

BALANGAO NONVERBAL CLAUSE NUCLEI

JO SHETLER

MOST PHILIPPINE LANGUAGES DO NOT HAVE A WORD which closely parallels the English verb 'to be'. Even Tagalog *ay* is not a verb, since it is not inflected for tense and aspect. It is used in both verbal and nonverbal clauses only when the order of predicate and topic is reversed for topic emphasis, i.e., when topic precedes the predicate. Instead of a 'to be' verb, Philippine languages use nonverbal clauses to convey meanings of description, location, possession, and state.

In Balangao,¹ as in other Philippine languages, a nonverbal clause is distinguished from a verbal clause in that a verb phrase fills the predicate slot of a verbal clause while only a nonverbal phrase (e.g. a noun phrase) fills the predicate slot of a nonverbal clause. In addition, a nonverbal clause in Balangao has only two nuclear tagmemes while a verbal clause may have as many as five nuclear tagmemes.²

This paper describes the nuclei of nonverbal kernel constructions as well as their emphatic and negative derivations. We also introduce pronouns and noun phrases, since their functions can be seen in conjunction with the comparatively simple structure of nonverbal clauses, as opposed to the verbal clauses.

¹ The Balangao language is spoken by approximately 3,500 people living in Mountain Province, Luzon, Philippines. This description is based on data gathered by the author during residence in the barrio of Botac, municipality of Natonin, in the years 1962-1966, under the auspices of the Summer Institute of Linguistics.

The phonemes of Balangao are: p, t, k, q (glottal stop), b, d, g, h, m, n, ng, s, l, w, y, i, e, \dot{i} , \dot{a} , a, u, o, and word accent. The orthography used in this paper is the same except that /a/ and / \dot{a} / are symbolized by a; / \dot{i} / and / \dot{a} / are symbolized by *e*; word accent is not symbolized. For further data on the phonology, see J. Shetler, 'Balangao phonemes', Linguistic Circle of Canberra *Occasional papers* No. 8, 1-7 (1966); and Jo Shetler and Anne Fetzer Hopkins, 'The obscuring of word accent in Balangao', *Oceanic linguistics* 3.101-9 (1964).

Analysis was aided by a concordance of 115 pages of text in Balangao made on the IBM 1410 Computer at the University of Oklahoma by the Linguistic Information Retrieval Project of Summer Institute of Linguistics and the University of Oklahoma Research Institute, and sponsored by Grant GS-270 of the National Science Foundation.

The help of G. Richard Roe in analysis and editing is also gratefully acknowledged.

² We use a tagmemic approach, as described in the following: Kenneth L. Pike, *Language in relation to a unified theory of the structure of human behavior*, second rev. ed. (The Hague, 1967); Robert E. Longacre, *Grammar discovery procedures* (The Hague, 1964).

Nonverbal clause types are described under four headings: stative, possessive, existential, and identificational.³ Stative and existential clauses have obligatory cross referent pronouns when the topic is emphasized. Stative, possessive and identificational clauses are negated by nonverbal *beqen* occurring in the predicates. Stative, possessive, existential and identificational clauses have topic emphasis derivations. Stative, possessive and existential clauses may be transformed to identification clauses.

1. Tagmeme fillers

There are three sets of relator-axis phrases which occur in nonverbal clauses. They are displayed in chart 1.

			Relator	Axis
RA ₁	Pers	sg	<i>qah</i>	PN
		pl	<i>da</i>	Pro ₁
	Nonpers		<i>hen</i>	Dem ₁
				CN InCl Dem ₃
RA ₂	Pers	sg	<i>qah</i>	PN
		pl	<i>da</i>	Pro ₂
	Nonpers		<i>hen</i>	Dem ₂
				CN InCl
RA ₃			<i>qah</i>	CN (location, time only)
			<i>qah</i>	Dem ₃
			<i>hen</i>	

Chart 1. *Types of relator-axis phrases. Horizontal dimensions show distribution sets, with personal/nonpersonal contrasts. Verticle dimensions show fillers of relator and axis slots.*

RA₁ phrases fill the nonemphatic topic⁴ slot of nonverbal clauses. RA₂ phrases fill the emphatic topic slot of emphatic nonverbal clauses

³ For different analysis of nonverbal clauses in a related language, see Leonard E. Newell, 'Independent clause types of Batad Ifugao', *Oceanic linguistics* 3.177-99 (1964). See also Myra L. Barnard, 'Dibabawon nonverbal clauses', in Mario D. Zamora, ed., *Studies in Philippine anthropology (in honor of H. Otley Beyer)* 559-66 (Quezon City, 1967); Jeanne Miller, 'Nonverbal clauses in Mamanwa', *Pacific linguistics Occasional papers no. 14* (in press); Lawrence A. Reid, *An Ivatan syntax* 57-63 (*Oceanic linguistics* Special Publication no. 2, 1966). For a description from a transformation point of view, see Ernesto Constantino, 'The sentence patterns of twenty-six Philippine languages', *Lingua* 15.71-124.

⁴ Topic refers to what is usually called subject in English. We have reserved the word subject, however, to refer to the actor and causer in verbal clauses. Topic has the same manifesting set in both verbal and nonverbal clauses. For a description of topic in verbal clauses, see Jannette Forster, 'Dual structure of Dibabawon verbal clauses', *Oceanic linguistics* 3.28 (1964).

Note that nonverbal topic is described as having varying functions in Barnard (1967), *op. cit.* We do not feel that Balangao structure calls for setting up this apparatus.

and also the predicate slot of identificational clauses. The personal members of the RA₂ phrases fill the predicate slot of the personal identificational clause. RA₃ phrases fill the predicate slot of the location-time identificational clause.

PN is a personal noun phrase which may be the name of a person or any personalized animal. CN is a common noun phrase. InCl is an included clause which is a clause without a topic.

When a pronoun or a demonstrative occurs in the axis of an RA phrase, the relator is fused with the pronoun or demonstrative. Charts 2 and 3 show these pronouns and demonstratives fused with relators. A demonstrative may manifest a modifier tagmeme of the common noun phrase filling the phrase axis, i.e. *hen* may co-occur with a demonstrative in the manifestation of a phrase. The demonstrative may replace the relator, but either *hen* or the demonstrative must occur.

Pronoun₁ are enclitics, while pronoun₂ and all demonstratives are free forms.

Person	Pronoun ₁		Pronoun ₂	
	sg	pl	sg	pl
1	-aq	-qani	haqen	deqni
1, 2	-ta	-taaw	dita	ditaaw
2	-qa	-qayu	hega	deqyu
3	#	-da	hiya	dida

Chart 2. Sets of pronouns fused with relator particles. Horizontal dimensions show contrast in person. Verticle dimensions show distribution sets, each with a singular/plural contrast.

	Dem ₁		Dem ₂		Dem ₃	
	sg	pl	sg	pl	sg	pl
Gen	Here	to	dato	yato	danatto	qahto
	There	ha	daha	yaha	danaha	qahna
	Far	di	dadi	yadi	danaddi	qahdi
Spec	Here	qahnatto	danatto	hiyato	didato	qantoyan (qanto ⁵)
	There	qahnaha	danaha	hiyaha	didaha	qannayan
	Far	qahnadi	danaddi	hiyadi	didadi	qandiyan

Chart 3. Sets of demonstratives fused with relator particles. Horizontal dimensions show distance and degree of specificity. Verticle dimensions shows distribution sets and plurality.

⁵This form has no corresponding forms for 'there' and 'far'. It refers only to the speaker or to something the speaker is holding.

3. da fwami, qakayang -da
 ET: they Jo (PN) P_{st}: tall (st) CR: they (pro₁)
 'Jo and friends, they're tall.'
4. deqni qopat -ani
 ET: we (pro₂) P_{st}: four (number) CR: we (pro₁)
 'Us, we are four.'
5. yato, dakdakal to qangkay
 ET: this (dem₂) P_{st}: bigger (st) CR: this adj (dem₁)
 'This, it's bigger if you please.'

Negation of a stative clause occurs in the predicate with nonverbal negative *beqen*. When the clause topic is a pronoun, the pronoun is enclitic to the negative.

1. beqen duqal hen di diqaho
 P_{st}: neg many (st) T: the that dog
 'There are not many dogs.'
2. beqen -ani qopat
 P_{st}: neg T: us (pro₁) P_{st}: four (number)
 'There are not four of us.'
3. yate, beqen dakal to
 ET: this (dem₂) P_{st}: neg big (st) CR: this (dem₁)
 'This, it's not big.'

Possessive clause

+P_{po} poPh +T: RA₁ (With CN, InCl, Dem₁ axes)

The predicate of a possessive clause is filled by a possessive phrase which consists of *qawa* 'belonging' as head of the phrase plus an obligatory possessor tagmeme. The topic of this clause is filled by an RA₁ phrase in which the axis is filled by CN, InCl or dem₁.⁶

⁶ A possessive clause has been elicited in which the axis of the RA₁ filling topic is PN: *qawan Ani qah Juana* 'Juana is Ani's'; but the informant much preferred the possessive phrase, *Juanan Ani* 'Ani's Juana', to the clause construction. Likewise, a possessive clause has been elicited in which pro₂ (topic free form) fills topic: *qawan qapudyus deqyu* 'You are God's'; the informant preferred, however, to make this a possessive phrase rather than a possessive clause.

1. *qawan qandi hen quloh*
 P_{po} : belong that to-marry T: the blanket (CN)
 'The blanket belongs to the one being married.'
2. *qawataaw hen qandi qummali*
 P_{po} : belong-us T: the that came (InCl)
 'Ours is the one that came.'
3. *qawan qina ha*
 P_{po} : belong mother T: that (dem₁)
 'That one is mother's.'

The topic of the possessive clause may be emphasized by being transposed to prepredicate position. The emphasized topic is filled by RA₂. Final pause occurs following the transposed topic.

1. *hen quloh qawan qandi qomahawa*
 ET: the blanket (CN) P_{po} : belong that to-marry
 'The blanket is what belongs to the one marrying.'
2. *hen qandi qummali, qawataaw*
 ET: the that came (InCl) P_{po} : belong-us
 'That one that came, it is ours.'
3. *yaha, qawan qina*
 ET: that (dem₂) P_{po} : belong mother
 'That, it belongs to mother.'

Negation of possessive clause occurs in the predicate with nonverbal negative *beqen*.

1. *beqen qawan qandi qomahawa hen qandi quloh*
 P_{po} : neg belong that to-marry T: the that blanket (CN)
 'The blanket doesn't belong to the one being married.'

2. *hen qandi qummali, begen qawataaw*

ET : the that came (InCl) P : neg belong us
po

'That which came, it's not ours.'

3. *begen qawan qina ha*

P : neg belong mother T : that (dem₁)
po

'That is not mother.'

Existential clause

+P : Exis +T : RA₁
ex

The predicate of an existential clause is filled by an existential phrase of which there are two head fillers: *wada* 'there is' and *maqid* 'there is none'. The topic of the clause is filled by an RA₁ phrase.⁷

With existential *wada* occurring in the predicate slot, the relator of the topic filler is optional but usually present when the topic axis is filled by CN. With existential *maqid* occurring in the predicate slot, the relator of the topic filler is optional and usually absent when the axis is filled by CN or InCl. Personal relators *qah* and *da* are never optional.

1. *maqid tatagu way qibellig*

P_{ex} : none T : people of Barlig (CN)

'There are no Barlig people (here).'

2. *wada qah Padongol*

P_{ex} : is T : the Padongol (PN)

'Padongol is here.'

3. *wada hen diddatqo way qagah*

P_{ex} : is T : the give-I of medicine (InCl)

'There is medicine I'll give.'

⁷In the IBM 1410 concordance, study of 223 occurrences of *wada* showed that RA₃ manifested the topic in three instances. All three occurrences of RA₃ were in a subordinate clause introduced by *no* 'if'. *wada way* occurred 36 times. *way* is a ligature of attribution. The occurrence of RA₃ and *way* following *wada* are evidence of constructions which need further study, perhaps no sentence level.

4. *maqid* *-da*
 P_{ex} : none T: they (pro₁)
 'They are not here.'

5. *wada* *ha* *qan dequi*
 P_{ex} : is T: that to us (dem₁)
 'We have that.'

Topic of an existential clause may be emphasized by being transposed to prepredicate position. The emphasized topic is filled by RA₂. Nonfinal pause occurs following the emphasized topic and an obligatory cross referent slot, filled by pronoun₁, occurs following the predicate. When the emphasized topic is filled by a demonstrative, the cross referent is filled by a nonemphasis demonstrative (dem₁). The optional relators stated in the above paragraph are obligatory when topic is emphasized.

1. *hen* *qandiday tatagu,* *maqid* *-da*
 ET: the those people (CN) P_{ex} : none CR: they (pro₁)
 'Those people, they aren't here.'
2. *qah* *Padongol* *wada* *-#*
 ET: the Padongol (PN) P_{ex} : is CR: he (pro₁)
 'Padongol, he's here.'
3. *hen* *qiddatqo way qagah,* *wada* *-#*
 ET: the give-I of medicine (InCl) P_{ex} : is CR: it (pro₁)
 'The medicine I'll give, it's here.'
4. *Dida,* *maqid* *-da*
 ET: they (pro₂) P_{ex} : none CR: they (pro₁)
 'Them, they're not here.'
5. *Yaha,* *wada* *ha* *qan dequi*
 ET: that (dem₂) P_{ex} : is CR: that to us (dem₁)
 'That, we have that.'

Existential clauses are not negated with the nonverbal negative *beqen* because the existential *maqid* carries the idea of negation.

Identificational clauses. There are three kinds of identificational clauses: one kernel and two derived.

(1) Personal identification clause is kernel.

+P_{pid}: RA₂ (pro₂, dem₂, PN axes) +T: RA₁ (pro₁, dem₁, PN axes)

The filler of the predicate is RA₂ with PN, pronoun₂ or demonstrative₂ axis fillers; the filler of the topic slot is RA₁ with PN, pronoun, or demonstrative₁ axis fillers. RA₂ (PN + axis) + RA₁ (pro₁ axis) manifestation has been observed only in a question sentence:

qay qah Oscar -a
question P_{pid}: the Oscar T: you (pro₁)

'Are you Oscar?'

RA₂ (demonstrative axis) + RA₁ (pronoun, demonstrative axis) does not occur. Pronouns have been noted to occur in both slots. Both tagmemes, however, are manifested by pronoun₂:

no haqen heqa
if P_{pid}: I (pro₂) T: you (pro₂)

'If I were you . . .'

beqen heqa haqen
P_{pid}: neg you (pro₂) T: I (pro₂)

'You're not me.'

1. haqen qah Juan
P_{pid}: I (pro₂) T: the John

'I am John.'

2. Yaha ha Juan
P_{pid}: that (dem₂) T: the John

'That one is John.'

3. $\frac{qah \quad Juan}{P_{pid}} : \text{the John} \quad \frac{ha}{T} : \text{that (dem}_1)$
 'That is John.'
4. $\frac{dida}{P_{pid}} : \text{they (pro}_2) \quad \frac{ha}{T} : \text{that (dem}_1)$
 'That is they.'

The topic of a personal identificational clause cannot be emphasized. With the negative *beqen* the pronoun or demonstrative is always enclitic to the negative.

1. $\frac{beqen \quad haqen}{P_{pid}} : \text{neg I (pro}_2) \quad \frac{qah \quad Juan}{T} : \text{the John}$
 'I am not John.'
2. $\frac{beqen \quad -aq}{P_{pid}} : \text{neg T: I (pro}_1) \quad \frac{qah \quad Juan}{P_{pid}} : \text{the John}$
 'I am not John.'
3. $\frac{beqen \quad qah}{P_{pid}} : \text{neg the John} \quad \frac{to}{T} : \text{this (dem}_1)$
 'This isn't John.'

(2) There are two kinds of derived identificational clauses: identified topic clauses and location-time identified clauses.

(a) Identified topic clause.

+P_{idt} : RA₂ +T : RA₁

An identified topic clause is derived from nonverbal stative, possessive, and existential clauses and from any verbal clause. To form an identificational clause by derivation from another nonverbal clause kernel, the topic of the kernel clause becomes the predicate of the identificational clause. The predicate of the kernel clause in turn becomes the filler of the axis of a RA₁ phrase with *hen* relator. This RA₁ phrase then fills the topic slot of the identificational clause. To form an identificational clause by derivation from a verbal clause, the topic of the verbal clause becomes the predicate of the identificational clause. The

remainder of the verbal clause kernel, an InCl by definition, becomes the filler of the axis slot of a RA₁ phrase with *hen* relator, and the RA₁ phrase fills the topic slot of the identificational clause.

1. *hen di qaho hen qammag duqal*
P_{idt} : the that dog (CN) T: the adj many (st)

'It's the dogs that are so many.'

2. *deqni hen qopat*
P_{idt} : we (pro₂) T: the four (number)

'We're the ones that are four in number.'

3. *yaha hen qawan qina*
P_{idt} : that (dem₂) T: the belong mother (po)

'That is the one that belongs to mother.'

4. *qah Padongol hen wada*
P_{idt} : the Padongol (PN) T: the is (ex)

'Padongol is who is here.'

5. *loqto lawa hen dani qanen*
P_{idt} : camote adj (CN) T: the prog-we eat (verbal)

'Just camote is what we're eating.'

Identified topic emphasis derivation. Topic of an identificational clause may be emphasized by being transposed to prepredicate position. Nonfinal pause occurs following the transposed topic.

1. *hen qammag duqal, hen di qaho*
ET: the adj many (st) P_{idt} : the that dog

'What is so many is the dogs.'

2. *hen qopat, deqni*
ET: the four (number) P_{idt} : us

'The four, that's us.'

3. *hen qawataaw, hen qandi qummali*
 ET: the belong-us (po) P_{idt}: the that came
 'What is ours is that which came.'
4. *hen wada, hen bayah yanggay*
 ET: the is (ex) P_{idt}: the wine only
 'What there is is wine only.'
5. *hen qandi qumali qah wakas, qah Juan*
 ET: the that come the tomorrow (verbal) P_{idt}: the John
 'The one to come tomorrow is John.'

Negation of identificational clauses is a feature of the predicate and occurs with nonverbal negative *beqen*.

1. *beqen qah Jwami hen qandi qatteq*
 P_{idt}: neg the Jo T: the that short (st)
 'That short one isn't Jo.'
2. *beqen deqni hen qopat*
 P_{idt}: neg us T: the four (number)
 'It's not us that are four in number.'
3. *hen maqid, beqen hen qibellig*
 ET: the none (ex) P_{idt}: neg the Barlig-people
 'The ones not here, it's not the Barlig people.'
4. *beqen ha hen qawan qina*
 P_{idt}: neg that (Dem₁) T: the belong mother (po)
 'That is not the one that belongs to mother.'
5. *beqen loqto hen dani qanen*
 P_{idt}: neg camote (verbal) T: the prog-we eat
 'It's not camotes that we are eating.'

(b) Identified location-time clause.

+P_{idl} : RA₃ +T : RA₁ (restricted)

A location-time identified clause is derived from a stative, possessive, existential or a verbal clause.

When the location-time identified clause is derived from a verbal clause, the topic is filled by a location-time phrase in which the verb is inflected by *-an*.

<i>qad</i>	<i>qugga</i>	<i>hen</i>	<i>qummaliyanda</i>
P _{idl} : the yesterday		T : the coming-they	

'Yesterday was when they came.'

<i>qad</i>	<i>gawa</i>	<i>hen</i>	<i>qayanni</i>
P _{idl} : the central		T : the going-we	

'The central is where we are going.'

When the location-time identified clause is derived from an existential clause, the existential predicate does not occur in the topic of the identified clause.

<i>qanto</i>	<i>-ani</i>
P _{idl} : here (dem ₃)	T : (pro ₁)

'Here we are.'

<i>qandiyān</i>	<i>hen</i>	<i>qandi lansa</i>
P _{idl} : there (dem ₃)	T : the that nail	

'There is the nail.'

The CN axis filler of RA₃, predicate slot filler, is restricted in its occurrence. It cannot occur when the clause is derived from a stative clause. When the clause is derived from an existential clause only a limited class of possessed fillers can occur in the topic slot, e.g. *babley* 'barrio', *baley* 'house', *qalang* 'granary.'

<i>qad</i>	<i>Bataq</i>	<i>hen</i>	<i>bableyqo</i>
P _{idl} : the Botac		T : the barrio-my (ex)	

'Botac is my barrio.'

qad Gangab hen qaqalanggo
 P_{idl} : the Gangab (CN) T : the granaries-my (ex)

'Gangab is where my granaries are.'

Identified location-time clauses generally do not have emphatic derivations. Negation of this identificational clause is a feature of the predicate and occurs with nonverbal negative *beqen*. When *beqen* occurs with dem₃ in the predicate slot, particle *hen* must also occur. Topic pro₁ and dem₁ occur as enclitics to the negative.

1. beqen qad qugga hen qummaliyanda
 P_{idl} : neg the yesterday T : the came-they (verbal)

'It wasn't yesterday that they came.'

2. beqen -da di
 P_{idl} : neg T : they (pro₁) P_{idl} : there (dem₁) (ex)

'That isn't they there.'

3. beqen qad Bataq hen bableyqo
 P_{idl} : neg the Botac T : the barrio-my (ex)

'Botac isn't my barrio.'

4. beqen hen qantoyan hen qawan qina
 P_{idl} : neg the this-here T : the belong mother (po)

'This one isn't the one that belong to mother.'

5. beqen hen qantoyan hen qakayang way Melikano
 P_{idl} : neg the this-here T : the tall of American (st)

'This one isn't the tall American.'

Any identification clause becomes interrogative when the predicate is manifested by an interrogative particle.

*nokay*⁸ asks 'who, what' except when the verb of the topic is inflected with *-an*. *nokay* with *-an* asks 'when, where.'

⁸ {*nokay*} set includes *nokay*, occurring in the IBM concordance 42 times; *heno* occurring 31 times; and *henokay* occurring two times. All three forms are mutually substitutable.

{*duud*} set includes *duud* occurring 14 times in the concordance and *dokkay* occurring seven times. Forms are mutually substitutable.

duud asks 'where.' *kamana* asks 'when, how much, how many.'

1. *nokay* *-qayu*
 P_{pid} : who T : you (pro_1) (id) 'Who are you.'
2. *duud* *hen qawan qina*
 P_{idt} : where T : the belong mother (po) 'Where is mother's.'
3. *nokay* *hen qemey*
 P_{idt} : what T : the go (verbal) 'Who will go.'
4. *kamana* *hen qumaliyanda*
 P_{idl} : when T : the come-they (verbal) 'When will they come.'
5. *duud* *hen lansa*
 P_{idl} : where T : the nails (ex) 'Where are the nails.'
6. *kamana* *hen wada*
 P_{idt} : how many T : the is (ex) 'How many are there.'
7. *nokay* *hen duqal*
 P_{idt} : what T : the many (st) 'What is it that is many.'
8. *kamana* *-qayu*
 P_{idt} : how many T : you (number) 'How many of you are there.'