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

Brian Salvador C. Baran

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

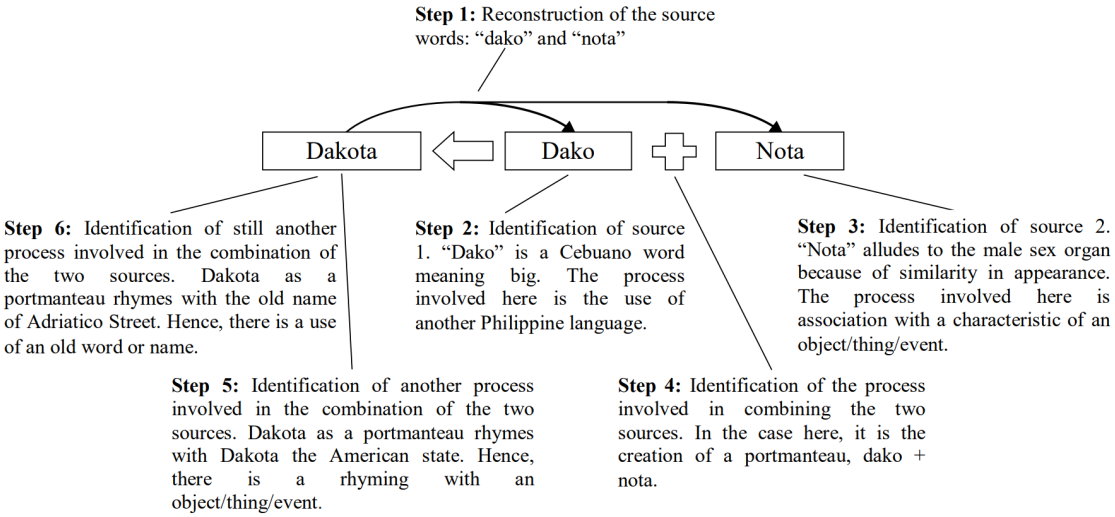
Ilab-ilab sits in this weird dilemma where it is like the other Visayan argots in that it is based on a source language which is not Filipino or Tagalog, but it is also very much unlike all the other gay lingos of the Philippines in that it is mainly produced via the phonological distortion method of 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)*



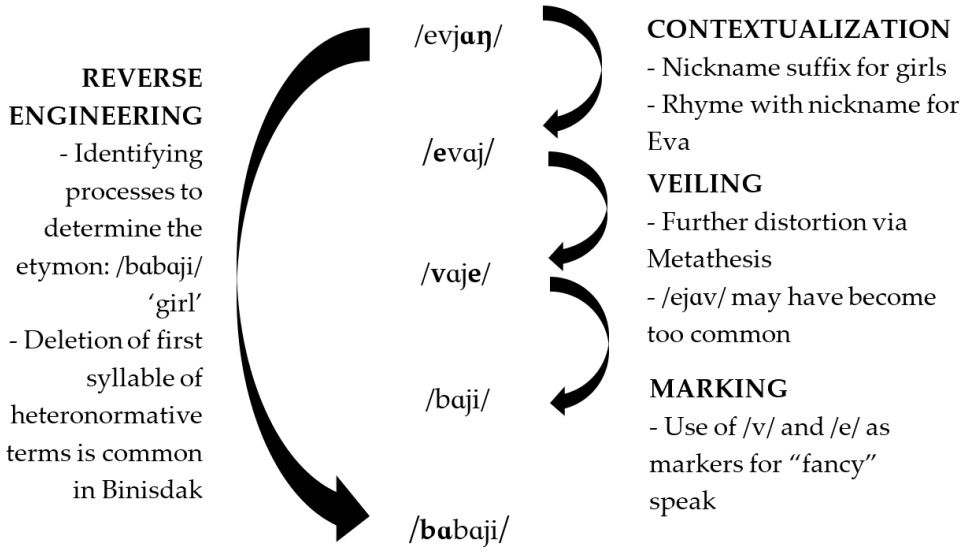
Following the reverse engineering procedure laid out in Figure 1 above: steps 1–3 involve the reconstruction of the etymon into its source language or theme, while steps 4–6 involve the identification of the derivational processes involved to produce the FGL lexeme that is *dakota*. A key step that is 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 [ˈʔɪm**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’	/ˈlantа**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**ˈbiːɾu/ ‘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'	/ˈʔɑmb**i**t/ 'share'	X	/ˈʔɑːb**i**/ 'assume'
/u/	X	/ˈʔ**u**ːtɑn/ '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. $\emptyset \rightarrow \text{ʔ} \; / \; \left\{ \begin{array}{c} \#\_ \\ V\_V \end{array} \right.$

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. $\mathrm{h} \rightarrow \emptyset \; / \; \_\#$

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. $$\begin{bmatrix} \mathrm{V} \\ \text{-FRONT} \\ \text{-RHOTIC} \end{bmatrix} \mathrm{l} \rightarrow \mathrm{V\!:} \; / \; \_ \begin{bmatrix} \mathrm{V} \\ \text{-FRONT} \\ \text{-RHOTIC} \end{bmatrix}$$

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

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

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'	[ˈtiˀlʌ**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: [mɐˈʔestrɐ] > [ˈʔɐʔestrɐm] > [dʒuʔɐʔestrɐm] > [dʒestrɐm]. 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**u?/	‘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 *ʤu-*, *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
ʤo-	26.1	/ʤoestɪɑ/ [**ʤʊ**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 *ʤu-* replacing the initial strings *ma-* and *bu-* respectively. Example 26.2 shows additional distortion by way of the segment inversion of the *ʤu-* prefixed item /ʤontes/ 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'
/ˈnɚːf/ [ˈnɚːf]	*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. d → dʒ / V_#
t → tʃ / V_#

R15. $s \rightarrow ʃ \,/ \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \_C \\ \_\# \end{array} \right.$

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 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
				ʔaˈkuːʔɑ	ku (literary/poetic)	sa ˈʔaːkuʔ
					tɑ (polite)	sa ʔaˈkuːʔɑ
	2	(ʔi)ˈkɑw	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		sa ˈʔiːmu
						sa ʔiˈmuːhɑ
	1INCL	kiˈtɑ	tɑ	ˈʔɑːtuʔ	ˈnɑːtuʔ	(kɑ)ˈnɑːtuʔ
				ʔɑˈtuːʔɑ	tɑ (polite)	sa ˈʔɑːtuʔ
						sa ʔɑˈtuːʔɑ
	2	kɑˈmu	mu	ˈʔinju	ˈninju	(kɑ)ˈninju
				ʔinˈjuːhɑ		sa ˈʔinju
						sa ʔinˈjuːhɑ
	3	siˈlɑ		ˈʔiːlɑ	ˈniːlɑ	(kɑ)ˈniːlɑ
				ʔiˈlɑːhɑ		sa ˈʔiːlɑ
						sa 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	gɔ**jok**		[gɪgʊˈ**juːk**ʌn]
3.	-a	no**ʔɑk**	'to eat'	[no**ʔʌ**ˈ**k**ʌ]
4.	-on	no**ʔɑk**	'to eat'	[no**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. $(\sigma_0)\text{'}\sigma\sigma\# \rightarrow (\sigma_0)\sigma\text{'}\sigma\#$

R20. $(\sigma_0)\sigma\text{'}\sigma\# \rightarrow \text{'}\sigma\#$

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	$\left[\begin{array}{c} \text{V} \\ \text{-FRONT} \\ \text{-RHOTIC} \end{array} \right] \text{l} \rightarrow \text{V:} \; / \; \_ \left[\begin{array}{c} \text{V} \\ \text{-FRONT} \\ \text{-RHOTIC} \end{array} \right]$ $\text{V}_\mu \rightarrow \emptyset \; / \; \text{V}_\mu\_$ $\emptyset \rightarrow \text{w} \; / \; \text{V}_{-\mu}\_\text{V}_{-\mu}$

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.

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Above Us, Only Sky[1]: A Reconstruction of Some Astronomical and Meteorological Terms in Pre-Ibaloi

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Abstract

Twenty-four (24) lexical items belonging to the astronomical and meteorological domains were collected from four Ibaloi varieties—namely Atok, Bokod, Daklan, and Kabayan—with the aim of reconstructing a hypothetical Pre-Ibaloi. Through phonological analyses and internal reconstruction, the cognates yielded twenty-five (25) reconstructed proto-forms. Moreover, nineteen (19) pre-phonemes constitute the PIBL phonemic inventory. Kabayan was also deemed phonetically to be the "closest" to PIBL, concurring with Himes's (1998) and Ruffolo's (2004) conclusions that Kabayan was the Ibaloi communities' "dispersal point." This study provided a glimpse into the rich cross-cultural commonalities that go beyond geographical boundaries for these cultural communities. Furthermore, the semantic domains were chosen for the reason that astronomical and meteorological phenomena have a significant influence on the largely agricultural communities of the Cordilleran mountains. The lexical repository for these domains was bound to be remarkable when what is over and above, and the most consequential to their way of life, is the sky.

Keywords: Ibaloi, Pre-Ibaloi, internal reconstruction, ethnolinguistics

1 Introduction

1.1 Cordillera Central

Orogenic, ecological, and anthropological histories run the expanse that is the Cordillera Central. The mountain system treads 300 km north-south separating the coasts of Ilocos from the Cagayan basin; with its highest point being Mt. Pulag's summit at 3,000 km. The Cordillera Central also hosts 13 major river basins, notably Chico and Magat Rivers, that enable the region's irrigation system among other things.

[1] "Above Us, Only Sky" also happens to be a title of a Beatles biopic that coincidentally sounded poetically appropriate to be the title of this study, as this paper focuses on one of the Cordilleran "mountain" peoples and their relations to certain weather and astronomical phenomena, their "sky."

Needless to say, the crests and troughs of the mountain range affect the weather patterns not only of the Cordillera Administrative Region (CAR) but the entirety of Luzon, as the Cordilleras constitute 1/5th of the entire island.

The high elevation brings the region's cold climate. CAR received an average of 5,546 mm of rainwater annually from 2008 to 2018 (PSA CAR, 2020). Moreover, PAG-ASA (n.d., as cited in PSA CAR, 2020) identified that most of the region has a short dry season and then wet for the rest of the year, with the maximum rainfall between November and December (PSA CAR, 2020). Because agriculture is central to the Cordilleras, it follows that its people have a great and profound understanding of the region's weather patterns that goes beyond marked seasons. For instance, Conklin (1980, as cited in Murphy, 2017) remarked that the rice farming cycle in the Cordillera region is based on centuries-old cultivation patterns. Beginning with the repair and formation of the terrace, the field preparation, and the rice planting in the wet season; and come the dry season, rice cultivation, weeding, then finally the harvest. Furthermore, Launio et al.'s (2020) study with smallholder farmers in Benguet found that they utilize their own local indicators and adaptation strategies against meteorological hazards, such as typhoons and irregular monsoons, that could otherwise be disastrous to their agricultural production.

1.2 Indigenous People and Land

The Cordillera Central is home to many cultural communities in Northern Luzon—the Kankanaey, Ifugao, Isneg, Ibaloi, Kalanguya, and Gaddang, among others. Although these names are widely used in publications, it is imperative to note that there is a wide breadth of languages, cultural identities, and heritage among the different groups of the people of the mountain that go beyond linguistic and geopolitical markedness.

No matter the autonym, every person in the Cordilleras has respect and regard for their ancestral land. It is for this reason that they remained undaunted by the advent of colonizers that were able to take the low-lying regions surrounding the mountains. Land in the Cordillera is life itself. The "symbiotic relationship" between the land and the people of the land is highly developed and maintained (Carling, 2001). The mountain peoples have a shared understanding of ancestral land and collective management of the land, building socio-political systems around it. The agricultural cycle from seed to harvest is collectively performed by the community, as well as the conservation of environmental resources such as rivers and forests, as certain beliefs and rituals need to be practiced during these periods of time (Carling, 2001). It is this community and sense of communal work that makes their reverence for their ancestral land even more daunting against land opportunists—then against Spanish colonizers, and today against capitalists on the advent of neoliberalism.

In an article in the *Cultural Survival Quarterly* (2001), the Philippine government's own Mining Act of 1995 made the mountains more accessible to transnational mining corporations as it approves of 100% foreign ownership. For capitalists and seemingly the Philippine government, this is a golden opportunity; for the indigenous mountain peoples, it is a death sentence to the land they have cultivated and preserved

since the time of their ancestors. Expectedly, opposition to mining and exploitation in the Cordillera has been militant and extensive. The San Roque Dam, owned by a Japanese trading company, in the lower Agno River of Pangasinan province, has displaced more than 2,000 Ibaloi families in Itogon, Benguet (World Rainforest Movement, 2001). Despite fierce opposition from many indigenous peoples all over Cordillera, the dam has been fully operational since 2003 (Environmental Justice Atlas, 2017).

Although this paper will try to focus on certain linguistic processes of Ibaloi lexicon, it is crucial to be informed of these narratives. It is imperative to attach the words from the mouths where they came from and disconnecting the people from these narratives will never make for a lauded and grounded study.

1.3 Ethnoastronomy

It can be said that with only the sky and nothing else above, the cultural communities of the Cordilleras have a wealth of indigenous knowledge about the sky and the various phenomena that orbit past. Ambrosio's *Balatik: Etnoastronomiya, Kalangitan sa Kabihasnang Pilipino* (2010) has reflected on various astronomical and meteorological phenomena and their profound and established influences on various Philippine cultural communities. They have integrated meaning-making into their way of perceiving their environment in the hopes of understanding it better, which in the present day is constituted into their very belief system. Astronomical and meteorological phenomena instructed the rhythm of their movements, the directions they take, the when and which crops to sow and harvest. When one is confronted with a predicament, one can look up and find himself answered by the heavens. Their belief systems surrounding the celestial bodies and other meteorological phenomena have been passed down to today's culture bearers as songs, prayers, rituals, enchantments, and such practiced customs.

For Ambrosio (2010), it is common for indigenous groups all over the Philippines to look to the sun and moon as the first deities to revere, and for various myths of their peoples' origin to have manifested from their celestial presence. According to Moss (1920), these heavenly bodies are objects of worship for the Ibaloi. The fact that the Ibaloi regarded the sun as the most powerful of deities and was, therefore, always appealed to the most seems to point to the fact that he was a god of justice (p. 281). Ambrosio (2010) remarked that some Ibaloi elders use *akou* and *Kabunian* interchangeably when regarding the sun (p. 86).

Ambrosio (2010) furthermore observed that the Ibaloi hold their rituals during the first appearance of the first quarter moon, the *balal*. They believe a family's fortune will be more prosperous if the moon is waxing (growing) into a full moon. The deities and the diwatas that they would offer their prayers to are the most "reachable" at this period of time, and their luck and prayers would dissipate had they tried to contact them when the moon is in darkness (p. 118). For this reason, the Ibaloi also only begin to plant or move their seedlings, or harvest during this period of time. According to their beliefs, it is not productive nor prosperous at a time when the moon is waning (p. 122).

The Ibaloi also mapped multiple constellations across their sky. Prayers are offered

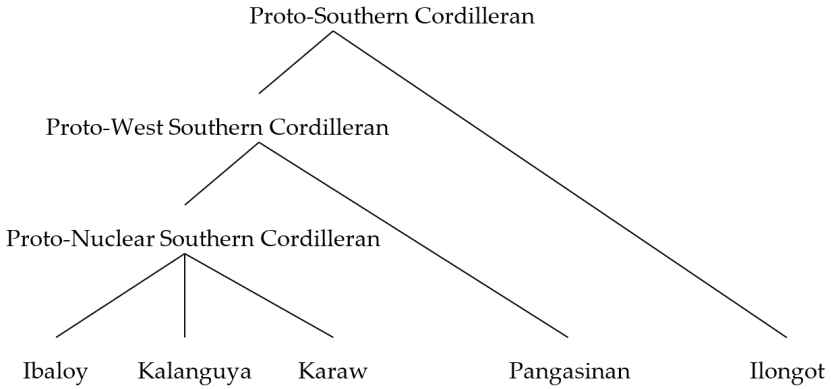
to *San apon* (Pleiades), *Salabobo* (Hyades), *Bodays* (Orion's belt), to name a few, and even to *Mamawas*, the planets Venus or Jupiter visible in the daylight. Even though these same constellations appeared in the same periods of time and orientation as the people of the mountains, they nevertheless have distinct names for them even within the same cultural communities. As Ambrosio explained, even though these names are discovered by scholars through passed-down oral history, the exact reason for their prayer to the stars is unknown (p. 181).

These accounts from Ambrosio (2010) and Moss (1920) offer glimpses into the Ibaloi worldview. The usage of distinct terminologies reflects an essential indigenous knowledge utilized in various spheres of their lives. The knowledge of celestial bodies, meteorological phenomena, and how they held a significant maneuver in the daily operation of the Ibaloi people and of their land is a ground well with nothing but more depth to discover. This study can certainly be reflected on and expanded on to be a full cultural reconstruction of Ibaloi meteorological and astronomical phenomena but that is at the discretion of future researchers.

1.4 Subgrouping and Language Status

Ibaloi, with ISO 639-3 code *ibl*, is primarily spoken in the province of Benguet, where Eberhard et al. (2021) posit a user population of 116,000. Its native speakers call the language "Inibaloi." Ibl is also tagged as 5* or Developing in the Expanded Graded Intergenerational Disruption (EGIDS) scale. This means that Ibl is vigorously used by its speakers, but standardized literature is not yet sustainable throughout the community.

Figure 1
Internal Relationships of Southern Cordilleran Languages (Himes, 1998, p. 121)



Moreover, Ibl is classified under the Northern Luzon branch of the Malayo-Polynesian subgroup of the Austronesian language family. Himes (1998) further identified Ibl as belonging to the Southern Cordilleran branch, along with Kalanguya,

Karaw, Pangasinan, and Ilongot. Furthermore, Glottolog (n.d.) only recognizes three of its varieties: Bokod, Daklan, and Kabayan. However, Himes (1998) identified other varieties such as Atok, Natubleng, I-wak, Sablan, La Trinidad, Tuba, Tublay, and Itogon.

2 Objective, Scope, and Limitations of the Study

This study aims to reconstruct 24 PIBL lexical items under the semantic domains of astronomy and meteorology from four attested Ibl dialects. Three of these, Bokod, Kabayan, and Daklan, have been listed in Ethnologue, and Atok has been identified in an acoustic phonetics study by Cruz et al. (2018a). The semantic domains were chosen on the basis that astronomical and meteorological phenomena have a significant influence on the largely agricultural communities of the Cordilleran mountains and so would naturally reflect on the Ibaloi lexical repository. Aside from the lexical items that have been indicated from Lyman and Wolfenden's (2018) and Cruz et al.'s (2018b) datasets, other lexical items from the Summer Institute of Linguistics International (SIL) Swadesh lists have also been consulted to make sure no phonemes have been left unidentified. Otto Scheerer's *The Nabaloi Dialect* (1905) was supposed to be included in the data pool; however, it was deemed unreliable due to the possibility of transcription errors from using optical character recognition on the document.

It is also important to note that out of all the references used in this study, only the one done by Cruz et al. (2018a) used a phonetic transcription with the aid of computer programs, while every transcription from other studies was done by ear. Moreover, Himes (1998) and Ruffolo (2004) identified other varieties of Ibl which will not be included in this study. Furthermore, despite their best efforts to consult with various data sets and studies, the researchers cannot guarantee the full accuracy of these reconstructions.

3 Review of Related Literature

3.1 Ibaloi Phonology

The study will mainly draw its references on Ibl phonology from Himes's (1998) "The Southern Cordilleran Group of Philippine Languages," Ruffolo's (2004) *Topics in the Morpho-syntax of Ibaloy, Northern Philippines*, Ameda et al.'s (2011) *Ibaloy Dictionary, Phonology, Grammar, Morphophonemics*, and Cruz et al.'s (2018a) *An Acoustic Analysis of Ibaloi Sounds*. Aside from providing a sound inventory, these studies have also discussed some phonological processes observed in Ibl and the distribution of its allophones. These would significantly help in determining possible pre-phonemes from the gathered data.

Table 1
Distribution of Consonant Variation in Ibaloi (Himes, 1998, p. 127–128)

*	#_V	VC._V	CV._V	V_.CV	V_#
PSC *l	[d]	[d]	[d]	[j]	[j]
PNuSC *j	[dʒ]	[dʒ]	[dʒ]	[l]	[l]
PNuSC *d	[tʃ]^{a,b}, [ʃ]^{c}	[tʃ]^{a,b}, [ʃ]^{c}	[tʃ]^{a,b}, [ʃ]^{c}, [ɾ]^{d}	[d]	[d]
PNuSC *g	[k]	[k]	[g]	[g]	[g]
PNuSC *b	[b]	[b]	[v]^{a}	[b]	[b]
PNuSC *w	[gʷ]^{c}, [yʷ]^{a}, [bʷ]^{b}	[gʷ]^{c}, [yʷ]^{a}, [bʷ]^{b}	[gʷ]^{c}, [yʷ]^{a}, [bʷ]^{b}	*no data*	[w]

[a] Reflex observed in the Atk variety.
[b] Reflex observed in the Kby variety.
[c] Reflex observed in the Bkd variety.
[d] Appears when preceded by a stressed vowel.

Table 2
Consonants' Allophonic Variation and Distribution (Ruffolo, 2004, p. 17)

Phoneme	#_V, VC._V, CV.ˈ_V	ˈCV._V	V_.CV	V_#
/p/	[p]^{a}, [pp]^{b}	[β]	[pˀ]	[pˀ]
/t/	[t]^{a}, [tt]^{b}	[ɾ]	[tˀ]	[tˀ]
/k/	[k]^{a}, [kk]^{b}	[x]	[kˀ]	[kˀ]
/ʔ/	[ʔ]	[ʔ]	[ʔ]	—
/b/	[ɸ], [ɸʷ]^{c}, [ɸɸ]^{b}, [ɸɸʷ]^{c}	[b]	[bˀ]	[bˀ]
/d/	[tʃ], [tʃtʃ]^{b}	[ɾ]	[dˀ]	[dˀ]
/g/	[k], [kk]^{b}	[g]	[gˀ]	[gˀ]
/l/	[d], [dd]^{b}	[l]	[l]	[l]
/w/	[b], [bʷ]^{c}, [bb]^{b}, [bbʷ]^{b,c}	[w]	[w]	[w]
/j/	[dʒ], [dʒdʒ]^{b}	[j]	[j]	[j]
/s/	[s], [ss]^{b}	[s]	[l]	[s]
/m/	[m], [mm]^{b}	[m]	[m]	[m]
/n/	[n], [nn]^{b}	[n]	[n]	[n]
/ŋ/	[ŋ], [ŋŋ]^{b}	[ŋ]	[ŋ]	[ŋ]

[a] Also optionally intervocalically before /ə/ regardless of stress.
[b] Only after /ə/.
[c] Only after /a/.

First, Himes identified 18 phonemes in Ibl, 15 of which are consonants and four of which are vowels, in their journal article "The Southern Cordilleran Group of Philippine Languages" (1998). Certain phonological changes from PSC and PNuSC to Ibl that are relevant to this study is summarized in Table 1. The table also features variety-specific reflexes.

Ruffolo's 2004 thesis titled *Topics in the Morpho-syntax of Ibaloy, Northern Philippines* identified the municipality of Kabayan in Benguet as the area where Ibl is spoken, where varieties exist throughout the different barangays within the town, and the data elicited from this study only comes from the Poblacion (Central) variety. It is also noted that Ibl, Kyj, and Kak speakers also live in Kabayan. Through multiple fieldworks conducted from 1998 to 2000, Ruffolo was able to provide a grammar sketch of Ibl, included here is a list of 18 phonemes which would be indicated in Table 5 below. Ruffolo has also presented the allophonic distribution in Ibl, as seen in Table 2.

According to the *Ibaloy Dictionary, Phonology, Grammar, Morphophonemics* by Ameda et al. (2011), there are 23 contrastive phonemes in Ibl, 19 of which are consonants and four of which are vowels. Some consonants, labeled as restricted by Ameda et al., appear in complementary distribution as seen in Table 3. Unrestricted consonants, on the other hand, retain their original features regardless of the environment. Interestingly, Ameda et al.'s proposed distribution of allophones corroborates Himes' and Ruffolo's distribution.

Table 3
Distribution of All Consonants (Ameda et al., 2011, p. 773)

Restricted Consonants				Unrestricted Consonants
Syllable-initial	Intervocalic (ə)	Intervocalic (a-i-ɔ)	Syllable-final	
/d/	/d/	/l/	/l/	/b/
/l/	/k/	/g/	/g/	/q/
/β/	/β/	/w/	/w/	/m/
/ʃ/	/ʃ/	/ɾ/	/d/	/n/
/dʒ/	/dʒ/	/j/	/j/	/ŋ/
				/p/
				/s/
				/t/
				/ʔ/

The vowels also exhibit allophones in certain environments. Central and back vowels /ə/, /ɔ/, and /a/ exhibit vowel raising and become [ɨ], [u], and [ɘ] when they succeed /b/, /d/, /g/, /k/, and /dʒ/. On the other hand, /i/ exhibits vowel lowering and becomes [e] when it succeeds /q/, or becomes /ɛ/ or /i^{ɛ}/ if it precedes /q/. There are also variety-specific allophones such as /q/ to [x] and [h], and /b/ to [p^{w}] in Kabayan.

Compared to previous studies, Cruz et al. provided a contrastive analysis and

Table 4
Consonants' Allophonic Variations and Distributions (Cruz et al., 2018a, p. 6)

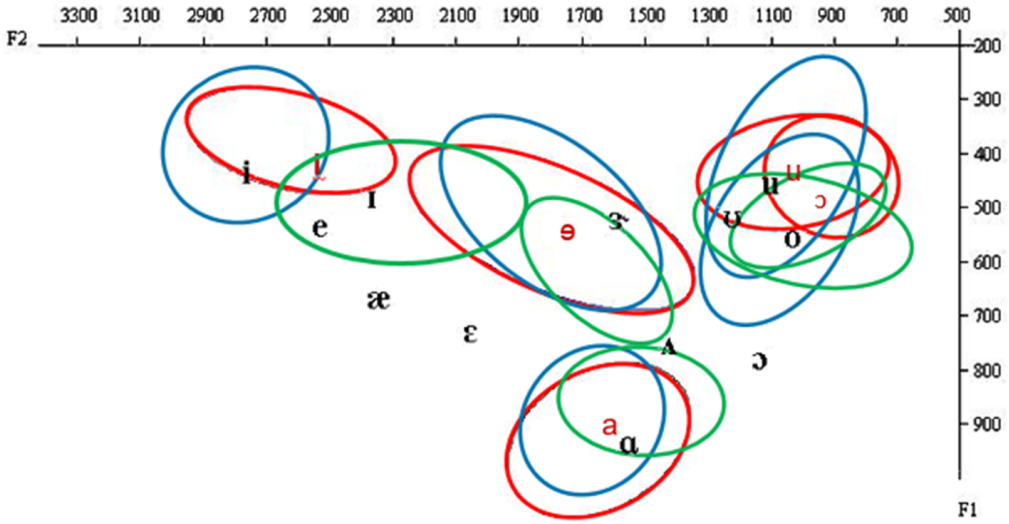
Phoneme	#_V, VC._V	CV._V	V_.CV	V_#
/p/	[p]	[p], [pp][a]	[p̚]	[p̚]
/t/	[t]	[t], [tt][a]	[t̚]	[t̚]
/k/	[k]	[k], [kk][a]	[k̚]	[k̚]
/q/	[q]	[x], [qq][a]	[q̚]	[q̚]
/ʔ/	[ʔ]	[ʔ]	[ʔ]	—
/b/	[b], [ɸ]	[β], [bb][a]	[b̚]	[b̚]
/d/	[d]	[d], [dd][a]	[d̚]	[d̚]
/g/	[g]	[g], [gg][a]	[g̚]	[g̚]
/l/	[l]	[l]	[l]	[l]
/ɾ/	[ɾ]	[ɾ]	[ɾ]	—
/w/	[w], [β], [gʷ], [ɸ]	[w], [β], [gʷ], [ɸ]	[w]	[w]
/j/	[j]	[j]	[j]	[j]
/s/	[s]	[s]	[s]	[s]
/ʃ/ = /tʃ/	/ʃ/ = /tʃ/	/ʃ/ = /tʃ/	/ʃ/ = /tʃ/	—
/dʒ/	[dʒ]	[dʒ]	[dʒ]	—
/m/	[m]	[m], [mm][a]	[m]	[m]
/n/	[n]	[n], [nn][a]	[n]	[n]
/ŋ/	[ŋ]	[ŋ], [ŋŋ][a]	[ŋ]	[ŋ]

[a] Allophone only occurs after [ə].

demonstrated the complementary distribution of the segments by conducting an acoustic analysis using three varieties of Ibl: Atk, Bok, and Kby. They identified a total of 22 phonemes, 18 of which are consonants and four of which are vowels, as listed in Table 4. Aside from this, they have also listed the observed allophonic distributions. It is interesting to note that Cruz et al. did not identify the allophones that were previously mentioned by Himes, Ruffolo, and Ameda et al. such as [k], [d], [ɾ], and [dʒ] of /g/, /l/, /d/, and /j/, respectively. Instead, they treated these as contrastive segments.

The acoustic analysis identified a four-vowel system in Ibl with /i/, /ə/, /u/, and /a/. Two of these vowel phonemes, /i/ and /a/, have been consistently identified by previous studies. As for /u/, it can be seen in Figure 2 that [ɔ] and [u] overlap over the /u/ vowel space, proving that [ɔ] is an allophone of /u/. Moreover, they claimed that it is more accurate to depict the fourth vowel as the close mid-rounded central vowel /ə/ as opposed to earlier studies which identified it as /ə/ or /ɨ/. As such, this study would be following the usage of /ə/ to depict Ibl's central vowel.

Figure 2
Comparison of the Three Vowel Spaces with the English Vowel Space (Cruz et al., 2018a, p. 30)



English vowels are colored black while Ibaloi vowels are colored red. The distribution of the plot formants are color-coded as follows: red for Atk, green for Kby, and blue for Bkd.

To summarize, a comparison of the Ibl sound inventories proposed by the studies can be seen in Table 5. These segments, along with the phonological processes, will be used as references for reconstructing the phonemes of PIBL.

3.2 Internal Reconstruction

Internal reconstruction is a method used by historical linguists to reconstruct an earlier stage of a current language by comparing and analyzing the features derived from within it or its varieties (Crowley & Bowern, 2013, p. 121). The resulting reconstruction is called a *prelanguage*. In this study, four varieties of Ibl will be analyzed to reconstruct some select terms from a hypothetical prelanguage "Pre-Ibaloi." One of the criteria considered in reconstructing pre-phonemes is the *majority rules principle*, as mentioned by Crowley and Bowern (2013, p. 86), where the reflex with the widest distribution is considered to be the original form. However, the researchers may also refer to diachronic studies to identify these pre-phonemes.

According to Peneyra in their graduate thesis *Isang Rekonstrusyong Internal ng Tagalog Batay sa mga Piling Dayalek* (2003, p. 48), the current alternant forms existing are due to phonological changes that happened to the original forms over time. This means that before these changes, there were no alternative forms present. In other words, the form that is less used and that is from an older variety may be closer to the original form of the prelanguage. This goes against the majority rules principle; however, due to the

Table 5
A Comparison of Ibaloi Sound Systems from Various Studies

Himes (1998) (18)	Ruffolo (2004) (18)	Ameda et al. (2011) (23)	Cruz et al. (2018a) (22)
/b/	/b/	/b/	/b/
/p/	/p/	/p/	/p/
/d/	/d/	/d/	/d/
/t/	/t/	/t/	/t/
/g/	/g/	/g/	/g/
	/k/	/k/	/k/
/q/		/q/	/q/
/ʔ/	/ʔ/	/ʔ/	/ʔ/
/m/	/m/	/m/	/m/
/n/	/n/	/n/	/n/
/ŋ/	/ŋ/	/ŋ/	/ŋ/
		/ɾ/	/ɾ/
		/β/	
	/s/	/s/	/s/
/tʃ/			
		/ʃ/	/ʃ/
		/dʒ/	/dʒ/
/l/	/l/	/l/	/l/
/w/	/w/	/w/	/w/
/j/	/j/	/j/	/j/
/i/	/i/	/i/	/i/
/ɨ/			
			/u/
			/ɔ/
	/ə/	/ə/	
/ɔ/	/ɔ/	/ɔ/	
/a/	/a/	/a/	/a/

regularity of sound laws, it is possible to deduce and lay out the phonological changes that happened over time.

Earlier, it was also mentioned that Ruffolo (2004) observed multiple Ibl varieties flourishing throughout the different barangays within Kabayan, Benguet. Furthermore, Himes (1998), citing oral tradition, posited that the ancestors of Ibl speakers "migrated northward along the Agno River from Pangasinan to present-day Kabayan" (p. 174).

Kabayan then became the "cultural homeland", the point of dispersal from where the Ibaloi migrated to other parts of Benguet. These pieces of information coincide with Dyen's conclusion in their article "Language Distribution and Migration Theory" (1956, p. 625). Here, they claimed that a region with great language diversification can be inferred as the point of dispersal because positive migrations usually happen from a more complex area to a more uniform one.

Assessing the findings, it can be conjectured that the Kby variety may have been the earlier form of Ibl. Pursuing this, the researchers will also be considering the weight of Kby's reflexes in determining the pre-phonemes since it can be hypothesized that it is one of the older varieties of Ibl. However, careful analysis must be done since additional evidence such as historical records and anthropological studies to support this conjecture are yet to be discovered.

A previous study on PSC, PWSC, and PNuSC can also be consulted for this study. In "The Southern Cordilleran Group of Philippine Languages" (1998), Himes attempted to reconstruct lexical items from the Southern Cordilleran group, including Ibl, collected from 1962 to 1995 from previous studies on this group of languages. Moreover, they attempted to reconstruct PIBL from its varieties. However, the semantic domains of the PIBL reconstructions do not overlap with this study's domains, but some of the reconstructions from PNuSC fall under the meteorological and astronomical domains. Some of these are listed below (pp. 155–159).

PNuSC			
*kulpút	Ibl, Kyj	kolpot	'cloud'
	Kak	kulput	
*buŋlúl	Ibl	boŋdól	'rainbow'
	Kak	buŋlúl	
	Cf. PC	buŋlún	
*sigít	Ibl	sikít	'sun'
	Kak	həgít, hagít	
	Ifa	hugít	
	Cf. KnkS	sigít, sogít	
*tigʔín	Ibl	tigʔín	'cold'
	Kyj	tʌgʔín	
	Cf. KnkS	togʔín	

In reconstructing some of the stative verbs in PWSC, the inclusion of a possible stativizing morpheme *ʔə(N)- was applied inconsistently as seen below (pp. 153–154). For this study, the researchers will reconstruct the lexical items with the morpheme included, following Himes's reconstruction. In other words, a morpheme boundary symbol, denoted by a hyphen, will be included to separate the morpheme from the root of the lexical item, e.g., PWSC *ʔan-tíkij.

PWSC			
*ʔan-tíkɨj	Ibl, Pag	ʔantíkɨj	'short (object)'
	Kak	ʔantíkkɵ́j, ʔantíkkéj	'short (person)'
*balaŋá	Ibl	ʔambaliŋá, ʔimbaliŋá	'red, yellow'
	Pag	ambalaŋá	
	Kak	ʔambalaŋá	
*biluŋ́ɨt	Ibl	ʔambiloŋ́ɨt, ʔimbiloŋ́ɨt	'dark'
	Pag	ambiluŋ́ɨt	

4 Methodology

Lexical items related to meteorology and astronomy were gathered from existing datasets on Ibl varieties: Cruz et al.'s "An Acoustic Analysis of Ibaloi Sounds" (2018a) and Lyman and Wolfenden's "Inibaloi, Benguet Sub-province Yale Linguistic Questionnaire" (2018). Additional Ibl wordlists without any specified variety were also used for cross-referencing data and for eliciting some terms that were not available from the two previous data sets: Elkins's "Inibaloi 1962 Wordlist" (1962), Ballard's "Inibaloi 1966 Wordlist" (1966–1970), Wimbish's "Ibaloi - Baguio, Benguet Wordlist" (1984), and Ambrosio's *Balatik: Etnoastronomiya, Kalangitan sa Kabihasnang Pilipino* (2010). The phonetic transcriptions from the SIL International datasets were converted from the Americanist notation system into the International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA) for uniformity and consistency of data. From the six datasets, 24 lexical items were chosen for the study, and cognates for each lexical item were noted. Moreover, the researchers consulted with an Ibl speaker from Benguet to discern the semantic nuances of lexical items with different meanings and similar forms.

Applying internal reconstruction, the researchers tabulated the corresponding phonemes from the discovered cognates and noted both contrastive and complementary distributions from the correspondences. Phonemes with consistent occurrences across all varieties despite the conditioning environment were deemed as uncontested pre-phonemes via the Majority Principle. For those with complementary distributions, Himes's (1998) and Ameda et al.'s (2011) discussions on Ibl phonological processes were consulted. The researchers also hypothesize that Kby, being an older variety of Ibl, has retained some of the original features of PIBL; therefore, this may also be considered when extrapolating the original pre-phonemes. Additionally, phonetic transcriptions from Cruz et al.'s acoustic analysis were prioritized over Lyman and Wolfenden's written transcriptions in determining the exact place of articulation of the segments. The resulting phonemic inventory from this process was then used as a reference to internally reconstruct the 26 lexical items in PIBL.

5 Results and Discussion

5.1 Phonemic Inventory of Pre-Ibaloi

The reconstructed pre-phonemes PIBL gathered from comparing the four varieties of Ibl—Atok (Atk), Bokod (Bok), Kabayan (Kby), and Daklan (Dak)—and datasets with unidentified varieties were 19 in total, 15 of which are consonants and four of which are vowels. Their places and manners of articulation are illustrated in Tables 6 and 7. The distribution of the allophones' correspondences from which the pre-phonemes were derived can be seen in Sections 9.1 and 9.2.

Table 6
Consonant Phonemes of Pre-Ibaloi

	Bilabial	Dental-Alveolar	Post-Alveolar	Palatal	Labio-velar	Velar	Uvular	Glottal
Plosive	*b *p	*d *t				*g *k	*q	*ʔ
Nasal	*m	*n				*ŋ		
Fricative		*s						
Tap/Flap								
Affricate								
Approximant				*j	*w			
Lateral Approximant		*l						

Table 7
Vowel Phonemes of Pre-Ibaloi

	Front	Central	Back
Close	*i		*u
Close-Mid		*ɔ	
Open-Mid			
Open		*a	

5.1.1 Consonants

As can be seen in Section 9.1, the distribution of the following consonants is consistent in almost all environments: *ʔ, *g, *k, *q, *t, *p, *m, *n, *ŋ, and *w. Hence, the majority rules principle was applied. Moreover, the previously mentioned phonological sketches were consulted for pre-phonemes that had clear complementary distribution

such as in *b, *d, *j, and *l. As for segments that did not fit these cases, the Kby reflexes were taken into account, as well as the reflexes manifested in proto-forms of higher subgroupings.

The reflexes of PIBL consonants will be shown below to further show how the pre-phonemes were derived. Due to the limited data available, some of the positions were not represented. However, this does not necessarily mean that the pre-phonemes do not occur in the unrepresented positions.

Stops There are eight stops in PIBL, three of which are voiced and five of which are voiceless and appear in almost all positions. All these stops were derived using the majority rules principle except for *b and *d, which demanded a closer look into previous phonological studies to extrapolate these pre-phonemes.

PIBL *b had four reflexes appearing in different environments. Atk, Bok [β], and Kby [v] appeared in the intervocalic position. Meanwhile, [ɸ] appeared in the word-initial and VC._V position. However, all four varieties of Ibl also exhibited [b] in all these positions. Therefore, it was concluded that the pre-phoneme will be reconstructed as the voiced bilabial stop *b.

As for the reconstruction of *d, reflexes [tʃ] and [ʃ] appeared in environments that suggest that these are also allophones of *d, rather than existing as contrastive units of their own. As Himes (1998, pp. 197–198) pointed out, Kby, Atk [tʃ] and Bok [ʃ] are area-specific reflexes of PNuSC *d. Moreover, previous Ibl studies considered the reflex [ɾ] to be an intervocalic allophone of /d/, instead of being a contrastive unit. Therefore, it is excluded from the reconstructed phonemic inventory.

/b/: voiced bilabial stop

#_V	Atk, Bok, Dak	/**b**ulan/	‘moon’
	Kby	/**ɸ**ulan/	
	Dak	/**b**agidat/	‘lightning’
	Kby	/**b**ugidat/	
VC._V	Atk	/nal**b**əŋ/	‘wet’, as in surface
	Kby	/nal**ɸ**əŋ/	
	Bok	/ʔəm**b**asa/	‘wet’, as in soaked
	Kby	/ʔʌm**b**aʃa/	
	Dak	/ʔum**b**aʃa/	
CV._V	Bok, Dak	/ta**b**ʌn/	‘sky’
	Kby	/ta**v**in/	

/p/: voiceless bilabial stop

#_V	Bok, Kby, Dak	/**p**itʌk/	‘mud’
VC._V	Atk, Bok, Kby	/qɔl**p**ɔt/	‘cloud’
	Dak	/kɨl**p**ut/	

CV._V	Atk, Kby	/ta**p**ɔq/	‘dust’
	Bok	/ʃa**b**uk/	
	Dak	/da**p**ok/	

/d/: voiced dental stop

#_V	Atk, Bok, Dak	/**ʃ**anum/	‘water’
	Kby	/**tʃ**anom/	
	Atk	/**tʃ**agɔm/	‘wind’
	Bok, Dak	/**ʃ**agum/	
	Kby	/**ʃ**agub/	
VC._V	Kby	/ma?**ʃ**em/	‘evening’
CV._V	Bok, Dak	/ma**ʃ**em/	‘evening’

/t/: voiceless dental stop

#_V	Atk, Bok, Kby	/**t**əg?in/	‘cold’, as in weather
	Dak	/**t**ʌgin/	
CV._V	Atk, Bok	/?əmpə**t**aŋ/	‘warm’
	Kby	/pə**t**aŋ/	
	Dak	/pa**t**aŋ/	
V_#	Atk	/səkki**t**/	‘sun’
	Bok	/səki**t**/	
	Kby	/səkk^{h}i**t**/	
	Dak	/ʃaki**t**/	

/g/: voiced velar stop

CV._V	Dak	/ba**g**idat/	‘lightning’
	Kby	/bu**g**idat/	
V_.CV	Atk	/?əma**g**?an/	‘dry’
	Bok	/?əmə**g**?an/	

/k/: voiceless velar stop

#_V	Bok, Dak	/**k**ejɾol/	‘thunder’
	Kby	/**k**eɾol/	
CV._V	Atk	/?a**qq**ɔw/	‘day’
	Bok	/?a**k^{h}**u/	
	Kby, Dak	/?a**k**u/	
V_#	Bok, Kby, Dak	/pitʌ**k**/	‘mud’

/q/: voiceless uvular stop

#_V	Atk, Bok, Kby	/**q**ɔlpɔt/	‘cloud’
	Dak	/**k**ɨlput/	
V_#	Atk, Kby	/tapɔ**q**/	‘dust’
	Bok	/ʃabu**k**/	
	Dak	/dapo**k**/	

/ʔ/: glottal stop

#_V	Bok, Dak	/**ʔ**amol/	‘dew’
	Kby	/**ʔ**amul/	
VC._V	Atk	/ʔəmag**ʔ**an/	‘dry’
	Bok	/ʔəməg**ʔ**an/	
V_.CV	Kby	/ma**ʔ**ʃem/	‘evening’

Nasals There are three voiced nasals in PIBL. Since the reflexes of these nasals have little to no diversity, the majority rules principle was applied to derive the pre-phonemes.

/m/: voiced bilabial nasal

#_V	Kby	/**m**aʔʃem/	‘evening’
	Bok, Dak	/**m**aʃem/	
CV._V	Bok, Dak	/ʔa**m**ol/	‘dew’
	Kby	/ʔa**m**ul/	
V_.CV	Bok	/ʔə**m**basa/	‘wet’, as in soaked
	Kby	/ʔʌ**m**baʃa/	
	Dak	/ʔu**m**baʃa/	
V_#	Atk	/tʃagə**m**/	‘wind’
	Bok, Dak	/ʃagu**m**/	
	Kby	/ʃagu**b**/	

/n/: voiced alveolar nasal

#_V	Atk	/**n**albəŋ/	‘wet’, as in surface
	Kby	/**n**alɸəŋ/	
CV._V	Atk, Bok, Dak	/ʃa**n**um/	‘water’
	Kby	/tʃa**n**om/	
V_#	Atk, Kby	/ʔura**n**/	‘rain’
	Bok, Dak	/ʔɔra**n**/	

/ŋ/: voiced velar nasal

CV._C	Ibl[2]	/bu**ŋ**dol/ /bo**ŋ**dol/ /bu**n**dol/	'rainbow'
V_#	Bok, Dak Kby	/diru**m**/ /ʔadiro**ŋ**/	'shadow'

Fricatives There is only one fricative in PIBL, the voiceless alveolar fricative *s. The reflexes [s] and [ʃ] had a relatively equal distribution among the four varieties in the word-initial, intervocalic, and word-final positions; thus, making it difficult to infer the underlying form. There was no discovered literature on the complementary distribution of the two fricatives in Ibl. Ultimately, it was decided that the pre-phoneme will be reconstructed as *s due for two reasons. First, the reflex [s] is applied consistently in Kby, which is hypothesized to be the older variety of Ibl; thus, the probability of its forms' similarity to PIBL might be higher than the other varieties. Second, proto-forms from higher subgroupings of lexical items with the reflexes in question usually manifest [s] over [ʃ]. Hence, *s was deemed to be the pre-phoneme from which these reflexes stemmed. For comparative purposes, the proto-forms retrieved from Himes (1998) and Blust and Trussel's "The Austronesian Comparative Dictionary" (2020) will also be included in the examples below.

/s/: voiceless alveolar fricative

#_V	Atk	/**s**ɔkkit/	'sun'
	Bok	/**s**ɔkit/	
	Kby	/**s**ɔkk^{h}it/	
	Dak	/**ʃ**akit/	
	Cf. PPH ***s**ikat, PNuSC ***s**ɨgɨ́t		
CV._V	Bok	/ʔɔmba**s**a/	'wet', as in soaked
	Kby	/ʔʌmba**ʃ**a/	
	Dak	/ʔumba**ʃ**a/	
	Cf. PMP *ba**s**eq		
V_#	Atk, Bok	/ʔajɔ**ʃ**/	'current, flow'
	Kby	/ʔaju**s**/	
	Cf. PMP *qaru**s**		

Lateral Approximants There is one lateral approximant in PIBL. This segment appears in word-final positions, as well as in between consonant and vowel segments.

[2]Ibl datasets from SIL without any indicated variety were consulted for lexical items that were not included in the Cruz et al. (2018b) and Lyman and Wolfenden (2018) datasets.

On the contrary, word-initial and intervocalic *l becomes [d], as discussed by Himes (1998), Ruffolo (2004), and Ameda et al. (2011).

/l/: voiced alveolar lateral approximant

#_V	Kby	/**d**abi/	'night'
CV._V	Atk, Bok, Kby, Dak	/ta**l**aw/	'star'
V_.CV	Atk, Bok, Kby	/qɔ**l**pɔt/	'cloud'
	Dak	/ki**l**put/	
V_#	Bok, Dak	/ʔamo**l**/	'dew'
	Kby	/ʔamu**l**/	

Glides There are two voiced glides in PIBL. First is the voiced labial-velar approximant *w, which only appears in the word-final position in the datasets. Second is the voiced palatal glide *j, which appears in intervocalic environments.

/w/: voiced labial-velar approximant

#_V	Atk, Bok, Kby, Dak	/tala**w**/	'star'

/j/: voiced palatal approximant

CV._V	Atk, Bok	/ʔa**j**ɔʃ/	'current, flow'
	Kby	/ʔa**j**us/	

5.1.2 Vowels

A four-vowel system was reconstructed for PIBL, which was also consistently posited by the referenced phonological studies. The vowels /i/ and /a/ were consistently noted by the four studies; therefore, these were included in the inventory. Additionally, Cruz et al.'s (2018a) analyses on the Ibl vowel phonemes were consulted to reconstruct the open middle and close middle back vowels as /u/ and the central vowels as /ə/. For the diphthongs present in Bok, Dak /k**ej**rol/ and Atk /ʔaqqɔ**w**/, it was decided that these might have been due to vowel breaking since its cognates from the other varieties do not exhibit diphthongs. Thus, these were reconstructed as one vowel only.

The reflexes of PIBL vowels will be shown below to further visualize how the pre-phonemes were derived. Again, due to the limited data available, some of the positions were not represented. However, this does not necessarily mean that the pre-phonemes do not occur in the unrepresented positions.

/i/: close front unrounded vowel

C_C	Bok, Dak	/k**e**jrol/	'thunder'
	Kby	/k**e**rol/	

	Atk, Bok, Kby	/təgʔ**i**n/	‘cold’, as in weather
	Dak	/tʌg**i**n/	
C_#	Atk, Bok	/ʔəddaβ**i**/	‘night’
	Kby	/dab**i**/	
	Dak	/ʔadab**i**/	

/u/: close back rounded vowel

C_C	Atk, Kby	/ʔ**u**ran/	‘rain’
	Bok, Dak	/ʔ**ɔ**ran/	
C_#	Atk	/ʔaqq**ɔ**w/	‘day’
	Bok	/ʔak^{h}**u**/	
	Kby, Dak	/ʔak**u**/	

/ə/: close-mid central unrounded vowel

C_C	Bok, Dak	/tabʌn/	‘sky’
	Kby	/tav**i**n/	
	Atk	/nalbəŋ/	‘wet’, as in surface
	Kby	/nalɸəŋ/	

/a/: open front unrounded vowel

C_C	Atk, Bok	/ʔəmpət**a**ŋ/	‘warm’
	Kby	/pət**a**ŋ/	
	Dak	/pat**a**ŋ/	

5.2 Reconstructed Pre-Forms

From the phonemic inventory of PIBL, 24 lexical items were analyzed, and 25 items were reconstructed from these. These items can be categorized into two semantic domains: astronomy (cloud, sun, moon, stars, sky, day, night, evening, and shadow) and meteorology (water, current/flow, dew, dust, mud, rain, thunder, lightning, rainbow, cold, hot, warm, wet, and dry). Moreover, suprasegmentals such as vowel length, pitch, and stress were not considered since only one of the datasets had phonetic transcriptions. The reconstructed PIBL lexical items are listed in Table 8. Meanwhile, the correspondences can be perused in Section 9.3.

Most of the lexical items were reconstructed just by substituting the reflexes with the reconstructed phonemes, such as the following:

PIBL			
*qulput	Atk, Bok, Kby	qɔlpɔt	‘cloud’
	Dak	kɨlput	

*dapuq	Atk, Kby Bok Dak	tapɔq ʃabuk dapok	‘dust’
*bulan	Atk, Bok, Dak Kby	bulan ɸulan	‘moon’
*pitək	Bok, Kby, Dak	pitʌk	‘mud’
*ʔudan	Atk, Kby Bok, Dak	ʔuran ʔɔran	‘rain’
*buŋlul	Ibl	buŋdol boŋdol bundol	‘rainbow’
*ʔaliduŋ	Bok, Dak Kby	dirum ʔadiroŋ	‘shadow’
*tabən	Bok, Dak Kby	tabʌn tavin	‘sky’
*talaw	Atk, Bok, Kby, Dak	talaw	‘star’
*danum	Atk, Bok, Dak Kby	ʃanum tʃanɔm	‘water’
*dagəm	Atk Bok, Dak Kby	tʃagəm ʃagum ʃagub	‘wind’

Meanwhile, the following reconstructions were not as straightforward as others. Common phonological processes such as sound addition, vowel breaking, and sound loss were considered in reconstructing the following lexical items. Moreover, since it has been proven by Ruffolo (2004) and Cruz et al. (2018a) that geminated consonants in Ibl are allophones of their non-geminated forms, geminated consonants were not included in the reconstruction. It can also be observed that the reconstructed pre-forms below are similar to the Kby forms since these forms are either lesser used or exhibit simpler forms than the other varieties.

PIBL			
*ʔaku	Atk Bok Kby, Dak	ʔaqqɔw ʔak^{h}u ʔaku	‘day’
*kidul	Bok, Dak Kby	kejrol kerol	‘thunder’
*maʔdəm	Bok, Dak Kby	maʃem maʔʃem	‘evening’

*səkit	Atk	səkkit	‘sun’
	Bok	səkit	
	Kby	səkk^{h}it	
	Dak	ʃakit	

Some reconstructions also manifested the reflexes of the uvular trill *R. These were mostly consistent with the /l/ or /g/ reflexes of the Southern Cordilleran languages. However, one reconstruction exhibited /j/ instead of the expected reflexes. The reconstructions from higher groupings taken from Blust and Trussel (2020) were included for comparison.

PIBL			
***l**abi	Atk, Bok	ʔə**dd**aβi	‘night’
	Kby	**d**abi	
	Dak	ʔa**d**abi	
	Cf. PAN	***R**abi-an	
*ʔamu**l**	Bok, Dak	ʔamo**l**	‘dew’
	Kby	ʔamu**l**	
	Cf. PMP	*lamu**R**	
*ʔa**j**us	Atk, Bok	ʔa**j**ɔʃ	‘current, flow’
	Kby	ʔa**j**us	
	Cf. PMP	*qa**R**us	
*bagi**l**at	Kby	bu**g**idat	‘lightning’
	Ibl	ba**g**idat	
	Cf. PWMP	*ma**R**-kilat	

Some lexical items needed clarifications regarding their semantic nuances. To achieve this, a native Ibl speaker from Benguet was consulted. For the lexical items ‘cold’ and ‘wet’, the six datasets provided two distinct forms for each. It was revealed that one meant ‘cold’ as in weather, while the other meant ‘cold’ to the touch. For ‘wet’, one held the meaning of ‘wet’ as in soaked, while the other meant ‘wet’ as in surface. Lastly, the lexical items ‘hot’ and ‘warm’ had the same reconstruction *ʔəm-pətaŋ. As such, it was treated as one reconstruction that held both meanings. A morpheme boundary symbol was also included in some of the following reconstructions to separate the complex morpheme from the root word.

PIBL			
*təgʔin	Atk	təgʔin	‘cold’, as in weather
	Bok	təg.ʔin, tʌgin	
	Kby	təgʔin	
	Dak	tʌgin	

*ʔaŋ-qətit	Kby	ʔaŋkʌtit	‘cold’, as in to touch
	Ibl	(ʔʌŋ)qʌtit, ʔʌŋkatit	
*ʔəm-basa	Bok	ʔəmbasa	‘wet’, as in soaked
	Kby	ʔʌmbaʃa	
	Dak	ʔumbaʃa	
	Ibl	(ʔʌm)basa	
*nalbəŋ	Atk	nalbəŋ	‘wet’, as in surface
	Bok	nalbɨŋ	
	Kby	nalɸəŋ	
	Ibl	(na)lbʌg, nalbʌŋ	
*ʔəm-pətaŋ	Bok	ʔanatoŋ	‘hot’
	Kby	ʔampatoŋ	
	Dak	ʔampatoŋ	
	Ibl	(ʔʌm)pʌtaŋ	
*ʔəm-pətaŋ	Atk	ʔəmpətaŋ	‘warm’
	Bok	ʔəmpətaŋ, pataŋ	
	Kby	pətaŋ, ʔampataŋ	
	Dak	pataŋ	

Table 8
Reconstructed Pre-Ibaloi Terms

PIBL Reconstruction	Gloss
*ʔajus	‘current, flow’
*ʔaku	‘day’
*ʔaliduŋ	‘shadow’
*ʔamul	‘dew’
*ʔaŋ-qətit	‘cold’, as in to touch
*ʔə-magʔan	‘dry’
*ʔəm-basa	‘wet’, as in soaked
*ʔəm-pətaŋ	‘hot, warm’
*ʔudan	‘rain’
*bagilat	‘lightning’
*bulan	‘moon’
*buŋdul	‘rainbow’
*dagəm	‘wind’
*danum	‘water’
*dapuq	‘dust’
*kidul	‘thunder’
*labi	‘night’
*maʔdəm	‘evening’

PIBL Reconstruction	Gloss
*nalbəŋ	'wet', as in surface
*pitək	'mud'
*qulput	'cloud'
*səkit	'sun'
*tabən	'sky'
*talaw	'star'
*təgʔin	'cold', as in weather

6 Conclusion and Recommendations

Consulting four phonological studies on Ibl and four of its varieties, the researchers reconstructed 19 phonemes in PIBL: 15 of which are consonant phonemes (*b, *p, *d, *t, *g, *k, *q, *ʔ, *m, *n, *ŋ, *s, *j, *w, and *l) and four are vowel phonemes (*i, *u, *ə, and *a). Among these, the pepet or fourth vowel was reconstructed as *ə, while open middle and close middle back vowels were reconstructed as *u. Pre-vowels *i and *a were unanimously included in previous Ibl phonological studies; thus, these were included in the pre-phonemic inventory. Moreover, most of the pre-consonants were reconstructed using the majority rules principle. Meanwhile, some pre-phonemes like *b, *d, *j, and *l needed an extensive look into previous phonological studies to determine their underlying forms from their reflexes. Conversely, pre-phoneme *s was derived from consulting reflexes from Kby and higher subgroupings.

Most of the 25 lexical items were reconstructed by substituting the reflexes with the pre-phonemes, while some of the lexical items require consideration for common phonological processes to reconstruct the items' pre-forms. Additionally, Ibaloi, identified under PSC languages, manifested the expected reflex of the uvular trill *R as either *l with the allophone [d] in word-initial and intervocalic position, or *g. However, there was one exception where it was manifested as *j which might be explained further by expanding the word list to see other instances of where this might happen. Furthermore, some lexical items needed clarifications regarding their semantic nuances, resulting in lexical items with converging and diverging meanings.

Among the four varieties discussed, Kby seems to be the closest to PIBL. Himes (1998) cited oral tradition of how Ibaloi speakers migrated from Pangasinan, northward toward present-day Kabayan (p. 174). This coincides with Ruffolo's (2004) description where they identified Kabayan as the homeland of Ibaloi speakers with multiple varieties among each barangay, and that they live alongside Kankanaey and Kalanguya speakers. This supports Dyen's (1956) conclusion that the place of higher linguistic diversity can be inferred as the point of dispersion.

The researchers acknowledge that further delving into the varieties mentioned by Ruffolo (2004) and adding more lexical items to the 25 that were reconstructed in this study would uncover even more information about PIBL that could account for the lapses in this study if there are any. Moreover, studies may further explore the rela-

tionship between ethnoastronomy and agriculture which could then be developed into a cultural reconstruction of PIBL. Semantic domains peripherally related to the discussed could also add significant insight into said cultural reconstruction if the aim is to be holistic. For example, the addition of lexical inventory from other natural phenomena such as earthquakes and erosion, and even from naturally occurring landscapes and bodies of water.

Finally, the Cordillera Central mountain range, the people that till and shape its soil, and the sky above it has stood formidable, ceaseless, and eternal since the day of their ancestors. It is the hope that they will continue to preserve and nurture one another, and without a doubt, continue to resist the waves of neocolonialism that try to upend the mountains from the very base on which it stands.

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8 List of Abbreviations

PAN	Proto-Austronesian
PMP	Proto-Malayo-Polynesian
PWMP	Proto-Western Malayo-Polynesian
PPH	Proto-Philippine
PC	Proto-Cordilleran
PSC	Proto-Southern Cordilleran
PWSC	Proto-Western Southern Cordilleran
PNuSC	Proto-Nuclear Southern Cordilleran
PIBL	Pre-Ibaloi
Ifa	Ifugao
Kyj	Karaw
Kak	Kalanguya
KNKS	Southern Kankanaey
Pag	Pangasinan
Ibl	Ibaloi
Atk[3]	Atok
Bok[3]	Bokod
Kby[3]	Kabayan
Dak[3]	Daklan

[3]These languages have no ISO codes. Their abbreviations are derived from Himes's "The Southern Cordilleran Group of Philippine Languages" (1998).

9 Appendix

9.1 Consonant Correspondences Among Four Ibaloi Varieties

*	Atk					Bkd					Kby					Dak				
	#_V	VC._V	CV._V	V_.CV	V_#	#_V	VC._V	CV._V	V_.CV	V_#	#_V	VC._V	CV._V	V_.CV	V_#	#_V	VC._V	CV._V	V_.CV	V_#
	b	b				b	b	b			b	b	b			b	b	b		
*b			β					β			ɸ	ɸ								
													v							
*p	p	p				p	p				p	p	p			p	p	p		
								b												
																d				
	t										t									
*d											tʃ									
	ʃ					ʃ		ʃ				ʃ	ʃ			ʃ		ʃ		
			ɾ					ɾ					ɾ					ɾ		
*t	t		t		t	t		t		t	t		t		t	t		t		t
*g			g	g				g	g				g	g				g		
*k			k			k		k		k	k		k		k	k		k		k
			q																	
*q	q				q	q					q				q					
										k						k				k
*ʔ	ʔ	ʔ				ʔ	ʔ				ʔ	ʔ		ʔ		ʔ				
			m	m	m	m		m	m	m	m		m	m	m	m		m	m	m
*m								n												
															b					
*n	n		n		n	n		n		n	n		n		n			n		n
*ŋ					ŋ					ŋ				ŋ	ŋ					ŋ
										m										m
*s	s					s		s			s				s					
					ʃ					ʃ			ʃ			ʃ		ʃ		
*l			l	l				l	l	l			l	l	l			l	l	l
	d		d			d		d			d		d			d		d		
*w					w					w					w					w
*j			j					j	j				j					j		

9.2 Vowel Correspondences Among Four Ibaloi Varieties

*	Atk		Bkd		Kby		Dak	
	C_C	C_#	C_C	C_#	C_C	C_#	C_C	C_#
*i		i	i	i	i	i	i	
			e		e		e	
							ɨ	
*u	ɔ		ɔ		ɔ		ɔ	
	u		u	u	u	u	u	
			ʌ		ʌ		ʌ	
					ɨ			
*ɘ	ɘ		ɘ		ɘ			
	a						a	
							u	
	a		a		a		a	
*a			ɘ					
							u	

9.3 Comparative Analysis of Some Astronomical and Meteorological Cognate Terms From Previous Ibaloi Studies

Gloss	PIBL	Atk	Bkd		Kby		Dak	Ibl			
		Cruz et al. (2018a)	Cruz et al. (2018a)	Lyman and Wolfenden (2018)	Cruz et al. (2018a)	Lyman and Wolfenden (2018)	Lyman and Wolfenden (2018)	Elkins (1962)	Ballard (1966–1970)	Wimbish (1984)	Ambrosio (2010)
cloud	*qulput	ˈqɔl.pɔt	ˈqɔl.pɔt	kɨlput	ˈqɔl.pɔt	kolput	kɨlput	qolpot	qolpot	kolpot	kolpot
cold[4]	*təgʔin, *ʔaŋ-qətit	təg.ˈʔin	ˈtəg.ʔin	tʌgin	ˈtəg.ʔin	ʔaŋkʌtit	tʌgin	(ʔʌŋ)qʌtit	(ʔʌŋ)qʌtit	ʔʌŋkatit	-
current, flow	*ʔajus	ʔa.ˈjɔʃ	ˈʔa.jɔʃ	ʔajos	ˈʔaːjus	ʔumbuluʃ	buluʃ	-	-	-	-
day	*ʔaku	ʔaq.ˈqɔw	ˈʔa.kʰu	ʔaku	ʔa.ˈku	kakawan	ʔaku	ʔakʌw	ʔakʌw	ʔakuw	ʔakuw
dew	*ʔamul	-	-	ʔamol	-	ʔamul	ʔamol	-	-	-	-
dry	*ʔə-magʔan	ʔə.ˈmaːg.ʔan	ʔə.ˈməg.ʔan	baga	naʔ.ˈtjan	ʔamagan	ʔumagan	(ʔʌ)magʔan	(ʔʌ)mag(ʔan)	ʔʌmagʔan	-
dust	*dapuq	ta.ˈpɔq	ˈʃa.buk	dapok	taˈ.pɔq	dʌpuk	dapok	tapok, tʃʌpʔol	tapoq, tʃʌpʔal	tapok	-
evening	*maʔdəm	-	-	maʃem	-	maʔʃem	maʃem	-	-	-	-
hot[5]	*ʔəm-pətaŋ	-	-	ʔanatoŋ	-	ʔampatoŋ	ʔampatoŋ	(ʔʌm)pʌtaŋ	(ʌm)pʌtaŋ	ʔʌmpʌtaŋ	-
lightning	*bagilat	-	-	kejmat	-	bugidat	bagidat	bagidat	bagidat	kimat	bagidat
moon	*bulan	ˈbuː.lan	bu.ˈlan	bulan	ˈɸuː.lan	bulan	bulan	bulan	bolan	bulan	bolan
mud	*pitək	-	-	pitʌk	-	pitʌk	pitʌk	pitʌk	pitʌk, pitoy	pitʌk	-
night	*labi	ʔəd.ˈdaː.βi	ʔəd.ˈda.βi	ʔadabi	da.ˈbi	malabi	ʔadabi	dabi, kalabijan	kalʌbian	dabi	-
rain	*ʔudan	ˈʔuː.ɾan	ˈʔɔ.ɾan	ʔuran	ʔɔ.ˈɾan	ʔunuran	ʔuran	ʔoran	ʔoran	ʔoran	oran
rainbow	*buŋlul	-	-	-	-	-	-	buŋdol	boŋdol	bundol	boŋdol
shadow	*ʔaliduŋ	-	-	dirum	-	ʔadiroŋ	dirum	ʔadiroŋ	ʔadiroŋ	ʔadirom	-
sky	*tabən	ˌnaj.ˈqaː.jaŋ	ˈdaː.ŋit	tabʌn	ˌnaj.ˈka.jaŋ	tavin	tabʌn	tabʌn	tabʌn	doŋit, najkajaŋ	tabin
star	*talaw	taː.ˈlaw	ˈtaː.law	paʃiŋʃiŋ	ta.ˈlaw	talaw	talaw	talaw	talaw	talaw	talaw
sun	*səkit	sək.ˈkit	sə.ˈkit	ʃakit	sək.ˈkʰit	ʔakʸu	ʃakit	-	-	sʌkit	-
thunder	*kidul	-	-	kejrol	-	kerol	kejrol	qirol	kirol	kerol	kirol

Gloss	PIBL	Atk	Bkd		Kby		Dak	Ibl			
		Cruz et al. (2018a)	Cruz et al. (2018a)	Lyman and Wolfenden (2018)	Cruz et al. (2018a)	Lyman and Wolfenden (2018)	Lyman and Wolfenden (2018)	Elkins (1962)	Ballard (1966–1970)	Wimbish (1984)	Ambrosio (2010)
warm[5]	*ʔəm-pətaŋ	ʔəm.pə.ˈtaŋ	ʔəm.ˈpə.taŋ	pataŋ	pə.taŋ	ʔampataŋ	pataŋ	-	-	-	-
water	*danum	ˈʃaː.num	ˈʃa.num	ʃanum	tʃa.ˈnɔm	tʃanum	ʃanum	tʃanom	tʃanom	ʃanom	-
wet[4]	*nalbəŋ, *ʔəm-basa	naːl.bəŋ	ˈʔəm.ba.sa	nalbiŋ	nal.ɸəŋ	ʔʌmbaʃa	ʔumbaʃa	(na)lbʌg, (ʔʌm)basa	nalbʌŋ, (ʔʌm)basa	ʔʌmbasa	-
wind	*dagəm	tʃa.ˈgəm	ʃagum	ˈʃaː.gəm	ʃagub	ˈʃaː.gəm	ʃagum	tʃagʌm	tʃagʌm	ʃagʌm	tʃagim

[4]These items have the same reflexes; hence, they were considered as one form. However, these were separated in this table to present the reflexes provided by the datasets.

[5]These items manifested two different forms that were confirmed by the informant to have relevant semantic nuances; therefore, two forms were reconstructed.

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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* /ˌfɪləˈpinɛks/ 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 nonconformity, 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	*ako* 'me', *akin* 'my'	*kami/tayo* 'us', *amin/atin/namin* 'our'
2nd Person	*ikaw/mo* 'you', *iyo* 'your'	*kayo* 'you', *inyo/ninyo* 'your'
3rd Person	*siya* 'he/she', *niya/kaniya* 'him, his, her'	*sila* 'them', *nila/kanila* '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
asawa	spouse	*pamangkin*	nephew/niece
anak	child	*inaanak*	godchild
apo	grandchild	*kinakapatid*	godsibling
kapatid	sibling	*biyenan*	parent-in-law
panganay	firstborn	*manugang*	child-in-law
bunso	lastborn	*balo*	widow/widower
pinsan	cousin	*balae*	child-in-law's parents
		bilas	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
ama/tatay	father	*lolo/ingkong*	grandfather
ina/nanay	mother	*lola/impo*	grandmother
kuya	older brother	*tiyo*	uncle
ate	older sister	*tiya*	aunt
diko	second older brother	*ninong*	godfather
ditse	second older sister	*ninang*	godmother
sangko	third older brother	*bayaw*	brother-in-law
sanse	third older sister	*hipag*	sister-in-law
siko	fourth older brother	*siyaho*	elder brother's husband
sitse	fourth older sister	*inso*	elder brother's wife
toto	younger brother		
nene	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 percetually 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
manggagamot	doctor/healer
manghihilot	a person practicing the traditional Filipino practice of healing
manananggol	lawyer
guro	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
doktor	male/female doctor	*arkitekto*	male/female architect
doktora	female doctor	*arkitekta*	female architect
abogado	male/female lawyer	*inhinyero*	male/female engineer
abogada	female lawyer	*inhinyera*	female engineer
maestro	male/female teacher	*tindero*	salesman/saleswoman
maestra	female teacher	*tindera*	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', *strikto/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
magandang bulaklak	beautiful flower
diwang ginto ng makata	golden consciousness of the poet
paraluman ng bayani	muse of the hero
nagniningning na bituin sa gabi	shining star at night
tahanan ng lalaking naglagalag	home 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
haligi ng tahanan	pillar of the home	to refer to a father
ilaw ng tahanan	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
macho-nurin	masculine-follower	henpecked husband/boyfriend
under the saya	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
kalapating mababa ang lipad	low-flying dove	prostitute
kulasisi	hanging parrot	mistress
ibong malaya	free bird	bachelor
matandang tinali	old rooster	a bachelor unwilling to espouse
maningalang-pugad	to look up a nest	to court a woman
higad	caterpillar	lascivious woman
barako	boar	libertine man
hipon	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 *pagkalalaki*, such as the idea of a *tunay na lalaki* 'real man' and the trait of *pagkamaginoo* '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 *iniyakan* 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. Admittingly, 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. *Alitaptap* Eto na si bayaw, dala-dala'y ilaw.	1. *Atis* Ate mo, ate ko, ate ng lahat ng tao.	1. *Ahas* Baston ng kapitan, hindi mahawakan.
2. *Barbero* Pari ma't arsobispo, napapagalaw ang ulo.	2. *Balimbing* Nakatalikod na ang prinsesa, ang mukha'y nakaharap pa.	2. *Walis* Isang hukbong sundalo, dikit-dikit ang mga ulo.
3. *Langgam* Maliit pa si kumpare, nakakaakyat na sa tore.	3. *Bayabas* Nakayuko ang reyna, 'di nalalaglag ang korona.	
4. *Paruparo* Hindi pari, hindi hari, nagdadamit ng sari-sari.	4. *Gitara* Instrumentong pangharana, hugis nito ay katawan ng dalaga.	
5. *Sapatos* Alipin ng hari, hindi makalakad kung hindi itali.	5. *Kalabasa* Ang ina'y gumagapang pa, ang anak ay umuupo na.	
6. *Suman* Titi ng pari, tadtad ng tali.	6. *Kasoy* Isang prinsesa, nakaupo sa tasa.	
7. *Zipper* Dumaan ang hari, nagkagatan ang mga pari.	7. *Kawayan* Nang bata ay nagsaya, at naghubo nang dalaga.	

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

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

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Essay

Does artificial intelligence genuinely capture the essence of language?

Jan Apolline D. Estrella

If you have been around Facebook, Twitter, and Tiktok, then you most probably have heard about the viral artificial intelligence (AI) bot, ChatGPT. Publicly released just this November 2022, this state-of-the-art technology by OpenAI has recently taken the internet by storm by making science fiction a reality. It can talk to you in a very natural and human-like way, and it can answer almost any question that you might have.

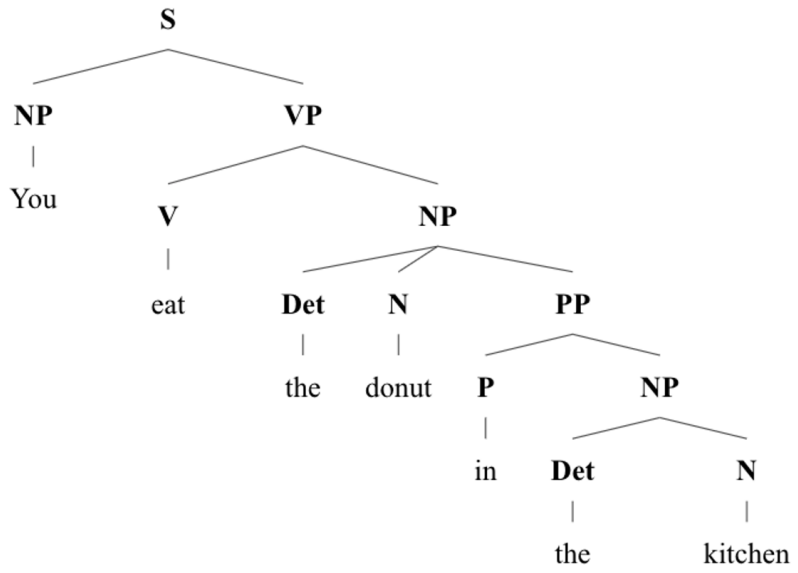
In less than a week, it caught the attention of over a million users not just for how human-like it is or for how similar it is to Tony Stark's AI butler J.A.R.V.I.S. in the Iron Man movies, but also for how it has proven itself to be useful to working professionals who use ChatGPT as a tool for better and faster writing of articles, academic papers, job applications, and even computer code (Aydın & Karaarslan, 2022). It has also been used by students to automatically write their essays for them. However, this is a controversial use case of plagiarism that requires an entirely different conversation for another time.

ChatGPT is not the first of its kind. There is actually an area in artificial intelligence that is dedicated solely to making computers understand and use human language. This field in computer science is aptly called natural language processing (NLP). Perhaps it is the first time you have heard of it, but it is definitely not the first time you have experienced it. NLP is behind the helpful—but sometimes annoying—autocomplete feature and spell checker on your phones. It is also the mechanism that carefully assists you in writing emails on Gmail and papers on Google Docs by predicting the next words that you want to say or correcting your grammar. You might have even relied on NLP to finish your song translation class project as you made use of Google Translate. Beyond academic and professional usage, you might still find yourself depending on NLP as you count on Netflix's recommendation system to lead you to your next movie or series. Even before ChatGPT became famous, NLP has been around you all along.

Now that you are aware of what NLP is, you might be asking yourself, "But how can a computer understand human language?" A short history of NLP will lead you to conclude that there have been multiple answers to this question over the years. NLP emerged in the late 1940s when people began to hope for an automatic machine translator. During this time, most researchers came from a background in the study of linguistics and language. NLP research in this period was primarily focused on syntax.

Linguists felt the need to form an explicit, complete, and formal characterization of language that can be applied to computer algorithms (Jones, 1994). One notable researcher from this phase is Noam Chomsky, the father of modern linguistics. In 1957, he published the book *Syntactic Structures*, where he recognized that for a language to be understandable to a computer, the sentence structure would have to be changed (Foote, 2019). With this, he introduced an elegant style of representing grammar called Phrase Structure Grammar, which models how a sentence can be broken into parts due to the recursive nature of language. For example, a sentence can be broken down into a noun phrase and a verb phrase; a verb phrase can then be broken down into a verb and a noun phrase; a noun phrase can then be broken down into a determiner, noun, and prepositional phrase; and so on.

Figure 1
An Example of a Phrase Structure Tree



In other words, NLP technologies back then focused on the implementation of these graceful yet brute-force handwritten textbook rules. Unfortunately, these rules can be too rigid, and making them can be exhaustive for researchers. On top of that, the computers they used had very limited storage and were extremely slow to take in all these syntactic rules. NLP was struggling and it is easy to see why. After 12 years of research and 20 million dollars, the task of machine translation was still more costly than manual translation. So in 1966, the U.S. National Research Council officially halted the funding of NLP.

It took 14 years for the past failure of NLP to be redeemed with a new revolution: the focus shifted from syntactic to stochastic. To put it simply, the aforementioned tedious rules were replaced with statistical and probabilistic methods (Foote, 2019). This has

been made possible by the existence of more powerful computers. Before things get too abstract for you, let me share with you a tangible example of an NLP technology that utilizes statistical reasoning: Google Translate. This is how it works: by finding phrase or sentence patterns in a humongous dataset of translated texts, it tries to find pieces of text most likely to be associated with the text you want to be translated (Grajales, 2015). Forming sentences depend on statistically predicting what the next word after a sequence of words will be by copying from examples.

These statistical methods served as a stepping stone to more modern artificial intelligence that is better at learning the patterns found in different languages. Such well-known new technologies include something called transformers, which is behind the genius of ChatGPT. With mathematical equations, a transformer tries to observe the relationships between all the words in a sentence, and figures out the specific contexts that certain words or phrases are often used in. For example, let us look at two English sentences:

> The chicken didn't eat the strawberry because **it** was full.
>
> The chicken didn't eat the strawberry because **it** was rotten.

In the first sentence, *it* refers to *chicken*. But in the second sentence, *it* refers to *strawberry*. In the translation of these two sentences into French, the translation of *it* varies depending on the gender of the subject it points to. If the masculine noun *chicken* is the focus, then *it* is translated to *il*. But if the feminine noun *strawberry* is the antecedent, then the translation is *elle*.

> Le **poulet** n'a pas mangé la fraise car **il** était plein.
>
> Le poulet n'a pas mangé la **fraise** car **elle** était pourrie.

By paying attention to the surrounding context of each word, a transformer is able to navigate through such ambiguities in a way that previous approaches could not. Hence, with the success of such methods, stochastic models have since then dominated the task of "understanding" human language in the field of artificial intelligence.

Not to sound too philosophical, but the question now is, is this "understanding" really understanding? With the unquestionable excellence of artificial intelligence in performing language tasks, this is a question that people already forget to ask. Although their performance is indeed groundbreaking, stochastic technologies like Google Translate and ChatGPT do not make use of any grammar rules, dictionaries, nor even guidance from linguists or language experts. One can also wonder why these models have to take in datasets as large as 36 million sentences to "learn" a language (Vaswani et al., 2017) while a child can learn a language by hearing just a few sentences from his parents. This makes one realize that these technologies seem to have no understanding of language after all! As the father of modern linguistics who advocates for an elegant and simple theory of language through his works, Chomsky ridicules machine learning that uses purely statistical methods to mimic a certain behavior without really understanding the meaning behind that behavior (Gold, 2011). AI bots

sometimes act like clueless students who choose to find the answer to a math problem on Google without trying to understand the solution. This drove me to ask a question that allowed me to explore my hopes and establish my convictions as a wandering computer science undergraduate in the field of natural language processing: does artificial intelligence genuinely capture the essence of language?

For a long time, I have admired the elegance of Chomsky's philosophy and have sought to uncover what it means for a computer to "understand" language even if it means deviating from how present-day statistical and probabilistic technology works. I have only been able to create and interpret ideas regarding this artificial intelligence debate from an algorithmic and computational perspective: language understanding by simplicity versus by stochasticity. But after a brief experience of being a linguistics student under an elective course, I found that this tension—when translated to a language used by linguists—equates to a battle between the prescriptive and descriptive approaches to language.

The prescriptive approach views grammar as a set of rules that define the "proper" use of language (Yule, 2010). It basically focuses on how language should be used. For instance, one must not end a sentence with a preposition. Sounds familiar? (Hint: Chomsky appears to have a prescriptive approach to NLP.) On the other hand, the descriptive approach revolves around how language is used. Researchers gather and analyze samples of language usage and attempt to characterize language from there. They focus more on the patterns and habits of people when using language. Does it ring any bells? (Hint: In some way, AI tools seem to act like these descriptive linguists.)

In the beginning, I mistakenly thought I immediately had to take a side. But over time, I learned that it is not the answers that bring us to the breakthrough, but the questions.

> What does language understanding mean?
>
> Beyond what it looks like, what is intelligence?
>
> Will we be able to create more successful language technologies by understanding how the human brain learns language?
>
> How can machines extract meaning from language?
>
> What does it take for artificial intelligence to genuinely capture the essence of language?

Just as Douglas Hofstadter or "the man who would teach machines to think" would remind, "For now, what is important is not finding the answer, but looking for it."

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Essay

"*Saan ka na? Papunta na.*": The Indirectness of Filipino Communication

Jan Apolline D. Estrella

Saan ka na? Papunta na.
Anong ulam? Masarap.
Kain tayo? Busog pa ako.
Anong oras na? Maaga pa.
Tara, gala? Marami pa akong kailangang gawin eh.
Saan tayo kakain? Kahit saan.

This is how Filipinos usually reply to simple questions. Did you notice anything? *Ang labo nating mga Pilipino!*

We answer a "where" question—like *Saan ka na?*—not with a place, but with a vague remark. We answer a question that clearly asks for what we're about to eat with whether the food is delicious or not. We unnecessarily answer a question that only requires a simple "yes" or a "no" reply—like *Kain tayo?*—with something beyond what is asked.

After discovering this phenomenon, I started to intently observe how vaguely I talk to other people. I caught myself on the act when I answered my mom's question "*Alis ka na?*" with "*Kain muna ako.*" Before ending our exchange, I wondered why I replied so vaguely. And so I decided to repeat and revise my answer: "*Hindi pa. Kakain muna ako.*" I then went out of the room and into the world full of conversations yet to be made with the mind of a linguistics student, challenging myself to answer more clearly and still failing. It is either the circumstances do not permit me to do so, or it just simply does not feel right nor natural. Thinking about each instance I fell victim to this habit, I realized that I almost always do not mean for my answers to miss the mark. In fact, my brain deems it perfectly rational and logical to reply that way.

So *bakit ganun?* Well, *ganun talaga*. Kidding aside, I will now face the question at hand: *bakit ang labo nating sumagot?* In more formal words, why does Filipino communication tend to be indirect?

Linguists will say that this is a matter of pragmatics, which is the study of how context contributes to meaning. In other words, meaning that is being conveyed can go beyond the sentence spoken because of context. Under pragmatics, there is such a thing

as a speech act. A speech act is the type of "action" done by a speaker with a certain utterance—like requesting, commanding, informing, and questioning (Yule, 2010). For example, "Give me the plate!" is a command. "Can you lift a chicken?" is a question. But what about "Can you pass me that plate of chicken wings?" Yes, this statement is in the form of a question; but when you hear this, you do not say "Yes, I definitely can." Rather, you will give the speaker the said plate of chicken wings. This "question" turns out to be a command.

The seemingly confusing line earlier is an example of an indirect speech act, which is defined to be an utterance in which one speech act is performed indirectly by performing another. In the case of the plate of chicken wings, the statement intends to act out a command but is spoken as a question. In the Filipino context, "Saan ka na?" without context sounds like an inquiry. However, if this is asked to you by a peer while you are running late for your meet-up, then the question might probably carry a different meaning such as "*Dalian mo*," a command. Feeling the sense of urgency, you then respond with "*Papunta na.*" to offer some relief to your friend and to portray yourself to be more thoughtful and responsible than you actually are. As you can tell from this, the reply actually holds some reason.

This Filipino practice of indirect communication can be owed to our desire to be polite. According to Levinson (1987, as cited in Boonkongsaen, 2013), politeness is seen as conflict avoidance. This definition assumes that each of us has a "face" or a public self-image (Boonkongsaen, 2013; Yule, 2010). If you say something that threatens another person's face (i.e., "*Dalian mo.*"), then what you performed is a face-threatening act. If you say something that minimizes the threat to another person's face, then you just carried out a face-saving act. You might have exhibited this when you answered "*Kain tayo?*" with "*Busog pa ako eh.*" because you did not really feel like spending time with the person you were talking to. Through an indirect speech act, you were able to lighten the burden of rejection and save the other person from embarrassment.

But what about the times where the situation calls for no risk of incriminating oneself nor offending someone? Why did I answer "*Alis ka na?*" with just "*Kakain pa ako*"? Why do we sometimes respond to "*Anong ulam?*" with only "*Masarap*"? What do the speakers or the listeners benefit from not replying straightforwardly? As I reflect upon my own speech actions, I observed that indirect yet detailed answers are a result of my tendency to short-circuit what I want to say. Here, short-circuit does not equate to straightforwardness. On the contrary, I unconsciously aim to skip over potential follow-up questions by just glossing over any necessary explanations in my response. Going back to my conversation with my mother, I intended to remove her need to follow up "*Alis ka na?*" with "*Bakit hindi pa?*" by saying "*Kakain pa ako.*" instead of the too-simple "*Hindi pa.*" In lieu of responding "*Anong ulam?*" with what we are going to eat, we just simply say "*Masarap.*" since our brain short-circuits to the assumption that what really matters here is whether eating will be enjoyable or not.

More than just pondering over the reason behind this habit, I was also amazed at how these roundabout replies come so naturally to me and even the people around me. Simply accepting the answers, the listeners also do not often complain about the speakers' indirectness. A study by Munalim et al. (2022) explores this more in the context

of Filipino faculty meetings. This work confirms that native Filipino speakers in the Philippines do belong to a high-context communication style, with which people are often expected to read between the lines and capture more meaning through surrounding context. (In informal wording, I guess we were just built to be indirect, carrying subtleties everywhere we go.) This style is said to be inherently marked with digression, indirectness and circumlocution which occur in any discussion. This is why the questioning party can usually just have a face-saving "let it go" attitude to indirect answers—which it already considers to be a legitimate response—and why my mother never questions my lack of straightforwardness and excess of descriptive ability.

However, in institutional settings like a school, the intention behind roundabout answers may not be to avoid offending another, but something else: to dishonestly attempt to gain approval by reflecting a deceptive verbal description of reality (Pe-Pua & Protacio-Marcelino, 2000, as cited in Munalim et al., 2022). This reminds me of my Shark Tank-like class in technopreneurship, where our professor would usually scold students whenever they try to answer his difficult questions with totally unrelated answers to make up for what they do not know and what they have not done:

> Professor: *Kaya ba ng* app *ninyo mag*-detect *ng* red tides?
>
> Student: *Kaya po ng* app *namin i*-map *'yung mga* shorelines *sa* Luzon.
>
> Professor: No, that's not what I'm asking.

We have seen that there are different intentions behind one's imprecision: it may be due to being polite, short-circuiting, deceiving for approval, or maybe even something else. Indirectness is truly a nuanced aspect of Filipino communication. It is not bad, but it can be—just like how replying to "*Saan tayo kakain?*" with "*Kahit saan.*" can be cute at first, but annoying when everyone is hungry for clarity.

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Essay

Incarcerated in language?

Jherr Daven F. Velasco

One of the exceptional facets that make our species as humans unique is language. Zagada (2020) remarks that people have a long history of treating words merely as labels for objects, and language was thought of only as a way to string words together in order to share ideas, feelings, and concepts. But language is more than that. Boroditsky (2017) describes language as "one of [the] magical abilities that we humans have" (0:17) which facilitates our capacity to transmit even our most complex thoughts to one another by making sounds and signs that our peers can decipher and understand—eliciting emotions, imagination, and subsequent action in the process. Not only is language an important tool for communication, but it is also a vessel for the culture of the society that speaks it (Lumen Learning, n.d.). According to Eberhard et al. (2022), recent linguistic data reveal that there are 7,151 documented languages in the world which, by the above postulations, means that there are also more than 7,000 cultures and beliefs embedded in them.

Language accomplishes several different functions which give it chief importance in our lives. However, amidst these, it is also worth emphasizing that language is also not a perfect tool that ensures successful thought transmission when we use it to communicate with other people. Gleitman and Papafragou (2012) most notably remarked that "language is sketchy, thought is rich" (p. 636) due to various reasons including the pervasive ambiguity of words and sentences, contextually reliant pronouns and indexicals despite the specificity of their underlying referents, and incompleteness of thought/proposition linguistic encoding.

Perhaps, one example of the sketchiness of language is exemplified by the very question asked for this think piece: "Do you feel imprisoned in your own languages?" For me, it can have two readings and interpretations based on what version of the hypothesis of linguistic relativity we follow:

- There is the strong version which says that language *determines* thought (Kihlstrom & Park, 2018). Subscribing to this version raises the question of whether or not language imprisons me because it prohibits me to have thoughts about concepts that are not encoded in my language. Any other idea that is indescribable of the systems, vocabularies, and features my language has cannot exist. Hence, in this view, language is a thought prison.
- On the other hand, the weak version of linguistic relativity, which states that language simply *influences* thought (Harbeck, 2018), may provoke one to think that

> language imprisons me because it limits the ways I can communicate and express myself to other people due to the restrictions it imposes on my perceptual experiences and worldview. In this view, language is a transmission and perception prison.

It should be noted that academics have already refuted the strong version of the linguistic relativity hypothesis (see Fogarty & Whitman, 2018; Frothingham, 2022; Harbeck, 2018; Kihlstrom & Park, 2018; Martin, 1986; Nordquist, 2019). However, as scholars are more accepting of the possible influences of language in thought, I will be anchoring my response in the second interpretation of the question.

Do you feel imprisoned in your own languages?

One of the biggest realizations I had upon reading the materials that deeply scrutinize ethnolinguistic concepts is how limited my view of the world is, and I believe a major part of that is because of the languages (and the consequent cultures embedded in them) that I use. It is with this premise that I answer with an affirmative to the question posed by this think piece. However, to make things clearer, I feel that it would be more accurate if from here on forward, I use the phrase *limited by* rather than *imprisoned in* my own languages due to the nuance that being "imprisoned" renders me in a state of total arrest with great inability to do anything, compared to the connotations of being limited which still allows me to act beyond the said linguistic shackles, albeit with certain disadvantages and impediments that make it more challenging to do so.

As a compound bilingual who is fluent in both Tagalog and English, I enjoy access to and feel a certain kind of belonging to the worlds and cultures that speak these languages. According to Boroditsky (2011), bilinguals not only have a more extensive connection with the world and its societies, but are also able to perceive the world differently depending on the language they choose to use. In addition to this, Nacamulli (2015) shares that bilingualism also gives the brain remarkable advantages including higher grey matter density in the brain which translates to more neurons and synapses, alongside heightened activity in certain regions when a second language is engaged. This purportedly helps in delaying the onset of neurodegenerative diseases like Alzheimer's and dementia.

Yet, even if being bilingual gives me benefits in these areas, I still cannot deny the feeling of restraint when dealing with views, ideas, and concepts outside English and Tagalog. These limitations brought by the languages I speak manifested as difficulties in my understanding of the world the speakers of the languages I study have. For instance, when I was studying Korean as a foreign language, I remember being so astonished by the seven speech levels in their language. As someone who uses mostly English in university and even at home, I was so confused by the levels of politeness that they have to learn especially when my languages do not have intricate systems that affect the morphology of a language to reflect the level of politeness that needs to be expressed. In Korean, there originally are about seven or eight verbal endings that vary in terms of politeness whose usage is required in different contexts (Asia Society, n.d.;

Jang, 2020). Though the number of Korean speech levels has declined to about four to six still in use today as a natural consequence of the country no longer being a strict class society, it still was confounding enough for me to study, especially as Tagalog just mainly uses *po* and *opo*, while English only needs to drop slang terms and avoid the use of personal pronouns to establish linguistic formality.

In addition, other circumstances that made these linguistically induced limitations evident to me include moments when I encounter words or concepts with no direct translation to either Tagalog or English. Some examples I found fascinating when I first heard them include the German term *Schadenfreude* (which has already entered the English lexicon) defined as "the joy one feels at another person's pain" (Slauer, 2019, para. 14), alongside the Arabic phrase *ya'aburnee* which literally means "you bury me" (Belcher, 2021, para. 3) often used to tell the person one hopes to die first as living without them would be too painful to bear. In addition, I also found the Spanish concept of time intriguing. This is because the Spanish language designates different time frames when one is to greet *buenos días* 'good morning' (used from around 6:00 to 14:00), *buenas tardes* 'good afternoon' (used from around 14:00 to 21:00), and *buenas noches* 'good night' (used beyond 21:00) (ProfeDeELE, 2017). I remember asking my Spanish professor about why this is the case, and she explained that this is rooted in the usual time the sun rises and sets in Spain which not only affected how they greet each other but also influenced how they live (as my professor said that they also start their day later in Spain than here in the Philippines).

These are just some subjective examples that brought me to answer "yes" to the query of whether I feel imprisoned in my own languages, with the belief that languages limit the perceptual experiences and influence the consequent worldview carried by a person. I specifically avoided using the term *imprisoned* as it gives certain connotations about the belief that language is primarily deterministic—that one cannot have thoughts outside of it if its systems cannot accommodate them. This decision also reflects my hope and desire that even if language limits the ways by which we navigate the world, we are still in control of broadening our visions because it is possible if we really want to. We just have to let languages, those that we do not speak, teach and guide us.

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