

ANDAMANESE LANGUAGES: LEXICOSTATISTIC COMPARISON

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Dedicated to Michael Witzel on his 80th birthday (18th July, 2023)

The purpose of the present contribution is to study several topics: A. Mutual relations of the individual Andamanese languages. B. The relationship between Onge-Jarawa and Great Andamanese. C. Chronological estimations regarding the disintegration of the various groupings' respective ancestral languages.

Table 1: South Andaman & Middle Andaman languages

gloss	Bea	Bea	Bale	Puchikwar	Juwoi	Kol	Kede
	Portman 1887	Portman 1898	Portman 1898	Portman 1898	Portman 1898	Portman 1898	Portman 1887
1 all ₁	<i>árduru-da</i>	<i>ára-dúru-da</i>	<i>ár-díri</i>	<i>ár-díre-da</i>		<i>á-díri-che</i>	
1 all ₂					<i>ne-chápar-lekile</i>		
1 all ₃							<i>nírpól</i>
2 ashes ₁	<i>itéri-da</i>					<i>át-ter-béak-le</i>	
2 ashes ₂		<i>ig-búg-da</i>	<i>íd-búk</i>	<i>ír-bé-da</i>	<i>ré-péak-lekile</i>	<i>át-ter-béak-le</i>	
2 ashes ₃							<i>yír pát</i>
3 bark ₁	<i>ot aij-da</i>	<i>ót-āich-da</i>	<i>ót-kāich</i>	<i>āute-kāich-da</i>	<i>āuto-kāič-lekile</i>	<i>āuto-kāich-che</i>	
3 bark ₂							<i>ot kápo</i>
4 belly ₁	<i>jódo-da</i>	<i>jāūdo</i>	<i>jodo</i>	<i>chúte-da</i>	<i>chúte-lekile</i>	<i>chúte-che</i>	
4 belly ₂							<i>é píl lu</i>
5 big ₁	<i>chánag-da</i>				<i>cháki-lekile</i>		
5 big ₂		<i>dóga-da</i>		<i>dúrnga-da</i>		<i>durnga-che</i>	
5 big ₃		<i>bódia</i>					
5 big ₄			<i>kóchu</i>				
5 big ₅							<i>ér kuro</i>
6 bird ₁	<i>chula-da</i>	<i>chúla-da</i>	<i>chúla</i>	<i>chòla-da</i>		<i>chúlà-che</i>	
6 bird ₂					<i>tāūmatāp-lekile</i>		<i>joé tupá</i>
7 bite ₁	<i>chápíké</i>	<i>chápi</i>					
7 bite ₂			<i>koárop</i>				
7 bite ₃				<i>pé</i>	<i>péakà</i>	<i>péaka</i>	<i>tóng ab pío</i>
8 black ₁	<i>putung ája</i>	<i>pútungāij-da</i>	<i>pútungāij</i>				
8 black ₂				<i>dirak-da</i>	<i>dirak-lekile</i>	<i>dirak-che</i>	<i>ír dirim</i>
9 blood ₁	<i>té-da</i>	<i>téi-da</i>	<i>té</i>	<i>téwa-da</i>	<i>téwa-lekile</i>	<i>téwa-che</i>	<i>té yí</i>
10 bone ₁	<i>tá-da</i>	<i>tá-da</i>	<i>tóá</i>	<i>tāū-da</i>	<i>tāū-lekile</i>	<i>tāū-che</i>	<i>é tu wé</i>
11 breast ₁	<i>ot kuk-da</i>	<i>kúk-da</i>	<i>kúk</i>				
11 breast ₂		<i>kám-da</i>	<i>koám</i>	<i>kāūme-da</i>	<i>kāūme-lekile</i>	<i>káme-che</i>	
11 breast ₃				<i>óte-pá-da</i>	<i>pok-lekile</i>	<i>pok-che</i>	<i>ot páda bé</i>
12 burn ₁	<i>jói ké</i>	<i>jói-da</i>	<i>jói</i>	<i>chú</i>	<i>chú</i>	<i>chú</i>	<i>te chuá</i>

gloss	Bea	Bea	Bale	Puchikwar	Juwoi	Kol	Kede
	Portman 1887	Portman 1898	Portman 1898	Portman 1898	Portman 1898	Portman 1898	Portman 1887
12 burn ₂		<i>púgat</i>	<i>púgat</i>	<i>bí</i>	<i>bika</i>	<i>bík-ak</i>	
13 claw ₁ (fingernail)	<i>bódo la</i>	<i>bāūdo-da</i>	<i>bāūdo-da</i>	<i>púte-da</i>	<i>púte-lekile</i>	<i>ón-púte-che</i>	
13 claw ₂		<i>pág-da</i>	<i>poág</i>				
13 claw ₃				<i>tāū-da</i>	<i>tāūk-lekile</i>	<i>tok</i>	
13 claw ₄							<i>meil</i>
14 cloud ₁	<i>tówia-da</i>	<i>tówia-da</i>	<i>tāūwia-da</i>	<i>tāūwia-da</i>	<i>tāūwiyà-lekile</i>	<i>tāūwia-chè</i>	<i>taó</i>
15 cold ₁	<i>chóki-da</i>	<i>chóki-da</i>					
15 cold ₂			<i>yélam</i>		<i>jelúm-lekile</i>		<i>julum</i>
15 cold ₃				<i>térem-da</i>		<i>t'rem-che</i>	
16 come ₁		<i>on</i>	<i>āūn</i>	<i>úne</i>	<i>ónè</i>	<i>úne</i>	
16 come! ₂	<i>kaitch ké</i>	<i>kāich</i>	<i>kélé</i>				<i>kíe té pal lé</i>
16 come! ₃				<i>i</i>	<i>é-i</i>	<i>i</i>	
17 die ₁	<i>óko línga ké</i>	<i>óko-lí</i>	<i>āūko-lí</i>				
17 die ₂				<i>óm-píl</i>	<i>am-píl</i>	<i>óm-píl</i>	<i>empíl kan</i>
18 dog ₁	<i>bíbi-da</i>	<i>Ø</i>	<i>Ø</i>	<i>Ø</i>	<i>Ø</i>	<i>Ø</i>	<i>bíbi ye</i>
19 drink ₁	<i>wélij ké</i>	<i>wélij</i>	<i>wélij</i>				
19 drink ₂				<i>pāi</i>	<i>pōi</i>	<i>pāi</i>	
19 drink ₃							<i>tó ku</i>
20 dry ₁	<i>ér ré</i>	<i>ʼá ér-ré</i>					
20 dry ₂			<i>ʼóng-kóyo-nga</i>	<i>ʼóng-kór-nga</i>		<i>ke-kār-an</i>	
20 dry ₃					<i>ʼāuto-poāt-chikan</i>		
20 dry ₄							<i>jéwu</i>
21 ear ₁	<i>ik-poko-da</i>	<i>ik-póko-da</i>	<i>id-poku</i>	<i>ir-bó-da</i>	<i>ré-bāūkāū-lekile</i>	<i>er-bóke-che</i>	<i>ér bu</i>
22 earth ₁	<i>gara-da</i>	<i>gara-da</i>	<i>goára-da</i>				
22 earth ₂				<i>pér-da</i>	<i>pàkar-lekile</i>	<i>péakar-che</i>	
22 earth ₃							<i>puáh</i>
23 eat ₁	<i>mék ké</i>	<i>mék</i>	<i>mé</i>	<i>táme</i>	<i>támè</i>	<i>támak</i>	
23 eat ₂							<i>to jó</i>
24 egg ₁	<i>mólo-da</i>	<i>ár-māūlo-da</i>	<i>ár-māūlāich</i>	<i>ár-múle-da</i>	<i>rá-múle-lekile</i>	<i>tá-múle-che</i>	<i>mulo</i>
25 eye ₁	<i>ídál-da</i>	<i>i-dal-da</i>	<i>i-dal</i>				<i>er tól</i>
25 eye ₂				<i>ir-kāūdek-da</i>	<i>ré-kāūdak-lekile</i>	<i>ér-kāūdak-che</i>	
26 fat ₁		<i>álachir-da</i>	<i>jiri-da</i>				^R <i>cīru</i>
26 fat ₂				<i>lóne-da</i>	<i>lóne-lekile</i>	<i>lóne-che</i>	
26 fat ₃							<i>é pór oi</i>
27 feather ₁	<i>á chátá</i>						
27 feather ₂		<i>pích-da</i>	<i>ót-pích-da</i>	<i>pāich-da</i>	<i>pāich-lekile</i>	<i>pāich-che</i>	
27 feather ₃							<i>ír wát</i>
28 fire ₁	<i>chápa-da</i>	<i>chápa-da</i>	<i>choápo</i>				
28 fire ₂				<i>át-da</i>	<i>át-lekile</i>	<i>àt-che</i>	<i>áht</i> = ^M <i>at</i>
29 fish ₁	<i>yát-da</i>	<i>yát-da</i>	<i>yoákat</i>				
29 fish ₂				<i>tāīye-da</i>	<i>tākajéu-lekile</i>	<i>tīyé-che</i>	<i>tai jéu</i>
29 fish ₃							^M <i>burto</i>
30 fly n.	<i>bumila-da</i>	<i>búmila-da</i>	<i>búmulá</i>	<i>púmis-da</i>	<i>púmis-lekile</i>	<i>púmit-che</i>	<i>piémo</i>
31 foot ₁	<i>pág-da</i>	<i>pág-da</i>	<i>póág-da</i>				
31 foot ₂				<i>tāū-da</i>	<i>tok-lekile</i>	<i>tāūk-che</i>	<i>am tāū</i>
32 full ₁ (fill)	<i>ót tépinga ké</i>	<i>tépé-ré</i>	<i>tépé-nga</i>				
32 full ₂ (fill)				<i>tāōka-nga</i>	<i>tāūke-chikan</i>	<i>l'óte-tāōke</i>	<i>jet kam tá ku</i>
33 give ₁	<i>éná ké</i>			<i>dá</i>			<i>iji taiji</i>
33 give _{1/2}		<i>á</i>	<i>óá</i>		<i>á</i>		
33 give ₃						<i>lák</i>	
34 good ₁	<i>béringa-da</i>	<i>béringa-da</i>					
34 good ₂			<i>dem</i>	<i>dem-da</i>	<i>dem-lekile</i>		
34 good ₃						<i>bilak-che</i>	
34 good ₄							<i>enálé</i>
35 green ₁	<i>téla-da</i>						
35 green ₂		<i>élépāit-da</i>	<i>álépāit</i>	<i>elepich-da</i>	<i>lápich-lekile</i>	<i>alápich-che</i>	
35 green ₃							<i>i pung</i>
36 hair ₁	<i>pích-da</i>	<i>pích-da</i>	<i>pích-da</i>	<i>pāich-da</i>	<i>pāich-lekile</i>	<i>pāich-che</i>	<i>paich</i>

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	Portman 1887	Portman 1898	Portman 1898	Portman 1898	Portman 1898	Portman 1898	Portman 1887
37 hand ₁	<i>kóro-da</i>	<i>ón-kāūro-da</i>	<i>óng-kāūro</i>	<i>óng-kāūra-da</i>	<i>āun-kúrāū-lekile</i>	<i>ón-kāūre-che</i>	<i>am kóro</i>
38 head ₁	<i>chetta-da</i>	<i>ót-chéta-da</i>	<i>ót-chektá</i>				
38 head ₂				<i>āuto-tá-da</i>	<i>āuto-tāū-lekile</i>	<i>óte-tāū-che</i>	
38 head ₃							<i>erchu</i>
39 hear ₁	<i>i dainga ké</i>	<i>i-dāī</i>	<i>i-dāī</i>				
39 hear ₂				<i>é-binge</i>	<i>éak-bingè</i>	<i>lé-binge</i>	<i>tongá bingo</i>
40 heart ₁	<i>Ø</i>	<i>āūna-da</i>	<i>āūna-da</i>				<i>Ø</i>
40 heart ₂				<i>éngeche-da</i>	<i>éngich-lekile</i>	<i>angéche-che</i>	
41 horn ₁	<i>ot wulu tá-da</i>	<i>Ø</i>	<i>Ø</i>	<i>^Rot wulu ta</i>	<i>Ø</i>	<i>Ø</i>	<i>wulu tué</i>
42 I ₁	<i>dóla</i>	<i>dól-là</i>	<i>dól</i>	<i>túl-le</i>	<i>te-kile</i>	<i>tú-le</i>	<i>túi</i>
43 kill ₁	<i>Ø</i>	<i>ōīyo-óko-lí</i>	<i>ójo-óko-lí</i>				<i>Ø</i>
43 kill ₂				<i>āūte-óm-pil</i>	<i>āūt-am-pil</i>	<i>āūte-óm-pil</i>	
44 knee ₁	<i>ló-da</i>	<i>áb-ló-da</i>	<i>áb-ló-da</i>	<i>áb-lú-da</i>	<i>á-lú-lekile</i>	<i>e-lú-che</i>	<i>élu</i>
45 know ₁	<i>gád ké</i>						
45 know ₂		<i>ig-nāūli</i>					
45 know ₃			<i>id-lólang</i>				
45 know ₄				<i>ír-binge</i>	<i>ré-binge</i>	<i>er-binge</i>	
45 know ₅							<i>é kót</i>
46 leaf ₁	<i>chéki-da</i>						
46 leaf ₂		<i>i-tong-da</i>	<i>i-toáng</i>	<i>ír-tóng-da</i>	<i>ré-tóng-lekile</i>	<i>ter-tóng-le</i>	
46 leaf ₃							<i>óbō</i>
47 lie ₁	<i>át bálagí ké</i>	<i>ára-bálagi</i>	<i>oáró-bálégi</i>				<i>um bāūl to</i>
47 lie ₂				<i>āram-pāūt</i>	<i>rám-póat</i>	<i>ám-pāūt</i>	
48 liver	<i>mug</i>	<i>múg-da</i>	<i>múg-da</i>	<i>mík-da</i>	<i>mík-lekile</i>	<i>mík-che</i>	<i>Ø</i>
49 long ₁	<i>lápana</i>	<i>lápana-da</i>			<i>lóbak-lekile</i>		
49 long ₂			<i>pílákmo</i>				
49 long ₃				<i>lāūti-da</i>		<i>lāūti-che</i>	<i>lāū u</i>
49 long ₄							
50 louse ₁		<i>^Rpeta-da</i>	<i>^Rpata</i>	<i>^Rpate-da</i>	<i>^Rpate-lekile</i>	<i>^Rpate-che</i>	
50 louse ₂		<i>^Rkila-da</i>					<i>^Rkela</i>
50 louse ₃							<i>^Rkerbīt</i>
51 man ₁	<i>á bula-da</i>	<i>áb-búla-da</i>	<i>áb-búla</i>				
51 man ₂				<i>áb-kāūro-da</i>	<i>á-kāūrok-lekile</i>	<i>á-károk-che</i>	
51 man ₃							<i>é tairu</i>
52 many ₁	<i>ot peggí</i>						
52 many ₂		<i>ár-dúru-da</i>		<i>ár-díre-da</i>		<i>á-díri-che</i>	
52 many ₃			<i>ár-púlia-da</i>				<i>ót pól lé</i>
52 many ₄					<i>á-chápar-lekile</i>		
53 meat ₁	<i>dáma-da</i>	<i>dáma-da</i>	<i>doámo</i>	<i>tóma-da</i>	<i>tóme-lekile</i>	<i>tóme-che</i>	<i>tómo</i>
54 moon ₁	<i>ógar-da</i>	<i>ógar-da</i>	<i>ógar-da</i>				
54 moon ₂				<i>púki-da</i>	<i>púkúi-lekile</i>	<i>púki-che</i>	
54 moon ₃							<i>chírké = ^Mcirike</i>
55 mountain ₁	<i>boroin-da</i>	<i>bāūrōīn-da</i>	<i>bāūrōīn</i>	<i>búrin-da</i>	<i>b'ruín-lekile</i>	<i>búrin-che</i>	<i>burin</i>
56 mouth ₁	<i>áka báng-da</i>	<i>báng-da</i>	<i>boáng</i>	<i>póng-da</i>	<i>póng-lekile</i>	<i>póng-che</i>	<i>tá pong</i>
57 name ₁	<i>ót ting-da</i>	<i>teng-da</i>	<i>téng</i>				
57 name ₂				<i>yāū-da</i>		<i>āūte-yok-che</i>	
57 name ₃					<i>líwe-lekile</i>		<i>é líwo</i>
58 neck ₁	<i>lóngó tá</i>	<i>longo tá-da</i>	<i>loángá toá</i>	<i>lóngo-da</i>	<i>lóngo-lekile</i>	<i>lóngè-chè</i>	<i>ót yóngó</i>
59 new ₁	<i>goí-da</i>	<i>goí-da</i>		<i>kúi</i>	<i>kúi</i>	<i>kúi-le</i>	<i>kuí</i>
59 new ₂			<i>koálót</i>				
60 night ₁	<i>guruk-da</i>	<i>gúrúg-da</i>	<i>gúrúg</i>				
60 night ₂				<i>dírik-da</i>	<i>dírak-lekile</i>		
60 night ₃						<i>pāūti-che</i>	<i>yír pát</i>
61 nose ₁	<i>chóronga-da</i>	<i>chāūronga-da</i>	<i>chāūrnga</i>				
61 nose ₂				<i>kāūtè-da</i>	<i>kāūte-lekile</i>	<i>kāūtè-che</i>	<i>mír kāūtó</i>
62 not ₁ (no)	<i>yába-da</i>	<i>yába-da</i>	<i>yába</i>				
62 not ₂ (no)				<i>póye-da</i>	<i>póye-lekile</i>	<i>póyi-che</i>	<i>púīyo</i>
63 one ₁	<i>óba tul</i>	<i>úbatúl</i>	<i>úbatúl</i>	<i>lútúbá</i>			
63 one ₂					<i>lúngúi</i>	<i>lúngi-le</i>	<i>luáh mó</i>
64 person ₁ (people)	<i>dárlag</i>	<i>dárlag-da</i>					

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	Portman 1887	Portman 1898	Portman 1898	Portman 1898	Portman 1898	Portman 1898	Portman 1887
64 person ₂ (people)			<i>āulōichit</i>				
64 person ₃ (people)				<i>nule</i>	<i>ne</i> <i>ne-kile</i>	<i>le-nu-le</i>	
64 person ₄ (people)							<i>kódiá ténye</i>
65 rain ₁	<i>yum-da</i>	<i>yúm-da</i>	<i>yúm</i>				
65 rain ₂				<i>léke-da</i>	<i>léke-lekile</i>	<i>léke-che</i>	
65 rain ₃							<i>toierá</i>
66 red ₁	<i>chérama-da</i>	<i>chérama-da</i>	<i>chérama</i>				
66 red ₂				<i>chéta-da</i>	<i>chéta-lekile</i>	<i>chéta-che</i>	
66 red ₃							<i>bí yé</i>
67 road ₁	<i>lóg-da</i>						<i>luk</i>
67 road ₂		<i>tinga-da</i>	<i>ténga</i>	<i>tāteng-da</i>	<i>tāten-lekile</i>	<i>tāteng-che</i>	
68 root ₁	<i>ár chág-da</i>	<i>ár-chág-da</i>	<i>ár-chág</i>	<i>ár-chok-da</i>	<i>rá-chok-lekile</i>	<i>tá-chok-le</i>	<i>jerá cháng</i>
69 round ₁	<i>ár kór-da</i>						<i>?rók tór</i>
69 round ₂		<i>ót-língriya-da</i>	<i>ót-língriya</i>		<i>āūtāū-língri-lekile</i>		
69 round ₃		<i>ót-bana-da</i>	<i>ót-bana-nga</i>				
69 round ₄				<i>āūto-nélokma-da</i>	<i>āūtāū-nàlokma-lekile</i>	<i>tāūte-nélakmá-le</i>	
70 sand ₁	<i>tára-da</i>	<i>tára-da</i>	<i>toāōwar</i>	<i>tāōwer-da</i>	<i>tāōwer-lekile</i>	<i>tāōwer-che</i>	<i>tóro</i>
71 say ₁	<i>áka yáb ké</i>	<i>yáb</i>	<i>yoáb</i>				
71 say ₂				<i>wár</i>	<i>yár</i>	<i>wár</i>	<i>ír wár</i>
72 see ₁	<i>ig bádí ké</i>	<i>ig-bádíg</i>	<i>íd-bádi</i>				
72 see ₂				<i>ír-tílu</i>	<i>ré-í'líu</i>	<i>er-tílu</i>	<i>ír tédé</i>
73 seed ₁	<i>ig bán-da</i>	<i>ban-da</i>	<i>bán</i>				
73 seed ₂		<i>í-dal-da</i>	<i>í-dal</i>				<i>ír tól</i>
73 seed ₃				<i>úle-da</i>	<i>óle-lekile</i>	<i>ulè-che</i>	
73 seed ₄				<i>ír-kāūdak-da</i>	<i>ré-kāūdak-lekile</i>	<i>er-kāūdak-che</i>	
74 sit ₁	<i>áka dói ké</i>	<i>áka-doi</i>	<i>áka-doi</i>				
74 sit ₂				<i>āūto-líti</i>		<i>āūter-líti</i>	
74 sit ₃					<i>āūkāū-kírak</i>		
74 sit ₄							<i>áka wuanó</i>
75 skin ₁	<i>aíj-da</i>	<i>ót-āitch-da</i>	<i>ót-kāitch</i>				
75 skin ₂				<i>tāitlap</i>	<i>í'lap</i>	<i>í'lep</i>	<i>tailap</i>
76 sleep ₁	<i>mámi ké</i>	<i>mámi</i>	<i>mámi</i>				
76 sleep ₂		<i>bármí</i>	<i>boándri</i>				
76 sleep ₃				<i>móli</i>		<i>móli</i>	
76 sleep ₄				<i>pāūt</i>	<i>poāūt</i>	<i>pāūt</i>	
76 sleep ₅							<i>tír bénó</i>
77 small ₁	<i>kétíá-da</i>	<i>kétia-da</i>	<i>kétamá</i>	<i>kétawa-da</i>	<i>chóté-lekile</i>	<i>kétawa</i>	
77 small ₂							<i>lāō</i>
78 smoke ₁ n.	<i>molla-da</i>	<i>māūla-da</i>	<i>māūlāitch</i>				
78 smoke ₂ n.				<i>lep-da</i>	<i>lep-lekile</i>	<i>lep-che</i>	<i>jéb</i>
79 stand ₁	<i>kápi ké</i>	<i>kápi</i>	<i>kápi</i>				
79 stand ₂				<i>chè</i>	<i>chéaka</i>	<i>chéaka</i>	
79 stand ₃							<i>ó toi á</i>
80 star	<i>cháto-da</i>	<i>cháto-da</i>	<i>chálami</i>	<i>kāitchan-da</i>	<i>kāitchan-lekile</i>	<i>kāitchan-le</i>	<i>kátain</i>
81 stone ₁	<i>taili-da</i>	<i>tāīli-da</i>	<i>tāīli</i>				
81 stone ₂				<i>mé-da</i>	<i>màka-lekile</i>	<i>méaka-che</i>	<i>míó</i>
82 sun ₁	<i>bódó-da</i>	<i>bódo-da</i>	<i>bāūdo</i>	<i>púte-da</i>	<i>púte-lekile</i>	<i>pútè-che</i>	
82 sun ₂							<i>díe</i>
83 swim ₁	<i>píd-ké</i>	<i>pít</i>	<i>pít</i>				
83 swim ₂				<i>ngáte</i>	<i>ngāūtāū</i>	<i>ó-ngáte</i>	<i>ó ngāūtó</i>
84 tail ₁	<i>ár písam-da</i>	<i>píchàm-da</i>	<i>pícham</i>	<i>pāitcham-da</i>	<i>pichàkam-lekile</i>		
84 tail ₂						<i>ó-chálam-che</i>	
84 tail ₃							<i>rá kucho</i>
85 that ₁	<i>kátó-da</i>	<i>ká</i>	<i>koá</i>			<i>kúte</i>	<i>kuá</i>
85 that ₂				<i>íte</i>	<i>éte</i>		
86 this ₁	<i>ká-da</i>	<i>ká-da</i>	<i>koá</i>				<i>kité</i>

gloss	Bea Portman 1887	Bea Portman 1898	Bale Portman 1898	Puchikwar Portman 1898	Juwoi Portman 1898	Kol Portman 1898	Kede Portman 1887
86 this ₂				<i>íte-da</i>	<i>éte-ákile</i>	<i>íte-déle</i>	
87 thou	<i>ngól</i>	<i>ngól-la</i>	<i>ngól</i>	<i>ngúle</i>	<i>ngúle</i>	<i>lá-ngúl-le</i>	<i>nguí</i>
88 tongue	<i>ákā étel-da</i>	<i>áka-étal-da</i>	<i>áka-átal</i>	<i>ó-tátal-da</i>	<i>āūkāū-tátal-lekile</i>	<i>tátal-che</i>	<i>ákátát</i>
89 tooth ₁	<i>i tug-da</i>	<i>tóg-da</i>	<i>tóg</i>	<i>téki-da</i>	<i>t'ki-lekile</i>	<i>téki-che</i>	
89 tooth ₂							<i>mir pilé</i>
90 tree ₁	<i>ákátáng-da</i>	<i>áka-táng-da</i>	<i>áka-toáng</i>	<i>ó-tong-da</i>	<i>āūkāū-tong-lekile</i> = <i>ākā-tong</i>	<i>tāū-táng-le</i> <i>tā-tang-le</i>	<i>kátóng</i>
91 two ₁	<i>ikpāūr-da</i>	<i>ik-pāūr-da</i>	<i>id-pāūro-tót</i>	<i>ir-pāūr</i>	<i>ré-pāūr</i>	<i>er-pāūr</i>	<i>irpól</i>
92 walk ₁	<i>nāō ké</i>	<i>nāō</i>	<i>noāō</i>				
92 walk ₂				<i>chóle</i>	<i>chólè</i>	<i>chóle</i>	<i>óichó</i>
93 warm ₁	<i>uya-da</i>	<i>úya-da</i>	<i>úya</i>				
93 warm ₂				<i>wírawak-da</i>	<i>w'ríwak-lekile</i>	<i>wíriwak-che</i>	<i>wíriwá</i>
94 water	<i>ína-da</i>	<i>ína-da</i>	<i>ína</i>	<i>éna-da</i>	<i>énok-lekile</i>	<i>énak-che</i>	<i>ine</i>
95 we	<i>moloichik</i>	<i>molōichik</i>	<i>māūlōichit</i>	<i>múle</i>	<i>múle</i>	<i>múle</i>	<i>mui</i>
96 what ₁	<i>míchiba-da</i>	<i>míchibá</i>	<i>miàkat</i>	<i>mátāū</i>	<i>miák</i>	<i>méak</i>	
96 what ₂							<i>chádé</i>
97 white ₁	<i>uluya-da</i>	<i>ólowia-da</i>					<i>ólóya</i>
97 white ₂			<i>álépāich</i>				
97 white ₃				<i>pómer-da</i>	<i>pómer-lekile</i>	<i>pómer-che</i>	
98 who ₁	<i>mijólá</i>	<i>míja</i> <i>míjo-la</i>	<i>míad</i>	<i>méchi</i> <i>méche-le</i>	<i>méchi</i> <i>méche-lekile</i>	<i>méche-le</i>	
98 who ₂							<i>chále</i>
99 woman ₁	<i>ápail-da</i>	<i>áb-pāil-da</i>	<i>áb-pál</i>				
99 woman ₂				<i>áb-ób-da</i>	<i>á-óp-lekile</i>	<i>é-óp-che</i>	
99 woman ₃							<i>ebuku</i>
100 yellow ₁	<i>Ø</i>	<i>térawa-da</i>	<i>tárāōlo</i>				
100 yellow ₂				<i>chéta-da</i>	<i>chétak-lekile</i>	<i>chétak-che</i>	<i>Ø</i>

Table 2: North Andaman & Little Andaman languages

	Cari Portman 1887	Bo Portman 1887	Kora	Jeru Jeru lists	Great Andaman Mayank 2009	Onge Portman 1887	Jarawa Senkuttuvan ²⁰⁰⁰ K = Kumar ²⁰¹²
1 all ₁		<i>árdiré</i>		<i>Ø</i>		<i>Ø</i>	
1 all ₃	<i>nantá tōl</i>						
1 all ₄			<i>arak^hamo we</i>		<i>Varak^hamo we</i>		
1 all ₅							<i>ʔənəhoʔəʔa</i>
2 ashes ₃	<i>yír bát</i>	<i>ong yirbile</i>	<i>bat</i> <i>bitre</i>		<i>biṭhe</i> <i>ʔbiṭhe</i>		
2 ashes _{3/4}	<i>ʔyír bát</i>	<i>ʔong yir-bile</i>		<i>ʔyir</i>			
2 ashes ₅						<i>tóngkuté</i>	
2 ashes ₆							<i>ʔh^wi jə</i>
3 bark ₁		<i>óte kait-da</i>					
3 bark ₂	<i>ot kába</i>			<i>ethəbo</i>	<i>et kəbo</i>		<i>ʔ^kipo</i>
3 bark ₃			<i>i^hiyu</i>		<i>ʔi^hiyu</i>		
3 bark ₄						<i>gángui</i> (= skin)	
4 belly ₁	<i>échulu</i>	<i>chut te</i>	<i>trəkotra</i>		<i>ṭekotra</i> stomach		
4 belly ₂			<i>ep^hilyu-tark^huro</i>	<i>ʔ^hep^hilu</i> my stomach	<i>e p^hilu</i> <i>ʔep^hitu-tark^huro</i>		
4 belly ₃						<i>^Bön-a-ṭnane</i>	
4 belly ₄						<i>^Cṇa-poi</i> <i>^B[ön-e-na-boi loins]</i>	<i>unnifēṭ</i> <i>on'ni'yōm'bu</i> <i>^Cnapoy</i>
5 big ₂		<i>durnga</i>		<i>Ø</i>			
5 big ₅	<i>mai ér kura</i>		<i>èr-k^huro</i>		<i>k^huro</i> <i>ʔer^kuro</i>	<i>nádé uyé</i> <i>^Bi-kutu</i>	<i>^k(h)u^hu</i>

	Cari	Bo	Kora	Jeru	Great Andaman	Onge	Jarawa
	Portman 1887	Portman 1887		Jeru lists	Mayank 2009	Portman 1887	Senkuttuvan ²⁰⁰⁰ κ = Kumar ²⁰¹²
16 come ₉							κ ^γ jagl ^h ujə
17 die ₂	<i>em pīl</i>	<i>óngom pīl kan</i>	<i>è-p^hily</i>	Ø	<i>emp^hil</i> γ _{ep^hit}	Ø	
17 die ₃							<i>bes'sāmi</i> κ ^{pečame}
18 dog ₁	<i>bíbí</i>	<i>bíbí-da</i>					<i>ve'b' & vēb</i>
18 dog ₂			<i>cawo</i>	<i>ēcao</i>	γ ^{kawo}		
18 dog ₃			<i>òtr-bèyic</i>		pl. γ _{otbeyik}		
18 dog ₄						^B wōme	κ ^{wimə} κ ^{wəwəmə} C[omay jackal]
19 drink ₂		<i>pai kan</i>		Ø			
19 drink ₃	<i>tó ku</i>		<i>ik^huwe</i>		<i>k^hu</i> γ _{ik^huwe}		
19 drink ₄						^B m'injo-be I drink	C ^{meengohee} ĩñčō = κ ^{inčo}
20 dry ₃			<i>èp^haya</i>	Ø	γ _{ep^haya}	Ø	Ø
20 dry ₄	<i>tíbi jéwu</i>						
20 dry ₅		<i>kí nénga</i>					
21 ear ₁	<i>ér buáh</i>	<i>ír bó-da</i>	<i>tr-èr-buwo</i>	<i>ír-bō^{Man}</i> <i>therbno</i> my ear	<i>er buo</i> γ _{terbuwo}		
21 ear ₂						<i>ik quágé</i> = ^B (ōn-)-i-kwage	C ^{quaka} omnikkuva & en'nik'ku'vā κ ^{ən-ik^hwa}
22 earth ₂		<i>pér-da</i>					γ ^κ <i>pela</i>
22 earth ₃	<i>buáh</i>		<i>bowa</i>	<i>bowā</i>	<i>bua</i> = γ _{bowa}	^B gwabe	
22 earth ₄			<i>jeng</i>				
22 earth ₅				<i>kat</i>			
22 earth ₆						<i>tutánó</i>	C ^{totanga-ge}
23 eat ₁		<i>táme</i>					
23 eat ₂	<i>tojjó</i>		<i>ijokè</i>	<i>ijōkke</i>	<i>iji ~ eji</i> γ _{igoke}		
23 eat ₃			<i>ik^huwe</i> = drink				
23 eat ₄						<i>énilōquátébé</i>	C ^{ingo-lolia}
23 eat ₅						^B ōn-i-da-be	<i>dīr'tā</i> = ^A ita = κ ^{ita}
24 egg ₁		<i>mula</i>	<i>e-mulyu</i>	<i>ĩmulu</i>	<i>mulu</i> γ _{emuļu}	Ø	Ø
24 egg ₂	<i>jo péro</i>						
25 eye ₂		<i>ír ká dig</i>					<i>ka</i>
25 eye ₃	<i>ér ulu</i>		<i>tr-èr-ulyu</i>	<i>l^herulu</i> - <i>tatirbui</i> two eyes	<i>erulu</i> γ _{terulu}		
25 eye ₄						<i>unijé boi</i> = ^B (ōn-)-e-je-boi = ^A ejebo	κ ^{ən-epo} / κ ^{ən-ečepo} on'ne'eb'bō C ^{jabay} īppō dog's eye en'neč'čet'bō
25 eye ₄							on'nē <i>puđūk'</i>
26 fat ₂			<i>tr-è-lyōne</i>		γ _{etōne}	Ø	Ø
26 fat ₃	<i>é pár ai i</i>	<i>ár póri</i>					
27 feather ₁		<i>ír tácha</i>					Ø
27 feather ₃	<i>ér ét</i>		<i>èr-atr</i>		γ _{erať}		
27 feather ₄						<i>gāū dé</i>	

	Cari	Bo	Kora	Jeru	Great Andaman	Onge	Jarawa
	Portman 1887	Portman 1887		Jeru lists	Mayank 2009	Portman 1887	Senkuttuvan ²⁰⁰⁰ K = Kumar ²⁰¹²
28 fire ₂	<i>áht</i>	<i>áht-da</i>	<i>atr</i>	<i>āṭ</i>	<i>aṭ</i> = ^Y <i>aṭ</i>		
28 fire ₃						<i>tuké</i> = ^B <i>tuke</i>	^K <i>ʰuhəb</i> <i>duvəv</i> <i>dʰū'ha'</i> ^V <i>tuhawe</i>
28 fire ₄						[cf. ^B <i>mone</i> torch]	^C <i>m-ona</i> = my fire
29 fish ₂		<i>tai i a</i> ^M <i>burto</i>	<i>tajew</i>		^Y <i>taḡew</i> = bird		
29 fish ₃	<i>ji</i>					<i>chógé</i> = ^B <i>čoge</i>	
29 fish ₄				<i>burto</i>			
29 fish ₅				<i>tamol</i>			
29 fish ₆				<i>ʃotəm</i>			
29 fish ₇							^K <i>napo</i> <i>nā'bo'</i> / <i>nāp'pō</i> / <i>lāp'pō</i> = ^C <i>ṇa-bohi</i> thy fish
30a fly ₁ n.	<i>pulimu</i>	<i>pumit</i>	<i>pʰulyimu</i>	<i>(jubu)</i>	^Y <i>pʰuṭimu</i>		
30b fly v.	<i>ér ét</i>	<i>ír im tai</i> <i>cha</i>		<i>(jubu)</i>		<i>ngōnoi</i>	<i>Ø</i>
31 foot ₁	<i>óma tāū</i>	<i>óng tá</i>					
31 foot ₂			<i>tr-mòtrò</i>	<i>ʰuməʃo</i> my feet	^Y <i>iməʃo</i>		
31 foot ₃						<i>mugé</i> = ^B <i>g'u-ge</i> its foot	^C <i>gookee</i> <i>on'nū'k</i>
31 foot ₄							^K <i>ən-ipo</i> leg = <i>ē'nup'</i> (: <i>en'nōp</i> finger) <i>onmuted &</i> <i>on'nut'tev</i> leg <i>on'nīč'či</i> leg <i>dēt'tā</i> dog's leg
32 full ₂ (fill)	<i>jet kāūta ku</i>	<i>ot te tá ke</i>		<i>Ø</i>		<i>Ø</i>	<i>Ø</i>
32 full ₃ (fill)			<i>ara-pʰètr</i>				
32 full ₄ (fill)			<i>èr-kʰuro</i>		^Y <i>er'kʰuro</i> = big		
33 give ₁		<i>endá kan</i>		<i>Ø</i>		<i>Ø</i>	
33 give _{1/2}							^{A+K} <i>iya</i>
33 give ₄	<i>un jók</i>		<i>cè</i>		^Y <i>ṣṣe</i>		
33 give ₅			<i>umokè</i>				
34 good ₁						^B <i>i-baro</i>	
34 good ₂		<i>ab dém</i>					^K <i>qomo</i>
34 good ₄	<i>ér chok nol</i>		<i>èr-nòly</i>	<i>ʰe-nol</i>	<i>enol</i> ^Y <i>er'not</i>		
34 good ₅						<i>iwádó</i>	
34 good ₆							^K <i>tapo</i>
34 good ₇							^K <i>če w</i>
35 green ₂		<i>?loit-da</i>		<i>Ø</i>			
35 green ₃	<i>ja pung</i>						
35 green ₄			<i>ekalyawo</i>		^Y <i>ekatawo</i>		
35 green ₅						<i>tótándángé</i>	<i>qʰun'na'</i>
36 hair ₁	<i>paitch</i>	<i>óto paitch-</i> <i>da</i>	<i>tr-òt-bèyic</i>	<i>ir-bè</i> ^{Man} <i>ʰu'beic</i> my hair	^Y <i>totbeyik</i>		

	Cari	Bo	Kora	Jeru	Great Andaman	Onge	Jarawa
	Portman 1887	Portman 1887		Jeru lists	Mayank 2009	Portman 1887	Senkuttuvan ²⁰⁰⁰ κ = Kumar ²⁰¹²
36 hair ₂						<i>māūdē</i> = ^B ō(n)-o-de	^κ ən-oḍə ^C ottee <i>en'nōḍu</i> gō'tu' = ^C ot-ti
37 hand ₁		<i>an kóro-da</i>	<i>tr-ung-korò</i>	òng- <i>kōra</i> ^{Man} <i>kōnkuro</i> full hand	əŋ <i>korə</i> = ^Y tuŋkorə palm		
37 hand _{1/2}	<i>am kudimo</i>						
37 hand ₃						<i>mómé</i> hand ^B m'o-me my finger <i>g'o-me</i> his finger	^C monie & ^C gonie = my & thy hand
37 hand ₄							^κ ən-ipil <i>en'nip'pūt</i>
38 head ₂		<i>óte tá-da</i>				<i>ōnō tólájibé</i> man's head ^B (ōn)-o-tabe	^κ ən-o ^h a:p ^C tabay
38 head ₃	<i>échu</i>		<i>èr-co</i>	<i>îr-chō</i> ^{Man} ¹ ot-cho	<i>er-co</i> ^Y erko		
38 head ₄			<i>tr-èr-mine</i>				
39 hear ₂	<i>áka bíngu</i>	<i>é bínga kan</i>		Ø	<i>áka bínge</i>	Ø	Ø
39 hear ₃			<i>mudrewe</i>		^Y muḍewe		
40 heart ₃	Ø	Ø	<i>tròtrwo-tudre-lyò</i>	<i>tutbər-tudilo</i> my heart	^Y əwotudeti	Ø	Ø
41 horn ₁		<i>ót wulu tá</i>	Ø	<i>itolotoe</i>	Ø	Ø	Ø
41 horn _{1/2}	<i>un tái í</i>						
42 I ₁	<i>tío</i>	<i>tula</i>	<i>tr-iyó</i>	<i>tí / tì / tíyōwbe</i>	^Y tíyo		
42 I ₂						<i>mí</i> = ^B m' = ^Λ mi	<i>mī</i> = ^Λ mi/ma = ^κ mi
43 kill ₃	Ø	Ø	<i>truwebu-war-tròly</i>	Ø	^Y tuwebuwarŋit	Ø	
43 kill ₄							<i>aik^hwa</i>
44 kneec ₁		<i>lu-da</i>				<i>mólágé</i> = ^B (ōn)-o-lage	^κ ən-oḷaj ^C ingolay <i>en'ni'ñan'bo</i> <i>en'nōlu</i> / <i>on'nōlō</i>
44 kneec ₂	<i>é churāū</i>		<i>tr-èr-chòròk</i>	<i>t^həərək</i>	^Y terkərək		
45 know ₁	<i>ót kót</i>	<i>ab kód kan</i>	Ø	Ø	Ø	Ø	^κ o ^h a inijəla
46 leaf ₁		<i>chai</i>					
46 leaf ₃						<i>bébé</i>	^κ pipə <i>b^(h)ə'b^(h)e</i> vəd'bō
46 leaf ₄	<i>ngyo</i>						
46 leaf ₅			<i>tèyic</i>	<i>sōyatec</i> , pl. <i>bireitəcə</i>	^Y tèyik		
47 lie ₁	<i>árat ból to</i>	<i>óng bálagá kan</i>	Ø				Ø
47 lie ₃				<i>əràmbino</i>	^Y arambeno I am lying on the ground		
47 lie ₄						<i>gain yibé</i>	
48 liver ₁	Ø	<i>mik</i>		<i>emeycca</i> ; <i>t^hemeca</i> my liver		Ø	Ø
48 liver ₂			<i>tr-e-chudru</i>		^Y tekhuda		
49 long ₁	<i>lóbung</i>			¹ e-lobun ¹ lobung	<i>i-lobon</i>		
49 long ₃		<i>lāūtí</i>					

	Cari	Bo	Kora	Jeru	Great Andaman	Onge	Jarawa
	Portman 1887	Portman 1887		Jeru lists	Mayank 2009	Portman 1887	Senkuttuvan ²⁰⁰⁰ κ = Kumar ²⁰¹²
49 long ₄			èr-tròyelywum		^Y erɬoyetwum		
49 long ₅						^B oi-jagai	
49 long ₆							^κ italu
50 louse ₂	Ø	Ø	Ø	Ø	^Y keta dog-flies	Ø	Ø
51 man ₂		ab kára-da					
51 man ₃	é táru		è- ^h aro	ε ^h ārɔ male	^Y εtharo		
51 man ₄			eboye				
51 man ₅						unyágílé	^κ əŋa:gi ^ɕ ŋ-amo-lan you are a man
51 man ₆							^{bit} nik male
52 many ₁		óte pai ke		Ø			Ø
52 many ₃	not pól						
52 many ₅			arak ^h amo we (= all)		^Y arak ^h amo we (= all)		
52 many ₆						^B wo-taŋabe	
52 many ₇							^κ mala
53 meat ₁	yétomo	tóma-da	^h omo	¹ e-tomo	ε ^h omo	Ø	
53 meat ₂			èrbung				^ɕ wuhi
54 moon ₂		pukí					
54 moon ₃				^M cirikli < Kede		^{ch} ilemé = ^B čilome	
54 moon ₄	dolāū = ^M dula		drulya	dūllɔ dulo	dulo ~ dūlɔ ^Y duta		
54 moon ₅							dābe = ^{A+κ} tape
55 moun- tain	burain	burin-da	buruing	būrin	auruin ^Y buruiŋ	Ø	Ø
56 mouth ₁	tá póng	tó póng	tra-p ^h ong	îr-bôa ^{Man}	p ^h oŋ ^Y ɬap ^h oŋ / îp ^h oŋ		
56 mouth ₂						^B ön-a-laje	
56 mouth ₃							eru'mu / on'ni'mu = ^ɕ m-ona = my mouth
57 name ₂		ote yá-da	Ø			Ø	Ø
57 name ₃	é liwu			theliu lecube my name is	e-liu		
58 neck ₁	ot longó	ote lóngo	Ø	òt-lôngo ^{Man} ^h uɬlɔŋgo my neck		önángitó	on'nākū'tō ^κ ən-in ^h ug
58 neck ₂					^Y ɔɬɔye		^ɕ tohi
59 new ₁	koí	kuí	erò-k ^h uyi	Ø		Ø	Ø
59 new ₂			è-kòlyòt		^Y εkɔɬoɬ		
60 night ₃	yér bát	pátí-da	bát tr-ibirbat	¹ bát	ir-bat ^Y bat	Ø	
60 night ₄							^κ kiɬ ^h ale
61 nose ₂	mér kató	mír kátto	tr-ar-kòt ^h ò	îr-kâto ^{Man} ^h ertɔɬɔ	er-kɔɬo ^Y ɬarkɔ ^h o		
61 nose ₃						^B ön-i-ya-boi	^κ ən-ɪŋapo oŋniñānbo & oŋniyānbo / eri'yāp'pō on'ni'nā'spō mu
61 nose ₄						^A oranaŋ	

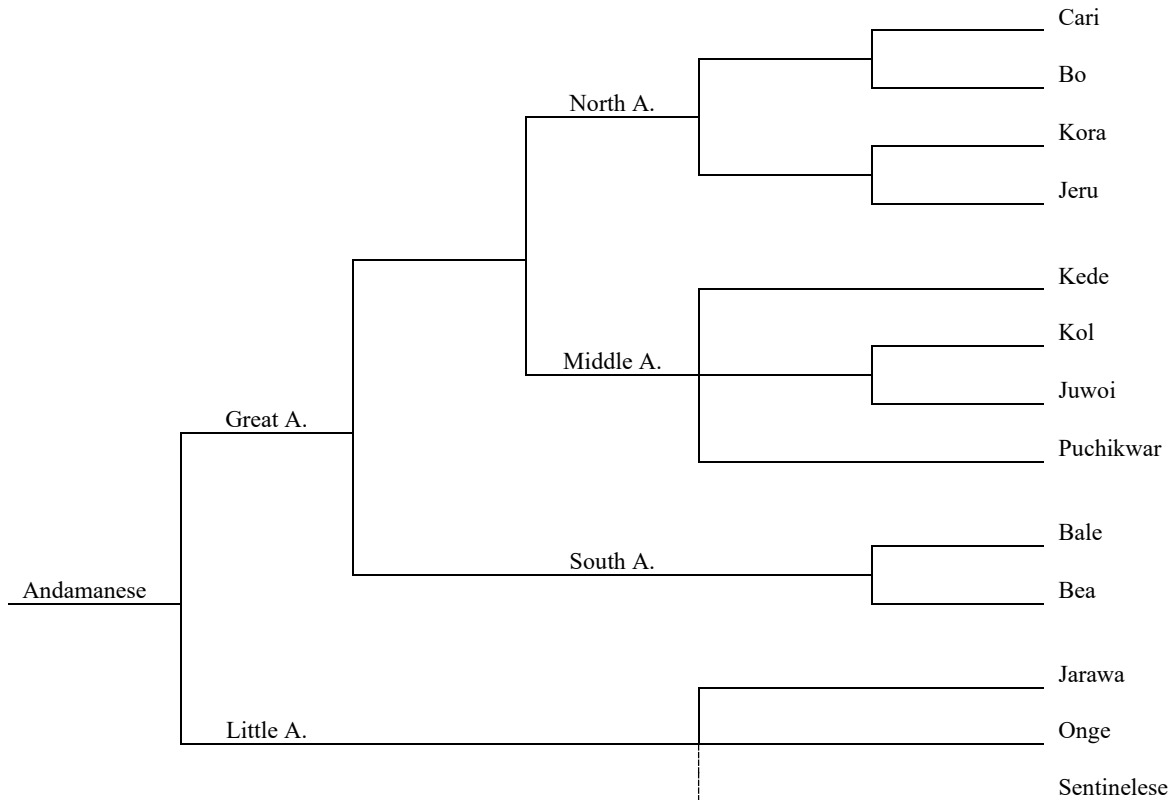
	Cari	Bo	Kora	Jeru	Great Andaman	Onge	Jarawa
	Portman 1887	Portman 1887		Jeru lists	Mayank 2009	Portman 1887	Senkuttuvan ²⁰⁰⁰ κ = Kumar ²⁰¹²
61 nose ₅							^c <i>m-eli</i> my nose
62 not ₂ (no)	<i>tai pubí</i>	<i>poi-e</i>	Ø	-p ^h o- / -p ^h u-	Ø	<i>ébāūbé</i>	
62 not ₃ (no)							<i>nāḍum</i> = ^κ <i>naḍem</i>
62 not ₄							^κ <i>-ma</i>
63 one ₁	<i>on tolbo</i>		<i>entōblyò</i>	^z <i>ondoplO</i>	<i>ontoplo</i> ^γ <i>entobłɔ</i>		
63 one ₂		<i>lungí</i>					
63 one ₃						<i>yu woiyá</i> = ^B <i>g'i-woia</i> it is one	^κ <i>waja, wə:ja</i> <i>ōya</i>
64 person ₅	Ø	Ø	<i>narak^hamo</i>		^γ <i>narak^hamo</i> people	Ø	Ø
64 person ₆				<i>kɔrlokho</i> people			
65 rain ₂		<i>léke</i>					
65 rain ₃	<i>jó chér</i>		<i>gi-cer</i>	<i>jicər</i> / <i>jicer</i>	<i>jicer</i> ^γ <i>giiker</i>		
65 rain ₄						<i>gujōngé</i>	^c <i>oye</i>
65 rain ₅							^κ <i>wəwə</i> ^Λ <i>wəwə-le-yə</i>
66 red ₂		<i>chéta</i>		Ø			
66 red ₃	<i>bíu</i>						
66 red ₄			<i>ibirang</i>		^γ <i>ibirən</i> / ^γ <i>eburaŋ</i>		
66 red ₅						<i>álámé</i>	
66 red ₆							^κ <i>horgidu</i>
67 road ₁	<i>tó luk</i>	<i>luk</i>					
67 road ₃			<i>nyòtò</i>	<i>mɔtto</i>	^γ <i>ñɔtɔ</i>		
67 road ₄						<i>ichéle</i> = ^B <i>ičule</i>	^c <i>echollee</i>
67 road ₅							^κ <i>le b</i>
68 root ₁	<i>jará cháng</i>	<i>ár chók-da</i>	<i>ira-cang</i>		^γ <i>irakəŋ</i>	Ø	
68 root ₂				<i>ɬɔkotə-rābuc</i>			
68 root ₃							^κ <i>f^hucə</i>
69 round ₁		<i>ár kór-da</i>	Ø		Ø	Ø	Ø
69 round ₅	<i>máro yu</i>						
69 round ₆				<i>hirk^hdoe</i>			
70 sand ₁	<i>táro</i>	<i>tāūwer</i>		<i>ɬɔro</i>	<i>ɬɔɔ ~ ɬɔɔ</i>		
70 sand ₂			<i>k^hòro</i>		^γ <i>k^hɔro</i>		
70 sand ₃			<i>kòtr</i>		^γ <i>kɔɬ</i>		
70 sand ₄			<i>tarp^hidro</i>				
70 sand ₅			<i>tr-ot-p^holyò</i>			<i>bélai</i>	<i>bīlu</i> = ^κ <i>bi:l/ɬə</i>
70 sand ₆							<i>tokkəp'dē</i>
70 sand ₇							^κ <i>ter^hal</i>
71 say ₂		<i>ó wár kan</i>		Ø		Ø	
71 say ₃	<i>éremər</i>						
71 say ₄			<i>còlye</i>		^γ <i>kote</i> speak		
71 say ₅							^κ <i>itar^he</i>
71 say ₆							^κ <i>aɬiba</i>
71 say ₇							^κ <i>aheapa</i>
72 see ₂	<i>ér tedé</i>	<i>ír tīlu kan</i>		Ø	<i>tirde</i>	Ø	
72 see ₃			<i>iyolyè</i>		^γ <i>iyote</i>		^κ <i>illiyema</i> or ^Λ <i>əyoyəba</i> = ^κ <i>əjojəba</i>
73 seed ₃ (cf. eye)	<i>ér ulu</i>	<i>ír ule</i>	<i>yewulyu</i>	Ø	<i>eulu</i> ^γ <i>yewulu</i>	Ø	
73 seed ₄							^c <i>kita-ŋe</i>
74 sit ₁							<i>en'nāp'deyā</i> <i>de^hgu</i>

	Cari	Bo	Kora	Jeru	Great Andaman	Onge	Jarawa
	Portman 1887	Portman 1887		Jeru lists	Mayank 2009	Portman 1887	Senkuttuvan ²⁰⁰⁰ K = Kumar ²⁰¹²
74 sit ₂		óte lítt kan					
74 sit ₄	áko uno			ewnōbe imp. 'ōnyò	aka-uno ʏāñə		
74 sit ₅						unántōkōbé	^A ən-əṭəhə = K ^{ən-ə} təhə
75 skin ₁		óte kaitch					
75 skin ₃	ót kobāū		kòwo	mɔtkəbɔ	ε-kobɔ ~ et-kəbo ʏkəwo		
75 skin ₄						gánguí	on'nōŋ'kiya
75 skin ₅						^B ōn-a-tí	un'nā'Ti K ^{ən-itəjan}
75 skin ₆							onnippūl
76 sleep ₃		mólí kan					
76 sleep ₅	tubénó		beno	ubīno sleeping	beno ʏbeno		
76 sleep ₆						ómókábé = ^B ōn-i-omoka-be	^C omoha = A+K ^{omoha}
76 sleep ₇							d ^h ūle = K ^h ulə
77 small ₁		kétawa		Ø			
77 small ₂			è-lyèwo		ε-leo ʏləwo		
77 small ₃	jó tāōu					^B i-tai	
77 small ₄						baiai	K ^{boija}
77 small ₅							on'nōr'tōn
77 small ₆							pāli
78 smoke ₂	léb	léb	lyeb	le ātlip	lep ʏteb		
78 smoke ₃						énó táboi	
78 smoke ₄							^C bali-ŋi
78 smoke _{4/5}							K ^{banel/pānel}
79 stand ₂		ché kan		Ø			
79 stand _{3/4}	ó roitót		òytò, ròytò		ʏrɔytɔ / ɔytɔ		
79 stand ₅						dókábé	tok'kāp'dē A+K ^{dokakte} K ^{tokə^he}
80 star ₁	kátain	kaichen	katranye	kaʃən'	ʏkaʃañe		
80 star ₂						Ø [chilome moon]	^C chilobe = K ^{čilape}
81 stone ₁						taiyí	
81 stone ₂	méāū	mé-da	menyo	myo rock 'meo	meo ʏmeño		
81 stone ₃							K ^{ulijə} ul'livu = C ^{wu-e}
82 sun ₁		pute	Ø				
82 sun ₂	díu			dīu, diu	dīu ʏdiyu		
82 sun ₃						éké = ^B eke	ēvū = ^C ehe = K ^{jehe}
82 sun ₄							likkā
83 swim ₂	ngāūtāū	ngáta kan	nyòtrò		ŋɔto ʏñɔʔɔ		
83 swim ₃			utebeno				
83 swim ₄				līle			
83 swim ₅						quáné	^C kwa-be
83 swim ₆							dop'pič'čā
83 swim ₇							vār'ā = ^A waʃa = K ^{waʃa}

	Cari	Bo	Kora	Jeru	Great Andaman	Onge	Jarawa
	Portman 1887	Portman 1887		Jeru lists	Mayank 2009	Portman 1887	Senkuttuvan ²⁰⁰⁰ K = Kumar ²⁰¹²
84 tail ₂		ár <i>chálím</i>		Ø		Ø	
84 tail ₃	ára <i>kuju</i>						
84 tail ₄			ara-wulyibi		arawutibi dog's tail		
84 tail ₅			ara-bèyic				
84 tail ₆							yāw
85 that ₁	kuelé	kuich	k ^h u-ta-jono		^Y k ^h udiayiño		
85 that ₃			du	da, du	^Y du	^B lu	^K luwə
86 this ₁	kurá		k ^h itiyo		^Y k ^h itiyo		
86 this ₂		íte					
86 this ₃			di	di	^Y di	^B ti	^K tiɟə
87 thou	ngió	ngula	ny-io	ngio, nio	pio = ^Y ñiyo	^B gi, ɣ' = ^A ni	nī = ^A ni/ya/n = ^K gi
88 tongue ₁	ákátát	ótátel	tr-atab	ákā-tāt ^{Man}	akaɬaɬ ^Y tatab	?álándángé = ^B ōn-a-ləŋ-daye mouth + bone?	un'na'dā ē'na'dā'lu ^C tali = ^K ən-aqal
89 tooth ₂	mér <i>pilé</i>	mo <i>pélá</i>	tr-èr-bilye	îr-pilē ^{Man} tîrpilē-	er p ^h ile ~ er p ^h ile ^Y terbite		
89 tooth ₃						mákué = ^B m'a-kwe	^C mahoy pl. en'na'gō / onnāgu pl. ^K ən-hoɬ
89 tooth ₄							dēl pl.
90 tree ₁	ákā <i>tongel</i>	ó <i>tong-da</i>		tŋ, ɔŋ		^P da-nge	dān = ^K taŋ(g)
90 tree ₂			tròk ^h o		^Y ɬək ^h o		d ^h āgu
90 tree ₃			trōtarwe				
90 tree ₄				lîp ^h i			
91 two ₁	nérpól	îrpól	Ø		ertap ^h ul		
91 two ₂				^Z onjinkO	^Y nɔnkenkɔ two / many	nínágá	nāya = ^K naja
92 walk/go ₂	ói <i>choló</i>	chóleke	écòlyè	Ø	šolo ^Y ekɔte		
92 walk/go ₃			trôcanewòm				^A cawāya = ^K čawaja
92 walk/go ₄						ují òbé = ^B ōn-i-buŋo-be	bēd'diya = ^A beɪt ^h e-ya = ^K bəɪt ^h e go
93 warm ₂		wírîwak		Ø			
93 warm ₃	ó <i>díryé</i>						
93 warm ₄			k ^h imily		ik ^h imil ^Y k ^h imit		
93 warm ₅						jónjomébé	
93 warm ₆							^K hulug hot
94 water	ínó	éná	ino	ino, tno ^B ino	ino = ^Y ino	íngé = ^B inge	^C migway tŋ = ^K iŋ
95 we ₁	míó	mule		¹ mio			mallāvu
95 we ₂			du tr-iyo, incl. ny-iyo tr-iyo			^A eɬi	
95 we ₃					^Y tunkenkɔ		
96 what ₁		má-da				Ø	
96 what ₂	ájibí		cayèwe	cāybe	^Y čayewe		^K onahə
96 what ₃							
97 white ₁	óluyo		è-tr-òlyò-tr-mo	Ø	^Y eɬɔtmo	^B oi-kalai	^K haləɟda
97 white ₃		pómer					
98 who ₁		méchele		Ø		Ø	
98 who ₃	ngéachu		nya-chubi		^Y ñak ^h ubi		
98 who ₄							^K onno
99 woman ₂		ábób				Ø	^K əŋa:b

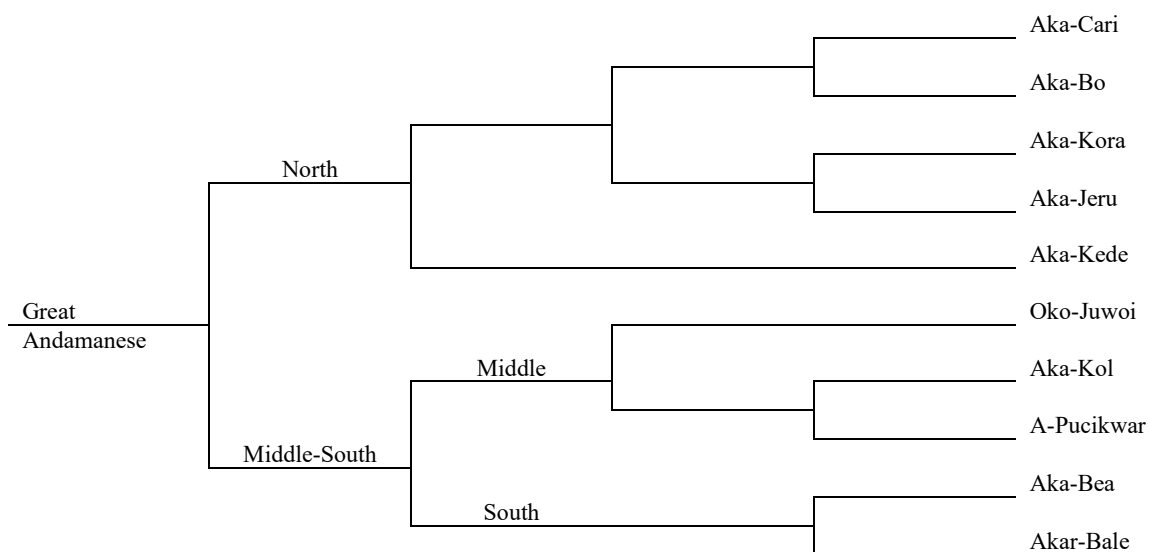
	Cari	Bo	Kora	Jeru	Great Andaman	Onge	Jarawa
	Portman 1887	Portman 1887		Jeru lists	Mayank 2009	Portman 1887	Senkuttuvan ²⁰⁰⁰ κ = Kumar ²⁰¹²
99 woman ₃	<i>lāōbuku</i>		<i>ebuk^hu</i>	<i>ebuk^hu</i> <i>ebušuše</i>	<i>buk^hu</i> ^γ <i>ebuk^hu</i>		
99 woman							<i>in'rē</i> lady <i>d^hōyi</i> lady <i>o'ssāyā</i> wife <i>nāsa</i> female
100 yel-low	∅	∅	∅	∅	∅	∅	∅

1. The Andamanese classification by Manoharan (1983, 92) in Tree-diagram 1:

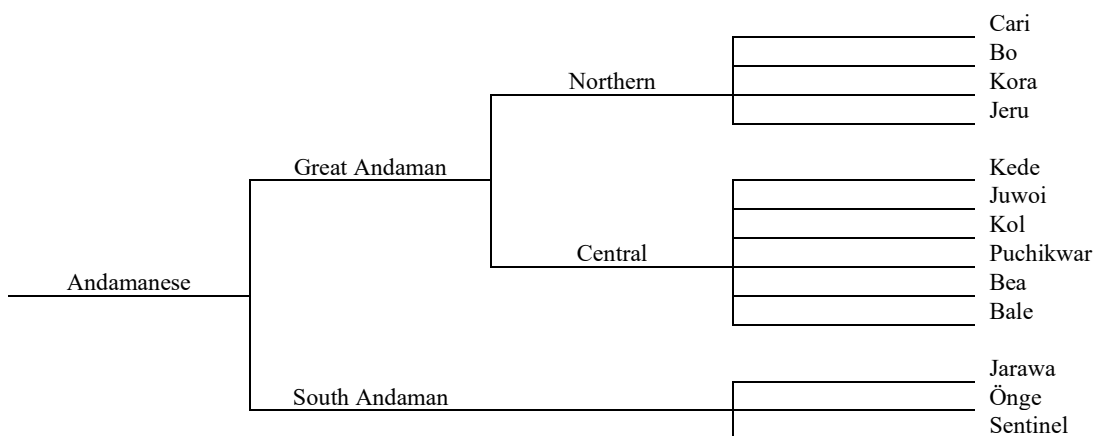


A. Andaman

2. The Great Andamanese classification by Hammarström, Forkel & Haspelmath 2019 (*Glottolog* 4.0) <<https://glottolog.org/resource/languoid/id/grea1241>> in Tree-diagram 2:



**3. Andamanese classification by Ethnologue22 (2019) in Tree-diagram 3:
<<https://www.ethnologue.com/subgroups/andamanese>>**

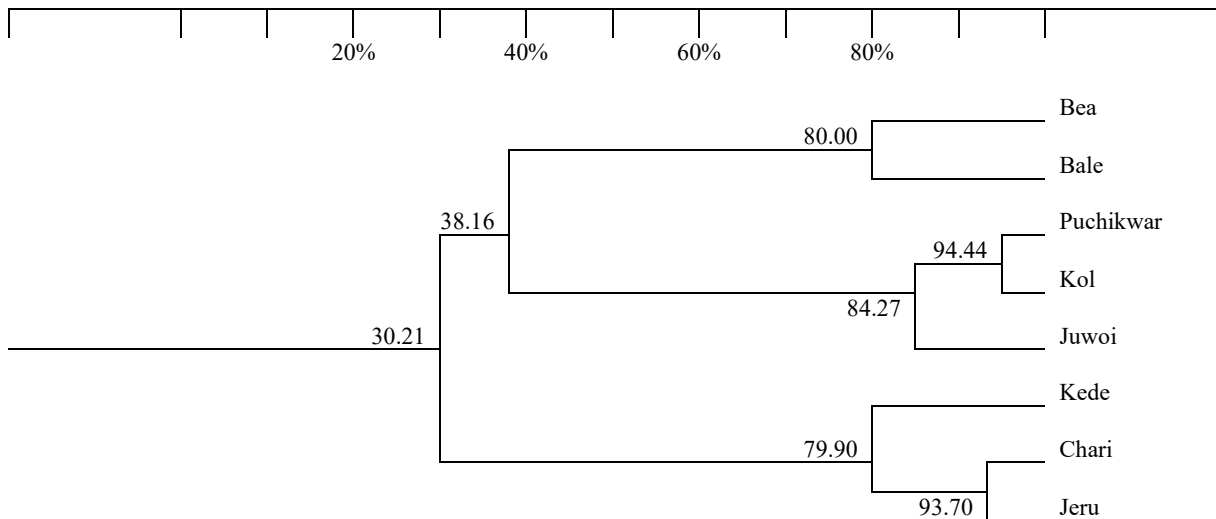


4. Probably the first quantitative classification of the Great Andamanese languages was realized by Comrie & Zamponi (2019). Applying the 200-word-list, they have obtained the following pairwise similarity percentages (p. 42):

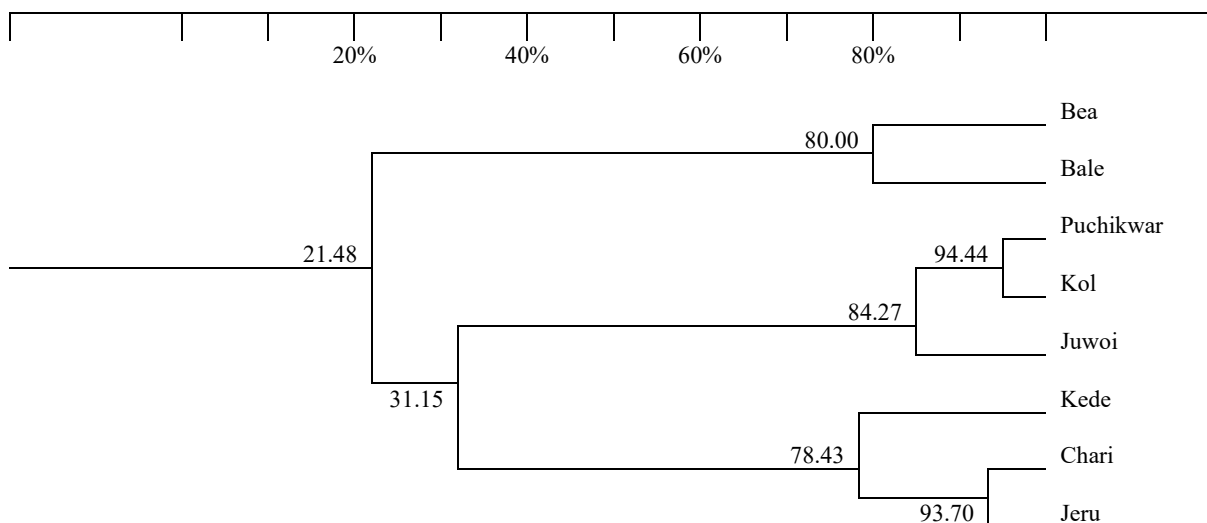
%	Jeru	Great An.	Kede	Juwoi	Kol	Puchik.	Bea	Bale
Chari	54/58 = 93.10	114/149 = 76.51	120/153 = 78.43	54/147 = 36.73	49/149 = 32.89	51/150 = 34.00	34/154 = 22.08	32/149 = 21.48
Jeru		59/62 = 95.16	48/59 = 81.36	21/59 = 35.59	19/61 = 31.15	20/62 = 32.26	15/62 = 24.19	14/61 = 22.95
Great An.			97/150 = 64.67	52/173 = 30.06	48/175 = 27.43	47/177 = 26.55	28/182 = 15.38	29/175 = 16.57
Kede				59/147 = 40.14	52/149 = 34.90	55/150 = 36.67	37/154 = 24.03	36/149 = 24.16
Juwoi					150/178 = 84.27	150/178 = 84.27	64/178 = 35.96	68/178 = 38.20
Kol						170/180 = 94.44	67/180 = 37.22	71/180 = 39.44
Puchik.							70/181 = 38.67	71/180 = 39.44
Bea								144/180 = 80.00

These results may be projected into tree-diagrams according to two strategies, first applying the partial averages of the obtained percentages, second applying the minimal percentages from every partial group.

The method, using the partial averages of percentages, leads to **Tree-diagram 4a**.



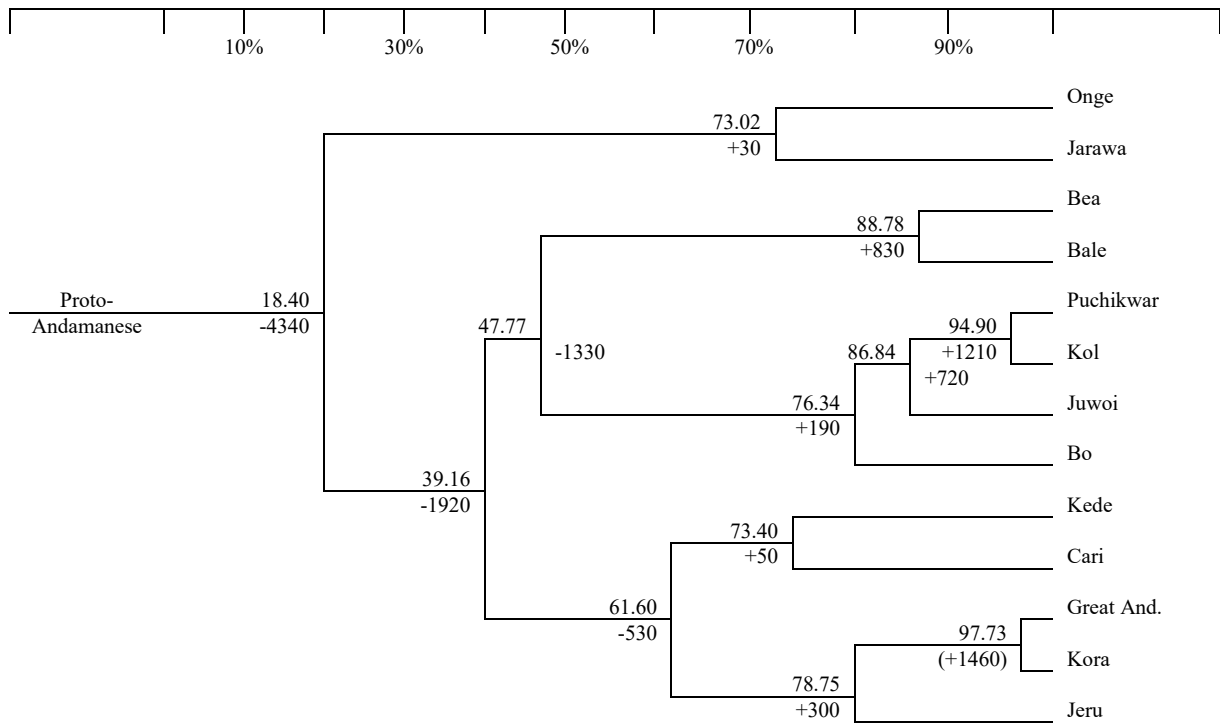
The method, using the minimal values of percentages, leads to **Tree-diagram 4b**:



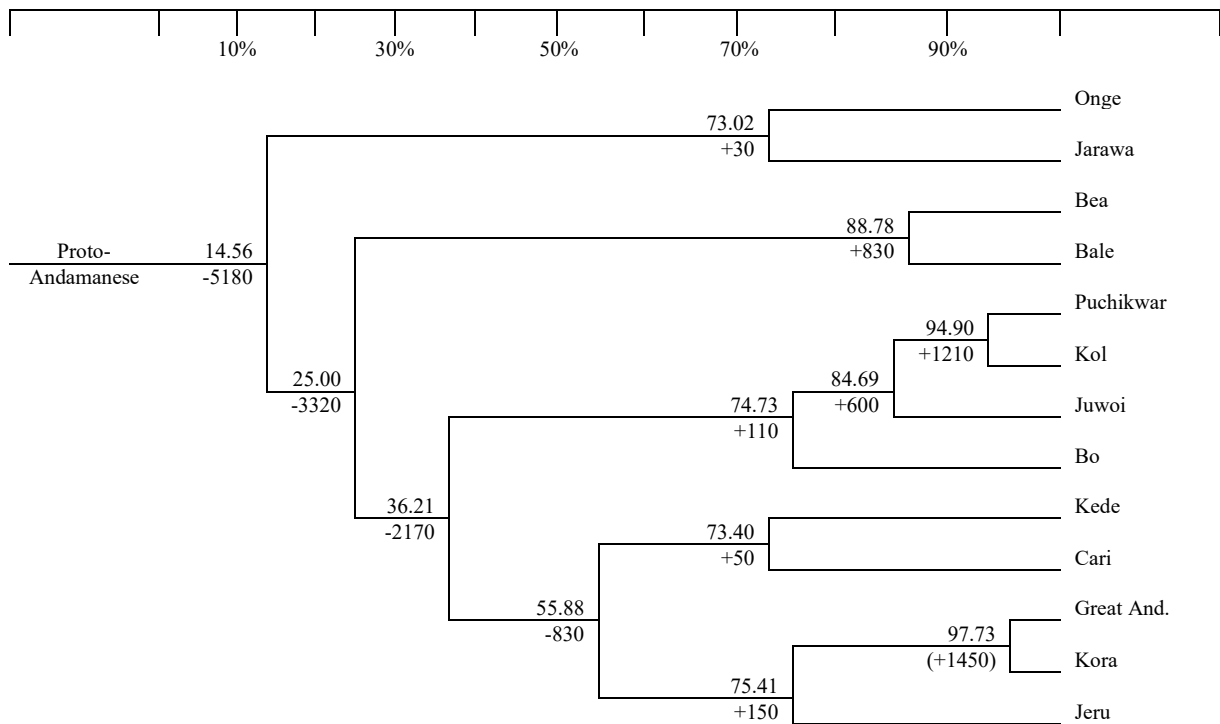
5. The present study aims to add to the Andamanese classification a chronological dimension, applying so-called ‘recalibrated glottochronology,’ which was developed by Sergei Starostin in the end of the 1980’s.

[illegible]

Applying the method of partial averages, these figures can be projected into **Tree-diagram 5a**:



If the lowest percentages are preferred, the result is slightly different: **Tree diagram 5b**:



DISCUSSION OF RESULTS

Let us compare all models of classification of the Andamanese languages introduced here. The discussed models are designated according to the numbers of the corresponding tree-diagrams, i.e. models 1, 2, 3, 4a, 4b, 5a, 5b. With the exception of models 2 and 4, which classify only the languages of the Great Andaman, all remaining models agree in the first separation of the South/Little Andaman branch, represented by Kora and Jeru, and maybe also Sentinelese. The contemporary language called Great Andaman is more or less identical with Kora (97.73% common items in the 100-word-list), followed by Jeru (95.16% in the 200-word-list).

Models 1, 2 and 3 agree on the positions of Bo vs. Cari, Jeru & Kora; according to models 1 and 3 Kede belongs together with Kol, Juwai & Puchikwar, while model 2 classifies Kede together with Bo, Cari, Jeru, Kora. On the other hand, the newly generated model 5 connect Bo with Juwai, Kol, Puchikwar (74.73%, 75.81%, 78.42% respectively, against 49.47%, 43.18%, 39.56%, 37.64% for Bo vs. Cari, Jeru, Great Andaman & Kora respectively), and Kede with Cari (73.40%), and further with Kora//Great Andaman & Jeru (55.88%/60.00% & 60.14%, against 51.06%, 51.06%, 46.32% for Kede vs. Kol, Juwai, Puchikwar respectively, all on the basis of the 100-word-list). The close position of Kede to Jeru (81.36%) and Chari (78.43%) is also supported in model 4, generated on the basis of 200-word-list. The relatively high score of Bo vs. Kede, 61.17%, is significantly lower than Kede vs. Cari (73.40%; both in 100-word-list) and may be explained from the direct Bo-Kede neighborhood along the western coast, while the Kede and Cari languages were separated just by the Bo and Jeru languages.

The second diagnostic feature in all classifications is the position of the Bea-Bale cluster. Models 2, 3, 4a, 5a agree on the closer relationship of Bea-Bale with Juwai, Kol, Puchikwar (plus Bo according to the model 5), while models 1, 4b and 5b connect first Cari-Kora-Jeru and Kol-Juwai-Puchikwar and only their common ancestor with Bea-Bale with regard to the lowest result between Bea(-Bale) and Cari-(Kora-)Jeru. For construction of tree-diagrams the method of partial averages is more adequate than the method of lowest percentages of the shared cognates. In the cases of models 1, 2, 3, it is not known which approaches to classification were applied.

On the other hand, models 4a & 5a represent in principle the same topology of the Great Andamanese tree-diagram - they differ only in the number of the languages studied. The chronological data of model 5a offer estimations of when the processes of divergence culminated. On the other hand, the chronological estimations developed in model 5b indicate the hypothetical beginnings of divergence. This means that the dates 5180 BCE and 4210 BCE are supposed to determine the probable times when the disintegration of the Andamanese protolanguage began, and when it culminated, respectively. This time interval is comparable with the dates of disintegration of several other language families, applying the same glottochronological procedure: Mon-Khmer - 5100 BCE; Sino-Tibetan - 5090 BCE; Austronesian - 4800 BCE; Tai-Kadai - 4310 BCE; Indo-European - 4340 BCE (all George Starostin 2015, 568) or 4670 BCE (Sergei Starostin, *Workshop on the chronology in linguistics*, Santa Fe 2004). These results give evidence that it is not necessary to divide the Andamanese languages into two independent language families. But it is also necessary

to stress that the comparison of Onge-Jarawa and the Great Andaman (sub-)families is only tentative and preliminary, namely for two reasons: (a) Lexical data of both, Onge and Jarawa, are incomplete: in the Onge and Jarawa 100-word-lists there are 33 and 20 missing items respectively; (b) The regular phonetic correspondences between both of the (sub-)families are not yet established and every lexical match is determined only intuitively. There were only several attempts to formulate basic sound rules between the Great Andamanese languages, which remain symptomatically unpublished, namely Alfredo Trombetti 1922-23, 409-18 (referring to the unpublished ms. *Studi di fonologia andamanese* of his former student, Emilia Pilla, from 1921); Timothy Usher (ms. 2003; he kindly sent to the author a synopsis of phonetic correspondences on June 21, 2014) and Juliette Blevins (forthcoming). It is important to mention that old records from the end of the 18th cent. till the early 1960's are imperfect, only later descriptions recognize e.g. retroflexive dentals or aspirate labials.

APPENDIX 1: SUMMARY OF SOUND CORRESPONDENCES AMONG THE LANGUAGES OF GREAT ANDAMAN

Emilia Pilla (apud Alfredo Trombetti 1922-23, 409-18): lexical correspondences established by her lead to the following sound rules:

Bea	<i>t</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>k ~ ø-</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>
Bale	<i>t</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>k</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>
Puchikwar	<i>t</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>k</i>	<i>k</i>	<i>g</i>
Juwoi	<i>t</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>k</i>	<i>k</i>	<i>g</i>
Kol	<i>t</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>k</i>	<i>k</i>	<i>g</i>
Kede	<i>t</i>	<i>t</i>		<i>p</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>k</i>	<i>k</i>	
Chariar	<i>t</i>	<i>t</i>		<i>p</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>k</i>	<i>k</i>	

Bea	<i>č</i>	<i>ǰ</i>	<i>-ǰ-</i>	<i>y-</i>	<i>w</i>	<i>m</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>l</i>	<i>r</i>	<i>-ŋ-</i>
Bale	<i>č</i>	<i>ǰ</i>	<i>-ǰ-</i>	<i>y-</i>	<i>w</i>	<i>m</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>l</i>	<i>r</i>	<i>-ŋ-</i>
Puchikwar	<i>č</i>	<i>č</i>	<i>-ǰ-</i>	<i>y-</i>	<i>w</i>	<i>m</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>l</i>	<i>r</i>	<i>-ŋ-</i>
Juwoi	<i>č</i>	<i>č</i>	<i>-ǰ-</i>	<i>ǰ-</i>	<i>w</i>	<i>m</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>l</i>	<i>r</i>	<i>-ŋ-</i>
Kol	<i>č</i>	<i>č</i>	<i>-č-</i>	<i>y-</i>	<i>w</i>	<i>m</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>l</i>	<i>r</i>	<i>-ŋ-</i>
Kede	<i>č</i>	<i>č</i>	<i>-ǰ-</i>	<i>y-</i>	<i>w</i>	<i>m</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>l</i>	<i>r</i>	<i>-ŋ-</i>
Chariar	<i>č</i>	<i>č</i>		<i>ǰ-</i>		<i>m</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>l</i>	<i>r</i>	<i>-ŋ-</i>

Timothy Usher: Tentative consonantal correspondences.

Gr. Andaman*	<i>*m</i>	<i>*p^h</i>	<i>*b</i>	<i>*b^ʰ</i>	<i>*n</i>	<i>*t^h</i>	<i>*t</i>	<i>*d-</i>	<i>*n^y</i>	<i>*c^h</i>
North*	<i>*m</i>	<i>*p^h</i>		<i>*b</i>	<i>*n</i>	<i>*t^h</i>	<i>*t</i>		<i>*n^y</i>	<i>*c^h</i>
Central*	<i>*m</i>	<i>*p</i>		<i>*b</i>	<i>*n</i>	<i>*t</i>	<i>*t</i>	<i>*d-</i>	<i>*n^y</i>	<i>*c</i>
South*	<i>*m</i>	<i>*p</i>		<i>*p</i>	<i>*n</i>	<i>*t</i>	<i>*t</i>	<i>*d</i>	<i>*n^y</i>	<i>*j</i>

Gr. Andaman*	<i>*c</i>	<i>*j-</i>	<i>*ŋ</i>	<i>*kh</i>	<i>*k-/ *-k-</i>	<i>*g?</i>	<i>*l</i>	<i>*r</i>	<i>*y</i>	<i>*w</i>
North*	<i>*c</i>	<i>*j-</i>	<i>*ŋ</i>	<i>*kh</i>	<i>*k-/ *-ø-</i>		<i>*l</i>	<i>*r</i>		
Central*	<i>*c</i>	<i>*j-</i>	<i>*ŋ</i>	<i>*k</i>	<i>*k-/ -k-</i>		<i>*l</i>	<i>*r</i>		
South*	<i>*c</i>	<i>*y-</i>	<i>*ŋ</i>	<i>*g</i>	<i>*k-/ -k-</i>		<i>*l</i>	<i>*r</i>		

Timothy Usher: Tentative vocalic correspondences.

Gr. Andaman*	<i>*i</i>	<i>?</i>	<i>*ei</i>	<i>*e</i>	<i>*E</i>	<i>*æ</i>	<i>*a</i>	<i>*ā</i>	<i>*ü [iu]</i>	<i>*ö [eu]</i>
North*	<i>*i</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>e</i>			<i>*a</i>		<i>*i</i>	<i>*e</i>
Central*	<i>*i</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>*E</i>	<i>*æ</i>	<i>*a</i>	<i>*a</i>	<i>*i</i>	<i>*e</i>
South*	<i>*i</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>*E</i>	<i>*æ</i>	<i>*a</i>	<i>*ā</i>	<i>*u</i>	<i>*u</i>

Gr. Andaman*	*u [uo]	*o	*O	*oa	*Oa		*ai	*aü	*Oi
North*	*u	*o		*o	*O				*oi
Central*	*u	*o	*O	*o	*O	*ai	*ai	*ai	*oi
South*	*o	*o	*O	*a	*a	*æ	*ai	*u	*ai

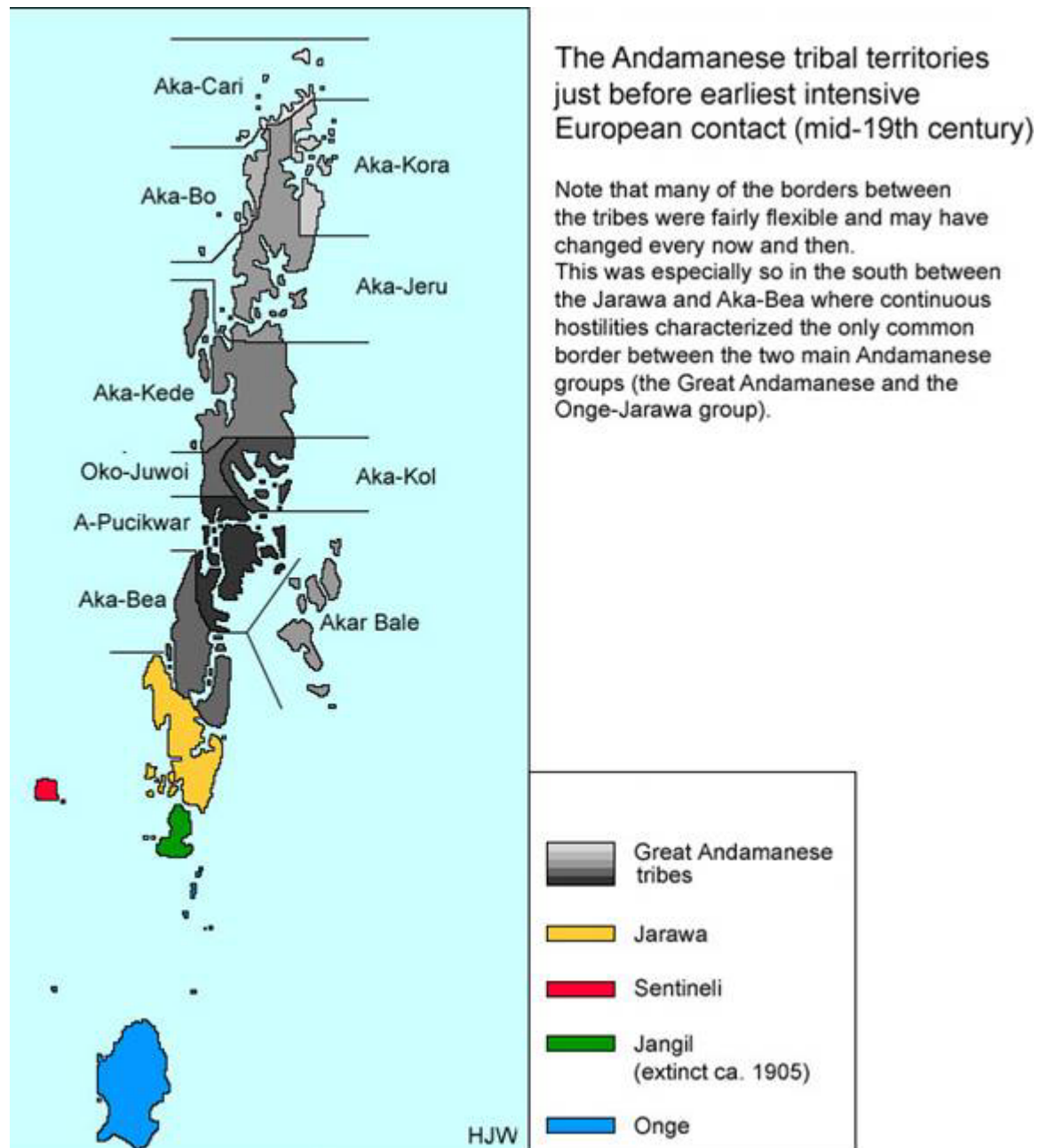
Blevins fc.

Great Andaman*	*p	*b	*m	*w	*t	*d?	*n	*l	*r	*c	*ɲ	*ɣ	*k	*ŋ
North														
Cari	p	b	m	w/ø	t	d	n	l	r	c	ɲ	j	k	ŋ
Kede	p	b	m	w	t	d	n	l/y/ø	r	c	ɲ	j/y	k	ŋ
Central														
Bo	p	b	m	w	t	d	n	l	r	c	ɲ	y	k	ŋ
Puchikwar	p/ø	b	m	w	t	d	n	l	r	c	ɲ	y	k/c	ŋ
South														
Bea	p/b/ø	b	m	w	t/d	d	n	l	r	c/j	ɲ	y	k/g	ŋ

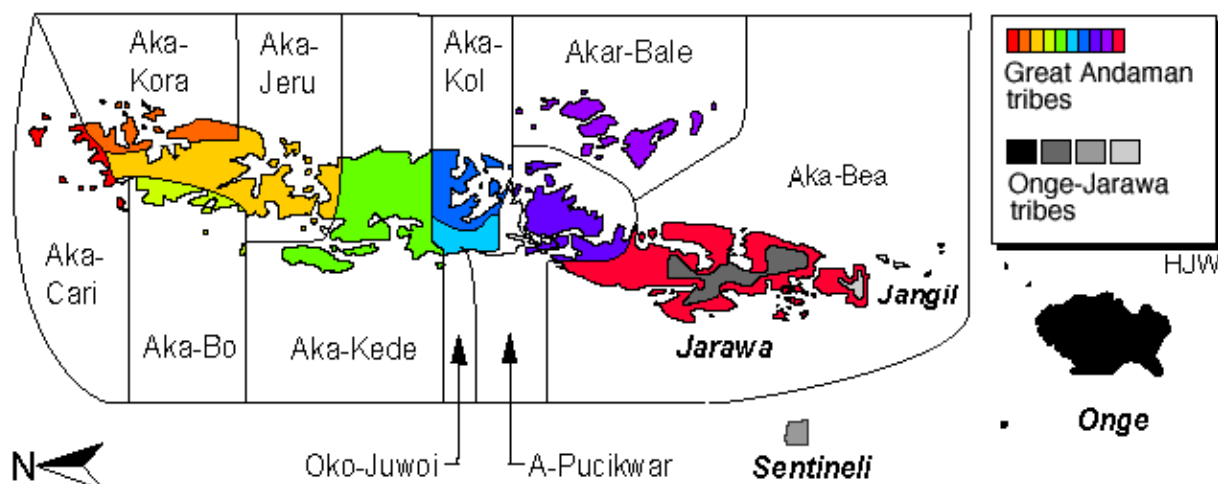
Great Andaman*	*i	*u	*a	*e	*o	*ə	*uə	*ai
North								
Cari	i/e	u	a	e	o	o / V	i	ai
Kede	i	u	a	e	o	o / V	i	ai
Central								
Bo	i	u	a	e	o	o / V	i	ai
Puchikwar	i	u	a	e	o	a / V	i	ai
South								
Bea	i	u/o	a	e	o	a / V	u	ai/e/i

Note: The idea of Blevins (2007) about the Austronesian links of the Onge-Jarawa protolanguage should be carefully verified in perspective of the Great and perhaps Common Andamanese protolanguage. The Austronesian influence cannot be excluded, but probably came later, e.g. a hypothetical trajectory of the migration wave bringing Malagasy to the island of Madagascar could have included the Andamanese Islands. It is possible to speculate that disintegrations of several partial protolanguages in the period 30-300 CE or 30-150 CE according to models 5a and 5b, respectively, may reflect these events.

APPENDIX 2: LANGUAGE MAPS



<http://www.andamanese.net/Grammar_Notes.html>



Blevins 2007, 157

APPENDIX 3: THE INDO-PACIFIC HYPOTHESIS

The Indo-Pacific hypothesis proposes a genetic relationship among pre-Austronesian languages in the insular area between the Indian and Pacific Oceans. These include the languages of the Andaman Archipelago; the Indonesian islands Timor, Alor and Pantar; North Halmahera; all Papuan (i.e. non-Austronesian) languages of New Guinea; Tasmania; and the islands to the west of the (mostly Austronesian-speaking) Solomon Islands, as that hypothesis was proposed by Joseph H. Greenberg (1971-2005). Jonathan Morris (2008) speaks about Alfredo Trombetti as the forefather of the Indo-Pacific hypothesis, but Trombetti more accurately played the role of a godfather since he was working from the results of his two predecessors, Hans Schnorr von Carolsfeld and Riccardo Gatti. These (also cited by Morris), and especially the latter, were the true forefathers of the hypothesis.¹

Both Schnorr von Carolsfeld and Gatti concentrated on the Australian languages, searching for potential relatives outside the Australian continent. In *comparanda* summarized by Schnorr von Carolsfeld it is possible to identify 20 lexical parallels between Australian and Andamanese languages, with three possible Papuan cognates among them. Gatti collected as many as 170 Australian-Andamanese lexical parallels, with 21 possible Papuan cognates. Among these Australian-Andamanese parallels are also two hypothetical Tasmanian cognates, but without Papuan counterparts.

Greenberg (1971, 2005) excluded the Australian languages and focused on comparing the various Papuan languages to the Andamanese and the extinct Tasmanian languages. Altogether he

¹ In his book *L'unità d'origine del linguaggio* (1905), Trombetti could not yet use the results of Gatti, published only in 1906 and later. Among his examples of global etymologies, Trombetti included 6-7 lexical comparisons connecting the Andamanese, Papuan and Australian languages, which were apparently identified by himself.

collected 35 Andamanese-Papuan lexical parallels. In addition, he identified three common nominal bases, as well as the velar suffix of the past tense, which are common to both the Andamanese and several groups of the Papuan languages.

Wurm (1975: 927-929) generally accepted Greenberg's Andamanese-Papuan comparisons, though he believed it more probable that their similarities were due to the existence of a substratum.

More critical was Pawley (2009), and for this reason his careful evaluation of Greenberg's results is instructive. From the corpus of 84 Indo-Pacific lexical comparisons collected by Greenberg, where the Andamanese data were represented in 35 items, Pawley (2009: 167) chose the 23 most promising lexical comparisons, including six hypothetical cognates in the Andamanese languages and five in the Tasmanian languages. He remains skeptical, citing other specialists in the field who hold a similar opinion (Pawley 2009, 160):

Why has the Indo-Pacific hypothesis received little attention from specialists in the relevant language groups? In the four decades since Greenberg's main publication on this subject there have been a handful of brief assessments by specialists, consisting of just a few sentences, and all have rejected the evidence as unconvincing (among these are Laycock 1975; Pawley 1998, 2005; Ross 2005).

But Pawley's categorical dismissal of the hypothesis is weakened by his omission of the work of Timothy Usher, who focuses his attention on reconstruction of the partial protolanguages of the individual language families, including the reconstruction of the protolanguage of the Great Andaman languages.² Usher offers a quite new conception of the genealogical classification of all non-Austrian languages of the Indo-Pacific region, dividing them into two great super-groups, and noting their mutual interactions and relations:³

Paleo-Sundic

- A. Kusunda
- B. Great Andamanese
- C. Önge
- D. North Halmahera
- E. West Bird's Head
- F. Bernesu
- G. Abun
- H. Brat
- I. ?Yawa

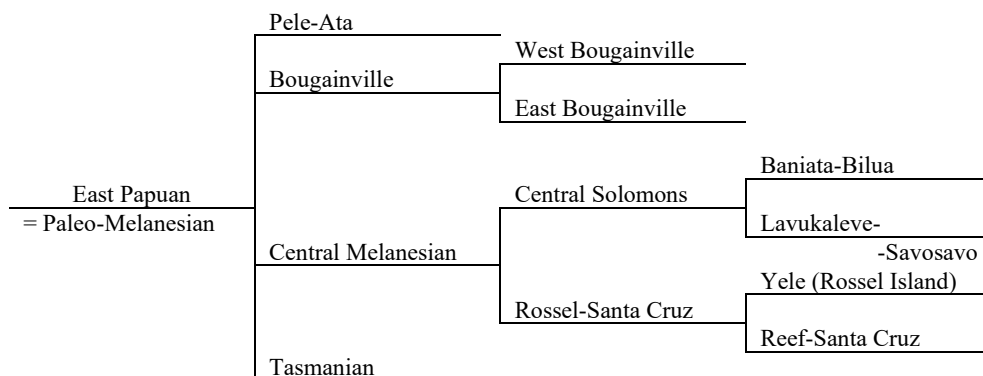
Old Oceanic

- A. Timor-Alor-Pantar & Trans New Guinea
- B. East Papuan ('Paleo-Melanesian': New Britain, Solomons, Santa Cruz, Bougainville) & Tasmanian
- C. Australian

² This ms. was unfortunately lost, but was seen by the present author in Santa Fe in 2003.

³ Originally presented at the conference *Asian Remnant Languages and the Year of the Australoid*, held at Harvard University, Oct 21-22, 2006, and published in *Mother Tongue* 11, 2006, 295-298.

The East Papuan phylum is classified by Usher (2002: 66) as follows:



The conclusions of Timothy Usher should naturally be verified, but his proposal allows for the inclusion of a greater number of reconstructed protolanguages of individual Papuan families, and so the conditions for the use of the standard comparative method are thereby improved.

Acknowledgements

The author would like to express his sincere thanks for provision of inaccessible materials by Maarten Mous, Timothy Usher and Harald Hammarström. Great gratitude also belongs to John D. Bengtson for his corrections of my English.

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 Bea: <https://ia800300.us.archive.org/34/items/rosettaproject_abj_swadesh-1/abj.txt>
 Jeru: <https://ia800301.us.archive.org/24/items/rosettaproject_akj_swadesh-1/akj.txt>
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