INTERPERSONAL GRAMMATIZATION: MOOD AND MODALITY IN TAGALOG

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1. MODES OF MEANING

Halliday (1979) suggests that the functional organization of grammar is motivated syntagmatically as well as paradigmatically with different types of structure correlating with different metafunctional components. This suggestion is further explored in Matthiessen (1988), who is particularly concerned with the problems different types of structural realization cause for representation (Matthiessen and Halliday, to appear); a summary of their correlations is provided below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>METAFUNCTION</th>
<th>TYPE OF STRUCTURE</th>
<th>REPRESENTATION</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 ideational:</td>
<td>particulate:</td>
<td>segmental:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(a) experiential</td>
<td>constituent</td>
<td>constituency</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(b) logical</td>
<td>recursive</td>
<td>(inter)dependency</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 interpersonal</td>
<td>suprasegmental</td>
<td>prosody</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 textual</td>
<td>culminative</td>
<td>prominence</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 1: Metafunction and types of structure

Of particular interest in this paper is their proposal that interpersonal meaning will tend across languages to have a non-particulate form of structural realization which they refer to as prosodic (after the long component phonology of the London School). This proposal will be reviewed here with respect to the realization of what are generally referred to as MOOD and MODALITY (e.g. Palmer 1986) in the Tagalog clause.

2. STRUCTURE IN TAGALOG (DIVERGENT MODES)

For almost 50 years now, the dominant form of representation as far as grammatical relations are concerned has been constituency, especially within the development of the hegemonic discourses of American linguistics. Grammar has in other words been primarily addressed in experiential terms, although the form/content duality
underpinning most syntactic description partially obscures the metafunctional bias in this approach. Working within this tradition, Schachter and Otanes (1972) propose the following constituency structure of what they term basic sentences in Tagalog.

![Basic Sentence Diagram](image)

**Fig. 1: Schachter & Otanes's basic sentence structure**

A basic sentence consists of a **Predicate** (which may be verbal, nominal or adjectival) and a **Topic** (which typically follows); and it may include as well a **Movable Adverb** whose position, as its name implies, is not fixed. This structure is exemplified in 1:

1. *u-uwi ang bangkay mamaya*
   
   `will go home corpse later`
   
   `'The body will go home later'`

   Additional constituency is introduced via the **Predicate**; the structure for a transitive verbal **Predicate** for example is developed as follows and exemplified in Figure 2.

![Basic Sentence Elaborated Diagram](image)

**Fig. 2: Basic sentence elaborated**

2. *i-li-lbing ng pamilya ang bangkay mamaya*
   
   `will bury family corpse later`
   
   `'The family will bury the body later'`

   Note that no systematic distinction is made in the labeling of nodes between function and class, although Schachter and Otanes's recognition of verbal, nominal and adjectival **Predicates** is suggestive (i.e. **Predicate** as function, **Verbal** as class, etc.). Of special interest is Schachter and Otanes's use of the label **Topic** in place of the more usual **Subject**. An attempt has been made here to orient the constituency analysis in the direction of textual meaning by labeling one constituent as textually prominent. The grammar of Tagalog, as with other Philippine languages, is particularly compelling in this regard because of the way in which the morphology singles out one experiential
constituent as 'central': the particle *ang* in 2, for example, marks *ang bangkay* as Topic while the prefix *i*- signals that its participant role (or 'case' in Fillmore's 1968 sense of the term) is that of centrifugal goods (see Ramos 1974:46, De Guzman 1978, Martin forthcoming, for interpretations of this 'focus' system).

The constituency analysis sketched out above provides the basis for the overall organization of Schachter and Otanes's grammar. A chapter on pronunciation is followed by one on basic sentence structure. Subsequently nominals are considered (potential Topics or Predicates), then adjectivals (potential Predicates without case affixes), verbals (potential Predicates with case affixes) and adverbials (non-Topics and non-Predicates). The final chapter is concerned with derived and minor sentence structures:

1. Pronunciation
2. Basic sentence structure
3. Nominals and their expansions
4. Adjectivals and their expansions
5. Verbals and their expansions
6. Adverbials and their expansions
7. Derived and minor sentence structures

The grammar as a whole, in other words, is organized around constituency. In Halliday's terms this means that its fundamental organizing principle is experiential: the grammar is approached through consideration of its resources for constructing reality--for dividing whole phenomena (states and events; cf. Schachter and Otanes's 1972:61 equational and narrational sentences) into parts, and then breaking these parts into sub-parts, sub-sub-parts, and so on until a sentence's ultimate constituents are reached. This has very serious consequences for the treatment of interpersonal meaning, which will be outlined in section 3 below.

Tagalog itself, on the other hand, makes clear structural distinctions among all four types of meaning introduced in section 1: experiential, logical, interpersonal and textual. The logical component for example relies heavily on the hypotactic dependency marker *na/ng* to link clauses, phrases or words. Three clauses are so linked (via projection) in 3 below:

3. *s-in-abi nila na na-intindi-han na u-uwi siya*
   said they LK1 understood LK will go home s/he
   'They said they understood he would go home'

Textually, as noted above, the clause focuses on one participant as central--the topic. This participant tends to come either last (more commonly) in the clause, in line with the culminative patterning outlined in section 1:

4. *i-li-libing ng pamilya si Marcos*
   will bury family
   'The family will bury Marcos'

5. *Si Marcos ay i-li-libing ng pamilya* IM2 will bury family
   'Marcos will be buried by the family'
Finally, the clause may include a number of interpersonal elements, including vocatives, respect and surprise particles and tags as in 6, whose realizations are dispersed across the clause and which are not connected to other elements through the experiential, logical and textual systems introduced above. These meanings will be discussed in some detail below.

6. Imelda, patay po pala si Marcos, hindi ba
   dead respect surprise neg?
   ‘Imelda, Marcos is really dead, isn’t he, ma’am?’

3. MOOD AND MODALITY (THE INTERPERSONAL MODE)

Consideration of interpersonal meaning is in fact distributed (prosodically) across all chapters of Schachter and Otanes’s *Tagalog Reference Grammar*. Chapter 1 includes a section on TONE, which has to anticipate a discussion of MOOD because the meaning of the intonation contours depends on whether the clause is declarative, interrogative, imperative, etc. (as in English; see Halliday 1967). Chapter 2 (basic sentence structure) briefly considers the position of enclitic particles and movable adverbs, many of which code interpersonal meaning (including MODALITY or what is referred to in formal grammar as epistemic modality). Chapter 3 (nominals) looks at personal pronouns and their enclitic behavior. Chapter 4 (adjectivals) covers MODULATION (deontic modality in formal grammar), exclamative mood and various intensifying resources for adjectives. Chapter 5 (verbals) includes a section on imperative mood, since this is realized through special forms of the verb. Chapter 6 (adverbials) examines non-pronominal enclitics, more MODALITY (sentence initial adverbs) and sentence final particles. And Chapter 7 covers interrogatives (including tags), negation, formulas, interjections and special ‘evaluative’ clauses (what Schachter and Otanes refer to as explanatory at clauses; 1972:545-546).

The experimental organization of the grammar can thus be seen as marginalizing interpersonal meaning. Only the final chapter is primarily concerned with interpersonal. And in each of the other chapters interpersonal meaning cro, towards the end.

1. Intonation (section 28 - out of 30)
2. Interpersonal adverbs (section 14 - out of 15)
3. Enclitic behavior of pronouns (section 29 - out of 29)
4. Exclamatives (section 24 - out of 24)
5. Imperatives (section 30 - out of 30)
6. Sentence final particles (section 13 - followed by adverbial clauses)

As well as marginalizing the interpersonal, the experiential organization of the grammar also fragments it. MOOD for example is considered in Chapters 1 (MOOD and TONE), 4 (exclamative), 5 (imperative, hortative, optative) and 9 (interrogative). Similarly enclitic particles are taken up in Chapters 2 (because their position is not predicted by the basic sentence structure outlined above), 3 (because the pronominal class of nominals is enclitic) and 6 (because the remaining enclitics are classed as adverbs). This degree of fragmentation is totally unmotivated interpersonally. Enclitic pronouns and enclitic adverbs, for example, resemble each other in most respects. Contrast the ‘nominals’ and ‘adverbials’ in 7.
Table 2: Enclitic words vs non-enclitic phrases

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NOMINAL</th>
<th>ENCLITIC</th>
<th>NON-ENCLITIC</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nila ang bangkay</td>
<td>daw</td>
<td>nang ma-bilis</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Both enclitics *daw* and *nila* occur as 'unexpanded' words, not phrases (*nila vs ang bangkay and daw vs nang mabilis*), they immediately follow the Predicate (*'ili-libing ang bangkay daw nila nang mabilis* is not possible), they are ordered with respect to each other (*'ili-libing nila daw* .... but reversing the order of the nominal and adverbial groups is fine: *'ili-libing daw nila nang mabilis ang bangkay*), they cannot be fronted (*'daw nila ay 'ili-libing ang bangkay nang mabilis* -- but both groups can be: *ang bangkay ay 'ili-libing daw nila nang mabilis* or *mabilis daw nilang 'ili-libing ang bangkay*) and so on. This is not to suggest that there are no good experiential reasons for treating enclitic pronouns as nominals; there are (grouping enclitic adverbs and manner adverbs together is however much harder to justify). All nominals for example have distinctive realizations depending on 'case': Topic vs non-Topic participant vs non-Topic circumstance (*nila:ang bangkay::nila:ang bangkay::sa kanila::sa bangkay*; see section 6 below). The point here is rather that interpersonal and experiential principles of classification are not congruent and that grammars which are built up around just one of these organizing principles will necessarily efface the other. Reconciliation of this contestation will be considered below.

4. MULTI-FUNCTIONALITY

Halliday's (1985) strategy for reconciling divergent forms of structural realization in grammar is to establish simultaneous experiential, interpersonal and textual structures for the clause and to explore how these are mapped onto each other for different textual and contextual effects. His multi-tiered approach is illustrated for sentence 8 below (setting aside logical meaning). The experiential analysis addresses the clause's observer function -- how it (de)constructs reality as process, participant and circumstance. The interpersonal layer deals with the clause's intruder function--the way in which it (de)constructs social reality as a negotiated interactive event. The textual layer concerns the clause's enabling function--the means by which it makes connections with its verbal and non-verbal context (Given ^ New structure will not be considered here).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Actor</th>
<th>Process</th>
<th>Goal</th>
<th>Circumstance: location: time</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mood</td>
<td>Residue</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Theme</td>
<td>Rheme</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Each layer in the analysis assigns a different structure to the clause. Experientially, for example, *will bury* is treated as a single constituent opposed to the two
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participants and the circumstance in the clause. Interpersonally, however, it will be bracketed with the family as Mood (or more delicately as Subject ^ Finite) because it is this part of the clause that determines its function as dialogue; note how the Mood element is replayed twice (as tag and as response) in the following contextualized example:

9. The family will bury the body later, won’t they?
   --Yes, they will.

The implication of this kind of multi-dimensional interpretation of clause structure for the organization of grammars is that metafunction rather than constituency be taken as a basic organizing principle. Thus Part 1 of Halliday’s (1985) functional grammar of English develops as follows:

1. Constituency
2. Towards a functional grammar
3. Clause as message (textual meaning)
4. Clause as exchange (interpersonal meaning)
5. Clause as representation (experiential meaning)
...

On this model no one type of meaning marginalizes the others. The clause is interpreted from the perspective of the textual, interpersonal and experiential metafunction as the simultaneous construction of meanings generated by each functional component in the grammar. Equally importantly, this kind of model makes space for the development of different forms of structural representation for different metafunctions. Special forms of representation for interpersonal (prosodic patterns) and textual (culminative patterns) are not developed in Halliday (1985), who uses the more familiar constituency model for each layer of structure as exemplified for 4 above. This facilitates mapping the different layers of meaning onto each other -- e.g. Actor/Subject/Theme in 4; but it does not really do justice to the divergent realization principles proposed in Halliday (1978) for different metafunctions. Alongside developing a more integrated approach to interpersonal meaning in Tagalog than Schachter and Otanes’s grammar affords, this paper will also attempt to develop a form of interpersonal representation that does some justice to prosodic aspects of the structure of MOOD and MODALITY in the Tagalog clause.

5. MOOD

Central to any discussion of the grammatization of interpersonal meaning in the Tagalog clause is a consideration of MOOD -- resources for structuring dialogue as interaction. As noted above, MOOD conditions the meaning of TONE. As well it conditions the meaning and distribution of enclitics (yata ‘uncertainty’, for example, is found only in declaratives, with speculation in imperatives and interrogatives realized by kaya; nga, on the other hand, occurs in all moods, but is better glossed as ‘please’ in imperatives and as ‘really’ or ‘indeed’ in declaratives and interrogatives). In addition, MOOD controls the form of negation (hindi for declaratives and interrogatives, huwag for imperatives) and the possibilities for modalization and modulation (see below).

From the point of view of conversational structure, the basic oppositions underlying MOOD have to do with the nature of the commodity being exchanged (information vs goods and services) and with the way in which an exchange is initiated (giving
vs demanding). These semantic oppositions cross-classify moves as follows (see Halliday 1985:69):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>giving</th>
<th>information</th>
<th>goods &amp; services</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>demanding</td>
<td>QUESTION</td>
<td>COMMAND</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'proposition'</td>
<td>'proposal'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3: The Semantics of MOOD

In addition Halliday glosses information oriented moves as propositions, and goods and services moves as proposals. Discourse semantic categories such as those just outlined are related in conventional ways to grammatical ones, although alternative contextually conditioned realizations (referred to as indirect speech acts in formal grammar) are commonly found. Commands, for example, are naturally related to imperatives in grammar, but can be alternatively realized through a variety of moods. The grammaticalization of the discourse semantic category of proposal will be considered first below.

5.1. Imperative (congruent offers and commands)

Schachter and Otanes recognize several types of imperative clause (1972:402-409). Adapting their suggestions slightly, the system can be outlined as follows. Imperative clauses can be distinguished from declarative and interrogative ones with respect to the fact that although neither embedded nor hypotactically dependent, they do not inflect for aspect (contrast i-li-libing in 3, with the first syllable of the stem reduplicated to mark contemplated aspect, with i-libing in 10 below). In addition they are negated with huwag, whereas propositions use hindi. Unlike English, they usually include a pronominal realization of the interlocutor responsible for proffering goods or performing a service. Schachter and Otanes’s ‘basic imperative’ is illustrated in 10.

**BASIC IMPERATIVE**

10. i-libing ninyo ang bangkay
    bury you-pl corpse
    ‘Bury the body’

Tagalog imperatives select freely for person. Thus alongside the ‘canonical’ second person imperative illustrated in 10, one finds imperatives in which (i) the speaker (acting alone or with others, excluding the addressee), (ii) the addressee(s), (iii) the speaker and the addressee(s), or (iv) non-interlocutor(s) are responsible for effecting the proposal. First person and third person imperatives typically include the optative enclitic particle sana. This system is illustrated in 11 through 14 below: FIRST PERSON (‘I’, exclusive ‘we’)

11. i-libing sana namin ang bangkay mayamaya
    bury hopefully we-excl corpse soon
    ‘We hope to bury the body soon’

SECOND PERSON (‘you’, sg. or pl.)

12. i-libing mo ang bangkay mayamaya
    bury you-sg corpse soon
    ‘Bury the body soon’
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FIRST & SECOND PERSON (inclusive ‘we’)
13. i-libing natin ang bangkay mayamaya
   bury we-incl corpse soon
   ‘Let’s bury the body soon’

THIRD PERSON (‘he, she, they’)
14. i-libing sana nila ang bangkay mayamaya
   bury hopefully they corpse soon
   ‘I hope they will bury the body soon’

Schachter and Otanes (1972:407-408) recognize hortative (first and second person; e.g. 13) and optative constructions alongside second person jussives, restricting optatives to constructions in which ‘the action is to be performed by some person(s) other than the speaker and the person(s) addressed’ (e.g. the third person imperatives illustrated in 14). Contradicting this restriction, however, they include three examples of first person imperatives under optatives (1972:408): Makita sana namin ang singsing ‘I hope we-excl find the ring’, Tingnan ko nga iyon ‘May I see that?’, and Huhugasan ko ba ang pinggan? ‘Should I wash the dishes?’ Two further examples of first person imperatives are included in the discussion of negative imperatives (1972:523): Tawagin ko kaya ang duktor ‘Perhaps I should call the doctor’ and Huwag ho kayang tawagin ang duktor ‘Perhaps I shouldn’t call the doctor’. It is thus clear that Tagalog grammaticalizes a full range of proposals, including inclusive and exclusive Offers, and addressed and non-addressed Commands:

Offer:
   exclusive OBLATIVE - first person imperative (11)
   inclusive HORTATIVE - first/second person imperative (12)

Recognizing a class of first person imperatives (i.e. distinguishing oblatives from optatives) makes room for what Schachter and Otanes refer to as ‘abbreviated imperatives’—first person imperatives whose verb is prefixed with the causative affix pa-. These constructions focus on the speaker as Topic and function as requests for permission.

FIRST PERSON: PERMISSION
15. pa-libing kami ng magulang namin sa Manila
   caus bury we-excl parents our-excl
   ‘Let us6 bury our parents in Manila’

Further delicacy is also required for second person imperatives. Polite jussives are formed by prefixing maki-/paki- to the verb (maki- for what Schachter and Otanes call ‘actor-focus’, paki- for what they call ‘goal-focus’):

POLITE IMPERATIVE
16. paki-libing ninyo ang bangkay mayamaya
   polite-bury you-pl corpse soon
   ‘Please bury the body soon’

In addition, with material processes, an ‘immediate’ imperative realization is possible; the verb stem alone is used, uninflected for aspect or voice (thus i-li-libing ‘will bury’, i-libing ‘bury’, libing ‘bury right away’), typically accompanied by the enclitic na, and any participants or circumstances associated with the process are left unrealized:
IMMEDIATE IMPERATIVE
17. libing na
   bury mature
   'Bury him right away'

The MOOD network developed for imperative constructions is outlined below. Schachter and Otanes's 'equational imperatives' have not been included as corresponding equational declaratives and interrogatives are very common. It is thus unclear why Schachter and Otanes treat equative imperatives as a special case; the fact that they cannot be translated as imperatives in English may have influenced their analysis here (see the modulated declarative translation of 18 below).

EQUATIONAL IMPERATIVE
18. ang bangkay ang i-libing ninyo
corpse bury you-pl
   'The body is what you have to bury'

EQUATIONAL DECLARATIVE
19. ang bangkay ang i-li-libing ninyo
corpse bury you-pl
   'The body is what you'll bury'

20. ano ang i-li-libing ninyo
    what will bury you-pl
    'What will you bury?'

Fig. 3: Basic imperative options
Their 'habitual imperatives' have also been excluded since this construction inflects for contemplated aspect. In the stratified model assumed here, these can be treated as declarative clauses realizing Commands for habitual action, rather than as a special imperative class:

21. mag-li-libing kayo ng bangkay ninyo
   bury you pi corpse your-pi
   'Bury your bodies regularly'

5.2. Indicatives (congruent statements and questions)

Propositions are concerned with exchanging information rather than goods and services, and are typically realized grammatically as indicative rather than imperative MOOD. Indicative clauses in Tagalog inflect for aspect and voice and are negated with hindi rather than huwag. The basic opposition in the system is between affirmative clauses which give information and interrogative clauses which request it. Interrogative clauses optionally include the enclitic question particle ba.

AFFIRMATIVE
22. t-um-akbo si Lydia nang ma-bilis
    ran fast
    'Lydia ran fast'

INTERROGATIVE
23. t-um-akbo ba si Lydia nang ma-bilis
    ran ? fast
    'Did Lydia run fast?'

Positive affirmative clauses may be either declarative or exclamative (as in English, negative clauses are never exclamative; cf. What a race he ran! vs. What a race he didn't run!). With exclamatives, an attribute or circumstance of manner is realized initially in the clause, with the stem preceded by ang, kay, ka-, or ano-ng (Schachter and Otanes 1972: 280-282). The most common form, with ang preceding, is illustrated below:

EXCLAMATIVE: ATTRIBUTE
24. ang ganda niya
    beautiful s/he
    'How beautiful she is!'

EXCLAMATIVE: MANNER
25. ang bilis niya -ng t-um-akbo
    fast s/he LK ran
    'How fast she ran!'

Distinctively, exclamative clauses lack a Topic. Note how the participants which function as Topics in the declarative clauses below appear as non-Topic phrases in 24 and 25 (siya realizes the Topic, niya the non-topic in these examples):

DECLARATIVE
26. ma-ganda siya
    beautiful s/he
    'she's beautiful'
The basic opposition in interrogative clauses is between polar and wh questions. Grammatically, polar questions are typically realized through the question particle ba; phonologically they take rising intonation. Wh questions also commonly include ba⁹, and in addition begin with a wh phrase (actually an n phrase in Tagalog, most of whose wh words have /n/ in the final syllable--excepting bakit 'why' and kumusta 'how'; see Schachter and Otanes 1972:506 and the list of wh phrases below); phonologically they are generally realized on a falling tone.

The enclitic particle kaya is used when interrogatives invite speculation on the part of the addressee; the question particle ba is usually omitted when kaya is used:
With polar interrogatives, *hindi ba’t* is commonly used when confirmation is strongly expected. These clauses thus border on tagged declaratives as far as discourse function is concerned (cf. 29 and 30 above); clauses with *hindi ba’t*, however, are spoken on a single tone group with rising intonation, like other polar interrogatives.

**EXPECTED CONFIRMATION**

35. hindi ba ’t t-um-akbo si Lydia nang ma-bilis
    neg ? ran fast
    ‘Didn’t she run fast though?’

The indicative MOOD systems outlined to this point are presented below. Wh interrogatives will be further explored, but for reasons of space their description will not be systemicized in full.

![Diagram of indicative MOOD systems](image)

Tagalog’s wh phrases are sensitive to the experiential role of the information requested in the clause. *Ano* ‘what’, *alin* ‘which’ and *sino* ‘who’ form equative interrogative structures (thus the English *Who did you bury?*) gets translated into Tagalog as *Who was the one you buried?*:

**EQUATIVE WH INTERROGATIVE**

36. sino ang i-ni-libing ninyo
    who buried you-pl
    ‘Who did you bury?’

With other wh phrases, the equative structure is possible, but no more commonly used than in declarative or imperative clauses:

**NON-EQUATIVE WH INTERROGATIVE**

37. saan ninyo i-ni-libing ang bangkay
    where at you-pl buried corpse
    ‘Where did you bury the body?’
Ano is used as both a wh adjective (‘like what’) and a wh verb (‘do what’). Contrast English’s periphrastic translations of 38 and 39 below (like exclamatives, intensive attributive clauses lack a Topic):

**WH ADJECTIVE**

38. napaka-ano niya
   very what like s/he
   ‘What is she very much like?’

**WH VERB**

39. nag-ano ba kayo
    whatted ? you-pl
    ‘What did you do?’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Thing</th>
<th>Selective</th>
<th>Nonselective</th>
<th>Wh Word</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ano (α or β)</td>
<td>alin (α or β)</td>
<td>ano (α or β)</td>
<td>‘what’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sino (α or β)</td>
<td>nino (α or β)</td>
<td>‘who’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kaniino (α or β)</td>
<td>naKanino</td>
<td>‘with who’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saan</td>
<td>‘where to’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nasaan</td>
<td>‘where at’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kailan</td>
<td>‘when’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bakit</td>
<td>‘why’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paano-(ng)</td>
<td>‘how’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gaano (β)</td>
<td>‘how’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kumusta</td>
<td>‘how’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ilan (α or β)</td>
<td>‘how many’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gaano (α or β)</td>
<td>‘how much’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Magkano (α or β)</td>
<td>‘how much’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4: Wh words in Tagalog
Wh words in Tagalog are classified above. They function as Head of their interrogative phrase unless otherwise designated (α or β = functions as Head or Modifier; β = functions as Modifier only). For example:

**WH WORD AS HEAD**

40. magkano ang mansanas
   how much apple
   'How much are the apples?'

**WH WORD AS MODIFIER**

41. magkano -ng mansanas ang gusto mo
   how much LK apple like you-sg
   'How much worth of apples do you want?'

6. **ENCLITICS**

A number of enclitic particles and pronouns have already been introduced in examples 1-41 above; the particles na, ba, kaya and sana had to be introduced above because of their participation in the realization of MOOD. These enclitics are reviewed below alongside rough glosses corresponding to their English translations.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ENCLITIC PRONOUNS</th>
<th>ENCLITIC PARTICLES</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>mo 'you'</td>
<td>na 'mature'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>namin 'we'</td>
<td>ba 'question'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>natin 'we'</td>
<td>daw 'reportative'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kami 'we'</td>
<td>kaya 'speculation'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ninyo 'you'</td>
<td>sana 'optative'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kayo 'you'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>siya 's/he'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>niya 's/he'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nila 'they'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As a general rule enclitic particles follow the first word in a clause which contains a salient syllable. This accounts for the variable position of the enclitic pronoun in the following examples (adapted here from 22, 25, 30 and 32 above; for further discussion see section 7 below). The enclitic follows the Predicate in the unmarked positive declarative (42) but is drawn to the exclamative, negative and wh phrases preceding the Predicate in 43-45:

42. t-um-akbo siya nang ma-bilis
    ran s/he fast
    'She ran fast'

43. ang bilis niya -ng t-um-akbo
    fast s/he LK ran
    'How fast she ran!'

44. hindi siya t-um-akbo nang ma-bilis
    neg s/he ran fast
    'She didn't run fast'
45. bakit siya tum-akbo nang ma-bilis
   why s/he ran fast
‘Why did she run fast?’

As the enclitic particles encountered to this point illustrate, enclitics can provisionally be interpreted as realizing both textual and interpersonal meaning. Pronominal enclitics realize both types of meaning simultaneously; they presume information recoverable from the context (textual meaning) and do so on the basis of a person system (interpersonal meaning: speaker vs addressee vs both speaker and addressee vs neither speaker or addressee). Tagalog’s system of enclitic pronouns is outlined below (note that the pronominal system is restricted experientially to conscious participants):

```
  TOPIC   NON-TOPIC

  alone     ako      ko      ‘I’
  + others  kami     namin  ‘we-excl’

  speaker & addressee
tayo      natin    ‘we-incl’

  alone     ka       mo      ‘you-sg’
  + others  kayo     ninyo  ‘you-pi’
  alone     siya     niya   ‘s/he-sg’

  addressee
tayo      natin    ‘we-incl’
  alone     ka       mo      ‘you-sg’
  + others  kayo     ninyo  ‘you-pi’
  alone     siya     niya   ‘s/he-sg’

  other    
  + others  sila     nila    ‘they’
```

Table 5: Enclitic pronouns in Tagalog

There is one further pronominal enclitic, kita, which is used in place of the syntagm ko^ ka; thus:

46. ayoko -ng pint-an\(^{10}\) ka, Mike
   I not want LK paint you
   ‘I don’t want to give you a bad name, Mike’

47. ayaw kita -ng pint-an, Mike
   not want 1-you LK paint
   ‘I don’t want to give you a bad name, Mike’

Textual enclitic particles are primarily concerned with relationships between clauses and interact with CONJUNCTION (see Martin 1981); the interpersonal particles are more concerned with relationships between interlocutors and interact
with MOOD. Both types are far more common in dialogue than monologue, being especially tuned to co-ordinating the interactive structure of conversation.¹¹

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>'TEXTUAL'</th>
<th>'INTERPERSONAL'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>na</td>
<td>'mature'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pa</td>
<td>'immature'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>man</td>
<td>'concessive'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>din/rin</td>
<td>'similarity'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lang/lamang</td>
<td>'reductive'¹²</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>muna</td>
<td>'impermanence'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>naman</td>
<td>'contrast'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kasi</td>
<td>'reason'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tuloy</td>
<td>'result'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>nga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>daw/raw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ho</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>po</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ba</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kaya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>pala</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>sana</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'intensive'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'reportative'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'deference'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'great deference'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'question'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'speculation'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'surprise'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'optative'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 6: Enclitic particles in Tagalog

Demonstrative pronouns are also sometimes enclitic, but will not be further considered here:

48. bakit mo naman iyan na-gawa
   why you-sg contrast that happen to do
   'But why did you happen to do that?'

Enclitic particles are ordered with respect to each other in accordance with two general functional principles. The first is phonological: one-syllable enclitics before two-syllable ones. The second is metafunctional: 'textual' enclitics before 'interpersonal' ones (this sequence mirrors the typical order of textual and interpersonal meanings in the Tagalog clause; i.e. conjunctions, then modality, modulation, negation, or wh). These principles predict the following sequence of enclitic particles:

1 SYLLABLE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>'TEXTUAL'</th>
<th>'INTERPERSONAL'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>na</td>
<td>nga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pa</td>
<td>daw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>man</td>
<td>ho</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lang</td>
<td>po</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>din</td>
<td>ba</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>muna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>naman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kasi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>sana</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kaya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>sana</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>pala</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>yata</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 7: Generalized sequence of enclitic particles in Tagalog

The exception is tuloy 'result', which tends to follow kaya, pala and yata but not sana (Schachter and Otanes 1972:415). Beyond this, one-syllable pronouns precede, while two-syllable pronouns follow, all enclitic particles. This sequencing can also be seen to mirror clause structure since it means that Topic enclitics which are potentially marked Themes come last, as do potentially marked Themes (i.e. Topics) in the Tagalog clause (the one-syllable Topic pronoun ka is not a possible marked Theme, since second person singular marked Themes are realized by ikaw not ka). The enclitics thus participate in the culminative textual patterning introduced above:
MOOD AND MODALITY IN TAGALOG

54. hindi pa rin ho ba l-um-abas Si Cory
      neg immature also respect ? left
      ' Didn’t Cory leave anyway, sir/ma’am? 

55. may trabaho na rin naman ho ako
      existential work mature also contrast respect I
      'But I already have work too, sir/ma’am’

In monologue, and especially in impersonal writing, the work of textual enclitics is taken over by conjunctions (see Martin 1981 for a detailed discussion) and the meanings associated with interpersonal enclitics may find alternative realization. Some of the alternatives associated with the interpersonal enclitics are outlined below.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>MEANING</th>
<th>ENCLITIC REALIZATION</th>
<th>NON-ENCLITIC REALIZATION</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>report</td>
<td>daw</td>
<td>s-in-abi ‘was said’ (projection)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>optative</td>
<td>sana</td>
<td>gusto ko ‘I want’ (projection)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>respect</td>
<td>ho/po</td>
<td>appropriate vocative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>question</td>
<td>ba</td>
<td>hindi ba’t</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>speculation</td>
<td>kaya/yata</td>
<td>baka ‘perhaps’ (initial adverb)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>surprise</td>
<td>pala</td>
<td>naku (interjection)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>please</td>
<td>nga</td>
<td>please (Taglish)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Because all the enclitic particles, both textual and interpersonal, are so strongly oriented to dialogic text, it is perhaps not surprising that the textual enclitics participate in the prosodic structuring generally associated with interpersonal meaning by Halliday and Matthiessen.

7. PRE-ENCLITICS

As illustrated in 51 to 55 above, enclitic particles tend to follow the first word in a clause containing a salient syllable (with certain specifiable exceptions such as existential may in 55). In order to make this statement more precise, Schachter and Otanes reclassify enclitic particles into four further groups:

- group A: ba, kasi, kaya, man
- group B: daw, din, ho, naman, nga, pala, po, sana, tuloy, yata
- group C: lang, muna
- group D: na, pa

The purpose of this classification is to account for the cases in which enclitic particles need not (e.g. 56) or generally do not (57 and 58) follow the first word in the clause containing a salient syllable. Aside from the strong association between aspect and the mature/immature particles na/pa which accordingly tend to directly follow the verb, it is not clear how the various sequencing peculiarities can be functionally explained.

56. si Marcos ang i-nil-libing din
       buried also
      'Marcos was the one who was also buried'
57. bukas nang umaga ay ta-takbo muna si Lydia
   tomorrow morning IM will run first
   'Tomorrow Lydia will run first'

58. siya ay i-ni-libing na
    s/he IM buried already
    'He’s already been buried'

For further discussion of the sequencing of enclitic pronouns and particles see Schachter and Otanes (1972:82, 183-193, 411-435) and Schachter (1973).

In Schachter and Otanes’s terms, and as illustrated in 1-58, ‘enclitic particles, with certain statable exceptions, follow the first word of the structures of which they constitute an immediate part’ tending to ‘constitute an immediate part of the initial component of a sentence or clause, whether this initial component is a predicate, a topic, or an adverbial’ (Schachter and Otanes 1972:429). This means that enclitics enter into syntagms with a variety of experiential, interpersonal and textual constituents, and that they may in fact interrupt the internal constituency structure of these. These two points will be reviewed in 7.1 and 7.2 below.

7.1. Pre-enclitic classes

Enclitics tend to precede verbal, nominal and adjectival Predicates under a number of conditions. The major Pre-enclitic classes are outlined below (note that the experiential classes realized before the Predicate in 60-63 are positioned there for textual reasons):

   i. TEXTUAL

   conjunction:

59. bago siya um-uwi, patay-in mo siya
    before s/he come home kill you-sg s/he
    'Before he returns home, kill him'

   ii. EXPERIENTIAL

   initial nominal in a nominalized equative clause:

60. si Aquino daw ang p-in-atay ni Marcos
    report killed
    'They say Aquino was the one Marcos killed'

   Topic as marked Theme (ay inversion):

61. si Aquino pala ay p-in-atay ni Marcos
    surprise killed
    'Surprisingly Aquino was killed by Marcos'

   circumstance of manner as marked Theme:

62. ma-dali kaya -ng p-in-atay ni Marcos si Aquino
    easy speculation LK killed
    'Do you suppose Marcos killed Aquino easily?'

   circumstance of location (time/space) as marked Theme:

63. doon nga p-in-atay ni Marcos si Aquino
    there really killed
    'Marcos really did kill Aquino over there'
For further discussion of the sequencing of enclitic pronouns and particles see Schachter and Otanes (1972:82, 183-193, 411-435) and Schachter (1973).

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63. deon nga p-in-atay ni Marcos si Aquino
there really killed

'Marcos really did kill Aquino over there'
iii. INTERPERSONAL

exclamative:
64. 

\[
\text{ang bāgal nila -ng i-ni-li-libing si Marcos} \\
\text{slow they LK are burying} \\
\text{‘How slowly they are burying Marcos!’}
\]

wh interrogative:
65. 

\[
sino po ba ang p-in-atay ni Marcos \\
\text{who respect ? killed} \\
\text{‘Who did Marcos kill, sir/ma’am?’}
\]

modality:
66. 

\[
\text{para nila -ng p-in-atay si Aquino} \\
\text{seems they LK killed} \\
\text{‘It seems they have killed Aquino’}
\]

negation:
67. 

\[
hindi nila p-in-atay si Aquino \\
\text{neg they killed} \\
\text{‘They didn’t kill Aquino’}
\]

modulation:
68. 

\[
gusto nila -ng patay-in si Aquino \\
\text{want they LK kill} \\
\text{‘They want to kill Aquino’}
\]

7.2. Interruption of experiential and logical structure

Enclitics may in fact interrupt the realization of pre-enclitic phrases. A number of attested examples are presented below to illustrate the lack of respect shown by enclitic particles for various experiential and logical structures (69-74). In addition, pronominal constituents of phrases may themselves be construed as enclitic, leading to further examples of discontinuity, as in 71 and 75 below. Discontinuous phrases are underlined in the examples below.

i. parataxis (co-ordination)
69. 

\[
\text{ma-buti daw ma-lakas at ma-saya siya} \\
\text{kind report strong happy s/he} \\
\text{‘She’s kind, strong and happy’ (Schachter and Otanes 1972:434)}
\]

ii. hypotaxis (intensive verbal)
70. 

\[
silip kayo ng silip sa bata -ng iyan \\
\text{peep you-pl peep child LK that} \\
\text{‘You peep and peep at that child’}
\]

iii. modification
71. 

\[
\text{ang dāmī mo}^{17} \text{-ng libro Deng} \\
\text{many you-sg LK book} \\
\text{‘What a lot of books you have, Deng!’}
\]

72. 

\[
\text{ilān ba nāman kayo -ng magkapatiid} \\
\text{how many ? contrast you-pl LK sibling} \\
\text{‘But how many siblings do you have?’}
\]
73. maging matalik din tayo ng magkaibigan
   become close also we-incl LK friend
   ‘Let’s become close friends too’

iv. qualification
74. bakit ba dito tayo sa may pinto nag-u-usap
   why ? here we-incl exist door are talking
   ‘Why are we talking here by the door?’

v. ‘possession’ (pronominal/nominal grouping)
75. bakit hindi kayo na-tulog ni Dindo
   why neg you-pl are sleeping
   ‘Why aren’t you, Dindo and company, sleeping?’

7.3. Discontinuity among enclitics
So far, enclitic pronouns and particles have been treated as functioning together
as a group, and this is by far the most common pattern found in texts. Clearly, however,
a number of tensions have been introduced which on occasion pull enclitics in different
directions. For one thing, enclitic pronouns and particles function slightly differently
as far as being attracted to pre-enclitics is concerned (see Schachter and Otanes
1972:187-193; 433-435); and as was noted above, not all enclitic particles are necessarily
attracted by pre-enclitics (examples 56-58). This is complicated by the fact that more
than one pre-enclitic class may in fact be present, as in examples 74 and 75 above; in
these cases it is not certain which of the pre-enclitics an enclitic will be attracted to.
Finally, while enclitics may flaunt experiential and logical constituency, they need not;
alternatives to 69-75 above are possible in which the discontinuity illustrated there is
eliminated.

As a result, under certain conditions enclitic particles distribute themselves across
a clause, as the following attested examples illustrate.

76. baka naman gusto mo ng mag-kape
    maybe contrast want you-sg LK have coffee
    ‘But maybe you’d like to have coffee’

77. hindi mo na dapat pa ng malaman
    neg you-sg mature should continuation LK know
    ‘You shouldn’t still know anyway’

78. bakit ba kailangan i-tago mo sa kanya ang kaniya ng sarili
    why ? need hide you s/he s/he LK self
    ‘Why do you need to hide her from herself?’

79. kailangan pa ba ng sagut-in kita nang tuwiran
    need immature ? LK answer I-you directness
    ‘Do I still need to answer you directly?’

Enclitics may also be found in tags, which increases their potential for prosodic
realization across the clause:

80. kayo si Mang Julio, di po ba
    you-pl Mr neg respect ?
    ‘You are Mr. Julio, aren’t you, sir?’
7.4. Enclitics as a prosody

In sections 7.1-7.3 it has been established that enclitics follow a variety of textual, interpersonal and experiential pre-enclitic phrases, that they may interrupt the structure of these phrases and that they may themselves be realized in more than one position in a single clause. In all these respects enclitic particles cause problems for a generalized constituency interpretation of the Tagalog clause. In addition it should be noted that with the 'textual' enclitics, the meaning of certain combinations is different from the sum of the meanings of the parts (see Martin 1981); for example:

- pa rin (‘anyway’) (vs ‘still’ + ‘also’)
- man lang (‘even’) (vs ‘although’ + ‘just’)
- na naman (‘again’) (vs ‘already’ + ‘whereas’)
- pa lang (‘just’ (recent perfactive aspect) (vs ‘still’ + ‘only’)

And as exemplified in sections 2 and 3 above, the interpretation of both ‘textual’ and ‘interpersonal’ enclitics often depends on MOOD (na, nga, sana, kaya have already been interpreted in this respect). Further examples include naman, which in imperatives signals mild reproach and muna which in negative imperatives means ‘yet’ (used instead of the expected pa):

81. i-libing naman ninyo ang bangkay
   bury contrast you-pl body
   ‘Bury the body for heaven’s sake!’

82. huwag mo muna -ng i-libing ang bangkay
   neg you-sg first LK bury body
   ‘Don’t bury the body yet’

These co-textually sensitive interpretations also serve to frustrate a segmental approach to enclitic particles, which can thus be seen in several respects to suggest that constituency is not the appropriate form for their representation. The problem of developing a more suitable structural description will be taken up in section 13 below.

In the next three sections the meaning potential associated with various interpersonal pre-enclitic classes will be reviewed, beginning with modulation.

8. MODULATION

Modulation (or deontic modality) is concerned with inclination, obligation and ability. In Tagalog, modulation is grammaticized through what Schachter and Otanes (1972:261-73) refer to as ‘pseudo-verbs’, which for them are a subclass of adjectivals. When modulating an ensuing verbal Predicate, this class has the following distinctive characteristics, all of which are illustrated in 83:

- i. it does not select for aspect
- ii. it does not select for voice
- iii. it is hypotactically linked to the verbal Predicate it modulates (na/-ng)
- iv. the verbal Predicate it modulates does not select for aspect
- v. like adjectives, it is intensified by hypotactic repetition (na/-ng)
The words realizing modulation in constructions of this kind are as follows:

inclination: gusto, nais, ibig (ayaw, ayoko)
obligation: kailangan, dapat
ability: puede, maaari, kaya; marunong

The fact that modulation does not select grammatically for aspect means that modulated clauses closely resemble imperatives. This reflects the fact that semantically, modulation is strongly associated with proposals (inclination with Offers and obligation with Commands, with ability oriented to the potential success of an exchange of goods and services); a clause like 84, for example, is very likely to be heard as demanding a service:

84. dapat ka -ng um-uwi
You should go home

Modulated clauses are not however negated with huwag, but with hindi:

85. hindi mo naman kaya -ng gawin iyon
But you can't do that

The problem of classifying modulated clauses as imperative or indicative will be taken up in section 15 below. A somewhat more delicate interpretation of inclination, obligation and ability will now be presented.

8.1. Inclination

Inclination modulations provide what can be understood as alternative realizations of desire to the enclitic particle sana. The least marked member of this class is gusto, which along with the negative realizations of inclination ayoko (first person singular in place of *ayaw ko) and ayaw (other persons), is commonly associated with a wide range of verbal Predicates in 'colloquial' contexts. Ibig, on the other hand, is next to categorically associated with verbal processes, especially sabi 'say'; it would occur very infrequently in texts indeed were it not for the lexicalized clause ibig mo sabihin 'you wish to say' (as in 90). Nais is found in 'formal' registers; note its collocation with the respect particle po and the use of the plural second person pronoun (ninyo) for a single addressee in 89 (see Bautista 1979 for discussion). These modulations are illustrated with attested examples 86-90 below, and then systemicized.

86. gusto mo -ng mag-kape
Want you-sg LK have coffee

87. ayaw mo -ng magka-roon tayo ng anak
Not want you-sg LK have we-incl child
88. **ayoko** -ng malaman
I not want LK know
'I don’t want to know'

89. **nais** po ba ninyo -ng um-alis
want respect ? you-pl LK leave
'Do you want to leave, sir/ma’am?'

90. ano ang ibig mo -ng sabih-in
what want you-sg LK say
'What do you wish to say?'

```
speaker desire         ayoko
  negative
  other person’s desire   ayaw
                   inclination  ➔
                          verbal desire
  positive
                          ‘colloquial’ gusto
                          ‘formal’ nais
```

Fig. 5: Inclination options

Unlike obligation and ability, inclination modulations can be used to introduce an extra participant where the source of the desire is other than participants directly involved with the modulated Predicator (i.e. its potential Topics). Thus 91, which introduces an additional desiring participant, contrasts with 92, which does not.

91. **ayaw** niya -ng basah-in ko iyon
not want s/he LK read I that
'He doesn’t want me to read that'

92. **ayaw** na nga sana -ng mag-opisina
not want mature intensive optative LK go to office
'(I) really don’t want to go to the office anymore'

8.2. Obligation

Obligation modulation is realized through *dapat* and *kailangan*. The major difference between them is that *kailangan* almost never attracts enclitic pronouns, and can thus be interpreted as the more impersonal of the two. *Dapat* appears to be optionally pre-enclitic as far as pronouns are concerned. The following attested examples are illustrative:
93. **kailangan** hanap-in ko siya
   need look for I s/he
   'It is necessary for me to look for him'

94. **kailangan** pa ba -ng mag-hanap tayo
   need still ? LK look for we-incl
   'It is still necessary for us to look.'

95. **dapat** siya -ng ma-matay
   should s/he LK die
   'He should die'

96. **dapat** ka -ng mahal-in
   should you-sg LK love
   'You should be loved'

8.3. Ability
    Unlike inclination and obligation, ability can be alternatively realized through
    verbal affixation (ma-/maha-); these affixes are however ambiguous between 'being
    able to' and 'happening to', which ambiguity can be avoided through modulation. The
    least marked realization of ability modulation is **puede**; **kaya** is also common in
    'colloquial' registers, and appears to denote potential internal to the participant
    performing an action (**puede** is neutral as to whether the potential derives from the
    responsible participant or external circumstances). **Maaari** is used in more formal
    contexts, and is the only item realizing modulation that realizes (epistemic) modality
    as well (in some contexts in other words **maaari** appears to denote low probability
    rather than ability\(^{25}\)). Opposed to these meanings is **marunong**, which refers to
    knowing how to do something. These modulations are illustrated with attested ex-
    amples below:

97. **puede** ba -ng sabih-in mo sa akin
    can ? LK say you-sg I
    'Can you say (it) to me?'

98. **kaya** ko pa -ng mag-lakad
    can I immature LK walk
    'I can still walk'

99. **maaari** na kayo -ng k-um-ain
    possible mature you-pl LK eat
    'You can eat right away'

100. **marunong** din siya -ng g-um-awa ng tungkod
    know how also s/he LK make cane
    'She also knows how to make a cane'
93. **kailangan**\(^{24}\) hanap-in ko siya
need look for I s/he
'It is necessary for me to look for him'

94. **kailangan** pa ba -ng mag-hanap tayo
need still ? LK look for we-incl
'It is still necessary for us to look.'

95. **dapat** siya -ng ma-matay
should s/he LK die
'He should die'

96. **dapat** ka -ng mahal-in
should you-sg LK love
'You should be loved'

```
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>impersonal</th>
<th><strong>kailangan</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>obligation</td>
<td>+ personal</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
```

Fig. 6: Obligation options

8.3. Ability

Unlike inclination and obligation, ability can be alternatively realized through verbal affixation (ma-/maka-); these affixes are however ambiguous between 'being able to' and 'happening to', which ambiguity can be avoided through modulation. The least marked realization of ability modulation is **puede**; **kaya** is also common in 'colloquial' registers, and appears to denote potential internal to the participant performing an action (**puede** is neutral as to whether the potential derives from the responsible participant or external circumstances). **Maaari** is used in more formal contexts, and is the only item realizing modulation that realizes (epistemic) modality as well (in some contexts in other words **maaari** appears to denote low probability rather than ability\(^{25}\)). Opposed to these meanings is **marunong**, which refers to knowing how to do something. These modulations are illustrated with attested examples below:

97. **puede** ba -ng sabih-in mo sa akin
can ? LK say you-sg I
'Can you say (it) to me?'

98. **kaya** ko pa -ng mag-lakad
can I immature LK walk
'I can still walk'

99. **maaari**\(^{26}\) na kayo -ng k-um-ain
possible mature you-pl LK eat
'You can eat right away'

100. **marunong** din siya -ng g-um-awa ng tungkod
know how also s/he LK make cane
'She also knows how to make a cane'
9. MODALIZATION

Modalization (or epistemic modality) is concerned with degrees of reality. At issue is the semantic space between something being and not being the case; these parameters are foregrounded in the following exchange, where the second speaker offers a range of responses to the initiating demand for information (example from Mabanglo, in press):

101. Kaya lang, nasisilaw kayo sa mga pangako ni Mang Julio?
    ‘So then, you’re being dazzled by the promises of Mr. Julio?’
    - Hindi!         Oo!    Siguro!
    ‘No!’           Yes!    Maybe!’

Four subsystems will be considered here: probability, intensity, usuality and appearance. Modality in Tagalog is realized through adverbials which are typically hypotactically linked (by na/-ng) to the clause they modalize as exemplified in 102.

102. tiyak na mali ka
    certain LK wrong you-sg
    ‘You are certainly wrong’

Modality is a matter of degree with realizations scaled from high to low. Typical realizations, graded with respect to high, median and low values, are as follows:

PROBABILITY:
high     tiyak na, sigurado-ng
median   siguro
low      baka, marahil, sakali-ng, baka sakali-ng, posible-ng

INTENSITY:
high     lalo-ng, sobra-ng, masyado-ng, labis; talaga-ng, totoo-ng, tunay na, higit na
median   repetition [disjunctive, with ng]
low      (ka)muntik na, bahagya-ng, halos
USUALITY:
high (pa)lagi-ng
median karaniwan na
low paminsan-minsan, (pam)bihira-ng

APPEARANCE:
(unscaled) para-ng, mukha-ng, tila, wari

9.1. Probability
Probability in Tagalog is skewed towards possibility with baka ‘maybe’ the most common realization; marahil, which also realizes a low degree of probability, is used in more ‘formal’ registers. This skewing is congruent with the presence of the low probability enclitics kaya and yata, but no median or high valued ones. Median and high values are in fact most commonly realized through the Spanish derived siguro (median in Tagalog) and sigurado-ng (high). Tiyak na, as illustrated in 102 above, is also used for high valued probability (i.e. certainty). The probability system is illustrated with attested examples below:

LOW (‘colloquial’)
103. baka naman t-um-ipak ang aki28 -ng anak
maybe contrast cracked I LK child
‘But maybe my child got hurt’

LOW (‘formal’)
104. marahil kilala mo na ang ugali ko
perhaps know you-sg mature I
‘Perhaps you are already familiar with my habits’

MEDIAN
105. siguro kayo b-in-a-bato lagi29 dito
probably you-pl being stoned always here
‘You’re probably always being stoned here’

HIGH
106. sigurado -ng u-uwi ka ng bahay ngayong hapon
certain LK go home you-sg house today
‘You’ll certainly go home to your house this afternoon’

9.2. Intensity
Intensity has to do with the degree with which some action is entered into and is thus semantically related to the enclitic particles nga ‘intensifying’ and lang ‘minimizing’. Unlike modality, this system is skewed towards maximum values, which need to be further divided into excessive and high:

excessive: sobra-ng, masyado-ng, lalo-ng, labis na
high: talaga-ng, totoo-ng, tunay na, higit na

EXCESSIVE
107. lalo siya -ng magiging kawawa
too much s/he LK becoming pitiful
‘She’s becoming too pathetic’
MOOD AND MODALITY IN TAGALOG

HIGH
108. tunay naman siya -ng na-gu-gusto sa aki -ng anak
   truly contrast s/he LK likes I LK child
   ‘She really likes my child’

Tagalog does not appear to have any adverbials realizing median intensity. The closest one that comes to median valued intensity is Schachter and Otanes’s ‘intensive-repetitive’ verbal construction (1972:398), which is in any case tending towards a high rather than a median value:

MEDIAN
109. karga daw siya ng karga ng bata
    burden report s/he burden child
    ‘Reportedly he’s burdened a lot with children’

Low intensity is realized through kamuntih na, muntik na, bahagya-ng or halos, translated as ‘barely’, ‘scarcely’, ‘almost’ or ‘hardly’.

LOW
110. muntik ko -ng na-kalimut-an
    almost I LK forgot
    ‘I almost forgot’

9.3. Usuality
Usuality is also skewed towards high values, with lagi-ng or palagi-ng ‘always’ the most common realizations. Median usuality is realized through karaniwan na; low usuality is marked by paminsan-minsan ‘sometimes’ or bihira-ng/pambihira-ng ‘rarely’.

HIGH
111. lagi tayo -ng na-ta-talo
    always we-incl LK are losing
    ‘We always lose’

MEDIAN
112. karaniwa -ng gabi na kung siya ’y um-uwi
    usually LK night mature if s/he IM go home
    ‘It’s usually night already when he comes home’

LOW
113. bihira siya -ng ma-kinig ng misa
    rarely s/he LK hears mass
    ‘She rarely goes to mass’

Both low intensity and low usuality can be alternatively realized by suffixing dili to an actor-focus verb not marked for aspect (Schachter and Otanes 1972:526): pumasok-dili siya sa iskuela ‘He rarely attends school’; kumain-dili ka ng pagkain mo ‘You’ve hardly touched your food’. Schachter and Otanes classify these clauses as negative, but without offering any criteria for treating them as such apart from their English translations.
9.4. Appearance

There is one final modality system to consider, which unlike probability, intensity
and usuality, is unscaled. This will be referred to here as appearance, and is most
commonly realized through *para-ng*. Less commonly *mukha-ng* is used; *tila* and *wari*
are quite rare in Manila Tagalog (though more common in Mabanglo’s *malalim na Tagalog*
‘deep Tagalog’ plays; e.g. Mabanglo, in press).

115. para ka -ng may problema
seems you-sg LK existential problem
‘It looks like you’ve got a problem’

10. NEGATION

The final pre-enclitic class realizing interpersonal meaning to be considered here
is negation. As far as negation is concerned, one basic distinction in Tagalog which has
not been considered to this point is between existential and non-existential clauses.
Existential constructions oppose *may/mayroon* ‘positive’ to *wala* ‘negative’; non-exist-
tentials mark negation through *hindi*.

POSITIVE EXISTENTIAL
116. may d-um-ating
exist came
‘Someone came’

NEGATIVE EXISTENTIAL
117. wala -ng d-um-ating
neg-exist LK came
‘No-one came’

POSITIVE NON-EXISTENTIAL
118. d-um-ating siya
came s/he
‘She came’

NEGATIVE NON-EXISTENTIAL
119. hindi siya d-um-ating
neg s/he came
‘She didn’t come’

As noted above, the realization of negation is also sensitive to MOOD (*huwag* vs.
*hindi*), illustrated in the following paradigm for the non-existential experiential struc-
and the enclitic are hypotactically linked to the rest of the clause (*na/-ng*).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>OFFER</th>
<th>Tawagin sana kita.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>COMMAND</td>
<td>Tawagin mo ako.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>STATEMENT</td>
<td>Tinawag mo ako.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>QUESTION</td>
<td>Tinawag mo ba ako?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Huwag kitang tawagin.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Huwag mo akong tawagin.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Hindi mo ako tinawag.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Hindi mo ba ako tinawag?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Huwag may combine with wala in negative existentials such as 120 (Schachter and Otanes 1972:524):

120. huwag ka -ng wala -ng pera
    neg you LK neg-exist LK money
    'Don't be without money'

Two further distinctive realizations of negation in the context of proposals need to be considered. The first is the alternation between the optative enclitic sana, and the use of baka to realize negative desire in clauses with a verbal Predicate unmarked for aspect:

POSITIVE DESIRE (hope)
121. manalo sana siya
    win optative s/he
    'I hope she wins'

NEGATIVE DESIRE (fear)
122. baka manalo siya
    neg desire win s/he
    'I fear she'll win'

The second was introduced in 8.1 above, reflecting the alternation between ayaw/ayoko and hindi gusto/ibig/nais for expressing negative inclination; the ayaw/ayoko realizations are the more common.

123. ayoko -ng um-uwi
    I not want LK go home
    'I don't want to go home'

124. hindi ko gusto -ng um-uwi
    neg I want LK go home
    'I don't want to go home'

The final opposition to be considered here occurs in the context of projection --the alternation of hindi alam 'not know' and ewan 'don't know'. Ewan is interpreted as including the speaker, unless accompanied by the enclitic daw, in which case all persons are possible.

125. sino ang na-talo
    who lost
    'Who lost?'  
    - hindi ko alam/ ewan ko
    neg I know/ not know I
    'I don't know'

This variation among the realizations of negation in Tagalog is summarized below:
IVIARTIN

纲ME NEGATME

PROPOSITION:
(existential) may/ hindi
mayroon wala

PROPOSAL:
(optative) sana huwag
baka

(inclination) gusto ayoko
ayaw

(projection) alam ewan

Table 9: Negative realizations in Tagalog

11. BEYOND MODALITY AND MOOD

Before turning to more general issues of representation and interpretation in sections 12 and 13 below, it is important to note the range of clause rank interpersonal meanings that have not been incorporated into this discussion. All are less directly involved with mood, modality, modulation and enclitics than are those systems with each other; this is in part reflected by the fact that most of the interpersonal meanings about to be considered are realized on a separate tone group compared to that of the interpersonal meanings considered above.

i. interjections
This class includes a number of expressive items, generally used to preface a move in a dialogue or function alone as an evaluative response: siyempre ‘of course’, sayang ‘too bad’, suwerte ‘lucky’, naku ‘surprise’, hep ‘watch it’, aba ‘oh’, aray ‘ouch’, etc.’

126. Naku, hindi pa yata eh.
surprise neg immature speculation contradiction
‘Heavens, not yet, wouldn’t I think’

ii. vocatives
Vocatives are generally first or last in the clause; for a discussion of naming practices, see Bautista (1979).

127. Maniwala kayo, Aling Serya
believe you-pl
‘Believe me, Mrs. Serya’

128. Julio, siguro ’y wala na tayo -ng paki-alam doon
probably IM neg mature we-incl LK business there
‘Julio, we probably don’t have any right to meddle in that’

iii. interpersonal phrases
Certain interpersonal meanings, for example the source of an opinion, can be realized circumstantially, usually in clause initial position:
MOOD AND MODALITY IN TAGALOG

129. sa palagay ko hindi siya u-uwi
   opinion I neg she will go home
   ‘In my opinion, he won’t go home’

130. ayon kay Imelda, u-uwi siya
   according will go home s/he
   ‘According to Imelda, he’ll go home’

iv. evaluation

   The next structure to be considered here is what Schachter and Otanes (1972:545-546) refer to as ‘explanatory at’ clauses. These are used to express the speaker’s attitude to the clause they preface:

131. ma-buti at d-um-ating ka
   good and came you-sg
   ‘It’s good that you came’

v. sentence-final particles

   Schachter and Otanes (1972:461-463) recognize four sentence-final particles: a, e, ha, o; a and e are included in the same tone group as the dialogic move which precedes them, while ha and o are realized on separate tones. Some of their typical interpretations are illustrated below.

COUNTER-EXPECTATION
132. bastos pala iyan a
   rude surprise that
   ‘But that’s rude!’

REASON
133. pagod na ako e
   tired mature I
   ‘Because I’m already tired’

IMPORTUNITY (demanding context)
134. bukas, ha
   tomorrow
   ‘Tomorrow for sure, huh’

URGENCY (demanding goods and services)
135. pa-hingi naman, o
   let beg contrast
   ‘C’mon, I’m begging you!’

12. TEXTUAL AND LOGICAL MEANING

   As will have been noted from the data considered to this point, Tagalog displays an overwhelming tendency to realize interpersonal meanings of all kinds as close to the front of the clause as possible. This means that Tagalog organizes the realization of theme metafunctionally: interpersonal Theme first in the clause and topical Theme (i.e. the Topic) last; this complementarity will be taken up in 12.2 below. It is also significant that with several types of interpersonal meaning, the interpersonal Theme is constructed as the logic Head of the clause, with the rest of the clause hypotactically dependent on it; these structures will be reviewed in the following section.
12.1. Logical

The interpersonal metafunction in Tagalog draws on logical resources at a number of points to structure the interpersonal Theme as Head\(^\text{32}\) of the clause (\(\alpha\)), and the rest of the clause as dependent (\(\beta\)). Both modulation and modality make extensive use of this pattern; in addition it is found with negative imperatives (when pre-enclitic) and existentials, and with exclamative and wh interrogative clauses of manner.\(^{33}\) These dependency structures are reviewed below, using examples from previous sections where possible interpersonal Themes are double underlined throughout this section; enclitic pronouns have been included in the interpersonal Theme.

MODALITY

\[ \alpha \quad \beta \]
107. \text{la-o siva -ng magging kawawa}
\text{too much s/he LK becoming pitiful}
\text{‘She’s becoming too pathetic’}

MODULATION

\[ \alpha \quad \beta \]
86. \text{gusto mo -ng mag-kape}
\text{want you-sg LK have coffee}
\text{‘You want to have coffee’}

NEGATIVE IMPERATIVE (if pre-enclitic)

\[ \alpha \quad \beta \]
53. \text{huwag mo sana ako -ng bigu-in}
\text{neg you-sg optative I LK disappoint}
\text{‘Don’t let me down’}

NEGATIVE EXISTENTIAL

\[ \alpha \quad \beta \]
136. \text{wala naman ako -ng na-kita}
\text{neg exist contrast I LK saw}
\text{‘But I didn’t see anything’}

EXCLAMATIVE MANNER

\[ \alpha \quad \beta \]
25. \text{ang bilis niya -ng t-um-akbo}
\text{fast s/he LK ran}
\text{‘How fast she ran!’}

WH MANNER

\[ \alpha \quad \beta \]
137. \text{Panaano ko -ng pa-tu-tulug-in ‘yan}
\text{how I LK make sleep that}
\text{‘How could I put it to sleep?’}

These interpersonal dependency structures are potentially recursive, as illustrated in 138:
These patterns run against the association of recursive inter-dependency structures with ideational meaning in Halliday and Matthiessen's proposals, introduced in section 1. Tagalog thus demonstrates that Halliday and Matthiessen's correlations are in fact probabilistic associations, not categorical correlations. What seems to be going on here is that Tagalog is especially keen to foreground interpersonal Themes. Making them the Head of the clause is one strategy for accomplishing this; further strategies will be taken up in 12.2. below.

12.2. Textual

Another strategy for foregrounding interpersonal Themes is to eliminate the topical Theme altogether. This disturbs the clause's canonical culminative thematic pattern (interpersonal Theme first, topical Theme last). Exclamative, intensive and most modulated structures downgrade potential Topics to non-Topic status (i.e. niya, niya and mo in the following examples; interpersonal Themes are double underlined, topical Themes single underlined throughout this section):

EXCLAMATIVE

25. ang bilis niya -ng t-um-akbo
   fast s/he LK ran
   'How fast she ran!'

INTENSIVE

38. napaka ano niya
   very what like s/he
   'What is she very much like?'

MODULATION

86. gusto mo -ng mag-kape
    want you-sg LK have coffee
    'You want to have coffee'

Existential and equative clauses can also be interpreted as foregrounding interpersonal Themes. Existentials do this by displacing the topical Theme focused on by the verbal Predicate in non-existential clauses. Where available, a participant which is not focused on by the verb is promoted to topical Theme; when this participant is not pronominally enclitic, the clause's culminative thematic pattern is thus restored.

139. t-um-akbo siya
    ran s/he
    'She ran'

140. wala -ng t-um-akbo
    neg exist LK ran
    'No-one ran'
With equative clauses, culminative thematic patterning is in a sense dramatized, with the interpersonal Theme realized identically to the topical Theme. In addition, the equative structure sets up a boundary between the interpersonal Theme and the rest of the clause very similar to the logical demarcation considered in 12.1 above. As noted above, the equative is the favored clause type for wh questions about participants.

143. kavo ba ang nag-lagay ng bata sa duyan
you-pl ? put child cradle
‘Are you the one that put the child in the cradle?’

144. sino ’ng naglagay sa kanya sa duyan
who put s/he cradle
‘Who is the one who put her in the cradle?’

13. REPRESENTATION

Tagalog’s predisposition for loading interpersonal meaning onto the front of the clause means that many such meanings may be realized before experiential meaning is realized at all. Example 92 above was a good example as a clause of this kind, with interpersonal meaning extending up to the linker -ng:

92. ayaw na nga sana -ng mag-opisina
not mature intensive optative LK office
‘I really don’t want to go to work anymore’

Beyond this, in dialogic contexts, many clauses consist of nothing but interpersonal meaning, as illustrated in the response to 145 below:

145. k-um-ain ka na
ate you mature
‘Have you eaten already?’

- hindi pa nga ho eh
neg immature intensive respect contrary
‘Certainly not yet, ma’am’

This obviously creates problems for analyses of sentence structure built up around the notion of constituency and thus oriented to ideational meaning. Schachter and Otanes (1972) do not offer analyses of clauses rich in interpersonal; so the structural representation they might propose has to be inferred. Their work, however, would appear to suggest a structure along the following lines for 92.
This kind of representation integrates interpersonal and ideational meanings into a single structural tree, but can be criticized on a number of grounds. For one thing, the logical dependency of *mag-opisina* on the rest of the sentence as signaled by linker -ng has not been marked. This problem could be solved by recognizing a simultaneous logical dependency structure (α ^ β) such as that reviewed in 12.1. above.

Beyond this, however, the constituency analysis fails interpersonally on a number of counts. The interactive force of the clause as a type of proposal or proposition is not indicated; the enclitics are not shown as attracted to the pre-enclitic Head of the clause *ayaw*; conversely, *ayaw* is not represented as pre-enclitic, nor as introducing the clause’s interpersonal Theme; and finally, the constituency analysis does not distinguish metafunctionally between interpersonal and ideational or textual contributions to the clause. Given the historical pre-occupation of linguistics with ideational meaning and constituency representation, there is no obvious way of remedying these defects. The following suggestions, however, are offered with a view to re-orienting structural representation with interpersonal meaning in mind.

Enclitics could be treated as an interpersonal prosody (potentially discontinuous) with a horizontal line representing their domain, and an arrow indicating which pre-enclitic elements they are attracted to. This notation is illustrated for 146 below (in general an attempt will be made to integrate the notation as far as possible with the clause being analyzed, rather than having the clause dangling at the bottom end of a phrase marker).

146. naglaba na ako sa labas

*washed mature I outside* ‘I’d already started the laundry outside’

Mood can be represented through traditional orthographic markers for the indicative: . ? !; for imperatives a + sign can be appropriated (symbolizing that an exchange of goods or services is expected to ensue). These markers can be conveniently placed after the last point at which enclitics are or could have been realized, by which point the MOOD of the clause will have been established. This is illustrated for mood variations on 146 below.

DECLARATIVE

147. naglaba na ako . sa labas

‘I’ve already started the laundry outside’
POLAR INTERROGATIVE

148. naglabā ba ako? sa labas
    'Did I start the laundry outside?'

IMPERATIVE

149. maglabā ka na + sa labas
    'Do the laundry outside now'

WH INTERROGATIVE

150. sino ba? ang naglabā sa labas
    'Who did the laundry outside?'

EXCLAMATIVE

151. ang dali ko! -ng naglabā sa labas
    'How easily I did the laundry outside'

NEGATIVE DECLARATIVE

152. hindi ako naglabā sa labas
    'I didn’t do the laundry outside'

Interpersonal pre-enclitic classes lend themselves to a segmental labeling, once a directional enclitic prosody is established marking them as pre-enclitic. Interpersonal pre-enclitics are typically sequenced with the focus of a wh question or exclamative first, followed by modalization, followed in turn by modulation; negation is realized in various positions, depending on whether modality, modulation or the verbal Predicate is being negated—with the negative preceding its focus. An additional layer of logical dependency structure can be added where appropriate.

PRE-ENCLITIC SEQUENCE:
Wh ^ <Modal ^ Modul > . Neg
Whex

Modul

92. ayaw na nga sana . -ng mag-opisina
    'I don’t want to go to work anymore'

Wh

153. papaano ko? -ng patutulugin 'yan
    'How could I have put it to sleep?'

38
Neg     Modul

154. hindi  siya maaari . -ng maglakad
\[ \alpha \quad \beta \]
‘She can’t walk’

Wh     Modal     Modul

155. bakit   para  -ng gusto  mo ako ? -ng mamatay
\[ \alpha \quad \beta \]
‘Why does it seem you want me to die?’

Modal    Neg     Modul

156. talaga  -ng hindi siya maaari . -ng maglakad
\[ \alpha \quad \beta \]
‘She really can’t walk’

Musical notation can be drawn in to indicate the strength of the interpersonal coloring loaded into clause initial position. At this point, additional classes of interpersonal meaning which are not pre-enclitic, such as vocative and interjection, can be added to the picture. The width and length of the diminuendo would indicate the extent to which a clause takes interpersonal meanings as its point of departure.

Interj   Voc     Modul

157. Naku,  Lucila,  ayaw  nila  -ng maniwala
\[ \alpha \quad \beta \]
‘Heavens, Lucila, they don’t want to believe (it)’

Finally, some account needs to be given to the fact that clauses may end with a more limited range of interpersonal meanings: tags, vocatives, enclitics and sentence final particles. These can be taken as a minor crescendo, handing over speaking rights to the interlocutor. The questioning mood of the tag can be indicated with ? at the beginning of the crescendo.

Modal

158. talaga   -ng ganoon  ang nangyayari,  ?  hindi po ba
\[ \alpha \quad \beta \]
‘It really happened like that, didn’t it, sir?’

14. INTERPERSONAL AND TOPIC THEME

The culminative thematic patterning considered above will be illustrated in this section with respect to two short scenes from one of the radio dramas investigated for this research (Flora del Cielo). These are presented as text 159 below, with interpersonal meaning (whether thematic or not), including all enclitics, in bold face and topical Themes underlined. This formatting gives a rough indication of the degree to which dialogic text is interpersonally colored, with interpersonal meaning tending to follow textual and precede experiential. Note that several clauses are purely interpersonal (for example Ay naku...talagang totoo, mga kasama...), and that in interpersonal meaning is also realized in final position in 159.6, 159.15 and 159.19:
Lucila: 1 Loreta, anak....
2 Aba?
3 Bakit nandito na sa duyan ang bata?
4 Inay...Inay....
5 Kayo ba ang naglagay ng bata sa duyan?

Nanay: 6 Anong sabi mo, Lucila...
7 Aba?

Lucila 8 Kayo ba ang naglagay ng/sa bata sa duyan at nagpatulog sa kanya?

Nanay 9 Aba hindi...
10 Papaano kong patutulugin 'yan
11 samantalang natatakot nga akong humipo diyan...

Lucila: 12 Kung ganon,
13 sinong naglagay sa kanya sa duyan...
14 nilapag ko lang siya kanina dito sa sahig sa may banig at naglaba ako sa labas ah...

Nanay: 16 ngayon, naniniwala ka na bang may nagbantay sa batang 'yan?
Lucila: 17 Nay?
18 Anong ibig ninyong sabihin?

Nanay: 19 May impaktong nagbabantay sa anak mo, Lucila...

[crowd: 20 Naku...maniwala kayo diyan
21 Ay naku... talagang totoo, mga kasama...
22 Ako na mismo ang nakasaksi...
23 at ganon din si Dindo na anak ko...

crowd: 24 ganon ba...
25 pero parang hindi naman mangyayari iyan...

Nanay: 26 Ay naku kung ayaw ninyong maniwala
27 basta talagang ganon ang nangyayari
28 may umuugoy talaga ng duyan ng bata
29 pero wala naman tao.

The text is glossed and a translation provided below.
159. [gloss and translation]

Lucila: 1 Loreta, anak..
child
'Loreta my child.'

2 Aba?
'Huh?'

3 Bakit nandito na sa duyan ang bata?
why here mature cradle child
'Why is the child here in the cradle now?'

4 Inay...Inay...
'Mother...mother...'
MOOD AND MODALITY IN TAGALOG

5 Kayo ba ang naglagay ng bata sa duyan?
you-pl ? put child cradle
Were you the one who put the child in the cradle?

Nanay: 6 Anong sabi mo, Lucila...
What say you-sg
What are you saying, Lucila?

7 Aba?
‘Huh?’

Lucila: 8 Kayo ba ang naglagay ng bata sa duyan
you-pl ? put child cradle
at nagpatulog sa kanya?
and made sleep s/he
Were you the one that put the child to sleep in the cradle?

Nanay: 9 Aba hindi...
oh neg
‘Why no’

10 Papaano ko -ng patutulugin ’yan
how I LK make sleep that
‘How could I put it to sleep’

11 samantalang natatakot nga ako -ng humipo diyan...
while am afraid intensive I LK touch there
‘When I’m really afraid to touch her’

Lucila: 12 Kung ganon,
if like that
‘If so’

13 sinong naglagay sa kanya sa duyan
who put s/he cradle
‘Who put her in the cradle?’

14 nilapag ko lang siya kanina dito sa sahig sa may banig
put I just s/he recently here floor wooven mat
‘I just put her here on the mat on the floor’

15 at naglaba ako sa labas ah..
and did laundry I outside counterexpectation
‘and did the laundry outside eh’

Nanay: 16 ngayon, naniniwala ka na ba -ng
today believe you-sg mature ? LK
may nagbantay sa batang ’yan?
exist guarded child that
‘Now do you believe there’s someone watching over that child?’

Lucila: 17 Nay?
‘Mother?’

18 Anong ibig ninyong sabihin?
what want you-pl say
‘What are you trying to say?’

Nanay: 19 May impakto -ng nagbabantay sa anak mo, Lucila...
exist spirit LK is guarding child you-sg
‘There’s a spirit guarding your child, Lucila’

[music bridge]
The pattern of interpersonal and topic Themes in 159 is outlined below. Only two moves in the dialogue lack anything interpretable as an interpersonal Theme: clause 12, which is purely textual, and clause 15 where the enclitic ako functions as topical Theme. Several moves, however, lack topic Themes: clauses 1, 2, 4, 7, 9, 17, 21 and 24 are purely interpersonal, while 12, as just noted, is purely textual; clauses 19, 28 and 29 are existential, without participants to promote to topical Theme; and clause 26 is modulated, thereby downgrading its potential topical Theme to non-Topic ninyo (note that Schachter and Otanes’s Predicate Topic structure for basic sentences fails for all of these). For an interpretation of the function of topical Themes in Tagalog text see Martin (1981).

INTERPERSONAL THEME

Lucila:  
1 Loreta, anak...
2 Aba?
3 Bakit
4 Inay...Inay...
5 Kayo ba

Nanay:  
6 Ano

TOPICAL THEME

(a)ng sabi mo

ang naglagay ng bata
sa duyan?

ang bata?
Interpersonal Themes are grouped below according to their initial interpersonal meaning. Existential and equative structures have been interpreted here as producing interpersonal Themes—namely the existential particles in 19, 28 and 29 and the participants exclusively responsible for the verbal Predicates in question in 5, 8 and 22 (the wh words in 6, 13 and 18 could have been included in this last group). Non-topic enclitics have been treated as interpersonal Themes in clauses 11, 14, 16, 23 and 24 where they appear as early as possible in the absence of pre-enclitics.

**NON-PREENCLITIC:**

**vocatives**
1 Loreta, anak
4 Inay...Inay
17 Nay

**interjections**
2 Aba
7 Aba
9 Aba hindi
20 Naku
21 Ay naku
26 Ay naku kung ayaw ninyo

**PRE-ENCLITIC**

**wh**
3 Bakit
6 Ano
10 Papaano ko
13 sino
18 Ano

**modality**
25 parang hindi naman
27 basta talaga
Interpersonal meaning in Tagalog poses no unique problems for representation as far as paradigmatic relations are concerned. The basic MOOD systems can be integrated as follows (for more delicacy and specification of realization, see sections 5.1 and 5.2 above). These systems condition the form of a verbal predicate (which is marked for aspect in the indicative but not in the imperative); in addition, they are realized in part through enclitic particles (ba or kay in the indicative and sana in the imperative). Note that imperative clauses have been subclassified for person with the result that they preselect enclitic pronouns.

In order to account for pre-enclitics other than wh phrases, the network needs to be expanded to include the systems of polarity, modality and modulation. Polarity cross-classifies MOOD; it conditions the availability of the option exclamative (positive only) and for some speakers the use of the tag hindi ba (again positive only). As discussed above, the realization of the feature negative depends on MOOD (hindi vs. huwag), and also on modulation (the choice of hindi gusto/ibig/nais vs. ayaw/ayoko).

Unlike polarity, modality is dependent on MOOD. Only indicative clauses select freely for modality; related meanings in imperatives tend to be realized by enclitic particles (e.g. speculative kaya and intensive nga). Conversely, modulation clauses are aspectless and from the point of view of conversational structure they function in similar ways (inclination realizing offers, obligation realizing commands). It is thus tempting to make modulation dependent on the feature imperative. There are, how-
ever, at least two basic problems with this suggestion. One is that modulated clauses are negated with hindi, not huwag (see 154, 156 above). The second is that some clauses select for both modality and modulation (the modulation may be modalized as in 155 and 156 above).

As a compromise, modulation is represented as cross-classifying MOOD below, in light of its indicative negation, strong but not obligatory semantic association with proposals and the grammatical features it shares with imperative clauses.

Integrating systems for enclitic particles and pronouns with the network just outlined is a far more problematic task. As already noted, enclitics participate in the realization of MOOD. Beyond this, MOOD conditions the availability of the particles associated with uncertainty: yata is only possible in declaratives, ba in interrogatives and kaya in interrogatives and imperatives. Further, the interpretation of enclitic particles may depend on MOOD--nga, for example, realizes politeness in imperatives, not urgency (translatable as 'please'), but intensifies indicatives (translatable as 'really' or 'indeed'); or the interpretation may rest on an interaction of MOOD and polarity--in negative imperatives, for example, huwag muna means ‘not yet’, whereas in positive imperatives or the indicative muna is translated ‘first’ or ‘for a while’. The meaning of
many enclitics, in other words, can only be generalized across moods at a very general level of abstraction.

In order to do justice to varied factors of this kind a very large number of specific systems would have to be added to the network developed above; enclitic systems would then constitute a kind of prosody in the paradigmatic interpretation of interpersonal grammar, just as they do in its realization. No attempt will be made to develop this interpretation here. The enclitic systems which need to be incorporated are outlined below and need to be further developed to account for all of the enclitic meanings outlined in Schachter and Otanes (1972). For an interpretation of the interaction of the ‘textual’ enclitics with conjunction, see Martin (1981).

Table 10: ‘Interpersonal’ enclitic particle systems

Table 11: ‘Textual’ enclitic particle systems
16. IMPLICATIONS

In this paper an attempt has been made to provide a more integrated treatment of interpersonal meaning in Tagalog than a grammar organized around constituency affords and to develop alternative forms of structural representations for these meanings. Many of these suggestions are provisional in nature; but the difficulties posed by interpersonal structures for constituency interpretations of clause structure are clear. One strong implication of this work is that grammar organized around the concepts of both metafunction and constituency (particularly the concept of rank) will provide a more comprehensive and better balanced grammatical description than those organized around constituency (especially immediate constituency) alone. The following function/rank matrix is offered as a grammatical cartographer’s guide:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>IDEATIONAL</th>
<th>INTERPERSONAL</th>
<th>TEXTUAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>experiential</td>
<td>logical</td>
<td>clause</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>phrase</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>word</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

NOTES

1. LK in 3 designates the linking na/-ng which in Tagalog realizes hypotactical dependency.
2. IM stands for Inversion Marker, realized by ay/‘y following marked Themes.
3. Throughout the paper ‘:’ stands for ‘is to’ and ‘::’ for ‘as’ when expressing proportionality; thus ‘sila is to ang bangkay as nila is to ng bangkay...’ here.
4. Or archaically ‘Let them bury the body soon’.
5. See in addition their examples with kaya: maglakad kaya ako doon ‘Perhaps I should walk there’, ito kaya ang gamitin ko ‘Perhaps I should use this’ (1972:426); and with nga: linisin ko nga ang bahay ‘I guess I should clean the house’ (1972:421).
6. Used here in the sense of ‘allow us to’; contrast the archaic English optative in footnote 4.
7. Alternatively it might be argued that since reduplication of the first syllable of the verb stem carries the meaning of habitual rather than contemplated action, these structures should be included in the imperative class; if negation with huwag is taken as criterial, then they would have to be included.
8. This is an oversimplification of negation in Tagalog; see section 10.
9. The tension between Finite Subject sequence (for interrogatives) and initial Wh phrase (for wh interrogatives) which occurs in English for questions about the Subject and is resolved in favor of Wh phrase initial thus does not arise.
10. Abbreviated from pintah-an.
11. Further candidates for enclitic status include uli ‘again’ (designated as enclitic by Bloomfield 1917), kuno ‘it is said’, kamo ‘you said’ (from wika mo ‘your language’) and pati ‘including’; none of these, however, move ‘forward’ in the clause with other enclitics as illustrated in 43-45.
12 Treated as textual in Martin (1981); alternatively it could be taken as the minimizing agnate to nga 'intensive'; as far as the sequence of enclitics is concerned it is on the border of the 'textual' and 'interpersonal' enclitics--see below.

13 Alternatives with raw, which form is encouraged by the presence of preceding vowel for some speakers.

14 The lang form is more common than lamang and will be used for purposes of exemplification and interpretation here.

15 Alternates with rin, which form is encouraged by the presence of a preceding vowel for some speakers.

16 Attested examples used in this paper are taken from the radio drama scripts on which Bautista (1979) based her study or from Bautista (1983), Mabanglo (in press); comments on the typicality of forms are based on this same data.

17 Compare the continuous maraming libro mo 'your many books'.

18 The enclitics follow ma-talik because maging is not pre-enclitic.

19 Di here is a reduced form of hindi.

20 Note that verbal Predicates are intensified through 'disjunctive' (see Bloomfield 1917) repetition, realized by ng (phonemically /nang/) : tumakbo ng tumakbo siya 'She ran and ran'; compare 70 above, or the following attested example: gustong-gusto pa naman namin ni Gary na magka-anak 'But Gary and I still really want to have a baby'.

21 The negative realizations of inclination, ayaw and ayoko, will be taken up again in section 10.

22 Not included in this class by Schachter and Otanes, but fully productive in the paradigm; e.g. kaya kong abutin ang langit 'I can reach the sky'.

23 Also not included by Schachter and Otanes, but not grammatically distinguishable from other members of the class.

24 The linker is generally elided when kailangan directly precedes a verbal Predicate.

25 Most examples can however be read as ability; even in the following attested examples where the ability prefix maka- makes an abilitative reading redundant, it needs to be kept in mind that for a language to realize the same interpersonal meaning more than once in a clause is a common feature of interpersonal realization: hindi naman maaaring makababa ang bata 'But it isn't possible for the child to get down'.

26 Maari is a common orthographic variant of maaari.

27 For a Whorfian interpretation of this and other aspects of Tagalog grammar see Martin (1988).

28 The transcription is misleading here; akin + linker has been reduced to aking in the example.

29 Note that modality need not be realized initially as the high value marker of usuality, lagi 'always', shows here.

30 Similar rather 'hypotactic' uses of at were first noted by Bloomfield (1917).

31 Contrast 126 and 154 where e signals contradiction of a previous move.

32 In treating the interpersonal Theme as Head, the fact that enclitics are attracted to it can be taken as criterial.

33 When thematic, circumstances of manner in general are constructed as Head of the clause: Madali kaya -ngp-in-atay ni Marcos si Aquino 'Do you suppose Marcos killed Aquino easily?'; so exclamative and wh clauses of manner are not distinctive in this respect.

34 As predicted by Halliday and Matthiessen.
Recent perfective aspect (katatakbo pa lang niya 'she's just run') and projection (sinabi niya na natalo sila 'she said they'd lost') also eliminate topic Themes, and are not unrelated to the pattern noted here.

Contrast non-exclamative Tumakbo siya nang mabilis, non-intensive maano siya, and the unmodulated magkape ka.

Sino ang has been contracted to sinong in 144.

'Contrary to expectation' is a further meaning of the sentence final particle e (spelled here eh), typically accompanied in this sense by the enclitic particle nga.

Originally ng in typescript, then typed over with sa. Sa makes definiteness explicit in relativized clauses, whereas ng is simply ambiguous in this respect. This semantic tension accounts for the editing process in the typescript. See Martin (1981:59) for discussion.

An additional interpersonal Theme could be recognized for this nominalized clause: ibig niyo.

For exemplification see especially Matthiessen forthcoming.

REFERENCES


MARTIN


Forthcoming. Lexicogrammatical cartography: English systems.

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