ISINAI: RECONSTRUCTIONS AND RELATIONS

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1. INTRODUCTION

Isinai is spoken in a number of communities along the Magat River in Nueva Vizcaya, principally in the towns of Bambang, Dupax and Aritao.[1] The earliest records of this area, often referred to as "Ituy," indicate that the ethnic and linguistic distinctiveness of the Isinai was well established at the coming of the Spaniards. Missionary work of varying degrees of intensity succeeded in the Christianizing of the people of this area by 1738 (Keesing 1962:285). From the earliest recorded history until the present, Isinai speakers were in contact with other ethnic groups including the Ifugaw, Kallahan, Ilongot, Gaddang, and Ibanag, and, most recently, Iloko and Tagalog. Of these, the Ifugaw are the closest linguistic relatives of the Isinai, both belonging to the Central Cordilleran (CC) group of languages (Reid 1974). Kallahan and Ilongot are more remotely related to Isinai; both are Southern Cordilleran (SC) languages, SC and CC being coordinate descendants of one ancestral tongue, Proto South-Central Cordilleran (PSCC).[2] Gaddang and Ibanag are Northern Cordilleran languages and less closely related to the others. Figure 1 presents a sketch of these relationships, based on the findings of Reid (1989), and the map of Nueva Vizcaya in Figure 2 shows the location of Isinai and its neighbors.

2. LINGUISTIC AFFILIATION

Within CC, Isinai represents a first order of divergence, having separated from the rest of the CC speakers at a minimum of one thousand years ago and a likelihood of two thousand years ago. Figure 3 shows the internal relationships of this subfamily.

Phonologically, Isinai shares with (at least some dialects of) all CC languages except Itneg and Balangaw the weakening of PCC *1 in many environments to its ultimate disappearance. It also shares with Kalinga and Ifugaw the rule whereby, in most environments, PCC *i became /o/.[3]

Lexicostatistics does not provide much insight into the history of the language. Predictably, Isinai is lexically closest to Ifugaw, with which it has been contiguous, at least until recently. And equally unsurprising is its lexical distance from Itneg, the farthest CC community from the Magat Valley. Interestingly, however, Isinai is as similar, in lexicostatistical count only, to Kalinga as it is to Bontok and Kankanaey. Its relationship to Balangaw is intermediate between the Itneg and the latter figures.[4]

Innovations which Isinai shares with other CC languages, on the other hand, do provide some evidence of a closer relationship to the Nuclear Cordilleran languages than with Kalinga-Itneg. In fact, there are no lexical innovations shared exclusively with Itneg, and only three shared exclusively with Kalinga. These are reflexes of PCC *lukuy 'to accompany,' *ŋut?u 'tooth,' and *sukba 'short, low.' Table 1 shows the PCC items shared exclusively by Isinai and at least two of the three branches of Nuclear Cordilleran. Those items shared by Isinai and Bontok-Kankanaey are listed in Table 2, and those items shared by Isinai and Ifugaw appear in Table 3. There are no items, in the available data, which are exclusively shared by Balangaw and Isinai.[5]

3. INTERNAL RELATIONSHIPS

Internally Isinai shows some dialect diversity. Each of the three communities uses some terms not shared by the others. On a standard 100-item lexicostatistical list, IsiB and IsiD show the closest relationship (95%), while IsiA and IsiD show the farthest (89%). In terms of shared innovations, IsiB and IsiD participate in 70% of the lexical and 90% of the shared semantic innovations, whereas IsiA shares only 58% of lexical and 70% of semantic innovations with both IsiB and IsiD. This would argue for more intense or intimate contact between Bambang and Dupax than there was (or is) between Aritao and either of the other two.

There is very little evidence of morphological variation among the three communities. The pronominal system reconstructed by Reid (1979) for the long nominative forms in CC is:

1s.	*siyakin, *sakin	1p.	*dakami, *dikami
2s.	*si?ika, *sik?a	2p.	*dakayu, *dikayu
1+2s.	*da?ita, *dita, *data	1+2p.	*dataku, *ditaku
3s.	*siya	3p.	*da?ida, *dida

These are reflected in Isinai as:

	IsiA	IsiB	IsiD
1s.	sa?on/so?on	ta?on	sa?on
2s.	si?a	si?a	si?a
1+2s.	dita	dita	dita[6]
3s.	siya	siya	siya
1p.	di?ami	da?mi	da?mi
2p.	da?yu	da?yu	da?yu
1+2p.	dita?u	dita?u	dita?u
3p.	dira	dira	dira

As is evident, these minor differences again set IsiA apart from the other two dialects.

On the basis of phonology, IsiB differs from the other two communities in two major respects. First, IsiB has experienced changes in the voiceless alveolars such that *s is reflected as /t/ everywhere except when followed by the high front vowel /i/. And *t is reflected as /s/ when followed by /i/. This latter rule occurs nowhere else in CC languages; it occurs in Ilongot and two dialects of Kalanguya among the SC languages; and it is common in the Northern Cordilleran languages, such as the nearby Ibanag and Gaddang. Secondly, the voiced stops /b d g/ in IsiA and IsiD have developed the variants /v r x/ in most postvocalic positions. IsiB has the variants /v r k/, but only in certain intervalic environments.

4. INNOVATIONS

Items which are peculiar to Isinai are found at the lexical, semantic, and morphological/phonological levels.

4.1. Lexical Innovations

An item is considered a lexical innovation if there is no readily apparent ancestral item from which it can be derived. Those which are shared by all three Isinai-speaking communities provide the surest evidence of having the longest history within the language, although borrowing from one community to another is always a possibility. Such items include the following, which are listed in their likely pre-Isinai form for ease of comparison with other languages:

*ʔa(n)tinik	IsiA titti:noʔ, IsiB ʔansisinoʔ, IsiD ʔatiʔtinoʔ 'dragonfly'
*ʔamɨy	IsiA, IsiB, IsiD ʔamoy 'to go home'
*(k)u[lw]a	IsiA, IsiB ʔuwa, IsiD ʔuwwa 'elder sibling'[7]
*(k)ud[iu]tik	IsiA, IsiD ʔurittiʔ, IsiB ʔurutiʔ, ʔurusiʔ 'few'
*bilas	IsiA, IsiD mabbes, IsiB mabbet 'good'[8]
*b[ai]lsan	IsiA, IsiB, IsiD besan, IsiB betan 'today'
*biyɨp ~ bulip	IsiA, IsiB, IsiD biyoppa, IsiA, IsiB biyop, IsiD vioppa 'sky'
*butta	IsiA, IsiD butta 'outside,' IsiB buttan, IsiD buttanar 'east'
*dagit	IsiA dexit, IsiB daket, IsiD daxet 'bad'[9]
*dattu	IsiA, IsiB, IsiD dattu, IsiB datut 'where?'
*ganu	IsiA maʔaʔgano, IsiB makano, IsiD maxano 'easy'
*kaldik	IsiA, IsiB kerreʔ, IsiB kereʔ, IsiD kareʔ 'armpit'
*kaŋkaŋ	IsiA, IsiB, IsiD kaŋkaŋ 'penis'
*limik	IsiA, IsiB, IsiD lomʔan 'all'
*lakil	IsiA, IsiB, IsiD leʔe 'taro'

*m[ai]kliŋ ~ m[ai]kliŋ	IsiA, IsiB, IsiD meʔoŋ 'to sit'[10]
*magali:la	IsiA, IsiD maxali:la, IsiB makali:la 'banana'
*pitu(l)	IsiA, IsiB pituwan, IsiD pittuwan 'to live, dwell'
*tipit	IsiA, IsiB, IsiD topet 'narrow'
*tagpiyaw	IsiA, IsiD taxpiyaw, IsiB tagpiyaw 'light (weight)'
*tiklaŋ	IsiA, IsiD tiʔlaŋ, IsiB siʔlaŋ 'skinny'[11]

Those lexical innovations which are shared by two of the three Isinai-speaking communities include:

*ʔandiʔiy	IsiA ʔandiye, IsiD ʔande 'how?'
*ʔudiya	IsiB ʔudiyam, IsiD ʔuriyam 'don't,' IsiB ʔudiya 'not (negator of non-past verbs)'
*bakbak	IsiB, IsiD baʔbaʔ 'word, language,' IsiD baʔbaʔ 'to say'
*buduy	IsiA mambuburoy, IsiB mambuburuy 'to tell a lie'
*bugu(l)	IsiA, IsiD buxu: 'pubic hair'
*dagik	IsiB, IsiD dakiʔ 'raft'[12]
*dakwaw	IsiB maraʔdaʔwaw, IsiD maraʔdaʔwaw 'to tell a lie'
*daŋilut	IsiB, IsiD maraŋilut 'smooth'
*diklaw	IsiB, IsiD diʔlaw 'lightning'
*kaldaw	IsiA, IsiD maŋe:raw 'to steal'[13]
*kaliŋkiŋ	IsiA kaliŋkiŋ, IsiB kaleŋkeŋ 'ankle'[14]
*kigib	IsiB maŋgob, IsiD naʔgov 'to burn'
*(k)int[ɨu]g	IsiA ʔintox, IsiB ʔintog 'torch'[15]
*lamnuwan	IsiB, IsiD lamnuwan 'bamboo'[16]

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*l[ai]nɨp   IsiB ʔeyano:pan, IsiD ʔenopan 'west'[17]

*lɨmɨk   IsiA, IsiB lomoʔ 'grass'

*lipatu   IsiB lipatu, IsiD lippato 'soft'[18]

*maŋaw   IsiA, IsiB maŋaw 'cat'

*pamintuʔan   IsiA pamintoʔan, IsiD pamintuʔan 'wrist'

*pulla   IsiA, IsiB pulla 'seed for planting'[19]

*p[ai]lut   IsiA piyut, IsiB peyut 'mud'

*sabayat   IsiB sabayat, tavayat, IsiD sava:yat 'answer'[20]

*salɨysɨy   IsiA, IsiD saloysoy 'comb'[21]

*tadɨm   IsiB, IsiD tarom 'sweet potato'

*t[ai]lpa   IsiA, IsiD te:pon, IsiD mane:pa 'to smell, sniff'

*talpaw   IsiA ʔate:paw, IsiB te:paw 'shallow'

*tay   IsiB, IsiD tay 'yet, still'

*waʔid   IsiA wayir, IsiD wayyir 'to lose'[22]

Lexical items which are unique to one community include:

*ʔalikaga   IsiD ʔalikaxa 'anger'

*ʔamila[st]   IsiB ʔamɨlat 'to swallow'

*ʔaytu   IsiB ʔaytu 'whatchamacallit'

*ʔɨgbu   IsiB ʔikbu 'vagina'

*ʔugpu   IsiB ʔugpu 'dust'

*bɨtlɨŋ   IsiD botloŋ 'to defecate'[23]

*bɨtlɨŋ   IsiD botloŋ 'grass'

*bilig   IsiB beleg 'ankle'

*budbud   IsiD bubbur 'to rub'

*dalimdim   IsiD deyomdom 'to fear'[24]

*[dst]a[st]mik   IsiB manatmo? 'to learn'[25]

*diki[st]   IsiB mad?ot 'forest'

*dikdik   IsiD di?di? 'to defecate'

*(k)ib[st]aw   IsiB maŋibtaw 'to say'

*(k)[ai]lwas   IsiD ?e:was 'path'

*kapug[st]aŋ   IsiB ?apugtaŋ 'sibling'

*kinim   IsiD ?o?nom 'to hit (with the fist)'

*(k)itlum   IsiB ?otlum 'raincloud'

*kila   IsiD ?i?ilan, maŋi?ila 'to delouse'

*kugas   IsiA maxa?u?gasan 'poor'

*lamu[k?]lig   IsiB lamu?og 'hill'[26]

*maŋgali:law   IsiA maŋgale:law 'butterfly'

*matuti:na   IsiD matuti:na 'shooting star'

*minunu[ly]u   IsiB minunuyu 'smooth'

*ŋa:ni   IsiD ŋa:ni 'buttocks'

*pakpus   IsiD pa?pus 'to fall'[27]

*pilgi[st]   IsiB pilgot 'to flow'

*pinigpig   IsiD pinexpex 'rice wine'

*[st]a[k?]apil   IsiB ta?apil 'path'

*sapi:lan   IsiD sapi:lan 'fish'

*sikŋit	IsiD si?si?ŋit 'to cry, weep'
*sikuŋ	IsiA si?uŋ 'ladle'
*[st]imi[st]	IsiB simit 'to burn'
*si:si	IsiA mani:si 'to split'[28]
*tadag	IsiD tadax 'frog'[29]
*ta[k?]aw	IsiD ta?aw 'mouth'
*talaŋtagad	IsiB teyaŋtakar 'river'[30]
*taliktik	IsiB tayo?to? 'stream'
*tiktik	IsiA te:te? 'vagina'
*tikuŋ	IsiB ti?uŋ 'ladle'[31]
*tugmu(l)	IsiA tuxtuxmu 'echo'
*tuldu	IsiA tuldu 'fish'[32]

4.2. Semantic Shift

Items are considered innovative if their meanings are significantly different from those ascribed to the forms which are likely ancestral. Included here are those words which have apparent cognates in other languages but for which an ancestral meaning is not yet proposed. Those items which occur in all three Isinai-speaking communities include the following:

*?ap?ap	'to hide' cf. PC *?ap?ap 'to cover with something' IsiA, IsiB, IsiD ?ap?ap 'to hide'
*?apipit	'sheath (for bolo)' cf. KnkN ?apipit 'to shell, to strip off with the hand' IsiA, IsiB, IsiD ?apipit 'sheath (for bolo)'
*bilwa	'to split' cf. PCC *bilwa 'half of something' IsiA, IsiD bewon, IsiB, IsiD be:wa 'to split'
*dama	'old (obj.), long (time)' cf. PC *dama '[+ time]' IsiA, IsiB, IsiD damdama 'old (obj.),' IsiA, IsiB damdama 'long (time)'

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*di?iy   'there is (positive existential)' cf. PCC(R) *di?iy 'that (distant)'
IsiA, IsiB, IsiD diyoy 'there is, there are'

*duliw   'betel leaf' cf. PPh *dulaw 'yellow'
IsiA, IsiB, IsiD duwew 'betel leaf'

*lidud   'to swell' cf. DgtC lidud 'to have a bloated belly because of gas in the intestines'
IsiA, IsiD lumdur, IsiB lumdud 'to swell'

*mimmiy   'later' cf. KnkN miymiy 'slow, sluggish, lazy'
IsiA, IsiB, IsiD mase:rot 'pretty'

*piyik   'land, soil' cf. PCC *piyik 'mud'
IsiA, IsiB, IsiD piyo? 'land, soil'

*siy?aŋ   'sun' cf. PCC *siy?aŋ 'dawn, sunrise; to bask in the sun'
IsiA, IsiD soy?aŋ, IsiB toy?aŋ 'sun'

*saldit   'pretty' cf. PC *saldet 'clever, diligent'
IsiA, IsiB, IsiD mase:rot 'pretty'

*tablak   'soil, mud, dust' cf. PCC *tablak 'carabao wallow'
IsiA tavve? 'dust,' IsiB tabbe? 'land, soil,' IsiD tavve? 'mud'

*tayab   'wing' cf. PC *tayab 'to fly'
IsiA, IsiB tayab, IsiD tayav 'wing'

Several items showing semantic shift occur in two of the three Isinai-speaking communities:

*?amta   'friend' cf. PSCC *?amta 'to know'
IsiB, IsiD ?am?amta 'friend'

*?iyu:na   'old (person)' cf. PPh(C) *( )una 'first'
IsiB, IsiD ?iyu:na 'old (person)'

*bu?uk   'feather' cf. PAn(Dy) *buhuk 'hair'
IsiA, IsiB bu:? 'feather'

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*kuyapin	'butterfly' cf. Bon koyap 'to remove something from water, using cupped hands or a dipper in a sweeping motion' IsiB ʔuyapyapon, IsiD kukkuya:pon 'butterfly'[33]
*pagpag	'to hit (with an object)' cf. PPh(Z) *paGpaG 'to shake,' KnkN pagpag 'to hurt by knocking something against the thing hurt, to knock out (teeth),' Ifg pagpag 'to beat off something that lies on a surface' IsiB pagpag, IsiD paxpax 'to hit (with an object)'
*pitik	'sand' cf. PPh(Z) *pitek 'mud' IsiA, IsiD pitoʔ 'sand'
*saŋgup	'soup' cf. Bon saŋgop 'to drink down, to quaff' IsiB saŋgup 'soup'

Those items showing semantic innovations which occur in only one of the communities include:

*ʔagud	'paddle (of boat)' cf. PC *ʔagud 'to scrape, abrade' IsiA panʔahur 'paddle'
*ʔamiŋ	'slave' cf. PC *ʔameŋ 'reduced to poverty' IsiD ʔinamoŋ 'slave'
*ʔayʔay	'slow' cf. Ilk ʔayʔay 'pitiful, sad,' KnkN maʔayʔayan 'indolent, slothful' IsiD maʔayʔayun 'slow'
*ba:ba	'lip' cf. PAn(Dy) *baqbaq 'mouth' IsiA ba:wa 'lip'
*banu[st]	'slow' cf. Ilk banus 'refractory, unmanageable (of animals)' IsiB banut 'slow'
*bigis	'ant' cf. PSCC *bigis 'worm' IsiB bikit 'ant'
*dakdak	'slave' cf. PC *dakdak 'to set a trap for' IsiD ʔaraʔda 'slave'
*dilas	'to swallow' cf. KnkN dilʔas 'to taste' IsiD dilas 'to swallow'

*gɨtɨb   'straight' cf. Ifg gotob 'orderly (of rice bundles)'
               IsiB gotob 'straight'

*gasgas   'to slice' cf. PPh *gasgas 'to wear by rubbing'
               IsiB maŋaʔgat 'to slice'

*gulid   'anus' cf. Isg xorid 'coccyx'
               IsiD gulir 'anus'

*kɨdɨm   'forehead' cf. PCC *kɨdɨm 'eyebrow'
               IsiA ʔorom 'forehead'

*kanɨk   'ant' cf. Isg kannit 'to bite,' Itawis kannit 'bedbug'
               IsiD kaneʔ 'ant'

*lɨgaʔu   'to winnow' cf. PCC *lɨgaʔu 'winnowing basket'
               IsiD lihawu 'to winnow'

*pagɨy   'garlic' cf. Ifg pagpagayan 'betel nuts, beans, peas'
               IsiB manpakoy 'garlic'

*panal   'carabao wallow' cf. PC *panaR 'shore'
               IsiD pane: 'carabao wallow'

*pukɨl   'calf (of leg)' cf. PNCC *pukɨl 'shoulder,' DgtC pukɨl
               'thigh'
               IsiD poʔe: 'calf (of leg)'

*s[ɨu]plaŋ   'swidden' cf. PPh *suplaŋ 'sprout, shoot'
               IsiD soppeŋ 'swidden'

*tamɨl   'lip' cf. PSCC *tamɨl 'cheek'
               IsiD tamɨl 'lip'

*tayab   'feather' cf. PIsi *tayab 'wing'
               IsiD tayav 'feather'

*tayaw   'wing' cf. PCC *tayaw 'to fly'
               IsiA tayaw 'wing'

*wɨlwɨl   'throat' cf. PCC *wɨlwɨl 'molars'
               IsiD we:we 'throat'

4.2. Morphological/Phonological Change

Items are considered innovative if they exhibit some morphological and/or phonological variation from the ancestral terms other than those changes which are predicted by regular rule. Those which occur in all three communities include:

*ʔaptiyik	'short' cf. PCC *ʔaptikiy 'short'
	IsiA, IsiD ʔaptiyoʔ, IsiB ʔattiyoʔ 'short'[34]
*baluŋbuŋ	'bamboo water container' cf. PPh *buŋbuŋ 'bamboo water container'
	IsiA biyuŋbuŋ, IsiB beyoŋboŋ, IsiB, IsiD beyomboŋ 'bamboo water container'
*dalaŋtiy	'bridge' cf. PC *raŋtay 'bridge'
	IsiA, IsiB, IsiD deyaŋtoy 'bridge'[35]
*simu:sum	'fragrant' cf. PC *say[au]musum 'fragrant'
	IsiA, IsiD simu:sum, IsiB simu:tum 'fragrant'
*takdug	'to fall' cf. PMC(R) *tek[nd[ag 'to fall'
	IsiA, IsiD taʔdux, IsiB taʔdug 'to fall'

The data contain no items demonstrating morphological/phonological change shared by two of the communities. Those appearing in only one research site include:

*ʔandukil	'long (object)' cf. PPh(Z) *[h]a-ndu, PSCC *ʔandukkiy 'long'
	IsiA ʔanduʔol 'long (object)'
*ʔuwag	'wide' cf. PPh *hawag 'wide'
	IsiA ʔuwax 'wide'
*bagbag	'word, language' cf. PIsi *bakbak 'word, language'
	IsiA baxbax 'word, language'
*dakulay	'old (person)' cf. PC *dakel 'ancestor'
	IsiD daʔu:way 'old (person)'
*dalak	'land, soil' cf. PC *daRat 'sand'
	IsiA deyaʔ 'land, soil'
*lakbisad	'outside' cf. PPh(Z) *baliska[d] 'to turn inside out'
	IsiB laʔbitar, laʔbitad 'outside'[36]

*lipitu	'soft' cf. PIsi *lipatu 'soft' IsiA lipitu 'soft'
*lupag	'saliva, to spit' cf. PC *lugpa 'to spit' IsiA lupax 'to spit, saliva'
*mantaytayam	'bird' cf. PC *tayab 'to fly,' Ilk tumatayab 'bird' IsiA mantaytayam 'bird'
*pilat	'scar' cf. PPh *pilat 'scar' IsiA peyat 'scar'
*sikin	'I' cf. PCC(R) *sakin 'I' IsiA so?on 'I'
*sintug	'to hit (with the fist)' cf. PNPh *sintuk 'to hit, box' IsiD sintux 'to hit (with the fist)'
*tuŋtuŋ	'mouth' cf. PAn(B) *(Ct)uk(Ct)uk 'mouth' IsiB tuŋtuŋ 'mouth'

5. CONCLUSION

The linguistic evidence demonstrates that Isinai has a long history of independent development, separate from its CC relatives. It does not contribute much, however, to our knowledge of the prehistory of the Isinai-speaking people in terms of the migratory route that brought them to this area. It is possible, though unlikely, that they diverged from the other CC-speaking peoples while still on the western side of Luzon and took a path south of the Cordillera Central, through the Balete Pass, to their present locale. Were this the case, we would expect some linguistic evidence as a residue of contact with the SC languages. As it is, there are very few innovations, as shown in Table 4, which are exclusively shared by Isinai and SC languages.

More likely is a route southward along the Cagayan River to where the Magat empties into it. This is the direction which Keesing (1962:335) suggests for the peopling of Kalinga, that is, a southerly migration along the Cagayan and then upward along the Chico River. Since it is generally accepted that the Itneg-, Bontok- and Kankanaey-speaking peoples entered the Cordillera Central from the western coast, and given the close linguistic relationship among Bontok/Kankanaey, Balangaw, and Ifugaw, we would have to posit a very early distribution of CC-speaking peoples from the Ilocos coast to the northern shores of Luzon prior to this later dispersal. This is not an impossibility, although there is no evidence to substantiate this position. Any remnant CC-speaking populations in Ilocos Norte or northern Cagayan would have been absorbed easily into the expanding Iloko-speaking population, and continued movement on the part of the ancestors of the Kalinga and Isinai would have been motivated by the entrenched position of Northern Cordilleran-speaking peoples in the Cagayan Valley. Nevertheless,

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evidence of prolonged contact between Isinai and Kalinga is very thin, especially when compared with the evidence for a longer period of contact with speakers of Nuclear Cordilleran languages (even discounting later borrowings from Ifugaw).

A third possible migration route is that which passes through the Cordillera Central, north of the Ibaloy-speaking area, through the portions now occupied by speakers of Kankanaey, Bontok, and Ifugaw. We cannot know what forces may have motivated a people, so long ago, to penetrate the agriculturally unattractive mountains and to persist in an eastward direction until the central valleys were reached. We do have evidence that similar population movements occurred under pressure from the military and religious efforts of the Spaniards in the centuries after contact. It is also known that the Ifugaw had expanded into the Magat Valley and that they retreated back into the Cordillera Central in the eighteenth century. This central route, then, presents the possibility of a more or less continuous contact with speakers of Nuclear Central Cordilleran languages until recent centuries. It will take the combined efforts of archaelogists and physical anthropologists, as well as those of historians and linguists, to sort through the evidence for the prehistory of the Isinai speakers.

Abbreviations

Blw	Balangaw	Knk	Kankanaey
Bon	Bontok	KnkN	Northern Kankanaey
CC	Central Cordilleran	KnkS	Southern Kankanaey
DgtC	Casiguran Dumagat	PAn	Proto-Austronesian
Ibl	Ibaloy	PC	Proto-Cordilleran
Ifg	Ifugaw	PCC	Proto-Central Cordilleran
Ilk	Iloko	PHn	Proto-Hesperonesian
Isg	Isnag	PMC	Proto-Meso Cordilleran
Isi	Isinai	PNCC	Proto-North Central Cordilleran
IsiA	Isinai of Aritao	Png	Pangasinan
IsiB	Isinai of Bambang	PNPh	Proto-Northern Philippine
IsiA	Isinai of Dupax	PPh	Proto-Philippine
Itg	Itneg	PSCC	Proto-South Central Cordilleran
Kar	Karaw	SC	Southern Cordilleran
Kla	Kalinga		

PCC

*ʔaʔɨw	'shadow'	Bon, Blw, Ifg
*ʔapis	'to fight'	KnkN, Ifg
*ʔiba	'sibling'	Bon, KnkN, Ifg
*dipag	'to lie on the back'	Bon, KnkN, Ifg
*dika	'dirty'	Bon, Ifg
*kipit	'wet'	Bon, Blw, Ifg
*kugut	'to sew'	Bon, Blw, Ifg
*kupkup	'skin'	Bon, KnkN, KnkS, Ifg
*ligab	'to burn'	KnkN, KnkS, Ifg
*laman	'deer'	KnkS, Blw
*(l)ind[ɨu]N	'G-string'	Bon, Ifg
*mu	'if'	Bon, KnkN, KnkS, Ifg
*puknas	'to wipe'	KnkN, Blw, Ifg
*putu	'belly'	Bon, KnkN, Blw, Ifg
*s[aɨ]ʔid	'to wait'	Bon, KnkN, KnkS, Blw, Ifg
*tikin	'different'	Bon, KnkN, KnkS, Blw, Ifg
*tuyu	'regret'	Bon, KnkN, Ifg

Table 1. Innovations Exclusively Shared by Isinai and Nuclear Central

Cordilleran Languages

PCC

*ʔagis	'to slice'	Bon
*ʔaklaŋ	'clothes'	Bon
*ʔalintayuk	'summit'	KnkN
*ʔaptikɨy	'short'	KnkS
*ʔud(d)u	'summit'	Bon
*gabgab	'to rub'	KnkN
*galasugas	'rough'	Bon, KnkN, KnkS
*gamayugɨy	'finger'	Bon, KnkN
*guwab	'below, low'	Bon, KnkN, KnkS
*l[ai]mɨw	'to swim'	KnkN
*liwa	'long (time)'	Bon
*pikut	'to turn, bend'	Bon, KnkN
*sana	'that (near)'	Bon, KnkN, KnkS
*tugʔɨk	'to stab, stick in'	KnkN

Table 2. Innovations Exclusively Shared by Isinai and Bontok-Kankanaey

PCC		PCC	
*ʔalatɨy	'liver'	*sɨdɨl	'strong'
*ʔan	'what?'	*sagiʔit	'wild pig'
*ʔɨpwat	'to bring, carry'	*sanɨt	'exchange'
*ʔɨgwas	'to wash (object)'	*tayaban	'meteor'
*datʔɨŋ	'flood'	*tilak	'to lose'
*gandɨw	'rat'	*waw(w)an	'right (side)'
*kapya	'to make, do'		

Table 3. Innovations Exclusively Shared by Isinai and Ifugaw

PSCC

*ʔaŋil	'soul, spirit'	Ibl
*dayus	'flood'	Ibl
*gilaːta	'ant'	Png
*kapiya	'to weave (mat)'	Kar
*kitɨw	'bamboo water container'	Ibl

Table 4. Innovations Exclusively Shared by Isinai and SC Languages

Figure 1. External Relationships of the Central Cordilleran Languages

Bash.	Bashiic
C. Cord.	Central Cordilleran
NELuzon	Northeastern Luzon
N. Mang.	Northern Mangyan
Samb.	Sambalic
SC	South-Central
S. Cord.	Southern Cordilleran

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Ifugaw

Iloko

Ibanag

Ibaloy

Gaddang
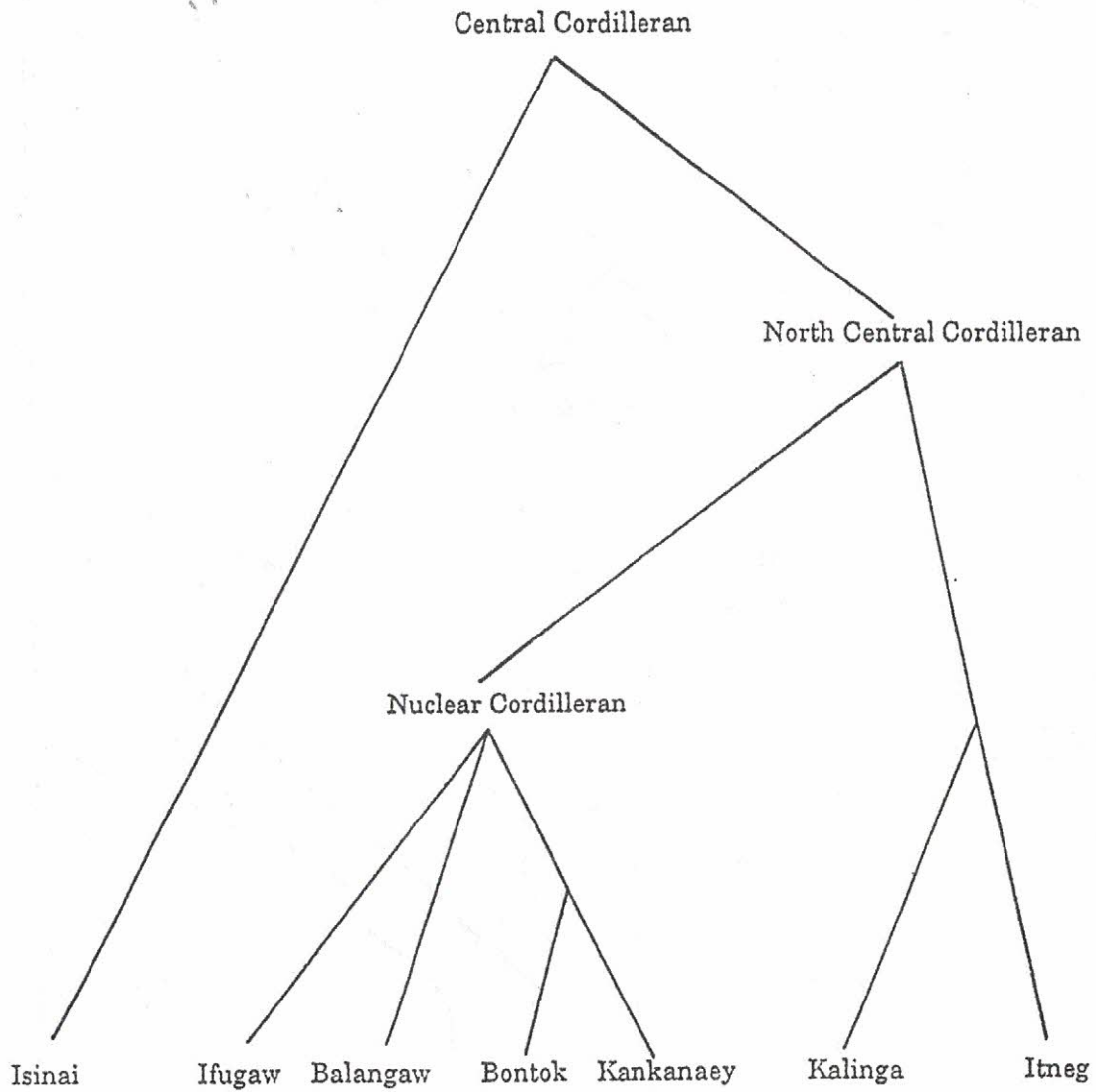
Iloko

Kallahan

BAMBANG
●

Isinai

ARITAO
●

DUPAX
●

Ilongot

Iloko
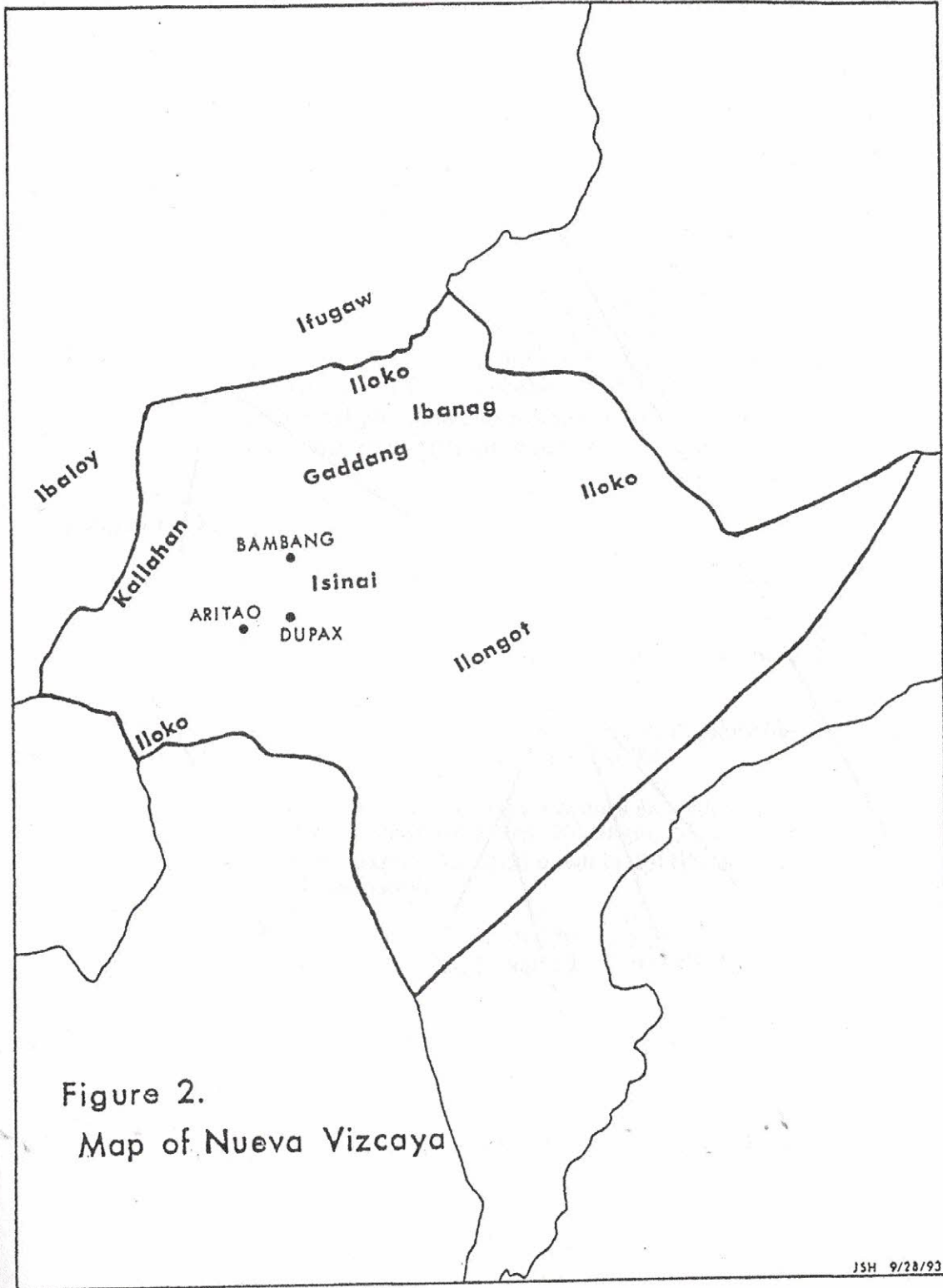
Figure 2.
Map of Nueva Vizcaya

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Central Cordilleran

North Central Cordilleran

Nuclear Cordilleran

Isinai   Ifugaw   Balangaw   Bontok   Kankanaey   Kalinga   Itneg

Figure 3. Internal relations of the Central Cordilleran subgroup
(Reid 1974:512)

Notes

[1] Isinai language data were collected in the field in 1964 and 1989; some items are also taken from McFarland (1977). Data from other languages are from Headland and Headland (1974), Himes (1988), Lambrecht (1978), Panganiban (1973), Reid (1971, 1976), Scott (1957), and Vanoverbergh (1933, 1956, 1972). I would like to thank Lawrence A. Reid and Charlotte Webb for their comments on an early version of this paper and Janet S. Hamann for rendering the map.

[2] Reconstructions at the levels of PAn and PPh are those of Blust (B), Charles (C), Dempwolff (D), Dyen (Dy), and Zorc (Z), as they appear in Wurm and Wilson (1975), or they are mine (unmarked). Those at the level of PNPh or below are reconstructions by Reid (R) or Himes (unmarked). Items which have an ambiguous phoneme are reconstructed with the alternatives in brackets; e.g., *s[ai]ʔid is reflected as saʔid and siʔid. Those with an optional phoneme have that segment in parentheses; e.g., ʔotlum could derive either from *kitlum or *ʔitlum, and the reconstructed form is proposed as *(k)itlum.

[3] See Himes (1990) for the sound changes which Isinai has undergone.

[4] These assessments are based on a very rough count of cognates using a standard 100-item list, the results of which are:

	Itneg	Kalinga	Bontok	Kankanaey	Balangaw	Ifugaw
Isinai	.46	.66	.67	.65	.58	.71

[5] For items shared by Isinai and any other combination of CC languages, and therefore assignable to PCC, see Reid (1974) and Himes (1989, 1993).

[6] IsiA and IsiD also use the form duwata, which occurs sporadically in northern Luzon; cf. Bon (Sadanga, Tocucan), KnkS (Buguias, Kibungan) dowata, Ifg (Kambulo), Itg (Lacub, San Quentin), Kla (Pinukpuk, Mangali) duwa:ta; Ibl (Trinidad) šuwa:hita; Sambal (Botolan) luwa:ta 'we (dual, inclusive).'

[7] But cf. Proto-Malaitan *'ula 'sibling;' perhaps this is a reflex of an item assignable to PHn.

[8] But cf. KnkN bilas 'pounded white,' Ifg bolah 'white...binla whiteness, 'is understood in the sense of "beauty."

[9] This may be a modified loan; cf. Ilk dakes 'bad.'

[10] The root in this item could be *kiliŋ or *likiŋ.

[11]Ilt has borrowed this term from Isi as si?laŋ; were it inherited, the Ilt form would be sikyaŋ.

[12]Because of phonetic [k], the IsiD form is likely to have been borrowed from IsiB. Cf. DgtC dahik 'to launch or beach a boat; to drag a boat across land.' The Dgt C form, although irregular in itself since it has unexpected /a/ after a voiced stop, makes it appear that there was an ancestral form *dajik.

[13]But cf. Isg kalbaw 'to steal, to take surreptitiously (foodstuffs); mostly said of animals.'

[14]Cf. Tag kaliŋkiŋan 'little finger, little toe.'

[15]But cf. Bon kintoŋ 'a ceremonial load of firewood for a wedding ceremony.'

[16]Cf. KnkN lamno 'to scald (i.e., to remove feathers, hair).'

[17]Cf. Ilt yinap 'west.'

[18]Cf. Ifg lipatu 'facility of doing something, of accomplishing a given work.'

[19]But cf. Proto-Polynesian *pulapula 'seed, seedling;' perhaps this item should be assigned to PMP.

[20]Cf. KnkN sabayat 'to frighten.'

[21]Cf. Ifg halehe 'small and thin end of the branch of a tree.' The Isi form is unusual because of the phonetic [l]; if there had been a PCC form *saliysiy, the expected Isi reflex would be *seyoysoy. Reid (1993) suggests that this must be a borrowing from an SC or CC reflex of *sa Reysey; if so, and given Ilk sagaysay, the form *saRaysay 'comb' is assignable to PC.

[22]Possibly a blend of PAn(D) *vaḍa 'and PCC(R) *na?id 'there is none.'

[23]But cf. Isg ba?laŋ 'to wade, ford a stream.' It is possibly parallel to the Ilk ?umigid 'to defecate,' a secondary meaning of ?umigid 'to come, etc. near, close to the shore, the bank, the side, etc.'

[24]Cf. Ilk daremdem 'to perceive indistinctly, to see confusedly.'

[25]Cf. KnkN gasmik and PNCC *simik 'to think.'

[26]But cf. Gaddang mukag 'mountain.'

[27]The root in this item is likely to be *kipus.

[28]Cf. Hiligaynon sisi 'to cut grass close to the ground.'

[29]But cf. Ibl (Bokod) karag 'frog.'

[30]Most probably a polymorphemic construction from PCC *talantag 'shore' and PIsi *-ad 'definite postclitic' (Reid 1993).

[31]Cf. Ifg tikuŋ 'inward curves of mountain slopes.' This item, together with IsiA siʔuŋ, is problematic. If they were to derive from a PCC form such as *tikuŋ 'concave,' we would expect IsiA tiʔuŋ and IsiB siʔuŋ, the opposite of what actually occurs.

[32]This form is highly irregular. If it were derived from something at the PCC level or higher, the expected reflex would be tiːru.

[33]The presence of phonetic k in IsiD is unusual.

[34]With regressive assimilation of the labial stop in IsiB.

[35]This item has diffused into Ilongot as dalaŋtoy; the expected Ilt form, were it inherited from PSCC, would be diɣaŋsi.

[36]It is possible that the form is a lexically innovative one from something like *lakbi[st] with the PIsi definite postclitic *-ad; cf. PIsi *buttan and *buttanar 'east.'

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