

Figure IV  
Standard  $\alpha$ -list

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|--|--|---|
| 1. all (as in 'all of the stones')         | 38. head                                 | 72. seed (of a fruit)                             |
| 2. ashes (cold ashes left after fire)      | 39. hear (as sounds)                     | 73. sit (as in 'he is sitting here')              |
| 3. bark (of a tree)                        | 40. heart (as body part)                 | 74. skin (of human being)                         |
| 4. belly (the outside part of human belly) | 41. horn (cow's horn)                    | 75. sleep (as in 'he is sleeping')                |
| 5. big (big in size, as opposed to small)  | 42. I                                    | 76. small (in size, opposite to big)              |
| 6. bird                                    | 43. kill (as a person)                   | 77. smoke (of a fire)                             |
| 7. bite (bite as in eating)                | 44. knee                                 | 78. say or speak (as in 'he is saying something') |
| 8. black (black colour)                    | 45. know (as in 'I know his')            | 79. stand (as in 'he is standing there')          |
| 9. blood                                   | 46. leaf                                 | 80. star  |
| 10. bone                                   | 47. lie (as 'the boy lies on the floor') | 81. stone   |
| 11. breast (female breast)                 | 48. liver                                | 82. sun   |
| 12. burn (vt., to burn sticks)             | 49. long (rope)                          | 83. swim (as in 'he is swimming there')           |
| 13. claw or fingernail                     | 50. louse (hair)                         | 84. tail (of a dog)                               |
| 14. cloud                                  | 51. man (as opposite to woman)           | 85. that (far from here)                          |
| 15. cold (as water)                        | 52. many (as in 'many stones')           | 86. this (close to here)                          |
| 16. come                                   | 53. meat (as in 'to cook meat')          | 87. thou (2 <sup>nd</sup> Sg.)                    |
| 17. die (of a person)                      | 54. moon                                 | 88. tongue (of a human being)                     |
| 18. dog                                    | 55. mountain                             | 89. tooth   |
| 19. drink (as water)                       | 56. mouth (of a person)                  | 90. tree  |
| 20. dry (as clothes)                       | 57. name (of a person)                   | 91. two   |
| 21. ear                                    | 58. neck (as opposite to throat)         | 92. walk or go (as in 'we will walk there/ here') |
| 22. earth (as in 'a shovel of earth')      | 59. new (as in 'new clothes')            | 93. warm (as water)                               |
| 23. eat                                    | 60. night (as opposite to day)           | 94. water (fresh water)                           |
| 24. egg                                    | 61. nose                                 | 95. we (Pl. excl.)                                |
| 25. eye                                    | 62. not (as in 'not new')                | 96. what?   |
| 26. fat (n., as in 'meat and fat')         | 63. one                                  | 97. white (white colour)                          |
| 27. feather                                | 64. person (= human being)               | 98. who?  |
| 28. fire                                   | 65. rain                                 | 99. woman (as opposite to man)                    |
| 29. fish (n.)                              | 66. red (colour)                         | 100. yellow (yellow colour)                       |
| 30. fly (as a bird)                        | 67. road or path                         |   |
| 31. foot                                   | 68. root (of a tree)                     |   |
| 32. full (as a basket)                     | 69. round (object)                       |   |
| 33. give                                   | 70. sand                                 |   |
| 34. good                                   | 71. see (as in 'I can see him')          |   |
| 35. green (colour)                         |  |   |
| 36. hair (of head)                         |  |   |
| 37. hand                                   |  |   |

There are many ways to compile a  $\sigma$ -list, but we prefer to use the standard one which includes 100 meanings suggested by Swadesh, despite the fact that the list is not ideal as:

- some of its meanings are not universal: for example, until recently the meaning 'horn' was not known in Australian Aboriginal languages;