

CHAPTER 13

Codifying linguistic standards in non-dominant varieties of pluricentric languages: Adopting dominant or native norms?¹

1. Introduction

This chapter is dealing with the codification of non-dominant varieties of PCLs. The codification of these varieties is marked by a number of specific problems. Since the 1960s, an immense amount of literature about the standardisation and codification of languages has been published.² However, little attention has been paid to the standardisation of pluricentric languages and non-dominant varieties (NDV) – at least not in respect to NDVs. It is important to note that there are substantial differences in different pluricentric languages (PCL) in respect to their standardisation and codification. A sample of selected PLCs and the codification of their NDVs will be presented below. They also represent specific types of codification and standardisation.

The central research question is: How should the norms of a NDV codified and should there be given preference to the native NDV-norms or rather sought a codification that orients itself on the norms of the dominant variety in order not to let the varieties become too different? Before an answer to these questions is presented, some basic factors that are essential for the codification of languages are presented and discussed.

2. Structural stages of standardisation in the development of new norms

Einar Haugen (1966a:933; 1983:275) named four essential stages in the development of a new linguistic norm which are essential parts of corpus planning. His model is widely considered as the standard model of linguistic standardisation:

1. *Norm selection* (choosing between alternative forms/varieties)
2. *Norm codification* (fixation of a specific linguistic form)
3. *Norm implementation* (gradual diffusion and acceptance of the newly created norm across speakers as well as across functions).
4. *Norm elaboration* (or modernisation) refers to those activities which are aimed at extending the functional reach of the standard variety as well as changes within the existing standard to adapt it to new functions.³

The *acceptance* by the speech community ultimately decides on the success or failure of a given set of linguistic decisions made at the stages of selection and codification. This is decided at the first stage of the codification: *the selection process*. It is there where the fundamental decisions are taken on which varieties to include or to exclude (marking them as non-standard). Since most societies at present are marked by social stratification due to differences in rank and economic power the choice for the selection of a linguistic variety to serve as a common norm is usually guided by the *criteria of dominance*. A specific variety of a language can gain dominance, among other things, due to a *large number of speakers*, to *being spoken in the most prestigious region* (the language of the capital or the most populated region) to its *social prestige* if it is the variety of the elite, which can be the most powerful and/or richest group) or to the *language preferences of the political elite*. The selection can focus on one of these criteria or on a mixture of them. A truly "democratic" way of selection would be choosing the variety used by the majority of speakers. This is usually only possible in polities where there is little social and/or regional fragmentation. It is important to keep in mind that the identity factor can overrule the power factor if there were central historical events that have been driving a language community away from their linguistic relatives.

3. Quantitative and qualitative stages of standardisation: Exonormative or endonormative standardisation – Linguistic decolonisation and nativisation

As shown above, the selection process is central for the standardisation as it is the stage where the basic decisions for the inclusion or exclusion of variants of the NDV are taken. In this respect, Stewart (1968: 534) introduced the important distinction between "endonormative" and "exonormative" standardisation:

When a language has come to be used in more than one country and has, in addition, developed multimodal standardization, the form of standardization in any one country may be either endonormative, when it is based upon models of usage native to that country, or exonormative, when it is based upon foreign models of usage. [Italics in the original]

This results either in "integrational" or "particularist" (*self-determining*)⁴ approaches as Willemyns (1993: 69) found in the history of Dutch.⁵ Both distinctions are of fundamental relevance for the standardisation of all NDVs as they are bound together by a common orthography, a common script and the

features of the core varieties. The *exonormative/integrational approach* is giving preference to a codification based on the norms of the dominating variety (DV), thus trying to avoid any development in the direction of *linguistic self-determination*. The integrational measures promote the adherence of the NDV to the common standards of the pluricentric language and fight all attempts to emphasise the linguistic differences between the NVs. One of the effects of this approach is a large and extending *linguistic distance between spoken and written language* that might even extend to *diglossia* and result in an elitist role of written language as it is accessible only to the upper layers of the speakers of a NDV. Another effect is the continuing adherence to a common language with a large number of speakers. However, in the long run, diglossia is often bridged by the *development of koiné varieties* that close the gap between formal SL and the everyday conversational norm as the examples of Austrian German (AG), Swiss German (SG) and Belgian Dutch (BD) show.⁶

The *endonormative/self-determining approach* prefers a language development on the basis of the native varieties. The prerequisite to successful endonormative standardisation is a strong political stance for political and linguistic self-determination. It leads to a more or less distinct norm that steers the NDV variety away from the DV which eventually develops into a distinct language. Examples for this are *Bosnian, Croatian* and *Macedonian* which were officially declared languages despite their structural similarities with their linguistic relatives (Serbian, Bulgarian) and *Luxemburgish* which used to be considered a regional variety of German. Self-defining linguistic acts are therefore often watched with suspicion by the language policy officials of the DVs and by linguistic conservatives of the NDVs who consider these moves as a loss of power and significance of the pluricentric language and of their variety. The self-determination of NDVs is also constrained by a strong linguistic fragmentation and particularly by a lack of political will among the elites.

Standardisation processes can also be classified according to the progress they have made towards the final stage of elaboration. Thomas (1992: 1116f) distinguishes four stages until the codification/standardisation process arrives at a level of elaboration: (1) *Minimal standardisation* which separates the language from its "mother variety" by "giving rise to written dialects based on a spoken koiné"; (2) *Pre-standardisation* which brings a "further move towards a standardised idiom based on a single dialect"; (3) *Standardisation proper* which finally "constitutes a single prestigious autonomous standard" but also with

purist activities coming into force; (4) *Post-Standardisation* where cultivation and further elaboration of the norm is achieved.

The quantitative model of Thomas can be combined with the "*dynamic model of the evolution of New Englishes in a post-colonial context*" developed by Schneider (2003, 2007). Schneider's model can, in my view, be applied with some adaptation to *all* NDVs, since it outlines *important qualitative stages* in the development of all NVs, whether they have a colonial past or not.

It can be seen as *a model of linguistic decolonisation* of non-dominant varieties.⁷ For the application of the model, a distinction has to be made between NDVs with *monolingual* or *bi-/multilingual language situations*.

The multilingual situation results in an adaptation of the implanted language by the native co-language(s). This process is missing in mostly monolingual NVs like AG, BD, AUE or NZE etc., which often resort to linguistic elements mainly used in spoken language (vernaculars). Examples for this are AG, whose standard language draws elements from spoken language, while Swiss French and Swiss German are marked by a strong reciprocal influence.

Central to Schneiders' model is the "*notion of social identity and its construction and reconstruction by symbolic linguistic means*" (Schneider, 2003: 239). It leads to a gradual *self-identification* with the own nation and the linguistic features of the native language community. It also goes along with political, economic and finally cultural decolonization, as all nations with New Englishes are former colonies. Schneider distinguishes five stages of development: (1) *Foundation*, (2) *Exonormative Stabilisation*, (3) *Nativisation*, (4) *Endonormative Stabilisation*, and (5) *Differentiation*.

(1) *Foundation*: In colonial contexts this stage is identical to the implantation of a colonial language into a new linguistic environment where it becomes the dominant language. The stage of foundation in many NDVs is often connected with traumatic political and/or cultural events that separate the nations sharing the same language. Depending on the events that caused the split, there can be a quick turn towards standardisation/codification or one happening only after some time. Examples for events like this are the Nazi occupation of Luxembourg (Horner/Wagner, 2012) and Austria, the experience of being let down in Australia in 1940 by Britain, the Irish war of independence, the war in the Balkans leading to Bosnian and Croatian etc. An example for this is also the development of the codification of AG. There was no codification of AG during the First Austrian Republic (1918-1938) as it strived for the unification with Germany. Only after the Second World War and the experience of the Nazi re-

gime, the Austrian elites decided no longer to pursue a common path with Germany. The result of this change of attitude was the first edition of the Austrian national dictionary in 1951.

(2) *Exonormative Stabilisation*: This stage coincides with minimal standardization (Thomas, 1992) which usually is built on exonormative norms of the dominant variety. This is expressed by Noah Webster in the preface of the first edition of his "New International Dictionary" in 1828:

"It is not only important, but in a degree necessary, that the people of this country should have an American Dictionary of the English Language; for although the body of the language is the same as in England, and it is desirable to perpetuate that sameness, yet some differences must exist. Language is the expression of ideas; and if the people of one country cannot preserve an identity of ideas, they cannot retain an identity of language."

The citation shows the basic conflict of "new" national varieties: There is a strong wish to have a representation of the national language, but at the same time there is also the wish "*to perpetuate the sameness*" with the mother variety. This leads to a kind of *schizoglossia* – (linguistic schizophrenia) where national linguistic features and expressions are included in dictionaries and books of reference very reluctantly. The first native features that are incorporated into the new variety are the place names and toponyms of the native population in multilingual environments, in monolingual communities linguistic elements taken out of folk traditions, customs and the emotional lexicon are most likely to be adopted as belonging to SL. Only when this stage has been overcome, full standardisation is achieved by nativisation and endonormative stabilisation which means that a NDV stabilises by accepting native national norms, abandoning the primary orientation on dominant norms.

(3) *Nativisation*: This stage of development is central (Schneider, 2003: 247) as it has "*immediate linguistic consequences*". At this stage, noticeable local idiosyncrasies have been developed and spread through the community as the identification with the new country has gained ground. This usage moves away from the traditional exonormative standard language (SL) and causes discussions between older and younger generations – resulting in the so called "*complaint tradition*"⁸, where conservative speakers complain about the "deterioration" of their language. The crucial question here is whether the new national usage is acceptable to the so called "*educated speakers*" or not. Whether there is a turn towards the new/native norms or not, much depends on the identification with

the country and on the solidarity of the educated elites with their nation. Attempts of nativisation often meet strong resistance by conservatives and educated elites who are afraid to lose their social status and of a linguistic split that creates a new language. Nativisation is most likely to have effects on the lexicon, on pronunciation and on the "lexico-grammatical level". Schneider (2003: 249) points to "*characteristic collocations*", "*word-formation products*", "*localized set phrases*", "*varying prepositional usage*" and differences in "*verb complement patterns*".

(4) *Endonormative Stabilisation*: Socio-psychological independence and national awareness has now reached a level where the native variety has lost its former stigma and is positively evaluated. The new variety is also accepted in formal usage and emphasis is put on linguistic homogeneity and identity construction. The new linguistic situation is at this stage also marked by the edition of national dictionaries like the *Macquarie dictionary of Australian English*, the *Canadian Oxford Dictionary*, the *Dictionnaire du Français Québécois*, the *Dictionary of Hiberno-English*, the *Dictionnaire du Français de Belgique* and the *Österreichisches Wörterbuch* etc.

(5) *Differentiation*. According to Schneider (2003), the differentiation in the New Englishes gives rise to interior differentiation and dialect birth (birth of new varieties in the terminology of the WGNDV) and to ethnic varieties or L2-varieties of English.

4. Linguistic self-awareness in NDVs and its influence on codification

Irrespective of the existence of native dictionaries, the amount of linguistic self-awareness in NDVs may differ substantially and influence the codification in different ways. An example for a variety that underwent the complete process of self-definition is Australian English⁹, while Belgian French has developed a very weak linguistic identity¹⁰. Austrian German (AG) on the other hand has a codification of its own linguistic norms ever since the 1950s but still remains at the stage of exonormative stabilisation as most elements of the native lexis is still marked as "*umgangssprache*" (colloquial) and by that officially excluded from usage in formal written language. If one takes AG, Belgium Dutch (BD), Belgian French (BF) and Irish English (IE) as examples, the most advanced is BD which not only developed a new koiné variety (De Caluwe, 2006) that is being used as a symbol for Belgian Dutch identity, the variety is now also codified jointly with Dutch in the Netherlands.¹¹ It definitely has reached the stage of endonormative stabilisation. This also seems to be case with Fin-

nish Swedish (FS), Irish English (IE) and Quebec French (QF). Finnish Swedish is recognised as the second official second language of Finland and enjoys a very high status. This is underlined among other aspects that all legal acts are published both in Finnish and Swedish. IE (or Hiberno-English) on the other hand is also in constant contact with Gaelic/Irish which is the first national language and central for the Irish identity. This results in a considerable amount of Irish loanwords and calques in Irish English, a phenomenon that is typical for bilingual language situations. This is expressed by Dolan (2006: xxix – introduction):

Since the nineteenth century English has maintained its currency in Ireland up to the present time, but it has not done so without having to succumb to many influences that are associated with the linguistic conditions of the country. In a linguistic sense it is contaminated through and through with Irish ..., and it poses many questions for its speakers about the meaning, usage, origin and context of its employment.

IE therefore is an integral part of the Irish national identity and its linguistic form is no longer contested and not considered as a "dialect" of English any more. This is also the case of Quebec French whose lexicographical tradition goes back to 1794 with the first dictionary published in that year.

Peters (2021) compared different types of dictionaries published for English. The results of the study can probably be generalised and are likely to be valid for all PCLs:

[Comparing] settler Englishes (Australian, New Zealand, Canadian, US) with those published for indigenized Englishes (South Africa, India, Singapore, the Philippines), finding that the former have several types of dictionaries (historical and contemporary, with partial or comprehensive coverage of the lexicon), whereas the indigenized varieties have few with limited coverage of the varietal lexicon. Other codificatory instruments, e.g. style manuals, are found with settler varieties but not indigenized ones. The range of such instruments for settler varieties thus correlates with their advanced stage of evolution (beyond endonormativity). The research shows that only those dictionaries which are produced by regionally based lexicographers are indicators of endonormativity. Dictionaries compiled by foreign/international publishers are associated with varieties that have yet to attain their endonormativity. (Peters 2021, abstract)

5. The codification of non-dominant varieties of pluricentric languages – obstacles and political struggles

The concept of dominance and non-dominance in pluricentric languages was developed by Michael Clyne (1992) and deepened in the contributions further 10 WGNDV conference on non-dominant varieties that were held since 2010.

The following list summarises linguistic and attitudinal characteristics of dominant varieties NDVs (Muhr 2012: 39ff and chapter 3 of this book) that are fundamental to NDVs. It can be assumed that they have an influence on the codification and standardization of NDVs:

1. *Insufficient or no codification*: They have no or insufficient codification of their national standards and no or insufficiently equipped codification institutions;
2. *Limited knowledge of their own national variety*: They generally have limited and undifferentiated knowledge of the standards of their own national variety, mostly limited to shibboleths;
3. *Uncertainties regarding the correctness of their own standard*: They show strong uncertainties regarding the correctness of their own standard norm and favour the dominant norm in case of doubt.
4. *Difficulties to distinguish between 'local' and 'national' norms*: They have difficulties distinguishing between 'local' and 'national' norms and tend to ignore cross-regional similarities of their own variety.
5. *Tendency to devalue the status of their own norms*: They tend to devalue the status of their own norms by labelling them 'colloquial', 'regional' or 'dialectal'.
6. *The codification is often exonormative*: The effect of codification is often minimised by codifying only those features of NDVs that conform to existing written language norms.
7. *Lack of linguistic solidarity of the elites of the NDVs*: The elites of the NDV are often reluctant to show solidarity with their own national norms, as they are often seen as a symbol of low social status (dialectal in character).

These disadvantages can be overcome when electronic text corpora are set up and a codification is initiated with an endonormative orientation.

However, one might be tempted to ask why the speakers of NDVs want to standardise their language? In most cases, they already have a written language that they share with at least one other country. But it is not a language that belongs to only one nation. After decolonisation and whenever new na-

tions emerge, the new political communities have a desire to express their newfound identity. One of the means to achieve this is language. Rustow (1968:104) puts it quite appropriately:

In fact, language is a variable, dependant on political factors. The revival of Gaelic in the late nineteenth century was the consequence, not the cause, of Irish discontent with British rule. The landsmål movement in Norway emphasized the non-Danish elements of the vernacular to reinforce the earlier political separation from Denmark. Literary Romanian since the nineteenth century has emphasized the Latin as against the Slavic elements of common speech, [...]

6. Creating a standard language of its own: The codification and standardisation of languages and NDVS– Status planning and corpus planning

5.1. Some basic principles of codification and standardisation of languages

Standardisation and codification are essential parts of language planning measures, nation building efforts and attempts to set a linguistic norm that is a common means of communication for a particular language community, and thus also serving as a means of social and national identity. Such activities are often conducted by international organizations like the United Nations in places where there has been a split of nations/territories due to war, political unrest and movements of independence.¹² As the codification/standardisation of languages like English, German, French and many others shows, the process of norm fixation can take several hundred years until the linguistic form of written language remains more or less stable and reliable.

Language planning consists of *status planning* and *corpus planning* activities which usually overlap (Fishman, 2006: 121). *Status planning* refers to activities that attribute a positive social symbolic value for the identity of the whole community to a language or variety. *Corpus planning* activities select and elaborate a specific language/variety in respect to social and functional needs, resulting in dictionaries, grammars, terminological glossaries etc.

The codification of languages can be seen as the *superordinate process leading to standardisation*. It is the complex process that selects certain linguistic varieties, attributes a specific status to them, fixates their linguistic form and meaning by compiling them in scientific books such as dictionaries and grammars, and through this process sets a norm that writers and speakers are supposed to adhere in order to gain social recognition. Milroy (2001: 531) defines

standardisation as "*the imposition of uniformity upon a class of objects*", a definition that applies to any kind of standardisation. David Crystal (1992: 366) points out that, apart from deliberate efforts for standardisation, there is also a natural development that leads to linguistic standards:

"Standardisation is the natural development of a standard language in a speech community or an attempt by a community to impose one dialect as a standard. See also: Language planning, National Language, Standard English" [*Italics in original*]

It is obvious that every language community produces some kind of "standard" simply by using its common language - otherwise there would be no communication and no mutual comprehension between regions. We should therefore distinguish between "*linguistic standards and quasi codification set through usage*" (standardisation through communication) and "*linguistic standards set through deliberate codification efforts*" (standardisation through language planning). Both activities complement each another, as codification usually cannot be developed out of nothing.

5.2. What a standard language (SL) is and what it is not

One might assume that there is a general consensus among linguists about what a standard language is. However, this is not the case, as evidenced by the ongoing discussions in many languages such as English, German, Spanish and even French.¹³ Although there seems to be a fairly straightforward path to standardise written language, it is almost impossible to achieve full standardisation of the spoken language. Milroy/Milroy (1999: 23) therefore define standardisation

"as an ideology, and a standard language as an idea in the mind rather than a reality - a set of abstract norms to which actual usage may conform to a greater or lesser extent."

The author (1999: 26) states that "Standard English" is a "*rather loose and pre-scientific label*". This applies to all standard languages, not just English. Regardless of scientific limitations like this, the notion and existence of SLs is the basis for public communication between regions and social groups in modern societies and it is a major reference point for national identity in many societies. And it is a prerequisite for orderly communication in industrialised societies which are in need of a codified norm that ensures technical communication and the establishment of terminology, making its usefulness evident. Since this type of language is used in all official written texts and in the media, and

passed down to the younger generation through formal education, it is the leading norm, even though it may not be the variety of the majority of speakers in many nations. Trudgill (1999/2011) estimates that Standard English is the home dialect of only 15% of the population of UK, and that another 9-12% of the population speak Standard English with a regional accent. RP (Received Pronunciation), the prestigious accent, is the native accent of only 3% of the UK population (Trudgill and Cheshire 1999). The author (1984: 32) therefore defines Standard English (SE) as

"a social dialect, generally defined as 'a set of grammatical and lexical forms typically used in speech and writing by educated native speakers'".

Trudgill (2011) also specifies what in his view a SL is not: *To him it is not a language but a variety of a language, not an accent, not a style or a register. For him, SL is just a "dialect" - a sub-variety of the English language - one among many other varieties.* But it is primarily a social variety with no ties to a specific region.

Given the pluricentricity of languages and the existence of national standard varieties, we may say that SLs of pluricentric languages also have a geographic dimension, which monolingual SLs do not have. Each nation sharing such a PCL has specific features, thus blurring the idea that a SL has no specific region of its own and it is the same throughout the whole language territory. The geographical dimension of national varieties of pluricentric languages makes speakers of dominant varieties (DV) to confuse NVs with regional varieties and ascribe to them the non-dominant status of a "dialect" or even a vernacular.

In this book, SL is considered a social variety, but one that has a special function, as outlined by Trudgill (1999/2011). It serves as a means of supraregional communication by having a written form and a high level of prestige, which is attributed to this variety by laws, regulations and the general school system. This clearly distinguishes it from the "other" dialects, which are - according to a saying that is usually attributed to Max Weinreich - "a language without an army and a navy". However, it is important to keep in mind that there is a multitude of other (non-codified) linguistic standards in a given language community that serve specific functions and are just as important for the social life of the community as the codified norm. The idea that there can be only one linguistic standard is in my view outdated, as it ignores the many other functions languages and varieties have. It is a standpoint that is primarily motivated by the wish to maintain the unity of nations and to protect the

privileges of an educated elite. Other standards are stigmatised or suppressed. In NDVs this process often leads to confusion about the role the NV plays for nation and personal identity. This can only be resolved if the elites clearly declare their linguistic allegiance with their own nation and a comprehensive documentation and codification across the whole spectrum of varieties in a given nation takes place.

5.3. The delimitation of standard from non-standard – The educated speaker and the normative circle

In virtually all PCLs, the standard language is based on the language usage of "*educated speakers*". This concept has as a prerequisite that this usage is very *closely linked to written language* and that spoken language is considered to be just a *derivative of written language*. The idea behind this concept is that SL is a "*neutral*" language that can be used *in all communicative situations* – particularly for scientific prose (Ammon, 1995). SL of this kind is reduced to formal registers, highly idealised, assuming a high degree of homogeneity and based on the cultural concepts prevailing in the upper middle class. Fundamental for this approach is also the idea that *there can be only one SL*.

An important consequence of this is the exclusion of language used in informal situations, in families and intimate relationships that have been standardised through daily language practice. Regardless of this, these forms are often labelled as "*colloquial*", "*informal*", "*coarse*" etc. I would like to call this approach "*norm-centred*". Its most salient attribute is a narrow and reduced view on language reality and a method of codification which leads to the *normative circle* – standard language is what looks/sounds like standard language. The linguistic (morpho-grammatical) *form* of written language alone determines whether a particular linguistic element it is included or excluded in SL – regardless of its frequency or function in a given language community/NV. If NDVs strictly adhere to this type of codification - particularly during the earlier stages of linguistic decolonisation and follow an integrative concept of codification and do not overcome these stages, the effect will be a strong split between the official/formal SL and the informal/every-day language usage leading to diglossic situations. Another likely effect is limited access to written language and formal education by those who do not have formal SL as their daily norm of conversation.

The alternative to this concept would be a *communication-centred approach* which abandons the idea that there can only be one linguistic standard and in-

stead assumes that there are several standards which are based on central communicative functions. To follow this approach would mean (a) advancing the nativisation of the NDV and (b) incorporating frequently used lexical items into formal language, even if this enlarges the phonological and graphematic inventory of the NV, bringing SL closer to the average spoken language in a particular NDV. However, the shared SL would maintained and expanded with native elements rather than stigmatizing such elements. An alternative way could be (c) the creation of a new written language of its own and the use of the new SL parallel to the traditional common core SL (bi-lingually), especially in primary school education and primary alphabetisation.

5.4. An extreme example of a norm-centred definition of the term "standard language"

An extreme example of a norm-centered definition of standard language is the scheme of German varieties below (table 2) proposed by Löffler (2005).

| Level 1: Standardsprache (Standard language) (6 terms) | Level 2: Standard Varietäten (Standard varieties) –Substandard (8 terms) |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <i>Hochdeutsch</i> (High German) | <i>Nationale Varietäten</i> (national varieties) |
| <i>Geschriebene Sprache</i> (Written language) | <i>Mediensprache</i> (Language used in media) |
| <i>Einheitssprache</i> (Unitarian language) | <i>Funktionalstile</i> (Functional styles) |
| <i>Gemeinsprache</i> (General language) | <i>Soziolekte</i> (sociolects) |
| <i>Nationalsprache</i> National language | <i>Geschlechterlekte</i> (Genderlects) |
| <i>Literatursprache</i> (literary language) | <i>Alterspezifische Lekte</i> (Language of age groups) |
| | <i>Sondersprachen</i> (Specific languages) |
| Level 3: Nicht-Standard Varietäten I (Non-Standard language I) (4 terms) | Level 4: Nicht-Standard Varietäten II (Non-Standard language II) (3 terms) |
| <i>Umgangssprachen</i> (Colloquial languages) | <i>Regionaldialekte</i> (regional dialects) |
| <i>Standardnahe Umgangssprachen</i> (Colloquial languages close to standard language) | <i>Dialektnahe Sondersprachen</i> (Specific languages close to dialect) |
| <i>Regionale Umgangssprachen</i> (Regional colloquial languages) | <i>Local dialects</i> |
| <i>Dialektnahe Umgangssprachen</i> (colloquial languages close to dialect) | |

Table (2): Löffler (2005) - Presumed varieties of German

It is creating a “standard language” that is purified from everything, solely focussed on formal language and set apart from general usage and everyday language. This scheme is quoted here in full as it is also a striking illustration of widespread views of standard language as advocated by the DVs in

pluricentric languages.¹⁴ It might be an extremely detailed example but one that exists in one or other way in other PCLs as well. The list shows the following:

1. The variety called "standard language" is equated with 6 other terms: *High German* (an old fashioned elitist term that presents the standard language as particularly elaborate), *Written language*, *Unitarian language* (that unites all German speaking areas), *General language* (in opposition to national/regional/specific languages), *National language* (representing the whole German nation, which means that there is no other nation than the German one, ignoring Austria, Switzerland, Belgium etc.), and *Literary language* (the language of Fine Literature).
2. "Standard language" is the "*only good and united language*"¹⁵. There is a pan-German concept underlying this definition by Löffler that implicitly ignores the existence of other nations sharing the same language. It goes along with the idea of *one language - one nation* and the "*Dogma of the only good and uniform German*"¹⁶, according to which good German can be equated with written German. Many other PCLs support these assumptions too.
3. The "Standard language" is put on a level above the NVs (that are on level II – and considered to be "substandard"). It is assumed to be without variation – a kind of "pure language" (core variety?).
4. National varieties are depicted as "sub-standard" and on the same level like sociolects, genderlects, functional styles etc. which clearly downgrades them to the periphery of the linguistic norm.
5. Another striking element of the scheme is the fact that there are four main levels of variation that contain 21 terms for varieties of German. Among them are terms like "*Umgangssprachen*" (colloquial languages), "*standardnahe Umgangssprachen*" (colloquial languages close to standard language), "*regionale Umgangssprachen*" (regional colloquial languages) and "*dialektnahe Umgangssprachen*" (colloquial languages close to dialect) etc. They are proposing linguistic concepts that are not discrete and impossible to differentiate. Their sole function seems to be to retain a very formal type of "standard" that is set apart from living language.
6. Conclusion: A "standard language" defined in the way proposed by Löffler (2005) becomes a kind of "Holy Grail". It is a language that seems detached from the reality of language. It primarily serves the demands of the dominant variety as the NDVs are set into second place and are not included.

5.5. Corpus strategies and codification strategies for the codification of NDVs towards linguistic independence or interdependence

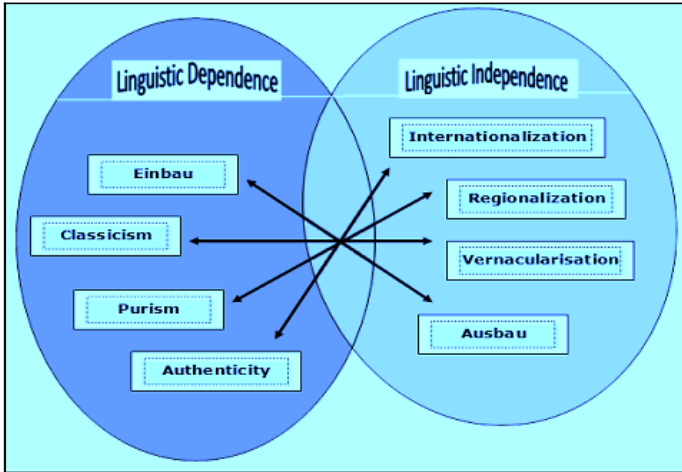


Figure (1): Corpus-planning strategies outlined in Fishman (2000); rearranged by R. Muhr

Fishman (2000/2006) proposed a number of corpus-planning strategies (Fig. 1) that he derived from observing the development of different languages and varieties. The corpus planning strategies can also be used as a framework for the codification of NDVs. The strategies either lead to *linguistic independence* or to *dependence* on their structural sister or mother languages / varieties.¹⁷ These strategies have been rearranged by the author of this chapter according to the specific situation for the standardisation of NDVs.

The strongest strategies that either lead towards *linguistic independence* are *vernacularisation* and *ausbau*, whereas *classicism*, *purism*, *authenticity* and *einbau* maintain dependence on the DV. The strategies of *vernacularisation*, *regionalisation*, *ausbau*, and *internationalisation* lead to the incorporation of variants from the spoken language, from local varieties and from other languages, making the NDV more diverse. In particular, the formally uncoded spoken varieties are an important source for "*building away*" (Fishman, 2006) a NDV from its linguistic relatives, since they provide many native elements, particularly if there is a koiné variety that serves as a common reference point for communication and identity. They lead to nativisation either by integrating local expressions into the formal standard or expressions from other languages that are used at the same time. Both measures would "*favour the most widespread pat-*

tern of vernacular use, whatever its provenance" and "simply sample usages and opinions and closely follow the majority when making a recommendation or stating a preference in any particular instance."¹⁸

A successful example for this process was the development of *Afrikaans*, which developed out of a vernacular and became an independent language (Roberge, 2003). The New Englishes are examples of *ausbau* by integrating elements from surrounding languages (Schneider, 2003). Another example is the standardization of Luxembourgish – the national language of Luxembourg – which developed out of a German dialect (*Moselfränkisch / Moselle Franconian*) into an autonomous language. In the same line is the differentiation of Hindi / Urdu, Indonesian / Malay, Flemish / Dutch, Macedonian / Bulgarian, Moldavian / Romanian etc. Croatian is an example where *classicism* and *regionalization* as strategy was used to become distinct from Serbian (Fishman, 2006).

Classicism and *einbau* are usually strategies that lead into the opposite direction and mean using genetic and historical elements to extend the language along the traditional structural paths and to draw two languages / varieties closer together, "so that they may become more similar to each other and, perhaps, ultimately, fuse into one" (Fishman, 2006).

Examples for *einbau* are the efforts to unite *Nynorsk* and *Bokmål* to *Samnorsk* in Norway, the Romanian attempts to reduce the native features of Moldavian etc. There is strong reliance on earlier stages of the language and reluctance to implement language reforms such as changing the spelling. *Classicisation* keeps a language / variety within its traditional structures. Typically, purism and the urge for authenticity accompany classification and incorporation in traditional ways.

The tendency of NDVs towards *regionalization* and sometimes *internationalisation* are viewed with suspicion by the DVs.¹⁹ *Regionalization* in NDVs means that local expressions are preferred to those that have been established the course of the standardisation of the common standard language. This process is often decried as *provincialisation*, since local expressions are considered to be dialectal and therefore devalued.²⁰ There are similar statements of leading American scholars in the early history of American English:

British and Americans must together force their language into general use, in spite of all the obstacles that may be thrown in their way. (John Adams, 1780)

Any deviations on our part from the best London usage will be liable to be considered as provincialism. (Washington Irving, 1851)

5.6. Labelling lexical items – different approaches in different PCLs

Carefully designed dictionaries usually provide additional information about the usage of the lexical items. This is necessary as there are also expressions that are specific for certain domains or have additional meanings or connotations. So called “*neutral*” expressions (e.g. standard) are usually left unmarked, while labelled lexical items are *restricted in usage*.

A look into different dictionaries of national varieties and publications on that matter shows (irrespective whether they are full or partial dictionaries) that the labelling of lexical entries (a) differs massively, (b) only a handful of labels are used by most dictionaries and (c) the labels are also used in the way as shown on the scheme of Löffler (2005).

Some of the dictionaries use a large number of restrictive labels that postulate many different varieties within a language while others only use very few:

| Categories | Oxford Dictionary of Canadian English | Cambridge Dict. of AM English | Macquarie Dict. (Australia) |
|------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------|
| <i>Geogr. international:</i> | Canada, N.America (US+Cdn), Brit., US, Austr., NZ, S.Africa) | British, Canadian, regional (US) | Brit., US, India, NZ |
| <i>Geogr. regional:</i> | Regions within Cdn.: BC, E Ont, Man etc. | Regional | regions within AUS |
| <i>Norm levels:</i> | formal, informal, slang, coarse slang, dialect | formal, slightly formal, informal, not standard, slang, rude slang, taboo slang | colloquial, non-standard |
| <i>Style:</i> | literary, poetic, jocular, derogatory, offensive, disputed | approving, disapproving, figurative, humorous, literary | archaic, derogatory |
| <i>Time:</i> | archaic, dated, historical | dated, old use, | none |
| <i>Domain:</i> | | law, medical, specialised, trademark | agric., hist. etc. |
| <i>Groups:</i> | None | male, female, children's word | none |
| Categories | Österreichisches Wörterbuch (AT) | Variantenwörterbuch (Dict. of variants) | Finland Swedish Dictionary |
| <i>Geogr. international:</i> | Germany, Switzerland, South Tyrol | AT, DE, CH, BELG, LIE, SOUTH TYROL | Swedish, Finish |
| <i>Geogr. regional:</i> | regional, Eastern / Western Austrian, administrated Lands | | none |
| <i>Norm levels:</i> | umgangssprachlich (colloquial), mundar- | Grenzfall des Standards (borderline case) | regional, talspråkligt (colloquial), vardagligt |

| | | | |
|------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| | tlich (dialect/regional) | of standard), informal, formal, umgangssprachlich (colloquial), mundartnah (close to dialect) | (casual) |
| <i>Style:</i> | academic, derogatory, euphemistic, derb (coarse), gehoben (elevated), ironisch (ironic), salopp (slangly), scherzhaft (humorous) | derogatory, dated, disputed, historical, literary, poetic, jocular, offensive, proprietary | akademic, casual, vulgärt (vulgar) |
| <i>Time:</i> | None | veraltend (becoming obsolete), dated | ålderdomligt (archaic), historical, |
| <i>Domain:</i> | admin., gastronomy, law, medical etc. | law, med., math, naut. | Politics, law, medical, military |
| <i>Groups:</i> | None | none | child language |
| Categories | Dict. of Hiberno English (Irish E) | Petit Dictionnaire Suisse romand (CH) | Dict. des expressions québécoises (Quebec) |
| <i>Geogr. international:</i> | Ireland | Belgium, France | France |
| <i>Geogr. regional:</i> | None | Canton de Berne, Fribourg, Geneve, Vaud, Valais, Swiss German | |
| <i>Norm levels:</i> | English dialect, Hiberno English, Standard English | familier, (informal) français classique (classical French), français populaire (popular French), regional, populaire (colloquial) | familier (informal), argot scolaire (school slang), argot français (French slang), populaire (colloquial), regional, |
| <i>Style:</i> | dialect, colloquial, pejorative | modern, plaisant (pleasant), poétique (poetic), vulgaire (vulgar) | literary |
| <i>Time:</i> | none | None | modern |
| <i>Subject:</i> | none | private law, military | private law |

Table (4): Restrictive labels in 9 dictionaries of NDVs of different PLCLs

Summary:

1. The data in table (4) show that the labels used for the description of NVs strongly differ in number and content. It seems impossible to equate these labels in content, as there are not only different designations, it is also difficult to decipher their content and to compare them. Their exact meaning is largely unclear, due to a lack of discreteness and exact definition.
2. Most differences can be observed in the categories “norm levels” and

“style/register”. The labels “*formal*”, “*informal*”, “*familiar*”, “*colloquial*”, (“*umgangssprachlich*”) can be found in most dictionaries. Some of them (AG-Dict.) only use “*colloquial*” and “*mundartlich*” (vernacular) presuming that all unmarked entries are “*formal*”.

3. It can be observed that partial dictionaries of smaller NDVs (Dict. of Quebecois, Dict. of Hiberno English) use very few labels or almost none. This reduces their usability and validity.
4. Some dictionaries of national varieties only use very few labels like “*colloquial*” and “*non-standard*” (Macquarie Dict. AUS) while others (e.g. Cambridge Dict.) use a large number of labels like “*slightly formal*”, “*informal*”, “*informal*”, “*not standard*”, “*slang*”, “*rude slang*”, “*taboo slang*” etc. It seems unlikely that these gradations can be clearly distinguished.
5. A similar case is the distinction between labels like “*borderline case of standard*” (Grenzfall des Standards), “*informal*”, “*formal*”, “*colloquial*” (umgangssprachlich) and “*close to dialect*” (mundartnah) which are all used in the “Dictionary of Variants” (Variantenwörterbuch) for German that purports to document the national variants of the lexicon of German. Here again it seems impossible to distinguish these gradations reliably, especially as the label “*borderline case of standard*” is a contradiction in terms: The items labelled as such are neither “*standard*” nor “*non-standard*” and the information confuses the dictionary user. As already mentioned before, the same problem exists for the term “*umgangssprachlich*” (~ colloquial) in German which is not discrete and mainly used to label all items that formally differ from the written language or have some additional (emotional, situational etc.) attributes. (See the next section for more information.)
6. The use of very few restrictive labels with a discrete meaning is beneficial both for the scientific quality of codification and the NDV, as more native expressions are unmarked and can be used in formal contexts. This is a measure that supports the linguistic self-determination of the NDV and the development of a norm that is native to the NDV. This strongly supports the nativisation process and the endonormative stabilisation as set out in Schneider’s (2007) model.

5.7. The negative effects of exonormative codification: Stigmatising native NDV lexis with a different phonology, morphology and additional meanings

As shown in the previous section, most of the terms used for labelling the restrictive usage of lexical entries are just metaphorical in content and hardly meet the necessary requirements of minimal scientific precision. However, they serve (at least in German lexicography) the function of preventing the formal (written) standard from being “diluted” by developments in spoken language and by that process becoming nativised and specific in each nation. This kind of labelling indirectly enforces the supremacy of the dominant variety as native developments of the NDVs are rejected and marked as restricted in usage.²¹

The effect of the usage of semantically fuzzy labels to sort NDV-lexis (in this case Austrian lexis) is shown in the following examples that are taken from the last (42nd) edition of the “Österreichisches Wörterbuch” and the “Variantenwörterbuch” (2004). Both practise exonormative models of codification. The examples that illustrate this fall into three categories:

1. Lexicalised diminutives (ending with –l or –erl) which in many cases cannot be replaced by other expressions and are a salient feature for AG; they are nevertheless marked as “ugs.” (colloquial)

- *Hackl*, das (ugs.): EN: small axe: *kleine Hacke*; Comment [COMM]: lexicalised item that cannot be replaced by other expressions;
- *Scherzl*, das (ugs.): EN: cutting / the first slice of a loaf of bread; GE-formal: [*Brot-*]anschnitt, [*Brot-*]rest; COMM: lexicalised; usual expression in daily conversation and in many written texts;
- *Gurkerl*, das [Gherkin]: *Essiggurkerl* (ugs.); EN: gherkin; COMM: lexicalised; not replacable by another expression; technical term of food industry;
- *Gurkerl*, das (ugs.): EN: in soccer: Shot kicking the ball through the opponent's legs; GE: Schuss durch die Beine des Gegners; COMM: technical term of soccer in Austrian; not replacable;
- *Stückerl*, das (ugs.): EN: little piece of stg., GE: Stückchen; COMM: „Stückchen“ is never used in AG but suggested by the dictionary makers;
- *Schnackerl* AT (Grenzfall des Standards) EN: hiccup: GE: formal: „*Schluckauf*“; COMM: widely used in everyday communication in Eastern parts of Austria;
- *Schnackerl* AT (Grenzfall des Standards): in composite word like: *Schnackerlbetrieb*/tiny firm, *Schnackerlzug*/slow train; COMM: Pejorative, describes something as very small and insignificant (eg. engl. tiny weeny)
- *Schnaufnerl* AT (jocular, Grenzfall des Standards): EN: veteran type of old, very weak car, derived form „*schnaufen*“ - to gasp

2. Entries with a (slight) derogatory or jocular meaning that are normal in everyday conversation but marked as restricted in usage: They are marked as “borderline cases of standard”

- *Schmierpapier* (Grenzfall des Standards); EN: scrap paper/rough paper; COMM: There is no other expression for that object. It is unmarked in German German dictionaries!
- *schmuddelig* (pejorativ, Grenzfall des Standards): GE: schmutzig; unsauber, unordentlich; EN: dirty, disorderly unclean; COMM: The expression can only be replaced by „*schmierig*“ (greasy, which does not cover its meaning). It is marked just for its pejorative meaning!
- *Schnösel* (pejor., Grenzfall des Standards): EN: prig/git; arrogant young man; COMM: There is a slight pejorative connotation which seems to be the reason that this word has been marked as non-standard. However, to be pejorative does not mean that it is not “standard”.
- *hapern* (ugs.): EN: there is a lack of sth.; there is a lack of money; GE: mangeln; es hapert am/beim Geld (es ist wenig Geld vorhanden); COMM: There is no other (but a very formal) expression for it. Unmarked in German German dictionaries.
- *hantig* (ugs.) (abw.): EN; bitter, quarrelsome, unfriendly; GE: zänkisch, unfreundlich COMM: Unmarked in German German dictionaries.

3. Entries with a (slight) derogatory or jocular meaning that are normal in everyday conversation and are a salient feature for AG. The spelling is distorted to conform to the norms of German German.

The following items are all marked as “ugs. (= colloquial) or “sal.” (something like “sloppy”) even though they can be found regularly in newspapers and in everyday spoken language.

- ▶ *gschamig*, (ugs.): auch: *geschamig schamhaft, verschämt*, EN: shy, bashful; COM: The alternative expression “*geschamig*” that is offered by the dictionary makers can be only used in irony or in revue shows as it sounds ridiculous. It is never used in any text either spoken or written;
- ▶ *gschert*, (ugs., abw.): EN: dumb, uneducated, oafish; also: *geschert; geschoren; bäurisch, tölpelhaft* etc.; COMM: The alternative expression “*geschert*” is completely unusual and can only be used in sarcasm.
- ▶ *gschmackig*, (ugs.) EN: tasty, tasteful; also: *geschmackig; geschmackvoll, schmackhaft*; COM: No one, to my knowledge, uses in Austria “*geschmackig*”, except in hyper-correct speech or sarcasm;

- ▶ *schiech/schiach*: (ugs.): usual pronunciation: [ʃiæx]; EN: ugly, mean, furious, angry etc.; GE: hässlich, gemein, wütend, zornig; COMM: This is an emotional key word of Austrian German, it has many different meanings that cannot be replaced by other expressions. The spelling of the entry as “*schiech*” does not conform to the pronunciation and is therefore misleading. It is a classical example of exonormative codification.
- ▶ *Schiechpercht*, also: *Schiachpercht* (Anthropology.); EN: not translatable as it is a mythical figure of an Alpine custom that is performed at the beginning of January to chase the evil ghosts of the winter away. For that reason they have very ugly faces (masks). Here again the spelling is misleading and distorted in order to conform to the spelling and phonology of German German.

Summary:

The examples illustrate that exonormative codification practices have a number of negative effects on the norm of NDVs, namely:

- Minimisation of the effects of codification by accepting only those features of the NDVs that are compliant to the existing norms of formal written language;
- Distortion of native NDV expressions by adapting them to the phonological and morphological norms of the written language and by that blur its intelligibility and its origin (AG *schiach* → *schiech*);
- Supporting the tendency to ignore linguistic innovations in the NDV as they might lead to language separation (and often are downgraded as „*dialect*“);
- Fuelling anxiety of a split into new languages which would sever the link to the DV and by that reduce its linguistic market value.

The extent of these effects is proportional to the lack of national self awareness and will to linguistic self-determination in the respective NDV. There are also considerable social costs that are also linked to exonormative codification:

- Restricted access to education and training for all those whose native language is not close to the standard variety and/or a migrant language;
- Social inheritance of education, class, status and income;²²
- A sharp demarcation in NDVs between members of the conservative cultural elite and “others” who neither master the correct linguistic norms nor the right “habitus”;
- Linguistic and cultural minority complexes of speakers of NDVs.

5.8. Criteria for the selection of linguistic items of NDVs (in a self-defining codifying concept) – The symbolic power of features of NVs

The following list of criteria for the selection of linguistic items is intended to provide a basis for codification in general and for the codification of NDVs in particular. Their arrangement is hierarchical and based on the communicative relevance of the item and not primarily on morpho-grammatical and phonological conformity with established norms.

The selection of linguistic items in a self-defining codifying concept can be determined by three basic criteria. These criteria are (1) *occurrence and frequency within the territory of the variety*, (2) *status and usage/usability*, (3) *role for identity*. Ten specific categories can be derived from these three fundamental criteria. They determine the symbolic power of a linguistic item for the NV and thus its status.

1. *Internal occurrence*: The linguistic item / feature (a) occurs in all regions of a national variety versus (b) it only occurs in few regions or just one.
2. *External occurrence (exclusivity)*: The linguistic item / feature (a) occurs exclusively in the territory of a national variety and it is the only expression versus (b) it also occurs in areas beyond the national borders and there are also alternative forms to express the content;
3. *Denotative Power*: The linguistic item / feature (a) has a different or even an opposite meaning (false friend) or is an expression for an object/institution (name) specific to the country compared to (b) is a parallel form, a secondary form or a form that only differs in usage;
4. *Frequency of use*: The linguistic item / feature (a) is known in all regions and / or used with high frequency in contrast to (b) is known only in certain regions and / or used with low frequency;
5. *Language awareness/acceptance*: The linguistic item / feature (a) is well known to the language community for its identifying and/or differentiating function and is accepted by all/many social groups especially those with high social power and prestige in contrast to (b), which is little known and little accepted or only accepted by social groups with little social power.
6. *Communicative Relevance*: The linguistic element / feature (a) belongs to the most frequent forms of the language system, is of central importance for communication, as it belongs to basic/everyday vocabulary and is possibly central for certain thematic fields; in contrast to (b), it belongs to the peripheral parts of the language system, is not central to communication as it

belongs to the vocabulary for specific purposes or can be exchanged for alternative expressions.

7. *Usability*: The usability of the linguistic item / feature (a) is unrestricted: It can be used (and is used) both in written and spoken language, and in language situations which are marked by social distance or social proximity versus (b) its usability is restricted: it can be used only either in spoken or in written language, and only in language situations marked by social distance or social proximity;
8. *Language spread and teaching*: The linguistic item / feature (a) is spread and taught by the school and made aware to the learner, in contrast to (b), where there is no teaching and awareness brought by education;
9. *Codification*: The linguistic item / feature (a) is already codified and registered in reference books versus (b) where it is not codified.
10. *Conformity with the given morpho-grammatical system of written language*: The linguistic item / feature (a) conforms to the codified forms or can easily be adapted to them, versus (b) does not conform to the codified form or cannot be adapted to them without loss.

It should be noted that most codifiers of the NDV only use criteria 1-3 and 10. The latter plays a predominant role in an *integrative codification approach*. The list shows that there are numerous other criteria that need to be taken into account. This will only be the case if the formal framework of a pluricentric SL is extended and a self-defining approach is chosen.

6. Different approaches to the codification of PCLs and NDVs in different PCLs – An overview

6.1. The codification of English

English is the most wide-spread PLC in the world, spoken in 72 countries (Crystal, 2003). In the English-speaking world much has been written about "post-colonial English", "post-imperial English"²³, "core-varieties", "outer-circle-varieties" etc. The concept of "dominance" did not play any role in these works, except only marginally and indirectly through the terms "inner" and "outer" circle (Kachru, 1985) which are however not quite equivalent to the concept of "non-dominance".²⁴ While the term "non-dominance" is not used, it must be assumed that both the "smaller" varieties of the "inner circle" and the varieties of the "outer circles" are to be considered as NDVs. According to the terminology of *The Electronic World Atlas of Varieties of English* (Kortmann / Lunkenheimer, 2011), this would primarily include the "High-contact L1 varieties"²⁵ and some of

the "indigenized varieties"²⁶.

Although American English (AME) is now a dominant variety (DV) it has gone through all the stages of standardization like any of the other new varieties. The codifying efforts of AME started soon after the independence of the United States in 1776 and reached an initial peak at around 1850 (Simpson, 1986)²⁷. In less powerful (non-dominant) varieties like *Australian English* (AUE), *Canadian English* (CNE), *South African English* (SAE) and *New Zealand English* (NZE), which all belong to the so called "inner circle" of New Englishes, codification and thus standardisation began in the 1950s and in earnest only in the 1980s after computerisation took hold. They all have dictionaries of their NAVs and are also well documented in respect to their specific features in pronunciation, morphology and grammar. The codification of these varieties is primarily in the hands of large publishing houses like Oxford University Press, Merriam-Webster, Macquarie Dictionary and others. Although there is a considerable amount of description about the New Englishes in Asia, Africa and elsewhere, there are only few dictionaries of varieties of the outer circle. Examples are the *Dictionary of Sri Lankan English* (Meyle, 2007) and the *Dictionary of Nigerian English* (Igboanus, 2010).

6.2. The codification of Spanish

In the Spanish-speaking world on the other hand, the codifying of its varieties is in the hands of no less than 23 language academies which are united in the Asociación de Academias de la Lengua Española (Association of the Academies of the Spanish Language). The codification of the American varieties of Spanish started in the second half of the 19th century with the foundation of the Academia Colombiana de la Lengua in 1871. Within the following 16 years another seven other South-American language academies were founded, followed by many more in the first half of the 20th century. The pluricentric character of Spanish is now fully recognised by the Real Academia Española – the mother of all Spanish language academies, founded in 1713. The work of these academies is guided by the principle "*Unidad en la diversidad*" (unity in diversity) and its general policy is clearly stated at the web pages of Real Academia Española²⁸:

Se consideran, pues, plenamente legítimos los diferentes usos de las regiones lingüísticas, con la única condición de que estén generalizados entre los hablantes cultos de su área y no supongan una ruptura del sistema en su conjunto, esto es, que ponga en peligro su unidad.

[We take into account fully legitimate uses of the different linguistic regions, with the only condition that they are widespread among educated speakers in their area and do not involve a breach of the whole system and threaten its unity.]

The Spanish academies therefore regulate the spelling, the dictionaries (lexis) and the grammars. It is difficult to image how the usage in 23 countries can be bound together without moving away from the language use of the majority of the population of these countries.

6.3. The codification of Portuguese

The Portuguese-speaking world is considerably less organized than the Spanish-speaking one. There is also a language academy for (European) Portuguese (EP) (Academia das Ciências) situated in Lisbon and the Academia Brasileira de Letras (founded in 1896/97), but none in the other Portuguese-speaking countries in Africa and Asia. Both academies had a rather limited role in codification and were primarily regulating the spelling and edited dictionaries. Both the Brazilian Academy and the Lisbon Academy published a full dictionary. The *Dicionário da Língua Portuguesa Contemporânea* (2006) of the Academia das Ciências includes lexis from Brazilian, African and Asian varieties of Portuguese. However, there are an increasing number of projects, particularly in Brazil, such as the *Historical Dictionary of Brazilian Portuguese* project (HDBP) - an earlier work is Schneider's (1991) dictionary of *African borrowings in BP*. While it appears that BP is gradually beginning to emerge as a language of its own right, there is only restricted codification of the other national varieties of Portuguese at the moment. The exception is Mozambique Portuguese where codification work quite recently begun.

6.4. The codification of Dutch

A still more diverse and almost dramatic history of standardisation and codifying took place in the Dutch NVs, which are the result of the split of the Low Countries in 1585 into a Catholic (Belgium) and a Protestant (Netherland) part. However, in Flanders, French became more and more dominant (particularly after 1795) resulting in the total loss of official status of Dutch in Belgium between 1830-1930 (Willemys, 2013). There were long periods of language struggles that led to the "*Dutchification*" of Flanders through two constitutional laws in 1963 and 1973. Belgian Dutch (BD) therefore has a history of more than 200 years of corpus planning (De Groof, 2002). A massive and quite successful campaign in the 1950s and up to the 1970s promoted the adoption of standard

norms of Dutch Dutch (DD) to improve the status of BD (De Caluwe, 2005). This seems to have been overcome by the development of a new intermediate norm (tussentaal) (De Caluwe, 2012) and a strong awareness for the BD norm (Depez, 1997: 297). Recent developments include the joint codification of BD and DD lexis in the Van Dale dictionary (De Caluwe, 2012) and the editing of a general grammar (*Algemene Nederlandse Spraakkunst*). The codifying activities are undertaken by the *Nederlandse Taalunie* (Netherlands Language Union) where Belgium, The Netherlands and Suriname work together. The *Instituut voor de Nederlandse Lexicologie* (Institute for Dutch Lexicology) in Leiden is the central institution which makes Dutch a bi-centric language providing BD with an equal status and Suriname Dutch with full recognition. This symmetrical situation is unique among pluricentric languages.

6.5. The codification of Swedish

A rather similar case is the standardisation of Swedish in Sweden and Finland, where there is also a high amount of symmetry in the relation of the two NVs. Swedish has been the second official language in Finland since 1922 and enjoys a high status as the second national language of Finland. The codification of Swedish Swedish (SwS) is achieved by the Swedish Academy (*Svenska Akademien*) and the Swedish language council (*Språkrådet*). It edited a dictionary, a Swedish Wordlist (125.000 entries) and an authoritative grammar which are also a reference point for *Finland Swedish* (FS). The FS codifying institution is the "*Institutet för de inhemska språken*" (Institute for the languages of Finland) which has a Swedish division (*Svenska språkbyrån i Finland*). It issued a *Finlandsvensk ordbok* (Finland Swedish dictionary) with 2.550 entries.²⁹ The dictionary has now moved to the internet as "*Stora finsk-svenska ordboken*" (Large Finnish-Swedish dictionary)³⁰. It comprises 110.000 entries.

The language planning activities for Finland Swedish are organised by *The Swedish Language Council in Finland*. Its work aims to prevent the two varieties from becoming too different so that the status of FS will not be endangered, which is similar to aims on national language planning in the Spanish-speaking world:

Ett viktigt mål för den finlandssvenska språkvården är att hindra finlandssvenskan från att fjärma sig från rikssvenskan.³¹

[One of the key aims of our Swedish language planning team is to prevent Finland Swedish from growing too distant from the standard variant spoken in Sweden.]

6.6. The codification of French

French is in many respects a different case. It only reluctantly acknowledged its status as a PCL but seems to have come to terms with it via the "Organisation internationale de la francophonie", which was founded in 1970 and has 93 member countries that cooperate at the level of governments. French has a long history of standardisation which started in 1530 when it was declared the sole language of the law courts. Ever since 1635, corpus planning has been in the hands of the Académie Française, established in that year by Cardinal Richelieu. This led to in a considerable amount of standardisation and centralization of French already before the French revolution and created a strong link between language and nation that lead to the concept of "bon usage" – which was declared as the solely acceptable norm for all citizens. Some of the NDVs of the inner circle (Lüdi, 1992) – *Belgian French* (BF), *Swiss French* (SF), *Quebec French* (QF) – have developed codifications of their own norms. QF is the most developed of all. Ever since Canada became bilingual in 1867, QF has more and more developed into a emerging variety with many specific lexical and grammatical characteristics codified among others in the *Dictionnaire du français québécois*. This language policy is strongly supported by government agencies. Due to its proximity to France, Belgium French is in a much weaker position and has a rather low amount of endonormative awareness³², although there is also a dictionary of specific Belgicisms (Delcourt, 1998). Swiss French is in a similar situation but has a number of lexical characteristics, which are documented in the "*Petit dictionnaire Suisse romand*" (Thibault/Knecht, 2000).

The varieties of the second circle in West-Africa and Asia are also well documented through the work of the Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique at the University of Nice which issues the journal "Le Français en Afrique".³³ This journal contains descriptions of many varieties in Africa and shows a surprising acceptance of the varieties outside France. In 1998 a *Dictionnaire Universel Francophone* has been issued which is comparable to the *Dictionary of International English*. French is generally marked by strong purism which also holds true for the varieties of the inner circle.

6.7. The codification of German

The codification of the NDVs of German is yet another case and marked by the geographical vicinity of the German-speaking countries and the massive asymmetry between German German (GG) and the other varieties. Of the three major varieties only GG and Austrian German (AG) have full dictionaries, but

not Swiss German (SG). The early history of standardisation of German was marked by the conflict between the Catholic south and the Protestant north. The codification of GG gained momentum in the late 18th century with the dictionary of Adelung. The influential Duden dictionary which first was a spelling dictionary for schools, appeared in 1876, the Austrian equivalent, a dictionary for schools, in 1879 but there had been a large number of different spelling dictionaries in Germany and Austria before. In the first half of the 20th century the Duden dictionaries, although issued by a private publishing house, achieved the status of a national dictionary that autonomously set the norms of spelling, pronunciation and formal grammar, which were partly also used in Austria and Switzerland.

Austria had its own dictionaries until 1941. After the Second World-War, a national Austrian dictionary (*Österreichisches Wörterbuch*) was issued in 1951 on behalf of the government as an act of linguistic self-definition and eliminating unwanted Nazi jargon. The dictionary was heavily attacked by Pan-Germanic groups as an illegitimate attempt of linguistic separation. This allegation was also launched against the 35th edition of 1979 which tried to destigmatize native common colloquial Austrian words.³⁴ Due to the strong criticisms levelled against the dictionary by members of the cultural elite and some German linguists, this policy was completely reversed, keeping large parts of the actual language usage excluded from standard language or classifying them as "*colloquial*" and thus considered as "*non-standard*". Not only did this attempt of nativisation (Schneider, 2003) fail, the supporters of a more democratic codification of Austrian German were and are still accused of lowering the level of standard language by an infusion of dialect and colloquial words of the "lower class groups" and attempting a language split by using the term "*Österreichisch*" (Austrian) or "*Österreichisches Deutsch*" (Austrian German) instead of "*Deutsch in Österreich*" (German in Austria).³⁵ The struggle was also accompanied by a discussion whether AG is a dialect, a national variety of German or a language in its own right. It was only with Michael Clyne's (1984) ground-breaking work "*Language and society in the German-speaking countries*" where he showed that German is a pluricentric language, that AG started to be considered a national variety (NV) of German and not just a peripheral dialect. Fortunately enough, there are now tendencies in public opinion that show a growing self-awareness towards an acceptance of national norms. There is also an Austrian pronunciation dictionary (Muhr, 2007).

The codifying and standardisation of other pluricentric languages like Arab, Hindi/Urdu, Swahili, Guarani, Persian which would be worth to be discussed but cannot be dealt here for lack of space due to their complex language situation (e.g. Arab which has eleven language academies and diglossia)³⁶ or a lack of available data (Persian etc.)³⁷.

7. Conclusion

As shown in the previous sections, the codification of NDVs can be seen as a process of decolonisation from the core language and as a process of developing a distinct norm, which under certain (political) circumstances, can become a distinct language in the long term. The desire to abandon the path of integration and embark on a self-determined path is in all cases linked to a traumatic experience that has alienated nations sharing a pluricentric language from each other. Cultural and political elites also play an important role when it comes to pursuing an inclusive or self-defining strategy in codification.

However, there are a number of pluricentric languages such as Spanish, French and Swedish that have a deliberate policy of not allow NDVs to deviate too much. The codification of NDVs therefore oscillates between deliberate efforts to 'build away' the NV from other NVs and a deliberate effort to maintain a common written SL language that binds the NVs together. There do seem to be some common patterns, but most of them are to be found in the external history of the languages and in crucial historical events that have imprinted in the collective memory of a society and subsequently led to continued integration or separation.

Footnotes:

- ¹ This chapter is partly based on my publication of (2013).
- ² The most important publications are: Fishman et. al. (1968), (1983), Fishman 1993, 2006, Rubin et.al. (1977), Fodor/Hagège (1983), Fishman et.al (1997), Clyne (1997), Kaplan / Baldauf (1997), Ager (2001), Deumert/Vandenbusche (2003), Schneider (2007) etc.
- ³ See als Baldauf / Kaplan (1997: 29) who extended Haugen's model.
- ⁴ I prefer the term "self-determining" instead of "particularist", since the latter implies

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- sectarianism which I think is inappropriate.
- 5 This is the terminology of Willemyns (1993: 69) who found these two approaches in the first conference on Dutch standardization of Belgium Dutch in 1849.
- 6 See Muhr (1987) for AG and De Caluwe (2012) and Willemyns (1996) for Belgium Dutch.
- 7 It has to be pointed out that the notion of non-dominance has not played any role in the discussion of the New Englishes.
- 8 Schneider (2003: 248) referring to Milroy&Milroy (1985/1991).
- 9 Kretzenbacher (2012).
- 10 Christian Delcourt (Univ. Liege) (personal communication).
- 11 De Caluwe (2012).
- 12 See Fishman, Ferguson, Das Gupta (1968): Language problems of developing countries.
- 13 See Löffler (2005), Eichinger/Kallmeyer (2005), Trudgill (1984, 1999/2011), Hudson (2000), Hogg (2000) and many others.
- 14 This holds true even if the author is of Swiss origin. He is just stating wide spread opinions about the description of variation in German.
- 15 See Muhr (1995b: 96) where I coined this term: "*Dogma des "einzig guten und einheitlichen Deutsch"*".
- 16 Dollinger 2019c and 2021 called this phenomenon the "One Standard German Axiom".
- 17 Fishman changed some criteria in the 2006 publication "Do not leave your language alone!" I follow the 2000 publication which seems to be more comprehensive and better suited for the development of NDVs.
- 18 Fishman (2000: 47).
- 19 An example for this is the criticism of the Deutscher Sprachverein (a powerful pan-Germanic purist and right wing organisation) levelled against Austrians in the 1920s, accusing them of using too many loan words from surrounding languages and thus "spoiling" German (Muhr, 2000).
- 20 There are many postings of this kind in internet forums of the online editions of Austrian broadsheets such as "Der Standard" and "Die Presse".
- 21 It must be added that the labelling in NDV-dictionaries does not differ substantially from the one used in dictionaries of DVs. It is however important that the use of the same labels brings the codification in line with the norms of the DV.
- 22 See Bacher (2008) and the OECD report „Education at a glance 2014“.
- 23 Fishman et. al. (1997).
- 24 See Schneider (2013) who deals with non-dominance in English.
- 25 High-contact L1 varieties: Transplanted L1 Englishes or colonial (standard) varieties: new indigenized varieties of English with native speakers from early on that have been formed by settlers with diverse linguistic and/or dialectal backgrounds roughly within the last 400 years.
- 26 Language-shift Englishes: varieties that have replaced the erstwhile primary language in the community and that have adult and child L1 and L2 speakers forming one speech community.
- 27 For a detailed account of the stages of the development of AME see Schneider (2007:

251-307).

- 28 <http://www.rae.es/rae/Noticias.nsf/Portada4?ReadForm&menu=4> [acc. 15.03.2025].
- 29 Hallström-Reikonen/Reuter (2008): *Finlandsvensk Ordbok*. Helsingfors.
- 30 <https://kaino.kotus.fi/finsk-svensk/>
- 31 <http://www.kotus.fi/index.phtml?l=en&s=205> (accessed 15.01.2013)
- 32 Christian Delcourt (personal communication).
- 33 <http://www.unice.fr/ILF-CNRS/ofcaf/index.html> [accessed 15.01.2013]
- 34 See Clyne (1988): A tendenzwende in the codification of Austrian German?
- 35 Wiesinger (2006).
- 36 See Ibrahim/Karatsolis (2013).
- 37 See Miller et.al. (2013).