



American or British? A Corpus-Based Analysis of Asian Englishes' Orthographical Norms

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Abstract

This study is one of the pioneers in investigating and analyzing the orthographical conventions/norms of the outer circle Asian Englishes using one of the largest databases of English corpus, the Global Web-based English (GloWbE). This study extends the analysis of the current orthographical norms of the new varieties to their colonial parents. Results of this study indicate that there is an evident Americanization in some of the orthographical norms of the outer circle Asian Englishes, even though all of them, except for Philippine English, have British English as parent English. The results can be accounted for the emergence and proliferation of technology, as initiated by the United States as a superpower country today. This huge global influence enables American English to accelerate in indirectly colonizing the orthographical norms of these new English varieties.

Keywords: *orthographical conventions/norms, outer circle Asian Englishes, Global Webbased English (GloWbE), new varieties, parent English*

Introduction

American English and British English are two varieties that have a distinctive status as principal national varieties of the language (Algeo, 2006). Among the different English varieties today, these two are the most influential to the other new varieties. Such status of the British and American Englishes was earned through their rich history of colonizing and interculturally influencing their former colonies— and today, the world at large as superpower nations.

The British Empire was one of the largest empires that had faced mankind as early as the 15th century. At the peak of its colonization, it reached as far as North America to Asia, Africa, and Australia (Goncalvez, Laureiro-Porto, Ramasco, & Sanchez, 2017). In Asia, specifically in the case of Hong Kong, Greater India (including Sri Lanka, Bangladesh, and Pakistan), Malaysia, and Singapore, that were former colonies of the British Empire (Bolton, 2008), the influence of the British English is described to be immense since it did not only penetrate their political and economic affairs, but also their educational systems. It is also noteworthy that Hong Kong was only surrendered by the British Empire to China in 1997, which implies that the country has remained British longer than the rest of the former colonies. On the other hand, the Philippines, one of the largest English-speaking countries in the world

today (Rillo & Alieto, 2018), is the only Asian country that was under the American rule from 1898 to 1946. The Americans' greatest influence on the Philippines during its colonization period was the introduction of the public-school system that included English instruction (Rillo, 2015). With this influence, it is undeniable and imperative that the Americans have affected the current state of the Philippine English's linguistic norms. In fact, this is strongly supported by the claims of Fuchs (2017) in his diachronic corpus-based study on the Americanization of Philippine English (PhE) on orthographical conventions and lexical choices and Alonsagay and Nolasco, (2010); Borlongan and Lim (2012); and Scheider (2011) on Philippine English syntactic structures, also based on corpus data.

The scarcity of studies on identifying whether the American English (AmE) or the British English (BrE) as "mother Englishes" dominate the new varieties in terms of their linguistic norms, especially on the basic norm of orthography using a corpus-based data, prompted this present study. This study is also one of the pioneers in aiming towards identifying the orthographical conventions currently practiced by all outer circle Asian Englishes (India, Sri Lanka, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Singapore, Malaysia, Philippines, and Hong Kong); providing new insights whether the colonial influence on orthography of the two principal varieties in the new English varieties still exist in the modern day; and specifying which mother English influences their orthography on certain words using the biggest corpusbased data available today online at 1.9 billion words, the Global Web-based English (GloWbE).

The Outer Circle Asian Englishes Attitude towards their English Parent

Goncalvez, et.al. (2017) prompted that as the empire spreads so does the language of the ruling class while Bolton (2008) claimed that most of the societies that were former colonies of these principal English varieties retained the use of the English language for important internal purposes right after they were given their independence, and even extends onward. In fact, Alonsagay & Nolasco, (2010); Borlongan & Lim (2012); and Scheider (2011) claimed that American English is still of strong influence even up to the present in Philippine English linguistic norms, particularly in the syntactic level. This phenomenon could be regarded as a product of the Filipinos' positive attitude toward the Americans as their colonial parent over Spain.

In the case of the other outer circle Asian Englishes nations (India, Sri Lanka, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Singapore, Malaysia, and Hong Kong), which were also former colonies of the British Empire, the language attitude that they have towards their parent English (BrE) is otherwise. Kachru (1996) in his publication claimed that these nations have developed such negative attitude toward the British English because of their regard to the language as a colonial language of suppression. He further termed this attitude as “linguistic schizophrenia”. Linguistic schizophrenia is the indirect fear of being dictated of the standards of the British English language, over their nativized English.

AmE versus BrE English Orthographical Norms/Conventions and the New English Varieties

Several words are spelled differently between the American English and the British English. These slight differences in their orthography of certain words are responsible for the two principal English varieties to remain mutually understandable to one another.

Tottie (2002) recognized how most orthographical differences are systematically done in both the AmE and the BrE since they are governed by certain rules. Some of the differences are the contrast between the American English (AmE) *-or* and British English (BrE) *-our* as in *flavor* and *flavour*, respectively; AmE *(-ter)* and BrE *(-tre)* as in *theater/theatre*; AmE *(-ense)* and BrE *(-ence)* as in *license/licence*. However, sometimes some patterns are reversed, for example, AmE *(-l-)*, *traveling* and BrE *(-ll-)*, *travelling* while AmE *(-ll-)* *enrollment* and BrE *(-l-)* *enrolment*. Also, certain words in these two principal varieties have different orthography because of their function in a construct; for example, AmE *(-ice)*, *practice* (noun and verb); while BrE *(-ice)* *practice* (noun) and BrE *(-ise)*, *practise* (verb).

Another difference on the orthographical conventions between the AmE and the BrE is their formation of the regular verbs in the past and the past participle form, or a verbal. AmE *(-ed)* as in *learned* while BrE *(-t)* as in *learnt*. This orthographical convention is also explored in this study.

Gelderen (2006) explained how these differences between the AmE and the BrE orthographical conventions appear differently in other English varieties. According to him, it is possible that this phenomenon occurs because of the conscious decisions made by their respective editors, educators, and politicians to dictate which orthographical convention between the two principal varieties is desired for certain words. Additionally, Mencken (2009) attributed this inconsistency of which orthographical convention to follow to “laziness” and

imitation. However, Kroch (2001) stated that this inconsistency in orthography or failure to follow one principal variety's orthographic rule is brought about by the faulty transmission of the linguistic features of the parent variety across the time that the language is used within their former colonies. Consequently, Goncalvez, et.al. (2017) and Fuchs (2017) attributed this inconsistency or sometimes deterioration of the BrE orthographical conventions to the other varieties, despite being former colonies of the British Empire, because the American influence has started to proliferate in the different societal platforms and channels like the television, movies, and today, even in the world wide web, where the AmE could easily penetrate and influence any audience from around the globe.

Studies on the Orthographical Conventions of the New English Varieties

The new English varieties are varieties that display their own linguistic particularities (Jenkins, 2013). These particularities are specifically evident in their local linguistic norms encompassing specialized lexis, syntax, and even orthography. In the area of orthographical convention, the other varieties of English adhere to only either of the two principal varieties, AmE or BrE. Moreover, the orthographical conventions followed by these English varieties is said to be identifiable based on their historical feature (Llamzon, 1983). This historical feature could be attributed to their English colonial past and how this has influenced their linguistic norm on orthography.

Fuchs (2017) conducted a diachronic study on the Americanization of the Philippine English spelling and lexis using the PhilBrown corpus and the International Corpus of English-Philippines (ICE-PHI). In his study, he was able to find out that there is an overall shift away from the British orthographical and lexical conventions towards greater uniformity in the adherence to American usage in PhE. In a larger scale, using the ICE-written corpora of India, Tanzania, Jamaica and Hong Kong as outer circle Englishes, Lanssens (2013) found out that English varieties of Indian English; Tanzanian English; and Jamaican English prefer the BrE variants except for HKE that showed no clear preference over the two major principal varieties. So far, these are the only studies that covered the topic on orthography in the outer circle Asian Englishes.

In the light of the expanding circle Englishes, a corpus-based study on Lithuanian students' English composition aimed at identifying the students' orthographic preference between AmE and BrE, Bikiliene (2015) found out that the lower-level university students

(first year students) prefer AmE orthography while the higher-level students, otherwise. In the same study, the words ending in *-or* (AmE) is preferred over *-our* (BrE) while *-ise* and *-isation* (BrE) are preferred over *-ize* and *-ization* (AmE). In the same context, but using a different set of corpora, Alftberg (2009) and Larsson (2012) also came up with the same conclusion. In addition, Lindell (2014), through translation, 88 Swedish students coming from both the Technical and Academic strands answered a test that prompted English words that would call for either a word spelled in AmE or BrE, found out that the students, regardless of their strand, would prefer the AmE spelling for the words— *tire, meter, practice, licorice, donuts, catalog, and mom* while BrE spelling for *colour, travelled, grey, pyjamas, and neighbour*. Also, he concluded that the AmE are used more prevalently than the BrE orthography. Similarly, Sif Halldórsdóttir (2014) found out that Icelanders use more AmE orthographic conventions than BrE.

In the current studies on identifying the orthographical conventions that both the outer circle and the expanding circle Englishes govern, a much more preference on the AmE orthographical conventions seems to be more prevalent than its principal variety counterpart, the BrE.

Research Objectives

In the light of the scarcity of the studies on the orthographical norm-preference between the principal varieties (i.e. AmE and BrE) in the new English varieties, this study is aimed at identifying the orthographical conventions currently practiced by all outer circle Asian Englishes (India, Sri Lanka, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Singapore, Malaysia, Philippines, and Hong Kong); providing new insights whether the colonial influence on orthography of the two principal varieties in the new English varieties still exist in the modern day; and specifying which mother English influences their orthography on certain words using the biggest corpusbased data available today online at 1.9 billion words, the Global Web-based English (GloWbE).

Theoretical Frameworks

The frameworks that the researcher espoused in this study were Kachru's three concentric circles model (Figure 1) and Strevens' tree diagram on the spread of the English language in the world (Figure 2).

The three concentric circles model of Kachru is perhaps the most well-discussed and conceptualized model that identifies the different English varieties across the globe. Crystal (2003) described the inner circle in the model as the “traditional bases” of all the Englishes that have spread all over the world including the two principal varieties, AmE and BrE, among others. The outer circle enumerates the countries that are from Asia and Africa, where the role of the English language is a second language. These countries include the Asian countries namely— India, Sri Lanka, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Malaysia, Singapore, Philippines, and Hong Kong while the outer circle Englishes in Africa include, Tanzania, Jamaica, Ghana, and Kenya. The expanding circle on the other hand, includes those countries that were not directly colonized by the native speakers of the English language, but acknowledge the role of the English language as an international language of commerce and business; thus, English is studied in these countries as a foreign language. The countries that are in the expanding circle are Japan, Korea, China, in Asia; Lithuania, Sweden, Russia, in Europe, among others. Kirkpatrick (2007) commended the model of Kachru as a non-bias model since it reposes all Englishes in the circles as individual Englishes, regardless of their location in the concentric circles.

In the context of this study, Kachru’s three concentric circles model was utilized, for the researcher to look at the orthographical conventions preference/s of the outer circle Asian Englishes without bias, thus, seeing that no variety is linguistically better than the other, regardless if it is their parent English, or their counterpart in the same circle.

If Kachru’s model was used to look at which Englishes are situated as a second language, Streven’s tree diagram of the spread of the English language in the world was utilized to ascertain whether an outer circle English variety is oriented towards AmE or BrE. Streven’s model is literally a map of the world displaying an upside-down tree diagram showing the way in which varieties stem from linguistic contact with Britain or the United States (Stevens, 1980 as cited in Jenkins, 2003)

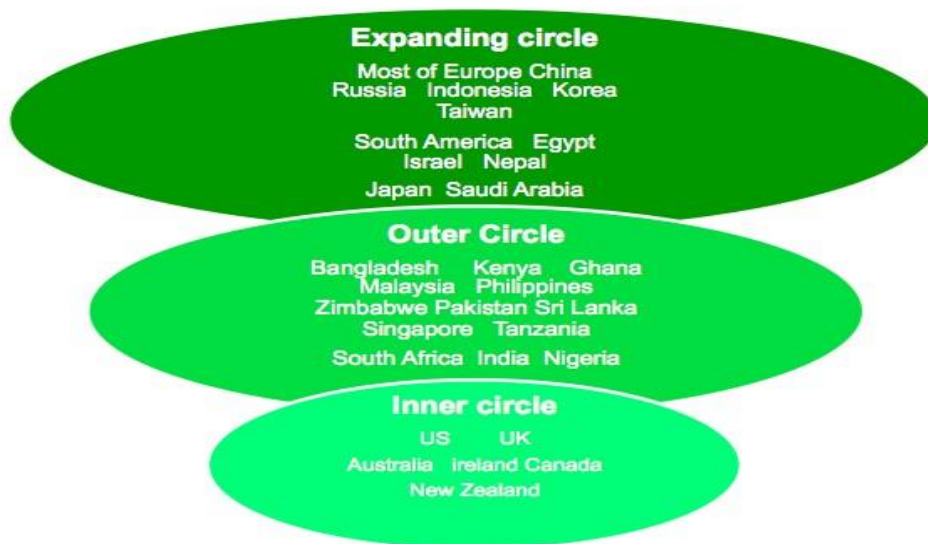


Figure 1. Kachru's Three Concentric Circles Model of World Englishes

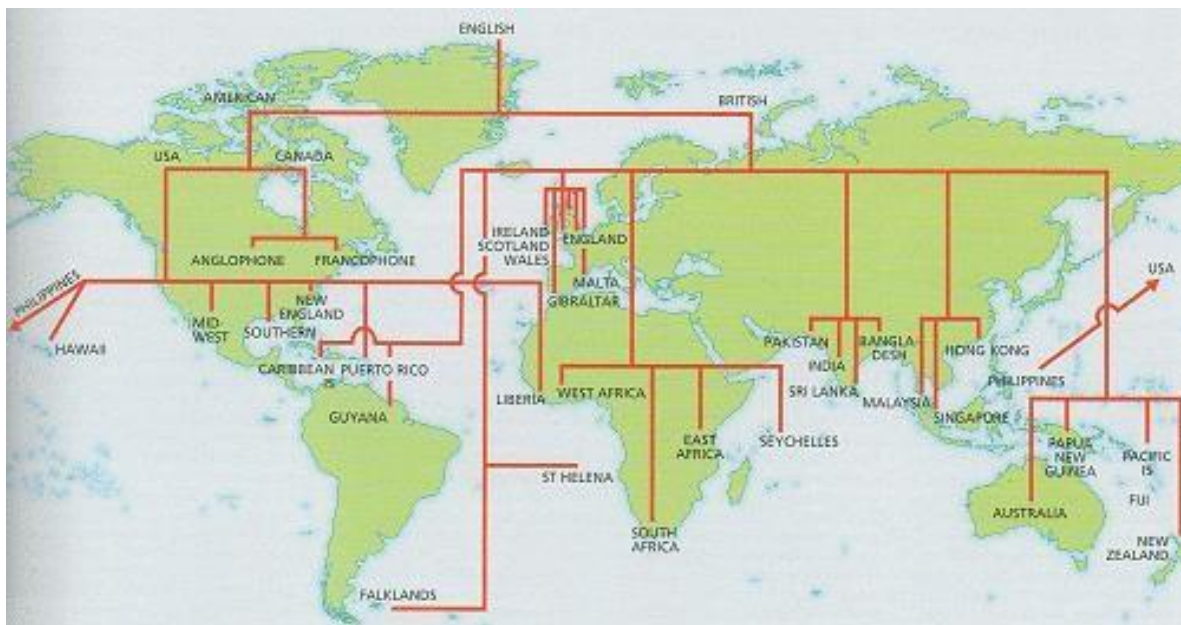


Figure 2. Stevren's model of the spread of the English Language in the World, showing the influence of the two principal varieties

Methodology Research Design

This study made use of the descriptive research method because it deals with the analysis of the prevalence of occurrence of the orthographical conventions followed by the outer circle Asian Englishes.

Johnson (2000 cited in Perez & Alieto, 2018) maintained that investigations with primary purpose of describing a phenomenon is considered as determined to be a descriptive type of study. Moreover, Calderon (2006 cited in Rillo & Alieto, 2018) claimed that descriptive research is a purposive process of gathering, analyzing, classifying, and tabulating data about prevailing conditions, practices, processes, trends, and cause-effect relationships and then making adequate and accurate interpretation about such data with or without or sometimes minimal aid of statistical methods. The same researcher also reiterated that it ascertains prevailing conditions of facts in a group under study. It also gives either qualitative or quantitative, or both, descriptions of the general characteristics of the group. In addition, comparisons of the characteristics of two groups or cases may be made to determine their similarities and differences. The variables or conditions studied are not usually controlled because there is no variable manipulated.

Corpus

The data used for this study were retrieved from the Corpus of Global Web-based English (GloWbE), which was created by Mark Davies of Brigham Young University in Provo, Utah, U.S.A. The corpus was first released and became accessible to corpus linguists in 2013. The corpus is also known as the largest corpus to date available online since it has a total of 1.9 billion words from 1.8 billion web pages extracted from 340,000 websites in 20 inner and outer circle English speaking countries. Having a 1.9 billion worth of written corpus, the GloWbE has become four times larger than the Corpus of Contemporary American English (COCA Corpus), and almost twenty times larger than the British National Corpus (BNC). Kirkpartick (2007) described a major advantage of using large corpora containing the different varieties of the language in question since it could allow the researchers to analyze the language features present in the varieties more conclusively.

In this study, only the outer circle Asian Englishes namely India, Sri Lanka, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Singapore, Malaysia, Philippines, and Hong Kong were explored. In the GloWbE, these Asian countries are coded as IN, LK, PK, BD, SG, MY, PH, and HK, respectively. Also included in the retrieved data were the tokens and the accompanying frequencies of occurrence of the principal varieties, AmE and BrE, which were coded as US, and GB, respectively. The following Table presents the total number of words that are contained in the US, GB, IN, LK, PK, BD, MY, SG, PH, and HK corpora.

Table 1. Total number of websites, pages, and words analyzed

Countries	Number of websites	Number of pages	Total number of words
United States	82,260	275,156	386,809,355
Great Britain	64,351	381,841	387,615,074
India	18,618	113,765	96,430,888
Sri Lanka	4,208	38,389	46,583,115
Pakistan	4,955	42,769	51,367,152
Bangladesh	5,712	45,059	39,658,255
Singapore	8,339	45,459	42,974,705
Malaysia	8,966	45,601	42,420,168
Philippines	10,224	46,342	43,250,093
Hong Kong	8,740	43,936	40,450,291
Total	216,373	1,078,317	1,177,559,096

It can be seen from Table 1 that the total number of websites investigated in this study is 216,373; number of pages at 1, 078, 317; and with a total of 1, 177, 559, 096 words.

Also, it is noticeable from the Table that India has the most number of words (96,430,888) compared to its other outer circle Englishes counterparts. Yoneoka (2002) claimed that InE is one of the oldest existing English varieties in Asia, and has come the farthest of demand for recognition as a variety in its own right.

The corpus is accessible via <https://corpus.byu.edu/glowbe/>. The website offers a wide range of options for purchasing the access of the data from a 50 USD a month to a 150 USD a year of subscription that would give you a total of 200 searches of tokens in a day with more than 10, 000 worth of contexts for analysis (referring to the constructs where the tokens appear with). Moreover, the website provides a built-in concordance software, so anyone who wishes to access the data need not to download a separate concordance software for sorting and weeding out of data. Registering the e-mail account in the website gives anyone who wishes to study the data a total of 50 searches in 24 hours and 5,000 entries of contexts. The contexts

were coded with the abbreviated name of the country's website where they could be found (e.g. GB for Great Britain).

Procedure

To realize this study, the researcher gathered from the related studies, the common contrasting AmE and BrE orthographical conventions. In the process, he was able to come up with nine (9) common contrasting pairs of AmE and BrE orthographical conventions namely: AmE (*-or*) and BrE (*-our*) as in color/colour; AmE (*-ense*) and BrE (*-ence*) as in pretense/pretence; AmE (*-ter*) and BrE (*-tre*) as in center/centre; AmE (*-l-*) and BrE (*-ll-*) as in traveling/travelling; AmE (*-l-*) and BrE (*-ll-*) as in fulfillment/fulfilment; AmE (*-g*) and BrE (*-gue*) as in dialog/dialogue; AmE (*-*) and BrE (*e-*) as in aging/ageing; AmE (*-ize*) and BrE (*-ise*) as in prioritize/prioritise; and AmE (*-ed*) and BrE (*-t*) as in burned/burnt, and one (1) group of non-categorized pairs of words as in AmE (*pajamas*) and BrE (*pyjamas*). Each group is composed of an average of four (4) to six (6) pairs of contrasting orthographical conventions. Since there were only a limited number of searches of tokens and contexts for analysis that could be done in a 24-hour period, only those pairs of words that need not be weeded out were included, except for the contrasting pairs, *mom* (AmE) and *mum* (BrE) that yielded results of acronyms.

There were a total 43 pairs of contrasting orthographic conventions, or 86 words that were included for analysis in this study.

In order for the researcher to access the data from the GloWbE corpus, he registered using his official e-mail address. Searching for words and downloading contexts took him some time because of the factors such as Internet speed and the number of searchers using the database during the time of the analysis. Those factors have caused lagging in the process.

After the total number of occurrences of the tokens were gathered, the total number of tokens were recorded using Microsoft Excel for tallying and computation of frequencies and percentages of occurrence while the contexts were saved through capturing a screenshot of each.

Method of Analysis

The total number of occurrences with the computed percentages of the pairs of AmE and BrE orthographical conventions were placed juxtapose each other per outer circle Asian

English variety for analysis. The groups of words were categorized, tallied, and computed separately using Microsoft Excel.

In determining the extent of occurrence of the orthographical conventions of the pairs words in the each outer circle Asian English variety, the percentage formula was employed while the unusual adherences of certain outer circle Asian English varieties to a particular principal English variety that is not their parent variety are discussed and analyzed with the presentation of exemplars.

The outer circle Asian Englishes in this study are abbreviated as **InE** for Indian English; **SrE** for Sri Lankan English; **PkE** for Pakistani English; **BdE** for Bangladesh English; **SgE** for Singapore English; **MyE** for Malaysian English; **PhE** for Philippine English; and **HKE** for Hong Kong English.

Results

The combination of orthographical conventions for both the principal English varieties— AmE and BrE were found occurring in the GloWbE corpus of the outer circle Asian Englishes varying in prevalence.

The following Tables present each group/classification of contrasting orthographical conventions from the corpora of the eight (8) outer circle Asian Englishes. **Table 2.** AmE (-or) and BrE (-our)

Outer circle Asian English variety	AmE (-or)		BrE (-our)	
	f	%	f	%
India	10030	42.17	13752	57.83
Sri Lanka	3904	32.98	7934	67.02
Pakistan	5743	44.94	7036	55.06
Bangladesh	5657	50.75	5489	49.25
Singapore	5044	44.53	6284	55.47
Malaysia	3296	36.70	5685	63.30

Philippines	10096	86.24	1611	13.76
Hong Kong	7081	50.02	7074	49.98

Table 2 presents the extent of occurrence of the orthographical variants, AmE (-or) and the BrE (-our). It can be seen from the Table that all the new English varieties, except of course in the case of the PhE, adhere to the BrE orthography. However, it is still noticeable that HKE (-or =50.02%; -our = 49.98%) and BdE (-or =50.75%; -our = 49.25%) have maintained a balance in terms of their choice on which principal English variety's orthographical convention they follow.

Notice how the context (1) follows the AmE orthographical convention for HKE and context (2) for AmE orthographical convention for BdE. Both Englishes yielded higher occurrence of this orthography for the token, *behavior* over its BrE counterpart, *behaviour* (see APPENDIX A, p. 38).

(1) The personality, **behavior** and social adaptation of the Disabled **HK**

(2) Family is not out of this traditional **behavior** of man. **BD**

Table 3. AmE (-ense) and BrE (-ence)

Outer circle Asian English variety	AmE (-ense)		BrE (-ence)	
	f	%	f	%
India	6157	40.95	8877	59.05
Sri Lanka	3775	34.21	5215	47.26
Pakistan	4455	46.07	5215	53.93
Bangladesh	4416	39.93	6644	60.07
Singapore	2810	47.01	3168	52.99
Malaysia	2767	44.49	3453	55.51
Philippines	6726	92.11	576	7.89
Hong Kong	3178	53.03	2815	46.97

Table 3 reveals that there is an evident adherence to the BrE (-ence) orthographical convention of all the British colonized Asian countries except for HKE (-ense = 53.03%). Of course, PhE (-ense = 92.11%) as expected remains adherent to its colonial AmE orthographical convention in this group.

The HKE resulted a higher frequency of the token, *defense* over its BrE counterpart, *defence* (see APPENDIX A, p. 40). The contexts (3) and (4) below provide the exemplars of this occurrence. In context (3), it is used as a noun, while in context (4) as a verb. (3) ...much (I'm looking at you Star Ferry) that we, as a **defense** mechanism, **HK**
 (4) She said as a disciple of Dafa I should **defense** it, broadcast its benefits and have more people benefit from it. **HK**

Table 4. AmE (-ter) and BrE (-tre)

Outer circle Asian	AmE (-ter)		BrE (-tre)	
	f	%	f	%
English variety				
India	11859	42.26	16202	57.74
Sri Lanka	4618	33.90	9006	66.10
Pakistan	5095	52.81	4553	47.19
Bangladesh	5959	49.63	6049	50.37
Singapore	5406	39.86	8158	60.14
Malaysia	5154	39.35	7945	60.65
Philippines	11720	86.36	1851	13.64
Hong Kong	8188	50.52	8020	49.48

It can be gleaned from Table 4 that all of the outer circle Asian Englishes observe the BrE orthographical convention, except for the PhE (-ter = 86.36%); PkE (-ter 52.815) and HKE (-ter = 50.52%). Also, there is an observable balance in the case of BdE (-ter = 49.63; -tre = 50.37%)

The HKE, PkE, and the BdE corpora generated more occurrences of the word *meter* over their BrE counterpart, *metre* (see APPENDIX A, p. 41). The exemplars below provide these contexts of this claim.

- (5) People Belarusian sport programmer Lesha decided to make some money to buy a one square **meter** larger flat **BD**
- (6) meter race, fell by 10.3% and 10.9%, respectively, in the boys 1000 **meter** race results, **HK**
- (7) ...a sub-bituminous coal seam at a depth of between 100 and 250 meters ranging 3-24 **meter** thick **PK**

Table 5. AmE (-l-) and BrE (-ll-)

Outer circle Asian English variety	AmE (-l-)		BrE (-ll-)	
	f	%	f	%
India	4139	44.74	5112	55.26
Sri Lanka	1750	40.67	2553	59.33
Pakistan	2257	53.89	1931	46.11
Bangladesh	1953	61.49	1223	38.51
Singapore	2266	46.92	2563	53.08
Malaysia	2032	48.52	2156	51.48
Philippines	3160	72.93	1164	26.86
Hong Kong	3160	56.20	2463	43.80

It can be seen from Table 5 that PkE (-l- = 53.89%); BdE (-l- = 61.49%); PhE (72.93); and HKE (-l- = 56.20%) follow the AmE orthography in this group. However, looking at the occurrences of the tokens in the raw data (see APPENDIX A, p. 42), the contrasting pair, jewelry (AmE) and jewellery (BrE), all the outer circle Asian Englishes show preference in the AmE orthographical convention over its counterpart.

To illustrate this claim, the contexts from the InE (8); SrE (9); SgE (10); and MyE (11) are given as exemplars.

- (8) If the **jewelry** is in a safe state start cleaning with a soft cotton cloth **IN**

(9) When you buy your **jewelry** from Senaratna Jewellers, you buy with confidence **LK** (10)
 Hong Kong is a good place to buy high-quality pieces of **jewelry** at very reasonable prices. **SG**

(11) Add scarf or a hat, wear them with a long necklace and black metal **jewelry**! **MY**

Table 6. AmE (-ll-) and BrE (-l-)

Outer circle Asian English variety	AmE (-ll-)		BrE (-l-)	
	f	%	f	%
India	1323	60.41	867	39.59
Sri Lanka	507	58.61	358	41.39
Pakistan	873	65.64	457	34.36
Bangladesh	712	64.38	394	35.62
Singapore	533	56.82	405	43.18
Malaysia	572	61.18	363	38.82
Philippines	1030	85.76	171	14.24
Hong Kong	657	64.10	368	35.90

Table 6 shows that the entire outer circle Asian Englishes follows the AmE orthography for this group of words. Comparing the results in this Table with Table 5, it seems that the outer circle Asian Englishes which do not show preference on the AmE orthography of certain words with only one *L*, remain consistent in their orthography of the words with two *Ls*; thus, this bias result. Of all the tokens, it is, *fulfillment*, where all of the new varieties have favored to follow the AmE orthography.

To show a few, contexts from InE and MyE are shown in exemplars, (12) and (13), respectively.

(12) Such freeze shall be released only upon the **fulfillment** of all account opening formalities by the Customer **IN**

(13) ... if we are feeling poor all the time. We can not create love and fulfillment with another person if we do not FEEL that way already MY

Table 7. AmE (-g) and BrE (-gue)

Outer circle Asian English variety	AmE (-g)		BrE (-gue)	
	f	%	f	%
India	1382	29.49	3304	70.51
Sri Lanka	1832	47.45	2029	52.55
Pakistan	425	16.95	2083	83.05
Bangladesh	465	20.71	1780	79.29
Singapore	227	13.48	1457	86.52
Malaysia	417	27.40	1105	72.60
Philippines	359	20.61	1383	79.39
Hong Kong	465	22.49	1603	77.51

Table 7 reveals that in this category of contrasting pairs of AmE and BrE orthography, it is surprising that all of the outer circle Asian Englishes conform to the BrE orthography. Also, it is noteworthy that even the AmE orthography has shifted its preference from (-g) to the BrE (-gue).

The exemplars below show how the AmE contexts prefer the orthography of the token, *dialogue* over its AmE counterpart.

(14) The CPA profession calls on both policymakers and the public to engage in a national **dialogue** to improve our country's fiscal health. US

(15) **Dialogue** and compromise are a better alternative to violence. US **Table 8.** AmE (-) and BrE (e-)

Outer circle	AmE (-)	BrE (e-)
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Asian English variety	AmE (-ize)		BrE (-ise)	
	f	%	f	%
India	4223	60.47	2761	39.53
Sri Lanka	1924	61.12	1224	38.88
Pakistan	3719	58.55	2633	41.45
Bangladesh	1976	68.37	914	31.63
Singapore	1464	54.00	1247	46.00
Malaysia	1685	61.07	1074	38.93
Philippines	2977	81.47	677	18.53
Hong Kong	2458	71.83	964	28.17

It can be gleaned from Table 8 that the entire outer circle Asian Englishes follows the elision of *e* in this category of tokens; thus, conforming with the AmE orthography. In the data, it is the word *judgment* that yielded the highest number of tokens over its BrE counterpart.

The following exemplars show two of the contexts from the PhE and HKE corpora: (16) I could pull it off. I was obsessed with Cathy and that clouded my **judgment** PH (17)

The **judgment** of the 17 defendants in the past two years for the purpose of making profits HK

Table 9. AmE (-ize) and BrE (-ise)

Outer circle Asian English variety	AmE (-ize)		BrE (-ise)	
	f	%	f	%
India	6717	66.68	3357	33.32
Sri Lanka	2996	64.92	1619	35.08
Pakistan	3394	68.06	1593	31.94
Bangladesh	3254	73.70	1161	26.30
Singapore	2671	60.80	1722	39.20

Malaysia	2444	57.51	1806	42.49
Philippines	3943	92.30	329	7.70
Hong Kong	3480	70.20	1477	29.80

It can be seen in Table 9, that the entire outer circle Asian Englishes conforms to the AmE orthography of the words under this classification. The entire corpora of the new varieties show a great extent of occurrence with the token, *recognize* as an AmE orthography.

Contexts (18) and (19) from the BdE and the HKE corpora, respectively are shown below.

(18) Apis dorsata foraging on a flower I do not **recognize**... **BD**

(19) This helps the unit **recognize** whatever you mean to type. **HK**

Table 10. AmE (-ed) and BrE (-t)

Outer circle Asian English variety	AmE (-ed)		BrE (-t)	
	f	%	f	%
India	7809	57.50	5773	42.50
Sri Lanka	3768	50.62	3675	49.38
Pakistan	4262	59.88	2855	40.12
Bangladesh	3330	79.06	882	20.94
Singapore	3404	58.85	2380	41.15
Malaysia	3590	64.78	687	12.40
Philippines	6660	90.65	687	9.35
Hong Kong	4401	73.20	1611	26.80

Table 10 presents that the entire outer circle Asian Englishes conforms to the AmE orthography under this classification. Seemingly, the verbs in the past and the past participle form and the verbal with the final (-t) BrE have gone obsolete today. However, it is still striking

that SrE (-ed = 50.62%; -t = 48.38%) still finds the balance in the orthography of the words under this classification.

Contexts (20) and (21) further clarify this balance in the SrE corpus.

(20) It was not **spelled** out in those terms, but that's how it was read by its principal **LK** (21)

The idea of having a satellite was the brainchild of President Rajapaksa who **spelt** it out when he was in China recently **LK**

Table 11. Non-categorized AmE and BrE orthographical conventions

Outer circle Asian English variety	AmE		BrE	
	f	%	f	%
India	19857	54.43	16628	45.57
Sri Lanka	9429	71.11	3830	28.89
Pakistan	13419	70.99	5483	29.01
Bangladesh	13600	67.84	6446	32.16
Singapore	13662	64.24	7604	35.76
Malaysia	9715	60.01	6473	39.99
Philippines	20315	92.88	1558	7.12
Hong Kong	12774	73.05	4712	26.95

Table 11 displays the results of the non-categorized, miscellaneous pairs of contrasting pairs of orthography between the AmE and the BrE norms. Table 11 clearly shows that the entire outer circle Asian Englishes conforms to the AmE orthographical norms. Among the words that yielded the highest number of occurrences as compared to their BrE counterparts are, *percent* and *mom*.

The last two (2) exemplars, present these contexts as lifted from the InE corpus.

(22) Only 11 **percent** of the earth's surface is used to grow food **IN**

(23) I'm pretty sure if my **mom** did a Google search for knitting crap she'd be clicking those ads all day **IN**

Discussion

This study embarked on to explore whether the outer circle Asian Englishes still conform to the orthographical conventions/norms of their parent Englishes (i.e. AmE and BrE). The GloWbE corpus was used in this investigation and the results showed that there is an evident conformity in some of the orthographical norms of the outer circle Asian Englishes to the AmE. This claim is further proven as most of the results of this study favored the orthography of the AmE norms specifically on the words with two *Ls* such as *installment*, *enrollment*, *fulfillment*; the elision of *e* in words such as *aging*, *livable*, *judgment*; the ending *-ize* as in *recognize*, *organize*, *prioritize*; the AmE variant *-ed* in forming the regular verbs' past and past participle forms and the verbal such as *learned*, *dreamed*, *spelled*; and miscellaneous AmE orthographical norms for words, *pajamas*, *mom*, *cozy*. On the other hand, the final, *-gue* as in *dialogue*, *monologue*, *catalogue* as a BrE variant is favored over its AmE counterpart in the outer circle Asian Englishes. Surprisingly, even the AmE corpus adheres to the *-gue* BrE variant, and seemingly abandoning its own *-g* variant. Furthermore, the conformity of the majority of the outer circle Asian Englishes, which were former colonies of the British Empire, and which parent English is the BrE, could be attributed to Kachru's (1996) language schizophrenia, where these new varieties have regarded their parent English as a colonial language, and have feared the imposition of its "standard" rules to their own respective established English varieties.

Furthermore, the results and findings of this study only prove that it not just the PhE orthography that is Americanized (Fuchs, 2017), but the entire outer circle Asian Englishes, as well. Also, the results and findings of this study coincide with that of Lanssens (2013) when he found out that the selected outer circle Asian and African Englishes prefer the AmE orthographical norms over the BrE. Moreover, the Americanization of the orthographical norms of the expanding circle Englishes were also found evident in the studies of the Bikiliene (2015); Alftberg (2009); Larsson (2002); and Lindell (2014).

Interestingly, of all the former British colonies, and the last to be given their independence, HKE showed more Americanized variants in their English orthography compared to the others (i.e. InE, PkE, SrE, BdE, Mye, SgE). This could also be attributed to the negative attitude (Kachru, 1996) that the HKE has over its English parent for a prolonged period of being colonized. Moreover, Lanssens (2013), in his analysis of the older ICE-HK corpus, was also able to find it striking that HKE has no definite principal variety to follow in

terms of its orthographical norms; however, this study has proven that HKE orthographical norms conform with the AmE as based on the current GloWbE- HK corpus. Equally striking is the adherence of the InE, PkE, SrE, BdE, and MyE to the double *L* orthographical norm without the direct established relationship to the norms of the AmE and BrE variants on certain words [e.g. enrollment (**AmE**)/enrolment (BrE); travelling (**BrE**)/ traveling (AmE)]. This finding in this study clearly agrees to the claim of Mencken (2009) that some of the orthographical norms of the new varieties can be attributed to factors of “laziness” and imitation.

Conclusion, and Recommendation

This study is one of the pioneers in investigating the orthographical norm preference of the entire outer circle Asian Englishes using one of the largest database of corpus (GlowBe) today. Furthermore, this study has clearly provided reasonably, reliable findings that the outer circle Asian Englishes as new varieties of English have started conforming to the AmE orthographical norms. The conformity of these new varieties could be attributed to the fact that the United States, as a superpower country today, has indirectly colonized their orthographical system through the proliferation of technology and the creation of virtual channels (social media) that accelerate language influencing across the globe. Also, the results and findings of this study instigate the idea that there seems to be a standardization of the English language as a global language among the outer circle Asian Englishes in terms of their orthographical norms.

As in many linguistic inquiries, it is still recommended that more pairs of contrasting orthographical norms of the two principal varieties be investigated together with contrasting lexical pairs (i.e. lexis). Also, the subscription of the GloWbE corpus is recommended for a more convenient investigation and examination of these occurrences.

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