

# Evidence for Proto-Philippine Nominative Marking\*

## 1. Introduction<sup>1</sup>

In a paper published in the proceedings of the Second International Conference on Austronesian Linguistics (Reid 1978), I proposed tentative reconstructions of a number of grammatical morphemes for Proto-Philippines. Specifically, the forms that were proposed in that paper were as follows:

### A. Determiners

#### NOMINATIVE

common	*ʔi, *su, *ʔu
personal	*si

#### GENITIVE

common	*na, *nu
personal	*ni

#### LOCATIVE

common	*di, *sa
personal	*ka ni, *kay (< **ka ʔi)

### B. Other grammatical morphemes

Plural common noun marker	*maŋa
Topic linker	*ʔay
Ligature	*ŋ(a), *-a

I also outlined in that paper some of the grammatical processes which have resulted in the great variety of determiners occurring in the Philippine languages today. Two major processes which were discussed were a) the tendency to unmark subjects, and b) the demonstrative to determiner shift.

Since presenting that paper, an insightful but to date unpublished paper by Bill Seiter (University of California at San Diego), 'Information questions in the Philippine languages', has come to my attention. In this paper, Seiter attempts to reconstruct as-

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\* Originally published in: *Philippine Journal of Linguistics* 10:1-20. (1979).

<sup>1</sup> This is a revision of a paper first presented at the Conference of the Linguistic Society of New Zealand, Wellington, August 21-24, 1978. I wish to thank David Zorc, Curt McFarland, and Harold Conklin for their comments on an earlier draft of this paper.

pects of the syntax of Information Questions in Proto-Philippines on the basis of evidence from seven of the eight ‘major’ languages of the Philippines: Tagalog, Bikol, Cebuano, Hiligaynon, Ilokano, Pangasinan, and Kapampangan.

Seiter proposes a number of reconstructed forms for Proto-Philippines, some of which (such as Genitive \*na and \*ni and Nominative \*si) agree with the reconstructions I have proposed. However, one of the reconstructions which he proposes and which figures fairly prominently in the discussion in his paper is, I believe, an unwarranted reconstruction. The form in question is Seiter’s proposed \*a ‘common Nominative determiner’ (This gloss matches my usage. Seiter’s gloss would be ‘non-human Topic marker’). Since this reconstruction has been proposed elsewhere (Foley 1976), it is probably worthwhile to critically reexamine all of the evidence for the Nominative reconstructions, and to decide whether it has been interpreted correctly.

In the first section the evidence given by Seiter for the reconstruction of \*a will be examined. In the second section, the evidence for the reconstruction of \*ʔi will be examined. In the final section, evidence for the reconstruction of other possible Nominative markers in Proto-Philippines will be examined.

### 1.1. Seiter’s Proto-Philippine \*a

Seiter bases his reconstruction of the Nominative determiners on his prior reconstruction of the information question words \*sino ‘who’ and \*ano ‘what’.<sup>2</sup> He claims correctly that such question words are Predicate nominals both in Proto-Philippines and in the daughter languages. He also claims that question words are ‘formally topic NPs’, that is, they bear the same marking as topic (i.e., Nominative) NPs. In order to demonstrate the latter claim he attempts to show that question words are ‘marked in the

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<sup>2</sup> Some minor problems with the phonological shape of these reconstructions should be noted in passing. Seiter, although indicating his awareness of the fact that Proto-Philippines retained the PAN vocalic system without change (Reid 1973, Charles 1974), decides to ignore the difference between high and mild vowel contrasts, assuming that the difference between *u* and *o* and between *i* and *e* is purely orthographic, or the result of Spanish borrowing. Although this is partly true for some of the languages cited by Seiter, it is not true for Pangasinan, nor for Ilokano, where *e* is the reflex of PPH \*ə. The final vowel of his reconstructions should therefore be \*u and they will be cited as such throughout the paper.

His decision to ignore hyphen in the orthographies of some of his sources because they ‘occur unpredictably’ is unfortunate since this is one of the devices for indicating glottal stop.

There is moreover no evidence to justify establishing a canonical form, V, in addition to those inherited from PAN, viz. CV and CVC. Seiter’s \*ano will therefore be cited throughout the paper as \*ʔanu.

productive pattern for topics' since if a constituent is productively topic marked it argues a fortiori that it is a topic NP.

The data used by Seiter to reconstruct the personal interrogative word is as follows:

TAG	<i>síno</i>	PANG	<i>siopá</i>
BIK	<i>siʔisáy</i>	ILK	<i>síno</i>
CEB	<i>kinsá</i>	KAP	<i>nínu</i>
HIL	<i>sín-o</i>		

Seiter recognizes three primary subgroups in his data. The first, consisting of Tagalog, Bikol, Cebuano, and Hiligaynon, comprises three branches of the Central Philippine subgroup (Zorc 1977:33). Pangasinan and Ilokano represent two branches of the Cordilleran subgroup (Reid 1974:1). Kapampangan represents one of four branches of a proposed North Extension of the Southern Philippine group (Zorc 1977:34). Tree diagrams 1-4 display these subgroups.<sup>3</sup>

#### Tree Diagram 1

Genetic Relationships of the Cordilleran Languages (Tharp 1974, Reid 1974)

#### Tree Diagram 2

Genetic Relationships of the Southern Philippine Languages (Zorc 1977:34)

#### Tree Diagram 3

Genetic Relationships of Central Philippine Languages (Zorc 1977:33)

#### Tree Diagram 4

Genetic Relationships of the Bisayan Dialects (Zorc 1977:32)

Seiter rejects CEB *kinsa* as a recent innovation, and ignoring the glottal stop in HIL *sin-o* reconstructs \*sinu for Proto-Bisayan. The Hiligaynon form actually reflects a sequence of \*siʔunú, with loss of the unstressed medial vowel and regular metathesis of

<sup>3</sup> There is some evidence that Ilokano may not be part of Northern Cordilleran, but may form a branch coordinate with it. There is evidence also which suggests that the Central and Southern Cordilleran languages form a single subgroup within Cordilleran.

the resulting ?C cluster. Evidence for the medial vowel quality will be presented below. On the basis of his Proto-Bisayan reconstruction, the Tagalog *síno* and the initial *si* of the Pangasinan and Ilokano forms, he reconstructs an initial \*si- formative, and on the basis of the final syllable in Ilokano and Kapampangan he reconstructs a final \*nu, giving PPH \*si-nu ‘who’.

The data that Seiter uses to reconstruct the non-personal interrogative word is as follows:

TAG	<i>anó</i> <sup>4</sup>	PANG	<i>antó</i>
BIK	<i>anó</i>	ILK	<i>aniá</i>
CEB	<i>únsa</i>	KAP	<i>nánu</i>
HIL	<i>anó, náno</i>		

Of this data, Seiter says, ‘On the basis of TAG and BIK alone, we can reconstruct Proto-T[agalog] \*ano, which is further supported by HIL *ano*, and the fact that CEB *unsa* is known to be recent. Proto-T \*ano along with the PANG and ILK words then suggest \*a- as the initial syllable of the Proto-PH[ILIPPINE] form, while KAP *nanu* provides with Proto-T \*ano the evidence that \*-no was the second half. This gives us Proto-PH \*a-no ‘what’ alongside Proto-PH \*si-no ‘who’.

Of Ceb *kinsa* ‘what’ and *unsa* ‘who’, Seiter says, ‘These two Q words group with the *kini* demonstrative class, which substitute for substantive topic NPs...The Q word *kinsa* [is a] transparent combination of the appropriate demonstrative class marker plus a base *sa*. The same base is involved in *unsa*, although the identity of *un-* is a mystery. At any rate, it’s safe to assume that the information of *kinsa* [and] *unsa* ... postdates the establishment of the larger part of the modern CEB demonstrative system’ (95).

Zorc (1977:106) also notes for *kinsa* that ‘it has a *k-* formative (probably based on analogy with the nominative deictics with *k-*)’.<sup>5</sup> Zorc labels *-sa* a frozen suffix, but neither he nor Seiter attempt to identify the origin of this formative.

<sup>4</sup> Stress in the Central Philippine languages is corrected to conform with Zorc’s data (1977: 108).

<sup>5</sup> The association of the *k-* of Ceb *kinsa* with the Cebuano demonstrative system was first noted in print by Blake (1906). Blake was also the first linguist to systematically compare various grammatical morphemes in Philippine languages. His works provide a useful summary of the comparative evidence, based on the sometimes scanty and at times unreliable data that was available to him. He made no attempt at reconstruction, being content to make listings of the current functions of the various elements that he was able to identify in the languages at his disposal, and to suggest possible relationships between them.

Having established to his satisfaction the Proto-Philippine question words, Seiter proceeds to reconstruct the ‘topic markers’, i.e. the Nominative determiner. On fairly unambiguous evidence he reconstructs \*si as the personal Nominative determiner, but on the basis of rather unclear evidence he reconstructs \*ʔa as the common Nominative determiner. The evidence he cites is as follows:

TAG	<i>ang</i>	PANG	<i>so/-y, (i)may</i>
BIK	<i>an, si/su</i>	ILK	<i>ti</i>
CEB	<i>ang/-y</i>	KAP	<i>ing</i>

To account for the ‘obvious havoc’ in the above data, Seiter proposes a solution close to that proposed by myself in the earlier paper. Seiter says, ‘Topic in PH languages have to be definite... perhaps a claim could be sustained that overt definite marking, aside from topic marking, is a precondition at some stages to the maintenance of the obligatory association of definiteness with topichood. I contend that a recurrent historical pattern in PH languages is the reanalysis of such definite markers in topic position as topic marker’ (p. 25). He uses this argument to account for ILK *ti*, correctly considering it to be reanalyzed definite marker, with a  $\emptyset$  topic marker. PANG *(i)may* is accounted for in the same way. CEB and PANG *-y* he considers to be a ‘linker’ which replaces the ‘marker’ in certain environments, KAP *ing* is the *-y* ‘linker’ which has developed into an *i* ‘surrogate topic marker’ plus the linker *-ng* which also appears on the TAG and CEB forms, and as *-n* on the BIK form. He does not account for BIK *su* or PANG *so*. He assumes that the PANG *-y* and KAP *ing* forms are ‘innovations more recent than Proto-T. Hence the only candidate available for a Proto-PH common topic marker becomes Proto-T \*a-ng’. Foley (1976) also assumes that TAG *ʔaŋ* is a direct reflex of a Proto-Philippine Nominative determiner plus a nasal linker. Having decided on \*si and \*ʔa as Proto-Philippine Nominative markers, he is then able to state that PPH \*si-nu ‘who’ and \*ʔa-nu ‘what’ were productively marked ‘topic NPs’ in Proto-Philippines.

I now propose to show that \*ʔanu ‘what’ is a relatively recent innovation in Tagalog and/or Bikol and that its appearance in some of the Bisayan languages and in a few languages in the north of the Philippines is the result of borrowing. I will also show that there was a Meso-Philippine innovation \*ʔunu ‘what’ which became the base for such forms as CEB *sinʔu*. Finally I will show that the probable Proto-Philippine word for

‘what’ was \*ŋájan, which also meant ‘name’; evidence also suggests a doublet \*ŋáʔan. Other possible reconstructions will also be considered.

### 1.2. \*ʔanú ‘what’

The distribution of reflexes of \*ʔanú (see Table 1) is restricted to Tagalog (both Marinduque and Manila dialects), Bikol (I have not checked the dialects) and the following Bisayan dialects (Zorc 1977:108): all of the Western dialects, including Aklanon, Kinaray-a, Bulalakaw, Datagnon and Kuyunon. Reflexes of \*ʔanú occur in several of the Central Bisayan dialects, especially those adjacent to the Western dialects, such as Hiligaynon, Capiznon, and Kawayan. They do not appear in the more isolated islands of the Central group such as Camotes, nor in Bantay, neither do they appear in Sorsogon or Northern Samar. Waray and Samar-Leyte have reflexes of \*ʔanú. They do not appear in the Southern Bisayan dialects, nor in Cebuano. Of the Central Philippine languages to the south, in Mindanao, data available to me on Eastern Mansakan (Mansaka), Western Mansaka (Kalagan), and Mamanwa show that none of these languages have a reflex of \*ʔanú. Only a few languages in the north of the Philippines have reflexes of \*ʔanú. Three of these are dialects of Itneg, and all have histories of heavy borrowing.

**Table 1. Reflexes of \*ʔanú ‘what’**

Bisayan Dialects	
Aklanon	ʔanóh-
Alcantaranon	ʔanóh-
Looknon	ʔanóh-
Dispoholnon	ʔanóh-
Romblomanon	ʔanóh-
Hiligaynon	ʔanóh-
Capiznon	ʔanóh-
Kawayan	ʔanóh-
Pandan	ʔanóh-
Kinaray-a	ʔanúh-
Gimaras	ʔanúh-
Bulalakaw	ʔanúh-
Samar-Leyte	ʔanúh-
Waray	ʔanúh-
Semirara	ʔanú-
Santa Teresa	ʔanú-
Datagnon	ʔanú-
Kuyunon	ʔanú-
Bikol	ʔanú-
Tagalog	ʔanó
Northern Cordilleran	
Agta	ʔanu
Itneg	
Peñarrubia	ʔanú
Manabo	ʔanú
Luba	ʔanú

It appears then that \*ʔanú ‘what’ has spread south from the Tagalog or Bikol center of innovation into the geographically adjacent areas of the Western and Central Bisayas, but has not replaced the inherited form in the other Central Philippine languages.

The innovation involved in this word is not in its form, but in a shift in grammatical function. Dempwolff (1938) reconstructs \*ʔanu’ meaning ‘someone, something, substitution for a name’. Although he cites TAG *ʔanú* as evidence it is the only form given with an interrogative meaning. The Toba-Batak, Javanese, Ngadju-Dayak, and Hova reflexes are all indefinite pronouns. Reflexes with this meaning appear in a number of Philippine languages, e.g. BON *ʔanu-ka* ‘what-you-may-call-it’. As a verb the word means ‘to do something (to someone)’, e.g., ILK *ʔanʔanu-én*, BON *ʔanukʔén*. But it is only in the lan-

guages cited at the beginning of this section in which *?anú* appears as a true interrogative.

Neither Pangasinan *?antu*, nor Ilokano *?ania* are all, or part, reflexes of *\*?anu*. Their origin will be considered below.

### 1.3. *\*?unú* ‘what’

The distribution of reflexes of this form show it to be an innovation in Meso-Philippines. Reflexes appear in four of the five branches of this subgroup as shown in Table 2.

**Table 2. Reflexes of *\*?unú* ‘what’**

Central Philippines	
Bisayan Dialects	
Surigao	?únuh-
Jaun	?únuh-
Naturalis	?únuh-
Kan	?únuh-
Tausug	?únuh-
Cebuano	?únsah-
Bohol	?únsah-
Leyte	?únsah-
Mamanwa	?ono sa-
Subanon (Siocon)	olo-
Kalamian Tagbanwa ?unu	
Palawan (Batak)	?unu

Comparison of the Mamanwa and Cebuano forms suggests that *?únsah-* is a reduction of *\*?unúsa*. The form cited above for Mamanwa is from Reid (1971a:161). However, it appears from data in Miller (1975:88, 139) that the *sa* is optional. Note the following example (using Miller’s orthography):

*Ono ya inihatag nao kan Melina?*  
 what the given by-me to Melina?

‘What did I give to Melina?’

With reference to *sa*, which she glosses as ‘referent particle’, Miller (1976:179) says, ‘[it] points back to the situation which has given rise to the dialog.’ The form is therefore probably cognate with the *sa* which forms part of various demonstratives or



determiners having definite or past time reference in a number of other languages, e.g. BON *sa-n* ‘anaphoric determiner’, PNG *sa-* ‘topic marker’, MAR *sa-ia* ‘here’, *sa-n* ‘there (near)’, etc.

The Subanon form shows an irregular development of the medial consonant.

It is significant that the great majority of the Bisayan dialects that have borrowed *?anú* ‘what’, have not borrowed *sínu* ‘who’. Twenty-one dialects have either *sin?u* or *sin?o*. Only four (Semirara, Santa Teresa, Datagnon and Kuyunon) have *sínu*, and some of these, e.g., Kuyunon, may have lost the medial glottal stop as a regular process. It is more likely that the *sin?u* forms developed from \**si?unú*, as mentioned above, than from \**si?anú*, since the low central vowel is far more stable, even when unstressed, than the high back vowel. Moreover, some dialects, such as Aklanon, which have *?anóh-* ‘what’ and *sin?o* ‘who’, show a reflex of \**?unú* in other interrogative words, such as AKL *hin?unó* ‘when (future)’, but *kan?u* ‘when (past)’. Also ROM *ka?unó* ‘when (past)’ and *sa?unó* ‘when (future)’.

Although no reflexes of \**?unú* ‘what’ appear in the North Extension of the Meso-Philippine group, it is significant that the form does appear as part of other interrogatives within this group. Note: Bolinao *si-?nu* ‘who’, *ka-?nu* ‘when’, *?um-nu* ‘how many’; Sambal *si-?nu* ‘who’, *maka-?nu* ‘when’, *?um-nu* ‘how many’. Since none of these forms actually shows *u* between *? and n* of the interrogative base, the possibility would remain that the lost vowel was *a*, if it were not for evidence from Isinai, a Central Cordilleran language which shows apparently early borrowing from the North Extension of *?unú* in ISI *sin-?unu* ‘how many’ and *?un-?an* ‘when’.

#### 1.4. \**ŋájan*, \**ŋá?an* ‘what, name’

Whereas the reflexes of \**?anú* are generally restricted to Central Philippine languages, and the reflexes of \**?unú* are restricted to Meso-Philippine languages, reflexes of \**ŋájan* and its doublet \**ŋá?an*, are distributed throughout the Philippines, in other than Meso-Philippine languages (see Table 3). The immensely long period during which this form has been used as an interrogative, and its disassociation from the meaning ‘name’, has resulted in considerable reshaping, so that the reflexes in some languages seems questionable. But when compared with other languages in their immediate subgroups the source is usually apparent. Some forms also have either a Genitive pronominal clitic

(e.g., Pangasinan, Inibaloi, and Itawis) or a frozen Nominative determiner (e.g., Yogad, Ilokano, and Bolinao) attached to them.

Irregular developments of this form include loss of the final VC sequence (Bontok), possibly because of false association with the *-an* verbal suffix, and loss of the initial CV(C) sequence (Itawis, Ibanag, Yogad, Atta, Ilokano, Sambal, Botolan, Bolinao, and Pangasinan).

It is of interest that the use of the word for ‘name’ as an interrogative word may be a development that predates Proto-Philippines. Dempwolff (1938) cites Ngadju-Dayak ‘*ara*’ ‘name’, as well as *n-ara-i* ‘what’, as evidence for his reconstruction of \*[']ag’an ‘name’.

There are two other forms which can possibly be reconstructed for ‘what’ in Proto-Philippines. One is \*ʔapa, the form reconstructed by Dempwolff for PAN. Reflexes in Sangil of the Sarangani Islands and in Sangir (Great Sangir Island) are no doubt of recent introduction from Indonesia. However, note the following data:

Ilokano, Kalinga, Kankanay	ʔápa-y	‘why’
Kayapa Kallahan	hi-pa	‘who, what’
Pangasinan	si-ʔupa	‘who’

Because of the very limited distribution of such forms among Philippine languages, the probability that they are the result of borrowing from Malay with subsequent innovations cannot be ignored. The other possible reconstruction is \*nə-kay ‘what’. Various Manobo languages show reflexes of this form: Ata *nokoy*, Dibabawon *núkiy*, Tigwa *nikiy* ‘what.’ Ilianen Manobo *ʔiŋkiy* and Western Bukidnon *hiŋkiy* are also possible reflexes with metathesis and assimilation. Corresponding to these forms are Guinaang Bontok *nákay* ‘what’, Balangaw *nokay* ‘who, what’ (Shelter 1976:226), and possibly *nakay* ‘what’ in Alangan and Iraya, two languages of Mindoro which form part of Zorc’s North Extension (Zorc 1974:581). Pangasinan also has a reflex of \*nə, but only in the word for ‘where’: *ʔi-ne-r*, consisting of the frozen Pre-Philippine locative marker *ʔi* and possibly a fused enclitic reflex of PPH \*di ‘locative marker’. This form is cognate with Bontok *ʔi-nə* ‘where from’. The fact that these Bontok and Pangasinan forms are fused with a locative marker which was replaced during the Proto-Philippine period attests to their antiquity. I do not know if *-kiy* is a separable morpheme in Manobo languages. In Bontok, it is a particle which generally (but optionally) attaches to interrogatives, e.g. *sinákay* ‘who’, *ʔay ʔanay kay* ‘why’. It alternates in the forms for ‘what’ and ‘who’ with *kan*. The later is

no doubt a reflex of the verb ‘to say’ (Bontok *kan-an*), and suggests that the alternate form *kay* originates from a *ka* variant of *kan* (note, for example, Tagalog *ka ko* ‘I said’, *ka niya* ‘he said’) plus a fused –y Nominative determiner.

### 1.5. Summary

In summary then, Seiter’s reconstruction of \*ʔa as the Proto-Philippine Nominative determiner was based on very restricted and opaque data, and was apparently motivated by his desire to show that his Proto-Philippine \*ʔanú ‘what’ was a productively ‘topic marked’ predicate nominal. Having shown that \*ʔanú ‘what’ cannot be reconstructed for Proto-Philippines, I will now review the evidence for the reconstruction of \*ʔi as the Proto-Philippine Nominative determiner.

## 2. Proto-Philippines \*ʔi ‘Nominative Determiner’

The argument that \*ʔi was the Proto-Philippine Nominative determiner for common nouns is based primarily on the distribution of languages in which a reflex of \*ʔi appears today with this function. This evidence will appear in the first section. The evidence will be supplemented in the second section by referring to languages where a reflex of \*ʔi does not appear as a Nominative determiner, but in which frozen forms suggest that at some earlier stage of the language it did. The third section will discuss data from various languages which suggest that \*ʔi had functions in Proto-Philippine other than that proposed here.

### 2.1. Evidence from languages with a reflex of \*ʔi ‘Nominative determiner’

The languages in which a reflex of \*ʔi appears as one of the common noun Nominative determiners include the following: Cordilleran—Ibanag, Gaddang, and Casiguran Dumagat in the north, Inibaloi, Ilongot, and Pangasinan in the south; Southern Philippine—Sinauna in the North Extension; Aborlan Tagbanwa and the following Bisayan dialects which all give witness to Proto-Meso-Philippines—Aklanon, Cebuano, Sibale, Banton, Odionganon, and Northern Samar; Bilaan and Bagobo, ungrouped languages of the Southern Philippines.

Examples and discussion of the \*ʔi reflex in some of these languages is now given. The source of the example is given in parentheses; the orthography of the sources is retained. A literal translation is provided where it is not given in the source.

- (1) Ibanag (Brandes and Scheerer 1927-28:31)  
*Natáy i atawa na iloko ta ili mi.*  
 dead NOM wife GEN Iloko LOC town GEN.1PE  
 ‘The wife of the Iloko in our (ex.) town is dead.’

Brandes and Scheerer note that Ibanag *i* appears only before vowels. Before consonants, the marker is a proclitic resulting in gemination of the following consonant, e.g.,

- (2) Ibanag (Brandes and Scheerer 1927-28:??)  
*Ik = kəzzing nál = lakalákay nəppalágyu tam = mabit tək = karagátan.*  
 NOM = goat GEN = old.man ran LOC = quickly LOC = sandy.place  
 ‘The goat of the old man ran with celerity over the sandy stretch.’

In Ibanag, *i* likewise can be an enclitic if the preceding segment is a consonant, which is therefore geminate, e.g.,

- (3) Ibanag (Brandes and Scheerer 1927-28:??)  
*Kwam = mu lagúz = zik = kinagi<sup>k</sup> níkáw.*  
 Do = GEN.2S then = NOM = said.GEN.1S LCV.2S  
 ‘Do then what I said to you.’

The cliticizing character of *i* in Ibanag will become relevant in section 2.2 below when the frozen forms of \*?i reflexes are discussed.

- (4) Gaddang (Walrod 1976:29)  
*Bəkkən = nu i-no gafa.*  
 break = GEN.2S NOM jar  
 ‘Break the jar.’

Although *i* does not appear as a common Nominative marker without *no*, it seems fairly obvious that this was originally a compound form.

- (5) Casiguran Dumagat (Headland and Headland 1974:xxxii)  
*Nékkagi i anak.*  
 spoke NOM child  
 ‘The child spoke.’

In Casiguran Dumagat, the use of *i* to mark a common Nominative noun phrase also may indicate that the noun is ‘alive, known, general, actual, in sight, present in time, or mass’, whereas the form *tu*, which we will discuss in Section 3, may indicate that such a noun is ‘dead, unknown, specific, non-actual, out of sight, past in time or singular’ (Headland and Headland 1974:xxxii).

- (6) Inibaloi (Ballard et al. 1971:87)  
*Dimaw i solsharo; shakel i Japan na dimaw.*  
 went NOM soldier many NOM Japan LIG went  
 ‘The soldiers went; many were the Japanese who went.’
- (7) Pangasinan (Benton 1971:47)  
*Antó=y agáwa to?*  
 what=NOM do he  
 ‘What did he do?’
- (8) Pangasinan (Benton 1971: 166)  
*Komosta ira=y bálo=n kasal ey?*  
 how PL=NOM new=LIG marry eh  
 ‘How are the newly-weds, eh?’

The reflex of \*ʔi in Pangasinan appears only as an enclitic following a vowel. It also replaces a preceding *-n*. In other environments the Nominative marker is *so*, which will be discussed below.

- (9) Ilongot (Rosaldo 1978:Appendix I, p.6)  
*ʔenʔage:pagep ʔi-ma diplanu nima ʔinaritu.*  
 swooped.down NOM-that plane ACC arrived  
 ‘The plane swooped down when it arrived.’

In Ilongot, *ʔi* is optionally deleted, leaving only the demonstrative base.

- (10) Sinauna (Santos 1975:31)  
*Pinatáy=ra ʔi manúk kad siʔkamú*  
 was.killed=GEN.3P NOM chicken LOC NOM.2P  
 ‘They killed the chicken for you (pl.).’
- (11) Sinauna (Santos 1975: 34)  
*ʔumiʔinúm ʔi maŋa ʔata gid laʔú.*  
 drinking NOM PL man ACC water  
 ‘The men are drinking water.’

The Nominative determiner is sometimes replaced by forms such as *ta* which were Proto-Philippines demonstratives, e.g.,

- (12) Sinauna (Santos 1975:??)  
*ibinabáʔ=na ʔidta gubun ʔuid laʔú ta timbáʔ.*  
 lower=GEN.3S GEN child ACC water NOM pail  
 ‘The child used the pail to draw water.’

Bisayan dialects (Zorc 1977:84)

- (13) Aklanon (Zorc 1977:84)  
*?ímo=y bakód?*  
 yours=NOM five.cents  
 'Is a five cent piece yours?'
- (14) Cebuano (Zorc 1977:84)  
*Dúnay=y mánga sa salúg.*  
 there=NOM mango LOC floor  
 'There's a mango on the floor.'
- (15) Cebuano (Zorc 1977:84)  
*Kínsa=y maḡutána?*  
 who=NOM ask  
 'Who will ask?'

Zorc notes that *-y*, in the Bisayan dialects which use it, marks an indefinite Nominative, and 'is limited to set expressions, usually after pronouns, interrogatives, or existentials'.

- (16) Bilaan (Abrams 1961:400)  
*Nbat=gu batu i gumnè.*  
 throw=GEN.1S rock NOM house  
 'I throw a rock at the house.'

In Bilaan, *i* is optional. Nominative NPs are frequently unmarked.

## 2.2. Evidence from languages with a frozen reflex of *\*?i* 'Nominative determiner'

In addition to the languages in which a reflex of *\*?i* still functions as a Nominative determiner, many languages have frozen forms which seem to show decisively that *\*?i* was present in an earlier stage of the language and that it probably functioned as a Nominative marker. In discussing the Ibanag data above, it was noted that *?i* frequently appears either as a proclitic, an enclitic, or both. As an enclitic it often appears now as a frozen *-y* on earlier vowel final forms, and as a frozen *?i-* on earlier consonant initial forms, and as *y-* on earlier (glottal stop plus) vowel initial forms.

A number of languages which do not use a reflex of *\*?i* as the common Nominative determiner have *?i-* or *y-* initial demonstratives which function as Nominative, e.g., Kappampangan, Gaddang, Tagalog, and Bikol.

(a) <u>Kapampangan</u>	<i>?i-ti</i>	‘this (1)’
	<i>?i-ni</i>	‘this (2)’
	<i>?i-ta</i>	‘that (1)’
	<i>?i-yan</i>	‘that (2)’
(b) <u>Gaddang</u>	<i>yaw</i>	‘this’
	<i>yan</i>	‘that (1)’
	<i>?i-nay</i>	‘that (2)’
(c) <u>Tagalog</u>	<i>?i-ri</i>	‘this (1)’
	<i>?i-tu</i>	‘this (2)’
	<i>?i-yan</i>	‘that (1)’
	<i>?i-yon</i>	‘that (2)’
(d) <u>Bikol</u>	<i>?i-ni</i>	‘this’
	<i>?i-yan</i>	‘that (1)’
	<i>?i-tu</i>	‘that (2)’

In addition to this evidence, at least one language has changed *?unu* ‘what’ to *?inu*, apparently by analogy with early *?i* marked predicate nominals, e.g.,

- (17) Binukid Manobo (Post 1968:23)  
*Inu sa tagbuhaten nu?*  
 what NOM do GEN.2S  
 ‘What are you (sg.) doing?’

Ilokano currently uses *ti* as the Nominative marker; however, early Spanish grammars indicate that *?iti* was formerly used. It appears that *?i* has become frozen as an enclitic *-y* on some forms which would frequently immediately precede *?iti*, producing such modern Ilokano forms as *?apáy* ‘why’, *pay* ‘moreover’, *ηay* ‘then’, *daytuy* ‘this’, etc.

For example: (Asterisked forms represent pre-Ilokano)

- (18) \*ʔápa ʔi-ti       ‘What is the ...?’  
 > ʔápay           ‘Why...?’
- (19) \*naʔála = na pa       ʔi-ti       ʔásu  
 got = GEN.3S moreover NOM-DEFINITE dog  
 > naʔálana pay       ti           ʔásu  
 ‘He got the dog.’
- (20) \*ʔanya ɲa ʔi-ti       naʔála = na  
 what then NOM-DEFINITE got = GEN.3S  
 > ʔanya ɲay ti       naʔálana?  
 ‘What then did he get?’
- (21) \*daytu ʔi-ti       balay.  
 this NOM-DEFINITE house  
 > daytuy ti       balay  
 ‘This is the house.’

Although Ilokano has lost the form *daytu*, it has retained the other pre-Ilokano demonstratives, *dayta* and *daydi*, alongside the forms which have enclitics, *daytay* and *daydiay*, but with various semantic shifts:

<i>day-tuy</i>	‘this’
<i>day-ta</i>	‘that (1)’
<i>day-tay</i>	‘that (recent past)’
<i>day-di</i>	‘that (remote past)’
<i>day-diay</i>	‘that (2)’

A Proto-Philippine existential verb is reconstructible as \*(ʔ)ədaʔ (Ivatan *ʔara*; Ilokano *ʔadda*; Inibaloi *wara* ‘there is’, Bontok *ʔədʔədda* ‘many’—a borrowing from pre-Ilokano; Cebuano *walaʔ* ‘there is none’, etc.). It was noted above for Cebuano and some other Bisayan languages, that it is following this verb that the Nominative *ʔi* is retained. This is also true in some of the Central Cordilleran languages of Northern Luzon, such as Kankanay and Bontok, except that in these languages the form appears as a frozen *-y*, for example:

- (22) Bontok  
*Wadʔay ʔásu = da.*  
 there.is dog = GEN.3P  
 ‘They have a dog.’

### 2.3. Possible other functions of Proto-Philippine \*ʔi



That \*ʔi may have had other functions in Pre- or Proto-Philippines is suggested by the following evidence.

### 2.3.1. Personal nominative marker

The strongest piece of evidence to support a claim that \*ʔi was an early personal Nominative marker is the ʔi- or y- initial Nominative pronouns. Proto-Cordilleran long Nominative pronouns (Reid 1979) show clearly that the use of *si* as a personal Nominative marker was subsequent to ʔi. Note the following reconstructed forms, in which ʔi- is an inner layer marker and *si-* is an outer layer marker.

#### Proto-Cordilleran Long Nominative Pronouns

	<i>SG</i>	<i>PL</i>
1	*siyaken	*siʔikami
1,2	*siʔikita	*siʔikitam
2	*siʔikaw	*siʔikayu
3	*siya	*siʔida

Ivatan (Reid 1966:88) and Kapampangan (McFarland 1977:16) also retain a set of long pronouns with ʔi- and y- initials.

#### Ivatan Predicate Pronouns

	<i>SG</i>	<i>PL</i>
1	yakən	yamən
1,2	yatən	yatən
2	ʔimu	ʔiniu
3	ʔiya	sira

#### Kapampangan Nominative Pronouns

	<i>SG</i>	<i>PL</i>
1	ʔaku	ʔikami
1,2	ʔikata	ʔitámu
2	ʔika	ʔikayu
3	ʔiya	ʔila

Several languages show ʔi as the personal Nominative marker. These include Gad-dang and Itawis in the Northern Cordilleran group, Pangasinan (alternates with *si*, usually after a pronoun) in the Southern Cordilleran group, Kapampangan (North Extension) and Murut of the Southern Philippine languages. Whether these are all

retentions of the earlier system, or whether they are the result of secondary developments in these languages is uncertain.

- (23) Gaddang (Walrod 1976:32)  
*Ibasaan = nu i Toby si leburu.*  
 read = GEN.2S NOM Toby ACC book  
 ‘Read a book to Toby.’
- (24) Itawis (Reid 1977)  
*Alistu i Fuan nga mandlan.*  
 quick NOM Juan LIG walk  
 ‘Juan walks quickly.’
- (25) Pangasinan (Benton 1971:48)  
*Itaneman = ko = y Pedro na ponti.*  
 plant.for = GEN.1S = NOM Pedro ACC banana  
 ‘I will plant bananas for Pedro.’
- (26) Kapampangan (Forman 1971:58)  
*Ikuá neng danúm i Tátang.*  
 get ACC water NOM Father  
 ‘Get some water for Father.’
- (27) Murut (Prentice 1971:66, 165)  
*Manulis i Sumail ra surat = ti*  
 will.write NOM Ismail LOC letter = the  
 ‘Ismail will write the letter.’

### 2.3.2. Genitive marker

Reflexes of \*ʔi also appear as both common and personal genitive markers.

Both Gaddang and Itawis use ʔi both as a personal Genitive as well as a personal Nominative marker. In Pangasinan, -y alternates with the expected reflex of \*na common Genitive marker. In Sinauna, the Genitive ʔid ‘common’ and ʔin personal markers may contain an initial ʔi- formative. This is also possible for the Aborlan Tagbanwa and Batak ʔit common Genitive marker. In Maranao as well as in Batak ʔi is the personal Genitive marker.

The reconstruction of Proto-Philippine \*kay (< \*kaʔi) in addition to \*ka ni also suggests that alternation between \*ʔi and \*ni was not restricted to the Genitive marker,<sup>6</sup> but also occurred in the personal Locative forms.

<sup>6</sup> Two papers (Blust 1977 and Reid 1979) present evidence that suggests that phonologically conditioned alternation in the Genitive markers is as old as Proto-Austronesian.

### 2.3.3. Locative marker

It is clear from many witnesses in both the Western and Oceanic branches of Austronesian that \*[ʔ]i was a static Location marker, and was also used as a Time marker. There is relatively little evidence in the Philippines to suggest that \*ʔi had this function in Proto-Philippines. It is probable that as \*ʔi developed as a Nominative marker, it became increasingly necessary to use other ways to mark Locative NPs. However, what evidence there is, seems to indicate fairly convincingly that at least in Pre-Philippines \*ʔi had a Locative marking function. The evidence is of four kinds.

(a) *ʔi* is retained as part of the determiner which marks Locative phrases in Ilokano, as in (28).

- (28) Ilokano  
 Napan = kami    ʔiti    balay = da.  
 went = NOM.1PE    LOC    house = GEN.3P  
 ‘We (ex.) went to their house.’

Locative demonstratives in Ilokano are also either marked with *ʔi-*, e.g., *ʔidiay* ‘there (2)’, or appear in compounds with such a marker, e.g. *dituy* ‘here’, but *ʔadda-ytuy* ‘there is here’, *dita* ‘there (1)’, but *ʔadda-yta* ‘there is there (1)’, and *ʔadda-ydiay* ‘there is there (2)’.<sup>7</sup>

The Oas dialect of Bikol also has Locative demonstratives marked with *ʔi-*, e.g., *ʔidi* ‘here’, *ʔiyan* ‘there (1)’, and *ʔidtu* ‘there (2)’ (McFarland 1974:150).

Locative demonstratives in Sambal and Bolinao are also *ʔi-* marked, e.g., Bolinao *ʔiti* ‘here’, *ʔisən* ‘there (1)’, and *ʔitaw* ‘there (2)’.

(b) Some languages, such as Tagalog and standard Bikol, retain *ʔi-* as part of certain locative relational terms, e.g.,

<sup>7</sup> It is from these combinations of existential verb and locative demonstratives, that modern Ilokano demonstratives have developed, i.e.,

<i>ʔadda-ʔituy</i>	>	<i>daytuy</i>	‘this’
<i>ʔadda-ʔita</i>	>	<i>dayta</i>	‘that (1)’
<i>ʔadda-ʔidiay</i>	>	<i>daydiay</i>	‘that (2)’

<u>Standard Bikol</u>	<u>Tagalog</u>	<u>English</u>	
<i>sa ?iba:baw</i>	<i>sa ?iba:baw</i>	‘on top’	cf. TAG <i>maba:baw</i> ‘shallow’
<i>sa ?ita:ʔas</i>	<i>sa ?itaʔas</i>	‘above’	cf. TAG <i>mataʔas</i> ‘tall, high’
<i>sa ?ibaba</i>	<i>sa ?ibabaʔ</i>	‘below’	cf. TAG <i>maba:baʔ</i> ‘short, low’
<i>sa ?ira:rum</i>	<i>sa ?ila:lim</i>	‘under’	cf. TAG <i>mala:lim</i> ‘deep’

(c) In the Central Cordilleran languages *?i-* is a derivational prefix on location nouns and means ‘person from’, e.g., Bontok *?i-Bagyo* ‘person from Baguio’.

Both Bontok and Pangasinan retain reflexes of an early form meaning ‘where’ with an *?i* marker, Bontok *?i-nə*; Pangasinan *?i-ner*.

(d) A large number of place names and names of ethnic groups in the north of the Philippines are prefixed with *?i-*, no doubt meaning ‘at X’ or ‘people who reside at X’. These names include the following: Itbayat, Ivatan, Ibanag, Itawis, Isnag, Yogad, Itneg, Ilokos, Isinai, Ifugao, Inibaloi, Ilongot, and I-wak.<sup>8</sup>

### 3. Proto-Philippine \*su and \*ʔu Nominative Determiners

There is a considerable body of evidence that at least \*su, and possibly also \*ʔu were used in Proto-Philippines in addition to \*ʔi as common Nominative determiners.

#### 3.1. The evidence for \*su

As a common Nominative marker, \*su is reflected in Maranao, Bikol, Southern Cordilleran languages (Keley-i Kallahan, Inibaloi, and Pangasinan), and Northern Cordilleran languages (Isnag and Casiguran Dumagat).

- (29) Maranao (McKaughan 1958:9)  
*Linimod o mamà so tao a domedekè ko kilid o lamà.*  
gathered GEN man NOM people LIG resting LOC edge GEN lawn  
‘The man gathered the people resting on the edge of the lawn.’

In some dialects of Bikol *su* marks a Nominative noun phrase which has ‘usually been specified in the context of the conversation’. Other dialects use *si* with this function.

<sup>8</sup> It is tempting to draw a conclusion from this regarding the direction of early Austronesian immigration into the Philippines. If the Locative \*ʔi was present only in pre-Philippines and was replaced by \*di in Proto-Philippines, as most of the evidence suggests, then the development of Proto-Philippines must have taken place in the Northern part of the archipelago and was the result of migration from the area of Formosa. There are several other pieces of evidence which also seem to indicate the same possibility.

(30) Bikol (Mintz 1971:7)

*Inapód = mo si/su áki??*  
 call = GEN.2S NOM child  
 ‘Did you (sg.) call the child?’

(31) Keley-i Kallahan (Reid 1971b:37)

*Hedin inhaad tu = d paul, iggawa tu hu aggudung.*  
 when placed GEN.3S = NOM cane middle GEN.3S NOM snails  
 ‘When he had placed the cane, he put the snails in the middle of it.’

PPH \*s > h is a regular sound change in Keley-i Kallahan.

(32) Inibaloi (Ballard n.d.:15, 40)

*Yet kinespigan to ni pating sota sabadi = n aki.*  
 and threw GEN.3S ACC stick NOM other = LIG monkey  
 ‘And he threw a stick at the other monkey.’

A common Nominative NP in Inibaloi is either marked with *?i-* or *so* plus one of the demonstratives *ya* ‘this’, *ta* ‘that (1)’ or *ma* ‘that (2)’. The sequence *so-ta* means ‘the one previously referred to’. The form *so* also may optionally precede common and personal Locative NPs.

(33) Pangasinan (Benton 1971:50)

*Ag = yo labay so bibikingka dimán?*  
 NEG = GEN.2P like NOM rice.cake there  
 ‘Didn’t you (pl.) like the rice cake there?’

In this language, *so* alternates with *-y* in phonologically defined environments. The form *so* occurs only if the preceding word ends in a consonant other than *-n*, otherwise *-y* occurs. Final *-n* is replaced by *-y*. The form *so* may also mark a personal noun as in Inibaloi, but unlike Inibaloi it is restricted to Nominative NPs.

In Isnag, PPH \*s > t (except before \*i). (Barlaan 1975:99; Vanoverbergh 1972). The reflex of \*su has therefore fallen together with the reflex of \*tu, the demonstrative formative occurring in Tagalog *?itu* ‘this’, and elsewhere. The idea of specificity, or prior preference, which seems to be present in other languages with the use of *su*, is also present in Isnag *tu*, defined by Barlaan as the Nominative ‘extinct’ noun and person marker. Vanoverbergh defines *tu*, *?itu*, etc., simply as ‘that’ and contrasts these with *?ittu* ‘this’, possibly also a reflex of \*?itu. Ibanag *ta-tu-n*, and *ya-tu-n* ‘that (1)’ possibly also contain a reflex of \*su.

(34) Casiguran Dumagat (Headland and Headland 1974:xxxiii)

*Ginahoti = na tu ulag.*  
 hit = GEN.3S NOM snake  
 'He hit the snake.'

This language also participated in the \*s > t rule mentioned above. The marker *tu* alternates with *i* in the Nominative to indicate a 'dead, unknown, specific, non-actual, out of sight, past in time, singular' noun (see Section 2.1 above).

In addition to these languages, Ilokano has replaced the 3<sup>rd</sup> person singular Nominative pronoun with *?isu*. The addition of the *?i*-Nominative marker does not necessarily reflect a Proto-Philippine sequence. The formative *?i* could have been attached by analogy with the 3<sup>rd</sup> plural form *?ira*.<sup>9</sup>

In Ivatan, *su* does not occur as a Nominative marker but as an Accusative marker (marking indefinite object NPs, manner phrases, and 'characterization attributive' phrases (e.g., *rakuh su ?uhu* 'big-headed' vs. *rakuh ?a ?uhu* 'big head' (Reid 1966:85, 107)).

### 3.2. The evidence for \*?u

The evidence that \*?u was a common Nominative marker in Proto-Philippines is not strong. It appears with this function only in Ivatan. However, possibly cognate forms appear in languages outside the Philippines both in Formosa as well as in languages to the south of the Philippines.

(35) Ivatan (Reid 1966:22)

*Ma?amu?mu ?u tau su mutdāh.*  
 frightening NOM man ACC child  
 'The man is frightening a child.'

In Formosan, Amis *?u*, in addition to *?ira*, *?iya*, and *?ina*, marks topicalized and Predicate NPs. In Seediq, the same functions are marked by *u?* and *o?*. In Tsou, *o* is one of the common Nominative markers.

As a Proto-Philippine Predicate marker, \*?u may have been the form which became a proclitic to the interrogative \*nə or \*nu, to produce Proto-Meso-Philippine \*?unu. It is also possible that \*?u is the initial segment of existential verbs such as Mamanwa *wara?*

<sup>9</sup> This is also the source of the Ilokano conjunction *?isú-ŋa* 'that is why'. *ŋa* reflects one of the forms of the Proto-Philippine linker.

‘there is none’ and *Yogad wara* ‘there is’. Compare Ilokano *?adda*, Ivatan *?ara* ‘there is’, and Itneg and Manabo *?uwad* ‘there is’.

#### 4. Conclusion

That three different Nominative markers have been reconstructed for Proto-Philippines should not give us pause. It is possible that they each had slightly different functions. On the other hand, they may have been associated with different verb classes as in Sangihé (Maryott 1977:108). In this language \*?i, \*?u, and \*su are all reflected, not only as Nominative markers but also as non-Nominative, and not only as common but also as personal noun markers, depending upon the verb stem class, as in Table 5.

**Table 5: Sangihé determiners**

		Nominative (Agent)		Patient	Location
		Specific	Non-specific		
Class 1 (e.g., <i>pélò</i> ‘arrive’)	common	u	∅	su	u
	personal	i		si	i
Class 2 (e.g., <i>ampang</i> ‘meet’)	common	∅		u/su	∅
	personal	∅		i/si	∅
Class 3 (e.g., <i>suraté</i> ‘write’)	common	su	∅	u	su
	personal	si		i	si

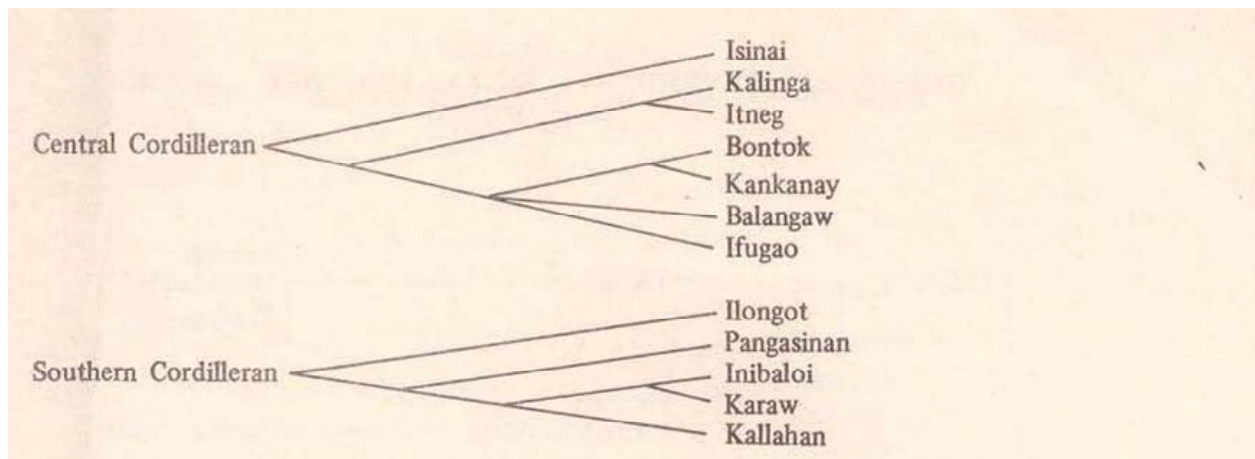
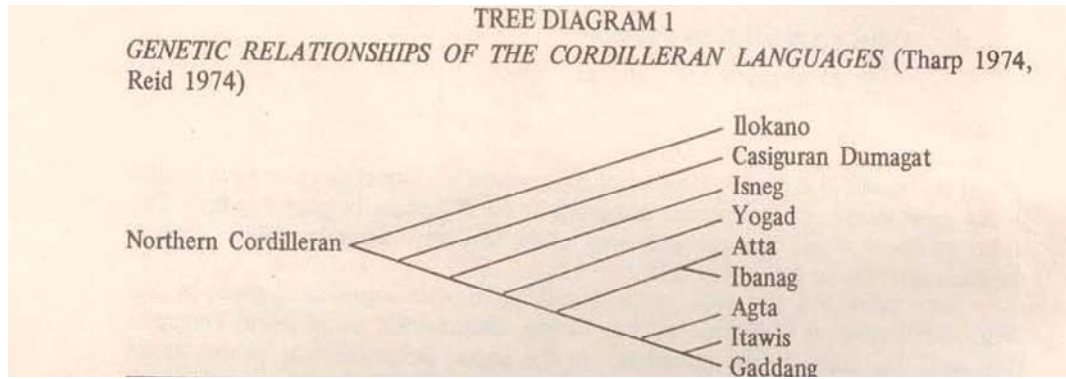
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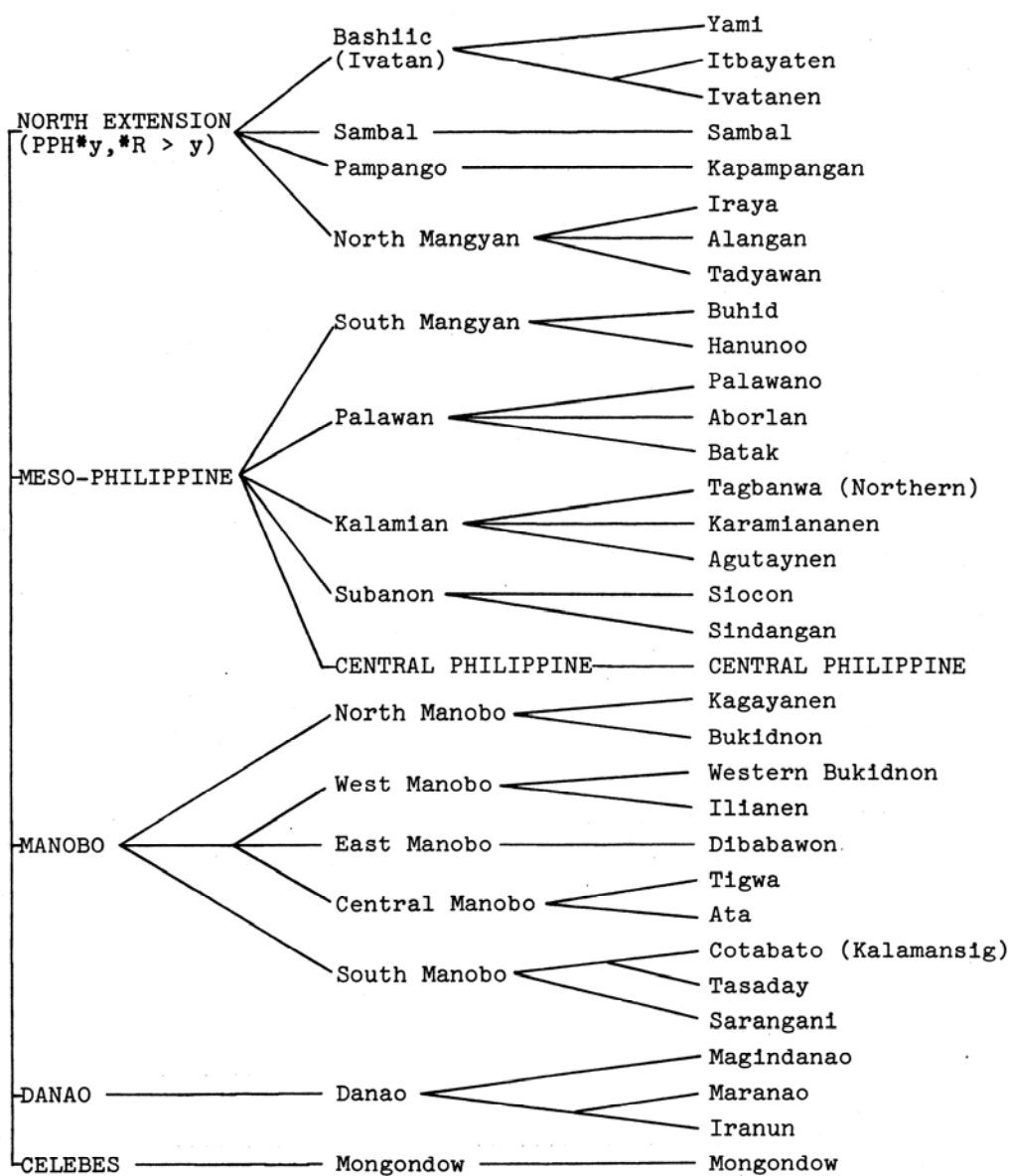


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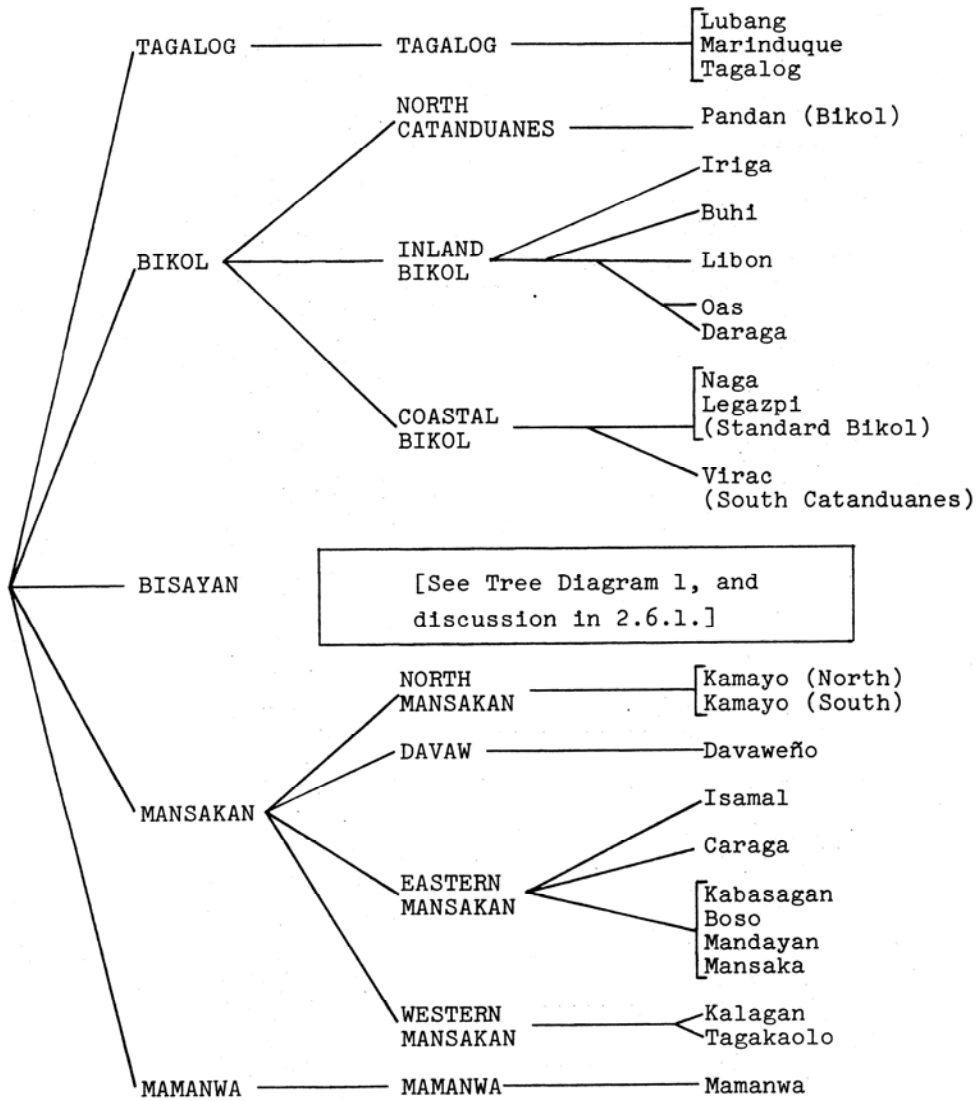


Tree Diagram 1  
Genetic Relationships of the Cordilleran Languages (Tharp 1974, Reid 1974)



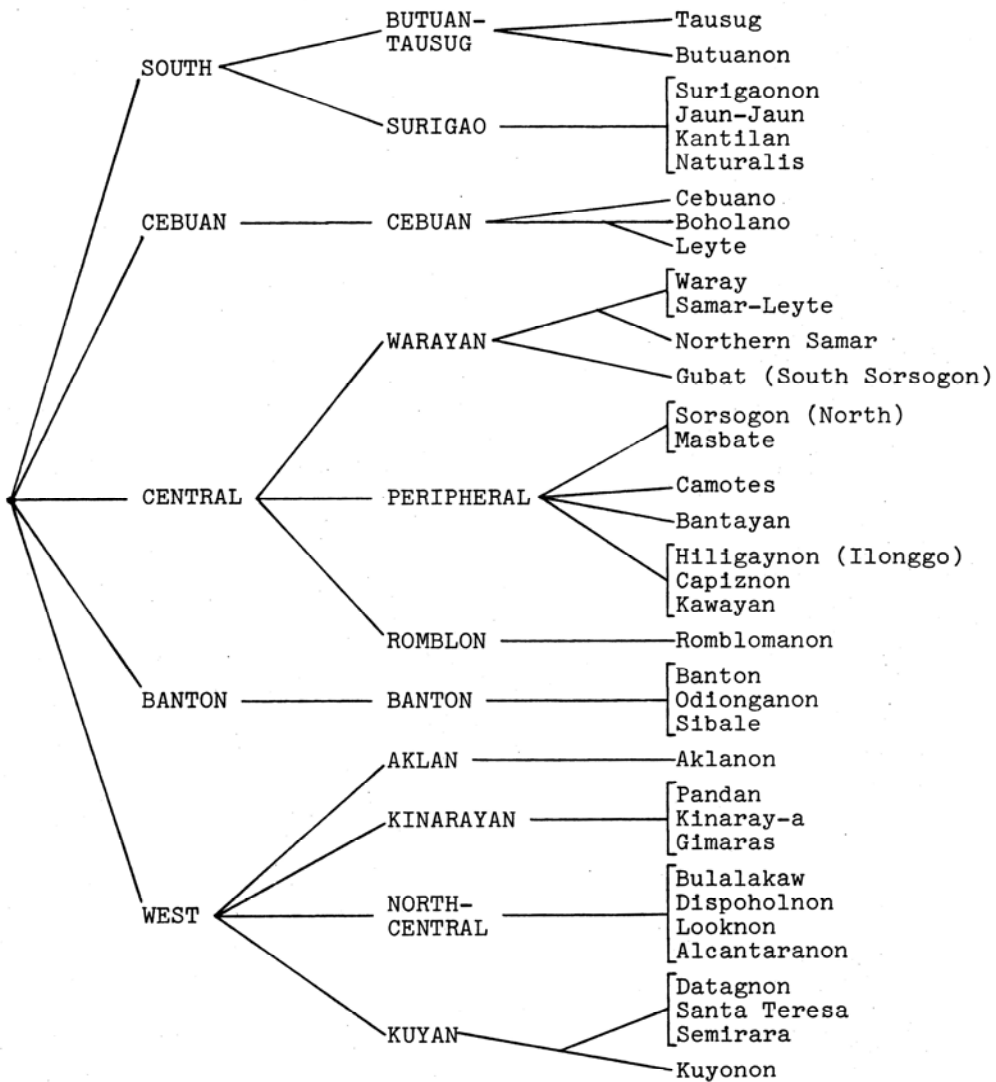
Tree Diagram 2

Genetic Relationships of the Southern Philippine Languages (Zorc 1977:34)



Tree Diagram 3

Genetic Relationships of Central Philippine Languages (Zorc 1977:33)



Tree Diagram 4

Genetic Relationships of the Bisayan Dialects (Zorc 1977:32)