

# Clitic pronouns in Masbatenyo

Celeste Lee

National Chi Nan University

[cylee@ncnu.edu.tw](mailto: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 cliticness. 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).<sup>1</sup>

---

Thanks to Elmer Wolfenden and Loren Billings for their time and assistance. All errors are my own.

<sup>1</sup> 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 Masbatenyó 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 1: Determiners with various noun types in Masbatenyó**

	Common nouns (specific)		Common nouns (non-specific)		Personal names	
	SG	PL	SG	PL	SG	PL
NOM	an	an mga	∅	∅ mga	si	sinda
GEN	san	san mga	sin	sin mga	ni	ninda
OBL	sa	sa mga	—	—	kan	kanda

(Wolfenden 2001:21)

The three cases are represented by the three rows of Table 1: NOM (for any of *an*, *an mga*,  $\emptyset$ ,  $\emptyset$  *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 Masbatenyó 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 Masbatenyó (Wolfenden 2001:33): AGENT; PATIENT; 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.

- V(AV)                      ADV   AGENT              THEME
- (1) a **Nag-dara**              naman si    Pedro sin    baralanggo na barita.  
 AV[+BEGUN]-bought    again    NOM Pedro    GEN disorder    LK news  
 ‘Pedro bought nonsensical news again.’                      (Wolfenden 2001:129)

- V(AV)    THEME              AGENT
- (1) b **Na-pangkog**                                      sa bato an iya    kalbo na lolo.  
 [+BEGUN STATE OF BEING]-stumble OBL stone    NOM 3SG.OBL bald    LK grandfather  
 ‘His bold grandfather stumbled on a stone.’                      (Wolfenden 2001: 263)

- |       |                                      |     |        |     |         |     |          |                     |
|-------|--------------------------------------|-----|--------|-----|---------|-----|----------|---------------------|
|       | V(PV)                                |     | AGENT  |     | PATIENT |     | LOCATION |                     |
| (2) a | <b>Gin-butag</b>                     | ni  | Pinang | an  | bugas   | sa  | kuron    |                     |
|       | [+PERF]-paint-RV                     | GEN | Pinang | NOM | rice    | OBL | clay.pot |                     |
|       | ‘Pinang put the rice in a clay pot.’ |     |        |     |         |     |          | (Wolfenden 2001:36) |

- |       |   |     |           |     |          |              |       |                      |
|-------|---|-----|-----------|-----|----------|--------------|-------|----------------------|
|       | V(PV)   |     | AGENT     |     | LOCATION |              | THEME |                      |
| (2) b | <b>K&lt;in&gt;uha</b>                                     | ni  | Tia Maria | sa  | iya      | taguan       | an    | dyutay na natipon.   |
|       | PV-[+BEGUN]-get   | GEN | Tia Maria | OBL | 3SG.OBL  | hiding.place | NOM   | little LK savings    |
|       | ‘Tia Maria got from her hiding place the little savings.’ |     |           |     |          |              |       | (Wolfenden 2001:105) |

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/THEME-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 <AGENT>’ and *an dyutay na natipon* ‘the little savings <THEME>’ 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.

- |       |  |          |     |     |           |    |        |                        |     |         |
|-------|--|----------|-----|-----|-----------|----|--------|------------------------|-----|---------|
| (3) a | An   | ispirito | san | mga | matadong  | na | tawo   | <b>maka-kadto</b>      | sa  | langit. |
|       | NOM  | spirit   | of  | PL  | righteous | LK | people | AV[+STATIVE,-BUGUN]-go | OBL | heaven  |
|       | ‘The spirit of righteous people can go to heaven.’ |          |     |     |           |    |        |                        |     |         |
|       | (Wolfenden 2001:250)                               |          |     |     |           |    |        |                        |     |         |

- |       |   |     |        |                     |     |           |     |            |
|-------|---|-----|--------|---------------------|-----|-----------|-----|------------|
| (3) b | An  | mga | tawo   | <b>mang-ngirhat</b> | san | dinaguhob | san | kadagatan. |
|       | NOM   | PL  | people | EXP.-frieghten      | GEN | rumbling  | of  | sea        |
|       | ‘The people were frightened by the rumbling of the seas.’ |     |        |                     |     |           |     |            |
|       | (Wolfenden 2001:360)                                      |     |        |                     |     |           |     |            |

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  | <b>maka-baton</b>           | 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)                                 |                             |     |                    |     |            |

- (4) b Dapat **mag-pahunod** an mga lalaki sa mga babayi.  
 should AV[-BEGUN]-yield NOM PL man OBL PL woman  
 ‘Men should yield to the women.’ (Wolfenden 2001:230)

Section 1 briefly sketches the non-clitic morphosyntax in Masbatenyo. 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 Masbatenyo 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 Masbatenyo clitic pronoun distribution is made here.

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

**Table 2: Pronouns in Masbatenyo**

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

(based on Wolfenden 2001: 21<sup>2</sup>)

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. Masbatenyo clitic pronouns have borrowed some pronoun forms from Cebuano. For instance, *nakon* and *nimo* are borrowed into Masbatenyo and can be used alternatively with the 1SG.GEN and 2SG.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

<sup>2</sup> 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, Masbatenyó 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 cliticness is observed in the corpus through their distribution inside the clause.

**Table 3 Adverbial clitics in Masbatenyó**

ba	question marker	anay	‘first; before’	siguro	‘probably’
na	‘already; then; now’	lugod	‘maybe; perhaps’	masyado	‘much; very’
pa	‘still; yet’	gayod	‘really; truly’	kuntani	‘hopefully; possibly’
gad	‘really’	gali	‘surprisingly’	gihapon	‘again; still; at last’
la(ng)	‘only; just’	dayon	‘immediately’		
man	‘also’	dapat	‘must’		
daw	‘please; probably’				

(based on Wolfenden 2001)

Masbatenyó 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 Masbatenyó is made in Table 4.

**Table 4: Distribution of DPs vs. clitics in Masbatenyó**

a. Verb-initial clauses:			<b>Verb</b>	DP	DP...
			<b>Verb</b>	Clitic	DP...
b. Adjunct fronted clauses:	Adjunct		<b>Verb</b>	DP	DP...
	Adjunct		Clitic	<b>Verb</b>	DP...
c. Negative clauses:	Neg		<b>Verb</b>	DP	DP...
	Neg		<i>Clitic</i>	<b>Verb</b>	DP...
d. Multiple fronted adjunct	Adjunct	Neg	<b>Verb</b>	DP	DP...
	Adjunct	Clitic	Neg	<b>Verb</b>	DP...
	Adjunct	Neg	Clitic	<b>Verb</b>	DP...

Table 4 also identifies the obligatory clitic positions. Other elements may optionally behave as clitics by taking such a position. Namely, their cliticness 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 3SG.NOM OBL 3SG.OBL helper  
 ‘He took advantage of his helper.’ (Wolfenden 2001:146)

- (5) b **I-hapin** {*mo*} an habol sa kama.  
 <ACV>use.st.to.cover 2SG.GEN 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 3SG.NOM 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 *nag-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 *magbuso* ‘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.’ (Wolfenden 2001:497)

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.

- (10)a ...bisan {*ako*} **lunus-an**.  
 ...even.if 1SG.NOM be.starved-REF  
 ‘... even if I will be starve.’ (Wolfenden 2001:326)

- (10) b ... agod {*amon* *siya*} **i<pa>lista**.  
 so.that 1PLE.EXCL.OBL 3SG.NOM ACC<CAUSE>enroll  
 ‘...so that he would be enrolled by us.’ (Wolfenden 2001:427)

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.

- (11) a 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...’ (Wolfenden 2001:400)

- (11) b 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.’ (Wolfenden 2001:208)



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-liksyon** 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 cliticness 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-dudutl-an** sin sundang o bala.  
 Neg that LK man [+BEGUN 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 Otones 1972: 184).

Moving to adverbial clitics, their cliticness can only be sure when they appear in clitic position. In Masbatenyano 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 LK 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 Masbatenyano: (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-initiality 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 starting 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

		GEN-form set						
		ko/ta/ nakon	namon	ta/naton	mo/nimo	niyo	niya	ninda
NOM-form set	ako				<i>mo ako</i>		ako niya ~niya aku	aku ninda
	kami				<i>mo kami</i>	<i>niyo kami</i>	<i>niya kami</i>	
	kita						kita niya	
	ka/ikaw	<i>ta kaw</i> ~ <i>ko ikaw</i>	ka namon				ka niya	
	kamo	<i>ko kamo</i> ~ <i>ta kamo</i>					kamo niya	
	siya	<i>ko siya</i>	<i>namon siya</i>	<i>ta siya</i>	<i>mo siya</i>	<i>niyo siya</i>	<i>niya siya</i>	<i>siya ninda</i>
	sinda	<i>ko sinda</i> ~ <i>ta sinda</i>		<i>ta sinda</i>	<i>mo sinda</i>		<i>niya sinda</i>	

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 ...**latigu/h/-on** {*ko kamo*}.  
 ... be.whipped-PV 1SG.GEN 2PL.NOM

‘...you will be whipped by me.’

(Wolfenden 2001:308)

- (16) b ...kay **kilala** {*ka* na *namon*}.  
 because know 2SG.NOM already 1PL.EXCL.GEN  
 ‘...because we know you already.’ (Wolfenden 2001:208)

No example of a disyllabic pronoun is found to precede a monosyllabic pronoun in Masbatenyo. 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).

- (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 Masbatenyo. Only four monosyllabic pronoun forms (e.g., *ka* 2 SG.NOM; *ko/ta* 1SG.GEN; *ta* 1PL.INCL.GEN; *mo* 2SG.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 Masbatenyo 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* 1SG.GEN and *ka* 2SG.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* 2PL.NOM and *sinda* 3PL.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 2SG.NOM OBL police  
 ‘I will report you to the police...’ (Wolfenden 2001:44)

- (18) b Wara {*ko* *ikaw*} **i-sangkot** sa kaso.  
 Neg 1SG.GEN 2SG.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 Masbatenyio 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) a **Mataga-an** {*mo* kaya *ako*} sin pisog san gaway-gaway?  
 give-PV 2SG.GEN really 1SG.NOM GEN seed of gaway-gaway.tree  
 ‘Can you really give me a seed of the gaway-gaway tree?’  
 (Wolfenden 2001:194)
- (19) b **Ba-baya-an** {*ta* gayod *ikaw*}.  
 <INTENSIFY>leave-PV 1SG.GEN really 2SG.NOM  
 ‘I will leave you.’  
 (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*.<sup>3</sup>

#### 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 Masbatenyio with other CP languages.

As shown in previous sections, external clitic distribution in Masbatenyio 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

<sup>3</sup> Though not recalling, but suspecting, hearing the combination of *ta siya*, Wolfenden (p.c.) suggests that a reasonable guess could be made 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 6: Determinant factors in internal clitic ordering**

<b>Language</b>	<b>Main determinant factor</b>	<b>Peripheral determinant factor(s)</b>
Tagalog	Prosody (light > heavy)	Actor-first constraint
Bikol	Prosody (light > heavy)	
Cebuano	Prosody (light > heavy)	Case (Gen>Nom)
Masbatenyo	Prosody (light > heavy)	
Tagakaulo	Person (3 <sup>rd</sup> last)	Case (Nom>Gen); prosody (light > heavy)
Kaagan	Prosody (light > heavy)	Person (3 <sup>rd</sup> last)
Mansaka	Prosody (light > heavy)	Person (3 <sup>rd</sup> last)
Davawenyo	Prosody (light > heavy)	Person (3 <sup>rd</sup> last)
Mamanwa	Case (Gen>Nom)	
Tausug	Case (Gen>Nom)	

(based on Lee 2004, Lee & Billings to appear, and Billings & Konopasky 2002:18)

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

- Billings, Loren A. 2005. Ordering clitics and postverbal R-expressions in Tagalog: A unified analysis? In Andrew Carnie, Heidi Harley, and Sheila Ann Dooley (eds.). *Verb First: On the Syntax of Verb-initial Languages*, pp. 303-39. (Linguistik Aktuell, 73.) Amsterdam: Benjamins.
- Billings, Loren A., and Abigail Konopasky. 2002. The role of morphology in ordering verb-adjacent clitics: from syntax to prosody in Bulgarian and Tagalog. *Linguistics in Potsdam* 19.1-26.
- Billings, Loren, and Daniel Kaufman. 2004. Towards a typology of Austronesian pronominal clisis. *ZAS Papers in Linguistics* 34, 15-29. (Proceedings of AFLA 11.)
- Lee, Celeste Chia-Yen. 2004. The ordering of clitic pronouns in the languages of Southeast Mindanao. MA thesis, Shalu: Providence University.
- Lee, Celeste, and Loren Billings. 2005. Wackernagel and verb-adjacent clisis in Central Philippine. *Austronesian Formal Linguistics Association* (AFLA 12).
- Lee, Celeste, and Loren Billings. To appear. Clitic-pronoun clusters in Central Philippine. *Southeast Asian Linguistic Society* (SEALS 14). Tempe: Program for Southeast Asian Studies, Arizona State University.
- Schachter, Paul. 1973. Constraints on clitic order in Tagalog. Parangal kay Cecilio Lopez, ed. by Andrew B. Gonzalez, 214-31. Manila: Linguistic Society of the Philippines.
- Schachter, Paul, and Fe T. Otones. 1972. *Tagalog reference grammar*. Berkeley: University of California press.
- Wolff, J.U. 1965. Cebuano Visayan syntax. Diss. Yale University.
- Wolfenden, Elmer P. 2001. A Masbatenyo-English dictionary. Manila: Linguistic Society of the Philippines.

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:

<LastName>, <FirstName>. 2006. <PaperTitle>. Paper presented at Tenth International Conference on Austronesian Linguistics. 17-20 January 2006. Puerto Princesa City, Palawan, Philippines.  
<http://www.sil.org/asia/philippines/ical/papers.html>

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