Clitic pronouns in Masbatenyo

Celeste Lee
National Chi Nan University
cylee@ncnu.edu.tw

This talk is proposed to describe the placement of pronominal clitics in this Central Philippine (CP) language. Quite a few studies have dealt with clisis in CP, including Tagalog (Schachter 1973, Billings 2005); Bikol and Cebuano (Billings and Konopasky 2002); Tagakaulo, Kaagan, Mansaka, and Davawenyo (Lee 2004); and Tausug (Lee and Billings, 2005, to appear). On the other hand, Masbatenyo remains unexplored in this respect. Thus, this study fills in the CP-clitics picture somewhat. In comparison to other CP languages, two main issues are discussed: the distribution of clitic and nonclitic elements and the order within the clitic cluster. In addition, the distribution of adverbial clitics in Masbatenyo is briefly sketched.

This study is organized as follows. Section 1 provides a sketch of the nonclitic morphosyntax of Masbatenyo. Next, section 2 presents the inventory of pronoun clitics of this language and discusses the external placement of clitic pronouns in relation to other nonclitic elements in a clause. Section 3 then focuses on what determines the internal order of clitic pronouns within a clitic cluster. Furthermore, the distribution of adverbial clitics relative to clitic pronouns is pointed out in section 4. Finally, this study is concluded in section 5 by comparing its external clitic placement and internal clitic ordering to other CP languages mentioned above.

1. Background

Masbatenyo, primarily spoken on the island of Masbate between the Bikol Peninsula and the Visayas, remains mysterious in the aspect of clitichood. This CP language, one of the Bisayan languages, is spoken by around 300,000 to 350,000 people. Out of the three major dialects of Masbatenyo, the western, the southern, and the northern, the data being analyzed in this study is based on the northern. Each is spoken on the west coast, in the southeastern part of Masbate Island, and in the whole northern half of Masbate and around the province capital, Masbate town, respectively (Wolfenden 2001: 2-3).1

---

1 Thanks to Elmer Wolfenden and Loren Billings for their time and assistance. All errors are my own.
1 Abbreviations as follows are used through this paper: NOM nominative; GEN genitive; OBL oblique; SG singular; PL plural; INCL inclusive; EXCL exclusive; AV agent voice; PV patient voice; ACV accessory voice; RV referent voice; LK linker; Neg negative; DP determiner phrase; PERF perfective.
To start, grammatical relationship of words in Masbatenyo is designated through the nominal and the verbal morphology. Nominal expressions take sixteen different determiner-like forms depending on three morphological cases and six types of nouns. The term DETERMINER PHRASE (DP) is used descriptively to point to a nonpronominal expression preceded by one of these determiners.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Common nouns (specific)</th>
<th>Common nouns (non-specific)</th>
<th>Personal names</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>SG</td>
<td>PL</td>
<td>SG</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NOM</td>
<td>an</td>
<td>an mga</td>
<td>Ø</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GEN</td>
<td>san</td>
<td>san mga</td>
<td>sin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OBL</td>
<td>sa</td>
<td>sa mga</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Wolfenden 2001:21)

The three cases are represented by the three rows of Table 1: NOM (for any of an, an mga, Ø, Ø mga, si, and sinda), GEN (for sna, san mga, sin, sin mga, ni, and ninda), and OBL (for sa, sa mga, kan, and kanda). The three columns represent the two types of nouns: common nouns (specific), common nouns (non-specific), and personal names. Number is shown explicitly by adding mga after the determiner on common nouns and personal names.

Turning next to the usual nonclitic DP position, a preference in ordering words is identified based on semantic roles using texts: Agent-Patient/Theme-Loc-Time. However, the weight of DPs can sometimes, but not always, influence word order in Masbatenyo by having light DPs precede a heavy one. In this case, the semantic roles that DPs take do not matter much on their distribution. Note that the semantic role of DPs is encoded through the use of verbal affixes. Four major voices are pointed out in Masbatenyo (Wolfenden 2001:33): AGENT; PTIENT; ACCESSORY; and REFERENT. The following set of examples is given for clarity. Examples are glossed with verbal affix meanings to show what the grammatical subject is.

\[
\text{V(ADV AGENT THEME)}
\]

(1a) a **Nag-dara** naman si Pedro sin baralanggo na barita.
\[\text{AV[+BEGUN]-bought again NOM Pedro GEN disorder LK news}\\]
‘Pedro bought nonsensical news again.’

(Wolfenden 2001:129)

\[
\text{V(ADV THEME AGENT)}
\]

(1b) **Na-pangkog** sa bato an iya kalbo na lolo.
\[\text{+[BEGIN STATE OF BEING]-stumble OBL stone NOM 3SG.OBL bald LK grandfather}\\]
‘His bold grandfather stumbled on a stone.’

(Wolfenden 2001: 263)
To emphasize, the light DPs does not always precede the heavy ones. Examples (1a-b) and (2a-b) represent for sentences of AV and PV. A major ordering of semantic roles (AGENT-PATIENT/THHEME-LOCATION) is illustrated through examples (1a-2a). (1a) contains a prosodically heavy THEME, but it shows no sign of influence of prosodic weight on word ordering. To contrast, an influence of the prosodic weight that DPs take (Light DPs precede a heavy one) on word ordering is illustrated through examples (1b-2b). As shown, regardless what semantic roles DPs take, an iya kalbo na lolo ‘his bald grandfather’ and an dyutay na natipon ‘the little savings’ take a sentence final position due to the fact that these two DPs are prosodically heavier comparing to the rest of the DPs in the sentences.

In Masbatenyo verb-initial clauses, the DPs follow the verb unless they are topicalized. The process of topicalization would promote the topicalized nonclitic expression in a preverbal position. To contrast, the distribution of the non-topicalized DPs would not be affected, e.g., they must follow and cannot precede the verb.

When a sentence starts with any non-verbal fronted adjunct, the verb takes a position right after the fronted adjunct, and the DPs are restricted to the post-verbal position.

(4) a Wara maka-baton sin notisiya si Tia Maria.
Neg AV[+STATIVE,-BUGUN]-receive GEN notice/information NOM Tia Maria
‘Tia Maria did not receive any notice/information.’ (Wolfenden 2001:49)
Section 1 briefly sketches the non-clitic morphosyntax in Masbateny. DPs can precede the verb only when topicalized. Otherwise, DPs almost always appear after the verb. They must follow the verb in either verb-initial or adjunct fronted sentences.

2. External clitic placement

This section begins by introducing Masbateny pronoun clitics and adverbial clitics. Next, how they are distributed relative to the verb outside of a clitic cluster is discussed. The term CLITIC CLUSTER refers to the appearance of a sequence of conjoined clitic elements. A contrast of the distribution of clitic pronouns to DPs is illustrated in this section. In addition, a further discussion of the type of Masbateny clitic pronoun distribution is made here.

To start, an inventory of the pronoun system in Masbateny is given in Table 2.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>NOM</th>
<th>GEN</th>
<th>OBL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1SG</td>
<td>ako</td>
<td>ko (nakon)</td>
<td>akon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2SG</td>
<td>ka (ikaw)</td>
<td>mo (nimo)</td>
<td>imo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3SG</td>
<td>siya</td>
<td>niya</td>
<td>iya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1PL.INCL.</td>
<td>kita</td>
<td>naton (ta)</td>
<td>aton</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1PL.EXCL.</td>
<td>kami</td>
<td>namon</td>
<td>amon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2PL</td>
<td>kamo</td>
<td>niyo</td>
<td>iyo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3PL</td>
<td>sinda</td>
<td>ninda</td>
<td>inda</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(based on Wolfenden 2001: 21)

Following the traditional labels used in Wolfenden (2001), person and number are listed along the left-hand column of the table, while above the top row lists three different cases. Table 1 clearly shows that the distinction between INCL and EXCL is made in 1 PL forms. Note also that pronoun forms are easily borrowed. Masbateny clitic pronouns have borrowed some pronoun forms from Cebuano. For instance, nakon and nimo are borrowed into Masbateny and can be used alternatively with the 1SG GEN and 2 SG GEN pronouns ko and mo. In addition, both ta and naton are used for 1PL.EXCL.NOM form. Note also that pronouns in this language do not take separate case-marking determiners as DPs do. But, sometimes the OBL pronoun forms may be

---

2 The form akin, listed in Wolfenden (2001) personal pronoun table, could not be found in the corpus, and not even listed in the lexicons of the dictionary. Sentences found in the corpus point out that the form should be akon instead; see examples (12a) and (14a).
preceded by *sa*. Furthermore, it is clear that a SINGULAR/PLURAL distinction is made in the grammatical number system of this language. That *ta* 1PL.GEN and its alternative *naton* are identical in meaning is confirmed through personal consultation with Wolfenden. Thus, Masbatenyo is distinct in this aspect from other CP languages (such as Tagakaulo and Kaagan) which make a minimal/augmented distinction instead (Lee 2004).

Moving aside from pronouns, an inventory of some adverbial clitics (Table 3) is given below. Their clitichood is observed in the corpus through their distribution inside the clause.

### Table 3 Adverbial clitics in Masbatenyo

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Question marker</th>
<th>Anay</th>
<th>‘First; before’</th>
<th>Siguro</th>
<th>‘probably’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>ba</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>anay</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>siguro</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>na</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>‘already; then; now’</td>
<td><strong>lugod</strong></td>
<td>‘maybe; perhaps’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>pa</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>‘still; yet’</td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>kuntani</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>gad</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>‘really’</td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>kuntani</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>gali</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>‘surprisingly’</td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>gihapon</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>la(ng)</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>‘only; just’</td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>dayon</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>man</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>‘also’</td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>dapat</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>daw</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>‘please; probably’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Masbatenyo shows plenty of similarity with other CP languages in the external distribution of clausal clitics and nonclitics. A comparison of the diversity in distribution between clitics and DPs within clauses in Masbatenyo is made in Table 4.

### Table 4: Distribution of DPs vs. clitics in Masbatenyo

a. Verb-initial clauses:
   - *Verb* DP DP…
   - *Verb* Clitic DP…

b. Adjunct fronted clauses:
   - Adjunct *Verb* DP DP…
   - Adjunct Clitic *Verb* DP…

c. Negative clauses:
   - Neg *Verb* DP DP…
   - Neg Clitic *Verb* DP…

d. Multiple fronted adjunct
   - Adjunct Neg *Verb* DP DP…
   - Adjunct Clitic Neg *Verb* DP…
   - Adjunct Neg Clitic *Verb* DP…

Table 4 also identifies the obligatory clitic positions. Other elements may optionally behave as clitics by taking such a position. Namely, their clitichood is designated through their placement inside clauses. As row (a) indicated, DPs follow the verb despite the change of structure. To contrast, clitic pronouns precede DPs and follow the sentence-initial verb. The
appearance of fronted adjunct or a negative marker would cause clitic pronouns to precede the verb, while the distribution of DPs does not change, as in row (b-c). The co-occurrence of both a fronted adjunct and a negative marker constructs a crucial structure to identify whether a clitic is verb-adjacent or in second position since clitics have options to choose either to take a second position or be adjacent to the verb. Masbatenyo is attested to be both second position as well as verb adjacent in clitic placement as shown in row (d). The remaining section starts from the simplest construction.

In this target language clitic pronouns precede the nonclitic DPs in verb-initial clauses. Following examples are given to show the contrast of the placement of clitic pronouns and non-clitic DPs. Because the simplest construction, in row (a), does not clearly signal where a clitic cluster ends, examples are given with clitic pronouns only. (Clitic clusters are curly braced; pronoun clitics italicized; verbs bold faced.)

(5) a Nag-bintaha {siya} sa iya katabang.
    AV[+BEGUN]-took.advantage 3SGNOM OBL 3SGOBL helper
    ‘He took advantage of his helper.’ (Wolfenden 2001:146)

(5) b I-hapin {mo} an habol sa kama.
    <ACV>use.st.to.cover 2SGNOM NOM blanket OBL bed
    ‘You use the blanket to cover the bed.’ (Wolfenden 2001:212)

As illustrated in (5a-b), clitic pronouns, either in NOM or GEN form (siya and mo), precede the DPs (sa iya katabang ‘his helper’ and an habol ‘the blanket’ as well as sa kama ‘the bed’) in verb-initial clauses.

The appearance of a preverbal non-clitic element (a fronted adjunct or a negation marker) results in a separation of the distribution of clitics from nonclitic DPs. Clitics are attracted to the preverbal position following the first element when the verb is no longer clause-initial. To contrast, the placement of nonclitic DPs remains the same. Examples (6a-b) show a fronted adjunct and (7a-b) show a negated structure.

(6) a Angay {kita} mag-muruutan,
    ought 1PL.INCL.NOM AV[-BEGUN]-love
    ‘We ought to love each other.’ (Wolfenden 2001:109)

(6) b Madali {siya} nag-asenso sa trabaho.
    quickly 3SGNOM AV[+BEGUN]-progress in work
    ‘He quickly progressed in work.’ (Wolfenden 2001:167)
In (6a), the clitic pronoun *kita* takes a preverbal position when the adjunct *angay* ‘ought’ is fronted. Similarly, example (6b) illustrates the difference in the placement of the clitic pronoun and DP, where *siya* precedes the verb *mag-asenso* ‘progress’ and have *sa trabaho* ‘in work’ follow the verb. Same result goes with Neg: the distribution of DPs is not affected by the presence of Neg. On the other hand, clitics are attracted to a preverbal position under such a construction.

(7) a Dili {ka} **mag-pang-onis** sin kaupod.
   Neg 2SG NOM AV [-BEGUN] <HABITUAL> cheat GEN companion
   ‘Do not cheat your companion.’ (Wolfenden 2001:362)

(7) b Dili {siya} **mag-buso** sa tubig.
   Neg 3SG NOM AV [-BEGUN] dive OBL water
   ‘He must not dive into the water.’ (Wolfenden 2001:162)

Both examples (6-7) show that clitic clusters precede the verb when there is a fronted non-clitic element. The distribution of clitic clusters in (7) shows that clusters *ka* and *siya* precede the verb *mag-pang-onis* ‘cheat’ and *mag-buso* ‘dive’. By contrast, DPs (*sin kaupod* ‘companion’ and *sa tubig* ‘the water) go after its respective verb.

A further analysis, relies on the most complicated syntactic construction (a clause with multiple fronted preverbal elements as illustrated in row (d) in Table 4), would be required in order to distinguish the distribution of clitics: Wackernagel or verb-adjacent. As defined in earlier study (Lee and Billings to appear), Wackernagel positioning can be easily identified through the construction [adjunct cluster NEG verb NPs]. On the other hand, the construction [adjunct NEG cluster verb NPs] doesn’t necessarily prove verb-adjacent positioning. This is because the initial adjunct needs to be further justified whether it constitutes its own intonation phrase or not. Only when the prosodic pause is confirmed in a clause would we be sure about the type of clitic positioning. Thus, this further adjustment can’t be omitted while identifying clitic type. A crucial example, example (8) is found to prove that Masbatenyo goes for Wackernagel clitic positioning.

(8) Dugay {na kami} wara maka-kadto.
   for.a.long.time already 1Pl excl NOM Neg [+-STATIVE,-BUGUN]-go.distance
   ‘For-a-long-time we-excl have not been able to go there.’ (Wolfenden 2001:34)

I have covered the whole texts (Wolfenden 2001) and example (8) is the only example found to represent for Wackernagel positioning. To contrast, in example (9) clitics immediately precede the verb when the verb is preceded with multiple adjuncts. I have confirmed with
Wolfenden through personal consultation that no pause is made by a native speaker of Masbatenyo to follow the initial adjunct haros ‘almost’. Thus, this crucially identifies the existence of verb-adjacent positioning of clitics in Masbatenyo. Namely, both Wackernagel and verb-adjacent positioning are attested.

(9) Haros dili \{ka \ na\} naka-tinir sa balay.

almost Neg 2SG.NOM now [+STATIVE,+BUGUN]-stay.in sa house
‘You almost never stay in the house.’

To contrast, clitics in other languages are either Wackernagel or verb-adjacent. Languages such as Tagakaulo, Kaagan, Mansaka, and Davawenyo put clitics adjacent to the clausal verb, while Tausug exhibits a Wackernagel clitic distribution. Interestingly, note that unlike other CP languages but similar to Tausug (Lee and Billings 2005), complementizers in Masbatenyo can serve as an initial element to host clitics.

(10a) …bisan \{ako\} lunus-an.

…even.if 1SG.NOM be.starved-REF
‘…even if I will be starve.’

(10b) … agod \{amon siya\} i<pa>lista.

so.that 1PL.EXCL.OBL 3SG.NOM ACC<CAUSE>enroll
‘…so that he would be enrolled by us.’

As exemplified in (10a-b), instead of taking a post-verbal position, the clitic clusters (ako as well as amon siya) go right after their respective complementizer (bisan ‘even if’ and agod ‘so that’) and precedes their respective verb (lunusan ‘be starved’ and ipa-lista ‘enroll’). Namely, clitics ako as well as amon siya are second positioned in the COMP phrase instead of the INFL phrase.

Similar to Tausug, complementizers do not always count as an initial element in Masbatenyo. Examples (11a-b) represent a case where clitics are second positioned in the INFL phrase.

(11a) Kun dili \{kamo\} gusto na ma-liwan-an si Mrs. De la Cruz…

if Neg 2PL.NOM want LK ABILITY-being.replaced-PV NOM Mrs. De la Cruz
‘If you do not want Mrs. De le Cruz be[ing] replaced...’

(11b) Dili \{ka\} mag-hambog kay kilala ka na namon.

Neg 2SG.NOM AV[-BEGUN]-boast because know 2SG.NOM already 1PL.EXCL.GEN
‘Do not boast because we know you already.’
What has been mentioned so far points out that the domain within which the clitics are positioned can be either COMP phrase or INFL phrase. Even inside an embedded clause, e.g., (10a-b, 11a-b), the clitics can either remain adjacent to the verb in that clause or climb into a higher clause. Rather, clitics must be positioned as front as possible but need to follow an initial entity that can host a clitic. This clearly shows that not only the clause but also the matrix sentence can be the relevant domain. In addition, the placement of clitics must satisfy a non-initiality requirement.

Some elements (e.g., OBL pronoun forms, adverbial clitics, and some DPs) may only optionally serve as clitics. Examples are given below for clarity.

(12) a Wara {ka} maka-hatag sa akon sin pabo.
    Neg 2SG.NOM AV[+STATIVE,-BUGUN]-give OBL 1SG.OBL GEN favor
    ‘You have not been able to give me a favor.’ (Wolfenden 2001:365)

(12) b Si Mrs. Reyes wara {sa amon} mag-likson kahapon.
    NOM Mrs. Reyes Neg OBL 1PL.EXCL.OBL AV[-BEGUN]-teach yesterday
    ‘Mrs. Reyes did not teach us a lesson yesterday.’ (Wolfenden 2001:314)

The OBL pronoun forms do not always serve as clitics. Its clitichood can only be confirmed when it is distributed in a clitic position. Comparing (12a-b), the cluster ka in (12a) precedes the verb due to the appearance of a non-clitic preverbal element, wara. The OBL pronoun sa akon is not included inside the cluster. It is separated from the cluster by the verb. To contrast, sa amon is conclusively inside a cluster in (12b)

Similarly, some DPs may optionally take a clitic position. Examples are given for clarity: (13a) shows a fronted adjunct, while (13b) shows a Neg construction.

(13) a Nano {an labot ko} mag-disiplina sa imo?
    What NOM responsibility 1SG.GEN AV[-BEGUN]-discipline OBL 2SG.OBL
    ‘What is my responsibility to discipline you?’ (Wolfenden 2001:175)

(13) b Diri {ina na tawo} na-dudut-an sin sundang o bala.
    Neg that LK man [+BEGIN STATE OF BEING]harm- PV GEN bolo or bullet
    ‘That man could not be harmed by bolo or bullet.’ (Wolfenden 2001:175)

Both the DPs an abot ko ‘my responsibility’ and ina na tawo ‘that man’ behave as clitics by appearing in the clitic position, functioning as so-called “optional enclitics” (see Schachter and Otanes 1972: 184).
Moving to adverbial clitics, their clitichood can only be sure when they appear in clitic position. In Masbatenyo adverbial clitics can be found on either side of the clitic pronouns.

(14) a I-arot {anay ako} san akon buhok.

ACV-cut.hair.for.someone first 1SG.NOM GEN my hair

‘First cut my hair for me.’

(Wolfenden 2001:116)

(14) b I-atop {ko} anay ini na imo sim.

ACV-use.sth.to.roof.with 1SG.GEN first this 2SG.OBL corrugated tin

‘I will first use this corrugated-metal-sheet of yours to roof with.’

(Wolfenden 2001:119)

Examples (14a-b) illustrate the distribution of adverbial clitics relative to the clitic pronouns. The clusters are enclosed in curly braces. Note that anay in (14b), unlike in (14a), is not included in the clitic cluster due to the position it appears.

Below, I show that this noninitiality requirement of clitic distribution is crucially prosodic and not syntactic. As noted in (Lee 2004), an independent intonation phrase of its own could be formed when an adjunct is heavy. Namely, the heavy adjunct is immediately followed by a prosodic pause. Thus, the heavy adjunct cannot serve as an entity to host a clitic. Clitics then are restricted to follow the verb in order to prevent itself from being the initial element of its respective intonation phrase. The distribution of clitics in the following examples shows a contrast of how prosody matters to clitic placement in Masbatenyo: (15a) represents an example where a heavy adjunct forms its own intonation phrase while in (15b) the fronted adjunct does not form its own intonation phrase.

(15) a Sa ikatulo na adlaw nag-bango {siya}.

on third of day AV[+BEGUN]-awoke 3SG.NOM

‘On the third day he awoke.’

(Wolfenden 2001:506)

(15) b Didto {sinda} nag-pahayag san barita.

there 3PL.NOM AV[+BEGUN]-explain GEN news

‘There they explained the news.’

(Wolfenden 2001:217)

Synthesizing what have been mentioned earlier, the placement between clitic elements and DPs are dramatically differentiated with the change of sentence constructions. DPs take a post-verbal position regardless sentence types. Clitics not only must precede DPs, but also need to follow the noninitiality requirement.
3. Internal clitic pronoun ordering

The previous section has shown that the external clitic placement in relation to the verb is restricted to the non-initality requirement, which is crucially prosodic. This section points out that prosody is crucial in determining the internal clitic pronoun ordering within a cluster. Since OBL pronoun forms only optionally serve as clitics (see 12b, 14a-b), I start from describing how the NOM and GEN clitic pronouns order inside a cluster. Next, a discussion on the internal ordering of a combination of either the NOM or GEN clitic pronoun form plus an OBL pronoun form is given. Before staring on analysis on the issue of internal clitic pronoun ordering, this section first presents all the attested combination of a NOM and a GEN clitic pronouns in Table 5, while combinations-not-found-yet are in blank.

Table 5: Combinations of nom and gen personal pronouns in Masbatenyo

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NOM-form set</th>
<th>GEN-form set</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ko/ta/након</td>
<td>namon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ako</td>
<td>mo ako</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kami</td>
<td>mo kami</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kita</td>
<td>mo kamo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ka/ikaw</td>
<td>ta kaw ~ko ikaw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kamo</td>
<td>ko kamo ~ta kamo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>siya</td>
<td>ko siya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sinda</td>
<td>ko sinda ~ta sinda</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Combinations of NOM-form plus GEN-form clusters found in my corpus clearly shows that it is prosody that determines the order of clitic pronouns: a prosodically light pronoun must precede those with heavier phonological weight.

(16) a ...латигу/он {ko kamo}.
    ... be.whipped-PV 1SG.GEN 2PL.NOM
    ‘...you will be whipped by me.’
    (Wolfenden 2001:308)
No example of a disyllabic pronoun is found to precede a monosyllabic pronoun in Masbateño. Examples above exclude grammatical person and case as determining factors. In addition, following examples further eliminate grammatical number from affecting the order. Note also that pronouns with the same prosodic weight could result in an alternative order, as illustrated in (17a-b).

(16) b ...kay kilala {ka na namon}.
   because know 2SG.NOM already 1PL.EXCL GEN
   ‘...because we know you already.’

(Wolfenden 2001:208)

(17) a ...apas-on {ako niyo} ... fetch-PV 1SG.NOM 2PL GEN
   ‘...let me be fetched by you.’

(Wolfenden 2001:111)

(17) b Sumat-i {daw niyo ako} manungod sana.
   report-OBLIGATORY.RV please 2PL GEN 1SG.NOM about that
   ‘Please report me about that.’

(Wolfenden 2001:171)

Morphological suppletion is observed in Masbateño. Only four monosyllabic pronoun forms (e.g., ka 2 SG.NOM; ko/ta 1 SG GEN; ta 1 PL.INCL GEN; mo 2 SG GEN) are found among the NOM- and GEN-forms. There is no example found with a combination of two monosyllabic pronouns in the corpus. This is due to the fact that Masbateño seems to avoid the co-occurrence of two monosyllabic pronouns inside a cluster. The only case for two monosyllabic forms co-occur would be a combination of ko 1 SG GEN and ka 2 SG NOM. (Other combinations would be semantically not possible to form.) In the corpus, ko is never possible with ka. Instead, in such a cluster ko appears to be optionally replaced by ta when it co-occurs with ka, and ka is replaced by ikaw in such a combination. Namely, either ko ikaw or ta ikaw are attested in this language, but never ko ka. In addition, this morphological suppletion can be seen in clusters of ko forms with other disyllabic forms (kamo 2 PL NOM and sinda 3 PL NOM): ko kamo, ta kamo, ko sinda, and ta sinda are all attested. The number of syllables is the primary determiner of the relative order of these clusters.

(18) a I-sumat {ta ikaw} sa polis...
   ACV-report 1SG GEN 2 SG NOM OBL police
   ‘I will report you to the police…’

(Wolfenden 2001:44)

(18) b Wara {ko ikaw} i-sangkot sa kaso.
   Neg 1 SG GEN 2 SG NOM ACV-involve OBL case.
   ‘I did not involve you in the case.’

(Wolfenden 2001:441)
Based on the observation in Lee (2004), for some reason some morphological suppletion (a combination of a 1SG plus a 2SG) could be treated as fused forms, monomorphemic entities, in some languages (Tagakaulo, Kaagan, Masaka, and Davawenyo). A crucial example in Masbatenyo points out that using *ta* to replace *ko* is just a replacement of the first pronoun with another in the cluster, as (19b) shows.

\[(19)\text{a Mataga-an}\ \{mo\ kaya\ ako\}\ \sin\ pisog\ san\ gaway-gaway?\]
\[\text{give-PV}\ 2\text{SG.GEN}\ \text{really}\ 1\text{SG.NOM}\ \text{GEN}\ \text{seed}\ \text{of}\ \text{gaway-gaway.tree}\]
\[\text{‘Can you really give me a seed of the gaway-gaway tree?’} \quad (\text{Wolfenden 2001:194})\]

\[(19)\text{b Ba-baya-an}\ \{ta\ gayod\ ikaw\}.\]
\[\text{< INTENSIFY>leave-PV}\ 1\text{SG.GEN}\ \text{really}\ 2\text{SG.NOM}\]
\[\text{‘I will leave you.’} \quad (\text{Wolfenden 2001:472})\]

As observed, disyllabic adverbial clitics often can break into a cluster of monosyllabic plus a disyllabic clitic, as exemplified in (19a). Similarly, *ta ikaw* is split up by an adverbial clitic *gayod ‘really’*. This interruption inside a cluster is in favor of the analysis to view *ta* as a mere replacement of *ka*. In the corpus, twelve examples of *ta ikaw* and seventeen of *ko ikaw* are found; three examples of *ta kamo* and only two of *ko kamo*; only one example of *ta sinda* and nine of *ko sinda*; no examples of *ta siya* but twenty-nine examples of *ko siya* are found. Thus, even though either *ta* or *ko* form is found in a 1SG plus a 2SG construction, the number of their occurrence shows that possibly the use of the suppletive form *ta* with *kamo, siya* as well as with *sinda* is by analogy with the use of *ta ikaw.*

4. Summary

This section summarizes how clitic pronouns are distributed in a clause and how they are ordered by what determiner factor is inside a cluster. Then, I lay out a comparison of clitic pronouns made between Masbatenyo with other CP languages.

As shown in previous sections, external clitic distribution in Masbatenyo is not distinct much from other CP languages. Non-clitic DPs have fixed placement; clitic pronouns on the other hand change their positioning with the syntactic structures of their relative clauses. They precede DPs in an affirmative construction. When the verb is preceded by an adjunct or a Neg, clitics would take a preverbal position but never take the initial position unless they are topicalized. In addition, only when a clause begins with multiple fronted adjuncts would it be possible to identify clitic type. Both Wackernagel and verb-adjacent clitic positioning are

---

3 Though not recalling, but suspecting, hearing the combination of *ta siya*, Wolfenden (p.c.) suggests that a reasonable guess could be make about the existence of such a combination.
attested in Masbatenyo. Note also that complementizers can, but not always, serve as an initial element to host clitics in this language.

Turning to the internal ordering of clitics within a cluster, either prosodic weight or syntactic features (such as person, grammatical number, case) can be determinant factor(s). The priority of determinant factors in internal clitic ordering within a cluster is language-distinct. Table 6 is given to provide a comparison on what determines factors in internal clitic ordering in Masbatenyo with other CP languages.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Main determinant factor</th>
<th>Peripheral determinant factor(s)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tagalog</td>
<td>Prosody (light &gt; heavy)</td>
<td>Actor-first constraint</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bikol</td>
<td>Prosody (light &gt; heavy)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cebuano</td>
<td>Prosody (light &gt; heavy)</td>
<td>Case (Gen&gt; Nom)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Masbatenyo</td>
<td>Prosody (light &gt; heavy)</td>
<td>Case (Nom&gt; Gen); prosody (light &gt; heavy)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tagakaulo</td>
<td>Person (3rd last)</td>
<td>Case (Nom&gt; Gen)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kaagan</td>
<td>Prosody (light &gt; heavy)</td>
<td>Person (3rd last)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mansaka</td>
<td>Prosody (light &gt; heavy)</td>
<td>Person (3rd last)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mansaka</td>
<td>Prosody (light &gt; heavy)</td>
<td>Person (3rd last)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Davawenyo</td>
<td>Prosody (light &gt; heavy)</td>
<td>Person (3rd last)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mamanwa</td>
<td>Case (Gen&gt; Nom)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tausug</td>
<td>Case (Gen&gt; Nom)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


The difference in prosodic weight mainly decides the order of two-clitic pronouns in Tagalog (Schachter 1973), Bikol (Billings and Konopasky 2002), Cebuano (Wolff 1965; Billings and Konopasky 2002), Kaagan, Mansaka, and Davawenyo (Lee 2004), and Masbatenyo. To account for clitic order adequately, factors aside from prosodic weight sometimes are needed—case/roles in Tagalog (Lee and Billings to appear), a complicated set of morphosemantic factors in Cebuano (mentioned in Lee and Billings to appear, for details see Billings and Konopasky 2002:18), Person in Kaagan, Mansaka, and Davawenyo (Lee 2004). Next in Tagakaulo, a more complicated interaction of syntactic and phonological factors is found: Person takes priority than Case whilst prosody plays a minor role in ordering clitic pronouns. Among those languages, case categorically accounts for clitic order in Mamanwa and Tausug (Lee and Billings to appear).
References


The preceding document was presented at the Tenth International Conference on Austronesian Linguistics (10-ICAL). To properly reference this work, please use the following format:


For other papers that were presented at 10-ICAL, please visit http://www.sil.org/asia/philippines/ical/papers.html.