Clitic Pronouns in Masbatenyo

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Throughout the discussion a concentration on the clisis in Masbatenyo is shown: the placement of clitics in relation to other nonclitics in the clause, the identification of the clitic distribution type, and the relative ordering of pronominal clitics within a cluster. Masbatenyo attests a mixture of post-initial and verb-adjacent position types. Certain complementizers can be clitic hosts, while others cannot. The clitic domain can either be COMP phrase or INFL phrase. An interaction of prosodic and, to a lesser extent, morphological factors in the ordering of clitic pronouns relative to each other is found when they co-occur in a clause. Finally, the domain of Masbatenyo clisis can be either prosodic or clausal.

1. Personal clitic pronouns

Before illustrating Masbatenyo clisis in further detail, let’s describe the clitic members. An inventory of Masbatenyo clitic pronouns is presented:

Table 1. Personal clitic pronouns in Masbatenyo

<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>in1pl</td>
<td>kita</td>
<td>ta ~ naton</td>
<td>aton</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ex1pl</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)

Pronoun forms differ in person, number, and case. Following the traditional labels used in Wolfenden (2001:21), the paradigms of personal pronouns are given in Table 1. Masbatenyo subdivides the 1pl forms into in1pl and ex1pl. Both pronominal forms of 1sg,gen and 2sg,gen nakon and nimo are borrowed from a neighboring language, Cebuano (Wolfenden 2001:353, 356). In addition, Masbatenyo makes a singular/plural distinction in its grammatical-number

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system. Note also that no further dual/plural distinction is made in in1pl forms. This is evident in confirmation with Wolfenden (p.c.) that naton in1pl.gen and its alternative form ta are identical in number. Furthermore, in Masbatenyo only four monosyllabic pronoun forms (e.g., ka 2sg.nom; ko 1sg.gen; ta in1pl.gen; mo 2sg.gen) are found among the nom and gen forms. No example was found consisting of two monosyllabic pronouns in the corpus. A combination of ko 1sg.gen and ka 2sg.nom would be the only pragmatically likely combination of two monosyllabic forms, but these are never found to co-occur. Instead, ko is optionally replaced by ta when it co-occurs with ka, and ka is obligatorily substituted by ikaw. Namely, ko ikaw and ta ikaw are the only attested combinations rather than *ko ka or *ta ka.

2. Distribution of pronominal clitics, pronominal free forms, and optional clitics

Masbatenyo attests a mixture of clitic-placement types: post-initial and verb-adjacent. The main concerns of this section are the ordering of clitics relative to the verb and nonclitic clausal DPs and the type of clitic placement in this language.

Clitichood is identified through the distribution of clitics where they take either preverbal position yet are not clause-initial (when the clause starts with a nonverbal form) or directly follow the clause-initial verb. It is evident that the position clitics appear in is distinct from the DPs’ placement, particularly when the verb does not occupy clause-initial position. Unless extracted syntactically, argument DPs appear in the postverbal position. That is, the appearance of a fronted adjunct or negation marker takes over the clause-initial position from the verb; such a change of the placement of the verb (being either clause-initial or not) does not affect the placement of the DPs. (Further discussion of an exceptional case is given in section 2.) Example (1) illustrates how DPs are positioned in a negated clause, whereas (2a–b) display how they are distributed in adjunct-fronted structures. Note that ungrammaticality derives in (2d) when the DP sa mga babayi ‘the women’ appears in preverbal position.

(1) Dili gina-patinda an mga binder sa bangkita.
   neg pv.prog-sell nom pl vendor obl walkway
   ‘Vendors are not allowed to be selling things on the sidewalk.’
   (Wolfenden 2001:135)

(2) a. Dapat mag-pahunod an mga lalaki sa mga babayi.
   should av-yield nom pl man obl pl woman
   ‘Men should yield to the women.’
   (Wolfenden 2001:230)

b. Dapat (an mga lalaki) magpahunod sa mga babayi.

c. Dapat magpahunod sa mga babayi an mga lalaki.

d. *Dapat sa mga babayi magpahunod an mga lalaki.

Examples throughout this paper are marked in the following ways. Personal pronouns are italicized; clitic clusters, in curly braces; and the focused elements, bold-faced.
Note also that certain DPs can appear in the preverbal position when topicalized, as in (3).

(3)  An mga tawo mangi-ngirhat san dinaguhob san kadagatan.
      NOM  PL  person  AV.FUT-frighten  GEN  rumbling of sea

‘The people were frightened by the rumbling of the seas.’ (Wolfenden 2001:360)

This summarizes the basics of (nonclitic) DP placement in Masbatenyo. The DPs can precede the verb under the process of topicalization. Otherwise, they follow the verb in either verb-initial, negated, or adjunct-fronted sentences. By contrast, the placement of clitics differs from that of DPs, as shown below.

(4) a. Verb-initial clauses: Verb  Clitic ...

b. Adjunct-fronted clauses: Adjunct  Clitic  Verb ...

c. Negated clauses: Neg  Clitic  Verb ...

 d. A combination of constructions (4b–c): (1) Adjunct  Neg  Clitic  Verb ...
       (2) Adjunct  Clitic  Neg  Verb ...

e. Multiple fronted adjuncts: (1) Adjunct  Adjunct  Clitic  Verb ...
       (2) Adjunct  Clitic  Adjunct  Verb ...

Listed above is a comparison of the distribution of DPs (marked as elipsis) and clitics. In all of (4a–e), any DPs appear in a postverbal position. When the verb occupies a clause-initial position, the co-occurrence of a clitic and DP requires the clitic to precede the DP, shown in (4a). When the verb loses its initiality, as in (4b–c), the clitic nonetheless takes second position, between the verb and the fronted adjunct or negation marker, while any DP maintains postverbal position. When there is more than one preverbal adjunct to start a clause, the clitic distribution type can be further identified as verb-adjacent (4d-1 and 4e-1) or post-initial (4d-2 and 4e-2).

It is evident that clitics have to be positioned right after the verb when both clitic clusters and nonclitic DPs occupy the postverbal position in a verb-initial clause. Examples (5) and (6) highlight ungrammaticality when the nonclitic DPs precede the clitic cluster in affirmative clauses.

(5)  Verb-initial clauses (4a):

a. Nag-bintaha  {ka} sa imo kabulig.
       AV.PRF-take.advantage  2SG.NOM  OBL  your helper

   ‘You took advantage of your helper.’

b. *Nagbintaha sa imo katabang ka.
(6) a. I-hapin \( \{ \text{mo} \} \) an habol sa kama.
\( \text{IV-cover} \ 2\text{SG.} \text{GEN} \text{NOM} \text{blanket OBL bed} \)

‘[U]se the blanket to cover the bed.’ (Wolfenden 2001:212)

b. *Ihapin an habol sa kama \( \text{mo} \).

By contrast, clitics need to precede the verb when in marked constructions (such as adjunct-fronted or negated clauses). On the other hand, DPs would remain in postverbal position. The following examples are given for the sake of clarification.

(7) **Adjunct-fronted clauses (4b):**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Translation</th>
<th>Reference</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a. Angay ( { \text{kita} } ) mag-mu&lt;ru&gt;ut-an.</td>
<td>‘We ought to love each other.’</td>
<td>Wolfenden 2001:109</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. Didto ( { \text{sinda} } ) nag-pahayag san barita.</td>
<td>‘There they explained the news.’</td>
<td>Wolfenden 2001:217</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(8) **Negated clauses (4c):**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Translation</th>
<th>Reference</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a. Dili ( { \text{ka} } ) mag-pang-onsi sin kaupod.</td>
<td>‘Do not cheat your companion.’</td>
<td>Wolfenden 2001:362</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. Dili ( { \text{siya} } ) mag-buso sa tubig.</td>
<td>‘He must not dive into the water.’</td>
<td>Wolfenden 2001:162</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Likewise, the co-occurrence of more than one preverbal adjunct requires clitics to precede the verb. Note that neither \( \text{wara} \) nor \( \text{dili} \) can be clitics; see the placement of the \( \text{NEG} \) markers in (9a–b) and (10a–b).

(9) **A combination of constructions (4b–c):**

<table>
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<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a. Angay ( { \text{ka} } ) dili mag-pang-onsi sin kaupod.</td>
<td>‘You ought not to cheat your companion.’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note that the nominative pronoun forms can either serve as pronominal clitics or, except for \( \text{2SG ka} \), as nonclitic free forms. On the other hand, the alternative \( \text{2SG} \) form \( \text{ikaw} \) can serve as either a clitic or a free form. As listed in (10a–f), pronominal clitics \( \text{ka} \) and
ikaw must follow a first syntactic element. In (10g–h) a discrepancy in the distribution of clitics and optional nonclitic free pronouns in clause-initial position is shown:

(10) **Verb-initial clause:**

a. Nag-bintaha \( \{ka\} \) sa iya kabulig.

\( \text{AV.PRF-take.advantage} \ 2\text{SG.NOM} \ \text{OBL his helper} \)

‘You took advantage of his helper.’

b. *Nagbintaha sa iya kabulig \( ka \).

**Adjunct-fronted clauses:**

c. Madali \( \{ka\} \) nag-asenso sa trabaho.

\( \text{quickly} \ 2\text{SG.NOM} \ \text{AV.PRF-progress OBL work} \)

‘You quickly progressed in work.’

d. Wara \( \{ka\} \) tinuklang ni Jose!

\( \text{NEG.EXIST} \ 2\text{SG.NOM} \ <\text{PV.PRF}> \text{push GEN Jose} \)

‘You weren’t pushed by Jose!’

e. Wara \{ikaw\} tinuklang ni Jose.

f. *Wara tinuklang ikaw/\( ka \) ni Jose.

g. Ikaw an traydor.

\( 2\text{SG.NOM} \ \text{NOM traitor} \)

‘You are the traitor’

h. *Ka an traydor.

Clitic forms appear in second position in verb-initial as well as adjunct-fronted sentences. In addition to such distribution, the free forms can appear in isolation, without the appearance of a clitic host. That is, their distribution is *not* restricted by any non-initiality requirement in their positioning (cf. the distribution of topocalized or clefted DPs). This significantly distinguishes their placement. Only nonclitic forms, and not pronominal clitics, can be used in either clefted or topocalized constructions.

Some elements, including obli pronouns, demonstrative pronouns, adverbials, and some DPs, may optionally serve as clitics. This is already seen in (2b). Additionally, in (11a) *sa iya* is conclusively a clitic: between neg and the verb. However, in (11b) the obli form *sa iya* remains in the postverbal position and thus behaves as a nonclitic element.
(11) a. Wara {ako sa iya} mag-oo.
   NEG.EXIST 1SG.NOM OBL 3SG.OBL AV-yes
   ‘I did not say yes to him.’  (Wolfenden 2001:362)

b. Dili {ako} naga-pabor sa iya.
   NEG 1SG.NOM AV.PROG-favor OBL 3SG.OBL
   ‘I am not favoring her.’  (Wolfenden 2001:365)

The demonstrative pronouns also can serve as optional clitics. In (12a–b), ini ‘this (near)’ optionally serves as a clitic member in preverbal yet clause-non-initial position, whereas ini serves as a nonclitic, positioned outside of the cluster in (12c).

(12) a. Dili {ini} naga-tubo sa iba na lugar didi sa Pilipinas.
   NEG NOM.this(near) AV.PROG-grow OBL other LK place here OBL
   ‘This does not grow in any other place here in the Philippines.’  (Wolfenden 2001:502)

b. Dili {ta ini} higutan ini sin goma.
   NEG IN1PL.GEN NOM.this(near) tie-rv GEN rubber.thong
   ‘We should not tie a rubber thong onto this.’

c. Dili {ta} higutan ini sin goma.

Moving to adverbials, some can optionally function as clitic members. Example (13a) illustrates the fact that adverbials (such as anay ‘first’) can be conclusively part of the clitic cluster, while in (13b) anay is positioned outside of the clitic cluster.

(13) a. Dili {ko anay} i-atop ini na imo sim.
   NEG 1SG.GEN first IV-roof this LK your corrugated.tin
   ‘I will not first use this corrugated metal sheet of yours to roof with.’  (=26c)

b. Dili {ko} iatop anay ini na imo sim.  (=26d)

Table 2 presents an inventory of some attested adverbial clitics found in texts.
Table 2. Adverbial clitics in Masbatenyo

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Clitic</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Clitic</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>anay</td>
<td>‘first; before’</td>
<td>ba</td>
<td>question marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dapat</td>
<td>‘must’</td>
<td>dayon</td>
<td>‘immediately’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gali</td>
<td>‘surprisingly’</td>
<td>gayod</td>
<td>‘really; truly’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kuntani</td>
<td>‘hopefully; possibly’</td>
<td>la(ng)</td>
<td>‘only; just’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gayod</td>
<td>‘really; truly’</td>
<td>gihapon</td>
<td>‘again; still; at last’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>man</td>
<td>‘also’</td>
<td>masyado</td>
<td>‘much; very’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pa</td>
<td>‘still; yet’</td>
<td>siguro</td>
<td>‘probably’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Similarly, DPs may optionally gain clitic properties when appearing in the clitic position as already shown in (2b) (cf. Schachter and Otanes 1972:184 on Tagalog). In (14a–b), the cliticood of the DPs *ina na tawo* ‘that man’ is assured through its sentential distribution. By contrast, the DP *sa kabataan* ‘children’ in (14b) falls outside of the clitic position.

    NEG that man ABIL–PROG–harm–RV GEN bolo or bullet
    ‘That man could not be harmed by bolo or bullet.’ (Wolfenden 2001:175)

b. Dapat {gayod kita} mag-pasinsya sa kabataan.
    must really IN1PL.NOM AV-patient OBL children
    ‘We should really be patient with children.’ (Wolfenden 2001:390)

To sum up this section, the NOM pronouns may serve as clitic members as well as function as pronominal free forms. Among all the NOM pronouns only *ka* 2SG.NOM must function as a clitic. Elements aside from pronominal clitic pronouns (demonstrative pronouns, adverbials, and DPs) can optionally obtain clitic property.

3. Potential clitic hosts, post-initial position, and verb-adjacent position

This section focuses on the illustration of potential clitic hosts and how clitic members distribute in relation to other sentential constituents. Again, in marked constructions (such as negated or adjunct-fronted clauses or even a combination of preverbal nonclitic elements) the clitic member takes the second position by following the initial element of its corresponding clause and preceding the verb. The clusters follow the initial constituent, while the nonclitic DPs take a postverbal position. As exemplified in (15) and (16), in addition to verbs, fronted adjuncts as well as negative markers can host clitics.

    ought 2PL.NOM AV-< PL > love-RECP
    ‘You ought to love each other.’
b. Puede {ka} g <um> amit san karabaw.  
possible 2SG.NOM < AV > use OBL water.buffalo

‘You can use the water buffalo.’

(16) a. Dili {ka} mag-pang-onsi sin kaupod.  
NEG 2SG.NOM AV-HABITUAL-cheat GEN companion

‘Do not cheat your companion.’  
( = 8a)

b. Wara {ako} naga-kinahanglan sin sertipiko sin aprisasyon.  
NEG.EXIST 1SG.NOM AV.PROG-need GEN certificate of appreciation

‘I do not need a certificate of appreciation.’  
(Wolfenden 2001:113)

Also, it is worth mentioning that some complementizers (such as bisan ‘even if’, kaya ‘therefore’, and agod ‘so that’) can host clitics while others (such as kun ‘if’ and kay ‘because’) cannot. Due to the fact that most of the NOM pronouns can function either as a pronominal free form or as a clitic member, 2SG ka is used below to avoid confusion.

Here, the examples clearly show that the complementizers bisan, agod, and kaya can host clitics. In addition, the co-occurrence of one of these complementizers and a fronted adjunct can result in alternative orders: either the complementizer or the fronted adjunct can be the clitic host.

(17) a. [Bisan [wara {ka} didi]], na-ki kita {ko ikaw}.  
even.if NEG.EXIST 2SG.NOM here PV.ABIL-PROG—see 1SG GEN 2SG.NOM

‘Even if you are not here, I can see you.’

b. [Bisan {ka} [wara didi]], nakikita {ko ikaw}.

(18) a. Didi {ka} lang tindog [agod [dili {ka} ma-init-an]].  
here 2SG.NOM just stand [AV] so.that NEG 2SG.NOM ABIL-hot-RV

‘Stand here so that you don’t get sunstroke.’

b. Didi {ka} lang tindog [agod {ka} [dili mainitan]].

(19) a. [Kaya [wara {ka} ma-sakit-an]] kay nag-tuga {ka}.  
therefore NEG.EXIST 2SG.NOM ABIL-hurt-RV because AV.PRF-promise 2SG.NOM

‘Because you told the truth, you will not be hurt.’

b. [Kaya {ka} [wara masakitan]] kay nagtuga {ka}.
On the other hand, it is apparent that two other complementizers, \textit{kun} ‘if’ and \textit{Kay} ‘because’, cannot host clitic members: their appearance does not affect the distribution of the pronominal clitic. Here, \textit{ka} must follow its clitic host—the verb (20a) and (21a) or \textit{NEG} (20b).

(20) a. [Kun [mag-pangawat \{ka\}]], pungkul-an \{ko ikaw\}
\hspace{1cm} if AV-steal 2SG.NOM cut-RV 1SG.GEN 2SG.NOM
\hspace{1cm} sin mga kamot.
\hspace{1cm} GEN PL hand

‘If you steal, I will cut off your hands.’

b. [Kun [dili \{ka\} mag-pangawat]], dili \{ta ikaw\}
\hspace{1cm} if NEG 2SG.NOM AV-steal NEG INFL 1PL.GEN 2SG.NOM
\hspace{1cm} pu < ru > ngkul-an sin mga kamot.
\hspace{1cm} < PL > cut-RV GEN PL hand

‘If you don’t steal, I will not cut off your hands.’

c. *Kun \textit{ka} magpangawat ...

(21) a. [Kay [nag-tuga \{ka\} dayon]] ...
\hspace{1cm} because AV.PRF-promise 2SG.NOM immediately

‘Because you told the truth immediately ...’ (\#30a)

b. *Kay \textit{ka} nagtuga dayon ...

(\#30b)

Examples above show that not only \textit{INFL} phrases—in (17a), (18a), (19a), (20a–b), and (21a)—but also \textit{COMP} phrases—in (17b), (18b), and (19b)—can be the domain of Masbatenyo clitic placement. Furthermore, we should note that the clitic clusters inside an embedded clause—such as \textit{ka} in (17a–b) and (18a–b)—must remain in their corresponding clause (\textit{bisan-} and \textit{agod-}) instead of moving up to a higher clause when the same sentence contains two clauses. This also entails that its domain of clisis is clausal.

Only when more than one preverbal element co-occurs can we identify the clitic-distribution type as being post-initial or verb-adjacent. To sum up, as noted in an earlier study (Lee and Billings 2008), the construction \textit{[adjunct \textit{NEG} cluster verb DPs]} doesn’t necessarily prove verb-adjacent positioning. This is because a further identification of whether the initial element constitutes a clitic host is required.\footnote{The initial adjunct could be followed by a prosodic pause (#). If the initial adjunct forms its own intonation phrase, then it would not constitute an initial element that hosts the clitic cluster. Instead, \textit{NEG} hosts the cluster in \textit{[adjunct \# \textit{NEG} cluster verb DPs]}. See Chung (2003:587) and Lee (2004:60) for relevant discussion on other Austronesian languages in this respect.} Significantly, examples (17) through (19), as well as (9a–b), crucially demonstrate that Masbatenyo attests both post-initial and verb-adjacent positioning; clitics may either take a second position or remain verb-adjacent. Note also that neither \textit{wara} nor \textit{dili} can be clitics.
To sum up this section, Masbatenyo attests both post-initial and verb-adjacent clitic types. In addition, not all complementizers can be clitic hosts; attested potential hosts are *bisan* ‘even if’, *agod* ‘so that’, and *kaya* ‘because’.

4. What determines the internal ordering of clitic personal pronouns?

The main concern of this section is the order of clitics inside a cluster. The two types of clitics are pronominal and adverbial. How *obl* pronouns are ordered will also be discussed.

Masbatenyo pronominal clitic clusters clearly display a light-before-heavy, prosodically-constrained order. Table 3 presents all the combinations of *nom* and *gen* clitic pronouns. Cells of impossible combinations of person features are shaded in grey. As shown in Table 3, the clitic ordering inside a cluster in Masbateny is mainly determined by prosody—any monosyllabic pronoun must precede a disyllabic pronoun. The reverse order is never found in Masbateny. In addition, no cluster of two monosyllabic pronouns is attested. Indeed, all of the unattested orders have a monosyllabic form as the latter pronoun.

(22) a. *Kilala {ko kamo}.*
\[\text{know[PV]} \ 1\text{SG.GEN} \ 2\text{PL.NOM}\]
‘You know me.’

b. *Kilala kamo ko.*

Examples (23a–b) further eliminate grammatical *person* and *number* from deciding the order. In addition, it is evident that combinations of the same number of syllables can take either order, as both are found in Wolfenden (2001). However, there appears to be a slight preference for *gen*-initial orders, as in (24a), if both pronouns are disyllabic.

(23) a. *... apas-on {ako niyo}.*
\[\text{fetch-PV} \ 1\text{SG.NOM} \ 2\text{PL.GEN}\]
‘... fetch me.’ \quad (Wolfenden 2001:111)

b. *Sumat-i {daw niyo ako} manungod sana.*
\[\text{report-IMP.RV} \ \text{please} \ 2\text{PL.GEN} \ 1\text{SG.NOM} \ \text{about} \ \text{that}\]
‘Please report to me about that.’ \quad (Wolfenden 2001:171)

(24) a. *Gin-sugat {ninda kita}.*
\[\text{PV.PRF-meet} \ 3\text{PL.GEN} \ \text{IN1.PL.NOM}\]
‘They met up with us.’

b. *Ginsugat {kita ninda}.*
Table 3. Combinations of **nom** and **gen** personal pronouns in Masbatenyo

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>GEN</th>
<th>NOM</th>
<th>ko ~ nakon</th>
<th>namon</th>
<th>ta ~ naton</th>
<th>mo ~ nimo</th>
<th>niyo</th>
<th>niya</th>
<th>ninda</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ako</td>
<td></td>
<td>*</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>*</td>
<td><strong>mo ako</strong></td>
<td>ako</td>
<td>ako</td>
<td>ako</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>nimo ako</strong></td>
<td>niyo</td>
<td>niya</td>
<td>ninda</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(<strong>ako mo</strong>)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kami</td>
<td></td>
<td>*</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>*</td>
<td><strong>mo kami</strong></td>
<td>kami</td>
<td>kami</td>
<td>kami</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>nimo kami</strong></td>
<td>niyo</td>
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**Notes:**
- The combinations marked with an asterisk (*) indicate non-native or less common forms.
- The usage of **nom** and **gen** personal pronouns in Masbatenyo varies depending on the context and the speaker's style.
Next, moving to the co-occurrence of either a \texttt{nom} or a \texttt{gen} pronoun with an \texttt{obl} form, we see that the \texttt{obl} pronoun follows the \texttt{nom} pronoun. Not enough evidence is found to show the \texttt{gen/obl} clitic order. Examples of \texttt{nom/obl} clitic order are given below. In (25a) \texttt{sa iya} is no doubt part of the cluster since it follows \texttt{neg} and precedes the verb. The only possible clitic order is \texttt{ako sa iya} and not \texttt{sa iya ako}, i.e., \texttt{nom} before \texttt{obl}.

   \texttt{here 1sg.nom obl 3sg.obl av-talk}
   ‘I will talk to him/her here.’

b. *Didi \texttt{sa iya ako} magistorya.

Moving to the optional adverbial clitics, they can appear on either side of the clitic cluster. Examples below illustrate the distribution of the adverbial clitics relative to the clitic cluster. The adverbial clitic \texttt{anay} in (26a) is enclosed inside a cluster by virtue of it preceding an obligatory clitic (the pronoun \texttt{ako}). Next, to verify that \texttt{anay} is inside the cluster in (26b) by negating it in (26c), we see clearly that \texttt{anay} is part of the cluster. However, it is also possible for \texttt{anay} to follow the negated verb, as in (26d).

(26) a. I-arot \{anay ako\} san akon buhok.
   \texttt{iv-cut first 1sg.nom gen my hair}
   ‘First cut my hair for me.’

b. I-atop \{ko anay\} ini na imo sim.
   \texttt{iv-roof 1sg.gen first this lk your corrugated.tin}
   ‘I will first use this corrugated metal sheet of yours to roof with.’

(Wolfenden 2001:116)

c. Dili \{ko anay\} i-atop ini na imo sim.
   \texttt{neg 1sg.gen first iv-roof this lk your corrugated.tin}
   ‘I will not first use this corrugated metal sheet of yours to roof with.’
   (=13a)

d. Dili \{ko\} iatop anay ini na imo sim.
   (=13b)

In regard to Tagalog (Billings 2005), the ordering between adverbial and pronominal clitics appears to show a great similarity: a monosyllabic pronoun precedes any adverbial clitics, and any disyllabic pronoun follows.

(27) a. Lampas-an \{untani niya\} an mga tyindahan.
   \texttt{pass.by-rv hopefully 3sg.gen nom pl store}
   ‘Hopefully he will pass by the stores.’

(Wolfenden 2001:521)
b. Ma-kadi \{gihapon \textit{kami}\}.  \\
AV.ABIL-COME again EX1PL.NOM  \\
‘We will come again.’ (Wolfenden 2001:195)  \\

\begin{enumerate}
\item c. Dili \{\textit{ka} lang\} ma-uyam kan Charlie.  \\
NEG 2SG.NOM just AV.ABIL-impatient OBL Charlie  \\
‘Just do not be impatient with Charlie.’ (Wolfenden 2001:527)
\end{enumerate}

This section has illustrated that Masbatenyo cluster-internal ordering is mainly \textit{prosodic}. No example of a combination of two monosyllabic pronouns is attested. When both clitics are disyllabic, alternative orders can be found. Next, the OBL clitics must follow the NOM pronoun when they co-occur in a clause.

\section{5. Conclusion}

This section concludes this study with further discussion of other relevant issues of Masbatenyo clisis. First, the domain of non-initiality is briefly sketched. Then, a possible explanation of the exclusion of certain complementizers as clitic hosts is offered. Finally, we turn to the issue of morphological suppletion.

The non-initiality restriction on Masbatenyo clitics is based on a prosodic domain rather than a clausal one. To define what the domain of this non-initiality is, clauses headed by a heavy fronted adjunct are utilized here. A heavy fronted adjunct can form an immediate independent intonation phrase of its own followed by a prosodic pause (#). The prosodic domain of clitic placement would thus follow the first element after the prosodic pause; cf. Chamorro in (Chung 2003:587) and southeast Mindanao languages (Lee 2004). On the other hand, if a cluster displayed a clausal domain of clitic positioning, it would choose to follow the initial element regardless of the appearance of the prosodic pause. The facts suggest that prosodic phrasing and not syntactic movement is responsible for clitic positioning in Masbatenyo. In other words, heavy fronted adjuncts do not host clitics. Examples (28a–b) illustrate that an independent intonation phrase prohibits \textit{ka} from attaching to the first sentential element; instead, \textit{ka} takes the verb \textit{nagmangno} as the first element, attaching to the right side of the verb. By contrast, clitics can only appear in second position when the fronted adjunct is prosodically light, as illustrated in (29a–b).

\begin{enumerate}
\item (28) a. Sa ikatulo na adlaw \# nag-mangno \{\textit{ka}\}.  \\
OBL third of day AV.PRF-conscious 2SG.NOM  \\
‘On the third day you regained consciousness.’
\item b. *Sa ikatulo na adlaw \# \textit{ka} nagmangno.
\end{enumerate}
(29) a. Dugay \{ka\} nag-mata.
late 2SG.NOM AV.PRF-eye

‘You awoke late.’

b. *Dugay nagmata \{ka\}.

Examples (28) and (29) represent a prosodic domain of non-initiality requirement in clisis. The heavy fronted adjunct cannot serve as an initial constituent to host a clitic. The cluster then follows the verb in order to avoid being the initial element of its respective intonation phrase. Thus, this clisis is confirmed in terms of a prosodic category.³

This is also evident from the replacement of \textit{ka} with \textit{ikaw} in (30). The pronominal clitic \textit{ka} (see 30a) must follow the next constituent of its corresponding clause—\textit{nagtuga ‘AV.PRF-promise’}. However, since \textit{kay} cannot be a clitic host, ungrammaticality arises when \textit{ka} directly follows it. Instead, as exemplified in (30c), its topicalized nonclitic counterpart \textit{ikaw} must be used to substitute \textit{ka} in order to prevent the clitic \textit{ka} from being clause-initial.

(30) a. [Kay \{nag-tuga \{ka\} dayon\}] ...
because AV.PRF-promise 2SG.NOM immediately

‘Because you told the truth immediately ...’ (\(=\) 21a)

b. *[Kay \{ka nagtuga dayon\}] ...

(\(=\) 21b)

c. [Kay \{ikaw nagtuga dayon\}] ...

Turning to morphological suppletion, the pronominal clitic form \textit{ta} is optionally used to replace \textit{ko}. The forms \textit{ko} and \textit{ta} are also attested with other disyllabic forms. In such combinations, prosodic weight is still the primary determining factor in the internal order.

(31) a. I-sumat \{ta ikaw\} sa polis ...
iv-report IN1.PL.GEN 2SG.NOM OBL police

‘I will report you to the police ...’ (Wolfenden 2001:44)

³ By contrast, 3SG.NOM \textit{siya} exemplified in (i) and (ii) does \textit{not} confirm a clausal domain in its non-initiality requirement. That is because \textit{siya} in (i) is a clitic but in (ii) it is realized as a topicalized pronoun, appearing as the first constituent of the intonation phrase it belongs to, while the heavy fronted adjunct \textit{Sa ikatulo na adlaw} forms an independent phonological phrase of its own. Only 2SG.NOM pronouns distinguish free and clitic forms.

(i) Sa iKatulo na adlaw \# nag-bangon \{siya\}.
OBL third of day AV.PRF-get.up 3SG.NOM

‘On the third day he awoke.’ (Wolfenden 2001:506)

(ii) Sa ikatulo na adlaw \# \textit{siya} nagbangon.
Clitic Pronouns in Masbatenyo

b. Wara \{ko ikaw\} i-sangkot sa kasō.
\textit{NEG.EXIST 1SG.GEN 2SG.NOM IV-involve OBL case}

‘I did not involve you in the case.’

(Wolfenden 2001:441)

Ordinarily, the pronominal form \textit{ta} is used as \textit{IN1PL.GEN}. If, however, it co-occurs with \textit{NOM.2SG ikaw} as in (31a) and (32b) or \textit{NOM.2PL kamo} (not exemplified here), it must take a \textit{1SG} reading. As (31b) also shows, it is not obligatory to use \textit{ta} with a \textit{NOM.2} pronoun; \textit{ko} can also be used.

(32) a. Wara \{\textit{ta}\} na-kita an mga anghel.
\textit{NEG.EXIST IN1PL.GEN AV.PRF-see NOM PL angel}

‘We didn’t see the angels.’ *‘I didn’t see the angels.’

b. Wara \{\textit{ta ikaw}\} na-kita.
\textit{NEG.EXIST IN1PL.GEN 2SG.NOM AV.PRF-see}

‘I didn’t see you.’

In my own work with informants, in examples like (32a), where \textit{ta} does not co-occur with a \textit{NOM.2} pronoun, \textit{ta} must be interpreted as inclusive. However, Wolfenden (2001:364, 472) lists occasional examples with \textit{NOM.3} arguments (both pronouns and DPs) where \textit{ta} is translated as ‘I’. I leave this issue open for future research.

**Abbreviations**

Abbreviations conform to the Leipzig Glossing Rules (www.eva.mpg.de/lingua/pdf/LGR08_09_12.pdf) with the exception of the following:

- \textit{A\textsubscript{B}IL} abilitative
- \textit{AV} actor voice
- \textit{C\textsubscript{O}M\textsubscript{P}} complement
- \textit{D\textsubscript{P}} determiner phrase
- \textit{E\textsubscript{X}} exclusive
- \textit{I\textsubscript{N}} inclusive
- \textit{I\textsubscript{N\textsubscript{F\textsubscript{L}}}} inflection
- \textit{I\textsubscript{V}} instrument voice
- \textit{L\textsubscript{K}} linker
- \textit{P\textsubscript{C}} personal communication
- \textit{P\textsubscript{V}} patient voice
- \textit{R\textsubscript{V}} referent voice (where referent is an umbrella term for source, location, goal, and beneficiary)

**References**


