

CASE IN GA'DANG VERBAL CLAUSES

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PROLOGUE

This paper will show the use of case in Ga'dang verbal clauses, and show how it relates to the phenomenon often called 'focus' or 'topic-alization' in other descriptions of Philippine languages.¹ It is my belief that this analysis could be applied to many, perhaps all, other Philippine languages, because of the high degree of similarity.²

Before giving the analysis, an explanation is necessary of the view of language upon which it is based. Also, the terminology must be defined, since it is used in slightly different ways by different authors.

The view of language employed here is primarily a stratificational view.³ However, I do not believe that it is necessary to hold this view in order to apply the following analysis to another language. With minor modifications, this analysis could be used in a tagmemic or a transformational-generative description.

VIEW OF LANGUAGE

A language is a code or system. Gleason wrote, 'A language can be viewed as an apparatus for the transduction of information from one form to another.'⁴

Language is autonomous and self-contained, but 'while cleanly delimited, it is not isolated. Rather, a language has essential contacts across at least two regions of its boundary, one with sound and one with the vast range of phenomena which can be labelled broadly as experience.'⁵ Gleason calls the two regions of contact with extralinguistic phenomena 'interfaces'. The way one envisions the two interfaces of a language is unimportant. A convention among grammarians of the stratificational species has been to diagram a language with the boundary facing experience at the top and the boundary facing speech or sound at the bottom (see fig.1).

Just inside the language system next to the boundary facing experience is the component, or stratum, of the language labelled semology. And at the other end is the stratum labelled phonology.⁶ This much is fairly standardized, but there is a noticeable lack of agreement among proponents of the theory as to the number and nature of strata between.

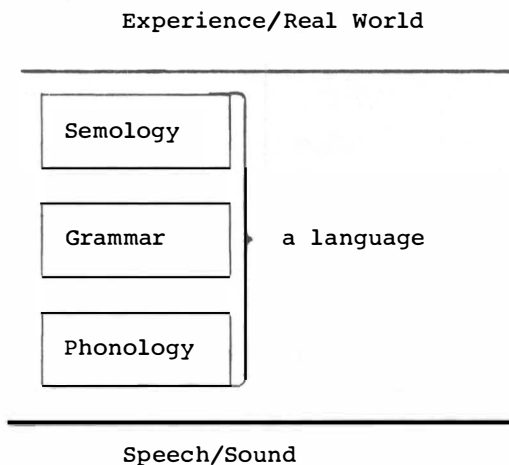
My own feeling is that real languages reflect just one stratum between semology and phonology.⁷ I am calling this stratum - grammar. The minimal units of this stratum are morphemes.⁸ But the grammatical stratum includes grammar even at the discourse level.⁹ The system of this stratum performs such tasks as linear ordering of the elements, affixation, etc.

In the semological component, there are networks of relationships, with no linear ordering.

Figure 1 is a very simplified representation, not intended to add to or alter anyone's theory, but only to show the concept employed in the following analysis.

FIGURE 1

Diagram of theoretical concept used here.



1. INTRODUCTION

1.0. TERMINOLOGY

The traditional terms 'subject' and 'case', and the more recent term 'situational role' are crucial to the understanding of the analysis in this paper. Different linguists have used these terms to mean quite different things, especially in writings about Philippine languages. Therefore, I will define the terms as they are used in this paper.

1.1. THE TERM 'SUBJECT'

In descriptions of Philippine grammars during the past two decades, the terms 'focus' and 'topic' have been used to refer to that unique 'focus-activity relation' characteristic of Philippine languages.¹⁰ However, in a recent article entitled 'Subject versus Topic', Howard McKaughan has renounced his earlier choice of the term 'topic' in favour of the term 'subject'.¹¹ The term 'subject' was traditional before the 'focus, topic' era. Most writers in recent years have followed Alan Healey's usage of 'focus' to refer to the focus-activity relation, and McKaughan's former usage of 'topic' to refer to the nominal complement which is in focus in any clause. But some linguists have persisted in using the traditional term 'subject' in describing Philippine grammars.¹²

McKaughan observed that recent developments in linguistic theory have emphasized the universality of certain case relationships between verbs and their nominal complements.¹³ During the 'focus, topic' era, topics of clauses were sometimes called subject, sometimes object, sometimes other things depending on whether their roles were actor, patient, or something else. McKaughan now views these as different case relationships. Therefore he has now chosen 'to recognize as subject of the sentence that complement which corresponds to the grammatical subject, rather than limiting the term to the logical 'subject.' The idea of 'logical subject' is from Halliday, who suggested that the 'logical subject is the actor', and it is distinct from the grammatical subject.¹⁴

Perhaps it was the notion that actor is the logical subject that has prompted analysts of Philippine grammars to label certain clauses 'subject-focus' when it is the actor that is the 'topic', 'object-focus' when a patient is 'topic', and so on. In this paper the term 'topic' will not be used, and 'subject' will always refer to the grammatical subject.

Examples from Ga'dang:

Inang ino eroplano se Bananao.

Went THE AIRPLANE to Bananao.

In this example the airplane is the grammatical subject and it is the actor.

Ga'bungan ku ino ifut na uwaw.

I'll cut off THE TAIL OF THE MONKEY.

In this clause the tail is the grammatical subject, and it is the patient, the thing affected.

1.2. THE TERMS 'SITUATIONAL ROLE' AND 'CASE'

This paper will demonstrate an analysis that McKaughan suggested in the penultimate paragraph of 'Subject versus Topic'. There he said 'I am not prepared yet to go all the way and talk of active and passive for Philippine languages, since I believe the case system marked in the verb for the subject-verb underlying relations covers this aspect of the language'.¹⁵ This paper will describe the case system marked by verbal affixes which show the subject-verb underlying relations in Ga'dang. It will also describe how the case system is marked in other ways to show the underlying relations between the verb and nominal complements other than subject.

It was probably dissatisfaction with the 'active' and 'passive' classifications of subjects of clauses that led to the widespread usage of 'focus' and 'topic'. The 'active, passive' dichotomy is not as satisfactory in describing a Philippine grammar as it is for English grammar. So I believe analysts were not wrong to drop the traditional terms 'active' and 'passive' in favour of more descriptive terms.

McKaughan said, 'I am prepared now to discuss the affixes in the verb with the name 'case''.¹⁶ In the past four years, several authors have used 'case' and 'situational roles' in analysing clauses in Philippine languages.¹⁷ However, most of these authors attempt different areas of analysis, and there is a great deal of overlap and ambiguity in the use of the terms 'semantics', 'semantic role', 'situational role', and 'case'.

I would like to use the terms 'situational role' and 'case' defined as follows.

The dramatis personae and any other elements of a real world event or situation have SITUATIONAL ROLES. These situational roles are etic data, not a part of any language.¹⁸ The elements of an event have these roles whether or not the event is observed or commented about by a human.

It is only as some features of the event are abstracted by a human observer that the elements of the event come to be in a CASE relationship to each other. Whether or not that human vocalizes what he has consciously observed, the semological component of his language apparatus will put the abstracted features into an emic arrangement.

There is a great number of real world situational roles. Some authors have grouped many similar ones under several generic labels. A universal feature of languages is that they group these roles into a small set of case relationships. These groupings are sememes.¹⁹ The case sememes are not the same in all languages. We may expect much similarity because each language has only a small set of case sememes, and all

possible situational roles will be encoded by one of the cases.

Each case sememe is a semological unit, the etic variants of which are real world situational roles. (See examples under 3.2.) There can be overlap of the etic variants (i.e. two nouns may be marked respectively by an Accusative case marker and a Dative case marker, but both appear to have the same situational role of 'patient'), but probably there is less overlap than a linguist would initially suspect as he begins to analyse a grammar. Much of the seeming overlap of situational roles is probably the result of the investigator mistakenly examining the data 'through the spectacles of' the case sememes of his native language.

Different authors have given us a number of possible labels for roles (Langendoen, 1970 and Grimes, 1972). Others have used some of the same labels for what they call 'case relationships' (Chafe, 1970b). I believe it is important that we use these labels to refer only to situational roles. Further, we should bear in mind that these are arbitrary labels for groups of roles sharing some components. One should not try to apply these labels to a language being analysed, but rather should observe the case system of the language itself to see how that system groups the many situational roles. For example, if one expects the role of 'patient' (i.e. person or thing affected by an action; may be changed or moved) to correspond to one case in the language being analysed, then one may be confused by three different morphemes which seem to mark case, but occur respectively with three different nouns, all of which seem to be 'patients' in the real world events being spoken of.²⁰ In Ga'dang, the 'patient' role of the above definition could be Accusative, Dative, or Positional case. Conversely, 'actor' and 'experiencer' roles can both be nominative case in Ga'dang. (See 3.2.1.-3.2.4.).

2. IDENTIFYING CASE SEMEMES

Fillmore has suggested that, given the surface structure of the inflection system of a language, 'the descriptive task is to identify the surface case forms that are distinct from each other in the language and to associate "case functions" with each of these.'²¹

I propose the following paraphrase. 'The descriptive task is to identify the case sememes by observing their grammatical realizations, and associate their etic variants (i.e. various situational roles) with each of them.' The grammatical realizations of the case sememes may be case-marking morphemes, ordering of the elements of a clause, or whatever other device the grammar uses to encode the case sememes.

Fillmore is aware of the fact that a case relationship emic to a specific language has etic variants, although he does not view it through the etic-emic concept. In the same paragraph as the above quote he says 'the various "functions" of the "ablative/abessive" suffix -m are not interpreted as giving evidence that several distinct cases merely happen to be homophonous'.²² Observing the same phenomena through a different theoretical model, one would say that the various 'functions' of the 'ablative/abessive' suffix -m (or, to substitute a common Philippine example, the 'positional' prefix i-) show that the case sememe which is realized by that affix has several etic variants in the real world.

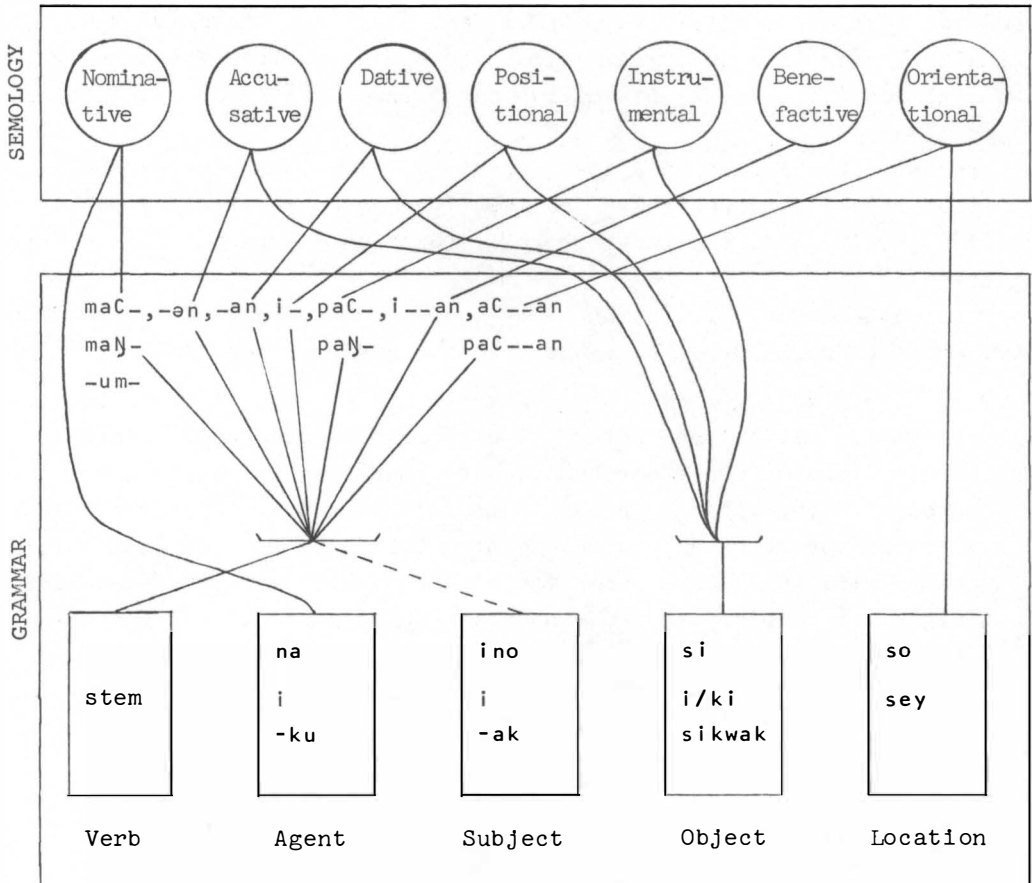
3. CASE IN GA'DANG

3.0. There are seven cases identifiable in Ga'dang verbal clauses.²³ The cases of all nominal complements are overtly marked, except in the grammatical object slot, where the four cases which can occur are neutrally marked. Each case occurs only once in a simple verbal clause.²⁴

Figure 2 shows the seven case sememes and their morphemic realizations. The morphemes listed are not the only ones; they represent sets of morphemes.²⁵

FIGURE 2

The morphemic realizations of Ga'dang case sememes.²⁶



3.1. The most common shape of verbal clauses in Ga'dang is 'Verb + Subject'. If the subject is something other than agent, the usual shape is 'Verb + Agent + Subject'.

The grammatical slots 'Object' and 'Location' are relatively infrequent. Often if a noun in Accusative, Dative, Positional, Instrumental, or Orientational case is important enough to be mentioned, it is made the Subject of the clause. (For example, this would be a noun signalling some item in a real world event, an item with a situational role such as patient, range, direction, instrument, or location.)

3.2. In this section the seven case sememes are exemplified. Only in the Subject grammatical slot are all seven cases realized. The subject slot is introduced by ino set, which gives no indication regarding the

case. It is the case-marking affix on the verb which shows the case of the Subject, as in many, if not all Philippine languages (McKaughan, 1973: 212).

'Agent' and 'Location' grammatical slots are introduced by *na* set and *so* set, respectively (see 3.2.1. and 3.2.7.). These two sets simultaneously introduce grammatical slots and realize case sememes. *Na* realizes (i.e. marks) nominative case, and *so* realizes orientational case.

The *si* set also has this dual function. *Si* set introduces the grammatical object, and neutrally realizes four case sememes, Accusative, Dative, Positional, and Instrumental. (Section 4 explains this neutralization)

The case-marking affixation on the verb does not give any clue about the cases of nouns other than those in the Subject slot.

3.2.1. The NOMINATIVE case sememe has the etic variants of 'actor' or 'experiencer' situational roles. The nominative case sememe is alternately realized by three morphemes, *maC-*, *maŋ-*, *-um-*. Informant responses indicate that there are some selectional restrictions, but I have not as yet been able to define them for Ga'dang. One observation is that *-um-* is used often when one wishes to give a polite response, and signals a role of actor-of-an-action-which-partially-affects-a-patient.

Examples of nouns in nominative case filling the Subject grammatical slot.

Malletratuwak si lakay.

MaC- photograph -ak the old-man.

I'll take a picture of the old man. (Subj. is actor).

Matturuwak so tangnganaw.

MaC- sleep -ak at midday.

I'll sleep at noon. (Subject is experiencer)

Manalipak na to tangnganaw.

Maŋ- dance -ak future this noon.

I'll dance this noon.

Mango'lakak si ayog.

Maŋ- split -ak the coconut.

I'll split the coconut.

Dumalingkunak abbu busang.

-um- tidy -ak please little.

Just let me tidy up a little.

Bumasak abbu busang, kaseta na manaw.
 -um- read -ak please little, then we future depart.
 I'll just read a little, and then we'll go.

Examples of Agent grammatical slot, which is always nominative case.

Sinabassan na tolay ino umara.
 Mowed-an na person ino field-theirs.
 The man mowed his field. (Field is the Subject)

Aragadiyangku ino kayuna.
 Saw-an I ino wood-his.
 I'll saw his wood. (Wood is the Subject)

3.2.2. In the ACCUSATIVE case, the noun is related to the verb as some kind of patient.

(a) patient-that-gets-changed-in-shape

Bækkænno ino gafa.
 Break-æn you ino jar.
 Break THE JAR.²⁷

Dari'dipænno ino danggu.
 Slice -æn you ino onion.
 Slice THE ONION.

(b) patient-that-gets-moved-by-the-action

Bæssinænno ino abat.
 Hang -æn you ino bananas.
 Hang up THE BANANAS.

Dæssænno ino atap.
 Lower-æn you ino roof.
 Lower THE ROOF. (i.e. lift it down to the ground)

(c) patient-that-is-prevented-from-moving

Tænggællænno ino daffug.
 Hold -æn you ino carabao.
 Hold THE CARABAO. (i.e. hold its tether-rope)

Dæ'dækkænno ino papel.
 Weight-æn you ino paper.
 Weight down THE PAPER.

(d) patient-that-gets-travelled-over

Kaltayænno ino aweg.
 Cross-æn you ino brook.
 Cross THE BROOK.

Dammangənnu ino danum.
Cross-an you ino water.,
Go over to the far side of THE RIVER.

There are many other kinds of patients which are also in the accusative case, such as something swallowed, something harvested, something believed, someone startled, or someone spoken to.

3.2.3. In the DATIVE case, the noun is related to the verb as range where the action takes place or as something to which the action is done but which remains virtually unaffected.²⁸

(a) range or site

Mulannu ino gardin mi si gassilang.
Plant-an you ino garden ours si yams.
Plant OUR GARDEN with yams.

Tabəssannu ino umam.
Mow -an you ino field-yours.
Mow YOUR FIELD.

(b) patient-that-does-not-get-changed-or-moved

Si'gutannu ino bafuy.
Tie -an you ino pig.
Tie up THE FIG.

(c) partially-affected-patient. If a Ga'dang speaker wishes to make a contrast regarding the degree of effect that an action has on a thing, he will use Accusative case for anything extensively affected, and Dative case for anything minimally affected.

Aragadiyannu ino kayu.
Saw -an you ino wood.
Saw THE WOOD. (i.e. saw off just a little bit)

Inumannu ino kafena.
Drink-an you ino coffee-his.
Drink HIS COFFEE. (i.e. just sip at it)

3.2.4. In the positional case, the noun is related to the verb as something positioned, moved, re-directed, something that accompanies or is used in the course of an action.²⁹

(a) one thing positioned to another (i.e. moved toward)

Iyekwam ino aggik so miyaw.
i-put you ino rice so winnower.
Put THE RICE in the winnowing basket.

Ammem ipotun ino batu so i'lug.
Not-you i-set on ino stone so eggs.
Don't put THE STONE on the eggs.

- (b) something that accompanies

Ibulunnu na i Toby.
i-accompany you i Toby.
Go with TOBY.

Itolim ino sinakom.
i-return you ino stole you.
Take back WHAT YOU STOLE.

- (c) one thing moved away from another

Idassangngu ino kargok so tarak.
i-lower you ino cargo-mine so truck.
Lower MY CARGO from the truck.

The *i-* prefix at times signals a situational role of patient, with no hint of a 'positioning' meaning. This and a few other rare usages are idiomatic and not predictable. Positional case is the one used for most idiomatic or unusual comments, or unique combinations of situational roles that do not fit neatly in the regular case sememes.

- (d) patient

Iyufukku ino lapisku.
i-use up I ino pencil-mine.
I'll use up MY PENCIL.

Iletwannu ino ari?
i-topple you ino post?
Did you push over THE POST?

- (e) instrument

Itabasnu ino tabasna.
i-scythe you ino scythe-his.
Cut grass with HIS GRASS KNIFE.

Igabbak ino palatom si kayu.
i-fall I ino bolo-yours si tree.
I'll cut down the tree with YOUR BOLO.

3.2.5. In the INSTRUMENTAL case, the noun is related to the verb as the instrument or implement used to perform the action.

Palletratuk ino kamera sikwam.
paC- photograph I ino camera you.
I'll use THE CAMERA to take a picture of you.

Palla'gakku ino gansa si tolayira.
 paC- *startle I ino gong si people.*
I'll use THE GONG to startle people.

Paffurituk ino mantika si laman.
 paC- *fry I ino oil si meat.*
I'll use THE OIL to fry the meat.

3.2.6. In the BENEFACTIVE case, the noun is related to the verb as the the one-for-whom-the-action-is-performed by the agent. The beneficiary must be animate, usually a human being.

Ibasannu i Toby si leburu.
 i-*read-an you i Toby si book.*
Read the book to TOBY.

Illetratuwangku i Juami.
 i-*photograph-an I i Juami.*
I'll take pictures for JUAMI.

Imulannu ino bakat si gassilang.
 i-*plant-an you ino old lady si yams.*
Plant yams for the OLD LADY.

3.2.7. In the ORIENTATIONAL case, the noun is related to the verb as location, either spatial or temporal. The morphemes realizing this case are paC--an and aC--an (sometimes interchangeable) when the noun is in the Subject slot, or so when the noun is in Location slot.

Examples in Subject slot.

(a) spatial location

Palletratuwangku ino kwarto.
 paC-*photograph-an I ino room.*
I take pictures in THE ROOM.

Palla'gatangku ino dalan si abbing.
 paC-*startle-an I ino road si children.*
I startle children at THE TRAIL.

(b) temporal location

Mangalintatu ino alletratuwangku.
 Noon ino aC-*photograph-an I.*
NOON is when I take pictures.

Affurituwannu ino gigi'bat.
 aC-*fry-an you ino early morning.*
EARLY MORNING is when you fry (something).

Examples in Location slot.

(a) spatial location

Mabbasak so kosina.

maC-read I so kitchen.

I'll read in the kitchen.

Massinnunak se balera ina.

maC-cloth I se house-theirs mother.

I'll weave at mother's house.

(b) temporal location

Nakkangku ino uwaw so da'bu

I ate ino monkey so while ago.

I ate the moneky a while ago.

Nansekkamman so gafi.

Nominative-fit-you-again so night.

You took a fit again last night.

3.3. There is one other case relationship which functions differently from the seven exemplified under 3.2. It is 'causative', realized by the prefix *pa-*, but it cannot appear except with another case. It is best viewed as a complex predicate, which 'does not change the case relationship of the base, it simply adds a case element of its own, i.e. instigating cause' (Lou Hohulin, 1971: 25).

3.4. The real world event of tying a pig yields nice examples of six of the seven possible cases as Subject.

NOMINATIVE: Mani'gutak si bafuy.

maŋ-tie I si pig.

I tie up the pig. 'I' is the Subject and the actor.

The roles of other items are not specified.

ACCUSATIVE: The verb *si'gut* yields no clause with an Accusative Subject, probably because nothing is changed in shape or similarly affected by the action of tying.

DATIVE: Si'gutannu ino bafuy.

Tie-an you ino pig.

Tie the pig. 'Pig' is Subject, 'you' is Agent. The use of dative case specifies that the actor is tying something (rope, chain, piece of rattan) onto the pig. The pig is the range where the action takes place.

POSITIONAL: Isi'gu'nu ino bafuy so ari.
 i-tie you ino pig so post.
 Tie the pig to the post.

'Pig' is the Subject, 'post' is the Location, 'you' is the Agent. Positional case specifies that the pig is being positioned to the post. The pig already has a rope on, which the actor will tie to the post.

INSTRUMENTAL: Pani'gu'nu ino lufid.
 paN-tie you ino rope.
 Use the rope to tie.

'Rope' is the Subject, 'you' is the Agent. Other participants are unspecified.

BENEFACTIVE: Isi'gutannu ino lakay si bafuy.
 i-tie-an you ino old-man si pig.
 Tie the pig for the OLD MAN.

Participants:	you	old man	pig
Case:	nominative	benefactive	dative
Gram. slot:	Agent	Subject	Object
Sit. role:	actor	beneficiary	range

ORIENTATIONAL: Passi'gutanku ino ari.
 paC-tie-an I ino post.
 THE POST is where I'll tie (something).

'I' is the Agent, 'post' is the Subject. Two other participants are implied, a patient (probably an animal), and an implement (probably a rope), but it would be unnatural in Ga'dang to overtly specify either of these in an Orientational-Subject clause.

The above ordering of the case sememes (identical to the left-to-right ordering in Figure 2) is, as nearly as I can determine, the order of frequency of use in Ga'dang. Nominative-Subject clauses are the most frequent, Accusative-Subject clauses are next, and they are about twice as frequent as Dative-Subject clauses. Positional-Subject and Dative-Subject are very close. The last three on the list are extremely rare.

4. THE NEUTRALIZATION OF FOUR CASES IN OBJECT SLOT.

4.0. The evidence showing that four case sememes are neutralized morphemically (i.e. four contrastive semological units realized by one morpheme; the contrast is neutralized) is that nouns occurring in the Object slot, when subjectivalized (McKaughan, 1973), may be in either Accusative, Dative, Positional, or Instrumental case.

The following pairs of transforms show that *si* realizes four cases. The first clause of each pair has a noun introduced by *si*. The second clause of each pair has been transformed so that the noun is in the Subject slot, introduced by *ino*. The case marking affix on the verb then shows the case of the noun.

4.1. ACCUSATIVE CASE

- (a) Mallutuwak *si* uwaw.
 maC-cook I *si* monkey.
I'll cook the monkey

Lutungku *ino* uwaw.
 Cook-ən I *ino* monkey.
I'll cook THE MONKEY.

- (b) Mattabasak *si* kəddət.
 maC-mow I *si* grass.
I'll mow the grass.

Tabasəngku *ino* kəddət.
 Mow-ən I *ino* grass.
I'll mow THE GRASS.

4.2. DATIVE CASE

- (a) Mabbukkatak *si* sardinat.
 maC-open I *si* sardines.
I'll open the sardines.

Bukkatangku *ino* sardinat.
 Open-ən I *ino* sardines.
I'll open THE SARDINES.

- (b) Massiratak *si* da'lap.
 maC-sweep I *si* floor.
I'll sweep the floor.

Siratangku *ino* da'lap.
 Sweep-ən I *ino* floor.
I'll sweep THE FLOOR.

4.3. POSITIONAL CASE

- (a) Mabbukkatak *si* sawang.
 maC-open I *si* window.
I'll open the window.

lbukkakku ino sawang.
i-open I ino window.
I'll open THE WINDOW.

- (b) Mattallarak si tudda.
 maC-boil I si rice.
I'll boil the rice.

ltallaggu ino tudda.
i-boil I ino rice.
I'll boil THE RICE. (i.e. by putting it on the fire)

4.4. INSTRUMENTAL CASE

- (a) Massiratak si akaw.
 maC-sweep I si straw.
I'll sweep with the straw.

Passirakku ino akaw.
 paC-sweep I ino straw.
I'll use THE STRAW to sweep.

- (b) Bukkatannu ino sardinat si ilap.
Open-an you ino sardines si knife.
Open THE SARDINES with the knife.

Pabbukka'nu ino ilap si sardinat.
 paC-open you ino knife si sardines.
Use THE KNIFE to open the sardines.

4.5. The implement is allowed as grammatical Object when the Subject is Dative or Accusative. If the Subject is Nominative case, it seems awkward to a Ga'dang to have the implement as the Object. A patient or range of the action is a more natural Object. However, once patient or range has been mentioned, si can be used a second time to introduce an implement.

If the noun is obviously the implement, not possibly the patient or range, then it is permissible to have it as the only Object, even in a Nominative-Subject clause.

e.g. Maggadwak si tapaya si palataw.
I'll cut-in-half the papaya with the bolo.

When both the patient and implement occur as Objects, patient is first. However, in this case, the patient may be omitted, since bolo is obviously the implement, not possibly a patient of the action of cutting-in-half.

e.g. Maggadwak si palataw.

I'll cut-in-half (something) with the bolo.

5. CONCLUSION

It is apparent and reasonable that the meaning of the verb stem will limit the possible situational roles of the participants of that action. For example, if the stem means 'to slice', then the patient will of course be changed in shape. And if the stem means 'to lower' or 'to hang up', then the patient will be changed in position.

This observation points out that the case-markers affixed to verbs have no meaning in themselves, except to show the case relationship of the Subject to the verb (likewise the case-markers which are not affixed to verbs).

An attempt to attribute meanings to the case-marking verbal affixes leads the investigator to examining the verb stems that occur with that affix, sorting the stems into semantic sets, and extracting the common component of meaning of each set of stems. This component of meaning would then be erroneously attributed to the verbal affix. The inescapable conclusion is that at least some of the case-marking affixes have several meanings.

It is better to posit that each case sememe signals just one kind of relationship. The meanings of certain verb stems can restrict the possible case relationships between participants (i.e. their grammatical realizations - nouns) and the verb. Some verbs disqualify certain case relationships (as in 3.4, Accusative case) because the meaning of the verb stem and the relationship signalled by the case-marking affix are not compatible. Other verbs restrict the decoding (i.e. interpretation) of a case sememe to a particular one of its real world variants.

For example, 'sleep' in Ga'dang can have a Subject which is Nominative case, but not Accusative or Instrumental. And the Nominative will have the variant of EXPERIENCER situational role, rather than actor.

A verb-stem-classification analysis may not lead one to the emic cases. It points out the etic situational roles, but the same 'situational role' (or ones that have been labelled the same by the investigator) may appear with verbs having different affixes.

For example, 'coffee' might be labelled a patient by an analyst making up a 'role frame' for the verb 'to drink'. Then the analyst would likely say that either -ən or -an can denote patient, but be forced to point out that to 'drink-ən the coffee' means to drink it all, and to 'drink-an the coffee' means drink part of it.

A case-analysis approach would have shown that *-ən* signals the Accusative case (i.e. the noun is some kind of patient of the action), and *-an* the Dative case (i.e. the noun is the range). So 'drink-ən the coffee' means drink the coffee, and 'drink-an the coffee' means drink at the coffee (i.e. sip at it).

A verb-stem classification based on 'role frames' will give considerable insight into the system of the language, but will not give a learner of the language a very good system of predicting which affixes are used with which stem, unless he learns all the classes of verb stems, and most of their members (probably an impossible task).

On the other hand, getting a good grasp of the case sememes will enable the learner to predict the correct affix to a verb stem in most instances. There are idiomatic usages which are unpredictable and must be learned individually.

N O T E S

1. Ga'dang is the language spoken by about 6,000 people in and around the municipality of Paracelis, Mountain Province, Philippines. Ga'dang is a member of the Ibanagic group of languages of Northeastern Luzon.

The data for this paper were gathered under the auspices of the Summer Institute of Linguistics between 1973 and 1975, while the author and family lived in Bananao, a part of Paracelis. The principal language assistant was Mr. Juan Domingo of Bananao, for whose help I am very grateful. I am indebted to Lester and Madeline Troyer, also members of the Summer Institute of Linguistics, who lived in the same area between 1957 and 1965, and who recorded and analysed much of the Ga'dang grammar and lexicon.

Special thanks are due to G. Richard Roe for sharing his valuable insights regarding Philippine grammars.

The phonemes of Ga'dang are i, e, ə, a, o, u, p, t, k, b, d, g, f, s, m, n, ng, l, r, w, y, and glottal stop written '. Glottal stop always begins words if no other initial consonant is present, but it is unwritten in that position.

2. All Philippine languages share many grammatical and phonological features. Two recent analyses of verbal affixes which share some features with this analysis are Anne West's (1973) on Ifugao and D. Lee Ballard's (1974) on Inibaloi.

3. For an introduction to stratificational grammar, see H.A. Gleason Jr. (1964), or Sydney Lamb (1966).

4. H.A. Gleason Jr. (1964:75).

5. H.A. Gleason Jr. (1964:76). In footnote 2 Gleason suggests there is a third contact point for some languages, namely with writing. This seems less important to me in that it represents the sound system.
6. Semology is the stratum pertaining to units of meaning and their arrangements in a language; phonology pertains to units of sound and their arrangements.
7. A three-stratal view is more compatible with other popular linguistic theories, such as tagmemics with its 'tri-modal structure', and somewhat similarly, transformational-generative with its 'deep structure, surface structure', and something akin to phonology of stratificational theory.
8. Some proponents of stratificational theory have suggested that there are no units within the system, only networks and relationships. But this is difficult to defend. It is easier to talk about languages if we posit different kinds of units in the different strata.
9. The size of the construction does not determine the stratum to which it belongs.
10. Lawrence A. Reid, (1966). See pages 9-11, including footnotes, for the origins of these terms.
11. Howard McKaughan. (1973).
12. Lawrence A. Reid. (1966:11, footnote 27).
13. McKaughan is referring particularly to Fillmore (1966, 1968).
14. Howard McKaughan. (1973:208).
15. Howard McKaughan. (1973:212). McKaughan refers to Bloomfield's (1942) use of 'active, passive' on page 206. There he expresses dissatisfaction with the terms as applied to Philippine languages.
16. Howard McKaughan. (1973:211).
17. Such as Ashley (1973), Ballard (1974), Draper (1972), Hohulin (1971), and West (1973).

18. K.L. Pike. (1967:246, note 14) speaking about discourse analysis, says, 'We are now (see Pike 1964d) trying to follow the flow of dramatis personae, and of other situational roles in the real world (action, time, location, etc.) through a discourse'. And, further, 'From the viewpoint of the tale as a whole... the dramatis personae remain invariant,' even though they might appear in different grammatical slots in the discourse.
19. H.A. Gleason Jr. (1964:82). He suggests that 'sememes are often the semologic units which can be thought of as standing behind "words".' But he also expects to find other kinds of sememes: 'We can expect, in due course, to identify a variety of units and understand the hierarchy that exists among them.'
20. This definition of 'patient' is a paraphrase of Grimes (1972:148). Chafe (1970b) gives a similar definition of 'patient': 'that to which it (i.e. some action) is done'.
21. Charles J. Fillmore. (1968:9)
22. Charles J. Fillmore. (1968:8,9). This example is taken from Redden's (1966) work on Walapai.
23. The cases observed so far in Ga'dang non-verbal clauses are possessive, equative, and attributive. I have not given examples of these in this paper, since the primary emphasis is on the case-markers affixed to verbs. In fact, I am still ambivalent about whether the non-verbal clauses really distinguish cases.
24. Charles J. Fillmore. (1968:21) suggests that apart from 'compound instances of a single case (through noun phrase conjunction), each case relationship occurs only once in a simple sentence.'
25. The case-marking verbal affixes are all non-past tense. The members of the pronoun sets listed (-ku, -ak, sikwak) are first-person-singular.
26. The morphemes above the grammatical slot boxes in figure 2 represent sets of case-marking verbal affixes. Each case is realized by just one of the sets. The solid line going from the Verb grammatical slot shows that these morphemes are affixed to the verb; the broken line going from the Subject grammatical slot show that the morphemes mark the case of the Subject.

c in a prefix means lengthen the first consonant of the stem to which it is affixed. ŋ represents a velar nasal which assimilates with the first consonant of a stem in several predictable ways.

The 'unordered upward or' notations (Lamb, 1966:9) above the Subject and Object slots indicate that only one of the above may be selected in a given clause.

Figure 2 fails to illustrate two things. One, that any case sememe selected for Subject slot cannot be realized in any other slot in the same clause. Two, that there can be more than one Object in a clause, but they cannot be the same case (see 4.5.). Not more than two Objects have been observed in any clause. Note that Benefactive case sememe is the only one realized only in Subject slot.

The morpheme i introduces proper names, which may occur in the Agent, Subject, or Object grammatical slots. Context disambiguates the case relationship between the person names and the verb.

27. I have translated this Ga'dang clause with an English active clause. But translating as active in English gives the impression that the actor fills the Subject slot, so the Subject is given in capitals in this and the following examples.

To translate into English active or passive would result in all Ga'dang clauses except those with Nominative -Subject being expressed as passives in English. It is better to think of them as Nominative-Subject clause, etc., rather than active and passive.

The English passive is perhaps an acceptable construction to translate Ga'dang Instrumental-, Benefactive-, or Orientational-Subject clauses because they are somehow less verbal or active than the others. An area of similarity between these three and the English passive is the unnaturalness of adding any of the optional nominal complements to the clause. Verb + Agent + Subject is the norm for these three in Ga'dang; Subject + Verb + Agent is the norm for the English passive.

28. 'Range' was the term selected by Anne West (1973:115) to describe the situational role of the noun (in Subject slot) when -an was suffixed to the verb. Her comments also show how the meanings of verb stems interplay with the case-markers to produce some unusual usages.

29. Anne West (1973:113) and D. Lee Ballard (1974:192) have defined i- constructions similarly. Ballard observed that the 'common denominator' of i- constructions 'is the positioning of one thing to another thing, one event to another event, or one thing to an event.'

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