TOWARDS A RECONSTRUCTION OF THE
PRONOMINAL SYSTEMS OF PROTO-CORDILLERAN, PHILIPPINES[1]

LAWRENCE A. REID

1. INTRODUCTION

In an earlier paper (Reid 1974) evidence was presented for a subgroup
of Philippine languages labelled Central Cordilleran. This group con-
sisted 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 Cordil-
leran, and in addition to the Central group mentioned above comprises
also a Southern Cordilleran subgroup, and a Northern Cordilleran sub-
group. 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 lan-
guages: 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 under-
stood 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 con-
junction 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 pro-
nominal 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 car-
rying 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 con-
structions. Conklin's "minimal" versus "nonminimal" features are de-
scriptively 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 ini-
tial 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[3]		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 *-yakɨn re-
flects an earlier *qi-akən. All other CC languages reflect a develop-
ment of *siyakən to *sakən (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.[4] 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 pro-
noun in PSC. All the SC languages including Ilongot share this innova-
tion. 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 pro-
nominal 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 > sikisi). 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 dɨ by analogy with the 3 s. form (*siqida >
*siya + qida > *siyayda > siyay dɨ).

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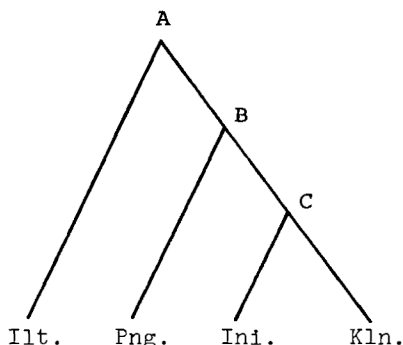grouping as displayed in Figure 1.

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.	*siyakən	1 p.	*siqikami
2 s.	*siqika	2 p.	*siqikayu
1+2 s.	*siqikita	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 pro-
nominal 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 morphologi-
cal, 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 Ilo-
kano 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.

	A		B		C	
1 s.	*siyak			>	*siqgak	
2 s.	*siqka			>	*siqgam	
1+2 s.	*siqikita	>	*siqikata	>	*siqgata	
3 s.	*siya	>	*siqikatu	>	*siqgatu	
1 p.	*siqikami			>	*siqgami	
2 p.	*siqikayu	>		>	*siqgayu	
1+2 p.	*siqikitayu	>	*siqikatayu	>	*siqgatayu	
3 p.	*siqida		*siqikada	>	*siqgada	
1 s.	siqak		siak		siq̣kaḳ	hiqgak
2 s.	sika		sika		siq̣kam	hiqgam
1+2 s.	sikita		sikata		siq̣kata	hiqgata
3 s.	siya		sikatu		siq̣katu	hiqgatu
1 p.	sikami		sikami		siq̣kami	hiqgami
2 p.	siki		sikayu		siq̣kayu	hiqgayu
1+2 p.	sikisi		sikatayu		siq̣kataju	hiqgatayu
3 p.	siyay di		sikara		siq̣kara	hiqgada
	Ilt.		Png.		Ini.	KlnKy

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) re-constructs the form as $*x_3aku$. Note the following languages: Tagalog qako, Malay aku, Tongan au, Tsou a?o, Atayal saku?, Ami kako?, etc. An additional form *a(ŋ)kən 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 *-akən (< PAN *a(ŋ)kən). The only evidence presently avail-able 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 substitu-tion of *akən for *aku with subsequent loss of final *-ən, comes from Ilokano. In this language the completive enclitic corresponding to Tagalog na is Ilk. -en ~ -n. The former variant occurs following con-sonants (e.g. /naládaw/ + /-en/ → naládawen *'It's already too late'*), the latter occurs following vowels (e.g. /naŋankami/ + /-en/ → nangan-kamin *'We have already eaten'*). However, following the pronoun -ak the enclitic particle is -on not -en (e.g. /naŋának/ + /-en/ → nangánakon *'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 *-akən 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 num-ber 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, akən). Evidence for -akən as a long Nominative formative comes also from Subanon, and from Maranao where it appears as the pronominal segment

of the Genitive qakən, Oblique rakən, long Nominative sakən, but not the
short Nominative, which is qaku.

Of the Cordilleran languages, the full *-akən formative is reflected
in the 1 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 *-akən. This reduction probably devel-
oped by analogy with the short Nominative pronoun -ak (< *aku).

The Genitive 1 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 1 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 1 s.

4.2 SECOND PERSON SINGULAR (2 s.)

On the basis of a number of forms in Formosa, Dyen (1965:302) recon-
structed PAN *iχu()[6] *thee, thou*. Dahl (1973:122) reconstructs both
*ka and *(i)Su for the same pronoun. 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?, Ami kíso', Rukai kəsó:', 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 *-mu with -nu, retaining the -m reflex of the variant fol-
lowing vowel final stems. The same replacement has taken place, appar-
ently 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.
Dempwolff (1938:81) reconstructed PAN *kita with the meaning *we, in-
clusive*. 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.', kitami '1+2 p.', Kalagan
kita '1+2 s.', kitadun '1+2 p.'; Western Bukidnon Manobo sikita '1+2 s.',
sikitəw '1+2 p.'.

This evidence along with the NC reconstruction supports the postu-
lated 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 *tayu, which is reconstructed for PSC 1+2 p.

4.4 THIRD PERSON SINGULAR (3 s.)

The form reconstructed by Dempwolff (1938:67) for PAN is *ija. This
probably contains a case formative *i-, and is reflected as such in the
Ivatan long Nominative qíya 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 s-iah '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 lan-
guages outside the Cordilleran groups considerably complicates the re-
construction 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 ex-
tended 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 miiyu in Itbayaten and -miu 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 *-məyu is dubious because each of these languages reflects PAN *ə 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 (< *kamyu), and with syllabification of the glide as Palauan kəmiu. 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 haplology 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 *-miyu, 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 Kalagan, -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 *-taku appears to be exclusively shared by CC and is eliminated as a possible PC reconstruction. Although PSC *-kitayu also appears in Ilokano tayú[7] and Tagalog táyu, 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. Inibaloi 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 táyu is likewise a borrowing, since the languages with which it is most closely related (Bikol, Cebuano, Samar-Leyte, Kinaray-a, etc.) all reflect kita '1 incl. pl.'. These languages do not distinguish a dual pronoun.[8]

The most likely candidate for PC 1+2 p. is *-kitam, the form reconstructed 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 sila, sira, or sida 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 lan-
guages 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 recon-
structed 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 pro-
nouns. 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.	*siyaken		1 p.	*siqikami
2 s.	*siqikaw		2 p.	*siqikamuyu
1+2 s.	*siqikita		1+2 p.	*siqikitam
3 s.	*siya		3 p.	*siqida

II   Short Nominative Pronouns

    1 s.   *-ak   1 p.   *-kami
    2 s.   *-ka   2 p.   *-kamuyu
    1+2 s.   *-kita   1+2 p.   *-kitam
    3 s.   *∅   3 p.   *-da

III Genitive Pronouns

    1 s.   *-ku ∿ *-k, *-ta   1 p.   *-mi
    2 s.   *-mu ∿ *-m   2 p.   *-muyu
    1+2 s.   *-ta   1+2 p.   *-tam
    3 s.   *-na   3 p.   *-da

IV   Oblique Pronouns

    1 s.   *kanyaken   1 p.   kanikami
    2 s.   *kanikaw   2 p.   kanikamuyu
    1+2 s.   *kanikita   1+2 p.   kanikitam
    3 s.   *kanya   3 p.   kanida

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
*sakqən 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 *sakən. The glottal stop was apparently introduced into the form by
analogy with the 1 s. form *sikqa.

4. Ini. ḵ (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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