UP Working Papers in Linguistics, Vol. 2, No. 1 (2023)

Pagkailab-ilab sa Binisdak: A Preliminary Analysis of the Phonological Processes in the Lexification of the Cebuano/Binisayâ Gay Lingo

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Abstract

Ilab-ilab, so called by many of its speakers, is a salient gender-based sociolect or gay lingo argot within the Binisdak/Cebuano/Binisayâ [ceb] speech community. The etymology of the autonym is indicative of the primary characteristic of the lect: phonological distortion via segment inversion. It is derived from the diminutive, reduplicated form of the etymon *balí* 'reverse.' The study is a preliminary analysis on the morphophonological processes and the lexicon creation processes or lexifying processes of the argot by utilizing the reverse engineering and contextualization model. The model reveals that the lexification processes in Ilab-ilab may be referred to as pragmatic derivation where etyma from Binisdak undergoes a non-paradigmatic morphological transformation and instead of gaining new semantic features, they gain the pragmatic notions of [+VEIL] and [+MARK]. The data was gathered through both 100 wordlist and 100 sentence list elicitation methods and revealed the 22 phoneme or allophonic group inventory of Ilab-ilab which were modified from Binisdak/Cebuano/Binisayâ via new phonotactics and non-lexifying processes. The lexification processes were also analyzed and categorized into primary word-internal, primary word-external, substitution, and secondary processes. Ilab-ilab heavily relies on the grammar of its source language to produce a coherent string from the innovated lexicon and thus inevitably interfaces with it, but because of the morphophonological processes, distortions are inevitable. Ilab-ilab has a reduced and distorted grammatical marking and pronominal system while its negator and particle system has only been slightly transformed. Vocative forms which originally signalled a change in pragmatic context are now being used as etyma for lexification. All these structural components have the *kavel* function which allows for the veiling of topics and the marking of speech community members. In spite of all that, this study is but a preliminary analysis into a specific argot of the Philippines and more studies on this topic are needed.

Keywords: Cebuano, gay lingo, phonetics, phonology, morphology

1 Introduction: A Unique Cebuano/Binisayâ/Binisdak Gay Lingo

As language is dynamic, linguists are constantly dealing with variation and finding ways to study it in as natural a setting as possible. One of the ways in which language varies is through dialectal variation (typically geographic in nature), and another is through social variation which results from differing prestige and context (Un Nisa, 2019). The linguistic varieties produced through the former may more aptly be called dialects, while the latter, sociolects. An example of the latter is the varying ways in which one could say the word 'say' in Cebuano/Binisayâ/Binisdak [ceb]. In biblical text, *sumala* would be preferred while in other formal functions *matod* may be chosen, or perhaps *nagkanayon* when detailing a narrative. In non-formal settings, the Bisdak will say *ingon* or even *ana* in very casual settings.

An interesting characteristic of sociolects is that they not only vary according to context, as in the previous examples, but also according to human class such as gender (O'Grady & Archibald, 2016). A group of salient gender-based sociolect spoken by a speech community that identifies as gay (*bayot*) is commonly placed under the umbrella term *gay lingo*. The term often refers to people who identify as being homosexual, and thus could be said to be a homosexual lingo (Cantina, 2020). More recent experiences with the term *bayot*, however, seem to indicate that at least that term is undergoing the process of semantic expansion and slowly encompassing the whole LGBTQ+ community. Whatever the case, both the terms gay lingo and gay are primarily characteristic of homosexual individuals, for now.

Gay lingos can be found all over the world and a shortlist of those sociolects include the Anglophone *Polari*, South African *Gayle*, and Indonesian *Bahasa Gay* (Espeño-Rosales & Careterro, 2019). The Philippines is no exception to this with its own gay lingo based primarily on Filipino. That is, however, not to say that the Filipino-based gay lingo is the only gay lingo in the Philippines.

1.1 The Filipino-based Gay Lingo (FGL) and Other Philippine Gay Lingos

Abaya and Hernandez (1998) call the gay lingo based on the Filipino [fil] variety in Metro Manila as *salitang bakla*, but for this study, the name *Filipino-based Gay Lingo* (FGL) will be used to distinguish it from other gay lingos in the Philippines that are either based on other languages or primarily use lexification processes distinct from FGL. This gay lingo may be seen as "widespread" because it is used in many parts of the country, regardless of the language spoken in the area. That said, there are varieties of FGL across the country such as one in Sorsogon (Espeño-Rosales & Careterro, 2019) and another in Cagayan (Pascual, 2016).

The FGL varieties are unified by their source language: Filipino, and the lexification processes identified in Abaya and Hernandez (1998) and Demeterio et al. (2021), such as the heavy use of substitutive affixation, e.g., *anak* > *junak* or *ako* > *aketch/akiz*, and the use of associations and rhymes with famous names, e.g., *baliw* > *baliwag* or *ulan* > *julanis morisette*. There exist other gay lingos in the Philippines that albeit being based on other

languages rather than Filipino, e.g., one based on Hiligaynon [hil] (Co-Tortogo et al., 2021) and one based on Tandaganon [tgn] (Silvano, 2018), are mainly lexified through processes that are predominantly used in FGL, e.g., Hiligaynon Gay Lingo (HGL) *balay* > *baler* and Tandaganon Gay Lingo (TGL) *gwapa* > *erfa*. Despite the similarity in a lot of processes, these sociolects are notably distinct from FGL and thus, shows the diversity of gay lingos in the Philippines despite most being subsumed under FGL.

Another distinct gay lingo in the Philippines is the Cebuano/Binisayâ Gay Lingo, also commonly referred to as *Ilab-ilab*. In the literature, Ilab-ilab is generally just referred to as gay lingo such as in Cantina (2020) and Amante (2021). A feature of the sociolect that is immediately apparent to anyone who encounters Ilab-ilab is that it generally derives words from Cebuano/Binisayâ/Binidak by segment inversion. In fact, this can even be seen in the name which is derived from the word *bali* 'reverse,' only further derived by way of the Cebuano/Binisayâ/Binisdak diminutive reduplication.

1.2 Binisdak: The Cebuano/Binisayâ Language and its Names

Whilst on the topic of names, it is worthwhile to talk a bit about the name of Ilab-ilab's source language. A detailed discussion on the what is essentially referred to as Cebuano [ceb] can be found in Endriga (2010) but to briefly sum up, the academe and many institutions refer to the language as the exonymic *Cebuano*, regardless of whether the speaker identifies as Cebuano or not, whilst *Binisayâ*, from *Bisayâ* 'Visayan' with or without the infix <*in*> 'in the manner of,' is the endonym used by almost all of the speakers. This is also the umbrella term for the Bisayan languages and the preferred name for most Bisayan linguistic communities (Zorc, 1977). Other Filipinos refer to the language as *Bisayà* which itself can be called an exonym given the different stress placement, unless referring to languages in Western Visayas which do use this particular stress placement (Zorc, 1977). Almost all the aforementioned names spark controversy: *Cebuano* due to it being a regional demonym that not all Binisayâ speakers identify as and *Binisayâ* due to the fact that the name is also used by other Bisayan language speakers to refer to their languages, and *Bisayà* due to its non-usage by Binisayâ speakers (Endriga, 2010). It would be pertinent to use here the alternate name *Binisdak* which comes from an appropriation of *Bisdak*: *Bisayâ* + *dakô* 'native/large,' an identity that speakers may also identify as, and <*in*> to not only signify that it is a language but also a novel yet accessible word. The term here is to be interpreted as 'the Binisayâ "macro" language.'

1.3 Pagkailab-ilab sa Binisayâ

As has been established, Ilab-ilab is rarely referred to as such. In colloquial speech, Binisdak speakers also refer to the sociolect as *binayot* 'gay lingo' or *balbal* 'slang,' however, segment inversion is such a characteristic of the sociolect that many refer to it as *bali-bali* 'play-inversion' or *Ilab-ilab*. One way to describe this prominent feature is phonological distortion, a feature that is often employed in many secret languages (Melikian, 2002) such as Ilab-ilab and the other gay lingos across the world. Often these

secret languages are subsumed under the general category of argot or "secret varieties" developed and used by a particular linguistic community within a much larger linguistic community (Barrett, 2018, p. 215).

As a relatively understudied argot that is lexified from a source language Binisdak, mostly through phonological processes, there is a need to survey the different ways in which Ilab-ilab employs phonological distortion to serve the needs and wants of its speakers. Ilab-ilab is indeed a unique phenomenon within another language that provides an avenue for a specific speech community to express itself in a way that is distinct from the wider speech community that may be hostile towards them. This sociolect is also quite interesting in that it is a witness to the diversity of sociolects and gay lingos in the Philippines, showing that there is so much more beyond FGL, and that there might as well be fully fledged and distinct HGLs, TGLs, and in this case, a BGL.

2 Review of Related Literature: The Secret Life of Argots

All over the world, there are versions of different languages that have been created to convey messages or content that need to be kept secret, perhaps to enhance a sense of community in a relatively closed social class or group or to protect an endangered group from a hostile macro-community which subsumes them. These secret versions, or perhaps secret languages, may be referred to as *argots*. Cross-linguistically, argots can be formed in a variety of ways but primarily they are derived through phonological distortion (Melikian, 2002). As these lects are by nature secretive, detailed studies of them can be difficult to find, especially due to the many updates they receive with the changing of generations and of contexts. As such, their use and creation, and even change, is primarily driven by dynamic speaker or community motivations. Hence, capturing these lingos beyond the brief introduction of their characteristics and the in-depth sociological or socio-linguistic rationale and context of argots has been, historically, quite the arduous and niche task.

2.1 Markedness

Although the creation of argots may seem at first to be an artificial art, akin to the creation of constructed languages or conlanging, argots are natural in that they are created sporadically and dynamically within a growing community through the deliberate and motivated use of tools that are already present in the source natural language such as the marked phonological features of a language. Although quite similar, marked features and phonemes are different phenomena. Whereas the latter is described as significant sounds in languages like Kapampangan such that switching them with another phoneme may change the meaning of the word, e.g., *lalam* 'below' vs. *naman* 'also, in turn' (Forman, 1971), the former is an allophone that has indexed social meanings, in that switching them with another sound in an allophone group will not change the general meaning of the word, but will cause a hearer's disposition towards the speaker, or

understanding of them, to inevitably change.

The markedness of allophones is exemplified in the case of K'iche Maya (Romero, 2009). In this language, the interdental fricative [ð] allophone of /l/ found only in the Santa Maria Chiquimula dialect (MAR) has long been associated with negative regional stereotypes such as being "backwards" or poor. Predictably, a person using the said allophone in the context of non-MAR speakers of K'iche Maya will cause them to be negatively viewed and quite possibly looked down upon. The opposite of which is also true: a MAR speaker avoiding the said allophone whilst working in a different, non-MAR speaking town will have them be viewed more favorably, perhaps even make them seem more trustworthy. Romero (2009) has observed that MAR speakers deliberately avoided using the interdental fricative in the presence of non-MAR speakers, particularly when they are working outside K'iche Mayan speaking territory. This way, they can boost their social status and possibly increase their economic output by imbibing an aura of a trustworthy business or employee.

Motivated use of marked sounds, especially those deemed non-phonemic or are insignificant to the meaning-making of a language, is not limited to K'iche Maya. In Philippine English, certain speakers are more likely to speak in a more Americanized way, e.g., with a "bunched" American [ɹ] or a "dark" American [ɬ] in more prestigious contexts and switch to a more Philippinized pronunciation for less prestigious contexts, e.g., with a "hard" Filipino [ɾ] or [l] (Tayao, 2008). By extension, argots also make use of the marked sounds in their languages to enrich their phonological inventories.

2.2 A Brief Survey of Other Gay Lingos and Argots

In a cross-linguistic survey of the argots—which they refer to as secret languages and slangs—of Iran and the nearby Caucasus region, Melikian (2002) has taken note of common phonological distortion strategies that mark members of specific subcommunities. Some of these strategies include segment order inversion as in Armenian T'arseren where *c'ah* 'bread' becomes *hac'* and segment implantation of -*z*($V_{n-1}\sim$)- as in the Farsi and Armenian secret language of certain artisan and professional circles: Zargarī, where the Farsi *bād* 'wind' becomes *bāzād* and the Armenian *cnund* 'birth' becomes *cznzund*, among others. Many of the groups which create argots are communities bounded by occupation, i.e., a temporary association of unrelated people and migrant workers who need a way to strengthen their communal ties. Some of the distortion strategies surveyed by Melikian (2002) have become marked for some non-occupational and more permanent communities, such as in Ossetia where a version of girls' language has been known to introduce -V*d*- syllables to words such as *bæx* 'horse' which becomes *bydæx*. An argot for a permanent community may perhaps serve a totally different purpose from a temporary community's argot which acts as a tool to strengthen unity. Instead, a permanent community's argot may come from a need to protect each other from a different more domineering subcommunity. This is the case for argots that are more commonly named gay lingos.

Gay lingos commonly arise from a community of homosexual men, or in some cases, from different members of the LGBTQ+ community. One such gay lingo is the now in-

decline Polari which is a secret lexicon using the grammar of English as its basis. One major lexifying tool in this argot involves the substitution of a common English word with a different word from a minor linguistic community of the United Kingdom, such as *bona* from Italian replacing English *good* (Taylor, 2007). Typically, loan replacement in Polari involves associations and semantic attributions instead of the more common phonological distortion in other argots. Another gay lingo, the Bahasa Indonesia based Bahasa Gay though is much more like other argots in that phonological distortion is its major lexifying tool. Lexifying in this argot either involves taking phonological cues from the root word and adding phonologically similar affixes, e.g., *aku* 'I' becomes *akika*, or involves the replacing of words with a rhyming word, e.g., *bodoh* 'stupid' becoming *bodrex*, the name of a cough medicine; that said, this lingo also makes use of loan replacements as in Polari, e.g., *ora* from Javanese replacing Bahasa Indonesia *tidak* 'no, not' and *kucing* 'cat' coming to mean 'male sex worker' via semantic association (Boellstorff, 2004).

2.3 Filipino Gay Lingo and its Varieties

The Philippines also has its own argots, and more specifically, its own gay lingo: FGL based on the Filipino variety of Tagalog. This gay lingo makes use of a combination of the strategies in Polari and Bahasa Gay. Abaya and Hernandez (1998) has a descriptive list of the lexicalization strategies, both phonological and semantic, used in FGL, especially the variety spoken in Metro Manila. Some of these strategies include the use of substitution as in *anak* to *shunak* 'kid, child,' rhyming as in *baliwag* 'a name of a place' replacing the phonological form of *baliw* 'crazy,' and borrowing from other languages of the Philippines as in the Bikolano [bik] *gurang* replacing Tagalog *matanda* 'old,' among others. A semi-follow-up study done by Demeterio et al. (2021) details more processes used in FGL including association as in the name *Aga Mulach*, an actor in the Philippines perhaps known for his good looks, replacing the word *pogi* 'handsome' and the misappropriation of an affix such as the use of the diminutive *-let* with *boy* to create the word *boylet* 'attractive male,' among others. FGL makes use of many more strategies that are not detailed here (see Abaya & Hernandez, 1998; Demeterio et al., 2021) but in general, FGL can be characterized as overwhelmingly made up of rhyming and associative lexicalizations more than direct phonological distortions.

Like Bahasa Gay which has its own not too distinguishable varieties among the different ethnolinguistic groups of Indonesia (Boellstorff, 2004), FGL being based on the national lingua franca and national language Filipino, itself a variety of Tagalog, also has different varieties in the different parts of the Philippines. One of these varieties is found in Cagayan and is almost indistinguishable from the FGL in Metro Manila with perhaps some slight differences in individual stylistic choice (Pascual, 2016) and another in Sorsogon that has some influences from the local language Gubat [srv] where *ayam* replaces the Tagalog or Filipino *aso* 'dog' (Espeño-Rosales & Careterro, 2019). Where the Philippines differs from Bahasa Gay is the abundance of gay lingos that, although make heavy use of very similar strategies to those found in FGL, are more dominantly based on the local languages such as HGL, a gay lingo based on Hiligaynon in

Western Visayas (Co-Tortogo et al., 2021), and TGL, a gay lingo based on Tandaganon in Southern Surigao (Silvano, 2018). The former is notable for its lexification from words in its source language instead of direct borrowing ala FGL, as in *TLE* which is derived from the phonetically similar *tiil* 'foot, feet' (possibly placed into the rhyming mold *TLE*, the name of a school subject) and the latter is notable for its use of innovative affixes such as *kyu-* and *-sing* in the word *gikyupikitasing* which replaces *gipakita* 'is being shown.'

2.4 Other Studies on Ilab-Ilab

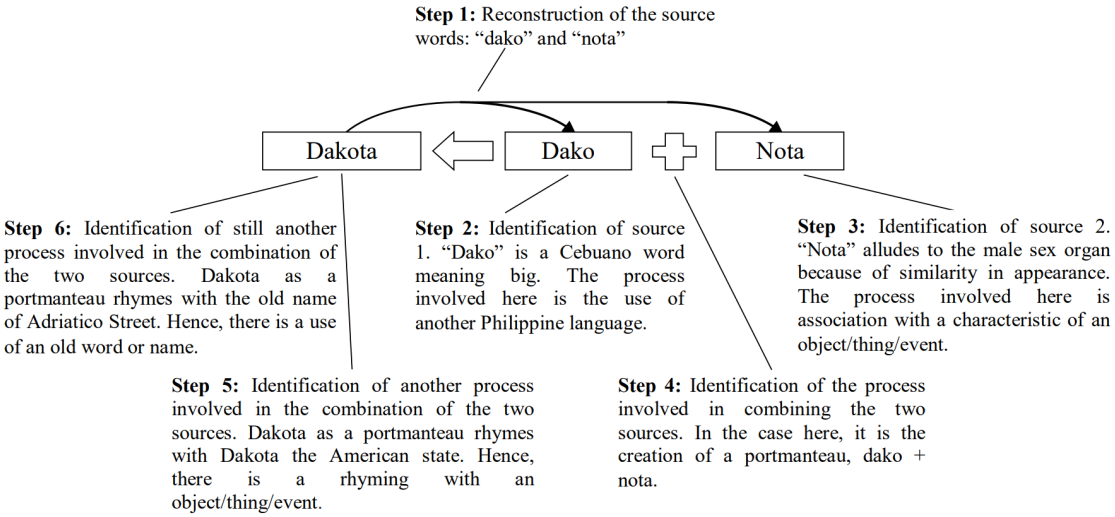
Ilab-ilab sits in this weird dilemma where it is like the other Visayan argots in that it is based on a source language which is not Filipino or Tagalog, but it is also very much unlike all the other gay lingos of the Philippines in that it is mainly produced via the phonological distortion method of segment order inversion, as in the name *ilab-ilab* which is derived from *bali* 'reverse.' The segment inversion feature also makes it like most non-gay-lingo argots of the world in that it is a secret code that is relatively easier to structurally learn compared to FGL which utilizes more semantic associations that a non-member of the community may not understand. As such, many of the studies on Ilab-ilab are on its pragmatic functions and sociolinguistic context rather than on its lexification strategies. These studies include Amante (2021), which focuses on the purpose of the argot and the motivations of its speakers, and Crisol and Parungao (2016), which focuses on the use of the lect by the Mochas of Mindanao, heteronormative male prostitutes actively involved in sexual activities with homosexuals. Another study done by Dacanay (2014) lists some lexification processes for the lect, particularly its most prominent segment inversion, but focuses more on the level of intelligibility expressions the lect might have when perceived by a non-Ilab-ilab Binisdak speaker.

Ilab-ilab has been given some attention, but not that much on its phonetic and phonological structure despite the richness of the phonological distortion strategies applied in the lect. None of the studies also acknowledge the endonym Ilab-ilab which itself shows a lack of focus on the lexifying nature of the argot, something that has already been given due prominence in many studies of FGL. Some of the factors for the lack of studies may be in the fact that Ilab-ilab is a secret language and certainly remains elusive (which raises the question on the ethical validity of documenting it), or it may be because it is overshadowed by its more well-known counterpart, FGL. Some might also argue that studying Ilab-ilab may be counterintuitive to the homogenizing rhetoric of the national language policy. Whatever the reason may be, analyzing the morphophonological structures of Ilab-ilab must be undertaken not as a means to let hostile outsiders understand the argot and infiltrate the community but as a means to understand the phonological, morphological, and even pragmatic capabilities of argots here in the Philippines, challenge previous analyses, and innovate new methods of studying language.

3 Framework: Lexical Reverse Engineering

The basis for the lexification of many argots is phonological distortion (Melikian, 2002), and Ilab-ilab, as has been established, is no different. Given the deliberately cryptic nature of the lect, it is thus pertinent that a decryption technique be employed to recover the source language etymons of the lexemes and in the process identify the phonological processes that were applied. The core foundation of this study is based on the reverse engineering and contextualization model employed in Demeterio et al. (2021) for FGL.

Figure 1
Reverse Engineering of the FGL Word Dakota *(Demeterio et al., 2021, p. 53)*



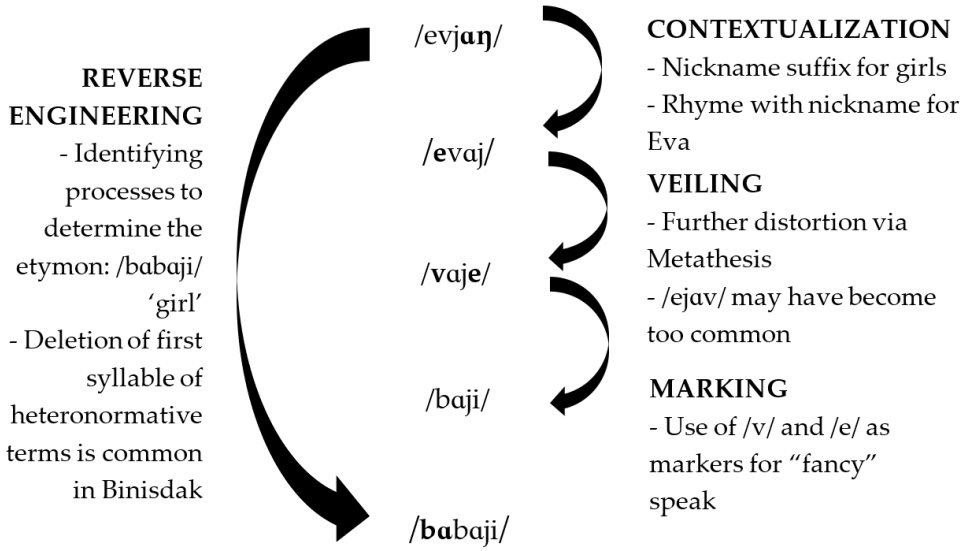
Following the reverse engineering procedure laid out in Figure 1 above: steps 1–3 involve the reconstruction of the etymon into its source language or theme, while steps 4–6 involve the identification of the derivational processes involved to produce the FGL lexeme that is *dakota*. A key step that is embedded into the whole of the process is contextualization. It would have been impossible otherwise to reconstruct *dako* from *dakota* without first understanding the context that is alluded to *nota* or the associations with the old name of Adriatico street which are both presumably socially relevant to the FGL speech community at the time in which the study was conducted. This same process could be applied to Ilab-ilab, though for many of the items, the process will be relatively simpler as the argot largely derives via phonological processes as opposed to FGL which is generally more semantically attributive in its derivation. The only exception to this would be Ilab-ilab Mindanawon which will be treated all throughout this paper. Similar reverse engineering methods have also been implicitly applied in Abaya and Hernandez (1998) and Amante (2021), among others.

Aside from the mechanical processes involved in derivation, it is also necessary to understand the motivations for distortion. Making room for this in the analysis allows

for more nuanced interpretations of not only the lexification processes but of the undirected creation of the language that, in process, also births its incredible dynamism, i.e., the rapid change of speech in such a short amount of time. As such, the findings in this paper may only reflect Ilab-ilab as it was documented in the year 2021.

The motivations of speakers of the argot also play into the contextualization of the reverse engineering and help greatly in the analysis of lexemes that either have been distorted multiple times, irregularly, or unexpectedly. One of the most important factors to the dynamic nature of Ilab-ilab is what could be described as veiling, which Abaya and Hernandez (1998) describes as a strategy to combat or negotiate with an actively hostile society. In this vein, Ilab-ilab as an argot may very well be described as an anti-language or a secret language which Amante (2021) forwards as trying to fulfill the desire of its speakers to achieve concealment as in veiling, the identification of members to distinguish the in-group and the out-group, and the expression of social realities. The latter two of which may be subsumed under the category marking, which (Romero, 2009) identifies as a strategy to negotiate social or economic realities. The two seem to be in conflict with each other, as Abaya and Hernandez (1998) state for FGL, but always go hand in hand as pragmatic devices that relate the users and hearers.

Figure 2
Framework for Unpacking Pragmatic Derivation



Whatever the case, it is clear that the two motivational strategies play a huge part in the contextualization of the reverse engineering process. In fact, it might even be poignant to dissect the process of lexification in Ilab-ilab, and probably for other gay lingos as well, into pragmatic and derivation, i.e., the non-paradigmatic creation of lexemes from roots, or in this case, etymons. This process might as well be monikered pragmatic derivation. The reverse engineering and contextualizing of this pragmatic

derivation to be used in this study is illustrated in Figure 2 above.

4 Methodology

Four language consultants whose mother tongue is Binisdak [ceb] and spoke Ilab-ilab on a regular basis were consulted for this study. Three of the speakers hail from the administratively independent tri-city area of Metro Cebu: one from Cebu City, one from Mandaue City, and one from Lapu-Lapu City. The final participant is from the La Paz Municipality of Surigao del Sur Province on the island of Mindanao. The language consultants were chosen based on a snowball sample, i.e., a string of connections and acquaintances. The speakers were either 20 or 21 years of age.

4.1 Symbols and Abbreviations

To conserve space, some symbols and abbreviations have been used in the study. Some specific terminologies are also used in this study to increase efficiency and economy when writing. All the symbols and abbreviations used in this paper are in common use by linguists (Comrie et al., 2015; Hayes, 2009) and deviations are only done when deemed necessary. These are listed in Table 1 below.

Table 1
Lists of Terms, Symbols, and Abbreviations

-	Morpheme boundary
#	Word boundary
σ	Syllable boundary; Syllable
( )	Optional
(?)	Doubtful
*	Incorrect form
/	In the environment of...
/ /	Broad transcription
?	Unknown
[ ]	Narrow transcription; Comments
[±]	Binary features
_	Specified segment
{ }	Set
=	Clitic boundary
$\rightarrow$	Becomes...
$\emptyset$	Null segment; Null set
1	1st person
1-2	1st person + 2nd person
2	2nd person
3	3rd person
A-	Agent/Actor
C	Unspecified consonant
C_0/V_0	Unspecified number of segments
$C_1C_2...C_n$/ $V_1V_2...V_n$	Specified segment order
CAUS	Causative
DEF	Definite
DERIV	Derivation
EXCL	Exclusive
EXIST	Existential
FGL	Filipino Gay Lingo
FOC/-F	Focus
INCL	Inclusive
INT	Intensifier
IPFV	Imperfective
N-	Non-/In-/Un-

PFV	Perfective	REAL	Realis
PL	Plural	SG	Singular
POSS	Possessive	V	Unspecified vowel
PREPO	Prepositional	*word*	Orthographic spelling

4.2 Elicitation Materials and Transcription

To gather the needed data for Ilab-Ilab's phonological processes, the researchers selected 100 random words from the UP Diliman Linguistics Department Word List and constructed a list of 100 sentences for the consultants to translate to Ilab-Ilab. The lists were written in Tagalog, English, and Binisdak with the intention that consultants have the liberty to choose among the given languages that they find easier to translate from. Therefore, yielding more precise results for the data collection.

All the consultants were first given an information sheet regarding the nature of the study and were asked to sign a consent form before participating. Procedures of the study including data privacy disclosures and demographic profiling materials were also discussed with them. The answers to these forms helped in giving a more nuanced analysis of the phenomenon of Ilab-ilab.

The elicitation materials were answered by the language consultants either via online interviews with the researchers or asynchronously due to conflict of schedules and issues with internet accessibility, among others. They were sent a copy of the elicitation materials and were asked to record responses in their own free time. Researchers asked the consultants to repeat their responses three times to ensure accurate transcription of the data.

5 An Overview of the Phonology and Morphology of Binisdak

As its source language, any analysis of Ilab-ilab will heavily rely on prior analyses of Binisdak. This chapter will provide a very brief overview of Binisdak phonology. See Bollas (2013), Bunye and Yap (1971), Lin (2020), Newton (1991), Rubrico (2015), Tanangkingsing (2009), and Wolff (1972, 2001) for more thorough discussions on the language's phonology. Native speaker input has also been taken into consideration here to give a more nuanced take on the phonemic status of certain phones, the distribution of certain allophones.

5.1 The Phonetic Inventory and Phonotactics of Binisdak

This chapter will provide a brief outline on the phonetic inventory, i.e., all the sounds or phones, and phonotactics, i.e., the rules of sound placement, in Binisdak. Binisdak has a minimum of 18 phonemes and a maximum of 23 depending on the analysis of phonemic status. Phonemes are identified as allophonic groups of phones or sounds that contrast with another group of allophones, in that switching between members along

group lines would cause a change in meaning. Allophonic groups then are phones which can be replaced by any other member of the group without any change in meaning.

Binisdak has 13 consonant phonemes /m, n, ŋ, p, b, t, d, k, g, ʔ, s, h, r, l/ and two vocoids /w, j/. Consonantal phones include sounds created by restricting the flow of air in the oral cavity and glottal areas. Depending on the analysis, an additional three consonant phonemes may be added /tʃ, dʒ, ʃ/. These three additional consonants do exist in some native vocabulary but usually appear as consequence to clustering and do not form minimal pairs with any other sound. Additionally, these sounds are in limited distributions. No lengthy discussion for Binisdak phonology is warranted here so the said three consonants will not be considered phonemic for now but will be discussed in following sections. The consonant inventory of Binisdak is laid out in Table 2, phones with a debatable phonemic status are placed inside parentheses while those with clearly marked allophonic pairs or groups are marked with a tilde.

Table 2
Consonant Inventory of Binisdak

	Bilabial	Dental	Alveolar	Postalveolar	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
Nasal	m	n				ŋ	
Plosive	p b	t d				k g	ʔ
Affricate		(tʃ~ts~tj) (dʒ~dj)					
Fricative			s	(ʃ~sj)			h
Trill			r~ɾ				
Tap							
Approximant					j		
Lateral		l					
Co-approximant	w						

Binisdak has three vowel phonemes /i, a, u/ with an additional /ə/ depending on the dialect (Wolff, 2001). Depending on the source, an additional two phonemes /e/ or /ɛ/ and /o/ or /ɔ/ are added, but due to the limited distribution and lack of actual minimal pairs, the said vowels will be considered non-phonemic and thus form an allophonic group with other phonemes. The vowel inventory of Binisdak is laid out in Table 3, phones with a debatable phonemic status are placed inside parentheses while those with clearly marked allophonic pairs or groups are marked with a tilde.

Nasals Nasal sounds are oral sounds made by making a restriction in the oral cavity and then letting the air pass through the nasal cavity by lowering the velum. The restrictions can be made with the lips (bilabial), the tongue against the teeth (dental), and by pressing the back of the tongue against the velum. Binisdak has three undisputed nasal phonemes: the bilabial nasal stop /m/, the dental nasal stop /n/, and the velar nasal stop /ŋ/. See Table 4 for examples. These examples are of the phonemes in each

Table 3
Vowel Inventory of Binisdak

	Front	Central	Back
High			ʊ~u~o
High-Mid	i~ɪ~(e)		
Mid		(ə)	
Low-Mid		ɐ~ʌ~ɑ	
Low			

of the environmental positions: at the start of the word (#_), following an unspecified consonant (C_), before an unspecified consonant (_C), between two vowels (V_V), and at the end of the word (_#). Cells marked with − indicate a lack of examples in data but cannot be justifyingly deemed impossible to produce while *X* indicates a justified impossibility in production.

Table 4
Nasals in Binisdak

	#_	C_	_C	V_V	_#
/m/	/ˈ**m**aŋgɑ/ ‘plural marker’	/ˈdɑs**m**ɑg/ ‘bump into’	/ˈtɑ**m**bɑl/ ‘medicine’	/lɑˈ**m**ɑʔ/ ‘stain’	/tɑˈgɑ**m**/ ‘deter’
/n/	/**n**iˈhit/ ‘scarce’	/ˈtɑk**n**ɑʔ/ ‘time’	/ˈtɑ**n**ʔɑw/ ‘watch’	/ˈbɑː**n**ɑ/ ‘husband’	/ˈdɑːlɑ**n**/ ‘road’
/ŋ/	/ˈ**ŋ**iːʔub/ ‘dark’	/ˈmɑt**ŋ**un/ ‘be aware’	/ˈmɑ**ŋ**tɑs/ ‘cruel’	/ˈtɑː**ŋ**ɑg/ ‘grab with teeth’	/buˈli**ŋ**/ ‘smudge’

Plosives Plosive sounds are made by making a brief restriction in the vocal tract and building pressure, then immediately releasing spread pressure to make an “explosive” sound. The restrictions can be made with the lips (bilabials), the tongue against the teeth (dentals), by pressing the back of the tongue to the velum (velars), and by constricting the glottis (glottals). Binisdak has seven undisputed plosive sounds. The bilabial stops /b, p/, the dental stops /d, t/, the velar stops /g, k/ and the glottal stop /ʔ/. The dental stop /d/ has an allophone [ɾ r] in the intervocalic position except when the intervocalic environment arises from prefixation. See Table 5 below for some representative examples.

Affricates and Fricatives Fricative sounds are made by making a lenient restriction through the vocal tract then forcing air through the narrow passage, while affricates are

Table 5
Plosives in Binisdak

	#_	C_	_C	V_V	_#
/p/	/**p**aˈlit/ 'buy'	/ˈkas**p**a/ 'dandruff'	/ˈʔa**p**du/ 'gallbladder'	/ˈʔa:**p**as/ 'catch up'	/ˈti:la**p**/ 'lick'
/b/	/**b**aˈhaʔ/ 'flood'	/ˈtam**b**uk/ 'fat'	/ˈhag**b**uŋ/ 'fall'	/ʔuˈ**b**ug/ 'wade'	/diˈlaʔa**b**/ 'blaze'
/t/	/**t**uˈkuʔ/ 'lizard'	/ʔad**t**u/ 'go over there'	/ˈma**t**ŋun/ 'be aware'	/baˈ**t**i:ʔis/ 'lower leg'	/ʔa:ba**t**/ 'haunting being'
/d/	/**d**aˈluŋgan/ 'ear'	/ˈmab**d**us/ 'pregnant'	/ˈŋa**d**tu/ 'over there'	/paˈ**d**u:luŋ/ 'approaching' /saˈma:**d**an/ [saˈma:ɾan] 'to be wounded'	/la:bad/ 'headache'
/k/	/ˈ**k**u:hit/ 'poke'	/ˈsaŋ**k**a/ 'match off'	/ˈpa**k**gan/ 'thwart'	/tuˈ**k**uʔ/ 'gecko'	/ˈta:ga**k**/ 'drop'
/g/	/ˈ**g**a:ba/ 'cosmic punishment'	/ʔamˈ**g**u/ 'realize'	/ˈha**g**saʔ/ 'plummet'	/ba:**g**aʔ/ 'thick'	/tuˈba**g**/ 'answer'
/ʔ/	/ˈ**ʔ**a:bi/ 'assume'	/ˈtab**ʔ**aŋ/ 'bland'	/ˈba**ʔ**baʔ/ 'mouth'	/ˈsa:**ʔ**ad/ 'promise'	/suˈga**ʔ**/ 'light'

essentially a rapid chain of plosive followed by a release as a fricative. The restrictions can be made with the lips (bilabial), the tongue pressed against the alveolar ridge (alveolars), the center of the tongue pressed against the space between the alveolar ridge and palate (postalveolar), the glottis (glottal), or through the combination of restrictions at the alveolar ridge and teeth (alveodentals). Binisdak has two fricatives /ʃ~sj, s, h/, only the latter two of which are phonemic, and two affricates, none of which are phonemic.

The non-phonemic fricative and affricates may be referred to as environmental allophones in that they only occur in certain environments or are in free distribution with certain sets of sounds, e.g., /sj/ in #_ or $(V_{+FRONT})j$ in the environment *s*_ for [ʃ], /j/ or /s/ in the environment ...*t*_ and /tj/ or /ts/ in the environment #_ or _# for [tʃ], and /j/ or /s/ in the environment ...*d*_ or /dj/ or /ds/ in the environment #_ or _# for [dʒ]. These environmental allophones usually occur in recent loans or result from combination of consonants in nativized loanwords or native vocabulary. As a result, these environmental phonemes cannot occur in the environments _C and V_V, even for recent loans, such as judging which would be rendered as something like [ˈdʒʌddʒɪŋ]. In some varieties such as those in Bohol and Leyte, the phoneme /j/ is realized as [dʒ] in the environment _V (Endriga, 2010; Wolff, 1972) while in Metro Cebu, and perhaps

other urban varieties as well, the cluster /gj/ is realized as [dʒ] in some particles such as *gyapon* [ˈdʒɑːpʊn] which is reduced from *gihapon* 'approx. again' and *gyod* [ˈdʒʊd] which is reduced from *gayod* 'approx. really.' Additionally, /h/ cannot occur in the word-final and pre-consonantal positions and is, thus, non-phonemic in those environments. See Table 6 for some representative examples.

Table 6
Fricatives and Affricates in Binisdak

	#_	C_	_C	V_V	_#
/s/	/**s**ɑˈlɑʔ/ 'sin'	/ˈhɑg**s**ɑʔ/ 'plummet'	/ˈkɑ**s**pɑ/ 'dandruff'	/ˈbɑːsɑ/ 'read'	/ˈʔɑːpɑ**s**/ 'catch up'
/ʃ/	[ˈ**sj**ɑːgɪt] or [ˈ**ʃ**ɑːgɪt] 'shout'	[sɪns(ɪ)ˈjo] or [ˈsɪm**ʃ**o] 'spare change'	X	X	[ˈrɑː**ʃ**] from English *rush* 'rash'
/tʃ/	[ˈ**ts**ʊk] or [ˈ**tʃ**ʊk] 'to plug'	[ˈʔɪ**ts**ʌ] or [ˈʔɪt**tʃ**ʌ] 'toss'	X	X	[ˈdɑː**ts**] or [ˈdɑː**tʃ**] from English *Dutch* 'money'
/dʒ/	[ˈ**dj**ʌgʔʌw] or [ˈ**dʒ**ʌgʌw] 'rant loudly'	[ˈsʌ**dj**ʌʔ] or [ˈsʌd**dʒ**ʌʔ] 'merry'	X	X	[ˈbɑː**ds**] or [ˈbɑː**dʒ**] from English *badge* 'badge'
/h/	/ˈ**h**ɑːtɑg/ 'give'	/ˈpɑp**h**ɑ/ 'brush off'	X	/bɑˈ**h**uʔ/ 'smelly'	X

Approximants (Vocoids) Approximant sounds are made by making a restriction in the oral cavity that is not narrow enough to make a fricative nor wide enough to produce a vowel. Essentially, these sounds are approximations between fricatives and vowels. Restrictions can be made with the center of the tongue pressed against the palate (palatal) or by pressing the back of the tongue against the velum whilst rounding the lips (labiovelar). Binisdak has two approximant phonemes /j, w/. In some varieties, particularly in Bohol and in Leyte, the phoneme /j/ is realized as [dʒ] in the environment _V (Endriga, 2010; Wolff, 1972). /l/ is also an approximant sound but will be discussed together with the rhotics, thus, this section may also be referred to as vocoids. See Table 7 for some representative examples.

Liquids Liquid sounds are, in common parlance, a group lumping both *r*-like sounds (rhotics) and *l*-like sounds (laterals). Binisdak has two liquid sounds: the dental lateral approximant /l/ and the alveolar tap /r/. The former has one non-complementary alveolar allophone while the latter has three non-complementary allophones: the alveolar trill [r] and a voiced alveolar approximant [ɹ], which observably more often occurs

Table 7
Approximants in Binisdak

	#_	C_	_C	V_V	_#
/j/	/ˈ**j**uːtaʔ/ or [ˈ**dʒ**uːtʌʔ] ‘soil’	/ˈin**j**u/ or [ˈʔm**dʒ**o] ‘your’	/ˈʔa**j**ha/ ‘prior’	/(ba)ˈbaː**j**ɪ/ or [(bʌ)ˈbaː**dʒ**i] ‘girl’	/ˈtuːba**j**/ ‘keep on’
/w/	/**w**aˈla/ or [ˈ**w**aː] ‘left’	/ˈhab**w**aʔ/ ‘extract’	/ˈʔa**w**hag/ ‘persuade’	/kaˈtaː**w**a/ ‘laugh’	/ˈlantaa**w**/ ‘look at a distance’

at the pre-consonantal and post-consonantal positions however. Although it may also occur in other environments depending on the speaker’s exposure to American English where the sound is also present. This is just a preliminary observation based on experience and needs further data and analysis in a separate paper.

Notably, the liquid phonemes of Binisdak have a wide variety of allophonic variations depending on its position in a word following affixation, see Newton (1991) and Tanangkingsing (2009) for more details. As a result, the rhotic sound only appears in the word-initial, post and pre-consonantal, and word-final positions in loanwords, with probably the only exception: the particle /ra/ ‘approx. only’ which occurs as /da/ in literary registers, some dialects, and old Binisdak. Liquids are also regularly interchanged such as in the example *aLpiLiL* ‘safety pin’ where the capital *L* can be any of the two liquid phonemes depending on whatever the speaker happens to pronounce at any given point in time.

In some varieties such as in Metro and North Cebu, Bohol, and Leyte, the /l/ sound is deleted in the intervocalic position, and in the latter two varieties, replaced with /w/ in the word-final and pre-consonantal positions (Endriga, 2010); more on this in a separate section. Sometimes, /l/ is also lost following a consonant (Wolff, 1972). See Table 8 below for some representative examples.

Table 8
Liquids in Binisdak

	#_	C_	_C	V_V	_#
/ɾ/	/**ɾ**a/ or /**d**a/ ‘only’	/ˈʔab**ɾ**i/ ‘open’	/ba**ɾ**ˈbiːru/ ‘barber’	/baˈ**ɾ**aw/ ‘interrupt’	/luˈga**ɾ**/ ‘place’
/l/	/ˈ**l**aːbaj/ ‘throw’	/ˈdaŋ**l**ug/ or [ˈdaːŋʊg] ‘slippery’	/ˈma**l**mag/ or [ˈma**w**mʌg] ‘tarsier’	/waˈ**l**aʔ/ or [waːʔ] ‘none’	/ˈhaːbu**l**/ or [ˈhaːbo**w**] ‘blanket’

Front Vowel Front vowels are made by placing the tongue slightly to the front of the mouth. In this case, the tongue is also raised to the very top with a wide enough opening to produce a vowel. The Binisdak high front vowel phoneme /i/ may freely surface as [i, ɪ, e], and is generally more likely to occur as [i] when stressed or emphasized, otherwise it will surface as [ɪ~e]. Sometimes /i/ may also surface as [ɛ] but with a noticeably more closed opening, i.e., closer to [e]. Some scholars may argue that /e/ is a separate phoneme from /i/ (see Rubrico, 2015), but there are still no minimal pairs that distinguish the two, loanwords included. A better case could be made that [e], or maybe even [ɪ] or [ɛ], is a marked allophone of /i/ or is perhaps the more common realization in rapid speech, hence variations in spelling such as *lage* and *lagi* 'approx. really,' but this is better discussed in a separate paper.

Back Vowel Back vowels are made by retracting the tongue slightly to the back of the mouth. In this case, the tongue is also raised to the very top with a wide enough opening to produce a vowel. The Binisdak high back vowel phoneme /u/ may freely surface as [u, ʊ, o], and is generally more likely to occur as [u] when stressed or [o] in an open word-final position, otherwise it will surface as [ʊ~o]. Sometimes /u/ may also surface as [ɔ] but with a noticeably more closed opening, i.e., closer to [o]. Some scholars may argue that /o/ is a separate phoneme from /u/ (see Rubrico, 2015), but there are still no minimal pairs that distinguish the two, loanwords included. A better case could be made that [o], or maybe even [ʊ] or [ɔ], is a marked allophone of /u/ or is perhaps the more common realization in rapid speech, hence variations in spelling such as *boang* and *buang* 'crazy, mentally ill,' but this is better discussed in a separate paper.

Low Vowel Low vowels are made by lowering the tongue to the floor of the oral cavity creating the widest opening possible. In this case, the tongue is pulled somewhere to the center of the mouth or a little more to the back. The Binisdak low central to back vowel /ɑ/ may freely surface as [ɑ~ʌ~ɐ] and is generally more likely to occur as [ɑ] when stressed, otherwise it will surface as [ʌ~ɐ]. Very rarely, /ɑ/ may surface as the front [a] sound especially when the speaker is more exposed to a language where [a] is more common.

Central Vowel Central vowels are produced by placing the tongue in a neutral or default position where it is somewhere in the center of the oral cavity. The Binisdak central vowel [ə], which is also called a schwa, is only phonemic in certain dialects such as some central southern Cebu dialects and some central Bohol dialects (Endriga, 2010). Likewise, it is only likely to appear in such dialects. In a few other dialects, it is a stylistic allophone of /u/ (Wolff, 2001). More data is needed to clarify the nature of this phoneme.

See Table 9 for representative examples of each of the vowel phonemes.

Table 9
Vowel Sounds in Binisdak

	#_	C_	_C	V_V	_#
/i/	X	/ˈʔ**i**ːlug/ 'take away'	/ˈʔamb**i**t/ 'share'	X	/ˈʔɑːb**i**/ 'assume'
/u/	X	/ˈʔ**u**ːtan/ 'vegetables'	/ˈtɑːp**u**l/ 'laze'	X	/tuˈb**u**/ 'sugar cane'
/a/	X	/ˈʔ**ɑ**ːtuʔ/ 'our'	/ˈt**ɑ**ːguʔ/ 'hide'	X	/k**ɑ**ˈtu/ 'that'
/ə/	X	/ˈtəːtək/ 'turn around'	/puˈŋət/ 'angry'	X	–

5.2 Phonotactics and Phonological Processes

This section will give a brief overview of the phonotactics of Binisdak, and some of the phonological processes involved in adapting the structure of words to adapt to phonotactic rules of the language. Essentially, phonotactics are the rules of phone placement indicating where a sound can or cannot be positioned. Lateral deletion, which is a Binisdak phonological process significant to the discussion of Ilab-ilab, will also be discussed here.

Syllable Structure Syllables are composed of an onset, a nucleus, and a coda. The latter two make up the rhyme. The nucleus is most commonly a vowel and is the salient part of the syllable. The base structure of Binisdak is CV, i.e., no word starts with a bare V. Due to the introduction and nativization of loanwords, Binisdak has been more tolerant of consonant clusters at the onset and the coda, although it originally allows for clusters with vocoids and certain clusters at the coda due to the encliticization of prepositional grammatical markers. The syllable structure of Binisdak is illustrated below:

$(C_0)CV(C_0)...$

As no syllable starts can be solely composed of a bare V, a consonant is inserted at the null onset position. In this case, a glottal stop epenthesis is preferred. Additionally, this process also resolves hiatuses, or the neighboring of two vowels without an intervening consonant. The rule may be illustrated in rule form as in R1. Even though it is unclear if the Binisdak glottal stop contrasts with ∅ in the word initial position, the phoneme will still be represented in the said position in the examples.

R1. $\emptyset \rightarrow \text{ʔ} \; / \; \left\{ \begin{array}{c} \#\_ \\ \text{V}\_\text{V} \end{array} \right.$

During suffixation, a glottal fricative is instead inserted between now two neighboring vowels, however, this is not always the case, as Newton (1991) has demonstrated with words such as /ˈʔɑːgi/ which should predictably become /*ʔɑˈgiːhɑn/ after suffixation of *-an* but becomes /ʔɑˈgiːʔɑn/ instead. This has caused him to postulate that all Binsidak roots which gain an intervocalic /h/ after suffixation have an underlying final /-h/ which is deleted in its base form due the invalidity of having the said phoneme in the word-final position. This is illustrated in R2. Accordingly, this would make the glottal stop epenthesis rule, as in R1, be exceptionless and that during suffixation, the same epenthetic rule applies. This assumption, however, may prove to be problematic with Ilab-ilab, as will be discussed in the following chapter.

R2. $\text{h} \rightarrow \emptyset \ / \ \_\#$

Vowel Length and Stress Depending on the author, one or the other may be phonemic, and it may in fact be a combination of both. Note that some scholars like R. D. P. Zorc (personal communication, 2022) consider both length and stress to be subsumed under the general category accent, which they consider to be phonemic. As this study will not focus too much on suprasegmentals, both length and stress will temporarily be separately treated as phonemic in this study and be appropriately represented.

Lateral Deletion This sound change essentially involves the loss of lateral segments in certain environments. This phenomenon can clearly be observed in the varieties of Metro Cebu, Northern Cebu, Binol-anon, and Lineytenhon (also called Binisaja or Bisaja). More detailed analysis and description of the phenomenon can be seen in Endriga (2010) and Wolff (1972). Examples can be seen in Table 8 above. In general, it involves a step-by-step process wherein V*l* segments become Vː segments before a non-front, non-rhotic vowel. If the now neighboring vowels are of the same quality, the second one is deleted. If they are not, an epenthetic /w/ is inserted. The sound change is illustrated in rule form in R3, R4, and R5 below.

R3. $$\begin{bmatrix} \text{V} \\ \text{-FRONT} \\ \text{-RHOTIC} \end{bmatrix} \text{l} \rightarrow \text{Vː} \ / \ \_ \begin{bmatrix} \text{V} \\ \text{-FRONT} \\ \text{-RHOTIC} \end{bmatrix}$$

R4. $\text{V}_{\mu} \rightarrow \emptyset \ / \ \text{V}_{\mu}\_\_$

R5. $\emptyset \rightarrow \text{w} \ / \ \text{V}_{-\mu}\_\_\text{V}_{-\mu}$

6 The Phonology and Morphology of Ilab-ilab

This chapter provides the preliminary description of Ilab-ilab phonology and morphology and how it interacts with its source language, Binisdak. It must be noted that the features and processes listed here are only reflective of Ilab-ilab as it was documented in the year 2021.

6.1 The Phonetic Inventory and Phonotactics of Ilab-ilab

This section will detail the phonetic and phonological inventory of the Ilab-ilab argot, especially as it relates to Binisdak. The phonotactics of Ilab-ilab and a few phonological processes that it shares with Binisdak will also be discussed briefly here. It should be noted that no reference to acoustic phonetics will be made, thus, any further detail on the acoustic nature of the phones will be recommended for future study. Additionally, suprasegmentals, e.g., intonation and stress, will not be discussed in detail.

6.1.1 The Consonant Inventory

Notably, Ilab-ilab contains many allophonic groups or phonemes. These groups are either in free variation without conditioning or in complementary distribution according to the neighboring sounds, with these distributions sometimes overlapping with what are analyzed to be separate phonemes in the lect. This section outlines the consonantal phones of Ilab-ilab, as well as the phonemes identified for the argot. There are 18 consonant phonemes that have been identified for Ilab-ilab and they are outlined in Table 10 (in bold).

Table 10
Consonant Inventory of Ilab-ilab

	Bilabial	Dental	Alveolar	Postalveolar	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
Nasal	**m**	**n**				**ŋ**	
Plosive		**t**(~)**tʃ** **d**(~)**dʒ**				**k** **g**	**ʔ**
Affricate	p~**f** b~**v**						
Fricative			**s**~ʃ~z	**ʃ**			**h**
Trill							
Tap			r~ɾ~**ɹ**				
Approximant					**j**		
Lateral		**l**~ɬ					
Co-approximant	**w**						

Nasals Ilab-ilab has three identified nasals, same as with Binisdak. These nasals are as follows: the bilabial [m], the dental [n], and the velar [ŋ]. Since these phones are the sole members of their respective allophone groups occurring in all environments, they are each the phonemes /m, n, ŋ/, same as in Binisdak. See Table 11 for some representative examples.

Plosives Ilab-ilab has six plosives, same as with Binisdak. These plosives are as follows, the bilabials [p] and [b], the dentals [t] and [d], the velars [k] and [g], and the glottal [ʔ]. The bilabial stops are in free variation with their fricative equivalents [f] and [v]. Since Binisdak [p] and [b] almost always become Ilab-ilab [f] and [v] as long as

Table 11
Nasals in Ilab-ilab

	#_	C_	_C	V_V	_#
/m/	[ˈ**m**oːʷti] 'black'	[ˈlɐv**m**ʌt] 'medicine'	[lʌˈhɑ**m**s] 'expensive'	[kʊˈ**m**ɐʃ] 'annoying'	[ˈʔɐŋgʌ**m**] 'mango'
/n/	[**n**ʌˈjitʃ] 'stomach'	[ˈsɪt**n**ob] 'pregnant'	[ˈwʌ**n**guːv] 'cold'	[nʌˈ**n**ɐtʃ] 'all'	[ˈŋɑː**n**] 'name'
/ŋ/	[ˈ**ŋ**-ʊː] 'head'	–	[ˈʔɑ**ŋ**gʌm] 'mango'	[wˈ**ŋ**ʊbs] 'cold'	[ˈbəˠbɑ**ŋ**] 'feces'

source language interference does not come to play, the allophone groups will be represented as the phonemes /f/ and /v/ respectively. The dental stops [t] and [d] are in complementary distribution with the affricates [tʃ] and [ʃ] and are therefore underlyingly /t/ and /dʒ/ even in Ilab-ilab. Notably, both /tʃ/ and /dʒ/ are also part of a different allophone group themselves, only intersecting with /t/ and /d/ in the word-final position. The velars [k] and [g] experience no change from Binisdak to Ilab-ilab and are still the sole members of their allophone group and are therefore also underlyingly /k/ and /g/. Same as in Binisdak, the glottal stop is phonemic in Ilab-ilab, but is in complementary distribution with ∅. The glottal stop is also non-phonemic at the word initial position and is in free variation with ∅. See Table 12 for some representative examples.

Table 12
Plosives in Ilab-ilab

	#_	C_	_C	V_V	_#
/f/	[**f**ɐmɪˈli] 'know a person'	–	[**f**lɑwəˈɹ-ɪŋ] 'flower'	[ˈlɛː**f**ʌ] 'join'	[ˈtiˈlʌ**f**] 'buy'
/v/	[ˈ**v**iːvɑ] 'long live'	–	[ˈlɐ**v**mʌtʃ] 'medicine'	[kʌˈ**v**ɪʎ] 'backstab'	[jʌgiˈlɐː**v**] 'sell'
/t/	[ˈ**t**oːji-s] 'sexual intercourse'	[ˈʔɐs**t**i] 'toss'	[ˈse**t**n-udʒ] 'pregnant'	[ɐ**t**ʌˈwɐk^{h}] 'laugh'	[ˈʔɐˈlu**tʃ**] 'French kiss'
/d/	[**d**ʌˈjɐːv] 'pay'	[ˈʔot**d**ed] 'over there'	[ˈdʒʊ**d**toms] 'over there'	[ˈʃuː-**d**i] 'no'	[ɐˈlʌ**dʒ**] 'carry'
/k/	[**k**aˈwuv] 'flower'	–	[ˈʔeːmʌ**k**s] 'us'	[ʔɐˈ**k**^{w}uːv] 'open'	[ˈʔeːnɪ**k**] 'this'
/g/	[ˈ**g**ɔːvu] 'drunk'	[ˈtom**g**uts] 'hungry'	[ˈmuːto**g**s] 'hungry'	[ʔʌˈ**g**ʲɪv] 'in heat'	[ʔɐnʌˈhɑ**g**] 'want'
/ʔ/	[**Ø**ˈɔːm-s] 'you'	[ˈdʒʊm**ʔ**is] 'sweet'	[wʌ**Ø**ˈnɐtʃ] 'watch'	[dʒʊ-ˈ**ʔ**estɾa] 'teacher'	[ˈdʒuːnɑ**Ø**] 'say'

Fricatives and Affricates Ilab-ilab has six fricatives and two affricates, which is noticeably different from Binisdak. The fricatives are as follows: the bilabial [f] and [v], the alveolar [s] and [z], the post-alveolar [ʃ], and the glottal [h]. The fricatives are alveodental [tʃ] and [dʒ]. The bilabial [f] and [v], as has been discussed, are in an allophonic group with the plosives [p] and [b] and are underlyingly /f/ and /v/ respectively. The alveolars [s] and [z] seem to be in an optional complementary distribution with each other following a voiced consonant, i.e., [z] only has a tendency of replacing [s] in the said environment, while [s] is mostly replaced by the post-alveolar [ʃ] at the end of a word following a vowel (V_#) and before consonants, thus, [s], [z], [ʃ] belong in an allophone group that is underlyingly /s/. In spite of this, [ʃ] also belongs to a different allophone group where it is the only member and is underlyingly /ʃ/, therefore both /s/ and /ʃ/ intersect in specific environments: the V_# and pre-consonantal positions. The glottal [h] is interesting as it is phonetically barred from appearing in the final position and as a result of segment inversion, [h] sparsely appears in the data. It not clear whether [h] constitutes a separate phoneme and is not just in free variation with ∅, depending on the etymon. For now, [h] will be considered underlyingly /h/. See Table 13 for some representative examples.

Table 13
Fricatives and Affricates in Ilab-ilab

	#_	C_	_C	V_V	_#
/f/	[**f**ɐmɾˈli] ‘know a person’	–	[**f**lɑwəˈɹ-ɪŋ] ‘flower’	[ˈlɛː**f**ʌ] ‘join’	[ˈtiˈlʌ**f**] ‘buy’
/v/	[ˈ**v**iːvɑ] ‘long live’	–	[ˈlɐ**v**mʌtʃ] ‘medicine’	[kʌˈ**v**ɪɾ] ‘backstab’	[jʌgiˈlɐː**v**] ‘sell’
/s/	[**s**a] ‘of’	[ʔɐtɑb**s**] ‘young’	[ˈʔɐ**ʃ**nɪk] ‘who’	[ʔɐˈ**s**ʌv] ‘wet’	[ˈʔɐːbʌ**ʃ**] ‘noisy’
/ʃ/	[ˈ**ʃ**uːdi] ‘no’	[gɑbikonˈsɛp**ʃ**on] ‘night’	–	[ʔekʌ**ʃ**ʊˈlɔ] ‘third’	[bɑŋlɑˈde**ʃ**] ‘feces’
/tʃ/	[**tʃ**aˈrot] ‘joke’	[ˈdʌt**tʃ**es] ‘money’	X	[tʃe**tʃ**eˈtʃeːni] ‘patience’	[ʔɐˈkɐ**tʃ**] ‘ugly’
/dʒ/	[**dʒ**ʊˈtɑːwɑ] ‘laugh’	[kɐd**dʒ**ɪŋ] ‘big’	X	[dʒəˈ**dʒ**inʌˈwɪlson] ‘virgin’	[ˈsetnu**dʒ**] ‘pregnant’
/h/	[ˈ**h**ɐːv] ‘smelly’	–	X	[ˈʔo**h**ʌb] ‘smelly’	X

Approximants Ilab-ilab has two approximant sounds, one is the palatal approximant [j] and the co-articulatory labio-velar approximant [w]. Both are underlying of their respective allophonic groups and are therefore /j/ and /w/ respectively. See Table 14 for some representative examples.

Table 14
Approximants in Ilab-ilab

	#_	C_	_C	V_V	_#
/j/	[ˈ**j**uːjɪʔ]	[k**j**ʊˈʔɑk]	[ˈʔʌ**j**nʊ]	[tʊˈ**j**ʌb]	[ˈʔeːbʌ**j**]
	‘gay’	‘girl’	‘later’	‘gay’	‘girl’
/w/	[**w**ɐˈŋʊb-s]	[ʔisˈk**w**ɚnɪt]	[dʒo**w**k]	[nɐˈ**w**u]	[ˈʔɑ**w**]
	‘cold’	‘dark’	‘joke’	‘rain’	‘none’

Liquids Ilab-ilab has about five liquid sounds, three of which are rhotics and two are laterals. The rhotics represent one allophonic set of [r], [ɾ], and [ɹ] which is also the case in some varieties of modern Cebuano. The rhotics are in free variation with each other but [ɹ] is most likely to appear at the word-final position and most likely, all rhotics become /ɹ/ in Ilab-ilab but source language interference causes it to surface as [ɾ] or [r] at times. The laterals represent one allophonic set of [l] and [ɬ] where the latter sometimes conditionally surfaces at the word-final position, i.e., /l/ is the underlying representation of the lateral. See Table 15 for some representative examples.

Table 15
Liquids in Ilab-ilab

	#_	C_	_C	V_V	_#
/ɾ/	[ˈ**ɹ**eːs]	[ˈʃʊb**ɹ**i]	[ˈwɑ**ɹ**la]	[ʔʌˈ**ɹ**ɐd]	[wɑːjʌ-wɑ**ɹ**]
	‘sir’	‘open’	‘fight’	‘there’	‘fight’
/l/	[**l**ʌˈhɑms]	[ˈʔi**l**bʌ]	[pɐjˈnɐːpʊ**l**dʒʊs]	[ˈkʰɐː**l**i]	[ʔiˈmʌ**l**]
	‘expensive’	‘open’	‘sweet’	‘cry’	‘delicious’

6.1.2 The Vowel Inventory

This section outlines the vowel phones of Ilab-ilab, as well as the phonemes identified for the argot. There are four allophonic vowel groups that have been identified for Ilab-ilab and they are shown in Table 16.

Front Vowel Ilab-ilab has the same allophonic group for the front vowel as Binisdak, which surfaces as [i], [ɪ], [e], and [ɛ] but with a greater preference for the latter two. Although [ɛ] is included, Ilab-ilab's front vowels generally sound as if they were pronounced with a more closed opening. These allophones are in free variation with each other but surface more as [e] in Ilab-ilab if no interference is present, thus, /e/ will be assumed to be the underlying representation of the front vowel.

Table 16
Vowel Inventory of Ilab-ilab

	Front	Central	Back
High			
High-Mid	i~ɪ~**e**~ɛ		ʊ~u~**o**~ɔ
Mid		ɚ	
Low-Mid		ɐ~ʌ~**ɑ**	
Low			

Back Vowel Ilab-ilab has the same allophonic group for the back vowel as Binisdak, which surfaces as [ʊ], [u], [o], and [ɔ] but with a greater preference for the latter two. Although [ɔ] is included, Ilab-ilab's back vowels generally sound as if they were pronounced with a more closed opening. These allophones are in free variation with each other but surface more as [o] in Ilab-ilab if no interference is present, thus, /o/ will be assumed to be the underlying representation of the back vowel.

Low Vowel Ilab-ilab has the same allophonic group for the front vowel as Binisdak, which surfaces as [ɐ], [ʌ], [ɑ]. It is unclear which one is the underlying phoneme but during well enunciated speech, [ɑ] is the most common realization. Therefore, /ɑ/ is the underlying phoneme with the different allophones being in free variation.

Central Vowel Ilab-ilab only has one central vowel, [ɚ] therefore it is automatically the underlying phoneme /ɚ/. No non-rhotic schwa appears in the data; thus, it seems more apt to consider the rhotacized schwa as a single phoneme rather than a string of [əɹ].

Table 17
Vowel Sounds in Ilab-ilab

	#_	C_	_C	V_V	_#
/e/	X	[**je**ːko] 'okay'	[ˈʔɚ**be**l] 'to be treated something'	X	[ˈkiːk**ɪ**] 'male'
/o/	X	[t**o**ˈgɐl] 'angry'	[ʔ**o**ːks] 'me'	X	[guˈb**o**] 'drunk'
/ɑ/	X	[w**ɑ**nʌtw**ɑ**nʌˈtʌ] 'watch'	[ʔ**ɑ**ɪ] 'only'	X	[ɹ**ɑ**ː] 'only'
/ɚ/	X	[ˈʔɚvɛl] 'to be treated something'	[ˈnɚːf] 'friend'	X	[ˈʔɑpstɚ] 'yet'

See Table 17 for a list of representative examples for each of the phonemes or allophone groups.

6.1.3 Phonotactics

This section will detail the phonotactics of the Ilab-ilab argot and the phonological processes that were observed in the data. The phonological processes that are shared with Binisdak will not be given much detail here, only those exclusively exhibited by the argot.

Syllable Structure The base structure of Ilab-ilab is similar to Binisdak: CV, i.e., no word starts with a bare V. Also, like Binisdak, Ilab-ilab allows for consonant clusters at the onset and the outset of a syllable. Unlike Binisdak, however, Ilab-ilab syllables may have more consonant clusters, especially at the onsets. Additionally, Ilab-ilab seems to have more monosyllabic content words than Binisdak. The syllable structure of Ilab-ilab is illustrated as:

$(C_0)CV(C_0)...$

As with Binisdak, since no syllable starts with a bare V, a consonant is inserted at the null onset position. Typically, a glottal stop epenthesis is preferred but this is not the case with word-final external processes. R1 in Binisdak still holds for Ilab-ilab.

During segment inversion, etymon final glottal stops seem to not be carried over and a new glottal stop is inserted in the word-initial position. This may indicate that /ʔ/ does not actually contrast with ∅ in the initial position. Additionally, there are not enough examples in the data to establish the phonemic status of the glottal stop in the word-initial position, unlike in Binisdak which can be proven via affixation. Although the glottal epenthesis rule is still valid, it is no longer a mandatory rule. Thus, hereafter, the glottal stop will not be indicated at the word-initial position even when present.

Gemination Gemination refers to a pair of neighboring homorganic consonants or a consonant produced with length. When vowel initial suffixes are attached to Ilab-ilab roots with a final affricate, the [+STOP] and [+VOX] features are regressively geminated. In this case, a [t] and [d] is inserted before a [tʃ] and [dʒ] respectively. The process may be illustrated in rule form in R6.

$$\text{R6.} \quad \emptyset \rightarrow \begin{cases} \text{t} / & \text{V\_tʃVC}_0\# \\ \text{d} / & \text{V\_dʒVC}_0\# \end{cases}$$

Consequently, the root final affricates are now positioned at the onset of the suffix generated syllable. Furthermore, the process also results in a closed syllable before the initial syllable of the affix. It is unclear if the process is a retention from Binisdak or influence from English. See Table 18 for some examples.

Table 18
Ilab-ilab Lexicon With Gemination

Source Word		Meaning	Ilab-ilab	Meaning
18.1	*Dutch* /ˈdɑ(ː)tʃ/	'money'	/ˈdɑtʃes/ [dɑttʃes]	'money'
18.2	*dako* /dɑˈkuʔ/	'big'	/ˈkɑdʒeŋ/ [ˈkɐddʒɪŋ]	'big'

Glottal Sound Restrictions The glottal sounds, /h/ and /ʔ/, in Ilab-ilab are extremely restricted in the environments in which they are permitted. These sounds are invalid at the syllable coda, including the word-final position. This is also the case in Binisdak for the glottal fricative, but there the glottal stop may be permitted at non-word-final syllable codas for monosyllabic reduplicates as in the word /bɑʔbɑʔ/ 'mouth.' The restrictions may be illustrated in rule form as in R7.

R7. $\left[\ +\text{GLOTTAL}\ \right] \rightarrow \emptyset\ /\ \sigma\_$

These restrictions, however, are only compulsory for modified etyma, i.e., only in Ilab-ilab roots and not adapted Binisdak roots. The loss of glottal stop at the coda position may also be explained by how Binisdak restricts pre-consonantal glottal stops for non-monosyllabic reduplicates and this may have also been reflected in Ilab-ilab albeit more regularized to include all coda positions. See Table 19 for some examples.

Table 19
Ilab-ilab Lexicon Showing Glottal Sound Restrictions

Source Word		Meaning	Ilab-ilab	Meaning
19.1	*ana* /ˈʔɑːnɑʔ/	'say'	/ˈdʒoːnɑØ/ [ˈdʒuːnʌ]	'say'
19.1	*tan-aw-tan-awa* /tɑnʔɑwtɑnˈʔɑːwɑ/	'look [DIM]'	/wɑØnɑtwɑØnɑˈtɑ/ [wɑnʌtwɑnʌˈt-ʌ]	'look [DIM]'

Vowel Length and Stress It is unclear from the data if vowel length and stress are independent of each other. It is also unclear if both are or only one of them is phonemic. For now, they will both be treated as phonemic.

6.1.4 Phonological Processes

This section will detail some phonological processes in Ilab-ilab. Some of these processes occur both at the etyma and derived levels. Only two phonological processes

have major effects on the phonetic shape of the argot: vowel lowering and lateral deletion. There are probably more that remain undescribed.

Vowel Lowering Vowel lowering is a mechanical process whereby a vowel pronounced normally with a more heightened tongue is now pronounced with the tongue positioned slightly lower. The process could also be described with the closing of the mouth wherein vowel lowering causes the mouth to open more than would have been the case for the original vowel. The change is however conservative in Ilab-ilab as formerly close vowels would generally not become fully open, only stopping at the mid-close or mid-open positions. The same phenomenon can also be observed in Binisdak to a certain extent but vowel lowering tends to be more pronounced and exaggerated in Ilab-ilab. Notably, this change is not a conditioned one.

R8. $\mathrm{i} \sim \mathrm{ɪ} \rightarrow \mathrm{e} \sim \mathrm{ɛ}$
$\mathrm{u} \sim \mathrm{ʊ} \rightarrow \mathrm{o} \sim \mathrm{ɔ}$

The process involves the close front and close back vowels, regardless of tenseness, to lower until they either become their close-mid or open-mid counterparts. The sound change is described in rule form in R8. See Table 20 for some examples.

Table 20
Ilab-ilab Lexicon With Vowel Lowering

Source	Word	Meaning	Ilab-ilab	Meaning
20.1	*apil* /ʔɑˈp**i**l/	‘join’	/ˈl**eː**fɑ/ [ˈleːfʌ] or [ˈlɛːfʌ]	‘join’
20.2	*sabot* /ˈsɑːb**u**t/ or /sɑˈb**u**t/	‘plan; understand’	/t**o**ˈbɑs/ [toˈbɐʃ]	‘plan; understand’
20.3			/ʃ**o**ˈb**o**t/ [ʃʊˈbɔt]	
20.4	*gurang* (instead of *tigúlang*) /g**u**ˈrɑŋ/	‘old’	/g**o**ˈrʌŋ/ [g**o**ˈrʌŋ] or /ˈg**o**ɪs/ [ˈg**oː**ɪs]	‘old’

Lateral Deletion This sound change (see R3–5) observed in the dialects of Metro Cebu, Northern Cebu, and Bol-anon is also observed in the Ilab-ilab speakers from Metro Cebu. In 21.1, it can be seen that lateral deletion could have only taken place following a lexification process in Ilab-ilab, showing that this phenomenon is also active in the argot. See Table 21 for some examples.

Table 21
Ilab-ilab Lexicon With Lateral Deletion

Source Word		Meaning	Ilab-ilab	Meaning
21.1	*lafang* (slang) /**l**ɑfɑŋ/	'to eat'	/ˈf**ɑ:**ŋ/ [ˈf**ɑ̃:**ŋ]	'to eat'
21.2	*bulak* /ˈbu**l**ɑk/	'flower'	/kaˈ**w**uv/ [kaˈwuv]	'flower'

6.2 Lexification Processes: Primary Word-Internal Phonological Processes

The words from the source language that will become the basis for the lexicon in Ilab-ilab shall henceforth be referred to here as *etyma* and the process of derivation from an etymon to form new lexemes shall henceforth be referred to as *lexification*. Lexification processes then involve the creation or derivation of new lexicon or new vocabulary items from etyma in the source language, in this case, Binisdak. The lexification processes listed in this section are classified as primary because they are often applied first, as primary phonological distortion processes, to create new words for the Ilab-ilab sociolect, i.e., they are applied to unmodified etyma. Some of the processes identified here have also been identified for FGL in Abaya and Hernandez (1998) and Demeterio et al. (2021). Even though these processes have been tagged as primary, they can also be applied after primary or secondary lexification to distort lexicon further for various reasons, such as stylistics or because the Ilab-ilab word has already become readily identifiable to the general public. This section particularly outlines primary phonological processes which are internally applied such as the modification of segments and segment order, as opposed to those externally applied by way of affixation.

6.2.1 Segment Inversion

Segment inversion is by far the most productive of the primary lexification processes in Ilab-ilab. Unless a word has been specialized, is already in common use, or has already been further distorted, it has most likely been derived via inversion. The ubiquity of this process has been noted by previous studies on Ilab-ilab such as in Amante (2021) and Cantina (2020). In fact, segment inversion is such a primary characteristic that the autonym Ilab-ilab itself is derived from a simple reversal of the fully reduplicated diminutive derivation of *bali* 'reverse, invert.'

R9. $\phi_1\phi_2\phi_3...\phi_n \rightarrow \phi_n...\phi_3\phi_2\phi_1$

Words that undergo segment inversion simply have the order of their constituent segments inverted, i.e., final segments now become initial segments and so on and so forth. The process is illustrated in rule form in R9. Some representative examples are listed in Table 22.

Table 22
Ilab-ilab Lexicon Derived Via Segment Inversion

Source Word		Meaning	Ilab-ilab	Meaning
22.1	*libak* /l$_1$i$_2$ˈb$_3$ɑ$_4$k$_5$/	‘talk behind someone’s back’	/k$_5$ɑ$_4$ˈv$_3$i$_2$l$_1$/ [kɐˈbil]	‘talk behind someone’s back’
22.2	*hilak* /ˈh$_1$i$_2$ːl$_3$ɑ$_4$k$_5$/	‘(to) cry’	/ˈk$_5$ɑ$_4$ːl$_3$i$_2$∅$_1$/ [ˈkɑːli]	‘(to) cry’
22.3	*school* /ˈs$_1$k$_2$u$_3$l$_4$/	‘(to go to) school’	/ˈl$_4$o$_3$k$_2$s$_1$/ [ˈloks]	‘(to) study’
22.4	*friend* /f$_1$r$_2$i$_3$(ː)n$_4$/	‘friend’	/ˈn$_4$ɚ$_{3-2}$f$_1$/ [ˈnɚːf]	‘friend’
22.5	*patay* /p$_1$ɑ$_2$ˈt$_3$ɑ$_4$j$_5$/	‘dead; to kill’	/j$_5$ɑ$_4$ˈt$_3$ɑ$_2$f$_1$s/ [jʌˈtʌf-s]	‘dead’
22.5	*buntis* /b$_1$u$_2$n$_3$ˈt$_4$i$_5$s$_6$/	‘(to be) pregnant’	/ˈs$_6$e$_5$t$_4$n$_3$odʒ/ [ˈsetnudʒ]	‘(to be) pregnant’

Example 22.1 shows the prototypical inversion process in Ilab-ilab with a clearly identifiable inversion of the order of segments. Example 22.2 is also prototypical of segment inversion, but since final /h/ is not permitted in Ilab-ilab, it is deleted. Example 22.3 shows how segment inversion sometimes causes semantic shifts, from the English meaning of ‘school’ appropriated in Binisdak as ‘to go to school,’ it is then specialized to mean ‘to study’ in Ilab-ilab. Example 22.4 acknowledges the phonemic status of /ɚ/ in Ilab-ilab, instead of the sequence /əɹ/ which would have been the expected inversion. Example 22.5 shows secondary processes occurring as a consequence of segment inversion plus the suffixation of *-s* that caused a specialization in meaning. Finally, example 22.6 shows secondary inversion after the source word *buntis*, which is an alternative word to *mabdos* by way of Tagalog, is first lexified via the prefixation of *dʒu-* to become /dʒuntes/, which was then further distorted via segment inversion to become [ˈsetn-udʒ].

Despite the high level of variation in Ilab-ilab, primary application of segment inversion seems to uniquely be the most common feature. In fact, most of the lexicon for all the speakers are primarily inverted in the same way, unless a particular lexicon has been specialized or had secondary, or even tertiary, distortions to it. Even if there were already distortions, usually primary segment inversion is consistent and is thus undeniably the main feature and characteristic of Ilab-ilab. Segment inversion is by far the most common and simplest way of phonological distortion, as surveyed by Melikian (2002). It could then be said that the success of Ilab-ilab lies in the ease in which it can be learned as well as providing radical enough distortion that the uninitiated would be sure to struggle at first hearing.

6.2.2 Metathesis

Metathesis, albeit not being as productive as segment inversion in Ilab-ilab, is still productive. This process has been identified for FGL in Abaya and Hernandez (1998) and Demeterio et al. (2021) and for Ilab-ilab in Crisol and Parungao (2016), as well as in the Tandaganon gay lingo (Silvano, 2018). These processes are also prominent in other argots such as in the Bird's Language of Iran (Melikian, 2002). The process involves the rearrangement of syllable order or the interchanging of placements between two segments. This rule is illustrated in rule form in R10.

R10. $\phi_1\phi_2 \rightarrow \phi_2\phi_1$
$\sigma_1\sigma_2 \rightarrow \sigma_2\sigma_1$

Typically, words that are derived via metathesis are words that have complex consonant clusters or are words that are phonological palindromes. Because metathesis is not primarily characteristic of Ilab-ilab, its application is sometimes dependent on the stylistics of the speaker and ease of pronunciation, as long as the phonetic form is still vaguely traceable back to its etymon. Some representative examples are listed in Table 23.

Table 23
Ilab-ilab Lexicon Derived Via Metathesis

Source Word		Meaning	Ilab-ilab	Meaning
23.1	*asa* /ˈʔɑːs$_1$ɑ$_2$/	'where'	/ˈɑːɑ$_2$s$_1$/ [ˈʔɐːʔʌʃ] or [ˈʔɐːʔʌs]	'where'
23.2	*sauna* /saˈʔu$_1$ːnɑ$_2$/	'before'	/sɑɑ$_2$ˈno$_1$/ [sʌʔɐˈnu]	'before'
23.3	*katawa* /k$_1$ɑˈtɑːwɑØ$_2$/	'(to) laugh'	/Ø$_2$ɑtɑˈwɑk$_1$/ [ɐtʌˈwɐk^h]	'(to) laugh'
23.4	*kahibalo* /kɑˈb$_1$ɑːw$_2$/	'to know'	/kɑˈw$_2$ɑb$_1$(s)/ [kʌˈwɐb(s)]	'to know'
23.5	*tsupa* /tʃ$_1$uˈp$_2$ɑʔ/	'fellatio'	/p$_2$ots$_1$pɑ/ [ˈputspʌ]	'fellatio'
23.6	*maestra* /m$_1$ɑˈʔistrɑØ$_2$/	'teacher'	/ˈdʒ$_2$eːstɪɑm$_1$/ [dʒeːstrɐm]	'teacher'
23.7	*lafang* (sland) /lɑ$_1$ˈfɑ$_2$ŋ/	'to eat'	/ˈfɑ$_2$ːØ$_1$ŋ/ [ˈfɑ̃ːŋ]	'to eat'
23.8	*tindog* /ˈti$_1$ndu$_2$g/	'(to) stand'	/ˈto$_2$nde$_1$g/ [ˈtundig]	'(to) stand'
23.9	*mangga* /m$_1$ɑŋˈgɑØ$_2$/	'mango'	/Ø$_2$ɑŋgɑm$_1$/ [ˈʔɐŋgʌm]	'mango'

Example 23.1 shows a consistent application of metathesis to a palindrome etymon wherein the final syllable low vowel switches position with the intervocalic alveolar fricative. Consequently, a glottal stop is inserted between the two low vowels to avoid hiatus. Also, the spirantization of [s] is optionally applied. Example 23.2 shows a different direction for metathesis wherein the back vowel of the second syllable is repositioned to the final syllable, although this could also be analyzed as an example of segment inversion wherein *sauna* is divided among its two morpheme constituents *sa* and *una*, where only *una* has segment inversion applied to it. Example 23.3 shows the interchanging of the segments [t] and [w], perhaps to aid in the ease of enunciation. Example 23.4 shows the interchanging of the segments [w] and [b] from the Metro Cebu (as well as Binol-anon and Leytenhon) shortened form of *kahibalo* [kʌˈbɑːw]. In the process, the length is irregularly lost. Example 23.5 shows the switch between the segments [tʃ~ts] and [p] but with an irregular epenthesis of [p] following [ts] in Ilab-ilab. This case might be an application of additional phonological distortion due to the ubiquity of the segmented inverted version of *tsupa*, which is often heard in the meme phrase *aputs ak nito* 'do you wanna suck some D.' This phrase however is only a non-Ilab-ilab speakers' impressionistic interpretation of Ilab-ilab, as evidenced by the wrong use of pronoun form.

Example 23.6 shows a complicated case of metathesis which may have undergone the following: [mɐˈʔestɾɐ] > [ˈʔɐʔestɾɐm] > [dʒuʔɐʔestɾɐm] > [dʒestɾɐm]. The process involves the irregular metathesis of the initial consonant [m] to the word-final position. The substitutive prefix *dʒu-* is then affixed, and finally, the segment string [uʔɐʔ] is irregularly deleted to shorten the word, perhaps for ease of pronunciation. Example 23.7 shows the interchanging of the syllables [lɑ] and [fɑ] which then produces [fɑlɑŋ]. Lateral deletion, which occurs Metro Cebuano (and also in Binol-anon and Leytenhon), is then applied via analogy, producing [ˈfɑ̃ːŋ]. Additionally, the vowel is also irregularly nasalized before the nasal consonant. Example 23.8 shows an inconsistent application of metathesis that would also be difficult to pronounce when segmentally inverted. This example is quite unstable with several variations, perhaps alluding to its recency in the Ilab-ilab lexicon and as a result of its complex consonant clustering. Example 23.9 shows a secondary application of metathesis to make the otherwise difficult to pronounce segmentally inverted [ːʔɐgŋʌm] easier as [ˈʔɐŋgʌm].

Unlike the previous feature of segment inversion, metathesis seems to be less productive and less consistent in where it applies. In fact, this process is undeniably unstable in its application, with few exceptions, that it could be said that metathesis is generally less preferred and is considered a last resort and repair strategy for when etymons are either too difficult to directly invert or too difficult to pronounce, inverted or not. Unlike in FGL where metathesis seems to be quite common as in Abaya and Hernandez (1998), Ilab-ilab metathesis, albeit being primarily applied, is rarely the first option for lexification and often appears when the application of other lexification strategies appears difficult.

6.2.3 Phonetic Substitution

Phonetic substitution as a lexification strategy is quite common in Ilab-ilab, mostly as a secondary process, however it is also applicable as a primary process. As a primary word internal lexification process, phonetic substitution is primarily stylistic in nature, i.e., it is non-compulsory. Substitution has already been identified by Abaya and Hernandez (1998) and Demeterio et al. (2021) for FGL; however, the treatment here would slightly differ. Phonetic substitution is to be understood here as the allophonic shift of a phone to a differently mannered but homorganic phone, e.g., the spirantization of a stop /p/ to /f/, as opposed to substitutive affixation wherein a string of segments such as /bu-/ in /ˈbuntis/ is replaced by another predetermined string of segments such as /dʒo-/ that may or may not be allophonic or related to the replaced phone which would result in such an item as /ˈdʒontes/. Although this could be termed replacive, and is seemingly so, substitution is perhaps more apt as it is not a grammatically compulsory change.

R11. $\begin{bmatrix} \text{+BILABIAL} \\ \text{+STOP} \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow \begin{bmatrix} \text{+BILABIAL} \\ \text{+FRICATIVE} \end{bmatrix}$

There are multiple phonetic substitution processes in Ilab-ilab but only one is identifiable as a primary word internal lexification process, i.e., substitution is the primary mode of derivation and not a consequence of some secondary process. It is, however, also possible to be applied secondarily, although in cases where primary phonetic substitution co-occurs with another primary lexification process, it is not clear which one happened first. Primary internal phonetic substitution in Ilab-ilab involves the spirantization of bilabial stops and may be illustrated in rule form as in R11. Spirantization refers to the process whereby a stop becomes fricative. Some representative examples are outlined in Table 24.

Examples 24.1 to 24.3 are the most representative of primary phonetic substitution. Though the items are already segmentally inverted, it seems as though phonetic substitution is not applied as a result of inversion as evidenced by 24.4 to 24.6 which shows substitution in examples with affixes and metathesis. 24.7 shows the spirantization of the Binisdak voiced bilabial /b/ to /v/ in Ilab-ilab in the environment _C. It seems that spirantization is a common theme in Ilab-ilab substitution and the affixes used also generally involve spirants however the rest of the substitutions are generally environmentally conditioned such that the process is only triggered by certain neighboring sounds. Notably as well, changes in liquids are also involved.

6.2.4 Deletion

The deletion that will be tackled in this section involves primary deletion and excludes deletion that occurs as a result of secondary processes or as a result of some stem affix deletion. Additionally, lexemes that have already undergone deletion in the source language, be that due to other phonological processes or the process of making vocatives, will be treated in other sections. Deletion refers to the process wherein a segment

Table 24
Ilab-ilab Lexicon Derived Via Phonetic Substitution

Source Word		Meaning	Ilab-ilab	Meaning
24.1	*libak* /liˈ**b**ɑk/	‘talk behind someone’s back’	/kaˈ**v**il/ [kʌˈviɻ]	‘talk behind someone’s back’
24.2	*hubog* /huˈ**b**ug/	‘drunk’	/ˈgoː**v**o/ [ˈgɔːvu]	‘drunk’
24.3	*apil* /ʔɑˈ**p**il/	‘to join’	/ˈleː**f**ɑ/ [ˈlɛːfʌ] or [ˈleːfʌ]	‘to join’
24.4	*gwapa* /gwɑː**p**ɑ/	‘beautiful’	/ˈʃoː**f**a/ [ˈʃoːfʌ] or [ˈʃuːfʌ]	‘beautiful’
24.5	*gwapo* /gwɑː**p**u/	‘handsome’	/ˈʃoː**f**o/ [ˈʃoːfu] or [ˈʃuːfʊ]	‘handsome’
24.6	*(hi)tabo* /(hi)tɑˈ**b**uʔ/	‘to happen’	/ˈtoː**v**ɑ/ [ˈtuːvʌ]	‘to happen’
24.7	*baho* /**b**ɑˈhuʔ/	‘smelly’	/ˈhɑː**v**s/ [ˈhɐːvs]	‘smelly’

or string of segments is removed. Deletion has been identified in FGL by Abaya and Hernandez (1998) and Demeterio et al. (2021), and in other gay lingos such as in the Hiligaynon gay lingo (Co-Tortogo et al., 2021). At least in the available data, deletion seems to be the least productive of the primary processes and often always occurs as a consequence of different processes. No patterns are yet observable, and it seems that the application of the said strategy is also largely stylistic or motivated by certain specific factors. Some representative examples are listed in Table 25.

Table 25
Ilab-ilab Lexicon Derived Via Deletion

Source Word		Meaning	Ilab-ilab	Meaning
25.1	*lami* /lɑˈm**i**ʔ/	‘tasty’	/ˈmɑːls/ [ˈmɑːɬ-z]	‘tasty’
25.2	*baho* /bɑˈh**u**ʔ/	‘smelly’	/ˈhɑːvs/ [ˈhɐːvs]	‘smelly’
25.3	*lalaki* /**lɑ**ˈ**lɑ**ki/	‘man’	/ˈkeːke/, /kekeˈro/ [ˈkeː-ki], [ke-ke-ˈru]	‘man’

Examples 25.1 and 25.2. seemingly show a pattern of the deletion of the last V of a lexical root; however, the process seems to be confined to these two examples. In fact, it is unclear if deletion is primary or secondary. Example 25.3 is probably an example

of further distortion wherein a lexical item undergoes additional distortion motivated by the fact that the original derivations have become so readily identifiable to those outside the community. This example probably shows a primary application of deletion wherein the root *laki* (*lalaki* with lateral deletion) has its initial syllable deleted and then the final syllable is reduplicated with an optional syllable attached towards the end of the reduplicated syllable, probably to further add distortion.

6.3 Lexification Processes: Primary Phonological Processes in Affixation

The lexification processes listed in this section are classified as primary because they are often applied first, as primary phonological distortion processes, to create new words for the Ilab-ilab sociolect, i.e., they are applied to untouched lexical roots and etyma. Some of the processes here have also been identified for FGL in Abaya and Hernandez (1998) and Demeterio et al. (2021). Even though these processes have been tagged as primary, they can also be applied after primary or secondary lexification to distort lexicon further for various reasons, such as stylistics or because the Ilab-ilab word has already become readily identifiable to the general public. This section particularly outlines primary phonological processes which are externally applied by way of affixation, as opposed to internally applied through sound mutation and the like. These lexification processes may also be referred to as primary affixation strategies or processes.

6.3.1 Substitutive Affixation

Substitutive affixation is one of the most productive of the primary affixation strategies. In essence, the process deletes sounds in an etymon's root and replaces it with, generally, an equivalent number of segments that may or may not share phonological features with the replaced units. Most of the substitutive affixes employed in Ilab-ilab have also been identified in FGL and other gay lingos in the Philippines as listed by Abaya and Hernandez (1998) for FGL, although it is categorized under the more general categories of substitution and affixation, and by Co-Tortogo et al. (2021) for the Hiligaynon gay lingo. The only affix identified in the data that does not appear in FGL is *ŋ-*, therefore it is plausible that substitutive affixation is itself a loan feature from FGL or is at least a feature partly or heavily influenced by FGL.

$$\text{R12.}\quad [\text{PREFIX}] + \#\text{C}_0\text{V}(\text{C}_0)... \rightarrow \begin{cases} \#[\text{PREFIX}]\text{V}(\text{C}_0)... \\ \#[\text{PREFIX}](\text{C}_0)... \end{cases}$$

$$...\text{C}_0\text{V}(\text{C}_0)\# + [\text{SUFFIX}] \rightarrow \begin{cases} ...\text{C}_0\text{V}[\text{SUFFIX}]\# \\ ...\text{C}_0[\text{SUFFIX}]\# \end{cases}$$

The primary motivation to distinguish substitutive affixation from regular affixation is the nature of the replacive segments. Substitutive affixes are a set string of segments that replace a string of segments of equivalent weight in an etymon without needing to be homorganic with the replaced segments, i.e., a CV affix will replace a root CV segment regardless of feature. Additionally, substitutive affixes seem to be limited to word

initial and word final positions, thus, making them characteristically prefixes and suffixes. This may be shown in rule form as in R12. Substitutive affixes are also generally different from non-substitutive affixation in that the former is a primary phonological process while the latter is secondary, as well as the fact that non-substitutive affixation is by nature non-replacive. The set of substitutive affixes identified are the prefixes *dʒu-*, *ʃu-*, and *ŋ-*, and the suffix *-ɚ*. The latter three seem to be the least productive. Some representative examples are shown in Table 26.

Table 26
Ilab-ilab Lexicon Derived Via Substitutive Affixation

Affix		Ilab-ilab	Word Source	Affix Source	Source Example
dʒo-	26.1	/dʒoestɪɑ/ [**dʒʊ**ˈʔestrɑ]	*maestra* 'teacher' /mɑˈistrɑ/	FGL	*junak* (from *anak*)
	26.2	/setnodʒ/ [ˈsetn**udʒ**]	*buntis* 'pregnant' /bunˈtis/		
ʃo-	26.3	/ˈʃoːfa/ [ˈ**ʃo**ːfʌ]	*gwapa* 'beautiful' /ˈgwɑːpɑ/	FGL	*shonda* (from *tanda*)
ŋ-	26.4	/ˈŋoː/ [ˈ**ŋ**uː]	*ulo* 'head' /ˈʔuːlu/	?	
-ɚ	26.5	/kɑleˈdɑŋgɚ(s)/ [kʌliˈ-dɐŋˈgɚ(-s)]	*hilak* 'cry' /ˈhiːlɑk/ + *dangga* 'spoiled' (?) /ˈdɑŋgɑʔ/	FGL (?)	*tander(s)* (from *tanda*)

Examples 26.1 and 26.2 show examples of the use of the substitutive prefix *dʒu-* replacing the initial strings *ma-* and *bu-* respectively. Example 26.2 shows additional distortion by way of the segment inversion of the *dʒu-* prefixed item /dʒontes/ which hails from *buntis*. Example 26.3 shows the use of the substitutive prefix *ʃu-* replacing the initial string *gwa-*, showing that substitution in Ilab-ilab does not consider the number of segments as the weight of a string, instead it weighs based on whether or not the syllable onset, nucleus, and outset are occupied for substitutive prefixes, and weighs based on whether or not the syllable onset and rhyme are occupied for substitutive suffixes. Some native speaker testimonies indicate that the prefix *ʃu-* comes from *shunga* but the presence of the prefix in FGL seems to indicate that it is a loan prefix from FGL. So far, the data does not show any evidence towards one or the other, so for now it will be treated as an independent substitutive prefix rather than as a blending of two isolated etymons. Example 26.4 shows the isolated use of the prefix *ŋ-* that replaces the initial *ʔ-*. Example 26.5 shows another isolated use of an affix, but this time, the substitutive suffix *-ɚ*. This example shows the blended compounding of a segmentally inverted lexeme and a suffixed lexeme which is indicative of attribution.

Unlike the Ilab-ilab spoken in Cebu City and surrounding areas of the metropolitan region, the Ilab-ilab of Mindanao fancies using affixes a lot more, hence, substitutive affixation is particularly prominent in this possible variety of Ilab-ilab. What makes this phenomenon particularly interesting is that some, if not all, of the substitutive affixes used in the Mindanao Ilab-ilab are seen in the Tandaganon Gay Lingo as listed in Silvano (2018) without even so much as matching the limited substitutive affix repertoire of Cebu Ilab-ilab. It even has many more unique substitutive affixes of its own. This then begs the question, are Mindanao Ilab-ilab and Cebu Ilab-ilab even the same gay lingo? How do you go about classifying these different gay lingos if not by autonym or source language? These are further questions that would probably need to be answered in future papers. For now, it will be assumed that Mindanao Ilab-ilab is indeed a variety of Ilab-ilab as a whole. This assumption is, however, still very much open to further debate and discussion. See Table 27 for a few representative examples of substitutive affixation in Mindanao Ilab-ilab.

Table 27
Ilab-ilab Lexicon Derived Via Substitutive Affixation in Mindanao Ilab-ilab

Affix		Ilab-ilab	Word Source	Affix Source	Source Example
ɚ-	27.1	/ˈɚmok/ [ˈʔɚmok]	*samok* 'annoyance' /ˈsɑːmuk/	Tandaganon (?)	*erfa* (from *gwapa*)
ɚʔ-	27.2	/ˈɚ**ʔ**ɑn/ [ˈʔɚʔɑn]	*tiyan* 'stomach' /ˈtiːjɑn/	?	
kjo-	27.3	/ˈ**kjo**ːgod/ [ˈkjʊːgod]	*sugod* 'start' /ˈsuːgud/	Tandaganon (?)	*kyuba* (from *guba*)
dʒ-	27.4	/ˈ**dʒ**iːlɑk/ [ˈdʒiːlʌk]	*hilak* 'cry' /ˈhiːlɑk/	?	
fe-	27.5	/ˈ**fe**ːfa/ [ˈfɛːfʌ]	*gwapa* 'beautiful' /ˈgwɑːpɑ/	?	
mɚ-	27.6	/ˈ**mɚ**miʔ/ [ˈmɚmiʔ]	*lami* 'delicious' /lɑˈmiʔ/	Tandaganon (?)	*mermotche* (from *humot*)
bɚ-	27.7	/ˈ**bɚ**bog(s)/ [ˈbɚbog(s)]	*hubog* 'drunk' /huˈbug/	FGL	*berlog* (from *tulog*)

Essentially, Mindanao substitutive affixes function like Cebu substitutive affixes; the big difference lies in the set of morphemes used. The number and variety of these affixes really do dwarf those of the Cebu Ilab-ilab and the ones listed in Table 27 are but a mere sample of those taken from a single consultant.

6.3.2 Rhyming and Attribution

Both rhyming and attribution are lumped here because they often co-occur together, but they are indeed separate processes that sometimes converge. In fact, attribution

Table 28
Ilab-ilab Lexicon Derived Via Rhyming and Attribution

Additional String		Ilab-ilab	Word Source	Rhyme/Attribution
28.1	-ˈmʌs	/bɑhɑːˈmɑs/ [bʌhɑːˈ**mʌs**]	*baha* 'flood' /bɑˈhɑʔ/	Rhyme with *Bahamas*, a Carribean country
28.2	-waɪ	/wɑjɑwɑɪ/ [ˈwɑːjʌ**wɑɪ**]	*away* 'fight' /ˈʔɑːwɑj/	Attribution with *war*
28.3	-beːbʌŋ	/tojɑˈbeːbɑŋ/ [tʊjʌˈ**beːbʌŋ**]	*bayot* 'gay' /ˈbɑːjut/	Rhyme with *Tiya Bebang* "Aunt Bebang"
28.4	-es	/ˈdɑttʃes/ [ˈdʌttʃ**es**]	*Dutch* 'money (Binisdak slang)' /ˈdɑtʃ/	Attribution/rhyme with *duchess*
28.5	-uːtʃi	/jɑmɑˈgoːtʃe/ [jʌmʌˈg^{w}**uːtʃɪ**]	*gamay* 'small' /gɑˈmɑj/	Rhyme with *Yamaguchi*, a Japanese surname
28.6	ˈviːvɑ- -mɐˈɹiː	/vevɑbɚhenmɑˈɹeː/ [**viːvɑ**bʲɚhen**mɐˈɹiː**]	*birhen* 'virgin' /ˈbirhin/	Attribution/rhyme with *Viva Birhen Maria* "Long live the Virgin Mary"
28.7	-konsepʃon	/gɑbekonsepʃon/ [gɑbi**kon**ˈ**sɛpʃon**]	*gabi* 'night (Tagalog)' /gɑˈbi/	Rhyme with *Gabby Concepcion*, a Filipino actor
28.8	-emesalottʃɑ	/lɑnemesɑˈlottʃɑ/ [ˈlɑn**imɪsʌ**ˈ**lʊttʃɑ**]	*ulan* 'rain' /ʔuˈlɑn/	Rhyme with *Lani Misalucha*, a Filipino singer

also occurs for substitution. Rhyming is used to refer to the appropriation of an etymon to another lexical item that coincidentally has similar or identical segments in a part or whole of a word. The etymon is then embedded into the rhymed lexeme replacing the string of segments that contain the rhyme. In this sense, a sounds-like word is used to represent the original etymon in Ilab-ilab. Attribution here refers to the affixation or blending of a synonymous lexeme to an etymon. Usually, this lexeme also rhymes with the etymon. Both rhyming and attribution have been described in detail in FGL by Abaya and Hernandez (1998) and Demeterio et al. (2021) due to how common they occur. Notably, Ilab-ilab Mindanao is more similar to FGL in the sense that it uses more rhymes and attributions than Cebuano Ilab-ilab. Furthermore, the rhymes and attributions in Ilab-ilab Mindanao are largely based on FGL ones, i.e., they use a lot of Tagalog/Filipino roots, whereas Cebuano Ilab-ilab tends to use more Binisdak roots. There are no phonological rule-like patterns to rhyming in Ilab-ilab and most of it relies on embedding the bare root inside a different word with a similar phonological string or adding an attributive affix that has some segments that mirror the original root. In

a sense, embedding in rhyming is replacive. Additionally, FGL and Mindanao Ilab-ilab embedding sometimes makes use of only the rhyme part, whereas Cebuano Ilab-ilab does not. See Table 28 for some representative examples.

Example 28.1 shows the primary application of rhyming by embedding the source word *baha* inside the word *Bahamas* which shares the /baha/ segments. Examples 28.3, 28.4, and 28.7 share the same processes as 28.1. Example 28.2 shows the attribution of the word *war* with the inversed Ilab-ilab word for *away* wherein both share only the /wa/ segments. Additionally, this example is a secondary application of attribution. Example 28.6 not only embeds the etymon *birhen* inside the expression *Viva Birhen Maria* (which is notably the celebratory exclamation for the patron saint of the city where the consultant which uttered the item lives) but also attributes the concept of virginity with the virgin Mary. Example 28.8 is interesting as it embeds only the rhyming segments of the original etymon *ulan*, something which is only attested in the Mindanao Ilab-ilab variety.

6.3.3 Nicknaming

Binisdak has a variety of nicknaming affixes, probably also including diminutive reduplication, but two of these suffixes are used mainly in Ilab-ilab as a form of lexification. These nicknaming suffixes *-iŋ* and *-aŋ* generally follow Binisdak affix phonotactics. The former of these suffixes is interesting because it has probably merged with the English progressive suffix *-ing* without the semantic notion as it is used in the etyma of English suppletive forms. See Table 29 for some representative examples.

Table 29
Ilab-ilab Lexicon Derived Via Nicknaming Suffixes

Affix		Ilab-ilab	Word Source	Affix Source	Source Example
-iŋ	29.1	/kɑddʒen/ [ˈkɐddʒ**iŋ**]	*dako* ‘large’ /dɑˈkuʔ/	Binisdak (also merging with English *-ing*)	*Boning* (from *Bonifacia*)
	29.2	/flɑwəˈɹeŋ/ [flɑwəˈɹ**ɪŋ**]	*flowering* /flæˈwəɹɪŋ/		
-aŋ	29.3	/ˈeːvjaŋ/ [ˈʔeːvj**ʌŋ**]	*(ba)baye* ‘woman’ /(bɑ)ˈbɑːji/	Binisdak	*Mayang* (from *Maria*)

Examples 29.1 and 29.2 make use of the *-iŋ* suffix with gemination added following Ilab-ilab phonotactics. Notably, example 29.2 has the etymon *flowering* but has the semantic meaning of ‘flower’ in Ilab-ilab. Example 29.3 shows the use of the *-aŋ* suffix following Binisdak affix phonotactics with the deletion of the final syllable vowel. Additionally, /ˈevjaŋ/ is also similar to the nickname equivalent of the name *Eva*.

6.4 Lexical Substitution

Aside from phonological processes, lexical substitution is also used in Ilab-ilab lexification. Lexical substitution entails the replacement of an etymon with a separate lexeme, usually a borrowed word, but not necessarily so, to indicate the same meaning or semantic feature. Some of these lexemes also undergo secondary applications of some primary phonological processes. The substitutive forms come from a variety of sources including Philippine English, English, Bislish (Binisdak and English code-switching variety), Binisdak, Tagalog/Filipino, FGL, names, Cebuano slang, and Waray. See Table 30 for some representative examples.

Table 30
Suppletive Words in Ilab-ilab

Ilab-ilab	Word Source	Language Source	Replaces
/ˈkeːɹe/ [ˈkɛːri]	*carry*	Philippine English	*dala* 'carry'
/paj ˈnapoldʒos/ [pɐjˈnɐːpʊl-dʒʊs]	*pineapple juice*	English	*tam-is* 'sweet'
/ˈnəˑːf/ [ˈnəˑːf]	*friend*	Bisglish	*amigo/amiga/higala* 'friend'
/ˈŋeːʔob/ [ˈŋɪːʔʊb]	*ngiob* 'dark and eerie'	Binisdak	*itom* 'black'
/goˈɹaŋ/ [guˈrʌŋ]	*gurang* 'old'	Waray	*tigulang* 'old (person)'
/ˈoːatʃ/ [ˈʔoːʔʌtʃ]	*tao* 'person'	Tagalog/Filipino	*tawo* 'person'
/tʃeːka/ [ˈtʃiːkʌ]	*chika* 'to say'	FGL	*sulti/ingon/ana* 'to say'
/dʒeːma/ [ˈdʒeːmʌ]	*Jema*	name	*binuang* 'joke'
/dattʃes/ [ˈdʌttʃes]	*Dutch* 'money'	Cebuano slang	*kwarta/salapi* 'money'
/daːda/ [ˈdaːdʌ]	*dada* '(sugar) daddy'	Cebuano slang	*kwarta/salapi* 'money'

6.5 Secondary Phonological Lexification Processes

The lexification processes listed in this section are classified as secondary because they are often applied after prior modifications or derivations have been made. In other words, these are secondary phonological distortion processes to further distort those that are already Ilab-ilab lexemes, and these processes would never be applied as pri-

mary distortions. Some of the processes here have also been identified for FGL in Abaya and Hernandez (1998) and Demeterio et al. (2021). It is important to note that primary phonological processes may also fulfill this role. A lot of secondary phonological processes are not as compulsory as primary phonological processes, i.e., their applications highly depend on stylistics regardless of environmental triggers. There are many reasons for stylistics, but the most likely candidate for further distortion is are words that have become too familiar to the out-group and no longer fulfill the role of veiling, thus requiring further distortion. This section particularly outlines secondary phonological processes that are either word internal or external.

6.5.1 Non-Substitutive Suffixation

Non-substitutive suffixation is one of the most productive of the secondary phonological processes; however, the productivity of these types of affixes decreases outside the suffix *-s* and its variants. Non-substitutive suffixation involves the attachment of segments to the end of a word without replacing any original segments in an etymon. So far, non-substitutive prefixes and infixes have not been attested for Ilab-ilab. Furthermore, non-substitutive suffixation tends to be more consistent across Cebuano and Mindanaoan varieties of Ilab-ilab, unlike substitutive affixation. Non-substitutive suffixation also seems to be the only word external non-primary phonological process.

R13. $...C_0V(C_0)\# + [\text{SUFFIX}] \rightarrow ...C_0V(C_0)[\text{SUFFIX}]\#$

Unlike substitutive affixation, regular suffixation is non-replacive and in fact may pattern itself from English suffixes, especially since no item with Ilab-ilab-type suffixation follows Binisdak affix phonotactics, such as deletion and subsequent metathesis as outlined in Newton (1991). The process basically involves the insertion of a segment, usually just one, at the end of a word. Furthermore, the process of suffixation is used primarily as a secondary phonological process. This may be illustrated in rule form in R13. Notably, nicknaming suffixes in Ilab-ilab do trigger Binisdak affix phonotactics but they are technically Binisdak suffixes that have different functions in Ilab-ilab and are also used in primary lexification. See Table 31 for some representative examples.

Examples 31.1 and 31.2 show variants of the English *-s* suffix used in Ilab-ilab. Unlike in English, however, it loses its semantic notions as well as its phonetic triggering conditions, i.e., *-s* and *-z* are in free variation depending on stylistic choice. Despite that, *-z* is still more likely to appear after voiced consonants. Example 31.3 shows the suffixation of *-stɚ* and phonetically functions just like its equivalent English suffix. Only one item shows this suffix and it is thus unclear whether or not the suffix can occur without the attached consonant cluster /st/. Example 31.4 also shows a lone application of what seems like the English suffix *-y*.

6.5.2 Spirantization

Spirantization in Ilab-ilab is highly stylistic and non-compulsory. Spirantization refers to the process whereby a stop becomes a fricative. Spirantization has been identified

Table 31
Ilab-ilab Lexicon Derived Via Non-Substitutive Affixes

Affix		Ilab-ilab	Word Source	Affix Source	Source Example
-s	31.1	/ɑtɑms/ [ˈʔɑːtɑm**s**]	*mata* 'eye'	English plural *-s*	*house**s***
-z	31.2	/jɑds/ [ˈjɐːd**z**]	*day* 'teen girl (vocative)'		
-(C$_0$)ɚ	31.3	/ɑpstɚ/ [ˈʔɐp**stɚ**]	*pa* 'father (vocative)'	English derivational affix -(C$_0$)ɚ	*gang**ster***
-i	31.4	/ˈkoːbe/ [ˈkuːb**i**]	*tambok* 'fat'	English derivational affix *-y*	*funn**y***

for FGL in Abaya and Hernandez (1998) and Demeterio et al. (2021) but it is categorized under substitution. Unlike the spirantization found in the already discussed in phoneme substitution and in FGL, spirantization here is conditional, i.e., triggered by the environment or its neighboring sounds. The environment is usually the word-final or pre-consonantal position. Generally, inverted etymons are more likely to experience spirantization. Secondary spirantization involves the Ilab-ilab phonemes /d/, /t/, and /s/. Ilab-ilab spirantization may be generated in rule form as in R14 and R15.

R14. $\mathrm{d} \rightarrow \mathrm{dʒ} \;/\; \mathrm{V\_\#}$
$\mathrm{t} \rightarrow \mathrm{tʃ} \;/\; \mathrm{V\_\#}$

R15. $\mathrm{s} \rightarrow \mathrm{ʃ} \;/\; \left\{ \begin{array}{c} \mathrm{\_C} \\ \mathrm{\_\#} \end{array} \right.$

Although the sound change may be generated in rule form in that it is constrained by certain parameters, the sound change described here is ultimately stylistic and may or may not be expressed by the speaker. Additionally, some of the resultant spirant allophones intersect with other established phonemes of Ilab-ilab. See Table 32 for some representative examples of spirantization in Ilab-ilab.

6.5.3 Retrogradation

Like spirantization, retrogradation in Ilab-ilab is highly stylistic and non-compulsory. Retrogradation refers to the phenomenon whereby any phoneme is articulated further backwards in the oral cavity, as if it is being moved backwards or retrograded. Retrogradation has not been described for FGL but it does seem like a sound change that is influenced by English parallel to the phonologization of /ɹ/ in Ilab-ilab, replacing

Table 32
Ilab-ilab Lexicon With Spirantization

Source Word		Meaning	Ilab-ilab	Meaning
32.1	*bastos* /ˈ**b**ɑstus/	'Rude!'	/ˈsotsɑv/ [ˈsotsʌ**v**]	'Rude!'
32.2	*dalaga* /ˈ**d**ɑˈlɑːgɑ/ or [ˈdɑːgɑ]	'teen girl'	/ɑˈgɑd/ [ʔʌˈgɐ**ʤ**]	'teen girl'
32.3	*tao* (Tagalog) /ˈ**t**ɑːʔɔ/	'person, human'	/ˈoːɑt/ [ˈʔoʔɐ**ʧ**]	'person, human'
32.4	*saging* /ˈ**s**ɑːgiŋ/	'banana'	/ŋeˈgɑs/ [ŋɪˈgɐ**ʃ**]	'banana'
32.5	*unsa* /ˈʔun**s**ɑ/	'what'	/ˈɑsno/ [ˈʔɐ**ʃ**nu]	'what'

the original Binisdak /ɾ/. Unlike the said phonologization, retrogradation here is conditional, i.e., triggered by the environment. The environment is usually the word-final or pre-consonantal position. Generally, inverted etymons are more likely to experience retrogradation. Secondary retrogradation involves the Ilab-ilab phoneme /l/. Notably /ɹ/ always surfaces as /ɹ/ in the same environments whereas /l/ retrogrades; however, the former, unlike the latter, is in free variation with other rhotic expressions in other environments. Ilab-ilab retrogradation may be rendered in rule form as in R16.

$$\text{R16.}\quad \text{l} \rightarrow \text{ɬ or } \text{ɻ} \;/\; \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \_\text{C} \\ \_\# \end{array} \right.$$

Although the sound change may be generated in rule form, in that it is constrained by certain parameters, the sound change described here is ultimately a stylistic one and may or may not be expressed by the speaker. Additionally, [ɻ] is only attested once. See Table 33 for some representative examples of spirantization in Ilab-ilab.

Table 33
Ilab-ilab Lexicon With Retrogradation

Source Word		Meaning	Ilab-ilab	Meaning
33.1	*lami* /**l**ɑˈmiʔ/	'tasty'	/ˈmɑlz/ [ˈmɐː**ɬ**-z]	'good looking; tasty'
33.2	*libak* /**l**iːbɑk/	'backbite, backstab'	/kɑˈvel/ [kʌˈvɪɻ]	'backbite, backstab'

6.6 The Morphophonemic Interface between Ilab-ilab and Binisdak

Being an argot, Ilab-ilab largely sources its non-lexical elements, e.g., morphophonology and syntax, from Binisdak. As such, Ilab-ilab inevitably interfaces with Cebuano whenever speakers have to string the lexicon together in sentences. Interestingly though, the use of Ilab-ilab, as a result of the distortion via pragmatic derivation, also results in the distortion of grammatical devices which, in some respects, makes Ilab-ilab seem like a pidgin where some specialized structures in Binisdak are simplified or regularized.

This section will provide a brief overview of the morphophonemic properties of Ilab-ilab as it interacts with a largely Binisdak syntax. See Bollas (2013), Bunye and Yap (1971), Lin (2020), Newton (1991), Rubrico (2015), Tanangkingsing (2009), Wolff (1972, 2001), and Yap (1947) for more thorough discussions on the Binisdak's morphophonology and syntax.

The examination here will set on foreign territory for Philippine gay lingos as not much is written in the literature about the morphophonemic and syntactic interface between the argot and its source language. Since syntax is not the focus of this preliminary study, it will only be discussed in so far as it interacts with morphophonology.

The Cebuano *ang* class, which is described in Tanangkingsing (2009) as nominative and in Bunye and Yap (1971) as absolutive in Walters (1994), will be referred to here as focus (FOC or F) so as not to make comment on the current debate. The others will also follow suit, the non-verbal genitive will be referred to as possessive (P) and the verbal genitive and ergative and the oblique will be lumped into the non-focus category (NFOC). Adjunct markers will be referred to as prepositional (PREPO). These are entirely based on their base semantic functions in relation to the verb stem and the verbal affix.

FOC here is the argument which the verb affix assigns a specific role to, though it is still constrained to an extent by context and semantics, while the NFOC arguments are assigned roles depending on the semantics of the verb, i.e., the verb *nikaon* 'eat.AF' will treat the FOC marked *bata* 'kid' as an agent and the NFOC as the general undergoer or specific patient. PREPO is a catch-all category for locatives, temporals, and so on that exist on the periphery of the verb's semantics.

6.6.1 Particles

Particles are usually monosyllabic or disyllabic morphemes that do not appear on their own in a phrase or a sentence or themselves cannot function as content words, although they do carry semantic functions but mostly serve to modify the meaning of the content word it is attached to or of the sentence or phrase it belongs to. The particles to be examined in this section comprise three general classes: (a) markers, which are prepositional in that they appear before the content word they modify and assign grammatical function to the phrasal head or the host content word; (b) particles, which, for a lack of a better word, are enclitics that follow obligatory second positioning in that they always appear as the second constituent of the sentence and affect the interpretation of the sentence regardless of their actual scope; and (c) negators, which deny the proposition of

the scope whether phrasal or sentential.

Markers Binisdak has a four-class grammatical marking system, with the classes being further subdivided into two categories: the personal (to the right), which is prepositioned to words that are either the names of people or the names of entities which are given pseudo-personhood, e.g., names of pets; and the non-personal (to the left), which is prepositioned to all the other words, including common nouns and names of places. Furthermore, /mɑˈŋɑ/ follows the non-personal markers to indicate plurality. Third person plural pronouns may also be placed before personal nouns to indicate plurality. The non-personal markers /ʔɑŋ/ and the NFOC /sɑ/ have indefinite counterparts: the replacive /-j/ and /ʔug/ respectively. The grammatical markers in Binisdak are outlined in Table 34.

Table 34
Grammatical Markers in Binisdak

		FOC		POSS		NFOC		PREPO	
DEF	SG	ʔɑŋ	si	sɑ	ni	sɑ	ni	sɑ	kɑŋ/ni
	PL	ʔɑŋ mɑˈŋɑ	ˈsiːlɑ(si)	sɑ mɑˈŋɑ	ˈniːlɑ(ni)	sɑ mɑˈŋɑ	ˈniːlɑ(ni)	sɑ mɑˈŋɑ	(kɑ)ˈniːlɑ(ni)
NDEF	SG	-j				ʔug			
	PL	-j mɑˈŋɑ				ʔug mɑˈŋɑ			

As can be gleaned from Table 34, the definite categories for POSS, NFOC, and PREPO are seemingly collapsing, although this may not be true for all dialects and registers. Additionally, the markers have enclitic forms which are replacive and attach to the word before the ones they modify. These are /ʔɑŋ, ni/ > /-ŋ/, /si, sɑ/ > /-s/, and /ʔug/ > /-g/.

Compared to Binisdak, Ilab-ilab has a noticeably more reduced marker system where the classes NFOC and PREPO are collapsed into a single category, to be referred to as NFOC herein. Furthermore, the NDEF.FOC marker is optional. Certain classes, such as the DEF.PL and NFOC classes, are also more unstable in that their appearance is highly dependent on stylistics and the interference of Binisdak. Otherwise, the Ilab-ilab marker system is fundamentally similar to the original Binisdak system, just with some classes undergoing further collapse. The grammatical markers in Ilab-ilab are outlined in Table 35.

As can be seen from the Table 35, PL only forms a distinct class in the DEF.PERS and is only represented by the separate PL marker /mɑŋɑ/. Interestingly, the POSS and NFOC seem to also be on their way to collapse into a single class. Notably, the marker /ni/ in the PL which need not take its enclitic form /-ŋ/ in Binisdak always appears attached in Ilab-ilab. Markers seem to be much more resistant to Ilab-ilab lexification processes, except for the PL class which, as discussed, shows quite the variation. The FOC.NDEF optionality may be explained as a consequence of segment inversion wherein words that originally end in a vowel now end in consonants, thus, it is phonologically deleted

Table 35
Grammatical Markers in Ilab-ilab

		FOC		POSS		NFOC + PREPO	
DEF	SG	ʔaŋ	se	sa	ni	sa	ni
	PL	ʔaŋ maŋa/ ʔaŋ aːgam	səlaŋ/ ales/ʃola	sa maŋa	nəlaŋ/ ʃola	sa maŋa	ni
NDEF	SG	∅/-j/og				og	

and interpreted as ∅. Some speakers attempt to clarify this conundrum by collapsing the NDEF class altogether into a single /og/. Some sample sentences are presented and glossed below.

(1) aan-s **og** kaˈhoːv aŋ agadʒ
EXIST-DERIV **FOC.NDEF** flower FOC.DEF teen.woman
'The teen has flowers.'

(2) ˈaːan=**∅** ˈflaːwɚ aŋ ˈeːbaj
EXIST=**FOC.NDEF** flower FOC.DEF girl
'The girl has flowers.'

(3) dʒo-ˈnaːa=**j** ʃo-lak-tʃeja aŋ
DERIV-EXIST=**FOC.NDEF** DERIV-flower-DERIV FOC.DEF
dʒo-ˈlaːga-seŋ
DERIV-teen.woman-DERIV
'The teen has flowers.'

Example 1 shows the use of the NFOC.NDEF /og/ as the FOC.NDEF collapsing the NDEF categories into one, example 2 implies a FOC.NDEF marker that has been deleted, and example 3 shows the original use of /-j/. Examples 1 and 2 show segment inversion on the EXIST lexeme which causes the word to end in a consonant. Example 1 resolves the lack of an FOC.NDEF marker by collapsing the NDEF category, while example 2 resolves it by introducing a null element, thereby deleting the marker altogether. Example 3 can proceed without resolution as the EXIST lexeme there ends with a vowel. Normally, /-j/ is replacive in Binisdak, thus, *daghan* 'many' + *-y* becomes *daghay*, yet this does not occur in Ilab-ilab. There are two possible interpretations, either /-j/ becomes ∅ during the transfer to Ilab-ilab and *og*-insertion is just hypercorrection, or /-j/ loses its replacive feature and is phonetically deleted as a result of invalid phonotactics. The second explanation seems to be more consistent with the current data, as when the lexeme ends in a vowel as in example 3, an original /-j/ is inserted. A possible reason for the loss of the replacive feature may be to disassociate it from substitutive affixation which happens often in Ilab-ilab, although this assessment is problematic when one considers that substitutive suffixes are quite rare in Ilab-ilab in the first place. More data is needed.

Particles Binisdak has many particles in use, but only four are examined here: *ra* or *da*, *la(ma)ng*, *g(a)yod*, and *(u)sa*; see Table 36. Particles are frequently shortened via clipping of segments or syllables in regular conversation. *Ra* and *lang* in 36.1 and 36.2, though both are glossed as 'only,' differ in terms of scalarity which is defined here as a parameter where either the whole of a population is selected by a limiter or only a portion of a population is being referred, thereby implying more members that were just unselected. Non-scalar applies to the latter limiter as it does not imply a selection within a scale of numbers or members, while scalar applies to the latter as it involves choosing a number or set of members in a scale. *Ra* is non-scalar, i.e., the entire population is selected, while *la(ma)ng* is scalar, i.e., it involves only a selected sample of a population. In some dialects and in literary registers, *ra* is pronounced as *da*. 36.3 is *g(a)yod*, an emphatic or intensifying particle approximate to the Tagalog or Filipino *talaga*, and 36.4 is *(u)sa*, a restraint or ordering particle in a similar vein as Tagalog or Filipino *muna*.

Table 36
Some Binisdak Particles and Their Ilab-ilab Equivalents

Source	Particle	Meaning	Ilab-ilab
36.1	*ra* /ˈrɑ/	'only'	/ɑɪ(s)/
36.2	*lang* /ˈlɑŋ/		/ŋɑl(s)/
36.3	*g(a)yod* /gaˈjud/	'really'	/dʒod/ or /ʃod/
36.4	*usa* /uˈsɑʔ/	'before'	/sɑ/

The current evidence seems to indicate that particles in Ilab-ilab, like markers, are mostly resistant to lexifying processes and whenever lexification is applied, an optional /-s/ seems to be preferred. Both /dʒod/ and /sɑ/ as in 36.3 and 36.4 are both mutations of *g(a)yod* and *usa* respectively that are present in Binisdak; the glottal stop loss in /sɑ/ seems to specifically be an Ilab-ilab characteristic though. /ʃod/ in 36.3 seems to be anomalous and is only attested once in the data. Perhaps it is another characteristic that separates Mindanao Ilab-ilab from Cebu Ilab-ilab which needs to be addressed in future studies. See Table 36 for the equivalent Ilab-ilab particles to Binisdak's.

Negators Binisdak has three negators: the realis or existential *wala*, used for negating events or actions that have already started or occurred and for denying the existence or presence of an entity (37.1); the irrealis or cohortative or modifier *dili*, used for negating events or actions that have yet to start or occur, for urging the hearer not do an action as in authoritative requests, and for negating the property of an entity such as negating an adjective (37.2); and the imperative *ayaw*, which is used solely for negative

commands (37.3). The cohortative function of Binisdak may be seen in such sentences as *dili mangihi diri* 'bawal umihi dito' as opposed to *ayaw pangihi diri* 'huwag umihi dito' which is a direct command (Yap, 1947).

Table 37
Binisdak Negators and Their Ilab-ilab Equivalents

Source Word		Meaning	Ilab-ilab	Meaning
37.1	*wala* /wɑˈlɑʔ/	realis/existential	/ɑw(s)/	realis/existential
37.2	*dili* /ˈdiːliʔ/	irrealis/ modifier/ cohortative	/ed(s)/	irrealis/ modifier
37.3	*ayaw* /ʔɑˈjɑw/	imperative	/ʃodeʔ/	cohortative/ imperative

As in Binisdak, Ilab-ilab has three negators but there are slight differences in function as well as in form. For instance, 37.1 and 37.2 derived from *wala* and *dili* respectively are clipped and segmentally inverted, then an optional but preferred /-s/ is inserted. Interestingly, 37.1 loses the cohortative function. Instead, the cohortative function is lumped together with the imperative function and assigned to the *dili* derived /ʃodeʔ/ as in 37.3, which itself is irregular for the non-replacive prefix and the glottal stop retention. This Ilab-ilab negator supplants the original *ayaw*, which is notably reserved for only the imperative function in Binisdak (Tanangkingsing, 2009).

6.6.2 Pronouns

Pronouns in Binisdak function like particles in that they follow second positioning but are syntactically pronominal as they function as stand-ins for a referent noun phrase (Tanangkingsing, 2009) and are also semantically complex in that they comprise multiple case classes, with some case classes having multiple morphological forms depending on their positioning in relation to the verb or whether or not they cliticize (Bunye & Yap, 1971). The enclitic forms are found to the right. Form choice depends on the pragmatic purpose of an utterance and some pronouns have multiple form choices that are specific to certain registers. Over the years, the PREPO forms have started to mirror the NFOC/POSS forms. Like their associated markers, there is no difference between the NFOC pronoun and the POSS pronoun. The *sa* + NFOC non-enclitic forms are similar to that of Hiligaynon's (Wolfenden, 1971) and those Cebuano alternant forms may perhaps be an influence of the said language. The *-a* forms of the NFOC non-enclitic set are just stylistic variants that may be freely interchanged. The pronouns in Binisdak are outlined in Table 38.

Ilab-ilab pronouns, though enclitic to the second position like other particles, are in some cases more morphologically complex consisting of a separated marker and noun phrase. Furthermore, Ilab-ilab has collapsed the NFOC, POSS, and PREPO classes into

Table 38
Pronouns in Binisdak

		FOC		NFOC/POSS		PREPO
SG	1	ʔaˈku	ku	ˈʔaːkuʔ	ˈnaːkuʔ	(kɑ)ˈnaːkuʔ
				ʔaˈkuːʔa	ku (literary/poetic)	sa ˈʔaːkuʔ
					tɑ (polite)	sa ʔaˈkuːʔa
	2	(ʔi)ˈkaw	kɑ	ˈʔiːmu	ˈniːmu	(kɑ)ˈniːmu
				ʔiˈmuːhɑ	mu (literary/poetic)	sɑ ˈʔiːmu
						sɑ ʔiˈmuːhɑ
	1-2				tiˈkɑ	
					tɑˈkɑ	
					kiˈtɑ	
	3	ˈsijɑ		ˈʔiːjɑ	ˈniːjɑ	(kɑ)ˈniːjɑ
		ˈʃɑ		ʔiˈjɑːhɑ		sɑ ˈʔiːjɑ
						sɑ ʔiˈjɑːhɑ
PL	1EXCL	kɑˈmi	mi	ˈʔɑːmuʔ	ˈnɑːmuʔ	(kɑ)ˈnɑːmuʔ
				ʔɑˈmuːʔɑ		sɑ ˈʔiːmu
						sɑ ʔiˈmuːhɑ
	1INCL	kiˈtɑ	tɑ	ˈʔɑːtuʔ	ˈnɑːtuʔ	(kɑ)ˈnɑːtuʔ
				ʔɑˈtuːʔɑ	tɑ (polite)	sɑ ˈʔɑːtuʔ
						sɑ ʔɑˈtuːʔɑ
	2	kɑˈmu	mu	ˈʔinju	ˈninju	(kɑ)ˈninju
				ʔinˈjuːhɑ		sɑ ˈʔinju
						sɑ ʔinˈjuːhɑ
	3	siˈlɑ		ˈʔiːlɑ	ˈniːlɑ	(kɑ)ˈniːlɑ
				ʔiˈlɑːhɑ		sɑ ˈʔiːlɑ
						sɑ ʔiˈlɑːhɑ

one NFOC class and has collapsed positional classes thereby making positional pronoun sets more stylistically variable rather than an obligatory choice based on position in a sentence. Also, all pronouns in Ilab-ilab are segmentally inverted in form. Table 39 illustrates the pronouns in Ilab-ilab.

Interestingly, the collapse of some of the classes has caused the 1SG, 3SG, and 3PL pronouns to only be grammatically differentiated by the preposing marker. It could thus be argued that pronouns in Ilab-ilab are not grammatically marked themselves, taken to mean here as not marked for FOC, NFOC, POSS, and PREPO unlike in Binisdak, and would then require external marking following the already discussed grammatical markers. The FOC class which as seen above does not require marking unlike the NFOC class, a phenomenon which may be interpreted as having a FOC represented by

Table 39
Pronouns in Ilab-ilab

		FOC		NFOC/POSS/PREPO
SG	1	oka	oks	sa oka/sa oks
	2	wake	waks	sa omen
	1-2		aketʃ	
	3	ajis/ajeʃ		sa ajeʃ/ajens
PL	1EXCL	emak(s)	ems	sa oma
	1INCL	atek	ats	sa ota
	2	omak(s)	oms	sa ojne
	3	aleʃ		sa aleʃ (sa enlak)

a ∅ marker. This ∅ marker replaces the FOC marker in instances where the constituent in FOC is contextually clear, but may be replaced by the corresponding grammatical marker for stylistics or for clarification. The choice of using inverted prepositional POSS forms for the rest of the NFOC affixes may be a vestige of the original Binisdak elements and, possibly in time, will be regularized being replaced by the unmarked base pronominals of Ilab-ilab. Listed below are some examples that highlight the lack of marking in Ilab-ilab pronouns.

(4) nag-ˈloːk-s **se** ˈok-s
REAL.IPFV.AF-study-DERIV **FOC.PERS** 1SG-DERIV
'I am studying.'

(5) nag-toon=**∅**=ok-s
REAL.IPFV.AF-study-DERIV=**FOC**=1SG-DERIV
'I am studying.'

(6) nag-ʃok-ˈskweːla **aŋ** ˈok-s
REAL.IPFV.AF-DERIV-study **FOC.DEF** 1SG-DERIV
'I am studying.'

(7) ka-ˈʃoː-fo **sa** ˈok-s sa ʃo-ˈlaːmen
INT-DERIV-beautiful **NFOC.DEF** 1SG-DERIV PREPO DERIV-mirror
'I look so beautiful in the mirror.'

(8) ge-pa-noak sa ˈeːbaj aŋ ˈoːɹe **sa** ˈok-s
REAL.NAF-CAUS-eat NFOC.DEF woman FOC.DEF dog **POSS** 1SG-DERIV
'The woman fed my dog.'

(9) **∅**=ajes aŋ me-lood sa ˈok-s
FOC=3SG (FOC).DEF REAL.PFV-approach PREPO 1SG-DERIV
'They are the one who approached me.'

Example 4 shows the use of the personal focus marker to mark the 1SG pronominal while example 6 shows the use of the definite focus marker. This seems to indicate that marker choice for FOC when used with pronominals is stylistically variable. Examples 5 and 9 shows the use of ∅ to indicate the FOC and it may be that pronouns are implicitly FOC unmarked. Examples 7 and 8 show a shared use of marker to denote both the NFOC and the POSS, illustrating the collapse.

The previous examples of pronominals are taken from the Cebuano consultants for Ilab-ilab and notably, Mindanao Ilab-ilab has an entirely different pronominal system altogether that, although look somewhat similar being sourced from Binisdak, are phonologically and morphologically distinctive. The Mindanao Ilab-ilab pronouns are listed in Table 40 below.

Table 40
Pronouns in Mindanao Ilab-ilab

		FOC	NFOC / POSS / PREPO
SG	1	(aŋ) ˈoːaks (aŋ) ˈoks/(aŋ) ˈsok	sa ˈkjoːak/sa oks
	2	(aŋ) ˈsoːkaw	sa ˈsoːmo
	1-2	(aŋ) ˈʃoːka	
	3	(aŋ) ˈdʒoːja(mbels)/(aŋ) soːja	sa ˈsoːjams/sa ˈdʒoːja
PL	1EXCL	(aŋ) ˈʃonmi	sa ˈʃodmi/sa ʃodmo
	1INCL	(aŋ) ˈsoːtams/(aŋ) ˈʃoːtams	sa ˈsoːtams/sa ˈoːtan
	2	(aŋ) ˈʃoːmo	sa ʃonjo
	3	(aŋ) ˈsoːla/(aŋ) ˈʃoːla/(aŋ) ˈdʒoːla	sa ˈsoːla(ms)/sa ʃoˈlaha

Mindanao Ilab-ilab pronouns are syntactically the same as Cebu Ilab-ilab pronouns in that the phrase heads generally do not have case themselves. A big difference is that a marker is more compulsory for FOC in Mindanao Ilab-ilab, and that the phonetic forms are generally different. Mindanao Ilab-ilab seems to not be fond of short forms, or enclitic forms, for their FOC pronouns and the lexifying process also involves the substitutive affixation of a /so(C)-/ or /ʃo(C)-/, with /dʒo-/ being the outlier and only used for the 3rd person. This may yet be evidence again that Mindanao Ilab-ilab and Cebu Ilab-ilab are quite different despite having the same source language and similar lexifying processes. A different paper may be required to treat this.

6.6.3 Affixes

The morphophonological rules of Binisdak affixation are outlined in Figure 3. Numbers 4 and 7 have already been discussed in prior sections and number 9 will not be included in this study. A detailed discussion of affix morphophonological rules will not be detailed in this section (see Newton, 1991).

Figure 3
The Morphophonological Rules of Binisdak (Newton, 1991, p. 263)

(1) Glottal stop epenthesis. Insert a glottal stop between two adjacent vowels

(2) Syncope. Delete the penultimate vowel in open syllables of words of more than three syllables

(3) Intervocalic *d* to *r*. Convert intervocalic *d* to *r* before vowel-initial suffixes

(4) *l* deletion. Delete *l* between identical back vowels and convert it to *w* between dissimilar back vowels

(5) Liquid assimilation. Convert *lk, lng* to *gk, gng, lq* to *dq, rt* to *dt* and *rk* to *gk*

(6) Metathesis. Transpose any *h* or *q* with a following consonant, also (with restrictions) transpose sequences of *ld, lt, ln, nm, tk*

(7) Final *h* deletion. Delete all word-final *h*'s

(8) *N* assimilation. Replace *N* + labial by *m*, *N* + dental by *n* and *N* + velar by *ng* (except that *N* + *ng* becomes *ngg*).

(9) Stress reassignment. Reassign stress to the penultimate syllable when this is closed or when stress falls further back than the penult

Generally, Ilab-ilab takes on the same original Binisdak affixes and the same morphophonological rules apply except for suffixes. These morphophonological rules are outlined in Newton (1991). No circumfixes and infixes are attested in the data which may be a consequence of the chosen questionnaire items or may be reflective of Ilab-ilab affixation. More data is needed. *N-* assimilation is the only notable prefix morphophonemic alternation in Binisdak that also occurs in the same manner in Ilab-ilab that is found in the data. The alternation is described in rule form in R17–18.

$$\text{R17.}\quad \text{N} \begin{Bmatrix} [\ +\text{DENTAL}\ ] \\ [\ +\text{BILABIAL}\ ] \\ [\ +\text{VELAR}\ ] \\ \text{l} \end{Bmatrix} \rightarrow \begin{Bmatrix} \text{n} \\ \text{m} \\ \text{ŋ} \\ \text{nl} \end{Bmatrix}$$

$$\text{R18.}\quad \text{N} \rightarrow \text{ŋ}$$

Even though /Nl/ is described above as yielding /nl/, the realization /ŋl/ is also quite common in Binisdak. Additionally, in common parlance, NC clusters after prefixing *paN-* may yield the regularized *ŋ*C and not as indicated in the rule above. This may be a result of analogy with the derivative affix *paŋ-*, e.g., *paŋuha* 'get [IMP]' versus *paŋkuha* 'instrument used for getting things,' as the prefixes *naN-*, *maN-*, *hiN-*, and *tiN-* in Binisdak follow the rule more religiously. Regularization does happen to these

affixes as well, just not as prevalent as the former. Only a few instances of N- prefixation are attested in the data and none have yet to deviate from the standard rule. The following are a few representative examples.

1. nɑ**N-** (**ʔ**)ɑvil 'backbite, talk' [nʌ**ŋ**ʌˈvɪl]
2. mɑ**N-** (**ʔ**)ehe 'urinate' [mʌˈ**ŋ**ɪːhɪʔ]
3. mɑ**N-** **w**ɑkɑl 'walk, leave' [mɑ**ŋ**ˈwɑːkɑl]

Newton (1991) posits that Binisdak words that have an epenthetic [h] when suffixed actually have an underlying /h/ that is deleted in citation form, as a result of being in the final position which is phonotactically illegal in Binisdak. This was posited to solve the dilemma of [h]~[ʔ] allophonic epenthesis and to provide a logical reasoning to the selection process. This is problematic in Ilab-ilab, however, as /-h/ items in Binisdak which are inversed must yield [h-] which is not attested anywhere in the data. As a consequence of the hypothesis, loanwords always have to be /-h/ final in Binisdak and Ilab-ilab, but this would warrant a mechanism of adding word-final [-h] which in of itself is also problematic. The following are some representative examples in the data.

1. gɐ- -ɑn **e**tloʃ 'tell' [**gɐ**tluˈʃʌn]
2. nɑ- **-ɑ**n lɑnemesɑlotʃ**ɑ** 'rain' [nɐlɑnimisʌlʊˈtʃ**ɑːhʌ**n]

None of the suffix processes identified in Newton (1991) occur in Ilab-ilab as syncope itself does not occur, which normally initiates the feeding process that allows for metathesis and other additional morphophonological alternations to commence. Additionally, [d]~[r] alternation does not occur in Ilab-ilab due to the bleeding produced in the lexifying processes. The following are some representative examples in the data.

1. -on jɑ**tɑf** 'to kill' [jʌ**tʌ**ˈ**f**un]
2. gɐ- -ɑn gɐ**jok** [gɪgʊˈ**juːk**ʌn]
3. -a nɐ**ʔɑk** 'to eat' [nɐ**ʔʌ**ˈ**k**ʌ]
4. -on nɐ**ʔɑk** 'to eat' [nɐ**ʔɑ**ˈ**k**on]
5. gɐ- -ɑn bəˈ**bɑn** 'to accompany' [gibəˈ**bɑ**ˈ**n**ʌn]

6.6.4 Vocative Forms

Vocative forms are used here to mean special phonological forms that are used to call out the attention of an addressee. Most descriptions of Binisdak vocatives involve either the use of specific lexical items or the shortening of honorifics (Blust, 1979; Jabonillo, n.d.; Tanangkingsing, 2009); however, this only describes part of the process. Vocatives in Binisdak take on two phonological processes—stress shift and pre-final syllable clipping—and these processes can affect all lexical items, including names, so long as the context allows. Some lexical items such as *hoy/oy* 'hey' are greetings that may be used as vocatives, although this is not actually the most common vocative strategy. The two-part process is illustrated in rule form in R19–20.

R19. $(\sigma_0)'\sigma\sigma\# \rightarrow (\sigma_0)\sigma'\sigma\#$

R20. $(\sigma_0)\sigma'\sigma\# \rightarrow '\sigma\#$

Vocative formation in Binisdak involves, firstly, the stress shift from the penultimate to the final syllable. For further clarity, all unstressed syllables are optionally deleted in a vocative. Trisyllabic words, though not common among vocabulary items, usually only experience deletion of syllables prior to the penultimate. Items with final stress do not follow the stress shift and instead usually skip ahead to the deletion part. The following are some comparisons and examples in Binisdak.

1.	si ˈ**mɑ**ːnuj	‘the old man’	>	mɑˈ**nuj**	‘hey old man!’	(>	ˈnuj	‘old man!’)
2.	si ˈ**brɑ**ːjɑn	‘Brian’	>	brɑˈ**jɑn**	‘Brian!’	(>	ˈjɑn)	
3.	si ˈ**bɑ**ːtɑʔ	‘the kid’	>	bɑˈ**tɑʔ**	‘hey kid!’	(>	ˈtɑʔ	‘kid!’)
4.	ɑŋ ˈ**mi**ˈmiŋ	‘the cat (cute)’	>	miˈ**miŋ**	‘hey meowsie!’	(>	ˈmiŋ	‘meowsie!’)
5.	ɑŋ ˈ**mɑ**ːnuk	‘the chicken’	>	ˈ**nuk**	‘you chicken!’			

Despite being so common and intuitive to the Binisdak speaker, the phenomenon is sadly rarely described in detail. Additionally, there are pragmatic constraints: for example, you cannot use it with entities that have overwhelming power over you unless for comedic effect, such as with a god; hence why you never call a god /giˈnuːʔu/ as /ginuˈʔu/ or, worse, /(nu)ˈʔu/. More research is needed in this field. In Ilab-ilab, a lot of words use the vocative forms as the etymon for lexifying. This may have been done to emphasize the comedic effect, i.e., making the sentence feel lighter which is reflective of the general informality of the argot. The following are some representative examples.

1.	*ˈpapa*	>	*paˈpa*	>	*pa*	>	/ɑp/	**ɑp**stɚ	‘father, dad’
2.	*ˈbayot*	>	*baˈyot*	>	*yot*	>	/jot/	o**jot**ʃi	‘gay’
3.	*ˈinday*	>	*inˈday*	>	*day*	>	/jad/	**jad**s	‘girl, woman’
4.	*laˈlaki*	>	*lalaˈki*	>	*ki*	>	/ke/	**keke**ro	‘guy, man’
5.	*ˈtambok*	>	*tamˈbok*	>	*bok*	>	/kob/	**kob**i	‘fat’

7 Ang Enelav-elav Nga Kavel: The Function of Ilab-ilab

Although cursory analyses of Ilab-ilab and any other gay lingo (especially of FGL varieties) may seem to indicate that argots are arbitrary and have no rules, this could not be any further from the truth. Unlike verbal morphology for many languages, the lexification processes in Ilab-ilab are obviously non-paradigmatic, but that does not mean that it is free-for-all. As illustrated in the previous chapter, affixes and substitutions cannot be attached randomly and follow certain phonological patterns, though affix and substitution choices are indeed arbitrary and extremely dynamic; however, this is not surprising. The seeming arbitrariness may also be governed by stylistics. Many languages also have non-paradigmatic affixation and substitution that are heavily affected by speaker choice, the dynamic cog of the linguistic mechanism. This is so-often

called *derivation*. Additionally, there are certain stylistic choices taken by speakers (or language users) that have no semantic effects but instead achieve pragmatic effects. A pertinent example in Binisdak would be the choice between the affixes *(pag)ka-* and *-a*, as in *kadako* and *dakoa*, both of which are semantically equivalent and choice between the two largely depends on which one a speaker feels more intense in whatever situation they are in. When these two categories are taken together, they become *pragmatic derivation*.

7.1 The Veiling Practices in Pragmatic Derivation

One of the pragmatic effects that pragmatic derivation achieves is what Amante (2021) refers to as concealment. Ilab-ilab is primarily a secret language used by a subcommunity within a larger hostile community, and thus is motivated to conceal the topics discussed within that community, maybe as to avoid sneer or to plan for activities which might otherwise be considered taboo. In fact, this exact power of Ilab-ilab to isolate its linguistic community, or in some senses shield the community, is a practice of veiling (Abaya & Hernandez, 1998). As has already been discussed, the primary way in which this is achieved is simple segment inversion or through affixes and substitution, i.e., a speaker encodes a sentence in Ilab-ilab and the hearer decodes it through a practical knowledge of common coding strategies that they learn through exposure. The ease of learning Ilab-ilab is probably why it has managed to exist independently despite being in the same country as what could be considered the more prestigious FGL, which in some respects is more cryptic due to the overwhelming use of associations rather than phonological distortion. Based on cursory observation, it seems as though more people involved in the LGBTQ+ community, including its allies, are capable of conversing and understanding Ilab-ilab despite the variation amongst individual speakers than say maybe FGL or the other FGL-like gay lingos of the Philippines.

An unfortunate consequence of the more streamlined coding system of Ilab-ilab is that more of its lexicon is likely to leak out into the general public and thus lose its veiling characteristics. In a binary sense, then, all Ilab-ilab lexicon are [+VEIL] but become [-VEIL] upon being used more by the larger macro-community, which in this case is Binisdak. Ilab-ilab, however, is dynamic, and beyond the baseline coding system more complex. The most common way to combat this is through the use of further phonological distortion, e.g., /dʒontes/ may have become more recognizable, so some speakers have opted to use /setnodʒ/. Impressionistically, this further distortion is very difficult to decode, especially when used in rapid speech; however, Ilab-ilab speakers are probably faster on the uptake as there are certain features that mark Ilab-ilab, signaling hearers, who themselves are Ilab-ilab speakers, that the conversation undergoes a [+VEIL].

7.2 Markedness: The Community and Its Allies

As Romero (2009) has demonstrated for K'iche Maya, speakers can actively make use of marked linguistic features to negotiate social situations. A common theme within Ilab-

ilab phonology is vowel lowering, spirantization, and retrogradation. From a Binisdak native speaker point of view, the said sounds are impressionistically "fancier." This maybe because the retrograded rhotic and lateral of Ilab-ilab sound like the bunched *r* and dark *l* of American English and higher registers of Philippine Englishes (Tayao, 2008), respectively, which is culturally salient in the Philippines as the language of government, business, media, and the elite (McFarland, 2008). In that sense, people who are able to speak English with an "American" accent is seen as with a higher social standing, hence, the associated phonemes are perceived as being more "fancy" or "classy." Additionally, spirantized sounds, such as those of Ilab-ilab, are only consistently realized by the higher varieties of Philippine English (Tayao, 2008) and as such, mimicking those sounds negotiate a higher social standing, elevating one's presence. For many of the languages of the Philippines, however, particularly Binisdak in this case, those sounds are non-native and thus difficult to consistently realize. These situations often result in hypercorrection, e.g., all /p/ sounds are forcibly realized as [f] and may be the case for Ilab-ilab.

One of the characteristics of argots such as Ilab-ilab is expression (Amante, 2021). The "fancy" speaking style adopted by Ilab-ilab, though mimicking the phones of prestigious registers, is not meant as a form of economic leverage. Instead, the use of spirants and retrogrades is most likely a form of pseudo-comedy, i.e., making the speech sound more playful and diffusing tension. In fact, Ilab-ilab speakers hypercorrect their speeches by spirantizing and retrograding sounds that were originally not so, thus, making it a point that the language is indeed informal, and as one consultant puts it, a form of *balbal* 'slang.' Such use of non-native shibboleths to emphasize playfulness is also regularly seen in Melanesian speech communities (Slotta, 2012). In a way, then, Ilab-ilab is also a form of social negotiation ala K'iche Mayan (Romero, 2009), in the sense that it disarms a conversation, eases tensions, and make speakers feel at peace in the Ilab-ilab speech community in spite of being under a hostile umbrella speech community.

Ilab-ilab makes use of marked sounds not only to mark the pragmatic context of the speech but also to mark its speakers. As the argot provides a kind of metaphorical shelter from the outside community, shibboleths are a useful tool to vet participants in the conversation. In this way, community allies can also take part in Ilab-ilab when they are trusted enough by the community. Taking part in itself signals that one is willing to be defenseless and non-hostile to fellow speakers. As these marked sounds mark Ilab-ilab, Ilab-ilab also marks its speakers as belonging to the gay community or be tagged as *bayot* 'gay' for speaking *binayot* 'gay lingo.' In other words, speaking Ilab-ilab is either fully accepting of the identity or fully accepting of the legitimacy of such an identity which may be contrary to the ideologies of the general macro-community.

7.3 The Art of the Kavel

Kavel is the Ilab-ilab equivalent of the Binisdak *libak* and it roughly translates to 'backbite' or 'backstab.' However, to some Ilab-ilab speakers, it may also be used to mean 'converse' but with a lighter nuance. According to Abaya and Hernandez (1998), gay

lingos exist in an ironic situation where they are used to keep secrets, i.e., veiling, but at the same time, they are also used to show creativity and identity, i.e., marking. The *kavel* may then be the epitome of what it means to speak Ilab-ilab. Although at first glance, it may seem like the *kavel* is a negative form of sneering, as in the translations 'backbite' and 'backstab,' it can also be understood as a positive form of negotiating power from the larger community. Ilab-ilab itself is a diminutive term. The argot is playful and momentarily disarms hostility and in the process, allows for speakers to converse about topics that might otherwise be mocked by people who do not align with the community. Ilab-ilab is the lived practice of the art of the *kavel*, a way of marked veiling.

8 Conclusion

Argots continue to thrive across the world, and in the Philippines a unique gay lingo emerged in a context that favors homogenization towards lingua francas like Filipino or Tagalog and its secret language, FGL. Ilab-ilab /ɛlɑvˈʔɛːlɑv/ is based on Binisdak and the autonym comes from the segment inversion and derivation of the root *bali* 'reverse.'. Although there have been prior works on Philippine gay lingos in general and Ilab-ilab specifically, most of them, bar those done on FGL, are focused on analyzing the pragmatic functions and sociolinguistic contexts of the lects, which are no doubt important; however, analyzing the phonological and morphological structures of these languages born from languages help linguists and laypeople alike not only to understand the speakers of these argots and the lects themselves but also to allow for more in-depth examination on the source languages and the previous analyses on them.

Ilab-ilab, its vocabulary and sentences were reverse engineered and contextualized to Binisdak, both the macro-community of speakers of the language and the sub-community of the LGBTQ+ speakers of the secret language, to unearth the morphophonological processes in play that allows the argot in question to exist and thrive. Although Ilab-ilab is patterned after Binisdak and largely operates on the grammar of the said language, it is unique in its phonemic inventory, lexification processes, and even morphosyntactic features. The major components of the argot that have been thus analyzed are the inventory of sounds and significant sounds, the non-lexifying phonological processes, the phonological lexification processes, and its morphophonemic interface with the source language. Ilab-ilab has 22 phonemes or significant sounds, four more than the conservative count for the Binisdak inventory and one less for the more radical one. Eighteen of these phonemes are consonants: /m, n, ŋ, t, d, k, g, ʔ, f, v, ʃ, h, tʃ, dʒ, l, ɹ, w, j/ and 4 of the significant sounds are vowels: /ɑ, e, o, ɚ/. All of these phonemes have their own allophonic groups, either free or environmental, and would sometimes intersect with other phonemes, making the analysis somewhat tricky. Putting these phonemes together makes syllables which follow the base structure pattern: $(C_0)CV(C_0)$. It is this pattern that dictates in part the phonotactics of the argot and the non-lexifying phonological processes operating in Ilab-ilab: glottal stop epenthesis, gemination, glottal sound restrictions, vowel lowering, and lateral deletion. These processes are outlined in Table 41.

Table 41
Non-lexifying Phonological Processes in Ilab-ilab

Glottal stop epenthesis	$\emptyset \rightarrow \text{ʔ} \,/\, \left\{ \begin{array}{c} \#\_ \\ \text{V}\_\text{V} \end{array} \right.$
Gemination	$\emptyset \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{ll} \text{t} \,/ & \text{V}\_\text{tʃVC}_0\# \\ \text{d} \,/ & \text{V}\_\text{dʒVC}_0\# \end{array} \right.$
Glottal sound restrictions	$\left[\text{ +GLOTTAL } \right] \rightarrow \emptyset \,/\, \sigma\_$
Vowel lowering	$\text{i} \sim \text{ɪ} \rightarrow \text{e} \sim \text{ɛ}$ $\text{u} \sim \text{ʊ} \rightarrow \text{o} \sim \text{ɔ}$
Lateral deletion	$\left[\begin{array}{c} \text{V} \\ \text{-FRONT} \\ \text{-RHOTIC} \end{array} \right] \text{l} \rightarrow \text{Vː} \,/\, \_ \left[\begin{array}{c} \text{V} \\ \text{-FRONT} \\ \text{-RHOTIC} \end{array} \right]$ $\text{V}_\mu \rightarrow \emptyset \,/\, \text{V}_\mu\_$ $\emptyset \rightarrow \text{w} \,/\, \text{V}_{-\mu}\_\text{V}_{-\mu}$

The most prominent feature of all argots, Ilab-ilab included, is their methods of deriving new words, often without any semantic change, from their source language. This process is called lexification, and Ilab-ilab lexifies through primary word-internal processes, primary word-external processes, substitution, or through secondary word-internal processes. The primary processes are called so because they can be applied primarily, although they are not limited to that and can be applied secondarily as well to further provide distortion. Word-internal lexification involves the manipulation of segments directly, while word-external lexification involves the insertion of affixes to change the phonological form of etyma. Substitution though by very nature primary is non-phonological and derives its lexicon from non-Binisdak vocabulary sources. Secondary processes must be applied secondarily and are not known to occur in any primary examples, although more data is definitely needed. The lexification processes are summarized in Table 42.

As an argot, Ilab-ilab must inevitably interact or interface with its source language: Binisdak. This interface forms the morphophonemics of the lect and aids in the stringing of newly created or innovated lexicon into a coherent string of messages that can be interpreted by the listener. Many argots often just straightforwardly adapt the morphology and syntax of their source languages but in Ilab-ilab there are slight alterations that occur. This interface, as currently analyzed, can be divided into three major segments: particles, affixation, and the use of vocative forms. Particles can be further subdivided into markers, particles, and negators.

Table 42
Phonological Lexification Processes in Ilab-ilab

Primary Word-Internal	Segment Inversion	$\phi_1\phi_2\phi_3...\phi_n \rightarrow \phi_n...\phi_3\phi_2\phi_1$
	Metathesis	$\phi_1\phi_2 \rightarrow \phi_2\phi_1$ $\sigma_1\sigma_2 \rightarrow \sigma_2\sigma_1$
	Phonetic Substitution	$\begin{bmatrix} \text{+BILABIAL} \\ \text{+STOP} \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow \begin{bmatrix} \text{+BILABIAL} \\ \text{+FRICATIVE} \end{bmatrix}$
	Deletion	$\phi_0 \rightarrow \emptyset$
Primary Word-External (Affix)	Substitutive Affixation	$[\text{PREFIX}] + \#C_0V(C_0)... \rightarrow \begin{cases} \#[\text{PREFIX}]V(C_0)... \\ \#[\text{PREFIX}](C_0)... \end{cases}$ $...C_0V(C_0)\# + [\text{SUFFIX}] \rightarrow \begin{cases} ...C_0V[\text{SUFFIX}]\# \\ ...C_0[\text{SUFFIX}]\# \end{cases}$
	Rhyming and Attribution	$[\text{ETYMA}] + \sigma_{\text{rhyme/attribution}}$ $\sigma_{\text{rhyme}} \rightarrow [\text{ETYMA}] \,/\, (\sigma_0)\_(\sigma_0)$
	Nicknaming	[ETYMA] + -eŋ, -aŋ
Substitution		[ETYMA] → [LOAN]
Secondary	Non-Substitutive Affixation	$...C_0V(C_0)\# + [\text{SUFFIX}] \rightarrow ...C_0V(C_0)[\text{SUFFIX}]\#$
	Spirantization	$d \rightarrow dʒ \,/\, V\_\#$ $t \rightarrow tʃ \,/\, V\_\#$ $s \rightarrow ʃ \,/ \begin{cases} \_C \\ \_\# \end{cases}$
	Retrogradation	$l \rightarrow ɬ \text{ or } ʎ \,/ \begin{cases} \_C \\ \_\# \end{cases}$

Both Binisdak and Ilab-ilab have a lot of particles, thus, only those that are found in the data have been discussed, and more data is needed. Ilab-ilab has a more reduced marker system where the NFOC, POSS, and PREPO categories are collapsed, and in some cases, the indefinite paradigm is merged. The members of this marker system include *aŋ/se* [FOC], *sa/ne* [NFOC; POSS; PREPO], *-j, og* [NDEF.FOC], *og* [NDEF.(NFOC)]. The only particles found in the data for Ilab-ilab are *aɪ(s), ŋal(s), dʒod/ʃod, sa*, and they have been greatly mutated into Ilab-ilab. The negator system of Ilab-ilab on the other hand is mostly the same consisting of three mutated paticles, *aw(s), ed(s)*, and *ʃode?*, with one crucial difference being the collapsing of the cohortative and imperative functions into

the final negator.

Affixation and vocative formation in both Ilab-ilab and Binisdak do not differ much, only with some minor differences in function and application of phonological processes. *N-* assimilation is mostly the same for Ilab-ilab as it is in Binisdak, but suffixation is widely different. Ilab-ilab does not follow any of the Binisdak suffixation phonological processes. Vocative formation is also functionally different in that the morphophonemic processes stay the same, but the function is now for lexification instead of the vocative case.

The morphophonemic structure of Ilab-ilab does not only exist as an offshoot of Binisdak but it is also motivated and dynamic. This structure of lexification and interfacing might very well be referred to as pragmatic derivation, a non-paradigmatic manner of creating new words from etyma without attaching semantic notions to the derivational components whereas they serve a pragmatic purpose instead. As such, the argot fulfills certain functions that would service its community of speakers: veiling, markedness, and the *kavel*. Veiling is the primary characteristic of argots, especially of gay lingos, and when Binisdak etyma undergo Ilab-ilab pragmatic derivation, they gain the pragmatic feature [+VEIL] which serves as a method of concealment. The messages may have been concealed for a variety of reasons but the main driving force for veiling is to shield the speakers from a hostile macro-community by allowing them to discuss topics that may otherwise be considered taboo or unacceptable. In stark opposition to the veiling feature, pragmatic derivation also results in the marking of speakers and their speech gaining the [+MARKED] feature. This may be antithetic to the veiling functionality but the purpose it serves is to clearly mark the members of the community from outsiders, or from those which are non-allies, so as to prevent unwanted infiltration. The final function, *kavel*, is a combination of both veiling and marking that allows speakers to communicate in a manner which distorts tension in an otherwise hostile environment and thus, allowing them to continue enjoying the freedoms that the Ilab-ilab argot provides.

Questions on the ethicality of documenting a secret language are without a doubt valid, and thus, this paper seeks not to make a compilation of lexicon for the non-members of the Ilab-ilab speaking community. Instead, this preliminary analysis highlights the creativity of speakers of the languages of the Philippines and of humans in general, as well as the different techniques that they may employ to operate under circumstances which may be, at best, far from ideal, or worse, life-endangeringly hostile. The analysis thus supplied also acts as a lens in which researchers may be able to examine the previous analyses of Binisdak and other languages of the Philippines by putting the previously stated rules of the languages into a bend-test to see whether these assumptions also hold true in a non-traditional speaking environment and in a highly dynamic and creative context. This study is but a preliminary one and barely scratches the surface of what Ilab-ilab, a very dynamic lect that in a few years may be considerably different from what is sketched here, offers and further structural study on Ilab-ilab and other gay lingos, and indeed other argots are needed to expand the reaches of where Philippine linguistics may go.

Acknowledgments
I would like to thank my friends and former groupmates and classmates: Leilin Mojica, Ricci Cariño, and Daine Cando for all their efforts in the data gathering and initial drafts stages, as well as Sir Noah Cruz for his guidance as the study's adviser. I would also extend my thanks to my friend Jie Igot for being a gateway to the Ilab-ilab speaking community and to the consultants who generously offered their time and help. I would also like to thank my dearest friend Hannah Lagumbay, my mother Joycee Baran, my sister Mary Rose Baran, my grandmothers Bonifacia Baran and Joliana Caratao, and the rest of my extended family, for their timeless support. Finally, I wish to thank my deceased father Salvador Baran, for without whom, I would not be who I am today.

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