1. INTRODUCTION

The northern sector of the island of Luzon, Philippines, contains a wide variety of peoples speaking a large number of related languages and dialects. Three of the languages spoken to the north of the Tagalog area, Kapampangan, Pangasinan and Ilokano, are among the eight generally-recognized majority languages of the nation. Each of them has a contingent of genetically related speech forms which are the mother tongues of ethnic minorities.

All of these languages and dialects are Austronesian, and all of them belong to the Northern Philippine group of languages. Figure 1 is an approximation to the family tree of which these languages are members. Kapampangan belongs to the Sambalic grouping (McFarland 1980) and Pangasinan to the Southern Cordilleran grouping (Reid 1979). Ilokano is either a first level member of Northern Cordilleran or it is coordinate with it (Tharp 1974, Reid 1979). Central Cordilleran and Southern Cordilleran share a common intermediate parent language, Proto-South-Central Cordilleran (PSCC), which, together with the Alta languages of northeastern Luzon, comprises the Meso-Cordilleran family of languages (Reid 1988a, 1988b).

The internal relationships of the Central Cordilleran subgroup of languages, established by Reid (1974), are diagrammed in Figure 2. Thus, it can be seen that if an item or an innovation appears in Isinai and at least one language of the North Central Cordilleran (NCC) group, it can be assigned to Proto-Central Cordilleran (PCC). If an item is shared by Kalinga-Itneg and also a Nuclear Cordilleran language, then it can be assigned to PNCC. Those items whose distribution is limited to two (or all three) of the Bontok-Kankanay, Balangaw and Ifugaw speech communities are assumed to have been innovations in the Proto-Nuclear Cordilleran (PNC) period.

In his landmark article establishing the validity of the Central Cordilleran subgrouping, Reid (1974) provided a list of lexemes exclusively shared at each of the three levels: PCC, PNCC, and PNC. For ease of reference they are listed here, but without the supporting evidence.

2. INNOVATIONS EXCLUSIVELY SHARED BY CC LANGUAGES

An item is assigned to PCC if it appears in Isinai and at least one, non-contiguous, language of the NCC group.

2.1. Lexical Items. An item is identified as a lexical innovation if there is no immediately apparent provenience for it.
Central Cordilleran

North Central Cordilleran

Nuclear Cordilleran

Isinai Ifugaw Balangaw Bontok Kankanaey Kalinga Itneg

Figure 2. Internal relations of the Central Cordilleran subgroup
(Reid 1974:512)
2.1.1. REID'S LIST

*?igid  'left (side)'
*?ila  'see'
*ban?+g  'small'
*dalit  'eel'
*d+pag  'lie flat, on one's back'
*dugi  'husk of rice'
*g+g+d  'slice meat'
*k+laŋ  'worm'
*kiyat  'swim'
*liglig  'afternoon, last night, late'
*l+ktat  'sudden'
*lilig  'circumvent, deviate, off to the side'
*l+gab  'set ablaze, conflagration, burn'
*lusud  'wooden fence'
*na?id  'there is none'
*putu  'belly, intestines'
*sagamsam  'remove weeds from growing rice'
*sag?+n  'near, next to'
*sakuku  'kind of snake'
*s+pdkak  'whip, beat in wrestling'
*si?n  'one unit'
*sukup  'cover, lid, cap'
*t+k+n  'different'
*wanwaj  'river'

2.1.2. CORRIGENDA

On the basis of data from Ibaloy, Reid (1988c) has raised the following items to the level of PSCC:

*?atuŋ  'hot'
*l+t+p  'to dive'
*libu?u  'cloud'
*pun+g  'blood sausage; to fill'

Also on the original list were three items which can be raised to levels higher than that of PCC:

*?+t+ŋ  Kla ?oten, Itg ?+t+ŋ, Blw ma-tanŋ, Bon, Knk, ?+t+ŋ
'mature', Ifg ?oten 'mature pig' NIfg ?oton 'big', Kallahan (Kayapa) ?+t+ŋ, Kallahan (Keleyiq) ?etŋ, Kallahan (Kalanguya) ?etŋ 'big'.
This evidence is strong enough to raise the lexeme to the level of PSCC.

*tag?+y  Bon, Knk tag?+y, Isi tax?oy 'above, up', Itg tag?ay 'raise',
Kla tanŋoy 'raise, elevate' Pangasinan ?atag+ŋ 'tall, high, above'. Kallahan (Kalanguya) ?eta?gay 'tall, high'. The Sambalic languages also have reflexes with the meanings of 'tall, high, above': Sambal (Botolan) tag?ay, Sambal (Santa Cruz) mata?gay, and Sambal (Bolinao) ?ata?gay. This item may then be restructured as *ta?gay and assigned to PNPH.

*t+b+n  Bon, Knk t+b+n, Ifg, Isi tobony 'pierce'. Ilokano tebbeng 'to make a hole in the earlobe' is most probably a cognate, and the item should be raised to the PC level.
The items which follow have a reflex in Isinai and in at least one non-contiguous NCC language. They are, therefore, relatively safe reconstructions for PCC:

*?’a?+w
’shadow’

*?aklaŋ
NBon, CBon ?aklaŋ, IsiA ?e?en ‘clothes’

*?ali [n] kamut
EBon ?alikamot, CBon ?alinkamot, Blw (Tonglayan)
?allekamot, Kla, ?al?amut, IsiB ?alin’amut ‘chicken house’

*?aptik+y

*?ati [n] bulan+n
EBon bolajon, NKnk (Pide) /?atinbowan+n, NKnk (Fidelisan) /?isinbowan, IsiB /?asibu:pon ‘rainbow’; other derived forms exhibit metathesis of the second and third root consonants: Bon /?atinbona?+n, NKnk (Alab) /?atinbona?+n, NKnk (Balili) /?atinbona?+n, SKknk /?abona, Ifg /?at?atibunalon, NKnk, SEKla /?atibunalon, /?atibunalon, CKla /?abural, IsiA tavon’eyon ‘rainbow’

*?+Ja
EBon dala, CIfg dula, Kla dola, Isi deya ‘below’

*?dika
NBon nadikadika?an, Ifg nadidi:ka, Isi na?iddi:?a ‘dirty’

*?dit+k
EBon, Blw ditak, Isi dirito? ‘red’

*?dulnu
SKKnk dumu, Blw, Ifg, Kla dulu, IsiA di:mu ‘dew’

*?guwab
Bon, NKnk, SKKnk gowab, Blw (Tonglayan), Kla guwab, Isi gowab ‘below’; NKnk gowabna, Kla guwab, Isi guwab ‘space-under-house’

*?k+p?t
EBon nakpat, Blw no?pat, Ifg kopot, CIfg, Isi na?pat ‘wet’

*?kugut
EBon, SBlw kugut, Blw, Ifg kugar, Isi ?exut ‘sew’

*?kulap
NBon kolap ‘intestinal worm’, SKKnk kowag, Blw ?olag, Kla kulap, IsiA ?wet ‘earthworm’

*?lagu?d
Blw laged ‘the villages lying to the east and north of Bontoc, such as Tocucan and Sadanga’, CBon laged, Kla lagud, IsiA laxed ‘west’; NKnk laged, Ifg lagud ‘downstream’

*?lukuy
NKnk lukuy, Isi lu?uy ‘accompany, companion’

*?talantag
Blw, NKnk, SEKla talantag, Isi teyantax ‘shore’

*?t’ninin
EBon, Blw, CIfg, NIfg, Kla toynin, CBon t’inin, Isi tugnin ‘cold’

The two items below occur only in Ifugaw and Isinai, and they therefore provide less convincing evidence for assignment to PCC:

*?gand+w
Ifg gando, Isi gandaw ‘rat’

*?tilak
NIfg, Isi ti:la? ‘lost’

1 Unless otherwise indicated, all sound changes in the languages and dialects used as evidence are predictable by rule.
2 Reid had originally assigned this item to NC.
3 Vanoverbergh lists aklang ‘jacket’ for KNk: the unexpected /l/ indicates that it is a loan from somewhere. If it is from Bontok, then the reconstruction stands as PCC. But if it is a loan from an unattested dialect of Ifugaw then it does not.
4 It is more economical to postulate that the long form *?aptik+y is PCC with a regular reflex in IsiA with subsequent apocope in NC than to assume that Isi borrowed the form (especially since it does not appear in Ifugaw). Isi shows metathesis, and both IsiB and Blw show regressive assimilation of the voiceless stops.
5 Reid had originally reconstructed this item as * ?+p?t and assigned it to PNC.
6 But cf. Northern Alta d+nin and Southern Alta dognin ‘cold’ (Reid 1988a:16).
2.2. Semantic Shift. An item is considered an innovation if its denotation is markedly different from that of the immediately ancestral form.

2.2.1. FROM REID’S LIST

*i?iba  
‘sibling’ cf. PAN(D) *ibah ‘other, different’

*bagan  
‘neck’ cf. PPH(Z) *baRqan ‘molar tooth’

*kupkup  
‘skin (of human)’ cf. PC(H) *kupkup ‘to wrap’

*tubu  
‘leaf’ cf. PAN(Dy) *tubuq ‘to grow’

2.2.2. ADDENDA

*?apij  
‘face’ cf. PPH(H) *?apiq ‘cheek’, Blw ?apen, Kla, Isi ?apij ‘face’

*laman  
‘deer’ cf. PC(H) *laman ‘wild animal’, Blw, Isi laman ‘deer’

*(s(a+))+d  
‘wait’ cf. PC(H) *sa+d ‘ambush, lie in wait’; Bon sad+t+n, st+d+n, Blw hadd+n, Ifg had?on, IsiB mantod, IsiA mansor ‘to wait’

*sanji  
‘chin’ cf. PC(H) *sanji ‘mouth’, Bon, SKla, IsiA sanji ‘chin’

*(s+d)+l  
‘strong’ cf. PSCC(H) *(s+d)+l ‘thick’, Ifg hodol, SEKla kasdol, IsiB matde: ‘strong’

2.3. Phonological/Morphological Change

These items contain morphological and/or phonological changes other than those which are predictable by rule.

2.3.1. FROM REID’S LIST

*?ak+w  
‘steal’ cf. PAN(D) *takaw ‘steal’

Bon, NKnk, SKnk, *ak+w, Blw, NIfg, Kla *akaw, Isi mana?aw ‘steal’

2.3.2. ADDENDA

*?+b+g  
‘lie down’ cf. PPH(Z) *tubug ‘lie down’

Bon, NKnk, *omb+g, *ib?+g, Blw, Kla *umbug, Isi? umboh ‘to lie down’

*piy+k  
‘mud’ cf. PC(H) *puy+k ‘mud’

Kla piyo? ‘mud’; IsiA piyo? ‘land, soil’

*puknas  
‘wipe’ apparently a blend of PAN(C) *punas and PSCC(H) *puknad ‘wipe’


*sip?uk  
‘to blow’ cf. PMC(R) *siqbuk ‘to blow’

NKnk sip?ok, IsiA sippu?, IsiB sipu? ‘to blow’

The two items below occur only in Ifugaw and Isinai.

*?alat+y  
‘liver’ cf. PPH(He) *?aRtey ‘liver’

Ifg (Hapaw) *oa:te, IsiB ?eyatoy ‘liver’

*kun?an  
‘when?’ cf. PPH(Z) *ke-[ ] anu ‘when’

Ifg kon?ana, Isi *un?an ‘when’

7 The PAN and PPH reconstructions are primarily those of Dempwolff (D), Dyen (Dy), Blust (B), Charles (C), and Healey (He) as cited in Wurm and Wilson (1975). Some of the PPH forms and all of the reconstructions at the level of PC and lower are from Reid (1974, 1988a,c) (R) and Himes (1988) (H).

8 This item appears on Reid’s list of NCC forms.

9 Were the Ifg (Hapaw) form derived from PCC *? alt+y we would expect *?a:toy by analogy with *ta:go from /ta:tw:; the actually occurring form is analogous to boa:tinan from *bala:in ‘cockroach’. IsiA has the regular reflex of *?alt+y, te:toy.
3. INNOVATIONS EXCLUSIVELY SHARED BY NCC LANGUAGES

Those items which have a reflex in Kalinga-Itneg and also in two or more of the Bontok-Kankanay/Ifugaw/Balangaw group can reliably be assigned to the PNCC level.

3.1. Lexical Items.

3.1.1. REID’S LIST

*?anuka  ‘what’s-it’
*?+gyat  ‘fear’
*?dakig  ‘bolt of a door’
*?gaman  ‘head axe’
*?kan  ‘say’
*?lukbub  ‘to lie on one’s stomach’
*?palay+n  ‘a kind of tree’
*?sapit  ‘to relate; word’
*?tayap  ‘to fly’
*?tukdu  ‘to sit’

3.1.2. CORRIGENDA

Reid (1988c) has raised the following items to the level of PSCC:

*?awil  ‘kind of gift’
*?bagiw  ‘pondfield algae: moss’
*?lawa  ‘useless, without purpose, insignificant’
*?panad  ‘level area’
*?sunsun  ‘to smell’
*?ak+w  This item has been raised to PCC (see above)
*?+s+k  Ibl, Bon, Knk ?+s+k, Ifg ?oho?  ‘to plant’,
         Kla ?oso?  ‘to transplant rice’
         Ibaloy ?+s+k, Ilongot ?+t+k  ‘to plant’
This item may be raised to PSCC.

3.1.3. ADDENDA

*?akitt(+u)y  EBon ?ak?akittoy, NKnk kittoy, SKnk kitkittoy,
             Blw ?akettow, NKla ?akittoy  ‘small’; SEKla ?akitoj
             ‘few’
*?amulanj  EBon, Blw (Tonglayan), SEKla ?amolaj, NIfg ? amulanj
             ‘taro stem’; NKnk ?amawong  ‘taro’
*?ang(a+y)  Bon, NKnk, Blw, NIfg ?angay, SBon, NKnk ?angtjy,
             NKla ?agay, SEKla ?age  ‘only’
*?anjw  Bon, NKnk, SKnk, Ifg, Itg (Lacub), Kla ?anjw,
        Blw, NIfg, NKla ?anjw  ‘saliva, drivel’
*?awni  Bon, Blw ?as ?awni, NKnk ?is ?awni, Kla ?awni  ‘later’
*?inanju  SBon ?inajdo, Blw ?in ?innajdo, NIfg ?innajdo,
         CKla ?innajdo, SKla ?innajno, SEKla ?innajgo  ‘to play’
*?is+w  NBon ?is+w, CBlw ?is+w, Itg, Kla ?isaw  ‘dirty’; EBon
        ?iswij, Itg (Lacub) ?is+w, Ifg ?aho, NKla ?isaw  ‘bad,
        ugly’10
*?up+k  Bon ?op+k, Blw (Aliawan) ?appo?, Ifg ?upok,
        SEKla ?uppo?  ‘rice bran’ Cf. PAN(D) *u(m)pak  ‘bark,
        skin’

10 With accretion of the initial velar nasal being an innovation within Bontok; cf. Ibl isew
    ‘stinginess’ (Reid 1988c).
3.1.4. Additional Items With a Reflex in Kalinga-Itneg And Only One of the Nuclear Cordilleran Languages were Identified.

*?+b+1 ‘wet’
*?+isnu ‘cooked rice’
*dap?ay ‘rock with a wide flat surface, paved place, men’s communal house’
*?k+gk+g ‘knock, beat, as on a door’
*lagan ‘sand’
*mun?ul ‘summit’
*puta?ak ‘white’

3.1.5. CORRIGENDUM

One item on the original list has been raised to the level of PSCC (Reid 1988c):

*lak+y ‘termite’

11 Gaddang ?itu ?yud is probably a borrowing from Kalinga.
3.1.6. ADDENDA

*`ai[l][l] in  'Bon, NKnk `alin, SKLa `alii 'younger sibling'
*`asug SBon `in?ahog, Itg `asog, SKLa `asug 'cooked rice'
  CKLa `asug 'to cook'
*`ataki EBon, NKnk `ataki, NBon, SKnk takki, NKnk, SKnk takii,
  SEKLa `atta `cockroach'
*`ingi Ifg `ingi 'mouse'; CKLa `ingi 'rat'
*`ub+y Bon (Mainit) `ob+y, SKLa `oboy, SEKLa `aboy 'vagina'
*`ugud Bon `og?ogod, Kla `ug `uggud 'story'
*`ulku?uk NKnk `oko `ok, CKLa `ul`u `u?, `ulku `uk, SEKLa
  `olko `ok 'throat'
*`utbu Bon `:b, SKLa `utbu 'to vomit'
*`utl+k Blw `utla?, CKLa `otlok 'to vomit'
*`bitug NKnk bitog 'stone wall'; Itg bitog, NKLa bitug, SEKLa
gitob 12 'wall'
*`buwar NBon, NKnk, SKnk, bowar, Kla buwar 'belly'
*`daku Ifg dako, NKnk daku 'fever'
*`d(+i)?+s EBon, SEKLa do?os, NBon d+?+s, di?+s, SBon di?+h
  'to cough'
*`dub[u] dub Ifg dubudub, Itg dobdob, Kla dubdub 'wind'
*`ganad Bon, SKLa ganad 'today'
*`kiyud Bon, NKnk kiyod, SEKLa keyud 'dipper'
*`lansi Blw lalanni, SKLa lansi 'green (color)'
*`lan+i+san NKnk, Itg l+san, NKnk `alsan, Kla losan 'all'
*`na?ag Bon, NKnk na?ag 'to listen to'; NKnk, Itg na?ag 'to hear'
*`patud NKnk, SEKLa patod, CKLa pinatud 'torch'
*`p+?+s NKnk p+?+s, p+san, SEKLa pop?os 'to squeeze'
*`p+s+l Bon, Itg p+s+l, NKnk, SKnk p+s+, p+s+l+n, Kla (Manabo)
  paslon 'to kill'
*`sal?u Ifg hal?o 'inhabited zone in which the hamlets or villages
  are mutually neighboring'; CKLa kasalsalon 'neighbor'
*`samp+t NKnk samp+t 'tart'; NKnk samp+t 'rough'; Ifg hampot
  'sour, but not bitter'; NKnk sampot 'bitter'
*`s(a)u(p)?uy NBon, Itg sap?oy, Kla sap?uy 'to blow'; CBon sop?oy,
  NKnk sup?uy 'to blow'
*`s+m+k Bon s+m+k, s+m+k+n, Kla somsomkon, somsomok
  'think' 13
*`siput Bon siput 'to go to work;' SEKLa siput 'to work'
*`tagali+y+g NKnk tagali+y, Kla tagaliyong 'cold'
*`t(+i)gi EBon, NBon, Itg (Lacub) ting, Kla tingi, SKLa tugi 'chicken
  louse'
*`tup+k Bon, NKnk, SKnk top+k, Kla tuo? 'mouth' 14
*`was(+i)t Bon, NKnk wasit, Kla wasot, SKLa `wisit 'to throw away'
*`y+k+t SBon y+k+t, NKnk yokot 'armpit'
*`y+ky+k SKKnk y+ky+k, CKLa yokoyok, SKLa yoy?, yoy? 'to laugh' 15
*`yuyuk Bon yoyok, CKLa yuyuk 'to stab'

12 With metathesis of the voiced stops.
13 Cf. Ibl asemek 'to love' (Reid 1988c).
14 Cf. Ibl topek 'to peck, as cocks fighting' (Reid 1988c).
15 Cf. Ibl yevyek 'to tickle' (Reid 1988c).
3.2. Semantic Shift

3.2.1 ADDENDA

The reconstructions in this section have a representative in Kalinga-Itneg and in at least two branches of the Nuclear Cordilleran group.

*d+la
'space-under-house' cf. PCC(H) *d+la 'below'
EBon *dala, Clfg, Ifg, SEKla *dolā 'space-under-house'

*ka?ag
'monkey' cf. PC(H) *ka?ag 'young monkey'
Bon, NKnk, Sknk, Ifg, Itg, Kla *ka?ag 'monkey'

*kadak+lan
'river' cf. PPH(Z) *Dakel 'big'
NKnk *kadak?an 'wide, large river'; Itg *kadaklan hudhud
term for 'large river'; Itg (Lacub) *kadak+lan 'river'

*lagud
'east' cf. PCC(H) *lagud 'west, downstream'
NKnk *lagod, Blw (Tonglayan), Ifg, Kla *lagud, Clfg, SEKla
? ad lagud 'east'

*lam+s
'flesh' cf. PSCC(H) *lam+s 'fruit'
NKnk, Sknk, Itg (Lacub) *lam+s, Ifg *lamoh, NKla *amos
'flesh'

*lidu
'to forget' cf. PC(H) *lidu 'negligent'
NKnk, NKnk *kalido, Ifg *lidu, Itg *malkuwan 'to forget'

*paɲis
'widower' cf. PC(H) *paɲis 'unmatched'
EBon *ampaɲis, Blw, Itg, Kla *paɲis, NKnk *ampaɲeh
'widower'

*sinu
'what?' cf. PPH(H) *sinu 'who?'
Bon, NKnk, Sknk *sino, Blw *heno, Kla *sinu, SEKla *siman
'what?'

Because of their limited distribution in Nuclear Cordilleran languages, the items which follow are less confidently assigned to PNCC.

*?+b+g
'mat' cf. PCC(H) *?+b+g 'to lie down'
CBon *?ib+g, SBon *?+b+g, SEKla *?obog 'mat'

*gatin
'to kick' cf. PC(H) *gatin 'to step on'
EBon, NKnk, NKla, SEKla *gatin 'to kick'

*lu?um
'smooth' cf. PC(R) *luqum 'ripe'
EBon, NKnk *lo?om, SEKla *lu?um 'smooth'

*sigab
'difficult' cf. PNCC *sigab 'pain'
Bon, NKnk, Kla *sigab 'difficult'

*t+tunjin
'wind' cf. PCC(H) *t+tunjin 'cold'
CBon *t+tunjin, SEKla *toqum 'wind'

*tubay
'spear' cf. PC(H) *tubay 'straight post'
Bon, NKnk *tubay, Kla *tubay 'spear'

3.3. Phonological/Morphological Change

3.3.1 FROM REID'S LIST

*?+rkdag
'fall' cf. PMC(R) *tek[nd] lag 'to fall' 16

*?+nj+l
'nose' cf. PSCC(R) *?+nj+l 'nose'

*?ina
'ear' cf. PAN(D) *talina 'ear'

*?+tutu
'cook' cf. PAN(D) *lu(n)[t] uh 'cook'

*ma?id
'there is none' cf. PCC(R) *na?id 'there none'

*tun?al
'bone' cf. PPH(Z) *tuqum 'bone'

16 NCC languages also reflect forms with regressive assimilation of the voiceless stop: CBon, Itg
*?+dag, NKla, SEKla *tudag 'to fall'.

10
The following are reconstructions based on Kalinga/Itneg and at least two of the branches of Nuclear Cordilleran:

*\(\text{kuk?ul}(\pm u)\eta\) 'fingernail' cf. PPH(H) *kulkulhun 'fingernail'

*\(\text{kulap}+y\) 'butterfly' cf. PSCC(H) *ku[m] pa[p+y 'butterfly'
NBoN kokkolap+ŋ, CBoN kolap?+ŋ, Blw ?ol?olapoy, Ifg iikolap?e, NKLa kullapoy, SKLA ?ullapoy 'butterfly'

*lami?is 'sweet' cf. PAN(D) *manit 'sweet'
Bon lami?is, NKnk lamé?isan, NIfg lameh, NKLa nalmi?is 'sweet'

*tuppa 'to spit, saliva' cf. PPH(Z) *tuLpa 'to spit'
EBon, NKnk, Blw toppa, Ifg, Kla tuppa 'to spit, sputum';
Bon, NKnk, Blw (Aliawan) tobb, SKLa tubba 'to spit, sputum' 17

The following reconstructions are based on evidence from Kalinga-Itneg and only one of the branches of Nuclear Cordilleran.

*\(\text{akit?}\) 'few' cf. PNCC *\(\text{akit}+\text{u}\)y 'few, small'
Bon, NKnk, Kla \(\text{akit} 'few'

*\(\text{akiy}+\text{u}\)t 'few' cf. PNCC *\(\text{akit}+\text{u}\)y 'few, small'
CBon, Kla \(\text{akiyot} 'very little'; NBoN \(\text{ak?akiyot} 'small';
CBon (Tocucan) \(\text{ak?akiyot}, \text{CBon, SBoN \(\text{ak}\?\text{akiy}+\text{t},
\text{CKLa \(\text{akkeyut, } \text{akkeyot} 'few'

*\(\text{ata}\) 'eye' cf. PAN(D) *\(\text{ata}\) 'eye'
NKnk, Kla \(\text{ata} 'eye'

*\(\text{dawwan}\) 'river' cf. PCC(R) *\(\text{wanwan} 'river'
EBon, CBoN, SBoN, Kla dawwan 'river'

*\(\text{galabi}\) 'yesterday' cf. PPH(R) *\(\text{ka}--\text{Rabi} 'yesterday'
NBoN ?a\(\text{galabyan}, \text{SKLa galabyan 'yesterday'
\text{CKLa \(\text{is\(\text{an\(\text{galabyan 'day-before-yesterday'

*\(\text{guyguy}\) 'to pull' cf. PPH(Z) *\(\text{guyud} 'to pull'
Bon, NKnk guyguy, CKLA, SKLa guyguy 'to pull'

*\(\text{kuglit}\) 'skin' cf. PPH(H) *\(\text{kublit} 'skin'
Blw ?uglit, CKLA, SKLA ?uglit 'skin'

*\(\text{t+pa}\) 'winnow' cf. PPH(H) *\(\text{tahep 'winnow'
EBon, Kla topa 'winnow'

*\(\text{tulkud}\) 'housepost' cf. PPH(Z) *\(\text{tukud} 'housepost'
Bon tolkoD, SEKLA tolkud 'housepost'

4. INNOVATIONS EXCLUSIVELY SHARED BY NC LANGUAGES: ALL THREE BRANCHES

Those items which have reflexes in all three of the branches of Nuclear Cordilleran and which also have a wide-spread distribution are confidently assigned to this level. 18

4.1. Lexical Items.

4.1.1. REID'S LIST

*\(\text{?agid}\) 'to sharpen to a point, as a stick'

*\(\text{?ad}+\text{u}\) 'today'

17 The latter forms show voicing of the intervocalic geminate cluster.

18 There are many lexemes which occur in the core area of Balangaw, Eastern Bontok and Northern Ifugaw (as well as in Southeast Kalinga) which undoubtedly reflect a good deal of hidden borrowing.
4.1.2. CORRIGENDA

*?a?+w  'shadow' This item has been raised to the level of PCC.
*kitti?  'to pinch' Reid (1988c) has raised this to the PSCC level.

4.1.3. ADDENDA

*?ad+l  EBon, Ifg ? adol, SBon, Ifg (Hapaw) ? ado:, Blw ? adal 'body'
*?idat  EBon, Ifg ? idat, Blw ? iddat 'to give'
*?ugga  CBon, Clfg ? ad ? ogga, Blw, NIfg, ? ad ? ugg 'yesterday'
*batan?  NBon sinbatanan, Bon ? anbattay, Blw bum? tayan, Ifg himbatayan 'afternoon'
*b+lal  EBon bomlol, CBon bomlal, b+lal, Blw bumnal, Ifg bumlal, bolal 'to swell'
*k+t+n  EBon, Ifg maylon, Blw manl+n, Ifg kolop 'to split'
*l(a+)nj+s  Bon, NKnk langs+n, Blw, Clfg longoh, longon 'to cut off, chop'
*pagat  Bon, NKnk, SKnk, Blw, Ifg pagat 'thorn'
*sik+t  EBon sikat, SBon hik+t, NKnk, SKnk sik+t, Blw (Tonglayan) he?at, Ifg hikot 'sheath for bolo'

4.2. Semantic Shift

4.2.1. FROM REID’S LIST

*lakuwan  'to buy' <PNPH(H) *laku? 'to sell'

4.2.2. ADDENDA

*daya  'above' cf. PPH(C) *daya 'upstream'
*?lakat  'taro' cf. PC(H) *lakat 'kind of banana'
*samp+t  'rough (touch)' <PNCC *samp+t 'rough (taste)'

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19 Cf. Ibl gesges 'to cut something into bits, as leaves' (Reid 1988c).
20 Cf. Ibl demdem 'cloudy, overcast' (Reid 1988c).
21 Cf. Ibl pokol 'bone'; also Southern Alta pokol, Northern Alta pu?+l, and Casiguran Dumagat puk+l 'thigh' (Reid 1988a:14).
22 Reid had originally placed this in the category of reconstructions with reflexes in only two of the three NC languages.
4.3. Morphological/Phonological Change

4.3.1. ADDENDA

*bilat  ‘scar’ cf. PPH(H) *pilat ‘scar’
   Bon, Blw, NIfg bilat ‘scar’
*tili  ‘vagina’ cf. PAN *i(t) (C)t’il ‘clitoris’
   Bon, NKnk, Ifg tili, Blw (Tonglayan) teli ‘vagina’

INNOVATIONS EXCLUSIVELY SHARED WITHIN NC LANGUAGES: two of
the three branches or, if in all three, of limited distribution.

5.1. Lexical innovations

5.1.1. FROM REID’S LIST

*buyuy  ‘a boil’
*pagpag  ‘forest’

5.1.2. CORRIGENDA

*?ad+l  This item has been reassigned to the confirmed NC reconstruc-
         tions above.
*?+p+t  This item has been reconstructed as *k+p+t and assigned to
         the CC level above.
*gilu  ‘dull’ Blw, Ifg giIu ‘dull’
       SEKh la giIu, Kallahan (Kayapa), llongot giIud ‘dull’
      If the Southern Cordilleran term is cognate this item may
      be assigned to PSCC; otherwise, it is probably PNCC.

5.1.3. ADDENDA

*?a[k]lit  Bon, NKnk, NIfg ?a[k]lit, CIfg ?aklet ‘bitter’
*?a[k]ud  NKnk, SKnk ?akod, Ifg ?akud ‘ladle, spatula’
*?am[?r]ay  EBon, Blw ?ammay, NKnk ?amay ‘good, pretty’
*?an[g]ul+m  EBon ?agogolom, Bon gol+m, NKnk ?agogow+n,
                  Ifg gulom, NIfg ?angugulom; ?angugulon ‘ant’
*?anibat  NKnk, Ifg ?anibat ‘kind of fence’
*?apis  SKnk ?apis, Ifg ?apih ‘sleeping mat’
*?im+l  EBon, NIfg ?imol, Blw (Tonglayan) ?imal ‘round’
*?ubud  Bon ?obod, Ifg ?ubbud ‘fine sand’
*?u[l]apak  EBon, Blw (Tonglayan) ?oplak, CIfg ?u[l]apak ‘bark (of a
                  tree)’
*ba?un  Bon, NKnk ba?un, Ifg ba?un ‘debt’
*bagsay  NKnk bagsay, Ifg bagshe ‘kind of spear’
*bakag  NBon, NKnk bakag, Blw ba?ag ‘to cut off’
*baktad  Bon, NKnk, SKnk, Ifg baktad ‘to lie down’
*bidan  Bon, NKnk, Ifg bidan ‘to be burning’
*da?an  Bon, Blw da?an ‘not (negator of past verbs)’
*da[k]lig  SBon, NKnk, SKnk dalig, NIfg d’? lig ‘wall’
*dukug  Bon, NKnk dokog, Ifg dukug ‘to turn one’s back’
*ginug  Bon, NIfg ginuN, NKnk ginuN ‘stream’
*gia  NKnk gia, Ifg gia ‘to split (wood)’
*ka?at  Bon, NKnk, Ifg ka?at ‘how many?’
*kalagakan  NKnk kalagakan, kallagakan, NIfg ?alana?an ‘throat’
5.2.1. CORRIGENDA

*k+n+g
‘firm, hard’ cf. PC(H) *k+n+g ‘thick’
This item has been raised to the level of PSCC (Reid 1988c).

*bayag
‘old (object)’ cf. PC(H) *bayag ‘long time’
Bon, Knk bayag, Blw b’y’g ‘old (obj.)’
Ibaloi of Trinidad and Kalanguya of Hungduan both have bayag ‘old (obj.)’ This item may be raised to PSCC.

5.2.2. ADDENDA

*?ila
‘to know’ cf. PCC(R) *?ila ‘to see’
Blw ? inila*, Ifg ? inila ‘to know (fact, person)’
CENTRAL CORDILLERAN RECONSTRUCTIONS

*?inl(a+)kas  ‘widow’ cf. PC(H) *l+kas ‘to undo, untie’
EBon, CBon ? illakas, Bon ? inl+kas, NIfg ?illo?ah ‘widow’

*?udu  ‘sky’ cf. PPH(Z) *uduDu ‘directly above’
EBon ?ad ?odo, Blw, NIfg ? udu ‘sky’

*b(u)kaŋ  ‘rainbow’ cf. PNCC *b+kan ‘bow(-and-arrow)’
NKnk ? atimboškan+t, Ifg bukan, bokan ‘rainbow’

*buwa  ‘seed’ cf. PAN(D) *buwah ‘areca nut’
Bon, NKnk, SKnk bowa, Ifg buwa ‘seed’

*d+la  ‘outside’ cf. PCC *d+la ‘below’
EBon, Blw (Tonglayan) dala, Bon d+la, NKnk d+?a, SKnk d+ya, Ifg dola ‘outside’

*gayaŋ  ‘to throw’ cf. PC(H) *gayaŋ ‘spear’
NKnk, Ifg gayaŋ ‘to throw’

*kali  ‘to call’ cf. PAN(B) *kaRi ‘to talk’
Bon kaliyan, NKnk, Ifg (Hungduan) kalyan, NKnk kaliy+n, Clfg kali ‘to call’

*payak  ‘leaf’ cf. PC(H) *payak ‘wing’
SKKnk payak, NIfg paya ‘leaf’

*s+d+m  ‘night, late afternoon’ cf. PMC(R) *s+d+m ‘dark’
Bon, NKnk masd+m, Ifg nahdom, mahdom, hodom ‘night’;
SBon nahd+m, NKnk masd+m, s+d+m, Clfg mahdom ‘afternoon’

5.3. Morphological/Phonological Change

5.3.1. FROM REID’S LIST

*?aptik  ‘short’ cf. PCC *?aptik+y ‘short’

5.3.2. ADDENDA

*?adaww+y  ‘far’ cf. PPH(C) *hadawi ‘far’
EBon ? adawwoy, CBon daww+y, Blw ? ad+ww+y ‘far’

*?awan  ‘right (side)’ cf. PAN(D) *wanan ‘right’
Bon, NKnk ? awan, Blw ? aw+n ‘right’

*?ibsu  ‘urine’ cf. PPH(He) *qisbu ‘urine’
NKnk ? ibso, NIfg ? ibho, ? ibhu ‘urine’

*kittaq  ‘few’ cf. PNCC *akitt+y ‘few’
NBon ? akittaq, Ifg (Hapaw) kitan, Clfg, NIfg ? ittaj ‘few’

ABBREVIATIONS

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APPENDIX


An item is listed simply as Bon, NKnk, etc., if it appears in the literature and/or it is widespread within the language. Otherwise, its distribution is indicated by the barangay (in parentheses) or the region within which it occurs.

For the sake of convenience, data have been grouped by region within Bontok, Northern Kankanaey, Ifugaw and Kalinga as follows:

Northern Bontok (NBon): Saclit, Belwang, Sadanga Poblacion, Sacasacan, and Betwagan, all in Sadanga.
Eastern Bontok (EBon): Barlig Poblacion, Kadaklan, and Lias, all in Barlig.
Southern Bontok (SBon): Talubin and Bayyo, Bontoc.
Central Bontok (CBon): Mainit, Maligcong, Guinaang, Dallican, Bontoc Ili, Bontoc Poblacion, Samoki, Tocucan, and Canoe, all in Bontoc.
Northern Kankanaey (NKnk): Luba, Abra; Alab, Bailili, and Gonogon, Bontoc; all barangays of Sagada; Dandanac, Agawa, and Besao Poblacion, Besao; Sumadel, Tadian; Bila, Otucan, and Bauko Poblacion, Bauko; Namatec, Sabangan.
Southern Kankanaey (SKnk): Ampusungan, Bakun; Kibungan and Kapangan Poblacions.
Northern Ifugao (NIfg): Batad, Banaue; Guinihon and Mayoyaw Proper, Mayoyaw.
Central Ifugaw (CIfg): Cababuyan, Anmanad, Gohang, Banaue Poblacion, and Bayninan, Banaue.
Northern Kalinga (NKla): Manabo, Daguioman, and Malibcong Poblacions, Abra; Talalang (Balbalasang), Magnao (Tabuk), and Tabuk Poblacion in Kalinga-Apayao.
Central Kalinga (CKla): Guinaang and Dantalan, Pasil, Bangad, Tinglayan; and Poblacion, Lubuagan.
Southern Kalinga (SKla): Balatoc, Pasil; Tulgaw and Butbut, Tinglayan.
Southeastern Kalinga (SEKla): Lubo, Tanudan in Kalinga-Apayao; Dalipoy (Paracilis) and Maducayan (Natonin), Mountain Province.
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