

Defining a Filipino Lexicon

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I have been bothered for some time by the relationship among Tagalog, Pilipino, and Filipino. When I conducted a frequency count of what were, after all, Tagalog materials, I went so far as to call it *A Frequency Count of Pilipino*. I refused to accept the simple use of Filipino as a new term meaning exactly the same thing as Tagalog and Pilipino. But in my wife's recently completed textbook we are calling the language Filipino. Maybe I'm getting too old to fight.

Nonetheless I continue to cling, desperately perhaps, to the idea that there is, and should be a distinction between Pilipino and Tagalog. That Pilipino is more than Tagalog plus something. That the notion that all of Tagalog, even the most obscure and archaic expressions, are automatically part of Filipino, is to be rejected. That the term 'sariling wika' should apply to an area larger than the Tagalog homeland.

You might say we should adopt a laissez faire attitude on the question. After all, Tagalog (whatever it's called) is spreading rapidly and eventually all Filipinos will be speaking it anyway. True, you can't legislate what language people can speak. No matter what we do, they will continue to use Tagalog, English, Taglish, Swardspeak, or whatever. There is at least one area in which we do need to define a Filipino lexicon - that to be taught and used in our schools. Just as the pioneering Thorndike-Lorge study sought to recommend vocabulary for use in American elementary schools, we can make a similar effort.¹

Mega-Filipino. Let us start by adopting a different viewpoint. Let us consider the term *Mega-Filipino* to refer to all of the linguistic features — words, phonology, grammar — of all the citizens of the Philippines. Actually this set of linguistic features is too big to deal with, so let's consider a subset of Mega-Filipino — all the linguistic features of the speakers of the nine largest languages: Tagalog, Sebuano, Ilokano, Hiligaynon, Bikol, Samar-Leyte, Kapampangan, Pangasinan, and Maranao, which account for about 90% of the total population. Now let us propose a provisional definition of Filipino as the set of linguistic features which are known (actively and passively) by the greatest total number of speakers in these nine communities. (Or how about a subset consisting of the speakers of Tagalog/Filipino? Tagalogs comprise about one-fourth of the population, but about half of Filipinos claim to be able to speak Tagalog/Filipino. Therefore about half of the speakers of Tagalog/Filipino are non-Tagalogs).

We are not yet in a position (though we do have a lot of data) to state definitively what features would be included in that set. However we can speculate about it.

First of all, in *A Frequency Count*, we constructed a list of the 2000 most frequent Tagalog words, based on a corpus of written Tagalog literature. It is my guess that anyone who has received a high school education anywhere in the Philippines should be familiar with almost all of these 2000 words. In addition, anyone who can enjoy Tagalog movies and Tagalog comics is probably familiar with a large number of these high frequency words. Therefore let us propose that the top 2000 Tagalog words are and should be included in Filipino.

¹ Masanao Oue of Osaka University of Foreign Languages and I are now engaged in the compilation of a Filipino-Japanese Dictionary. So the question of what words to include has become a very real one for us.

We point out again that these 2000 words are the most frequent in a body of written Tagalog. This list does not include all of the most frequent words in spoken, especially colloquial or slang, Tagalog. However, inasmuch as non-Tagalogs are exposed to Tagalog primarily in its written form, they are less likely to be familiar with colloquial usage.

When we look at the top 2000 list we find about 300 words borrowed from Spanish and about 50 from English (see Chart 1). These should also be considered part of Filipino, both because they are in the top 2000, and also because, I suspect, they are also used in all or most of the other major languages. I say I suspect because the lexical practice until now—for example, in Panganiban's *Thesaurus*—has been simply to identify these words as Spanish or English without inquiring into their use in languages other than Tagalog.

The English words in (and out of) this list present a particular difficulty, largely because we are still in a period of massive borrowing from English into Tagalog (Filipino). It is thus difficult to distinguish among words which are 1) firmly established in Tagalog; 2) those in the process of becoming established; 3) those which are in Filipino English, but not Tagalog; and 4) those which are just English, thus available only in English or code-switching environments.

Philippine lexicographers have generally been content to leave these English words in limbo; that is, out of their dictionaries. After all, it may seem pointless to have a word like **party** meaning 'party' in a Filipino-English dictionary, since speakers of English would already know that **party** means 'party'. There are several compelling reasons to include these words in our Filipino lexicon:

- (1) the fact that, e.g., **party** is a or *the* normal word for 'party' in Tagalog (Filipino) would not be obvious to the average speaker of English;
- (2) there is frequently a difference in pronunciation;
- (3) there is frequently a shift in meaning (of which Filipinos are frequently unaware);
- (4) finally there are the 'made in the Philippines' English words, expressions, and abbreviations. If we can't find these words in a Filipino dictionary, where are we to look for them?²

A final note on spelling: Insofar as English words are acknowledged as being Filipino, they have to be spelled in accordance with Filipino orthography.

The top 2000 list also establishes the major syntactic and morphological categories. After all, our lexicon should include not only words or roots, but also syntactic and morphological information. In Filipino we have primary and derived nouns:

(∅)	áso	<i>dog</i>
(-an)	aklátan	<i>library</i>
(ka-)	kasáma	<i>companion</i>
(ka-an)	kabutíhan	<i>goodness</i>
etc.		

² If the dictionary is Filipino-Japanese or Filipino-something else there is all the more reason to list the borrowed English words.

affixless and **ma-** adjectives:

(\emptyset)	bágo	<i>new</i>
(ma-)	mabilis	<i>fast</i>

a number of verb classes:

(-um-)	tumayô	<i>stand up</i>
(mag-)	maglarô	<i>play</i>
(ma-)	matúlog	<i>sleep</i>
(-um-/an [DF])	tumúlong/tulúngan	<i>help</i>
(-um/-in [OF])	bumili/bilhin	<i>buy</i>
(mag-/in [OF])	magdala/dalhin	<i>carry</i>
(mag-/i- [OF])	magtúrô/itúrô	<i>point, teach</i>
(maka-/má- [OF])	makakíta/mákíta	<i>see</i>
etc.		

verbal derivations:

aptatives	makatúlong/matulúngan	<i>can help</i>
causatives	magpabili/pabilhin/ipabili	<i>cause to buy</i>
etc.		

and the restricted classes: personal and demonstrative pronouns, noun articles, enclitic and non-enclitic adverbs, conjunctions, quantifiers, etc.

For the most part, as far as I know, most of the other Philippine languages have grammatical categories corresponding to the Tagalog categories listed above. Non-Tagalogs should be able to use these categories without too much difficulty. However Tagalog also has a number of other syntactic categories which apply to a limited number of words and are more difficult for non-Tagalogs. While I am not proposing the reform of Tagalog/Filipino in this regard, I do suggest that we could be more tolerant of "errors" by non-Tagalogs with these categories.

The Thorndike and subsequent West studies concluded that frequency alone was an insufficient criterion for defining a basic lexicon. They presented a number of other factors, primary among them, *necessity*. That is, a particular word may not be very frequent, but it may be the only word to express a particular meaning. For example, when we visit a doctor we have to use some rather low-frequency words to describe our condition and receive instructions. Some words used in the classroom — blackboard, chalk, notebook, etc. — are not very frequent elsewhere. Thus our lexicon needs to include the names of animals, plants, fish, foods, tools and implements, supernatural beings, etc. — anything that is considered part of the everyday cultural environment of the Philippines.

Again for this extended lexicon we would ask what the ordinary Tagalog words for these 'things' are; or rather, what word will a Tagalog ordinarily use for this 'thing' when speaking Tagalog? Again in many cases the ordinary words are English or Spanish words, especially in

terms of office equipment, home appliances, university majors, business terms, etc. These terms should be accepted as Filipino for the reasons given earlier.

Enrichment. The constitutional provision for Filipino as the national language indicates that it should be enriched by words from other Philippine languages. How this enrichment is to take place was not specified.³ However if we return to our concept of mega-Filipino and Filipino as the features shared by a large portion of Filipinos the enrichment may actually already be in place.

A quick survey of Lopez 1974 indicates that about 400 of the top 2000 Tagalog words correspond to identical or cognate words in at least one other major Philippine language. In some cases almost all languages have the same word (except for regular phonological changes). For example:

Tagalog	buhok	mata	dílâ
Sebuano	buhuk	mata	dílâ
Hiligaynon	buhuk	mata	dílâ
Samar-Leyte	buhuk	mata	dílâ
Bikol	buhuk	mata	dílâ
Maranao	bok	mata	dílâ
Kapampangan	bwak	mata	dílâ
Pangasinan	bwek	mata	dila
Ilokano	buuk	mata	díla
English	hair	eye	tongue

But this means that a large percentage of Tagalog words have no cognates outside Tagalog. Sometimes this is because each language has gone its own separate way. For Example:

Tagalog	matandâ	kapatid	mabilis
Sebuano	tigúlang	igsúun	paspas
Hiligaynon	tigúlang	útud	dásig
Samar-Leyte	lagas	bugtû	malaksi
Bikol	gurang	túgang	makaskas
Maranao	lokes	pagarî	magaan
Kapampangan	matwa	kapútul	mabilis
Pangasinan	mataken	agi	masiglat
Ilokano	lakay/baket	kabsat	nadaras
English	old	sibling	fast

In a number of cases this is because Tagalog has innovated while many or most of the other languages have continued the original form. For example, original *l* was lost in many Tagalog words making these words different from the Filipino norm. Chart 2 lists words for which at least three major languages share a common form, which is different from the Tagalog

³ Personally I've always felt that if all Tagalog students were required to study another major Philippine language, they would naturally borrow words from the other languages and thus enrich Tagalog/Filipino.

(mainly through the loss of l). Especially to be noted are the areas of agreement among the Bisayan languages and Bikol. These languages together account for nearly half of the total population.

In other cases Tagalog replaced the original word altogether. Chart 3 shows meanings for which at least three major languages share the same word, which is different from the Tagalog word.

These charts were prepared on the basis of a quick survey of Aldave-Yap 1977, Lopea 1974, Panganiban 1972, and my own *Linguistic Geography*. The charts include meanings which would appear both in the top 2000 and in the extended lexicon. A more intensive study would undoubtedly reveal more.

Now, I am not about to propose that the Tagalog words be replaced by the 'other' words as Filipino. I do propose however:

- (1) that the 'other' words should be listed in our Filipino lexicon as variants or synonyms of the Tagalog forms;
- (2) that the 'other' words be legitimized in the sense that they are considered proper for use in writing Filipino. After all, many of them are familiar to more Filipinos than the Tagalog words;
- (3) that at some point Tagalog students be taught these 'other' words. (Even Tagalogs should have to learn Filipino.)

The overall impact of this proposed enrichment would not be great. However it might make more Filipinos feel that even non-Tagalogs can look upon Filipino as '*sariling wika*'.

So, I am proposing that our Filipino lexicon should include 1) the 2000 most frequent Tagalog words (including borrowed words); plus 2) an extended list of perhaps 2-3000 Tagalog (including borrowed) words which are the most common terms for 'necessary' meanings; plus 3) any words shared by three or more major Philippine languages which express meanings in 1) or 2). This would give us a basic lexicon of about 5000 words, which is sufficient to express most of the things we would want to say.

Specifically excluded from this lexicon are Tagalog words not included in 1) or 2). Some of these words may be added later through the natural processes of language development, just as may additional words from other Philippine or non-Philippine languages. But these Tagalog words should enjoy no priority over words from other languages, nor should they be currently considered part of Filipino.

Chart 1: Borrowed Words From Spanish And English**Words borrowed from Spanish**

abogado	lawyer	biyáhe	trip, travel
aksidente	accident	Biyernes	Friday
aláhas	jewelry	bóla	ball
alas-	o'clock	bomba	bomb, pornography
alkalde	mayor	bóses	voice
almusal	breakfast	bóte	bottle
altar	altar	bráso	arm
Amérika	America	bulsa	pocket
Amerikàno	American	dasal	prayer
andar	move, operate	de-(lata)	or(canned)
anghel	angel	demonyo	devil
artista	artist, actor	deretso	straight, direct
asikáso	take care of	desisyon	decision
asúkal	sugar	diyaryo	newspaper
asul	blue	diyes	ten
Asya	Asia	Diyos	God
awto	automobile	doble	double
báka	cow	doktor	doctor
bakasyon	vacation	Don	Sir
bále	equal	Donya	Dame
bandílâ	flag	dos	two
banko	bank	dóse	twelve
banyo	bathroom	dráma	drama
bangkô	bench	edad	age
baril	gun	editoryal	editorial
baryo	barrio	edukasyon	education
báso	water glass	entabládo	stage
basta	sufficient	eropláno	airplane
basúra	trash	eskuwéla	school, pupil
beinte	twenty	eskuwélahan	school
benta	sell	Espanya	Spain
berde	green	estudyante	student
béses	time(s)	gána	appetite
biktima	victim	gasta	expend
bintánâ	window	gastos	expense
birhen	virgin	gerilya	guerilla
bisíta	visitor	gobierno	government
bisyo	vice	grúpo	group

gusto	want, like	kostumer	customer
guwápo	handsome	kotse	automobile
guwardiya	guard	krus	cross
Hapon	Japan	kumáre	comadre
Hapones	Japanese	kumbento	convent
hardin	garden	kumpáre	compadre
heneral	general	kumpisal	confession
higante	giant	kumusta	How are (you)?
husto	sufficient	kusínâ	kitchen
idéya	idea	kutsára	spoon
ihâ	daughter	kuwarta	money
imbita	invite	kuwarto	room
impiyerno	hell	kuwatro	four
importante	important	kuwenta	account
imposible	impossible	kuwento	story
insulto	insult	laba	wash clothes
interes	interest	láta	(tin) can
intindi	understand	libre	free
Ingles	English	libro	book
istasyon	station	linggo	week, Sunday
kabáyo	horse	listáhan	list
kahon	box	lóko	crazy, fool around
kalsáda	street	lóla	grandmother
kalye	street	lólo	grandfather
káma	bed	lugar	place
kandidáto	candidate	Lúnes	Monday
kandílâ	candle	madre	nun
kanta	song	maestro	teacher
kanto	corner	mákina	machine
kape	coffee	Máma	Mama
kapitan	captain	maného	drive (car)
karéra	career, race	máno	kiss hand
karne	meat	mas	more
kasal	wedding	maski	even if
káso	case	masyádo	too
Kastílâ	Spanish	Máyo	May
kláse	class	medya	:30
koléhiyo	college	medyo	somewhat
kompanya	company	meryenda	afternoon coffee
kondisyon	condition	mésa	table
koryente	electricity	milyo	million

minúto	minute	pasyal	stroll, go visiting
mísa	mass	pasyente	patient
mismo	same, -self	pelíkula	movie
modélo	model, modern	péro	but
múna	first	personal	personal
mundo	world	peryódiko	newspaper
natural	natural	pésos	peso
negosyo	business	Pilipína	Philippine woman
nerbiyos	nervous	Pilipinas	Philippines
ni	(not) even	Pilipino	Filipino
nínong	godfather	pinta	paint
nobéla	novel	piráso	piece
nobyá	finacee	pirma	sign
Nobyembre	November	pirmi	always
nobyó	fiance	píso	peso
número	number	pista	fiesta
o	or	pláno	plan
Oktubre	October	plása	plaza
opisína	office	pormal	formal
opisyal	official	posible	possible
óras	hour	presidente	president
ospital	hospital	presyo	price
otel	hotel	prinsipe	prince
otso	eight	prító	fry
paboríto	favorite	probinsiya	province
pader	wall	probléma	problem
padre	priest	propesor	professor
pamilya	family	publiko	public
pantalón	trousers	pulis	police
Pápa	Papa	pulitika	politics
papel	paper	pulúbi	beggar
papéles	document	punta	go to
paraiso	paradise	pusta	bet
páre	compadre	puwéde	can
paréha	partner	puwersa	force
parého	same	puwesto	post, assignment
páris	pair	radyo	radio
parte	part	rebolusyon	revolution
pasa	pass	regálo	gift
pasahéro	passenger	reklámo	complaint
pasensiya	patience, forgive	relasyon	relation
Pasko	Christmas	relo	clock

restawran	restaurant	singkuwenta	fifty
retráto	photograph	siyempre	of course
reyna	queen	sobra	excessive
rósas	rose	sópa	sofa
Sábado	Saturday	sundálo	soldier
sábi	say	suweldo	salary
sais	six	suwerte	luck
sála	living room	tabla	even
sálas	living room	tása	cup
santo	saint	telebisyon	television
sapátos	shoe	teléfono	telephone
sara	close	tenyente	lieutenant
sarádo	closed	tinda	sell
sarhento	sergeant	tindáhan	store
sélos	jealous	tindéra	salesgirl
seryóso	serious	tíya	aunt
sigarilyo	cigarette	tíyo	uncle
síge	okay	trabáho	work, job
sigurádo	sure	tres	three
sigúro	maybe	tsismis	gossip
silya	chair	tsuper	driver
simple	simple	tutal	total, after all
síne	movie	úna	first
singko	five	úso	in fashion

Words Borrowed from English

apartment	class	miss	sir
attorney	club	mister	sorry
baby	college	Mommy	States
bag	Daddy	Mother	taksi
bar	date	nars	tíket
basketbol	dyip	okey	tin-edyer
beer	haiskul	order	titser
birthday	isyu	party	trak
boss	lider	rekord	TV
boy	ma'am	report	weyter
bus	magasin	room	
business	mísis	school	

Chart 2: Words which are phonetically distinct from Tagalog

CEBUANO	HILIGAYNON	SAMAR-LEYTE	BIKOL	MARNAO	KAPAMPANGAN	PANGASINAN	ILOKANO	TAGALOG	ENGLISH
adlaw	adlaw	adlaw	aldaw	aldo	ágew	aldaw	áraw	áraw	day, sun
aslum	aslum	aslum	aslum	azem	aslem	aslem	ásim	ásim	sour
balay	balay	balay	bale	walay	balay	balay	báhay	báhay	house
bálan	bálan	bálan	bálan	balun	balun	bálan	báon	báon	provisions
búlan	búlan	búlan	búlan	olan	bulan	búlan	buwan	buwan	moon, month
búlig	búlig	búlig	búlig	olig	dágum	búlig	buwig	buwig	bunch (bananas)
dágum	dágum	dágum	dágum	ragom	dágum	dágum	karáyom	karáyom	needle
dakú	dakú	dakú	dakú				laki	laki	big
dálan	dálan	dálan	dálan	lalan	dalan	dálan	daan	daan	road, path
dangdang	dangdang	dangdang	dangdang		dangdang	dangdang	darang	darang	warm by fire
duha	duha	duha	duwa	dowa	duwa	duwa	dalawa	dalawa	two
dungug	dungug	dungug	dangug		dengel	denggeg	dinig	dinig	hear
habul	habul	habul	habul	aol	abel	abel	hábi	hábi	weave cloth
hálas	hálas	hálas	hálas				áhas	áhas	snake
higdá	higdá	higdá	higdá			idda	higá	higá	lie down
huyup	huyup	huyup	hayup				hihip	hihip	blow
katul	katul	katul	gatul	katul	impis	ingpis	nipis	nipis	thin
langká	langká	langká	langká	yangká	gatel	gatel	kati	kati	itch
namuk	namuk	namuk	namuk		langka	langka	nangká	nangká	jackfruit
napúú	napúú	napúú	sampúú	apúú	samplo	sangapúlo	lamok	lamok	mosquito
púling	púling	púling	púling	púling	samplo	púling	sampú	sampú	ten
salug	salug	salug	salug				puwing	puwing	dirt in eye
talinga	talinga	talinga	talinga	talinga	talaga	talaga	sahig	sahig	floor
tulu	tulu	tulu	tulu	telo	talaga	talaga	tainga	tainga	ear
uif	uif	uif	uif	uif	talo	tallo	uwí	uwí	go home
úlud	úlud	úlud	úlud	oled	talaga	talaga	úod	úod	worm
ulanan/unlan	ulanan/unlan	ulanan	ulanan	olonan	talaga	talaga	únan	únan	pillow

Chart 3: Words distinct from the Tagalog form

CEBUANO	HILIGAYNON	SAMAR-LEYTE BIKOL	MARANAO	KAPAMPANGAN	PANGASINAN	ILOKANO	TAGALOG	ENGLISH
abága	abága	abága	waga	abala	abága	abága	balíkat	shoulder
abut	abut	abut					dating	arrive
alibangbang	alibangbang	alibangbang	alibangbang				parúpáro	butterfly
ápíng	ápíng	ápíng		ápíng			pisngi	cheek
aso	aso	aso	aso				úsok	smoke
atup	atup	atup	atup	atup	atup	atup	bubong	roof
balas	balas	balas	balas				buhángin	sand
bau	bau	baú	baoo				pagong	turtle
básul	básul	básul					sisi	regret
búgaw	búgaw	búgaw			búgaw		taboy	drive away
búlak	búlak	búrak					bulaklak	flower
bugsay	bugsay	bugsay	bagse	begsay			gáod	paddle
búlang	búlang	búlang	bolang	búlang			sábong	cockfight
busay	busay	busay		bulong	bulong		dáhon	leaf
buta	buta	buta	bota				talon	waterfall
búyú	búyú	búyú					bulag	blind
dáan	dáan	dáan		dáan	dáan		ikmo	betel leaf
dágan	dálágan	dálágan		dakal	dakel		lúma	old
dalugdug	dalugdug	dalugdug		danum	danum		takbo	run
dángaw	dángaw	dángaw	rangaw	danum	danum		dámi	many
dughan	dughan	dughan		dála	dára		kulog	thunder
dúlung	dúlung	dúlung	dúra	dála	dára		túbig	water
gabun	gabun	gabun		dáya	dára		dangkal	span
				dúrun	dúrun		dugó	blood
				dúrun	dúrun		ditdib	chest
				dúrun	dúrun		bálang	locust
			gabon	dúrun	dúrun		úlap	cloud

Chart 3: Words distinct from the Tagalog form (Continued)

CEBUANO	HILIGAYNON	SAMAR-LEYTE	BIKOL	MARANAQ	KAPAMPANGAN	PANGASINAN	ILOKANO	TAGALOG	ENGLISH
gamut	gamut	gamut	gamut		lamut	ramut		ugat	root
gápas	gápas	gápas	gápas		kapes	kápas		búlak	cotton
gatus	gatus	gatus	gatus	gatos	lasus	gasut		daan	hundred
gísí	gísí	gísí	gísí					púnit	tear
gúsuk	gúsuk	gúsuk	gúsuk	gosok				tadyang	rib
gúyud	gúyud	gúyud	gúyud	goyod	guyur	gúyud		híla	pull
hadluk	hadluk	hadluk						tákot	fear
halang	hárang	hárang	hárang					anghang	spicy
hubag	hubag	hubag	hubag					magá	swell
hulat	hulat	halat	halat					hintay	wait
kámang	kámang	kámang	kámang					gápang	crawl
humut	hamut	hamut	hamut	kamot				bango	fragrant
íkug	íkug	íkug	íkug	ikog	ikil			buntot	tail
ísug	ísug	ísug	ísug					tápang	brave
isturya	isturya	isturya	isturya	isturya	isturya	isturya		kuwento	story
kaláyu	kaláyu	kaláyu	kaláyu					apoy	fire
kamut	kamut	kamut	kamut					kamay	hand
kaput/kuput	kapu	kapu	kaput	kapet		kápet		háwak	hold
kasíli	kasíli	kasíli	kasíli	kasili				ígat	eel
kúlun	kúrun	kúrun	kúrun	koden	kúran			palayok	cooking pot
kural	kudal	kudal	kudal					bákod	fence
kusug	kusug	kusug	kusug					lakas	strong
lakaw	lakaw	lakaw	lakaw	lakaw				lákad	walk
láwas	láwas	láwas	láwas					katawan	body
línug	línug	línug	línug	línog				lindol	earthquake
lubut	lubut	lubut	lubut	lingaw	lingaw			límot	forget
lumus	lumus	lumus	lumus					tumbong	anus
			lúpa	lúpa	lúpa	rúpa		lúnod	drown
								mukhá	face

Chart 3: Words distinct from the Tagalog form (Continued)

CEBUANO	HILIGAYNON	SAMAR-LEYTE	BIKOL	MARNAO	KAPAMPANGAN	PANGASINAN	ILOKANO	TAGALOG	ENGLISH
lutaw	lutaw	lutaw	lutaw					lútag	float
lúya	lúya	lúya	lúya					hiná	weak
mamá	mamá	mamá	mamá		mamá		mama	ngángá	betel chew
nawung	nawung	nawung						mukhá	face
niwang	niwang		niwang					payat	slender
ngábil		ngábil	ngábil					lábi	lip
páa	páa	páa	páa					hitá	thigh
pamáhaw	pamáhaw	pamáhaw	pamáhaw					almusal	breakfast
pangánud	pangánud	pangánud	panganúrún					úlap	cloud
putus	putus	putus	patus					bálot	wrap
saka	saka	saka	sakat					akyat	climb
súgú	súgú	súgú	sakdu		saklu		sakdu	igib	fetch water
sundang	sundang	sundang	sundang					útos	send on errand
tábang			tábang	tabang				gúlok	bolo
tambal	tambal	tambal				tambal		túlong	help
tuu	tul-an	tul-an	túlang					gamot	medicine
ugtu/udtu	tuu	túu	túu					buto	bone
unud	ugtu/udtu	ugtu	udtu	ugto	ugtu	ugtu		kánan	right hand
wala	unud	unud	unud		ulas	ules	ules	tangháli	noon
	wala	wala	wala					kúmot	blanket
								laman	flesh
								kaliwá	left hand

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