

Overt and Covert Gender in Tagalog and Perception of Job-Related Terms*

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Gender is the attribution of femininity and masculinity, which is often, but not entirely, based on sex. In the Tagalog language, gender is indicated by the addition of *lalake* or *babae* as modifier, as in *anak na babae* (daughter). However, borrowings from Spanish mark gender: a female noun is often marked with an 'a' ending and a male noun with an 'o' ending. For instance, *tindera* for female vendor and *tindero* for male vendor. This seems to imply that Tagalog has both the overt and covert gender systems. While work does not have sex, culturally it has been gendered, meaning some jobs are perceived to be for women and some for men. One hypothesis suggests that language structure influences this. In this study, the author examines overt and covert gender as they apply to some occupation-related terms in selected Tagalog-speaking provinces. According to her findings, dominantly male or leaning towards a male association were terms related to strength and heavy work (for example *karpintero* or carpenter), and vices such as *yosi* and *uminom* (smoking and drinking). The results also validate the myth of women being the weaker sex, suited for decorative or peripheral functions, for example *sekretarya* (secretary) and traits associated with nurturance (*masikaso*). These suggest that in the Tagalog language, perception of reality is a stronger factor than word structure in the gender perception of a noun and that some adjectives have been gendered despite the absence of gender marking.

Gender is an ideal topic when inquiring into the relationship between language and thought and social reality, gender being both a sociological and a linguistic construct. As an aspect of social reality, gender is the attribution of femininity and masculinity, which is often, but not entirely, based on sex. On the other hand, as a linguistic concept which Corbett¹ finds to be "the most puzzling of the grammatical categories," gender is defined by Hodge and Kress² as "grammatical sex." Nouns have the aspect of gender, which may be feminine, masculine or neuter. According to Villanueva and Villanueva,³ in Tagalog nouns may fall under any of four genders: *pambabae* (feminine), *panlalaki* (masculine), *di-tyak* (indefinite), and *walang kasarian* (neuter).

According to Corbett,⁴ the gender systems of a language may be absent, overt, or covert. "Languages in which the gender of a noun is evident from its form are often described as having 'overt' gender; those whose gender is not shown by the form of the noun have 'covert' gender."⁵ Ramos⁶ observed that "gender is not usually marked in Tagalog

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nouns," meaning it is covert. Gender is indicated by the addition of *lalake* or *babae* as modifier, as in *anak na babae* (daughter). However, borrowings from Spanish mark gender: a female noun is often marked with an 'a' ending (ex: *tindera* or female vendor) and a male noun with an 'o' ending (ex: *tindero* or male vendor). This seems to imply that Tagalog has both the overt and covert gender systems.

The concepts of overt and covert gender go beyond language and find their equivalents in social practice. "An overt gender system fixes a set of sexual associations for a culture. A covert gender system is simply the same kind of set, which is learned and displayed indirectly."⁷ For this researcher, this means that though there is no sex attached to a word or to its referent in the objective world, there may be gender involved, effected through the process of socialization. One example of covert gender in social practice is colors. Colors do not have sex and yet, culturally, they have been invested with gender: pink is for girls, blue is for boys. There is nothing intrinsically feminine in pink and masculine in blue and yet people unconsciously choose an "appropriate" color when, for example, giving gifts to infants. Gendering colors, or associating them with a specific sex, is a form of covert gender. Similarly, work does not have sex and yet culturally it has been gendered: some jobs are perceived to be for women and some for men.

Because of its implicit nature and its extensions beyond language, gender should be studied to reveal a culture's implicit assumptions about masculinity and femininity, especially as they apply to work. A study of this kind might indirectly help people understand some traditional gender beliefs about work.

Linguistically and sociologically, this study is also significant because if gender is found to apply not only to nouns (based on the linguistic definition of gender) but also to some adjectives and verbs, this may have some implications for socialization and the role language plays in it. This might be the case because nouns being names given mostly to persons, places, and things have a concrete anchor in reality and, therefore, investing them with gender might, more or less, be tied up with the sex of the referent in reality. But verbs and adjectives are not concrete the way nouns are and, therefore, if they are gendered, then it could be that this gendering is more a result of socialization than anything else.

This study is an exploration into overt and covert gender as they apply to some occupation-related terms in selected Tagalog-speaking provinces. The questions that concern this paper are:

1. How are occupation-related terms perceived in terms of gender?
2. Is the gender perception of a Tagalog term determined by its grammatical form? By extension, does the structure of language, as Whorf asserted, determine the perception of the wor(l)d?
3. Does the perception of the terms bear out the grammatical definition of gender as being an aspect of nouns?

Methodology

The five most popular occupations in the CALABARZON (CAvite, LAGuna, BATangas, Rizal, and QueZON) based on local statistics and popular perceptions were identified. Selected native speakers (defined as persons whose first language or L1 is Tagalog), of varying ages, from Naic (representing Cavite), Calamba (representing Laguna), Batangas City (representing Batangas), Cainta (representing Rizal), and Lucena City (representing Quezon) were interviewed to generate a list of occupation-related terms. The choice of speech community was largely determined by the accessibility of the place. The list consisted of five nouns (objects, equipment, etc. associated with each occupation), five verbs (activities associated with each occupation), and five adjectives (qualities associated with each occupation). The words recorded were either in Tagalog or Taglish or English if the native speakers used the English terms for the concept/object.

A survey was conducted to determine if these nouns, verbs and adjectives have come to be associated with a certain sex. Three hundred (300) respondents per survey area, for a total of 1500 respondents for all areas, were surveyed. The respondents of the survey were 25 males and 25 females for each of the following categories:

Age brackets:	10-20 years 21-40 years 41 yrs and above
Educational attainment:	elementary and below high school and below college and below

The characteristics of age and educational attainment, among others, according to Coates,⁸ explain social variation in a speech community. They were considered in the choice of respondents only to ensure that there was a fairly representative sample in the survey but it should be made clear that the research did not try to correlate these demographic factors with gender perception. The respondents, randomly chosen, were made to check 80 items in a questionnaire. Frequency count and percentage were done to determine the trend of responses. As the respondents refused to answer some items in the questionnaire, the total responses varied from item to item. Because this happened a lot, the researcher was constrained to compute the percentage based on the total answers for each item. This was one limitation of the study. Another limitation was the unavoidable inclusion of some gender-marked terms (ex: *tindera*) on the list. This could have influenced the respondents' answers.

Results and Discussion

Survey Area: Calamba

In terms of occupation, teaching, retailing and factory work were perceived to be gender neutral (*Pareho*) but farming and carpentry were identified with the Male. Based on Tables 1.1, 1.2 and 1.3 (Pls see appendix for all tables), all nouns, verbs and adjectives were identified with both sexes, except for four words which were associated with the male sex: *karpintero*, *palitada*, *magsasaka* and *pasensyoso*.

Despite *Pareho* being dominant, there were words strongly identified with females. "Strongly identified" is operationally defined here as being higher by at least 15 percent than the other gender category but not being the dominant perception. For example, Table 1.3 shows 49 percent associating *madaldal* with both sexes but just as significant is the fact that 47 percent associated it with women. Other words related to talking or chatter, such as *nagchichikahan* and *salestalk*, were strongly identified with females. This sustains the commonplace idea that women love to talk/gossip/chatter. More virtues (*matipid*, *mallinis*, *maayos*) than flaws (*nakakairita*, *maselan*) were identified with females.

On the other hand, association inclined towards the Male, that is, identification with the Male was higher by at least 15 percent, with terms

related to strength, such as *nagmamasilya*, *naggagama*, etc. Some bad traits leaning more strongly towards the male, despite *Pareho* being dominant, were *tamad*, *balasubas*, *pabaya*.

Survey Area: Batangas

As a whole, based on Tables 2.1-2.3, most of the terms were associated with both sexes (*Pareho*). Though this is the case, considering the number of respondents who identified these terms with a specific sex, it can be said that in terms of occupation, clerical work (*papeles*, *makiniya*, ballpen, etc.) and selling in the market (*timbangan*, *paninda*, *takalan*, etc.) leaned towards a female association. As in Calamba, chatter (*maboka*) tended to be identified more with female. Dominantly associated with females were terms related to entertainment and caregiving, such as *nag-iistima*, *maasikaso*, *palangiti*, *nag-aayos*, *masinop*. *Nagkakanaw* or mixing something, like dough, with water, was dominantly associated with females.

On the other hand, carpentry, driving, and poultry-raising were dominantly associated with the males. Activities and objects associated with strenuous work like *magbuhay*, *martilyo*, *lagare*, etc. and activities that may involve danger or attention to details (for example: *niririkisa*) were perceived to be masculine. Generally, strength was associated with males. *Malakas* was associated equally with both sexes and with males at 49 percent whereas *matalag* and *matibay* inclined towards a male association despite *Pareho* being dominant because male association with them was 15 percent higher than female association with the terms. The vice of drinking (*nagpapainom*) was associated with the males. An adjective that is male-gender exclusive was *maginoo*. Money matters (*nangongolekta*, *nag-iintrega*, *may-kapital*) leaned towards the male. Virtues identified with males were: *mapagkakatiwalaan*, *masipag*, *determinado*, *matiyaga*, *magalang*.

Survey Area: Cavite

Farming (*pagsasaka*), carpentry (*pagkakarpihero*) and fishing (*pangingisda*) and terms related to these jobs were dominantly male but real estate brokerage was perceived as gender neutral.

The only term dominantly associated with females was *maganda* or beautiful. A word that leans towards a female identification is *nagtitinda* (22.68 F vs. 4.47 M).

Identified dominantly with males were terms connected with strength (*matipuno*) or with something strenuous, like the nouns *semento*, *graba*, *araro*, *traktora*, *lagare* and the verbs *nagfo*-flooring, *naglalagay ng bakal*, *pinapako*, *naghahalo ng semento*, etc. Money and machine were also more identified with males than females: *pera*, *kotse*, fax machine.

The prominent physical features identified more with males were *maitim*, *maporma*, *sunog ang balat* and *nakapaa*. This is consistent with the cultural idea that fairness is not "manly."

As in Calamba and Batangas, the majority of the terms were considered gender neutral (Tables 3.1-3.3).

Survey Area: Lucena

Driving, carpentry, selling were occupations perceived to be for males whereas teaching and factory work were gender neutral.

Only three (3) words were dominantly identified with female: *bandana*, a clothing accessory, and two adjectives: *mataray* and *striкта* (Pls. refer to Tables 4.1-4.3). Colloquial usage suggests *mataray* to be gender-exclusive.

Terms that leaned towards a female association were those connected to teaching (*pulang bolpen*, *pagbabasa*, etc.) and carefulness (*maingat*) and slowness (*mabagal*).

Tasks or attributes associated with mechanical dexterity (*nagkukumpuni*), strength (*pagkakarpihero*, *nagkakatang*), glibness (*mayabang*, *bolero*, *mabola*), and speed (*maliksi*) were dominantly male. The bad traits dominantly identified with males were *kaskasero* and *bastos* and those that tended to be identified more with them were *makulit* and *tamad*. Apparel more identified with them were shades, attache case, *bota*, and *sumbero*.

Based on Tables 4.1-4.3, most of the terms were identified with both sexes.

Survey Area: Rizal

As suggested by Tables 5.1-5.3, most of the terms were perceived to be gender neutral. Clerical work (*kawani*), factory work and business (*negosyante*) were gender neutral but selling and entertainment were perceived to be more for women, as suggested by terms such as *tumetable*, *tangga*, *madaidal*, *machika*, and make-up. Other terms that leaned towards a female association were terms related to talking, such as *maingay*, *prangka*. One virtue identified more with females is *maimis* (orderly), which is connected to caregiving work, a task strongly associated with women.

Words identified dominantly with the Male had to do with vices (*yosi*, *umilnom*) and strength (*nagbubuhay*, *nagtutulak*, *naghahalo*, *naglilipat*, boots). Negative traits more identified with males were *madumi* and *madaya*.

Trends Across Survey Areas

Some perceptions are shared by the different speech communities. For example, the close association of chatter or talkativeness with females was found in Calamba, Batangas and Rizal. The close identification between teaching and females was found in Lucena and Calamba. Looking at teaching as essentially a type of work that requires a lot of talking, teaching therefore can be considered an extension of talking. Another occupation that relies heavily on talking is selling. Selling is strongly associated with females in all survey areas. On the other hand, the entertainment value of the female is found in Calamba and Rizal. The virtue of orderliness as female trait is found in Calamba and Cainta.

Dominantly male or leaning towards a male association were terms related to strength and heavy work and vices. This was a trend in all survey areas.

Noun Structure and Gender Perception

If Whorf is correct, then word form should determine gender perception. For example, a gender-marked noun like *tindera* should be

viewed as female. If this is the case, then the word is gender-marked (morphologically) and gendered (perceptually associated with a specific sex). The list below summarizes the findings in all survey areas.

A. Nouns (persons) not gender-marked but gendered

- | | | | |
|----|----------|---|---|
| 1. | Calamba | - | <i>magsasaka, karpintero</i> ⁹ |
| 2. | Batangas | - | <i>karpintero</i>
driver
poultry raiser |
| 3. | Cavite | - | mason
<i>mandaragat</i> |
| 4. | Lucena | - | <i>karpintero</i>
driver |
| 5. | Rizal | - | entertainer
dancer (very close to majority perception) |

B. Nouns (persons) gender-marked and gendered

- | | | | |
|----|----------|---|-------------------------------------|
| 1. | Calamba | - | none |
| 2. | Batangas | - | <i>sekretarya</i>
<i>tindera</i> |
| 3. | Cavite | - | none |
| 4. | Lucena | - | salesman |
| 5. | Rizal | - | <i>tindera</i> |

C. Nouns (persons) not gender-marked and not gendered

- | | | | |
|----|----------|---|--|
| 1. | Calamba | - | teacher
retailer
factory worker |
| 2. | Batangas | - | none |
| 3. | Cavite | - | real estate broker |
| 4. | Lucena | - | teacher
factory worker |
| 5. | Rizal | - | <i>kawani</i>
<i>negosyante</i>
<i>bugaw</i>
factory worker
dancer |

Based on frequency of occurrence, it would seem that perception of reality is a stronger factor than word structure in the gender perception of a noun. Bernardo's study¹⁰ yielded a similar result. In an experiment, he tested Estrada's¹¹ observation that Tagalog being a nonsexist language, its users do not think in sexist terms. The results of the experiment showed the respondents gendering people and occupations even when gender marking was absent. The present study, therefore, does not support the Whorfian Hypothesis of Linguistic Determinism.

On Gender and Adjectives

Linguistically, only nouns by definition have the category of gender but socially adjectives are also gendered. In Tagalog, some Spanish-derived adjectives are gender-marked (ex: *pasensyoso* for male and *pasensyosa* for female); a few adjectives have also become, through constant use, gender-exclusive (ex: *maginoo*). These are the findings of the study regarding adjectives.

A. Adjectives not gender marked but gendered

- | | | | |
|----|----------|---|--|
| 1. | Calamba | - | <i>madaldal</i> |
| 2. | Batangas | - | <i>palangiti</i>
<i>maasikaso</i>
<i>masinop</i>
<i>malakas</i> |
| 3. | Cavite | - | <i>maganda</i>
<i>matipuno</i> |
| 4. | Lucena | - | <i>matapang</i>
<i>mayabang</i>
<i>malakas</i>
<i>bastos</i>
<i>mabola</i> |
| 5. | Rizal | - | <i>madaldal</i>
<i>machika</i> |

B. Adjectives gender-marked and gendered

- | | | | |
|----|----------|---|-------------------------------------|
| 1. | Calamba | - | <i>pasensyoso</i> |
| 2. | Batangas | - | <i>maginoo</i>
<i>pasensyoso</i> |
| 3. | Cavite | - | none |

4.	Lucena	-	<i>kaskasero</i> <i>bolero</i>
5.	Rizal	-	none

Based on simple frequency count, it would seem that some adjectives have been gendered despite the absence of gender marking.

Conclusions

Overall, most of the occupation-related terms were associated with both males and females. This could signal the blurring of traditional demarcation lines segregating the sexes, or it could indicate the respondents' openness to ideas other than the traditional expectations of/associations with the sexes. For example, 'teacher' is now seen as a gender-neutral occupation although it is still strongly identified with female.

Despite the dominance of Pareho (both sexes), the results would indicate the perpetuation of the myth of males as being the stronger sex, "in perfect harmony with machine,"¹² although "...in actual fact not all men are technologically skilled or knowledgeable. It is not men but masculinity that has this bond with machinery."¹³ The results also validate the myth of women being the weaker sex, cut out for decorative or peripheral functions. The perception of females to be peripheral in social life and activities is suggested by the fact that rarely did women figure dominantly in gender perception of the terms in this study. A contributory factor to the perception that women's role is in the non-essential, like entertainment, may be the Cult of Beauty and Femininity in women's magazines.¹⁴ Inclination towards nurturance roles (suggested by such terms as *sekretarya*, *nag-aayos*, *maasikaso*) identified with women "continue the household socialization...tasks allocated to women."¹⁵ The results of the study also support the folk-linguistic belief (which has been proven wrong in another study supervised by this researcher) that women are the more talkative of the sexes.

As a whole, the nouns, verbs and adjectives identified dominantly with males are, according to Eviota¹⁶ "associated with concepts of masculinity and traits such as dominance, assertiveness, and instrumentality;" however, Eviota's observation that "appropriate concepts

of femininity and traits such as submissiveness, modesty and nurturance" was not fully supported by the results of the study. Only nurturance came out strongly in the study.

What should also be noted in the results is the dichotomies embedded in the gender perception of terms: light vs. heavy (work), weak vs. strong, *pabaya* vs. *strika*. Presented in this way, the sexes may be perceived to be dichotomous instead of complementary.

Linguistically speaking, the study does not support the Whorfian Hypothesis that language structure influences cognition. The study also suggests the limitation of the grammatical concept of gender as being an aspect only of nouns when in reality adjectives, and maybe even verbs, operate along gender lines. Mass media and other instruments of representation may be a major factor here. With the apparent increasing femalization of many facets of work, it is possible that the objective reality is different but the representation of it may be different. Perhaps future research should pay more attention to the gendered language in media and other institutions from which such representations, official or otherwise, emanate.

It is in relation to the concept of representation that language becomes politically significant. Weedon²⁷ calls attention to this fact:

Once language is understood in terms of competing discourses, competing ways of giving meaning to the world, which imply differences in the organization of social power, then language becomes an important site of political struggle.

I hope this study is a step towards this direction. ♦

Endnotes

- 1 Corbett 1990: 1.
- 2 Hodge and Kress 1993.
- 3 Villanueva and Villanueva 1971.
- 4 Corbett 1990.
- 5 Corbett 1990: 62.
- 6 Ramos 1971: 21.
- 7 Hodge and Kress 1993.
- 8 Coates 1986.

- 9 Despite their 'a/'o' ending, these are classified as not gender-marked because there is no Tagalog word *karpintera*; there is *magsasako* (accent on the penultimate syllable) but it means someone who deals in sacks.)
- 10 Bernardo 1997.
- 11 Estrada 1981.
- 12 An ad cited by Cockburn 1985.
- 13 Cockburn 179.
- 14 Ferguson 1983.
- 15 Eviota 1995: 132.
- 16 Eviota 1995: 130.
- 17 Weedon 1988:24.

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Table 1.1 Gender Perception of Occupation-Related Nouns (Calamba)

PAMBABAE	PANLALAKI	PAREHO
	KARPINTERO	TEACHER
	PALITADA	UPUAN
	MAGSASAKA	LIBRO
		LAMESA
		SEATPLAN
		BRO TSA
		PALETA
		PINTURA
		PANGMASILYA
		RETAILER
		TIMBANGAN
		BOLPEN
		CALCULATOR
		SUPOT
		HALABAS
		GAMOT
		LILIK
		SAKO
		BALDE
		FACTORY WORKER
		BOTE
		TANSAN
		KAHA
		ASUKAL
		TAKTAKAN
		CLASS RECORD
		ESTANTE

Table 1.2 Gender Perception of Occupation-Related Verbs (Calamba)

PAMBABAE	PANLALAKI	PAREHO
		NAGTUTURO
		NAGCHICHIKAHAN (53.61%)
		NAGTATALAKAYAN
		NAGKO-COMPUTE
		NAGDADASAL
		LILHAIN
		MAGI-SPRAY
		NAGHAHABOL
	NAGBABRUSH (42.33%)	NAGBABRUSH (45.67%)
	NAGMAMASILYA (48.46%)	NAGMAMASILYA (48.81%)
		NAUPA
		NAGTITINDA
		NAGBUBUHAT
		NAKATUNGANGA
		NAGLILINIS
		NAGSE-SALESTALK
		NAGTATANIM
		NAGGAGAMA
		NAGSISIMOT
		NAGBEBENTA
		NAG-AANI
		NAGTATAKTAK
		NAGBABANTAY
		NAGTUTULAK
		NAGBIBILANG
		NAGBUBUHAT

Table 1.3 Gender Perception of Occupation-Related Adjectives (Calamba)

PAMBABAE	PANLALAKI	PAREHO
	PASENSYOSO	PREPARADO
MADALDAL (46.78%)		TAMAD
		MADALDAL (49.49%)
		NAKAKAIRITA
		MAHIRAP
		MADALI
		MAGINHAWA
		BALASUBAS
		MASIPAG
		MAGILIW
		MAAYOS
		MARUNONG
		MABAIT
		MATYAGA
		MASELAN
		MATIPID
		PABAYA
		NAKAKAPAGOD
		MAAGA
		MATULUNGIN
		NAKAKABINGI
		MAINIT
		MALINIS

Table 2.1 Gender Perception of Occupation-Related Nouns (Batangas)

PAMBABAE	PANLALAKI	PAREHO
SEKRETARYA	KARPINTERO	PAPELES
TINDERA	MARTILYO	MAKINILYA
	LAGARE	BALLPEN
	METRO	LOGBOOK
	PAKO	STAPLES
	HULOG	TIMBANGAN
	DRIVER	PANINDA
	TRAYSIKEL	TAKALAN
	POULTRY RAISER	GARAPON
		LISTAHAN
		IMBAKAN
		PAGKAIN
		HOSE
		TANGKAL
		GAMOT
		LISENSYA
		GASOLINA
		TRAPAL
		SALAMIN

Table 2.2 Gender Perception of Occupation-Related Verbs (Batangas)

PAMBABAE	PANLALAKI	PAREHO
NAG-IISTIMA (49.82%)		NAG-IISTIMA (45.42%)
NAGKAKANAW	MAGBUHAT	PUMIPILA
	MAGPAKO	NAGLILINIS
	MAGLAGARE	NAGAANTAY
	MAGHUKAY	NAGSUSULAT
	NAGPAPALITADA	NAGBEBENTA
	NIRIRIKISA	NAGTUTUOS
NAGMAMAKINILYA (47.67%)	NAG-IINTREGA	NAGSUSUKLI
NAG-AAYOS (50.18%)	NAGPAPAINOM	NAGMAMAKINILYA (49.67%)
		NAG-AAYOS (45.94%)
		NAMIMILI
		NAGTATAKAL
	NAGPAPATUKA (50.81%)	NAGPAPATUKA (47.25%)
		NAGBABAKUNA
	NAGBABANTAY (46.94%)	NAGBABANTAY (50.34%)
		NANGONGOLEKTA

Table 2.3 Gender Perception of Occupation-Related Adjectives (Batangas)

PAMBABAE	PANLALAKI	PAREHO
PALANGITI	MAGINOO	DETERMINADO
MAASIKASO	PASENSYOSO	MASIPAG
		MATYAGA
		MALIKSI
	MALAKAS (48.87%)	MALAKAS (49.19%)
		MATULUNGIN
		MAGALANG
		MAGILIW
		MATRABAHO
		MAHIRAP
MASINOP (47.64%)		MASINOP (45.82%)
		MATAPAT
		MABAIT
		MARUNONG MAKISAMA
		MABOKA
		MAAGAP
		MAAGANG GUMISING
		MAY KAPITAL
		MATALAG
		MAPAGKAKATIWALAAN
		MATIBAY

Table 3.1 Gender Perception of Occupation-Related Nouns (Cavite)

PAMBABAE	PANLALAKI	PAREHO
	PANGINGISDA	REAL ESTATE BROKER
	BANGKANG DE-MOTOR	TYPEWRITER
	LAMBAT	COMPUTER
	PAENG	KOTSE
	KAWIL	PERA
	LAYAG	FAX MACHINE
	MANDARAGAT	ANI
	PAGSASAKA	PALAY
	TRAKTORA	LAPIS
	ARARO	PILA
	ABONO	KUTSARA
	PAGKAKARPINTERO	PIKO
	LAGARE	
	MARTILYO	
	KATAM	
	METRO	
	MASO	
	MASON	
	SEMENTO	
	GRABA	

Table 3.2 Gender Perception of Occupation-Related Verbs (Cavite)

PAMBABAE	PANLALAKI	PAREHO
	NAGBUBUNGKAL	BULUNGAN
	NAG-AARARO	NAGPEPRESYO
	SINASAKA	TUMATAKBO
	NAGLAGAGARE	NANGHUHULI
	NAGMAMARTILYO	NAGTITINDA
	NAGSUSUKAT	UUWI
	PINAPAKO	NAKIKIPAG-COORDINATE
	NAGFO-FLOORING	AAYUSIN
	NAGPAPALITADA	NAKIKIPAG-USAP
	NAGHAHALO NG SEMENTO	NAGPUPUNTA
	GUMAGAWA NG BIGA	SESERBEYIN
	NAGLAGAGAY NG BAKAL	NAKIKIGAPAS
		NAG-AANI
		GINIIT
		NAGLE-LAYOUT

Table 3.3 Gender Perception of Occupation-Related Adjectives (Cavite)

PAMBABAE	PANLALAKI	PAREHO
MAGANDA	MATIPUNO	AMOY MALANSA MATIM MARUNONG MAGALING MAPERA MAPORMA MAHUSAY NAKAPAA MASIPAG RESPONSABLE SUNOG ANG BALAT PANGKARANIWANG-TAO MAHIRAP NANINIGARILYO MAY PINAG-ARALAN MASAYAHIN TAHIMIK HINDI NAKATAPOS NG PAG-AARAL

Table 4.1 Gender Perception of Occupation-Related Nouns (Lucena)

PAMBABAE	PANLALAKI	PAREHO
BANDANA	DRIVER TRAYSIKEL SIGARILYO KARPINTERO MARTILYO LAGARE SALESMAN KURBATA	BARYA LISENSIYA SHADES TEACHER LESSON PLAN PISARA CHALK PULANG BOLPEN LIBRO TUWALYA SUMBRERO ATTACHE CASE BOSES SAMPLE CALCULATOR FACTORY WORKER GWANTES UNIFORM BOTA TIMECARD

Table 4.2 Gender Perception of Occupation-Related Verbs (Lucena)

PAMBABAE	PANLALAKI	PAREHO
	PUMAPASADA	PUMAPARADA
	GUMAGARAHE	NAGMAMANEHO
	NAMAMASAHERO	NAGTUTURO
	NAGLALAGARE	NAGTATANONG
	NAGKUKUMPUNI	NAGSESERMON
	NAGPUPUKPOK	NAGPAPABASA
	NAGKAKATANG	NAGPAPA-TEST
	NAGSUSUKAT (47.08%)	NAGSUSUKAT (50.52%)
	NAMBOBOLA	NAGSE-SALESTALK
		NAGTITINGI
		NAMIMILIT
		NAG-AALOK
		NAGPAPACK
		NAKAUPO
		NAGTATATAK
		NAGPEPRESYO
		NAGLE-LABEL

Table 4.3 Gender Perception of Occupation-Related Adjectives (Lucena)

PAMBABAE	PANLALAKI	PAREHO
MATARAY	KASKASERO	MALIKSI
STRIKTA	MAYABANG	MAINGAT
	BOLERO	TAMAD
	MALAKAS	MASIPAG
	BASTOS	NAKAKAANTOK
	MABOLA	MATYAGA
		MABUSISI
		MASAYAHIN
		MAABILIDAD
		MAKULIT
		MAAGAP
		MABAGAL
		MABILIS

Table 5.1: Gender Perception of Occupation-Related Nouns (Rizal)

PAMBABAE	PANLALAKI	PAREHO
TINDERA	HELMET	KAWANI
ENTERTAINER	YOSI	TELEPONO
MAKE-UP		COMPUTER
TANGGA		BOLPEN
		KONTRATA
		FACTORY WORKER
		PANTALON
		MAKINA
		KEMIKAL
	BOOTS (47.32%)	BOOTS (50%)
		NEGOSYANTE
		KOTSE
		PERA
		BAG
		CREDIT CARD
		CELLPHONE
		KENDI
		TSINELAS
		POSPORO
		MAGASIN
DANCER (48.59%)		DANCER (49.30%)
		MIKROPONO
		BUGAW
		PAPEL

Table 5.2 Gender Perception of Occupation-Related Verbs (Rizal)

PAMBABAE	PANLALAKI	PAREHO
TUME-TABLE	NAGBUBUHAT NAGTUTULAK UMIINOM	NAGSUSULAT NAG-IISIP NAGTA-TYPE TUMATAWAG NAGREREREPORT NAG-AAYOS NAGHAHALO NAGLILIPAT (47.96%) NAGSASALITA NAGPA-PLANO NAGBEBENTA NAGLALAKAD NAG-UUTOS NAGTITINDA NAGSUSUKLI NAGSISINDI NAGTATAWAG NANDADAYA SUMASAYAW KUMAKANTA KUMIKITA
	NAGLILIPAT (44.56%)	

Table 5.3 Gender Perception of Occupation-Related Adjectives (Rizal)

PAMBABAE	PANLALAKI	PAREHO
MADALDAL MA-CHIKA		DISENTE MAIMIS SERYOSO INTERESANTE PRANGKA SIMPLE MAGALANG MASUNURIN MAAASAHAN DISIPLINADO PRESENTABLE ABALA MAAGA DETERMINADO MASIPAG MADUMI BULGAR MAINGAY PAGOD NAKAKAALIW MASAYAHIN TALENTADO MALIKOT