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*TOWARDS A DEFINITIVE PHILIPPINE  
WORDLIST--THE QUALITATIVE USE OF  
VOCABULARY IN IDENTIFYING AND  
CLASSIFYING LANGUAGES*

1. OBJECTIVES. Most linguists doing research on Philippine languages have been in agreement in including the glosses of the Swadesh or Gudschinsky lists in their fieldwork, if not for actual lexicostatistical or glottochronological purposes, then to obtain matching sets for comparative work. The number of linguists who have gone considerably beyond those 200 or so basic vocabulary items has increased in recent years, thereby increasing the repertoire of forms that comparativists have to work with. With so many researchers now in the field, and with a growing concern over the linguistic situation in Borneo and Celebes (many of the languages of which are close in type to languages of the Philippines), the time is ripe for a serious attempt at drawing up a definitive, enlarged, culturally-oriented list in order to insure a larger body of semantically matched data for continued comparative work on the one hand, and in order to begin the reconstruction of Philippine culture history on the other.

In traditional terms, a word is composed of form (a cluster of

*Towards a definitive Philippine wordlist*

TABLE 1. *Kagayananen 100 Word List*

all	tanán	Bs	man/male	ma:ma	Mb
ashes	qabú	PH	many	ta:maq	--
belly	gettek	Mb	meat	sapúq	--
big	bakéd	--	moon	bu:lan	PH
bird	yu:pan	PH	mountain	bu:kid	PH
bite	kagát	PH	mouth	baqbaq	PH
black	mi:tem	PH	name	nga:ran	PH
blood	langessa	Mb	neck	liqég	PH
body	la:wa	Mb	new	bagqu	PH
bone	bekkeg	SBs	night	kilém	Mb
breast	su:su	PH	nose	qirúng	PH
burn	su:nug	PH	not	di:liq	SBs
cloud(rain)	qitém	--	one	qisya	--
cold	tignaw	SBs	person	qittaw	Mb
come/arrive	qabút	Bs	rain	qurán	PH
die	-patáy	PH	red	min:ug	--
dog	qa:yam	PH	road/trail	da:lan	PH
drink	qinúm	PH	root	gamút	PH
dry	-ma:ra	PH	round	bilúg	PH
ear	tali:nga	PH	sand	pantad	Mb
earth	basák	Mb	say/said	qambał	WBs
eat	ka:qan	Mb	see	ki:taq	PH
egg	tallug	PH	seed-rice	bi:niq	PH
eye	matá	PH	sit	pungkuq	WBs
fat	tambek	Bs	skin	langgit	Mb
feather	buLbuL	PH	sleep	tunu:ga	Mb
fingernail	su:lu	Mb	small	sisét	--
fire	qapúy	PH	smoke	gasú	PH
fish (n)	siddaq	PH	stand	tindeg	PH
fly (v)	layúg	PH	star	bituqún	PH
foot	bati:qis	PH	stone	batú	PH
full	pennuq	PH	sun	qadlaw	PH
give	qa:tag	SBs	swim	luuy	--
good at	miyád	WBs	tail	qi:kug	PH
green/unripe	qiláw	PH	this	tiní	PH
hair	buuk	PH	that	sanyaq	Mb
hand	li:ma	PH	thou	ka:un	Mb
head	qu:lu	PH	tongue	di:laq	PH
hear	ka-ma:tiq	Bs	tooth	ngi:pen	PH
heart	tagipusu:qun	WBs	tree/wood	ka:uy	PH
horn	sungáy	PH	two	darwa	PH
I	yakén ~ qa	Mb	walk	panáw	PH
kill	patáy	PH	warm/hot	qi:nit	PH
knee	bu:qul	Mb	water	wa:ig	Mb
know-fact	na:man	WBs	we (excl)	kamí	PH

leaf	da:un	PH	what?	qarán	--
lie down	neggaq	--	white	putíq	PH
liver	qatáy	PH	who?	kinú	--
long	langkaw	--	woman	ba:y	PH
louse	kutú ~ tumá	PH	yellow	dubaw	PH

Bs = General Bisayan form; SBs = South Bisayan; WBs = West Bisayan; Mb = a Manobo form; PH = a Philippine form of wider occurrence than just Manobo or Bisayan.

TABLE 2. *Kagayanan Forms Relatable to Manobo*

	KAGAYANEN	EXPECTED, IF BISAYAN
'belly'	gettek	*tiyán
'blood'	langessa	*dugúq
'body'	la:wa	*la:was
'earth'	basák	*lugtaq, *lu:paq
'eat'	ka:qan	*ka:gen
'fingernail'	su:lu	*kukú, *kulú
'I'	qa	*qakú
'knee'	bu:qul	*tu:(h)ud
'man'	ma:ma	*lala:ki
'night'	ki:lem	*gab(i)qi, *delém
'person'	qittaw	*ta:wu
'sand'	pantad	*barás, *bu(h)a:ngin
'skin'	langgit	*pa:nit
'sleep'	tunu:ga	*tu:rug
'that (near)'	sanyaq	*qináq, *dan, *qiyán, *yaqún
'thou'	ka:un	*qikáw
'water'	wa:ig	*tu:big

On the basis of the 30 forms gleaned from just the 100 word list, we can conclude that Kag is a Manobo, rather than a Bisayan language. The following are some of the reasons:

1. The quality of the Manobo innovations which are found in Kag is rather convincing: \*langesa 'blood', \*gettek 'belly', \*qa 'I' (enclitic form),

Words dealing with broad categories such as agriculture, cockfighting, house-building, barter and trade, weaving, clothing, fishing, rice-culture, betel-culture, that are not found in earlier groups would be put here in the hope that we will be able to make significant steps in reconstructing early Philippine culture history.

Group nine is envisioned as a list for thesaurus-expansion. Thus all of the flora and fauna in an area, all the species of fish or sealife, the names of all the winds or phases of the moon would be included herewith.

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#### GROUP ONE

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- |                                  |                                     |
|----------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| 1. alcoholic-drink [Arb] *øa:rak | 33. lime *qa:puR                    |
| 2. bitter *paqít                 | 34. liver *qatéy                    |
| 3. brain *[hØ]uték               | 35. louse *ku:tu                    |
| 4. branch *saná                  | 36. monsoon-wind *haba:Rat          |
| 5. chicken *manúk                | 37. moon *bu:lan                    |
| 6. crocodile *buqa:ya            | 38. moss *lu:mut                    |
| 7. to die/kill *patáy/*matáy     | 39. name *(ŋ)a:jan                  |
| 8. to drink *øinúm               | 40. navel *pu:sej                   |
| 9. to eat *(pan)ka:øen           | 41. nine *siyá[m,w]                 |
| 10. eight *walú                  | 42. nit *liseháq                    |
| 11. elbow *si:ku                 | 43. oil [coc./veg.] *la:ña          |
| 12. embers *ba:Ra(h)             | 44. outrigger *ka:tiR               |
| 13. excrement *ta:qi             | 45. to pay/buy *ba:yaD              |
| 14. eye *matáØ                   | 46. person *ta:Øuh                  |
| 15. fathom *Depá                 | 47. pestle *haqlu                   |
| 16. five *limá                   | 48. pole-bamboo *tekén              |
| 17. flatulence *øetút            | 49. pus *n[a,e]:naq                 |
| 18. four *øepát                  | 50. rayfish *pa:Ri                  |
| 19. full *penúq                  | 51. to return (home)<br>*[Ø]u(:)liq |
| 20. gall/bile *qap(e)ju(h)       | 52. rice-husked *beRás              |
| 21. ginger *lequ:ya              | 53. rice-plant *pa:jey              |
| 22. garlic/leek/onion *ba:wɑŋ    | 54. rice-seed *benhiq               |
| 23. to get-up/rise *ba:ŋun       | 55. ridge(beam) *bubuŋ(an)          |
| 24. goat *kaN[b,d]iŋ             | 56. road/trail *Da:lan              |
| 25. gray-hair *qu:ban            | 57. roof (thatch) *qatép            |
| 26. to grind/mill *gi:liŋ        | 58. sail (boat) *la:yaR             |
| 27. to grow/sprout *tu:buq       | 59. sesame *lená(h)                 |
| 28. head *qu:lu                  | 60. seven *pitú                     |
| 29. hundred *Ratús               | 61. to sip-noisily *hi:Rup          |
| 30. I *-ak(ú)                    | 62. six *øeném                      |
| 31. leech--land *(qa)lima:tek    | 63. stairs/ladder *haR(e)Dan        |
| 32. leech--water *lintaq         |                                     |

- |                               |                                   |
|-------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| 64. stone *batúø              | 73. trunk/base<br>*pu:nug/*pu:qun |
| 65. tear(drop) *lu:heq        | 74. two *Dewha                    |
| 66. ten [unit] *-pu:luq       | 75. umbrella *pa:yuŋ              |
| 67. thou *(Øi)ka(Øu)          | 76. vein (blood) *quRát           |
| 68. thousand *Rí:bu           | 77. we [exclusive] *(ki)kamí      |
| 69. three *telú               | 78. we [inclusive] *(ki)tá        |
| 70. thy *-mu                  | 79. widow(er) *ba:lu              |
| 71. tongue *di:laq            | 80. yam *qu:bi                    |
| 72. tree/wood *ka:huy/*ka:yuh |                                   |

GROUP TWO

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Note. Although the etyma listed below are widely distributed throughout the major Philippine subgroups, many uniques and forms of limited distribution are often found in some areas. These cases are marked by the symbol ++.

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|---|---|
| 1. armpit *ki:li[-2], *qi:Dek   | 23. pig *ba:buy ++                          |
| 2. bait *paØen, *[ ]umpan ++  | 24. pot--cooking *ku:Den,<br>*ba:ɳaq        |
| 3. betel-chew/quid *mamaq-en,<br>*tilad ++                            | 25. to pound-rice *bayúø,<br>*lebek         |
| 4. to chase-away [animal] *bu:Raw,<br>*(t)a:buR                       | 26. rafters *kasáw, *kilú                   |
| 5. comb--fine tooth [for removing<br>lice] *su:jud, *sa[g]jú          | 27. ricestraw *DaRa:mi ++                   |
| 6. to cook [in general] *lu:tuq,<br>*[Øh]apuy                         | 28. right(side) *(ka)wanan,<br>*(kaliN)tuØu |
| 7. to cover [as jar] *takép,<br>*tak(a)lub                            | 29. ring *siŋsiŋ ++                         |
| 8. debt *qu:taŋ ++  | 30. root *Ra:mut, *dalid                    |
| 9. deep *da:lem ++  | 31. salt *qasín, *timús                     |
| 10. to delouse *hiN(k)utuØ, *sukay                                    | 32. sky *la:ŋit ++                          |
| 11. to drip/leak from (roof)<br>*tu:Duq, *teDteD                      | 33. sole (of foot) *dapan,<br>dapadapa ++   |
| 12. ear *tali:ɳa, *tuli   | 34. soup *sabáw ++                          |
| 13. field/swidden *qumah ++   | 35. span [c. 8 inches]<br>*da:ɳaw, *da:ɳan  |
| 14. to itch *katél ++   | 36. spirit/anito *qani:tu ++                |
| 15. lake *Danáw, *lebén   | 37. spouse/wife *qasa:wa ++                 |
| 16. loincloth *baháR ++   | 38. to steal *ta:kaw ++                     |
| 17. mortar *lesúŋ, *bayu-an   | 39. still/yet *pa- ++                       |
| 18. mote-in-eye *pu:liŋ ++  | 40. sugarcane *tebúh, *qunás                |
| 19. my *-ku, *-ken  | 41. tail *Øi:kuR, *[ ]i:pus                 |
| 20. needle *(ke)Da:Rum ++   | 42. termite *Øa:nay ++                      |
| 21. orphan *[]uli:la, *[]i:lu   | 43. thin [object] *ni:pis,<br>*yapit        |
| 22. particles of food stuck be-<br>tween teeth *tináh,<br>*[]inját ++ | 44. unripe/green *hiláw,<br>*[]*[ae]ta      |