

# Binukid Pronominal Clisis

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This Manobo language attests GEN and NOM clitic pronoun sets; OBL pronouns are optionally clitics. Clauses with preverbal non-clitic elements provide the main diagnostic of cliticness: [*NEG* {clitic(s)} *verb* ...]. Post and Gardner (1992: xx) also report that if GEN and NOM pronouns co-occur, then one of them, whichever is [- speaker], is replaced by the corresponding OBL form. Texts show, however, that Post and Gardner's description requires revision.

To begin, what happens if both pronouns are [- speaker]? For example, in sentences like 'they saw you' does one of the pronouns get replaced by an OBL form? To fill in the picture, other person distinctions (namely: [ $\pm$  hearer]), as well as morphosemantic features such as number, case, and role, are considered (following Billings and Kaufman 2004).

Additionally, in clusters involving NOM3PL /siran/, replacement (with OBL3PL [kandan]) is incorrectly predicted. All GEN/NOM pronouns except /siran/ are monosyllabic; all of the OBL pronouns are disyllabic. Among GEN/NOM forms, only /siran/ is not replaced. Based on this evidence, we argue that this OBL-replacement phenomenon is crucially phonological, not morphosyntactic. Clause-mate monosyllabic pronouns are disallowed (perhaps due to the Obligatory Contour Principle). We show evidence, mainly from the interaction of pronominal and adverbial clitics, that prosodic weight is a relevant factor elsewhere in the clitic grammar.

A similar phenomenon--found in many languages of Taiwan, the Philippines, and Sabah--might be called politeness substitution; see Billings (2005: 311-12, 337 n. 18) for discussion of Tagalog in this regard. In combinations of (underlyingly) GEN1SG /ku/ and NOM2SG /ka/, in addition to the aforementioned obligatory replacement (of /ka/ by OBL2SG [ikaw]), GEN1SG /ku/ is optionally realized as GEN1DUAL [ta]. Thus, with

\*/ku ka/ [ta ikaw], BOTH underlying pronoun forms are realized by different surface forms: for separate reasons.

Additional aspects of clisis in Binukid are investigated: (i) the order of the clitic cluster relative to the rest of the clause and (ii) whether replacement-OBL forms are optionally clitic.

## REFERENCES

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