

# TOWARDS A RECONSTRUCTION OF THE PRONOMINAL SYSTEMS OF PROTO-CORDILLERAN, PHILIPPINES<sup>1</sup>

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## 1. INTRODUCTION

In an earlier paper (Reid 1974) evidence was presented for a subgroup of Philippine languages labelled Central Cordilleran. This group consisted of the following languages: Isinai, Ifugao, Balangao, Bontok, Kankanay, Kalinga and Itneg. The Central Cordilleran group (CC) forms part of a much larger subgroup of Philippine languages which is spoken over most of Northern Luzon. This larger subgroup is labelled Cordilleran, and in addition to the Central group mentioned above comprises also a Southern Cordilleran subgroup, and a Northern Cordilleran subgroup. The Southern group (SC) consists of Pangasinan, Inibaloi, Karaw, and the various dialects of Atipulu, Amduntug, Kalanguya, Kallahan, Kayapa and I-wak spoken in the provinces of Ifugao and Nueva Vizcaya and subsumed here under the name Kallahan. SC probably also includes Ilongot.

Northern Cordilleran (NC) consists of at least the following languages: Ibanag, Gaddang, Yogad, Isneg, Malaweg, Itawis (also called Itawit), Ilokano, and the languages of the various Negrito groups of Cagayan, Isabela, and Aurora Subprovince, labelled variously as Agta, Atta and Dumagat.<sup>2</sup>

The internal relations among the NC languages are not yet well understood although preliminary investigation indicates that Ilokano and Casiguran Dumagat probably form separate branches, not having closer connections to any of the other NC languages. An attempt to subgroup these languages on the basis of shared phonological innovations in conjunction with innovations in the case marking particles and pronominal systems has been attempted by James Tharp (1974).

The purpose of this paper is to examine the pronoun systems of these three groups (SC, CC and NC) and to attempt reconstruction of the pronominal systems of the meso-languages and the parent language - Proto-Cordilleran (PC).

## 2. PRONOUN SETS

All of the Cordilleran languages have multiple sets of pronouns carrying differing case functions and other syntactic properties. It is convenient to recognise at least three basic case systems, Nominative, Genitive and Oblique, the Nominative consisting of short and long forms, and the Oblique being usually the combination of a particle otherwise marking Oblique personal noun phrases, and one of the Nominative forms.

The syntax of the pronominal systems will not be discussed in this paper. This was briefly presented for the CC languages in Reid (1974), and by Constantino *et al.* (1967) for Ilokano and Isinai, in addition to Tagalog and Kapampangan, languages which are not generally considered to form part of the Cordilleran subgroup.

Eight pronouns are reconstructable for each set, differing in person and plurality components. First, second and third person singular forms occur with corresponding plurals, including the expected distinction between first person inclusive and exclusive plurals. Although evidence from elsewhere in the Philippines indicates the possibility that Proto-Philippines did not have a distinctive dual form, it is probable that a dual form existed in PC. The dual forms are here labelled 1+2 p., and the exclusive plural forms are 1 p. The use of singular and plural labels are not entirely appropriate, since semantically, dual forms are plural, requiring plural agreement in certain verb and adjectival constructions. Conklin's "minimal" versus "nonminimal" features are descriptively more adequate, however, I have opted to retain the terms singular and plural because of their familiarity.

Long Nominative pronouns consist of two formative segments, an initial segment which is the result of the prefixation of one or more Nominative case-marking particles to the latter segment, which is the pronominal segment.

Short Nominative pronouns consist only of a pronominal segment and this segment is similar to, if not identical to, that of the long forms.

Genitive pronouns are usually either identical to or reduced forms of the short Nominative pronouns.

## 3. PC PRONOUNS: INTERNAL EVIDENCE

3.1 Tharp (1974) reconstructs the following long form Nominative pronouns for Proto-Northern Cordilleran (PNC):

1 s.	*si akən	1 p.	*si kami
2 s.	*si kaw	2 p.	*si kamu, *si kayu
1+2 s.	*si kita	1+2 p.	*si kitam
3 s.	*iya, *V(n)su	3 p.	*ida

3.2 Reid (1974) reconstructs the following long form Nominative pronouns for Proto-Central Cordilleran (PCC):

1 s.	*siyakən, *sakqən <sup>3</sup>	1 p.	*dakami, *dikami
2 s.	*siqika, *sikqa	2 p.	*dakayu,
1+2 s.	*daqita, *dita, *data	1+2 p.	*dataku, *ditaku
3 s.	*siya	3 p.	*daqida, *dida

The data upon which these reconstructions are based, are fully presented and discussed in the papers cited, and will not therefore be repeated here. However, a word is in order about the alternations that were reconstructed for PCC. Some of the alternations still exist in some languages, e.g. Bontok freely alternates *daqita*, *data* '1+2 s.' and *daqida*, *dida* '3 p.'. Other languages reflect a variant with a *da-* formative for some pronouns, but a *di-* formative in others, e.g. Blw *dɨqni* '1 p.' (from earlier \**daqni*) but *ditaaw* '1+2 p.', Ifg. *daqyu* '2 p.' but *dituqu* '1+2 p.'. In all cases the variation is in the initial, case-marking formative. It is probable that these variants reflect a situation in Pre-CC in which at least the 2 s. pronoun was marked with a case formative \**siqi*, whereas the dual and plural pronouns were marked with \**daqi-*, the *si* and *da* corresponding respectively to the singular and plural personal Nominative case-marking particles. The *qi-* formative is a reflex of an earlier Nominative marker which by this time had lost its function in the language. There is plenty of external evidence to support the reconstruction of a Nominative case-marking particle \**qi* for Proto-Cordilleran.

Pre-CC long Nominative pronouns were probably as follows:

1 s.	*siyakən	1 p.	*daqikami
2 s.	*siqika	2 p.	*daqikayu
1+2 s.	*daqita	1+2 p.	*daqitaku
3 s.	*siya	3 p.	*daqida

The pre-CC \**siyakən* '1 s.' is suggested by Itg. *diyakən*. (Itneg reflected the \**daqi-* formative as *di-*, except in the 3 s., e.g. *dita* '1+2 s.', *dikami* '1 p.', *dikayu* '2 p.', and has generalised the *di-* to

both 1 s. and 2 s. forms as well). It should be noted that \*-yak+n reflects an earlier \*qi-aken. All other CC languages reflect a development of \*siyaken to \*saken (see note 3).

3.3 Evidence from Ilongot, Kallahan, Inibaloi and Pangasinan (see Chart 1) suggests that these languages descended from a common ancestor, Proto-Southern Cordilleran (PSC) having the following long Nominative pronouns:

1 s.	*siyak	1 p.	*siqikami
2 s.	*siqika	2 p.	*siqikayu
1+2 s.	*siqikita	1+2 p.	*siqikitayu
3 s.	*siya	3 p.	*siqida

It is apparent that Kallahan and Inibaloi share a number of innovative developments. Two of these changes affected the 2 s., 1+2 s., 1 p., 2 p. and 1+2 p. forms. One was the voicing of the velar obstruent in these forms.<sup>4</sup> The second, and probably subsequent change, was the reduction of the unstressed high front vowel preceding the pronominal formative. This change probably also affected the 3 p. pronoun.

Prior to these changes however, other developments occurred which are reflected also in Pangasinan. One was the change of the medial syllable \*-ki- to \*-ka- in \*siqikita '1+2 s.' and \*siqikitayu '1+2 p.' producing respectively \*siqikata and \*siqikatayu by analogy with the 1 p. and 2 p. forms which both begin with the sequence \*siqika-. The analogical change spread also to the 3 p. form, changing \*siqida to \*siqikada.

The inherited 3 s. pronominal formative was replaced by \*tu. This form was originally a demonstrative but became the 3 s. Genitive pronoun in PSC. All the SC languages including Ilongot share this innovation. The displaced \*-ya apparently took the demonstrative function of \*-tu. Note Png. i-ya, Ibl. sa-ja-y and KlnKl. hu-ya 'this', each of which shows a reflex of \*-ya. The 3 s. long Nominative then became \*siqikatu, reflected in Png. sikatu.

In Kallahan and Inibaloi, \*siqga (< \*siqiga- < \*siqika-) was re-analysed as the long form Nominative case formative, and the remaining pronominal segments were equated with the forms in the Genitive pronominal set. Thus \*siyak became \*siqga-k and \*siqika became \*siqga-m. The final \*-k and \*-m being respectively the Genitive post vowel variants for 1 s. and 2 s.

Ilongot and Pangasinan independently reduced the \*siqi- initial formative to si-.

Ilongot shows several developments not shared by any of the other SC languages. \*Siqikitayu '1+2 p.' became sikisi by regular phonological