

15. Conjunction and continuity in Tagalog

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1.

In this paper the way in which Tagalog is structured to explicitly connect sentences in text will be outlined. Two principal systems are involved which will be referred to as CONJUNCTION and CONTINUITY. CONJUNCTION is realized through a closed set of subordinating and co-ordinating conjunctions such as *nang* ('when'), *habang* ('while'), *bago* ('before'), *ngunit* ('but'), etc. which appear in clause initial position. CONTINUITY is realized through a closed set of clitic particles, *muli*, *uli*, *muna*, *naman*, *din/rin*, *na*, *pa*, *lang*, *man*, *kasi*, and *naloy* (glosses approximate English 'again', 'first', 'too', 'already', 'yet', 'still', etc.) which generally follow the predicate in Tagalog clause structure (see Schacter, 1973 for details of clitic ordering). Taken together CONJUNCTION and CONTINUITY represent the meaning potential upon which speakers of Tagalog draw in marking relations between clauses and the context in which they are spoken.

2. The model

Descriptive strategies drawn from systemic linguistics will be employed here. The items realizing CONJUNCTION and CONTINUITY will be subclassified and crossclassified until system networks outlining the relevant meanings are effected. The resulting networks are semantic as opposed to grammatical or phonological since the features which they organize are motivated in terms of the meaning they encode rather than in terms of syntactic or phonotactic distribution. The networks must be located on a rank-scale representing constituent hierarchy on the semantic stratum. A rank-scale consisting of at least the units *text*, *message group*, *message*, and *message part* will be assumed here. Message parts are those *participants*, *processes*, and *circumstantials* congruently realized in grammar as nominal, verbal, and adverbial groups respectively. Messages are congruently realized as clauses, message groups as pairs of clauses, and texts as an indefinite number of clauses. Thus (1) taken as a whole is a message group consisting of two messages, one that Tessi will return to the Philippines, the other that Ed will return to Hawaii. Each message consists of three message parts, a participant (i.e. *si Tessi* and *si Ed*), a process (i.e. *babalik* in both messages), and a circumstantial (i.e. *sa Pilipinas* and *sa Hawaii*):

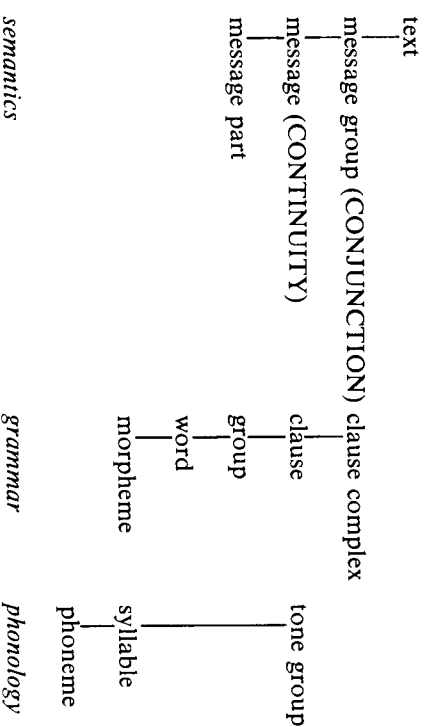
- (1) *babalik* *si Tessi sa Pilipinas bago* *bumalik si Ed sa Hawaii*
 'will return' 'before' 'return'
 'Tessi will go back to the Philippines before Ed returns to Hawaii.'

In Tagalog there are structures agnate to (1) in which Tessi returning to the Philippines is subordinate as in (2), and others in which Ed's returning to Hawaii comes first rather than second as in (3) and (4):

- (2) *pagkatapos bumalik ni Tessi sa Pilipinas, babalik si Ed sa Hawaii*
 'After Tessi returns to the Philippines Ed will return to Hawaii.'
 (3) *babalik si Ed sa Hawaii pagkatapos bumalik ni Tessi sa Pilipinas*
 (4) *bago bumalik si Ed sa Hawaii, babalik si Tessi sa Pilipinas*

Consequently systems of TAXIS and THEME (see Section 4 below) are necessary to account for subordination and sequencing in Tagalog message groups. These systems are most effectively accommodated in a systemic grammar by locating the CONJUNCTION network at message group rank and writing realization rules which subordinate and sequence the messages involved. Since TAXIS and THEME are not relevant to CONTINUITY, this system is best located at message rank. Tagalog syntax reflects the different ranks at which these systems operate with conjunctions typically appearing between the clauses they connect while continuity particles appear within clauses themselves. The framework outlined to this point is presented in Fig. 1.

FIGURE 1. CONJUNCTION and CONTINUITY located with respect to semantic, grammatical, and phonological rank-scales in a tri-stratal systemic model.



A final point which must be made before turning to the description of CONJUNCTION and CONTINUITY in Tagalog has to do with metafunctional diversity in language. The systems out of which system networks are composed fall together not just in terms of rank or stratum as noted above, but as well in terms of the use to which language is put in human experience. As Halliday (1973) has pointed out, the paradigmatic organization of grammar reflects three generalized uses of language: the experiential, or the use of language to talk about the world as realized through TRANSITIVITY; the interpersonal, or the use of language to talk to people as realized through MOOD; and the textual, or the use of language to form coherent text as realized through THEME and INFORMATION.

The logical independence of experiential, interpersonal, and textual systems is most striking at message/clause rank and CONTINUITY is a good example of this diversity. When we focus on the paradigmatic relations involved we see that whether a clause is transitive or intransitive, whether actor, goal, beneficiary, or instrument focus, whether declarative or interrogative in MOOD has no effect on the selection of continuity items. Options in TRANSITIVITY and MOOD

neither depend on nor act as entry conditions for CONTINUITY systems. And when we look at the kind of meaning CONTINUITY embraces, we see that it is a *phoricity* system. That is to say, it permits speakers to remind listeners of shared information relevant to the message in which the continuity item appears. In (5) for example, the speaker reminds his listener that he knows Chris has been to Hawaii before. The continuity item *uli* is phoric, marking this previous visit as presumed:

- (5) *gusto nga ni Chris na pumunta uli sa Hawaii*
 'like' 'really' 'go' 'again'
 'Chris really wants to go to Hawaii again.'

CONTINUITY, like the other phoricity systems at message rank, TONICITY (as realized through contrastive stress as in (6)), CLEFTING¹ (as realized through contrastive inversion as in (7)), and IDENTIFICATION (as realized through nominalization in a relational clause as in (8)) creates cohesive bonds in text by relating messages to information that has gone before. So both in terms of the independence of its systems from those comprising TRANSITIVITY and MOOD, and in terms of the type of meaning it encodes, CONTINUITY is a representative textual network:

- (6) *kumain ng adobong aso si Joel*
 'ate' 'dog'
 'Joel ate some dog adobo.'
 (7) *si Joel, kumain ng adobong aso*
 'It was Joel who ate some dog adobo.'
 (8) *si Joel ang kumain ng adobong aso*
 'Joel was the one who ate some dog adobo.'

CONJUNCTION is in fact the only system located at message group rank and as such the fact that it has a metafunctional organization of its own is not surprising. The ambiguity of the conjunctive relation in (9) reveals that conjunctions can be interpreted in an experiential or in an interpersonal way:

- (9) *dito na si Pedro palibhasa'y nakita ko*
 'here' 'now' 'because' 'saw' 'I'
 'Peter's here now because I saw him.'

Given an experiential reading, (9) relates the two messages involved as cause and effect in the world described. The speaker's seeing Peter was what caused him to come. An interpersonal reading on the other hand relates the messages as speech acts, with the speaker's seeing Peter acting as the justification for his announcing Peter was present. A paraphrase of this reading would be something like: 'I am telling you Peter is here now because I saw him.' Halliday and Hasan (1976) distinguish these two kinds of interpretation as *external* and *internal* respectively. Van Dijk (1977) refers to external conjunction as semantic, internal as pragmatic. The focus of this paper will be on external conjunction, but it should be kept in mind that conjunctions often realize interpersonal as opposed to experiential meaning.

To sum up this section, CONTINUITY has been established as a semantic system at message rank in the textual metafunction. CONJUNCTION is also a semantic system but located at message group rank. It has a metafunctional organization of its own, consisting as it does of independent networks relating to

TAXIS, THEME, and INTERNAL and EXTERNAL relations between messages.

3. CONJUNCTION in Tagalog

Conjunction relations in Tagalog are of four main types: consequential, temporal, comparative, and additive. These relations will be described in turn below. Since there are many more subordinating than co-ordinating conjunctions in Tagalog, subordinate realizations will be discussed first. Subsequently the co-ordinate realizations of the meanings established will be presented where they exist.

3.1 Consequential relations

Consequential relations have the experiential message group structure Cause Effect, where the Cause is defined as that message bringing about the Effect. The network for external subordinate consequential relations appears in Fig. 2 with its systems numbered from 1 to 16.

Consequential relations are first divided into conditional and non-conditional relations by system 1. In (10) below John's tiredness is given as the reason he stayed home. In (11) on the other hand, the Effect (i.e. giving the letter) is contingent on the Cause (i.e. seeing the recipient) taking place, which it may not. Thus (10) is assigned the feature [relation effected], (11) the feature [relation contingent].

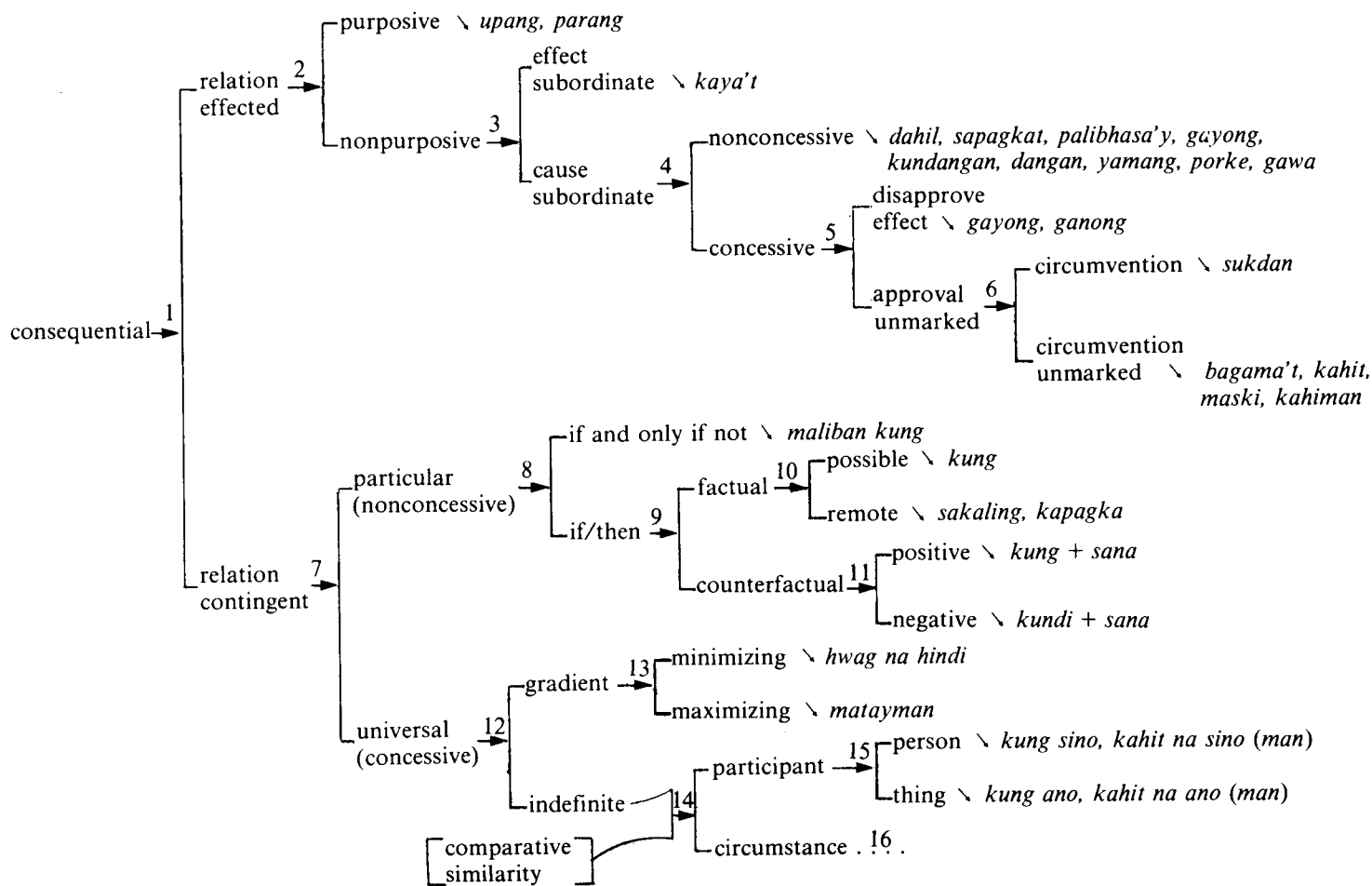
- [relation effected]
 (10) *dahil pagod si Juan, nagestay siya sa bahay*
 'because' 'tired' 'stayed' 'he' 'house'
 'Because John was tired, he stayed home.'
 [relation contingent]
 (11) *kung makikita ko siya, ibibigay ko ang sulat mo*
 'If' 'will see' 'I' 'him' 'will give' 'I' 'letter' 'your'
 'If I see him I'll give him your letter.'

Alternative realizations for terminal CONJUNCTION features are given in the networks themselves. For details concerning the use of linkers, aspect, focus, and clitic placement see Schachter and Oanes (1972).

System 2 subclasses [relation effected] consequentials as [purposive] or [nonpurposive]. Purposive relations involve a kind of reciprocal causality. In (12), making the speaker happy is the reason money was given at the same time as giving the money made the speaker happy. In (13) on the other hand, the Effect (i.e. Peter getting angry) is in no sense the reason John came.

- [purposive]
 (12) *upang ako ay lumigaya, binigyan mo ako ng maraming pera*
 'so that' 'I' 'get happy' 'gave' 'you' 'me' 'lots' 'money'
 'So that I'd be happy, you gave me lots of money.'
 [nonpurposive]
 (13) *nagali si Pedro dahil dumating si Juan*
 'got angry' 'because' 'came'
 'Peter got angry because John came.'

FIGURE 2. Subordinate external consequential relations in Tagalog.



System 3 differentiates [relation effected, nonpurposive] consequentials according to whether the Cause or Effect is subordinate. In (14) the Effect, introduced by *kaya't*, is subordinate to the Cause while in (15), the Cause, introduced by *palibhasa'y*, is subordinate to the Effect. It must be noted here that some native speakers find (14) questionable. For these speakers *kaya't* appears to function not as a subordinating but as a co-ordinating conjunction.

[effect subordinate]

(14) *kaya't matapa siya, malakas siyang kumain*

'so that' 'fat' 'she' 'often' 'she' 'ate'

'She ate a lot with the result that she is fat.'

[cause subordinate]

(15) *palibhasa'y matalino siya, mahal siya ng guro*

'because' 'smart' 'she' 'likes' 'her' 'teacher'

'Because she's smart the teacher likes her.'

System 4 distinguishes [concessive] from [nonconcessive] [relation effected] consequentials. With [concessive] relations the Effect is surprising in the light of the Cause. In (16) for example, stealing is taken as a more natural result of being poor than not stealing. The Cause implies the negation of the Effect, and *bagama't* realizes the counter-expectation involved. In (17) the Effect follows naturally from the Cause and no surprise is marked.

[concessive]

(16) *bagama't mahirap siya, hindi siya nagnanakaw*

'although' 'poor' 'he' 'neg.' 'he' 'steal'

'Although he's poor, he doesn't steal.'

[nonconcessive]

(17) *ako ay nahulog sa balon sapagka't hindi niya sinabing may balon*

'I' 'fell' 'well' 'because' 'neg.' 'he' 'said' 'existential' 'well'

doon

'there'

'I fell in the well because he didn't say there was a well there.'

System 5 subclassifies [concessive] relations according to whether strong disapproval of the Effect is marked or not. In (18) the speaker's distaste for frightening children is projected through the conjunction *gayong*. In (19) no such comment is made.

[disapprove effect]

(18) *gayong mabait siya kinakakarantuan siya ng mga bata*

'although' 'kind' 'he' 'fear' 'him' pl. 'children'

'Although he is kind, he frightens children.' (literally: 'the children fear because of him')

[approval unmarked]

(19) *kahit siya magbilad sa araw, mahirap siyang mangitim*

'though' 'he' 'expose' 'sun' 'difficult' 'he' 'blacken'

'Although he exposes himself to the sun, he has trouble tanning.'

System 6 is a rather archaic one, with some speakers objecting to the use of *sukdan* in (20). It distinguishes message groups like (20) where an effort has been made to avoid the Effect from those like (21) where nothing special has been done to circumvent the Effect.

[circumvention]

- (20) *sukdan kong sunduin siya sa kamayang bahay, ayaw pa rin*
 'even though' 'I' 'fetched' 'her' 'her' 'house' 'dislike' 'still'
niyang sumama sa akin
 'she' 'accompany' 'me'
 'Even though I went so far as to fetch her at home she still wouldn't
 come with me.'

[circumvention unmarked]

- (21) *kahit binigyan niya ng bulaklak si Maria, nagali pa rin siya*
 'though' 'gave' 'he' 'flowers' 'got angry' 'still' 'she'
 'Although he gave some flowers to Mary, she still got angry.'

Turning now to [relation contingent] consequentials, system 7 differentiates [particular] from [universal] conditionals. With [particular] conditionals the Effect follows from a single instance of the Cause. In (22) John will go if Mary arrives. With [universal] conditionals, the Effect takes place whenever the Cause does. In (23), the speaker is poor no matter how hard he works. [relation contingent, universal] consequentials are in fact a blend of conditional and concessive meaning, and in effect system 5 can be taken as crossclassifying [relation contingent] and [relation effected, nonpositive, cause subordinate] consequentials. In (24), which paraphrases (22), the rather archaic *matayman* is replaced by the structure *kahit na gaanong* meaning 'however much' (literally: 'although how much'). The alternative realizations for 'whoever', *kung sino* (literally: 'if who') and *kahit na sino* (literally: 'although who') reflect clearly the blend of conditional and concessive meaning the [universal] conditionals encode.

[particular]

- (22) *kapag dumating si Maria, pupunta si Juan*
 'if' 'come' 'will go'
 'Should Mary come, John will go.'

[universal]

- (23) *matayman akong magtrabaho, mahirap pa rin ako*
 'however hard' 'I' 'work' 'poor' 'still' 'I'
 'However hard I work, I'm still poor.'
 (24) *kahit na gaanong kahirap akong magtrabaho, mahirap pa rin ako*
 'though' 'how much' 'trouble' 'I' 'work' 'poor' 'still' 'I'
 'However hard I work, I'm still poor.'

System 8 subclassifies [relation contingent, particular] message groups depending on whether the Effect occurs if the Cause does, or the Effect occurs if and only if the Cause does not. In (25) the speaker will wait for the listener as long as it doesn't rain. In (26) the speaker will be pleased if Mary comes.

[if & only if not]

- (25) *maliban kung umulan, iintayin kita*
 'unless' 'is raining' 'will wait' 'I/you'
 'Unless it's raining, I'll wait for you.'

[if/then]

- (26) *kung dumating si Maria, sasaya ako*
 'if' 'come' 'get happy' 'I'
 'If Mary comes, I'll be happy.'

System 9 distinguishes [factual] and [counterfactual] conditionals. With [counterfactual] message groups like (27) the Effect has not taken place because its Cause has not whereas in [factual] groups like (28), the Effect will occur if the Cause does. [counterfactual] conditionals are realized through the conditional conjunction *kung* introducing the Cause and the optative clitic particle *sana* which appears in the message functioning as Effect.

[counterfactual]

- (27) *nakapunta sana ako kung pumunta si Maria*
 'could go' optative 'I' 'if' 'go'
 'I could have gone if Mary had gone.'

[factual]

- (28) *kung pupunta si Juan ngayong gabì, pupunta ako rin*
 'if' 'will go' 'today' 'evening' 'will go' 'I' 'too'
 'If John goes tonight, I'll go too.'

System 10 differentiates [factual] conditionals according to the likelihood of the Cause taking place. In (29), the Cause is at least psychologically much more of a remote possibility than it is in (30).

[remote]

- (29) *sakaling ako ay mamatay, iibibing niya ako dito*
 'if by chance' 'I' 'will die' 'will bury' 'he' 'me' 'here'
 'If ever I die he'll bury me here.'

[possible]

- (30) *kung makikita kita bukas, ibibigay ko ang libro mo*
 'if' 'will see' 'I/you' 'tomorrow' 'will give' 'I' 'book' 'your'
 'If I see you tomorrow I'll give you your book.'

System 11 subclassifies [counterfactual] conditionals according to whether the Cause is negated and negation incorporated in the conjunction *kundi* or not. *Kundi* is a transparent historical contraction of *kung* and *hindi* but is not productive in the sense that it can't replace *kung* plus *hindi* in [factual] conditionals. Some native speakers prefer *kundi* in message group initial position with the Cause preceding the Effect.

[negative]

- (31) *kundi umalis si Maria, hindi sana ako umalis*
 'if not' 'left' 'neg. optative' 'I' 'left'
 'If Mary hadn't left I wouldn't have left.'

[positive]

- (32) *nakabili sana ako ng kaise kung maraming akong pera*
 'could buy' optative 'I' 'car' 'if' 'lots' 'I' 'money'
 'I could have bought a car if I had lots of money.'

System 12 like system 6 is somewhat archaic but many speakers will still accept message groups connected by *matayman* and *hwag na hindi*. It contrasts [universal] conditionals in which the different Causes upon which the Effect depends are gradiently related to each other in terms of the amount of effort put into effecting the Cause with those in which some aspect of the Cause is indefinite in the sense that it doesn't matter what participant or circumstance is involved, the Effect will happen in any case. In (33) for example, the speaker can't answer the question no matter how hard she thinks about it. In (34) on the

other hand, the Effect will take place no matter which participant comes, as long as someone does.

[gradient]

- (33) *mataymang isipin ko ang y sagot sa tanong mo, hindi ko magawa*
'however hard' 'think' 'I' 'answer' 'question' 'your' 'neg' 'I' 'do'
'However hard I think about the answer to your question, I don't find one.'

[indefinite]

- (34) *kahit sino man ang dumating, hindi ako pupunta*
'whoever' 'come' 'neg' 'I' 'will go'
'Whoever comes, I'm not going.'

System 13 subclassifies [universal, gradient] conditionals as [maximizing] or [minimizing]. In (35), however little studying is done the Effect ensues; in (36) however much study is done, the Effect follows. The rather puzzling *hwag na hindi* structure would more commonly be rendered in conversation as (37), as would (36) as (38). This means that Tagalog now prefers to treat [universal, gradient] message groups as [indefinite] or [concessive] and systems 12 and 13 are on their way to becoming obsolete.

[minimizing]

- (35) *hwag na hindi magaral siya, mabuti pa rin ang marka niya*
'however little' 'study' 'he' 'good' 'still' 'marks' 'his'
'However little he studies, his marks are still good.'

[maximizing]

- (36) *matayman siyang magaral, mababa pa rin ang marka niya*
'however hard' 'she' 'study' 'low' 'still' 'marks' 'her'
'However hard she studies, her marks are still low.'

- (37) *kahit na hindi siya masyadong magaral, mabuti pa rin ang marka niya*
'though' 'neg' 'she' 'very much' 'study' 'good' 'still' 'marks' 'her'
'Though she doesn't study very much her marks are still good.'

- (38) *kahit na gaanong kahirap siyang magaral, mababa pa rin ang marka niya*
'though' 'how much' 'trouble' 'he' 'study' 'low' 'still' 'marks' 'his'
'However hard he studies, his marks are still low.'

System 14 contrasts [universal, indefinite] conditionals in which it doesn't matter which participant is involved with those in which it doesn't matter which circumstance. In (39) the Effect will result whatever happens, in (40) whenever John goes.

[participant]

- (39) *kahit ano man ang mangyari, magiingat ako*
'whatever' 'happen' 'will take care' 'I'
'Whatever happens I'll be careful.'

[circumstance]

- (40) *kahit na kailan pumunta si Juan, susunod si Maria*
'whenever' 'go' 'will follow'
'Whenever John goes, Mary will follow.'

Message groups with structure parallel to those realizing [universal, indefinite] conditional meaning may alternately realize [comparative, similarity] which feature will be presented below (see Section 3.3). Note the ambiguity in

- (41). On one reading Mary will go to whatever place John goes while on the other Mary will go regardless of where John goes. Thus system 14 has two entry conditions with either consequential or comparative networks opening up options there.

- (41) *kahit saan pumunta si Juan, pupunta si Maria*
'wherever' 'go' 'will go'
'Wherever John goes, Mary will go.'

The features [circumstance] and [participant] can be further subclassified according to the type of indefinite expression involved. As the message groups structure remains constant throughout we will simply list here the relevant indefinite expressions.

- 'whoever' *kahit na sino (man), kung sino (man)*
'whatever' *kahit na ano (man), kung ano (man)*
'whichever' *kahit na alin (man)*
'whenever' *kahit na kailan (man)*
'wherever' (*kung*) *kahit na saan*
'for whatever reason' *kahit na anong dahilan*
'however' *kahit na paano*
'with whoever' *kahit na kanino*
'however much' (quantity) *kahit na gaano*
'however much' (money) *kahit na magkano*
'however many' *kahit na ilan (man)*

Explicit co-ordinate realizations of consequential relations in Tagalog are much more restricted than subordinate realizations. [nonpurposive, nonconcessive] consequential meaning is realized by *kaya* as in (43). [nonpurposive, concessive] meaning is realized by any of *pero*, *subalit*, *datapwa't*, and *ngunit* with *ngunit* and *pero* the more common forms.

- (42) *malakas na nagaral si Juan kaya pagod na siya*
'often' 'studied' 'so' 'tired' 'now' 'he'
'John studied hard so he's tired now.'
(43) *pagod na ako pero masaya ako*
'tired' 'now' 'I' 'but' 'happy' 'I'
'I'm tired now but I'm happy.'

At nang can be used to realize [purposive] and [counterfactual] relations. When followed by the non-finite form of the verb as in (44) purpose is marked. When followed by completed or imperfective aspect as in (45), and when the optative particle *sana* is present, a contrary to fact conditional is realized.

- (44) *umalis na siya at nang makapanood ng sine*
'left' 'already' 'he' 'could see' 'movie'
'He wanted to see a movie; so he left.'
(45) *umalis ka sana nang magga at nang kita nakita*
'left' 'you' optative 'early' 'I/you' 'saw'
'You should have left early; then I'd have seen you.'

3.2 Temporal relations

Except when the messages in a temporal message group are co-extensive with each other, temporal message groups have the experiential structure Base*

Extension where the Base is defined as that message commencing before the Extension. The network for external subordinate temporal relations appears in Fig. 3 with systems numbered from 17 to 28.

System 17 separates temporal message groups in which the Base finishes before or as the Extension begins from message groups where the Base and Extension overlap to some extent. Thus (46) is assigned the feature [successive], (47) the feature [overlapping].

[successive]

- (46) *bago umalis si Maria, dumating si Juan*
'before' 'left' 'came'
'Before Mary left, John came.'

[overlapping]

- (47) *habang nasa Maynila ang asawa ni Juan, kinalalangan niyang magluto*
'while' 'in' 'spouse' 'needed' 'he' 'cook'
'While John's wife was in Manila, he had to cook.'

System 18 subclassifies [successive] relations depending on whether the message group is explicitly marked as having the Extension follow the Base immediately or not. In (48) it is possible there was some lapse of time between the speaker leaving and Mary arriving while in (49) the Extension follows immediately upon the Base.

[following]

- (48) *pagkatapos kong umalis, dumating si Juan*
'after' 'I' 'left' 'came'
'After I left John came.'

[following immediately]

- (49) *pagdating na pagdating ni Maria, umalis si Juan*
'came' 'left'
'as soon as Mary left, John came.'

System 19 distinguishes [deictic] message groups in which the Extension typically begins or ends with the moment of utterance with those in which it does not. In (50) the Extension continues up to the moment of utterance, whereas in (51) it simply follows on from the Base.

[deictic]

- (50) *hindi pa nagtairabaho si Juan buhat nang umalis si Maria*
neg. 'still' 'working' 'since' 'left'
'John hasn't worked since Mary left.'

[nondeictic]

- (51) *pagkakin ni Juan, natulog siya*
'having eaten' 'slept' 'he'
'After John ate, he slept.'

When the Extension in a [deictic] temporal relation is durative it appears to follow the Base immediately as in (50). Note however that in (52) where the Extension is not durative, this immediacy is not present. Thus the [deictic] temporal conjunctions explicitly mark the Extension as following the Base but not as following immediately.

- (52) *nakapunta na ako sa Sydney Opera House ng tatlong beses*
'went' 'now' 'I' 'three' 'times'

mula nang ako ay dumating sa Sydney

'since' 'I' 'came'
'I've been to the Sydney Opera House three times since I came to Sydney.'

System 20 differentiates [successive, following, nondeictic] temporals according to whether the Base or Extension is subordinate. In (53) the Base is subordinate, while *bago* subordinates the Extension in (54).

[base subordinate]

- (53) *matapos niyang gamitin ang lapis ko, isinuli niya*
'after' 'he' 'used' 'pencil' 'my' 'returned' 'he'
'After he used my pencil he returned it.'

[extension subordinate]

- (54) *bago siya matulog, bumabasa siya muna*
'before' 'he' 'sleep' 'reads' 'he' 'first'
'Before he goes to sleep, he reads.'

System 21 subclassifies [deictic] temporals according to whether the Extension begins with or continues until the moment of utterance. In (55) the speaker's happiness extends from the moment of utterance while in (56) her sadness continues to this moment.

[extension from present]

- (55) *ngayon at ikaw ay narito, masaya ako*
'now that' 'you' 'here' 'happy' 'I'
'Now that you're here, I'm happy.'

[extension to present]

- (56) *mula nang ikaw ay umalis, ako ay nalungkot na*
'since' 'you' 'left' 'I' 'got sad' 'now'
'Since you left, I've been sad.'

Turning to message groups in which the Extension immediately succeeds the Base, system 22 parallels system 20 in distinguishing [base subordinate] from [extension subordinate] relations. In (57) the message which begins second is subordinate whereas in (58) that which begins first is subordinate.

[extension subordinate]

- (57) *hanggang tumananda si Maria hindi siya tiwanan ng mga anak*
'until' 'get old' neg. 'her' 'will leave' pl. 'child'
'Until Mary gets old, the children won't leave her.'

[base subordinate]

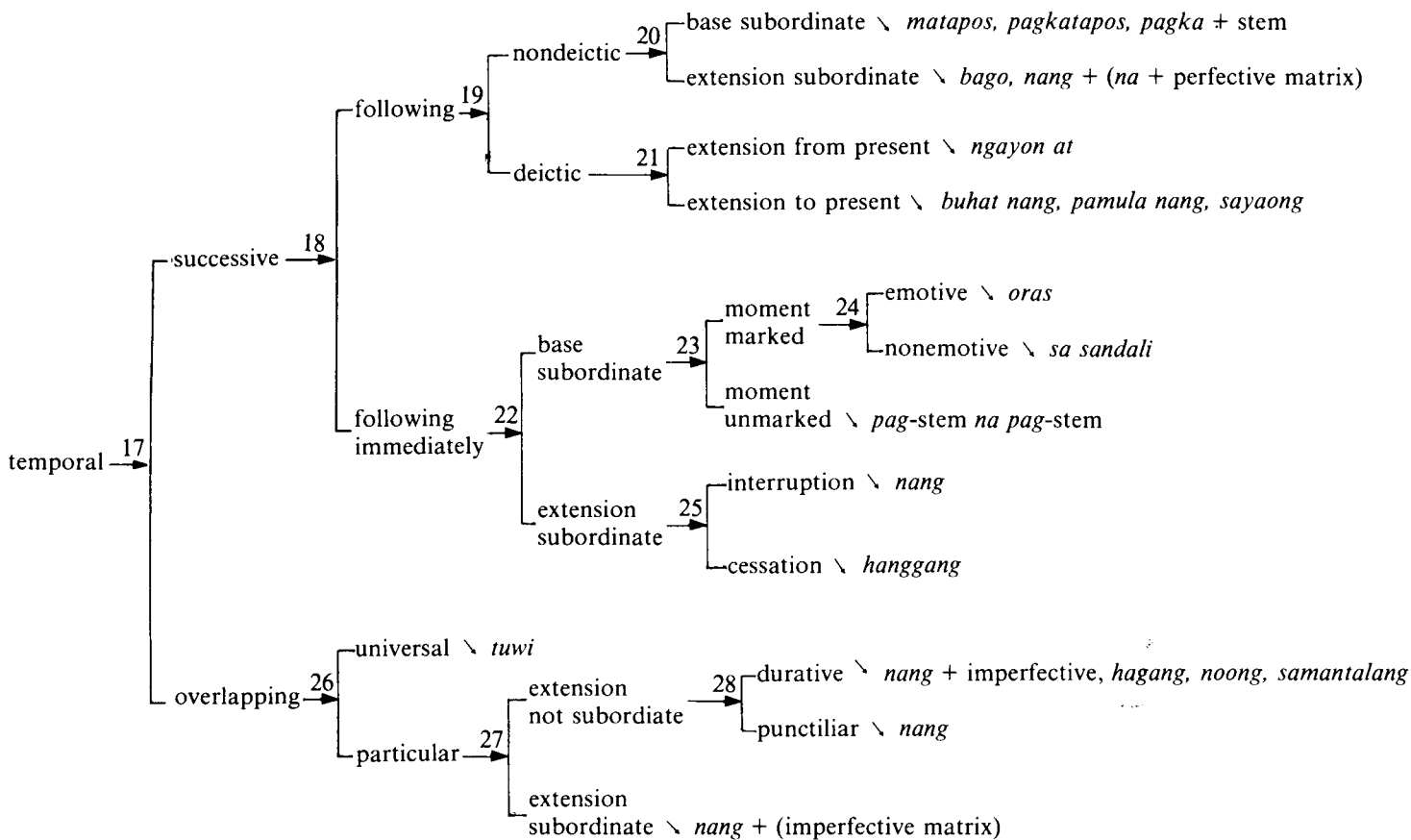
- (58) *pagalis na pagalis ng nanay ko, tatakas ako*
'leave' 'mother' 'my' 'will escape' 'I'
'As soon as my mother leaves, I'll escape.'

System 23 subclassifies [following immediately, base subordinate] temporal message groups according to whether a time word is used to mark the relation. The word *oras* functions as the connective in (59) while reduplication of the *pag-* stem marks the relations in (60).

[moment marked]

- (59) *oras na dumating si Juan, alalis na ako*
'time' 'arrive' 'will leave' 'I'
'The moment John comes, I'll leave.'

FIGURE 3. Subordinate external temporal relations in Tagalog.



[moment unmarked]

(60) *pagkabigay na pagkabigay ko ng serbesa kay Juan, ininom niya ito*
 'give' 'I' 'beer' 'drank' 'he' 'this'
 'As soon as I gave John some beer he drank it.'

System 24 encodes the feeling of some native speakers that *oras* is more strongly emotive than *sa sandali* and more appropriate to the threat in (61) which is lacking in (62).

[emotive]

(61) *oras na makita ko si Markos, papatayin ko siya*
 'moment' 'see' 'I' 'will kill' 'I' 'him'
 'The moment I see Markos I'll kill him.'

[nonemotive]

(62) *sa sandaling dumating siya aalis ako*
 'minute' 'come' 'she' 'will leave' 'I'
 'The moment she arrives I'll leave.'

System 25 distinguishes [Following immediately, extension subordinate] relations in which the Extension interrupts the Base from those in which it simply succeeds. In (63) seeing the wild pig interrupts John's walk which would otherwise have continued. In (64) on the other hand interruption is only one interpretation. It may well be that John had planned to work only until Mary arrived.

[interruption]

(63) *naglalakad si Juan sa gubat nang nakitia niya ang baboy na ligaw*
 'was walking' 'forest' 'when' 'saw' 'he' 'pig' 'wild'
 'John was walking in the forest when he saw a wild pig.'

[cessation]

(64) *nagiarabaho si Juan hanggang dumating si Maria*
 'was working' 'until' 'came'
 'John was working until Mary arrived.'

Turning from [successive] to [overlapping] temporal relations, system 26 contrasts message groups in which the messages overlap every time one occurs with those in which only a particular instance of overlap is mentioned. In (65) the speaker gets scared every time the Base occurs, while in (66) John got fired one time when Mary was away.

[universal]

(65) *tuwing makikita ko siya, ako ay natatakot*
 'every time' 'see' 'I' 'him' 'I' 'get scared'
 'Every time I see him, I get scared.'

[particular]

(66) *napatalis sa trabaho si Juan habang wala si Maria*
 'made leave' 'work' 'while' 'neg. existential'
 'John got fired while Mary was away.'

System 27 parallels systems 20 and 22 in distinguishing [overlapping, particular] message groups in which the Base is subordinate as in (67) from those in which the Extension is as in (68). Since messages related by *nang*, *habang*, *noong*, and *samantalang* may begin at the same time as in (70) below, (67) is assigned the feature [extension not subordinate] rather than [base subordinate] although a Base is recognizable as subordinate in this example.

[extension not subordinate]
 (67) *nastra ang korse nang paparito sila*
 'broke' 'car' 'when' 'coming here' 'they'
 'The car broke down while they were driving over.'

[extension subordinate]
 (68) *nang dumating si Juan, si Maria ay naglutulo ng agahan*
 'when' 'arrived' 'was cooking' 'breakfast'
 'When John arrived, Mary was cooking breakfast.'

System 28 distinguishes message groups in which both messages are [punctiliar] from those in which the subordinate message is [durative]. In (69) both messages can be interpreted as occurring at just one point in time, whereas in (70) each message lasts for a period, possibly the same period, of time. Only *nang* can realize the feature [punctiliar].

[punctiliar]
 (69) *nang umubo si Juan, nagpahing si Maria*
 'when' 'coughed' 'sneezed'

'When John coughed, Mary sneezed.'

[durative]
 (70) *samantalang ako ay nagpapahinga, si Juan ay natutulog*
 'while' 'I' 'was resting' 'was sleeping'
 'While I was resting, John was sleeping.'

[successive, following, nondetictic] temporal relations have explicit co-ordinating realizations in Tagalog which are homophonous with their subordinating agnates. However they are easily recognized since as a co-ordinate *bago* introduces a Base rather than an Extension while *pagkatapos* introduces an Extension rather than a Base. Co-ordinate message groups are presented in (71) and (73) while their agnate structures with one message subordinate appear in (72) and (74).

(71) *natulog ka: bago ka naligo*
 'slept' 'you' 'before' 'you' 'bathed'
 'You slept; previously you bathed.'

(72) *bago ka natulog, naligo ka muna*

(73) *ginamit niya ang lapis ko; pagkatapos isinaili niya*
 'used' 'he' 'pencil' 'my' 'after' 'returned' 'he'
 'He used my pencil; afterwards he returned it.'

(74) *pagkatapos niyang gamitin ang lapis ko, isinaili niya*

Ramos (1971) and Schacter and Otnes (1972) list *saka* as a co-ordinate temporal conjunction. However it is not clear that *saka* explicitly marks the temporal link between the messages it connects. In (75) *at saka* does not necessarily imply that one message follows the other in time. And in (76) it is *pagkatapos* which explicitly marks one message as the Extension. While *saka* is often used to co-ordinate messages which are successively related in time, simple juxtaposition of the messages involved does as much to create this connection as *saka* itself. In this analysis *saka* will be treated as realizing [addition] rather than temporal meaning.

(75) *kumain siya ng isda at saka uminom siya ng alak*
 'ate' 'he' 'fish' 'and' 'as well' 'drank' 'he' 'wine'
 'He ate some fish and as well he drank some wine.'

(76) *kumain siya at saka natulog pagkatapos*
 'ate' 'he' 'and' 'as well' 'slept' 'afterwards'
 'He ate and slept afterwards.'

When supported by CONTINUITY particles *pa* and *lang* and when the Base includes the CONTINUITY marker *na* as in (77), a temporal relation glossed as 'only then' is effected. Again it is hard to tell how much of the relation is marked by contiguity of the messages and the particles *pa*, *lang*, and *na*, and how much by *saka* itself.

(77) *sunog na ang bahay saka pa lang tumawag ang mga tao ng*
 'burned' 'already' 'house' 'only then' 'called' pl. 'person'
talang
 'help'
 'The house was already burned; only then did the people ask for help.'

3.3 Comparative relations

Comparative conjunctions relate messages in terms of contrast or similarity. Like [overlapping] temporals where the connected messages last the same period of time, they have no apparent experiential structure. The network for comparative relations appears in Fig. 4 with systems numbered from 29 to 30. System 29 distinguishes messages connected in terms of some likeness from those in which some contrast is marked. In (78) Mary sleeping is contrasted with John studying while in (79) Brian vomiting is likened to the result of eating cockroach adobo.

[contrast]
 (78) *samantalang natutulog si Maria, nagaral si Juan*
 'while' 'was sleeping' 'was studying'
 'Whereas Mary was sleeping, John was studying.'

[similarity]
 (79) *sumusuka si Brian parang kakakain pa lang niya ng adobong ipis*
 'was vomiting' 'as if' 'ate' 'he' 'cockroach'
 'Brian was throwing up as if he's just eaten cockroach adobo.'

It should be noted that (78) is ambiguous and may be taken as realizing [overlapping] temporal meaning. System 30 subclassifies comparative message groups involving [contrast] according to whether one message is an exception to the other or not. In (80) the speaker is in good spirits aside from the fact he's a little tired, whereas in (81) the messages are simply opposed with neither an exception to the other.

[exception]
 (80) *mahusay ang pakiramdam ko, liban sa medyo pagod ako*
 'fine' 'spirits' 'my' 'except that' 'a little' 'tired' 'I'
 'I'm in good spirits except that I'm a little tired.'

[opposition]
 (81) *si Juan ay mayaman samantalang ang kaniyang magulang ay mahirap*
 'rich' 'whereas' 'his' 'parents' 'poor'
 'John is rich whereas his parents are poor.'

System 31 distinguishes [comparative, contrast, opposition] relations in which the subordinate message is unexpected from those where concession is not

involved. In (82) an expectation that John would study is countered while in (83) counter-expectation is not involved.

[counterexpectation]

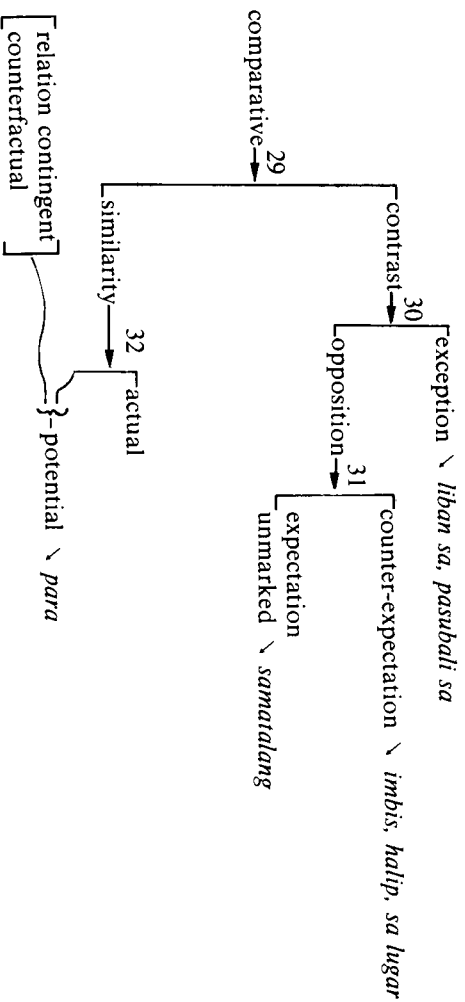
(82) *imbis na magaral si Juan, nanood siya ng sine*
'instead' 'study' 'watched' 'he' 'movie'
'Instead of studying John watched a movie.'

[expectation unmarked]

(83) *matas si Fred samatalang maliit si Juan*
'tall' 'whereas' 'small'
'Fred is tall whereas John is small.'

Turning to messages connected in terms of [similarity], system 32 differentiates message groups in which counter to fact contingency is involved from those where it is not. In (84) John has not seen a vampire, though he ran as if he had. In (85) it is true both that John dislikes swimming and baseball. In (85) the structure of the message group is co-ordinate, there being no subordinate conjunction realizing [comparative, similarity] in Tagalog.

FIGURE 4. Subordinate external comparative relations in Tagalog.



[potential]

(84) *tumakbo si Juan parang nakakita ng aswang*
'ran' 'as if' 'saw' 'vampire'
'John ran as if he'd seen a vampire.'

[actual]

(85) *ayaw ni Juan na maglangoy at gayon din ayaw niyang magbaseball*
'dislike' 'swim' 'and' 'likewise' 'dislike' 'he'
'John dislikes swimming and likewise he dislikes playing baseball.'

Alongside *gayon din*, [contrast, opposition, expectation unmarked] comparatives can be realized in a co-ordinate structure. *Pero, ngunit, datapwa't*, and *subalit* can all mark the contrast in (86). Message groups like (86) are often ambiguously concessive.

(86) *ayaw mo ni Juan ngunit mahal kita*
'dislike' 'you' 'but' 'like' 'I/you'
'John doesn't like you but I do like you.'

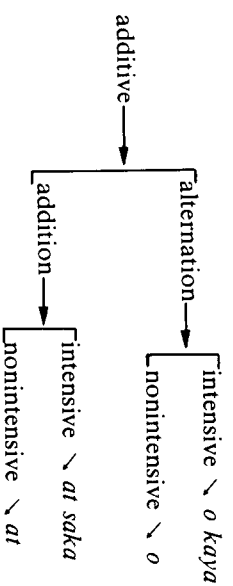
One use of *kundi* realizes [contrast, opposition, counter-expectation] as in (87).

(87) *hindi pumunta sa parti si Juan kundi natulog na lang siya*
neg. 'went' 'rather' 'slept' 'only' 'he'
'John didn't go to the party; instead he slept.'

3.4 Additive relations

Additive relations in Tagalog co-ordinate messages in terms of [addition] or [alternation]. The network in Fig. 5 has only three systems:

FIGURE 5. Co-ordinate external additive relations in Tagalog.



System 33 distinguishes the 'and' and 'or' relations in (88) and (89) respectively.

[addition]

(88) *tumira si Juan sa Ottawa at tumira rin siya sa Toronto*
'lived' 'and' 'lived' 'also' 'he'
'John lived in Ottawa and he lived in Toronto too.'

[alternation]

(89) *kumain ka na ng mansanas o uminon ka ng gatas*
'eat' 'you' 'now' 'apple' 'or' 'drink' 'you' 'milk'
'Eat an apple or drink some milk.'

Systems 34 and 35 in effect crossclassify system 33 and allow an intensification of the co-ordination realized by adding *saka* to *at* and *kaya* to *o*. The respective resulting glosses are 'and as well' and 'or else'.

(90) *bumili ng tinapay si Maria at saka bumili siya ng gatas*
'bought' 'bread' 'and' 'as well' 'bought' 'she' 'milk'
'Mary bought some bread and as well bought some milk.'

(91) *pumunta layo sa sine o kaya ay pumunta layo sa tabing-dagat*
'go' 'you & I' 'movie' 'or' 'else' 'go' 'you & I' 'sea-side'
'Let's go to a movie or let's go to the beach.'

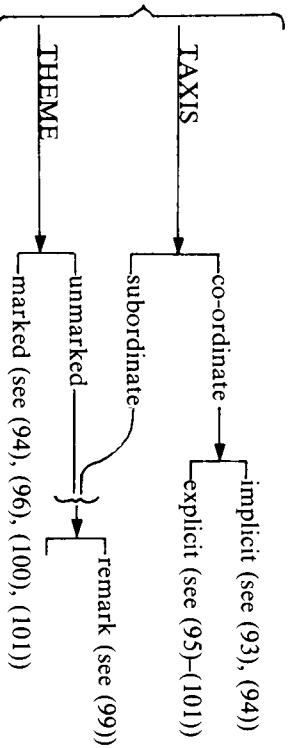
When both messages in an [alternation] message group are negative, the Spanish derived correlative structure in (92) is found.

(92) *ni hindi ako nagpunta sa parti ni hindi ako nagestay sa bahay ko*
neg. 'I' 'went' neg. 'I' 'stayed' 'house' 'my'
'Neither did I go to the party nor did I stay home.'

4. TAXIS and THEME

Message groups in Tagalog are structured with respect to TAXIS and THEME along with the consequential, temporal, comparative, and additive meaning outlined above. TAXIS structures the message group as either co-ordinate or subordinate, and if co-ordinate, the relation between the messages may or may not be explicitly marked with a conjunction. Contiguity alone is enough to signal a connection. As far as THEME is concerned, the unmarked sequence is Base*Extension or Cause*Effect. When THEME is marked and the message group is subordinate, then the relation can be restamped with a co-ordinate conjunction. Many of the experiential relations outlined above lack a complete paradigm. For example, in the paradigm for [nonpurposive] consequentials presented below, some speakers object to the conflation of the message group functions Effect, Subordinate, and Theme. And there is no explicit realization for [co-ordinate, explicit, marked].

FIGURE 6. TAXIS and THEME in Tagalog message group structure.



- [co-ordinate, implicit, unmarked]
 (93) *hindi isinawi ni Maria ang korse; nagaliti si Juan*
 neg. 'returned' 'car' 'got angry'
 'Mary didn't return the car; John got angry.'
- [co-ordinate, implicit, marked]
 (94) *nagaliti si Juan hindi isinawi ni Maria ang korse*
 'John got angry; Mary hadn't returned the car.'
- [co-ordinate, explicit, unmarked]
 (95) *hindi isinawi ni Maria ang korse kaya nagaliti si Juan*
 'Mary didn't return the car so John got angry.'
- [co-ordinate, explicit, marked]
 (96) *nagaliti si Juan:— hindi isinawi ni Maria ang korse*
 'John got angry for Mary didn't return the car.'
- [subordinate, unmarked]
 (97) *sapagkat hindi isinawi ni Maria ang korse kaya nagaliti si Juan*
 Theme/Cause/Subordinate Rheme/Effect/Matrix
 'Because Mary didn't return the car, John got angry.'
- (98) *hindi isinawi ni Maria ang korse kaya't nagaliti si Juan*
 Theme/Cause/Matrix Rheme/Effect/Subordinate
 'Mary didn't return the car with the result that John got angry.'
- [subordinate, unmarked, remark]
 (99) *sapagkat hindi isinawi ni Maria ang korse kaya nagaliti si Juan*

- Theme/Cause/Subordinate Rheme/Effect/Matrix
 'Because Mary didn't return the car therefore John got angry.'
- [subordinate, marked]
 (100) *nagaliti si Juan sapagkat hindi isinawi ni Maria ang korse*
 Theme/Effect/Matrix Rheme/Cause/Subordinate
 'John got angry because Mary didn't return the car.'
- (101) *kaya't nagaliti si Juan hindi isinawi ni Maria ang korse*
 Theme/Effect/Subordinate Rheme/Cause/Matrix
 'With the result that John got angry, Mary didn't return the car.'

5. CONTINUITY in Tagalog

CONTINUITY is realized through a subset of clitic particles in Tagalog. Certain of the particles encoding CONTINUITY can be used in senses in which they do not connect messages. For example in (102), *na* is simply a deictic glossed as 'now'. No information is presumed:

- (102) *kumain ka na*
 'eat' 'you' 'now'
 'Eat now.'

Here we will be concerned only with uses of clitic particles which require the listener to retrieve information from elsewhere in the context of the message in order to interpret the particle. That is to say, CONTINUITY is a phoricity system, and only particles which a speaker uses to remind his listener of information they share will be considered.

There are 10 CONTINUITY systems in all and they fall into five groups. System 1 covers the range of meaning encoded in English 'again'. System 2 relates messages temporally in terms of succession in time. Systems 3 and 4 mark contrast and similarity between messages. Systems 5 and 6 arbitrate the state of completion of a message. And systems 7 through 10 relate messages as cause and effect. As will be clear from the examples below, CONTINUITY functions as both an alternative and reinforcing expression of the meanings described under CONJUNCTION above. CONTINUITY is likely the original system used in Tagalog to connect messages. The morphology of conjunctions often transparently reveals their derivation through the history of the language. This is not true of particles realizing CONTINUITY. And there are Austronesian languages like Manam which operate at present with a much more restricted CONJUNCTION system than Tagalog and which borrow conjunctions from other languages (from Tok Pisin in the case of Manam) yet which have CONTINUITY systems with the same range of meaning as that of Tagalog.²

The CONTINUITY network is presented in Fig. 7 with systems numbered from 1 to 10. System 1 permits speakers to remind their listener that an event is taking place for a second time. Either *mulí* or *uli* realize the feature [iterative] which is illustrated in (103).

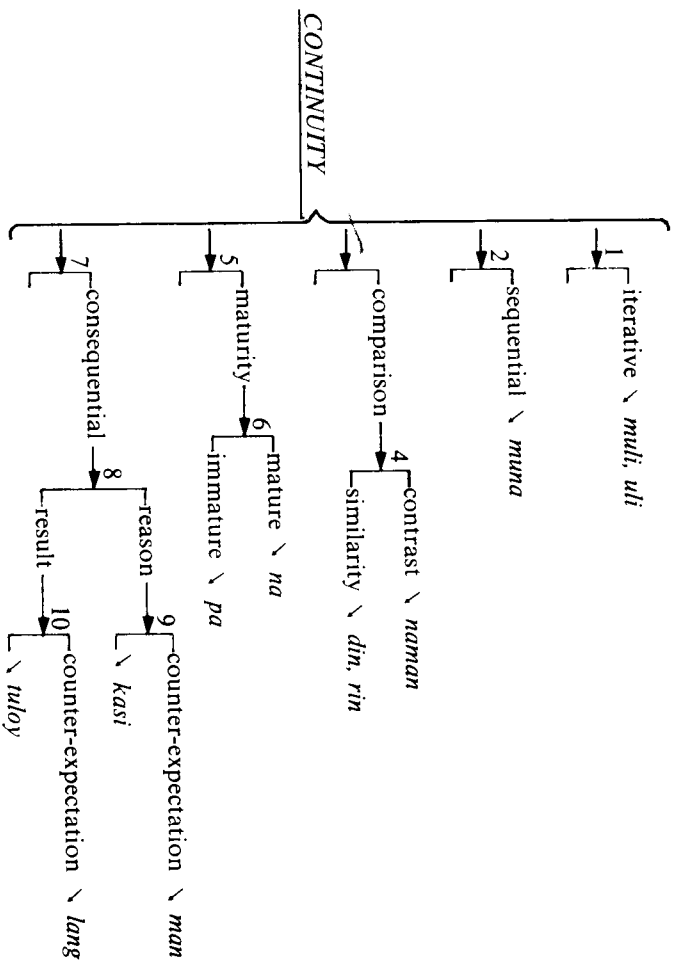
- [iterative]
 (103) *nakita ko si Juan kahapon at nakita ko muli siya ngayon*
 'saw' 'I' 'yesterday' 'and' 'saw' 'I' 'again' 'he' 'today'
 'I saw John yesterday and I saw him again today.'

System 2 enables speakers to mark one message as taking place before another and is realized through *muna*. The feature [sequential] is presented in (104).

[sequential]
 (104) *bago siya ay nagpunta sa parti, naligo muna siya*
 'before' 'he' 'went' 'bathed' 'first' 'he'
 'Before he went to the party, he bathed.'

In negative jussive exclusive imperatives *muna* is glossed as English 'yet'. Thus (105) is rendered 'Don't leave yet.' not 'Don't leave first.'

FIGURE 7. CONTINUITY in Tagalog.



(105) *hwag ka munang umalis*
 neg. imperative 'you' 'leave'
 'Don't leave yet.'

An alternative translation of (105) would be 'Don't leave for awhile.' which would parallel positive jussives like (106):

(106) *mangitim munaayo*
 'blacken' 'you & I'
 'Let's sunbake for awhile.'

Thus it is not certain that *muna* is actually phoric in imperative structures.

System 3 allows speakers to remind listeners of messages which compare or contrast with the message containing *naman* or *din/rin*. System 4 distinguishes comparison by [contrast] or [similarity]. A difference between messages is illustrated in (107) and (108); similarity in (109) and (110).

[contrast]
 (107) *nagpunta si Juan sa Maynila; nagpunta naman si Pedro sa Quezon City*
 'went' 'went'
 'John went to Manila; Peter on the other hand went to Quezon City.'

(108) *pagod si Juan; ngunit masaya naman siya*
 'tired' 'but' 'happy' 'he'
 'John's tired but on the other hand he's happy.'

[similarity]

(109) *nagpunta si Juan sa Maynila; nagpunta rin si Pedro sa Maynila*
 'went' 'went'

'John went to Manila; Peter went to Manila too.'

(110) *binigyan ni Juan ng regalo si Maria; binigyan din niya si Tessi*
 'gave' 'present' 'gave' 'he'
 'John gave a present to Mary; he gave one to Tessi too.'

When *naman* is used the messages connected may as in (108) or may not as in (107) have the same Actor³ but there must be some change in what is predicated about this role. Thus in (111), *theriya* in the second message must be interpreted as referring to Maria since only on this interpretation is a change in predication observed:

(111) *nakita ni Maria si Juan; nakakita naman niya si Pedro*
 'saw' 'saw' 'her'
 'Maria saw Juan; Peter on the other hand saw her.'

The use of *din/rin* implies either that the Actor changes while what is predicated remains the same as in (109) or that the Actor remains the same while what is predicated changes as in (110). Both *din/rin* and *naman* appear in (112) and (113). In (112) the Actor changes while what is predicated is constant while the reverse is true in (113). Removing *rin* from (112) makes the message unacceptable since what is predicated doesn't change:

(112) *namatay si Juan kahapon at si Pedro naman ay namatay rin kahapon*
 'died' 'yesterday' 'and' 'died'
 'John died yesterday and Peter died yesterday too.'

(113) *niluto ni Maria ang bisitik; niluto rin naman niya ang kanin*
 'cooked' 'steak' 'cooked' 'she' 'rice'
 'Mary cooked the steak; she also cooked the rice.'

It follows that wherever *din/rin* is used *rin naman* can be used. It seems at a first glance contradictory to mark contrast and similarity in the same message; however similarity is not identity. Some difference between the messages involved remains which can be marked with *naman*. In summary then, *din/rin* implies α Actor, α -predication or α Actor, α -predication; *naman* implies α -predication; and *din/rin naman* implies α Actor, α -predication or α Actor, α -predication.

In messages like (114), *din/rin* is best glossed as 'finally'. Schacter and Otanes (1972, p. 422) assign this interpretation when the message encodes the result of some long desired goal. In such examples Tagalog appears to be marking a parallel between the hypothetical and the real, with the contrast lying in the desire becoming reality:

- (114) *natapos din ang klase*
 'finished' 'class'
 'The class is finally finished.'

In messages like (115) *din/rin* is glossed as 'still'. In such examples *din/rin* appears to mark a parallel between the different periods in which the message takes place. Bloomfield's *Tagalog Texts with Grammatical Analysis* (1917) presents numerous examples of this connection (see for example 94: 23-25 which is paraphrased in more colloquial Tagalog as (115)). In (115) the speaker asserts that although her parents stand in the way, she loves her lover just as she did before:

- (115) *sumunod ako sa aking mga magulang ngunit ikaw rin ay aking mahal*
 'followed' 'I' 'my' pl. 'parents' 'but' 'you' 'my' 'love'
 'I followed my parents' will but you are still my love.'

In messages like (115) *din/rin* has a concessive flavour which will be discussed in connection with *pa* below.

System 5 permits speakers to adjust expectations as to whether a message is continuing or completed. System 6 distinguishes [maturity] of a message as realized by *na* in (116) from [immaturity] as realized by *pa* in (117).

- [immaturity]
 (116) *umalis na si Juan nang dumating si Maria*
 'left' 'when' 'came'
 'John had already left when Mary arrived.'
 [immaturity]
 (117) *nasa opisina pa si Pedro nang bumalik si Juan*
 'within' 'office' 'when' 'returned'
 'Peter was still in the office when John returned.'

Na is used much more frequently in Tagalog to mark the completion of a message than is 'already' in English and usually does not encode the counter-expectation 'already' realizes. It seems in most cases simply to mark a message as completed with respect to succeeding messages in a text. Numerous examples of non-phoric *na* are found in Bloomfield (1917) (see for example 88:34 which is paraphrased in colloquial Tagalog as (118)). The clitic *na* in (118) cannot be glossed 'already' but simply marks its message as completed with respect to André calling Mary:

- (118) *nang natapos na magsap na ang kaniyang mga ama, tinawag ni Andrees si Maria*
 'when' 'finished' 'talk' 'their' pl. 'fathers' 'called'
 'When their fathers had finished talking, André called Mary.'

As was illustrated in (115) Tagalog transparently encodes the fact that 'still' implies 'too'. When a speaker wishes to mark an unexpected continuation of a message both *pa* and *din/rin* are commonly used. In (119) the speaker reminds his listener of John's intention to go to the pool, and marks his going as surprising in light of the fact the pool was closed:

- (119) *ang liguan ay sarado pa ngunit pumunta pa rin si Juan*
 'pool' 'closed' 'but' 'went'
 'The pool was still closed but John went anyway.'

Rin alone in the second message can convey the concessive meaning. Again, as in (114), Tagalog seems to be noting a parallel between the hypothetical (i.e. John intending to go) and the real (i.e. John actually going to the pool), through *din/rin*. And the *pa* apparently marks the continuation of the intention up to its fulfilment.

The systemic opposition of *na* and *pa* is exploited by Tagalog in message groups like (120). By marking [maturity] in one message and [immaturity] in the other, Tagalog sets up a concessive construction in which no conjunction is required to make explicit the meaning:

- (120) *ang pagkain ay hindi pa luto, kainin na niya ito*
 'food' neg. 'cooked' 'ate' 'he' 'this'
 'The food wasn't cooked yet; he ate it anyway.'

Pa is often used to realize a non-temporal 'moreness' and it is hard to tell which type of meaning, the temporal or non-temporal, is more basic. When the English gloss 'too' means 'in addition to', Tagalog uses *pa* as in (121) and (122):

- (121) *maganda ang dalaga, mayaman pa*
 'beautiful' 'girl' 'rich'
 'The girl is beautiful and rich too.'
 (122) *si Tessi ay nagsusulat at nanood pa ng TB*
 'was writing' 'and' 'watched'
 'Tessi was writing and watching T.V. too.'

It is perhaps this non-temporal sense of *pa* (cf. as well: *sino pa* 'who else'; *ano pa* 'what else'; etc.) that underlies the use of *pa rin* which is glossed in English as 'even'. In (123) the parallel between the messages is not temporal as in (119) but one of similarity as in (109) and (110). The Actor remains the same while what is predicated differs. And the *pa* appears to encode the meaning 'in addition to'. The *pa rin* in (123) is concessive like that in (119) and *rin* alone can realize the intended meaning:

- (123) *naiwala ni Juan ang kaniyang pitaka; naiwala pa rin niya*
 'lost' 'his' 'wallet' 'lost' 'he'
ang kaniyang barya
 'his' 'change'
 'John lost his wallet; he even lost his change.'

When there are no direct parallels between the messages connected as in (124), *pa* combines with the clitic *nga*. *Nga* usually adds emphasis to a command or request. In combination with *pa* in (124) an English gloss 'even' is appropriate:

- (124) *nagtarabaho ba si Juan? - oo, isinusulat pa nga niya ang kaniyang essay*
 'working' Q 'yes' 'writing' 'he'
 'his'
 'Is John working? - yes, he's even writing his essay.'

Before turning to CONTINUITY particles marking relations of consequence, the combination *na naman* which acts as an alternative realization of the feature [iterative] will be considered. In (125) *na naman* is glossed 'again'. *Uli/muli* is possible instead of *na naman* but appears not to encode the disgust with the situation the speaker is marking with *na naman*:

- (125) *bumabayo na naman kahit kababayo pa lang kahapon*
 'storming' 'though' 'just stormed' 'yesterday'
 'It's storming again though it just stormed yesterday.'

At times combinations of clitic particles appear idiomatic and it is not clear when one should stop trying to explain how the sum of the parts adds up to the meaning of the whole. For example, the *pa* which accompanies *lang* in the recent perfective aspect (as in (125)) bears no discernable relation to the senses of *pa* discussed above. *Kababayo na lang* seems more plausible, at least to foreign intuition. Keeping in mind that *na naman* may well be idiomatic along these lines, its use in (125) can perhaps be understood as: something has happened (i.e. *na*), which is in contrast with something else (i.e. *naman*), but there is no contiguous message of parallel content, so the contrast must be with an event happening at another time; adding up to the meaning 'again'.

System 7 allows speakers to mark consequential relations between messages as they instruct the listener to retrieve reasons and results. System 8 permits speakers to mark a message as either a [reason] or a [result]. In (126) *kasi* indicates that its message is a cause; in (127) *tuloy* marks its message as an effect. Both are present in the message group in (128).

[reason]

- (126) *gusto ko kasing lumigaya. kaya bigyan mo ako ng pera*
 'like' 'I' 'get happy' 'so' 'give' 'you' 'me' 'money'
 'I want to be happy so give me some money.'

[result]

- (127) *malakas na kumain si Maria kaya marataba tuloy siya*
 'a lot' 'ate' 'so' 'fat' 'she'
 'Mary ate a lot so she's fat.'
 (128) *mabait kasi si Maria kaya mahal tuloy siya ni Juan*
 'nice' 'so' 'like' 'her'
 'Mary is nice so John likes her.'

Systems 9 and 10 are in effect the same system and cross-classify system 8 according to whether there is something surprising in the relation between the messages. In (129) *lang* contradicts the expectation that John will read some books, marking the result as unexpected. In (130) *man* marks concession: one would expect the opposite to follow from what does:

- (129) *sinabi ni Juan na bumasa siya ng siyam na libro pero*
 'said' 'read' 'he' 'nine' 'books' 'but'
ang bhasa lang niya ay tallo
 'read' 'he' 'three'
 'John said he's read nine books but the number he read was just three.'
 (130) *mabuti man ang marka mo sa eksamen. ibagagsak ka pa rin*
 'good' 'marks' 'your' 'exam' 'will fail' 'you'
ng itser mo
 'teacher' 'your'

'You got good marks on the exam; your teacher will fail you though.'
Man in conjunction with *pa rin* makes explicit the concession encoded in English 'even'. Thus the gloss 'even' for *pa man rin* in (131) and *man* . . . *rin* in (132):

- (131) *ninakaw niya ang singsing ko. kinuha pa man rin ang lahat*
 'stole' 'he' 'ring' 'my' 'took' 'all'

- ng nakatago kong pera*
 'saved' 'my' 'money'
 'He stole my ring; he even stole all the money I'd saved.'

- (132) *bumagsak sila sa eksamen at ako man ay bumagsak rin*
 'failed' 'they' 'exam' 'and' 'I' 'failed'
 'They failed the exam and even I failed.'

Perhaps the most puzzling combination of clitics in Tagalog is the *man lang* in (133) which with the accompanying negative is glossed as 'didn't even':

- (133) *sinabi ni Juan ni magtarrabaho siya nang husto pero*
 'said' 'will work' 'he' 'full' 'but'
wala man lang siyang ginawa
 'nothing' 'he' 'did'
 'John said he's work hard but he didn't even do anything.'

Since the second message group in (133) undercuts the expectation established in the first, one would expect *lang* which does appear. *Man* is more problematic. It may simply be reinforcing the counter-expectation; but the normal position for *man* in this concessive sense would be in the first message, not the second (cf. (130) above).

The final combination to be considered is *na rin lang* in (134). This message group would be appropriately contextualized by a discussion of what movie to see, someone having suggested the movie in question. *Na* encodes the fact that the movie has been 'already' seen. *Lang* appears to undercut the expectation implicit in the suggestion: namely that the movie hasn't been seen. *Rin* is more troublesome. It may possibly note a parallel between the implied expectation that the movie hasn't been seen and the fact that the movie has been seen. This is perhaps stretching the point, but *rin* is used to mark parallels between hypothetical and real as in (114) and (119) above:

- (134) *nakitia mo na rin lang ang sineng iyan kaya hwag*
 'saw' 'you' 'movie' 'that' 'so' neg. imperative 'you'
nang ulitin
 'repeat'
 'You've already seen that movie so don't see it again.'

As will be apparent from the examples presented to this point, CONJUNCTION and CONTINUITY interact a good deal in connecting messages in Tagalog. *Man* (cf. (130)) or a correlative *na* . . . *pa* (cf. (120)) provide an alternative realization of the concession encoded in the conjunctions *kahit* (cf. (19)) or *bagama't* (cf. (16)). *Tuloy* and *kasi* can be used to connect messages causally whether a causal conjunction like *kaya* (cf. (128)) is present or not. *Na* and *muna* both sequence messages in time (cf. (116) and (104)). And *naman* and *din/rin* can be used to mark contrast and similarity (cf. (107) and (109)) which is alternatively realized by comparative conjunctions such as *samtantalang* (cf. (78)). This means that while many subordinate conjunctions lack co-ordinate agnates, there do exist co-ordinate structures for many of the meanings these subordinate conjunctions encode. For example, *butat nang*, *pamula nang*, and *sayang* which realize the temporal feature [extension to present] and are glossed 'since' have no co-ordinate agnate. But the continuity particle *pa* can be used to

form a co-ordinate message group with the same experiential meaning. Thus (135) is related to (136) below:

- (135) *buhat nang namatay ang kabigan niya, malungkot na malungkot siya*
 'since' 'died' 'friend' 'his' 'sad'
 'since his friend died he's been very sad.'
 (136) *Namatay ang kabigan niya; malungkot na malungkot pa siya*
 'His friend died; he's still very sad.'

Thus while the two systems may well have evolved historically at different stages in the development of Tagalog, with CONTINUITY the older system, CONTINUITY and CONJUNCTION now function as both complementary and as amplifactory systems relating Tagalog messages to their context.

NOTES

¹ Unfortunately the term CLEFTING reflects too strongly the syntax of the English realization for the textual meaning relevant here. Halliday's (1967b) THEME PREDICATION is no better, and the term CLEFTING is retained here simply as a reminder that the segmentation of the message into Given and New through structural as opposed to intonational devices is at stake. Halliday's (1967b) IDENTIFICATION is preferred to PSEUDO-CLEFTING however as more descriptive of the relation in hand.

² I am indebted to Frank Lichtenberk (personal communication) for this information on Manam.

³ The term *Actor* is used here in the sense of Schacter (1967, 1977).

Glossary

The glossary includes only items that are used distinctively in systemic theory. It is mainly biased towards current systemic work and makes no attempt to synthesize the terminology used in all the various sections of the present book.

ACTOR: clause function; MATERIAL; participant; the doer of an action: e.g., 'John' in '*John arrived*'/'*John hugged Mary*'

ADDRESSEE: clause function; VERBAL; participant; the participant addressed; e.g., 'Mary' in '*John told Mary*' a story'

ADJUNCT: clause function; interpersonal; a constituent which lacks the potential to become Subject via the active/passive relation; e.g., 'into the yard' in '*John ran into the yard*'; See COMPLEMENT

AFFECTED: See MEDIUM

[AFFIRMATIVE]: earlier term for [DECLARATIVE]

AGENT: clause function; ERGATIVE analysis; participant; the ergative case; also called Causer; Actor in a [transitive] MATERIAL process; the Phenomenon in a 'please-type' MENTAL process; the Contributor in a RELATIONAL process; e.g., 'John' in '*John convinced Mary that he'd find her a job so that he could marry her*'

ANAPHORA: the presumption of information from the preceding verbal context

[ASCRPTIVE]: see [ATTRIBUTIVE]

ATTRIBUTE: clause function; RELATIONAL; that which is ascribed to another participant; e.g., 'big' in '*The bridge is big*'

[ATTRIBUTIVE]: clause feature, RELATIONAL; a nonreversible relational clause; e.g., 'John is tall'; also called [ascriptive]

ATTRIBUTEUR: clause function; RELATIONAL; participant; the Agent in a causative RELATIONAL process; e.g., 'John' in '*John made Fred angry*'

BENEFICIARY: clause function; ergative analysis; participant; the Recipient of goods or the Client for a service; the Addressee in a VERBAL process; e.g., 'Mary' in '*John said to Mary he'd give her the present he bought her*'

C: phrase function: prepositional; the Complement in a prepositional phrase; generally realized by a nominal group; e.g., 'the house' in '*to the house*'

CARRIER: clause function; RELATIONAL; participant; the participant of which things are attributed; e.g., 'Mary' in '*Mary is here*'/'*Mary is a naturalist*'; called Attribuent and Attribuant in earlier work

CATAPHORA: the presumption of information from the following verbal context

CIRCUMSTANCE: generalized experiential clause function; typically realized by an adverbial group or prepositional phrase; subclassified as Extent, Location, Cause, Manner, Accompaniment, Matter, Role; e.g., (respectively) '*John spoke 5 hours in Toronto for charity with relative ease without his notes about poverty as an expert*'

[CIRCUMSTANTIAL]: clause feature; a RELATIONAL clause involving a Circumstance; e.g., 'John is here/in the yard'

CLASS: the label given to a constituent specifying its potential within the linguistic system; thus opposed to function as potential to actual; e.g., 'John' is nominal group by class but Subject by function in '*John is coming*'