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American and/or British influence on L2 Englishes – Does context tip the scale(s)?

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Abstract

Taking Mair's (2013) World System of Englishes as a starting point, this chapter seeks to investigate whether American English is a more important source of influence than British English for the other varieties of English, including English as an institutionalised second language and English as a foreign language. The study is based on twenty pairs of items that are distinctive between American and British English and whose frequency is calculated in data from the *Global Web-based English Corpus* (GloWbE) and the *EF-Cambridge Open Language Database* (EFCAMDAT). The results reveal a global influence of American English, as predicted by Mair's model, but also show that varieties are not necessarily homogeneous in this respect and that more local contextual factors may have an impact on the degree of American and/or British influence.

Keywords: New Englishes, Learner Englishes, World System of Englishes, Americanization, context of acquisition

1. Introduction

In 1870, Richard Grant White, an American critic, wrote the following in the preface to his book entitled *Words and Their Uses, Past and Present: A Study of the English Language*:

> [I]n my remarks on what I have unavoidably called, by way of distinction, British English and "American" English, and in my criticism of the style of some eminent British authors, no insinuation of a superiority in the use of their mother tongue by men of English race in "America" is intended, no right to set up an independent

> standard is implied. Of the latter, indeed, there is no fear. When that new "American" thing, so eagerly sought, and hitherto so vainly, does appear, if it ever do (sic) appear, it will not be a language, or even a literature. (p. 8)

Today, a century and a half later, we can say that American English has not only given rise to a national literature that is recognised as such, but that it has also become, if not a language of its own, at least an independent standard and a well-established variety of English, on a par with British English. In fact, it seems that the student may even have surpassed the teacher, so to say, as it has been suggested that American English, rather than British English, should now be seen as the most prevalent model among speakers of English. Thus, when describing the 'World System of Englishes', in which the different varieties of English are organised hierarchically, Mair (2013: 260) notes that "[a]t the risk of causing offence to British readers, the hub of the 'World System of Englishes' is Standard American English". Being the hub of the system, Standard American English is considered to be the variety that is relevant to all other varieties and is "a potential factor in the[ir] development" (Mair 2013: 261). Without necessarily formalising it by means of a model, several scholars have made a similar claim and assigned American English a leading role in the current development of English throughout the world (see Section 2).

This chapter starts from Mair's (2013) World System of Englishes and seeks to test the purported influential role of American English on the other varieties of English, using corpus data as evidence and considering British English as a possible competitor. While Mair (2013), in his model, only includes varieties of English belonging to the Inner and Outer Circles, here I will also study the potential influence of American English on varieties from the Expanding Circle.[1] In doing so, I follow Schneider's (2014) suggestion to apply models designed for the Inner and Outer Circles to the Expanding Circle (in his case, the Dynamic Model, see Schneider 2003, 2007) and I build on a recent trend which consists in bringing closer together research on Outer Circle varieties and research on Expanding Circle varieties (see Section 2).

[1] See Kachru (1985) on the distinction between the Inner Circle, which includes countries where English is a native language, the Outer Circle, corresponding to former British or American colonies where English is used as an institutionalised second-language variety for both intra- and international communication, and the Expanding Circle, where English is learned as a foreign language and used for international communication only.

The chapter is organised as follows. Section 2 considers the place of American and British English as potential standards. It also introduces Mair's (2013) model in more detail and presents the three hypotheses that will be tested in this study. Section 3, on data and methodology, describes the corpora used in the analysis, viz. GloWbE (*Global Web-based English Corpus*) and EFCAMDAT (*EF-Cambridge Open Language Database*), explains the process of selection of the linguistic features, and introduces the concepts of 'Americanness rate' and 'Britishness rate'. The analysis itself, in Section 4, is divided into two parts. The first one investigates the potential influence of American and British English on the varieties associated with each of the three Circles, that is, English as a native language (for the Inner Circle), English as an institutionalised second language (for the Outer Circle) and English as a foreign language (for the Expanding Circle). In the second part, a more local type of influence is considered, by distinguishing between the different countries (or, in the case of the Expanding Circle, continents) that are represented in GloWbE and EFCAMDAT. Section 5 zooms in on the varieties of English as a foreign language and shows how the context of acquisition and use of these varieties may account for some of the results obtained in the analysis. The conclusions of this study are found in Section 6.

2. The place of British and American English

Historically, British English (BrE) is the "mother variety" (Simo Bobda 1998: 18), the variety from which all the others originally developed. As such, it initially enjoyed linguistic supremacy and was seen to carry considerable prestige, especially through its Received Pronunciation. American English (AmE), by contrast, was considered for a long time as the "underdog", a kind of "colonial substandard" (Kahane 1992: 212). In the decades following World War II, as a result of "the simultaneous rise of the US as a military and technological power and the decline of the British Empire" (Simo Bobda 1998: 14), the tide started to turn. AmE gained credibility and respectability, and from the 1990s onwards claims about the (forthcoming) superiority of AmE became more widespread. Thus, Simo Bobda (1998: 14) notes that since World War II, "American English has continuously spread its tentacles all over the globe". Clark (1998: 18) suggests that "American English – penetrating in the wake of Coke, Levis and McDonalds to the outermost ends of the earth – is well on the way to

becoming the global standard". As for Kahane (1992: 211), he claims that "[o]urs is the day of American English". Some scholars are more moderate and consider that both BrE and AmE can be recognised as valid models (see, e.g., Modiano 1999: 5, Grzega 2005). This view may be due to the fact that different factors point to different potential models. Thus, Algeo (2006: 1) observes that "American has more native speakers than British and is rapidly becoming the dominant form of English in non-native countries other perhaps than those of Western Europe. Much European established academic bias favors British as a model; but evolving popular culture is biased toward American". This quote highlights some of the relevant factors in the choice of a model, namely the number of native speakers, the role of popular culture and that of education. While the first two factors predict an American influence, the last one makes a British preference possible. The quote also suggests that different models may be selected in different parts of the world. The European bias towards BrE, in particular, has been underlined by several scholars (see, e.g., Ranta 2010 on the Finnish situation).

Mair's (2013) World System of Englishes relies on the assumption that it is (Standard) AmE that has become the most central variety of English, the 'hyper-central variety', around which all the other varieties are organised hierarchically. BrE, by contrast, is relegated to a lower level, that of the 'super-central varieties', together with Australian English, Indian English, Nigerian English, South African English, African American Vernacular English and "a very small number of others" (Mair 2013: 261). The next level, that of the 'central varieties', is occupied by varieties like Irish English, Canadian English or Kenyan English. Finally, the 'peripheral varieties' include Maltese English and Cameroonian English, among others. As explained by Mair, linguistic traffic is more likely to go 'downwards' than 'upwards'. Lexical borrowings, for example, are expected to come from AmE and spread into the other varieties, rather than the other way round; Irish English is more likely to borrow words from BrE than BrE from Irish English since the latter belongs to a lower hierarchical level than BrE. Mair's model, and its division into several hierarchical layers, mainly relies on sociolinguistic considerations, such as "demographic weight and institutional support" (2013: 258). The purely linguistic considerations, on the other hand, are limited to "anecdotal evidence" (2013: 263) as well as an illustrative corpus-based study of Nigerian Pidgin. The first aim of the present chapter is to empirically test the linguistic consequences of one of the claims made by Mair, namely that AmE, rather than BrE, is the hyper-central variety. Following his claim, the first hypothesis that will be tested in this chapter is that AmE exerts more influence on all

the other varieties of English than BrE does, and that these varieties are therefore more likely to display AmE features than BrE features.[2]

As appears from the varieties mentioned above, Mair includes both native and non-native Englishes in his model (and both 'standard' and 'non-standard' varieties). Among the native (ENL) varieties, he considers both national varieties (e.g. British English) and dialects (e.g. Scottish English). Among non-native varieties, his examination focuses on those that belong to Kachru's (1985) Outer Circle, that is, the institutionalised second-language varieties of English (ESL). He tentatively includes domain-specific uses of English as a Lingua Franca (ELF; e.g. business English) among the super-central varieties, but he neglects English as a foreign language (EFL), as represented in Kachru's (1985) Expanding Circle, despite its important place among non-native World Englishes. Schneider (2014), when revisiting another model meant to represent the use of English around the world, the Dynamic Model of the evolution of Postcolonial Englishes (Schneider 2003, 2007), underlines the increasing need to pay attention to EFL. Citing Xu (2010: 296), he refers to the "dawning of the age of expanding circle Englishes", and goes on to investigate whether the Dynamic Model could be applied to EFL varieties. While his conclusion is that the Dynamic Model is of limited use to describe Englishes in the Expanding Circle, his paper is a plea for the inclusion of Expanding Circle varieties in theories of World Englishes. Following his recommendation, the present chapter pursues the second objective of applying Mair's (2013) World System of Englishes to EFL data, by examining whether AmE can be said to act as a hub for the Expanding Circle too. At the same time, the inclusion of Expanding Circle varieties means that the present chapter aims to contribute to the collaborative effort to bridge the paradigm gap between contact linguistics (and its focus on institutionalised second-language varieties) and second language acquisition research (and its focus on learner varieties). Although this trend was initiated as early as 1986, in a seminal paper by Sridhar & Sridhar, it is only recently that scholars have started to use corpus data to investigate the possible links between Outer and Expanding Circle varieties (see, e.g., Mukherjee & Hundt 2011, Davydova 2012, Deshors 2014, Edwards & Laporte 2015 or Gilquin 2015). These studies have shown that the different contexts of acquisition and use of the two types of varieties can result in different linguistic patterns, but

[2] The possible influence of AmE on certain Outer Circle varieties has already been documented in some corpus studies (e.g. Hackert 2015, Deshors & Gries 2016, Deshors & Götz forthcoming), but to my knowledge this study is the first one that considers a combination of Outer Circle and Expanding Circle varieties.

that similarities also occur, thus paving the way for a rapprochement between these varieties and between the fields of research that are associated with them.

The second hypothesis, within this framework, is that, despite a common predominance of the 'American hub' (see first hypothesis), the different contexts of acquisition and use in ESL and EFL countries will result in different degrees of influence of AmE. More precisely, it is expected that this influence will be stronger in ESL countries than in EFL countries. In ESL countries, English is an official or semi-official language that is used for intranational communication in settings like the administration or the media. People in these countries therefore receive English input in their everyday life, in contexts that are likely to be subject to the forces of globalisation which according to Mair (2013) are associated with the dominance of AmE. Through national TV channels or newspapers in English or through English contact with people from other ethnic groups, for example, speakers in ESL countries are part of the "mediascape" and "ethnoscape" (Appadurai 1996) that characterise our globalising world. EFL learners, on the other hand, receive limited input in English in their everyday life, since English has no official status in the Expanding Circle. Of course, most of them are still subject to the forces of globalisation associated with AmE, especially in today's society, where the Internet has made it possible to be connected with the rest of the world without ever leaving one's computer (in this respect, the "mediascape", in particular, is likely to be an important setting from which learners can receive English input). However, since EFL learners' main exposure to English is through classroom instruction, they should be less subject to the forces of globalisation than is the case in ESL countries, and more subject to the forces of education, which tend to be more conservative and more oriented towards BrE models.[3] As pointed out by Trudgill & Hannah (2017: 5), "[t]raditionally, schools and universities in Europe – and in many other parts of the world – have taught the variety of English which is often referred to as 'British English'". In this respect too, things have been changing and AmE has become a strong competitor of BrE in teaching (cf. Modiano 2007: 525-526). Trudgill & Hannah (2017: 6) themselves note that AmE is "widely taught to students of EFL and ESL", especially in North America, Latin America and "other areas of the world". Yet,

[3] Note that the situation is bound to be different for *users* of English in EFL countries (see Mauranen 2011 on the distinction between users and learners), as these are not (or no longer) exposed to 'classroom English' and, on the other hand, are probably more exposed to English for Occupational Purposes, which corresponds to the "domain-specific ELF uses" that Mair (2013: 264) includes among the super-central varieties of his model.

generally speaking, it can be said that the BrE norm "is still upheld in educational institutions" (Schneider 2007: 172). In the study of the influence of AmE vs BrE on World Englishes, EFL varieties, which are highly dependent, for their development, on education, are therefore expected to show a less distinct influence of AmE as compared to ESL varieties.

It was suggested at the beginning of this section that different factors may point to different linguistic influences (see Algeo's quotation). Following up on this idea, a third aim of this chapter is to explore the possible impact of certain factors on the presence of American vs British linguistic features. The approach here will be more local: instead of considering general differences in context between the Kachruvian Circles, a distinction will be drawn between the countries (or continents) that are included in these Circles. Three factors whose potential relevance has been underlined in the literature will be examined. The first one is the historical background of the country, and more particularly the colonial relations that may exist between the United States (US) / United Kingdom (UK) and the countries under study. Talking about Malaysia, for example, Jayapalan & Pillai (2011) note that "[a]s would be expected of a former British colony, there is a tendency to adopt a British model of pronunciation". Lim (2012: 279) distinguishes Philippine English from other South-East Asian varieties like Singapore or Hong Kong English on the basis of a historical argument as well. She claims that in the Philippines, a former American colony, "the exonormative standard has been and still is American English", unlike the other countries in South-East Asia, which are all former British colonies. The second factor is economic and will look into imports and exports between the US/UK and each of the countries. Such an economic factor is for instance put forward by Braine (2005: xvii) to justify the choice of AmE as a model in Brazil: "[b]ecause the United States is the most powerful trading partner and Brazilians need American English for business communication, the American model is prevailing now". The third factor that will be examined is the geographical proximity between the US/UK and the different countries. This factor is mentioned by Kachru (1983: 60) to explain the use of AmE as a model in countries like Mexico or Cuba. It is also found in this quotation from Szpyra-Kozłowska (2015: 9) about EFL: "The choice of an English variety (…) for EFL learners has been dictated by geographical proximity as well as by the economic, political and cultural influences of an English-speaking country". Interestingly, this quotation includes other factors, some of which will be considered here (economic influences) and others not, for practical reasons (cf. difficulty of quantifying influences of a political or cultural type). The specific historical,

economic and geographical situation of the countries under investigation will make it possible to test the third hypothesis of this study, namely that the influence of AmE or BrE will vary according to the local context of these countries.

The three hypotheses that will be tested in this study can be summarised as follows:

- Hypothesis 1: AmE is expected to exert more influence than BrE on World Englishes;
- Hypothesis 2: AmE is expected to exert more influence on ESL varieties than on EFL varieties;
- Hypothesis 3: The degree of influence of AmE and BrE is expected to vary according to the local context.

They will be tested on the basis of twenty pairs of items distinctive of AmE vs BrE. The first and second hypotheses will be considered in Section 4.1, while the third hypothesis will be explored in Section 4.2.

3. Data and methodology

3.1. The corpora

This study is based on the use of two large corpora, namely the *Global Web-based English Corpus* (GloWbE) and the *EF-Cambridge Open Language Database* (EFCAMDAT). GloWbE is a 1.9 billion-word corpus made up of Internet materials from twenty English-speaking countries (see Davies & Fuchs 2015a). Of these twenty countries, six belong to the Inner Circle, while the remaining fourteen belong to the Outer Circle.[4] The American and British subcorpora were used to check the distinctiveness of certain linguistic items (Section 3.2). The selected items were then extracted from all the other GloWbE subcorpora through the online interface to the corpus (http://corpus.byu.edu/glowbe). As for EFCAMDAT, it contains essays written by learners of English within the frame of the online school of EF Education First (Geertzen et al. 2014). It is currently made up of almost 39 million words but will continue to grow as more data are added. The data were produced by learners from different proficiency levels and 141

[4] The countries belonging to the Inner Circle are: Australia, Canada, Ireland, New Zealand, United Kingdom and United States; those belonging to the Outer Circle are: Bangladesh, Ghana, Hong Kong, India, Jamaica, Kenya, Malaysia, Nigeria, Pakistan, Philippines, Singapore, South Africa, Sri Lanka and Tanzania.

countries. Of these, countries from the Inner and Outer Circles were excluded, so as to keep only those data that were presumably produced by EFL learners.[5] The remaining data represent the production of 513,886 learners from 107 countries.[6] The word count of the different (sub)corpora can be found in Table 1, where ENL corresponds to the Inner Circle varieties from GloWbE with the exceptions of AmE and BrE, ESL to the Outer Circle varieties from GloWbE and EFL to the Expanding Circle varieties from EFCAMDAT.

Variety	AmE	BrE	ENL	ESL	EFL
Corpus	GloWbE	GloWbE	GloWbE	GloWbE	EFCAMDAT
Size	386,809,355	387,615,074	465,393,257	645,815,287	32,653,692

Table 1. Size of the (sub)corpora used in the study

While other corpora have typically been used to study ESL and EFL – the *International Corpus of English* (ICE) and the *International Corpus of Learner English* (ICLE) immediately spring to mind – GloWbE and EFCAMDAT present some advantages in comparison with these other corpora that are particularly important for the present purposes. The first one has to do with size. While each ICE subcorpus is made up of about one million words, in GloWbE the smallest subcorpus, the Tanzanian one, contains over 35 million words. The EFCAMDAT subcorpora are smaller in comparison (the largest one, the Brazilian component, is about 10 million words long), but with its grand total of over 33 million words, EFCAMDAT is almost ten times as large as the second version of ICLE. This, it should be noted, also comes with its downside: it is easy to extract huge quantities of data, but the sheer quantity of data means that manual disambiguation is simply impossible and that certain types of searches should

[5] In EFCAMDAT, little information is available about learners' linguistic profiles. It was therefore assumed that learners living in a country from the Expanding Circle were EFL learners.

[6] The countries, grouped by continent as indicated in EFCAMDAT, are: Africa (Algeria, Angola, Burkina Faso, Chad, Comoros, Côte d'Ivoire, Djibouti, Egypt, Gabon, Madagascar, Mali, Mauritania, Morocco, Mozambique, Niger, Senegal), Asia (Afghanistan, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Bahrain, Cambodia, Cyprus, Georgia, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Japan, Jordan, Kazakhstan, Kuwait, Kyrgyzstan, Laos, Lebanon, Macau, Mainland China, Mongolia, Myanmar, Nepal, Oman, Palestine, Saudi Arabia, South Korea, Syria, Taiwan, Thailand, Turkey, Turkmenistan, United Arab Emirates, Uzbekistan, Vietnam, Yemen), Europe (Albania, Austria, Belarus, Belgium, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Bulgaria, Croatia, Czech Republic, Denmark, Estonia, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Guadeloupe, Hungary, Italy, Latvia, Lithuania, Macedonia, Moldova, Netherlands, Norway, Poland, Portugal, Romania, Russia, Slovakia, Slovenia, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, Ukraine), North America (Aruba, Costa Rica, Cuba, Dominican Republic, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, Mexico, Nicaragua, Panama), Oceania (French Polynesia, New Caledonia, Wallis and Futuna) and South America (Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Ecuador, Paraguay, Peru, Uruguay, Venezuela).

therefore be avoided (see Section 3.2). A second advantage of GloWbE and EFCAMDAT is that they include relatively recent data. While no exact dates are provided in the documentation, we know that their collection started only a few years ago (the reference publications, mentioned in the preceding paragraph, date back to 2015 and 2014, respectively) and that their contents are unlikely to be very old. In ICE and ICLE, on the other hand, next to relatively recent subcorpora, certain components were collected at the beginning of these projects, that is, around 1990. As regards the geographical origin of the data, both GloWbE and EFCAMDAT are more varied than their counterparts ICE and ICLE (more ICE and ICLE subcorpora are in preparation, though). EFCAMDAT is also more varied than ICLE in terms of proficiency levels (ICLE includes data produced by higher-intermediate to advanced learners, whereas EFCAMDAT covers the whole range of proficiency levels, from beginners to advanced learners). Finally, both GloWbE and EFCAMDAT can be queried through a freely available online interface which also includes facilities for POS-tag-based searches.

However, both corpora also present some disadvantages (see Mair et al. 2015 on the limitations of GloWbE). The first one is that the metadata are relatively limited. In particular, very little is known about the authors of the texts included in the two corpora. For EFCAMDAT, this means, for example, that the learners' nationalities are known, but not their mother tongues, although the latter are more important than the former linguistically speaking. For GloWbE, this lack of metadata does not even make it possible to "claim that the speakers are actually speakers of the dialect in question" (Davies & Fuchs 2015b: 46). The contributors to ICE and ICLE, by contrast, have been selected more carefully and rich metadata about them can be found, at least in the case of ICLE. Another disadvantage of GloWbE and EFCAMDAT has to do with the text types that are represented. Both corpora are quite limited in this respect, including web-based materials and written assignments, respectively.[7] In comparison, ICLE is equally limited, being made up of argumentative and some literary essays, but ICE includes a large variety of written and spoken genres. In addition, it must be underlined that the (rather informal) web-based materials included in GloWbE and the (more formal) written assignments included in EFCAMDAT are stylistically quite different, which may have an impact on the ESL-EFL comparison – a limitation that should be borne in mind when

[7] Although the EFCAMDAT website refers to "samples of spoken and written language production", the manual available online only describes written data, and the output of corpus queries seems to be limited to writing.

considering the results of the analysis. For the present purposes, the advantages of using GloWbE and EFCAMDAT were seen to outweigh the possible limitations of the two corpora (such as the unspecificity of the contributors or the impossibility of manually handling the large quantities of data),[8] as well as the advantages of other, more controlled corpora (e.g. the wide stylistic range of texts included in ICE or the rich metadata found in ICLE).

3.2. Selection of linguistic features

In an attempt to assess the influence of AmE as opposed to BrE on World Englishes, the first step of the analysis was to identify linguistic features that make it possible to distinguish between the two native varieties. These features were taken from Algeo's (2006) list of differences between AmE and BrE. Algeo's list is mainly intuition-based, but the claims are supported by corpus data and/or scholarly works when relevant. In my selection, I disregarded any claims that were wholly intuition-based (e.g. *go-slow* vs *slowdown* on p. 71). I also set aside items that were described as rare (e.g. *cellar wine* on p. 12), those that showed the same tendency in AmE and BrE but with different proportions (cf. *burned* vs *burnt*: "although both national varieties prefer the regular form, the American preference for it is significantly stronger", p. 13), as well as those that did not have an equivalent in the other variety or whose equivalent was not made explicit in the entry (e.g. *motorway* on p. 80). Finally, some items had to be ignored for practical reasons as they would not have been easily retrievable from the corpora or would have implied manual weeding out which was not possible given the amount of data involved (e.g. personal object with *pressure*/*pressurize* on p. 12; functional uses of tenses on p. 24ff.).

The selected pairs of items were then tested as to their ability to actually distinguish between AmE and BrE. This was done by comparing the frequency of the items in the American and British components of GloWbE.[9] In order for their distinctive nature to be

[8] In fact, even the automatic processing of the data may prove difficult at times. Thus, a program like *WordSmith Tools* seems to have some difficulties dealing with the huge files of GloWbE, for example to do a keyword analysis based on word clusters.

[9] GloWbE was chosen as a basis to test the distinctiveness of the items, rather than general datasets like the *British National Corpus* (BNC) or the *Corpus of Contemporary American English* (COCA), because of the comparability of the GloWbE components (in terms of register, time of collection, etc.)

confirmed, the items had to display reverse preferences and the difference in frequency had to be statistically significant (with $p<0.0001$). Thus, with a relative frequency of 7.35 per million words (pmw) in AmE and 32.69 pmw in BrE, *HAVE got* displays preferences that are opposite to those of *HAVE gotten*, which has a relative frequency of 15.73 pmw in AmE and 4.23 pmw in BrE. In addition, a chi-square test reveals that the difference between the absolute frequency of *HAVE got* in AmE and BrE is statistically significant (X^2 = 2,563.83; $p<0.0001$), as is the difference for *HAVE gotten* (X^2 = 6,209.05; $p<0.0001$). The last condition for the items to be included in the study was that they had to be sufficiently frequent in EFCAMDAT, so that reliable claims could be made about the EFL data as well. The minimum threshold was an absolute frequency of 50 for at least one of the two items. A pair like *then and there / there and then*, for example, despite its significant distinctiveness between the American and British components of GloWbE, was excluded because of its very low frequency in EFCAMDAT (3 and 6 occurrences, respectively).

Table 2 shows the twenty selected pairs of items, classified according to Algeo's (2006) categories.[10] Note that while it was not possible to select items from each of the categories, as they did not necessarily meet all of the criteria described above, the selected items can be said to represent a relatively wide range of word classes and phenomena, not being limited to the traditional lexical pairs illustrated by *movie/film* and *apartment/flat*.[11] When extracting the items from the corpora, lemmas were searched for (e.g. *HAVE* in *HAVE got*(*ten*)) and POS tags were added (e.g. *FLAT* as a noun) whenever necessary. Table 3 gives an overview of the global (absolute and relative) frequencies of the selected items in the different varieties (AmE, BrE, native English to the exclusion of AmE/BrE, ESL and EFL).

[10] Originally, the pairs *movie/film* and *apartment/flat* belonged to the 'preposition' category and took the form of *in the movies* / *on (the) film(s)* and *into an apartment* / *onto a flat*, respectively.

[11] Although Algeo (2006) includes pairs of items that differ in spelling (e.g. *catalog* vs *catalogue*), such cases were excluded from the selection because spelling differences have already been investigated in the literature (see Larsson 2012 on EFL varieties and Reuter 2016 on ESL varieties) and because Mukherjee in Mair et al. (2015) suggests that the distribution of AmE vs BrE spelling variants in GloWbE may be biased by the composition of the corpus.

Category	**AmE**	**BrE**
Verbs	*HAVE gotten*	*HAVE got*
Determiners	*a half*	*half a(n)*
Nouns	*math*	*maths*
	MOVIE	*FILM*
	APARTMENT	*FLAT*
Adjectives	*volunteer work*	*voluntary work*
	all year long	*all year round*
	free time	*spare time*
Adverbs	*right away*	*straight away*
Prepositions	*in college*	*at (the) college*
	right now	*at the moment*
	in school	*at school*
	on (the) WEEKEND	*at (the) WEEKEND*
	toward	*towards*
Complementation	*CHAT with*	*CHAT to*
	different than	*different to*
Expanded constructions	*MAKE a deal*	*DO a deal*
	GIVE it a try	*GIVE it a go*
	TAKE a vacation	*HAVE a holiday*
	TAKE a shower	*HAVE a shower*

Table 2. Selected distinctive pairs of items[12]

Variety	AmE	BrE	ENL	ESL	EFL
Abs. freq.	405,937	418,940	437,680	607,225	45,591
Rel. freq.	1,049.45	1,080.81	940.45	940.25	1,396.20

Table 3. Absolute and relative frequencies pmw of the selected items

[12] Capital letters indicate that the lemma was searched for. Both the GloWbE and EFCAMDAT interfaces make the search for lemmas possible.

3.3. Americanness and Britishness

In order to measure the degree of influence of AmE and BrE on the other varieties of English, the rate of 'Americanness' and 'Britishness' was calculated (see Reuter 2016). The calculation is based on the relative frequency of the two members of the pairs of distinctive features listed in Table 2. The rate of Americanness corresponds to the ratio of the relative frequency of the AmE item out of the combined relative frequency of the AmE and BrE items, while the rate of Britishness corresponds to the ratio of the relative frequency of the BrE item out of the combined relative frequency of the AmE and BrE items. For example, *HAVE gotten* has a relative frequency of 85.44 instances pmw in the ESL data, whereas *HAVE got* has a relative frequency of 229.47. Their combined relative frequency thus equals 314.91. The Americanness rate is calculated by dividing the relative frequency of *HAVE gotten* (the AmE item), i.e. 85.44, by the combined relative frequency, i.e. 314.91. The result, multiplied by 100, yields a percentage of 27.13%. The Britishness rate is calculated by dividing the relative frequency of *HAVE got* (the BrE item), i.e. 229.47, by the combined relative frequency, i.e. 314.91, which yields a percentage of 72.87%. Since the rates of Americanness and Britishness always vary in relation to each other (together, they have to make up a total of 100%), only the Americanness rate will be mentioned when giving the results. This choice reflects the point of departure of this chapter, which is Mair's (2013) claim that AmE is the hub of the World System of Englishes.

4. Assessing the influence of AmE and BrE

4.1. ENL/ESL/EFL

The first step of the analysis consisted in determining the frequency of the AmE and BrE items in countries from the Inner Circle – excluding the US and the UK – (ENL), countries from the Outer Circle (ESL) and countries from the Expanding Circle (EFL). Table 4 lists the twenty pairs of items, together with their Americanness rates in these three types of varieties. What the average results show is that, except in the ENL countries, where the Americanness rate is slightly below 50%, the influence of AmE is more marked than that of BrE, with an

Americanness rate of 58.35% in the ESL countries and 63.18% in the EFL countries. These preferences can be illustrated by the following examples, representing ENL, ESL and EFL respectively:

(1) *So if living in the States [is] on your bucket list, I encourage you to* ***give it a go*** [BrE]. (GloWbE-Ireland)

(2) *I strongly encourage all of you who are thinking of being doctors to* ***give it a try*** [AmE]. (GloWbE-Singapore)

(3) *I know it is quite unsettling and totally challenging to change a job, but I really want to encourage you to* ***give it a try*** [AmE]. (EFCAMDAT-Netherlands)

If we bring together the results for the three types of varieties, we obtain an average Americanness rate of 56.09%, which represents a slight tendency towards an American hub, as predicted by Mair (2013). If, on the other hand, we take into account the types of countries that are explicitly and unequivocally included in Mair's model, that is, ENL and ESL countries, we obtain an even lower Americanness rate of 52.55%, which points to an American influence that is still dominant, but far from overwhelming in comparison with BrE. Of the three types of varieties, it is EFL that displays the highest average Americanness rate, which suggests that Mair's model also applies to EFL countries, at least as far as the influence of AmE is concerned.

AmE/BrE pair	**ENL**	**ESL**	**EFL**
HAVE gotten/HAVE got	**28.09**	**27.13**	**6.19**
a half/half a(n)	55.85	50.72	65.54
math/maths	**49.27**	67.28	79.44
MOVIE/FILM	**36.25**	**44.93**	92.39
APARTMENT/FLAT	66.67	55.50	92.75
volunteer work/voluntary work	53.77	64.84	78.03
all year long/all year round	**19.27**	**17.81**	**21.74**
free time/spare time	52.65	62.80	84.28
right away/straight away	51.38	75.94	95.36
in college/at (the) college	67.13	68.57	69.60

right now/at the moment	58.04	66.91	65.38
in school/at school	**41.43**	62.28	**48.09**
on (the) WEEKEND/at (the) WEEKEND	58.25	57.49	72.83
toward/towards	**23.51**	**18.96**	**22.95**
CHAT with/CHAT to	55.60	72.17	96.91
different than/different to	**32.52**	**49.56**	**19.17**
MAKE a deal/DO a deal	60.34	80.61	96.55
GIVE it a try/GIVE it a go	**40.11**	76.73	98.44
TAKE a vacation/HAVE a holiday	**42.47**	68.23	**35.87**
TAKE a shower/HAVE a shower	**42.34**	78.57	**22.13**
AVERAGE	**46.75**	58.35	63.18

Table 4. Americanness rate per type of variety (the rates below 50% are shown in bold)

It also appears from Table 4 that not all pairs of items display the same tendency. In ENL countries, in accordance with the average Americanness rate close to 50%, half of the pairs show a stronger American influence, while the remaining ten items show a stronger British influence (i.e. an Americanness rate below 50%; see numbers in bold in the table). In ESL countries, only five pairs (that is, a quarter of the items) show a stronger British influence, whereas in EFL countries this is the case for seven pairs of items. That the number of pairs with a stronger British influence is larger in EFL than in ESL, despite an average Americanness rate that is higher in EFL than in ESL, suggests that the disparity between the different pairs of items is wider in EFL than in ESL. This is confirmed by Figure 1, a boxplot of Americanness rate per type of variety (ENL, ESL, EFL). The central boxes correspond to the interquartile range, that is, the middle 50% of the data, while the bold-typed horizontal line in each box is the median. The lower and upper whiskers indicate the minimum and maximum observations respectively, and each of them represents 25% of the data. It appears from the boxplot that, whereas ENL and ESL display the same sort of dispersion (except for the presence of two outliers in ESL, indicated by circles), EFL shows much more variation, covering almost the whole scale, from an Americanness rate of 6.19% to one of 98.44%. This difference suggests that ENL and ESL writers are more coherent than EFL writers in their use of AmE. They are less influenced by AmE overall, but for all the linguistic items studied here, they are influenced

to more or less the same extent. EFL learners, by contrast, are influenced by AmE to various degrees, depending on the linguistic item that is examined (compare examples (4) and (5), both taken from the same component of EFCAMDAT). It would therefore perhaps be more appropriate to refer to a preference for certain individual AmE words or constructions in EFL, as opposed to the general, across-the-board influence of AmE that is visible in ESL (and, to a lesser extent, in ENL).

(4) *This was totally **different to*** [BrE] *what they promised us.* (EFCAMDAT-Mexico)

(5) *I like going to the market and **chat with*** [AmE] *my friends.* (EFCAMDAT-Mexico)

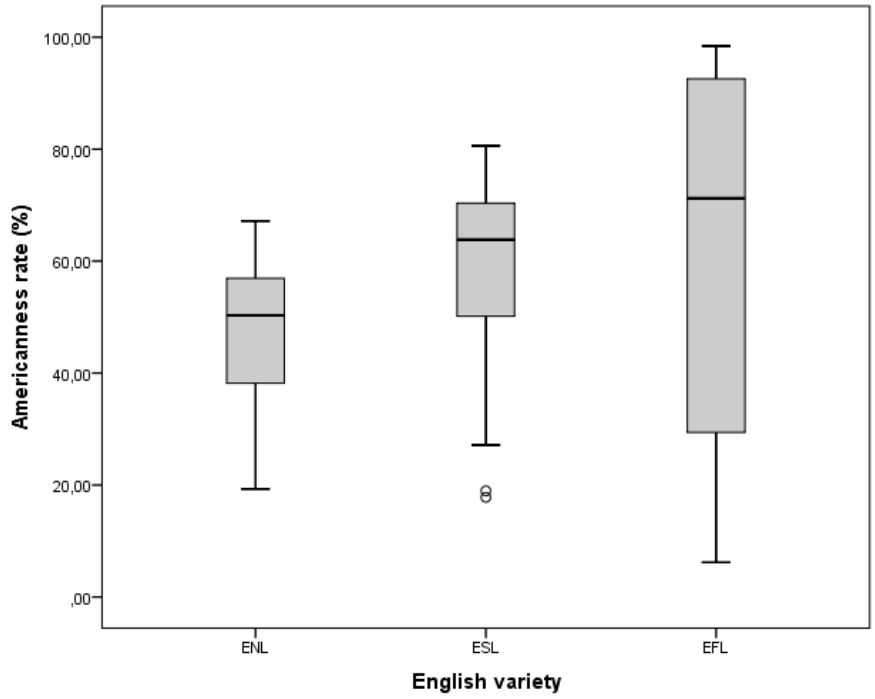

Figure 1. Boxplot of Americanness rate per type of variety

On average, the pairs of items that have the highest Americanness rate across types of varieties are *MAKE a deal/DO a deal* (79.17%), *CHAT with/to* (74.89%) and *right/straight away* (74.23%). Those that have the lowest Americanness rate are *all year long/round* (19.61%), *HAVE gotten/got* (20.47%) and *toward/towards* (21.81%). However, these average figures hide some variation between the three types of varieties. While ten pairs of words/constructions show a shared preference for the AmE item (e.g. *in college*, *MAKE a deal*)

and four show a shared preference for the BrE item (e.g. *all year round*), the remaining six pairs display different tendencies. Among these, three show the same preference for the BrE item in ENL and EFL (*at school, HAVE a holiday, HAVE a shower*), two for the AmE item in ESL and EFL (*math, GIVE it a try*), and in the last pair the BrE item *film* is favoured in both ENL and ESL. It thus turns out that EFL is sometimes more similar to ENL and sometimes more similar to ESL, which might indicate a lack of stability of this type of variety. This is also apparent if we consider the categories, as distinguished by Algeo (2006), to which the items belong. Expanded constructions are a case in point. While they are mostly influenced by BrE in ENL (with the exception of *MAKE a deal/DO a deal*, which has an Americanness rate of 60%) and by AmE in ESL (with a minimum Americanness rate of 68% and three out of the four constructions representing the top three in terms of Americanness rate), in EFL two of the expanded constructions show a preference for the BrE option (*HAVE a shower* and *HAVE a holiday*) and the other two constructions are more distinctively American (*MAKE a deal* and *GIVE it a try*).

The above results reveal a mixed picture as regards the influence of AmE. All three types of varieties show *some* influence of AmE in that (i) for each pair of items, a certain proportion of the uses are distinctively American, and (ii) certain pairs of items display a stronger preference for the AmE item than for the BrE item. However, the results also underline the variation, not only among the pairs of items, but also among the types of varieties. More precisely, the ENL varieties appear to be less strongly influenced by AmE than the ESL and EFL varieties, which both have an average Americanness rate higher than 50%. Of these two, it is the EFL varieties that have the highest Americanness rate. The first hypothesis put forward in Section 2 ("AmE is expected to exert more influence than BrE on World Englishes") is thus only partly confirmed. Overall, AmE is slightly more influential than BrE (the average Americanness rate is 52.55% if we take into account the types of varieties clearly included in Mair's (2013) World System of Englishes, and 56.09% if we take all the types of varieties into account). If we distinguish between the three types of varieties, however, only the non-native varieties (ESL and EFL) show a predominantly American influence; for the ENL varieties, it is the British influence that predominates. As for the second hypothesis ("AmE is expected to exert more influence on ESL varieties than on EFL varieties"), it is not confirmed. While ESL and EFL display different degrees of AmE influence, this difference is not as expected, since it is actually the EFL varieties that have the highest Americanness rate overall.

This result is qualified by the finding that EFL is characterised by a great deal of variation between the different pairs of items, some of which show an Americanness rate that is lower than the rates found in the other two types of varieties (cf. *HAVE gotten/HAVE got* and its 6.19% in EFL, as against 27-28% in ESL and ENL). More generally, the strong AmE influence in EFL suggests that these varieties can have their place in Mair's (2013) model, which could thus be expanded to include the Expanding Circle.

In what precedes, a broad distinction has been drawn between ENL, ESL and EFL varieties, corresponding to the Inner, Outer and Expanding Circles. The situation within each of these Circles with regard to AmE influence, however, may not be homogeneous, as Kachru's (1985) model groups together countries that are geographically spread out and may differ in their (economic, political, historical, cultural, etc.) relations with the US. The next section will consider the possible variation within ENL, ESL and EFL and will try to link any differences to the historical, geographical and economic context of the countries or continents under study.

4.2. Countries and continents

In order to approach the possible influence of AmE and BrE more locally, a distinction was drawn between the different varieties that are included within ENL, ESL and EFL. In GloWbE, ENL is made up of four national varieties and ESL of fourteen (see Table 5). As for EFCAMDAT, it includes data produced by learners from 107 different countries. As distinguishing between each of these 107 countries would have resulted in too small sets of data and potentially insignificant differences, it was decided to consider the higher level of nationalities within the EFCAMDAT interface, namely that of continents.[13] Six continents are distinguished in the EFCAMDAT interface: Africa, Asia, Europe, North America, Oceania and South America. Oceania was however excluded because a mere three pairs of items among the twenty investigated were represented in this subcorpus. The results for Africa are based on fifteen pairs of items, those for North America on nineteen pairs of items and those for the other

[13] While working with continents rather than individual countries necessarily results in a certain degree of approximation, it makes sense at least with respect to the geographical factor, according to which the degree of influence of AmE vs BrE is likely to be the same for countries that are close to each other.

continents on the full set of items. Only the average Americanness rates for the twenty pairs of items will be presented here.

ENL		ESL		EFL	
IE	**36.95**	ZA	**47.39**	EU	58.26
NZ	**37.51**	LK	50.56	AS	60.81
AU	**39.11**	TZ	50.80	AF	61.91
CA	73.23	HK	57.46	NA	65.84
		GH	58.40	SA	70.90
		PK	58.47		
		NG	58.81		
		IN	58.91		
		KE	60.08		
		MY	60.99		
		BD	61.31		
		SG	62.51		
		JM	66.05		
		PH	72.16		

Table 5. Average Americanness rate per variety (the rates below 50% are shown in bold)[14]

Table 5 provides the average Americanness rate per variety. Within ENL, we can notice a sharp divide between Irish, New Zealand and Australian English on the one hand and Canadian English on the other hand. While the former are mainly influenced by BrE, with an Americanness rate ranging from 37% to 39%, the latter is predominantly influenced by AmE (Americanness rate = 73%). The finding that ENL is more oriented towards the BrE model (see Section 4.1) is thus valid for certain ENL varieties, but clearly not for Canadian English. Within ESL, almost all of the national varieties display the same general tendency as highlighted in Section 4.1, namely a stronger influence of AmE than of BrE. The only real exception is South

[14] The labels in the table refer to the following varieties: (for ENL) AU = Australia, CA = Canada, IE = Ireland, NZ = New Zealand; (for ESL) BD = Bangladesh, GH = Ghana, HK = Hong Kong, IN = India, JM = Jamaica, KE = Kenya, LK = Sri Lanka, MY = Malaysia, NG = Nigeria, PH = Philippines, PK = Pakistan, SG = Singapore, TZ = Tanzania, ZA = South Africa; (for EFL) AF = Africa, AS = Asia, EU = Europe, NA = North America, SA = South America.

African English, whose Americanness rate is under 50%. Sri Lankan English and Tanzanian English are only slightly above the 50% threshold, which suggests that they are equally influenced by AmE and BrE. All the other ESL varieties appear to be more influenced by AmE, with Americanness rates varying between 57% (for Hong Kong English) and 72% (for Philippine English). The EFL varieties, finally, are all characterised by an Americanness rate above 50%, ranging from 58% in Europe to 71% in South America.

In order to tentatively explain the variation found within ENL, ESL and EFL, a number of local contextual factors were examined which could potentially affect the relative strength of the influence of AmE or BrE, and for which precise and accurate information could easily be gathered. The factors are as follows: historical context (do the countries under investigation share some colonial history with the US or the UK?), economic relations (do the countries under investigation import and/or export more goods with the US or the UK?) and geographical proximity (are the countries under investigation closer to the US or the UK?). Because these three factors only represent a small selection of all the contextual factors that could influence the orientation towards BrE or AmE, and because they may not even be the most important ones in this respect,[15] this analysis will mainly be exploratory and should only be seen as a first attempt to determine whether norm orientation may also vary according to local contextual factors, in addition to the very general factors considered in Section 4.1 (native vs non-native varieties or ESL vs EFL). Only some of the most interesting findings will be presented here, but detailed tables for each of the three local factors examined can be found in the Appendix.

Starting with the historical factor, all the ENL countries represented in GloWbE have a shared colonial past with the UK, which might explain the overall BrE influence on ENL (Section 4.1). Canada is an exception among the ENL countries, in that it displays a predominantly American influence (73.23%) despite being historically linked to the UK. Of all the ESL countries included in GloWbE, only one is a former American colony, namely the Philippines. History is presumably an important factor in this case, since Philippine English is the ESL variety that has the highest Americanness rate (72.16%). It should however be noted

[15] Factors such as media imports or educational systems may be more influential than history, geography or global economy to establish norm orientation, as pointed out by one of the reviewers, but they are more difficult to quantify precisely, especially for individual countries. A more qualitative approach to the issue, as in Hänsel & Deuber (2013), would be valid as well, but not feasible here given the large number of countries investigated.

that the former British colonies of the Outer Circle (with the exceptions of South Africa, Sri Lanka and Tanzania) are also more distinctively oriented towards AmE, though with lower rates than is the case in Philippine English. As for the EFL countries, not all of them share a colonial history with either the US or the UK, but among those that were former American colonies, most are located in North America, which could partly explain why North America comes second in terms of Americanness rate (65.84%). The highest Americanness rate (70.90%) is found in South America, although its shared colonial history with the US is limited to Colombia. African, Asian and European countries are, for the most part, not historically connected to the US (Japan is an exception), and several Asian and African countries are in fact former British colonies. This could account for the lower Americanness rate in these countries (around 60%).

In terms of economy, all of the ENL and ESL countries and most of the EFL countries considered in this study have more economic contacts with the US than with the UK, which could be related to the overall preference for an American norm (see Section 4.1). In the case of the ESL countries, these economic relations with the US go hand in hand with a preference for AmE (with the exceptions, again, of South Africa, Sri Lanka and Tanzania).[16] As regards EFL, it is interesting to note that the only countries (worldwide) that have closer economic ties with the UK than with the US are a handful of countries in Europe and one in Asia (Cyprus, which some would consider as belonging to Europe rather than Asia). It seems as if this special status on the world map might have some linguistic consequences, since Europe is the EFL continent that shows the lowest Americanness rate (58.26%), followed by Asia (60.81%). For the ENL countries, finally, the economic relations with the US are hardly reflected in the norm orientation since, with the exception of Canada and its Americanness rate of 73.23%, the other countries (Ireland, New Zealand and Australia) all have an Americanness rate below 40%.

The last local contextual factor whose potential impact on norm orientation was examined is geographical proximity. Among the ENL countries, this factor could explain why Canada is predominantly influenced by AmE, despite being historically linked to the UK. It

[16] Interestingly, of these three exceptions, two are located in Africa, which could be related to Hänsel & Deuber's (2013: 347) finding for Kenya that, as an African country "almost completely" left out of the North America/European Union/East Asia triad affected by globalisation, it is less influenced by AmE than the other varieties considered in their study (Singapore and Trinidad & Tobago). Note, however, that some African countries in the present study display a clearer influence of AmE, including Kenya.

could also account for the predominantly British influence in Ireland (in this case, together with – rather than despite – its shared colonial history with the UK). Australia and New Zealand are geographically closer to the US than to the UK, which does not correspond to their main attraction towards BrE. However, the difference in distance between Australia-US and Australia-UK is extremely small (less than 22 kilometres), and the status of Australia and New Zealand as islands could be argued to neutralise, to some extent, the effect of geographical proximity. Turning to the ESL countries, Jamaica has this particular feature that it is the only country that is geographically closer to the US than to the UK. This feature seems to be reflected in the Americanness rate of Jamaican English (66.05%), which is the second highest rate for ESL. Several ESL countries, however, are closer to the UK but more attracted to AmE (e.g. Bangladesh with an Americanness rate of 61.31%, Singapore with an Americanness rate of 62.51%, or even the Philippines, which has the highest Americanness rate of all ESL countries, with 72.16%). EFL countries, finally, show quite a good correspondence between norm orientation and geographical proximity. The continents with the lowest Americanness rates (Europe, Asia and Africa) include countries that are closer to the UK (with the exception of Guadeloupe), while the continents with the highest Americanness rates (North America and South America) include countries that are all closer to the US.

With respect to the third hypothesis put forward in Section 2 ("The degree of influence of AmE and BrE is expected to vary according to the local context"), two main observations can be made on the basis of the above results. The first one is that local variation is indeed visible. Countries within each of the Kachruvian Circles can present differing rates of Americanness or Britishness, to the extent that certain countries may be predominantly influenced by AmE and others by BrE (compare, for example, Canada and Ireland in the Inner Circle). The second observation is that the local context seems to play a certain role in the degree of influence of AmE vs BrE, with factors like colonial history, economic relations and geographical proximity potentially explaining some of the preferences for an AmE or BrE model. Yet, the link between these factors and the preferred linguistic model is far from being systematic. The economic power of the US worldwide probably contributes to the considerable influence of AmE on most of the varieties considered here (only four countries display an Americanness rate lower than the 50% threshold), which might also explain why the few countries that have more economic relations with the UK than with the US belong to

the area (EU) with the lowest Americanness rate in its category (EFL). However, countries with the same profile in terms of colonial history, economic relations and geographical proximity may also show different linguistic influences (compare, for example, South Africa and Singapore, which are both former British colonies, are geographically closer to the UK and have stronger economic relations with the US, but which differ in their degree of attraction towards AmE). This suggests that other factors have a role to play in the choice of a linguistic model and/or that the factors should be examined at a finer level of granularity. Among the additional factors to be considered, we have already mentioned educational or cultural factors. We could also add the evolutionary status of the ESL varieties (Singapore English, for instance, is considered to be slightly more advanced in Schneider's (2003, 2007) phase of endonormative stabilisation than South African English) and the proficiency level of the EFL learners (a variable that could be investigated on the basis of EFCAMDAT). Examining contextual factors at a finer level of granularity could involve taking into account the duration of colonial rule, the types of goods imported and exported (e.g. media), or the exact distance separating two countries.

5. Zooming in on EFL varieties

In this final section before we turn to some conclusions, I would like to zoom in on the type of varieties not included in Mair's (2013) model, namely the EFL varieties. While it was hypothesised in Section 2 that EFL varieties would be less influenced by AmE than ESL varieties, on the grounds that they would be less subject to the forces of globalisation associated with AmE and more subject to the forces of education associated with BrE, the results of the corpus analysis revealed that the average Americanness rate was in fact higher in EFL (63%) than in ESL (58%). This probably reflects two opposing trends. The first one is that the preferred model in the EFL classroom may no longer be BrE, and that AmE may have become a strong competitor, especially in certain parts of the world. Talking about pronunciation, Collins & Mees (2013: 7) argue that "General American is also used as a model by millions of students learning English as a second language – notably in Latin America and

Japan, but nowadays increasingly elsewhere".[17] The second trend is that the traditional view of EFL learners in the Expanding Circle as only getting exposed to the English language in the classroom, through instruction, no longer corresponds to the reality of most EFL learners. Because of the global role of English in today's world, it has become almost impossible for EFL learners not to get any exposure to English outside the classroom, be it through popular music, TV series or web content. The EFL varieties may therefore be subject to the forces of globalisation and the resulting influence of AmE, like the ESL varieties. Unlike the ESL varieties, however, in EFL these forces may not be counterbalanced by nativisation forces, through which ESL speakers may want to express their local identity when using English (see Schneider 2003, 2007 on the notion of nativisation). This could perhaps account for the higher Americanness rate in EFL than in ESL. That these forces of globalisation have only really begun to affect EFL populations recently, however, appears from a comparison between the EFCAMDAT data and data from ICLE, which started to be collected earlier than EFCAMDAT. On average, the Americanness rate in ICLE for the 20 selected pairs of items amounts to 49%, as against 63% in EFCAMDAT. This is lower than any of the EFCAMDAT areas considered separately (see Table 5 in Section 4.2) and lower than the average rate for GloWbE-ESL (58%). In ICLE, eleven pairs of items show a preference for the BrE word/construction, as opposed to only seven in EFCAMDAT. For some pairs of items, the difference between EFCAMDAT and ICLE is such that the AmE option is widely preferred in the former but dispreferred in the latter (e.g. *MOVIE* is preferred with an Americanness rate of 92% in EFCAMDAT, but dispreferred with an Americanness rate of 32% in ICLE). On the whole, the less recent data of ICLE thus display a slight preference for the BrE model and the more recent data of EFCAMDAT a preference for the AmE model, which suggests that a process of Americanisation may have taken place in EFL over the last few years, as was shown to be the case earlier in native English (cf. Leech et al. 2009: 252ff.) and some ESL varieties (e.g. Caribbean English, see Hackert & Deuber 2015).

In addition to the stronger AmE influence in EFL than in ESL, the corpus analysis also suggested that EFL may not be influenced by AmE in the same way as ESL (and ENL). While the latter can be said to display a relatively stable kind of influence across the different pairs

[17] As appears from the areas mentioned as examples in this quotation, Collins & Mees (2013) do not use the term "second language" in the sense of Outer Circle variety, but in the sense of an L2, acquired later than the mother tongue.

of items considered, EFL is characterised by a considerable disparity between certain pairs of items and others. This might be an indication that something different is going on in EFL and in ESL. More precisely, the results seem to point to some "polarizing effects" (Laitinen 2016: 187) in EFL and, in effect, a preference for certain individual AmE words/constructions rather than a true phenomenon of Americanisation affecting EFL across the board. The preference for these AmE words/constructions may be related to the kind of exposure that EFL learners receive. Although access to English has become more widespread in EFL countries, as noted above, it tends to be limited to certain domains, like those of entertainment or technology, as opposed to ESL varieties that use English in a wider range of functional domains. It is thus probably not a coincidence that among those items with the strongest Americanness rate in EFL, we find *CHAT with* (97%), which nowadays is often used in the context of internet communication, and *MOVIE* (92%), which is related to the entertainment industry. Another possible explanation for the item-based preferences found in EFL, which is not incompatible with the previous explanation, is that the preference for these words is in fact not (only) a preference for a word/construction that is typical of AmE, but a preference for a word/construction that is somehow easier for learners to acquire and remember. Arguments to support this view can be offered for several of the items with a high Americanness rate in EFL. Thus, *a half* (66%) corresponds to the usual word order of a determiner followed by an adjective (and a noun), as in *a big (house)*, unlike the use of *half a(n)*. *Math* (79%) is morphologically simpler than its BrE counterpart *maths*. In *free time* (84%), the adjective *free* is more basic and more frequent than the adjective *spare* (the adjective *free* has a relative frequency of 197.66 pmw in the BNC, as against 19.06 pmw for the adjective *spare*). *APARTMENT* (93%) will be easier to remember for learners who have a Romance mother tongue because of its similarity with the L1 equivalent (cf. French *appartement*, Italian *appartamento*, Spanish *apartamento*), whereas *FLAT* might be confusing because of its homonymy with the adjective *flat*. As for *GIVE it a try* (98%), it is undoubtedly more transparent than its British counterpart *GIVE it a go*. Of course, EFL learners need to first get exposed to these AmE words or constructions before they can actually start using them, but because they end up preferring these AmE items does not mean that they have been exposed to them more often than their BrE counterparts and that they have been more influenced by AmE than by BrE. It might simply be that among two options, and for reasons that could have more to do with degree of complexity than with forces of globalisation, the EFL learners

happened to prefer the option that turned out to be characteristic of AmE. Interestingly, a test carried out among 130 Belgian (French- and Dutch-speaking) Bachelor students specialising in English revealed that they were not always aware of the origin (AmE or BrE) of a selection of items presented to them and typical of one variety or the other.[18] Scores varied from 82% (for the word *movie*) to 35% (for *give it a try*). For a majority of the items, the average score was between 50% and 60%. This indicates that EFL learners are unlikely to consciously choose an AmE item because they know it is American. If American influence does occur for certain items (possibly in combination with other factors like preference for a more transparent or morphologically simpler form), this will most probably be without the learner being aware of any such influence. In other words, it does not seem to be the case that learners have two distinct registers, one British oriented and the other American oriented, and that they deliberately pick from one register or the other. As is arguably the case with written vs spoken registers (see Gilquin 2008: 128), it is more likely that they have a single register which consists in an opportunistic combination of AmE and BrE features and that, in this collection of items, it is sometimes the AmE item that is more salient and sometimes the BrE item.[19] This can be illustrated by examples such as (6) and (7), which combine features of AmE and BrE within the same text or even within the same sentence, or by constructions like *HAVE a vacation* (116 occurrences in EFCAMDAT) and *TAKE a holiday* (31 occurrences), which mix the verb of one variety with the noun of the other variety, as shown in (8). This phenomenon of combining AmE and BrE features could explain the considerable variation between pairs of items that was observed in the corpus-based analysis (see Section 4.1). It could also be related to one of the factors that was mentioned in Section 4.2, namely proficiency level: if the learners have not yet internalised consistent distinctions between AmE and BrE, their usage is likely to be less homogeneous than that of users whose knowledge of the language includes a full awareness of such distinctions.[20]

(6) *The thief ran **towards*** [BrE] *me. He looked dangerous and was holding a gun in his hand. I jumped to side and he was run away. My **apartment*** [AmE] *was a mess.* (EFCAMDAT-Germany)

[18] Vine (1999) makes a similar remark about New Zealanders. See also Hundt (this volume).
[19] Modiano (1996) refers to this combination of AmE and BrE language traits as "Mid-Atlantic English".
[20] I thank an anonymous reviewer for bringing this point to my attention.

(7) *In **spare time*** [BrE] *I like reading, listening music, watching **movies*** [AmE]*, **traveling*** [AmE] *and shopping.* (EFCAMDAT-Mainland China)

(8) *Finally you should **have*** [BrE] ***a vacation*** [AmE] *in a countryside and walking almost three our a day, eat well and sleeping better.* (EFCAMDAT-Italy)

6. Conclusion

The aim of this chapter was threefold. First, it aimed to test the prediction of Mair's (2013) World System of Englishes that AmE (rather than BrE) should be the most influential model for all the other varieties of English. The second objective was to see whether Mair's model could be expanded to include EFL varieties, and how these would fare with respect to AmE vs BrE influence. Finally, the chapter sought to explore the influence of AmE vs BrE more locally and to relate possible differences between countries to their historical, economic and geographical relations with the US and the UK. The analysis of corpus data from GloWbE and EFCAMDAT revealed that globally AmE had more influence than BrE on World Englishes, although, when a distinction was drawn between ENL, ESL and EFL, this turned out to be true only for the non-native varieties. Among these, the influence of AmE was stronger on EFL, which was however characterised by a greater disparity between the different linguistic items. Within each of the three types of varieties, local variation in terms of norm orientation emerged, which could partly be accounted for by the contextual factors that were examined (shared colonial history with the US or the UK, value of imports and exports, and geographical proximity), but probably also by other factors (including educational or cultural factors) that could not be quantified. While this study has thus partly confirmed the position of AmE as a hyper-central variety, as posited in Mair's model, it has also shown that a great deal of variation exists and should be taken into account in the model, for example through the consideration of local contextual factors, in addition to the general factors of demographic weight and institutional support that are examined in the model. As for the EFL varieties, they appear to be worthy of inclusion in the World System of Englishes, although their position within the hierarchy would need to be defined and the real impact of Americanisation (instead of, or in addition to, other factors like preference for simple or transparent forms) would have to be clarified. Ideally, a multifactorial analysis should be performed with a view

to identifying the possible interactions between the pairs of items, the English varieties, and any other factors that may have a role to play in the choice of a certain norm orientation. Such an approach would allow for a more robust study and would provide more precise and reliable results, while also making it possible to predict preferences for an AmE or BrE item.

To finish with, it should be underlined that the results obtained in this study should only be taken as a first indication of the possible influence of AmE and BrE on some World Englishes. For one thing, only twenty pairs of items were used as a basis for the analysis. Not all of these items were typical of AmE/BrE to the same extent (although they all appeared to be significantly distinctive of one variety or the other) and they also differed in their Americanness rate within one and the same English variety. This means that a different selection of items may have provided different results. For another thing, it was demonstrated that different countries displayed different Americanness rates, so that the results for ENL, ESL and EFL may be said to depend on the combination of countries represented in the corpora used. Again, a different choice of corpora may have changed the results. Finally, a level of analysis that could also have an impact on the results but that was not taken into account here is that of the individual speakers. Each speaker, depending on his/her personal history, may be more or less influenced by a certain variety, be it AmE, BrE, or any other English variety for that matter. Depending on the particular combination of speakers represented in a corpus, the global results may display a more or less marked American influence. While general linguistic models abstracting away from individual variation are certainly useful for the bird's-eye view they offer, we should not forget that ultimately, it is the language of *people* that these models seek to describe, and that the specific context in which these individual language users evolve is likely to tip the scale – or scales.[21]

[21] Although, according to GloWbE, *TIP the scales* is the preferred form in both AmE and BrE, the singular form *TIP the scale* is more characteristic of AmE, where it represents 31% of the uses of *TIP the scale(s)*, than of BrE, where it represents only 9%.

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Appendix: Local contextual factors

US	UK
ENL: /	ENL: Australia, Canada, Ireland, New Zealand
ESL: Philippines	ESL: Bangladesh, Ghana, Hong Kong, India, Jamaica, Kenya, Malaysia, Nigeria, Pakistan, Singapore, South Africa, Sri Lanka, Tanzania
EFL: Colombia (SA), Cuba (NA), Dominican Republic (NA), Honduras (NA), Japan (AS), Mexico (NA), Nicaragua (NA), Panama (NA)	EFL: Afghanistan (AS), Bahrain (AS), Cyprus (AS), Egypt (AF), Iraq (AS), Jordan (AS), Kuwait (AS), Myanmar (AS), United Arab Emirates (AS), Yemen (AS)

Table 6. Shared colonial history between the US/UK and the countries under study

This table is based on information found at https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List_of_United_States_colonial_possessions and https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List_of_countries_that_have_gained_independence_from_the_United_Kingdom. The countries that have a shared colonial history with the US are listed in the first column and those that have a shared colonial history with the UK are listed in the second column.

US	UK
ENL: all countries considered	ENL: /
ESL: all countries considered	ESL: /
EFL: most countries considered	EFL: Cyprus (AS), Czech Republic (EU), Latvia (EU), Moldova (EU), Norway (EU), Poland (EU), Slovakia (EU)

Table 7. Economic relations between the US/UK and the countries under study

This table is based on the 2015 figures of the World Integrated Trade Solution website (http://wits.worldbank.org). It takes into account the combined value of imports and exports between the US/UK and each of the countries. If this value is higher with the US than with the UK, the countries are listed in the first column; otherwise, they are listed in the second

column. No information was available for the following countries: Guadeloupe, Macau, Palestine and Taiwan.

US	**UK**
ENL: Australia, Canada, New Zealand	ENL: Ireland
ESL: Jamaica	ESL: Bangladesh, Ghana, Hong Kong, India, Kenya, Malaysia, Nigeria, Pakistan, Philippines, Singapore, South Africa, Sri Lanka, Tanzania
EFL: Guadeloupe (EU), all North American countries considered, all South American countries considered	EFL: all African countries considered, all Asian countries considered, most European countries considered

Table 8. Geographical proximity between the US/UK and the countries under study

This table is based on information found at https://www.freemaptools.com/how-far-is-it-between.htm. The distance between each country and the US/UK is calculated "as the crow flies", with the centre of the country taken as a point of reference. The countries that are found to be closer to the US are listed in the first column, whereas those that are closer to the UK are listed in the second column.