

Chapter 4:

The standard theory of pluricentricity Dominance and Non-dominance in PLCs

“Any national variety of a pluricentric language is potentially a separate language.” (Clyne 2004: 296)

This chapter defines and discusses the standard theory of pluricentricity. Key criteria are presented and described in detail that help to distinguish pluricentric languages from other languages. These criteria are derived from languages that are undoubtedly pluricentric by nature. Examples are: *Arabic, Bengali, English, French, Spanish, Portuguese, German*, etc. The research question is: When is a language pluricentric?

1. A contemporary theory of pluricentricity: Describing pluricentric languages

1.1. Key concepts of the pluricentricity of languages

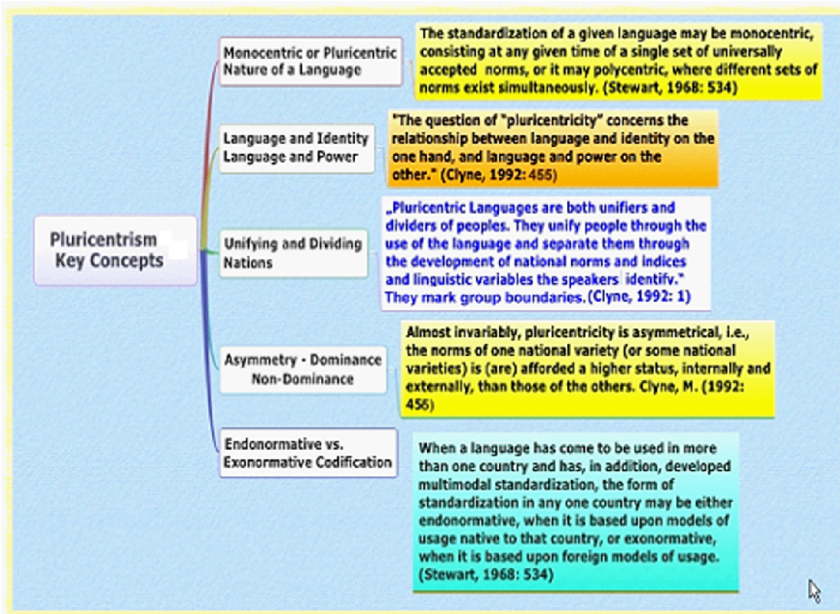


Figure 1: Key concepts of the theory of pluricentric languages

1.2. What is a pluricentric language? A definition of first-level and second-level pluricentricity

Clyne (1992: 1) defined PCLs as “languages with several interactive centres, each providing a national variety with at least some of its own (codified) norms.”

This definition has been extended in Muhr (2012, 2016 and 2019)) and is now comprising seven criteria. An extended, general definition of the concept “*pluricentric language*” might be the following:

A certain language is pluricentric when it is used in at least two self governing political entities (nations or regions) where it has an official status as state language, co-state language, or regional language. The varieties of each national / region have their own (codified) norms that contribute to the identity of the self-governing entity and its inhabitants. This turns the self governing political entities into a norm-setting centre through the conscious use of the norms native to the respective self-governing entity.

1.3. Criteria making up a pluricentric language

A language can be called “*pluricentric*” (first level pluricentricity) if it fulfils at least *two or all of the following seven criteria* (where (1) and (2) represent the minimum). The term “*nation*” stands for “*self-governing political entity*” and is used for reasons of usability.

1. Criterion 1: *Occurrence*: A certain language occurs in at least two nations that function as “*interacting centres*”.¹ The national varieties function as *norm-setting centres*.
2. Criterion 2: *Official Status or strong ethno-linguistic awareness*:
The language has official status in at least 2 nations either as
 - (a) a *state-language* or (e.g. English in Australia and in UK);
 - (b) a *co-state language* (e.g. German, French and Italian in Switzerland) or at least as
 - (c) a *regional language* (e.g. German in Italy: South Tyrol, Hungarian in Romania, Pashto in India etc.). The language must be *officially recognised, which extends beyond the status of a minority language*, as it otherwise cannot function as a norm-setting centre.
 - (d) *Strong ethno-linguistic awareness of the language community* can substitute for the lack of a territory of its own (nation, region) and establish a linguistic centre with its own variety. A typical example of this is (*Western*) *Armenian, Hungarian in Slovakia, Romania, Serbia*

etc. and PCLs like *Yiddish* and *Kurdish* that are completely or partly without a nation of their own.

3. Criterion 3: *Linguistic distance (Abstand)*: National varieties must have sufficient *linguistic (and/or pragmatic) characteristics* that distinguish them from other varieties and thus can serve as a symbol for expressing identity and social uniqueness. Language planning measures usually tend to reinforce the *ausbau* (extension of) endemic features, but they can also be used to delimit them (as was the case in Belgian Dutch in the 1950s).²
4. Criterion 4: *Acceptance of pluricentricity*: The language community must *accept the status of its language as a pluricentric variety* and consider it as part of its social / national identity. This will often not be the case immediately after the foundation of the new national variety and generally takes 1-2 generations.
5. Criterion 5: *Relevance for identity*: The national norm must be relevant to social identity and (to some extent) evident to the language community, which is aware of the uniqueness of its language.
6. Criterion 6: *A sufficient number of speakers in the NVs*: To qualify as a full PCL, national varieties must have a certain number of speakers and at least have the quality of a regional language. However, NV are sometimes denied to the status of a regional language by the political institutions of some states, which are have the authority to regulate the status of a lingoid. Therefore, it is the number of speakers, that constitutes a national centre, regardless of the officially attributed status (see the situation of Hungarian and South Tyrol in Italy as a typical examples).
7. Criterion 7: *Codification of norms*: After the establishment of national varieties of a PCL, the linguistic norms of the national variety must be *codified in reference books* some time after the establishment of the national variety and lead “to at least some of its own (codified) norms.”³. This is necessary in order to achieve certainty about common language use and nation-specific features of the PCL

Note: Criterion (7) is an extension to the criteria listed in Muhr (2012). It seems necessary to add this criterion as the non-codification is a serious obstacle for the full recognition of a NV.

2. Two basic types of national varieties of pluricentric languages: dominant and non dominant varieties

Michael Clyne (1992: 459) drew an important distinction between "dominant" and "non-dominant" varieties.⁴ It is a truly sociolinguistic concept that received little attention until the WGNDV⁵ was founded in 2010. The WGNDV chose this differentiation as the basis of its work is primarily sociolinguistically oriented. Until then, research on PCLs had primarily been focused at finding linguistic differences between the national varieties (NV).

In this section, both dominant and non-dominant varieties are described, and then the features of non-dominant varieties are highlighted, since these are a keystone in the model of pluricentric languages supported by the WGNDV. The dichotomy is based on the *power-relation* that exists between different nations sharing the same language, and refers to *primary and secondary norm-setting centres / norm-spreading centres* within a pluricentric language. Roughly speaking, varieties with few resources and little or no codification fall into the category of *non-dominant* varieties, while those with many resources and (may be also with an explicit language policy) are *dominant* over other national varieties of the same PCL.

Since 1992, the features of dominant and non-dominant varieties have been examined in depth in Clyne (1992), and in Muhr (2005), (2012), (2015). They will be dealt in this book in an updated version, since this dichotomy is of central significance for the concept of the pluricentricity of languages.

2.1. Dominant varieties of pluricentric languages and the linguistic concept of monocentric languages – Exclusive beliefs and language behaviour

Dominant varieties often share features of the linguistic concept of monocentric languages, which is closely associated with the idea that their language is "pure" and "exclusive" to a particular nation. It seems therefore reasonable to first outline the conceptual ideas of monocentricism, as they have long prevailed and still prevail in many pluricentric languages. The monocentric concept of languages can be summed up as follows:⁶

1. The singularity of a particular language and its norm:

There is only one language with a particular name (Chinese, French, German etc.) and there is only one linguistic norm for it. If there is

another norm for this language, it cannot be correct because, as this it would lower the status of the dominant variety. This is even claimed if there other national varieties.

2. A specific nation and its specific language represent each other:

A specific nation is represented by that language and the nation represents this language as its most valuable asset and symbol. This nation pretends to be in "*possession*" of this specific language.

3. Monolingual language usage in all situations is strictly required:

Every person belonging to that nation is assumed to speak only one variety of that language – the norm – which is maintained to be the only correct one. This has to be done in all communicative situations – private or official ones. The perfect monolingual speaker is the ideal that is aspired.

4. The correct norm is not available to everyone.

The „*good and correct usage*” of the language is only achieved by a (small) minority and not available to everyone.

5. Only a small minority is in command of the "good and correct norm".

The majority of the speakers do not master of this type of language, which makes the formal norm the social dialect of the elite. Anyone who wants to belong to the social elite must adopt this norm and adapt to their social "habitus".⁷ The elite thus upholds the "dogma of the only good and correct (standard) norm"⁸ ("*le bon usage*" as it is called in French), which excludes any deviation.

6. The centre of the nation decides about the correct norm:

The norm of the language is determined in the *centre of the nation* – in and around the economic/demographic centre (capital city) and thus usually denying the periphery of the language from any participation.

7. Monocentric language policies fight moves that endanger the unity of the language

The central objectives of monocentric language policies *are to fight moves which potentially endanger the unity of the language*. Strategies to achieve this include:

- *The linguistic characteristics of non-dominant varieties are denied the status of an appropriate standard and/or not codified, or selectively*

codified. The elitist approach fights every attempt to narrow the gap between the official standard norm and the “actual” everyday norm. (This strategy is also applied by conservative groups in NDVs in order to avoid their linguistic self-determination and self-definition).

- In cases where the language is supported by a demographically and economically powerful nation, *another key goal of monocentric language policies is to spread the language to other countries and regions of the world.* This further reinforces the dominant status even more, as the norm of the dominant variety is perceived as the default norm (see Muhr 2015).

Many of these ideas and attitudes are shared by the dominant varieties of different PCLs to a greater or lesser degree and can be summed up in the following terms:

- (1) centralist; (2) elitist; (3) monolingual (= mono-varietal); (4) mono-normative and (5) derogatory towards non-core-norm speakers.

Language attitudes and language conduct like this is often found by speakers from *Arabic countries, Albania, France, Germany (particularly in the North), Greece, Hungary, Netherlands, Portugal, Spain, Russia* etc.

2.2. Dominant varieties of pluricentric languages – General features and beliefs

Michael Clyne (1992: 459) also listed 11 characteristics of the varieties of the dominant nations (D-Nation) and one of ND-varieties that relate to attitudes and beliefs shared by the members of different D-nations in respect to the ND-nations and to differences in language behaviour. The following list was extended by Muhr/Delcourt (2000) (M/D), Muhr (2003) (M) and also contains the characteristics mentioned by M. Clyne (1992) (MC). A detailed description on how linguistic dominance is achieved is found in chapter (7).

1. General features of D-nations:

1. Have a *large number of speakers* (M/MC);
2. Have *political, economic and linguistic power and therefore high status*; (M)
3. Are varieties of the “*historical heartland*”, e.g. the nation, which is the country from where the language originates and therefore claims historical rights; (M/MC)
4. Are *native varieties and not nativized ones.* (MC)

5. *Have a big impact on the general norm of the language;* (M/MC)
6. *Practice thorough codification and have many codifying institutions;* (M/MC)
7. *Are globally present in the electronic and print media available to a large audience etc.;* (M/MC)
8. *Spread / export their norms and have many institutions for the dissemination of their norms.* (M/MC)

2. Attitudes / beliefs of D-Nations.

1. *The superiority of the D-variety:* D-nations regard themselves as standard and as the custodians of the norms and the norms of the others as „deviant, non-standard and exotic, cute, charming, and somewhat archaic“; (MC)
2. *Speakers of D-nations tend to confuse “regional variation” with “national variation”.* NDV are considered to be nothing more than a “regional” variety and just a case linguistic of divergence. (MC)
3. *The identity function of national varieties is ignored by D-nations.* They often find it difficult to accept that the speakers of the ND-nations are members of another nation; (MC)
4. *Variation is thought to be only existent in the spoken norm;* (MC)
5. *Norms of the ND-nations are believed to be less rigid;* (MC)
6. *Reduced knowledge of other varieties:* Speakers of DV usually are not familiar with the ND varieties. (MC)
7. *Language change in the DV is perceived as “natural” (and after some time codified) but not in NDVs.* The developments of the “non-dominant varieties” are more or less seen as secessionist and a danger to the unity of the language. (M)

3. Language Resources and means of language export of D-nations:

1. *D-Nations have better means of codification* as the publishers of grammar books and dictionaries are usually located in D-nations; (MC)
2. *D-Nations have better means to export their language norms* as they dominate the language market. This in turn contributes to this high status of the DV which is a source of income and prestige;⁹ (M/MC)

2.3. Non-dominant varieties / nations of pluricentric languages – General features, language attitudes and language behaviour

Michael Clyne did not give a definition of the non-dominant varieties

but named several criteria that differentiate dominant varieties from non-dominant ones. The following list is based on observations on a range of non-dominant varieties of different PCLs that were collected by Clyne (1992), Muhr / Delcourt (2001) and Muhr (2003), (2005) and are summarised here.

1. General features of non-dominant varieties / nations:

1. *Are the result of political events:* These are varieties that emerged in the course of colonial expansion, the attainment of political independence and/or the secession of nations that subsequently formed a contiguous linguistic area that is split between different nation states;
2. *Usually have no historical rights on the language:* Are varieties in nations other than the country of origin of the language (“*historical heartland*”) and therefore cannot claim historical rights;
3. *Have a low(er) number of speakers:* Have a small(er) number of speakers (compared to the dominant nation);
4. *Usually have a lower status:* Have little political, economic and linguistic power and therefore a low(er) status;
5. *Are downgraded by the D-Nations:* Have to cope with insinuations that their norm is “*dialectal*” or “*provincial*” and/or motivated by “*nationalism*”;
6. *Have to legitimize their norms:* Are challenged by speakers of the dominant variety and must therefore legitimize themselves (defend their norms);
7. *Have little or no impact on the general linguistic norm:* Have little or no impact on the general norm of the (written) language as their features are often removed from model texts and therefore not codified in books of reference;
8. *Show insufficient or complete lack of codification:* Have insufficient or no codification of their national norms and no codifying institutions or such that are not sufficiently equipped;
9. *Usually practice exonormative codification:* Have a strong tendency to base their codification on exonormative linguistic rules (i.e. the dominant variety) and by that to exclude many generic features of their native variety;
10. *Are mostly not present in international media:* Are scarcely present in

the global electronic and print media and not available to a large audience and therefore not gaining status through global presence as it is the case with the dominant varieties (see chapter XXXX for details).

11. *Are not present in international institutions:* Are usually not represented in international institutions (EU, UNO, UNESCO) as official language norms (see chapter 9 for details);
12. *Usually do not practice language export:* Do not spread / export their norms and have no institutions for spreading the language.

2. **Uncertainty / uneasiness: Norm-Confusion – Lack of knowledge about national language norms**

13. *Uncertainty about proper norms:* There is strong uncertainty about the correctness of the proper standard norm and in case of doubt the dominant norm is preferred.
14. *Lack of knowledge about national norms:* There is an extremely limited and very often undifferentiated knowledge of the norms of the proper national variety that is mostly restricted to shibboleths. This can be explained by the fact that they are not made aware of in school and often not codified.
15. There is considerable uncertainty in distinguishing “*local*” and “*national*” standards and a tendency to ignore pan-regional similarities of their proper variety and instead to accentuate the regional differences.
16. *Uncertainty about teaching NDV-norms in school:* There is general uncertainty when it comes to the question, what standards are to be taught in schools or in what way one should treat the norms of the dominant variety.
17. *Often show “linguistic schizophrenia”¹⁰:* *Schizoglossia/linguistic schizophrenia*¹¹ is a term that highlights the discrepancy between “what we say and what we must write”.¹² This is a side-effect of diglossia.

In this linguistic behaviour the proper national norm is strongly practiced but officially devalued. Such language behaviour uses the proper national norm (esp. in spoken conversation) but devalues it at the same time, while the official (exonormative) norm is rarely used in everyday situations but highly esteemed.

18. *Tendency of self-devaluation of ND-native norms*: There is a tendency of self-devaluation of ND-native norms as “dialectal” by their own speakers which contributes to the vicious circle of self-devaluation.
19. *Suffer language shame and feelings of guilt*: The linguistic behaviour of *linguistic cringe/linguistic schizophrenia* is due to the fact that the speakers of NDVs are insecure about their linguistic competence in relation to the official norm. They are ashamed and feel guilty because they do not master the official standard correctly.¹³
20. *Practice self-devaluation of native norms*: Have a tendency to devalue the status of their proper norms by marking them as “*colloquial*”, “*regional*” or “*dialectal*”.

3. Attitudes / Beliefs of ND-varieties / nations: Missing language loyalty (esp. of the elites)

21. *Desolidarisation of the elites*: The elites of the NDVs often resist showing solidarity with the national NDV norms, as these are often considered a symbol of low social status (dialectally marked). This leads to the elites of the NDVs working together with the elites of the DV at the expense of their fellow citizens, as Clyne (1992: 459) emphasised. The language behaviour of these parts of the population of the NDVs is highly political and leads to *elitism*, *social exclusion* and *reduced educational opportunities*. Confirmation for this behaviour has been reported in Brazilian Portuguese (Duarte/Gomes/Pavia, 2016), East Timorese Portuguese (Batoréo, 2016; Afonso/ Goglia, 2012) and in many other NDVs.
22. *Linguistic cringe*: The cultural elites in the ND nations tend to follow the norms from the D nation(s). (Clyne 1992);
23. *Norm subservience*: Convergence generally occurs in the direction of D varieties when speakers of different national varieties communicate.
24. *Hierarchical societies*: This kind of behaviour will be particularly pronounced in hierarchical societies, in which social advancement is achieved not primarily by personal merit but rather through obeying set norms and expectations.

3. Reluctance to do language planning, status planning and codification

25. *Reluctance to codify the native norms*: In NDVs there is usually reluctance to codify the native norms. This is due to the anxiety of the cultural elites of creating a new language which would break the link to the DV and by that reduce their linguistic market value.
26. *Selective codification and adaptation to the norms of the D-nation*: The effects of codification are often minimised by codifying only those features of the NDVs that match existing norms of the written language.
27. *Defacing native expressions*: The adaptation of native expressions to the phonological and morphological norms of the written language often obscures cures their comprehensibility and blurs their origin.
28. *Fear of a language divide*: There is a tendency to ignore linguistic innovations in the NDVs as they might lead to a split in the language.

4. The relationship between non-dominant and dominant varieties

1. *Asymmetric relationship*: In most PCLs, the relationship between dominant varieties (DVs) and non-dominant (NDVs) varieties is *generally asymmetric* (Clyne, 1992). Exceptions are Dutch and Swedish (in Finland). As Caluwe (2012) showed, Dutch is now considered a bicentric language as Belgium and The Netherlands via the *Nederlandse Taalunie* (an official binational Belgian-Dutch institution for language policy) started promoting a model of Dutch with two national varieties. Swedish is one of two official national languages in Finland and has therefore equal rights with full recognition. There is a joint language policy between Sweden and Finland that aims to prevent the linguistic differences from becoming too great.

In general, the asymmetric relation between NVs can only be reduced if there is an *active language policy* on the side of the NDVs by applying measures for endonormative codification and programmes to promote awareness of the native and non-native features of the respective national variety.

2. *Reversed dominance*: There are examples of PCLs with reversed dominance, where the "*daughter variety*" has gained dominance over the parent variety. Examples are *American English*, *Brazilian Portuguese* and (probably) *Western Armenian*.

The global dominance of US-English is an undeniable fact ever since the

British Empire finally disintegrated in the late 1960s. However, British English is still dominant in Europe and in some British ex-colonies.

A reversed dominance is also obvious in the case of Brazilian Portuguese with 200 million speakers versus European Portuguese with 14 million. This has led to increased tendencies of endonormativity in BP (Duarte/Gomes/Pavia (2016), Martins/Meisnitzer (2016)).

Due to the massive emigration from Armenia, the position of West Armenians seems to have become stronger for demographic reasons and reasons of increased media contacts via social media (Dum-Tragut, 2016).

3. *In some languages there is strong opposition to the codification of NDVs: Examples include Arabic, Albanian, French, and Russian.*

Arabic is a PCL that is not only marked by pronounced diglossia between Modern Standard Arabic (MSA) (used in formal contexts) and everyday spoken Arabic (used in all other domains) (Aboelezz, 2016). The latter is distinctly marked by national features. The non-standard national features are generally considered and despised as “*dialect*”, although these features achieved briefly public esteem in Egypt during the Arab spring in Egypt (Ibrahim, 2012).

An additional factor explaining the resistance in Arab nations to codifying national varieties is the function of *Arabic as the language of the Q’ran* which constitutes a strong *link between the unity of language and religion*.

Albanian and Russian are both “new” PCLs. In the case of Russian, the dissolution of the Soviet Union still plays a role in the recognition of Russian as a PCL, which is rejected by the institutions. In some economically powerful post-Soviet countries like Kazakhstan, national features are being researched (Zhuravleva, 2015) and at the same time the national language is strongly promoted.

In Albanian, the nation building process of Kosovo is still at an early stage, as Kosovo's secession from Serbia has yet to be finalised and Albania rejects the idea that Albanian might have three different standard norms.

4. *Some PCLs are extremely centralized and refuse to accept their pluricentric nature or resist the drift into distinct varieties by language planning institutions: e.g. French, Greek, Russian and Spanish.* The centralistic/monocentric and elitist concept of French is well known, and has been a

general feature of French language policy ever since the late 17th century. While Lafage (1989), (1990) and at the CNRS in Nice (France) have conducted some research on African varieties of French, France has set up the powerful “Organisation Internationale de la Francophonie” with 80 members governments to maintain the centralised character of French.

Spanish is now codifying the Latin American varieties of Spanish, but still show a strong tendency of centralisation, maintained by the 21 language academies.

Greece and Russia, do not have language academies but large central language departments, which are the spearhead of the resistance to accept NDVs.

5. *In some PCLs and NDVs, there are battles about the „correct“ norm, e.g. Catalan, Occitan.* When a PCL comes into existence, the process is often accompanied by disputes over the correct norm in the newly established NVs. An example of this is *Catalan*, which has two language academies, one for the *Valencian* variety and the other for the *northern* varieties. *Occitan*, which spreads across France, Spain and Andorra has *three* language planning institutions that compete with each other in setting the appropriate norms. In Portuguese, there are disputes over the reform of the spelling reform, as there were in German in the 1990s.
 6. *In English, the concept of dominance/non-dominance is rejected by the scientific community - a purely linguistic model based on Kachru’s model of circles is preferred instead.* As Schneider (2013) points out, English linguistics shows no interest in the differentiation between dominant and non-dominant varieties, although the differentiation process in English is becoming ever stronger due to increasing nativisation, especially in Asia (Takahashi, 2016; Salazar, 2015).
- 5. The language situation of different non-dominant varieties - Differences in status and development – Some examples**

This section will give a brief overview about the language situation of different NDVs and reflect upon the question how the differences in status can be explained.

1. *Swiss Italian:* Codification has started, but the prestige is still low(er). There is a institutional representation by the Osservatorio linguistico

della Svizzera italiana (Linguistic Observatory of Italian-speaking Switzerland)¹⁴

2. *Cyprus Greek*: Low prestige; no institutional representation, no codification;
3. *Swiss German*: Little codification, diglossia, high prestige at home, none outside;
4. *Austrian German*: Codification: yes (national dictionary), increasing prestige at home, little outside; institutional representation in Europe: formally yes, in practice: none; representation: yes (EU-terminology and official acknowledgement by the institutions of the EU);
5. *Swiss French*: Codification: yes, prestige at home, none outside; no institutional representation;
6. *Belgium French*: Some codification – low prestige at home, unknown outside, institutional representation: yes (EU-terminology);
7. *Irish English*: Codification: yes – high prestige in Ireland, little outside, institutional representation: yes, via a joint codification institution (*Foras na Gaeilge*) with Northern Ireland.
8. *Ulster Irish (Northern Ireland Irish)*: Codification: yes, high prestige in Ireland, little/none outside; institutional representation: yes. Ulster Irish is a co-official language of Northern Ireland since 2022, with an official language body (*Foras na Gaeilge*), that promotes the Irish language in both parts of Ireland about to set up two new major dictionaries: a monolingual Irish dictionary and a new Irish-English Dictionary¹⁵;
9. *Belgium German*: Codification: yes; representation: yes (EU-terminology);
10. *Australian English*: Codification yes; high prestige at home; institutional representation: none (indirectly through the dictionary office of the Macquarie Dictionary).
11. *Belgium Dutch*: Codification in collaboration with the Dutch institutions, high status at home, institutional representation in Europe: yes (EU-terminology);
12. *Finnish Swedish*: Codification yes, high prestige at home, institutional representation: yes (Institute for the languages of Finland - <https://en.kotus.fi/>);
13. *Canadian French*: Intensive codification with a dictionary of Canadian French; high prestige at home, institutional representation: yes (Office québécois de la langue française¹⁶); French is an official national language of Canada.

14. *Singapore English / Singlish*: There is no official dictionary of Singapore English and no codification. English in Singapore is a language of prestige, it conforms largely to the norms of British English. There is also a local form of English called *Singlish* that is blended with local languages. It is used by most parts of the population in informal conversation and part of diglossia.¹⁷
15. *Singapore Mandarin / Singardin*: Mandarin is an official language of Singapore: No codification, high prestige at home, institutional representation: none. There is also a colloquial form called Singardin/Singnese. Most Chinese-speaking Singaporeans are able to code-switch between Singardin and Standard Mandarin and practice diglossia. There is no codification of both varieties of Mandarin.
16. *Cameroon English*: Codification some, high prestige at home, institutional representation: none; English is a co-official national language of Cameroon and a teaching subject in school.

The list shows that there are substantial differences in status between different NDVs. Canadian French, Finish Swedish and Ulster Irish are examples of NDVs with high status, a high amount of codification and general acceptance of the variety in their nations. Other NDVs like Swiss Italian and Cyprus Greek are examples for the opposite.

Footnotes:

- ¹ Clyne (1992:1).
- ² See de Caluwe (2005)
- ³ Clyne (1992:1).
- ⁴ The original terminology of Clyne (dominant versus other varieties) has been changed into “dominant” and “non-dominant” to have a clear antinomy and to better comply with the stylistic requirements of English.
- ⁵ WGNDV: International Working Group on non-dominant varieties of pluricentric languages. See: <https://pluricentriclanguages.org>.
- ⁶ See Muhr (2005). The list is partly based on Lüdi (1992:153f).
- ⁷ For the term see Bourdieu (1984): *Distinction. A social Critique of the judgement of taste*.
- ⁸ See Muhr (1995:99) and Dollinger (2019)
- ⁹ See the document published by the British Department for Industry, Innovations & Skills in 2011: The income generated by language exports and language tuition of British English in 2010 was £ 4.120 bn. / € 4.928 bn.
- ¹⁰ See Muhr (1981): The term has been coined by the author of this book by observing the linguistic behaviour of Austrian speakers. What was thought a particular behaviour of Austrians has been found in many NDVs (see Afonso (2015) for East Timor).

¹¹ See Muhr (1983).

¹² See Duarte/Gomes/Pavia (2016) for this very apt characterisation.

¹³ This situation has been wonderfully portrayed by the Austrian writer Franz Innerhofer out of his own experience in “Die großen Wörter” [The big words] (1977).

¹⁴ <https://forum-helveticum.ch/it/netzwerk/osservatorio-linguistico-della-svizzera-italiana/> [acc. 02.204.2025]

¹⁵ <https://www.forasnagaeilge.ie/about-foras-na-gaeilge/lexicography-and-terminology/?lang=en>

¹⁶ <https://vitrinelinguistique.oqlf.gouv.qc.ca/>

¹⁷ https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Singapore_English [acc. 06.02.2025]