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## Normative dictionaries

This chapter reviews the recent history and the main features of Catalan normative lexicography, paying special attention to Pompeu Fabra's work and to the academic lexicographical contributions made by the Institut d'Estudis Catalans, with a specific mention to the dictionary of the Acadèmia Valenciana de la Llengua, which are broadly described and compared. Finally, the chapter ends with a consideration of the challenges that Catalan lexicography has yet to face.

**Catalan, vocabulary, lexicography, normative dictionaries, Pompeu Fabra, Institut d'Estudis Catalans, Acadèmia Valenciana de la Llengua, standardization**

### 1 Introduction: a language in a context of adversity

In the 19<sup>th</sup> century, languages like Italian, French or Spanish already had an old and consolidated tradition concerning grammar and linguistic codification, with institutions that promoted and controlled learned language, such as the Accademia della Crusca (created in 1583), the Académie française (created in 1635) or the Real Academia Española (the oldest one among the Royal Academies, created in 1713). The Catalan language, however, was marginalized during the 18<sup>th</sup> century when Spanish was introduced as the only official language and the universities of Barcelona, Lleida, Girona, Tortosa, Solsona and Vic were abolished in favor of the University of Cervera, which adopted Spanish as the working language. This was the result of the Nova Planta decrees promulgated by King Philip V (1716), which abolished the old constitutional organization of the countries that formed the Crown of Aragon (sometimes also referred to as *Catalan-Aragonese Confederation*)<sup>1</sup> and established a (more or less complete) political organization for Castile. Nevertheless, Catalan continued to be spoken and written, even though it lacked a linguistic reference model.

The situation started to change in 1833, when, as a result of the death of King Ferdinand VII and the victory of the liberals, Spain modernized and became a national state, in which the Spanish language was established as the standard

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<sup>1</sup> Although the English historiographical tradition uses the term *Crown of Aragon*, in Catalan context, historians use the expressions *Corona d'Aragó* 'Crown of Aragon' and *Corona catalanoaragonesa* 'Crown of Catalonia and Aragon' (never with an antagonistic purpose) indistinctly. The latter is an explicit reference to the initial dual nature of the confederation. See Institut d'Estudis Catalans (2018) for more details.

linguistic variety of reference and intercommunication, as well as the designated language used in formal contexts, therefore restricting the other languages to everyday and folk contexts and hindering their chance to develop a standard language model.<sup>2</sup> However, some sectors of Catalan society resisted being prevented from using the original language in literature, a resistance that was reinforced by the emergence of Romanticism in Europe. Among other features, this movement encouraged the appreciation of old literature and led to the conception of the original language as the real language, as the maximum expression of individual and collective origins, as an element linked to the idea of mother land.

In this context, in Catalonia the claim for Catalan to be used in literature took shape in the movement called *Renaixença* (lit. ‘Rebirth’), and the writers who comprised this movement discussed the linguistic code that had to be used in this new literature at length. Despite this discussion being limited specifically to the field of literature, it became, after all, the first debate about a formal language variety related to the notion of standard, and it was articulated around two opposite poles. On the one hand, there were those who defended an “academic” Catalan, be it from the old tradition—based on the language of medieval writers and represented by Marià Aguiló (1825–1897)—, or the modern tradition—which rejected archaisms and was oriented to the cultivated language from the 16<sup>th</sup> to the 18<sup>th</sup> centuries, represented by Antoni de Bofarull (1821–1892). On the other, there were those who defended the “*català que ara es parla*” (lit. ‘Catalan which is now spoken’), which set out to approximate the language of the street and had Frederic Soler (1839–1895), known by his pseudonym Serafí Pitarra, as one of its best representatives. The aspirations did not expand towards the attainment of a national language, on the same terms as other European languages and not subordinated to Spanish, until the decade of the 90s of the 19<sup>th</sup> century with the emergence of Modernism. This new aim required for Catalan to become a useful and valid language for all communicative situations, and, therefore, also required the creation of its own functional grammatical, orthographic and lexical system, a wish that would be accomplished thanks to the political support it received: in June of 1907, the Diputació Provincial de Barcelona created the Institut d’Estudis Catalans, whose main goals were to reestablish and to organize everything that concerned the Catalan culture. The Secció Filològica was founded four years later, in 1911, as an answer to the attention that the language required, and which involved providing patient, authorized and definitive work towards its fixation and codification.

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<sup>2</sup> We must take into account that from 1857 to the Second Spanish Republic the law that regulated public instruction, known as *Ley Moyano*, established the compulsory nature of primary education and fostered the study of all Neolatin languages and literatures (except for Catalan) in the “Institutos de Segunda Enseñanza” and the “Facultades de Filosofía y Letras”.

## 2 Pompeu Fabra and the *Diccionari general de la llengua catalana*

The standardization in Catalan is inescapably linked to a name, Pompeu Fabra (1868–1948), who has often been called the “seny ordenador de la llengua catalana” (lit. ‘the organizing sense of the Catalan language’). Fabra studied industrial engineering and became a Chemistry Chair at the school of engineers in Bilbao, where he lived between 1902 and 1912. In spite of his eminently scientific education, he always showed a great interest in language, and, although he was self-taught, the great value of his work, which derived from his delicate observations, his accuracy and his circumspection, was recognized and he was always considered a first-class linguistic authority.

The aim behind the creation of the Secció Filològica was to organize the efforts of all the Catalan-speaking areas and to create a language that was a cultural instrument, to encourage its use, to strengthen it and to expand it; in conclusion, therefore, to normalize its use. Fabra (who gave up his chair in Bilbao to join this important project), together with Antoni M. Alcover, Josep Carner and Àngel Guimerà, among other linguists and writers, was part of the Secció from the first moment, and took over the pressing task of polishing out the great influence of Spanish on the words’ spelling and formal variations, in order to preserve the essence of proper Catalan and achieve the ideal of a national language<sup>3</sup>, which was a matter that worried him particularly:

[...] hi ha una classe de castellanismes més difícils de descobrir i que són potser els més humiliants. Són els que consisteixen, no en el manlleu d’un mot foraster, sinó en el canvi de significació d’un mot català sota la influència d’un mot castellà. Al verb *lliurar*, per exemple, li havem donat la significació de *deslliurar*, que té el verb castellà *librar*; al verb *remetre*, la significació de *trametre*, que té el verb castellà *remitir*. (Fabra, *conversa* 1, November 18, 1919, “Per la puresa de la llengua. Els castellanismes”, according to Mir and Solà’s 2010 edition.)<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>3</sup> According to Fabra, both language and nation had to follow a process of reconstruction and modernization, a process in which they both played a crucial role for the other. See Ginebra and Solà (2007: chapter 4).

<sup>4</sup> It must be said that, although the current situation has improved, the kind of Spanish forms that Fabra wanted to eliminate a century ago are virtually the same that are still found today. Thus, Spanish influenced and still influences Catalan’s morphology and prosody, and this gives rise to phenomena such as changes in gender (*la costum* instead of *el costum* ‘habit, tradition’, *la senyal* instead of *el senyal* ‘sign gesture’), number (*la crisis* instead of *la crisi* ‘crisis’, *la tesis* instead of *la tesi* ‘dissertation’) or the verbal conjugation (*interrumpir* for *interrompre* ‘to interrupt’, *concebir* for *concebre* ‘to conceive’); shifts in the stress syllable (*mèdul·la* instead of *medul·la* ‘medulla’, *acné* instead of *acne* ‘acne’); analogical creations such as *desahuci* or *metre*, for *desnonament* ‘eviction’ and *metro*

The results of this task materialized in the *Normes ortogràfiques* of 1913 and later on in the *Diccionari ortogràfic* of 1917 (###11.1 *Orthography and Orthoepy*). Moreover, Fabra also explored the vocabulary in the grammars published in 1912 and 1956 (posthumous), and in the *Converses filològiques*, half of which are devoted to vocabulary and which appeared initially in *La Publicitat*, a newspaper published in Barcelona from 1922 and 1939 that became the main organ for intellectual Catalan nationalism.

In the lexicographical field, the Secció proposed a monumental and very ambitious project, the *Diccionari de la llengua literària* (hereafter, DLL), which was supposed to include not only those words that were considered admissible by modern standard Catalan, but also all the words that had existed in Catalan throughout its history, differentiating the ones that still prevailed from those that were obsolete. The data collection and the editing of the DLL started immediately (two installments could be printed—from *a* to *alabarda*— and two more stayed as proofs —from *alabarda* to *aquedar-se*), but Miguel Primo de Rivera’s dictatorship in Spain (1923–1930) hindered its progress; a few years later, the start of the Spanish civil war put an end to the project.

While the elaboration of the DLL advanced slowly, the need to fill in the void created by the absence of a reliable reference dictionary for new standard Catalan in the global context of language redress emerged. Antoni López Llausàs, editor and founder of *Catalònia* bookshop and publishing house (based in Barcelona), requested Fabra to create an abridged normative dictionary which would use the materials from a bigger dictionary, the *Diccionari general de la llengua catalana* (DGLC), published in 1932. This reduced dictionary, conceived as a scaffolding for the DLL according to Fabra’s own words, was not intended to contain all the words from the language and all its dialects, but it was designed as a selective inventory of the common language mainly based on the dialect of Barcelona, which included a specific amount of international technical terms and excluded old or archaic words in general as well as dialect forms with a restricted range (i.e., limited only to that specific language variety).

Moreover, in his task of establishing Catalan’s normative vocabulary, Fabra operated with precise and strict criteria, which are still taken into account today in the acceptance of new words: the need for an extensive knowledge of word formation in Romance languages and, particularly, in Catalan; a tendency to favor neoclassical forms or meanings if there was no cause to choose the most recent ones; a preference for current forms or meanings; a defense of the language’s

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‘subway’; learned words created by hypercorrection, such as *mitgeval* for *medieval* ‘medieval’ or *espaial* for *espacial* ‘spatial, space’; derivatives and compounds copied from Spanish, be it the base or the affix (*enfermetat* for *malaltia* ‘illness’, *fresó* for *maduixot* ‘strawberry’), as well as Spanish forms that have been fully adopted, both naturalized to the Catalan spelling (*xuleta* ‘cheat sheet’, *birria* ‘piece of junk’) or not (*bolso* for *bossa* ‘handbag’, *bronca* for *esbroncada* ‘scolding, quarrel’), etc.

authenticity when faced with the influence of Spanish, which led to the refusal of loan translations or loanwords that could be considered superfluous or that could be prevented by using the language's own resources; the appeal to native solutions, through the revitalization of archaisms or broadening the scope of dialect forms; and the use of neoclassical forms in the creation of new words.

Fabra compiled the DGLC based on the direct knowledge of a vocabulary that was eminently from Barcelona, but he also resorted to other lexicographical sources in order to polish or increment the lexical volume. Therefore, on the one hand, he benefitted from the materials created by Hellenist and grammarian Josep Balari (1844–1904), whose dictionary was partially edited (from *a* to *g*) in Spanish (*Diccionario Balari*) by Manuel de Montoliu (1877–1961). On the other, he gained access to the *Diccionari Aguiló*, written by bibliographer, editor and folklorist Marià Aguiló (1825–1904); Fabra published some samples of this dictionary together with Manuel de Montoliu between 1915 and 1934. Unfortunately, Fabra was unable to include the old lexical depository compiled by Julià-Bernat Alart, archivist of the Département des Pyrénées Orientales, because it was never edited. Moreover, he took into account the dictionaries by the Real Academia Española, by Hatzfeld and Darmesteter (1890–1900), and by Webster (Mir 2016).<sup>5</sup>

The DGLC includes more than 52,000 entries that intend to reflect the written common language supported by what was considered good oral and written usage, and it provided Catalan with an instrument of culture and prestige that was considered essential in modern societies. These are its main features (for more details, see Ginebra/Solà 2007: § 5.47 and following, and Colón's and Veny's 2007 introductory studies to the facsimile version of the DGLC):

- It sets out the orthographical and formal variants, an aspect that had already been established in the *Diccionari ortogràfic* of 1917, but that was ratified and, in some cases, revised and conveniently modified in the DGLC.

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<sup>5</sup> There is no unanimity among the authors who have tried to determine which edition of the Webster dictionary Fabra consulted: Colón and Soberanas (1985), Rico and Solà (1995), and Bargalló and Garriga (2000) mention *Webster's International Dictionary* (1892); Colón (2007) opts for a later edition (1911), *Webster's New International Dictionary*; and Ginebra and Solà (2007), and Feliu and Fullana (2012) state that it is more likely that it was *Webster's New International Dictionary's* edition from 1890.

As for the dictionaries by the Real Academia Española, it is very likely that they used the 13<sup>th</sup> (1899), 14<sup>th</sup> (1914) and 15<sup>th</sup> (1925) editions—the latter is the most significant one, because it had a clear intention of adapting the definitions to the language of that time and making them clear, concise and simple.

In any case, as Solà (1982: 79) points out, Fabra's library was destroyed during the Spanish Civil War (1936–1939), so it cannot be stated categorically.

- It omits old or archaic words, although a few can still be found (*clasc* ‘bell ring’, *encontinent* ‘immediately’), probably because they were still relatively frequent in the literary language.
- It contains neologisms of that time, such as *vitamina* ‘vitamin’, *feixista* ‘fascist’, *gratacel* ‘skyscraper’, *míting* ‘political rally’ or *film* ‘film’, as well as specialized words, with the aim of validating the use of the language in scientific and technical communicative acts.
- It incorporates loanwords, chosen with restraint and through individualized analyses, from Spanish (*boda* ‘wedding’, *buscar* ‘to search’, *cerilla* ‘match’) as well as from other languages, naturalized or not (German —*blocaus* ‘blockhouse’, *edelweiss* ‘edelweiss’—, English —*crol* ‘crawl’, *snob* ‘snob’—, French —*crepè* ‘crêpe’, *carnet* ‘identity card’—, etc.).
- It includes a low presence of colloquialisms and vulgarisms, mainly due to the personal and social moral concerns of that time.

Regarding the internal structure of the entries, the DGLC stands out most of all for its large number of examples, which not only illustrate the meaning of the words, but also serve as an introduction to the syntactic patterns of adjectives and verbs, since little information is provided on the latter besides the traditional labels of *verb* ‘verb’, *transitiu* ‘transitive’, *pronominal* ‘pronominal’, etc. Moreover, DGLC’s precision, clarity and sufficiency in the formulation of the definitions must also be highlighted.

The DGLC is undoubtedly linked to its time and is not without problems, but it has always been an indispensable point of reference in contemporary lexicographical production in Catalan (Badia i Margarit 1968, Rico/Solà 1995, Colón 2003). Among its virtues, the use of examples as an element that completes the definition stands out positively: they often illustrate the different combinations and syntactic structures in which a specific word can appear, although in some cases it is not sufficiently clear (see, for example, Bargalló 2007, and Espallargas/Fullana 2007). Another positive feature is the addition of parentheses containing the verb’s complement in verbal entries, although that information is provided only for transitive verbs (Montserrat/Ginebra 2000, Colón 2003). On the other hand, however, there are also three negative aspects that must be addressed: the organization of lexical information within the entries, the lack of numbering in the presentation of the different senses and the subjectivity that transpires in some entries.<sup>6</sup>

Concerning the first aspect, the fact that the dominant criteria in the dictionary are chronological or etymological affects its usefulness for the user, because following these criteria implies that sometimes less used or already obsolete

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<sup>6</sup> Rafel (2012) observes that in the second edition of the *Diccionari de la llengua catalana* of the Institut d’Estudis Catalans (DIEC2), the decision that was made to number the senses entailed an internal restructuration of many articles.

meanings appear first.<sup>7</sup> In relation to this, the lack of numbering of the senses hinders the chance to see the relationship that is shared by the meanings, a situation that worsens the longer the entry becomes, even though Fabra resorts to the use of single and double backslashes, semicolons and periods followed by new paragraphs in order to distinguish the sense (see, for example, the entry for *cort* ‘court’). Finally, Fabra’s point of view (and, by extension, that of the period in which he lived) percolates in many entries, as can be seen in *cançan* ‘cançan’, defined as a ‘French dance that involves a range of unseemly and extravagant moves’, *dinamiter* ‘dynamiter’, which according to DGLC is only ‘one who employs or is in favor of employing dynamite with anarchic purposes, for the destruction of property, etc.’, or in *banya* ‘horn’, specifically in the subentry *posar banyes a algú* ‘cheat on somebody’, which is defined only from the point of view of one of the members of the undoubtedly heterosexual married couple: ‘to be cheated on by one’s wife, breaching marriage fidelity; to have, someone else, illicit relations with one’s wife’.

Despite the fact that it was authored by Fabra, who conferred a provisional status to it, and that it was published outside the Institut d’Estudis Catalans, this dictionary was always considered, for obvious reasons, the normative dictionary of the Catalan language until 1995.

### 3 The modern and current dictionary: the DIEC

The Institut d’Estudis Catalans published the first normative academic dictionary in 1995, the *Diccionari de la llengua catalana* (hereafter, DIEC1). It was a long-awaited dictionary, and it was published with haste (Rafel 2012), and it received many criticisms, such as those from Esteve/Marquet/Moll (1998). Right after its publication, a revision of the dictionary was implemented in order to systematically apply the criteria that had been omitted by necessity: the senses were numbered, the metalinguistic definitions were revised and the nomenclature was corrected and expanded. The second edition of the dictionary (hereafter, DIEC2) came out in 2007, 12 years after the first edition, both in paper and online, and it became a milestone in the configuration of a normative vocabulary. However, although it presents some major improvements, it still follows the basis set by Fabra’s dictionary. Thus, DIEC2 resumes the direction set in the first edition: the dictionary is conceived as a repository in which all speakers are acknowledged, regardless of their sex, race, religion or ideology, and without any kind of geo-

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<sup>7</sup> Today, this problem can be easily solved with the use of large text corpora, such as the Corpus Textual Informatitzat de la Llengua Catalana, of the Institut d’Estudis Catalans, which became the base for the creation of the *Diccionari descriptiu de la llengua catalana* (available online at <dcc.iec.cat>).

graphical or social discrimination. In this sense, the dictionary seeks to reinforce the unity of the language: a diverse language where all geographical varieties are taken into account and receive the appropriate fair treatment.

DIEC2 represents an improvement in the way information is presented with respect to DIEC1, since the numbered senses help to clarify how each word is semantically organized. Additionally, it examines some observations that users from different fields made about DIEC1 and it expands its nomenclature, subentries, senses and examples, as can be observed in Table 1, obtained from Ginebra (2007: 36):

	DGLC	DIEC1	DIEC2 <sup>8</sup>	DIEC2/DIEC1
Total number of entries	51,791	67,566	69,988	+ 2,422
Total number of subentries	8,643	17,000	17,343	+ 343
Total number of senses	75,522	120,000	132,460	+ 12,460
Total number of examples	37,903	44,000	50,234	+ 6,234

Table 1. Comparison among the DGLC, the DIEC1 and the DIEC2

Besides the increase in the number of entries, subentries, senses and examples, DIEC2 underwent the following changes (see Ginebra 2007 for more detailed examples):

- a) The definitions were modified employing ideologically neutral terms;
- b) The erroneous and obsolete entries and senses were deleted;
- c) The distribution of phraseological units was systematized, all the while, in keeping with the dictionary's general constraints on their inclusion (despite the general control that the dictionary keeps on their inclusion);
- d) The evaluative labels were reduced;
- e) The familiar or popular vocabulary was revised;
- f) The expression *en certes contrades* 'in certain places' was deleted, as a final logical consequence of the suppression of the dialectal label in DIEC1;
- g) The grammatical categorization of verbs was partially improved.

These improvements are carried out through the incorporation of geographical variants (without any specific label), colloquialisms and slang, which aim to satisfy language users' communicative and expressive needs. Accordingly, the unity of the language is reinforced, since all geographical variants are taken into account and receive the appropriate fair treatment. Nevertheless, colloquial vocabulary, which due to the reduction of evaluative labels in the dictionary can only be

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<sup>8</sup> These data reflect the status of DIEC2 in the moment it was first published, in April 2007. Since then, the Secció Filològica has introduced different amendments that are incorporated to the online version of the dictionary. The first set of amendments was introduced in November 2007, and since then the dictionary is updated every other year (the odd years). All the amendments can be found at <<http://dlc.iec.cat/esmenes.html>>.



marked as *popular* ‘popular’ or *vulgar* ‘vulgar’, remains a weak spot, and there are frequent inconsistencies (Esteve 2010).

Thus, the inclusion of geosynonyms (Central Catalan, Balearic Catalan, North-Western Catalan, Valencian), which were already present in DIEC1, leads to the multiplication of entries that reference one another (see, for example, *nus*, *nuc* and *nu* ‘naked’; *mottle*, *motle*, *motllo* and *motlo* ‘mould’). This multiplicity is added to the list of pairings that were already included in DGLC (*cargol* and *caragol* ‘snail’, *arrel* and *root*, *tisores* and *estisores* ‘scissors’, *cuir* and *cuïro* ‘leather’), as well as to other cases that were included as a consequence of graphical corrections (*llargarut* and *llarguerut* ‘lanky’, *cagarada* and *caguerada* ‘shit, cock-up’) and the admission of forms that are usual in the spoken language and that have a great effect on the stress of the words (*xofer* and *xòfer* ‘driver’, *saxòfon* and *saxofon* ‘saxophone’), derivative variants (*autenticar* and *autentificar* ‘authenticate’, *agilitar* and *agilitzar* ‘to speed up’, *emfasitzar* and *emfatitzar* ‘emphasize’, *boxar* and *boxejar* ‘to box’, *blocar* and *bloquejar* ‘to block’, *buidatge* and *buidat* ‘casting, flushing’, *rentatge* and *rentat* ‘washing’) and changes in the lexeme (*rodet* and *carret* ‘film roll’).

Concerning the so-called Spanish borrowings, a significant number of them were already included in the DIEC1: some of them were already common because they could be heard in the media (*arreglar* ‘to repair’, *entregar* ‘to deliver’, *descampat* ‘waste ground’, *gamberro* ‘troublemaker, vandal’, *gravar* ‘to record’ and *gravació* ‘recording’, *gira* ‘tour’, *guapo* ‘good-looking’, *llaga* ‘ulcer’, *curar* ‘to treat, to heal’, o *ressaca* ‘hangover’) and the use of their genuine Catalan equivalents was not yet generalized and popular. Surprisingly, however, there were others for which there already was a genuine and standard Catalan form that were also included, such as *caldo* ‘broth’, *carrera* ‘race’, *ceguera* ‘blindness’, *coça* ‘kick’ or *destí* ‘destination’.

In Fabra’s time the use of vulgarisms in the speech of well-educated people, especially in written language, was condemned due to society’s sense of modesty and good taste, and, therefore, it was only logical for the DGLC not to include many terms of a sexual nature, and those included were learned forms. This gap is covered, albeit very partially, by the two DIEC editions, which are still very cautious in the introduction of such words: in DIEC2 there are only 42 entries labeled as vulgar, which do not cover all the speakers’ expressive needs in any way whatsoever.

#### 4 Another norm? The *Diccionari normatiu valencià* of the Acadèmia Valenciana de la Llengua

As is known, Catalan is spoken by about 10,000,000 people, mostly in four Spanish regions, three of which have Catalan as their mother tongue, which is co-official with Spanish (Catalonia, the Valencian community, although with the

name *valencià* ‘Valencian’, and the Balearic Islands). Catalan is also spoken in a small part of Aragon (Franja de Ponent) and Murcia (Carxe) in Spain, in Andorra, Roussillon (France), as well as the city of Alghero in Sardinia (Italy). Shortly after the start of the political transition that followed Franco’s dictatorship (1939–1975), the Spanish state acknowledged the Institut d’Estudis Catalans and approved its statutes via *Reial decret 3118/1976* (ratified by *Llei 8/1991*, from the Catalan Parliament), which states that its jurisdiction extends to all Catalan-speaking areas (article 2). In this sense, the Institut has published different institutional declarations in favor of the unity of the language (Institut d’Estudis Catalans 1978, 1996). However, due to different political circumstances, the Generalitat Valenciana created the Acadèmia Valenciana de la Llengua via *Llei 7/1998*. Although it is never stated that Valencian is a different language than Catalan, the Acadèmia Valenciana de la Llengua is a recognized legal authority, so this situation leads to the creation of a conflict of powers that goes against one of the main issues needed to guarantee a successful codification and standardization of the Catalan language, i.e., that the normative discourse must be clear and unequivocal and the conditions of use of specific forms cannot leave any room to ambiguity. It must be taken into account that the codification of Catalan led by the Institut d’Estudis Catalans seeks a compositional model, i.e., pluricentric (see Mas 2012 and Edelmann 2015 for further details) that recognizes diversity without putting any Catalan dialect before the others. Thus, the new grammar edited by Institut d’Estudis Catalans (2016) specifies different options according to the speakers’ dialect and the register in which they interact. Therefore, the convergence of two lexical norms only creates difficulties: if the Institut d’Estudis Catalans and the Acadèmia de la Llengua make different proposals, which norms should a speaker of the Comunitat Valenciana follow?

This conflict might not be as serious for vocabulary as it is for spelling or morphology (Costa 2008), since dictionaries are never supposed to be completely exhaustive and comprehensive repositories of all the words in a language, as it is stated on the introduction to DIEC2 (Martí 2007: XXIV): “[...] qualsevol tasca en la fixació del corpus del lèxic normatiu és sempre millorable i, per descomptat, provisional, contingent”. Moreover, as is already indicated in the introduction to DIEC1 (Badia i Margarit 1995: XXIII), the dictionary does not include all the possible derivatives and its users are asked to resort to metaphorization, in the sense of the “acció d’entendre, a través d’un mot que hi figura [in the dictionary], les seves altres possibles accepcions possibles que no hi figuren [possible derivatives, adverbs ending in *-ment* ‘-ly’, augmentatives, diminutives and derogatory terms]”.

In 2014, the Acadèmia Valenciana de la Llengua published the *Diccionari normatiu valencià* (DNV) online, and two years later, the print edition. The DNV contains close to 93,000 entries, 23,000 more than DIEC2, and the differences between these two dictionaries evidently give rise to many doubts. On the one hand, the DNV includes words that are not particularly conflictive, such as common words in Valencian (*mofla* ‘cheek’, *llampurna* ‘pest, nuisance’ or *baldòria* ‘offensive word’), or English forms (*esquàter* ‘squatter’ or *melting pot*, loanwords

that are included in DIEC2 as *ocupa* and *gresol* respectively), some of them naturalized. On the other hand, however, there are words like *apretar* ‘to squeeze’, *carinyós -osa* ‘loving, affectionate’, *despedir* ‘to say goodbye, to dismiss’, *moscardó* ‘botfly, blowfly’, *tamany* ‘size’ o *ters -a* ‘smooth, unwrinkled’, which are usually listed as *barbarisms* (see, for example, Paloma/Rico 1997), that is, deviations from the established norm, or at least from that of the Institut d’Estudis Catalans (which rejects these words in favor of *prémer*, *afectuós -osa*, *acomiar*, *borinot*, *mida* and *llis -a*, respectively). Given these difference in the acceptance of words and the legal confluence of norms, it is obvious that these institutions adopt diverging criteria (more relaxed in the case of the Acadèmia Valenciana de la Llengua), which confuse and disorient the users and make them doubt when it comes to choosing one option or another in a specific context.<sup>9</sup>

As regards to its microstructure, the DNV shares some features with DIEC2, such as the numbered senses or the use of parentheses in the definitions to showcase the information that cannot be strictly considered a defining semantic trait of the lemma in question (see, for example, the entry for the verb *agitar* ‘to shake’). However, there are also some differences: the DNV includes the phonetical transcription of all the entries, and its labeling system is more complex: while DIEC2 only distinguishes between popular and vulgar uses, the DNV adds three additional labels for *col·loquial* ‘colloquial’, *vulgar* ‘vulgar’ and *infantil* ‘childish’ words, as well as two labels that refer to the speakers’ intentions, *irònic* ‘ironic’ and *pejoratiu* ‘pejorative’.

## 5 Conclusions: challenges of the Catalan normative lexicography

By means of conclusion, two points need to be made. Firstly, academies are slow by definition (Badia i Margarit 1995), and this slowness is apparent particularly when it is time to add a new word to the dictionary, the symbolic depository of the physiognomy of a language. Secondly, speakers’ lexical needs extend beyond the dictionary: they manifest in the form of neologisms (formal and semantic) that alternate and coexist with the sanctioned forms, possibly because speakers consider them to be more expressive in certain communicative situations (Freixa 2015) and they require tools—dictionaries, among others—to deal with them. This is the reality of translators and writers, who face a challenge every time they

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<sup>9</sup> In fact, Badia i Margarit (1995: XXXVI) makes a specific mention of eight words that were rejected for inclusion in DIEC1: *alfombra* ‘carpet’, *calentador* ‘heater’, *camilla* ‘stretcher’, *carpa* ‘marquee’, *fiambrella* ‘lunch box’, *nòvio nòvia* ‘boyfriend girlfriend’, *recado* ‘message, note’ and *tonto -a* ‘silly’. Among these, *carpa*, *nòvio nòvia* (written *nóvio nóvia*) and *tonto -a* appear in DNV. Concerning *carpa*, the Institut d’Estudis Catalans finally admitted it as an independent entry in DIEC2 in the amendments of July 2015.

need to reflect colloquial language (called *mediatized colloquial language*) in their texts: this fictive orality should allow, in theory, the inclusion of geographical, social and contextual variation, but many speakers perceive that the language used in fiction is contrived and distant from the everyday language they use. Therefore, the linguistic authorities should face the monumental task of adding words from the colloquial register, whose presence is currently limited and partial, to the dictionary and of conveniently labeling their corresponding use restrictions. After all, as Badia i Margarit (1995: XXIV) observed, the expansion of the vocabulary with new words whose meaning is shared with an already existing form should not be cause for concern for the Institut d'Estudis Catalans, because synonymy contributes to the enrichment of a language. In this sense, the role played by the website *ésAdir* (<<http://esadir.cat>>), the linguistic portal of the Corporació Catalana de Mitjans Audiovisuals, must be highlighted. This website is part of the Catalan public mass media style book, and it gives explicit usage guidelines on several words that are not included in the dictionary (see Tacke 2017). In addition, Catalan has other open online lexicographical resources, such as *Cercaterm* (<<http://www.termcat.cat>>), which is an online consultation service devoted to Catalan terminology that specializes in different scientific fields in any available languages. Another free resource is the *Neolosfera* (<<http://neolosfera.wordpress.com>>), which offers a “new” word (because it cannot be found in dictionaries) daily; therefore, the number of words which can be consulted increases day by day. *Neolosfera* offers examples of the different word-formation resources available in Catalan, which are used to satisfy the denominative and expressive needs of Catalan speakers (see Bernal/Milà-Garcia 2017).

Additionally, there is also a need for a dictionary that is not a simple update of the previous one (Rafel 2012). Although Fabra's work was commendable and, without it, it would have been indisputably harder and more costly to get to the current state-of-affairs, Catalan needs one (single?) prescriptive academic dictionary, conceived with all the required sociological and sociolinguistic implications and with a deep consideration for its nature and structure. In this sense, the Institut d'Estudis Catalans is currently working on a new abridged dictionary, compiled from the Corpus Textual Informatitzat de la Llengua Catalana (which includes texts up to 2014) (Badia/Cardús 2016), and which will be used in the creation of a new dictionary following a corpus lexicography methodology.

In the context of the Catalan language it is always easy to find critical opinions concerning the inclusions and absences in dictionaries in general and academic dictionaries in particular. However, the establishment of a language's corpus of normative vocabulary is inextricably provisional and contingent in nature, since languages are living, mutant beings, whose evolution is reflected in dictionaries. In this sense, the changes initiated by the last works by the Institut d'Estudis Catalans, with the orthography (Institut d'Estudis Catalans 2017) and, particularly, the grammar (Institut d'Estudis Catalans 2016), which presents the

norm based on an updated description of Catalan and its functional uses and varieties, seem to envisage an approach to the language that allows for more flexibility than it had up to this point.

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