

THE ARCHIVE

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THE ARCHIVE

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Issue Editor

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College of Social Sciences and Philosophy

University of the Philippines Diliman

The Archive is the official journal of the Department of Linguistics, College of Social Sciences and Philosophy, University of the Philippines Diliman. The Regular Series of the journal serves as a peer-reviewed publication for original works dealing primarily but not exclusively with Philippine languages and dialects.

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Editor's Notes

In August 2023, the Department of Linguistics culminated its centennial founding anniversary celebration through the 15th Philippine Linguistics Congress (15PLC). The Department was established on 28 August 1922, with the primary aim of being the center of research on Philippine languages and to aid in the development of the national language. One hundred years after its establishment, the Department continues to be the center of studying and archiving Philippine languages and dialects, as witnessed in the diversity of research presented at 15PLC.

As the centerpiece of the centennial founding anniversary celebration of the Department, the 15PLC was designed to feature plenary sessions on the developments in key research areas of the Department, namely, language documentation and description, historical and comparative linguistics, language and culture, Filipino as the national language of the Philippines, and teaching the national languages of Asia, with speakers and discussants coming from the current roster of faculty of the Department. The conference also featured current research from former faculty, students, and affiliates of the Department, coming from a variety of subfields, such as theoretical and structural linguistics, experimental linguistics, lexicography, dialectology, sociolinguistics, ethnolinguistics, and applied linguistics. Most importantly, the conference served as a

venue for setting the future trajectory of Philippine linguistics, by featuring posters and papers from junior scholars, as well as undergraduate and graduate students in the country.

This volume of *The Archive* features papers presented at 15PLC. In this issue, we feature the papers “A study on the pragmatic variations of *parang* in Tagalog utterances” by Briar Rose Tan, “Isang preliminaryong analisis ng *so ayun* bilang discourse marker” by Julia Martha Magno, Jessa Cristelle Hannah Aviso, and Cheska Cendaña, and “*Amo Lat*: A Sketch of Second Position Discourse Particles in Linawis, the Madridejos Variety of Bantayanon” by Brian Salvador Baran.

Tan’s article explored the various uses of *parang* in Tagalog, originally a particle indicating similitude, but one that has expanded to include other functions such as a discourse marker, a quotative marker, a filler word, and a device to soften statements. Through a novel methodology utilizing deliberately constructed questions to elicit the various functions of the particle, Tan was able to elicit naturalistic speech from speakers from various age groups, and her findings suggest possible variation in the use of the particle in terms of generation, where the discourse function of *parang* is seen to be primarily used by younger speakers.

The paper by Magno, Aviso, and Cendaña focuses on another emerging discourse marker in Tagalog, *so ayun*, which is a combination of the English adverbial particle *so* and the Filipino deictic *ayun*. Through the collection of naturalistic data from social media, the authors were able to identify the distribution and use of the marker, and they suggest that its development was through the pathway of grammaticalization, that is, following the processes of extension, desemanticization, decategorialization, and finally, erosion.

Moving away from Tagalog, Baran's paper features discourse particles in Bantayanon, a Central Bisayan language. Deriving on conversational and narrative data, Baran identified 34 second-position particles in Bantayanon, with functions ranging from aspectual, temporal, evidentiality and truth value, quantity and quality, as well as modal and attitudinal. In terms of distribution in the clause, Baran argues for a weight- and frequency-based ordering for the clitics. Interestingly, because of the multilingual nature of Bantayanon speakers, the data also reflect clearly borrowed particles from neighboring Bisayan languages such as Cebuano, Hiligaynon, and Waray.

The papers' focus on discourse, which involves speakers' effort to interpret and be interpreted, demonstrates the creativity of language beyond the level of the sentence and into the level of conversation. With various devices to manage cohesion and co-operation, speakers become co-operative participants in a conversation (cf. Gricean maxims). The particles discussed in the papers play a subtle but important role in making conversations flow naturally. Crucially, the authors' emphasis in utilizing naturalistic data to analyze discourse underscores the need to go beyond elicited data in our study of language.

Aside from the three papers, this issue also features Anicia del Corro's report entitled "Ang Pinoy Phenomenon, sa Bible at iba pa," also presented at 15PLC. As a follow-up to the plenary presentation at 13PLC in 2018, del Corro writes about the Pinoy Phenomenon, which involves the mixed use of Tagalog and English characteristic of the speech of younger speakers of Filipino. Del Corro applies this in the field of Bible translation, considering the younger generation's way of speaking to make the Bible more accessible to a wider audience.

Finally, this issue features two abstracts from the theses of our recent graduates of Master of Arts in Linguistics—Benito V. Nolasco, Jr.’s *Modality in Ilocano*, and Vincent Christopher Santiago’s *A Grammatical Sketch of Porohanon*.

I wish to thank the editorial team led by Jem Javier, Divine Angeli Endriga, James Dominic Manrique, and Victoria Vidal. I also thank the organizing committee and participants of 15PLC. The conference was a testament to the growth of Philippine linguistics in the past one hundred years, and the variety of research coming out of the conference, as represented by the papers in this volume, lays out the trajectory of the discipline in the next century.

Maria Kristina S. Gallego
Issue Editor

A Study on the Pragmatic Functions of Parang in Tagalog Utterances

Briar Rose V. Tan

Abstract

This paper is a preliminary exploration of the functions of *parang* to understand its usage by Tagalog speakers. The study aims to bring attention to its potential as a discourse marker in the language. The data for the analysis is derived from short interviews which are the basis of the language corpus. The observed multifunctionality of *parang* is categorized into nine main variations: to express comparison, a discourse marker, an evidential marker, as a filler word, approximation, to paraphrase, a quotative device and as a way to soften direct comments or opinions. Frequency and distribution of usage is linked to age and generational differences. Initial hypothesis suggests that discourse markers are predominantly utilized by the younger generation

but it is also being used by older individuals upon closer investigation.

Keywords: *parang*, like, discourse marker

1 Introduction

The way a person speaks in natural spoken conversations can reveal several pieces of information about one's identities and origins. For instance, a person's dialect and their use of colloquialisms and slang can reveal their background and their language use (Laserna et al., 2014, p. 328). A speaker considers their vocabulary, intonation, and syntactic structuring when speaking. However, the majority of conversations are not completely smooth, as natural speech is spontaneous and usually involves on-the-spot and near-instantaneous decision-making which may result in a lot of fumbling that provokes a speaker to use particular linguistic elements to fill the gaps or pauses in their sentences. A lot of speakers of different languages would regularly produce filled pauses which involve the use of short utterances that usually occur in spontaneous speech. In English, words such as *like* and *you know* are used. There has been particular interest in *like* as a discourse marker since the 1980s (Allen, 1986; Meehan, 1991; Schourup, 1983; Underhill, 1988) and studies have identified a number of functions that *like* takes in sentence constructions.

Over the years, the prevalence of *like* in conversation has garnered the interest of many experts and has undergone investigation of its connotation and usage among speakers. In the literature, there have been a number of ways that experts have classified elements such as *like*. Some

used the term PRAGMATIC MARKERS (Andersen, 1998; see also Brinton, 1996; Fraser, 1996) to refer to a “group of minor linguistic elements at word-level” (Andersen, 1998) which contribute to the relevance of an utterance by serving as signals that tell the hearer how it is to be understood. For Clark (1996), he referred to them as COLLATERAL SIGNALS, which is a broad set of speech phenomena that consists of discourse markers, signs, gestures, pauses and prosodic information that are commonly used in speech. It is also labeled as a DISCOURSE PARTICLE (Kroon, 1995; Schourup, 1983), a DISCOURSE CONNECTIVE (Siegel, 2002), or a PRAGMATIC EXPRESSION (Erman, 1987). The term DISCOURSE MARKER, however, seemed to be more frequent in discussion (Fox Tree, 2006; Fuller, 2003; Jucker & Smith, 1998; Romaine & Lange, 1991; Siegel, 2002) and thus has been adopted in this paper.

The function of *like* that describes or compares things with similar qualities can be comparable to the way *parang* is commonly used in Tagalog. The word *parang* in question would be the one defined as ‘like’ or ‘it seems.’ In their reference grammar, Schachter and Otnes (1972, p. 253) describes it as one type of adjectival phrase that expresses similarity. It is a combination of two morphemes: the word *para* and the linker *-ng*. It is commonly paired with a nominal. It can be used to compare things that are alike:

- (1) *Para=ng* *Maynila ang siyudad na ito*
like=LKR Manila NOM city LKR this.NOM
‘This city is like Manila.’

As previously mentioned, *like* has been seen to diversify in terms of how it functions in an utterance. Now, there seems to be reason to believe that *parang* has more functions than stated in previous literature.

As this paper elaborates, it can also act as a discourse marker that begins a topic and even connects ideas; it expresses hesitation or uncertainty and is often heard as a filler word that buys a speaker more time to think about what to say next.

As of this writing, there are little to no studies that specifically focus on this particular marker and its apparent multifunctionality in Tagalog. This paper is a preliminary exploration of the seemingly wide range of functions that *parang* has in the language. This paper also intends to investigate its usage by different age groups.

This research offers a descriptive analysis and categorization of the use of *parang* by documenting and examining its occurrence in natural speech. In line with this, the study aims to answer the following questions:

1. What are the patterns of occurrence of *parang* in natural conversation?
 - a) What types of sentences does it usually occur in?
 - b) How does *parang* contribute to the construction of these sentences?
2. Are there differences to the use of *parang* in terms of age and gender?

Before we proceed to the functions of *parang*, let us examine the functions of *like* because it has been well-documented in literature. By understanding how *like* is used in English, it can help inform the analysis of *parang*.

2 Uses of like

The use of *like* is not new and has been prominent and in consistent use in English. However, it does seem to pose quite a challenge to cover all of its usage accurately because of the flexibility of the marker. Nevertheless, there have been numerous studies that endeavored to describe and analyze the functions of *like* in English utterances.

There are commonly cited functions or “well-received uses” of *like* in English dictionaries. Schourup (1983, p. 28) summarizes these from *Webster’s Third New Dictionary*:

1. as a transitive verb

Example: I’d **like** to have my back rubbed.

2. as a noun

Example: Everyone has **likes** and dislikes.

3. as an adjective (the same or nearly so; likely)

Example: tables of **like** color

4. as a preposition (similar to; typical; such as)

Example: His typewriter is **like** a small airplane.

5. as an adverb (nearly; rather)

Example: The actual interest is more **like** 18 percent.

6. as a conjunction (as; as if)

Example: She holds her pencil **like** most people hold a toothbrush.

These are the uses of *like* that can be found in textbooks, but there are other ways that English speakers use *like* that appear to be outside the scope of these functions. There are a number of studies that detail the non-standard functions of *like*. A key feature of Schourup’s (1983) work is that they explore the many instances where *like* is used in

conversation but could not be categorized by the standard definitions. Similarly, Andersen (1998, p. 154) also shows that there are a variety of elements that can be qualified by the discourse marker, lists those within the pragmatic scope of *like*, and attributes it with the concept of loose use of language. Underhill (1988, p. 234), on the other hand, looks into the particle *like* and is especially keen on investigating the so-called “intrusive and ungrammatical” *like* that makes sentences disjointed. They argue that *like* cannot be placed just anywhere in a sentence and is “closely rule-governed.” Moreover, the non-standard use of *like* is not random and functions with “great reliability as a marker of new information and focus.” They also posit that *like* may have become archaic as they have not seen it as frequently. Meehan (1991, p. 38) contradicts this position, saying that *like* has developed new meaning through the process of grammaticalization.

There are some similarities to their findings on the uses of *like* and those have been consolidated into the 10 functions that will be discussed.

2.1 Preceding Numeral Expressions

Like precedes numeral expressions or descriptions of exact numbers, particular time and amount and estimations.

He’s **like** ninety, y’know.

like every other night

like—it’s right behind (us) in a way (Schourup, 1983, p. 32)

According to Andersen (1998), it could also precede other measurable units that can express a vague approximation of the amount the speaker is pertaining to.

and there's **like** [that much] gap between the earth and the top of the thing. (p. 154)

2.2 Introducing Reported Speech and Internal Speaker Reaction

It introduces a direct quotation. *Like*, in this sense, is similar to *say* that indicates a reported speech.

Both sides of the street can hear her yelling at us and she's **like** "Come in here and have a beer" y'know? [LAB-A, 61].
(Schourup, 1983, p. 32)

Sometimes, speakers use this kind of construction not for retrospective reports of speech but for internal speaker reactions or attitude. It indicates not just what others have said but can also be used to convey what the speaker said or would have said.

he goes "I'm sorry but you've only got seventeen dollars in here"—and I'm **like** "WHAT I!! I THOUGHT I HAD SIXTY DOLLARS IN THERE! I!" [laughs] [LAB-A,21]
(Schourup, 1983, p. 33)

Additionally, Andersen (1998) explains that the quotative usage is a special case because what is reported may not be the thought of the

speaker at the moment of the conversation but the thought attributed to another person or the speaker themselves.

but I stand up here, when I see him I'm **like** oh yeah ha
ha you know laugh along with his jokes and... (p. 154)

Looking at it closely, “oh yeah ha ha” might not be something that was explicitly said during the conversation but is a more or less precise rendering of what the speaker might say when she sees the person she is referring to. In Schourup's (1983) words, it is the “internal speaker reaction” or the “speaker's attitude” (p. 33). *Like*, in this case, is used to render what someone is thinking.

2.3 Asking for Clarification

Schourup (1983) says that *like* is used after questions. It can be used to clarify something that has been said. *Like* is usually attached at the end of a question.

SUE: What radio station do you listen to?

EVA: When I'm down here I listen to Dayton. When I'm at home I listen to Akron.

SUE: Yeah but which one **like**...

EVA: W. oh! W.N.Q.X... [LAB-B,27] (p. 35)

Schourup (1983) notes that there is a “possible discrepancy between the questioner's proposed formulation and what the questioner feels the previous speaker meant” (p. 35). By placing *like* at the end, the one asking allows the second speaker to continue her statement and wishes for them to specify their answer.

2.4 Introducing Examples

Like can be a marker that enumerates examples or could carry the meaning ‘for example.’

SUE: I mean you don't have to get something really expensive. Just go ta um—**like** Petric's. Or that's not what that's called. (Schourup, 1983, p. 36)

2.5 Interjection

Like occurs pre-clausally and is often observed in so-called empty slang use. However, in Schourup's (1983) data, they found that *like* is not in the initial position and could be found in between words.

I'm just wondering **like**—if somebody can

but I found **like** that helped me a lot (p. 39)

Additionally, *like* can be found “pre-clausally but after prefatory material; before filled and unfilled pauses; and before restarts” (p. 40). Schourup (1983) explains that the position of *like* could be evidence that the marker can function as a pausal interjection, which would explain why it is often followed by filled and unfilled pauses.

It could be classified as hesitant but Schourup (1983) suggests that a speaker may utilize *like* because they wish to preserve their turn by signaling their intention to continue. Moreover, the use of *like* seems to be a regular mechanism used by speakers when they are having difficulty in formulating the continuation.

2.6 Introducing New Concepts or Entities

Jucker and Smith (1998) have also considered *like* as a discourse marker and have categorized it as an information centered presentation marker. This is similar to the idea that Underhill (1988) proposed in their paper. This means that *like* can introduce a new topic or information to the conversation and can also modify the information itself.

Student asking teacher a question in psycholinguistics class: Do we have to read **like** the chapters covered on the midterm for the final? (Underhill, 1988, p. 236)

2.7 Marking Focused Information

Underhill's (1988) discussion is centered primarily on the function of *like* to mark focused information. They define FOCUS as the most significant new information in a sentence or in a question, it is essentially the point of the sentence.

Student coming in for help on a homework assignment: I had problems **like** on the second question. (p. 238)

Like here points to *on the second question* because this is the specific question the student was having a hard time with and is the focus of the utterance.

In relation to this, *like* also frequently marks the focus in questions as it is the kind of sentence that always has a point to make when asking one.

(Apartment manager on the phone to a person interested in one of his places)

Caller: How much are your two-bedrooms?

Manager: They're six-fifty and six seventy-five.

Caller: Are you open tomorrow?

Manager: Yes, from ten to five.

Caller: Could I **like** drop by tomorrow around four forty-five and see an apartment? Manager: No problem. (p. 240)

Since questions do tend to have a focus, the answer to them also focuses on new information.

A student giving directions to another student: You **like** turn left at the end of the hall. (p. 240)

Siegel (2002) argues with Underhill's (1988) concept of *like* as a marker of new information and focus. Since *like* does not directly mean approximately or about, Siegel (2002) explains that there are plenty of sentences where *like* appears with a constituent but is not the main focus.

Nate has terrible taste. He likes ugly clothes with small round objects sewn on them. Yesterday, he even said I should wear a HOT PINK MINI-SKIRT with, **like**, little buttons on it. (p. 41)

What is focused here is the phrase *hot pink mini-skirt* that is a part of the scope of *even*, while *like* marks *little buttons*. Siegel (2002) then proposes that if *like* is used to mark new or focused elements in an utterance, it is because speakers cannot accurately describe it and are more likely to use the marker. However, it appears to be a case-to-case

basis because *like* can be seen to give focus as illustrated by Underhill (1988), but this notion seems to have its exceptions.

2.8 Hedging

According to Underhill (1988, p. 240), *like* can stand to mean ‘sort of,’ although it is arguable. It could also leave the statement slightly open, thus it allows the speaker to not be committed to a particular statement.

Two girls taking in the commons; one says: ...and she bought a new dress. It’s pleated. [Pause.] It **like** gathers right here in the back? [Said with rising intonation, as if asking for confirmation that the hearer knew what she was talking about.] (p. 241)

It can also soften requests to make it less imposing and more polite.

One sister asking another: Could I **like** borrow your sweater? (p. 241)

Like becomes a tool for the speaker to distance and shield themselves when there is possibility that the request will be denied.

2.9 Setting Off Unusual Notions

Like also appears in setting off unusual notions that are not meant to be taken literally. It could be presented as a hyperbole and said in jest.

A person who has seen the movie *The Kiss of the Spider Woman* is enthusiastic and feels sorry for anyone who hasn’t

seen it: I think that **like** for those people who haven't seen it we should hold a wake. (Underhill, 1988, p. 242)

2.10 Setting Off Stereotyped Expression

The entire expression is also not meant to be taken literally, what is in focus here is the implicit meaning of the expression.

(A daytime TV talk show host talking to a hairdresser as she demonstrates her technique in creating the latest hairstyle)

Host: Why don't you cut one side short and leave the other side long? Do you do that anymore?

Hairdresser: That is **like** so not happening! (Underhill, 1988, p. 242)

2.11 Like and the Notion of Loose Interpretation

There are a number of studies that describe *like* as a marker of loose language. In their paper, Schourup (1983) points to the fact that in general, *like* indicates a possible loose fit between overt expression and intended meaning. It demonstrates the “possible discrepancy between what the speaker has in mind and what is overtly said” (p. 46). Fox Tree (2006, p. 729) says that from a precisely-placed functional-like perspective, the use of *like* may be the result of an individual's speaking style because, according to them, speakers will more often use *like* to indicate the discrepancies between what they say and what they are thinking.

For Andersen (1998), *like* seems to be “an explicit signal of a discrepancy between the propositional form of the utterance and the thought

it represents” (p. 153). In their analysis of the pragmatic scope of *like*, they list a number of environments where *like* is used and has found that it nearly always introduces a constituent (the first two have already been discussed in Sections 2.1 and 2.2 but was included in the list below for consistency). In line with this, Underhill (1988, p. 243) also has a similar contribution but adds that *like* can precede embedded sentences and complete sentences.

1. numeral expression and other measurable units
2. direct quotation
3. noun phrase

Example: Well I think they must have made it so conscious for **like** fags and booze.

4. verb phrase

Example: Scott said to me if Paul **like** tries to take on Ollie he’s just gonna break it up.

5. adverb phrase

Example: He lives in Mallorca, **like** really close to my house.

6. adjective phrase

Example: But Megadrives do make their game, their games **like** easy as well.

7. preposition phrase

Example: and she’ll completely ignore you and you’re left and she’ll do that **like** at a dinner party or something

8. whole declarative proposition

Example: **Like** she’s got enough. You don’t show it but **like** she don’t go out and buy new posh clothes and everything.

9. whole interrogative proposition

Example: **Like** who was it who reckoned there was a corner on a boat?

10. before an embedded sentence

Example: Student studying Spanish with another student: The only thing is **like** gusta is for singular and gustan for plural (Underhill, 1988, p. 234)

11. before the entire sentence

Example: One student to another (in response to something the recorder did not hear): **Like**, I don't know. I told you. [Somewhat annoyed] (Underhill, 1988, p. 240)

According to Andersen (1998), when *like* precedes these elements or “objects of loose interpretation” (p. 154), the speaker wishes to signal that their utterance contains a loose rendering of their thoughts or what they want to say. In this case, preciseness is unnecessary and it is expected that the primary thought is understood enough to achieve the intended contextual meaning. They connect this with the relevance-theoretic framework wherein “speakers are seen to aim for optimal relevance rather than literal truth” (p. 156), which would explain why there is a difference between how people think and how they choose to express those thoughts to others.

He also expands Schourup's (1983) idea that *like* can carry the meaning ‘approximately’ or ‘roughly.’ While there are instances where these functions do appear and are congruent with Andersen's (1998) analysis of loose interpretation, there are some constructions where *like* does not denote the meaning of approximation. In some cases “*like* can apply to either the semantic content or the linguistic form of the material that falls in its scope” (p. 158).

I thought it was **like** [the whole cake], not the little
(Andersen, 1998, p. 158)

With this example, Andersen (1998) demonstrates that *the whole cake* is not a numeral expression but rather it is a concept—the linguistic form. Thus, *like* does not necessarily express approximation in all cases but takes the entire noun phrases in its scope and the underlying extra information that was left unsaid by the speaker. That being said, Andersen (1998) claims that *like* seems to function at some sort of communicative meta-level: *the whole cake* is part of the cognitive environment of the speaker but is not precisely rendered when spoken. This relates back to the function of *like* as a looseness marker because “the analysis of *like* as a looseness marker gives the same outcome whether *like* applies to content or form, by indicating that the utterance is a less-than-literal rendering of a speaker’s thought” (p. 159).

The uses of *like* listed above illustrate its many functions in English utterances that go beyond what is formally documented in dictionaries and grammar books. *Like* as a marker may take on the role of introducing new concepts and examples, as well as reported speech and speaker reaction. It can also act as a means to emphasize particular elements in a sentence to add nuance in a conversation. Moreover, its feature of loose interpretation can be observed as a way for speakers to communicate their thoughts even if their ideas are just an approximation of what they might mean.

3 Methodology

3.1 Research Design and Scope

The study not only employed a qualitative research approach that will be utilizing discourse analysis but also used quantitative methods like frequency analysis. The data that is central to the study are the ways *parang* is used in constructions, as well as what specific elements or constituents are commonly surrounding the marker. The literature on the functions of *parang* in Tagalog constructions are limited, so for this paper the functions of *like* in English will serve as a basic guideline in grouping the functions of *parang* as discussed in Section 2. However, this is not to say that the categories of *like* are automatically or irrefutably applicable to *parang*; rather it is an attempt to see whether the grouping of the functions of *like* that are observed in conversational English can also be used to categorize the variations of *parang* in Tagalog.

3.2 Participants

This is a small-scale study that enlisted 20 individuals, 10 women and 10 men, ranging from ages 18–59 years old. They were grouped according to their age (summarized in Section 7.1). There were five groups with four respondents each and were simply labeled as Group A (18–25), Group B (26–33), Group C (34–41), Group D (42–50), and Group E (51–59). They come from different backgrounds in terms of profession and their place of residence. All the participants are able to speak both English and Tagalog, with the latter as the majority's first language, and

were observed to switch between the two languages throughout the interview sessions.

It must be mentioned that the participants were selected through the method of convenience sampling as it was the most feasible and efficient method to gather the data needed during the elicitation process. This was largely due to time constraints and conflicting schedules. The respondents were from a pool of acquaintances, close friends, relatives, and friends of friends. The participants were selected based on their gender, age group, and their willingness to partake in the research. The researcher is aware that there are limitations to this approach and has strived to minimize the effect this has on the data collected and ensure that the variables are evenly distributed as possible.

3.3 Data Collection

The elicitation process was a mix of both an online set-up through a Zoom call and in-person meetings that depended on the availability and preference of the respondents. The researcher began by asking participants to fill out a form that contains an information sheet for them to read about the research topic, research background, and its objectives. Along with that, they were asked to provide pertinent demographic details such as age and gender. Afterwards, they were also informed about their voluntary participation and that they were able to withdraw with no repercussions. Moreover, the participants were notified that any of their details will remain protected throughout the duration of the research timeline. The data collected will be handled carefully and will only be used for the purposes of the study.

The interview session was done in a one-on-one setting and was estimated to take around 5–10 minutes, although this was still contingent on the length of the responses. In the interview proper, the questions asked were five deliberately designed open-ended questions.

The design and purpose of these types of questions will be further discussed in the next section. These were delivered in a combination of Tagalog and English to gain a more casual and naturalistic answer. The reason behind the decision to use both languages during the elicitation process was because *parang* and its functions as a discourse marker is easier to draw from casual and informal conversations, where code-switching mostly occurs (Pascasio, 2005).

Pascasio (2005) also mentions that in their research paper, bilingually competent respondents in English and Filipino would code-switch to “establish rapport, to simplify or emphasize a message, to qualify or further explain a previous statement, to make inquiries as well as give information, instructions, or directions for verification or clarification, and to express politeness” (p. 140). Most of these conversational functions coincide with the hypothesized usage of *parang* by the speakers.

Once the data has been gathered and recorded, their responses were transcribed into a text file and plugged into AntConc, an annotation software, to build a corpus to examine *parang* in constructions. The results would reveal its functions and usage which was systematically analyzed to be able to describe *parang* and its multiple functions in Tagalog.

3.4 Deliberately Constructed Questions

In order to extract the needed data about the occurrence of *parang*, the interview questions were designed by the researcher to impel the respondent to use the marker. Each question is opinion-based, but they target a specific function related to that of *like* in English so that it might reveal whether those functions also hold true in the use of *parang*. The questions given were:

1. *Ano ang pinakaimportanteng characteristic ng isang kaibigan?*

(What is the most important characteristic of a friend?)

This was used to elicit an explanatory type of answer. It allowed the speaker to explain their choice and was expected to use discourse markers to connect their ideas and try to elaborate on their answer.

2. *Mas gusto mo ba yung ability na mabawi yung mga salitang nasabi mo na o madinig lahat ng sinasabi ng iba tungkol sayo?*

(Would you rather have the ability to retract what you've said before or hear every rumor said about you?)

This type of question primarily seeks an opinionated subjective answer and thus was asked in order to reveal if *parang* can be prompted to express several things: first, hesitation and uncertainty in one's choice; second is to choose an answer but have a loose rendering of it so that the speaker can loosely commit to it.

3. *Paano mo ide-describe ang color blue nang hindi sinasabi ang salitang "blue"?*

(How would you describe the color blue without saying the word "blue"?)

The third question calls for a descriptive response which tries to simply prove that the standard use of *parang* to express comparison is still in prominent use but also to check if the non-standard uses of *like* for approximation and when giving an example are also upheld in the constructions of *parang*.

4. *Magkaiba ba ang pagiging loyal sa pagiging trustworthy?*

(Do you think being loyal is different from being trustworthy?)

Similar to the second question, this was utilized in order to elicit an opinion-based answer which would show how speakers used *parang* to connect and emphasize certain clauses in their explanations.

5. *Ano ang pinaka-memorable compliment na natanggap mo?*

(What is the most memorable compliment that you have received?)

This asks the speaker to recall a particular compliment given to them and through this question, the reportative and quotative function of *like* is put to the test to see whether *parang* can function in the same way.

These questions are not related to each other, this was done with the intention to distract the respondents enough from the initial targeted word to minimize the issue of them being too self-conscious of their usage of *parang* and would just use it as they normally would in real-life conversations. The participants were not able to review the questions beforehand and were only informed that the nature of the questions was open-ended and that there were no right or wrong answers. It was explained why this was a necessary step after the interview and when the audio recording ended.

3.5 Analytical Procedure

The bulk of the data comes from the corpus built for the study which consists of 2 hours and 36 minutes of audio recordings from the interview sessions with an average of around 7 minutes per respondent. After these were transcribed into text files, they were inputted into AntConc, a free corpus analysis software created by Laurence Anthony, a professor in the Faculty of Science and Engineering at Waseda University, Japan. This tool is useful in finding clusters and n-grams (sequences of n words within your corpus or document) which is what this study needs in order to process the data. *Parang* was sifted through the corpus and its frequency, commonly occurring patterns and surrounding environments has been considered and examined.

4 Results and Discussion

4.1 Functions of Parang

From previous studies, there has been an abundant exploration of the functions and purpose of *like* in English. However, studies on *parang* are scarce in comparison with regard to descriptive analysis. Nevertheless, its grammatical function in constructions where similar objects are compared or described seems to be well-established. An old entry for *parang* is in the Tagalog-English dictionary compiled and published by Charles Nigg in 1904. He provides these combinations as examples of *parang* (p. 117):

- *parang apoy* 'fiery'
- *parang bato* 'stony'

- *parang hayop* ‘brutal’
- *parang hindi* ‘as if not as, if it were not’
- *parang nuno* ‘ghastly’
- *parang langib* ‘scab-like’
- *parang serafin* ‘angelic’
- *parang sutla* ‘silky’
- *parang uhog* ‘slimy’

Interestingly, there is one exception to the entries, *parang hindi* which is listed as an adverb. On the other hand, *para*, without the ligature *-ng*, was also considered as a preposition that means *gaya*, *paris*, *tulad*, which are markers that also indicate similarity (Del Valle & Del Valle, 1969, p. 134). Additionally, as a preposition, it can also mean ‘like’ (English, 1987, p. 1002). *Parang* has also been listed as a conjugation and the provided definition was ‘as if’ (Ramos, 1971, p. 211).

4.2 Pragmatic Functions of Parang

The aforementioned dictionaries in the previous section provide a glimpse to the lexical categories that *parang* is categorized into, but it does not completely encompass the functions of the marker. From the data provided by the corpus of this paper and from other studies,¹ this section will discuss the nine functions of the use of *parang* in Tagalog utterances.

¹Additional data are from Nagaya’s (2022) article “Beyond Questions” and Cohen et al.’s (2010) paper “Waking the Language of Dreamers.”

4.2.1 Expressing Comparison

Out of the nine categories, this function has been documented and described by Schachter and Otones (1972, p. 253) as being used to compare similar objects.

- (2) *para=ng feeling mo is para=ng malamig at uh para=ng*
like=LKR feeling 2SG.GEN is **like=LKR** cool and uh **like=LKR**
fresh
fresh
'it's **like** the feeling is **like** cool and uh **like** fresh'

- (3) *para=ng... para=ng hawak ng tatay ganun*
like=LKR like=LKR hold GEN father like.that
'**like**... **like** a father's touch (like) that'

- (4) *yung kaibigan is somebody na pwede mo siya=ng*
NOM friend is somebody LKR can 2SG.GEN 3SG.NOM=LKR
para=ng somebody that you can rely on para=ng kapatid
like=LKR somebody that you can rely on **like=LKR** sibling
yan e
that.NOM SFP
'a friend is somebody that you can—**like** somebody that you can
rely on, they're **like** your sibling'

However, it was observed that this is not the only construction chosen by speakers to make comparisons; some opted to rephrase it using a different marker such as *katulad* as in (5) or just say it in English as in (6). Although, based on a frequency check in AntConc, *parang* seems

to be the most preferred as it pops up 27 times in the recordings of 14 respondents while *katulad* was used by one respondent once.

- (5) *ok siguro ang sa-sabi-hin ko ang kulay na ito*
ok maybe NOM FUT-say-PV ISG.GEN NOM color LKR this.NOM
ay katulad ng kulay ng langit
COP similar GEN color GEN sky
'okay maybe I would say that this color is similar to the color of the sky'
- (6) or it looks like uh the color of the sky when it's morning

4.2.2 Evidential Marker

Parang is observed to encode an assumptive quality into sentences. This kind of function did not appear often in the corpus but was included to show that *parang* can also be used in this way.

- (7) *hindi na ako pu-punta kasi para=ng u-ulan*
NEG LKR ISG.NOM FUT.AV-go because **like=LKR** FUT-rain
'I'm not going anymore because it **looks like** it's going to rain.'
- (8) *Para=ng galit siya sa akin sa video con.*
seem=LKR angry 3SG.NOM LOC ISG.LOC LOC video conference
'It **seems** she is angry at me at the video conference.' (Nagaya, 2022, p. 99)

4.2.3 Expressing Hesitation

Parang is also seen to precede prefatory material, filled and unfilled pauses, and before restarts. This is similar to the way Schourup (1983)

describes *like* as an interjection. When speakers use *parang*, it could be that they use this as a mechanism when they are having some difficulty in continuing their thought. However, it also leaves an impression of being hesitant or uncertain on how to respond appropriately or whether what they want to say will be received well.

- (9) *so yung loyal siguro ano para=ng—ano ba hindi ko*
so NOM loyal maybe what **like=LKR** what Q NEG ISG.GEN
alam!
know
'So loyal maybe what **like**—what is it? I don't know!'
- (10) *um I guess work-related yun na actually I guess*
um I guess work-related that.NOM LKR actually I guess
yun na yung memorable kasi yun yung
that.NOM LKR NOM memorable because that.NOM NOM
naaalala ko yung para=ng ano ba um I guess yung
remember ISG.GEN NOM **like=LKR** what Q um I guess NOM
not really my first job siguro first job as a graphic designer as
not really my first job maybe first job as a graphic designer as
in na-compliment ako
in NVOL.PV.RLS-compliment ISG.NOM
'**Like**—what is it? Um I guess it wasn't really my first job, maybe
my first job as a graphic designer, as in I was complimented'

- (II) *ma-lambot char... para=ng ano para=ng... para=ng ano...*
 ADJ-soft *maybe like=LKR what **like=LKR like=LKR** what
unan
 pillow
 ‘(it’s) soft, (maybe) like whatchamacallit **like... like**
 whatchamacallit... a pillow’

On a side note, it has been brought to my attention by my research adviser that *parang* may bear a close resemblance to the use of *yata* meaning ‘possibly, it seems, maybe, not sure, seems like.’ They are similar in this regard but their difference lies in their linguistic aspect. *Yata* is seen more as semantically restricted and more prominent in declarative sentences and as a response. According to Schachter and Otnes (1972, p. 428), *yata* is used in statements, not in questions or imperatives; *parang* has a more pragmatic function and is used more in explanatory sentences.

4.2.4 Discourse Marker

Discourse markers on their own are fuzzy concepts and difficult to accurately define, but *parang* in this sense does not significantly add to the meaning nor does it alter the truth conditions of the construction (Schweinberger, 2015, p. 53) but acts as a sort of connective marker in a sentence similar to the way *like* or *so* is in English. It has been observed to be used in two ways: (a) help connect ideas and segments of thought and piece them together to form a coherent sentence, as in (I2); or (b) signify that the speaker intends to add to their statement, as in (I3–I4).

- (I2) *Kaya lang yung bata para=ng... meron siya=ng...*
 but only NOM child **like=LKR** EXIST 3SG.NOM=LKR
<um>i-iyak siya, kasi bata... er... para=ng sabi
 <AV>RED~cry 3SG.NOM because child **like=LKR** say
niya, “Huwag mo ko patay-in.”
 3SG.GEN NEG.IMP 2SG.GEN ISG.NOM kill-PV
 ‘But, the child **like**, she has... she was crying, because she’s a
 child... **like**, she said, “Don’t kill me.”’ (Cohen et al., 2010,
 pp. 56–57)
- (I3) *when you use the term kasi=ng k<um>alinga it’s not it’s*
 when you use the term because=LKR <AV>support it’s not it’s
not lang hanggang doon sa mag-turo ng isang estudyante
 not just until there.DEM LOC AV-teach GEN one student
diba? mag-record ng gawa ng isang estudyante para=ng I go
 NEG.Q AV-record GEN work GEN one student **like=LKR** I go
beyond sa pagiging teacher
 beyond LOC being teacher
 ‘because when you use the term to support, it’s not, it’s not just
 (about) teaching a student, right? (or just) recording student’s
 work, **like** I go beyond (the role of) being a teacher’

- (14) *kung may ma-rinig man ako at least I can have the*
 if EXIST AV-hear happen to ISG.NOM at least I can have the
liberty to justify things justify things na para=ng sa lahat
 liberty to justify things justify things LKR **like=LKR** LOC all
ng pagkakataon kailangan mo=ng i-justify
 GEN instances need 2SG.GEN=LKR CV-justify
 ‘if I happen to hear something at least I can have the liberty to
 justify things, justify things to **like** although not all instances you
 will need to justify’

4.2.5 Filler

There is a bit of an overlap with *parang*’s function as a discourse marker when used as a buffer, but there are some slight differences. The main distinction is that *parang* as a filler word generally do not carry significant meaning nor does it affect the overall construction, but are used for the purpose of buying the speaker time to think. Moreover, it gives the impression that the speaker is at a loss for words but is attempting to complete their thought.

- (15) *uh kasi para=ng uh pag pag isang tao uh iyon*
 uh because **like=LKR** uh when when one person uh that.NOM
na nga in the form of pagiging kaibigan pag
 LKR indeed in the form of being friend when

open-minded ka para=ng for me para=ng uh isang way
open-minded 2SG.NOM like=LKR for me like=LKR uh one way
iyon para ma-iwas-an ang pagtatalo
that.NOM to AV-avoid-LV NOM argument
'uh because like uh when, when a person—uh that's right—in
the form of being a friend when you are open-minded like for
me like uh it's one way to avoid an argument'

4.2.6 Approximation “Something Like That”

This usually occurs at the end of an utterance or after an explanation to indicate that the speaker is referring to something as a comparison but not to anything specific. It could also mean that the statement before it was just an example of the point they were trying to make. The combination of *parang* and the adverb *ganun* can also signify loose use of language (Andersen, 1998, p. 155; Schourup, 1983, p. 46). The function of the marker in this sense is to signal that the interpretation is expected to be understandable enough through context. It can also be surmised that while the speaker may be sure of their statements, most of the time they employ the marker to loosely commit to it.

- (16) *low energy, para=ng low energy ka and para=ng more of*
low energy like=LKR low energy 2SG.NOM and like=LKR more of
like calm yung energy mo, para=ng ganun
like calm NOM energy 2SG.GEN like=LKR like.that
'low energy, like you have low energy and like more like your
energy is calm, (something) like that'

- (I7) *dapat open-minded siya na nandun agad yung*
 must open-minded 3SG.NOM LKR there immediately NOM
wala=ng judgement agad pero willing siya
 NEG.EXIST=LKR judgement immediately but willing 3SG.NOM
na mag-tanong, ma-kinig, intindi-hin, para=ng ganun
 LKR AV-ask AV-listen understand-PV **like=LKR like.that**
 ‘they should be open-minded, there is immediately-no
 judgement right away but they are willing to ask, listen, and
 understand, **(something) like that**’
- (I8) *ang nasa isip ko=ng trustworthy more on speak, more*
 NOM LOC mind ISG.GEN=LKR trustworthy more on speak more
on talk, kapag si loyalty more on actions, para=ng ganun
 on talk when NOM loyalty more on actions **like=LKR that**
 ‘in my mind, trustworthy (is) more on speak, more on talk, when
 loyalty (is) more on actions, **(something) like that**’

4.2.7 Paraphrasing a Point or Explanation

Parang occurs in between instances where a person attempts to rearrange their thoughts spontaneously. It signals that the speaker wishes to clarify or organize their thoughts better to get a point across more effectively or would like to say their point differently.

- (19) *pinag-kalayo para=ng para=ng kahapon lang nag-kita*
 CAUS-distance **like=LKR like=LKR** yesterday just AV.RLS-see
kayo
 2PL.NOM
 ‘**like** there is no distance (between us) **like** we were never apart
like, like we just saw each other yesterday’
- (20) *hindi agad yung mag-co close yung isip niya na*
 NEG immediately NOM AV-RED-close NOM mind 3SG.GEN LKR
um para=ng he or she’s going to para=ng kaagad
 um **like=LKR** he or she’s going to **like=LKR** immediately
ma-gi ging biased
 NVOL-RED-become biased
 ‘his/her mind will not immediately be close-minded um like he
 or she’s going to like immediately be biased’

4.2.8 Quotative Device

The usual way to quote in Tagalog would be to use the verb *sabi* ‘to say,’ that can be used both in direct or indirect speech (Cohen et al., 2010, p. 43).

- (21) *tapos sabi, “Kasi ang ibig sabi-hin noon, ano daw,*
 then **say** because NOM mean say-PV DEM what so.they.say
magiging...”
 become
 ‘Then someone **said**, “Because it means, so they say, that it will
 become...”’ (Cohen et al., 2010, p. 45)

There are few instances of *parang* used in this manner in the corpus, but it does signify that it can also be used to cite reported speech or thought and therefore has been included. The quotative *like* may introduce inner monologue, speaker attitude, or non-verbatim renditions of dialogue (Fuller, 2003, p. 366, as cited in Blyth et al., 1990).

But Debbie’s bawling up into the staircase, and I’m **like**,
 “God, my family comes to visit me, and Tom and Clotilda
 are going to want to evict me because they’re so noisy!”
 I mean just kind of like screaming at each other. (Blyth
 et al., 1990, p. 222)

Parang can also render a quotation that has never been said before. As Andersen (1998, p. 156) mentioned, it was not a thought of the speaker at the moment of speaking but a thought attributed to someone other than the speaker or to the speaker themselves at some other point in time.

(22) IN: how do they say it?

DL: **para=ng** “*uy bro ang ganda ng kick mo*”

like=LKR hey bro NOM nice GEN kick 2SG.GEN

like, “hey bro your kick is amazing”

This phenomenon is also discussed by Schourup (1983, p. 33), who explains that there are certain constructions that are not “true quotations” and, in fact, the speakers who use them claim that they are referring to internal speaker reactions or the speaker’s attitude (of others and oneself).

- (23) *so kung siguro para=ng ma-tamlay yung kulay nung blue*
 so if maybe like=LKR ADJ-lethargic NOM color GEN blue
para=ng “beh dagdag-an mo naman” para=ng
like=LKR endearment add-LV 2SG.GEN indeed like=LKR
ganun
 like.that
 ‘so if maybe like the color the blue is washed out **like “beh add a little more”** something like that’

4.2.9 Softening Direct Comments or Opinions

Parang is also utilized in politeness strategies, as it is seen to neutralize potentially face-threatening acts and precedes comments with negative connotations so as not to seem too direct or confrontational, as in (24).

- (24) *Para=ng t<um>aba o.*
like=LKR <AV>fat SFP
 ‘It **seems** you got fat.’ (Nagaya, 2022, p. 96)

It also precedes negative marker *hindi* to soften the impact. Based on the corpus, it could be argued that by adding *parang*, the sentiment becomes less assertive and potentially offers the speaker a chance to tentatively commit to their statement while also providing some way to detach from it if necessary.

- (25) *para sa akin para=ng hindi tama kasi uh life is about*
 for OBL ISG.LOC **like=LKR NEG** right because uh life is about
choices e
 choices SFP
 ‘For me, **like** it’s not right because uh life is about choices.’

- (26) *b<in>gy-an ka ng task tapos oo loyal*
 <PV.RLS>give-LV 2SG.NOM GEN task then yes RED-loyal
ka nga pero tamad-tamad ka para=ng hindi
 2SG.NOM indeed but lazy 2SG.NOM like=LKR NEG
nag-ma-match diba?
 AV.RLS-RED~match NEG.Q
 ‘You are given a task then yes, you are loyal but you are (also) lazy
 like it doesn’t match, does it?’

This kind of combination is not new as seen from Nigg’s (1904) Tagalog dictionary. He listed *parang hindi* as an adverb, but did not provide any sample sentences so there is no evidence that indicates that *parang hindi* was used then as it is in recent constructions.

4.3 Frequency of the Usage of Parang

Like has been consistently presented in literature as a productive marker in discourse while also shedding light into its negative connotations. Underhill (1988, p. 234) initiates that *like* is seen as ungrammatical and that it disrupts the normal flow of sentences. It is also viewed as a symptom of careless speech, lacking cognitive function or just meaningless (Newman, 1974, p. 15, as cited in Schweinberger, 2015). In the case of *parang*, the level of aversion towards its use has not been documented yet, so whether *parang* also garners these kinds of reactions among Tagalog speakers remains to be seen.

Parang is still regularly used as a means for comparison just how it has been described in grammar books. The other functions of *parang* are observed to occur the most in casual conversations as explanatory

sentences. Notably, speakers tend to use the marker when they feel the need to reorganize their thoughts or to express that they intend to add something more to their statement. The functions of *parang* could also align with the notion of loose interpretation from Andersen (1998) and Schourup (1983). There were a number of sentences that emphasized that *parang* indicates a difference between what speakers said and what they actually mean. This could be seen in (16–18) and (22–23).

In the studies done by Dailey-O’Cain (2000) and Laserna et al. (2014), they have observed significant intergenerational differences in the use of *like*. They have proven that the younger generation are more frequent in their use of *like* in its non-standard functions. However, as seen in the data, a different case can be argued for Tagalog speakers.

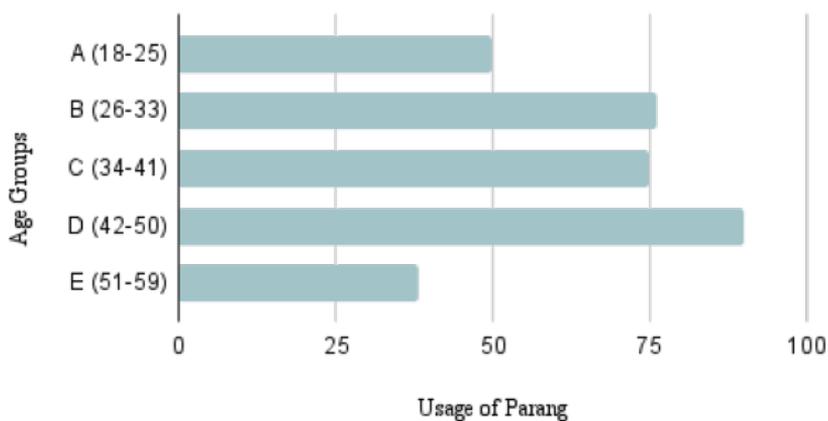


Figure 1. A Frequency Chart Based on the Usage of *parang* Per Age Group

It has been found that, although it is generally more often used by speakers ages 26–50 years old, those from the fourth age group or Group D also use it the most in their sentences. However, the sample

size is limited and conclusive results cannot be provided by this study alone and thus, a more large-scale research is necessary.

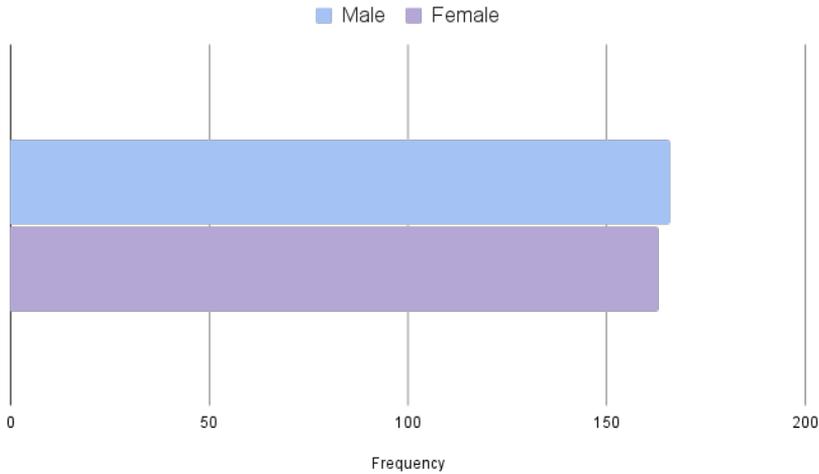


Figure 2. A Frequency Chart of the Usage of *parang* Based on Gender

According to Figure 2, male respondents said *parang* 166 times while female respondents said it 163 times. Male participants only exceeded by a small margin than their female counterparts, so there were no significant differences between them as they all seemed to use *parang* regardless. This would mean that the use of *parang* in Tagalog constructions from the corpus is contingent on generational differences rather than gender.

5 Conclusion

This preliminary study explored the pragmatic functions of *parang* in Tagalog utterances. The data shows that *parang* resembles the pragmatic

uses of *like* and *seem* to function similarly in sentences. To summarize, *parang* is used in nine different ways: (a) expressing comparison, (b) an evidential marker, (c) a hesitation marker, (d) a discourse marker, (e) as a filler word, (f) approximation, (g) a way to paraphrase, (h) a quotative device, and (i) a way to soften direct comments or opinions. Furthermore, the findings also indicate that gender does not have any significant impact on the distribution of *parang*. The biggest deciding factor was age. It was initially hypothesized that *parang* would be more frequent among the younger generation but data shows that it is more prominent in age Group D (respondents aged 42–50 years old) and is also used quite often by the oldest individuals in the respondent pool.

The functions of *parang* being used in casual Tagalog conversations could be a significant development when it comes to how the marker is used and how its functions have expanded from how it was described and documented in grammar books and dictionaries. Previously, *parang* used to be regarded as just being a grammatical element that expresses similarity. In this study, it has been documented that *parang* can be used in different ways aside from marking comparison. Exploring the small pockets of linguistic patterns, such as *parang* in informal spoken speech, brings attention to the role of interaction in shaping linguistic structure as demonstrated in Nagaya's (2022) paper that explores the non-interrogative uses of *ano*. He adds to his conclusion that there is so much to learn about a language when we analyze it within its everyday context and use, and move past “decontextualized sentence-based linguistics” (p. 108).

The results of this paper is by no means final as there is definitely room for further research with a more refined analysis. Moreover, there

are functions of *parang* as a discourse marker that are yet to be explored. These and other aspects of it need to be re-evaluated in future studies. One possible avenue for research is to investigate how the influence of speakers and their language behaviors as well as their social backgrounds can determine the way *parang* is used and how it proliferates through continuous linguistic exchanges. In addition to this, any significant effects of proximity and exposure to the usage of the marker among speakers can also be examined.

It would also be interesting to conduct a more in-depth investigation on the semantic and morphosyntactic aspect of *parang* in Tagalog, as well as include some judgment assessments with the analysis. Perhaps, studies on the discourse markers of other Philippine languages may also be pursued and will initiate the process of building an initial working analytical framework for future explorations on this particular topic.

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7 Appendices

7.1 Summary of Age Groups

Group	Age Range	Age	Gender	Number of Participants
Group A	18–25	19	F	1
		22	M	1
		23	F	1
		24	M	1
Group B	26–33	26	M	1
		27	M	1
		28	F	1
		30	M	1
Group C	34–41	34	M	1
		34	F	1
		35	F	1
		41	M	1
Group D	42–50	45	M	1
		47	M	1
		49	F	2
Group E	51–59	51	F	1
		55	F	1
		58	F	1
		59	M	1
Total				20

7.2 List of Abbreviations

I	first person	LKR	linker
2	second person	LOC	locative
3	third person	LV	locative voice
< >	infix	NEG	negation
=	cliticization	NOM	nominative
~	reduplication	N-	non-
ADJ	adjective	OBL	oblique
AV	actor voice	PL	plural
CAUS	causative	PV	patient voice
COP	copula	Q	question marker
CV	circumstantial voice	RED	reduplicant
DEM	demonstrative	RLS	realis
EXIST	existential	SFP	sentence-final particle
FUT	future	SG	singular
GEN	genitive	VOL	volitional
IMP	imperative		

Isang Preliminaryong Analisis ng So Ayun bilang Discourse Marker¹

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Abstrak

Ang pag-aaral na ito ay isang pag-analisa sa Ingles na *discourse marker* na *so*, na kumakapit sa Tagalog na salitang *ayun*. Ang *so ayun* (SA) ay kalimitang maririnig, mababasa, at makikita sa *social media* at iba pang mga konteksto, bilang pambungad sa isang usapin o pang-usad sa panibagong usapin. Upang talakayin ang paggamit nito, ang dalawang pangunahing layunin ng papel na ito ay: (a) maipaliwanag ang pinanggalingan ng SA, gamit ang teorya ng *grammaticalization*; at (b) mailarawan ang paggamit nito sa konteksto ng *Taglish* (o ng *code-switching*) at *Philippine English* sa pang-araw-araw na

¹Na may kasamang mga *revisions* báse sa mga komento ni Sir Vincent Christopher A. Santiago, at pagkatapos nitong i-present sa *15th Philippine Linguistics Congress* noong Agosto 2023.

pakikipag-usap. Mula sa historikal na batis, nabuo ang haypotesis na nagsimula ang *ayun* bilang pambungad, at sa kalaunan ay ginamit na rin sa paglalagom at kinabitan ng *so*. Báse naman sa mga datos mula sa mga *vlogs* at mga *tweet*/komento naman, naobserbahang tila mas nagbe-*behave* bilang klitik ang *ayun* kaysa *so*. Naipakita ring may samu't saring gamit, lokasyon, konteksto, pagbigkas at pagbaybay, at kombinasyon ng iba pang mga klitik ang SA.

Mga Susing Salita: ayun, code-switching, deictics, discourse marker, grammaticalization, klitik, so ayun

1 Introduksyon

Bilang isang bansang nakaranas ng pagsakop at impluwensya ng mga Amerikano, ang Pilipinas ay hindi naka-iwas sa paggamit ng wikang Ingles dahil naging opisyal din ito sa ating bansa. Sa maraming panahong nagdaan, ang wika ay patuloy na nagbabago at lumalawak, kaya marami sa atin ay gumagamit ng CODE-SWITCHING, o ang sabay na paggamit ng mga kombinasyon ng morpema mula sa dalawang magkaibang wika, sa loob ng isang STRETCH OF DISCOURSE (de Rooij, 1996, sipi sa Kwon, 2017). Ang TAGLISH, o ang pagkahalo ng Tagalog at Ingles, ay nakasalig din dito (Lesada, 2017). Kadalasang mahahalata ang pag-*code-switch* sa lebel ng morpolohiya (hal., *magmu-movie kami*), ngunit makikita rin ito sa tinatawag nating *discourse markers*. Ang mga DISCOURSE MARKERS, o DMs, ay mga salitang nakadepende sa *sequence*, at sila ang mga nagba-

bracket sa mga yunit ng pananalita, ayon sa klasikong depinisyon ni Schiffrin (1987, sipi sa Heine, 2013).

Ang paggamit ng *discourse marker* na *so ayun* (gagamitin din namin ang SA) ay kalimitan maririnig, makikita, at mababasa sa mga iilang *video* at *posts* sa *social media*, tulad na lamang ng paggamit ng mga *vloggers* bilang pambungad at pangwakas nilang pagbati sa kanilang manonood. Gayundin sa pang-akademikong pamamaraan, na kung saan ang mga propesor at estudyante ay gumagamit nito sa mga lektyur at presentasyon.

Ngunit, mga impormal na obserbasyon lamang ang mga nabanggit. Sa pag-aaral na ito, tatalakayin ang *behavior* ng SA bilang *discourse marker* sa konteksto ng Filipino, *Philippine English*, *Taglish*, at maging sa wikang kolokyal ng mga Pilipino, gamit ang konseptwal na lente ng GRAMMATICALIZATION. Sa madaling salita, alinsunod sa teoryang ito, ang *grammar* ng isang wika ay patuloy na nagbabago at nag-e-*evolve* (V. C. A. Santiago, personal na komunikasyon, 2021). Lumitaw itong termino noong 1912 at galing daw mula kay Antoine Meillet (Luraghi & Bubenik, 2010). Isa rin daw itong *macro-change*—ang *grammaticalization* ay *macro-change* na sumasaklaw sa pagbabago sa laman o *content* (*grammation* o *regrammation*), sa sintaks ng *content* (*upgrading*), sa ekspresyon (*reduction*), at sa sintaks ng ekspresyon (*integration*). Sa ibang salita, isa itong *umbrella term* para sa mga paraan ng pagbuo ng mga “pormang gramatikal” (p. 376).

Napakalawak ng pananaliksik tungkol sa tatlong pangkalahatang paksang nabanggit: (a) sa *Taglish* at bilingguwalismo, (b) sa mga *discourse markers*, at (c) sa *grammaticalization*; at pati na rin sa mga *overlap* ng mga ito (e.g., Hsieh & Tanangkingsing, 2006; Latrouite, 2013; Loureiro-

Porto, 2019). Sa pagtalakay namin sa DM na *so ayun* o SA, inaasahan naming may maidadagdag pang mga hinuhang makakatulong sa pag-iintindi natin sa pagko-*code-switch*, mga DMs, at maging ang balarila ng karaniwang uri ng pananalitang umiiral sa mga Pilipino ngayon.

Ang pangunahing layunin ng papel ay upang maipaliwanag ang pinanggalingan at paggamit ng *so ayun* o SA. Tatalakayin ang mga ito sa konteksto ng *Taglish* at *Philippine English*, i.e., sa pang-araw-araw na pakikipag-usap. Ipapakita namin kung anong puwesto sa pangungusap ang SA: sa unahan, gitna, o hulihan ng isang *stretch of discourse*. Titingnan din namin kung nakadepende ba ito sa tao.

Ang mga sekondaryang layunin naman ay upang madokumento ang mga kasunod na *enclitic* ng SA na napapansin namin, tulad ng *na*, *nga*, *po*, o *lang*, at maitala ang ilang interesanteng pagbabago sa porma ng SA sa paglipas ng panahon, tulad ng ponolohikal na ebolusyon ng /so=aju:n/ patungo sa /so=ajɔrn/.

Ang pag-aaral na ito ay magbibigay ng karagdagang kaalaman patungkol sa paksa ng gramatikalisasyon sa Tagalog partikular na ang mga *discourse marker* at ang implikasyon nito para sa tipolohikal na pagbabago, lalo na sa larangan ng kontemporaryong diskurso sa Pilipinas. Dagdag pa rito ay ang kontribusyon ng pag-aaral sa paksa ng mga Tagalog ingklitik at proklitik na siyang sekondaryang layunin ng papel. Bukod pa rito, magbibigay ng preliminaryong pag-iimbestiga ang papel na ito tungkol sa pinagmulan ng SA, at inaasahan ng mga mananaliksik ng papel na ito ay maging simula upang mapalawak pa ang pag-aaral ng paksang ito sa hinaharap.

Hahatiin sa apat na bahagi ang mga nilalaman ng aming pananaliksik:

1. ipapakita namin ang mga pag-aaral na may kaugnayan sa *grammaticalization*, diskurso, at *code-switching* sa konteksto ng Pilipinas (Seksyon 2);
2. idi-*discuss* ang teoretikal na basehan ng itong pag-aaral at ang aming mga haypotesis (Seksyon 3);
3. ilalahad ang naging metodolohiya at saklaw at limitasyon ng pag-aaral (Seksyon 4); at
4. ilalatag namin ang resulta at diskusyon, paglalagom at konklusyon, at mga rekomendasyon (Seksyon 5 at 6).

2 Mga Kaugnay na Literatura

May mga pag-aaral sa mga wikang Pilipinas na may kaugnayan sa *grammaticalization*. Sinuri ni Reid (2000) ang *particle* na *ang* at nagbigay siya ng haypotesis sa pagbuo nito, alinsunod sa mga prinsipyo ng *grammaticalization*. Marahil daw na nagsimula ito sa dalawang *particle*, ang *ʔa at *na. Ang *ʔa ay nagsimula raw bilang *demonstrative*, na sinundan ng *na na *ligature*. Naging *velar nasal* ang *na at dumikit ito sa *ʔa, at nabuo ang *determiner* na *ang*. In-update niya ang *typology* nito sa Reid (2002): bāse sa bagong ebidensya at sa mismong proseso pa rin, hindi raw sila *determiner*, kundi EXTENSION NOUNS (p. 306).

Ayon naman kay Latrouite (2013) ang mga paraan ng pagpresenta ng katangian ng pagka-*topic*. Ang pangunahing argumento dito ay sumasang-ayon daw ang *grammaticalization* ng *topichood* sa madalas na makikitang *patient-orientedness* ng mga wikang Pilipinas (p. 1). Kontribusyon din nito ang detalyadong pagsuri ng *topic* at *focus*

sa larang ng diskurso at semantiks, at ang *behavior* ng *information structure*² sa lebel ng klosa, pangungusap, at diskurso.

Sa Hsieh at Tanangkingsing (2006), sinuri ang mga halimbawa ng tinatawag na SEMANTICALLY-EMPTY ROOT (p. 12) sa dalawang wikang Austronesyano. Ang mga ito ay Kavalan, isang Formosan na wika (*iza*), at Cebuano (*ku'an*). Nagbe-*behave* daw ang mga ito bilang mga DM, panghalili sa mga maselang salita, atbp. At sa mga halimbawa nila, walang espisipikong posisyon o gamit sa isang haba ng diskurso ang mga ito.

Isa ring layunin ng papel nila ang pag-*debunk* sa isang prinsipyo ng *grammaticalization*, ang konsepto ng UNIDIRECTIONALITY. Saad ng konsepto nito na ang proseso ng *language change* ay nagmumula sa mga leksikal patungo sa mga gramatikal na yunit (Traugott, 2010). Ngunit sa kanilang pananaliksik, bagamat *zero* ang mga semantik na bigat ng mga salita, nagkakaroon sila ng kahulugan mula sa gamit bilang *word-filler* at iba pa. Ito ay dahil nade-*define* ang mga ito ng panlipunang aspekto at pragmatiks ng iba't ibang sitwasyon (Hsieh & Tanangkingsing, 2006).

Báse sa mga nai-*cite* na mga pag-aaral, halatang ang *grammaticalization* ay may direktang kinalaman sa pragmatiks at diskurso. Dako naman tayo sa mga pag-aaral tungkol sa *discourse markers* (DMs).

Ayon kina Koops at Lohmann (2013) at Redeker (1991), sinasaad ni Schiffirin (1987) na ang mga DM sa grammar ng Ingles ay kalimitang ginagamit kasama ng iba pang uri ng DMs, katulad ng mga sumusunod: *oh* at *well* bilang *particles*; *and*, *but*, *or*, at *so* bilang mga *conjunctions*; at

²Ang INFORMATION STRUCTURE ay may kinalaman sa “different ways of establishing and enriching the Common Ground shared by the speaker and the addressee” (Latrouite, 2014, p. 159).

mga *time deictics* na *now* at *then*. Sinaad din ni Schiffrin (1987) sa kanyang *discourse model* na ang mga DMs ay may dalawang tungkulin: primarya at sekondarya. Ang mga nasa primarya ay nagbibigay impormasyon at partisipasyon, tulad ng *oh well, you know*, at *I mean*; samantala kapag sa sekondarya ay nagkakaroon ng palitan ng ideya o nagkakaroon ng ideya. Ang mga *conjunctions* at *time deictics* ay maaaring maging primaryang uri upang ikonekta o iugnay ang naging ideya o pangungusap sa isa't isa, at maaaring maging sekondarya rin ito. Gayunpaman, nais ilahad ni Schiffrin (1987) na ang paggamit ng *so* ay naglalahad ng resulta, at sinasabing kapag ang tagapagsalita ay gumamit na nito nagkakaroon na ng impormasyon ang tagapakinig na dadako na sa panibagong usapin ang tagapagsalita. At ang *so* ay isang interaksyonal na DM at kalimitan maririnig o makikita bilang *transition* o pag-dako sa panibagong usapin (Walrod, 2006).

Kapag ginagamit ang *so* sa di-pormal o pormal na sulatin, sinasaad ni Walrod (2006, p. 5) na ito ay *neutral* lamang at nagiging *linkage* ito. Sa Buyse (2012), nagtala ng sampung gamit ang DM na *so*. Kabilang dito ang paglalahad ng resulta, bilang konklusyon, pagdikta, pagsalita nang mas mahabang oras, pagbuod, pagpapakilala ng bagong paksa, pagbalik sa bagong paksa, pagpalit ng paksa, paglahad ng elaborasyon, at ang pagkonekta ng sarili sa paksang pinag-uusapan. Sinasabi din nina Koops at Lohmann (2013) na ang *so* ay hindi maaaring mawala sa Ingles na pangungusap dahil malaking bahagi ito ng *syntactic construction*.

Ayon kay De Ramos (2010), sinaad nina Blakemore (1987, 2002), Blass (1990), Eslami at Eslami-Rasekh (2007), Iten (1998), at Wilson at Sperber (1993) na mas maintindihan ng mga mambabasa ang mensahe kapag may DMs sa mga akda ng isang manunulat.

Ang DMs ay kombinasyon sa *non-nominative order*, tulad ng *so and* at *and so*. Ayon sa saad nina Koops at Lohmann (2013), sinasabi ni Auer (1996) na mayroong dalawang klase ng porma ng DM. Una rito ay “*dialogical, sequential structure is condensed and compacted into a grammatical one.*” Ito ay ang mga *imperative (listen, look)*, *address terms (boy, man)*, *interjections (oh, well)*, at ang *assessment/agreeing responses (well, sure, right)*. Ang ikalawa naman ay “*constituent moves out of the grammatical centre of the sentence into this (...).*” Ang mga nasa ilalim nito ay ang *adverbials (like, anyway)*, *matrix clauses (I mean, I guess)*, at ang *discourse markers* o ang mga ibang *conjunctions (and, because, so)*. Para sa unang klase, sinasabing ang inisyal na DM ay mula sa kaliwa, samantalang ang mga DM na nasa ikalawang klase naman ay napupunta sa posisyon mula sa kanan.

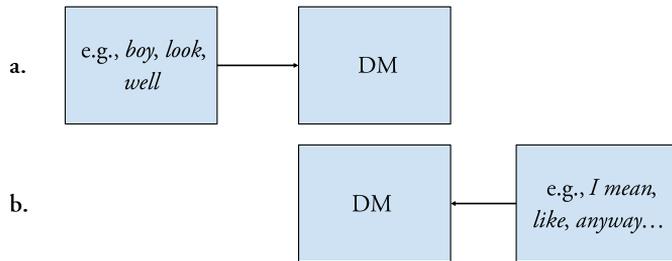


Figura 1. Ang Dalawang Uri ng Porma ng DMs (Auer, 1996, sipi sa Koops at Lohmann, 2013)

Sa pagsuri natin sa pangalawang elemento ng SA, ang *ayun*, makikita ang pagka-DM din nito, na may pagkatulad sa mga *deictics* na binanggit sa taas.

Ayon kina Schachter at Otones (1972, p. 215), isa sa mga *attention-directing deictics* ng Tagalog ang *(h)ayun*, na may mga *variant* na *(h)ayon* at *ayon*. Sa Ingles, nangangahulugang ‘there’ raw ito.

May mahahalagang impormasyon sila tungkol sa gamit at puwesto ng mga *attention-directing deictics* katulad ng *ayun*. Lagi raw nangunguna lamang ito sa mga pangungusap, at maaari ring mag-isa. Ayon sa analisis na ito, ang susunod na halimbawa ay sumusunod sa estilo ng glossing ni Nolasco.³

- (1) *Hayun.*
 (h)?ayun
 DIST.ADD
 ‘There it is.’

Nagsisilbi rin siyang *predicate* kung may kasamang sumusunod na *topic*. Dito, *argument* siya ng isang klosa.

- (2) *Ayun si Pedro.*
 (h)?ayun si Pedro
 DIST.ADD PERS.ABS Pedro
 ‘There is Pedro.’

At sa huli, nabubuo rin ng mga ito ang mga konstruksyon kasama ng *at* at isang buong klosa.

- (3) *Ere at biyuda na siya.*
 ?ere at biyuda=na siya
 PROX.ADD CONJ widow=PRT.already 3SG.ABS
 ‘Here she is, a widow already.’

³Batay sa Linggwistikos 120 lektur ni Prop. Ricardo Nolasco noong AY 2019–2020.

(4) *Ayun at nasa isang taxi sila.*

(h) ?ayun at nasa ?isa-ng=taxi sila

DIST.ADD CONJ OBL one-LKR=taxi 3PL.ABS

‘There they are in a taxi.’

Mahihinuhang napakahalagang parte ang pagtukoy ng *referent* ng *ayun* ng SA sa pagpapakahulugan ng konstruksyong ito, at may bigat din sa pag-determina sa puwesto. Ngunit hindi ito naisama sa pagbuo ng mga haypotesis namin sa ikatlong parte ng papel, dahil aaminin naming binalikan ang sanggunian pagkatapos ng pagkalap ng datos at noon lamang natunghayan ang kasaysayan ng *ayun*. Lilitaw muli ang mga implikasyon nito sa diskusyon.

Ayon kina Degand at Evers-Vermeul (2015), mayroong magkatunggaling pananaw sa paglugar ng DM dahil na rin sa hindi malinaw at tiyak na depinisyon nito sa mga nakaraang pag-aaral. Bukod pa rito ay ang debáte kung ano nga ba ang naging proseso sa paglago ng mga DM: kung *grammaticalization* ba o kaya ay *pragmaticalization*. Sa isang banda, sinasabing ang mga DM ay produkto ng *grammaticalization* (Jaradat, 2021; Auer, 1996, sipi sa Koops at Lohmann, 2013; Traugott, 2010). Bagamat sinabi rin nila Degand at Evers-Vermeul (2015) sa kanilang papel na may ilang pagkakaipareho ang proseso ng *grammaticalization* at *pragmaticalization* katulad na lamang ng *decategorialization* (kung saan nagbabago ang kategorya ng isang lexeme o yunit, hal., mula *noun to verb*; Jing, 2021) at *layering* (kung saan kahit may mga bagong *functions*, nananatili pa rin ang lumang gamit nito; Jing, 2021), kanila ring sinabing ang pagkakaiba ng mga pananaw ay resulta ng hindi malinaw na depinisyon ng *grammar* at pagkategorya sa DM.

2.1 Mga Particles ng Tagalog

Ang mga Tagalog *enclitic particles* ay makikita sa huli ng isang pangungusap o salita. Halimbawa na lamang ay ang “so ayun na nga” na makikitaan ng *na* at *nga*. Upang mas maintindihan ang balarila ng Tagalog, ating himayin muna ang Tagalog *particles* na *na* at *nga*.

Mayroong 18 na Tagalog *enclitic particles* at nahahati ito sa apat na klase ayon kina Lim at Borlongan (2011). Ang *na*, kasama ng *pa*, ay kabilang sa unang klase kung saan ito ay tumutukoy sa pagpapatuloy, pagbibigay-alam sa kung ano ang bago, agarang aksyon, ano ang wakas, at pagbibigay-alam ng panahon. Sa unang halimbawang “so ayun na [nga]”, ang *na* ay maaaring nagbibigay-mensaheng ito ay wakas o tapos na. Ayon sa pag-aaral nina Lim at Borlongan (2011), ang *na* ay mas gamít kapag ang pangungusap na Tagalog ay hindi nagpapakita ng *code-switching*. Sa kabilang banda naman, ito ay nagbabago kapag nadidikit sa Ingles na pangungusap, at mas gamit ito sa balarilang Tagalog lalo na kapag ito ay may panaguring pandiwa sa hindi berbal na panaguri.

- (5) *Si Tatay ay nakauwi na.*⁴
 si tatay ay Ø-n-(p)aka-?uwi(?)=**na**
 PERS.ABS Father FM INTR-PFV-STEM3-return.home=**PRT.already**

Kung ang *na* ay isasalin sa Ingles, ito ay nagsasaad ng ‘now’ o ‘already’ kapag ito ay nakakabit sa Ingles na pangungusap katulad ng (6).

- (6) I think I have to go **na**.

Sa paggamit ng *na* maipapakitang ang pangyayari ay nangyari o tapos na. Ginagamit din ang *na* sa ganitong paraan.

⁴Ang mga halimbawa sa seksyong ito ay sariling pangungusap ng mga mananaliksik.

- (7) *Binuksan na niya.*
Ø-<in>-buk(a)s-an=**na** niya
INTR-PFV-open-TR2=**PRT.already** 2SG.GEN

- (8) The vendor left **na**.

Sa (7–8) maipapakitang ang panaguring pandiwa sa perpektibong aspeto ay lumalabas kapag ang pandiwa ay nakikita sa kahit anong oras. Sa Ingles na balarila, ito ay makikita sa pormang HAVE + *already* + *-ed*.

Bukod pa ryan, ang *na* ay lalabas bilang isang pagtangi o hindi pagsang-ayon sa isang pangungusap o ekspresyon. Pinapakita dito ang tunay na saloobin ng isang mananalita kapag ito ay binigkas o sinabi.

- (9) *Hindi na.*
hindi(?)=**na**
NEG=**PRT.already**

- (10) I am not doing it **na**!

Ang *na* ay nagpapakita rin sa isang pangungusap tungkol sa pang-abay na oras, maaring wala o meron itong ispesipikong oras at/o panahon.

- (11) *Alas-dos na ng hapon uwi ko.*
alas-dos=**na** ng hapon ?uwi(?) ko
two.o'clock=**PRT.already** GEN afternoon return.home 2SG.GEN

- (12) The Election 2022 is coming **na**.

At panghuli, ang *na* ay ginagamit kapag ang pangungusap ay nagsasaad ng kusa.

- (13) *Hindi ba sinabi ko sayo na*
 hindi=ba Ø-<in>-sabi ko sa=(i)yo na
 NEG=Q INTR-PFV-say POST.ISG.GEN 2SG.OBL CONJ
nagsiuwian na!
 Ø-n-(p)agsi-(?)uwi(?)-an=**na**
 INTR-PFV-DUR.PL-return.home-DUR.PL=**PRT.already**

- (14) How many times do I have to tell you, you have to let go **na**.

Ang *nga* ay kabilang sa ikatlong klase ayon kina Lim at Borlongan (2011). Sa isang bandang obserbasyon, ang *nga* ay maaaring nagbibigay-suhestyon o nanghihikayat na labanan ang tagapagsalita ng Tagalog sa kanyang kausap.

- (15) *Sige nga.*
 sige=**nga?**
 PRT.go.ahead=**PRT**

Sa kabilang banda naman, kapag ito ay kinabitan na sa Ingles ng pangungusap maipapakitang ang sumagot o tagapakinig ay sumasang-ayon sa nagsasalita.

- (16) Oh yeah, actually he said that **nga**.

2.2 Philippine English Grammar

Ayon kay Orbe (2016), ang mga Espanyol at Amerikano ay naging malaking impluwensya sa ating *Standard Filipino English* o SFE at marami sa ating bokabularyo ay mula sa kanilang mga wika. Sinabi ni Orbe (2016) na ayon kay Kachru (1983), ang *Philippine English* ay kilala na rin bilang barayti ng Ingles. Dagdag naman ni Llamzon (1969, sipi sa

Orbe, 2016) na ang *Philippine English* ay isang *Filipinism* dahil ang mga *lexicon* at porma ng balarila nito ay may pagkakaiba mula sa *American English*.

Ayon kina Gonzalez at Alberca (1978, sipi sa Orbe, 2016), ang *Philippine English* ay nag-iiba sa iba't ibang tagapagsalita nito lalo na pagdating sa *linguistic features* nito. Kanila ring sinabing ang balarila ng *Philippine English* ay naiiba o may pagkakaiba sa balarila ng Ingles, tulad pagkakasunod ng mga salita, mga *case marker* na *ang*, pati na rin ang *subject-verb agreement*, na sinang-ayunan din ni Bautista (2001, sipi sa Orbe, 2016). Saad ni Gonzalez (1982, sipi sa Orbe, 2016) na bagamat sanay ang mga Pilipino sa *formal discourse* o istilo ng Ingles na ginagamit sa pormal na *set-up* ng isang silid-aralan, kaunti lamang ang pagkakaiba nito sa *informal discourse* na madalas ginagamitan ng *code-switching*. Kaya naman ang mga hiram na salita mula sa mga Amerikano at Espanyol ay gamit na gamit mapanghanggang ngayon, at kalimitang maririnig at ginagamit ang *code-switching*.

2.3 Code-switching

Hindi na bago *code-switching* sa nakakarami dahil patuloy itong ginagamit sa pormal at hindi pormal na pag-aaral. May iilang tinatanggap ang *code-switching* sa kanilang mga pang-akademikong gawain upang mas maibigay ng mga estudyante ang kanilang saloobin at natutunan mula sa mga naging pag-aaral.

Ayon kay Bautista (2004), ang isa sa mga pinagkuhaan ng datos para sa Tagalog-*English code-switching* ay ang mga babasahin tulad ng diyaryong *The Sun* bilang kauna-unahang gumagamit ng Tagalog-*English code-switching* upang mas ilahad pa ang istorya ng

bayan. Ang pagbabasa ng dyaryo sa panahon ngayon ay hindi na gaanong binibigyang pansin kaya naman para bigyan ng bagong pananaw ukol sa *naturalistic speech* ng Pilipino, kumuha rin ng datos sa mga interbyu at balita sa radyo at telebisyon (p. 227). Ayon sa kanyang mga nakalap na datos, nangyayari ang *code-switch* sa punto ng *utterance* kung saan ang istraktura ng dalawang wika ay nagtutugma. Mula sa pag-aaral nina Poplack at Sankoff (1988), mayroong dalawang uring nagpapakita ng pagkakaroon ng *code-switch* o pagsama ng Tagalog-*English* sa iisang pangungusap. Ito ay SWITCHING AT EQUIVALENCE POINTS O SMOOTH SWITCHING; ang pagkakaroon ng *code-switch* ay mula sa Tagalog *adverbial clause* na naging *English main clause* na may kasamang Tagalog *interjection*. Ang halimbawa niya rito ay ang isang pahayag ni Soho na “pag nagsalita ka, *they’d say* ‘ay naku, *she’s trying to be holier than thou.*” Naipakita ang pagkakaroon ng swabeng pagpalit mula sa Tagalog papuntang Ingles sa naturang halimbawa.

Ang pangalawa naman ay ang CONSTITUENT INSERTION na kung saan pumapasok ang isang salita sa isang pangungusap. Isa pang halimbawang sinaad ni Bautista (2004) ay ang, “Sa GMA ‘yung *objectivity has become part* na *of the culture.*” Sa pangungusap na ito maipapakitang ang mga *sa*, *’yung*, at ang *adverbial clitic na* ay naipapasok sa Ingles na pangungusap at nabibigyan ito ng maayos na pagpalit ng mga salita mula sa mga Ingles upang mas maintindihan ng mga mambabasa at tagapakinig.

Ang *code-switching* ay kalimitang maririnig sa mga *friendly discussion* pero ang pagkakaroon ng *code-switching* ay patuloy na tinatanggap sa kahit anong larangan upang mas madali at mabilis maintindihan ng kausap, punan ang mga salitang walang kahulugan sa Tagalog o

Ingles, at maging malinaw ang mensahe sa madla. Dagdag pa rito, hindi lamang Tagalog ang nagkakaroon ng *code-switching*, kundi pati na rin ang ibang mga wika ng Pilipinas katulad ng Ilocano-*English code-switching* (Pan, 1975; Raquel, 1979, sipi sa Bautista, 2004). Saad naman ni Myers-Scotton (1998, sipi sa Bautista, 2004) sa kanyang NEGOTIATION PRINCIPLE AT MARKEDNESS MODEL na ang pag-*code-switch* ay personal na kagustuhan o may personal na motibasyon ito. Sinabi ni Bautista (1999, sipi sa Bautista, 2004) na may rason ang partikular na pag-*switch*, na kaniyang tinawag bilang *communicative efficiency* o ang paggamit ng isa pang wika upang mas mapabilis at mapadali ang pagsasalita. Ang mga datos na kanyang nakalap ay hinati sa apat na uri: (a) *function words*, (b) *content words*, (c) *idioms*, at (d) *linguistic play*. Upang mabigyang pokus ang *function words* na konektado sa pag-aaral na ito, hindi na ipapaliwanag pa ang natirang tatlong uri.

Ang mga *function words* ay ang mga *enclitic* na *na* at *nga*. Ang pagkakaroon ng mga ito ay mas nagpapadali para sa mga Tagalog *speakers* dahil may mga salitang mahahaba kung ang *na* ay *already* sa Ingles, at ang *nga* naman ay wala dahil ang salitang itong ay naglalahad ng diin sa isang pangungusap. Kaya naman mahirap din ito bigyan ng salin sa Ingles. Kalimitan maririnig ang *nga* bilang pagsang-ayon sa isang tao tulad ng “oo nga” at pagbibigay ng diin patungkol sa pagkumpirma ng isang bagay tulad ng “*I called her nga*”. Mas maikling salita, mas madaling sabihin at intindihin (Bautista, 2004).

3 Batayang Teoretikal

Tinalakay sa seksyong ito ang proseso ng *grammaticalization*, ang dalawang uri nito, ilang parametrong ginamit upang matukoy ang konstruksyon ng SA, at ang *working hypothesis* na batayan ng diskusyon ng papel na ito.

3.1 Ang Proseso ng Grammaticalization

Galing kina Jacobs at Jucker (1995) ang maikli ngunit malamang paglalarawan sa proseso; galing daw ito sa:

...historical syntax and morphology within a functionalist framework in which language change is seen as a process and not as a product. This line of research examines historical data in their discourse context. (p. 15)

Ayon naman kina Heine at Kuteva (2005), ang *grammaticalization* ay isang proseso kung saan ang mga *lexical items* ay nagiging *grammatical items*. Saklaw rin daw rito ang mga konstruksyon tulad ng mga ginagamit sa *discourse* dahil naapektuhan ang mga pormang gramatikal ng mga mas malawak na konteksto ng paggamit sa wika bukod sa mga pangungusap lamang.

Bagaman ay hindi *lexical items* ang dalawang salitang *so* at *ayun*, makikita natin mamaya kung paano silang maka-*categorize* bilang mga konsepto sa *framework* namin.

3.1.1 Ilang Parametro

Upang matukoy kung ang isang konstruksyon ay resulta ng pag-*grammaticalize*, mayroong mga *criteria* para rito. Galing muli kina Heine at Kuteva (2005, p. 15) ang mga sumusunod:

1. extension, i.e., the rise of novel grammatical meanings when linguistic expressions are extended to new contexts (context-induced reinterpretation);
2. desemanticization (or semantic bleaching), i.e., loss (or generalization) in meaning content;
3. decategorialization, i.e., loss in morphosyntactic properties characteristic of lexical or other less grammaticalized forms; at
4. erosion (or phonetic reduction), i.e., loss in phonetic substance.

Nakikita namin ito sa SA: ang pag-*generalize* sa kahulugan ng *ayun*, sa pagsabay nito ng kanyang paggamit sa mga bagong konteksto. Tila'y wala rin paghinto sa pagitan ng *so* at *ayun* kaya marahil ay ito'y *erosion* na rin, o kahit unang *stage* lamang nito.

Bukod dito, kung ang konstruksyon ay mayroong sariling natatanging kontekstong pumapayag sa paggamit nito, malamang ay bunga na ng pag-*grammaticalize* ang yunit na iyon (Santiago, 2021). Ayon nga sa mga pangunahing obserbasyon namin, pambungad o panghuli ang posisyon ito.

3.2 Ang Dalawang Uri ng Grammaticalization

Ang mga ito ay ang *reduction* at *expansion* (Traugott, 2010). Sa REDUCTION, madaling makakita ng halimbawa sa mga klitik, o mga *function words* na maaaring tawaging *prosodically defective* (Bonet, 2019). Sa ibang salita, kung ikukumpara sa karaniwang leksikon, halos walang ponolohikal na bigat ang mga ito. Saad din ni Bonet, sa kadahilanang ito, napupuwera silang dumikit sa mga katabing salita. Kung nakadikit ang isang klitik sa salitang sinusundan nito, INGLITIK O ENCLITIC ang tawag sa uring iyon. Sa kabilang banda, kung ang klitik ang nauuna, ito raw ay isang PROKLITIK O PROCLITIC (Merriam-Webster, w.p.). Ang HOST naman ay ang salitang kinakabitan ng mga klitik (Bonet, 2019).

Mula sa kung gaano kadikit sa *host* ang konstruksyon ng pag-*cliticize*, malalaman ang kaedaran o tagal ng pag-iral ng konstruksyong iyon (Bybee et al., 1991, sipi sa Traugott, 2010). Isang magandang halimbawa ang pang-ugnay na salitang *sapagkat*. Ayon sa *UP Diksiyonaryong Filipino*, pinagdugtong daw ang *sapagka* at *at*. At dahil ang pagbaybay nito dati ay *sapagka't* (Tagalog Lang, w.p.), mahihinuha na rin na nagtagal nga ang konstruksyong ito.

3.3 Ang Pragmaticalization

Sa EXPANSION naman, akmang ibungad dito ang konsepto ng *pragmaticalization*. Ang depinisyon ng una ayon kay Heine (2013) ay ang PRAGMATICALIZATION ay ang pagbuo ng mga DMs. May ilang parametrong binuod din niya (p. 1218):

1. syntactic isolation
2. lack of fusion

3. increase in semantic-pragmatic scope
4. optionality
5. non-truth conditionality
6. peculiar grammatical status

Dahil sa mga pagkakaiba ng mga parametro sa ilang aspekto, sa ilang pag-aaral na naitala ni Heine, marami raw ang nagde-debate kung ang pagbuo ng mga DMs ay instansya ng pag-*grammaticalize*. Ngunit mayroon din nagsasabing ang *pragmaticalization* ay isa na ring uri ng *grammaticalization* (e.g., Barth-Weingarten & Couper-Kuhlen, 2002; Wischer, 2000). Báse pa rin sa mga konseptong galing sa *grammaticalization*, ang pagbuo ng mga DMs at ang pragmatiks ay parte pa rin ng linggwistiks at ng gramatika. Ayon nga kay Traugott (2010),

If one were to exclude “pragmatic markers” because of their procedural, deictic function from grammaticalization, logically one would have to exclude all modals, tense, aspect, demonstrative and other typical grammatical markers, because they also have such functions. (p. 278)

Saad din niya, isang katangian ng *grammaticalization* ang pagdebelop ng isang porma patungo sa mas abstrak at *schematic* na gamit. Makikita ito sa SA: sa paglawak ng pagpapakahulugan sa *ayun* mula sa isang pisikal na bagay patungo sa isang abstrak na *referent* sa loob ng yunit ng diskurso, o di kaya’y ang pangmarka sa mismong yunit na iyon (Santiago, 2021). Kaya, sa papel na ito, gagamitin ang terminong *pragmaticalization* bilang *subtype* ng *grammaticalization*.

3.4 Mga Working Hypothesis

Ngayon, ang mga implikasyon ng teorya ay makikita sa pamamagitan ng mga *working hypothesis*. Ang una, sa pagbuo ng konstruksyon ng SA, ang *so* ay isang pang-ugnay na naging proklitik. Ang (*h*)*ayun*, mula sa isang deictic, ay naging *host*. Pareho silang *function words* o mga miyembro ng *closed class*, at sa simpleng salita, ang *cliticization* ng *so* ang nangyari.

Pangalawa, naisip naming *i-test* ang karakter ng SA sa pamamagitan ng *scene-setting*, kung saan ipinapaalam sa mga manonood o mambabasa ang lokasyon o oras ng pag-*vlog*, pag-*tweet*, atbp. Tatalakayin namin ang posibilidad nito sa mga nakalap naming datos.

4 Metodolohiya

Ang mga mananaliksik ng preliminaryong pag-aaral na ito ay nangalap ng datos mula sa mga bidyo ng ilang kilalang *vloggers*, mga *tweets* at komento, at sekundaryang datos mula na rin sa iba pang pag-aaral tungkol sa DMs. Upang makita kung saan ginagamit ng mga *vloggers* ang *so ayun* ay gumamit ng *parsing* sa pag-aaral na ito.

4.1 Saklaw ng Pag-aaral at Mga Limitasyon

Ang preliminaryong pag-aaral na ito ay nakapokus lamang sa paggamit ng wikang Filipino/Tagalog, konstruksyon ng *grammar* ng *Philippine English* at paggamit ng *Taglish*. Ang mga datos na sinuri ay kinuha sa mga *vlogs* (*video blogs*) mula sa YouTube at mga *tweet* sa Twitter, at may isa ring halimbawa mula sa Reddit. Ang mga ito ay na-*upload* o na-*post* mula 2008 hanggang 2023 lamang.

May silbi rin ito bilang pambungad sa isang bagong *topic*. Ang susunod na halimbawa ay galing kay Joshua Salom, na noon ay estudyante sa isang *high school* sa Japan. Nagvo-*vlog* siya sa YouTube para sa mga kapwa niyang Pilipino.

- (18) *So ayun guys, nag-drawing si*
so=(h)?ayun=guys \emptyset -n-(p)ag-drawing si
CONJ=DIST.ADD=guys TR-PFV-DUR-drawing PERS.ABS
Ally nito, (JoshuaSalom, 2019, 6:35)
 Ally=n(a)=?e:to
 Ally=LKR=PROX.ABS

Maaaring sabihing mga maliliit na yunit ng diskurso ang mga *tweet* (dahil maaaring gumawa ng *discussion thread*, atbp.) kaya makikita rin ang SA bilang pambungad ng mga ito.

- (19) *So ayun... nagmeeting na naman kanina sa*
so=(h)?ayun \emptyset -n-(p)ag-meeting na=naman kanina sa
CONJ=DIST.ADD INTR-PFV-DUR-meeting PRT.again earlier LOC
work. (@jl_schluter, 2008)
 work
 work

Kung ginagamit ang SA sa simula, may silbi rin siyang pang-*transition*.

⁵*Paa* ang *term of endearment* sa mga manonood ni CongTV.

- (20) *Ahm, un accident near my cousin's place .. sorry,*
 un accident near my cousin's place sorry
 an accident near my cousin's place sorry
- di q na-mention .. so ayon*
 (hin)di(?)=ko Ø-n-(p)a-mention **so=(h)?ay(u)on**
 NEG=POST.ISG.GEN INTR-PFV-DUR-mention **CONJ=DIST.ADD**
- let's continue praying .. (@andzi4, 2009)*
 let's continue praying
 let's continue praying

Pansinin ang dalawang klosang pumapagitan sa SA. Tila na ang klosang nauuna rito ang *premise* at ang pangalawa naman ang konklusyon.

Sa dulo, ginagamit ang SA bilang pang-*conclude* at pangwakas. Para sa una, ito ang nasa hulihan ng sumusunod, isang *tweet* kung saan ginamit ang SA para sa paglalagom ng *tweet*, na tungkol sa regalong *merch* ng EXO, isang grupong K-pop.⁶ Marahil ang “cy” ay tumutukoy kay Chanyeol, isang miyembro ng grupo.

- (21) *meron na kc akong cy na design*
 m(ay)er(o?)on=na kasi ?ako-ng=cy=na=design
 EXIST=PRT.already CONJ ISG.ABS-LKR=Chanyeol=LKR=design
- so ayun skl exo is lyf eh*
so=(h)?ayun skl exo is life=e
CONJ=DIST.ADD s(hare) k(o) l(ang) EXO is life=PRT
 (@daksehun, 2023)

⁶Interesanteng ginamit din niya ang SA sa unahan nito. Makikita ang buong *tweet* sa listahan ng mga sanggunian.

Para sa pangalawa, narito ang isa pang *excerpt* mula sa isang komento sa Reddit, sa isang *post* na tungkol sa pagkuha ng *transcript of records* (TOR) para sa mga estudyante ng Unibersidad ng Santo Tomas. Ang SA mismo ang huling elemento sa buong komento.

- (22) *kapag kinuha mo yung diploma mo,*
 kapag \emptyset -<in>-kuha mo (i)y(o)u(n)-ng=diploma mo
 CONJ TR-PFV-take 2SG.GEN DIST.ABS-LKR=diploma 2SG.GEN
may kasama na rin
 may=ka-sama=na rin
 EXIST=COLL-PRT.already PRT.also
yun na ToR **so ayun.**
 (ha)yun=na=tor **so=(h)?ayun**
 DIST.ADD=LKR=transcript.of.records CONJ=DIST.ADD
 (Left-Driver8148, 2022)

5.1.2 Nasa Labas ng Klosa

Upang maituring ang pariralang *so ayun* bilang konstruksyong SA, hindi dapat bahagi ng isang klosa ang pariralang ito. Ang (23) ay isang *counterexample* kung saan makikita ang *so ayun* bilang parte ng klosa. Galing ito kay Pamela Jacar, isang mananaliksik sa UP Korea Research Center, noong ininterbyu siya ng ABS-CBN tungkol sa *appeal* ng K-pop sa mga Pilipino.

- (23) *Mayroon kasi silang distinct flavor on their own.*
 mayro(?o)n kasi sila-ng=distinct flavor on their own
 EXIST because 3PL.ABS-LKR=distinct.flavor on their own
So ayun 'yong kinaganda
so (h)?ayun (i)yo(n)-ng=∅-<in>-ka-ganda
 CONJ DIST.ADD DIST.ABS-LKR=INTR-PFV-STEM5-beauty
sa K-pop kasi, (Lozano, 2018)
 sa=k-pop kasi
 OBL=K-pop because

Malinaw na ang *ayun* sa pangungusap na ito ay tumutukoy sa ahente ng klosa. Samantala, isang natatanging sintaktik na yunit na nag-iisa ang SA, na makikita sa mga iba pang halimbawa sa taas.

Tugma ito sa pagtala nina Schachter at Otones (1972) na idinudugtong sa *ayun* ang isang buong klosa gamit ng *at*. Kaya, marahil ang nangyari sa paglipas ng panahon ay nawala na ang *at* sa pagitan ng *ayun* at ng klosa.

5.1.3 Maaaring Mag-function ang So at Ayun nang Mag-isa

Ibig sabihin, maaaring magpalitan ang SA at ang dalawang *component* nito sa iisang *function* at posisyon sa pangungusap. Makikita sa sumusunod na ginamit bilang pambungad ang *so* lamang.

- (24) *So napanood ko na*
so Ø-n-(m)apa-no?od ko na
CONJ INTR-PFV-INV-watch **POST.ISG.GEN** **PRT.already**
yung UP haha pano na ako
 (i)y(o)u(n)-ng=UP haha pa(?a)no=na ako
DIST.ABS-LKR=UP **how=PRT.already** **ISG.ABS**
makaka move on with life
 m-(p)aka-ka-move-on with life
INTR-CNTMP-STEM3~RED-move.on with life
 (@changkiho_, 2022)

Isinasama na rin ang *so* sa mga pamagat ng bidyo, ayon sa isang makikita sa channel ni Joshua Salom: “**SO** UMUWI AKO NG PILIPINAS + TATTOO PRANK | VLOG#50” (JoshuaSalom, 2021). Ginamit din niya itong pang-*transition*. May isa siyang *classmate* na Pilipinang naglapag ng *opening statement* ng kaniyang *vlog*. Mula doon, binigkas naman ni Joshua ang *so* sa paglipat niya sa susunod na *topic*.

- (25) *Konnichiwa what’s up sa inyo mga ka-salompas*
 konichiwa whats=up sa=inyo manga ka-salompas
 hello what’s.up 2PL.OBL PL COLL-salompas⁷
andito po kami sa school
 Ø-(n)-ka-n-dito=po kami sa=school
INTR-PFV-STAT-EPE-PROX.OBL=PRT.HON **IPL.ABS** **LOC=school**

ngayon ayan si Joshua. So ang first subject
ngayon (i)?ayan si Joshua so ?ang first subject
 PRT.NOW MED.ABS PERS.ABS Joshua CONJ ABS first subject
natin ngayon ay ano ba? (JoshuaSalom, 2019, 0:15)
natin ngayon ?ay ?ano=ba
 POST.IPL.GEN NOW FM what=Q

Gaya ng pinakita sa *so*, ang *ayun* ay ginagamit din bilang pambungad nang mag-isa.

(26) *Ayun. So I guess Dennis Venturina was killed*
(h)?ayun so I guess Dennis Venturina was killed
 DIST.ADD So I guess Dennis Venturina was killed
nung Grade 3 or Grade 4 pa lang ako.
n(o?o)u(n)-ng grade 3 or grade 4=pa=lang ?ako
 then-LKR grade.3 or grade.4=PRT.still=PRT.only ISG.ABS
 (@atomicgirl, 2007)

Ginagamit din sa pag-*conclude* ang *ayun*. Makikita ito sa *tutorial* ng pagbato ng semento sa YouTube. Dito, ang paggamit ng “ayun, mga boss” ang isang senyas ng pagwawakas ng *tutorial*.

(27) *Ayun, mga boss, kung kayo man ay gustong*
(h)?ayun mga=boss kung kayo man a:y gusto-ng
 DIST.ADD PL=boss CONJ 2PL.ABS PRT FM want-LKR
matuto kung paano magbato
m-(k)a-tuto kung pa?ano m-(p)ag-bato
 CNTMP-STAT-learn CONJ how CNTMP-DUR-throw

⁷*Ka-salompas* ang tawag sa mga *fans* ni Joshua Salom.

ng semento gamit yung kutsara,
 ng=semento gamit (i)y(o)u(n)-ng=kutsara
 OBL=cement using DIST-LKR=spade
 (Kayelen's Amazing Construction Ideas, 2020, 8:39)

5.1.4 Maaaring May Yunit sa Gitna

Balik tayo kay Joshua Salom: sa bandang simula ng isa niyang *vlog*, ginamit ang SA sa pag-*introduce* ng bagong yunit ng diskurso. Kaya lang, may salitang *guys* sa gitna ng dalawang *component*.

(28) *So guys ayun 'no, pinayagan ako*
 so=guys=(h)?ayun=(?a)no Ø-<in>-pa:yag-an ?ako
 CONJ=guys=DIST.ADD=PRT INTR-PFV-allow-TR2 ISG.ABS
ni Mama na magpa-ano 'no,
 ni=Mama na Ø-m-(p)ag-pa:?ano=(?a)no
 PERS.GEN=mama LKR INTR-CNTMP-DUR-PRT.what
magpa-hikaw uli (JoshuaSalom, 2019, 4:47)
 Ø-m-(p)agpa:-hi:kaw ?ule?
 INTR-CNTMP-DUR-earring PRT.again

5.1.5 Maaaring Baliktarin

Nagpapalit din pala ng puwesto ang S at ang A. Maririnig ito sa isang TEDx *talk* ng OPM *artist* na si Gloc-9.

- (29) *Naging super fan talaga ako ni Mr. C*
∅-n-(p)aging=super fan talaga ?ako ni=Mr. C
INTR-PFV-TRA=super.fan PRT.really ISG.ABS PERS.GEN=Mr. C
uh, ayun so, sabi ko, “Mr. C, lagi namin
a: (h)?ayun=so: sabi=ko Mr. C lagi=namin
DIST.ADD=CONJ say=ISG.GEN Mr. C always=IPL.GEN
kinakanta sa school mga songs mo.”
∅-<in>-ka-kanta sa=school mga=songs mo
INTR-IPFV-RED~sing OBL=school PL=songs 2SG.GEN
(TEDx Talks, 2014, 3:56)

Interesante ring pansinin na, nang tapusin niya ang unang klosa, tumawa ang *audience* at tila’y ginamit din niya ang *ayun so* bilang pampakalma sa kanila, dahil may susunod pa siyang sasabihin.

5.2 Mga Sekondaryang Obserbasyon

Para sa sekondaryong layunin ng papel na ito, ipapakita ang ilan sa mga talang obserbasyon para sa paggamit ng SA.

5.2.1 Maraming mga Posibleng Kombinasyon ng mga Ingklitik at Proklitik

Sa tweet na ito, makikitang dinugtong ang *na nga* pagkatapos ng SA.

- (30) *So, ayun na nga,*
so (h)?ayun=na=nga?
CONJ DIST.ADD=PRT.already=PRT.indeed
tweet limit na ako (@beautifuliee, 2019)
tweet limit=na ?ako
tweet.limit=PRT.already ISG.ABS

Mayroon ding naitalang paggamit ng *nga po* 'no tulad na lamang ng tweet na ito.

- (31) *so ayun nga po no* *sa*
so=(h)?ayun=nga(?)=po(?)=(?a)no *sa*
CONJ=DIST.ADD=PRT.indeed=PRT.HON=PRT.what OBL
sobrang rupok ko umorder ako
sobra-ng=rupok ko Ø-um-order ?ako
excess-LKR=fragile POST.ISG.GEN INTR-PFV-order ISG.ABS
ng isang sg ni jaehyun (@jaehyunzeux, 2018)
nang=?isa-ng=sg ni=jaehyun
OBL=one-LKR=SG⁸ PERS.GEN=Jaehyun

5.2.2 May Ponolohikal at Ortograpikal na Pagbabago ang SA

Akma ang terminong ginamit noon nina Schachter at Otones (1972, p. 215) sa pagsabi nila na may freely alternating forms ang *(h)ayun*, *(h)ayan*, at *(h)eto*. Tinutukoy nila ang pagpalit ng tunog na [h] at ng impit na [ʔ]. Ngunit, sa aming datos ay pawang walang [h] ang A ng

⁸Sa komunidad ng K-pop, ang *SG*, mula sa 'season's greetings,' ay tumutukoy sa *merch* o mga bibilhan mula sa mga *idols* sa panahon ng Pasko at Bagong Taon.

mga SA. Maaari ring isa ito sa mga unang proseso ng *sound change* sa konstruksyon, na sinundan ng iba sa paglipas ng panahon.

Makikita rin ang ilan sa mga naging ortograpikal na pagbabago ng SA. Makikita sa tweet na ito na ginamit ang *ayern*.

- (32) *So ayern na nga ..* *waiting sa vce* *for*
so=(h)?ay(u)ern=na=nga? *waiting sa=vce* *for*
CONJ=DIST.ADD=PRT.already=PRT.indeed *waiting OBL=VCE⁹* *for*
sg para makabuy ako *with pob*
sg para Ø-m-(p)aka-buy=?ako *with pob*
SG CONJ INTR-CNTMP-STEM3-buy=IABS *with POB¹⁰*
(@heolhyunjae0913, 2021)

Bukod sa mga ito, kapansin-pansin ding ang SA ay may *associating* o *accommodating* na tono. Masasabi ito dahil karaniwang may salitang *guys* o anumang termino nila para sa kanilang mga *fans* na kasama, tulad ng (27) at (28).

Sa (29), napasabi din si Gloc-9 ng *ayun so* nang tumawa ang mga tagapakinig, kaya mukhang may *social* na *intension* o *function* ang SA. At tila’y hindi na ito makakaila kung aalalahaning kinakabitan din ito ng *po*, na siyang makikita sa (17) at (31).

5.3 Diskusyon at Pagbalik sa mga Haypotesis

Tungkol sa pagiging proklitik ng *so*, mukhang hindi ito nangyayari bási sa mga nabanggit na obserbasyon. Maaaring mag-*function* ng

⁹Ang ibig sabihin ng *VCE* ay ‘video call event,’ kung saan pwedeng makausap ng mga K-pop *idols* ang kanilang *fans* sa pamamagitan ng *video call*.

¹⁰Ang ibig sabihin ng *POB* ay ‘pre-order benefits’ kapag bumibili ng mga K-pop *album*, na kadalasan ay mga *photocards*.

mag-isa ang *so* at *ayun*, nagkakaroon ng yunit sa pagitan ng mga ito, at puwede silang baliktarin. Bukod dito, hindi palaging *prosodically defective* (Bonet, 2019) ang *so* bilang klitik. Sa isa pang halimbawa galing sa talk ni Gloc-9, mayroong bahagyang mabigat na paghinto pagkatapos ng buong pagbigkas niya ng *so*.

- (33) *‘Di ako nagka-Adam’s apple e*
 (hin)diʔ=?ako Ø-n-(p)ag-ka-adams-apple=?e
 NEG=ISG.ABS INTR-PFV-DUR-STAT-Adam’s.apple=PRT
‘di ko alam kung paano, e. So, ‘yun na, pero
 (hin)di(ʔ)=ko=?alam kung paʔano=e so (ha)yun=na pero
 NEG=ISG.GEN=know PRT how=PRT CONJ DIST.ADD=PRT CONJ
in terms of OPM (TEDx Talks, 2014, 4:14)
 in terms of OPM
 in terms of OPM

Makikita rin ito sa ortograpiya lalo na sa mga tweets, tulad ng (30), na pagdating sa *punctuation mark* ay ginagamit ang kuwit, tuldok, o kahit *ellipsis*.

Kaya, kung may naki-*cliticize*, marahil ay *ayun* ito dahil ito ang elementong tinatangalan ng tunog, i.e., ang unang pantig nito. Ngunit kailangan pa natin ng ebidensya para maipakitang nagiging *dependent* ang *ayun* sa *so* bago natin mahinuhang isa nga itong ingklitik.

Sa kabilang banda, may ebidensya para sabihing may *scene-setting* na *function* ang SA. Madalas mapansin ito sa mga pambungad. Sa simula ng vlog tungkol sa araw ng pagtatapos nina Joshua Salom, ginamit niya ang SA nang ganito.

- (34) *So ayun 'no, mga ka-salompas,*
so=(h)?ayun=(?a)no mga ka-salompas
CONJ=**DIST.ADD=PRT** PL COLL-salompas
nandito na *tayo*
 \emptyset -n-(k)a-n-dito=na *tayo*
 INTR-IPFV-STAT-EPE-PROX.OBL=PRT.already INCL.PL.ABS
sa school yeah di ko alam kung sino
 sa=school yea: (hin)di(?)=ko=?alam kung sino
 LOC=school NEG=ISG.GEN=know PRT.if PERS.ABS.INTE
yung nasa classroom (JoshuaSalom, 2020, 1:35)
 (i)y(o)u(n)-ng=nasa=classroom
 DIST.ABS-LKR=OBL=classroom

At sa isa pang bidyo, sa pagbigay ng oras naman.

- (35) *So, guys, ayun 'no, lunchtime namin*
so guys **(h)?ayun=(?a)no** lunchtime=namin
CONJ guys **DIST.ADD=PRT**.what lunchtime=IPL.GEN
ngayon 'no, (JoshuaSalom, 2019, 5:23)
 ngayon=(?a)no
 now=PRT.what

Makikitang sa paggamit ng SA dito, ipinapaalam sa manonood ang konteksto ng nangyayari.

5.4 Ang Tinutukoy ng Ayun

Báse sa mga obserbasyon namin dati, maaari nating sabihin, sa simpleng salita, na *conjunction* o *transitioning/concluding element* ang *so*, at ang mga abstrak na ideya ng *vlog*, *talk*, atbp. ang tinutukoy ng *ayun*. Kung

gayon, para sa mga *transition* at panghuling pagbati, madaling mahinuha ang *referent* ng *ayun* alinsunod sa konteksto—ang tinutukoy nito ay ang mga nauuna sa *stretch of discourse*.

Ngunit sa kabilang banda, nakita natin sa kasaysayan ng *ayun* na baliktad ang nangyayari. Masasabi nating magsisilbing pambungad ang *ayun*, hindi lang sa *vlog* kundi sa konstruksyon na rin mismo ng pambungad. Masdan muli ang (4) mula kina Schachter at Otones (1972, p. 215).

(4) *Ayun at nasa isang taxi sila.*

(h)?ayun at nasa ?isa-ng=taxi sila

DIST.ADD CONJ OBL one-LKR=taxi 3PL.ABS

‘There they are in a taxi.’

Báse sa kahulugan ng buong *statement*, ang *referent* ng *ayun*, na sumusunod sa nawalang *at*, ang buong klosang may *taxi*. Kaya, sa mga buong pangungusap kung saan ito ginagamit (pambungad man o hindi), tinutukoy ng *ayun* ang mga sumusunod na *statement*: ang silbi ng buong pangungusap, e.g., ang pagbati ng *what’s up* sa mga tagapanood ni CongTV (17). Ngunit ito ay nakasalig sa orihinal na gamit lamang ng *ayun*. Ngayong may silbi rin ito bilang pangwakas (22), ang bagong haypotesis namin ay na-*grammaticalize* ang *ayun* sa kahulugan at paggamit, at paglipat ng puwesto kahit sa huli ng isang klosa, na nagiging *referent* nito. Saka na lang siya kinabitan ng *so*.

5.5 Paglalagom at Konklusyon

Sa papel na ito, tinunton namin ang pinanggalingan ng SA sa pamamagitan ng pagsuri sa mga kahulugan ng *so* at *ayun*. Nakita nating

gáling talaga sa *ayun* ang SA (dahil sa natural na pagpuwesto ng *ayun* sa unahan), at ipinakita rin kung bakit hindi ito parte ng klosa (dahil sa *ayun-at-klosa* na konstruksyon). Sa paglaganap ng *Taglish*, idinikit lang dito ang *so*, ngunit hindi pa ito matatawag na isang klitik, at ang *ayun* ang mas nagsisilbi bilang klitik.

Tiyak na may implikasyon ang pinanggalingan ng SA sa paggamit nito. Nadokumento namin ang mga puwesto ng konstruksyon, na may direktang kaugnayan sa silbi at kahulugan nito. Mula rin sa kasaysayan ng *ayun*, natukoy namin kung alin ba talaga ang *referent* nito. Nailatag din namin ang mga hinuha ukol sa SA, mula sa lebel ng ponolohiya hanggang sa pragmatiks.

So ayun, nakita natin mula sa datos na may samu't saring gamit, lokasyon, konteksto, at kombinasyon ng mga klitik sa SA konstruksyon. Hindi gaanong ka-*fixed* ang silbi at posisyon nito tulad ng inakala namin noong una, at natuklasan namin ang tanging karakter ng SA bilang DM.

6 Mga Rekomendasyon

Sa kadahilanang marami ang naging limitasyon ng pag-aaral sa paksang ito, nais ng mga mananaliksik na mapalawig pa ito sa hinaharap. Maaaring siyasatin ang posibilidad na nakadepende na sa indibidwal ang paggamit ng SA at walang tuntuning nagdidikta sa paraan ng paggamit nito. Sa ibang salita, tila na malaki ang papel ng idyolek sa paggamit ng SA; maaaring tingnan ang epekto ng mga *personal factors*, tulad ng *social status*, *educational background*, atbp., sa pag-iiba ng mga *forms* nito. Kaya nararapat na mas damihan at lawakan pa ang datos

na ikakalap, lalo na sa mga iba't ibang kombinasyon ng proklitik at inklitik.

Dahil ang pag-aaral na ito ay nakapokus lamang sa pag-aanalisa ng SA sa konteksto ng *Taglish* at *Philippine English*, maaaring suriin ang mga DMs sa konteksto ng iba pang mga wika at dayalekto sa Pilipinas. Katulad na lamang ng paggamit ng salitang *ayun* upang ipahiwatig ang *satisfaction* o ekspresyong nagsasaad na maganda ito sa paningin ng mga tao—ito ay kapansin-pansin sa mga tagapagsalita ng Maynila, ayon sa isa sa mga kakilala naming taga-Davao. Ang ganitong obserbasyon ay maaaring palalimin pa upang mas makita ang pag-iiba ng konteksto ng *ayun* sa iba pang wika ng Pilipinas na maaaring dinidikit din sa *so*. Karagdagang rekomendasyon na rin ang pagkalap ng datos na mula sa ibang *registers*, tulad ng *naturalistic speech* o sa mga lumang publikasyon kagaya ng dyaryo at mga nobela.

Isa lamang ang SA sa maraming mga DM at yunit ng ekspresyon, kaya magandang makita ang aplikasyon ng teorya ng *grammaticalization* sa mga ito, tulad halimbawa ng *naol* (*sana all*), *whomst've*, at iba pang ginagamit sa kontemporaryong wika. Maaari ring pag-aralan ang mga ito gamit ang iba at mas bagong teorya tulad na lamang ng *cooptation* (Heine, 2013) o kaya ang *construction grammar* (Traugott, 2010).

Dagdag pa rito, magandang gawing halimbawa para pag-aralan ang pagbabago ng wika ang mga DM dahil sensitibo ang mga ito sa mga *language trend*, pati na rin sa mga pagbabago sa paggamit ng wika (Vincent, 2005, sipi sa Degand at Evers-Vermeul, 2015). Maaaring mabigyang-lalim pa ang pag-aaral na ito sa patuloy na pagtalakay sa mga naging pagbabago, iba pang paggamit, at pati na rin ang mga naging barayti ng SA sa mga nakalipas na taon.

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8 Appendix

8.1 Talaan ng mga Daglat

I	first person	IPFV	imperpektibo
2	second person	LKR	linker
3	third person	MED	medial
ABS	absolutibo	NEG	negation, negative
ADD	attention-directing deictic	OBL	oblique
COLL	kolektibo	PERS	personal
CONJ	conjunction	PFV	perpektibo
CNTMP	kontemplatibo	PL	plural
DIST	distal	POST	post-verbal
DUR	durative	PRT	particle
EPE	epenthetic na tunog	PROX	proximal
EXIST	existence particle	Q	question particle/marker
FM	focus marker	RED	reduplikasyon
GEN	genitive	SG	singular
HON	honorific	STAT	stative
INCL	inclusive	STEM ₃	abilitative
INTE	interrogative	STEM ₅	happenstance/stative verb
INV	involuntary	TR	transitibo
INTR	intransitibo	TRA	transformative

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

Brian Salvador C. Baran

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 /laŋ/ 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.

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- (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.’

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- (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).’

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- (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).

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- (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	

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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,

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 Madrideo 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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Ang Pinoy Phenomenon, Sa Bible at Iba Pa

Anicia del Corro

Abstract

Ang basic principle ng Pinoy Phenomenon ay tungkol sa paggamit ng pinakamadaling paraan para mai-communicate ang gustong sabihin. Dahil sa ating history, gagamit ito ng Tagalog at Ingles. Ang syntax ng Taglish ay Tagalog pero ang mga words ay galing sa Tagalog at Ingles.

Keywords: heterogeneous, parsimony, nativization, language shift, collective competence

1 Introduction: Ano ang Pinoy Phenomenon?

Makikita ito sa ganitong mga halimbawa:

Kawawa kayo, mga teachers ng Law at mga Pharisees! Mga plastik! Nilalakbay nyo ang mga dagat at ibang mga lupain

sa buong mundo para lang i-convert ang isang Gentile sa pagiging Jew. At pag nangyari yun, ginagawa nyo pa syang mas deserving pumunta sa impyerno kesa sa inyo. (Matthew 23:15)

Nung simula, nung crineate ng Diyos ang langit at ang lupa, walang anyo ang lupa at walang anumang may buhay dun. (Genesis 1:1–2a)

Lahat ng nagwo-worship sayo, matuwa at mag-celebrate! Yung mga natutuwang sinave mo sila, laging magsabing, “O Diyos, ang galing mo talaga!”

Mahirap ako at walang-wala, O Diyos ko, puntahan mo na ako! Ikaw ang nagse-save at tumutulong sa akin, please, Lord, bilisan mo na. (Psalm 70:4–5)

1.1 Taglish

Ang PINOY PHENOMENON ay isang event o pangyayari sa ating lipunan na naging dahilan para ma-develop ang Taglish, isang dialect o variety ng Tagalog. Sa field ng Bible translation ko in-apply ang nakita kong gamit o relevance ng Pinoy phenomenon dahil ang tanging objective nito ay mapadali ang pag-intindi sa nilalaman ng Bible. Sa field ng Bible translation nag-start ang pag-aaral ko ng Pinoy phenomenon, pero ang application ay malawak, hindi lang sa Bibliya. Pinagsasama ang Tagalog at English sa isang word, phrase, o sentence.

Ang PINOY VERSION ay isang version ng Bible na gumagamit ng heterogeneous language o mixed language.

1.2 Ano ang Dialect?

Ito ay isang variety o klase ng pananalitang gamit ng mga taong nagkakaintindihan. May mga katangian o features na sa dialect na ito lang makikita, gaya ng intonation o punto o paggamit ng mga sounds o tunog.

Sa Pinoy phenomenon, ang speaker ay pumipili ng pinakamadaling paraan para ma-express ang isang bagay. Dahil sa exposure ng mga Pilipino sa mga wikang Tagalog at English, nasa kanya kung alin ang gagamitin. Ang basis ay kung alin ang mas madali. Dahil dito, natural ang pag-shift sa Tagalog o English. Ang pinipili ay iyong madaling gamitin, madaling i-pronounce, at madaling i-recall. Taglish ang isa pang pangalan ng Pinoy dialect. Pwede ring gamitin ang Pinoy style o variety para sa Pinoy dialect.

2 Basic Principle: Parsimony

Sa basic principle na ito, hahanapin ng gumagamit ng wika, o ng speaker, na ma-achieve ang pinakamataas na level ng success sa communication habang gumagamit ng pinakakaunting effort. Kaya masasabing ang paraan ay simple lang, maikli, madaling maalala, at madaling i-pronounce. Significant na ang pagiging madali nito ay dahil sa ito ang ginagamit sa kasalukuyan.

2.1 Heterogeneous o Mixed Language

Tinatawag ang translation na ito na Pinoy Version. Ibinibigay sa ibaba ang John 14:1-2 na example ng heterogeneous language translation.

Sinabi ni Jesus sa mga disciples, “Wag kayong mag-worry, manalig kayo sa Diyos at sa akin. ² Maraming kwarto sa bahay ng Tatay ko. Mauuna ako dun para i-ready ang lugar nyo. Di ko to sasabihin kung hindi totoo. (John 14:1–2)

Hindi masyadong naiiba ang pagkakasabi sa pagkakasulat, kaya ang wikang ito ay madaling gamitin. Basta marunong nang magbasa ang isang bata, pwede na niyang maintindihan ang Bible.

Pero mahigpit nyang inutusan ang mga masamang espiritu na wag ipapaalam kahit kanino kung sino sya. (Mark 3:12)

Sabi ng mga taong kasama ni Jesus, “Nasa labas po ang nanay at mga kapatid nyo. Hinahanap po nila kayo.” (Mark 3:32)

2.2 Ang Dalawang Approach sa Pag-aaral ng Wika

DESCRIPTIVE ang approach kapag gustong palabasin ang mga katangian ng wika; isang tapat na observer ang nag-aanalyze. Ang gusto ng analyst ay i-describe ang pagkakagamit ng wika. Dahil ito ang approach na ginamit sa Ang Bible Pinoy Version, masasabing isa itong snapshot o picture ng umiiral na gamit ng mixed language o Taglish mula 2012 hanggang 2023.

Sa PRESCRIPTIVE approach, ang nag-aanalyze ay may intensyong ipasunod o i-prescribe ang gusto o preferred niyang mangyari sa pagkakagamit ng wika. May tao o mga taong nagde-decide kung paanong gagamitin ang wika. Dahil hindi common o pangkaraniwan ang mga katangian ng Pinoy Version, marami ang naninibago sa Pinoy Version.

Ang marami ay ayaw sa pagpapaikli ng mga salita dahil mas sunod ito sa madaling gamit ng wika, gaya ng *yon*, *kesa*, *nya*, *sya* sa halip ng *iyon*, *kaysa*, *niya*, at *siya*.

2.3 Native Language

Ang native language ng isang tao ay ang wika na kabisadong-kabisado niyang gamitin. Pinakamadali niyang nagagamit ito para ma-express nang mabuti ang gusto niyang sabihin. Madalas, ito ang gamit na wika noong time na lumalaki ang isang tao mula sa kaniyang pagkabata. Masasabing grammatical o tama ang pagkakabuo ng mga sentence sa native language ng isang tao. At may confidence ang isang native speaker na sabihing tama nga ang binuo niyang mga sentence dahil may competence o likas na kakayahan ang native speaker. Halimbawa ako, native speaker ako ng Kapampangan. Masasabi ko kung tama o hindi ang pagkakabuo o ang pronunciation ng isang Kapampangan word kasi nga, native speaker ako ng Kapampangan.

2.4 Nativization

Sa paggamit ng heterogeneous o mixed language, ang syntax na sinusunod ay Tagalog. At ang mga words na bumubuo sa sentence ay puwedeng Tagalog o English. Ang syntax o grammar ng Tagalog ay kitang-kita sa paggamit ng mga affix ng Tagalog. Marami nang mga English word ang ginagamit sa ating pakikipag-usap sa araw-araw. Ito ang madalas na dumadaan sa process na nativization, ang English word ay tinatratong Tagalog para magamit nang tama habang nagta-Tagalog ang speaker. Ang English ay naging parang Tagalog dahil ginamitan ng

mga Tagalog na affixes. Ang resulta, naging parang Tagalog ang English dahil dumaan sa process ng Tagalog affixation.

...tapos sinabi ng Diyos, mag-create tayo ng tao na kagaya natin. (Genesis 1:26)

...Binasa nila nang malinaw ang Kautusan ng Diyos at inexplain ito... (Nehemiah 8:8)

Pwede namang hindi mag-Taglish. Ipinapakita ito sa column sa right:

2 Timothy 3:17	MBB ¹	<i>ganap at handa</i>
Hebrew 9:11	MBB	<i>hindi ginawa ng mga tao</i>
Matthew 9:15	MBB	<i>habang kasama pa nila</i>
2 Corinthians 1:19	MBB	<i>ipinangaral</i>
2 Timothy 2:12	MBB	<i>itatakwil</i>
Mark 4:14	MBB	<i>inilahasik</i>

Pero sa natural na paggamit ngayon ng language, pipiliin ng speaker iyong madali, maikli, at mabilis ang recall. Makikita ito sa mga Taglish na example:

2 Timothy 3:16	<i>reding-ready</i>	‘being ready’
Hebrew 9:11	<i>crineate</i>	‘created’
Matthew 9:15	<i>ine-expect</i>	‘is expecting’
2 Timothy 2:12	<i>idi-deny</i>	‘will deny’
Mark 4:14	<i>nagshe-share</i>	‘is sharing’

¹Magandang Balita Biblia

Sa Pinoy Bible, napaka-important ang pag-decide kung ano ang root word o salitang ugat. Nakakatulong sa pag-intindi ng heterogeneous word kapag nakahiwalay ang mixed word at nakikita ng reader. Nakikilala o nare-recognize agad ng bumabasa ang word at naa-associate agad ang meaning ng root word. Niri-retain ang original spelling ng English word dahil ito ang start ng recognition o pagkilala. Pagkatapos, susundin na ang rules sa inflection, kung aling bahagi ng root word ang uulitin o kung anong infix ang idadagdag.

Sa mga binigay na examples sa taas, madaling ma-recognize ang *ready*, *deny*, at *share*. Mare-recognize ng Tagalog speaker ang infix na *-in-* kasama ng reduplication ng unang syllable ng root word. Madaling ma-recognize ang root word na *preach* kapag hiniwalay ang infix na *-in-*. Ganoon din ang infix na *-in-* sa word na *crineate*.

3 Mga Dahilan Kung Bakit Ginawang Heterogeneous Ang Pinoy Bible

Ang unang reason: goal ng Pinoy Bible Society (PBS) ang magbasa ang bawat Pilipino ng Bible, pero kung mahirap ito basahin, hindi sila magbabasa. Kaya kailangan i-reflect ang mixed language o Taglish sa Bible na ginagamit nila para maging madali. Madali ang Taglish kasi ganito magsalita ang halos lahat ng mga Pilipino.

Ang pangalawang reason: wala pang existing translation na gumagamit ng ganitong style na shifting, na gamit ang Tagalog at English. Wala pang printed copy na ganito. Kaya, ibi-bridge ng Pinoy Bible ang gap na ito.

Ang mas mahalagang tanong ay bakit dalawang wika ang ginagamit?

3.1 Hindi na Purong Tagalog o Purong English

Ipinakita na sa mga naunang mga halimbawa na kapag nagsasalita ang mga Pilipino, ang madalas ay hindi na purong Tagalog o purong English. Mangyayari lang na purong English kung ang kausap ay o merong isa sa mga kausap na hindi nakakaintindi ng Tagalog, at purong Tagalog naman kung merong isa sa kausap na hindi nakakaintindi ng English.

Sa mixed language o Taglish, may natural na flow o daloy ang ating pagsasalita. Hindi na straight Tagalog o straight English. May parts ng sentence na mas magandang sabihin sa English, at ang iba naman ay mas magandang sabihin sa Tagalog. Kung hindi naiintindihan ang dahilan ng pag-switch sa dalawang wika, iisipin nga na magulo at walang maliwanag na rules sa pag-switch sa dalawang wikang Tagalog at English.

Hindi surprising na may tanong na lumabas sa quora.com: “Why do Filipinos switch randomly between English and Tagalog when they talk in serious situations (e.g., television interviews, business meetings)?”

Ang unang bahagi ng question na ito ay may mali. Ito ang salitang “randomly”. Kung “randomly” ang pagpili ng mga words, ibig sabihin, walang maliwanag na rules ang language. Pero ang wika ay laging maayos dahil may rules na sinusunod sa pagbuo ng salita, mga sentence, o mga paragraph. Ang kaayusan ng wika ay nakabase sa mga rules na bumubuo sa wika. Hindi madaling makita ang mga rules na ito kung walang kaalaman sa anyo ng wika kagaya ng linguistics.

Sa mga example na susunod, makikita na may dahilan kung bakit pinipili ang Taglish para gumamit ng mas madaling expression sa halip na isang construction sa English na mahirap para sa mga Pilipino. Galing

ang susunod na paragraph sa isang listahan ng prayer requests na ginamit sa aming prayer meeting.²

We pray that you, Lord, sustain the rest of the family and strengthen them, bind them with your Godly love (1) *para malagpasan nila prayerfully ang trial* (2) *na ito sa kanilang pamilya*.

Nagsimula ang sentence na ito sa English. Pero pagdating sa clause na may sign na (1), nag-shift sa Tagalog *para malagpasan nila prayerfully ang trial* at itinuloy sa Tagalog sa (2) *na ito sa kanilang pamilya*. Sa English, (1) ‘in order that they overcome’ + *prayerfully* + ‘this’ + *trial* + (2) ‘which is in their family.’ Dinagdag ang dependent clauses pero hindi ito sinabi sa English. May dagdag na kahirapan o complication kung gagamit ng dependent clause sa English, dahil pipili ng correct na relative pronoun sa (2). Alin ang pipiliin, “that is in their family” o “which is in their family”, kaya ang ginagawa ng taong nagsimula sa English, nagshi-shift siya sa Tagalog. Sa shifting, maingat ang pagpili kung ano ang gagamitin ng speaker, kung Tagalog o English. Ang description ko diyan, “well-calculated”, dahil ang result nito ay ang mas pinadaling pagsasalita ng speaker.

4 Ang History ng Pinoy Phenomenon

Nung panahon ng 1970s, hindi pinaghahalo ng isang speaker ang Tagalog at English at diretsong Tagalog o English ang salita ng mga tao, lalo na

²Ang lahat ng mga example na ginamit sa paper na ito ay mga ginamit ng mga Tagalog speaker sa isang conversation o sa kanilang pagsusulat at hindi lamang inimbento para sa paper na ito.

noong panahong bago mag-Martial Law kung saan Tagalog ang naging wika ng protesta at English ang gamit ng mga mas mataas sa lipunan. Sa pagtatapos ng 1990s at sa simula ng 2000s, dumami na ang mixing o paghahalo ng Tagalog at English.

4.1 Ang Diglossia

Ang DIGLOSSIA ay isang sitwasyon sa wika na naging bahagi na ng behavior sa lipunan ang pagpiling gumamit ng English, halimbawa, sa mga official function, sa opisina, o kaya sa mga programa sa schools. Pero sa bahay o mga informal na gawain, Tagalog ang gamit. Para itong hindi nakasulat na agreement ng mga tao. Kapag hindi na required ang English, Tagalog ang preferred na gamitin.

4.2 Ang Dalawang Language Shift

Unang Language Shift Sakop nito ang time na 1970–1990. Nag-shift ang gamit ng maraming Pilipino from English to Tagalog. 1972 noong nag-declare ng Martial Law sa Pilipinas. Malaki ang naging epekto nito sa political life ng mga mamamayan. Marami ang kaguluhan sa ibat-ibang bahagi ng Pilipinas. Ang wika identified sa mga namumuno ay English, habang ang wika ng protesta ay Tagalog.

Ikalawang Language Shift Ito ay buhat noong 1991–2005. Tinawid ng period na ito ang pagbukas ng new century, ang kinatakutan na Y2K o taong 2000. Wala namang nangyari, kaya naman nagbuhos ng maraming investment para sa mas malakas at makabagong framework

ang lahat ng gustong makipagsabayan sa change para sa mas mabilis na development.

Dito makikita ang mabilis na pagpasok at paggamit ng English na sumailalim sa nativization, na inexplain na sa Section 2.4.

4.3 Ang Simula ng Pinoy Dialect

Pinag-uusapan na at pinag-iisipan ng PBS ang tungkol sa mga pagbabagong nangyayari sa wika pero hindi pa maliwanag kung ano talaga ito, kaya nag-conduct ang PBS ng workshop noong 2007. Ang mga susunod na translated verses ang lumabas sa workshop. Ito ay mga salin ng mga participants sa workshop. Ang meron lang sila ay ang meaning sa English.

¹ Nung paalis na si Jesus sa *temple*, sabi ng isang *disciple* sa kanya, “Teacher tingnan nyo, ang lalaki ng mga batong ginamit, ang *astig* ng mga structures!” ² Pero sabi ni Jesus, “Kita mo ba ang mga *structures* na’to walang matitira ni isang bato dito. Isa-isa magbabagsakan.”

³ Umupo si Jesus sa tabi ng Mt. Olive tanaw ang temple, lumapit sila *Peter, James, John & Andrew* at nagtanong, “*Okay* lang po ba na sabihin nyo po sa amin kung kelan mangyayari ito at ano po ang mga *signs* na malapit na siyang mangyari.” (Mark 13:1-3)

⁹ “Mag-ingat kayo! At lilitisin kayo sa mga hukuman ng Jews at paparusahan sa mga *synagogue*. Ihaharap kayo sa mga pinuno at mga hari dahil sa akin, para maging *witness* ko para sa kanila. ¹⁰ Kailangang maiparating ang

Gospel sa lahat ng bansa. ¹¹ Pag nahuli kayo at ihaharap na sa paglilitis, wag kayong kabahan at matakot sa inyong sasabihin; ibibigay sa inyo ng Holy Spirit ang dapat ninyong sabihin. ¹² Ibe-*betray* ng kapatid ang kanyang kapatid para patayin, ganon din ang gagawin ng tatay sa kanyang mga anak. (Mark 13:9–12)

Ang mga verses na ito ngayon sa Pinoy Bible ay hindi eksaktong kagaya nito pero halos pareho. Ibig sabihin nito, ang heterogeneous or mixed language ay nasa kamalayan na ng mga Pilipino noon pang 2007.

4.4 Ang Native Speaker ng Pinoy Dialect

May criterion na ginagamit ang PBS kung sino ang pwedeng maging translator sa mga project nito. Ang isang laging kailangan ay ang pagiging native speaker nito ng target language. Hindi simple ang pag-decide nito pero ang unang kailangan ay may foundation siya sa paggamit ng Tagalog. Pero common ito sa mga Pilipino dahil alam ng 80% o higit pa ang Tagalog. Malaki ang exposure sa pag-aaral nito dahil naging required ang Filipino o Pilipino sa grade school at high school. Malaki din ang role ng Tagalog sa mass media at social media. Dahil dito, lalo na sa mga nakatira sa National Capital Region (NCR), madalas ang salita nila ay Pinoy dialect.

Isang magandang example ay ang inaanak ng isang linguist, rineport niya ang isang 7-year-old. Pinapa-describe ng teacher ang nasa picture na isang kite o saranggolang lumilipad. Ang sabi ng bata, “nagfa-fly ang kite”.³ Makikita na may built-in na grammar na sa ulo ng bata.

³Ako na ang nag-suggest sa pagsusulat na ganito, “nagfa-fly ang kite”.

Na-internalize na niya ang pagbuo ng mga sentence at ginamit niya ang Tagalog syntax. Hindi totoo na “walang malinaw na rules” ang Pinoy dialect.

5 Collective Competence?

Ang bawat tao ay may kakayahang matuto ng wika. Ang native language ng isang tao ay iyong natutunan niya sa kanyang paglaki. Ito ang naririnig nya na gamit ng nakapalibot sa kanya. Kung anong wika iyon ay depende sa mga salita o sentences na narinig niya noong lumalaki siya. Sa madaling salita, requirement o kailangan ma-expose ang isang tao sa linguistic data bago niya matutunan ang isang wika.

Tinanong ako, paano ko alam na Taglish iyon? Alam ko kasing ganiyan din magsalita ang ibang naririnig ko. Ang isang taong lumaki nga sa ganoong Taglish environment ay makapagsasabi kung ang ibang tao ay Taglish din ang salita. COMPETENCE ang tawag dito. Nakikilala niya kung tama o hindi ang mga sentence dahil kasama siyang lumaki sa paggamit ng wikang ito. Tinatawag itong COLLECTIVE COMPETENCE.

5.1 Ang Target Audience ng Pinoy Bible

Mga kabataan, 15–30 years old, ang target audience kasi bukas pa ang isip sa change o pagbabago kapag bata pa ang isang tao. Mas natural nilang tatanggapin ang change. Sa palagay ko, kapag nakitang ang pagkakagamit ng Pinoy dialect sa mga kabataan, mabilis na gagamitin ito sa NCR.

5.2 Pidgin ba ang Taglish?

Ang PIDGIN ay isang contact language na gamit ng dalawang groups na ang language ay magkaiba.

Halos sigurado akong pidgin muna ang Chabacano bago ito naging isang creole. Pidgin ang tawag sa nabuong wikang kumbinasyon ng mga wikang malaki ang pagkakaiba. Sa Chabacano, Spanish at isang Visayan language ang malamang na nagkaroon ng contact. Noong bago pa lang silang nagkaroon ng contact, pinilit ng mga taong magkaintindihan, siguro mga taong Bisaya ang salita, sa kanilang pakikipag-usap sa mga nagsasalita naman ng Spanish. Sa simula ng pidgin, masasabi pa kung alin ang galing sa Spanish at alin ang galing sa isang uri ng Bisaya. Pero kalaunan, dumating ang puntong masyado nang nag-mix ang dalawang wika kaya mahirap nang sabihin sa maraming salita nito kung alin ang maliwanag na Kastila at iyong maliwanag na Bisaya. Sa puntong ito, malapit nang maging CREOLE. Ito ang tawag sa bagong stage ng pidgin kapag merong nang mga native speakers na gumagamit ng dating pidgin. Ganito na ang Chabacano: meron nang mga native speakers na ito ang gamit na wika. Matatag na ang pagkakabuo ng wika, at kagaya na ito ng ibang wika gaya ng Tagalog o Ilocano.

Tungkol sa pagiging pidgin o creole ng Taglish, sa palagay ko, hindi pa pidgin ang Taglish ngayong 2023, pero iyan ang direksyon. Magandang i-analyze kung anong stage na ito habang pinagmamasdan ang mga pagbabago.

5.3 Mga Bagong Changes

Hangga't kaya, pipilitin ng mga gumagamit ng Taglish na gumamit ng maraming English. Tataas ang antas ng wika kung ganoon dahil prestigious language pa rin ang English, lalo na kung mare-retain ang tamang English pronunciation. Pero inevitable o hindi maiiwasang mas malalapit ang characteristics ng Taglish sa Tagalog sa halip na sa English. May mga signs na. Ang mga consonant clusters ay mahirap nang marinig. Ang huling mga consonant ng mga consonant cluster ay halos hindi na marinig, gaya ng *achieved*, sa pagsasalita maririnig lang ang [achieve] at hindi [achieved]; *kept* [kept]. Hindi na naririnig ang mga huling consonant na [d] at [t]. Kung malakas ang kampanya para ma-retain ang gamit ng English, mas tatagal ang tamang pronunciation. Mas matagal bago maging creole ang pidgin, o bago man maging pidgin.

5.4 Conio ba ang Taglish?

Naitanong na kung ang Taglish o Pinoy style ay pareho ng conio.

Hindi conio ang Taglish. Ang salitang CONIO ay isang vulgar na salita sa Kastila, na tumutukoy mismo sa female genitalia. Hindi nakakapagtaka dahil nagsimula ang konsepto sa isang klaseng ugnayan ng namumuno sa isang pamilya at ng mga naglilingkod. Isang klaseng relationship itong may hangaring i-establish o pagtibayin sa pagitan ng namumuno at naglilingkod gamit ang imoral na relationship. Hindi nakakapagtaka na tinawag itong conio. Isang variety ito ng pagsasalita na may halo ng English at Tagalog. Para itong tagpi-tagping pagsasama ng dalawang wika.

Please make ligpit of the plates. (Please clear out the plates.)

I don't like her because she is making gulo my life. (I don't like her because she is ruining my life.)

Makikita sa mga sentences na ito na ang verb ay hindi inflected para ipakita ang tense o voice, for example, *iligpit* o *manggulo*. Root word lang ang ginagamit sa conio, kaya masasabing hindi well-formed ang mga sentences na conio. Hindi fully developed ang conio kaya kailangan ang paggamit ng mga English words na hindi naman ini-inflect.

6 Intellectualization

Dati, English o Filipino ang madalas na gamit sa theoretical o intellectual na mga discussion. Pero ngayon, gamit na gamit ang Taglish o Pinoy variety sa mga academic forum, sa pagpapalitan ng mga ideas, opinion, kuru-kuro, at makabagong paraan ng analysis; 'di nga ba ito ay nai-raise na sa quora.com na nabanggit sa Section 3.I.

Syempre, hindi ako magtataka kung gugustuhing i-control ito ng mga gatekeepers o iyong mga naghaharing-uri na i-retain ang laging paggamit ng mataas na antas gaya ng English lang. Pero, hindi mako-control ang gamit at pagpapalaganap ng madali at maliwanag na communication na laging hinahanap ng mga taong nag-uusap.

6.1 Cooperative Principle

Sinasabi ng principle na ito na kapag gumagamit ng language, ang gusto ng tao ay laging may pagkakaintindihan at hindi para mag-confuse.

Darating ang time na aabot na ang mga words kung saan parehong gagamitin ang *promise* at *pramis*, *muscle* at *masel*, *filapan* at *fill-upan*, at

marami pang similar na mga example. Kaya kailangang maliwanag ang basehan ng mga pagpili kung aling form ang gagamitin, at ang ibang principles dito ay na-discuss na sa mga naunang mga part ng paper na ito.

6.2 Ang Future

Dahil sa nature ng topic ng paper na ito, marami pa ang puwedeng magbago at may iba't ibang paraan ng pag-aanalyze. Kailangan ang dalawa: ang science ng linguistics at ang Holy Spirit para mag-guide sa akin at sa mga linguists kung paano harapin ang future ng Pinoy language.

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Thesis & Dissertation Abstracts

Modality in Ilocano

Benito V. Nolasco, Jr.

Modality has received little attention as a semantic domain in previous Ilocano grammar studies. In fact, it is merely secondary to grammatical or morphosyntactic descriptions. In this study, modality, which is expressed through various means, is concerned with a speaker's evaluation of the factuality status of a proposition or a potential event. Using a typological approach, this study (i) presents various ways of expressing modality in Ilocano and (ii) illustrates the semantic classifications and categories of modal expressions in Ilocano. Modality in Ilocano is expressed through modal lexical elements and modal affixes. Lexical elements in Ilocano that encode modality include modal adverbs, modal verbs, modal adjectives, and modal adverbial clitics. Using Palmer's (2001) modal descriptions, modal lexical elements in Ilocano are divided into two categories: propositional and event modality. Propositional modality, on the one hand, refers to a speaker's evaluation of a proposition. The subcategories under propositional modality, which are based

on Van der Auwera and Plungian (1998) and Vondiziano's (2019) classifications of modality, include epistemic possibility, epistemic necessity, and assertion. Epistemic possibility, which is considered as a weak modal type in this study, highlights a speaker's non-commitment to a proposition. Epistemic necessity, which is a strong modal type, is concerned with a proposition that conveys a high degree of probability. Assertion, which is described as an asserted modal type, deals with a speaker's commitment to the truth value of a proposition. On the other hand, event modality is concerned with events that are potential, unreal, and have not been actualized. It is subdivided into participant-internal and participant-external modality based on the classifications of Van der Auwera and Plungian (1998). Participant-internal, which is conceptual in nature, is concerned with internal factors that make an event necessary (e.g., internal needs). Participant-external, which is either conceptual or illocutionary, focuses on external circumstances that make a situation necessary. Participant-external modality is further divided into the deontic-circumstantial domain which describes external circumstances that influence the completion of an action; and the deontic-directive domain that describes a situation where a speaker requires another speech participant to accomplish or perform an action.

Aside from modal lexical elements, modality in Ilocano can also be expressed through the use of modal affixes including inflectional affixes and modal stem-forming affixes. Modal inflectional affixes in Ilocano mark realis-irrealis distinction and controlled-uncontrolled domain based on the realis-irrealis descriptions of Mithun (1995) and Payne and Oyzon (2020); and the controlled-uncontrolled concepts of Payne and Oyzon (2020). Realis is concerned with events that are factual,

have been actualized and are currently happening. Irrealis deals with non-factual, potential, and possible events. This study also illustrates, although preliminary, the relationship between realis-irrealis distinction and constructions that express propositional and event modality. Aside from realis-irrealis distinction, this study also uses the concept of a speaker's control to classify modal inflectional affixes. Controlled domain in this study is only concerned with the following situations: (i) an actor wishes to involve another participant; (ii) an actor has control over an entity or a situation; and (iii) an actor has decided to perform an action. On the other hand, uncontrolled domain deals only with the following conditions: (i) naturally-occurring events and phenomena not instigated by an actor; (ii) unregulated body processes; and (iii) influences of an action initially executed by an actor. Finally, this study presents some stem-forming affixes that encode abilitative, sociative, requestive, frequentive, or deliberate meaning.

Nolasco, Benito V., Jr. (2023). *Modality in Ilocano* [Unpublished master's thesis]. Department of Linguistics, University of the Philippines Diliman.



A Grammatical Sketch of Porohanon

Vincent Christopher A. Santiago

This study aims to describe the phonetic, phonological, and morphosyntactic structures of Porohanon, a Bisayan language spoken

in the Municipality of Poro, Camotes Islands, Cebu, Philippines. Since John Wolff's 1967 article *History of the dialect of the Camotes Islands, Philippines and the spread of Cebuano Bisayan*, a full grammatical description of Porohanon has not been undertaken, despite consistent reference to Porohanon in the literature on the subgrouping of Bisayan lects (Zorc, 1977; Lobel, 2006; Blust, 2013) and various studies tackling only portions of its grammar, and geographic distribution (Carcellar, 1976; Ballo, 2011; Esmero, et al., 2018; Garrido, 2020).

Based on primary recorded linguistic data, interviews, and participant observation from fieldwork in the municipality during the years 2018 and 2022, this grammatical sketch adopts two general approaches. Individual speech sounds, their features, possible patterns of combination, and how they change over short and long periods of time are analyzed using the notational conventions and concepts of classic generative phonology (Chomsky & Halle, 1968). Atomic constructions (e.g., Affixes, Articles, Content Words, etc.) and complex constructions (e.g., Referential Expressions, Phrases, Sentences) are analyzed using concepts from Radical Construction Grammar (Croft, 2001).

What emerges is an updated description of Porohanon; enriched with more data and situated in the contemporary linguistic ecology of the Camotes Islands in the years 2022–2023. Standard Cebuano influence is heavier than before, most notably in the Articles, Pronominals, and some Function Words and Content Words. Despite this, most language

users affirm the distinctiveness of Porohanon and its role as a marker of membership in an island community of the Central Visayas.

Santiago, Vincent Christopher A. (2023). *A grammatical sketch of Porohanon* [Unpublished master's thesis]. Department of Linguistics, University of the Philippines Diliman.



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About the Contributors

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Si **Anicia del Corro** ay isang expert sa larangan ng Linguistics at Theology. Natapos niya ang kanyang Bachelor of Arts, Master of Arts, at Doctor of Philosophy na lahat major sa Linguistics sa University of the Philippines Diliman. Bukod dito, nagtapos din siya ng Master of Theology sa Union Theological Seminary sa Virginia, USA. Siya ang translation consultant sa unang natapos na Heterogeneous Language translation ng Bible para sa New Testament at Psalms and Proverbs mula 2007 hanggang 2021. Ipinublish ang buong Bible noong 2023 ng Philippine Bible Society, Inc.

Julia Magno is an alumna of the UP Department of Linguistics, which has also published her undergraduate capstone research about the Messenger reacji. Also a singer-songwriter and yodeler known as “gossamery,” she has written and translated songs in several languages and has performed at international events, including the SOAS GLOCAL Conference on Asian Linguistic Anthropology in 2023. She is currently a sophomore at the UP College of Law.

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