

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:

METAFUNCTION	TYPE OF STRUCTURE	REPRESENTATION
1 ideational: (a) experiential	particulate: constituent	segmental: constituency [part/whole, 'tree']
(b) logical	recursive	(inter)dependency [part/part, 'chain']
2 interpersonal	suprasegmental	prosody [tone, 'agreement']
3 textual	culminative	prominence [wave, 'pulse']

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 Otnes (1972) propose the following constituency structure of what they term basic sentences in Tagalog.

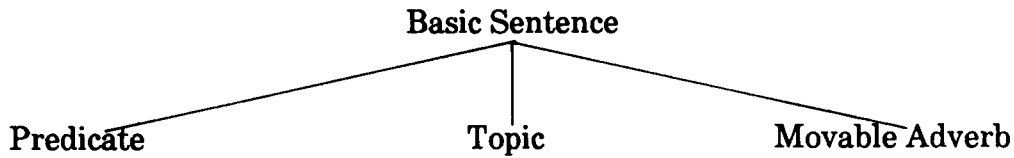


Fig. 1: Schachter & Otnes’s basic sentence structure

A basic sentence consists in their terms 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.

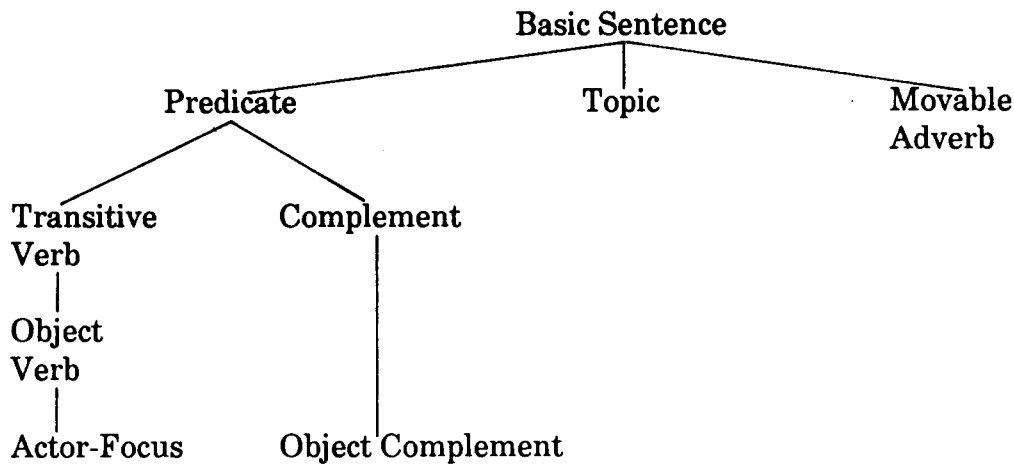


Fig. 2: Basic sentence elaborated

2. i-li-libing 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 Otnes’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 Otnes’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 Otones'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 Otones'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 Otones'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 particles. And Chapter 7 covers interrogatives (including tags), negation, social formulas, interjections and special 'evaluative' clauses (what Schachter and Ota-

mulas, interjections and special 'evaluative' clauses (what Schachter and Ota- as explanatory at clauses; 1972:545-546).
 The experimental organization of the grammar can thus be seen to realize interpersonal meaning. Only the final chapter is primarily concerned with the interpersonal. And in each of the other chapters interpersonal meaning is realized 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.

	ENCLITIC	NON-ENCLITIC
NOMINAL	nila	ang bangkay
ADVERBIAL	daw	nang ma-bilis

Table 2: Enclitic words vs non-enclitic phrases

7.	i-li-libing	daw	nila	ang bangkay	nang ma-bilis
	will bury	report	they	corpse	quick
	'Reportedly they'll bury the body quickly'				

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 (**ililibing ang bangkay daw nila nang mabilis* is not possible), they are ordered with respect to each other (**ililibing nila daw....*-- but reversing the order of the nominal and adverbial groups is fine: *ililibing daw nila nang mabilis ang bangkay*), they cannot be fronted (**daw nila ay ililibing ang bangkay nang mabilis* -- but both groups can be: *ang bangkay ay ililibing daw nila nang mabilis* or *mabilis daw nilang ililibing 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 (*sila:ang bangkay::nila:ng bangkay::sa kanila:sa bangkay*³; 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).

8. the family will bury the body later

Actor	Process	Goal	Circumstance: location: time
Mood	Residue		
Theme	Rheme		

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

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 Otones'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):

	information	goods & services
giving	STATEMENT	OFFER
demanding	QUESTION	COMMAND
	'proposition'	'proposal'

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 Otones 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 Otones'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'

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'⁴

Schachter and Otnes (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 ko kayang tawagin ang duktor* 'Perhaps I shouldn't call the doctor'.⁵ 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 Otnes 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 Otnes 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 Otnes's 'equational imperatives' have not been included as corresponding equational declaratives and interrogatives are very common. It is thus unclear why Schachter and Otnes 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?'

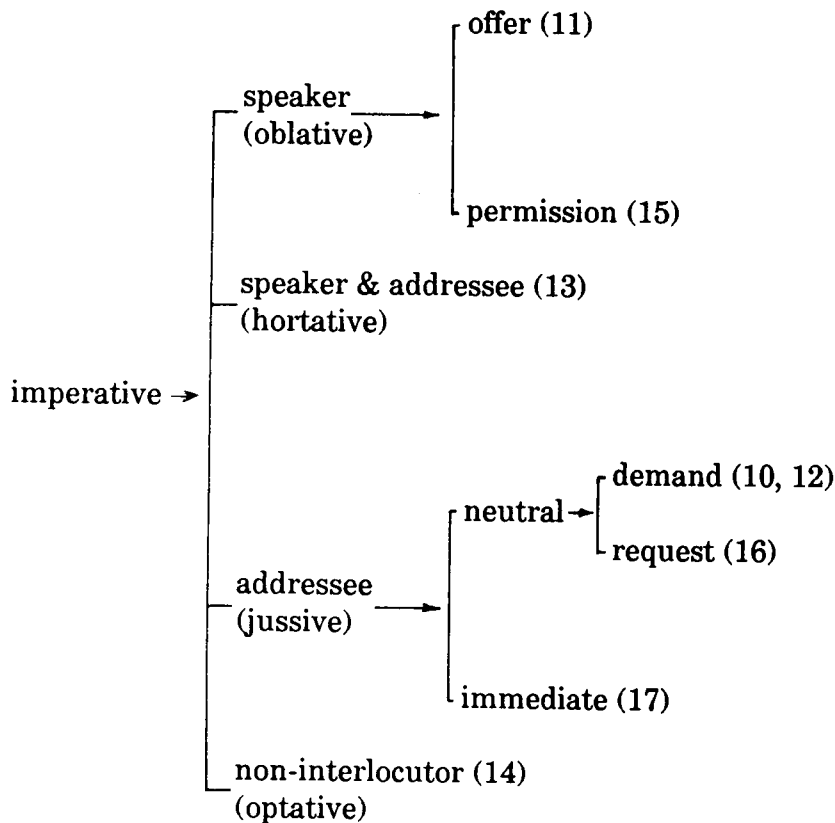


Fig. 3: Basic imperative options

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 class⁷:

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*⁸. 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'

DECLARATIVE

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

Affirmative clauses can be optionally tagged, with *hindi ba* (the negative marker followed by the question marker) or *ano* (the wh word for 'what'); these may be used to tag positive or negative clauses, although some speakers reject *hindi ba* as a tag for negative affirmatives, preferring *ano* (Schachter and Otnes 1972:504). *Hindi ba* may either precede or follow a declarative clause, while *ano* always follows; both are realized on a separate tone group with rising intonation in either position.

EXCLAMATIVE: TAGGED

28. ang bilis niya -ng t-um-akbo, hindi ba
 fast s/he LK ran neg?
 'How quickly she ran, didn't she?'

DECLARATIVE: TAGGED

29. hindi ba, t-um-akbo siya nang ma-bilis
 neg? ran s/he fast
 'She ran fast, didn't she?'

DECLARATIVE: TAGGED

30. hindi siya t-um-akbo nang ma-bilis, ano
 neg s/he ran fast what
 'She didn't run fast, did she?'

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 *ba*⁹, 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 Otnes 1972:506 and the list of wh phrases below); phonologically they are generally realized on a falling tone.

INTERROGATIVE: POLAR

31. t-um-akbo ba siya nang ma-bilis
 ran ? s/he fast
 'Did she run fast?'

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:

SPECULATION

33. t-um-akbo kaya siya nang ma-bilis
 ran speculation s/he fast
 'Do you suppose she ran fast?'

SPECULATION

34. kailan kaya siya ta-takbo
 when speculation s/he will-run
 'When do you suppose she'll run?'

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.

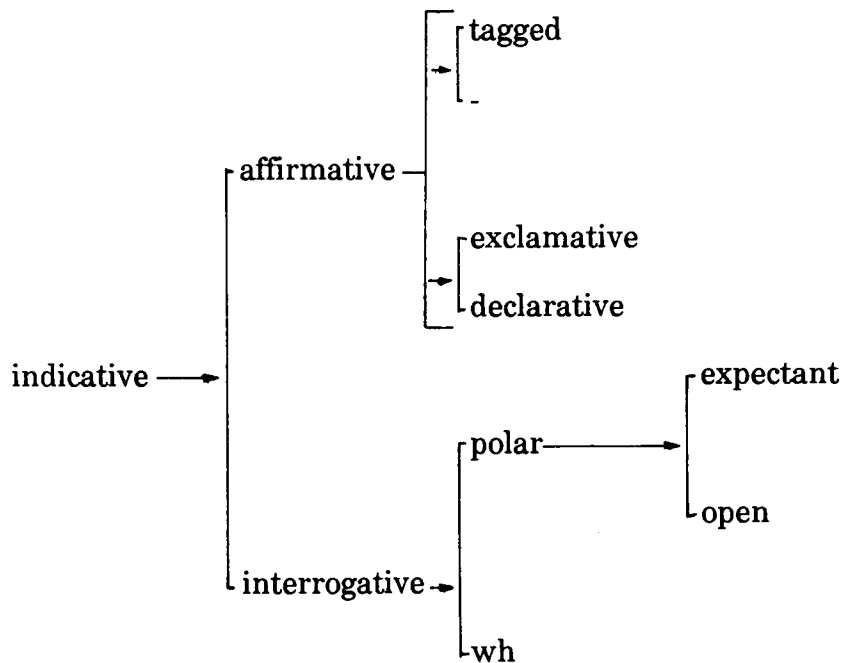


Fig. 4 Basic indicative options

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?'

thing →	nonselective	<i>ano</i> (α or β)	'what'
	selective	<i>alin</i> (α or β)	'which'
person →	Topic	<i>sino</i> (α or β)	'who'
	non-Topic	<i>nino</i> (α or β)	'who'
	circumstantial	<i>kanino</i> (α or β)	'who'
	possessive locative	<i>nakanino</i>	'with who'
	direction	<i>saan</i>	'where to'
space →	location	<i>nasaan</i>	'where at'
	time	<i>kailan</i>	'when'
reason	<i>bakit</i>	'why'	
manner →	noncomparative	<i>paano</i> -(ng)	'how'
	comparative	<i>gaano</i> (β)	'how'
quality	<i>kumusta</i>	'how'	
quantity →	count	<i>ilan</i> (α or β)	'how many'
	mass	<i>gaano</i> (α or β)	'how much'
cost	<i>magkano</i> (α or β)	'how much'	

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.

ENCLITIC PRONOUNS

mo	'you'
namin	'we'
natin	'we'
kami	'we'
ninyo	'you'
kayo	'you'
siya	's/he'
niya	's/he'
nila	'they'

ENCLITIC PARTICLES

na	'mature'
ba	'question'
daw	'reportative'
kaya	'speculation'
sana	'optative'

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** **t-um-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	
speaker →	alone	ako	ko	'I'
	+ others	kami	namin	'we-excl'
speaker & addressee		tayo	natin	'we-incl'
addressee →	alone	ka	mo	'you-sg'
	+ others	kayo	ninyo	'you-pl'
other →	alone	siya	niya	's/he-sg'
	+ others	silá	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-an¹⁰ **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 I-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

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

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		2 SYLLABLE	
TEXTUAL ^	INTERPERSONAL	TEXTUAL ^	INTERPERSONAL
na	nga	muna	kaya
pa	daw ¹³	naman	sana
man	ho	kasi	pala
lang ¹⁴	po		yata
din ¹⁵	ba		

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 Otnes 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:

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.

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

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 Otnes 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-ni-libing din
 also 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 Otnes (1972:82, 183-193, 411-435) and Schachter (1973).

In Schachter and Otnes's terms, and as illustrated in 1-58, 'enclitic particles, with certain storable 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 Otnes 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'

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**
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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'

iii. INTERPERSONAL

exclamative:

64. ang bagal nila -ng i-ni-li-libing si Marcos
 slow they LK are burying
 'How slowly they are burying Marcos!'

wh interrogative:

65. sino po ba ang p-in-atay ni Marcos
 who respect ? killed
 'Who did Marcos kill, sir/ma'am?'

modality:

66. para nila -ng p-in-atay si Aquino
 seems they LK killed
 'It seems they have killed Aquino'

negation:

67. hindi nila p-in-atay si Aquino
 neg they killed
 'They didn't kill Aquino'

modulation:

68. gusto nila -ng patay-in si Aquino
 want they LK kill
 '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. ma-buti daw ma-lakas at ma-saya siya
 kind report strong happy s/he
 'She's kind, strong and happy' (Schachter and Otanes 1972:434)

ii. hypotaxis (intensive verbal)

70. silip kayo ng silip sa bata -ng iyan
 peep you-pl peep child LK that
 'You peep and peep at that child'

iii. modification

71. ang dami mo¹⁷ -ng libro Deng
 many you-sg LK book
 'What a lot of books you have, Deng!'
72. ilan ba naman kayo -ng magkapatid
 how many ? contrast you-pl LK sibling
 'But how many siblings do you have?'

73. maging¹⁸ 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-tu-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 Otnes 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, di¹⁹ 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 perfective 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 Otnes (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*)²⁰

83. **gusto** **-ng** **-gusto** **niya** **-ng** **um-uwi**
 like LK like s/he LK go home
 'He'd really like to go home'

The words realizing modulation in constructions of this kind are as follows:

- inclination: **gusto, nais, ibig (ayaw, ayoko²¹)**
 obligation: **kailangan, dapat**
 ability: **puede, maaari, kaya²²; marunong²³**

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**
 should you-sg LK go home
 'You should go home'

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

85. **hindi** **mo** **naman** **kaya** **-ng** **gawin** **iyon**
 neg you-sg contrast able LK do that
 '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
 'You want to have coffee'

87. **ayaw** **mo** **-ng** **magka-roon** **tayo** **ng anak**
 not want you-sg LK have we-incl child
 'You don't want us to have a 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?'

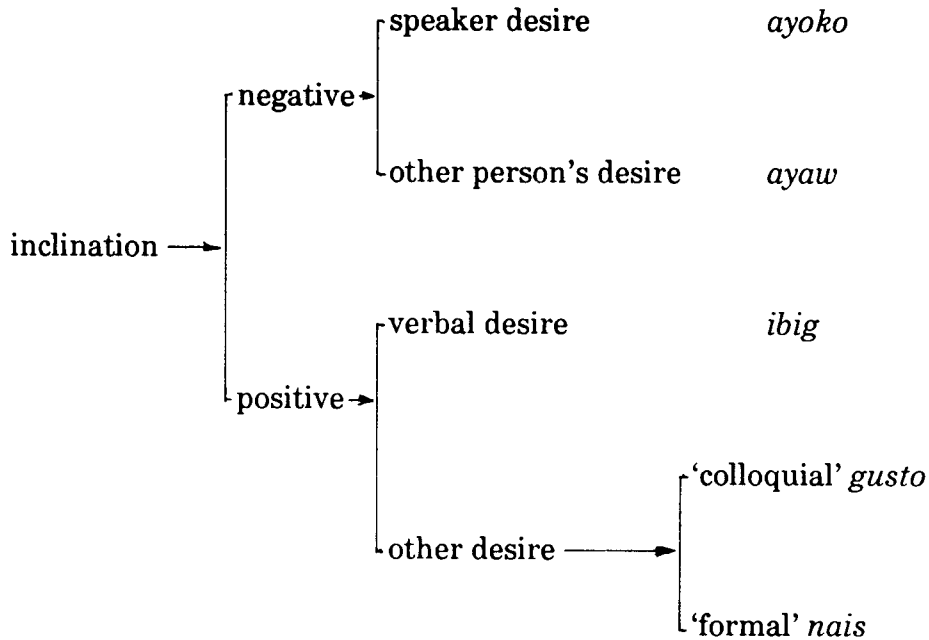


Fig. 5: Inclination options

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**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'

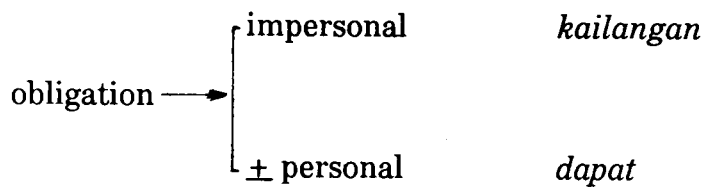


Fig. 6: Obligation options

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 ability²⁵). 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'

93. **kailangan**²⁴ hanap-in ko siya
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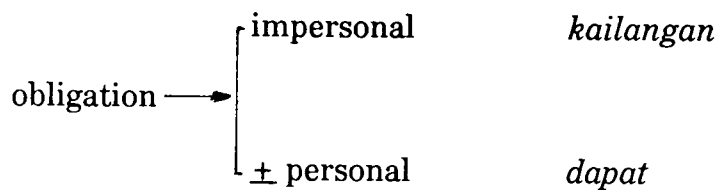


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 know how also s/he LK make cane
 'She also knows how to make a cane'

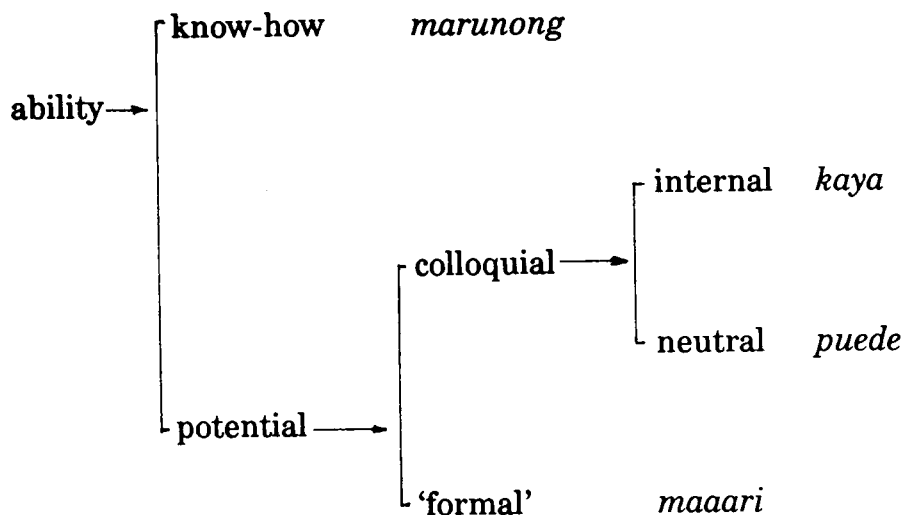


Fig. 7: Ability options

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.²⁷ 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 habit 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'

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 Otones'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 *kamuntik 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 Otones 1972:526): *pumasok-dili siya sa iskwela* 'He rarely attends school'; *kumain-dili ka ng pagkain mo* 'You've hardly touched your food'. Schachter and Otones 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-existentials 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 structure Process: 'call', Actor: 'I', Goal: 'you'. Note that when followed by an enclitic, *huwag* and the enclitic are hypotactically linked to the rest of the clause (*na/-ng*).

	POSITIVE	NEGATIVE
OFFER	Tawagin sana kita.	Huwag kitang tawagin.
COMMAND	Tawagin mo ako.	Huwag mo akong tawagin.
STATEMENT	Tinawag mo ako.	Hindi mo ako tinawag.
QUESTION	Tinawag mo ba ako?	Hindi mo ba ako tinawag?

Huwag may combine with *wala* in negative existentials such as 120 (Schachter and Otnes 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:

	POSITIVE	NEGATIVE
PROPOSITION: (existential)	may/ mayroon	hindi 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:

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 Otones (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 at³⁰ d-um-ating ka
 good and came you-sg
 'It's good that you came'

v. sentence-final particles

Schachter and Otones (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!'

REASON³¹

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 Head³² of the clause (α), and the rest of the clause as dependent (β). 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

107. α lalo siya β -ng magiging kawawa
 too much s/he LK becoming pitiful
 'She's becoming too pathetic'

MODULATION

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

NEGATIVE IMPERATIVE (if pre-enclitic)

53. α huwag mo sana ako β -ng bigu-in
 neg you-sg optative I LK disappoint
 'Don't let me down'

NEGATIVE EXISTENTIAL

136. α wala naman ako β -ng na-kita
 neg exist contrast I LK saw
 'But I didn't see anything'

EXCLAMATIVE MANNER

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

WH MANNER

137. α Papaano ko β -ng pa-tu-tulug-in 'yan
 how I LK make sleep that
 'How could I put it to sleep?'

These interpersonal dependency structures are potentially recursive, as illustrated in 138:

138. α para -ng wala naman ako -ng β na-kita
 seem LK neg contrast LK saw
 'But it seems I saw no-one'

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 associations³⁴, 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 structures³⁵ downgrade potential Topics to non-Topic status³⁶ (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/she
 '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'

141. i-ni-libing siya ni Imelda
 buried s/he
 'Imelda buried him'
142. wala -ng i-ni-libing si Imelda
 neg. exist LK buried
 'Imelda didn't bury anyone'

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. kayo 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 'ng³⁷ 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 eh³⁸
 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 Otnes (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.

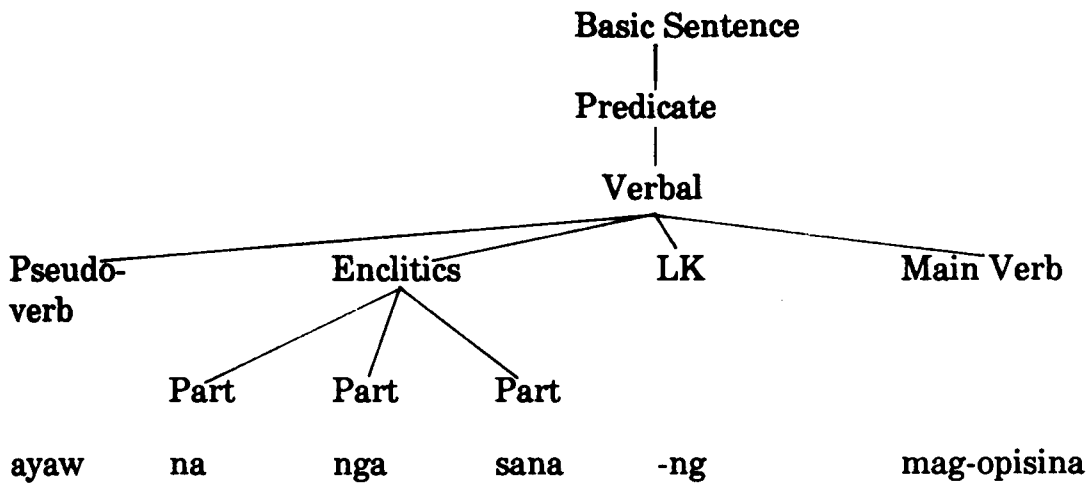


Fig. 8: Constituency interpretation of interpersonal meaning

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 ($\alpha \wedge \beta$) 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. $\overleftarrow{\hspace{10em}}$
 nag-laba 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. $\overleftarrow{\hspace{10em}}$
 naglaba na ako . sa labas
 'I've already started the laundry outside'

MARTIN

POLAR INTERROGATIVE

148. naglaba [←]ba ako ? sa labas
'Did I start the laundry outside?'

IMPERATIVE

149. maglaba [←]ka na + sa labas
'Do the laundry outside now'

WH INTERROGATIVE

150. sino [←]ba ? ang naglaba sa labas
'Who did the laundry outside?'

EXCLAMATIVE

151. ang dali [←]. ko ! -ng naglaba sa labas
'How easily I did the laundry outside'

NEGATIVE DECLARATIVE

152. hindi [←]ako . naglaba 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
 α β
'I don't want to go to work anymore'

Wh

153. papaano [←]ko ? -ng patutulugin 'yan
 α β
'How could I have put it to sleep?'

Neg Modul

154. α hindi siya maaari . -ng maglakad β
 'She can't walk'

Wh Modal Modul

155. α bakit para -ng gusto mo ako ? -ng mamatay β
 'Why does it seem you want me to die?'

Modal Neg Modul

156. α talaga -ng hindi siya maaari . -ng maglakad β
 '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
 α β
 '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

Neg

158. α talaga -ng ganoon ang nangyayari, ? hindi po ba β
 '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:

- 159.6 Anong sabi mo, Lucila...
 159.15 May impaktong nagbabantay sa anak mo, Lucila...
 159.19 at naglaba ako sa labas ah...

159. [interpersonal meaning in bold; topical Themes underlined]

- 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/sa³⁹ 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
 15 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...
 [music _____ bridge]
 crowd: 20 Naku...maniwala kayo diyan
 Nanay: 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...'

- 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 nagbantay sa anak mo, Lucila...
exist spirit LK is guarding child you-sg
'There's a spirit guarding your child, Lucila'

[music _____ bridge]

MARTIN

- crowd: 20 Naku... maniwala kayo diyan
surprise believe you-pl there
'Believe it, for heaven's sake'
- Nanay: 21 Ay naku... talagang totoo, mga kasama...
surprise really true many friend
'Heavens, it's really true, friends'
- 22 Ako na mismo ang nakasaksi...
I LK myself was able to witness
'I myself was the one who was able to witness it'
- 23 at ganon din si Dindo na anak ko..
and like that also LK child I
'and so did my child Dindo'
- crowd: 24 ganon ba..
like that ?
'Is that so?'
- 25 pero para -ng hindi naman mangyayari iyan..
but seem LK neg contrast happening that
'but it seems that's not happening'
- Nanay: 26 Ay naku kung ayaw ninyong maniwala
surprise if not want you-pl believe
'It's exasperating if you don't want to believe it'
- 27 basta talaga -ng ganon ang nangyayari
exact really LK that happening
'It's just that that's exactly what's happening'
- 28 may umuugoy talaga ng duyan ng bata
exist is rocking really cradle child
'Someone is really rocking the child's cradle'
- 29 pero wala naman tao.
but neg exist contrast person
'But no-one is there'

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 Otnes'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

TOPICAL
THEME

- Lucila: 1 **Loreta, anak..**
2 **Aba?**
3 **Bakit** ang bata?
4 **Inay...Inay...**
5 **Kayo ba** ang naglagay ng bata
sa duyan?
Nanay: 6 **Ano** (a)ng sabi mo

	7	Aba?	
Lucila	8	Kayo ba	ang naglagay ng/sa bata sa duyan at nagpatulog sa kanya?
Nanay	9	Aba hindi...	
	10	Papaano ko	'yan
	11	nga ako	
Lucila:	12	-	
	13	sino	(a)ng naglagay sa kanya sa duyan
	14	ko lang	siya
	15		ako
Nanay:	16	na ba	ka
Lucila:	17	Nay?	
	18	Ano	(a)ng ibig ninyong ⁴⁰ sabihin?
Nanay:	19	May	
[music		bridge]	
crowd:	20	Naku...	kayo
Nanay:	21	Ay naku...talaga	
	22	Ako na mismo	ang nakasaksi...
	23	din	si Dindo na anak ko..
crowd:	24	ba..	
	25	parang hindi naman	iyan..
Nanay:	26	Ay naku...ayaw ninyo	
	27	basta talaga	ang nangyayari
	28	may	
	29	wala naman	

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

EXISTENTIAL & EQUATIVE

existential

19 May
28 may
29 wala naman

exclusive equative

5 Kayo ba
8 Kayo ba
22 Ako na mismo

enclitics

11 nga
14 ko lang
16 na ba
23 din
24 ba

15. PARADIGMATIC REPRESENTATION

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 *kaya* 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.

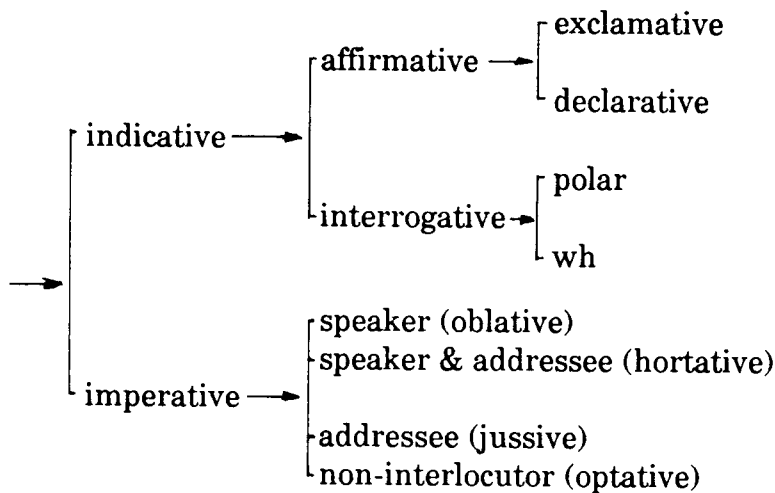
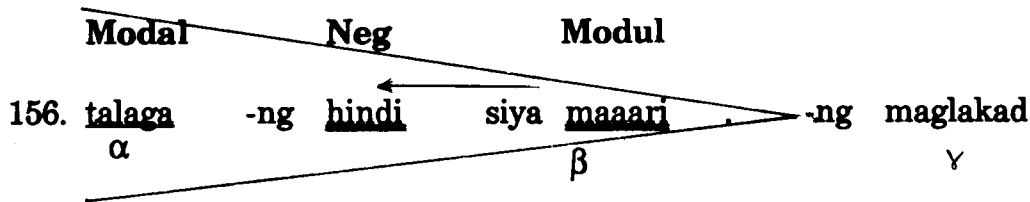


Fig. 9: Basic MOOD systems (clause as interaction)

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.

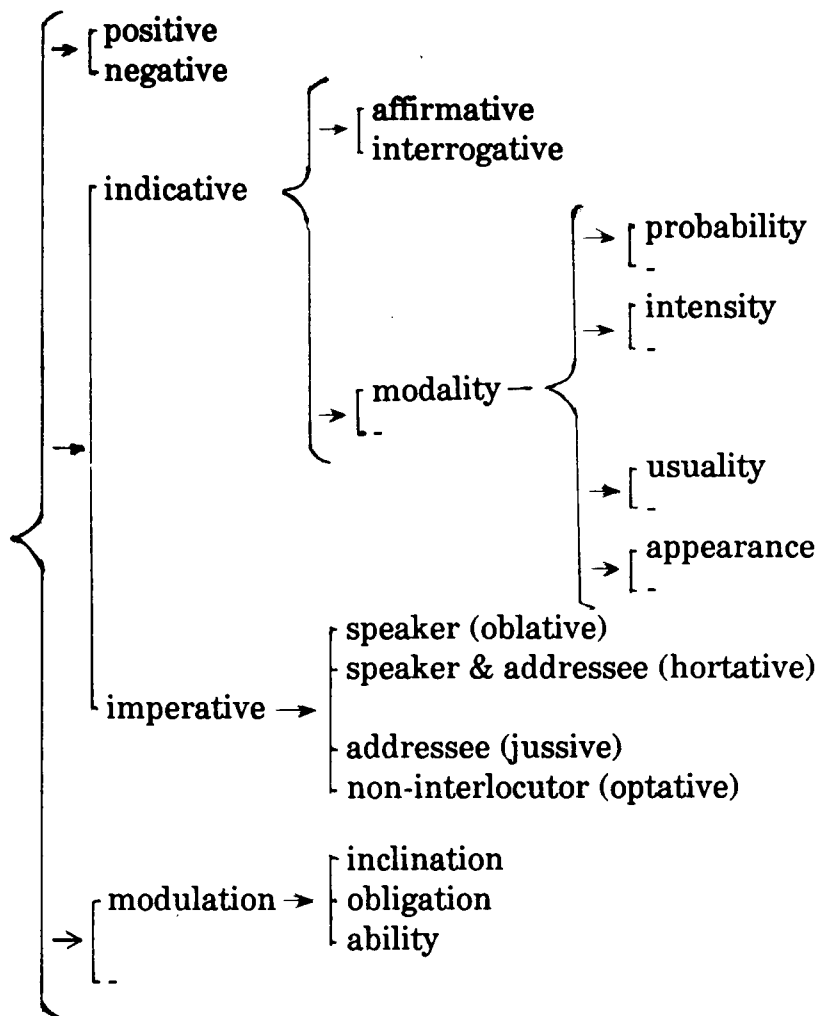


Fig. 10: MOOD, POLARITY, MODALITY & MODULATION

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 Otnes (1972). For an interpretation of the interaction of the 'textual' enclitics with conjunction, see Martin (1981).

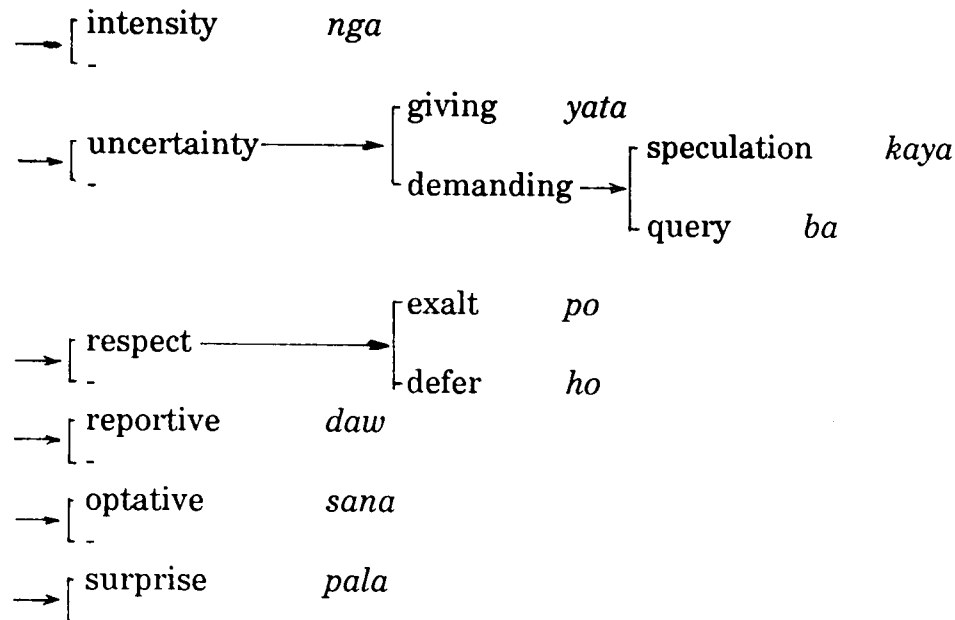


Table 10: 'Interpersonal' enclitic particle systems

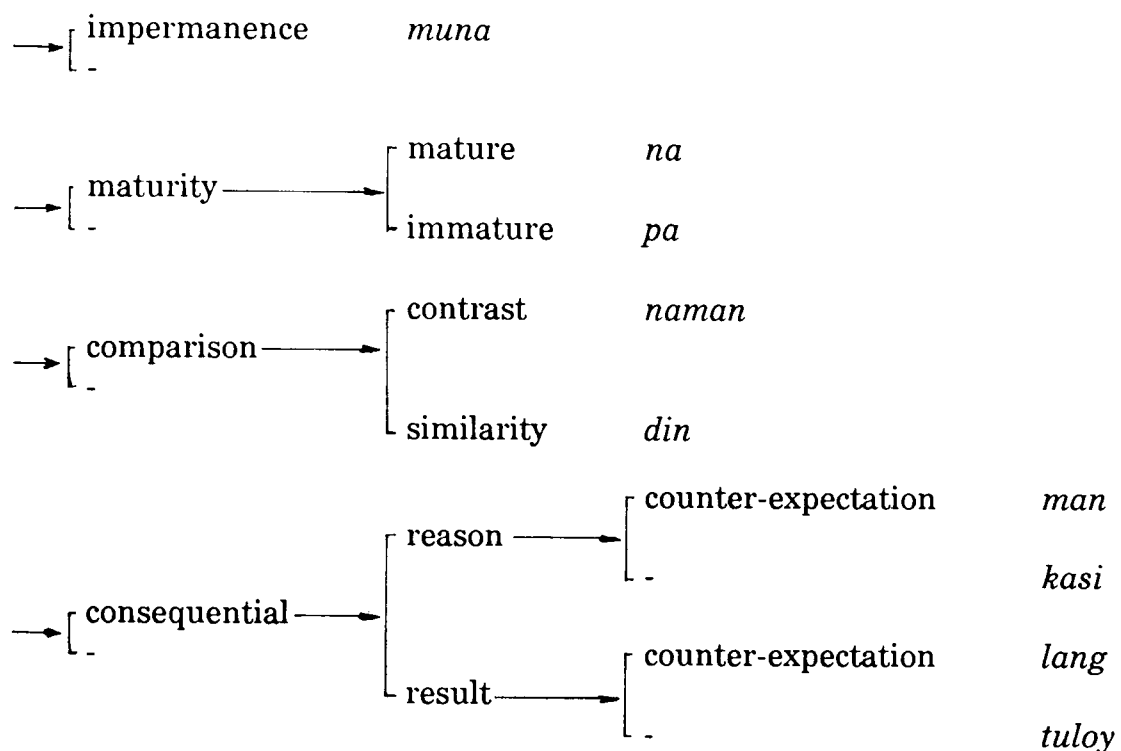


Table 11: 'Textual' enclitic particle systems

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 guide⁴¹:

	IDEATIONAL		INTERPERSONAL	TEXTUAL
	experiential	logical		
clause				
phrase				
word				

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 Otones, 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 Otones, 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-atayni 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.

- 35 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.
- 36 Contrast non-exclamative *Tumakbo siya nang mabilis*, non-intensive *maano siya*, and the unmodulated *magkape ka*.
- 37 *Sino ang* has been contracted to *sinong* in 144.
- 38 '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*.
- 39 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.
- 40 An additional interpersonal Theme could be recognized for this nominalized clause: *ibig ninyo*.
- 41 For exemplification see especially Matthiessen forthcoming.

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