

Amo Lat: A Sketch of Second Position Discourse Particles in Linawis, the Madrideoj Variety of Bantayanon¹

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Abstract

Bantayanon [bf \times] is an understudied Central Bisayan language spoken in the Bantayan islands, Cebu (Allen, 2022). This study describes the second position discourse (2P) particles used in one of Bantayanon's varieties, Linawis which is spoken in the Municipality of Madrideoj (Lawís). These particles are found on the second position of a clause and

¹This article was originally presented as a part of a larger discussion on Linawis discourse particles during the 15th Philippine Linguistics Congress held at NISMED, University of the Philippines Diliman, Quezon City, Philippines, on August 23, 2024 (Baran, 2023b). A summarized list of the 2P particles analyzed and described in this study also appears in Baran (2023a, pp. 24–28) as part of the overall initial grammatical documentation of the Linawis variety of Bantayanon.

have discourse functions in addition to other grammatical or semantic functions. The 2P particles are analyzed in natural conversation with an eclectic framework that loosely combines ideas from Discourse Functional Linguistics (Du Bois, 2003), Interactional Linguistics (Lindström, 2009), and the Natural Semantic Metalanguage approach (Wierzbicka, 1991). A total of 34 2P particles have been identified thus far. The 2P particles are generally found in the second position of a clause but also sometimes in the post-nominal and terminal positions. They are typically used for aspectual (e.g., TRANSFORMATIVE *na*), temporal (e.g., RECENT *sara*), evidential (e.g., FACTUAL *baya*), quality and quantity (e.g., RESTRICTIVE *da*), and modal (e.g., MIRATIVE *ngay an*) functions. 2P particles, when clustered, follow a weight-based ordering and then a frequency-based ordering within each weight class. Some 2P particles procliticize to the following 2P particles, e.g., ASSURANCE *gayod* becoming *g=* before the DISTAL PROMINENT *adto*. Many 2P particles also have allomorphs borrowed from neighboring languages, e.g., the Linawis HYPOTHETICAL *kunta* can be interchangeable with Cebuano *únta* and Hiligaynon *táni*.

Keywords: Bantayanon [bfx], Madridejos, discourse, discourse particles, second position particles

1 Introduction

Bantayanon [bfɤ] is a Central Bisayan language spoken by 71,600 people on the Bantayan islands (Eberhard et al., 2024) (see Figure 1). The islands are centrally located in the Visayan sea and are surrounded by the Cebu, Negros, Panay, Masbate, and Leyte islands. As such, they are also encircled by those islands' major Bisayan languages, i.e., Cebuano/Binisaya [ceb], Hiligaynon [hiɽ], Capiznon [cps], Masbatenyo [msb], and Waray [war]. Compared to its well-studied neighboring languages, e.g., Cebuano with numerous published grammars, studies, and dictionaries (Tanangkingsing, 2009, pp. 9–16), Bantayanon with only few studies is severely understudied. One of the least studied aspects of the language is the study of its varieties.

Bantayanon has three main dialects which are spoken in each of the three municipalities on the Bantayan islands. There is Sinantape(hanon) spoken in the municipality of Santa Fe, Binantayan(on) spoken in the municipality of Bantayan, and Linawis(anon) spoken in the municipality of Madridejos (also locally known as *Lawis* /la'wis/) (Allen, 2022, p. 161).² The study will focus on the latter variety of Linawis because of my positionality as being related to Lawisanons and because Bantayanon as a whole has already been documented in Allen (2022, pp. 26–34) and Sinantape is currently being documented by another researcher (see Allen, 2022, p. 75).

²The names of the varieties are taken from the local names of the municipalities plus the affixes <in> 'speech of,' e.g., *Binisaya* 'speech of the Bisaya,' and -(an)on 'originating from,' e.g., *Bantayanon* 'originating from Bantayan.' The suffix -(a)non may be dropped if the infix <in> is present and vice versa, e.g., *Linawis* and *Lawisanon*, both of which can refer to the Madridejos variety. Both affixes may be used at the same time as well, e.g., *Linawisanon* 'the Madridejos variety.'



Figure 1. A Map of the Bantayan Islands From the Bantayan Municipal Hall, Taken April 12, 2023 (Baran, 2023a, p. 3)

In addition to the lack of studies on Bantayanon's varieties, Bantayanon's second-position discourse (2P) particles are still not well-studied or understood.³ Even in Allen's (2022, pp. 106–108) account of these Bantayanon particles, only *na* and *pa* are discussed

³Second position pronouns and other non-discourse second position particles in the second position are not included in this study.

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while the others are only listed without explanation (see Table 1). There, Allen (2022, p. 107) distinguishes between grammatical particles and discourse particles but no explanation for the difference is given. In Layague’s (2016, p. 9) dictionary of Bantayanon, only *anay* among those listed in Allen (2022, p. 107) appears where it is categorized as an interjection.

Table 1. Bantayanon Particles in Allen (2022, p. 107)

| Class | Particle | Gloss/Translation |
|-----------------------|--------------|------------------------|
| Grammatical Particles | <i>na</i> | completive aspect |
| | <i>pa</i> | non-completive aspect |
| | <i>ba</i> | interrogative |
| Discourse Particles | <i>abi</i> | excusing |
| | <i>gani</i> | confirming |
| | <i>da</i> | limiting |
| | <i>kunu</i> | quotative |
| | <i>dayun</i> | consequence; immediate |
| | <i>hay</i> | discovery |
| | <i>man</i> | answering |
| | <i>anay</i> | patience |

This study is a preliminary look at two under-documented and under-described aspects of the understudied Bantayanon language: its Linawis variety and its 2P particles. The study presents a detailed but not necessarily exhaustive account of the 2P particles and their functions in the Linawis dialect of Bantayanon as they are used in natural conversation. The study is intended to initiate the documentation and description of the Linawis variety, the creation of a Bantayanon corpus, and the collection of materials for possible future pedagogical materials. Furthermore, the study is an addition to the now growing body of literature on the

still not completely understood discourse particles used in the languages of the Philippines as well as provides a conversational perspective on 2P particles.

2 Methodology



Figure 2. A Map of the Municipality of Madridejos (Lawis) Provided by the Madridejos Community Water Service, Taken April 11, 2023 (Baran, 2023a, p. 5)

This corpus used in this study was collected during two separate fieldwork activities in October 22–23, 2022 (see Baran, 2023b) and April 8–13, 2023 (see Baran, 2023a). In total, the corpus includes 5 hours and 40 minutes of conversational data, 5 hours and 42 minutes of local stories, and 20 minutes of a sentence list recording collected from language partners from the Barangays Talangnan (local name: *Tyangnan*), Poblacion (local name: *Lawis*), Mancilang, Malbago, Pili, and San

Agustin (local name: *Tinaan*) in the municipality of Madridejos (see Figure 2). Only a collective 5 hours and 41 minutes have been transcribed and glossed thus far. The conversations were recorded following the methods in Levshina et al. (2021) where two or more language partners were asked to speak about any topic for longer than 20 minutes. These conversations must exceed the minimum amount of time to reduce any prior stiffness or formality. The instructions were given in a mix of Cebuano and Bantayanon, due to my limited proficiency in the latter. All partners are proficient in both languages and as is typical in the Bantayan islands, all commonly mixed the two languages (B. S. C. Baran, field notes, October 22–23, 2023). The written or audio-recorded consent of language partners was a requirement prior to recording. Given prior consent, recordings of the language partners are available to the community and future researchers whenever requested. The recorded data were transcribed on ELAN (2022) and analyzed on the Fieldworks Language Explorer (FLEX). The latter application was also used to both isolate and contextualize the 2P particles to extract their functions.

3 Framework

To understand the functions of the 2P particles, they must be analyzed in situ, i.e., within natural conversation. The basic assumption of this study is that meaning is created from use. Language is emergent and transformed to accomplish the goals of its users (Du Bois, 2003, p. 11) as they interact with each other, and work within a contextually adaptive linguistic framework to achieve specified social and communicative

goals (Lindström, 2009, p. 96). These emergent functions of a particular form are synchronically unified into a generalized meaning or semantic core which in turn becomes the basis for future emergence. In NATURAL SEMANTIC METALANGUAGE (NSM), the emergent functions may be referred to as SEMANTIC VARIANTS (SV) and the semantic core may be referred to as the PARTIAL SEMANTIC INVARIANT (PSI) (Travis, 2006, pp. 221–222). These SV emerge from interactional context, e.g., the users’ goals, and the linguistic context, e.g., the meanings of the neighboring linguistic forms; and their shared meaning is the PSI. The target phenomena of this study, 2P particles may be polysemous, i.e., having multiple SV, but are nevertheless generalizable through their PSI. The SVs and their PSI are described with the universal structures and semantic primes of NSM, as described in Wierzbicka (1991) and outlined in Goddard (2017). These NSM explications and framework allow for the precise, unique, and systematic treatment and description of polysemous particles because only having glosses may lead to ambiguity, e.g., the LIMITING label for *lang* (Section 5.3) can be interpreted as limiting the number, intensity, etc.; dictionary definitions may lead to overlap, e.g., *gayod*, *kaayo*, and *ya* can all be defined as ‘to emphasize or intensify;’ and, the concept of a PSI allows for the identification of a commonality among varied contextual functions (see also Travis, 2006, p. 224). Nevertheless, each PSI is still assigned a gloss for economy. In the prose, the explications are marked with double quotation marks and the glosses are in small capital letters, e.g., *kaayo* has the PSI “very” and the label INTENSIFYING. Tables summarizing the contexts, SV, PSI, and glosses of each 2P particle are added.

4 Second-Position Discourse Particles

2P particles are primarily defined by their positionality in a clause but also by their pragmatic and discourse functions (Tanangkingsing, 2009, p. 567; Tanangkingsing, 2013, pp. 222–224). To add to this, 2P particles are also defined by their typically being free functional morphemes that do not take grammatical affixes (see also Constantino, 1965, p. 76). Examples of 2P particles in the languages of the Philippines include the Tagalog [tgɭ] and Cebuano COMPLETIVE *na*. They almost always appear at the second slot of a clause, typically encliticize to an initial adpositional item of a clause, and typically have scope over an entire utterance unit within a conversation (Tanangkingsing, 2013, pp. 222–224). That said, some 2P particles may also appear in the clause-initial, clause-final, and post-nominal positions during natural conversation as is seen in the Linawis data in this study (Section 5).

2P particles are generally pervasive in the languages of the Philippines as exemplified by conversational Cebuano in Tanangkingsing (2009, p. 566). Another characterization of 2P particles is their pragmatic and contextually defined uses. Tanangkingsing (2013, p. 223) has even characterized 2P particles as having unstable and context-dependent meanings. For example, the particle *man* in Akeanon [akɭ] is analyzed as having two functions in Zorc (1970, p. 1) for ‘answers’ and ‘lists,’ cf., Tagalog *din* and *naman* respectively. These 2P particles may also appear to have different functions when they appear by themselves or when they appear with other 2P particles. In Camus et al. (2017, pp. 22–25), the Bantoanon [bno] particle *ey* by itself functions to signal a ‘change of state’ but functions differently when placed beside the limiting particle *yang* which results in the interpretations of ‘being the

only way to accomplish something,’ ‘being half-heartedly or forcibly done,’ and ‘being an alternative way of doing something.’

Despite the polysemous nature of 2P particles, generalizations can still be made from the varying meanings of these 2P particles. Tanangkingsing (2013) has categorized the different Cebuano 2P particles into two groups: Group 1 containing the 2P particles with aspectual and attitudinal/stance functions and Group 2 containing the 2P particles with intensifier and emphazier functions. Allen (2022, pp. 106–107) further divides the Tanangkingsing’s (2013) Group 1 in his analysis of Linawis particles into aspectual and discourse particles. Each 2P particle form’s various meanings may also be categorized into a single generalized invariant function which holds true for all instances of that form as is argued by Travis (2006, p. 224).

5 Second-Position Discourse Particles in Linawis

As with the other Bisayan languages like Cebuano, Akeanon, and Bantoanon, Linawis also has 2P particles. A total of 34 2P particles are described in this paper. These, according to decreasing order frequency, are as follows: *man* (5.1), *na* (5.2), *lang* (5.3), *gayod* (5.4), *lat* (5.5), *pa* (5.6), *ga* (5.7), *sang-una* (5.8), *sara* (5.9), *kaayo* (5.10), *kuno* (5.11), *baya* (5.12), *lagi* (5.13), *da* (5.14), *god* (5.15), *ngay-an* (5.16), *ba* (5.17), *gihapon* (5.18), *tingay* (5.19), *kunta* (5.20), *dayon* (5.21), *daw* (5.22), *hinuon* (5.23), *anay* (5.24), *balitaw* (5.25), *intawon* (5.26), *abi* (5.27), *uroy* (5.28), *ayhan* (5.29), *ya* (5.30), *nyan* (5.31), *daan* (5.32), *bahin* (5.33), and *tuod* (5.34). They behave similarly to their counterparts in the other languages of

the Philippines in that they are typically found in the second position of a clause, as in (1).

- (1) *Ako da=y nag-laundry-shop*
 ISG.PM RESTR=NEUT A.IPFV-laundry-shop
 ‘I’m the only one that has a laundry shop.’

Some particles, e.g., *gayod*, *lat*, and *kaayo*, will appear in the post-nominal position with a more limited scope, as in (2), akin to the behavior of Cebuano *kaayo* in Tanangkingsing (2013, pp. 233–236). A few others, e.g., *man*, *gayod*, and *god*, will sometimes appear in the terminal position, either at the end of a particle cluster or a clause. These terminalized 2P particles often appear with a duplicate in the second position, as in (3).

- (2) *Sa aton mga panggobyerno gayod sa kinatibuk-an...*
 OBL ISG.NPM PL governmental ASS NPM entirety
 ‘As for our government—and I mean it—in its entirety...’

- (3) *Nindot man=god=to=god*
 nice EXPL=PSV=DIST.PM=PSV
 ‘That was awesome (I’ll have you know).’

2P particles with temporal meanings, e.g., *sara*, *sang-una*, and *nyan*, may appear in the leftmost or rightmost position of the clause, as in (4). In those positions, they act more like temporal adverbs. Some 2P particles, e.g., *sara*, *lagi*, *kunta*, *balitaw*, *sang-una*, *nyan*, and *tuod*, may be used in isolation, typically introducing a following clause, as in (5).

- (4) *Wā man=gyod=ta=gayod kahibaw sadto oy*
 NEG.EPL EXPL=ASS=IPL.EXCL.PM=ASS KNOW ANT EVOC
 ‘We really didn’t know back then.’
- (5) *Lagi*, (pause) *ka-damo=y kutikuti kuno sa Cebu*
 VRF EXCL-many=NEUT stickler REP OBL Cebu
 ‘Right? As they say, there really are many sticklers in Cebu.’

Since 2P particles are more likely to appear in the second position, clusters of 2P particles forming are a common phenomenon. This phenomenon is also observed in Cebuano (Tanangkingsing, 2013, pp. 242–246) and Bantoanon (Camus et al., 2017). Within those clusters, 2P particles also follow a particular order. In the neighboring Bisayan language of Cebuano, 2P particles are ordered based on decreasing frequency (Tanangkingsing, 2013, pp. 242–246). Linawis 2P particles, on the other hand, are generally ordered based on ascending weight. These 2P particles may be classified into four groups in increasing weight with decreasing frequency in each class: (a) the open monosyllabic *na*, *pa*, *da*, *ba*, and *ya*; (b) the closed monosyllabic *man*, *lang*, *lat*, *ga*, *god*, *daw*, and *nyan*; (c) the disyllabic *gayod*, *sara*, *kuno*, *baya*, *lagi*, *ngay-an*, *kunta*, *dayon*, *anay*, *abi*, *uroy*, *ayhan*, *daan*, *bahin*, and *tuod*; and (d) the trisyllabic *sang-una*, *kaayo*, *gihapon*, *tingay*, *hinuon*, *balitaw*, and *intawon*. For example, the more frequent disyllabic *kuno* almost always follows the less frequent monosyllabic *daw*, as in (6). Note that the weight is generally based on the heaviest form in an allomorph set, hence the monosyllabic *gid*, an allomorph of the disyllabic *gayod*, going after the monosyllabic *man* and *lat*, as in (7). In cases where syllables of the same weight class appear in the same cluster, an order based on decreasing

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frequency is followed. As in (7), the more frequent *man* almost always precedes the less frequent *lat*.

- (6) *Kompleto daw=kuno=sila.*
 complete QUOT=REP=3PL.PM
 ‘They will apparently be complete.’
- (7) *Timing man=lat=gid nga brownout oy!*
 timing EXPL=REL=ASS MOD blackout EVOC
 ‘Quite the timing for there to be blackout, huh!’

Each particle has a few allomorphs. Some of these allomorphs only occur during clustering. These include regressive velar assimilation where final *n* and *d* are typically velarized to [g] and [ŋ] respectively before velar-initial 2P particles, as in (8). A less common phenomenon is the loss of glottal stops at syllable codas, as in (9). In clusters with the prominent deictic particles *ini*, *ina*, or *adtolato* and sometimes the 2P particles *lat* and *abi*, some 2P particles may take proclitic forms before those particles. For example, the 2P particle *man* may become *m=* before *ina*, as in (10).

- (8) *Ma-amat-amat ma[ŋ]=god=na*
 U.IRR.HPST-gradual EXPL=PSV=MED.PM
 ‘That can be achieved gradually you know.’
- (9) *Panagsa lang=baya[∅] ina=ng uwak*
 rare LMT=FACT MED.PM=PM CROW
 ‘As we know, crows are just rarely (seen).’

- (10) *Ma-ikog* *m=ina=sila...*
U.HPST.IRR-abash EXPL=MED.PM=3PL.PM
'They will hesitate because...'

Some allomorphs occur regardless of clustering and are more heavily influenced by still not understood factors. These include the *d-r-l* allophony, e.g., *da* sometimes being interchanged with *ra* and *dayon* with *layon*; the loss of *l* in the intervocalic position, e.g., *tingali* being interchangeable with *tingay*; and the reduction of polysyllabic 2P particles, e.g., *gayod* becoming *gyod*, *gayd*, or *gid*. Because of the tendency of Lawisanons to code-switch between Linawis and Cebuano or sometimes another Bisayan language (Baran, 2023a, pp. 6–9), some 2P particles are regularly replaced with loan allomorphs, e.g., *kunta* being replaced by either the Cebuano *unta* or the Hiligaynon *tani*.

This section will enumerate each of the 34 2P particles of Linawis in descending order of frequency as well as their respective SV and PSI.

5.1 Explanatory Man

Man /man/ is the most frequent Linawis 2P particle; compare Allen (2022, p. 107), where *na* is considered the most frequent. *Man* has the following allomorphs: (a) *ma[ŋ]* before velars, as in (11); (b) *m=* before the prominent deictic particles, as in (12), and the 2P particle *lat*, as in (13); (c) *ma* in a few instances, as in (14); and (d) *man* elsewhere, as in (15). The particle *man* is used 1,216 times in the data and has three SVs.

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- (II) *Ka-hapit na mag-senior. Aw, sige lang.*
 EXCL-almost TFV A.IRR.IPFV-senior.citizen REPAIR okay LMT
Adto man=gayd=kita pa-uli oy.
 DIST.LOC EXPL=ASS=IPL.INCL.PM CAUS-go.home EVOC
 ‘You’re almost a senior citizen now. Oh well, that’s okay. It’s where we all surely end up anyways.’
- (I2) *Taga-Malbago! Hiloan m=ina=sila.*
 FROM-Malbago magical.poisoner EXPL=MED.PM=3PL.PM
 ‘(Oh) the people from Malbago! They’re poisoners.’
- (I3) *Economy sa Dubai, wala na=m=at sing ayo*
 economy OBL Dubai NEG.EPL TFV=EXPL=REL NPM.NDEF good
god Nang
 ASV older.woman
 ‘(The) economy of Dubai is no (longer) any good, *Nang*.’
- (I4) *Ta, kay s<ingm>unod ma=ko.*
 RESUMPTIVE COMMENT <A.REAL.PFV>follow EXPL=ISG.PM
 ‘(Oh) and then I (decided to) follow.’
- (I5) *Kay kung di nimo bayr-Ø-an, ma-daot*
 because if NEG 2SG.NPM pay-U.IRR-APPL U.IRR.HPST-sick
ka=man
 2SG.PM=EXPL
 ‘Because if you don’t pay (for the *kabog* you shot down), then you will get sick.’
 (In response to my question, “what happens if you do not pay for the *kabog* you shot down?”)⁴

First, *man* is used during explanations or when speakers want to add context. In these instances, the speaker has an explanation (I1), knowledge (I2–I3), or context (I4) that they think the hearers do not have. In other words, *man* has the SV, “I want you to know something, you do not know the same thing.”

Offering previously not known knowledge is also done in answering questions; hence, Linawis *man* is also used when answering questions, as in (I5) (Allen, 2022, p. 107). It is similar to Akeanon *man* which is also used for answering (Zorc, 1970, p. 1), but unlike Akeanon *man*, Linawis *man* is not used when listing. Furthermore, Linawis *man* does not have the meaning of ‘too’ or ‘also’ as in the *man* in other Bisayan languages like Akeanon, Hiligaynon, etc. (Zorc, 1977, pp. 159–160). Instead, these functions are fulfilled by *lat* (Section 5.5). Thus, *man* has the second SV, “you want to know something, I know that thing,” in answering contexts.

The knowledge or context in clauses with *man* typically explains why something else happened or why it was said, as in (I6) which the speaker uses to support (I1). In this vein, Linawis *man* is similar to Cebuano *man* which also indicates information that is either not known or discovered previously by either the speaker or hearer (Bunye & Yap, 1971, p. 63; Zorc, 1977, p. 48). Like Cebuano *man* then, Linawis *man* has the third SV, “I say something, you do not know the same thing,”

⁴This is a traditional Lawisanon belief which was narrated to me. According to the language partner from Sitio Tagaytay in San Agustin (local name: *Tinaan*), whenever they shoot down *kabog* with a slingshot, they must also leave coins on the ground where the *kabog* fell as payment. The language partner described *kabog* as being a large bat. In Cebuano, *kabog* refers to a large fruit-eating bat (Wolff, 1972, p. 414).

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when highlighting the knowledge which the speaker thinks they are the only one to have.

- (16) *Di man[g]=kita maN-gamot=s(a) kalibotan*
 NEG EXPL=IPL.INCL.PM A.IRR.DISTR-root=OBL world
 ‘We don’t root (ourselves) in this world after all.’

Given the similarity in form with the other Bisayan *man*, Linawis *man* may also come from a possible Proto-Bisayan **man*. It is unclear, however, whether Proto-Bisayan **man* is more answering, sameness, explanatory, or all three at the same time. The three SVs of Linawis *man* can be generalized as the PSI, “someone knows something, someone else does not know the same thing,” since *man* is used when using knowledge only the speaker or hearer knows to explain (see Table 2). This can be labelled as EXPLANATORY.

Table 2. The SVs, PSI, and Gloss of Man

| Context | Semantic Variant | Partial Semantic Invariant | Gloss |
|---------------------------------|--|--|-------------|
| 1 Explaining or contextualizing | I want you to know something You do not know the same thing | Someone knows something Someone else does not know the same thing | EXPLANATORY |
| 2 Answering | You want to know something I know that thing | | |
| 3 Giving supporting evidence | I say something You do not know the same thing | | |

5.2 Transformative Na

Na /na/ is used 1,167 times in the data as either *n=* before prominent deictic particles, as in (17), and the 2P particle *abi*, as in (18); or *na* elsewhere, as in (19). In some cases, *na* may blend with *wa* ‘none’ to form *wan-a*, or *human* ‘finish’ to form *humana*. Unlike Allen (2022, p. 107) who notes *na* as the most common Bantayanon particle, *na* is only the second most common in the Linawis data. In Linawis, *na* has three SVs.

(17) *Mo-syod n=ina=sya.*
 A.IRR.PFV-inside TFV=MED.PM=3SG.PM
 ‘He will now go inside.’

(18) *Ara n=abi=na?*
 MED.EPL TFV=PERF=MED.PM
 ‘Is it already there?’

(19) *Wa na=ng kibido oy!*
 NEG.EPL TFV=PM eyeglasses EVOG
 ‘I don’t have eyeglasses anymore (but back then I used to)!’

As in Allen (2022, pp. 107–108), Linawis *na* is also used when indicating a completed action (18) or state change (19). In other words, Linawis *na* has the SV, “something is not the same anymore.” Also shown in Allen (2022, p. 108), Linawis *na* is used when there is intended immediacy by the actor (17) or urgency by a requestor (20). This shows that *na* also has the SV, “someone wants something to happen.” The *na* in other Bisayan languages like Cebuano (Wolff, 1972, p. 696; Tanangkingsing, 2013, pp. 225–228) also has this SV. Other Bisayan

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languages like Akeanon (Zorc, 1970, p. 1) and Bantoanon (Camus et al., 2017, pp. 15–18) also have a similar particle, *eon* and *ey* respectively. As such, Linawis *na* may be said to come from the Proto-Bisayan **na* which is labeled as ‘completive’ in Zorc (1977, p. 308).

- (20) *Pag-sulti-∅ na=y Linawis...*
 IPFV-speak-IMP TFV=NEUT Linawis
 ‘(Start) speaking Linawis already.’⁵

Unlike other Bisayan languages, however, Linawis also shows the use of *na* in cases where something is expected or is expected to happen after another thing has happened, as in (21), especially when repetition is implied by *lat* (Section 5.5). In other words, Linawis *na* also has another SV, “someone knows something happens if something else happens” when indicating expectation.

- (21) *Di lang=ikaw mag-daot-daot... dyagan ka=na=lat*
 NEG 2P=2SG.PM A.IRR.IPFV-thin~DIM run 2SG.PM=TFV=REL
sa hospital
 OBL hospital
 ‘Just don’t get too thin, (or else) you (might just) be rushed to the hospital again.’

For the three SVs, the common function is one of expected transformation. As such, the PSI for *na* is “something happens, maybe someone does not know something happens” (see Table 3). This may be glossed as TRANSFORMATIVE to also highlight the non-aspectual features of *na*.

⁵One of the language partners asked her father, another language partner, to stop speaking Cebuano in consideration of me.

Table 3. The SVs, PSI, and Gloss of Na

| | Context | Semantic Variant | Partial Semantic Invariant | Gloss |
|---|---|---|------------------------------------|----------------|
| 1 | Completed action or state change | Something is not the same anymore | Something happens Maybe someone | TRANSFORMATIVE |
| 2 | Intended immediacy by the actor or urgency by the requestor | Someone wants something to happen | does not know something happens | |
| 3 | Indicating expectation | Someone knows something happens if something else happens | | |

5.3 Limiting Lang

Lang /lan/ is used 711 times in the data and appears as *l=* before prominent deictic markers, as in (22); or either *la* /la(?)/, as in (23), or *lang*, as in (24), elsewhere. The *la* allomorph which also occurs in Waray may be a replacive loan (see Oyzon et al., 2013, p. 47). Linawis *lang* may be related to *lang* in other Bisayan languages which descend from Proto-Bisayan **lang* and is labelled by Zorc (1977, pp. 158–160) as the ‘limiting’ particle. In Allen (2022, p. 107), *lang* is considered the second most used 2P particle in Bantayanon, but in the Linawis data, it is only third most used. In Linawis, *lang* has four SVs.

(22) *Sulagma l=ina.*

rare LMT=MED.PM

‘That rarely (happens although it does happen).’

A Sketch of Second Position Discourse Particles in Linawis

(23) *MaN-(s)ilhig la=ko ha*
 A.IRR.DISTR-sweep LMT=ISG.PM RETRO.ALIGN
 ‘I’ll just be sweeping (over here, okay?)’

(24) *Ang akon lang i-ka-sulti-Ø...*
 PM ISG.NPM LMT SD-AUTO-say-U.IRR
 ‘What I can just say (although I have more things to say) is just (that)...’

Lang is used when the object (22) or person (25) being talked about only represents a sample of an entire population, i.e., there is an implication that there are more objects or people. In these cases, *lang* has the SV, “some of a kind.” Similarly, *lang* is also used when the predicate event (24) or action (23) is only a selected event or action out of many others. In other words, *lang* also has the SV, “many things can happen, one of this happens.”

(25) *Tulo lang=kamo nga mag-sabot?*
 three LMT=2PL.PM MOD A.IRR.IPFV-deliberate
 ‘(So,) only the three of you will deliberate (even though there are more of you)?’

When speakers use *lang*, it is implied that they limit themselves to a select number of instances for several reasons. Sometimes, it is implied they are limited by circumstance (25); in other words, “others can not do this now.” Other times, it is implied that speakers are limited by personal choice (23) or resignation (24); in other words, “someone can do many things, someone does one thing.”

The SVs of *lang* can be said to share the PSI, “some of all,” which is glossed as LIMITING (see Table 4). Although Allen (2022, p. 107) analyzes

da as the limiting particle in Bantayanon, the Linawis data indicates that *lang* and *da* are two distinct limiting particles with different degrees of restrictiveness and that *da* is the more restrictive of the two; thus, *lang* is best described as LIMITING and *da* as RESTRICTIVE (Section 5.14).

Table 4. The SVs, PSI, and Gloss of Lang

| | Context | Semantic Variant | Partial Semantic Invariant | Gloss |
|---|---|--|----------------------------|----------|
| 1 | Only selected objects/people out of many | Some of a kind | Some of all | LIMITING |
| 2 | Only selected actions/events out of many | Many things can happen One of this happens | | |
| 3 | Being limited by circumstance | Others can not do this now | | |
| 4 | Limited by personal choice or resignation | Someone can do many things Someone does one thing | | |

5.4 Assurance Gayod

Gayod /gajud/ is used 646 times in the data and may appear as *g=* before prominent deictics, as in (26). Elsewhere, it can appear as *gayod* (27), *gyod* (28), *gayd* (29), or as the possible loanwords Cebuano *jod* (30), Waray *gad* (31), or Hiligaynon *gid* (32). Before velar-initial 2P particles, the final *d* may assimilate to [g], as in (33). In Linawis, *gayod* has two SVs.

A Sketch of Second Position Discourse Particles in Linawis

- (26) *May g=adto kay wa=y baha*
 good ASS=DIST.PM because NEG.EPL=NEUT flood
 ‘(It) was certainly a good (thing) there was no flood then.’
- (27) *klaro-Ø-[h]a gayod!*
 clear-U.IMP-PR ASS
 ‘(Make it) really clear (as it should be)!’
- (28) *May-ara gyod=na dira=y kababalaghan*
 EPL ASS=MED.PM MED.LOC=NEUT hauntings
 ‘There are definitely hauntings over there.’
- (29) *Ga-siga pa=gayd ang suga.*
 A.REAL.IPFV-glow PRC=ASS PM light
 ‘The lights were still really on (I swear).’
- (30) *Wa jo(d)=y ka-upod.*
 NEG.EPL ASS=NEUT co-accompany
 ‘(He) does not have anyone to accompany (him) at all.’
- (31) *Nga karida gad=niya*
 MOD run ASS=3SG.NPM
 ‘Because he ran as fast as he can.’
- (32) *Nano man imo gid pinaka-gusto*
 what 2P 2SG.NPM ASS most-want
 ‘What do you really want the most?’
- (33) *Mo-balik gay[g]=ka Ma*
 A.IRR.PFV-return ASS=2SG.PM mom
 ‘You will definitely return, Mom.’

Linawis *gayod* may come from Proto-Bisayan **gayud* ‘very emphatic particle’ (see Zorc, 1977, p. 209) and its reflexes may include Cebuano *gayod/gyod/jod*, Waray *gad*, Hiligaynon *gid*, and Porohanon *gazod*. As with the protoforms and its reflex’s functions, Linawis *gayod* is used when a speaker wants to emphasize or intensify their certainty (26, 31, 33). In other words, *gayod* has the SV, “I think this is very true.” This emphatic or intensifying effect of *gayod* is also used when a speaker assures the hearer that their utterances should be considered irrefutable without a reasonable doubt (28–30) whether the utterances are factually irrefutable or not (27, 32). In other words, *gayod* also has the SV, “something else can not be as true.”

Examining both SVs, *gayod* can be analyzed as having the PSI, “I want you to think this is true” (see Table 5). This core meaning can be glossed as ASSURANCE since in both cases, the speaker assures the hearer of their certainty.

Table 5. The SVs, PSI, and Gloss of Gayod

| | Context | Semantic Variant | Partial Semantic Invariant | Gloss |
|---|--|-----------------------------------|----------------------------------|-----------|
| 1 | Emphasizing or intensifying the certainty of the speaker | I think this is very true | I want you to think this is true | ASSURANCE |
| 2 | Assuring hearers that an utterance is irrefutable | Something else can not be as true | | |

5.5 Relational Lat

Lat /lat/ is used 466 times in the data and appears in the data as *lat*, as in (34). In some cases, *lat* may encliticize as =*at*, as in (35). This particle may also be replaced by the possible Cebuano loanwords *sad* (36) or *pod* (37),⁶ and in very few cases with Tagalog *din* (38). Porohanon and some dialects of Waray also use the particle *lat* (Santiago, 2018; Tramp, 1997) with possibly similar functions as Linawis *lat*. Linawis *lat* may possibly be related to Hiligaynon *liwat* ‘again, repeatedly’ (see Motus, 1971, p. 159). In fact, Waray *lat* is noted to be a contraction of Waray *liwat* which has the meanings ‘again’ and ‘also,’ among others (Tramp, 1997).

- (34) *Enrollment na=lat ba sang ka-puya-han*
 enrollment TFV=**REL** RESTR.NEGO NDEF.NPM COLL-kid-CIRC
 ‘It’s enrollment (season) for the children again.’
- (35) *Hadlok m=at=ako pa-bakuna*
 fear EXPL=**REL**=ISG.PM CAUS-vaccine
 ‘I am also afraid of getting a vaccine.’
- (36) *Lahi sad diha, so lain lat ari*
 Different **REL** MED.LOC so different **REL** PROX.LOC
 ‘It’s different there, so it’s also different here.’
- (37) *Di pod=kami mo-kadto sina sa igbaw*
 NEG **REL**=IPL.EXCL.PM A.IRR.REAL-go.DIST MED.NPM OBL above
 ‘We also don’t go to the top (floor).’

⁶I originally analyzed *sad* and *pod* as distinct from *lat* (Baran, 2023b) but after consulting with language partners and reviewing the data, it might be difficult to say now if they are indeed distinct.

- (38) *Sana ako din ma-taga-an na*
hopefully ISG.PM REL U.IRR.HPST-give-APPL 2P
'Hopefully, I'll also get to receive (it) already.'

Lat has three SVs. *Lat* may be used when indicating sameness in quality, attitude, or opportunity, or the like (35, 38), in which case it has the SV, "the same as something else, the same as someone else." *Lat* is also used when speakers highlight a repeated action or event (34), in which case it has the SV, "the same thing happens." This SV is commonly observed when *lat* is used with the TRANSFORMATIVE *na* (Section 5.2), as in (34); compare Utudnon/Baybayanon [bvy] *na lát* 'again' (Rubino, 2005, p. 329). In other cases, *lat* is also used when another action is being done by the same actor, usually simultaneously (39); in these cases, *lat* has the SV, "the same person does something else."

- (39) *Gi-appointment lang ni Sherlyn lat*
U.REAL.PFV-appointment LMT NPM Sherlyn REL
'Sherlyn also just (decided to) make an appointment.'

With all three SVs, *lat* can be said to have the core PSI, "the same," which may be glossed as RELATIONAL (see Table 6). This is because the sameness or similarity stems from their temporal, object, actor, or attitudinal relationship not always sameness in characteristic, as in (36–37).

5.6 Persistence Pa

Pa /pa/ is used 359 times in the data and appears as either *p=* before prominent deictics, as in (40); or as *pa* elsewhere, as in (41). In some

Table 6. The SVs, PSI, and Gloss of Lat

| | Context | Semantic Variant | Partial Semantic Invariant | Gloss |
|---|--|--|----------------------------|------------|
| 1 | Indicating sameness | The same as something else The same as someone else | The same | RELATIONAL |
| 2 | Indicating repetition | The same thing happens | | |
| 3 | When the same actor does another thing | The same person does something else | | |

instances, *pa* may blend with *wa* ‘none’ to form *wap-a*. The *pa* particle also appears in other Bisayan languages like Cebuano (Wolff, 1972, p. 709) and may come from the Proto-Bisayan *pa ‘incompletive’ (Zorc, 1977, p. 308). In Linawis, *pa* has three SVs.

(40) *Bata p=ina=sya*
 young PRC=MED.PM=3SG.PM
 ‘He’s still young.’

(41) *Amat pa=lang ang na-himo*
 gradual PRC=LMT PM U.IRR.HPST-make
 ‘Only gradual (progress) has been made as of yet.’

In Allen (2022, pp. 107–108), *pa* is described as a non-completive aspect marker. Linawis *pa* is also used when non-completion is being indicated (41), meaning it has the SV, “this is true at this time.” In Linawis, however, expectation is also an integral element. *Pa* is also used when speakers highlight the fact that a state, event, or action has

persisted despite a possible expectation of non-persistence (40, 42); in other words, *pa* has the SV, “someone thinks this is not true anymore, this is true.” The expectation element also explains why *pa* is also used when speakers imply that there should still be more of something (43), i.e., *pa* also has the SV, “people think there is no more of this, this is more of something.”

(42) *I=ng amon, pagka-layo pa oy*
MED.PM=MOD ISG.NPM EXCL-far PRC EVOC
‘Our (kids) have still long ways to go.’

(43) *One hundred pa=gani=kuno=sya*
one hundred PRC=PSV=REP=3SG.PM
‘He’s still a hundred (years old), he says.’

Generalizing the three SVs of *pa*, the PSI of *pa* is “someone thinks this is not true, this is true at this time” (see Table 7). This PSI can be glossed as PERSISTENCE to highlight the non-aspectual features of the particle.

5.7 Persuasive Ga

Ga /gaʔ/ appears 195 times in the data as *ga*, as in (44); *gani* /'ganiʔ/, as in (45); *gali* /'galiʔ/, as in (46); or *gay* /gajʔ/, as in (47). The second form *gani* may possibly be traced back to the Proto-Bisayan confirmation particle *gániq which is also considered a unique innovation of the Bisayan group (Zorc, 1977, p. 249). It is unclear if the third form *gali* may also

Table 7. The SVs, PSI, and Gloss of Pa

| | Context | Semantic Variant | Partial Semantic Invariant | Gloss |
|---|--|--|---------------------------------|-------------|
| 1 | Indicating non-completion | This is true at this time | Someone thinks this is not true | PERSISTENCE |
| 2 | Showing persistence despite expectation of non-persistence | Someone thinks this is not true anymore This is true | This is true at this time | |
| 3 | Showing that there is more of something | People think there is no more of this This is more of something | | |

be from Proto-Bisayan *gali.⁷ The final form *gay* is likely a result of the intervocalic lateral deletion; compare *tingay* ‘DUBITATIVE’ from *tingali* (Section 5.19), which occurs in Bantayanon (Allen, 2022, p. 95) and the neighboring Cebuano varieties in Cebu and Bohol (Endrigna, 2010, pp. 4–5).⁸ While it is unclear what the origins of the first form are, the latter three forms may possibly be loan allomorphs from neighboring Cebuano, which has the same particle forms in free distribution (see also Wolff, 1972, pp. 251, 255–256, 262). Linawis *ga* has three SVs.

⁷There are only sporadic examples of possible Proto-Bisayan *l > Linawis *n*. Possible examples include Proto-Bisayan *gani > Linawis *gali* and Proto Bisayan *kanina > Linawis *kalina* ‘earlier.’

⁸In all four mentioned varieties, lateral deletion does not typically occur when there are high vowels, e.g., [i], [ɪ], but particles seem to be an exception, e.g., *tingali* ‘maybe’ and *gali* ‘even so’ become *tingay* and *gay* in my variety (Metro Cebu) of Cebuano.

(44) *Da<g>ko pa=**ga** sang punoan sang lubi*
big<PL> PRC=**PSV** NPM.DEF tree NPM.DEF coconut
'The coconut trees are still quite big, I'll have you know.'

(45) *Amo **gani**. Tulo lang.*
PRED **PSV** three 2P
'As (I) said, just the three (of us).'

(46) *Sa tunga **gali!***
OBL center **PSV**
'As (I) said, in the center!'

(47) *Amo **gay** siling namon!*
PRED **PSV** say IPL.EXCL.NPM
'That's what we said!'

In Allen (2022, p. 107), *ga* is analyzed as a CONFIRMING particle. Like Allen's (2022, p. 107) analysis, Linawis *ga* is used when speakers want to confirm if the hearer's stance is now the same as the speaker's, as in (44); in other words, *ga* has the SV, "you maybe do not know this, I want you to know this." This confirmation is typically argumentative, as in (45), meaning *ga* also has the SV, "I want it to be true, I want you to think the same." Furthermore, *ga* is generally used in the Linawis data when speakers are persuading possibly disagreeing hearers to take the same stance as them, as in (46–47), making *ga* have the SV, "I want you to think like me."

All in all, *ga* can be said to have the PSI, "you do not think the same as me, I want you to think the same as me" (see Table 8). The different SVs and the PSI of *ga* can be glossed as PERSUASIVE.

Table 8. The SVs, PSI, and Gloss of Ga

| | Context | Semantic Variant | Partial Semantic Invariant | Gloss |
|---|--|---|---|------------|
| 1 | Confirming if the hearer's stance is the same as the speaker | You maybe do not know this I want you to know this | You do not think the same as me I want you to think the same as me | PERSUASIVE |
| 2 | Argumentation | I want it to be true I want you to think the same | | |
| 3 | Persuading hearers | I want you to think like me | | |

5.8 Anterior Sang-una

Sang-una /saŋʔuna/ is used 161 times in the data, as in (48). It may be replaced by Cebuano *sauna*, as in (49). *Sang-una* and *sauna* are likely compounds of Linawis *sang* 'OBL.DEF' or Cebuano *sa* 'OBL' plus Linawis and Cebuano *una* 'first.'

- (48) *May=kwan man=sang-una, baligya nga kahoy ba...*
 EPL=NULL EXPL=ANT sell MOD WOOD RESTR.NEGO
 'They used to have wood for sale way back then.'

- (49) *Mga kahoy, naN-(k)a-bali baya=sauna*
 PL tree A.REAL.DISTR-AUTO-snap FACT=ANT
pag-bagyo
 FRAME.REAL-storm
 '(We) all know that the trees broke during the storm way back then.'

In all instances, that is, there are no SVs, Linawis *sang-una* is used to contextualize the contents of the speaker’s utterance as occurring in a relatively distant past (48–49). This consistent PSI may be described as “a long time before now” and may be glossed as ANTERIOR (see Table 9).

Table 9. The SVs, PSI, and Gloss of Sang-una

| | Context | Semantic Variant | Partial Semantic Invariant | Gloss |
|---|---------|------------------|----------------------------|----------|
| 1 | All | None | A long time before now | ANTERIOR |

5.9 Recent Sara

Sara /sa'raʔ/ appears 160 times in the data, as in (50). It may sometimes be replaced by Cebuano *karon* (51) and *aron* (52) or by Hiligaynon *subong* (53). The origins of *sara* are unclear but Baybayanon/Utudnon has a similar particle *sadá'* ‘now’ (Rubino, 2005, p. 318). The Linawis *sara* has three SVs.

(50) *A! Manila sya=**sara***

Ah Manila 3SG.PM=REC

‘Ah! She’s in Manila right now.’

(51) *Ing=*ku* daw tingog man=*gayod*=**aron** ka=*Nelly uy!**

say=ISG.GEN SIM voice EXPL=ASS=REC HON=Nelly EVOC

‘I said, that definitely sounds like Nelly’s voice just now.’

(52) *Lahi na=*man*=**karon***

different TFV=EXPL=REC

‘It’s different now.’

A Sketch of Second Position Discourse Particles in Linawis

- (53) *Ang kabog kay gina-kaon baya=na=sang-una.*
 PM bat COMMENT U.REAL.IPFV-eat FACT=TFV=ANT
Aw, bisan subong
 REPAIR even REC
 ‘(People) used to eat bats back then. Oh actually, even today
 (they still do).’

Allen (2022, p. III) glosses *sara* as ‘now, today’ and this is also true for Linawis *sara* (50–53) which has the SV “now.” In addition to this semantic variant, *sara* can also be used when talking about moments shortly before and after ‘now.’ In other words, *sara* also has the SVs, “a short time before now” (54) and “a short time after” (55).

- (54) *Sang! si Purat ka sara*
 DISBELIEF PM Purat 2SG.PM REC
 ‘What do you mean by calling me Purat just now?! (I’m not
 Purat.)’
- (55) *Ang amon sara i-storya-Ø bahin sa amon*
 PM IPL.EXCL.NPM REC SD-talk-U.IRR about OBL IPL.EXCL.NPM
lungsod
 municipality
 ‘What we will be talking about in a short while is about our
 municipality.’

Generalizing all three SVs, the PSI of *sara* is sometime at this time (see Table 10). This can be glossed as RECENT.

Table 10. The SVs, PSI, and Gloss of Sara

| | Context | Semantic Variant | Partial Semantic Invariant | Gloss |
|---|--|-------------------------|----------------------------|--------|
| 1 | Talking about actions that happen in the present | Now | Sometime at this time | RECENT |
| 2 | Talking about actions that have just occurred | A short time before now | | |
| 3 | Talking about actions that will occur in a few moments | A short time after now | | |

5.10 Intensifying Kaayo

Kaayo /kaʔaju/ is used 146 times and appears as *kaayo*, as in (56); as its reduced forms *kaay* (57), *kayo* (58), or *kay* (59); or as *pag-ayo*, as in (60). *Kaayo* and *pag-ayo* may be derived from Linawis *ayo* ‘good’ and a fossilized *ka-* or *pag-* affix.⁹ Cebuano also has the particle *kaayo*, sometimes *pag-ayo*, and is glossed in Tanangkingsing (2013, pp. 233–236) as ‘very’ and is analyzed to only have limited scope.

- (56) *Ang iya kawo, ka-lapad-lapad kaayo!*
 PM 3SG.GEN hat EXCL-EXCL~wide INT
 ‘His hat was so wide!’

⁹It is unclear what the function of the *ka-* and *pag-* affixes are in *kaayo* and *pag-ayo*, respectively. They may be related to the EXCLAMATORY *ka-* affix in *kahadlok* ‘how scary!’ or to the noun-forming (*pag*)*ka-* affix in *kahadlok* ‘fear.’

A Sketch of Second Position Discourse Particles in Linawis

- (57) *Ta<g>-as kaay=ng mga tawo*
 tall<PL> INT=MOD PL person
 ‘(They) were really tall people.’
- (58) *Imo mata kay yellow kayo.*
 2SG.GEN eye COMMENT yellow INT
 ‘You’re eyes are very yellow.’
- (59) *Dili pa=kay taas kay=ng agi*
 NEG 2P=INT long INT=PM result
 ‘There are not much results yet.’
- (60) *Ta! Tan-aw pag-ayo. Taga-dinhi man.*
 tsk look INT FROM-PROX.LOC 2P
 ‘Then! (I) looked hard. (Oh, they’re) from around here.’

Similar to Cebuano, Linawis also consistently uses *kaayo* whenever a speaker is INTENSIFYING a quality (56–59) or action (60). Thus, *kaayo* has no SVs and its PSI is “very” (see Table 11).

Table 11. The SVs, PSI, and Gloss of Kaayo

| | Context | Semantic Variant | Partial Semantic Invariant | Gloss |
|---|---------|------------------|----------------------------|--------------|
| 1 | All | None | Very | INTENSIFYING |

5.11 Reportative Kuno

Kuno /ku'nu/ is used 135 times, as in (61). This same particle also appears in other Bisayan languages like Cebuano (Wolff, 1972, p. 513),

Hiligaynon (Motus, 1971, p. 71), and Waray (Oyzon et al., 2013, p. 47). In Linawis, *kuno* has three SVs.

- (61) *Sulti man=lang=tu=sila* *nga nag-obra*
say EXPL=LMT=DIST.PM=3PL.PM MOD A.REAL.IPFV-work
kuno=sila didto sa suga sa parola
REP=3PL.PM DIST.LOC OBL light OBL lighthouse
‘They just said that they were working over on the lighthouse’s
light’

Allen (2022, p. 107) analyzes *kuno* as a REPORTATIVE particle, and the same analysis is also true for Linawis *kuno*. *Kuno* appears when the speaker is talking about second-hand information, as in (61); in other words, *kuno* has the SV “I hear someone say this.” The particle also appears when speakers want to highlight something as only hearsay, as in (62); in other words, *kuno* has the SV, “someone says this, maybe this is true.” However, *kuno* is also used when making requests with imperatives, as in (63); so, *kuno* has the SV, “I want you to maybe do this.” *Kuno* may be used this way because marking imperatives as reports may make orders feel indirect and sound like requests.

- (62) *ka-damo=y* *kuti-kuti* *kuno sa Cebu*
EXCL-many=NEUT DIM~thorough REP OBL Cebu
‘There are apparently so many strict (requirements) at Cebu(’s
DFA).’

A Sketch of Second Position Discourse Particles in Linawis

- (63) *pag-kwan-Ø kunu=kamo=y kwan kay imo tata*
 IPFV-NULL-IMP REP=2PL.PM=NEUT NULL OBL 2PL.NPM uncle
Nilo, ini=ng hagdan
 Nilo MED.PM=MOD ladder
 ‘(Please) go (borrow) a ladder from your uncle Nilo.’

Generally, *kuno* is used when making reports, and the request function is only a byproduct when it is used with imperatives. Therefore, the PSI then of *kuno* is “someone says something to someone, I say it to you” (see Table 12). In other words, *kuno* can be glossed as a REPORTATIVE.

Table 12. The SVs, PSI, and Gloss of Kuno

| | Context | Semantic Variant | Partial Semantic Invariant | Gloss |
|---|---------------------------------------|---|-----------------------------------|-------------|
| 1 | Talking about second-hand information | I hear someone say this | Someone says something to someone | REPORTATIVE |
| 2 | Talking about hearsays | Someone says this Maybe this is true | I say it to you | |
| 3 | Making requests | I want you to maybe do this | | |

5.12 Factual Baya

Baya /bajaʔ/ is used 113 times in the data, as in (64), and is sometimes reduced to *bya* /'bjaʔ/, as in (65). The origins of this particle are unclear, but Cebuano also has a *baya* particle which has a ‘weak assertion’ function (Tanangkingsing, 2013, p. 224). Similarly, Linawis *baya* is also used when speakers are softly asserting claims by appealing to common

knowledge, as in (66–67). As such, *baya* has the SV, “I think you know this is true.” However, *baya* is also used when the speaker is insisting that their information is a fact that anyone should know, as in (64–65); in other words, *baya* also has the SV, “people know this is true, I want you to know this.”

(64) *Na-sunog baya=to sa Jones*
U.IRR.HPST-burn FACT=DIST.PM OBL Osmeña.Boulevard
‘There was a fire around Osmeña Boulevard (Cebu), everyone knows this.’

(65) *Kay pension house bya=s Tyo Nonoy*
because pension house FACT=PM uncle Nonoy
‘Because Uncle Nonoy (lives in) a pension house of course.’

(66) *Kalabanan baya iro, ara baya sa gab-i*
most FACT dog EPL FACT OBL night
‘As you know, most dogs, right? (They) appear at night.’

(67) *Ara=s Domeng. Aswang baya=ina*
EPL=PM Domeng aswang FACT=MED.PM
‘There’s Domeng. That’s an *aswang*, everyone knows this.’

After generalizing both SVs of *baya*, it can be said that the PSI of *baya* is “all know this is true” (see Table 13). This can be glossed as FACTUAL.

5.13 Verificatory Lagi

Lagi /la'gi/ is used 107 times, as in (68–70). Neighboring Cebuano also has a particle *lagi* which acts as an intensifier of persuasion

Table 13. The SVs, PSI, and Gloss of *Baya*

| | Context | Semantic Variant | Partial Semantic Invariant | Gloss |
|---|---|---|----------------------------|---------|
| 1 | Making soft assertions by appealing to common knowledge | I think you know this is true | All know this is true | FACTUAL |
| 2 | Talking about common knowledge | People know this is true I want you to know this | | |

(Tanangkingsing, 2013, pp. 236–238). Linawis *lagi* is also used in rebuttals, as in (68), and persuasive statements, as in (69), thereby having the SV, “I know something, I want you to hear this.” The verificatory and persuasive functions of *lagi* also allow it to be used in isolation when speakers verify with their current knowledge a previous speaker’s claims, as in (70), thereby having the SV, “you know something, I know the same thing.”

(68) *Pero eucalyptus lagi nga dahon!*

but eucalyptus **VRF** MOD leaf

‘But they do have to be eucalyptus leaves.’

(69) *Igka-sitenta pa=ko maka-dawat lagi*

FRAME.IRR-seventy PRC=ISG.PM A.HPST.IRR-receive **VRF**

‘As established, I will only receive (my pension) when I’m seventy years old.’

- (70) *Lagi oy! Mo-graduate na=man=ini*
VRF EVOC A.IRR.PFV-graduate TFV=EXPL=PROX.PM
 ‘Tell me about it! This one’s going to graduate soon.’

In general, *lagi* is used when verifying previous claims. Therefore, the two SVs of *lagi* reveal the PSI, “I know something, I want you to know this” (see Table 14). This may be glossed as VERIFICATORY.

Table 14. The SVs, PSI, and Gloss of Lagi

| | Context | Semantic Variant | Partial Semantic Invariant | Gloss |
|---|---|---|---|--------------|
| 1 | Making persuasive statements or rebuttals | I know something I want you to hear this | I know something I want you to know this | VERIFICATORY |
| 2 | Verifying knowledge | You know something I know the same thing | | |

5.14 Restrictive Da

Da /da/ is used 74 times in the data and appears as *d=* (71) or *r=* (72) before prominent deictics or the particles *abi* or *lat*, and *da* elsewhere (73). *Da* is also often replaced with the Cebuano *ra*, as in (74). The origins of *da* are unclear but Cebuano also has a *da* particle that is a variant of the Cebuano *ra* (see Wolff, 1972, p. 186). Linawis *da* has three SVs.

A Sketch of Second Position Discourse Particles in Linawis

- (71) *Daw ara d=abi=na*
 SIM MED.EPL **RESTR=PERF=MED.PM**
 ‘It’s probably just there.’
- (72) *Amo r=adto iya na-kwan-an hantod*
 PRED **RESTR=DIST.PM** 3SG.GEN U.REAL.HPST-NULL-APPL until
na-matay na=lang=gyod=to=sya
 U.REAL.HPST-die.naturally TFV=**LMT=ASS=**DIST.PM=3SG.PM
 ‘That’s all she (got) until she just ended up dying.’
- (73) *Malunggay da=ma=ng ara sa ila dapit!*
 malunggay **RESTR=EXPL=PM** MED.EPL OBL 3PL.GEN nearby
 ‘Only malunggay can be found near their place.’
- (74) *Ako ra usa.*
 1SG.PM **RESTR** one
 ‘Only me (and no one else).’

Like *lang* in Allen (2022, p. 107), *da* is also a LIMITING particle, but in the Linawis data *da* is more RESTRICTIVE, as in (73). In contrast to *lang*, *da* is used when a speaker implies that the set is the completed set (71–72), i.e., “this is all of a kind;” the set is the population and not only the sample (73–74), i.e., “this is all of something;” and there is only a single action or choice in a set (75), i.e., “this is all someone does.” Cebuano *ra* or *da* ‘only, nothing else’ also has similar functions as Linawis *da* and contrasts with Cebuano *lang* ‘merely, nothing more than’ (Wolff, 1972, pp. 819–820; Bunye & Yap, 1971, pp. 65–66).

- (75) *A, taga-didto da ang iya gi-kuha=ng*
 Ah FROM-DIST.LOC **RESTR** PM 3SG.NPM U.REAL.PFV-get=MOD
katabang
 helper
 ‘Ah, the helper she got is only from there (no more no less).’

Generalizing the three SVs, the PSI of Linawis *da* is thus “this is all there is” (see Table 15). This may be glossed as **RESTRICTIVE**.

Table 15. The SVs, PSI, and Gloss of Da

| | Context | Semantic Variant | Partial Semantic Invariant | Gloss |
|---|--|--------------------------|----------------------------|--------------------|
| 1 | A set is the completed set | This is all of a kind | This is all there is | RESTRICTIVE |
| 2 | The set is whole the population | This is all of something | | |
| 3 | There is only a single action or choice in a set | This is all someone does | | |

5.15 Assertive God

God /gud/ is used 71 times in the data, as in (76). The final *d* becomes *g* before velar-initial particles, as in (77). This same particle occurs in Cebuano (Wolff, 1972, p. 1081) and Waray (Oyzon et al., 2013, p. 29). In Linawis, *god* has three SVs.

- (76) *Abandoned mang=god=na ila byay*
 abandoned EPL=ASS=MED.PM 3PL.GEN house
 ‘Their house is abandoned, I’ll have you know.’

- (77) *Mag-dyagan-dyagan* *go[g]=kuno=na*
 A.IRR.IPFV-FREQUENTIVE-*run* ASS=REP=MED.PM
silá=ni *Mama*
 PM.PL=including Mom
 ‘Apparently, Mom and the others ran around a lot.’

The Cebuano and Waray *god* particles are used for emphasis with the meaning ‘indeed; really’ (Bunye & Yap, 1971, p. 60; Oyzon et al., 2013, p. 29). Similarly, Linawis *god* is also used when a speaker is showing assertiveness, especially when explaining with the particle *man*, as in (76); in other words, *god* has the SV, “you do not know something, I want you to think this is true.” Furthermore, *god* is also used when speakers correct the disbelief of hearers, as in (77); in other words, *god* has the SV, “you do not think this is true, I think this is true.” As in both SVs, *god* has emphatic and argumentative functions which is also used when speakers pressure hearers to do something with imperatives, as in (78); so, *god* also has the SV, “I want you to do this.”

- (78) *Ana lang=god! Ka-dali lang.*
 MED.SIM LMT=ASS EXCL-quick 2P
 ‘Just like that! In just a jiffy.’

The SVs of *god* can be generalized as the PSI “someone wants someone else to think something is true, someone else does not think this is true” (see Table 16). This can be glossed as ASSERTIVE.

5.16 Mirative Ngay-an

Ngay-an /*ŋajʔan*/ is used 71 times and appears as *ngay-an* (79) or *gay-an* (80), *ngay(n)* (81) or *gay(n)* (82), or as *ngaay* (83). This particle may also

Table 16. The SVs, PSI, and Gloss of God

| | Context | Semantic Variant | Partial Semantic Invariant | Gloss |
|---|--|---|---|-----------|
| 1 | Emphasizing or asserting when explaining | You do not know something I want you to think this is true | Someone wants someone else to think something is true | ASSERTIVE |
| 2 | Correcting disbelief | You do not think this is true I think this is true | Someone else does not think this is true | |
| 3 | Pressuring someone to do something | I want you to do this | | |

be replaced by Cebuano *diy* which may also be shortened to *day*, as in (84). *Ngay-an* also appears in Waray with the meanings ‘really?’ or ‘is that so?’ and is typically used when “the speaker has received new or, verified information” (Oyzon et al., 2013, p. 66). A similar particle *ngaj-án* ‘surprise particle, really’ also appears in Baybayanon/Utudnon (Rubino, 2005, p. 329).

- (79) *Senior ka=na=ngay-an*
 senior.citizen 2SG.PM=TFV=MIR
 ‘(Oh), you’re already a senior citizen, (I didn’t know that)!’
- (80) *Brownout man=gay-an!*
 blackout EPL=MIR
 ‘(There’s a) blackout, I forgot!’
- (81) *Sus! COVID ngay=iton!*
 Jesus COVID MIR=MED.PRSV
 ‘Jesus! She even got COVID!’

- (82) *Sus! Commercial gayn=adto!*
 Jesus! commercial MIR=DIST.PM
 ‘Jesus! That was actually a commercial!’
- (83) *Ara ngaay imo mga ka-upod*
 MED.EPL MIR 2SG.GEN PL co-accompany
 ‘Oh, there’s your company!’
- (84) *Aw, tanom-tanom man=d(i)ay=ni si Father sa plaza*
 REPAIR DIM~plant EXPL=MIR=PROX.PM PM father OBL
 public.square
 ‘Oh, (I see) Father has been planting (trees) in the public square.’

Similar to the Waray and Baybayanon/Utudnon particles, Linawis *ngay-an* is used when a speaker is surprised about something they did not know about beforehand or just forgot about, as in (79–80), i.e., “I do not know this, I know now;” or when a speaker talks about unpleasantly surprising information that is not yet known by the hearer, as in (81–82), i.e., “you do not know this, this is not good.”

In general, *ngay-an* is used when a speaker shows their lack of knowledge and consequent surprise (83–84). The MIRATIVE *pala* in Tagalog also has the same functions (AnderBois, 2023) and so, Linawis *ngay-an* may also be glossed as MIRATIVE with the PSI, “someone does not know this” (see Table 17).

5.17 Confirmatory Ba

Ba /ba/ is used 59 times in the data and may appear as *b=* before prominent deictic pronouns, as in (85), or as *ba* elsewhere, as in (86). This *ba*

Table 17. The SVs, PSI, and Gloss of Ngay-an

| | Context | Semantic Variant | Partial Semantic Invariant | Gloss |
|---|---|--|----------------------------|----------|
| 1 | Showing a speaker's surprise towards something they had not known before or even forgot about | I do not know this I know now | Someone does not know this | MIRATIVE |
| 2 | Indicate what the speaker already knows but is not known by the hearer as unpleasantly surprising | Someone does not know this This is not good | | |

is different from the terminal particle *ba* which always appears in the terminal position and functions as a retrospective negotiability marker (see Baran, 2023b). In Allen (2022, p. 107), the 2P *ba* is glossed as an ‘interrogative marker,’ and the *ba* in Cebuano (Wolff, 1972, pp. 72–73) and Waray (Oyzon et al., 2013, p. 15) also have a similar interrogative function.

- (85) *Taga-Masbate b=ina=sila? basta*
 FROM-Masbate CONF=MED.PM=3PL.PM whatever.the.case
mo-dunggo na=sila dira sa Pabrika.
 A.IRR.PFV-dock MED.PM=3PL.PM MED.LOC OBL Pabrika
 ‘They’re from Masbate, right? Whatever the case, they dock there at Pabrika.’

- (86) *Amo lang=ba?*
 PRED LMT=CONF
 ‘Is that all (you need)?’

In Linawis, *ba* is also used in confirming questions (85–86). In other words, *ba* has the SV, “I think this maybe true, I want to know if this is true.” In addition to its interrogative function, Linawis *ba* is also used when a statement is a confirmation of something that might not have been previously clear (87). In other words, *ba* has the SV, “I want you to know this is true.”

- (87) *Daw mag-panagana ba=gyapon sa kulo*
 SIM A.IRR.IPFV-being.careful CONF=INV OBL breadfruit
 ‘Like (you’d) still have to be careful near the breadfruit (tree).’

In general, *ba* is a CONFIRMATORY, whether in questioning or answering. It has the PSI “someone wants someone else to say if something is true” (see Table 18).

5.18 Invariant Gihapon

Gihapon /gi’hapun/ is used 58 times which appears as either *gihapon*, as in (88), or *gyapon*, as in (89). *Gihapon* may come from Proto-Bisayan *gihápun ‘same, as usual,’ a Bisayan innovation (Zorc, 1977, p. 249). This same particle also occurs in Cebuano with the possible meanings of ‘still (the same thing)’ or ‘as before’ (Wolff, 1972, pp. 263–264).

- (88) *May=maN-(d)agkot man=gihapon didto.*
 EPL=A.IRR.DISTR-light.a.candle EXPL=INV DIST.LOC
 ‘There are still (people) who light candles there.’

Table 18. The SVs, PSI, and Gloss of Ba

| | Context | Semantic Variant | Partial Semantic Invariant | Gloss |
|---|--|---|--|--------------|
| 1 | Confirming information through questions | I think this maybe true I want to know if this is true | Someone wants someone else to say if something is true | CONFIRMATORY |
| 2 | Marking information as confirmation of something that might not have been previously clear | I want you to know this is true | | |

(89) *Ara man=gyapon ila lubi!*

MED.EPL EXPL=INV 3SG.NPM COCONUT

‘(From your last visit to now,) their coconut (trees) are still there!’

Similar to Cebuano *gihapon*, Linawis *gihapon* is generally used when implying an unchanging state (88), i.e., “something happens to this, this is the same as before;” or an action or event persists despite an intervening event or the passing of time (89), i.e., “this happens before something else, this same thing happens after that.” Therefore, the PSI of *gihapon* is “this is the same after something happens” and is glossed as INVARIANT (see Table 19).

5.19 Dubitative Tingay

Tingay /tiŋaj/ (90) or *tingali* /tiŋgali/ (91) is used 54 times in the data. The former is formed after lateral deletion occurred in the latter.

Table 19. The SVs, PSI, and Gloss of Gihapon

| | Context | Semantic Variant | Partial Semantic Invariant | Gloss |
|---|--|--|--|-----------|
| 1 | Talking about unchanging states | Something happens to this This is the same as before | This is the same after something happens | INVARIANT |
| 2 | Talking about persisting actions despite intervening events or the passing of time | This happens before something else This same thing happens after that | | |

These two are also typically replaced by the Spanish loanword *(si)guro* /*(si)'guru/*, as in (92).

(90) *Kay mag-utod tingali*

because siblings **DUB**

‘(I don’t know,) maybe it’s because we’re siblings.’

(91) *Lain lat=tingay=sya*

different REL=**DUB**=3SG.PM

‘Maybe this one is different.’

(92) *Ta! Damo siguro=y patay!*

tsk many **DUB**=NEUT dead

‘Oh well! Many might have died.’

As with Cebuano *tingali* (Bunye & Yap, 1971, pp. 66–67), Linawis *tingay* is, in all instances, used when a speaker is expressing their doubts (91) even if only for comedic effect (90), or when they are uncertain (92).

This means that *tingay* has no SVs and its PSI is “maybe” (see Table 20). This may be glossed as DUBITATIVE.

Table 20. The SVs, PSI, and Gloss of *Tingay*

| | Context | Semantic Variant | Partial Semantic Invariant | Gloss |
|---|---------|------------------|----------------------------|------------|
| I | All | None | Maybe | DUBITATIVE |

5.20 Hypothetical *Kunta*

Kunta /'kunta?/ is used 53 times in the data, as in (93), and is frequently shortened to *ta* /'ta?/, as in (94). This particle is also frequently replaced with Cebuano *unta* /'ʔunta?/, as in (95), and rarely with Hiligaynon *tani* /'tani?/, as in (96). This particle likely comes from the Proto-Bisayan OPTATIVE particle *kuntánaq, which itself is likely related to the Proto-Bisayan phrase *kun tána mu qakú ‘if you ask me’ (Zorc, 1977, p. 249).

(93) *May kunta=s MJ ma-honor-an*

good HYPO=PM MJ U.IRR.HPST-honor-APPL

‘I hope MJ gets honors.’

(94) *Ari ko kay Papa, wa ta=ko=y*

MED.EPL ISG.PM OBL Dad NEG.EPL HYPO=ISG.PM=NEUT

abangan

rent

‘(If) I were here with dad, then I wouldn’t have had (to pay) any rent.’

A Sketch of Second Position Discourse Particles in Linawis

- (95) *Akon unta i-pa-checkup-Ø iya mata*
 ISG.NPM **HYPO** SD-CAUS-checkup-U.IRR 3SG.NPM eye
 ‘I was supposed to have his eyes checked (but I couldn’t).’
- (96) *Taga-Ø-an tani=ta og og*
 give-U.IRR-APPL **HYPO**=IPL.INCL.PM NPM.NDEF NPM.NDEF
sakto sa puhunan
 enough OBL capital
 ‘Hopefully, they give us enough capital.’

Akeanon *kunta* which is described as a particle expressing ‘a strong hope, desire, or wish’ (Zorc & Salas Reyes, 1969, p. 149) and Cebuano *unta* which has the functions ‘may something happen’ or ‘should have been done’ among others (Wolff, 1972, p. 1101) are synonymous with Linawis *kunta*, which is generally used when a speaker wants something to happen but did not happen (95), i.e., “I want this to happen, this does not happen;” or has yet to happen (93, 96), i.e., “I want this to happen, this is not true.” In addition, *kunta* is also used when what the speaker wants to happen can only happen if something else were to be true (94), i.e., “if this happens, this does not happen.” These three SVs show that the PSI of *kunta* is “this is not true now, this may become true after this.” This can be glossed as hopeful HYPOTHETICAL (see Table 21).

5.21 Immediate Dayon

Dayon /'dajun/ is used 43 times and appears as *dayon* (97), *dayn* (98), or *layon* (99). This particle may be related to either *dayon* ‘to continue’ with ultimate stress or *dayon* ‘and then’ with penultimate stress. Cebuano

Table 21. The SVs, PSI, and Gloss of Kunta

| | Context | Semantic Variant | Partial Semantic Invariant | Gloss |
|---|--|---|---|--------------|
| 1 | A speaker wants something to happen, but it did not happen | I want this to happen This does not happen | This is not true now This may become true after this | HYPOTHETICAL |
| 2 | A speaker wants something to happen, but it has yet to happen to the speaker | I want this to happen This is not true | | |
| 3 | What the speaker wants to happen can only happen if something else were to be true | If this happens This does not happen | | |

also has a *dayon* particle with the meaning ‘immediately, at once’ (Wolff, 1972, p. 211).

- (97) *Maka-kita ka=y uwak, imo gayd=dayon*
 A.IRR.HPST-see 2SG.PM=NEUT CROW 2SG.NPM ASS=IMM
sumpa-Ø-on
 curse-U.IRR-APPL
 ‘When you see a crow, you have to immediately curse it.’

- (98) *Butang-Ø-an dayn=nimu=y kamunggay.*
 put-U.IRR-APPL IMM=2SG.NPM=NEUT malunggay
 ‘You (then) put malunggay right after.’

- (99) *O. Nya ang makina, palit ka=layon.*
 yes then PM engine buy 2SG.PM=IMM
 ‘Yes. Then for the engine, you buy (it) right away.’

As with Cebuano *dayon*, Linawis *dayon* is used in all instances where an event is understood to immediately take place, typically after a prior event (97–99). With no SVs, the PSI, then, of Linawis *dayon* is “something happens a short time after something else” (see Table 22). This can be glossed as IMMEDIATE.

Table 22. The SVs, PSI, and Gloss of Dayon

| | Context | Semantic Variant | Partial Semantic Invariant | Gloss |
|---|---------|------------------|---|-----------|
| 1 | All | None | Something happens a short time after something else | IMMEDIATE |

5.22 Quotative Daw

Daw /daw/ is used 40 times and appears either as *daw*, as in (100), or rarely as *law*, as in (101). This particle also appears in Waray as a variant of *kuno* (Oyzon et al., 2013, p. 24). Linawis *daw* has no SVs.

- (100) *M=ina, may=aswang daw=kuno, si ka=Domeng*
 PRED=MED.PM EPL=aswang QUOT=REP PM HON=Domeng
 ‘And that’s why they say there is an *aswang* (called) Domeng.’
- (101) *Samad niya. Na-ayo na=law=to.*
 wound 3SG.GEN U.REAL.HPST-CURE TFV=QUOT=DIST.PM
 ‘Her wounds before have been healed, she says.’

Unlike in Waray, Linawis *daw* while having a similar function to *kuno* may be considered a separate particle since they can both be used in the same utterance, as in (100). In this case, *kuno* marks the utterance as more of a report or rumor, while *daw* marks the utterance as a direct quote. The quoting function of *daw* is clearer in (101). Therefore, the PSI of *daw* is “someone else says this” and can be summarized as QUOTATIVE (see Table 23); compare Tagalog and Cebuano *daw*.

Table 23. The SVs, PSI, and Gloss of Daw

| | Context | Semantic Variant | Partial Semantic Invariant | Gloss |
|---|---------|------------------|----------------------------|-----------|
| 1 | All | None | Someone else says this | QUOTATIVE |

5.23 Contrastive Hinuon

Hinuon /hi'nu?un/ is used 28 times. It appears as *hinuon* (102), *hinon* (103), *nuon* (104), or *nu(o)n* (105). The origin of this particle is unclear but a similar particle *hinuon* also appears in Cebuano (Wolff, 1972, p. 332).

- (102) *Hayn tu ila banda sa Bata? Banago hinuon,*
 where DIST.PM 3SG.NPM corner OBL Bata Banago CONTR
naka-kuan pa=gyod=ako
 A.IRR.HPST=NULL PRC=ASS=ISG.PM
 ‘Whereabouts in Bata was their place again? If we’re talking
 Banago, then I still (remember).’

A Sketch of Second Position Discourse Particles in Linawis

- (103) *Sa iya man=hinon=adto Papa*
 OBL 3SG.GEN EXPL=CONTR=DIST.PM Dad
 ‘It was his Dad’s anyways.’
- (104) *Pero nuon, wa pa=man=kami=y*
 but CONTR NEG.EPL PRC=EXPL=IPL.EXCL.PM=NEUT
na-bati-an nga may=gi-pang-it
 U.IRR.HPST-feel-APPL MOD EPL=U.IRR.PFV-bite
 ‘But anyways, it’s not like we’ve heard anyone being bitten yet.’
- (105) *Na-disgrasya gayd=non dira sa Eskina*
 U.IRR.HPST-accident ASS=CONTR MED.LOC OBL corner
 ‘(They) ended up getting into an accident right by the corner.’

The Linawis *hinuon* is typically used when a speaker is highlighting the contrast between two things, such as highlighting that what is currently happening is better (103–104) or worse (105) than the alternative, i.e., “this is not good, something else is bad.” This is typically common when explaining with *man* or showing certainty with *gayod*. Alternatively, *hinuon* is also used when someone knows something but not something else (102), i.e., “I do not know something, I know this.” This latter function is observed when the previous utterance is about not knowing or being uncertain about something. Compare Linawis *hinuon* to Cebuano *hinuon* which has the meanings ‘instead,’ ‘this is good anyways,’ and ‘that may not be good but this definitely is,’ among others (Wolff, 1972, p. 332). In general, then, this particle has the PSI “this is not something else,” and may be glossed as CONTRASTIVE (see Table 24).

Table 24. The SVs, PSI, and Gloss of Hinuon

| | Context | Semantic Variant | Partial Semantic Invariant | Gloss |
|---|--|---|----------------------------|-------------|
| 1 | Highlighting the contrast between two things | This is not good Something else is bad | This is not something else | CONTRASTIVE |
| 2 | Knowing one thing but not the other | I do not know something I know this | | |

5.24 Preparative Anay

Anay /ʔanaj/ is used 25 times, as in (106), and may be replaced by Cebuano (*u*)*sa* /(?u)'saʔ/, as in (107). The same *anay* particle also appears in Waray (Oyzon et al., 2013, p. 14) and Hiligaynon (Motus, 1971, p. 9). This particle is analyzed as a PATIENCE particle in Allen (2022, p. 107), and Linawis *anay* is also used when a speaker is asking for patience from the hearer because something else must happen first or is happening first (106), i.e., “this happens before something else happens.” This SV is commonly found when *anay* is used in isolation. Besides its patience function, *anay* is also used to show that something happens because something else has not yet finished (107–108), i.e., “this happens for the time something else happens.”

- (106) *Anay, mo-kuha ako=y bangko*
PREP A.IRR.PFV-get ISG.PM=NEUT chair
 ‘Wait, let me get (you) a chair.’

A Sketch of Second Position Discourse Particles in Linawis

(107) *Dalakyat sa sa menteryo.*

stop.by **PREP** OBL cemetery

‘Stop by the cemetery first.’

(108) *Diri man=**anay**=sya adto=ng pag-kwan gyod*

PROX.LOC EXPL=**PREP**=3SG.PM DIST.PM=MOD FRAME=NULL ASS

sang pandemic ba

OBL.DEF pandemic RESTR.NEGO

‘He stayed here for a while at the (peak) of the pandemic.’

Based on the SVs, the common function of *anay* is to mark an event or action as temporarily being done as preemptive of another event or action. In other words, *anay* has the PSI, “this happens for the time something else happens before another thing,” which may be glossed as PREPARATIVE (see Table 25).

Table 25. The SVs, PSI, and Gloss of Anay

| Context | Semantic Variant | Partial Semantic Invariant | Gloss |
|--|--|---|-------------|
| 1 Asking for patience from the hearer because something else must happen first or is happening first | This happens before something else happens | This happens for the time something else happens before another thing | PREPARATIVE |
| 2 Something happens because something else has not yet finished | This happens for the time something else happens | | |

5.25 Duplicative Balitaw

Balitaw /bali'taw/ (109) or *bitaw* /bi'taw/ (110) is used 23 times. Similar particles are also found in other Bisayan languages like Waray *balitaw/balit'* (Oyzon et al., 2013, p. 17) and Cebuano *bitaw* (Wolff, 1972, p. 144). Both have agreement or reciprocal functions.

- (109) *Bubo-Ø-an balitaw ako sing bato diri*
POUR-U.IRR-APPL DUPL ISG.PM NPM.NDEF rock PROX.LOC
sa ak uyo-han
OBL ISG.NPM head-LOCATION
'Then rocks were suddenly poured on my head!'

- (110) *Bubong bitaw=ina*
roof DUPL=MED.PM
'As established, that is a roof.'

The Linawis *balitaw* is typically used when a speaker is talking about a series of similar events which the hearer may not know about (109), i.e., "this is like something else, you do not know this;" or to when the speaker agrees with the hearer and the hearer is not aware of this fact (110), i.e., "I think like you, you do not know this." The latter SV is more common when *balitaw* is used in isolation, as in (111). Compare Linawis *balitaw* to Cebuano *bitaw* and Waray *balitaw/balit'*, which are also used for confirmations (Bunye & Yap, 1971, p. 59; Oyzon et al., 2013, p. 17).

A Sketch of Second Position Discourse Particles in Linawis

- (III) *Balitaw* *ma ha!* *amo gayod ma, sakto*
DUPL mom RETRO.ALIGN PRED ASS mom correct
ka=man.
 2SG.PM=EXPL
 ‘I do agree with you mom! That is definitely true. You are correct.’

Based on the SVs, *balitaw* generally marks an unnoticed similarity or sameness as salient. Thus, it has the PSI, “this is the same, you do not know this” (see Table 26). This can be glossed as **DUPLICATIVE**.

Table 26. The SVs, PSI, and Gloss of Balitaw

| Context | Semantic Variant | Partial Semantic Invariant | Gloss |
|--|---|--|--------------------|
| 1 Talking about a series of similar events which the hearer may not know about | This is like something else You do not know this | This is the same You do not know this | DUPLICATIVE |
| 2 The speaker agrees with the hearer when the hearer is not aware of this fact | I think like you You do not know this | | |

5.26 Fatalistic Intawon

Intawon /ʔin'tawun/ is used 20 times and appears as *intaw(o)n* (II2) or *taw(o)n* (II3). This same particle also occurs in Cebuano (Wolff, 1972, pp. 386–387) and Waray (Oyzon et al., 2013, p. 36) as a particle for

pity statements. Similarly, Linawis *intawon* is used when a speaker is expressing their feelings of resignation (II3), i.e., “nothing can be done;” even when they do not think it is necessarily a good thing (II2), i.e., “all do not think this is good, I want to think this is good.” The latter interpretation is more common when relating an opinion to the hearer with *lat*.

(II2) *Wa inta(won)=y problema!*
 NEG.EPL FAT=NEUT problem
 ‘No problem at all!’

(II3) *Bugay-Ø-an man=lat=taw(o)n ang trabaho*
 not.taking.seriously-U.IRR-APPL EPL=REL=FAT PM work

‘(They) don’t even take (their) work seriously.’

Generalizing the two SVs, *intawon* can be said to have the PSI, “I want people to think this is good because nothing else can be done” (see Table 27). This can be glossed as FATALISTIC.

Table 27. The SVs, PSI, and Gloss of Intawon

| | Context | Semantic Variant | Partial Semantic Invariant | Gloss |
|---|--|---|-------------------------------------|------------|
| 1 | Resignation or being content | Nothing can be done | I want people to think this is good | FATALISTIC |
| 2 | Resignation when something is thought of as not being a good thing | All do not think this is good I want to think this is good | because nothing else can be done | |

5.27 Performative *Abi*

Abi /ʔa'bi/ or sometimes /ʔabi/ is used 19 times, as in (114). *Abi* becomes =*abi* after procliticized 2P particles, as in (115). This particle is different from the verb *abi* /ʔabi/ (see *abi nakon* ‘I thought’ in Layague, 2016, p. 2), which does not appear in the second position. The 2P particle *abi* may come from Proto-Bisayan *qábi which, according to Zorc (1977, p. 189), is used for “giving excuses and reasons” and building rapport. Linawis *abi* has two SVs.

(114) *Myaot sang kwan **abi**, sang puros kami busy*
 bad OBL.DEF NULL PERF OBL.DEF entire IPL.PM busy
 ‘It’s not great when we’re all busy (you would not even believe it).’

(115) *Dili d=**abi**=gayd=ako mo-kaon sang raghan*
 NEG RESTR=PERF=ASS=ISG.PM A.IRR.PFV-eat NPM.NDEF many
nga karne
 MOD meat
 ‘I definitely do not eat a lot of meat (you would not even believe it).’

In Allen (2022, p. 107), *abi* is glossed as EXCUSING; compare Akeanon *abi* which is also used in excuses or explanations (Zorc & Salas Reyes, 1969, p. 44). Similarly, Linawis *abi* appears when a speaker is convincing the hearer that something is unpleasant as a form of excusing (114), i.e., “I think something is not good, I want you to think the same;” or when the speaker is informing the hearer of something they do not know yet as a form of reason-giving (115), i.e., “I know this, I want you to hear this.” Linawis *abi* then is generally used when making a PERFORMATIVE

act of saying, “I want you to know this because you do not know this,” which may also be used when explaining or excusing something (see Table 28).

Table 28. The SVs, PSI, and Gloss of *Abi*

| | Context | Semantic Variant | Partial Semantic Invariant | Gloss |
|---|---|---|--|--------------|
| 1 | Convincing the hearer that something is unpleasant as a form of excusing | I think something is not good I want you to think the same | I want you to know this because you do not know this | PERFORMATIVE |
| 2 | Informing the hearer of something they do not know yet as a form of reason giving | I know this I want you to hear this | | |

5.28 Contemptuous *Uroy*

Uroy /ʔu'ruj/ is used 12 times in the data, as in (116–117). The origins of this particle are unclear. A similar particle *uroy* which can be used to express contempt for someone’s actions, among others, appears in Cebuano (Wolff, 1972).

- (116) *Ka-kulba uroy mag-bayad*
 EXCL-anxious CMPT A.IRR.IPFV-pay
 ‘How anxiety-inducing it would be to pay (debts).’

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- (117) *Ta! na-ano uroy=ni pagka-gab-i,*
 tsk U.IRR.HPST-how CMPT=PROX.PM FRAME-night
na-matay
 U.IRR.HPST-die
 ‘She (probably and unfortunately) died.’

In all instances, Linawis *uroy* is used when speakers are expressing their contempt at a possible occurrence (116) or its consequences (117); compare Cebuano *uroy* (Wolff, 1972, pp. 1109–1110). This shows that the PSI of *uroy* is “this is not good” (see Table 29). This can be glossed as CONTEMPTUOUS.

Table 29. The SVs, PSI, and Gloss of Uroy

| Context | Semantic Variant | Partial Semantic Invariant | Gloss |
|---------|------------------|----------------------------|--------------|
| 1 All | None | This is not good | CONTEMPTUOUS |

5.29 Deliberative Ayhan

Ayhan /ʔajhan/ (118), sometimes shortened to *hay* (119), is used 10 times. This particle may rarely be replaced with Cebuano *ka(ha)* /kaʔ(ha)ʔ/, as in (120). *Ayhan* also appears in Hiligaynon with the meanings of ‘perhaps, therefore’ (Motus, 1971, p. 17).

- (118) *Ha m=ayhan dira na-habilin sara?*
 where EXPL=DELIB MED.LOC U.REAL.HPST-left.behind REC
 ‘(And) where are (they) now?’

- (119) *Pila na=hay=adto ka ka-twig-an?*
 how.many TFV=**DELIB**=DIST.PM COUNTER COLL-year-CIRC
 ‘(I) wonder how old it even is.’
- (120) *Okay man=ka(ha) im Papa?*
 okay TFV=**DELIB** 2SG.GEN Dad
 ‘As long as your dad is okay, right?’

In contrast to Hiligaynon *ayhan*, Linawis *ayhan* is, in all instances, used when a speaker is making rhetorical questions which need deliberation (118–120); compare Cebuano *kaha* which has the meanings ‘do you think, by any chance?’ and ‘can it be so?’ (Bunye & Yap, 1971, p. 59). As Linawis *ayhan* has no SVs, the PSI of *ayhan* is “I do not know, maybe something is like this, maybe something like this happens” (see Table 30). This may be glossed as **DELIBERATIVE**.

Table 30. The SVs, PSI, and Gloss of Ayhan

| | Context | Semantic Variant | Partial Semantic Invariant | Gloss |
|---|---------|------------------|---|---------------------|
| 1 | All | None | I do not know Maybe something is like this Maybe something like this happens | DELIBERATIVE |

5.30 Emphatic Ya

Ya /ja/ is used 6 times, as in (121–122). Given the low frequency of *ya*, more data is needed to understand this particle. Hiligaynon also has a

ya particle, which seems to have emphatic functions (J. Baran, personal communication, 2023).¹⁰

(I21) *Ina=ng baho-baho ya!*
 MED.PM=MOD sicklepod **EMPH**
 ‘The sicklepod!’

(I22) *<in>agaw-ay kami=didto=ya sang*
 <IT>take.away-RECIP IPL.EXCL.PM=DIST.LOC=**EMPH** OBL.DEF
dako kaay nga punoan.
 big INT MOD tree
 ‘We were fighting over (the stover) by the very big tree.’

Similar to Hiligaynon *ya*, Linawis *ya* is always used whenever the speaker wants to emphasize a statement (I21–I22). In (I21), *ya* is terminalized within the second-position cluster. Therefore, Linawis *ya* has no SVs and has the PSI, “I want you to hear this” (see Table 31). This can be categorized as **EMPHATIC**.

Table 31. The SVs, PSI, and Gloss of Ya

| | Context | Semantic Variant | Partial Semantic Invariant | Gloss |
|---|---------|------------------|----------------------------|-----------------|
| I | All | None | I want you to hear this | EMPHATIC |

5.31 Prospective Nyan

Nyan /*njan*/ is used 4 times in the data, as in (I23–I24). Waray and Baybayanon/Utudnon have similar particles *niyan* ‘later on’ (Oyzon et

¹⁰I have heard this particle used by my Hiligaynon-speaking relatives. My mother, Joyce Baran, who is also a Hiligaynon speaker, confirms this.

al., 2013, p. 65) and *niján* ‘later’ (Rubino, 2005, p. 318), respectively. The former particle, *níyan* also appears in Romblomanon and Masbatenyo (Zorc, 1977, p. 99).

(I23) *MaN-(p)a-uli* *kuno=nyan. November kuno?*
 A.IRR.DISTR-CAUS-go.home REP=**PROS** November REP
 ‘Apparently, (they) will go home by then. November, (I think) they said.’

(I24) *Ma-wa* *man=lat=nyan.*
 U.IRR.HPST-NEG.EPL EXPL=REL=**PROS**
 ‘(She) will (go) somewhere else eventually.’

As with the other Bisayan languages, Linawis *nyan* is always used when a speaker is describing events or actions that are expected to occur in the future (I23–I24). Therefore, *nyan* has no SVs and has the PSI “sometime after now” (see Table 32). This can be glossed as **PROSPECTIVE**. Given the low frequency, more data is needed to understand this particle.

Table 32. The SVs, PSI, and Gloss of Nyan

| | Context | Semantic Variant | Partial Semantic Invariant | Gloss |
|---|---------|------------------|----------------------------|--------------------|
| I | All | None | Sometime after now | PROSPECTIVE |

5.32 Original Daan

Daan /'daʔan/ (I25), which can also be shortened to *dan* (I26), is used 3 times. *Daan* may possibly be related to Linawis *daan* ‘old (things).’

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(I25) *Ara na=daan*
 MED.EPL TFV=ORIG
 ‘(That has) been there ever since.’

(I26) *Wa dan=ka=y paN-(p)esar-Ø-on*
 NEG.EPL ORIG=2SG.PM=NEUT DISTR-think-U.IRR-APPL
 ‘You would not be thinking of anything at all.’

Linawis *daan* is always used when speakers imply that the current state of things is still in its original (I25) or old state (I26). In my variety of Cebuano (Metro Cebu), there is also a 2P particle *daan* which has the same function as Linawis *daan*. Linawis *daan* then has no SVs and its PSI is “this is the same for a long time” (see Table 33). This may be glossed as ORIGINAL. Given the low frequency, more data is needed to understand this particle.

Table 33. The SVs, PSI, and Gloss of Daan

| | Context | Semantic Variant | Partial Semantic Invariant | Gloss |
|---|---------|------------------|----------------------------------|----------|
| 1 | All | None | This is the same for a long time | ORIGINAL |

5.33 Improbable Bahin

Bahin /ba'hin/ is used 2 times in the data, as in (I27–I28). The origins of this particle are unclear. It may come from Linawis *basin* ‘maybe’ following irregular *s > h* debuccalization, although this may be unlikely since there are few examples of this sound change in Linawis, e.g., free variation between *sadto* and *hadto* ‘DIST.NPM.’

- (I27) *Ambot kung gi-limpyo-han bahin ara ni*
 I.do.not.know if U.REAL-clean-APPL **IMPROB** MED.LOC NPM
nang Gardi ang banyo
 older.woman.HON Gardi PM bathroom
 ‘I don’t know if Gardi cleaned the bathroom.’
- (I28) *Sus! Maka-abot pa=bahin=kita=sina?*
 Jesus A.IRR.HPST-reach PRC=**IMPROB**=IPL.INCL.PM=MED.NPM
 ‘Jesus! Can we even get to that (age)?’

The *bahin* particle is always used when speakers make rhetorical questions which are unlikely to be true (I27–I28). Since it has no SVs, the PSI of *bahin* is “maybe this is not true” (see Table 34). This can be categorized as IMPROBABLE. Given the low frequency, more data is needed to understand this particle.¹¹

Table 34. The SVs, PSI, and Gloss of Bahin

| | Context | Semantic Variant | Partial Semantic Invariant | Gloss |
|---|---------|------------------|----------------------------|------------|
| I | All | None | Maybe this is not true | IMPROBABLE |

5.34 Affirmative Tuod

Tuod /'tuʔud/ is used I time in the data, as in (I29). This particle may be related to the Linawis bound root *tuod* in *matuod* ‘truthfully’ or *tinuod* ‘truth.’

¹¹I could not find similar particles in the neighboring Bisayan languages, and I could not get language partners to elicit sample utterances with *bahin* outside natural conversation. Coupled with the limited frequency of uses, more data and research on this particle is needed to confirm its functions and its being a 2P particle.

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- (I29) *Ara pa=man=*tuod* *na-habilin* *pero...*
 MED.EPL PRC=EXPL=AFF U.REAL.HPST-left.behind but
 ‘There are some (old people) left but...’*

The *tuod* particle is used when the speaker considers a statement to be an irrefutable truth that affirms prior lines (I29), compare Cebuano *tuod* which has the meanings ‘in accordance with what happened before’ or ‘in reality,’ among others (Wolff, 1972, pp. 1067–1068). Thus, the PSI of *tuod* is “this is true” (see Table 35). This can be glossed as AFFIRMATIVE. As there is only one instance of this particle, more data is needed to understand this particle.

Table 35. The SVs, PSI, and Gloss of Tuod

| | Context | Semantic Variant | Partial Semantic Invariant | Gloss |
|---|---------|------------------|----------------------------|-------------|
| 1 | All | None | This is true | AFFIRMATIVE |

6 The Discourse Particles of Bantayanon

Discourse particles have different specific meanings or SV depending on interactional or linguistic context, but each one has a generalized meaning or PSI. 2P particles are no different. More data is needed to have a better understanding of 2P particles and discourse particles in Linawis and Bantayanon but with the available data, 34 Linawis 2P particles have been identified and glossed in Table 36. These glosses were selected based on the PSI of each 2P particle; in turn, each PSI was identified based on each 2P particle’s SVs if there were any, as in Table 37.

Table 36. The 34 Linawis Particles and Their Glosses According to Decreasing Frequency

| No. | Particle | English Gloss | No. | Particle | English Gloss |
|-----|-----------------|-----------------|-----|----------------|---------------|
| 1 | <i>man</i> | EXPLANATORY | 18 | <i>gihapon</i> | INVARIANT |
| 2 | <i>na</i> | TRANSFORMA-TIVE | 19 | <i>tingay</i> | DUBITATIVE |
| 3 | <i>lang</i> | LIMITING | 20 | <i>kunta</i> | HYPOTHETICAL |
| 4 | <i>gayod</i> | ASSURANCE | 21 | <i>dayon</i> | IMMEDIATE |
| 5 | <i>lat</i> | RELATIONAL | 22 | <i>daw</i> | QUOTATIVE |
| 6 | <i>pa</i> | PERSISTENCE | 23 | <i>hinuon</i> | CONTRASTIVE |
| 7 | <i>ga</i> | PERSUASIVE | 24 | <i>anay</i> | PREPARATIVE |
| 8 | <i>sang-una</i> | ANTERIOR | 25 | <i>balitaw</i> | DUPLICATIVE |
| 9 | <i>sara</i> | RECENT | 26 | <i>intawon</i> | FATALISTIC |
| 10 | <i>kaayo</i> | INTENSIFYING | 27 | <i>abi</i> | PERFORMATIVE |
| 11 | <i>kuno</i> | REPORTATIVE | 28 | <i>uroy</i> | CONTEMPTUOUS |
| 12 | <i>baya</i> | FACTUAL | 29 | <i>ayhan</i> | DELIBERATIVE |
| 13 | <i>lagi</i> | VERIFICATORY | 30 | <i>ya</i> | EMPHATIC |
| 14 | <i>da</i> | RESTRICTIVE | 31 | <i>nyan</i> | PROSPECTIVE |
| 15 | <i>god</i> | ASSERTIVE | 32 | <i>daan</i> | ORIGINAL |
| 16 | <i>ngay-an</i> | MIRATIVE | 33 | <i>bahin</i> | IMPROBABLE |
| 17 | <i>ba</i> | CONFIRMATORY | 34 | <i>tuod</i> | AFFIRMATIVE |

Table 37. The 34 Linawis Particles, Their SVs, and Identified PSIs

| Particle | Semantic Variants | Partial Semantic Invariant |
|------------|--|--|
| <i>man</i> | (1) I want you to know something You do not know the same thing | Someone knows something Someone else does not |
| | (2) You want to know something I know that thing | know the same thing |
| | (3) I say something You do not know the same thing | |

A Sketch of Second Position Discourse Particles in Linawis

| Particle | Semantic Variants | Partial Semantic Invariant |
|--------------|--|--|
| <i>na</i> | (1) Something is not the same anymore | Something happens Maybe someone does not know something happens |
| | (2) Someone wants something to happen | |
| | (3) Someone knows something happens if something else happens | |
| <i>lang</i> | (1) Some of a kind | Some of all |
| | (2) Many things can happen One of this happens | |
| | (3) Others can not do this now | |
| | (4) Someone can do many things Someone does one thing | |
| <i>gayod</i> | (1) I think this is very true | I want you to think this is true |
| | (2) Something else can not be as true | true |
| <i>lat</i> | (1) The same as something else The same as someone else | The same |
| | (2) The same thing happens | |
| | (3) The same person does something else | |
| <i>pa</i> | (1) This is true at this time | Someone thinks this is not true |
| | (2) Someone thinks this is not true anymore This is true | This is true at this time |
| | (3) People think there is no more of this This is more of something | |
| <i>ga</i> | (1) You maybe do not know this I want you to know this | You do not think the same as me |
| | (2) I want it to be true I want you to think the same | I want you to think the same as me |
| | (3) I want you to think like me | |

| Particle | Semantic Variants | Partial Semantic Invariant |
|-----------------|---|--|
| <i>sang-una</i> | None | A long time before now |
| <i>sara</i> | (1) Now | Sometime at this time |
| | (2) A short time before now | |
| | (3) A short time after now | |
| <i>kaayo</i> | None | Very |
| <i>kuno</i> | (1) I hear someone say this | Someone says something to someone |
| | (2) Someone says this, maybe this is true | I say it to you |
| | (3) I want you to maybe do this | |
| <i>baya</i> | (1) I think you know this is true | All know this is true |
| | (2) People know this is true I want you to know this | |
| <i>lagi</i> | (1) I know something I want you to hear this | I know something I want you to know this |
| | (2) You know something I know the same thing | |
| <i>da</i> | (1) This is all of a kind | This is all there is |
| | (2) This is all of something | |
| | (3) This is all someone does | |
| <i>god</i> | (1) You do not know something I want you to think this is true | Someone wants someone else to think something is true |
| | (2) You do not think this is true I think this is true | Someone else does not think this is true |
| | (3) I want you to do this | |
| <i>ngay-an</i> | (1) I do not know this I know now | Someone does not know this |
| | (2) Someone does not know this This is not good | |
| <i>ba</i> | (1) I think this maybe true I want to know if this is true | Someone wants someone else to say if something is true |
| | (2) I want you to know this is true | true |

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| Particle | Semantic Variants | Partial Semantic Invariant |
|----------------|---|---|
| <i>gihapon</i> | (1) Something happens to this This is the same as before (2) This happens before something else This same thing happens after that | This is the same after something happens |
| <i>tingay</i> | None | Maybe |
| <i>kunta</i> | (1) I want this to happen This does not happen (2) I want this to happen This is not true (3) If this happens This does not happen | This is not true now This may become true after this |
| <i>dayon</i> | None | Something happens a short time after something else |
| <i>daw</i> | None | Someone else says this |
| <i>binuon</i> | (1) This is not good Something else is bad (2) I do not know something I know this | This is not something else |
| <i>anay</i> | (1) This happens before something else happens (2) This happens for the time something else happens | This happens for the time something else happens before another thing |
| <i>balitaw</i> | (1) This is like something else You do not know this (2) I think like you You do not know this | This is the same You do not know this |
| <i>intawon</i> | (1) Nothing can be done (2) All do not think this is good I want to think this is good | I want people to think this is good because nothing else can be done |

| Particle | Semantic Variants | Partial Semantic Invariant |
|--------------|---|---|
| <i>abi</i> | (1) I think something is not good I want you to think the same (2) I know this I want you to hear this | I want you to know this because you do not know this |
| <i>uroy</i> | None | This is not good |
| <i>ayhan</i> | None | I do not know Maybe something is like this Maybe something like this happens |
| <i>ya</i> | None | I want you to hear this |
| <i>nyan</i> | None | Sometime after now |
| <i>daan</i> | None | This is the same for a long time |
| <i>bahin</i> | None | Maybe this is not true |
| <i>tuod</i> | None | This is true |

Based on their PSI, the 2P particles can also be divided into five possible function classes: (a) the particles which have aspectual functions, (b) the particles with temporal functions, (c) the particles with functions that focus on evidentiality and truth value, (d) the particles which mark quantities and qualities, and (e) the particles which mark modal and attitudinal features (Table 38).

Table 38. The Five Function Classes of Linawis 2P Particles and Their Members

| Function Class | Particle | Gloss |
|----------------|-----------|----------------|
| Aspectual | <i>na</i> | TRANSFORMATIVE |
| | <i>pa</i> | PERSISTENCE |

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| Function Class | Particle | Gloss |
|-------------------------------|-----------------|--------------|
| Temporal | <i>dayon</i> | IMMEDIATE |
| | <i>anay</i> | PREPARATIVE |
| | <i>sang-una</i> | ANTERIOR |
| | <i>sara</i> | RECENT |
| | <i>nyan</i> | PROSPECTIVE |
| Evidentiality and Truth Value | <i>kuno</i> | REPORTATIVE |
| | <i>baya</i> | FACTUAL |
| | <i>lagi</i> | VERIFICATORY |
| | <i>tingay</i> | DUBITATIVE |
| | <i>daw</i> | QUOTATIVE |
| | <i>bahin</i> | IMPROBABLE |
| | <i>tuod</i> | AFFIRMATIVE |
| Quantity and Quality | <i>lang</i> | LIMITING |
| | <i>lat</i> | RELATIONAL |
| | <i>da</i> | RESTRICTIVE |
| | <i>kaayo</i> | INTENSIFYING |
| | <i>gihapon</i> | INVARIANT |
| | <i>daan</i> | ORIGINAL |
| Modal and Attitudinal | <i>man</i> | EXPLANATORY |
| | <i>gayod</i> | ASSURANCE |
| | <i>ga</i> | PERSUASIVE |
| | <i>god</i> | ASSERTIVE |
| | <i>ngay-an</i> | MIRATIVE |
| | <i>ba</i> | CONFIRMATORY |
| | <i>kunta</i> | HYPOTHETICAL |
| | <i>hinuon</i> | CONTRASTIVE |
| | <i>balitaw</i> | DUPLICATIVE |
| | <i>intawon</i> | FATALISTIC |

| Function Class | Particle | Gloss |
|----------------|--------------|--------------|
| | <i>abi</i> | PERFORMATIVE |
| | <i>uroy</i> | CONTEMPTUOUS |
| | <i>ayhan</i> | DELIBERATIVE |
| | <i>ya</i> | EMPHATIC |

The 2P particles identified in this study are typically found in the second position of a clause but in some cases, they may also be found in the post-nominal, terminal, adverbial, and isolated positions. Whenever the 2P particles cluster in the second position, they follow a specific order based on weight classes and a frequency-based order is followed within those classes (Table 39).

Table 39. The 2P Particles and Their Placements, Weight Classes, and Frequencies

| Placement | Weight Class | 2P Particles, in Decreasing Order |
|-----------|---------------------|--|
| 1st | open monosyllable | <i>na, pa, da, ba, ya</i> |
| 2nd | closed monosyllable | <i>man, lang, lat, ga, god, daw, nyan</i> |
| 3rd | disyllable | <i>sayod, sara, kuno, baya, lagi, ngay-an, kunta, dayon, anay, abi, uroy, ayhan, daan, bahin, tuod</i> |
| | trisyllable | <i>sang-una, kaayo, gihapon, tingay, hinuon, balitaw, intawon</i> |

Within each cluster, some phonological and morphological processes occur such as regressive velar assimilation, e.g., PERSUASIVE *god* > *go[g]*, and procliticization, e.g., TRANSFORMATIVE *na* > *n=*. Outside clusters, 2P particles also undergo a variety of phonological processes such as lateral deletion, e.g., DUBITATIVE *tingali* > *tingay*; and syllabic reduction,

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as in ASSURANCE *gayod* > *gyod*. These processes cause each Linawis 2P particle to have multiple allomorphs. In addition to those allomorphs, Linawis 2P particles can also be interchanged with the 2P particles of neighboring Bisayan languages, especially Cebuano and, to a lesser extent, Hiligaynon and Waray, e.g., Linawis HYPOTHETICAL *kunta* which may be interchangeable with Cebuano *unta* or Hiligaynon *tani*. This interchangeability suggests that particles among Bisayan languages still display a great degree of equivalence, and perhaps a comparative study among these particles or at having a study focusing on the 2P particles and even discourse particles of other Bisayan languages or Bantayanon varieties is needed.

This study is only a preliminary look into the 2P particles used in the Madridejos variety of Bantayanon, Linawis. More data is still needed especially for the least frequent 2P particles, e.g., IMPROBABLE *bahin*, to get a clearer picture of the 2P particles used in Linawis. A better understanding of the 2P particles also allows for a better understanding of discourse particles in the variety as well as a better understanding and knowledge of the under studied and under documented Linawis variety.

7 Appendix

7.1 List of Abbreviations

| | | | |
|---|-------------------------|-----|-----------------------|
| – | morphological boundary | . | metalinguage boundary |
| * | reconstructed protoform | < > | infix boundary |
| | | = | clitic boundary |
| | | ~ | reduplication |

| | | | |
|-------|-------------------------------------|--------|----------------|
| I | first person | FACT | factual |
| 2 | second person | FAT | fatalistic |
| 3 | third person | GEN | genitive |
| A | actor voice | HON | honorific |
| AFF | affirmative | HPST | happenstantial |
| ALIGN | alignment | HYPO | hypothetical |
| ANT | anterior | IMM | immediate |
| APPL | applicative | IMP | imperative |
| ASS | assurance | IMPROB | improbable |
| ASV | assertive | INCL | inclusive |
| AUTO | auto-experiential | INT | intensifying |
| CAUS | causative | INV | invariant |
| CIRC | circumfix | IPFV | imperfective |
| CMPT | contemptuous | IRR | irrealis |
| COLL | collective | IT | iterative |
| CONF | confirmatory | LMT | limiting |
| CONTR | contrastive | LOC | locative |
| DEF | definite | MED | medial |
| DELIB | deliberative | MIR | mirative |
| DIM | diminutive | MOD | modifier |
| DIST | distal | N- | non- |
| DISTR | distributive | NEG | negative |
| DUB | dubitative | NEGO | negotiability |
| DUPL | duplicative | NEUT | neutral |
| EMPH | emphatic | OBL | oblique |
| EPL | existential-possessive- locative | ORIG | original |
| EVOC | evocative | PERF | performative |
| EXCL | exclusive | PFV | perfective |
| EXPL | explanatory | PL | plural |
| | | PM | prominent |

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| | | | |
|------|--------------|-------|-----------------|
| PR | primary | RECIP | reciprocal |
| PRC | persistence | REL | relational |
| PRED | predicate | REP | reportative |
| PREP | preparative | RESTR | restrictive |
| PROS | prospective | RETRO | retrospective |
| PROX | proximal | SD | secondary |
| PRSV | presentative | SG | singular |
| PSV | persuasive | SIM | similitive |
| QUOT | quotative | TFV | transformative |
| REAL | realis | U | undergoer voice |
| REC | recent | VRF | verificatory |

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