

## EVIDENCE FOR PROTO-PHILIPPINE NOMINATIVE MARKING

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### 0. INTRODUCTION<sup>1</sup>

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

A. Determiners	
<i>Nominative</i>	
Common	*? i, *su, *? u
personal	*si
<i>Genitive</i>	
common	*na, *nu
personal	*ni
<i>Locative</i>	
common	*di, *sa
personal	*ka ni, *kay (<**ka ? i)
B. Other grammatical morphemes	
Plural common noun marker	*ma
Topic linker	
Ligature	

I also outlined in that paper some of the grammatical processes which have resulted in the great variety of determiners occurring in 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Since presenting that paper, an insightful but to date unpublished paper by Bill Seiter (University of California A San Diego), 'Information questions in Philippine languages', has come to my attention. In this paper, Seiter attempts to reconstruct aspects 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

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<sup>1</sup> This is a revision of a paper first presented at the Conference of 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.

1976) it is probably worthwhile to critically re-examine 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 *\*? i* 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 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	sino	Pang	siopá
Bik	si'isáy	Ilk	sino
Ceb	kinsá	Kap	nínu
Hil	sín-o		

Seiter recognizes three primary subgroups in his data. The first, consisting of Tagalog, Bikol, Cebuano, and Hiligaynon, comprises three bundles of the Central Philippine sub-group (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>

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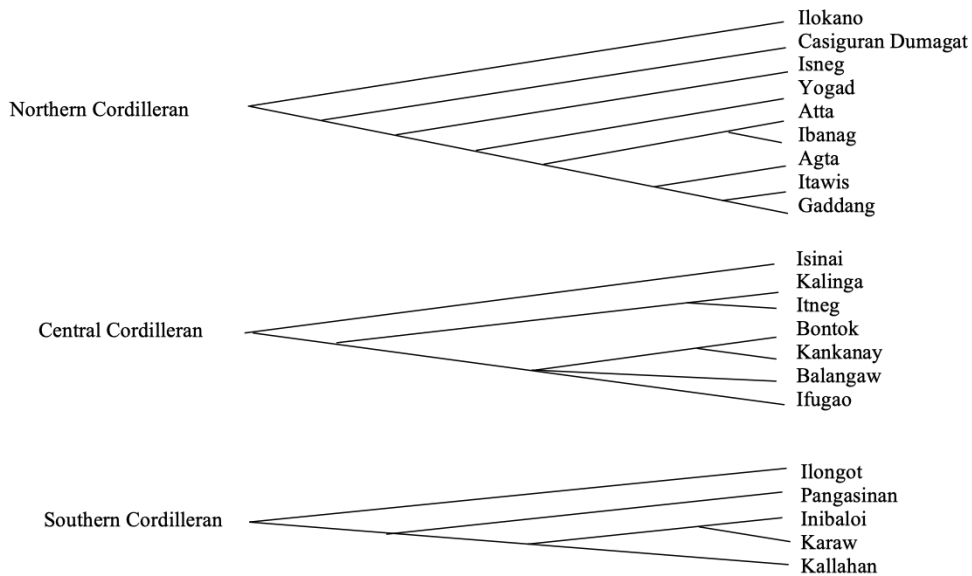
<sup>2</sup> Some minor problems with the phonological shape of these reconstructions should be noted in passing. Seiter, although indicating his awareness of the fact that Proto-Philippines retained the PAN vocalic system without change (Reid 1973, Charles 1974), decides to ignore the difference between high- and mid-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 in Seiter, it is not true for Pangasinan, nor for Ilokano, where *e* is the reflex of PPh *\*ə*. The final vowel of his reconstruction 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.

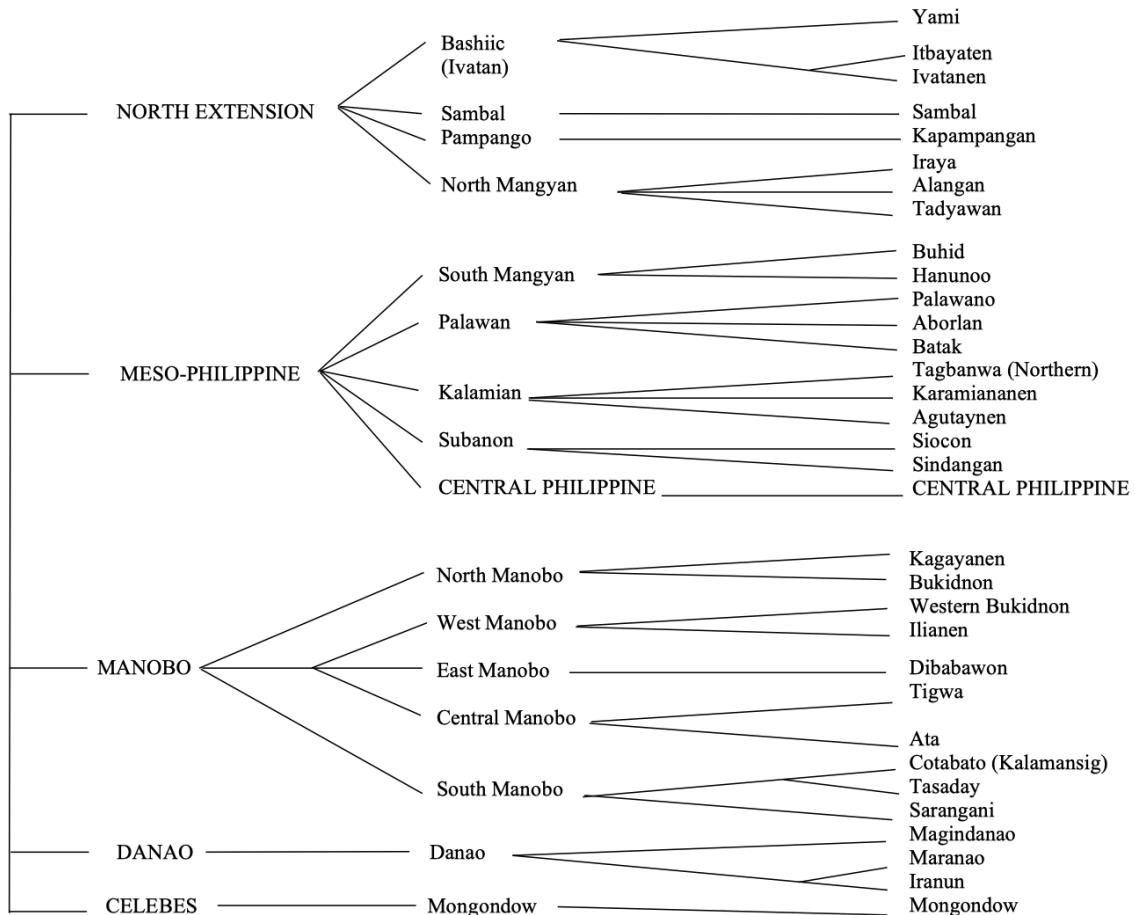
There is moreover no evidence to justify establishing a canonical form, V, in addition to those inherited from PAN, viz. CV and CVC. Seiter's *\*ano* will therefore be cited throughout the paper as *\*? anu*.

<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.

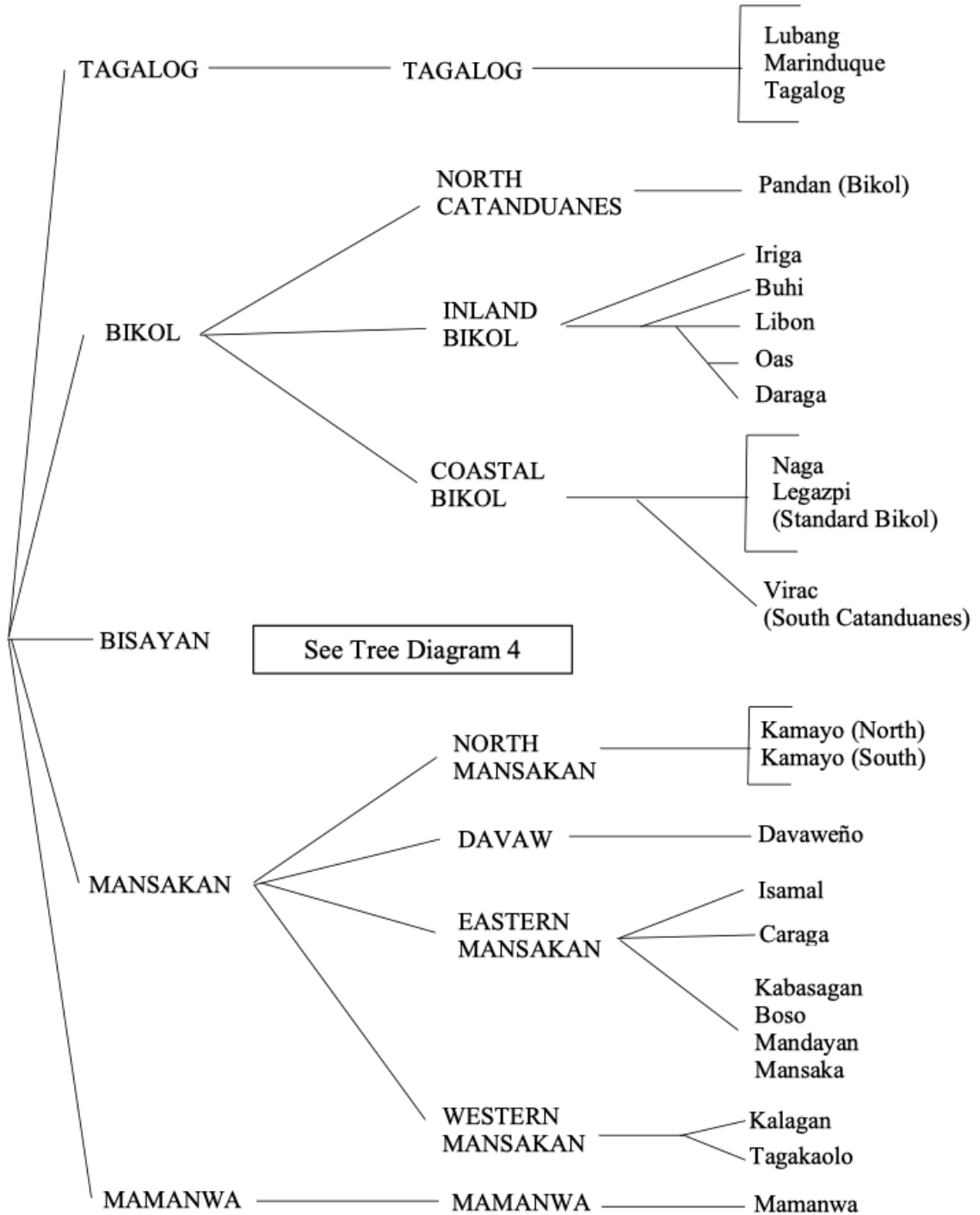
TREE DIAGRAM 1  
GENETIC RELATIONSHIPS OF THE CORDILLERAN LANGUAGES (Tharp 1974, Reid 1974)



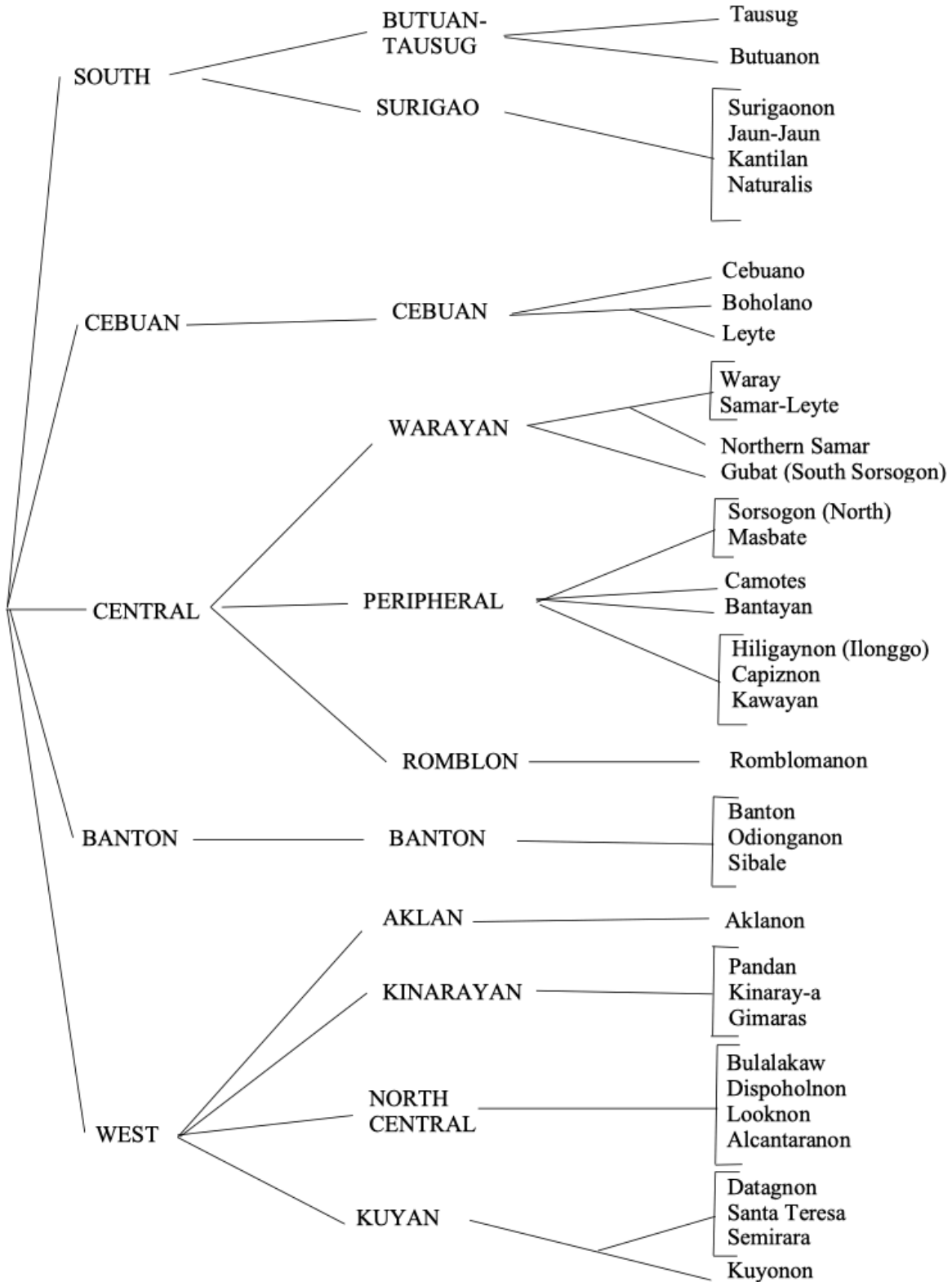
TREE DIAGRAM 2  
GENETIC RELATIONSHIPS OF SOUTHERN PHILIPPINE LANGUAGES (Zorc 1977:34)



TREE DIAGRAM 3  
 GENETIC RELATIONSHIPS OF CENTRAL PHILIPPINE LANGUAGES (Zorc 1977:33)



TREE DIAGRAM 4  
GENETIC RELATIONSHIP OF THE BISYAN 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 *\*si?unú*, with loss of the unstressed medial vowel and regular metathesis of resulting PC duster. Evidence for the medial vowel quality will be presented below. On the basis of his Proto-Bisayan reconstruction, the Tagalog *sino* 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	anó <sup>4</sup>	Pang	antó
Bik	anó	Ilk	aniá
Ceb	únsa	Kap	nánu
Hil	anó, náno		

Of this data, Seiter says, “On the basis of TAG and BIK alone, we can reconstruct Proto-T *\*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 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 formation of *kinsa* [an] *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.

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

Tag	ang	Pang	so/-y, (i)may
Bik	an, si/su	Ilk	ti
Ceb	ang/-y	Kap	ing

To account for the ‘obvious havoc’ in the above data, Seiter proposes a solution close to that proposed by myself in my earlier paper. Seiter says, “Topics in PH languages have to be definite . . . perhaps a claim could be sustained that overt definite marking, aside from topic

<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.

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 a reanalyzed definite marker, with a Ø 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 '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 impose 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 *ʔjan*, which also meant 'name' evidence also suggests a doublet *\*ʔaʔ an*. Other possible reconstructions will also be considered.

## 1.2 *\*ʔ anú* 'what'

The distribution of reflexes of *\*ʔanú* (see Chart 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 Wando 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 Mansakan (Kalagan) and Mamanwa show that none of these languages has 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.

Chart 1  
 Reflexes of \*?anú 'what'

Bisayan Dialects	
Aklanon	? anóh-
Alcantaranon	? anóh-
Looknon	? anóh-
Dispoholnon	? anóh-
Romblomanon	? anóh-
Hiligaynon	? anóh-
Capiznon	? anóh-
Kawayan	? anóh-
Pandan	? anóh-
Kinaray-a	? anúh-
Gimaras	? anúh-
Bulalakaw	? anúh-
Samar-Leyte	? anúh-
Waray	? anúh-
Semirara	? anú-
Santa Teresa	? anú-
Dagatnon	? anú-
Kuyunon	? anú-
Bikol	? anú-
Tagalog	? anó-
Northern Cordilleran	
Agta	? anu
Itneg	
Peñarrubia	? anú
Manabo	? anú
Luba	? anú

It appears then that \*? *anú* '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 shift in grammatical function. Dempwolf (1938) reconstruct \*? *anu* 'someone, something, substitute for a name', although he cites Tag \*? *anú* as evidence it is 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 ?*anu-ka* 'what-you-may-call-it'. As a verb the word means 'to do something (to someone)', e.g., Ilk ?*an?anu-én*, Bon ?*anuk?én*. But it is only in the languages 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 show it to be an innovative in Meso-Philippines. Reflexes appear in four of the five branches of this subgroup as shown in Chart 2.

Chart 2  
Reflexes of \*?unú ‘what’

Central Philippine	
Bisayan Dialects	
Surigao	? únuh-
Jaun	? unuh-
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 \*?unú sa . The form cited above for Mamanwa is from Reid (1971(a):161). However it appears from data in Miller (1976:88,139) 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?

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 *sinu* ‘who’. Twenty-one dialects have either *sin? u* or *sin?o*. Only four (Semirara, Santa Teresa, Datagnon, and Kuyunon) have *sinu*, 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?* ‘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 Chart 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 sub-groups the source is usually apparent. Some forms also have either a Genitive pronominal clitic (e.g., Pangasinan, Inibaloi, and Itawit) 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 Ngadiu-Day ‘*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 \**?apa*, the form reconstructed by Dempwolff for PAN Reflexes in Sangil of the Sarangani of the Sarangani Islands and in.

Chart 3  
 Reflexes of \*ŋájan, \*ŋáʔan ‘what’

Cordilleran Languages		
Southern		
Ilongot	*ŋájan	*ŋáʔ an
Pangasinan	ŋadi:n nima	ʔ an-to
Inibaloi		ŋan-to
Central		
Bontok	ŋag	
Kankanay		ŋan
Ifugao		ŋan-ne
Northern		
Isneg	nágan	
Malaweg	nagan	
Yogad	gan-i	
Itawis	han-na	
Ibanag		ʔ ən-ni
Atta		an-ni
Ilokano		ʔ an-ya
Southern Philippine Languages		
North Extension		
Sambal		ʔ an-ya
Botolan		ʔ an-ya
Bolinao		ʔ an-i
Meso-Philippine		
Central Philippine		
Butuanon		ŋáan
Manobo		
Cotabato	ŋadan	
Sarangani	ʔ ʌdʌn	

Sangir (Great Sangir Island) are no doubt of recent introduction from Indonesia. However note the following data:

Ilokano, Kalinga, Kankanay	ʔ ápa-y ‘why’
Kayapa Kallahan	hi-pa ‘who, what’
Pangasinan	si-ʔ Upa ‘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 \**ne-kay* ‘what’. Various Manobo languages show reflexes of this form: Ata *nokoy*, Dibabawon *nikiy*, Tigwa *nikiy*, ‘what’. Ilianen Manobo *?iŋkiy* and Western Bukidnon Manobo *hiŋkiy* are also possible reflexes with metathesis and assimilation. Corresponding to these forms are Guinaang Bontok *nəkay* ‘what’, Balangaw *nokay* ‘who, what’ (Shetler 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 \**ne*, but only in the word for ‘where’: *?i-ne-r*, consisting of the frozen Pre-Philippine locative marker *?i* and possibly a fused enclitic reflex of PPh \**di* ‘locative marker’. This form is cognate with

Bontok *?i-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 the Manobo languages. In Bontok it is a particle which generally (but optionally) attaches to interrogatives, e.g., *si nə kay* ‘who’, *?ay ?anay kay* ‘why’. It alternates in the forms for ‘what’ and ‘who’ with *kan*. The latter 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 In summary then, Seiter’s reconstruction of *\*?a* 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 *\*?anú* ‘what’ was a productively ‘topic marked’ predicate nominal. Having shown that *\*?anú* ‘what’ cannot be reconstructed for Proto-Philippines, I will now review the evidence for the reconstruction of *\*?i* as the Proto-Philippine Nominative determiner.

## 2. PROTO-PHILIPPINES *\*?i* ‘NOMINATIVE DETERMINER’

The argument that *\*?i* was the Proto-Philippine Nominative determiner for common nouns is based primarily on the distribution of languages in which *?i* 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 *?i* 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 suggests that *\*?i* had functions in Proto-Philippines other than that proposed here.

2.1 The languages in which a reflex of *\*?i* 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 *\*?i* 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.

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

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

Ik-kəzzing nól-lakalákay nəppalágyu tam-mabit tək-karagátan.  
 NM 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.,

Kwammu lagúz-zik-kinagi<sup>k</sup> nikáw  
 do-you then NM said-I to-you  
 ‘Do then what I said to you’.

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

(b) *Gaddang* (Walrod 1976:29)  
 Bəkkənnu i-no gafa.  
 break-you NM 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.

(c) *Casiguran Dumagat* (Headland 1974:xxxii)  
 Négkagi i anak.  
 spoke NM 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 1974:xxxii).

(d) *Inibaloi* (Ballard et al. 1971:87)  
 Dimaw *i* solsharo; shakel *i* Japan na dimaw.  
 went NM soldier many NM Lk went  
 ‘The soldiers went; many were the Japanese who went’.

(e) *Pangasisan* (Benton 1971:47,166)  
 Antó-y agáwa to?  
 what-NM do he  
 ‘What did he do?’  
 Komosta ira-y bálo-n kasal ey?  
 how pl-NM new-linker marry eh  
 ‘How are the newly-weds, eh?’

The reflex of *\*?i* 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.

- (f) *Ilongot* (Rosaldo 1978: Appendix I, p.6)  
 Qenqage: pagep qi-ma diplanu nima qinaritu.  
 swooped-down NM-that plane ACC arrived  
 ‘The plane swooped down when it arrived’.

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

- (g) *Sinauna* (Santos 1975:31,34)  
 Pinatáy ra qi manúk kad siqkamá.  
 was-killed by-them NM chicken LOC you.pl '  
 ‘They killed the chicken for you’.

Quniqinúm qi maṅa qata gid laqú.<sup>6</sup>  
 drinking NM pl man ACC water  
 ‘The men are drinking water’.

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

Ibinabáq na qidta gubun quid laqú ta timbáq.  
 lower by-her GEN child ACC water NM pail  
 ‘The child used the pail to draw water’

- (h) *Bisayan* dialects (Zorc 1977:84)  
 Aklanon: Qímo-y bakód?  
 yours-NM 5-cents  
 ‘Is a five cent piece yours?’

Cebuano: Dúna-y maṅga sa salúg.  
 there-NM mango LOC floor.  
 ‘There’s a mango on the floor’.

Cebuano: Kínsa-y maṅutána?  
 who-NM 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’.

<sup>6</sup> Sinauna and Aborlan Tagbanwa are, to my knowledge, the only languages which retain the Proto-Philippine sequence of *\*?i maṅa* for a Nominative plural common NP.

- (i) *Bilaan* (Abrams 1961:400)  
 Nbat-gu batu i gumné.  
 Throw-I rock NM house  
 ‘I throw a rock at the house’.

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

2.2 In addition to the languages 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 at 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 Nominatives, e.g., Kapampangan, Gaddang, Tagalog, and Bikol.

(a) <i>Kapampangan</i>	<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) <i>Gaddang</i>	yaw	this
	yan	that (1)
	<i>? i-nay</i>	this (2)
(c) <i>Tagalog</i>	<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) <i>Bikol</i>	<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.,

*Binukid Manobo* (Post 1968:23)  
 Inu sa tagbuhaten nu?  
 what NM do you  
 ‘What are you 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’, *ɲay* ‘then’, *daytuy* ‘this, etc.

For example: (Asterisked forms represent Pre-Ilokano)

- (a) \* ? Apa ? i-ti      What is the . . .  
 >? ápay              Why . . .
- (b) \* na-? ála-na pa              ? i-ti              ? ásu  
 got-he      moreover      NM-definite              dog  
 >na? álana pay ti ? ásu  
 ‘He got the dog’.
- (c) \* ? anya    ŋa    ? i-ti              na? ála-na  
 What then      NM-definite      got-he  
 >? anya    ŋay    ti na? álana?  
 ‘What then did he get?’
- (d) \* daytu ? i-ti      balay  
 this      NM-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:

day-tuy	this
day-ta	this (1)
day-tay	that (recent past)
day-di	that (remote past)
day-diay	that (2)

A Proto-Philippine existential verb is reconstructable as \*( )*əda?* (Ivatan *?ara*; Ilokano *?adda*; Inibaloi *wara* ‘there is’, Bontok *?əd?ədda* ‘many’—a borrowing from Pre-Ilokano; Cebuano *wala?* ‘there is none’, etc.). It was noted above for Cebuano and some other Bisayan languages, that it is following this verb that the Nominative *?i* 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:

Bontok:      Wad? ay      ? ásuda.  
 There-is      dog-their  
 ‘They have a dog’.

2.3 That *\*?i* may have had other functions in Pre- or Proto-Philippines as suggested by the following evidence.

### 2.3.1 Personal Nominative Marker

The strongest piece of evidence to support a claim that *\*?i* was an early personal Nominative marker is the *?i-* or *y-* initial Nominative pronouns. Proto-Cordilleran long Nominative pronouns (Reid 1978(b)) show clearly that the use of *si* as a personal Nominative marker was subsequent to



?i. Note the following reconstructed forms, in which ?i is an inner layer marker and si- is an outer layer marker.

*Proto-Cordilleran Long Nominative Pronouns*

1 *siyaken	pl. 1 *si? ikami
1,2 *si? ikita	1,2 *si? ikitam
2 *si? ikaw	2 *si? ikayu
3 *siya	3 *si? ida

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

*Ivatan Predicative Pronouns*

sg. 1 yakən	pl. 1 yamən
1,2 yatən	1,2 yatən
2 ? imu	2 ?iniu
3 ? is	3 sira

*Kapampangan Nominative Pronouns*

sg. 1 ? aku	pl. 1 ? ikamu
1,2? Ikata	1,2? itámu
2 ? ika	2 ? ikayu
3 ? iya	3 ?ila

Several languages show ?i as the personal Nominative marker. These include Gaddang and Itawis in the Northern Cordilleras group, Pangasinan (alternates with si, usually after a pronoun) in the Southern Cordilleras 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.

Gaddang (Walrod 1976:32)

lbasaan-nu i Toby si leburu.  
 read-you NM Toby ACC book  
 'Read the book to Toby'.

Itawis (Read 1977)

Alistu i Fuan nga manálan.  
 quick NM Juan linker walk  
 'Juan walks quickly'.

Pangasinan (Benton 1971:48)  
 Itaneman ko-y Pedro na ponti.  
 plant-for I-NM Pedro ACC banana  
 ‘I will plant bananas for Pedro’.

Kapampangan (Forman 1971:58)  
 Ikuá neng danúm i Tátang.  
 get ACC water NM father  
 ‘Get some water for father’.

Murut (Prentice 1971:66,165)  
 Manuals i sumail ra surat-ti.  
 will-write NM Ismail LOC letter-the  
 ‘Ismail will write the letter’.

### 2.3.2. Genitive Marker

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

Both Gaddang and Itawis use *\*?i* 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 *?id* common and *?in* personal markers may contain an initial *?i*-formative. This is also possible for the Aborlan Tagbanwa and Barak *? it* common Genitive marker. In Maranao as well as in Batak *?i* is the personal Genitive marker.

The reconstruction of Proto-Philippine *\*kay* (< *\*ka? i*) in addition to *\*ka ni* also suggests that alternation between *\*?i* and *\*ni* was not restricted to the Genitive marker,<sup>7</sup> but also occurred in the personal Locative forms.

### 2.3.3 Locative Marker

It is clear from many witnesses in both the Western and Oceanic branches of Austronesian that *\*[?]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 *\*?i* had this function in Proto-Philippines. It is probable that as *\*?i* 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 *\*?i* had a Locative marking function. The evidence is of four kinds.

- (a) *?i-* is retained as part of the determiner which marks Locative phrases in Ilokano, e.g.,  
 Napankami ?iti balayda.  
 went-we LOC house-their  
 ‘We went to their house’.

Locative demonstratives in Ilokano are also either marked with *?i-* e.g., *?idiay* ‘there (2)’, or appear in compounds with such a marker, e.g., *dituy* ‘here’, but *?adda-yuty* ‘there is here’, *dita* ‘there (1)’, but *?adda-yta* ‘there is there (1)’, and *?adda-ydiay* ‘there is there (2)’.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>7</sup> Two recent papers (Blust 1977 and Reid 1979) present evidence that suggest that phonology conditioned alternation in the Genitive markers is as old as Proto-Austronesian.

<sup>8</sup> It is from these combinations of existential verb and locative demonstratives. that modern Ilokano demonstratives have developed, i.e.,

The Oas dialect of Bikol also has Locative demonstratives marked with *\*?i* e.g., *?idi* ‘here’, *?iyan* ‘there (1)’, and *?idtu* ‘there (2)’ (McFarland 1974:150).

Locative demonstratives in Sambal and Bolinao are also *?i-* marked, e.g., Bolinao *?iti* ‘here’, *?isən* ‘there (1)’, and *?itaw* ‘there (2)’.

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

Std. Bikol	Tagalog	English	
sa ?iba:baw	sa ?iba:baw	on top	cf. Tag maba:baw ‘shallow’
sa ?ita:?as	sa ?ita?as	above	cf. Tag mata? as ‘tall, high’
sa ?ibaba	sa ?ibaba?	below	cf. Tag maba:ba? ‘short, low’
sa ?ira:rum	sa ?ila:lim	under	cf. Tag mala:lim ‘deep’

(c) In the Central Cordilleran languages *?i-* is a derivative prefix preceding locative 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, Isneg, Yogad, Itneg, Ilokos, Isinai, Ifugao, Inibaloi, Ilongot, I-wak.<sup>9</sup>

### 3. PROTO-PHILIPPINES *\*SU* AND *\*? U* NOMINATIVE DETERMINERS

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

#### 3.1 The Evidence for *\*SU*

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

(a) Maranao (McKaughan 1958:9)

Linimod o mamá so tao      a      domedeke      ko      kilid      o      lámá.  
gathered GEN man NM people linker resting      LOC edge      GEN lawn  
‘The man gathered the people resting on the edge of the lawn’.

(b) Bikol (Mintz 1971:7)

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? adda-?ituy	>	daytuy	this
? adda-?ita	>	dayta	that (1)
?adda-?idiay	>	daydiay	that (2)

<sup>9</sup> It is tempting to draw a conclusion from this regarding the direction of early Austronesian immigration into the Philippines. If the Locative *\*?i* 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.

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.

Inapód mo si/su áki?  
 call you NM child  
 ‘Did you call the child?’

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

Hedin inhaad tud paul, iggawa tu hu aggudung.  
 When placed lie cane middle he NM 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.

(d) Inibaloi (Ballard lundated1:15,40)

Yet kinespigan to ni pating sota sabadi-n aki.  
 and threw he ACC stick NM other-linker 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’, *to* ‘that(1)’ or *ma* ‘that(2)’. The sequence *so-ta* means ‘the one previously referred to’ so also may optionally precede common and personal Locative NPs.

(e) Pangasinan (Benton 1971:50)

Agyo labay so bibingka dimán?  
 not-you like NM rice-cake there  
 ‘Didn't you like the rice-cakes there?’

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

(f) Isneg (Barlaan 1975:99, Vanoverbergh 1972)

PPh \*s > Isneg *t* (except before \**i*). 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 reference, which seems to be present in other languages with the use of *su*, is also present in Isneg *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 a reflex of \**?itu*. Ibanag *ta-tu-n*, and *ya-tu-n* ‘that(1)’ possibly also contain a reflex of \**su*.

(g) Casiguran Dumagat (Headland 1974:xxxiii)

Ginahoti na tu ulag.  
 hit lie NM snake  
 ‘He hit the snake’.

This language also participated in the *\*s > t* rule mentioned above. *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 3rd person singular Nominative pronoun with *?isu*. The addition of the *?i-* Nominative marker does not necessarily reflect a Proto-Philippine sequence. *?i* could have been attached by analogy with the 3rd plural form *?ira*.<sup>10</sup>

In Ivatan *su* does not occur as a Nominative marker but as an Accusative marker (marking indefinite object NPs, manner phrases, and ‘characterisation 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.

*Ivatan* (Reid 1966:22)

Maɲamu? mu ?u tau su mutdəh.  
 frightening NM man ACC child  
 ‘The man is frightening a child’.

In Formosa, Ami *?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.

*\*?u* as a Proto-Philippine Predicate marker 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?* ‘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 has 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 Chart 5

Chart 5  
 Sangihé Determiners

		Nominative (Agent)		Patient	Direction
		Specific	Non-specific		
Class 1 (e.g., pélo ‘arrive’)	common	u	∅	su	u
	personal	i		si	i

<sup>10</sup> This is also the source of the Ilokano conjunction *?isunya* ‘that is why’. *na* reflects one of the forms of the Proto-Philippine linker.

Class 2 (e.g., ampang 'meet')	common personal	ø ø		u/su i/si	ø ø
Class 3 (e.g., suraté 'write')	common personal	su si	ø	u i	su si

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