

The Meso-Cordilleran Group of Philippine Languages¹

Ronald S. Himes
San Diego State University

1. Introduction

In “The Alta languages of the Philippines” (1991), Dr. Lawrence A. Reid clarified the relationships of various Cordilleran languages of northern Luzon.² The two Alta languages, Northern Alta (AltN) and Southern Alta (AltS), are spoken by groups of Negritos in Nueva Ecija, Bulacan and Aurora Provinces. The two languages are not mutually intelligible, and they appear to be only distantly related to each other. Together, their closest affiliation is with the Central and Southern Cordilleran languages, rather than with other languages with which they are in more intimate contact today, such as Casiguran Dumagat, Umiray Dumaget and Tagalog.

The Central Cordilleran (CC) and Southern Cordilleran (SC) languages of northern Luzon are descended from a common parent, Proto-South Central Cordilleran (PSCC), a language coordinate with the Alta languages. Together, Alta and PSCC are descended from Proto-Meso Cordilleran (PMC), itself a branch of Cordilleran coordinate with Ilokano, Arta and the Northern Cordilleran subgroup (Reid 1989). Figure 1 diagrams these relationships. Thus, non-borrowed language characteristics shared by Alta and a SCC language may be assigned to the level of PMC, and those not found in Alta but shared by CC and SC may be attributed to PSCC.

Reid presented compelling phonological, morphological and lexical evidence for this classification. Offered here is additional lexical evidence for PMC and PSCC. Further phonological, morphological and semantic innovations that are shared among these languages will be dealt with elsewhere.

2. Proto-Meso-Cordilleran

Reid (1991) reconstructed a limited number of items assignable to PMC as exclusively shared by Alta and PSCC:

¹ Most of the data used in this paper were collected in the field during the years 1962–64, 1966–68, 1977, 1981, 1989, 1999 and 2001. Additional data are taken from Headland and Headland (1974), Lambrecht (1978), McFarland (1977), Reid (1971, 1976), Scott (1957), Tharp and Natividad (1976), Vanoverbergh (1933, 1956, 1972), and Yap (1977). Additional data on the languages of eastern Luzon, on Arta and on Alta were generously provided by Dr. Thomas Headland and by Dr. Laurie Reid.

² An item which is widespread within a language and/or is reported in the literature is referred to simply as Ibl, KnkS, etc. Otherwise its distribution is indicated by the municipality or barangay where it occurs (in parentheses). For an explanation of regional variation within CC and SC languages see Himes 1989, 1994, 1996 and 1998.

*bulaŋan	‘monkey’	*p̄i[nt]aŋ	‘hot, fever’
*buŋun	‘to wrap’	*sidim	‘dark’
*buw̄id	‘sand’	*siʔbuk	‘to blow’
*kidul	‘thunder’	*tidtid	‘to drip’
*lamsit	‘lacking salt, sour’	*tik[nd]ag	‘to fall’
*pa:giw	‘chest’	*tugpa	‘to spit’

Three of these reconstructions can be raised to higher levels. *tik[nd]ag should be raised to the level of Proto-Cordilleran (PC), since reflexes are found in Northern Cordilleran languages: Isneg *taʔna:g*, Itawis *tʌnnag*, Kasiguranin *natiŋnag*, and Eastern Luzon Agta *mata:kdig*, *tikdeg* ‘to fall.’ Since Arta has *sibu* ‘to blow’, the item *siʔbuk should also be raised to PC, unless of course Arta borrowed the item from AltN or Ilongot. The reconstruction *pa:giw can be raised to an even higher level, since reflexes of it are found in the Ayta languages Mag-anchi and Mag-indi of the Sambalic family, *pa:gaw*, *po:gaw*, ‘chest.’

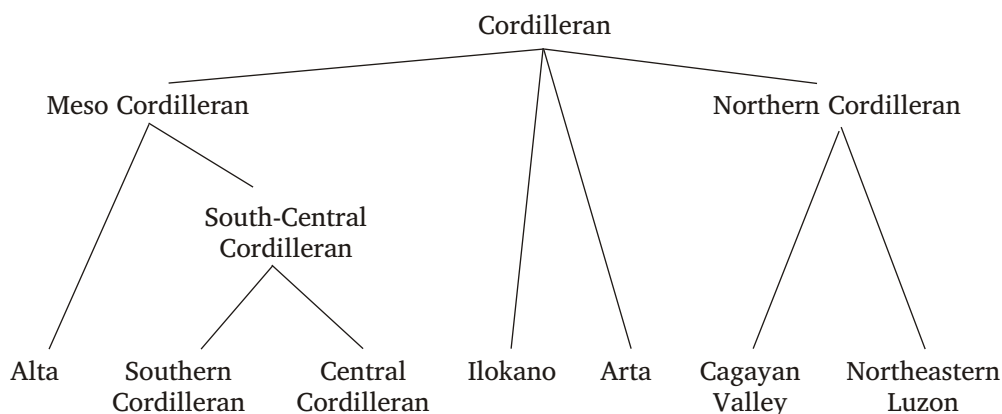


Figure 1. Internal relationships of the Cordilleran languages

Further additions to the vocabulary of PMC include the following:

*ʔaʔi	KnkN <i>ʔiyaʔi</i> , AltN <i>yay</i> ‘to bring’
*ʔ[ai]nuka	Bon, KnkN, KnkS <i>ʔanoka</i> , <i>noka</i> , Ifg <i>ʔanuka</i> , <i>ʔanʔa</i> , Kla <i>ʔanuka</i> , <i>nuʔa</i> , AltN <i>ʔinuʔa</i> ‘what-you-may-call-it’
*ʔugʔan	Bon, KnkN <i>ʔogʔan</i> ‘small cooking jar,’ Kla <i>ʔugán</i> , AltS <i>ʔo:gin</i> ‘cooking pot,’ Kln <i>manʔuggán</i> ‘to cook’
*bitkiN	Bon (Guinaang) <i>bitkiŋ</i> ‘the lower part of one’s shin,’ Bon, KnkN, Kla, Ilt <i>bitkin</i> , Blw <i>bitʔin</i> , Png, Ilt <i>bitkiŋ</i> , AltN <i>bitʔiŋ</i> , AltS <i>biktiŋ</i> , <i>bitteŋ</i> ‘calf (of the leg)’
*(g)abud	KnkN <i>ʔabod</i> , AltS <i>gebud</i> ‘sand.’ Cf. Bon <i>ʔobod</i> , Ifg <i>ʔubud</i> ‘sand’

*g/al/umut	Bon, KnkN, KnkS <i>gomot</i> , KnkS <i>galomot</i> , Ifg <i>gumút</i> , Ifg, Kln <i>gu:mut</i> , Ibl, Kar <i>ʔalomot</i> , Kln <i>galumut</i> , <i>gallumut</i> , <i>galummut</i> ‘finger, toe’, AltS <i>gumut</i> ‘hand.’ Cf. Proto-Philippines (Charles) *(k,g)amet ‘hand.’
*lipi[kt]	Kar <i>lipik</i> , <i>ʔiyalpi:k</i> , AltN <i>lipit</i> , <i>nalpít</i> ‘wet’
*linas	Ifg <i>li:nah</i> ‘level,’ Ifg (Banawe), Kln (Keley-i) <i>li:nah</i> ‘smooth,’ AltS <i>mollenas</i> ‘clean’
*pigsil	Bon <i>pidsil</i> , AltN <i>pigsil</i> ‘to squeeze.’ Cf. Bon, KnkN, Kla <i>pisil</i> ‘to squeeze.’ Cf. also PHF(Z) *pesél ‘to squeeze’
*[st]ubil	Bon, KnkN, KnkS, Ibl, Kar <i>so:bil</i> , Blw, Ifg, Kln <i>hu:bil</i> , Kla <i>su:bil</i> , Isi <i>su:vil</i> , AltN <i>tu:bil</i> ‘lip’
*tipa	KnkN <i>tompá</i> , AltS <i>toppa</i> , <i>tinumpa</i> ‘to hit, box’
*timʔuy	Ifg <i>timʔuy</i> , AltS <i>timoy</i> ‘buttocks’

3. Alta

Lexical innovations shared exclusively by AltN and AltS are relatively few, indicating the remoteness of their relationship. Reid (1991:286) identified the following forms as similar enough to be shared cognates:

AltS	AltN	
<i>bitlay</i>	<i>bitlayin</i>	‘carry on shoulder’
<i>dakol</i>	<i>da:ʔil</i>	‘flood’
<i>ko:yug</i>	<i>kuyug</i>	‘friend’
<i>mopnaŋ</i>	<i>panaŋ</i>	‘hot (weather), fever’
<i>muŋnul</i>	<i>muŋnul</i>	‘know how’
<i>minaybut</i>	<i>ʔi:but</i>	‘lost’
<i>ʔobbudin</i>	<i>budin</i>	‘love’
<i>lu:tit</i>	<i>lutit</i>	‘mud’
<i>dalam</i>	<i>dalam</i>	‘night’
<i>pulád</i>	<i>po:líd</i>	‘sleep’
<i>la:nis</i>	<i>la:nis</i>	‘sweet’

Three of these items, also, can be raised to the level of PC, since they have cognates in the Northern Cordilleran group of languages. Isneg has *baʔláy* ‘carry on the shoulder.’ The item meaning ‘flood’ has cognates in Ibanag *nadakal* and in Itawis *dumakal*. And Paranan and Kasiguranin have *me:but*, *mine:but* ‘lost, to lose.’

Two items may be added to the list of shared Alta vocabulary:

AltS	AltN	
<i>ʔiʔe</i>	<i>ʔiʔe</i> , <i>ʔiʔen</i>	‘this’
<i>mudúŋ</i>	<i>mudóŋ</i>	‘mountain’

4. Proto-South-Central Cordilleran

A substantial number of items have been reconstructed for the CC and for the SC languages (Reid 1974, 1979, Himes 1988, 1989, 1990, 1994, 1998). Figures 2 and 3 show the internal relationships of these two subgroups.

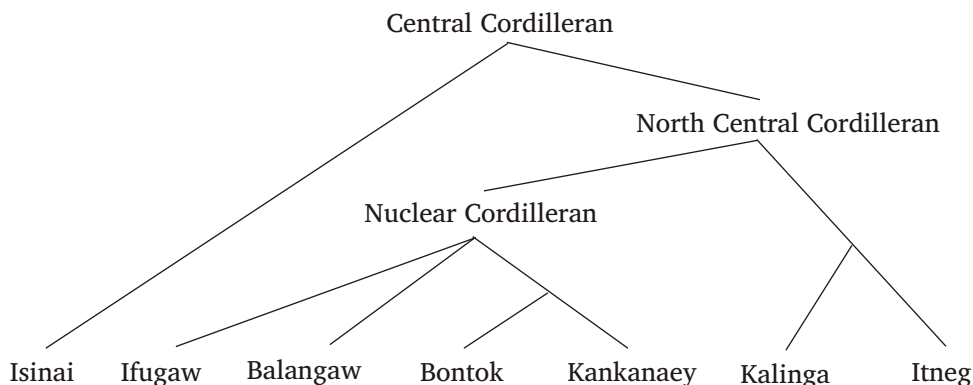


Figure 2. Internal relationships of the Central Cordilleran subgroup
(Reid 1974:512)

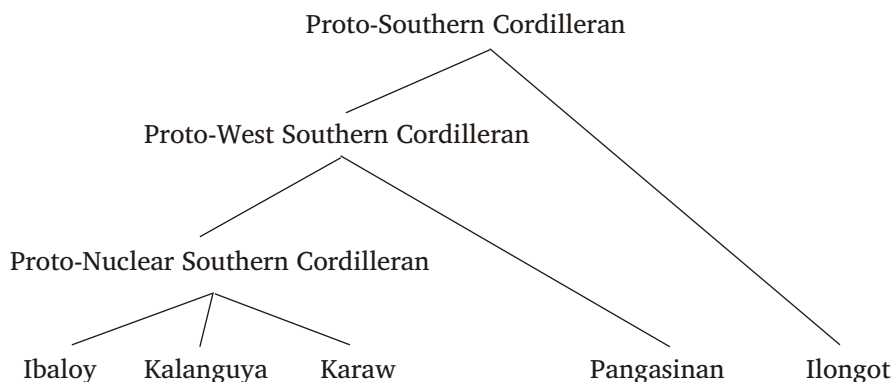


Figure 3. Internal relationships of Southern Cordilleran languages
(Himes 1998:121)

There is a large body of lexemes that appear to be shared exclusively by CC and SC languages. Many of these items are cognate because they were innovated at the PSCC level and are retained in the daughter languages. Others are undoubtedly local innovations in one of the two major branches that spread into the other. Apparent cognates occurring only in contiguous communities—especially in Nuclear Central Cordilleran and Nuclear Southern Cordilleran—are particularly suspect.

4.1. Relatively secure lexical innovations

Lexical items that have a wide distribution in both CC and SC languages are assigned to the level of PSCC with confidence. These include lexemes which occur in both branches of the family in non-contiguous areas.³

³ Reconstructions that were originally suggested by Reid are marked with (R).

*ʔaguba	Kla ʔagubba, Ilt ʔagu:bi ‘short, low’
*ʔagum	Bon ʔa:gom ‘to be gathered in preparation for going to listen for bird omens, of a men’s ward,’ KnkN ʔa:gom ‘to gather together,’ Ilt ʔaguman ‘a gathering of men for decision making’
*ʔalibunjit	Bon ʔalibonjit ‘pitch black,’ Png kalibunitan ‘dark’
*ʔanduk(k)iy	KnkN ʔando:kiy, Ifg ʔandukke, ʔadukke, Isi ʔandu:ʔoy, Png ʔandukiy, Ibl ʔanèo:kiy, Kar ʔanèo:kiy, Kln ʔandukkiy, Ilt ʔudu:ki ‘long (object)’
*ʔanimuluk	Bon ʔanamolok, namolok, ʔanimolok, Blw moloʔ, Ifg namoloʔ, namuluʔ, Png ʔanimuluk ‘wild pig,’ Ibl ʔanimolok ‘(obs.) young of the wild pig’ (R)
*ʔ[ai]sup	Bon ʔasʔop, Bon, Ibl ʔasop, Ifg nihʔup, Isi ʔasʔasup, Ibl, Kar ʔisop, Kln ʔahup, ʔihup ‘near’
*ʔ[ii]buk	Kla ʔibukan, Kln (Kehang) manbuk ‘to stab’
*ʔid	KnkN, KnkS ʔid ‘to/at (marker of distance),’ Png ʔid ‘to/at (marker, both near and far)’
*ʔigas	Bon, KnkN magʔas, KnkS magʔas, ʔigas, Blw magʔah, Ifg magʔah, ʔogah, Ibl maʔkas, ʔikas, Kar maʔkas, Kln maʔgah, ʔigah ‘to fall.’ Cf. Yami akás ‘to fall’
*ʔigis	KnkN, KnkS ʔigis ‘belly, intestines,’ Png ʔigis ‘belly,’ Ibl, Kar ʔikis, Kln ʔigih, Ilt ʔigit ‘belly, intestines’
*ʔiliŋ	Bon, Png, Kln ʔiliŋ, KnkN, KnkS ʔiʔiŋ, ʔi:ŋ, Ifg ʔoloŋ, Isi ʔeyoŋ, Ibl ʔidiŋ, Kln ʔaliŋ, ʔeleŋ, Ilt ʔiŋiŋ, ʔayiŋ ‘nose’ (R)
*ʔimis	Bon ʔimis, KnkN, KnkS ʔimis, Kla ʔomos, Isi ʔomos, ʔomot, Png ʔamis, Ibl ʔamis, ʔimis, Kar naʔmis, Kln ʔimih, ʔemeh ‘to bathe’
*ʔibbiŋ	KnkS, Kln ʔibbiŋ, Itg ʔibiŋ, Isi ʔibboŋ ‘to throw away’
*ʔu:gip	Itg, Kln ʔu:gip, Png ʔugip, Ibl ʔo:gip, Ilt ʔu:gip ‘to sleep’
*ʔugtan	Bon yogtan, KnkN ʔogtan, yogtan, KnkS ʔiyogtan, Png yugtan ‘younger sibling’
*ʔukʔuk	Bon, KnkN, KnkS, Ibl, Kar ʔokʔok, Ifg, Itg, Kln, Ilt ʔukʔuk, Isi ʔuʔuʔ, ʔuʔʔuʔ, Png ukuk ‘to cough’
*b/al/a:ʔuk	Bon (Maligcong) bala:ʔok, Bon (Dallikan), KnkN ba:ʔok, Png balaʔuk ‘ladle, spatula’
*ba(n)ti:lid	KnkN (Luba), Kla (Masadiit) banti:lid, Kla bate:led, Ilt bisi:lid ‘mountain’
*bika	KnkS bikʔin, Blw buʔa, Ifg boʔa, Kla bokʔa, boka, Ibl, Kar, Kln bika ‘to dig,’ Bon ʔibka, Ibl, Kar, Kln bika ‘to bury’
*bika[kŋ]	Bon bikbikan, KnkN bikay, Ifg bukay, Kla boʔay ‘bow-and-arrow,’ KnkN bikay, Ifg bokay, Kla boʔay, Ilt bikak ‘bow’
*bi:gis	Bon bi:gis ‘a fly’s eggs,’ KnkN bi:gis ‘camote worm,’ KnkS, Ibl bi:gis, Ifg, Kln bi:gih, Png bigis ‘worm’

*buliñit	Bon, KnkN, KnkS <i>bolihit</i> , Ifg (Cababuyan), Kla <i>buliñot</i> , Ibl <i>?amboliñit</i> , Kar <i>?onboliñit</i> , Kln <i>?ambuliñet</i> ‘dark, black’
*da?lag	KnkN <i>da:ʔag</i> ‘to bring near,’ Ilt <i>diyag</i> , <i>diag</i> ‘near,’ Bon, Kla <i>dalʔag</i> , Ilt <i>kadiyag</i> ‘neighbor’ (Cf. Bon <i>dalʔaŋ</i> ‘a working group’)
*dilsig	Bon <i>dilsig</i> ‘to split small pieces off a log,’ Bon <i>dolsig</i> , Kln <i>dalhig</i> ‘to split’
*dikit	Bon <i>madkit</i> , Ifg <i>di:kit</i> ‘girls’ beauty, prettiness,’ Png <i>marikit</i> ‘young woman.’ Cf. Bon <i>maggit</i> ‘young woman, unmarried woman’
*di:ñut	Bon <i>di:ñot</i> , Png <i>mariñut</i> ‘dirty’
*gatud	Bon, KnkN <i>ga:tod</i> ‘rooster’s tailfeathers,’ Ifg <i>katud</i> , Ilt <i>gitud</i> ‘back (of person)’
*gaya	Kla <i>gayagaya</i> , Isi <i>maŋgayha:ya</i> , Kln <i>magaya</i> ‘happy’ (Cf. Png <i>gayaga</i> ‘happy’)
*kalʔit	Kla (Pinukpuk) <i>nakait</i> , Kln <i>kilʔit</i> ‘sour,’ Kln <i>maŋkalʔit</i> ‘bitter’
*kalab	Bon, KnkN, KnkS, Ifg, Itg, Kla, Png <i>kalab</i> , KnkN <i>kaʔab</i> , <i>kommab</i> , Isi <i>ʔeyav</i> , Ibl, Kar, Kln <i>ka:lab</i> ‘to climb’
*kaʔyab	KnkS <i>kayʔab</i> , Ilt <i>kayab</i> ‘to climb’
*kidim	Bon, KnkN, KnkS, Ibl, Ilt <i>kidim</i> , Ifg <i>kodom</i> , Isi <i>?orom</i> , Kln <i>kedem</i> ‘eyelash’ (Cf. Isneg <i>kaddam</i> ‘to close one’s eyes’)
*kilaŋ	Bon, Itg <i>kilaŋ</i> , KnkN <i>kiʔaŋ</i> , Ifg, Kla <i>kolaŋ</i> , Ibl <i>kidaŋ</i> ‘earthworm, intestinal worm,’ Kln <i>kelaŋ</i> , <i>kalaŋ</i> ‘intestinal worm’
*kitiw	Isi <i>pañitwan</i> , Ibl <i>paktiw</i> ‘bamboo water container’
*ku:bu	KnkN <i>kobo</i> ‘to fence in,’ Ifg <i>ku:bu</i> ‘house lot,’ Ilt <i>ku:bu</i> ‘space-under-house’
*ku[m]papʔiy	Bon, KnkN <i>kopapʔiy</i> , <i>kopkopapʔiy</i> , Bon <i>kopa:piy</i> , Ifg <i>?opappoy</i> , Kla <i>kappa:poy</i> , <i>koppa:poy</i> , Png <i>kumpa:piy</i> ‘butterfly’
*kuʔku	Bon <i>kokʔo</i> ‘to dig out a root,’ Kln, Ilt <i>kuʔku</i> ‘to dig’
*kVspag	Bon <i>kispag</i> ‘to eat rice without a side dish,’ KnkN <i>nakaspakan</i> ‘left over,’ Bon <i>maŋospag</i> , Kln <i>maŋahpag</i> , <i>kahpag</i> ‘breakfast’
*labaw	Kla <i>labaw</i> , Ibl <i>davaw</i> ‘to float’
*latug	KnkN <i>latog</i> ‘to swell (of the eyes),’ Png <i>latug</i> ‘to swell’
*litig	Bon, KnkN <i>litig</i> , Ifg <i>lotog</i> , Isi <i>lotox</i> , Ibl, Kar <i>ditig</i> , Kln <i>litig</i> ‘straight’
*ñalu:tuy	Bon <i>ñalo:toy</i> , Ifg <i>ñalu:tuy</i> ‘slippery,’ Bon <i>ñalo:toy</i> , KnkS <i>ñaʔo:toy</i> , Blw, Kla <i>ñalu:tuy</i> , Ibl <i>?inñalotoy</i> , Kar <i>?oññalotoy</i> , Kln <i>ñalutuy</i> , <i>?aŋñaluttuy</i> ‘smooth’
*ñi:dil	Kla <i>ñiddol</i> , Ibl, Kar <i>ñi:ril</i> ‘dull’
*ñilu[d]	KnkN <i>ñillo</i> ‘badly done, ill-made,’ Blw, Ifg, Kla <i>ñilu</i> , Kln (Ahin) <i>nañi:lu</i> , Kln (Kayapa) <i>nañi:lud</i> , Ilt <i>ñilud</i> ‘dull’

*pi:diŋ	Bon <i>pi:diŋ</i> ‘length of rattan,’ Ilt <i>pidiŋ</i> ‘rope, to tie with a rope’
*pu(kʔ)nad	KnkN <i>poknad</i> , Kla <i>pu:nad</i> , Kln <i>puʔnad</i> ‘to wipe’
*pu:sut	KnkN <i>po:sot</i> ‘to take up, grab,’ Kln <i>pu:hut</i> ‘to hold’
*pu:wik	Bon <i>po:wak</i> , KnkN, KnkS, Ibl, Kar <i>po:wik</i> , Blw <i>pu:waʔ</i> , <i>pu:wak</i> , Ifg <i>pu:wok</i> , Isi <i>puwoʔ</i> , Kln <i>puwik</i> ‘storm, typhoon’
*saʔpiy	Bon, KnkN, KnkS <i>sapʔiy</i> , Ifg <i>hapʔe</i> , Isi <i>sapʔoy</i> , <i>tapʔoy</i> , Ibl <i>saʔpiy</i> , Kar <i>saʔpiy</i> , Kln <i>haʔpiy</i> , <i>haʔpey</i> ‘to dry in the sun’
*sakluŋ	Blw <i>haʔluŋ</i> , Ifg <i>hakloŋ</i> , Isi <i>seʔuŋ</i> , Ibl <i>sakdoŋ</i> , Kln <i>hakluŋ</i> ‘ladle’
*sidil	Bon <i>sidil</i> , KnkN, KnkS <i>sidi</i> , <i>masdi</i> , Blw <i>sadal</i> , Ifg <i>hodol</i> , <i>mahdol</i> , Kla <i>sodol</i> , Ibl <i>sièil</i> , Ibl, Kar <i>masèil</i> , Kln <i>hidil</i> , <i>mahdil</i> ‘thick’
*siʔlik	Bon <i>silʔik</i> , Kln <i>ʔihiʔlek</i> , Ilt <i>ʔaniʔyik</i> ‘to sniff’
*suʔni	KnkN <i>sunʔi</i> ‘extraneous body driven in any part of the body, splinter, etc.,’ Ilt <i>tuʔni</i> ‘thorn’
*ta:bu	Bon, KnkN, Ibl <i>ta:bo</i> , Ifg, Ilt <i>ta:bu</i> ‘belly’
*t[ai]byiŋ	Kla <i>tabyoŋ</i> ‘pond,’ Ibl <i>tibyiy</i> ‘lake’
*tamil	Bon, KnkN, KnkS, Blw, Ifg, Kla (Manabo), Ibl, Kar, Kln <i>ta:mil</i> , Ilt <i>ta:miy</i> ‘cheek’
*tapiw	Bon <i>ʔatʔatappiw</i> , KnkN <i>ʔata:piw</i> , <i>ʔatʔata:piw</i> , Ifg <i>ʔata:paw</i> ‘low,’ Bon, KnkN, KnkS, Png <i>ʔatapiw</i> , Blw <i>ʔatta:paw</i> , Ifg <i>ʔatappo</i> , Kla <i>ʔatappaw</i> , Ibl <i>ʔataʔpiw</i> , Kln <i>neteʔpew</i> , <i>naʔitapiw</i> ‘shallow’
*t[ii]ŋiy	Bon (Mainit), KnkN (Fidelisan) <i>tiŋiy</i> , Bon, KnkN <i>tiŋiy</i> , Isi (Bambang) <i>siŋoy</i> , Ibl, Kln <i>ti:ŋiy</i> , Ibl <i>ti:ŋiy</i> , Kar <i>tiŋiy</i> ‘frog (esp. large frog)’
*tiyiŋ	Bon <i>tiyi:ŋan</i> ‘ant,’ KnkN <i>tiyi:ŋan</i> ‘a kind of small black ant,’ Kla <i>tiyyoŋ</i> , Ibl <i>ʔatiyiŋ</i> , <i>titiyiŋ</i> , <i>ʔatitiyiŋ</i> , Kln <i>titiyiŋ</i> ‘ant’
*tunuŋ	Blw <i>tonuŋ</i> , Ilt <i>tunuŋ</i> ‘cold’
*tuwiŋ	Bon <i>towiŋ</i> , Kla, Kln <i>tuwiŋ</i> , Kar <i>tiw̄iŋ</i> , <i>tuw̄iŋ</i> ‘worm’
*ya:pit	Bon, KnkN, KnkS, Blw, Ifg, Kla, Isi, Ilt <i>ya:pit</i> , Kar <i>ʔa:ʔit</i> ‘thin (object)’

4.2. Shared lexical innovations, with a possibility of borrowing

Among those items occurring with more limited distribution some may well be shared developments from PSCC. The most likely candidates are the following:

*ʔala:giy	KnkS <i>ʔala:giy</i> , Png <i>alagiy</i> , Kln <i>ʔalgiy</i> ‘to stand’
*ʔilwaŋ	Bon <i>ʔilwaŋ</i> , KnkN, KnkS <i>ʔiwaŋ</i> , Blw <i>ʔalwaŋ</i> ‘flood,’ Ibl <i>ʔilw̄aŋ</i> ‘flash flood’ (R)
*ʔitiŋ	Bon <i>nataŋ</i> , Bon, KnkN <i>ʔitiŋ</i> , KnkS <i>nakitʔiŋ</i> , Ifg <i>natoŋ</i> , <i>ʔotoŋan</i> , Kla <i>naʔotoŋ</i> , <i>natʔoŋ</i> , Ibl <i>nattiyin</i> , <i>naʔtiŋan</i> ‘old (person),’ Ifg <i>ʔotoŋ</i> , Ifg <i>ʔatoŋ</i> , Kln <i>ʔitiŋ</i> , <i>ʔateŋ</i> , <i>ʔeteŋ</i> ‘big,’

	Bon <i>?i:tiŋ</i> ‘to mature,’ KnkN <i>?i:tiŋ</i> ‘adult,’ Ifg <i>?otoŋ</i> ‘to be full grown’
* <i>?i:muk</i>	Bon, Ibl <i>?i:mok</i> , Isi <i>?i:mu?</i> , Kln <i>?i:muk</i> ‘mosquito’
* <i>bagi:lat</i>	Bon, KnkN, <i>bagi:lat</i> , Blw <i>b.ʌgi:lat</i> , Ibl <i>bagidat</i> , Kar <i>baʒi:lat</i> , Kln <i>ba:gilát</i> ‘lightning’
* <i>ba:lal</i>	Bon (Bontoc Ili), KnkN <i>ba:la</i> ‘to go out,’ Bon (Bontoc Ili) <i>bomalaʔan nan ʔagiw</i> , KnkN <i>balaʔan di ʔagiw</i> , Ibl <i>bada:lan</i> , <i>bida:lan</i> , Kln <i>bala:lan</i> ‘east’
* <i>baŋul</i>	Bon <i>baŋol</i> ‘kind of animal or bird (arch.)’, KnkN, KnkS <i>baŋo</i> , Ibl, Kar <i>ba:ŋol</i> ‘wild pig,’ Ifg <i>baŋul</i> ‘boar (wild or domestic)’
* <i>bilig</i>	Bon, KnkN <i>bilig</i> ‘slug,’ Ifg (Hapaw) <i>be:og</i> , Ibl, Kln <i>bi:lig</i> ‘earthworm’
* <i>buʔlu</i>	Bon <i>bobʔollo</i> , KnkS <i>bolbolʔo</i> , <i>boboʔo</i> , Ibl <i>boʔboʔdo</i> , Kln <i>buʔbuʔlu</i> ‘butterfly’
* <i>bu:tug</i>	Bon, KnkN <i>bo:tog</i> , Ibl <i>botbotog</i> ‘pig’
* <i>duntug</i>	Bon, KnkN, KnkS <i>dontog</i> , Ifg, Kln <i>duntug</i> , Ibl, Kar <i>èontog</i> ‘mountain, hill’
* <i>ga:wa</i>	Bon, KnkN <i>ga:wa</i> ‘middle, center,’ Bon <i>ʔonga:wa</i> , <i>naŋga:wa</i> , Bon (Caneo) <i>minga:wa</i> , Blw <i>naŋga:wa</i> , <i>maŋga:wA</i> , Ifg <i>nun̄ga:wa</i> ‘noon,’ Bon, KnkN, KnkS, Kla <i>ga:wán di labi</i> , Blw <i>ga:wAn labi</i> , Kla <i>ga:wa</i> , <i>gawallabi</i> , Isi <i>ga:wán si lavi</i> , Ibl <i>ka:wa ni dabi</i> , <i>ka:ka:wán</i> , Kar <i>ka:win dawi</i> , Kln <i>ga:wán la:bi</i> , <i>ga:wán labbi</i> ‘midnight’
* <i>gitap</i>	Bon <i>gitap</i> ‘to add extra covers,’ Ibl, Kar <i>kitap</i> , Kln <i>gatap</i> , <i>gitap</i> ‘blanket’ (Cf. KnkN <i>gitap</i> ‘skirt’)
* <i>kaʔi:sij</i>	Bon, KnkN, KnkS, Ibl, Kar <i>kaʔi:sij</i> , Kln <i>kaʔihij</i> ‘co-parents-in-law’
* <i>kaʔut</i>	Bon <i>kaʔot</i> ‘to make a new pondfield,’ KnkN, KnkS <i>ʔikaʔot</i> , Ifg, Kla <i>kaʔut</i> , Ibl <i>ka:ʔot</i> , Kln <i>ka:ʔut</i> ‘to dig, to bury’
* <i>li:yik</i>	Bon <i>liyik</i> , KnkN <i>li:yik</i> ‘flying ant,’ Ifg <i>li:yok</i> , Ibl, Kar <i>di:yik</i> , Kln <i>li:yik</i> ‘termite’
* <i>lu:big</i>	Bon <i>lo:big</i> ‘poor quality soft iron, as a blade, which will not hold a sharp edge,’ KnkN <i>lo:big</i> , Kar <i>ʔido:gig</i> ‘dull, blunt’
* <i>piltan</i>	Ifg <i>poltan</i> , Isi <i>pe:tan</i> , Kar <i>piltan</i> , Kln <i>piltan</i> , <i>paltan</i> ‘rooster’ (Cf. Bon <i>pilit</i> ‘to copulate, of birds and chickens,’ KnkN <i>minpit</i> ‘to copulate,’ Ifg <i>polot</i> ‘sexual organ of male animals’)
* <i>pi:sij</i>	KnkN, KnkS, Ibl, Kar <i>pi:sij</i> , Ifg, Kln <i>pi:hiŋ</i> ‘taro (esp. leaves and stems), Ibl <i>pi:sij</i> ‘taro plant, above the ground)’ (R)
* <i>sigid</i>	Bon <i>sigid</i> ‘to waid, as for instructions,’ KnkN <i>sigid</i> ‘to wait long for,’ Ibl, Kar <i>sikid</i> , Kln <i>higid</i> , <i>heged</i> ‘to wait’

*s[ii]gip	Bon, KnkN <i>sigip</i> , Ifg <i>hogop</i> ‘to enter,’ KnkN <i>sigip</i> , <i>sigip</i> , KnkS <i>sigip</i> , Ifg <i>higopna</i> , Ibl <i>sik̄ip</i> , <i>siggip</i> , Kar <i>saḱip</i> , Kln <i>haḡip</i> ‘inside’
*tikliŋ	Bon, Ifg, Itg, Kla, Kln <i>tikliŋ</i> , KnkN <i>tiktikliŋ</i> , Blw <i>teʔleŋ</i> , Ibl <i>tikdiŋ</i> ‘ankle’
*t[iu]pkan	Bon, KnkN, KnkS <i>tipkan</i> , Kla <i>tipʔan</i> , KnkN, Ibl <i>topkan</i> , Kln <i>tupkan</i> , <i>tukkan</i> ‘mosquito’
*ti:tit	KnkS, Kla, Ibl, Kar, Kln <i>ti:tit</i> ‘bird’
*tukguŋ	Bon <i>tokgoŋ</i> ‘to sit beside, to guard,’ Ifg <i>tukgoŋ</i> ‘to squat, hunker down,’ Kar <i>tokḱoŋ</i> ‘to sit’
*tu:ʔug	KnkN (Namatec), KnkS (Buguias) <i>to:ʔog</i> , Kln <i>tu:ʔug</i> ‘to tell a lie’

5. Conclusion

At some point in the past, perhaps thousands of years ago, a Cordilleran-speaking population separated from other speakers of this language geographically, socially, or both. This population’s language developed, in relative isolation from others, into Meso-Cordilleran. Speakers of MC eventually encountered groups of Negritos, possibly on the eastern and southern slopes of the Cordillera Central, who adopted the speech of their new neighbors. The interaction between the two groups must have been intense and intimate enough for the Negritos to have substituted MC for whatever language they previously spoke. Nevertheless, direct contact between the Negrito and non-Negrito speakers of MC ceased for whatever reasons (except perhaps between AltN and Ilt, a SC language), as indicated by the wide divergence between Alta and SCC languages today. Subsequently both AltN and AltS have been lexically influenced by quite a few other languages (Reid 1987).

The large number of linguistic innovations, including the lexical ones presented here, that can be assigned to the level of PSCC provides solid testimony to the long shared history of the speakers of the Central and Southern Cordilleran languages. Equally, the substantial number of doubtful items underscores the continuing contact of Cordilleran peoples subsequent to the splitting of the language into the two subgroups. That some of the reconstructions offered here will be raised to higher levels, and that many items will be added to this list, is not unexpected. Of particular interest is the ultimate understanding of the time depth of the split between Alta and PSCC, which will provide some idea of the demographic changes and geographical movements of Cordilleran peoples prior to the age of written records.

Abbreviations

AltN	Northern Alta	Knk	Kankanaey
AltS	Southern Alta	KnkN	Northern Kankanaey
Blw	Balangaw	KnkS	Southern Kankanaey
Bon	Bontok	PC	Proto-Cordilleran
CC	Central Cordilleran	PHF	Proto-Hesperonesian and Formosan
Ibl	Ibaloy	PMC	Proto-Meso Cordilleran
Ifg	Ifugaw	Png	Pangasinan
Ilt	Ilongot (Bugkalut)	PSCC	Proto-South-Central Cordilleran
Isi	Isinai	SC	Southern Cordilleran
Itg	Itneg	SCC	South-Central Cordilleran
Kar	Karaw		
Kla	Kalinga		
Kln	Kalanguya		

References

- Headland, Thomas N., and Janet D. Headland. 1974. *A Dumagat (Casiguran)-English dictionary*. Pacific Linguistics C-28. Canberra: The Australian National University.
- Himes, Ronald S. 1988. Central Cordilleran, Philippines, cognate sets 1-574. Online database in The Pacific and Asian Language Archives, University of Hawai'i.
- Himes, Ronald S. 1989. Central Cordilleran reconstructions: Addenda to Reid. *Philippine Journal of Linguistics* 20(1):1-17.
- Himes, Ronald S. 1990. An algorithm for the derivation of Isinai from Proto-Central Cordilleran. *Philippine Journal of Linguistics* 21(2):1-13.
- Himes, Ronald S. 1994. Central Cordilleran addenda II. *Philippine Journal of Linguistics* 15(1-2):1-42.
- Himes, Ronald S. 1995. Isinai: Reconstructions and relations. *Philippine Journal of Linguistics* 27(1-2):83-109.
- Himes, Ronald S. 1996. Reconstructions in Kalinga-Itneg. *Oceanic Linguistics* 36(1):102-134.
- Himes, Ronald S. 1998. The Southern Cordilleran group of Philippine languages. *Oceanic Linguistics* 37(1):120-177.
- Lambrecht, Frans Hubert. 1978. *Ifugaw-English dictionary*. Baguio City: The Catholic Vicar Apostolic of the Mountain Province.
- McFarland, Curtis D. 1977. *Northern Philippine linguistic geography*. Institute for the Study of Languages and Cultures of Asia and Africa, Monograph Series, No. 9. Tokyo: Institute for the Study of Languages and Cultures of Asia and Africa.
- Panganiban, Jose V. 1973. *Diksyunaryo-Tesaurus Pilipino-Ingles*. Quezon City: Manglapaz Publishing Co.
- Reid, Lawrence A., ed. 1971. *Philippine minor languages: Word lists and phonologies*. Oceanic Linguistics Special Publication No. 8. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press.
- Reid, Lawrence A. 1973. Kankanay and the problem *R and *l reflexes. *Parangal kay Cecilio Lopez: Essays in honor of Cecilio Lopez on his seventy-fifth birthday*, ed. by Andrew Gonzalez, F.S.C., 51-63. Philippine Journal of Linguistics Special Monograph Issue No. 4. Quezon City: Linguistic Society of the Philippines.
- Reid, Lawrence A. 1974. The Central Cordilleran subgroup of Philippine languages. *Oceanic Linguistics* 13:511-560.
- Reid, Lawrence A. 1976. *Bontok-English dictionary*. Pacific Linguistics C-36. Canberra: The Australian National University.
- Reid, Lawrence A. 1979. Towards a reconstruction of the pronominal systems of Proto-Cordilleran, Philippines. *South-East Asian linguistic studies*, Vol. 3, ed. by Nguyen Dang Liem, 259-275. Pacific Linguistics C-45. Canberra: The Australian National University.

- Reid, Lawrence A. 1987. The Early Switch Hypothesis: Linguistic evidence for contact between Negritos and Austronesians. *Man and Culture in Oceania* 3 (Special Issue):41–59.
- Reid, Lawrence A. 1989. Arta, another Philippine Negrito language. *Oceanic Linguistics* 28(1):47–74.
- Reid, Lawrence A. 1991. The Alta languages of the Philippines. *VICAL 2, Western Austronesian and contact languages: Papers from the Fifth International Conference on Austronesian Linguistics*, ed. by Ray Harlow, 265–297. Te Reo Special Publication. Auckland: Linguistic Society of New Zealand.
- Scott, William H. 1957. *A vocabulary of the Sagada Igorot dialect*. Philippine Studies Program, Transcript No. 6. Chicago: Department of Anthropology, University of Chicago.
- Tharp, James A., and Mateo C. Natividad. 1976. *Itawis-English wordlist with English-Itawis finderlist*. New Haven: Human Relations Area Files, Inc.
- Vanoverbergh, Morice. 1933. *A dictionary of Lepanto Igorot or Kankanay, as it is spoken at Bauko*. Internationale Sammlung Linguistischer Monographien, XII. Modling bei Wien: Verlag Anthropos.
- Vanoverbergh, Morice. 1956. *Iloko-English dictionary*. Translated, augmented and revised from Rev. Andrés Carro's *Vocabulario Iloco-Español*. Baguio City: Catholic Press.
- Vanoverbergh, Morice. 1972. *Isnég-English vocabulary*. Oceanic Linguistics Special Publication No. 11. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press.
- Wurm, S. A., and B. Wilson. 1975. *English finderlist of reconstructions in Austronesian languages (post-Brandstetter)*. Pacific Linguistics C–33. Canberra: The Australian National University.
- Yap, Fe Z. Aldave. 1977. *A comparative study of Philippine lexicons*. Manila: Institute of National Language.
- Zorc, R. David. 1986. The genetic relationships of Philippine languages. *FOCAL II: Papers from the Fourth International Conference on Austronesian Linguistics*, ed. by Paul Geraghty, Lois Carrington, and S. A. Wurm, 147–173. Pacific Linguistics C–94. Canberra: The Australian National University.