

FILIPINO ENCLITICS

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0. Introduction.

Many linguists are making efforts to give linguistics a more scientific basis. Unfortunately, many of these efforts are based on appeals to the linguistic intuitions of native speakers. Such intuitions are prone to many types of error, especially when speakers are confronted with sentences isolated from the context in which they may or may not occur.

In this study I would like to introduce a statistical element to the analysis of the grammar of Filipino, in this case to the analysis of Filipino enclitics. The study is based on a corpus of about 1,000,000 words consisting of the complete texts of 50 Filipino novelettes published in the 1990s. While this corpus may not be totally representative of spoken Filipino, it is a good representation of modern written Filipino, and contains extensive dialog materials. All the examples and statistics cited here are taken from those stories.

The study utilizes an interactive computer concordance which contains a complete index of all words occurring in the corpus and high-speed access to the various sentences and locations in which the words occur.

This study will investigate four questions:

1. What are enclitics?
2. What words are enclitics?
3. What is the order of enclitics?
4. What are the sentence positions in which enclitics occur?

1. What are enclitics?

Schachter and Otnes (1972) define enclitics as "a class of words that occur only in certain fixed word-order relations to other sentence elements" (p. 411).

This definition can be illustrated with the sentence:

Dalhin mo ako sa báhay.¹ 'Take me home (to the house).'

¹In the accent system used here an acute accent indicates vowel length, and the circumflex accent indicates a glottal stop. Thus:

báhay = /ba:hay/

hindi = /hindiq/

bintána = /binta:naq/

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In this sentence **mo** 'you' and **ako** 'me' are enclitics and must come directly after the verb **dalhin** 'take' and in the order given. (In this and all other examples enclitic words are underlined.) The following variations are unacceptable:

*dalhin sa báhay mo ako

*dalhin ako mo sa báhay

Similarly:

Huwag mo akong hihintayin. 'Don't wait for me.'

In this sentence **mo** and **ako** come after the modal **huwag** 'don't' and ahead of the verb **hihintayin** 'will wait for' (and the linker **-ng**). There is no alternative:

*huwag hihintayin mo ako

Any words that behave in a similar way are taken to be enclitics.

2. What words are enclitics?

There are two types of enclitics: enclitic pronouns and enclitic adverbs. Furthermore there are pronouns which are always enclitic and pronouns which are sometimes enclitic; similarly there are adverbs which are always and sometimes enclitic.

The **ng**-form personal pronouns (**ko**, **mo**, **niya**, **nátin**, **námin**, **ninyo**, **nila**) are always enclitic. The **ang**-form personal pronouns (**ako**, **siya**, **táyo**, **kami**, **kayo**, **sila**) are usually enclitic, but can also occur in the sentence-initial position. The second person singular pronoun 'you' has two **ang** forms: **ka**, which is always enclitic, and **ikaw**, which is sentence-initial and never enclitic.

The **ang**- and **ng**-form deictic pronouns are optionally enclitic. Thus both of the following sentences are acceptable:

Huwag mo itong hihintayin. 'Don't wait for this one.'

Huwag mong hihintayin ito. 'Don't wait for this one.'

The adverbs which are always enclitic are: **na** 'already', **pa** 'still, yet', **man** 'even', **ngâ** 'really', **din** 'also', **lámang/lang** 'only, just', **naman** 'on the other hand', **daw** 'it is said', **hô/pô** 'sir, ma'am', **múna** 'first', **pala** 'oh (I didn't know)', **ba** (question mark), and **yátâ** 'it seems'.

I will also consider a number of adverbs which are sometimes found in the enclitic position. These are: **tuloy** 'as a result', **kayâ** 'I wonder', **sána** 'would, I wish', **kasi** 'because', **sigúro** 'maybe', **talaga** 'really', **agad** 'immediately', and **uli** 'again'.

3. What is the order of enclitics?

Word order in Filipino enjoys a high degree of freedom. However in two cases a fixed word order is strictly observed: (1) the placement of enclitics in the sentence, and (2) the order of enclitics when two or more of them occur in the same position.

If two enclitic pronouns come together in the same position, they are ordered in accordance with a very strict rule. Namely, monosyllabic pronouns come ahead of disyllabic pronouns; otherwise **ng**-form pronouns come ahead of **ang**-form pronouns. Thus **ka** 'you' comes ahead of other pronouns, including **ng**-form pronouns:

Nakikíta ka niya sa bintánâ. 'He sees you through the window.'

but other **ang**-form pronouns come after **ng**-form pronouns:

Hindî nila ako kilála. 'They don't know me.'

The strictness of this rule is illustrated by the abundance of zeros in I. In this table, and in all the other tables, the words on the left side indicate the first word in a two-word sequence; the words on top, the second word. The numeral at the intersection indicates the number of times the given combination occurred in the one-million word corpus. For example the combination **niya táyo** occurred eight times. A + sign in place of a numeral indicates that the given combination occurred at least ten times.

I.

	ka	ko	mo	niya	nátin	námin	ninyo	n'yo	nila	ako	siya	táyo	kami	kayo	sila
ka		0	0	+	0	+	0	0	+	0	0	0	0	0	0
ko	0		0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	+	0	0	+	+
mo	0	0		0	0	0	0	0	0	+	+	0	+	0	+
niya	0	0	0		0	0	0	0	0	+	0	8	7	+	0
nátin	0	0	0	0		0	0	0	0	0	+	0	0	0	+
námin	0	0	0	0	0		0	0	0	0	+	0	0	+	2
ninyo	0	0	0	0	0	0		0	0	+	5	0	7	0	0
n'yo	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		0	+	7	0	8	0	0
nila	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		+	0	7	2	0	0
ako	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		0	0	0	0	0
siya	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		0	0	0	0
táyo	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		0	0	0
kami	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		0	0
kayo	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		0
sila	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	

The application of the rule stated above appears in the concentration of numerals and + signs in the intersections of **ka** followed by **ng**-form pronouns, and those of the **ng**-form pronouns followed by the **ang**-form pronouns other than **ka**. Other zeros in the table lead to conclusions about other combinations which either do not occur at all, or occur with very low probability:

1. Two **ng**-form pronouns never occur together in the same enclitic position. If such a cooccurrence is called for semantically, for example **ko** and **mo**, this would be expressed with a plural pronoun, in this case **nátin**.
2. Similarly two **ang**-form pronouns never occur together in the same enclitic position.
3. Two forms of the same pronoun do not occur together. Such combinations are expressed with the word **saríli**:

Ipinakilála niya ang saríli niya sa mga kaharap. 'He introduced himself to the people in front of him.'

4. Similarly plural pronouns tend not to cooccur with the singular pronouns that they include (semantically), for example **táyo** with **ko** or **mo**; **nila** with **siya**.
5. The pronouns **ka** and **ko** do not cooccur. This combination is expressed with the word **kita**:

Susunduin kita sa apartment mo. 'I'll pick you up at your apartment.'

The enclitic adverbs occur in a more-or-less fixed order, which is the order in which they are arranged in II. For any given combination of two adverbs, they generally abide by a

fixed order, which is indicated by the concentration of numerals above/to the right of the diagonal dividing line. There are a few exceptions, as indicated by numerals below/to the left of the diagonal line. For example, both ngâ rin and rin ngâ occur with high frequency:

Hindi ko rin ngâ siya maintindihan. 'In fact I don't understand him either.'

At iyon ngâ rin ang sâbi ni Edwin. 'And in fact that's what Edwin said too.'

Combinations with naman are the most irregular. For example both hô naman and naman hô have high frequency:

Nagbabágo hô naman ang isip ng táo. 'People do change their minds after all, sir.'

Nakikiúsap naman hô ako sa inyo, Pápa. 'Well, I'm appealing to you (sir), Papa.'

Ba generally comes ahead of naman:

Magagawâ ko ba naman iyon? 'Well, will I be able to do that?'

but the combination na naman, in the meaning 'again', is inseparable; thus ba comes after it:

Nagkagalit na naman ba kayo ni Mark? 'Are you and Mark fighting again?'

II.

	na	pa	man	ngâ	din	lámang	lang	naman	daw	hô	pô	múna	pala	ba	yátâ
na		0	0	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
pa	0		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
man	0	0		0	4	+	+	0	2	3	0	0	0	0	0
ngâ	0	0	0		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	7	+	+	+
din	0	0	0	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	0	+	+	9
lámang	0	0	0	0	3		0	+	8	8	3	3	+	+	4
lang	0	0	0	3	0	0		+	+	+	+	0	+	+	+
naman	0	0	0	0	2	0	0		+	+	+	0	+	+	+
daw	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	7		+	+	5	6	+	5
hô	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	+	0		0	7	+	+	6
pô	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	+	0	0		8	7	+	5
múna	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	2	0		0	0	0
pala	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	2		0	0
ba	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	+	0	0	0	0	0		0
yátâ	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	

The words in II. are always enclitic. They cannot appear at the beginning of a sentence, or a clause, or at the end of the sentence (unless the enclitic position itself comes at the end). A number of additional words find themselves in the enclitic position, but may appear elsewhere as well (whether as the same word or as a homonym is subject to debate).

The word tuloy has a number of meanings:

Ipinások ni Harry ang kotse sa gate, tuloy na sa garáhe. 'Harry brought the car through the gate, and on into the garage.'

Tuloy kayo, búti nadálaw kayo. 'Come in, I'm glad (it's good) you've come (to visit).'

Tuloy pa rin ang bálak ng Daddy niya na ihatid siya doon. 'Her Daddy was still planning to take her there.'

In the meaning 'as a result', tuloy behaves like an enclitic:

Hindi ko tuloy alam kung ano ang isasagot. 'As a result I didn't know how to answer.'

The word **kayâ** comes at the beginning of a clause with the meaning 'therefore' or 'the reason why':

Inaantok pa siya kayâ pinainom siya ng *black coffee* ni Jun. 'She was still sleepy, so Jun gave her (let her drink) some black coffee.'

Kayâ siya umalis kanina ay para makipagkita kay Toby. 'The reason she left earlier was to meet Toby.'

As an enclitic **kayâ** expresses a suggestion ('shall we') or a speculation ('I wonder if'):

Tulog na kayâ ang Mommy niya? 'He wondered if his Mommy was asleep already.'

Mag-taxi na lang kayâ tayo. 'How about if we just take a taxi?'

The word **sána** expresses two meanings: 'would' and 'I wish'. In both meanings **sana** comes at the beginning of a clause:

Sána maunawaan ninyo ako. 'I wish you would understand me.'

Kung sinabi mo kaagad sa ákin, nagawan ko sana ng paraan. 'If you had told me right away, I could have found a solution.'

and as an enclitic:

Gusto sána niyang tumútol. 'He would like to refuse.'

Papalabas na sana ako nang tinawag akong muli ni Mylene. 'He was about to go out when Mylene called him again.'

The word **kasi** means 'because' and comes both at the beginning:

Ikaw lang ang isasama ko. Kasi ikaw lang ang nagmamahal sa ákin.

'You're the only one I'm taking with me. Because you're the only one who loves me.'

and in the enclitic position:

Hindi ko kasi alam kung saan kita hahanápin. 'Because I didn't know where to look for you.'

The word **sigúro** 'maybe' comes at the beginning:

Sigúro raw, may iba pa siyang ginagawâ sa áraw búkod sa matúlog. 'They say (it is said), maybe he has something else to do during the day besides sleep.'

and as an enclitic:

Alam na rin sigúro niya, Irene, patúloy na may naghahanap na mga laláke sa kanya. 'Maybe he also knows (already), Irene, that there are still some men looking for him.'

The word **talaga** 'really' occurs in both positions:

Talaga pong busog pa ako, hanggang ngayon. 'I'm really still full, ma'am, until now.'

Biglang-bigla talaga siya sa mga pangyayári. 'He was really shocked by the events.'

The word **agad** 'right away' occurs in both positions:

Agad na napalingon ang dalagíta sa direksiyon nito. 'Right away, the girl looked in his direction.'

Susulátan ko agad ang Mâma. 'I'll write to Mama right away.'

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The word *uli* 'again' does not come at the beginning of a clause. It occurs in the enclitic position, but also later in the sentence:

Narinig *uli niya* ang tili. 'She heard the scream again.'

Mamayá *raw* ay tatáwag *siya* *uli* sa iyo. 'He said he'll call you again later.'

These eight words rarely come together in the same enclitic position, as shown in III.

III.

	tuloy	kayâ	sána	kasi	sigúro	talaga	agad	uli
tuloy		0	0	0	0	0	0	0
kayâ	0		0	0	0	0	0	0
sána	0	0		0	0	4	0	0
kasi	0	0	0		0	2	0	0
sigúro	0	0	0	1		2	0	0
talaga	0	0	0	0	0		0	0
agad	0	0	0	0	0	0		0
uli		0	0	0	0	0	0	0

That these words rarely occur ahead of any of the enclitic adverbs discussed above is shown in IV. An exception is the sequence *kayâ muna*.

IV.

	na	pa	man	ngâ	din	lámang	lang	naman	daw	hò	pô	muna	pala	ha	yátâ
tuloy	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
kayâ	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	0	0	0
sána	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
kasi	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
sigúro	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
talaga	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
agad	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
uli	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

On the other hand, these eight words frequently appear as in sequences after the other adverbs, as shown in V. Of note is *tuloy*, which rarely interacts with any other adverbs, except *na*.

V.

	tuloy	kayâ	sána	kasi	sigúro	talaga	agad	uli
na	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
pa	0	+	+	+	+	+	0	+
man	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	0
ngâ	2	+	+	+	+	3	3	5
din	0	+	+	+	+	+	6	2
lámang	0	2	4	0	6	8	0	2
lang	0	+	+	+	+	+	6	+
naman	0	+	+	+	+	+	+	3
daw	0	6	0	+	0	4	4	4
hò	0	+	8	+	+	9	0	5
pô	0	0	4	+	2	3	0	0
múna	0	2	3	4	0	0	0	4
pala	0	2	0	0	0	+	0	2
ba	0	3	0	3	0	+	0	0
yâtâ	0	4	0	2	0	4	0	0

When pronouns and adverbs cooccur in the same enclitic position, the basic rule is: monosyllabic pronouns ahead of adverbs, disyllabic pronouns after the adverbs:

Tatawágan ka na lang námin. 'We'll just call you.'

Nakalimútan mo na ako. 'You've forgotten me.'

As can be seen in VI. and VII., the rule applies strictly to ka, ko, and mo, which always precede the adverbs, and never come afterwards. The form ninyo is disyllabic and therefore always comes after adverbs, but its abbreviated form n'yo is more often treated as monosyllabic and is placed ahead of the adverbs. However n'yo is sometimes also placed after adverbs:

Hindî pa n'yo ako kilála. 'You don't know me yet, sir.'

Huwag n'yo na akong samáhan. 'Don't go with me anymore.'

The forms niya and siya, while pronounced as monosyllabic, have traditionally been treated as disyllabic and placed after the adverbs. However, niya (but not siya) is placed ahead of adverbs with significantly high frequency.

Noon niya lang narinig na magsalitâ nang ganoon si Tina. 'That was the first time that he heard Tina talk like that.'

VI.

	ka	ko	mo	n'yo	niya	nátin	náman	ninyo	nila	ako	siya	táyo	kami	kayo	sila	kita
na	0	0	0	4	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
pa	0	0	0	3	+	+	+	9	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
man	0	0	0	0	+	2	3	0	6	+	+	3	+	0	+	0
ngâ	0	0	0	0	+	5	+	2	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	7
din	0	0	0	0	+	8	+	2	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
lámang	0	0	0	0	+	9	3	6	+	+	+	9	5	3	+	0
lang	0	0	0	4	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
naman	0	0	0	0	+	+	+	9	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
daw	0	0	0	2	+	3	7	0	+	+	+	9	4	+	+	+
hò	0	0	0	0	7	+	+	+	5	+	+	9	+	+	7	0
pô	0	0	0	0	7	3	6	7	0	+	+	7	+	+	+	0
múna	0	0	0	0	+	+	8	6	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
pala	0	0	0	0	+	4	0	0	3	+	+	+	2	+	+	5
ba	0	0	0	6	+	+	5	+	+	+	+	+	7	+	+	+
yátâ	0	0	0	0	+	0	0	0	2	+	+	3	2	+	2	4

VII.

	na	pa	man	ngâ	din	lámang	lang	naman	daw	hò	pô	múna	pala	ba	yátâ
ka	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	0	2	+	+	+	+
ko	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
mo	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	0	+	+	+	+	+
n'yo	+	+	0	3	7	2	7	+	4	8	4	+	0	+	0
niya	0	9	0	0	+	2	5	2	0	0	0	+	0	0	4
nátin	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
náman	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
ninyo	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
nila	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
ako	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
siya	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
táyo	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
kami	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
kayo	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
sila	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
kita	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

When pronouns cooccur with the additional eight adverbs, there is a significant difference between the first four adverbs and the other four, as shown in VIII. and IX. In an enclitic position, *tuloy*, *kayâ*, *sána*, *kasi* always come after monosyllabic pronouns and before disyllabics (again taking into account the irregular behavior of *niya*). The other four adverbs (*sigúro*, *talaga*, *agad*, *uli*) come both before and after the disyllabic pronouns. The latter case raises the question of whether they are still in the enclitic position or whether this is some kind of post-enclitic position. The following are examples of *agad*:

Nakita *agad niya* ang anak ng may-ári. 'He immediately saw the daughter of the owner.'

Binuksan *niya agad* ang pintô ng kotse. 'He immediately opened the door of the car.'

VIII.

	ka	ko	mo	n'yo	niya	nátin	námin	ninyo	nila	ako	siya	táyo	kami	kayo	silá	kita
tuloy	0	0	0	0	+	2	0	0	1	+	+	4	0	0	1	2
kayâ	0	0	0	0	+	1	1	0	1	+	+	+	1	1	7	2
sána	0	0	0	0	+	0	4	0	4	+	+	0	5	4	+	+
kasi	0	0	0	0	+	2	5	0	6	+	+	0	+	5	+	+
sigúro	0	0	0	0	+	0	0	0	6	+	+	+	1	4	9	0
talaga	0	0	0	0	+	0	2	0	2	+	+	9	8	9	9	3
agad	0	0	0	0	+	0	2	0	3	+	+	7	3	2	+	2
ulí	0	0	0	0	+	2	0	0	2	+	+	+	3	2	+	2

IX.

	tuloy	kayâ	sána	kasi	sigúro	talaga	agad	ulí
ka	7	+	+	+	7	+	+	6
ko	+	+	+	+	2	+	+	+
mo	3	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
n'yo	0	0	0	0	2	2	0	0
niya	+	1	8	8	5	+	+	+
nátin	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3
námin	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
ninyo	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0
nila	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0
ako	0	0	0	0	0	+	7	6
siya	0	0	0	0	0	+	+	+
táyo	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	5
kami	0	0	0	0	2	2	0	0
kayo	0	0	0	0	0	1	3	2
silá	0	0	0	0	0	1	3	4
kita	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	4

4. Where are the enclitic positions?

Our final question has to do with the location of the enclitics in the sentence. In general, in a basic (kernel) sentence enclitics “occur right after the first full word in the sentence” (Cubar and Cubar, 1994, p. 62). In the following example the enclitics *na* and *niya* follow the first word *nakíta*.

Nakíta na niya si Nieza. ‘She had seen Nieza already.’

In an *ang* clause or after *ay*, the enclitics again follow the first word of the clause (the first word after *ang* (*ng*, *sa*) or *ay*). These three positions (kernel-sentence-initial, and first word after *ang*, or *ay*) can be considered as a single environment.

Ang nakíta lámang nila ay ang pagmamahálan nila ni Ronald. ‘All that Ronald and she could see was their love for each other.’

Sa lobby pa lang ay nakíta na agad niya si Nick. ‘Still just in the lobby she saw Nick immediately.’

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There are some words, however, which are never followed by enclitics (in Schachter and Otnes' terms (1972, p. 433) 'non-pre-enclitic'). The main words of this type are *mas* 'more', *may* 'have, there is', *mga* (plural marker), and the verb *maging* 'become'.

Mas gusto ko pang umupô dito. 'I prefer to sit here.'

May bibilhin lang akong libro sa bookstore. 'I'm just going to buy some books at the bookstore.'

Mga kaklase ko pô sila, Mommy. 'They're classmates of mine (ma'am), Mommy.'

Kung minsan, may mga kasama din akong babae. 'Sometimes, there are also some women with me.'

May mas maliit pa sa iyo. 'There are [people] even smaller than you.'

Naging kaibigan na rin ni Irene si Jack Nikolas. 'Jack Nikolas had also become a friend of Irene's.'

The same conditions apply after *ang* (*ng*, *sa*) and *ay*:

Pero 'yon ang mas dapat náting ikabahala. 'But that's what we should be more concerned about.'

Sa kasalukuyan ay may iba pa siyang girlfriend. 'At present he still has another girlfriend.'

Ano na kayâ ang ginagawâ ng mga kaibigan niya sa mga oras na ito? 'He wondered what his friends were doing at these times.'

Various transformations can result in moving the enclitic position, or in the creation of new enclitic positions. (The following discussion is summarized in X below.) For example, if a locative phrase (for example, *doon* 'there' and *dito* 'here') or temporal phrase (e.g., *ngayon* 'now') is moved to the head of a clause, it becomes the first element in the clause and is thus followed by the enclitics:

Doon mo ako hintayin. 'Wait for me there.'

Ngayon ko lang kayo nakita dito. 'This is the first time I've seen you here.'

Such phrases can also be followed by the particle *ay*, or by a pause in speaking (represented in writing by a comma). In this case a new enclitic position is created, which can be occupied by certain enclitic adverbs, but not by enclitic pronouns:

Dito raw ay kikitâ ako nang labis pa sa kailangan ko. 'He said here I can earn even more than I need.'

Ngayon pa lang ay nagugutom na ako. 'Even just now I'm hungry already.'

A locative or temporal phrase can also constitute a complete predicate or predicate head, and enter into construction with a subject (*ang* phrase or *ang*-form pronoun or name). In this case also certain adverbs, but not enclitic pronouns can follow this phrase:

Doon muna si Gerar sa kanilang bahay sa Tatalon. 'Gerar would stay there at their house in Tatalon for a while.'

Ngayon pala ang *date* namin e. 'Oh (I forgot) we have a date today.'

As noted earlier the word *ikaw* never occurs in an enclitic position. It does, like locative and temporal phrases, appear as the first element in a clause, in which case it is mandatorily followed by *ay* or a pause. It can also appear as half of a coreferential sentence (a sentence consisting of two subjects).

Ikaw ay gagawin ko nang kasósyo dito. ' (As for you) I'll make you a partner here.'

Ikaw ang dápat sumagot. 'You're the one who should answer.'

In these positions, ikaw can also be followed by certain enclitic adverbs, but not by other pronouns:

Bákit, ikaw ba ay hindi mabúti? 'Why, aren't you good?'

Ikaw pa rin ang idol ko. 'You're still my idol.'

The other ang-form pronouns, except ka, also appear in sentence-initial positions, followed by ang or ay. Like ikaw, they can be followed by enclitic adverbs in these positions.

As mentioned earlier, some enclitic adverbs also appear in clause-initial positions (the discussion on the following three pages is summarized in X.), with and without ay. They can then be followed by enclitics, under varying conditions.

Kayâ 'therefore', without ay, can be followed by enclitic pronouns and most other adverbs. Between kayâ and ay, however, a limited number of adverbs can occur:

Mahal ko po si Darwin kayâ ako naririto. 'I love Darwin, that's why I'm here.'

Kayâ lang ay masyádong personal. 'It's just that it's too personal.'

Clause-initial sána, kasi, sigúro, and talaga are never followed by enclitic pronouns.

Between sána and ay, a number of adverbs occur. Without ay, only naman was found (in the corpus) after sána:

Sána nga'y totoo ang dinig niya. 'She hoped that what she had heard was true.'

Sána naman maintindihan mo ako. 'I just wish you would understand me.'

Kasi, with or without ay, can be followed by a number of adverbs. Kasi can also appear as a complete predicate (usually with a name or pronoun as the subject).

Kasi naman walá siyang kaalam-alam sa mga bátâ. 'Because she didn't know anything about children.'

Kasi hô, ulfla na ngâ ako sa ina. 'Because I have no mother.'

Kasi naman ikaw. 'Because you (are like that).'

Sigúro can be followed by enclitic adverbs. With ay, the range of adverbs that occur is greater than without ay.

Sigúro naman ligtas táyo dito. 'Probably we'll be safe here.'

Sigúro ngâ ay totoo ang sinasábi ni Tony. 'Maybe what Tony says is really true.'

Clause-initial talaga is usually, but not always, followed by a linker (-ng). With a linker a greater range of adverbs occurs than without a linker.

Talaga lang busog pa ako, Tita. 'It's just that I'm really still full, Auntie.'

Talaga palang gusto akong galitin. 'Oh, he's really trying to make me mad.'

Clause-initial agad is invariably followed by a linker. A peculiarity was that (in the corpus) the pronouns niya and siya were found between agad and the linker, but other pronouns were not found. Of the enclitic adverbs only din and naman were found after agad.

Agad niyang itinágô ang laráwan ni Susanne. 'He quickly put away Susanne's picture.'

Agad siyang napalingon sa pinagmulan ng sigaw na iyon. 'She immediately turned to the source of that shout.'

The negator **hindi** comes at the head of a clause and is followed by the same enclitics as any predicate head:

Hindi ko siya asawa. 'She's not my wife.'

Hindi ka naman siguro niya idadamay. 'Well, he probably won't involve you.'

Hindi cannot be a complete predicate, except in an elliptical negation:

Siya pala ang lulúhá at hindi ang laláke. 'So she'll be the one to cry and not the man.'

Hindi is not followed by **ay**.

Negative questions with **hindi** and **ba** are of two types. One is an ordinary question with the enclitics in the normal position after **hindi**:

Hindi hó ba kayo sasáma sa ákin? 'Aren't you going with me (ma'am)??'

The other is a rhetorical question, which begins (or ends) with **hindi ba** followed by a complete sentence with enclitics in their normal position:

Hindi ba gáling ka na sa Riyadh? 'Isn't it true that you've been in Riyadh?'

Within the corpus, the rhetorical **hindi ba** was rarely separated by another enclitic, and then only by **hó** or **ngâ**.

There are several types of information question in Filipino. One type of question has a word like **ano** 'what' at the beginning followed by an **ang** clause (or an **ang**-form pronoun or name).

Ano ang sasabihin niya kay Carla? 'What would he say to Carla?'

In such questions, enclitic adverbs are placed after **ano**, while the pronouns remain inside the **ang** clause:

Ano na lang ang sasabihin nila, nakakahiyâ. 'Just what are they going to say, it's embarrassing.'

Pronouns follow **ano** only in a special type of question, asking for the relationship between two people:

Ano mo talaga si Tessa? 'What is Tessa to you, really?'

Other question words that exhibit a similar pattern are **sino** 'who', **ilan** 'how many', **alin** 'which', and **nasaan** 'be where'.

Question words like **saan** 'where' can pattern like **ano**:

Hi! Saan ang punta mo? 'Hi! Where are you going?'

More often **saan** appears as the first element in a clause, like locative/temporal phrases discussed above, followed by the ordinary enclitics:

Saan ka na dinala ni Mark kahapon? 'Where did Mark take you yesterday?'

Other question words that behave like **saan** are **kailan** 'when' and **kanino** 'to whom'.

Paáno 'how, what about' patterns like **saan** as the first element in a clause or as a predicate:

Paáno mo nalámang díto kami nakatira? 'How did you know that we live here?'

Paáno hó ang pag-aáral ko, Daddy? 'What about my studies, Daddy?'

Paáno also combines with **kung** 'what if' to begin a question sentence:

Paáno ngá kung hindí na siya bumalik? 'In fact, what if he doesn't come back anymore?'

Like *saan* and *paáno*, *bákit* appears as the first element in a clause (followed by all enclitics), but not as a complete predicate:

Bákit ka nagtatanong, pulis ka ba? 'Why are you asking questions, are you a policeman?'

However if the question is negative (*bákit hindí* 'why not'), then *bákit* seems to be placed outside the clause, and *hindí* occupies the first position in the clause. Between *bákit* and *hindí* only *ba*, *daw*, *kayá*, *naman*, and *ngá* occurred in the corpus.

Bákit naman hindí mo ipinakíta sa ákin iyong dyaryo? 'Well, why didn't you show me that newspaper?'

Various other adverbs or conjunctions placed either before a clause or as the first element in a clause have an influence on the placement of enclitics in the clause. The discussion of the following words is just a sample of the situation.

Baká 'maybe' was found (in the corpus) to be followed by *ang*-form pronouns (and adverbs) but not by *ng*-form pronouns (*siya* as in the following example, but not *niya*). This is the only case I observed in which *ang*- and *ng*-form pronouns went separate ways. *Baká* does not occur with *ay* or as a predicate:

Baká siya multuhin ng mga lólo nátin ano? 'He might be haunted by our ancestors, don't you think?'

The modal *dápat* is regularly followed by a linker. Between *dápat* and the linker, a full range of enclitic pronouns and adverbs appears. *Dapat* can also be followed by *ay*; adverbs, but not pronouns, occur between *dápat* and *ay*.

Dápat lang niyang balewalain ang nangyári. 'She should just ignore what happened.'

Dápat pala ay kaníng umága pa siya pumunta. '(I realized) that he should have come this morning.'

Kundí 'if not' is followed by enclitic pronouns, but only a limited set of adverbs (*lámang*, *man*, and *ngá*).

Kundí ka dumating, walá sánang probléma. 'If you hadn't come, there wouldn't have been a problem.'

There are a number of Filipino words with the form *pára*. Three of the major ones are discussed here. *Pára* 'like, seem' is also followed by a linker. Between *pára* and the linker a full range of enclitics appears:

Pára akong nakalútang sa úlap. 'I felt like I was floating on clouds.'

The phrase *pára sa* 'for' can be separated by enclitic adverbs, but not by pronouns:

Anak, pára na rin sa kabutihán mo ang ginawá ng Nánay mo. 'Child, what your mother did was for your welfare as well.'

Pára 'in order to, so that' can be followed by both enclitic pronouns and enclitic adverbs.

Walang tumáwag pára siya kumáin. 'No one called for him to eat.'

The foregoing discussion is summarized in X. It should be observed, however, that the table shows only immediate sequences. Thus the phrase *pára na rin* is counted as an occurrence of *na*, but not *rin* (*din*), after *pára*.

X.

	ang PN	ng PN	na	pa	man	nga	din	la(ma)ng	naman	daw	po/ho	muna	pala	ba	yata	tuloy	kaya	sana	kasi	siguro	talaga	agad	uff
PN_ang	0	0	+	+	4	+	+	+	+	+	+	5	+	+	0	0	4	2	7	0	8	0	0
PN_sy	0	0	1	1	+	6	3	0	+	5	1	0	2	+	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
hindi	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	0
hindi_ba	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
ano_ang	0	0	+	+	+	+	0	4	+	7	+	0	1	+	0	0	+	0	0	0	+	0	0
sana	+	+	+	7	0	8	0	0	9	2	+	0	0	+	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	0
sana_ang	0	0	1	1	0	2	0	0	1	0	2	0	0	+	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
kaya	+	+	0	0	0	+	0	+	+	3	0	0	+	5	0	9		0	0	+	0	0	0
kaya_sy	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	+	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		0	0	1	0	0	0
sana	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		0	0	0	0	0
sana_sy	0	0	0	0	3	4	0	3	+	1	2	0	0	0	0	0		0	0	0	0	0	0
kasi	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	4	0	7	0	0	1	0	0	0	0		1	0	0	0
kasi_sy	0	0	0	0	0	+	0	0	9	0	+	0	0	1	0	0	0	0		1	0	0	0
kasi_ang	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		0	0	0	0
siguro	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	7	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1		0	0	0
siguro_sy	0	0	0	0	0	+	0	0	+	9	6	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2		0	0	0
talaga	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	7	2	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0		0	0
talaga -ng	0	0	0	0	0	7	0	3	+	0	8	0	9	+	7	0	1	0	0	2		0	0
agad -ng	(+)	(+)	0	0	0	0	2	0	+	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		0
doon	+	+	+	7	1	2	5	7	1	3	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	4	0	0	0
doon_sy	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
doon_ang	0	0	+	0	1	0	1	1	1	0	0	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
ngayon	+	+	1	+	0	6	4	+	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
ngayon_sy	0	0	0	+	0	+	2	1	+	0	2	0	3	+	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
ngayon_ang	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
bakit	+	+	7	+	0	+	0	0	+	+	+	0	0	+	0	0	+	0	+	0	0	0	0
bakit hindi	0	0	0	0	0	7	0	0	8	1	0	0	0	3	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0
paano	0	0	1	+	2	5	1	0	7	1	1	0	0	+	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0
paano_ang	0	0	+	1	0	1	0	0	8	0	6	0	0	8	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
paano_kung	0	0	2	3	0	5	1	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
baka	+	0	0	1	0	+	0	4	+	+	+	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	+	0	0	0	0
dapat -ng	+	+	+	4	0	6	1	+	0	0	1	0	0	7	0	0	0	0	0	0	6	0	0
dapat_sy	0	0	0	2	0	4	1	0	1	4	1	0	6	0	0	0	0	+	4	2	0	0	0
kundi	+	+	0	0	+	5	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
pera	+	2	0	0	3	+	2	+	+	+	3	0	0	0	0	+	0	0	0	3	0	0	0
pera -ng	+	+	+	+	1	0	3	9	5	8	2	0	0	+	0	0	0	0	+	0	2	0	0
pera_sa	0	0	5	0	2	0	+	+	2	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0

Considerable variation can be observed in the occurrence of the enclitics in the various environments. *Naman*, *ngâ*, *ang hô/pô* occur in nearly all of the environments discussed. On the other hand, words like *múna*, *tuloy*, *sána*, and *agad* occur in very few; and *uli* was not observed to occur in any of these environments.

5. Conclusion.

Enclitics occupy an important place in Filipino grammar. Their placement tends to identify and define sentence structure. And their behavior demonstrates the existence of some very strict rules, which in some cases seem to be inviolable. This is important in the psychological study of the language, and of language in general, inasmuch as speakers implement these rules with great if not total regularity in speaking, while being in most cases unaware, at a conscious level, of the rules' existence.

In this paper I have used a study of a Filipino corpus, using a computerized concordance, to demonstrate and confirm the existence of rules, many of which have been stated intuitively elsewhere. It should be emphasized that a zero in the tables in this paper means simply that a certain combination of words did not occur in the corpus of 1,000,000 words, not that that combination cannot occur. I'm sure that many readers can supply examples of sentences using the missing combinations. The point is: while native speaker intuition provides much valuable data, it is subject to error. And data supported by actual examples from text is stronger than data provided by intuition alone.

More work needs to be done, especially on the placement of enclitics when there are two or more competing enclitic positions in the sentence. Schachter and Otanes (1972, p. 429) classified enclitic adverbs in a range from words like *ba*, *kasi*, *kayâ*, and *man*, which are usually associated with a sentence as a whole, and generally appear in the first enclitic position; to words like *na* and *pa* (to which we might add the enclitic pronouns), which are more closely associated with particular words or constituents in the sentence, and accordingly appear in appropriate enclitic positions. Confirmation of this classification will require a more detailed study of the relevant data.

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