TIME REFERENCE IN TAGALOG CONDITIONALS

ARACELI C. HIDALGO
University of the Philippines

1.0 INTRODUCTION

This paper is concerned with the-conventional meaning of the standard Tagalog conditional. More specifically, it is devoted to the analysis of temporal notions and constraints in the conditional.[1]

1.1 CONVENTIONAL MEANING

The term *conventional meaning* is derived from H. P. Grice's celebrated work (1968a) on the relation between formal logic and natural language. According to Grice, meanings that are conveyed in an utterance can be classified into *what is said* and *what is implied*. The former includes timeless meanings agreed upon by convention by the speakers of a language and necessary to specify the truth conditions of a sentence. The latter includes all other meanings for which Grice coined the term *implicature*.

Implicatures in Grice's scheme are classified into conventional implicatures and conversational implicatures. The latter are meanings that are deduced from what is said and the context of the utterance by virtue of the cooperative effort shared by the speaker and the hearer to abide by certain principles of communication. Conversational implicatures are meanings that cannot be associated timelessly with an expression; they arise only on occasions of utterance and are not considered necessary by classical logicians in the determination of the truth conditions of a sentence.

In contrast, conventional implicatures, or presuppositions as others call them, are part of the timeless meaning of the expression and are not determined by the context in which the expression is uttered. For example, the existence presupposition — that there exists a unique and definite entity that is being referred to — in definite expressions such as *the king of France* can always be associated with the expression no matter the context of use. It is the existence presupposition that accounts for the oddness of sentences such as sentence 1 which, in the same breath, presuppose existence and deny that existence.

1.? THE PRESIDENT IS A SHREWD POLITICIAN AND, OF COURSE, REALLY ISN'T ANY PRESIDENT.

Likewise, the conventional implicature of denying an expectation with something contrary to that expectation in the second conjunct of *but-sentences* such as sentences 2 and 3 is part of the meanings conveyed in *but-sentences* no matter the time or place they are uttered.

2. He is good-looking but dumb.

3. He drives a bugatti but he is not recognized by the MEJA group.

In sentence 2, *what is said* is that he is good-looking and (he is) dumb; what is *conventionally implied* is that he is expected not to be dumb, given that he is good-looking. In sentence 3, what is said is that he drives a bugatti and that he is not recognized by the MEJA group; what is conventionally implied is that given that he drives a bugatti he is expected to be recognized by the MEJA group.

Although conventional implicatures are part of the timeless meaning of an expression, they do not matter in the classical two-valued system of logic. However, linguists consider them along with Grice's *what is said*, i.e. the literal message of an expression, as part of the conventional meaning, or as others call it, the semantic content of an expression. Any meaning which is a part of the semantic content of an expression is encoded timelessly in the expression and in the grammar of a language.

1.2 THE TAGALOG STANDARD CONDITIONAL

The standard conditional in Tagalog has a *kung-* clause. But not all *kung-* sentences in Tagalog are standard conditionals. There is a wide range of sentences in Tagalog with a *kung* (if) clause.[2] The standard conditionals are declarative *kung-* sentences in which generally there is a perceived connection between the first conjunct (the antecedent) and the second conjunct (the consequent). The antecedent is a supposition, albeit a previous statement sometimes, against which the statement in the consequent is inferred. There are two types of standard conditionals in Tagalog: One has the morpheme *sana* present in either the consequent or the antecedent (see sentence 4); the other does not have it (see sentence 5). We shall call the former a subjunctive conditional, or alternatively a counterfactual as some philosophers have called it, and the latter, an indicative conditional.

4. *Kung marami kaming kuwarta, mayroon na sana kaming malaking bahay.*
   If we had much money (If we were wealthy), we would have a large house by now.

5. *Kung Ilocano siya, matipid siya.*
   If he is an Ilocano, he is (must be) thrifty.

There are *kung-* sentences containing *sana* which seem to be declarative conditional sentences but which do not group with the conditionals under study since they do not meet the criteria set up for conditionals.[3] These are cases where *sana* is in clause initial position as in sentence 6.

6. *Kung sasali si Daphne sa paligsahan, sana manalo siya.*
   If Daphne participates in the contest, I hope she wins.

The subjunctive morpheme *sana* may also occur after the verb of the consequent and signify hope or wish if the verb is in the future form or the future + *na* form and if the consequent follows the antecedent:

7. *Kung ninakaw ni Romy ang baon mo, sasakit sana ang tiyan niya.*
   If Romy stole your lunch, (I) hope his stomach hurts.

In all cases where hope or wish is signified, the word *di*, 'then' cannot occur between antecedent and consequent:

8. **Kung sasali si Daphne sa paligsahan, di, sana manalo siya.*

In the succeeding sections, we shall examine temporal notions in Tagalog as encoded in the grammar and then examine temporal relationships in events or situations referred to in the antecedent and consequent of the subjunctive and the indicative conditionals in Tagalog. This might help us gain insights into other semantic properties of the conditional.

2.0 TIME REFERENCE IN TAGALOG

Tense and aspect are categories that make reference to time. The distinction is based on whether or not the point of reference for a designated event or a state of affairs along a time line is the time of the speech act (R. Jakobson 1957). Tense is a temporal notion that is defined in reference to the speech situation. It indicates anteriority or posteriority of a point in time or an interval of time to the moment of speech. Aspect, on the other hand, indicates temporal values inherent in the activity or the state itself. It characterizes an event or a situation without reference to the speech event.

Schachter and Otanes (1972), in a description of time reference in Tagalog, claim, like Prof. Cecilio Lopez, that tense is not present in Tagalog. They claim a distinction of three aspects: the perfective, the imperfective, and the contemplated. These distinctions seem to be based on whether or not the designated event is completed. If the event is not completed, the event referred to is further categorized as to whether it has begun or not. The Schachter-Otanes aspect notions in Tagalog are presented in 9.

9.
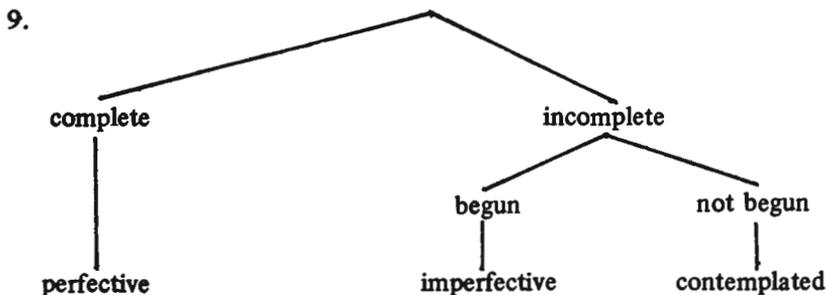
Schachter and Otanes (henceforth, S-O) seem to be correct in claiming that tense is absent in Tagalog when the imperfective is considered. The form reflecting this aspectual notion is not sensitive to adverbs that indicate time that is relative to the moment of speech. *Nanonood* in 10 and 11 does not change in form whether the co-occurring adverb is *ngayon* 'now' or *kahapon* 'yesterday'.

10. *Nanonood ngayon si Joel ng TV habang kumakain.*
    Joel *is* watching TV now while (he) *is* eating.

11. *Nanonood kahapon si Joel ng TV habang kumakain.*
    Joel *was* watching TV yesterday while (he) *was* eating.

But the absence in one verbal form of a formal marker specific to a particular notion should not mean the absence of that particular notion in the entire system Consider 12 and 13:

12. *Nanood siya kahapon/*araw-araw/*ngayon/*bukas ng TV.*
    He watched TV yesterday/every day/*now/*tomorrow.

13. *Manonood siya ng TV bukas/ngayon/araw-araw/*kahapon.*
    He will watch TV tomorrow/now/everyday/*yesterday.

3

The point of reference in both 12 and 13 is the moment of speech. The designated event in 12 is anterior to the time of the utterance while that in 13 is posterior to It. Note that *araw-araw* 'every day' and *ngayon* 'now' in 13 are interpreted as taking place after the speech act.

In the S-O scheme, it is the 'imperfective' and the 'contemplated' that share a common notion and not the 'contemplated' and the 'perfective'. Thus, their analysis cannot explain why it is the 'perfective' and the 'contemplated' that work alike in some syntactic phenomena. In 14, the 'imperfective' is blocked but not the 'perfective' and the 'contemplated' aspects:

14. *Namili si Lily bago*
$$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} namili \\ \text{shopped} \\ \text{*}namimili \\ \text{shopping} \\ mamimili \\ \text{will shop} \end{array} \right\} \quad si\ Ruby.$$

Lily went shopping before Ruby
$$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{did.} \\ \text{*is shopping.} \\ \text{will do so.} \end{array} \right.$$

In 15, both the 'perfective' and the 'contemplated' are blocked but not the 'imperfective'.

15. *Naglalaro ang bata habang*
$$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{*}gumawa \\ \text{worked} \\ gumagawa \\ \text{working} \\ \text{*}gagawa \\ \text{will work} \end{array} \right\} \quad ang\ nanay.$$

The child is playing while the mother
$$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{*worked.} \\ \text{is working.} \\ \text{*will work.} \end{array} \right.$$

The phenomena in 14 and 15 can be explained if we take *durativity* as a feature of the Tagalog temporal system and make a distinction between durative aspect and non-durative aspect. S-O's 'imperfective' falls under our durative aspect and both their 'perfective' and 'contemplated' fall under our non-durative (punctual) aspect. Verbs in the durative are either iterative, i.e. repetitive or habitual, or progressive, depending on the existence of a point of reference. In the sentence, *kumakanta siya habang gumagawa* 'she is singing while working', *habang gumagawa* 'while working' is the point of reference of *kumakanta* 'singing'. The aspect can only be read as progressive, not iterative, without the presence of the adverb *tuwing* 'every time'. The iterative does not have a single point in time as a point of reference. This distinction shows up in the grammatical constraints of the conditional (see section 3).

Verbs in the non-durative aspect designate events that are relative to another time in which a linear order of occurrence is significant. They have morphological and syntactic properties that are sensitive to speech time as a point of reference. Thus, tense *is* a temporal notion in Tagalog. The aspectual notion of anteriority or posteriority

in a semantic dimension of order in the occurrence time line is not relevant as shown by 16 to 19.

16. *Nagluto si Teresa nang dumating si Irene.*
Teresa cooked when Irene arrived.

17. *Nagluto si Teresa.*
Teresa cooked.

18. *Aalis ako pagdating ni Michelle.*
I'll leave when he arrives.

19. *Aalis ako.*
I'll leave.

In 16 there are two events that can be conceived to have occurred in sequence, albeit almost simultaneously. Note that *nagluto* 'cooked' which can be conceived as starting to have taken place a little after Irene's arrival (the point of reference of *nagluto*) has the same form as the verb in 17 which has speech time as its point of reference. Likewise, in 18, *aalis* 'will leave', which is signified to occur after the arrival of Michelle (the point of reference of *aalis*), has the same verb form as the verb in 19 which has speech time as its point of reference. The sensitivity to speech time is also demonstrated by the restriction to co-occurring temporal adverbs as in sentences 12 and 13. A non-durative verb signifying a time prior to the time of speech is in the past tense and the verb is in the 'past' form (*nag-* + stem; *um-* + stem) and a verb designating a non-durative event occurring subsequent to speech time or not taking place at all is in the future tense and in the 'future' form (see Aspillera 1974 for the different declensions). The 'future' form does not necessarily mark an 'anticipated' or 'contemplated' state of affairs.

20. *Kung magluluto ang nanay, namalengke na sana si Lily.*
If mother were to cook (is going to cook), Lily would have already gone to market.

In 20, that mother will cook is not anticipated at all as some point subsequent to the speech act that will be attained. The 'future' form in 20 simply indicates an unrealized point in time, relative to the time of speech act.

We now come to further distinctions which the S-O analysis, being based exclusively on verb morphology, missed.

In a separate chapter and section where they discuss enclitic adverbs, S-O present the particle *na* in its various occurrences. S-O claim various meanings contributed by *na* but they are not clear whether these meanings are indicated by *na,* i.e. conventional meanings or are simply suggested by the particle in context.

One of the significances S-O associate with *na* is *recency.* The problem with this analysis is that there are cases such as 21 in which the occurrence of the event referred to is not recent at all.

21. *Lumabas na si Baldo sa Muntinglupa, sampung taon na.*
? Baldo has come out of Muntinglupa (prison) for ten years already.

Another significance they attribute to the particle *na* is *temporal priority*, perhaps of the event designated by the simple sentence in which the particle occurs to another

event designated by another simple sentence in the complex sentence. This analysis seems to be correct when one considers 22:

22. *Nagluto na si Daphne nang dumating si Erwin.*
    Daphne had cooked when Erwin arrived.

The problem with the 'temporal-priority' analysis is that it is not specified enough as to account for cases such as 23 where *na* occurs in both simple sentences or in cases such as 24 where *na* is appended to a verb that is in the durative form.

23. *Kung pumasyal na rito si Pepsi pinatugtog na sana ni Irene si Elton John.*
    If Pepsi had come for a visit, Irene would have played the Elton John record by now.

24. *Kumakain na si Ellen.*
    Ellen is eating (now).

The third significance that S-O attribute to *na* is that it 'reduces' the 'psychological distance' between the time indicated by a temporal adverb and the time of speech act as in 25, their example. The same significance will possibly be given also to 26.

25. *Sa Linggo na ang piesta.*
    The feast is around the corner — on Sunday.

26. *Kakain na si Ellen.*
    Ellen is about to eat.

Again, the problem with the reduction of 'psychological distance' analysis is that: we really do not know what 'psychological distance' means. The meaning does not: remain in similar sentences such as 26. Meanings can be multiplied beyond necessity if implicatures are mistaken for semantic content.

We claim that all that the particle *na* indicates is a point in the time line of the event itself, the particular placement of that point being relative to the form of the verb that immediately precedes it. The occurrence of *na* results in the most marked meaning among the temporal notions in Tagalog. If *na* is appended to the 'past' form of a verb, it indicates the terminative point of the event referred to, thereby implying the completion or the achievement of the designated state of affairs. The difference between a 'past' form and a 'past' + *na* form such as those exemplified in 27 and 28 is this: In using the former, one does not indicate whether the event referred to is. accomplished or 'perfected'. One is simply talking about an event's moment of occurrence in an occurrence time line relative to another event.

27. *Nagluto si Daphne nang dumating si Teresa.*
    Daphne cooked (began cooking) when Teresa arrived.

28. *Nagluto na si Daphne nang dumating si Teresa.*
    Daphne had cooked (had finished cooking) when Teresa arrived.

The idea of completion in a past form of the verb is only a conversational implicature. In 27, for example, the event of cooking is not completed yet. The speaker is simply

saying that Daphne initiated cooking *at the time* of Teresa's arrival. The 'past' + *na* form, on the other hand, indicates the existence of a time interval between the terminative point of one event relative to another; thus, the strong implication that the event referred to is completed. In 28, the speaker is saying that *by the time* Teresa arrived, the terminal point of the event of Daphne's cooking had been reached. It is, therefore, the latter form that is indicative of the completive or the 'perfective' aspect. It is because of this additional and particular meaning that temporal priority is read into the 'past' + *na* form when in sequence with a 'past' form.

When the point of reference of a 'past' + *na* form is the moment of speaking, as in *Nagsumpa na ang dalaga* 'The young lady has made a vow', the time interval stretches from the event's point of termination to the time of speaking. This results in the suggestion that something of that event — its completion, its effect, or the fact that it occurred — is relevant at the moment of speaking. Thus, between a simple 'past' form and a 'past' + *na* form in a simple sentence or in a main clause, the event designated by the latter, rather than the former, is perceived to be closer to the moment of speaking, thereby implying recency of the event in certain cases.

If our analysis of the distinction between a 'past' form and a 'past' + *na* form is correct, then it would be ungrammatical for a momentaneous temporal adverb that is axis-bound to co-occur with the 'past' + *na* form but grammatical with the 'past' form. And conversely, it would be grammatical for a temporal adverb indicating a time interval, i.e. a durational temporal adverb, to co-occur with the 'past' + *na* form but ungrammatical with the 'past' form. Examples 29 through 31 bear out this restriction on co-occurring temporal adverbs.

> 29. a. *Pumutok ang bomba kahapon.*
>   The bomb exploded yesterday.
>
>   b. *Kahapon, pumutok ang bomba.*
>   Yesterday, the bomb exploded.
>
> 30. a. **Pumutok na ang bomba kahapon.*
>   *The bomb has exploded yesterday.
>
>   b. **Kahapon, pumutok na ang bomba.*
>   *Yesterday, the bomb has exploded.
>
> 31. a. *Pumutok na ang bomba, dalawang oras na.*
>   The bomb has exploded, (it's been) two hours already.
>
>   b. **Pumutok ang bomba, dalawang oras na.*
>   *The bomb exploded, (it's been) two hours already.

The durational temporal adverb in 31 can be placed in sentence initial position, in which case *na* cannot occur in *pumutok ang bomba* 'the bomb exploded'. This is not counter to our analysis since the adverb in such a case belongs to a separate clause, the main clause, in which the verb is a verb of existence and *pumutok ang bomba* is a subordinate clause:

> 32. *May dalawang oras na na pumutok ang bomba.*
>   It has been two hours that the bomb exploded.

The 'durative' form of the verb without a co-occurring expression indicating a momentaneous point in time as its point of reference indicates the iterative aspect. The co-occurrence of a point-time expression focuses on a single occurrence of the iterative event and effects a reading of duration or progression instead of iterativity. Thus, when the particle *na* is appended to the 'durative' form of the verb the progressive aspect is indicated with the axis dependent on other adverbial expressions as 33 and 34 show. If there is no other adverbial expression, the time reference is interpreted as taking place during the time of speech act as 35 shows:

33. *Pagdating ko mamaya sa bahay, naghahanda na ng mesa si Erwin.*
    When I'll arrive at home, Erwin (will) be setting the table.

34. *Naghahanda na ng mesa si Erwin nang dumating ako kanina.*
    Erwin (was) setting the table when I arrived awhile ago.

35. *Naghahanda na ng mesa si Erwin.*
    Erwin (is) setting the table (now).

Our claim of a difference in temporal notions indicated by the 'durative' form and the 'durative' + *na* form is given support by a difference in restrictions in syntax on aspect agreement:

36. *Kung umuulan sa Maynila* $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \textit{bumabaha} \\ \text{floods} \\ \textit{*babaha} \\ \text{will flood} \end{array} \right\}$ *sa España.*

   Whenever it rains in Manila, $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{España gets flooded.} \\ \text{*España will get flooded.} \end{array} \right.$

37. *Kung umuulan na sa Maynila* $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \textit{*bumabaha} \\ \text{floods} \\ \textit{babaha} \\ \text{will flood} \end{array} \right\}$ *sa España.*

   If it is raining (now) in Manila, $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{*España gets flooded.} \\ \text{España will get flooded.} \end{array} \right.$
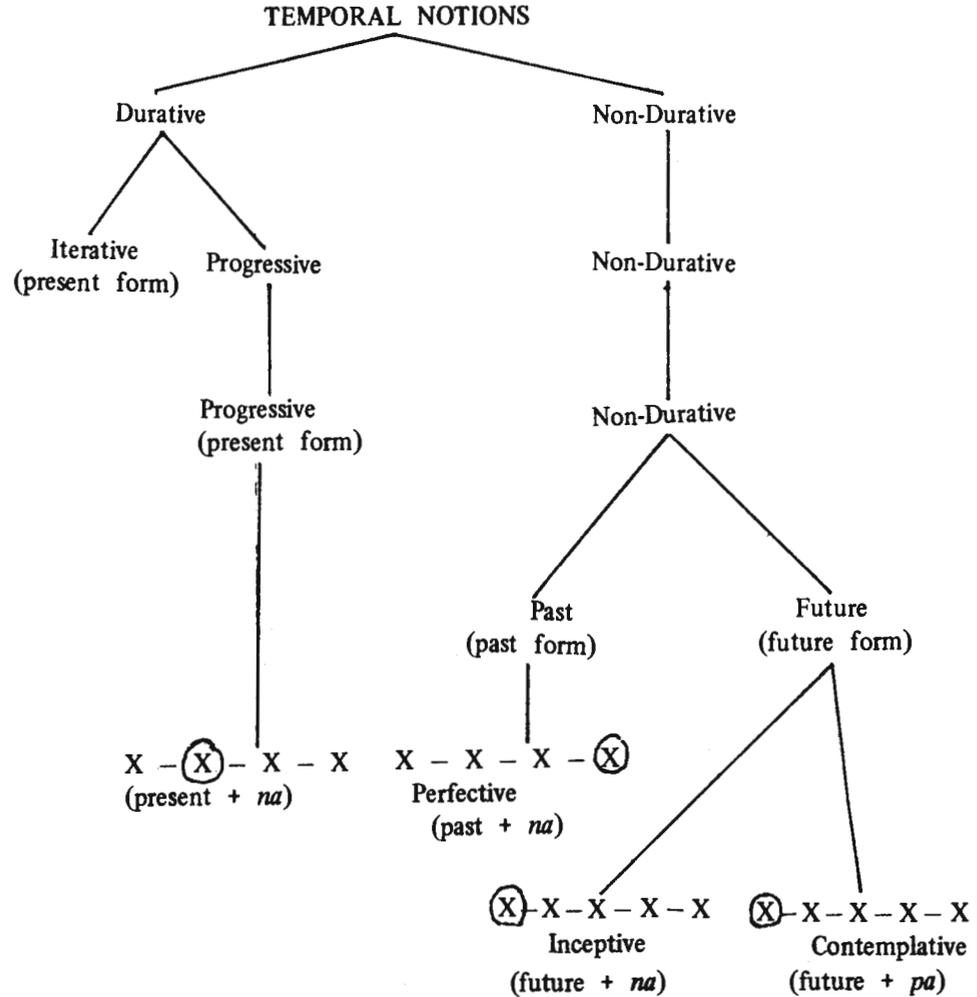
Finally, if *na* occurs with the 'future' form of a verb, it indicates a point at what is perceived as the starting point of the event in its activity time line, i.e. the durational time line of the event itself. Thus, we analyze the future + *na* form as indicative of the inceptive aspect.

Contrary to the notion conveyed when *na* is appended to the future form of the verb is that when *pa* occurs instead of *na*. This indicates that no point in the activity time line has been reached. We shall label this the contemplative aspect.

In summary, we propose the following analysis of the temporal notions in Tagalog:

TEMPORAL PARAMETERS

1. Space in time

2. Existence of a point of reference

3. Simultaneity with the point of reference

4. Reality: Placement in an *occurrence time line* relative to speech time as a point of reference

5. Temporal status in the *activity time line*

TEMPORAL NOTIONS

Durative

Non-Durative

Iterative (present form)

Progressive

Non-Durative

Progressive (present form)

Non-Durative

Past (past form)

Future (future form)

X – Ⓧ – X – X
(present + *na*)

X – X – X – Ⓧ
Perfective
(past + *na*)

Ⓧ–X–X–X–X
Inceptive
(future + *na*)

Ⓧ–X–X–X–X
Contemplative
(future + *pa*)

The temporal notions are based on five parameters that are offered to explain syntactic and morphological properties that have been discussed:

1) Occupancy of space in time: whether the event is taken as occurring in an interval of time, i.e. repetitive or on-going (durative) or occurring momentaneously, (non-durative);

2) Existence of a point of reference: whether the event is perceived against a point of reference (non-durative and progressive events) or perceived with the point of reference irrelevant (iterative or habitual);

3) Simultaneity with the point of reference: whether the event or part of the event is perceived as simultaneous with the point of reference (progressive) or sequential with it (non-durative);

4) Placement in an occurrence time line relative to the time of speech as point of reference: past tense or future tense for non-durative (This is tense. It is not the usual aspectual notion of anteriority versus posteriority in a dimension of order in the occurrence time line. In Tagalog, *any* anterior position (or posterior position) is marked relative to the time of speech.);

5) Temporal status in the activity time line: whether the point reached or identified in the time line of *the activity itself* is the terminative point (perfective), the initial point (inceptive), or between these two points (progressive), or the initial point of the activity has not been reached at all (contemplative).

The last aspectual notions are marked in Tagalog compared to the notions of tense. The appending of *na* focuses on the activity itself, specifically on temporal status of the activity time line, that is, on whether the activity has just started or is completed or is on-going, or if *pa* occurs, whether it is being merely contemplated. The morpheme *na* is translated into English by the Tagalog speaker as 'already'. In English the adverb is associated with a notion of tense: a point in time prior to the speech act. The Tagalog speaker, however, uses the adverb aspectually to mean a point has been reached. Thus the Tagalog speaker's 'I'll go already' (which is, of course, ungrammatical in English) simply means the inceptive point of the event of going has been reached.

3.0 TEMPORAL SEQUENCES IN TAGALOG CONDITIONALS

Restrictions on the temporal sequences conveyed by predicates in compound or complex sentences are a part of the semantic property of an expression. For example, the ungrammaticality of 38 and the grammaticality of 39 are determined by the semantic content of the word *before*:

38. *We will go to the theater before we had dinner.

39. We went to the theater before we had dinner.

The word *before* requires priority of occurrence of the event referred to in the first conjunct of the sentence to the event referred to in the second conjunct. This is violated in 38 by the tense form of the verb in the first conjunct. The combination

of future tense form in the first conjunct and past tense form in the second conjunct does not convey the meaning that going to the theater is prior to having dinner as dictated by the word *before*. Hence, the ungrammatical sentence. In this section we look into the conventional temporal meanings in Tagalog conditional sentences.

The verb forms in a counterfactual conditional and an indicative conditional in Tagalog are alike. The possible temporal sequences for each are not. They share a certain set of verb forms, with the sentences differing only in the presence of the morpheme word *sana* either in the consequent or in the antecedent of the counterfactual. It is more likely to occur in the antecedent when the antecedent is blatantly false but it is not incorrect for it to occur in the consequent in such a case:

40. *Kung ang mga bato ay nakakáin sana, hindi na tayo papasok araw-araw.*
    If stones were edible, we wouldn't have to go to work every day.

41. *Kung ang mga bato ay nakakain, hindi na sana tayo papasok araw-araw.*
    If stones were edible, we wouldn't have to go to work every day.

There are 36 logically possible combinations of tense-aspect in sentences of the conditional form and in possibly any two-claused sentence in Tagalog containing verbs inflected for a temporal notion. These are:

42.
1)	past + *na*	—	past + *na*
2)	past + *na*	—	past
3)	past	—	past + *na*
4)	past	—	past
5)	past + *na*	—	durative + *na*
6)	past + *na*	—	durative
7)	past	—	durative + *na*
8)	past	—	durative
9)	past + *na*	—	future + *na*
10)	past + *na*	—	future
11)	past	—	future + *na*
12)	past	—	future
13)	durative + *na*	—	durative + *na*
14)	durative + *na*	—	durative
15)	durative	—	durative + *na*
16)	durative	—	durative
17)	durative + *na*	—	future + *na*
18)	durative + *na*	—	future
19)	durative	—	future + *na*
20)	durative	—	future
21)	durative + *na*	—	past + *na*
22)	durative + *na*	—	past
23)	durative	—	past + *na*
24)	durative	—	past
25)	future + *na*	—	future + *na*
26)	future + *na*	—	future
27)	future	—	future + *na*
28)	future	—	future
29)	future + *na*	—	past + *na*
30)	future + *na*	—	past

31)	future	—	past + *na*
32)	future	—	past
33)	future + *na*	—	durative + *na*
34)	future + *na*	—	durative
35)	future	—	durative + *na*
36)	future	—	durative

Of the 36 combinations, there are 25 grammatical combinations for the indicative conditionals and 11 ungrammatical ones. For the counterfactuals, the presence of *sana* blocks 17 combinations and 19 come out grammatical.

A consistently blocked combination for both counterfactuals and indicatives is one in which the antecedent contains a 'non-durative' form and the consequent, a 'durative' form without the particle *na*. In the examples below, the inner number enclosed in parentheses refers to the combination given in 42 and *In* and *Co* are the abbreviations for indicative and counterfactual, respectively:

43. *In* (6) *Kung nagmura na si Teria, tumataas ang prisyon niya.*
*If Teria has reviled (somebody), her blood pressure (usually) rises.

44. *Co* (6) *Kung nagmura na si Teria, tumataas sana ang prisyon niya.*
*If Teria had reviled (somebody), her blood pressure would (usually) rise.

45. *In* (8) *Kung namalengke si Piyang, nagluluto ang nanay.*
*If Piyang went to market, mother (usually) cooks.

46. *Co* (8) *Kung namalengke si Piyang, nagluluto sana ang nanay.*
*If Piyang had gone to market, mother would (occasionally) cook.

47. *In* (14) *Kung nagluluto na si Piyang, naglalaro si Babsy.*
*If Piyang is cooking, Babsy (usually) plays.

48. *Co* (14) *Kung nagluluto na si Piyang, naglalaro sana si Babsy.*
*If Piyang is cooking, Babsy would (usually) play.

49. *In* (34) *Kung magluluto na si Piyang, naglalaro si Babsy.*
*If Piyang is about to cook, Babsy (usually) plays.

50. *Co* (34) *Kung magluluto na si Piyang, naglalaro na sana si Babsy.*
*If Piyang is about to cook, Babsy would (usually) play.

51. *In* (36) *Kung kakanta si Insia, lumalabas ang mga daga.*
*If Insia sings, mice (occasionally) come out.

52. *Co* (36) *Kung kakanta si Insia, lumalabas sana ang mga daga.*
*If Insia sings, mice would (usually) come out.

Also incoherent in the way examples containing combinations (6), (8), (14), (34), or (36) are, are counterfactual examples containing a 'durative' form without *na* in the antecedent and a 'non-durative' form in the consequent.

53. *Co* (15) *Kung nagmumura si Teria, kumakanta na sana si Bing.*
*Whenever Teria reviles (somebody), Bing would be singing by now.

54. *In* (15) *Kung nagmumura si Teria, kumakanta na si Bing.*
If Teria is reviling (somebody), Bing (must) be singing now.

55. *Co* (19) **Kung nagmumura si Teria, kakanta na sana si Bing.*
*Whenever Teria reviles (somebody), Bing would be about to sing now.

56. *In* (19) *Kung nagmumura si Teria, kakanta na si Bing.'*
If Teria is reviling (somebody), Bing (must) be about to sing.

57. *Co* (20) **Kung nagmumura si Teria, kakanta sana si Bing.*
Whenever Teria reviles (somebody), Bing would sing.[5]

58. *In* (20) **Kung nagmumura si Teria, kakanta si Bing.*
If Teria is reviling (somebody), Bing will sing (tomorrow).
*(Whenever Teria reviles (somebody), Bing will sing (tomorrow.)

59. *Co* (23) **Kung namamalengke si Insia, nagluto na sana si Lily.*
*Whenever Insia goes to market, Lily would have cooked.

60. *In* (23) *Kung nagmumura si Teria, kumanta na si Bing.*
If Teria is reviling (somebody), Bing (must) have sung already.

61. *Co* (24) **Kung namamalengke si Insia, nagluto sana ang nanay.*
*Whenever Insia goes to market, mother would have cooked.

62. *In* (24) **Kung namamalengke si Insia, nagluto ang nanay.*
*If Insia is going to market now, mother cooked.

Except for 58, the 'durative' form in the antecedent of the indicative examples is given a progressive aspect reading. If an iterative reading is forced by the addition of an adverb such as *araw-araw* 'every day' or *sa tuwi-tuwi na* 'occasionally', then the indicative examples would also be ungrammatical.

The grammatical constraint that is at work in examples 43 to 62 is that there must be agreement in aspect between the predicates of the two clauses involved: Iterative aspect can only be in combination with iterative aspect.

63. (16) *Kung nagmumura si Teria, tumataas ang prisyon niya.*

The constraint in aspect agreement applies not only to sentences of the conditional form but to other forms, as well:

64. *Nagkasalapi na sila nang nakilala/*nakikilala ko sila.*[6]
They had become wealthy already when I came to know them.

65. a. *Araw-araw, umiiyak ang bata habang naglalaba ako.*
Every day, the child cries while I do the laundry.

   b. **Araw-araw, umiiyak ang bata, nang binasag ko ang bote niya.*
*Every day, the child cries when I broke his bottle.

66. a. *Lalabas si Ciano sa preso bago lalandi ang anak niya.*
Ciano will come out of prison before his child flirts.

   b. **Lalabas si Ciano sa preso bago lumalandi ang anak niya.*
*Ciano will come out of prison before his child (usually) flirts.

The reason for the formal constraint of iterative aspect agreement is that for certain expressions it enables the temporal placement of a designated event relative to another. If a single event is temporally placed against a recurring event, one cannot perceive to which particular occurrence of the recurring event the single event is relative.

The temporal placement of events or states of affairs could be simultaneous or linear or neither of the two. Some expressions in a language such as *before* or *after* conventionally designate the sequential arrangement of events; some indicate the simultaneity of occurrence of events (e.g. *She broke the glass and* at once *screamed* vs. **She broke the glass and at once will scream*); and some, neither (e.g. *Either Irene came home late or Daphne is still studying).*

If an expression conventionally indicates the linearity of events, then there must be a syntactic agreement rule constraining sentences to indicate the precedence or the subsequence of one event to the other. The precedence or the subsequence could be temporal in nature. We shall call this the Temporal Seuqence Principle:

Temporal Sequence Principle

If a certain form of expression requires a linear arrangement of the states of affairs referred to, then the sentence containing the expression indicates in some other form in the sentence the temporal precedence of one designated state of affairs to the other(s).

By the Temporal Sequence Principle (TSP), we should expect ungrammaticality or incoherence if that part of the sentence that is supposed to designate a prior event (or a subsequent event) does not do its job. Moreover, by the TSP, we should not expect unrestricted interchangeability between the clauses contained in the expression. For example, 67a and 67b do not mean the same.

67.   a.   If the burglar had jumped out of the window, he would have broken his ankle.

      b.   If the burglar had broken his ankle, he would have jumped out of the window.

If the TSP applies to the conditional then we should expect either of two things: It is only the antecedent that indicates temporal priority or it is only the consequent that does this job but not either of them. If it is a function of the antecedent to convey that which is intended to be temporally prior, then *ceteris paribus,* we should expect the conditional sentence to be grammatical if the event designated in the antecedent can be read as prior to that designated in the consequent and ungrammatical if the antecedent indicates otherwise.

In other words, the TSP should predict the following combinations among the 36 logically possible combinations in Tagalog which do not violate an iterative aspect agreement rule to be grammatical: (3), (5), (7), (9), (10), (11), (12), (17), (18), (26) and the following to be ungrammatical: (2), (21), (22), (27), (29), (30), (31), (32), (33), and (35).

The predicted grammatical combinations come out grammatical as predicted but there is an inconsistency for the predicted ungrammatical ones: The combinations do not come out consistenly ungrammatical nor consistently grammatical. The cases where both indicative conditionals and oounterfactuals come out ungrammatical as predicted are (2), (22), and (30):

68. *Co*   (2)   **Kung namalengke na si Insia nagluto sana ang nanay.*
              If Insia had done the grocery, mother would have cooked.

69. *In*   (2)   **Kung namalengke na si Insia, nagluto ang nanay.*
              *If Insia has done the grocery, mother cooked.

70. *Co* (22)   **Kung nagmumura na si Teria, kumanta sana si Bing.*[7]
                 If Teria were reviling (somebody), Bing would have sung.

71. *In* (22)   **Kung nagmumura na si Teria, kumanta si Bing.*
                 *If Teria is reviling (somebody), Bing sang.

72. *Co* (30)   **Kung magmumura na si Teria, kumanta sana si Bing.*
                 *If Teria is about to revile (somebody), Bing would have sung.

73. *In* (30)   **Kung magmumura na si Teria, kumanta si Bing.*
                 *If Teria is about to revile (somebody), Bing sang.

Cases where both come out grammatical are (27), (31), and (35):

74. *Co* (27)   *Kakanta na sana si Bing kung magmumura si Teria.*
                 Bing was going to start singing if Teria were going to revile somebody.

75. *In* (27)   *Kung magmumura si Teria, kakanta na ako.*
                 If Teria is going to revile (somebody), I'm going to sing now.

76. *Co* (31)   *Kung magluluto ang nanay, namalengke na sana ako.*
                 If mother were going to cook, I would have done the marketing by now.

77. *In* (31)   *Kung magluluto ang nanay, namalengke na si Insia.*
                 If mother is going to (will) cook, Insia (would) have done the marketing by now.

78. *Co* (35)   *Kung magluluto ang nanay, namamalengke na sana si Insia.*
                 If mother were going to cook, Insia would be doing the marketing by now.

79. *In* (35)   *Kung magluluto ang nanay, namamalengke na si Insia.*
                 If mother is going to (will) cook, Insia (must) be doing the marketing now.

More perplexing are cases where indicatives but not counterfactuals come out grammatical. These are (21), (29), and (33):

80. *In* (21)   *Kung nagmumura na si Teria, kumanta na si Bing.*
                 If Teria is reviling (somebody), Bing (must) have sung (already).

81. *Co* (21)   **Kung nagmumura na si Teria kumanta na sana si Bing.*
                 If Teria were reviling (somebody), Bing would have sung.

82. *In* (29)   *Kung magmumura na si Teria, kumanta na si Bing.*[8]
                 If Teria is about to revile (somebody), Bing (must) have sung already.

83. *Co* (29)   **Kung magmumura na si Teria, kumanta na sana si Bing.*
                 *If Teria had just started reviling (somebody), Bing would have sung by now.

84. *In* (33)   *Kung magmumura na si Teria, kumakanta na si Bing.*
                 If Teria is about to revile (somebody), Bing (must) be singing now.

85. *Co* (33)   **Kung magmumura na si Teria, kumakanta na sana si Bing.*
                 *If Teria were starting to revile (somebody), Bing would be singing by now.

And (32) is a case in which counterfactuals but not indicatives come out grammatical:

86.   *Co*   (32)   *Kung magluluto ang nanay, namalengke sana si Insia.*
If mother were going to cook, Insia would have done the marketing.

87.   *In*   (32)   **Kung magluluto ang nanay, namalengke si Insia.*
*If mother is going to cook, Insia did the grocery.

Blatant violations of the proteron-hysteron temporal sequence in sentences that remain grammatical indicate inconsistent behavior of the conditionals with respect to the TSP. It is clear that the TSP does not apply to the Tagalog standard conditionals. In other words, *kung* 'if' is not a temporal assigning word in the same way that words like *bago* 'before' or *nang* 'when' are. It is not correct, therefore, to take *kung* to mean 'when' as some have claimed (e.g. Aspillera 1974).

The ungrammaticality of conditional sentences with a verb in the durative form that is in the iterative aspect is due to reasons not specific to *kung* as has been discussed earlier.

Indicative conditional sentences with a consequent whose verb is in the past tense form are also ungrammatical. This happens whatever the form of the verb in the antecedent. To understand the phenomenon it is important to consider two other facts: First, that the sentences are impeccable when it is the verb of the antecedent that is in the past tense except when the combination is past-past (combination 4 in 42) and second, that two combinations, future-past and past-past which are blocked for indicatives are grammatical for counterfactuals.

The ungrammaticality lies in the meaning of *kung*, an expression to convey an asserted conclusion drawn from a stated premise. The antecedent of the *kung-* sentence conveys the premise or one of the premises by which the consequent is reached and asserted. The premise (stated in the antecedent) can also be viewed as a context against which the assertion in the consequent is evaluated. Given this communicative function of *kung* it is not possible to evaluate an event in an occurrence time line (see Section 2) in the context of another event that is in its activity time line. In a possible world semantics such as the system of D. Lewis (1973), the antecedent and the consequent do not share the same sphere of accessibility. The consequent being outside of the sphere of the antecedent cannot be evaluated. The same explanation holds for the ungrammaticality of the combination future-past for indicatives. A realized event (past, indicative) cannot have a context of an unrealized event in which to evaluate its truth.

The ungrammaticality, rather, the unacceptability, of a *past-past* combination for indicatives is a gray area. The combination can be grammatical but the sentence seems to be another type of a *kung-* sentence, not a standard conditional sentence.

The ungrammaticality that has just been discussed cannot be simply attributed to a disagreement in temporal dimensions, i.e. tense and aspect in a single sentence since indicative conditionals can be grammatical even when the temporal dimensions are not parallel. This is so when it is the verb of the antecedent that is in the past tense form. In 88, the occurrence of an event prior to speech is asserted but the event against which the occurrence is evaluated is not an appropriate point of reference since the event

conveyed in the antecedent is not on an occurrence time line. The verb referring to the event expresses the status of the event relative to its completion. In 89, the verb in the past tense form is bound by *kung* in the antecedent and the antecedent is not asserted. No dimension of reality is violated.

88. *Kung namalengke na si Linda, nagluto ang nanay.*
     *If Linda has already done the grocery, mother cooked.

89. If mother cooked, Linda has already done the grocery.

It would seem at first that the TSP is at work since such combinations as *future + na – past* or *durative + na – past* are ungrammatical while the combinations *past – future + na* or *past – durative + na* are grammatical. This is vitiated by the grammaticality of combinations such as *durative + na – past + na* and *future + na – past + na* for the indicatives and the combination *future – past* for the counterfactuals. The indicative combinations are grammatical since both antecedent and consequent are in the same sphere of accessibility: The consequent is on an activity time line and can be evaluated in any world of occurrence. The combination *future – past* which is not allowed for indicatives is let through for counterfactuals since the occurrence of the subjunctive morpheme *sana* in the sentence with the verb in the past tense form makes both events conveyed in the consequent and in the antecedent unrealized events. They are in the same sphere of accessibility.[9]

A significant difference between indicatives and counterfactuals is the grammaticality for indicatives but ungrammaticality' for counterfactuals of the following combinations:

(21) *durative + na*   –   *past + na*

(33) *future + na*   –   *durative + na*

(29) *future + na*   –   *past + na*

The reason cannot lie in an apparent clash of meaning between the subjunctive morpheme *sana* and morpheme *na* 'a point has been reached' since combinations such as *past – past + na* or *past – future + na* go through for counterfactuals. The reason seems to be this: Counterfactuals adhere to a proteron-hysteron sequence of designated events. This is manifest when the combination is identical for both antecedent and consequent. For counterfactuals, but not indicatives, the antecedent is read to convey a state of affairs that is prior to that designated in the consequent:

90. *Co* (1) *Kung nakainum na si Mac, nagtalumpati na sana siya.*
              If Mac had gotten drunk, he would have given a speech by now.

91. *Co* (13) *Kung nagbabasa na ng diyario ang tatay, naggigitara na sana si Teresa.*
              If father were reading the newspaper, Teresa would be playing the guitar by now.

92. *Co* (25) *Maggigitara na sana si Teresa kung mag-aaral na si Irene.*
              Teresa would have started playing the guitar if Irene had started studying.

93. *Co* (28) *Mamamalengke sana si Daphne kung magluluto si Minnie.*
              Daphne was going to do the marketing if Minnie were going to cook.

94. *Co* (4) *Kung namalengke si Insia, nagluto sana ang nanay.*
If Insia had done the marketing, mother would have cooked.

The question that remains is why counterfactuals strictly adhere to a proteron-hysteron sequence of designated events while this restriction is relaxed for indicative conditionals. Both subjunctive conditionals and indicative conditionals are assertions from an inference, the consequent being the asserted portion of the sentence and the antecedent, the reason or part of the reason for making the assertion. The difference between the two is that for subjunctives, that which is asserted is hypothetical; for indicatives, it is not. To give point to a hypothetical conclusion, justification for it must be transparent.[10] Such justification could be in terms of a causal relationship or a frequency relationship or some other sort of relationship (depending upon the inherent meaning of the predicates) between events or states of affairs referred to. To effect transparency of the justification which we shall identify as the warranting statement or the connecting proposition between antecedent and consequent in counterfactuals, counterfactuals exploit the proteron-hysteron linear sequence of events which, even in non-conditionals such as 95 or 96, effect an understanding of a (causal, frequency, etc.) relationship between the designated events:[11]

95. *Pinindut ng mama ang suwits at ang raketa ay pumapailanglang sa alangaang.*
The man pushed a button and the rocket soared into space.

96. *Tinapik ng manggagamot ang tuhod ni Esvi at umudlot ang kaniyang paa.*
The doctor tapped Esvi's knee and his leg jerked.

When the conditional is indicative, transparency of justification for the conclusion forwarded can be relaxed. The asserted conclusion can be verified. The connecting proposition between antecedent and consequent which is made transparent by a proteron-hysteron sequence of designated events is proposed here as part of the conventional meaning of the Tagalog standard conditional.

NOTES

1. For a more comprehensive analysis of the conventional meaning in the Tagalog conditional, see A. C. Hidalgo 1978. Financial assistance from the Ford Foundation and the University of Chicago to do the original research for this paper is hereby acknowledged.

2. For some of thses sentences, and the complete criteria for delineating standard conditionals in Tagalog, see Chapter 2 of A. C. Hidalgo 1978.

3. See Footnote 2.

4. For *araw-araw* to be interpreted as 'every day in the past', another adverb is needed to specify the axis-bound point in time. For example, *Araw-araw noong isang linggo, nanood ng TV si Joel.* 'Every day last week, Joel watched TV.'

5. The *word sing* in the example is given an iterative reading in English but in Tagalog *kakanta* is not.

6. Example 64 with *nakikilala* is not ungrammatical due to a wrong form in the sense that *knowing* is not a lexical item in English. One can say in Tagalog, *Nakikilala, mo ba ako?* 'Do you know me?,

7. Note that example 71 seems to be capable of being given the reading *If it is so that Teria is reviling (somebody), I hope Bing sings (Bing should sing).* This is due to the forms of the verbs in the consequent. *Kumanta* belongs to a class of verbs (*um*-verbs) that have the 'past' form and the 'infinitive' form homophonous. If the verb were a *mag*-verb, e.g. *nagluto* 'cooked', the sentence would not have a a possible. reading.

    The sentence sounds better if the respective topics of the antecedent and the consequent are fronted: *Kung si Teria ay magmumura na, si Bing ay kumanta na.*

9. The ungrammaticality of a durative - durative combination for counterfactuals does not relate to time but to some property of the subjunctive morpheme *sana.* For a proposed explanation, see Chapter 5 of A. C. Hidalgo 1978.

10. Similar to the point we are trying to make is R. M. Chisholm's (1955) claim that 'the point of asserting the counterfactual may be that of *calling attention to, emphasizing,* or *conveying* one or more of the premises which, taken with the antecedent, logically imply the consequent' (in E. Sosa, 1975: 151).

11. That justification or reason for the conclusion forwarded must be a part *of the significances* that a Tagalog counterfactual conveys due to the presence of *sana* is supported by the fact that *counter-responses cannot be counterfactuals.*

    1) a. *Kung nagluto ang asawa mo, nagluto rin ang asawa ko.*
            If your wife cooked, (so what?) may wife cooked also.

        b. **Kung nagluto ang asawa mo, nagluto sana rin ang asawa ko.*

    2) a. *Kung nagtenis si Erwin, nagbisikleta naman si Raffy.*
            If Erwin played tennis, Raffy (on the other hand) went biking.

        b. **Kung nagtenis si Erwin, nagbisikleta sana naman si Raffy.*

    In cases where *sana* occurs with a counter-response, *sana* signifies 'hope' or 'wish':

    3) *Kung nagluto ang asawa mo, nagluto rin sana ang asawa ko.*
        If your wife cooked, (I) hope my wife cooked. too.

REFERENCES

ASPILLERA, PARALUMAN S. 1974. Basic Tagalog: Manila: Philippine Asian Publishers, Inc.

BLOOMFIELD, LEONARD. 1917, Tagalog text with grammatical analysis Part 1: Text and translation. Part II: Grammatical analysis. Urbana, Illinois: University of Illinois.

CHISHOLM, R. M. 1975. Low-statement and counter factual inferences. In Ernest Sosa (ed.) Causation and conditional. Glasgow: Oxford University Press. Reprinted from *Analysis*, 1955.

GRICE, H.P. 1968a. Logic and conversation. Unpublished William James lectures. Harvard University. (Lecture II is published in Systax and Semantics, vol.3 , ed. by P. Cole and J. L. Morgan and in Logic and Grammar, ed. by D. Davidson and G. Harman.)

_____ 1968b. Utterer's meaning, sentence reading and word meaning. Foundations of Language 4.225-242.

HIDALGO, ARACELI C. 1978. The connection between antecedent and consequent in Tagalog conditional. Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Chicago.

JACOBSON, ROMAN. 1957. Shifters, verval categories and the Russian verb. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

LLAMZON, TEODORO. 1968. Modern Tagalog: A functional structural description Mimeographed.

LEWIS, DAVID K. 1973. Counterfactuals. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

SCHACHTER, PAUL and FE T. OTANES. 1972. Tagalog reference grammar. Berkeley: University of California Press.

SOSA, ERNEST. Causation and conditional. Glasgow: Oxford University Press.