

Amini ang Linawis: A Grammatical Sketch of the Bantayanon Variety of Madridejos

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Abstract

Spoken in Madridejos (Lawis), Linawis is an underdocumented variety of the understudied Bisayan language Bantayanon [bfɤ]. This study attempts to provide further Bantayanon dialectal data by documenting and describing the Linawis variety and its grammar as it is used by a highly multilingual community, and to provide materials for Linawis corpora, literature, and pedagogy. To fulfill these objectives, both elicited and naturalistic texts were collected, transcribed, and analyzed. The data reveal that Linawis features abundant code switching and mixing and phonolexical variation. The variety has 15 consonant phonemes, three vowel phonemes, phonemic stress, and four major morphosyntactic classes: particles, nouns, verbs, and adjectives, and a residual class of adverbs. Some morphosyntactic strategies are also used to highlight pragmatic concerns, e.g., TOPICS and FOCI, information recency, and HESITATION. This grammatical system of Linawis is characterized by the speakers' large linguistic repertoires, synchronic variation, and syncretism in grammatical markings and pronominal forms, as well as possibly unique phenomena, e.g., non-THEME marking of the NEUTRAL =*y*. All these paints a picture of a robust and dynamic Bantayanon variety.

1 Introduction

Bantayanon [bfɤ] is a member of the Central Bisayan branch of the Bisayan group of languages.¹ The language is spoken in the municipalities of Madridejos (also called Lawis), Bantayan, and Santa Fe (also called Ogtong) on the Bantayan islands in the province of Cebu, Central Visayas, Philippines (see Figure 1). Located centrally in the Visayan sea, the Bantayan islands are in the middle of the maritime and linguistic crossroads of the Visayas (Carabio-Sexon, 2007, pp. 22–29, 79–80). The islands have been a hotspot for emigration since the 1800s when Capiznons and Cebuanos started

¹Bantayanon is considered a transitional language between the Cebuan sub-branch and Hiligaynon of the Peripheral sub-branch in Zorc (1977, p. 170). Note also that “Bantayanon” is the umbrella term for the language and not all speakers refer to the language as Bantayanon (see Section 3).

migrating to the islands (Allen, 2022, p. 57) until more recent years when fisherfolk from neighboring islands including Cebu, Negros, Panay, Masbate, Leyte, and Samar fished in the islands' waters eventually settle in (Baran, field notes, April 8–13, 2023).² These migrants would also bring their respective languages with them.

Figure 1

A Map of the Bantayan Islands Inside the Bantayan Municipal Hall



Despite the influx of migrants and their languages, I have observed that Bantayanon, considered the indigenous language of the Bantayan islands (Allen, 2022, p. 51), is still being maintained among native, immigrant, and emigrant populations with varying

²During my fieldwork, I met a Masbatenyo in Santa Fe and a Negrense, Cebuano, and Mindanaoan in Madridejos. All of them settled on the island of Bantayan after each having married a local. Many of the language partners have also lived for some time outside the Bantayan islands and have been influenced by the languages where they migrated.

degrees of use and mixing of migratory languages like Cebuano, Hiligaynon, Capiznon, Waray, and Masbatenyo (Baran, field notes, April 11–13, 2023). The number of users of Bantayanon, however, is said to be decreasing (Allen, 2022, pp. 76–80) and Ethnologue currently lists the Bantayanon speaker population at 71,600 and gives it a Threatened (6b) evaluation (Eberhard et al., 2024),³ that is, the language is “...used for face-to-face communication within all generations, but it is losing users.”

The low number of users and the mixing of migratory languages may be the reason why Bantayanon’s language-hood has not been established for the longest time. Bantayanon was formerly considered a Cebuano or Hiligaynon dialect (see Allen, 2022, p. 1); however, Carabio-Sexon (2007, p. 85) determines that Bantayanon is a distinct language because it is not highly intelligible to either Cebuano or Hiligaynon. Allen (2022, p. 75) further develops this point by showing that Bantayanon itself has its own dialects (or geographic varieties). These are: (a) Sinantape (also called Santapehanon or Sintantapehanon), which is spoken in the municipality of Santa Fe; (b) Binantayan (also called Bantayanon or Binantayanon), spoken in the municipality of Bantayan; and (c) Linawis (also called Lawisanon or Linawisanon), which is spoken in the municipality of Madridejos (Lawís).

Although Bantayanon has now been deemed a distinct language, it remains to be understudied. As of December 2023, there are yet to be any published studies focusing solely on the language. Compare this to the neighboring Cebuano [ceb] which has numerous published grammars, studies, and dictionaries (Tanangkingsing, 2009, pp. 9–16).

In terms of unpublished studies, Bantayanon is described in Carabio-Sexon’s (2007) master’s thesis on Bantayanon’s sociolinguistic profile, Allen’s (2022) dissertation on Bantayanon grammar and sustainable use, Baran’s (2023d) conference presentation on Bantayanon discourse particles, and Baran and Dizon’s (2023) conference presentation comparing Bantayanon and Okinawan existential-possessive-locative (EPL) clauses. The language is also partially discussed in published studies including Zorc’s (1977) study on the subgrouping of Bisayan languages and the reconstruction of Proto Bisayan, Lobel’s (2013) comparative study on the languages of the Philippines and North Borneo. I have also discussed Bantayanon partially in an undergraduate paper on the lateral deletion phenomenon in the languages of Visayas and Mindanao (Baran, 2022). Layague (2016) and the Bantayanon Language Project (n.d.) are the only publicly available dictionaries of the language to date.

Bantayanon still needs to be studied more and currently, there is a lack of dialectal data (Allen, 2022, p. 161). The three major works by Carabio-Sexon (2007), Layague (2016), and Allen (2022) extensively cover Binantayan but do not focus on Linawis, and according to Allen (2022, p. 75), another researcher is currently documenting Sinantape. Because Linawis is the only variety among the three that has yet to have a dedicated

³Allen (2022, pp. 76–80) also evaluates Bantayanon as Threatened (6b). My observations, however, are that Bantayanon (at least in Madridejos) is spoken almost exclusively within the community, but code mixing and switching is pervasive. Although according to some language partners, the younger generations’ Bantayanon now has many Cebuano, Hiligaynon, and Tagalog loans, which shows the dynamic nature of the language and the highly multilingual context of the island. More research is needed to fully assess the vitality of Bantayanon.

study and my positionality as a Lawisanon descendant,⁴ the focus of this study is on documenting and describing the phonological, morphosyntactic, and pragmatic features of the Linawis variety.

2 Methodology

In language documentation, Gippert et al. (2006) recommends the final output to be a “lasting, multipurpose record of a language” (p. 1) and so, this study aims to create a naturalistic description of Linawis as it is used by a highly multilingual community, and compile a preliminary Linawis corpus which can be used as materials for literature and pedagogy. As such, the data for this study is primarily conversational and narrative-based. The transcription was done on ELAN (2022) and further annotated with Fieldworks Language Explorer (FLEX).

2.1 Data Collection and the Language Partners

The corpus consists of around five hours and 40 minutes of conversational data and around five hours and around 42 minutes of local stories collected during fieldwork in 2022 (see Baran, 2023d) and 2023.^{5,6} In addition, an Existential-Possessive-Locative (EPL) sentence list collected in 2022 (see Baran & Dizon, 2023) is used to supplement the naturalistic texts.⁷ Five hours and 21 minutes of the 11 hours and 22 minutes of recordings have been transcribed and further glossed.⁸ The data were provided by language partners (see Section 9.2). The veracity of the data and analyses were also confirmed with them. The partners are from Barangays Talangnan (Tyangnan), Poblacion (Lawis), Mancilang, Malbago, Pili, and San Agustin (Tinaan) in the municipality of Madridejos (see Figure 2).

To protect the language partners, the details of the project, as well as important ethical considerations such as confidentiality and attribution, as well as data access and storage, were explained to them. Moreover, informed consent was asked from each participant at the beginning of the recording sessions. COVID-19 health protocols were followed during data collection.

2.2 Presentation and Archiving

Phonemic transcriptions are presented inside forward slashes / / while phonetic transcriptions are presented inside square brackets []. These transcriptions are represented

⁴My mother and her direct family are Madridejos emigrants and inactive L1 speakers of Linawis. I can speak Linawis to a basic level.

⁵Data collection was conducted in a mix of Bantayanon and Cebuano.

⁶Based on Levshina et al. (2021), language partners were asked to converse about any topic for 20–60 minutes.

⁷The language partner was asked to translate a 70-sentence list, modified from the UP Department of Linguistics 700+ sentence list.

⁸For those interested in the corpus, feel free to reach out to the author.

Figure 2

A Map of Madridejos (Lawis), Provided by the Madridejos Community Water Service (April 11, 2023)



with the characters from the International Phonetic Alphabet. The homorganic nasal, however, is represented as /N/.

Although Allen (2022, pp. 131–146) has a suggested Bantayanon orthography, it is still not widely used or recognized among Lawisanons as of December 2023.⁹ Since the Cebuano orthography is still the common method of writing Linawis (Baran, field notes, April 8–13, 2013), sample items and sentences are presented following the orthographical conventions used by the Department of Education in the implementation of the MTB-MLE program in Region VII (see Godin, 2017). Since stress and the syllable-final glottal stops are unrepresented in the said orthographical conventions, for instructional purposes, stress on disyllabic words is represented with an acute accent on a vowel, e.g., *á*, and syllable final glottal stops are represented with a grave accent on a vowel, e.g., *à* (cf. Wolff, 1972). If both occur, the circumflex accent is used, e.g., *â* (cf. Santos, 2019, pp. 78–81).¹⁰

⁹The Lawisanon section of the primers and consent forms were written with Allen's (2022) proposed orthography but there were several instances where language partners corrected my spelling, e.g., instead of Allen's (2022) *atun* 'our,' they preferred *aton* 'our' which reflects Cebuano orthographical conventions of using *o* to represent /u/ at the final syllable of root words (see Godin, 2017). This shows that using the Cebuano orthography to write Linawis is still the norm and this is reflected in this study.

¹⁰Lawisanons do not use diacritics when writing Linawis. Diacritics allow the examples to not stray too far from the orthographical conventions of the community, i.e., words with diacritics are still immediately recognizable to a Lawisanon, and at the same time, make the examples instructional to the reader who might not be familiar with Linawis.

Examples are presented with English translations inside single quotation marks ‘ ’. Sample sentences are also presented following the Leipzig Glossing Rules (see Comrie et al., 2015).

With proper consent, all data and outputs from this project are made available to future researchers and community members upon request. A proposed Bantayanon translation of parts of this paper can be found on <https://tinyurl.com/AminiAngLinawis>.

3 The Linawis Variety

The people of Madridejos call themselves *Lawisánon* which comes from *Lawís*¹¹ ‘Madridejos’ and *-(h)ánon* ‘ORIGIN’. They call their spoken variety derivatives of the generic *Bisayâ* ‘Bisayan’ or derivatives of the specific toponym *Lawís* (Baran, field notes, October 22–23, 2022).¹² In intra-community contexts, the Lawisanon prefer calling their variety *Bisayâ* or *Binisayâ* with the infix <in> ‘SPEECH’.

In extra-community contexts, Lawisanons may call their variety (a) *Lawisánon* (the demonym), (b) *Linawís* ‘Madridejos speech,’ or (c) *Linawisánon* ‘Lawisanon speech.’ Lawisanons may also call their variety derivatives of *Bantáyan*, *Cebú*, or *Súgbo* ‘Cebu’ when highlighting their membership to the larger Bantayan and Cebuano communities respectively. While Lawisanons have no problem using these different names in different contexts to suit their needs, I refer to the variety as *Linawis* in this study for consistency, economy, specificity, and my own familiarity.

As a member of the Cebuano linguistic community, I find that Cebuano speakers might easily mistake Linawis for Cebuano. In fact, some language partners consider Linawis to be a variety of Cebuano that is heavily influenced by neighboring languages. Aside from the Philippines’ official languages, English and Filipino/Tagalog [tg1], Cebuano is spoken in many formal contexts,¹³ e.g., the church (Carabio-Sexon, 2007, pp. 110–111).¹⁴ You would rarely see signages written entirely in Linawis, as many signs are written entirely in standard Cebuano (see Figure 3).¹⁵ Bantayanons in general also tend to use Cebuano when talking to strangers or outsiders (Carabio-Sexon, 2007, p. 120; Allen, 2022, pp. 152–154). There was one instance where a Lawisanon spoke exclusively in Cebuano with me even after attempting to engage in Linawis; however, they immediately switched to speaking Linawis when a family member talked to them.¹⁶

¹¹*Lawis* may be related to ceb *lawis* ‘a point of low land extending from the shore into the water’ (Wolff, 1972).

¹²This is common among Bisayan communities (Zorc, 1977, pp. 5–6), e.g., Cebuano may be referred to as *Cebuano*, *Sinibwano*, *Sinugboanon*, or *Sugboanon* from *Cebu* or *Sugbo* (specific toponym), or *Binisaya* or *Bisaya* from *Bisaya* (generic ethnonym).

¹³Government announcements tend to—but not always—be in Standard Cebuano. For example, the official page of the government of the Municipality of Madridejos posts either in Standard Cebuano or in English. Linawis, however, appears in the comments alongside Cebuano and English.

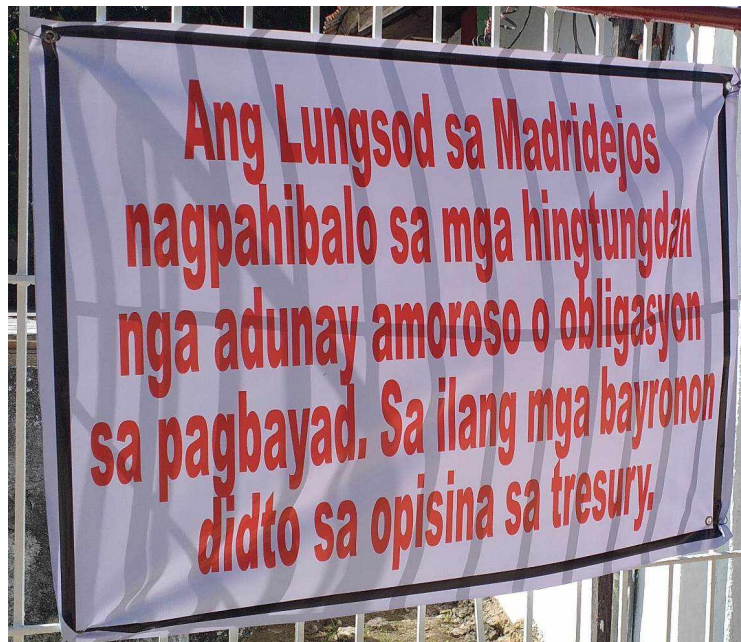
¹⁴Last I attended mass in Madridejos, I observed that only the homily had some Linawis elements.

¹⁵Standard Cebuano refers to the Sialo variety of Southeastern Cebu (Endriga, 2010, p. 11).

¹⁶I have been told by some language partners that I have a clear Cebuano *tóno* ‘tune, accent’ when trying to speak Linawis, so this may also be a factor.

Figure 3

A Municipal Notice Written in Standard Cebuano, Taken at the Madridejos Municipal Cemetery (October 23, 2022)



Note. The translation of the Cebuano text is as follows: “The municipality of Madridejos wishes to inform the concerned people that you are obligated to pay your dues. For payments, proceed to the treasury office.”

The influence of Cebuano on Linawis is historically attested. Bantayanon is said to have developed from a variety of Old Waray that was inundated with Cebuano lexicon (Allen, 2022, p. 61), comparable to Porohanon as described in Wolff (1967, pp. 65–66). However, Cebuano is not the only language that has influenced Linawis.

Language partners often refer to Linawis as a *saksaksinágol* ‘hodgepodge’ of Cebuano, Hiligaynon, Waray, Masbatenyo, Binantayan, and Sinantape (Baran, field notes, October 22–23, 2022).¹⁷ Bantayan’s multilingualism and the large linguistic repertoires of Bantayanon speakers are reflected in the use of Waray and Masbatenyo in the market (Carabio-Sexon, 2007, p. 110), and the influx of Cebuano and Hiligaynon-speaking immigrants (Allen, 2022, p. 53) which resulted in the use of Cebuano in formal domains, e.g., church and government, and the use of Hiligaynon loanwords, e.g., *hil subóng* sometimes replacing Linawis *sarâ* ‘now’ or *hil tani* sometimes replacing the particle *kúntà* ‘HYPOTHETICAL.’

¹⁷ Many language partners mentioned having limited proficiency in Tagalog and English. Some language partners who have never lived in or near Hiligaynon-speaking areas mentioned having limited to zero proficiency in Hiligaynon and some language partners who have not lived in Cebu also mention having limited to zero proficiency in Cebuano. One language partner who lives in the interior of Lawis and has never left Bantayan has mentioned that they only speak Linawis.

Language partners mention that historically and even at present, fisherfolk from other islands come to fish in Lawis' waters¹⁸ and some eventually marry into Lawisanon families. I did in fact meet Cebuano, Masbatenyo, and Ilonggo fishermen who married Lawisanon women and now speak Linawis as their everyday language but with heavy influence from their respective languages. Many of the language partners have also lived outside Madridejos and have been influenced by the languages of those areas. Cebuano, however, remains the biggest language in contact with Linawis due to local media being in Cebuano (Baran, field notes, October 22–23, 2022)¹⁹ and the MTB-MLE program stipulating Cebuano as the medium of instruction for Grades 1–3 in Central Visayas (Allen, 2022, pp. 79–80).

Due to both the tendency of speakers to switch to Cebuano and the influx of Cebuano lexicon, Linawis may seem like Cebuano to outsiders, but while there are many Cebuano loans, Linawis is still a robust variety of Bantayanon. Instead of shifting entirely to one language, Linawis speakers negotiate their variety with the more prestigious Cebuano and other languages used in Linawis, resulting in a variety that is characterized by prevalent code-switching (1) and code-mixing (2). The former is the switching of languages across sentence boundaries while the latter is the embedding of linguistic units from different languages within a sentence (Tay, 1989, p. 408).

- (1) Sayóp! Sorry. Táó lang pò
 mistake sorry human only POLITE
 (Linawis) (eng) (tgl)
 '(That's) wrong. Sorry. (I'm) just human.'
- (2) akon gi-pangáyo nga taga-Ø-an tánì =ta
 1SG.NPM U.IRR.PFV-ask MOD give-U.IRR-APPL HYPOTHETICAL =1PL.INCL.PM
 (Linawis) (hil) (Linawis)
 og sákto sa puhónan then
 NPM.INDF correct OBL capital then
 (ceb) (Linawis) (tgl) (eng)
 'What I'm asking for is that they hopefully give us enough capital and (only) then...'

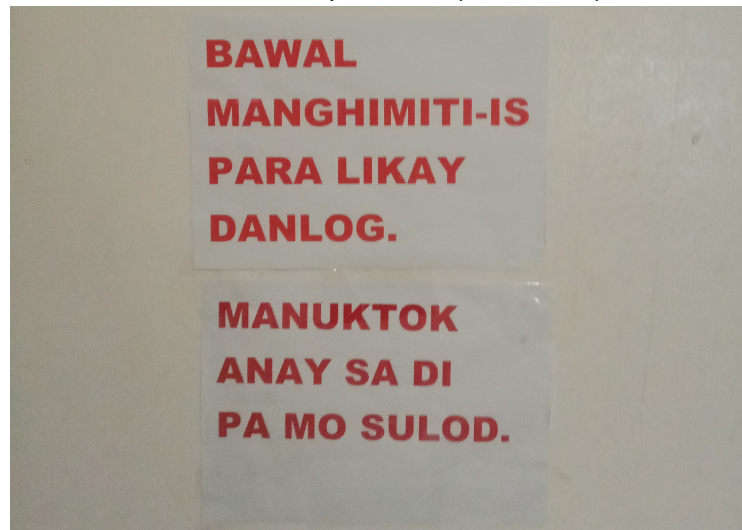
Code-switching and code-mixing are so prevalent in Linawis that the latter even occurs in the written language (see Figure 4). There is typically more mixing of Cebuano elements in more formal, more intercommunity contexts until there is a switch to mostly Cebuano in contexts such as government announcements or church service. On the other hand, there is less mixing of Cebuano elements in more intimate, more intracommunity contexts such as speaking among family members until there is a switch to mostly Linawis.

¹⁸The language partner Lóla Teresita mentions that Lawis was once dubbed "the Alaska of the Philippines" because of the once lucrative fishing and seafood industry of the municipality.

¹⁹According to some language partners, Bombo Radyo Iloilo, which is predominantly in Hiligaynon, was more commonly heard before.

Figure 4

Comfort Room Sign With Code Mixing of Linawis ánay ‘PREPARATIVE’, tgl báwal ‘PROHIBITIVE’, and ceb sulód ‘enter’, Taken at the Madridejos Municipal Hall (April 18, 2023)



Note. The translation is as follows: “Do not wash your feet to avoid making the floor slippery. Knock first before entering.”

While pervasive, code-mixing does not necessarily indicate the loss of native vocabulary and according to Yakpo (2015, p. 267), code-mixing items are not obligatory. In (3) for example, the language partner *Nong Wilfred* uses the standard Cebuano or Hiligaynon associated *sulô* [su'lo?] ‘torch’ in one utterance, switches to the northern Cebuano associated *s’ò* [‘su:ʔ] ‘torch’ in the next, and then Linawis *syò* [‘jjuʔ] ‘torch’ in the following utterances. Mixing is so rampant that features which some partners consider shibboleths of Linawis, e.g., *lat* ‘RELATIONAL’ and *guráng* ‘old’ (Baran, field notes, October 22–23, 2022) may regularly be replaced with Cebuano forms, namely *pod* or *sad* and *(ti)gúwang* respectively (J. Baran, personal communication, 2023).

- (3) **Sulô** ba, sulô. Ngm. **S’ò** là, lakát ka.
torch RESTRICTIVE.NEGOTIABILITY torch yup **torch** only go.out 2SG.PM
 (ceb/hil) (ceb)
 Saúna mam-áyle kamí, **syò** ámo=ng
 before A.IRR.DISTR-social.dance 1PL.EXCL.PM **torch** 1PL.EXCL.NPM=MOD
 (Linawis)
 gamít-Ø-on
 use-U.IRR-PR.CPV

‘Torches (right)? Yup, torches. You just (bring) a torch and you go out. Back then, when we went dancing, we would use a torch.’

Even in phonology, code-mixing is evident. Items which had their laterals diachronically vocalized to [j] in Bantayanon (e.g., Proto-Bisayan *balay ‘house’ > bfx *byay*) (see

Allen, 2022, pp. 93–94) may be replaced by items from Standard Cebuano which do not have this diachronic sound change (i.e., ceb *balay*).²⁰ In some cases, these items may further undergo intervocalic lateral deletion which is found in the Bohol, Leyte, and Northern Cebu varieties of Cebuano,²¹ e.g., Proto-Bisayan *baláy > *baláy* > *b'ay* [ˈba:j] (see Endriga, 2010, p. 8; Baran, 2022). Speakers do all these mixes—and even switches—depending on individual preferences and the contexts of the speech event.²² All these alternant forms paint a picture of the complex and large linguistic repertoire of a Linawis speaker.

Hereon, the sources of possible loans are indicated as subscripts. The source languages are abbreviated as follows: ceb (Cebuano/Binisayâ), eng (English), hil (Hiligaynon), spa (Spanish), tgl (Tagalog), and war (Waray).

4 Phonology

This section briefly describes the phonemes, or the meaningful or contrasting sounds (Aikhenvald, 2015, p. 46), that form the phonological inventory of Linawis as well as the organization of these phonemes into syllables. The Linawis inventory includes consonants, vowels, and phonemic stress.

4.1 Consonants

Consonants are made by momentarily blocking or restricting airflow in the vocal tract to produce a sound (O'grady & Archibald, 2015, p. 20). Linawis has 15 consonant phonemes with voiceless (left) and voiced (right) stop pairs (see Table 1). The latter involves the vibration of the vocal cords while the latter does not (Hayes, 2009, pp. 6–7). Some realizations of Linawis' consonant phonemes are optional for reasons yet to be determined. They are labeled with the OPTIONAL subscript. One consonant, the homorganic nasal /N/, is included in Table 1 but its phonemic status is still unclear.

Table 1
Linawis Consonant Inventory

| | Bilabial | | Dental | | Alveolar | Palatal | Velar | | Glottal |
|-------------|------------|-----|--------|-----|----------|---------|-------|-----|---------|
| Stop | /p/ | /b/ | /t/ | /d/ | | | /k/ | /g/ | /ʔ/ |
| Nasal | /m/ | | /n/ | | | | /ŋ/ | | |
| | | | | | (/N/) | | | | |
| Fricative | | | | | /s/ | | | | /h/ |
| Approximant | /w/ | | | | /l/ | /j/ | | | |
| | labiovelar | | | | | | | | |

²⁰ Another example is Barangay Talangnan (see Section 2.1) which can be [ˈtʰʌŋŋʌŋ] or [tʰʌˈlʌŋŋʌŋ].

²¹ This is exemplified by the Metro Cebu variety of Cebuano, one of my first languages.

²² Whether Linawis speakers are conscious of these changes is a question for future research.

4.1.1 Stops

Table 2

Linawis Stops

| Phoneme | Realizations | Environments | Examples | |
|---------|---------------------------|-------------------|---|-----------------------------|
| /p/ | [p] | all | / ¹ pa/ [¹ pɑ] | <i>pa</i> 'PERSISTENCE' |
| /b/ | [b] | all | /ba/ [¹ bɑ] | <i>ba</i> 'CONFIRMATORY' |
| | [β] _{OPTIONAL} | __V | / ¹ bu.kid/ [¹ βu:.kɪd] | <i>búkid</i> 'mountain' |
| /t/ | [t̪] | all others | / ¹ ta/ [¹ t̪ɑ] | <i>ta</i> '1SG.NPM' |
| | [t̪ʃ] | __{/s/, /j/, /l/} | / ¹ tlus/ [¹ t̪ʃus] | <i>tyos</i> 'approach' |
| /d/ | [ɖ] | all others | / ¹ da/ [¹ ɖɑ] | <i>da</i> 'RESTRICTIVE' |
| | | in loanwords | /sa.ba. ¹ du/ [sɑ.bɑ. ¹ ɖo] | <i>sabadó</i> 'Saturday' |
| | [r/r̥] | V__V | /ba. ¹ ja.dan/ [bɑ. ¹ ja.r̥ɑn] | <i>bayáran</i> 'pay' |
| | | in loanwords | / ¹ kdu.du/ [¹ kru:ɖo] | <i>krúdo</i> 'oil' |
| | [dʒ] | __{/s/, /j/, /l/} | / ¹ dla/ [¹ dʒɑ] | <i>dya</i> 'bring' |
| | [l/ð] _{OPTIONAL} | __V | / ¹ did.tu/ [¹ ðɪd.tu] | <i>dídto</i> 'there' |
| /k/ | [k] | all | / ¹ da.jun/ [¹ la:.jɔn] | <i>dáyon</i> 'then' |
| | | | /ka. ¹ mut/ [ka. ¹ mut̪] | <i>kamót</i> 'hand' |
| | [x/χ] _{OPTIONAL} | __V | / ¹ ?a.kun/ [¹ ?ɑ.xuŋ] | <i>ákon</i> '1SG.NPM' |
| /g/ | [g] | all | /ga. ¹ mut/ [gɑ. ¹ mut] | <i>gamót</i> 'root' |
| | [ɣ] _{OPTIONAL} | __V | /ba. ¹ ga/ [bɑ. ¹ ɣɑ] | <i>bagá</i> 'similarly' |
| /?/ | [ʔ] | all | / ¹ ?i.la(ʔ)/ [¹ ?i.laØ] | <i>íla</i> 'infatuate' |
| | Ø _{OPTIONAL} | __# | | |

Stop consonants are produced by momentarily blocking the airflow in the vocal tract to produce a sound (Hayes, 2009, p. 7). Linawis has seven stop phonemes with three

voice pairs (see Table 2). These are the bilabials /p/ and /b/, the dentals /t/ and /d/, the velars /k/ and /g/, and the glottal /ʔ/.

Bilabial stops are produced “by touching the upper and lower lips” to momentarily block air flow (Hayes, 2009, p. 8). The voiceless bilabial stop /p/ is always realized as [p] in all environments while the voiced bilabial stop /b/ is always realized as [b] in all environments except before vowels where it may be realized as a voiced bilabial fricative [β].

Dental stops are produced “by touching the tongue to the upper teeth” to momentarily block air flow (Hayes, 2009, p. 8). The voiceless dental stop /t/ is realized as an affricate [tʃ] before /s/, /l/, and /j/ and as [t̪] elsewhere. The voiced dental /d/ is [r], [r], or [ɹ]²³ intervocally and as an affricate [dʒ] before /s/, /l/, and /j/. Unlike in Allen (2022) [84–88], [r/r̥/ɹ] is considered allophonic to /d/ due to their limited distributions.²⁴ /d/ may also be realized as a lateral approximant [l] or a dental fricative [ð] before vowels. In loanwords and elsewhere, /d/ is realized as [d̪].

Velar stops are produced “by touching the body of the tongue to the hard or soft palate” to momentarily block air flow (Hayes, 2009, p. 10). The velars /k/ and /g/ are produced as the stops [k] and [g] respectively in all environments. Before vowels, however, they may also be produced as the fricatives [x] or [χ] and [ɣ] respectively.

The glottal stop /ʔ/ is produced “by moving the vocal cords close to one another” to momentarily block air flow (Hayes, 2009, p. 10), thereby having the realization [ʔ]. /ʔ/ may be deleted in word-final positions. Except for older speakers in Barangay San Agustin, /ʔ/ has not been observed to occur before consonants in non-reduplicated syllables, e.g., San Agustin *gâbi* /'gaʔbi/ ‘night’ versus the more common *gâb-i* /'gabʔi/ ‘night’ (see also Allen, 2022, pp. 96–97).

4.1.2 Fricatives

Fricative sounds are created by making a tight constriction in the vocal tract to create a turbulent flow of air (Hayes, 2009, p. 7). Linawis has two voiceless fricative consonants. These are the alveolar /s/ and the glottal /h/ (see Table 3).

The alveolar /s/ is produced when a tight constriction is made in the vocal tract “by touching the tip or blade of the tongue to a location just forward of the alveolar ridge” (Hayes, 2009, p. 8). /s/ is realized as a post alveolar [ʃ] before /j/ and /l/. Elsewhere, /s/ is realized as [s].

The glottal /h/ is produced when a tight constriction is made in the vocal tract “by moving the vocal cords close to one another” (Hayes, 2009, p. 10). /h/ is realized as [h] in all environments. It is sometimes deleted, however, for still unclear reasons.

²³The [ɹ] allophone may be an influence from English. This allophone is not observed among the older language partners.

²⁴The allophony between the liquids /l/, /d/, and /r/ is historically attested in prevocalic/intervocalic positions among Bisayan languages (Zorc, 1977, pp. 216–219), but it is still unclear if the Linawis /d/ > /l/ sound change (see Table 2) is diachronic or synchronic. There is currently insufficient evidence to support the phonemic status of /r/ in Linawis.

Table 3*Linawis Fricatives*

| Phoneme | Realizations | Environments | Examples | |
|---------|-----------------------|--------------|---|-----------------------------|
| /h/ | [h] | all | /hu. ¹ (l)at/ [hu. ¹ wɔt̚] | <i>huwát</i> 'wait' |
| | Ø _{OPTIONAL} | all | /bu. ¹ (h)i.ʔan/ [¹ bwØi:ʔɔŋ] | <i>bwían</i> 'release' |
| | | | /(h)a.mu. ¹ taŋ/ [ʔɔmu ¹ tɔŋ] | <i>hamutáng</i> 'settle' |
| /s/ | [s] | all others | /su. ¹ (l)at/ [sɔ ¹ wɔt̚] | <i>suwát</i> 'write' |
| | [ʃ] | —{/j/, /l/} | / ¹ slud/ [¹ ʃjud] | <i>syod</i> 'inside' |

4.1.3 Nasals

Nasal consonants are produced by lowering the velum to redirect the air flow in the vocal tract through the nose (Hayes, 2009, p. 7). Linawis' four nasal consonants are the

Table 4*Linawis Nasals*

| Phoneme | Realizations | Environments | Examples | |
|---------|--------------|--------------|---|---------------------------------|
| /m/ | [m] | all | / ¹ ma/ [¹ ma] | <i>ma</i> 'mom' |
| /n/ | [ɲ] | all | / ¹ na/ [¹ ɲɔ] | <i>na</i> 'TRANSFORMATIVE' |
| /ŋ/ | [ŋ] | all | / ¹ ŋa/ [¹ ŋɔ] | <i>nga</i> 'MODIFIER' |
| | | | /paŋ. ¹ ba.jad/ [pɔŋ. ¹ bɔ:jaɖ] | <i>pangbáyad</i> 'payment' |
| /N/ (?) | [ŋ] | all others | paN- + <i>kuha</i> /pa. ¹ ŋu.haʔ/ [pɔ ¹ ŋu:hɔʔ] | <i>pangúhà</i> 'getting' |
| | [m] | —[BILABIAL] | paN- + <i>bayad</i> /pa. ¹ ma.jad/ [pɔ ¹ ma:jaɖ] | <i>pamáyad</i> 'pay up' |
| | [ɲ] | —[DENTAL] | maN- + <i>syod</i> /ma. ¹ ɲjud/ [mɔ ¹ ɲjud] | <i>manyód</i> 'going inside' |
| | [n] | —[ALVEOLAR] | maN- + <i>labang</i> /man. ¹ la.baŋ/ [mɔn ¹ la:bɔŋ] | <i>manlábang</i> 'crossing' |

bilabial /m/, the dental /n/, the velar /ŋ/, and the homorganic /N/ (see Table 4). The phonemic status of the homorganic /N/ is unclear.

The bilabial nasal /m/ is produced “by touching the upper and lower lips” while airflow is redirected to the nasal cavity (Hayes, 2009, p. 8) and is realized as [m] in all environments. The dental nasal /n/ is produced “by touching the tongue to the upper teeth” while airflow is redirected to the nasal cavity (Hayes, 2009, p. 8) and it is realized as [n] in all environments. The velar nasal /ŋ/ is produced “by touching the body of the tongue to the hard or soft palate” while airflow is redirected to the nasal cavity (Hayes, 2009, p. 10) and it is realized as [ŋ] in all environments.

Like /ŋ/, /N/ is also realized as [ŋ], but /N/ is realized as [m] before bilabials, [n] before dentals, and [ŋ] before alveolars. The phonemic status of /N/ is still unclear as it contrasts with /ŋ/ in only one minimal pair: *paN-* ‘DISTRIBUTIVE’ and *pang-* ‘INSTRUMENTAL’. *paN-* affixation causes the obligatory deletion of initial glottal and voiceless bilabial/dental/alveolar/velar stops of stems while *pang-* does not, e.g., compare *paN-* + *báyad* > *pamáyad* [pʌˈma:jɒd] to *pang-* + *báyad* > *pangbáyad* [pʌŋˈba:jɒd] ‘payment’ (see also Allen, 2022, p. 91).

4.1.4 Approximants

Approximant sounds are produced with a wide constriction that allows air to pass without any turbulence (Hayes, 2009, p. 7). Linawis has three approximant phonemes. These are the lateral /l/, the co-articulatory labiovelar /w/, and palatal /j/ (see Table 5).

The lateral approximant /l/ is produced by letting air pass through the sides of the tongue (Hayes, 2009, pp. 7–8). The Linawis /l/ can be realized as [l], [g], [d], [j] or Ø. This phoneme has many realizations due to a mix of diachronic and synchronic processes.

Historically, Bantayanon underwent a process of lateral vocalization where Proto-Bisayan *l became Bantayanon [j] in word-final positions, e.g., compare Linawis *bunay* ‘whip’ to ceb *bunal* ‘whip’, and where Proto-Bisayan *l became Bantayanon [j] in post-consonantal positions following vowel deletion, e.g., Proto-Bisayan *balay > Linawis *byay* (see also Allen, 2022, pp. 93–94).²⁵ This resulting [j] from diachronic lateral vocalization must be treated as an allophonic realization of /l/ instead of /j/ for two reasons. First, this process is still observed at present during infixation of items with an intervocalic /l/, e.g., *lálom/láwom* /ˈla(l)um/ ‘deep’. When the <g> ‘PLURAL’ infix is attached to *lálom/láwom* ‘deep’, the resultant form is *lágjom* /ˈlag.jum/ with lateral vocalization. The intervocalic /l/ becomes [j] when placed in the post-consonantal position following infixation. Second, post-consonantal [j] from Proto-Bisayan *l, e.g., *syod* /ˈslud/ ‘enter’, from Proto-Bisayan *səlád, becomes [l] during metathesis after suffixation, e.g., *syod* ‘enter’ when affixed with *-(an)án* ‘LOCUS’ becomes *sudlanán* /sud.laˈnan/ ‘container’. Metathesis causes [j] to be transferred to the morphological boundary where it becomes [l] for reasons best investigated in a different paper.

Another phonological process associated with /l/ is lateral deletion. In Bantayanon, Porohanon, and some neighboring varieties of Cebuano (Northern Cebuano and Bol-

²⁵See Zorc (1977) for a list of reconstructed Proto-Bisayan forms.

Table 5
Linawis Approximants

| Phoneme | Realizations | Environments | Examples | |
|------------------------------------|-------------------------|--------------------|----------------|-----------------|
| /l/ | [l] | all others | /ˈlaʔ/ | <i>là</i> |
| | | | [ˈlaʔ] | ‘LIMITING’ |
| | [g] | —[VELAR] | /si.l(i).ˈŋan/ | <i>síngan</i> |
| | | | [ˈsiŋaŋ] | ‘tell’ |
| | [d] _{OPTIONAL} | —[PLOSIVE, –VELAR] | /ˈsul.ti/ | <i>súlti</i> |
| | | | [ˈsudti] | ‘say’ |
| | [j] | C_ (non-suffix) | /ˈslud/ | <i>syod</i> |
| | | | [ˈʃjud] | ‘inside’ |
| | | | /ˈlag.lum/ | <i>lagyóm</i> |
| | | | [ˈlaɡjum] | ‘deep.PL’ |
| Ø _{OPTIONAL} ^a | | [POSTALVEOLAR]_ | /ˈt(l)uk/ | <i>tyok</i> |
| | | | [ˈtʃuk] | ‘sprout’ |
| | | V_V | /ˈwa(l)a/ | <i>w’a</i> |
| | | | [ˈwa:] | ‘left’ |
| | | | /ˈla(l)um/ | <i>lávom</i> |
| | | | [ˈla:wm] | ‘deep’ |
| /w/ | | | /tiˈŋa(l)i/ | <i>tingáy</i> |
| | | | [tiˈŋa:j] | ‘DUBITATIVE’ |
| /j/ | [w] | all | /ˈwaʔ/ | <i>wà</i> |
| | | | [ˈwaq] | ‘NEG.EPL’ |
| /j/ | [j] | all | /ja/ | <i>ya</i> |
| | | | [ˈja] | ‘EMPHATIC’ |
| Ø _{OPTIONAL} | | [POSTALVEOLAR]_ | /ba.tja.ˈgun/ | <i>batyagón</i> |
| | | | [batʃaˈɡuŋ] | ‘feel symptoms’ |

^a The more formal/clarificatory/emphatic the context, the less likely this sound change occurs. This is exemplified by Barangay Maalat (see Section 2.1) which is [maˈʔa:t] or [maˈʔalɔt]. Some items do not undergo this sound change for still unclear reasons.

anon), the intervocalic /l/ becomes Ø (Baran, 2022). This historical process of Proto-Bisayan *l loss (see Zorc, 1977) continues to be an active process in Bantayanon and the aforementioned languages where lateral deletion is only optional for certain items, e.g., the word for ‘head’ can either be without lateral deletion *úlo* [ˈʔu:lu] or with lateral deletion *’o* [ˈʔu:]. Complicating this further, both lateral deletion and lateral vocalization or the lack of both can occur in the same item, e.g., the word for ‘enter’ can be *sulód* [suˈlud] (without lateral processes), *s’od* [ˈsu:d] (with lateral deletion), or *syod* [ˈʃjud] (with lateral vocalization).

Other processes involving /l/ include the regressive assimilation of /l/ to [g] before velars and the optional assimilation of /l/ to [d] before dentals. The former typically

occurs when a vowel is deleted after affixation, e.g., *silíng* ‘say’ and *-an* ‘APPLICATIVE’ becomes *síngnan*. In other environments, /l/ is realized as [l].

One other notable phonological change with approximants is the affrication of dental and /y/ or /l/ clusters, e.g., *bátyag* ‘feel symptoms’ and *dya* ‘bring’, respectively.

The palatal approximant /j/ is produced by letting air pass through a big gap in the center but with a wide constriction near the palate (Hayes, 2009, p. 9). /j/ is always realized as [j] but it is sometimes deleted when a preceding dental or alveolar sound becomes an affricate or postalveolar sound respectively, e.g., *syod* [‘sjuɖ] ‘enter’ > [‘ʃjuɖ] > [‘ʃuɖ].

The labiovelar approximant /w/ is produced by letting air pass through a big gap in the center but with a wide constriction on both the lips and the velum. /w/ is realized as [w] in all environments.

4.2 Vowels

Vowel sounds are produced with little to no restriction in the vocal tract (O’grady & Archibald, 2015, p. 46). Linawis has three vowel phonemes (see Table 6). This is typical of Bisayan languages (Zorc, 1977, p. 47).

Table 6

Linawis Vowel Inventory

| | Front | Central | Back |
|------|-------|---------|------|
| High | /i/ | | /u/ |
| Low | | /a/ | |

Linawis’ vowels are the low central /a/, the high front /i/, and the high back /u/ (see Table 7). /a/ is realized as [ʌ], [ɐ], [ɑ], or [a]; /i/ as [ɪ], [i], or [e]; and /u/ as [ʊ], [u], or [o]. When stressed, emphasized, or lengthened, each of the vowels are more likely to be pronounced tensed, e.g., /a/ as [ɑ], /i/ as [i], and /u/ as [u]. /uw/ and /ij/ strings can be realized as [w] and [j] before vowels while /wu/ and /ji/ strings can be realized as [j] after vowels.

4.3 Stress and Length

Stress involves the raising of one syllable’s prominence relative to other syllables via increased pitch, loudness, and length and a change in vowel quality (Aikhenvald, 2015, p. 47). Linawis has phonemic stress (see Table 8) but not phonemic length. Vowel length in the variety is caused by one of two phenomena. One, stress placement in the open penultimate syllable causes vowels to be realized as lengthened, but this does not occur in stressed closed penultimate and ultimate syllables. Strings of /a(l)a/ and /u(l)u/ are realized as [ɑ:] and [u:] respectively following lateral deletion (see Table 5). Stress in a syllable also causes optional vowel tensing, e.g., [ʊ] > [u] and [ɪ] > [i].

Table 7*Linawis Vowels*

| Phoneme | Realizations | Environments | Examples | |
|---------|--------------|------------------------------------|---------------|--------------|
| /a/ | [ʌ/ɐ/a] | all | /ʔa.ga/ | ága |
| | | | [ʔa:ga] | ‘morning’ |
| | lengthened | stressed penultima _ {/i/, /u/} | /ti'ŋa(l)i/ | tingáy |
| | | | [tɪ'ŋa:j] | ‘DUBITATIVE’ |
| /i/ | [ɪ/i/e] | all | /ʔa.gi/ | ági |
| | | | [ʔa:gi] | ‘pass’ |
| | lengthened | stressed penultima | /ʔgida/ | gira |
| | | | [ʔgi:ra] | ‘war’ |
| | [(ɪ/i/e)j] | _V | /ʔgi(h)a.pun/ | gyápon |
| | | | [gɪ'ja:pun] | ‘INVARIANT’ |
| | [j(ɪ/i/e)] | V_ | /ti'ŋa(l)i/ | tingáy |
| | | | [tɪ'ŋa:j] | ‘DUBITATIVE’ |
| /u/ | [u/u/o] | all | /gu.'daŋ/ | guráng |
| | | | [gʊ'rʌŋ] | ‘old’ |
| | lengthened | stressed penultima | /ʔbu.hat/ | búhat |
| | | | [ʔbu:hʌt] | ‘do’ |
| | [(u/u/o)w] | _V | /ʔsu(l)at/ | swát |
| | | | [ʔswʌt] | ‘write’ |
| | [w(u/u/o)] | V_ | /ʔla(l)um/ | lávom |
| | | | [ʔla:wm] | ‘deep’ |

Table 8*Linawis Stress*

| Position | Examples | |
|------------------|------------|---------------------------|
| Open penultima | /ʔa.but/ | ábot |
| | [ʔa:but] | ‘meet’ |
| Closed penultima | /ʔban.taj/ | bántay |
| | [ʔbʌntʌj] | ‘guard’ |
| Ultima | /ʔa.'but/ | abót |
| | [ʔʌ'but] | ‘product’ |
| | /ban.'taj/ | Bantáy |
| | [bʌŋ'tʌj] | calling a dog by its name |

4.4 Syllable Structure

Phonemes are organized into syllables (Velupillai, 2012, p. 8). The Linawis basic syllable structure is (C)C(C)V(C)(C)(C). It is composed of an obligatory onset consonant (C) and vowel (V) nucleus, an optional consonant coda (C), and stress assignment. For each

polysyllable, there is at least one stressed syllable. Onsets and codas may be composed of up to three consonants, e.g., *skwéla* /'skwi.la/ 'attend school' and *payts* /'pajts/ 'good enough'. Only one consonant in the onset is obligatory and the extra consonants are typically rhotic allophones of *d*, the alveolar fricative *s*, or approximants.

Because of the onset consonant requirement, *q* is always inserted into vowel-initial loanwords, e.g., Linawis *áwto* /'ʔaw.tu/ from Spanish *automovil*, and when word-initial consonant deletion occurs (see Table 3), e.g., *hamutáng* /(h)a.mu.'taŋ/ > [ʔa.mu.'tʌŋ] 'settle'. Similarly, /h/ or /ʔ/ is inserted to vowel-initial suffixes when affixed to a vowel-final stem, e.g., *simbáhan* /sim.'ba.han/ 'church' from *símba* 'attend mass' and *-an* 'LOCUS'.²⁶ The onset consonant requirement is suspended when lateral deletion occurs resulting in the interpretation of two neighboring like vowels as long (see Table 5) and one of two neighboring unlike vowels as an approximant plus an optional vowel (see Table 6). This suspension also occurs for some Hiligaynon loan derivatives, e.g., *alágian* [ʔa.'lʌg.jʌŋ] 'path' from *ági* ['ʔa:.gi] 'pass'.

5 Morphosyntax

This section describes the major morphosyntactic classes in Linawis and their configurations in a clause. In Allen's (2022, pp. 103–104) grammar of Bantayanon, he identifies four word classes on the basis of syntactic distribution: nominals, verbs, adjectives, and particles. In the grammatical descriptions of the neighboring Bisayan languages of ceb and Hiligaynon by Bunye and Yap (1971) and Wolfenden (1971), respectively, morphological differences is the basis for identifying word classes, e.g., defining a particle word class as uninflected forms. For this study, the word classes of Linawis are identified on both syntactic distribution and morphological differences.

There are four major morphosyntactic classes in Linawis: particles (Section 5.1), nouns (Section 5.2), verbs (Section 5.3), and adjectives (Section 5.4). These classes are also identified in Bantayanon (Allen, 2022) and other Bisayan languages including ceb (Bunye & Yap, 1971; Tanangkingsing, 2009) and Hiligaynon (Wolfenden, 1971; Zorc, 2004). There is also residual classes of adverbs (Aikhenvald, 2015, p. 168) which modify verbs. The members of this residual class are derivatives or subclasses of particles, nouns, verbs, and adjectives (Velupillai, 2012, pp. 393–394).

5.1 Particles

Particles are free functional morphemes that typically do not take affixes or adpositions (Allen, 2022, pp. 106–107). They typically mark grammatical categories, discourse concerns, or connect two units (Aikhenvald, 2015, p. 202). Unlike nouns, verbs, and adjectives, particles cannot be arguments or predicates, with the exception of pronouns which replaces nouns, verbs, and adjectives. Arguments here refer to the participants of a predicate while predicates indicate the properties, relationships, action, or event of a

²⁶It is still unclear what causes /h/ to be inserted instead of /ʔ/ and vice versa in Linawis. See Newton (1991, pp. 260–261) for a similar discussion for Cebuano.

clause (Kroeger, 2005, p. 53). Linawis' particles include adpositional, connective, second position (2p), pronominal, terminal, modal, temporal, and interjection particles.

5.1.1 Adpositions and Prominence

Adpositional particles appear before or after the nouns, verbs, or adjectives that they mark. They signal information about the marked unit and their relationship to other units in a clause (Aikhenvald, 2015, pp. 141–142). There are two types of adpositional particles in Linawis: paradigmatic and non-paradigmatic adpositions. The latter can be used with the former and with other non-paradigmatic particles, while only one paradigmatic adposition can be used per phrasal unit (see also paradigmatic and non-paradigmatic verbal derivation in Section 5.3.1).

Paradigmatic adpositions²⁷ primarily determines an argument's grammatical relationship to the predicate but they also determine the definiteness, i.e., identifiability and uniqueness (Aikhenvald, 2015, p. 121), and plurality of the marked units. These adpositions also have different forms depending on whether they are marking human names or not.

There are two broad classes of paradigmatic particles: the *PERSONAL* which mark the names of human and personified entities (e.g., pet names) and the *NONPERSONAL* which mark everything else (Baran & Dizon, 2023). The *PERSONAL* adpositions may be *SINGULAR* or *PLURAL*, and *NONPERSONAL* adpositions may be *DEFINITE* or *INDEFINITE*. These classes have different forms depending on the grammatical roles they mark (see Table 9). These adpositions always mark the nouns, verbs, or adjectives that they precede even when these particles appear as replacive enclitic forms which attach to previous particles, nouns, verbs, or adjectives that end in vowels or some consonants.²⁸

Each argument of a clause has a grammatical role they fulfill and these roles indicate the argument's relationship to the predicate. These include the Privileged Syntactic Argument (PSA) or subject which controls and is described by the predicate and the non-PSAs which are non-controlling arguments that complete the predicate's argument structure (see Van Valin, 2023, pp. 116–118). There are also oblique arguments or peripheral arguments that are only required in ditransitive clauses, i.e., clauses with three required arguments (Aikhenvald, 2015, p. 205). Paradigmatic adpositions mark these roles, as in (4).

- (4) gi-hátag_{PREDICATE} sang_{NON-PSA} puyá_A ang_{PSA} candy_U sa babáye_{OBL}
 U-give NON-PROMINENT kid PROMINENT candy OBL woman
 '(I) think the kid gave the candy to a woman a while ago.'

In verbal clauses, i.e., clauses with verbal predicates, each argument is assigned one of two macroroles: the *ACTOR* (A) or agentive role or the *UNDERGOER* (U) or patient-like role (Van Valin, 2023, pp. 107–108). The verbal voice affix agrees with the assigned macro-role of the PSA (see Section 5.3.1).

²⁷These may sometimes be omitted in rapid speech, as in (50).

²⁸=ng replaces -n and -/?/, =s attaches to all consonants except -s but replaces -/?/, and =y replaces all preceding consonants.

Table 9*Linawis Paradigmatic Particles*

| | Prominent | Non-prominent | | Oblique | Neutral |
|-----------------------|--------------------------------|--|---------------------|--------------------------------------|---------|
| | | Isolated | Connected | | |
| Definite | ang =ng | san(g) sa _{ceb} =s _{ceb} | | san(g) | |
| Indefinite | | sin(g) og _{ceb} =g _{ceb} | | sa =s s= ha _{war?} | =y |
| Personal, Singular | si =s hi _{war?} | kan(g) ka kay _{tgl} | ni =ng | kan(g) ka kay _{tgl} | |
| Personal, Plural | sila (si) silas | ila (ng) ila ka | nila (ni) nilang | kanila (ng) sa ila (ng) | |

PROMINENT adpositions mark the PSA, as in (5), but they can also mark DEFINITE predicates, as in (6). This syncretism, which is shown for Tagalog in Himmelmann (1991, pp. 15–16), is what lead to the choice of PROMINENT instead of NOMINATIVE, ABSOLUTIVE, or FOCUS. PROMINENT arguments are always DEFINITE.

- (5) may=buwák **ang** dyága
EPL=flower PM young.woman
'The girl has flowers.'
- (6) **ang** dyága qang may=buwák
PM young.woman PM EPL=flower
'The (one who) has flowers (is) the girl.'

NON-PROMINENT adpositions, on the other hand, mark the non-PSA and the GENITIVE/POSSESSIVE but not the OBLIQUE. For the GENITIVE/POSSESSIVE, the possessor follows the possessed with the adposition in between the two, as in (7). Some NON-PROMINENT adpositions also have special isolated forms that are used when the possessee is omitted or when the possessor is fronted, as in (8). In some special constructions without PROMINENT marking, NON-PROMINENT adpositions can mark the PSA (see Sections 5.3.2 and 5.3.3). The NON-PROMINENT adpositions can be DEFINITE or INDEFINITE, as in (9). In Linawis, INDEFINITE non-PSA can be A, as in (10) (see Section 5.3.1).

- (7) putok~putók ang bâbà **sang** doctor_{POSSESSOR}
DIMINUTIVE~pop PM mouth NPM.DEF doctor
'The doctor went off (on her).'

- (8) iná=ng ka lólo_{POSSESSOR} lagi byay
MED.PM=MOD NPM grandfather VERIFICATIONAL house
‘(We’re talking about) granddad’s house, right?’
- (9) o founder sing Madrideoj_{POSSESSOR}
yes founder NPM.INDF Madrideoj
‘Yes, (he is the) founder of Madrideoj.’
- (10) ... ma-kúhà sing mga=mananagát ang ísdà ...
U.IRR.HPST-take NPM.INDF PL=fisherfolka PM fish
‘... the fisherfolk will get the fish ...’

In addition to the PROMINENT and NON-PROMINENT adpositions, there are also OBLIQUE and NEUTRAL adpositions. The OBLIQUE adpositions mark the OBLIQUE, i.e., the peripheral arguments. OBLIQUE arguments in Linawis are typically beneficiaries or locations. The former are arguments which benefit from the realization of the predicate and the latter are arguments which spatially locate the predicate (Kroeger, 2005, p. 54). The DEFINITE OBLIQUE adposition is only typically used to situate events in time, as in (11).

- (11) sang gamáy pa=ko ...
OBL.DEF small PERSISTENCE=1SG.PM
‘When I was still little ...’

The NEUTRAL adposition is a special particle that marks INDEFINITE UNDERGOERS (Santiago, 2019, p. 8). As demonstrated in Baran and Dizon (2023), the NEUTRAL adposition can mark for the INDEFINITE PSA in nominal clauses or clauses with nouns as predicates, as in (12) (see Section 5.2.1); the THEMES, i.e., an entity “which undergoes a change of location or possession, or whose location is being specified” (Kroeger, 2005, p. 54) in EXISTENTIAL-POSSESSIVE-LOCATIVE (EPL) clauses, as in (13) (see Section 5.3.3); as well as the INDEFINITE non-PSAs and in adjectival clauses and other verbal clauses or clauses with adjective and verb predicates respectively, as in (14) (see Section 5.3.1). Only the first two uses of the NEUTRAL marking are common among Bisayan languages (Zorc, 1977, p. 84) while the final one is only attested in the Linawis corpus and possibly in Carabio-Sexon (2007).²⁹ NEUTRAL =y in these final two uses alternates with the INDEFINITE NON-PROMINENT adposition.

- (12) dāmò ma=y búnga
many EXPLANATORY=NEUT fruit
‘(There’s) a lot of fruit.’

²⁹The following possible use of the NEUTRAL =y as a non-THEME UNDERGOER in Binantayan is found in Carabio-Sexon (2007, p. 168).

- (i) ... maka-kuha na=y(?) isda_{UNDERGOER} ...
A.IRR.HPST-take TRANSFORMATIVE=NT(?) fish
‘... we would get the fishes ...’

- (13) **wa=y** **bató**
 NEG.EPL=NEUT rock
 ‘There are no rocks.’
- (14) **na-mínyò** **man=to=sya=y** **taga-Atop-atop**
 U.REAL-marry EXPLANATORY=DIST.PM=3SG.PM=NEUT from-Atop-atop
 ‘He got married to (someone) from Atop-atop, Bantayan.’

In addition to paradigmatic adpositions, there are also non-paradigmatic adpositions which provide grammatical or semantic information about the marked unit besides grammatical role and/or definiteness. One common example is *mga* which either marks NON-PERSONAL NOUNS AS PLURAL, as in (15), or marks quantities as ESTIMATES, as in (16).

- (15) **sín-o** **ni** **nga mga=irô**
 who PM.DIST MOD PL=dog
 ‘Who(se) dogs are these?’
- (16) **mga=pilá** **pa=lang=sya** **ka búwan**
 ESTIMATE=few PERSISTENCE=LIMITING=3SG.PM COUNT month
 ‘(It’s) only been a few months since he (became mayor).’

A list of non-paradigmatic adpositions identified in the Linawis corpus is provided in Table 10.

Table 10

Linawis Non-paradigmatic Particles

| Form | Function | Notes |
|--------------------------------|------------------|---|
| =kapin | OR.MORE | This is used with numerals. |
| ala=, alas= | HOUR | This former is used with <i>úna</i> ‘one’ and sometimes with <i>sáts/says</i> ‘six’ and <i>syéte</i> ‘seven’. |
| bahin= | REGARDING | This is used before OBLIQUES. |
| halin=, gikan= _{ceb?} | SOURCE | This is used before OBLIQUES and LOCATIVES. |
| halos= | ALMOST | |
| hangtod= | UNTIL | This is used before OBLIQUES. |
| hasta= | INCLUDING | This is used before paradigmatic adpositions. |
| ka= | HONORIFIC | This is only used with human names. |
| kaysa= | THAN.COMPARATIVE | |
| mas= | MORE.COMPARATIVE | |
| may= | EPL | |
| may= | NEAR | This is used with LOCATIONS. |

| Form | Function | Notes |
|------------------------------|-------------|---|
| medyo= | SOMEWHAT | |
| mga= | ESTIMATE | This is used with numerals and <i>pilá</i> ‘few’. |
| mga= | PLURAL | This is always attached to nouns directly. |
| nunot=, tungod=, gumikan= | CAUSE | This is used before OBLIQUES. |
| para= | BENEFACTIVE | This is used before OBLIQUES and attached to BENEFICIARIES, i.e., “entities for whose benefit an action is performed” (Kroeger, 2005, p. 54). |
| para= | PURPOSIVE | This is used before LOCATIVES. |
| puros= | ENTIRELY | |
| subong= | SIMILATIVE | This is used before OBLIQUES. SIMILATIVES convey likeness (Matthews, 2007) (see Sections 5.1.4 and 5.1.6). |
| taga=, kada= _{spa} | EACH/EVERY | |

5.1.2 Connectives

Connectives link clauses and/or phrases (Aikhenvald, 2015, p. 99). Linawis has two types of connectives: phrasal (Table 11) and clausal connectives (Table 12).

Table 11

Linawis Phrasal Connectives

| Form | Function | Notes |
|---------------------------|-------------|---|
| apán, pero _{spa} | HOWEVER | This can also be used to connect clauses. |
| i/=y | AND | These connect two Spanish numerals or introduce a Spanish numeral modifier, e.g., <i>alas-dóse i médyá</i> ‘twelve o’clock and a half’ or <i>tráyntay dos</i> ‘thirty one’. |
| ka | COUNT | This follows numerals. |
| kag, ug/=g _{ceb} | AND | |
| nga/=n(g) | INTENSIFIER | An example is <i>mogamáy nga mogamáy</i> ‘will get smaller and smaller’ (cf. tgl INTENSIFIER <i>nga</i>). |
| nga/=n(g) | MODIFIER | This introduces modifiers and modifier phrases/clauses. |
| o | OR | |

Phrasal connectives typically link parts of a phrase, as in (17). On the other hand, clausal connectives link clauses, as in (18).³⁰

³⁰The clausal connective and the second clause may be placed before the former first clause.

Table 12*Linawis Clausal Connectives*

| Form | Function |
|--|----------------|
| sámtang | WHILE |
| kun(g) | CONDITIONAL |
| humán, tápos, ántes | AFTER |
| (ú)nyà, nyan, tápos, dáyon/láyon, dasón | THEN |
| úsà | BEFORE |
| sunód | NEXT |
| kay | RATIONALE |
| ímbes | INSTEAD.OF |
| áron, pará _{spa} | SO.THAT |
| sukád | EVER.SINCE |
| (kún)dì, tì _{hi1?} | THUS |
| balé | IN.OTHER.WORDS |
| totál | ANYWAYS |
| bastá | AS.LONG.AS |

- (17) lawm **nga** Bisayâ
 deep **MOD** Linawis
 ‘sophisticated Linawis’

- (18) sabun-Ø-án nímo **dasón** ig-dugô ...
 soap-U.IRR-APPL 2SG. NPM **THEN** TIMEFRAME.IRR-blood
 ‘You wash (it) with soap, then, when it bleeds ...’

5.1.3 Second Position Particles

Second position (2P) particles are found in the second position of a clause (Tanangkingsing, 2013, pp. 222–223).³¹ For example, TRANSFORMATIVE *na* and THIRD PERSON *sya*, as in (19), move after NEGATIVE *di* is added, as in (20). That said, 2P particles may also be found in the post-nominal, adjunct, terminal, and isolated positions for scoping or emphasis by transposition or doubling, as in (21) (Baran, 2023a, pp. 5–7).

- (19) mu-karí **na=syá=y** Lawís
 A.IRR.PFV-GO.PROX **TRANSFORMATIVE=3SG.PM=NEUT** Madridejos
 ‘They will be coming to Madridejos.’

³¹See Baran (2023a, 2023d) for a more detailed discussion on Linawis 2P particles.

- (20) dī na=sya mu-karī sing Lawís
NEG TRANSFORMATIVE=3SG.PM A.IRR.PFV-go.PROX NPM.INDF Madridejos
'They will no longer come to Madridejos.'
- (21) nīndot mang=god=to=god
nice EXPLANATORY=ASSERTIVE=DIST.PM=ASSERTIVE
'That was awesome (I'll have you know).'

2p particles are either discourse or pronominal particles. The former highlights pragmatic concerns, e.g., stance, evidentiality, quality/quantity, but may also have grammatical implications, e.g., aspect and mode. See Section 5.1.4 for the latter. The 34 2p particles identified in the Linawis particles are listed in Table 13 arranged according to decreasing frequency as in Baran (2023a).

Table 13

Linawis Second Position Particles

| Form | Variants | Gloss | Function |
|-------|---|----------------|--|
| man | mang ma m= | EXPLANATORY | This particle is used when adding explanations or context which hearers are presumed not to know (cf. <i>akl man</i> ‘ANSWERING’ in Zorc, 1970, p. 1) (see also Allen, 2022, p. 108). |
| na | n= | TRANSFORMATIVE | This particle is used to show an expected and immediate change (cf. <i>ceb na</i> ‘already’) (see also Allen, 2022, pp. 107–108). |
| lang | là _{war?} l= | LIMITING | This particle is used to indicate that something is only a limited set within a larger set (cf. <i>war la</i> ‘only’ in Oyzon et al., 2013, p. 47). |
| gayód | dyod _{ceb} gyod gayd gad _{war} gid _{hil} g= | ASSURANCE | This particle emphasizes something as irrefutable without a reasonable doubt, whether or not it actually is factually irrefutable (cf. Proto-Bisayan *gayod ‘EMPHATIC’ in Zorc, 1977, p. 305). |
| lat | lat sad _{ceb} pod _{ceb} man _{hil} | RELATIONAL | This particle shows sameness and relatedness (cf. <i>prh lat</i> ‘also’ in Santiago, 2018). |
| pa | p= | PERSISTENCE | This particle shows that a state/event/action has persisted despite contrary expectations (cf. <i>ceb pa</i> ‘yet’) (see also Allen, 2022, p. 108). |

| Form | Variants | Gloss | Function |
|----------|--|--------------|---|
| gà | ngàni gáni gáli gày | PERSUASIVE | This particle is used when persuading hearers to take the same stance as the speaker (cf. ceb <i>gani/gali</i> ‘PERSUASIVE’) (see also Allen, 2022, p. 107). |
| sang-úna | saúna _{ceb} | ANTERIOR | This particle contextualizes an event as having occurred in a distant past (cf. hil <i>sang-una</i> ‘before’). |
| sarâ | karón _{ceb} arón _{ceb} subóng _{hil} | RECENT | This particle shows that something is true now and the moments shortly before and after (cf. prh <i>sara</i> ‘now’). |
| kaáyo | pag-áyo kaáy káyo kay | INTENSIFYING | This particle emphasizes or intensifies something much like eng <i>very</i> (cf. ceb <i>kaayo</i> ‘very’). |
| kunó | | REPORTATIVE | This particle indicates second hand information or hearsay and is also used to make requests (see also Allen, 2022, p. 107). |
| bayâ | byâ | FACTUAL | This particle indicates that something is a common fact (cf. ceb <i>baya</i> ‘WEAK ASSERTION’ in Tanangkingsing, 2013, p. 224). |
| lagí | | VERIFICATORY | This particle is used to verify previous claims (cf. ceb <i>lagi</i> ‘INTENSIFIER OF PERSUASION’ in Tanangkingsing, 2013, pp. 236–238). |
| da | ra _{ceb} d= r= | RESTRICTIVE | This particle indicates that a set is the complete set, nothing more and nothing less (see also Allen, 2022, p. 107). |
| god | | ASSERTIVE | This particle is used to assert and correct disbelief (cf. ceb <i>god</i> ‘indeed’ in Bunye and Yap, 1971, p. 60). |
| ngáy-an | gáy-an ngay(n) gay(n) ngáay diáy _{ceb} | MIRATIVE | This particle shows surprise or lack of knowledge about something (cf. tgl <i>pala</i> ‘MIRATIVE’ in AnderBois, 2023). |
| ba | b= | CONFIRMATORY | This particle is used in confirmations, whether in questioning or answering (see also Allen, 2022, p. 107). This is different from the terminal particle <i>ba</i> (see Section 5.1.5). |
| gihápon | gyápon | INVARIANT | This particle indicates an unchanging state or a persisting action despite an intervening event or despite the passing of time (cf. ceb <i>gihapon</i> ‘still’). |

| Form | Variants | Gloss | Function |
|---------|--|--------------|--|
| tingáli | tingáy (si)gúro _{spa} | DUBITATIVE | This particle is used to express doubt or uncertainty (cf. ceb <i>tingali/tingay</i> ‘maybe’). |
| kúntà | úntà _{ceb} tánì _{hil} tà | HYPOTHETICAL | This particle is used to show desire for something to happen or to show that an event has yet to happen (cf. ak1 <i>kunta</i> ‘strong hope, desire, wish’ in Salas Reyes et al., 1969, p. 149). |
| dáyon | láyon dayn | IMMEDIATE | This particle is used to show that an event immediately occurs after a prior event (cf. ceb <i>dayon</i> ‘immediately’). |
| daw | law | QUOTATIVE | This particle is used in quoting (cf. tgl <i>daw</i> ‘they say’). This particle can be used with <i>kuno</i> ‘REPORTATIVE’. |
| hinúon | hinón nuón non | CONTRASTIVE | This particle highlights the contrast between the current option and an alternative (cf. ceb <i>hinuon</i> ‘instead, anyways’ in Wolff, 1972). |
| ánay | usâ _{ceb} sâ _{ceb} | PREPARATIVE | This particle is used to show that an event or action is preemptively done before another event or action (cf. hil <i>anay</i> ‘wait’) (see also Allen, 2022, p. 107). |
| balitáw | bitáw | DUPLICATIVE | This particle makes an unnoticed similarity as salient (cf. ceb <i>bitaw</i> ‘I agree’). |
| intáwon | intáwn táw(o)n | FATALISTIC | This particle is used to indicate that the speaker does not think something is a good thing but that they are unable to do anything about it (cf. ceb <i>intawon</i> ‘PITY, HUMILITY’ in Wolff, 1972). |
| abí | =abí | PERFORMATIVE | This particle is used when informing the hearer that something is unpleasant or that something is not yet known to them (cf. ak1 <i>abi</i> ‘EXCUSES, EXPLANATION’ in Salas Reyes et al., 1969, p. 44) (see also Allen, 2022, p. 107). |
| uróy | | CONTEMPTUOUS | This particle shows contempt (cf. ceb <i>uroy</i> ‘CONTEMPT’ in Wolff, 1972). |
| áyhan | =áyhan k(ah)â _{ceb} | DELIBERATIVE | This particle is used when deliberating over a rhetorical question (cf. hil <i>ayhan</i> ‘perhaps, therefore’ in Motus, 1971, p. 17). |
| ya | | EMPHATIC | This particle is used for emphasis (cf. hil <i>ya</i> ‘EMPHATIC’). More data is needed. |

| Form | Variants | Gloss | Function |
|-------|-------------------------|-------------|--|
| nyan | | PROSPECTIVE | This particle mark something as an expected future event or action (cf. prh <i>nyan</i> ‘soon’). More data is needed. |
| dáan | ngadáan _{hi1?} | ORIGINAL | This particle shows that the current state is identical to the original state (cf. ceb <i>daan</i> ‘already, still the same’). |
| bahín | | IMPROBABLE | This particle shows that the scenarios in rhetorical questions are unlikely to be true. More data is needed. |
| túod | | AFFIRMATIVE | This particle marks a statement as being irrefutable on the basis of previous lines. More data is needed. |

2P particles always make clitic clusters (19–21) which typically have ultimate stress and typically follow an ascending syllable/phoneme number ordering and descending frequency order in the same weight bracket (Baran, 2023a, pp. 5–7). Some particles have replacive proclitic forms, e.g., ASSURANCE *gayod*, as in (22), in clusters with NON-PERSONAL pronominals. Another Bisayan language with this phenomenon is Porohanon (V. C. A. Santiago, personal communication, 2022).

- (22) ngáno_{ceb} **g=ádto=ng** n-ag-three-months akó
 why ASSURANCE=DIST.PM=MOD A.REAL.IPFV-CONT-three-months 1SG.PM
 dídto ?
 DIST.LOC
 ‘Why did I even spend three months there?’

5.1.4 Pronouns

Pronouns refer to previously mentioned or contextually salient referents (Velupillai, 2012, pp. 133–141). There are multiple types in Linawis. PERSONAL pronouns form the largest class and distinguish three social deictic distinctions plus compound pronouns combining the 1. NPM and 2.PM (see Table 14).³² They can be SINGULAR or PLURAL. The 1PL has a clusivity distinction: EXCLUSIVE, i.e., excluding the hearer; and INCLUSIVE, i.e., including the hearer.

Except for the compound pronouns, each pronoun has PROMINENT, NON-PROMINENT, and OBLIQUE forms. The first has long and short forms, as in (23), with the former used in both isolated and 2P positions and the latter only in 2P; while the second has isolated and connected forms, as in (24), with the latter appearing in both isolated and pre-word positions and the latter only in 2P. The compound 1SG. NPM > 2SG.PM form only appears in 2P. Although long and short forms and isolated and connected forms

³²Contrary to Lobel (2013, p. 122), Linawis exhibits compound pronouns. Whether or not these compound pronouns are borrowed is unclear.

Table 14

Linawis Prominent and Non-prominent Personal Pronouns

| | | | Prominent | | Non-prominent | |
|-----------------|---|-------------------|--------------------|---------------------------|---|---------------|
| | | | Long | Short | Isolated | Connected |
| SG | 1 | | akó | ku | ákon | nákon |
| | | | ak _{war?} | ta | ak _{war?} ákò _{ceb} akóá _{ceb} | ko |
| | 2 | | ikáw | ka | ímo im _{war?} imóha _{ceb?} | mo |
| | | 1SG. NPM > 2SG.PM | | | kitá tiká taká | |
| | | 3 | s(i)yá | | íya iyáha _{ceb?} | n(í)ya |
| PL ^a | 1 | EXCL | kamí | mi | ámon am _{war?} àmò _{ceb} amó(a) _{ceb} | námon |
| | | | | | | |
| | | INCL | kitá | ta kit _{war?} | áton átò _{ceb} ató(a) _{ceb} | náton ta |
| | 2 | | kamó | mo | ínyo inyóha _{ceb?} | niínyo nyo |
| | | 1SG. NPM; 2PL.PM | | | tamó | |
| | | 3 | silá | | íla iláha _{ceb?} | níla |

^a A combination of *ni/=ng* plus human names are used after PLURAL personal pronouns to specify the salient members, e.g., *siláng pápa* ‘dad and them’.

are interchangeable, a cursory examination of pronominal frequencies in the corpus shows that Linawis prefers long and connected forms except for the short form *ka* which is overwhelmingly preferred over the long form *qikáw*.

- (23) l<ingm>ísò akó/ko
turn.around<A.REAL.PFV.REMOTE> 1SG.PM
'I turned around.'
- (24) ákon mga=anák / mga=anák nákon
1SG. NPM PL=kin PL=kin 1SG. NPM
'my children'

Unlike the PROMINENT and NON-PROMINENT PERSONAL pronouns, OBLIQUE PERSONAL pronouns are not 2P. There are two types in free variation: the *sa*-forms, which are compounds of *sa* and the isolated NON-PROMINENT forms; and the *ka/ni*-forms, which are compounds of *ka* and the connected NON-PROMINENT forms (see Table 15).

Table 15*Linawis Oblique Personal Pronouns*

| | | | <i>sa</i> -form | <i>ka/ni</i> -form |
|----|----|--------|--|----------------------|
| SG | 1 | | sa ákon sákon | (ka)nákon kángkon |
| | | 2 | sa ímo sa ímoha _{ceb?} símo | (ka)nímo |
| | 3 | | sa íya s(í)ya | (ka)níya |
| | | | | |
| | PL | 1 EXCL | sa ámon sámon | (ka)námon |
| | | | | |
| | | INCL | sa át(on) sa átò sa ató(a) _{ceb} sáton | (ka)náton |
| | | | | |
| | | 2 | sa ínyo sínyo | (ka)nínyo |
| | | 3 | sa íla síla sa iláha _{ceb?} | (ka)níla |

In addition to PERSONAL pronouns, Linawis also has NON-PERSONAL pronouns which primarily distinguish three spatial deictic distinctions: PROXIMAL (near the speaker), MEDIAL (near the hearer or near both the hearer and speaker), and DISTAL (far from both the speaker and hearer). Only the PROMINENT class of NON-PERSONAL pronouns has long and short forms. The NON-PROMINENT and OBLIQUE have the same forms (see Table 16).

In addition to the three spatial deictic forms, there is also a CONCEPTUAL NON-PERSONAL pronominal form that is often not used to refer to objects but to ongoing events, concepts, or topics, as in (25) (cf. *war iton* “used to state a fact that could only be true at the moment of speaking” [Oyzon et al., 2013, p. 37]).

- (25) sus ! gi-COVID ngay=**itón**
 Jesus U.REAL.PFV-COVID MIRATIVE=**CONCEPTUAL.PM**
 ‘Jesus! She ended up getting COVID.’

Both PERSONAL and NON-PERSONAL pronouns can refer to PERSONAL OR NON-PERSONAL referents. The former is used when social deixis is more salient than spatial deixis and vice versa for the latter. The third person pronouns may be used with NON-PERSONAL pronouns (see Section 6.2).

Table 16*Linawis Non-personal Pronouns*

| | Prominent | | Non- prominent | Oblique |
|------------|-------------|-------|-------------------|---------|
| | Long | Short | | |
| Conceptual | itón | | sitón | |
| Proximal | iní | ni | siní | |
| Medial | inâ | nâ | sinâ | |
| Distal | ádto ató | to | sádto sató | |

Linawis also has SIMILATIVES (see Section 5.1.6) and SIMILATIVE pronouns, as in (26). They convey likeness (Matthews, 2007) (cf. *tgl parang* ‘like’).

- (26) ... singgán-Ø-on **súbong=sinâ**
 say-U.IRR-PR.CPV **SIMILATIVE=MED.PM**
 ‘... say (something) like that.’

SIMILATIVE pronouns can have their own forms or are formed through the combination of SIMILATIVE *súbong=* and NON-PROMINENT NON-PERSONAL forms (see Table 17). The former forms may have *ingón-/ing-/qin-* prefixes which may be related to ceb SIMILATIVES (see Wolff, 1972).

Table 17*Linawis Similative Pronouns*

| | <i>a</i> -forms | <i>subung</i> -forms |
|----------|-----------------|----------------------|
| Proximal | áni | súbong siní |
| Medial | ánà | súbong sinâ |
| Distal | ádto | súbong sádto |

Linawis also has LOCATIVE pronouns (see Table 18) with three spatial distinctions. The PROXIMAL (near the hearer) and MEDIAL (near both the hearer and speaker) each have two subtypes: SPECIFIC area and GENERAL vicinity. There are three types of locative pronouns: the DEFINITE, INDEFINITE, and the DIRECTIONAL.³³ The latter type has a meaning akin to *eng* ‘towards’.

Finally, Linawis has INTERROGATIVE or question pronouns (see Table 19). There is no WHICH INTERROGATIVE and WHERE is used instead. WHERE can be DEFINITE, typically used for SOURCES, or INDEFINITE. The Linawis’ HOW pronoun is an irregular stem of WHAT. Some interrogative pronouns procliticize to 2P particles.

³³Compare these to the ceb locatives in Fortis and Fagard (2010, pp. 18–19).

Table 18*Linawis Locative Pronouns*

| | | Definite | Indefinite | Directional |
|----------|----------|-------------------------------------|------------|-------------|
| Proximal | Specific | dirí darâ di _{hil} ? | arí | ngarí |
| | General | dínhi | ánhi | ngánhi |
| Medial | Specific | dirâ dihâ dâ _{hil} ? | arâ | ngarâ |
| | General | dínhâ | ánhâ | ngánhâ |
| Distal | | dídto | ádto | ngádto |

Table 19*Linawis Interrogative Pronouns*

| Question | Form |
|----------------|--------------------------------------|
| who | sín-o, sin= |
| what | náno, ngáno, na=, anó _{hil} |
| when | sán-o, kán-o |
| where.INDF/EPL | háin, hayn, hay= |
| where.DEF | di(í)n |
| why | ngaá, nga=, ngáno _{ceb} |
| how | anó |
| how many | pilá |
| how much | (tag)pilá |

5.1.5 Terminal Particles

Terminal particles, also called sentence-final particles, are always found before a terminal juncture as in (27), at the end of an utterance as in (28), or in isolation as in (29) (Baran, 2023d).³⁴ They highlight or resolve interactional concerns in a conversation, e.g., NEGOTIABILITY, and do not have grammatical implications.

- (27) **no** ára=y
PROSPECTIVE.ALIGNMENT **TERMINAL.JUNCTURE** **EPL=NEUT**
 m-ag-sitsit~sitsit sa ímo
 A.IRR.IPFV-CONT-FREQUENTIVE~hissing 2SG.OBL
 ‘Right? Someone will be hissing at you from time to time.’

³⁴See Baran (2023d) for a more detailed discussion on Linawis terminal particles.

- (28) láin lat=ádto **mo**
 different RELATIONAL=DIST.PM **ESOTERIC**
 ‘That (one) is also different, you know!’
- (29) **o** !
PRESENTATIVE
 ‘See!’

The terminal particles identified in Baran (2023d) for Linawis are summarized in Table 20 according to decreasing frequency.

Table 20
Linawis Terminal Particles

| Form | Gloss | Function |
|------------------------|------------------------------|--|
| oy | EVOCATIVE | This is used to express the speaker’s desire to take the floor and to prompt other interlocutors to react. This may be different from VOCATIVE <i>huy/quy</i> . |
| ba | RESTRICTIVE NEGOTIABILITY | This is used to express the speaker’s light desire to keep the floor but still allowing for minimal participation of other interlocutors for the sake of narrative development. This may also be used to insist something that other interlocutors may not be aware of. This may also be used to introduce a sudden topic shift (cf. <i>jpn sa</i> or <i>ceb ba</i> ; see Baran, 2023c). |
| ay | ERROR | This is used to indicate that the speaker thinks that what someone, including themselves, said is probably untrue or that they feel bad about the said utterance. This may also be used to show surprise as a mechanism of realizing that what they thought of was actually wrong (cf. <i>MIRATIVE ngáyqan</i>). |
| no | PROSPECTIVE ALIGNMENT | This is used to prompt interlocutors to contribute to the same discourse topic or narrative as the speaker. This may be used to introduce new topics related to a previous topic (cf. <i>jpn ne</i> or <i>ceb sa/nu</i> ; see Baran, 2023c). |
| (h)a | RETROSPECTIVE ALIGNMENT | This is used to confirm that all the interlocutors are on the same page as the speaker (cf. <i>ceb ha</i>). |
| o ho _{hil} | PRESENTATIVE | This is used to direct the other interlocutors’ attention towards something. |
| dibá | VALIDATIONAL | This is used to confirm something in a tag question (cf. <i>tgl dibá</i>). |
| bi | REQUEST | This is used to lightly ask another interlocutor to do something (cf. <i>eng</i> tag question <i>won’t you</i>) or to focus on an utterance. |
| mo | ESOTERIC | This indicates that information is exclusive to the speaker (cf. <i>hil mo</i>). More data is still needed. |

| Form | Gloss | Function |
|------|----------|--|
| ayád | ENTIRETY | This shows that an event has been completed in its entirety. More data is still needed. |

5.1.6 Modal Particles

Linawis has adverbial modal particles (see Table 21) which appear left of modified nouns, verbs, or clauses. As modals (Aikhenvald, 2015, p. 138), they indicate a speaker's attitudes towards the modified unit. Common examples of adverbial modal particles include the NEGATIVE, as in (30), and the SIMILATIVE, as in (31).

Table 21

Linawis Modal Particles

| Form | Function |
|---|----------------------|
| alang-álang, alangán, a'ng, syémpre | INDUBITABLE |
| ángay, dápat _{tg1?} | OBLIGATORY |
| ay(áw) | PROHIBITIVE |
| básin | WEAK POSSIBILITY |
| bastá | AS LONG AS |
| bísan | EVEN IF EVEN WITH |
| d(íl)ì | NEGATIVE |
| daw, morág _{ceb} | SIMILATIVE |
| kina(há)nglan, kaylángan | NECESSITY |
| kunúhay | SUPPOSE |
| f pwéde/púyde _{spa} | POTENTIAL |
| pwéde/púyde _{spa} , kasaráng, kaantígo/kantígo | ABILITATIVE |
| pwéra | NOT UNLESS |
| síge, pérme _{spa} | CONSTANT |
| syáro | EXASPERATION |
| totál | ANYWAY |
| tungód | CAUSE |
| urtimó | EVEN UNEXPECTED |
| usáhay, tyágsa, panyágsa, tágsa, panágsa | INFREQUENT |
| w(al)â | NEGATIVE EPL |

- (30) **dì** byay
NEG house
'(This is) not a house.'

- (31) ang lúnsod **daw**
 PM municipality TERMINAL.JUNCTURE **SIMILATIVE**
 ni-arang~aráng na
 A.REAL.PFV-DIMINUTIVE~competent TRANSFORMATIVE
 ‘(As for) the municipality, (it) has become a lot better.’

The three NEGATIVE modal particles are the NEGATIVE EPL *w(al)â/wà* (see Section 5.3.3), the general NEGATIVE *d(îl)î/dî*, and the NEGATIVE IMPERATIVE *ay(âw)*. These particles exhibit NEGATIVE polarities. *W(al)â/wà* goes with either REALIS, as in (32), or NON-CONTEMPLATIVE IRREALIS, as in (33), verbs to indicate the NEGATIVE REALIS.

- (32) ... **wà** kami_A **n-ang-ákig** sádto ...
 NEG.EPL 1PL.EXCL.PM A.REAL.IPFV-DISTR-angry DIST. NPM
 ‘We didn’t get angry that time ...’
- (33) **wà** ka_U **ma-hibáw**
 NEG.EPL 2SG.PM U.IRR.HPST-know
 ‘You didn’t know?’

D(îl)î/dî goes with CONTEMPLATIVE IRREALIS verbs to indicate the NEGATIVE IRREALIS OR NEGATIVE COHORTATIVE, as in (34). *D(îl)î/dî* also goes with nouns to indicate a NEGATIVE description, as in (30).

- (34) **dî** **m-ang-ádto** ha
 NEG A.IRR.IPFV-DISTR-go RETROSPECTIVE.ALIGNMENT
 ‘(I implore you,) do not go.’

Ay(âw) goes with IMPERATIVES to indicate the PROHIBITIVE. *Ay(âw)* is typically used like the predicate of a verb complex and takes a NON-PROMINENT *sing/og_{ceb}/=g_{ceb}* marked verbal argument, as in (35).³⁵

- (35) **ay** la=g pa-lapít
 PROHIBITIVE LIMITING= NPM.INDF CAUSATIVE-near
 ‘Just don’t go near (it).’

5.1.7 Temporal Particles

Linawis has adverbial temporal particles which appear to the left or right of clauses (see Table 22).

As temporals (Allen, 2022, p. 116), they locate the event of a clause in time, as in (36).

- (36) m-anag-húkas
 A.IRR.IPFV-PL.SIMULTANEOUS-unclad
 pa=man=gà=kamí **sang-úna**
 PERSISTENCE=EXPLANATORY=PERSUASIVE=1PL.EXCL.PM **BEFORE**
 ‘We were even unclad back then.’

³⁵The same is true for *bastá*, *básin*, *bísan*, and *síge*.

Table 22*Linawis Temporal Particles*

| Form | Function |
|--|---------------|
| bwas | TOMORROW |
| kákyop/kakyóp | YESTERDAY |
| kalína | A WHILE AGO |
| nyan, (qú)nyà _{ceb} | IN A WHILE |
| puhón | SOON |
| san(g)-úna, saúna _{ceb} | BEFORE |
| sarâ, karón _{ceb} , subóng _{hil} | TODAY/NOW |
| sunód (PERIOD) | NEXT (PERIOD) |
| taudtaód | LATER |

5.1.8 Interjections

Interjections are extra-clausal units which typically have reaction functions (Aikhenvald, 2015, pp. 98–100). Linawis also has interjection particles with reaction functions, e.g., *wa* ‘DISBELIEF’. Some interjections, however, have additional discourse navigating functions such as *tà* which has a discourse resumptive function, as in (37).

- (37) **tà** na-agi-án man=nínyo
RESUMPTIVE U-REAL.HPST-PASS-PARTITIVE EXPLANATORY=2PL. NPM
 ‘As I was saying, you passed by (it)!’

Some interjection particles which were identified in the Linawis corpus are listed in Table 23.

Table 23*Linawis Interjectional Particles*

| Form | Gloss | Notes |
|----------|-------------|--|
| o(o), ng | AFFIRMATIVE | This is equivalent to eng <i>yes</i> . |
| d(íl)ì | NEGATIVE | This is equivalent to eng <i>no</i> . |
| (si)gí | AGREEMENT | This is equivalent to eng <i>okay</i> . |
| (h)oy | VOCATIVE | This is not to be confused with EVOCATIVE <i>quy</i> . |
| sì | DETERRENT | This is used to shoo animals (particularly dogs) away. |
| (ha)lá | EXCLAMATION | |
| (há)hay | RESIGNMENT | |
| agóy | CONDOLENT | |

| Form | Gloss | Notes |
|--|----------------------------|---|
| agáy | DISTRESS | This may be used for metaphorical pain. |
| sang, wa | DISBELIEF | |
| (he)sús, maryósep, pastilán, pískot, pesté, péstoy, átay, átod, yátak, yáwà | PROFANITY | These are not synonymous but are grouped together here for convenience. |
| simbakó | FORESTALLING | Compare this with ceb <i>simbakú</i> ‘may it not happen to me’ (Wolff, 1972). |
| (p(w)éra)buyág | WARDING OFF | Compare this with eng <i>jinx</i> or deu <i>Gesundheit</i> . |
| iníng, ináng | WORD-SEARCH/ HESITATION | Compare this with ceb <i>kanáng</i> (Tanangkingsing, 2023). |
| tà/ta | RESUMPTIVE | |
| na | UNDERSCORING | |
| aw | REPAIR | See Tanangkingsing (2009, p. 568). |
| a | INTERRUPTION | Compare this with eng <i>ah</i> and <i>um</i> . |

5.2 Nouns

Nouns describe objects or referents whether they are abstract or not (Velupillai, 2012, p. 122). They typically as function verbal arguments (Aikhenvald, 2015, p. 103) but they may also function as the predicates of intransitive clauses, i.e., clauses with only one core argument (Aikhenvald, 2015, p. 95). In Linawis, nouns can modify other nouns, as in (38), and can also be the intransitive predicates of clauses, as in (39). Nouns can be bare roots, e.g., numerals, names, etc., or derived from nouns, verbs, or adjectives through adpositional or nominal affixation.

- (38) **Gmelina** nga **tanóm**
Gmelina MOD **plant**
 ‘a plant (called) Gmelina’
- (39) **si tíyà** lang=úntà=to ang survivor
PM aunt LIMITING=HYPOTHETICAL=DIST.PM PM SURVIVOR
 ‘Auntie should have been the sole survivor.’

5.2.1 Nominal Derivation and Adverbial Nouns

Linawis nouns can be derived from nouns, verbs, and adjectives through adpositional marking, as in (40) (cf. Tagalog in Himmelmann, 1991, pp. 6–25). Nominals formed through adpositional marking can be interpreted as adverbs in verb complexes which involve a verbal predicate and an adverbial argument, as in (41) (see Section 5.3.5). Nouns can also be derived from nouns, verbs, and adjectives through nominal affixation and suprafixing, as in (42).

- (40) **ang** na-hi-bilín
PM U.REAL.HPST-AESTHETIC-leave.behind
 ‘the (ones) left behind’
- (41) m-ang-utang **sing** **d<in>á<g>kò**
 A.IRR.IPFV-DISTR-debt **INDF. NPM** <**MANNER**>**big<PL>**
 ‘borrow (money) in huge (amounts)’
- (42) **kuhâ** sang **mana~nagát**
take\PRODUCT NPM.DEF **DOER~sea**
 ‘(the) fisherfolk’s catch’

A list of some nominal derivation strategies identified in Linawis are listed in Table 24.

Table 24

Linawis Nominal Derivation

| Form | Function | Example |
|--------------|------------------|---|
| -((V)r)a | FEMININE | <i>doktóra</i> ‘female doctor’ (from <i>doktór</i> ‘doctor’) |
| -((V)r)o | MASCULINE | <i>hilónggo</i> ‘man from Iloilo’ |
| -(an)án | LOCUS | <i>sakyanán</i> ‘vehicle’ (from <i>sakáy</i> ‘ride’) |
| (pag)ka- | QUALITY | <i>kalisód</i> ‘difficulty’ (from <i>lisód</i> ‘difficult’) |
| <um> | FOSSILIZED | <i>gumíkan</i> ‘CAUSE’ (from <i>gíkan</i> ‘from’) |
| -ang | NICKNAME | <i>Vívyang</i> (from <i>Vivian</i>) |
| Cu~ | DIMINUTIVE | <i>kukamálig</i> ‘hut-like’ (from <i>kamálig</i> ‘hut’) |
| hiN- haN- | FOSSILIZED | <i>hinúmdom</i> ‘remember’ (from <i>dúmdum</i> ‘remember’) |
| -in- -án | RESULT | <i>sinultián</i> ‘language’ (from <i>súlti</i> ‘speak’) |
| -íng | NICKNAME | <i>Jolíng</i> (from <i>Joliana</i>) |
| ka- | CO- | <i>kaúpod</i> ‘companion’ (from <i>upód</i> ‘accompany’) |
| ka- -(h)an | COLLECTIVE | <i>kalabánan</i> ‘majority’ (from <i>lában</i> ‘most’) |
| maN- -ay | DOER.HABITUAL.PL | <i>manganákay</i> ‘those who give birth’ (from <i>anáak</i> ‘kin’) |

| Form | Function | Example |
|---------------------------|---------------|---|
| maN-CV~ | DOER.OBLIGED | <i>mananagát</i> 'fisherfolk/seafarer' (from <i>dāgāt</i> 'sea') |
| manog- | DOER.OBLIGED | <i>manogdúslak</i> 'bayonet user' (from <i>dúslak</i> 'stab') |
| pa- | CAUSATIVE | <i>padáyon</i> 'go on' (from <i>dayún</i> 'continue') |
| paN- | DISTRIBUTIVE | <i>pangítà</i> 'find' (from <i>kitàq</i> 'see') |
| paN- -on | ACTIVITY | <i>pangisdáon</i> 'fishing' (from <i>isdà</i> 'fish') |
| pani- | EATING TIME | <i>paniúdto</i> 'lunch(time)' (from <i>údto</i> 'noon') |
| ROOT~ | DIMINUTIVE | <i>dyagan-dyagán</i> 'run aimlessly' (from <i>dyágan</i> 'run') |
| SPECIAL FORMS | NICKNAME | <i>Gágà</i> (replaces names as different as <i>Emily</i> or <i>Arlene</i>) |
| Stress shift to penultima | ADVERBIALIZER | <i>hápit</i> 'almost' (from <i>hapít</i> 'drop by') |
| Stress shift to penultima | PROCESS | <i>míngaw</i> 'lonely' (from <i>mingáw</i> 'to miss someone') |
| Stress shift to ultima | PRODUCT | <i>kuhâ</i> 'the catch' (from <i>kúhà</i> 'take') |
| tag- | EVERY | <i>tag-tungang-gáb-i</i> 'every midnight' (from <i>tungang-gáb-i</i> 'midnight') |
| taga- | FROM | <i>taga-Malbago</i> 'Malbago resident' (from <i>Malbago</i> 'Barangay Malbago') |
| ti- | FOSSILIZED | <i>tibuók</i> 'whole' (from <i>buqúk</i> 'whole') |
| tig-tag(a)- | DOER.HABITUAL | <i>tigkaón</i> 'habitual eater' (from <i>káon</i> 'eat') |
| tig-ting- _{ceb?} | TIME PERIOD | <i>tigquwán</i> 'rainy season' (from <i>uwán</i> 'rain') |
| V~<l> -un | INTENDED | <i>qilímnon</i> 'alcohol' (from <i>inóm</i> 'drink') |

5.2.2 Plurals and Numerals

Aside from PLURAL *mga*, some nouns can take the CO-PLURAL *mag-*, as in (43), or the COLLECTIVE PLURAL *ka- -an*, as in (44). The latter may derive seemingly unrelated concepts, e.g., *líhok* 'move' > *kalihókan* 'activity', that is, a collection of movements.

- (43) kay mag-útod tingáli
RATIONALE PL-sibling DUBITATIVE
'Maybe, (it's) because (we're) siblings.'
- (44) enrollment na=lat=ba sang
enrollment TRANSFORMATIVE=RELATIONAL=CONFIRMATORY NPM.DEF
ka-puya-hán
COLLECTIVE-kid-CIRCUMFIX
'(It's) the kids' enrollment (time) again'

To be specific, speakers use native numerals and the COUNTING *ka=* to count items, as in (45), and the MODIFIER *nga* with Spanish numerals or the native hundred/thousand to discuss prices or time, as in (46). For prices, WORTH *tag-* is also used; for specifying quantity for each person, root reduplication is done. When specifying the ORDINAL, *ika-* is attached to numerals, as in (47). For 'first', the suppletive *qúna* is used.

- (45) **waw'** ka customer
eight COUNTING customer
 'eight customers'
- (46) chicharón nga **tag-síngko**
 pork.rind MOD **WORTH-five**
 'pork rinds worth five (pesos)'
- (47) pag-**ika-duhá** nga béses ...
 TIMEFRAME-**ORDINAL-two** MOD instance
 'By the second instance, ...'

The numerals used in Linawis are listed in Table 25.

Table 25
Linawis Numerals

| English | Indigenous | Spanish |
|---------|--|------------------------|
| one | us(á) isá _{tgl?} úna 'first (hour)' | uno péso 'one peso' |
| two | duhá | dos |
| three | tyo ^{†,a} tuló _{ceb} | tres |
| four | upát | kwátro |
| five | limá | síngko |
| six | unóm | saís says |
| seven | pitó | syéte |

| English | Indigenous | Spanish |
|----------|------------|----------------------------|
| eight | waw' | ótso |
| nine | syam | núybe |
| ten | | dyes díse- ^b |
| eleven | | ónse |
| twelve | | dóse |
| thirteen | | trése |
| fourteen | | kínse |
| twenty | | báynte |
| thirty | | tráynta |
| forty | | kwarínta |
| fifty | | singkwénta |
| sixty | | saysénta |
| seventy | | siténta |
| eighty | | otsénta |
| ninety | | nobénta |
| hundred | gatós | syen |
| thousand | líbo | mil |

^a Although some language partners are more likely to say *tyo* when asked for the translation of 'three' (Baran, 2022, p. 112), *tuló* from Cebuano is the only form that appears in the available Linawis corpus.

^b Added to the Spanish numerals six to nine to derive the numbers sixteen to nineteen, e.g., *disesyéte* 'seventeen'.

5.2.3 Honorifics, Titles, and Vocatives

Linawis has a semi-obligatory respect system. When referring to people of equal rank (e.g., similar age) in the third person, the HONORIFIC *ka=* is used,³⁶ but with those of different ranks (e.g., senior/junior), the TITLE form of an honorific is attached to names, as in (48). Linawis TITLE forms are reduced monosyllable forms of HONORIFICS or names. Typically, this involves the deletion of segment(s) in the penultima, as in (49).

- (48) *dirí pa=gayd si ka=Bobby !*
 PROX.LOC.DEF PERSISTENCE=ASSURANCE PM HONORIFIC=Bobby
 'Bobby was even here!'
- (49) *ánà silá=ng t(i)yà=Letty*
 say 3PL.PM= NPM TITLE\ aunt=Letty
 'or so say Aunt Letty and the others'

³⁶ The language partner *Nang* Mariah Sherianne comments that *ka=* now sounds archaic and is being avoided by younger speakers due to associations with militant groups who use a similar honorific.

Some common honorific forming strategies in Linawis are listed in Table 26.

Table 26
Linawis Honorific Derivation

| Form | Function | Notes |
|-----------------------|----------------|--|
| (dó)dong | younger man | |
| (láng)gà | dear | This can be used towards a younger person which one is not necessarily intimate towards. |
| (ló)lo | grandfather | |
| (lól)a | grandmother | |
| (má)ma _{spa} | mother | In the third person, <i>amáy</i> or <i>amahán</i> _{ceb} are typically used. |
| (má)nang | older woman | |
| (má)nong | older man | |
| (pá)pa _{spa} | father | In the third person, <i>ilóy</i> or <i>inahán</i> _{ceb} are typically used. |
| (qín)day | younger woman | |
| (sé)nyor | VENERABLE | This is typically used for male saints and with <i>san</i> . |
| doktór | doctor | |
| doktóra | | |
| kapitán | captain | |
| mam _{eng} | older woman | This is used in more formal settings and cannot be used to refer to an older sibling. |
| máre | friend (woman) | |
| mayór | mayor | |
| pare | friend (man) | |
| san | saint | |
| sir _{eng} | older man | This is used in more formal settings and cannot be used to refer to an older sibling. |
| t(í)yà _{spa} | aunt | |
| t(í)yò _{spa} | uncle | |
| tatà | aunt/uncle | This is gender-neutral. |

In the SECOND PERSON, either the TITLE form with or without the name, as in (50), or the VOCATIVE form, as in (51), is used.³⁷ Linawis VOCATIVE formation involves stress shift to the ultima, e.g., *lánggà* > *langgâ* ‘dear’. This vocative formation is shared with Cebuano (Baran, 2023b, pp. 24–25) and Waray (Anonymous,³⁸ personal communication, 2023).

³⁷You are almost always referred to by a nickname if you have one.

³⁸A Waray (Inland Samar variety)-speaking friend who requests to remain anonymous.

- (50) amó lat Ø sinultían námon (láng)gaq
 PRES RELATIONAL PM language 1PL.INCL. NPM |TITLE|dear
 ‘This is our language, dear.’
- (51) kumústa qikáw langgáq
 how.are.you 2SG.PM dear\VOCATIVE
 ‘How are you, dear?’

5.3 Verbs

Verbs describe actions, events, processes, or states and are encoded with Tense-Aspect-Mood-Voice (TAMV) (Velupillai, 2012, pp. 123–126).³⁹ These are also true for Linawis verbs. The verbs in Linawis are primarily derived via TAMV affixation, i.e. VOICE or non-VOICE derivation, but there are also special classes of bare verbs, e.g., EPLS. Both derived and non-derived verbs function as the predicates of clauses.

5.3.1 Voice Derivation

VOICE derivative affixation is paradigmatic, i.e., only one affix is used per verb (see Payne & Oyzon, 2020, p. 11), and agrees with the macrorole of the PSA which controls and is described by the predicate (see also Section 5.1.1). Each argument is assigned one of two macroroles or generalized semantic roles in clauses with verbal predicates: the ACTOR (A) or the most agentive or active argument and the UNDERGOER (U) or the most patientive or passive argument (see Van Valin, 2023, pp. 107–108). There are eleven voice affixes in Linawis with seven A-affixes and four U-affixes (see Table 27).

Table 27

Linawis Voice Affixes

| | | | Realis | Irrealis ^a | Imperative |
|-----------|----------------|--------|--------------------------------------|----------------------------|------------|
| Actor | Perfective | Remote | <ingm> ⁺ / ning-/ming- | mo- <um> ^{+,b} | Ø |
| | | Recent | ni-/mi- | | |
| | Imperfective | | n- | m- | |
| | Happenstantial | | (na)ka- | (ma)ka- | |
| Undergoer | Perfective | | gi- <in> ^{+,b} | | Ø |
| | Imperfective | | gin(g)- | | |
| | Happenstantial | | na- | ma- | |

^a The IRREALIS (CONTEMPLATIVE) is also used to signal the COHORTATIVE.

^b This only occurs in some fossilized forms.

³⁹In Tagalog, this is the main criteria for distinguishing verbs (Aikhenvald, 2015, p. 83).

The IMPERATIVE A and IRREALIS U are null-marked.⁴⁰ These affixes are specified for three types of MOOD: the REALIS or the realized action/event/process, as in (52); the IRREALIS or the non-realized action/event/process, as in (53) (Aikhenvald, 2015, pp. 140–141); and the IMPERATIVE or the “directive speech act”, as in (54) (Velupillai, 2012, p. 359). These affixes are also specified for three types of ASPECT: the PERFECTIVE or the complete/unsegmentable action/event/process, as in (52); the IMPERFECTIVE or the incomplete/segmentable action/event/process, as in (53) (Velupillai, 2012, p. 209); and the HAPPENSTANTIAL or non-volitional happenings, as in (55) (Payne & Oyzon, 2020, p. 31). The A PERFECTIVE may be further specified as having occurred in the REMOTE, as in (56), or RECENT PAST, as in (52).⁴¹

- (52) **ni-butó** ang apdo
A.REAL.PFV.RECENT-explode PM gallbladder
 ‘The gallbladder burst.’
- (53) **m-ag-dagóm** inâ=silá
A.IRR.IPFV-CONT-clothing MED.PM=3SG.PM
 ‘They wear clothing.’
- (54) dyágan-Ø kamó !
run-A.IMP 2PL.PM
 ‘Run!’
- (55) **naka-sapíl** si Pápa
A.REAL.HPST-accidentally.brush.onto PM Dad
 ‘Dad accidentally brushed onto (a mythological creature).’
- (56) s<ingm>unód ma=ko
<A.REAL.PFV.REMOTE>follow EXPLANATORY=1SG.PM
 ‘(And so,) I followed (the fellow).’

Most VOICE affixes are regular prefixes except for the IMPERFECTIVE A affixes which are replacive and can only be used with the stem-forming affixes *pag(a)-*,⁴² *paN-*,⁴³ *panag-*, or *pakig-*, as in (57–58); verbals with fossilized *pag(a)-*, *paN-*, or *pani-* prefixes, e.g., *paniqúdtu* ‘lunch’ as in (59); and some AUTO-EXPERIENTIAL *ka-*forming verbs, like *kanáqug* ‘descend’ as in (60).

⁴⁰Following Payne and Oyzon (2020, p. 25), treating the IMPERATIVE and IRREALIS U as null-marked allows for an analysis where *-an* and *i-* can specify us for two MOODS.

⁴¹I originally analyzed these two as interchangeable, but language partners said otherwise. Further verification is needed (cf. war DELIBERATE *nag-* and INEVITABLE <*in/um/in(u)m*> in Payne and Oyzon, 2020, p. 26).

⁴²*n-/m-* and *pag(a)-* may be combined as *ga-*, e.g., *n-ag-búhat* ‘A.REAL.IPFV-CONT-do’ > *ga-buhat* ‘A.REAL.IPFV.CONT-do’.

⁴³*n-/m-* and *paN-* may be combined as *N-*, e.g., *n-ang-uhâ* ‘A.REAL.IPFV-DISTR-take’ > *ng-uhâ* ‘A.REAL.IPFV.DISTR-take’.

Table 28*Linawis Non-paradigmatic Stem-forming Affixes*

| | Aspect | Form | Restrictions |
|--------|--------------------------|-----------------------|-------------------------------------|
| Type 1 | CONTINUOUS | pag(a)- | Not A.PFV Not HPST Not U.REAL |
| | PLURAL.SIMULTANEOUS | panag- | |
| | COMITATIVE | pakig- | |
| Type 2 | DISTRIBUTIVE | paN- | Not A.PFV |
| | ITERATIVE | <in> | |
| | RECIPROCAL | -ay | |
| | DIRECTIONAL | pa(si)- | |
| | FREQUENTIVE ^a | ROOT~, Cu~, -l-V~ | |
| | CAUSATIVE | pa- | |
| | AUTO-EXPERIENTIAL | ka- | Not A.HPST |
| | MULTIPLICATIVE | ka- | |
| | PLURAL | <g>, ^b si- | |
| | DIMINUTIVE | ROOT~ | |
| | AESTHETIC/DISTANTIAL | ha-, hi- | HPST only |

^a When the root begins with *q*, the form -l-V~ is used; otherwise, Cu~ is used.

^b Only occurs in one example: *tágbunan* from *tábun* 'to cover'.

- (63) taga-Ø-an **kitá**_{U.APPL}=y panginabuhían
 give-U.IRR-APPL 2SG. NPM>1SG.PM=NEUT livelihood
 'I'll give you (a source of) livelihood.'

The u specifier affixes are suffixes except for the PRIMARY (PR) and SECONDARY (SD) REALIS which are unmarked and the SD IRREALIS which is a prefix. These suffixes are specified for the specific u-type of the PSA which may be PR, SD, or APPL/PART. These affixes have different forms in the REALIS, the IRREALIS CONTEMPLATIVE, and the NON-CONTEMPLATIVE (see Table 29).

There is also an INTENTIVE ~VC reduplication applied to the CONTEMPLATIVE IRREALIS -*un* and -*an*. This has the effect of making the verb something that needs to be done, e.g., *palít* 'buy' > *palitón* 'to buy something' > *palitónun* 'to be bought'.

Aside from role agreement, Linawis verbals also exhibit negative (see also Section 5.1.6) and counterfactual polarity. The latter requires NON-CONTEMPLATIVE IRREALIS verbs, as in (64).

- (64) hay=man kwa-Ø-a ang mangisdáay ay
 WHERE.INDF=EXPLANATORY take-U.IRR-PR.NCPV PM fisherfolk ERROR
 'Where will the fisherfolk go?!'

Table 29

Linawis Undergoer Specifiers

| | Realis | Irrealis | |
|-----------------------|--------|---------------|-------------------|
| | | Contemplative | Non-contemplative |
| Primary | ∅ | -(h)on | -(h)a |
| Secondary | ∅ | | i- |
| Applicative/Partitive | | -(h)an | -(h)i |

5.3.2 Non-voice Derivation

There are two non-VOICE derivative affixes in Linawis. These are the REALIS TIMEFRAME *pag(ka)-* and the IRREALIS TIMEFRAME *inig(ka)-*, *ig(ka)-*, *ing-*, and *ka-*. Clauses with TIMEFRAME affixes are subordinate clauses, as in (65), that act as reference time for the action/event/process of the main clause verb, i.e., the main clause action/event/process occurs after or during the occurrence of the subordinate action/event/process. These affixes prevent PROMINENT arguments from surfacing, as in (65). The only arguments allowed for non-VOICE clauses are NON-PROMINENT arguments and OBLIQUES. In addition to non-VOICE affixes, non-VOICE clauses can also be made with meteorological verbs, as in (66).

- (65) observe-Ø **ig**-humán **sinâ=níya** ka-lígò
 observe-A.IMP TIMEFRAME.IRR-finish MED.NPM=3SG.NPM AUTO-bathe
 ‘Observe (what he does) after he takes a bath.’
- (66) n-ag-**uwán** sará=y gamáy
 A.REAL.IPFV-CONT-rain RECENTIVE=NEUT small
 ‘(It’s) raining a bit’

5.3.3 Existential-Possessives-Locatives and Motion Verbs

EPLS express the existence, the possession, and the location of an argument (Lyons, 1967, p. 390). EPLS are special verbs that form an extension of Linawis’ deictic particle system (see Table 30).⁴⁴ They are typically non-affixable, except for the NEGATIVE *w(al)â/wà*, and are typically INTRANSITIVE. EPLS always require an UNDERGOER argument that performs the THEME role (Baran & Dizon, 2023).

There are three main types of EPL clauses: the EXISTENTIAL, LOCATIVE, and POSSESSIVE (Lyons, 1967, p. 390). The EXISTENTIAL is formed either with an EPL predicate and a NEUTRAL, INDEFINITE NON-PROMINENT- or PROMINENT-marked THEME argument, as in (67),⁴⁵ or with the proclitic EPL *may=* and an incorporated THEME argument, as in (68). The LOCATIVE is an EXISTENTIAL clause with an OBLIQUE argument, but in this case the THEME argument cannot be INDEFINITE NON-PROMINENT, as in (69). The POSSESSIVE has an obligatorily NEUTRAL

⁴⁴See Baran and Dizon (2023) for a more detailed discussion on Linawis EPLS.

⁴⁵The GENERAL EPL *may-ârâ* cannot be used with a PROMINENT argument in the EXISTENTIAL and LOCATIVE (cf. *tgl mayroon*).

Table 30*Linawis EPL Forms*

| | EPL |
|---------------|-----------------------------|
| Proximal | ári |
| Medial | árà ná(a) _{ceb} |
| Distal | ádto túa _{ceb} |
| General | may= (may=)árà |
| Negative | w(al)â/wà |
| Interrogative | háin/hayn/hay= |

OR INDEFINITE NON-PROMINENT THEME argument and an obligatorily PROMINENT possessor argument, as in (70) (Baran & Dizon, 2023, pp. 60–67).

- (67) **ára=y/sing/ang** taw'
EPL=(MED.)EPL=NEUT/NPM.INDF/PM person
'There's a person.'
- (68) **may=taw'**
EPL=person
'There's a person.'
- (69) **ádto=y/=ng** taw'=s byay
DIST.EPL=NEUT/PM person=OBL.INDF house
'A/the person is in the house.'
- (70) **w'a=y/sing** buwák=s Adam
NEG.EPL=NEUT/NPM.INDF flower=PM Adam
'Adam has no flowers.'

In addition to EPLs, there are also deictic motion verbs which indicate motion towards a specified distance (Fortis & Fagard, 2010, pp. 16–20) that are affixable with voice affixes, as in (71).

- (71) m-ag-k<in>arâ sya kada=board-meeting
A.IRR.IPFV-CONT<ITERATIVE>go.MED 3SG EVERY=board-meeting
'He goes there every time there is a board meeting.'

There are two types of motion verbs: underived and those derived from DIRECTIONAL LOCATIVES (see Section 5.1.4) with the *pasi-* stem forming affix (see Table 31).

Table 31*Linawis Motion Verbs*

| | Underived | Derived |
|----------|-----------|------------|
| Proximal | karí | pasingarí |
| Medial | karâ | pasingarâ |
| Distal | kádto | pasingádto |

5.3.4 Irregular Verbs

Linawis has three irregular verb types. These include *nga*-verbs, irregular stems, and the PRESENTATIVE *amó/am=*.⁴⁶ The first is a set of idiosyncratic verbs that take *nga*/Ø marked U. Common ones include *silíng/sing/segón=*_{spa} ‘say’ which takes a NON-PROMINENT A, as in (72); *ánà*⁴⁷/n= ‘say’ which takes a PROMINENT A, as in (73); *ganáhan/gústo*_{spa} ‘want’ which takes a PROMINENT A but may have NON-PROMINENT U, as in (74); *ambót* ‘I do not know’ which only has an OBLIQUE and a *nga*/Ø or *kag/og*-marked U, as in (75); and *(ka)nákon/kángkon/kunákon*⁴⁸ ‘I say’ which has an incorporated NON-PROMINENT A, as in (76).

- (72) *silíng/sing=nya nga/Ø*
 say=3SG.NPM MOD
 ‘He says ...’
- (73) *ánà/n=sya nga*
 say=3SG.PM MOD
 ‘He says ...’
- (74) *ganáhan/gústo sya=y/sing/sang/nga/Ø*
 want 3SG.PM=NEUT/NPM.INDF/NPM.DEF/MOD/MOD
 ‘She wants (a/to) ...’
- (75) *qámbot sádto=sa íya nga/og/Ø*
 I.do.not.know DIST.OBL=3SG.OBL MOD/AND/MOD
 ‘I don’t know what’s up with her and ...’
- (76) *kanákon nga/Ø*
 I.say MOD
 ‘I said ...’

The second set of irregular verbs behave syntactically like other verbs but have suppletive stems. These suppletive forms are irregular because they cannot be explained by consistent sound changes (see Table 32).

⁴⁶Tanangkingsing (2009, pp. 295–334) considers *nga*-verbs and PRESENTATIVE verbs to be types of verb complexes in Cebuano but it is still unclear if the same can be said for Linawis.

⁴⁷Its etymon is probably the MEDIAL SIMILATIVE.

⁴⁸This is the OBLIQUE FIRST PERSON SINGULAR pronoun.

Table 32*Linawís Irregular Stem Verbs*

| Regular Stem | Irregular Stem | Examples | Notes |
|--|----------------------|---|--|
| silíng/síngg ‘to say’ | sínggan | sínggan-Ø-á say-U.IRR-PR.NCPV sínggán-Ø-un say-U.IRR-PR.NCPV | <i>síngg</i> is formed by deletion in <i>silíng</i> of the ultima vowel (<i>íng</i>), then assimilation of <i>l</i> to <i>ng</i> (<i>síngg</i>), and then metathesis of <i>g</i> and <i>ng</i> (<i>síngg</i>). |
| hátag ‘give’ | tágà | tagá-Ø-an give-U.IRR-APPL | This possibly arose from an irregular instance of metathesis. |
| (pa)sagád ‘leave alone’ | (pa)ságdà | (pa)sagdáq-Ø-i leave.alone-U.IRR-APPL.NCPV | This possibly arose from an irregular instance of metathesis. |
| tán-aw ‘look’ | aw | áw-Ø-a look-U.IRR-PR.NCPV | This shows an irregular loss of the first syllable. |
| náno ‘what’ | qanó | qán-Ø-hun what-U.IRR-PR.NCPV | All derivatives of <i>náno</i> use the irregular stem. Verbalizing <i>náno</i> results in a ‘how’ interpretation. |
| qákon ‘my’ qámon ‘our’ qáton ‘our’ | qákò qámò qátò | qako-Ø-on 1SG.NPM-U.IRR-PR.NCPV | See ceb NON-PROMINENT pronouns in Tanangkingsing (2009, p. 120). |

The third irregular verb *amó/am=* is the PRESENTATIVE predicate (cf. ceb *maó* in Tanangkingsing, 2009, p. 128). It is typically used to present or define a contextually salient referent in which case it has the regular verbal clause structure, as in (77); to present a conclusion in which case it has an irregular clause structure, as in (78); or to show agreement (cf. eng *that’s the case*), in which case it is used in isolation (see also Matthews, 2007).

- (77) **qam=**iní ang Linawís
PRES=MED.PM PM Madridejos.variety
 ‘This is the Madridejos variety.’

- (78) **amó** lat=ta=Ø n-ag-lális
PRES RELATIONAL=1PL.INCL.PM=MOD A.REAL.IPFV-CONT-argue
 ‘And that’s why we’re arguing.’

5.3.5 Verb Complexes and Adverbial Verbs

Verb complexes involve either an adverbial predicate and verbal argument or a verbal predicate and a non-OBLIQUE adverbial argument (Tanangkingsing, 2009, pp. 295–334). The semantics of Linawis verbs can be specified through these verb complexes. The verb complex is created by making a verbalized adverb the predicate and turning a main verb into a VOICELESS NEUTRAL, as in (79), or INDEFINITE NON-PROMINENT argument, as in (80), or an unmarked voiceless verb with only stem-forming affixes, as in (81).

- (79) **na-ún-han** mang=ko=y hátag
 U.REAL.HPST-first-APPL EXPLANATORY=1SG.PM=NEUT give
 ‘(Someone was able) to give before I could.’
- (80) kung duhá ka ádlaw áko=ng i-sígi-Ø sing
 CONDITIONAL two COUNT day 1SG.NPM=MOD SD-always-U.IRR NPM.INDF
 puláw
 burn.midnight.oil
 ‘if I spend two days always burning the midnight oil’
- (81) **ma-hádlok** ka dirí sa kuló pag-labáng
 U.IRR.HPST-fear 2SG.PM PROX.LOC OBL.INDF breadfruit CONT-cross
 ‘You will be afraid (when) crossing (the road) here by the breadfruit (tree).’

Instead of the adverb position (see Section 5.5), an adverbial noun can be incorporated into a verb complex by making it either a predicate modifying an INDEFINITE NON-PROMINENT OR NEUTRAL argument, as in (82), or a predicate with the main verb as the argument, as in (83).

- (82) mo-káon na=sya=y tárong
 A.IRR.PFV-eat TRANSFORMATIVE=3SG.PM=NEUT proper
 ‘He eats well now.’
- (83) mo-tárong na=syá=y káon
 A.IRR.PFV-proper TRANSFORMATIVE=3SG.PM=NEUT eat
 ‘He eats well now.’

5.4 Adjectives

Adjectives “state a property” and “further specify a noun’s referent” (Aikhenvald, 2015, pp. 157–60; Dixon, 2010, p. 70). In Linawis, adjectives are difficult to distinguish from nouns and verbs, as both nouns (see Section 5.2) and adjectives, as in (84), can further specify another noun’s referent with the MODIFIER particle, and both adjectives and EPL verbs can specify a noun’s spatial properties (see Section 5.3.3). Tanangkingsing (2009) even considers adjectives as a subclass of verb called stative verbs in his grammar of Cebuano and “it has been suggested that it is impossible or inappropriate to identify an adjective class” (Dixon, 2010, p. 62).

- (84) **Lawisánon**_{NOUN} nga **puyá**_{NOUN}
Lawisanon MOD **kid/child**
 ‘child Lawisanon’ or ‘Lawisanon kid’

Although Linawis adjectives are difficult to distinguish from nouns and verbs, there are some criteria to distinguish a separate adjective class. These include select morphological and syntactic constructions which are only applicable to adjectives.

5.4.1 Adjectival Derivation

Linawis adjectives can morphologically be identified by which affixes can be used with them. As in Aikhenvald (2015, p. 160) and Dixon (2010, p. 70), adjectives are gradable and can be used in comparative constructions. Linawis is no different.

Only Linawis adjectives can be affixed with the SUPERLATIVE affixes *pinaka-*, *kina-* -*an*, and *ka-* -*an*, e.g. *pinakatrápik* ‘most congested’ from *trápik* ‘congestion’; *kinatibúk-an* ‘entirety’ from *tibuók* ‘whole’; and *kamagwáangan* ‘eldest’ from *mágwang* ‘older’, and be reduplicated to gain an **approximative** meaning, e.g., *damò-dámò* ‘quite a lot’ from *dámò* ‘many’. Furthermore, only adjectives can be marked by the non-paradigmatic adpositions *mas* = ‘MORE.COMPARATIVE’, as in (85), and *medyo* ‘somewhat’, as in (86).

- (85) **mas**=guráng na=ko
MORE.COMPARATIVE=old **TRANSFORMATIVE**=1SG.PM
 ‘I’m already older.’
- (86) **medyo**=kulang~kuláng pa=nâ
SOMEWHAT=APPROXIMATIVE~lacking **PERSISTENCE**=MED.PM
 ‘That’s still somewhat lacking.’

In addition to being gradable, adjectives are also typically associated with qualifying certain semantic types, including dimensions (Aikhenvald, 2015, p. 158). In Linawis, only dimension or measurement adjectives can be pluralized with the affix <g>, e.g. *lagyom* ‘deep.PL’ from *lá(l)om* ‘deep’ and *dágkò* ‘large.PL’ from *dakô* ‘large’.

While adjectives can be identified based on the applicable derivational affixes, some derivational affixes may also be used to produce affixes from nouns or verbs. Some adjective derivational affixes identified in the Linawis corpus are listed in Table 33.

Table 33
Linawis Adjectival Derivation

| Form | Function | Example |
|---------|----------|---|
| -(á)non | ORIGIN | <i>Lawisánon</i> ‘Madrídejos native’ (from <i>Lawís</i> ‘Madrídejos’) |
| <in> | MANNER | <i>ináswang</i> ‘monster horror’ (from <i>áswang</i> ‘mythological monster’) |

| Form | Function | Example |
|------------------------------|--|--|
| -án | STEREOTYPE | <i>hiloán</i> ‘poisoner’ (from <i>hilô</i> ‘poison’) |
| -ón -(á)do _{spa} | CHARACTERISTIC | <i>hilumón</i> ‘silent type’ (from <i>hílom</i> ‘silent’) <i>kilyádo</i> ‘acquaintance’ (from <i>kílya</i> ‘identify’) <i>kantiládo</i> ‘having a steep drop into the ocean’ (from <i>kantíl</i> ‘a steep drop into the ocean’) |
| pang- | INSTRUMENT | <i>panggobyérno</i> ‘governmental’ (from <i>gobyérno</i> ‘government’) |
| <in> | LANGUAGE | <i>Binisayâ</i> ‘Bantayanon language’ (from <i>Bisayâ</i> ‘Bisayan’) |
| ma- | STATIVE _{fossilized/optional} | <i>madámò</i> ‘many’ (from <i>dámò</i> ‘many’) |

5.4.2 Adjective Predicates and Adverbs

Like nouns and verbs, adjectives may also function as predicates in Linawis. Adjectives may be the predicate of an intransitive clause where it may either be NON-EXCLAMATORY or EXCLAMATORY. For the former, the clause has a PROMINENT, as in (85–86); NON-PROMINENT; or NEUTRAL, as in (87), marked PSA (cf. Cebuano stative predicates with preposed nouns in Tanangkingsing, 2009, pp. 159–161). For the latter, the clause has a NON-PROMINENT or NEUTRAL marked PSA and an adjective predicate with the EXCLAMATORY affixes (*pag*)*ka-*, ((*pag*)*ka-*)*ROOT~hil?*, or *-(h)a_{ceb}* which express the intensity of the verb to the point of implied disbelief, as in (88) (cf. *oh how -ful* constructions in English).

- (87) **damô** gyápo=y **mgá=disgrásya** hántod=sarâ
many INVARIANT=NEUT **PL=accident** UNTIL=NOW
‘There are still many accidents to this day.’
- (88) **ka-bíró** man=lat=**siní=níya**
EXCLAMATORY-hassle **EXPLANATORY=RELATIONAL=PROX. NPM=3SG. NPM**
‘What a hassle it has become (for you)!’

Similar to verbal clauses, adjectival clauses are not only intransitive but may also be transitive, i.e., having two required arguments. In this case, the NON-PROMINENT or NEUTRAL marked argument specify the properties of the predicate while the predicate qualifies the PROMINENT marked PSA (see also Tanangkingsing, 2009, pp. 159–161).

- (89) **punô** kay **sing** balhíbo **ang** naw’ng
full INTENSIFIER **INDEF. NPM** hair **PM** face
‘The face was full of hair.’

When adjectives are placed to the right of verbal clauses, they behave like adverbs, as in (90). Adjectives may also be nominalized as verb complex complements to have an adverbial function, as in (91).

- (90) **tárong** sya mo-káon
proper 3SG.PM A.IRR.PFV-eat
 'He eats well.'
- (91) pa-utáng-Ø-on akó=y **g<in>á<g>may**
 CAUSATIVE-debt-U.IRR-PR.CPV 1SG.PM=NEUT <MANNER>small<PL>
 '(He) will let me borrow in small (chunks).'

5.5 Clause Structure

As with most languages (Aikhenvald, 2015, p. 205), Linawis' clause structure is composed of the non-particle predicate and the arguments. The former is either a verbal phrase or a noun/adjective while the latter are phrasal units composed of adpositions and nouns or nominalized verbs or adjectives. Adverbs, i.e., adverbial particles, nouns, verbs, or adjectives, are optionally added to the left or right of clauses.

Arguments always have an adposition that determines the argument's relationship to the predicate, as in (92). Based on Van Valin (2023, pp. 116–118), the Privileged Syntactic Argument (PSA) or subject is described by and controls the predicate while the non-PSAs are non-controlling arguments that complete the predicate's argument structure. OBLIQUES are peripheral arguments that are only required in ditransitive clauses, i.e., clauses that require three arguments (Aikhenvald, 2015, p. 205).

- (92) daw_{ADVERB} gi-hátag_{PREDICATE} sang_{NON-PSA} puyá_A ang_{PSA} candy_{SD,U}
 SIMILATIVE U-give NON-PROMINENT kid PROMINENT candy
 sa babáye_{APPL} kalína_{ADVERB}
 OBLIQUE woman a.while.ago
 '(I) reckon the kid gave the candy to a woman a while ago.'

Each argument is assigned one of two macroroles or generalized semantic roles in clauses with verbal predicates, as in (92): the ACTOR (A) or the most agentive/active argument and the UNDERGOER (U) or the most patientive/passive argument (Van Valin, 2023, pp. 107–108). Loosely based on Haspelmath (2008, pp. 84–88), in Linawis ditransitive clauses, the U may be PRIMARY (PR) or the patient-like and completely affected U, SECONDARY (SD) or the theme/instrument-like and partially affected U, or APPLICATIVE/PARTITIVE (APPL/PART) or the least affected U and is typically either a PARTITIVE PATIENT or a promoted OBLIQUE, e.g., BENEFICIARY, RECIPIENT, or LOCATIVE.

The basic clause and phrase structure of Linawis is summarized in Table 34 below. The basic clause and phrase structure is exemplified in (92) above.

Table 34*Linawis Basic Clause and Phrase Structure*

| Clause | (Adverb) | Predicate | PSA | Non-PSA | Oblique | (Adverb) |
|--------|----------|--|-----|------------------------|---------|----------|
| Phrase | | (Affix/ Adposition) + Noun/Verb | | Adposition + Noun/Verb | | |

6 Pragmatics

This section describes some major discourse/pragmatic strategies in Linawis. These involve using Linawis morphosyntax to highlight pragmatic concerns.

6.1 Topic and Focus

TOPICS are what (multiple) utterance units are about and COMMENTS talk about the TOPICS, while FOCI are contrastive parts of clauses/utterances that are highlighted (Aikhenvald, 2015, pp. 267–272).⁴⁹ In Linawis, this FOCUS is fronted, i.e., placed leftmost, and is typically the predicate, as in (93), but the adverb and OBLIQUE may also be FOCUSED without additional morphosyntactic processes besides fronting, as in (94).

- (93) **n-ag-check**_{FOCUS} sya sang laundry sa Cebu
A.REAL.IPFV-CONT-check 3SG.PM NPM.DEF laundromat OBL.INDF Cebu
‘He **checked (out)** the laundromats in Cebu.’
- (94) **sa** **Cebu**_{FOCUS} sya n-ag-check sang laundry
OBL.INDF Cebu 3SG.PM A.REAL.IPFV-CONT-check NPM.DEF laundromat
‘He checked (out) the laundromats **in Cebu**.’

In contrast to predicate/adverb/OBLIQUE FOCUS, FOCUSING arguments entail additional morphosyntactic processes. To be FOCUSED, arguments are placed in the predicate position with obligatory PROMINENT marking, as in (95), because without PROMINENT marking, the FOCUS will lose its referential interpretation and be interpreted as a quality of the PSA rather than as a fronted argument, as in (96).⁵⁰ As a consequence, the former predicate and the other arguments are now nominalized and become the PSA through PROMINENT marking. VOICE affixes must now agree with the macrorole of the new predicate so an A predicate will have an A-VOICE PSA, as in (97), and a U predicate will have a U-VOICE PSA, as in (95). When performing the A role in their isolated forms, NON-PROMINENT pronouns may be fronted without additional morphosyntactic processes; however, this does not seem to signal FOCUS, as in (98).⁵¹

⁴⁹See Kaufman (2005) for a similar discussion on Tagalog TOPIC/FOCUS.

⁵⁰A similar phenomenon is observed for Tagalog in Himmelmann (1991, pp. 6–25).

⁵¹A cursory look at usage frequencies shows that constructions with ISOLATED forms might be preferred over clauses with CONNECTED forms (see Section 5.1.4).

- (95) **ang laundry**_{FOCUS.U} ang gi-check níya sa Cebu
PM laundromat PM U.REAL.PFV-check 3SG.NPM OBL.INDF Cebu
 ‘He checked (out) **the laundromats** in Cebu.’
- (96) **laundry**_{FOCUS.NON-REFERENTIAL} ang gi-check niya sa Cebu
laundromat PM U.REAL.PFV-check 3SG.NPM OBL.INDF Cebu
 ‘It was **a laundromat** that he checked (out) in Cebu.’
- (97) **sya**_{FOCUS.A} ang n-ag-check sang laundry sa Cebu
3SG.PM PM A.REAL.IPFV-CONT-check NPM.DEF laundry OBL.INDF Cebu
 ‘**He** checked (out) the laundromats in Cebu.’
- (98) íya **gi-check**_{FOCUS} ang laundry sa Cebu
 3SG.NPM **U.REAL-check** PM laundry OBL.INDF Cebu
 ‘**He checked (out)** the laundromats in Cebu.’

As with many languages (Aikhenvald, 2015, pp. 267–270), Linawis TOPICS are usually PSAs, but when foregrounded or reactivated they are fronted and dislocated with a terminal juncture between the TOPIC and optionally *kay*-marked COMMENT utterance units, as in (99).⁵² This manner of TOPICALIZATION serves to shift, as in (99), or clarify, as in (100), topics. This COMMENT marker *kay* is different from the discourse connective RATIONALE *kay* (see Section 5.1.2) which shares the same form but introduces causes, reasons, or reasonings, as in (101).

- (99) **ang puyá**_{TOPIC} kay
PM kid TERMINAL.JUNCTURE COMMENT
 n-ag-ka-sakit~sakít man **ang puyá**
 A.REAL.IPFV-CONT-AUTO-DIMINUTIVE~illness EXPLANATORY **PM kid**
 ‘(About) **the kid** (right), **the kid** gets sick and stuff.’
- (100) ka-kílya akó pero **sya**_{TOPIC} w’à
 A.REAL.HPST-acquaint 1SG.PM but **3SG.PM** TERMINAL.JUNCTURE NEG.EPL
ka-kílya sa ákon_{COMMENT}
A.IRR.HPST-acquaint 1SG.OBL
 ‘I know (her) but **as for her**, (she) **does not know me**.’
- (101) imposible **kay** ka-damô
 impossible **RATIONALE** EXCLAMATORY-many
 na=mang=gyod nga irô
 TRANSFORMATIVE=EXPLANATORY=ASSURANCE MOD dog
 ‘(That should have been) impossible **because** (there were) too many dogs!’

⁵² TOPICS may be repeated in the COMMENT, as in (99).

6.2 Discourse Tracking and Stance Marking

Languages can track discourse by marking information as NEW or OLD (Aikhenvald, 2015, p. 268). Linawis tracks information recency with NON-PERSONAL DEICTIC pronouns.⁵³ NEW information is marked with the PROXIMAL, as in (102); RECENT with MEDIAL, as in (103); and OLD with DISTAL, as in (104). These deictic pronouns can form phrases with marked information using the MODIFIER, as in (103), in which case PROMINENCE is marked through the pronoun or they can be disconnected from marked information, as in (102), in which case PROMINENCE markers are used. In the latter case, the pronoun must agree with the PROMINENCE of the marked information. The discourse tracking function of deictic pronouns is different from their spatial tracking function. With the latter function, physical distance is not implied, and deictic pronouns can be used with THIRD PERSON pronouns, as in (103).

- (102) pahimángnò na=m=iní ang ákon
preemptive.notice TRANSFORMATIVE=EXPLANATORY=PROX.PM PM 1SG.NPM
kamagwángan_{NEW}
eldest.kin
'My eldest son had already notified (me).'
- (103) panágsa lang=bayâ iná=ng úwak_{RECENT}
INFREQUENTIVE LIMITING=FACTUAL MED.PM=MOD CROW
'Crows are quite infrequent, right?'
- (104) ámbot kung náno probléma sádto=níya_{OLD}
do.not.know IF WHAT problem DIST.NPM=3SG.NPM
'I don't know what his deal is.'

The NON-PROMINENT deictic pronouns may also mark the accessibility of information and relative temporal distance of events in utterances. When used to mark accessibility and temporal distance, the NON-PROMINENT DISTAL pronoun marks utterances as occurring in a REMOTE PAST that is accessible to all interlocutors, as in (105), the MEDIAL as recently occurring but with privileged accessibility to the hearer, and the PROXIMAL as recently occurring but with privileged accessibility to the speaker (Baran, 2023d, pp. 231–242).⁵⁴ Accessibility/temporal marking NON-PROMINENT pronouns are placed in the adverb position.

- (105) may=panagatán kamí=sádto
EPL=sea.vessel 1PL.EXCL.PM=DIST.NPM
'We had a fleet a long time ago.'

Another function of deictic pronouns is to indicate word-searching, as in (106), and hesitation, as in (107) (Tanangkingsing, 2023).⁵⁵ While the former function is common,

⁵³See Yoshimoto (1986) for a similar discussion on information recency and saliency marking of Japanese *ko-/so-/a-* pronouns.

⁵⁴Ilokano deictic pronouns similarly mark temporal distance of clauses (Fortis & Fagard, 2010, p. 18).

⁵⁵The language partner *Lóla* Teresita also uses *biláng* for these functions.

the latter function has only been shown for Cebuano in Tanangkingsing (2023). A similar function seems to be present in Linawis. In both cases *qináng/qíníng* as fossilized forms of PROMINENT deictic pronouns and the MODIFIER =*ng* are used. Typically, there is an accompanying NULL/EMPTY root *kwan/kuqán_{ceb}* which can function as a substitutive FILLER and/or CENSOR, as in (106–107).⁵⁶

- (106) **iníng...** may=kuráy sádto nga **kwan**
 FILLER EPL=fence DIST.NPM MOD NULL
 ‘Um... there was a fence that was um...’
- (107) **ináng** daw na-**kwan** lat=akó sa gásto
 HESITATION SIMILATIVE U.REAL.HPST=NULL RELATIONAL=1SG.PM OBL.INDF COST
 ba
 RETROSPECTIVE.NEGOTIABILITY
 ‘So, like I was (terrified) of the costs, you know...’

7 Linawis As a Bantayanon and Bisayan Variety

Linawis is a robust and dynamic Bantayanon and Bisayan variety spoken in the municipality of Madridejos that is shaped by the highly multilingual context of Bantayan. This context led to the prevalence of code-switching and code-mixing to the point that speakers refer to Linawis as a *saksaksinágol* ‘hodgepodge (speech)’. Cebuano remains the most influential language to the variety, with some language partners even considering Linawis a variety of Cebuano instead of Bantayanon in contrast to Carabio-Sexon’s (2007) and Allen’s (2022) findings and assertions.

The data shows that while Linawis is indeed a Bantayanon variety (as described in Allen, 2022) when spoken in more intra-community or informal contexts, Linawis can also seem more Cebuano (as described in Tanangkingsing, 2009) in more inter-community or formal contexts. For various purposes, reasons, or contexts, speakers freely navigate this Bantayanon-Cebuano spectrum and negotiate their variety with Cebuano and the other languages historically or presently used in Madridejos, especially Hiligaynon, Waray, Filipino/Tagalog, English, and Spanish. That said, the purpose of this study is not to identify the language status of Linawis but to describe this underdocumented variety and analyze it as both a variety on its own right and as both a Bantayanon and Bisayan variety and its interaction and negotiation with its context.

Linawis has 15 consonant phonemes, three vowel phonemes, and a phonemic stress distinction. These phonemes are organized into a (C)C(C)V(C)(C)(C) syllable structure. Linawis’ four major morphosyntactic classes are particles, nouns, verbs, and adjectives, but there is also a residual class of adverbs. Linawis makes use of its morphosyntax to highlight pragmatic concerns including TOPICS, FOCI, information recency, accessibility/temporal marking, word-searching, and hesitation.

This grammar system of Linawis has three major characteristics. One, Linawis speakers have large linguistic repertoires, and this is reflected in the grammar, e.g., the free

⁵⁶See Hsieh and Tanangkingsing (2006) for a discussion on NULL/EMPTY roots in Cebuano and Kavalan.

variation between the NON-PROMINENT Linawis *sing* and Cebuano *og*. Replacive loans are so prevalent that otherwise foreign features must be analyzed as part of the native system. Second, Linawis features abundant variation, e.g., the REMOTE PERFECTIVE ACTOR REALIS may be realized as <ingm>, <im>, *ming-*, or *ning-* depending on still yet known factors that must be investigated in a different study. Third, Linawis features extreme syncretism, e.g., the DISTAL *ádto* may be interpreted as NON-PERSONAL, SIMILATIVE, INDEFINITE LOCATIVE, EPL, or OLD information marking.

Linawis' grammar system also has features that are possibly unique to it, although further verification is needed. Sociolinguistically, the use of multiple synonyms with the same historical source that underwent varying sound changes, e.g., *syò*, *sulô*, and *s'ò* all meaning 'torch', may be a possible shibboleth of Linawis. Phonetically, the occasional frication of stops has only been established for Linawis and not yet for the other Bantayanon varieties. With particles, the non-THEME marking uses of NEUTRAL =*y*, the distinct CONCEPTUAL *itón/sitón* pronominals, and the 2P particle *bahín* may be unique to the variety or the Bantayanon language. As for nouns, verbs, and adjectives, Linawis' use of the HONORIFIC *ka=* and the REMOTE/RECENT distinction for the ACTOR PERFECTIVE may be unique. Although not unique, the use of pronominals as HESITATION markers has only been shown for Cebuano and Linawis, and the use of proclitic forms for some 2P particles and the 2P particle *lat* 'RELATIONAL' has only been shown for Porohanon and Linawis.

The description of Linawis presented in this study is still incomplete. Further data on the neighboring Bantayanon varieties and a larger, more diverse pool of Linawis data are required to get a fuller picture of a variety that is highly sensitive to social context. Even within Linawis, there is a difference between the speech of the elderly in San Agustin and the younger people of the Poblacion.

This study presents a beginning actualization of Allen's (2022, p. 161) suggestion to document, describe, and analyze the varieties of the Bantayanon language and provides the initial data for the building of a Linawis corpus and the raw materials for literature and pedagogy. Perhaps, the next steps are to create more in-depth discussions of the grammatical features of Linawis laid out in this study and to make a full dialectological undertaking of the Bantayan islands and perhaps the neighboring islands. *Damo pa sing angay ipadayon kag paghikaplagan* [there is much left to continue and discover].

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9 Appendix

9.1 Symbols and Abbreviations Used

| | | | |
|-------|---------------------------------|------|----------------|
| – | morpheme boundary | HPST | happenstantial |
| () | optional | IMP | imperative |
| . | metalinguistic boundary | INCL | inclusive |
| ; | unsegmentable | INDF | indefinite |
| \ | suprafix | IPFV | imperfective |
| | deletion | IRR | irrealis |
| ~ | reduplication | LOC | locative |
| < > | infix | MED | medial |
| = | clitic | MOD | modifier |
| † | archaic | N- | non- |
| 1 | first person | NEG | negative |
| 2 | second person | NEUT | neutral |
| 3 | third person | OBL | oblique |
| A | actor | PFV | perfective |
| APPL | applicative | PL | plural |
| AUTO | auto-experiential | PM | prominent |
| CONT | continuous | PR | primary |
| CPV | contemplative | PRES | presentative |
| DEF | definite | PROX | proximal |
| DIST | distal | REAL | realis |
| DISTR | distributive | SD | secondary |
| EPL | existential-possessive-locative | SG | singular |

| | | | |
|------|-----------|---|-----------|
| EXCL | exclusive | U | undergoer |
|------|-----------|---|-----------|

9.2 Sociolinguistic Profiling of Language Partners

| Barangay (Sitio) | Name ^a | Age (Gender) | Languages Besides Linawis | Places Lived Outside Madridejos |
|-------------------------|--|--------------|---------------------------------|--|
| Talangnan [Tyangnan] | Teresita Milansuico | 76 (F) | hil ceb tgl (limited) | Cebu Cadiz |
| (Pabrika) | Emily Tidoso | 60 (F) | ceb hil | Iloilo Lapu-lapu |
| | Aura Tidoso | 60 (F) | ceb hil tgl | Iloilo Manila |
| | Joshua Tidoso | N/A (M) | N/A | N/A |
| | Gregoria Mernida | N/A (F) | N/A | N/A |
| | Gina Carpocia | N/A (F) | N/A | N/A |
| | Mercy Daniot | N/A (F) | N/A | N/A |
| | Jocel Medallo | N/A (F) | N/A | N/A |
| | Elvie Villanuel | N/A (F) | N/A | N/A |
| Poblacion | Joycee Baran | N/A (F) | ceb hil tgl eng | Bacolod Cebu Lapu-lapu (current) |
| Mancilang | Flory Toraea | N/A (F) | ceb | Lapu-lapu |
| | Sherlyn Garcia | 48 (F) | ceb (limited) hil | Cebu |
| | Mariah Sherianne Garcia | 25 (F) | ceb | Cebu |
| | Margarita Mata | N/A (F) | ceb | Cebu |
| | Nerissa Jarina | N/A (F) | tgl | Cebu Manila Dubai |
| | Nicanor Jarina | N/A (M) | N/A | N/A |
| | Anonymous | N/A (F) | N/A | N/A |
| | Anonymous | N/A (F) | N/A | N/A |
| | Anonymous (Cebuano speaker) | N/A (F) | N/A | N/A |
| | Anonymous (Heritage speaker) | N/A (F) | N/A | N/A |
| | Anonymous (Second language speaker) | N/A (M) | N/A | N/A |

| Barangay (Sitio) | Name ^a | Age (Gender) | Languages Besides Linawis | Places Lived Outside Madridejos |
|---------------------------------------|---|--------------|------------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| Malbago | Ildifonso Dublin (Second language speaker) | 75 (M) | ceb tgl | Daanbantayan Manila Cainta |
| Pili | Anonymous | 60 (F) | hil ceb | Cebu Kabangkalan |
| San Agustin [Tinaan] | Fidela Tidoso | 93 (F) | hil ceb tgl | Iloilo Cebu Mindanao |
| | Nelly Dela Peña | N/A (F) | N/A | Bacolod |
| San Agustin [Tinaan] (Boundary) | Anastasio Desabille | 76 (M) | ceb hil tgl (limited) war | Negros Occidental Bantayan |
| San Agustin [Tinaan] (Tagaytay) | Wilfred (Pseudonym) | 55 (M) | hil tgl (limited) | Bacolod Medellin |
| | Anonymous | 67 (M) | hil | Negros Occidental Consolacion |
| | Anonymous | 83 (F) | none | none |

^a Unless specified, language partners are first language speakers of Linawis.