

LEXICAL PECULIARITIES OF IBANAG VARIETIES: THE CASE OF TUGUEGARAO AND CABAGAN

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ABSTRACT: The study investigated the lexical peculiarities between the Ibanag of Tuguegarao, Cagayan and the Ibanag of Cabagan, Isabela. Specifically, this study aimed at finding the difference between both dialects' fillers, expressions, and lexemes. This study utilized a qualitative research design, particularly using the comparative-descriptive analysis approach. The study employed semi-structured interview to gather responses from the participants and non-participant observation on the dialect used by the participants in a conversation. Study revealed that there are indeed similar but also absolute and distinct features found from each of the dialects' fillers, expressions, and lexemes. All the fillers given by the participants have an equivalent term and are also used in the opposite dialect. On expressions, some are totally similar in terms of spelling, usage in context, and pronunciation; for some, although the words are slightly different, they are still used for the same purpose in a conversation. On lexemes, the differences are categorized into the following: (1) added phoneme, (2) change of initial consonant sound, (3) change of final consonant sound, and (4) equivalent lexemes. The results of this study are beneficial not only to the speakers of the Ibanag dialect but also to the individuals who may have to deal and live with the Ibanag-speaking localities.

Keywords: *Expressions, Fillers, Ibanag Varieties, Sounds*

I. INTRODUCTION

Language varies in multiple ways. Since language is constantly changing, it is not uncommon that other forms of it may come into existence. According to the study conducted by Hovy and Purschke (2018), one of the main drivers of language variation is dialects. Chambers and Trudgill (1998) defined dialect as a subdivision of a language. A dialect, having borne out of a certain language, has its similarities and distinct differences among the other dialects that sprung out from the same language. According to Wolfram and Schilling (2015), not all speakers of a dialect use the entire set of structures associated with their dialect, and there may be differing patterns of usage among speakers of the variety. Dialects are what mark a person's regional origin, and this may be the primary reason why certain speakers of a language have distinct phonological, lexical, and grammatical features.

Regional dialects, as a language variation, pose a major problem in comprehending a message given by a speaker. The English language alone has multiple regional dialects that were formed with long years of historical progress (Sevinj, 2015). One of the most common language variations which resulted from a regional dialect is that of British and American English. Both have the same native language, but each differs primarily because of geographical locations. The Filipino language, the Philippine's national language, is not an exemption as to be only a variation of the Tagalog language. Gonzales (2006) considered Tagalog as the structural base of Filipino and the language mostly spoken in Metro Manila. Other Tagalog-speaking provinces are Rizal, Batangas, Cavite, Laguna, Quezon, and Camarines Norte- all of which use distinct features of the Tagalog language.

Locally, there is one dominant language in Region II that gained distinct regional dialectal variation which is the Ibanag language. The Ibanag language is a language spoken in Isabela and Cagayan. Ibanag comes from the root bannag 'river' which probably refers to the people who settled along the coast of now Cagayan River surrounding Northern Luzon (Dita, 2010). According to a study by Gatan (1981), Cabagan was previously a part of Cagayan Valley where Tuguegarao is located which is why they Ibanag as a native language. However, although both languages share the same mother tongue, there are distinct differences between these languages.

Choosing to study the Ibanag language is primarily because there are only few research materials made about it. Liao (2004), as cited by Dita (2010), states there were only 14 M.A. theses and 16 Ph.D. dissertations written about Philippine-type languages for the past 25 years. As emphasized, there is a need to document major and minor languages of the Philippines to preserve its linguistic features. This led Dita to address the gap by creating a reference grammar in Ibanag which focuses on phonology, morphology, and syntax. Dita's study is comprehensive, but it is mainly focused on the Ibanag language of Tuguegarao without dealing with the variation of the language in other neighboring localities. This paper, then, desires to address this research gap.

This study is also of much significance as a corpus in response to the Department of Education's Mother Tongue-Based- Multilingual Education (MTB-MLE) program. Since it is mandated that mother tongue should be used in schools, a speaker must know the basics of the distinct characteristics of the Ibanag language compared to its other's variations.

Another problem with a language having regional dialectal variation is that it gives different perceptions between the sender and the receiver of a message. Although one can predominantly distinguish a variant based on accent, it will be understood in less than no time that the vocabulary or lexicon is different too. To have a rapport in conversations, one must be equipped with the basic knowledge of the differences between the dialects' lexical peculiarities. This study, therefore, aims to identify how the Ibanag of Tuguegarao and Cabagan differ in terms of fillers, expressions, and lexemes.

Literature Review

Language variation is a common phenomenon in any languages used across the world. There are many kinds of language variations, one of which regional dialect. This happens when people from a certain geographical area use distinct features of a language which may or may not be the same with the features of the same language used in neighboring places.

Fillers in Speech

Fillers in speech can be an example where a distinct feature of a language can be observed. Erten (2014) conducted a study observing second language learners of the English language on how they use fillers in three similar and consecutive speaking examinations. Most of the learners under study unconsciously used fillers in their speeches and the learners explained why they prefer to use the fillers that they uttered. Some of the examples of fillers used were *uhm / ehm, well, how to say / how can I say*. The study states that the fillers used by the non-native language speakers are also the fillers that the native language speakers use. Therefore, the notion that fillers as an example of a disfluency in speech should be properly addressed. It was suggested that fillers, as discourse markers, should be thoroughly studied and be formally taught in school since most speakers- whether native or not- use it in speech.

Santos et.al (2015) enumerated the common reasons as to why fillers are used in conversations. Some of these reasons were to fill in spaces in conversations and to organize speech. Fillers were also used when nervous or when the speaker is insecure about what is being said in the conversation. The study agrees with the result found by Erten's study that if competent users of the native language use fillers to meet the enumerated reasons, foreign language learners are likely to experience the same. To increase then the involvement of the speakers to speak a certain language, it is important to be familiar with language fillers for the development of language skills. As in the Philippine setting, Sadjail (2021) also enumerates nervousness, infrequent words, and divided attention leading to anxiety as the reasons for language fillers in speech. Some of the filler used are *um*, *uh*, *so*, *okay* with the inclusion of Non-English verbal fillers (Filipino Word Fillers) such as *Ano o*, *Ano* and *Kuan o*, which were commonly uttered at the beginning of the sentence.

Understandably, fillers are common in any language being used. Blake (2020) studied if fillers are non-existent in Western Subanon, an Austronesian language on Zamboanga Peninsula, in the island of Mindanao in the Philippines. It was found out that Austronesian languages just infrequently use typical pause fillers which suggest that they are not entirely non-existent. Suggestively, since fillers are present in any language, it should be well-understood by its speakers not as disfluencies but an integral feature of the language.

Expressions in a Language

Expressions in a language is the individual act that precedes the social act of communication (Williams, 1993). Forms of expressions may be collocation, common phrases, idioms, or phrasal verbs. Hinkel (2017) believes that almost all idiomatic and conventionalized phrases are unique to a particular language or culture. Teaching expressions as a language component can help learners enhance their receptive and expressive language skills in a variety of situations.

Holmes (2013) gathered a list of English expressions used in written materials with the primary goal of helping professionals who had learned English as a second language. The compilation of phrases is to address miscommunications across the teaching force because although non-native English know the basic of the language, some are still unable to converse in colloquial style.

On the other hand, translation of culture-specific items proves to be a challenge for quite a number of scholars. Culture-specific items, as defined by Persson (2015), are concepts that are specific for a certain culture. As frequently emphasized by different translation scholars, according to Akbari (2013), the issue of culture and its complex relationship with language in terms of culture-specific items are among the thorniest issues that a translator or interpreter may face. It was further stated that every society has its own set of habits, value judgements and classification systems which sometimes are quite different.

Most of the time, researches find it hard to translate these culture-specific expressions. Banikalef & Naser (2019) studied the difficulties that Jadara University students in Jordan encounter in translating particular culture-specific expressions from the Arabic language to the English. Based on the data analysis, it was clear that students' unfamiliarity with the two cultures, inappropriate translation methods and approaches, were the main reasons for their weak translations. Therefore, there is a need that a translator has to assume the role of a cultural insider for both texts in order to render a culturally more faithful translation (Al-Masriin, 2019).

The high frequency of the use of expressions in a discourse makes them a very important aspect in communication, therefore, it should be thoroughly studied to enhance the communicative skills of the speakers.

Studies on Lexemes

There are multiple studies conducted on lexemes. Quirk et.al (1972) states that regional variation seems to be realized predominantly in phonology. That is, we generally recognize a different dialect from a speaker's pronunciation or accent before we notice that his vocabulary (or lexicon) is also distinctive.

A study of Sariakin (2016) on the comparison of the dialects of West Simuelue and Middle Simuelue listed multiple similarities and differences on affixes and lexemes. A similar study by Nehrbass (2012) on major languages of Tanna, Vanuatu found multiple reasons why the languages differ in lexicons. The first reason is that a set of synonyms existed at one time in the Tanna lexicon, with some modern languages maintaining one lexeme and other modern languages adopting the synonym, and yet other languages maintaining both lexemes. The second reason is that compound words and abstract ideas are formed differently in different languages.

A comparative lexical study of the eight Khasi dialects conducted by Khyriem (2013) shows that six of the dialects (War-Khasi, Bhoi-Nongpoh and Tyrso, Pnar, Nongtraï and Standard Khasi) are more closely related to each other. This is because these dialects share more related phonetic forms when compared with the other two dialects- Lyngngam and War-Jaintia. However, based on analysis, all dialects are related to a certain degree.

Dita (2010) studied lexical items in the Ibanag language. The study comprehensively discussed the salient features of the Ibanag language particularly on phonology, morphology, and syntax. The study is a reference grammar which, indeed, presents a high level of understanding of the Ibanag language in Tuguegarao. A portion of the research also enumerated the studies concerning Ibanag lexicons particularly that of Tharp (1974) which compared seven Northern Cordilleran languages: Ilokano, Ibanag, Gaddang, Yogad, Agta, Atta, and Casiguran Dumagat. There were alleged diversities on pronouns, determiners, and sounds but no sample utterances or texts to illustrate it. Tsuchida et.al. (1989), where Dita had drawn most of the examples in her study, presented a comparison of grammatical features of six Batanic languages (Imorod Yami, Iranomilek Yami, Itbayat, Iwasay Ivatan, Isamorong Ivatan, and Babuyan) and two Cordilleran languages (Ilokano and Ibanag). The work went beyond lexical level and included at least four related studies in Ibanag.

The Department of Education has also released an orthography consisting of the alphabets, grammar, and primer lessons for the Ibanag language. The orthography is a compiled list of words used in three Ibanag variants, those of the Ibanag of Tuguegarao, Cabagan, and Tumauni. The book and Dita's research were used as a reference to validate the examples in this study.

Research Objectives

This study aimed to identify the lexical peculiarities between the Ibanag of Tuguegarao, Cagayan and the Ibanag of Cabagan, Isabela. Specifically, it sought to ascertain the difference between both languages' fillers, expressions, and lexemes.

II. METHODOLOGY

This study utilized a qualitative research design, particularly using the comparative-descriptive analysis approach. Since the study focuses on the distinct features of each language, comparative analysis will be used. The researcher will compare if the lexical items are the same or different. The researcher also identified if there were equal terms available for each of the dialects. Descriptive analysis will follow to describe how each of the lexical peculiarities are observed.

The setting of the study is in Tuguegarao, Cagayan and Cabagan, Isabela. Both localities use Ibanag as their major language which can be explained by the proximity and historical background of their geographical locations. Ten (10) participants will be invited to take part in this research endeavor. The number of participants will be equally divided between Tuguegarao and Isabela. Purposive and snowball sampling will be used to gather only the participants who are native Ibanag speakers. The participants should be a natural-born Ibanag speaker of either Tuguegarao or Cabagan who have lived on or had ample interaction with the opposite locality for more than five (5) years. The participants, if married, should not be influenced by any other languages other than the Ibanag variants under study to avoid language confusion.

To get the necessary data needed for this study, the researcher used semi-structured interview and non-participant observation. A semi-structured interview was done to gather responses from the participants. The researcher also employed non-participant observation to observe the language used in the participants' conversations. The participants were asked as to the different fillers and expressions that they usually use in normal conversations. The participants also had to provide the lexemes that were different from both dialects.

The interview consisted of the following questions:

On Fillers:

1. Anu-ano ang mga klase ng mga fillers na gingamit mo sa iyong dialekto? (What are the different fillers that you use in your dialect?)
2. Bakit ka gumagamit ng mga fillers kapag ikaw ay nakikipagusap? (Why do you use fillers in your speech?)
3. Okey lang ba sana kung hindi mo gamitin ang mga fillers na ito? Bakit? (Would it just be okay not to use fillers in your speech? Why or why not?)

On Expressions:

1. Anu-ano ang mga klase ng mga 'expression' na gingamit mo sa iyong dialekto? (What are the different expressions that you use in your dialect?)
2. Kailan mo sinasabi ang mga ito? (In what instances do you use them?)

On Lexicon:

1. Maglista ng mga salitang magkaiba ngunit pareho ang ibig sabihin sa Ibanag ng Tuguegarao at Cabagan. (List down all the terms that are different but carry the same meaning in both the Ibanags of Tuguegarao and Isabela.)
2. Anu-ano ang mga napansin mo sa pagkakaiba ng mga salitang inilista mo? (What have you observed in the words that you listed?)

3. Pano ka nagre-react kapag nae-encounter mo yung mga salitang naiiba sa alam mo? Anong ginagawa mo para maintindihan mo sila? (How do you react when you encounter these different terms? What do you do to understand them?)

The gathered data were used to analyze the lexical peculiarities between the Ibanag of Tuguegarao and the Ibanag of Cabagan comparatively and descriptively.

III. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The researcher used semi-structured interview and non-participant observation. A semi-structured interview was done to gather responses from the participants. The researcher also employed non-participant observation to observe the language used in the participants' conversations.

Two (2) of the participants who had years of stay in the opposite locality without direct interaction with the dialect they were born with had adapted to the language of which they were staying. Participant 1 who was born in Cabagan and lived in Tuguegarao after marriage had adapted the fillers, expressions, lexemes and somehow the intonation used in the Ibanag of Tuguegarao. The Cabagan accent is still somehow present. Participant 2 was born in Tuguegarao and lived for up to 12 years in Cabagan until her husband's death. There was total adaptation not only of the Cabagan variant of Ibanag but also of the intonation.

Both participants had a hard time to enumerate the difference of the dialects and continuously reason out that both dialects are the same. The only prevalent difference that they could point out is the intonation. Participant 2 was only able to list down the differences in the language when her son called right during the interview. This is in accordance with the claim of Quirk et.al (1972) that regional variation seems to be realized predominantly in phonology. That is, we generally recognize a different dialect from a speaker's pronunciation or accent before we notice that his vocabulary (or lexicon) is also distinctive.

Participants 3 and 4 were both born in Cabagan who studied in Tuguegarao and were able to interact with the speakers of Ibanag in Tuguegarao. Both did not encounter any difficulty in enumerating the list of terms that are different in both dialects since there was no loss of interaction with both dialects. They were also able to switch from one dialect to another using correct intonation and lexemes.

Participant 5 was born in Tuguegarao who have friends in Cabagan. There was no difficulty in listing down the terms in the Ibanag of Tuguegarao that is different from that of the Ibanag of Cabagan but there is a challenge in grasping the right term used in the Cabagan variant.

On Fillers

Fillers are discourse markers that speakers use when they think or hesitate during their speech (Erten, 2014). Although they are part of a speaker's vocabulary, they are not for primary message in communication. Fillers are used when a speaker is not sure about the next utterance.

Fillers used in the Ibanag of Tuguegarao	Fillers used in the Ibanag of Cabagan
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Eh	Eh
Kwa/ Kwan	Kwa/ Kwan
Eh kwa/ Eh Kwan	Eh kwa/ Eh Kwan
Kwa Nge	Kwa Ngay
Anni gare yari ngana?	Anni mana yari?

Table 1. Fillers used in the Ibanag variants of Tuguegarao and Cabagan

Table 1 shows the list of fillers used in both variants of Ibanag and their meanings as given by the participants.

As gleaned on table 1, all the fillers given by the participants have an equivalent term and are also used in the opposite dialect. However, it can be noted that the Tuguegarao variant used /e/ as the ending phoneme for the filler *nge* and the Cabagan variant used /ai/ as the ending phoneme for the filler word *ngay*. When asked for the meanings of the listed fillers, the participants found them hard to define.

The questions “*Anni gare yari ngana?*” in the Tuguegarao variant and *Anni mana yari?* in the Cabagan variant both means “What is it again?” when translated. These interrogatives are asked when the speaker cannot grasp the next utterance. The question is said out loud but does not necessarily require an answer from the receiver.

The word *gafu* was also labeled as a filler word especially by the Ibanag speakers from Cabagan. *Vu*, as its abbreviated term, is commonly used in most of their sentences. However, when studied thoroughly, *gafu* or *vu* merely functions as an intensifier.

As observed, the participants prolong the pronunciation of the last sound of the last word uttered until they remember the next word. All the speakers answered that fillers can be removed as part of the sentence. However, it has always been a part of their speech and is much needed especially when the term to be said next is forgotten. The finding supports the study of Santos et.al (2015) that some of these reasons of using fillers were to fill in spaces in conversations and to organize speech. Fillers, then, are used as a delaying technique until the next word is finally remembered.

On Language Expressions

Culture-specific items, as defined by Persson (2015), are concepts that are specific for a certain culture. Culture-specific expressions are then considered to be the expressions in a language that are only spoken in a particular culture. Table 2 and 3 consist of the distinct list of language expressions used in the Ibanag dialects of Tuguegarao and Cabagan. The instances where the expressions are used were also given.

Language Expression	Usage in context
Gagange!	It is used when a person did something wrong.
Gavva lang!	It is used when a person does not believe in what the other
Gavva mu!	person is saying.

Kurukuruk?	It is used when a person is asking if what was said is really true.
Y ammun ngam!	It is used when the speaker does not agree with what the other person is saying.
Kujalens!	It is used when the speaker is amazed on what the other person said or did.

Table 2 Distinct Language Expressions used in Ibanag of Tuguegarao

Gagange, otherwise known as *gagangay*, is also used in Cabagan. However, the Ibanags of Cabagan do not use it as a stand-alone expression. Instead, the term *gagange* has to be used in a sentence for it to be considered as an expression as in, “*Gagange siko nga abbing!*”

Kujalens is an expression which initially sprung out of a curse word. But since language is dynamic, *kujalens* no longer connotes a negative meaning. Most of the time, *kulajens* is mixed with the Filipino word ‘astig’ (meaning tough or macho) as in “*Astig, kujalens!*” to aggravate the level of amazement being felt.

Language Expression	Usage in context
Talli’	It used as a curse word.
Busi’	It is either used in a funny or irritating situation.
Sya awang!	It is used when you do not want to do something that is being asked.
Ma siko!	It is said in disagreement.

Table 3 Distinct Language Expressions used in the Ibanag of Cabagan

Although classified as expressions, *Sya awang!* and *Ma siko!* also function as a whole sentence. These expressions suggest that a person is in disagreement to what has been said and asked therefore, the conversation should not be prolonged any longer.

Tables 2 and 3 imply that there are distinct language expressions used only on the distinct localities of Tuguegarao and Cabagan. This supports the idea of Akbari (2013) that every society has its own set of habits, value judgements and classification systems which sometimes are quite different. Hinkel (2013) supports this implication by stating that almost all idiomatic and conventionalized phrases are unique to a particular language or culture. Therefore, a receiver of a certain expression must be able to adapt once immersed in the culture of the Ibanags of Tuguegarao and Cabagan.

Tuguegarao	Cabagan	Usage in Context
Kinenam!	Kinenam!	It is used as a curse word.
Ananoy!	Ananoy!	It is used when a person is hurt or when the speaker anticipates the hurt that somebody might be feeling.

Asasaw!	Asasaw!	It is said when a person suddenly holds something hot or cold especially anything liquid.
Es?	Es?	It is spoken with a rising-falling intonation and is used when the speaker does not entirely believe what the other person is saying.
Is!	Is!	It is used when the speaker snaps at the receiver.
Afu ko! Afu, Diyos ku!	Afu! Afu, Diyos ku ngay!	It literally means <i>Lord, my Lord, or my Lord God</i> . It is used when a person experiences disbelief or when another person is in great danger like in an accident.
Anni mabba! Anni mabba nga! Anni mabba yatun!	Anni ngana mabba! Anni mabba yatung!/ Nabba yatung!	It is used when something feels too much or is disappointing.
Anni gare! Anni gare nga!	Anni garay!	It said when the speaker is annoyed over someone.
Kapyanammu? Kapyanammu!	Makasta vu?	As a statement, it literally means that something is good or beautiful. However, when used as an expression, the speaker is as if questioning the decency of an action.
Ulapa! Kaladeng!	Sebeng!	It is used when a person's idea is crazy or when s/he acts crazily.

Table 4 Language Expressions used by the Ibanags of Tuguegarao and Isabela

Table 4 consist of the expressions in both dialects that carry the same meaning and are used in the same contexts. *Kinenam!*, *Ananoy!*, *Asasaw!*, *Es?*, and *Is!* are words which are totally the same in terms of spelling, usage in context, as well as pronunciation. For the rest of the listed expressions, although the words are slightly different, they carry the same purpose in a conversation. This implies that even though these Ibanags are from different variants, they still share common expressions. This finding is in parallel with the idea of Wolfram and Schilling (2015) that not all speakers of a dialect use the entire set of structures associated with their dialect, and there may be differing patterns of usage among speakers of the variety.

The researcher attempted to translate the listed expressions in this study. However, the essence of the expressions is lost when translated in English. This may well be supported with the recommendation of Banikalef & Naser (2019) that a translator has to assume the role of a cultural insider for both texts in order to render a culturally more faithful translation.

On Lexicon

The article by Quirk et.al (1972) gave examples on the difference of the lexicons used in two variants of the English language which are the American English (AmE) and the British English (BrE). The examples given were railway (BrE)- railroad (AmE), tap (BrE)- faucet (AmE), and autumn (BrE)-fall (AmE).

To understand the difference in the lexicons of both Ibanags of Tuguegarao and Cabagan, the researcher gathered from the participants a list of words that are different from both languages. The participants only had to enumerate those that they could easily remember. The differences are categorized into the following: (1) added phoneme, (2) change of initial consonant sound, (3) change of final consonant sound, and (4) equivalent lexemes.

Tuguegarao	Cabagan	Gloss
Taw	Tawe	‘here’
Yaw	Yawe	‘this’
Kunnaw	Kunnawe	‘like this’
Sangaw	Sangawe	‘now’

Table 5 Added phoneme /e/

Table 5 shows that some words ending with a voiced approximant /w/ in the Ibanag of Tuguegarao, a vowel sound /e/ is added in the Ibanag of Cabagan.

Tuguegarao	Cabagan	Gloss
Nabinnay	Mabinnay	‘slow’
Nalappo	Malappo	‘industrious’
Nasikan	Masikang	‘loud’
Nabisin	Mabising	‘hungry’
Napatu	Mapatu	‘hot’
Nakabbal	Makabbal	‘thin’

Table 6 Change of initial consonant sound /n/ to /m/

Table 6 shows that some words starting with the alveolar nasal /n/ in the Ibanag of Tuguegarao is changed into bilabial nasal /m/ in the Ibanag of Cabagan. This change can only be observed in adjectives.

Tuguegarao	Cabagan		Gloss
Nabibinnay	Mabibinnay	or kittabinnay	‘very slow’
Nalallappo	Malallappo	or kittallapo	‘very industrious’
Nasikasikan	Masikasikang	or kittassikang	‘very loud’
Nabisibisin	Mabisibising	or kittabbising	‘very hungry’
Napapatu	Mapapatu	or kittappatu	‘very hot’
Nakakkabbal	Makakkabbal	or kittakkabbal	‘very thin’

Table 7 Change of initial consonant sound /n/ to /m/ but with totally different synonym

Table 7 shows that the adjective in the superlative degree in the Ibanag of Tuguegarao has two equivalents in the Ibanag of the Cabagan. Aside from changing the initial consonant sound /n/ (Tuguegarao) to /m/ (Cabagan), the Ibanag of Cabagan also use loan terms from the Spanish language.

Dita (2010) explained from gathered orthographies that ‘quitta’ from the Spanish language has been revised to ‘kitta’ in the Ibanag language as in

Spanish	quittallappo	‘very industrious’
Ibanag	kittallappo	‘very industrious’

However, only the Ibanags in Cabagan use these revised Spanish words. This can highly be attributed to the fact that Cabagan was the trade center during the Spanish colonization in Northern Luzon.

Tuguegarao	Cabagan	Gloss
Kanyakan	Tanyakan	‘mine’
Kannissa	Tannissa	‘hers/his’
Kannira	Tannira	‘theirs’

Table 8 Change of the initial consonant sound /k/ to /t/

Table 8 shows that some words starting with the velar stop /k/ in the Ibanag of Tuguegarao is changed into the alveolar stop /t/ in the Ibanag of Cabagan. Notice that this change is only applicable on possessive pronouns.

Tuguegarao	Cabagan	Gloss
Yatun	Yatung	‘that’
Tatun	Tatung	‘there’
Nabalin	Nabaling	‘done’
Ngamin	Ngaming	‘everybody’
Sakan	Sakang	‘I/ me’
Laman	Lamang	‘only’
Ginnan	Ginnang	‘hear’

Table 9 Change of the final consonant sound /n/ to /ŋ/

Table 9 shows that some words starting with the alveolar nasal /n/ in the Ibanag of Tuguegarao is changed into the velar nasal /ŋ/ in the Ibanag of Cabagan. From all of the differences in the lexemes of both the Ibanag variants, this difference is the most observed by the participants of this study.

Tuguegarao	Cabagan	Gloss
Ulum	Ulung	‘your head’
Takkim	Takking	‘your feet’
Ipem	Ipeng	‘you put’

Kinagim	Kinaging	‘you said’
Iyangem	Iyangeng	‘you bring’
Gittam	Gittang	‘like you’

Table 10 Change of final consonant sound /m/ to /ŋ/

Table 10 shows that some words ending with the bilabial nasal /m/ in the Ibanag of Tuguegarao is changed into velar nasal /ŋ/ in the Ibanag of Cabagan. This change is only observed when using the possessive pronoun ‘your’ and subjective pronoun ‘you.’

Tuguegarao	Cabagan	Gloss
Mawak	Mawag	‘need’
Taddak	Taddag	‘stand’
Lakak	Lakag	‘walk’
Bannak	Bannag	‘effort’

Table 11 Change of final consonant sound /k/ to /g/

Table 11 shows that some words ending with the voiceless velar stop /k/ in the Ibanag of Tuguegarao is changed into voiced velar stop /g/ in the Ibanag of Cabagan. However, the Cabagan lexemes given in the table are also used during High Mass in Tuguegarao.

Tuguegarao	Cabagan	Gloss
Laddug	Teko	‘liar’
Mappalaju	Makkaru	‘run’
Bariling	Kuliggo	‘rotate’
Pattu	Littu	‘jump’
Lige	Nage	‘before’

Table 12 Totally Different Lexeme but Carry the Same Meaning

Table 12 shows the list of words that are totally different lexemes but carry the same meaning in both variants of the Ibanag dialect. These words are only particular and are not shared by Tuguegarao and Cabagan.

Tuguegarao	Cabagan		Gloss
Ergo	Ergo	or bida	‘talk’
Kabbal	Kabbal	or niwang	‘thin’
Mangananwan	Mangananwang	or babbayag	‘later’
Iyutun	Iyotun	or iyoddung	‘lift’
Nataga	Nataga	or nanavu	‘fell’
Mallevu	Mallevu	or malliggo	‘turn around’

Table 13 Same Lexeme but with Totally Different Synonym

Table 13 shows that the lexemes used by the Ibanags of Tuguegarao are also used by the Ibanags of Cabagan. However, these lexemes have synonymous terms in the Cabagan dialect which are totally different from that of the similar lexemes shared with the Ibanag of Tuguegarao.

Table 5 down to table 13 prove that there are distinct and absolute differences in both variants of the Ibanag language in Tuguegarao and Cabagan. When asked about the observations on the different listed lexemes, participant 4 mentioned that it is as if the Ibanag of Tuguegarao is not enough- that some sounds are missing in the words. As shown in tables 5, 9 and 10, the words in the Ibanag of Tuguegarao indeed lose the sounds /e/ and /ŋ/. All participants also observed that the Ibanag of Tuguegarao is easy to understand since most of the words used have similar terms in the Ibanag of Cabagan. Most of the tables provided show that the words are indeed almost similar except for one sound. This supports the idea of Wolfram and Schilling (2015) that not all speakers of a dialect use the entire set of structures associated with their dialect, and there may be differing patterns of usage among speakers of the variety.

Answering the questions about their reaction and ways to understand the different terms when they encounter them, the participants from Cabagan do not right away ask the other person in the conversation. The participants try to understand what is being said in the conversation and only ask if there is really a need for it. The participant from Tuguegarao, however, is challenged on grasping the lexemes of the Ibanag of Cabagan since some of the words are of entirely different vocabulary. Despite all the differences, the participants do not see the need to thoroughly learn the other variant. This supports the claim of Wolfram & Schilling (2015) that dialect differences are a part of group awareness; members of a particular social group may seize upon language differences as part of their sense of identity and sense of place.

IV. CONCLUSION

The dynamism of language can as well be observed with dialects. The Ibanag dialect, in particular, has distinct features that are observable among its variants. On fillers, almost all the listed fillers in the Ibanag of Tuguegarao have their equivalents in the Ibanag of Cabagan. On expressions and lexemes, there were distinct as well as equivalent terms used in both variants of the dialect. However, the study is only limited to the fillers, expressions, and lexemes that were given by the participants and those that were observed by the researcher. It is highly recommendable that future researchers extensively study the lexical peculiarities of the Ibanag variants of Tuguegarao and Cabagan with experts in the field of linguistics or with those who have extensive understanding of the Ibanag language.

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