NUCLEAR NONPREDICATE TAGMEMES OF VERBAL CLAUSES IN BINUKID

Ursula Post
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0. Introduction
1. Slots
2. Classes of fillers
3. Slot-class correlations
4. Identification of tagmemes

0. Introduction. A nuclear nonpredicate tagmeme is a verbal clause tagmeme which can occur as the focus complement (i.e., as Topic) of the verb which manifests the obligatory Predicate tagmeme. (To date, verbs have been studied only in the intensive mode.) The definition of a tagmeme as 'the correlation of a grammatical function or slot with a class of mutually substitutable items occurring in that slot' is modified to read '...the correlation of a grammatical-situational slot...'

1. Slots. The nuclear grammatical slots of Subject (S), Object (O), Associate (A), and Referent (R) are correlated with the situational slots of causer (ca), actor (ac), goal (g), concomitant (con), site (si), beneficiary (be), location (lo), and direction (di). In the active voice, the grammatical and situational slots are correlated as follows: Subject-as-actor (Sac), Object-as-goal (Og), Associate-as-concomitant (Acon), Referent-as-site (Rsi), Referent-as-beneficiary (Rbe), Referent-as-location (Rlo), and Referent-as-direction (Rdi). In the causative voice, the correlation is as follows: Subject-as-causer (Sac), Associate-as-actor (Aac), and Associate-as-goal (Ag). The Associate-as-concomitant and Referent slot correlations are identical to those in the active voice.

2. Classes of fillers. The nuclear grammatical-situational slots are filled by Relator-Axis phrases or by pronouns.
2.1 The five distinctive Relator-Axis phrases (ReAxph) which differ from each other structurally by the classes manifesting the obligatory Relator (Re) and Axis (Ax) tagmemes are formulated as follows:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ReAxph}_1 &= + \text{Re}_1: \langle \text{si} \rangle^2 / \langle \text{hi} \rangle / \langle \text{ki} \rangle + \text{Ax}_1: \text{pn}_1 / \text{PN} \\
\text{ReAxph}_2 &= + \text{Re}_2: \langle \text{sa} \rangle / \langle \text{ku} \rangle + \text{Ax}_2: \text{n}_1 / \text{N}_1 \\
\text{ReAxph}_3 &= + \text{Re}_3: \langle \text{ku} \rangle + \text{Ax}_3: \text{n}_2 / \text{SpL} \\
\text{ReAxph}_4 &= + \text{Re}_4: \text{ta}_1 + \text{Ax}_4: \text{n}_1 / \text{SpL} / \langle \text{kanak} \rangle \\
\text{ReAxph}_5 &= + \text{Re}_5: \text{sa} / \text{ta}_2 + \text{Ax}_5: \langle \text{hai} \rangle / \text{DemDepCl}
\end{align*}
\]

2.2 The three distinctive set of pronouns are \( \langle a \rangle \), \( \langle ku \rangle \) and \( \langle kanak \rangle \).

3. **Slot-class correlations.** The nuclear clause level tagmemes can be manifested by either a personal phrase (ReAxph\(_1\)), a nonpersonal phrase (ReAxph\(_2\), ReAxph\(_3\), or ReAxph\(_4\)), a demonstrative phrase (ReAxph\(_5\)), or a pronoun.

3.1 **As Topic.** When in focus relationship with the verb, the clause level tagmemes are manifested by the \( \langle \text{si} \rangle \text{ReAxph}_1 \), the \( \langle \text{sa} \rangle \text{ReAxph}_2 \), the \( \text{saReAxph}_5 \), or the \( \langle a \rangle \) set of pronouns with the exception of the \( \text{R}_{10} \) tagmeme which cannot be manifested by a ReAxph\(_1\) or a pronoun.

3.2 **As Non-topic.** When not in focus relationship with the verb, the clause level tagmemes are manifested as follows:

- The \( \langle \text{hi} \rangle \text{ReAxph}_1 \) or the \( \langle \text{ku} \rangle \) set of pronouns manifest the Subject tagmeme. The \( \langle \text{ki} \rangle \text{ReAxph}_1 \) or the \( \langle \text{kanak} \rangle \) set of pronouns manifest all other tagmemes with the exception of the \( \text{R}_{10} \) tagmeme which cannot be manifested by either a ReAxph\(_1\) or a pronouns, and the \( \text{R}_{10} \) tagmeme which cannot be manifested by a pronoun.
The (hu)ReAxph$_2$ manifests the $S$, $O$, $A$, $R_{si}$, and $R_{be}$ tagmemes, the ReAxph$_3$ manifests the $R_{lo}$ tagmeme, and the ReAxph$_4$ the $R_{di}$ tagmeme.

The ta$_2$ReAxph$_5$ manifests all nuclear tagmemes.

4. Identification of tagmemes. Tagmemes which are ambiguously manifested by the same classes of fillers can be identified as $S$, $O$, $A$, and $R$ by focus transformation. Since there are four distinctive $R$ tagmemes, the particles para, duun, and (diyå) can be introduced preceding the Non-topic ReAxph or pronoun to mark the $R_{be}$', $R_{lo}$', and $R_{di}$ tagmemes respectively when ambiguities occur.

**Examples:**

3. 1. Agtigbas$_3$#hu badi hu kayu. ’He'll slash the
\underline{slash-Sf} \underline{he-S$_{ac}$/T} \underline{bolo-A$_{con}$/g} \underline{tree-O$_{g}$/T}’

Agtigbasen
\underline{slash-Of} \underline{he-S$_{ac}$/} \underline{bolo-A$_{con}$/g}

Igtigbas din sa badi.
\underline{slash-Af} \underline{he-S$_{ac}$/} \underline{bolo-A$_{con}$/T}

4. 2. Agsugba sa$^4$ha batå hu begas (para) kanay. ’This child
\underline{cook-Sf} \underline{child-S$_{ac}$/T} \underline{rice-O$_{g}$/} \underline{for-us-R$_{be}$/o}’

Agsugbahen tai ha batå sa begas (para) kanay.
\underline{cook-Of} \underline{child-S$_{ac}$/} \underline{rice-O$_{g}$/T} \underline{for-us-R$_{be}$/o}

Agsugbahan kay tai ha batå.
\underline{cook-Rf} \underline{for-us-R$_{be}$/T} \underline{child-S$_{ac}$/}

3. Agdayå sa batå hu batu tayå ha manuk.
\underline{throw at-Sf} \underline{child-S$_{ac}$/T} \underline{stone-A$_{con}$/} \underline{chicken-R$_{si}$/o}'
4. **Ag-antun** a hu wahig (duun) ku baung. 'I'll pour water into the cup'.

5. **Agsilhig** ka (dini) ta saeg tai ha kulahian. 'You sweep the floor with this broom'.

6. **Agsaluk** si Rosita hu wahig (para) kanak. 'Rosita dips the water out of the can with a coconut shell for me'.

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**Agdaghaan** hu batå hu batu sayå ha manuk.

**Igdaghå** hu batå sa batu.

**Ag-antunan** ku hu wahig su baung.

**Ig-antun** ku sa wahig (duun) ku baung.

**Agsilhigan** nu sa saeg tai ha kulahian.

**Igsilhig** nu sai ha kulahian.

**Agsalukan** hi Rosita sa wahig (para) kanak.
Agesalukan a dip out-Rf for me-R be/T Rosita-S ac water-R si hu wahig.

Agesalukan hi Rosita dip out-Rf Rosita-S ac water-R si sayan ha lata. from that can-R lo/T

Igesaluk hi Rosita dip out-Af Rosita-S ac sa luwag. coconut shell-A con/T

7. Active:

Ag-inum sa batå drink-Sf child-S ac/T water-O g hu wahig. 'The child will drink water'.

Ag-inumen hu batå drink-Of child-S ac water-O g/T sa wahig.

Causative:

Agpainum a drink-Sf I-S ca/T child-A ac water-A g hu batå hu wahig. 'I'll make the child drink water'.

Igpainum ku drink-Af I-S ca child-A ac/T water-A g sa batå hu wahig.

Igpainum ku drink-Af I-S ca child-A ac water-A g/T hu batå sa wahig.

8. Active:

Aghilelemhem sa manuk day (duun) hu mga impis din. set-Sf chicken-S ac/T on its eggs-R lo 'Our chicken will set on its eggs'.

Aghilelemhem man ak sa mga impis din. set-Rf chicken-S ac on its eggs-R lo/T

Causative:

Agpahilelemhem kay set-Sf we-S ca/T chicken-A ac on its eggs-R lo hu manuk day (duun) hu mga impis din.
'We'll have our chicken set on its eggs'.

Igphahilemhem day sa manuk day (duun) hu mga impis din.
set-Af we-Sca chicken-Aac/T on its eggs-Rlo

Aigphahilemheeman day hu manuk day sa mga impis din.
set-Rf we-Sca chicken-Aac on its eggs-Rlo/T

9. Active:

Agsambay si Juan hu wasay (para) kanay. 'Juan will borrow an axe for us'.
borrow-Sf John-Sac/T axe-Rsi for us-Rbe

Agsambayan hi Juan sa wasay (para) kanay.
borrow-Rf John-Sac axe-Rsi/T for us-Rbe

Agsambayan kay hi Juan hu wasay.
borrow-Rf for us-Rbe/T John-Sac axe-Rsi

Causative:

Apgasambay # ki Juan hu wasay (para) kanay. 'He'll have John borrow an axe for us'.
borrow-Sf he-Sca John-Aac axe-Rsi for us-Rbe

Igpaasambay din si Juan hu wasay (para) kanay.
borrow-Af he-Sca John-Aac/T axe-Rsi for us-Rbe

Aigpasambayan din ki Juan sa wasay.
borrow-Rf he-Sca John-Aac axe-Rsi/T

Aigpasambayan kay ki Juan hu wasay.
borrow-Rf for us-Rbe/T John-Aac axe-Rsi

10. Active:

Agtamped sai ha manghud ku hu buhuk ku. 'My younger sister will cut my hair'.
cut-Sf younger sister-Sac/T hair-Rsi

Agtampedan tai ha manghud ku sa buhuk ku.
cut-Rf younger sister-Sac hair-Rsi/T
Causative:

Agpatamped a tai ha manghud ku hu buhuk ku.
cut-Sf I-S ca/T younger sister-ac hair-R si

'I'll have my younger sister cut my hair'.

Igpatamped ku sai ha manghud ku hu buhuk ku.
cut-Af I-S ca younger sister-ac/T hair-R si

Agpatampedan ku tai ha manghud ku sa buhuk ku.
cut-Rf I-S ca younger sister-ac hair-R si/T
### I. Relator-axis phrases

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Grammatical</th>
<th>S</th>
<th>O</th>
<th>A</th>
<th>R</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Situational</td>
<td>Act</td>
<td>g</td>
<td>con</td>
<td>si</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pronoun</td>
<td>〈a〉</td>
<td>〈a〉</td>
<td>〈a〉</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| Personal ph       | 〈si〉
| Non-personal ph   | 〈sa〉
| Demonstrative ph  | sa5 | sa5 | sa5 | sa5 | sa5 |

### II. Nuclear tagmemes

The following symbolization is used:

- **pn** = personal noun
- **PN** = Personal Noun phrase
- **n** = non-personal noun
- **N** = Non-personal Noun phrase
- **SpL** = Specific Location phrase
- **DemDepCl** = Demonstrative Dependent Clause
- **T** = Topic
- **Sf** = subjective focus
- **Of** = objective focus
- **Af** = associative focus
- **Rf** = referential focus

**Relator particles:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Personal</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
<th>Non-personal</th>
<th>General</th>
<th>Specific</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>&lt;si&gt;</td>
<td>si</td>
<td>say</td>
<td>&lt;sa&gt;</td>
<td>sa</td>
<td>su</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt;hi&gt;</td>
<td>hi</td>
<td>hay</td>
<td>&lt;hu&gt;</td>
<td>hu</td>
<td>ku</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt;ki&gt;</td>
<td>ki</td>
<td>kay</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Directional particles:**

- <diyä> = dini 'here'
- diyä 'there'
- diyän 'there by you'

**Demonstratives:**

- <hai> = hai 'this'
- haini 'this here'
- hayä 'that far away'
- hayän 'that by you'
- haen 'that'

**Pronouns:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>&lt;a&gt;</th>
<th>&lt;ku&gt;</th>
<th>&lt;kanak&gt;</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>ku</td>
<td>kanak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd</td>
<td>ka</td>
<td>nu</td>
<td>ikaw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st and 2nd</td>
<td>ki</td>
<td>ta</td>
<td>kanit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd</td>
<td>#</td>
<td>din</td>
<td>kandin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st (incl.)</td>
<td>kay</td>
<td>day</td>
<td>kanay</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st (excl.)</td>
<td>kuy</td>
<td>taw</td>
<td>kanuy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd</td>
<td>kaw</td>
<td>nuy</td>
<td>inyu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd</td>
<td>sidan</td>
<td>dan</td>
<td>kandan</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
3 All examples are given in the non-past tense of the verb to ease the reader in comparison of the clauses.

4 The obligatory demonstrative of $Ax_5$ of the $ReAxph_5$ fuses with the $Re_5$ particle. (See 'The Phonology of Binukid', 2.23)