

18 *Inclusory constructions and their development in Philippine languages*

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1 Introduction¹

In many Philippine languages it is possible to express plural participants in an activity by conjoining two or more noun phrases with the same case-marking. In Tagalog (Schachter and Otnes 1972:115–116), for example, the conjunction *at* ‘and’ conjoins NPs² that express nominative (common) nouns, as in (1a), while it conjoins NPs that express genitive and locative (personal) nouns, as in (1b-c), respectively. The second NP in such coordinate constructions may or may not be required to be preceded by a nominal specifier marking case and/or the semantic features of the following noun, as in (1a), in which the form marking the following noun as a common noun is optional. Similar constructions occur widely in Philippine languages, as exemplified also in Masbatenyo (2), and in Khinina-ang Bontok (3).

¹ It is a great pleasure to be able to present this article to Bob Blust, whose friendship and scholarship have continued to inspire me over the four decades since we first met, he as a beginning student in linguistics and me teaching my first course as a new PhD at the University of Hawai‘i. The extent of Bob’s scholarship is so extensive, that it is difficult to find an area in comparative Austronesian to which he has not already made substantial contributions. It is my hope that this foray into some of the features of Philippine comparative syntax and grammaticalization will fill one of the minor gaps that Bob has not yet ventured into.

² Abbreviations: 1, 2, 3 – first, second, third person, PCPH – Proto Central Philippines, BAN – Bantoanon, BOH – Boholano, CEB – Cebuano, DTG – Datagnon, HIL – Hiligaynon (Ilonggo), JAU – Jaun-jaun, KUY – Kuyonon, SIB – Sibale, SOR – Sorsoganon, SUR – Surigaonon, TAG – Tagalog, WAR – Waray, ADDR – addressee, ANC – associative nominal construction, COM – common, DEF – definite, EMPH – emphasis, EXCL – exclusive, FUT – future, GEN – genitive, INCL – inclusive, IPC – inclusive pronominal construction, LG – ligature, LOC – locative, NEG – negative, NOM – nominative, NP – noun phrase, NS – nominal specifier, OBL – oblique, PERS – personal, PL – plural, PROX – proximate, RPRT – reportative, SG – singular, SPEC – specifier, SPKR – speaker, TOP – topic, TOPLK – topic linker, UNM – unmarked

(1) Tagalog³

- a. *Nakita =ko ang babae at (ang) lalaki.*
saw =GEN.1SG NS.COM woman and (NS.COM) man
'I saw the woman and the man.'
- b. *Pinanood ni Belen at ni Rosa ang parada.*
saw GEN.PERS.SG Belen and GEN.PERS.SG Rosa NS.COM parade
'Belen and Rosa saw the parade.'
- c. *Susulat =ako kay G Reyes at*
will.write =NOM.1SG LOC.PERS.SG Mr Reyes and
kay Gng Quizon.
LOC.PERS.SG Mrs Quizon.
'I'll write to Mr Reyes and Mrs Quizon.'

(2) Masbatenyo (Wolfenden 2001:258)

- Adi si Maria kag si Pedro.*
here NS.PERS.SG Maria and NS.PERS.SG Pedro
'Maria and Pedro are here.'

(3) Khinina-ang Bontok⁴

- Omey am-in nan ffarro si mamagkhit ay insamar.*
go all NS.COM young.men and young.women LG prepare.pondfield
'All the young men and women go to prepare the soil in the pondfields
(for planting).'

Similar constructions may also be employed when the first of two potential coordinate constructions is expressed by a personal pronoun and the second by a nominal other than a personal pronoun, as in (4a), in which the NPs are nominative, and (4b), in which the NPs are formally marked with locative prepositions, and express a dative case relationship.

(4) Tagalog

- a. *Nakita =ko siya at si Juan.*
saw =GEN.1SG 3SG and NS.PERS.SG Juan
'I saw him/her and Juan.'
- b. *Ibibigay =ko ito sa kaniya at kay Juan.*
will.give =GEN.1SG this LOC OBL.3SG and LOC.PERS.SG Juan
'I'll give this to him/her and Juan.'

Schachter and Otnes (1972:115–116) noted, that in constructions such as these, where the first of two potential coordinates is expressed by a personal pronoun and the second by a nominal other than a personal pronoun, 'Tagalog in some cases allows, in others requires,

³ Tagalog examples are either taken directly from Schachter and Otnes (1972) or have been verified as grammatical by Ricardo Nolasco and Tish Bautista. The transcriptions of published source materials throughout the paper are retained as in the originals, except for the addition of = signs to mark clitic pronouns. Translations have been modified and verified with native speakers, where appropriate, to more accurately reflect the inherent ambiguities in the data.

⁴ Khinina-ang Bontok data are from my own field notes and have been confirmed as grammatical by a native speaker, Susan Catay.

the use of a SPECIAL COORDINATE CONSTRUCTION in place of the coordinate construction with *at*.' These constructions require a plural personal pronoun followed by a genitively marked NP, regardless of the case of the preceding pronoun, as in (5a-c), in which the third person pronouns are respectively unmarked for case (5a), genitive (5b) and locative (5c). In these constructions, even though the pronoun is plural, its reference is necessarily singular. The non-pronominal NP in these constructions expresses only one (or more) of the most salient participants included in the set covered by the pronoun.

(5) **Tagalog**

- a. *Nakita =ko sila ni Juan.*
 saw =GEN.1SG 3PL GEN.PERS.SG Juan
 'I saw him/her and Juan.'
- b. *Ginawa =nila ni Juan ang trabaho.*
 made =GEN.3PL GEN.PERS.SG Juan NS.COM work
 'He/She and Juan did the work.'
- c. *Ibibigay =ko ito sa kanila ng bayaw =mo.*
 will.give =GEN.1SG this LOC OBL.3PL GEN.COM brother-in-law =GEN.2SG
 'I'll give this to him/her and your brother-in-law.'

Similar constructions occur also in Sorsoganon, a member of Zorc's (1977) Peripheral subgroup of the Central Bisayan dialects and, like Tagalog, a member of the Greater Central Philippine subgroup of Philippine languages (Blust 1991), as in (6).

(6) **Sorsoganon⁵**

- a. *Nakita =ko sinda ni Juan.*
 saw =GEN.1SG 3PL GEN.PERS.SG Juan
 'I saw him/her and Juan.'
- b. *Ginibo =ninda ni Juan an trabaho.*
 made =GEN.3PL GEN.PERS.SG Juan NS.COM work
 He/She and Juan did the work.'
- c. *Ihahatag =ko ini sainda san bayaw mo.*
 will.give =GEN.1SG this LOC.3PL GEN.PERS.SG brother-in-law GEN.2SG
 'I'll give this to him/her and your brother-in-law.'

The first linguist to describe constructions such as these in Philippine languages was Blake (1916), who in an insightful paper referred to them as 'explicative' coordinate constructions. These kinds of constructions are found in many languages and have been referred to by Lichtenberk (2000:2) as INCLUSORY PRONOMINAL CONSTRUCTIONS (IPC).⁶ In describing such constructions in Toqabaqita, Lichtenberk says, 'a pronominal form that identifies a total set of participants, a subset of which is identified by a lexical NP, will be referred to as an 'inclusory pronominal' ... [and] the lexical noun phrase that identifies a subset of the set encoded by the inclusory pronominal will be referred to as the 'included noun phrase'. Lichtenberk uses the term 'inclusory pronoun' to refer specifically to independent personal pronouns that are inclusory, in that their reference includes not only

⁵ All Sorsoganon examples have been provided and checked by Maria Sheila Zamar.

⁶ See Lichtenberk (2000) for examples and a wide-ranging discussion of such constructions in Toqabaqita, an Oceanic language.

a single speaker, addressee or third person, but also the lexical NP that follows. Since in Philippine languages there are no ‘subject-tense markers’, as in Toqabaqita, that require a distinction in terminology between ‘inclusory pronominals’ and ‘inclusory pronouns’, all inclusory pronominal forms will be referred to here as ‘inclusory pronouns’.

Philippine languages also typically allow the expression of one or more of the salient participants of a larger set by a construction type in which a ‘plural’ nominal specifier is followed by a personal noun which functions to label a total set of participants, as in (7a-c), in which the nominal specifiers are respectively unmarked for case (7a), genitive (7b) and locative (7c). This type of inclusory construction is referred to in this paper as an ASSOCIATIVE NOMINAL CONSTRUCTION (ANC).

(7) Tagalog

- a. *Nakita =ko sina Juan.*
 saw =GEN.1SG NS.PERS.PL Juan
 ‘I saw Juan (and others).’
- b. *Ginawa nina Juan ang trabaho.*
 made GEN.PERS.PL Juan NS.COM work
 ‘Juan (and others) did the work.’
- c. *Ibibigay =ko ito kina Juan.*
 will.give =GEN.1SG this LOC.PERS.PL Juan
 ‘I’ll give this to Juan (and others).’

Inclusory pronominal constructions will be discussed in §2, inclusory nominal, or associative nominal constructions in §3, and their historical development in §4.

2 Inclusory pronominal constructions

IPCs consist of two parts, the INCLUSORY PRONOUN and the INCLUDED NOUN PHRASE. These constructions correspond in type to the Toqabaqita constructions that Lichtenberk labels ‘split-phrasal’ inclusory constructions, in that while both the inclusory pronoun and the included NP frequently occur in apposition, they are separable. In §2.1 we examine the inclusory pronouns, while in §2.2 we discuss the included noun phrase, and in §2.3 give evidence for the ‘split-phrasal’ nature of these constructions. Section 2.4 will deal with phrasal IPCs.

2.1 Inclusory pronouns

The examples of inclusory pronouns given in (5)–(6) above are all third person plural forms. However, when they occur as part of an IPC, their reference is distinctive, in that although their form is plural, their pronominal reference is singular. The total set of participants expressed by the construction is plural, including along with the pronominal referent, the lexical referent(s) that follows, expressed by the included NP.

In addition to third person inclusory pronouns, Tagalog also has IPCs with first and second person inclusory pronouns followed by an included NP. As with third person inclusory pronouns, first person exclusive, and second person pronouns that are inclusory, unless otherwise specified (as by a numeral (8b)), identify only a single pronominal referent, as in (8a,c). A first person plural inclusive pronoun that is inclusory, expresses at least two pronominal referents, a single speaker and a single addressee and at least a single

included nominal, as in (8d), although it may be interpreted as having plural pronominal referents. For each of these, the inclusory NP represents a set of one (or more) of the salient participants included in the pronominal reference. Other Philippine languages exhibit similar constructions, as in (9)–(14). It should be noted that, unlike many other Philippine languages, most dialects of Tagalog no longer distinguish a first person dual pronoun (‘we two’) from a first person inclusive pronoun (‘we all’).

(8) Tagalog

- a. *Maglalakad =kami ng Nanay.*
will.walk =1PL.EXCL GEN.COM.SG mother
‘Mother and I will walk.’
- b. *Maglalakad =tayo =ng tatlo ng Nanay.*
will.walk =1PL.INCL =LG three GEN.COM.SG mother
‘The three of us, Mother, you and I will walk.’
- c. *Ibibigay =ko ito sa inyo ng bayaw =mo.*
will.give =GEN.1SG this LOC OBL.2PL GEN.COM brother-in-law =GEN.2SG
‘I’ll give this to you (SG) and your brother-in-law.’
- d. *Lilinisán =natin ni Maria ang bahay.*
will.clean =GEN.1PL.INCL GEN.PERS.SG Maria NS.COM house
‘We, including Maria, are cleaning the house.’

(9) Sorsoganon

- a. *Malakat =kami ni Mamay.*
will.walk =1PL.EXCL GEN.PERS.SG mother
‘Mother and I will walk.’
- b. *Malakat =kamo ni Mamay.*
will.walk =2PL GEN.PERS.SG mother
‘Mother and you (SG) will walk.’

(10) Northern Subanen (Daguman 2004:169)

Miktuntultuntul =gami ni Junjun.
casually.talked =NOM.1PL.EXCL GEN.PERS.SG Junjun
‘We, Junjun and I, casually talked.’

(11) Mansaka (Svelmoe and Svelmoe 1974:56)

Kikita =ko kamo si Ilik.
see =GEN.1SG NOM.2PL PERS.SG Ilik
‘I see you (SG) and Ilik.’

(12) Ilianen Manobo (Wrigglesworth 1971:121)

Ne embiya egkeamin ini se egkeenen, dey
then if consumed this the food GEN.1PL.EXCL
ki ina ...
OBL.PERS mother
‘Then if our food here is used up, mine with mother’s ...’

(13) Ilokano⁷

Mapan =kami *ken* *Jose*.
 go =NOM.1PL.EXCL OBL.PERS Jose
 ‘Jose and I are going.’

(14) Khinina-ang Bontok

- a. *Chinarosan* =mi *an* *Pakoran nan*
 cleaned =GEN.1PL.EXCL OBL.PERS.SG Pakoran NS.COM
pantew =cha.
 yard =3PL
 ‘Pakoran and I cleaned their yard.’
- b. *Inmey* =kayo *an* *Pakoran ay mangila* =s *nan*
 went =2PL OBL.PERS.SG Pakoran LG see =OBL NS.COM
arang =cha.
 granary =3PL
 ‘You (SG) and Pakoran went to see their granary.’

It should be noted that although languages such as Ilokano and Khinina-ang Bontok have inclusory pronoun constructions with non-third person included pronouns, as in (13) and (14) above, they do not allow third person inclusory pronoun constructions corresponding to the Tagalog and Sorsoganon examples in (5) and (6). The sentences in (15) and (16) are grammatical only with the meanings given in parentheses; they are ungrammatical with the meanings shown with a preceding asterisk. To express meanings such as these, sentences with associative nominal constructions are used (see §3).

(15) Ilokano

- a. *Mapan* =da *kenni* *Jose*.
 go =3PL OBL.PERS Jose
 *‘He/She and Jose are going.’ (‘They are going to Jose’s place.’)
- b. *Mapan* =da *iti* *gayyem* =na.
 go =3PL OBL.COM friend =GEN.3SG
 *‘He/She and his/her friend are going.’ (‘They are going to his/her friend’s place.’)

(16) Khinina-ang Bontok

- a. *Inilak* *cha-icha an* *Pakoran*.
 saw.1SG 3PL OBL.PERS.SG Pakoran
 *‘I saw him/her and Pakoran.’ (‘I saw them with Pakoran.’)
- b. *Khina-eb* =cha *an* *Pakoran nan afong*.
 made =GEN.3PL OBL.PERS.SG Pakoran NS.COM house
 *‘He/She and Pakoran built the house.’ (‘They, with Pakoran, built the house.’)

⁷ Ilokano data have been checked and verified as grammatical by Carl Rubino and Elizabeth Calinawagan.

2.2 Included noun phrases

Just as inclusory pronouns in Philippine languages are distinctive, included NPs are also distinctive, in that although they are formally marked with either genitive or oblique case-marking forms, their interpretation is different from other NPs that are similarly marked, and depend for their interpretation on the presence of an inclusory pronoun preceding them. In Tagalog, for example, genitive NPs occur as follows:

(1) To encode a post-nominal possessor, a common noun is introduced by *ng* (/naŋ/), while a personal noun is introduced by *ni*—or *nina* when ‘plural’ (see §3)—or one of the enclitic genitive pronouns or demonstrative forms. A common noun functioning as a possessor in such a construction is interpretable as either definite or indefinite, as in (17a–d).

(17) Tagalog

- a. *aso ng lalaki* ‘the/a man’s dog’
- b. *aso ni Juan* ‘Juan’s dog’
- c. *aso niya* ‘his dog’
- d. *aso nito* ‘this one’s dog’

(2) To encode the agent of a transitive clause. A genitive NP with this function is marked in precisely the same way as a post-nominal possessor, as in (18a–d).

(18) Tagalog

- a. *Ginawa ng lalaki ang silya.*
made GEN.COM man NS.COM chair
‘The/A man made the chair.’
- b. *Ginawa ni Juan ang silya.*
made GEN.PERS.SG Juan NS.COM chair
‘Juan made the chair.’
- c. *Ginawa =niya ang silya.*
made =GEN.3SG NS.COM chair
‘He made the chair.’
- d. *Ginawa =nito ang silya.*
made =GEN.PROX NS.COM chair
‘This one made the chair.’

(3) to encode the second NP (the patient) of a dyadic intransitive clause, i.e., a clause that is morphologically marked as intransitive, but which has two core noun phrases (Dixon and Aikhenvald 2000:3). In such a construction the genitive NP is always indefinite or partitive, and its referent can only be either a common noun introduced by *ng* (/naŋ/) or a genitive demonstrative (such as *nito*), with a partitive interpretation. A genitively-marked personal noun cannot occur, as in (19).

(19) Tagalog

- a. *Gumawa si Juan ng silya.*
made NS.PERS Juan GEN.COM chair
‘Juan made a chair/chairs.’

- b. *Gumawa si Juan nito.*
 made NS.PERS Juan GEN.PROX
 ‘Juan made some of these.’

In addition, in Tagalog, a genitive NP is used to express an included NP. A genitive NP with this function, however, is different from those noted above, in that it can encode either a common noun introduced by *ng* (/naŋ/), typically with a definite interpretation, or a personal noun introduced by *ni*—or *nina* when ‘plural’—but not a genitive pronoun or a demonstrative. It functions moreover, not as a possessor, agent, or patient, but simply to name one (or more) of the salient members of the set specified by the previous plural pronoun, regardless of its case-marking. To receive this interpretation then, a genitive NP must be preceded by an inclusory pronoun. An included NP is distinctive, or ‘special’, but not in the sense suggested by Schachter and Otnes (1972:116), since it cannot be interpreted as either coordinated with, or a concomitant of, the set specified by the pronoun, but rather as one of the participants included within the set. Lichtenberk (2000) notes that ‘constructions with inclusory pronominals have usually been analyzed as coordinate or comitative ... In Toqabaqita ... they are neither.’ The same is true also of these constructions in Philippine languages.

2.3 ‘Split-phrasal’ inclusory pronominal constructions

In his typology of IPCs in Toqabaqita, Lichtenberk distinguishes between two general types. Those in which the inclusory pronominal and the included NP form a phrase, he labels as ‘phrasal’ inclusory pronominals. Those constructions which do not form a single phrase he labels as ‘split-phrasal type’ (Lichtenberk 2000:3). All of the examples given in the preceding sections are of the latter type, in that while both the inclusory pronoun and the included noun NP frequently occur in apposition, they do not constitute a single phrase and are separable.

In Philippine languages, clitic pronouns typically occur in second position in a clause, immediately following the main lexical verb as shown in the examples in the preceding sections, but when the lexical verb is preceded by an ‘auxiliary’ verb, such as a negative, pronouns occur between the two verbs, resulting in the separation of the inclusory nominal from its dependent included NP, as in (20a), in which the two parts of the inclusory construction are surrounded by square brackets. The inclusory pronoun can also be separated from its included NP by temporal adverbial expressions, as in (20b-c).

(20) Tagalog

- a. *Hindi [=nila] ginawa [ni Juan] ang trabaho.*
 NEG =GEN.3PL made GEN.PERS.SG Juan NS.COM work
 ‘He and Juan didn’t do the work.’
- b. *Binili [=namin] kahapon [ni Juan] ang kotse.*
 bought =GEN.1PL.EXCL yesterday GEN.PERS.SG Juan NS.COM car
 ‘We, Juan and I, bought the car yesterday.’
- c. *Nakita =ko [sila] kanina [ni Maria] sa parke.*
 saw =GEN.1SG 3PL earlier GEN.PERS.SG Maria LOC park
 ‘I saw her/him and Maria in the park earlier today.’

In Sorsoganon, similar constructions occur in which the parts of the inclusory constructions are separated. In (21a), the inclusory pronoun is fronted to follow the negative verb, while in (21b-c), temporal adverbs separate the two parts of the construction. In Sorsoganon, unlike in Tagalog, genitive common NPs may be marked as either definite (with *san*) or indefinite (with *sin*) (Zorc 1977:85). A Sorsoganon genitively-marked common NP in an inclusory construction is ‘special’, because it can only be marked with the definite form, as in (21b-c). The indefinite, or non-specific, form is incompatible with the function of the construction to express a salient member of the pronominal set.

(21) Sorsoganon

- a. *Dili [=ninda] ginibo [ni Juan] an trabaho.*
 NEG =GEN.3PL made GEN.PERS.SG Juan NS.COM work
 ‘He and Juan didn’t do the work.’
- b. *Ginibo [=ninda] kahapon [san lalaki] an trabaho.*
 made =GEN.3PL yesterday GEN.COM.DEF man NS.COM work
 ‘He/she and the man did the work yesterday.’
- c. *Kinuwa [=namon] kanina [san mga batit] an mga burak.*
 took =GEN.1PL.EXCL earlier GEN.COM.DEF PL child NS.COM
 PL flower
 ‘We, the children and I, took the flowers earlier today.’

In the Ilokano examples in (22a-b), a future adverbial enclitic (=nto) attaches directly to the inclusory pronoun, separating it from the included NP. In (22b), the inclusory pronoun and its enclitic future adverb are further separated by their second-position occurrence following the negative verb (*saan*), and in (22c), the inclusory pronoun is separated from its included (common) NP by a temporal adverb.

(22) Ilokano

- a. *Mapan [=kami] =nto [ken(ni) Jose].*
 go =1PL.EXCL =FUT OBL.PERS(.SG) Jose
 ‘Jose and I will go.’
- b. *Saan [=kami] =nto a mapan [ken(ni) Jose].*
 NEG =1PL.EXCL =FUT LG go OBL.PERS(.SG) Jose
 ‘Jose and I won’t go.’
- c. *Inala [=mi] itattay [kadagiti ubbing] ti sabsabong.*
 took =GEN.1PL.EXCL earlier OBL.COM.PL children NS.COM flowers
 ‘We, the children and I, took the flowers earlier today.’

The ‘special’ status of included NPs is also apparent in the Ilokano examples in (22a-b). In each of these examples, the bracketed NP has at least two interpretations, one of which reads the NP as included in the preceding pronominal reference, and is the interpretation given in the free translations. It should be noted that the form marking the included noun is optionally *ken* or *kenni*, in which =ni marks the following personal noun explicitly as singular. (The equivalent oblique personal ‘plural’ form is *kada*.) Without =ni, the NP is only interpretable as an included dependent of the inclusory pronoun (or as a conjoined

NP, see §4.2). With =*ni*, the phrase is potentially ambiguous as being either an included NP, or a locatively-marked personal location, as shown in the free translations in (23).⁸ Example (22c) cannot be interpreted as containing a personal noun location, because of its position prior to the nominative NP (*ti sabsabong*), and its semantic incompatibility. (See §4.2 for further explanation of the ambiguities in these forms.)

(23) Ilokano

- a. *Mapan =kami =nto kenni Jose.*
 go =1PL.EXCL =FUT OBL/LOC.PERS.SG Jose
 ‘Jose and I will go.’/‘We (EXCL) will go to Jose’s place.’
- b. *Saan =kami =nto a mapan kenni Jose.*
 NEG =1PL.EXCL =FUT LG go OBL/LOC.PERS.SG Jose
 ‘Jose and I won’t go.’/‘We (EXCL) won’t go to Jose’s place.’

In addition to distinguishing ‘phrasal’ and ‘split-phrasal’ types of inclusory constructions in Toqabaqita, Lichtenberk (2000:3) notes that these are cross-cut by whether or not there is an overt marker between the inclusory pronoun and the included NP. If there is, he considers the construction to be ‘explicit’; if not, it is ‘implicit’. All of the examples discussed in the preceding sections are split-phrasal, and since all have a form, either a genitive or oblique marker introducing the included NP, they are also explicit.

2.4 Phrasal inclusory pronominal constructions

A PHRASAL inclusory pronominal construction as defined by Lichtenberk, consists of a single NP containing an inclusory pronoun and an included noun, either with or without an overt marker, making it respectively either explicit or implicit. The only Philippine language for which data is available to clearly demonstrate this kind of inclusory construction is Tboli, one of the Southern Mindanao group of languages. This language has lost much of the morphological case marking that is found in other Philippine languages, so that grammatical relations are primarily signaled by word order, and there is no overt marker before the included noun, making the inclusory nature of the construction implicit. In (24), the phrasal inclusory constructions are bracketed, with their implicit case being marked by subscripted labels.⁹ These constructions can occur as both nominative and genitive, with first, second and third person plural pronouns occurring as the inclusory pronominal head. That these constructions cannot be split, is suggested by (24e), in which the whole phrase, rather than the noun alone, occurs as a postposed topic.

(24) Tboli (Forsberg 1992:11, Porter 1966:8)

- a. *Lewu [me Kasi]_{GEN} funen.*
 two 1PL.EXCL Kasi owner.3SG
 ‘Two of us, Kasi and I, are its owners.’ (lit. ‘We two Kasi are its owners.’)

⁸ Carl Rubino (pers. comm.) notes that in writing it is possible to distinguish the ambiguity by retaining the combined form, *kenni*, for a single personal location, while writing the form separately as *ken ni*, when it introduces an included NP.

⁹ Tboli, like other Philippine languages, is analyzable as an ergative language, with patients of transitive sentences (labeled in this paper as nominative) typically following agents (labeled in this paper as genitive).

- b. *Gunun deng nù se tahu blóng [ye Dimas?]_{GEN}*
 where.3SG PAST be EMPH true division 2PL Dimas
 ‘Where is the true boundary between you (SG) and Dimas?’
- c. *Omin [le Yê Bong]_{NOM} gna.*
 and.then 3PL Mother Big go.ahead
 ‘And then Big Mother and her companion went ahead.’
- d. *Ton Kasi [le Walan.]_{NOM}*
 saw Kasi 3PL Walan
 ‘Kasi saw Walan (and the others).’
- e. *Ton le mohin [le Walan.]_{TOP}*
 saw 3PL sea 3PL Walan
 ‘They saw the sea, Walan (and the others).’

Philippine languages that appear to have explicitly marked phrasal inclusory constructions are found in Palawan. In Southwest Palawano, one of the Meso-Philippine languages and part of Blust’s Greater Central Philippines, phrasal inclusory constructions typically occur as the nominative complement of a numeral predicate specifying the total number of participants in the pronominal set, as in (25a-c), the whole construction being in apposition to a preceding plural pronoun.

(25) Southwest Palawano¹⁰

- a. *Negtabo diye, dua [diye et bayew =ko.]_{NOM}*
 marketing 3PL two 3PL OBL brother.in.law =GEN.1SG
 ‘They went to market, two of them, including my brother-in-law.’
 (lit. ‘They were marketing, they and my brother-in-law were two.’)
- b. *Mesubo kay banar, dua [kay et si Arturo.]_{NOM}*
 early 1PL.EXCL true two 1PL.EXCL OBL PERS.SG Arturo
 ‘We (EXCL) were/will be early, two of us, Arturo and I.’
- c. *Minuli kay, telo [kay de Arlyn.]_{NOM}*
 went.home 1PL.EXCL three 1PL.EXCL PERS.PL Arlyn
 ‘We (excl) went home, three of us, myself, Arlyn and his companion.’

We noted above, both for Tagalog and Sorsoganon, that an included NP with a singular noun is marked by one of the genitive noun markers, *ng* ‘common noun’, or *ni* ‘singular personal noun’. In Southwest Palawano (Davis 1995), *ni* also marks genitive personal NPs expressing agents and possessors, but in an included NP this form does not occur. Rather, the form that is used (both for common and personal nouns) is the singular ‘locative/oblique/dative’ *et*. Singular personal nouns are distinguished from common nouns in such phrases by being preceded by *si* (in this context functioning only as a non-case-marked personal noun specifier) or by the ‘plural’ personal noun specifier *de*. In the latter case, the included noun phrase is not marked with *et*, but has developed as an associative plural construction, to be discussed in the next section.

¹⁰ Southwest Palawano data have been generously supplied by Bill Davis, New Tribes Mission, Palawan.

3 Associative nominal constructions

We noted above that a phrasal pronominal inclusory construction, as defined by Lichtenberk, consists of a single NP containing an inclusory pronominal and an included noun, either with or without an overt marker, making it respectively either implicit or explicit.

In Philippine languages, although such constructions occur (illustrated by the Tboli and Southwest Palawano examples in (24) and (25)), one commonly finds a different type of inclusive construction, one in which the forms that introduce the ‘included noun’ are *not* pronouns, although in many languages their forms are identical to that of (third person plural) pronouns. This type of construction corresponds to that described by Corbett and Mithun (1996:1) as an ‘associative plural construction’, defined by them as consisting of ‘a nominal plus a marker, and denot[ing] a set comprised of the referent of the nominal (the main member) plus one or more associated members ...’.

These are exemplified by the Tagalog constructions in (7) repeated here as (26). Note that the form that introduces the construction, shown in bold in the examples, are *not* third person plural pronouns in Tagalog. These constructions, although no longer pronominal, are inclusive, in that the nominal denotes only one member, the most salient, of the set represented by the whole NP. They are ASSOCIATIVE NOMINAL CONSTRUCTIONS. The form that introduces such a construction is an INCLUSORY SPECIFIER and the nominal that represents the set is an ASSOCIATED NOUN.

(26) Tagalog

- a. *Nakita* =*ko* ***sina*** *Juan*.
 saw =GEN.1SG PERS.PL Juan
 ‘I saw Juan (and others).’
- b. *Ginawa* ***nina*** *Juan ang* *trabaho*.
 made GEN.PERS.PL Juan NS.COM work
 ‘Juan (and others) did the work.’
- c. *Ibibigay* =*ko* *ito* ***kina*** *Juan*.
 will.give =GEN.1SG this LOC.PERS.PL Juan
 ‘I’ll give this to Juan (and others).’

3.1 Marking of associative nominal constructions

It is a well-known and often discussed feature of Philippine languages (Reid 2002, 2006a, 2006b; Reid and Liao 2004; Blust 2005) that NPs are typically introduced by one or more commonly monosyllabic forms that mark the case of the NP and/or the semantic features of the lexical noun that follows. The major semantic distinction that is marked is that of common vs personal, although other distinctions are commonly marked, depending on the language, such as singular vs plural, definite vs indefinite, etc. Common NPs are typically unmarked for plurality, and can be interpreted as either singular or plural, depending on the context and sometimes on the form of the lexical noun. In many languages, especially in the Central and Southern Philippine subgroups, they can be made explicitly plural by the addition of an independent morpheme /*maŋa*/ (often represented orthographically as *mga*), immediately before the lexical noun, as in the Sorsoganon example (21c), repeated here as (27). In (28), the Tagalog plural NP *mga Santos* is not treated as a personal noun, but as a family name, i.e., several people with the name *Santos* (Schachter and Otnes 1972:112).

(27) **Sorsoganon**

Kinuwa namon kanina san mga batit an
 took GEN.1PL.EXCL earlier GEN.COM.DEF PL child NS.COM

mga burak.

PL flower

‘We, the children and I, took the flowers earlier today.’

(28) **Tagalog**

Kamag-anak siya ang mga Santos.

relative 3SG COM.DEF PL Santos

‘He’s a relative of the Santos.’

Personal noun phrases on the other hand are typically said to be marked for plurality, with one form appearing before singular personal nouns (such as Tagalog *si*, *ni*, and *kay*, respectively ‘unmarked’, ‘genitive’ and ‘locative’), and another, usually described in the literature as ‘plural’, appearing before personal nouns (such as Tagalog *sina*, *nina*, and *kina*, as in (26)). The lexical item immediately following such ‘plural’ forms, however, is not itself plural, but is an associated noun, representing a group. Thus in (29), the sequence *cha Pakoran* does not refer to more than one individual with the name ‘Pakoran’, but to a set of individuals of whom ‘Pakoran’ is the most salient member and with whom they are in some way associated, in the same way as the set specified by an inclusory pronoun can be represented by a single named individual.

(29) **Khinina-ang Bontok**

As omey cha Pakoran si wakas.

FUT go PERS.PL Pakoran OBL.FUT tomorrow

‘Pakoran (and others) will go tomorrow.’

In what way, then, do ANCs differ from IPCs?

IPCs, such as those illustrated in (24) for Tboli, can have first, second, or third person inclusory pronouns (depending on the language), whereas ANCs are introduced by inclusory forms that are differentiated only by case, and are usually relatable to a third person plural pronoun.

(1) In IPCs, the pronoun can commute with other pronouns, but the inclusory specifier that introduces an ANC, can commute only with a singular nominal specifier.

(2) IPCs depend for their inclusory interpretation on the obligatory presence of both a plural pronoun and an included NP. Without the included NP, the pronoun can only be interpreted as plural. ANCs on the other hand require only an associated noun (with its inclusory specifier). They can optionally be expanded by an included NP in some languages (see §3.2.1).

(3) In Ilokano, ANCs which are morphologically unmarked for case are introduced by the inclusory specifier *da*, while locatively marked ANCs are introduced by *kada*. These commute with singular personal noun specifiers, respectively *ni* and *kenni*. Compare (30a) with (30b). But note that the inclusory specifier *da* is homophonous with the Ilokano third person plural clitic pronoun =*da* that commutes with other pronouns, such as the nominatively marked =*ak* ‘first person singular pronoun’. Compare (30c) with (30d).

(30) Ilokano

- a. *Napan ni Juan kenni Jose.*
 went NS.PERS.SG Juan LOC.PERS.SG Jose
 ‘Juan went to Jose’s place.’
- b. *Napan da Juan kada Jose.*
 went PERS.PL Juan LOC.PERS.PL Jose
 ‘Juan (and others) went to Jose’s (family’s) place.’
- c. *Napan =da idi kalman.*
 went =3PL LOC.PAST yesterday
 ‘They went yesterday.’
- d. *Napan =ak idi kalman.*
 went =NOM.1SG LOC.PAST yesterday
 ‘I went yesterday.’

Further evidence that the Ilokano inclusory specifier *da* is (no longer) a third person pronoun (and that the construction it introduces is not a phrasal IPC), is its behavior when the future clitic *=(n)to* occurs. When this form occurs in combination with a clitic pronoun, the future clitic obligatorily follows the pronoun, as in (31a). However, when it occurs in a sentence which contains an INC, the future clitic occurs immediately following the verb, as in (31b).¹¹ Similarly when the reportative adverb *kano* occurs, it follows pronominal clitics, but it precedes an NP, as in (32a-b).

(31) Ilokano

- a. *Mapan =da =nto kenni Jose.*
 go =3PL =FUT LOC.PERS.SG Jose
 ‘They will go to Jose’s place.’
- b. *Mapan =to da Juan kada Jose.*
 go =FUT PERS.PL Juan LOC.PERS.PL Jose
 ‘Juan (and others) will go to Jose’s (family’s) place.’

(32) Ilokano

- a. *Mapan =da kano kenni Jose.*
 go =3PL RPRT LOC.PERS.SG Jose
 ‘They will go to Jose’s place, it is said.’
- b. *Mapan kano da Juan kada Jose.*
 go RPRT PERS.PL Juan LOC.PERS.PL Jose
 ‘Juan (and others) will go to Jose’s (family’s) place, it is said.’

3.2 Expansions of associative nominal constructions

Philippine languages differ in how ANCs can be expanded. Further specification of the membership of the set represented by the associated noun can either be by an included noun phrase of the same type as discussed above (§3.2.1) or by a coordinate noun phrase (§3.2.2).

¹¹ This clitic occurs as *=nto* following vowel-final forms, but as *=to* following consonant-final forms.

3.3 Associative nominal constructions with included noun phrase expansions

Languages, such as Ilokano and Khinina-ang Bontok, which do *not* allow third person IPCs (see §2.1 above), utilize ANCs in their place. Such languages allow an oblique noun phrase to follow the associated noun, to further specify the participants in the general set named in the construction. Thus while (33a-b) and (34a-b) are ungrammatical with the senses shown, (33a'-b') and (34a'-b') are grammatical. These oblique NPs function just like the included NPs discussed above with reference to IPCs. They are 'explicit' in that they carry case-marking, but they cannot be preceded by a coordinating conjunction.

(33) Ilokano

- a. *Mapan [=da] [ken Jose].*
 go =3PL OBL.PERS Jose
 *'He/She and Jose are going.'
- a'. *Mapan [=da [Maria ken Jose].*
 go =PERS.PL Maria OBL.PERS Jose
 'Maria and Jose are going.'
- b. *Mapan [=da] [iti gayyem =na]].*
 go =3PL OBL.COM friend =GEN.3SG
 *'He/She and his/her friend are going.'
- b'. *Mapan [=da [Maria iti gayyem =na]].*
 go =PERS.PL Maria OBL.COM friend GEN.3SG
 'Maria and her friend are going.'

(34) Khinina-ang Bontok

- a. *Inilak [cha-icha] [an Pakoran].*
 saw.1SG 3PL OBL.PERS.SG Pakoran
 *'I saw him/her and Pakoran.'
- a'. *Inilak [cha [Takcheg an Pakoran]].*
 saw.1SG PERS.PL Takcheg OBL.PERS.SG Pakoran
 'I saw Takcheg and Pakoran.'
- b. *Khina-eb [=cha] [an Pakoran] nan afong.*
 made =GEN.3PL OBL.PERS.SG Pakoran NS.COM house
 *'He/She, and Pakoran, built the house.'
- b'. *Khina-eb [cha Takcheg [an Pakoran]] nan afong.*
 made PERS.PL OBL.PERS.SG OBL.PERS.SG Pakoran NS.COM house
 'Takcheg and Pakoran built the house.'

Just as included NPs in (split-phrasal) IPCs are separable from their pronominal head (§2.3), included NPs in ANCs are also separable from their associated noun head. In (35a), for example, the construction is split with a temporal adverb. However, while an inclusory pronoun can be separated from the rest of the construction by fronting to a position between an auxiliary verb and a main lexical verb, this is not possible for an associated noun (compare (35b) with (35c)), nor for the inclusory specifier that precedes it (35d), since there is no pronoun involved.

(35) Khinina-ang Bontok

- a. *Inilak [cha Takcheg] ad khanad [an Pakoran].*
saw.1SG PERS.PL Takcheg LOC.PAST earlier OBL.PERS.SG Pakoran
'I saw Takcheg and Pakoran earlier today.'
- b. *Achi khina-eb [cha [Takcheg an Pakoran]]*
NEG made PERS.PL Takcheg OBL.PERS.SG Pakoran
nan afong.
NS.COM house
'Takcheg and Pakoran didn't build the house.'
- c. **Achi [cha Takcheg] khina-eb [an Pakoran] nan afong*
NEG PERS.PL Takcheg made OBL.PERS.SG Pakoran NS.COM house
'*Takcheg and Pakoran didn't build the house.'
- d. **Achi cha khina-eb Takcheg [an Pakoran] nan afong.*
NEG PERS.PL made Takcheg OBL.PERS.SG Pakoran NS.COM house
'*Takcheg and Pakoran didn't build the house.'

3.4 Associative nominal constructions with coordinate noun phrase expansions

Languages, such as Tagalog, and Sorsoganon, which *do* allow third person IPCs (see §2.1 above), can further specify the participants in the general set named in the ANC only by using a coordinate construction, as in (36a-c). In Tagalog, the coordinate construction is within the scope of the inclusory specifier, in that coordinated personal nouns are not preceded by any case-marking form, unlike coordinated NPs following a third person pronoun, as in (36d). In Southwest Palawano, a coordinated personal noun in an NP that is functioning as a coordinated expander of an inclusive non-pronominal construction, is preceded by *si*, regardless of the case of the construction, as in (37).

(36) Tagalog

- a. *Nakita ko [sina [Juan at Ben]].*
saw GEN.1SG PERS.PL Juan and Ben
'I saw Juan and Ben.'¹²
- b. *Ginawa [nina [Juan at Maria]] ang trabaho.*
made GEN.PERS.PL Juan and Maria NS.COM work
'Juan and Maria did the work.'
- c. *Ibibigay =ko ito [kina [Juan at Rosa]].*
will.give =GEN.1SG this LOC.PERS.PL Juan and Rosa
'I'll give this to Juan and Rosa.'
- d. *Nakita =ko [siya] at [si Juan].*
saw =GEN.1SG 3SG and PERS.SG Juan
'I saw him/her and Juan.'

¹² There appears to be no semantic difference between a construction such as this and one using simple coordination, such as Tagalog *Nakita ko si Juan at si Ben*.

(37) Southwest Palawano

Minuli kay, telo kay [de Arlyn] bo [si Abil.]
 went.home 1PL.EXCL three 1PL.EXCL PERS.PL Arlyn and PERS.SG Abil.
 ‘We went home, three of us, Arlyn, Abil and me.’

3.5 Summary

The following general statements have been made about inclusory constructions in Philippine languages.

IPCs consist of two parts, an inclusory plural pronominal head and a dependent included NP. Some languages allow first, second and third person pronoun inclusory pronouns, others allow only first and second person inclusory pronouns.

Included NPs in most languages are separable from the inclusory pronoun, while in a few languages they are not.

Included NPs are typically case-marked as either genitive or oblique.

In addition to IPCs, languages typically allow ANCs in which a personal noun (the associated noun) is preceded by a ‘plural’-marking form, the inclusory specifier, and represents a set of individuals.

In languages in which ANCs are the only way to specify a third person inclusive set, the associated noun can optionally be expanded by a (separable) included NP, case-marked as either genitive or oblique.

In languages that allow third person IPCs, further specification of the members of the set (beyond the obligatory included NP), can only be accomplished by adding a coordinated NP.

In the next section, the historical relationship between the two types of inclusory constructions will be examined, and a proposal outlined which accounts for their development.

4 The historical development of inclusory constructions

The fact that the inclusory specifiers of ANCs and third person plural pronouns in Philippine languages apparently have a common etymological source has already been noted in the literature (Reid and Liao 2004; Blust 2005; Reid 2007). Blust, for example, in his discussion of the reconstruction of PAN genitive personal noun marking (2005:219), notes that Ivatan **da* ‘genitive of plural personal nouns’ probably reflects **-da* ‘3PL genitive pronoun’ and that the data in Yamada and Tsuchida (1975) ‘show a similar innovation in a number of the languages of the northern and central Philippines. In some of these, the derivation from a 3PL personal pronoun is transparent, as with Itbayat *sira Pedro* ‘Pedro and others’ (Blust 2005:219). In fact, however, plural personal noun marking in languages from all areas of the Philippines, and in all subgroups can be shown to be relatable to reconstructed forms of third person plural pronouns, including a few of the Central Philippine languages in which the relationship is not transparent (Reid 2007).

The nature of the innovation which resulted in the inclusory specifiers was not made explicit by Blust, but he implies that third person plural pronouns replaced the reflexes of his PAN/PMP **na* ‘genitive plural personal noun marker’ wherever the latter form did not appear. Reid (2007) argues against this position, and presents a scenario by which the inclusory specifiers developed, as shown in Figure 1, plus a suggested development of the Tagalog third person pronouns whereby *sila* and *nila* became respectively the inclusory specifiers *sina* and *nina* (see §4.1.4 below).

Innovation (1): Deletion of **si*/**ni* before NP

Innovation (2): 3PL PRON becomes plural NP marker



Innovation (3): Loss of unstressed initial syllable

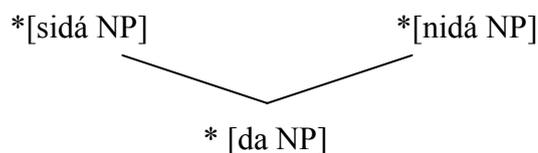


Figure 1: Innovations (from Reid (2007))

The set of changes shown in Figure 1 merely describes what appears to have taken place, that is, a third person pronoun was originally followed by an appositive NP, making explicit one of the salient individuals included in the pronominal reference. This was replaced by a single NP with loss of the redundant case-markers **si* and **ni*. However it does not explain the factors that brought about the shift shown as ‘Innovation 2: 3PL PRON becomes plural NP marker’. In this section I claim that languages throughout the Philippines have developed inclusory specifiers (and ANCs) as a result of the grammaticalization of the IPCs (Hopper and Traugott 2003 [1993]).

4.1 Grammaticalization of pronouns

Grammaticalization, as characterized by Wanner (2006), is the holistic process by which ‘originally independent elements of syntax lose autonomy and become progressively “morphologized” in their diachrony, i.e. progressively less autonomous in their syntactic freedom of occurrence, semantic referentiality, and dynamic charge’ (2006:54).

The diachronic changes by which deictic forms in Latin gradually become simple pronouns, then prosodically, phonologically and syntactically reduced pronouns, and eventually (morpho)syntactically regulated clitic pronouns in Romance languages is given by Wanner (2006:54) as an example of one of the commonly observed grammaticalization clines in language. The shift from clitic pronouns in some Northern Philippine languages to person agreement markers on verbs has been described in (Reid 2001). The shift of third person plural pronouns to nominal plural markers has been described for several languages (Heine and Kuteva 2002:237–238), and is not uncommon in Philippine languages, as in Ibaloy (38) in which any noun, common or personal, can be pluralized by *ira*, originally a third person plural pronoun.

(38) Ibaloy (Ruffolo 2005:191)

- a. *Sama ira diyang ket si'kato =y bekaan =cha nontan.*
 TOP PL cave TOPLK 3SG =NS bury =3PL time.past
 ‘As for the caves, that is where they buried (the dead) back then.’

But the shift of third person plural pronouns to inclusory specifiers has not been noted before as an instance of the grammaticalization of pronouns.

In her discussion of grammaticalization theory, Fischer (2007:115–124) discusses three of the stages in the diachronic process of grammaticalization first given in Lehmann (1985:306). These are ‘weight’, ‘cohesion’ and ‘variability’, each of which has paradigmatic and syntagmatic parameters, varying according to the degree of grammaticalization that has taken place. Fischer also discusses three of Hopper’s principles that are also relevant to the discussion at hand. These are ‘layering’, ‘divergence’ and ‘persistence’ (Hopper 1991). In the discussion in the following sections each of these factors will be referred to. Thus the factor of ‘variability’ is relevant in the discussion of the shift from pronoun to inclusory specifier in that this results in forms that are less variable than pronouns in their syntagmatic privileges of occurrence. Inclusory specifiers are restricted to a fixed position immediately before the main lexical noun of a noun phrase, the associated noun, and commute only with singular personal noun markers, a syntagmatic position that was already present prior to grammaticalization and could have provided the ‘syntactic priming’ for the change (Fischer 2007:134).

There are a number of stages that can be seen in the development of ANCs, each stage sometimes co-occurring with, and not necessarily replacing, the previous stage, so that multiple ways of expressing the semantic content of inclusory constructions exist, the process referred to as ‘layering’ by Hopper (1991).

Languages differ according to which of the inclusive pronouns are affected, but in each situation, the end point is the same, the two parts of the construction, the inclusive pronoun and the included noun phrase become fused to form the ANC by reducing the complexity of the construction and increasing its degree of bondedness. This ‘parameter’ of grammaticalization will be discussed in §4.1.1. Several grammaticalization changes occurred reducing the ‘weight’ of the new inclusory nominal specifiers. One of these was the restriction of pronominal features, or ‘semantic erosion’, discussed in §4.1.2. Subsequently, a series of reductions of complex inclusory forms occurred, further reducing their ‘weight’ by reducing their phonemic substance, see §4.1.3. Although generally showing ‘persistence’ (Hopper 1991), or retention of traces of the original lexical meaning of the pronouns, the resultant forms were so underspecified that they were reformed in several languages to recover some of the lost features, §4.1.4.

4.2 Reduction of structural complexity

Constructions consisting of an independent singular pronoun followed by a coordinate construction are found in languages throughout the Philippines and represent a stage which must have been present in their (immediate) parent language.¹³ The noun in such constructions probably copied the case-marking of the pronoun that preceded it, so that an unmarked pronoun would be followed by an unmarked noun, as in (39a), a genitive pronoun by a genitively-marked noun, as in (39b), and a locative pronoun by a locatively marked noun.

(39) Tagalog

- a. *Nakita ko [siya] at [si Juan].*
 saw GEN.1SG 3SG and NS.PERS.SG Juan
 ‘I saw him/her and Juan.’

¹³ Proto Philippines in Blust’s terms (Blust 2006), Proto Extra-Formosan in mine.

- b. *Ginawa [niya] at [ni Maria] ang trabaho.*
 made GEN.3SG and GEN.PERS.SG Maria NS.COM work
 ‘He and Maria did the work.’
- c. *Ibibigay ko ito [sa kaniya] at [kay Juan].*
 will.give GEN.1SG this LOC OBL.3SG and LOC.PERS.SG Juan
 ‘I’ll give this to him/her and Juan.’

Phrases with plural pronouns in which one of the salient members of the group specified by the pronoun was expressed by a concatenated appositive noun phrase (without a coordinating conjunction) must also have occurred, functioning as an included noun phrase. The noun in such constructions also probably copied the case-marking of the pronoun that preceded it. This is displayed in Table 1 for Proto Central Philippines (PCPH).¹⁴

Table 1: Concatenated included noun phrases in Proto Central Philippines

	Nominative	Genitive
PCPH	*[sidá] [si N]	*[nidá] [ni N]

Evidence for constructions of the type shown in Table 1 is found in several of the Central Philippine languages, such as the Bisayan languages Cebuano and Jaun-jaun, and Bikol as spoken in Iriga, as shown in Table 2 (McFarland 1974; Zorc 1977). In these languages, however, the (singular) personal noun specifier has become encliticized to the preceding pronoun and there is a reduction of structural complexity. The sequence is no longer pronominal but marks the following noun as the associated noun of an ANC.¹⁵

Table 2: Associative nominal constructions in some Central Philippine languages

	Nominative	Genitive
Stage 1	*[sída-si N]	*[nída-ni N]
Ceb, Jau	[síla-si N]	[níla-ni N]
Iriga	[sira-si N]	[nira-ni N]

In some languages, however, before the structural complexity was reduced, genitively marked concatenated noun phrases (*ni N) were interpreted as oblique comitative NPs (also marked with *ni), i.e., what would earlier have been understood, for example, as ‘they, John’ was reanalyzed as ‘they with John’. This reanalysis subsequently spread to replace concatenated noun phrases in other positions in the sentence as well, as shown in Table 3 (with *ni*-marked phrases in both nominative and genitive positions), eventually giving rise to the Tagalog and Sorsoganon third person inclusory pronominal structures,

¹⁴ In order to keep this paper within reasonable bounds, the discussion in the rest of this section will be restricted to the developments which have affected NPs only in nominative and genitive positions of a sentence. Changes affecting locatively marked NPs are not included.

¹⁵ Zorc (1977:82) hyphenates the two parts of the form (as in Table 2) and refers to the combined form as a ‘plural personal-name marker’. McFarland (1974:156) does not hyphenate the forms, but refers to the sequence as a ‘plural PNE [personal noun expression] marker’.

illustrated in (5)–(6) above. Hiligaynon, like the Central Philippine languages in Table 2, then reduced the complexity of the construction producing ANCs in which the form that marks the following associated noun as inclusory shows an encliticized reflex of the oblique singular specifier *ni, see Table 4 (Zorc 1977:82).

Table 3: Third person pronouns with concatenated comitative constructions

	Nominative	Genitive
PCPH	*[sidá] [ni N]	*[nidá] [ni N]

Table 4: Associative nominal constructions in Hiligaynon

	Nominative	Genitive
PRE-HIL	*[sidá-ni N]	*[nidá-ni N]
HIL	[silá-ni N]	[nilá-ni N]

4.3 Restriction of pronominal features

The comitative included constructions, illustrated in Table 3, were not restricted to those in which a third person plural pronoun was the head. Any plural pronoun could commonly occur in that position. Prior to the development of inclusive non-pronominal constructions, I assume that the semantic features of the pronouns were not restricted, and that even with a following comitative phrase specifying one of the members of the group, the pronoun expressed all the semantic features (\pm SPKR, \pm ADDR, \pm PL) appropriate to its form. Constructions of this type are commonly found, not only in Central Philippines languages, but in Northern Philippine languages as well, as in (40)–(42), although in some languages, they are ambiguous and can also be interpreted as included pronominal constructions.

(40) Ilokano

- a. *Napan* [=kami] [ken *Marta*].
 went =NOM.1PL.EXCL OBL.PERS.SG Martha
 ‘We (EXCL) went with Martha.’
- b. *Dinalosan* [=tayo] [ken *Maria*] *ti balay* =da.
 cleaned =1PL.INCL OBL.PERS.SG Maria NS.COM house =3PL
 ‘We (INCL) cleaned their house with Maria.’

(41) Tagalog

Maglalakad [kayo] [ng *Nanay*].
 will.walk 2PL GEN.COM.SG mother
 ‘You (PL) will walk with Mother.’

(42) Khinina-ang Bontok

Inilak [cha-icha] [an *Pakoran*].
 saw.1SG 3PL OBL.PERS.SG Pakoran
 ‘I saw them with Pakoran.’

Restriction of pronominal features probably started in first person exclusive pronouns, since most Philippine languages have included pronominal constructions headed by this pronoun. The features of a first person exclusive pronoun without a following included noun phrase are as follows: +SPKR, –ADDR, +PL (i.e., ‘we EXCL/us EXCL/our EXCL’). When the pronoun occurs as head of an IPC, however, the plurality feature is missing, and the pronoun is interpreted only as +SPKR, –ADDR (‘I/me/my’). The included noun phrase supplies the additional features to enable the pronoun to be understood as plural.

That this is an on-going change, spreading from first person exclusive pronouns, to first person inclusive, second and third person plural forms (although not necessarily in that order) is clear from the various ways such pronouns are interpreted when followed by a genitive or oblique noun phrase.

A second person plural pronoun without a following included noun phrase has the features: +SPKR, +ADDR, +PL (i.e., ‘you PL/your PL’). When the pronoun occurs as head of an IPC, however, the plurality feature is missing, and the pronoun is interpreted only as +SPKR, +ADDR (‘you/your’). The included noun phrase supplies the additional features to enable the pronoun to be understood as plural, as in (43) (compare (41)).

(43) Tagalog

Maglalakad [kayo] [*ng* *Nanay*].
will.walk 2PL GEN.COM.SG mother
‘You (SG) will walk with Mother.’

Similarly, a third person plural pronoun without a following included noun phrase has the features: –SPKR, –ADDR, +PL (i.e., ‘they, them, their’). When the pronoun occurs as head of an IPC, however, the plurality feature is missing, and the pronoun is interpreted only as –SPKR, –ADDR (‘he/him, she/her’). The included noun phrase supplies the additional features to enable the pronoun to be understood as plural, as in (44).

(44) Tagalog

Nakita ko sila ni Juan.
saw GEN.1SG 3PL GEN.PERS.SG Juan
‘I saw him/her and Juan.’/*‘I saw them with/and Juan.’/*‘I saw Juan (and others).’

While Tagalog allows both first person inclusive and second person plural pronouns to occur either with an optional comitative noun phrase (in which case the pronoun carries all its features) or as the heads of IPCs, resulting in the ambiguities in interpretation of the pronoun, Tagalog only allows third person plural pronouns with a following genitive noun phrase to be interpreted as ANCs.

4.4 Reduction of complex plural-marking forms

To express the unallowed meanings of (44), Tagalog uses an ANC, exemplified in (7)a, repeated here as (45).

(45) Tagalog

Nakita =ko sina Juan.
saw =GEN.1SG NS.PERS.PL Juan
‘I saw Juan (and others).’

The nominative and genitive inclusory specifiers in Tagalog are respectively *sina* and *nina*. In Reid (2007), I proposed that these forms developed directly from the Tagalog third person plural pronouns, *sila* and *nila*, by an irregular, but not uncommon sound change, *l > n. Further examination of the evidence suggests, however, that Tagalog underwent a reduction in structural complexity, like Hiligaynon (Table 4), but then assimilated *l in the genitive form to the nasals occurring on either side of it. The nominative form was then changed by an analogical process to match the genitive form. The complexity of the form was then reduced by loss of the final redundant syllable, as shown in Table 5.

Table 5: The development of Tagalog non-pronominal included constructions

	Nominative	Genitive	
PCPH	*[sidá] [ni N]	*[nidá] [ni N]	
PRE-TAG 1	*[sidá-ni N]	*[nidá-ni N]	Reduction in structural complexity
PRE-TAG 2	*[silá-ni N]	*[nilá-ni N]	*-d- > *-l-
PRE-TAG 3	*[silá-ni N]	*[niná-ni N]	Assimilation *-l- > *-n- in Genitive
PRE-TAG 4	*[siná-ni N]	*[niná-ni N]	Analogical spread, Gen to Nom
TAG	[siná N]	[niná N]	Loss of redundant syllable

This sequence of developments was not unique to Tagalog. There are a number of other Central Philippine languages that have identical forms (see Zorc (1977:82)), or forms that probably developed from them, such as Mamanwa (*sin/nin*), and the Bisayan languages Bantoanon and Sibale (*sa/na*). In Reid (2007), I suggested one possible way in which the latter forms developed. I now consider that *nina was reduced to *na* by loss of the first syllable (the initial *n* of the resulting monosyllable marking the form as genitive), and that the nominative form developed by analogy to the genitive form, with *s* marking the form as nominative, as in Table 6.

Table 6: The development of monosyllabic specifiers in some Bisayan languages

	Nominative	Genitive	
PRE-BAN/SIB 1	*[siná N]	*[niná N]	
PRE-BAN/SIB 2	*[siná N]	*[na N]	Loss of redundant syllable in Genitive
BAN/SIB	[sa N]	[na N]	Analogical spread, Gen to Nom

Other Bisayan languages reduced the complexity of their plural marking forms by deleting the final, redundant unstressed syllable that originally marked the included noun phrase, reducing the trisyllabic specifier to disyllabic, as in Table 7.

Table 7: Reduction of trisyllabic to disyllabic specifiers in some Bisayan languages

	Nominative	Genitive	
PCPH	*[sidá] [ni N]	*[nidá] [ni N]	
PRE-B,B,S,W 1 ¹⁶	*[sidá-ni N]	*[nidá-ni N]	Reduction in structural complexity
PRE-B,B,S,W 2	*[silá-ni N]	*[nilá-ni N]	*-d- > *-l-
BUT, BOH, SUR	[silá N]	[nilá N]	Loss of redundant syllable
WAR	[híra N]	[níra N]	

4.5 Reformation of plural-marking forms

The changes shown in Table 6 resulted in inclusory specifiers that were no longer phonologically similar to third person plural pronouns, and were homophonous either with the locative preposition *sa* marking future time phrases in all the Bisayan languages, or the genitive preposition *na*, marking genitive definite common nouns in some of the Bisayan languages, neither of which was specific for personal noun or plurality. These were the conditions that probably motivated the reformation of the inclusory specifiers in a considerable number of dialects, such as Kuyonon and Datagnon, by encliticizing a (genitive) third person plural pronoun to each of the ambiguous monosyllables, and reduction of the trisyllabic specifiers to disyllabic by medial vowel syncope, as in Table 8.

Table 8: The development of non-pronominal included constructions with reformed disyllabic specifiers

	Nominative	Genitive	
PRE-KUY/DTG 1	*[sa N]	*[na N]	
PRE-KUY/DTG 2	*[sa=nidá N]	*[na=nidá N]	Encliticization of 3PL pronoun
KUY/DTG	[sánda N]	[nánda N]	Medial vowel syncope

4.6 The development of Ilokano inclusory constructions

In Ilokano, ‘layering’ of constructions is prevalent where grammaticalization has introduced new construction types but their source construction types remain available for use, resulting in multiple ambiguous constructions. Ilokano does not allow (or has not developed) IPCs with third person pronouns. Where plural pronouns occur followed by oblique noun phrases, these are potentially interpretable (especially when the pronoun is third person) as full pronouns followed by a location, as in (46).¹⁷

¹⁶ PRE-BUT, BOH, SUR, WAR.

¹⁷ In these and the following sets of examples, only first person exclusive and third person plural pronouns are illustrated. The obliquely marked phrases which follow the pronouns are in all cases shown only as singular (*ken/kenni* ‘personal noun’ or *ti/iti* ‘common noun’), although they may also be marked as plural with case-marked specifiers grammaticalized from plural pronouns (*kada* ‘plural personal noun’ or *kadagiti* ‘plural common noun’). Ilokano *kenni* has its ultimate source in Proto Extra-Formosan *ka ‘oblique preposition’ followed by a genitive personal singular specifier *ni. Change of the first vowel to schwa resulted in regular gemination of the following consonant, thus *ka=ni > *kenni*.

(46) Ilokano

- a. *Mapan=kami **kenni** Jose.* 'We (EXCL) are going to Jose's place.'
- b. *Mapan=kami **iti** gayyem=na.* 'We (EXCL) are going to his friend's place'
- c. *Mapan=da **kenni** Jose* 'They are going to Jose's place.'
- d. *Mapan=da **iti** gayyem=na.* 'They are going to his friend's place.'

Oblique noun phrases in Ilokano are also interpretable as comitative, but the marking of personal oblique noun phrases (*ken*) has extended its function to that of conjunction, not only of personal but also of common noun phrases. It has also become the coordinate conjunction for all other word and construction types (as in (47a-b)).

(47) Ilokano (Rubino 1997)

- a. *Nalinis **ken** nalawa ti kuarto =na.*
clean CONJ spacious COM.SG room =GEN.3SG
'His room is clean and spacious.'
- b. *Silulukat ti barukong **ken** takiag =da nga umawat*
open COM.SG chest CONJ arm =GEN.3PL LG receive
***ken** sumarabo kenka.*
CONJ welcome OBL.2SG
'Their chest and arms are open to receive and welcome you.'

The result is that full pronouns followed by an oblique noun phrase have either conjoined or comitative readings, as in (48). In constructions of this type the occurrence of the (singular) person marker *ni* is optional. Oblique common noun phrases are marked with *ti* in casual speech, and with *iti* in more formal styles.

(48) Ilokano

- a. *Mapan=kami **ken** (**ni**) Jose.* 'We (EXCL) and Jose are going.'/
'We (EXCL) are going with Jose.'
- b. *Mapan=kami **ken** (**iti**) gayyem=na.* 'We (EXCL) and his friend are going.'/
'We (EXCL) are going with his friend.'
- c. *Mapan=da **ken** (**ni**) Jose* 'They and Jose are going.'/
'They are going with Jose.'
- d. *Mapan=da **ken** (**iti**) gayyem=na.* 'They and his friend are going.'/
'They are going with his friend.'

It is from constructions such as those in (48a-b) that Ilokano (non-third person) inclusive pronominal constructions have developed.

(49) Ilokano

- a. *Mapan=kami **ken** (**ni**) Jose.* 'Jose and I are going.'
- b. *Mapan=kami (**iti**) gayyem=na* 'His friend and I are going.'

5 Conclusion

There is far more that could be said both about the types of inclusory constructions that occur in Philippine languages and their historical development, but data on these constructions are not typically given in detail in the available grammatical materials, and space limitations have dictated a limited discussion of the data that are available. While studies of grammaticalization phenomena in a number of European languages can be informed by a thousand years or more of written tradition, Austronesianists are primarily limited to synchronic descriptions going back at most a few centuries, and these for relatively few languages. Inferences of direction of change then can at best be drawn only tentatively, based mainly on limited textual evidence. This paper is a first attempt to do this for these constructions in Philippine languages, and will surely be modified as more information becomes available.

In summary then, two major types of inclusory construction have been described. The first are IPCs headed by pronouns whose reference includes the lexical form that follows the pronoun, typically introduced either by a genitive or an oblique case-marking form. The second are ANCs headed by an inclusory specifier, typically described in the literature as a plural personal noun marker, since it commutes with forms that typically specify singular personal nouns. Inclusory specifiers can in all cases be shown to have developed from third person plural pronouns. They are not, however, pronouns. They are inclusive forms, depending for their interpretation on the associative feature which is carried by the personal noun that follows them.

The grammaticalization changes that have resulted in the development of pronominal inclusory constructions include an increase in bondedness, whereby conjoined constructions become appositive, and comitative constructions become included constructions syntactically dependent on their pronominal head. Third person IPCs developed into ANCs by structural simplification, creating a further increase in bondedness, as the two parts of the original construction, while typically separable in the source construction, are no longer so in the new construction. Reduction of the semantic features of inclusory pronouns and of the phonemic weight of inclusory specifiers provide further evidence of the path of grammaticalization which resulted in each of these construction types.

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