

Siya nga ba’y Gender Neutral?: A Preliminary Linguistic Analysis of the Genderedness of Filipino

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Abstract

Languages can be categorized under different types of grammatical genders. In line with this, Austronesian languages, including Filipino, have been found to generally have no grammatical gender. Thus, many Philippine languages have been generally thought to have gender neutral lexicons, with some going as far as claiming Filipino to be a gender neutral language. However, gendering in languages is not realized in only one aspect. The aim of this study is to determine how gendered the Filipino language is and identify how gender is conceptualized in different aspects of the language. It has been found that the extent of gendering in Filipino is not only limited to grammatical gender. Instead, gendering can be observed in the language in certain categories of lexical items and expressions. In particular, this research explored the pronoun system of Filipino and the gendering and gender marking that occurs in kinship, occupational terminologies, adjectives, metaphors, idiomatic expressions, riddles, and general expressions and sayings. The analysis of the data gathered uncovered various gender stereotypes and societal expectations rooted in the patriarchal background of the Filipino society. Present changes in gender perceptions were also touched on in the examination of two recent studies on gender representation in Filipino children’s storybooks and textbooks. Overall, the data revealed the various extents to how gendered Filipino is as a language.

1 Introduction

Language serves as one of the primary, if not the most important, mediums through which social norms and realities are encoded, perceived, and transmitted. Since language influences and shapes the way we think (Boroditsky, 2009), the language we use also plays a crucial role in how we perceive almost every aspect of life, in which identity, specifically gender, plays a big part. In particular, according to Gelman and Roberts (2017), language serves as a culturally-inherited cognitive tool that controls how people distinguish social identity and represent categories (i.e., labels and generics). In

this manner, the labels and generics that exist in a society and how they are used and perceived, including what expressions get associated with them, may represent the sociocultural reality, beliefs, and bias of that particular group of people. Butler (1990), on the other hand, defines gender as something socially constructed and performed based on repeated behavioral and linguistic patterns. The author highlights here that people's identity, including the gender they identify with, is "performative" (p. 33), meaning it has to be displayed and reaffirmed through repeated performance of particular acts that conform to the social and cultural norms of a certain social group.

In linguistics, languages can be categorized under different grammatical gender systems. Some examples of languages with grammatical gender are French, German, Spanish, Russian, etc. In these languages, all nouns, including inanimate nouns, are assigned a gender (Boroditsky et al., 2003), with each language ascribing to different grammatical gender systems. For example, Spanish and French distinguish male and female nouns, while the Russian and German languages distinguish masculine, feminine, and neutral nouns. Gygax et al. (2019) explained that these gendered nouns determine the agreement of lexical categories in sentence formation in these languages. On the other hand, according to Corbett (2013), Austronesian languages, in general, have been found to have no grammatical gender system. Thus, Filipino has also been generally thought to have a gender neutral lexicon, at times going as far as claiming the language as a gender neutral language, which the European Parliament (2018) handbook defines as a:

... generic term covering the use of non-sexist language, inclusive language or gender-fair language. The purpose of gender-neutral language is to avoid word choices which may be interpreted as biased, discriminatory or demeaning by implying that one sex or social gender is the norm. Using gender-fair and inclusive language also helps reduce gender stereotyping, promotes social change and contributes to achieving gender equality. (p. 3)

In 2020, Dictionary.com officially added an entry of the terminology *Filipinx* /ˌfɪləˈpɪnɛks/ in their database. *Filipinx* was defined as "of or relating to people of Philippine origin or descent, especially those living in the United States (used in place of the masculine form *Filipino* or the feminine form *Filipina*)" (Dictionary.com, 2022). It can also be noted that *Filipinx* was adapted from the *Latinx* movement in Latin America, aiming to provide a more gender-inclusive terminology for people who identify as non-binary, and which can further be rooted in the English neologism *Mx.*, used as a gender-neutral form of the honorifics *Ms.* and *Mr.* (Merriam-Webster, 2017). The addition of the word to the online dictionary became highly controversial and a subject of debate on social media, as many people claimed that adopting *Filipinx* as a non-binary terminology is unnecessary as Filipino as a language is already "gender neutral," with many citing the Tagalog gender neutral pronoun *siya* to back up the claim.

However, it's crucial to note that Corbett (2013) clarified that despite most Austronesian languages having no grammatical gender system, Tagalog is a curious case because it has heavily borrowed from and adopted the Spanish gender system

from its colonial history. Thus, despite having a gender neutral pronoun, Filipino follows a gendered system in identifying male and female nouns, i.e., the *-o* and *-a* markers respectively. Furthermore, the language also has heavily gendered idiomatic expressions that we can root from the country's long-standing colonial, imperialist, and patriarchal history (Medel-Añonuevo, 1994), exhibiting the Filipino society's existing gender notions, which are anchored from the appropriation of the language that has ultimately resulted to the perpetuation of sexism and gender stereotypes in the Philippine context.

The research initially wanted to focus solely either on the development of the *Filipinx* terminology or how the third-person gender neutral pronoun *siya* in Tagalog is translated into English, i.e., *he* or *she*, depending on the verb it is attached to. Eventually, it has been deemed more productive and high-yielding to focus on examining the gender neutrality of Filipino as a whole and investigate how sexism manifests in the language. This research aims to provide a preliminary analysis of how gendered Filipino is as a language. Following the language's established non-gender-marked grammatical features but with the aforementioned historical and sociolinguistic factors and influences, the study aims to describe the extent of gendering and gender marking that happens in the Filipino language beyond the surface grammatical level.

1.1 Objective of the Study

This study focuses on one main objective, which is to determine how gendered the Filipino language is. Under this primary objective are three sub-objectives. The first is to describe the language's grammatical gender system, particularly to identify the pronoun system of Filipino. The second is to investigate how gendering manifests in different grammatical categories in the language. Specifically, it will uncover nouns and adjectives commonly associated with and used to describe a certain gender. Under nouns, Filipino kinship and occupational terms will be narrowed down in order to identify perceptions about them beyond the surface lexical level. Lastly, the third is to identify gender-related expressions, i.e., metaphors, idiomatic expressions, riddles, and sayings in Filipino, and to examine how they reflect the notions and conceptualizations of gender in the language. The manner in which these lexical items and expressions are used, as well as the images they create, will also be examined and discussed.

1.2 Scope and Limitations

The available resources were considered to narrow down the scope and limitations of the study. Firstly, it is important to note that the Filipino being referred to throughout this study refers to the Tagalog-based national language of the Republic of the Philippines (Eberhard et al., 2022). The researcher found that previous studies have already described the pronoun system of Filipino extensively. Gendering in kinship and occupational terminologies have also already been discussed, albeit already dated and not as comprehensive. Thus, the primary focus of this study is to substantiate and expand previous research that has been made on the topic, specifically through ana-

lyzing gender-related metaphors and expressions in the language that has not yet been investigated in the past. Lastly, due to a lack of resources, the scope of gendering investigated in the study was only limited to the gender binary system, i.e., masculine and feminine. Other genders and gender representations were excluded from the data analysis.

1.3 Significance of the Study

This research is important in addressing the gap in the existing literature and in contributing to the body of knowledge regarding gendering and sexism in the Filipino language. While a number of studies on the topic have already been made, the perspectives used in most of these largely fall on other fields of social sciences. Meanwhile, most linguistically-inclined research papers published on the topic are already dated. In this process, the research would be a valuable resource in the field of sociolinguistics as it aims to utilize a more linguistically-aligned research design. In particular, the findings of the study would provide comprehensive information that can be used in future studies investigating the relationship between gender, identity, inclusivity, and language in the Philippine context.

2 Review of Related Literature

Presently, there are limited linguistic studies that specifically investigate the gender neutrality of Philippine languages. While a number of related literature on the topic has been found, the majority of these use the lens of other social sciences, particularly sociology. This review will present relevant literature used as groundwork for the proposed study. In particular, it will provide an overview of the linguistic background of the topic under study, working definitions of the concepts that will be used in the study, the different theoretical approaches used in gender and language studies, and the representation of gender and the common gender notions in the Philippine setting based on a review of related texts.

2.1 Sex vs. Gender

The usage of the terms *sex* and *gender* has been highly debated and contested by language and gender scholars throughout history. This inherent interaction and commonality often result in the improper usage of these two fundamental terminologies, thus requiring an establishment and distinction between their definitions, particularly for the proposed study. In line with this, following World Health Organization's (2020), Merriam-Webster's (n.d.-c), and Cambridge Dictionary's (n.d.) definitions, the proposed study would refer to *gender* as socially constructed characteristics associated with one's sex, while *sex* will be identified as biologically determined characteristics distinguishing male, female, and intersex persons.

2.2 Theoretical Perspectives in Language and Gender Studies

Baxter (2016) presented a summary of the most dominant theoretical perspectives that have been used in language and gender studies up until the 1990s and the development of the current mainstream approach in the field. Two primary strands of research were identified, namely the variationist and interactional perspectives. The former follows a “sex-preferential” perspective and argues that sex is a fixed determinant of how people use language, while the latter focuses on the gendered ways people use language in social processes.

Under the interactional perspective, three main theories were identified, namely: deficit theory, dominance theory, and cultural difference theory. To briefly discuss, the deficit theory delves into how women are taught and socialized to adopt a “ladylike” use of language, defined as a “powerless version of men’s” language (p. 333) and manifests in women’s use of hedges, tag questions, and politeness. Dominance theory, on the other hand, argues that women’s language use has resulted in their own subordination, supported by the quality of language as a social interaction, i.e., gender inequalities can be rooted in the repeated interaction between men and women and language as a system, which brings into light the sexism present within the language. Finally, the cultural difference theory explains how men and women have built different subcultures through interactions in single-sex peer groups.

However, the postmodern turn in the area of study has given birth to the current mainstream perspective used in language and gender studies, namely social constructionism. This approach argues that the male and female identities are not born but rather become gendered through performance and social interactions. Thus, unlike the previously discussed perspectives, social constructionism holds that gender is performative and is constructed through repeated social patterns that have to constantly be exhibited and reaffirmed in line with the socio-cultural norms rather than holding sex and gender as defining factors in how people use language. It is important to note, however, that these dominant theoretical approaches are widely Western-centric and thus do not encompass the gender experiences of all cultures, such as the nuances and realities of the Filipino gender experience. Nevertheless, the discussion of these approaches proves to be useful in the profound understanding of the inherent relationship and interaction between language and gender and thus lays an important foundation for the proposed study.

2.3 The Pronoun System of Austronesian Languages

As previously stated, Austronesian languages have been found to generally have no grammatical gender system (Corbett, 2013). In addition to this, according to Blust (2018), nearly all Austronesian languages have two forms of the pronoun ‘we.’ The first one is an inclusive form, which includes the listener, and the second form is an exclusive, wherein the listener is excluded. Furthermore, in the case of Philippine languages, it has been found that many languages in the archipelago have a special dual inclusive pronoun referring to ‘you and me.’ It was also established that gender in the

pronouns of most Austronesian languages is rarely, if ever, distinguished.

2.3.1 The Gender Neutral Pronoun System of Philippine Languages

In Filipino, the third-person actor-focus pronoun *siya* is used to refer to a person regardless of gender (Quindoza Santiago, 1996). Similarly, it was found in various reference grammars and grammar notes that other major Philippine languages also do not distinguish gender in their actor-focus pronoun forms. Bikol (Mintz, 1971), Cebuano (Bunye & Yap, 1971), and Hiligaynon (Wolfenden, 1971) all use the third-person pronoun *siya* in the same way as Filipino. Ilokano, on the other hand, has the third-person pronoun *isú(na)* to refer to either 'he/him' or 'she/her' (Constantino, 1971). In Kapampangan, the third-person pronouns *iya* and *ya* are used to refer to a person being talked about and who is neither the speaker nor the addressee in a sentence regardless of gender (Forman, 1971). Meanwhile, Benton (1971) explained that the third-person singular pronoun in Pangasinan has no phonological form except when preceded by the negative adverb *ag-*. However, it also has the attributive non-focus pronoun *to* to refer to 'by him, by her; his, her, its' and the independent pronoun *sikato*, which may mean 'he, she, it, him, her,' and is used either as comments in equational sentences, when following prepositions, or may substitute a possessive phrase.

Thus, it can be concluded that most Philippine languages have no gendered consciousness when it comes to referring to a person, as compared to the third-person actor-focus pronouns *he* used to refer to a male and *she* used to refer to a female in the English language.

2.4 Gender and Sexist Ideology in Philippine History

There are a number of local studies that bring light to how the gender discourse in the Philippine context has changed and developed through history. Medel-Añonuevo's (1994) work presents the history of how the sexist ideology developed and has perpetuated in the Filipino consciousness, which the author mainly attributed to the Spanish-brought religion and American-brought liberation that has shaped gender stereotypes in the country. In line with this, the role of primary socialization agents, such as family, school, church, and mass media, in the perpetuation of such ideology has been highlighted.

To add, Dionisio (1994) also pointed out the influence of the country's changing social conditions through history—from colonization to independence—on the Filipino perception of gender. In line with this, Quindoza Santiago (1996) found that women had an empowered image in Filipino folk literature before the Spanish colonizers arrived in the country. The introduction of *dalit* and *pasyon* replaced this empowered representation with women being painted as pure and feminine beings modeled from the image of the Catholic Virgin Mary, while men were portrayed as strong and masculine. Dionisio argues that the highly gendered division of labor in the Philippine setting, i.e., men are responsible for working and providing income while women must remain in

the house for childrearing, is supported by the previously discussed gender stereotypes that are a product of the country's colonial, sexist, and patriarchal culture and history.

Meanwhile, Jacobo (2021) investigated the terminologies in Philippine languages describing the development and evolution of the notions of gender identity in the country. Here, it was brought to light how the indigenous taxonomic order was not limited to the Western male-female binary system. Instead, it was found that gender was given significance in precolonial Filipino society according to their social purpose. For instance, priestess duties performed by female *babaylan* and *binabayi* were allowed to be fulfilled by male-born people who presented themselves as female. Thus, gender non-conformity, specifically the act of gender crossing, has long been present in Filipino society. Similar to Medel-Añonuevo and Dionisio's account, Jacobo points to the Spanish-brought Christianity as the reason for the assimilation and eventual erasure of this concept. As a result, far from the precolonial gender notion, the idea that homosexuality is a shameful act emerged in the Filipino consciousness, as gender nonconformity was seen by the Spanish friars as a threat to Christianity. This led to the semantic evolution and misrepresentation of lexical terminologies used to refer to gender deviance as something derogatory, such as *bakla*, *asog*, *agi*, *bayot*, *bantut*, etc.

2.5 Summary

Overall, examining the genderedness of Filipino is a highly complex and multidimensional discourse that requires going beyond merely observing the surface grammatical structure of the language. Instead, it was shown that it is also critical to investigate and delve into how gender is portrayed in language use and discourse. Thus, the findings from these previous studies are helpful in understanding the underlying relationship between language and gender, particularly the role of language in perpetuating sexism. It also establishes the background of the longstanding gender portrayal and representation in Filipino from a sociolinguistic perspective. The present study aims to address and bridge the gap that these previous research present by analyzing how gendered the Filipino language is in terms of gender associations in lexical terminologies, grammatical categories, metaphors, and other linguistic expressions.

3 Methodology

The study aims to fulfill its main objective, which is to describe how gendered the Filipino language is. This involves presenting an overview of the general gender notion in the country based on how it manifests in language use. To achieve the objectives of the study, the data collection and analysis methods were carefully chosen in consideration of a number of limitations to the research process.

3.1 Data Collection, Analysis, Methods, and Procedures

Due to a number of constraints on data collection, such as time, resources, and logistical restrictions, the bulk of data used in the study was gathered from written texts

and resources available online, including books, journal articles, periodicals, online databases, dictionaries, as well as online blog posts. In line with the constraints on the process of data collection, textual analysis of these written sources was deemed to be the most feasible and appropriate methodology for achieving the objectives of the study. Admittedly, this method poses a lot of limitations in the process of data collection and analysis. Nevertheless, the researcher attempted to present findings from the available data as comprehensively as possible. The textual analysis process involved the careful selection of the types of sources and the acquisition of appropriate texts to be used for data collection. Within the texts, a list of gender-related lexical items and expressions was generated and processed.

Extensive content analysis was then applied to uncover certain themes and concepts within the generated list and attempt to provide adequate answers to the research questions. From this set of collected data, the lexical items and expressions were then organized and grouped according to their designated category. This categorization process aims to demonstrate in which aspects of the Filipino language gendering most prominently present itself and how exactly it manifests in language use. Due to the nature of the research structure, other than textual and content analysis, no particular theoretical framework was followed to analyze the data collected for the study. Nonetheless, data were analyzed in relation to the gender studies models and theories in the literature review.

4 Findings and Discussion

In this chapter, the findings, interpretations, and analysis of the data are presented. The findings are divided into three sections: Section 4.1 presents the pronouns in Filipino, 4.2 describes the gender marking that happens in nouns (kinship and occupational terminologies) and adjectives and its relationship to gender perception, and 4.3 discusses gender-marked expressions in Filipino, while 4.4 presents the summary of persisting gender stereotypes and roles in the language and how gender representation has changed and is changing in the present context.

4.1 Pronouns in Filipino

The pronoun system of Filipino has already been investigated in depth by previous studies. As illustrated in Table 1, the personal pronouns of Filipino have indisputably no gender marking. For instance, unlike languages like English which identifies the gender of third person singular pronouns as either *he* or *him/his* for male or *she* or *her* for female, Filipino only uses the gender neutral pronoun *siya* and *niya/kaniya*. As this is one of the primary criteria of a language with grammatical gender, it is downright established that Filipino has no grammatical gender.

However, this unique pronominal feature Filipino poses an issue in translation. As observed by Quindoza Santiago (1996), the majority of English-translated works of Filipino literature assumes that the person being referred to by *siya* is a male, thus trans-

Table 1*Personal Pronouns in Filipino*

Person	Singular	Plural
1st Person	<i>ako</i> 'me', <i>akin</i> 'my'	<i>kami/tayo</i> 'us', <i>amin/atin/namin</i> 'our'
2nd Person	<i>ikaw/mo</i> 'you', <i>iyo</i> 'your'	<i>kayo</i> 'you', <i>inyo/ninyo</i> 'your'
3rd Person	<i>siya</i> 'he/she', <i>niya/kaniya</i> 'him, his, her'	<i>sila</i> 'them', <i>nila/kanila</i> 'their'

lating it into English as *he*. Notably, the same pattern can be observed in the translation of sample sentences containing the third-person pronouns in the reference grammar notes of the major Philippine languages mentioned in the literature review.

4.2 Gender Marking in Nouns and Adjectives

The collected data also revealed that gendering in Filipino is not limited to pronouns or grammatical gender per se. Instead, gendering becomes more apparent in the language in gender stereotypes that manifest in various parts of speech, particularly nouns and adjectives.

4.2.1 Nouns

For nouns, two categories have been dominantly observed to have gender marking in Filipino, namely kinship and occupational terminologies.

Filipino Kinship Terms Filipino has a wealth of terminologies for consanguineal and affinal kinship relations. Table 2 and Table 3 present an exhaustive list of both non-gendered and gendered kinship terms in the language, as gathered from Quindoza Santiago (1996), Stoodley (1957), and the online database *Tagalog Lang*.

Table 2*Non-Gender-Marked Kinship Terms*

Filipino	English	Filipino	English
<i>asawa</i>	spouse	<i>pamangkin</i>	nephew / niece
<i>anak</i>	child	<i>inaanak</i>	godchild
<i>apo</i>	grandchild	<i>kinakapatid</i>	godsibling
<i>kapatid</i>	sibling	<i>biyenan</i>	parent-in-law
<i>panganay</i>	firstborn	<i>manugang</i>	child-in-law
<i>bunso</i>	lastborn	<i>balo</i>	widow / widower
<i>pinsan</i>	cousin	<i>balae</i>	child-in-law's parents
		<i>bilas</i>	sibling-in-law's spouse

Note. List gathered from Stoodley (1957), Quindoza Santiago (1996), and the online database *Tagalog Lang*.

Stoodley (1957) affirms that the language generally employs “sex-neutral” kinship terms, as seen in the list of non-gendered kinship terms in Table 2. Instead, the language uses the identifiers *na lalaki* ‘male’ or *na babae* ‘female’ to make a sex distinction for these terms. The hypothesis that was formed to explain this was that in the pre-Spanish colonization period, there was an equivalent social evaluation of male and female in the early Filipino society, and it was only when Catholicism was brought to the country that the strong male preference has had a localized effect on Filipinos.

Gallego (2015), in her examination of Kroeber’s (1919) reconstruction of Proto-Philippine (PPH) kinship system, also identified a lack of distinction in terms of sex in the PPH language, except for the terms *ama* and *ina* for parents as well as terms for uncles and aunts. The explanation for this sex distinction has been explained to be motivated largely by the division of labor in the home, wherein the *ina* is responsible for nursing the children while the *ama* is responsible for other household chores. In line with Stoodley’s (1957) claim, Gallego also deduced that the lack of separate terms in PPH for husband and wife (PPH **qasawaq* is used instead) may indicate the equal responsibility of both spouses in the nuclear family. The same reasoning was given to the generic PPH **anak*, in that children’s responsibilities to parents are equal regardless of sex.

Table 3

Gender-Marked Kinship Terms

Filipino	English	Filipino	English
<i>ama/tatay</i>	father	<i>lolo/ingkong</i>	grandfather
<i>ina/nanay</i>	mother	<i>lola/impo</i>	grandmother
<i>kuya</i>	older brother	<i>tiyo</i>	uncle
<i>ate</i>	older sister	<i>tiya</i>	aunt
<i>diko</i>	second older brother	<i>ninong</i>	godfather
<i>ditse</i>	second older sister	<i>ninang</i>	godmother
<i>sangko</i>	third older brother	<i>bayaw</i>	brother-in-law
<i>sanse</i>	third older sister	<i>hipag</i>	sister-in-law
<i>siko</i>	fourth older brother	<i>siyaho</i>	elder brother’s husband
<i>sitse</i>	fourth older sister	<i>inso</i>	elder brother’s wife
<i>toto</i>	younger brother		
<i>nene</i>	younger sister		

Note. List gathered from Stoodley (1957), Quindoza Santiago (1996), and the online database *Tagalog Lang*.

With regard to sibling terminologies, on the other hand, age has been determined to be the primary basis of the division of labor in early Filipino society and not sex, emphasizing the importance of the terms *panganay* ‘firstborn’ and *bunso* ‘lastborn’. However, as can be observed in Table 3, sexual distinction between male and female siblings has become more apparent and warrants a change in expected obligations between siblings. For instance, instead of the distinction with age, the *kuya* ‘elder brother’ is now expected to help in the field while the *ate* ‘elder sister’ is expected to help in household chores. Gallego (2015) explained that this evolution is a result of a number of reasons, such as

a change in the rule of residence or a result of contact with foreign cultures, wherein it is worth noting that the sibling vocabularies listed in Table 3 are all borrowed from Chinese.

Thus, we can see how the evolution of kinship terminologies in relation to gender has in turn brought a change in behavior with regard to relevant kin and vice versa. This shows the related changes that transpire alongside the side-by-side evolution of the Filipino society and Filipino kinship nomenclature.

Filipino Occupational Terms For this section of the study, the researcher heavily relied on the list of data gathered by Miciano (2001) in her investigation of the overt and covert gender and perception of job-related terminologies in Tagalog-speaking regions in CALABARZON. In this study, interviews and surveys were conducted to elicit data on how Tagalog speakers in CALABARZON mark lexical items with gender. Since the present language of study is Filipino, the data gathered in Miciano's previous study were deemed suitable to be analyzed further in the present study. Here, three gender markings in occupational terms were identified, namely: (a) non-gender-marked and non-gendered, (b) non-gender-marked but gendered, and (c) gender-marked. To clarify, *gender marking* here refers only to the morphological structure of the term while *genderedness* refers to the perceptual association of the occupation with a certain gender.

Table 4 presents examples from Quindoza Santiago (1996) of non-gender-marked terms that are at the same time not perceptually associated with a specific gender. The author explained that most native Filipino occupational terms, like the examples below, tend to be non-gender-marked compared to occupational terms borrowed or have been influenced by the language system of the country's previous colonizers.

Table 4

Non-Gender-Marked and Non-Gendered Occupational Terms

Filipino	English
<i>manggagamot</i>	doctor/healer
<i>manghihilot</i>	a person practicing the traditional Filipino practice of healing
<i>manananggol</i>	lawyer
<i>guro</i>	teacher

Note. Examples gathered from Quindoza Santiago (1996).

On the other hand, non-gender-marked terms but are gendered in meaning were also observed in the list of terms generated by Miciano (2001). A dichotomous pattern emerged in the analysis of this list, i.e., non-gender-marked terms related to labor, strength, and machinery, were identified as *panlalaki* 'masculine'. To illustrate, terms like *magsasaka* 'farmer', *mangingisda* 'fisher', and *manggagawa* 'laborer' are structurally non-gendered but are often stereotypically associated with masculinity and thus perceived as men. Meanwhile, the terms identified as *pambabae* 'feminine', such as 'entertainer' and 'dancer,' were limited to decorative functions, with some linked to entertainment, showing the long-standing idealization of women's role and function in

society.

As mentioned earlier, the Spanish language system has had a profound influence on the country's languages. This has resulted in Filipino's borrowing from the language, most notably the adoption of the markers *-o/-a* to mark the gender of nouns. As such, unlike the native terms listed in Table 4, there is clear gender demarcation in borrowed occupational terms with the use of these gender markings, as exemplified in Table 5. The terms found on this list are gathered from Quindoza Santiago (1996) and Miciano (2001). However, as can be observed, the terms marked with *-o/-ø* endings are typically also used as the general term for these occupations regardless of gender, even if they have a corresponding feminine form. For instance, the terms *doktor* and *abogado* may refer to either a male or female doctor and lawyer, and it is only when the *-a* marking is added that the term is explicitly identified as female. This may suggest that the stereotypical Filipino gender notion perceives a prototypical male experience among all people.

Table 5

Gender-Marked Occupational Terms

Filipino	English	Filipino	English
<i>doktor</i>	male/female doctor	<i>arkitekto</i>	male/female architect
<i>doktora</i>	female doctor	<i>arkitekta</i>	female architect
<i>abogado</i>	male/female lawyer	<i>inhinyero</i>	male/female engineer
<i>abogada</i>	female lawyer	<i>inhinyera</i>	female engineer
<i>maestro</i>	male/female teacher	<i>tindero</i>	salesman/saleswoman
<i>maestra</i>	female teacher	<i>tindera</i>	saleswoman

Note. Examples gathered from Miciano (2001) and Quindoza Santiago (1996).

4.2.2 Adjectives

Linguistically, only nouns are categorized for gender. But socially, adjectives may also be gendered. From the list of adjectives gathered from Miciano's (2001) survey, two categories surfaced, namely: (a) non-gender-marked but gendered adjectives and (b) gender-marked and gendered adjectives. These two categories exhibit the stereotypical descriptions ascribed to men and women. To illustrate, non-gender-marked adjectives like *matipuno* 'stocky', *maginoo* 'gentlemanly', and *matapang* 'brave' were found to be more perceived as *panlalaki*, while adjectives like *maganda* 'beautiful', *maasikaso* 'caring', and *masinop* 'orderly' were described as *pambabae*. Thus, the theme that came up dominantly from this first category is that non-gender-marked adjectives used to describe males are dominantly associated with concepts of traditional masculinity, such as dominance, assertiveness, and instrumentality, while women's descriptions have an inclination toward nurturance and beauty.

On the other hand, similar to nouns, some adjectives in Filipino can also be gender-marked using the Spanish-adopted markings *-o/-a* and *-ero/-era*, with examples like *pasensyoso/pasensyosa* 'patient', *striкто/strikta* 'strict', *bolero/bolera* 'bluffer', etc. However,

aside from the structural gender-marking, some of gender-marked and gendered adjectives also have another layer of gendered perception. For example, while both *-ero* and *-era* can be added to the verb *kaskas* 'spurt' or *bola* 'bluff' to form an adjective, it is more common to attach the *-ero* marker to these verbs as the descriptions *kaskasero* 'speedster' and *bolero* 'bluffer' are generally perceived as masculine traits and thus associated with men. Furthermore, aside from the *-o/-a* and *-ero/-era* markers, a third masculine-feminine pair of markers has also been identified by Baklanova (2017), namely the *-ado/-ada* endings, citing examples, such as *iritado/iritada* from the verb *irita* 'irritate', *edukado/edukada* as an equivalent to the English adjective *educated*, and more. Similar to the consensus that has been formed with the occupational terminologies, the masculine forms are often used as the general term for these adjectives regardless of gender.

4.3 Gendering in Filipino Expressions

Gendering in Filipino also manifests itself in the expressions used in the language. This section will cover three areas: (4.3.1) metaphors and idiomatic expressions, (4.3.2) riddles, and (4.3.3) general expressions and sayings. The list of expressions presented in this part was primarily gathered from online databases *KapitBisig.com*, *SEAsite Project*, and *Tagalog Lang* featuring collections of Filipino literature, as well as metaphors mentioned in Quindoza Santiago (1996) and Klimenko's (2009) list of Tagalog animal metaphors.

4.3.1 Metaphors and Idiomatic Expressions

Metaphors and idiomatic expressions are two ways of expressing meaning figuratively. For the purpose of this study, we will follow Merriam-Webster's (n.d.-a, n.d.-b) definitions of the two concepts.

Firstly, we define *metaphor* as a word or phrase denoting an idea used in place of another to suggest a shared trait or likeness between them. Metaphors are often used in pieces of literature as a way of describing things in a figurative way. In Filipino literature, women have often been described using metaphors like *bituin* 'star' whose character merely revolves around beauty and love but has no voice in text and is often tied down to the character of the male protagonist. The same pattern can be observed in the examples in Table 6 found in Quindoza Santiago (1996) and translated by the researcher. According to Quindoza Santiago (1996), this placement of women on a pedestal was said to largely be an influence of the Spanish patriarchal culture. Prior to this, women had a more empowered image in early Filipino history and literature. Far from a one-dimensional character, they enjoy individual rights, the ability to choose who to marry, no discrimination in the preferred sex of offspring, the freedom to separate from their spouse under reasonable circumstances, and the early culture's openness to premarital sex.

The spread of Christianity in the country also institutionalized the images that men and women alike are expected to ascribe to. The excerpt "Pagsamo ni Maria sa Diyos Ama" from *Pasyong Pilapil* (1873) was interpreted by Quindoza Santiago as a way of

Table 6*Examples of Metaphors Used to Describe Women in Filipino Literature*

Filipino	English
<i>magandang bulaklak</i>	beautiful <u>flower</u>
<i>diwang ginto ng makata</i>	<u>golden consciousness</u> of the poet
<i>paraluman ng bayani</i>	<u>muse</u> of the hero
<i>nagniningning na bituin sa gabi</i>	shining <u>star</u> at night
<i>tahanan ng lalaking naglalaglag</i>	<u>home</u> of the wandering man

Note. Examples gathered from Quindoza Santiago (1996) and translated by the researcher.

institutionalizing the *Diyos* as a powerful patriarchal figure, the *Birheng Maria* as a pristine and sacrificial mother, and the *Santo Kristong Anak* as a pure and innocent child. This subtle way of describing these characters in a famous piece of religious literature has been said to be a huge factor in ingraining the expected roles of men, women, and children in the Filipino household. This also led to the long-standing association of the quality of being a *birhen* ‘virgin’ to women which, as we now know, is only a social construct made to repress women and shame them for exploring their sexuality.

This influence of Christianity has later translated to the one piece that has undeniably served as a foundation in establishing the stereotypical Filipino image of men and women—the Tagalog creation myth “Malakas at Maganda.” According to Clark (2020), the first documentation of the myth appeared in Mabel Cook Cole’s 1916 collection *Philippine Folk Tales*. However, because of the story’s striking similarity to the Visayan creation myth that tells the story of the first man and woman from bamboo, *Malakas at Maganda* is presumed to be a Tagalog retelling of the traditional Visayan story. Cook Cole (1916) also prefaced the section on myths in the collection by mentioning the influences of Christianity and Western literature. The title “Malakas at Maganda” in itself creates a visual rhetoric establishing *lakas* ‘strength’ as men’s and *ganda* ‘beauty’ as women’s primary attributes. From what Clark (2020) found, the names of the characters became popularized in literature and plays starting in the 1930s until the story has later been adopted in educational textbooks used in schools. This teaching of the myth to young, impressionable children across generations has undeniably had a profound impact in establishing the stereotypical image of men as “the strong one” and women as “the beautiful one” beyond the corners of the classroom and up to a societal level.

Secondly, we define *idiom* as an expression with a non-literal meaning that cannot be deduced from its individual words. Idiomatic expressions are usually understood culturally. Take the example of the expressions *haligi ng tahanan* and *ilaw ng tahanan*. The consensus from the previous section on gender markings in adjectives evidently also applies in this aspect. The portrayal of fathers as the pillar of the home in the expression *haligi ng tahanan* prescribes the stereotypical depiction of males as strong, masculine, and dominant. At the same time, the portrayal of mothers as the light of the home in the expression *ilaw ng tahanan* exhibits the similar depiction of females as nurturing and feminine with the idea that their role as the ‘light’ is to provide guid-

ance and to take care of the whole family. These kinds of portrayals have had little to no change throughout generations (Mabanglo, 2009), thus continuously perpetuating gender stereotypes in Filipino household roles.

Table 7*Gendered Filipino Idiomatic Expressions*

Filipino	English	Meaning
<i>haligi ng tahanan</i>	pillar of the home	to refer to a father
<i>ilaw ng tahanan</i>	light of the home	to refer to a mother

Note. Examples gathered from Quindoza Santiago (1996).

On the other hand, non-compliance to these stereotypes results in derogatory expressions and slang. For instance, when the male partner does not act in accordance with their expected masculine and dominant attribute in a relationship, he is then labeled as *macho-nurin* or *under the saya* to poke fun at his subordination by his female partner. This implies that displaying feminine qualities is perceived as a weakness and denotes the lower position of women in society in the Filipino culture. This gendering and sexism in Filipino also extends to profanity and swear words in the language, such as in the expression *putang ina*. Note that *puta* is a Spanish word used to refer to a prostitute, which has been later borrowed and adopted in Filipino. The association of the image of *ina* 'mother' to this word is another evident manifestation of sexism in the language that abhors the image of women every time it is uttered.

Table 8*Gendered Filipino Slangs*

Filipino	English	Meaning
<i>macho-nurin</i>	masculine-follower	henpecked husband/boyfriend
<i>under the saya</i>	under the skirt	henpecked husband/boyfriend

Note. Examples gathered from Dionisio (1994).

Additionally, from the list of idiomatic expressions gathered, an interesting pattern that surfaced was the wealth of gender-related animal idioms there is in the language, as seen in the following idiomatic expressions gathered from Klimenko (2009) in Table 9.

As can be observed in this list, many of the animal idioms related to gender in Filipino make use of birds. However, it is interesting to see how different the portrayal of the two genders is using the idea of different bird species. The two idioms related to women, i.e., *kalapating mababa ang lipad* 'prostitute' and *kulasisi* 'mistress', both have negative connotations against women's character. The same condemnation of promiscuity in women is depicted in *higad* which is commonly used to describe a woman who is seen as lascivious. Meanwhile, the contrast between the two idioms related to men, i.e., *ibong malaya* 'bachelor' and *matandang tinali* 'a bachelor unwilling to espouse', de-

Table 9
Gender-Related Filipino Animal Idiomatic Expressions

Filipino	English	Meaning
<i>kalapating mababa ang lipad</i>	low-flying dove	prostitute
<i>kulasisi</i>	hanging parrot	mistress
<i>ibong malaya</i>	free bird	bachelor
<i>matandang tinali</i>	old rooster	a bachelor unwilling to espouse
<i>maningalang-pugad</i>	to look up a nest	to court a woman
<i>higad</i>	caterpillar	lascivious woman
<i>barako</i>	boar	libertine man
<i>hipon</i>	shrimp	a person (usually a woman) with a beautiful body but ugly face

Note. Examples gathered from Klimenko (2009).

picts the idea that marriage to men can mean the loss of their freedom and liberty. Thus, the idea of settling down in marriage is equated to *pagkakatali* or being bound. In the same vein, the expression *maningalang-pugad*, meaning ‘to court a woman’, is a manifestation of the unequal attitude in the Filipino society towards the dynamic of men and women. The idea of “looking up a nest” in this expression, with the “nest” being the woman, is a manifestation of the position of women in society as a possession meant to be “won over” by men.

The expressions *barako* and *hipon*, on the other hand, illustrate the ideal physical and character traits men and women are expected to possess. The idea of being *barako* is having the stereotypical macho qualities, i.e., being physically muscular and acting bold and aggressive. In the same manner, *hipon* is a term typically used to describe a woman with a beautiful body but an ugly face, which exhibits the standard of beauty ingrained in the Filipino mind that, if not attained by a woman, becomes reason for her ridicule.

4.3.2 Riddles

A number of Filipino riddles or *bugtong* were also investigated to see whether they reflect the notion of gender in the Filipino language and culture. A *riddle* is defined as a creatively phrased question or statement that is deliberately confusing and typically presented as a form of a game (Oxford University Press, n.d.). In the Philippines, *bugtong* has been found to be traditionally a game played at funeral wakes, but later it spread and became more popular as a form of pastime activity (Hart, 1994), thus making it an important part of Filipino culture and literature. A list of Filipino riddles was gathered from *KapitBisig.com* and *SEAsite Project*. Out of the 31 gender-marked riddles identified, 17 contained gendered common nouns while 14 contained gendered proper nouns.

Having examined the gendered components of the said riddles, several patterns were uncovered. All the riddles consist of two lines, with the first line typically ending with the person noun and the second line ending with a word that rhymes with the person noun in the first line, e.g., *bayaw-ilaw*, *Mang Juan-dumadaan*, *prinsesa-tasa*, *Kaka-bukaka*, *kapitan-mahawakan*. Aside from rhyming, the usage of person nouns in some cases is for mere play with words, e.g., *ate* and *atis*. Thus, over gender motivation, the use of person nouns in the riddles is more of a way of poetic construction. Nevertheless, the way in which gender is portrayed in these riddles is still worth examining.

In both common and proper nouns, male and female are more or less represented equally in the riddles. Common nouns with no specific genders were also identified. Among these common nouns, the dominant domains can be categorized as follows: kinship (*bayaw*, *kumpare*, *ate*, *dalaga*, *ina*, *anak*), religion (*pari*, *arsobispo*), monarchy (*hari*, *reyna*, *prinsesa*), and occupation (*kapitan*, *sundalo*). On the other hand, the analysis of proper nouns has revealed that aside from general proper names (*Lelong*, *Kiko*, *Mang Juan*, *Pedro*, *Gomez*, *Mang Kulas*, *Neneng*, *Kaka*, *Nene*), a number of biblical names are also found in Filipino riddles, such as the figures *Adan*, *Sta. Maria*, and *Sta. Ines*.

Table 10*Gendered Common Nouns Used in Filipino Riddles*

Male	Female	Unidentified
bayaw	ate	kapitan
pari	prinsesa	sundalo
arsobispo	reyna	anak
kumpare	dalaga	
hari	ina	

Table 11*Gendered Proper Nouns Used in Filipino Riddles*

Male	Female
Lelong	Sta. Maria
Kiko	Neneng
Mang Juan	Kaka
Pedro	Nene
Gomez	Sta. Ines
Mang Kulas	
Adan	

If we focus solely on the semantics of the riddles without having the actual answers to them in mind, we will find that some of the phrases exhibit implicit gender association. The association of the verbs *kumendeng* 'to sway the hip' and *manahi* 'to sew' to female characters in the riddles "Kay liit pa ni Neneng, marunong nang kumendeng" and "Bata pa si Nene, marunong nang manahi" prescribes to the stereotypical notions

of “feminine” activities and roles. Meanwhile, over exhibiting an action, a pattern that surfaced in some of the riddles that feature male characters, especially with proper nouns, is the possession of something, e.g., *bahay ni Kiko* ‘Kiko’s house,’ *lupa ni Mang Juan* ‘Mang Juan’s land,’ *bahay ni Mang Kulas* ‘Mang Kulas’s house,’ and *baston ni Adan* ‘Adan’s cane’. There are also gender ambivalent riddles where there is a male and female version featuring in the same riddle, such as “Bahay ni Gomez/Sta. Ines, punong-puno ng perdigones,” as they both *Gomez* and *Sta. Ines* rhyme with *perdigones* ‘lead shot’.

Meanwhile, even though both male and female monarch roles are featured in these riddles, there is a gaping difference in the way they are portrayed. Compare the difference in portrayal between the riddles containing *hari* ‘king’ and the riddles containing *prinsesa* ‘princess’ and *reyna* ‘queen.’ In the riddles “Alipin ng hari, hindi makalakad kung hindi itali” and “Dumaan ang hari, nagkagatan ang mga pari,” there is a clear depiction of the king’s role as dominant and all-powerful figure. On the other hand, in the riddles, “Isang prinsesa, nakaupo sa tasa,” “Nakatalikod na ang prinsesa, ang mukha’y nakaharap pa,” and “Nakayuko ang reyna, ‘di nalalaglag ang korona,” the focus is more on the aesthetic and decorative quality that comes with being a female royalty more than the functional role they play as a monarch.

Additionally, some other riddles that make use of female characters exhibit a sexist nature, such as in comparing the shape of the guitar to that of the expected figure of a *dalaga* or a young lady in the riddle, “Instrumentong pangharana, hugis nito ay katawan ng dalaga,” or the sexual innuendo in the riddle about scissors, “Eto na si Kaka, bubuka-bukaka,” which when uttered conceives an image of a woman named *Kaka* spreading her legs. There are also riddles that explicitly mention sexual organs, such as in the riddle about *suman*, “Titi ng pari, tadtad ng tali,” which likens the shape of *suman* to that of the shape of the penis of a priest.

Overall, while there is generally a lack of gender motivation in the formation of Filipino riddles, a deeper look into their semantics still reveal underlying gender stereotypes and discrepancy.

4.3.3 General Expressions and Sayings

Finally, there exists a number of gendered general expressions and sayings in Filipino that are used in everyday speech. The most common of these are the expressions “kababae mong tao” and “kalalaki mong tao” followed by a behavior or quality that does not conform to gender stereotypes. For example, a woman would be called out for not sitting in a prim and proper and “ladylike” manner by saying “Kababae mong tao, ganiyan ka umupo.” Or, because the Filipino society is a highly patriarchal one, men are taught that it is not “manly” to cry or show any emotions, giving birth to expressions like “Kalalaki mong tao, umiiyak ka” and “Ang tunay na lalaki, hindi umiiyak.” These expressions suggest that a person cannot do something or behave in a certain way because of their gender, perpetually boxing men and women in constraining societal standards on a daily basis.

On another note, the expressions “babae kasi” and “lalaki kasi” work in strikingly

different ways. When “babae kasi” is uttered in relation to an action or behavior a woman exhibited, it is often to denote some sort of character weakness and incapability. Take for example a woman working in a male-dominated field: one mistake will immediately be pointed back to her “weaker” feminine qualities and being “babae kasi.” Meanwhile, the expression “lalaki kasi” is often taken in a more lighthearted way to justify wrong male behavior. For instance, a man engaging in an extramarital affair does not come as a surprise in the Filipino society and is sometimes even met with the response, “Ganoon talaga, lalaki kasi,” implying that his act of cheating is justified and should be understood because it is in the nature of men. The striking contrast in the underlying meaning between these two similar expressions demonstrates the inherent bias toward the male gender in the Filipino society, as exhibited in language use.

In line with this, many values in Filipino are appropriated to favor the male gender. For instance, De Castro (1995) investigated the existing Filipino notions of masculinity and masculine identity. Here, it was brought to light how the “masculine” qualities associated with the concept of *pagkabalalaki*, such as the idea of a *tunay na lalaki* ‘real man’ and the trait of *pagkamagino* ‘gentlemanliness’ are not exclusive to men but, in reality, also apply to women. These withstanding uses of language contribute to the perpetuation of Filipinos’ social and cultural notions and perceptions about gender as a society.

4.4 Changes in Gender Representation in the Present Context

As examined, the general findings of the study revolved around stereotypical perceptions of gender in the country. While an extensive updating of these would be a great addition to the study, data on the present changes occurring in Filipino gender perception prove to be still limited and scarce. In addition to this are the inevitable limitations of the methodology used for the data collection and analysis in the present study. Nevertheless, there have been a few studies recently conducted on the topic, particularly on gender representation in Filipino storybooks and textbooks.

A study by Mante-Estacio et al. (2018) investigated the gender representation in 60 Filipino children’s storybooks that were published between 2006 to 2017. The result of the study revealed that gender stereotypes, such as men being dominating and authoritative and women being submissive, are no longer being reinforced in Filipino children’s storybooks. Instead, a subtle change in gender portrayal is happening in the said texts. For instance, actions and behaviors related to feeling and nurturing, expressed in verbs like *inayakan* and *hinalikan*, that are usually ascribed to female characters are now being attributed to male characters as well. In line with this, actions and behaviors denoting agency and control, including power and status, are now being ascribed to female characters. This illustrates that far from traditional gender stereotypes and portrayal, certain behavioral traits and characteristics are now not automatically assumed as associated with a specific gender in children’s storybooks in the language. On another note, despite this significant progress, it cannot be discounted that the majority of the characters found in the storybooks analyzed are still dominantly male.

Meanwhile, in a more recent study by Jacinto et al. (2020), textual and visual analysis was conducted to uncover underlying gender portrayals in select English-Filipino

grade one textbooks under the K-12 program. For the purpose of the present study, only the findings of the textual analysis will be tackled and discussed. These findings were summarized by the researcher and presented in Table 12.

Table 12

Summary of Jacinto et al.'s (2020) Textual Analysis Findings on Gender Representation in English-Filipino Grade One K-12 Textbooks

Category	Male	Female
Household chores	strength-related; more diverse	general household management
Life skills support	competitiveness	guidance and discipline
Nurturance and support	no absolute responsibility; utilization of machineries	providing comfort and warmth
Provision of resources	financial support	recent ability to provide financial support
Family system management	authoritarian, enforces behavioral standards	gentle, kind discipline
Entertainment	physical/outdoor activities	soft and elegant activities

With regard to household chores, men are now portrayed in Filipino textbooks to take on more diverse roles, including activities more traditionally linked with women, such as cooking and gardening. However, women's roles are depicted as still limited to general household functions with no mention of any strength-related activities. This similar pattern was also observed in the rest of the categories identified.

Focusing on parental roles, teaching competitiveness and developing toughness as a life skill are associated with fathers, while mothers are expected to be responsible for disciplining, helping with school work, and providing an overall good upbringing to their children. Additionally, while it is naturally expected from women to provide comfort and nurturance to the family, the same responsibility is not expected from men. The pervasiveness of traditional household stereotypes ascribed to women is illustrated in the following line from one of the books examined by Jacinto et al. (2020), *Baybayin: Paglalayag sa Wika at Pagbasa* (p. 339): "Nakasanayan na ng mga Pilipino na ang nanay ang nag-aalaga sa mga anak" ("It has been a practice of Filipinos for the mother to take care of the children") (p. 24). Another statement found from the same book that says, "Maaari na ring magtrabaho ang mga nanay" ("Mothers can also finally work") (p. 399) implies that women have only recently been given the ability to work and provide financial support to the family.

A clear demarcation between the portrayal of the expected interests of men and women also emerged in the analysis. Take the dialogue, "'Helen, ang holen ay para lamang sa lalaki. Manika na lang ang iyong paglaruan,' wika ng kaniyang kuya," ("Helen, jolens are only for boys. You can only play with dolls,' her brother said,") from REX Book Store's *Inang Wika: Mother Tongue-Based Multilingual Education Series in Tagalog* that Jacinto et al. (2020) cited: the imposition of Helen's older brother on what she should and should not play with is an illustration of how men inside the Filipino

family have a tendency to enforce stereotypical behavioral standards on female family members starting in childhood. Finally, the findings affirmed that the portrayal of men and women's forms of entertainment in textbooks remain dichotomous, i.e., men find joy in engaging in physical and outdoor activities like sports while women enjoy activities that show beauty and grace like dancing.

To sum up, the findings of these two studies show that small steps are occurring toward progress with regard to gender representation in Filipino children's storybooks and textbooks. This progress is particularly evident in the changes materializing in the portrayal of gender in children's storybooks. On the other hand, while there have been changes in the depiction of men and women in textbooks, the majority of the patterns that emerged are still heavily restricted to traditional gender stereotypes. Furthermore, it was observed that gender representation is still heavily limited to the gender binary system and has not had significant progress from the disparity in gender representation favored toward men from literature in the past.

5 Conclusions and Recommendations

The study aimed to determine the extent of how gendered the Filipino language is. Looking through different aspects and elements of the language, notable patterns were uncovered and brought to light. For one, the genderedness of Filipino is not realized in only one aspect. Unlike the common notion, the extent of gendering in the language is not only limited to grammatical gender, and the lexicography of Filipino, i.e., its noun and pronoun system, does not prove that the language is a "gender neutral" language. Instead, gendering becomes more apparent when you look closely at the usage of certain categories of lexical items and expressions in the language.

While it is established that Filipino have gender neutral pronouns, its unique pronominal feature often poses an issue in translation. Without the complete context, the person being referred to by the third-person Filipino pronouns is often perceived as a male when translated into English (Quindoza Santiago, 1996). Nouns and adjectives in the language were also revealed to be gendered to some extent.

Two noun categories were identified to dominantly possess gender marking, namely: kinship and occupational terminologies. With regard to the former, Filipino generally employ "sex-neutral" kinship terms and make use of the identifiers *na lalaki* 'male' or *na babae* 'female' when making a gender distinction (Stoodley, 1957). Contact with other nations, such as Spanish and Chinese, influenced the evolution of Filipino kinship terminologies along with the behavior regarding relevant kins. On the other hand, overt and covert gender perceptions of occupational terminologies as examined by Miciano (2001) were revisited and reexamined. Three gender markings in occupational terms were identified, namely: (a) non-gender-marked and non-gendered, (b) non-gender-marked but gendered, and (c) gender-marked. But while only nouns are categorized for gender linguistically speaking, adjectives have also been found to undergo some form of gendering. Two adjective categories were identified to possess gender marking and exhibit stereotypical descriptions ascribed to men and women, namely: (a) non-

gender-marked but gendered and (b) gender-marked and gendered adjectives. A striking dichotomous pattern was formed in this examination. Non-gender-marked terms related to labor, strength, and machinery, were identified as *panlalaki* while terms identified as *pambabae* were limited to decorative and entertainment functions. Similarly, adjectives used to describe males are heavily associated with concepts of traditional masculinity such as dominance, assertiveness, and instrumentality, while women's descriptions have a deep inclination toward nurturance roles and beauty.

Meanwhile, gendering in Filipino expressions, i.e., metaphors, idiomatic expressions, riddles, and sayings, were examined to reveal how they reflect the notions and conceptualizations of gender in the language. The majority of the expressions analyzed uncovered various gender stereotypes that root in the traditional Filipino patriarchal society, such as the ideal image of Filipino men and women in the metaphor "Malakas and Maganda" and the societal gender expectations in the household in the idiomatic expressions *haligi ng tahanan* and *ilaw ng tahanan*. A wealth of animal idioms related to gender were also observed, with many expressions depicting negative connotations against women's characteristics while the general portrayal of men revolves around stereotypical masculine qualities. Meanwhile, riddles with mentions of gender are found to be not gender motivated in itself but more of a way of poetic construction, i.e., rhyming. Nevertheless, looking into the semantics of these riddles revealed both implicit and explicit gender stereotyping and association. General expressions and sayings about gender that perpetuate gender stereotypes and societal standards in everyday speech were also uncovered.

Finally, changes in gender perceptions were briefly touched on in the presentation of the findings from Mante-Estacio et al. (2018) and Jacinto et al. (2020), recent studies on gender representation and portrayal in Filipino children's storybooks and textbooks. The analysis of these two studies showed that Filipino children's storybooks are moving toward a more progressive direction with regard to gender portrayal compared to Filipino textbooks used in schools, where gender representation remains stagnant and limited to conventional stereotypes. As mentioned, due to constraints in time and methodology, further research and data collection are needed to substantiate these initial findings. Nevertheless, these recent updates are worth mentioning in line with the objectives and possible future trajectory of the present study.

Overall, this study presented the different aspects wherein gendering and gender marking manifest in the Filipino language. The data discussed pointed out the varying extent of how gendered Filipino is as a language. This study proves to be an important piece of research in the limited linguistic body of knowledge regarding gendering in the Filipino language as it tackles different facets of the language that has not previously been explored in depth, especially the linguistic discussion on gendering in Filipino metaphors, idiomatic expressions, and riddles. This study would be most helpful to future researchers of the relationship between gender, identity, and language in the Philippine context. Admittedly, the study has various flaws and weaknesses, especially with the limitations on data collection and analysis. Thus, a recommendation to future researchers, if the circumstances would allow, would be to update the discussion on present gender notions and perceptions using more well-grounded methodologies,

such as surveys and interviews. Furthermore, it would also be interesting to expand the discussion of gendering to other Philippine languages to see if similar findings from the present study will come up, and to further broaden the discourse beyond the gender binary.

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7 Appendix

7.1 Gendered Filipino Riddles (Common Nouns)

Male	Female	Unidentified
1. <i>Alitaptap</i> Eto na si bayaw, dala-dala'y ilaw.	1. <i>Atis</i> Ate mo, ate ko, ate ng lahat ng tao.	1. <i>Ahas</i> Baston ng kapitan, hindi mahawakan.
2. <i>Barbero</i> Pari ma't arsobispo, napapagalaw ang ulo.	2. <i>Balimbing</i> Nakatalikod na ang prinsesa, ang mukha'y nakaharap pa.	2. <i>Walis</i> Isang hukbong sundalo, dikit-dikit ang mga ulo.
3. <i>Langgam</i> Maliit pa si kumpare, nakakaakyat na sa tore.	3. <i>Bayabas</i> Nakayuko ang reyna, 'di nalalaglag ang korona.	
4. <i>Paruparo</i> Hindi pari, hindi hari, nagdadamit ng sari-sari.	4. <i>Gitara</i> Instrumentong pangharana, hugis nito ay katawan ng dalaga.	
5. <i>Sapatos</i> Alipin ng hari, hindi makalakad kung hindi itali.	5. <i>Kalabasa</i> Ang ina'y gumagapang pa, ang anak ay umuupo na.	
6. <i>Suman</i> Titi ng pari, tadtad ng tali.	6. <i>Kasoy</i> Isang prinsesa, nakaupo sa tasa.	
7. <i>Zipper</i> Dumaan ang hari, nagkagatan ang mga pari.	7. <i>Kawayan</i> Nang bata ay nagsaya, at naghubo nang dalaga.	

Male	Female	Unidentified
	8. <i>Pinya</i> Isang prinsesa, punong-puno ng mata.	

Note. List gathered from KapitBisig.com and SEAsite Project.

7.2 Gendered Filipino Riddles (Proper Nouns)

Male	Female
1. <i>Bubuyog</i> Heto na si Lelong, bubulong-bulong.	1. <i>Bahaghari</i> Palda ni Sta. Maria, ang kulay ay iba-iba.
2. <i>Itlog</i> Bahay ni Kiko, walang bintana, walang pinto.	2. <i>Bibe</i> Kay liit pa ni Neneng, marunong nang kumendeng.
3. <i>Kalsada</i> Lupa ni Mang Juan, kung sinu-sino ang dumadaan.	3. <i>Dahon ng gabi</i> Naligo si Kaka, ngunit di nabasa.
4. <i>Pako</i> Nagtago si Pedro, nakalitaw ang ulo.	4. <i>Gagamba</i> Bata pa si Nene, marunong nang manahi.
5. <i>Papaya</i> Bahay ni Gomez, punong-puno ng perdigones.	5. <i>Gunting</i> Eto na si Kaka, bubuka-bukaka.
6. <i>Payong</i> Bahay ni Mang Kulas, nang magiba'y tumaas.	6. <i>Papaya</i> Bahay ni Sta. Ines, punong-puno ng perdigones.
7. <i>Ulan</i> Baston ni Adan, hindi mabilang-bilang.	7. <i>Pinya</i> Bahay ni Sta. Maria, naiinog ng sandata.

Note. List gathered from KapitBisig.com and SEAsite Project.