

Wackernagel and verb-adjacent clisis in Central Philippine

The proposed talk aims to clarify the position of clausal clitics in Tagalog and its most closely related languages, the Central Philippines subgroup. With the verb initial or nearly so in the clause, in most configurations it is impossible to distinguish Wackernagel (W) from verb-adjacent (v-a) positioning. Only if the verb is preceded by two non-clitic elements is it possible to distinguish the two, respectively: [first *cl* second verb] vs [first second *cl* verb].

Recent analyses (summarized in Billings & Kaufman to appear) rely on Tagalog having v-a clitics. In fact, although preferring v-a ordering, Tagalog allows W positioning in such structures, shown in (1a–b). Corpus searches show over a tenfold preference for v-a ordering. A broader survey (Billings & Kaufman to appear) reports that the languages of Taiwan, the Philippines, and Sulawesi exhibit variation between W and v-a positioning. Generally, the more northern languages are W, whereas languages in Sulawesi are unambiguously v-a.

What has not been presented so far in this regard are the more southerly languages of the Philippines, around Mindanao. We show data primarily from the East Mindanao subgroup (Gallman 1997) of Central Philippines: Tagakaulo (Collins 1970), Kaagan, Mansaka (Svelmoe and Svelmoe 1990), Davawenyo, Mamanwa (Miller & Miller 1976, 1991), and Tausug (Hassan et al. 1994). For most of these languages, in unambiguous contexts, only v-a ordering has been found, shown in (2) through (6). Like Tagalog, however, Tausug attests both orders (7a–b). As in Tagalog, the majority of such clauses show v-a rather than W.

The Tausug data are then contrasted with those of Tagalog. Whereas Tagalog does not allow complementizers to serve as the initial element, Tausug does (*kung* and *bang* ‘if’ in the two languages, resp.). We present evidence from neighboring Sama Bajaw languages of the Sulu archipelago to show that Tausug might have borrowed this trait. (Although located in Sulu, well to the west of Mindanao, Tausug is phylogenetically an East Mindanao language.)

As pointed out in Billings & Kaufman, the diachronic transition from W to v-a (which is generally considered more common) involves a major revision in the grammar. Not only are the clitics changing from syntactic to morphological elements. The argumenthood of the pronouns is also changing, allowing so-called clitic doubling in some languages.

- (1a) Bakit {ka} hindi **sumasagot**?
 why 2SG.NOM NEG answer
- (1b) Bakit hindi {ka} **sumasagot**?
 why NEG 2SG.NOM answer
 ‘Why aren’t you answering?’ (Tagalog)
- (2) ... ananga’ wala’ {da mu kami} **kilala**?
 why NEG already 2SG.GEN E1PL.NOM recognize
 ‘... why do you not recognize us?’ (Tagakaulo)
- (3) Nanga di {da kaw} **mag-kila** sa utaw?
 why NEG already 2SG.NOM AV-recognize SA person
 ‘Why don’t you recognize people any more?’ (Kaagan)
- (4) Nanga wara {kaw} **a-ágad** ni Damyasan adto Davao?
 why NEG 2SG.NOM AV-accompany NA Damyasan P Davao
 ‘Why did you not go with Damyasan to Davao?’ (Mansaka)
- (5) Basi di {mo} **atag** yan.
 maybe NEG 2SG.GEN give.PV that.YA
 ‘Maybe you will not give that (to me).’ (Davawenyo)
- (6) Magkadelemay diri {siran} **bengtas-en** ...
 late.afternoon NEG 3PL.NOM hungry
 ‘By late afternoon they are not yet hungry ...’ (Mamanwa)
- (7a) Agun {kaw} di’ **mā-kita**’ ...
 nearly 2SG.NOM NEG see
 ‘You can hardly see ...’
- (7b) Hatiku wala’ {niya} **kiya-ingatan**.
 perhaps NEG 3SG.GEN know
 ‘Perhaps he didn’t know.’ (Tausug)

Billings, Loren, & Daniel Kaufman (to appear) “Towards a Typology of Austronesian Pronominal Clisis.” *ZAS Papers in Linguistics* (= proceedings of AFLA-11).

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