

Bonggi clitics¹

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1. Introduction

Linguistics, like society in general, has its trends and megatrends. When ideas are in vogue, there is a strong tendency to see them everywhere, even where they do not belong. One linguistic category which is in vogue is clitics because they represent the meeting point or interface between morphology, syntax, and phonology. However, partially due to its current popularity, the term clitic is both commonly used and misused. It is not difficult to find the term clitic applied to some data in a linguistic paper, but yet be unable to determine from that very paper if the data in question is actually a clitic or not. One reason for this is the absence of a criterial definition for what counts as a clitic; instead, we are faced with a list of tendencies and typical features which are associated with clitics.

This paper does not purport to provide a solution to the problems describe above, nor is it my intention to provide an overview of clitics or problems raised by clitics since these are readily available (e.g. Zwicky 1977, Jeffers & Zwicky 1980, Klavans 1982, Klavans 1985, and chapter 9 of Spencer 1991). Instead, I present clitic-like data from an Austronesian language to illustrate some of the problems in distinguishing clitics from independent words and affixes.

The primary data for this paper comes from Bonggi which is a Western Austronesian language spoken by approximately 1,400 people on Banggi and Balambangan islands in the Kudat District of Sabah, Malaysia (see Figure 1).

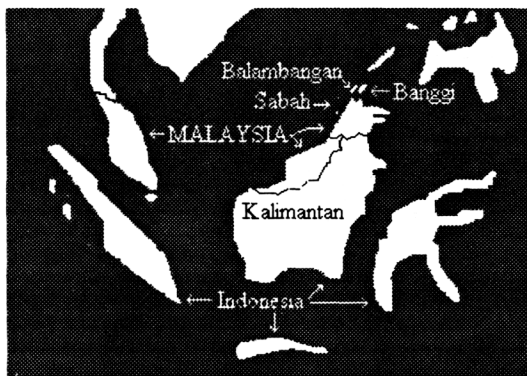


Figure 1: Location of Bonggi and Balambangan islands

¹Three events at the 1993 LSA Linguistic Institute at The Ohio State University stimulated my interest in clitics: 1) class lectures by Arnold Zwicky; 2) a class on morphological change by Brian Joseph; and 3) a workshop on second position clitics conducted by Arnold Zwicky and Aaron Halpern. I am grateful to Arnold Zwicky for his comments during that time on my "Notes on Bonggi clitics." I also wish to thank James Johansson and Paul Kroeger for their helpful comments on an earlier draft of this paper.

Because clitics share some properties of independent words as well as inflectional affixes (Zwicky 1992a:269), we need to carefully distinguish them from both words and affixes. However, my intention is not to provide a general list of tests for distinguishing independent words, clitics, and affixes since such lists are readily available (see Zwicky & Pullum 1983 for tests which distinguish clitics from affixes; Zwicky 1985 for tests which distinguish clitics from independent words; and Zwicky 1992a for tests which distinguish words and affixes). Instead, I present clitic-like data from Bonggi, and address the issue of whether the data in question are actually clitics or not by referring to different tests when applicable.

I begin in §2 with a brief overview of Bonggi morphosyntax. In the context of this overview, I discuss two nonpronominal clitic-like items (*si* and *ni*) with a view to determining their status as words, clitics, or affixes. §3 deals with the question of whether or not Bonggi has pronominal clitics, and §4 reviews the conclusions of the paper, points out areas for further research in Bonggi, and makes some speculations on clitics in Borneo.

2. Overview and two nonpronominal clitic-like items

Bonggi verb morphology (like Tagalog and other Western Austronesian languages) cross-references one NP in every verbal clause. In basic clauses this NP is the subject. Sentence (1) illustrates a basic transitive clause containing two core nominal arguments with the subject preceding the verb.

- (1) *Si Tali ng-orikng piasu.*
 NOM Tali ACT.ACL-dry coconut²
 'Tali is drying coconut.'

The verb *ngorikng* 'to dry' is an accomplishment verb expressing a single change in state which is brought about by an actor.³ This verb and other accomplishment verbs have two core arguments, actor and undergoer, either of which can occur as the subject.⁴ For example, in (1) the actor (*Tali*) is the subject, whereas in (2) the undergoer (*piasu* 'coconut') is the subject. There are four semantically defined verb classes in Bonggi: states, achievements, activities, and accomplishments (cf. Boutin 1994 and Van Valin 1993). Both the verb class and the semantic macrorole of the cross-referenced NP can be determined from the verbal affixation. In (1) the prefix *ng-* indicates that the verb is an accomplishment and that the cross-referenced NP

²The NP which is cross-referenced by the verb appears in **bold** in the English free translation. The subject NP occurs in *italics* in the English free translation. When an NP is cross-referenced by the verb and it is also the subject, it occurs in ***bold-italics*** in the English free translation. The symbol '=' is used for clitics and '-' for affixes, following Zwicky (1977) and Klavans (1985). Abbreviations used in this paper include: ACL accomplishment verb, ACH achievement verb, ACT actor, ACY activity verb, CAU causative, d dual, DAT dative case, DEF definite, EMPH emphatic, exc exclusive, GEN genitive case, IMP imperative, inc inclusive, NC noncontrol, NNOM nonnominative case, NOM nominative case, p plural, PASS passive, PERF perfective aspect, PRF perfect, PST past tense, s singular, and UND undergoer.

³For a discussion of accomplishment verbs in Bonggi see Boutin (1994, §2.4).

⁴Actor and undergoer are macro-semantic roles. Actor refers to the entity which instigates or controls the action expressed by the verb. Undergoer refers to the entity affected by the action or state expressed by the verb (cf. Van Valin 1993:43ff.).

(*Tali*) is an actor.⁵ In (2) the suffix *-in* indicates that the verb is an accomplishment and that the cross-referenced NP (*piasu*) is an undergoer.⁶

- (2) *Piasu kiring-in n Tali.*
 coconut dry-UND.ACL NNOM Tali
 'Tali is drying coconut.'

In both (1) and (2) the cross-referenced NP is the subject and precedes the verb, whereas the other core argument follows the verb. This is the unmarked order in elicited clauses. In common typological terms, Bonggi is strongly VO with some constructions having VS order and others SV order.⁷ VS order is used in presentational clauses to introduce new entities into the discourse (cf. Andrews 1985:80), and to refer to entities already on the scene in the discourse. SV order is used to re-introduce or switch a topic, and in passive constructions (e.g. (4)). It must also be used in transitive clauses if the S is a personal name (e.g. *Tali* in (1)).

Bonggi distinguishes personal nouns from common nouns. Personal nouns include personal names (e.g. *Tali* in (1) and (2)), nicknames, and some kinship terms. Personal nouns are preceded by a case marker, but common nouns are not.⁸ For example, in (1) *Tali* is preceded by *si*, indicating that *Tali* is a personal noun and the clause subject; however, *piasu* 'coconut' is not preceded by a case marker since it is a common noun.⁹ Similarly, in (2) the subject *piasu* 'coconut' is not preceded by a case marker, but nonsubject *Tali* is preceded by *ni* (*n* is a phonological variant of *ni*), indicating that *Tali* is a personal noun and non-nominative case.

The semantic basis for the distinction between personal nouns and common nouns is animacy. Personal names and some kinship terms are higher in animacy than common nouns which refer to people. Only non-collateral consanguineal kinship terms in the first and second generation above the speaker and addressee are treated as personal nouns; that is, the speaker's and addressee's parents and grandparents.¹⁰

Si 'NOM' and *ni* 'NNOM' are the only two case markers which can precede personal nouns.¹¹ Although these two case markers have been written here as independent words following standard orthographic practice, *si* and *ni* are clitic-like; thus, the question arises as to whether or not they are independent words, clitics, or

⁵The prefix *ng-* involves nasal substitution. For a discussion of nasal substitution in Tagalog see de Guzman (1978).

⁶As in (1), the subject in (2) is the NP which is cross-referenced by the verb.

⁷Whether or not Bonggi is predominantly SV or VS is still an open question.

⁸Vocatives are the exception to this rule. That is, personal names such as *Tali* are not preceded by a case marker when they occur in direct address (cf. Schachter & Otanes 1972:95 for Tagalog). In fact, when personal names are used in direct address, usually only the last syllable of the name is used, e.g. *Li* is the vocative form of *Tali*.

⁹The discussion here involves core arguments; oblique arguments are preceded by an oblique marker regardless of whether or not they are personal nouns or common nouns.

¹⁰See Comrie (1981:189) for a similar distinction in Chukchi, a language of north-eastern Siberia.

¹¹Besides *si* and *ni*, Tagalog has a third personal-noun marker *kay* (Schachter & Otanes 1972:64; 74; 93).

affixes. However, before addressing this question, we examine their function in nonbasic clauses.

In basic clauses such as (1) and (2) the same argument is both the subject and the NP which is cross-referenced by the verb; however, in some nonbasic clauses the subject and the cross-referenced NP are different arguments in which case *si* 'NOM' marks subjects which are personal nouns, not the argument which is cross-referenced by the verb. For example, (3) is a *nuan* passive construction in which *si* 'NOM' marks the subject *Tali* (an undergoer), and the verb cross-references the actor (*ku* '1sGEN'). Since the actor is not the subject in (3), it occurs in genitive case.

- (3) *Si Tali nuan ku ng-ataad.*
 NOM Tali PASS 1sGEN ACT.ACL-bring
 'Tali will be brought by me.'

In *nuan* passive constructions (eg. (4)) *ni* 'NNOM' marks nonsubject personal nouns. As in (1) and (3), the prefix *ng-* on the verb in (4) cross-references the actor (*Tali*). However, unlike in (1) where the personal noun *Tali* is the subject and thus preceded by *si* 'NOM', in (4) the personal noun *Tali* is not the subject so it is preceded by *ni* 'NNOM'.¹²

- (4) *Piasu nuan n Tali ng-orikng.*
 coconut PASS NNOM Tali ACT.ACL-dry
 'The coconut is being dried by Tali.'

As can be seen from the examples above, Bonggi has an undergoer cross-referencing construction (e.g. (2)) and a passive construction (e.g. (3) and (4)), both of which present the undergoer as subject. On the one hand, the difference between (1) and (2) is a difference in both subject selection and cross-referencing. In (1) the subject (*Tali*) is an actor which is cross-referenced by *ng-*; whereas in (2) the subject (*piasu* 'coconut') is an undergoer which is cross-referenced by *-in*. On the other hand, the difference between (1) and (4) is a difference in subject selection without a corresponding difference in verbal cross-referencing.¹³ Both (1) and (4) cross-reference the actor (*Tali*); however, in (1) the actor is the subject, but in (4) the undergoer is the subject.

Prototypical passive constructions result in nonactor subjects and the defocusing of the actor (Shibatani 1988:91-92). In Bonggi both undergoer cross-referencing constructions (e.g. (2)) and passive constructions (e.g. (3) and (4)) result in undergoer subjects. Similarly, both constructions involve the defocusing of the actor; yet, in general, actors appear to be more defocused in passive constructions than in undergoer cross-referencing constructions.¹⁴

The data in (5) illustrates three *nuan* passive constructions. In all three passive clauses, the verb cross-references the actor, but the subject (*squirrel*) is a zero

¹²Recall that /n/ is a phonologically conditioned variant of *ni* 'NNOM'.

¹³Note that the difference between the active construction in (1) and the passive construction in (4) is not simply a difference in subject selection. In the passive, the verb is syntactically marked as derived by the addition of the passive auxiliary *nuan*, while in the active the verb is syntactically basic.

¹⁴This hypothesis remains to be confirmed by detailed analysis of natural texts.

anaphoric undergoer.¹⁵ In the last clause of (5c), the achievement verb *medadi* 'become' cross-references the undergoer, and the subject is the zero anaphoric undergoer.¹⁶ The actor is defocused in all three passive clauses; in (5a) and (5c) the actor is not syntactically encoded at all, whereas in (5b) it occurs in genitive case.

- (5) a. *Bakng k-aap sia tupi, nuan m-ompodn barabm na.*
 if ACT.NC-get 3sNOM squirrel PASS ACT.ACL-gather many DEF
 'If **he** killed squirrels, (*they*) would be gathered together many of (*them*).'
- b. *Nubu' nuan nya ng-iup bitakng na.*
 then PASS 3sGEN ACT.ACL-blow buttocks DEF
 'Then **he** would blow into the buttocks.'
- c. *Punga ng-iup bitakng na, nuan na mpe-lepas,*
 finish ACT.ACL-blow buttocks DEF PASS PRF ACT.CAU-release
me-dadi na.
 ACH-become PRF
 'After blowing into the buttocks, (*they*) would be released
 and (*they*) would become alive

To summarize the main points thus far, in basic clauses (e.g. (1) and (2)) the same argument is both the subject and the NP which is cross-referenced by the verb. However, in passive constructions the subject and the cross-referenced argument are distinct. *Si* 'NOM' marks subjects which are personal nouns, whereas *ni* marks non-nominative arguments which are personal nouns.

In some WH-questions, the question word is also the NP which is cross-referenced by the verb. For example, the question word in both (6b) (*osi* 'who') and (9a) (*onu* 'what') is the argument cross-referenced by the verb.¹⁷ In other WH-questions, the question word is not cross-referenced by the verb. For example, the question word in (7b) (*nggien* 'where'), (8a) (*mipa* 'when'), and (9b) (*onu* 'what') is not cross-referenced by the verb; instead, the verb (*ngorikng* 'ACT.ACL-dry') cross-references an actor. Similarly, the question word in (8b) (*mipa* 'when') is not cross-referenced by the verb; instead, the verb (*kiohol* 'bitten') cross-references an undergoer. There is a correspondence between interrogative and declarative clauses. On the one hand, WH-question words which are cross-referenced by the verb (e.g. (6b) and (9a)) correspond to basic declarative clauses (e.g. (1) and (2)) in which the subject is cross-referenced by the verb. On the other hand, the WH-question word in (9b) is not cross-referenced by the verb and is the subject of a *nuan* passive construction like (3) and (4). Furthermore, the WH-question words in (7b), (8a), and (8b) are not cross-referenced by the verb because they do not refer to core arguments of the clause; instead, they refer to location (e.g. (7b)) and time (e.g. (8a) and (8b)) both of which belong to the clause periphery. In Bonggi, only core arguments are cross-referenced by the verb. WH-questions are not case marked and have the pragmatic function of **clause focus**.

¹⁵Zero anaphoric items in (5) have been placed in parentheses in the free English translation. Note that the floating quantifier (*barabm* 'many') in (5a) modifies the subject and not the actor (cf. Kroeger 1993:22-23 for Tagalog).

¹⁶Achievement verbs have a single argument which is an undergoer. For a discussion of achievement verbs in Bonggi see Boutin (1994, §2.2).

¹⁷In (6b) the verbal prefix *ng-* cross-references the actor, whereas in (9a) the suffix *-in* cross-references the undergoer (*onu* 'what').

- (6) a. *Osi si Tali?*
 who NOM Tali
 'Who is Tali?'
 b. *Osi ng-orikng piasu?*
 who ACT.ACL-dry coconut
 'Who is drying coconut?'
 c. *Osi sia?*
 who 3sNOM
 'Who is he?'
- (7) a. *Nggien n Tali?*
 where NNOM Tali
 'Where is Tali?'
 b. *Nggien n Tali ng-orikng piasu?*
 where NNOM Tali ACT.ACL-dry coconut
 'Where is Tali drying the coconut?'
- (8) a. *Mipa' n Tali ng-orikng piasu?*
 when NNOM Tali ACT.ACL-dry coconut
 'When will Tali dry coconut?'
 b. *Mipa' nu k-i-ohol?*
 when 2sGEN PERF.UND.ACL-bite
 'When were you bitten?'
- (9) a. *Onu kiring-in n Tali?*
 what dry-UND.ACL NNOM Tali
 'What is Tali drying?'
 b. *Onu nuan nu ng-orikng?*
 what PASS 2sGEN ACT.ACL-dry
 'What is being dried by you?'

Nonverbal clauses (e.g. (6a), (6c), and (7a)) do not involve cross-referencing. In WH-questions, only personal nouns which are the crux of the query are marked by *si* 'NOM'. Thus, *Tali* is marked by *si* 'NOM' in (6a), but by *ni* 'NNOM' (realized as /n/) in (7a), (7b), (8a), and (9a). The difference in the marking of personal nouns corresponds to what is being queried by the WH-question. On the one hand, the WH-question in (6a), (6b), and (6c) refers to a person who is a core argument of the clause. On the other hand, the WH-questions in (9a) and (9b) do not refer to a personal noun, and the WH-questions in (7a), (7b), (8a), and (8b) do not refer to core arguments.

Having examined the morphosyntax of personal nouns and their concomitant case markers *si* 'NOM' and *ni* 'NNOM', we now turn to the question of whether *si* and *ni* are independent words, clitics, or affixes.

Evidence against an independent word analysis includes the following: 1) Neither *si* nor *ni* can stand on its own. They are syntactically dependent upon the following word, and belong to no clear syntactic category. 2) *Si* and *ni* form a phonological word with the following personal noun; they do not bear an accent, and their form is phonologically dependent on the following word. 3) *Si* and *ni* are strictly ordered with respect to the following personal noun and have a simple distribution in that they only occur before personal nouns. 4) Their semantics is that of an abstract grammatical-category, not a concrete lexeme. By these criteria, *si* and *ni* are bound morphemes, that is either clitics or affixes.

Given that *si* and *ni* are either clitics or affixes, we now examine the evidence for one analysis as opposed to the other which includes the following:

1) Clitics typically attach themselves to any word provided it is in the right position, while affixes attach to specific classes of words. That is, affixes have a higher degree of selection than clitics (cf. Zwicky & Pullum 1983:503, Klavans 1985:97, and Zwicky 1985:285). By this criteria *si* and *ni* are affixes since they only attach to personal nouns. However, as Spencer (1991:350) points out, there are plenty of exceptions to this tendency.

2) Whereas an affix cannot be separated from its stem by an intervening morpheme, clitics often can. For example, English articles (e.g. *the*) are sometimes referred to as clitics because they cannot stand on their own in a normal utterance. However, they can be separated from their host by another morpheme as in: *the=house* versus *the=big house* (cf. Lockwood 1987:237). By this criteria *si* and *ni* are affixes since they cannot be separated from the personal noun to which they are structurally related.

3) Many clitics are optional variants of full forms, while affixes do not have optional variants. By this criteria, *si* and *ni* are affixes since they are not optional variants of another full form. However, this criteria only applies to **simple clitics**

(Zwicky 1977) and not other bound forms. The English reduced pronoun [əm] in (10b) is an example of a simple clitic.

- (10) a. Throw them to the dogs.
b. Throw [əm] to the dogs.

4) Unlike affixes, clitics often do not undergo rules of word internal phonology (Klavans 1985:100). Furthermore, morphophonological idiosyncrasies are more characteristic of affixes than clitics (Zwicky & Pullum 1983:504). *Si* and *ni* have phonologically conditioned variants. *Ni* is reduced to [n] before names beginning with /t/, /d/, or /j/ (e.g. /n Tali/ in (9)); normally, it does not occur before names beginning with /s/, but occasionally occurs in slow careful speech; *ni* is reduced to [ŋ] before names beginning with a vowel; and it is reduced to [i] elsewhere. *Si* does not occur with names beginning with /s/, and occasionally reduces to [sɪ] or [s] in certain restricted environments depending upon such factors as the number of syllables and the location of stress in the name. Although one might classify *si* and *ni* as affixes by this criteria, it is possible to find phonologically conditioned variants across word boundaries. For example, the choice of variant for the English indefinite article *a/an* is governed by whether or not the following word begins with a vowel (e.g. *an apple* versus *a ball*) (cf. Spencer 1991:127ff.).

5) Affixes must be semantically related to their base, whereas clitics need not be (cf. Klavans 1985:100). Furthermore, semantic idiosyncrasies are more characteristic of affixes than clitics (Zwicky & Pullum 1983:504). There are no semantic idiosyncrasies associated with *si* and *ni*. There are two semantic connections between them and the personal nouns which they precede. The first is animacy. *Si* and *ni* only occur with personal nouns which are high in animacy (cf. Comrie 1981:179ff.). Since animacy is a property of noun phrases, it is not difficult to find languages with animacy as a morphological property distinguishing noun classes. The second semantic connection is case. Whereas the presence of either *si* or *ni* indicates that the following noun is high in animacy, the choice of marker depends on the case, *si* for nominative and *ni* for non-nominative. This criteria also suggests that *si* and *ni* are affixes.

Although the evidence is clear that *si* and *ni* are not independent words, the evidence for an affix or a clitic analysis is not as clear. The five criteria discussed above lean toward an affix analysis which is the conclusion one would reach from following either a "majority vote" strategy or Zwicky's metacriterion which states that in the absence of clear evidence one way or the other, assume the item is an affix (Zwicky 1985:289).¹⁸ An affix analysis here does not discount the possibility of a clitic analysis whereby *si* and *ni* are treated as phrasal affixes along the lines of Klavan (1985). In terms of her typology for clitics, *si* and *ni* would attach to the initial constituent of NPs, they occur before their host, and they are proclitics.

3. Are there pronominal clitics in Bonggi?

Pronominal arguments can occur as independent words, clitics, or affixes. According to Schachter (1985:55) personal pronouns are more likely to cliticize than any other type of element. Both enclitic (i.e. a clitic depending upon the preceding word) and proclitic (i.e. a clitic depending upon the following word) pronouns are known to exist in Austronesian languages. For example, Tagalog has enclitic

¹⁸The "majority vote" strategy was suggested by Zwicky in a class at the 1993 LSA Linguistic Institute.

pronouns (Schachter & Otnes 1972, §3.29) and Acehnese has both enclitic and proclitic pronouns (Van Valin 1993:51-52).

I begin answering the question of whether or not Bonggi has pronominal clitics by comparing the distribution of personal pronouns with other nominal expressions since it is common for them to have a different distribution (cf. Schachter 1985:25). Then I discuss clitic-like features of genitive pronouns in §3.1 and nominative pronouns in §3.2.

Personal pronouns are obligatorily marked for case. They can occur in any of the syntactic environments which were described for personal nouns in §2. However, the converse of this statement is not true. That is, there are environments in which some personal pronouns can occur, but where personal nouns cannot. Or stated another way, some personal pronouns have a slightly wider distribution than that described above for personal nouns. Table 1 contrasts three partially distinct sets of personal pronouns.

Table 1: Bonggi Pronouns

	NOMINATIVE	GENITIVE	DATIVE
1singular	ou	ku	diaadn
1dual	kita	ta	dihita
1plural-inclusive	kiti	ti	dihiti
1plural-exclusive	ih	mi	dih
2singular	aha	nu	dih
2plural	uhu	nyu	dih
3singular	sia	nya	nya
3plural	sigelama	sigelama	sigelama

In declarative clauses, nominative case pronouns are used for the subject in both basic main clauses (e.g. *sia* '3sNOM' in (11) and (12); cf. *si Tali* in (1)) and passive constructions (e.g. *sia* '3sNOM' in (13); cf. *si Tali* in (3)). They are also used for the subject in certain adverbial subordinate clauses (to be described below) as exemplified by *sia* '3sNOM' in the conditional clause in (5a). In WH-questions, nominative case pronouns are used for referents which are the crux of the query (e.g. *sia* '3sNOM' in (6c); cf. *si Tali* in (6a)). Thus, the function of nominative case pronouns corresponds to that of the *si* marked personal nouns described in §2, for they both mark clause subject.¹⁹

- (11) *Sia m-ori siidn ku dii diha.*
 3sNOM ACT.ACL-give money 1sGEN to 2sDAT
 'He gives my money to you.'
- (12) *Sia m-ori diha siidn ku.*
 3sNOM ACT.ACL-give 2sDAT money 1sGEN
 'He gives you my money.'
- (13) *Sia nuan ku ng-ataad.*
 3sNOM PASS 1sGEN ACT.ACL-bring
 'He is being brought by me.'

In declarative clauses, genitive case pronouns are used for nonsubject actors in both basic main clauses (e.g. *nya* '3sGEN' in (14); cf. *n Tali* 'NNOM Tali' in (2)) and passive constructions (e.g. *ku* '1sGEN' in (3) and (13), and *nya* '3sGEN' in (5b) and

¹⁹Although adverbial subordinate clauses were not discussed in §2, personal nouns are treated the same as pronouns.

(15); cf. *n Tali* 'NNOM Tali' in (4)). In WH-questions, genitive case pronouns are used for cross-referenced arguments which are grammatical subject but **not** the crux of the query (e.g. *nu* '2sGEN' in (8b), and *nya* '3sGEN' in (16); cf. *n Tali* in (7b) and (8a)). Genitive case pronouns are also used for cross-referenced arguments in a subset of adverbial subordinate clauses that were not discussed in the overview in §2.

- (14) *Siidn ku biri-idn nya dii diha.*
money 1sGEN give-UND.ACL 3sGEN to 2sDAT
'He is giving **my money** to you.'
- (15) *Kiara barabm medoot nuan nya ng-on di'.*
exist many things PASS 3sGEN ACT.ACL-discard
'There are **many things** to be discarded by **him**.'
- (16) *Nggien nya ng-orikng piasu?*
where 3sGEN ACT.ACL-dry coconut
'Where is **he** drying coconut?'

In Bonggi, some adverbial subordinate clauses have cross-referenced arguments which are nominative case, while other adverbial subordinate clauses have cross-referenced arguments which are genitive case. For example, the adverbial clause *bakng sia ngorikng piasu na* 'if he dries the coconuts' in (17) contains a nominative case pronoun (*sia* '3sNOM'), whereas the adverbial clause *atakng nya ngorikng piasu na* 'while he dries the coconuts' in (18) contains a genitive case pronoun (*nya* '3sGEN'). Following Thompson & Longacre (1985:177ff.), adverbial subordinate clauses in Bonggi are subdivided into two groups: clauses which are substitutable for by a single word, and those which are not substitutable for by a single word. Those which are substitutable for by a single word include time, location, and manner clauses. If a cross-referenced argument occurs in a time, location, or manner clause, it is always in genitive case whether it is an actor (e.g. *nya* '3sGEN' in (18); cf. *n Tali* 'NNOM Tali' in (19)) or an undergoer (e.g. *ku* '1sGEN' in (20), and *nu* '2sGEN' in (8b)). Adverbial clauses which are not substitutable for by a single word include: conditional, purpose, reason, concessive, and substitutive clauses.²⁰ If a cross-referenced argument occurs in one of these clauses, it is always in nominative case (e.g. *sia* '3sNOM' in (17) and (5a)).²¹

- (17) *Bakng sia ng-orikng piasu na, saa nya nd-ara kerai.*
if 3sNOM ACT.ACL-dry coconut DEF spouse 3sGEN not-have work
'If **he** dries the coconuts, **his spouse** does not have any work.'
- (18) *Atakng nya ng-orikng piasu na, saa nya nd-ara kerai.*
while 3sGEN ACT.ACL-dry coconut DEF spouse 3sGEN not-have work
'While **he** dries the coconuts, **his spouse** does not have any work.'
- (19) *Atakng n Tali ng-orikng piasu na, saa n Tagi nd-ara kerai.*
while NNOM Tali ACT.ACL-dry coconut DEF spouse 3sGEN Tagi not-have work
'While **Tali** dries the coconuts, **Tagi's spouse** does not have any work.'
- (20) *Waktu ku k-i-ohol, saa nya nd-ara dia.*
when 1sGEN PERF.UND.ACL-bite spouse 3sGEN not-exist there
'When I was bitten, **his spouse** was not there.'

²⁰For a description of these clause types, see Thompson & Longacre (1985).

²¹Personal nouns are marked by *si* 'NOM' in this environment although no examples are provided here.

Genitive case pronouns are also used to indicate possession (e.g. *ku* '1sGEN' in (11), (12), (14); and *nya* '3sGEN' in (17) and (18)). Personal names in possessive constructions follow the head noun, and they are separated from the head noun by the person marker *ni* as in (19) where I have glossed *ni* as '3sGen' in order to show its possessive function.

Finally, some genitive case pronouns occur as enclitics in the second position of verb phrases following the past tense auxiliary *bas*; for example, *ku* '1sGEN' in (21) and (22). These genitive enclitics are discussed in §3.1.²²

- (21) *Bas ku na ng-orikng piasu na.*
 PST 1sGEN PRF ACT.ACL-dry coconut DEF
 'I have already dried the coconut.'

- (22) *Bas ku p-i-ohodn nya.*
 PST 1sGEN CAU-PERF.UND-eat 3sGEN
 'I was fed by him.'

The third set of pronouns is used for nonsubject undergoers (e.g. *dih*a '2sDAT' in (12)) and oblique arguments (e.g. *dih*a '2sDAT' in (11) and (14)).²³

The *si* marked personal nouns described in §2 have the same function as the nominative case pronouns described in this section; that is, they both mark the subject in: 1) active voice main declarative clauses; 2) passive voice declarative clauses (e.g. *si Tali* in (3) and *sia* '3sNOM' in (13)); and 3) adverbial clauses which are not substitutable for by a single word.²⁴ Similarly, *ni* marked personal nouns correspond in function to either genitive or dative case pronouns. All three occur with nonsubjects, whereas *ni* marked personal nouns and genitive pronouns mark the subject in: 1) WH-questions which do not refer to a core argument (e.g. *n Tali* in (7b) and *nya* '3sGEN' in (16)); and 2) adverbial clauses which are substitutable for by a single word (e.g. *n Tali* in (19) and *nya* '3sGEN' in (18)).²⁵

Having examined the function and the major morphosyntactic features of personal pronouns, we now turn to the question of whether or not there are clitic pronouns. Both genitive case pronouns and some nominative case pronouns have clitic-like features. §3.1 discusses whether or not genitive case pronouns are clitics, while §3.2 discusses whether or not some nominative case pronouns are clitics.

3.1. Clitic-like features of genitive case pronouns

In the previous section, I showed that genitive case pronouns occur as either a modifier (the possessor) in possessive NPs, or a full NP in certain clause constructions.

In possessive constructions, genitive case pronouns are unstressed and syntactically dependent upon the preceding word which acts as its phonological host. However, unlike suffixes in Bonggi which affect the word internal phonology of the

²²The semantic and syntactic relationships between the tense auxiliary *bas* 'PST' and temporal adverbial clauses (e.g. (18)) are beyond the scope of this paper.

²³Antecedent causes are the one exception to this rule; they take genitive case pronouns (cf. Boutin 1994, §2.1.3).

²⁴Dillon (1994:40) also claims that nominative case marks the subject in Tatana', a Dusunic language of Sabah.

²⁵There is a two-way distinction in personal nouns, but a three-way distinction in pronouns.

stem, genitive pronouns do not affect the word internal phonology of their host. Word internal phonological processes which are affected by suffixes include nasal harmony, vowel harmony, and stress placement. For example, in (2) the addition of the suffix /in/ 'UND.ACL' to the stem ['korikɔ] 'dry' results in the surface form [ki'riɲin];²⁶ however, the genitive pronoun *ku* '1sGEN' in (11), (12), and (14) does not affect its host *siidn* 'money'. On the other hand, the genitive pronoun /ku/ '1sGEN' has a phonologically conditioned variant; i.e. /k/ weakens to [h] between vowels, e.g. /bali=ku/ ['balih] 'my house' (cf. Boutin 1993:121).²⁷ Thus, the evidence from possessive NPs points to analyzing genitive case pronouns as enclitics.²⁸

When genitive pronouns are full NPs: 1) they can occur with or without stress;²⁹ 2) they cannot stand on their own;³⁰ and 3) they do not all share the same positional properties. Specifically, those which are cross-referenced by the verb always precede the verb (e.g. (3), (5b), (8b), (9b), (13), (15), (16), (18), (20), (21), and (22)), whereas those which are not cross-referenced always follow the verb (e.g. (14), (22), and (23)).³¹

- (23) *Piasu kiring-in nya.*
coconut dry-UND.ACL 3sGEN
'The coconut is being dried by him.'

The phonological and syntactic evidence presented above suggests that all genitive pronouns can be analyzed as enclitics with: 1) possessive pronouns following their nominal head; 2) noncross-referenced genitive pronouns following their verbal head; and 3) cross-referenced genitive pronouns follow their head which is either: a) a passive auxiliary (e.g. (3), (5b), (9b), (13), (15)); b) a tense auxiliary (e.g. (21), (22)); c) a WH-word (e.g. (8b), (16)); or d) an adverbial subordinate connective (e.g. (18), (20)). The remainder of this section addresses the issue of whether any genitive pronouns are **special clitics**; that is, items whose position is determined by principles other than those of nonclitic syntax (cf. Zwicky 1977:3-6, Zwicky 1985:295, Spencer 1991:376, and Anderson 1993:74).

Possessive pronouns are immediately excluded from consideration as special clitics since personal names occur in the same position in possessive constructions (cf. *nya* '3sGEN' in (18) with *n Tagi* in (19)). Noncross-referenced genitive pronouns are excluded as well since personal names also follow the verb when they are not cross-referenced (cf. *nya* '3sGEN' in (23) with *n Tali* in (2)). Likewise,

²⁶For a discussion of these processes in Bonggi see Boutin (1993), Boutin and Howery (1991), and Kroeger (1992).

²⁷Since *si* and *ni* also have phonologically conditioned variants (cf. §2) and the stem/host itself is not affected, this could be an argument for *si* and *ni* being proclitics comparable to possessive enclitics.

²⁸For a discussion of possessive enclitics in a related language see Sirk (1988).

²⁹Thus, stress by itself is an unreliable test for clitics (cf. Zwicky 1985:287). As is the case in possessive constructions, when genitive pronouns function as arguments, they do not affect the stress in the preceding word (cf. Kroeger 1988:238, footnote 2 for Kimaragang).

³⁰This contrasts with nominative and dative case pronouns which can stand on their own.

³¹This could be problematic for any approach that treats clitics as a strictly phonological phenomenon; cf. Hock (1993) and Radanovic-Kocic (1993).

cross-referenced genitive pronouns which follow a passive auxiliary, a WH-word, or an adverbial subordinate connective cannot be special clitics because personal names can occur in the same position (cf. *mu* '2sGEN' in (9b) with *n Tali* in (4); cf. *nya* '3sGEN' in (16) with *n Tali* in (7b); and cf. *nya* '3sGEN' in (18) with *n Tali* in (19)).

However, cross-referenced genitive pronouns which follow the tense auxiliary *bas* (e.g. *ku* '1sGEN' in (21) and (22)) are special clitics since other nominals cannot occur in this position; hence, (24a) is ungrammatical, but (24b) is grammatical. Furthermore, the third person plural pronoun *sigelama* cannot occur in this position, either because it is polysyllabic or because third person plural pronouns are lower in empathy than speech-act participants (cf. clitic pronouns in Samoan (Cook 1994)); hence, (24c) is ungrammatical, but (24d) is grammatical.³²

- (24) a. * *Bas n Tali ng-orikng piasu na.*
 PST NNOM Tali ACT.ACL-dry coconut DEF
 'Tali already dried the coconut.'
- b. *Si Tali bas na ng-orikng piasu na.*
 NOM Tali PST PRF ACT.ACL-dry coconut DEF
 'Tali has already dried the coconut.'
- c. * *Bas sigelama na ng-orikng piasu na.*
 PST 3sGEN DEF ACT.ACL-dry coconut DEF
 'They already dried the coconut.'
- d. *Sigelama na bas na ng-orikng piasu na.*
 3sNOM DEF PST PRF ACT.ACL-dry coconut DEF
 'They have already dried the coconut.'

In Tagalog, nominative and genitive personal pronouns not only precede full NPs, but they behave like second position clitics in that they occur in the second position in the clause (Kroeger 1993:119). Second position clitics can be viewed as a subtype of special clitics. Whether or not the genitive pronouns in (21) and (22) are second position clitics is beyond the scope of this paper. If they are, perhaps second position would need to be defined in terms of second position in the verb phrase and not the clause.³³

To summarize, all genitive case pronouns are enclitics; however, only cross-referenced genitive pronouns which follow the tense auxiliary *bas* are special clitics.³⁴ Furthermore, only monosyllabic genitive case pronouns can occur as special clitics.

³²I have encountered only one occurrence of a third person singular genitive pronoun *nya* in this environment. Normally, the nominative case pronoun *sia* occurs preceding the auxiliary as with *sigelama* in (24d).

³³Second position has been defined in a number of ways for different languages.

³⁴Cf. Starosta (1985:284) who claims that clitic pronouns in Tsou only occur immediately after auxiliary verbs. Similarly, Cook (1994:59) states that clitic pronouns in Samoan only occur immediately after tense/aspect markers which are equivalent to auxiliary verbs in Starosta (1985). My claim is that only tense auxiliaries host special clitics in Bonggi.

3.2. Clitic-like features of some nominative case pronouns

Si marked personal nouns and nominative case pronouns have the same function (they both mark subjects), but different distribution. §2 pointed out that cross-referenced personal nouns must precede the verb; hence, (25a) is grammatical, but (25b), (25c), and (25d) are not. This rule applies regardless of whether the cross-referenced personal noun is in nominative case (e.g. *si Tali* in (1) and (25a)) or genitive case (e.g. *n Tali* in (4), (7b), (8a), and (19)).³⁵

- (25) a. *Si Tali ng-atad nya dii Kerahid.*
 NOM Tali ACT.ACL-bring 3sDAT to Karakit
 'Tali is bringing him to Karakit.'

- b. **Ng-atad si Tali nya dii Kerahid.*
 ACT.ACL-bring NOM Tali 3sDAT to Karakit
 'Tali is bringing him to Karakit.'

- c. **Ng-atad nya si Tali dii Kerahid.*
 ACT.ACL-bring 3sDAT NOM Tali to Karakit
 'Tali is bringing him to Karakit.'

- d. **Ng-atad nya dii Kerahid si Tali.*
 ACT.ACL-bring 3sDAT to Karakit NOM Tali
 'Tali is bringing him to Karakit.'

In basic transitive clauses, nominative case pronouns which refer to nonspeech-act participants (i.e. third person pronouns) must precede the verb; hence, (26a) and (26c) are grammatical (cf. (11) and (12)), but (26b) and (26d) are not. The situation is more complex in intransitive clauses and adverbial subordinate clauses in that nominative case pronouns can either precede the verb (e.g. *sia* '3sNOM' in (17)) or follow the verb (e.g. *sia* '3sNOM' in (5a)).

- (26) a. *Sia ng-atad nya dii Kerahid.*
 3sNOM ACT.ACL-bring 3sDAT to Karakit
 'He is bringing him to Karakit.'

- b. **Ng-atad sia nya dii Kerahid.*
 ACT.ACL-bring 3sNOM 3sDAT to Karakit
 'He is bringing him to Karakit.'

- c. *Sigelama na ng-atad nya dii Kerahid.*
 3pNOM DEF ACT.ACL-bring 3sDAT to Karakit
 'They are bringing him to Karakit.'

- d. **Ng-atad sigelama na nya dii Kerahid.*
 ACT.ACL-bring 3pNOM DEF 3sDAT to Karakit
 'They are bringing him to Karakit.'

On the other hand, in basic clauses nominative case pronouns which refer to speech-act participants can either precede or follow the verb; hence, the

³⁵Although the personal nouns in these examples have been glossed as 'NNOM', they correspond to genitive case pronouns. There is a two-way distinction in personal nouns (nominative and non-nominative) and a three-way distinction in pronouns (nominative, genitive, and dative) with the contrast between genitive and dative being neutralized in personal nouns.

grammaticality of the forms in (27), (28), and (29b). One reason for the difference in word-order has to do with discourse topicality. SV order is normally used to re-introduce a topic (e.g. *aha* '2sNOM' in (28a)), while VS order is used to refer to discourse topics which are on stage (e.g. *a* '2sNOM' in (29b) which is a response to the question in (29a)).

(27) a. *Ou ng-atad nya dii Kerahid.*
1sNOM ACT.ACL-bring 3sDAT to Karakit
'I am bringing him to Karakit.'

b. *Ng-atad ou nya dii Kerahid.*
ACT.ACL-bring 1sNOM 3sDAT to Karakit
'I am bringing him to Karakit.'

(28) *M-i-atakng ou diti, ma' aha pudn t-i-m-oi m-atakng diti hei.*
ACY-PERF-come 1sNOM here and 2sNOM too PERF-ACY- ACY-come here also
defecate
'I came here, and *you*, too, were coming having defecated also.'

(29) a. *Man pa' ndoot kerasa dii soid guakng ku?*
why - bad feeling at inside spirit 1sGEN
'Why do I feel bad?'

b. *Suat a gouk na.*
incur 2sNOM trick DEF
'You got tricked.'

With the exception of *ou* '1sNOM' which is always monosyllabic (phonetically [o^u]), nominative case pronouns which refer to speech-act participants have reduced monosyllabic forms.³⁶ Both full and reduced forms of nominative case pronouns are shown in Table 2 (cf. Table 1).

Table 2: Nominative Case Pronouns

	NOMINATIVE CASE	
	Full form	Reduced form
1singular	<i>ou</i>	<i>ou</i>
1dual	<i>kita</i>	<i>ta</i>
1plural-inclusive	<i>kiti</i>	<i>ti</i>
1plural-exclusive	<i>ihī</i>	<i>hi</i>
2singular	<i>aha</i>	<i>a</i>
2plural	<i>uhu</i>	<i>u</i>
3singular	<i>sia</i>	
3plural	<i>sigelama</i>	

With the exception of *ou* '1sNOM', the reduced forms are shortened varieties of the full forms. Reduced nominative case forms are illustrated in (30a) where *aha* '2sNOM' is reduced to *a*; in (31) where *kita* '1dNOM' is reduced to *ta*; in (32) where

³⁶Reduced forms are "shapes" in the terminology of Zwicky (1992b).

kiti '1p.incNOM' is reduced to *ti*; in (33) where *ihi* '1p.excNOM' is reduced to *hi*; and in (30b) and (34) where *uhu* '2pNOM' is reduced to *u*.³⁷

- (30) a. *M-ori* *a* *ga* *u* *ga*.
 ACT.ACL-give 2sNOM contrast ACT.ACL-give 2pNOM contrast
 'You give it.'
- b. *M-ori* *a* *ga* *u* *ga*.
 ACT.ACL-give 2pNOM contrast ACT.ACL-give 2pNOM contrast
 'You all give it.'
- (31) *Baa, m-panu ta na.*
 come ACY-walk 1dnNOM now
 'Come, let's *you and I* go now.'
- (32) *M-uli' ti na.*
 ACY-return.home 1p.incNOM now
 'Let's go home now.'
- (33) *M-uli' hi naa'?*
 ACY-return.home 1p.excNOM okay
 'We are going home, okay?'
- (34) *Dei u pe-m-oro' lama!*
 don't 2pNOM IMP-ACT.ACL-tell people
 'Don't *you all* tell anyone!'

The reduced pronouns in (30)–(34) are in nominative case and cross-referenced by the verb. Reduced pronouns can occur with or without stress and do not affect stress in adjacent words. In (27b), (28), (29b), and (30)–(33) the reduced pronoun immediately follows the verb, whereas in (34) it follows the negative imperative marker *dei* 'don't!'. Reduced pronouns can also occur in nonverbal clauses, e.g. (35) and (36).³⁸

- (35) *Kipidaadn a kati?*
how.many.days 2sNOM here
'How many days have you been here?'
- (36) a. *Kati' a na?*
here 2sNOM now
'Oh, you're here now?'
b. *Oo'. Kati' ou na ali'.*
Yes. Here 1sNOM now bubba.
'Yeah. I'm here now bubba!'³⁹

Reduced nominative case pronouns appear to be **simple clitics**; that is, optional variants of full forms that occur in the same position as the corresponding full form (Zwicky and Pullum 1983:503; Anderson 1993:73-74).⁴⁰

³⁷In contrast to the examples in (27), (28), and (29), many of the clauses containing reduced nominative pronouns in the examples that follow have special modal properties; e.g. (30a) and (30b) are mild or polite imperatives, (31) and (32) are hortative (i.e. they express a desire), (33) is a request for permission, and (34) is a negative imperative.

³⁸Since (35), (36a), and (36b) are nonverbal, there is no cross-referencing on the verb.

³⁹*Ali'* is a term of address for males. My English translation as 'bubba' is not meant to be an exact equivalent, but having grown up in the southern United States, 'bubba' is a good dynamic equivalent.

Whether or not reduced nominative case pronouns are simple clitics hinges on two factors: the extent to which reduced forms are optional variants, and the principles which control their position.

With respect to the first factor, second person reduced forms *a* '2sNOM' and *u* '2pNOM' appear to be optional variants of their respective full forms *aha* and *uhu*. The full forms in (37) and (38) correspond to the reduced forms in (30), (34), and (35). Neither full nor reduced variants affect stress in adjacent words.

Following the negative imperative marker *dei* 'don't!', the reduced form *u* (e.g. (34)) occurs infrequently in comparison to the full form *uhu* (e.g. (38a)). The reduced variant occurs in fast or casual speech and the full form in slow or careful speech (cf. Hasegawa 1979). The omission of second person singular in imperatives is the default as shown in (39a). That is, the absence of a pronoun implies second person singular, whereas overt pronouns are required to indicate second person plural. If the verb in a negative imperative clause cross-references the undergoer, the actor occurs in genitive case (e.g. *nyu* '2pGEN' in (39b)).⁴¹

(37) a. *M-ori aha ga.*
ACT.ACL-give 2sNOM contrast
'You give it.'

b. *M-ori uhu ga.*
ACT.ACL-give 2pNOM contrast
'You all give it.'

(38) a. *Dei uhu pe-m-oro' lama!*
don't 2pNOM IMP-ACT.ACL-tell people
'Don't you all tell anyone!'

b. *Kipidaadn aha kati'?*
how.many.days 2sNOM here
'How many days have you been here?'

(39) a. *Dei pe-m-oro' lama!*
don't IMP-ACT.ACL-tell people
'Don't tell anyone!'

b. *Dei nyu piti-aa'!*
don't 2pGEN kill-UND.ACL.IMP
'Don't you all kill it!'

Although the reduced forms *a* '2sNOM' and *u* '2pNOM' are variants of *aha* and *uhu*, the distribution of the reduced forms is not identical to that of the full forms. With the exception of negative imperatives in which *u* '2pNOM' occasionally occurs (e.g. (34)), only full forms can occur preverbally (e.g. *ou* '1sNOM' in (27a); *aha* '2sNOM' in (28) and (40a); *uhu* '2pNOM' in (40b); and *kita* '1dNOM' in (40e)); hence, the ungrammaticality of (40c), (40d), and (40f). In basic transitive clauses, reduced forms are the norm postverbally (e.g. *ou* '1sNOM' in (27b) and (28); and *a* '2sNOM' in (29b) and (40g)), and postverbal full forms (e.g. (40h)) are marginal, at best, and unattested in texts.

(40) a. *Aha ng-atad nya dii Kerahid.*
2sNOM ACT.ACL-bring 3sDAT to Karakit
'You bring him to Karakit.'

b. *Uhu ng-atad nya.*
2pNOM ACT.ACL-bring 3sDAT
'You all bring him.'

c. **A ng-atad nya dii Kerahid.*
2sNOM ACT.ACL-bring 3sDAT to Karakit
'You bring him to Karakit.'

d. **U ng-atad nya.*
2pNOM ACT.ACL-bring 3sDAT
'You all bring him.'

⁴⁰An example of a simple clitic is when the English auxiliary *has* is reduced to *-s* as in *She's been working hard lately* (cf. (10b)). For a discussion of English auxiliary reduction see Kaisse (1983).

⁴¹Compare negative imperative clauses with cross-referenced actors such as (34) and (38a) where the actor occurs in nominative case.

- e. *Kita ng-atad nya dii Kerahid.*
 1dNOM ACT.ACL-bring 3sDAT to Karakit
 'You and I will bring him to Karakit.'
- f. * *Ta ng-atad nya dii Kerahid.*
 1dNOM ACT.ACL-bring 3sDAT to Karakit
 'You and I will bring him to Karakit.'
- g. *Ng-atad a nya dii Kerahid.*
 ACT.ACL-bring 2sNOM 3sDAT to Karakit
 'You bring him to Karakit.'
- h. ? *Ng-atad aha nya dii Kerahid.*
 ACT.ACL-bring 2sNOM 3sDAT to Karakit
 'You bring him to Karakit.'

In clauses with nonbasic modal properties, however, both full forms (e.g. *kita* in (41a1), (41b1), (41c1), (41d1)) and reduced forms (e.g. *ta* in (41a3), (41b3), (41c3), (41d3), (41e1)) can occur postverbally. Yet, the choice of form is not optional. Reduced pronouns can only occur if they are not clause final; hence, the grammaticality of (41a3), (41b3), (41c3), (41d3), and (41e1), but the ungrammaticality of (41a2), (41b2), (41c2), and (41d2). Not only are reduced pronouns sensitive to the following environment, but full forms appear to be also since *na* 'now' cannot follow the full form, e.g. (41e2).⁴²

- | | | |
|---|--|--|
| (41) a1. <i>M-ohodn kita.</i>
ACY-eat 1dNOM
'Let's you and I eat.' | a2. * <i>M-ohodn ta.</i>
ACY-eat 1dNOM
'Let's you and I eat.' | a3. <i>M-ohodn ta na.</i>
ACY-eat 1dNOM now
'Let's you and I eat now.' |
| b1. <i>Sukng kita.</i>
let's.go 1dNOM
'Let's you and I go.' | b2. * <i>Sukng ta.</i>
let's.go 1dNOM
'Let's you and I go.' | b3. <i>Sukng ta na.</i>
let's.go 1dNOM now
'Let's you and I go now.' |
| c1. <i>Baa, kerai kita.</i>
come work 1dNOM
'Come, let's you and I work.' | c2. * <i>Baa, kerai ta.</i>
come work 1dNOM
'Come, let's you and I work.' | c3. <i>Baa, kerai ta na.</i>
come work 1dNOM -
'Come, let's you and I work now.' |
| d1. <i>Baa, m-panu kita.</i>
come ACY-walk 1dNOM
'Come, let's you and I go.' | d2. * <i>Baa, m-panu ta.</i>
come ACY-walk 1dNOM
'Come, let's you and I go.' | d3. <i>Baa, mpanu ta na.</i>
come walk 1dNOM now
'Come, let's you and I go now.' |
| e1. <i>M-uli' ta na.</i>
ACY-return.home 1dNOM now
'Let's you and I go home now.' | e2. * <i>Sukng kita na.</i>
let's.go 1dNOM now
'Let's you and I go.' | |

All the examples in (41) are nonbasic clauses because they are hortative (cf. also (31) and (32)). That is, they have a modal property which is not associated with basic clauses. Although the contrast between postverbal full and reduced forms appears to be completely predictable in hortative clauses, this is not the case in other

⁴²The explanation for this cooccurrence restriction is beyond the scope of this paper; however, I suspect it is tied to the notion of clitic cluster with *na* 'now' functioning as a clitic.

nonbasic clauses with special modal properties; for example, the full form mild imperatives in (37) contrast with reduced forms in (30).

To summarize, nominative case reduced pronouns only refer to speech-act participants. They can occur with or without stress and do not affect stress in adjacent words. As a general rule, full forms precede the verb and reduced forms follow the verb; yet, there is some overlap in the distribution of these two sets of pronouns. Specifically, the reduced form *u* '2pNOM' occasionally precedes the verb in negative imperatives (e.g. (34)), and full forms can follow the verb in some nonbasic clauses with certain modal properties. Since the position of the reduced pronouns is determined by the same principles as in nonclitic syntax, the reduced forms are simple clitics and not special clitics.

4. Conclusion

The personal noun markers *si* 'NOM' and *ni* 'NNOM' are not independent words; however, their status as either proclitics or prefixes is not definitive (cf. §2). All genitive case pronouns are enclitics; however, only those following the past tense auxiliary *bas* (and thus occurring in the second position of verb phrases) are special clitics with a distribution that is different from that of nonclitic nominals (cf. §3.1; cf. also Comrie 1981:83 and Schachter 1985:25). Nominative case pronouns which refer to speech-act participants have reduced forms that are simple clitics; however, the choice of the full form versus the simple reduced clitic form is not totally optional (cf. §3.2).

This paper has only dealt with a couple of clitic-like items. There are a number of other clitic-like items which suggests that clitics may be a heterogeneous class in Bonggi including pronouns, viewpoint aspect markers (e.g. *pa* 'yet'), and mood markers (e.g. *ga* 'contrast', *ba* 'emphatic', *kai* [ka¹]/[ha¹]/[ke¹]/[he¹] 'too/either') (cf. Schachter 1973:218, 1985:54, 1985:59 for Tagalog; cf. also Martha Martens 1987 and Michael Martens 1987 for Uma).

There is an apparent example of morphologization in Bonggi which is related to this paper. The negator *nda* 'not' has a reduced form *nd-* which attaches to speech-act participant pronouns such as *ou* '1sNOM' resulting in the surface form [n^{do}] 'not I' as shown in (42). This contrasts with the full form in (43). Morphologization probably arose through the reduction of the original independent negator *nda* 'not' to the status of a prefix *nd-* via a stage of cliticization (cf. Anderson 1988:352).

- (42) *Nd-ou pandi uubm Sama.*
not-1sNOM know language Sama
'I do not know the Sama language.'

- (43) *Ou nda' pandi uubm Sama.*
1sNOM not know language Sama
'I do not know the Sama language.'

Another issue which needs to be dealt with is Bonggi clitic order (cf. Schachter 1973). Languages in which clitics are important tend to collect them at a certain position (cf. Anderson 1985:157). Furthermore, there is a strong tendency in many languages for clitics in clitic clusters to line up in a particular order (Spencer 1991:374). My suspicion is that clitic order is fixed in Bonggi, but this remains to be proven.

I have also avoided the issue of how clitics occur in the positions in which they do. I have assumed a monostratal theory in which clitic pronouns are generated *in situ*. That is, they are not moved into their position by transformation (cf. Starosta 1991:6).

The study of pronominal clitics is important for syntactic theories since they offer insights into the interaction of syntax with morphology and the lexicon. According to some syntactic models, cliticization can only be characterized as a lexical phenomenon (e.g. Grimshaw 1982 within the framework of Lexical-Functional Grammar). In other models it is characterized as a syntactic phenomenon.

Outside of Boutin (1994:207-18) and Dillon (1994:78-94), I am only aware of passing references to clitics in Bornean languages including: 1) Kroeger (1988) who briefly mentions pronominal clitics in Kimaragang; 2) Blust (1988:186) who provides a brief description of nonpronominal clitics in Melanau; and 3) Asmah (1983) who does not appear to discuss clitics but mentions weak pronominal forms in Kayan (1983:56) and Ilanun (1983:285). She also discusses differences in pronoun ordering in Bajau Darat (1983:119), free and bound pronominal forms in Bajau Laut (1983:142), etc. There are certainly other references, but the general picture is one of neglect.

If the Bonggi data which has been discussed here is at all representative of Borneo, there is probably a wealth of pronominal clitics in Bornean languages, not to mention nonpronominal clitics. Because of the importance of clitics in theoretical linguistics and the general bias within linguistics toward data from Indo-European languages,⁴³ in-depth analyses of Bornean clitics would certainly be a welcome addition to the literature on clitics.

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⁴³Note that of the ten papers presented at the Workshop on Second Position Clitics at The Ohio State University, July 10-11, 1993, nine of them dealt with Indo-European languages and only one dealt with a non-Indo-European language, i.e. Straits Salish a language of the Northwest Coast of North America.

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