

ISSN 1718-2298

# THE PHILIPPINE ESL JOURNAL

Volume 19 July 2017



E.L.E PUBLISHING

Published by the English Language Education Publishing

A Division of TESOL Asia Group

Part of SITE Ltd Australia

[www.philippine-esl-journal.com](http://www.philippine-esl-journal.com)

© Philippine ESL Journal Press 2017 This E-book is in copyright.

This journal is open-access and users may read, download, copy, distribute, print, search, or link to the full texts, crawl them for indexing, pass them as data to software, or use them for any other lawful purpose, without financial, legal, or technical barriers other than those inseparable from gaining access to the internet itself. The only constraint on reproduction and distribution, and the only role for copyright in this domain, should be to give authors control over the integrity of their work and the right to be properly acknowledged and cited.

**Editor:** Leah Espada Gustilo

**Managing Editor:** Dr. Paul Robertson and Dr. John Adamson

The Philippine English as a Second Language Journal is indexed in the Asian Education Index, Index Copernicus, Cabell's Directory, Google Scholar and Ulrich's Web.

The Philippine ESL journal (ISSN 1718-2298) is published two times a year by ELE Publishing.

This journal is part of the Asian EFL journal services. Access to on-line table of contents and articles is available to all researchers at [www.philippine-esl-journal.com](http://www.philippine-esl-journal.com)

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

<b>Contemporary Perspectives on Philippine English</b> .....	1
Ariane Macalinga Borlongan	
<b>Has Philippine English attained linguistic independence?</b> .....	10
<b>The Grammatical Evidence</b>	
Peter Collins, Ariane Macalinga Borlongan	
<b>Lexical trends in Philippine English revisited</b> .....	25
Thomas Biermeier	
<b>Philippine English in the Oxford English Dictionary:</b> .....	45
<b>Recent advancements and implications for ESL</b>	
<b>in the Philippines</b>	
Danica Salazar	
<b>The Americanisation of Philippine English: Recent</b> .....	60
<b>diachronic change in spelling and lexis</b>	
Robert Fuchs	
<b>Chinese Filipinos tag their questions, kiam si? Some notes</b> .....	84
<b>on tag questions in Philippine Hybrid Hokkien</b>	
Wilkinson Daniel Wong Gonzales	
<b>The intelligibility and comprehensibility of Philippine English</b> .....	100
<b>to EFL speakers</b>	
Shirley N. Dita & Kristine D. De Leon	
<b>Philippine English in the ESL Classroom: A Much Closer Look</b> .....	117
Alejandro S. Bernardo	
<b>Philippine English on the Move: An Afterword</b> .....	145
Edgar W. Schneider	

## Contemporary Perspectives on Philippine English

Ariane Macalinga Borlongan

*Tokyo University of Foreign Studies and The University of Tokyo*

*Special Issue Editor, Philippine ESL Journal*

*Keywords: Philippine English, world Englishes, sociolinguistics, sociology of language*

English was brought to the Philippines by American colonization towards the end of the nineteenth century. Initially taught by soldiers, the language was eventually learned by Filipinos from well-qualified teachers sent by the United States to their new colony by the beginning of the twentieth century. Filipinos acquired English quite fast. In fact, the then Board of Educational Survey of the Philippine Islands noted in 1925 that Filipinos were only two years behind their American counterparts with their English language skills. English was acquired so rapidly that the percentage of the population who had an ability to use the language increased exponentially, from below five percent at the beginning of American colonization to almost three-fourths at the end of the same century (Gonzalez, 1996), making it “[o]ne of the most successful linguistic events in the history of mankind” (Gonzalez, 2000, p. 1). Today, the Philippines stands among the largest English-using nations in the world. It regards English as co-official to the national language Filipino and the primary language of education, business, and science in the country.

Interestingly, the 1925 educational survey board noticed that Filipinos spoke differently from Americans. Further contrastive reports (Raqueño, 1940, 1952) also point towards the distinctive way of Filipinos’ use of English. Gonzalez (1997, 2008) says that, when Filipino teachers began teaching fellow Filipinos English, which was around 1920s, Philippine English was born but it was only towards the end of 1960s when a linguist, Teodoro Llamzon, called attention to an emerging variety of English in the Philippines.

Llamzon’s (1969) monograph entitled *Standard Filipino English* had three important claims: (1) That there exists a variety of English in the Philippines (different from American

---

Corresponding Author: Ariane Macalinga Borlongan  
Affiliation: Tokyo University of Foreign Studies and The University of Tokyo  
Email: arianemacalingaborlongan@yahoo.com

and British Englishes) and, by then, it had become standardized, (2) that there was a sizable number of native and near-native speakers of English in the Philippines, and (3) that a local model had to be taught in schools. His ideas were seen as radical at that time, but two other linguists (Gonzalez, 1972; Hidalgo, 1970) questioned him, most especially his claim of an emergent local and standardized variety as well as a sizable base of native local English users.

Though controversial at the time of Llamzon's publication in 1969, Philippine English as an object of inquiry has received much attention from linguists, most especially in the Philippines, as shown in the review of linguistic research in the Philippines by Dayag and Dita (2012). Indeed, it has been remarked that the Philippines has most likely produced the most comprehensive research on an indigenized Southeast Asian English (Tay 1991). Admittedly, some themes and issues got more scholarly attention than others. This (introduction to this) special issue offers a suitable opportunity to review and re-appraise those issues (cf. Bautista, 2000b; Borlongan, 2013; Borlongan & Lim, 2012; Gonzalez, 1998 for more extended surveys of studies of Philippine English):

Whereas Gonzalez (1972) and Hidalgo (1970) questioned Llamzon's claim on the emergence of a (standardized) local variety of English in the Philippines, there seems to be no question now as to its existence. In fact, Gonzalez himself had been very much involved in the study of the new English. Bautista (2000a) thus defines Philippine English: "Philippine English is not English that falls short of the norms of Standard American English; it is not badly learned English as a second language; its distinctive features are not errors committed by users who have not mastered the American standard. Instead, it is a nativized variety of English that has features which differentiate it from Standard American English because of the influence of the first language (specifically in pronunciation [...] but occasionally in grammar), because of the different culture in which the language is embedded (expressed in lexicon and in discourse conventions), and because of a restructuring of some grammar rules (manifested in the grammar)" (p. 20).

Gonzalez (1972) and Hidalgo (1970) query whether there are enough native speakers to speak of a standardized English in the Philippines. There have been several new definitions of 'native speaker' offered, i.e. "[some]one who learns English in childhood and continues to use it as his dominant language and has reached a certain level of fluency in terms of grammatical well-formedness, speech-act rules, functional elaboration, and code diversity" (Richards & Tay, 1981, p. 53) and "someone, who was born and/or nurtured (to adolescence and/or beyond) in that language (possibly, in addition to other languages, in a multilingual context) in a relevant speech community/group, who can successfully use it for his/her daily sociocommunicational needs (and thought processes, therefore), and who possesses the (minimal) oral-aural skills (in the language)" (Mann, 1999, p. 15/2012, p. 15-16). Citing these definitions, Bautista (2000a) nevertheless argues that there should be a 'sizable' number of Filipinos who qualifies as native speakers of English, Philippine English, that is.

A question was so famously asked by Gonzalez (1983): When does an error become a feature of Philippine English? This is a question that not only concerns Philippine English but

all the other Englishes as well, a question that much earlier work on world Englishes attempted to answer or shed light on (e.g. Kachru, 1965, 1982, 1986, 1992). Initially, Gonzalez himself proposed an answer to his question: That historical precedent and communicative efficiency would have to play a role for an error to be considered a feature. In a later paper (1985), he gave a more definite answer: An error must be expansive that enough members of the educated elite use it for it to be acceptable, noting that the mass media is influential in causing this acceptability. Bautista (2000a) was inspired by Gonzalez' (1983) question in her attempt to define what counts as part of Standard Philippine English and suggests that D'Souza's (1998) criteria for standardization in effect make Gonzalez' (1983, 1985) answers to his own question more quantifiable: A usage must be widespread, systematic and rule-governed, and used by competent users in formal situations. Following Bautista's exercise on grammar, the same set of criteria was applied by Borlongan (2007) on lexical innovations. More recently though, Borlongan (2011a) adopts Hunston's (2002) conceptualization of what features are 'central' and 'typical' (in a corpus) rather than a categorical definition of what counts as a feature and what is not in the preparation of a reference grammar for Philippine English. And Gonzalez, Jambalos, and Romero (2003) also talk about consider as perduring features of Philippine English, "recurring 'mistakes' of pronunciation and grammar, not attained by any generation" (p. 109) and could be considered "empirically established features of Philippine English (at least one variety of it)" (p. 109).

It has also been noted that Filipinos do not make any distinction among the styles they use across registers, and, put simply, they speak the way they write (Gonzalez, 1991). This has been thought to be primarily the result of education — it is only in particularly formal contexts like schooling and such like where English is used and so Filipinos' stylistic repertoire has been restricted to formal English. Recently, this apparent stylistic homogeneity has attracted attention as a feature of the new English (cf. Hundt, 2006; Nelson, 2005) and, in more diachronic terms, alleged linguistic dependence on the colonial parent (cf. Collins, Borlongan, & Yao, 2014). Collins and Borlongan (this issue) suggest Philippine English' transitioning to endonormative stabilization, and this linguistic conservatism (both reflected in stylistic homogeneity and linguistic dependence) are but expected residues of nativization and a clear manifestation of movement onto the next developmental phase.

With regard to the position of Philippine English in Schneider's (2003, 2007) dynamic model of the evolution of postcolonial Englishes, Schneider initially locates Philippine English in the nativization phase but Borlongan (2011c/2016) is claiming endonormative stabilization to be already taking place in the Philippines. There have been alternative views on this (i.e. Martin, 2014a still affirming nativization while Gonzales, 2017 vouching for differentiation) but one thing seems certain — Philippine English is developmentally progressing (again, cf. Collins & Borlongan, this issue).

A most important implication of these theorizing and discourses on world Englishes and Philippine English relates to the selection of model(s) for language teaching. In 1982, the group of Filipinos who convened in Singapore for a discussion on the issues relating to Philippine English agreed that, until Standard Philippine English has been defined and



described, then a decision to move to a local model in English language teaching may be postponed. To date, descriptions of Standard Philippine English have already been made (Bautista, 2000a; Borlongan, 2007) and reference works are now (becoming) available (e.g. Bautista & Butler, 2010; Borlongan, 2011a). Pluricentric models have been proposed aiming at teaching sociolinguistic competence in the classroom (Bautista, 2001, 2003; Martin, 2014b), and even more progressive views of privileging local norms (Borlongan, 2011b). Bernardo (2013, this issue) provides a very helpful guide on how to be able to teach Philippine English in the classroom.

This special issue on Philippine English endeavors to further elucidate on Philippine English using modern tools of understanding, analyzing, and theorizing on language, language varieties, and language issues. The contributions to the issue are a medley of well thought-out narratives, expositions, and studies on various topics and themes in relation to Philippine English: Peter Collins and Ariane Borlongan attempt to answer the question on whether Philippine English has already achieved linguistic independence. The papers of Thomas Biermeier and Danica Salazar both talk about lexicon, the former exploring on more recent and much larger Philippine English data to check on emerging trends in lexical development while the latter looks into the inclusion of Philippine English items in the *Oxford English Dictionary*. Robert Fuchs touches on an unexplored area in Philippine English studies — spelling and punctuation and how these reflects Philippine English's development. Wilkinson Gonzales dares to look into a very unique dimension of Philippine English as he looks into its contact with a third language, which is Hokkien. Shirley Dita and Kristine de Leon dwell on the intelligibility of Philippine English to other Asians, particularly those coming from the Expanding Circle countries. Finally, Alejandro Bernardo discusses issues in teaching Philippine English in the classroom. An afterword is also written by Edgar Schneider for this special issue.

A half-century since Llamzon's (1969) publication of his seminal work on Philippine English approaches and it is encouraging, heartening, and inspiring to know that the variety which has emerged in the Philippines is much better understood now than ever before. There are these ideas communicated through many publications and briefly reviewed earlier which have tried to untangle the issues relating to the emergence of Philippine English. Many resources on Philippine English are now available, particularly on researching on the variety: For example, the Philippine component of the International Corpus of English (compiled by Ma. Lourdes Bautista, Danilo Dayag, and Loy Lising and now directed by Ariane Borlongan), the Philippine parallels to the Brown (1960s) and, soon, the Before-Brown (1930s) corpora (both compiled by Ariane Borlongan), the entry on Philippine English in the Electronic World Atlas of Varieties of English (eWAVE, Kortmann & Lunkenheimer, 2013; with the Philippine English entry prepared by Ariane Borlongan and JooHyuk Lim in 2013). The Ateneo de Manila University, De La Salle University, and the University of Santo Tomas in the Philippines all offer courses on world Englishes and Philippine English which will almost certainly provide the academic community and the interested public with a steady stream of new generations of scholars to stand on the shoulders of those who previously contributed to the study of Philippine English. There is still much work left to be done, but linguists and scholars are definitely

undertaking interesting and worthwhile work, and a special issue such as this one is testament to the vibrancy of Philippine English scholarship both in and out of the Philippines. It is hoped that this special issue bridges work on Philippine English from what has gone before to what lies ahead for another half-century and further and, hence, the title ‘Contemporary Perspectives on Philippine English’.

### References

- Bautista, M. L. S. (2000a). *Defining Standard Philippine English: Its status and grammatical features*. Manila, the Philippines: De La Salle University Press, Inc.
- Bautista, M. L. S. (2000b). Studies of Philippine English in the Philippines. *Philippine Journal of Linguistics*, 31(1), 39-65.
- Bautista, M. L. S. (2001). Studies of Philippine English: Implications for English language teaching in the Philippines. *Journal of Southeast Asian Education*, 2, 271-295.
- Bautista, M. L. S. (2003). The new Englishes and the teaching of grammar. In J. E. James (Ed.), *Grammar in the language classroom: Changing approaches and practices* (pp. 62-90). Singapore: SEAMEO Regional Language Centre.
- Bautista, M. L. S., & Butler, S. (Eds.). (2010). *Anvil-Macquarie Philippine English dictionary* (Revised ed.). Pasig City, the Philippines: Anvil Publishing, Inc.
- Bernardo, A. S. (2013). *Toward an endonormative pedagogic model for teaching English in Philippine higher education institutions* (Unpublished doctoral dissertation). University of Santo Tomas, Manila, the Philippines.
- The Board of Educational Survey. (1925). *A survey of the educational system of the Philippine Islands*. Manila, the Philippines: Bureau of Printing.
- Borlongan, A. M. (2007). Innovations in Standard Philippine English. In C. C. Mann (Ed.), *Current research on English and applied linguistics: A De La Salle University special issue* (pp. 1-36). Manila, the Philippines: De La Salle University-Manila, College of Education, Department of English and Applied Linguistics.
- Borlongan, A. M. (2011a). *A grammar of the verb in Philippine English* (Unpublished doctoral dissertation). De La Salle University, Manila, the Philippines.
- Borlongan, A. M. (2011b). The preparation and writing of a grammar of the verb in Philippine English and the teaching of the English verb system in Philippine schools [Editorial commentary]. *The Philippine ESL Journal*, 7, 120-123.



- Borlongan, A. M. (2011c, November). *Relocating Philippine English in Schneider's dynamic model*. Paper presented at the 17th Annual Conference of the International Association for World Englishes (IAWE), Melbourne, Australia.
- Borlongan, A. M. (2013). Corpus-based works on the Philippine English verb system. *Asian English Studies*, 15, 69-90.
- Borlongan, A. M. (2016). Relocating Philippine English in Schneider's dynamic model. *Asian Englishes*, 18(3), 1-10.
- Borlongan, A. M., & Lim, J. (2012, May). *Distinctive features of Philippine English: A meta-synthesis of corpus-based grammatical studies*. Poster presented at the 33rd International Computer Archive of Modern and Medieval English (ICAME) Conference, Louvain, Belgium.
- Borlongan, A. M., & Lim, J. (2013). Philippine English. In B. Kortmann, & K. Lunkenheimer (Eds.), *The electronic world atlas of varieties of English*. Leipzig, Germany: Max Planck Institute for Evolutionary Anthropology. Available from the Electronic World Atlas of Varieties of English website: <http://www.ewave-atlas.org/>
- Collins, P., Borlongan, A. M., & Yao, X. (2014). Modality in Philippine English: A diachronic study. *Journal of English Linguistics*, 42(1), 68-88.
- D'Souza, J. (1998). Review of Arjuna Parakrama's *De-hegemonizing language standards: Learning from (post)colonial Englishes about "English"*. *Asian Englishes*, 1(2), 86-94.
- Dayag, D. T. & Dita, S. N. (2012). Linguistic research in the Philippines: Trends, prospects and challenges. In V. A. Miralao & J. B. Agbisit (Eds.), *Philippine social sciences: Capacities, directions, and challenges* (pp. 110-126). Quezon, the Philippines: Philippine Social Science Council.
- Gonzales, W. D. W. (2017). Philippine Englishes. *Asian Englishes*, 19(1), 1-17.
- Gonzalez, A. (1972). Review of Teodoro A. Llamzon's *Standard Filipino English*. *Philippine Journal of Language Teaching*, 7(1-2), 93-98.
- Gonzalez, A. (1985). *Studies on Philippine English*. Singapore: SEAMEO Regional Language Centre.
- Gonzalez, A. (1991). Stylistic shifts in the English of Philippine print media. In J. Cheshire (Ed.), *English around the world: Sociolinguistic perspectives* (pp. 333-363). Cambridge, the United Kingdom: Cambridge University Press.
- Gonzalez, A. (1996). The Philippine experience with the English language: The limits of science in English language teaching. In E. S. Castillo (Ed.), *Alay sa wika: Essays in honor of Fe T. Otones on her 67<sup>th</sup> birthday* (pp. 139-151). Manila, the Philippines: The Linguistic Society of the Philippines.

- Gonzalez, A. (1997). The history of English in the Philippines. In M. L. S. Bautista (Ed.), *English is an Asian language: The Philippine context – Proceedings of the conference held in Manila on August 2-3, 1996* (pp. 25-40). North Ryde, Australia: The Macquarie Library Pty Ltd.
- Gonzalez, A. (1998). Post-Llamzon studies of Philippine English. In M. L. S. Bautista (Ed.), *Pagtanaw: Essays on language in honor of Teodoro A. Llamzon* (pp. 115-127). Manila, the Philippines: The Linguistic Society of the Philippines.
- Gonzalez, A. (2000). Successful language teaching in Southeast Asia: The Philippine experience (1898-1946). *Philippine Journal of Linguistics*, 31(1), 1-9.
- Gonzalez, A. (2008). A favorable soil and climate: A transplanted language and literature. In M. L. S. Bautista & K. Bolton (Eds.), *Philippine English: Linguistic and literary perspectives* (pp. 13-27). Hong Kong SAR, China: Hong Kong University Press.
- Gonzalez, A., Jambalos, T. V., & Romero, M. C. S. (2003). *Three studies on Philippine English across generations: Towards an integration and some implications*. Manila, the Philippines: Linguistic Society of the Philippines.
- Hidalgo, C. A. (1970). Review of Teodoro A. Llamzon's *Standard Filipino English*. *Philippine Journal of Linguistics*, 1(1), 129-132.
- Hundt, M. (2006). *The committee has/have decided...: On concord patterns with collective nouns in inner- and outer-circle varieties of English*. *Journal of English Linguistics*, 34(3), 206-232.
- Hunston, S. (2002). *Corpora in applied linguistics*. Cambridge, the United Kingdom: Cambridge University Press.
- Kachru, B. B. (1965). The Indianness in Indian English. *Word*, 21, 391-410.
- Kachru, B. B. (Ed.). (1982). *The other tongue: English across cultures*. Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press.
- Kachru, B. B. (1986). *The alchemy of English: The spread, functions, and models of non-native Englishes*. Oxford & New York: Pergamon Institute of English.
- Kachru, B. B. (1992). World Englishes: Approaches, issues and resources. *Language Teaching*, 25, 1-14.
- Kortmann, B., & Lunkenheimer, K. (Eds.). (2013). *The electronic world atlas of varieties of English*. Leipzig, Germany: Max Planck Institute for Evolutionary Anthropology. Available from the Electronic World Atlas of Varieties of English website: <http://www.ewave-atlas.org/>
- Llamzon, T. A. (1969). *Standard Filipino English*. Manila, the Philippines: Ateneo University Press.

- Mann, C. C. (1999). We wuz robbed inni': *Towards redefining the 'native speaker'*. Paper presented at the 12<sup>th</sup> World Congress of the International Association of Applied Linguistics.
- Mann, C. C. (2012). *We wuz robbed, inni'?: Towards reconceptualizing the "native speaker"*. *Journal of English as an International Language*, 7(2), 1-24.
- Martin, I. P. (2014a). Beyond nativization?: Philippine English in Schneider's dynamic model. In S. Buschfeld, T. Hoffmann, M. Huber, & A. Kautszsch (Eds.), *The evolution of Englishes: The dynamic model and beyond* (pp. 70–85). Amsterdam, the Netherlands: John Benjamins Publishing Co.
- Martin, I. P. (2014b). English language teaching in the Philippines. *World Englishes*, 33(4), 472-485.
- Nelson, G. (2005). Expressing future time in Philippine English. In D. T. Dayag & J. Stephen Quakenbush (Eds.), *Linguistics and language education in the Philippines and beyond: A festschrift in honor of Ma. Lourdes S. Bautista* (pp. 41-59). Manila, the Philippines: Linguistic Society of the Philippines.
- Raqueño, P. G. (1940). *A comparative study of the types of errors in English written compositions of Filipino high school students in 1926 and 1936* (Unpublished master's thesis). University of the Philippines, Quezon, the Philippines.
- Raqueño, P. G. (1957). *A comparative study of the types of errors in English written compositions of Filipino high school students in 1936 and 1950* (Unpublished doctoral dissertation). University of Santo Tomas, Manila, the Philippines.
- Richards, J. C., & Tay, M. W. J. (1981). Norm and variability in language use and language learning. In L. E. Smith (Ed.), *English for cross-cultural communication* (pp. 40-56). London, the United Kingdom: Macmillan.
- Report of the Regional Seminar on Varieties of English and Their Implications for Language Teaching in Southeast Asia*. (1981). Singapore: SEAMEO Regional Language Centre.
- Schneider, E. W. (2003). The dynamics of new Englishes: From identity construction to dialect birth. *Language*, 79, 233-281.
- Schneider, E. W. (2007). *Postcolonial English: Varieties of English around the world*. New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.
- Tay, M. W. J. (1991). Southeast Asia and Hong Kong. In J. Cheshire (Ed.), *English around the world: Sociolinguistic perspectives* (pp. 319–332). Cambridge, the United Kingdom: Cambridge University Press.

### About the Author

**Ariane Macalinga Borlongan** earned his Ph.D. in Applied Linguistics at age 23 via a competitive accelerated program in De La Salle University (Manila, the Philippines). His dissertation entitled *A Grammar of the Verb in Philippine English* was supervised by Professor Emeritus Ma. Lourdes Bautista and was recognized as Most Outstanding Dissertation by De La Salle University. At present, he is Lecturer in Sociolinguistics at the Tokyo University of Foreign Studies (Japan) and concurrently Lecturer at The University of Tokyo (Japan). He was previously with De La Salle University and Tamagawa University (Tokyo, Japan) and also held visiting posts at the National University (Manila, the Philippines), the SEAMEO Regional Language Centre (Singapore), and the University of Malaya (Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia). He is Director of the Philippine component of the International Corpus of English (ICE-PH) and is also the compiler of the Philippine parallels to the Brown and the Before-Brown corpora (Phil-Brown and PBB respectively). He is Fellow of The Royal Society for the Encouragement of Arts, Manufactures and Commerce. His teaching and research have focused on sociolinguistics, world Englishes, English linguistics, and historical linguistics.

## **Has Philippine English attained linguistic independence?**

### **The Grammatical Evidence**

Peter Collins

*University of New South Wales*

Ariane Macalinga Borlongan

*Tokyo University of Foreign Studies and The University of Tokyo*

#### **Abstract**

This paper explores the grammatical evidence for and against the claim famously made by Schneider (2003, 2007) that Philippine English (Phile) has yet to attain linguistic independence. Firstly we discuss Schneider's dynamic model for the evolution of postcolonial Englishes, and his claim that Phile has yet to attain linguistic independence. We then present two opposing responses to Schneider's claim. The two following sections focus on the grammar of Phile: One on synchronic grammatical studies, and the other on diachronic grammatical studies. What the survey suggests is that while phase 4 endonormative stabilization is certainly under way in Phile, it is by no means complete. Phile has yet to fully achieve linguistic independence.

*Keywords: Philippine English, grammar studies, linguistic independence*

#### **Introduction**

This paper explores the grammatical evidence for and against the claim famously made by Schneider (2003, 2007) that Philippine English (Phile) has yet to attain linguistic independence. Let us begin with some comments on the history of English in the Philippines. English was introduced to the Philippines as a consequence of American colonization towards the end of the nineteenth century. Previously, the Philippines had been a colony of Spain but the country declared independence on June 12, 1898. The United States started occupying the country in August of the same year. The mandate for the American military troops sent to the Philippines was to reopen old schools and establish new ones in every

---

Corresponding Author: Ariane Macalinga Borlongan  
Affiliation: Tokyo University of Foreign Studies and The University of Tokyo  
Email: arianemacalingaborlongan@yahoo.com

locale they would occupy and, after just a few weeks, seven schools had been reopened. In 1901, the United States sent more formally-trained teachers, a group affectionately called the ‘Thomasites’. However, they were eventually replaced by Filipino teachers. By 1921, American teachers comprised only a tenth of the teaching force and Filipinos began learning English from fellow Filipinos. This, according to Gonzalez (2008), was the birth of PhilE.

The teaching of English by Filipinos in the Philippines did not impede the spread of English. In 1925, the Board of Educational Survey of the Philippines reported that Filipinos were only two years behind their American counterparts in English proficiency. The number of speakers in the Philippines grew year after year. According to Gonzalez (2008), by the end of the 20th century, at least around 70% of Filipinos spoke English. Today, English is enshrined in the Constitution as having official status alongside the national language Filipino, and the Philippines is one of the most prominent English-using societies in the Asia-Pacific Region.

A local variety of English has naturally emerged from contact with the language transplanted from the United States. While there were earlier comments on how ‘different’ was the use of English by Filipinos (e.g. Raqueño, 1940, 1952), it was not until later in the 20<sup>th</sup> century that reference was made to the formation of a (nativized) Philippine variety of English, ‘Standard Filipino English’, by Llamzon (1969). This variety has subsequently matured into a recognizable local variety with its own distinctive features of phonology, grammar, lexicon and discourse, but at the same time international intelligibility (Dayag, 2012).

The structure of the paper is as follows: Firstly, we discuss Schneider’s dynamic model for the evolution of postcolonial Englishes, and his claim that PhilE has yet to attain linguistic independence. We then present two opposing responses to Schneider’s claim. The two following sections focus on the grammar of PhilE: One on synchronic grammatical studies, and the other on diachronic grammatical studies. In the final section we present our conclusions.

### **Philippine English in Schneider’s Dynamic Model**

One of the most prominent developments in the theorizing of world Englishes is Schneider’s (2003, 2007) dynamic model of the evolution of new/postcolonial Englishes. In Schneider’s model there are five ‘phases’, namely (1) foundation, (2) exonormative stabilization, (3) nativization, (4) endonormative stabilization, and (5) differentiation. In the case of the Philippines phases 1 and 2 cover the period of American rule (1898–1946), the rapidity of the transition from 1 to 2 attributable to the swiftness of the spread of the English language spread throughout the country. Phase 3 appears to have begun in 1946.<sup>1</sup> Indicators of phase 3 include: The establishment of English as the language of formal domains such as business, politics and education; a deterioration in English language proficiency (Thompson 2003, p. 41); and distinctive linguistic characteristics in lexis (Bolton & Butler 2004), phonology (Llamzon, 1997), and grammar (Bautista, 2000a).

Schneider locates contemporary PhilE in phase 3, possibly approaching phase 4: “Signs foreshadowing codification in phase 4 can be detected, though they remain highly restricted” (2007, p. 143). As evidence of the incipient transition to phase 4, Schneider lists the following: A body of Philippine literature in English, proposals for standardization and codification of language education; awareness of the importance of norm selection and codification for



language teaching. Retarding factors include: resistance to English proceeding beyond its present functional strongholds (e.g. in the higher classes, in the professions); antipathy towards English in the lower classes.

The following section, dealing with responses to Schneider (2003, 2007), provides more details of his model and his position on PhilE.

### **Responses to Schneider: Borlongan (2011a, 2016) and Martin (2014)**

In the following two sections we examine in turn two papers that have responded to Schneider's phase 3 classification for PhilE, and drawn different conclusions.

#### **Borlongan (2011a, 2016)**

Borlongan (2011a, 2016) argues that PhilE has already satisfied a number of Schneider's conditions for phase 4 status.<sup>2</sup> In presenting Borlongan's arguments we follow his systematic consideration of the four criteria listed by Schneider (2007, p. 56) for phase 4 status.<sup>3</sup>

#### ***History and politics: Post-independence-self-dependence (possibly after Event X).***

Borlongan (2011a, 2016) contends that the identity revision-triggering "Event X" that in Schneider's model is commonly associated with transition from phase 3 to 4, has already taken place in the Philippines. For Schneider, Event X represents an incident that "makes it perfectly clear to the settlers that there is an inverse misrelationship between the (high) importance which they used to place on the mother country and the (considerably lower) importance which the (former) colony is given by the homeland" (Schneider 2007, p. 49). Borlongan cites as candidates for Event X the ratification and implementation of two inequitable 1946 acts (the Tydings Rehabilitation Act and the Trade Relations Act) whose supposed motivation was to aid in the post-war rehabilitation of the Philippines, but which in actuality worked to the disadvantage of Filipinos by prioritizing the United States in trade and enabling the them to control the Philippine economy. Furthermore, in Borlongan's view, there have been several post-Event X incidents that have further exacerbated Philippine disenchantment with the United States. One was the Philippine Senate's 1991 rejection of the 1947 Military Bases Agreement between the Philippines and the United States, and another was the recall of a small humanitarian contingent in Iraq – much to the chagrin of the United States – in July 2004.

***Identity construction: (Member of) New nation, territory-based, increasingly pan-ethnic.*** Borlongan (2011a, 2016) points to Filipinos' awareness of the capacity of language to crystallize their nationhood, and of their readiness to make their own decisions in matters of language (a prerequisite for phase 4). Language policies began to be formulated in the 1935 Constitution, the national language was named 'Pilipino' in the 1972 Constitution, bilingual education policies were framed and implemented in 1974 (and revised in 1987). In 2012 a bill was passed for the implementation of mother tongue-based multilingual education.

***Sociolinguistics of contact/use/attitudes: Acceptance of local norm (as identity carrier), positive attitude to it; (residual conservatism); literary creativity in new variety.*** Surveys by Bautista (2001a, 2001b) and Borlongan (2009) find acceptance of – and positive attitudes towards – local norms, but as Borlongan (2011a, 2016) concedes the findings are

unrepresentative because participants were selected only from “the higher socio-economic classes of Filipino society”. Furthermore Philippine literature in English is thriving, with some writers – such as F. Sionil Jose – attracting international acclaim.

***Linguistic developments/structural effects: Stabilization of new variety, emphasis on homogeneity, codification; dictionary writing, grammatical description.*** Since Llamzon’s (1969) pioneering survey of the unique features of English language use by Filipinos, the case for recognition of an indigenised variety of English in the Philippines has been bolstered by an enormous number of studies. Close to 50 such studies are cited in Bautista (2001a), and this list is augmented by the more recent corpus-based studies surveyed by Borlongan and Lim (2012). Borlongan (2011a, 2016) alludes to the evening out of substratal accents in the Philippines (Alberca, 1978; Gonzalez & Alberca, 1978); to the lexical and grammatical stabilization of PhilE; and to lexicographical codification (Bautista & Butler, 2000, 2010). In Sections 4 and 5 below we explore the grammatical stabilization of PhilE in detail.

### **Martin (2014)**

Martin (2014), whose position – like Schneider’s – is that PhilE has yet to progress to phase 4, systematically addresses Borlongan’s (2011a, 2016) arguments. She agrees with Borlongan that the 1991 Philippine rejection of the U.S military bases represents a more plausible candidate for Event X than the 1946 Tydings Rehabilitation Act and Bell Trade Relations Act. Martin articulates the irony – for which Schneider’s Dynamic Model cannot account – that while the 1991 Event X “signaled a strong desire of a former colony, by that time governed by the woman who overthrew the U.S.-supported Marcos dictatorship, to sever remaining ties from its former colonial master ... [it] did not result in a general desire among Filipinos to reject the language of the colonial master, or even to identify with a variety that is distinct from that language” (2014, p. 79).

On several other points made by Borlongan (2011a, 2016), Martin (2014) counsels caution. On the question of the acceptability of PhilE, Martin argues that one must be careful of making assumptions based on studies showing growing acceptance by university students and academic staff (Bautista, 2001a, 2001b; Borlongan 2009). PhilE remains associated chiefly with the educated elite of Filipino society, and it is unlikely that the acceptability of the language extends far beyond this class. Filipino is the language preferred by the masses, who see it as important for employment opportunity. Recent research by Go and Gustilo (2013) has revealed that urban factory workers favour Filipino as the language of communication with friends and family, and associate a preference for using English – and Taglish – with educated and upper/middle-class Filipinos. In fact even among educated Filipinos feelings of ambivalence and insecurity have been reported in several studies (Bautista, 2001b; Martin, 2010; Tupas, 2006, 2010).

On the question of how far PhilE has been codified, Martin (2014) argues that the one dictionary (the *Anvil Macquarie Dictionary of Philippine English*, unflatteringly dubbed by Schneider [2007, p. 143] “just an inclusive dictionary of English seasoned with an assortment of Philippine English words”) and sundry grammatical descriptions are insufficient to be considered as reflections of linguistic independence.

Finally, on the issue of literary creativity, while Philippine literature in English is undoubtedly flourishing, Martin (2014) questions the extent to which it is “accessible and/or acceptable to Filipino users of the language, especially in educational contexts” (2014, p. 80). Martin (2007) suggests that the literary preferences in the classroom, and in the personal choices of students, are for texts of Anglo-American rather than Philippine origin, and that such preferences may indicate self-consciousness and uncertainty of identity.

Martin’s (2014) conclusion is that Phile “is not an identity carrier for most Filipinos. The language continues to be associated with elitism and anti-nationalist sentiments, despite its being desired for instrumental reasons, such as becoming successful in higher education or getting a job abroad” (2014, p. 81). Accordingly, it is her view that, contra Borlongan (2011a, 2016), Phile has not yet entered phase 4 (and in fact she raises the possibility that it may never do so: “Whether or not that English progresses into a variety of Endonormative Stabilization remains to be seen” (p. p. 81).

### **Synchronic Studies of Phile Grammar**

Since the early 2000s the vast majority of synchronic grammatical studies of Phile have utilized the resources of the Philippine component of the International Corpus of English (ICE-PH) either alone or in conjunction with other ICE corpora. Most have, furthermore, explored individual grammatical categories in Phile (and, typically, other varieties), so we shall organize discussion of their findings via these categories.

We begin, however, by commenting on two significant papers by Bautista which do not ‘fit the mould’. The first, Bautista (2008), focuses on a specific grammatical construction which provides some evidence of the independent development of Phile. Bautista claims the use of the verb *assure* without an indirect object to be unique to Phile (omission of the indirect object being permitted in Phile when it can be determined from the context). The focus of the second paper, Bautista (2000b), is broader, an attempt to operationalize criteria (taken from D’Souza, 1998, p. 92) for the standardization of usages in Phile (namely, how widespread the feature is, how systematic, how rule-governed, and how often used by competent users in formal situations). In Bautista’s data, subject-verb concord is found to account for the most frequent deviations from Standard AmE (discounting instances where deviations are simply errors and therefore not part of Standard Phile). Verb + preposition combinations were found to be commonly deviant (e.g. *result to* rather than *result in*) in Standard Phile, possibly due to the less complex prepositional systems of Tagalog and other Philippine languages. A preference for past forms of modals – perhaps attributable to attempts by Filipinos to sound more elegant, more official, or even more polite – is also claimed to be a feature of Standard Phile. All such features involve categorical rather than variable rules, suggesting that they are entrenched in Standard Phile.

We now turn to the studies of individual grammatical categories in Phile.

- Irregular verb morphology: Borlongan (2011b) claims that PhilE has adopted the regularization patterns of its parent AmE, a finding more recently confirmed by Lim and Borlongan (2013).
- Particle verbs: Schneider's (2004) finding that particle verbs are used more frequently and creatively in Singapore English than in PhilE presumably reflects the differing evolutionary statuses of the two varieties.
- *Get*-passives: Alonsagay and Nolasco (2010) observe PhilE to have a higher frequency than BrE, and suggest as an explanation for this finding the likely influence of AmE on PhilE.
- The perfect aspect: Suárez-Gómez and Seoane (2012) claim that the relatively frequent use of the non-past form to express present perfective meaning in PhilE is expected because this is also a typical American English pattern.
- The progressive aspect: Collins (2008) finds PhilE to be similar to AmE in the extent of its preference for using progressives in speech rather than writing. Hundt's (2009) study of the progressive passive finds that, surprisingly, PhilE patterns more similarly to British English (BrE) than to AmE.
- Modals and quasi-modals: Collins (2009) sees PhilE to be similar to AmE in the extent of its preference for quasi-modals in speech, and in the relative popularity of the modals in writing. Looking at *would* more closely, Friginal (2011) notes that PhilE follows AmE very closely.
- Futurity expressions: Nelson (2005) provides evidence of AmE influence in PhilE, with *shall* largely restricted – as in AmE but unlike BrE – to formal, public, non-interactive, and typically legal, contexts.
- The subjunctive mood: A number of studies (Schneider, 2005, 2011; Peters, 2009; Bautista, 2010a, 2010b) have concluded that PhilE patterns of use strongly resemble those of AmE.
- Intensifiers: Coronel (2011) describes PhilE as having a wide range of lexical items for intensification, whose use closely resembles American and written norms.
- Agreement patterns: Hundt (2006) notices that concord patterns with collective nouns in PhilE and Singapore English are closer to those of their parent Englishes (American and British respectively) than to those of varieties alleged by some to be emerging as regional standards in the Pacific. Collins (2011) adds that agreement patterns in existential *there*-sentences in PhilE are close to those in AmE (and closer than those in Indian English are to BrE).

- Tag questions: Borlongan (2008) shows that tag questions are rarer in PhilE than in AmE (with PhilE ‘compensating’ for this with Tagalog particles: see Bautista, 2011; Lim & Borlongan, 2011).

Finally, recent documentation of aspects of PhilE grammar has been provided by several unpublished reference works. Three of these are dissertations: Borlongan (2011b) on verb phrases, Bengco (2014) on adjectives, and Morales (2016) on adjuncts. One is a research report: Borlongan (2016) on noun phrases. These works contain insights into possible innovations in PhilE (such as Bengco’s observations on the intensification of absolute adjectives and affiliative adjectives to mark emphasis (e.g. ‘He’s *so* dead!’ to mean ‘He is in a severe situation’, ‘Their house is *so* Chinese’ to mean ‘Their house carefully follows Chinese designs’).

### **Diachronic Studies of PhilE grammar**

While synchronic studies reveal interesting insights on the current status of PhilE vis-a-vis other Englishes, diachronic data allow for a richer developmental perspective. The compilation the Philippine parallel to the Brown corpus (Phil-Brown), by Ariane Borlongan, has facilitated the diachronic investigation of PhilE. When used in conjunction with (parallel categories in the written component of) ICE-PH, Phil-Brown enables scholars to examine changes in PhilE over the approximately three-decade period from the late 1950s/early 1960s (the sampling period for Phil-Brown) to 1990-2004 (the sampling period for ICE-PH). Fortuitously, this period of time is the same as that in Leech, Hundt, Mair, and Smith’s (2009) landmark corpus-based research on BrE and AmE, enabling comparisons to be drawn with their findings. The design of Phil-Brown is based on the original Brown family corpora, Brown and LOB. Though still incomplete its 674,000 words of texts represent all four of the ‘macro-genres’ that make up Brown and LOB: press (117,000 words), learned writing (83,000), fiction (166,000 words) and general prose (308,000).

In a number of studies Peter Collins and associates have documented grammatical changes in PhilE using Phil-Brown and ICE-PH, in many cases shedding further light on categories that have previously been the subject of synchronic corpus-based research. The mixed findings of these studies suggest that while it may be premature to claim that PhilE has achieved full linguistic autonomy, there are nevertheless signs of ongoing endonormativization in PhilE grammar. Areas in which there is continuing attachment to AmE patterns include the strong support for relativizer *that* noted in Collins, Yao and Borlongan (2014), the continuing preference for the subjunctive over *should*-periphrasis in mandative constructions (Collins, Borlongan, Lim, & Yao 2014), the strongly increasing frequencies for the quasi-modals (Collins, Borlongan, & Yao, 2014), and increasing frequencies of the progressive (Collins, 2015). The special status of PhilE as the only Postcolonial World English with an American rather than British ‘parent’ suggests that the co-patterning identified in these studies has an historical basis, and is not simply ascribable to the global transnational attraction of AmE. Other studies point to changes underway in the grammar of PhilE that diverge from AmE and suggest a shift towards autonomy. These include the failure of PhilE to follow the lead of AmE in strongly increasing predilection for present progressives (Collins, 2015), a disinclination to



follow the declining trend of the modal in AmE (Collins, Borlongan, & Yao, 2014) and the greater increase in expanded predicates in PhilE compared to AmE (Borlongan & Dita, 2015).

Two very recent papers yield a similar mix of results for PhilE grammar, some suggestive of independence, and others of AmE-based dependence. In the first of these, Yao and Collins (forthcoming) investigate colloquialization (the shift of writing from a more formal, literary style to a more conversational, speech-like style) in PhilE. Finding both similarities and divergences between Philippine and American patterns, Yao and Collins conclude that: “the evolution of PhilE registers cannot be explained by a simple process involving emulation of AmE [...] The patterns described in this study lend support to the general observation made in previous research that PhilE is less colloquial than AmE” (p. 85).

In the second paper Collins (2016) extends the temporal window from the three-decade period of earlier studies, to five decades, using data from GloWbE to examine changes in VP categories (building on – in most cases – the earlier development of these categories as investigated in Collins et al.’s previous studies). Collins concedes that GloWbE provides a mix of advantageous and disadvantageous features. One welcome feature of GloWbE is its sampling recency (the early years of the second decade of the 21<sup>st</sup> Century), genuinely representing Present-Day English. Another is its vastness, comprising 1.9 billion words of text – including a 43,248,407-word Philippines component, and a 386,809,355-word US component – from 20 different countries. Less welcome are generic mismatches between Phil-Brown/ICE-PH on the one hand (as smaller, controlled, corpora designed according to the principle of ‘representativeness’ in corpus design), and GloWbE on the other hand (whose text-type specification is minimalist at best: about 60% informal blogs, and the other 40% somewhat more formal web-based materials, such as newspapers, magazines, and company websites). Accordingly, Collins has to hedge his findings with caveats regarding differences in corpus composition between GloWbE and the earlier, smaller corpora.<sup>4</sup> Once again there is a mix of results, some indicating endonormativization (such as the divergence between the rising/falling frequencies of the present perfect in PhilE and their continuous rise in AmE), and others indicating continuing AmE-oriented exonormativity (such as the similarities between the decline of the *be*-passive, and in the rise of the quasi-modals, in PhilE and AmE).

### Conclusion

As we have seen, the issue of the evolutionary status of PhilE requires consideration of a variety of types of evidence, including attitudes, identity construction, codification, literary creativity, history/politics, and linguistic developments. It follows that the focus of the present paper on the last of these – in fact, even more specifically, on grammatical developments – enables us to comment on only one part of a complex picture. But does the comprehensive survey of recent research on PhilE grammar enable us to answer the question posed in the title of this paper: “Has Philippine English attained linguistic independence?” It may be helpful at this point to consider Schneider’s (2007, p. 51) summary description of the linguistic effects of phase 4 endonormative stabilization:

By this time processes of linguistic change and nativization have produced a new language variety which is recognizably distinct in certain respects from the language form that was transported originally, and which has stabilized linguistically to a considerable extent.



The two criteria of endonormative stabilization in linguistic structure that Schneider invokes here, i.e. recognizable distinction in certain respects from the parent English and stabilization to a considerable extent, are both defined so inexplicitly — ‘in certain respects’, and ‘to a considerable extent’ — that they will inevitably prompt debate and disagreement when applied to particular Englishes.<sup>5</sup> The research on PhilE grammar that we have surveyed certainly throws up a good number of instances of divergence between PhilE and AmE, but there are also a number of cases of non-divergence. While indeed PhilE is, as our survey has shown, recognisably distinct in certain respects, the vexing question remains: How much distinctness is required for Schneider’s first criterion to be satisfied?<sup>6</sup> In the first place, while recognizable distinctness is expected of an endonormatively stable variety, it would be unrealistic to expect that it will be totally different from its parent variety.

Schneider’s second criterion is also inevitably contentious. How do we interpret, and measure, stabilization? If the first criterion asks how much, this second criterion adds the question: How long? Much of the basis for answering this question lies in the implementation of the methodology proposed by Leech et al. (2009) — ‘short-term diachronic comparable corpus linguistics’ — over the three-decades worth of available data, i.e. Phil-Brown and ICE-PH. Are three decades long enough to speak of stabilization, or, at least, in Schneider’s words, ‘stabilization to a considerable extent’? That Leech et al.’s answer to this question might be positive is inferable from the following claim: “It is a strength of the methodology that it can trace developments over a period as short as thirty years, which [...] is long enough to demonstrate significant change in progress” (p. 29-30). The diachronic studies reviewed above are certainly suggestive of PhilE distinctiveness ‘in certain respects’, one that has become more apparent over the three-decade period covered by the studies.

We preface our final word by invoking Schneider’s (2007, p. 57-58) caveat on his model and the developmental process it aims to theorize:

In every developmental process the boundaries and succession of stages may be realized fuzzily. There are both dynamic periods when certain phenomena change very rapidly and periods of inertia when things stay rather stable for a long while. [...] To some extent the linearity of the model is also an abstraction from what is in reality is a multidimensional interplay of dynamic processes. [...] Life comes in many shapes and sizes, a bewildering myriad of variants, in fact, and this holds true of the ecologies of Englishes as well, of course.

Bearing in mind, then, that Schneider’s phases constitute spans of periods across time, rather than specific periods in time, we note that our comprehensive survey of recent work on PhilE grammar has identified relative dynamism occurring over a quite lengthy span of time. What the survey suggests is that while phase 4 endonormative stabilization is certainly under way in PhilE, it is by no means complete. PhilE has yet to fully achieve linguistic independence.

### Notes

1. We say “appears” because Schneider’s syntax is rather elusive: “Phase 3 can be assumed to have begun a decade before independence, in 1946, eleven years after the Philippines were

granted limited sovereignty under a ‘commonwealth’ status” (2007, p. 140). Certainly, the Commonwealth of the Philippines was the administrative body that governed the Philippines from 1935 to 1946 (followed by the Third Republic 1946–1972).

2. Borlongan’s position is somewhat attenuated by his use of a ‘dawn’ metaphor (both on p. 3 “[phase 4] may be dawning in the development of Philippine English”, and in his Conclusion on p. 8 “Philippine English is at the dawn of endonormative stabilization”) which suggests a view that PhilE is merely beginning its phase 4 trajectory/journey.

3. As listed in Table 3.1 of Schneider (2007, p. 56)

4. Collins nevertheless argues that there are generic similarities, albeit limited, between GloWbE and the smaller corpora. He says: “The publication-types and level of formality of the non-blogs section of GloWbE are similar to those of the smaller corpora. In addition it is worth noting that there are some similarities between the informal blogs of GloWbE and the fiction texts – particularly the dialogic sections therein – that constitute 25% of each of the Brown-family corpora, and 10% of the ICE (written) subcorpora”.

5. In the summary made by Edgar Schneider himself as discussant for the workshop entitled *Diachronic change in new Englishes: Prospects and challenges* convened by Robert Fuchs, Thorsten Brato, and Ariane Borlongan at the 4th International Society for the Linguistics of English (ISLE) Conference held in September 2016 in Poznan, Poland, Schneider says that endonormative stabilization is indeed a more complex concept (than initially thought) most especially when looked at more closely (and, probably, as was mentioned in our discussion, when applied to actual data). Indeed, the concept must be operationalised in the context of diachronic corpus-based linguistics.

6. In fact in one study, Collins (2016), an attempt is made to quantify the “distinctness” that Schneider speaks of with a scoring system involving points for findings suggesting phase 4 distinctiveness vs phase 3 non-distinctiveness.

7. According to Sibayan and Gonzalez (1996, p. 163), there may be five major varieties of English in the Philippines, from the English of (1) minimally functionally literate Filipinos, (2) Filipino overseas contract workers, and (3) white-collar workers; to the English of (4) those who come from middle and upper middle classes and (5) the intellectuals. Even though the last two of these groups constitute represent only a small minority of the population, it is their English that has been studied, and their English that is called ‘Philippine English’.

## References

- Alberca, W. L. (1978). *The distinctive features of Philippine English in the Mass media* (Unpublished doctoral dissertation). University of Santo Tomas, Manila, the Philippines.
- Alonsagay, I., & Nolasco, J. (2010). Adversativity and the get-passive in Philippine and British English: A corpus-based contrastive study. *Philippine Journal of Linguistics*, 41, 1-13.
- Bautista, M. L. S. (2000a). *Defining Standard Philippine English: Its status and grammatical features*. Manila, the Philippines: De La Salle University Press, Inc.

- Bautista, M. L. S. (2000b). The grammatical features of educated Philippine English. In M. L. Bautista, T. Llamzon, & B. P. Sibayan (Eds), *Parangal Cang Brother Andrew: Festschrift for Andrew Gonzales on his sixtieth birthday*, 146-158. Manila, the Philippines: Linguistic Society of the Philippines.
- Bautista, M. L. S. (2001a). Attitudes of English language faculty in three leading Philippine universities towards Philippine English. *Asian Englishes*, 4(1), 4-32.
- Bautista, M. L. S. (2001b). Attitudes of selected Luzon University students and faculty towards Philippine English. In M. L. G. Tayao et al. (Eds.), *Rosario E. Maminta in focus: Selected writings in applied linguistics* (p. 263-273). Quezon, the Philippines: Philippine Association for Language Teaching.
- Bautista, M. L. S. (2008). Investigating the grammatical features of Philippine English. In M. L. S. Bautista & K. Bolton (Eds.), *Philippine English: Linguistic and literary perspectives*, (pp. 201-218). Hong Kong, China: Hong Kong University Press.
- Bautista, M. L. S. (2010a). Comparing spoken and written text-types in Singapore English and Philippine English. In D. J. Y. Bayot (Ed.), *Inter/sections: Isagani R. Cruz and friends* (pp. 175-200). Manila, the Philippines: De La Salle University Academic Publications Office & Anvil Publishing, Inc.
- Bautista, M. L. S. (2010b). Exemplary analyses of the Philippine English corpus. In L. Billings & N. Goudswaard (Eds.), *Piakandatu ami Dr. Howard P. McKaughan* (pp. 5-23). Manila, the Philippines: Linguistic Society of the Philippines & SIL Philippines.
- Bautista, M. L. S. (2011). Some notes on 'no in Philippine English. In M. L. S. Bautista (Ed.), *Studies of Philippine English: Exploring the Philippine component of the International Corpus of English* (pp. 75-89). Manila, the Philippines: Anvil Publishing, Inc..
- Bautista, M. L. S., & Butler, S. (Eds.). (2000). *Anvil-Macquarie Philippine English dictionary* (Revised ed., 2010). Pasig, the Philippines: Anvil Publishing, Inc.
- Bautista, M. L. S., & Butler, S. (Eds.). (2010). *Anvil-Macquarie Philippine English dictionary* (Revised ed.). Pasig, the Philippines: Anvil Publishing, Inc.
- Bengco, C. A. C. (2014). *Adjectives in Philippine English* (Unpublished doctoral dissertation). De La Salle University, Manila, the Philippines.
- The Board of Educational Survey. (1925). *A survey of the educational system of the Philippine Islands*. Manila, the Philippines: Bureau of Printing.
- Bolton, K., & Butler, S. (2004). Dictionaries and the stratification of vocabulary: Towards a new lexicography for Philippine English. *World Englishes*, 23, 91-112
- Borlongan, A. M. (2007). Innovations in Standard Philippine English. In C. C. Mann (Ed.), *Current research on English and applied linguistics: A De La Salle University special issue* (pp. 1-36). Manila, the Philippines: De La Salle University-Manila, College of Education, Department of English and Applied Linguistics.
- Borlongan, A. M. (2008). Tag questions in Philippine English. *Philippine Journal of Linguistics*, 39, 109-133.
- Borlongan, A. M. (2009). A survey on language use, attitudes, and identity in relation to Philippine English among young generation Filipinos: An initial sample from a private university. *The Philippine ESL Journal*, 3, 74-107.
- Borlongan, A. M. (2011a). *A grammar of the verb in Philippine English* (unpublished doctoral dissertation). De La Salle University, Manila, the Philippines.
- Borlongan, A. M. (2011b, November). *Relocating Philippine English in Schneider's dynamic model*. Paper presented at the 17<sup>th</sup> International Association of World Englishes Conference, Melbourne, Australia.
- Borlongan, A. M. (2011c). Some aspects of the morphosyntax of Philippine English. In M. L. Bautista (Ed.), *Studies of Philippine English: Exploring the Philippine component of the*

- International Corpus of English* (pp. 187-200). Manila, the Philippines: Anvil Publishing, Inc.
- Borlongan, A. M. (2016). Relocating Philippine English in Schneider's dynamic model. *Asian Englishes*, 18(3), 1-10.
- Borlongan, A. M., & Dita, S. N. (2015). Taking a look at expanded predicates in Philippine English across time. *Asian Englishes*, 17(3), 1-8.
- Borlongan, A. M., & Lim, J. (2012, May-June). *Distinctive features of Philippine English: A meta-synthesis of corpus-based grammatical studies*. Poster presented at the 33rd International Computer Archive of Modern and Medieval English (ICAME) Conference, Louvain, Belgium.
- Collins, P. (2008). The progressive aspect in World Englishes: A corpus-based study. *Australian Journal of Linguistics*, 28, 225-249.
- Collins, P. (2009). Modals and quasi-modals in world Englishes. *World Englishes*, 28, 281-292.
- Collins, P. (2011). Variable agreement in the existential-*there* construction in Philippine English. In M. L. S. Bautista (Ed.), *Studies of Philippine English: Exploring the Philippine component of the International Corpus of English*. (pp. 175-186). Manila, the Philippines: Anvil Publishing, Inc..
- Collins, P. (2015). Recent diachronic change in the progressive in Philippine English. In P. Collins (Ed.), *Grammatical change in English world-wide* (pp. 271-296). Amsterdam, the Netherlands: John Benjamins.
- Collins, P. (2016). Grammatical change in the verb phrase in contemporary Philippine English. *Asiatic*, 10(2), 50-67.
- Collins, P., Borlongan, A. M., & Yao, X. (2014). Modality in Philippine English: A diachronic study. *Journal of English Linguistics*, 42(1), 68-88.
- Collins, P., Yao, X., & Borlongan, A. M. (2014). Relative clauses in Philippine English: A diachronic perspective. In L. Vandelanotte, K. Davidse, C. Gentens, & D. Kimps (Eds.), *Recent advances in corpus linguistics: Developing and exploiting corpora* (pp. 125-146). New York, NY: Rodopi.
- Coronel, L. (2011). Patterns of intensifier usage in Philippine English. In M. L. Bautista (Ed.), *Studies of Philippine English: Exploring the Philippine component of the International Corpus of English* (pp. 93-116). Manila, the Philippines: Anvil Publishing, Inc.
- Dayag, D. (2012). *Philippine English*. In E.-L. Low & A. Hashim (Eds), *English in Southeast Asia: Features, policy, and language in use* (pp. 91-100). Amsterdam, the Netherlands: John Benjamins.
- D'Souza, J. (1998). Review of Arjuna Parakrama's *De-hegemonizing language standards: Learning from (post)colonial Englishes about "English"*. *Asian Englishes*, 1(2), 86-94.
- Friginal, E. (2011). The modal verb would in spoken and written Philippine English. In M. L. S. Bautista (Ed.), *Studies of Philippine English: Exploring the Philippine component of the International Corpus of English*. (pp. 51-74). Manila, the Philippines: Anvil Publishing, Inc..
- Go, M. A., & Gustilo, L. E. (2013). Tagalog or Taglish: The lingua franca of Filipino urban factory workers. *Philippine ESL Journal*, 10, 57-87.
- Gonzalez, A. (1985). *Studies on Philippine English*. Singapore: SEAMEO Regional Language Centre.

- Gonzales, A. (2008). A favorable climate and soil: A transplanted language and literature. In M. L. S. Bautista & K. Bolton (Eds.), *Philippine English: Linguistic and literary perspectives*, (pp. 13-28). Hong Kong, China: Hong Kong University Press.
- Gonzalez, A., & Alberca, W. (1978). *Philippine English of the mass media* (Preliminary ed.). Manila, the Philippines: De La Salle University, Research Council.
- Hundt, M. (2006). *The committee has/have decided...*: On concord patterns with collective nouns in inner and outer circle varieties of English. *Journal of English Linguistics*, 34, 206-232.
- Hundt, M. (2009). Global feature – Local norms? A case study on the progressive passive. In T. Hoffmann & L. Siebers (Eds.), *World Englishes: Problems, properties and prospects*, (pp. 287-308). Amsterdam, the Netherlands: John Benjamins.
- Leech, G., Hundt, M., Mair, C., & Smith, N. (2009). *Change in contemporary English: A grammatical study*. Cambridge, the United Kingdom: Cambridge University Press.
- Lim, J., & Borlongan, A. M. (2011). Tagalog particles in Philippine English: The cases of *ba*, *na*, *'no*, and *pa*. *Philippine Journal of Linguistics* 42: 59-74.
- Lim, J., & Borlongan, A. M. (2013). The morphosyntax of Hong Kong and Indian Englishes: A corpus-based analysis. *Asian Journal of English Language Studies*, 1, 20-34.
- Llamzon, T. A. (1969). *Standard Filipino English*. Quezon, the Philippines: Ateneo de Manila University Press.
- Llamzon, T. A. (1997). The phonology of Philippine English. In M. L. S. Bautista (Ed.), *English is an Asian language: The Philippine context* (pp. 41-48). Carlton, Australia: The Macquarie Library Pty Ltd.
- Low, Ee-Ling & Hashim, Azirah. (eds). 2012. *English in Southeast Asia: Features, Policy, and Language in Use*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Martin, I. P. (2007). The literature Filipino students do not read. In D. Prescott, A. Kirkpatrick, A. Hashim, & I. P. Martin (Eds), *English in Southeast Asia: Literacies, literatures and varieties*, (pp. 290-318). Newcastle upon Tyne, the United Kingdom: Cambridge Scholars.
- Martin, I. P.. (2010). Periphery ELT: The politics and practice of teaching English in the Philippines. In A. Kirkpatrick (Ed.), *The Routledge handbook of world Englishes* (pp. 247–264). London, the United Kingdom: Routledge.
- Martin, I. P. (2014). Beyond nativisation?: Philippine English in Schneider's dynamic model. In S. Buschfeld, T. Hoffmann, M. Huber, & A. Kautzsch (Eds.), *The evolution of Englishes: The dynamic model and beyond* (pp. 70–85). Amsterdam, the Netherlands: John Benjamins.
- Morales, M. (2016). *A grammar of adverbial disjuncts in Philippine English* (Unpublished doctoral dissertation). De La Salle University, Manila, the Philippines.
- Nelson G. (2005). Expressing future time in Philippine English. In D. T. Dayag & J. S. Quakenbush (Eds.), *Linguistics and language education in the Philippines and beyond: A festschrift in honor of Ma. Lourdes S. Bautista* (pp. 41-59). Manila, the Philippines: Linguistic Society of the Philippines.
- Peters, P. (2009). The mandative subjunctive in spoken English. In P. Peters, P. Collins, & A. Smith, Adam (Eds.), *Comparative studies in Australian and New Zealand English: Grammar and beyond*. (pp. 125-138). Amsterdam, the Netherlands: John Benjamins.
- Raqueño, P. G. (1940). *A study of the types of errors in English written composition of Filipino high school in 1926 and 1936* (Unpublished master's thesis). University of the Philippines, Quezon, the Philippines.



- Raqueño, P. G. (1952). *A study of the types of errors in English written composition of Filipino high school in 1936 and 1950* (Unpublished doctoral dissertation). University of the Philippines, Quezon, the Philippines.
- Schneider, E. W. (2003). The dynamics of new Englishes: From identity construction to dialect birth. *Language*, 79, 233-281.
- Schneider, E. W. (2004). How to trace structural nativization: Particle verbs in world Englishes. *World Englishes*, 23, 227-249.
- Schneider, E. W. (2005). The subjunctive in Philippine English. In D. T. Dayag & J. S. Quakenbush (Eds.), *Linguistics and language education in the Philippines and beyond: A festschrift in honor of Ma. Lourdes S. Bautista* (pp. 27-40). Manila, the Philippines: Linguistic Society of the Philippines.
- Schneider, E. W. (2007). *Postcolonial English: Varieties of English around the world*. Cambridge, the United Kingdom: Cambridge University Press.
- Schneider, E. W. (2011). The subjunctive in Philippine English: An updated assessment. In M. L. Bautista (Ed.), *Studies of Philippine English: Exploring the Philippine component of the International Corpus of English* (pp. 159-173). Manila, the Philippines: Anvil Publishing, Inc..
- Sibayan, B. P., & Gonzalez, A. (1996). Post-imperial English in the Philippines. In J. Fishman et al. (Eds), *Post-imperial English: Status change in former British and American colonies, 1940-1990* (pp. 139-172). Berlin, Germany/New York, NY: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Suárez-Gómez, C., & Seoane, E. (2013). “They have published a new cultural policy that has just come out”: Competing forms in spoken and written New Englishes. In K. Bech & G. Andersen (Eds.), *English corpus linguistics: Variation in time, space and genre* (pp. 163-182). Amsterdam, the Netherlands: Rodopi.
- Thompson, R. M. (2003). *Filipino English and Taglish: Language switching from multiple perspectives*. Amsterdam, the Netherlands: John Benjamins.
- Tupas, T. R. F. (2004). The politics of Philippine English: Neocolonialism, global politics, and the problem of postcolonialism. *World Englishes*, 23, 47-58.
- Tupas, T. R. F. (2006). Standard Englishes: Pedagogical paradigms and their conditions of (im)possibility. In R. Rudby & M. Saracen (Eds), *English in the world: Global rules, Global Rules*. (pp. 168-185). London, the United Kingdom: Continuum.
- Tupas, T. R. F. (2010). Which norms in everyday practice and why? In A. Kirkpatrick (Ed.), *The Routledge handbook of world Englishes* (pp. 567-579). London, the United Kingdom: Routledge.
- Yao, X., & Collins. P. (forthcoming). Exploring grammatical colloquialisation: A case study of Philippine English. *English Language and Linguistics*.



### **About the Author**

**Ariane Macalinga Borlongan** is Lecturer in Sociolinguistics at the Tokyo University of Foreign Studies (Japan) and concurrently Lecturer at The University of Tokyo (Japan). His teaching and research have focused on sociolinguistics, world Englishes, English linguistics, and historical linguistics.

**Peter Collins**, Honorary Professor at the University of New South Wales (Sydney, Australia), has been retired for three years. He has published widely in world Englishes, corpus linguistics, English grammar and Australian English, and continues to conduct research in these areas (in between lawn bowls, golf, tennis, trips, and beer-drinking).

## Lexical trends in Philippine English revisited<sup>1</sup>

Thomas Biermeier

*University of Regensburg*

### Abstract

In this article I explore lexical trends in Philippine English in comparison with the following English varieties: India, Singapore, Hong Kong, Canada and Great Britain. The paper deals with selected word-formation categories, i.e. compounding and affixation, and frequencies obtained by predefined test methods will be analysed. My data are drawn from the International Corpus of English (ICE) and from Global Web-based English (GloWbE). Especially the latter plays an important role, as it is the largest electronic corpus to date, which is constantly updated. It will be shown that the Philippines and Singapore, for instance, often exceed British English, used as a kind of measuring stick, in terms of type and token frequencies. On a qualitative level, I will present the enormous productive potential of Philippine English, which attests to the process of structural nativization. In many cases new formations are created by hybridization. Finally, I will demonstrate that the current lexical trends indicate independent developments in all Asian Englishes – but especially so in Philippine English. Thus, this study corroborates the assertion by Borlongan (2016) that PhilE is already at the dawn of endonormative stabilization, certainly from a lexical point of view.

*Keywords: World Englishes, Philippine English, word-formation, corpus linguistics*

### Introduction

There are considerable numbers of English speakers in Southeast Asia. Notable varieties emerging from that part of the globe are the Englishes in India, Singapore, Hong Kong, and the Philippines. In this article I will pay special attention to the lexical properties of Philippine English, which has become one of the most widely studied Southeast Asian Englishes over the last two decades (cf. Bautista, 1997; Bautista, 2000; Bautista, 2008; Biermeier, 2008; Biermeier, 2011; Gonzalez, 1997; Schneider, 2004; Schneider, 2007). The command of English in Southeast Asia's Anglophone societies is known to vary, as we find extremely advanced English speakers and writers in Singapore, for example, and societies in which English plays an important role, as is the case in India or the Philippines, but where serious difficulties have to be overcome in order to advance even further in their linguistic development.

---

Corresponding Author: Thomas Biermeier  
Affiliation: University of Regensburg  
Email: thomas.biermeier@web.de

Population growth in the Philippines is high and, according to demographic predictions, is expected to rise even more in the years to come. It has been estimated that the Philippines will rank among the world's top 13 countries in terms of population by the year 2050 (cf. [www.worldometers.info/population/most-populous-countries](http://www.worldometers.info/population/most-populous-countries)). It will be interesting to see whether the demographic trend as well as the continuous spread of English globally will have long-lasting linguistic implications and affect the status of English in the Philippines. To be more precise, can the lexicon of PhilE benefit from a rising number of speakers and writers; in other words, can this variety reach stage 4 ('endonormative stabilization') in Schneider's Dynamic Model? According to that model (2007: 56), the variety in question has successfully overcome the stage of nativization by developing its own linguistic forms and has attained the status of a stabilized new variety that is characterized by codification and a high degree of homogeneity.

This paper will look at major categories of word-formation in PhilE qualitatively and quantitatively using the Philippine component of the International Corpus of English (ICE-PHI). On the basis of a systematic comparison with the corpora of Great Britain (ICE-GB), Singapore (ICE-SIN), Hong Kong (ICE-HK), and India (ICE-IND), lexical trends and the current status of PhilE word-formation will be determined and assessed. These varieties were selected because they reflect the present status of the English language in Asia most accurately. Besides, they can all be investigated thoroughly in electronic corpora. In addition, results from the Canadian corpus (ICE-CAN) will be analyzed. This is highly interesting as Canadian English has not always been considered a distinct variety and is clearly very closely related to American English. In fact, CanE shares common features with AmE and continues to be influenced by it so that the two varieties cannot always be distinguished by people outside North America (cf. Crystal, 2003: 95).<sup>2</sup> It is hoped that for the time being ICE-CAN can make up for the lack of the complete US corpus in ICE – so far only the written component of ICE-USA has been available. Besides, to my knowledge, there has been no systematic study of word-formation in CanE so far. While BrE and CanE, as first language or inner circle varieties, serve as a kind of measuring stick, the language situation is quite different in the other varieties under study. It will be instructive to see how the Asian Englishes will line up beside each other. From various publications (cf. Schneider 2007) and personal observation, we expect SingE to be most advanced, followed by PhilE, IndE, and HKE.

### **Methodology**

The present study will show that ICE is a practical and suitable database for comparative studies of word-formation and lexical properties. Its collection of texts is both representative and easily accessible so that it is possible to empirically discover distinctive features of individual word-formation processes by comparing and analyzing the different corpora. As regards the research tool, I chose WordSmith Tools, which is easily applicable to any plain text format and which provides both word lists and concordances. Both functions have indeed been rather helpful, especially since I had to handle an extremely large quantity of data.

Table 1 Sizes of the corpora analyzed (word token frequencies)

Corpora	Tokens <sup>3</sup>
ICE-GB	1 061 264
ICE-CAN	1 071 339
ICE-IND	1 136 849
ICE-SIN	1 107 301
ICE-PHI	1 115 756
ICE-HK	1 174 840

The figures for the different corpora were normalized, i.e. projected to an identical corpus size of precisely one million words,<sup>4</sup> to make them comparable and capable of providing reliable conclusions. The overall number of tokens for any word-formation type in a given variety was divided by the size of the corpus and then multiplied by one million. The result of the formula, which has become standard procedure in corpus linguistics, is the token frequency per one million words.<sup>5</sup> Normalization was necessary because token frequencies, which always refer to quantity, cannot be directly compared when the sample sizes provided by the corpora (see Table 1) are unequal.<sup>6</sup>

For suffixes such as *-ship*, *-ism*, and *-ish*, I was able to search the corpora extensively for frequency or extent of use as the number of types is not too high. For compounds I used a predefined sample list of 100 compounds (cf. Biermeier, 2008). What were the criteria for inclusion in my sample lists? First, I made sure that high and low frequency items were included. These items were selected from the standard references on word-formation (cf. Bauer, 1983; Bauer and Huddleston, 2002; Plag, 2003). Secondly, all sub-categories of a word-formation type had to be represented, for example, the main sub-categories of compound nouns such as endocentric, exocentric, appositional, and coordinative nouns. Since it is simply not possible to determine all compounds occurring in corpora of this size, I had to resort to this method, which turned out to be rather helpful in terms of data reduction.

With regard to productivity, I carried out the ‘letter combination test’ (*an-*, *ba-*, *ch-*, *do-*, *fi-*, *ka-*, *mi-*, *te-*), which combines initial letters and looks for potentially new lexemes in the corpora (WordSmith word list). By selecting those letter combinations I restricted my search for potential new coinages. Although this procedure proved to be rather cumbersome, it served as a practical and systematic way of detecting new words in a variety. Naturally, this method can also be extended to other initial letter combinations. Finally, all ‘suspicious’ looking lexemes were checked against dictionary, British National Corpus (BNC), and Corpus of Contemporary American English (COCA) evidence. A similar procedure was applied in my investigation of adjectives in *-y*. Here, I selected 12 different letters preceding the suffix morpheme *-y*: *-by*, *-dy*, *-fy*, *-gy*, *-hy*, *-ky*, *-my*, *-ny*, *-py*, *-sy*, *-wy*, *-zy*. Thus, I obtained a comprehensive sample of a substantial part of the adjective formations in *-y*, without having to look at all existing occurrences of that morpheme in a corpus, which numbers approximately 16000 tokens in every corpus of ICE.

Accidental findings, i.e. lexemes which can come up during a search using WordSmith, but are not directly discovered by the test methods described above, must be taken into account, too. There is every reason to believe that there are a substantial number of words in a corpus which are not accounted for by the tests applied, but deserve to be pointed out since they are

‘of special interest’. Here, I focused on all formations which appeared unfamiliar in institutionalized BrE and AmE. Secondly, my attention was drawn to all those formations which consist of elements containing culture-specific information in a given variety. All potentially new coinages were checked in standard dictionaries (*Collins English Dictionary* CED, *Merriam-Webster’s Collegiate Dictionary*, *Oxford English Dictionary* OED, *Oxford Dictionary of English* ODE, *Random House Webster’s Unabridged Dictionary*, *Webster’s Third New International Dictionary*), the British National Corpus (BNC), and the Corpus of Contemporary American English (COCA). The need for such a working procedure becomes apparent when searching for new compounds or hybrid formations, whose occurrence cannot be provided by a predefined sample list.

With regard to qualitative findings, I have also worked with GloWbE (global web-based English), which consists of 1.9 billion words from 20 different countries and thus is the largest corpus on World Englishes to date. Besides, it is constantly expanded and thus mirrors the current state of web-based English quite impressively. However, there is no distinction between written and spoken texts in GloWbE – there is only a distinction between general websites and blogs. That is why I decided to refrain from conducting a quantitative investigation of the word-formation types in GloWbE. On the other hand, this new mega-corpus proved very useful from a qualitative perspective. Especially the search for medium and low-frequency items was facilitated immensely by GloWbE.

## Presentation and discussion

### Compounding

First, I would like to draw attention to compounding, which is generally known to be rather productive. However, investigating compounds in ICE is far from being easy since it is simply not feasible to search for all compounds in a corpus, such as in affixation or combining forms. Therefore, I set up a list of compound nouns (100 items) which I deemed to be both extensive and representative, including high and low frequency items, and ensuring that all morphological types were represented.

After affixation, compounds are the most common and transparent way of enriching a variety’s lexis. According to Bauer (1983: 202), compound nouns are by far the most frequent type. Within this category the subtype of endocentric nouns, whose semantic head is inside the compound, appears most frequently. My sample list (100 items) contains 66 endocentric nouns (e.g. *armchair*, *breadslice*, *paperwork*, *steamboat*). In addition, this sample list contains 26 exocentric nouns (e.g. *kill-joy*, *greenback*, *skinhead*), whose semantic head lies outside the compound, five coordinative nouns (e.g. *hero-martyr*, *singer-songwriter*), and three appositional nouns (e.g. *maidservant*, *woman doctor*).

Table 2 Frequency of compound nouns (sample of 100 items)

	GB	CAN	IND	SIN	PHI	HK
Type – written	26	29	21	28	32	30
Type – spoken	33	19	20	17	24	17
Sum	51	38	33	36	43	37
Tokens	126	146	84	125	120	127

(Token frequencies normalized to one million words, rounded to the nearest integer)

Judging from the type figures in Table 2, it turns out that PhilE nouns are used frequently since the figures under Sum (i.e. the total figure for types combining written and spoken, with words which appear in the written and spoken components counted only once) appear in second position (43), after GB (51) and even before CAN (38). HK (37), SIN (36), and IND (33) lag behind. On the token level (i.e. the normalized sum of the absolute token figures from the written and spoken components), PHI (120) displays a wide disparity between written and spoken English (152 - 98), which indicates that the compound nouns under inspection seem to be preferred by writers rather than by speakers. Interestingly, the type result is high for written English (32). In fact, it is the highest across the corpora, even higher than the corresponding ones obtained for GB (26), CAN (29), SIN (28), HK (30), and IND (21). Thus, our sample shows that nominal compounding is a popular word-formation category with PhilE writers. On the whole, there is a preponderance of compounds in written English in all varieties, except for BrE where the pattern is clearly reversed. In terms of the overall tokens, PHI (120), SIN (125), HK (127) and GB (126) are almost at the same level, thus suggesting that compounding has become fairly prevalent in Asian Englishes. Only CanE offers a somewhat higher token figure (146).

In terms of new coinages, a number of examples are attested in PhilE, but also in other Asian Englishes: *dumping yard* (IND, w: ‘place where trash is disposed of’<sup>7</sup>), *drug blitz* (SIN, w: ‘raid on drug dealers’), *petrol kiosk* (SIN, s: ‘petrol station’), *comfort room* (PHI, w: 2; s: 3: ‘toilet’), *junk fast foods* (PHI, s: ‘very unhealthy fast food’), *junk list* (PHI, w: ‘list containing names of people to be dumped’), *moon-worship* (HK, w: 4: ‘custom especially retained by elderly Chinese people’). Typical of HKE is *typhoon shelter* (HK, s: 6: ‘place which protects people from a typhoon’). This is underlined by the high number of occurrences in GloWbE, as 55 tokens (out of 67) are attested in HKE. The only exocentric compound noun was found in HK. Here, the term *green cloths* (HK, W2B-014) refers to ‘men whose wives were adulterous’. This formation illustrates the metonymic character of an exocentric noun since a specific part (‘clothes’) is made to represent the whole (‘men’). There is no occurrence in GloWbE.

In compounding, a rather prolific group consists of coordinative compounds (‘conductor-composer’), with HK generating a notable number of new coinages: e.g. *choreographer-dancers* (HK, w), *missionary-translator* (HK, w: 10), *social worker practitioner* (HK, w: 2), *editor translator* (HK, s), *financial analyst type person* (HK, s), and from other varieties, *friend-philosopher* (IND, w), *driver-bodyguard* (PHI, s). The only unlisted compound verb is *to back-carry* (PHI, w: ‘to carry on one’s back’), appearing in the text category of ‘academic writing’. With regard to compound adjectives, PHI yields the formation *micro-mini skirts* (w:



‘extremely short skirts’). In addition, adjective compounds with *-free* produce a remarkable number of new coinages in PhilE: e.g. *model-free* (PHI, w), *mineral-free* (PHI, w), *graft-free* (PHI, w), *poverty-free* (PHI, s: 2).

As regards lexical variability in compounding, different lexicalization techniques are used in different varieties for the same semantic concept: *petrol station* in GB (s: 3) and HK (w: 2), *petrol pump* in IND (s: 2), *petrol kiosk* in SIN (s), *gasoline station* in PHI (w; s: 2). The compound *gas station*, which is the preferred variant in AmE, occurs in CanE to a great extent (w: 4, s: 4). In SIN, we even encounter the term *fill-ups* (w), while the variant *filling station* is recorded in HK (s).

A remarkable pattern can be detected in synthetic compounds, in which individual constituents trigger a number of formations. IndE (w: *TV and movie watcher*; w: *birth giver*) and PhilE in particular come up with a relatively high number of new formations and thus exhibit a high degree of productivity. In fact, PHI has produced a remarkable range of combinations with ‘holder’ being the head that is modified by different nouns: *flower holders* (w), *passport holders* (w: 2), *degree holders* (w: 2), *needlepoint holder* (w), *record holder* (s: 4), *PhD holders* (s), *agreement holder* (s), *chalk holder* (s). The following formations lack dictionary or BNC evidence: *chairholder* (w: 2, s), *gunholder* (w), *healthchecker* (w: 2), *home wrecker* (s), *hold-uppers* (w). The formation *healthchecker* is not used in the sense of a person ‘who looks after somebody’s health’, but in a business context referring to a person ‘who evaluates the risks and issues of a project’. The rather creative agent noun *home-wrecker* is certainly informal and describes ‘someone who destroys other relationships’. No doubt the lexeme *holduppers* is used in a derogatory sense: ‘female [bank] tellers victimized by *holduppers* and pickpockets’ (W2A-004). The latter occurs only four times in GloWbE (general website and blog), three of which tokens are attested in PhilE (e.g. ‘Americans use "mugger," Filipinos use "holdupper".’)

To explore the quantitative distribution of neoclassical elements (combining forms) in initial position, I selected a fairly representative number of items. Examples of neoclassical elements in initial position (15 items altogether) are *cyber-*, *hyper-*, *psycho-*, *retro-*, *ultra-*. The results were then analyzed and tabulated.

Table 3 Frequency of neoclassical elements in initial position

	GB	CAN	IND	SIN	PHI	HK
Type - written	124	124	149	126	143	152
Type - spoken	99	89	82	73	81	64
Sum	159	149	179	154	172	181
Tokens	1345	1275	1510	1387	1685	1637

(Token frequencies normalized to one million words, rounded to nearest integer)

Table 3 shows that combining forms in initial position are more common in written English. The type result is especially high in HK (181), IND (179), and PHI (172), while SIN (154), GB (159), and CAN (149) fall a little behind. Therefore, we can conclude that PhilE, like all the other Asian Englishes under study, makes use of a wide range of types and exceeds even BrE and CanE. This is evidence that neoclassical compounding in initial position is a widespread and familiar method of word-formation in Asian Englishes, especially among writers. Token frequencies are most numerous in PHI (1685) and HK (1637), which suggests that the selection of neoclassical compounds at hand is widely and frequently used in these two varieties. By comparison, GB (1345), CAN (1275), IND (1510), and SIN (1387) yield a much smaller overall token number. Surprisingly, GB and CAN cannot keep up with PHI and HK in this respect. In fact, CanE displays the lowest number of types and tokens across the corpora.

An in-depth analysis of selected elements of this category (*cyber-* ‘connected with electronic communication’, *hyper-* ‘in excess’, *ultra-* ‘extremely’) shows that IndE, PhilE, and HKE produce a wide range of formations: e.g. *cyberpunk* (IND, w: 2), *cyber-age* (PHI, w), *cyber-bayan* (PHI, w), *cybermail* (PHI, w), *cyberbank* (HK, w: 2), *cyber-thriller* (HK, w), *cyber knife* (HK, w), *hyper charged* (IND, s), *ultra-big* (IND, w), *ultra-sophisticated* (IND, w), *ultrabasic* (PHI, w), *ultra-male* (PHI, w), *ultra high-rise buildings* (HK, w: 7), *ultra-major operations* (HK, w).

Combinations with *cum* and multiple word combinations, which both attest to the varieties’ lexical creativity, are frequently used in PhilE as well as in the other Asian Englishes. Notable examples are: *musclemen-cum-legislators* (IND, w), *diary-cum-memoirs* (IND, w), *nation-cum-race* (PHI, w), *a well of affection cum friendship* (PHI, w), *non-formal livelihood cum literacy education programs* (PHI, s), *slum-cum-tent settlement* (HK, w), *Archery Range cum Gateball Court* (HK, w), *shade-cum-ornamental tree* (HK, w), *warehouses-cum-showrooms* (SIN, w), *TV-cum-video-machine* (SIN, w), *a rice thresher cum dryer* (PHI, w), *the coolest giant-shiny-aluminium-ball-point-pen speakers* (SIN, w), *a kind of like-it-or-leave-it attitude* (HK, w), *Hitler and his hands-over-his-crotch pose* (HK, w), *a do-or-die thing* (HK, w), *laptop-toting yuppie road warriors* (HK, w), *a must-do-by Dec. 31 letter* (PHI, w), *his mother’s uncle’s co-brother’s nephew* (IND, w). Note that five of the aforementioned examples stem from PHI, once again stressing the enormous potential for lexical innovations to be found in PhilE. By comparison, BrE yields fewer formations: e.g. *moustache cum beard* (s), *animal-maze cum rural open-prison cum Japanese factory exercise yard* (w), *home-cum-studio* (w). Interestingly, CanE provides only one formation, in the text category of ‘broadcast talks’ (*ex-loggers-cum-environmentalists*).

As was expected, there is ample evidence of combinations with *cum* in GloWbE-PHI: e.g. *cross-cum-shot* (2 tokens: general website and blog), *office-cum-store* (general website), *tracker-cum-verifying* (blogs: "...the naming convention in the Philippines has always been a sort of tracker-cum-verifying tool."), *warlords-cum-politicians*, *shop-cum-subscription*, *spiritual-cum-political*, *producer-cum-director*, *professor-cum-architect*, *living room-cum-den*. The latter example refers to an article that reports on living spaces for wheelchair-bound people.

## Hybridization and indigenous vocabulary in PhilE

Owing to the colonial history of the Philippines, the influence of Spanish loan words on Philippine vocabulary is certainly considerable (cf. Schneider, 2007: 142). A *merienda* (s) is a snack that is either eaten in mid-morning or mid-afternoon. The meaning of ‘farewell party’ is expressed by the compound *despedida party* (s), even though the word ‘party’ creates a pleonastic effect. In GloWbE-PHI, there are only two occurrences: e.g. ‘I still found myself attending despedida parties of those who were leaving the country with their own families.’

The lexemes *nipa* and *carabao* are early borrowings denoting ‘kind of palm’ and ‘water buffalo’ (cf. Schneider, 2007: 140). In ICE-PHI we come across these attestations: *nipa hut* (s), *carabao program* (w), *carabao cultivar* (w), *Carabao Center* (w), *carabao grass* (w), *Carabao race* (w: 2). *Carabao* is extremely frequent in GloWbE-PHI. There are 230 tokens while some other countries display only one or two instances. Only Tanzania shows 25 instances, although the title of the source is ‘Philippine Folk Tales’.

More famous is the blend *jeepney* denoting ‘a small bus’<sup>8</sup>. Consequently, there are a number of compounds consisting of *jeepney*: *jeepney strikes* (w), *jeepney drivers* (w: 2). In contrast to other world Englishes, this lexeme is used with exceeding frequency in GloWbE-PHI (1002 tokens). In the same vein, an interesting lexeme giving rise to hybrid compounds is *barangay*, which stands for ‘the smallest political unit’: *barangay permit* (w), *barangay officials* (w), and *barangay election* (w). As mentioned in the chapter on neoclassical compounds, the lexeme *cyber* is quite productive in the new varieties, too, as it is combined, for instance, with the native element *bayan* (w) which means ‘native country’ in the Philippines. Also, the exclamation *sayang* (‘expressing sympathy’) is derived from local languages (cf. Schneider, 2007: 142). The only example collected in ICE-PHI (S1A-013) is used as an adjective and can therefore be regarded as conversion: ‘But at least you get a double degree unlike me who gave up Accounting which is very very *sayang*’. PhilE generates the adjective *Imeldific* named after the former president’s wife, Imelda Marcos: ‘The banks are not afraid for they believe in the *Imeldific* ... rule ... that those who have the gold make the rules’ (W2E-010). According to Bautista (1997: 62), it means ‘anything exaggeratedly ostentatious or in bad taste’, referring to clothing, architecture, décor, etc.; here *Imeldific* has a slightly different meaning. *Marcosian laws* (w) are the laws passed under the presidency of Ferdinand Marcos and many times the term carries a disparaging meaning.

Formations with the prefix *co-* appear to be highly productive in the Philippines. Notable examples of this type from PHI are: *co-sufferer* (s), *co-teacher* (s: 5), *(to) co-host* (s: 2), *co-chairman* (s), *co-chair* (w, s), *co-star* (s: 2), *co-conspirator* (s: 2), *co-anchor* (s), *co-convener* (s: 2), *co-advisers* (s). It is interesting to observe that formations with *co-* are also popular in CanE, where we find a remarkable number of coinages in CAN: e.g. *co-organizer* (w), *co-sponsor* (w), *to co-author* (w), *co-adventurers* (w), *to co-chair* (w), *to co-host* (s), *co-workers* (w, s), *to co-sign* (s), *co-founder* (s). This parallel between PHI and CAN substantiates the hypothesis that PhilE is strongly influenced by Northern American English. No other corpus has yielded as many formations as these two. A search for formations with *co-* in GloWbE-PHI yields remarkable results. *Co-teacher(s)* displays the second highest token figure (13), after the American component (20) and before CanE (11). The noun *co-adviser(s)* shows the highest figure in GloWbE-PHI (4 tokens), followed by AmE (1) and AusE (1). Other most frequently used formations in GloWbE-PHI are *co-employee* (33), *co-member* (12), *co-debtor* (7).

Finally, the lexical item *presidentiable(s)* (s: 6) can be considered typical of PhilE. It refers to a person ‘who is aspiring to be president’ or is perceived to be capable of being president. Note that this formation lacks evidence in standard references, except for one entry in the BNC.<sup>9</sup> In GloWbE, it almost exclusively occurs in PhilE (17 tokens: 9 general websites, 8 blogs). Only the Jamaican component displays one other instance. Relating to the semantic field of politics, too, the term *reelectionist* is attested only in the Philippines: ‘The latest to make the charge was reelectionist Senator Freddie Webb...’ (W2E-007). It denotes a person who runs for election again. Although Bautista (1997: 59) cites this term, there is no evidence of this formation in the standard references. GloWbE-PHI lists 44 tokens, while only GloWbE-IND shows one attestation, thus underscoring the PhilE character of this lexeme.

## Suffixation

### Nominal suffixes *-ship* and *-hood*

In this section I will focus on two nominal suffixes which are both frequent and productive. By experience it can be said that nouns in *-ship* are certainly more productive and occur in a broader range of formations. Similar in meaning, both form nouns which denote a state or condition.

Table 5 Frequency of nouns in *-ship*

	GB	CAN	IND	SIN	PHI	HK
Type – written	30	32	28	30	31	33
Type – spoken	25	21	25	25	25	29
Sum	39	36	36	35	37	44
Tokens	425	470	405	578	497	538

(Token frequencies normalized to one million words, rounded to nearest integer)

Table 6 Frequency of nouns in *-hood*

	GB	CAN	IND	SIN	PHI	HK
Type - written	5	11	10	12	18	5
Type - spoken	12	9	13	11	8	5
Sum	12	15	16	16	19	6
Tokens	60	83	60	78	136	77

(Token frequencies normalized to one million words, rounded to nearest integer)

The suffix *-hood* is rather restricted in its occurrence, while the suffix *-ship* appears more frequently, especially in written English with almost identical figures within each component. Comparing the type figures of nouns in *-ship* in detail (Table 5), it is in HK (33), CAN (32), and PHI (31) where we observe the highest type frequency for written English. HK (44), PHI (37) and GB (39) yield the highest overall type figures, with HK also accounting for the highest type figure in spoken English. In terms of tokens, the highest result is found in SIN (578).

Similar to the suffix *-ism*, *-ship* often has a political connotation. However, we do obtain coinages with a different semantic connotation. The word *passmanship* (IND, s), for example, is used by a sports commentator in India to express the skill of footballers to pass by the defenders. *Hero-ship* (PHI, w) is used along with *heroism* (e.g. PHI, w: 4) in the Philippines.

There is no clear distribution for the morpheme *-hood* (Table 6), which shows higher type frequencies for spoken English in GB (5/12) and IND (10/13), and we find the pattern reversed in the remaining corpora, e.g. SIN (12/11), PHI (18/8). Whereas SIN yields a relatively equal type distribution for written and spoken English, PHI clearly favors written texts. In particular, the high type number in the Philippines (18) underlines the frequent usage of this suffix morpheme: e.g. *tigerhood* (PHI, w), *womanhood* (PHI, w), *selfhood* (PHI, w), *boyhood* (PHI, w). In terms of token frequencies, *-hood* is most frequently employed in PHI (136), too. Interestingly, the lowest frequencies are calculated in GB and IND (60 each). Another noteworthy aspect is the type-token relation in SIN and IND. While the type numbers are relatively high (16 each), the token frequencies are rather low. Although both varieties seem to use a wide range of nouns in *-hood*, they do not use them frequently.

An examination of all formations in *-hood* as regards productivity across the varieties has yielded two unlisted nouns: *graduatehood* (SIN, s: 2), *twentyhood* (PHI, w). It cannot be overlooked that BrE and CanE do not yield any new coinages in *-ship* or *-hood*. In GloWbE, we detect some coinages unlisted so far: *bollyhood* (2), *Raja-hood*, *Nawab-hood* in IndE; *abjecthood* in PhilE ("We expect Marisol to collapse, but except for one traumatic instant of abjecthood, she holds up." blogs); *geezerhood* (33) in HKE.

### **Nominal suffix *-ism***

Another important suffix morpheme I would like to concentrate on is the abstract suffix *-ism* as intuitively it seems to be rather productive. In fact, scholars have repeatedly attributed a high degree of productivity to this suffix (Schmid, 2011: 174; Bauer and Huddleston, 2002: 1702). This productivity is clearly documented by recent entries in the *Oxford Essential Dictionary of New Words*: e.g. *sizeism* ('prejudice or discrimination on the grounds of a person's size'), *heightism* ('prejudice due to a person's height'), *situationism* ('a revolutionary political theory that regards modern industrial society as being inevitably oppressive and exploitative').

In the present context, the question of whether Asian Englishes use *-ism* formations as productively and frequently as Standard English will be answered. By means of the WordSmith concordance list all occurrences in *-ism* were investigated (Table 7).



Table 7 Frequency of nouns in *-ism*

	GB	CAN	IND	SIN	PHI	HK
Type – written	87	103	86	63	94	91
Type – spoken	56	52	70	48	70	44
Sum	114	128	122	88	123	111
Tokens	497	478	619	357	557	420

(Token frequencies normalized to one million words, rounded to nearest integer)

In fact, an investigation of all occurrences across the different ICE corpora confirms the intuition-based assumption about the productive character of *-ism*. We detect the highest type number in written texts, both in PHI (94) and CAN (103), with PHI also yielding the highest type number in spoken texts (70), together with IND (70). On the other hand, the readiness to use nouns in *-ism* is weakest in SIN, which has historically been closer to GB. The evidence collected in SIN shows the lowest figures in both written (63) and spoken English (48). On the other hand, the high result obtained from PHI (123) once again makes clear that PhilE writers and speakers demonstrate an impressive command of English word-formation in that they use an exceptionally wide range of formations, and they are outnumbered only by the results drawn from the L1 variety CanE (128). Semantically speaking, nouns in *-ism* nearly always have a political, social, or religious meaning: *Yugoslavism* (GB, w), *one-worldism* (GB, w), *confederalism* (GB, w), *pan-Canadianism* (CAN, w), *Thai-ism* (CAN, w), *Casteism* (IND, s: 4), *Jainism* (IND, s: 2), *Shintoism* (IND, w), *anti-Congressism* (IND, w), *pervertism* (IND, w: 2), *Sufism* (IND, s), *Ziaism* (IND, w), *Confucianism* (SIN, w: 2), *kiasuism* (SIN, s: 6), *moneytheism* (SIN, s: 2), *Singaporeanism* (SIN, s: 3), *Cartesianism*<sup>10</sup> (PHI, s), *clientism* (PHI, w), *xenocentrism* (PHI, w: 2), *cooperativism* (PHI, w), *Caesaro Popism* (PHI, s: 2).

As can be seen from the examples above, Asian Englishes produce a great number of new coinages which are expressive of political and social processes taking place in a particular regional setting. In India, for example, the term *anti-Congressism* (IND, w2e-003), which describes an attitude shown by the Chief Minister ‘on which he had built his political career’, is certainly politically motivated. A political reference is made by the term *Ziaism* (IND, w2e-001). The word denotes the period of office held by Muhammad Zia-ul-Haq (1924-1988), a Pakistani general, who was president between 1978 and 1988.<sup>11</sup> Both terms lack evidence in standard references. The so far unlisted noun *pervertism* referring to ‘abnormal or unacceptable behavior’ is used in IndE in order to point out that, due to *pervertism* (IND, W2A-005 (2), ‘many Americans lost faith and interest in sanctity of marriage institution’. In a second example it appears next to ‘insane violence, abortion, drunken driving, homosexuality, ..., drug abuse, rape and pornography’. In this text passage, the widely known nouns ‘perversion’ or ‘perversity’ were not chosen by the authors.

Conspicuously, the three unlisted examples collected in Singapore stem from spoken English. Whereas *kiasuism* (‘highly competitive attitude’ SIN, s: 6) and *Singaporeanism* (SIN, s: 3) appear to be straightforward and familiar in the context of Singaporean culture, the term *moneytheism* (SIN, s: 2) needs to be looked at more closely. Although this noun lacks further explanation in ICE, it can semantically be analyzed as the ‘religious belief in money’ or ‘making money one’s god’.



With regard to PhilE, the unlisted formation *xenocentrism* (PHI, W1A-007 (2) refers to the colonization of Chinese regions. By using the term *clientism* (PHI, W2B-012), the writer expresses his disapproval; he talks about returning to ‘democratic politics after a dictatorship without going back to the familiar ways of patronage and clientism’. The same can be said about *clientelism*, which is regarded as a synonym by the ODE. Both nouns can be considered relatively recent since they only appear in GloWbE, and here mainly in L1 countries. Further examples from GloWbE are *turncoatism*, *shopoholism* (‘compulsive shopping’ blogs), *deskism* (‘elegant outward appearance of junior clerks’ general website) and *Bounty Hunterism*. The latter refers to a game and the title of the source is ‘Adventure Quest Worlds Walkthrough’ (general website).

A closer look at the register tags reveals that the unlisted formations appear in informational writing as well as in personal writing. In terms of spoken English, the newly coined words come up in a broader range of categories: direct conversations, broadcast discussions, parliamentary debates, unprepared speeches, non-broadcast talks.

### **Nominal suffix -ness**

The nominal suffix *-ness*, which denotes a certain quality, is perhaps the most productive suffix in the English language. This suffix can be attached virtually to any adjective, which accounts for a high number of new coinages in ICE. Both CanE and especially BrE originate a number of new coinages: e.g. *checkedness* (GB, s), *un-do-ableness* (GB, s), *hierarchicalness* (GB, s), *fluctuatingness* (CAN, s).

In IndE there are five examples of unlisted formations: *lackness* (IND, w), *crimeproneness* (IND, w: ‘tendency to commit crimes’), *superness* (IND, w), *Canadianess* (IND, s), *fulfillness* (IND, s). Adding this morpheme to adjectives which denote nationalities is a highly popular way of creating new words, which is demonstrated by some of the formations recorded in other varieties, too: e.g. *Africanness* (IND, s), *Australianess* (IND, s: 3), *Chineseness* (SIN, s).

SIN does not contain any evidence of unlisted formations in written English, yet there are three abstract nouns in *-ness* in spoken texts that cannot be found in the dictionaries nor in the BNC/COCA: *Singaporeanness* (SIN, s), *Chineseness* (SIN, s) and *take chargeness* (SIN, s). Especially the latter, denoting ‘the action of assuming responsibility’, is typical of a speech situation in which the speakers have to make a decision on how they verbalize what they want to say.

Along the same lines, there are three coinages in PHI which are unlisted: *Filipino-ness* (PHI, w), *nationness* (PHI, w: 2), *all-at-once-ness* (PHI, w: 2). The latter appears in this text in ICE-PHI: ‘Thirdly, the Asian mind resorts to intuition, if logic is no longer able to solve a life problem. From the very fact that it thinks in cyclic *all-at-once-ness*, it must resort to means other than the usual mental processes applicable to the piecemeal and fragmentary. [...] The concept of *all-at-once-ness* which is the hallmark of the mind of Asia is annoying to the Western mind which cannot shake off its structural mode of thinking...’ (W2A-009 ‘academic writing’)

A closer look at the results obtained from GloWbE confirms the assumption that the nominal suffix *-ness* is rather creative in PhilE: *paranoidness* (‘blogs’), *otakuness* (‘blogs’:

“passionate fandom”), *on-your-toes-ness* (‘general website’: ‘potty training’), *oc-ness* (‘general website’: ‘obsessive compulsiveness’).

### Nominal suffix *-ee*

The nominal suffix *-ee* is generally attached to verb bases. According to Plag (2003: 88), this suffix ‘derives nouns denoting sentient entities that are involved in an event as non-volitional participants’, which means that *nominee* is ‘someone who is nominated’ and *amputee* denotes ‘a person whose limb was amputated’. Bauer and Huddleston (2002: 1697) concentrate on ‘the passive use of a past participle’ and point out that this suffix is particularly productive in AmE, ‘though relatively few words in *-ee* become established’.

Table 8 Frequency of nouns in *-ee*

	GB	CAN	IND	SIN	PHI	HK
Type - written	12	14	13	14	18	12
Type - spoken	7	6	11	18	19	9
Sum	14	14	16	22	29	21
Tokens	149	66	245	254	237	130

(Token frequencies normalized to one million words, rounded to nearest integer)

As can be seen in Table 8, the suffix *-ee*, which ‘most frequently and productively forms patient nouns’ (Lieber, 2004: 18), is used quite frequently in all varieties, particularly in PhilE. This is in accordance with Bauer’s view (1983: 222) that *-ee* formations are ‘becoming more productive in current English’.<sup>12</sup>

What Baumgardner has stated for Pakistani English (1998: 213) is true of many *-ee* nouns evidenced in ICE: They appear in legal and work contexts. Presumably starting out from BrE or AmE, nouns in *-ee* have succeeded in becoming an important part of noun suffixation in Asian Englishes, too. In addition, a thoroughly carried out search for corpus evidence has yielded a number of lexemes which have not been recorded as yet. Most conspicuously, three of them stem from PhilE:

*Asylees* (GB, W2D-003): This formation denotes ‘people who are granted asylum in a foreign country’ and is used in ‘administrative writing’.

*Integrees* (PHI, S2B-013 (3): The meaning suggested by the text is ‘rebels/separatists who have been integrated into the police force’ (‘broadcast news’). In GloWbE-PHI (blog), we find one attestation of this lexeme: ‘preference shall be given to qualified reserve officers in the active service and integrees.’

*Orientees* (PHI, S1B-075 (3): The information provided in the text passage (‘business transactions’) refers to a group of people who are orientated to a particular direction, in this case ‘into the Lasallian community’ (the De La Salle University community).

*Shiftee* (PHI, S1B-076 (2): In the context of PHI this formation denotes a student who has shifted to another degree program (‘business transactions’).

The type-token relation across the different varieties does not always follow a homogeneous pattern. Whereas Great Britain and India are in favor of *-ee* formations especially in their written components, Singapore chiefly and the Philippines to some extent show a higher type frequency in their spoken components. Singapore, in particular, is clearly dominated by its spoken component as far as token numbers are concerned. Most importantly, however, the highest overall type figure can be observed in PhilE (29), more than twice as high as in BrE (14) and CanE (14). Obviously, nominalizations in *-ee* seem to be highly popular with both writers and speakers in PhilE. Except for the examples above, a search in GloWbE-PHI revealed one other new coinage: *conveniencee* ('people whose affection or attention is taken for granted by a conveniencer, e.g. friends by friends, parents by children or students by mentors'). Filipinos seem to command a wide range of *-ee*-formations. This result can be accounted for by the historical ties between the United States and the Philippines since we stated above that the *-ee* suffix is more strongly linked to AmE. However, the result for CanE (66) is comparatively low, which is surprising as this variety displays many parallels with AmE. Thus, we would surely have expected CanE to come up with a much wider range of different formations in *-ee*. In other words, Bauer's view that nouns in *-ee* are particularly frequent in AmE does not hold true for English in Canada. In addition, CanE does not come up with any new coinages in *-ee*.

### **Nominal suffix *-er/-or***

Undoubtedly, the qualitative analysis of agent nouns seems to be called for here since there are few striking numerical differences between the individual varieties. Based on my findings in Biermeier (2008: 121) I draw the conclusion that nouns in *-er/-or* are most often employed in PhilE, even though the differences between the varieties are not significant.<sup>13</sup> A search for interesting or recently coined examples in ICE has been successful as regards almost every variety. Naturally, this does not come as a surprise because the suffix *-er/-or* can certainly be regarded as one of the most established ones in English so that new varieties are bound to make use of it when turning a verb into an agent noun.

The agent noun *democrator* (IND, s) lacks dictionary evidence. It clearly refers to a 'democrat', revealing the uncertainty of the speaker as to how to form the appropriate word. Interestingly, two agent nouns from IND that were collected during my investigation are originally American: *vacationers* (IND, s), *Britisher(s)* (IND, s: 3). Two unlisted nouns can be discovered by investigating PHI: *foregrounder* (PHI, s: 'basic knowledge' or 'information brought to the foreground'), *orientors* (PHI, s: 3 'in the La Salle University community, those who provide the orientation to freshmen').<sup>14</sup> In addition, agent nouns in the Philippines can often be traced back to AmE as a consequence of the colonial ties with the United States. According to the OED, the nouns *staffer* (PHI, w: 3; s: 2), denoting a 'member of the staff', *pre-schoolers* (PHI, w; s: 6), *sportscaster* (PHI, s), *teeners* (PHI, s: 2) are of American origin. As regards the noun *repeaters* (PHI, W2A-020 'academic writing': 'contract workers who are rehired'; PHI, S1A-017: instead of the usual meaning 'repeating offenders'), the meaning of 'rehired contract workers' is definitely a case of semantic extension since this particular connotation has not been referred to by the main dictionaries so far.

Likewise, nouns in *-er/-or* seem to be characteristic of CanE as we find a number of them in CAN: *keeners* (CAN, w: 'overzealous students'), *holidayer* (CAN, w), *power-grabbers*

(CAN, s: ‘people eager to seize power’), *picnickers* (CAN, w), *loggers* (CAN, s: ‘lumbermen’), *rowboaters* (CAN, w), *newsmakers* (CAN, w: ‘people who make headline news’). Therefore, we can draw the conclusion that my observations on agent nouns place PhilE in close proximity to Northern American English. Above all, this trend is also confirmed by the findings in GloWbE. There are two occurrences of *holidayer(s)* in GloWbE-PHI, six instances of *picnicker(s)* and 65 tokens of *logger(s)*.

### Adjectival suffixes *-ish* and *-y*

Finally, the adjectival suffixes *-y* and *-ish* (‘somewhat X, vaguely X’) were investigated in ICE because they represent a very creative and productive way of making new adjectives in English. With regard to formations in *-ish* (Table 10), it is especially SingE data that can be taken as evidence of their writers’ and speakers’ advanced level of language competence by offering an extremely wide range of types (42) and the highest number of tokens. Only BrE provides an even wider type range (46). In SingE we observe even more different types than in CanE (32). This result proves the assumption that SingE will eventually turn into an L1 variety. PhilE, on the other hand, offers two new coinages: *lay-mannish* (PHI, s) and *politickish* (PHI, s). The latter appears in ‘direct conversation’ in which the speaker does not want to talk about anything that has to do with politics (S1A-077). It must be noted that both examples are derived from the spoken component of PHI, emphasizing the notion that new words are often coined by speakers who do not have the full lexicon at hand and make words rather spontaneously. In sum, most new coinages in ICE are drawn from spoken BrE (e.g. *Americanish*, *fiftiesish*, *recentish*, *tutorialish*) and CanE (*2.20ish*, *60ish*).

However, in GloWbE-PHI a few new coinages are attested: *pondish state/lawn*, *talkish*, *customer service-ish questions*, *cliffhangerish ending*. While the former two stem from general websites, the latter two occur in blogs, which are generally considered more informal.

On the other hand, CanE (185) displays by far the widest range of adjectives in *-y* (Table 11). Parallel to BrE (162), most formations come up in spoken English, which can be considered a distinctive trend of L1 varieties since the pattern in the Asian varieties under review is reversed. On the token level, we also find the highest number of occurrences in CanE (760). However, PhilE writers seem to be familiar with this type of word-formation. In fact, they use it to a great extent, which can be seen in the high type result for written English (94). The low productivity rate of this type in PhilE and the other Asian Englishes is underlined by the fact that new coinages in ICE are only attested in spoken British (*undressy*, *coughy*, *acousticky*, *clappy*, *linguisticky*, *shortbready*) and CanE (*clownballoony*, *hi-techy*, *sunbunny*, *bullshitty*, *spazzy*). The only new formation obtained from GloWbE-PHI is *revengey*, which appears in a blog and refers to a female character in a movie.

Table 10 Frequency of adjectives in *-ish*

	GB	CAN	IND	SIN	PHI	HK
Type - written	20	21	19	24	16	20
Type - spoken	34	13	16	22	15	10
Sum	46	32	32	42	24	24
Tokens	74	48	41	79	49	65

(Token frequencies normalized to one million words, rounded to nearest integer)

Table 11 Frequency of adjectives in *-y*

	GB	CAN	IND	SIN	PHI	HK
Type - written	101	116	82	87	94	98
Type- spoken	112	129	50	73	63	65
Sum	162	185	104	123	120	122
Tokens	606	760	355	575	457	602

(Token frequencies normalized to one million words, rounded to nearest integer)

### Conclusion

It was my intention to determine the current state of PhilE lexis and word-formation by comparing some of its lexical properties not only with those of other Asian Englishes but also with BrE and CanE as L1 varieties. The data on which my findings are based was drawn from ICE corpora, as far as the numerical findings were concerned. In addition, I also used GloWbE, which is the largest corpus to date, especially in order to explore mid- and low-frequency items from a qualitative point of view. Besides, thanks to GloWbE an even more thorough investigation of Philippine English was possible.

Firstly, the investigation on word-formation has shown that the different methods of using and making words in English are both institutionalized (i.e. established) and productive in PhilE. All word-formation categories under study are used to a considerable extent and, more importantly, nearly all of them display a high degree of productivity, which is documented by the remarkable number of new coinages in ICE and GloWbE.

Secondly, my quantitative findings (extent of use) document that English in the Philippines follows closely behind the L1 varieties BrE and CanE. While it has repeatedly been argued that English in Singapore, for instance, is on its way to becoming an English native speaker variety (cf. Foley, 2001: 32), this has not been postulated for PhilE. There is no denying that English in Singapore has an outstanding position among Asian Englishes, which is certainly confirmed by the results on lexis found in ICE. However, my findings put PhilE even on top of SingE in a number of cases. Some categories are used most frequently or second most frequently: compound nouns (types), neoclassical compounds (tokens), nouns in *-ism* (types), nouns in *-ee* (types) and nouns in *-hood* (types and tokens). In a number of instances, PhilE offers an even wider range of lexical choices than BrE or CanE, which was entirely unexpected and undeniably argues for the advanced level of English in the Philippines. Moreover, PhilE shares



interesting features with CanE. Both seem to favor agent nouns and formations preceded by the morpheme *co-*, which attests to the influence of Northern American English on English in the Philippines.

Thirdly, new coinages always attest to the degree of productivity of a given variety. Compared with the L1 varieties, we can especially observe a considerable number of new formations in the L2 varieties under study, above all in the Philippines. As regards PhilE, the following categories have turned out to be rather fruitful: nominal and neoclassical compounds, nouns in *-ness*, nouns in *-ship/-hood*, nouns in *-ee*, and nouns in *-er/-or*. Thus, apart from the numerous lexical contributions through loan words (hybridization), the processes of compounding and suffixation especially contribute to the expansion of the vocabulary in PhilE. In the same vein, synthetic compounds appear to be very productive, with the formative *-holder* triggering off new combinations. Together with IndE, PhilE is the most productive variety in Asia's Anglophone societies, exhibiting three or more new formations in six different word-formation categories. It outnumbers SingE and even exceeds BrE (see Figure 1<sup>15</sup>). On top of that, many new coinages (21 out of 41) were drawn from spoken English, thus underlining the common assumption that new words are created by speakers who do not always feel the constraints of written norms and therefore coin new words more liberally. Of course, it remains to be seen whether these coinages will become an established part of the PhilE lexicon.

Fourthly, PhilE does not seem to be overly productive when it comes to using relatively recent categories of word-formation; this can be noticed when studying adjectives in *-ish* or *-y*, for example. However, we encounter a wide range of adjectives in *-y* in the written component of ICE-PHI and there are in fact two new coinages in PhilE. As far as GloWbE-PHI is concerned, however, we can observe a restricted range of interesting examples. On the other hand, the results in ICE-SIN support the inference that the features of SingE may approximate more closely to norms of the inner circle. In fact, SingE accounts for both high frequency and productivity of adjectives in *-ish* and *-y*. As was expected, BrE and CanE display by far the widest variety of adjective formations in *-y*.

Fifthly, the findings obtained from ICE and GloWbE point to an interesting conclusion. Contrary to what has been maintained about PhilE being in a state of decline, the vocabulary and word-formation of this variety show a great potential for continuous lexical expansion and linguistic progress. As has been shown, writers and speakers exhibit an advanced level of lexical competence and use the categories of English word-formation both frequently and creatively. Perhaps it can be said that English in the Philippines is about to overcome the phase of nativization and, proceeding to endonormative orientation, will be able to attain the status of a distinctly stabilized variety in the years to come. Thus, my study corroborates the assertion by Borlongan (2016) that PhilE is already at the dawn of endonormative stabilization, certainly from a lexical point of view.

Lastly, and this is a completely new insight gained from this study, the findings from the fairly recent GloWbE corpus largely confirm the concluding remarks in Biermeier 2011. Even though some lexemes that were considered unlisted in 2011 now appear in GloWbE due to its enormous size, a number of new unlisted formations emerged in GloWbE. These new coinages were amply documented in this article. In a nutshell, the present study clearly underscores the advanced state of PhilE lexis.



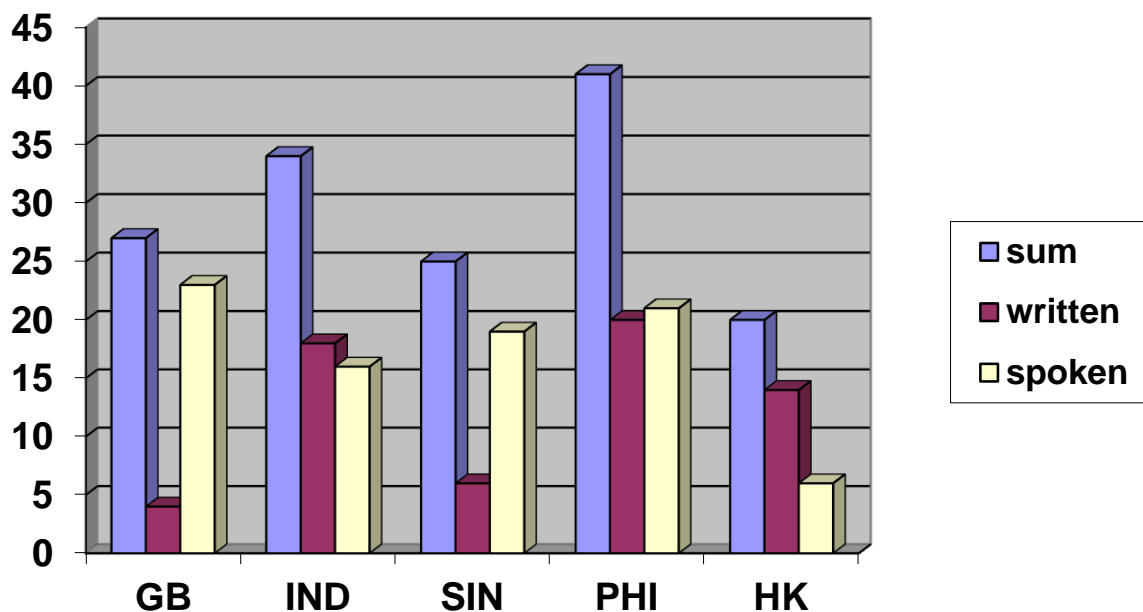


Figure 1 New coinages in ICE

#### Notes

1. Thanks to GloWbE and the tireless work by Mark Davies, a substantial re-evaluation of the findings in Biermeier 2011 is now possible. In this respect, this paper is partly based on my presentation at the IAWE conference in Istanbul 2015 and the ICAME conference in Hong Kong 2016. For further information on GloWbE see <http://corpus.byu.edu/glowbe/>.
2. It is well known that CanE has not only been shaped by AmE, but has also been strongly influenced by BrE and has retained features of both donor varieties up to the present day. Today, however, AmE seems to dominate, especially among young people (cf. Crystal, 2003: 340).
3. In corpus linguistics, the term *tokens* refers to the number of occurrences of a lexeme, while *types* refers to a class of tokens. For example, the lexeme (type) *comfort room* (PHI, 5) occurs five times, i.e. has five tokens.
4. As can be seen from the overall token figures in Table 1, the ICE corpora vary in numbers. IND and HK, for example, contain a higher token number than SIN or PHI. By comparison, the British component, which serves as a benchmark in this study, is the smallest.
5. Meyer (2002: 126) exhaustively expands on normalizing. In his article on particle verbs in New Englishes, Schneider (2004) also resorts to this method of comparing corpora of different sizes.
6. Tests to determine the statistical significance of quantitative differences between the varieties were not applied since most frequencies turned out to be too low. Still, I claim that there are systematic differences, provided the frequency counts outline certain trends. When it comes to discovering new lexical patterns, only a few occurrences can indicate a new development.
7. This reference code indicates that the compound *dumping yard* is used in written (w) Indian English (IND). For more specific details on reference codes used in this paper, see Biermeier (2008: 203-4).

8. According to the *OED*, the term *jeepney*, which is restricted to the Philippine Islands, is ‘a jitney bus converted from a jeep’. *Merriam-Webster* dates it back to c.1949.
9. In the BNC (A3U 239) there is one entry: ‘... the personality and ambitions of an individual politician who considers himself to be papabile or presidential’. Unlike PHI, where we find five tokens of the plural variant *presidentiables*, this entry refers to an adjective. Thus, the examples in ICE indicate a case of conversion from an adjective to a noun. The COCA does not provide any evidence at all.
10. By *Cartesianism* we understand the ‘philosophy of Descartes’. The relevant entry in the *OED* dates from 1656.
11. This reference is taken from the *Oxford Dictionary of English*.
12. For a more comprehensive list of new *-ee* nouns see Bauer (1993: 222-4). Among his new coinages there are nouns such as *auditionee* (1987, ‘someone who performed at an audition’), *blind datee* (1989, ‘someone who attended a blind date’), *followee* (1986, ‘someone who follows another person’), or *hittee* (1989, ‘someone who is murdered’).
13. For more information on a quantitative analysis of nouns in *-er/-or* see Biermeier (2008: 121-2).
14. *Webster’s Third* provides an entry with a similar meaning: ‘one who assists a newcomer in adjusting to a social situation or to the local routine’.
15. This diagram shows the number of new coinages across the corpora. The figures are taken from my book on *Word-formation in New Englishes* (2008: 164). Unfortunately, the analysis of ICE-CAN has not been fully concluded yet. However, the first results presented in this paper (e.g. agent nouns, adjectives in *-ish* and *-y*, nouns in *-ism*) tentatively point to a high degree of productivity, which is in line with our expectations of an L1 variety.

### References

- Bauer, L. (1983). *English Word-formation*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Bauer, L. (1993). More *-ee* words. *American Speech*, 68: 222-4.
- Bauer, L. and R. Huddleston (2002). Lexical word-formation. In *The Cambridge Grammar of the English Language*. Edited by Rodney Huddleston and Geoffrey K. Pullum. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 1621-721.
- Baumgardner, R. J. (1998). Word-formation in Pakistani English. *English World-Wide*, 19: 205-46.
- Bautista, Ma. Lourdes S. (1997). The lexicon of Philippine English. In *English Is an Asian Language: The Philippine Context. Proceedings of the Conference Held in Manila on August 2-3, 1996*. Edited by Ma. Lourdes S. Bautista. Sydney: Macquarie Library Ltd., pp. 49-72.
- Bautista, Ma. Lourdes S. (2000). *Defining Standard Philippine English: Its Status and Grammatical Features*. Manila: De La Salle University Press.
- Bautista, Ma. Lourdes S. (2008). Investigating the grammatical features of Philippine English. In *Philippine English: Linguistic and Literary Perspectives*. Edited by Ma. Lourdes S. Bautista and Kingsley Bolton. Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, pp. 201-18.
- Biermeier, T. (2008). *Word-formation in New Englishes*. Berlin, Münster: LIT.
- Biermeier, T. (2011). “Lexical trends in Philippine English.” In: Ma. Lourdes S. Bautista, ed. *Studies of Philippine English: Exploring the Philippine Component of the International Corpus of English*. Manila: De La Salle University Centennial Book Series.

- Borlongan, A. M. (2016). Relocating Philippine English in Schneider's dynamic model. *Asian Englishes*, 18: 232-241.
- Crystal, D. (2003). *The Cambridge Encyclopedia of the English Language*. 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Foley, J. A. (2001). Is English a first or second language in Singapore? In *Evolving Identities: The English Language in Singapore and Malaysia*. Edited by Vincent B.Y. Ooi. Singapore: Times Academic Press, pp. 12-32.
- Gonzalez, A. (1997). The history of English in the Philippines. In *English Is an Asian Language: The Philippine Context. Proceedings of the Conference Held in Manila on August 2-3, 1996*. Edited by Ma. Lourdes S. Bautista. Sydney: Macquarie Library Ltd., pp. 25-48.
- Greenbaum, S. (ed.) (1996). *Comparing English Worldwide: The International Corpus of English*. Oxford: Clarendon.
- Lieber, R. (2004). *Morphology and Lexical Semantics*. Cambridge University Press.
- Meyer, C. F. (2002). *English Corpus Linguistics: An Introduction*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Plag, I. (2003). *Word-formation in English*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Schmid, H.-J. (2011). *English morphology and word-formation. An introduction*. 2nd ed. Berlin: Erich Schmidt Verlag.
- Schneider, E. W. (2004). How to trace structural nativization: particle verbs in world Englishes. *World Englishes*, 23: 227-49.
- Schneider, E. W. (2007). *Postcolonial English: Varieties around the World*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- The Oxford Essential Dictionary of New Words*. (2003) Edited by Erin McKean. New York: Berkley.
- <http://corpus.byu.edu/ glowbe/>
- [www.worldometers.info/population/most-populous-countries](http://www.worldometers.info/population/most-populous-countries)

#### About the author

**Thomas Biermeier, Ph.D.** is a lecturer in the Department of English Linguistics and English Language Teaching at the University of Regensburg, Germany, where he has taught English Linguistics, vocabulary in English language teaching and other courses in the undergraduate and graduate programs. He has published articles on word-formation, Philippine English, and world Englishes in reputable journals. He has presented his research works in Asia, Australia and in Europe.

## **Philippine English in the *Oxford English Dictionary*: Recent advancements and implications for ESL in the Philippines**

Danica Salazar

*Oxford English Dictionary*

### **Abstract**

The present article offers an overview of the *Oxford English Dictionary's* (*OED*) continuing efforts to improve its coverage of words originating from world varieties of English, such as those spoken in Anglophone communities in postcolonial Southeast Asia. In these new centers of English, millions of second-language speakers use a variety of linguistic mechanisms to adapt the English word store to their unique cultural and social milieu, and the *OED* is now endeavoring to document this distinctive vocabulary by including a wider range of lexical innovations from Southeast Asian varieties of English that more accurately reflect the way that the language is being used in the region. The article places particular emphasis on the Philippine English lexicon and the implications of its inclusion in the *OED* to ESL teaching in the Philippines, and concludes with some recommendations on how to effectively engage with the *OED's* Philippine content in the local ESL classroom.

Keywords: *Oxford English Dictionary*; Philippine English; Southeast Asian Englishes; World Englishes; lexicography

### **Introduction**

It has been well over a hundred years since English was brought to the Philippines by an American colonial administration in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, and throughout this time, its Filipino speakers have continued to alter the lexicon of this imported tongue, reshaping it to fit their communicative needs and their own social and cultural environment. This article will focus on this characteristic Philippine vocabulary, and current efforts to document it in the *Oxford English Dictionary* (*OED*).

### **The *Oxford English Dictionary* and Southeast Asian Englishes**

The *OED* is unique among most dictionaries of the English language in its historical approach. In addition to the information that can be expected in any dictionary—definition, pronunciation, etymology, usage information—the *OED* also contains evidence of actual use spanning the whole history of each word, from the earliest known use to the latest. This evidence comes in the form of quotations taken from a wide variety of print and electronic sources.

---

Author's Affiliation: *Oxford English Dictionary*, Oxford University Press  
Great Clarendon Street Oxford OX2 6DP United Kingdom  
Email Address: danica.salazar@oup.com

The *OED* is presently undergoing its first thoroughgoing revision and update since its first edition was published in full in 1928. The dictionary's last print edition, the second, was issued in 1989 and consisted of 20 volumes, but its third and latest edition is accessible through *OED Online*, where updates are published quarterly.

Most dictionaries are kept current by taking out words that have become rare and obsolete, but the *OED* is updated differently. Words and senses are continually added, but not taken out—once a word enters the dictionary, it becomes a permanent part of the historical record of the English language. This makes the *OED* huge in scope—the third edition now has around 600,000 entries, illustrated by over three million quotations. It also makes the dictionary an unparalleled resource for anyone wishing to study any aspect of the English lexicon and its development.

The *OED* research program has several resources at its disposal to track the emergence of new words and senses, from electronic corpora designed specifically for linguistic investigation, to its digital and paper collection of short extracts drawn from a huge variety of writing by volunteer readers. In the case of Southeast Asian English varieties, for instance, word suggestions come up from language corpora and from the reading of local books and magazines, but possible candidates are also sourced through the review of previous lexical studies of these varieties.

Once they have a list of candidates, *OED* editors go to work carefully researching electronic and print research databases to make sure that there are several independent examples of the words being used, for a reasonable amount of time and reasonable frequency in the places one would expect to find them. There is no exact time-span and frequency threshold, as this may vary depending on each word. Some words such as *tweet* and *selfie* are relatively young, but they were quickly added to the *OED* because of the huge social impact they had in such a short space of time; other words are not overwhelmingly frequent, but are included because they are of specific cultural, historical, or linguistic significance.

Due to its sheer size and the thoroughness and rigor of its historical methodology, the *OED* has established the reputation of being the foremost authority on the English language. Given its roots in the university city of Oxford, it also continues to be regarded as a quintessentially British product, which is what it certainly started out as when the *OED* was first conceived in the 19<sup>th</sup> century (Salazar, 2014). However, the English-speaking world has changed enormously since the Victorian era—from being the language of the British Isles, it has become the world's lingua franca, used by over a billion first-, second-, and foreign-language speakers in all parts of the globe. As the English language evolved, so did its most respected dictionary. Whereas before, standard British English was considered the dominant form of English in the *OED*, now it has become one of the many varieties of the language—known as World Englishes—that need to be documented by the dictionary (Simpson, 2000). Thus, one of the objectives of the current revision is to widen the geographical scope of the *OED* by including new entries, filling the historical gaps in existing entries, and removing the Britocentric stylistic bias of previous editions (Price, 2003).

The development of English as a world language can best be seen in the various roles it plays in the Southeast Asian region. English is now widely spoken as a second language in countries that were once British territories—Brunei, Malaysia and Singapore—and in one that was formerly a colony of the United States—the Philippines. In the rest of Southeast Asia,

English remains the most popular foreign language learned. It is also the official language of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations, and the main international bridge language in this highly multilingual region. Given the constant presence of English in Southeast Asia and its regular contact with the many other languages spoken by Southeast Asians, it is not surprising that the Englishes used in this region have developed distinct features that can be observed in the level of pronunciation, vocabulary, grammar, and discourse (Low & Hashim, 2012). These idiosyncratic characteristics are what the *OED* is now attempting to capture.

This is not to say that there has been no place for Southeast Asian words in the *OED* until now. The region has been represented in the dictionary as early as in its first fascicle, or installment, published in 1884. One example from the 1884 fascicle is *abaca*, a local Philippine word for Manila hemp (Ogilvie, 2012). Southeast Asian quotations in the first edition of the *OED* that came out in 1928 date as far back as the 16<sup>th</sup> century, and most come from early specialist dictionaries and navigational and geographical accounts of the region written by British authors. Later quotations came from 19<sup>th</sup>- and 20<sup>th</sup>-century travel and science books, and scientific journals on a wide range of subjects. Later on, a significant number of Southeast Asian words, most of which are of Malaysian origin, made their way into the *OED* Supplements published in the 1970s and 1980s. These words also made it into the *OED*'s second edition of 1989. Now, in the *OED*'s third and latest edition, more contemporary usages have been and are being added to provide more evidence for entries in revision and to inform the creation of new entries. Quotations for present-day Southeast Asian vocabulary are mainly taken from books from or about the region, and from local English-language newspapers that *OED* editors can access online (Salazar, 2014).

As they stand now, Southeast Asian words in the *OED* are of three kinds. First, there are those that are widely used in British and/or American English, or even in other parts of the English-speaking world. For example, *amok* and *caddy* from Malay; *boondock* and *ylang-ylang* from Tagalog; *batik* and *lahar* from Javanese; *phad thai* and *tuk-tuk* from Thai (Salazar, 2014).

The second kind of words consists of those whose widespread use is restricted to the country or region of their origin. For example, *shahbandar*, used in Brunei; *Agong* and *bumiputra*, used in Malaysia; *adobo* and *tinikling*, used in the Philippines; and *roti prata* and *kiasu*, used in Singapore (Salazar, 2014).

Finally, the third group of words is composed of those that are rare, archaic, historical or scientific. These are mostly words referring to local flora, fauna, and ethnic groups that date back to the colonial period (Salazar, 2014). Right now, there can be observed in the *OED* a certain bias towards words in this third group. There is currently a propensity in the *OED* and other well-known dictionaries of English for exoticism, a tendency to over-invest in flora, fauna and ephemeral localisms (Bolton & Butler, 2008). Although these words are of historical and anthropological interest, only a few of them can be considered to form part of the everyday vocabulary of the average Southeast Asian English speaker.

The challenge that is currently facing the *OED* is shifting its attention from colonial-era loanwords towards more contemporary lexis that reflects the mechanisms of language contact and lexical innovation shaping the vocabulary of Southeast Asian Englishes. To do this, it is essential for the *OED* to supplement the relatively smaller amount of lexical evidence available for less widely used varieties. One way to solve this problem is to employ online crowdsourcing methods using dedicated websites and social media, as well as specially



designed corpora of World Englishes to tap into the wealth of information that can be provided by the very speakers of these less documented English varieties (Salazar, 2014).

By widening its research scope, the *OED* is now more able to incorporate all means of lexical innovation that Southeast Asian English speakers use to express their everyday realities in English. Several examples of this kind of contemporary World English lexis have recently been added to the dictionary, and a good number of these additions belong to the category of Philippine English.

### Philippine English in the *OED*

In its June update of 2015, the *OED* published 40 new words and senses from Philippine English, the largest single batch of items from this variety to be added by the dictionary. This was followed by the publication of dozens more Philippine additions in subsequent quarterly updates. These inclusions were widely covered in the Philippine press (Quismundo, 2015) and were generally met with a positive response by the Filipino public (see Table 1 for a complete list of Philippine words and senses that have been added to the *OED* from June 2015 up to the time of writing, with their corresponding definitions, parts of speech, and dates of first quotations). *Kilig*, which was added to the *OED* in its March 2016 update, was one item which attracted a remarkable amount of media attention (Sabillo, 2016), and became one of the dictionary's most consulted entries in 2016.

Table 1  
Philippine English items added to the *OED* since June 2015

Lemma	Definition	POS	First quot. date
advanced	Of a clock or watch: indicating a time ahead of the correct time; = fast.	adj.	1997
aggrupation	An association or grouping, esp. a political organization; an affiliation formed on the basis of common interests or objectives.	n.	1905
Aling	A title of courtesy or respect prefixed to the first name of an older woman.	n.	1902
arnis	Any of various forms of self-defence and martial arts traditionally practised in the Philippines, characterized by the use of sticks, bladed weapons, and bare hands in combat.	n.	1961
ate	An elder sister. Also used as a respectful title or form of address for an older woman.	n.	1937

bahala na	Expressing an attitude of optimistic acceptance or fatalistic resignation, esp. in acknowledging that the outcome of an uncertain or difficult situation is beyond one's control or is preordained; 'que sera sera'. Hence also as n.: an approach to life characterized by this attitude.	n.	1921
balikbayan	A Filipino visiting or returning to the Philippines after a period of living in another country.	n.	1976
balikbayan box	A carton shipped or brought to the Philippines from another country by a Filipino who has been living overseas, typically containing items such as food, clothing, toys, and household products.	n.	1984
balut	A fertilized duck's egg boiled and eaten in the shell while still warm, a traditional dish in parts of South-East Asia, and regarded as a delicacy in the Philippines.	n.	1912
baon	Money, food, or other provisions taken to school, work, or on a journey.	n.	1956
barangay	In the Philippines: a village, suburb, or other demarcated neighbourhood; a small territorial and administrative district forming the most local level of government.	n.	1840
barkada	A group of friends.	n.	1965
barong	= barong tagalog	n.	1923
barong tagalog	A lightweight, embroidered shirt for men, worn untucked and traditionally made of piña or a similar vegetable fibre.	n.	1924
baro't saya	A traditional Philippine costume for women, consisting of a collarless blouse and a long wrap-around skirt.	n.	1962
batchmate	A member of the same graduation class as another; a classmate. Also in extended use.	n.	1918

bayanihan	A traditional system of mutual assistance in which the members of a community work together to accomplish a difficult task. In later use also: a spirit of civic unity and cooperation among Filipinos.	n.	1958
buko	The gelatinous flesh of an unripe (green-husked) coconut.	n.	1965
buko juice	A drink made from the clear watery liquid inside unripe coconuts; coconut water.	n.	1982
buko water	= buko juice	n.	1997
carnap	To steal (a motor vehicle).	v.	1937
carnapper	A person who steals a motor vehicle; a car thief.	n.	1945
comfort room	(Originally) a room in a public building or workplace furnished with amenities such as facilities for resting, personal hygiene, and storage of personal items (now rare); (later) a public toilet (now chiefly Philippine English).	n.	1886
despedida	More fully <i>despedida party</i> . A social event honouring someone who is about to depart on a journey or leave an organization; a going-away party.	n.	1929
dirty kitchen	A kitchen where everyday cooking is done by household staff, as distinct from a kitchen that is purely for show or for special use by the owner of the house.	n.	1986
estafa	Criminal deception, fraud; dishonest dealing.	n.	1903
gimmick	A night out with friends.	n.	1998
go down	To alight from a vehicle; to get off a bus, train, etc., esp. at a specified stop.	v.	1993
halo-halo	A dessert made of mixed fruits, sweet beans, milk, and shaved ice, typically topped with purple yam, crème caramel, and ice cream.	n.	1922
high blood	Angry, agitated.	adj.	1987

kare-kare	In Filipino cookery: a stew of oxtail, tripe, meat, and vegetables, cooked in a thick, peanut-based sauce and coloured with annatto.	n.	1973
kikay	A. n. A flirtatious girl or woman. Also: a girl or woman interested in beauty products and fashion. B. adj. Belonging to or characteristic of a kikay. Of a girl or woman: interested in beauty products and fashion; stylishly feminine.	n. & adj.	1993
kikay kit	A soft case in which a woman's toiletries and cosmetics are stored.	n.	2002
kilig	A. n. Exhilaration or elation caused by an exciting or romantic experience; an instance of this, a thrill. B. adj. 1. Of a person: exhilarated by an exciting or romantic experience; thrilled, elated, gratified. 2. Causing or expressing a rush of excitement or exhilaration; thrilling, enthralling, captivating.	n. & adj.	1981
KKB	‘Kaniya-kaniyang bayad’, lit. ‘each one pays their own’, used esp. to indicate that the cost of a meal is to be shared. Also as adj.	int. (& adj.)	1987
kuya	An elder brother. Also used as a respectful title or form of address for an older man.	n.	1937
leche flan	In Filipino cookery: a custard made with condensed milk and egg yolks and topped with caramel.	n.	1927
lechon	Chiefly in Filipino and Latin American cookery: a whole pig roasted on a spit, usually over coals; a dish or portion of this.	n.	1920
lola	One's grandmother. Also used as a respectful title or form of address for an elderly woman.	n.	1934
lolo	One's grandfather. Also used as a respectful title or form of address for an elderly man.	n.	1934

mabuhay	An exclamation of salutation or greeting: long live—! good luck (to you)! hurrah! cheers!	int.	1930
Mang	A title of courtesy or respect prefixed to the first name of an older man.	n.	1926
mani-pedi	A beauty treatment comprising both a manicure and a pedicure.	n.	1972
pan de sal	A yeast-raised bread roll made of flour, eggs, sugar and salt, widely consumed in the Philippines, especially for breakfast.	n.	1910
pancit	In Filipino cookery: noodles; (also) any of various Filipino dishes made with noodles.	n.	1912
pasalubong	A gift or souvenir given to a friend or relative by a person who has returned from a trip or arrived for a visit.	n.	1933
presidentiable	A person who is a likely or confirmed candidate for president.	n.	1985
pulutan	Food or snacks provided as an accompaniment to alcoholic drinks.	n.	1962
puto	A steamed rice cake, typically eaten as a snack with butter and grated coconut or as an accompaniment to savoury dishes.	n.	1938
salvage	To apprehend and execute (a suspected criminal) without trial.	v.	1980
sari-sari store	A small neighbourhood store selling a variety of goods.	n.	1925
sinigang	In Filipino cookery: a type of soup made with meat, shrimp, or fish and flavoured with a sour ingredient such as tamarind or guava.	n.	1912
suki	A buyer or seller involved in an arrangement whereby a customer regularly purchases products or services from the same provider in exchange for favourable treatment. Also: the arrangement itself.	n.	1941

tabo	A dipper used to scoop up water from a pail or bucket while washing, traditionally made of coconut shell or bamboo but now more commonly made of plastic.	n.	1900
teleserye	A television soap opera.	n.	2000
tita	An aunt. Also used as a respectful title or form of address for an older woman.	n.	1963
tito	An uncle. Also used as a respectful title or form of address for an older man.	n.	1969
utang na loob	A sense of obligation to return a favour owed to someone.	n.	1906
yaya	A woman employed by a family to look after a child, or a sick or elderly person. Also as a familiar form of address.	n.	1973

---

The quotations illustrating the new Philippine English words in the *OED* come from a wide variety of written sources, from novels and academic journals to newspapers, magazines, and blogs. They represent the whole chronological breadth of English in the Philippines, from its widespread local use in the present day, going back to the time of its initial introduction to the islands by its American colonizers, and even beyond. The oldest Philippine item in the 2015 batch of new *OED* entries is *barangay*, which first appeared in an article about the Philippine archipelago in an 1840 edition of the American publication *Sailor's Magazine*, decades before the language even reached its shores.

Some notable examples of words that were first recorded during the earliest days of English in the Philippines are *tabo* (1900), *Aling* (1902), *estafa* (1903), *aggrupation* (1905), and *utang na loob* (1906). However, most of the *OED*'s recent Philippine additions are relatively new, with first quotations mostly dating from the middle of the 20<sup>th</sup> century up to the first decade of the 21<sup>st</sup>.

In its most recent Philippine updates, the *OED* also extended the scope of its coverage from the typical flora and fauna words to include other semantic domains relevant to Filipino life and culture: from greetings (*mabuhay*); to indigenous sports (*arnis*); to items of traditional dress (*barong* or *barong tagalog*, *baro't saya*). Philippine food and food customs are also an especially rich source of new words (*baon*, *balut*, *buko*, *buko juice*, *buko water*, *halo-halo*, *kare-kare*, *pan de sal*, *sinigang*, *leche flan*, *lechon*, *pancit*, *pulutan*, *puto*), and so are kinship terms and terms of address for both men and women (*Aling/Mang*, *ate/kuya*, *lola/lolo*, *tita/tito*, *yaya*).

Other newly added words refer to archetypal Filipino traits and values. The boundless optimism of Filipinos and their unshakeable belief that things will work out in their favor in the end is reflected in the phrase *bahala na*, and their strong community spirit in the word *bayanihan*. Their generosity and hospitality are evidenced by their fondness for giving *pasalubong*, while their loyalty and deep sense of gratitude can be seen in the importance they



place on maintaining good business relationships with their *suki*, and on repaying an *utang na loob*.

In the Philippines, where English is used primarily as a second or even third language and is therefore in constant contact with local vernaculars, borrowing is understandably the foremost mechanism of word creation. Filipinos frequently adopt words from their native languages into English to convey untranslatable local concepts such as *kilig* and *tabo*.

Most of the *OED*'s latest Philippine additions are borrowings from Tagalog, the regional language on which the Philippine national language, Filipino, is based. Another important source of loanwords for Philippine English is Spanish, the language of the foreign power that ruled over the Philippines for more than three hundred years before the arrival of the Americans. Some of the Philippine Hispanicisms that have been lately added to the *OED* are *estafa*, *leche flan*, *lechon*, and *pan de sal*. Even the Philippine English word *barkada*, which comes from the Tagalog word for a group of friends, can ultimately be traced to the Spanish word *barcada*, a boatload. *Aggrupation* is a particularly interesting example, as it is a Spanish borrowing that was absorbed directly into Philippine English without going through Tagalog first, as it is an Anglicization of the Spanish word *agrupación*.

Philippine English borrowings can also be highly productive, readily fusing with other words to create hybrid expressions that combine English and Tagalog (*balikbayan box*, *buko juice*, *buko water*, *kikay kit*, *sari-sari store*), and even English and Spanish (*despedida party*). The word *teleserye* follows the pattern of the Spanish formation *telenovela*, merging *tele-* (television) with the Tagalized Spanish word *serye* (series). This word has become so established in Filipino popular culture that it has led to the coining of similar words referring to different genres of television dramas, such as *fantaserye*, *kalyeserye*, *kiligserye*, and *santaserye*.

Although borrowing is predominant, the *OED* also ensured that its selection of new items included examples of other means by which words are created in Philippine English. There is calquing, or the direct translation of an expression in one language to another: as in saying to *go down* a vehicle in Philippine English instead of to *get off*, as a translation of the Tagalog verb *bumaba*. Filipinos also adapt an existing English word to express a local concept alien to Anglo-American culture, such as in the use of the expression *dirty kitchen* to mean, not an unclean kitchen, but one where everyday cooking is done, as opposed to a kitchen that is just for show. English speakers in the Philippines also completely change the original meaning of a word: there, a *gimmick* is a fun night out with friends, while to *salvage* is to summarily execute a suspected criminal.

Words can also be converted from one part of speech to another: in the Philippines, *high blood* can be used as an adjective (e.g., "This traffic jam is making me high blood."). Distinctive Philippine English vocabulary is also made through adding derivational affixes (e.g., *presidentiable*), creating new compounds (e.g., *batchmate*), and inventing acronyms and initialisms (e.g. *KKB*, which stands for 'kaniya-kaniyang bayad' or 'each one pays their own').

The research that *OED* editors carried out on these Philippine English words also uncovered some surprising facts about their origin. Three items that had long been considered typical of Philippine English, *carnap*, *carnapper*, and *comfort room*, turn out not to be originally from the Philippines at all, having been first attested in American publications from

the mid-20<sup>th</sup> century. Although they soon fell out of use in the United States, these words continued to be popular in the Philippines, eventually becoming characteristic features of Philippine English vocabulary.

### **Implications for ESL teaching in the Philippines**

English does not, and has never had, an official body such as a language academy to make decrees on how words should and should not be used, and it often seems that in the absence of such an institution, people look to the *OED* to set notions of what is proper and correct English. However, prescribing and proscribing certain instances of language use have never been the *OED*'s main intent, as it is an historical and completely descriptive dictionary—it describes how words are used on the basis of evidence of how people actually use them.

This being said, it remains true that the *OED*'s status and authority give it the unique ability to confer legitimacy to words and build the confidence of the people who use them. The *OED* plays a key role in the codification and institutionalization of a language or a language variety, and its current efforts to document words from Philippine English and other non-dominant English varieties serve to reinforce the long-held views of linguists that these varieties have developed, and are continuing to develop, their own separate standards, which can be considered equal to those of dominant varieties such as British and American English. It also gives speakers of these varieties the assurance that the English they use is legitimate, and helps them recognize themselves as members of a distinct language community. This in turn can lead to a change in the traditional perception of language change not as a symptom of decay, but as the expression of local identity and culture through a global lingua franca (Salazar, 2015). Each Philippine entry in the *OED* demonstrates that the development of Philippine English words follows normal patterns of lexical innovation, which occurs as a response to the same communicative needs that have motivated English speakers from anywhere in the world and from any time during its thousand-year history to continuously reinvent their vocabulary. The occurrence of distinctive Filipinisms is a sign of the health of the English language in the Philippines, not its decline.

The *OED*'s addition of new Philippine English words is also beginning to correct imbalances in the dictionary's coverage of this variety, so that it is now better able to show that lexical creation in emerging varieties of English goes beyond the adoption of exotic loanwords. Filipino users of English have contributed more to the English lexicon than just plant and animal terms: their words have been an integral part of English for centuries, and representing them properly in the *OED* is a way of recognizing their significance in the history of the language.

It is hoped that the *OED*'s championing of Philippine English vocabulary can also pave the way towards its greater acceptance in the Philippine ESL classroom. Instead of being treated with suspicion or embarrassment, the Filipinisms that have been included in the *OED* can be studied in classroom activities that explore how words evolve through time, how they reflect various aspects of Philippine society and culture, and how they serve as unique Filipino contributions to a global language. Table 2 offers three examples of such activities: the first introduces students to the concept of etymology, presents borrowing to them as a natural phenomenon in English, and familiarizes them with just a few of the many languages that have influenced Philippine English; the second asks students to translate American English words to their Philippine counterparts, thus highlighting the differing, yet equally valid forms in the two varieties; and the third relates some Philippine food words in the *OED* to the writings of

Jose Rizal, a figure students will be familiar with from their history classes, thereby placing Philippine vocabulary in a particular historical context.

Table 2  
Classroom activities using Philippine English words in the *OED*

---

**Activity 1**

The origin (or **etymology**) of a word is often given in a dictionary entry. A word's origin shows you how English has borrowed many words from several other languages. Can you match each of the following words to its origin?

- |                 |   |
|-----------------|---|
| ___1. arnis     | a. from a Spanish word meaning 'farewell'         |
| ___2. barangay  | b. from a Tagalog word meaning 'a thrill'         |
| ___3. despedida | c. from a Hokkien word meaning 'convenience food' |
| ___4. pancit    | d. from a Malay word for a type of boat           |
| ___5. kilig     | e. from a Spanish word meaning 'armor'            |

Answers: 1. e; 2. d; 3. a; 4. c; 5. b

**Activity 2**

How can you say the following American English words in Philippine English?

1. restroom \_\_\_\_\_
2. fast (as in a watch or clock) \_\_\_\_\_
3. night out \_\_\_\_\_
4. cosmetic bag \_\_\_\_\_
5. presidential candidate \_\_\_\_\_
6. soap opera \_\_\_\_\_
7. nanny \_\_\_\_\_

Answers: 1. *comfort room*; 2. *advanced*; 3. *gimmick*; 4. *kikay kit*; 5. *presidentiable*; 6. *teleserye*; 7. *yaya*

**Activity 3**

Our national hero, Jose Rizal, is a great lover of Filipino food, and he describes many of our native dishes and delicacies in his novels *Noli Me Tangere* and *El Filibusterismo*. In fact, according to the *OED*, some Philippine food words were first used in English in Charles Derbyshire's translations of Rizal's works: *The Social Cancer* (Noli) and *The Reign of Greed* (Fili). Can you identify them?

- \_\_\_1. A fertilized duck's egg boiled and eaten in the shell while still warm.
- \_\_\_2. Noodles; also any of various Filipino dishes made with noodles.
- \_\_\_3. A type of soup made with meat, shrimp, or fish and flavored with a sour ingredient such as tamarind or guava.

Can you remember any other Filipino food words that Rizal used in his novels? How would you define them if you were to add them to the *OED*?

Answers: 1. *balut*; 2. *pancit*; 3. *sinigang*. Other examples of food words in *Noli* and *Fili*: *tinola*, *puto*, *galletas*, *escabeche*, *pesa*, *pako*, *lanzones*, *atis*, *chico*, *achara*

---

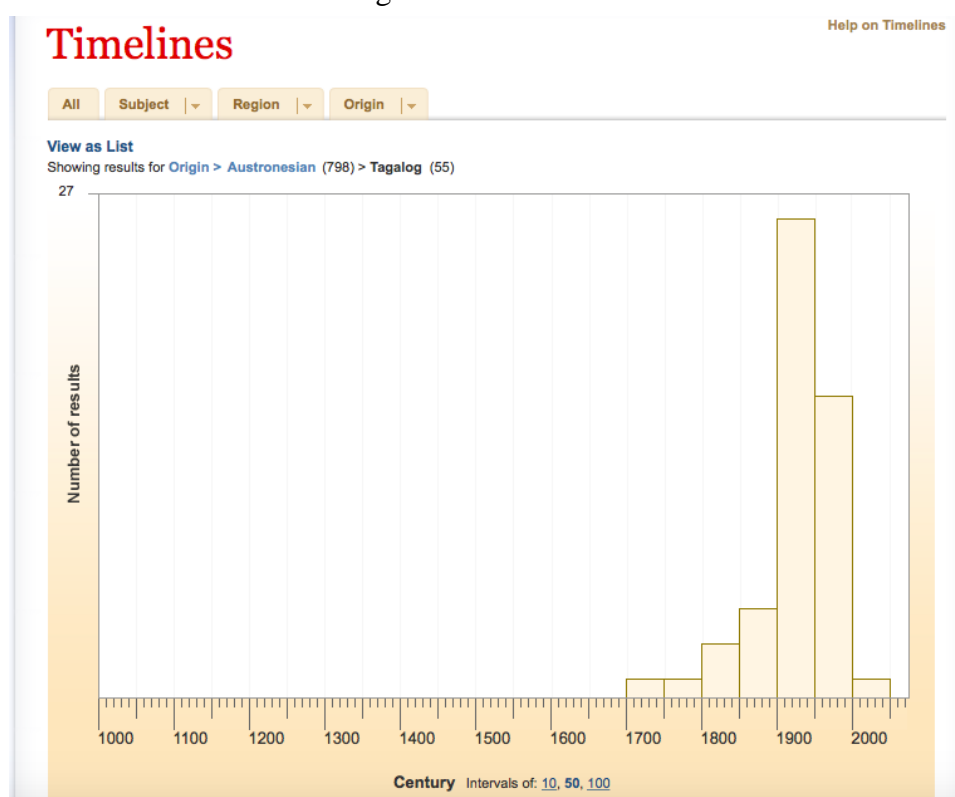
Designing activities of this type is facilitated by the fact that most of the *OED*'s new Philippine entries are freely accessible even to non-subscribers, and can be accessed via individual links on this page: <http://public.oed.com/the-oed-today/recent-updates-to-the-oed/previous-updates/june-2015-update/new-filipino-words-list/>.

One of the biggest advantages of the digitization of the *OED* is that it has freed all the words within it from the limits of the alphabetical order. Whereas before, the only way to access

*OED* content was to leaf through pages looking for a specific word in its alphabetical place in one of ten or twenty heavy books, now, there are various ways in which its users can engage with the dictionary (Simpson, 2013).

The *OED*'s Timeline feature, for instance, enables a user to generate graphs that show the number of words first recorded by the *OED* within different time periods, which can be limited by various subject, region, and origin categories. The graph in Figure 1 illustrates the patterns of borrowing from Tagalog throughout ten centuries of the history of the English language, and clearly indicates a sharp spike in loanword intake from this Philippine language in the first half of the twentieth century, coinciding with the arrival of American English in the archipelago.

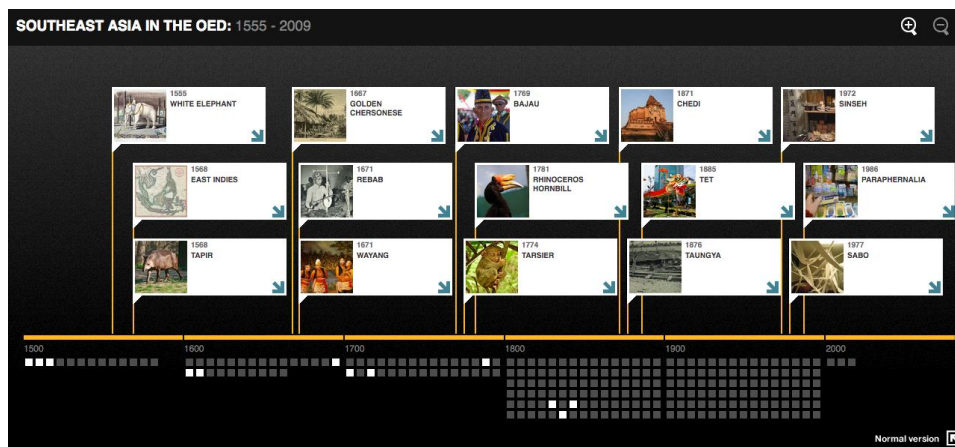
Figure 1  
Graph showing *OED* entries from Tagalog, arranged on a timeline based on their earliest recorded use in English



Hovering the cursor over any of the columns of this graph makes a small box appear that lists some of the Tagalog words which entered English in this time period, and clicking on any column takes the user to a complete list of all of the words from Tagalog which are recorded by the dictionary as entering English at this time. Simpson (2013) notes the possibilities of this method of display in schools. Students could be asked to compare the words that entered English from Tagalog in the first part of the 20<sup>th</sup> century (mostly exotic borrowings first used in English by American colonialists), and the latter part of the century (more contemporary coinages first used in English by Filipinos). They could then be asked what these different types of words tell them about the two time periods and the way that English was being used in the Philippines then.

Another novel means of access to *OED* data is the visual timeline. Figure 2 shows a screenshot of the dictionary's visual timeline for Southeast Asia (accessible via the link <http://public.oed.com/media/southeast-asia-timeline/>), which presents, through a chronologically arranged display of pictures and words, over 300 definitions and quotations from the *OED* for words and meanings that originated in Southeast Asia from 1555 to the present day. This is a dynamic, interactive feature that enables users to discover more about the influence of the Southeast Asian region on English vocabulary.

Figure 2  
*OED* Visual Timeline for Southeast Asia



## Conclusion

The recent addition of Philippine vocabulary items to the *Oxford English Dictionary* is a clear acknowledgment of its place in the history of the English language. By exploring these dictionary entries in the Philippine ESL classroom, students will be given the opportunity, not only to *learn* English words, but to *learn about* English words: how they are born, how they evolve, and how they reflect the specific historical and cultural experiences of the people who use them. Presenting their own native vocabulary as equally valid as standard American English can also do away with the deficit mentality that hinders the progress of a great number of Filipino ESL students, and help them on their way to more confident and effective communication in English.

## References

- Bolton, K., & Butler, S. (2008). Lexicography and the description of Philippine English vocabulary. In M. L. S. Bautista & K. Bolton (Eds.), *Philippine English: linguistic and literary perspectives (175–200)*. Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press.
- Low, E. L., & Hashim, A. (Eds.). (2012). *English in Southeast Asia: features, policy and language in use*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Ogilvie, S. (2012). *Words of the world: A global history of the Oxford English Dictionary*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Oxford English Dictionary*, 3rd edn. (2000—). <http://www.oed.com>. Accessed 31 March 2017.
- Price, J. (2003). The recording of vocabulary from the major varieties of English in the *Oxford English Dictionary*. In C. Mair (Ed.), *The politics of English as a world language: new horizons in postcolonial cultural studies (119–137)*. Amsterdam: Rodopi.

- Quismundo, T. (2015, June 26). 40 Filipino-coined words now in Oxford dictionary. *Philippine Daily Inquirer*. Retrieved from <http://globalnation.inquirer.net/125245/40-filipino-coined-words-now-in-oxford-dictionary>.
- Sabillo, K. A. (2016, April 15). 'Kilig,' 'teleserye' included in *Oxford English Dictionary*. *Philippine Daily Inquirer*. Retrieved from <http://globalnation.inquirer.net/138631/kilig-included-in-oxford-english-dictionary>.
- Salazar, D. (2014). Towards improved coverage of Southeast Asian Englishes in the *Oxford English Dictionary*, *Lexicography*, 1, 95-108.
- Salazar, D. (2015). The vocabulary of non-dominant varieties of English in the *Oxford English Dictionary*. In R. Muhr et al. (Eds.), *Pluricentric languages: New perspectives in theory and description* (73-88). Wien: Peter Lang.
- Simpson, J. (2000). Preface to the third edition of the *OED*. <http://public.oed.com/the-oed-today/preface-to-the-third-edition-of-the-oed>. Accessed 31 Mar 2017.
- Simpson, J. (2013). Mediums of access to the *Oxford English Dictionary*. In G. Stickel & T. Varadi (Eds.), *Lexical challenges in a multilingual Europe: Contributions to the Annual Conference 2012 of EFNIL in Budapest* (95–110). Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang.

### About the Author

**Danica Salazar** is World English Editor for the *Oxford English Dictionary*, where she researches and writes new entries, and helps shape the dictionary's policy for world varieties of English. Prior to joining Oxford University Press, she was the Mellon Postdoctoral Fellow in English Language Lexicography at the English Faculty of the University of Oxford. She holds a PhD in Applied Linguistics from the University of Barcelona, an MA in Teaching Spanish as a Foreign Language from the University of Salamanca and a BA in European Languages (Spanish and French) from the University of the Philippines-Diliman. She publishes and lectures regularly on lexicography, phraseology, World Englishes and Spanish- and English-language teaching. Dr. Salazar is the author of *Lexical Bundles in Native and Non-native Scientific Writing* (2014) and co-editor of *Biomedical English: A Corpus-based Approach* (2013).



## **The Americanisation of Philippine English: Recent diachronic change in spelling and lexis**

Robert Fuchs

Hong Kong Baptist University, Hong Kong SAR, China

### **Abstract**

Philippine English is one of the few postcolonial varieties of English mainly influenced by American (and not British) English from its inception. Previous research on recent diachronic change indicates that this influence continues. Philippine English followed some of the recent syntactic change going on in American English, although some variables also indicate an emergence of properly Philippine norms (i.e. endonormativity). The present study extends this research by analysing change in lexis and spelling in two parallel corpora from the 1960s and 1990s. Results indicate that, despite the early American influence on Philippine English, it still followed British norms in a substantial minority of cases in the 1960s. By the 1990s, these remnants of British influence have almost wholly been replaced by an adherence to American norms. The results can be accounted for by the retreat of British influence in the world and an increase in American influence during this period. Finally, and more broadly, the article discusses the notion of Americanisation and how it can be traced and accounted for. In particular, it argues that spelling is particularly useful as a variable to measure degrees of Americanisation.

*Keywords: Philippine English; Americanisation; lexis; spelling; 1960s; 1990s; American English; British English*

### **Introduction**

With the rise of the United States of America as a major world power in the middle of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, American English (AmE) gained in prestige and increasingly influenced other varieties of English. This led to the spread of phonological patterns such as the realisation of post-vocalic (or, to be exact, coda) [r] in words such as *car*, where it would not be realised in British English (BrE) (see e.g. Hiang & Gupta, 1992; Tan, 2016). American influence has also been found for recent diachronic change in syntax, where differences are mostly a question of preference, or, in other words, frequency. A decline in the frequency of the Present Perfect, for example, has been attributed to the influence of AmE (Fuchs, 2016a; Yao & Collins, 2012). Unlike most national varieties of English, which arose in the context of

---

Corresponding Author: Robert Fuchs  
Affiliation: Hong Kong Baptist University, Hong Kong SAR, China  
Email: rfuchs@hkbu.edu.hk

British colonialism, Philippine English (PhiE) has never been under any major influence from BrE. In fact, the Philippines were under American dominance in the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, and were thus influenced by AmE. To be sure, several studies have provided evidence of this American influence on PhiE syntax, where it is present to a much greater degree than in other varieties of English spoken in Asia (Alonsagay & Nolasco, 2010; Borlongan & Lim, 2012; Collins, 2016; Collins et al., 2014a; 2014b; 2014c; Schneider, 2011). However, contrasts between British and American norms can also be found in spelling and lexis, as in *flavour* vs. *flavor*, and *truck* vs. *lorry*. These phenomena have received much less attention in the study of PhiE, and it is the aim of the present study to contribute towards filling this gap.

### **The Americanisation of English around the World**

Varieties of English spoken around the world increasingly orient themselves towards AmE (Mair, 2013; Modiano, 1999). Previous studies of a range of varieties have provided evidence of the adoption of (perceived) American characteristics in lexis and spelling (Awonusi, 1994; Baker, 2009; Hänsel & Deuber, 2013; Meyerhoff & Niedzielski, 2003), syntax (Collins et al., 2014a; 2014b; 2014c; Davydova, 2016; Depraetere, 2003; Hackert, 2015) and phonology (Awonusi, 1994; Hansen Edwards, 2016), especially post-vocalic [r] (Hiang & Gupta, 1992; Tan, 2016). This is probably due to the international prestige that AmE enjoys. Speakers and writers that adopt features of AmE might be trying, consciously or unconsciously, to present themselves as modern, cosmopolitan and educated. However, this is not uncontroversial in local speech communities. In my own research on the phonology of Indian English (IndE), for example, a recurrent language ideological discourse that respondents engaged in was the alleged adoption of an American accent by parts of the IndE speech community. To outsiders, the supposedly Americanised speakers would have been clearly identifiable as Indian in their speech, even as some aspect of their pronunciation appeared to be American (Fuchs, 2015; Fuchs, 2016b). Conversely, linguistic features that, to outsiders, are identifiable as American, need not always be perceived as such by speakers. As Meyerhoff & Niedzielski (2003) argue, they may at times simply be perceived as another way of expressing oneself. Like much language change, conscious choice and knowledge of the origin of features is no precondition to Americanisation, and the perception of a linguistic feature as modern and cosmopolitan may well have arisen in the first place due to its initial association with AmE. While this association may have receded over time, the perception of the feature as modern may have persisted, leading to Americanisation without a conscious desire to sound American.

There is thus ample evidence from a range of varieties of English around the world becoming more like AmE, although this might not always be welcomed by all speakers. PhiE, however, would appear to be a special case, as one of the few varieties that drew its major input during its foundation phase from AmE. In 1898, the United States of America took control of the Philippines and only relinquished it in 1946 (Collins et al., 2014c). Given this initial influence of AmE over PhiE, is it meaningful, in any sense of the term, to speak of its subsequent Americanisation?

Before addressing this question, which is the overall aim of the present study, it will be useful to consider more closely how degrees of Americanisation can be ascertained. To call a particular linguistic variant *American* or *British* is of course a generalisation and simplification, given the fact that there is considerable variation in BrE and AmE, too. Even in BrE, stereotypically American spelling and lexis is not absent, and the same is true for British spelling and lexis in AmE. In the realm of phonology, too, things are more complex, in that not all speakers of AmE realise coda [r] in words like *car* (though most of them do) and some speakers of BrE do realise it (though varieties recognised as the standard, i.e. Received Pronunciation and Standard Southern British English, do not realise it). Moreover, in some cases the American variant is not actually more frequent in AmE than the British variant, as is the case for *film*, which is the more frequent variant in both varieties (Sedlatschek, 2009: 344). However, the fact that *movie* is relatively more frequent in AmE compared to BrE makes it meaningful to say that it is an American lexical variant. More generally, the micro perspective that is taken when a linguistic feature and its distribution is studied more closely should not completely eclipse the bird's eye view, from which variants are identifiable as either American or British. It is this perspective that the present article takes.

Of the ways that Americanisation and Britishisation can be studied, variation in spelling arguably has advantages over syntactic, lexical and phonological variation and should be a greater focus of research. Spelling as a variable is easier to operationalise than syntactic variables and less socially meaningful than phonological variation, making it easier to distinguish social from geographic factors. Spelling is also non-functional and largely arbitrary, unlike syntactic and lexical variation. A potential disadvantage is that spelling may be subject to editorial policy (which might interfere with the writer's choices), and perhaps to a greater degree than syntactic variables.

### **Americanisation, Philippine English, and Recent Diachronic Change**

At first glance it might appear that there can be no question of any Americanisation of PhiE, in so far as its superstrate was AmE – not BrE, as for most varieties of English. However, there are at least two ways in which the term might be usefully applied in an analysis of the development of PhiE:

- AmE itself is constantly undergoing change (as all languages and dialects do). As it continues to develop, PhiE might follow some of these changes.
- At the time of the foundation of PhiE, it was in all likelihood not an exact copy of AmE, but was also influenced by other factors: transfer from local languages such as Tagalog, the context of transmission of the English language (acquisition of English often in formal contexts), and other factors. PhiE was thus likely different from AmE from the outset, which means that it could have subsequently become more similar to AmE.

Several corpus studies have shown that PhiE, as would be expected from its history, is overall closer to AmE than to BrE in its syntax and morphology. Schneider (2011) reports that PhiE, like AmE, has a strong tendency to use the subjunctive. This sets the two varieties apart from BrE, AusE and IndE. Borlongan & Lim (2012) found PhiE to follow the AmE pattern in

cases where there is variation between a regular and an irregular past tense and participle. PhiE and AmE show a greater preference for regular forms, compared to BrE, AusE, NZE, IndE and HKE. The exception to this pattern is the verb *prove*, whose irregular participle *proven* is more prevalent in AmE and PhiE, but rarely used in the other varieties. The primary factor explaining PhiE preferences for regular vs. irregular past tense forms would thus appear to be a tendency to follow AmE usage rather than a preference for regular patterns. Moreover, research on recent diachronic change on relativisers (e.g. *which* and *that*; Collins et al., 2014c) suggests that PhiE has in the last decades become much more similar to AmE in this area of grammar.

Even as PhiE is in many respects similar to AmE, there are also aspects in which it neither emulates AmE nor BrE, but follows its own emerging norms (so-called endonormativity, as opposed to the reliance on outside norms, or exonormativity). Collins et al. (2014a; 2014b) and Collins (2016) trace a number of endonormative patterns in the recent development of the PhiE modal system and the use of the subjunctive, at the same time as they identify aspects in which PhiE has followed recent diachronic change previously described for AmE. Bautista (2009) and Borlongan & Lim (2012) similarly find both exo- and endonormative trends in the diachronic development of HAVE-negation, case marking of wh-pronouns and indefinite pronouns ending in *-body* and *-one* over the same time period.

A further aspect in which PhiE is not similar to AmE is the use of the progressive passive, where it is closer to BrE (Hundt, 2009). Another case in point is the use of the s-genitive compared to the of-genitive (as in *Bob's friend* vs. *the entrance of the house*). In the context of an ongoing diachronic change away from the s-genitive, previously documented for BrE and AmE, PhiE is slightly more conservative than BrE, which in turn is more conservative than AmE (Borlongan & Lim, 2012: 31). One explanation for patterns where PhiE does not follow AmE might be a tendency to prefer prescriptive or formal variants, as Bautista (2009) argues, as well as the retention of features that have decreased in frequency in the colonial parent variety, a process known as colonial lag. An increasing endonormativity is also indirectly supported by evidence of more and more positive attitudes towards PhiE among young Filipinos (Borlongan, 2009).

Finally, much of the existing research on linguistic Americanisation has focussed on varieties of English that were in their early stages influenced by British English. Partly this is due to the fact that most of these varieties went through their foundation period when British power in the world reigned supreme and American power did not. However, research by Krug et al. (2016) shows that while varieties with a previous British orientation may adopt some American lexical variants (Maltese English in their study), varieties with a previous American orientation (Puerto Rican English in their study) may adopt some British lexical variants. The authors interpret this loosening of adherence to the norms of the regionally dominant variety as a sign of linguistic globalisation. Thus, it is conceivable that contrary to previous research showing some syntactic variables shifting closer towards American norms in Philippine English, at least a limited number of lexical variants may have shifted towards British norms.

In summary, previous studies suggest that PhiE is in many respects similar to AmE. Where it is not, this is often interpreted as evidence of the establishment of its own norms, which might ultimately go back to a greater preference for formal and prescriptively sanctioned variants. However, traces of BrE influence have, to the best of the author's knowledge, not been documented so far. Such traces would seem likely, however, given that BrE arguably enjoyed greater international prestige than AmE at the time PhiE was founded, i.e. the turn of the 19<sup>th</sup> to the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Just as AmE, with its great international prestige, today influences varieties to which it had no colonial links, BrE might have influenced PhiE even in the absence of a direct relationship between the UK and the Philippines. Unlike previous studies, which focused on the Americanisation and Americanness of PhiE in terms of syntax and morphology, the present paper takes a closer look at lexis and spelling, under the assumption that the putative early influence of BrE might have been most likely to surface in this area, of which speakers and writers are often more conscious than of grammatical differences. While this topic has been studied for Kenyan, Singapore, Trinidadian (Hänsel & Deuber, 2013) and Nigerian English (Awonusi, 1994), it has, to my knowledge, not been explored for PhiE.

In order to test this hypothesis of traces of BrE spelling and lexis, historical data on PhiE is required. As is often the case in historical linguistics, such data is scarce. Borlongan took a first, very promising step, with the compilation of Phil-Brown, a corpus that represents early 1960s PhiE and is parallel to the AmE Brown corpus of the same time period. In conjunction with the Philippine component of the International Corpus of English (ICE-PHI), with material from the early 1990s, it enables researchers to trace short term diachronic change in this variety. Several of the studies cited above have explored this perspective (Borlongan & Lim, 2012; Borlongan & Dita, 2015; Collins et al., 2014a; 2014b; 2014c). Given that Phil-Brown and ICE-PHI were designed to mirror two different corpora, they are not identical in composition. Considering the influence that register plays in linguistic variation (see e.g. Fuchs & Gut, 2016; Leech et al., 2009), it seems preferable to compare only those parts of the two corpora that comprise identical registers, at the price of discarding the remaining material in the corpora, and thus reducing the size of the empirical basis of the study. Another caveat is that above and beyond a comparison of 1960s and 1990s PhiE, tracing diachronic development throughout the whole of the 20<sup>th</sup> century and beyond would be of interest, but at present no such resources exist.<sup>1</sup>

Finally, a note on the nature of the differences investigated here is in order. In the interest of brevity, the discussion below sometimes refers to a particular item as following a British or American spelling (or lexical) convention. It needs to be kept in mind that, like the syntactic differences discussed above, these are mostly differences in frequency and not clear-cut in the sense that a particular spelling convention is followed at all times in one variety or the other.

---

<sup>1</sup> At the time of writing, Ariane Borlongan (p.c.) is compiling a corpus of 1930s PhiE, so that data on the pre-1960s period will soon be available. For the post-1990s period, the Philippine section of the Corpus of Global Web-Based English, with data from the early 2010s (GloWbE, Davies & Fuchs, 2015), would conceivably be useful. However, this corpus is not split into registers as ICE-PHI and Phil-Brown are, so that it would be difficult to distinguish register differences from diachronic change.

In fact (and as briefly mentioned above), in some cases the ‘British’ variant may be in the minority in both BrE and AmE. However, because it is relatively more frequent in BrE than in AmE, it may be considered a British variant, and may also be perceived by speakers and writers as such. Cases in point are, for example, the alternation of the of- and s-genitive, discussed above, the alternation of the present perfect and simple past (Fuchs, 2016a; Yao & Collins, 2012), and British *lad* vs. American *guy*, discussed below.

### Methods

The two corpora used in this study are not exactly parallel – for example, ICE-PHI contains both spoken and written material, while Phil-Brown has only written data. The written registers contained in the two corpora that are comparable contain press, academic and creative writing. This is the data that the present study relies on, following the precedent set by Collins et al. (2014b, 2014c). Table 1 below provides an overview of the relevant sections of the corpora and the number of words they contain. Unfortunately, words for which the spelling and lexical conventions discussed here are relevant are too infrequent (or the corpora too small) to investigate register differences.

Both corpora were automatically annotated for parts-of-speech with the CLAWS6 tagset, which proved to be useful for some of the queries. In total, 17 cases of lexical variation (e.g. *lorry/truck*, *film/movie*) and 11 types of spelling variation (e.g. *-ise/-ize* in verbs, *-isation/-ization* in nouns) were studied (see the Appendix for a complete list and the results of the corpus queries). The items that were queried are taken from, among others, Awonusi (1994) and Hänsel & Deuber (2013). However, a considerable number of the items listed in these works were not found in the corpora at all, so that they were excluded from the analysis.

Where appropriate, all possible parts of speech (e.g. *favour* as noun and verb) as well as inflected verb forms and plurals of nouns were considered in the analysis. Unwanted occurrences were excluded manually. This concerned, for example, homophones (such as *film* in (1) below not referring to a motion picture, but the medium used in photography) and words with invariant spelling (such as *promise* in (2), where *-ise* is not a suffix and thus not subject to the *-ise/-ize* spelling alternation).

- (1) If these stems or leaves are dried and then pressed against photographic **film** and in the dark for a few days the **film** upon development will show all the parts of the stem or leaves that actually got the radioactive phosphorus. Phil-Brown J27
- (2) At one time he **promised** her the world thorough thick or thin for better or for worse in life or in death Phil-Brown A14

In the presentation of the results, the relative frequency of British relative to American variants is expressed as the percentage of British variants relative to all occurrences of the variable (e.g. 10 occurrences of *lorry* and 20 of *truck* yield a frequency of 33% for the British variant). Statistical tests were applied using the log-likelihood (G2) statistic, but low numbers resulted in non-significant results in most cases. The following section thus refers to the results



of statistical tests only where differences are significant, and the implications of the absence of statistical significance for most of the individual items are discussed further below. Finally, whenever a variable is referred to, the British variant will be used to denote that variable (e.g. ‘the spelling of *dialogue*’). When both variants are mentioned, the British variant will be named first, e.g. *dialogue/dialog*.

Table 1

Corpora used in this study and number of words.

	<u>Phil-Brown</u> <u>(1960s)</u>		<u>ICE-PHI</u> <u>(1990s)</u>	
Register	Sections	Words	Sections	Words
Press	A, B, C	139,570	W2C, W2E	87,221
Learned	J	259,360	W2A	114,057
Fiction	K, N, P	177,950	W2F	64,884
	Total	576,880	Total	266,162

## Results

### *-ise/-ize and -isation/-ization*

Many verbs ending in *-ise/-ize* tend to be spelled with *s* in BrE and with *z* in AmE, and this is also true for nouns in *-isation/-ization* derived from them. The situation is complicated somewhat by two considerations:

- (1) Some verbs, such as *arise*, are spelled with *-ise* in both varieties, usually because *-ise* is not a suffix in these words. These were excluded from the analysis.
- (2) For verbs and nouns where there is variation, the so-called Oxford spelling predicates spelling with *-ize*, so that there is some degree of variation in BrE, although *-ise* is overall more frequent. In any case, it is probably fair to say that *-ise* is internationally perceived as British, and *-ize* as American spelling, which might well be more important in terms of influence on other varieties.

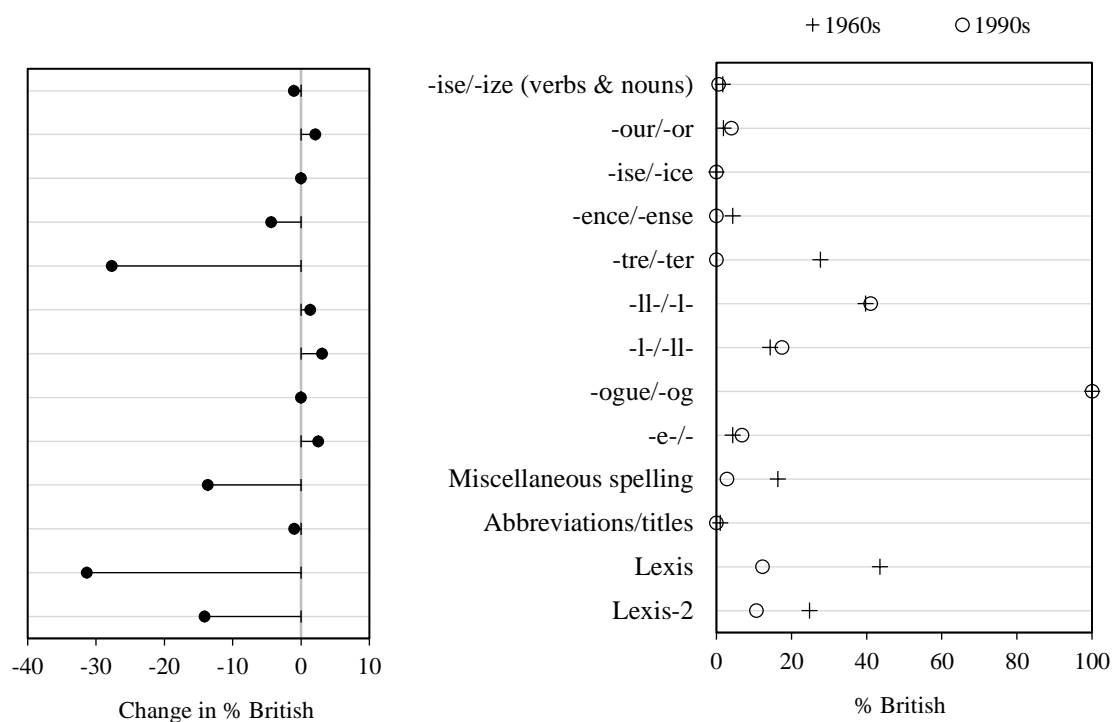
The corpus data shows that *-ize* and *-ization* are overwhelmingly preferred in PhiE such that the British variant is vanishingly rare. In the 1960s data, only three verb and five noun tokens (or 1.6%) are to be found with British spelling, and in the 1990s data this number falls to two verb and zero noun tokens (or 0.6%; see Fig. 1 for an illustration of the data of this and all following spelling and lexical variants). One example in the 1960s data using the *-ise*

spelling is from a legal context (3), where there is a tendency to use formal and sometimes archaic language. Note that in the same example, the spelling of *practise* follows the American convention, to be discussed below. Interestingly, one of the two examples in the 1990s data (example 4) involves the same verb as in the 1960s example, albeit in a more down-to-earth context, an editorial.

- (3) A person shall be deemed to be **practicing** mechanical engineering [...] who shall in connection with his name or otherwise use, assume or **advertise** any title or description tending to convey the impression that he is a professional mechanical engineer Phil-Bown J54
- (4) Everybody knows Lakas has never **advertised** leading a virtuous life as a qualification for party membership. ICE-PHI W2E-032#31:2

Figure 1

Relative frequency (%British variants) of all lexical and spelling variants in 1960s and 1990s PhiE<sup>2</sup>



### *-ise/-ice and -ence/-ense*

Further variations in spelling involving sibilants are *-ise/-ice* and *-ence/-ense* in nouns. For the former, not a single example of the British *-ise* spelling was found, although there was a non-negligible number in total – 33 in the 1960s and 14 in the 1990s corpus (the ‘British’ *-ise*

<sup>2</sup> This chart was created using a template provided by Sönning (2016).

spelling might, however, be rare or archaic in contemporary BrE, too). For the latter, the analysis revealed a small number of British *-ence* spellings in the 1960s (3 vs. 66, i.e. 4.3%; see examples 5 and 6) and none in the 1990s, against 20 instances of *-ense*.

- (5) The president should be commended for viewing this case in its right perspective and for taking action which some people may consider too severe for the **offence** committed. Phil-Brown B2
- (6) Rodrigo charged Hernaez with a gross misrepresentation by stating [...] that the secretary of justice had penned an opinion purportedly upholding the questioned barter **licence**. Phil-Brown C28

### ***-our/or***

The alternate *-our/or* spelling occurs with a number of nouns and verbs, with BrE preferring the spelling with an additional *u*. In the 1960s data, six of the seven words occur at least once with the British spelling, but altogether only in nine instances, or 1.8% of the time. The 1990s data has five tokens or 4.0% with the British spelling, but these occur in just two words, *behaviour* and *honour*, and in only three texts, all from academic writing, as in example 7.

- (7) Predatory feeding **behaviour** in many zooplanktonic species of both freshwater and marine habitats is a complex system which requires a more detailed study to elucidate its intricacies (Kerfoot, 1980; Price, 1988; Ohman, 1988; Gliwicz & Pijanowska, 1989). ICE-PHI:W2A-025#10:1

### ***-ogue/-og***

A number of words ending in *-ogue* in British spelling tend towards the more phonetic spelling with *-og* in the American tradition. Words of this class occur 13 times in the 1960s data and only 4 times in the 1990s data, but exclusively with the British spelling, as in the example below (also note the British spelling of *colour* in the same passage).

- (8) Cy Endfield, who also directs, is adept at filling the large Technirama screen with **colour** and motion and the story has the ring of truth in spite of occasionally ineffective [sic] **dialogue**. Phil-Brown C23

### ***-tre/-ter***

Some nouns commonly spelled with *-tre* in BrE frequently end in *-ter* in AmE. The analysis here focuses on *theatre* and *metre* (and derived terms). In the 1960s, these words followed British spelling 27.7% of the time, but this was almost exclusively due to close to half of the instances of *theatre* following British spelling (see examples 9 and 10 below). In the 1990s corpus, this word occurred only once, and followed American spelling, as did all the instances of *metre* and derived words (see example 11 below). In other words, the seeming decline of British spelling in this class of words might be due to lexical preferences that are not generalisable to the whole class.

- (9) It is Marin's contention that as a person starting out as an actor would do better to attend the motion picture **theatre** and observe how first-rate performers obtain their effects. Phil-Brown C20
- (10) It had representatives of the world press holding their sides as they watched from their underwater **theater** vantage point 16 feet below the surface. Phil-Brown C15
- (11) From the standpoint of economics, an in-place analysis of the different material and specification combination for ceiling and partitions shows that a savings ranging from 59.81 to 97.97 pesos per square **meter** and 172.63 and 253.48 pesos for ceiling and partitions, respectively, can be obtained utilizing the TCM as substitute material for plywood, as shown in Tables 6 and 7. ICE-PHI:W2A-031#63:1

### **Double and single l**

There is one class of words spelled with double *l* in British and single *l* in American spelling, and another class with the opposite pattern. The first class involves words such as *travelling*, *traveller*, *cancelling*, *counselling* and *labelling*. For these words, the data shows hardly any change, with 39.7% in the 1960s and 41.0% in the 1990s data following the British spelling with double *l*. Example 12 illustrates the British spelling of *travelling* in the 1960s data (note the American lexical variant *highway* in the same extract), while the next example illustrates the use of the same word with American spelling. 14 is an instance of the use of British spelling in the 1990s data.

- (12) The minimum sight distance is the safe stopping distance of a vehicle **travelling** at the assumed design speed of the **highway**. Phil-Brown J52
- (13) From Binang a road branched out towards the southwest of Balayan Bay at Batangas **traveling** to the south shore of the Batangas Bay. Phil-Brown J51
- (14) Gonzalez uses this motif as frame for narration of his experiences as a Filipino writer in English, literally and figuratively **travelling** in foreign lands, seeking his way home. ICE-PHI:W2A-006#8:1

Words of the second class, with single *l* in British and double *l* in American spelling, include *fulfil*, *appal* and *instil*. Of these, 14.3% follow the British pattern in the 1960s data (3 vs. 18) and 17.4% in the 1990s data (4 vs. 19). Example 15 shows the use of British spelling in a 1960s newspaper article with the verb *fulfil*, while 16 shows the same with the verb *enrol* in the 1990s data. The latter is in fact the only word in this class that occurs with British spelling in the later dataset at all. American spelling, as in 17, occurs in a larger number of word types.

- (15) Victor Borge, the Danish-born American musician-comedian, is expected to arrive tomorrow afternoon from Bangkok via Swissair to **fulfil** an engagement at the Philamlife Auditorium. Phil-Brown C3
- (16) Gonzalez said parents who failed to **enrol** their children yesterday can still do so during the opening of classes in June. ICE-PHI:W2C-011#18:1
- (17) For her, America began to wear a more kindly face, and she thought that America might **fulfill** her dreams after all. ICE-PHI:W2F-019#59:1

### Retention or elision of *e*

The last systematic spelling difference to be discussed involves a number of words that retain medial *e* in British spelling in cases where it is elided according to the American convention. Examples include *ageing*, *routeing* and *likeable*. Overall, the British pattern is very rare and occurs only 3 times each in both corpora, which amounts to a relative frequency of 4.3 and 6.8%, in the 1960s and 1990s data, respectively. Examples 18 and 19, both from academic writing in the 1990s data, illustrate American and British spelling, without and with medial *e*, respectively.

- (18) After at least 6 months in storage (**aging**), they were dehulled by a Satake TH-35A dehuller, milled by a McGill miller No. 2, and then stored at -20 C. ICE-PHI:W2A-039#35:1
- (19) Ana, the only female human in this play, is not a very **likeable** character as compared with the wise grandfather or her idealistic son. ICE-PHI:W2A-002#66:1

### Miscellaneous spelling differences

This category includes the following items: The Latin-derived term for a relative frequency to the base 100 tends to be spelled with a space (*per cent*) in BrE but without one in AmE (*percent*). The Philippine corpora unanimously follow the latter, as in example 20 from the 1960s. This is one of the more reliable results for a single item in this study, as the analysis found 21 tokens in the earlier and 122 tokens in the later corpus.

The term for the colour *grey/gray* follows the British convention (*grey*) in less than one third of all cases, i.e. 28.1% in the 1960s (9 vs. 23 tokens) and 19.0% in the 1990s data (4 vs. 17 tokens). Example 21 exemplifies the British spelling in an extract from a piece of creative writing from the 1960s, and example 22 shows the same word with American spelling, once again in creative writing, from the 1990s. Finally, the items *cosy/cozy* and *mum/mom* occur very rarely in the data. The former was found only once, with American spelling (*cozy*), and the latter two times each in the 1960s and 1990s data with American spelling (*mom*). Taken together, there is a substantial decrease over time in the ratio of British spelling from 16.4% to 2.7% for this group of miscellaneous spelling differences.

- (20) For instance that it may have operational funds the members put into the union fixed deposit earning 8 **percent** annum which normally can not be withdrawn as long as the depositor is a member. Phil-Brown A13
- (21) In the first place I said I am not too old to start all over again. I can do almost anything if I wanted to or if I were properly inspired. I may have a few **grey** hairs but that is because I think too much and too deeply. Phil-Brown K42
- (22) She could sit down on the battered **gray** couch, but standing is her custom. ICE-PHI:W2F-006#198:1

### Abbreviated titles with and without period

A typographical convention that differs between British and American English is the addition of a period after an abbreviated title in American, but not in British spelling (Cambridge Dictionary 2017, Merriam-Webster Dictionary 2017). Abbreviated titles are relatively plentiful in the two corpora. Of the more than 400 tokens in the 1960s data, 1.0%, or 4 tokens, follow the British convention and are not followed by a period, while all of the 136 tokens in the 1990s data are followed by one (note that the corpus query allowed for an optional intervening space between title and period). Thus, this typographical convention, already rare at the earlier timepoint, seems to have declined in frequency even further. Examples 23 and 24 demonstrate the British convention, without following periods, while examples 25 and 26 show the American pattern, with following period – the former from the 1960s and the latter from the 1990s.

- (23) At first there had been only Nana Emilia and **Mr** Angeles to see the mat spread.  
Phil-Brown K18
- (24) With me it was **Mrs** Riesgo for indeed it was she who kept me under the illusion ?  
partly self-induced yes but created by her in the first place ? that I should make a good  
doctor. Phil-Brown K17
- (25) Haven't you heard of **Dr.** Elizabeth Ruth Lagerkvist Hayden? Phil-Brown K25
- (26) **Mr.** Estrada also moved to bring down the monthly amortization for socialized  
housing units by ordering that additional amortization support be given through the  
Abot Kaya Pabahay Program. ICE-PHI:W2C-013#103:3



## Lexical differences

The analysis also comprised 16 pairs of synonyms, where in each case (at least) one is preferred in BrE and one in AmE. For many concepts, only the American variants occurred in the data. None of the texts talks about *lorries*, only *trucks*, which drive exclusively on *express-* and *freeways*, not *motorways*, and are left in *parking lots*, not *car parks*. There is no mention of *rubbish*, only *garbage* and *trash*, and people use only *toilets*, not *restrooms*.

In some cases, both British and American items occur in the corpora. For example, at the earlier timepoint as many *films* as *movies* are mentioned (examples 27 and 28), but in the later period only *movies* remain – possibly due to the fact that the later corpus contains very few tokens referring to this concept, while there is a large number of tokens in the earlier corpus. Similarly, while in the 1960s a young male person was referred to more often as a *lad* (BrE) than as a *guy* (AmE) – as in examples 29 and 30 - in the 1990s data only *guys* remain (however, already in the 1960s data, most of the *lad* instances occur in a single text). There is also mention of both *solicitors* and *lawyers* (see example 31) in the data, but, where it occurs, the British *solicitor* in fact occurs in the title *Solicitor General* (see example 32) – clearly a special case, as it is a common law term that continues to be in use in the United States. In one case, the British term is preferred, as only *curtains*, no *drapes* occur in the data, as in example 33.

- (27) The short **film** depicts Filipino customers and traditions and such local practices as amabgan and vanihan. Phil-Brown A11
- (28) My brother had always behaved and didn't ask for privileges even when he became a **movie** actor. Phil-Brown A5
- (29) The **lad** himself was a sullen-looking creature. Phil-Brown K10
- (30) One look at Eddie Rodriguez and one decides that here is a **guy** who possesses a keen sense of responsibility. Phil-Brown A7
- (31) A TODAY source disclosed that the NBI anti-graft and corruption team led by **lawyer** Rickson Chiong released Friday night its finding on the authenticity of the signatures of three memoranda allegedly signed by Cuneta. ICE-PHI:W2C-018#68:3
- (32) THE GOVERNMENT has such “overwhelming” evidence against the Marcoses that it now expects to obtain a judgment of forfeiture against them within the year, **Solicitor** General Ricardo Galvez yesterday said. ICE-PHI:W2C-002#76:3
- (33) Freshly laundered **curtains** were left half-hung, and clotheslines shuddered from frantic tugs of those whose fiesta best had to be secured before scampering off to the church, leaving an occasional cat yawning on the sill. ICE-PHI:W2F-002#11:1

Considering all 16 pairs together, the data indicate a decrease in the frequency of the British variants from 43.5% to 12.2%, a highly significant difference ( $p < 0.001$ ). Given that some of the lexical pairs are underrepresented compared to the most frequent items, it will be useful to add a second statistic, where the two most frequent pairs (*film/movie*, *solicitor/lawyer*) are removed (indicated in Fig. 1 as ‘Lexis-2’, i.e. ‘Lexis minus 2’). The decrease is then much smaller, from 24.7 to 10.6%, but still substantial and one of the few statistically significant diachronic trends in the data ( $p < 0.05$ ).

## Overall trend

Although the differences observed for most of the categories were not significant, an analysis of the data in its totality shows a substantial shift towards greater uniformity in the use of American variants. While in the 1960s data, 14.7% of all observed instances followed British patterns, in the 1990s only 5.0% did, a highly significant difference ( $p < 0.001$ ).

## Discussion

This study set out to investigate whether PhiE has become more American in its lexis and spelling over the last decades. Two corpora containing written language from the early 1960s and early 1990s, respectively, were analysed. The results showed first of all that there is considerable variation in preferences for British vs. American variants. At the extreme ends, we find, on the one hand, nouns ending in *-ogue/-og* (such as *dialogue*), where at both timepoints exclusively British forms were used. On the other hand, verbs and nouns in *-ise/-ize* (such as *advertise*) were found almost only with American spelling. However, apart from such extreme cases, several categories showed a moderate, and some a substantial, shift towards American variants. This is the case for nouns ending in *-tre/ter* (such as *theatre*), the miscellaneous spelling category and lexical variants. Other categories showed a more moderate decline or a small increase in the proportion of British forms. However, there were no cases of a substantial increase in the proportion of British variants for any of the categories analysed.

The result that there is considerable variation in PhiE in the use of what, for the sake of simplicity, was called here British and American variants, cannot surprise, given the fact that there is considerable variation in BrE and AmE, too. It would be interesting to compare the PhiE results in more detail with parallel data from the Brown family of corpora for BrE and AmE, but such studies unfortunately do not seem to be available to date.

What the results show, nevertheless, is an overall decline in the use of British spelling and lexis in PhiE. Due to the limited amount of data, a generalisation of the findings for specific classes of words needs to be treated with a lot of caution in most cases. This is also indicated by the absence of significant differences for most of them. It would furthermore seem to be an exaggeration to claim that certain spellings (e.g. *-ise* for nouns) are absent from PhiE - Absence of evidence is not evidence of absence, which is important to consider in those cases where no single token with British spelling was found.

Caution should also be applied because spelling differences may sometimes not be accurately represented during corpus compilation. (And I write these words with all respect for the feats accomplished by the compilers of the two corpora. Having myself been involved in corpus compilation projects, I sadly know that errors during compilation can, at best, be reduced in number, but hardly completely eliminated.) Given that all the spellings analysed here are considered legitimate in one variety of English or another, an erroneous transcription, in the sense of a difference between the spelling in the original and in the corpus file, might be less likely to be recognised by the compilers of the corpora. While this observation calls for

caution in the interpretation of the spelling of any given token in a corpus, the analysis of larger numbers of tokens from various types of spelling differences, as in the present study, hugely mitigates these problems and allows more reliable conclusions.

Keeping these caveats in mind, what the data in its totality indicates is a shift towards greater homogeneity in the use of American lexis and spelling, to the detriment of British variants. Most of the categories considered here witnessed a relative decline in the proportion of British variants, or completely followed the American pattern to begin with. This trend needs to be interpreted within the context of the already considerable preference for American conventions in the 1960s. The likely reason is the decline in British soft and hard power in the world over these thirty years, the simultaneous rise in power of the United States, and the implications this likely had for the international prestige associated with AmE and BrE. Consequently, the present article adds evidence from spelling and lexis to previous findings on recent change in the syntax of PhiE (Bautista, 2009; Borlongan & Lim, 2012; Collins et al., 2014a; 2014b; 2014c), showing, with real-time data, a diachronic shift from mostly American norms with the use of British variants in a substantial number of cases towards stricter adherence to American norms. This finding confirms Mair's (2013) claim of the global dominance of AmE, surpassing that of BrE and other varieties. The results also indicate that lexical change in the late 20<sup>th</sup> century, in particular, appears to have been more substantial in PhiE than in L1 varieties of English, as revealed by Ruetten et al.'s (2016) analysis of the Brown family of corpora of BrE and AmE (though admittedly the lexical items analysed in the two studies are not identical). Perhaps lexical change is generally more pronounced in L2 varieties such as PhiE compared to L1 varieties, which is a question that future research should investigate with diachronic corpora of other L2 varieties.

Apart from an increase in the prestige of AmE, an additional factor influencing spelling conventions could be the use of computer-based word processing software with spell-checking facilities. While this perhaps did not yet play a role (or in any case a limited one) for the material included in ICE-PHI, it is likely that printed material at later time points could be affected. A point in case is that, as the author is writing the present article (having set the language to 'British English'), he finds the spell-checking and autocorrect function interfering with the typing of examples following American spelling.

The general trend towards more homogeneous lexical and spelling norms shown in the present study is also relevant for the question of whether PhiE is becoming more independent of other varieties. Borlongan (2016) argued that PhiE has entered stage 4, endonormative stabilisation, of Schneider's (2003; 2007) five-stage dynamic model of postcolonial Englishes. Moreover, several empirical studies have documented endonormative patterns in PhiE (Bautista, 2009; Borlongan & Lim, 2012; Collins et al., 2014a; 2014b), notwithstanding the fact that Collins (2016: 63) overall identifies more exo- than endonormative developments. At first glance, the use of AmE spelling and lexical norms seems to be an argument against the independence of PhiE. However, it is debatable whether speakers and writers of PhiE choose these variants because they perceive them as American. It is perhaps more likely that many of them choose these variants because they perceive them as the default (or only?) lexical or

orthographic option. Thus, the developments described above contribute to greater homogeneity in PhiE, which is one of the criteria of endonormative stabilisation.

The trend towards a stricter adherence to American norms contrasts with Krug et al.'s (2016) results for Puerto Rican English, a variety that, just as PhiE, was influenced by AmE. Their results indicate a trend towards the use of British lexical variants in some cases. Future research will have to show whether this reveals a genuine difference between the two varieties or whether methodological differences (questionnaire data in Krug et al.'s study, diachronic corpus data in the present study) can account for the contrasting results.

### **Conclusion**

The present study is the first to provide real-time evidence of an overall shift away from British orthographical and lexical conventions towards greater uniformity in the adherence to American usage in PhiE. While the overall result appears to be reasonably reliable, findings for particular types of spelling differences need to be interpreted with caution. As in many linguistic studies, a greater amount of data would have put this study on a sounder empirical footing, allowing more wide-ranging claims. Such problems tend to be more acute in diachronic studies, as historical data is scarcer than that from the present. However, with the compilation of more and larger (diachronic) corpora of PhiE and other varieties, it will be interesting to see whether the trend observed in this study for the time period from the 1960s to the 1990s is part of a long-term shift away from British and towards American norms that started earlier and might perhaps continue until the present day, in PhiE and other varieties of English around the world.

### **Acknowledgements**

I would like to thank the anonymous reviewer as well as Valentin Werner, Lucía Loureiro Porto, Eva Hänsel, Cristina Suárez Gómez and Claire Cowie for fruitful discussions and comments on an earlier version of this article. Thanks are also due to Ariane Borlongan for providing access to the Phil-Brown corpus.

## References

- Alonsagay, I., & Nolasco, J. (2010). Adversativity and the GET-passive in Philippine and British English: A corpus-based contrastive study. *Philippine Journal of Linguistics*, 41, 1-13.
- Awonusi, Victor O. (1994). The Americanization of Nigerian English. *World Englishes* 13(1): 75-82.
- Bautista, Ma. L. S. (2009). Exemplary analyses of the Philippine English corpus. In L. Billings & N. Goudswaard (Eds.), *Piakandatu ami Dr Howard P. McKaughan* (In Honour of Dr Howard P. McKaughan) (pp. 5–23). Manila: Linguistics Society of the Philippines and SIL Philippines.
- Baker, P. (2009). The BE06 Corpus of British English and recent language change. *International Journal of Corpus Linguistics*, 14(3), 312-337.
- Borlongan, A. (2009). A survey on language use, attitudes, and identity in relation to Philippine English among young generation Filipinos: an initial sample from a private university. *The Philippine ESL Journal*, 3, 74-107.
- Borlongan, A. M. (2016). Relocating Philippine English in Schneider's dynamic model. *Asian Englishes*, 18(3), 232-241.
- Borlongan, A. M., & Dita, S. N. (2015). Taking a look at expanded predicates in Philippine English across time. *Asian Englishes*, 17(3), 1–8.
- Borlongan, A. M., & Lim, J. (2012). Philippine English in Comparison with American English: A Corpus-Based Grammatical Study. Paper presented at The 18<sup>th</sup> Annual Conference of the International Association for World Englishes themed *World Englishes: Contexts, Challenges and Opportunities*, December 6-9, 2012, Hong Kong & Guangzhou, China.
- Cambridge Dictionary 2017, entries for “Mr”, “Mrs” etc. <  
<https://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/english/mr>>, last accessed 15 March 2017.
- Collins, P. (2015). Recent diachronic change in the progressive in Philippine English. In P. Collins (Ed.), *Grammatical change in English world-wide* (pp. 271–296). Amsterdam, the Netherlands: John Benjamins.
- Collins, P. (2016). Grammatical change in the verb phrase in contemporary Philippine English. *Asiatic*, 10(2), 50-67.
- Collins, P., Borlongan, A. M., Lim, J. H., & Yao, X. (2014a). The subjunctive mood in Philippine English: A diachronic analysis. In S. E. Pfenninger, O. Timofeeva, A.-C. Gardner, A. Honkapohja, M. Hundt, & D. Schreier (Eds.), *Contact, variation, and change in the history of English* (pp. 259–280). Amsterdam: Benjamins.
- Collins, P., Borlongan, A. M., & Yao, X. (2014b). Modality in Philippine English: A diachronic study. *Journal of English Linguistics*, 42, 68–88.

- Collins, P., Yao, X., & Borlongan, A. M. (2014c). Relative clauses in Philippine English: A diachronic perspective. In L. Vandelanotte, K. Davidse, C. Gentens, & D. Kimps (Eds.), *Recent advances in corpus linguistics: Developing and exploiting corpora* (pp. 125–146). Amsterdam: Rodopi.
- Davies, M. & Fuchs, R. (2015). Expanding Horizons in the Study of World Englishes with the 1.9 Billion Word Global Web-Based English Corpus (GloWbE). *English World-Wide* 36(1), 1-28.
- Davydova, J. (2016). Indian English quotatives in a real-time perspective. In E. Seoane & C. Suárez-Gómez (Eds.) *World Englishes: New theoretical and methodological considerations* (pp. 173-204). Amsterdam: Benjamins.
- Depraetere, I. (2003). On verbal concord with collective nouns in British English. *English Language and Linguistics*, 7(1), 85-127.
- Fuchs, R. (2015). You're not from around here, are you? A dialect discrimination experiment with speakers of of British and Indian English. In E. Delais-Roussarie, M. Avanzi and S. Herment (Eds.). *Prosody and language in contact* (pp. 123-148). Berlin: Springer.
- Fuchs, R. (2016a). The frequency of the present perfect in varieties of English around the World. In V. Werner, E. Seoane & C. Suárez-Gómez (Eds.). *Re-assessing the present perfect* (pp. 223-258). Berlin: de Gruyter.
- Fuchs, R. (2016b). *Speech Rhythm in Varieties of English. Evidence from Educated Indian English and British English*. Singapore: Springer.
- Fuchs, R. & Gut, U. (2016). Register variation in intensifier usage across Asian Englishes. In H. Pichler (Ed.). *Discourse-pragmatic variation and change: Insights from English* (pp. 185-210). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Hackert, S. (2015). Pseudotitles in Bahamian English: A case of Americanization? *Journal of English Linguistics*, 43(2), 143-167.
- Hänsel, E. C., & Deuber, D. (2013). Globalization, postcolonial Englishes, and the English language press in Kenya, Singapore, and Trinidad and Tobago. *World Englishes*, 32(3), 338-357.
- Hansen Edwards, J. G. (2016) Accent preferences and the use of American English features in Hong Kong: a preliminary study. *Asian Englishes*, 18(3), 197-215.
- Hian, T. C. & Gupta, A. F. (1992). Post-vocalic /r/ in Singapore English. *York Papers in Linguistics*, 16: 139-152.
- Hundt, M. (2009). Global features – local norms?: A case study on the progressive passive. In T. Hoffmann & L. Siebers (Eds.). *World Englishes: Problems, properties, and prospects (Selected papers from the 13th IAWWE Conference)* (pp. 287-308). Amsterdam: Benjamins.
- Krug, M., Schützler, O. & V. Werner. (2016). Patterns of linguistic globalization. Integrating typological profiles and questionnaire data. In O. Timofeeva, A.-E. Gardner, A.



- Honkapohja & S. Chevalier (Eds.) *New Approaches to English Linguistics: Building Bridges* (pp. 35-66). Amsterdam: Benjamins.
- Leech, G., Hundt, H., Mair, C. & N. Smith. (2009). *Change in contemporary English: a grammatical study*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Mair, C. (2013). The World System of Englishes: Accounting for the transnational importance of mobile and mediated vernaculars. *English World-Wide*, 34(3), 253-278.
- Merriam-Webster Dictionary 2017, entries for “Mr.,” “Mrs.” etc. <<https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/Mr.>>, last accessed 15 March 2017.
- Meyerhoff, M., & Niedzielski, N. (2003). The globalisation of vernacular variation. *Journal of Sociolinguistics*, 7(4), 534-555.
- Modiano, M. (1999). International English in the global village. *English Today*, 15(2), 22-28.
- Ruette, T., Ehret, K., & Szmrecsanyi, B. (2016). A lectometric analysis of aggregated lexical variation in written Standard English with Semantic Vector Space models. *International Journal of Corpus Linguistics*, 21(1), 48-79.
- Schneider, E. W. (2003). The dynamics of new Englishes: From identity construction to dialect birth. *Language*, 79, 233–281.
- Schneider, E. W. (2007). *Postcolonial English: Varieties of English around the world*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Schneider, E. W. (2011). The subjunctive in Philippine English: An updated assessment. In M. L. S. Bautista (Ed.) *Studies of Philippine English: Exploring the Philippine component of the International Corpus of English* (pp. 159-173). Manila: Anvil.
- Sedlatschek, A. (2009). *Contemporary Indian English: Variation and Change*. Amsterdam: Benjamins.
- Sönning, L. (2016). The dot plot: A graphical tool for data analysis and presentation. In H. Christ, D. Klenovsak, L. Sönning & V. Werner (Eds.) *A Blend of MaLT. Selected Contributions from the Methods and Linguistic Theories Symposium 2015* (pp. 101-129).
- Tan, Y.-Y. (2016). The Americanization of the phonology of Asian Englishes: evidence from Singapore. In G. Leitner, A. Hashim & H.-G. Wolf (Eds.). *Communicating with Asia. The future of English as a Global Language* (pp. 120-134). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Yao, X. & Collins, P. (2012). The present perfect in World Englishes. *World Englishes* 31(3). 386–403.

**Appendix: Frequency of all investigated spelling and lexical variants in Phil-Brown and ICE-PHI**

	Phil-Brown (1960s)			ICE-PHI (1990s)		
	British	American	% British	British	American	% British
<b>-ise/-ize (verbs)</b>	3	298	1.0	2	243	0.8
<b>isation/ization (nouns)</b>	5	184	2.6	0	92	0
<b>Total -ise/-ize (verbs &amp; nouns)</b>	8	482	1.6	2	335	0.6
<b>labour/labor</b>	1	159	0.6	0	40	0
<b>favour/favor</b>	3	78	3.7	0	26	0
<b>behaviour/behavior</b>	2	20	9.1	2	20	9.1
<b>honour/honor</b>	1	60	1.6	3	5	37.5
<b>colour/color</b>	1	127	0.8	0	27	0
<b>flavour/flavor</b>	1	10	9.1	0	2	0
<b>humour/humor</b>	0	24	0	0	1	0
<b>Total -our/-or</b>	9	478	1.8	5	121	4.0
<b>advise/advice (noun)</b>	0	16	0	0	9	0
<b>devise/device</b>	0	17	0	0	5	0
<b>Total -ise/-ice</b>	0	33	0	0	14	0
<b>defence/defense</b>	0	30	0	0	12	0
<b>offence/offense</b>	2	18	0	0	0	0
<b>pretence/pretense</b>	0	3	0	0	3	0
<b>licence/license</b>	1	15	0	0	5	0
<b>Total -ence/-ense</b>	3	66	4.3	0	20	0

	Phil-Brown (1960s)			ICE-PHI (1990s)		
	British	American	% British	British	American	% British
<b>theatre/theater</b>	48	56	46.2	0	1	0
<b>metre/meter(s)</b>	1	72	0	0	23	0
<b>Total -tre/-ter</b>	49	128	27.7	0	24	0
<b>travell-/travel-</b>	8	19	0	3	6	0
<b>cancell-/cancel-</b>	3	0	0	1	1	0
<b>propell-/propel-</b>	3	0	0	2	0	0
<b>compell-/compel-</b>	8	0	0	4	0	0
<b>counsell-/counsel- (including counsellor etc.)</b>	1	4	0	2	0	0
<b>labell-/label- (including labeller etc.)</b>	0	9	0	1	10	0
<b>modell-/model-</b>	0	3	0	1	4	0
<b>signall-/signal-</b>	0	0	0	1	2	0
<b>levell-/level- (includ- ing leveller etc.)</b>	0	0	0	1	0	0
<b>Total -ll-/-l-</b>	23	35	39.7	16	23	41.0
<b>-ilful/-illful</b>	2	5	0	0	2	0
<b>apal-/apall-</b>	0	0	0	0	0	0
<b>fulfil-/fulfill-</b>	1	7	0	0	7	0
<b>enrol-/enroll-</b>	0	1	0	4	0	0
<b>instal-/install-</b>	0	3	0	0	2	0
<b>distil-/distill-</b>	0	0	0	0	4	0

	Phil-Brown (1960s)			ICE-PHI (1990s)		
	British	Ameri- can	% British	British	Ameri- can	% British
<b>instil-/instill-</b>	0	2	0	0	3	0
<b>enthral-/enthrall-</b>	0	0	0	0	0	0
<b>dulness/dullness</b>	0	0	0	0	1	0
<b>jewelery/jewellery</b>	0	0	0	0	0	0
<b>Total -l/-ll-</b>	3	18	14.3	4	19	17.4
<b>dialogue/dialog</b>	6	0	0	3	0	0
<b>monologue/monolog</b>	2	0	0	0	0	0
<b>catalogue/catalog</b>	1	0	0	0	0	0
<b>demagogue/demagog</b>	4	0	0	1	0	0
<b>Total -ogue/-og</b>	13	0	100	4	0	100
<b>ageing/aging</b>	0	8	0	0	1	0
<b>routeing/routing</b>	0	0	0	0	24	0
<b>dyeing/dying</b>	1	18	0	0	9	0
<b>likeable/likable</b>	0	0	0	1	0	0
<b>liveable/livable</b>	0	1	0	0	0	0
<b>saleable/salable</b>	0	1	0	0	0	0
<b>sizeable/sizable</b>	1	1	0	1	0	0
<b>judgement/judgment</b>	0	37	0	0	7	0
<b>abridgement/ abridgment</b>	0	0	0	0	0	0
<b>acknowledgement/ acknowledgment</b>	1	1	0	1	0	0
<b>Total -e/-</b>	3	67	4.3	3	41	6.8

	Phil-Brown (1960s)			ICE-PHI (1990s)		
	British	Ameri- can	% British	British	Ameri- can	% British
<b>per cent/percent</b>	0	21	0	0	122	0
<b>grey/gray (adjective)</b>	9	23	28.1	4	17	19.0
<b>cosy/cozy</b>	0	0	0	0	1	0
<b>mum/mom</b>	0	2	0	0	2	0
<b>Total other spelling</b>	9	46	16.4	4	142	2.7
<b>Mr/Mr.</b>	1	217	0	0	100	0
<b>Mrs/Mrs.</b>	2	62	0	0	16	0
<b>Dr/Dr.</b>	1	93	0	0	16	0
<b>St/St.</b>	0	43	0	0	4	0
<b>Total titles</b>	4	415	1.0	0	136	0
<b>biscuit/cookie</b>	0	1	0	1	1	50
<b>lorry/truck</b>	0	24	0	0	5	0
<b>film/movie</b>	206	209	49.6	0	5	0
<b>motorway/express-, freeway</b>	0	3	0	0	1	0
<b>solicitor/lawyer</b>	0	18	0	5	25	0
<b>cupboard/closet</b>	0	2	0	0	0	0
<b>flyover/overpass</b>	0	0	0	0	0	0
<b>car park/parking lot</b>	0	0	0	0	7	0
<b>larder/pantry</b>	0	0	0	1	0	0
<b>curtains/drapes</b>	6	0	0	3	0	0
<b>restroom/toilet</b>	0	6	0	0	5	0

	Phil-Brown (1960s)			ICE-PHI (1990s)		
	British	Ameri- can	% British	British	Ameri- can	% British
<b>quay/wharf, pier</b>	0	8	0	0	1	0
<b>rubbish/garbage, trash</b>	0	16	0	0	4	0
<b>railway/railroad</b>	1	6	0	0	1	0
<b>motorbike/motorcycle</b>	2	0	0	0	0	0
<b>lad/guy</b>	14	4	0	0	17	0
<b>orientated/oriented</b>	0	2	0	0	23	0
<b>Total lexis</b>	229	297	43.5	10	72	12.2
<b>Total lexis-2</b>	23	70	24.7	5	42	10.6
<b>All</b>	353	2065	14.6	48	947	4.8



## **Chinese Filipinos tag their questions, *kiam si?***

### **Some notes on tag questions in Philippine Hybrid Hokkien**

Wilkinson Daniel Wong Gonzales

*National University of Singapore, Singapore*

#### **Abstract**

This paper investigates tag questions in a Philippine contact variety spoken by Chinese in the Philippines called Philippine Hybrid Hokkien (PHH) – a trilingual admixture that is characterized by the systematic co-existence of the Hokkien, Tagalog, and English grammatical (sub)systems. After analyzing spontaneous oral data gathered from native speakers, ten types of tag questions were identified, with two of them being bilingually innovative and unique to PHH (e.g. *m si ba?*). Further analyses of data reveal that attitudinal tag questions are more frequently used than confirmatory tag questions. That alternative tags (e.g. *okay?*) are more preferred compared to their canonical counterparts have also been suggested by initial data. Although the use of tag questions in PHH is reminiscent of the individual grammars of English, Tagalog, and Hokkien, data suggests that PHH, whether analyzed as a trilingual linguistic variety or a hybrid X-English, is developing away from these normative languages and that the Chinese Filipinos are creating new norms for this variety.

Keywords: Chinese Filipinos; Philippine English; Philippine Hybrid Hokkien; mixed languages; tag questions

#### **Preliminaries**

In the Chinese enclaves of the Philippines, particularly in the Binondo and Quezon City, a peculiar oral linguistic phenomenon can be observed to be spoken by the Chinese Filipinos (i.e. Filipino-Chinese, *Chinoys*, etc.) residing there. What appears to be an entirely different language is apparently and primarily a systematic concoction of three typologically distinct and symbiotic languages used in the Manila language ecology – Hokkien, Tagalog, and English

---

Corresponding Author: Wilkinson Daniel Wong Gonzales  
Affiliation: National University of Singapore, Singapore  
Email: [wdwgonzales@gmail.com](mailto:wdwgonzales@gmail.com)/[wdwgonzales@u.nus.edu](mailto:wdwgonzales@u.nus.edu)

(Gonzales, in press). This variety is called Philippine Hybrid Hokkien (PHH), popularly known as *Salamtsam(-oe)* ‘mixed speech’ or *halo-halo* ‘mix-mix’. I have previously referred to this as ‘Hokaglish’ in my previous work (Gonzales, 2016).

Just like its component languages, PHH has its own grammar – one that is reflective of the grammars of the three said languages. Each of these three languages contribute certain linguistic structures in certain domains. For instance, the Hokkien genitive affix *-e* and the Tagalog instrumentalizer *pang-* have been grafted onto the PHH nominal domain and are typically found in SVO PHH clauses; the Tagalog verbal affix *nag-* and other Tagalog affixes in the verbal domain, however, may only be found in VSO ones. English mainly contributes to PHH through the transplantation of selected conjunctions like *so*, as well as reinforcing the SVO word order that is argued to be the direct influence of Hokkien. The combination of these grammatical subsystems is what makes PHH a unique variety.

Looking at this using Thomason’s (1997) typology, PHH seems to exhibit attributes of a mixed language, since mixed languages in general are characterized by a grammar that has a split (i.e. verbal-nominal; lexical-grammatical), as well as other social factors. This is in contrast to an earlier argument I made, where I framed PHH as a trilingual code-switching phenomenon without a grammar (Gonzales, 2016). Apparently, PHH has one and it has been conventionalized despite the conflicting processes of language maintenance and shift among the Chinese Filipinos.

On the other hand, using Schneider’s (2016) framework, PHH is considered an *X-English* or a hybrid English (Gonzales, 2017). Gonzales (2017) frames PHH or ‘Hokaglish’ as a variety of English in the Philippines. But regardless of the label, one thing is clear – that PHH is a variety that has a set of rules, and these rules are what I would like to investigate in this paper. It has several linguistic features that are manifested from the phonological to the syntactic level. Of these features, I aim to give an initial description of one; particularly, I attempt to describe how Chinese Filipinos use tag questions in PHH conversations from a data bank that I have compiled from my field work from 2015 to 2017. The data bank comprises of spontaneous oral data from 21 to 70-year-old Chinese Filipinos.

### Tag questions in focus

For decades, tag questions have provided linguists opportunities for research in, but not limited to, pragmatics. For example, Borlongan (2008) delved into tag questions in Philippine English adopting a corpus-based approach on ICE-PH data. He attempted to associate tag questions and their polarity types with their pragmatic functions and identified similarities of tag question use in Philippine English with other Englishes. Whether or not the same similarities occur in PHH conversations is a matter of interest, but it is imperative that the definition of tag questions first be established.

Quirk, Greenbaum, Leech, & Svartvik (1985, p. 810) define tag questions as statement appendices that either convey a positive or negative orientation to express “maximum conduciveness”:

- (1) The boat hasn’t left, **has it?**

(2) Joan recognized you, **didn't she?**

In their examples above, *has it* and *didn't she* are attached to their respective declarative statements. On the other hand, Biber, Johansson, Leech, Conrad, & Finegan (1999, p. 208) identify the same phenomenon as “question tags”, which consist of an operator and a personal pronoun and is typically attached to the preceding declarative clause. Moreover, like Quirk et al. (1985), they note that the personal pronoun in the question tag must be co-referent with the subject. In other words, the personal pronoun must refer to the subject in the declarative clause before it. Biber et al. (1999) further notes that the tag question appended are generally opposite to the statement with regard to polarity:

(3) She's so generous, **isn't she?**

(4) She's not a lesbian, **is she?**

In (3), the statement before the tag question shows positive orientation resulting to a negative tag question while in (4), the opposite happens. However, both Biber et al. (1999) and Quirk et al. (1985) agree on the possible use of positive tag questions with positive declarative statements:

(5) She likes her granddad, **does she?**

Quirk et al. (1985) summarize these into five general rules for the formation of tag questions, which are summarized as follows:

- (a) The tag question generally consists of an operator and a subject.
- (b) The operator is generally the same as the operator of the preceding statement. If the statement has no operator, the dummy auxiliary DO is used, as for yes-no questions in general.
- (c) The subject of the tag should be a pronoun which either repeats, or is in co-reference with, the subject of the statement, agreeing with it in number, person, and gender.
- (d) If the statement is positive, the tag is generally negative, and vice versa.
- (e) The nuclear tone of the tag occurs on the auxiliary, and is either rising or falling.

While Quirk et al. (1985) provide a general guideline for the formulation of tag questions, Biber et al. (1999) point out some instances where tag questions do not necessarily follow the rules. For instance, the pronoun in the tag question may not refer to the subject in the declarative statement as in (6), because the speaker might have shifted the assignment of conversational roles, thus including the speaker and the addressee. Also, like in (7), it is possible that tag questions be added in interrogative clauses as opposed to the canonical rule pertaining to the attachment of tag questions to declarative statements. Imperative statements may also be added such as (8). Finally, a range of alternative tag questions that express the same idea as the canonical tag question may also be used; these include, *innit?*, *right?* (9), *yeah?*, *okay?*, *eh?* (with the upward tone), and *don't you think?*

- (6) You only had these two bags, **didn't we?**
- (7) Do you want this **do you**, anywhere?
- (8) Give them a message from me, **will you?**
- (9) No one could speak French on that French trip. It's so stupid, **right?**

*Right* in (9) can be considered a tag question since it can be replaced with the canonical tag *isn't it*. Up to this point, the discussion on tag questions have been in the perspective of the English language. The purpose of tag questions in Tagalog and Hokkien are similar to the one in English, which is that it appeals for confirmation.

Although there is no specific reference to this phenomenon in Schachter & Otnes' (1972) reference grammar of Tagalog, tag questions in Tagalog take the form *hindi ba?* and *ano?*, with the truncated forms also used frequently (e.g. *'di ba?* and *'no?*). Schachter & Otnes (1972, p.500) refers to these as "confirmation questions". Take note of the regular and clipped versions between the two examples below:

- (10) *Pu ~punta ka, hindi ba?*  
DUP~ go.IRR.IMP 2SG NEG PRT  
'You're going, aren't you?'

- (11) *Ka ~kain ka, 'di ba?*  
DUP ~eat.IRR.IMP 2SG NEG PRT  
'You're eating, aren't you?'

In Hokkien, similar to Quirk et al. (1985), Lin (2015) also uses the term *tag questions* to refer to the phenomenon. Investigating the Hokkien in Taiwan, he identifies three types of tag questions to seek confirmation of the proposition or the statement preceding the tag question: the general purpose tag *si tiōh bo* (12) or the clipped *si bo*, affirmative tags *hoh* and *nih*, and the pure negative tag *m*.

- (12) *Lán pài-gō' ū khó-chhì, sī tiōh-- bō?*  
1PL Friday have test book COP correct NEG  
'We have a test on Friday, don't we?'

### English tag questions in PHH

#### *okay?*

In PHH, the canonical *operator + pronoun* tag question structure is non-existent in the data when looking at the use of English tag questions; however, the simple lexical tag *okay*, referred to by Biber et al. (1999) earlier as an alternative tag, is one of the two basic English tag questions used (13). It should be noted at this point that, for ease of reference, Tagalog words in all the following examples are italicized while English words are underlined. Hokkien words are in plain text.

(13) A: *Tapos tioh* share with one another, **okay**?

CONJ MOD share with one another okay

‘After that, you should share with one another, okay?’

B: [change of topic]

In (13), the English tag question *okay* is appended to the proposition or the clause *tapos tioh share with one other* headed by the conjunction *tapos* with the covert subject *you* and predicated by the modal auxiliary *tioh* with the main verb *share* followed by a prepositional phrase. In the clause, one can observe that the speaker first commands the listener to share something with other people, in parallel with Biber et al.’s (1999) description of the use of imperative statements as possible propositions for the tag question discussed earlier. (13) also shows the speaker ending with the tag question *okay* to ask for confirmation. The response of the listener is completely unrelated to the speaker’s request.

A variation of the use of *okay* as a tag question is apparent in PHH conversations:

(14) A: Din tsiah tseh, **okay bo**?

2PL eat TEN okay PRT

‘You eat first, okay?’

B: [change of topic]

In (14), the Hokkien negative question particle *bo* is attached to the existing tag question *okay*, resulting to a more complex tag question, although there will be no apparent changes in meaning if the Hokkien particle *bo* were to be removed.

(15) A: Din tsiah tseh, **okay ba**?

2PL eat TEN okay PRT

‘You eat first, okay?’

B: [change of topic]

If we replace the Hokkien particle *bo* with the Tagalog particle *ba*, the meaning will also not be affected as long as it is in the sentence-final position along with another tag question like in (15), otherwise, it may sound awkward and ungrammatical:

(16) A: Din tsiah tseh *ba*?

2PL eat TEN PRT

‘You eat first?’

Typically, the Tagalog enclitic particle *ba* is used for *yes-no* questions and *wh*-questions as reported in an investigation of bilingual code-switching by Lim and Borlongan (2011) involving English and Tagalog. Although it sounds problematic, the Tagalog enclitic *ba* in hypothetical (16) is more of a *yes-no* question marker rather than a tag question, which is usually confirmatory in nature, meaning it answers the question with *yes* or *no* rather than *okay* or *alright* to show confirmation.

Such is the case, too, for the Hokkien sentence-final question particle *bo* if used without the English tag question *okay*. The result may sound quite unnatural without the modal auxiliary *beh* ‘want’ in between the second person pronoun *din* and the main verb *tsiah*, although the *bo* may not be considered a tag question anymore if the modal were added.

(17) A: Din tsiah tseh *bo*?

2PL eat TEN PRT

‘You eat first?’

*no?*

Aside from *okay*, the other tag question that appeared in the PHH conversation data is the English *no*:

(18) A: MacArthur Bridge *ba* hi ge? O Jones Bridge? Jones Bridge, **no**?

MacArthur Bridge PRT DEM CLF CONJ Jones Bridge Jones Bridge no

‘Is that MacArthur Bridge or Jones Bridge? It’s Jones Bridge, no?’

A: [continuation]

In (18), the speaker ends with the English tag *no* and continues on speaking. In this example, *no* appears to exhibit an attitudinal function; in other words, the speaker does not necessarily expect a response from the listener.



Quirk et al. (1985) have not documented any instances of non-canonical tag questions such as *no* in (18). Biber et al. (1999), however, noted the use of *yeah*, which is the clipped version of *yes* as an alternative tag question. Like other tag questions, the polarity of the tag question *yes* may be inversed, suggesting that the use of *no* as a tag question is acceptable. However, unlike other canonical propositions, *Jones Bridge* seems to imply the complete clausal meaning *It's Jones Bridge* when the whole context is taken into account.

It is worth noting that the English tag question *no* should not be confused with the Tagalog particle or tag question '*noh?*'

### Tagalog tag questions in PHH

#### *'di ba?*

Aside from English, also present in PHH conversations are Tagalog tag questions. Of the three basic Tagalog tag question structures, the truncated '*di ba*' (19) from the base form *hindi ba* has the most attestations:

- (19) A: Gun u thak ... *ano*... hambun. Mandarin yun, '*di ba?*  
IPL have study what Chinese Mandarin that NEG PRT  
'We have studied... uh... Chinese. That's Mandarin, isn't it?

A: [continuation]

Schachter and Otones (1972, p. 500) identify '*di ba*' in (19) not as a tag question but as a "confirmation question". Nevertheless, in this paper, they would be referred to as tag questions, similar to the preceding section. The Tagalog tag question in (19) is appended to the clause *Mandarin yun* 'That's Mandarin.' to express expectancy of a reply made by the questioner.

From this example, one can see that '*di ba*' was attached to predominantly Tagalog sentence or to what Myers-Scotton (1993) would point out as a clause with Tagalog as the matrix language and English as the embedded language. As of this point, it would make sense that the Tagalog tag question '*di ba?*' should follow the Tagalog-matrix-language clauses, but what about cases where the matrix language is not Tagalog, but Hokkien?

- (20) A: *Pero* di u khi hi siammi an hotel tsoekang *muna*, '*di ba?*  
CONJ 2SG have go DET what at hotel work first NEG PRT  
'But you have initially worked at the ... uh... hotel, right?'  
B: Ho! Tsiusi pigiap college diau *deretso* khi...  
Yes! Just graduate college after straight go  
'Yes! After college, I directly went...'

Unlike (19), (20) shows an example where the proposition's matrix language is predominantly Hokkien. In this case, the use of the Tagalog tag question *'di ba?* is still considered grammatically accurate even with the removal of all embedded Tagalog words from the proposition:

- (21) A: Di u khi hi siammi an hotel tsoekang, *'di ba?*  
 2SG have go DET what at hotel work NEG PRT  
 'You have worked at the ... uh... hotel, right?'

Apparently, no grammatical rule violations can be observed even after the removal of the Tagalog words in (21), proving that the Tagalog question *'di ba?* can be used in a clause where Hokkien is mainly used. In some cases where the matrix language may be a challenge to pinpoint, *'di ba?* can also be used:

- (22) A: Kasi Chiang Kai Shek kaya tai-oan, *'di ba?*  
 CONJ Chiang-Kai-Shek CONJ Taiwan NEG PRT  
 'Because it's Chiang-Kai-Shek; thus, it has to be Taiwan, right?'

A: [continuation]

On first glance, the proposition may appear to have Tagalog as the matrix language, but after deeper analysis of the clause and taking into account Sinitic syntax involving the *conjunction + phrase + conjunction + phrase* structure, some may argue that the proposition can be predominantly Hokkien. Nevertheless, it would appear that, in this case, *'di ba?* is seamlessly integrated into the utterance.

#### 4.2 *tama ba?*

Another matter of interest would be the Tagalog tag question, *tama ba?*. Whether or not it should be considered a tag question could be a subject of debate as it is not included in Schachter and Otnes' (1972) reference grammar and probably would not be in other reference grammars since does not follow the conventions of a canonical tag question. However, the tag question, is translated as *correct* or *right* in English and appears to be confirmatory in nature:

- (23) A: Iengbun is octopus, *tama ba?*  
 English is *octopus* right PRT  
 'The English term is *octopus*, right?'

A: [continuation]

In (23), the questioner is asking the listener whether or not the English term is correct or not, then he or she proceeds with *tama ba?* ‘right?’ and continues on speaking. If replaced by the canonical counterpart of *right?*, which is *isn’t it?*, the meaning of the sentence would be quite similar and both tag questions would be grammatically accurate when attached to the proposition. Also, Biber et al. (1999) consider *right?* and other similar ones as alternative tag questions, which are basically used colloquially to express the same sense as canonical tag questions. Hypothetical examples derived from (23) are as follows:

(24) Iengbun is octopus, **correct?**

English is *octopus* correct

‘The English term is *octopus*, correct?’

(25) Iengbun is octopus, **isn’t it?**

English is *octopus* is NEG 3SG

‘The English term is *octopus*, isn’t it?’

#### 4.3 *noh?*

Further investigation on Tagalog tag questions revealed an instance of *noh* appended to a declarative statement:

(26) *Mahal* Turkey, Greece, ***noh?*** *Pero* na di ai khi...

Expensive Turkey, Greece, PRT CONJ CONJ 2SG love go

‘Turkey and Greece is expensive, right? But if you want to go...’

*Noh* is a contracted or clipped version of the Tagalog tag *ano* (what), which is what Bautista (2011) identifies as a pragmatic particle prevalent in Tagalog and Philippine English texts. Moreover, Bautista (2011) notes that, similar to the earlier discussed ‘*di ba* and *tama ba*, *noh* is an invariant tag question primarily due to its indifference to the polarity, form, and tense of the proposition.

#### 5. Hokkien tag questions in PHH

Tagalog and English tag questions in PHH conversations have been investigated up to this point. What has not been discussed are Hokkien tag questions.

### 5.1 *tioh bo?*

One of the tag questions observed in PHH conversations is *tioh bo?*, which roughly translates to *right?* in English. *Tioh* means correct in Hokkien while *bo* is a polysemous negative particle and can be used as a negative for possession, existence, emphasis, among many others (Lin, 2015). It being appended as a general-purpose tag is one of its many roles, such as in (27). When used together with *tioh*, the tag question calls for the listener to confirm what the speaker asked, similar to its English counterpart.

- (27) Dan binna *sigurado* nine o'clock beh pe, **tioh bo?**  
1PL tomorrow sure nine o'clock MOD fly right NEG  
'We will fly tomorrow at nine o'clock, right?'

The earlier tag question may also not appear last in the sentence. In (28), *pa* 'dad' can be found in the sentence-final position, after *tioh bo*. Also, observe that the tone of *bo* differs when something is appended after it.

- (28) A: Kam sia tsu la, **tioh bo**, pa?  
feel thanks Lord PRT right PRT Dad  
'Thank God, right, Dad?'
- B: *Hindi hindi hindi!*  
NEG NEG NEG  
'No, no, no!'

An additional particle, *a*, may also be appended to the tag question and will not result to noticeable meaning changes. Observe (29):

- (29) Dan binna *sigurado* nine o'clock beh pe, **tioh bo a?**  
1PL tomorrow sure nine o'clock MOD fly right NEG PRT  
'We will fly tomorrow at nine o'clock, right?'

### 5.2 *m si ba?*

Aside from *tioh bo?* and *tioh bo a?*, PHH conversations revealed yet another Hokkien tag question. Observe (30):

- (30) A: Hi ge tsui si kaiki in -e, **m si ba?**  
DET CLF water COP self 3PL-GEN NEG COP PRT  
'That water is theirs, isn't it?'

B: Ho.

Yes

'Yes.'

In (30), *m si ba?* 'isn't it' is attached to the proposition, also requesting confirmation from the listener. The listener then responds with *ho* 'yes'. Also, worth noting is that since the Tagalog enclitic particle *ba* is present, it could be said that this tag question takes its influence from the Tagalog tag *hindi ba?* or *di ba?* and is, therefore, unique to PHH.

### 5.3 *kiam si?*

Another tag question that can be observed in PHH is *kiam si?*, which translates to the modal auxiliary *would* and copula *is* literally in English. Usually, it can assume medial position in a clause like in example 33.

- (31) Lan **kiam si** tsiage u kio i check hi ge *sakto-ng* hoai ah ...  
1PL MOD COP January have call 3SG check DEM CLF exact-LIG DEM PRT  
'Didn't we call him/her to exactly check those on January?'

However, in some cases, it functions as a tag question and has the same meaning as *m si ba?*.

- (32) U sin khui e tsuhe so, **kiam si?** Blumentritt hia u.  
Have new open PRT meeting place, MOD COP Blumentritt DEM have  
'There's a newly opened Christian Gospel Center, isn't it? There's one in Blumentritt.'

The negative *m* may also be added in between *kiam* and *si* to indicate the opposite, like in hypothetical (33) and also mean the same thing like in (32) earlier.

- (33) U sin khui e tsuhe so, **kiam m si?** Blumentritt hia u.  
Have new open PRT meeting place, MOD NEG COP Blumentritt DEM have  
'There's a newly opened Christian Gospel Center, isn't it? There's one in Blumentritt.'

#### 5.4 *ho bo* and *ho bo a?*

Some tag questions present in PHH that are not attested in the conversation data would be *ho bo?*, *ho bo a?*, and all of which means *okay* in English.

(34) *Tapos tioh share with one another, ho bo?*

CONJ MOD share with one another good NEG

‘After that, you should share with one another, okay?’

(35) *Tapos tioh share with one another, ho bo a?*

CONJ MOD share with one another good NEG PRT

‘After that, you should share with one another, okay?’

Despite the change of tag questions, all the hypothetical derived instances above are acceptable and grammatically correct, even if the tag question is bilingual.

### 6. Conclusion

Using data from recorded oral conversations, this investigation focused on tag questions in PHH and provided an initial description of their use. Analysis revealed several types of tag questions, with two of them unique to PHH – *okay bo?* and *m si ba?* Further explorations also showed that, comparable to Borlongan’s (2008) study on Philippine English, tag questions are generally used in PHH for its attitudinal function, that is, it is used even without the speaker expecting a reply. Two instances in the data, however, exhibit confirmatory function.

The study also provided an interesting contrast to Borlongan’s (2008) findings. Although he noted that the English tag *isn’t it?* is positioning itself to be a general tag question due to its high frequency, PHH conversations interestingly revealed no such instances; however, it could largely be due to the fact that PHH is dominantly Hokkien. Instead, preliminary PHH data shows that the alternative tag *okay?* is the most frequent English tag question used in conversations, although a larger source of data may be needed to fully establish this. Nevertheless, it provides a refreshing insight on the use of monolingual tag questions, particularly English ones, in PHH. It also suggests that alternative tags such as *okay?* are more preferred compared to their canonical counterparts. On polarity types, PHH exhibits instances of the canonical positive-negative and non-canonical positive-positive polarities; however, other polarity types appear to be non-existent in the data.

In the past few decades, prescriptivists have promoted the use of canonical tag questions. While it is still considered an essential benchmark, other alternative forms of tag questions have gradually emerged as vestiges of colonialism and language contact, in general. Such deviant structures in PHH say much about it as a contact variety. Up to this point, PHH has exhibited tag questions involving two languages and these tag questions are seamlessly and systematically attached to multilingual clauses. Two things are suggested here. First, as a language in general, evidence of the distinguishable Tagalog, English, and Hokkien tag



question subsystems co-existing in PHH, whether appended after Hokkien or English-based SVO clauses or Tagalog VSO clauses, distinguishes PHH as a trilingual contact variety such as Light Warlpiri spoken in Australia (O'Shannessy, 2005). Evidence of innovation or combination of these subsystems that is manifested in bilingual tags also suggests that PHH is developing as a linguistic variety. Secondly, as a hybrid English, the unique use of PHH monolingual and bilingual tags proves that Philippine English is generally progressing towards differentiation in Schneider's (2003) dynamic model. In contrast to Schneider (2003) and Martin's (2014) suggestion of Philippine English still nativizing, Borlongan (2016) suggests that it is already endonormatively stable, with Gonzales (2017) further remarking that it has already reached the final stage (i.e. differentiation) in the said model.

Regardless of what framework one uses to analyze PHH, we see that PHH is exhibiting signs of development away from normative languages like Hokkien, Tagalog, or English in the Chinese Filipino language ecology (Gonzales, in press). The description provided is, indeed, far from comprehensive. But what remains essential is the number of questions this paper can potentially answer, especially in studies of English language, language contact, and language variation.

### Acknowledgments

My heartfelt gratitude goes to Mie Hiramoto and Leslie Lee (National University of Singapore) for supervising me in my work related to Philippine Hybrid Hokkien and language contact. I also sincerely express my thanks to Edgar Schneider (Universität Regensburg) for enlightening me with his paper on hybrid X-Englishes as well as inspiring me to do work on Englishes and contact languages in the Philippines. Finally, I would like to thank Ariane Macalinga Borlongan (Tokyo University of Foreign Studies; University of Tokyo) for inviting me to be part of this special issue.

### References

- Bautista, M. L. S. (2011). Some notes on 'no in Philippine English. In M. L. S. Bautista (Ed.), *Studies on Philippine English: Exploring the Philippine component of the International Corpus of English* (pp. 75–89). Manila, the Philippines: Anvil Publishing, Inc. for De La Salle University.
- Biber, D., Johansson, S., Leech, G., Conrad, S., & Finegan, E. (1999). *Longman grammar of spoken and written English*. Essex, The United Kingdom: Longman.
- Borlongan, A. M. (2008). Tag questions in Philippine English. *Philippine Journal of Linguistics*, 38, 109–133.
- Borlongan, A. M. (2016). Relocating Philippine English in Schneider's dynamic model. *Asian Englishes*, 18(3), 232–241.
- Gonzales, W. D. W. (2016). Trilingual code-switching using quantitative lenses: An exploratory study on the Philippine 'Hokaglish'. *Philippine Journal of Linguistics*, 47, 106–128.

- Gonzales, W. D. W. (2017). Philippine Englishes. *Asian Englishes*, 19(2), 79-95.
- Gonzales, W. D. W. (in press). Language contact in the Philippines: The history and ecology from a Chinese Filipino perspective. *Language Ecology*, 1(2).
- Lim, J. H., & Borlongan, A. M. (2011). Tagalog particles in Philippine English: The case of *ba*, *na*, *'no*, and *pa*. *Philippine Journal of Linguistics*, 42, 58–74.
- Lin, P. (2015). *Taiwanese grammar: A concise reference*. Lima, OH: Greenhorn Media.
- Martin, I. P. (2014). Beyond nativization?: Philippine English in Schneider's Dynamic Model. In S. Buschfeld, T. Hoffman, M. Huber, and A. Kautzsch (Eds.), *The evolution of Englishes: The dynamic model and beyond* (pp. 70–85). Amsterdam, the Netherlands: John Benjamins.
- Myers-Scotton, C. (1993). *Duelling languages: Grammatical structure in code-switching*. Oxford, the United Kingdom: Oxford University Press.
- O'Shannessy, C. (2005). Light Warlpiri: A new language. *Australian Journal of Linguistics*, 25(1), 31–57.
- Quirk, R., Greenbaum, S., Leech, G., & Svartvik, J. (1985). *A comprehensive grammar of the English language*. London, the United Kingdom: Longman.
- Schachter, P., & Otones, F. (1972). *Tagalog reference grammar*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.
- Schneider, E. W. (2003). The dynamics of new Englishes: From identity construction to dialect birth. *Language*, 79(2), 233–281.
- Schneider, E. W. (2016). Hybrid Englishes: An exploratory survey. *World Englishes*, 35(3), 339–354.
- Thomason, S. G. (1997). A typology of contact languages. In A. K. Spears and D. Winford (Eds.), *The structure and status of pidgins and creoles, Volume 19* (pp. 71–88). Amsterdam, the Netherlands: John Benjamins.

## **Appendix A: Glossing Abbreviations**

1SG – first person singular

2SG – second person singular

3SG third person singular

1PL – first person plural

2PL – second person plural

3PL – third person plural

ADV – adverb

AFX – affix

CLF – classifier

CONJ – conjunction

COP – copula

DEM – demonstrative

DET – determiner

DIST – distal marker

EXIST – existential

FUT – future tense

GEN – genitive marker

INT – intensifier

LK - linker

LIG – ligature

LOC – locative marker

MOD – modal auxiliary

NEG – negative marker

PER – perfective marker

PLU – plural marker

PREP – preposition

PROG – progressive marker

PRT – particle

### About the Author

**Wilkinson Daniel Wong GONZALES** is a graduate student at the National University of Singapore pursuing a degree in English language and linguistics. He works on world Englishes, corpus linguistics, contact linguistics, (socio)historical linguistics, as well as language documentation. Specifically, he is interested in Philippine languages used by the Chinese Filipino community, such as Philippine Hybrid Hokkien (PHH), Philippine Hokkien, Philippine Chinese English, and Philippine Mandarin, working on topics related to these languages and their speakers. Some of his research on these topics have been presented in various conferences world-wide, while others have been published in refereed local and international journals such as the *Philippine Journal of Linguistics*, *Asian Englishes*, and *Language Ecology*.

## **The intelligibility and comprehensibility of Philippine English to EFL speakers**

Shirley N. Dita<sup>1</sup> and Kristine D. De Leon<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup>De La Salle University, Manila

<sup>2</sup>Sohar University

### **Abstract**

Due to the emergence of different varieties of English, their intelligibility, which includes comprehensibility, has piqued the curiosity of a number of World Englishes researchers. However, there is a lack of study on intelligibility when it comes to Philippine English. Consequently, this paper aims to answer how intelligible and comprehensible Philippine English is to other speakers of English, and what factors have contributed to the intelligibility and comprehensibility of Philippine English. In this study, it was found that Philippine English is less than 60% intelligible to speakers of English in the expanding circle, which were the listeners in this study. This result then supports the claim of Dayag (2007) that the Philippine English is less than 55% intelligible to speakers of expanding circle. Moreover, the study found that the factors that have significantly influenced the intelligibility of Philippine English are the speaker's syllable timed rhythm and pace of speech, the listeners' familiarity with certain pronunciation or pronunciation preference, and the linguistic context of the text. However, exposure to Philippine English does not warrant for intelligibility of the variety, which differs from Chambers and Trudgill (2008) and Nelson (2011)'s finding. In addition, this study revealed that Philippine English is comprehensible due to the aid of the linguistic context. On the whole, educators have to be perceptive on the factors that involve intelligibility and comprehensibility of a variety or varieties of English for them to be able to raise students' awareness on English varieties.

*Keywords: World Englishes; Philippine English; Intelligibility; Comprehensibility; EFL*

---

Authors' Affiliation: De La Salle University  
2401 Taft Avenue, 0922 Manila, Philippines  
Email Addresses: [shirley.dita@dlsu.edu.ph](mailto:shirley.dita@dlsu.edu.ph)  
[kristine.deleon@dlsu.edu.ph](mailto:kristine.deleon@dlsu.edu.ph)

## Introduction

With the notable upsurge of nonnative speakers of English, different varieties with distinctive phonological, morphological, syntactic, semantic, and discoursal features, continue to emerge as well. Intelligibility then becomes one of the issues concerning the emergence of these new varieties of English, for even if interlocutors use the same language, they still experience difficulty in understanding each other. With this, Matsuura (2007) opines that research on intelligibility and/or comprehensibility of different varieties of English has become more important than ever.

With the increasing interest in the research of this area, there have been various definitions of intelligibility in literature. One of the earliest definitions of it is that of Catford (1950, p. 8):

The effectiveness of an utterance, as defined here, is not identical with what is usually meant by the term intelligibility. Speech is generally said to be intelligible if the hearer 'understands the words, i.e. if his response is appropriate to the linguistic forms of the utterance...An utterance may be intelligible in this sense, yet ineffective in the sense that the hearer's response is not what the speaker intended.

Kenworthy (1987) defined intelligibility as "being understood by a listener at a given time in a given situation" (p.13), whereas Munro and Derwing (1995, p. 76) define it as "[the] extent to which a speaker's message is actually understood by a listener. Smith and Nelson (1985; 2006), on the other hand, have defined intelligibility in a more comprehensive manner by subdividing it into three aspects—intelligibility, comprehensibility, and interpretability, following Austin's (1962) speech act theory. Intelligibility is understanding the word or recognizing the utterance, which is locutionary, whereas comprehensibility is understanding the word or utterance meaning, which is illocutionary. Interpretability, however, is understanding the meaning behind the word or utterance, which is perlocutionary.

This paper aims at investigating the intelligibility (and comprehensibility) of Philippine English to EFL students. The next section presents some significant studies that have been done on intelligibility then a comprehensive discussion on the methodology adapted for this study follows. The findings and some pedagogical implications conclude this paper.

## Literature Review

The seminal work of Smith and Rafiqzad (1979) which compared the intelligibility of native and non-native English varieties, with 1,300 respondents from 11 countries, concludes that native speakers of English are neither the most intelligible nor the best judge of intelligibility since they were the least intelligible readers. The same claim was supported by Smith (1992) and Wang and Van Heuven (2003). In addition, Smith and Rafiqzad (1979) claimed that familiarity to a variety could lead to intelligibility, which was further proven by other studies (e.g. Chambers & Trudgill, 1998; Dayag, 2007; Kennedy & Trofimovich, 2008; Munro & Derwing, 1995; Smith 1992). Chambers and Trudgill (1998) also stated that the drive to be understood and to correspond lead to interlocutors' understanding of the utterances. With this claim, there is no reason to insist having a native speaker



standard inside the classrooms because any variety of English is expected to be intelligible to any listener anyway.

After almost two decades, Smith (1992) was determined to identify the differences among intelligibility, comprehensibility and interpretability, and if these three are affected by factors such as familiarity of different English varieties and the topic and language proficiency. It was then found that all varieties of English included in this study are intelligible; however, Chinese English and UK English were less intelligible compared to the other varieties. Even if UK English is less intelligible, it is more comprehensible. It was also concluded in this study that familiarity of different varieties could lead to higher interpretability, and that exposure and proficiency aid intelligibility.

In the study of Bent and Bradlow (2003), they investigated how native and non-native language speakers affect the intelligibility of speech of non-native speakers or speakers with different L1 backgrounds, and the study revealed that non-native speakers with high English language proficiency and having the same L1 background with the listeners are highly intelligible. This suggests that intelligibility does not discriminate L1 backgrounds; it even enhances intelligibility if the interlocutors have the same L1.

However, in the study of Munro, Derwing and Morton (2006) on L2 speech, it was shown that regardless of the language background of the speakers, the listeners demonstrated moderate to high correlations between intelligibility and comprehensibility and accentedness. It can therefore be deduced that L1 background and exposure to a certain kind of accent are not major players to understanding the L2 speech.

Deterding and Kirkpatrick (2006) also conducted a study on intelligibility of the emerging South-East Asian Englishes focusing on the pronunciation features of 10 ASEAN countries, and it was concluded in this study that “there seems little reason to encourage speakers in ASEAN region to adopt a diphthongal pronunciation...especially as producing these vowels as diphthongs is likely in some countries to make the speaker sound pretentious and insincere” (p. 406). Hung (2002) also commented regarding pronunciation and intelligibility. He argued that “intelligibility is not a matter of pronunciation alone” (p. 6) and “purist approach that advocates conformity to a particular “old variety of English” now seems more outdated than ever” (p.15).

In the Philippine context, Dayag (2007) explored on the intelligibility of Philippine English to other speakers of English. In his study, there were 6 participants - 2 participants from every Kachruvian circle - and it was found that Philippine English is more than 50% intelligible to the expanding circles and more or less 80% intelligible to inner and outer circle. Dayag further argues that the factor that contributed to the understanding of the speakers is the speaking rate, and the factor that hindered to the understanding of the speakers is limited exposure or familiarity to Philippine English.

Dita (2013), following the study of Dayag (2007), investigated the intelligibility and comprehensibility of Philippine English to international students. One striking finding of this study is that the less proficient speaker of Philippine English is more intelligible compared to the more proficient speaker, and this is due to the speakers' rate and effort to enunciate the words clearly. It should be noted that the less proficient speaker used syllable-timed rhythm,

whereas the more proficient speaker used stress-timed rhythm. She further argues that pronunciation does not have a strong bearing in understanding the utterances of a speaker, for there are factors that could highly contribute to intelligibility such as familiarity of the variety and linguistic environment.

Since there is a limited study on the intelligibility of Philippine English to speakers of other varieties of English, this study sought to answer the following: (1) How intelligible is Philippine English to EFL speakers? (2) How comprehensible is Philippine English to EFL speakers? and (3) What factors contribute to the speakers' (un)intelligibility and/or (un)comprehensibility?

## Methodology

### Participants

To represent Philippine English, the speech of two speakers, with varied background and proficiency level, was recorded. The two speakers were asked to assess their English speaking proficiency based on their pronunciation, intonation, stress, and fluency from 1 to 5; one being the lowest and five the highest. Speaker A, who happens to be a female English lecturer and a Ph.D. student, claims to have a speaking proficiency of 5/5; whereas, speaker B, who happens to be a male Nursing lecturer, and with two Master's degrees, reports a 3.5/5 English speaking proficiency level. Both speakers got their formal education in the Philippines, and that they have not lived outside the country. Interestingly, the more proficient speaker exhibits a stress-timed rhythm whereas the less proficient one demonstrates a syllable-timed rhythm.

To determine the intelligibility of Philippine English, twenty EFL intermediate students who come from seven countries participated in this study. The listeners were divided into two groups based on their own assessment of their English language proficiency. The first group, composed of five Chinese, three Koreans, one Taiwanese and one Iranian, listened to speaker A, while the second group, composed of three Chinese, one Taiwanese, one Cambodian, one Myanmar, one Korean, one Japanese, one Iranian and one Mexican, listened to speaker B. Of the 20 participants, seven have stayed in the Philippines for less than six months, while the rest have stayed in the country no more than two years. Below is the summary of the listeners' own assessment of their language proficiency.

Table 1

*Language proficiency of the listeners*

	<b>AVERAGE GROUP A</b>	<b>AVERAGE GROUP B</b>
<b>Speaking</b>	1.9	2
<b>Listening</b>	2.1	2.2
<b>Reading</b>	2.5	2.4
<b>Writing</b>	2.1	2.1

## Setting

The study was conducted in a language center of one the universities in Manila with state-of-the-art facilities. The recording of Philippine English speech was done inside the room with the use of Samsung Note 2 phablet. The series of listening activities was likewise performed in the classrooms and thus unnecessary noise was reduced to a minimum.

## Materials

There are two scripts used in this study. The first is the script read by the two Philippine English speakers, entitled “News Report” which was obtained from Randall’s ESL-Cyber Listening Lab, an online website that provides different listening tests. Composed of 145 words, the script is free from any technical jargon which may affect the listening test. To measure the intelligibility of the speakers, the cloze test (cf. Smith & Rafiqzad, 1979; Dayag, 2007, among others), is employed in this study where the nth word is left blank and the listeners write down the word based on their understanding of the speakers’ speech (see Appendix B). As for the comprehensibility test, the listeners had to answer five questions based on the script.

To test the claim of Dita (2013) that linguistic environment affects intelligibility, 15 words from the script were changed based on Malicsi’s (2005) list of commonly mispronounced words by Filipinos thus creating a semantically anomalous text. In total, there are 4 recordings in all or two each speaker: the normal script and the semantically anomalous one. Below is the table of the length of each recording and the number of words for each recording.

Table 2

### *Length of the recordings*

<b>Speaker A: Female</b> (High Language Proficiency)	<b>Length of the recording</b>	<b>Number of words</b>
<b>Recording 1A</b>	1min 11 s	145 words
<b>Recording 2A</b>	1min 10 s	167 words
<b>Speaker B: Male</b> (Average Language Proficiency)		
<b>Recording 1B</b>	1 min 10 s	145 words
<b>Recording 2B</b>	1 min 15 s	167 words

## Procedure

Before the recording, the speakers were given time to get familiar with the scripts. Using Samsung Note 2, the speakers were recorded as they read the two scripts simultaneously. For the first script, the speakers were recorded twice since the first recording was a bit unnatural. Both speakers were more comfortable with the second script which didn’t have to go through the second round of recording. All voice recordings were saved and transferred in a USB for easy access.

For the listening activity, the 20 participants were asked to fill out the personal data sheet and the self-assessment of their English language proficiency (ELP). The listeners were then divided into two groups according to their ELP. One group listened to Speaker A and another group listened to Speaker B. The participants were instructed to listen to the recording of Script 1 twice: first, they listened to the recording then they were given a copy of the cloze test. The recording was then played and the listeners answer the cloze test as they listen to the recording the second time. After the cloze test, the listeners were given a copy of the comprehension test and answered the questions based on their understanding of what they listened to. After the cloze and comprehension tests were collected, the listeners were again instructed to listen to the recording of Script 2 only for once. The cloze test for Script 2 was distributed before the recording was played.

After the cloze test of the second script was collected, the listeners participated in a Focus Group Discussion (FGD) where some questions about the the script and other issues concerning the listening activity were raised. See Appendix D for the interview questions.

### Findings and Discussion

To address the first question of the study on how intelligible Philippine English is to EFL students, there were two sets of test conducted in the study: one using a normal text and another using a semantically anomalous one. The summary of scores is presented below:

Table 3

#### *Intelligibility Scores of Listeners*

Listener	Number of Correct Utterances	Percentage	Mean
<b>GROUP A</b>			
<b>A1</b>	0	0%	<b>8.00%</b>
<b>A2</b>	5	33%	
<b>A3</b>	1	7%	
<b>A4</b>	0	0%	
<b>A5</b>	0	0%	
<b>A6</b>	0	0%	
<b>A7</b>	0	0%	
<b>A8</b>	2	13%	
<b>A9</b>	3	20%	
<b>A10</b>	1	7%	
<b>GROUP B</b>			
<b>B1</b>	0	0%	<b>22.67%</b>
<b>B2</b>	8	53%	
<b>B3</b>	7	47%	
<b>B4</b>	1	7%	
<b>B5</b>	1	7%	
<b>B6</b>	3	20%	

<b>B7</b>	1	7%	
<b>B8</b>	3	20%	
<b>B9</b>	6	40%	
<b>B10</b>	4	27%	

As can be deduced from table 3, no single student from both groups, A and B, scored higher than 60% and some did not even get any correct answer. This shows that the listeners had difficulty understanding the words uttered by the speakers. This result corroborates with Dayag’s (2007) findings that Philippine English is least intelligible to the expanding circle listeners, averaging only 55% intelligible, as opposed to 80% for the inner and outer circles. Worth noting is the discrepancy in the results of the test – that is, 8% from Group A and 22.67% from Group B. This means that the listeners find Speaker B, the less proficient of the two speakers, more intelligible than the Speaker A, the more proficient one, which is consistent with Dita’s (2013) findings as well.

Another reason for the poor intelligibility results may be attributed to the nature of script 2, being semantically anomalous. As claimed by Dita (2013), intelligibility is highly influenced by the linguistic context. As evident in the answers of some listeners, they used context to determine what the missing word is, not what they actually listened to. Examples are shown below:

Example 1: ...they noticed fire coming from apartment [utensil] earlier this morning.

Example 2: I believed that all [orator] had been evacuated to safety.

The examples show that the listeners tried to answer the blanks based on the meaning of the sentences, and their answers actually make sense. In example 1, the fire is associated with ‘apartment’ and in most cases, apartment, building and house are the ones that are caught on fire. So even if the speaker uttered ‘utensil’ and not ‘apartment’, the listeners used linguistic environment in determining the missing word in the cloze test. In example 2, the listener wrote ‘all’ and not ‘orator’ which gave sense to the sentence. Again, the listener made use of context in determining the appropriate word for the blank. Based on the examples, it can be assumed that linguistic context surely affects the intelligibility of the listeners. This could also be the reason that most of the listeners scored very low in the cloze test.

Additionally, in group A, 5 listeners did not have a single answer, while in group B, only one listener did not have an answer. Thus, the mean of group A is around 10%, whereas the mean of group B is around 30%. The difference of the two groups is quite huge which is a little bit surprising. Based on the self-report of the listeners’ proficiency level, group A and group B have the same level of language proficiency. Thus, the language proficiency of the two groups could not be the reason for getting a score of zero in the test. This result of the study is unexpected since group A listened to a high level proficiency speaker (Speaker A) and group B listened to a speaker with average language proficiency. If one is to compare the two speakers based on the intonation, pronunciation and accent, speaker 2 (Average Language Proficiency) can be more identified as a Filipino speaker in contrast with speaker 1 (High Language Proficiency) since speaker 1 adheres more to General American English. An example would be the rhythm that the two speakers used — Speaker 1 used stressed-timed, while Speaker 2 used syllable-timed. The listeners probably found speaker 2 more intelligible since the

listeners' variety of English also uses syllable-timed rhythm. As what Hung (2002) mentioned, most varieties of English are syllable-timed rhythm, and that most speakers of the New Varieties of English find 'syllable-timed' more intelligible to them compared to 'stress-timed'. Additionally, Kirkpatrick, Deterding and Wong (2008) affirm that syllable-timed rhythm enhances intelligibility as all syllables are enunciated clearly.

Another factor that influenced the results of the intelligibility test could be the pronunciation, since Speaker 1 pronounced words like margarine as [MAHR-jer-in] and hectare as [HEK-tair], whereas Speaker 2 pronounced the words margarine as [MAHR-gar-in] and hectare as [HEK-tar]. Of the two, the latter appears to be more familiar to the listeners than the former. According to Jenkins (2003), the variations of pronunciation could lead to miscommunication. Therefore, listeners of Speaker 1 could have misunderstood the words that were uttered for the cloze test. If pronunciation of the words were a factor of low intelligibility, then this result goes against the claim of Smith and Rafiqzad (1979) which states that a person could be intelligible to his or her listeners so long as he speaks educated English even if that person's phonology is not that of a native speaker. This further shows that the linguistic context and not the pronunciation aided the intelligibility of the speaker.

Smith (1992) also opines that exposure and experience are factors that made other Englishes intelligible to the listeners. Hence, the listeners' length of stay here in the Philippines has to be considered as well. Table 4 shows the length of time that the listeners stayed in the Philippines.

Table 4

*Length of time spent in the Philippines*

<b>Listener</b>	<b>Percentage</b>	<b>Nationality</b>	<b>Length of stay in the Philippines</b>
<b>GROUP A</b>			
<b>A1</b>	0%	Vietnamese	5 months
<b>A2</b>	33%	Iranian	6 months
<b>A3</b>	7%	Chinese	2 years
<b>A4</b>	0%	Chinese	10 months
<b>A5</b>	0%	Chinese	2 years
<b>A6</b>	0%	Chinese	2-3 months
<b>A7</b>	0%	Chinese	3 months
<b>A8</b>	13%	Taiwanese	1 year
<b>A9</b>	20%	Korean	4 months
<b>A10</b>	7%	Korean	2 months
<b>GROUP B</b>			
<b>B1</b>	0%	Chinese	5 months
<b>B2</b>	53%	Chinese	6 months
<b>B3</b>	47%	Taiwanese	6 months
<b>B4</b>	7%	Korean	2 months
<b>B5</b>	7%	Cambodian	3 months
<b>B6</b>	20%	Japanese	9 months
<b>B7</b>	7%	Myanmar	2 years



<b>B8</b>	20%	Iranian	6 months
<b>B9</b>	40%	Mexican	8 months
<b>B10</b>	27%	Korean	I year

As shown in the table, in group A, the two listeners who stayed 6 months and below had high scores. In fact, these two listeners are the top scorers of the group. This is also true to group B. The top 2 high scorers have lived in the Philippines for only 6 months. Therefore, the length of exposure to a particular variety of English does not ensure intelligibility of that variety. It appears that in this particularly, the findings contradict the claim of Chambers and Trudgill (1998) that exposure to the language is one of the factors of mutual intelligibility, and to Nelson’s (2011) who stated that exposure to the speech of a particular language could lead to the intelligibility of that language. It should be noted however that, as earlier claimed, this study used a semantically anomalous script to test the extent of linguistic environment in the intelligibility process. This could have confused the listeners as they tried to process the problematic words in the sentence.

Additionally, the results also show that most of the Chinese students scored zero in the test. This substantiates Wang and van Heuven’s (2003) conclusion when they mentioned that “Chinese have (very) poor word recognition . . . even for words with high predictability contexts” (p.221). The difficulty of the Chinese participants in the study in recognizing the words could be attributed to their lack of exposure to Philippine English coupled with the complexity of figuring out how the problematic words fit in the sentence.

The next to address in this study is the comprehensibility of Philippine English to EFL students. Table 5 shows the comprehensibility scores of the listeners of this study.

Table 5

*Comprehensibility scores of the listeners*

<b>Listener</b>	<b>Nationality</b>	<b>Number of Correct Answers</b>	<b>Percentage</b>	<b>Mean</b>
<b>GROUP A</b>				
<b>A1</b>	Vietnamese	4	80%	<b>90%</b>
<b>A2</b>	Iranian	5	100%	
<b>A3</b>	Chinese	5	100%	
<b>A4</b>	Chinese	4	80%	
<b>A5</b>	Chinese	5	100%	
<b>A6</b>	Chinese	4	80%	
<b>A7</b>	Chinese	5	100%	
<b>A8</b>	Taiwanese	3	60%	
<b>A9</b>	Korean	5	100%	
<b>A10</b>	Korean	5	100%	
<b>GROUP B</b>				
<b>B1</b>	Chinese	1	20%	<b>66%</b>
<b>B2</b>	Chinese	5	100%	
<b>B3</b>	Taiwanese	4	80%	

<b>B4</b>	Korean	5	100%
<b>B5</b>	Cambodian	1	20%
<b>B6</b>	Japanese	5	100%
<b>B7</b>	Myanmar	4	80%
<b>B8</b>	Iranian	3	60%
<b>B9</b>	Mexican	2	40%
<b>B10</b>	Korean	3	60%

As shown in Table 5, almost half of the listeners had a perfect score in the comprehension test, and around a quarter of the listener had one mistake in the test. Results show high comprehension to the recorded script even if they only listened to it once. However, if the two groups are to be compared, group A's comprehensibility is higher than group B's. Interestingly, there is a little inconsistency in the results considering that Group B outperformed Group A in the intelligibility test. It can be surmised that the comprehensibility test was pretty manageable for the listeners, considering that they answered only 5 items about a relatively short and jargon-free text. Further, the comprehensibility test was given after the listening to the normal script for the second time. As can be seen from the table, two specific listeners (B1 & B5) scored very low in the test which impacted negatively on the overall results for Group B. While the majority showed a rather positive performance, it could be possible that these two had specific reasons for the low performance. As what Nelson (2011) opines, "comprehensibility can fail, even when the degree of intelligibility between participants is high" (p.36). In this study, it means that even if the intelligibility test of Group B was high, the comprehensibility could be low. The score of Group A could also be attributed to Speaker A who claimed to have a 5/5 ELP. As espoused by Bent and Bradlow (2003), L2 speakers with high proficiency are more intelligible than those L2 speakers with lower proficiency.

As for the factors that contribute to the speakers' (un)intelligibility and/or (un)comprehensibility, among those that emerged during the FGD with the listeners are pace of the speech, pronunciation, and word choice. Both Groups A & B listeners claim that the pace of the recordings was moderate, not too fast nor slow. However, when they had to do the cloze test, they claim that the recording was a bit fast for them. It should be noted that the readers do not pause after the words in question are uttered. Hence, the listeners have to catch up as they write the words and listen to the rest of the recording, at the same time. Dita (2013) opines that pacing of the speech is crucial to the intelligibility of the speaker. This could be a reason why some listeners scored very low in the cloze test.

Another factor that affects intelligibility is pronunciation, as pointed out by some of the listeners. Group A listeners found the pronunciation of Speaker A very clear. However, in the second script, they were not familiar with how she pronounced some of the words, *spec*, the words 'margarine' and 'hectare'. Although these words are familiar to the listeners, the way Speaker A pronounced them do not match their own way of pronouncing the words. Speaker A pronounced it [mahr-JER-in] whereas the listeners pronounce it [mahr-GAR-in]. In group B, on the other hand, they mentioned that it was very easy to understand the words that Speaker 2 uttered, emphasizing that the syllable-timed rhythm greatly helped them in figuring out the words under question. Likewise, the listeners thought that Speaker B enunciated the words well for them. One of the listeners also commented that he has the same pronunciation as the speaker helped him comprehend the words easier. This adheres to Smith (1992) finding that

intelligibility is high when the interlocutors have the same linguistic background. The sameness of linguistic background here does not mean sameness in L1 though but probably some extent of similarity in linguistic ability, like using the same rhythm when speaking. Worth mentioning too is that the listeners thought that word choice appeared to be a factor in the whole intelligibility process. While the words of the normal script were neutral and jargon-free, they stated that some of the words were difficult to understand because they had never encountered such a pronunciation before. They are actually amused to learn that those words are supposedly pronounced that way. Thus, pace and pronunciation were the top factors that impacted on the intelligibility of the speakers.

For the comprehensibility, the listeners found the two recordings easy to understand. The speakers' voice was clear, and even if they were not able to fully understand each of the words that were uttered by the speakers, the context of the script helped them in understanding the recording as a whole. Going back to the scores and the mean that the two groups have gotten in the comprehension test, it can be deduced that the listeners have no trouble in comprehending the script. Munro, Derwing and Morton (2006) posited that "the effects of L1 background and experience with a particular type of accent were relatively minor factors in the ability to understand the L2 speech" (pp.125-126). And the comprehensibility could have possibly been facilitated by the neutrality of the text, the process of the test itself, that is, doing the comprehensibility test after listening to it the second time, and the fact that there were only five questions used to measure the comprehensibility.

### **Summary, Conclusions, and Recommendations**

In this study, there were two tests performed to measure the intelligibility of Philippine English to EFL speakers. While the EFL group is represented by only twenty listeners, some insightful generalizations can be drawn from the results of the study. Foremost, findings support what have been earlier claimed (cf. Hung, 2002; Kirkpatrick, Deterding, & Wong, 2008; among others) that syllable-timed rhythm is more intelligible than stress-timed rhythm. Likewise, findings confirm Dita's (2013) claim that linguistic environment greatly affects intelligibility in that even if the words are not properly pronounced or inappropriate words are used in a sentence, listeners use the context in determining the missing word. This suggests that pronunciation is not vital in the intelligibility of the speaker. For instance, even if a speaker would say 'ofen' the door instead of 'open', the listeners would still be able to deduce the meaning of the utterance. This was also pointed out by Dayag (2007) by mentioning that there is a probability that listeners identify the correct words due to the aid of the linguistic context. Moreover, it was also found out in this study that exposure to a certain language variety, in this case Philippine English, does not guarantee intelligibility of that variety, which is contrary to Chambers and Trudgill's (1998) and Nelson's (2011) findings. While exposure to the target language could be a potential factor in understanding a certain language variety, it appears that other variables stood more striking than this. The speakers' pace of speech and familiarity with a certain pronunciation proved to be among the factors that aided the intelligibility of Philippine English in this study. Pronunciation, in this study, refers to the effort of the speaker in producing the word, that is enunciating every syllable of the word. The pronunciation of the words may not adhere to the standard American English but it is the kind of pronunciation that the listeners prefer. In addition, the level of language proficiency of the listeners and of the speaker could have also affected the intelligibility process. That is, it was easier for the listeners

to figure out the words because the speaker pronounced the words in the same manner as they do. Given that there are many varieties of English, one has to be more familiar with how other varieties pronounced a particular word. Pacing of the speaker's speech is another aspect that can affect the listener's intelligibility. Thus, in reality, a speaker has to accommodate his or her listeners by slowing down the pace of his speech especially if that speaker is communicating with someone from the expanding circle. Word choice, on the other hand, does not seemingly affect the intelligibility of the listeners. It just happened that the listeners thought they were encountering difficult or new words due to their misinterpretation.

Understanding the speakers' speech is not an issue in this study. The listeners were able to comprehend due to, again, linguistic context. Thus, even if the listeners missed some of the words in an utterance, they could still identify the speaker's intention. And with the results of the study, it can be deduced that Philippine English is intelligible and comprehensible to EFL speakers, represented by the twenty listeners who come from seven EFL countries.

Based on the findings, the pedagogical implication is that teachers need to raise the awareness of students of the different varieties of English, and consequently, the different phonological features of the varieties. And as clearly espoused by Smith and Rafiqzad (1979), that is native speaker phonology does not appear to be more intelligible than non-native speaker phonology; and Deterding and Kirkpatrick (2006), that is, pronunciation does not affect intelligibility, we strongly oppose that English teachers in the Philippines insist that the performance target in the classrooms be a native speaker. What needs to be done, we argue, would be the exposure of students to the different varieties of English. Additionally, it should be made clear that 'standard' pronunciation is a 'myth' considering the local varieties of the new Englishes that are emerging.

Since only a few variables have been covered in this study, there is a pressing need to look into the other potential factors that could affect intelligibility and comprehensibility of Philippine English. Particularly, it would be good to consider the role of listeners' (or speakers') L1 in the intelligibility process; the educational level of both, and not just the ELP; and likewise, the possible effects of either phonemic or grammatical errors in the speakers' data. More importantly, there is a need to investigate the mutual intelligibility of Philippine English with other varieties of English.

### References

- Austin, J. L. (1962). *How to Do Things with Words*. Oxford: Clarendon.
- Bent, T., Bradlow, A.R. (2003). The interlanguage speech intelligibility benefit. *Journal of the Acoustical Society of America*, 114, 600–1610.
- Catford, J. (1950). Intelligibility. *English Language Teaching*, 1, 7-15.
- Chambers, J. K., & Trudgill, P. (1998). *Dialectology*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Dayag, D. T. (2007). Exploring the intelligibility of Philippine English. *Asian Englishes*, 10(1), 4-23.
- Deterding, D., & Kirkpatrick, A. (2006). Emerging South-East Asian Englishes and intelligibility. *World Englishes*, 25(3-4), 391-409.
- Dita, S.N. (2013). *Intelligibility and comprehensibility of Philippine English to international students*. Paper presentation at the 19<sup>th</sup> International Association for World Englishes conference, Arizona State University, Tempe, Arizona.
- Jenkins, J. (2003). *World Englishes: A resource book for students*. London: Routledge.
- Hung, T.T.N. (2002). English as a global language and the issues of international intelligibility. *Asian Englishes*, 5(1), 4-17.
- Kenworthy, J. (1987). *Teaching English Pronunciation*. London: Longman.
- Kennedy, S., & Trofimovich, P. (2008). Intelligibility, comprehensibility and accentedness of L2 speech: The role of listener experience and semantic context. *The Canadian Modern Language Review*, 64(3), 459-489.
- Kirkpatrick, A., Deterding, D., & Wong, P. M. J. (2008). The international intelligibility of Hong Kong English. *World Englishes*, 27(3-4), 359-377.
- Malicsi, J. (2005). *The English Linguistics Project: English Manual* (7<sup>th</sup> ed.). Quezon City, Philippines: The Classics Foundation.
- Matsuura, H. (2007). Intelligibility and individual learner differences in the EIL context. *System*, 35, 293–304.
- Munro, M.J. & Derwing, T. M. (1995) Foreign Accent, Comprehensibility, and Intelligibility in the Speech of Second Language Learners. *Language Learning*, 45(1), 73-97.
- Munro, M.J., Derwing, T.M., & Morton, S.L. (2006). The mutual intelligibility of L2 speech. *Studies in Second Language Acquisition*, 28, 111-131.

- Nelson, C. L. (2011). *Intelligibility in world Englishes: Theory and application*. New York: Routledge.
- Smith, L.E. (1992). Spread of English and issues of intelligibility. In B.B. Kachru (Ed.), *The other tongue: English across cultures* (2<sup>nd</sup> ed.) (pp.75-90). Urbana & Chicago: University of Illinois Press.
- Smith, L. E., & Nelson, C. L. (1985). International intelligibility of English: Directions and resources. *World Englishes*, 4(3), 333-342.
- Smith, L. E., & Nelson, C. L. (2006). World Englishes and issues of intelligibility. In B. B. Kachru, Y. Kachru, & C. L. Nelson (Eds.), *The handbook of World Englishes* (pp. 428-445). Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing Ltd.
- Smith, L.E. & Rafiqzad, K. (1979). English for cross-cultural communication: The question of intelligibility. *TESOL Quarterly*, 13(3), 371-380.
- Wang, H. & Van Heuven, V.J. (2003). Mutual intelligibility of Chinese, Dutch and American speakers of English. In P. Fikkert & L. Cornips (Eds.), *Linguistics in the Netherlands* (pp. 213 – 224). John Benjamins: Amsterdam.

#### **About the Authors**

Shirley N. Dita is associate professor of the Department of English and Applied Linguistics at De La Salle University where she teaches World Englishes, Corpus Linguistics, Austronesian Linguistics, Syntax, and Grammatical Structure of English in the graduate program.

Kristine D. De Leon just finished her Ph.D. in Applied Linguistics where she worked on the intelligibility of Philippine English for her dissertation under the mentorship of Dr. Dita.



### APPENDIX A: Participants' Profile and English Language Proficiency

Name(Optional): \_\_\_\_\_ Age: \_\_\_\_\_  
Nationality: \_\_\_\_\_ Course: \_\_\_\_\_  
Length of time spent in the Philippines: \_\_\_\_\_

### ENGLISH LANGUAGE SKILLS

Instruction: Rate your language skills (Tick the box.)

	Poor	Fair	Good	Excellent
Speaking				
Listening				
Reading				
Writing				

### APPENDIX B: CLOZE TEST

Instruction: Write the words you hear in the correct blank.

This is \_\_\_\_\_ from Channel 13 News.

I'm at the scene of a \_\_\_\_\_ rescue that occurred earlier today involving an \_\_\_\_\_, a 3-month-old baby, and a \_\_\_\_\_. Unfortunately, we're not able to get \_\_\_\_\_ because of the possibility of an explosion. However, \_\_\_\_\_ say that they noticed fire coming from \_\_\_\_\_ earlier this morning.

It was believed that \_\_\_\_\_ had been evacuated to safety; however, \_\_\_\_\_, Susan O'Connor, when she had returned and \_\_\_\_\_ the fire. She panicked, realizing that \_\_\_\_\_ was still inside. However, witnesses a \_\_\_\_\_. The family dog pulling the body \_\_\_\_\_. Fortunately, everyone is reported fine. The \_\_\_\_\_ was taken to the hospital, as well as \_\_\_\_\_, but we're happy to say that \_\_\_\_\_, it looks like everyone will be fine. This is \_\_\_\_\_. Channel 13 News.

## APPENDIX C: COMPREHENSION QUESTIONS

Instruction: Encircle the letter of the correct answer.

1. What news event is being reported?
  - A. a bomb threat at a hospital
  - B. a flood at a school
  - C. a fire at an apartment building
  
2. When did this event occur?
  - A. in the morning
  - B. in the early afternoon
  - C. in the evening
  
3. Who was rescued?
  - A. a baby
  - B. a boy
  - C. an elderly woman
  
4. The dog helped rescue this person by \_\_\_\_\_.
  - A. attracting people's attention by barking
  - B. pulling the person to safety
  - C. comforting the person until help came
  
5. What is the current medical condition of the survivor?
  - A. in critical, but stable condition
  - B. in serious condition
  - C. in good condition

### Script 1:

This is Sophia/Michael from Channel 13 News.

I'm at the scene of a southern rescue that occurred earlier today involving an indigent, a 3-month-old baby, and a lunatic. Unfortunately, we're not able to get competitive because of the possibility of an explosion. However, margarine say that they noticed fire coming from utensil earlier this morning.

It was believed that orator had been evacuated to safety; however, elitist, Susan O'Connor, when she had returned and assumed the fire. She panicked, realizing that culinary was still inside. However, witnesses a variable. The family dog pulling the body hectare. Fortunately, everyone is reported fine. The eyebrow was taken to the hospital, as well as assume, but we're happy to say that eligible, it looks like everyone will be fine. This is Sophia/Michael, Channel 13 News.

## Script 2

This is \_\_\_\_\_ from Channel 13 News.

I'm at the scene of a [miraculous](#) rescue that [occurred](#) earlier today involving a fire, a 3-month-old baby, and the baby's dog, Lucky. Uh, the fire [broke out](#) at the three-story building behind me. Uh, unfortunately, we're not able to get any closer because the possibility of an explosion. Uh, however, [witnesses](#) say that they noticed fire coming from the building earlier this morning.

It was believed that everyone had been [evacuated](#) to safety; however, one of the residents, Susan O'Connor, when she had returned and noticed the fire, she [panicked](#), realizing that her 3-month-old baby was still inside. However, witnesses report seeing the dog, uh, the family dog, pulling the baby to safety by, uh, the baby's clothes. Fortunately, everyone is reported fine. The baby was taken to the hospital, uh, as well as the dog, but we're happy to say that at this time, it looks like everyone, uh, will be fine. This is Channel 13 News.

## Interview Questions

How do you find the recording? Was it fast or slow?

How do you find the pronunciation of the speaker?

Are you familiar with the words used?

Were you able to answer the all the items in the cloze test?

If you did answer all the items, what are the reasons that made you answer these items?

If did not answer all the items, what are the reasons of your difficulty in answering the test?

Were you able to answer the all the items in the comprehension test? Why/why not?

## Philippine English in the ESL Classroom: A Much Closer Look

Alejandro S. Bernardo, Ph.D.  
University of Santo Tomas

### Abstract

This paper primarily points out Philippine English (PhE) manifestations and structures in curricular elements and evaluates whether pedagogical practices in the English as Second Language (ESL) classrooms in the Philippines are adherent to the World Englishes (WE) paradigm. It aims at ‘finding’ PhE in three critical areas of English language instruction: (1) in the current state-prescribed English Language Teaching and Learning (ELTL) curriculum, (2) in teacher-student classroom interactions, and (3) in the tests administered by teachers to learners. Put in another way, the objective is to examine if PhE has made inroads into the ESL instructional backbone and pedagogical practices and if, to a certain extent, it has been mentioned or spoken about in ESL classrooms and promoted as a (or *the* or *one of the*) pedagogical model(s) in teaching English courses. This paper argues that for PhE to fully and to successfully reach endonormative stabilization, its presence should be evident in what teachers teach (content), in classroom conversations (actual classroom use), and in the assessment tools teachers employ (test construction). In the end, a pedagogical strategy for making the teaching of English in the Philippine ESL classrooms PhE- and WE-inspired is forwarded.

**Keywords:** Philippine English, endonormative pedagogic model, endonormative stabilization, English as a Second Language (ESL), English Language Teaching (ELT)

### Introduction

More and more have attempted to pinpoint where exactly Philippine English is to date. Borlongan (2016), on one hand, argues that Philippine English (PhE henceforth) is at the dawn of endonormative stabilization; in his most recent paper, with Collins as his co-author (in this issue), he posits that PhE has achieved linguistic independence. Martin (2014), on the other, affirms that PhE has developed into a nativized form.

The attempt of finding PhE is brought about by the call to accurately locate it in Schneider’s Dynamic Model for Post-colonial Englishes (Schneider, 2003, 2007). Kirkpatrick (2007) argues that Schneider’s dynamic model framework is the most current and comprehensive theory explaining the development of new Englishes, and thus it would be a better map for finding the very spot PhE, or any variety for that matter, now occupies and a more reliable yardstick for assessing what an indigenized and institutionalized variety has

become. If in the search it is found that PhE has already traversed from one developmental stage to another, i.e., transportation to endonormative stabilization, then the question of *if* and *how* PhE has permeated the ESL instructional practices as a requisite for endonormative steadiness has to be addressed.

This paper, therefore, endeavors to locate PhE in the language learning program and in certain pedagogical practices in the Philippine ESL classrooms, more particularly in the English Language Teaching and Learning (ELTL) curriculum, in classroom interactions, and in test construction. Through content and documentary analyses and classroom recordings, this paper endeavors to examine if PhE has made inroads into the ESL pedagogy specifically in what teachers teach the ELT learners (content), in classroom interactions and conversations (actual classroom use), and in how students are tested (assessment). In other words, this paper points out PhE structures and PhE manifestations in curricular elements and pedagogical practices and evaluates whether these are WE-aligned. In the end, a PhE and WE-informed pedagogical strategy for teaching English is proposed with the hope of helping PhE better find its way in the present ELTL curriculum and in classroom-based curricular implementations.

This paper is structured in this manner: the first subsection reports an analysis of the present K-12 English Curriculum implemented in the Philippine ESL classrooms. The primary objective is to define the scope and focus of the ELTL curriculum elements e.g., rationale, theory, objectives, methods, content, and means of evaluation. A secondary objective is to look for more concrete realizations and indications of the World Englishes paradigm in it. The second subsection presents the findings of an examination of teacher-student classroom interactions. The aim is to pinpoint the norm(s) that students and teachers adhere to when they converse or speak in English in the classroom and to describe the English spoken by educated Filipino speakers represented by English teachers and students. The third subsection discusses the results of the analysis of English tests administered to Filipino ESL learners. In the analysis, these areas were examined: the usual types of grammar tests; grammar constructs covered; and variety(ies) of English represented. The final subsection proposes a pedagogical strategy that ESL instructors may adapt to make their classroom teaching PhE- and WE-inspired.

### ***The K-12 English Language Teaching and Learning Curriculum***

A content analysis of the K-12 ELTL curriculum was undertaken with the aim of finding PhE traces (and the World Englishes paradigm) in it. The said curricular blueprint was secured from the Department of Education (DepEd), the government body tasked to spearhead and oversee curricular development and innovations in the Philippines. DepEd employs technical panel members commissioned to prepare the ESL curriculum to be implemented nationwide. Before it reaches its final form, a series of consultations and public hearings attended by English teachers and other stakeholders from all over the country are conducted to ensure that their comments, issues, and suggestions are addressed and incorporated in finalizing the curriculum.

The members of technical panel are leading ESL practitioners coming from premiere educational institutions in the country, and thus it may be conjectured that they are cognizant of the World Englishes paradigm born in the 1980s.

In the following section, ten provisions or stipulations are culled verbatim from the English curriculum guide (K-12 Curriculum Guide for English, 2015) with a hope that taking a critical look at them would help in finding PhE in the Philippine ELTL course map. Following them are critical claims that this paper would like to raise.

1. "Language learning should include a plethora of strategies and activities that helps students focus on both MEANING and ACCURACY."
2. "They [students] learn to control and understand the conventions of the target language that are valued and rewarded by society and to reflect on and critically analyze their own use of language and the language of others."
3. "Grammatical/Linguistic Competence means the acquisition of phonological rules, morphological words, syntactic rules, semantic rules and lexical items."
4. "Since different situations call for different types of expressions as well as different beliefs, views, values, and attitudes, the development of sociolinguistic competence is essential for communicative social action."
5. "Learners learn to create texts of their own and to engage with texts produced by other people."
6. "Language learning involves recognizing, accepting, valuing and building on students' existing language competence, including the use of non-standard forms of the language, and extending the range of language available to students."
7. "The curriculum aims to help learners understand that English language is a dynamic social process which responds to and reflects changing social conditions, and that English is inextricably involved with values, beliefs and ways of thinking about ourselves and the world we dwell in."
8. "Learning tasks and activities will be designed for learners to acquire the language in authentic and meaningful contexts of use. For example, lessons will be planned around learning outcomes, a theme, or a type of text to help learners use related language skills, grammatical items/structures and vocabulary appropriately in spoken and written language to suit the purpose, audience, context and culture."
9. "Learners apply their knowledge of the system of the language to assist them to make meaning and to create meaning....They apply this knowledge and understanding to create their own spoken, written and visual texts. Differences in language systems are expressed in a variety of ways: for example, in grammatical differentiations, variations in word order, word selection, or general stylistic variations in texts."
10. The learners should be able to "demonstrate grammatical awareness by being able to read, speak and write correctly, communicate effectively, in oral and written forms, using the correct grammatical structure of English."



Dubbed as The K-12 Language Arts and Multiliteracies Curriculum, the present ELTL curriculum is premised within the principles that underpin language acquisition, language teaching and learning and assessment. The curriculum supposes that (1) all languages are interconnected and intertwined, (2) acquiring a language is a continuous and an active process, (3) meaning is a prerequisite to learning, (4) effective use of language is achieved through meaningful engagement and study of texts, (5) listening, speaking, reading, writing, and viewing comprise language learning and (6) language learning requires recognizing, accepting, valuing, and building on students' existing language competence, plus the deployment of non-standard forms of the language, and outspreading the range of language accessible to students.

The primary goal of the present ELTL curriculum is to produce graduates who are communicatively competent – grammatical, sociolinguistic, discourse, pragmatic and strategic. Further, it has five essential components, the learning process, effective language use, macroskills interrelationship, and holistic assessment and “each component is essential to the learners' ability to communicate effectively in a language leading them to achieve communicative competence and multiliteracies in the Mother Tongue, Filipino and English” (K-12 Curriculum Guide: English, 2015, p.7). The present curriculum, therefore, highlights communicative competence as its end goal. While it is evident that the present curriculum is based on a principled design, it appears that the larger backdrop of the WE framework is not in any manner mentioned as one of the theoretical backbones that bolster the ELTL curriculum in the country. The WE paradigm is hardly unknown to local ELT practitioners and teachers (Bernardo, 2013) and thus members of the technical committees tasked to draft curricular maps would have the strong say and pedagogical clout to make it as one of the crucial considerations in curriculum design. This perceived absence is evident in the analysis of the above stipulations in the K-12 Curriculum Guide for English.

A closer look at the above provisions allows one to construe that grammatical accuracy is viewed as correctness as far as the usage of syntactic items is concerned. Essentially, accuracy is the ability to produce correct sentences using correct grammar and vocabulary. It seems unclear, however, whether the yardstick of correctness purported in the K-12 English Curriculum is that of the native speakers or that of the Filipino speakers of English. As it is, Filipinos have given birth to a legitimate variety of English that has been extensively researched about, (e.g., Bautista, 1997, 2000a, 2000b, 2000c, 20001a, 2001b, 2001c, 2003, 2004, 2008, 2011; Borlongan, 2008; Borlongan & Dita, 2015), and has been accepted as a pedagogic model by language teachers and learners in the country (Bernardo, 2013; Bernardo & Madrunio, 2016). In honing the learner's grammatical accuracy, teachers seem to be barely informed if they would back the ESL learners to produce grammatically acceptable written and spoken English aiming towards the accuracy of a native speaker. While it is understandable that the target language is English, one important question to answer is whose syntactic (as well as phonological, lexical, and discourse) conventions will be adhered to? whose linguistic norms or rules will be internalized? are the local norms referred to? which variety of English should be the target – is it Philippine English, American English or different varieties of English?

It is also worth mentioning that the present English curriculum puts emphasis on honing the sociolinguistic competence of the learners but one question is ‘are the students made aware of the communicative function of the local variety of English - Philippine English – and other varieties of English, for instance in Asia?’ It seems hazy if learners are made mindful that usage of such varieties is accepted in both formal and informal settings as far as the World Englishes paradigm is concerned. Further, it would be interesting to consider if other varieties of English are introduced through varied text types produced by nonnative educated speakers of English and if the learners are able to use print and non-print resources of language to enable them to compare the language used in the native speakers’ and nonnative speakers’ environments.

Another critique that may be forwarded is that in the production of texts, it is doubtful whether learners may or should opt for the use of endonormative lexical and syntactic structures. The promotion of pedagogic efforts rooted in the sociolinguistic realities of the learners seem to be neither explicit nor implicit in the present ELTL curriculum. Simply put, it is unclear whether learners are encouraged to use features of everyday language both in creative and academic writing tasks. Lastly, how non-standard forms are treated in the curriculum is hardly expounded. One therefore may presuppose that non-standard English may refer to varieties spoken outside the Inner Circle in the Kachruvian circles of World Englishes. While it is interesting to note that the curriculum vies to aid learners understand that the English language is a dynamic social process which responds to and reflects shifting social conditions, the evolution of the language from English to Englishes is hardly underscored. Overall, it may be deduced that the WE paradigm in general and PhE in particular are hardly regarded as a serious pedagogical agendum in the present-day ELTL curriculum implemented in the Philippines.

### ***Philippine English in Classroom Interactions***

Twenty-four English classes in the three Philippine universities were video- or audio-recorded for purposes of (1) identifying the norm(s) that students and teachers adhere to when they converse or speak in English during class hours and (2) characterizing the English spoken by educated speakers represented by English teachers and students in Metro Manila. Teacher and student talks were transcribed by the writer and his research assistants after the recording. The transcriptions were rechecked against the tapes to detect possible inconsistencies or discrepancies. In some cases, however, there were unclear or inaudible utterances primarily because of technical limitations and other barriers, such as physical noise.

The schedule of the recording was based on the availability and preferences of the English instructors involved. The recording was not executed on the target dates, i.e., beginning and middle of the first term of A.Y. 2014-2015, because of frequent suspension of classes due to inclement weather, hesitation of some teachers to be observed several times, interruption of classes caused by university-wide activities, technical glitches, unapproved requests, and differences in schedules. Thus, these constraints resulted in an unequal number of video

transcriptions from the three universities. A number of teachers were observed thrice; some were observed twice or only once. Despite this limitation, the total number of transcriptions may still provide a sufficient basis for specifying the model(s) consciously or unconsciously promoted in a good number of ESL classrooms.

The lessons when the classes were observed varied because of the different English subjects offered in the three universities. Ideally, all the subjects that should have been observed must be purely grammar lessons, but because of the differences in curricular offerings and undesired assignment of teacher-participants, not only grammar classes were seen. The subjects observed include Introduction to College English, Writing, and Speech and Oral Communication, which also incorporate grammar lessons. Seeing different subjects, nonetheless, seems more advantageous given that more student interaction and more unrehearsed and naturally occurring conversations were captured during the video or audio recording. The lessons comprised of informative and impromptu speeches, thesis development and topic specification, verb tenses, subject-verb agreement, and writing research papers. Based on the analysis of the transcriptions and classroom observations conducted, regardless of the lessons, the students were accorded ample opportunities to speak, and the teachers had adequate time to provide input in the target language. Monday, Wednesday, and Friday classes were held for an hour; Tuesday and Thursday classes were held for one and a half. In the case one school, regular classes are done in 1.5 hours (twice a week) or 3 hours (once a week). Schedule pairings are MTh, TF, or WS. The entire period was video-or audio-recorded before briefly informing the students about the nature of the data needed and the procedure for treating the information obtained from them. The orientation was done after the recording since briefing the students about the purpose of the investigation prior to the recording might unfavorably affect the results.

The participants' identities were anonymized; thus, a coding system was used. The sample statements or utterances culled from the transcriptions are introduced by the codes [T] (Teacher) and [S] (Student). At the end of each statement is the code of the source transcription, e.g., [JFE 1]. It must be noted that the unit of analysis is the thought group given that spoken English is usually characterized by incomplete sentence constructions. Incomplete constructions were not treated as deviations, for spoken English is often loose and frequently uses incomplete sentences; and only the most observable idiosyncratic features were analyzed.

The distinctive features that surfaced during classroom discussions and used by the students of different majors and the teachers of different ranks, educational qualifications, and teaching experiences are grouped into categories of variations below. Only handpicked examples for each grammatical category are presented in the succeeding section.

### *Tag Questions*

1. [T]: So if you remember it...if I remember it right, class, the last time we had a meeting, we started with the discussion on tenses, *right (didn't) we?* [JFE 1]
2. [S]: It's not easy to lose weight, *right (is it)?* [AVL 1]

### ***Definite and Indefinite Articles***

#### *Zero Article*

1. [S]: We can use **(a)** question or quotes. [AGD 1]
2. [T]: Use **(the)** microphone. [RYB 1]

#### *Definite Article for a Nonspecific Reference*

1. [T]: Because a violin, unlike the cello, I don't think you can do the same thing with **the (a)** cello, right? [AGD 1]
2. [T]: In writing **the (an)** essay, one must keep in mind the 5 Cs. [ASB 2]

#### *Unnecessary Indefinite/Definite Articles*

1. [T]: We should not deny the relationship between **the (Ø)** culture and **the (Ø)** language. [AVL 1]
2. [S]:...what can cause **the (Ø)** Type II Diabetes and what would be the effect of it on the person. [AVL 1]

### ***Ø Majority***

1. [S]: **(A)** Majority of my college friends call me Ria, but my original nickname is Karylle.[SNG1]
2. [T]: **(A)** Majority of verbs are action verbs. [AVL2]

### ***Verb Tenses***

#### *Present Perfective for Simple Past*

1. [T]: So last meeting I **have informed (informed)** you that, first, writing or essay or paragraphs we are going to do is the definition essay. [AGD 1]
2. [T]: Again, we have the following; you have analysis, we **have already discussed (discussed)** this last meeting. [AGD 1]

#### *Past Perfective for Simple Past*

1. [S]: The group that we **had graded (graded)**...overall, did a very good job in their grammar and style. [JPL 1]
2. [S]:...because when I **had experienced (experienced)** dating, we just went out sweet like that. [JYA1]

#### *Simple Present for Simple Past*

1. [S]:...this was my first choice because I take **(took)** the exam in this school and I pass **(passed)** and but originally I wanted to take up Political Science. [SNG 1]

2. [S]: So my reaction to this article was, at first, I really *don't (didn't)* know that these are the positive side of dating.[JYA1]

#### *Double Verbs*

1. [S]: When *do* present progressive tense *is* use? (*When is the present progressive tense used*)? [RYB 1]
2. [S]: *Is* being anorexic and bulimic *can be (Ø)* inborn? [AVL 1]

#### *Simple Present for Present Perfect Progressive/Continuous*

1. [S]: I guess they should be considered as heroes because, just like in my case, I was in her womb and I got separated from her then from that time until now, she *takes care (has been taking care)* of me with my siblings and my dad. [ASB3]
2. [S]: Since high school, my friend and I *share (have been sharing)* the room.[JYA1]

#### *Past Progressive for Present Perfect Progressive/Continuous*

1. [S]: ....since the time that I was born, my mom *was working (has been working)*, and after, after she delivered me, I was raised by my Tito and my Yaya. [ASB3]
2. [S]: All I wanted was a happy family. I *was dreaming (have been dreaming)* of a happy family since I was a kid. [ASB2]

#### *Get-passives*

1. [S]: I *got waitlisted* in Journalism and ah I realized that this program suited me so I plan to pursue it until the end. [SNG1]
2. [S]: When were, when were at the mall, you know we're talking like, I said a joke her, but there a she's very--she *got offended* easily. And then she won't to talk to me anymore.[JYA1]

#### *Modals*

##### *"Would" and "Could"*

1. [S]: It's not the arm that *would* hurt, it's actually your muscles that *would* be sprained too much. [AVL 1]
2. [S]: So in dating (...) you can clearly know better the person you're dating so with that, you *could (will)* know if you *could (will)* like her or not.[JYA1]

#### *Disjuncts in Ordinary Speech*

1. [T]: You don't have to get any point at all *actually*, right? [JFE 2]
2. [S]: *Basically*, they said [...] that fad diets aren't something that we should put in our everyday life. We should *actually* intake the correct amount of food, it's not in limiting the food, you take the correct amount, you exercise properly, not in excess. [AVL 1]

### ***Embedding***

1. [S]: So, our first objective for this paper was to identify ***what is type II Diabetes (what type II diabetes is)***. [AVL 1]
2. [T]: You hardly know what is his name (***what his name is***)? [AGD1]

### ***Word Placement***

1. [S]: I also use the social networking sites to let ***out*** my emotions (***out***), my rants, my love problems,... [ASB1]
2. [T]: That's why you don't ***only*** see it plotted (***only***) in the present part of the timeline, but in all parts of it. [JFE 1]

### ***Subject-Verb Concord***

1. [T]: But as far as the use of these phrases in sentences ***are (is)*** concerned, they may be referred to either adjective or adverb....[JFE 2]
2. [T]: Of course, you don't have problems with the usual types of adjective for the regular ones but here's where the problems ***gets (get)*** to be cropping up every now and then with your irregular modifiers.[MFF 1]

### ***Pronoun-Antecedent Congruence***

1. [T]: It's not enough that we know how to identify a prep phrase when we see one, it's also good that we know how ***they (it)*** can be of use in sentences, how ***they (it)*** can enhance some of the words in the sentences. [JFE 2]
2. [S]: Regular verbs are considered weak verbs because ***it (they)*** is commonly used or it is easy to make a past tense of that verb by just adding "-d" or "-ed".[RYB 1]

### ***Pronoun Case***

#### ***Subjective and Objective Cases***

1. [S]: Because of her, ***me (I)*** and my siblings studied in DLSU, Ateneo, UST, and Assumption. [ASB 3]
2. [T]: As far as ***me (I)*** and my students are concerned, I believe that friendship is also necessary. [VNT1]

### ***Who and Whom***

1. [S]: The pancreas are the ones ***who (that)*** make the insulin so in type I....[AVL 1]
2. [T]: To ***who (whom)*** do you dedicate the song? [ASB3]

## **Nouns**

### *Plural Nouns for Singular Nouns*

1. [S]: Note: Past participle of regular verbs end in “-ed” while those of irregular has a special **forms (form)**. [RYB 1]
2. [T]: There is a tendency that **students (a student)** is terrified by teachers. [RYB2]

### *Singular Nouns for Plural Nouns*

1. [T]: Yes. Therefore, if I want to narrate actions A...or if I want to use actions A and C as my past actions in just one sentence, which of the two **action (actions)** happened first? A or C? [JFE 1]
2. [S]: So, one of the **example (examples)** or a... use and when you're going to use simple past tense. [RYB 1]

### *Nouns in Plural Form*

1. [S]: I believe, I believe knowing a lot of people around you is the most important part in succeeding in your life because you will get, you will also get **advices (pieces of advice)** from people, good people around you and—but knowing bad people can disturb you in your life so you want to be careful in making friends. [ASB3]
2. [S]: Their **furnitures (furnitures)** are very expensive. Only the rich can buy some. [ASB3]

## **Prepositions**

### *Zero Prepositions*

1. [T]: This time, Ma'am, I'd like to ask you (**about**) the word that you think is being explained further, being modified, being described by the prepositional phrase “from the archive section”. [JFE 2]
2. [T]: So do take note that in each of the components, you are able to see the different criteria. So they will serve as the bases for the evaluation of the paper that I'd like to give correction (**to**). [JPL 1]

### *Unusual Prepositions*

1. [S]: Based **from (on)** their work, I can conclude that weight loss is also governed by psychology. [AVL 1]
2. This results **to (in)** like I mean this means this simply means (...) for example I have a girlfriend, and I have this friend that usually like to hear about the girl (...) and suddenly the girl, my girlfriend gets jealous (...) so there's a lot of issues (...)[JYA1]

### **Prepositional Phrases**

“with regard to” and “from your perspective”



1. [S]: It wasn't mentioned what they did. They just shared about the problem that—**with regards to (with regard to)** that I think somehow the government is doing something. They should...they should do something and... I Think.[JYA1]
2. [S]: Yes, Miss. Teenagers are, **on (from)** my perspective, teenagers are still young. [JYA2]

#### *Omission*

1. [S]: Note: Past participle of regular verbs end in “-ed” while those of irregular (**verbs**) has a special forms. [RYB 1]
2. [T]: Today I want you to be a cooperative. Just **settle (down)** if you cannot (...). Please sit down, because we have guest at the back. [MFF 1]

#### *“Wherein”*

1. [S]: If you can't trust each other, then why be in a relationship? I mean, it's like, why be in a relationship **wherein** you only have regrets and you only like, have a relationship for the sake of having a relationship so you can boast to your friends that “Look I have a girlfriend, do you have one?” [ASB3]
2. [T]: You think dating is the only venue **wherein** you could actually get to know the person. Wouldn't friendship be better?[JYA1]

#### *Double Comparison of Adjectives*

1. [T]: So, Listen, by the time they are done, I want us to be **more clearer (clearer)** about the difference. [RYB 1]
2. [T]: So that is the **more easier (easier)** than the DNA? Easier to find out?[AVL 1]

#### *Nongradable Adjectives*

1. [S]: I realized that being a player is not being the **most excellent (excellent)** player but you are the player who's very disciplined and humble. [ASB3]
2. [T]: It is a **more perfect (perfect)** design, I guess. [RYB2]

#### *Redundancies*

1. [T]: You can't bend the rules, **not unless (unless)** you've mastered them first. [JFE 1]
2. [T]: (**For example**) Like for example, you established the relationship between Star City and Aliw Theater. [JFE 2]

#### *Zero Direct Objects*

1. [T]: Group 2, have you **submitted (your paper)**? [JPL 1]
2. [T]: So, to reiterate, a few minutes from now, you'll have to **go over (it)** and then after that, I'll be requiring one representative from the group, preferably the leader, [JPL 1]

The analysis shows that there are distinctive grammatical features which occurred in teacher-student talk. Similar to the study of Arañas (1990) several decades ago, which aimed to characterize the English spoken by educated speakers represented by English and Mathematics teachers, the analysis likewise reveals a variety of English which may rightly be termed as educated Philippine variety of English. Arañas' identified distinctive grammatical structures, e.g., right and isn't it as invariant tag questions, omitted articles, omitted and peculiar use of prepositions, peculiar order of sentence elements and verb tense usage, double comparison of adjectives, redundancies, zero direct objects for transitive verbs, among others, also surfaced in the analysis. In addition, the same categories of distinctive features found by Bautista (2000b) close to twenty years ago also appeared in the corpus, e.g., lack of agreement between subject and verb, especially with intervening expressions, and peculiar use of tenses, especially with modals - an indication that students are recurrently exposed to these structures in the language learning classrooms. It seems that these features have become 'permanent fixtures' in educated Filipinos' verbal interactions.

Nihalani, Tongue, Hosali (1979) posit that "whatever be the model laid down on paper, in practice, however, it is always the teacher's model that is going to work" (p.110). This assimilation is evidenced by the students' own use of distinctive structures presented above. Although internalization of rules is induced by a confluence of factors, exposure to classroom English and interaction with ESL teachers and other ESL learners remain to be of paramount influence. The above transcriptions could also cast some light on the choice of variety of English by educated Filipinos represented by college English teachers and learners. While not all the structures outlined above are established features of PhE yet, their use or occurrence may imply that both teachers and students advance grammatical structures that differ from the expectations of a purely exogenous model.

It seems customary for the teaching of a foreign language to commence with a selection of a specific regional or social variety of the language, which, in return, provides a linguistic model for learners (Preisler, 1999). The analysis of the transcripts, however, would show that ESL instructors hardly impose a specific variety to be used in spoken and written discourses. In fact, there seems to be tolerance of differing language rules as indicated by the lack of corrective feedback from the teachers themselves when the distinctive features were uttered or made, although it is possible that the teachers resisted from giving immediate corrective feedback to lower the affective filter among the students or that they hardly consider them as gross deviations from the purported norm (if there is any).

Further analysis of the transcripts and the classroom observations would also suggest that while the above structures are not explicitly taught in class, their occurrences in student and teacher talks may be regarded as a manifestation of constant use of, unconscious endorsement of, adherence to, and giving license to a norm that is not purely exonormative. Finally, what is observable is that in all the classes seen, the WE framework in general and PhE in particular were scarcely mentioned or conversed about, an indication that teachers and student rarely talk about it formally and overtly in class. PhE employed as a formal pedagogical model in teaching grammar is yet to be realized.

### ***English Tests in Selected K-12 Schools***

In this section, the results of the analysis of 29 high school English tests from three of the leading educational institutions in the Philippines administer to English as Second Language (ESL) learners under the K-12 program. In the analysis, these areas were examined: (1) the usual type of grammar tests; (2) grammar constructs represented; and (3) variety(ies) of English represented. Written English tests administered to Grade 11 Senior High School students whose age range from 15-17 years old were content analyzed to reveal if they assess students' ability to recognize and manipulate Standard American English in areas like sentence elements and sentence structure and syntax and if the principles through which they are written are prescriptive in nature, which implies that these examinations lay down the rules for English language usage, or are descriptive in orientation which promotes the rules for English usage from the language that the test-takers actually use. Another key objective of the analysis is to find out if the tests administered promote real-life discourse context and normal language use situation where the test-takers may be allowed to exhibit their communicative competence and the communicative function of the local variety of English that thrives in the Philippines. Otherwise, there is a need to rethink about the testing practices in Philippine universities considering that nontraditional testing practices should allow the students to approximate real-life use of language and are variety-sensitive as far as the WE paradigm is concerned.

The examinations analyzed in this section are usually administered in the middle period of the semester which runs for about five months. The academic year in the Philippines is generally divided into two terms and students are assessed in courses such as English in the middle and end of each term.

In the Philippines, Filipino students, whether English majors or taking up other degrees, usually take mandatory General Education (GenEd) English courses. Each course requires major or terminal examinations that serve as a gauge for measuring student achievement and as a determinant for promoting the learners to the next year level and for allowing the students to tackle the next higher English course. These major teacher-made examinations generally cover all the lessons taken up within the first or second half of the term. English teachers are required to design their own tests unless departmentalized examinations are available. It must be noted, though, that rarely do college teachers administer departmentalized and standardized tests. The state, particularly the Department of Education (DepEd) and Commission on Higher Education (CHED), hardly prescribes specific types of tests and thus teachers are responsible for designing their own. CHED and DepEd only prescribe *what to teach* and rarely dictate *how to test students in what they were taught*.

The examinations analyzed in this paper are those administered to students taking up introductory English courses covering not only grammar but other areas or skills such as listening, speaking, reading, and writing. Each of these tests may consist of a number of test types such as multiple choice and identifying errors among others. As previously stated, three

aspects were analyzed: types of grammar tests, grammar constructs covered in the tests, and variety(ies) of English represented.

### *Usual Types of Grammar Tests*

The analysis of the samples shows that there is a preponderance of discrete-point grammar tests in the English examinations. Boddy and Langham (2000) stated that in the discrete-point approach, language is broken down into small testable segments. Each test item is intended to give information about the examinee's ability to handle a particular point of language. In another test category, the test-takers are simply asked to identify the grammar forms or structures represented in the given sentences. Furthermore, essay tests are relatively few, and the grammar tests are hardly integrative in nature. Also, it must be noted that all the tests analyzed are traditional paper-and-pencil language tests. Items in these tests are often in fixed response format in which a number of possible answers are presented from which the candidates are required to choose.

#### **Test Type 1: Discrete-point Tests in Fixed Response Format**

**ET 1:** (Note: *ET* stands for *English Test*)

- *I brought my ID card \_\_\_\_\_ me.*  
a. for      b. with      c. by      d. in
- *The kind ladies (a. is, b. are) getting ready for the novena at the church.*

#### **Test Type 2: Identification of Grammatical Forms or Structures**

**ET 25:**

- Identify the kind of sentence used by analyzing their purposes. Write A if it is declarative, B if it is imperative, C if it is exclamatory, and D if it is interrogative. Punctuation has been purposely omitted from the sentence.
  - *Help the house is on fire*
- Determine the structure used in the given sentences. Write A if it is a simple sentence, B if it is a compound sentence, C if it is complex, and D if it is a compound-complex sentence.
  - *The most basic business ethics concepts can be summed up as the values of honesty, integrity and fairness.*
- Write A if the run-on is a fused sentence, and B if it is a comma splice.
  - *No one understands him but people still love him.*

**ET 4:**

- Identify what type of nouns the following words are. Use PN for proper nouns, CN for common nouns, CL for collective nouns.
  - *audience*
- Identify what type of nouns the following words are. Write AB for abstract nouns and CN for concrete nouns.
  - *x-ray*

- Determine the sentence pattern for each sentence given below.
  - *The personality test found Jenkins unsuitable for the position.*  
a. S-LV-C    b. S-TV-IO-DO    c. S-TV-DO    d. S-TV-DO-OC

### **Test Type 3: Essay or Paragraph Writing**

#### **ET 4:**

- Answer the following questions substantially. (5 points each)
  - *What do you think are the factors that affect students' inability to speak and write well in English? How do you relate the importance of reading to improve your performance despite this deficiency?*

#### **ET 14:**

- *The Department of Education estimates that more than three million Filipino adults are functionally illiterate, unable to read such things as warning signs, food labels and farming instructions. Write an analogy that begins, "To be functionally illiterate in the Philippine society is like..."*

### ***Grammar Constructs Represented in English Tests***

The analysis of the sample test items also suggests that language learners are tested on their knowledge of the following grammar constructs: (1) sentences and fragments; (2) verbs and subject-verb agreement; (3) acceptable expressions in formal written English; (4) correct use of prepositions; (5) correct word choice; (6) pluralization of nouns; (7) pronouns and pronoun-antecedent congruence; (8) adjectives; (9) abstract and collective nouns; (10); spelling; (11) correct usage; (12) structural and transitional devices; (13) passive and active voice; (14) tag and embedded questions; (15) misplaced and dangling modifiers; (16) conditionals; (17) indirect and reported speech; and (18) perfect tenses. (Sample test items are presented below.) These tests were designed to help students check their English grammar level, and they seem to cover a wide range of English grammar aspects – from identifying parts of speech to using formal English.

#### **ET 1:**

- On the space provided in the answer sheet, choose whether the given expression is a sentence (A) or (B) if it is a fragment.
  - *Christmas lights are flickering.*
- Analyze the given statements. Explain the suitability of the verb as used in the sentence based on the rules on the agreement between the subject and the verb.
  - *One of the best staff leave/ is leaving/ will leave/ is going to leave next Tuesday.*
- Each item consists of a sentence in which four words or phrases are underlined. Choose the underlined word or phrase that is not acceptable in formal written English.
  - *It is more better to give than to receive. No error.*

- Complete the following paragraph by supplying the prepositions. Choose from the given options.
  - *Don Quixote is a comical figure (a. in b. on c. through d. by) 46. \_\_\_\_\_ Literature.*

**ET 3:**

- Select the words that best fit the given statements. Shade the item that corresponds to the letter of your choice on the answer sheet provided.
  - *Nobody among the boys who \_\_\_\_\_ basketball catch colds.*  
*a. plays    b. play    c. playing    d. played*
- Each item consists of a sentence in which four words or phrases are underlined. Choose the underlined word or phrase that is not acceptable in formal written English.
  - *The Philippines are borrowing new money from foreign banks to finance her economic recovery. No error.*
- Each number has four sentences. Read them carefully and decide which one is acceptable in Standard English.
  - *A. While the dog ate, the cat stayed away from the dish.*  
*B. Whereas the dog ate, the cat stayed away from the dish.*  
*C. If the dog ate, the cat stayed away from the dish.*  
*D. But the dog ate, the cat stayed away from the dish.*
- Select the word or pair of words that best complete the sentences. Write your answer on the space provided.
  - *These two slices of pizza needs to be \_\_\_\_\_.*  
*a. heat    b. heats            c. hotted    d. heated*

**ET 10:**

- Fill in the blank with the appropriate pronoun.
  - *Cats are the world's best hunters for \_\_\_\_\_ go after any animal \_\_\_\_\_ they can catch and kill. \_\_\_\_\_ move in complete silence and rely on stealth and secrecy to catch \_\_\_\_\_ prey.*
- Examine each sentence below. Identify among the underlined word/s the error in the sentence. Choose the letter that corresponds to your answer (write **E** if there is **no error** in the sentence). Write you answer on the blank.
  - *Because<sub>A</sub> they played by<sub>B</sub> the rules, the members of the team were given<sub>C</sub> a standing ovation even though it<sub>D</sub> did not win the match. No error<sub>E</sub>.*

A closer look at the sample examinations would show that there is hardly any explicit hint that a particular variety of English shall be observed in answering the test items. Even the very few essay tests hardly bear instructions on the use of a specific variety of English in writing the students' answers. It must be noted, too, that with respect to choice of words, both American English (AmE) and British English (BrE) varieties seem to be represented. For example, *towards* (BrE) and *toward* (AmE) are used in some of the examinations:

- (1) We are looking \_\_\_\_\_ his improvement.  
a. *towards*    b. *over to*    c. *after to*    d. *forward to*
- (2) Your attitude *toward* money when you were a child as opposed to your attitude now.
- (3) ...placing longer adjectives *towards* the end
- (4) Engaging in these games doesn't automatically translate to aggression *towards* self and others.

Furthermore, the BrE variant *acknowledgement* is preferred in one of the examinations, while the AmE variant *dialog* appears in another. The BrE terms *favourite* and *colourful* are found in one of the tests, and the PhE terms *jeepney* and *trapo* are seen in one examination. In one of the tests, a subtest on varieties of English is given. It is, however, limited to matching AmE vocabularies with their BrE counterparts.

In relation to pluralizing nouns, it appears that traditional rules are observed. In the example below, students are asked to give the plural equivalent of the noun in parenthesis.

*The rogue scientists were able to invent several (formula) for physical transformation.*

- a. *formulai*                      b. *formulii*                      c. *formulae*

It must be noted that another possible answer to the above item, based on modern grammar, is *formulas*.

An indication that an external norm is adhered to in writing the test items is illustrated in these examples:

*Most of the **evidence** presented in court \_\_\_\_\_(affirm/affirms) the testimonies of the witnesses.*

*Some **research** \_\_\_\_\_ (suggest/suggests) a link between obesity and diabetes.*

*It usually serves as a topic sentence for somewhat more extensive of a topic **resulting in** what is called an amplified, expanded, or extended definition.*

The test writers could have written the noun phrases *most of the evidences*, and *some researches*, and the phrasal verb *resulting to* since these are also considered variants of PhE (Bautista, 1997), the variety of English used by the educated circle of Filipino speakers.

### ***Varieties of English Reflected in the English Tests***

It is also interesting to observe the presence of the following distinctive grammatical structures (represented by those in italics whose counterpart in Standard American English usage are given in parentheses) that appeared in the different subparts of the English tests examined. These structures may not be evident either in standard AmE or BrE, but they are used by



educated speakers represented by the English teachers who designed the English tests. Students might regard these structures as correct or acceptable since the teachers who designed the examinations also use or propagate them and because of the simple reason that these appear in English tests.

**ET 5:**

- Select the word or pair of words that best *complete (completes)* the sentences.

**ET 6:**

- Identify the audience and the purpose for (*of*) your writing during the \_\_\_\_\_ stage.
- 50. \_\_\_\_\_ is a broad term referring to (*a*) language that appeals to the senses.
- Underline the antecedent and the pronoun that *agree (agrees)* with *each other (it)*. (2 pts. Each)
- Underline the descriptive adjectives that can be made into abstract nouns. Write the new word on the *blanks (blank)*. (2 points each).
- Write X if the statement is true, and if the statement is false, change the underlined word/s to the correct one. Write your *answer (answers)* at (*on*) the blanks on the right column.

**ET 8:**

- Write your answer on the *spaces (space)* provided.
- In this level of reading comprehension, how and why questions are often asked that requires reasoning, assumptions and implications. *In this level of reading comprehension, how and why questions that requires (require) reasoning, assumptions and implications (are often asked).*

**ET 10:**

- Arrange the following statements as they would appear in a paragraph. Place the topic sentence on top followed by the supporting details, and end with the clinching sentence (tell whether it is a restatement, a summary or a generalization/conclusion). If there is no topic sentence or no clinching sentence, write *none* on the blank beside *them (it)*. Write only the letter of your answer.

**ET 21:**

- Reading results *to (in)* higher intellectual development.
- *The (Ø) OPAC* means, *(Ø) Online Public Availability Catalogue*.
- Good study habits result *to (in)* good academic standings.
- Unity is essential in achieving *the (a)* smooth flow of the ideas in *the (a)* paragraph.
- It contains a summary of a journal article or the summary of the contents of a *theses (thesis)* or dissertation.
- Systematically arranged lists or articles in journals that *helps (help)* us to identify or trace the information or sources.
- It is the “holding together” of the sentences in *the (a)* paragraph.
- It takes the place of *the (a)* noun.

- It refers to the characteristics of equal grammatical structures in *the (a)* paragraph.

Overall, the analysis shows that the sample examinations are generally discrete-point tests. This implies that there is dearth of real-life discourse context and normal language use situation where the test-takers may be allowed to exhibit their communicative competence of which sociolinguistic competence is an integral component. Sociolinguistic competence as defined by Muniandy et al. (2010) “is the knowledge of the socio-cultural rules of language and of discourse” (p. 146). From this definition, it may be deduced that sociolinguistic competence is the facility to construe or interpret the social meaning and implication of the choice of linguistic varieties and the ability to use language in an appropriate situation. This suggests that students should be assessed not only in terms of how they understand linguistic rules but also how they manipulate and apply these rules for functional or practical purposes and in varied communication situations. Further, while the sample examinations attempt to make the learners realize the value of the so-called Standard English in academic and formal contexts, these tests hardly make the Filipino students cognizant of the communicative functions of the local variety of English. Furthermore, the tests analyzed appear to be devoted to grammatical accuracy alone; thus, the communicative function of language is neglected. The foregoing examples would also illustrate Esquinca, Yaden, and Rueda’s (2005) assertion that “...a typical language proficiency test would not allow for nuances in meaning made by speakers of so-called non-Standard varieties of English.” (p. 677).

Acquiring knowledge about syntactic structures may no longer be sufficient and mastering no more than linguistic information may not be practical in current ELT practices because appropriateness in certain contexts may not be the same when compared to another. What may be appropriate in one speech community may not be appropriate and applicable in another, e.g. *based on* in American English which is *based from* as far as PhE is concerned. The World Englishes paradigm, particularly the results of corpus-based grammatical studies of PhE, has not been regarded as an overarching philosophy that informs language assessment practices in the country.

Language tests - borrowing the words of Borlongan and Lim (2012) - must “recognize variation as acceptable and not labeled as learner errors” (p. 56). They also eloquently worded that:

...efforts should remain unrelenting as to the development of standardized tests that accurately measure language proficiency and competence, and this kind of proficiency and competence must include sensitivity to the reality of the existence of a local English, which is legitimate and not that that falls short of American or British English. It is at this stage of reenvisioning a more world Englishes-informed language assessment that findings of corpus-based studies will be most important and truly necessary. (p.58)

The very presence of distinctive English usage in grammar tests designed by Filipino teachers implies that language teachers use two English varieties – they allegedly adhere to

AmE as a default variety in testing students' proficiency in English grammar but, surprisingly, use both PhE and AmE in writing test items. In addition, students are 'momentarily' required to answer English grammar tests using their knowledge of AmE rules although it is possible that they frequently use PhE grammatical features outside the testing situation. For this reason, Canagarajah (2006) argues that language practitioners have to veer away from the "either-or" perspective in the testing debate to a "both and more" standpoint. To this end, Canagarajah eloquently posits:

... norms are relative, variable, heterogeneous, and changing. Posing the options as either "native English norms" or "new Englishes norms" is misleading. A proficient speaker of English in the postmodern world needs an awareness of both. He or she should be able to shuttle between different norms, recognizing the systematic and legitimate status of different varieties of English in this diverse family of languages. (p. 234)

The implication is that both language teaching and language testing should move from "grammar to pragmatics" (Canagarajah, 2006) and from what is *ideal* to what is *real*. Since English is no longer a possession of the native speakers alone, it might be useful to consider other varieties, particularly in language testing milieus. While it is important to follow a particular standard if the English language is regarded as an international medium (Jenkins, 2006), a different set of assessment criteria is needed if the spotlight is on the communicative effectiveness of language tests. Test developers need to consider the varieties of English against which students will be judged, and give them the liberty to choose answers to grammar items that mirror their actual use of the language. While universities undergo improvement to make their curriculum more relevant, changes are not supposed to stop with program revision and development of instructional materials but with the design of assessment tools that conform to the changes effected.

The question of whether PhE has found inroads in the English tests may now be addressed in this manner: PhE is used in writing the test items alongside inner-circle varieties; however, PhE is not explicitly prescribed as a norm as far as selection of grammatical items and making linguistic decisions is concerned. Its presence seems to be limited to the writing of the test items but not as an available option when linguistic norms or rules have to be applied.

### ***Pedagogic Model for Teaching English***

For a paradigm shift to fully take effect, ELTL approaches and methods will have to assume a different shape and form. For WE to be treated as a serious curricular agendum, pedagogical changes will have to start from somewhere. Y. Kachru and Nelson (2006) believe that indigenous varieties should be legitimized in the classroom while Canagarajah (1999) calls for a pedagogy of appropriation and a pluricentric view of language acquisition. Farrell and Martin (2009) promoted a balanced approach to instruction while Shin-ying (2009) advocates the inclusion of critical pedagogy in the curriculum, which necessitates the involvement of learners in its design.

Kumaradadevelu (2003) strongly argues that Western-oriented second language acquisition methods is unbeneficial in any teaching and learning climate. Kumaradadevelu further advances that effort has to be exerted in examining more appropriate instructional methodologies and in decolonizing methodological aspects of English language teaching. He proposes a macrostrategic framework and suggested macro and micro strategies to achieve this. A survey of the current literature would also show that a good number of ELT practitioners have attempted to devise ways of thinking and doing to make the language teaching and learning process WE-inspired and WE-informed. Jindapitak and Teo (2013), for example, suggest that English language teaching and learning should adhere, both theoretically and pragmatically, to an English as an International Language (EIL) ideology. This approach implies veering away from the old ELT paradigm that treats native speakers as symbols of authorities. At the instructional level, Baik and Shim (2002) proposed a 15-week plan for teaching world Englishes through the internet. The program aims at enhancing learners' awareness of more than 18 varieties of English. Assessment came in the form of various activities and classroom exercises. Song and Drummond (2009) designed a project that aims to enhance the awareness of the different varieties of English of advanced language learners and their appreciation of World Englishes speakers. Learners were asked to complete a task of looking for English speakers – native and nonnative – who to them epitomize commendable language attributes. Jindapitak and Teo (2012) forwarded an attitudinal neutrality activity to be implemented in language classroom while Vetorrel (2015) promoted exposure to English and Englishes in the educational context through content and language integrated learning in all school levels and extends the curricula beyond the walls of the classroom where meeting with pluralized forms of English are prevalent.

These changed pedagogical practices and ways of thinking seem to be successful in making the learners recognize that they are learning English that they own and that they can find their identity with it (Norton, 1997). Classroom practices, therefore, should operate under the truism that celebrates and respects varieties of English. Promoting awareness of the prurilithic nature of English in the classrooms serves as the starting point for a heightened recognition of how the English language has evolved across the years. Hence, it is necessary that the classroom approaches, methodologies, and strategies are WE – based or WE-adherent.

What is advanced in this section is an instructional approach which may be adopted by ESL practitioners in teaching English – the endonormative pedagogic model (Bernardo, 2013) in which both English teachers and students shift their linguistic attention and pedagogical interest not only to Standard American English but also to Standard Philippine English as their point of reference in teaching and learning English pronunciation, lexicon, and grammar. Adherence to this approach entails the formal study of and reference to the highly acceptable phonological, lexical, and grammatical features of PhE in the teachers' and students' attempt to teach and learn the grammar of the target language. At the axiomatic level, the endonormativeness of grammar teaching and learning may be achieved by making grammar instruction corpus-driven, by designing Philippine- and American-English-based ELT syllabi,

by conducting pedagogical acceptability judgment tests, by featuring both Philippine English and American English grammar in ESL textbooks and work texts, by incorporating the WE framework in textbooks and work texts, and by testing learners on varieties of the language.

At the procedural level, the following five-stage strategy is suggested:

*Stage 1: Notice* - Students are made to notice the distinctive features of PhE. Teachers direct students' attention to grammatical, lexical or phonological items that significantly differ from American English or British English.

*Stage 2: Compare* - Teachers lead the students to compare and contrast idiosyncratic PhE phonological, syntactic, or lexical features with American English or British English highlighting that the differences are acceptable and not strange.

*Stage 3: Comment* - The teacher comments that the distinctive features are not errors and abnormalities rather they are innovations that are allowed and permissible in formal and informal discourses.

*Stage 4: Encourage* - Teachers encourage learners to use the local variety both in formal and informal discourses without uncertainties or hesitations or fear of being penalized or laughed or frowned at.

*Stage 5: Familiarize*: Teachers encourage students to be familiar with other established varieties of English and train them to shuttle from one variety to another to effect more successful communication.

The endonormativeness of teaching English may take effect if inspiration is drawn from the WE paradigm. It is gathered that the English curricula aspire to harness not only familiarity with but also acceptance and recognition of the local variety of English, a tangible outcome or behavior that is to be realized at the end of any ELT curricular program. ELT curriculum designers are expected to consider local sociolinguistic realities that surround Filipino learners. Any curriculum is based on local and global standards set out by various institutions and stakeholders but it should be remembered that curricula will have to be reframed to situate English language teaching and learning in its sociolinguistic context.

The ELT syllabi and teaching guides are designed in such a way that they explicitly stipulate and advocate the local variety of English that serves as the target of every learner. Furthermore, the syllabus is seen as a written guide that makes explicit the PhE variety's phonological, lexical, and syntactic features, indigenous sociolinguistic realities, and local pedagogies that will give rise to the promotion and adherence to the nativized variety of English. As it is, a syllabus dictates what is to be taught. This, however, does not suggest that training learners to shuttle from one variety to another is of no value. In fact, the ability to shift from one variety to another may give the learners a competitive edge. What needs to be

underscored though is the need to expose, train, and allow the Filipino learners to function more effectively in the local variety first since it serves a pivotal communicative role especially in Filipino-to-Filipino interactions in English.

Further, now that more and more tertiary students are enticed to the ELT enterprise, the teacher education program especially designed for the English majors may be re-examined to ensure that would-be English teachers are being prepared and equipped with the needed pedagogical skills to boldly confront the sociolinguistic existences that encase ELT in this day and age. The WE paradigm is construed as an integral component of every specialized course in reading, writing, listening, and speaking. It has been underscored that the WE framework also serves as a very strong backdrop against which the teaching of English is set and thus should seep into the teaching of academic writing, oral communication and other skills. As how Hamid, Zhu, and Baldauf, Jr., (2014) articulately put it:

The changing norms and varieties of English in the globalising world should have important input into teacher education programs. The inclusion of WE in teacher education courses may contribute to teachers' knowledge base which, in turn, may empower them in judging their students' language use. At the same time, it would be important for teachers to collectively deal with examples of their students' language use at the institutional level in the form of professional development workshops (p. 91-92).

### ***Concluding Remarks and Further Insights***

What has been found so far is that the World Englishes paradigm and Philippine English are neither explicitly nor implicitly reflected in the present K-12 English curriculum blueprint. This goes to show that it hardly subscribes to the WE framework – something that is expected of a curriculum that is abreast with and attuned to the demands of the modern-day ELT enterprise. It was also found that idiosyncratic features of Philippine English abound in student and teacher conversations and in the examinations that teachers prepare and thus the curriculum could have considered and anticipated this important linguistic phenomenon and reality and curricular input when the ELT curriculum was drafted. The above analysis has shown that Philippine English does thrive in the ESL classrooms and thus it may now find inroads in the formal curriculum document whose fundamental intent anyway is to embody and to communicate course goals and contents e.g., the grammar of Philippine English, to the learners. The formal reference to and the teaching of Philippine English may be legitimized if the ELT curriculum says that it be done. The curriculum serves as teachers' roadmap in their day-to-day instruction and mirrors the pedagogical and content agenda to be conveyed and learned. A curriculum renewal is, therefore, of utmost importance to make the World Englishes framework an inspiration and a theoretical advice when the ELT curriculum is (re)designed and introduced into the existing educational system. In doing so, B. Kachru's (1995, p. 4) proposal of introducing a 'variety repertoire' may be beneficial. B. Kachru posits that the curriculum cover courses that feature selected varieties of English from the region, that text from such varieties be used to illustrate the distinctiveness in acculturation and nativization of a variety and that eligible teachers acquainted with other varieties be employed to teach English, to offer learners



exposure to different Englishes. At the instructional level, teachers may further heighten students' awareness and acceptance of the local variety of English by escorting them in the five-step WE-inspired instructional process of noticing, comparing, commenting, encouraging and familiarizing.

Another important conjecture that may be construed out of the analyses is that Philippine English has begun and continues to stabilize endonormatively. This is supported by the emergence of a local standard embraced by the vast majority of the key players in the ELT classrooms. The formal adherence to local norm would simply have to be concretely etched on the present ELT curriculum to signal its pedagogical acceptance and to elevate it to a much higher echelon in the instructional purview. The usage and manifestations of Philippine English in the classroom signal that the localized variety, Philippine English, has indeed come of age. It has finally traversed from nativization to endonormative stabilization phase.

As a final note, PhE syntactic variants, together with the sound system and lexicon of PhE, may now form part the linguistic contents presented to the learners. While it is possible that these are put vis-à-vis their American English counterparts, ESL classroom discussions should be directed to the assimilation of PhE features which later on will be translated into favorable attitude toward PhE and its legitimization. What is left to be seen is a comprehensive compendium of the grammar of PhE which could serve as teacher's and learner's reference point in teaching and learning grammar, for instance. Alluding to this comprehensive grammar of PhE would make both teachers and learners realize that every variety of English has its own rules and systems.

### References

- Arañas, P. (1990). The Philippine variety of English in selected universities in Metro Manila. *Philippine Studies* 38, 333-67.
- Baik, M. J. & Shim, R. J. (2002). Teaching world Englishes via the internet. *World Englishes*, 21(3), 427-430.
- Bautista, M.L.S. (1997). The lexicon of Philippine English. In M.L. Bautista (Ed.), *English is an Asian Language: The Philippine context* (pp. 49-72). Australia: The Macquarie Library Pty., Ltd.
- Bautista, M.L.S. (2000a). Studies of Philippine English in the Philippines. *Philippine Journal of Linguistics* 31(1), 39-65.
- Bautista, M.L.S. (2000b). *Defining standard Philippine English: Its status and grammatical features*. Manila: De la Salle University Press.
- Bautista, M.L.S. (2000c). The grammatical features of educated Philippine English. In M.L. Bautista, T. LLamson, & B. Sibayan (Eds.), *Parangal nang Brother Andrew: Festschrift*



- for Andrew Gonzalez on his sixtieth birthday (pp. 146-158). Manila: Linguistic Society of the Philippines.
- Bautista, M.L.S. (2001a). Studies of Philippine English: Implications for English language teaching in the Philippines. *Journal of Southeast Asian Education* 2(2), 271-295.
- Bautista, M.L.S. (2001b) Attitudes of English language faculty in three leading Philippine universities towards Philippine English. *Asian Englishes*, 4(1), 4-32.
- Bautista, M.L.S. (2001c) Attitudes of selected Luzon University students and faculty towards Philippine English. In M. L. G. Tayao et al. (Eds.), *Rosario E. Maminta in focus: Selected writings in applied linguistics* (pp. 263-273). Quezon City: Philippine Association for Language Teaching.
- Bautista, M.L.S. (2003). The new Englishes and the teaching of grammar. In J.E. James (Ed.), *Grammar in the language classroom: Changing approaches and practices* (pp. 62-90). Anthology Series 43. Singapore: SEAMEO Regional Language Centre.
- Bautista, M.L.S. (2004). The verb in Philippine English: A preliminary analysis of the modal *would*. In M. Bautista & K. Bolton (Eds.), *World Englishes* 23(1), 113-128.
- Bautista, M.L.S. (2008). Investigating the grammatical features of Philippine English. In M.L. Bautista and K. Bolton (Eds.), *Philippine English: Linguistic and literary perspectives* (pp. 201-218). Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press.
- Bautista, M.L.S. (2011). *Studies of Philippine English. Exploring the Philippine component of the international corpus of English*. Manila: Anvil Publishing, Inc.
- Bernardo, A. S. (2013). *Toward an endonormative pedagogic model for teaching English in Philippine higher education institutions* (Unpublished doctoral dissertation). University of Santo Tomas, Manila, the Philippines.
- Bernardo, A.S. & Madrunio, M.R. (2015). A framework for designing a Philippine-English-based pedagogic model for teaching English grammar. *Asian Journal of English Language Studies*, 3. 67-98.
- Boddy, N. & Langham, C. (2000). *Communicative language testing: An attainable goal?* Retrieved from <http://www.tsukuba-g.ac.jp/library/kiyou/2000/5.LANGHAM.pdf>
- Borlongan, A.M. (2008). Tag questions in Philippine English. *Philippine Journal of Linguistics* 39(1-2), 109-34.
- Borlongan, A. M. (2011). *A grammar of the verb in Philippine English* (Unpublished doctoral dissertation). De La Salle University, Manila, the Philippines.
- Borlongan, A.M. (2016). Relocating Philippine English in Schneider's dynamic model. *Asian Englishes*, DOI: 10.1080/13488678.2016.1223067

- Borlongan, A. M., & Dita, S. N. (2015). Taking a look at expanded predicates in Philippine English across time. *Asian Englishes*, 17(3), 1–8.
- Borlongan, A.M. & Lim, J. (2012). Corpus-based grammatical studies of Philippine English and language assessment: Issues and perspectives. *The Assessment Handbook 8*, 51-62.
- Canagarajah, S. (1999). On EFL teachers, awareness, and agency. *ELT Journal*, 53(3), 207–214.
- Canagarajah, S. (2006). Changing communicative needs, revised assessment objectives: Testing English as an international language. *Language Assessment Quarterly* 3(3), 229–242.
- Esquinca, A., Yaden, D., & Rueda, R. (2005). Current language proficiency tests and their implications for preschool English. In J. Cohen, K. T. McAlister, K. Rolstad, & J. MacSwan (Eds), *ISB4: Proceedings of the 4th International Symposium on Bilingualism* (pp. 674-680) Somerville, MA: Cascadilla Press.
- Farrell, T.S.C. & Martin, S. (2009). To teach Standard English or World Englishes? A balanced approach to instruction. *English Teaching Forum*, 2, 1-7.
- Hamid, M., Zhu, L., & Baldauf, R. B. (2014). Norms and varieties of English and TESOL teacher agency. *Australian Journal of Teacher Education*, 39(10).
- Jenkins, J. (2006). The spread of English as an international language: A testing time for testers. *ELT Journal* 60, 51–60.
- Jindapitak, N. & Teo, A. (2012). Thai tertiary English majors attitudes towards and awareness of World Englishes. *Journal of English Studies*, 7, 74-116.
- Jindapitak, N. & Teo, A. (2013). The emergence of World Englishes: Implication for English language teaching. *Asian Journal of Social Science and Humanities*, 2(2), 190-199.
- Kachru, B. B. (1983). *The Indianization of English*. Delhi: Oxford University Press.
- Kachru, B.B. (1995). Past imperfect: The other side of English in Asia. Paper presented at the Second International Association of World Englishes (IAWE) Conference, Nagoya, Japan, May 25-27.
- Kachru, B.B. (1996). World Englishes: Agony and ecstasy [Electronic version]. *Journal of Aesthetic Education* 30(2), 135-155.
- Kachru, B. B. (1997). English as an Asian language. In M. Bautista (Ed.), *English is an Asian language. The Philippine context* (pp. 1-23). Australia: The Macquarie Library Pty., Ltd.
- Kachru, Y. & Nelson, C (2006). *World Englishes in Asian context*. Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press.

- Kirkpatrick, A. (2007). *World Englishes: Implications for international communication and English language teaching*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- K-12 Curriculum Guide: English (2015). Department of Education. Meralco Avenue, Pasig City.
- Kumaradadevelu, B. (2003). Critical language pedagogy. A postmethod perspective on English language teaching. *World Englishes*, 22(4), 539-550.
- Martin, I. P. (2014). Beyond nativization?: Philippine English in Schneider's dynamic model. In S. Buschfeld, T. Homann, M. Huber, & A. Kautzsusch (Eds.), *The evolution of Englishes: The dynamic model and beyond* (pp. 70–85). Amsterdam, the Netherlands: John Benjamins Publishing Co.
- Muniandy, M.K. (2010). Sociolinguistic competence and Malaysian students' English language proficiency. *English Language Teaching* 3(3), 145-151.
- Nihalani, P., Tongue, R. K., & Hosali, Priya. (1979). *Indian and British English: A handbook of usage and pronunciation*. New Delhi: Oxford University Press.
- Norton, B. (1997). Language, identity, and the ownership of English. *TESOL Quarterly*, 31, 409—429.
- Preisler, B. (1999). 'Functions and forms of English in a European EFL country.' In T. Bex & R.J. Watts (Eds.), *Standard English: The Widening Debate* (pp.239- 267). London: Routledge.
- Schneider, E. W. (2003). The dynamics of new Englishes: From identity construction to dialect birth. *Language*, 79, 233–281.
- Schneider, E. W. (2007). *Postcolonial English: Varieties of English around the world*. New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.
- Shin-ying, H. (2009). Global English and EFL learners: Implications for critical pedagogy. *The Journal of Asia TEFL*, 6(3), 327-350.
- Song, K. & Drummond, H. (2009) Helping students recognize and appreciate English language variations. *Foreign Language Research and Education, Hiroshima University*, 12, 201-215.
- Vetorrel, P. (2015). World Englishes and English as a lingua franca: Implications for teacher education and ELT. *Saggi/Essays*, 6, 229-244.

### **About the Author**

**Alejandro Sapitan Bernardo, Ph.D.** facilitates teacher and student trainings and delivers lectures on English Language Teaching (ELT)-related trends and issues across the country. He started as a basic education teacher at the University of Regina Carmeli (URC), now La Consolacion University-Philippines (LCUP). He earned both his bachelor's (BSEd-General Science) and master's (MAEd-English) degrees from LCUP and his Ph.D. in English Language Studies from the University of Santo Tomas (UST) (cum laude). At LCUP, he served as chair of the Basic Education Department of Languages for four years, as university-wide publication coordinator for one year, and as chair of the Department of Languages of the College of Liberal Arts for one year. At present, he is a full-time and a tenured member of the faculty of the UST Department of English where he has just recently been promoted to associate professorship. He is also serves as the Faculty Secretary of the UST Graduate School.

## Philippine English on the Move: An Afterword

Edgar W. Schneider

*University of Regensburg, Germany*

Not surprisingly, major evolutionary developments affecting languages often go hand in hand with linguistic research activities investigating them. The discipline of World Englishes itself provides a lucid exemplification: Its exorbitant growth since the 1980s reflects the unprecedented expansion of the multiregional uses and roots of English and the emergence of “New” Englishes around the globe. And Philippine English (PhilE) equally constitutes a wonderful case in point. It is one of the most vibrant English varieties in the “Outer Circle” and in Asia, being spoken (and played with in language mixing as “Taglish”) by a surprisingly high percentage of Filipinos. And it has been investigated by a vibrant linguistics scene involving many outstanding scholars from the Philippines, spearheaded by the most active Linguistic Society of the Philippines, initially led by impressive scholars like Br. Andrew Gonzalez and Prof. Maria Lourdes “Tish” Bautista, and followed by an impressive cohort of younger scholars, mostly represented in the current collection (together with a few colleagues from abroad).

It has been a privilege and a great honor for me to have been able to observe these developments as a World Englishes researcher from afar, and to contribute my small morsel – in contributions to festschrifts and in short research pieces (Schneider, 2000, 2005, 2011), by attending the wonderful World Englishes conference in Cebu in 2009, and by getting to know and making friends with many fine scholars and colleagues from the Philippines. And I would like to take this opportunity and dedicate this short text to the memory of the late Danilo Dayag, whose gentle smile will forever remain in my heart and memory.

In its breath and versatility, this collection represents a fine sample of research activities on Philippines English in its various facets.

The paper by Peter Collins and Ariane Borlongan offers a wonderfully concise and useful survey of studies on distinctive grammatical properties of PhilE, valuable as such. In addition, it weighs arguments in the ongoing debate on the degree of autonomy the variety has attained, couched in the framework of my “Dynamic Model” (Schneider, 2007) – and I agree with their cautious conclusion that PhilE is moving towards but has not yet fully achieved endonormative stabilization (and, perhaps more importantly, that such assignments and interpretations need to recognize the fuzziness and transitional character of these categories and phases).

---

Corresponding Author: Edgar W. Schneider

Affiliation: University of Regensburg

Email: Edgar.Schneider@sprachlit.uni-regensburg.de

Thomas Biermeier's paper documents ongoing preferences in word formation patterns in PhilE as reflected in the Philippine component of the International Corpus of English (ICE-PH), compared to similar trends in corpora from Great Britain, Canada, India, Hong Kong, and Singapore. He documents a remarkable degree of creativity and also independence from other mainstream varieties in the PhilE lexis.

Danica Salazar addresses lexicographic issues of adequately covering Southeast Asian vocabulary, and Philippine words in particular, in the *Oxford English Dictionary*. It is interesting to see the words of PhilE origin added in the very recent past, since June 2015, and this documentation testifies not only to the vibrancy of the linguistic development of the variety but also to its increasing recognition and visibility on the global scene. Her overall characterization of lexicosemantic categories offers helpful insights into the nature and systematicity of borrowing processes, and her concluding considerations for applications in the Philippine classroom and examples of lexical timelines from the OED database are equally valuable.

One major trend in research on World Englishes over the recent past has been the tendency to compile historical corpora which represent earlier stages of such varieties, with the goal of enabling empirically grounded real-time diachronic studies, in parts inspired by the Dynamic Model (and a desire to test its assessments). Scholars investigating PhilE are fortunate to have such a corpus available, thanks to the efforts of Ariane Borlongan, who compiled "Phil-Brown", a collection of texts from the 1960s which matches the American "Brown" corpus. Robert Fuchs employs this resource, in comparison with parts of the written texts of ICE-PH, tracing (and partly documenting) further Americanization trends in lexical and orthographic choices.

Wilkinson Gonzales' paper on tag questions in Hokaglish adds a refreshingly innovative and original, empirically research-based perspective to the collection. By documenting variants derived from three different languages in a remarkable, hitherto undocumented trilingual setting the author makes a substantial contribution to contact linguistics and to the wealth of the linguistic heritage of the Philippines.

Against the backdrop of earlier studies and discussions of intelligibility as a core property of language varieties, Shirley Dita and Kristine De Leon find variable levels of intelligibility and comprehensibility of PhilE to (mostly Asian) EFL users, influenced perhaps by the difference between syllable-timed and stress-timed pronunciation habits of the subjects tested. Rightly, in my view, they consequently argue for an increased exposure of students to other varieties in order to increase their accommodation ability.

Alejandro Bernardo asks whether the insights achieved in the World Englishes paradigm have reached classroom practice in the Philippines. In a remarkably versatile and empirically grounded analysis, he finds that while the state-prescribed curriculum has not been informed by modern linguistic thinking, distinctively Philippine structures can be found both in classroom interactions in the speech of both teachers and students (richly documented on the basis of videotaped recordings) and in exam tasks administered to students locally. He thus views PhilE as relatively far advanced on its way towards endonormativity.

Taken together, then, this set of papers provides a broad up-to-date documentation of all major aspects of Philippine English as a language variety viewed in its social and interdisciplinary setting. Clearly, to quote from one of the contributions (Salazar's) but broaden

the scope of reference, this collection is a valuable “sign of the health of the English language in the Philippines”. The corpus coverage of various aspects of PhilE is strong, and so we get a number of fine corpus-based investigations of the variety, in line with a strong trend in World Englishes research. We are informed about its properties, history, lexicographic coverage, developmental trajectory, and, importantly and addressed in several papers, its developmental stage and degree of autonomy, as well as pedagogical consequences resulting from these insights. Broadly, it seems clear that a consensus has been emerging which respects the distinctive nature of PhilE as a postcolonial variety in its own right, one which needs to be recognized more widely by the Philippine society at large.

To all my Pinoy friends: Well done, and carry on!

### References

- Schneider, E. W. (2000). Corpus linguistics in the Asian context: Exemplary studies of the Kolhapur Corpus of Indian English. In M. L.S. Bautista, T. A. Llamzon, & B. P. Sibayan (Eds.), *Parangal nang Brother Andrew: Festschrift for Andrew Gonzalez on His Sixtieth Birthday* (pp. 115 – 137). Manila, the Philippines: Linguistic Society of the Philippines.
- Schneider, E. W. (2005). The subjunctive in Philippine English. In D. T. Dayag & J. S. Quakenbush (Eds.), *Linguistics and Language Education in the Philippines and Beyond. A Festschrift in Honor of Ma. Lourdes S. Bautista* (pp. 27 – 40). Manila, the Philippines: Linguistic Society of the Philippines.
- Schneider, E. W. (2007). *Postcolonial English. Varieties Around the World*. Cambridge, the United Kingdom: Cambridge University Press.
- Schneider, E. W. (2011). The subjunctive in Philippine English – An updated assessment. In M. L. S. Bautista (Ed.), *Studies in Philippine English: Exploring the Philippine Component of the International Corpus of English* (pp. 159 – 173). Mandaluyong, the Philippines: Anvil Publishing.

### About the Author

**Edgar W. Schneider** holds the Chair of English Linguistics at the University of Regensburg, Germany, after previous appointments at the University of Bamberg (where he received his PhD in 1981), the University of Georgia in the USA, and the Free University of Berlin. He is an internationally renowned sociolinguist and World Englishes scholar, known widely for his "Dynamic Model" of the evolution of Postcolonial Englishes. He has lectured on all continents, given many keynote lectures at international conferences, and published many articles and books on the dialectology, sociolinguistics, history, semantics and varieties of English, including *American Earlier Black English* (1989, University of Alabama Press), *Introduction*



to *Quantitative Analysis of Linguistic Survey Data* (1996); *Focus on the USA* (1996); *Engishes Around the World* (2 vols., 1997); *Degrees of Restructuring in Creole Languages* (2000); *Handbook of Varieties of English* (2 vols., Mouton 2004) and the Cambridge UP books *Postcolonial English* (2007) and *English Around the World* (2011). For many years he edited the journal *English World-Wide* and its associated book series, *Varieties of English Around the World*. He has served as a reviewer and advisor for universities, publishers and other academic institutions world-wide, and held a variety of academic functions, including Dean of his faculty. He is currently the President of the *International Society for the Linguistics of English* (ISLE).