TOWARDS A RECONSTRUCTION OF THE PRONOMINAL SYSTEMS OF PROTO-CORDILLERAN, PHILIPPINES

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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, Inibalo, 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.²

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. (1957) 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 akan 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. *siyaken, *sakqen2 1 p. *dakami, *dikami
2 s. *siqika, *sikqa 2 p. *dakayu,

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 diqni '1 p.' (from earlier *daqni) but ditaaw '1+2 p.', Ifg. daqyu '2 p.' but dituwu '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. *siyaken 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 *siyaken '1 s.' is suggested by Itg. diyakan. (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 *-yakin 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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1 s.</th>
<th>2 s.</th>
<th>1+2 s.</th>
<th>3 s.</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>*siyak</td>
<td>*siqika</td>
<td>*siqikita</td>
<td>*siya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1 p.</td>
<td>2 p.</td>
<td>1+2 p.</td>
<td>3 p.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>*siqikami</td>
<td>*siqikayu</td>
<td>*siqikitayu</td>
<td>*siqida</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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. 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 *siqik-. 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-γ 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
change (*siqikitayu > *sikitayu > *sikitay > *sikiti > siki). Similar rules reduced *siqikayu '2 p.' to siki (*siqikayu > *sikayu > *sikay > siki).

One further change peculiar to Ilongot is the change of the 3 p. form from *siqida to siyay di by analogy with the 3 s. form (*siqida > *siya + qida > *siyayda > siyay di).

The distribution of innovations among these languages suggests a sub-grouping as displayed in Figure 1.

Figure 1

SUBGROUPING OF THE SOUTHERN CORDILLERAN LANGUAGES
(BASED ON PRONOMINAL INNOVATIONS)

The development of the long Nominative pronominal system in SC was probably as displayed in Chart 1 (overleaf).

3.4 A comparison of the long Nominative pronouns reconstructed for Pre-CC and for PSC, suggests the following reconstructions for PC:

1 s. *siyaken 1 p. *siqikami
2 s. *siqika 2 p. *siqikayu
1+2 s. *siqikitay 1+2 p. *siqikitayu, *siqikitaku
3 s. *siya 3 p. *siqida

The shape of the final syllable of 1+2 p. is ambiguous since PCC shows a final *-ku and PSC shows a final *-yu.

Innovations which characterise Pre-CC then, are the change from *si- to *da- on the dual and plural pronouns, and the reduction of the pronominal formative of the 1+2 s. and 1+2 p. pronouns to correspond to the short Nominative pronouns, *-ta and *-taku respectively. Ilokano shares both of these innovations (i.e. change from *si- to *da- in the dual
and plural pronouns and loss of medial *-ki- in the 1+2 s. and 1+2 p. pronouns) however on other grounds, phonological as well as morphological, Ilokano seems to group with the NC languages. Vanoverbergh (1955: 73) noted the use in some districts "of sikami, sitayo, sita and sikayo instead of dakami, datayo, data and dakayo". It is possible that Ilokano has independently changed *si- to da- on the basis of the same analogy that brought about the change in Pre-CC. The Ilokano change however is apparently of more recent origin than that occurring in Pre-CC, since it has not yet replaced entirely the si- initial forms.

The only pronominal innovation characterising PSC was the loss of the two final segments from the 1 s. pronoun, a loss which has since occurred probably independently, in Ilokano, Agta and Isneg in the Northern Cordilleran subgroup.

An evaluation of the reconstructions suggested above, in the light of Tharp's reconstructions of Northern Cordilleran long Nominative pronouns and external evidence, provides support for some of the reconstructions but requires a number of revisions in the shape of others.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>A</th>
<th>B</th>
<th>C</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 s.</td>
<td>*siqka</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1+2 s.</td>
<td>*siqikita &gt; *siqikata</td>
<td>*siqikata &gt; *siqqata</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 s.</td>
<td>*siya &gt; *siqikatu</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 p.</td>
<td>*siqikami</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 p.</td>
<td>*siqikayu &gt; *siqikatayu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1+2 p.</td>
<td>*siqikita &gt; *siqikata</td>
<td>*siqikatayu &gt; *siqqatayu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 p.</td>
<td>*siqida &gt; *siqikada</td>
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<tr>
<th>Ilt.</th>
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<td>siyay d</td>
<td>sikara</td>
<td>siqqara</td>
<td>hiqqada</td>
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</table>

Chart 1

DEVELOPMENT OF THE SOUTHERN CORDILLERAN LONG NOMINATIVE PRONOUN SYSTEMS
(The letters A-C represent the nodes shown in Figure 1)
4. PC PRONOUNS: EXTERNAL AND PNC EVIDENCE

The following discussion will focus not only on the evidence for the long Nominative pronouns, but also on the short forms, since it appears that the short forms have in some instances become the analogical base for modifying the shape of the long forms. Discussion of Genitive forms will also be given when relevant.

4.1 FIRST PERSON SINGULAR (1 s.)

On the basis of a widely occurring set of cognates, the form *aku has been reconstructed for PAN (see Dempwolff 1938:13). Dyen (1962:215) reconstructs the form as *x₂aku. Note the following languages: Tagalog qako, Malay aku, Tongan au, Tsou aʔo, Atayal anak, Ami kakoʔ, etc. An additional form *a(ŋ)kan was reconstructed by Dempwolff with the meaning 'mine' or 'appropriate, acquire'. This form also has reflexes in Philippine languages, e.g. Tagalog qákin 'mine'.

None of the Cordilleran languages appears to reflect *aku with a final vowel. Short Nominative pronouns reflect a PC *-ak, the long forms reflect PC *-akan (< PAN *a(ŋ)kan). The only evidence presently available to indicate that PC *-ak (as a short Nominative pronoun) is a result of loss of the *u of PAN *aku rather than the result of substitution of *akan for *aku with subsequent loss of final *-en, comes from Ilokano. In this language the complete elicitic corresponding to Tagalog na is Ilk. -en ꞌ-en. The former variant occurs following consonants (e.g. /naládaw/ + /-en/ + naládawen 'It's already too late'), the latter occurs following vowels (e.g. /nangíkami/ + /-en/ + nangaŋkamin 'We have already eaten'). However, following the pronoun -ak the elicitic particle is -on not -en (e.g. /nangínak/ + /-en/ + nangánanokon 'I have already eaten.'), apparently from an earlier *-aku + *-en > *-akun.

It is probable that in Proto-Philippines, if not at some earlier date, the contrast between *-aku as a short Nominative pronoun and *-akan as the equivalent pronominal formative in the long Nominative set was already well established. In addition to the evidence that PC developed from such a system, Ivatan (which has been shown by lexicostatistics to be a possible first order subgroup within the Philippines (Dyen 1965, Thomas and Healey 1962), as well as Yami (Ivatan's sister language on Botel Tobago Island off the south-eastern coast of Formosa), and a number of Manobo languages in Mindanao all show the contrast between first person formatives in long and short Nominative pronouns (e.g. Ivatan, Yami qaku, yakən; Agusan Manobo, Ilianen Manobo a, siakən; Tasaday a, aken). Evidence for -akan as a long Nominative formative comes also from Subanen, and from Maranao where it appears as the pronominal segment.
of the Genitive qaken, Oblique rakon, long Nominative saken, but not the
short Nominative, which is qaku.

Of the Cordilleran languages, the full *-aken formative is reflected
in the l s. long forms of each of the CC languages. It is also reflec-
ted as such in Casiguran Dumagat, Atta, Gaddang, Yogad, Itawis, and
Ibanag of the NC languages. However, in all of the SC languages (in-
cluding Ilongot), and sporadically in the NC languages (Ilokano, Isneg
and Agta) the pronominal formative on the long Nominative form is -ak or
-aq rather than a full reflex of *-aken. This reduction probably devel-
oped by analogy with the short Nominative pronoun -ak (< *aku).

The Genitive l s. is reconstructed as PC *-ku following consonant
final stems, and *-k following vowel final stems. They are reflected as
such in all SC and CC languages, and in all the NC languages except
Casiguran Dumagat. Evidence from NC and SC languages, as well as from
languages outside these groups (even from languages as far south as
Timogon Murut in Sabah) show reflexes of *ta for Genitive l s. when in
combination with one of the short Nominative pronouns in a "passive"
sentence, e.g. Timogon

potoyon takamin 'I will kill you.'
kill I-you

*ta is therefore reconstructed as one of the PC forms for Genitive l s.

4.2 SECOND PERSON SINGULAR (2 s.)

On the basis of a number of forms in Formosa, Dyen (1965:302) recon-
structed PAN *iXu( )6 'thee, thou'. Dahl (1973:122) reconstructs both
*ka and *(i)Su for the same pronom. In addition, Dahl states that the
two forms frequently appear in combination giving rise to the contracted
*kaw which Dempwolff (1938:76) assigned to PAN. The Formosan evidence
clearly supports Dahl's statement with such forms as Kanakanabu iikásu,
Kuvalan ?aisu?, Aml kíso', Rukai késo':', etc. (Ferrell 1969:187). The
Kanakanabu form and Tagalog qikaw, if not reflexes of an earlier *ikaSu
were both formed on the same structural principal of a case marker i
plus a pronominal formative. For Proto-Philippines then, it is probable
that *kaw was not a full pronoun but the pronominal formative on the
long Nominative 2 s. pronoun, *-ka is widely attested throughout the
Philippines, including all of the Cordilleran languages as the short
Nominative 2 s. pronoun.

In NC a final -w appears on the 2 s. long Nominative in about five
languages and appears on Tharp's PNC reconstruction of 2 s. It is
necessary then to revise the PC reconstruction to *siqikaw. Both PSC
and PCC are presumed to have lost the final segment by analogy with the corresponding short Nominative pronoun *-ka.

The Genitive 2 s. is reconstructed as PC *-mu following consonant final stems, and *-m following vowel final stems. They are reflected as such in most of the Cordilleran languages. In NC, Gaddang and Yogad have replaced *-nu with -nu, retaining the -m reflex of the variant following vowel final stems. The same replacement has taken place, apparently independently, and relatively recently, in the CC languages Kalinga and Balangaw. The replacement has not occurred in Itneg, a language which subgroups closely with Kalinga. Tharp (1974) reconstructs *-nu ~ *-m as the PNC forms for 2 s. However the evidence suggests that *-nu was a 2 p. form which developed from earlier *niyu (see section 4.6 below). Subsequently the 2 p. form was extended to replace the 2 s. form, a development commonly found in languages of the world. *-nu still exists as the 2 p. form in Isneg, Ibanag and Itawis of the NC group.

4.3 Dual Person (1+2 s.)

In PAN there was apparently no distinction between the dual form of a pronoun (1+2 s.) and the first person inclusive plural (1+2 p.) form. Dempwolf (1938:61) reconstructed PAN *kita with the meaning 'we, inclusive'. Philippine languages which have developed a distinction have retained a reflex of PAN *kita with the restricted meaning of '1+2 s.' and have added a third syllable to the form to create a plural form meaning '1+2 p.', e.g. Batak kita '1+2 s.', kitam '1+2 p.', Kalagan kita '1+2 s.', kita '1+2 p.'; Western Bukidnon Manobo sikita '1+2 s.', sikitow '1+2 p.'.

This evidence along with the NC reconstruction supports the postulated PC *siqikita '1+2 s.'.

The Genitive 1+2 s. is reconstructed as *-ta. It is reflected as such in all the Cordilleran languages except Ilongot which has si for both 1+2 s. and 1+2 p. This form is a normal phonological development in Ilongot of *tau, which is reconstructed for PSC 1+2 p.

4.4 Third Person Singular (3 s.)

The form reconstructed by Dempwolf (1938:67) for PAN is *ija. This probably contains a case formative *i-, and is reflected as such in the Ivatan long Nominative qiya and Mamanwa qiza '3 s.'. The *-ya formative occurs apart from *qi- in various other Philippine languages, e.g. Samal ia, Tagbanwa (Aborlan) kan-ya, Tausug siyah '3 s.'. The reconstruction of PC *siya appears to be supported. The short Nominative 3 s. pronoun is widely attested as Ø. It is reconstructed as such for PNC, PCC and PSC, and therefore also for PC.
The Genitive 3 s. is reconstructed as *-na. It is reflected as such in all the CC and NC languages. It was replaced in SC by *-tu (see section 3.3 above).

4.5 FIRST PERSON EXCLUSIVE PLURAL (1 p.)

Dempwolff (1938:74) reconstructed *kami 'we, exclusive'. The form is widely reflected both in the Philippines and elsewhere. It is a short Nominative pronoun as well as the pronominal formative on the long Nominative pronouns. It is reconstructed for PNC and is strongly supported as the PC reconstruction.

The Genitive 1 p. is reconstructed as *-mi. It is reflected as such in all the Cordilleran languages.

4.6 SECOND PERSON PLURAL (2 p.)

Consideration of the variety of 2 p. forms in NC as well as in languages outside the Cordilleran groups considerably complicates the reconstruction of this pronoun for PC.

Reconstructions for PAN include Dempwolff’s *kamu, Dahl’s *mu, and Dyen’s *mi?, *mu?, and *miu?. Dempwolff’s reconstruction, with its *ka-formative, was probably a Nominative form and is fairly widely attested as such in Philippine languages, particularly in languages outside the Cordilleran group (e.g. Bikol, Hiligaynon, Kinaray-a, Cebuano, Samar-Leyte, Tausug, Hanunoo, Batak, Tagbanwa, Mamanwa, Kalagan, Mansaka, etc.). Its presence in the Cordilleran group is restricted to Ibanag in NC which has kamu and sikamu respectively for the short and long Nominative 2 p. forms. However pronouns which apparently derive from such forms are found in Casiguran Dumagat (-kam and sikam), Yogad (-kam and sikam) and Agta (-kam and ikamuy). On the basis of this evidence Tharp (1974) reconstructs *kamu and *si kamu for PNC. However he also reconstructs *kayu and *si kayu for the same pronouns to account for evidence from the other NC languages, Atta (-kayu and sikayu), Gaddang (-kayu and ikkayu), Ilokano (-kayu and dakayu), Isneg (-kayo and dakayu) and Itawis (-kayu and ikayu).

It is probable that *-mu was the earliest of the various forms that have been reconstructed for the Genitive PAN 2 p. After *-mu had extended its meaning to encompass 2 s. a *-yu formative was added to 2 p. to create a new singular-plural distinction in the second person. This change not only affected the Genitive pronouns but also the Nominative pronouns producing the following:

| Genitive 2 p. | *-muyu |
| Nominative 2 p. | *-kamuyu |
This Genitive form is reflected as a -muyu in Botolan Sambal and as muyuh in Kelabit (Northern Borneo). With loss of the first vowel and syllabification of the glide it appears as miyu in Itbayaten and -miv in Baler Dumagat, Tondano (Sulawesi) as well as in Palauan. Chamorro reflects the form as mizu (*miyu). Casiguran Dumagat -moy and Agta -muy reflect it with loss of the final vowel, the result of pressure towards monosyllabicism in the Genitive pronouns in these languages (e.g. DgtC: -ki, -mo, -na, -mi, -moy, -tam, -di). Languages in the south of the Philippines, such as the Mansakic group (Mansaka, and Kalagan or Tagakaolo) as well as Mamanwa have forms which are probably innovative developments of *-muyu. These languages reflect a *-mayu, which possibly developed by analogy with the vowel sequence in the reduced Nominative 2 p. *-kamu. Note the following Mamanwa Nominative and Genitive pronoun matches: 1 s. haqu, naqu; 1+2 s. and p. kita, nita; 3 s. qiza, naqiza; 2 s. kamo, mazo; 3 p. siran, niran. Dyen's suggestion (1974) that the Mansakic *-mayu possibly reflects a PAN *-muyu is dubious because each of these languages reflects PAN *a as i.

The Nominative 2 p. *-kamuyu is not known to be reflected directly as such in any language. With loss of the medial vowel it appears as Chamorro hamzu (*kamuy), and with syllabification of the glide as Palauan kemiu. The *-muyu sequence is also apparent in Timugon Murut ramuyun 2 p. long Nominative. The reconstruction of Nominative 2 p. *kamuyu is necessary also to account for the divergent developments in PC mentioned above, producing, with various degrees of reduction, -kamuy, -kamu, -kam, and with haplography of the medial syllable -kayu.

The CC and SC Genitive 2 p. is almost invariably -yu, matching the Nominative 2 p. -kayu in these languages. The presence of -kayu in Tagalog and Kapampangan, languages of Luzon that probably do not belong to the Cordilleran group, is probably best accounted for by borrowing from that group.

A puzzling development in some of the Northern Cordilleran languages, and one which shows a parallel development in the Manobo group as well as sporadically elsewhere is the appearance of -nu for the Genitive 2 p. In NC all the non-Negrito languages, except Ilokano (that is excluding the Dumagat languages as well as Agta and Atta) have -nu for either the Genitive 2 p. or the 2 s. form. It is assumed that this innovation began in the 2 p. and spread in some languages to 2 s. A possible line of development was from *-niyu, reanalysed as *-niyu (Genitive marker *ni + *-yu), a form commonly found in the Philippines. *-niyu then became *-nu, probably on the same analogical basis that produced the forms *-niya (*ni + *-ya) and *-na for 3 s. It is perhaps significant that disyllabic forms such as *niya 3 s. and *niyu 2 p. occur together in
many languages (e.g. Tagalog, Bikol, Samar-Leyte, Hiligaynon, Tausug, Hanunoo and Maranao) whereas there appear to be no languages having -nu 2 p. which also have -niya 3 p.

The PC Genitive 2 p. is reconstructed as *-muyu. The PC short Nominative 2 p. is reconstructed as *-kamuyu, and the corresponding long Nominative as *siqikamuyu.

4.7 FIRST PERSON INCLUSIVE PLURAL (1+2 p.)

As indicated above (4.3), many Philippine languages appear to have developed a dual pronoun (1+2 s.) by appropriating PAN *kita '1 incl. pl.' for the dual and forming the inclusive plural by suffixing a "plural" formative to the dual form, -don in Sarangani Manobo and Kala-gan, -yu in SC, Ilokano, Itneg and Tagalog and -da in Isneg and Itawis. Other Philippine languages appear to have suffixed other formatives, e.g. -ku in CC, and -mu or -m in many languages of NC and fairly extensive outside the Cordilleran subgroup, including Kapampangan and the languages of Mindoro. Maranao siktanu probably has a similar source.

Considering reconstructions for PNC, PCC, and PSC, PCC *-tak appears to be exclusively shared by CC and is eliminated as a possible PC reconstruction. Although PSC *-kitayu also appears in Ilokano tayu7 and Tagalog tayu, the lack of similar cognates in languages apparently more closely related to these two languages than the SC languages, raises the possibility that borrowing has taken place with subsequent loss of the ki syllable. If Ilokano did not borrow this form from an SC language (e.g. Inibalo or Pangasinan, or one of the ancestral stages of these languages) but inherited it, along with PSC from PC, Ilokano would need to be considered a separate first order branch of Cordilleran, a hypothesis which is not strongly supported by other data.

It was noted above that Tagalog had probably borrowed kayu '2 p.' from a Cordilleran language. It is probable that Tagalog tayu is likewise a borrowing, since the languages with which it is most closely related (Bikol, Cebuano, Samar-Leyte, Kinara-a, etc.) all reflect kita '1 incl. pl.'. These languages do not distinguish a dual pronoun.

The most likely candidate for PC 1+2 p. is *-kitam, the form re-constructed for PNC. This form has a fairly wide distribution outside of Cordilleran and is therefore supported by external evidence.

Another possibility for PC that cannot be decisively eliminated is that PC did not distinguish a dual pronoun and that the distinction developed after the split into Northern, Central and Southern groups. This would account for the different reconstructions required for the proto-languages of these groups. In fact the distinction may have developed in the NC languages after Ilokano had split off (Tharp makes
Ilokano a first order branch in NC) providing a motivation for the Ilokano borrowing of -tayu.

However, because of the occurrence of apparent cognates in Mindoro and elsewhere, *siqikitam is reconstructed for PC in place of the forms discussed above. The Genitive 1+2 p. is reconstructed as *-tam.

4.8 THIRD PERSON PLURAL (3 p.)

Dempwolff (1938:152) reconstructed *t'ida as the PAN third person plural pronoun. Dahl (1973) reconstructs it as *t'ida. Reflexes of this form in Philippine languages as siba, sirsa, or sid a are numerous and function as long Nominatives. They can be considered to consist of a case formative si and a 3 p. formative which occurs both as a short Nominative and a Genitive pronoun.

Although the case formative appears in many languages as si, in a number of other languages it appears as qi, e.g. Kapampangan ila and Ilokano qida. The reconstruction of PC *siqida is thus supported by the external evidence.

5. THE OBLIQUE PRONOUNS

Evidence from many of the Cordilleran languages as well as from languages outside the group clearly indicates that the Oblique pronouns were constructed with a marker for Oblique personal noun phrases, and the Nominative pronominal formative. The Oblique markers are reconstructed for PNC by Tharp (1974) as *kani (singular) and *kada (plural). They are reconstructed for PCC by Reid (1974) as *kan(i) (singular) and *kan da (plural). For PNC, Tharp reconstructs the Oblique forms, singular and plural with the marker *kani plus the reconstructed Nominative pronominal formatives. In PCC, the Oblique was formed with the *kan Oblique marker in combination with the long Nominative pronouns. The Oblique pronouns of PNC are assumed to more closely reflect the PC system than do the PCC pronouns.

6. CONCLUSION

The pronominal systems of Proto-Cordilleran are reconstructed as follows:

I Long Nominative Pronouns

1 s. *siyakan
2 s. *siqikaw
1+2 s. *siqikitama
3 s. *siya

1 p. *siqikami
2 p. *siqikamuyu
1+2 p. *siqikitam
3 p. *siqida
II Short Nominative Pronouns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1 s.</th>
<th>2 s.</th>
<th>1+2 s.</th>
<th>3 s.</th>
<th>1 p.</th>
<th>2 p.</th>
<th>1+2 p.</th>
<th>3 p.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 s.</td>
<td>*-ak</td>
<td>*-ka</td>
<td>*-kita</td>
<td>*Ø</td>
<td>1 p.</td>
<td>*-kami</td>
<td>2 p.</td>
<td>*-kamuyu</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

III Genitive Pronouns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1 s.</th>
<th>2 s.</th>
<th>1+2 s.</th>
<th>3 s.</th>
<th>1 p.</th>
<th>2 p.</th>
<th>1+2 p.</th>
<th>3 p.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 s.</td>
<td>*-ku ~ *-k, *-ta</td>
<td>*-ku ~ *-k, *-ta</td>
<td>1 p.</td>
<td>*-mi</td>
<td>2 p.</td>
<td>*-muyu</td>
<td>1+2 p.</td>
<td>*-tam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 s.</td>
<td>*-mu ~ *-m</td>
<td>*-mu ~ *-m</td>
<td>2 p.</td>
<td>*-muyu</td>
<td>1+2 p.</td>
<td>*-tam</td>
<td>3 p.</td>
<td>*-da</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 s.</td>
<td>*-na</td>
<td>*-na</td>
<td>3 p.</td>
<td>*-da</td>
<td>1+2 p.</td>
<td>*-tam</td>
<td>3 p.</td>
<td>*-da</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

IV Oblique Pronouns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1 s.</th>
<th>2 s.</th>
<th>1+2 s.</th>
<th>3 s.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 s.</td>
<td>*kanyaken</td>
<td>*kanikaw</td>
<td>*kanikita</td>
<td>*kanya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 s.</td>
<td>*kanikaw</td>
<td>*kanikaw</td>
<td>*kanikita</td>
<td>*kanya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1+2 s.</td>
<td>*kanikita</td>
<td>*kanikita</td>
<td>*kanikita</td>
<td>*kanya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 s.</td>
<td>*kanya</td>
<td>*kanya</td>
<td>*kanya</td>
<td>*kanya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 p.</td>
<td>kanikami</td>
<td>kanikamuyu</td>
<td>kanikitam</td>
<td>kanida</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
RECONSTRUCTION OF THE PRONOMINAL SYSTEMS OF PROTO-CORDILLERAN

NOTES

1. Research for this paper has been supported by a University of Hawaii Intramural Research Grant for which I hereby express my gratitude. I wish to thank Robert Blust for his comments, and also for data from Kelabit.

2. See Fox and Flory 1974 for the most up-to-date linguistic map of the Philippines.

3. Since completion of Reid 1974, I have decided that the reconstruction *sakqan is not PCC, but is of more recent provenance, probably Proto-Nuclear-Cordilleran, the parent language of Bontok-Kankanay, Balangaw and Ifugao. The form that should be reconstructed for PCC 1 s. pronoun is *saken. The glottal stop was apparently introduced into the form by analogy with the 1 s. form *sikqa.

4. Ini. k (a voiceless, front velar stop) is a regular development of *g in syllable initial position (see Reid 1974, Sec. 2).

5. The change from ki to ka also appears in Kapampangan (ikata 1+2 s.) a language which has not been shown to be a member of the Cordilleran group. The change probably developed independently in this language.

6. *X represents a reconstructed hiatus or "non-vowel" with a sibilant reflex in some Formosan languages (Dyen 1965:30).

7. This form also occurs in Itneg, a CC language, but it is probably a borrowing from Ilokano (see Reid 1974).

8. tayuh also appears in Kelabit (Northern Borneo).

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L.A. REID

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