Abbi 2013: 50–1) from their plain counterparts. Man's transcription distinguishes  $[t^h]$  from [t] by using the digraph <th> for the former and the grapheme <t> for the latter, but neither  $[p^h]$  from [p] nor  $[k^h]$  from [k] (see Table 2.2).

**Table 2.2** Orthographic representation of probable words with [p],  $[p^h]$ ,  $[t^h]$ , [k] and [k]

Akajeru		PGA	Meaning
Radcliffe-	Man		
Brown			
<ropuč></ropuč>	-	гэрис	'one who has lost a
			brother or sister'
<čop>	-	сэр	'tree sp.'
-	<îr-tap>	ertap	'lower jaw'
<poroto></poroto>	-	p <sup>h</sup> ɔrɔto	'palm sp.: Caryota mitis'
-	<ê-pilu>	ep <sup>h</sup> ilu	'abdominal walls'ª
-	<ông-pông>	оŋp <sup>h</sup> oŋ	'armpit'
<e-tire></e-tire>	-	t <sup>h</sup> ire	'child'
<tarai></tarai>	-	t <sup>h</sup> arae	'a male supernatural
			being'
<tiriń></tiriń>	-	t <sup>h</sup> iriŋ	'kingfisher sp.'
-	<era-thômo></era-thômo>	arat <sup>h</sup> omo	'buttocks'
<k<u>olo&gt;</k<u>	-	kələ	'sea-eagle' <sup>b</sup>
<k<u>oro&gt;</k<u>	-	kərə	'shredded palm-leaf
			fibre'c
<mikulu></mikulu>	-	mikulu	'k.o. root'
<kule-l></kule-l>	-	k <sup>h</sup> ulol	'there (distant)'
<čokoro>	-	cɔkʰɔro	'plant sp.'
-	<îr-nôko>	ernək <sup>h</sup> o	'cheek'

### Notes

No word explicitly attributed to Akajeru was recorded using the letter <w>, but two 'North Andamanese' forms written with this grapheme can be seen in RB $_2$ : <biwu> 'k.o. resin' (also occurring in the compound <biwumɔitʃ> 'torch of resin') and <ewur> 'sing'. In both forms, <w> occurs between two vowel graphemes, the second of which is <u>. This suggests that the letter <w> may represent an epenthetic [w]-glide inserted in two-vowel sequences of the type Vu (cf. Abbi (2013: 41, 44–5) for a parallel with PGA).² Similarly, it is possible that the <y> of the Akajeru noun <keyip> 'k.o. red pigment', also recorded by

a PGA: 'belly'.

b PGA: 'kite'.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>c</sup> PGA: 'green cane leaf'.

Radcliffe-Brown, is the transcription of an epenthetic glide [y] that surfaces in a a two-vowel sequence of the type *Vi* (cf. Akachari <kéip>'id.'; Portman (1887: 213)).

A tentative chart of Akajeru consonantal phonemes, based on the following minimal and, mainly, semi-minimal pairs, is given in Table  $2.3.^3$  Note that we use y for IPA/j/ in this work.

p:b	petf	'pot'	betf	'hair'
t:t	mite	'bird sp.'	milițe (NA)	'mist'
$t:t^h$	otone	'son-in-law,	et <sup>h</sup> omo	'flesh, meat'
		daughter-		
		in-law'		
$t:t^h$	$p^h$ ərəto	'palm sp.:	$\varepsilon r k \circ t^h o$	'nose'
•	•	Caryota mitis'	·	
$t^{\mathrm{h}}$ : $t^{\mathrm{h}}$	t <sup>h</sup> iriŋ	'kingfisher sp.'	$t^h i$	'place'
$t:t^h$	taka	'bird sp.'	etharu (NA)	'man, male'
t:d	boto (NA)	'fall'	bido (NA)	'palm sp.:
	-		-	Calamus
				tigrinus'
$k:k^h$	mikulu	'k.o. root'	t <sup>h</sup> imik <sup>h</sup> u	'forest'
			(NA)	
<b>र्ग</b> : तु	tfo: (NA)	'plant sp.'	фо	'eating, food'
tʃ:y	akatfari (NA)	'Akachari'	maya	'sir, mister'
m : n	mio	'we'	nio	'they'
n:n	tfelene (NA)	'bird sp.'	beµе	'bird sp.'
n:ŋ	nio	'they'	nio	'you' (sg.)
n:y	rena (NA)	'possessions'	maya	'sir, mister'
r:1	kəro	'shredded	kɔlo	'sea-eagle'
		palm-leaf fibre'		

### 2.1.2 Vowels

There are seven vowel graphemes used by Radcliffe-Brown for transcribing Akajeru:  $\langle a, e, \underline{e}, i, o, \underline{o}, u \rangle$ . The sign  $\underline{e}$  is used for the open  $e(\varepsilon)$  and  $\underline{o}$  for the open  $o(\mathfrak{I})$  (RB<sub>2</sub>: 496). We presume that the remaining five graphemes have their approximate IPA value. The vowel graphemes used by Man are fourteen:  $\langle a, \hat{a}, \hat{a}, \hat{a}, e, \hat{e}, i, \hat{i}, o, \hat{o}, \hat{o}, \hat{o}, u, \hat{u} \rangle$ . The graphemes  $\langle a \rangle$ ,  $\langle \hat{a} \rangle$ ,  $\langle \hat{a} \rangle$ ,  $\langle e \rangle$ ,  $\langle i \rangle$ ,  $\langle o \rangle$ ,  $\langle o \rangle$  and  $\langle u \rangle$  represent short vowels: [ $\alpha$ ] or [ $\alpha$ ], [ $\alpha$ ],

 Table 2.3
 Consonant phonemes in Akajeru

		Labial	Dental	Alveo-	Retro-	Pala-	Velar
				lar	flex	tal	
Stops	Voiceless	p	t		t		k
	unaspirated						
	Voiceless	$p^{h}$	th		t <sup>h</sup>		k <sup>h</sup>
	aspirated						
	Voiced	Ъ	d		đ		
Affricates	Voiceless					ţſ	
	Voiced					ф	
Nasals	Voiced	m		n		n	ŋ
Rhotics	Voiced			r			
Laterals	Voiced			1			
Glides	Voiced					у	

**Table 2.4** Probable Akajeru/NA words with long vowels and their orthographic representation

Radcliffe-Brown	Man	PGA	Meaning
<čo> (NA)	-	co:	'plant sp.'
< <u>e</u> ra-bat>	-	era:baţ	'tail (of snake or turtle)'
<roa></roa>	-	ro:ɔ	'canoe'
<talar> (NA)</talar>	-	ta:lar	'k.o. stone'
<terkobito> (NA)</terkobito>	-	tɛrkobito:	'centipede'
<oŋ-k<u>ora&gt;</oŋ-k<u>	<òng-kōra>	kho:ra	'hand, finger'
-	<îr-kît>	erxi:t	'arm'
-	<òng-mâ-tō>	oma:ttɔ	'foot'
-	<òm-rap>	onre:p	'spine'

([e] and  $[\epsilon]$ ), but does not note vowel length, on the other hand Man does not distinguish the two mid front vowels, but does mark vowel length (at least in most cases; see Table 2.4).

Table 2.5 gives a plausible chart of Akajeru vowel phonemes, based on the following minimal and semi-minimal pairs and keeping in mind that vowel length is phonemically contrastive in PGA (Abbi 2013: 39–40)

Table 2.5 Vowel phonemes in Akajeru

	Front	Central	Back
Close	i i:		u u:
Close-mid	e e:		0 0:
Open-mid	3 3		o o:
Open		a a:	

(as well as in other Great Andamanese languages; see Zamponi and Comrie 2020: 50 for Akabea), even if vowel length can only be recovered for a handful of items in the documentation of Akajeru/North Andamanese

i:e	ino	'water'	enol	'good'
e:ε	tfereo	'bird sp.'	ðʒitʃεr (NA)	'rain' (n)
ε:a	εra:bat	'tail (of snake	arabela (NA)	'younger person of
		or turtle)'		the same generation'
a:ɔ	maya	'sir, mister'	тэуо	'tree sp.:
				Sterculia sp.'
0:0	boto	'wind'	boto	'fall' (v)
o:u	tfop	'tree sp.'	ʧир	'k.o. basket'

### 2.2 Stress

Stress is not marked by either Radcliffe-Brown or Man. In none of the languages of the Great Andamanese family (including PGA) is it phonemically relevant. Non-phonemic stress, in all the languages, falls on the initial syllable of the root, at least ordinarily.

# 2.3 Syllable structure

The maximal syllable structure in Akajeru is CCVVC (where VV indicates a diphthong).

Consonant clusters are, in general, rather infrequent morpheme-internally, although they readily arise at morpheme boundaries (see, for example, ot-tfo 'head',  $o\eta$ -pho $\eta$  'armpit' and  $\varepsilon r$ -boa 'lip' in section 8.1).

# 2.4 Our transcription of Akajeru

In the rest of this work, we use for Akajeru (and Radcliffe-Brown's North Andamanese) a tentative semi-phonemic transcription in which – given that aspiration and retroflex consonants are not recognised orthographically and vowel length is not noted in the most important source of this dialect (from which most of the following examples were drawn), viz.  $RB_2$  – the IPA symbol p may also represent  $p^h$ , t may also represent  $t^h$ , t and  $t^h$ , while t0 may also represent t1 and vowel symbols may represent short or long vowels. We emphasise that this is the best that can be done reliably given the phonetic limitations of the available documentation. Grafting values from PGA onto Akajeru is impossible in cases where we do not know the PGA equivalent, and would be irresponsible in cases where we do, since PGA is not simply the linear descendant of Akajeru (see Chapter 7) and there is no guarantee that such values would be correct.

- Occasionally, <ny> is also used for palatal nasal n by Radcliffe-Brown, as in <ara-nyu> 'village', <benye> 'bird sp.' and <čainyo> 'plant sp.'.
- Various other words were however transcribed by Radcliffe-Brown as if they contain a vowel sequence *Vu* without an intervening [w], e.g. <lau> 'spirit', <tau> 'sky', <diu> 'sun' and <aĕiu> 'who'. Probably, speakers of traditional Akajeru did not insert the epenthetic [w]-glide in *Vu* vowel sequences consistently, just like the speakers or rememberers of PGA (Abbi 2013: 41).
- No minimal nor semi-minimal pair is available in the material at our disposal for the contrasts p vs.  $p^h$ , t vs. d and d vs. d, but cf. Abbi (2013: 50–1) for evidence for a phonemic opposition between these sounds in PGA.
- 4 A further grapheme, <a>, is used by Radcliffe-Brown for transcribing the name of a kind of bucket: <tar> (RB2: 497, 498). This grapheme, said to denote a 'back a as in Southern English "father" (RB2: 497), i.e. the open back [a:], in this specific term would seem rather to represent the open-mid back vowel [5:], as suggested by the transcriptions of the Akachari word for the same kind of bucket in Portman (1887): <tár> (p. 207), <tāūr> (p. 155) and <tāūrāū> [sic] (p. 137) (<āū> being the representation of the sound of 'aw in awful'; Portman 1887: 1).

5 The only example we have for syllable-initial CC is the word *oŋ.brɔ.no* 'ankle' (or possibly *om.brɔ.no*; see 3.2.1.5 and the entry *oŋbrɔno* in section 8.1) recorded by Man. However, both Abbi and Manoharan give PGA equivalent forms without the *b* (see again the entry *oŋbrɔno* in 8.1), so the example is questionable. Perhaps *b* is a purely phonetic epenthetic sound here, although another form recorded by Man and containing, just like *oŋbrɔno*, the derivational prefix *oŋ-* ~ *om-* (3.2.1.5) and a root beginning in *r* does not show any trace of *b: omrap* 'spine' (see the corresponding entry in section 8.1). Consonant clusters in the onset position are reported as rare by Abbi (2013: 57, 58) for PGA and limited to *tr* and *k*<sup>h</sup>*r*. If phonemic syllable-initial consonant clusters were also possible in traditional Akajeru, we must conclude that no unequivocal evidence of them exists in the scarce material of this dialect that was recorded.

# 3

# **Stems**

The morphology of Akajeru is agglutinating, like that of all other Great Andamanese languages, and includes prefixes and suffixes, although words rarely contain more than a few morphemes. Prefixes and suffixes are mostly monosyllabic, a few prefixes being disyllabic. Roots are mostly di- or trisyllabic.

#### 3.1 Roots

Most roots have a morphologically and syntactically invariable word class. Many of the roots that were recorded by Radcliffe-Brown can be found without further affixation in the word class of nouns and in derivatives involving somatic prefixes (see 3.2.1) that have the same word class.

(2) tei 'blood' e-tei (NA) 'fever'

*era-tei* 'menstruation' ot-tei 'headache'

(3) tomo 'flesh' (also: 'wood')

e-tomo 'flesh of the body, meat'

*Era-tomo* 'buttocks'

A root that appears as a multicategorial lexical base is shown in (4). This root can function both nominally (4a), adjectivally (4b) and also verbally (61).

(4) a. *kimil* 'a brief period of unsettled weather at the

end of the rainy season'

aka-kimil (NA) 'condition of a boy or girl who is passing

through the initiation ceremonies'

b. *er-kimil* (NA) 'hot' ot-kimil (NA) 'hot' (also: 'be hot')

As in other Great Andamanese languages (see Zamponi and Comrie 2020: 73–7 as regards Akabea), some roots have an etymological doublet with a relatable meaning. Examples (5) and (6) show two cases of this.

(5) ot-dzumu (NA) 'dream' (n/v) ot-dzumulo (NA) 'shadow; reflection; double of the speaker'

(6) reno 'tree sp.: Ficus laccifera' renko (NA) 'green pigeon'<sup>1</sup>

The following example shows a further possible pair of etymological doublets. Probably, the noun 'sky' has a plain retroflex stop [t], as in PGA ( $tao \sim too \sim too$ ), while the verb 'be cold' has perhaps an aspirated retroflex stop [th], like the PGA noun  $t^hoo$  'cold, winter' (Abbi 2012: 393).

(7) tau 'sky' ot-tau (NA) 'be cold'

There are also four separate roots which seem to share the same historical source in the Akajeru material recorded by Radcliffe-Brown.

(8) arai-tfulu 'after' tarai-tfulik 'afterwards'

arai-tfulute 'younger person of the same generation'

arai-tfulutu 'follow'

#### 3.2 Affixation

Like all other Great Andamanese languages, Akajeru is rich in derivational morphology. Its attested derivational affixes include 10 prefixes and just two suffixes. Of the attested derivational prefixes, those here termed 'somatic prefixes' are particularly productive, being present in about one third of the ca. 320 words of traditional Akajeru/North Andamanese that were recorded by Radcliffe-Brown and Man.

## 3.2.1 Somatic prefixes

Somatic (body-part) prefixes are a group of six bound morphemes with the following core meanings:

```
aka- \sim a- 'mouth' 'abdomen, back' 'e- 'body' 'face, arms' 'oŋ- \sim om- 'hands, feet' 'head'
```

They can be seen attached to nouns, as in (9a), adjectives, as in (9b), verbs, as in (9c) and also to one adverb (9d).

(9)	a.	aka-poŋ	'mouth'
		e-ŋet	'navel'
		εr-kɔto	'nose'
		oŋ-kɔra	'hand'
	Ъ.	e-leo (NA)	'small'
		e-nol	'good'
		εr-kimil (NA)	'hot'
		ot-dzulu (NA)	'cold'
	c.	aka-tfe (NA)	'accompany'
		arai-tfulutu	'follow'
		εra-lio (NA)	'finish'
		ot-tau (NA)	'be cold'
	d.	arai-tfulu	'after'

There is a tendential correlation between semantic content and the co-occurrence of these prefixes with nouns. Nominal roots denoting body parts occur nearly exclusively with a somatic prefix attached. The rare exceptions include a few roots that denote anatomical parts that are not localised to a specific body area (10) and the term it-pet 'belly' (possessed form, perhaps), the latter consisting of a root, pet, probably also used verbally (cf. PGA pet 'swell'; Abbi (2012: 379)), and a non-somatic prefix whose value or function is unclear (see 3.2.3).

(10)	a.	betf	'hair'
		εr-betf	'head hair'
	Ъ.	tɔi	'bone'
		on-təi	'wrist'

Nominal roots belonging to the following semantic types, as a rule, are not used with somatic prefixes: flora, fauna, celestial bodies, environment, artefacts. The only nominal roots of the semantic types flora and environment also occurring with a somatic prefix in the material at our disposal are given in (11) together with their derivatives including a

somatic prefix. The derivatives, it will be noted, belong to different semantic types from the bare nominal roots.

(11)	a. dzeru	'tree sp.: Sterculia sp.'
	aka-dzeru	'Akajeru'
	b. meo	'stone'
	era-meo	'anchor'
	c. odu	'k.o. clay'
	aka-odu (NA)	'mourner'
	d. tfari (NA)	'salt water'
	aka-tfari (NA)	'Akachari'

Nominal roots belonging to the remaining semantic types, that is not referring to body parts and flora, fauna, celestial bodies, environment, artefacts, are morphologically heterogeneous. They can (i) always occur in combination with a somatic prefix (for example, *e-tire* 'child, offspring of an animal'), (ii) occur as a separate word without any other morpheme (for example, \$\frac{1}{2}0\$ 'song') or (iii) occur with or without a somatic prefix (12).

(12)	a.	mai	'sir, mister'
		aka-mai	'father'
	b.	mimi	'lady'
		aka-mimi	'mother'

Although somatic prefixes have anatomical core meaning, they also have extended meanings, as well as uses that have become lexicalised to the point of opacity. In the range of extended meaning, somatic prefixes exhibit both intra-field and trans-field extensions, that is semantic changes belonging to the same field of anatomy (for example,  $\varepsilon r$ - 'face' > 'head') or involving changes in meaning to different fields (for example,  $\varepsilon r$ - 'mouth' > 'speech').

In the following subsections, we will attempt to explore the (complex) semantics of each of the six somatic prefixes of traditional Akajeru based on the scanty data at our disposal.

#### 3.2.1.1 aka- ~ a-

The prefix  $aka \sim a$ - refers to the mouth.

(13)	aka-poŋ	'mouth'	
	aka-tat	'tongue'	

By anatomical contiguity, it also refers to the throat.

(14) aka-nəro 'throat'

Two trans-field extensions of the prefix are documented.

(i) 'mouth' > 'speech'

(15) akarka | aka-arka | 'tell, say'

aka-dzeru 'Akajeru' (language and people) (dzeru

'tree sp.; Sterculia sp.')

(ii) 'mouth' > 'eating'

(16) *aka-op* 'boy or girl under certain ritual restrictions

chiefly concerned with food'

aka-odu (NA) 'mourner' (odu 'k.o. clay')

aka-kimil (NA) 'condition of a boy or girl who is passing

through the initiation ceremonies' (*kimil* 'boy or girl during the turtle-eating ceremony')

In the following examples, the prefix expresses meanings different from those indicated above based on unclear semantic extensions.

(17) aka-mimi 'mother' aka-mai 'father'

aka-tfe (NA) 'accompany'

The allomorph *a*- of this prefix occurs after an overt possessive prefix (18, 67, 98) or a proclitic personal pronoun (58, 60), while *aka*- occurs elsewhere.

(18) *t-a-mimi* 'my mother' 'n-a-mai 'vour father'

3.2.1.2 ara- ~ arai- ~ era-

Prototypically, this somatic prefix appears to refer to two contiguous, but distinct, parts of the human body: the abdomen, including genital area and its emissions (19), and the back (20).

(19) ara-ket 'urine'

*Era-tei* 'menstruation' (*tei* 'blood')

(20) *Era-tomo* 'buttocks' (tomo 'flesh')

By extension, it also refers to the tail of a snake or turtle.

(21) *era-bat* 'tail (of snake or turtle)'

In addition, some trans-field extensions from the two core somatic meanings can be observed.

- (i) 'abdomen' > 'person' (pars pro toto)
- (22) ara-litfu (NA) 'younger person of the same generation' arai-tfulute 'younger person of the same generation'
- (ii) 'abdomen' > 'interior'
- (23) *Era-pon* 'cave' (cf. *aka-pon* 'mouth')
- (iii) 'back' > 'rear part'
- (24) arai-tfulu 'after' (adv) arai-tfulutu 'follow'

The latter semantic path probably continues further as follows:

- (iv) 'rear part' > 'end, termination'
- (25) *Era-lio* (NA) 'finish'

The Akachari and PGA equivalents of this prefix also occur in the term for 'leg': Akachari <árá chág> (Portman 1887: 44), PGA *ara:buccow* (Manoharan 1997: 463). The Akajeru term for 'leg' was not recorded, but the following trans-field extension of  $ara-\sim arai-\sim \epsilon ra$ - (alongside the aforementioned Akachari and PGA forms) suggests that it also had this prefix and that a third body part covered by the prefix was that of the lower limbs.

- (v) 'legs' > 'space under'
- (26) ara-miku 'space under' (cf. ɛr-miku 'face') era-meo 'anchor' (meo 'stone')

Other (unclear) values of the prefix, apparently not relatable to any of those indicated above, can be seen in the following stems. (27) ara-nu (NA) 'village'³ ra-lobuŋ 'long, tall'

*Era-tire* 'young shoot of a plant' (cf. *e-tire* 'child,

offspring of an animal')

We are not able to find motivation for the choice of one allomorph of the prefix over the other two based on the available data.

#### 3.2.1.3 e-

The prefix *e*- refers to the human body in its entirety.

(28) *e-burəŋo* 'side of the body'

*e-tomo* 'flesh of the body, meat' *e-tei* (NA) 'fever' (*tei* 'blood')

It is, however, also a sort of 'residue' member of the set of somatic prefixes given its presence in terms for body parts outside the domains covered by the other somatic prefixes.

(29) *e-ŋet* 'navel'

*e-pilu* 'abdominal walls' *e-tfɔ* 'lap, thigh'

In the following nouns, *e*- refers to the physical person.

(30) *e-taru* (NA) 'man, male' *e-buku* (NA) 'woman'

e-tire 'child, offspring of an animal'

e-bui 'husband, wife' (also verb: 'marry, be

married')

e-pota-tfiu (NA) 'father-in-law'

In the following adjectives, the prefix appears to be desemanticised.

(31) e-leo (NA) 'small'

*e-lobun* 'long, tall' (of a canoe, a tree, etc.)

e-nol 'good' e-tfai 'bad'

Example (32) shows a verb with e-. Here again, it is difficult to identify the semantic content of the somatic prefix.

(32) *e-ur* (NA) 'sing'

#### 3.2.1.4 er-

The prefix  $\varepsilon r$ - refers to two distinct, noncontiguous parts of the body: the face (including the ears) (33) and the arms (including the shoulder) (34).

'face: forehead' (33)er-miku 'ear' εr-buo εr-ulu 'eye' εr-kɔto 'nose' er-noko 'cheek' εr-boa 'lip' εr-pile 'tooth' 'lower jaw' εr-tap

(34) er-kit 'arm'
er-bala 'forearm'
er-kum 'shoulder'

In the following two nouns, the prefix refers to the entire head, overlapping with *ot*-.

(35)  $\varepsilon r$ -betf 'head hair'  $\varepsilon r$ -tfo 'head, skull' (cf. ot-tfo 'head, fruit')

In the following forms, the semantic contribution of  $\varepsilon r$ - is unclear.

(36) *Er-tfar* 'heart (seat of affections)' *Er-kuro* (NA) 'big' *Er-kimil* (NA) 'hot'

3.2.1.5 on- ~ om-

The prefix  $o\eta$ - ~ om- refers to the extremities: hands and feet.

(37) oy-kəra 'hand; finger'
oy-matə 'foot'
oy-kətra 'palm of the hand; sole of the foot'
oy-kara 'nail (of finger or toe)'
oy-kudzu 'knuckle'
oy-təi 'wrist'
oy-brəno 'ankle'

It sometimes also refers to the entire arm.

(38) oŋ-ba 'fleshy portion of the forearm' oŋ-poŋ 'armpit'

In the following example, it refers to the spine.

(39) om-rap 'spine'

Man transcribes this prefix as <ông-> and <òng->, except before the rhotic r. In this case, we find <òm->: <òm-rap> 'spine'.<sup>4</sup> Probably, the alternant om- of the prefix also occurs before a labial consonant, as in Akachari and PGA, although Man (1919–23: 169, 170) recorded the Akajeru term for 'armpit' as <ông-pông> $^5$  and that for 'foot' as <òng-mâ-tō>. $^6$ 

#### 3.2.1.6 ot-

The prefix *ot*- refers to the head.

(40) ot-tfo 'head, fruit' (cf. ɛr-tfo 'head, skull')
ot-tei 'headache' (tei 'blood')
ot-betf (NA) 'head hair' (betf 'hair')
ot-lopo 'neck'

An extended meaning is 'person' (*pars pro toto*). This is the meaning the prefix has in the possessed form of some terms denoting people. In the case of the word for 'child' (41), the prefix *ot*- replaces the somatic prefix *e*- of its non-possessed form.<sup>7</sup>

(41) bora e-tire (NA) 'Bora ( $\sigma$ ) the child' bora  $\emptyset$ -ot-tire (NA) 'the child of Bora ( $\sigma$ )'

In other cases, *ot*- appears added to the prefix of the non-possessed form of a term denoting a person.

(42)	Ø- <b>ot</b> -ara-bela (NA)	'his/her younger person of the same generation' (cf. PGA ara-belo 'younger
	Ø- <b>ot</b> -arai-tfulute	sister') 'his/her younger brother' (cf. PGA
		ara-suluthuo 'younger sibling')
	ŋ- <b>ot</b> -a-mai Ø-	'your father's younger brother' (but cf.
	ot-arai-tfulute (NA)	ŋ-a-mai 'your father')
	Ø- <b>ot</b> -e-bui Ø- <b>ot</b> -arai-	'his wife's younger brother' (but cf.
	tfulute (NA)	Ø-e-bui, also Ø-ot-e-bui, 'his wife, her
		husband')
	Ø- <b>ot</b> -ot-one (NA)	'his/her son-in-law' (cf. PGA ot-oni 'id.')

The semantic difference between the two forms in (43) is obscure.8

(43) *Ø-e-bui* (NA) 'his wife, her husband' *Ø-ot-e-bui* (NA) 'his wife, her husband'

Another extended meaning of *ot*- is likely 'round thing' or, at least, this meaning would seem to be involved in the following semantic chain: 'head' > 'round thing' > 'heart' > 'chest'/'back'.

(44) ot-bo 'back'

Abbi (2012: 376) recorded PGA *ot-bo* also with the meaning 'heart'. In PGA, but not in the Akajeru material, we also find *ot-car* 'chest, middle of the chest' (Abbi 2012: 377). Another extension of *ot-* from the meaning 'heart' is 'mind' (cf. Zamponi and Comrie 2020: 130 for an Akabea parallel).

(45) ot-dzete 'shy, ashamed'

Still another extension of the prefix from the meaning 'heart' is 'soul'. The latter meaning is involved in these two semantic chains: (i) 'heart' > 'soul' > 'reflection, shadow' (see again Zamponi and Comrie 2020: 130 for a further Akabea parallel); (ii) 'heart' > 'soul' > 'dream'.

- (46) *ot-dzumulo* (NA) 'reflection, shadow' (also 'double of the sleeper' and 'photograph')
- (47) ot-dzumu (NA) 'dream' (n/v)

In some adjectives and verbs, *ot*- seems to be desemanticised.

(48) ot-lam (NA) 'strong'
ot-kimil (NA) 'hot; be hot' (adj/v)
ot-dʒulu (NA) 'cold' (also noun: 'clothes')
ot-tau (NA) 'be cold'

#### 3.2.2 Prefix oko-

A prefix *oko-* is attested in the following two terms.

(49) oko-dzumu 'medicine-man' (cf. ot-dzumu 'dream' (n/v))
oko-taliŋ kolət 'a boy after his back was scarified in an
initiation ceremony and before the turtleeating ceremony'

The second term is the masculine counterpart of aka-n-du kolt (RB $_2$ : 95) and this suggests that oko- is etymologically related to the somatic prefix aka- $\sim a$ -, although it does not have an anatomical meaning. Perhaps oko-is a masculine prefix with one additional meaning shared with aka- $\sim a$ -, specifically 'food' or 'person in a ritual restriction concerned with foods'.

#### 3 2 3 Prefix it-

Another prefix with unclear meaning/function is *it*-, attested in one North Andamanese body part term also used as a kin term: *it-pet* 'belly; mother' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 89). The root of this term likely corresponds to PGA *pet* 'swell' (v) (Abbi 2012: 379), but *it*- is not otherwise attested as a deverbal nominaliser. Radcliffe-Brown records for Akachari *pet* 'belly' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 189), without the prefix *it*-.<sup>9</sup> The occurrence of *it-pet* in example (109), with an overt possessor, might suggest that *it*- derives the possessed form of the term for 'belly'. In this case, we would have a form Ø-*it-pet* meaning 'his/her belly', and not simply 'belly', as Radcliffe-Brown indicates. Also note that, in PGA, some words that seem to include the prefix *it*- have a root not found elsewhere: *it-beria* 'nice smell', *it-bi* 'yellow', *it-bithum* 'hook of the fishing arrow, *it-xudo.y* 'ring' (Abbi 2012: 360). A further recorded PGA word with *it*- is a verb: *it-kata* 'cut a big piece' (cf. *ut-kata* 'cut a very big piece') (Abbi 2013: 178).

## 3.2.4 Reflexive prefix m- ~ n-

A reflexive prefix m-, well attested in the PGA and Akachari material at our disposal, can be seen in the following North Andamanese verb. In this verb, with a meaning that implies a change of state without an agent, m- seems to assume the function of an anticausative marker.

A pre-dental allomorph *n*- of the reflexive prefix occurs, after the somatic prefix *aka*-, in *aka-n-du kolot*, which is the expression used to designate a girl between the ceremony that takes place on the occasion of her first menstrual discharge and a second important initiation ceremony (see the corresponding entry in the word list in 8.1). Neither a root *du* nor a stem *aka-du* is attested in the available material of traditional Akajeru, but it should be noted that *du* in PGA is a verb root meaning 'break' (cf. *ek-du* 'break' (tr.) and *u-n-du* 'break (of wooden items)' (tr.) (Abbi 2012: 33–4; 2013: 191) and that, as Portman (1898: 307) notes, '[w]hen an Andamanese girl menstruates she is said "To break".

#### 3.2.5 tarai- ~ terai-

The meaning of this prefix, occurring in the following two time adverbs, is also unclear.

(51) tarai-tfulik 'afterwards' terai-tfiro 'yesterday'

A phonetically similar prefix also occurs in some time adverbs of PGA and also here with an elusive meaning.

(52) PGA

tara-ſulo 'after that'

tara-oto 'at dawn; at daybreak; early morning'

We believe that the prefix *tarai*- ~ *tɛrai*- is etymologically related to the Akabea prefix *tar*-, with a discernible basic directional meaning and also found in some nouns denoting time segments: *tar-waina* 'morning; tomorrow morning', *tar-dila* 'tomorrow evening', *tar-ɔlo* 'near future' (Zamponi and Comrie 2020: 134–5).

#### 3.2.6 Masculine suffix -fiu

A masculine suffix -tfiu may be seen in just one recorded 'North Andamanese' word.

(53) *e-pota-tfiu* (NA) 'father-in-law' (cf. *e-pota-tfip* 'mother-in-law')

## 3.2.7 Feminine suffix -fip

There are four 'North Andamanese' occurrences of the feminine suffix -tfip in RB<sub>2</sub>.

(54) arai-fulute-fip (NA) 'younger woman of the same generation' ot-arep-fip (NA) 'older woman of the same generation' ot-otoatue-fip (NA) 'older woman of the same generation' e-pota-fip (NA) 'mother-in-law'

#### Notes

- 1 This pigeon is very fond of the fruit of the Ficus laccifera (RB<sub>a</sub>: 91).
- 2 Cf. also PGA ara-moto ~ o-moto 'legs' (Abbi 2012: 158).
- 3 It is unclear whether *ara* derives the possessed form of the term for 'village' (and probably 'house'), similar to the somatic prefix *ot* in PGA η-ot-ηιο 'your house' (Abbi 2013: 161; cf. ηιο 'house' on p. 127).
- 4 Cf. Akachari <mam réb> [sic] 'spine' (Portman 1887: 75), for *m-om-rep* 'our spine' and PGA th-um-rono 'my ankle' recorded by Kumar (2001: 107).
- 5 Cf. Akachari <óm póng> 'armpit' (Portman 1887: 165) and PGA *umphoŋ* ~ *oŋphoŋ* 'armpit' (Abbi 2012: 7). Manoharan (1997: 461) has *t-ɔm-φoŋ* 'my armpit'.
- 6 Cf. Akachari <óma tāū> 'foot' (Portman 1887: 33) and PGA *oma:ttɔ* 'id.' (Abbi 2012: 89). There is no evidence of an allomorph *on-* or *on-* of this prefix in the material of traditional Akajeru/NA at our disposal, although Abbi (2012: 4, 110, 187) and Manoharan (1997: 461) record it before the dental *t* in PGA (Abbi: *on-to* 'forearm' *on-toplo* 'alone, one'; Manoharan: *t-on-tow* 'my wrist'; cf. Akajeru <òng-tō> in Man (1919–23: 172)).
- 7 '(...) *e-tire* means young offspring of an animal or human being and therefore "a child"; *ot-tire* conveys a special reference to the child of a particular person—"his child" (RB.: 499).
- 8 Cf. also aka-mai 'father' with the somatic prefix ot- in (42) and without in (98a).
- 9 In <upetil ubeno> 'his belly in he sleep', which we interpret as follows.
  - (i)  $\emptyset$ -u pet=il  $\emptyset$ -u beno 3sg-PRON belly=LOC 3sg-PRON sleep 'He, on the belly, he sleeps'

## 4

# Words

Besides morpho-syntactic words that stand alone phonologically, like all other Great Andamanese languages and many other languages of the world, Akajeru has a number of clitics that are words in the morphosyntactic sense (given that they occupy specific syntactic positions in clauses, like other words), but not in the phonological sense. These morpho-syntactic words attach to a phonological host word proclitically (4.1.2 and 4.1.3) or enclitically (4.1.5 and 4.1.7).

#### 4.1 Word classes

There are four well-defined major word classes in Akajeru: nouns, adjectives, verbs and adverbs. Minor categories include pronouns, a definite article, postpositions and particles.

#### 4.1.1 Nouns

Nouns include forms that take inflectional affixes and forms that do not. Inflecting nouns are morphologically complex words that begin with a vowel-initial derivational morpheme (usually a somatic prefix). Such nouns can occur with personal prefixes that mark a pronominal possessor.

(55)	a.	t-ot-tfo	'my head'
		ŋ-ot-ʧo (NA)	'your (sg.) head'
		Ø-ot-tfo	'his/her head'
	Ъ.	t-ot-tire	'my child'
		Ø-ot-tire	'his/her child'

The documentation of PGA and Akachari shows that inflecting nouns may also take the reflexive prefix, when they occur with a possessor that is coreferential with the subject of the clause.

#### (56) PGA

aka-mimi Ø-ut-un- $t^h$ ire  $ta-tp^h$ -om sp-mother 3sg-sp-refl-child caus-bathe-npst 'The mother, is bathing her, child.'

#### (57) Akachari

Ø-ara-m-boitfo ek-ter-lul-o olo=ta
3sg-sp-refl-leg prev-?-cut-distpst adze=ins
'(He,) cut his, legs with an adze'

The Akajeru material does not contain similar examples.

#### 4.1.2 Pronouns

Pronouns include personal, possessive, demonstrative and interrogative pronouns.

Personal pronouns are both free-form and proclitic. The attested free-form personal pronouns used in subject function (in affirmative clauses) are shown in Table 4.1; a dash indicates that this form is not attested. As in PGA (Abbi 2013: 169–71), free-form subject personal pronouns include a set of emphatic forms (listed in RB $_2$ : 501) and a (poorly documented) set of non-emphatic forms. The forms of both sets are transparently composed of a person-number marker and a base *-io* or *-u*.

Examples containing emphatic or non-emphatic subject personal pronouns are (58), (59), (62), (76), (77) and (100–1).

- (58)  $\eta$ -io t=a-tfe-bom 2sg-pron.emph 1sgpro=sp-accompany-npst 'You (sg.) are accompanying me' (NA)
- (59) *n-u* beno-m
  3pl-pro sleep-npst
  'They (are) sleeping' (NA)

**Table 4.1** Free-form subject personal pronouns

	Emphatic	Non-Emphatic
1sg	t-io	t-u
2sg	ŋ-io	-
3sg	Ø-io	Ø-u
1pl	m-io	-
2pl	ŋil-io	-
3pl	n-io	n-u

 Table 4.2
 Proclitic personal pronouns

1sg	t=
2sg	$\eta =$
1pl	m=
2pl	ŋil=
3pl	n=

The Akajeru material at our disposal does not include personal pronouns used to express other syntactic and semantic relations like Akachari *te* 'me' (direct object), *ti* 'to me' (indirect object) and *tum* 'for me' (benefactive, but also used in subject function in negated clauses, as in (83)).

Proclitic personal pronouns (also listed in  $\mathrm{RB}_2$ : 501) are shown in Table 4.2. These have only the person-number marker. Note that these proclitic forms are segmentally identical to the prefixes in Table 4.3; the zero third person singular prefix corresponds to the absence of a third person singular proclitic form.

Proclitic personal pronouns are used exclusively before words beginning with a vowel-initial derivational prefix and, unlike free-form personal pronouns, they are attested in the function of both subject (of a nominal complement in (60), of an intransitive verb in (61) – these are the only attestations) and object (58, 62). Presumably, at least in subject function, they are even less emphatic than the non-emphatic free-form personal pronouns.

- (60) t=a-dzeru
  1sgpron=sp-tree\_sp.
  'I (am) Akajeru'
- (61) t=ot-kimil-bom
  1sgpron=sp-hot-npst
  'I am hot' (NA)
- (62) t-io y=arai-tfulutu-bom
  1sg-pron.emph 2sgpro=sp-follow-npst
  'I will follow you' (NA)

In Akachari and Middle Andamanese varieties, the third person plural proclitic pronoun -n= in all the varieties - is attested as the marker of plural subject of a clause, assuming the function of a plural marker

(Comrie and Zamponi 2017: 43). There is a trace of this also in the North Andamanese material published by Radcliffe-Brown: n=a-mai koloko 'ancestors' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 190) and n=e-buku 'women' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 291).

There are only two possessive pronouns in the available Akajeru material: the first person singular t-itfo and the third person singular  $\emptyset$ -itfo, both formed by a personal prefix and a base itfo. The following examples indicate that possessive pronouns are used as prehead modifiers to uninflecting nouns (63) (while inflecting nouns take a possessive prefix to mark a pronominal possessor, see 4.1.1) and also as nominal heads of their own, independently of a possessum (64).

- (63) t-itfo roa 1sg-poss canoe 'my canoe' (NA)
- (64) kidi t-itfo=bi

  DEM.PROX 1sg-POSS=COP

  'This is mine' (NA)

Abbi (2013: 185) shows that in PGA possessive pronouns may occur with a suffixal variant of the reflexive prefix m-. This seems to happen when they mark a non-inflecting noun in a clause as being possessed by the subject of the clause.

(65) PGA

yil-io

yili-fo-m

refe=be

rafue-kom

2pl-pron.emph

2pl-poss-refl

food=abs

cook-npst

You folks cook your own food'

The documentation of traditional Akajeru does not contain occurrences of reflexive-possessive pronouns.

Only one demonstrative pronoun was recorded: *kidi* 'this'. Its sphere is the space close to the speaker and the moment of speech (64, 66, 120).<sup>1</sup>

(66) kidi e-nol

DEM.PROX SP-good

'This (is) good' (NA)

And only one interrogative pronoun is found in the data: *atfiu* 'who'. Just one example illustrating the use of this word is attested.

(67) atfiu ŋ-a-mai=bi
who 2sg-sp-sir=cop
'Who is your (sg.) father?'

#### 4.1.3 Definite article

The proclitic definite article t= codes definiteness or specificity. It occurs after the head noun but only if the following word begins with a vowel-initial derivational prefix. In the available Akajeru/North Andamanese material gathered by Radcliffe-Brown, this word is an attributive or predicative adjective (68–70, 103–4) or a possessed noun (71–3, 106–8).

- (68) ti  $t=\varepsilon ra$ -lobun place DEF=SP-long 'the long place'
- (69) lau  $t=\varepsilon r$ -kuro spirit pef=sp-big 'the big spirit' (NA)
- (70) t-iffo roa t= $\varepsilon r$ -kuro 1sg-poss canoe pef=sp-big 'My canoe (is) big' (NA)
- (71) ra  $t=\emptyset$ -ot-tfo pig DEF=3sg-sp-head 'the pig's head' (NA)
- (72) roa  $t=\emptyset$ -ot-tfo canoe DEF=3sg-sp-head 'prow (lit. head) of the canoe'
- (73) lau  $t=\emptyset$ -ara-nu spirit DEF=3sg-sp-house 'village of the spirits' (namely 'Port Blair') (NA)

There are no occurrences of t= before a verb as, for example, in the Akachari sentence <Kódé wíchó kó térdu> 'Someone has broken his bow' (*kudi Ø-itfo ko t=er-du* [DEM.PROX 3sg-POSS bow DEF=sp-break] 'That breaks his bow') recorded by Portman (1887: 183).<sup>2</sup>

The limited documentation of traditional Akajeru means that it is probably impossible to specify the full and precise range of the occurrence of the definite article. Abbi (2013: 156–62) analyses what is clearly a

#### 4.1.4 Adjectives

Adjectives in Akajeru are uninflecting words denoting properties or attributes which functionally modify nouns in noun phrases (68, 69, 102–4) and can also fill the complement slot of copular clauses (66, 70, 99, 121). They seem to be numerous, as in all other Great Andamanese languages. Those which are attested cover six of the thirteen typical semantic classes of adjectives suggested in Dixon (1982: 16, 34–49; 2004: 3–5).

Dimension: e-leo (NA) 'small', e-lobuŋ 'long, tall' (canoe, tree

etc.), εr-kuro (NA) 'big'.

Age: e-tire (NA) 'new (of the moon)'.

VALUE: *e-nol* 'good'.

PHYSICAL PROPERTY: ot-kimil (NA) 'hot', ot-dzulu (NA) 'cold', ot-lam

(NA) 'strong'.

HUMAN PROPENSITY: ot-dzete 'shy, ashamed'.

QUANTIFICATION: tfope (NA) 'many', deko (NA) 'enough'.

#### 4.1.5 Verbs

The categories expressed in the verbs of Great Andamanese languages are tense, aspect and mood (Comrie and Zamponi 2017: 65). In the available documentation of traditional Akajeru/North Andamanese we only have verbs in the indicative mood (which lacks any overt indicator) marked for non-past or one of three past tenses (see 4.3). There is also an enclitic copula verb =bi 'be' which, as in PGA (cf. Abbi 2013: 240), does not admit inflection.<sup>3</sup>

#### 4.1.6 Adverbs

The class of adverbs in Akajeru comprises invariable words that can be both morphologically simple or composed of a derivational prefix and a root. The few attested forms are three time adverbs (*arai-tfulu* 'after', *tarai-tfulik* 'afterwards' and *tɛrai-tfiro* 'yesterday') and one spatial adverb (*kulel* 'there (distant)'). The available material does not enable us to say anything about the syntax of adverbs.

#### 4.1.7 Postpositions

Radcliffe-Brown recorded four North Andamanese postpositions: =bi 'ABSOLUTIVE' (which, however, he confused with the copula =bi; see RB $_2$ : 502–3), =il 'LOCATIVE', =ko probably 'INESSIVE' and =kak 'ALLATIVE'. He also indicated that these elements 'might perhaps be regarded as suffixes as they seem never to be used except following the word to which the relation is indicated' (RB $_2$ : 503). It is likely that they are enclitic morphemes, rather than nominal suffixes, as suggested by the following occurrences of the PGA absolutive marker  $=bi \sim =be$  after a postnominal modifier.

(74) PGA

thire mɔco cɔphe=bi er-phuko
child hen many=ABs sp-hit
'The child hit many hens'

(75) PGA  $p^h \ni r$  lobu = bi  $k^h u lol$  jio bamboo long = ABS there exist 'There is a long bamboo'

The absolutive postposition =bi is attested only in material identified as North Andamanese. It attaches to full noun phrases and to emphatic pronouns. It is found on full noun phrase direct objects in (77) and (123). In (76) it is presumably attached to an intransitive subject, although since the verb  $tu\eta$  'want' is not otherwise attested and has no known parallels in other traditional varieties of North Andamanese or in PGA, there is no independent evidence of its argument structure. It is not found with transitive subjects, whether a full noun phrase (123) or an emphatic pronoun (58, 62, 77).

(76) 
$$t$$
- $io$ = $bi$   $tu\eta$ - $om$  1sg-pron.emph = abs want-npst 'I want' (NA)

(77) Ø-io biu=bi moiff-om
3sg-pron.emph k.o.\_resin=abs make\_a\_torch\_of-npst
'He is making a torch' (NA)

Here below are examples of the use of the other attested North Andamanese postpositions; they are only attested in postpositional phrases in isolation, not in clauses.

(78) fup=il (NA) 'in the basket' (79)  $\eta$ - $\sigma$ -k>ro= $k\sigma$  (NA) 'in your (sg.) hand' (80) lautife=kak (NA) 'to Port Blair'

#### 4.1.8 Particles

The North Andamanese negative suffix -pu mentioned by Radcliffe-Brown (RB $_2$ : 503) is, in fact, a negator particle which has (or can have) scope over copular clauses, as illustrated by the following examples from PGA and Akachari, where it precedes the copula verb 'be'. Unfortunately, there are no relevant Akajeru examples.

(81) AKACHARI kidi fokbi pu=bi degree between the pumber of the

(82) PGA  $t^h$ -ut-bo nol  $p^ho=be$ 1sg-sp-heart nice NEG=COP
'I do not like' (lit. 'My heart is not nice')

It should be noted that negation of verbal clauses in PGA and Akachari is by means of the same negator, but the verbal clause appears in the subject slot of a negated existential copular clause. The verb of the verbal clause occurs in a non-finite form which excludes TAM markers.

(83) Akachari t-um  $\eta$ =ir-tiliu pu=bi lsg-pron lsg-pron lsg-see lsg-see

(84) PGA jicer=bi cer-om  $t^h=ut-cone$   $p^ho=be$  rain=ABS rain-npst 1sgpron=sp-go Neg=cop'I will not leave since it is raining'

A further North Andamanese particle recorded by Radcliffe-Brown is perhaps the human noun collective marker *koloko*. Manoharan (1989: 61) describes it as 'bound morpheme to the common human nouns'. Abbi (2012: 44) represents it as an independent phonological word: *athire ko:rloxo* 'children'. Radcliffe-Brown (RB<sub>2</sub>) writes it now as if it were a suffix (<n'a-mai-koloko> 'ancestors'; p. 190), now as an independent word (<Kelera buliu koloko> 'a local group of the Akabo'; p. 28).

# 4.2 Compound words

All the compounds in the data are nominal and have two components, at least one of which is a noun. The compounds that follow consist of two nouns that provide different descriptions for the same referent.

- (85) *kɔrotfop* 'structure erected across a dancing ground'<sup>5</sup> (NA) *kɔro* 'shredded palm-leaf fibre' *tfop* 'tree sp.'
- (86) terkobito balo 'creeper sp.: Pothos sandens' (NA) terkobito 'centipede' balo 'creeper'

The following compound is also a combination of two nouns. The second noun is a hyperonym of the first one here.

(87) tɔlodu 'white clay'

tɔl 'white clay' (a synonym of tɔlodu)

odu 'k.o. clay'

A further type of nominal compound found in the material corresponds to a possessive construction of type B in Chapter 5 with a possessor that precedes a possessed noun. The components of this type of compound in some cases (90–2) are written as separate words by Radcliffe-Brown.

- (88) fokbidzo 'turtle-eating ceremony' (NA) fokbi 'turtle' dzo 'food'
- (89) kimildyoʻturtle-eating ceremony' (NA)

  kimilʻa boy or girl during the turtle-eating ceremony'

  dyoʻfood'

- (90) timiku lau (NA) 'spirit that haunts the jungles' timiku 'forest, jungle' (cf. (94)) lau 'spirit'
- (91) bido tetf lau (NA) 'spirit of the Calamus leaf'
  bido 'palm sp.: Calamus tigrinus'
  tetf 'leaf'
  lau 'spirit'
- (92) ino kəlo 'mollusc sp.'
  ino 'water'
  kəlo 'mollusc sp.'

Example (93) shows a compound including a noun and a verb. The noun bears an object relation to the verb.

(93) biumaitf 'torch of resin' (NA)
biu 'k.o. resin'
maitf 'make a torch of'

Another three or, perhaps, four nouns found in the data are non-canonical compounds. One (94) or, perhaps, two (94, 95) are formations including an independent noun and a bound nominal root which, in other contexts, occurs with a somatic prefix attached.

- (94) *timiku* (NA) 'forest, jungle'<sup>6</sup> *ti* 'place' *miku* cf. *ir-miku* 'face, forehead'
- (95) pilet far 'high-tide'  $pile - cf. PGA e-p^hile$  'high-tide' t far - cf. t fari 'salt water'

Another compound (96), designating a species of snake, includes a root  $\sigma$  and the generic term for 'snake'.

(96) ərtfubi 'snake sp.: Ophiophagus elaps'<sup>7</sup> ər tfubi 'snake'

The remaining noun is possibly a cranberry compound including an obscure element that does not seem to belong to the nominal lexicon of any North Andamanese variety.

(97) tərodiu (NA) 'full sun, middle part of the day'
təro '?'
diu 'sun'

### 4.3 Inflection

As indicated above in 4.1.1, inflecting nouns mark person and number of the possessor by prefixes.

(98) a	a.	t-a-mai	'my father'
		ŋ-a-mai	'your (sg.) father'
		Ø-aka-mai	'his/her father'
		n-a-mai	'their father'
	b.	t-a-mimi	'my mother'
		Ø-aka-mimi (NA)	'his/her mother'

The possessive prefixes (based on  $\mathrm{RB}_2$ : 501) are shown in Table 4.3; they are identical to the person-number markers occurring in personal pronouns (4.1.2).

The attested verbal forms of Akajeru, as indicated above (4.1.5), show a primary temporal distinction between non-past and past. For the latter, a further three-way distinction is found.

The marker of non-past tense is the suffix  $-bom \sim -kom \sim -m$ . It locates a situation indifferently at or after the present moment. Allomorphs are idiosyncratic and unpredictable (see Table 4.4).

One of the three past tenses is unmarked. Presumably, as in PGA (Abbi 2013: 233), this is a generic past irrespective of the length of time between the past situation and the time of the utterance.

```
(99) deko b=\varepsilon ra-lio enough cop=sp-finish '(It is) enough. (It) is finished' (NA)
```

**Table 4.3** Possessive prefixes

	SG	PL
1	t-	m-
2	ŋ-	ŋil-
3	Ø-	n-

**Table 4.4** Non-past form of some Akajeru/NA verbs

Verb	Akajeru/NA
'accompany'	aka-tfe- <b>bom</b> (NA)
'be cold'	ot-tau- <b>bom</b> (NA)
'do, make, work'	tfato- <b>bom</b> (NA)
'follow'	arai-tfulutu- <b>bom</b>
'be hot'	ot-kimil- <b>bom</b> (NA)
'talk'	ar-bom (NA)
'have in adoption'	oitfolo- <b>kom</b> (NA)
'marry, be married'	e-bui- <b>om</b> (NA)
'want'	tuŋ- <b>om</b> (NA)
'sing'	e-ur- <b>om</b> (NA)
'make a torch'	moitf-om (NA)
'sleep'	beno- <b>m</b> (NA)

Another past tense is marked by means of the suffix -ba. We again presume that this suffix has the same value of immediate past marker as PGA  $-a \sim -e \sim -be \sim -ka \sim -ke$ , used to refer to a situation that took place a few hours prior to the time of the utterance (Abbi 2012: 233).

(101) 
$$t$$
- $u$   $boto$ - $ba$   $_{1Sg-PRO}$   $_{fall-IMMPST}$   $_{1}^{'}$   $_{1}^{'}$   $_{1}^{'}$   $_{2}^{'}$   $_{3}^{'}$   $_{4}^{'}$ 

The third attested past tense is marked by the suffix -o (50). The suffix appears as the equivalent of the PGA marker of distant past -o used for any other event beyond the time period covered by the immediate past (Abbi 2012: 233)

There is no evidence in the sparse material of traditional Akajeru/North Andamanese of the past used for narration that Abbi (2012: 233) observed in PGA.

#### Notes

- Note that in PGA demonstrative pronouns indicate three degrees of distance: (i) near the speaker  $(k^h idi)$ , (ii) near the hearer  $(k^h udi)$  and (iii) away from the speaker and the hearer (di 'VISIBLE' (sg.)) and  $du \sim duio \sim u \text{ 'INVISIBLE' (sg.)})$  (Abbi 2013: 211).
- The Akachari documentation also contains some occurrences of t= attached to the third person singular possessive pronoun itfo within possessive noun phrases of the type that, in Chapter 5, we call  $A_i$  e.g.: <Chío télem taichāū tíbé> 'Where is the best place for shells?' (fio telem t=0-itfo) t=bi [where shell DEF=3sg-Poss place=cop] 'Where is the place of the shells') (Portman 1887: 127) and <Tí jéóbí tíchó tí pubí> 'There is no place to cook' (tadgo=bi t=0-itfo) ti pu=bi [fish=ABS DEF=3sg-Poss place NEG=cop] 'There is not the place of fish') (Portman 1887: 177) (to compare with <Ân íchó étíré, étárí, ébuku?> 'Is this child a boy, or a girl?' (an 0-itfo e-tire e-taru e-buku [y/n 3sg-Poss sp-child sp-male sp-female] 'Is his child a boy or a girl?') (Portman 1887: 193)). The Akajeru corpus does not include analogous examples.
- 3 =bi is always an independent word orthographically in Radcliffe-Brown's fragments of Akajeru/NA, but Portman (1887: 95–191, passim) transcribes its Akachari equivalent -bi ~ -be attached to the preceding morphological word.
- 4 In PGA = bi is attached to intransitive subjects and (direct) objects (Abbi 2013: 116).
- 5 See the item k>rotfop in the Akajeru-English word list (section 8.1) for a description of the denotatum of this word.
- 6 Cf. tɔŋmugu 'coast' in Akabea, composed of the bound roots tɔŋ (see on-tɔŋ 'leaf') and mugu (see ig-mugu 'face, forehead') (Zamponi and Comrie 2020: 237).
- 7 Radcliffe-Brown writes this as a single word, 
   cr-čubi> (RB2: 124) or <or-čubi> (RB2: 317, 373, 484), while Portman (1887: 73) records the Akachari equivalent as two words <orchubí>, similarly to the corresponding terms in Akabea and Opuchikwar (<wára jóbo> and <wára chupe>). Abbi (2012: 242) writes the PGA equivalent as a single word, and our interpretation of the accompanying audio recording is as a single word with initial stress. We follow the one-word analysis in the main text.

5

# Noun phrases

In the noun phrase of Akajeru (as of all other Great Andamanese dialects and languages; see Comrie and Zamponi 2017: 69), possessive pronouns and nominal possessors precede the head noun (63, 70–3, 105–17), while the definite article and adjectives follow it (68–73, 102–4, 106–8, 121, 122).<sup>1</sup>

```
(102) repa tfope
possession many
'many possessions' (NA)
```

The definite article occurs immediately after the head noun and thus separates the head noun from a following adjective (68, 69, 103, 104).

```
(103) karoin t=\epsilon r-kuro dugong def=sp-big 'the big dugong' (NA)
```

(104) 
$$ra$$
  $t=\varepsilon r-kuro$  pig DEF=sp-big 'the big pig' (NA)

Regarding noun phrases with a full nominal possessor, Akajeru features two different constructions depending on the inflectional possibilities of the possessed constituent. In both possessive constructions, the possessed constituent follows the possessor noun phrase.

Type A. One type of possessive construction is that in which the possessed element corresponds to an uninflecting noun and, between the possessor and the possessed, there is a third person singular possessive pronoun, presumably even when the possessed item is plural in number (as in the other Great Andamanese languages; Comrie and Zamponi

2017: 70).<sup>2</sup> This type of construction codes alienable possession. Possessed nouns found in it denote referents of various kinds and include all the uninflecting forms of the nominal lexicon except body part and plant part terms. The possessive construction in question expresses a relation where the possessed item is not an integral part of the possessing entity.

(105) bora Ø-itfo roa
Bora 3sg-poss canoe
'Bora's (&) canoe' (NA)

*Type B*. The second type of possessive construction is that in which the possessed corresponds to an inflecting noun or an uninflecting noun denoting a body part or a plant part. In this type, the possessed noun, indexed by the zero realisation of the third person singular possessive prefix if inflecting, directly follows the possessor noun phrase without further, explicit markers of the possession relation.

- (106) lau  $t=\emptyset$ - $\epsilon r$ -tfo (107) ra  $t=\emptyset$ -ot-betf spirit def dead person' (NA)  $t=\emptyset$ -dead pig def dead person' (NA)  $t=\emptyset$ -dead pig def dead person' (NA)
- (108)  $\operatorname{ortfubi}$   $t = \emptyset$ - $\operatorname{cra-bat}$  (109)  $\operatorname{rea}$   $\emptyset$ - $\operatorname{it-pet}$  snake sp.  $\operatorname{DEF} = 3\operatorname{sg-sp-tail}$  Rea  $\operatorname{3sg-?-swell}$  'Rea's ( $\operatorname{sf}$ ) mother' (NA) on the body with white clay (also 'Rea's belly') (lit. snake's tail)'
- (110) bora Ø-ot-tire (111) tarai Ø-ɛra-poŋ
  Bora 3sg-sp-child Tarai 3sg-sp-hole
  'Bora's (♂) child' (NA) 'Tarai's (♂) cave'

When the possessed item is an uninflecting noun this construction may be said to code inalienable possession. Specifically, it appears to express a relation where the possessed item and possessing entity are regarded as integrally and essentially part of each other.<sup>3</sup>

(112) tfokbi tfiro (113) tfokbi tei turtle sp. liver turtle sp. blood 'turtle's liver' 'turtle's blood' (NA)

(114) lau toi spirit bone iron bone 'bones of a dead person' (NA) 'piece of iron' (lit. 'bone of the iron') (NA)

(116) Er-tap betf (117) poitfo tomo lower\_jaw hair tree\_sp. wood 'beard' 'wood of the Sterculia tree' (NA)

There are also some examples of appositional constructions in the data, namely apposition of a title or kin term with a personal name (118) and apposition of two nouns, the second of which is needed for the appropriate identification of the denotatum of the first noun (119).<sup>4</sup>

(118) maya lirtfitmo 'Sir Kingfisher' mimi biliku 'Madam Biliku' e-tire bora (NA) 'the child Bora (&)'

(119) biliku bəto 'north-east wind' (biliku is also the name of a

female supernatural being)

tarai bəto 'south-west wind' (tarai is also the name of a

male supernatural being)

#### Notes

- 1 The corpus of traditional Akajeru does not contain examples of noun phrases with a demonstrative modifying a following head noun like Akachari kudi ebuku 'that woman' (Portman 1887: 161).
- 2 Cf. PGA dun Ø-ifo ko (DEM.DIST.INV.PL 3sg-POSS bow) 'their bow' (Abbi 2013: 130).
- 3 The definite article cannot modify an uninflecting possessor since the latter lacks a vowel-initial derivational prefix. (No vowel-initial inalienably possessed noun is known.) Although this restriction on the use of the definite article does not occur in Akabea (see *baraitţ* la lagia [village DEF near] 'the nearby village'; Portman (1887: 100)), the definite article is also not used in this language in possessive constructions with a possessor that combines with an inalienably possessed uninflecting noun: 'fauga ta' bone of the dead person', but 'fauga l=Ø-ot-tfeta [dead\_person DEF=3-sp-head] 'head of the dead person' (Portman 1887: 210).
- 4 Cf. also Akabo *uluku tfubi* 'snake sp.' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 97) (PGA *ulukhu* 'king cobra'; Abbi 2012: 395).

# Clauses

Clauses may be copular or verbal. The attested copular clauses, with and without the enclitic copula =bi, express relations of identity, attribution and existence. The complement is a noun phrase in identity relation in (60, 64, 120) and an adjective in attribution relation in (66, 70, 99, 121), while (122) illustrates existence.

- (120) kidi kɔroin=bi DEM.PROX dugong=COP 'This is a dugong' (NA)
- (121) Ø-e-tomo t=ot-lam
  3sg-SP-flesh DEF-sp-strong
  'His/her flesh (is) strong' (NA)
- (122) ino ot-kimil=bi
  water sp-hot=cop
  "There is hot water" (NA)

The basic constituent order of intransitive verbal clauses is subject-verb (59, 61, 100, 101). In transitive verbal clauses, the subject constituent precedes the object constituent and the object constituent precedes the verb (58, 62, 77, 123) (see also RB<sub>o</sub>: 504).

(123) buyo dzo=bi e-ur-om
Buio song=ABS sp-sing-npst
'Buio (&) is singing a song' (NA)

The only interrogative clause recorded for Akajeru is the copular content question in (67) with the interrogative pronoun *atfiu* 'who' in initial position. We have no examples of negative or imperative clauses. Complex sentences are also unattested.

7

# Present-day Great Andamanese, Akajeru and the other traditional dialects of North Andaman

A major consequence of the decrease of population that affected the Great Andamanese groups after the establishment of the British penal settlement at Port Blair in 1858 was that what were formerly distinct and often hostile communities gradually ended up merging together. 'The different languages have become corrupt, and some tribes have adopted customs of other tribes and have abandoned their own', writes Radcliffe-Brown (RB<sub>2</sub>: 19) in reference to the beginning of the twentieth century. Manoharan (1989: 138) indicates that in this process of merging, minor groups started adopting the speech and other cultural traits of the majority group, and recalls that, through its history since the 1901 census record, the Akajeru were the numerically dominant group.¹ Hence it is not surprising that PGA is primarily a direct descendant of the pre-contact dialect of the Akajeru. In this regard, Basu observes what follows in the 1950s.

The position of the Great Andamanese being such, when some of their clans have become extinct, and some are dwindling, and when the small number of their people have to reside together, irrespective of their differences in sept and dialect, and when they have very little independent entity in political and economic lives, they have naturally taken up one dialect as 'Standard' among themselves. It is the majority-speaking Jeru dialect, which has been recognised as the 'Standard dialect' by them although they are very much conscious of the individuality of their own dialects. (Basu 1952: 57)

It has, however, been pointed out by different authors that PGA cannot be considered simply the contemporary form of the speech of the Akajeru,

but rather an Akajeru-based variety containing elements of all the other traditional dialects of North Andamanese.

The present Andamanese language it is quite obvious, is the retention of a language of the Northern tribes. A comparison of the present Andamanese language to that of Portman's 1898 work² support [*sic*] this view. But the general conclusion arrived at is that 'the present Andamanese language is a mixed language, i.e. a creole predominantly dominated by the older Jeru language'. (Manoharan 1989: 140)

The Great Andamanese as it is at present represents only the North-Andaman dialect of Jeru with possible mixture of Cari (or Sare as they call it now), Kora (or Khora) and little of Pucikwar (or Pujjukar). It cannot be proved at this time as to how much of mixed elements have emerged in Jeru from other dialects until a comparative study is undertaken which is possible only if one relies on the syntactic data provided by Portman in his *Manual*. (Choudhary 2006: 15)

Very soon they all [the Great Andamanese] spoke one language, Jero with some words from the languages of the other tribes completely assimilated into it. (Narang 2008: 316)

PGA draws its lexicon from Jeru, Sare, Khora and Bo, but is primarily based on the grammar of Jeru. As the present form is the amalgam of four languages, the author has deliberately avoided naming this form of the language 'Jeru' as this will unnecessarily place an arbitrary emphasis on one language over the others. (Abbi 2013: 10)

In this short chapter, we will attempt to evaluate the validity of these affirmations by comparing the scarce available data of traditional Akajeru with those available for PGA drawn, mainly, from Abbi's recent grammar (2013) and dictionary (2012) of this variety.

Phonetically, the occurrence of a fricative [ʃ] or [s] in the speech of most of the last speakers or rememberers of PGA is the most significant innovation we may observe. No word of a traditional dialect of North Andamanese was recorded with one of these sounds. The fricatives [ʃ] and [s] occur only word-initially and word-medially and correspond, in the traditional dialects of North Andamanese, to the sound transcribed by Radcliffe-Brown with <č> and which, as indicated in 2.1.1, may be the palatal affricate [tʃ] or the palatal stop [c]. $^3$ 

Meaning	PGA	Akajeru	Akachari	Акаво
'k.o. basket'	$\int up \sim sup \sim sup$	<čup>	<chup></chup>	-
'snake'	∫ubi ~ subi	<čubi>	<chubí></chubí>	<čubi>
'who'	aſiu	<ačiu></ačiu>	<áchu>	=

Abbi (2013: 47) indicates that the palato-alveolar fricative [ʃ] occurs in the speech of individuals of Akajeru background, while the alveolar fricative [s] occurs only in the speech of a woman of mixed Akachari and Akakhora background. According to Manoharan (1989: 32, 172), people descended from the former Akachari group have retained the palatal stop [c], while people of Akajeru background use [s]. Manoharan suggests that the failure to distinguish [s] in the transcription of Akajeru 'is nothing but a mistake' on Radcliffe-Brown's part. We find this hard to believe, however, since [s] is perceptually quite distinct from [tʃ] or [c] for a native speaker of English and Radcliffe-Brown, in writing Akajeru, made use of a phonetic transcription, albeit simplified, based on the 'Anthropos' alphabet of Wilhelm Schmidt (Schmidt 1907). It is very likely that the idiosyncratic replacement of [tʃ] ~ [c] with [ʃ] or [s] is a post-contact phenomenon, perhaps due to influence of Hindi, as Basu (1952: 61) indicates.<sup>4</sup>

It is not unusual for the same word to differ in vowel correspondences in the North Andamanese dialects (specifically in the better attested Akajeru and Akachari). In the following cases, the PGA equivalent of such words with different vowel qualities in Akajeru (or Radcliffe-Brown's 'North Andamanese') and Akachari has the same vowel as the Akajeru (or 'North Andamanese') form.<sup>5</sup>

Meaning	PGA	Akajeru/NA	Akachari
'k.o. clay'	odu	odu	oto
ʻrain' (n)	јісеr	dzitſεr (NA)	dzotfer
'small'	eleo	eleo (NA)	lau

But there are also cases in which a PGA word exhibits the same vocalism as its Akachari equivalent rather than its Akajeru counterpart.

Meaning	PGA	Akajeru/NA	Akachari
'finish'	araliu	εralio (NA)	araliu
'frog sp.'	$p^h$ orube	pərubi (NA)	porube
'there (distant)'	$k^h$ ulol	kulel	kulol
'tree sp.: Sterculia	$p^hoco$	pɔitʃo	potfo
macrophylla'			

In yet other cases, more numerous than the previous ones, a PGA form differs from both its Akajeru and Akachari equivalent in the quality of one of its yowels.

PGA	Akajeru/NA	Akachari
ro:o	roa	roa
utt <sup>h</sup> ire	ottire (NA)	ottire
p <sup>h</sup> ulɛmu	pulimi (NA)	pulimu
iloboŋ	elobuŋ	elobuŋ
bo	be	be
sare	tfari (NA)	tfari
ијјеtе	otdzete	otdzete
tao ~ too ~ to:	tau	tau
ceba	tfiba	tfiba
onre:p	omrap	omrep
lao	lau	lau
t <sup>h</sup> arae	tarai	tarai
$colek^hi$	tfoleke	tfoleke
	ro:5 utthire phulemu ilobon bo sare ujjete tao ~ too ~ to: ceba onre:p lao tharae	ro:o roa  utthire ottire (NA)  phulemu pulimi (NA)  iloboy elobuy  bo be  sare tfari (NA)  uyete otdzete  tao ~ too ~ to: tau  ceba tfiba  onre:p omrap  lao lau  tharae tarai

Few recurring vowel correspondences may, however, be extracted from the latter forms:

Akajeru, Akachari *a* : PGA *ɔ* (see 'canoe' and 'sky') Akajeru, Akachari *au* : PGA *ao* (see 'sky' and 'spirit')

Akajeru, Akachari i: PGA e (see 'salt water', 'sling' and 'a supernatural

being')7

In the case of the name of the supernatural being, the final vowel is also i in the forms of this name used by the Akabo and Akakhora (RB<sub>2</sub>: 147, 199). We may therefore regard the lowering of i to e seen in PGA  $t^h$  arae as a possible further development that took place in post-contact times.

Rarely, pronunciation differences between PGA and the traditional forms of Akajeru and Akachari concern the consonant sounds in words. In this regard, the only examples we have noted are that the name of the imperial pigeon is *merit* in PGA but *mirid* both in Akajeru and Akachari and that the name of a species of tree (*Dipterocarpus laevis*) is *kɔrɔiŋ* in PGA and, apparently, *kɔrɔin* again both in Akajeru and Akachari.

In the few cases in which an Akajeru word differs completely from its Akachari equivalent, we may note that the PGA corresponding form is identical or very similar to the Akajeru word.

Meaning	PGA	Akajeru	Akachari
'bad'	есае	etfai	ebekedeŋ
'fingernail'	oŋkara	oŋkara	kudemu
'wife, husband'	eboe	ebui	ebuku 'wife', etaru 'husband'

There could be one exception, however. The term for 'moon' is *qulb* both in PGA and, probably, Akachari (cf. <dolāū> in Portman (1887: 51)), but it was recorded as *yīrikli* in Akajeru. The latter form was also gathered by Portman for Akachari (cf. <chíríklí> 'moon' in Portman (1887: 191)), but it is unclear whether it is a perfect synonym of *qulb* and also whether the Akajeru used it.

No difference between PGA and Akajeru emerges in the area of syntax based on our (scanty) knowledge of the latter. Note, however, the very different analyses of the element t= or t- (proclitic definite article in our analysis of Akajeru, section 4.1.3; prefix indicating an inanimate possessor in Abbi's analysis of PGA (Abbi 2013: 156–62)).

To sum up, we believe that the claim that Akajeru represents the base of PGA is adequately supported by the linguistic data. In the idiolects of the last speakers or rememberers of PGA there are, probably, also a number of Akachari words as well as words that do not appear either in Akajeru nor in Akachari and might belong to Akabo or Akakhora, the two other traditional dialects of North Andamanese of which we know almost nothing. Interestingly, PGA shows two probable post-contact developments in certain lexical forms, namely the deaffrication/depalatalisation of [tf] ~ [c] to [f] or [s] and the lowering of [i] to [e].

#### Notes

- Between 1976 and 1982, there were four families who claimed Akajeru descent, two families who claimed Akabo descent and three old men living without wife who claimed Akachari, Opuchikwar or Akarbale descent (Manoharan and Gnanasundaram 2007: 27).
- 2 Portman (1898).
- 3 Cf. also the Akakhora toponym <Čarona>.
- 4 'Man, Portman, and Brown [sic] noticed that the Andamanese possessed no sibilant sounds. But intently looking for it, the writer noticed sounds in their languages exactly similar to the palatal sibilants. (...) These sibilants are clearly the development of the affricate sounds mainly as a result of their constant touch with these sounds in Hindi (Hindustani)'.
- 5 In some cases, <ai> stands for a single mid front vowel in Portman's transcription of Akachari: cf. <tainjiwu> 'dance' (Portman 1887: 25) (t=e-n-dʒiu 'I dance', but note <eng jiwu> (e-n-dʒiu) 'earthquake' on p. 29) and <érain chék> 'make noise' (Portman 1887: 53) (er-en-tgek 'id', with the same prefixal sequence of <éren teko> (er-en-teko) 'hum'; Portman 1887: 39). It is therefore probable that the Akachari terms for 'hair' and 'leaf' had a /e/ or /ε/ just like their PGA and Akajeru or 'North Andamanese' equivalents, not a diphthong /ai/: Akachari <ót baich> 'hair' (Portman 1887: 167), PGA otbec ~ otbec, Akajeru otbetf 'hair'; <taich> 'leaf' (Portman 1887: 35, 69 139, 159), PGA tec ~ tec, 'North Andamanese' tetf'. Cf. also Akachari <ótaichi> 'give' (Portman 1887: 155) and PGA e-tefe.
- 6 Pterocarpus dalbergioides. This name is recorded as chawleke by Awasthi (1991: 277).
- 7 Cf. also the following forms whose Akachari equivalent is not attested: Akajeru oŋtɔi 'wrist': PGA oŋtɔe 'id.'; 'North Andamanese' and Akabo nuri 'fish sp.: Plotosus sp.': PGA nure 'id.'; 'North Andamanese' kidʒeri 'wander': PGA kijire 'id.'.
- 8 We emphasise that the use in Akajeru of the prefix ot- with terms that denote human beings is far from clear. As indicated in 3.2.1.6, it appears connected with possession, but the details remain elusive. We do not, for example, know the precise semantics of φ-ot-e-bui 'his wife, her husband', which Radcliffe-Brown indicates as a variant form of φ-e-bui (example (43)), as well as that of η-ot-a-mai in (42), which we may compare with η-a-mai 'your (sg.) father' in (98a).
- The bare stem *t*<sup>h</sup>*ire* is also used as the non-possessed form of 'child' in PGA (Abbi 2012: 44, Abbi 2013: 68). Also note that Manoharan (1989: 116) records the two non-possessed forms of this noun as *ethi:re* and *thi:re*.

# Word list

This chapter provides a list of all the words of the traditional speech of the Akajeru that were recorded (section 8.1), excluding personal names and toponyms (several of which are listed in section 1.1), together with an English–Akajeru finder list (section 8.2). The word list also includes all the items recorded by Radcliffe-Brown (RB $_{\! 2}$ ) as 'North Andamanese' words (and presumably also used by the Akajeru, at least in the vast majority of cases). It presents our morphemic analysis of multimorphemic forms and the meaning of each Akajeru or 'North Andamanese' word, as well as all attestations in the original source(s) from which they were drawn, in the form in which they appear there. In this way, the word list allows the reader to trace back our analyses to the original source material.

Entries in the word list are organised as follows. We first list the shape of the headword, in the semi-phonemic transcription described in section 2.4. This is followed, in the order indicated, by:

- (i) the headword's morphemic analysis (only when the headword is multimorphemic);
- (ii) an abbreviation, in parentheses, that indicates whether the headword was recorded as an Akajeru or 'North Andamanese' form (or both);
- (iii) an indication of the part of speech (grammatical category);
- (iv) the headword's meaning or meanings as they can be derived from the source(s) that attest it; in the case of a grammatical morpheme, the morpheme label is given in small capitals.

This basic information is followed in turn by:

- (v) a list of all attestations of the headword in the source(s) in which it occurs and, sometimes, by one or both of (vi) and (vii);
- (vi) the known cognate form in PGA and/or Akachari;

(vii) a note that may indicate one or more related forms recorded in the word list or supply comments of an ethnographic or other nature.

Subentries, for phrasal expressions, are indented under the main entry, with the same organisation as main entries.

# 8.1 Akajeru word list

air (AKJ) n

Foam on a rough sea

Attestations:

(1)  $\langle air \rangle$  'foam on a rough sea' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 193)

**akaderu** |aka-deru| (AKJ) *n* 

Akajeru

Attestations:

(1) <t'a-jeru>'I am Aka-Jeru' (t=a-dzeru 'id.') (RB<sub>2</sub>: 24)

Notes:

Cf. **ʤeru**.

akakimil | aka-kimil | (NA) n

Condition of a boy or girl who is passing through the initiation ceremonies

Attestations:

(1) <aka-kimil> 'condition [of a youth or girl from the time of commencement of the initiation ceremonies]' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 101), 'a person (...) who has just been through one of the initiation ceremonies' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 123), 'a youth or girl who is passing through the initiation ceremonies' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 267)

Notes:

Cf. **erkimil**, **kimil**, **kimil do**, **otkimil**, and **otkimil**<sub>2</sub>.

akakimil kolət | aka-kimil kolət | (NA) n

A boy or girl who is passing through the initiation ceremonies

Attestations:

(1) <aka-kimil kolot> 'a person who is in this condition' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 101)

#### Notes:

The meaning of **kolot** is uncertain, perhaps 'boy, girl'.

# **akamai** |aka-mai| (AKJ, NA) n

Father

#### Attestations:

- (1) <aka-mai 'his father' (Ø-aka-mai 'id.') (RB<sub>2</sub>: 54), 'father' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 190), <t'a-mai 'my father' (*t-a-mai* 'id.') (RB<sub>2</sub>: 54, 66), <η'a-mai 'your father' (η-a-mai 'id.') (RB<sub>2</sub>: 54), <n'a-mai 'their father, their fathers' (η-a-mai 'id.') (RB<sub>2</sub>: 54) (AKJ)
- (2) <aka-mai> 'his father' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 54), <Bora aka-mai> 'Bora's father' (*bora Ø-aka-mai* 'id.') (RB<sub>2</sub>: 54), <Rea aka-mai> 'Rea's father' (*rea Ø-aka-mai*) (RB<sub>2</sub>: 89) (NA)

## Comparisons:

PGA *t*<sup>h</sup>*amai* 'my father' (Abbi 2013: 150); Akachari <á mái> [*sic*] 'father' (Portman 1887: 31)

Notes:

Cf. mai

akamai koloko | aka-mai koloko | (NA)

Ancestors

#### Attestations:

(1) <n'a-mai-koloko> 'ancestors' (n=a-mai koloko 'id.') (RB $_2$ : 190) **akamai otaraitfulute** | aka-mai Ø-ot-arai-tfulute| (lit. 'younger person of the same generation of the father') (NA) Younger paternal uncle

#### Attestations:

(1) <η'ot-a-mai ot-arai-čulute> 'thy father's younger brother' (η-ot-a-mai Ø-ot-arai-ʧulute) (RB<sub>2</sub>: 56)

## Notes:

**otamai otaraitfulute** seems to be the possessed form of this kin expression (see section 3.2.1.6).

**akamimi** | aka-mimi | (AKJ, NA) n

Mother

#### Attestations:

- (1) <'-a-mimi > 'my mother' (t-a-mimi 'id.') (RB<sub>2</sub>: 66) (AKJ)
- (2) <aka-mimi> 'his mother' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 54) (NA)

# Comparisons:

PGA *t*<sup>h</sup>amimi 'my mother' (Abbi 2013: 150); Akachari <ta mémí> 'id.' (*t-a-mimi* 'my mother') (RB<sub>2</sub>: 51)

**akamimi akamai** | aka-mimi Ø-aka-mai | (lit. 'mother's father') (AKJ, NA)

Maternal grandfather

#### Attestations:

- (1) <aka-mimi aka-mai> 'his mother's father' (aka-mimi Ø-aka-mai) (AKJ) (RB<sub>2</sub>: 69)
- (2) <t'a-mimi aka-mai > 'my mother's father' (*t-a-mimi Ø-aka-mai* 'id.') (NA) (RB<sub>2</sub>: 69)

Notes:

Cf. mimi.

# akandu kolət | aka-n-du kolət | (NA) n

A girl between the ceremony that takes place on the occasion of her first menstrual discharge and the turtle-eating ceremony

#### Attestations:

(1) <aka-ndu-kolot> 'girl [after this ceremony]' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 94, 95, 101)

#### Notes.

**du** is likely the verb root 'break' (cf. 3.2.4). The meaning of **kolɔt** is uncertain, perhaps 'boy, girl'.

Throat

#### Attestations:

(1) < âkà-nōro > 'throat' (M: 172)

# **akaodu** | aka-odu | (NA) n

Mourner

#### Attestations:

(1) <aka-odu> 'mourner' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 111, 289), 'a person who is in mourning' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 122)

#### Comparisons:

Akachari < ér otó > 'in mourning' (Portman 1887: 109)

#### Notes:

'The essentials of mourning are (1) the use of clay (odu), and (2) abstention from certain foods, from dancing, and from the use of white clay (tol) and red paint. (...) every adult in the camp covers

himself or herself with clay on the death of an adult member of the community, but when this wears off, or is washed off in the course of two or three days, it is not renewed. The near relatives retain this covering of clay for many weeks, constantly renewing it' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 110–11). Cf. **odu** and **təlodu**.

```
akaop |aka-op| (AKJ, NA) n
```

A boy or girl under certain ritual restrictions chiefly concerned with food

Attestations:

- (1) <aka-op> 'person (...) under certain ritual restrictions, chiefly concerned with foods that may not be eaten' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 94) (AKJ)
- (2) <aka-op> 'a boy or girl [during the period of the initiation ceremonies]' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 95), 'a youth or girl (...) who is abstaining from certain foods during the initiation period' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 316) (NA)

Comparisons:

PGA akaop 'fasting person' (Abbi 2012: 328)

```
akapon | aka-pon | (AKJ) n
```

Mouth

Attestations:

(1) <aka-pon> 'mouth' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 23)

Comparisons:

PGA *akaphoŋ* 'mouth' (Abbi 2012: 328); Akachari <tá póng> 'mouth' (*t-a-poŋ* 'my mouth') (Portman 1887: 51)

Notes:

Cf. **erapon** and **onpon**.

```
akarka | aka-arka | (AKJ) v
```

To tell, to say

Attestations:

(1) <ak'-ar-ka> 'he says' [sic] (akarka |aka-arka| '(He) said') (RB<sub>2</sub>: 24)

Comparisons:

PGA akarkha 'to tell, to say' (Abbi 2013: 263, 322)

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akatat |aka-tat| (AKJ) n Tongue
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Attestations:

(1) <âkà-tât> 'tongue' (M: 172)

Comparisons:

PGA akaţaţ 'tongue' (Abbi 2012: 328); Akachari <ákátát> 'id.' (Portman 1887: 85)

akatfari | akatfari | (NA) n

Akachari

Attestations:

(1) <aka-Čari-ar-bom> 'he talks the Čari language' (aka-fari ar-bom '(He) talks Akachari') (RB<sub>2</sub>: 24)

Notes:

Cf. tsari.

**akatfe** | aka-tfe| (NA)  $\nu$ 

To accompany

Attestations:

(1) <ηilio t-ače-bom> 'you (pl.) come with (accompany) me' (ηilio t=a-tfe-bom 'you (pl.) are accompanying me') (RB<sub>2</sub>: 501), <ηio t-ače-bom> 'you are coming with me' (ηio t=a-tfe-bom 'you (sg.) are accompanying me') (RB<sub>2</sub>: 504)

Comparisons:

PGA akaci 'to come with, to follow someone' (Abbi 2013: 125, 242)

alebe (NA) n

Term of address for a girl during the initiation ceremony and for a short time afterwards

Attestations:

(1) <alebe> 'girl [during the initiation ceremony and for a short time afterwards]' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 93)

Notes:

Synonym: toto.

ar (NA)  $\nu$ 

To talk

Attestations:

(1) <aka-Čari-ar-bom> 'he talks the Čari language' (aka-tʃari ar-bom 'id.') (RB<sub>2</sub>: 24)

## arabela | ara-bela | (NA) n

Younger person of the same generation

#### Attestations:

(1) <ot-ara-bela> 'any person of the same generation who is younger' (*Ø-ot-ara-bela* 'his/her younger person of the same generation') (RB<sub>2</sub>: 56)

# Comparisons:

Cf. PGA arabelo 'younger sister' (Abbi 2012: 329)

#### Notes:

**otarabela** seems to be the possessed form of this kin term (see section 3.2.1.6).

# araitfulu | arai-tfulu | (AKJ, NA) adv

#### Attestations:

- (1) <arai-čulu> 'after' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 500, 501) (AKJ)
- (2) <arai-čulu> 'after, following, later in order' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 499) (NA)

## Comparisons:

PGA *rasulu* 'after that' (Abbi 2012: 381); Akachari <rá chulu> 'to follow' (Portman 1887: 33)

# araitfulute | arai-tfulute | (AKJ, NA) n

Younger person of the same generation

#### Attestations:

- (1) <ot-arai-čulute> 'he who was born after me' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 66–7) (AKJ)
- (2) <ot-arai-čulute> 'his younger brother' (*Ø-ot-arai-ţulute* 'id.') (RB<sub>2</sub>: 54), 'person younger than the speaker' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 55), 'any person of the same generation who is younger' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 56), 'younger person', 'he who was born after me' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 66–7), <η'ot-a-mai ot-arai-čulute> 'thy father's younger brother' (*η-ot-a-mai Ø-ot-arai-ţulute* 'id.') (RB<sub>2</sub>: 56), <ot-e-bui ot-arai-čulute> 'his wife's younger brother' (*Ø-ot-e-bui Ø-ot-arai-ţulute* 'id.') (RB<sub>2</sub>: 56), <ot-arai-čulu-te> 'younger brother' (*Ø-ot-arai-ţulute* 'his/her younger brother') (RB<sub>2</sub>: 99) (NA)

# Comparisons:

Cf. PGA *arafuluthuo* 'younger sibling' (Abbi 2012: 330) and Akachari <ngára chulu tu> 'brother' and <ngárá chulutu> 'sister' (*ŋ-ara-tfulutu* 'your (sg.) younger sibling') (Portman 1887: 19, 73)

Notes:

This term does 'not, strictly speaking, convey any idea of consanguinity, although [it is] commonly used to refer to a brother or a sister' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 67). **otaraitfulute** seems to be its possessed form (see section 3.2.1.6). 'Alternative words of the same meaning are *ot-ara-liču* and *ot-ara-bela*' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 56); see **arabela** and **aralitfu**.

araitfulutetfip | arai-tfulute-tfip | (NA) n

Younger woman of the same generation

Attestations:

(1) <ot-arai-čulute-čip> 'his younger sister' (*Ø-ot-arai-tfulute-tfip* 'id.') (RB<sub>2</sub>: 54)

**araitfulutu** | arai-tfulutu | (AKJ, NA) ν To follow

Attestations:

- (1) <tio  $\eta$ -arai-čulutu-bom> 'I follow thee' (tio  $\eta$ =arai-tfulutu-bom 'id.') (RB<sub>2</sub>: 501) (AKJ)
- (2) <tio  $\eta$ 'arai-čulutu-bom> 'I will follow you' (tio  $\eta$ =arai-tfulutu-bom 'id.') (RB<sub>2</sub>: 55) (NA)

**araket** | ara-ket | (AKJ) *n* Urine

Attestations:

(1) <arâ-kêt> 'urine' (M: 172)

aralitfu |ara-litfu| (NA) n

Younger person of the same generation

Attestations:

(1) <ot-ara-liču> 'any person of the same generation who is younger' (*Ø-ot-ara-litfu* 'his/her younger person of the same generation') (RB<sub>2</sub>: 56)

Notes:

**otaralitu** seems to be the possessed form of this term (see section 3.2.1.6).

**aramiku** | ara-miku| (AKJ, NA) *n* Space under

Attestations:

(1) <ara-miku> 'under' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 500) (AKJ)

(2) <Tau'ra-miku> [place-name] (*tau-(a)ra-miku* 'space under the [*sic*] sky'; this toponym lacks the expected definite article *t*=) (RB<sub>2</sub>: 227) (NA).

Comparisons:

Cf. PGA *imik*<sup>h</sup>*u* 'inside' (Abbi 2013: 161)

Notes:

Cf. **Ermiku**, **maramiku** and **timiku**. Temple (1903: 31) records <Tàu-râ-míku> both as the local name of West Island, in Akachari territory, and of Excelsior Island, in Akakhora territory. In addition, he records <Tàu-tara-míku> (Temple 1903: 32), with the expected definite article t=, as the local name of Interview Island in Akakede territory.

aranu | ara-nu | (NA) n

Village (possessed form?)

Attestations:

(1) <Lau t'ara-nyu> 'Penal Settlement [of Port Blair], the village of the spirits' ( $lau t = \emptyset$ -ara-pu 'village of the spirits') (RB<sub>2</sub>: 137)

Comparisons:

PGA no 'house, camp' (Abbi 2012: 374)

Notes:

See endnote 3 to Chapter 3.

atfiu (AKJ) pron

Who

Attestations:

(1) <ačiu η'a-mai bi?> 'Who your father is?' [sic] (atfiu η-a-mai=bi 'Who is your (sg.) father?') (RB<sub>2</sub>: 54)

Comparisons:

PGA *afyu* 'who' (Abbi 2012: 330); Akachari <áchu> 'who' (Portman 1887: 109, 115)

balo (NA) n

Creeper

Attestations:

(1) <terkobito-balo> 'centipede creeper (*Pothos sandens*)' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 99)

Comparisons:

PGA balo 'creeper' (Abbi 2012: 331)

## bani (NA) n

Oriole

Attestations:

(1)  $\langle \text{bani} \rangle$  'the oriole' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 118)

# baraba (AKJ) n

Sleeping mat

Attestations:

(1) <baraba> 'a sleeping mat' (RB<sub>1</sub>: 39), 'mat' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 498)

Comparisons:

PGA baraba 'sleeping mat' (Abbi 2012: 332); Akachari <br/>bárabá> 'id.' (Portman 1887: 209)

### bat (NA) n

Night

Attestations:

(1) <Mimi Bat> 'Lady Night' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 144)

Comparisons:

PGA bat 'night' (Abbi 2012: 332); Akachari <bát> 'id.' (Portman 1887: 53, 131, 189)

# be (AKJ, NA) n

Mother-of-pearl shell

Attestations:

- (1) <be>'pearl shell' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 198, 201) (AKJ)
- (2) <be>'pearl-shell' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 165), 'mother-of-pearl shell, pearl shell' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 368) (NA)

Comparisons:

PGA *bo* 'oyster' (Abbi 2012: 334); Akachari <br/> 'pearl shell' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 201)

# **beno** (NA) ν

To sleep

Attestations:

(1) <u-ben-om> 'someone sleeping, he sleeping' (*Ø-u beno-m* 'He/she is sleeping') (RB<sub>2</sub>: 501), 'sleeping' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 503), <n-u-ben-om> 'they sleeping' (*n-u beno-m* 'They are sleeping') (RB<sub>2</sub>: 501), 'they (are) sleeping' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 504), <u-beno-ba> 'he slept or was sleeping' (*Ø-u beno-ba* 'id.') (RB<sub>2</sub>: 504)

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Comparisons:
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PGA *beno* 'sleep' (Abbi 2012: 332); Akachari <tubénó> 'to sleep' (*t-u beno* 'I am sleeping') (Portman 1887: 73)

bene (AKJ, NA) n

Bird sp.

Attestations:

- (1) <benye> [a bird] (RB<sub>2</sub>: 199) (AKJ)
- (2) <benye> [a bird] (RB<sub>2</sub>: 150) (NA)

## betf (AKJ) n

Hair

Attestations:

(1) <(îr-)bê> [sic] 'hair (of head)' (M: 170)

Comparisons:

Cf. PGA *otbec* ~ *otbec* 'hair, body hair' (Abbi 2012: 376) and Akachari <paitch> 'id.' (Portman 1887: 37)

Notes:

Cf. **erbetf** and **otbetf**. Man consistently gives the morpheme as <bê>, but RB<sub>2</sub> as well as the comparative material from PGA and Akachari suggest a final affricate; we therefore annotate all of Man's forms with the comment '[sic]'.

beret (NA) n

Frog sp.

Attestations:

(1) <beret> 'a smaller species of frog' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 221–3)

Comparisons:

PGA beret ~ bere: t 'small frog' (Abbi 2012: 332)

=bi, (NA) postp

ABSOLUTIVE

Attestations:

(1) <tio bi tuŋ-om> 'I want (I am wanting)' (tio=bi tuŋ-om 'id.') (RB<sub>2</sub>: 503), <Buio jo bi ewur-om> 'Buio is singing a song' (buyo dʒo=bi e-ur-om 'id.') (RB<sub>2</sub>: 503), <io biwu bi moiĕ-om> 'he is making a torch' (io biu=bi moiʧ-om 'id.') (RB<sub>2</sub>: 504) (NA)

Comparisons:

PGA -bi 'absolutive' (Abbi 2012: 116–7); Akachari <-bé ~ -bí> [ABSOLUTIVE] (Portman 1887: 101–91, passim)

```
=bi<sub>2</sub> (AKJ, NA) \nu
```

Attestations:

- (1) <ačiu η'a-mai bi?> 'Who your father is?' [sic] (atfiu η-a-mai=bi 'Who is your (sg.) father?') (RB<sub>2</sub>: 54) (AKJ)
- (2) <br/>
   <br/>

# Comparisons:

PGA  $bi \sim be$  'copula' (Abbi 2013: 240); Akachari <-bí  $\sim$  -bé> 'be' (Portman 1887: 95–191, passim)

```
bibi (NA) n
```

Dog

Attestations:

(1) <bibi> 'dog' (RB<sub>1</sub>: 52)

Comparisons:

PGA *bibicao* 'bitch' (Abbi 2012: 333); Akachari <bibí> 'dog' (Portman 1887: 27)

Notes:

<bibi poiye> 'dog not' (viz. 'There (were) not dogs') recorded by Radcliffe-Brown as a North Andamanese expression for indicating the times before Settlement of Port Blair (RB<sub>1</sub>: 36) is specifically Akakede, as the negative particle <poiye> (<puíe> in Portman's Dialogues) reveals.

Man (1919–23: 50) indicates that '[t]his word — apparently of onomatopoeic origin — has been adopted since they [Man may be referring specifically to the Akabea, but the point applies *a fortiori* to ethnolinguistic groups living further from Port Blair — RZ/BC] became acquainted with dogs, about 1858'. It was also used in Akabea, Opuchikwar and Akakede (see Portman 1887: 26–7). The PGA form *bibicao* combines *bibi* with the name of the wild cat (*Paradoxurus Andamanensis*) recorded as <chāō> in Akachari (Portman 1887: 21).

bido (NA) n

Palm sp.: Calamus tigrinus

#### Attestations:

(1) <bido> 'Calamus tigrinus' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 136, 165), 'cane' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 292)

# Comparisons:

PGA *bido* 'tree' (Abbi 2012: 332); Akachari <betāū> 'Calamus' (Portman 1887: 217)

# bido tet lau (NA) n

Spirit of the Calamus leaf

#### Attestations:

(1) <bidoteč lau> 'spirit of the *Calamus* leaf' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 136), <bidoteč lau> 'jungle spirit' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 165), <bidoteč-lau> '*Calamus* leaf spirit' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 292)

#### Notes:

Cf. bido, lau and tetf.

### biliku (AKJ, NA) n

1. A female supernatural being

#### Attestations:

- (1) <Biliku> 'a mythical being' (RB<sub>1</sub>: 40) 'mythical person' (RB<sub>1</sub>: 51); cf also RB<sub>2</sub>, pp. 197–9, 201, 206, 348 and 370 (AKJ)
- (2) <Biliku> 'a mythical being' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 141), 'a being' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 145, 147, 163, 178), 'an anthropomorphic being' (RB<sub>3</sub>: 377) (NA)
- 2. Spider

## Attestations:

(1) <biliku> 'spider' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 151, 156, 362) (NA)

### Comparisons:

PGA *bilik*<sup>h</sup>*u* 'God; spider' (Abbi 2012: 333); Akabo, Akakhora <Biliku> [a supernatural being] (RB<sub>2</sub>: 147, 150, 199); Akachari <Biliku> (RB<sub>2</sub>: 147, 150, 201), <bilk ke> [sic] 'God' (Portman 1887: 35)

#### Notes:

**Biliku** and her counterpart (commonly, her husband) **Tarai** (see below) are the personification of the north-east monsoon and the south-west monsoon respectively (RB<sub>2</sub>: 353, 377). The North Andamanese believed that the transgression of certain taboos will infuriate Biliku to the point of sending stormy weather (RB<sub>2</sub>: 163). She is often mentioned as the creator (or the mother) of sun and moon, the discoverer of fire and the inventor of netting and basketry

(RB<sub>2</sub>: 150, 198, 201). Two beings with similar names were the most important supernatural entities also of the other Great Andamanese peoples. Their names are Puluga and Deria among the Akabea, Puluga and Daria among the Akarbale, Bilik and Teriye among the Opuchikwar, Bilak and Treyè among the Okol, Bilak and Treye among the Okojuwoi, Bilika and Tarai among the Akakede (Portman 1898: 68, 152–3 (Vocabulary); RB<sub>2</sub>: 150–1). However, depending on the group, the second being was husband, wife, child, or friend of the first one (RB<sub>2</sub>: 150–2). It is possible that the Akabea name puluga might be etymologically connected with the root pulu 'pour with water' (Portman 1898: 270). The Önge also have a supernatural female being identified with the north-east monsoon called by a similar name, aluga or aluge, which is also the term for 'monitor lizard' (<öluga>; RB<sub>1</sub>: 51, RB<sub>2</sub>: 151) and 'thunder' (recorded as <ölugé> by Portman (1887: 83), eyuge by Ganguly (1972: 9) and ayuge by Dasgupta and Sharma (1982: 97)). The name Önge aluga, aluge, eyuge, or ayuge is also parallel to Jarawa oru:g 'monitor lizard' (Sreenathan 2001: 100). We are therefore dealing with an Andamanese Wanderwort that probably spread into the languages of the Önge and Jarawa from Great Andaman (perhaps via Akabea).

**biliku bəto** (lit. 'Biliku wind') (AKJ, NA) n

North-east wind

Attestations:

- (1) <Biliku boto> 'N. E. Wind' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 147) (AKJ)
- (2) <Biliku boto > 'the Biliku wind' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 377) (NA)

Notes:

'(...) in the North Andaman *Biliku* and *Tarai* are used as the names of the two chief winds' ( $RB_2$ : 378).

biratkoro (NA) n

Bird sp.

Attestations:

(1) <biratkoro> [a bird] (RB<sub>2</sub>: 150, 199)

biu (NA) n

K.o. resin

Attestations:

(1) <biwu> 'resin' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 504), <io biwu bi moič-om> 'he is making a torch' (*io biu=bi moitf-om* 'id.') (RB<sub>2</sub>: 504)

```
Comparisons:
```

PGA *biu* 'light; wood-smoke; incense' (Abbi 2012: 334); Akachari <br/> <br/> 'resin' (Portman 1887: 217)

Notes:

The grapheme <w> of the original transcription of this word represents an epenthetic glide inserted in a two-vowel sequence of the type Vu (see section 2.1.1).

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biumoit |biu-moit| (NA) n
```

Torch of resin

Attestations:

(1)  $\langle \text{biwu-moič} \rangle$  'torch of resin' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 504)

Comparisons:

PGA biumoc 'torch' (Abbi 2012: 334)

Notes:

Cf. biu and moits.

bobelo (AKJ, NA) n

Bird sp.

Attestations:

- (1) <bobelo> [a bird] (RB<sub>2</sub>: 199) (AKJ)
- (2) <bobelo> [a bird] (RB<sub>2</sub>: 150) (NA)

bobi (NA) n

Creeper sp.

Attestations:

(1) <bobi> 'creeper' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 465)

 $bol_1$  (NA) n

Fish sp.

Attestations:

(1) <bol> 'a large eel' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 217)

Comparisons:

PGA bol 'fish' (Abbi 2012: 334); Akabo <bol> 'fish found in inland creeks'

bol<sub>2</sub> (NA) n

Tree sp.: *Hibiscus tiliaceus* 

```
Attestations:
```

(1) <bol> 'Hibiscus tiliaceus' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 118)

# Comparisons:

PGA bol 'tree' (Abbi 2012: 334), bole 'Hibiscus tiliaceus L.' (Awasthi 1991: 277)

# **bolok** (AKJ, NA) n

Orphan

Attestations:

- (1) <bol>
   (1) <bol>
   <br/>
   (RB<sub>2</sub>: 112) (AKJ)
- (2) <bol>
   'one who has lost a parent' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 121) (NA)

Comparisons:

PGA bolok 'orphan' (Abbi 2012: 334)

# boto (NA) v

To fall

Attestations:

(1) <t-u-boto-ba> 'I fell' (*t-u boto-ba* 'id.') (RB<sub>2</sub>: 503), <u-boto-ba> 'he or it fell' (*Ø-u boto-ba* 'id.') (RB<sub>2</sub>: 504)

Comparisons:

PGA *boto* 'fall' (Abbi 2012: 335); Akachari <tu bo tó> 'to fall' (*t-u boto* 'I am falling') (Portman 1887: 31)

# **boitfo** (NA) $\nu$ (?)

To wrestle (?)

Attestations:

(1)  $\langle boico \rangle$  'one who wrestles' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 118)

Notes:

Recorded as a personal name, it could also be a verb (cf. kickeri).

#### botek (AKJ) n

Plant sp.

Attestations:

(1) <botek> [flower-name] (RB<sub>2</sub>: 119, 120)

# boto (AKJ, NA) n

Wind

Attestations:

(1) <body>
'wind' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 147, 193), <Biliku boto> 'N. E. Wind' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 147), <Tarai boto> 'S. W. Wind' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 147) (AKJ)

(2) <Biliku boto> 'the Biliku wind' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 377), <Tarai boto> 'the Tarai wind' (RB<sub>3</sub>: 377) (NA)

# Comparisons:

PGA *bɔtɔ* 'storm' (Abbi 2012: 335); Akabo, Akachari, Akakhora <b<u>o</u>to> 'wind' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 147) (cf. Akachari <b<u>o</u>te> 'wind' in Portman (1887: 95))

#### bui (NA) n

K.o. vegetable food

#### Attestations:

(1) <bui> [a vegetable food] (RB<sub>2</sub>: 199)

#### Comparisons:

PGA *bui* 'fruit' (Abbi 2012: 353); Akachari <bui> 'vegetable food' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 96)

# buku (NA) adj

Female

#### Attestations:

(1) <Lau-buku> 'spirit-women, female spirits' (lau buku 'id.') (RB<sub>2</sub>: 291)

# Comparisons:

PGA *buk*<sup>h</sup>*u* 'female' (Abbi 2012: 335); Akachari <lāō buku > 'female' ('female spirit') (Portman 1887: 31), <lāōbuku > 'woman' (Portman 1887: 91)

#### Notes:

'(...) the natives of the North Andaman often use the expression *Lau-buku* (meaning literally "spirit-women" or "female spirits") to denote women collectively instead of the phrase that might be expected — *n'e-buku*. It would seem that by reason of their sex and the special ideas that are associated with it, women are regarded as having a very special relation with the world of spirits' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 291). Cf. ebuku.

#### **buliu** (AKJ) n

Creek

#### Attestations:

(1) <Boron Buliu> [place name] (RB<sub>2</sub>: 192)

#### Comparisons:

PGA buliu 'creek, canal, drain' (Abbi 2012: 335); Akabo <buliu> 'creek' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 28); Akachari <buliu> 'creek' (Portman 1887: 25, 105)

```
bun (AKJ, NA) n
    Cyrena shell
    Attestations:
    (1) <bun> 'Cyrena shell used as knife' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 498) (AKJ)
    (2) <bun> 'Cyrena shell' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 165) (NA)
    Comparisons:
    PGA bun 'shell' (Abbi 2012: 336); Akachari <bun> 'Cyrena-shell,
    used as a knife' (Portman 1887: 209)
burut (AKJ) n
    Plant sp.
    Attestations:
    (1) <burut> [a plant] (RB<sub>2</sub>: 183)
buyo (NA) n
    Plant sp.: Mucuna sp.
    Attestations:
    (1) <buio> 'a species of Mucuna' (RB2: 111), 'Mucuna sp., a plant
         with edible beans' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 118)
    Comparisons:
    Akachari <br/>
'Mucuna' (Portman 1887: 227)
deko (NA) adj
    Enough
    Attestations:
    (1) <deko b' era-lio 'well! it is finished' (deko b=\varepsilon ra-lio '(It) is
         enough. (It) is finished') (RB<sub>2</sub>: 503)
    Comparisons:
    PGA dekho 'now, enough' (Abbi 2012: 341)
den (AKJ) n
```

Plant sp.

Attestations:

(1) <de<sub>9</sub>> [a plant] (RB<sub>2</sub>: 183)

dik (NA) n

Prawn sp.

Attestations:

(1) < Maia Dik > 'Sir Prawn' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 220)

# Comparisons:

PGA *dik* 'prawn like creature' (Abbi 2012: 341); Akachari <Maia Dik> 'Sir Prawn' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 189, 202)

# diu (AKJ, NA) n

Sun

Attestations:

- (1) <diu> 'sun' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 498), <Mimi diu> 'sun' (lit. 'Lady Sun') (RB<sub>2</sub>: 141) (AKJ)
- (2) <diu> 'sun' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 144) (NA)

Comparisons:

PGA *diu* 'sun' (Abbi 2012: 341); Akachari <díu> 'id.' (Portman 1887: 79)

# dgekakεt (?) (AKJ) n

Intestines, bowels

Attestations:

(1) <jekâ-kät> 'bowels (intestines)' (M: 169)

Notes:

This body part term is anomalous for two reasons: it does not seem to contain a somatic prefix; it has no known cognates in other Great Andamanese languages. In PGA, 'intestines, entrails' is <code>esudu ~ ifudu</code> (Abbi 2012: 350, 360). Akachari has <code>effudu</code> 'belly, stomach' (cf. <code><échulu></code> 'belly' (Portman 1887: 15) and <code><méchudu></code> 'stomach' (lit. 'our stomach') (Portman 1887: 77)). These two forms are etymologically related to Akakede <code>itfute</code>, Opuchikwar <code>abtfute</code>, Okol <code>otfute</code>, Okojuwoi <code>atfute</code>, Akabea <code>abtfodo</code> and Akarbale <code>abtfodo</code> 'belly, stomach, entrails'.

# dgeru (AKJ, NA) n

Tree sp.: Sterculia sp.

Attestations:

- (1) <jeru> [flower-name] (RB<sub>2</sub>: 119) (AKJ)
- (2) <jeru> 'a species of Sterculia' (RB $_2$ : 24, 311), [a plant] (RB $_2$ : 93) (NA)

Comparisons:

PGA jeru 'flower' (Abbi 2012: 361)

Notes:

Cf. akadzeru.

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dzi (AKJ) n
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K.o. root

Attestations:

(1) <ji>'edible root' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 152)

# dzili (AKJ, NA) n

Plant sp.

Attestations:

- (1) <jili>[flower-name] (RB<sub>2</sub>: 119) (AKJ)
- (2) <jili> [a plant] (RB $_2$ : 93) (NA)

## dzin (AKJ) n

Plant sp.

Attestations:

(1)  $\langle jin \rangle$  [a plant] (RB<sub>2</sub>: 183)

Comparisons:

PGA jin 'tree' (Abbi 2012: 361)

## dzirmu (NA) n

A mythological animal that haunts the jungle

Attestations:

(1) < Jirmu> 'a huge animal that haunts the jungle' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 225)

Comparisons:

PGA jirmu 'mythic animal' (Abbi 2012: 361)

Notes:

'Throughout the Great Andaman there is a belief in a huge animal that haunts the jungles, or that haunted them in the days of the ancestors. In the North Andaman this beast is called  $\check{J}irmu$ . In the days of the ancestors it is supposed to have lived at  $Ulibi-ta\eta$ , where it attacked and killed any men and women who came in its way. No detailed legend about  $\check{J}irmu$  was obtained' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 225).

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ditser (NA) n
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Rain

Attestations:

(1)  $\langle ji\check{c}er \rangle$  'rain' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 145)

Comparisons:

PGA *jicer* 'rain' (Abbi 2012: 361); Akachari < jó chér> 'id.' (Portman 1887: 61)

# $d_{3}o_{1}$ (AKJ, NA) n

Eating, food

Attestations:

- (1) <jo> 'eating' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 101) (AKJ)
- (2) < ȳo> 'eating' (RB $_2$ : 101, 267) (NA)

# Comparisons:

PGA *30* 'food' (Abbi 2012: 360); Akachari <aka jéo> [sic] 'food' (Portman 1887: 33)

# **фо**<sub>2</sub> (NA) п

Song

Attestations:

(1) <Buio jo bi ewur-om> 'Buio is singing a song' (buyo ʤo=bi e-ur-om 'id.') (RB<sub>2</sub>: 503)

# Comparisons:

PGA jo 'song' (Abbi 2012: 361); Akachari < jóur> 'sing' (d50 ur 'sing a song') (Portman 1887: 71), < jójur> 'song' (RB $_2$ : 75), < jó> 'song' (RB $_2$ : 109)

# dzurua (NA) n

Sea spirit

Attestations:

(1) <j̃urua> 'sea spirit' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 136, 181), 'spirit of the sea' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 157), 'spirit (...) inhabiting the sea' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 163), [spirit] (RB<sub>2</sub>: 140, 168, 374)

Comparisons:

PGA *juruwa:* 'god' (Abbi 2012: 362); Akachari <jurua> 'spirit of a man's own country' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 168).

Notes:

*dʒuru* is the South Andamanese (Akabea and Akarbale) term for 'sea', while a suffix -wa 'person' is also found in South Andamanese.

# dzutpu (NA) adj (?)

Alone (?)

Attestations:

(1) < Jutpu> [probably means] 'alone' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 383)

Notes:

This is (also) the name of the first man on earth who 'made himself a wife from the nest of the white ant' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 383).

**ebui**<sub>1</sub> |e-bui| (NA) *n* Husband, wife

#### Attestations:

(1) <e-bui> 'his wife (her husband)' (Ø-e-bui 'id.') (RB<sub>2</sub>: 54), <ot-e-bui> 'his wife (her husband)' (Ø-ot-e-bui 'id.') (RB<sub>2</sub>: 54), <t'e-bui> 'my husband, my wife' (*t-e-bui* 'id.') (RB<sub>2</sub>: 56), <t'ot-e-bui> 'my husband, my wife' (*t-ot-e-bui* 'id.') (RB<sub>2</sub>: 56), 'husband, wife' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 67), 'consort, the husband or wife of somebody' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 500)

## Comparisons:

PGA eboe 'husband, wife, spouse' (Abbi 2012: 343)

#### Notes:

**otebui** appears as a possessed form of this kin term (see section 3.2.1.6)

**ebui otaraitfulute** | e-bui Ø-ot-arai-tfulute | (lit. 'younger person of the same generation of the husband/wife') (NA)

Younger brother-in-law

#### Attestations:

(1) <ot-e-bui ot-arai-čulute> 'his wife's younger brother' (*Ø-ot-e-bui Ø-ot-arai-ţulute* 'id.') (RB<sub>2</sub>: 56)

### Notes:

**otebui otaraitfulute** appears as the possessed form of this kin expression (see section 3.2.1.6).

# $\mathbf{ebui}_2$ | $\mathbf{e}$ - $\mathbf{bui}$ | (NA) $\nu$

To marry, to be married

#### Attestations:

(1) <e-bui> 'marry' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 499), <n'e-bui-om> 'they are married' (n=e-bui-om 'id.') (RB<sub>2</sub>: 56)

### Comparisons:

PGA *eboe* 'to marry' (Abbi 2013: 72); Akachari < ném boiyó > 'id.' (*n*=*e*-*m*-boyo 'They get married') (Portman 1887: 49)

# **ebuku** | e-buku | (NA) n

Woman

#### Attestations:

(1) <e-buku> 'female' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 499), <n'e-buku> 'women' (*n*=*e*-buku 'id.') (RB<sub>2</sub>: 291)

# Comparisons:

PGA *ibuxu* 'lady, female' (Abbi 2012: 358), *ebukhu* 'woman' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 282); Akachari <ebuku> 'woman' (Portman 1887: 135), <ébuku> 'id.' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 161, 167, 169), <ébukuí> 'id.' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 173)

Notes:

Cf. buku.

**eburɔŋo** | e-burɔŋo | (AKJ) *n* Side of the body

Attestations:

(1) <ê-bûrongo> 'chest' [sic] (M: 170), <ê-buròngo-tòi> 'rib' (*e-burɔŋo tɔi* 'bone of the side of the body') (M: 171) (AKJ)

# Comparisons:

PGA *eburɔŋo* 'angle of a rib, side of the body' (Abbi 2012: 343) **eburɔŋo tɔi** |e-burɔŋo tɔi| (lit. 'bone of the side of the body') (AKJ) Rib

Attestations:

(1) <ê-buròngo-tòi> 'rib' (M: 171) (AKJ)

A boy after his back was scarified in an initiation ceremony

Attestations:

(1) <ejido> [term of address] (RB<sub>2</sub>: 95, 121, 295)

Comparisons:

PGA *ejido* 'tattoo' (Abbi 2012: 344); Akachari <é jídó> 'to tattoo' (Portman 1887: 81)

Notes:

'When a boy, in the Northern tribes, has the scars made on his back, which show him to be no longer a child, his name is avoided for a few weeks and he is called *Ejido*' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 121).

'At certain stages of the initiation ceremonies the name of a youth or of a girl (the flower-name in this instance) is avoided for a certain period. Such occasions are during, and for some time after, any of the more important ceremonies, such as the cutting of the boy's back, the puberty ceremony of the girl, the turtle-eating and pig-eating ceremonies. After a boy's back is cut he is addressed and spoken of for some time as *Ejido*, his own name not being spoken' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 295).

Very probably, this word also means 'scarification' and/or 'to scarify'.

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ele (AKJ) n
    Lightning
    Attestations:
    (1) <ele> 'lightning' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 145, 166, 367, 377)
    Comparisons:
    PGA ale 'lightning' (Abbi 2012: 328)
    Notes:
    Radcliffe-Brown also recorded a NA word <ale> 'lightning' (RB<sub>2</sub>:
    145), apparently identical to the PGA form. It could belong to a
    different NA dialect.
eleo |e-leo| (NA) adj
    Small
    Attestations:
    (1) <e-leo> 'small' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 499)
    Comparisons:
    PGA eleo 'small' (Abbi 2012: 345); Akachari <laō> 'id.' (Portman
    1887: 149, 171)
elobun | e-lobun | (AKJ) adj
    Long, tall
    Attestations:
    (1) <e-lobuŋ> 'long, tall' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 500)
    Comparisons:
    PGA ilobon 'long, tall' (Abbi 2012: 359); Akachari <é lóbung> 'tall'
    (Portman 1887: 81), <lóbung> 'long' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 47)
    Notes:
    Used 'when referring to an object such as a canoe or a tree' (RB_2: 500).
    Cf. eralobun.
elpe (NA) \nu (?)
    To come and go (?)
    Attestations:
    (1) <elpe> 'one who comes and goes' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 118)
    Recorded as a personal name, it could also be a verb (cf. kideri).
```

**empil** |e-m-pil| (NA)  $\nu$  To die

```
Attestations:
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(1) <empilo> 'dead man' (e-m-pil-o 'died' (distant past)) (RB<sub>2</sub>: 290); <em-pilo> 'dead' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 499)

# Comparisons:

PGA *emp*<sup>h</sup>*il* 'die' (Abbi 2012: 346); Akachari < em píl> 'id.' (Portman 1887: 27, 109, 149)

#### Notes:

<empilo> is a distant past verb form (cf. Abbi 2013: 234, 268), not a noun or an adjective as Radcliffe-Brown's translations might suggest.

enol |e-nol| (AKJ, NA) adj

Good

Attestations:

- (1) <e-nol> 'good' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 497) (AKJ)
- (2) <kidi e-nol 'this (is) good' (kidi e-nol 'id.') (RB<sub>2</sub>: 504) (NA)

# Comparisons:

PGA *enɔl* 'good' (Abbi 2012: 346); Akachari <nol> 'id.' (Portman 1887: 35, 158)

**enet** |e-net| (AKJ) n

Navel

Attestations:

(1) <ing-it> 'navel' (M: 171)

Comparisons:

PGA eŋet 'navel' (Abbi 2012: 346); Akachari < méngét > 'id.' (m-e-ŋet 'our navel') (Portman 1887: 53)

**epilu** | e-pilu | (AKJ) *n* 

Abdominal walls

Attestations:

(1) <ê-pilu> 'abdominal walls' (M: 169)

Comparisons:

PGA ephilu 'belly' (Abbi 2013: 145)

**epotatfip** |e-pota-tfip| (NA) n

Mother-in-law

Attestations:

(1) <e-pota-čip> 'his mother-in-law' (*Ø-e-pota-ţiip* 'id.') (RB<sub>2</sub>: 54), 'wife's mother, husband's mother' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 56)

epotatfiu | e-pota-tfiu | (NA) n

Father-in-law

Attestations:

(1) <e-pota-čiu> 'his father-in-law' (*Ø-e-pota-tfiu* 'id.') (RB<sub>2</sub>: 54), 'wife's father, husband's father' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 56)

etaru | e-taru | (NA) n

Man, male

Attestations:

(1) <e-taru> 'male' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 499, 504)

Comparisons:

Akachari <é táru> 'man, male' (Portman 1887: 49)

Notes.

Cf. taru.

etei | e-tei | (NA) n

Fever

Attestations:

(1) <e-tei> 'fever' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 499)

Comparisons:

PGA etei 'fever, blood' (Abbi 2012: 356)

Notes:

Portman (1898: 346) indicates that when the Akabea 'are feverish, or have a headache, they often use the expression Ig-té-da meaning "Blood to the head", their idea being that the blood has heated and gone to the head'. Cf. **Eratei**, **ottei** and **tei**.

 $etire_1$  | e-tire | (NA) adj

New (of the moon)

Attestations:

(1) <dula e-tire > 'new moon' (dula e-tire 'id.') (RB<sub>2</sub>: 143)

**etire**, |e-tire| (AKJ, NA) n

Child, offspring of an animal (non-possessed form)

Attestations:

- (1) <e-tire> 'offspring' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 124) (AKJ)
- (2) <e-tire> 'child' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 55, 499), 'offspring of an animal or of a human being' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 68), 'young offspring of an animal or a

human being' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 143, 499), <Bora e-tire> 'the child Bora' (*bora e-tire* 'Bora the child') (RB<sub>2</sub>: 55), <e-tire Bora> 'the child Bora' (*e-tire bora* 'id.') (RB<sub>2</sub>: 55) (NA)

# Comparisons:

PGA *t*<sup>h</sup>*ire* 'child' (Abbi 2012: 388); Akachari <étíré> 'baby' (Portman 1887: 15)

Notes:

This word is the non-possessed counterpart of **ottire**: 'The word *ot-tire* means "the child of somebody" without reference to any particular person as the parent' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 68). Cf. **eratire** and **ottire**.

**etomo** | e-tomo | (AKJ) *n* 

Flesh of the body, meat

Attestations:

(1) <e-tomo> 'muscle' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 498), 'flesh or muscle of a human or animal body generally' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 500), <e-tomo-t-ot-lam> 'muscularly powerful' (*Ø-e-tomo t=ot-lam* 'his/her flesh is strong') (RB<sub>2</sub>: 498), 'muscle strong' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 501)

Comparisons:

PGA *ethomo* 'flesh, meat' (Abbi 2012: 351); Akachari <yetomó> 'flesh' (Portman 1887: 33), <yé tomo> 'meat' (Portman 1887: 49)

Notes:

Cf. **eratomo** and **tomo**.

etfai | e-tfai | (AKJ) adj

Attestations:

(1)  $< e-\check{c}ai > 'bad' (RB_2: 498)$ 

Comparisons:

PGA cae 'bad' (Abbi 2012: 336), ecca:ye 'id.' (Manoharan 1989: 113)

**etfo** |e-tfo| (AKJ) n

Lap, thigh

Attestations:

(1) <ê-chō-thômo> 'lap' (*e-ʧɔ tomo* 'flesh of the lap/thigh') (M: 171), <ê-chō-thōmo> 'thigh' (M: 172)

Comparisons:

PGA ecopthomu 'thigh' (Abbi 2012: 343)

eur |e-ur| (NA)  $\nu$ 

To sing

Attestations:

(1) <Buio jo bi ewur-om> 'Buio is singing a song' (buyo ʤo=bi e-ur-om 'id.') (RB<sub>2</sub>: 503)

# Comparisons:

PGA *eure* 'sing' (Abbi 2012: 352); Akachari <jóur> 'id.' (*dʒo ur* '(He/she) sings a song') (Portman 1887: 71), <jójur> 'song' (Portman 1887: 75), <éwur> 'to sing' (Portman 1887: 109)

Notes:

The grapheme w> of the original transcription of this word represents an epenthetic glide inserted in two-vowel sequences of the type Vu (see section 2.1.1).

**erabat** | era-bat | (AKJ, NA) *n* Tail (of snake or turtle)

Attestations:

- (1)  $<\underline{\text{or}}$ -čubi t'era-bat> 'one customary pattern' (2rtfubi t= $\emptyset$ -2ra-bat 'tail of the *Ophiophagus elaps* snake') (RB<sub>2</sub>: 124) (AKJ)
- (2) <or-čubi t'era-bat> 'design of zig-zag lines painted on the body with white clay' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 484) (NA)

Comparisons:

PGA era:bat 'tail of the turtle' (Abbi 2012: 347)

**εralio** | εra-lio | (NA) ν

To finish

<deko b' er<u>a</u>-lio > 'well! it is finished' ( $deko\ b=\varepsilon ra$ -lio '(It) is enough. (It) is finished') (RB<sub>2</sub>: 503)

Notes:

PGA *araliu* 'to finish' (Abbi 2013: 287), <jerá líwu> [sic] 'id.' (Portman 1887: 33).

**eralobun** | era-lobun | (AKJ) adj

Long, tall

Attestations:

(1) <<u>e</u>ra-lobuŋ> 'long, tall' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 500), <ti-t-<u>e</u>ra-lobuŋ> 'a long way' ( $ti t=\varepsilon ra$ -lobuŋ 'the long place') (RB<sub>2</sub>: 500)

Comparisons:

PGA lobəŋ 'long' (Abbi 2012: 369), iloboŋ 'long, tall'; Akachari <löbung> 'long' (Portman 1887: 47), <é löbung> 'tall' (RB<sub>3</sub>: 81)

Notes:

Used 'when referring to distance between two points' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 500). Cf. **elobun**.

**εrameo** | εra-meo | (AKJ) n

Anchor

Attestations:

(1)  $\langle \underline{e}$ ra-meo $\rangle$  'anchor' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 500)

Notes:

The Great Andamanese anchor is 'a heavy stone attached by rope to a canoe' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 500). Cf. **meo**.

**erapon** | era-pon | (AKJ, NA) n Cave

Attestations:

- (1) <Tarai-era-poη 'the cave of Tarai' (tarai Ø-εra-poη 'id.') (RB<sub>2</sub>: 192–3) (AKJ)
- (2)  $\langle \underline{e}$ ra-poŋ $\rangle$  'cave' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 160),  $\langle Pura$ -'ra-poŋ $\rangle$  [placename] (pura  $\emptyset$ -( $\varepsilon$ )ra-poŋ 'cave of Pura (?)') (RB<sub>2</sub>: 198) (NA)

## Comparisons:

PGA *araphon* 'cavity' (Abbi 2013: 155); Akachari <ára pong> 'to dig' (Portman 1887: 27), <rá pong> [*sic*] 'cave' (Portman 1887: 21), <póng> 'id.' (Portman 1887: 111, 115)

Notes:

The PGA noun phrases  $\eta$ -er- $p^hile$   $t=\emptyset$ -ara- $p^ho\eta$  (2sg-sp-tooth Def=3sg-sp-hole) 'your (sg,) dental cavity' and  $t^h$ -er- $k > t^ho$   $t=\emptyset$ -ara- $p^ho\eta$  (1sg-sp-nose Def=3sg-hole) 'my nostrils' in Abbi (2013: 155) suggest that **Erapon** denotes an anatomical cavity. The Akachari form <(a)rá pong> 'cave; to dig', on the other hand, suggests that this word was probably used also to refer to a naturally-occurring cavity formed underground. Cf. **akapon** and **onpon**.

**εrapuli** | εra-puli | (AKJ, NA) n

Pattern in painting a person ornamentally

Attestations:

- (1) <<u>e</u>ra-puli> 'patterns' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 122) (AKJ)
- (2) <era-puli> 'patterns' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 265, 269), 'designs' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 265), <čokbi t'era-puli> 'turtle pattern' (tfokbi t=Ø-εra-puli 'pattern of the turtle') (RB<sub>2</sub>: 123), <ra t'era-puli> 'pig pattern' (ra t=Ø-εra-puli 'pattern of the pig') (RB<sub>2</sub>: 123), <toto t'era-puli> 'pattern (...) used (...) to decorate a girl after the ceremony at

her first menstruation' (toto  $t=\emptyset$ - $\varepsilon$ ra-puli 'pattern of the pandanus') (RB<sub>2</sub>: 124), <kimil-t'era-puli> 'a pattern' (kimil  $t=\emptyset$ - $\varepsilon$ ra-puli 'pattern of the boy or girl during the turtle-eating ceremony') (RB<sub>2</sub>: 314) (NA)

Notes:

'These patterns are always made by the women, who decorate each other and their male relatives. The clay is mixed with water in a wooden dish or a shell and the mixture is applied to the body with the fingers. There is an almost indefinite variety in the patterns employed, although there are a certain number of what may be called usual designs' (RB,: 122).

**εratei** | εra-tei | (AKJ) n

Menstruation

Attestations:

(1)  $\langle \underline{e}$ ra-tei $\rangle$  'menstruation' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 500)

Comparisons:

PGA ara:ttay 'menses' (Abbi 2012: 330)

Notes:

Cf. etei, ottei and tei.

**Example 1** | Era-tire| (AKJ, NA) n

Young shoot of a plant

Attestations:

- (1)  $\leq$  era-tire> 'young shoots of a tree or plant' (RB $_2$ : 500) (AKJ)
- (2) <era-tire> 'offspring of a plant, the young shoots' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 68) (NA)

Notes:

Cf. etire and ottire.

**εratomo** | εra-tomo | (AKJ) n

**Buttocks** 

Attestations:

(1) <<u>e</u>ra-tomo> 'buttocks' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 500), <era-thômo> 'id.' (M: 170)

Comparisons:

PGA arathomo 'buttocks; hips' (Abbi 2012: 330)

Notes:

Cf. etomo and tomo.

```
erbala | er-bala | (AKJ) n
    Forearm
    Attestations:
    (1) <îr-bâla> 'fore-arm' (M: 169)
    Comparisons:
    PGA erbala 'upper arm' (Abbi 2012: 354)
    Notes:
    The meaning seems to have shifted from 'forearm' to 'upper arm'
erbetf |\text{er-betf}| (AKJ) n
    Head hair
    Attestations:
    (1) <(îr-)bê> [sic] 'hair (of head)' (M: 170)
    Comparisons:
    Cf. PGA otbec ~ otbec 'hair, body hair' (Abbi 2012: 376) and
    Akachari <paitch> 'id.' (Portman 1887: 37)
    Notes:
    Cf. betf and otbetf.
ɛrboa | ɛr-boa | (AKJ) n
    Lip
    Attestations:
    (1) <îr-bôa> 'mouth' (M: 171)
    Comparisons:
    PGA erboa 'lip; mouth' (Abbi 2012: 348); Akachari <ér buáh> 'lip'
    (Portman 1887: 47)
εrbuo |εr-buo| (AKJ) n
    Ear
    Attestations:
    (1) <îr-bô> 'ear' (M: 170)
    Comparisons:
    PGA erbuo 'ear' (Abbi 2012: 348); Akachari <ér buáh> [sic] 'id.'
    (Portman 1887: 29)
erkimil | er-kimil | (NA) adj
    Hot
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Attestations:
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(1) <er-kimil> 'hot' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 101, 266), <Ino er-kimil bi> 'The water is hot' ( $ino \varepsilon r$ -kimil=bi 'id.') (RB<sub>2</sub>: 267)

# Comparisons:

PGA  $k^himil$  'warm, hot' (Abbi 2012: 364); Akachari <kímil> 'hot' (Portman 1887: 39)

Notes:

Cf. akakimil, kimil, kimildo, otkimil, and otkimil,

Arm

Attestations:

(1) <îr-kît> 'arm' (M: 169)

Comparisons:

PGA erxi:t 'arm' (Abbi 2012: 350)

Nose

Attestations:

(1) <îr-kâto> 'nose' (M: 171)

Comparisons:

PGA *erkɔt̥ʰo* 'nose' (Abbi 2012: 349); Akachari <érkāū tó> 'nose' (Portman 1887: 169)

Notes:

<â>, used by Man for transcribing the open back vowel [a:], might represent the open-mid back vowel [ɔ] or [ɔ:] in this word, as suggested by its PGA and Akachari equivalents.

**$$\varepsilon$$
rkum** |  $\varepsilon$ r-kum | (AKJ)  $n$ 

Shoulder

Attestations:

(1) <îr-kûm> 'shoulder' (M: 170)

Comparisons:

PGA *erk*<sup>h</sup>*um* 'shoulder's edge' (Abbi 2013: 142)

Big

Attestations:

(1) <er-kuro> 'big' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 45), <<u>e</u>r-kuro> 'big' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 137), <<u>ko</u>roin t-er-kuro> 'a big dugong' (*kɔroin t=ɛr-kuro* 'the big dugong')

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(RB<sub>2</sub>: 504), <t-ičo roa t-er-kuro> 'my canoe is big' (t-itfo roa t=\varepsilon r-kuro 'id.') (RB<sub>2</sub>: 504), <ra t'er-kuro> 'a big pig' (ra t=\varepsilon r-kuro 'the big pig') (Radcliffe-Brown 1922: 496; not in RB<sub>2</sub>) (NA)
```

Comparisons:

PGA εrk<sup>h</sup>uro 'big, elder' (Abbi 2012: 355); Akachari < ér kura> [sic] 'big' (Portman 1887: 17)

**ermiku** | er-miku | (AKJ) n

1. Face

Attestations:

- (1) <îr-mîko> [sic] 'face' (M: 171)
- 2. Forehead

Attestations:

(1) <îr-mîko> [sic] 'forehead' (M: 171)

Notes:

Cf. aramiku, maramiku and timiku.

**ernoko** |er-noko| (AKJ) n

Cheek

Attestations:

(1) <îr-nôko> 'cheek' (M: 170)

Comparisons:

PGA ɛrnɔkho 'cheek' (Abbi 2012: 355); Akachari <ér nóko> 'cheek' (Portman 1887: 21)

Notes:

<îr-nûku> 'lip' in M (p. 171) is probably an error for <îr-nôko> 'cheek'.

**ernoko betf** | er-noko betf | (lit. 'hair of the cheek') (AKJ)

Whiskers

Attestations:

(1) <īr-nôko-bê> [*sic*] 'whiskers' (M: 172)

**erpile** |er-pile| (AKJ) n

Tooth

Attestations:

(1) <îr-pilê> 'tooth' (M: 172)

Comparisons:

PGA *erp<sup>h</sup>ile* 'tooth' (Abbi 2012: 355); Akachari <mér pílé> 'tooth' (*m-er-pile* 'our teeth') (Portman 1887: 85)

```
ertap | er-tap | (AKJ) n
    Lower jaw
    Attestations:
    (1) <îr-tap-bê> [sic] 'beard (jaw-hair)' (ɛr-tap betf 'hair of the lower
         jaw') (M: 169)
    Comparisons:
    PGA ertap 'lower jaw' (Abbi 2012: 349); Akachari <lāō tér táp>
    'human jaw-bone ornament' (lau t = \emptyset-er-tap 'lower jaw of the spirit')
    (Portman 1887: 211)
    ertap betf | er-tap betf | (lit. 'hair of the lower jaw') (AKJ)
    Beard
    Attestations:
    (1) <îr-tap-bê> [sic] 'beard (jaw-hair)' (M: 169)
ertfar | er-tfar | (AKJ) n
    Heart (seat of affections)
    Attestations:
    (1) <îr-châr> 'heart (seat of affections)' (M: 170)
    Comparisons:
    Cf. PGA otcar 'chest' (Abbi 2012: 377)
ertfo | \varepsilon r - t fo | (AKJ, NA) n
    Head, skull
    Attestations:
    (1) <îr-chô> 'head' (M: 170) (AKJ)
    (2) <<u>e</u>r-čo> 'head' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 137), <lau t'<u>e</u>r-čo> 'skull [of a dead
         person]' (lau t=\emptyset-\varepsilon r-tfo 'skull of the dead person') (RB<sub>2</sub>: 137)
         (NA)
    Comparisons:
    PGA erco 'head, skull' (Abbi 2012: 354); Akachari <échu> 'head'
    (Portman 1887: 37), <érchu> 'skull' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 169)
    Notes:
    Cf. ottfo.
erulu | er-ulu| (AKJ) n
```

Eye

Attestations:

(1) <îr-ûlu> 'eye' (M: 170)

```
Comparisons:
```

PGA erulu 'eye' (Abbi 2012: 350); Akachari <ér ulu> 'id.' (Portman 1887: 29)

**Example 1** | Execute beth | (lit. 'hair of the eye') (AKJ)

Evebrow

Attestations:

(1) <îr-ûlu-bê> [*sic*] 'eye-brow' (M: 170)

**erulu totbetf** | er-ulu t=ot-betf | (lit. 'hair of the eye') (AKJ) Eyelash

Attestations:

(1) <îr-ûlu-tû-bê> [sic] 'eye-lash' (M: 170)

Comparisons:

PGA erulutobe:c 'eyelash' (Abbi 2012: 83)

=il (NA) postp

LOCATIVE

Attestations:

(1)  $\langle il \rangle$  'in' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 503),  $\langle cup il \rangle$  'in the basket' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 503)

Comparisons:

PGA =  $il \sim = el \sim = al \sim = l$  'locative' (Abbi 2013: 117, 127); Akachari =  $il \sim = l$  [id.] (Portman 1887: 15–211, passim)

**ino** (AKJ, NA) n

1. Water

Attestations:

- (1)  $\langle \text{ino} \rangle$  'water' (RB<sub>1</sub>: 40, 49; RB<sub>2</sub>: 193)
- (2) <Ino er-kimil bi> 'The water is hot' (ino εr-kimil=bi 'id.') (RB<sub>2</sub>: 267)
- 2. Fresh water

Attestations:

(1) <ino kolo toi> 'necklace of fresh-water shells' (lit. 'shells of a mollusc sp.') (RB<sub>3</sub>: 480)

Comparisons:

PGA ino 'water' (Abbi 2012: 359); Akachari <ínó> 'id.'

ino kəlo (AKJ) n

Mollusc sp.

Attestations:

(1) <ino kolo toi> 'necklace of fresh-water shells' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 480)

ino kɔlo tɔi (lit. 'shells of the mollusc of the fresh water') (AKJ) Necklace of fresh-water shells

Attestations:

(1) <ino kolo toi> 'necklace of fresh-water shells' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 480)

Comparisons:

PGA *kolɔ* 'shell' (Abbi 2012: 365); Akachari <ínó kulāū> 'freshwater shells' (Portman 1887: 211)

io |Ø-io| (AKJ, NA) pron He, she, it

Attestations:

- (1) <io> 'he, she, it' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 501), <kule-l io> 'there is (it)' [sic] (kulel io 'It (is) there') (RB<sub>2</sub>: 501) (AKJ)
- (2) <io biwu bi moič-om> 'he is making a torch' (io biu=bi moitf-om 'id.') (RB<sub>2</sub>: 504), <kule-l io> 'there is (it)' (NA)

Comparisons:

PGA o 'he, she, it' (Manoharan 1989: 68)

**itpet** |it-pet| (NA) n

1. Belly

Attestations:

- (1) <it-pet> 'belly' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 89)
- 2. Mother

Attestations:

(1) <Rea it-pet> '[Rea's] mother' (rea Ø-it-pet 'id.') (RB<sub>2</sub>: 89)

Comparisons:

Cf. PGA pɛt 'to swell' (Abbi 2012: 379); Akachari <pet> 'belly' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 189)

Notes:

Probably we are dealing with the possessed form of the term for 'belly' also used to refer to someone's mother.

itfo |Ø-itfo| (NA) pron His, hers, her

Attestations:

(1) <ičo> 'belonging to' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 66), [particle] (RB<sub>2</sub>: 504), <Buio ičo roa> 'Buio's canoe' (*buyo Ø-itfo roa*) (RB<sub>2</sub>: 504) (NA)

Comparisons:

PGA -ico  $\sim$  -i/o 'genitive' (Abbi 2013: 77, 99, 117, 130, 158, 163, 245)

```
kabal (NA) n
```

Mangrove sp.

Attestations:

(1) <kabal> 'a species of mangrove' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 120)

Comparisons:

PGA *kabal* 'tree; seed' (Abbi 2012: 362); Akachari <kabal> 'mangrove fruit' (Portman 1887: 199)

# =kak (NA) postp

ALLATIVE

Attestations:

(1) <kak> 'to (motion towards)' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 503), <Lau-tiče kak> 'to Port Blair' (RB<sub>2</sub>: )

Comparisons:

PGA  $-ak \sim -a$  'directional' (Abbi 2012: 117, 126), -ka:k 'locative' (Manoharan 1989: 80); Akachari <-k> [allative] (Portman 1887: 123)

## katan (AKJ) n

1. Small star

Attestations:

- (1) <katań> [small star] (RB<sub>2</sub>: 141)
- 2. Firefly

Attestations:

(1) <katań> 'common fire-fly' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 141)

Comparisons:

PGA *kaṭaŋ* 'star' (Abbi 2012: 363); Akachari <kátain> 'star' (Portman 1887: 77)

#### kea (NA) $\nu$ (?)

To turn in one's sleep (?)

Attestations:

(1) <kea> 'one who turns in his sleep' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 118)

Notes:

Recorded as a personal name, it could also be a verb (cf. kickeri).

## keip (AKJ) n

A red pigment made by mixing burnt oxide of iron with animal or vegetable fat or oil

#### Attestations:

(1) <keyip> 'red oxide of iron' (RB<sub>1</sub>: 39), 'a red pigment made by mixing burnt oxide of iron with animal or vegetable fat or oil' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 122)

### Comparisons:

PGA *keip* 'clay, red ochre' (Abbi 2012: 3); Akachari <kéip> 'red oxide of iron earth prepared' (Portman 1887: 213)

#### Notes:

The <y> with which this form was transcribed by Radcliffe-Brown likely represents an epenthetic [j]-glide (see 2.1.1).

## kelil (AKJ, NA) n

Bird sp.

Attestations:

- (1) <kelil> [a bird] (RB<sub>2</sub>: 199) (AKJ)
- (2) <kelil> [a bird] (RB<sub>2</sub>: 150) (NA)

### Comparisons:

Akakhora <kelil> [a bird] (Portman 1887: 199)

# kidi (NA) pron

This

#### Attestations:

(1) <kidi t-ičo bi> 'this is mine' (*kidi t-iťo=bi* 'id.') (RB<sub>2</sub>: 503), <kidi k<u>o</u>roin bi> 'this is a dugong' (*kidi kɔroin=bi* 'id.') (RB<sub>2</sub>: 502), <kidi e-nol> 'this (is) good' (*kidi e-nol* 'id.') (RB<sub>2</sub>: 504) (NA)

#### Comparisons:

PGA *k*<sup>h</sup>*idi* 'this (proximate, very close)' (Abbi 2012: 364); Akachari <kídí> 'this' (Portman 1887: 115, 119, 155, 157, 167, 179)

#### kidzeri (NA) v

To walk backwards and forwards, to wander

#### Attestations:

(1) <ki<u>y</u>eri> 'one who walks backwards and forwards' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 118)

### Comparisons:

PGA kijire 'to wander, to roam around' (Abbi 2012: 364)

### Notes:

This is also a personal name.

# kimil (AKJ, NA) n

- 1. A brief period of unsettled weather at the end of the rainy season *Attestations*:
- (1) <kimil> 'a brief period of unsettled weather' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 39), 'the latter part of the rainy season' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 267), 'a particular season of the year' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 308), 'period of six or eight weeks in which the weather is unsettled' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 352), 'season (October and November)' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 358) (NA)
- (2) <kimil> 'season of storms' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 153) (AKJ)
- A boy or girl during the turtle-eating ceremony (kimildo tfokbi kimil) or the pig-eating ceremony (after which the boy or girl is again free to eat pork) and for some months afterwards

#### Attestations:

(1) <kimil> [term of address] (RB<sub>2</sub>: 101, 121, 295), <kimil-t'erapuli> 'a pattern' (*kimil*  $t=\emptyset$ - $\varepsilon$ ra-puli 'pattern of the boy or girl during the turtle-eating ceremony') (RB<sub>2</sub>: 314) (NA)

#### Comparisons:

PGA  $k^h$ imil 'warm, hot' (Abbi 2012: 364): Akachari < kímil> 'rainy season' (Portman 1887: 63, 97)

#### Notes:

**kimil** is the same root occurring in **erkimil** 'hot' and **otkimil**<sub>1</sub> 'id.'. Radcliffe-Brown observes that '[t]he word "hot" is used by the natives in several unusual ways when they are talking their own language or Hindustani. Thus a stormy or rough sea is said to be "hot," and one native in describing to me (in Hindustani) the cessation of a cyclone said "the sea become cold." A person who is ill is said to be hot, and getting well is expressed by the phrase "getting cool." (RB<sub>2</sub>: 267). We can say that **kimil** 'denotes a condition of social danger, or of contact with power possessed by all things that can affect the life and safety of the society. It is obviously in this sense, and not as meaning "hot," that it is applied to the season in question, for the months of October and November are fairly cool, certainly very much cooler that February and March' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 352).

#### Notes:

Cf. akakimil, erkimil, kimildo, otkimil, and otkimil.

**kimil tεrapuli** |kimil t=Ø-εra-puli| (lit. 'pattern of the boy or girl during the turtle-eating ceremony') (NA)

Pattern used to decorate a boy or a girl after the initiation ceremony

Attestations:

(1) <kimil-t'era-puli> 'a pattern' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 314)

Notes:

'After the ceremony is over the initiate is painted with clay in a pattern called *kimil-t'era-puli* which consists of a background of the clay on which a pattern of separate spirals is made with the finger' (RB,: 314).

### kimildo (NA) n

Turtle-eating ceremony

Attestations:

(1) <kimil-jo> 'turtle-eating ceremony' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 101, 267)

Comparisons:

PGA khimilyo 'turtle-eating ceremony' (Abbi 2012: 364)

Notes:

Cf. akakimil, do, erkimil, kimil, otkimil, and otkimil,

=ko (NA) postp

Inessive (?)

Attestations:

(1) <ko> 'in or at a place' (RB $_2$ : 503), <ŋ-oŋ-k $\underline{o}$ ro ko> 'in thy hand' ( $\eta$ -o $\eta$ -k2ro=ko 'id.') (RB $_2$ : 503)

Notes:

Distinct from the locative =il; no known cognates in other GA languages.

koloko (NA) part (?)

Collective (for human nouns)

Attestations:

(1) <koloko> 'people' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 28, 190), <n'a-mai-koloko> 'ancestors' (*n=a-mai-koloko* 'id.') (RB<sub>2</sub>: 190)

Comparisons:

PGA kɔːrlɔxo [human noun plural marker] (Manoharan 1989: 61), thire kɔːrlɔxo 'children' (Abbi 2012: 388); Akabo <koloko > [people] (RB<sub>2</sub>: 190)

Notes:

*kɔ:rlɔxo* is described by Manoharan as a 'bound morpheme to the common human nouns', though his transcription and that of Abbi in Abbi (2012) suggest a separate word. Supposing that it is an

independent word, we assign **koloko**, together with **pu**, to the residual word class of particles (4.18).

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komar (AKJ, NA) n
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Fish sp.

Attestations:

- (1) <komar> 'a species of fish' ( $RB_2$ : 101), [a fish] ( $RB_2$ : 112) (AKJ)
- (2) <komar> 'fish' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 89, 269)

Comparisons:

PGA komar 'a kind of sea fish' (Abbi 2012: 365); Akachari <komar> 'a fish' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 96), <kumár> [a fish] (Portman 1887: 201)

korotli (AKJ) n

Creeper sp.

Attestations:

(1) <korotli> 'a creeper' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 183)

korude (NA) n

Thunder

Attestations:

(1) <korude> 'thunder' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 145, 367), <korule> 'id.' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 145)

Comparisons:

PGA kurude 'thunder' (Abbi 2012: 368)

Notes:

Radcliffe-Brown's representation of the last consonant of this word both with <d> and <l> suggests it is a retroflex sound.

**kɔbo** (AKJ, NA) n

1. Palm sp.: Licuala sp.

Attestations:

- (1) <k<u>o</u>bo> 'Licuala palm' (RB<sub>1</sub>: 39) (AKJ)
- (2) <kobo> 'Licuala" (RB<sub>2</sub>: 218) (NA)
- 2. Palm leaf (Licuala sp.)

Attestations:

(1) <kobo> 'large palm leaves' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 106) (AKJ)

Comparisons:

PGA kobo 'palm leaf' (Abbi 2012: 366)

## kəlo (AKJ, NA) n

Sea-eagle

Attestations:

- (1) <k<u>o</u>lo> [a bird] (RB<sub>2</sub>: 150, 199), <Maia K<u>o</u>lo> 'Sir Sea-eagle' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 207) (AKJ)
- (2) <k<u>o</u>lo> 'sea-eagle' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 227), <Maia K<u>o</u>lo> 'Sir Sea-eagle' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 227) (NA)

Comparisons:

PGA kələ 'brahminy kite, Haliastur indus' (Pande and Abbi 2011: 7), 'kite' (Abbi 2012: 366)

### konmo (NA) n

Yam sp.: Dioscorea sp.

Attestations:

(1) <konmo> 'Dioscorea sp.' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 118, 220), 'a species of Dioscorea' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 198), [a vegetable food] (RB<sub>2</sub>: 199)

Comparisons:

PGA *kɔnmo* 'potato; white tuber' (Abbi 2012: 366); Akachari < konmo > 'yam' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 189, 202), < kāūnmu > 'id.' (Portman 1887: 91)

## kəro (AKJ, NA) n

Shredded palm-leaf fibre

Attestations:

- (1) <koro> 'shredded palm-leaf stem' (RB $_2$ : 108), <koro> 'material [obtained from the leaf-stem of a species of palm]' (RB $_2$ : 453), 'fibre' (RB $_2$ : 479) (AKJ)
- (2) <koro> 'shredded palm-leaf stem' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 127, 134, 139), <k<u>o</u>ro> 'shredded palm-leaf fibre' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 177), 'shredded fibre' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 290), 'fibre' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 291, 292) (NA)

Comparisons:

PGA kərə 'green cane leaf' (Abbi 2012: 367)

### **kərotfop** |kəro-tfop| (NA) n

Structure erected across a dancing ground

Attestations:

(1) <koro-čop> (RB<sub>2</sub>: 134)

Notes:

'In the village of this group [the group that made the last attack on another group – RZ/BC] the dancing ground is prepared, and across

it is erected what is called a *koro-čop*. Posts are put up in a line, to the tops of these is attached a length of strong cane, and from the cane are suspended bundles of shredded palm-leaf (*koro*)' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 134). Cf. **koro** and **top**.

## kəroin (NA) n

Dugong

Attestations:

(1) <kidi koroin bi> 'this is a dugong' (kidi kəroin=bi 'id.') (RB<sub>2</sub>: 502), <koroin t-er-kuro> 'a big dugong' (kəroin t=εr-kuro 'the big dugong') (RB<sub>2</sub>: 504)

Comparisons:

PGA *kərəin* 'dugong' (Abbi 2012: 367); Akachari <kóroin> 'id.' (Portman 1887: 29, 145)

### kərəin (AKJ) n

Tree sp.: Dipterocarpus laevis.

Attestations:

(1) <koroin> 'Dipterocarpus tree' (RB<sub>1</sub>: 39), <k<u>oro</u>in> 'Dipterocarpus' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 497)

Comparisons:

PGA *kərəin* 'Gurjan tree' (Abbi 2012: 367); Akachari <kāūroin> 'Dipterocarpus lævis (*Gorjon*)' (Portman 1887: 217)

### kət (AKJ) n

Nest of the white ants

Attestations:

(1)  $\langle kolego t \rangle$  'nest of the white ants', 'ant's [sic] nest' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 192)

Comparisons:

PGA kətotco 'mound of white ants' (Abbi 2012: 367)

## kudu (AKJ) n

K.o. belt of pandanus leaves worn by girls and women

Attestations:

(1) <kudu> 'a belt' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 477)

Comparisons:

Akachari < kudu > 'belt (broad and flat)' (Portman 1887: 209)

Notes:

'A belt is made in much the same way [as the **toto terbua** – RZ/BC] out of *Pandanus* leaves split in half down the midrib, giving strips of

about 2.5 cm. broad. Such belts have only a scanty tassel of thin strips of leaf at the back. They are worn by girls and women only'  $(RB_2: 477)$ .

### kulel (AKJ, NA) adv

There (distant)

Attestations:

- (1) <kule-l io > 'there is (it)' [sic] (kulel io 'It (is) there') (RB<sub>2</sub>: 501) (AKJ)
- (2) <kule-l io > 'there is (it)' [sic] (RB<sub>2</sub>: 504) (NA)

Comparisons:

PGA *k*<sup>h</sup>*ulol* 'there (distant)' (Abbi 2012: 368); Akachari <kulol> 'there' (Portman 1887: 105)

### kutobi (AKJ) n

1. Netting needle

Attestations:

- (1) < kutobi > 'a netting needle' (RB<sub>1</sub>: 39)
- 2. Reel used in rope-making

Attestations:

(1) <kutobi> 'reel' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 453)

Comparisons:

Akachari <kutāūbí> 'netting needles for small nets' (Portman 1887: 207)

Notes:

'In rope-making the *Hibiscus* or other fibre (*Sterculia* or *Grewia*) is taken and twisted into a long strand, either with the fingers, or on the thigh by rolling beneath the palm of the hand, short lengths of fibre being added until a single twisted strand of sufficient length and uniform thickness is produced. The middle of this strand is passed over a piece of wood held by the toes, one half of it being wound on to a reel (*kutobi* in Aka-Jeru) made by tying together crossways two pieces of cane or wood each about 20 cm. long and 6 mm. in diameter' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 455).

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labo (AKJ) n
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K.o. root

Attestations:

(1) <labo> 'edible root' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 152)

## Comparisons:

PGA *labo* 'root, tuber' (Abbi 2012: 368); Akachari < labo > 'edible root' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 96)

### laro (AKJ) n

Tree sp.: Erythrina orientalis

Attestations:

(1) < laro > 'a tree' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 183)

Comparisons:

PGA laro 'Erythrina orientalis (L.) Merr.' (Awasthi 1991: 277)

## lau (NA) n

1. Spirit

Attestations:

- (1) <lau> 'spirit' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 136, 137, 145, 163, 167–9, 173, 176, 289, 290, 334, 373), 'spirit of the dead' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 285), [spirit] (RB<sub>2</sub>: 374), <lau tei> 'spirit blood' (*lau tei* 'id.') (RB<sub>2</sub>: 119), <Lau-buku> 'spirit-women, female spirits' (*lau buku* 'id.') (RB<sub>2</sub>: 291)
- 2. Light-skinned person (European or Asian)

Attestations:

(1) <lau> 'European' (RB $_2$ : 137), [light-skinned alien] (RB $_2$ : 138)

### Comparisons:

PGA *lao* 'ghost, spirit; outsider, stranger, foreigner' (Abbi 2012: 368); Akachari <lāō> 'Indian' (Portman 1887: 41), 'convict' (Portman 1887: 111)

Notes:

Lau denotes a spirit 'inhabiting the forest' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 163). 'The name Lau (...) is also applied by the Andamanese to the natives of India and Burma whom they see in the Penal Settlement of Port Blair' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 137). 'Natives of the North Andaman told me that in former times (before 1875) they applied the term Lau to Europeans and not distinguishing them from other light-skinned aliens' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 137).

**lau taraņu** || lau t=Ø-ara-nu| (lit. 'village of the spirits') (AKJ) Port Blair

Attestations:

(2) <Lau t'ara-nyu> 'Penal Settlement [of Port Blair], the village of the spirits' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 137)

lau terkuro | lau t=er-kuro | (lit. 'the big spirit') (NA)

Ancestor

Attestations:

(2) <Lau t'er-kuro> 'mythical ancestor' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 137), <Lau t'er-kuro> 'ancestor' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 190)

**lau tertfo** | lau t= $\emptyset$ -er-tfo | (lit. 'head of the dead person') (NA) Skull of a dead person

Attestations:

(2) <Lau t'er-čo> 'skull [of a dead person]' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 137)

lau toi (lit. 'bone of the spirit') (NA)

Bone of a dead person

Attestations:

(2) <Lau toi> 'bones of a dead person' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 137, 301)

lautife (NA) n

Port Blair

Attestations:

(2) <Lau-tiče kak> 'to Port Blair' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 503)

Notes:

The initial *lau* is the term for 'spirit, light-skinned person' (cf. **lau taranu**). The analysis and meaning of <tiče> are obscure.

lirtfitmo (AKJ) n

Kingfisher sp.

Attestations:

(2) <Maia Lirčitmo> 'Sir Kingfisher' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 201)

loito (AKJ) n

K.o. root

Attestations:

(2)  $\langle loito \rangle$  [an edible root] (RB<sub>2</sub>: 52)

Comparisons:

Akakhora <loito> [a root] (RB $_2$ : 199); Akachari <loito> [a vegetable food] (RB $_2$ : 96)

luremo (NA) n

Rope

Attestations:

(2) <luremo> 'rope' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 118)

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Comparisons:
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PGA *luremo* 'rope' (Abbi 2012: 369); Akachari <lurémo> 'id.' (Portman 1887: 65)

m = (NA) pron

We

Attestations:

(2) < m -> 'we' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 501)

PGA *m*= '1pl' (Abbi 2013: 174); Akachari <m-> 'we' (Portman 1887: 123)

mai (AKJ, NA) n

Sir, mister

Attestations:

- (1) <Mai> 'Sir' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 65) (AKJ)
- (2) <Mai > 'Sir' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 44), <Mai Bora > 'Sir Bora' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 44) (NA)

Notes:

Variant: maya. Cf akamai.

maramiku | m-ara-miku | (NA) n

World of the spirits that lies under this one

Attestations:

(1) <Maramiku> 'world that lies under this one' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 168)

Notes:

Lit. 'our space under'. 'This world of spirits is said to be just like the actual world, with forest and sea, and all the familiar animal and vegetable species. The inhabitants spend their time just as the Andamanese do on earth, hunting, fishing and dancing' ( $RB_2$ : 168).

Cf. aramiku, ermiku and timiku.

maro (NA) n

Black honey

Attestations:

(1) <maro> 'honey' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 118)

Comparisons:

PGA *maro* 'honeybee' (Abbi 2012: 370); Akachari <máró> 'black honey' (Portman 1887: 155, 197)

Notes:

Probably, *maro* is also the name of the black bee; cf. Akachari < máro béich > 'black bees' wax' (Portman 1887: 215).

### maya (AKJ, NA) n

Sir, mister

#### Attestations:

- (1) <Maia> 'a term of address' (RB<sub>1</sub>: 40), 'Sir' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 65), <Maia Jutpu> [a legendary ancestor] (RB<sub>1</sub>: 45), <tičo maia> 'my father' (*t-itfo maya* 'id.') (RB<sub>1</sub>: 66), <Maia Čirikli> 'moon' (lit. 'Sir Moon') (RB<sub>1</sub>: 141), <Maia Čoinyop> [a man] (RB<sub>1</sub>: 142), <Maia Lirčitmo> 'Sir Kingfisher' (RB<sub>1</sub>: 201) (AKJ)
- (2) <Maia Tiritmo> 'Sir Kingfisher' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 201) (AKJ (?))
- (3) <Maia> 'Sir' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 44, 53, 191), <Maia Bora> 'Mr Bora, Sir Bora' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 54), <Maia Tok> [the husband of the moon] (RB<sub>2</sub>: 141), <Maia Buio> [a man] (RB<sub>2</sub>: 121), <Maia Kaba> [a man] (RB<sub>2</sub>: 121), <Maia Ele> 'thunder' [sic] (lit. 'Sir Lightning') (RB<sub>2</sub>: 145), <Maia Tarai> [Sir Tarai] (RB<sub>2</sub>: 150), <Maia Tiritmo> 'Sir Kingfisher' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 201), <Maia Moičo> 'Sir Rail' (RB<sub>3</sub>: 220), <Maia Taolu> [Sir Taolu] (RB<sub>2</sub>: 345) (NA)

### Comparisons:

PGA maya 'deceased (used for forefathers)' (Abbi 2012: 370); Akachari <Maia> 'Sir' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 189), <Maia Dula> [Sir Moon] (RB<sub>2</sub>: 141), <Maia Dik> 'Sir Prawn' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 207)

#### Notes:

Variant: **mai**. The noun phrase < tičo maia > is presumably grammatically correct, but was not used to express 'my father'. As Radcliffe-Brown notes, '[in] *Aka-Jeru* a man speaks of his father as *t'a-mai'* (RB<sub>2</sub>: 66).

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meo (AKJ, NA) n
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Stone

Attestations:

- (1) <meo> 'stone' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 500) (AKJ)
- (2) <meo> 'stone' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 118) (NA)

#### Comparisons:

PGA meɔ 'stone; glass' (Abbi 2012: 371); Akachari <méāū> 'stone' (Portman 1887: 77)

Notes:

Cf. **Erameo**.

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mikulu (AKJ) n K.o. root
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Attestations:
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(1) <mikulu> 'edible root' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 152)

### Comparisons:

PGA *mikulu* 'edible root' (Abbi 2012: 371); Akachari <mikulu> 'edible root' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 96), <míkoló> 'root' (Portman 1887: 199); Akakhora <mikulu> [a root] (RB<sub>2</sub>: 199)

#### milidu (AKJ, NA) n

Bird sp.

Attestations:

- (1) <milidu> [a bird] (RB<sub>2</sub>: 199) (AKJ)
- (2) <milidu> [a bird] (RB<sub>2</sub>: 150) (NA)

Comparisons:

PGA miliqu 'Nicobar pigeon, Caloenas nicobarica' (Pande and Abbi 2011: 37), 'pigeon' (Abbi 2012: 371)

#### milite (NA) n

Mist

Attestations:

(1) <milite> 'mist' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 145)

Comparisons:

PGA bilite 'mist' (Abbi 2012: 333)

#### **mimi** (AKJ, NA) n

Lady

Attestations:

- (1) <mimi> 'Lady' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 133), <Mimi Biliku> [Lady Biliku] (RB<sub>2</sub>: 45, 141), <Mimi Čara> [Lady Čara] (RB<sub>2</sub>: 206), <Mimi Kota> [Lady Kota] (RB<sub>2</sub>: 206) (AKJ)
- (2) <Mimi> [term of address] (RB<sub>2</sub>: 54), 'Lady' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 65, 191), [Lady] (RB<sub>2</sub>: 70, 141), <Mimi Kaba> [Lady Kaba] (RB<sub>2</sub>: 45), <Mimi Biliku> [Lady Biliku] (RB<sub>2</sub>: 121, 150), <Mimi Diu> [Lady Sun] (RB<sub>2</sub>: 141), <Mimi Bat> [Lady Night] (RB<sub>2</sub>: 144, 377), <Mimi Ele> [Lady Lightning] (RB<sub>2</sub>: 145), <Mimi Moičo> 'Lady Rail' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 221) (NA)

### Comparisons:

PGA mimi 'elderly lady, madam' (Abbi 2012: 371)

Notes:

Cf. akamimi.

```
mino (NA) n
    Yam sp.: Dioscorea sp.
    Attestations:
    (1) <mino> 'a species of Dioscorea' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 198), [a vegetable food]
         (RB<sub>2</sub>: 199), 'Dioscorea sp.' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 220)
    Comparisons:
    PGA mino 'tuber; potato' (Abbi 2012: 371); Akachari <mino>
    'edible root' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 96), <mímó> 'yam' (Portman 1887: 91)
mio | m-io | (AKJ) pron
    We
    Attestations:
    (1) <mio> [personal pronoun] (RB<sub>2</sub>: 501) (AKJ)
    Comparisons:
    PGA mio 'we' (Abbi 2012: 306); Akachari <mió> 'id.' (Portman
    1887: 89)
mirid (AKJ) n
    Imperial pigeon
    Attestations:
    (1) <mirid> 'the Imperial pigeon' (RB<sub>1</sub>: 39, 52)
    Comparisons:
    PGA merit 'blue rock pigeon, Columba livia' (Pande and Abbi 2011:
    35), mirit 'bird' (Abbi 2012: 371); Akachari <mírid> 'pigeon'
    (Portman 1887: 57)
mit (AKJ) n
    Plant sp.
    Attestations:
    (1) <mit> [a plant] (RB<sub>2</sub>: 183)
mite_1 (AKJ) n
    Bird sp.
    Attestations:
    (1) <mite> [a bird] (RB<sub>2</sub>: 199)
    Comparisons:
    PGA mithe 'Andaman cuckoo-dove, Macropygia rufipennis andamanica'
    (Pande and Abbi 2011: 33), mite 'bird' (Abbi 2012: 371); Akachari
```

<mite> 'bronze-winged dove' (Portman 1887: 201), <Maia Mite>

'Sir Dove' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 189, 202, 207)

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mite<sub>2</sub> (AKJ, NA) n
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Cicada

Attestations:

- (1) <mite> 'cicada' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 206) (AKJ)
- (2) <mite> 'cicada' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 150, 154, 198) (NA)

# moitf (NA) v

To make a torch of

Attestations:

(1) <io biwu bi moič-om> 'he is making a torch' (io biu=bi moitf-om 'He is making a torch of resin') (RB<sub>2</sub>: 504)

## moitfo (AKJ, NA) n

Rail

Attestations:

- (1) <Moičo> 'rail' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 202) (AKJ)
- (2) <Maia Moičo> 'Sir Rail' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 220), <Mimi Moičo> 'Lady Rail' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 221) (NA)

Comparisons:

PGA mɔcɔ ~ moco 'domestic cock' (Pande and Abbi 2011: 14), mɔcɔ 'rooster' (Abbi 2012: 372); Akachari <moicha> 'fowl' (Portman 1887: 35)

### moyo (AKJ) n

Tree sp.: Sterculia sp.

Attestations:

(1) <moio> 'Sterculia tree' (RB<sub>1</sub>: 39)

Comparisons:

Akachari <moiyó> 'Sterculia (Auk yenzà)' (Portman 1887: 225)

#### mukui (AKJ) n

Plant sp.

Attestations:

(1) <mukui> [flower-name] (RB<sub>2</sub>: 119)

n = (NA) pron

They

Attestations:

(1) <n-> (RB<sub>2</sub>: 501), <n'e-bui-om> 'they are married' (*n*=*e*-bui-om 'id.') (RB<sub>2</sub>: 56).

```
Comparisons:
    PGA n = '3PL' (Abbi 2013: 174); Akachari < n > 'they' (Portman
    1887: 187)
nimi (NA) \nu (?)
    To catch hold (?)
    Attestations:
    (1) <nimi> 'one who catches hold' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 118)
    Notes:
    Recorded as a personal name, it could also be a verb (cf. kideri).
nio | n-io | (AKJ, NA) pron
    They
    Attestations:
    (1) <nio> [personal pronoun] (RB<sub>2</sub>: 501) (AKJ)
    (2) <nio> 'they' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 190) (NA)
    Comparisons:
    PGA niyo 'they' (Manoharan 1989: 68)
nu |n-u| (NA) pron
    They
    (1) <n-u-ben-om> 'they sleeping' (n-u beno-m 'They are sleeping')
         (RB<sub>2</sub>: 501), 'they (are) sleeping' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 504)
    Comparisons:
    PGA nu '3PL' (Abbi 2013: 69, 257, 287); Akachari <nó> 'they'
    (Portman 1887: 135, 141, 145, 149, 187)
\eta = (NA) pron
    You (sg.)
    Attestations:
    (1) \langle \eta' \rangle 'thou' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 55), \langle \eta - \rangle 'thou' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 501), \langle \tau \rangle tio \eta'arai-
         čulutu-bom> 'I will follow you' (tio \eta=arai-tfulutu-bom 'id.')
         (RB_{2}: 55)
    Comparisons:
    PGA \eta= '2sg' (Abbi 2013: 174); Akachari <ng-> 'you' (Portman
    1887: 167, 185)
nil= (NA) pron
    You (pl.)
```

```
Attestations:
```

(1) < nil > 'you' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 501)

## Comparisons:

PGA  $\eta il$ - ~  $\eta el$ - ~  $\eta ol$ - ~  $\eta ole$ - ~  $\eta ale$ - (Avtans 1996: 56)

# nilio |nil-io| (AKJ, NA) pron You (pl.)

4 ,

#### Attestations:

- (1) <nilio> [personal pronoun] (RB<sub>2</sub>: 501) (AKJ)
- (2) < $\eta$ ilio t-ače-bom> 'you (pl.) come with (accompany) me' ( $\eta$ ilio t=a-te-bom 'you (pl.) are accompanying me') (RB $_2$ : 501) (NA)

### Comparisons:

PGA *nilie* ~ *nilio* 'you (pl.)' (Abbi 2012: 307, 374)

# nio |n-io| (AKJ, NA) pron You (sg.)

Attestations:

- (1) <nio> [personal pronoun] (RB<sub>2</sub>: 501) (AKJ)
- (2) < nio t-ače-bom> 'you are coming with me' ( $\eta$ io t=a- $\theta$ e-bom 'you (sg.) are accompanying me') (RB<sub>2</sub>: 504) (NA)

# Comparisons:

PGA ηίο 'you (sg.)' (Abbi 2012: 306, 371); Akachari <ngίό> 'thou' (Portman 1887: 83), 'you' (Portman 1887: 91)

## nuri (NA) n

Fish sp.: Plotosus sp.

### Attestations:

(1) <nyuri> 'Plotosus sp.' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 221), <ńyuri> 'a fish that is found in the creeks' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 96–7)

## Comparisons:

PGA *nure* 'eel; fish' (Abbi 2012: 375); Akabo < ´nyuri > 'fish found in inland creeks' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 97), '*Plotosus* sp. probably *P. arab*' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 103)

### odu (AKJ, NA) n

K.o. clay

### Attestations:

(1) <odu> 'a kind of light coloured clay' (RB<sub>1</sub>: 39), 'clay' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 106) (AKJ)

(2) <odu> 'clay' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 90, 97, 99, 111, 114, 122, 281, 312, 484), 'common clay' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 121, 122), 'commoner clay' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 180), [clay] (RB<sub>2</sub>: 313) (NA)

### Comparisons:

PGA *odu* 'clay' (Abbi 2012: 375); Akachari <ótó> 'white clay' (Portman 1887: 213)

Notes:

Cf. akaodu and təlodu.

### oitfolo (NA) v

To have in adoption

### Attestations:

(1) <t'oi-čolo-kom> 'adopted child, he whom I have adopted' (*t=oitfolo-kom* '(who) I have in adoption') (RB<sub>2</sub>: 68)

# okodzumu | oko-dzumu | (AKJ, NA) n

Medicine-man

Attestations:

- (1) <oko-jumu> 'medicine-man, one who speaks from dreams' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 48) (AKJ)
- (2) <oko-jumu> 'medicine-man' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 51, 157, 164, 176, 301), [medicine-man] (RB<sub>2</sub>: 177–9, 306) 'dreamer' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 167, 301) (NA)

### Comparisons:

PGA *okojumu* 'man who is possessed by evil; spirit medium' (Abbi 2012: 375)

Notes:

Cf. otdsumu.

### **okotalin kolət** | oko-talin kolət| (NA) n

A boy after his back was scarified in an initiation ceremony and before the turtle-eating ceremony (tfokbitgo or tfokbi kimil)

#### Attestations:

(1) <oko-talin-kolot> 'boy [after scarification]' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 95)

### Notes:

'The boy does not receive a new name on this occasion [the scarification – RZ/BC], but for a few weeks his own name is dropped and he is addressed and spoken as *Eiido*. From this time the boy is

described as being *oko-taliŋ-kolot*, this being the masculine term corresponding to *aka-ndu-kolot* for girls' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 95).

The meaning of **kolot** is uncertain, perhaps 'boy, girl'.

```
okor (AKJ) n Plant sp.
```

Attestations:

(1)  $\langle okor \rangle$  [flower-name] (RB<sub>2</sub>: 119)

# olo (AKJ) n

Adze

Attestations:

(1) <olo> 'an adze' (RB<sub>1</sub>: 39)

Comparisons:

Akachari <ólo> 'adze'

**omrap** 
$$| \text{om-rap} |$$
 (AKJ)  $n$ 

Spine

Attestations:

(1) <òm-rap> 'spine' (M: 172)

Comparisons:

PGA *onre:pto:y* 'backbone' (Abbi 2012: 376); Akachari <mam réb> [*sic*] 'spine' (*m-om-rep* 'our spine') (Portman 1887: 75)

Fleshy portion of the forearm

Attestations:

(1) <ông-bâ> 'fore-arm (fleshy portion)' (M: 169)

Notes:

The nasal segment could be m.

Ankle

Attestations:

(1) <òng-bròno> 'ankle' (M: 169)

Comparisons:

PGA *oŋrɔno* 'ankle' (Abbi 2012: 376), *thumrɔnɔ* 'my ankle' (Kumar 2001: 107)

Notes:

This is the only example we have of a syllable-initial consonant cluster, and the b may be epenthetic; it is absent from the corresponding PGA forms, but cf., however, omrap 'spine' with the same somatic prefix  $o\eta$ -  $\sim om$ - (3.2.1.5) and no b.

**oŋkara** |oŋ-kara| (AKJ) *n* 

Nail (of finger or toe)

Attestations:

(1) <òng-kâra> 'nail (of finger or toe)' (M: 171)

Comparisons:

PGA oŋkara 'nail' (Abbi 2012: 376)

**onkide** | on-kide | (AKJ) *n* 

Knuckle

Attestations:

(1) <òng-kide> 'knuckle' (M: 171)

onkəra | on-kəra | (AKJ, NA) n

1. Hand

Attestations:

- (1) <òng-kōra> 'hand' (M: 170) (AKJ)
- (2)  $\langle o_7 k_0 r_a \rangle$  'hand' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 24) (NA)
- 2. Finger

Attestations:

(1) <òng-kōra> 'finger' (M: 170) (AKJ)

Comparisons:

PGA  $k^ho$ :ra 'hand' (Abbi 2012: 365), sykara 'finger' (Abbi 2012: 378); Akachari <móng kora tumeku > 'palm of the hand' (m-sy-sy-sy-tumeku 'our palm of the hand') (Portman 1887: 55)

onkaro | on-karo | (NA) n

Hand

Attestations:

(1) < n-on- $k\underline{o}$ ro ko > 'in thy hand' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 503)

Comparisons:

PGA ənkorə 'hand' (Abbi 2012: 378)

Notes:

Apparently, a variant form of onkora.

onkətra 
$$|$$
 on-kətra $|$  (AKJ)  $n$ 

1. Palm of the hand

Attestations:

- (1) <òng-kōtra> 'palm' (M: 171)
- 2. Sole of the foot

Attestations:

(1) <òng-kōtra> 'sole of the foot' (M: 171)

Knuckle

Attestations:

(1) <òng-kûju> 'knuckle' (M: 171)

Foot

Attestations:

(1) <òng-mâ-tō> 'foot' (M: 170)

Comparisons:

PGA oma:tto 'foot' (Abbi 2012: 375); Akachari <óma tāū> 'id.'

Notes:

The first nasal segment could be m.

**onpon** 
$$| on-pon |$$
 (AKJ)  $n$ 

Armpit

Attestations:

(1) <ông-pông> 'arm-pit' (M: 169)

Comparisons:

PGA  $omp^ho\eta \sim o\eta p^ho\eta$  'armpit' (Abbi 2012: 376); Akachari <óm póng> 'id.' (Portman 1887: 165)

Notes:

The first nasal segment could be m. Cf. **akapon** and **erapon**.

Attestations:

(1)  $\langle \dot{o} ng - t\bar{o} \rangle [sic]$  'wrist' (M: 172)

Comparisons:

PGA ontoe 'wrist bone' (Abbi 2012: 376)

**otareptfip** | ot-are(u)p(u)-tfip | (NA) n

Older woman of the same generation

Attestations:

(1) <ot-arep-čip> 'any person of the speaker's generation who is older than himself (...) fem.' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 55)

Notes:

Synonym: ototoatuetfip.

otareupu | ot-areupu | (NA) n

Older person of the same generation

Attestations:

(1) <ot-areupu> 'any person of the speaker's generation who is older than himself' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 55)

Notes:

'An alternative word of exactly the same meaning [as **ototoatue** – RZ/BC] is *ot-areupu* (fem. *ot-arep-čip*)' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 55)

 $\textbf{otbetf} \quad |\text{ot-betf}| \quad (\text{NA}) \quad n$ 

Hair

Attestations:

(1) <ra t'ot-betč> 'pig's hair' ( $rat = \emptyset$ -ot-ber 'hair of the pig') ( $RB_2$ : 119)

Comparisons:

Cf. PGA *otbec* ~ *otbec* 'hair, body hair' (Abbi 2012: 376); Akachari < ot baich > 'hair' (Portman 1887: 167)

Notes:

Cf. betf and erbetf.

**otbo** |ot-bo| (AKJ, NA) n

Back

Attestations:

- (1) <ôt-bâ> 'back' (M: 169) (AKJ)
- (2) <ot-bo> 'the back (of anything)' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 24) (NA)

```
otdsete | ot-dsete | (AKJ) adj
    Shy, ashamed
    Attestations:
    (1) <ot-jete> 'shy, ashamed' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 81)
    Comparisons:
    PGA uyete 'shy' (Abbi 2012: 395); Akachari <tot jété> 'ashamed'
    (t=ot-dzete 'I am ashamed') (Portman 1887: 13)
otdzulu, |ot-dzulu| (NA) adj
    Cold
    Attestations:
    (1) <ot-julu> 'cold' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 137, 138)
    Comparisons:
    PGA julu 'cold' (Abbi 2012: 362); Akachari <tót julu> 'cold'
    (t=ot-dzulu 'I am cold') (Portman 1887: 23)
otद्याu (NA) n
    Clothes
    Attestations:
    (1) <Lau ot-julu> 'clothes [of the visitors]' (lau Ø-ot-dʒulu 'clothes
        of a light-skinned person') (RB<sub>2</sub>: 138)
    Comparisons:
    PGA julu 'clothes, dress' (Abbi 2012: 362)
otdzumu ot-dzumu NA) n
    Dream
    Attestations:
    (1) <ot-jumu> 'dream' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 166)
    Comparisons:
    PGA jumu 'dream' (Abbi 2012: 362); Akachari <áka yumu> 'dream'
    (Portman 1887: 27)
    Notes:
    Cf. okodzumu.
otdzumu<sub>2</sub> |ot-dzumu| (NA) v
    To dream
```

#### Attestations:

(1) <ot-jumu> 'to dream' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 166)

## otdzumulo | ot-dzumulo | (NA) n

1. Shadow

Attestations:

- (1) <ot-jumulo> 'shadow' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 166)
- 2. Reflection

Attestations:

- (1) <ot-jumulo> 'reflection' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 166)
- 3. Double of the sleeper

#### Attestations:

- (1) <ot-jumulo> 'sleeper's double, double of the sleeper' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 167), 'double' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 169), 'double, shadow-self, soul' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 304)
- 4. Photograph

Attestations:

(1) <ot-jumulo> 'photograph' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 166)

#### Notes:

'Dreams are sometimes explained by saying that the sleeper's double (ot-jumulo) has left his body and is wandering elsewhere' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 167). 'When a man dies his ot-jumulo (double) goes up to the sky and becomes a Lau (spirit)' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 169).

## otkimil, |ot-kimil| (NA) adj

1. Hot

Attestations:

- (1) <ot-kimil> 'hot' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 266), <ino ot-kimil bi> 'The water is hot' (*ino ot-kimil=bi* 'There is hot water') (RB<sub>2</sub>: 267)
- 2. In the condition of having eaten certain foods

Attestations:

- (1) <ot-kimil> [one who has eaten food] (RB<sub>2</sub>: 268–9, 307)
- 3. Having joined in a dance

Attestations:

(1)  $\langle \text{ot-kimil} \rangle$  [one who has joined in a dance] (RB<sub>2</sub>: 308, 321)

## Comparisons:

PGA  $k^himil$  'warm, hot' (Abbi 2012: 364); Akachari <kímil> 'hot' (Portman 1887: 39)

#### Notes:

'It is probable, then, that when a native says that after eating food he is *ot-kimil* and therefore paints himself with clay he does not mean simply that he is hot' (RB,: 268).

'(...) the word *ot-kimil*, when it is used to describe the condition of a person who has eaten food, denotes simply this condition of danger, and nothing more' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 269).

'When the word is used in reference to a person who has just partaken of food it denotes a condition of danger produced by contact with the power in foods' ( $RB_2$ : 307).

Finally, a man who has joined in a dance is said to be *ot-kimil* and seems to be regarded as being in a condition of danger similar to that produced by food. It might be thought that in this instance the word is only used in its literal meaning of "hot," but I believe that this is not so. The dance is the occasion on which the individual comes most closely into contact with the power in the society itself, and I believe that this contact is regarded as dangerous and therefore as making the individual *ot-kimil*. Thus we see that in its various uses the word *ot-kimil* denotes a condition of danger due to contact with that power on the interaction of the different manifestations of which the well-being of the society depends' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 308).

'(...) the dance is a condition of danger by reason of the contact it involves between the individual and the power of the society' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 321).

Notes:

Cf. akakimil, erkimil, kimil and kimil do.

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otkimil<sub>2</sub> |ot-kimil| (NA) v

To be hot

Attestations:
(1) <t'ot-kimil-bom> 'I am hot' (t=ot-kimil-bom 'id.') (RB<sub>2</sub>: 267)

otlam |ot-lam| (NA) adj

Strong
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#### Attestations:

(1) <ot-lam> 'strong' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 498), <e-tomo-t-ot-lam> 'muscularly powerful' (*Ø-e-tomo t=ot-lam* 'His/her flesh is strong') (RB<sub>2</sub>: 498), 'muscle strong' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 501)

## Comparisons:

PGA *erlam* 'strong' (M: 115); Akachari <ódlam> [*sic*] 'strong' (Portman 1887: 79)

# otlono | ot-lono | (AKJ) n

Neck

Attestations:

(1) <ōt-lôngo> 'neck' (M: 171)

Comparisons:

Akachari <ot longó> 'neck' (Portman 1887: 53)

## **otone** | ot-one | (NA) n

Son-in-law, daughter-in-law

Attestations:

(1) <ot-otone> 'his son-in-law' (*Ø-ot-ot-one* 'id.') (RB<sub>2</sub>: 54), 'daughter's husband, son's wife' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 56)

Comparisons:

Cf. PGA *otoni* 'daughter's husband, younger sister's husband' (Abbi 2012: 396)

Notes:

**ototone** seems to be the possessed form of this kin term (see section 3.2.1.6).

## ototoatue | ot-otoatue | (NA) n

Older person of the same generation

Attestations:

- (1) <ot-otoatue> 'he who was born before me' (*Ø-ot-otoatue* 'his older brother' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 54, 76), 'his/her older person of the same generation') (RB<sub>2</sub>: 55), 'his [older brother]' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 76), <t'ototoatue ot-tire> 'my older brother's child' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 56) (*t-ot-otoatue Ø-ot-tire* 'id.') (NA)
- (2) <ot-otoatue> 'he who was born before me' ( $RB_2$ : 66–7) (AKJ)

Comparisons:

PGA attawothu.we 'brother' (Abbi 2012: 378)

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Notes:
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This term does 'not, strictly speaking, convey any idea of consanguinity, although [it is] commonly used to refer to a brother or a sister' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 67). Synonym: **otarepu**.

**ototoatue ottire** |ot-otoatue Ø-ot-tire| (lit. 'child of an older person of the same generation') (NA)

Nephew, niece (child of an older brother or sister)

Attestations:

(1) <t'ot-otoatue ot-tire> 'my older brother's child' (*t-ot-otoatue* Ø-ot-tire 'id.') (RB<sub>2</sub>: 56)

ototoatue $\mathfrak{fip}$  |ot-otoatue $\mathfrak{fip}$ | (NA) n

Older woman of the same generation

Attestations:

(1) <ot-otoatue-čip> 'his older sister' (Ø-ot-otoatue-ʧip 'id.') (RB<sub>2</sub>: 54, 56)

Notes:

Synonym: otareputfip.

ottau | ot-tau | (NA)  $\nu$ 

To be cold

Attestations:

(1) <t-ot-tau-bom 'id.') (RB<sub>2</sub>: 504)

Comparisons:

PGA *t*<sup>h</sup>20 'cold' (Abbi 2012: 393)

Notes:

Cf. tau. See also section 3.1.

ottei | ot-tei | (AKJ) n

Headache

Attestations:

(1) <ot-tei> 'headache' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 499)

Comparisons:

PGA ottei 'headache' (Abbi 2012: 377)

Notes:

Cf. etei, eratei and tei.

**ottire** | ot-tire | (NA) *n* Child (possessed form)

#### Attestations:

(1) <ot-tire> 'his child' (Ø-ot-tire 'id.') (RB<sub>2</sub>: 54, 499), 'his or her child' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 55, 68), 'child of a particular person' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 499), <t'ot-tire> 'my child' (*t-ot-tire* 'id.') (RB<sub>2</sub>: 55), <Bora ot-tire> 'the child of Bora' (*bora* Ø-ot-tire 'id.') (RB<sub>2</sub>: 55), <Biliku ot-tire> 'the "child" of Biliku' (*biliku* Ø-ot-tire 'id.' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 154)

## Comparisons:

PGA *utt*<sup>h</sup>*ire* 'child' (Abbi 2013: 74, 113, 115, 134, 143, 192, 248, 258, 267, 287); Akachari < 6 tíré > 'id.' (Portman 1887: 163)

#### Notes:

Possessed counterpart of **etire**. 'In the form *ot-tire* the word means "his or her child" with reference to some person understood' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 68).

# **ottfo** |ot-tfo| (AKJ, NA) n

### 1. Head

#### Attestations:

- (1) <ot-čo> 'head' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 498), 'head of something; his, her or its head' (Ø-ot-ʧo 'his/her head') (RB<sub>2</sub>: 501), <t-ot-čo> 'my head' (t-ot-ʧo 'id.') (RB<sub>2</sub>: 501) (AKJ)
- (2) < $\eta$ -ot-čo> 'thy head' ( $\eta$ -ot-fo 'id.') (RB<sub>2</sub>: 504), <ra t'ot-čo> 'a pig's head' ( $ra\ t=\emptyset$ -ot-fo 'the pig's head') (Radcliffe-Brown 1922: 496; not in RB<sub>2</sub>) (NA)
- 2. Fruit

#### Attestations:

(1) <ot-čo> 'fruit' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 499)

#### Comparisons:

PGA *erco* 'head; fruit' (Abbi 2012: 354); Akachari <échu> 'head' (Portman 1887: 37), <ér chu> 'fruit' (Portman 1887: 35)

#### 1. Prow (see roa)

Notes:

Cf. ertso.

#### ortfubi (AKJ, NA)

Snake sp.: Ophiophagus elaps

### Attestations:

- (1) <<u>o</u>r-čubi> 'a species of snake' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 124) (AKJ)
- (2) <or-čubi> 'a species of large snake' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 317, 484), 'snake' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 373) (NA)

## Comparisons:

PGA ərfubi ~ orfubi 'snake' (Abbi 2012: 376, 242); Akabo < or-čubi > 'snake' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 97); Akachari < ór chubí > 'snake (*Ophiophagus elaps*)' (Portman 1887: 73)

Notes:

Cf. tfubi.

**ortfubi terabat**  $| \text{ortfubi t} = \emptyset \text{-} \text{era-bat} |$  (lit. 'tail of the *Ophiophagus elaps* snake') (AKJ, NA)

Design of zig-zag lines painted on the body with white clay

#### Attestations:

- (1)  $<\underline{\text{o}}\text{r-}\check{\text{c}}\text{ubi t'}\underline{\text{e}}\text{ra-bat}>$  'one customary pattern' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 124) (AKJ)
- (2) <or-čubi t'era-bat> 'design of zig-zag lines painted on the body with white clay' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 484) (NA)

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pare (AKJ) n
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Plant sp.

Attestations:

(1) <pare> 'a plant' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 183)

### pata (NA) n

Mushroom sp. (?)

Attestations:

(1) <pata > [a vegetable food] (RB<sub>2</sub>: 199)

Comparisons:

PGA pata 'mushroom' (Abbi 2012: 379)

Pot

Attestations:

- (1) <peč> 'a cooking pot' (RB<sub>1</sub>: 39, 48), 'pot' (RB<sub>1</sub>: 40; RB<sub>2</sub>: 474) (AKJ)
- (2) <peč>'pot' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 497) (NA)

Comparisons:

PGA *p*<sup>h</sup>εc 'pot' (Abbi 2012: 379); Akachari <paich> 'id.' (Portman 1887: 157), <péit> 'cooking-pot' (Portman 1887: 208)

Notes:

'One of the very few words which is the same in all Andamanese languages is the word for pot, *buču* in the Little Andaman, *buj* in Aka-Bea and *peč* in Aka-Jeru' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 474). This word is particularly

close in form and meaning to Proto-Austroasiatic \*buəc 'k.o. small vessel' (Shorto 2006: 246) with reflexes in Monic (Mon pòt 'small pot or cup') and Khmer (pù:əc '(small) jar'). Archaeological excavations on Great Andaman revealed that pottery was introduced in the Andamans at a fairly early stage (see the occurrence of potsherds in the basal layers of the Chauldari midden (South Andaman), for which a radiocarbon date on marine shells of 2280±90 BP has been obtained) and that, in terms of quality of manufacture, it appears to degenerate with time (Cooper 2002: 87). The strong affinity of the Great Andamanese terms for 'pot' to the reconstructed Proto-Austroasiatic denoting a type of vessel might indicate that pottery arrived in Great Andaman from contact with an old (visiting) Austroasiatic-speaking people. The Önge (Little Andaman) and Jarawa terms for 'pot' ( $bu:t^hu$  in Jarawa; Kumar 2012: 62) also resemble Proto-Austroasiatic \*buəc, but even more so Akabea and Akarbale budy. This suggests that the terms in question were borrowed from Akabea or, perhaps, Proto-South Andamanese (the common parent language of Akabea and Akarbale).

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piletfar (AKJ) n
    High-tide
    Attestations:
    (1) <pilečar> 'high-tide' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 101)
    Comparisons:
    Cf. PGA ephile 'tide' (Abbi 2012: 347) and sarephile 'tide, high tide,
    tsunami' (Abbi 2012: 383)
    Notes:
    Cf. tfari.
pin (AKJ (?)) n
    Tree sp.
    Attestations:
    (1) <piń> [a tree] (RB<sub>2</sub>: 201)
pir (AKJ) n
    1. Palm sp.: Calamus sp.
    Attestations:
    (1) <pir> 'a kind of cane (Calamus)' (RB<sub>1</sub>: 39), 'particular species
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of large cane, cane' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 146)

#### 2. Rainbow

Attestations:

(1) <pir> 'rainbow' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 146)

Comparisons:

PGA  $p^hir$  'cane' (Abbi 2012: 379); Akachari <pír> 'common cane' (Portman 1887: 226), 'rainbow' (Portman 1887: 63)

Notes:

'The Andamanese have certain legends regarding the use of the rainbow, and these have been hitherto understood as referring to 'canes." (RB<sub>2</sub>: 146).

## piribi (AKJ) n

Storm (?)

Attestations:

(1) <piribi > 'storm' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 193)

Comparisons:

Akachari <piribi > 'storm' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 202)

Notes:

'I have the word *piribi* in my notes as meaning a storm, but the translation is doubtful' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 202).

#### poramo (NA) n

Tree sp.: Myristica longifolia

Attestations:

(1) <poramo> 'Myristica longifolia' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 92)

## poruatoko (AKJ, NA) n

Bird sp.

Attestations:

- (1) <poruatoko> [a bird] (RB<sub>2</sub>: 199) (AKJ)
- (2) <poruatoko> [a bird] (RB<sub>2</sub>: 199) (NA)

#### poitfo (AKJ, NA) n

Tree sp.: Sterculia macrophylla

Attestations:

- (1) <poičo> 'Sterculia tree' (RB<sub>1</sub>: 39), 'Sterculia' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 192) (AKJ)
- (2) <poičo tomo> 'wood (literally flesh) of the *Sterculia* (poičo) tree' (poifo tomo 'id.') (RB<sub>2</sub>: 119) (NA)

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Comparisons:
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PGA p<sup>h</sup>oco 'tree' (Abbi 2012: 379), pocho 'Sterculia macrophylla' (Awasthi 1991: 278); Akachari <póchó> 'Sterculia (villosa?)' (Portman 1887: 217)

## poroto (AKJ) n

Palm sp.: Caryota mitis

Attestations:

(1) <poroto > 'Caryota palm' (RB<sub>1</sub>: 39; RB<sub>2</sub>: 497)

Comparisons:

PGA *p*<sup>h</sup>ɔrɔto 'tree; fruit' (Abbi 2012: 380), *phoroto 'Caryota mitis* Lour.' (Awasthi 1991: 279); Akachari <pāūratāū> 'Caryota sobolifera' (Portman 1887: 217)

## porubi (NA) n

Frog sp.

Attestations:

(1) <Maia Porubi> 'Sir Frog' (RB $_2$ : 221–2), <Porubi> [Frog] (RB $_2$ : 221–2)

Comparisons:

PGA  $p^h$ orube 'frog' (Abbi 2012: 380); Akachari <pórubé> 'id.' (Portman 1887: 35)

### pu (NA) part

NEGATIVE

Attestations:

(1)  $\langle -pu \rangle$  'negative suffix' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 503)

Comparisons:

PGA *p*<sup>h</sup>o ~ *p*<sup>h</sup>u 'negative marker' (Abbi 2013: 254); Akachari <pu>[id.] (Portman 1887: 103, 105, 107, 121, 129, 145, 149, 155)

### pulimu (NA) n

Fly sp.

Attestations:

(1) <pulimu> 'fly' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 221), <Maia Pulimu> 'Sir Fly' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 220)

Comparisons:

PGA *p*<sup>h</sup>*ulɛmu* 'fly' (Abbi 2012: 380); Akachari <pulímu> 'fly' (Portman 1887: 33)

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puliu (AKJ) n
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Tree sp.: Terminalia procera

Attestations:

(1) <puliu> [flower-name] (RB<sub>2</sub>: 119)

Comparisons:

Akachari <póeló> 'Terminalia procera' (Portman 1887: 217) (cf. Akakede <pólíe> 'id.'; Portman 1887: 217)

ra (AKJ, NA) n

Pig

Attestations:

- (1)  $\langle ra \rangle$  'pig' (RB<sub>1</sub>: 39; RB<sub>2</sub>: 498) (AKJ)
- (2) <ra t'ot-betč> 'pig's hair' (ra t=Ø-ot-betf 'hair of the pig') (RB<sub>2</sub>: 119), <ra t'era-puli> 'pig pattern' (ra t=Ø-εra-puli 'pattern of the pig') (RB<sub>2</sub>: 123), <ra-taru> 'boar (male pig)' (ra taru 'id.') (RB<sub>2</sub>: 504), <ra t'er-kuro> 'a big pig' (ra t=εr-kuro 'the big pig') (Radcliffe-Brown 1922: 496; not in RB<sub>2</sub>), <ra t'ot-čo> 'a pig's head' (ra t=Ø-ot-tfo 'the pig's head') (Radcliffe-Brown 1922: 496; not in RB<sub>2</sub>) (NA)

### Comparisons:

PGA *ra* 'pig' (Abbi 2012: 381); Akachari <rá> 'id.' (Portman 1887: 57)

### Notes:

All other languages of the Great Andamanese family have similar forms for 'pig': Akabea reg, Akarbale rak, Opuchikwar and Okojuwoi re, Okol reak, Akakede ra. These forms are also more or less similar to their equivalents in Old Mon and Old Khmer, respectively clik and pro:k or pro:k 'id.' (mod. cru:k) (Jenner 2009: 166) (cf. Proto-Austroasiatic \*lik[]/\*liik[] 'id.' (Shorto 2006: 160); the square brackets of the proto-form indicate that it could contain something else not yet specifiable). Although the available archaeological evidence does not satisfactorily resolve the question regarding the presence of the wild pig (Sus scrofa) on the Andaman Islands (Cooper 2002: 158), it is interesting to note that an Opuchikwar legend gathered by Radcliffe-Brown (1922: 217) seems to indicate that pigs were introduced into Great Andaman as domesticates and later became feral (Heine-Geldern 1963). The possibility that the pig was imported to Great Andaman from an old (visiting) Austroasiaticspeaking people, for the moment, cannot therefore be excluded.

re (AKJ) n

Plant sp.

Attestations:

(1) <re> [flower-name] (AKJ) (RB<sub>2</sub>: 191)

remu (NA) n

Iron

Attestations:

(1) < remu toi 'piece of iron' (remu toi 'bone of the iron') (RB<sub>2</sub>: 118)

Comparisons:

PGA remo 'iron'

remu toi (lit. 'bone of the iron') (NA)

Piece of iron

Attestations:

(1) < remu toi > 'piece of iron' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 118)

renko (NA) n

Green pigeon

Attestations:

(1) <reŋko> 'green pigeon' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 91) (NA)

Comparisons:

PGA rɛnkɔ 'Andaman green pigeon, Treron chloropterus' (Pande and Abbi 2011: 36), 'pigeon' (Abbi 2012: 382)

reno (AKJ, NA) n

Tree sp.: Ficus laccifera

Attestations:

- (1) <reŋo> 'Ficus tree' (RB<sub>1</sub>: 39), 'Ficus' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 497) (AKJ)
- (2) <reŋko> [sic] 'Ficus laccifera' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 91, 157) (NA)

Comparisons:

PGA reŋo 'Ficus tree' (Abbi 2012: 381), rengo 'Ficus sp.; Ficus retusa L. var. nitida Thunb.' (Awasthi 1991: 278)

Notes:

Radcliffe-Brown indicates that '[t]he same name, *Reŋko*, is used to denote both the green pigeon and also the *Ficus laccifera*, of the fruit of which the pigeon is very fond' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 91). In fact, the green pigeon and the *Ficus laccifera* have different names in North Andamanese (the former is **reŋko**), although they may well be etymological doublets.

# rena (NA) n

Possessions

Attestations:

(1) <renya čope> 'much baggage, many possessions' (rena tfope 'many possessions') (RB<sub>2</sub>: 119)

Comparisons:

PGA rena 'things' (Abbi 2012: 381); Akachari <árá rinya> 'package' (Portman 1887: 54)

reo (NA) n

Insect sp.

Attestations:

(1) <reo> 'a species of insect making a noise like a cicada' (RB,: 156)

roa (AKJ, NA) n

Canoe

Attestations:

- (1) <roa> 'canoe' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 499) (AKJ)
- (2) <t-ičo roa> 'my canoe' (*t-itfo roa* 'id.') (RB $_2$ : 504), <Buio ičo roa> 'Buio's canoe' (*buyo Ø-itfo roa* 'id.'), <t-ičo roa t-er-kuro> 'my canoe is big' (*t-itfo roa*  $t=\varepsilon r$ -kuro) (RB $_2$ : 504) (NA)

Comparisons:

PGA *ro:*2 'canoe, dongi' (Abbi 2012: 382); Akachari < róá ~ róāū> 'canoe' (Portman 1887: 19, 121, 147)

Notes:

An Austroasiatic origin of this word is probable, as suggested by its Akabea and Akarbale equivalent roko, which appears rather close phonetically to the Proto-Austroasiatic form \*du(u)k 'boat, canoe' reconstructed by Shorto (2006: 144). In the remaining Great Andamanese languages 'canoe' is ro (Opuchikwar, Okojuwoi, Akakede) or ro (Okol).

roa tott $\mathfrak{f}$ o |roa t= $\emptyset$ -ot- $\mathfrak{f}$ o| (lit. 'head of the canoe') (AKJ) Prow of a canoe

Attestations:

(1) <roa-t-ot-čo> 'prow of a canoe' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 499) (AKJ)

Comparisons:

PGA rowaterco 'front of the dongi (k.o. boat)' (Abbi 2012: 113)

## roputf (AKJ, NA) n

One who has lost a brother or sister

#### Attestations

- (1) <ropuč> 'one who has lost a brother or sister' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 112) (AKJ)
- (2) <ropuč> 'one who has lost a brother or sister' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 121) (NA)

## Comparisons:

PGA ropuc 'one who loses a sibling' (Abbi 2012: 382)

# t= (AKJ, NA) art DEFINITE ARTICLE

#### Attestations:

- (1) <<u>o</u>r-čubi t'<u>e</u>ra-bat> 'one customary pattern' (ɔrtfubi t=Ø-εra-bat 'tail of the *Ophiophagus elaps* snake') (RB<sub>2</sub>: 124), <roa-t-ot-čo> 'prow of a canoe' (roa t=Ø-ot-tfo 'head of the canoe') (RB<sub>2</sub>: 499), <ti-t-<u>e</u>ra-lobuŋ> 'a long way' (ti t=εra-lobuŋ 'the long place') (RB<sub>3</sub>: 500) (AKJ)
- (2) <t-> integrative particle, integrative prefix (RB<sub>2</sub>: 503), <ra t'ot-betč > 'pig's hair' ( $rat = \emptyset$ -ot-betf 'hair of the pig') (RB<sub>2</sub>: 119), <čokbi t'<u>e</u>ra-puli> 'turtle pattern' (#okbi  $t=\emptyset$ - $\epsilon$ ra-puli 'pattern of the turtle') (RB<sub>2</sub>: 123), <ra t'era-puli> 'pig pattern' ( $ra t = \emptyset$ - $\varepsilon ra$ puli 'pattern of the pig') (RB<sub>2</sub>: 123), <toto t'era-puli> 'pattern (...) used (...) to decorate a girl after the ceremony at her first menstruation' (toto  $t=\emptyset$ -ɛra-puli 'pattern of the pandanus') (RB<sub>2</sub>: 124), < lau t'er-čo > 'skull [of a dead person]' (lau  $t = \emptyset$ - $\varepsilon$ r-t/o 'skull of the dead person') (RB<sub>2</sub>: 137), <Lau t'ara-nyu> 'Penal Settlement [of Port Blair], the village of the spirits' (lau  $t=\emptyset$ -ara-nu 'village of the spirits') (RB<sub>2</sub>: 137), <Lau t'er-kuro> 'mythical ancestor' (lau  $t=\varepsilon r$ -kuro 'the big spirit') (RB<sub>2</sub>: 137), <Lau t'er-kuro> 'ancestor' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 190), <kimil-t'era-puli> 'a pattern' (*kimil*  $t = \emptyset$ - $\varepsilon ra$ -puli 'pattern of the boy or girl during the turtle-eating ceremony') (RB<sub>2</sub>: 314), <or-čubi t'era-bat> 'design of zig-zag lines painted on the body with white clay' (2rtfubi  $t=\emptyset$ - $\varepsilon$ ra-bat 'tail of the Ophiophagus elaps snake') (RB<sub>2</sub>: 484), <e-tomo-t-ot-lam> 'muscularly powerful' ( $\emptyset$ -e-tomo t=ot-lam 'his/her flesh is strong') (RB<sub>2</sub>: 498), 'muscle strong' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 501), <koroin t-er-kuro> 'a big dugong' (kəroin  $t=\varepsilon r$ -kuro 'the big dugong') (RB<sub>2</sub>: 504), <t-ičo roa t-er-kuro> 'my canoe is big' (*t-itfo* roa t=εr-kuro 'id.') (RB<sub>2</sub>: 504), <ra t'er-kuro> 'a big pig' (ra  $t=\varepsilon r$ -kuro 'the big pig') (Radcliffe-Brown 1922: 496; not in RB<sub>2</sub>), <ra t'ot-čo> 'a pig's head' ( $ra \ t=\emptyset$ -ot-tfo 'the pig's head') (Radcliffe-Brown 1922: 496; not in RB<sub>2</sub>) (NA)

#### Comparisons:

PGA t=; Akachari <t-> (Portman 1887: passim)

#### Notes:

The available descriptions of PGA do not recognise a proclitic definite article t=, but contain numerous occurrences of this morpheme (such as  $fec\ t=a-p^ho\eta$  'mouth of the vessel' and  $fec\ t=a-ta\eta$  'roof of the house' in Abbi (2013: 159, 206)), which Abbi (2013: 156–62) analyses as a marker of an inanimate possessor; see section 4.1.3. The definite article t= also occurs in the following Akajeru noun phrases before a noun whose meaning is obscure: **toto terbua**, **toto termai**, **toto ternau**, **toto ternarab** (see below **toto**).

t= (AKJ, NA) pron I. me

Attestations:

- (1) <t'a-Jeru>'I am Aka-Jeru' (t=a-dzeru 'id.') (RB<sub>2</sub>: 24) (AKJ)
- (2) <t-> 'I' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 501), <t'oi-čolo-kom> 'adopted child, he whom I have adopted' (*t=oitfolo-kom* '(who) I have in adoption') (RB<sub>2</sub>: 68), <t'ot-kimil-bom> 'I am hot' (*t=ot-kimil-bom* 'id.') (RB<sub>2</sub>: 267), <nilio t-ače-bom> 'you (pl.) come with (accompany) me' (*nilio t=a-tfe-bom* 'you (pl.) are accompanying me') (RB<sub>2</sub>: 501), <t-u-boto-ba> 'I fell' (*t=uboto-ba* 'id.') (RB<sub>2</sub>: 503), <nio t-ače-bom> 'you are coming with me' (*nio t=a-tfe-bom* 'you (sg.) are accompanying me') (RB<sub>2</sub>: 504), <t-ot-tau-bom> 'I am cold' (*t=ot-tau-bom* 'id.') (RB<sub>2</sub>: 504) (NA)

## Comparisons:

PGA *t*<sup>h</sup>= '1sG' (Abbi 2013: 174); Akabo <t'a-Bo> 'I am Aka-Bo' (*t=a-bo* 'id.') (RB<sub>2</sub>: 24); Akachari <t-> 'I' (Portman 1887: 97, 153)

taka (AKJ) n

Bird sp.

Attestations:

(1) <taka> [a bird] (RB<sub>2</sub>: 199)

Comparisons:

PGA *taka* 'Pacific reef heron, *Egretta sacra*' (Pande and Abbi 2011: 5), 'heron' (Abbi 2012: 389)

talar (NA) n

K.o. soft red stone

Attestations:

(1) <talar> 'a soft red stone' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 179)

#### Comparisons:

PGA ta:lar 'stone' (Abbi 2012: 389)

#### tarai (AKJ, NA) n

A male supernatural being

#### Attestations:

- (1) <Tarai>; cf. RB<sub>2</sub>, pp. 192, 199, 201, 206, 348 and 370 (AKJ)
- (2) <Tarai>'abeing' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 145, 147, 163, 178), 'an anthropomorphic being' (RB<sub>3</sub>: 377), <Maia Tarai> [Sir Tarai] (RB<sub>3</sub>: 150) (NA)

#### Notes:

In the North Andaman *Tarai* is declared to be male and *Biliku* female. It can readily be shown that this results from the position of *Biliku* and *Tarai* as regulating the seasons. *Tarai* rules over the rainy season, in which the chief food is the flesh of animals of the land and of the sea; it is the business of men to provide flesh-food. On the contrary *Biliku* rules over the seasons in which the chief foods are vegetable products of different kinds; it is the business of women to provide such foods' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 365–6).

*'Biliku* and *Tarai* are personifications of the N.E. and S.W. monsoons; as such they are responsible for the weather; feelings awakened by the weather are therefore referred to *Biliku* and *Tarai*' (RB,: 375).

## Comparisons:

PGA *t*<sup>h</sup>arae 'deity; monsoon storm; monsoon season' (Abbi 2012: 386); Akabo, Akachari, Akakhora < Tarai > (RB<sub>2</sub>: 147, 150, 199)

## tarai bəto (lit. 'Tarai wind') (AKJ, NA) n

South-west wind

#### Attestations:

- (1) <Tarai boto> 'S. W. Wind' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 147) (AKJ)
- (2) <Tarai boto > 'the Tarai wind' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 377) (NA)

#### Notes:

'(...) in the North Andaman *Biliku* and *Tarai* are used as the names of the two chief winds' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 378).

## taraitfulik | tarai-tfulik | (AKJ, NA) adv

Afterwards

## Attestations:

- (1) <t-arai-čul-ik> 'afterwards' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 501) (AKJ)
- (2) <tarai-čulik> 'afterwards' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 55) (NA)

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tare (AKJ) n
    Tree sp.
    Attestations:
    (1) <tare> 'a small tree' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 183)
    Comparisons:
    Akabo < tare > [a plant] (RB<sub>2</sub>: 103)
tarenckek (NA) adj (?)
    Angry (or nickname for a violent man)
    Attestations:
    (1) <tarenjek> 'angry' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 119)
    This word is said to be used a special nickname for '[a] man who is
    liable to outbursts of violent anger' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 49).
taru (NA) adj
    Male
    Attestations:
    (1) <ra-taru> 'boar (male pig)' (ra taru 'id.') (RB<sub>2</sub>: 504)
    Comparisons:
    PGA caotharo 'male dog' (Abbi 2012: 337), teotharo 'male crocodile'
    (Abbi 2012: 387)
    Notes:
    Cf. etaru.
tau (AKJ, NA) n
    Sky
    Attestations:
    (1) <tau> 'sky' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 193) (AKJ)
    (2) <tau> 'sky' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 144) (NA)
    Comparisons:
    PGA tao ~ too ~ to: 'sky' (Abbi 2012: 390, 393); Akachari <tāōo>
    [sic] 'id.' (Portman 1887: 73)
    Notes:
    Cf. ottau.
tau meo (lit. 'sky stone') (NA) n
    'Lapidary sky'
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Attestations:
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(1) <tau-meo> 'the sky-stone' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 145) (NA)

Notes:

In North Andaman, the sky 'is regarded as being made of stone (or rock) and is called *tau-meo* (the sky-stone)' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 145).

#### tei (AKJ, NA) n

Blood

Attestations:

- (1) <tei>'blood' (RB $_2$ : 500), <čokbi-tei> 'turtle-blood' (fokbi tei 'id.') (RB $_2$ : 498) (AKJ)
- (2) <tei>'blood' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 499), <lau-tei> 'spirit blood' (*lau tei* 'id.') (RB<sub>2</sub>: 119), <čokbi-tei> 'turtle-blood' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 296) (NA)

Comparisons:

PGA etei 'blood' (Abbi 2012: 351); Akachari <été> 'id.' (Portman 1887: 17)

Notes:

Cf. etei, eratei and ottei.

teo (AKJ) n

Bird sp.

Attestations:

(1) <teo> [a bird] (RB<sub>2</sub>: 199)

## terkobito (NA) n

Centipede

Attestations:

(1) <terkobito-balo> "centipede creeper" (Pothos sandens)' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 99)

Comparisons:

PGA terkobito: 'centipede' (Abbi 2012: 387)

#### **terkobito balo** (lit. 'centipede creeper') (NA) *n*

Creeper sp.: Pothos sandens

Attestations:

(1) <terkobito-balo> "centipede creeper" (*Pothos sandens*)" (RB<sub>2</sub>: 99)

tetf (NA) n Leaf

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Attestations:
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(1) <bidoteč lau> 'spirit of the *Calamus* leaf' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 136), <bidoteč lau> 'jungle spirit' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 165), <bidoteč-lau> '*Calamus* leaf spirit' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 292)

Comparisons:

PGA tec 'leaf' (Abbi 2012: 386); Akachari <teč> (RB<sub>2</sub>: 189), <taich> 'id.' (Portman 1887: 159)

teraitiro | terai-tiro | (AKJ) adv

Yesterday

Attestations:

(1) <t-<u>e</u>rai-čiro> 'yesterday' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 500)

ti (AKJ) n

Place

Attestations:

(1) <ti-t-era-lobun> 'a long way' [sic] (ti t=era-lobun) 'the long place') (RB<sub>2</sub>: 500)

Comparisons:

PGA *t*<sup>h</sup>*i* 'place, earth, land' (Abbi 2012: 391); Akachari <tí> 'place' (Portman 1887: 177)

timiku | ti-miku | (NA) n

Forest, jungle

Attestations:

(1) <ti-miku> 'forest, land' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 136), 'forest' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 199)

Comparisons:

PGA *thimikhu* 'forest, place' (Abbi 2012: 391); Akachari <tímíku> 'jungle' (Portman 1887: 105, 115), <tíméku> 'id.' (Portman 1887: 131)

Notes:

Cf. aramiku, ermiku and maramiku.

timiku lau (NA) n

Spirit of the forest

Attestations:

(1) <ti-miku lau> 'spirits that haunt the jungles' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 136)

Notes:

Cf. lau and timiku.

```
tio |t-io| (AKJ, NA) n
I
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Attestations:

- (1) <tio> [personal pronoun] (RB<sub>2</sub>: 501), <tio η-arai-čulutu-bom> 'I follow thee' (tio η=arai-fulutu-bom 'id.') (RB<sub>2</sub>: 501) (AKJ)
- (2) <tio> 'I' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 55), <tio ŋ'arai-čulutu-bom> 'I will follow you' (tio  $\eta$ =arai-tfulutu-bom 'id.') (RB<sub>2</sub>: 55), <tio bi tuŋ-om> 'I want (I am wanting)' (tio=bi tuŋ-om 'id.') (RB<sub>2</sub>: 503) (NA)

Comparisons:

PGA *t*<sup>h</sup>*io* 'I' (Abbi 2013: 306, 391); Akachari <tío> 'id.' (Portman 1887: 39)

tip (AKJ) n

Tree sp.

Attestations:

(1)  $\langle \text{tip} \rangle$  'a tree' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 183)

tirin (AKJ) n

Kingfisher sp.

Attestations:

(1) <tiriń> 'a species of kingfisher' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 202)

Comparisons:

PGA *t*<sup>h</sup>*iriy* 'small blue kingfisher, *Alcedo atthis bengalensis*' (Pande and Abbi 2011: 56), 'kingfisher' (Abbi 2012: 388)

tiritmo (AKJ (?), NA) n

Kingfisher sp.

Attestations:

- (1) <Maia Tiritmo> 'Sir Kingfisher' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 201) (AKJ (?))
- (2) <Maia Tiritmo> 'Sir Kingfisher' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 201) (NA)

titfo | t-itfo | (AKJ, NA) pron

Mine, my

Attestations:

- (1) <tičo maia> 'my father' (t-itfo maya 'id.') (RB<sub>2</sub>: 66) (AKJ)
- (2) <t-ičo> 'mine' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 503), <kidi t-ičo bi> (kidi t-itfo=bi) 'this is mine' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 503), <t-ičo roa> 'my canoe' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 504), <t-ičo roa t-er-kuro> 'my canoe is big' ( $t-itfo\ roa\ t=\varepsilon r-kuro\ 'id.$ ') (RB<sub>2</sub>: 504) (NA)

#### Comparisons:

PGA *t*<sup>h</sup>*ico* 'my' (Abbi 2012: 391); Akachari <téchuāū> [*sic*] 'id.' (Portman 1887: 115)

Notes:

The noun phrase <tičo maia> is presumably grammatically correct, but was not used to express 'my father'. As Radcliffe-Brown notes, '[in] *Aka-Jeru* a man speaks of his father as *t'a-mai'* (RB,: 66).

## tobut (AKJ) n

**Buttress** root

Attestations:

(1) <Poičotobut> 'Sterculia buttress' (poitfo-tobut 'buttress root of a Sterculia tree') (RB<sub>2</sub>: 192)

Notes:

<Poiičotobut> is the name of the first ancestor who 'came out of the buttress of a poiičo (*Sterculia*) tree, and was called (...) *Sterculia* buttress' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 192). We analyse this name as a noun-noun compound combining **poit(o** with **tobut**.

#### tomo (AKJ, NA) n

1. Flesh

Attestations:

- (1) <ê-chō-thômo> 'lap' (*e-tfɔ tomo* 'flesh of the lap/thigh') (M: 171), <ê-chō-thōmo> 'thigh' (M: 172) (AKJ)
- 2. Wood

Attestations:

(1) <poičo tomo> 'wood (literally flesh) of the *Sterculia* (poičo) tree' (poifo tomo 'id.') (RB<sub>2</sub>: 119) (NA)

Comparisons:

PGA *ethomo* 'flesh, meat' (Abbi 2012: 351); Akachari <yetomó> [*sic*] 'flesh' (Portman 1887: 33)

Notes:

Cf. etomo and eratomo.

totemo (AKJ (?), NA) n

Kingfisher sp.

Attestations:

(1) <totemo> 'a species of kingfisher' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 202) (AKJ (?))

(2) <totemo> [a species of kingfisher] (RB<sub>2</sub>: 202) (NA)

Comparisons:

PGA *totemo* 'bird' (Abbi 2012: 393); Akachari < Maia Totemo > 'Sir Kingfisher' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 189, 202)

toto (AKJ, NA) n

1. Pandanus sp.

Attestations:

- (1) <toto> 'species of Pandanus' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 93) (NA)
- Term of address for a girl during the initiation ceremony and for a short time afterwards

Attestations:

(1) <toto> 'girl [during the initiation ceremony and for a short time afterwards]' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 93, 121) (NA)

Comparisons:

PGA tətə 'pandanus' (Abbi 2012: 394), toto 'Pandanus andamanensium Kurz; Pandanus leram Jones' (Awasthi 1991: 279)

Notes:

'Toto is the name of the species of *Pandanus* from which women's belts are made and the leaves of which are used in the [initiation] ceremony' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 93).

toto terbua | toto t= $\emptyset$ -er-bua| (AKJ)

K.o. belt of pandanus leaf

Attestations:

(1) <toto t'er-bua> 'a belt of *Pandanus* leaf' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 477), [a belt] (RB<sub>2</sub>: 478)

Notes:

'Belts of this kind are generally worn by married women, but precisely similar belts are worn by men on certain ceremonial occasions' (RB $_2$ : 477). The meaning of the noun <er-bua> is unclear. This word resembles the term for 'lip' recorded by Radcliffe-Brown as < $^{c}$ -bôa> (cf. Akachari < $^{c}$  buáh> 'lip'; Portman (1887: 47)).

toto termoi | toto t=Ø-er-moi | (AKJ)

K.o. girdle

Attestations:

(1) <toto t'er-moi> 'kind of girdle' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 478)

#### Notes:

'Yet another kind of girdle is made by splitting *Pandanus* leaves into thin strips and making them into a kind of wrapped cord, one strip being wrapped spirally round one or more others by the same technique as that used in making bow-strings. A number of coils of strands made in this way are tied together with thread at various points and a tassel similar to that of the *toto t'er-bua* is added at the back. Such girdles are usually improved by the addition of a few pendent strings of *Dentalium* shell. They may be worn by either men or women. Their name in Aka-Jeru is *toto t'er-moi*' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 478). The meaning of the noun <er-moi> is obscure.

toto ternau | toto t= $\emptyset$ - $\epsilon$ r- $\eta$ au | (AKJ) K.o. girdle

Attestations:

(1) <toto t'er-nau> 'a girdle' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 478)

Notes:

'Girdles are also made by cutting a number of strips of leaf and softening them by chewing them in the mouth. These strips are laid together and either served over or marled with thread so as to make a girdle of round section. A tassel of leaves similar to that of the *toto t'er-bua* is attached to the back, and very frequently strings of *Dentalium* shell are attached at various points. Such a girdle may be worn by either men or women. It is called *toto t'er-ŋau* in Aka-Jeru' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 478). The meaning of the noun <er-ŋau> is obscure.

toto ternarab | toto t=Ø-εr-narab| (AKJ)

K.o. belt

Attestations:

(1) <toto t'er-nyarab> 'a belt' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 477)

Notes:

'A very similar belt is made in exactly the same way [as the **toto terbua** – RZ/BC] save that the tassel of leaves at the back consists of narrow strips of Pandanus leaf instead of broad strips. This kind of belt is worn by women only. (...) It is called *toto t'er-nyarab* in Aka-Jeru' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 477). The meaning of the noun <nyarab> is unknown.

**toto terapuli**  $|\text{toto t}=\emptyset\text{-}\epsilon\text{ra-puli}|$  (lit. 'pattern of the pandanus') (NA)

Pattern used to decorate a girl after the initiation ceremony

#### Attestations:

(1) <toto t'era-puli> 'pattern (...) used (...) to decorate a girl after the ceremony at her first menstruation' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 124)

#### toi (AKJ, NA) n

1. Bone

Attestations:

- (1) <toi> 'bone' (RB<sub>1</sub>: 49), <ê-buròngo-tòi> 'rib' (*e-burɔŋo tɔi* 'bone of the side of the body') (M: 171) (AKJ)
- (2) <toi>'bone' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 136, 137), <Lau toi> 'bones of a dead person' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 137, 301) (NA)
- 2. Shell

Attestations:

(1) <ino kolo toi > 'necklace of fresh-water shells' (*ino kolo toi* 'shells of a mollusc sp.') (RB<sub>2</sub>: 480)

Comparisons:

PGA *etɔe* ~ *etoe* 'bone, backbone' (Abbi 2012: 351, 352), *otɔy* 'id.' (Abbi 2012: 377); Akachari <é toi í> 'id.' (Portman 1887: 213)

## tokopor (AKJ) n

Cyclone

Attestations:

(1)  $\langle \underline{\text{toko-por}} \rangle$  'cyclone' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 352)

Notes:

Radcliffe-Brown indicates that this word literally means 'falling wood' or 'falling tree' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 352), but neither a root meaning 'fall' nor a root meaning 'wood' or 'tree' can be recognised here.

#### təl (AKJ, NA) n

White clay

Attestations:

- (1) <tol> 'white clay' (RB $_2$ : 112), 'a fine white pipe-clay' (RB $_2$ : 122) (AKJ)
- (2)  $\langle tol \rangle$  'white clay' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 111) (NA)

Comparisons:

PGA təl 'mud' (Abbi 2012: 393)

Notes:

Synonym: təlodu.

```
təlodu |təl-odu| (AKJ, NA) n
     White clay
     Attestations:
     (1) <tol>
    (1) <tol>
    tol-odu
    'white clay' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 112), 'a fine white pipe-clay' (RB<sub>2</sub>:

           122), 'fine white clay' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 124) (AKJ)
     (2) <tol>
    (2) <tol>
        <ti>(2) -odu</ti>
        'white clay' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 99, 102, 133, 180) (NA)

     Comparisons:
     PGA tolodu 'clay' (Abbi 2012: 388); Akachari <tál ótó> 'white clay
     prepared' (Portman 1887: 213)
     Synonym: tal.
tor (AKJ) n
     K.o. bucket
     Attestations:
     (1) <tar> 'a bucket' (RB<sub>1</sub>: 39), <t<u>a</u>r> 'bucket' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 497, 498)
     Comparisons:
     PGA tar 'bucket' (Abbi 2012: 385); Akachari <taux 'bucket'
     (Portman 1887: 155),
     Notes:
     See endnote 4 to Chapter 2.
tərodiu
            (NA) n
     1. Full sun
     Attestations:
     (1) <torodiu> 'sun' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 141), <toro-diu> 'the full sun' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 144)
     2. Middle part of the day
     Attestations:
     (1) <toro-diu> 'middle part of the day when the sun is well up in
          the sky' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 144)
     Notes:
     Cf. diu.
tərəi (AKJ, NA) n
     Bird sp.
     Attestations:
     (1) \langle t\underline{o}r\underline{o}i \rangle [a bird] (RB<sub>2</sub>: 199) (AKJ)
     (2) <toroi> [a bird] (RB<sub>2</sub>: 150, 156) (NA)
```

Comparisons:

Akabo (?), Akakhora <toroi> [a bird] (RB<sub>2</sub>: 199)

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tərək (AKJ) n
    Tree sp. (likely Terminalia bialata)
    Attestations:
     (1) \langle t\underline{o}r\underline{o}k \rangle [flower-name] (RB<sub>2</sub>: 119)
    Comparisons:
     PGA torok 'flower' (Abbi 2012: 392); Akachari < turok > 'Terminalia
     bialata' (Portman 1887: 220)
tərəktato (NA) n
    Tree sp.
    Attestations:
    (1) \langle toroktato \rangle [a tree] (RB<sub>2</sub>: 227)
tu |t-u| (NA) pron
     (1) <t-u-boto-ba> 'I fell' (t-u boto-ba 'id.') (RB<sub>2</sub>: 503)
    Comparisons:
    PGA t<sup>h</sup>u '1sg' (Abbi 2013: 169); Akachari <tó> 'I' (Portman 1887:
     115, 125, 129, 135, 145, 147, 149, 181, 189)
tun (NA) v
    To want
    Attestations:
     (1) <tio bi tun-om> 'I want (I am wanting)' (tio=bi tun-om 'id.')
          (RB_2: 503)
tfaino (AKJ, NA) n
    Plant sp.
    Attestations:
    (1) <čainyo> 'a plant' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 479) (AKJ)
    (2) <čainyo> [a plant] (RB<sub>2</sub>: 92, 93), 'a plant' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 127, 479) (NA)
tfarap (AKJ) n
    Plant sp.
    Attestations:
     (1) <čarap> [flower-name] (RB<sub>2</sub>: 119)
tfari (NA) n
    Salt water
```

Attestations:

(1) <čari> 'salt water' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 24)

```
Comparisons:
```

PGA *sare* 'saline water, sea, salt' (Abbi 2012: 383); Akachari < cháríí > 'salt, saline' (Portman 1887: 67), 'sea-water' (Portman 1887: 68)

Notes:

Cf. akatfari.

## tfatlo (NA) n

1. Large star

Attestations:

- (1) <čatlo> 'larger [star]' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 141)
- 2. Beetle sp.

Attestations:

(1) <čatlo> 'a species of finely marked beetle' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 141), 'a species of beetle' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 156)

Comparisons:

PGA cotlo 'star' (Abbi 2012: 339)

## tsato (NA) v

To do, to make, to work

Attestations:

(1) <Biliku čatobom> 'Biliku is at work' (*biliku tfato-bom* 'Biliku is working') (RB<sub>2</sub>: 368), <Tarai čatobom> 'Tarai is at work' (*tarai tfato-bom* 'Tarai is working') (RB<sub>2</sub>: 368)

Comparisons:

PGA cato 'to do, to work' (Abbi 2013: 113, 173, 210)

#### tfelebi (AKJ) n

Plant sp. (likely Diospyros densiflora)

Attestations:

(1) <čelebi> [flower-name] (RB<sub>2</sub>: 119)

Comparisons:

Akachari < chélebí > 'Diospyros densiflora'

#### tfelene (NA) n

Bird sp.

Attestations:

(1) <čelene> [a bird] (RB<sub>2</sub>: 150)

## Comparisons:

PGA celene 'little heron, Buteroides striatus' (Pande and Abbi 2011: 2), 'ruddy turnstone, Arenaria interpres' (Pande and Abbi: 28), celene 'bird, crab Plover' (Abbi 2012: 23, 337); Akabo (?) <čelene> [a bird] (RB,: 199)

## tfelmo (AKJ, NA) n

Tree sp.: Tetranthera lancifolia

Attestations:

- (1) <čelmo> 'Tetranthera wood' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 133) (AKJ)
- (2) <čelmo> 'Tetranthera lancæfolia' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 92), 'Tetranthera' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 102), 'Tetranthera wood' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 144) (NA)

#### Comparisons:

PGA *celmo* 'tree; flower' (Abbi 2012: 337); Akachari < chélmó > 'Tetranthera lancefolia' (Portman 1887: 229)

### tfeo (AKJ, NA) n

K.o. knife

Attestations:

- (1) <čeo> 'a knife' (RB<sub>1</sub>: 39) 'knife' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 193) (AKJ)
- (2) <čeo> 'a knife' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 118) (NA)

## Comparisons:

PGA *ceo* 'knife' (Abbi 2012: 338); Akachari < chéo > 'knife' (Portman 1887: 43), < chéó > 'iron knife' (Portman 1887: 207)

#### tfereo (AKJ, NA) n

Bird sp.

Attestations:

- (1) <čereo> [a bird] (RB<sub>2</sub>: 199) (AKJ)
- (2) <čereo> [a bird] (RB<sub>2</sub>: 150) (NA)

#### Comparisons:

PGA *cɛreo* 'a type of Asian cuckoo' (Abbi 2012: 338); Akabo (?) <čereo> [a bird] (RB<sub>2</sub>: 199)

#### tfiba (AKJ, NA) n

Sling of bark for carrying children

Attestations:

- (1) <čiba> 'a sling for carrying children' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 39), 'bark sling' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 76), 'sling used for carrying children' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 128) (AKJ)
- (2) <čiba> 'sling of bark used for carrying children' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 90) (NA)

## Comparisons:

PGA *ceba* 'sling' (Abbi 2012: 3); Akachari < chíbá > 'sling for carrying children' (Portman 1887: 209)

#### tfirikli (AKJ) n

Moon

Attestations:

(1) <čirikli> 'moon' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 142), <Maia Čirikli> 'id.' ('Sir Moon') (RB<sub>2</sub>: 142)

### Comparisons:

Akachari < chíríklí > 'moon' (Portman 1887: 191)

#### Notes:

 $RB_2$  (p. 141) also records <dula> 'moon' as a NA form (cf. Akachari <dolāū> 'id.' (Portman 1887: 51) and <Maia Dula> 'moon' (lit. 'Sir Moon') ( $RB_2$ : 141)). PGA has *qula* 'moon' (Abbi 2012: 342).

### tfiro (AKJ, NA) n

Liver (of an animal)

Attestations:

- (1) <čokbi-čiro> 'turtle-liver' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 101) (AKJ)
- (2) <čokbi-čiro> 'turtle-liver' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 119, 296) (NA)

Comparisons:

PGA cokbiciro 'liver of a turtle' (Abbi 2012: 338)

#### tfo (NA) n

Plant sp. (likely *Entada pursœtha*)

Attestations:

(1) <čo> [a vegetable food] (RB<sub>2</sub>: 199)

Comparisons:

PGA *co:* 'beans' (Abbi 2012: 338); Akachari <chāū> 'Entada pursœtha' (Portman 1887: 219)

## tfokbi (AKJ, NA) n

Turtle sp.

Attestations:

- (1) <čokbi-čiro> 'turtle-liver' (*tfokbi tfiro* 'id.') (RB<sub>2</sub>: 101), <čokbi-tei> 'turtle-blood' (*tfokbi teo* 'id.') (RB<sub>2</sub>: 498) (AKJ)
- (2) <čokbi> 'turtle' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 101, 118, 267), <čokbi-čiro> 'turtle-liver' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 119, 296), <čokbi t'era-puli> 'turtle pattern' (*ffokbi*

 $t=\emptyset$ -ɛra-puli 'pattern of the turtle') (RB<sub>2</sub>: 123), <čokbi-tei> 'turtle-blood' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 296) (NA)

Comparisons:

PGA cokbi 'green medium-sized turtle'; Akachari <chókbí> 'turtle'

## tfokbi kimil (NA) n

Turtle-eating ceremony

Attestations:

(1) <čokbi-kimil> 'turtle-eating ceremony' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 101, 267)

Notes:

Synonym: tfokbidgo. Cf. tfokbi and kimil.

## tfokbidzo (NA) n

Turtle-eating ceremony

Attestations:

(1) <čokbi-jo> 'turtle-eating ceremony' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 101, 267)

Notes:

'At the turtle-eating ceremony the youth is given a new name, of the nature of a nick-name' ( $RB_2$ : 120). Synonym: **tfokbi kimil**. Cf. **tfokbi** and **d50**.

## tfokoro (AKJ) n

Plant sp.

Attestations:

(1)  $\langle \text{čokoro} \rangle$  [flower-name] (RB<sub>2</sub>: 119)

Comparisons:

PGA cokhoro 'flower' (Abbi 2012: 339)

## tfoleke (AKJ) n

Tree sp.: Pterocarpus dalbergioides

Attestations:

(1) <čoleke> 'Pterocarpus tree' (RB<sub>1</sub>: 39)

Comparisons:

PGA *cɔlek*<sup>h</sup>*i* 'tree' (Abbi 2012: 339), *chawleke* 'Pterocarpus delbergoides [*sic*] Roxb.' (Awasthi 1991: 277); Akachari < choleké > 'Pterocarpus dalbergioides' (Portman 1887: 219)

#### tfolmo (AKJ) n

Fish sp.: Tetrodon sp.

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Attestations:
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(1) <čolmo> 'a species of Tetrodon' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 146)

#### tfop (AKJ, NA) n

Tree sp. (likely Terminalia sp.)

Attestations:

- (1)  $\langle \text{cop} \rangle$  'a species of tree' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 101) (AKJ)
- (2) <čop> 'a tree with edible nuts' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 118) (NA)

## Comparisons:

PGA *cop* 'tree; fruit' (Abbi 2012: 340); Akachari < chóp> 'Terminalia' (Portman 1887: 219), < chup> [*sic*] [fruit] (Portman 1887: 199)

## tfope (NA) adj

Many

Attestations:

(1) <renya čope> 'much baggage, many possessions' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 119)

## Comparisons:

PGA *cɔphe* 'many' (Abbi 2013: 114, 121, 122, 182, 190, 192, 246, 284, 286); Akachari <chópí> 'all, many' (Portman 1887: 157, 161)

## tfotət (AKJ, NA) n

Bird sp.

Attestations:

- (1)  $\langle \cot \underline{o}t \rangle$  [a bird] (RB<sub>2</sub>: 199) (AKJ)
- (2) <čotot> [a bird] (RB $_2$ : 150) (NA)

Comparisons:

PGA cɔtɔt 'bird, partridge' (Abbi 2012: 340); Akabo (?) <čotot> [a bird] (RB<sub>2</sub>: 199)

## fokfura (AKJ (?)) n

Heron sp.

Attestations:

(1) <čokčura> 'heron' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 201, 202)

## tfom (NA) n

Palm sp. (probably Areca catechu)

Attestations:

(1)  $\langle \check{c}om \rangle$  'Areca palm' (RB<sub>1</sub>: 39), 'Areca' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 222)

```
Comparisons:
```

PGA com 'betelnut' (Abbi 2012: 339), chom 'Areca catechu L.' (Awasthi 1991: 297); Akachari < chom > 'Areca laxa' (Portman 1887: 219)

## tfoptfura (AKJ, NA) n

Bird sp.

Attestations:

- (1)  $\langle \check{cop}\check{cura} \rangle$  [a bird] (RB<sub>2</sub>: 199) (AKJ)
- (2) <copcura> [a bird] (RB<sub>2</sub>: 150) (NA)

## tfubi (AKJ) n

Snake

Attestations:

(1) <čubi> 'snake' (RB<sub>1</sub>: 39, 40; RB<sub>2</sub>: 497)

Comparisons:

PGA *fubi* ~ *subi* 'snake' (Abbi 2012: 384); Akachari < chubí> 'id.' (Portman 1887: 73, 168)

## tfuei (AKJ) n

Plant sp.

Attestations:

(1) <čuei> [a fruit] (RB<sub>2</sub>: 142)

#### tfugoto (AKJ) n

Tree sp.: Mimusops indica

Attestations:

(1) <čugoto> 'Mimusops tree' (RB<sub>1</sub>: 39), <čugot<u>o</u>> 'Mimusops' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 497)

Comparisons:

Akachari < chugotāū > 'Misopsus indica' (Portman 1887: 221)

#### tfup (AKJ, NA) n

K.o. basket

Attestations:

- (1) <čup> 'a basket' (RB<sub>1</sub>: 39) (AKJ)
- (2)  $\langle \text{cup il} \rangle$  'in the basket' (fup=il 'id.') (RB<sub>2</sub>: 503) (NA)

Comparisons:

PGA  $\int up \sim sup \sim sup$  'basket, bucket' (Abbi 2012: 14); Akachari <chup> 'id.'

tfup toi (lit. 'bone of the basket') (NA)

Creeper sp.

Attestations:

(1)  $\langle \text{cup-toi} \rangle$  'a creeper' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 465)

Notes:

The stem of this creeper is used to make baskets (RB<sub>2</sub>: 465).

u |Ø-u| (NA) pron

He, she, it

(1) <u-ben-om> 'someone sleeping, he sleeping' (*Ø-u beno-m* 'He/she is sleeping') (RB<sub>2</sub>: 501), 'sleeping' (RB<sub>2</sub>: 503), <u-beno-ba> 'he slept or was sleeping' (*Ø-u beno-ba* 'id.') (RB<sub>2</sub>: 504), <u-boto-ba> 'he or it fell' (*Ø-u boto-ba* 'id.') (RB<sub>2</sub>: 504)

Comparisons:

PGA *u* '3sg' (Abbi 2013: 177); Akachari <u> 'he' (Portman 1887: 151, 163, 189)

## 8.2 English-Akajeru finder list

abdominal walls Akachari

Abdominal walls: epilu Akachari: akatfari (NA)

(AKJ)

Akajeru

ABSOLUTIVE Akajeru: akadzeru (AKJ)

Absolutive:  $=bi_1$  (NA)

ALLATIVE

**accompany** Allative: =kak (NA)

To accompany: akatfe (NA)

alone

adze Alone: dzutpu (NA) (?)

Adze: olo (AKJ)

ancestor
Ance

r Ancestor: lau tɛrkuro (NA)
After: araitfulu (AKJ, NA) Ancestors: akamai koloko

(NA)

afterwards

Afterwards: taraitfulik anchor

(AKJ, NA) Anchor: *erameo* (AKJ)

angry beard

Angry: tarendzek (NA) (?) Beard: ɛrtap betf (AKJ)

animal beetle sp.

A mythological animal that Beetle sp.: \*fatlo (NA) haunts the jungle: \*dxirmu\*

Belly: itpet (NA)

(NA) belly

111)

ankle Ankle: onbrono (AKJ) belt

K.o. belt: toto ternarab

arm (AKJ)

Arm: ɛrkit (AKJ)

K.o. belt of pandanus
leaf: toto tɛrbua (AKJ)

Armpit

K.o. belt of pandanus leaves

Armpit: oŋpoŋ (AKJ) worn by girls and women: kudu (AKJ)

Ashamed: otdgete (AKJ) big

Big: εrkuro (NA)

Back (n): otbo (AKJ, NA) bird sp.

Bird sp.: bepe (AKJ, NA)

bad Bird sp.: biratkoro (NA) Bad: etfai (AKJ) Bird sp.: bobelo (AKJ, NA)

Bird sp.: kelil (AKJ, NA)

basket
Bird sp.: milidu (AKJ, NA)

K.o. basket: tfup (AKJ, NA)
Bird sp.: mite, (AKJ)

Bird sp.: poruatoko (AKJ, NA)

be Bird sp.: taka (AKJ)

To be:  $=bi_2$  (AKJ, NA) Bird sp.: taka (AKJ)

Bird sp.: taka (AKJ)

Bird sp.: taka (AKJ)

be cold Bird sp.: tərəi (AKJ, NA)
To be cold: ottau (NA) Bird sp.: teo (AKJ)

 $\begin{array}{ccc} & \text{Bird sp.: } \textit{fereo} \text{ (AKJ, NA)} \\ \textbf{be hot} & \text{Bird sp.: } \textit{fotot} \text{ (AKJ, NA)} \\ & \text{To be hot: } \textit{otkimil}_2 \text{ (NA)} & \text{Green pigeon: } \textit{reŋko} \text{ (NA)} \end{array}$ 

Heron sp.: tfɔktfura (AKJ (?))
be married Imperial pigeon: mirid (AKJ)
To marry, to be Kingfisher sp.: lirtfitmo (AKJ)

married:  $ebui_2$  (NA) Kingfisher sp.: tirin (AKJ)

Kingfisher sp.: tiritmo

(AKJ (?), NA)

Kingfisher sp.: totemo

(AKJ (?), NA) Oriole: bani (NA)

Rail: moitfo (AKJ, NA)

Sea-eagle: kɔlo (AKJ, NA)

blood

Blood: tei (AKJ, NA)

bone

Bone: toi (AKJ, NA)

Bone of a dead person: lau

təi (NA)

bowels

Intestines, bowels: dzekaket

(?) (AKJ)

boy

A boy after his back was scarified in an initiation

ceremony: edyido (NA) A boy after his back was scarified in an initiation ceremony and before the

turtle-eating ceremony:

okotaliŋ kolɔt (NA)

A boy or girl during the turtle-eating ceremony or the pig-eating ceremony: *kimil* 

(AKJ, NA)

A boy or girl under certain ritual restrictions chiefly concerned with food: *akaop* 

(AKJ, NA)

A boy or girl who is passing through the initiation ceremonies: *akakimil kolət* 

(NA)

brother

One who has lost a brother or sister: *roputf* (AKJ, NA)

brother-in-law

Younger brother-in-law: ebui

otaraitfulute (NA)

bucket

K.o. bucket: tər (AKJ)

buttocks

Buttocks: *ɛratomo* (AKJ)

canoe

Canoe: roa (AKJ, NA)

catch hold

To catch hold: nimi

(NA) (?)

cave

Cave: erapon (AKJ, NA)

centipede

Centipede: terkobito (NA)

ceremony

Turtle-eating

ceremony: kimildzo (NA), tfokbi kimil

(NA), tfokbidzo (NA)

cheek

Cheek: *ɛrnoko* (AKJ)

child

Child (non-possessed

form): etire, (AKJ, NA)

Child (possessed form): ottire

(NA)

cicada

Cicada: mite, (AKJ, NA) sandens: terkobito balo (NA)

clay

K.o. clay: odu (AKJ, NA) Cyclone: tɔkopɔr (AKJ)

White clay: tol (AKJ,

NA), tolodu (AKJ, NA)

clothes

Clothes: otdzulu, (NA)

cold

Cold: otdzulu, (NA)

To be cold: ottau (NA)

COLLECTIVE

Collective (for human

nouns): koloko (NA)

come

To come and go: elpe (NA) (?)

condition

Condition of a boy or girl who is passing through the

initiation ceremonies:

akakimil (NA)

In the condition of having

eaten certain foods: otkimil,

(NA)

creek

Creek: buliu (AKJ)

creeper

Creeper: balo (NA)

creeper sp.

Creeper sp.: bobi (NA)

Creeper sp.: korotli (AKJ)

Creeper sp.: tfup toi (NA)

cyclone

Creeper sp.: Pothos

cyrena

Cyrena shell: bun (AKJ, NA)

dance

Having joined in a

dance: otkimil, (NA)

daughter-in-law

Daughter-in-law: otone (NA)

day

Middle part of the

day: tərodiu (NA)

DEFINITE ARTICLE

DEFINITE ARTICLE:

t = (AKJ, NA)

die

To die: empil (NA)

do

To do, to make, to work:

tfato (NA)

dog

Dog: bibi (NA)

double of the sleeper

Double of the

sleeper: otdzumulo (NA)

dream

Dream: otdzumu<sub>1</sub> (NA)

To dream: otdzumu<sub>2</sub> (NA)

dugong finish

Dugong: kəroin (NA) To finish: εralio (NA)

ear firefly

Ear: *ɛrbuo* (AKJ) Firefly: *katan* (AKJ)

eating fish sp.

Eating, food: dʒo<sub>1</sub> (AKJ, NA) Fish sp.: bol<sub>1</sub> (NA)

Fish sp.: komar (AKJ, NA) enough Fish sp.: Plotosus sp.: ɲuri

Enough: deko (NA) (NA)

Fish sp.: Tetrodon sp.: ffolmo

eye (AKJ) Eye: ɛrulu (AKJ)

flesh

eyebrow Flesh: tomo (AKJ, NA)
Eyebrow: ɛrulu betf (AKJ) Flesh of the body,

meat: etomo (AKJ)

eyelash Eyelash: ɛrulu totbetf (AKJ) fly:

Eyelash: *ɛrulu totbetf* (AKJ) **fly sp.**Fly sp.: *pulimu* (NA)

face

Face: ɛrmiku (AKJ) foam

Foam on a rough sea: air

fall (AKJ)
To fall: boto (NA)

follow

**father** To follow: araitfulutu (AKJ, Father: akamai (AKJ, NA) NA)

father-in-law food

Father-in-law: *epotatfiu* (NA) Eating, food:  $dzo_1$  (AKJ, NA) K.o. vegetable food: *bui* (NA)

female Female: buku (NA) foot

Foot: onmato (AKJ)

fever Fever: etei, (NA) forearm

Forearm:  $\varepsilon rbala$  (AKJ) finger Fleshy portion of the

Finger: oŋkəra (AKJ) forearm: oŋba (AKJ)

forehead

Forehead: *ɛrmiku* (AKJ)

forest

Forest, jungle: timiku (NA)

frog sp.

Frog sp.: *bɛrɛt* (NA)
Frog sp.: *pɔrubi* (NA)

fruit

Fruit: ottfo (AKJ, NA)

girdle

K.o. girdle: toto tɛrmɔi (AKJ) K.o. girdle: toto tɛrnau (AKJ)

girl

A boy or girl under certain ritual restrictions chiefly concerned with food: *akaop* (AKJ, NA)

A boy or girl during the turtle-eating ceremony or the pig-eating ceremony: *kimil* (AKJ, NA)

A boy or girl who is passing through the initiation ceremonies: akakimil kolat

(NA)

A girl between the ceremony that takes place on the occasion of her first menstrual discharge: akandu kolɔt

(NA)
Term of address for a girl during the initiation ceremony and for a short time afterwards: *alebe* (NA), *toto* (AKJ, NA)

good

Good: enol (AKJ, NA)

grandfather

Maternal grandfather: akamimi akamai (AKJ, NA)

green pigeon

Green pigeon: renko (NA)

hair

Hair: betf (AKJ), otbetf

(NA)

Head hair: *ɛrbetf* (AKJ)

hand

Hand: oŋkəra (AKJ, NA) ~

oŋkəro (NA)

have in adoption

To have in adoption: oitfolo

(NA)

he

He, she, it: io (AKJ, NA), u

(NA)

head

Head: ottfo (AKJ, NA)

Head, skull: εrtfo (AKJ, NA)

headache

Headache: ottei (AKJ)

heart

Heart (seat of

affections): εrtfar (AKJ)

her

His, hers, her: itfo (NA)

heron sp. intestines Heron sp.: tfɔktfura (AKJ (?)) Intestines, bowels: dzekaket (AKJ) (?) hers His, hers, her: itfo (NA) iron Iron: remu (NA) high-tide High-tide: piletfar (AKJ) it He, she, it: io (AKJ, NA), u his (NA) His, hers, her: itfo (NA) jaw Lower jaw: ertap (AKJ) honey Black honey: maro (NA) jungle hot Forest, jungle: timiku (NA) Hot: εrkimil (NA) To be hot: otkimil<sub>2</sub> (NA) kingfisher sp. Kingfisher sp.: lirtfitmo (AKJ) husband Kingfisher sp.: *tiri*<sub>n</sub> (AKJ) Husband, wife: ebui, (NA) Kingfisher sp.: tiritmo (AKJ (?), NA) I Kingfisher sp.: totemo I: t = (AKJ, NA), tio (AKJ (?), NA) (AKJ, NA), tu (NA) knife K.o. knife: tfeo (AKJ, NA) imperial pigeon Imperial pigeon: mirid (AKJ) knuckle INESSIVE Knuckle: onkide (AKJ), INESSIVE: =ko (NA) (?) onkudzu (AKJ) insect sp. ladv Beetle sp.: fatlo (NA) Lady: mimi (AKJ, NA) Centipede: terkobito (NA) Cicada: mite, (AKJ, NA) lap Firefly: *katan* (AKJ) Lap, thigh: etfo (AKJ) Fly sp.: *pulimu* (NA) Insect sp.: reo (NA) leaf Spider: biliku (NA) Leaf: tetf (NA)

Palm leaf (Licuala sp.): kəbo many

(AKJ) Many: fope (NA)

lightning marry

Lightning: *ele* (AKJ) To marry, to be married: *ebui*, (NA)

light-skinned person

Light-skinned person mat

(European or Asian): lau (NA) Sleeping mat: baraba (AKJ)

lip me

Lip: erboa (AKJ) Me: t = (AKJ, NA)

liver meat

Liver (of a an animal): *tfiro* Flesh of the body, (AKJ, NA) meat: *etomo* (AKJ)

LOCATIVE medicine-man

LOCATIVE: =il (NA) Medicine-man: okodyumu

(AKJ, NA)

Long, tall: eralobun mine

(AKJ), elobuŋ (AKJ) Mine, my: titfo (AKJ, NA)

make mist

To do, to make, to work: Mist: milite (NA)

tfato (NA)

make a torch of Sir, mister: mai (AKJ, NA) ~

To make a torch of: moitf (NA) maya (AKJ, NA)

male mollusc sp.

Male: taru (NA) Mollusc sp.: ino kɔlo (AKJ)

mister

moon

Man, male: etaru (NA)

man Moon: tfirikli (AKJ)

Man, male: etaru (NA)

mother

mangrove sp.: Mother: akamimi
Mangrove sp.: kabal (NA) (AKJ, NA), itpet (NA)

mother-in-law

Mother-in-law: epotatfip

(NA)

mother-of-pearl

Mother-of-pearl shell: be

(AKJ, NA)

mourner

Mourner: akaodu (NA)

mouth

Mouth: akapon (AKJ)

mushroom sp.

mushroom sp.: pata

(NA) (?)

my

Mine, my: titfo (AKJ, NA)

nail

Nail (of finger or toe): onkara

(AKJ)

navel

Navel: enet (AKJ)

neck

Neck: otlono (AKJ)

necklace

Necklace of fresh-water

shells: *ino kɔlo tɔi* (AKJ)

needle

Netting needle: kutobi (AKJ)

NEGATIVE

NEGATIVE: pu (NA)

nephew

Nephew, niece (child of an older brother or sister):

ototoatue ottire (NA)

nest

Nest of the white ants: kət

(AKJ)

new

New (of the moon): etire, (NA)

niece

Nephew, niece (child of an older brother or sister): *ototoatue ottire* (NA)

night

Night: bat (NA)

nose

Nose: erkəto (AKJ)

offspring

Offspring of an animal

(non-possessed form): etire,

(AKJ, NA)

oriole

Oriole: bani (NA)

orphan

Orphan: bolok (AKJ, NA)

palm of the hand

Palm of the hand: onkotra

(AKJ)

palm sp.

Palm sp. (probably *Areca* 

catechu): tʃɔm (NA)

Palm sp.: *Calamus* sp.:

pir (AKJ)

Palm sp.: Calamus tigrinus:

bido (NA)

Palm sp.: *Caryota mitis*:

poroto (AKJ)

Palm sp.: *Licuala* sp.: *kɔbo* 

(AKJ, NA)

palm-leaf fibre

Shredded palm-leaf fibre:

kəro (AKJ, NA)

pandanus sp.

Pandanus sp.: toto (AKJ, NA)

pattern

Pattern in painting a person ornamentally: *ɛrapuli* 

(AKJ, NA)

Pattern of zig-zag lines painted on the body with

white clay: ərtfubi terabat

(AKJ, NA)

Pattern used to decorate a boy or a girl after the initiation

(NA)

person of the same generation

Older person of the same

ceremony: kimil terapuli

generation: otareupu

(NA), ototoatue (NA) Younger person of the same

generation: arabela (NA), araitfulute (AKJ,

NA), aralifu (NA)

photograph

Photograph: otdzumulo (NA)

piece

Piece of iron: remu toi (NA)

pig

Pig: ra (AKJ, NA)

pigeon

Green pigeon: renko (NA)

Imperial pigeon: mirid (AKJ)

pigment

A red pigment: keip (AKJ)

place

Place: ti (AKJ)

plant sp.

Creeper: balo (NA)

Creeper sp.: bobi (NA)

Creeper sp.: korotli (AKJ)

Creeper sp.: tfup toi (NA)

Creeper sp.: Pothos

sandens: terkobito balo (NA)

Mangrove sp.: *kabal* (NA)

Mushroom sp.: pata

(NA) (?)

Palm sp. (probably *Areca* 

catechu): tfɔm (NA)

Palm sp.: Calamus sp.: pir

(AKJ)

Palm sp.: Calamus tigrinus:

bido (NA)

Palm sp.: *Caryota mitis*: pɔrɔto

(AKJ)

Palm sp.: *Licuala* sp.: *kɔbo* 

(AKJ, NA)

Pandanus sp.: toto (AKJ, NA)

Plant sp.: botek (AKJ)

Plant sp.: burut (AKJ)

Plant sp.: den (AKJ)

Plant sp.: dʒili (AKJ, NA)

Plant sp.: dzin (AKJ)

Plant sp.: mit (AKJ)

Plant sp.: *mukui* (AKJ)

Tree sp.: *Terminalia* Plant sp.: *okor* (AKJ) procera: puliu (AKJ) Plant sp.: pare (AKJ) Tree sp.: Tetranthera Plant sp.: re (AKJ) lancifolia: tfelmo (AKJ, NA) Plant sp.: tfaino (AKJ, NA) Plant sp.: tfarap (AKJ) Yam sp.: Dioscorea sp.: konmo (NA) Plant sp. (likely *Diospyros* Yam sp.: Dioscorea sp.: mino densiflora): tfelebi (AKJ) (NA) Plant sp. (likely Entada pursœtha): tfo (NA) Port Blair Plant sp.: tfokoro (AKJ) Port Blair: lau taranu Plant sp.: *tfuei* (AKJ) (AKJ), lautife (NA) Plant sp.: *Mucuna* sp.: *buyo* (NA) possessions Tree sp.: pin (AKJ (?)) Possessions: rena (NA) Tree sp.: *tare* (AKJ) Tree sp.: *tip* (AKJ) pot Tree sp. (likely *Terminalia* Pot: petf (AKJ, NA) bialata): tɔrɔk (AKJ) Tree sp.: tɔrɔktato (NA) prawn sp. Tree sp. (likely Terminalia Prawn sp.: dik (NA) sp.): tfop (AKJ, NA) Tree sp.: *Dipterocarpus* prow laevis: kərəin (AKJ) Prow of a canoe: roa tottfo Tree sp.: *Erythrina orientalis*: (AKJ) laro (AKJ) Tree sp.: Ficus laccifera: reno rail (AKJ, NA) Rail: moitfo (AKJ, NA) Tree sp.: Hibiscus tiliaceus: bol, (NA) rain Rain: dzitser (NA) Tree sp.: Mimusops indica: tfugotə (AKJ) rainbow Tree sp.: Myristica Rainbow: pir (AKJ) longifolia: poramo (NA) Tree sp.: Pterocarpus rainy season dalbergioides: tfoleke (AKJ) A brief period of unsettled Tree sp.: Sterculia sp.: dzeru weather at the end of the (AKJ, NA) rainy season: kimil (AKJ, NA) Tree sp.: Sterculia sp.: moyo reel (AKJ)

Tree sp.: Sterculia

macrophylla: poitfo (AKJ, NA)

Reel used in rope-

making: kutobi (AKJ)

reflection

Reflection: otdzumulo (NA)

shoot of a plant

Young shoot of a plant: *eratire* (AKJ, NA)

resin

K.o. resin: biu (NA)

shy

Shy: otdzete (AKJ)

rib

Rib: *eburoŋo tɔi* (AKJ)

side of the body

Side of the body: eburano

(AKJ)

rope

Rope: luremo (NA)

sing

To sing: eur (NA)

root

Buttress root: tobut (AKJ)

K.o. root: dʒi (AKJ)
K.o. root: labo (AKJ)
K.o. root: lɔito (AKJ)
K.o. root: mikulu (AKJ)

sir

Sir, mister: mai (AKJ, NA)  $\sim$ 

maya (AKJ, NA)

say

To tell, to say: akarka (AKJ)

sister

One who has lost a brother or sister: roputf (AKJ, NA)

sea-eagle

Sea-eagle: kɔlo (AKJ, NA)

skull

Head, skull: *ɛrtfo* (AKJ, NA) Skull of a dead person: *lau* 

tertfo (NA)

shadow

Shadow: otdzumulo (NA)

sky

Sky: tau (AKJ, NA)

'Lapidary sky': tau meo (NA)

she

He, she, it: io (AKJ, NA),

u (NA)

sleep

To sleep: beno (NA)

shell

Cyrena shell: *bun* (AKJ, NA) Mother-of-pearl shell: *be* 

(AKJ, NA)

Shell: tɔi (AKJ, NA)

sling

Sling of bark for carrying

children: tfiba (AKJ, NA)

shoulder

Shoulder: *ɛrkum* (AKJ)

small

Small: eleo (NA)

snake storm

Snake: tfubi (AKJ) Storm (?): piribi (AKJ) (?)

snake sp. strong

Snake sp.: Ophiophagus Strong: otlam (NA)

elaps: ərtfubi (AKJ, NA)

**sole** Structure erected across a

Sole of the foot: *oŋkɔtra* (AKJ) dancing ground: *kɔrotfop* (NA)

structure

song sun

Song:  $d_3o_2$  (NA) Full sun: torodiu (NA) Sun: diu (AKJ, NA)

son-in-law

Son-in-law: otone (NA) supernatural being
A female supernatural

space underbeing: biliku (AKJ, NA)Space under: aramikuA male supernatural

(AKJ, NA) being: tarai (AKJ, NA)

spider tail

Spider: biliku (NA)

Tail (of snake or turtle): ɛrabat (AKJ, NA)

spine omran (AKI) talk

Spine: omrap (AKJ) talk
To talk: ar (NA)

spirit
Sea spirit: ʤurua (NA) tall

Spirit: lau (NA) Long, tall: elobuŋ
Spirit of the Calamus leaf: (AKJ), ɛralobuŋ (AKJ)

bido tet lau (NA)

Spirit of the forest: timiku lau (NA) tell To tell, to say: akarka (AKJ)

there

(141)

Large star: fatlo (NA) There (distant): kulel

Small star: katan (AKJ) (AKJ, NA)

stone they

star

K.o. soft red stone: talar (NA) They: n = (NA), nio (AKJ, Stone: meo (AKJ, NA) NA), nu (NA)

thigh

Lap, thigh: effo (AKJ)

this

This: kidi (NA)

throat

Throat: akanəro (AKJ)

thunder

Thunder: korude (NA)

tongue

Tongue: akatat (AKJ)

tooth

Tooth: erpile (AKJ)

torch

Torch of resin: biumait (NA)

tree sp.

Mangrove sp.: *kabal* (NA) Palm sp. (probably *Areca* 

catechu): ffɔm (NA)
Palm sp.: Caryota
mitis: pɔrɔto (AKJ)

Palm sp.: Licuala sp.: kəbo

(AKJ, NA)

Tree sp.: pin (AKJ (?))
Tree sp.: tare (AKJ)

Tree sp.: tip (AKJ)

Tree sp. (likely *Terminalia* 

bialata): tɔrɔk (AKJ)
Tree sp.: tɔrɔktato (NA)
Tree sp. (likely Terminalia

sp.): fop (AKJ, NA)

Tree sp.: Dipterocarpus laevis: kərəin (AKJ) Tree sp.: Erythrina orientalis: laro (AKJ) Tree sp.: Ficus laccifera: reŋo

(AKJ, NA)

Tree sp.: *Hibiscus tiliaceus*: *bol*<sub>2</sub> (NA)

Tree sp.: Mimusops indica: fugoto (AKJ)
Tree sp.: Myristica

longifolia: poramo (NA) Tree sp.: Pterocarpus

dalbergioides: ffoleke (AKJ)

Tree sp.: Sterculia sp.: dzeru

(AKJ, NA)

Tree sp.: Sterculia sp.: mɔyo

(AKJ)

Tree sp.: Sterculia

macrophylla: poitfo (AKJ, NA)

Tree sp.: Terminalia procera: puliu (AKJ) Tree sp.: Tetranthera

lancifolia: tfelmo (AKJ, NA)

turn in one's sleep

To turn in one's sleep (?): kea

(NA) (?)

turtle sp.

Turtle sp.: *tfokbi* (AKJ, NA)

uncle

Younger paternal uncle: akamai otaraitfulute (NA)

urine

Urine: araket (AKJ)

village

Village: aranu (NA)

walk

To walk backwards and forwards, to wander: *kidzeri* 

(NA)

wander

To walk backwards and forwards, to wander: kidzeri

(NA)

wood

work

world

(NA)

tfato (NA)

To want: tun (NA)

Wood: tomo (AKJ, NA)

To do, to make, to work:

Younger woman of the same

generation: araitfulutetfip

water

want

Fresh water: ino (AKJ, NA) Salt water: tfari (NA)

Water: ino (AKJ, NA)

we

We: m = (NA), mio(AKJ)

World of the spirits that lies under this one: maramiku (NA)

whiskers

Whiskers: *ɛrnoko betf* (AKJ)

wrestle

wrist

To wrestle: boitfo (NA) (?)

who

Who: atfiu (AKJ)

Wrist: ontoi (AKJ)

wife

Husband, wife: ebui, (NA)

wind

North-east wind: biliku boto

(AKJ, NA)

South-west wind: tarai boto

(AKJ, NA)

Wind: boto (AKJ, NA)

yam sp.

Yam sp.: Dioscorea sp.: konmo

Yam sp.: Dioscorea sp.: mino

(NA)

yesterday

you

Yesterday: teraitfiro (AKJ)

You (pl.):  $\eta il = (NA)$ ,  $\eta ilio$ 

You (sg.):  $\eta$ = (NA),  $\eta$ io

woman

Older woman of the same generation: otareptfip

(NA), ototoatuetfip (NA) Woman: ebuku (NA)

(AKJ, NA)

(AKJ, NA)

# **Appendix**

# Sources of examples (1)–(123)

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A Grammar of Akajeru describes aspects of the grammatical system and lexicon of Akajeru, a traditional dialect of the North Andamanese language, as it was reportedly used around the beginning of the twentieth century. It is based primarily on the fragments of this variety provided by the British anthropologist Alfred R. Radcliffe-Brown and scattered among the published results of his anthropological research carried out on the islands between 1906 and 1908. These are supplemented by published lists of 46 anatomical terms and 28 toponyms collected by Edward Horace Man, Officer in Charge of the Andamanese 1875–79.

The book provides a linguistic analysis of all the extant Akajeru material, plus items identified by Radcliffe-Brown as 'North Andaman' without further specification, his few records of Akabo and Akakhora and Man's few records of Akakhora, which together constitute all the documentation of these other traditional North Andamanese dialects. It includes a grammatical sketch of Akajeru, a list of all the words that were recorded, together with an English-Akajeru finder list, and a comparison between Akajeru and Present-day Andamanese, an Akajeru-based variety with elements from all the other traditional dialects of North Andamanese that is today remembered by only three people.

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