

Tagalog adverbial (not pronominal) clitics are phrasal affixes

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This talk addresses two unusual properties of Tagalog (an Austronesian language of the Philippines). First, the order of two bound pronouns is based on prosodic weight: a monosyllabic pronoun precedes any other pronoun. (In the conventional description, monosyllabic pronouns do not co-occur. Two disyllabic ones can co-occur, with Actor-first ordering a very strong preference.) In addition, any adverbial clitics, if clustered with bound pronouns, appear *between* a monosyllabic pronoun and a disyllabic one: $HOST=1\sigma P=AdvCl(s)=2\sigma P(s)$.

Anderson (1992, 2005, 2009) has analyzed the unusual phenomena above by positioning any adverbial clitics first then inserting bound pronouns at a later stage in the derivation. Adverbial clitics undergo Merge (in the sense of Chomsky 1995) and as such are syntactic elements. The result of the syntactic derivation is $HOST=AdvCl(s)$; more precisely, the sentence in (1) undergoes the derivation in (2), where (2a) shows a quadrisyllabic host and (2b) shows the addition of a monosyllabic adverbial clitic. The syllable of the adverbial clitic adjoins to the final foot of the base. The structure in (2b) then serves as the input to the phrasal morphology. Anderson goes on to define the formal difference between the two kinds of pronouns: a monosyllabic pronoun is a syllable but a disyllabic pronoun is a foot. He then presents an assortment of ways for the monosyllabic pronoun =*ka* to adjoin to the innermost instantiation of the foot, underlined in (2b), whereas the disyllabic pronoun =*niya* adjoins to the prosodic word. (Although the more recent versions of Anderson's analysis are couched in Optimality Theory, his approach still crucially continues to rely on a sequential derivation. This issue is irrelevant.)

The original impetus for this analysis, in Anderson (1992), was to show that clitics, as phrasal affixes, come in derivational and inflectional flavors, just as normal affixes on words do. The idea here is that Tagalog's pronouns are mostly disyllabic and reflect agreement, a property generally realized in words as inflection. On the other hand, Anderson suggests, adverbial clitics are analogs of derivational affixes. One inconvenient fact in his analysis is that any of three monosyllabic pronouns precedes any adverbial clitics. Anderson's solution to this problem is that these monosyllables must adjoin to a foot—and, no less, to the innermost instantiation thereof, underlined in (2b). By contrast, disyllabic pronouns adjoin to the entire prosodic word.

As it were, monosyllabic clitics are prosodically circumscribed to just part of the host word, allowing them to precede any adverbial clitics. As appealing as this model appears at first glance, it does not work. Even the example Anderson uses, in (1), shows the problem with this approach. Tagalog orthography doesn't indicate vowel length but, as Anderson agrees, "The minimal foot in Tagalog is bimoraic" (2005:170, 2009:559). The more careful transcription of the initial word in (1) is [na:ki:.'ki:ta]. An iambic analysis accounts for this language. Words ending in a heavy penult and light ultima have a final unfooted syllable: [(na:)(ki:)(.'ki:ta)]. The final unfooted syllable of the host would *incorrectly* position the adverbial clitic before the final syllable of this word: *[(na:)(ki:)(ki:)'na.ta]. In fact, if the adverbial clitic =*na* (which has a short vowel) is added to this host (i.e., without an intervening monosyllabic pronoun), the clitic bears the main stress, because the two final light syllables form a foot: [(na:)(ki:)(ki:)(ta.'na)]. Anderson (2005:172; 2009:562) even suggests, in a different context, that two adjacent light syllables are restructured into a foot of their own. Now, if a monosyllabic pronoun is added to this already-footed structure, there is no way for the pronoun to adjoin successfully to *any* foot.

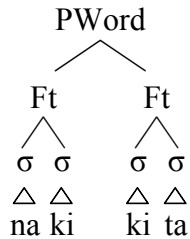
The analysis I propose for these phenomena is for *the pronouns* to be merged and moved, later positioned relative to each other using a postsyntactic model (which also generates a certain portmanteau form =*kita* if two otherwise monosyllabic pronouns—i.e., =*ko* 'I' and =*ka* 'you'—co-occur). A monosyllabic pronoun indeed adjoins to the preceding prosodic word. Disyllabic pronouns do not; they are independent prosodic words: $[[[HOST]_{PWord}=1\sigma P]_{PWord}=[=2\sigma P]_{PWord}$. Later in the derivation, adverbial clitics are placed after the outer instantiation of the first prosodic word, a much simpler task: $[[[HOST]_{PWord}=1\sigma P]_{PWord}=AdvCl(s)]_{PWord}=[=2\sigma P]_{PWord}$.

This model offers distinct advantages. First, it does away with adjoining to a lower instantiation of the prosodic word; all prosodic adjunctions are to the outside of the host. My proposed model also more accurately captures Tagalog's foot structure. Finally, and somewhat ironically, Anderson's postsyntactic phrasal-affix approach *is* utilized, but for adverbial clitics.

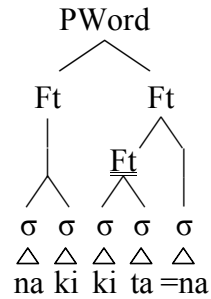
Data:

- (1) nakikita =ka =na =niya
see you.SG already he
'He sees you now.' [Anderson 2005:171, 2009:560; glosses modified, noncrucially]

(2) a.



b.



[both from Anderson 2005:171, 2009:560–561, underlining added]

References:

Anderson, Stephen R. 1992. *A-morphous morphology* (Cambridge Studies in Linguistics 62). Cambridge University Press.
Anderson, Stephen R. 2005. *Aspects of the theory of clitics* (Oxford Studies in Theoretical Linguistics 11). Oxford University Press.
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