

Endonormative stabilization in Philippine English lexis

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Abstract

In the past 10 years, we have seen an enormous increase in the interest in Philippine English (PhilE) vocabulary. This is especially documented by the new entries of distinctive PhilE words in the *Oxford English dictionary*. Thanks to the rise of electronic mega-corpora, such as GloWbE and the NOW Corpus, it has become possible to discover even more lexical innovations in PhilE. In this article, I compare nominal and adjectival suffixes across the following varieties of English: India, Singapore, Hong Kong, the Philippines, the United States, Canada, New Zealand and Great Britain. The comparisons were carried out on a quantitative and qualitative level, based on the findings in GloWbE, NOW and ICE. Apart from suffixes, the article also discusses less frequent and productive types of word-formation, such as synthetic compounds and splinters (*budgetarian*).

1 | 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 devote special attention to the lexical properties of Philippine English (PhilE), which has become one of the most widely studied Southeast Asian Englishes over the last two decades (Bautista, 1997, 2000, 2008; Biermeier, 2008, 2011, 2017, in press; Borlongan, 2016; Collins & Borlongan, 2017; Dimaculangan & Gustilo, 2017; Gonzalez, 1997; Salazar, 2017; Schneider, 2004, 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

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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.

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 2050.¹ 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, p. 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—documented by dictionary writing and grammatical description—and a high degree of homogeneity. In addition, the variety at hand serves as an identity carrier. The latter is strongly disputed by Martin (2014, p. 79), who argues that PhilE is chiefly used by the elite but lacks acceptance among Filipinos with no further education. On the other hand, Collins and Borlongan (2017, p. 18) point out that, with regard to PhilE, endonormativity has been going on; however, it is 'by no means complete' and that 'PhilE has yet to fully achieve linguistic independence'. In my paper, I will show that the lexical innovations and trends documented in PhilE in recent years indicate a remarkable degree of endonormative stabilization. Of course, I am fully aware that not all novel formations presented here are in widespread use, and investigating factors such as context and genre is not always possible in the scope of this paper. In the same vein, Schneider (2007, p. 50) admits that 'not all strata and groups of society adopt innovations and adjust to changes equally rapidly'. However, the vast number of discrete examples, the extent of morphemic and non-morphemic variation as well as the systemic use of these variations point to a successful development from nativization to endonormativity.

This article will look at important categories of word-formation in PhilE qualitatively and quantitatively, primarily using the electronic corpora GloWbE and NOW, as these are the biggest corpora on second-language varieties to date.² On the basis of a systematic comparison with the corpora of Great Britain (GB), the United States, New Zealand, Canada,³ Singapore, Hong Kong and India, lexical trends and the current status of PhilE word-formation will be determined and assessed. In order to describe and analyse PhilE word-formation as precisely as possible, I chose both morphemic and non-morphemic processes. The former will be represented by nominal and adjectival suffixes, whereas the latter will be documented by splinters, such as *-arian*, *-eria*, *-athon* and *-mania*. Apart from that, I will also describe hybrid and variety-specific formations, as they are also indicative of linguistic progress. In the main, it will be instructive to see how the Asian Englishes under study line up beside each other. From well-known publications in the field, linguistic experience and casual observation, we expect SingE to be the most advanced.

2 | METHODOLOGY

The present study will show that GloWbE and NOW are practical and suitable databases for comparative studies of word-formation and lexical properties. Their 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 analysing the different corpora. In the digital era, both corpora represent the biggest quantitative documentation of the new varieties to date. GloWbE (global web-based English) consists of 1.9 billion words from 20 different countries (Davies, 2013). Regarding text categories, it comprises web pages and blogs. NOW (News on the web), which is a monitor corpus that is constantly updated, is even bigger. It contains about 10 billion words (April 2020) from the same 20 different varieties, and the material was collected from 2010 to March 2020. Thus, there is a realistic chance that new words appear in the NOW corpus. On top of that, the reference in NOW indicates the year of occurrence. By contrast, the International Corpus of English (ICE), which was the first corpus to systematically target second-language varieties dating back to the 1990s, is much smaller. Every component consists only of roughly 1 million words (Greenbaum, 1996). Consequently, new word-formations can only be detected to a much lesser extent. In my presentation,

TABLE 1 Sizes of the GloWbE corpora analysed (word token frequencies).

GloWbE	Tokens*
USA	386,809,355
CAN	134,765,381
GB	387,615,074
NZ	81,390,476
IND	96,430,888
SIN	42,974,705
PHI	43,250,093
HK	40,450,291

*As can be seen from the overall token figures in Table 1, the GloWbE corpora vary in numbers. While the Inner Circle corpora, such as GB and USA, are very big, some Outer Circle corpora are much smaller. However, PHI, SIN and HK, for example, are comparable in size. To make up for the discrepancies, the normalization of token figures is essential.

all quantitative documentation will be carried out in GloWbE, while my qualitative analyses will be based on GloWbE and NOW. Especially the latter is suitable for tracking down low-frequency words. In some instances, I will also resort to my findings in ICE (2008, 2011, 2014). From a qualitative point of view, that is an ideal complement to the mega-corpora since the material in ICE is carefully sampled according to the same criteria and, in terms of text types, makes it rather representative. In addition, the ICE corpora consist of 60% spoken material, while GloWbE and NOW only draw on blogs, which is not equivalent to oral text production.

The token figures for the different corpora were normalized, that is, projected to an identical corpus size of precisely 100 million words, 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 100 million. The result of the formula, which has become standard procedure in corpus linguistics, is the token frequency per one hundred million words. Normalization was necessary because token frequencies, which always refer to quantity, cannot be directly compared when the sample sizes provided by the corpora (Table 1) are unequal. This becomes even more apparent by looking at the sizes of corpora which are hugely different.⁴

For suffixes such as *-ee*, *-ism*, *-ish* and *-ness*, I was able to search the corpora extensively for frequency or extent of use as the number of types can easily be tracked down. With regard to productivity, I conducted different tests in order to measure the probability of a given suffix to produce new lexical items. First, I investigated the productivity in the narrow sense (Baayen & Lieber, 1991). Here, the number of hapax legomena, that is, words that only occur once in a corpus, with a given affix was divided by the number of all tokens with that affix. The assumption behind this calculation is that productive processes are characterized by a high number of low-frequency words. Thus, hapax legomena always indicate a higher probability to coin new words. By contrast, less productive processes display a lower number of hapaxes. Second, I investigated global productivity. In a coordinate system, you calculate productivity in the narrow sense on the horizontal axis and the number of different types on the vertical axis. Thus, it is assumed that productive processes display both a high level of productivity featuring hapaxes and a high number of different types. As will be shown, this correlation often holds true.

In order to reduce the vast amount of data for adjectives in *-y*, I selected specific letter combinations, namely, 12 different letters preceding the suffix morpheme *-y*: *-by*, *-dy*, *-fy*, *-gy*, *-hy*, *-ky*, *-my*, *-ny*, *-py*, *-sy*, *-wy* and *-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 would have been too time-consuming. Accidental findings, that is, lexemes that can appear during a search in GloWbE and NOW, 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 that are not accounted for by the tests applied but deserve to be pointed out since they are

TABLE 2 Frequency of nouns in *-ism*

	USA	CAN	GB	NZ	IND	SIN	PHI	HK
Types	3,990	1,686	3,994	1,521	1,668	733	800	904
%	73.2				26.8			
New coinages	47 (25 blogs)				55 (24 blogs)			
Tokens	52,530	40,818	49,083	46,804	54,088	34,190	39,711	55,090
%	50.8				49.2			

Note: Token frequencies normalized to 100 million words, rounded to the nearest integer.

of special interest. Here, I focused on all formations that appeared unfamiliar in institutionalized BrE and AmE, as in those that are widely used in writing and speech. Besides, my attention was drawn to all those formations that consist of elements containing culture-specific information in a given variety. All potentially new coinages were checked in standard dictionaries (e.g. *Collins English Dictionary*, *Merriam-Webster's Collegiate Dictionary*, *Oxford English Dictionary*, *Oxford Dictionary of English*), the Corpus of Contemporary American English (COCA) and, of course, the Internet.

Apart from quantitative findings, word-formation categories must also be investigated from a qualitative perspective. In some cases, even low-frequency items can point to an interesting trend. For example, a few formations consisting of *-able* can be indicative of certain trends in PhilE (*presidentiable*, *senatoriable*). The same is true of formations in *-mate* (*growmate*, *prayermate*) and compounds with *topnotcher* (*topnotcher coaches*, *bar-topnotcher*).

3 | PRESENTATION

3.1 | Suffixation

3.1.1 | The nominal suffix *-ism*

To begin with, I would like to concentrate on 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 (Bauer & Huddleston, 2002, p. 1702; Schmid, 2016, p. 174). A very recent example is *slacktivism*, 'a type of activism that seeks projects and causes that require the least amount of effort' (Kerremans, 2015, p. 253). The suffix *-ism* denotes a concept, a system of belief or a theory.

In the present context, the question of whether Asian Englishes use *-ism* formations as productively and frequently as standardized English or the Inner Circle varieties, for that matter, will be answered. All occurrences in *-ism* (types and tokens) that were collected in GloWbE were investigated (Table 2).

In fact, an investigation of all occurrences across the different GloWbE corpora confirms the intuition-based assumption about the productive character of *-ism*. We detect the highest type number in Inner Circle varieties, both in the United States (3,990) and GB (3,994), with CAN and NZ trailing clearly behind. With regard to the Outer Circle, it is particularly IndE where we find a high type figure (1,668). On the other hand, the readiness to use nouns in *-ism* is weakest in SIN (733), which has historically been closer to GB. This result is also confirmed by the lowest token figure (34,190). On the other hand, the result obtained from PHI (800/39,711) makes clear that PhilE authors of web pages and blogs demonstrate an impressive command of English word formation in that they use an exceptionally wide range of formations. Semantically speaking, nouns in *-ism* nearly always have a political, social or religious meaning, as these findings in ICE (2014) prove: *one-worldism* (GB, w), *pan-Canadianism* (CAN, w), *Casteism* (IND, s: 4), *anti-Congressism* (IND, w), *pervertism* (IND, w: 2), *Ziaism* (IND, w), *kiasuism* (SIN, s: 6), *moneytheism* (SIN, s: 2), *clientism* (PHI, w), *xenocentrism* (PHI, w: 2), *cooperativism* (PHI, w) and *Caesaro Popism* (PHI, s: 2).⁵

As can be seen from the above examples, Asian Englishes produce a great number of new coinages that 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. In GloWbE, we find 13 tokens of *anti-Congressism*, all of which appear in political contexts (general websites and blogs). 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. 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.

It is noteworthy that my research in GloWbE has revealed a number of unattested formations in *-ism*: for example, *Congressism* (10 tokens), *minorityism* (7, 'a minority's primary role in decision-making'), *goondaism* (16, 'anti-social and violent behavior of people'), *Don't touchism* (2, 'reference to the lowest caste in India'), *yes-manism* ('practice of permanently saying yes and flattering one's bosses'). In fact, IndE offers the widest range of new coinages in *-ism* (36 of 55).

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 analysed as the 'religious belief in money' or 'making money one's god'. Examples from GloWbE-SIN are *Lkyism* (43 tokens, 'a racist and xenophobic movement in Singapore'), *Genbaism* (2, 'observing things on-site') and *Jaejoongism* (3, 'religious reference to a place of worship'). Unattested formations from HKE are *boutism* (2, reference to 'Sri Lanka's continued indigenous war') and *hokeyisms*, 'sentimental statements that should be avoided in an essay'.

With regard to PhilE, the unlisted formation *xenocentrism* (ICE-PHI, W1A-007 (2)) refers to the colonization of Chinese regions. By using the term *clientism* (ICE-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 *Oxford Dictionary of English*. Both nouns can be considered relatively recent since they only appear in GloWbE and here mainly in Inner Circle countries. Further examples from GloWbE-PHI 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). Finally, *turncoatism* is prevalent in PhilE (127 of 132 tokens in NOW in April 2020), although it rarely appears in other varieties, such as Singapore, Pakistan or India, too.

A closer look at the text types reveals that roughly half of the unlisted formations appear in blogs. My previous research on nouns in *-ism* in ICE showed that they were prevalent in informational writing as well as in personal writing. In terms of spoken English, the newly coined words came up in a broader range of categories: direct conversations, broadcast discussions, parliamentary debates, unprepared speeches and non-broadcast talks.

3.1.2 | Nominal suffix *-ness*

The quality-noun-forming suffix *-ness*, which denotes a certain quality, is arguably the most frequent and productive suffix in the English language (Plag, 2018, p. 92). This suffix can be attached virtually to any adjective, which accounts for a high number of both established formations and new coinages in the corpora under review. As regards frequency (Table 3), the normalized token figures reveal a higher overall result for Outer Circle varieties (52.4%). Here, it is especially IndE and PhilE where the highest token figures are attested. In terms of types, however, this trend is reversed,

TABLE 3 Frequency of nouns in *-ness*.

	USA	CAN	GB	NZ	IND	SIN	PHI	HK
Types	3,880	3,136	3,925	2,503	2,669	1,842	1,749	1,786
%	62.6				37.4			
New coinages	68 (42 blogs)				32 (11 blogs)			
Tokens	67,242	70,608	62,971	70,673	78,216	72,203	75,281	73,673
%	47.6				52.4			

Note: Token frequencies normalized to 100 million words, rounded to the nearest integer.

and we find more different types in Inner Circle varieties (62.6%). With regard to my investigation in GloWbE, the following examples are new.

In IndE, there are seven examples of unlisted formations: for example, *passportlessness*, *shockness*, *crimeproneness* (IND, w: 'tendency to commit crimes'), *Punjabiness* (3), *Yamadutaness* ('terminal restlessness before dying'), *man-whoreness* and *hard-to-accept-ness*. Likewise, SingE contains ample evidence of abstract nouns in *-ness*: for example, *gungho-ness* (2, 'extreme enthusiasm'), *shiockness* (4, 'maximum content'), *tear-jerkingness* (2) and *Kawaii-ness*. Besides, research in the ICE corpora revealed the lexeme *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.

Turning again to research in ICE, the lexeme *all-at-once-ness* attracts particular attention: '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, too: *paranoidness* (blogs), *otakuness* (blogs: 'passionate fandom'), *on-your-toes-ness* (general website: 'potty training') and *oc-ness* (general website: 'obsessive compulsiveness'). In addition, I discovered the following interesting formations in the Philippine component of the NOW corpus (April 2020): *wuss-ness* (2012, 'the state of being weak or ineffectual') in an article on lifestyle, *OC-ness* (2019) praising the efficiency of German cars, *undocumentedness* (2014), *Kapuwaness* (2013, 'shared identity of Filipinos' in an article on film-making), *maid-less-ness* (2015), *ilokanoness* (2019, 'reference to indigenous people in the Philippines'), *Tigang-ness* (2015, 'living without sex'), *Gundam-ness* (2017, 'reference to a Japanese science-fiction universe used in electronic games'), *robin-ness* (2011, 'the quality of a character in a Philippine TV show') and *Filipinanness* (2, 2019)/*Filipinoness* (64 tokens). In terms of context and genre, these new lexemes appear in specific sources, such as in articles on lifestyle, entertainment and society. Although some new formations might vanish over time, the number of new occurrences attests to the lexical competence of PhilE users. It is to be expected that some of these innovations will no longer be restricted to specific contexts but spread to a wider range of sources.

3.1.3 | Nominal suffixes *-ship*, *-hood* and *-dom*

In this section, I will focus on three nominal suffixes that are both frequent and productive, each of them to a certain extent. 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 that denote a state or condition. The suffix *-hood* is rather restricted in its occurrence, while the suffix *-ship* appears more frequently, as my previous research using ICE corpora has shown (Biermeier, 2008, pp. 112–114). Similar to the suffix *-ism*, the morpheme *-ship* often has a political connotation.

However, we obtain coinages with a different semantic connotation, too. 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* (PHI, w: 4) in the Philippines. In particular, the high number of different types in *-hood* in the Philippines underlines the frequent usage of this suffix morpheme: for example, *tigerhood* (PHI, w), *selfhood* (PHI, w) and *boyhood* (PHI, w). An examination of all formations in *-hood* as regards productivity across the varieties (ICE search) has yielded two unlisted nouns: *graduatehood* (SIN, s: 2) and *twentyhood* (PHI, w).

In GloWbE, we detect some new coinages:

- *-ship*: *perceivership* (2), *doership* (3) in IndE.
- *-hood*: *bollyhood* (2), *Raja-hood*, *Nawab-hood* in IndE; *abjecthood* ('the state of being devastated') in PhilE; *geezerhood* (33, *activity-geezerhood*, *backpackgeezerhood*, *barrier-geezerhood*) in HKE.
- *-dom*: *cooliedom* ('the state of being an unskilled labourer from the Far East hired for low wages'), *babudom* in IndE; *Disneydom*, *suckdom*, *employeeedom* in SingE; *heart-dom*, *Kpop idoldom* in PhilE; *Chingdom*, *brilliantdom*, *chargeless-dom* in HKE.

The complex lexeme *doership* seems to be peculiar to IndE, as it occurs 12 times in the Indian component of the NOW corpus and nowhere else. The formation *geezerhood* is not exclusively used in HKE, but combinations with this lexeme are salient there. In PhilE, we also encounter a remarkable number of new formations in *-hood* (NOW, April 2020). The noun *datu-hood* (2015) describes 'the state of being a datu', which is the honorific title for rulers of various indigenous peoples in the Philippines. Likewise, the term *barangayhood* (2018) has a variety-specific connotation as *barangay* denotes the smallest political unit. The same goes for *pinoy-hood* (2012), which is an informal reference to Filipinos/Filipinas and their culture. Further coinages are *DJ-hood* (2013), *K-idolhood* (2018), *swinehood* (2016), *VIP-hood* (2015), *rubber-stamphood* (2018) and *zaddyhood* (2019). The last describes a handsome and smart young man, who is considered sexually attractive. This coinage is used with regard to an American actor, Noah Centineo, who advertises Calvin Klein products.

Next, the morpheme *-dom* is rather restricted regarding frequencies; however, the number of new occurrences is noteworthy. In PhilE, the formation *heart-dom* needs explaining: *Sometimes the problem with some people is they cannot segregate their officialdom with their heart-dom* (PHI, B: Leyte Samar Daily 2011). Apparently, this new coinage refers to the emotional quality of humans, as opposed to their business-like character. Other captivating examples from the Philippines in NOW are *UAAP-dom* (reference to the reception given to an American basketball player by the University Athletic Association of the Philippines, 2018), *Duterte-dom* ('doing business in the fashion of President Duterte', 2016) and *free-boob-dom* ('the state of wearing no bra and fighting for that practice', 2019). These examples, which often originate in articles on society, sports and lifestyle, clearly illustrate the playful character of formations in *-dom* in the Philippines and are evidence of the writers' lexical creativity.

There is no doubt that only a few supposedly new coinages will remain permanently in the PhilE lexicon. Some of them were certainly coined on the spur of the moment, when the writer was not entirely sure whether the word existed or not. In some instances, the authors used quotation marks or hyphens to capture the reader's attention. However, these coinages substantiate the claim that PhilE writers exhibit a great deal of ingenuity when they produce new words. Although this is not quantifiable, the new forms are expressive of a PhilE identity.

3.1.4 | Global productivity of *-ism*, *-ness*, *-hood* and *-ship*

A measurement that takes into account the number of observed types (extent of use) and the concept of 'productivity in the narrow sense'—the number of hapax legomena, that is, words occurring only once in a corpus divided by the number of all tokens with a given affix—is commonly referred to as 'global productivity' (Baayen & Lieber, 1991, p. 818). Thus, it is a bidimensional measure shown in a coordinate system, with the rate of productivity 'in the narrow

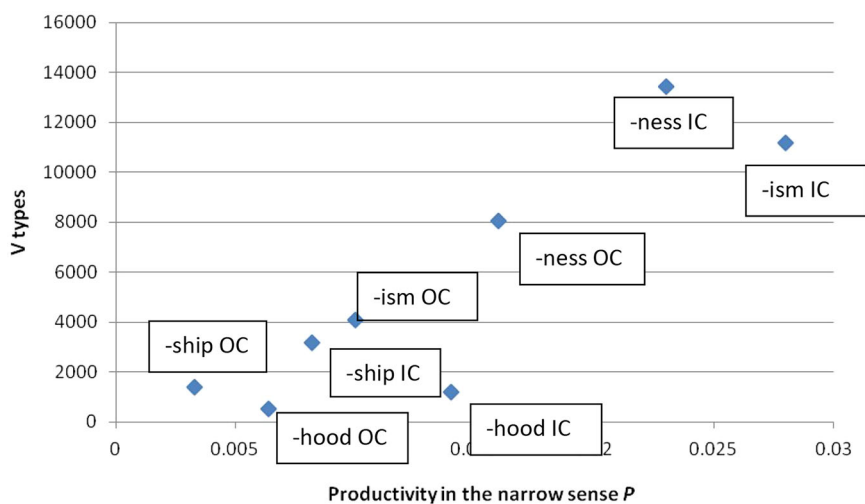


FIGURE 1 Global productivity of *-ism*, *-ness*, *-ship* and *-hood* in IC and OC. [Colour figure can be viewed at wileyonlinelibrary.com]

sense' on the horizontal axis (P) and the number of different types with a given affix (V) on the vertical axis. The basic assumption is that productive affixes, for example, display higher values for P and for V and might thus be found in the top right corner of a coordinate system.⁶ In Figure 1, I investigated the degree of productivity of the suffixes *-ism*, *-ness*, *-ship* and *-hood* across Inner Circle (IC) and Outer Circle (OC) Asian varieties.

My findings show that the suffixes under inspection are most productive in the Inner Circle. For example, the likelihood of a new suffix in *-ism* in the Inner Circle variety is 0.028, which is approximately 3%. This means that nearly 3 of 100 tokens are hapaxes and thus potentially new formations. The corresponding value for formations in the Outer Circle is much lower (0.01). As regards frequency (V), the suffix *-ness* is most prominent in the Inner Circle (13,444) and Outer Circle (8,046). On the other hand, the suffix *-ism* seems to be more productive in the Inner Circle, but in the Outer Circle, the trend is reversed with *-ness* featuring most prominently on V and P . However, the suffixes *-ness* and *-ism* in Outer Circle Asian varieties display a relatively high figure, too, even higher than *-hood* and *-ship* in the Inner Circle.

3.1.5 | Nominal suffix *-ee*

The nominal suffix *-ee* is generally attached to verb bases. According to Plag (2018, p. 89), this suffix 'derives nouns denoting sentient entities that are involved in an event as non-volitional participants'. Bauer and Huddleston (2002, p. 1,697) 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'.⁷

As can be seen in Table 4, the suffix *-ee* is used quite frequently in all varieties, particularly in PhilE. This is in accordance with Bauer's view (1983, p. 222) that *-ee* formations are 'becoming more productive in current English'.

What Baumgardner has stated for Pakistani English (1998, p. 213) is true of many *-ee* nouns evidenced in ICE: They appear in legal and work contexts. Presumably starting 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 that have not been recorded as yet. Most conspicuously, four of them stem from PhilE:

TABLE 4 Frequency of nouns in *-ee*.

	USA	CAN	GB	NZ	IND	SIN	PHI	HK
Types	176	110	156	87	90	76	80	68
%	62.8				37.2			
New coinages	46 (21 blogs)				10 (5 blogs)			
Tokens	23,059	32,286	15,753	30,012	30,216	19,663	25,646	27,364
%	49.6				50.4			

Note: Token frequencies normalized to 1 million words, rounded to the nearest integer.

Integrees (ICE-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 (ICE-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 (ICE-PHI, S1B-076 (2): In the context of PHI, this formation denotes a student who has shifted to another degree programme ('business transactions').

Surrenderee (NOW-PHI, 1,125 tokens from a total of 1,175 tokens/96%): This formation, which is clearly variety-specific, denotes a 'drug addict'. From the Philippines, this lexeme has spread to other Asian varieties such as IndE (25 tokens) or SingE (9 tokens).

The type–token relation across the different varieties does not always follow a homogeneous pattern (Table 4). Whereas GB, the United States, Canada and India are in favour of *-ee* formations, the type frequencies of SIN, PHI and HK are a bit lower. In terms of tokens, we find high figures for IndE, PhiE and HKE, even higher than BrE, AmE and SingE. Obviously, nominalizations in *-ee* seem to be highly popular in Outer Circle Asian societies, except for Singapore. Apart from the above examples, 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 as we stated above that the *-ee* suffix is more strongly linked to AmE. Lastly, a search in NOW has been rather successful as regards unlisted formations in IndE: *votee*, *tax-payee* and *playee*. Thus, we can conclude that the nominal suffix *-ee* is particularly frequent and productive in Asian Englishes.

3.1.6 | Adjectival suffixes *-ish* and *-y*

Finally, the adjectival suffixes *-y* and *-ish* ('somewhat X, vaguely X') were investigated in GloWbE because they represent a very creative way of making new adjectives in English.

With regard to formations in *-ish* (Table 5), it is especially SingE data that can be taken as evidence of their writers' and speakers' advanced level of language competence by offering a wide range of types (559) and the highest number of tokens (10,695). This result is in line with my findings in ICE (2014, p. 326), which revealed SingE as the variety with most formations in *-ish* in Asia and even more frequent than CanE and AmE. This result underlines the assumption that SingE will eventually turn into an Inner Circle variety. PhiE, on the other hand, offers two new coinages in ICE: *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. However, in GloWbE-PHI, a few new coinages

TABLE 5 Frequency of adjectives in *-ish*.

	USA	CAN	GB	NZ	IND	SIN	PHI	HK
Types	2,555	1,035	2,506	716	639	559	395	381
%			77.5			22.5		
New coinages			122 (70 blogs)			98 (43 blogs)		
Tokens	8,949	6,897	8,799	6,860	8,767	10,695	7,718	7,876
%			47.3			52.7		

Note: Token frequencies normalized to 100 million words, rounded to the nearest integer.

TABLE 6 Frequency of adjectives in *-y*.

	USA	CAN	GB	NZ	IND	SIN	PHI	HK
Types	598	478	616	480	407	397	371	388
%	58.1				41.9			
New coinages	53 (30 blogs)				19 (13 blogs)			
Tokens	55,128	54,700	58,736	58,192	44,351	70,837	55,047	53,844
%	50.3				49.7			

Note: Token frequencies normalized to 100 million words, rounded to the nearest integer.

are attested: *pondish state/lawn*, *talkish*, a *Filipiniana-ish outfit*, *customer service-ish questions* and *cliffhangerish ending*. While the former three stem from general websites, the latter two occur in blogs, which are generally considered more informal.

The following formations have been found in NOW and are thus fairly recent. The adjective *Filipino-ish* (2019) describes the local art scene. The coinage *Duterte-ish* appears in two different texts (2017). It denotes the behaviour of the Philippine president, whose first year in office is discussed. The second attestation, occurring in an article on public opinion, focuses on Americans who 'can be Duterte-ish too in private'. *Mestizo-ish* dates from the year 2012 and is used with 'guy' and 'background'. A rather creative formation is *vendo-ish machine* (2017). It is used in a lifestyle article on Japanese dining. Other examples are *Snapchat-ish* (2017), *temporarily-ish* (2015, 2016 in articles about music videos) and *reviewish* (2019 in an article about food whims). Finally, the complex lexeme *un-ilustrado-ish* is attested twice as early as 2010 and denotes the 'gloom of the novel' in a book review of the award-winning book *Ilustrado*, which seems to be a typical Filipino novel.

In the main, adjectives in *-ish* are clearly more frequent in Inner Circle varieties, as far as types are concerned (77.5%). In terms of tokens, however, the pattern is reversed, and we find a higher overall token frequency in the Outer Circle (52.7%). In PhiE, the token frequency is higher than in CanE and NZE. As regards individual examples, the formations obtained from NOW clearly show that adjectives in *-ish* are not only frequent in PhiE but also productive. On the other hand, BrE (616) and AmE (598) display by far the widest range of adjectives in *-y* (Table 6). Most formations appear in the Inner Circle, while the token distribution between Inner and Outer Circles is almost equal. On the token level of individual varieties, we also find the highest number of occurrences in SingE. The findings for PhiE are ambivalent. While the type figure is the lowest of all varieties, although the numerical differences are not significant, the token figure is higher than in IndE and HKE.

With regard to new coinages, Inner Circle varieties (53) are more creative than Outer Circle varieties (19). Among Inner Circle varieties, it is definitely AmE and BrE that account for the highest numbers of new adjectives in *-y* (42 of 53). A few examples are *historicky*, *startupy*, *scumbaggy*, *workshopy* and *chaosy*. In Asian Englishes, on the other hand, new formations can be retrieved from IndE (*linguisticky*, *Congressy collaborators* and *lapdoggy qualities*), SingE (*damsel-in-distressy*, *cliffhangy endings* and *stalkerishy*) and HKE (*backpacky*, *apprehendy*, *aggressbrainy* and *boyhoody*). The only new

formation obtained from GloWbE-PHI is *revengy*, which appears in a blog and refers to a female character in a movie. As the number in GloWbE-PHI is very low, I also did some research in NOW: *pissy-offy* (2013, in an article on sexual relationships), *nagtariiffy* (2019), *showy-tricksy* (text in a Shakespeare performance, 2016), *showtune-sy reading* (2019) and *angst-sy antics* (2016). The latter two are related to music.

There is no denying that these new formations must be treated with care since they could simply be non-formations, which do not become institutionalized, as in, which are not permanently established in the lexicon of a variety. In terms of style, they often stem from informal contexts (advice and entertainment) and online forums. Nevertheless, they represent tentative evidence of linguistic creativity, which is an important requirement for endonormativity.

3.2 | Hybridization and variety-specific vocabulary in PhilE

Owing to the colonial history of the Philippines, the influence of Spanish loan words on Philippine vocabulary is certainly considerable (Schneider, 2007, p. 142). A *merienda* (s) is a snack that is eaten either 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: for example, 'I still found myself attending despedida parties of those who were leaving the country with their own families'. In recent years, the formation *hurado scores* has become trendy (3 tokens in NOW). It refers to the judgment passed by a panel of judges in a singing, acting or literary competition.

The lexemes *nipa* and *carabao* are early borrowings denoting 'kind of palm' and 'water buffalo', respectively (Schneider, 2007, p. 140). In ICE-PHI, we come across these attestations: *nipa hut* (s), *carabao program* (w), *carabao cultivar* (w), *Carabao Center* (w), *carabao grass* (w) and *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. More famous is the blend *jeepney* denoting 'a small bus'.⁸ 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 (1,002 tokens). More recently, the term *tradpo* has entered PhilE. This derogatory blend consists of 'traditional' and 'politician' and denotes a politician who is perceived to belong to the established and therefore corrupt ruling class. While GloWbE has only 87 tokens, I found 347 tokens in the NOW corpus. However, this lexeme is polysemous as it is a Spanish loanword and also stands for 'rag' in Tagalog. In NOW, there are only five instances denoting the latter.

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). Next, the neoclassical element *cyber* is quite productive in the new varieties, too, as it is combined, for instance, with the Tagalog word *bayan* (w), which means 'native country' in the Philippines. Also, the exclamation *sayang* ('expressing sympathy') is derived from local languages (Schneider, 2007, p. 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, p. 62), it means 'anything exaggeratedly ostentatious or in bad taste', referring to clothing, architecture and décor; 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 frequent in the Philippines. Notable examples of this type from ICE-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) and *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: for example, *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) and *co-founder* (s). This

TABLE 7 Frequency of compounds in *-mate* (in absolute numbers).

	US	CAN	GB	NZ	IND	SIN	PHI	HK
Batch	5	-	-	2	78	10	88	1
Church	-	-	1	-	-	4	9	-
Gang	1	-	1	3	-	-	1	-
Group	8	3	3	-	2	33	32	9
Lane	1	1	1	-	-	1	8	-
Office	62	15	19	2	11	3	140	4
Party	3	1	1	2	1	-	43	-
Province	-	-	-	-	-	-	11	-
Seat	102	31	12	9	1	5	48	7
Trail	2	-	2	-	-	-	3	-
Total GloWbE	184	51	40	18	93	56	383	21
Total NOW	565	396	87	85	1,331	245	2,385	46

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 term that has just been added to the OED is *ambush interview*. It denotes an unscheduled interview when a person has been tricked into spontaneous participation. According to GloWbE and NOW, it is certainly variety-specific as it appears 20 times (out of 24, that is, 83%) and 698 (out of 762, that is 92%), respectively. Moreover, 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. In GloWbE, it almost exclusively occurs in PhilE (17 tokens: 9 general websites, 8 blogs). Only the Jamaican component displays one other instance. In NOW, 484 out of 494 tokens stem from the Philippines. The texts from Singapore, for instance, refer to the political situation in the Philippines. By analogy, *senatoriable* denotes a person who is considered capable of being a senator. While this adjective exclusively appears in the Philippines in GloWbE (10 tokens), NOW yields even more tokens that originate in texts from the Philippines (142 of 146 tokens). The remaining 4 tokens from Singapore (3) and GB (1) refer to politics in the Philippines.

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, p. 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. In a similar vein, my research in NOW has yielded 1,033 of 1,044 tokens that stem from PhilE.

Finally, the head *-mate* in compounds merits further investigation as any traveller in the Philippines will immediately notice its frequent use in written and spoken English. In fact, my research has come up with robust evidence that substantiates that claim.

First and foremost, the lexical element *-mate* is prevalent in PhilE. Both investigations in GloWbE and NOW clearly exhibit the highest number of tokens in PHI (383). By far the second-highest number in the Outer Circle is displayed in IndE (93). This suggests that *-mate*, which is derived from British English, is firmly institutionalized in Asian Englishes. In 7 of 10 individual modifiers (Table 7), PhilE features most prominently. These findings are confirmed by the research I conducted in NOW. Again, it is English in the Philippines that offers the highest number of tokens (2,385), followed by IndE (1,331) and English in North America.

A search for new coinages in the Philippine component of NOW has revealed a remarkable number of examples: *fratmate* ('fraternity mate' 2017, 3), *fling-mate* (2013),⁹ *foodmate* (2018), *barkada-mate* (2013, 2), *chiefmate* (2017),

glassmate (2016, 2019), *Fruitmate* (2019), *trammate* (2019), *Zumba-mate* (2018), *Robo-mate* (2017, 3), *orgmates* (10), *GeeksMate* (2018, 3) and *Springmate* (2012). For instance, *barkada-mate* denotes a friend who is part of a gang of youth or clique since *barkada* is Filipino street slang. The lexeme *orgmates* ('friends from organizations') does only occur in PHI from 2012 to 2019. Obviously, it illustrates the productivity of combinations in *-mate* in PhilE.¹⁰ *Robo-mate*, *GeeksMate*, *Fruitmate* and *Springmate* refer to brand names. In a nutshell, the lexeme *-mate* is both very frequent and productive in PhilE. My findings clearly show that it occurs there exceptionally often. The number of variety-specific new coinages is remarkable, too.

3.3 | Synthetic compounds

By and large, compounds are evenly distributed in world Englishes, as it is a rather popular way of forming complex lexemes (Biermeier, 2008, pp. 36–37). To be more precise, there is no substantial evidence that any variety uses or produces compounds significantly more often than others. This is also true of the distinction between Inner Circle and Outer Circle varieties. Based on Biermeier's conclusions in this respect (2011, p. 228), I decided to focus on synthetic compounds in *-doer*, *-giver*, *-holder*, *-maker* and *-goer* from a qualitative perspective.

First and foremost, synthetic compounds are productive in all varieties and thus also in PhilE. The following so far unlisted examples collected in GloWbE confirm that observation: *planner-makers*, *swamp-makers*, *weight-makers*, *cemetery-goers*, *hotel-goers*, *Saguijo-goers*, *faith-givers*, *vision-giver* and *justice-doers*. Except for the last two, all examples are from blogs. Two other formations specific to PhilE are *topnotcher* and *holdupper*. The former is predominantly used in the Philippines, although there are also occurrences outside: for example, Canada, the United States, Singapore and New Zealand. Examples of the use of that lexeme are *bar-topnotcher* ('examinees who obtained the highest grades'), which occurs repeatedly in NOW, *poll topnotcher*, *election topnotcher*, *group topnotcher*, *architecture topnotcher* and *topnotcher coaches* ('first rate coaches', 'coaches of the highest quality') or *topnotcher doctors*. An investigation in NOW from April 2020 yields 778 tokens (out of 836) from PhilE. The remaining tokens are distributed across several varieties: SingE (9), AmE (5), NZE (3), CanE (6), NigE (7), HKE (4), IndE (5), BrE (8), IrE (8), PakE (2) and BDE (1). In other words, *topnotcher* can undoubtedly be considered peculiar to PhilE. Interestingly, the compound *holdupper* shows 72 occurrences in NOW (April 2020). While 71 tokens stem from PhilE, there is only one token from a different variety, as in from CanE. Moreover, the constituent *-holder* triggers off a remarkable pattern of synthetic compounds in PhilE. Of all instances in NOW (April 2020), the lexeme *planholder* occurs relatively frequently in PHI (64%). Other noteworthy examples from NOW and GloWbE are *placeholder*, *player-placeholder*, *policy-holder*, *cardholder*, *titleholder*, *degree-holder* and *PhD holder*. Of course, these formations also appear more or less frequently in other Outer Circle varieties around the globe.

In the same vein, the constituent *-goer* is both frequent and productive in PhilE. According to my findings in NOW (April 2020), the complex lexeme *mall-goer* features 382 tokens (out of 512), which represents 75%. Therefore, *mall-goer* appears to be predominantly used in PhilE. Other formations such as *mass-goer* (14%), *road goer*, *church goer*, *market goer* and *concert goer* display much lower frequencies in PHI. A very recent coinage is *restroom goers* (January 2020). It stems from an online article that reports on the Golden Globe Awards. There is no mention of this compound in any other variety or standard dictionaries.

3.4 | Splinters

According to *The Oxford Reference Guide to English Morphology* (Bauer et al., 2013, p. 525), splinters are 'originally (mostly) non-morphemic portions of a word that have been split off and used in the formation of new words with a specific new meaning'. In this section, I will focus on the formatives *-arian*, *-eria*, *-mania* and *-athon*. An interesting example gathered from NOW is *budgetarian*, which refers to travelling at a low price: 'Check out pages like DIY travel

Philippines, byaheng budgetarian on Facebook and you'll be amazed on how fun low-cost touristy trips are!¹¹ Since that first occurrence in 2017, there have been seven more entries in NOW, all of them from the Philippines. A rather humorous example is *budgetarian bride* ('I am what they call a "budgetarian" bride: I tried to look for the best deals with the best quality'). This formation appeared in an article about brides' wedding regrets in 2019.

The splinter *-eria* is conducive in producing new words that have to do with food places. Thus, *panciteria*, which denotes a noodle stall in the Philippines, features prominently in NOW (28 of 32 tokens). The remaining four tokens are from SIN and CAN, but they all refer to a food stall in the Philippines. The same is true of *carinderia*, which is a blend of *cari*—denoting 'curry' in Tagalog—and the Spanish suffix *-teria*. This formation signifies a typical Filipino food stall. In NOW, 424 of 430 tokens stem from PhilE.

Next, I found a couple of remarkable formations in *-thon*: *Phongsathon* (2017), *bankathon* (2017, 'a traditional boat competition of Filipino fishermen')/*bancathon* (4, 2013/2017) and *Drupalathon* (2014). The last represents a blend of the web platform *Drupal* and the familiar formation *hackathon*, an 'event at which many people meet in order to write and improve computer programs'.

The world of sports and media has contributed *Manila-Butuan-Mania* (2018), *Pacquiao-mania* (2012, 2015, 2018) and *Pacmania* (2014, 2015) to PhilE. The latter two are a tribute to the extremely successful Philippine boxer Manny Pacquiao, who was world champion in seven weight classes. We also find that complex lexeme in SIN and GB (3), which clearly shows that this formation is on its way to becoming established. In the same vein, there is one attestation of *Manny-mania* (2018), which expresses the euphoria felt by people across the country. Last but not least, a typical Philippinism is *Filipinophobia* (2, 2016), which designates the fear of Filipinos that was displayed by Americans when Philippine citizens emigrated to the United States in the mid-20th century.

In sum, the non-morphemic splinters are a relatively new phenomenon in English word-formation. Complex lexemes using them are produced deliberately with a clear objective in mind. In some cases, the new coinages might remain idiosyncrasies, which disappear over time. However, they are solid evidence of a variety's potential for linguistic creativity.

4 | CONCLUSION

Using a wide range of examples from different electronic corpora, the present study has analysed the current state of PhilE lexis. In many cases, my previous research in ICE was confirmed by my findings in the two mega-corpora GloWbE and NOW. First, the investigation on word-formation has shown that the different methods of using and making words in English are both institutionalized (that is, 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 relatively high degree of productivity, which is documented by the remarkable number of new coinages found in GloWbE and NOW.

Second, my quantitative findings (extent of use) document that English in the Philippines follows closely behind the Inner Circle varieties. Some categories show a remarkable frequency pattern: nouns in *-ism* (types), nouns in *-ness* (tokens) and nouns in *-ee* (types and tokens). In a number of instances, PhilE offers an even higher token figure than the Inner Circle varieties (nouns in *-ness*, to some extent nouns in *-ee*, adjectives in *-ish*), which was entirely unexpected and undeniably argues for the advanced level of English in the Philippines. Moreover, PhilE shares interesting features with AmE and CanE. Both seem to favour formations preceded by the morpheme *co-* and combinations with *-mate*, which attests to the influence of Northern American English on PhilE.

Third, new coinages always attest to the degree of productivity of a given variety. We can especially observe a considerable number of new formations in the Outer Circle varieties under study, above all in PhilE, where the following categories have turned out to be rather fruitful: nouns in *-ness*, nouns in *-ship/-hood* and nouns in *-ee*. Thus, apart from the numerous lexical contributions through loan words (hybridization), the processes of suffixation especially contribute to the expansion of the vocabulary in PhilE. In the same vein, synthetic compounds appear to be productive, with the formative *-holder* triggering off new combinations. On top of that, many new coinages were drawn from

informal English, thus underlining the common assumption that new words are created in blog entries, whose authors do not always feel the constraints of formal written norms and therefore coin new words more liberally. Besides, lexical creativity can often be observed in specific contexts such as entertainment or online fan communities. Of course, it remains to be seen whether these coinages will become an established part of the PhilE lexicon. Some formations, such as splinters, account for the heightened public interest of a cultural phenomenon.

Fourth, the findings obtained from GloWbE and NOW 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 exhibit an advanced level of lexical competence and use the categories of English word-formation both frequently and productively. This is also true of blogs, in which people largely tend to use more informal lexemes. However, it has to be admitted that the linguistic creativity displayed by PhilE users is often down to a systemic use of specific morphemic and non-morphemic variations. Thus, in light of my findings, it can be concluded that English in the Philippines is about to overcome the phase of nativization and, already proceeding to endonormative orientation, has enough potential to attain the status of a distinctly stabilized variety in the near future.

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NOTES

¹ www.worldometers.info/population/most-populous-countries.

² For a more comprehensive understanding of GloWbE see Davies and Fuchs (2015). In addition, substantial information on GloWbE and NOW is provided on <https://www.english-corpora.org>.

³ 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 (Crystal, 2003, p. 340).

⁴ Meyer (2002, p. 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.

⁵ In ICE, the letter w stands for written English, while spoken English is indicated by the letter s.

⁶ Note that Schröder (2011) used the same procedure in her investigation of verbal prefixations.

⁷ For a more comprehensive list of new *-ee* nouns, see Bauer (1993, pp. 222–224). 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').

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 This coinage appeared in an article about secrets of talk show stars.

¹⁰ In GloWbE, the coinage *orgmate* is only attested in PhilE (5 tokens).

¹¹ The source in NOW is: <http://www.sunstar.com.ph/pampanga/opinion/2017/05/22/de-leon-awesome-ways-millennials-are-changing-face-travel-543334>.

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